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FROM HARBOUR TO HARBOUR

CHRISTCHURCH
BURNEMOUTH POOLE



BY NANCY BELL ILLUSTRATED
BY ARTHUR G. BELL R.I. R.O.I.

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FROM HARBOUR TO HARBOUR







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THE HISTORY OF THE MARINE OF ENGLAND
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

MRS. ARTHUR BELL
HENGISTBY HEAD AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT

ARTHUR G. BELL, F.R.S., F.R.G.S.

LONDON
G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

I

HENGISTBURY HEAD AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT

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THE STORY OF CHRISTCHURCH, BOURNEMOUTH,
AND POOLE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY



BY

MRS. ARTHUR BELL

AUTHOR OF "PICTURESQUE BRITTANY"; "NUREMBERG"; "THE
ROYAL MANOR OF RICHMOND"; "THE ELEMENTARY
HISTORY OF ART," ETC.

WITH TWELVE FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR

BY

ARTHUR G. BELL, R.I., R.O.I.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

FROM whatever point of view the beautiful coast district between Christchurch Estuary and Poole Harbour is considered, it is full of absorbing interest. The student of geology and prehistoric lore, the archæologist, the historian, and the naturalist find in it an inexhaustible field of enquiry, whilst its romantic scenery affords an infinite variety of subjects for the artist. Many publications have, it is true, already appeared in which Christchurch, Bournemouth, and Poole have been described, and their notable features pictured, yet it is felt that there is justification for a volume devoted entirely to them, and it is hoped that the one now issued may find a welcome amongst those who appreciate their abiding charm, and have memories associated with them.

In offering "From Harbour to Harbour" to the public, the author wishes to thank very heartily the many experts who have aided her with advice and information, amongst whom she is specially indebted to Dr. William T. Ord, F.G.S., and Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.G.S., etc., who have read and revised the section on the Geology and the Earliest Inhabitants of the Coast; the Rev. Canon Mayo, who gave considerable assistance in the collection of information concerning

Poole; the Rev. E. W. Leachman, whose notes on St. Peter's, Bournemouth, in the Bournemouth Parish Magazines were of great service; Mr. Robert Druitt, who solved many difficulties connected with ecclesiastical law; Mr. Herbert Druitt, whose prehistoric and archæological knowledge was placed at her disposal; Mr. John Druitt, who gave her access to the Municipal Records of Christchurch, and was always ready to help in their interpretation; Mr. Charles Mate, who revised the chapters on Bournemouth; and Mr. Francis Ferrey, who lent several rare and valuable books not accessible elsewhere.

Cordial thanks are also due to the many authors, publishers, and others who have allowed quotations to be made from publications of which they hold the copyright, notably to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, whose "White Company" gives such a vivid picture of Christchurch Castle before it was dismantled; Mr. Thomas Hardy, who, in "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," describes Bournemouth in its early days; the publishers of "The County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight," from which the description of Highcliffe Castle is culled; Miss Topham, from whose "Memories of the Kaiser's Court," published by Messrs. Methuen, some very interesting extracts are taken concerning the German Emperor's stay at Highcliffe Castle; Mr. Lloyd Osbourne, the literary heir of Robert Louis Stevenson, who has permitted the quotation at length of the charming poem on Skerryvore, the Bournemouth home of the famous author; Mr. Charles Mate, J.P., and Mr. Charles Riddle, F.S.A., Borough Librarian of Bournemouth, from whose

joint work, "Bournemouth, 1810-1910," much valuable information has been taken; Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., who have allowed "The Beam of Grenley Church" and portions of "The Common A-Took-In" and "The Drēven o' the Common," all by the Dorset poet William Barnes, to appear; Mr. Edward Eyres, proprietor of the "Christchurch Times," to whose courtesy is due the inclusion of the scarcely less beautiful but anonymous "Legend of the Twynham Beam," which appeared some years ago in his paper; Mr. Harold Vallings, author of the delightful romance "The Smugglers of Haven Quay"; the Rev. Canon Cooke-Yarborough, from whose Foreword to his brother's pastoral play, "Contraband," several smuggling stories have been taken; and Mr. George A. B. Dewar, whose poetic descriptions of Hengistbury Head and the neighbouring district are full of inspiration.

NANCY BELL.

RASTGARTH,
SOUTHBORNE-ON-SEA.

July, 1916.

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FROM HARBOUR TO HARBOUR

CHAPTER I

THE BUILDING UP OF THE COAST AND ITS EARLY INHABITANTS

THE changes that have taken place in recent geologic times and are still proceeding in the configuration of the Hampshire coast through erosion, subsidence and re-emergence of material, reflect to a considerable extent the successive stages of the building up of the British Isles, the sequence of which has been traced through palæozoic and neozoic to early historic days. It is true that it is not until the Tertiary age of geologic time that the story of the coast district between Christchurch Estuary and Poole Harbour begins, there being no strata in it older than those of the Eocene period, during which, as proved by the deposits of clay and sand of which they chiefly consist, what are now the south-eastern counties of England were under water. To make up for this, however, there is an unbroken record in the Purbeck and Wealden strata of Dorset of the transition from the Jurassic to the Cretaceous era, the nearest points on the west of Poole at which they can be seen being Studland and Swanage.

The oldest strata now to be considered are the Bagshot sands of lacustrine or fluviatile origin beneath Poole Harbour, that extend eastwards till they are replaced near Hengistbury Head by the Bracklesham sands, which differ greatly from them. These sands were laid down in a southern sea, not in such fresh or brackish water as the earlier Bagshot beds, a sea that extended over much of what was to become Northern France, and gradually increased in depth during the formation of the deposits, layers of shells of mollusca such as could not have lived in shallow water occurring in them. Into this sea flowed many rivers from the west, their united streams forming at their outlet a vast estuary that swarmed with brackish water mollusca and other forms of life for which the environment was suitable, the changes

in the climatic conditions being very clearly reflected in them, whilst in some of the beds, notably in those of the Bournemouth Cliffs, corresponding variations in the vegetation can also be traced.

The Bracklesham sands are overlaid by Barton clay, chiefly of marine origin, which is in certain parts 300 feet thick, the flora and fauna that have left relics in it being of a kind quite unlike those of the underlying strata, and bearing witness to the immigration of new species. The beds above the Barton clay are known as the Hordwell sands, taking their name from a neighbouring village, and are fully described in the "Fossilia Hantoniensis" of Dr. Brander, the first publication in which the fossils found in the Barton and Hordwell cliffs were figured. These fossils are partly of marine and partly of estuarine origin, pointing to the conclusion that the water in which the deposits containing them were laid down was gradually decreasing in depth. Thus the alternate subsidence and re-emergence of the coast, with the transition from alluvial plains to tracts forming the seabottom and *vice versa*, with the successive modifications in vegetable and animal life can be clearly followed by an examination of the cliffs now above water.

Beginning at the surface and working down to the chalk which forms the foundation of the Hampshire Basin, the story of the formation of the coast can be read backwards to the remote time when the hills overlooking that basin were being built up, and the great chalk ridge, that extended from Ballard Down and the Old Harry Rocks of Dorset to the Needles of the Isle of Wight, was beginning to yield to the ceaseless assaults of the waves which were eventually to break it down completely, and rush in, carrying all before them.

A few years ago, in a walk along the beach from Mineway, some little distance east of Christchurch Estuary, to the ferry, and from thence to the Haven of Poole, an exceptionally fine section of the coast strata of Hampshire could be studied, and although erosion has recently greatly modified certain portions, and the construction of the Undercliff Drive at Bournemouth has hidden others from view, what remain still bear unmistakable witness to the vicissitudes through which the beds composing them have passed. At Mineway—the name of which recalls the days when ironstone nodules used in making Roman cement were strewn on the beach—a bank of fine sand, known as the Middle Marine bed, tells of the rising above, sinking beneath,

and re-emergence from the sea of the deposits on which it rests. The strata building up Hordle or Hordwell Cliff, a short distance west of Mineway, were evidently laid down in a river, the depth and force of the current of which varied greatly at different times, as proved by the preservation in some layers of quantities of organic remains and in others of comparatively few.

The lowest portion of Hordwell Cliff, visible at the beach level, consists of a carbonaceous bed, testifying to the decay of vegetable matter and resting upon a freshwater deposit of blue clay, in which relics of extinct reptiles and mammalia, the latter including a creature resembling the tree-dwelling lemurs of Madagascar and elsewhere, have been found. Above this bed are layers of sand, into which intrude here and there streaks of coprolite, rich in organic remains, which are in their turn succeeded by what is known as the crocodile bed, that is full of the teeth and plates of crocodiles, scales and vertebrae of fishes and reptiles, with remains of tropical vegetation. Higher up is a stratum of lignite, the first deposit in Hordwell Cliff to bear witness, through the occurrence in its lower portion of sea-mussel shells, to the inrush of salt water, whilst above it marl and ligneous layers alternate till the cliff ends in ferruginous gravel and sand of comparatively recent origin.

Somewhat to the west of Hordwell Cliff is Beckton Bunny, where the base of the cliff consists of what has been aptly called the Olive bed on account of the prevalence in it of shells of the *Oliva Branderi* mollusc, named after the Dr. Brander referred to above. Beyond it in the same direction but in the Upper Barton beds is a deposit of gray sand called the Chama layer, because of the profusion of shells in it of the tropical bivalve mollusc known as the *Chama squamosa*. Still further west is a cliff consisting chiefly of Barton clay, rich in fossils of marine origin, in a wonderful state of preservation, that include the beautiful wing-shell (*Rostellaria ampla*), several varieties of the *Murex*, *Voluta*, *Scalaria*, *Fusis*, *Typhis*, *Calyptrae*, *Bammotea*, and of many other mollusca, nummulites, and relics of tropical fishes, including sharks and members of the *Arius* group, with remains of fir cones and drift-wood.

Unfortunately the fall and washing away of portions of Barton Cliff have of late years considerably lessened the facilities for obtaining organic relics from it, but before the sequence of its strata was disturbed, a collection of the fossils in it was made by Mr. Dent and his son of Barton Court. This collection, which

is of exceptional value and has been quoted as equal to that in the Sedgwick Museum at Cambridge, was bought some little time ago at the suggestion of the well-known geological expert Dr. W. T. Ord, F.G.S., with funds raised by the Bournemouth Natural Science Society. It will probably eventually be acquired for the projected local Museum that is sorely needed for the preservation of the priceless archaeological, antiquarian, and other survivals of the past, in which the neighbourhood was long remarkably rich, but great quantities of which have been dispersed through the neglect of opportunities for securing them to the district in which they were found.

Similar fossils to those in the Barton Cliff occur in the beds of green clay between it and Highcliff, and beyond them on the west are deposits full of specimens of the *Cassis* and *Cassidaria* types of shells, whilst the bed of the little stream flowing into the sea at Chewton Bunny consists chiefly of green clay in which shark's teeth in great numbers are embedded. Then ensues a small bed of rolled flints derived from the chalk, telling a tale of strata denuded by the long continued action of the sea, and marking the beginning of the Bracklesham series of deposits.

The Bracklesham sands are well displayed at Hengistbury Head, the upper portion of the promontory consisting of deposits belonging to that system, mostly unfossiliferous, that formerly extended eastwards across the mouth of the Stour to Mudeford and Highcliff, whilst beneath them are what are known as the Hengistbury Head Beds, which contain large masses of dark red ironstone. Great blocks, in which are embedded toredo-bored wood, trunks of coniferous trees, pine cones, and sharks' teeth, were at one time strewn upon the beach below the promontory and a regular reef of similar material runs out westwards into the sea, forming a breakwater which has had much to do with the preservation of the fine landmark, that rises at its highest point to 140 feet.

The ironstone beds of Hengistbury Head were quarried as long ago as the prehistoric Iron Age and in Roman times. The stone was taken to the Harbour in boats along an artificial creek which is still a picturesque feature of the river-side scenery. Its banks are clothed with thrift in the spring, and with sea-lavender in the late summer and early autumn; the adjacent flats and swamps are the nesting places of many water birds, and the withy wood overlooking it, which lines the landward slopes of the Head, is the haunt of the merlin, the willow warbler, the chiff-chaff, and other land-birds. From the Harbour much of the

ironstone was conveyed, probably in primitive carts, to the site of Beaulieu Abbey, where it was smelted and turned to account for many different purposes. As the only building stone found between Lymington and Poole, it was extensively used in early historic and mediæval times, and can still be seen in the relics of the old Priory walls, in the Norman House that was at one time connected with the Castle, and elsewhere in Christchurch.

Beyond Hengistbury Head the cliffs are very low, consisting almost entirely of shingle and sand. Their material once formed the bed of the united Stour and Avon, which formerly flowed into the sea on the west, not as now on the east, of the Headland, when high-water mark was much further from it than it is now. The low lying ground of this ancient channel affords a very noteworthy example of the destructive action of erosion on the coast, which has long been receding at the rate of a yard a year, so that unless vigorous steps are taken to keep back the sea it will ere long break its way into Christchurch estuary, and convert the promontory into an island. Should this catastrophe occur, the shingle displaced will be carried down the present salmon run and block up the outlet of the rivers, which will be deflected back to their long deserted course.

At a point somewhat to the west of the old river bed, called the Cellars—the name of which is perhaps derived from that of the Sellar family which appears several times in the Christchurch parish registers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the cliffs which belong to the Bracklesham series begin to rise again. They are capped with plateau gravel made up chiefly of partially rolled flint, whilst traces of ironstone are to be found here and there beneath the present sea-level. Further along the coast near Bournemouth Pier, Bagshot deposits replace the Bracklesham sands and extend thence to Poole Harbour, resting finally at Studland Bay on London clay.

The Bracklesham sands contain no fossils of their own period, the only organic remains in them being those in the flints which are of cretaceous origin, but in the Bagshot deposits fossils are very numerous, consisting chiefly of relics of plants such as ferns, conifers, leaves of palms, with quantities of lignite stems and twigs and some few large tree-trunks, bearing witness to the existence, when the strata containing them were laid down, of semi-tropical forests, covering the shores of the estuary of a great river that once entered the sea where Bournemouth now stands.

In the beds of lignitic sand, between the cliffs of Southbourne

and Honey Comb Chine at Boscombe, have been found the remains of portions of a cactus such as is now native to tropical America, and many branches of a tree resembling the gigantic *Sequoia Washingtoniensis* of California. On the western side of Honey Comb Chine the strata are also rich in relics of flora, and between the latter and the mouth of the Bourne the cliffs, that have been greatly denuded during the last century by the action of wind, and are in parts capped with masses of blown sand, illustrate well the transition from brackish to freshwater deposits. The latter consist chiefly of current and estuarine bedded sands, streaked with lenticular masses of clay and loam, which form what are known as leaf-beds, and contain quantities of lignite, showing traces of the boring of the toredo, and, more significant still, numerous husks of the Nipa fruit with other specimens of tropical vegetation.

The Nipa relics are of very special interest, because a modern species of the tree from which they must have come grows luxuriantly in the estuaries of tropical rivers, especially in that of the Ganges, where its fruits float about on the surface of the water until they are disintegrated, and their husks becoming water-logged gradually sink. The fact that the husks found in the clay near Honey Comb Chine exactly resemble those in India of the present time, is a striking confirmation of the theory of geologists with regard to the mode of formation of the strata in which the former are imbedded.

Beyond Bournemouth Pier, and as far west as Flag Head Chine, the cliffs consist entirely of what are locally known as the Bournemouth Fresh Water and Marine Beds, belonging respectively to the Upper and Middle Bagshot series of deposits. They have yielded plant remains including ferns, leaves of fig and laurel trees, fragments of palms, *Araucaria* twigs, and other remains of semi-tropical vegetation, with at one spot a few relics of fauna, including shore-crabs, traces of bryozoa, and shells of the arca, cerithium and certain allied mollusca. Near Canford Cliffs a single fossil feather and a few insect remains were discovered, but tokens of organic life become rarer and rarer as Poole Harbour is approached. To atone for this the Lower Bagshot Beds under and east of that sheet of water contain seams of valuable white pipe clay that is extensively worked on the north and south of Parkstone, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and of which there were quarries, now exhausted, in Branksea and beneath Poole Harbour. Pipe clay also crops

out at various points near the latter, and there is an important seam of it below Creech Barrow, a lofty hill in the Isle of Purbeck which is of exceptional interest to geologists on account of the recent discovery in it of Oligocene strata, that had not previously been recognized anywhere else in England though they occur in the Isle of Wight.

During the first portion of the period known as the Miocene, that succeeded the Oligocene, the greater part of the British Isles and the whole of the Isle of Wight, with much of Northern France, which then formed one continent, remained high and dry, but towards its close were inaugurated the great earth movements which resulted in the upheaval of the chalk underlying the district now under consideration, and the gradual moulding of the foundations of the present features of Hampshire and Dorset. By the close of the Miocene epoch a range of lofty chalk downs bounded the continent on the south, overlooking a vast sheet of water that was beginning to send forth feelers in the direction of what was to become the English Channel. Changes of a similar kind were taking place throughout the greater portion of the next stage of geologic development known as the Pliocene, which was to witness before it passed into the Pleistocene the strange episode in the long life story of the earth to which the distinctive name of the Glacial or Ice Age has been given. In its conditions became general such as now prevail only in the arctic regions, the refrigeration that was to transform the appearance of every district which came under its influence, gradually increasing in intensity till all vegetable and animal life succumbed to it. Very slowly, but very surely, a benumbing ice-sheet spread over Scotland and England as far south as the channel of the future Thames, bringing with it accumulations of drift consisting of layers of boulder clay, and quantities of sand and gravel, over which, as the Ice Age drew to its close, were laid a heterogeneous collection of materials filched from ancient strata by floods of water flowing along with great force, and constantly fed by the melting ice from which they had issued. To these surface deposits, which tell a tale of long travel and many vicissitudes, the appropriate name of *plateaux gravels* has been given, because they were at one time spread in an almost unbroken sheet over the Midland and Southern districts of England, relics of that sheet still remaining on the higher parts of the low ground between the chalk escarpment referred to above and the Cotswold Hills and in the loftier districts of Hampshire.

The beginning of the Pleistocene epoch was marked by a return to comparatively normal conditions, and before it closed the long drawn out processes of interchange between land and water had severed the union between Hampshire and France, though the Isle of Wight was still connected with the mainland by a broad isthmus of which relics survive in a submerged ridge of chalk between the cliffs of East Dorset and the Needles, and in a narrower and less lofty ridge linking Hengistbury Head with Christopher Cliff. The surface deposits of the coast between Christchurch and Poole, that give to it its general configuration and aid in determining its climate, belong to the last stage of the Pleistocene epoch which witnessed the formation of the English Channel through the victory won by the waves that for long years had been hammering against the western boundary of a vast land-locked sea.

The town of Christchurch is built on ferruginous gravel with a subsoil of sand and clay. A gravel ridge runs northwards from above the junction of the Avon and the Stour to St. Catherine's Hill, dividing the valleys of the two rivers, which valleys are mainly composed of similar gravel, overlaid in the low-lying tracts flanking the water courses, with alluvium partly of estuarine and partly of fluvial origin, proving that the channels were at one time considerably deeper, and that they gradually silted up till the present estuary was formed. The greater portion of the cliffs between Hengistbury Head and Poole Harbour are capped with a bed of gravel, here and there cut through by ravines caused by landslips, or by chines which have been eaten out by small streams, the beds of which are lined with debris filched from their banks, so that they afford an excellent opportunity for studying the stratification of the coast. Between the valley of the Bourne and Canford Cliffs, such chines, which act as conduits drawing off the surface water, are very numerous, and in the cliffs west of the last of them masses of clay are imbedded that lead on as it were to the Bagshot deposits beneath Poole Harbour, the entrance to which is barred, but for one narrow channel, by lofty sand-dunes of quite modern origin.

Truly wonderful are the pictures called up by the study of the fossils in the Tertiary strata of the now densely populated coast district between Mineway Cliff and Poole Harbour, revealing how different were the climatic conditions, the flora and fauna, in the age preceding the advent of man, and that during which he made his first appearance in the British Isles.

The huge winged monsters and their contemporary reptiles, whose remains have been found in the liassic and oolitic strata of Great Britain and elsewhere, had become extinct, to be succeeded by new forms, which were in their turn to pass away, some few of them surviving until their supremacy was contested by human rivals, who, however inferior to them in brute strength, were superior in mental intelligence, and were able to pit artificial contrivances against the natural weapons of tooth and claw.

Where black-headed and herring gulls, saddle-backs and cormorants, swans and herons now wing their flight across Christchurch estuary, or seek their food upon its mud spits, whilst wild ducks and plovers, curlews and sanderlings, dunlins and dotterels preen their plumage upon the shingle beaches, coots and scoters skim across the bar at the entrance to the river, and moorhens, sedge warblers and other haunters of the shallows rear their tiny broods amongst the reeds and rushes, creatures of very different types had their habitat. The fierce alligator, the sluggish crocodile, the soft-shelled turtle, and the river tortoise basked beneath a tropical sun in the swamps fringed with shady palm groves, that extended westwards to beyond where the blackbird and martin haunted chines of Boscombe and Bournemouth now break the long line of cliffs. Amongst the lofty trees and the thick undergrowth beneath them dwelt the tapir-like palæotherium, the arboreal lemur such as is now only met with in Africa, Madagascar, and the Indo-Malayan forests, the insectivorous tree-shrew, the civet cat, the leopard-like hyænodon that died out in Miocene times, the huge pig-like elotherium and its smaller cousin the chæropotamus, python-like snakes, great lizards, and many other heat-loving animals, contemporary with which were bloodthirsty sharks, cat-fishes, and oysters more than double the size of those of the present day.

Though no remains of the cave-bears and lions, the sabre-toothed tigers, the mammoths, the aurochs, and the reindeer, that are known to have lived in the forests of the future Hampshire in Pleistocene times, have been discovered in the district now under notice, there is little doubt that some at least of them were contemporaneous with the first human inhabitants. In a soil in which disintegration is rapid owing to the ceaseless action of water the preservation of organic remains is extremely rare, but bones of the aurochs and reindeer have been found in the neighbourhood of Southampton, and it is probable that

these animals were not restricted to the actual district in which these proofs of their presence were discovered.

Unfortunately relics of the earliest human inhabitants of the coast between Christchurch Estuary and Poole Harbour are rare, too little care having been taken to preserve such as have survived to modern times. A good many roughly chipped flints such as were used by Palæolithic man have, however, been picked up near St. Catherine's Hill, on Hengistbury Head, in the railway cutting between Pokesdown and Bournemouth, and in the Bourne valley. Tokens of the presence of dwellers in the district in the second or Neolithic stage of culture are more numerous, and include remains of hearth and pit dwellings and tumuli, in connection with which and elsewhere have been found polished and unpolished weapons, bones of domesticated and wild animals, shreds of woven material, etc., calling up visions of the home life of their owners. More numerous are the survivals of the days when the more highly civilized successors of Neolithic man, to whom the name of the Goidels has been given, occupied the future county of Hampshire, many of the round barrows in which they buried their dead having been in existence until quite lately near Christchurch and Bournemouth, including two on part of the site of the Royal Artillery Barracks in the latter town. Some few indeed can still be made out, notably at Wick and Pokesdown, on Hengistbury Head, close to the now disused Blackwater Ferry, in the Talbot Woods, and on East Parley, Claypit and Littledown Commons, whilst in Matcham's Plantation, near Hurn, are two tumuli, one 125 feet high, dating from the same period. Other Goidel relics found in the neighbourhood are a double looped palstave, or celt, unearthed at Charminster, Bournemouth, in 1894, various bronze implements and utensils, and some few gold ornaments of really artistic workmanship, of which the most remarkable is a torque, or collar, found at Blackwater in 1852, now with the palstave in the possession of Lord Malmesbury at Heron Court.

To the same origin as the round barrows are ascribed the defences of the hill north of Christchurch, called St. Catherine's, because portions of the foundations of a mediæval chapel supposed to have been dedicated to that saint can be made out on it, but the original name of which is said to have been Kaeder-Ryn, signifying the fort above the rivers. This hill, dominating the chief waterways to Dorset and Wiltshire, was evidently in pre-historic times one of a long chain of fortified heights ex-

tending to the Bristol Channel, and the earthworks on it consisted of ramparts of semicircular plan within which remains of pit dwellings can be made out, whilst in the gravel deposits near by have been found quantities of fragments of urns, weapons, etc. Outside the circumvallation are traces of a square fort supposed by some authorities to be of Roman origin, pointing to the conclusion that, as was so often the case, the later invaders of Britain turned to account the defensive works of those they dispossessed.

The fine earthwork known as the Double Dykes below Hengistbury Head is generally attributed to the same races as the stronghold on St. Catherine's Hill. It originally stretched from the estuary of the Stour and Avon to Poole Bay, and although of late years a considerable portion of it has fallen into the sea, what remains still forms a strong coastal defence. To the same system probably belonged the similar but less important earthworks recently destroyed at Foxholes and Pokesdown, but it is impossible to determine exactly who were their authors, the balance of evidence being in favour of the suggestion that the various pre-historic settlements between the two harbours were temporary camps rather than tribal headquarters. Two main caravan routes would appear to have been in use between what was then the mouth of the Avon, the borders of Dorset, and the New Forest, one running along the ridge occupied at the present day by the houses of Southbourne, Pokesdown, Haddon Hill, Moordown, and Redhill, the other following the high ground east of the river to Ringwood. That Hengistbury Head played an important part in the coast defences is very evident, and it may possibly have been the halting-place now and then of merchants from overseas on their way inland, there being indications that the early Britons were in communication with their neighbours of Northern France, and possibly even with the more distant dwellers in the Mediterranean.

The excavations carried out in and near the promontory overlooking the sea and the estuary of the Avon and Stour by Mr. Bushe-Fox on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries in 1911-12 resulted in very interesting discoveries, an exhaustive account of which was given in a report issued in 1915. Two of seven round barrows on the summit of the Head were completely examined, the limits of a series of earthworks which had been thrown up across the low-lying ground west of the promontory were determined, and it was ascertained beyond a doubt that the

site was inhabited from early prehistoric times. The traces of actual dwellings were few, but such as they were show that the huts were of daub and wattle, arranged in circles. Fine examples of pottery, including types not met with elsewhere, were amongst the treasures unearthed, one cinerary urn containing a beautifully worked gold incense cup, a bronze and amber amulet, and some bronze beads. Other significant survivals of prehistoric industry were the marks of large jars having been sunk in the soil, possibly for the storage of corn, querns, proving that some kind of bread was made, loom weights and spindle whorls, with evidences of the practice of glass-making, the use of Kimmeridge clay for making utensils, the refining of iron and the working of silver and tin as well as of gold and bronze. Very noteworthy, too, were the number and variety of coins found in the course of the explorations; they amounted to no less than four thousand, most of them British, with about one hundred Roman, many of the former in the mint condition, and therefore possibly struck in the district. The British examples range in date from the earliest stage of native culture to that which preceded the Roman invasion, whilst those of foreign origin continue the sequence down to the fourth century A.D., so that the coins alone found in the time-honoured promontory bear witness to many centuries of human occupation.

With the exception of the coins referred to above, there are no well authenticated survivals of the Roman occupancy of the coast district between Christchurch and Poole, it being impossible to prove, as some claim, that a heathen temple occupied the site of the Priory Church. The chief memento of the presence of the conquerors from Italy in the neighbourhood are the roads connecting Hampshire and Dorset with London and elsewhere, which are still in use, including that known as the *Via Iceniana* or *Icknield Street*, running from the borders of the latter county to the coast of Norfolk, with its two minor branches, one going south to *Hamworthy*, the other called the *Via Principalis*, connecting the main highway with *Badbury Rings*, one of the surviving British entrenchments in Dorset.

Although there can be no doubt that the coast between Christchurch Estuary and Poole Harbour was the scene of many a thrilling episode of the long drawn out wars between the West Saxons and their many enemies, recorded instances are very few. It was probably during the latter years of the supremacy of the former that the name of *Hednes-Buria*, which occurs in

several ancient charters, was first given to the famous promontory overlooking the channel and the estuary of the Stour. This name was later replaced by Hynesbury, which occurs more than once in seventeenth-century records, and was succeeded in modern times by those of Warren and Christchurch Head, that by which it is now known being of quite modern origin, and altogether a misnomer, there being absolutely no historical foundation for the supposition that Hengist landed on the neighbouring shore on his second invasion of England after the death of Horsa. What is the actual meaning of the words Hednes-Buria it is impossible to say, but the latter is probably a form of buhr signifying a fort, and it has been suggested that Hednes may preserve the memory of the Norse sea king Hedinn of the Scandinavian version of the Niebelungenlied, who took captive the daughter of his rival Högin and sailed with her from Norway to the British Isles, off the southern coast of which a great naval battle took place.

Some authorities are of opinion that one of the buhrs or stockaded forts built by Alfred at different points on the coast of Wessex to strengthen his position against the Danes was on the site of Christchurch, and was called Tweon-ea or Twinham, because it dominated two rivers, the Avon and the Stour. However this may have been, it is certain that in the time of Alfred what were known as "long-ships" were stationed in every available harbour, including that overlooked by the headland of Hednes-Buria, and the more important Poole Harbour, watching for the approach of the dreaded *æscas*, as the Danish war-vessels were called, and that one of the fiercest battles between the forces of Alfred and the Danes took place near the future town of Le Pole in 876. On that occasion several *æscas* crept up the river to Wareham, then much nearer the sea than it is now, and took possession of the town, only to be defeated a little later in a fierce naval battle off Swanage, in which the King's forces were triumphantly victorious.

The earliest actual reference to the district now under consideration occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 901, in which an account is given of the revolt of Æthelwold, a cousin of King Ædward the Elder, the son and successor of Alfred the Great. After taking possession of the town of Wimborne, states the valuable record, Æthelwold marched eastwards and attacked that of Tweon-ea or Twinham, where he was defeated. According to some authorities a peace was signed between the rebel and

his royal cousin five years later at Yttingaford, supposed to have been near the junction of the Avon and Stour, whilst others assert that the former was slain at Tweon-ea, and yet others that he escaped to Northumberland and was heard of no more in the south.

As is well known, the Ædward against whom Æthelwold revolted was the first ruler to exchange the title of King of the West Saxons for that of King of England, and by so doing to link yet more closely the history of Wessex with that of the rest of the country. Under him the southern kingdom regained something of its early supremacy, and although it lost much of its importance under Æthelred, whose cruel policy towards the Danes, thousands of whom were massacred by his orders in Wessex, led to a terrible revenge being taken by the relatives of the slain, the West Saxons came once more to the fore in the time of Cnut. That astute ruler made the enlightened Godwine Earl of Wessex and Justiciar of England, and he it was who later restored the old royal Saxon line in the person of Ædward the Confessor to the throne of England. Had Godwine been allowed to retain the helm, it is possible that a true fusion into one homogeneous whole of the many conflicting elements in the English polity might have taken place, and an effective resistance offered to the invaders from Normandy, who were destined to undo his life work. With the defeat of Harold, Godwine's son, Wessex finally lost what may be called the personal relationship with the rulers of England, which, but for occasional interludes when the country was under foreign rule, had been the pride of its people for many generations, but this loss is to some extent atoned for by the fact that its later history has been very closely bound up with that of the great Empire of which it was the original nucleus.

It is greatly to be regretted that so few relics of Anglo-Saxon times have been preserved in the county which had so much to do with the making of England. That Hampshire was not only the centre of political influence for a very long period, but also the starting point of the evangelization of the south, there can be no doubt; yet in the district that is the subject of this volume, there are no remains of strongholds and scarcely any of churches that can be proved to be of earlier date than the tenth century. Of the buhr already referred to as having perhaps been built by Alfred at Tweon-ea not a stone remains, and there is no actual proof of the contention of some antiquarians that portions of one

of the crypts beneath the Priory Church at Christchurch are all that is left of an Anglo-Saxon place of worship, though the discovery of some stone coffins of great antiquity under the foundations of the lost monastic buildings lend colour to the suggestion.

It is much the same with Anglo-Saxon burial places, of which many have been identified in North Hampshire, Dorset, and the Isle of Wight, for they are entirely absent from the district now occupied by Christchurch, Bournemouth, and Poole. To atone for this, however, there exists one actual visible link with pre-Conquest days in a portion of a submerged forest that can be made out at certain states of the tide on the west of Bournemouth Pier, which in all probability was once part of the vast tract of waste land that stretched far inland from the shore, and was included in the *Foresta* concerning which such stringent laws were made by King Cnut, anticipating the severer measures of William the Conqueror. In many place-names, too, the memory of Saxon days is preserved, notably in the constant occurrence of "bury," a corruption of "buhr," a fort, as in Hengistbury; "ley," a meadow, as in Eversley; "holt," "hurst," and "clerc," as in Sparholt, Brockenhurst, and King's-clerc, indicating different portions of a wood. It is not, however, so much in tangible remains or in forms of speech left behind them by the successive inhabitants of the coast, that the continuity of the present with the past is best preserved unbroken, as in the survival of certain customs of land tenure, including the manorial which had its roots far back in tribal institutions in force in Britain before the arrival of the first invaders from the north. The little property at Tweon-ea or Twinham, out of which was to grow the populous community of Christchurch, was held under it, and the history of the Manor illustrates well the political and social condition of England under the last Saxon king, and also the working of the feudal system after the breaking up of the great earldoms, which was one of the most astute strokes of policy of his Norman successor.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TWYNHAM MANOR AND THE STORY OF CHRISTCHURCH CASTLE

THERE exists unfortunately no actual documentary evidence of a charter having been granted in Anglo-Saxon days to the future Christchurch, which, as has been seen, was then called Tweon-ea or Twinham, a name that in the eleventh century became Thuinam, and in the twelfth Cris-charche de Twenham or Cristes-church, of which Christchurch is the modern form. There can, however, be no doubt that Tweon-ea or Twinham was a royal manor under Edward the Confessor, and the probability is that it attained that dignity early in the tenth century, it having been one of the properties included in what was known as the burghal hidage assessment, which dated from about 920.

The earliest extant allusion to Tweon-ea, the name of which is supposed to be a contraction of the Saxon words between theum eam or "between the waters," is that in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle already referred to in connection with the revolt of Æthelwold, in which it is characterized not as a buhr or strong place but as a ham, a name which signified much the same as the French manoir or a fief, the holder of which did not enjoy the right of building a keep. From this it may be inferred that the fort supposed to have been built by Alfred at Tweon-ea had disappeared, if it ever existed, and that the settlement between the waters was not strictly speaking fortified, though it probably had such defences as were usual on landed estates. The next in date of Anglo-Saxon allusions to Twinham are the records of the grant made in 939 to the Monastery of Milton in Dorset by Æthelstan of a weir on the Avon, and one in 955 of land on the banks of the same river, to Archbishop Dunstan by Eldred, which were probably both part of the property owned, as related below, by the Augustinian canons, when the Domesday Survey was drawn up.

In that all-important and incontrovertible statement of the

condition and ownership of the land of England in 1086 what is now the Hundred of Christchurch was divided into four districts named Shirley or Sirlei, Rodedic, Egheiete, and Bovre also called Boldre and Bovere, that was in course of time to become known as the New Forest, and to be separated from the original Hundred. In Shirley were situated the villages of Sopley, Ripley, Avon, Winkton, and various hamlets; in Rodedic the manors of Milford, Efford, Hordle or Hordwell, Arnewood, and Pilley, with part of that of Sway, and an eighth estate, the name of which is not given, though its extent is quoted as five virgates, a virgate being equal to about thirty acres, the exact amount varying in different properties. Egheiete included Thuinam, Holdenhurst, Hurn, Chenep or Knapp, Stanpit, Hubborn, Bashley, and Bortel, with a few hides of land outside the district that were specially referred to in a charter of 1170. In Bovre were a portion of the Manor of Sway, and the whole of the estates of Walhampton, Ossemsley, Fernhill, Hinton Admiral, Beckley, Highcliff, Milton, and part of Ashley.

As late as 1176 Shirley, Rodedic, and Egheiete were still separate hundreds, whilst Bovere had been considerably altered in extent and assessment, and Holdenhurst had grown into a distinct division, the land in it having been probably taken out of the Hundred of Egheiete, which before another century had elapsed became absorbed into Shirley and Rodedic. In 1263 Holdenhurst Hundred comprised not only the whole of the present Hundred of Christchurch, but also the large stretch of land on the west of the Stour that was to become known later as the Liberty of Westover, and to follow the same descent as Christchurch Manor, the Lord of which received its rents as well as those of Holdenhurst and of the more distant Lymington—the Lentune of the Domesday Survey—that was not separated from Christchurch until 1593.

As time went on the ever growing Manor of Christchurch became divided, as far as legal administration was concerned, into three districts, each with an independent Hundred Court of its own, called: Christchurch Proper or the town itself; Out-Christchurch or Christchurch Foreign, that included all the property of the Lord of the Manor on the east of the Stour; and Westover Liberty. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the last has been practically a separate hundred and now includes the densely populated Bournemouth, with its outlying dependencies including Tuckton, that before the building

of the first bridge from the sea over the Stour was but a tiny hamlet, Pokesdown, the name of which is a corruption of Puck's Down, the common on which it is built having been in popular belief haunted by the mischievous sprite of old English folklore, Boscombe, that some say was originally called Bass-combe because quantities of bass were once caught near the coast on which it is built, Ashley, Muccleshill, Throop, Holdenhurst, and Iford, the last still retaining a beautiful stone bridge that is alluded to as early as 1140 and is supposed to have superseded a ford passing across the river over an eye or islet in mid-stream, from which the hamlet probably takes its name.

In the Domesday Survey it is stated, under the heading "In Egheiete Hundert":

The King holds Thuinam in demesne. It belonged to King Edward's ferm and was then and now assessed at 1 virgate of land. There is land for thirteen ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs and there are 21 villeins and 5 bordars with 12 ploughs. There are 1 serf and 3 coliberts [peasant tenants superior to serfs but inferior to freemen] and 4 Radchenistri [or Radknights, that is to say, feudal tenants whose duties included service on horseback] with $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and a mill worth 5 shillings and 61 acres of meadow. The wood land is now in the King's forest; there were there formerly 5 villeins with 3 ploughs. In the borough of Thuinam are 31 messuages paying 16 pence gavel each, [gavel being a form of tribute that varied according to circumstances].

In the time of Edward the Confessor and for some years after his death the Thuinam property was valued at £19, but when the Domesday Survey was made it was assessed at £10 only, paying, however, £12 10s., it being added that "the part which is in the forest is valued at 12 pence and 10 shillings."

The further information is given in the Domesday Survey that some property was held in Chenep in Thuinam by the famous Hugh de Port, who was for many years one of the most prominent tenants in Hampshire, holding more than fifty manors, some direct from the King, others from Bishop Odo of Bayeux, the half-brother of the Conqueror. The actual words of the Survey are:

Hugh holds 1 hide in Chenep and Hugh [whose surname is not given] holds it of him. Three allodial owners held it in parage of King Edward and there were three halls. Then as now it was assessed at 1 hide. There is land for one plough, which is there with 1 serf and

THE WEIR, KNAPP MILL



there are a mill worth 20 shillings and a fishery worth 50 pence and 16 acres of meadow. In the time of Edward the Confessor it was worth 20 shillings; it is now worth 30 shillings.

The mill here referred to is now represented by Knapp Mill on the Avon, a mile above its junction with the Stour, replacing two earlier ones that were burnt down, one in 1760, the other a few years ago. All trace, however, of the manorial buildings is gone, and it is the same with those that once stood on Stanpeta now Stanpit, where Hugh de Port also held two estates of Bishop Odo, one of which had been the property under Edward the Confessor of a certain Wislac and the other of Godwine, a priest. One of these properties had a hall, was assessed at 1 hide, and was worth 15*s.*, the other consisted of 2 hides, had land for 2 ploughs, and employed 2 villeins and 2 bordars. It had 8 acres of meadow, was worth 20*s.* under the Confessor, 40*s.* under the Conqueror, and paid 60*s.*

It will be seen from these extracts from Domesday Book that at the time of Edward the Confessor the Manor of Thuinam, to be known later as that of Christchurch, was held by the King, as was also that of Westover or Westower, then probably co-extensive with that of Holdenhurst, then known as Holeest, Holehurst, or Holnest, the last still the local form of pronunciation. Both Westover and Holdenhurst were eventually to become appurtenant with Christchurch, following the same descent, so that the history of the three manors is inextricably interwoven. Westover was held under the Confessor by Earl Tostig, the brother of Harold; it owned a Saxon church, traces of which could until quite recently be made out near the modern village of Holdenhurst, and was valued at £44. In 1086 the extent of the Westover estate had been reduced to 18½ hides, whilst its value had fallen to £24. It was given by William the Conqueror to Hugh de Port, who thus became owner of the whole of the property, grants from which were later made by successive lords of the manor to the Priory.

An incidental proof that Twynham was of some little importance in early Norman days is the fact that there was a mint on the manor lands, though apparently it was but rarely used; very few examples of the coins stamped in it are in existence, one of which, a penny bearing the mark T.P.I.N., the P being the Saxon equivalent for W, is preserved in the British Museum. It has been suggested that William the Conqueror may have halted at Twynham on his way to the Isle of Wight, en route for Normandy,

after the meeting of the Witan at Salisbury in 1086, and that the mint was established there, the money struck in it being added to the treasure the King was collecting, as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from his new subjects.

After the death of William Rufus, the Manors of Twynham and Westover, the latter by that time having become one with that of Holdenhurst, were granted by Henry I to his favourite Baron Richard de Redvers. The united properties thus became what is known as a mesne borough, or one held from a tenant-in-chief under the king, retaining that position for a very long period. At the same time the overlordship of the College and Church of the Holy Trinity was given to Richard de Redvers, having been taken for that purpose from Ranulph Flambard—particulars of whose career are given below in connection with the story of Christchurch Priory—to whom it had been granted by William Rufus, but who had now fallen into disgrace, he having espoused the cause of the rival claimant for the throne. For a considerable length of time the secular and ecclesiastical properties of Christchurch were in the hands of one Lord of the Manor, with the result that their fortunes were bound up together, but they remained legally distinct, and for this reason, in spite of inevitable over-lapping, they will be considered separately, precedence being given to the former, because, as has been seen, its history can be traced further back than that of the latter.

The Richard de Redvers to whom Henry I granted the Manor of Twynham and the overlordship of the Priory of the same name, is supposed to have been the first feudal chief to give municipal privileges to his tenants. He is also said by some authorities to have been the founder of the Castle, portions of the keep and hall of which remain, that was probably added to and strengthened by his successors, and must originally have been a fine building, harmonizing well with the adjacent Priory and Church, but contrasting greatly with the humble homes of the retainers, clustering about it and forming the secular village of Twynham. The ruins of the keep rise from a mound that may possibly, though this cannot be proved, have been the site of the Anglo-Saxon burh referred to above. The Norman stronghold was evidently of rectangular plan, with walls some nine feet thick, of masonry made up partly of ironstone from the neighbouring Hengistbury Head and partly of stone from the Isle of Wight. Of the north and south walls the lowest courses are all that is left, but considerable portions of the other two with their window

openings are still *in situ*, and traces can be made out of the ditch that originally supplemented the mill-stream forming the eastern boundary of the precincts of the castle.

Overlooking that stream is one of the most interesting survivals of Norman domestic architecture in England, the ruins of a house probably of later date than the Castle, supposed to have been the residence of the castellan, and which in spite of its decay retains several most characteristic features. The walls remain almost intact but for a gap at the north-east angle caused by the fall some years ago of a square turret, which is supposed to have enclosed one of two stone staircases that led to the large hall known as the Soler or Upper Chamber. The house was evidently two stories high, the holes in the walls which held the beams of the upper floor being still visible, and as proved by certain ancient prints, it was flanked on the south-west by a Garderobe Tower, the lower block of masonry of which, pierced by an arched channel, alone remains, projecting over the stream that formed the Castle Moat, which is more than once referred to as the *fossatum castelli* in connection with the property belonging to the Priory of Christchurch.

The first story of the Norman house was apparently one large room with more than one entrance from the precincts of the Castle, and a water-gate, the low flat-headed archway of which is, however, not Norman. There were four narrow window openings in this room, one of which is now blocked up by the masonry of the Garderobe Tower, proving the latter to be of later date than the house itself. The Hall above—the holes for the beams of the floor of which, as has been said, can still be seen in the walls of the lower story—was also, it would appear, one vast apartment, in which the Lord of the Manor, his family, his guests, and his retainers had their meals together. It retains beautiful two-light window openings on the north-west and east, a principal doorway at the south end, with a smaller one that probably led to the kitchen and other domestic offices, now completely destroyed, a passage from the south-east corner giving access through the massive masonry to the Garderobe, and a wide open fireplace at the eastern end. The window openings are specially typical of the Norman style: slender stone shafts dividing the lights, the heads of which, especially that of the one in the north wall, a true gem of structure and ornamentation, are enriched with zig-zag and billet mouldings in good preservation, but unfortunately the fireplace, which was evidently equally

characteristic, is all but destroyed, though the well-restored circular chimney above it is still *in situ*.

Of the roof of the hall, which was probably an open timber one, not a single relic remains, but to atone for this the western gable of the house is almost intact, though it is so completely covered with ivy that its details are quite unrecognizable. The outer wall of the Castle precincts is supposed to have been originally continuous with the eastern one of the hall, for in an ancient engraving the beginning of such a wall is seen on the south-eastern side, the height of which was the same as that of the Garderobe.

Important as must have been the part played by the Castle and its dependencies, including the Castellan's House, in the history of Christchurch, there are unfortunately but few references to it in extant manuscript documents or early printed records. Norden in his "Chorographical Description of the Several Shires and Islands" (of Great Britain), published in 1595, after erroneously attributing the building of the keep to Edward the Elder, remarks: "which had thereto annexed many seignories and sundry lordships held of it and ought to perform thereunto great services," but he does not attempt to define what those great services should have been.

Elsewhere it is related, though no proofs of the story are given, that in 1145 Christchurch Castle was taken by Walter of Pinkney, who behaved with great barbarity to the garrison, with the result that the burgesses of the town gathered themselves together against him, resolving if peaceful means failed to take up arms in defence of their rights. A petition was drawn up and presented to the conqueror, to be indignantly and roughly repudiated by him, on which one of the deputation rushed upon him and slew him with a battleaxe. What revenge was taken for the bold deed is not known, nor is there any reference to the appointment of a successor in the government of the Castle. It is, however, very evident that from the first its upkeep, as an important defence of the whole district, was contributed to by various owners of outlying property, the Borough of Dorchester for instance, paying what was then the large sum of sixty shillings a year, and Richard de Fernhill, who owned land at Fernhill and Tostal, was liable for half that amount and one farthing on account of the latter. The Prior of Christchurch had to supply Castle guard for eight days a year because of land he owned at Sway, one Gregory Marshal for four days as owner of an estate

at Hinton, whilst a shorter term of service was rendered by Roger de Holehurst, Roger de Stanton, and other landed gentry, as stated in an assessment of Twynham Manor dating from the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Of the later history of the Castle very little is known, though with an occasional break, it followed the descent of the Manor and Hundred of Christchurch, of which it was the Caput or most important feature. In the reign of Edward I the wardship was entrusted to a certain John Bardolph, who still held it under Edward II, for it is recorded that in the eighth year after the accession of the latter a petition was presented to Parliament by the warden for the payment of an unsettled account for charges to which he had been put in respect of his wardship, which account had been duly sent up to the Exchequer. In 1307, the year of the accession of Edward II, orders were issued to the holder of the Castle to keep a good look out from it and to see to the defences during the absence of the King in France. In 1330 the wardship was granted to Sir Thomas West, who married Eleanor de Cantalupe of the De Mohun family thus becoming a connection of William de Montacute who in 1337 was created first Earl of Salisbury, and as related below had recently become the owner of the Manor of Christchurch. This Sir Thomas West was the ancestor of the namesake concerning whose tomb and that of his mother, Lady Alice West, in the Lady Chapel of the Priory Church, there has recently been so much controversy, and from the time of his appointment as Governor of the Castle the connection between his people and Christchurch was very close for several centuries.

Occasional references to Christchurch Castle occur in the accounts of the fortunes of the Montacutes, the modern form of whose name, by the way, is Montagu. The stronghold is referred to as the scene of the death of the second Earl of Salisbury whose will was dated Christchurch-Twyneham 20 April 1397, and lists of the fees appertaining to it are included in the Inquisition made after the execution at Cirencester of John de Montacute, third Earl of Salisbury, upon the failure of the conspiracy to restore to the throne the deposed Richard II. The Dowager Countess Elizabeth, widow of the attainted Earl, was living in the Castle in 1415, it having been part of her dower; in 1428 it was tenanted by a certain Henry Bydike and Alicia his wife, and between 1450 and 1464 it was occupied at intervals by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and his wife the Countess

Alice, who it is related paid the romantic and significant rent of a single red rose a year. During the reign of Richard III John Horton, a favourite of that monarch, held the wardship of the Castle; in Tudor times the office was more than once bestowed on some commoner as a reward for services rendered by him to the state, and amongst the Corporation Records of Christchurch are various entries of payments made for the "castel rent," notably one of six shillings and eleven pence in 1593, which represented the fee farm rent of the borough payable to the lord of the manor.

Edward VI was several times in Christchurch for the benefit of his health during his brief reign, and probably resided at the Castle. More than one letter from him, notably that to his beloved friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick, was dated from it, and though his sister Mary was never there, she kept control over it, taking care that it was well looked after. In a statement of the expenses of government under Elizabeth occurs the interesting item: "Christ-Church: Constable of the Castle: fee £8. o. 9.," and about a century later it is set forth in a Survey taken of the Twynham property that Sir Henry Wollop had been High Constable of the stronghold, whilst the important statement is made: "the Constable of the Castle or his deputy upon the apprehension of any felon within the liberty of Westowing (Westover) had to receive him and convey him to the police and the jail at his own proper cost and charges or otherwise the tithingman might bring the said felon and chain him to the Castle gate and there leave him." To this somewhat gruesome information is added the comparatively trivial regulation: "Cattle impounded in the Castle having hay and water for twenty-four hours to pay fourpence per foot."

These quotations afford an incidental proof that the Castle was not dismantled when the Inquisition was made, although its demolition had been decided on in 1650, when, after a conference between a committee of the Council of State and the chief officers of the Commonwealth, an order was issued to the Governor of Southampton to see to its destruction. It is evident that nothing was done to carry out this drastic measure, for there is a reference in the State Papers under the date 22 July 1651, which is summarized in the Calendar of those documents in the following words:

The Council of State wrote from Whitehall to three Justices of the Peace for the County of Hampshire stating that the fort at Christchurch

remains undemolished and there are guns mounted on it without any guard, which may be of ill consequence to the peace of the country and give an opportunity to the enemies to put their destructive designs in execution, their disaffection wanting no greater encouragement than the advantages of such a hold. The justices are to take special care that the said fort be totally demolished and the guns removed to the garrison of Pool.

Whether this command was immediately obeyed or not there is absolutely no evidence to prove, but it is probable that the escape from destruction of the few relics remaining was the result of accident, not design. As late as 1793 the Castellan's House was still in a fair state of preservation and the Garderobe turret referred to above was uninjured, but it was pulled down soon after that, and if it had not been for the earnest efforts of the Rev. William Jackson, who was Vicar of Christchurch from 1778 to 1802, and the public indignation aroused by articles in the press from his pen and those of other enthusiasts, the beautiful example of Norman domestic architecture would probably have been completely swept away. Fortunately the picturesque ruin, at present included in the property rented by the landlord of the King's Arms Hotel opposite to it in Castle Street—much frequented by those who come to Christchurch for salmon and other fishing—is now carefully preserved from further disrespect and is looked upon by the people of Christchurch as a valuable heirloom.

A very realistic and probably accurate description of the Castle and the Castellan's House as they were in the fourteenth century is given by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in "The White Company." He speaks of "the square and darkling Tower of the Keep," and tells how Alleyne, the hero of his story, "hailed the sight after his wanderings in the New Forest of the noble Church and frowning Castle rising up above the straggling broad-spread town," going on to relate how he watched the doughty knight, Sir Nigel Loring, issue forth with his lady on his arm to take his dogs for an evening breather.

Sixty or seventy of them [says Sir Arthur] . . . deer hound, boar hound, wolf hound, mastiff, alaun, talbot, lurcher, terrier, spaniel, . . . with lolling tongues and waving tails came surging down the narrow lane leading from the Twynham kennels to the bank of the Avon. Two russet-clad varlets, with loud halloo and cracking of whips, walked thigh-deep among the throng, guiding, controlling and urging. On the bridge [that still spans the water] Sir Nigel and Lady Loring paused,

and leaning their elbows on the stonework, stood looking down [as do countless visitors to Christchurch at the present day] at their own faces in the stream and at the swift flash of speckled trout against the tawny gravel.

Black [says Sir Arthur] was the mouth of Twynham Castle when Alleyne and his companions approached it, though a pair of torches burning at the further end of the gateway cast a red glare over the outer bailey and sent a dim, ruddy flicker through the rough-hewn arch, rising and falling with fitful brightness. . . . As they passed over the draw-bridge Alleyne marked the gleam of arms in the embrasures to right and left, and they had scarce set foot upon the causeway ere a hoarse blare burst forth from a bugle, and with a screech of hinge and clank of chain the ponderous bridge swung up into the air, drawn by unseen hands. At the same instant the huge portcullis came rattling down from above and shut off the last fading light of day. . . . Erected [continues the author of this poetic realization of a daily incident of feudal times] in the old fighting days of the twelfth century, when men thought much of war and little of comfort, Castle Twynham had been designed as a stronghold pure and simple, unlike those later and more magnificent structures where warlike strength had been combined with the magnificence of a palace. . . . There were the broad outer and inner bailies, not paved, but sown with grass to nourish the sheep and cattle which might be driven in on sign of danger. All round were high and turreted walls, with at the corner a bare square-faced keep, gaunt and windowless, rearing up from a lofty mound which made it almost inaccessible to an assailant. Against the bailey walls were rows of frail wooden houses and leaning sheds which gave shelter to the archers and men-at-arms who formed the garrison. . . . As designed at first no dwelling had been allotted to the lord of the Castle but the dark and dismal basement story of the keep. A more civilized or effeminate generation had, however, refused to be pent up in such a cellar, and the hall, with its neighbouring chambers, had been added for their accommodation. To the folding oak doors of this hall [Sir Arthur explains] a broad flight of steps led up, and great was the surprise of Alleyne when he found himself in a lofty and richly-furnished room, replete with every luxury known at the time. In the great stone fireplace [says the author of the charming romance] a log fire was sparking and crackling, throwing out a ruddy glare which, with the four bracket lamps which stood one at each corner of the room, gave a bright and lightsome air to the whole apartment. Above was a wreath work of blazonry, extending up to the carved and corniced oaken roof, while on either side stood the high canopied chairs placed for the master of the house and his most honoured guest. The walls were hung all round with most elaborate and brightly-coloured tapestry . . . and behind this convenient screen were stored the tables dormant and the benches which would be needed for banquet or high festivity. The floor was of polished

tiles with a square of red and black diapered Flemish carpet in the centre, and many settees, cushions, folded chairs, and carved bancals littered all over it. At the further end was a long black buffet or dresser, thickly covered with gold cups, silver salvers, and other such valuables.¹

On the death of Richard de Redvers he was succeeded by his son Baldwin, first Earl of Devon, who appears to have been even more generous to his tenants than his father. In a Charter of 1150, now lost, though the contents are revealed by a later confirmation which was witnessed by a Countess Lucy, who is supposed to have been his wife, he granted exemption from the gavel or service of standing in the market; from the custody and support of prisoners, the payment of a penny tax on ale hitherto exacted at Whitsuntide; the reaping of a portion of the manorial crops; the toll of salt and other tribute, the total amount of tallage or feudal fees being reduced to little more than twelve marks a year. It was to the same Earl that the burgesses owed their first market, held on Mondays throughout the year, the tolls levied amounting for a long period to seventy shillings per annum, and also their annual Trinity Fair, a tithe of the profits of which was given to the Priory until about 1200, when the amount was increased by twenty shillings a year. Eventually the fair appears to have passed entirely into the hands of the Prior, for it is recorded that it was leased in 1620 by the Prince of Wales, who then held the Priory estate, to the Mayor of Christchurch at a rent of sixpence a year.

The life of Earl Baldwin de Redvers was sorely troubled through his espousal of the cause of the Empress Maud and the consequent enmity of King Stephen. The Castle at Twynham was attacked by the royal forces and taken by them; during the siege many were slain on both sides, and the skeletons that were found in some excavations undertaken in the nineteenth century are supposed to have been those of certain of the victims. Compelled to flee for his life, Earl Baldwin was restored to favour shortly before his death, and was able to bequeath the Twynham Manor to his son and namesake, known as Baldwin the second, who in a Charter—in which the name of Christchurch as applied to the secular property between the waters occurs for the first time—confirmed the gifts of his father and grandfather to the Canons of the Holy Trinity at Twynham.

Earl Baldwin the second having died without issue, the Christchurch estate passed to his brother Richard, and as he

¹ Quoted by permission of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

too was childless the property was inherited by his uncle William de Redvers, called De Vernon after a castle owned by him in Normandy. In 1200 Earl William gave the Twynham Manor to his daughter Joan as part of her marriage portion, on her union with Hubert de Burgh, and it is interesting to note that King John was several times at Christchurch while she was Lady of the Manor. It was in 1206 during her tenancy that the Constable of Southampton received orders to take up and man all ships capable of carrying horses, at Christchurch as well as at the more important ports of the coast, to aid in the expedition about to be undertaken by the King, who sailed from Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight for Rochelle, in June of that year.

As the Countess Joan died before her father, leaving no children, the Christchurch estate reverted to him, and he bequeathed it to his grandson Baldwin de Redvers, sixth Earl of Devon, then under age, who was placed by his feudal overlord Henry III under the guardianship, first of Fulke de Bréauté, and later of Richard Earl of Cornwall. In due course Baldwin took up the reins of government himself, and on his death he was succeeded by his son and namesake Baldwin the seventh Earl. There are unfortunately no extant records throwing light on the relations between the various Lords of the Manor and their tenants, between the death of Baldwin the second and the accession to the property of the seventh Earl, but it is incidentally stated that during the minority of the sixth Earl the fisheries of the Stour and Avon were valued at one time at six pounds, and at another at three pounds twelve shillings. To atone for the paucity of information about his immediate predecessors, however, many details concerning the united manors of Christchurch, Westover, and Holdenhurst, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, can be gleaned by a careful examination of the charters granted. Of these one of the most important was that given by Baldwin, the seventh Earl of Devon, which can be identified as his through the reference in it to his mother Amicia.

Earl Baldwin's Charter appears to have been drawn up in 1244, soon after his accession to the property, and is characteristic of the noble and generous temperament of its author. In it he confirmed to his tenants their old market rights, their privilege of pasture in the meadows of Stockmead, Beremead, and Bernardsmead, after the carrying of the season's hay, on payment of the small sum of thirty shillings a year, exemption from the obligation of ransoming their sons and daughters, a most signi-

ficant clause reflecting as it does the inner working of the feudal system, for it refers in the case of males to a capitation tax legally known as cleavage, and in that of females to the remission of a fine known as merchet, paid by a father to his feudal lord on the marriage of a daughter. These two greatly valued privileges, that removed certain specially odious restrictions on individual liberty, were, however, already enjoyed under the previous earl, his widow Amicia having, it is stated, given evidence to that effect.

The Earl Baldwin de Redvers, who gave or confirmed this much valued charter to his people, is referred to in certain ancient records as holding his fief partly in return for the services of fifteen knights and partly by what was called tenure by sergentry, that is to say by virtue of the performance of certain non-military duties that varied in different estates, such as the guarding of prisoners in jails, the tending of the royal falcons, etc. What the Earl's actual obligations were it is impossible to determine, but the principle involved is very characteristic of the way in which the Crown when short of funds gave land to those it wished to reward, on conditions of service that were considered honourable even by men of high rank, and became hereditary in their families.

In 1257 the King granted to Earl Baldwin of Christchurch the right of holding a second fair on his manor on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Faith, all the tolls, stallage, or rent of booths and stalls and other profits of which were given by the Earl, with the exception of a few reservations in favour of himself and his heirs, to the burgesses, who enjoyed them for a very long period. It was not in fact until 1872 that the fair of St. Faith was finally abolished, surviving by many years that of Trinity Thursday, which ceased to be held in 1846.

Earl Baldwin's only son John died before his father, and the latter bequeathed the Manor which by this time had greatly increased in value, and was already divided into Christchurch Proper, Christchurch Foreign or Out-Christchurch, and Westover, to his sister Isabel de Fortibus, widow of the Earl of Albemarle. On the death of the testator, which took place in 1262, an Inquisition was held into the extent of the property left by him, which showed that there were 118 holdings in *terre nomine bergi*, that is to say in Christchurch Proper and many others in *terra forinesca* or Christchurch Foreign and Westover, some tenants renting three or four or one holding, others only portions of one,

the amount paid by them varying from twopence to a shilling per holding, the majority being assessed at the latter sum. Some forty years later another Inquisition was made, from which it may be gathered that holdings had increased in number and rents, which were in many cases paid in kind, had slightly risen between the two dates. It is stated in the later Survey that of 228 borough holdings, forty-six were in *terra forinesca*, whilst two hundred others were classed as *burgagia*, that is to say holdings with certain special privileges attached to them that varied in different localities. Both classes of holdings were held, some by one tenant, others by several; Godfrey the baker and Margary the cordwainer, for instance, renting a small portion only of one; Robert the Chaplain paying one penny rent at Michaelmas for land adjoining the Castle ditch; a certain Richard Feron a shilling and a halfpenny at the Feast of the Holy Trinity for what is described as *terra in aqua*, or land by the water, and the almoner of the Priory one shilling at the Feast of St. John the Baptist for a *selda*, a word signifying a stall or shed. It is further stated in this invaluable and most interesting record that one Robert Kene owed two barbed arrows or one penny for a portion of a holding; John de Veyl paid one shilling and one pound of wax at Michaelmas for his holding, and another tenant, whose name is not given, a pound of cummin for his.

In these early days the outlying district of Portfield, that included 125 acres, was divided amongst many holders, the most important of whom, one Philip de Bathampton, held twenty-four acres, paying four shillings or two pence an acre a year, whilst the most insignificant held but one acre, for which he paid two capons per annum. In addition to these rents one penny each was paid by buyer and seller to the Lord of the Manor when any *burgagia* holding changed hands, and such burgesses of Christchurch as owned cattle or horses had to give to their feudal superior what was known as a heriot or the best of their beasts, a tribute that in the first case represented a return to the feudal Lord on the death of a tenant of the horses and weapons lent by the former to the latter for life only. Moreover, the king as overlord could claim the second best sheep from every flock of Wick in Westover, in return for which his tenants were allowed to pasture their flocks and herds on the arable lands of his demesne, west of what was at one time called Hengistbury Ditch.

Certain other privileges of the burgesses of the ancient Borough of Christchurch are still enjoyed by their modern representatives, namely, the right to cut turf, to dig sand, clay, or gravel for their own use, though not for profit, and to pasture their sheep and cattle on St. Catherine's Hill, sometimes called Turf Delph or the Town Common. Until within the last 150 years similar rights were owned by the people on Cowards, originally Cow Herds' Marsh, which are now restricted to those who pay a small fee for pasturage of their cattle, though all are free to roam about on it, whilst the open spaces known as Ogber on the Marsh, Millhams between the Millstream and the Avon, Barlins on the eastern bank of that river, and Quomps on the Stour, are open to householders of the old borough, the first three from Lammas Day (1 August) to Candlemas Day (2 February), and the third throughout the whole year for the pasturage of horses and cattle.

Until comparatively recently no less than 400 acres on the north of Christchurch, called Portfield—a name retained by one of the wards of the present municipality—were free to the burgesses of Christchurch for pasturage from Lammas to Candlemas days, but after the passing of the Enclosure Act of 1878 these public rights were abolished, and the greater portion of the vast common was enclosed, ten acres being reserved for a Peoples' Recreation Ground, and fifteen as a stint ground in compensation to those whose rights, held for so many centuries, were infringed.

The Stint Ground, the name of which signifies a regulated pasture, is the meadow on the left hand side of the road below Tuckton Bridge, bounded by the River Stour, and the following portion of a letter in the possession of the Christchurch Corporation may be quoted here as an explanation of the exact nature of such a ground:

And I further declare that I have allotted $129\frac{1}{2}$ sheep stints or right of pasture on the said regulated Pasture Ground. I direct and appoint that one sheep or Ewe with unweaned lamb or lambs be admitted to such regulated Pasture. In respect of one such sheep or two weaned lambs in respect of one such sheep stint and that they be so admitted in respect of every eight such sheep stints.

One milch Cow, Ox, horse or Ass

Or two heifers under 30 months old

Or four weaned calves under one year old.

CHAPTER III

THE LATER HISTORY OF TWYNHAM MANOR

ON the succession in 1262 of Isabel de Fortibus to the ownership of Christchurch Manor a fresh chapter in its history began, marked by the granting of new privileges to the tenants, and also unfortunately by constant disputes between different claimants to the valuable assets accruing from the property. Isabel did not reside on her estate until shortly before her death, which took place in 1293, for it was leased, or according to some authorities held in dower until 1292 by Margaret, widow of her brother, and then the wife of Robert Aiguillon. In 1267 Margaret sued her feudal superior for trespass upon her domain at Christchurch, and for taking the profits of the Manor, to which she considered that she herself had the first claim. How the dispute was decided is not recorded, and it is difficult to determine exactly what the position with regard to the property of the nominal head of the estate really was at the time. It was evidently Isabel, not Margaret, who enjoyed the liberties attached to the Manor, which on her inheritance of it included what were known as sac and soc, that is to say, the right of holding Courts, trying causes, and inflicting fines; tol and tem, or the power of buying and selling, levying toll on goods sold in the market, and taxing property within the limits of the Manor; infangenthef, or the franchise of pronouncing judgement on thieves taken on the estate; assize of bread and ale, or the right of presiding over a court to determine the prices at which bread and beer were to be sold; the liberty of erecting gallows for the execution of criminals, and the right of taking possession of vessels wrecked on the neighbouring coast, the memory of which, though the actual privilege has long been in abeyance, is still preserved in the title given to the present Lord of the Manor of "Lord of the Shore."

The story goes that a few hours before her death Isabel de Fortibus executed a deed bequeathing much of her property, including Christchurch Manor, to Edward I, who was, however,

already her feudal Lord, the reason for the bequest being that she did not wish her next of kin, Hugh de Courtenay, a distant relation only, to inherit the estate on the Stour. However this may have been, there was certainly an interregnum in the descent of the Manor after she passed away, in spite of the fact that Hugh de Courtenay, and later his son and namesake, petitioned Parliament again and again for restitution of their rights. In 1299 Edward I gave the Castle, Hundred, and Borough of Christchurch and the Manor of Westover to his second wife, Margaret, who appears to have looked very closely after the affairs of her newly acquired property, which increased considerably in value during her tenancy, and on her death was assessed as worth £120 a year. In 1306 Christchurch received its first summons to return a member for Parliament, and similar orders were issued to it in 1307 and 1308, but no burgess was elected, and it was not until more than two centuries later that the Borough was represented in the National Assembly, probably because the town could not afford to pay a member. In 1314 Queen Margaret caused an action to be brought against certain persons whom she accused of having committed trespass on her estate, but what was the result is not recorded. On her death in 1317 the Christchurch-Westover property was given as part of her dower to Isabella, wife of Edward II, and in 1318 the new Lady of the Manor obtained several important privileges not enjoyed by her predecessors. These included the right to all fines and other pecuniary penalties, levied on her tenants in any of the king's courts, and what were known as deodands—the name of which signifies literally anything given to God—that were not finally abolished until 1846, and consisted of any personal chattels which had been the cause of the death of a man or an animal, for instance a cart that had run over either. Such chattels were forfeited to the king, and were applied by him to some religious use, or they were sold and the money realized was distributed to the poor by the royal almoner.

Amongst the treasures owned by the Christchurch Corporation are three Letters of Indulgence, remitting forty days of penance to all who should aid in the building or repair of the bridge, supposed to have been that which occupied the site of the present Waterloo Bridge at Christchurch, referred to as Christchurche de Twyneham, that reflect, as does the custom of the dedication of deodands to the service of God, the religious feeling of the time at which they were issued. They were also

significant of the fact that the erection and keeping in order of bridges was long considered a special work of piety, several saints, including St. Bénézet of Avignon, having owed their canonization to their zeal in that direction. The first letter, dated 4 July 1331, is from the ill-fated Simon Mepeham, who occupied the see of Canterbury from 1328 to 1353, and died of a broken heart after he fell under the displeasure of the Pope. The second, bearing date 1367, is from Bishop Hernasius of Bangor, and the third dated 6 December 1373, from Wilfrid, Archbishop of Damascus, whose connection with Christchurch is somewhat difficult to explain, though it has been suggested that he was a suffragan of the Bishop of Winchester.

In 1330 the Manor of Christchurch changed hands once more, Queen Isabella having resigned it to her son Edward III, who shortly afterwards granted it to William de Montacute, or Montagu, and Katherine his wife, adding to the privileges already appurtenant to it several others, including the right to the property of any convicted criminals or fugitives from justice taken on the estate. Seven years later the new Lord of the Manor was created Earl of Salisbury, and for more than a century the fortunes of Christchurch-Westover were closely bound up with those of the noble family to which it belonged. As is well known, the Earls of Salisbury took a most important share in the politics of their day, more than one of them paying with his life for his devotion to the cause he espoused. The first Earl died a natural death, and his widow passed away five years later, the Christchurch property with the rest of the family estates being inherited by their son William de Montacute, the second holder of the title. He was succeeded by his nephew John, the favourite of Richard II, who held the Manor until his execution at Cirencester in 1400, when all his property was forfeited to the Crown, to be restored a little later to his son Thomas, who was allowed to take the title of fourth Earl of Salisbury. He died in 1428, leaving one child only, a daughter named Alice, whose husband, Sir Richard Neville, was made Earl of Salisbury, and held the Manor in right of his wife until after the battle of Wakefield in 1460, when he was beheaded. His son Richard, Earl of Warwick, the famous King-maker, succeeded him, and retained the property until his death on the field of Barnet in 1471, when it passed to his daughter Isabel, wife of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, who died in 1478, soon after giving birth to her only son, the unfortunate Edward

Plantagenet, who after spending the greater part of his sad life in the Tower was beheaded in 1499. The Duke of Clarence died two years after his wife, and his son was never allowed to take up the inheritance of any of his ancestral property, which all reverted to Henry VII. In 1485 the King gave the estate of Christchurch to his mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who held it until her death in 1509, the year of the accession to the throne of her grandson, Henry VIII. Four years later that monarch granted it, with the rest of the family estates, to the true heir, Lady Margaret Plantagenet, the representative alike of the Plantagenets and the Nevilles, and the last descendant in the direct line of the former. Lady Margaret married Sir Richard Pole, and was the mother of the famous Reginald Pole who took so important a part in the struggle between Henry VIII and the Pope. The Lady Margaret was now permitted to take the title of Countess of Salisbury, and for many years she held the Christchurch property, but in 1539 she and her eldest son, Lord Montacute, were both arrested on a charge of high treason. The latter was beheaded on Tower Hill that same year, and the former in 1541, all her possessions being at the same time confiscated by the Crown. For two whole years the aged Countess was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, refusing to acknowledge the justice of the accusations against her, and when at last she was led forth to die she would not lay her head upon the block, but exclaimed, "so should traitors do and I am none." Then turning her head away from him, she challenged the executioner to get at it as best he could, and he, as related in Lord Herbert's "Life and Raigne of King Henry VIII," published in 1649, "was constrained to fetch it off slovenly." A chantry described below in the account of the Priory Church had been prepared at Christchurch by the Countess for her own interment and that of her children, but her mutilated body was buried in St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower, where it still remains.

For eight years after the impeachment of the last of the Plantagenets no new Lord of the Manor of Christchurch was appointed. In 1539 a certain Lewis ap Hoel was made bailiff of the estate at a yearly salary of forty shillings, and in 1541 he was superseded by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who held the complex position of Steward of the Manor, Bailiff of the Hundred and Constable of the Castle. In 1547, however, Edward VI, who was in Christchurch in 1552, when a Privy Council was held

there, granted the Castle and Hundred to his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, after whose execution in 1552 it was transferred to Sir John Gate, who had hardly obtained possession of it when he, too, fell into disgrace. In 1554 the whole of the Christchurch property, then designated as the Castle, Borough, Hundred, and Manor of Christchurch, valued at £16 4s., and the Liberty and Hundred of Westover, valued at £75 11s. 5½d. a year, which continued to remain for all practical purposes a single estate until the last decade of the eighteenth century, was granted by Queen Mary to Catherine, wife of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and granddaughter of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who, as has been seen, was beheaded in 1541. The property was thus restored to the family which had been connected with it so long, and on the death of the Countess of Huntingdon, who survived her husband for some years, it passed to her eldest son, and he having died without issue, it was inherited by his brother George. In 1597 the latter transferred it to his second son, Henry Hastings, by whom it was sold in 1601 to the future first Lord Arundell of Wardour.

The above record of the descent of Christchurch Manor from the eleventh to the close of the sixteenth century will show that it was associated in very early times with the names of the makers of the history of England, and there can be little doubt that a town of considerable extent had gathered about the Castle, Priory, and Church. The exact constitution of the ancient municipal Corporation is somewhat uncertain, and it is doubtful whether it had received a definite charter. Its officers were, however, certainly very closely connected with the Manor, and were elected in its court leet. The municipal body consisted of a Port-Reeve, a Bailiff, two Constables, an Ale-taster, and a Hayward who was also *ex-officio* Town Crier. The title of Port-Reeve was superseded by that of Mayor in the late fifteenth century, possibly earlier than that, for though there is no actual reference to a Mayor of Christchurch in the Court Rolls, there exists amongst the ancient documents preserved relating to the Borough, an agreement dated 1486, between Henry VII and the Mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Christchurch for the payment of £1,000 within twelve months. Elsewhere is preserved a reference to the witnessing by John Beryl, Mayor of Christchurch, of a sixteenth-century agreement relating to some freehold property, and there are also allusions to the enjoyment by the Mayor of the profits of the weekly markets that had pre-

viously, as has been seen, belonged to the burgesses. The ancient seal of the Borough, the date of the first use of which is uncertain, is reproduced on the cover of this volume, and represents a figure of our Lord seated within a canopied niche, with His right hand uplifted in benediction, the design being enclosed in the inscription: SI: COMVNE: VILLE: ECCLIE: TWINEH'M. This device is stamped upon the modern mayoral badge, which and the chain on which it is suspended were subscribed for in 1898 by various members of the then Town Council. The chief links of the chain bear certain ancient coats of arms, the central one having a rearing white horse on a red ground, the emblem of the old Saxon kings and the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, that on the left a wyvern or fabulous winged creature on a blue ground, which was the crest of Earl Richard de Redvers, and that on the right, a lion rampant on a sable ground, the device of Earl Baldwin de Redvers and his descendants. The ancient mace, which is of silver parcel gilt, has on it the royal arms of the time of Charles II, and the inscription: "Maiori et Burgensibus de . . . Christchurch Twynham," whilst at the base is engraved the name of Henry Hastings, Maior 1662, who is supposed to have been the son of the Henry Hastings to whom, as stated above, the Manor of Christchurch was granted in 1597.

The old Corporation of Christchurch consisted of twelve burgesses, one of whom was elected Mayor every year in the following manner. The burgesses selected two whose names were submitted to such of the inhabitants as paid what was known as scot and lot, an obsolete method of taxation long since replaced by rates and taxes. The election took place in the Castle on the 18th of September every year, and the Mayor was sworn in in the Court House within the Castle enceinte. It will thus be seen that the old Borough was of manorial not parochial origin, being conterminous with the Manor, whilst the parish was of very much greater extent.

In the troubled times of the Civil War, the distracted state of the country was reflected in riots at Christchurch, during one of which, in 1650, the Mayor was in danger of being assassinated, whilst thirty years later, when Charles II was on the throne, an even more serious disturbance took place, the Sheriff having been stoned, and the Mayor having been compelled to flee for his life. It is very evident, therefore, that the office of Mayor was no sinecure and the fact that the Borough had never been properly incorporated rendered his position most insecure. In

1637 the then Lord of the Manor, Lord Arundell, particulars of whose tenure of the property are given below, petitioned Parliament against the appointment of a certain John Hildersley as Mayor, on the ground that the so-called Corporation had no legal status. To remedy this anomaly, the chief burgesses succeeded in 1670 in getting a charter of incorporation drawn up, the municipal body to consist of a Mayor and twenty-four burgesses, but though that charter was actually enrolled in the Letters Patent it was very soon after annulled, and Christchurch had to wait for a real charter carrying the privileges asked for until 1886, when it received one under the Municipal Corporations Act.

From very early times the Manor of Christchurch had its own separate courts held every three weeks, and also what was known as the "View of frankpledge" a modified survival of Anglo-Saxon days, that consisted of a half-yearly gathering for inspection of all the tenants in frankpledge, that is to say, of all the male members of a holding over twelve years of age, who were held responsible not only for any damage they themselves might have committed, but for that of their co-tenants, those subject to the law of frankpledge being divided into tithings or groups of ten.

Except during the Commonwealth, two members were sent to Parliament from Christchurch, the Mayor acting as returning officer, one member having been nominated by the Lord of the Manor, the other by the Corporation, from 1571 until the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. A letter from the Earl of Leicester, dated 28 October 1584, in the possession of the Christchurch Corporation recommended a *protégé* of the writer, Nevill by name, as one of the members, but his candidature was not successful, a nominee of the Earl of Huntingdon having been chosen. Since 1832 the town has only been allowed to send one representative to Parliament, although the number of those entitled to vote has increased enormously.

Strange to say, in spite of the evident growth in political and municipal dignity of the town "betwixt the rivers" its commercial activity appears to have been rather on the decrease in the sixteenth century. Christchurch is described by Prior John Draper in 1538 "as situate and set in a very barren country out and far from all highways in an angle or a corner having no woods, nor any commodious country about it, nor nigh no good town but only the said poor town of Christchurch which is a very poor

town and slenderly inhabited." To remedy this melancholy state of things an attempt was made some thirty years later by a certain John Hastings to introduce from Holland the manufacture of what he called frizados, that is to say, a kind of frieze cloth from Haarlem, and having, to quote his own words, "with great charge, cost, and travails sett up and brought to perfection the making of such frizados and other commodities in the port town of Christchurch" he sent up a petition to Queen Elizabeth "that she would grant him all her houses and lands in the district at fee farm," offering "to render for the same the decayed rents of the town" of which he explained she was now defrauded owing to the poverty of her tenants. If only the Queen would grant this request her petitioner declared he "would be bound within a few years to furnish with armour and weapons sorted mete and serviceable a hundred able men of such as shalbe sett at work and inhabit there, wich shalbe not onlie to the strengthening of these partes being now weak, throughe lack of habitation but also maye searve for the protection of the Isle of Wight or any other service."

That Queen Elizabeth turned a deaf ear to this somewhat one-sided proposal is scarcely to be wondered at, and whether Hastings was or was not discouraged by her silence there is no evidence to prove, but he appears to have persevered in his efforts to give employment to the poor of Christchurch, obtaining in 1569 a patent for dyeing and finishing cloth for twenty years, the working of which brought him into conflict with the manufacturers of Coggeshall, as the sale of their so-called "broad bayes" which the Dutch friezes somewhat resembled, began to fall off. Costly litigation ensued, but John Hastings was not daunted by it, and continued to superintend the production of his frizados, quantities of which were exported to Spain and Portugal. Not until after the death of Hastings did the industry decline, but it was practically extinct before the close of the seventeenth century.

Hastings and the writer of 1538 quoted above seem to have taken a needlessly pessimistic view of the state of things in Christchurch, which is alluded to in William Camden's "Britannia," published in 1586 "as a small populous seaport," for there is no doubt that the Lords of the Manor and their chief tenants reaped considerable profits from the fisheries of the Avon and Stour in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As early as 1299 eighty-three salmon were valued at

£8 10s., and lampreys, eels, and white fish realized about £3, the wages paid to fishermen amounting only to 3s. 4d. a year, whilst repairs to the weirs on the Avon and Stour represented an outlay of £1 7s. 3d. By the fifteenth century the annual value of the lamprey fishery alone was £1 12s. 11d., the Prior paying the Lord of the Manor £2 13s. 4d. for the right of fishing in the two rivers. By the time the Christchurch-Westover property passed to Lord Arundell of Wardour in 1601, the salmon fishery was worth £100 a year, and as time went on the value increased tenfold, reaching as high a figure as £1,000 in the early eighteenth century.

Considerable light is thrown on the agricultural and social conditions in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of Christchurch and the district of which it was so long the chief town, by the municipal records, that well deserve careful study. Heavy taxes, that on wool being specially oppressive, burdened the farmer, and the open field system which had prevailed since Anglo-Saxon times had impoverished the soil, but before the close of the sixteenth century there were signs of a true revival, the result of improved methods of cultivation. No longer in the seventeenth century as in the fifteenth could cocks and hens be bought for 2d. each, oxen for 20s., or store pigs for 2s. 6d., nor could labourers be induced to mow crops for 2s. an acre, more than double that having been paid on the Christchurch Manor lands. In his charming book on the New Forest, published in 1863, John R. Wise gives the following interesting quotations from what he calls the "Chamberlain's Books" of the Borough of Christchurch—a name by the way no longer in use.

In 1578 [he says] lime was 6^d a bushel, from which price it fell in two years to 2^d. Stone for building was a shilling a ton. Wages averaged for a skilled mechanic from 7^d to 1^s a day, for a labourer 4^d, whilst night watchmen were only paid 2^d in 1597. Timber on the other hand was comparatively dear. Thus in 1588 we find 9^d paid for two posts, 20 pence for a plank and two posts, whilst a few years afterwards a shilling is paid for making a new gate . . . in 1595 a pottle of claret wine and sugar cost 2^s, whilst a quart of sack was only 12^d. In 1582 a quart of whyte wine is 5^d and twenty years before this a barrel and a half of beer cost 4^d. Again in 1562 . . . large salmon—their weights not specified—appear to have averaged 7^d a piece. A load of straw came to 2^s 6^d and in some cases to 3^s which in 1550 had been as low as 8^d and never above 20^d. Drawing it or passing it through a machine cost 4^d whilst a thatcher received 1^s 4^d for his labour of putting it on the roof. At the

same time a load of clay, either for making mortar or for the actual material of the walls, the "cob" or "pug" of the provincial dialect, was 5^d, a price at which it had stood with some slight variations for many years. . . . A thousand peats perhaps brought from the Forest, cost in 1562 15^d whilst a load of fursn [still the local plural of furze] was 8^d. In 1586 a coking stole, the well-known *cathedra stercoris*, the old English scealfig-stol or ducking-stool is charged 10^d whilst a collar elsewhere called an iron choker for vagabonds, cost 14^d [the last being a band that was in olden times worn by prisoners and serfs as a mark for identification].

In Stuart times the connection between Christchurch and the Crown became for a time even closer than it had been under the Tudors. A favourite of James I, Lord Arundell—who as stated above had become the owner of the Manor through purchase in 1601—received from that king not only confirmation of all the privileges enjoyed by his predecessors, but the additional one of exemption from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, with the right of himself holding a court between high and low water in all matters connected with the sea. This new grant naturally caused considerable friction between the Lord of the Manor and the naval authorities, and constant quarrels arose, Lord Arundell objecting to his tenants giving evidence in any court but his own, so that justice was often frustrated. What special advantages accrued to him it is difficult to perceive, and since his death, which took place in 1639, the privilege appears to have been entirely in abeyance.

Lord Arundell was succeeded in the possession of the Christchurch estates by his son-in-law, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and later after changing hands several times they became the property, in 1665, of the famous statesman and historian, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, he having bought them from the representative of the heirs of Lord Arundell. The trusted counsellor of Charles I and the devoted adherent of Charles II through all the vicissitudes of his chequered career, Lord Clarendon, as is well known, was a man of resource, able to turn to account the most apparently adverse circumstances. He had not long been Lord of the Manor of Christchurch before it occurred to him that the estuary of the rivers might be converted into a harbour suitable for the anchorage of large vessels, including ships of war, and the course of the Avon be so deepened and widened as to be navigable from its mouth to Salisbury. He lost no time in securing the services of an expert in such matters, a certain Andrew

Yarranton, instructing him to make a thorough survey and report to him. That report, in which the agent chosen gives a full account of all that was done, is included in a notable volume now extremely rare, bearing a title that deserves quotation at length, so typical is it not only of the literary fashions, but of the social and political condition of England at the time when it was penned.

ENGLAND'S IMPROVEMENT BY SEA AND LAND

TO

OUT-DO THE DUTCH WITHOUT FIGHTING,

TO

PAY DEBTS WITHOUT MONEYS,

To set to work all the POOR of *England* with the Growth of our own
Lands.

To prevent unnecessary SUITS in Law;

With the Benefit of a voluntary REGISTER

Directions where vast quantities of Timber are to be had for the
Building of SHIPS;

With the Advantage of making the Great Rivers of *England* Navigable

Rules to prevent FIRES in *London* and other Great CITIES

With Directions how the several Companies of Handicraftsmen in
London may always have cheap bread and drink

by

ANDREW YARRANTON, GENT.

Printed by *R. Everingham* for the Author and are to be sold by
T. Parkhurst at the "Bible and three Crowns" in Cheapside and *N. Sim-
mons* at the Princes Arms in *S. Paul's* Churchyard, MDCLXXVII.

Three somewhat fulsome dedications, which bear an equally unmistakable impress of customs long since abandoned, succeed this quaint and suggestive title-page, two of them to noblemen of high rank, the third to a group of gentlemen who are addressed as "My noble Patriots," whilst an "Epistle to the Reader" further explains the aim of the much introduced publication. The first essay is a really remarkable piece of reasoning headed "The True Way to beat the Dutch at Sea without Fighting," and might well be read and pondered on by those who have to deal with the complex naval problems of to-day, treating as it does of a situation greatly resembling that now causing so much anxiety to the British Government. In the opinion of Andrew Yarranton the best way to deal with a powerful enemy is to convert him into a friend by making it his interest to work with, not against us, and after explaining how he would bring about this desirable result, he calls up a wonderful vision of the great Dutch merchants flocking to England to buy estates there, remarking naively:

Thereby the Dutch will decline gradually every year more and more and within a very few years their beloved mistress [that is to say their commerce] will depart and settle herself with us. And as we are an island which God and nature hath fitted for trade if we once fit ourselves with Laws answerable, then the greatest part of the Trade of Europe will be with us. And if this doth not convince the Reader, that hereby we shall beat the Dutch without fighting and pay our Debts without Moneys I have no more to say.

The astute writer admits, in spite of this optimistic view of the future, that it would also be well to be prepared for the contingency of war, and remarks that with a view to this preparation it is desirable wherever possible to convert the outlets of the rivers of Great Britain into harbours of refuge for British ships of war.

To beat the *Dutch* with fighting [he says] is difficult by reason of the great Advantages they have by their Sands and Holds all along the *German* shore, from the mouth of the *Texel* and other *Holland* rivers into the Mouth or Influx of the *Elbe* and within these Sands and Holds they lye close and safe as long as they please and we cannot come at them with our Ships; the Reason is, we draw five Foot Water with our Ships more than the *Dutch* do with theirs; and we must lye beating at Sea and receive all storms and Accidents that the Seas and our Ships are lyable to, while the Dutch are at anchor within their defensible Sands

and Holds and upon their own Coasts and there with ease may take in and be supplied with all manner of Ammunition Provision . . . and with all other things they stand in want of. And when the wind blows strong at East we must bear away and cannot keep our Station. The same wind that blows our ships off, blows the *Dutch* out and if they have a mind to follow us they may and when we are in some of our Bays they may come at us with ease.

After much more of a similar kind Yarranton goes on to tell how he himself examined two rivers, the Slane in Ireland and the Avon in England, with the brooks and rivulets running into the same, in the hope of discovering how best they could be turned to account in peace and in war.

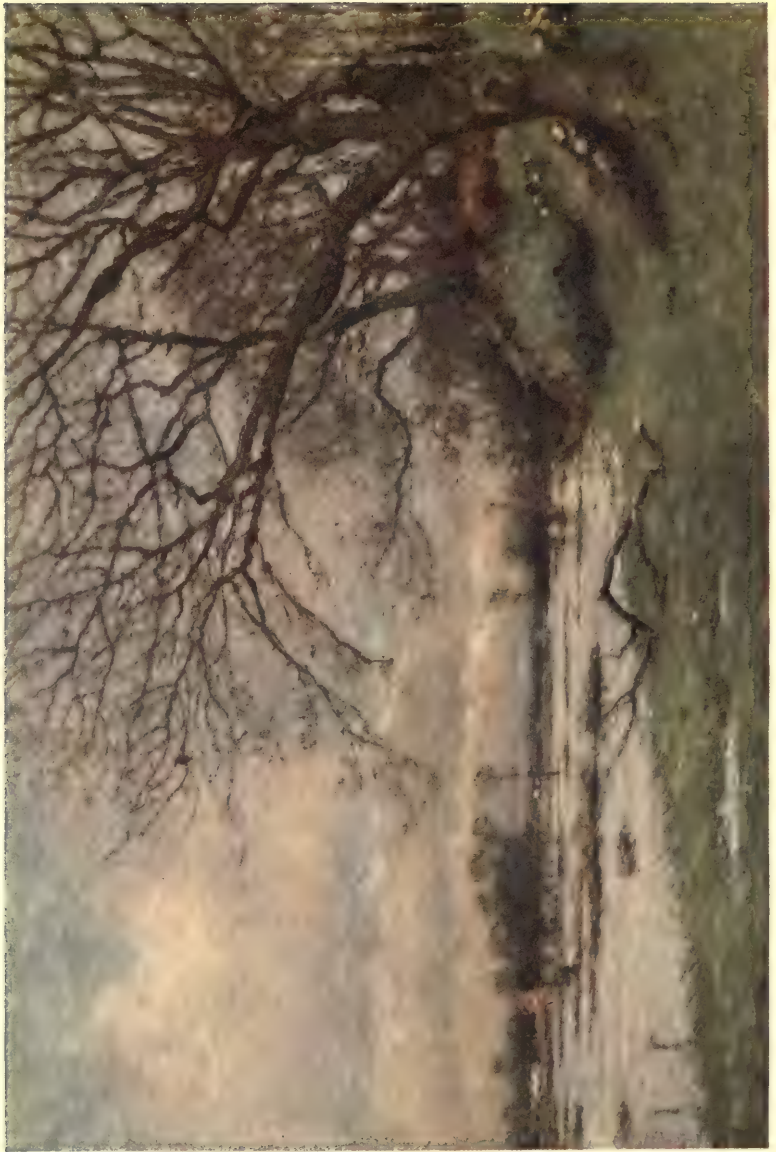
I have found out [he says] two places one in *Ireland* the other in England in which are great quantities of timber to build ships and at three fifths of the Rates the King now builds at, with convenient places to lay up the Ships and thereby to be ready upon all occasions. That in *England* is convenient to build Ships at and at very easie Rates and is as good a Harbour to lay them up in as any is in England and in the very Eye of France.

The latter place is at Christchurch in Hampshire, he adds, and proceeds to give the following narrative of his experiences in the neighbourhood, with the conclusions he drew from them :

About eighteen months since I was taken down by the Lord *Clarendon* to *Salisbury* to surveye the River of Avon to find whether the river might be made navigable: As also whether a safe Harbour could be made at *Christ-Church* for ships to come in and out and lye safe. After I had surveyed the river I found it might with ease be made Navigable. I then with several others went to sea several times, to sound and find the depths and to discover what the Anchorage was. At last I found in the Sea great quantities of Iron Stones lye in a Ridge. For in the Sea pointing directly upon the Isle of *Wight*, observing it at low water, I found that Ridge of Iron Stones was the cause that forc't the ground tide about the point, which had carried and lodged the sands so, as it had choaked up the Harbour: But the stones near the shore lay so great and thick that they were the occasion of lodging the sands by them near the Western shore and so of preserving a place which is very deep and good anchorage and within one hundred yards of the Shore, which gives unto that River the advantage of making there as good an Harbour, as to the depth of Water it will draw as any is in *England* where a Boy and a Cord two inches Diameter will be sufficient to hold a Ship; the Harbour being a great Inland Lake or Pool and

3

THE STOUR BELOW TUCKTON BRIDGE



well defended from all Winds. When myself and some were well satisfied as to the conveniency for a Harbour, I waited upon the Lord *Clarendon* and some other gentlemen to Sea, and there did discover to them the Reasons at large, having convinc't them upon the place, of the fitness and conveniency in making a Harbour there. They then proceeded to do something in Treating about the River: At which time I observed two great things that place was capable of. The First is At that very place where the Harbour may be made, there may at any time safely come in and quietly ride at least 50 or 60 fifth and sixth Rate Frigats; and that which is more strange, within three hundred yards of the place there is a Hill or Promontory, which was an old Camp of the *Romans* or *Saxons* as it is said, which will lodge a hundred thousand men and in three days may be made so defensible, that no Army (be it never so great) will be able to annoy them, all parts of the said Camp being defended by Sea except about three hundred yards, and that is intrenched by a very deep Ditch, yet very useful, and Relief by Sea may be brought to this place every Tide, and no Party by Land, as it now is, can give any opposition. And to me it is very strange, that notice long since had not been taken of it and some Forts built there. The second thing I there took notice of, was, The great Advantage his Majesty might make of that place when the Harbour was opened, for the building of fifth and sixth rate Frigats. A place none can be better, with these Advantages. *First*, Within the Harbour is a convenient place to build Ships. *Secondly*, The Timber will be carried down *Azon* to the place for building for four shillings the Tun or Load; the Timber coming out of *New-Forest*, the river running by the Forest side and at present His Majesty sends the Timber out of the Forest to *Portsmouth* to build and pays for a load to *Redbridge* fourteen shillings, and from *Redbridge* to *Portsmouth* by Water eight shillings the Load. *Thirdly*, This place is and may be made by Art, with the laying out of two thousand pounds upon a Fort, a full defence against any Enemy landing, and secure all his Majesties Ships that shall be laid in there from the attempts of any Enemy whatsoever and will there be fit and ready almost with any wind to sail out. It lyes over against the very heart of France and such ships may there go to Sea and be about their work, when others cannot come about for contrary Winds.

The third great advantage is, that there the King may have all his Iron made and Guns cast at very cheap Rates. There is Iron Stone in the Sea by the Harbour mouth and the King hath vast quantities of Woods decayed in *New Forest*, of which at this time Charcoal is made and Shipt away to *Cornwall* and other parts. If two Furnaces be built about *Ringwood* to cast Guns, and two Forges to make Iron and the Iron Stone be brought from the Harbour mouth out of the Sea up the river to the Furnaces and the Charcoal out of *New-Forest* to the works, there being sufficient of decayed Woods to supply four Iron-works for

ever; by these means the King makes the best of every thing and builds with his own Timber being near and convenient, whereas now the charge and carriage makes the Timber of no use to him. And having Iron Stone of his own for gathering up, and Wood of his own for nothing, he will have very cheap Guns and Iron. And all these things set together, this is a business befitting a King to have. And as I said, this Fort will be made and answer the ends I here lay down, for two thousand pounds and the Iron works built and Docks to build three Ships at one time for eight thousand pounds. The discovery more particular of the place of the deep Water and Fort to be made and the Harbour within, with a description of the Camp adjoining is here in the Map affixed.

In 1664, that is to say a year before Lord Clarendon became the owner of the Christchurch estate, an Act of Parliament was passed sanctioning the construction of what was known as the Salisbury-Avon Canal, which followed the trend of the valley from the Cathedral City to the mouth of the river, but the new waterway had only been in use for a few months when it was completely obliterated by a great flood. No attempt was made to restore it, and it is just possible that its untimely destruction may have had something to do with the indifference shown to the inauguration somewhat later of Yarranton's scheme, which though it was begun never approached completion, all that was done having been the erection of some arches, the foundations of which can still be seen at low tide at the entrance to the harbour. Later several other schemes were evolved for the improvement of the harbour, notably one in 1884, which at first seemed likely to be put into execution, but nothing was done, perhaps fortunately for the preservation of the picturesque beauty of the estuary. Lord Clarendon was impeached for high treason in 1667, some years before the appearance of his agent's report as to the possibilities of the development of the estuary. The Great Seal was taken from him, and though his life was spared he was compelled to leave England. He took refuge in France, where he remained until his death at Rouen in 1674, all his entreaties to be allowed to die in his own land with his children around him having been in vain.

Christchurch Manor appears to have remained the property of Lord Clarendon even after his disgrace, for it was inherited by his son Henry, a letter from whom to the Mayor of the Borough, Peter Smyth by name, dated 1679, is preserved amongst the municipal archives, and is worth quotation at

length, reflecting as it does the relations between the Lord of the Manor and the Corporation of the town at the time at which it was written, and also the way in which candidates for election to Parliament were sometimes chosen:

GOOD M^r MAYOR

These two gentlemen Sir Thomas Clarges and Mr. Tuke are the two persons whom I recommend to you to serve for your Burgesses in this next Parliament and have given me good evidence of their being good Patriots in the last Parliament by their stedy adhering to the true interest of their country and the Protestant religion, you cannot choose two better and abler persons: As I have had your promises—both formerly and now of late by my Officer Mr. Ewer (whom I sent to you last weeke on purpose) to choose whom I should recommend to you, soe considering this is y^e first recommendation I have ever made to you of this kind I cannot doubt but you will gratifye it, which I do assure you I shall take most kindly from you and you can desire nothing from me for the good of your Towne, yourself and your Brethren that I will not doe for you. I am

Good M^r Mayor

Your very affectionate servant

CLARENDON.

The writer of this letter made several attempts to sell his property at Christchurch, and at one time there seems to have been a probability of its being bought by Robert Pitt, father of William the great Earl of Chatham, but the negotiations came to nothing. In 1708 the Manor was purchased by Peter Mews—a son of the Bishop of Winchester of the same name—who was later knighted by Queen Anne. Sir Peter Mews was one of the two representatives of Christchurch in Parliament for some years, and a letter from him is preserved by the Corporation in which he promises the burgesses who had elected him that no claim should be made upon them for his salary or for any other expenses connected with his position as their member. In 1719 Sir Peter gave the Manor to his wife, Lydia Gervis, as part of her marriage portion, and she having no children bequeathed it to her nephew Jarvis Clerke, whose son and heir left it on his death to his cousin George Ivison Tapps, who was created a baronet four years later. From this Sir George the property has passed in direct succession to the present owner, Sir George Augustus Elliott Tapps-Gervis Meyrick, Bart.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONS OF CHRISTCHURCH-TWYNHAM, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY

FULL alike of romantic interest and of mystery is the ecclesiastical history of Christchurch, especially that portion of it dealing with the noble Priory Church, which whether approached from land, sea, or river, dominates the scene for a considerable distance, rising up in solemn beauty from its time-honoured site near the junction of the Avon and the Stour. One of the finest architectural survivals of mediæval times in England, the Church has been for many centuries a notable land- and sea-mark, associated with varied memories of days long gone by, and remaining still, in spite of all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, an enduring witness to the religious zeal of its builders, who counted no toil too great to be bestowed upon a sanctuary to be dedicated to the worship of God, and cared little for individual reward or honour in comparison with the promotion of His glory.

In Christchurch Priory Church can be studied the virile Norman art, which in its first manifestations on this side of the Channel was emphatically un-English, but as time went on became transmuted into a truly national style, a reflection of the fusion between conquerors and conquered that eventually welded them into one nation. Tempered by local peculiarities of building material, local climatic conditions, and the idiosyncracies of the native masons employed by Norman architects, the older portion of the Church is a notable example of the survival of ancient Anglo-Saxon traditions, transformed almost beyond recognition by foreign innovations, reluctantly tolerated at first, but finally adopted as best suited for the purpose to be fulfilled.

No less clearly to be read in the same priceless record in stone is the growth out of the Norman of the purely English Gothic style with its triple ideal of greater economy of material, more skilful masonry, and, above all, a more lavish admission of light, combined with a preference for vertical rather than

horizontal details, and a delight in pointed arches and vaulting. Within the limits of the Priory Church the growth of the beautiful style, the keynote of which was an aspiration after higher religious expression, typified by the upward-pointing of pinnacles and spires, can be clearly studied from its first inception to its culmination in the over-ornate decoration of its final phase. There too, alas, are to be noted hints of the decadence that was to succeed the glorious days of the triumph of English Gothic and, more melancholy still, all too many proofs of reckless destruction, of wilful neglect, and the even more fatal results of ignorant and mistaken restoration.

According to tradition, a monastery was founded on or near the site of that of which the present Priory Church and a few fragments of walls, and remains of foundations of conventual buildings, are the only relics, as early as the eighth century. William Camden, in his "Britannia," published in 1586, and Sir William Dugdale, who completed Roger Dodsworth's "Monasticon Anglicanum" in 1673, both refer to such a monastery, stating that it had a Dean and twenty Canons, but although this is probably true, there is no contemporary record of the fact in existence. The earliest extant allusion to a community of monks at Tweon-*ea*, or *Thuinam*, as it was called by the Normans, is contained in the Domesday Survey, in which the following statements are made under the heading "*Terra Canonicorum de Thuinam*":

The Canons of the Holy Trinity of *Thuinam* hold in that vill 5 hides and one virgate and one hide in the Isle of Wight. These were always in the possession of that church and in the time of King Edward (the Confessor) they were valued at 6 hides and 1 virgate. . . . In the demesne are 3 ploughs . . . and 11 villeins and 13 bordars with 1 plough. There are 2 serfs and a mill worth 30 pence and 108 acres of meadowland. There is a wood . . . with 2 swine. There are six messuages in the borough that are worth thirteen shillings and four pence. To this church belong all of the tithes of *Thuinam* and a third part of the tithes of *Holehurst*. In the time of King Edward it was worth 6 pounds and now it is worth 8 pounds.

After this general statement the Survey continues:

Alnod the priest holds *Bortel* of the King; he held it of King Edward *in paragio* [on the exact meaning of which tenure experts are divided though the general opinion is that it signifies the holder was

one of the so-called pares or parceners who were responsible to the overlord for the rendering of all the services of a holding]. Its value at that time was $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates and it still remains the same. There is land for half a plough . . . and there are 2 serfs, also the third part of a mill valued at 25 pence and $10\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow land and 2 messuages in Thuinam. In the time of King Edward it was worth 5 shillings; it is now worth 10 shillings.

Also the priest holds Bailocheslei [now Bashley] in Milton of the King. He held it also of King Edward, in whose time it was assessed at 1 hide and 3 virgates, now at 3 virgates only. There is land for 1 plough . . . with 2 serfs and 1 villein and 1 bordar; and half a mill worth 3 shillings and 16 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth 20 shillings and is so still.

In Bovere Hundret the Church of the Holy Trinity of Thuinam had 8 acres of land in Andret that is now included in the forest.

From this quotation it will be seen that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there was a college of Secular Canons with a church or chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Thuinam, or Twynham, in what was long known as, and is still for administrative purposes, the County of Southampton, the name of Hampshire not having come into general use until considerably later. It is evident that the property of the Canons was widely scattered, and that part of it belonged to the community as a whole, and part to the two prebendaries who are specified by name. How long before the Conquest the religious community had dwelt beside the Avon and the Stour there is no actual evidence to prove, though the Domesday Survey appears to imply that most of the land owned by it had been in its possession for a long period, but that the eight acres in the Bovere Hundret were of comparatively recent acquisition. From this it may be reasonably concluded that the settlement was in existence in remote Anglo-Saxon days, and it is not impossible that it may, as some claim, have been founded soon after the arrival in England of St. Augustine.

It is difficult to determine what, if any, substratum of truth there is in the legend that an abortive attempt was made, before the building of the predecessor of the Priory Church, to erect a chapel on Kaeder-Ryn, now known as St. Catherine's Hill, that was, it is related, constantly frustrated by the destruction in the night of the work done in the day, until at last the enterprise was abandoned. Supernatural guidance, it is said, led to the final choice of the site overlooking the

meeting of the Stour and Avon, and throughout the building supernatural aid was given to the masons employed. A skilful craftsman daily appeared, coming none knew whence, who worked better and more rapidly than any of his fellows, but could never be found when the time for the payment of wages came. On one occasion when an oaken beam turned out to be too short for the place it was to occupy and was therefore laid aside, it was presently discovered, though no one had been seen to touch it, to have been miraculously lengthened and used for the purpose originally intended. As a matter of course it was henceforth looked upon as sacred and became a source of revenue to the monastery to which the church containing it belonged, a constant stream of pilgrims from far and near flocking to gaze upon it in reverent awe and to listen to the wondrous tale concerning it. A beam that according to tradition is the very one which was the subject of this quaint legend is still preserved in the present Church, it having been placed in a conspicuous place beneath one of the arches in the most easterly division of the southern choir aisle.

The story of the miraculous beam is charmingly told in a poem by an anonymous author giving the initials M. S. H. that appeared in the "Christchurch Times" in August 1871, from which the following quotation is taken:

Agès ago when godly men laid the foundation stone
Of this fair temple, 'mong the craftsmen
Labourèd one for love not hire,
Of gentle cheerful mien, an artizan well skilled
Working by the grand rule: whate'er thy hand shall find
To do, that do with all thy might. Not many words
Spake He, but they were marked by wisdom, and about
Him seemed an atmosphere of gentle, winning love.
Did one weaker than his fellows grow faint
And weary with his task, be sure there at his sorest need
Stood the strange labourer, and lo!
His strength returned. When the men received their hire
He alone was absent, but next work-day morn
He was amongst them and they questionèd not.
The work goes on apace and now one day
They raise a beam with toil that strains the muscle,
Heats the brow, e'en of the sturdiest there;
A murmur rises: What, is our labour all for naught?
The huge support lacks its true length.

Something like despair (so runs tradition) filled
 The labourers' hearts, when lo their strange companion
 Makes His presence felt and without a word a miracle
 Is wrought! But Him they saw no more,
 Then suddenly they thought of Emmaus; of the upper room,
 Of the sea-shore and knew straightway
 That He had been with them labouring in love,
 And thus a Fane man had in reverence
 After the Mother named ¹ now dedicated was
 To Christ, and e'en the village nestling at its foot
 Forsook its ancient name and took the holier one.²

In their "William Rufus" the ladies, one of whom died recently, who wrote under the single *nom de plume* of Michael Field, gave another version of the legend in the following lines:

I'll tell you of the building of this church
 In ancient days upon St. Catherine's Hill.
 The workmen laid foundations; every night
 Beneath the moon a thunder moved the air;
 The stones were scattered, and then lost to sight,
 But soon as morning trod with silver feet
 Upon the shining pavement of the streams
 Meadowy Stour and Avon, on a strip
 Of land, a cape of river-lavèd earth
 The builders found their blocks. So every night
 The new foundation on the lofty hill
 Was carried by still influence away
 To the low bed of waters. The command
 Thus clearly issued was at last obeyed—
 The builders plied their craft; but every day
 A Stranger came and bore the heavy hours;
 He never broke the necessary crust,
 Nor stayed for payment when the sun went down,
 And on the day of consecration none
 Could see Him near nor far. They named the Church
 Christ Church.

It must be added that in many other districts of England legends similar to that of the miraculous beam of Twynham are current, one of which is immortalized by William Barnes, the famous poet of Dorset, in his charming "Beam of Grenley

¹ This is an error scarcely excusable by poetic licence, the church having been originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity, not to the Virgin.

² Quoted by permission of the owner of the "Christchurch Times."

Church," in which occur certain verses given below that might well have been inspired by the Christchurch story:

Woone day, the men wer out o' heart,
 To have a beam a'-cut too short;
 An' in the evenèn, when they shut
 Off work, they left en where 'twèr put;
 An while dumb night went softly by
 Towards the vi'ry western sky,
 A-lullèn birds, an' shuttèn up
 The deäisy an the butter cup,
 They went to lay their heavy heads
 An' weary bwones upon their beds.
 An when the dewy mornèn broke,
 An' show'd the worold fresh awoke,
 Their godly work ageän, they vound
 The beam they left upon the ground
 A-put in pleáce where it still do bide,
 An long enough to reach outzide.
 But he unknown to tother men
 Wer never there at work ageän;
 Zoo whether he mid be a man
 Or angel wi' a helpèn han'
 Or whether all o't were a dream
 They didna deäre to cut the beam.¹

As related in the poem of M. S. H., the Twynham craftsman, like the mysterious workman of Grenley, was never seen again after he had, as it were, set the seal on his work by the miracle he had performed. He was not present at the dedication of the church he had helped to build, but it was felt that his spirit still haunted the scene of his labours, and some there were who, as suggested in the lines quoted above, believed him to have been the Lord Himself, Who had loved to work in the shop of His titular father at Nazareth. Possibly the legend of the miraculously lengthened beam may have had something to do with the name of Christchurch having replaced that of Twynham, and superseded the dedication to the Holy Trinity, but as a matter of fact the change did not take place until the twelfth century. It must be remembered that the dedication to Christ was a favourite one with the members of the religious orders, and that the privilege of being named after Our Lord enjoyed by the Christchurch Sanctuary was shared by more than one

¹ Quoted by permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.

cathedral, and also by several places of worship of minor importance.

Much has been written concerning the monastery and church of the Holy Trinity at Twynham as they were, or rather as they are supposed to have been, when the laconic summary in the Domesday Book quoted above of the possessions of the Canons was penned, and keen has been the controversy waged by successive generations of antiquaries as to how much if any of the original buildings remains. According to some authorities, the Saxon community owned a central minster encircled by nine cells or chapels, and with various houses for the Canons grouped about them, some few writers going so far as to claim that portions of these buildings survive in the crypts beneath the later Norman structure. Others are of opinion that every trace of the Saxon sanctuary, if it ever existed, was swept away before the foundation stone of its successor was laid, and they associate the legend of the lengthened beam with the Norman, not the earlier, church. However that may be, with the latter begins the well-authenticated ecclesiastical story of Christchurch which is inseparably bound up with the memory of the famous Ranulph, or Ralph Flambard, who, though he exercised a potent influence for evil on the politics of his time, left a noble impress on the architecture of England.

Of humble origin, the son, it is said, of a priest of Bayeux named Thurstan and of a beautiful woman who was accused of being a witch, the man who was to aid, under William the Conqueror, in the drawing up of the Domesday Survey, and to hold under William Rufus the high offices of Justiciar and Procurator of England, is referred to in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as *Passeflambard*, and is credited with having written a book on English law when quite a young man. From this it may be inferred that he was resident in England before, or very soon after, the Conquest. His name is registered in Domesday as a feudal tenant of the Crown in Hantescire, who was ejected from his holding on the afforestation of the district in which it was situated, but all that is really known of his early life is that he was ordained priest when quite young. The first documentary reference to him after that in Domesday is in the fourteenth-century "*Cartularium de Monasterii de Christchurch Twinham*," a priceless record consisting of more than three hundred folios bound in two ponderous volumes, which were very seriously damaged in the great fire at Ashburnham House in 1731 that

destroyed much of the famous Cottonian Library. Fortunately the Chartulary was not injured beyond restoration; it was very skilfully pieced together and is now in the British Museum, whilst incorporated with it are several charters of later date than the original folios, bringing down the history of Christchurch Priory to 1459.

Quoting from it in the section of his edition of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," headed: "Historia Foundationis Cænobi de Twynham," Sir William Dugdale states that at the time of William the Conqueror the office of Dean was held by Ranulph Flambard, though why it was conferred on him is not explained. Flambard's own reasons for coveting the post are easy to understand; the fame of the relics owned by the Canons, and the miracles worked by those relics, were a fruitful source of revenue, and no doubt the new Dean hoped as time went on to add greatly to the attractions of the Sanctuary between the rivers by the acquisition of fresh treasures. He did not, however, remain head of the College long enough to accomplish much in that direction, for the rumour of his great abilities reached the ears of the Bishop of London, who sent for him to make him his own private chaplain, and a little later nominated him to the important deanery of St. Paul's. In spite of the onerous nature of his new duties, Flambard appears to have kept a hold on his successor at Twynham, a priest who is sometimes referred to as Father Godric, and who did not assume the title of Dean until shortly before his death, but only that of senior Canon or Elder of the College. He was, it is said, greatly honoured and loved by the monks, but he exercised no real authority over them, and never made any attempt to resist the exactions of his predecessor.

Already fired by an enthusiastic desire to replace the primitive Saxon buildings on the Stour with a monastery and church in the Norman style, Flambard kept this ambition in view through all the vicissitudes of his chequered career. Even before he won the affection of William Rufus he had begun to collect funds for his architectural scheme, hitting upon the clever device of preventing the filling up of any of the vacancies that occurred through the death of members of the Twynham College, confiscating the stipends, and with them forming the nucleus of a building fund. He also instructed Godric, who seems to have stood greatly in awe of him, to set aside for that purpose all the offerings of the pilgrims who came to worship at the Twynham

shrines. From this it will be seen that the custom sanctioned at the Christchurch Vestry Meeting in 1885 of charging a fee to visitors to the Priory Church to meet the expenses of restoration, had its parallel far back in early Norman times.

When Flambard was made Justiciar and Procurator of England by William Rufus, he lost no time in turning his great influence to account to promote the welfare of Twynham College. He induced the King to give it the Manor of Prestipidela or Priest's Puddle in Dorset and other properties in the southern counties, and is said to have expressed a desire to secure for it all the tithes of all the churches and religious houses between Lymington and Poole, an ambition that was ere long to be to a great extent fulfilled. For this he has been very severely blamed, certain of his critics accusing him of enriching himself at the expense of the community nominally benefited by the Royal Bounty. It is, however, evident that the all-powerful minister had a very real regard for Twynham College and a keen appreciation of the beauty and possibilities of its site. To the last it rivalled in his affections even Durham, which owes the grand nave, aisles, and western towers of its noble cathedral to him, and he valued the gift of the convent and church on the Stour as much as that of any of the many benefices held by him.

Exactly when Twynham College and all its possessions became the actual property of Flambard is not known, but the Royal Charter conferring it upon him was witnessed by Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, which places its date somewhere between 1093 and 1097. It is possible that with the scheme for a new monastery and church, Flambard may have entertained a desire to replace the College of Secular Canons with a Priory of Canons Regular, but there were many difficulties in the way, for even then vested interests could not be lightly set aside, and it was not until some twenty years after Flambard's death that the change took place, and what may be called the second chapter of the ecclesiastical history of Twynham began. It was easier to get rid of buildings than of those who had a right to occupy and to worship in them, and Flambard's first step after the property passed into his hands, was to give orders for the demolition of the Saxon church and its dependencies to make room for a Norman successor. According to some versions of the story of the Twynham College, Godric, who was still its Elder, when the fiat went forth, vigorously opposed the drastic measure, as did also the few survivors

of the once numerous community. The chief result of their protest, if they really had the courage to give voice to it, appears to have been that Godric was dismissed and exiled from England to be reinstated later on condition that he would obey all future orders without question. He was certainly still in residence when the new building operations began, but he did not live long after the foundation of the Norman Church, and had passed away before the death of William Rufus checked for a time the brilliant career of the powerful minister.

It is difficult to determine whether the work of Flambard at Twynham followed the lines of that at Durham, or whether the nave of the great cathedral of the city on the Wear is an amplification of the design for that of the Priory Church. Both buildings are typically Norman, but both are modified by local conditions, and it is this that gives to each a stamp of originality, and a true æsthetic flavour of its own. Flambard, whatever his faults as a man and a ruler, was an architectural genius, and it is greatly to be regretted that he was not permitted to complete the noble group of buildings he had planned. That part of the church which was erected under his superintendence bears the impress not only of a genuine style, but of his powerful personality, and its dignified beauty might well soften the judgement of those privileged to enjoy it on the man to whom they are indebted for its foundation.

When Henry I came to the throne the noble arcades of the nave, springing from massive clustered columns with capitals of the characteristic cushion type, the walls above them enriched with hatchet mouldings and a chevron stringcourse, the finely designed triforium with its delicate coupled arches and simple but effective window openings; the transept with its exquisite decorative details and beautiful apsidal chapels; the massive walls of the nave aisles with the chapter-house and cloisters, since alas! pulled down, were probably already considerably advanced. Flambard had engaged a whole army of masons and accumulated great quantities of limestone from the Purbeck quarries, and those at Binstead in the Isle of Wight, and no doubt he often stood in the ancient churchyard to watch the gradual transformation into visible form of his grand conception. He must have taken a keen delight in the noble lines of the beautiful building, and in the delicate craftsmanship of the ornamentation, and must often have seen in imagination the linking together of nave, choir, and transept by the low massive square

tower with conical roof, of which there is a representation on the still extant Priory seal. In fancy he could hear the bells calling the Augustinian monks from their new home, the site of which he had chosen, though it was still virgin soil, to worship in the Sanctuary he had provided for them, and watch them trooping forth, their black cassocks and hoods relieved by their white rochets, whilst from the more distant manor lands flocked freemen and sokemen, villeins, bordars, and cottars, who were to be permitted to worship in the western portion reserved for their use of the monastic church. With all his prophetic insight, however, he could not foresee the tragic event which was to put an end to his political and architectural activity, as well as to sever his personal connection with Twynham.

His powerful protector William Rufus gone, the much hated Justiciar soon found himself deserted by all his friends. A royal warrant was issued for his arrest and the confiscation of all his property, including the revenues of his various benefices. The church of the Holy Trinity at Twynham was specially mentioned amongst them, and the King at once took possession of the sum which had been accumulated as a building fund. Soon after the downfall of Flambard the Twynham college was granted on what was known as frank almoigne, that is to say tenure in return for priestly services, to a humble clerk named Gilbert de Gousguenels, who on his arrival at his post found the church uncompleted, the proposed monastery scarcely begun, and the old conventual buildings in ruins. Five canons alone remained in residence, and being unable to meet the expenses even of that small community, the new Dean resolved to go to Rome in the hope of inducing the Pope to confer such privileges on the church at Christchurch-Twynham as would arouse interest in its completion, and induce outsiders to contribute to the expenses. He was not successful, His Holiness having turned a deaf ear to his appeal, and though some writers give him credit for having gone on with Flambard's work in spite of this discouragement, others with more probability assert that he died of a broken heart soon after his return home.

As already related in connection with the secular history of Christchurch, Henry I, after the disgrace of Flambard, bestowed the Manors of Twynham and Westover with the patronage of the College and Church at Twynham, upon Richard de Redvers. That baron nominated as Dean of the College a clerk named Peter de Oglander, granting to him all the rights that had been

CHRISTCHURCH FROM HENGISTBURY HEAD



enjoyed by his various predecessors, and adding to the possessions of the community certain estates in the Isle of Wight. Opinions differ greatly as to the character of Peter de Oglander, some crediting him with having been a high-minded open-handed man, who did much for the welfare of the Canons under his care, others charging him with betraying his trust and spending the money that should have been devoted to building purposes in riotous living with a number of lay brethren of morals as lax as his own, whom he had admitted to the community. However that may have been, he was succeeded, after a brief interregnum, by a man of acknowledged integrity named Ralph or Ranulph, of whom it is said that "he applied himself to the prosecution of the architectural improvements commenced by Flambard, and with so much success, that before his death several of the conventual offices were covered in and likewise a part of the church itself." This seems to give to him more credit than he deserves, for the renewed architectural activity was really due to the fact that Flambard, in spite of the difficult position in which he found himself after his disgrace, never ceased, until his death in 1128, to take an interest in his lost estate at Twynham. It is related that no sooner was he released from the Tower than he approached the new Lord of the Manor with a view to persuading him to share the expense of finishing the church and monastery he had planned. The Earl met these advances in a truly generous spirit, sanctioning the appropriation of the now increasing collegiate revenues for the realization of Flambard's ambition, and supplementing them by many gifts of rentals, fees, etc. Under the joint control of De Redvers and the ex-Lord of the Manor the work proceeded rapidly, and though it is impossible to say what was the exact condition of the buildings when the latter passed away, it was undoubtedly to him and to him alone that the planning of the Norman portion of the church was due.

Dean Ralph was succeeded on his death, the date of which is uncertain, by a priest called Hilary, or Hillary, who had been one of the chaplains of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and had already won considerable renown as a man of earnest, upright character. To him and to the Canons under him, Earl Baldwin of Devon, the son and successor of Earl Richard de Redvers, Lord of the Manors of Twynham and Westover, granted a very important charter quoted at length in Sir William Dugdale's edition of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," confirming to them all the possessions and privileges they

already enjoyed that included control of the school of the Borough. To these were added a share in the profits of wrecks on the manorial shore, the right of riverine fishing to those in the employ of the College, the salmon fishery being, however, reserved, though the first fish caught in every season was given to the Dean. The Canons were also entitled to what was called tithe of wreck and waif, with the exception of large fish cast ashore; they were exempt from certain tolls paid by laymen; were allowed to take two cart-loads of heath a day, and one hundred of peat a year, for use in their kitchen if they ran short of fuel on their own lands. To them, too, was granted the right of first purchase in the weekly market of the Manor in the absence of the Lord, and second if he were in residence, with a considerable share in the profits of the market and a tithe of those of the annual Trinity Fair, both already referred to in connection with the early history of Twynham Manor.

Whilst Hilary was Dean of the College of the Holy Trinity at Twynham, the change that Flambard had wished but was unable to bring about was accomplished, in a great measure, it is supposed, at the instance of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the secular establishment having been superseded by a Priory of Canons Regular of St. Augustine to be called that of Christchurch. The consent of Earl Baldwin de Redvers and of his son and heir, Richard, without which the matter could not have been carried through, was readily given to the transformation, and the occasion was celebrated by the granting by the Lord of the Manor of a charter to the new community. This gave to the Canons the right of choosing their own Prior, and transferred to them all the property and privileges of their predecessors, including control of the school for the use of the townfolk. The Secular Canons were, however, permitted to retain their stipends for the rest of their lives and those in charge of outlying chapels were not disturbed, though it was arranged that after they had passed away those chapels were to be served from the Priory.

This was the beginning of a new and important era in the history of the town between the rivers, the predominance during the next few centuries of the ecclesiastical element in it reflecting the course of events in the rest of England. The ancient canonical seal of the College bearing the inscription: "Church of the Holy Trinity of Toinham," was replaced by one stamped with the words, "Christchurch of Twynham," and although the

two names were, and still are, occasionally used together, the Petition of Prior Draper to Henry VIII, quoted below, for instance, referring to Christchurch Twyneham, the new name soon superseded the old. As early as 1140 William of Malmesbury, in his "Gesta Pontificum Anglorum," foreshadows the change by using the word *Cristecerce* in connection with the wonderful cures effected in the village by the Stour, many afflicted persons, he relates, resorting to it, including a blind fisherman from the Isle of Wight who resided in it for three years.

Very soon after the conversion of the secular College of Twynham into the Priory of Christchurch, Dean Hilary received an important appointment elsewhere, and a priest named Reginald was chosen to be the first Prior, a position he held for thirty-six years. He had not actually taken up his residence in the monastery when King Stephen granted to it its first Royal Charter, which was, however, little more than an endorsement of that already given by the Lord of the Manor, no new property being referred to in it. In a somewhat later Charter from Earl Richard de Redvers the second, certain fresh privileges were conferred on the establishment, including exemption of its servants from attendance at the Hundred Courts, except in cases of murder and manslaughter; the forfeiture to the Prior of the chattels of any person connected with it who had been condemned in the court of the Lord of the Manor; the power to try under the presidency of the Lord's bailiff any culprit charged with theft and the right to two salmon a year. This important charter was ratified by the second Earl Baldwin de Redvers, and in the Priory Church is preserved an interesting copy of yet another confirmatory grant with a translation beneath it made by Mr. George Brownen, F.G.S., from which can be learnt exactly what property was owned by the College of the Holy Trinity at the time of its conversion into a Priory.

In spite of the long period during which Prior Reginald reigned at Christchurch very little is known of his private life, but it is evident that he ruled the community under him wisely and well, and that the building of the church and convent proceeded rapidly, the former having been, it is supposed, considerably enlarged under his auspices. On the succession of the second Prior, Ralph by name, the choir and chapter-house were evidently completed so far as the actual structure was concerned,

although it was not until 1195, the year of his death, that the high altar dedicated to the Saviour and that of St. Stephen were consecrated, Bishop Rainald of Ross, who died in 1215, having officiated on both occasions.

Prior Ralph was buried in the chapter-house, and his successor, Peter, was elected the same year with the full ceremonial which had previously been somewhat curtailed, owing to the unfinished state of the church. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was first celebrated at the high altar, after which a bell was rung to summon the chapter, when a solemn service, opening with the singing of the "Veni, Creator Spiritus" was held, after which the oath of obedience to their new superior was taken by the Canons. The Prior was then led up to the high altar, followed by an imposing procession of monks and priests, and his election was announced in English, not in Latin—a detail significant of the close relations between the Priory and the people—to the assembled congregation, a clash of bells proclaiming the fact to the outside world. The Prior, at the head of his Canons, then marched, first to what was known as the Prior's Lodging, where in the room called the base or stair chamber, he declared his willingness to serve in the capacity of ruler of the establishment, and thence to the chapter house where he presided for the first time over those who had just sworn allegiance to him.

Whilst the references that occur in the history of the Priory to different portions of it and of the adjoining church incidentally reveal the progress of the building operations, of which there is no actual consecutive record in writing, the accounts of the hallowing of altars and of the relics that were enshrined in them, throw light on the religious feeling of the early days of the monastery. In the high altar it is related were enclosed fragments of the manger in which our Lord was laid on His birth, and of the cradle used in His home at Nazareth; of the ground on which He knelt in His agony in Gethsemane, of a cloth in which His Cross had been wrapped, and a stone from the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; whilst the altar of St. Stephen contained some bones of the martyr after whom it is named, and of Saints Lawrence, Victor, Blasius, and Hippolytus, together with the sandals and cowl of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The reign of Prior Peter, who succeeded Ralph in 1195, was specially memorable for the number of visits paid by King John to the Priory, he having spent several days there in eight differ-

ent years between 1200 and 1215, and also for the many altars that were dedicated in the church, both circumstances pointing to the fact that the monastery had become a centre of political and religious activity, and also that it was capable of housing a great number of people in the first half of the thirteenth century. King John was noted for the splendour of the retinue with which he travelled, and for that reason alone he must have been anything but a welcome guest in a community such as that of the Priory. Possibly a chief reason for his frequent presence at Christchurch was the interest he took in the building of the Abbey at Beaulieu, founded by him in 1204, for although it was a long distance off he thought nothing of riding some twenty or thirty miles a day, and was merciless in the services he exacted alike from his followers and his horses.

In 1214 Walter, Bishop of Whitherne, consecrated in the Priory Church the parochial altar of the nave dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and also the less important altars of Saints Peter and Paul, St. John the Baptist, and St. Edmund, whilst seven years later Nicholas, called "Episcopus Insularis," who it has been suggested was probably Nicholas of Meaux, Abbot of Furness, and Bishop of the Isle of Man, dedicated yet two more altars, one to St. Michael and All Angels, the other to St. Martin. Except in the case of the last the Chartulary of the Monastery records the placing in all these altars of quantities of relics, testifying to the zeal with which such memorials of our Lord, the Holy Family, and the saints were sought after, as well as to the fact that the numbers of pilgrims to the Christchurch shrines was ever on the increase. The time when Peter, concerning whom, unfortunately, no personal details are obtainable, was Prior, seems indeed to have ushered in a period of great prosperity for the monastery which was to exercise during the next two centuries a wide and on the whole beneficent influence.

Prior Peter is supposed to have witnessed the completion of the cloisters and chapter house of the monastery—of which, alas, scarcely a trace now remains—and also the construction of the Early English clerestory added to the Norman nave in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Great architectural activity also prevailed during the comparatively brief terms of office of his successors, Priors Roger, Richard, Nicholas de Wareham, and Nicholas de Sturminster. The work done between 1225, the date of the death of Peter, and 1272, when Nicholas de Sturminster passed away, included, according to the best

authorities, the preparations for the construction of a stone-vaulted roof, which was never completed, over the nave of the church, the building of the north-west porch, the removal of the semicircular eastern termination of the northern arm of the transept, to be replaced by two chapels each with a characteristically English square termination, the introduction between the southern arm of the transept and the south aisle of the choir of a small chapel, described below, to make room for which a portion of the wall of the aisle was pulled down, with various minor operations, such as the re-vaulting and re-facing of the aisles of the nave.

Scarcely any information can be gathered about the lives of the four Priors who governed the monastery during the transition period in which the Norman style was gradually superseded by the Gothic, and the church began to assume its present appearance. Of Prior Roger, who succeeded Peter, it is related that he was called upon by Pope Gregory XI to aid in deciding who had the better right of two claimants to the Rectory of St. Kevern; Prior Nicholas de Wareham was co-witness, with the Abbot of Quarr, to a charter granted by one of the De Redvers to Lymington, and his namesake of Sturminster, whose anniversary as a benefactor was long kept by the Canons of Christchurch, is remembered for an advantageous exchange of property he made with the Abbot of Quarr, who gave to the Priory all the manor lands of Fleet, which had been granted to him by the Lady Hawise de Redvers, receiving in return an estate and all the privileges appertaining thereto called La-Gore in the Manor of Apse in the Isle of Wight.

Some little light is thrown on the relations between Christchurch Priory and the outer world, as well as upon its internal economy during the last years of Prior Nicholas de Sturminster by the particulars given in the Chartulary, in addition to the statement of expenses, and the income received from its numerous properties, one of payments made to the Bishop and Archdeacon of Winchester by the sacristan, for services rendered to the Mother Church, and its outlying dependencies, which included for the Priory and the Chapel of Milton one shilling and three pence each; and for the Chapels of Holdenhurst, Winkton and Hay-to-Resle seven pence halfpenny each paid to the Bishop, whilst the Archdeacon received seven shillings and four pence halfpenny each on behalf of the Priory and the chapels of Hope and Milford. From this account it is evident that the spiritual

welfare of the people of Christchurch was well looked after during the long reign of Henry III, and that the political troubles that distinguished it did not affect the prosperity of the Monastery.

It was during the tenure of office of Nicholas de Sturminster that, in 1201, the Council of Arles was held, at which it was enacted that such religious bodies as owned parish churches should supply at their cost Vicars to officiate in them, chosen by the Canons from their own ranks. In accordance with this decree a Vicar was duly elected by the Canons of Christchurch, and given a house, rent free, adjoining the church, the same corrody or allowance for maintenance being continued to him as he had enjoyed as a member of the Augustinian community. The name of this first Vicar, properly so-called, has unfortunately not been preserved, the earliest recorded being that of Robert de Padenove, who was inducted in 1309, but the services held in the Priory Church on high festivals and anniversaries are described, and were probably the same from the first Institution of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The chief of these services was the singing of High Mass by the Priest, Deacon, and Sub-Deacon, assisted by chanters wearing silken copes who led the choir. The number of anniversaries kept was ever on the increase, including in addition to those of Earl Richard de Redvers and many of his descendants, those of their successors in the Lordship of the Manor of Christchurch, of the Priors who had passed away, and others who were honoured for one reason or another, many poor folk receiving on every occasion, after the celebration of a solemn High Mass for the repose of the souls of the benefactors, such gifts as a loaf of bread, a pottle of beer, and a dish of meat from the convent kitchen. By the beginning of the fourteenth century these commemorations had become extremely numerous, whilst the quantity of food given away was a very considerable tax upon the resources of the Priory, the total amount distributed in 1306, for instance, having been 1,354 loaves, 467 gallons of beer, 934 dishes of meat, and a great number of basins of broth, an incidental proof not only of the wealth of the convent, but also of the great increase in the population of Christchurch since the foundation of the Priory in 1150.

Prior Nicholas de Sturminster passed away in 1272, the year of the accession of Edward I, and immediately after his death Isabel de Fortibus—the story of whose tenure of the Manor of Christchurch and of her bequest of it to the King has already been related—seized all the property of the Priory. She

was, however, compelled to relinquish it on the election of John of Abingdon, but she never ceased to covet it, and her relations with the various Priors who were her contemporaries were as a result considerably strained. Neither John of Abingdon nor his successor in 1278, William de Netheravon, made any special impress on their time and their tenures of office were singularly uneventful. It was, however, far otherwise with that of Richard de Maury, which lasted from 1286 to 1302, certain important incidents having occurred in it, bringing into prominence the relations of the Priory under his care with the outer world. To begin with, several new privileges were conferred on it, including the right to hold a market at Puddleton in Dorset, but of far greater significance was the fact, linking as it did the humble Priory with the Vatican, that in 1288 Pope Nicholas IV granted to Edward I a tenth part of all the ecclesiastical revenues of England for six years, to aid him to meet the expenses of a new crusade, a concession which led the King to have a statement drawn up giving particulars of the taxable income of all the religious establishments in his realm. This most valuable and interesting document was issued in 1291, and from it it appears that the annual value of the outlying possessions of the Priory in Hampshire at that date was £35 17s. 2d.; of the rectory and chapels at Christchurch £36 13s. 4d.; of its property in the diocese of Salisbury £32 3s. 4d., whilst another £5 accrued from the Rectory of Fleet, the church of Iwerminster, and the chapel of Hinton, the sum total proving how greatly the wealth of the community had increased since it took over the lands and other possessions of the Canons of the Holy Trinity.

Another interesting memorial of the tenure of office of Prior Maury is a grant, dated 18 March 1286, preserved in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, from Henry de Lacy, giving "to the Canons of Christchurch-Twyndham in pure and perpetual alms certain lands held of the said Earl, in villenage in Kingston and Holte, together with the natives and their chattels, etc., to find two chaplains to celebrate divine service in the chapel of Earl's Court at Kingston." In the same Court is a second deed, in this case from the Prior and Convent of Christchurch, relinquishing to the Earl mentioned above "all their right in John de la Bere, and his son John and suite, together with the tenement which he held in the Manor of Kingston." To the former of these quaint and significant survivals of feudal days is attached the older of the two seals used by the Priory, which

represents—set within a circle bearing the inscription: SIGILLV. ECCLESEE. TRINITATIS DE TOINHAM.—the western front, flanked by circular towers, of a cruciform church, with a low square tower surmounted by a conical roof rising from the point of intersection of nave and transepts.

Between the issue of the statement quoted above concerning the property of Christchurch Priory and 1297, it appears to have been yet further augmented, for in one of the Parliamentary Writs that form so succinct and reliable a record of assessable possessions it is stated that it was returned at the latter date as “holding lands or rents in the counties of Somerset and Dorset to the amount of £20 and upwards in yearly value, and as such was summoned under the general writs to perform military service in parts beyond the seas, to muster at London on the 7th of July in the 25th year of Edward I.” From this it will be seen that the peaceful Priory was represented by its soldiers in the Crusades and other wars, and took its share in the anxieties of the eventful year when the ruler of England was forced to sign the “Confirmation of the Charters.”

In spite of all the troubles at home and abroad the building operations at Christchurch appear to have been steadily continued under Prior Maury, for in an Extent or Survey of the Borough in 1300, two years before his death, there is a reference to “the Guardian of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary,” suggestive of there having been a predecessor at that early date of the present Lady Chapel. It was when Prior Maury was at the head of affairs, too, that there dwelt at Christchurch Walter Herford, or Walter of Hereford, who has the honour of having been the first craftsman whose name is associated with work on the church. To him are attributed the beautiful Early English decorative sculpture in the south choir aisle, and the completion of the alterations in the transept referred to above as having been begun when Prior Peter was in office. Walter of Hereford is said to have been buried in the northern choir aisle, the slab above his resting place being marked with a hammer. However that may be, he was certainly greatly honoured in his lifetime and venerated after his death, which took place on 26 April 1304, his anniversary having been celebrated until the dissolution of the monasteries, one hundred poor folks each receiving on that occasion a loaf of bread, a pottle of beer, and a dish of meat from the Priory kitchen.

On his death Prior Maury, whose remains rest in the south

choir aisle of the Priory Church, was succeeded by William Quentin, or Quyntyn, who had been a Canon of the establishment for more than forty years. During his reign several important events occurred affecting the monastery under his care to a greater or less extent. In November 1302, seven months after his election, King Edward I appointed his trusty servant Peter de Donewyco to go to the southern counties of England and in co-operation with the various sheriffs to instruct the bailiffs and citizens of the towns to contribute well manned and well found ships, the crews to be paid from the royal exchequer, to aid His Majesty in an expedition against the Scots. On Ascension Day the following year the fleet assembled; twenty-five vessels having been the contribution from Sussex, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Gloucester, and Cornwall, of which one was contributed by the Prior of Christchurch, an incidental proof of the wealth of the community of which he was the head.

Soon after his election Prior Quyntyn got into trouble with the King and the Bishop of Winchester, Henry Woodlock, for celebrating mass in an unlicensed chapel dedicated to St. Leonard at Rishton—which is probably the same as Richedon, now Ramsden Hill, north of St. Catherine's Hill—and in 1306 John de Warham, Sub-Prior of Christchurch, received a reprimand for some misdemeanour from the same Bishop, who degraded him from his office and forbade him to leave the precincts of the convent. Four years later Bishop Woodlock paid a visit to the Priory, of which, however, no details are given, nor is there any further reference to Prior Quyntyn's mistake with regard to Rishton, or to the unfortunate Sub-Prior, so that it is impossible to say whether he was or was not reinstated. Apparently all went well on the occasion of Bishop Woodlock's visit, the Prior having been, it is very evident, a man of charming personality who knew well how to entertain his guests. His memory was long cherished as that of a courteous and considerate ruler and a generous benefactor to those in need. He greatly increased the gifts of the Priory to the poor, which though generally in kind, also occasionally included money, six shillings and eight-pence, for instance, having been divided between forty parishioners on the anniversary of Mabel, Countess of Devon, and of Hadewise, daughter of the first Earl Baldwin, whilst fifty shillings were divided between one hundred pensioners in memory of Edward of Porchester.

Before Prior Quyntyn's time four loaves of bread and four

dishes of meat were given to the poor on the anniversary of a Canon's death, but in his will he directed that one hundred loaves should be distributed on the actual day of the decease and fifty on the morrow, the first from the Priory almonry and the second from the kitchen. Moreover, he directed that for a whole year after the passing away of a canon, the share of food that would have been his in the refectory should be given to the poor. When it is remembered that the number of those whose anniversaries were commemorated was ever on the increase, and that two masses, one of the Blessed Virgin, and the other of the Holy Ghost, were daily said in the Priory Church for the souls of benefactors, as well as a solemn mass once a month for the benefit of the departed friends of those benefactors, some idea will be obtained of the amount of work done by the Prior and his Canons, not to speak of the arduous toil of the lay brethren, whose duty it was not only to supply the temporal needs of the community but also to prepare and distribute the doles to the poor. In the golden days of the Priory it is very evident that monastery and church were in the closest correlation, and that both were in intimate touch with the people, who were accustomed to turn to Prior and Vicar in every need whether physical or spiritual.

It has been counted a reproach to the Priory that it did not own a library of ancient manuscripts, as did so many of the old monastic institutions. John Leland, who in 1533 was appointed King's Antiquary by Henry VIII, reported that Christchurch possessed but one volume, an unimportant book, which he described as "a Saxon version of a few laws." That this was a most misleading statement, and that the nickname applied to the Canons of "Abbey Lubbers" on account of their ignorance was very unfair, is proved by the fact that under the auspices of Prior Quyntyn and his successors was drawn up the valuable record of the history of the establishment over which he ruled, the Chartulary so often quoted from, which bears the following inscription giving the date of its completion as 1372:

Anno millesimo tricenteno duodeno
Et sexageno Domini dictamine pleno,
Ad laudem Christi finis libro datur isti
Spe auctoris hinc gaudeat omnibus horis

The compilation of the Chartulary which, as already stated, consists of 310 large folios, must have involved a very consider-

able amount of toil. It proves great erudition on the part of those concerned in its preparation, and reflects no little credit on the part of the Priors, who secured by its means an enduring memorial of the College that preceded the Priory and of the first 220 years of the latter establishment.

In the autumn of 1316 the health of the hard-working Prior Quyntyn began to give way, and Bishop John Sandale of Winchester, who had been consecrated that same year, granted him a dispensation from fasting in the approaching advent season. The venerable Prior lingered for another six months, religiously fulfilling all his duties to the last. He passed away in April 1317, and was succeeded by one of his Canons, Walter Tholveshide, whose reign lasted for six years, and was specially noteworthy for the fact that during it Bishop Sandale, who, as is well known, was a most zealous prelate, made a visitation of the Priory, and found all in good order. The very last act recorded of the Bishop is a letter to Prior Tholveshide requesting him to receive into the Priory a clerk named Stephen de Stapelbrugge, late a brother of the suppressed Knights Templars, in accordance with the Bull of Pope John XXII, ordering the Bishops to find homes for the brethren in religious houses to avoid the scandal of their return to the world. Bishop Sandale, who though he occupied the see of Winchester for three years only, left a wonderful record of successful work behind him, had made arrangements for yet another visitation of Christchurch when his health gave way, so that it never took place, but there are indications that had it been carried out he would not have been able to pass so favourable a judgement on the state of affairs as that quoted above.

On the death of Prior Tholveshide in 1323 he was succeeded by Edward de Ramsbury, and the year of his accession was marked by the grant to him and his Convent from Walter, Abbot of Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, of "a message in La Mulle Street in the town of Christ-Church," together with some meadows and a mill in La Throp at the annual rent of twelve pounds sterling. This indenture is still in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, though the seals are unfortunately gone, but they are known to have been that of the Abbey of Quarr, and the later one of Christchurch Priory, which is thus described by Madox, a well-known authority on seals: "A round seal of green wax, . . . engraven with a church and inscribed, in the outer circle, "SIGILLVM XRI DE TWOYNHAM."

During the term of office of Edmund de Ramsbury, who died in 1337, certain grave scandals in the community under his care brought down upon him two severe letters from Bishop John Stratford. The first of these had reference to the misdoings of Canon John de Sandon, but what they were is not stated, the second to the conduct of Canon Thomas de Montague, who had ill-treated a clerk named John Wastour, for which he had been excommunicated. In 1327 the Bishop, who meanwhile had obtained absolution for the offending Canon, thought it desirable to hold a visitation of the Priory, and the growing laxity he observed in obedience to the Rule and in the performance of the prescribed services there led to his issuing a Code of Injunctions, which gives a very vivid presentment of what was then considered the ideal of monastic life as well as of the daily routine in Christchurch Priory. A translation of them from the original Latin is therefore here quoted at length:

1. Every Canon in office and all other canons excepting the Seneschal and Cellarer in consideration of their onerous duties, are to attend Matins, High Mass, and the Hours: the Seneschal if for two nights together in the Monastery, to attend one Matins and the Cellarer to be present at least on alternate nights. 2. Six Canons and a Celebrant were to be weekly enrolled for celebrating Our Lady Mass, no Dominican, Franciscan, or Secular being permitted to officiate. The Prior was to celebrate on all double feasts at High Mass, and on Saturday at Our Lady Mass: he was to use the surplice as his proper habit and not a rochet. 3. All Canons in priests' orders were to celebrate daily; those who were not celebrants to repeat eleven psalms with a Litany or Psalter of Our Lady. The Festivals of the dedication of the Church and of Corpus Christi were to be solemnly observed. 4. Four Confessors were to receive confessions of the Canons. 5. Latin or French was to be the language used; and all conversation with seculars was forbidden in time of Mass or the Hours. 6. No one without special leave except the Prior and officers to ride or leave the house. 7. Two thirds of the Canons at least were to dine daily in the refectory, including the Hebdomadarius (the officiating clergyman of the week at the Hours and course-keeper at dinner) and the Celebrant under pain of discipline. The door was to be kept by a secular watchman who was to remove all servants and idle people from it during dinner; at the lowest table the Almoner had his place, to prevent any Canon carrying his commons to laundry people or the townfolk. Guests were to be received in the Prior's chamber; private meals were forbidden in the Canons' rooms (*mansiunculæ*). 8. All the Canons were to sleep in the dormitory in separate beds. 9. The infirmary was to be visited daily by the Prior or

Sub-Prior. 10. Two Canons were to act as treasurers: the Seneschal, Cellarer, and other officers were to render a yearly account on pain of perpetual suspension. 11. The common seal was to be kept under four locks, and letters, having been read, were to be sealed in full chapter, not as before during Mass. 12. Canons were not to play at chess or draughts or to keep hounds within the precinct (except in the custody of the Prior who might have hounds outside the convent) nor to have a servant except on a journey or at the expense of the house nor to write or receive letters without leave.¹

It was further directed that

the entrance door of the nave of the church was to be locked nightly at sunset and opened in the morning; the inner door of the choir for entrance and egress was to be shut till the commencement of Our Lady Mass and after the end of High Mass until Vespers began, and again after the close of Vespers . . . unless the Prior directed otherwise when strangers came.

The mention in these very comprehensive Injunctions—which are said to have caused great consternation amongst those whom they principally concerned—of the various buildings of the Priory proves that it was of considerable extent, with all the usual appointments of an important conventual establishment, whilst the references to the idle people who were wont to gather about the doors at meal-times, to the hounds that might be kept by the Prior, the private servant he was forbidden to have, and other details, are very suggestive of the abuses that had gradually crept in since the first foundation of the austere Augustinian community. The Bishop, moreover, was not content with suggestions, that had the force of commands, concerning the discipline of the Canons, but as is proved by other documents preserved, he urged upon the Prior the duty of completing the cloisters that had evidently been already begun, though there is nothing to show how far they were advanced.

In 1328 Bishop Stratford, having heard rumours of the disloyal and rebellious gossip amongst the Canons concerning his Injunctions, ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter, with a view to discovering the identity of the culprits, but in spite of this prompt action on his part there is no record of the infliction of any punishments on the offenders. Somewhat earlier in the

¹ Quoted from "Memorials of Christchurch-Twynham," by the Rev. Mackenzie C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A. Third edition.

same year Prior Edmund de Ramsbury was summoned by the young King Edward III to appear before him at York to answer certain charges against him, but what those charges were or what took place in the interview between monarch and ecclesiastic is not known. The Prior was soon back at his post, but at the end of 1331 he was once more in difficulties with the zealous Bishop of Winchester, who reprimanded him severely for having on 13 November of that year celebrated mass in the chapel of St. Katharine on Rishton Hill before it had been duly licensed for that purpose. In 1333, however, an incident of a pleasanter kind occurred, the King having restored to Prior Edmund, on the payment of the small fine of ten marks, the advowson and lordship of the property at Rishton forfeited by Prior Quynryn as the result of the mistake referred to above as having been committed by him.

In the last year of the life of Prior Edmund de Ramsbury, yet another visitation of Christchurch Priory was held, this time by Bishop Adam de Orleton who had succeeded Bishop Stratford at Winchester in 1333. On the occasion of his visit to Christchurch Bishop Adam de Orleton preached in the Chapter House from the text, "Ascendente Jesu in naviculum secuti sunt eum cum discipulis ejus," and instituted a very rigid examination into the affairs of the Priory, which he found in anything but a satisfactory condition. The sudden death a month later of Prior Edmund prevented the taking of any immediate steps to remedy this state of affairs, and matters were not by any means improved by the selection of Richard de Bustehorne or Questehorne as his successor, for the new Prior appears to have been a man of lax morals, with no sense of the dignity of his office. He had not been at the Priory many weeks before he was deposed by the Bishop, who instructed the Sub-Prior to act as his proxy, and appointed a commission to sift thoroughly the evidence as to the responsibility for the excesses he had noted on his recent Inquisition.

Whether Prior Bustehorne was or was not reinstated is not known, but in 1340 a certain Robert de Leyghe was elected Prior of Christchurch, the necessity for reform having been forcibly urged upon him before he took up his office. During the interregnum, when there was practically no reigning Superior, things appear to have gone from bad to worse, but there are certain indications that in spite of the melancholy condition of the internal affairs of the monastery, the work on

the church was being vigorously prosecuted. The wooden roof of the nave, portions of which still remain beneath the later plaster vaulting, was placed in position during the tenure of office of Edward de Ramsbury, and it seems probable that in those of his immediate successors the eastern portion was considerably enlarged, though subsequent alterations swept aside all that was done in the first half of the fourteenth century. The only relics of the ancient choir, that was replaced in the fifteenth century by the present one, are some few of the misereres of the stalls, one of which dates from the early thirteenth century and another from the first year of the fourteenth, which had been torn from their original position and flung aside as of no account when the monastery was destroyed in the sixteenth century, but were later collected and fitted into the stalls replacing those of the older Sanctuary.

It has been suggested that the screen described below in the account of the Priory Church as it now is, separating the nave which served as the Parish Church from the choir, reserved for the use of the Prior and Canons, was erected about the middle of the fourteenth century, but there is no reference to it in any records of the Priory that have been preserved, a fact giving colour to the belief of certain authorities that it was not built for the position it occupies, but was transferred to it from some church pulled down after the Dissolution. It must, however, be added that traces can still be made out of a stone screen which appears to have stretched across the second bay from the east of the nave and so long as it was *in situ* must have rendered a second one unnecessary. Possibly this ancient screen was low enough to enable worshippers in the western portion of the church to catch glimpses of the Prior and Sub-Prior as they passed to their canopied stalls, as well as of the long procession of Canons on their way to their seats on either side of the chancel, and to hear, though not to take actual part in, the services held in the monastic Sanctuary. However that may have been, there is no doubt that the general appearance of the Priory Church was very different from what it is now when Bishop Stratford issued his instructions concerning the opening and shutting of the doors of the nave and choir, so many are the additions that have been made since that eventful time, some of them, alas, quite out of harmony with the more ancient portion of the noble building of which they now form part.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY FROM 1340 to 1539, AND THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MANOR

THE records concerning Christchurch Priory in the second half of the fourteenth century are unfortunately very meagre. That it suffered greatly during the time of the Black Death there is no doubt, many Canons having died of the terrible scourge, and heavy debts having been incurred by the Prior to meet the expenses of fighting the disease. Neither the names nor the numbers of the victims are stated, but it is related that during the term of office of Robert de Leyghe, who, as has been seen, succeeded the disgraced Richard de Bustehorne as Prior in 1340, a certain William Everard and Elizabeth his wife paid a large sum of money to secure the services of a canon "to celebrate mass at the altar of St. Andrew in the Parish Church of Twyneham for their good estate and that of their souls after death and for the ancestors and heirs of Elizabeth." In addition to this they provided money for the burning of a wax light before the altar on the five feasts of the Blessed Virgin, from the beginning of the first to the end of the second vespers. For his services as their chaplain the Canon was to receive thirteen shillings and fourpence more than the usual sum paid to those who celebrated anniversaries, and in return for the extra payment he was to give notice, as was customary in the case of the death of a Canon, of the passing away of the husband and wife to all the Augustinian communities in England, and to distribute on the anniversary of the death of each of them bread, beer, and a dish of meat to sixty poor folk of the town.

Another significant reference to the Priory when Richard de Leyghe was its head, and one which appears to prove that the reforms so urgently needed had been, to some extent at least, carried out, is the statement that after a visitation from Bishop De Orleton in 1343 he granted a relaxation of the penances he had inflicted after his previous Inquisition into the affairs of the community. Two years after this Prior and Bishop both passed away,

the former to be succeeded by a certain William Tyrewacke, of whom nothing of any importance is recorded, the latter by the famous William Edington, who did so much for the Cathedral of Winchester, and seems also to have kept in close touch with Christchurch, as proved by the many references to it in the history of his twenty years' occupancy of the see to which it belongs. In 1357 William Tyrewacke died and was succeeded by a Canon named Henry Eyre, who held his office for nineteen years, during which time the attention of the Bishop of Winchester was several times concentrated upon Christchurch. In 1359 Bishop Edington sent an official down to the Priory to make inquiries into "the relations between the Convent and the Vicarage of Twyneham," and the report drawn up by Prior Eyre is of special value, defining as it does the position of the Vicar with regard to his parishioners, as well as to the Convent from which he drew his stipend and allowance for maintenance. It appears from it that the annual amount of corrody enjoyed by the Vicar and his servant represented the sum of £10 14s. The Vicar received seven loaves of bread and twenty-one gallons of beer a week, with one dish of meat and half a quarter of barley a day from the Priory kitchen, whilst his servant was entitled to two loaves of bread a day, one of wheat and one of barley, three gallons of beer and one dish of meat. For his horse the Vicar had a right to a share in a meadow worth thirteen shillings and fourpence, and five shillingworth of oats, the latter item being supplemented by a gift from the parish of ten quarters of oats a year, valued at sixteen shillings and eightpence. For fuel His Reverence was allowed ten loads of peat a year, for his bed four quarters of straw at every great feast, and he was relieved from all such incidental expenses of his office as the buying of books, vestments, wax, bread, and wine. One robe a year worth twenty shillings, the bread and wine used in the Holy Eucharist, the value of the latter amounting on an average to thirty-five shillings and fourpence a year, were all provided for him, and he also received a considerable sum in actual money as fees for the services he performed for his people—who numbered about two thousand—namely, one penny for every confession heard, every marriage celebrated, every baptism, churching, or burial at which he officiated, to which must be added ten shillings a year as actual stipend; twopence every Sunday and a candle worth a penny, the total value of the living rising to what was then the very considerable sum of £21 2s. 10d.

Henry Eyre had not long been at the head of the Priory before he found himself in difficulties with the Lord of the Manor, William Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury, who, as already related in the secular history of Christchurch, was also patron of the monastery. He claimed, it would appear, a right to interfere in its internal affairs in a way to which he was certainly not entitled, taking possession of some of the conventual buildings for the use of his family, his guests and their attendants, and disregarding all the remonstrances of the Prior. Either Henry Eyre or his predecessor, it is difficult to determine which, had somewhat foolishly granted permission to Katherine, the Dowager Duchess of Salisbury, to build a bridge connecting the demesne of her son with the precincts of the Priory, in order to secure to her a quiet and secluded walk. This easy means of communication between the Manor and the Convent led, as might have been foreseen, to gossip amongst the townsfolk, which, whether it had any real foundation or not, was equally injurious to the reputation of the Canons. Constant disputes now arose between the Prior and the Lord of the Manor, and when they came before the local courts the former found it impossible to obtain justice, so strong was the prejudice that had been aroused against him. In the end Prior Eyre found it necessary to appeal for aid to the newly consecrated Bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham, one of whose first acts after his appointment in 1367 was to address a very serious protest to the Earl of Salisbury, in which he urged him to cease from the oppression and wrong-doing of which he had been guilty, and ordered him to cause to be vacated and put into repair all the houses belonging to the Canons of which he had taken possession, before the approaching Feast of the Holy Trinity.

Whether these injunctions were or were not obeyed there is no evidence to show, but Henry Eyre's troubles were by no means over, for he was stricken with blindness in the very year of his appeal to the "splendid, munificent and blameless prelate" who was to exercise so potent an influence for good not only in his own diocese, but in the whole of England. For a few months the unfortunate Prior struggled on hoping against hope that he might recover his sight and be able to fulfil his duties. It was not to be, and in 1368 William of Wykeham, who never tolerated any falling off in the efficiency of those of whom he was the spiritual over-lord, issued a solemn mandate to Prior Eyre to appoint a coadjutor within six days. Thus compelled to bow

to the inevitable the afflicted Superior selected Peter Travers, one of his Canons, and for the next nine years the two worked together in harmony, the Bishop continuing to watch over with unabated interest the affairs of the community under their joint care. Sometimes, indeed, it is related he interfered in a manner to rouse the ire of the blind Prior, for on one occasion when the latter refused to receive back into the community a Canon named John Cosham, who had run away, and disguising himself in secular clothes had endeavoured to obtain employment as a layman, William of Wykeham espoused the culprit's cause. How the matter came to the ears of the Bishop the story does not say, but the offending Canon appeared one day at the Priory with a letter from him to Prior Eyre instructing the latter to admit him, and after the infliction of due discipline to reinstate him in his former position. This the Superior absolutely declined to do, declaring in a letter of explanation to his spiritual lord that the offender had been an evil influence in the community, and was not worthy of forgiveness. For all that the Bishop persisted, dwelling on the penitence of the offender, and in the end enforcing his will upon the reluctant Prior.

In 1376 Prior Eyre passed away, and Canon John Wodenham was elected in his place, reigning for twenty-one years, and earnestly endeavouring from first to last to meet the wishes of Bishop William of Wykeham, who continued to exercise close supervision over the affairs of the Priory, twice sending down a commission of inquiry, and on more than one occasion issuing private instructions to its head on minor details of government.

For a year after the death of John Wodenham no new Prior was elected, but in 1398, with the consent of the Bishop of Winchester, John Borard was chosen. He entered on his duties with eager zeal, and for the first four years all went well, though there were not wanting certain signs that mischief was brewing. Probably the strict discipline that had resulted from the high ideal held up by the noble reformer William of Wykeham had aroused the indignation of the Canons, who were not all of them as spiritually-minded as their vows implied. However that may have been, a positive rebellion broke out in 1402, seven Canons, namely Thomas Corf, Thomas Snoise, John Wymborne, Thomas Portlande, John Manere, John Andrew, and Roger Milton having conspired together to turn out the Prior. Adding sacrilege to disobedience they swore on the Blessed Sacrament that they would no longer submit to the rule of Borard, and after assault-

ing him and driving him and the Sub-Prior forth, they laid hands on what valuables they could and absconded.

When the news of the revolt reached the Bishop he at once sent down two trustworthy officers to arrest the fugitives and inquire into the cause of the trouble. The culprits were all soon tracked to their hiding places, and aided by Prior Borard and the heads of the neighbouring Augustinian convents at Mottisfont and St. Denis, the delegates from Winchester held a solemn court, at which all but one of the accused—the exception being Thomas Snoke, though why he escaped is not recorded—were found guilty and condemned to various punishments according to the degree of their participation in the crime. Roger Milton, who appears to have been the ringleader, and had long been a cause of anxiety to the authorities, and his chief colleague, John Manere, were banished to another convent, there to be subjected to very severe penance; whilst the rest of the conspirators had to undergo imprisonment in their own Priory and were disqualified for two years from holding any offices. Though these punishments were certainly not at all out of proportion to the offences committed, Bishop William of Wykeham did not consider them all quite severe enough, and a week after the trial, which had taken place on 22 March, he revised the sentences on Corfe, Portlande, and Wymborne, adding to them public discipline from the President in Chapter every Friday until the next Feast of the Holy Trinity, and before the whole Convent on the Friday next ensuing, with a year of fasting on Fridays; Corfe and Wymborne to have nothing but bread, beer, and broth, and Portlande only bread and water. Moreover, the three disgraced Canons were for the next few months forbidden to sit in the Choir during services, but had to take their places amongst the novices and servants outside the Sanctuary, and they were also ordered to aid in the menial work of the Priory.

On the 3rd of July of the same year Manere was allowed to return to Christchurch on the hard condition of sharing the penance of his fellow offenders, and in November Roger Milton succeeded in making his peace with the Bishop, who assured that he was a true penitent, granted him permission to sever his connection with the Priory, and join a convent where the discipline was exceptionally strict. Early in 1403 the other Canons still in seclusion at Christchurch brought an action in the Court of Arches against Prior Borard for false imprisonment, with the result that an injunction was issued to the defendant to

abstain from further observance of the instructions concerning the discipline of the plaintiffs, and the whole matter in dispute was referred to the consideration of the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The death of the former in 1404, however, led to the question being left in abeyance, but in October of the same year Archbishop Arundel caused a visitation to be made of all the religious houses in the See of Winchester by the Rev. John Maydenhith, Dean of Chichester, who in his report on Christchurch Priory, noted that no proper accounts had been kept by Prior Borard, called attention to many crying evils and suggested certain drastic remedies for them. To begin with there were but twenty instead of the full complement of twenty-six canons, and of these twenty thirteen were in the infirmary suffering from various diseases. The Prior's hall and chamber, with another more ancient hall and a room adjoining it, were all occupied, not by the Head of the Convent and the Canons, but by secular persons, members of the family or guests of the Lord of the Manor, to the great disturbance of the order and peace of the Priory, gates that should be kept closed being left open for the convenience of the intruders in what should have been looked upon as the sacred precincts of a religious community. He ordered the demolition of the ancient hall and its antechamber referred to above, so soon as its then occupier, Sir Thomas West, should vacate it, a fine of £100 to be paid to the Archbishop if it were left standing after that. Furthermore, he decreed that a house should be built for the Praecentor, and a new infirmary added on to the old, the accommodation for the sick being quite inadequate; that a room for recreation should be set apart far enough away from the infirmary to ensure that the noise from it should not disturb those who were suffering, and the provision of a separate study for each Canon. To these demands was added a rider commenting on the great expense to the monastery involved in visits to it of nobles and men of rank with large retinues, who occupied quarters that belonged by right to the Prior and Canons.

Whether the orders and suggestions of the Dean were carried out is not recorded, nor are many details known concerning the last years of Prior Borard, the most important being that not long before his death the much discussed will of Sir Thomas West drawn up in 1405 came into force. In it the testator whose occupancy of the "ancient hall adjoining the Priory" had

so angered the Rev. John Maydenhith, bequeathed £100 to the works of Christchurch (probably those going on in the choir of the church), forty shillings to the Prior, twenty to the Sub-Prior, eight shillings and fourpence to each of the Canons, £18 18s. 4d. for 4,500 masses, and £100 to the Treasury to maintain an obit, adding directions "that his body should be buried in the new Chapel of Our Lady in the Mynster of Christchurch where his mother Alice already rested," that is to say, in the present Lady Chapel, full particulars of which are given below, which was built, it is generally supposed, during the last decades of the fourteenth century, and completed shortly before the commencement of the choir that replaced the Norman one.

Prior Borard died not long after the trial in the Arches Court, and was succeeded by Canon Thomas Talbot, all that can be gathered about whom is that he at one time acted as collector of the tithes of benefices, that he died in 1420, and was buried in the north choir aisle of the Priory Church. In spite of the meagreness of personal information, however, his term of office appears to have been an eventful one so far as the Church was concerned, for whatever may be the truth as to the exact sequence of fifteenth-century work on it, about which the best authorities differ greatly, there can be no doubt that the choir, which occupied the place of the one *in situ*, whether it was the original Norman structure or a temporary Early English successor, was pulled down early in the fifteenth century, and that for the next fifty years there was scarcely a break in the continuity of architectural activity, the then Lords of the Manor having been zealous patrons of art, especially of architecture.

John Wimborne, who was elected Prior after the death in 1420 of Thomas Talbot, his successors, William Norton and John of Dorchester, who reigned over the Priory in the troubled times of the Wars of the Roses, the last-named passing away in 1477, witnessed many vicissitudes in the fortunes of the noble family with whose fate that of the Priory was so closely bound up. They must have watched, too, the gradual rising up of the noble choir in the Perpendicular style in which can be studied the final culmination of English Gothic, yet no hint is given in the brief notices of them in the Priory records of any part they took in the making of history, the only facts set down being that a Charter, dated 1425, now in the British Museum, bears the seal of Prior Wimborne, and that Edward IV, in the year of his accession, 1461, granted permission to the Prior and Convent

of Christchurch in return for a fee of five marks to have the various Charters granted to the Priory by his predecessors examined at Westminster with a view to their confirmation by himself.

John Draper, called the First to distinguish him from a later Prior of the same name, who succeeded John of Dorchester in 1477, retained his office until his death in 1501, but he made no special mark on his time, leading an easy, comfortable life, untroubled by the great events that were taking place beyond the limits of the community of which he was the indulgent head. The murder of the young sons of Edward IV, the tragic incidents of the reign of Richard III, the death of the usurper on Bosworth field, the accession of Henry VII, even the changes in the ownership of the secular Manor of Christchurch affected him but little if at all. When in the brief interregnum in the see of Winchester that occurred after the death in 1492 of Bishop Courtenay, before the consecration of Thomas Langton in 1493, a visitation of the Priory was held by order of Archbishop Norton of Canterbury by Robert Sherborne, later Bishop of Hereford, Prior Draper, the Sub-Prior, and fifteen of the Canons had absolutely nothing to say as to the affairs of the community, the only suggestion made to the commissary having been from a certain Canon Selby, who complained of the inferiority of the beer provided in the convent, a remark that was duly entered in the Winchester Episcopal Register.

A few years after this fiasco Bishop Langton, who was noted for his enthusiasm in the cause of education, issued a number of new regulations that affected Christchurch Priory to a certain extent, amongst which may be mentioned the annual inspection of the accounts of all bailiffs and stewards, the appointment of a schoolmaster to teach the young Canons grammar, the setting apart of one Canon for some special study of general utility, the holding every Good Friday of an inquisition into the conduct of such Canons as held appropriated livings, and the forbidding of Canons to go beyond the Priory precincts. Early in 1501 another visitation of Christchurch Priory was held, this time by Dr. Hede, a commissary from Canterbury, who was more successful than Robert Sherborne had been in eliciting information. Prior Draper, who was now a very old man, reported that his Canons attended all the prescribed services with due regularity, that the offices of Sub-Prior, Sacrist, and Master of the Mills were all held by one Canon, who rendered an annual account of the

money received and expended in connection with them, that the Convent seal was kept, in accordance with the rules of the house, under four keys in the custody of himself as Prior, the Sub-Prior, the third Prior, and the Steward, that no movable valuables of the Convent were in pledge, and that the Convent owed no man anything. To the truth of these assertions William Eyre Sub-Prior; John Warner Steward; Richard Cugin third Prior; Nicholas Bryght Precentor; John Baker Almoner; John Gravy Cellarer; John Gregory Warden of the Frater; and other Canons bore witness, but, strange to say, when the Prior was asked how many statutory Canons there were in the Priory he was unable to answer. The fact that there were twenty-four was, however, elicited from Thomas Wimborne, one of the Canons, and the Sub-Deacon, Robert Godewyn, volunteered the statement that the sick in the "farmery" as the infirmary was called, were not properly attended to.

When at last Prior Draper the First passed away, William Eyre, Sub-Prior, who as has been seen was one of the signatories to the report quoted above, was elected in his stead, reigning peacefully until the accession in 1509 of Henry VIII, when the first note of coming trouble was sounded, the validity of his appointment having been called in question on the ground that assent to it had not been given by Henry VII before his death. An inquisition was held by the Abbot of Quarr in obedience to orders from the Episcopal authorities, with the result that William Eyre was declared to be disqualified, but for all that he appears to have continued to rule the Priory until 1515, when the decision of the Abbot was reversed. Five years later Prior Eyre died, and was buried in the northern aisle of the choir, not far from Prior Thomas Talbot.

In January 1521 the final chapter in the history of the Priory of Christchurch began with the election as its head of John Draper the Second, who was already a man of mark, being titular Bishop of Neapolis, near the ancient Shechem in Samaria. Though there must certainly already have been premonitions in the very air of the revolution which was ere long to take place in the ecclesiastical history of England, the Prior-elect probably little dreamed as he took his part in the solemn ceremonial of his initiation, that never again would the pealing of the bells announce to the outer world the election of a new ruler of the time-honoured community of Canons, or that he was the last Superior who would address the brethren in the

Chapter House, or preside over their meals in the refectory, doomed with the rest of the conventual buildings to destruction in his lifetime.

The first few years of Prior Draper's rule were fairly quiet, though mutterings of the coming storm were beginning to be heard in the distance, but in 1526, when the wrath of the King had been aroused by the refusal of Pope Clement VII to annul his marriage with Queen Catherine, readers of the signs of the times realized that the quarrel with Rome was likely to have far reaching consequences. The proclamation by Parliament in 1534 of Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church of England was the beginning of the end for Christchurch Priory as well as for many another more important community, though its actual death blow was not struck until 1540.

In 1535 the suppression of the monasteries with a view to the appropriation of their revenues began, and to justify this dishonest policy Thomas Cromwell, who acted as the King's agent in the matter, appointed Commissioners to inquire into the condition of the monasteries selected to be the first victims. It is noteworthy that the hated "Hammer of the Monks," as he was called, had already had friendly relations with Prior Draper, from whom in the very year of the beginning of the inquisition he had borrowed a copy of Bede, and another book from the Priory Library, and asked him to have transcripts made of the works of William of Malmesbury, which the head of the doomed community promised to do, an incidental proof that the Canons were by no means so illiterate as has been supposed. Prior Draper must therefore have felt that he had some claim on the consideration of Cromwell, and when in 1536 Sir James Worsley was sent down to Hampshire to examine amongst others the Priory at Christchurch, its ruler was not very much alarmed, but expected that it would be allowed to remain uninterfered with. Sir James rather encouraged this erroneous belief, for he listened to all Prior Draper had to urge against its suppression, and promised to use his influence with Cromwell on its behalf, though he added that he could not undertake to conceal its wealth, which he feared would militate against its interests. He even went so far as to send a very favourable report to the minister of the wide influence for good exercised by the Prior and his Canons, characterizing the former as an able and conscientious administrator. To make assurance doubly sure, however, Prior Draper resolved to appeal to the King himself, and

addressed to him the following most touching letter, the actual manuscript of which is preserved in the Record Office.

TO THE KING OUR SOVEREIGN LORD

In his most humble wise showeth unto your most excellent highness your humble obedient suppliant true & faithful chaplain & daily bedeman, John Draper, prior & commendatory by your most royal majesty's high authority, of your place of Christchurch-Twyne-ham, nigh unto your new Forest, in your County of Southampton, that where the said place is situate & set in a desolate place of this your realm, & in a very barren country out & far from all highways, in an angle or a corner, having no woods nor commodious country about it, nor nigh no good town, but only the said poor town of Christchurch, which is a very poor town & slenderly inhabited, nor hath no commodious domaines, neither temporal towns, nor lordships royall of temporal lands, but only certain poor villages & granges, & the most part with farms of parsonages & spiritual tithes, the church of which place is not only a church and a place for poor religious men, but also is the parish church unto the said town of Christchurch, & of other hamlets thereabout, parishioners to the same in the which parish is the number of 15 or 16 hundred houselyng people & above, & neither church, town nor parish of any substance where any honourable or honest man may have any succour or repose, on horseback or on foot, nigh thereunto by the space of 8 or 9 miles, & some ways by the space of 16 or 18 miles, but only that poor place of Christchurch, to the which both rich & poor doth repair and repose. So it is, most gracious Sovereign, that the said place of late years was a place of Secular Canons, & by right noble high & puissant princes of famous memory, your antecessors, was made a place of Canons regular, & although that the said place is so barrenly situate & set, yet not only the poor folks inhabitants of the town & parish there, but also of the country thereabout, are daily there relieved & sustained with bread and ale, purposely baked & brewed for them weekly, to no little quantities, according to their foundation, & a house ordained purposely for them, & officers according duly given attendance to serve them to their great comfort & relief. Which charitable alms appeareth in your Majesty's books, where it is of your Majesty's goodness graciously allowed, & your said orators & their predecessors have used continually hitherto to keep a master to teach grammar to children & scholars there, & certain of them having meat, drink, & clothes. And now according to your godly ordinance in your grace's visitation, is also kept continually a lecture of divinity. And if the said place should there be suppressed & lack, then should not only the said town & parish, but also the country thereabout decay & be right bare & desolate, to the great ruin & desolation of that part of a little corner of this your realm, to great pity. It may, therefore,

please your most excellent highness, of your benign goodness & grace special, amongst other your manifold good deeds of mercy, the premises tenderly to consider & thereupon to be so good & gracious liege lord unto your said suppliant chaplain & bedemen & his poor brethern, as to grant further your high authority that the said place & church may still continue to stand, & be under such order & rule as shall stand with your Majesty's high pleasure, and your most honourable & right wise and discreet counsel, to appoint them. And this at the reverence of God & in the way of charity. And not only your said suppliant & chaplain & his poor brothers during their poor lives, according to their bounden duties, but also the poor town & cuntry for ever shall daily pray to God for the preservation of your most noble & royal estate & your high supremacy, in much honour & felicity long to prosper & endure.

This pathetic appeal had absolutely no result, for other commissioners were appointed to inquire yet more closely into the possessions of the Priory, who proved themselves absolutely callous to all the arguments of Prior Draper. Amongst them was the feared and hated Dr. London, noted for his relentless animosity to the Religious Orders, with whom the Prior had many painful interviews, which finally convinced him that the wisest course would be to surrender the Priory and all its effects without further demur, and to endeavour later to rescue something from the wreck.

The formal submission to the will of the King took place on 28 November 1539, and the letter to Cromwell dated 2 December of that year, and signed by the commissioners, is preserved amongst the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, now in the British Museum. The following are the actual words of this most interesting historical document:

Ow^r humble dewties observyd unto yo^r gudde Lordeschippe. It may lyke the same to be advertised that we have taken the surrendre of the late priorye of Christ Church Twynhū wher we founde the Prior a very honest comfortable pson and the howse well furnysshede w^t Juellys and plate wherof som be mete for the kinge majestie is use as a litell chalys of golde, a gudly lardg crosse doble gylt w^t the foote garnysshyd w^t stone and perle, two gudly basons doble gylt having the Kinge armys well inamyled, a gudly greet pyxe for the sacramēt doble gylt, And ther be also other thinge of syl^v right honest and of gudde valewe as well for the churche use as for the table resvyd and kept to the kinge use. In thys churche we founde a chaple and monumēt curiously made of cane stone þpared by the late mother of Raynolde Pole for herre buriall, wiche we have causyd to be defacyd and all the armys and badgis to

be delete. The surveyng of the demayngs of thys howse wich be lardge and baryn and som partt therof xxⁱⁱ mylys from the monastery wich we also do survey and mesure hathe causyd usse to mak long^g abode at thys plac then we intendyd. And now we be in joiney toward^e Amysbery wher we shall use like diligens for the accōplissng of the king^e highnes cōmission. And assone as we have don them we shall farther certifie yo^r lordeshippe of o^r doing^e. And thus we beseke almyhtie J^hs longe to þ^sve yo^r gudde lordeschippe w^t increse of moche hono^r.

At Christchurche ij^o Decebris

Yo^r lordschipe humbly to cōmand

Robt Southwell
Willm Berners

Rychard Poulet
Jhon Londen

Edward Carne

To this laconic report, which is a revelation of the barbarous way in which they carried out their instructions, the Commissioners added various statements as to the value of the property, and what they considered desirable with regard to the disposition of it: "The clear yearly value," they said, "of all the possessions of the said late monastery . . . as well spiritual as temporal over and besides £95 4s. 5d. in fees and annuities, granted to divers persons by letters patent, was £519 3s. 6d." They also gave lists of the religious then in occupation whose pensions amounted to £246, leaving a clear balance of £273 3s. 6d., and of all the payments recently made to the late religious and servants dismissed. They assessed at £177 0s. 10d. the value of the "ornaments, goods, and chattels, belonging to the said late monastery, sold by the said commissioners as particularly appeareth in the book of sale thereof made ready to be showed," and drew up a detailed statement of what buildings should in their opinion be allowed to remain standing and what should be pulled down. Amongst the former were: "The late Prior's lodging wholly as it is sette in a quadraunt with hall, buttery, pantry, kitchens, and lodgings over the same; the Gate House in the Base Court with baking house, and brewing house, the stable, and the barn there, which are committed to the custody of William Avery to the use of the King's Majesty." The buildings deemed to be superfluous included "the church, cloister, dormitory, chapter house, frater or refectory, infirmary, the Sub-Prior's lodgings with the utter (outer) cloister and gallery, the chapel in the same cloister, and all the houses thereto adjoining," truly a tragically complete summary of all that was most

beautiful in a unique and noble group of buildings associated with many thrilling memories, and closely linked with the ecclesiastical history of England for more than four centuries. The commissioners, who evidently gave their whole minds to the task in hand, did not scruple to devote their attention to such minor details as the "leads remaining upon the church cloisters and houses aforesaid," of which they remarked there were thirty-eight foddors. The bells, too, came in for notice. "Seven there were," it is stated, "left in the steeple there, whereof five were assigned to the parish, and the remaining two to the use of the King's Majesty; pois (weight) by estimation 1800. Of jewels or ornaments reserved to the use of the King," they report, there were none; but of plate of gold and silver reserved, gold, 26 oz., silver gilt, 664 oz.; silver parcel gilt, 587 oz., silver white, 655 oz., the whole amounting to 1,932 oz.

The various officers who were dismissed on the surrender were the Sub-Prior, the third Prior, the Infirmarer, the Precentor, the Cellarer, the Seneschal, the Almoner, two Treasurers, the Pitanciaz, or officer who distributed the so-called pittance to the poor at certain festivals, the Master of the Works, the Prior of the Cloisters, the Sacrist, the Sub-Sacrist, and the Master of the Refectory. There were eight Canons in full and three in minor orders and the Vicar in residence was a certain Rev. William Trapnell, whose name is the only one recorded of the many clergy connected with the Priory and Church, whose fortunes were affected by the radical change that took place after the Dissolution.

As stated in the first of the "Ministers' Accounts" that are quoted in Sir William Dugdale's edition of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," the Priory of Christchurch owned when all its property was so drastically confiscated, in addition to the Monastery, the Church, and the Vicarage, with the tolls from the weekly market and the annual Trinity Fair, the manors of Somerford, Aisshe, and South Chewton, Hinton, Hum, Milford and its rectory, Lymington, Wallhampton, Sway, and its rectory, Ringewood, and Shalfleet in the Isle of Wight, Puddletown and Fleet in Dorset, Clopton in Wiltshire, with outlying lands nearer home at Boldre, Avon, Ripley, and elsewhere. Moreover, the Prior was patron of many important livings, including those of Blandford and Brockenhurst, so that the sudden disappearance of the Augustinian community affected a very wide area and a great variety of interests.

Little is unfortunately known of the later fortunes of the Canons of Christchurch and the officials who had ministered to their needs, but Prior Draper, whose tact had saved him from incurring the displeasure of the commissioners and won from them the verdict that he was "a very honest, conformable person," was assigned the use for his life of Somerford Grange and granted a pension of £133 6s. 8d. In 1544 he became Prebendary of Winchester, but to the last he retained his love for his old field of action, residing chiefly in his home near it and passing away there in 1552, when he was buried in the nave of the Church in which he had so often worshipped. His grave, in which were placed his crozier, a pewter chalice and a paten, remained undisturbed until 1822, when the slab above it was removed and placed in front of the chantry chapel built by the Prior himself in the south choir aisle that is described below in the account of the Priory Church. This slab bears the inscription: "Tumba Johis Draper dicessimi Sexti Prioris hujus ecclesie qui obiit. xxix^o die mensis Septem. Anno dni mille^{mo} cccclii Cujus Anime propitietur Deus. Amen."

Sub-Prior Robert Beverley was pensioned as well as the Prior, receiving £10 a year, and seventeen Canons were allowed annual amounts varying from £6 13s. to £3 8s. 6d. Their number was reduced to fourteen when the list of Pensioners to Religious Houses was revised in the time of Queen Mary, in which list it is interesting to note that Christchurch is referred to as one of seven free chapels in Hampshire with a priest attached to it.

Great indeed must have been the grief and dismay, not only in Christchurch but in many a distant district that had been closely associated with the Priory and its beautiful Church for many centuries, when the fiat went forth for their destruction, and it seemed probable that they would share the fate of the neighbouring Beaulieu Abbey, which had even stronger claims on the consideration of the King and the ecclesiastical authorities than the comparatively humble buildings "betwixt the rivers." The list given in the Commissioners' Report quoted above of the houses and other buildings assigned to remain and of those deemed superfluous, calls up a vivid picture of the picturesque mediaeval Monastery with all the characteristic features, chapter house, chapels, and cloisters, Prior's Lodge, refectory, and dormitory, clustering about a noble Sanctuary that had grown up with it and bore as it did the impress of each successive period

of architectural development in England, both contrasting strongly with the neighbouring Castle that as yet remained unimpaired and was to survive the Priory for another century before it, too, was condemned to destruction by those in power.

So deep was the feeling of indignation aroused in the neighbourhood by the decision to pull down the Priory and Church, that a petition was drawn up by influential holders of property, with the result that the King relented so far as the latter and the bells in it were concerned, though he refused to make any promises with regard to the Convent. Exactly when its destruction began it is impossible to say, but there is, alas, all too much evidence to prove that it was complete, though the meadow on the further side of the mill-stream is still called the Convent Garden, whilst the memory of the Monastery is also preserved in the name of Paradise retained by the portion of the churchyard overlooking the mill-stream. Scarcely a trace remains of buildings that must have occupied a very considerable area on the south side of the Church, extending probably as far as the site of the mill that replaced the Saxon one referred to in Domesday Book. Some rubble, probably from the destroyed buildings was, however, worked into the wall of Post-Reformation origin, replacing that which originally ran from where the Red House now stands, to the present pumping station, which is on ground filling up the Monastery Fish Pond, in the field called the Priory Meadow on the west side of the Church.

The Porter's Lodge, it is true, was left standing when the rest of the Priory buildings were destroyed, but it dates from the days of the last Prior, whose initials J. D. are carved above the doorway. This interesting survival of the last days of the time-honoured religious establishment is situated on the right-hand side of the western approach to the Church and is two stories high. On the wall of its upper room are inscribed the Lord's Prayer and the following lines in sixteenth-century lettering:

The world must end, all things away must fly,
Nothing more sure than death, for all must die,
See then that ye improve the days you have
For there's no work or counsell in the grave.

The history, after the suppression of the Priory, of the property which had belonged to it is somewhat obscure, all that is known being that in 1540, the year of the summary execution

of Cromwell, Heny VIII granted a twenty-one years' lease of its site and precincts—reserving the church and churchyard—to the future Lord Chancellor, Thomas Wriothesley, and a certain William Avery, adding to this five years later what was then known as the New Church House, a fishery in the Avon and Stour, and other property that had belonged to the Canons, to be held by the former, who had then become Lord Wriothesley, for life only, with a reversion to Stephen Kirton, a merchant of London, and his wife Margaret, with their heirs and assigns, “to be held,” to quote the actual words of the legal document conferring this reversion, “of the aforesaid king his heirs and successors *in capite*, by the service of the fortieth part of a knight's fee and the annual rent of thirty one shillings and six-pence farthing.” The property at Christchurch, that in due course passed to Stephen and Margaret Kirton, included the land once occupied by the Priory buildings, all of which, after changing hands many times passed in the latter half of the eighteenth century to Gustavus Brander, F.S.A., F.R.S., who in 1775 built the house on the south side of the church that is still called the Priory, and is now (1916) owned by its occupier, Miss Tighe, whose gardener lives in the old Priory Lodge described above.

In the course of the operations for preparing the ground for the building of this house Mr. Brander discovered a considerable portion of the foundations of the Priory, and claimed that he was able, as stated in a letter written by him to the Society of Antiquaries,

very clearly to trace out the plan and arrangement of the whole building and to ascertain in a great measure the appropriation of the several principal parts, how they were disposed, and what were their respective form and size . . . the refectory [he added] is a room thirty-six feet long by twenty wide. On the east side there was a doorway, leading into an interior apartment, which measured twenty feet by eighteen with two Gothic windows in it to the south. The walls here were at least five feet thick and in the easternmost of the two windows was fixed a large stone of pentagonal figure, excavated and perforated in the centre. Its use, I suppose, was to hold water for sacred or other purposes, and the hole to draw it off and discharge it occasionally. This room, I should imagine, was the Prior's oratory.

The writer then goes on to describe other relics, including the ancient stone coffins already referred to, which he unearthed in the further excavations carried on under his directions. His

letter, which caused considerable discussion at the time of its appearance amongst archaeologists and antiquarians, unfortunately led to no definite result, and it must always be regretted that no attempt was made to preserve for posterity the interesting survivals of the old monastic buildings, that are now entirely hidden from view, but were as worthy of reverent care as the remains of the Norman Keep and Hall which are justly considered priceless heirlooms of the past.

After dealing in the manner related above with the property that had once belonged to the Priory, Henry VIII proceeded to make known his further royal pleasure concerning the Church and Churchyard. On 23 October 1540 he issued Letters Patent giving them to a corporate body styled the Wardens and Inhabitants of the town of Christchurch Twyneham, with the limitation that the church should be used as a Parish Church. The following is a translation by Mr. Herbert Druitt of this interesting document, which appeared in the "Christchurch Times" a few years ago:

THE KING TO ALL TO WHOM, &c., greeting, KNOW YE that we at the humble petition of Edward Lewyn and Robert Westbury, gentlemen, and of Thomas Hancock and James Trym, yeomen, wardens of the parish church of Christchurch Twyneham, in our county of Southampton, and of the Inhabitants of our town of Christchurch Twyneham aforesaid of our special grace and by our certain knowledge and mere motion have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant that the aforesaid Wardens and Inhabitants of our town aforesaid may be one body and may have perpetual succession and be persons able and capable in law and that the same Wardens and Inhabitants of our town aforesaid under the name of Wardens and Inhabitants of the town aforesaid by our gift may take, have and enjoy to them and their successors for ever the site, ground, ambit, circuit and precinct of the church of the late Monastery or Priory of Christchurch Twyneham in the county aforesaid and the whole church aforesaid, that is to say as well the choir, body, belfry, stones, timber, lead of the roofs and gutters of the church aforesaid as the whole and everything whereof the said church is erected, built and covered and the cemetery of the same church lying and being on the north part of the church aforesaid and seven bells in the belfry aforesaid now hanging.

AND FURTHER KNOW YE that we of our more abundant grace and by our certain knowledge and mere motion have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant to the aforesaid wardens of our town aforesaid and to the inhabitants of the same town all the site, ground, ambit, circuit, and precinct of the church of the late Monastery or

CHRISTCHURCH FROM TUCKTON CREEKS





Priory of Christchurch Twyneham aforesaid in the county aforesaid and the whole church aforesaid, that is to say [as well] the choir, body, belfry, stones, timber, iron, glass and lead of the roofs, gutters and buildings of the church aforesaid as the whole and everything whereof the said church is erected, built and covered and the cemetery of the same church lying and being on the north part of the same church and seven bells in the belfry aforesaid now hanging and being All and singular which premises came to our hands by reason or pretext of a certain charter of gift grant and confirmation by the late Prior and convent of the said late Monastery to us our heirs and successors then to us made. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said church of the said late Monastery or Priory and all and singular the premises to the aforesaid Wardens and Inhabitants and to their successors for ever in such ample manner and form as the aforesaid late Prior and convent or any of the predecessors of the said Prior and convent before these times had enjoyed or used or any of them had enjoyed or used the church aforesaid and other the premises or any parcel thereof. OF US our heirs and successors by fealty only for all services and demands whatsoever. To that intent that the aforesaid wardens and inhabitants and their successors as for the future shall have enjoy occupy and use the said church of the late Monastery or Priory aforesaid as the parish church of the whole of the parishioners of the town and parish of Christchurch Twyneham aforesaid.—For that express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. WITNESS THE KING at Westminster 23 day of October.

By the King himself.

On 1 May 1541 the King followed up this gift by Letters Patent, presenting the Rectory, Church, tithes and advowson of Christchurch to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, a body which had been founded by him a short time before, subject to the substantial rent charge of £178 16s. 5½*d.* in his own favour, representing at least twenty times as much as it does now, so that it practically amounted to what at the present day would be more than £3,500 per annum. Another stipulation was that the Dean and Chapter should give a yearly pension to the Vicar of Christchurch-Twyneham of £18 and £8 to a chaplain to assist him.

The right of presentation to the living of Christchurch thus conferred, remained vested in the Dean and Chapter of Winchester for centuries, but in 1909 it was transferred to the Bishop of the see. The tithes were in 1799 sold under the powers of the Land Tax Redemption Acts to the first Earl of Malmesbury whose descendant is the present owner of them, but it must be

added that the greater portion has since been commuted under the Tithes Commutation Acts for an annual rent charge, whilst by the Westover Enclosure Award of 1805, some land which has since become exceedingly valuable, was allotted to Lord Malmesbury in satisfaction of his claim to tithes on the enclosed land.

In 1612 James I, at the petition of certain parishioners of Christchurch, whose names are given below, confirmed the grant of Henry VIII of the Priory Church for use as a Parish Church in the following Letters Patent, the translation here given being that made by John Caley, F.R.S., S.A.:

James, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these present Letters shall come greeting. We have had inspection into the Enrolment of certain Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster, the 23rd day of October, in the thirty-second year of the reign of our Lord Henry the Eighth, late King of England, made to the Wardens and Inhabitants of the town of Twynham, in our county of Southampton, and in the Rolls of our Chancery enrolled, and there of Record remaining in these words:—

“The King, &c. to all, &c. to whom, &c. Greeting. Know ye that we, at the humble supplication of Edward Lewyn and Robert Westbury, gentlemen, and Thomas Hancocke, and James Trym, yeomen, Wardens of the Parish Church of Christ-church Twynham, in our county of Southampton, and the Inhabitants of our town of Christ-church Twynham, aforesaid, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, Have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, that the aforesaid Wardens, and Inhabitants of our Town aforesaid shall be one body and have perpetual succession, and be persons able and capable in law; And that the same Wardens and Inhabitants of the Town aforesaid, under the name of Wardens and Inhabitants of the Town aforesaid, of our gift may be able to receive, have, and enjoy, the site, foundation, ambit, circuit, and precinct of the Church of the late Monastery or Priory of Christ-church Twynham, in the county aforesaid, and the entire Church aforesaid, that is to say, as well the choir body, belfry, stones, timber, and lead of the roof and gutters of the aforesaid Church, as every thing whereof the said Church is erected built and covered; and the Churchyard of the same Church, lying and being on the north part of the church aforesaid; together with the seven bells now hanging in the belfry aforesaid, to them and their successors for ever. And farther, Know

ye that we of our abundant Grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, Have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant, to the aforesaid Wardens of our Town aforesaid, and to the inhabitants of the same Town, the whole site, foundation, ambit, circuit, and precinct of the church of the late Monastery, or Priory of Christ-church Twynham, aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, and all the Church aforesaid; that is to say, the choir, body, belfry, stones, timber, iron, glass, and lead of the roof, gutters, and buildings of the Church aforesaid, as well as all and everything whatsoever, whereof the said Church is erected, built, and covered; and the Churchyard of the same Church, lying and being on the north part of the same Church, and the seven bells now hanging in the belfry aforesaid. All and singular which said premises came to our hands by reason or pretence of a certain Deed of Gift, Grant and Confirmation thereof made to Us, our heirs and successors, by the late Prior and Convent of the said late Monastery. To have and to hold the said Church of the said late Monastery or Priory, and all and singular the premises, to the aforesaid Wardens and Inhabitants, and their successors for ever, in as ample a manner and form as the aforesaid late Prior and Convent, or any predecessors of the said Prior and Convent, in time heretofore the Church aforesaid and the premises, or any parcel thereof, and held, enjoyed, or used, or any one of them had held, enjoyed, or used, Of Us, our heirs and successors, by Fealty only, for all services and demands whatsoever. To the intent, that the aforesaid Wardens and Inhabitants, and their successors for the future, shall have, and enjoy, and use the said Church of the late Monastery or Priory of Christ-church aforesaid as the Parish Church of all the parishioners of the Town and Parish of Christchurch Twynham, aforesaid, for that express mention, &c." In witness whereof, &c. the King himself, at Westminster, as aforesaid.

And We, the Enrolment of the Letters Patent aforesaid, at the request of our beloved William Gouldwyer and Henry Rogers, have thought fit to Exemplify by these Presents, In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Myself at Westminster, the 12th day of February, in the ninth year of our Reign over England, France, and Ireland, and over Scotland the forty-fifth.

It is difficult to piece together the ecclesiastical history of Christchurch in the years succeeding the radical change in the position of the Priory Church and Vicarage after the disappearance of the Monastery with which they had been so long closely connected, and the issue of the Letters Patent of Henry VIII. Whether the Rev. William Trapnell, who was Vicar at the time

of the Dissolution was allowed by the new patrons to retain the living is not known, but he was succeeded by the Rev. J. Smith, B.D., concerning whom it is related in an account of the charities of the parish that:

he had paid unto him in ready money out of the Cathedral Church in Winchester by the Dean there £26 wherewith he is charged with two priests, one at Christchurch aforesaid; the other at Holnhurst (Holdenhurst) chapel, being five miles from the said church, and hath of houselyng people (that is to say, of communicants) there nine score and at Christchurch 800.

It is further stated in the same record that:

the chapel of ease called Hinton was founded by one Sir John Sewer, knight, and others for the sake of the inhabitants there to have continuance for ever . . . which chapel is distant from the Parish Church three miles and is so dangerous by waters in the winter that the people there cannot come to their church, which be in number above 100 houselyng people.

The Rev. J. Smith was succeeded as Vicar of Christchurch by the Rev. Robert Newmarsh, during whose incumbency an inventory of the church goods was made on 15 July 1553, proving that in spite of the arbitrary proceedings of Henry VIII with regard to the property of the Priory, he did not despoil the Sanctuary of its plate or the clergy of their vestments. The following is the actual list given on this occasion:

Two chalices of silver parcell gilt; one pyx of copper gilt; one pyx covered with silver plate; two canopies, one of red silk, and two of blue silk and one of black silk, the other of yellow silk broidered; one suit of vestments of white fustian; one pair of vestments of white silk; another pair of blue silk; two pairs of blue damask; three pairs of vestments of Dornix (Tournay), and one of satin of Brogis (Bruges), fourteen altar-cloths, of the which two of them diaper, six surplices and four rochets, three towels, one pair of censers of latten, one holy water font of brass; one bason and ewer of latten; two Lent cloths. *Item*—Five bells, which are given to the parish by the gift of King Henry VIII that last died under his broad seal.

It will be noted that in the Letters Patent granting the Church to the Wardens and Inhabitants of Christchurch-Twyneham seven bells are mentioned, whereas only five are referred to

in the Inventory of 1553. What became of the other two is not known, and of the five still left when the list was drawn up only two now remain, the rest of those in the Tower being of considerably later date. The two most ancient are the fifth and sixth that are a good deal older than the Tower in which they hang. They are of very fine workmanship and both bear considerably marred inscriptions, in what is called the Langobardic lettering, which have been differently interpreted.

On the fifth is engraved:

✠ Sit : nobis : touzeyns : cum : sit : tibi : nomen :
 Virtus : campane : faciat : nos : vivere : sane :

which Walcott in his "Memorials of Christchurch-Twyndham" translates:

All Saints be our warning, since that is thy name,
 May the virtue of a bell make us live soberly.

and Ferrey, in his "Antiquities of the Priory of Christchurch" renders somewhat differently:

Let it be of good omen to us (O Bell), since you have been called All
 Saints,
 May the virtue of the Bell make us live healthily.

whilst others, including Dr. Paley, have suggested that the word touzeyns may be an old form of tutsan, or all heal, the popular name of a species of St. John's Wort credited with curative properties, that was given to the bell because of its supposed power to drive away evil spirits.

On the sixth bell the words are:

✠ Assis : fastivus : pestas : pius : ut : fugat : Agnus :
 ✠ Mox : Augustinus : nec : dum : resonat : prece : Magnus.

rendered by Walcott:

Quick Augustine while yet the mighty herald sounds not
 That the holy Eucharistic Lamb may drive away ills from the weary,

but by Ferrey as signifying:

Come St. Augustine presently to our aid even before the Great Bell
 Augustine rings,
 That the holy sacrificial Lamb may drive away Pestilence.

Walcott explains that the "mighty herald" means the great bell which was named after St. Augustine, and Dr. Paley suggests that the allusion to the driving away of ills recalls the ancient belief that the ringing of a handbell at Mass exorcised the evil spirits, which might lurk in the sacred elements before consecration, but it is possible that rhythm was more considered in the inscription than deep spiritual significance, and that the authors of the two distiches would be greatly surprised at all that has been read into them.

Four years after the death in 1553 of Edward VI, Queen Mary, who had already begun to reverse the policy of her father with regard to the Church and ecclesiastical property, granted to a certain Robert White a thirty years' lease of some of the old Priory lands and a fishery at Christchurch, that were later supplemented by a grant of the Priory Manor, that is to say, of the exact area which had reverted to Stephen and Margaret Kirton a few years before. On the death of Robert White in 1565 the whole of the property he had held appears to have lapsed to the Crown, for no new Lord of the Manor is referred to until 1610, when James I gave the estate described as the "Manor, vill, borough and grange," to his eldest son, Henry, who held it till his death in 1612. In 1617 it was given to his brother Charles, who almost immediately after his acquisition of it granted a ninety-nine years' lease to Sir James Fullerton, Sir Francis Bacon, and others, reserving to himself the privileges he held in the borough. These, as implied in the wording of the description of the property when it was conferred on Prince Henry, must often have clashed with those of the Lord of the secular Manor, which included, for instance, the tolls of the Trinity Fair, that were, however, by this time of but small account, having been at one time farmed out for the low sum of sixpence a year, and the more valuable right to the property of felons, waifs and strays taken in the Borough; wrecks, flotsam and jetsam washed ashore by the sea, stranded whales, sturgeons and other large fish.

It is noteworthy that during the interregnum between the death of Prince Henry and the granting to his brother Charles of the Priory Estate, the famous dramatist, John Marston, whose satiric plays and feud with the more celebrated Ben Jonson won him considerable notoriety before he took Orders, was Vicar of Christchurch, but unfortunately no records of his term of office, which lasted from 1616 to 1631, have been preserved. There is

indeed a strange break in the records of the decade succeeding his death, the next Vicar of whom anything definite is known having been John Imber, who was Minor Canon of Winchester, and came to the Christchurch living in 1641, holding it until 1647, when it was sequestrated by Parliament; returning to it on its restoration in 1660, but resigning it in his turn in 1671.

To make up for the paucity of information concerning the clergy, the vestry Minute Books contain a great many interesting and significant entries on the subject of the instructions given to certain officers, payments made to them and others for work done, etc. The earliest of these valuable notes on current events are unfortunately lost, the most ancient bearing date 1640, but those that remain imply in many cases the gist of the predecessors that have disappeared. Many of them are headed: "At the Assembly of the Corporation of the Parish of Christchurch called the Sixteen," who were probably a committee of the parishioners chosen by them, to whom certain duties were entrusted. The following are typical entries well worth quoting as reflecting the customs of the time at which they were penned:

March 13th 1640. Ordered that the fourth and eighth bell shall be rung all the year long and the churchwardens to pay ten shillings quarterly to the ringers.

Febry. 14th, 1656. Whereas there was £18 laid out by William Trill and Jesse Standard, churchwardens, in the year 1655 for the casting of bells, wherof the Corporation doth allow £5 19s. 2d. to the said Wm. Trill due upon his account and the last precedent churchwardens have paid the overplus which remain in their hands, being £5 9s. 3d. in the whole £11 8s. 5d. and there remains the sum of £6 11s. 7d. to be paid to the said W. Trill and Jesse Standard in full of the said £18.

March 7th 1662. At the Assembly of the Sixteen: It is this day ordered that St. Michael's Loft shall forever hereafter and is hereby set apart for a Free grammar school to be fitted for that purpose as is articulated and agreed by John Newburgh Esquire in one pair of Indentures of the one part sealed and delivered and John Imber, Edward Odber, John Blake, James Dewey and George Dawys on the part and behalf of the parish of the other part sealed and delivered.

Oct. 20th 1662. It is ordered concluded and agreed by those whose names are hereunder written that James R. Rytch and Richard Emberley, Churchwardens of the Parish of Christchurch, Edward Odber, gent., and John Blake, sidesmen of the said parish, they or any two of them

shall have full power to article conclude and agree with one M^r Burden of New Sarum in the county of Wilts, for the new casting of three new bells, viz., two new trebles and one now in the fourth bells place, out of the tenor bells metal now in Christchurch tower, and further they or any two of them to contract with the said bell-founder upon such articles, covenants and agreements as shall be most advantageous for the parish and after the contract so made to bring it to the sixteen or to the major of them to be confirmed and allowed if approved. In witness wherof we have put to our hands the day and year above written :

Signed by Edward Hooper, Wm. Goldwyre, John Imber, vicar, Henry Tulse, Harry Hastings, Edward Odber and fifteen others.

April 27th 1663. It is this day agreed upon that wheras in the alteration of the bells, that bell which was formerly called the fifth is from henceforth to be the tenor for the ring. 3^s 4^d for all knells to be paid to the church as formerly accustomed and 1^s 8^d for the bell next unto her.

Dec. 14th 1663. Ordered that the loft now in building in the Church Tower shall be stayed from further building until further order, and all the bell-money in the churchwarden's hands shall remain in their hands without disbursements until further order.

Febry. 23rd 1666. Ordered that there shall not be allowed on the 5th Nov., 29th May, or any other time for ringing above the sum of five shillings.

Febry. 20th 1674. It is agreed that no monies be paid by the churchwardens for the future to any persons for ringing of the bells upon the Coronation Day, the King's Birthday, and the Gunpowder Treason Day, exceeding on the whole fifteen shillings as much under as they please. It is agreed by the like general assent that for the time to come the sexton Wm. Collins shall look to the Parish Clock and keep it in good order and ring the eight and four o'clock bell and not the clerks, and that his wages or salary from the parish payable by the hands of the churchwardens shall be only two pounds and ten groats yearly and no more.

Febry. 19th 1680. Ordered and agreed that from henceforth no person shall pay for ringing of knells more than what is as followeth, viz.: for ringing the great bell by the space of one hour 2^s 6^d and for the fifth bell 1^s 8^d and so according to that rate for longer or shorter time and not otherwise, and also all those persons that shall ring the knells according to those rates shall have the benefit of what money is given by the parish for ringing on the King's Birthday, Coronation Day, and the 5th of November, and that the Churchwardens shall pay for ringing on those days according to the time they ring at their discretion not exceeding ten shillings.

March 3rd 1687. Unanimously agreed that the ringers be allowed at the usual solemnities 6^s 8^d each time only.

In addition to the interesting entries quoted above concerning the bells, which were probably the very ones given by Henry VIII to the Wardens and Inhabitants of Christchurch and that were rung on all occasions of public rejoicing, are other notices reflecting various customs of the times at which they were issued, those dated 20 February 1612 and 13 March 1640 for instance, ordering "that the owner of any pigs or hogs found trespassing in the churchyard should be fined 3 shillings and 4 pence"; that of 7 March 1662 in which it is decreed that the then vicar, John Imber—who, as has been seen, resigned the living in 1671—"should have the benefit of the herbage of the churchyard under the rent of repairing the walls and gates and paying for the manchett of bread for all communions during the ensuing year"; that of 11 March 1690 noting the letting of the churchyard to a certain John Blake for 40 shillings for one year, whilst amongst the Churchwarden's Accounts for the years 1680 and 1681 occur the records of £2 rent for the churchyard paid by the Vicar, the Rev. Henry Goldwyre in the former, and the same sum paid in the latter by a certain Thomas Coffin for a similar privilege.

These extracts from the seventeenth century Parish Records with others of an uncertain date, notably that telling of the burial of a Papist woman by members of her own sex, as no man could be induced to lay her in the grave, vividly reflect the change that had taken place in the position of the Vicars of Christchurch since they had been under the patronage of the Prior and the Church and Churchyard had ceased to be an integral part of the Priory estate, with the attitude of the people towards the Roman Catholic religion. The period to which the seventeenth century records refer was a most eventful one for England, but the terrible troubles through which the country was passing do not appear to have affected the Priory estate in any marked degree. As has already been stated, the connection between the secular Manor of Christchurch and the Crown became closer in Stuart times than it had been under the Tudors, but this was not the case with the ecclesiastical property. The Priory Manor changed hands again and again; the survivors of the lessees, to whom it had been let by Charles I when he was Prince of Wales, transferred it in 1628 to a number of gentlemen, representing the Mayor and Corporation of London, and two years later it became the property by purchase of Richard Fenn, from whom it passed first to his son of the same

name, and later to different relations or connections of the family, until in 1775 it was bought by Gustavus Brander, F.S.A., F.R.S., an account of whose explorations on the site of the Priory is given above. Before his death in 1787 the new owner had bequeathed it to his cousin, John Spicker, who took the name of the testator and gave to his son and heir that of Gustavus. The second Gustavus Brander sold the Manor in 1830 to Sir George Ivison Tapps, who was, as has been noted above, already owner of the secular Manor of Christchurch, and it is now held by a direct descendant of the latter, Sir George A. E. Tapps-Gervis-Meyrick.

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY CHURCH AND THE CHARITIES CONNECTED WITH IT

THE noble Sanctuary at Christchurch, the early history of which has already been related in connection with its founder, Ranulph Flambard, is, as it now stands, not only one of the most beautiful, but one of the largest parish churches in England. It is a complex building with a long and chequered history, and consists of a Norman nave with aisles and transept, a choir, with aisles in the third phase of Gothic, with chantries of different dates, forming the nucleus of the whole, and a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in the same style, which may possibly occupy the site or part of the site of the eastern apse of the former Norman choir. In the nave once stood an ancient People's Altar, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which was re-consecrated after the partial rebuilding of the church in 1214, and the original High Altar of the choir, now replaced by a modern one, was dedicated to Christ in 1199.

In spite of the varied character of its architecture and the absence of the central tower, which is supposed to have risen at the intersection of the Norman nave and transept—that had it been *in situ* would have broken the exceptionally long lines of the roof—the Church, with its fine fifteenth-century tower, presents a most dignified and picturesque appearance from many different points of view, especially from Church Street—the avenue of elms leading through the churchyard forming a charming approach—from the southern banks of the Avon, from Hengistbury Head, and from the lower reaches of the Stour. Although considerably modified by additions and restoration, the most ancient of the buildings making up the Priory, now the Parish Church of Christchurch, still retains much characteristic Norman work. The exterior of the north aisle of the nave, with the exception of portions of the upper wall, which are of later date, is of Norman masonry, though it is hidden beneath Early English facing, and the small windows giving light to the

triforium are in the same style, whilst the larger ones and the buttresses between them are in the first phase of Gothic. The north wing of the transept, in the angle between which and the northern aisle of the nave there was formerly a two-storied building—supposed to have been reserved for the use of the governor of the castle—is even more interesting, for it is a fine example of the delight of Norman craftsmen in massive masonry and richness of surface decoration. Interlaced arcading with characteristic mouldings on shafts and capitals, runs along the base of the northern and western walls, and is continued round that of a beautifully proportioned and richly ornamented turret, which with the exception of the sloping roof, replacing a loftier conical capping, remains much what it was when first completed. Other Norman relics of the northern arm of the transept are the two windows in the western wall and two arches, the latter relics of the eastern apses that were destroyed in the thirteenth century, but the plan of which is preserved in the crypt below, and resembled the one still *in situ* in the southern wing of the transept, with a slightly convex roof, round-headed windows, and at the south-east angle a turret, circular at the base, but octagonal higher up, rising above the parapet of the main building.

The exterior of the southern aisle of the Norman church is necessarily less interesting than that of the northern one, the sweeping away of the cloisters that connected it with the Priory having almost completely destroyed what must have been its original appearance. Only one, the most westerly of the windows, is Norman, the others having been altered into the Decorated style, but the buttresses between them, the small triforium windows, and the remains of intersecting arches attached to the base of the wall are Norman, as are also the corbel brackets that supported a roof, traces of which can be made out, supposed to have been that of a slype or passage with a room above it between the transept and the chapter house, such as that in many monastic establishments—notably in Beaulieu Abbey—connecting the cloisters with the monks' cemetery.

The Monks' Dormitory must have been on the first floor, running from the south transept over the slype and chapter house, and two doorways, both now walled up, gave access to the Church from the cloisters, one reserved to the Prior at the transept end, and the other for the Canons in the second bay from the west of the nave; recalling the days when processions

of monks were constantly passing from the Priory to the Church to take part in the services in the choir. The Prior's doorway is said to owe its decorative carvings to some French monks who took refuge in Christchurch Haven some time in the thirteenth century, their vessel having been, they declared, chased out of its course by a terrible dragon. They were, it is further related, hospitably received by the then head of the Priory, with whom they dwelt for a considerable time, rewarding him for his goodness to them by aiding him in the care of the beautiful Sanctuary in which they were privileged to worship.

It is probable that the Norman church designed by Flam-bard had an ornate west front with a deeply recessed and richly decorated central doorway, such as those with which the great architect had been familiar in his native land. However this may have been, no trace of it now remains, and but little is left to recall the Early English façade that is supposed to have succeeded it. The building of the present Tower is attributed to the late fourteenth century, and is thought by some authorities to have taken place under the auspices of the Earl of Salisbury, who was then Lord of the secular Manor of Christchurch. To clear the ground for the erection of this Tower—which is well proportioned and of massive masonry with a battlemented parapet adorned with pinnacles and a picturesque octagonal turret at the north-east corner—it was deemed necessary to remove the most easterly bay of the Norman nave, though the walls of the aisles were retained, those of the tower being carried as far as the second bay. The pointed-headed louvre windows of the upper story of the Tower, which is used as a belfry, are of the same date as it, but the large window in the western wall, with the figure of Christ in a niche above it, are modern restorations, and the oaken doors beneath the blunt-headed arch of the entrance portal are of quite recent origin.

In addition to the two ancient bells already described as amongst the gifts of Henry VIII to the Wardens and Parishioners of Christchurch, the belfry contains eight others, one dating from the seventeenth and four from the eighteenth century, the latter all inscribed with the date of their casting, and with the name or initials of their maker, who was in every case a member of the Rudhall family of Gloucester, who were famous bell-founders for several generations. Three modern bells, one dating from 1885, the other two from 1904, complete the peal, which is most melodious and effective, and can be heard

for long distances across the flat inland districts, and along the shore and river banks where land and water meet. From the Tower clock, too, ring out the Westminster chimes every quarter of an hour, linking together present, past, and future, and serving as a constant reminder of the brooding presence of the time-honoured Sanctuary from which they proceed.

From the roof of the Tower, which is reached by a staircase leading up from the north nave aisle, a magnificent view is obtained of the Channel with the Isle of Wight; the coast of the mainland from Hurst Castle to Swanage Bay; the valleys of the Stour and Avon, and of the more distant New Forest; whilst close at hand every detail is clearly revealed of the ruined Keep of the ancient Castle, the Norman Hall, and their surroundings, with the mill stream, the lower courses of the Avon spanned by picturesque bridges, and the straggling modern town that replaces the feudal township which once clustered about the Monastery and the residence of the Lord of the Manor.

The beautiful Early English north porch of the Priory Church may justly be said to atone to some extent for the loss of the Norman west front. It projects fifty feet beyond the north nave aisle wall, and is entered through a lofty recessed archway springing from slender pillars of Purbeck marble ranged obliquely, which are restorations by Benjamin Ferrey. Its inner walls are each enriched with two pairs of semi-detached arches, with marble columns set within a single wide spreading arch, a cinquefoil ornament filling in the space between the heads of the smaller arches. Along the base of the walls runs a low stone seat, and on the western side, close to the outer doorway, is an arched recess, supposed by some to have contained a desk at which the Prior occasionally signed deeds in the presence of witnesses, whilst others think it marks the tomb of the designer of the porch.

The groined vaulting of the north porch is a modern restoration of the ancient roofing, the springing supports of which alone remain, but the doorway that gives access to the Church is a unique example of Early English work at its best. A series of graceful arches, gradually increasing in height as they recede, rise from rows of slender marble shafts, and form a fitting setting for a pair of cinquefoil headed arches, linked together by a central clustered pillar, the space above them being filled in by a quatrefoil encircling a niche, that probably once contained a sculptured sacred subject, or the statuette of a saint.

The large room above the north porch, which is entered from the triforium, is supposed by some to have been used as a place of detention for debtors, whilst others think it served as a belfry before the completion of the Tower, holes in the walls, that may have been the sockets of heavy timbers on which the bells were suspended, and marks of louvre boards in some of the windows lending probability to the latter theory.

Beyond the Norman nave with its long roof, ending abruptly in a pointed gable, rising above its eastern termination, and the transept in the same style stretch the Choir and the Lady Chapel, the latter of somewhat earlier date than the former, both contrasting greatly alike in their general appearance and in their decorative details with the older portions of the Church. The walls of the choir aisles are low and are crowned with an open-work parapet from the western end of which rise two survivors of what was evidently once a row of ornate pinnacles. The aisle windows, the heads of which are but slightly pointed, are divided from each other by well proportioned buttresses and the clerestory, its great acute arched windows of many lights filling up nearly the whole of the wall space, is strengthened by flying buttresses, one of which is unfinished, which lead down to the aisle buttresses, and serve to relieve the thrust of the walls and roof.

The Choir and transepts were at one time linked together by apsidal chapels of which, as has been seen, only one—that in the south—remains; the choir aisles extend beyond the actual limits of the choir, thus connecting it with the Lady chapel, beyond the most westerly bay of which, at the north-eastern corners of the choir aisles, rises on either side an octagonal parapeted tower, a flying buttress leading up from it to a plainer turret, the summit of which rises above the parapet of a large hall known as St. Michael's Loft that forms a second story to the Lady chapel, but is of later date than it and is reached by stairways in the turrets.

The Lady chapel, which has been greatly altered by iconoclasm and restoration, is supposed to have been built about the end of the fourteenth or the first half of the fifteenth century, and to have been in the first instance a continuation of the old choir, after the removal of which it was skilfully connected with its successor. It consists of two bays, and so far as its external structure is concerned it harmonizes well with that of the choir, but its general aspect is of course considerably modified by the addition of St. Michael's Loft, the comparatively small square-

headed mullioned and transomed windows of which contrast strongly with the large Perpendicular ones of the chapel itself. Only three of the latter have stained glass, those in the second bay having their western halves overlapped by the walls of the lateral chapels, and their eastern blocked up with brick work, although they were evidently open before the aisle ends were built. In the wall beneath the east window is an arch, now bricked up, that may possibly have been intended to strengthen the masonry, and on the northern side was a chantry connected with the tomb on the north side of the altar face. Massive buttresses, set diagonally at the eastern corners of the Lady Chapel ascend in graduated stages to the top of St. Michael's Loft, their square terminations rising above its parapets and grouping well with the lateral turrets, give to the whole building a pleasing impression of combined strength and lightness.

Although the northern porch is now the principal entrance to the Church, the best view of the interior is obtained from the western end beneath the Tower, where stands the modern font, a copy of an old Early English one preserved in the fourth choir aisle, with bas-relief scenes from the life of Christ. On the northern wall of the tower is a Monument by the sculptor Weekes to the poet Shelley—who, as is well known, was drowned in the gulf of Spezzia in July 1822—and his wife, erected by their son, Sir Percy Florence Shelley. It consists of a group representing a female figure bending over and half supporting the dead body of a young man, and bears beneath it the following quotation from Shelley's beautiful "Adonais":

He has outsoar'd the shadow of our night;
 Envy and calumny, and hate and pain
 And that unrest which men miscall delight,
 Can touch him not and torture not again;
 From the contagion of the world's slow stain
 He is secure, and now can never mourn
 A heart grown cold, a head grown gray in vain;
 Nor, when his spirit's self has ceased to burn,
 With sparkless ashes load an unlamented urn.

So far as its general aspect is concerned, the nave of the Church remains very much what it was when first completed after the design of Flambard, except for the fact that the flat timber roof is gone, whilst the groined stone vaulting that succeeded it in the fourteenth century, is hidden beneath a

singularly inappropriate lath and plaster groining, all that is left to bear witness to it being some Early English springers still *in situ*. To atone for the loss of what must have been a very characteristic Norman feature, the noble arches dividing the nave from the aisles, upheld by clustered columns, and flanked on either side by massive piers carried up to the base of the later clerestory; the four equally fine arches at the eastern end, that were intended to carry, and according to some authorities did actually carry, a central tower; the graceful triforium, each division of which consists of a coupled arch springing at the point of junction from a slender central pillar, are all still typically Norman, producing an impression of solemn grandeur that is but little marred by the changes wrought by time and by more or less injudicious restoration. The exquisite decorative detail, that includes many different forms of characteristic Norman ornament, intensifies the admiration that must be felt for this unique survival of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, bearing witness, as does the exterior of the northern wing of the transept described above, to the consummate craftsmanship of the masons employed, to whom their work was evidently a labour of love.

In 1912 the disfiguring pews that filled the nave of the Church were removed, and a choir, which was consecrated in 1913 by the Bishop of Winchester, was formed at the western end, an oak Communion Table with reredos in the same material having been placed where once stood the parochial Altar, dedicated, as has been seen, to the Holy Trinity in 1214. Wrought-iron rails and screen enclosures, with platforms for choir seats, were also added, the whole striking a modern note that is unfortunately quite out of harmony with its ancient surroundings.

From the north triforium, which is reached by a staircase leading up from the north wing of the transept, a beautiful and impressive view is obtained of the nave and the four arches that span the space between it and the choir. At the eastern end of this triforium is an archway that once gave access to a passage across the transept leading to the choir triforium, now no longer in existence. On the south side another archway led into the corresponding wing of the transept, both passages having probably, as at St. Etienne, Caen, been paved in Norman times, so that the monks could pass to the apsidal chapels in the second story of the transept. The southern archway was closed until the latter half of the nineteenth century, when it was unskillfully

restored, but the northern is still walled up and may possibly have formed the reredos of an altar which formerly stood at the eastern end of the transept. The staircase which used to lead up to the triforium from the south-west door of the nave is now walled up and replaced by a ladder.

Changes that have from time to time been made in the nave aisles have all but effaced their original character. The only Norman relics in that on the north, which has been altered into the Early English style, are some remains of shafting that belonged to the original vaulting, whilst a depressed pointed Early English arch may have formed the entrance to a two-storied structure, long ago pulled down, which was known as the Governor's Room, because it was supposed to have been reserved to the use of the Seneschal of the Castle. Restoration in the southern aisle has been painfully drastic, little that is really old remaining, but the intersecting arches with characteristic mouldings are fairly good reproductions of Norman types, and in the third bay is a genuine Norman holy water stoup that was placed in its present position about a quarter of a century ago.

The northern wing of the transept, from which a disfiguring gallery has recently been removed, bears a strong impress of its Norman origin, retaining some typical arcading and several round-headed windows, with other characteristic details, including a large canopied recess, probably once a tomb. A square-headed doorway gives access from the eastern end of the north transept to the Norman turret, the external appearance of which has already been described, in which a circular staircase leads downwards to a beautiful crypt, which, as stated above, preserves the plan of the lost apsidal chapel, and upwards to a small room that was probably appropriated to the Master of the Works during the progress of the alterations in and additions to the Church. It is, however, popularly known as Oliver Cromwell's Harness Room, though the Protector was certainly never in Christchurch, and the holes in the walls said to have been made to hold pegs for hanging harness on, are more likely to have been intended to form a scale of equal squares for the guidance of craftsmen in planning out tracery. The design indeed for one of the large windows in the south aisle can still be made out in the plaster facing of the wall of the room.

Wide-spreading, pointed arches give access from the eastern end of the northern choir aisle to two chantry chapels in the Early English style replacing the ancient apse. Erected

probably in the thirteenth century under the then Lord of the Manor of Christchurch, they mark the transition from the Early English to the Decorated style that was to supersede it, their groined, pointed vaulting and slender, clustered pillars, with delicately carved capitals, dating from about 1230 or 1250, contrasting forcibly with the massive masonry of the nave and transepts. Unfortunately the southern wing of the transept, which is almost filled up by the organ, retains little to recall Norman times except four blank arches, whilst the Perpendicular vaulting in it, that once linked the second with the third phase of Gothic, was pulled down in 1821 and replaced by the present commonplace ceiling, all that is left to recall the existence of the former being a group of clustered shafts on the eastern wall that once supported the cross-springers and the bosses of the groining, which are preserved in the south choir aisle. To atone for this the apsidal chapel at the eastern end of the transept, though much of the arcading and vaulting in the Norman style is modern, retains its original form, and some few restored Norman details, including the shafts upholding the roof, whilst there are hints in certain portions, notably in the arched head of the eastern window, of the approaching Early English style. A staircase in the turret already referred to, at the south-east angle of the apse, leads downwards to a crypt and upwards, as at Caen and elsewhere, to a most interesting upper story chapel of the same apsidal form as the one below, which still retains its semi-conical roofing of stone slabs, and is one of the very few entirely untouched pieces of Norman work in the church. From the same steps the southern clerestory pathway is reached, locally known as the Nuns' Walk, commemorating a tradition for which there can have been no foundation, that it was once used as a place of penance for nuns, though no attempt was made to explain whence they came.

The nave of the Church is divided from the Choir by a stone screen, or pulpitum, that must originally have been a very fine example of fourteenth-century decorative sculpture, but has been so much restored that it is almost impossible to judge what its original appearance can have been. Some are of opinion that it was not built for its present position, but may have been brought after the Dissolution of the Monasteries from some church that had been destroyed, but the consensus of opinion is against that theory. Whatever the truth may be, it was in comparatively modern times that the chief change in its appearance took place,

for when, in 1788, it was decided that the organ—now transferred to the southern wing of the transept—should be erected above the screen, the coping which surmounted it was cut away to accommodate it. Gone, too, are the statues that once filled the niches on either side of the square-headed doorway giving access to the choir, but even without them the beautifully carved canopies beneath which they stood, the well-proportioned columns with delicately sculptured capitals, the groined roofing, and graceful crocketed buttresses, combine to produce a charming general effect and to give some idea of what the whole scheme of decoration must have been.

Entering the choir through the opening in the screen, from the northern side of which a staircase leads up to the gallery, a fine view is obtained of what may truly be called a gem of fifteenth-century Perpendicular architecture. It consists of four bays, divided from each other by low massive piers upholding four-centred arches, all of which, in the first case, opened on to the aisles, though some of them are now blocked up by the backs of the stalls and the Salisbury chapel. From groups of clustered columns with richly foliated capitals spring the delicate ribs of the groined vaulting, each division representing an eight-pointed star with keystone bosses and pendants, all finely carved and bearing traces of the colours with which they were once enriched, the designs of the bosses above the altar having reference to our Lord and the Church, the others displaying the arms of the Montacute and Monthermer families, and of William Eyre, Prior of the Monastery between 1502 and 1520.

The choir is lighted from large clerestory windows, some of the heads of which are filled in with ancient stained glass, the other lights being plain, and the walls beneath are panelled in imitation of window mullions, reaching down to the heads of the lateral arches and producing a very harmonious effect. A flight of steps, in the centre of the uppermost of which is fitted a flat stone bearing the all but undecipherable inscription :

Baldewin fili Willi Comititis Devonie

leads up to the modern carved oak High Altar, the gift of the architect Pugin replacing the ancient stone one, on which were carved five crosses marking the spot touched by the Bishop with the sacred oil at its consecration, supposed to represent the wounds of Our Lord. Above this inappropriate substitute for what must have been a most interesting relic of monastic days,

is a much injured but still fine stone reredos, of considerably later date than the choir, consisting of a complex design in bas-relief beneath richly carved canopies, divided from each other by lavishly carved buttresses. The central portion is occupied by a quaintly realistic illustration of the prophecy of Isaiah: "There shall come forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse and a Branch shall grow out of his roots." At the base the patriarch Jesse—the upper portion of whose figure is of plaster, as are also those of the Virgin and the Holy Child—lies asleep, with David on one side playing on his harp, and Solomon on the other rapt in meditation. From the body of the recumbent sleeper springs the symbolic vine that meanders about the whole composition, its leaves and fruit forming the capitals of the columns and a tendril from it touching the feet of the Mother of the Lord, in a group of the Holy Family and the Wise Men. Squeezed in between St. Joseph and two of the kings who stand above the Virgin and the kneeling figure of one of the latter, is a small representation of the shepherds in adoration, and at the summit of this series of typical scenes a half-length figure emerges from a mass of vine foliage, flanked on either side by a winged angel, this figure being supposed by some to represent God the Father, whilst others claim that it is intended for the Angel of the Nativity. Some of the small figures in the buttresses are still *in situ*, but the lateral niches, said to have contained wooden statues cased in silver, are now empty. Fortunately, however, the canopies above them are genuine fourteenth-century work, and in spite of all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, the reredos still remains a most effective feature of the choir, so vigorous is its execution, and so characteristic is it of the period to which it belongs. On either side of the altar an ancient oaken door beneath a trefoil-headed arch gives access to a platform behind the reredos, supposed to have served as a processional path at high ceremonials and which may possibly, in monastic times, have had steps leading down to the space between the choir and the Lady Chapel, sometimes called the ambulatory, though that term more strictly applies to the walk round the chapels encircling an apse.

From the third bay from the west on each side of the choir flights of steps lead down to the aisles, picturesque glimpses of which are to be obtained from different points of the Presbytery and from some of the stalls in the chancel. Beneath the easterly arch, on the south, is an altar tomb with a recumbent effigy of one

of the Countesses of Malmesbury, who died in 1877, and not far from it on the same side is a monument to Lady Fitzharris, who passed away in 1815, consisting of a charming portrait group of her and her three children, by Flaxman. The corresponding bay on the northern side of the choir, and also a considerable portion of the adjoining aisle, is occupied by a beautiful chantry chapel erected as a tomb for herself and her beloved son, Cardinal Pole, by the ill-fated Countess of Salisbury, whose tragic life-story has already been related in connection with the account of the secular Manor of Christchurch, which was owned by her as heiress of her father, the Duke of Clarence.

Of oblong plan, with two entrances, one from the choir, the other from the north aisle, a staircase leading up from the latter within a western extension of the actual chantry, the Salisbury Chapel is said to have been designed by the famous Florentine sculptor Torrigiano, the architect of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, though, if this be true, it must have been built nearly twenty years before the death of the lady it commemorates. In any case it fitly represents the final phase of the long sequence of architectural development that can be followed in the Priory Church, beginning with the Norman nave and ending with the Gothic choir. In spite of the fact that it was singled out for desecration by the barbarous emissaries of Thomas Cromwell sent down to report on the religious houses of Hampshire, the Salisbury chapel remains a typical example of the best work of the Tudor Period, with its profusely decorated outer and inner walls, its finely proportioned windows, its numerous canopied niches, and, above all, its graceful fan tracery roof, springing from sculptured corbels, with bosses carved with a variety of subjects, which though injured can still be made out.

The four western bays of the choir are lined with the ancient monastic stalls, dating from the early sixteenth century. There are thirty-six upper stalls, two with canopies on either side of the entrance in the screen, and one at the north-east corner, that were reserved for the use of the Prior, Sub-Prior, and Precentor, and fifteen sub-stalls on the north and south, all of which, with the exception of the eastern one on either side, are modern. A finely carved cornice, surmounted by an openwork parapet, runs along the wainscoted walls, some of the panels of which are adorned with bas-relief portrait heads, including those of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Catherine of Aragon, Anne

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CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY CHURCH





Boleyn, and the Papal Envoy, Cardinal Campeggio, who was present at the famous divorce suit in 1528, whilst in another are seen two Canons with a goblet between them. The backs, arms, jambs, and misereres of the choir stalls are all alike profusely adorned with carvings, bearing witness to the artistic skill, wealth of imagination, sense of humour, and also, alas, lack of reverence, of the craftsmen responsible for them. Specially noteworthy are two stall arms on the south side, one representing a fox in a cowl preaching from a pulpit to a group of geese, with a cock standing on a stool behind him, the other a kneeling clown about to turn a somersault, whilst a dog, its hind legs resting on his arm, greedily devours the contents of a pot. Amongst the most curious carvings on the back panels are a winged female head with an elaborate coiffure, a mermaid holding one end of her double tail in each hand, and a cherub between two griffins, whilst of the designs on the misereres, which are of great diversity, perhaps the most characteristic are a greyhound gnawing a bone, a human figure with an ass's head, apparently listening to a snail, a winged horse, a half-length figure with an amulet hanging round its neck, a man climbing upwards with a chopper in his hand, a goose offering a plate to a grotesque figure, and two monkey-like devils tempting an angel.

Beneath the presbytery is the ancient crypt, now converted into a burial vault for the Malmesbury family, which is reached from an arched doorway in the south choir aisle. It is of two bays, the narrower western one of Norman origin, which remains much what it was when first completed by Flambard, with a characteristic barrel vault, and a semicircular arch at the eastern end rising from massive columns, with cushion capitals; the eastern, of later date and rectangular plan, replacing the old apse, which was lighted from low narrow pointed-headed openings since filled in. This crypt, which still forms a very striking feature of the Church, originally served as a requiem chapel in which masses were said for the departed, and it is considered possible that the stone slab with five crosses cut on the surface preserved in the south choir aisle may have served as an altar in it. Fortunately, when this interesting relic of days long gone by became a mortuary chapel, care was taken not to injure its original character more than was absolutely necessary, the tiled pavement removed during the alterations having been relaid in the form of a cross.

The fine oaken screens in the Tudor style that shut the

choir-aisles off from the transept originally formed part of a single parclose, that was divided early in the nineteenth century into three portions, two to make the screens whilst the third was used for altar-rails, which were cut down to about half their height a few years ago. The gate-posts on the north side are, however, of different origin, having been hewn out of the timbers of the "Royal William" as related by Walcott in his "Memorials of Christchurch-Twynham." Both aisles present a charming vista whether seen from the western or the eastern extremity, with their series of lateral window-arches, ornate chantries, beautifully proportioned groined vaulting and low stone seats, running along the whole length of the outer walls. From the southern wall at the western end of the south aisle a low arched doorway gives access to a fourteenth-century chapel, now called the sacristy, which is awkwardly wedged in between the aisle and the southern apsidal chapel, and was evidently at one time considerably larger, with a second entrance from the transept. It was, however, encroached upon when the aisle was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the ribbed vaulting having been left *in situ*, though it is partly swallowed up, as it were, in the northern and western walls. Lighted from an eastern window of two and a southern one of three lights, retaining their original shafts and headings, but with modern tracery and glass, this little gem of Decorated work has traces of an altar at the eastern end; a much-restored canopied stone seat on its southern side, and in its northern wall—which is part of the fifteenth-century work—a small deeply recessed opening, often erroneously called a "Leper's Squint," the use of which it is difficult to determine. It looks out upon no altar, so that it could not have served the purpose popularly assigned to it, but it may possibly have enabled a watcher in the chapel to make sure that the light in the chantry on the other side of the aisle was kept burning.

Nearly opposite to the sacristy is a chapel—a view of which is obtained through the so-called "Leper's Squint"—named after the Rev. Robert Harys, who died in 1525, and is buried beneath it. It is in the latest phase of English Gothic, with a very ornate front, enriched with canopied niches and buttresses, and bearing on a scroll worked into the cornice the quaint inscription:

The Lord Kyng of blis
 Have mercy on him yt let make this
 The which was made for Robart Harys
 Ano Dni MC.C.C.C.XXV.

Close to the choir entrance from the south aisle is an ogee-headed doorway, giving access to the crypt beneath the presbytery, and amongst the memorial tablets in the same aisle is one to the memory of William Gordon Cameron, who was killed in the Soudan in 1885, at the early age of twenty-two, and buried near where he fell outside Kosheh Fort, whilst above it hang the banner and helmet of his father, Sir William Gordon Cameron, K.C.B., who died in March 1913. These memorials of a very gallant soldier, whose family has long been closely associated with Christchurch, were consecrated in July of the same year at the re-inauguration of Henry VII's chapel in Westminster, as that of the most honourable Order of the Bath, in which the original stall plate of Sir William still remains.

The most easterly portion of the south choir aisle was converted in 1529 into a chantry chapel named after John Draper the Second, the last of the Priors of Christchurch, the story of whose spirited but abortive efforts to save from dissolution the institution of which he was the head has already been related. He died in 1552, and was buried in the nave of the Priory Church, but in 1840 his remains were removed from their first resting-place and re-interred at the entrance to the chantry, a slab of Purbeck marble, engraved with his name and details of his life, marking the spot. The beautiful screen in the late Gothic style, dividing the little sanctuary from the aisle, with its low slightly-arched central doorway, its three richly-canopied niches, and its ornately carved embattled cornice, above which emerges with fine effect a portion of the graceful aisle vaulting, forms a very strong element of attraction, and is peculiarly characteristic of the time when it was constructed. It necessarily, however, detracts somewhat from the general appearance of the aisle, hiding as it does the eastern window, the framework of which is late Gothic, though the glass is modern and of very inferior quality. Above the doorway of the chantry is a low-relief model of a cruciform church, with central tower surmounted by a spire, that may possibly commemorate Flambard's design, though certainly not the building with which John Draper was familiar, and within the sanctuary on the southern wall is a very fine piscina, probably of much earlier date than the screen that conceals it from the outside.

The general aspect of the northern choir aisle is on the whole even more impressive than that of the south, which, however, excels it in decorative detail. It is entered from a noble

Norman arch, and its eastern end, though it was once a chapel, and retains its piscina, is now open, its lower portion only being occupied by an altar tomb—which originally stood in the north transept, and was placed in its present position in 1791—with fine recumbent effigies of Sir John Chidioke of Dorset, who was killed in the Wars of the Roses in 1449, and his wife, the tattered banners, once owned by the Loyal Christchurch Volunteers, suspended over their heads, giving an effective touch of vivid colour. For many years the effigies, which are of alabaster, suffered greatly on account of the popular belief that scrapings from them, especially from that of King Chidioke, as the knight was popularly called, were remedies for various diseases.

At the western end of the north choir aisle is a collection of architectural relics, including the ancient font already referred to, and many fragments of beautiful decorative carving, that bear melancholy witness to the destruction wrought by iconoclasm and reckless so-called restoration. Against the southern wall of the same aisle is a chantry in the latest phase of Gothic, supposed to be that of Sir William Berkeley and his wife, and to date from about 1482. It has an ornate screen with a double tier of windows, and at each end a small opening suggestive of its having been at one time used as a confessional. On its flat timber roof are painted a red and a white rose, and it has a piscina of unusually small dimensions with brackets for cruets. Beyond the Berkeley chantry is the Salisbury chapel described above, and on the opposite side of the aisle, beneath an arch, is an ancient tomb, in which rests the body of Robert White, a noted benefactor of the poor of Christchurch, who died in 1619, and in his will bequeathed £100 to buy land for their benefit.

Before its desecration in the sixteenth century the Lady Chapel of the Priory Church must have been equal, if not superior, to the choir in the beauty of its general appearance and the delicacy and grace of its decorative details. Even now, with heart-rending tokens on every side of wilful mutilation, it retains a pathetic charm of its own, for it not only recalls the bitter reaction against popery, that was specially displayed in the fury with which buildings dedicated to the Virgin were attacked, but also brings back the memory of the days when neither time nor money were grudged to do honour to the Mother of the Lord, who was looked upon as the ideal of womanhood, the very embodiment of wisdom, truth, purity, and mercy.

Consisting of three divisions, the most westerly of which is an extension of the so-called ambulatory, with an entrance from each choir aisle beneath a wide-spreading arch, the Lady Chapel has a very fine fan-tracery roof of the stellar type springing from clustered shafts with richly foliated capitals. The ribs of the groining do not, however, start, as is generally the case, from these capitals, but are carried down in the same way as those of the roof of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, to pendants projecting beyond and not touching the columns, each one enriched with sculptured figures in high relief, whilst the wall-surfaces between the ribs and the window heads are filled in with quatrefoil and cinquefoil designs.

What must originally have been a very beautiful series of arcades with cusped headings, all, alas, more or less damaged, lines the lower portions of the north and south walls of the Chapel, but the two most easterly arches have been cut away to make room for altar tombs, supposed by some authorities to be those of Lady Alice West, who died in 1395, and of her son, Sir Thomas West, who passed away in 1405, whilst others question the conclusiveness of the evidence quoted in proof of this contention. Whether their bodies do or do not rest in the tombs so long associated with their names, there can be absolutely no doubt that mother and son were both devoted to the interests of Christchurch Priory, and the Sanctuary connected with it. The family to which they belonged, the history of which can be traced back to the early thirteenth century, had been closely associated from the fourteenth century with the town betwixt the rivers, for in 1330 a Sir Thomas West, holder of the Manor of Winkton and other property in Hampshire, was, as has already been seen, Governor of Christchurch Castle. His son and heir, who was named after him, was taken into the service of the Earl of Salisbury, who was a connection of his mother, and he was present with his lord at the Battle of Crécy, when he is said to have had the honour of being the bearer of the oft quoted reply of King Edward to those who begged him to send aid to the sorely harassed Black Prince. The wife of this Sir Thomas, who was the sister and heiress of Sir Edward Fitzgerald, is the Lady Alice, said to be interred in one of the tombs of the Lady Chapel, and her husband, who died before her, is also supposed to rest within the precincts of the Church, though exactly where it is impossible to say. In her will, preserved at Somerset House, the Lady Alice directed that her

body "should be carried to the Priory by the Canons of Christchurch, and there buried with her ancestors at the first mass, with a taper of six pounds of wax standing and burning at her head and another at her feet." She bequeathed £40 to the Canons to read and sing masses for her lord's soul and her own "while the world shall last," and £18 10s. to provide masses for herself, her late husband and all Christian souls within thirteen nights of her death, £40 for a vestment for the priest and for her and her husband's obits, and £40, to quote her own quaint words, "to do make therewith my fareseyd lord's tomb and myn also." She does not actually mention where that tomb is to be, but it was presumably in the Priory Church.

When ten years later the Lady Alice's son Thomas died, he gave even more explicit instructions than his mother had done as to his resting-place, for he directed in his will, which is in Lambeth Palace, that his "body should be laid in the new chapel of Our Lady in the Mynster of Christchurch," and to that request he added the following bequests: £100 for the works then in progress in the Church, 40s. to the Prior, 20s. to the Sub-Prior, and to each Canon 8s. 4d., on condition that they should solemnly observe the obits of Sir Thomas and Lady Alice West, his father and mother, as well as those of himself and his wife Joan. Moreover, he left £18 18s. 4d. for 4,500 masses to be said for his own soul within six months of his death, and various other sums of money for different purposes not connected with Christchurch.

The windows of the Lady Chapel, which must once have been as typical of the architectural style that prevailed when they were constructed as is the fan-tracery roof, have suffered almost as much as the decorative sculpture from the ignorance or recklessness of those responsible for their safe keeping. Not a single relic remains *in situ* of the lovely old stained glass, fragments of which have been from time to time picked up, that gave the final touch of mystic beauty to the sanctuary hallowed by so many memories of the past, and even the ironwork tracery and stone framing have in several cases been tampered with. Beneath the east window of the chapel is what must at one time have been a very beautiful stone reredos, with three tiers of canopied niches above a row of closely set arches, the central portion of which is hidden by a long low altar, consisting of a brick base, on which rests a Purbeck marble slab bearing the usual five crosses incised in it. Nearly all the figures that once occupied

the niches of the screen are gone, and all the carving and sculpture is considerably damaged, but some idea can still be obtained of what the whole composition was when still complete, with its profusion of ornate decoration, and its painted and gilded statues contrasting yet harmonizing with the comparatively subdued colouring of the stained glass windows.

It is indeed a long cry from the time when the wills of Lady Alice and Sir Thomas West, quoted above, were penned, to the twentieth century, in the first decade of which Captain William Gordon Shute bequeathed all his property not otherwise disposed of to the Vicar and Churchwardens for the time being of the Priory Church, Christchurch, to be applied by them, to quote the testator's own words:

in or towards the restoration of the Lady Chapel of the said Church and the Decoration and adornment of the same and the Windows thereof and particularly in filling with stained glass to my memory by Myer Munich of Belgium, the window over the Shute monuments in the side aisle of the said church. But in the event of the said Lady Chapel having been previously restored the residue of the said profits shall be invested by the said Vicar and Churchwardens and the income thereof applied in or towards keeping the Fabric of the said Lady Chapel in good and substantial repair.

The first part of the will of Captain Shute has already been carried out by the placing of a stained glass window above his resting-place in the south choir aisle, and it is proposed to spend a considerable part of the rest of the money left by him in filling in the large east, north, and south windows, with two of the half windows in the Lady Chapel with stained glass after the designs of Mr. Christopher Whall, who has chosen the subject of the "Incarnation of Our Lord."

The roof of the Lady Chapel is modern, but a notable relic of the days before the Priory was destroyed is the ancient doorway set within one of the arcades of the southern wall, which gave access to the cemetery of the Canons. Another door of later date in the opposite wall opens on to the public churchyard, and St. Michael's Loft is reached from a staircase in the turret on the north side of the eastern termination of the choir aisle, the corresponding one on the south side being walled up inside. There were formerly entrances to the turret staircases from the church, and to these an external one on the north side was later added for the use of the boys who attended the school, held in the Loft,

and at the bases of the flying buttresses are low doors, through which the roofs of the choir aisles can be reached.

Opinion as to the time of the erection of St. Michael's Loft and also as to its history before it became a place of education differs greatly, but traces of an altar and the remains of a piscina at the eastern end, with the low square opening at the western extremity above the reredos of the choir, point to the conclusion that it was a consecrated building in the time of the monks, who may possibly have turned it to account as a second chapter house, or as a sacristy in which they kept the many valuable relics and other treasures owned by the Priory.

In a Petition preserved amongst the Corporation records, the Council of the Sixteen—who as already explained, were responsible for the education of the children of Christchurch—to Bishop Morley of Winchester, who occupied that see from 1662 to 1684, pray for the "Bishop's License to erect and settle the school in a spacious waste room at the east end of the church called St. Michael's Loft, theretofore a chapter house for the Prior and Convent of that place, the same being to be repaired and fitted for that service by the petitioners." That the request was granted at once is proved by the fact that on 7 March 1662, the Sixteen ordered, as stated in an old parish register, that "St. Michael's Loft shall for ever hereafter and is hereby set apart for a free grammar school, to be fitted for that purpose as articulated and agreed upon." A grammar school it remained, numbering among its scholars the naturalist Bingley, the historian Warner, who speaks of it as the "Scriptorium of the Monks," suggesting yet another use to which it may have been put, and other celebrities, until 1828, when the boys then attending it were transferred to the National School. From that date to 1869, when it was finally closed, it was a private academy, under the control of the Vicar of the Parish, and it is now once more a mere "spacious waste room," but its noble dimensions, its well proportioned mullioned and transomed windows, its massive tie beam oaken roof, and the fine view it commands of a vast expanse of country, render it a very noteworthy addition to the many attractions of the Priory Church.

The churchyard commands a very beautiful view of the Avon and Stour, winding through the meadows that border their lower courses, and of the Isle of Wight rising up in the distance, its aspect constantly changing according to the state of the atmosphere and the time of day, its white cliffs now gleaming in the

sunshine and contrasting with the vivid green of its downs, now hidden in the mist which often completely enshrouds the whole island. No longer used as a burial place, the ancient God's acre is well kept, and remains in close touch with the long ago, with its many time-worn tombstones, the inscriptions on most of which are all but obliterated, though some few can still be deciphered, illustrating well the changes that have taken place in public sentiment as to what are fitting memorial epitaphs. One, on the right hand side of the avenue leading up to the north porch of the church, is especially quaint, and has so far eluded explanation, no one of the theories propounded concerning its meaning being really tenable:

We were not slayne but rays'd
 Rays'd not to life:
 But to be buried twice
 By men of strife:
 What rest could the living have
 When dead had none
 Agree amongst you
 Here we ten are one.

Hen: Rogers died April 17th 1647

Henry Rogers, as is well known, was a Christchurch man, who at the time held the office of Mayor, but for all that it has been suggested that he was one of the sufferers in the Civil War, and that his bones were buried in a common grave with those of nine others, whose leaden coffins had been seized to make bullets for the soldiers of the future Protector. Others hazard an equally unfounded opinion that the ten, who in their death became one, were sailors who had been drowned and temporarily buried in a field, but were afterwards transferred to the churchyard at the request of the Lord of the Manor, the Mayor Henry Rogers having been responsible for the economical device of making one coffin do for them all.

On a recumbent slab near the "grave of the ten" is written:

Live well. Die never
 Die well, live for ever.

At the north-west corner near the garden gate of the Old Vicarage on an upright stone is inscribed:

Heark, Heark. I hears a voice
 The Lord made sweet babes for His one choice

And when His will and pleasure is
 There bodys He turns to dust
 There souls to rain with Christ on high.

and close to the path leading down to the part of the churchyard known as Paradise is yet another memorial to a child:

E. N.

At the Ester end of this free stone here doeth ly the Letle Bone of Walter Spurrer, that fine boy that was his Friends' only joy, he was Dround at Milham's Bridge the 20th August 1691.

In one of the greenhouses of the garden of the house called Church Hatch adjoining the churchyard, is preserved another noteworthy tombstone of considerably later date than any of the four the inscriptions on which have just been quoted. It commemorates a certain Mrs. Perkins, who when she felt death approaching, requested that her body should not be put underground, but that a fabric above the surface should be erected near the entrance to the Free School then held in St. Michael's Loft, so that if she should revive the boys would hear her cries for release from her confinement. The lid of the coffin was to have hinges, and not to be screwed down, to enable her to push it up if she came back to life, and the lock of the mausoleum containing that coffin must be a spring one which could be pressed from within. These instructions, significant of the poor lady's fear of being buried alive, were duly carried out, but the boys at school never heard any call from her, and on the death of her husband, Lieutenant-General Perkins, in 1803 her body was removed to be laid beside his in the family vault in the north choir aisle of the Church.

Various bequests to the poor of Christchurch and certain outlying districts made in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries are still in force, and bear witness to the charitable zeal of wealthy parishioners who had enjoyed during their life-times the privilege of worshipping in the Priory Church, and whose memories are in several cases kept green by the picturesque ceremony held in it of the distribution of loaves of bread to the poor selected to be the recipients of their bounty.

The most ancient of these charities is that named after Robert White, who in 1619 bequeathed one hundred pounds for the purchase of land, the rents to be divided amongst the most indigent suffering and aged persons in the parish. The

money, as is also that derived from a somewhat later bequest by Thomas Lynn for the same purpose, is spent in the purchase of warm coats which are distributed on Christmas Eve every year.

More important than the White or Lynn charities is that known as the Magdalene, founded in 1646, which was originally an endowment of the St. Mary Magdalene Hospital for Lepers, and though the Institution it benefited has long since ceased to exist, it still yields about £165 a year, which is divided amongst maimed, infirm, or suffering poor, who live in the old Borough of Christchurch. Next in order of date of origin to the Magdalene is the Coffin charity, founded in 1653 by Elias Coffin, who in his will bequeathed certain landed property in Christchurch, the rents and other profits thereof to be divided between the poor of Bure and Christchurch, who benefit to the amount of £7 10s. a year, which is distributed in shillings by the Vicar and Churchwardens on Christmas Eve. In 1677 the property held in trust for the poor of the Parish of Christchurch, was further increased by a bequest from Edward Elliott of certain lands known as Colliers, outside the district still called Bargates, with a house and half an acre of ground, the rents of which were to be spent on bread for the aged poor of Sopley and Christchurch, a stipulation being added that the loaves should be set out on tables in the two parish churches on the first Sunday in each month, and distributed to such of those qualified to receive it as had attended the previous service.

In the same year, 1677, Thomas Brown, who had been a liberal helper of those in distress during his life-time, left certain lands at Moors and in Christchurch East, or Christchurch Foreign, to the poor of Christchurch, Ringwood, Lymington, Lyndhurst, Minstead, Sopley, Milton, and Holdenhurst, and in addition to this, ten shillings a year to the Minister of each of those parishes as a fee for the preaching on New Year's Day of a sermon on the subject of man's misery in a natural condition. The property thus left now yields about £70 a year, £20 of which is expended on clothes and bread for the indigent and infirm of Christchurch, whilst the remainder is divided amongst the other parishes mentioned in the will of the testator.

In 1714 John Armiger by his will left his residuary estate to a certain Samuel Hookey in trust for the poor of Christchurch, and sixteen years after his death a suit was brought

against the legatee, resulting in the transference of the property, which now yields several hundred pounds a year, to a body of twenty trustees, including the Vicar and Mayor of Christchurch for the time being, who expend the income in the apprenticeship of poor children living in the ancient parish of Christchurch to various trades and to sea-service. In 1778 Gregory Olive left £166 13s. 4d. to the poor of Christchurch, the income derived from which, amounting to £4 3s. 4d. a year, is divided amongst four poor widows living in the parish, who are selected by the Vicar, Churchwardens, and Overseers for the time being. In 1785 Mr. Gustavus Brander, who has already been more than once referred to in connection with the secular and ecclesiastical history of Christchurch, left £2 2s. to the Vicar, 10s. to the Clerk, and 5s. to the Sexton of Christchurch, for a commemoration service to be held, and a sermon to be preached on the subject of the Providence of God every third Sunday in August, as a token of his gratitude for his preservation from a serious accident, when his horses took fright, whilst he was driving in London, and after dashing furiously down Middle Temple Lane suddenly stopped short on the brink of the Thames. The testator also left ten shillings to trustees, to serve, as he expressed it, as a nest egg for the keeping in repair of his monument, which is on the back of the reredos of the choir in the Priory Church, anything over the sum needed for that purpose to be given to the poor of Christchurch in shillings on the day of the commemoration service.

In 1818 Captain Henry Oake, of the H.E.I.C. Infantry, who died in camp outside the fortress of Hattras in India, and to whose memory there is a monument in the south transept of the Priory Church, bequeathed nearly £500 for the benefit of the poor of Christchurch, his native town, the income from which is distributed in money and skirts to poor women in the parish, who are chosen by the Vicar. Eighteen years after the bequest of Captain Henry Oake came into force, the women of Christchurch were further benefited by that from their fellow towns-woman, Sally Williams, of whom it is recorded on a memorial slab in the north nave aisle of the Church that she died of grief at the age of seventy-seven, but who before she passed away proved that her own suffering had not hardened her heart, for she left property yielding £2 13s. 8d. to be divided between five poor widows, and an equal number of indigent maidens.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTCHURCH IN MODERN TIMES

THE story of Christchurch in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is marked by no interesting political events such as those with which the fortunes of the ancient town were linked when the King himself was Lord of the Manor, whose tenant-in-chief dwelt in a fortified castle dominating land and sea for many miles, and a stately Priory rose up near by, the head of which exercised a widely spread influence. The building of the Artillery Barracks in Christchurch in 1792 and the formation soon after that of the Corps of Christchurch Fencible Volunteers to supplement the force of regular soldiers stationed in the town, were but exceptional incidents significant of the fear of invasion which haunted the people of the southern coast during the French Revolution, whilst the disbandment of the force in 1802 and its recall to arms in 1804 reflected the course of events on the Continent with their effects in England. In the "Salisbury and Winchester Gazette" for 31 October 1803 occurs the following interesting passage, bringing into relief the changed conditions of the present day and connecting the town "betwixt the rivers" with the national scheme of defence of the early nineteenth century:

Our western Bay being supposed [says the writer] a probable part of the coast for the enemy to attempt a landing, the Windsor Castle guardship of 98 guns and two frigates have received orders to cruise off this place and the Needles. A troop of the 20th Light Dragoons have reinforced the military already in this quarter, piquets are established along the coast, beacons and night signals to prevent the possibility of surprise and the utmost vigilance in every department. Our volunteers, forming a body of over 400 men, well-disciplined, have received orders to hold themselves in readiness at an hour's notice. This intimation has been received with alacrity both by men and officers. The different corps of Yeomanry in this neighbourhood with a spirit truly becoming, have volunteered going into quarters for ten days to perfect themselves in military tactics and inure themselves to a soldier's life. At the

suggestion of the Lord Lieutenant of the County several gentlemen have been appointed superintendents of districts and directed to enrol those men as pioneers and cattle drivers, guides, overseers of removals, etc., as are not engaged in any Volunteer Corps; by this judicious proceeding every individual (except the infirm) will be able to render some service to the country. From the goodwill and activity of the above gentlemen (a good example to others in this capacity) such regulations have been adopted whereby every man previously knows his situation and department should the enemy invade this country. Thus the removal of property and persons (in case of necessity) can be effected at a very short notice without confusion and misunderstanding.

When all fear of an invasion was over the Christchurch Fencible Volunteers were finally disbanded, but not before they had won high commendation from the military authorities, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, it is proudly recorded, having gone to Christchurch on purpose to return thanks to them for their exemplary conduct. That he was prevented by the rain from doing so in public does indeed mark the difference between the old times and the new, for who of the thousands of Englishmen under arms during the present war (1916) would ever have dreamed of allowing the worst weather to interfere with their purpose.

After the peace of 1815 the excitement caused by the war with France gradually subsided in Christchurch as elsewhere, and little was heard beyond the boundaries of the parish of the town which had once held such an important position. As the nineteenth century advanced changes of fashion and competition gradually ruined the few local industries, of which the most important was the manufacture of fusee watch-chains introduced by Robert Cox about 1790, which gave employment to a great many women and children. No longer is the dog-grass so abundant in the neighbourhood, turned to account for the plaiting of straw to be used in making hats, and even the knitting of silk stockings, so long practised by many people working in their own homes, has been discontinued. Indeed, until the introduction in 1905 of trams connecting it with Bournemouth and Poole, Christchurch was but a somewhat sleepy town, redeemed from the commonplace by its beautiful Church and picturesque surroundings, but for all that it long held and still holds a position of considerable political importance in the county to which it belongs. It has for centuries been the capital of a vast Parliamentary borough, and is the municipal parent of Bournemouth

and its dependencies, Boscombe, Pokesdown, and Southbourne, which, so far as political purposes and status are concerned, are but constituent parts of it, being all represented in Parliament by a single member. When in 1883 an Act was passed at the instigation of Sir Charles Dilke to abolish a large number of unreformed boroughs of a class similar to that of Christchurch, it won exemption and commendation on the ground that its municipal officers had always acted in a public-spirited manner, and applied the small sums at their disposal for the good of the people, for which they were rewarded on 10 July 1886 by receiving the charter referred to above, under which the present Corporation was formed.

Not only is Christchurch the political nucleus of a densely-populated district, it has been for a very long period the mother parish of an extensive area, including until 1843 some 24,640 acres, with a coast line eight miles long. At that date, however, its partition began, by the forming of the ecclesiastical parish of Highcliffe, and in 1894 what remained was divided into six civil parishes: Christchurch itself, that included the town and a thousand acres round about it; Christchurch East; Hurn; Southbourne, known for some time as West Shore; Pokesdown; and Bournemouth, the last having been augmented by a considerable portion taken from Holdenhurst. A little later Highcliffe, already an ecclesiastical, became also a civil parish, by the transference to it of a wide strip of coast filched from Christchurch East, and in 1901 Hengistbury Head was also given to it, whilst the following year Southbourne, Pokesdown, and Winton were absorbed, so far as their civil status was concerned, into Bournemouth, though each is still a separate ecclesiastical entity. The result of this series of partitions has been to reduce Christchurch Parish to about 1037 acres, of which some 139 are more or less constantly covered by tidal water and 59 are foreshore, but in spite of all it has lost, perhaps, indeed, partly as a result of its severance from its modern offshoots on the west, it remains one of the most characteristic districts of Hampshire.

Whether in summer or in winter, at high or low tide, the mystic spell of running water, the subtle aroma of salt-laden breezes, the ever varying atmospheric effects, the constantly changing but always beautiful views, of which the noble Priory which seems to sanctify the whole scene, and the Isle of Wight, are dominant features, and the alluring presence of the wild

birds, that in spite of all the encroachments on their once lonely haunts, still breed and feed in wood and meadow, swamp and marsh, combine to give to the riverside town a distinctive charm. Nothing can ever entirely destroy that charm so long as the Stour and Avon still wend their way through the low lying meadows, to meet in the wide estuary, and flow united to the sea through the narrow outlet of the salmon run. Overlooked by the ancient fishing hamlet, full of memories of smuggling days when many a fierce conflict took place near it between free-traders and revenue officers, that run is full of picturesque beauty, and at certain seasons of the year is the centre of interest to the fishing population as the chief landing place for the salmon which make their wild dash upstream with the incoming tide for the upper reaches of the river to seek at breeding time the rapid current that they love.

No longer, it is true, do vast flocks of teal, widgeon, and wild duck darken the sky on their flight seaward, or the noble osprey and sea-eagle swoop down on their slumbering prey amongst the bracken on Hengistbury Head, no longer are the great reed warbler, the golden oriole, the great grey shrike, the marsh harrier, or the buzzard frequent visitors, but the red shank still clings with pathetic devotion to his old hunting ground, the night-jar utters his weird vibrating cry at early dawn and late eventide, the hoarse voice of the heron is heard as he flies lazily to his fishing in the twilight, whilst herring and black-headed gulls gather in hundreds on the half-submerged sand banks at low tide, looking like wind-swept snow drifts as they hover with outspread wings above the water. The morose-tempered cormorant is never absent, and when not engaged in fishing may be seen drying his wings as he sits upon the posts that mark the river channel, resembling some heraldic symbol in his stiff and stilted attitude. In the short winter days the sand-lings chase each other with lightning speed up and down the estuary; in early spring the ringed plover and his mate may be seen performing marvellous evolutions in the air, and a little later the fairy-like willow warblers and chiff chaffs arrive from Africa to take up their old quarters in the wood beneath the shadow of the Head. Amongst the reeds and rushes of the backwaters the moorhen, the water-rail, the dab-chick, the reed and sedge warblers, with other small water-birds, build their nests and rear their broods undisturbed, and on the long strip of beach between the Head and the salmon run wading birds, in-

cluding hundreds of dunlins and pee-wits, with less numerous curlews, sandpipers, dotterels, knots, and stints, can often be seen disporting themselves in the surf at the edge of the sea, one or another now and then falling a victim to a falcon or a hawk that has long, unnoticed by them, been on the watch for a meal.

In the winter, especially when the weather is very severe, wild geese and swans sometimes haunt Christchurch Harbour, and up-stream the mute swans lead their own semi-wild lives, nesting on the green islets above and below Tuckton Bridge undismayed by the constant traffic on the river, or the noisy rush of the trams from which hundreds daily look down upon them. Now a proud, new-made mother bird may be seen with her freshly hatched little ones nestling beneath her upraised wings, to be suddenly shaken off for their first lesson in swimming, the father keeping guard close by, or both parents, followed by a troop of cygnets, swim slowly past as if to show off their numerous progeny to the human spectators.

Sad as is the change that has been brought about in the flora of the lower watercourses of the Avon and Stour, the marshes and beaches of the estuary and the higher lands overlooking them, by the vast increase in the population of the district, there still remain many characteristic and rare wild plants to reward the diligent seeker. The cliffs between Southbourne and the Head have, alas, been robbed to a great extent by the tramp of many feet of the blue carpet of hyacinths that in the early spring vied with the sky above in its delicacy of hue, contrasting with the brilliant yellow of the gorse, much of which has also been removed. The royal fern that once grew in great clumps amongst the bracken is represented by a few scattered relics only, but the golden kingcup still flourishes in luxuriant masses in swamp and river meadow, whilst the pink thrift and the pale lilac sea lavender, add at certain times of the year an ethereal beauty to cliff and creek. The lovely bog asphodel, sundew, and marsh gentian can even now be found, the white and the yellow water-lily, the quaint hornwort, the frogbit, with several varieties of flowering rushes and sedges give a special interest to the river itself, wallflower grows wild on the Norman Keep and the ancient walls of the Priory at Christchurch, and cotton grass, samphire, the yellow horned poppy, club-rush, and sea-knot grass grow on or near the sandy shores at Mundeford and elsewhere along the coast.

No verbal description can do full justice to the enduring

fascination of Christchurch estuary and the rivers that flow into it, both of which, though their upper reaches are terribly obstructed with weeds, are navigable for small craft for a considerable distance, while their lower courses and the Estuary itself are dotted in spring, summer, and the early autumn with yachts skimming to and fro, their white or coloured sails outspread, or riding at anchor near the quay that commands a beautiful view down stream, with the Isle of Wight in the distance. To drift with the tide in a light skiff on a summer's afternoon from some picturesque point up-stream to the entrance of the salmon run, exploring the backwaters by the way, especially the winding creek below the Head, where the wild fowl love to congregate, and sea thrift and sea lavender flourish luxuriantly; to land upon the river beach and climb the sand-hills between it and the Solent that bursts suddenly upon the sight in all its romantic beauty with the Isle of Wight rising fairy-like from the waves, and the long lines of gleaming cliffs stretching away on the east to Hurst Castle and on the west to Swanage, is a joy that can never pall with repetition. Nothing, indeed, can rival it except the even greater charm of the return in the evening with the inrushing tide amongst the yachts tacking hither and thither, sea and land birds winging their flight for their night quarters as the twilight slowly gives place to darkness, the after glow lingering long after the sun has set. As the picturesque ferry that gives a touch of poetry to Wick even in the winter is neared, the boat that plies backwards and forwards all day long shoots forth from the shadows striking a note of human fellowship, and as Tuckton Creeks is approached skiffs and punts converge from up and down stream, whilst some belated bark creeps forth from the secluded shallows below Wick Lane.

The ascent of the Stour from above Tuckton Bridge is fraught with interest of another kind, lush meadows rich in wild flowers and haunted by birds of a great variety, but of a different type from those nearer the sea, replacing marsh and swamp. Every few strokes of the oar, as the intricate windings of the rapid stream are followed, reveals a new scene of beauty, the romantic charm culminating at the ancient bridge at Iford, through which the water rushes with such force as to render steering a most difficult operation, and at the Sheep Wash a little higher up, beyond which boating is no longer permitted, though the river is navigable for some distance further.

Boating is far more difficult on the Avon than on the

Stour, so dense is the growth of submerged weeds, so numerous are the floating islets of osiers and rushes in which boats sometimes become entangled, so tortuous and narrow is the channel of the stream and so tempestuous the current, the last named peculiarity accounting for the formation in severe frosts of ground or anchor ice which sometimes rises to the surface, bringing with it the stones about which it has collected on the bed of the river. In spite of all drawbacks, however, a skilful and patient canoeist can make his way up past Winkton, Sopley, and Ringwood, now between green walls of water vegetation shutting out the view, now along a broad waterway fringed with willows widening out here and there into a broad river, with beautiful scenery on either side, to shrink again a little further on into a mere shallow brook.

The weeds that so detract from the charm of the Avon from the point of view of the lover of boating had a still more disastrous effect on the salmon, which were greatly hampered by them in their efforts to reach the gravel beds of the upper reaches where the stream is swiftest and freest from pollution. In 1814 no less than 1,600 fine salmon were taken in the Avon, known as the Royalty Fishery, but in 1864 these imposing numbers had dwindled down to a few inferior catches, the natural obstructions checking the instinctive yearning of the parents to give their offspring the best chance of a healthy life, having been supplemented by the placing of fixed nets at the mouth of the river. Fortunately an end was later put to this most shortsighted and cruel policy; the nets were condemned as illegal and removed, with the result that a very great increase took place in the number of salmon caught. The fishermen still justly grumble that so little is done to check the growth of the weeds which after a flood are sometimes so clotted together that the fish are unable to swim through them. For all that no less than 943 salmon were taken with nets in the run at Mudeford in 1913, and 378 in the Royalty Fishery, the average weight in both cases having been over 16 lb. per fish, whilst in the higher waters, both of the Avon and the Stour, several remarkably fine specimens were secured with the rod. Both rivers also yield pike, perch, chub, and roach, whilst in some of the tributaries of the latter trout fishing is to be obtained. It is, however, the lordly salmon that gives the chief piscatorial distinction alike to Avon and Stour, which afford a unique opportunity for studying its life history from its birth as a wriggling tadpole-like entity

in the redd or deep trench upstream, where its mother laid her eggs, to its death on the beach of the run, or in a field below the meeting of the waters as a beautiful full grown fish, unrivalled in the symmetry of its proportions and the gleaming brightness of its armour by any fellow denizens of its habitat.

It is not until the second April of their existence that the salmon fry assume their characteristic silvery scales and start on their perilous voyage to the sea, paying toll as they go to many an enemy, some of them being devoured by pike and roach, others by cormorants, gulls, herons, divers, etc., whilst even when their goal is all but reached, vast numbers are snapped up by salt water fish that lie in wait for them at the outlet of the narrow run, which is their only pathway to the ocean. The landing of the salmon caught in nets, whether it takes place at the mouth of the Avon or on the spit of land overlooking the run, is a most picturesque, but at the same time pathetic sight, the struggles of the great fish before they receive the *coup de grâce* contrasting painfully with the peaceful setting of the scene in which they meet their fate.

A very special interest from the topographical point of view attaches to Christchurch Estuary, namely, that the mouth of the channel giving access to the salmon run has a constant tendency to shift its position, trending gradually towards the cliffs on the east. This is the secret of the constant increase in that direction of the sand bar between Hengistbury Head and the entrance to the harbour, first inaugurated when the extensive excavations for ironstone began on the promontory, the débris from the quarries being carried along by the tidal current and piled up across the old inlet into the sea. In 1909 the bar extended for a mile towards Highcliffe, but in November 1911, when a very high tide coincided with a strong south-easterly gale, the sea suddenly broke through the obstruction, considerably lessening the length of the mouth of the estuary. Soon after this, however, that mouth began to resume its old habit of shifting eastwards, and is already (1916) more than a quarter of a mile nearer the cliffs than it was when the victory of the waves—that will probably be repeated some quarter of a century hence—was won, whilst the old channel has been transformed into a long narrow lagoon, much haunted at low tide by sea birds.

Of late years the most exciting event connected with the estuary and rivers of Christchurch has been the annual August

regatta—cancelled in 1914 and 1915 on account of the war—during which the river was always crowded with a great variety of pleasure craft, and quays and banks with hundreds of spectators, eagerly watching the races and other competitions. Very different from these peaceful contests were the struggles that not so very long ago used to take place between smugglers and revenue officers in the now quiet reaches of the Stour and Avon in the hamlet on the spit at Mudeford, and on the sandhills between it and the sea, diversified occasionally by a fight between fishermen engaged in their lawful avocation and the press-gang, that was extremely active during the war with France, when a descent upon the coast by Napoleon was almost hourly expected.

It is difficult to realize now how widespread was the organization for the landing and dispersal of contraband goods, how many otherwise upright, conscientious men, and even women, were involved in the trade, thinking it no crime to cheat the Government and condoning deeds that if committed in any other cause would have branded the perpetrators with disgrace for life. Smuggling was long a calling universally recognized, if not exactly as an honourable one, yet held in esteem because it brought out many noble qualities, such as courage, resource, and patient endurance, combined in many cases with a self-sacrificing devotion of each member of the gang or crew engaged in it to the interests of the body to which he belonged. The building of boats specially fitted for speed and for the stowing away of illicit cargoes, including small coasting sailing craft and skiffs of exceptional length, in which the voyage across channel could be performed with great rapidity, was openly carried on for some little distance inland in Hampshire, Dorset, and Wilts, certain seaboard fields being known until quite recently as dockyard meads. Much of the coast was honeycombed with hiding places, great ingenuity being displayed in their contrivance; the fishing up of kegs of spirits sunk off shore or in ponds inland gave employment to a large number of people who were locally known as moonrakers; every labourer within reach was often pressed into the service to help haul the goods up the cliffs, whilst farm horses and ponies were impressed into the service to take them to their destination, to be distributed later to the customers ever ready to purchase them. The smugglers' proverbs, "Keystone under the hearth" and "Keystone under the horses' belly," meaning that smuggled goods were hidden beneath

the fireplace, or in the stable under the stones on which the horses stood, are very significant of the state of things that long prevailed, and volumes might be written on the many ingenious contrivances for eluding the vigilance of the authorities.

Until quite late in the eighteenth century no really effective measures were taken against the landing of contraband goods, though various abortive acts for coping with it were passed in Parliament, and vigorous efforts were made by the Custom House officers to check it, often neutralized by collusion between their subordinates and the free-traders. The so-called "riding officers" whose duty it was to patrol the coast, and who were paid only £20 a year, out of which they were required to keep three horses and pay a man to help them, were the laughing stock of those they were supposed to control, with whom fishermen, farmers, and farm-labourers were hand and glove, receiving in return for the services they rendered many a keg of spirit, packet of tea or tobacco and, more rarely, a valuable parcel of lace. Very often the soldiers quartered in the district were called to the aid of the riding officers and excisemen, but even they were not altogether impeccable, and were often known to accept bribes to aid in circumventing those they were supposed to be serving. The chief landing places for contraband goods on the coast between Studland Bay and Hurst Castle were Poole Harbour, an account of which and of the smuggling episodes for which it was famous is given below, the coast now overlooked by Bournemouth and Boscombe, the sea and river beaches at and near Mudeford, the secluded bunnies of Beckton and Chewton, the seaside hamlets of Milton and Milford, and Lymington, whence the cargoes could easily be taken up the river Boldre to the New Forest. The ancient manor-house at Beckton was burnt down about the middle of the eighteenth century through the falling of a spark from a pipe on a keg of spirits that had just been broached, and a short time after that several men were killed in an affray at Milton with the Custom House officers.

It appears to have been in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the contraband trade in Christchurch and the neighbouring districts reached its culminating point of prosperity, the whole countryside being practically in league to prevent any effective interference with it, the heavy duties imposed on all foreign goods leading even some of the most respected merchants and shopkeepers to evade them by dealing direct with the

smugglers. That this state of things could not be allowed to continue was, however, evident to all concerned, and the first note of the impending change seems to have been struck, so far as Christchurch was concerned, when it was decided to establish the Cavalry Barracks—now (1916) a Training School for the Royal Wessex Engineers—in the town. This, the first really practical measure against local illicit trading, may possibly have been to some extent the result of the following letter addressed to the military authorities by a certain Richard Hughes of Wick in 1770:

MY LORDS

I beg to inform you that there are two bays or arms of the sea on each side of Christchurch in Hampshire that are continually frequented by a most dangerous band of smugglers who appear to hold all the revenue laws in open defiance. I venture to recommend that a troop of dragoons should be sent to Christchurch. At this very moment the smuggling cutter is lying in Christchurch Bay flying His Majesty's colours.

This Richard Hughes must have been a bold man thus openly to defy the captain and crew of the offending cutter, not to speak of the many landsmen whose interest it was to prevent any revelations concerning their doings. So far as can be ascertained, however, no harm accrued to the informer, or to the particular cutter incriminated by him; but for all that a new era had begun, and in the next few years immense quantities of contraband goods were confiscated off the coasts of Hampshire before they could be landed. In 1776 a desperate gang of poachers and smugglers, who had long terrorized the coast and seaboard near Christchurch, was broken up, their retreat having been discovered in a vast cave outside Lymington, on the edge of the New Forest, which was full of valuable booty. The captain of the band saved his own life by becoming King's witness against the followers he had ruled with a rod of iron, confessing that he had killed forty of those he had robbed, flinging their bodies down a well near by, in which their bones are said to have been found.

Some four years after this a fierce conflict took place at Milford between a number of smugglers and a detachment of the Lancashire Militia, then quartered at Lymington, in which several of the former were killed, and one of the latter was seriously injured, but in spite of all these tragedies the evil was only scotched, not destroyed, for in 1784 yet another and more

serious fight took place at Christchurch between the free-traders and the authorities, which was described in the "Salisbury and Winchester Guardian" for 19 July of that year in the following words:

The "Orestes" sloop-of-war, Capt. Ellis Commander, lying in Cowes Roads, having advice that the smuggling vessels the property of Messrs. Leith and Parrott, would arrive at Christchurch point at the mouth of the Avon, on Wednesday, laden with Tea and Brandy from Guernsey and Jersey, made a feint of steering to the westward and arrived at Christchurch very unexpectedly on Thursday morning. The smugglers had already landed their cargoes (the same as the troops from Lymington were in quest of) and numbered about 300, most of them from the Town and neighbourhood. When the "Orestes" came near shore, they manned two tenders. A boat was then sent alongside the smugglers, demanding of those on board to surrender. This summons was immediately answered by a discharge of small arms, whereby several of the crew of the "Orestes" were wounded, and it is reported the Captain of the tender was killed. This alarmed the crew and brought them down on the shore in great numbers. The "Orestes" bringing her guns to bear, strove to prevent their going on board, which, however, many of them effected, regardless of the cannon and shot flying around them. The action lasted from 6 to 9 in the evening, when victory was declared in favour of the Royalists, of whom some were wounded and some killed, while several of the smugglers were also wounded. The "Orestes" departed on Friday morning taking with her the two smuggling vessels, supposed to be worth more than £4,000, and also their long boats which the crew had sunk with the hope of preserving. One of the smuggling vessels was quite new, and this was her first trip. The exertion and bravery of the crews were beyond example, and we cannot but lament that such resolution and courage were not employed in a better cause. The consternation of the townspeople and adjacent country was very great, and we are sorry to add that the whole of this part of the coast furnishes melancholy and very alarming proof to what a height the evasion of the Excise Laws is arrived.

Though there can be little doubt that death by hanging was the fate of the free-traders who were taken prisoners in this sanguinary battle, there is no actual record of the punishment meted out to them. For a short time after the victory there was a lull in hostilities, but a great deal of smuggling still went on, as proved by many an allusion to it in contemporary literature, and in the stories current amongst the descendants of those who took part in or were witnesses of the thrilling episodes that were

of constant recurrence. In his "Memoirs of an ex-Minister," the third Earl of Malmesbury, who was born in 1807, relates the following significant incident:

About 1780 Lord Shaftesbury was dining at Heron Court with his relation Lord Malmesbury. The Road which has since been turned, passed by the front of the house. Suddenly an immense clatter of waggons and horses disturbed their meal and six or seven of these, heavily loaded with kegs rushed past at full gallop. Soon after a detachment of cavalry arrived with their horses blown asking which way the smugglers had gone. Nobody would tell them and no doubt they got safely to the New Forest. The smugglers had dashed through two deep fords on the Stour close by, which the soldiers refused and so lost their prey.

The story goes that a woman named Mrs. Budden aided the smugglers to escape by holding up a lantern to show them the ford, with which the one now known as the Pigshute has been identified, concealing herself as soon as they had passed, and witnessing unmoved the discomfiture of their pursuers. A woman, too, played the chief rôle in an exciting drama enacted at Christchurch in the early nineteenth century, which was made the theme of a clever pastoral play called "Contraband," by Mr. William Henry Cooke-Yarborough, that was acted with charming effect in the new vicarage grounds at Christchurch in the summer of 1914, shortly before the war broke out. The story, which bears the unmistakable impress of truth, is related in the Foreword of the Play from the pen of the Rev. Canon Cooke-Yarborough, late Vicar of Christchurch, and is here quoted at length by permission of the author, who explains that he had the tale from Lieutenant-Colonel Brander of Wick:

Soon after the year 1800 there was a flourishing Inn at Mudeford kept by a widow named Mrs. Payne, which besides being an hotel where ladies and children came for sea-bathing was frequented by the smugglers of the Haven. A certain Captain Coombs, it is said, used to drop in pretty often to smoke his pipe in the evening and make love to the widow. He was the Captain of a remarkably fine cutter known as the *John and Susannah*, of probably about 100 tons and carrying 14 guns. She posed no doubt, sometimes as a privateer, sometimes as a smuggler. This vessel having committed some depredations, was reported to the government and outlawed. Whether Captain Coombs knew this or not is uncertain, but before he started on what proved to be his last voyage, he handed over to the landlady a package containing his vouchers and

claims for payment from the merchants for whom he acted, telling her that when he returned he would settle down and marry her. The landlady fell a victim to curiosity and opened the packet. Out of it dropped among the business papers a letter from a girl at Hamble (where Coombs belonged) to the effect that she also was longing for his return as he had promised to marry *her* and settle down to a peaceful life. Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned and Mrs. Payne punished her false lover by giving information to the Revenue officers of the date of his return.

H.M. brig Osprey carrying 20 guns was accordingly dispatched to Christchurch Bay and the *John and Susannah* rounding Hengistbury Head on her return, found herself under the guns of the man of war. The smuggler captain evidently did not lack courage, for he beat his crew to quarters and opened fire upon the King's ship, killing Captain Allen her commander at the first broadside. All Christchurch was roused by the firing (one of the cannon balls hit the Church) and every one hurried down to see the fray. For three hours the fight continued and then after a most desperate struggle the cutter was taken and brought to Cowes. The captured smugglers were pressed on board a war-ship. It was probably the year before Trafalgar and we were wanting sailors to fight the French too badly just then to spare such gallant though lawless fellows; but Captain Coombs, who fired a gun *after* hauling down his colours was tried and hanged upon a gibbet at Stoney Point near Lepe, where his body hung for a while but a party of his smuggling friends gathered one dark night and cut it down, carried it in a cart to Hamble, where they woke the parson in the dead of night and made him bury it in the churchyard.

With poetic licence the author of "Contraband" represented Captain Coombs as a true hero of romance, who escaped all punishment for his crimes, married the fair widow he loved, and lived happily ever after. To give probability to this *dénouement*, Mr. Cooke-Yarborough deftly wove into his plot certain other well authenticated episodes of the golden days of smuggling of somewhat earlier date than the capture of the "John and Susannah," which are related in the Foreword in the following terms:

During the French Revolution the first Lord Malmesbury happened to be walking on the beach at Brighton when he was hailed by two men who approached the shore in a boat belonging to a small sailing ship which had anchored off the town. They had with them a little French girl whom they said they had orders to hand over to the first person they met in England. She had like so many others been rescued from the Reign of Terror and with her they delivered a letter from her mother to

the effect that there seemed no hope of her own escape, but she implored the person into whose hands the child fell, to befriend her and if possible to communicate with her relations. Lord Malmesbury undertook the care of the child and happily a short time after the mother also escaped and the child was restored to her.

"There were, of course," adds Canon Cooke-Yarborough, "many instances in which smugglers enabled hunted aristocrats to escape to England, and a considerable number appear to have come to this part of the coast. Beech House, near Bransgore, is said to have been a sort of rendezvous for them," and it is recorded that Dr. Quartley, a well-known Christchurch practitioner and churchwarden of the closing years of the eighteenth century, who is commemorated by a slab in the church, was one night fetched by masked men to attend a wounded smuggler at Bransgore. Amongst the aristocrats who escaped to England was the Duc de Gramont, Captain of the Bodyguard of Louis XVI, who was one of the few survivors of the corps when the Palace of Versailles was assailed by a bloodthirsty mob in 1792. His daughter, Mdlle. de Gramont, who figures as one of the chief heroines of "Contraband," had been sent when the Revolution broke out to the care of the Duchess of Devonshire and married the Earl of Tankerville, becoming the mother of the future Countess of Malmesbury, whose monument, described above, is in the choir of the Priory Church.

In his "Smugglers of Haven Quay," Mr. Harold Vallings, the well-known novelist, has given a very vivid picture of the conditions that long prevailed in and near Christchurch even after the breaking up of the widespread organization to which the whole of the population once practically belonged. The description of the scenes in which the plot is laid could only have been written by one thoroughly familiar with every islet and eddy of the tidal bay in which the conflict so faithfully realized took place, every rock of the headland and every sand hill that overlooked it, with every detail of the lonely creeks and backwaters, and the all but inaccessible swamps and marshes in which the smugglers who escaped lay concealed till the hue and cry after them subsided. The old Simon of the tale, who dwelt with his devoted followers on Haven Quay, as the Spit at Mudeford is called in the story, is a noble presentment of the best type of smuggler, whilst Jan Slocombe is equally characteristic of the worst, and the minor actors in the

long drawn out tragedy, the interest of which never flags from beginning to end, are also very true to life.

So far as fiction founded on the illicit trade at Christchurch is concerned, the pastoral play of Mr. Cooke-Yarborough and the novel of Mr. Vallings will probably long remain unrivalled, but there is much valuable information on the same subject in the "Literary Recollections," published in 1830, of the Rev. Richard Warner. He was for several years a pupil in the Christchurch school for boys, and tells how, with the aid of a glass eagerly handed from one to another, he and his fellow-students used to watch from their elevated school-house, St. Michael's Loft (described above in connection with the Priory Church) the proceedings of the smugglers, who, he says, frequently chose as their landing place the shore of the noble promontory of Hengistbury Head.

It is doubtless [he adds] in the recollection of many of the ancient inhabitants of Christchurch that the descent of the declivity presented a living picture of a most singular character. I have myself seen a procession of twenty or thirty waggons loaded with kegs of spirits, an armed man sitting at the front and tail of each and surrounded by a troop of two or three hundred horsemen every one carrying on his enormous saddle from two to four tubs of spirits, marching deliberately and with the most picturesque and imposing effect along the skirts of Hengistbury Head on their way towards the wild country to the north-west of Christchurch, the point of their separation. The revenue troops, who had always intelligence of the run, were it is true present on the occasion, but with no other views and intentions than those of perfect peace. A flood of homely jokes were poured upon them by the passing ruffians, but these were always accompanied by a present of kegs, greater or less according to the quantity of the smuggled goods, a voluntary toll received as it was conferred in perfect good humour and mutual satisfaction.

This somewhat highly coloured picture of the camaraderie between smugglers and the representatives of authority is succeeded by a description of the luggers of the former, that when unfreighted were, says Mr. Warner, brought up Christchurch river and moored in security off its quays. One of these, the property of a celebrated adventurer, nick-named "Slippery Rogers," from his eel-like faculty of escaping the grasp of his maritime pursuers, was the special admiration of the boys of St. Michael's Loft, who never failed to give the vessel a ringing cheer when they saw her starting on her return voyage to Havre.

"Her unequalled length and perfect symmetry of form," says the enthusiastic writer, "her thousands of square feet of white canvas courting the breeze and swelling to the sun, her forty rowers sweeping the rippled surface of the river with strong, well-measured strokes, and above all her jolly crew of daring mariners, their careless mirth, their choral songs, and triumphant huzzas, mingled with parting salutes and farewell wishes to their friends on shore, combined to produce an effect that might well have moved the spirit of a much graver personage than an imaginative youth who had seen only his eleventh or twelfth year."

The gallant bark was wrecked off the coast near Christchurch on one of her return trips from France, and all but a few of the daring mariners were, says Mr. Warner, "together with their cargo swallowed up by the deep." He then goes on to give what he justly calls a striking example of the ferocious and licentious traits of character of certain smugglers, which rendered them terrible nuisances to the neighbourhood in which they lived, neutralizing the redeeming qualities he so much admired, such as their generosity in the expenditure of their unhallowed gains, their compassion for those whose distresses met their attention, and their gratitude to the farmers in whose barns and outhouses they deposited their goods. The father of one of his school-fellows, a Mr. Bursey, who was for some years one of the Christchurch Custom House officials, and lived at the village of Milton, was aroused from sleep one dark winter night by a loud rapping on the door.

On looking through the casement window [says Mr. Warner] he perceived two men though their countenances were not distinguishable through the gloom of midnight. He enquired their business; when one of them informed him that he had discovered a large quantity of smuggled goods in a contiguous barn to which he and his companions would lead him if he would reward them with a stipulated sum. A bargain was immediately struck, the unsuspecting officer hastily clothed himself, descended unarmed into the passage, opened the door, and in one minute his brains were dashed out upon his own threshold.

Not long after this brutal murder, which aroused great indignation, even amongst those who were all too ready to condone evasion of the law, but which appears to have been unpunished, Mr. Warner had himself what he calls "a dreadful fright from the terrible banditti," a party of whom stopped him one

night when he was riding back after a visit to Christchurch to his home, about ten miles from the town. Hearing a trampling behind him he urged his pony Forrester on to its utmost speed, but finding it impossible to outdistance his pursuers he decided that he had better pull up and throw himself on their mercy, heartening up his courage by reflecting that he was neither a custom house officer nor an informer. "In another moment," he adds, "the ruffians were at my pony's head. A brace of clubs were brandished over me, and in a flood of blasphemy it was enquired who I was, what my business and whither going." His answers seemed to satisfy the men, and he was allowed to proceed unharmed, but the next morning he heard that the Lymington custom house officers had been attacked the night before, probably by the men who had cross-examined him, and that one of them had been almost beaten to death.

Smuggling of the character so long prevalent on the south coast is now fortunately practically extinct, but many people still living in Christchurch delight in telling stories of what some of them look upon as the good old days, gloating over the way in which they, or those near and dear to them, managed to outwit "the gobloos," as the preventive men were called. A certain Mr. Coats of Stanpit, who died a few years ago, had a great reputation for daring, and used to boast how he evaded the coastguards when they were actually on the watch from their station at the mouth of the salmon run. The smuggling lugger was anchored on some dark moonless night, outside the entrance to the river, the kegs on board of it were roped together on one long string, and taking the end of the rope in his teeth Mr. Coats would let himself cautiously down into the water, and swim past the watchers unobserved, skilfully guiding the precious freight up-stream with the incoming tide, to be received in some lonely backwater by his fellow conspirators, who quickly divided the spoil and carried it inland. The father of one of the present vergers of the Priory Church was another notable runner of contraband goods, and used to relate how on one occasion when he was returning home from Boscombe Chine with four kegs of brandy, two slung in front and two behind, he was set upon by a couple of "gobloos," but after flinging down his load he was able to overpower them single-handed, and having bound them hand and foot, he re-shouldered his kegs, and went happily home to his bed.

An old man who had been a baker's boy in the happy

smuggling days gone by told the author of "Contraband" that he used to carry a big basket with a few loaves at the top, but with bottles of brandy and Hollands beneath. Different pass-words were used by him and his customers, he explained.

At Iford for instance there was a dairy where I had to ask if they wanted any milk, and if they said yes I had to say "Do you want it from the white cow or the brown?" At another place it was "Will you have the white ensign or the Union Jack?" the white ensign being Hollands and the British flag brandy, whilst elsewhere the pass words were "Lobsters" or "Crabs."

An ancient dame, who is now an honoured resident in Christchurch, gave to the same inquirer a very realistic account of the connivance of her family with the smugglers:

When I was a girl [she said] Father would go out after dark in his great pea jacket with a lantern strapped in his belt, and then in the early morning I would hear them come in with the kegs. There was a great stone in the middle of our kitchen and underneath it a great hole full of water, into which the kegs were sunk, and when we had an opportunity we got them out, and watered the brandy down, putting in burnt sugar to give it a dark colour. We always had to light a bonfire and burn old boots and harness in front of the house to make a smell and so disguise that of the brandy, which was so strong that you could smell it all down the street.

It is perhaps as well that such questionable "goings on" as these no longer lend variety and interest to daily and nightly life in Christchurch, but it must not therefore be supposed that the old town is a dull and lifeless place. It took its full share in the reception of the wounded during the war in 1914, 1915, and 1916, and in the hospitality shown to Belgian refugees, as well as in the founding and supporting of clubs for the use of the many troops camped in the neighbourhood. It has for a long period daily been the goal of enthusiasts who flock all the year round from far and near to go over the beautiful Priory Church, and to pay a visit to Mr. Hart's Natural History Museum, with its fine collection of the wild birds of the district, set in skilful reproductions of their natural habitat. In the spring, summer, and early autumn many come from the outlying districts to enjoy the excellent boating to be obtained from Christchurch Quay, Wick Ferry, and Tuckton Creeks. Hengistbury Head, and the cliffs

west of it, command a specially fine view of the ancient British Sea of many thrilling memories, the aspect of which is ever changing; its enduring and romantic charm, intensified of an evening when the lighthouses on the Isle of Wight and along the coast vie with each other in the brilliancy of their rays, supplemented by the searchlights, which every now and then fling their gleaming scintillating showers of liquid light upon sea, estuary, and shore, bearing witness to the silent vigil kept by the guardians of the Channel. Now as unruffled, and of as deep a blue as an Italian lake, now as tempest-tossed as the stormy Atlantic, with gray foam-crested rollers rushing in to break in clouds of spray at the foot of the Cliffs, the landlocked bays between Hurst Castle and the Dorset Foreland can never cease to delight the lover of natural beauty at whatever time they may be seen, whether all but deserted or dotted with picturesque trawlers, their white or tawny sails outspread, as they steal forth from Poole Harbour to the fishing grounds off Bournemouth, Boscombe, and Southbourne, and which, until the war interrupted sea-excursions, contrasted favourably with the comparatively uninteresting steamers belching forth clouds of smoke, which plied between different points of the mainland and the Isle of Wight. The wide expanse of waters is never twice the same, and is rivalled in its changeableness by the time-honoured island that is so characteristic a feature of it, now rising up in ethereal beauty, with white cliffs gleaming in the sunlight, but more often shrouded in clouds and mist giving to it a touch of mystery, the *Insula Vectis* brooding upon the waves like an outpost ever on the alert to warn the land of which it once formed part of the approach of danger, and ready itself to take part in its defence should it be attacked.

Though no smuggling craft now attempt to elude their pursuers in Christchurch Bay, or meet a tragic fate on the rocks at the mouth of the Estuary, foreign vessels have within quite recent days been occasionally driven out of their course in a gale to make unwilling acquaintance with the perils of the coast near Hengistbury Head. On 29 December 1893, for instance, the French brigantine *Marie Thérèse* on her way from Havre to Martinique with a cargo of coal was flung upon the ironstone ridge guarding the entrance to the bay, and would have gone down with all on board, but for the prompt action of the Southbourne coastguards, who rescued the captain and crew with the aid of the rocket apparatus. Now and then, too,

the peace which generally reigns in the Christchurch district is ruffled by the suggestion of the grim possibilities of war by the appearance off the coast of armed vessels, and in July 1914, shortly before the declaration of war, a portion of the Grand Fleet passed in a stately procession several miles in length along the horizon on its way to take part in the review at Portsmouth, and the day after that memorable display in which many of the vessels which were to play so great a part in the terrible and protracted struggle of 1915 and 1916 took their share, a group of sinister looking destroyers anchored for a short time close in shore off Southbourne, transforming the usually peaceful scene into one full of tragic suggestion, how tragic the spectators who gathered on the cliffs little dreamt, though those in authority knew of the gathering of the war clouds, which were to burst in the first week of August.

With the important exception of the Priory Church the Keep of the Norman Castle and the ruined Castellan's House, all described above, there is not much of historic interest in the modern town of Christchurch. The lazar house, which stood in the district known as Bargates, is gone, the old market place was removed about the middle of the nineteenth century, and soon afterwards the first Town Hall, which was situated at the point of junction of High Street and Castle Street, was pulled down, but in the latter thoroughfare is a well-restored mediæval timber-house, with characteristic dormer windows and carved barge boards. The finely proportioned and picturesque Norman bridge which has spanned the Avon for centuries, was recently very skilfully widened, the ancient Hostelry of the Three Bells in Church Street, now the home of the interesting permanent Exhibition of the Christchurch Art-Workers' Guild, and a house opposite to it, which has been rebuilt in the original style, retain in some slight degree the appearance they presented long years ago, as do also some few buildings on the road leading to the suburb of Purewell, the name of which recalls a spring of exceptionally pure water which once distinguished it.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERESTING PLACES IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH CHRISTCHURCH

THE road from Christchurch to Lymington branches off at Purewell, and passes through the suburb of Stanpit, on the site of the Stanpeta of Domesday Book, already referred to in connection with the early history of Twynham Manor. Adjoining it is the beautiful coast village of Mudeford, which at one time seemed destined to become a fashionable seaside resort. In the early nineteenth century it boasted of three bathing machines, rendered famous by the fact that in 1803, when George III paid a visit to the neighbourhood, they were laid on the sands in a row to enable His Majesty to walk dry-shod to the Royal Yacht Charlotte, a guard of honour having been drawn up on the beach made up of a detachment of Scots Greys, the local Yeomanry, and a detachment of the Loyal Volunteer Christchurch Artillery, who fired three volleys in salute, which were echoed by the cannon on the Isle of Wight.

Saved by the rise of Bournemouth, the story of which is related below, from what would indeed have been a melancholy change for a quiet spot still retaining a certain rural charm, Mudeford is noteworthy for its quaint old cottages, picturesque modern church, and many fine mansions, of which the most important on account of their interesting memories are Gundimore and Bure Homage. The former, which contains a room of the shape of a tent recalling its first owner's love of a nomadic life, was built in the late eighteenth century by the Hon. George Rose, M.P., the friend of Pitt and brother of Sir George Henry Rose, Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order. A poet of some little local reputation, William Stuart Rose, was honoured in 1807 by a visit from Sir Walter Scott, who wrote "Marmion" at Gundimore, and in his intervals of leisure delighted in boating and in exploring the New Forest, as recorded by his host in the following lines:

Here Walter Scott has wooed the northern Muse,
Here he with me has joyed to walk or cruise,

And hence has pricked through Ytenes holt, where we
 Have called to mind, how under greenwood tree,
 Pierced by the partner of his woodland craft,
 King Rufus fell by Tiril's random shaft.
 Hence have we ranged by Keltic camps and barrows,
 Or climbed the expectant bank to thread the narrows
 Of Hurst, bound westward to the gloomy bower
 Where Charles was prisoned in yon island tower.

The same poem also alludes to the fact that in the winter of 1816 the Italian poet, Hugo Foscoli, and the greater Englishman, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, were living in Mudford, though exactly where is not stated.

Here [says the poet] witchèd from summer sea and softer reign
 Foscolo courted Muse of milder strain.
 On these ribbed sands was Coleridge pleased to pace
 Whilst ebbing seas have hummed a rolling bass
 To his rapt talk.

Sir Walter Scott, it seems, took a strong aversion to the Italian, whom he describes in a letter to a friend as "ugly as a baboon and intolerably conceited," but he became very intimate with his host, and paid him the great compliment of quoting as a heading to Chapter V of "Peveril of the Peak" the following lines from his pen:

'Twas when they raised 'mid sap and siege
 The banners of their rightful liege
 At their she-captain's call,
 Who, miracle of womankind!
 Lent mettle to the meanest hind
 That mann'd her castle wall.

Sir Walter also much appreciated the famous valet of Mr. Rose, David Hinvaes, whose story is a very romantic one, and is told in Lockhart's *Life of the great novelist* who, it is claimed, founded the portrait of David Gellatly in "Waverley" to some extent on him. A bookbinder by trade, Hinvaes was a very earnest methodist, with a considerable gift of eloquence, and Mr. Rose having accidentally been present when he was preaching in the New Forest, was so struck with his personality that he got into conversation with him, and persuaded him to enter his service. Nominally only a valet, David was treated as

one of the family; Sir Walter Scott made him a present of all his publications, and Coleridge gave him a copy of the unfinished "Christabel," which is still an heirloom in his family, on the fly-leaf of which is written:

DEAR HINVAES,

Till this book is concluded . . . accept of this corrected copy of Christabel as a small token of regard; yet such a testimonial as I would not pay to any one I did not esteem, though he were an Emperor. Be assured I will send you for your private library every work I have published . . . and whatever I shall publish. Keep steady to the faith. If the fountain head be always full, the stream cannot be long empty.

Yours sincerely,
S. T. COLERIDGE.

MUDEFORD,
11th November 1816.

Bure Homage, originally a farmhouse on the Highcliffe estate, the story of which is related below, was considerably enlarged by its owner, Sir Charles, later Lord Stuart de Rothesay, after his temporary retirement from the Paris Embassy in 1824, and was closely associated with the girlhood of his lovely and gifted daughters: Charlotte, the future Countess Canning, whose husband, Charles John, Earl Canning, became the first Viceroy of India in 1858; and Louisa, who was to marry the Irish peer, Henry, third Marquis of Waterford; to win a considerable reputation as an amateur artist, the beauty of her work having been recognized by Watts and Ruskin, and whose memory is still dear to the people of Christchurch and its surroundings. The Marchioness calls up a very vivid picture of Bure Homage and of Mudford when she was a child in "My Recollections up to the Age of 12," evidently written a few years before her death in 1891, the MS. of which was discovered at Highcliffe Castle after the property passed into the hands of the Stuart Wortley family, and was published a few years ago in the Highcliffe Parish Magazine:

I do not think [she says in it] I ever saw a more original elevation than that of Bure cottage—a complete oval—surrounded by a green verandah, covered with clematis and honeysuckle . . . a pretty stream ran through the shrubbery and from the verandah was a good view of the sea and the Isle of Wight and then the lawn was gay with tiger lilies and were there ever such greengages as grew against one side of the house and could be picked out of the window? And there was a pear-tree too with pears quite scarlet and yellow; I have never seen any like

them since. . . . Bure Homage has gone through many changes since those days and passed through many hands. It underwent a complete change when owned by the Baronne de Feuchères and was transformed into a Frenchified villa such as you might see in the Champs Elysées and I look in vain for the Mount, a hillock from whence was a good view of the sea and the old kitchen garden. I can only find the lawn and the medlar and quince trees planted by my father and the little gate opposite the shrubbery walk to the sea. . . . I well remember in our delight on arriving from London and finding it locked how my sister and I climbed over and rushed off to the sea never stopping till we were on the beach. . . . I remember the reading lesson in the dining room given to us by old Lockyer who was clerk at Christchurch and wore a kind of surplice of black in his desk and read the first lesson. . . . Mudeford has not changed much; the body of the houses are the very same and but few houses have been added; the beach was very different and a good walker had a fine sandy space from Mudeford to Hurst Castle. Seven bathing machines stood on the beach . . . and were taken into the sea by a man on horseback; a small and very primitive wooden house contained two baths for warm sea-water and Jane the bathing woman and Miss Conny manager of the baths were well-known characters.

The Haven House still remains the same picturesque tumble down old house as ever. My grandmother remembered it a sea-bathing lodging house for fine company who came down from London for sea-air and I can remember Mudeford beach rather full of people what our little French companion Esther Wattellion used to call "un beau beach." Mrs. La Tour in a yellow carriage and four driving on the sands would not be credited now a days. On the beach at the Christchurch side by the Haven House were the backbone and ribs of a large boat and I was told it was one of Napoleon's flotilla wrecked on the shore; the ribs disappeared but the backbone I feel sure is still under the sand.

The Baronne de Feuchères, to whom Lady Waterford refers in her "Recollections" as having at one time owned Bure Homage, was a very noted, or rather notorious, personage whose presence in the neighbourhood was a good deal resented by some of the other residents. Lady Stuart de Rothesay used to tell her romantic story to her guests at Highcliffe when they made inquiries about her. She was the daughter of a very respectable shipbuilder of Ryde, named Dawes, and her beauty and charm attracted the notice of the Duc de Bourbon, though when and where he met her the narrator did not say. She became the mistress of the Duc, but he passed her off as his daughter, and threw her into the society of his aide-de-camp, the Baron

de Feuchères, who fell in love with her and married her. The Duc de Bourbon gave her a dowry and all went well for a short time, but presently the truth came out; the Baron was terribly indignant and would have nothing more to do with his wife, though he allowed her to keep her fortune. Although all this caused considerable scandal, the Baronne was received in the best French society, even at court, the Duchesse de Berri advocating the condoning of her laxity of morals in the hope that she might induce the Duc de Bourbon to leave his money to the Duc d'Aumale. At first he seemed disposed to espouse the Orleans cause, to which the Baronne de Feuchères was devoted; but when the Revolution broke out and Charles X had to flee from Paris, all his old attachment for the King was revived, and he declared that he would follow him to the death. As is well known the Duc was found hanging dead from a window in the chateau of St. Leu on 27 August 1830, and opinion was divided as to whether he had committed suicide or was murdered by the Baronne de Feuchères in her rage against him for his sudden reversion of policy. The unfortunate lover left a very large sum of money, the chateau and park of St. Leu, those of Bussy, and other landed property to the Baronne, who thus became one of the richest, most courted, and at the same time most hated women in France, so indignant were the relations of the Duc at the loss of what should have been their heritage. The story goes that the heiress promised to settle everything she possessed on the Duc d'Aumale if the Duchess of Orleans would receive her, and this the great lady actually consented to do, crossing the room at one of her large gatherings and going to the door to welcome her on her arrival, although as a general rule she always remained in her place, making, it was said, "only one step even for a duchess."

In spite of this undoubted triumph Madame de Feuchères found it impossible to continue to live in Paris, and she came to England. Her brother, Mr. Dawes, secured Bure Homage for her, and she settled down in it for some little time. "I never called on her," said Lady Stuart de Rothesay, when talking to a party of guests at Highcliffe, "but Stuart did," and she went on to tell the following amusing anecdote about her. "I remember Bemister, our carpenter, being sent for by her and coming to me afterwards. He said to me, 'I felt very queer when she told me to hang up a picture of the Duke on the wall of her room, and before I thought of what I was about I said, "And where

will you hang he?" "And what in the world did she answer?" I asked," added Lady Stuart. "'Well,' he said, 'I was looking very foolish and she said: "Why you don't think I really did it, do you?"' "And what do you really think, Bemister?' I said. 'Why I don't think she did it,' he answered, 'but I think she worried him into doing it himself,'" an opinion Lady Stuart remarked she was disposed to share.

In her "Recollections" Lady Waterford refers to several neighbouring mansions occupied, when she was a girl, by friends of her parents, including Hubborn House, on a fine estate which is alluded to in Domesday Book as Hoburne, was held in Saxon times by the wife of a certain Saulf in succession to her husband, and was granted later by Earl Richard de Redvers to Christchurch Priory; Wolhayes, Belvedere, and Nea House, the last long the seat of the distinguished soldier, Sir William Gordon Cameron, K.C.B., already referred to in connection with the memorials to him and his son in the Priory Church.

More widely known than any of these old residences, chiefly because of its long and close connection with the Stuart de Rothesay family, is the modern Highcliffe Castle, situated in the recently formed parish of the same name on the shores of the beautiful Christchurch Bay. The nucleus of this new ecclesiastical entity is by some authorities supposed to be identical with the estate of Sclive, which was part of the Manor of Somerford; and was held in 1086—as recorded in Domesday Book—by Wakelin, Bishop of Winchester. The village of Highcliffe, called Newtown for some little time, is in the east of the parish on the road to Lymington, and has a modern church dedicated to Saint Mark, which was built at the expense of Lord Stuart de Rothesay, who planted the now beautiful avenue of ilex trees leading up to it that used to be locally known as the ninepenny trees, the price of the young saplings having been ninepence each. The first stone of the church was laid by the future Lady Waterford, who painted the east window, whilst her sister, who was to become Lady Canning, was responsible for the two smaller ones on the north and south sides of the sanctuary.

Speaking of the church in her "Recollections," Lady Waterford says:

Later the little church of Highcliffe was built, of which I laid the first stone. The plan which was not a very good one has undergone

many changes since, and has also been added to in size. The bell was brought from Russia by my father and mother and has (as all Russian bells have) some silver in it to improve the tone. The Communion Table cover was brought from Paris, where it had been used at the service at the Embassy. The window over the Communion Table was my own idea and execution, the ornamentation my sisters . . . the evergreen oak and lime avenue was planted at that time.

Highcliffe Castle stands in charming grounds upon the cliff, commanding magnificent views of the coast, the channel, and the Isle of Wight. The estate to which it belongs, after going through many vicissitudes, was bought early in the nineteenth century by John, Earl of Bute, who built a mansion on it in the then popular Adam style so short a distance from the edge of the cliff that it was in constant danger of destruction from landslips. Already, before the death of its owner, there were but sixty feet between the mansion and a sheer declivity, and the old gardener used to try to hide fresh havoc by turfing over the scene of each new fall of earth. On one occasion Lord Bute slipped over the cliff and broke his leg when chastising a little dog, but nothing put him out of conceit of his seaside home, which to the end was his favourite residence. He left Highcliffe to his fourth son, Charles, the father of the Sir Charles Stuart who, as related above, enlarged Bute Homage in 1824. The heir did not share his father's affection for Highcliffe, which must have been rather a melancholy place in those days. "I remember," says Lady Waterford, "hearing of the wild and uncultivated country around, the wild forest lands reaching to the sea and the beach being resorted to by smugglers, assisted in landing their goods by poachers. I have heard my grandmother describe a large dog that was trained to help the smugglers," but she makes no allusion to any interference with these lawless doings, an incidental proof of the leniency with which they were then regarded by owners of property on the coast.

Exasperated by the constant demands on his purse resulting from his grandfather's mistaken choice of a site, the new owner, soon after he came into possession of the estate, sold it to a Mr. Penleaze, who, the story goes, was enabled to purchase it through finding a large sum of money in banknotes packed away in an old hat case which had come to him as an heirloom. However that may have been, he lost no time in pulling down Lord Bute's house and building another of comparatively commonplace design, about two hundred yards further inland than

its predecessor. A little later the younger Sir Charles Stuart, who had been opposed to the sale of Highcliffe, was recalled to the Paris Embassy and raised to the peerage as Lord Stuart de Rothesay. He promptly sold Bure Homage, which, as already related, he had enlarged in 1824, and resolved sooner or later to buy back the heritage left to his father by Lord Bute. This ambition he succeeded in realizing before he finally left the French capital, and he sent over to the Penleaze house all the art treasures he had collected during his sojourn in France, including the greater portion of a beautiful old chateau known as *La Grande Maison d'Andeleys*, which he had purchased as it stood near the village of the same name on the Seine, having heard that it was doomed to be pulled down. A fine oriel window, some pierced parapets, quantities of exquisite carvings in stone, with other characteristic architectural details were amongst the spoil, and were eventually incorporated at an enormous cost into the present Highcliffe Castle, which presents on the whole a fairly satisfactory if somewhat hybrid appearance, and is described by the distinguished architect, Mr. C. R. Peers, M.A., F.S.A., in the following terms in the "Victoria County History of Hampshire" (vol. v, p. 85):

The present house is L shaped, the arms running south and west and the principal garden front being enclosed between them. The meeting of the arms consists of a large block of three stages with tall ornamental chimney turrets rising above the level of the pierced parapet. At the south-east angle projects a large porch of three stages with ogee-headed entrances on the south and west, and an oriel corbelled out on the east side. A short wing of two stages runs north-eastward from this porch to a tower of three stages with angle turrets, and to the east again a long wing of a single stage runs eastward. The south arm is of a single stage with very large windows and is cruciform, having a semi-octagonal termination flanked by short straight wings ending in three sides of an octagon. The centre face of the south octagon contains a doorway opening to a flight of steps into the garden. The whole building is crowned by an elaborately pierced stone parapet and at the north-east angle is an imposing carriage porch with ogee-headed side openings and a two-centred arch to the full height of the north face which is steeply gabled and flanked by panelled octagonal turrets.¹

The letters of Lady Stuart de Rothesay and of her daughter Lady Louisa Canning, give graphic accounts of their life in the

¹ Quoted by the courtesy of the publishers of the "Victoria History of the Counties of England."

Penleaze house, whilst the stately castle was rising up, the former often protesting to her husband against the lavish expenditure involved, and complaining that the architect Domthorne "was ambitious of his own fame and wanted to emulate Fonthill and Ashridge":

Our life in the Penleaze house [wrote Lady Waterford long after that house had ceased to exist] was by no means uncomfortable as in addition to what we had brought from Paris it was furnished with many things from Bure. My mother at once began to improve the place . . . by planting and making walks . . . a very pretty walk led down to the beach at a place called Lord Bute's gap. . . . The old kitchen gardens of Lord Bute's time remained . . . and there were the ruined remains of an old riding school of which one arch only is to be seen now. An old sundial was placed on what was supposed to be the site of Lord Bute's house; it is in the flower garden now and is rather well carved—a rude stone block with ornaments of cables and dolphins. When the house on the other side of the place East Highcliffe, now Beacon Lodge—so-called because there is said to have been a beacon on its site—was bought back by my father the original Highcliffe entrance was restored. The lodges . . . were Adams' design and remain unchanged and the tall old Scotch firs made rather a striking entrance. . . . Much of the cliff on that side of the place has fallen away since those days, for I remember two shady walks which ended nearly opposite Beacon Lodge where now are bare cliffs . . . the path was so far public that the Preventive Service were always allowed that way past a mount that had been the ice house of the old Highcliffe. . . . Beyond the house one opened a gate into gorse covered land and about a quarter of a mile on was a wooded gorge . . . Chewton Bunny, always a picturesque spot though many of the wild hollies . . . have died and much of the cliff has fallen away since I remember it. The pathway down one side and up the other was always difficult, now one side is more feasible but the other has quite fallen away.

A chief excitement of the Stuart sisters in their girlhood was to search for fossils on the cliffs between Chewton Bunney and Barton, and Lady Waterford tells of their glee when they found what she calls "the rare wing shell" and of a fruitless expedition they once made by way of Iford to the site of Bournemouth, because they had been told they would find more and finer shells there. "The drive," she says, "was long, over a desolate moor not a house to be seen, only some plantations of low firs, and at last we came to a wild valley, where there was one house only and that Miss Tregonwell's. All was solitary and desolate and

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FISHING HAMLET, MUDEFORD



the shells were not to be found. Bure Lane, leading to Mudeford was shady and leafy, with a very little purling brook by the side. From Mudeford we came upon a bit of common and backwater, then very lonely and picturesque. I remember my mother making a drawing of the spot and its distant view of Christchurch, and in the foreground the prawn pots and other fishing gear. This was Stanpit." She speaks, too, of the dusty, treeless road between Highcliffe and Christchurch, and of finding the variegated thistle known as St. Mary's thistle, supposed to have been brought from the Holy Land, near Somerford Grange, "the farm of the monks of Christchurch, where their old barn remains, and the ponds for their tench and carp and freshwater fish," all touches bringing into relief the great changes that have taken place in the neighbourhood since she was a girl.

The building of the new Highcliffe occupied many years, during which the lovely old carvings from Les Andelys were lying about in the grounds till they could be fitted into the places assigned to them, and Lady Waterford tells how sometimes pieces had to be copied in plaster, "delightful little monsters," she says, "which occupy places round some of the windows . . . when the Hall was being finished I remember doing a good deal in the way of painting and glazing. The glass," she explains, "was cut and leaded at Holloways in Christchurch," and she used to assimilate it as well as she could to the old. "A complete old window had been bought for the Hall," she adds, "but Domthorne's window at the end was four times bigger. What was to be done? Why you must make it fit. This was done by extending the pattern on all sides, and pressing into the service such bits of glass as we could turn into other figures; adding a glory round the head of one, a mantle to another and palms and wings in abundance from Holloway. I remember one day his picking out an angel with red cheeks and yellow hair, he looked at it fondly and said, 'I once know'd a gal, that might ha' been her very picture.' At last we did manage and the window at this day would scarcely be supposed to have been so immensely stretched from its original proportions." Truly a *naïve* revelation of how the mediaeval character of the hall windows was secured!

Before Highcliffe church was consecrated the De Rothesay family attended the Priory Church, using the old pew that belonged to her father's estate, which Lady Waterford says "was built

into one of the arches and reached by a wooden stair, a disfigurement to the church, and taken away later." Sir P. Shelley's in the arch above, she adds, had been allowed to remain. The organ used to be in the centre carved screen, and there were no galleries in the transepts. She dwells on the difficulty of reaching the church from Highcliffe in time for morning service, and tells how the then Vicar's sister used to hold a levée in the porch after it, whilst the De Rothesay family waited in their carriage. She then goes on to bemoan the lack of funds "for restoring the beautiful old church to the style it should be in," little dreaming of all the future held in store for the venerable building which even before she passed away in 1891 was to suffer many things, not as of old from neglect, but from divided counsels as to the best way to spend the large sums of money accruing from the fees of visitors to it.

In a letter to her father, Lord Stuart de Rothesay, dated from Highcliffe 23 March 1842, Lady Canning, after commenting on the damage done to the cliffs by the bad winter, many bricks of the foundations of the old house having been laid bare, and on the fact that "the river is now driven further back than ever, for the sandbank outside has now increased fourfold," refers to the approaching completion of Highcliffe church, alludes to the windows she has promised to paint, and remarks "Canning will give a font and his yacht bell, Loo's window will be beautiful, and the whole concern as complete as possible." She then passes on to speak of her sister's predilection for Lord Waterford, prophesying that she "would probably accept him. "Caring," she says, "for him as she does she may be perfectly happy with his odd but amiable disposition, and if she bears his rough manners now she is sure not to mind them afterwards." A few days later the engagement was announced in the "Morning Post," and the marriage took place in June of the same year in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. Lord Stuart de Rothesay, who was then Ambassador at St. Petersburg, came to London to give his daughter away, and after a brief honeymoon the newly married pair went to Lord Waterford's estate at Curraghmore, Ireland, receiving a most enthusiastic reception there. Only a week later the bride was nearly killed in a terrible accident when out driving with her husband, the horses having taken fright and run away as they were going down a steep hill. Lady Waterford was thrown out, and taken up insensible. She hovered between life and death for some days, but eventually recovered. She was

rarely at Highcliffe during her early married life, the onerous duties of her position rendering it difficult for her to leave Curraghmore, and very much to her regret she was unable to be with her mother during the long illness of her father, who broke down at St. Petersburg in 1844. He was brought to his seaside home in England by his wife in the hope that the bracing air and quiet life might restore him to health. This was not to be, for though he seemed to rally for a time he passed away after many months of terrible suffering in November 1845. He was buried in a vault beneath the church he had founded, and a tablet to his memory was placed on the wall of the sanctuary, bearing beneath the dates of his birth and death the words: "Hear Thou from Heaven Thy dwelling place and when Thou hearest forgive."

For some years after her husband's death, Lady Stuart de Rothesay made Highcliffe her headquarters, and there in March 1859 she received the tragic news that her son-in-law, Lord Waterford, had been killed in the hunting field by a fall from his horse. She hastened to Curraghmore to be with her daughter, and after the funeral the two widows were together for a short time at Highcliffe, before Lady Waterford went to take up her residence at Ford Castle, which had been left to her by her husband, and where she had spent many happy days with him before her bereavement. She was often, however, with her mother, and was on a visit to her when in December 1861 a fresh sorrow fell upon them, Lady Canning having died suddenly in India just when they were expecting her to start for England, and were preparing to give her a hearty welcome. The blow was indeed a paralysing one, and it seemed at first impossible to the mother and sister to remain in a place so full of associations as Highcliffe with the dear one they had lost. Letters from Lady Waterford to intimate friends, betray her longing to get away from it, and at one time parting with it entirely was seriously contemplated; but as is so often the case in similar circumstances, a revulsion of feeling presently set in, and later the old affection for it revived. When Lord Canning came back to England it was at Highcliffe that he was received, and before her death, which took place in 1867, Lady Stuart de Rothesay expressed a wish, which was duly respected, to be laid to rest beside her husband in the little church of St. Mark. She left Highcliffe to Lady Waterford, who from that time till she in her turn passed away spent nearly every summer at the Castle,

becoming a kind of Lady Bountiful to the neighbourhood, and receiving many distinguished guests. The Crown Prince of Sweden was with her in 1879, the late King Edward and Queen Alexandra when Prince and Princess of Wales came over several times from Osborne, on one occasion bringing with them all their children. Their hostess gives a very interesting account of their visit to her in the following letter to her friend Augustus J. C. Hare, author of the charming "Story of Two Noble Lives," from which much of the information here given concerning the daughters of Lord Stuart de Rothesay is culled:

HIGHCLIFFE,
August 26th 1880.

I have had a great surprise in the unexpected visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales with their two sons and the three little Princesses landing on the beach, coming up to tea, and drawing nets on the shore till evening; the young princes swimming about in flannels and finally the Prince and his two sons swimming away to join the steam tug. Charlie Beresford thought I was away so it was an impromptu visit to see Highcliffe but I am glad I was there. It was such a gay scene and Highcliffe looked its best. The nets and the people in flannels rollicking in the sea and the boats and the sailors were a series of lovely pictures and then the Osborne's boats of dark blue and gold bands and the sailors holding up their oars. It was quite a beautiful effect.

A year later the Prince and Princess were again at Highcliffe, this time accompanied by the Crown Princess of Germany, the future Empress Frederick, whose brother, the late King Edward VII, was again for a short time at Highcliffe in 1900, and whose son the Emperor William II was to rent the Castle in 1907, nominally merely to complete a rest cure, but probably also with a view to becoming thoroughly familiar with the coast. However that may have been, His Imperial Majesty appears to have conceived a great affection for the castle and its surroundings, writing about them most enthusiastically to the Empress, and on his return home taking with him a beautiful little New Forest pony as a gift for his beloved only daughter. In her charming "Memories of the Kaiser's Court," recently published by Messrs. Methuen, Miss Topham, who was for several years English governess to the Princess Victoria Louise, says:

When some years ago the Emperor occupied Highcliffe Castle near Bournemouth—a proceeding which very much annoyed a section of his subjects who considered that Germany possessed just as many eligible

residences for the purpose of a cure as did England of whom those Germans who know least of her are naturally most suspicious—his letters to Her Majesty which she occasionally read aloud at supper showed how absolutely he enjoyed that peaceful comfortable untrammelled country house life; how the beautiful gardens, there are no beautiful gardens in Germany—the product of years of thought and labour—a growth of the ages embued as they are with the glamour and mystery of the past appealed to the artistic side of his soul. How thoroughly at home—his own expression—he felt there, how rested and refreshed in body and soul. He wanted the Empress if only for a week to come and join him so that she might share something of his delight and pleasure in the old house, in its wealth of memories, its many treasures of art and historical relics, but there was the difficulty of accommodating the suite, the ladies and gentlemen, the maids and footmen which royalty can never dispense with, however simple in its own personal tastes it may be.

So [adds Miss Topham, by whose kind permission these quotations are given] the plan fell through, the time was too short to arrange matters; but the Emperor in his letters described in minutest detail everything that happened there, his delight in the pretty English children he met, his pleasure in the tea he gave to the boys and girls on the estate, his astonishment at their well dressed appearance, their reserved composed manners; at the way in which they sang grace, at the clergyman who controlled the proceedings and knew how to box and play cricket. It is quite impossible to imagine a German Pastor who can play cricket and as for boxing!

The Princess on one occasion after a letter from her father had been received remarked, "Poor Papa, he is quite heart-broken at leaving his beloved Highcliffe," and Miss Topham tells how when he got back to Germany the Emperor often talked to her about his visit to England, and in view of subsequent events the following sentence from her book is specially significant:

"Ah you have never had a Napoleon to plunder and burn your country," *sighed* the Emperor. "Your Reynolds and Gainsboroughs, where would they have been if Napoleon or his Marshals had seen them? Perhaps burnt or destroyed or sent to the Louvre!"

In reply to which the lady addressed remarked:

"Yes, it is lucky for us that we live on an island and that the French fleet met its Trafalgar. Nelson saved our art treasures for us." "I expect he did," returned His Majesty nodding his head emphatically.

"So you recognize that do you?" And he turned away laughing and still nodding vigorously, thinking, I am sure, a great deal about the English Fleet.

It was not so much to her royal guests that the heart of the widowed *châtelaine* of Highcliffe Castle went out as to the old familiar friends whose presence often cheered her loneliness, amongst whom were her beloved cousins, General and Mrs. Stuart, who lived near by in Hoborne House, the Dowager Marchioness of Waterford, and her son, Lord Charles Beresford, who was Lady Waterford's godson, the "Charlie," of the letter quoted above, her husband's nieces, especially her god-daughter, Adelaide, Lady Brownlow, her cousins Lord Somers, Lady Caroline Courtenay, Lady Harriet Prosser, Lady Emily Cocks, Lady Sarah Lindsey, whose eldest daughter was a very great favourite; the Honble. Mrs. Richard Boyle, the E. V. B. of the art and literary world, Lady Albinia Pye, and Mrs. Charles Cockran. Augustus Hare, too, who was introduced to Lady Waterford by the Crown Prince of Sweden, to whose service he was at one time attached, was a frequent guest, and towards the end of the life of the owner of Highcliffe, Major (now, 1916, Major-General) the Hon. Edward James Montagu Stuart Wortley, who was distantly related to her, and whom she had chosen as the heir of her property in the south of England, was often with her in his future home, for which he had a great admiration. Mr. Hare tells how one day in the summer of 1889 when the Major had ridden from Beaulieu to Highcliffe, Lady Waterford asked him if he had heard anything about the place, and on his replying "nothing, except of its beauty and interest," she told him to write to his uncle, Lord Wharnccliffe, who would tell him something he might care to know. He did so, and to his surprise, received the reply that the estate had recently been settled on him. Less than two years later he came into possession of it, for Lady Waterford's health began to give way shortly afterwards, and she died at Ford in May 1891, after many weeks of great suffering.

A little beyond Purewell on the main road to the New Forest is Somerford Grange, the name of which calls up many interesting memories of the long ago, for it occupies the site of an ancient farmhouse, which was pulled down in 1781 by Gustavus Brander, F.S.A., F.R.S., who had purchased it, to make way for its comparatively commonplace successor. This farmhouse was close to the Manor House of Somerford, known as the Prior's

Lodging—the ground plan of which, and of the chapel connected with it can still be made out—that as related above was granted after the Dissolution of the Monasteries to John Draper the last of the Priors of Christchurch, who died in it in 1552. Farm and Manor House were both parts of the estate that extended for many miles eastward of the estuary of Christchurch, and included a sea fishery at Chewton, then called Chiuentone, with the right to use a net of the kind known as a ram's horn, and was granted to the Priory by Baldwin, first Earl of Devon. It was described in a confirmation of the gift by Isabel de Fortibus dated 1272 as "all the Manor of Somerford with its hamlets," which are supposed to have been those of Chewton, La Street, or Street, and Beora, now Bure. The Manor of Somerford changed hands many times before it was purchased in 1809 by the ancestor of the present owner, Sir George A. G. Tapps-Gervis Meyrick, Bart., and the Prior's Lodging called Somerford Grange was included in 1541 in a grant made to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, from whom it passed to the Goldwyre family, who held it till it was bought, as already stated, in 1781 by Mr. Brander, a namesake of whom inherited it from him.

The Chiuentone of the time of Isabel de Fortibus is now represented by the modern Chewton, with a mill on the site of one that from Norman times was held of Somerford Manor, situated with the farmhouse to which it belongs at the head of a picturesque bunny or glen a little to the east of Highcliffe, through which a stream from the New Forest rushes down to the sea. The neighbouring Beckley, once Beceslei, where there was a mill in Saxon times that paid thirty pence, Barton, Hordle, Milton, and Milford, under slightly different names, are all mentioned in Domesday Book, and much interesting information concerning them is also given in other early records. The hamlet of Barton was known in Saxon days as Bereton, a word signifying the Corn Place, and was later part of the Manor of the same name held in the fourteenth century of the secular Lord of Christchurch for the eighth part of a knight's fee. It retains traces of a moat marking the site of an ancient manor house, and near to it are the cliffs famous throughout the scientific world for the remarkable series of fossils found in them, already described in the chapter on the Building up of the Coast of Hampshire.

The district of Hordle, known as Hordwell in the tenth and Herdel in the eleventh century, in which is the beautiful gorge

of Beckton Bunny, has an unbroken historical as well as geological record. The road running from Milton through it to the New Forest follows the line of the Roman highway, and the Dane's Stream flowing from north to south on its western border recalls the days of the descents of the Northmen on the coast. The estate is referred to in a charter granted by Ædward the Elder to a certain Saxon named Tata, and in the time of the Confessor the same property was leased to a tenant in chief called Justin, from whom it had passed before 1086 to one Odelard, who rented it from Ralph de Mortimer. Its value was then assessed at fifteen pence, and the property included a saltern of six pans and a mill, all long since under the sea, though relics of the wooden troughs used by the successors of the Norman owners of the saltern were until quite recently sometimes drawn up by fishermen, linking the present time with the early days of the salt industry, which until as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century continued to be of considerable value in the district.

The probability is that Hordle Manor was granted with that of Christchurch to Richard de Redvers, for in the charter given to him by Henry I, the church of Hordulla is mentioned, and in that of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, dated 1150, it is again referred to, this time as Hordull. Moreover, during the minority of Baldwin, sixth Earl of Devon, who became Lord of the Manor of Christchurch in 1216, Henry III bestowed upon the men of Hordle the right to farm the whole of the estate with its rents and salt works, at the rate of £7 10s. per annum. Later the property was divided into two Manors, Hordle-Breamore and Hordle-Trenchard, the latter after changing hands many times, becoming merged in the former in the nineteenth century. About the time of the afforestation ordered by William the Conqueror, which was inaugurated in 1079, a Norman cruciform Church was built at Hordle, the burial ground connected with which can still be traced, though the building itself was pulled down in 1820. Hordle Church is supposed to have been originally a chapelry of Christchurch Priory, and it certainly long held a similar position with regard to Milford, with which it is associated in more than one ancient charter, notably in that of 1150, referred to above in the account of the ecclesiastical Manor of Christchurch. The modern Church, built in 1830, two miles further inland, was served as was its Norman predecessor from Milford until 1867, when Hordle was raised to the dignity of a separate parish. It has nothing very distinctive about it, but it retains three of the

bells long used in the old church, one bearing the inscription "Serve God, I. W. 1619," a second "Praise God, I. D.," and a third "Love God, J. W. 1694."

In Edward the Confessor's time the Manor of Middeltune was held by a certain Alwine on the tenure known as in paragio, that is to say, the tenant was responsible for all the feudal services of the estate. The property, from which woods that had fed forty hogs were filched to be added to the King's forest, was one of those granted by Bishop Odo of Bayeux to Hugh de Port. Of Manor house or chapel unfortunately not a trace remains, and there is nothing about the modern Church of Milton, built in 1831, or in the settlement that has recently sprung up on the cliffs to recall the long-ago. On the other hand, the village of Milford, on the stream which turns the mill, replacing an ancient Saxon one, has a history that can be traced back almost as far as that of Hordle. The earliest known references to the Manor, to which the predecessor of that village belonged, are in Domesday Book, in which three Saxons are mentioned as having been tenants of land in it: Ullgar and Saoult, who both held portions under King Edward, and Aluric to whom the Conqueror assigned a section of it in exchange for property he had owned in the forest. Out of this estate three Manors were eventually formed known as Milford-Montagu, Milford-Barnes, and Milford-Baddeley, the first held for a long time of the secular Lords of the Manor of Christchurch, the second of the Priory, and the third of the Knights Templars, on the suppression of whose Order it passed to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, so that the whole property has from very early times been closely associated with the makers of history.

A little more than a century ago what is now the seaside parish of Milford was inland, divided from the coast by a long strip of country, an offshoot from the adjacent Hordle property, which terminated in the peninsula from the eastern extremity of which rises Hurst Castle. Made up of gravel and chalk flints brought from the west by the waves, this promontory bears abiding witness to the constant encroachments of the sea on the land, no less than one thousand acres of Milford parish being submerged at high tide, whilst the outlines of the coast are being continually modified. The picturesque Avon water and the Danes' Stream both traverse the Milford district, the latter passing beneath a bridge below the village, and widening out into a wide-spreading shallow pool before it enters the sea.

The old village of Milford clusters on the slopes of an undulating valley leading down from the loftier seaboard to the cliffs, along which extends on the west the modern settlement of Milford-on-Sea, commanding a truly grand view of the Isle of Wight, some of the larger houses of which were converted early in the present war into a hospital for wounded Indians. On the east of Milford-on-Sea is the ancient port of Keyhaven, which was once held with other property in the neighbourhood by the Abbey of Bath of the Lords of Christchurch Manor for half a knight's fee, and after constantly changing hands passed in comparatively recent times into the possession of the Cornwallis-West family. It is, however, the church of Milford that calls up most vividly the memories of the past, so intimately associated is it with Saxon, Norman, and mediæval times. In the division of the Domesday Book headed "In Nova Foresta et circa Eam," a church at Melleford is mentioned as having been left untampered with by the Conqueror, which is by some authorities supposed to have formed the nucleus of the one permission to build which was granted about 1099 by Godric, then head of the Augustinian College at Twynham, to the Aluric mentioned above as having received land in Melleford. In his "Memorials of Christchurch-Twynham," Walcott says: "Godric permitted Aluric to build a church at Milford as a burial-place for himself and tenants, but he reserved to himself and his successors the right of appointing a priest to serve the cure." After commenting on this somewhat misleading statement, for it ignores the existence of the Saxon Church already *in situ* at the time referred to, Mr. Ravenscroft, in his deeply interesting essay on Milford Parish Church, published by the Milford Record Society remarks:

That Aluric needed a church giving better accommodation for worship and especially that he needed a burial place, may be fairly inferred from the fact that besides his tenantry in Brockenhurst he had in his employ at Milford some twenty-one males, which would mean a population of fifty at least.

The Saxon sanctuary at Melleford was probably a mere cell or small chapel, and it is difficult to determine whether any portion of the present building belonged either to it or to the successor erected by Aluric. The general consensus of opinion, however, is that the church, which is dedicated to All Saints,

grew out of a twelfth century one which superseded that of Aluric, and was founded by Baldwin de Redvers, whose love of building is well known. It is recorded that "he brought out of the lowe country one John de Ffeminge, a good free-mason whom he employed about ye mason work for ye buildinge of Quarr," the Cistercian Abbey in the Isle of Wight, which was begun by the Earl in 1132. Possibly this John de Ffeminge may also have aided in the erection of the Norman church at Milford, which was built of Binstead stone from the quarries near Quarr. That Church is supposed to have consisted of an aisleless nave and chancel, of which but a very few relics remain, including a doorway incorporated in the southern wing of the present transept, and certain pillars of the south arcade of the nave. Whatever its size and form may have been, the second Church in its turn soon became too small for the congregation, that increased rapidly, partly, it is said, through the growing importance of the salt industry, of which, as has been seen, the port of Keyhaven near by was a chief centre. To meet the needs of the people an Early English Church which grew, so to speak, out of its Norman predecessor was built between 1230 and 1270, with chancel, nave, transepts, aisles, and north and south chapels, subsequent modifications of structural detail and ornamentation illustrating well the later development of English Gothic. With its low square tower surmounted by a tapering spire, and the long lines of its roofs, Milford Church presents a most picturesque external appearance, whilst the interior, with its fine vista of arches, vies in dignified beauty with the Priory Church of Christchurch. Fortunately it has not suffered as much as the Mother Sanctuary from restoration, those who have hitherto been responsible for the care of what is a noble survival of mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture, having respected the traditions of the past, so that, in spite of the restoration found necessary in the nineteenth century, it remains a notable example of the delight of builders and craftsmen in symmetry of proportion and appropriateness of ornamentation, typical of the time of its evolution.

A little inland, north-west of Milton, is the modern village of Sway, recalling the ancient manor of Swei, part of which was held in Norman days by the Abbey of Romesyg—now Romsey—and part by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. Between it and Christchurch is the more important Hinton, in the parish of which, in a beautiful wooded park, is a fine eighteenth-century

mansion known as Hinton Admiral, part of which was converted in 1914-15 into a hospital for wounded soldiers. This mansion is the residence of Sir George Tapps-Gervis Meyrick, Bart., whose close connection with the secular history of Christchurch has already been explained. The story of the estate, which is referred to at different times as Hentune, Henton, Hinton Aumarle, Hempton Aumarle, and other variations of the same names can be traced back to the eleventh century. After being held under Edward the Confessor by the Saxons Ulwi and Edric it passed to Earl Roger of Salisbury, and a little later to the De Redvers family, who in 1100 were to become Lords of the Manor of Christchurch, after which it followed the descent of that more important property, acquiring the supplementary name of Albemarle or Aumale, of which Admiral is a corruption, from the Albemarle family, who held it for a considerable period of time after 1250, and were related to the descendants of the first Duc d'Aumâle, Odo, brother-in-law of the Conqueror. In early Norman times the Manor of North Hinton, also known as Northentone or Northington was distinct from that of the future Hinton-Admiral, and was held by the Priory of Christchurch, the Prior paying a certain sum for castle guard on account of it, but later it became merged in the secular Manor, and is still held by the Lord of the latter.

A short distance from Christchurch on the Avon is the little hamlet of Staplecross, named after the cross rising from the centre of a quadruple flight of steps, one of the few survivors of the many similar landmarks that once rose at the points of junction of cross roads. A little above Staplecross is the village of Burton, that still retains a touch of the mediæval charm which led to its becoming the country retreat of the poet Robert Southey, who in 1797, two years after his secret marriage to Miss Edith Frickers of Bristol, spent the summer there in lodgings. What he himself described as "the congregation of rivers the clearest you ever saw" exercised a great fascination over him, and in a letter to a friend he gives two reasons for his preference for a residence by the sea: "I love," he says, "to pickle myself in that grand brine tub, and I wish to catch its morning, evening, and midday appearance for poetry with the effect of every change of weather. Fancy will do much, but the poet ought to be an accurate observer of nature and I shall watch the clouds, and the rising and setting sun and the sea birds with no inattentive eye." At the Burton lodgings Southey was joined by his mother and his

midshipman brother Tom, fresh from his painful experiences in a French prison, and there, too, he was visited by the bookseller Cottle, to whom he and Coleridge owed so much, and by the minor poet Charles Lloyd, who brought with him the greater Charles Lamb, with whom he was then collaborating, and who that year spent a short time at Burton, finding perhaps in its peaceful seclusion a brief respite from the terrible anxiety which, inaugurated in 1796 when his sister first showed signs of insanity, was only to cease with his life. At Burton, too, began the lifelong friendship between Southey and John Rickman, who lived at Christchurch, with whom the poet used to go boating and to be near whom he returned to the village in 1799, when he took two small cottages on the green and had them converted into a picturesque thatched house that still remains much what it was when it was owned by him. In this house which he refers to himself as "Our palace . . . with a large garden, a fish-pond, and a pigeon-house," Southey is said to have written much of "Thalaba." He became greatly attached to Burton, and the scenery near to it inspired several beautiful poems, including the following:

A little while, oh traveller! linger here,
And let thy leisure eye behold and feel
The beauties of the place: yon heathy hill
That rises sudden from the vale so green,
The vale far stretching as the view can reach
Under its long dark ridge, the river here
That like a serpent, through the grassy mead
Winds on, now hidden, glittering now in light.
Nor fraught with merchant wealth, nor famed in song
This river rolls an unobtrusive tide,
Its gentle charms may soothe and satisfy
Thy feelings.

A little further north than Burton and commanding beautiful views of the winding course of the Avon is the hamlet of Winkton, the modern representative of the Weringetone held under Edward the Confessor by Earl Tostig, and in 1086 by Waleran the Huntsman, who, judging from the many references to him in Domesday Book, must have been a very important person under the Conqueror. It is evident, too, that in early Norman times the Manor of Winkton was a valuable property, for it

is recorded that it included lands for four ploughs and fifteen acres of meadow, that fourteen villeins and seven bordars dwelt on it, and that there were two mills for the use of the hall which paid two hundred and fifty eels per annum as rent.

On the north-east of Winkton is the hamlet of Bockhampton, supposed to have been in Saxon times an integral portion of the Weringetone estate, and a short distance from it is the pretty village of Sopley, beautifully situated on the Avon, the little Gothic church rising from an artificial mound, the modern school-house and an ancient mill, replacing a yet older Saxon one, forming a most charming group. The stream that turns the mill-wheel branches off at a point with the poetic name of the "Wild Weirs," to regain the main current a little beyond the sanctuary, and the whole scene is full of romantic charm, river banks and marsh lands alike rich in luxuriant flora, and haunted by a great variety of land and sea birds.

The Manor of Sopley, then Soppelie, was held under Edward the Confessor by a certain Edric in allodium, or by hereditary tenure, and in addition to land for two ploughs and fifty-nine acres of meadow land, owned a mill that was worth ten shillings and 875 eels. William, son of Stur, was Lord of the Manor in the time of William the Conqueror, who filched from the estate four of its hides and all of its woodlands to add to his hunting grounds. The manor house, which was still standing some sixty years ago in a meadow near the Church, is gone, but the village still retains a certain old-world appearance, in harmony with its Church, which is dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, and is a typical example of an Early English building modified by Norman tradition, and by later additions in the second phase of English Gothic. Of cruciform plan, it has a fourteenth-century western tower, that was probably at one time considerably higher than it is now, with a low, slender spire of later date, both harmonizing well with the rest of the exterior, whilst the interior, the general appearance of which is very picturesque, retains several characteristic details, including the old rood loft, a thirteenth-century piscina, a fourteenth-century four-centred arch, opening into the northern wing of the transept, and a few mutilated corbels of the same date. Some fine ancient glass has been incorporated in the east window, and includes, with those of the Comptons and other old families of the neighbourhood, the armorial bearings of the Berkeleys of Bisterne, whose chantry in the Priory Church of Christchurch has been described above, and whose

ancient though much modernized manor house is situated on the road to Ringwood, north of the village of Avon Tyrrel.

A chapel at Soppelei was amongst the ecclesiastical property granted in 1140 by Baldwin de Redvers to the Priory of Christchurch, which retained the Church that succeeded the Norman sanctuary until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, after which it changed hands constantly until in the second half of the nineteenth century it passed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, who are still patrons of the living. In the long interval between these two noteworthy episodes of its history some few references to Sopley throw a side light upon the lives of certain of its vicars, the Rev. John Churchehay having, for instance, obtained leave in 1396 to pawn the fruits of his vicarage and to choose his own confessor, whilst in 1551 the discreditable fact is quoted that the holder of the living, whose name is mercifully withheld, was imprisoned for some unspecified crime in the Marshalsea, "so as none speake with him but by ordre from the Lords."

The whole of the beautiful district near Sopley which is dominated by the dark rampart of St. Catherine's Hill rising up on the west, and intersected by the winding Avon and its tributary streams, is very closely associated with the early history of the south of England. From the village itself issues the ancient Darrit Lane, on which is a mound said to mark the scene of a battle between the Danes and Saxons, and in close touch with the river are the hamlets of Ripley, the Riple of Saxon times, representing the manor held under Edward the Confessor by Ulviet the huntsman; Avon, the Avere of Domesday Book that passed with the lands belonging to it from the Saxon Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, to the all absorbing Norman Hugh de Port, and the little settlement of Avon Tyrrel, near the ford of the same name, erroneously supposed by popular tradition to have been crossed by Sir Walter Tyrrel in his flight to Dorset after the fatal occurrence in the New Forest, but really named after a mediæval holder of the Manor.

On the other side of the Avon in the Liberty of Westover, the origin and development of which has already been explained, is a still unspoilt district traversed by the Stour on its way to the meeting of the waters at Christchurch, which is closely associated with days long gone by, the memory of which is preserved in the names of certain villages, hamlets, farms, and mills. This is very notably the case with Iford, the Huvre or Luvre of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, later known as Ever or Iver, with

the fine old bridge already alluded to, overlooking a romantic reach of the river, near to which are Jumpers, once Jumper's Common, and the new Cemetery; Holdenhurst, a picturesque village with a modern Church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, on the site of an Early English one, in the parish of the same name—of which that of Bournemouth was originally an offshoot—on the site of the Holeest of the eleventh century, which was held by Earl Tostig, and owned a Saxon church, the foundations of which can still be traced; the hamlet of Throop, the La Throp of Norman times, with a quaint old water mill, and that of Muccleshill, the Muccleshulle of the thirteenth century, and Muscliff, with a fine old farmhouse supposed to be a successor of the manor house of a once independent estate, now absorbed into that of Christchurch, all on the western banks of the Stour.

No less interesting than these survivals of the long ago are the villages of Merritown and Hurn in the tract of country north of Christchurch, flanked on one side by the Avon, and on the other by the Stour. Merritown, known until quite recent times as Funcktown or Founthill, on an estate that was long held at half a knight's fee of the Honour of Christchurch, but is now part of the property of the Earl of Malmesbury, retains a portion of the original manor house converted into a farmhouse, in the wainscoting in one of the rooms of which the second Earl discovered a fine portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, now at Heron Court, recalling the days of the popularity of the ill-fated favourite of James I.

The life story of Hurn, that represents the Norman vill of Heorne, is closely bound up with that of Knapp, the Chenap of Domesday Book, already more than once referred to, both estates having been held under the Conqueror by Hugh de Port, passing under William Rufus to Earl Richard de Redvers, who gave them to the Priory. They followed the descent of the ecclesiastical Manor until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, after which they changed hands many times until in the eighteenth century they became the property of the first Earl of Malmesbury, to whose descendants they have ever since belonged, the overlordship of Hurn giving to them the crypt in the Priory Church now the burial-place of the family, that according to tradition was long connected with the Manor Farm by a subterranean passage.

Between the scattered village of Hurn and the Stour, and

within the ancient limits of the Norman Manor of Christchurch, near the charming point of the river still known as Blackwater Ferry, though the ferry is no longer in use, is Heron, or Hurn Court, the seat of the Earl of Malmesbury. The estate consists chiefly of woodlands, which are amongst the finest in the south of England, including thickets of rhododendrons and many choice specimens of trees, amongst which the most notable are grand cedars of Lebanon, Monteroy, and stone pines, oaks, and Scots firs, the seed of some of the last having been, according to tradition, brought from Scotland by a member of the Malmesbury family who fought at Culloden.

The mansion of Heron Court, which, by the generosity of its owners, is now converted into a hospital for wounded soldiers, occupies the site of a much older building which replaced the Manor Farm of the Priory, and is of eighteenth-century origin. It has, however, been so much modified at different times that it retains but few of the characteristic features of the style to which it in the first case belonged. It contains many fine rooms and amongst its art treasures are several portraits by Romney, of which the most beautiful are two of the young wife of the first Earl of Malmesbury, and one of Handel by the French painter Philippe Mercier. Long a centre of social and political life, Heron Court is full of memories of distinguished statesmen and literary celebrities. The first Earl of Malmesbury, who is often spoken of as the Great Earl, was the son of the noted writer on art, music, and poetry, James Harris, who was known amongst his intimates as "Hermes," he having given that title to a pamphlet described as "A Philosophical Inquiry into Universal Grammar," published in 1751. James Harris became one of the two representatives of Christchurch in Parliament in 1761, and later held the offices of Lord of the Admiralty and of the Treasury, but it is rather as the father of his more distinguished son that he is remembered. That son, who was named James after him, was at one time his colleague as member for Christchurch, but he was a born diplomatist, and in 1768 he became Secretary of Legation at Madrid, rising rapidly in his profession, and holding in succession the important posts of Minister at Berlin, St. Petersburg, and The Hague. In 1779 he received the Order of the Bath, in 1788 he was made Baron, and two years later Earl of Malmesbury. He was chosen in 1795 to marry by proxy on behalf of the Prince of Wales, and to escort to England, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who

may well in her sad after-life have contrasted her husband unfavourably with the gallant nobleman who had represented him.

The first Earl of Malmesbury, whose diaries and correspondence are a mine of valuable historical information, died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son, who made comparatively little mark on his time, having devoted himself rather to sport than to politics or serious literature. He is chiefly remembered for his book, "Half a Century of Sport in Hampshire," and his autograph Journals, formerly preserved in the library of Heron Court, are full of information concerning the wild life of the district in the late eighteenth century. His son, James Howard Harris, the third Earl, who was born in 1807, was a man of a very different type, who in the course of a long life was brought into close touch with many of the leading personalities of his time. He was returned to Parliament as Tory member for Wilton in 1841, but his father's death that same year prevented his taking his seat. In the House of Lords he soon made his mark as an eloquent speaker with a rare insight into the dominating factors of European politics, and in 1852 he became Foreign Secretary under Lord Derby, holding the same appointment again when that astute leader returned to power in 1858 after the resignation of Lord Palmerston. From first to last Lord Malmesbury strove, not always, unfortunately, successfully, to promote peace, and his failure to achieve that end in 1859 on the eve of the Franco-Austrian War was a bitter disappointment to him. Between 1866 and 1868, and again between 1874 and 1876 he held the high office of Lord Privy Seal, but the last few years of his life were comparatively uneventful, and he spent much of his leisure in writing the "Autobiography of an Ex-Minister," which is full of interesting anecdotes about the distinguished guests who visited him at Heron Court, calling up many a vivid picture of the early days of the evolution of the now populous Southbourne, Boscombe, and Bournemouth.

CHAPTER IX

THE LIFE STORY OF BOURNEMOUTH AND ITS SUBURBS¹

THE brief life story of the modern town of Bournemouth is necessarily less full of romantic interest than that of the long drawn-out evolution of the ancient city of Christchurch; but there is a certain fascination in the very rapidity of the growth of the popular health resort and in the versatility with which it has met and continues to meet the varied needs of its ever-increasing population. Moreover, links with the past are not altogether wanting, there being many indications in ancient records and old maps of the existence of settlements as long ago as the sixteenth century in or near the Bourne, which river was then and for a considerable time later included in Dorset, not as now in Hampshire.

The most ancient reference to Bournemouth occurs, so far as is known, in a Survey, preserved in the Calendar of Domestic State Papers, taken in 1574 by Lord Thomas Poulet, Earl of Southampton and others, of the coast of what was then the county of Southampton, from Hayling Island to Poole Harbour, which must be quoted at length, so characteristic is it of the time at which it was issued and so vivid is the description in it of the district under consideration.

A viewe taken the 23, 24, 25 June anno dmi 1574 and in the xvith yere of the Reigne of Elisabeth bye the grace of God Quene of Inghland Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth &c by the Right Honorable the Erle of Southampton, Edward Horseye, James Pagett, Thomas Carewe, William Bowyer and Thomas Uvedale esquires of the daungerous landing places uppou the Sea Coste from Bornemouthe, within the hundred of Westover adioyning to Dorsetshire unto the Est Haven of the Isle of Hayling leading to the Dell nere Chichester in Sussex.

First, wee finde at Bornemouthe, within the west baye at Christ-

¹ In writing the chapter on Bournemouth, much information has been culled, and many quotations have been made, with the permission of the authors, from the exhaustive monograph "Bournemouth 1810-1910," by Charles Mate, J.P., and Charles Riddle, F.S.A., Borough Librarian of the town.

churche a place very easy for the ennemye to land there conteyning by estimacion oon quarter of a myle in length being voyde of all inhabiting:

Wee finde more a place called Bastowe within the said Baye wch is also an easy place for the ennemye to lande conteyning in length a Flight Shott:

Wee finde more oon other like place betwixt Redd Cliff and Hensbury ende, called lowe lands conteyning in length by estimacion half a myle, and the sea over against the same place ys of Depthe VIII or IX Fethern, having verye good anchor-hold within the same.

Wee finde more place within the Est Baye of Christchurch a place called Longeboroughe where Beacons are nigh Christchurche haven, being an easy place for the ennemie to land conteyning in lengthe half a mile and is of depthe iiii Fethern and hath a good ancor holde.

Wee finde more a place called the Black Bulworke at the Chessel Ende, leading to Hurste Castell, an easye place for the ennemye to lande, conteyning in length iii quarters of a myle.

Though it was no doubt true as affirmed in this valuable historical document that the coast between Christchurch and Poole afforded many facilities for "the ennemye to lande," it must have been an exaggeration to speak of it as "voyde of all inhabiting." This is proved by the fact that in a manuscript map of Dorset dated 1575, only one year after the Survey was made, preserved in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum, Burnemouthe, Holenest, Parkstone, The Mynes, and several other places are marked, and that in printed maps of somewhat later date the names occur, in addition to those already quoted, of Alum or Allom Chine, Bass-combe, Allom Chine, Copperas House, Bascomb Copperas House, and Marine Store House, the last at the mouth of the Bourne, all more or less suggestive of considerable industrial activity in the district stigmatized as "voyde of all inhabiting."

The words Mynes, Alum or Allom Chine, and Copperas House are specially significant, recalling as they do the days when alum was a product of such importance as to be the subject of papal bulls and interdicts and a bone of contention between cardinals, kings, and nobles of the highest rank. In 1562, twelve years before the Survey was made by the Earl of Southampton, a patent was granted to a certain William Kendall, of Launceston, giving him for twenty years the sole right in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex, and Surrey of making alum, but whether that privilege

was ever exercised by him history does not say. In 1564 another patent of a similar kind was given to Cornelius de Vos of London, who a little later transferred it to Lord Mountjoy, then Lord of the Manor of Canford, the story of which is related below in connection with that of Poole. Practically ignoring every district but his own in connection with his new rights, Lord Mountjoy at once set to work to exploit his property, beginning, it is said, the very year of the issue of the patent "to make calcanthum or copperas and to boil alum."

According to some authorities Lord Mountjoy was led in the first case to the discovery of the rich alum shale in the cliffs east of Poole by the great luxuriance of the holly growing in the chines, that peculiarity having been also noticeable in foreign lands which he had visited. Two years later he had made so much progress that he wrote to William Cecil, the future Lord Burghley, then Secretary of State and later Lord High Treasurer of England, telling him, to quote his own words, that

the coperas is wroughte with weekely gayne over and besides all expenses and for anything that I can judge is like to increase much rather than diminishe. A straunger latelie arrived hath shewed no small likelihood not yet X daies past of much good to be doone in the alame as well as in the coperas, in the small proofs, and although I have no greate cause to doubt his doinges herein, yet to be more sure I have willed him to make his proofs in the greate which he is now aboute.

That the "proofs in the greate" were satisfactory is shown by a second letter that soon followed the first to the same statesman, in which Lord Mountjoy begged for a grant from Queen Elizabeth of £6,000, promising in return to deliver 150 tons of alum and 150 of copperas per annum. In the same year an Act of Parliament was passed confirming to Lord Mountjoy for a term of twenty years the patent granted to Cornelius de Vos, but it contained a clause protecting the rights of William Kendall, and also one securing to the Queen a tenth part of any profits made, which necessarily neutralized to a considerable extent the privileges conferred by it and led to a good deal of litigation militating still further against the great pecuniary results hoped for by the Lord of Canford Manor.

The further history of the alum and copperas industry of the site of Bournemouth is somewhat obscure, but it seems certain that it still flourished to some extent until the beginning of

the seventeenth century. In 1577 an Inquisition was held by royal command into the profits of the works near Poole, resulting in the assessment of the paltry sum of nine pounds to Queen Elizabeth as her share in them. The Report of the Commissioners refers to quite a number of "mynes," including one at Baskaw, which is probably the same place as Basscomb or Boscombe, and at Brounsey, later Brownsea, whilst several are also mentioned in the correspondence that took place after the death of Lord Mountjoy between his son and successor and Lord Huntingdon, who bought Canford Manor and the "mynes" on the estate from the latter in 1581, though they were not actually transferred to him until 1586. References are occasionally made in the literature of the eighteenth century to the Dorset and Hampshire "mynes," notably in the interesting journal of Mistress Celia Fiennes, published in 1703 under the title of "Through England on a Side Saddle," in which occurs a detailed description of the making "of copperace on the little Isle called Brounsea." The industry, however, evidently gradually languished after the transference of the property to the Huntingdon family, and although it is true that in Coke's "Survey of Dorset," published in 1732, the "Mynes" still appear on the coast east of Parkstone, they must have been disused long before that, for soon after the making of alum became a royal monopoly, during the hearing of a cause in Chancery, in which the fifth Earl of Huntingdon was the plaintiff, it was stated by the respondents that the only houses erected on the Canford Manor estate for the copperas and alum works were gone. All traces, in fact, of the one local industry of the site of Bournemouth had disappeared long before the foundation of the town, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the district now occupied by it and its dependencies was one vast tract of uncultivated moorland, dotted here and there by lonely hamlets and farms and merging on the west into the beautiful but desolate Poole Heath, part of the Egdon Heath of Thomas Hardy's "Return of the Native."

In 1800 the only road connecting Poole with Christchurch was a continuation of the one that linked the former with Wimborne, and was known as the Longham Bridge Road. It pursued a tortuous course over Canford Heath and Poole Common, passing through Kinson not far from the villages of West and East Purley, the latter retaining a moated house, now a farm, supposed to have been originally the Manor House of an estate

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WEST CLIFF, BOURNEMOUTH



long owned by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. From Kinson this main artery of traffic ran south-eastwards to Iford through Westover, supplemented on the west by a few foot-paths leading down to the coast, on which there were, so far as can be ascertained, but two small dwellings, that known as the Decoy Pond House, near the present entrance to the Mont Dore Hotel grounds and an inn at the mouth of the Bourne—which may perhaps have replaced or been connected with the Marine Store House referred to above—the haunt of the smugglers and fishermen who frequented the neighbouring shore and were often in close league with one another. Inland the country was intersected by the tracks of the carts in which peat, then almost the only fuel used, was taken to the outlying farms, and here and there on some little hillock well away from the main road rose the sinister form of the gallows, the chains in which the bodies of those who had suffered on it had been hung still dangling from it, and the ground beneath strewn with the bleached bones of earlier victims. In the summer a few sheep and oxen browsed upon the scanty herbage, their presence slightly relieving the desolation of the scene, but almost the only wild creatures were rabbits, hares, and adders, the last so numerous that an antidote to the poison of their bite used to be kept in holes in the gates of farms ready for immediate application to the wound.

Melancholy as was the aspect of the lonely moorland, it was as dear to the scattered dwellers on it as was the more celebrated Egdon Heath to those immortalized by Thomas Hardy, the sons and daughters of the soil clinging with pathetic devotion to it and to their rights connected with it, amongst which none was more highly valued than that of turbarry or cutting peat, which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, one Lord of the Manor after another having confirmed it from early Saxon days. Great, then, was the indignant consternation throughout the entire district when, in consequence of the severe drought of 1801 and 1802 and the famine resulting from it, an agitation was started against the retention by the people of the common lands of England, including those of Hampshire and Dorset. The farmers of the southern portions of those counties had been among the first to suffer from the want of rain, the sandy soil with its gravel subsoil becoming for a time practically barren; but for all that they were not in favour of any interference with time-honoured customs and were ready

to endure any amount of privation rather than lend their sanction to it.

When in 1802 the Acts legalizing the enclosure of Poole Heath, then called the Great Heath—one known as the “Canford Enclosure Act,” dealing with a large tract in Dorset, and the other designated “The Christchurch Enclosure Act,” with certain common lands and waste grounds within the Parish of Christchurch and the chapelry of Holdenhurst in the County of Southampton—were passed in Parliament, there was great indignation amongst the inhabitants of the districts concerned. All that these open lands, free to those who lived near them, were to the poor is vividly brought out by the poet of Dorset, William Barnes, in his delightful Eclogue the “Common A-Took In,” in which is recorded a conversation between two peasants, Thomas and John. The former is represented as meeting the latter on the way to market, and expresses surprise that he is taking all his geese with him:

Ees Thomas, ees [says John]
 Why I'm a-getten rid ov ev'ry goose
 An' goslen I've a got, an' what is worse
 I fear that I must zell my little cow.

And he goes on to explain that the reason for this sacrifice is that

They do meän to teäke the moor in I do hear,
 An' 'twill be soon begun upon
 Zoo I must zell my bit o' stock to-year,
 Because they woon't have any groun' to run upon.

Thomas tries to comfort him by telling of the promised “'lotments,” but in vain, poor John becoming quite eloquent over all the privileges he was to lose, summing them up in the following quaint lines:

. . . Now I do mow
 My bit o' grass, an' meäke a little rick;
 An' in the zummer while do grow,
 My cow do run in common vor to pick
 A bleäde or two o' grass, if she can vind em,
 Zoo in the evenën, we do put a lock
 O' nice fresh grass avore the wicket;
 An' she do come at vive or zix o'clock
 As constant as the zun, to pick it.
 An' then when we do pluck 'em, we do get

Vor zeäle zome veathers an' zome quills;
 An in the winter we do fat em well
 An' car em to the market vor to zell
 To gentlevo'ks for we don't oft avvord
 To put a goose a-top ov ouer bboard.

An then when I ha' nothen else to do
 Why I can teäke my hook an' gloves, an' goo
 To cut a lot o' vuzz and briars
 Vor hetën ovens, or vor lightën viers
 An' when the childrene be too young to eärn
 A penny, they can g'out in zunny weather
 An' run about, an' get together
 A bag o' cow-dung vor to burn.

What was known in olden days as the "Drëven o' the Common," when the Hayward drove all the cattle grazing on the waste grounds into a corner with a view to impounding those of owners who did not enjoy a right of pasturage, was always an exciting episode, and is well described by the same sympathetic writer in another poem, in which he says:

When the hayward drove the stock
 In a herd to zome oone pleäce
 Thither vo'k began to vlock
 Each to own his beästes feäce.
 While the geeze beside the stream
 Zent from gapën bills a scream,
 An' the cattle then avound,
 Without right o' greäzen there
 Went to bleäre bray or whicker in the pound.¹

Many of those aggrieved by the proposed enclosure determined to try to get some amendment in the Acts, and with this end in view it was decided to send a deputation to a certain farmer, whose name has unfortunately not been preserved, who at that time owned Muscliff Farm and had a high reputation for wisdom and integrity. The town of Poole, Throop, Holdenhurst, and other villages in the neighbourhood, sent representatives to this local celebrity, arriving at his house late one night to put their case before him. After listening to all they had to say and pointing out to them the risk they ran by assembling in such numbers, thus rendering themselves liable

¹ All these extracts from the Poems of William Barnes are quoted by permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.

to arrest, the long-headed farmer finally consented to draw up a petition for them, to be presented to the Enclosure Commissioner on their behalf. This noteworthy appeal was remarkable for its moderation, all that was asked in it being that so much of the common land as was necessary for securing an adequate supply of turf, should be given to every village lying on or adjacent to the Heath in question, such land never to be enclosed at any future time for any reason whatever, whilst a clause was added safeguarding other popular rights, such as that of free grazing for cattle and the cutting of brushwood.

No time, it is said, was lost in the preparation of the important document, which was duly presented a few days later to the Chief Commissioner, who had come down to Ringwood to carry out the new law. Convinced of the justice of the case put before him, he is credited with having won over the authorities to his view of the matter and to have prevented a tumult by his timely action. However this may have been, it is certain that when the Survey of Poole Heath under the new Act was made shortly afterwards, many acres were set aside to belong to the people for ever of each hamlet or tything around it, a boon that, as time went on and the population increased a thousandfold, became ever more and more valuable.

The public-spirited owner of Muscliff Farm himself, it is further related, received sixteen acres, a just reward for all the trouble he had taken, and he continued until his death to show a great interest in the welfare of his neighbours. He is credited amongst other good deeds with having anticipated the system of road making named after John London McAdam, for he converted an all but impassable lane running westwards from his home into a serviceable highway, by ploughing up the land on either side, throwing the earth removed on to the centre of the track, and piling up gravel on the top, thus securing a raised convex surface from which the water ran off as a matter of course.

In the generally received version of the working of the Enclosure Acts there is, it must be added, no reference to this local celebrity, all the credit of securing to the people their common rights being given to the then Lord of the Manor of Christchurch and Westover, Sir George Ivison Tapps, ancestor of the present Sir George Meyrick, and to Mr. William Clapcott of Holdenhurst. Neither does the farmer's road figure in the accounts of the laying out of the newly enclosed heath and the surrounding lands, it being

merely stated that the Commissioners followed as a rule the ancient tracks, of which the chief were that between Christchurch and Poole, which began about a mile west of the former town and passed over the Great Heath by the Decoy Pond; that from what was known as Great Dean, near Holdenhurst, passing over Great Dean Heath to the mouth of the Bourne, now represented by Holdenhurst Road, the one leading from Richmond Hill to Charminster, with that running to Wimborne, and the cliff paths which have developed into Exeter Road and Bath Road, Bournemouth, and Sea Road, Boscombe.

The portions of land reserved to make up for the interference of the Enclosure Act with the privileges of the people were the following: six pieces on the south side of Christchurch and on what is now the Commercial Road, assigned to Sir George Tapps "for fuel for ancient cottages in lieu of the right of cutting turf in the Liberty of the West Stour," or Westover, with five other portions to the same Baronet that are now included in Meyrick Park "in respect to his rights in the soil of the waste grounds"; nine allotments now in or near Malmesbury Park given with the site of Burlington Hotel and its grounds to Lord Malmesbury, the former in lieu of tithes, the latter in respect of his rights on the soil of the waste grounds, whilst what was known as the Boscombe Manor Estate, though there never was a Boscombe Manor properly so called, was sold to Mr. Sloman of Wick House, and other portions north of Christchurch Road and between it and Malmesbury Park were bought by Dr. Farr of Iford, and Mr. William Dean. The last-named also acquired for the very small sum of £639 1s. 2d. 600 acres of sea-front on the West Cliff, and 100 on Holdenhurst Road, Sir George Tapps purchasing at the same time 300 acres on the East Cliff for £1,050 2s. 10d., and various other gentlemen securing the remainder of the land between Sea Road and Westbourne with the adjacent inland district, the total sum paid for the whole of the property now worth more than £1,000 an acre, having been the extremely low sum of £2,541 10s. 10d. Until quite recently five tracts of valuable land remained virgin soil and were bought by the Corporation for the use of the people, three of them to be converted into Meyrick, King's, and Queen's Parks, the other two at Redhill and Southbourne as yet (1916) not laid out.

Already, before the passing of the Enclosure Act, the foundations had been laid of the plantations of pines that were to become so distinctive a feature of Bournemouth, and in 1803,

a year after that Act became law, a cottage was built in what was then called Bourne Bottom, near the stream after which it was named, for the accommodation of those employed in marking out the boundaries of the allotments in the neighbourhood. About this dwelling gathered the huts of the men whose duty it was to plant trees in the newly-enclosed districts, the work having been done by contract and payment made per thousand trees. The result of these terms was not altogether a happy one, as the aim of the men engaged was to put in as many saplings in as short a time as possible, without giving any consideration to what they looked upon as the secondary question of their survival. Shallow holes, it is stated, were made in the ground and the young plants were stuck in anyhow, some, it is even asserted, upside down; but for all that they throve wonderfully well, small thickets rapidly developing into dense woods, which were continually added to, more than 61,000 trees having been planted by the Corporation in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Although for a considerable time after the inauguration of the new era through the enclosure of Poole Heath the country between Christchurch and it was very sparsely inhabited, the beach of what are now Bournemouth and Boscombe was often the scene of very exciting episodes in which many actors took part. The notorious smugglers, one known as "Slippery Rogers" because of his skill in evading capture, and the other as "Old Gulliver," the latter the hero of Colonel Walmsley's well-known romance, "Branksome Dene," often landed contraband goods on it, especially at Branksome Chine, the mouth of the Bourne, and Boscombe Chine, whence it was easy to convey them to the New Forest, to Bath, or to Bristol by way of Crickel Down, teams of pack-horses awaiting their arrival on the cliffs with very little attempt at concealment, the country folk conniving openly with the free-traders. Old Gulliver is said to have been a man of considerable wealth, owning a good deal of land on the west of Bournemouth, and to have employed fifty men to aid him in his illicit enterprises, who were known as the "white wigs" on account of their powdered hair.

On one occasion a gang, the name of whose leader is not known, whose boat had been seized by revenue officers off Christchurch and its crew transferred to the Government cutter, overpowered their captors, and after landing at the mouth of the Bourne their own contraband goods and all the valuables

including firearms they could secure belonging to their prisoners, allowed the King's men to depart uninjured after exacting a promise that they would not inform against them. The Decoy Pond House was a very favourite rendezvous of this particular party of desperadoes and of another formidable band who added housebreaking and robbery to their crimes and are said one night to have dragged to their haunt on the Bourne a young fellow named William Manuel from his home at Iford because they bore a grudge against his father. The victim was kept concealed till an opportunity occurred of transferring him to the smuggler's boat, in which he was taken to Alderney, whence he escaped some little time afterwards, but though he gave full particulars of his adventure to the authorities those who had kidnapped him were never brought to justice. As late as 1821 nearly two hundred casks of spirit which had been landed at Bourne Bottom were confiscated by the revenue officers, a proof that the contraband trade flourished for a considerable time after the foundation of Bournemouth, the first lodging-house keepers having probably not been averse to buying at a low price tea, spirits, and lace which had never paid duty.

More legitimate than those of the free-traders were the avocations of the fishermen, who were, however, sometimes surprised in the pursuit of their lawful calling in a very unpleasant manner. At certain seasons of the year great catches of fish, especially of mackerel, were taken and landed near the mouth of the Bourne, the fishermen being assisted by helpers from the neighbouring farms, who were paid in fish, which was a most welcome addition to their otherwise meagre diet. In ordinary times this system worked very smoothly, but when an invasion of England by Napoleon was daily expected the coast near Bournemouth, which, as has been seen was known to be "a place very easye for the ennemye to lande," was closely watched by the press-gangs out to secure seamen for the navy. Fishermen were in special danger of impressment because of the law then in force that any man or boy who had ever been to sea, if only in a fishing smack, was liable to service. On a beautiful summer's evening in 1803, for instance, an unexpected descent was made when a large crowd had assembled on the beach at Bournemouth and were busy sorting and packing a big catch of mackerel, too absorbed in their work to keep a good look out. Suddenly they became aware that a strong force of sailors was hemming them in, and in spite of their desperate struggles no less than sixty

were secured and marched off to Poole to be examined by the magistrate there. Fortunately for them, however, their captors had shown more haste than discretion, not distinguishing between the fishermen and their assistants, with the result that of the sixty taken only one was finally secured, the other fifty-nine having been able to prove that they had never been to sea.

As already stated, there were probably scattered huts on the wild heather and gorse-clad heath that was to become the pine-clad site of Bournemouth long before the building of the Decoy Pond House and the cottage in Bourne Bottom referred to above. Late in the eighteenth century an inn named the Tapps Arms was built by Sir George Tapps at the spot where the Post Office Road now branches off from Old Christchurch Road, probably for the accommodation of the sportsmen who came to shoot the wild fowl that frequented the river valley, and which was also possibly the resort of smugglers who supplied the landlord with the spirits he retailed. That good sport was obtainable near the Bourne is proved by the existence of the Decoy Pond, marked on the Enclosure Award Map of 1805, which was made by a widening of the Bourne between what are now the Square and Queen's Road, and the memory of which is preserved in the name of Coy Pond given to a small sheet of water of quite recent origin at the Branksome end of the pleasure grounds. On this same Award Map appear east of the Bourne "Boscombe Bunny," and a little beyond that "Boscombe Cottage," replacing the "Copperas House" of earlier Surveys, and preceding what was later to be called Boscombe Manor, celebrated as the home for many years of Sir Percy and Lady Shelley, the son and daughter-in-law of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley. Further to the east, beyond the area included in the Award Map, the only houses between Christchurch and Boscombe Bunny were those known as Stourfield, now incorporated in the West Southbourne Home Sanatorium, Iford, commanding a fine reach of the river Stour, and Wick, that remains very much what it was more than a century ago and is situated close to the picturesque Ferry, between the ancient village of Wick and Christchurch, a little above the junction of the Stour and Avon, in surroundings practically unchanged since the dissolution of the Priory, the noble Church on the further bank of the former river dominating the whole scene as it did when the last of the Priors withdrew to Somerford Grange.

It was not until five years after the issue of the 1805 Award

Map that the first house of importance was built in the unreclaimed district dealt with in it. The builder of this pioneer residence, which was situated on the west cliff, and was later incorporated in the Exeter Hotel, named after the Marchioness of Exeter, who at one time rented its predecessor, was Captain L. D. G. Tregonwell of the Dorset Yeomanry Cavalry, whose home was at Cranborne, and who became thoroughly familiar with the coast district on the east, where, to quote the words of the Records of his regiment, it was ordered, in view of the threatened invasion of England "that the Cavalry were to remove from the coast to the distance of about eight or ten miles inland, and afterwards to assemble in places of rendezvous to act against the enemy if occasion should require." The division under the control of the future founder of Bournemouth, it is further stated, "is formed from the eastern boundary of the county of Dorset at a place called Bourne Chine along the north shore to Poole and extends northwards from Poole along the turnpike road to Wimborne, from thence eastwards along the Ringwood road to the 10th mile stone . . . in a direct road to Riddle's Ford and from thence in a direct line to the 5th milestone on the Christchurch Road and from thence to Bourne Chine."

From this quotation it will be seen that Captain Tregonwell's beat took in very much of the site of Bournemouth, but it was not until 1810, when he and Mrs. Tregonwell, who was his second wife, went to Mudeford for change of air, that the idea of buying land on the banks of the Bourne occurred to him. Having, it is related, driven over one beautiful summer afternoon to the Tapps Arms they strolled along the banks of the Chine, and were so struck with the beauty of the scenery and the bracing air that they both felt it would be an advantage to have a house of their own to which they could come whenever they liked. They talked the matter over, and Captain Tregonwell decided to try to secure a site from Sir George Tapps. This he was able to do without difficulty, choosing what was described in the title deeds as

Lot 31 of the Enclosure Act being all that piece or parcel of common land or heath situate, lying, being at or near the Bourn in the parish of Holdenhurst, containing by estimation eight acres and two roods and eight perches . . . bounded by a footpath or way leading from the Decoy and Cottage by the Decoy enclosures on the east, by a public carriage way, leading from the said Decoy Cottage to the Sea on the west,

for which he paid the ridiculously small sum, compared with the present value of the property, of £179 11s.

The Tregonwell house was ready for occupation in 1812, and for a few years it and a cottage later enlarged into what is now called Portman Lodge, a picturesque thatched house opposite the entrance to the Winter Gardens, originally built for the use of the Captain's butler, were the only residences near the Bourne; but as time went on other buildings rose up, the little settlement they formed being known as Bourne, whilst the name of Bournemouth was reserved for the actual outlet of the stream. Later Captain Tregonwell, who is justly looked upon as the Father of Bournemouth, bought the Tapps Arms, which he rebuilt and re-named after himself, and other property from Sir George Tapps including the site of Exeter Park and much of the land now occupied by Richmond Hill, Old Christchurch Road, and their surroundings. He it was who first planted trees in the beautiful glen, now the Winter Gardens, which he called Cranborne Gardens after his Dorset home. In 1820 he appears, however, to have become tired of his new residence, for he advertised it as to let, describing its situation as "particularly airy and healthy in the centre of a fine open bay between Christchurch Head and Branksea Castle, with an easy approach to a very beautiful beach of several miles extent." Whether he built another house at Bournemouth, when the Marchioness of Exeter, who was his first tenant, took possession of his "Marine Residence looking to the Sea" is not known, all that can with certainty be stated being that he died in 1832 at Cranborne and was buried there, but in 1846 his widow caused his body to be removed to a vault in St. Peter's Churchyard situated amongst the trees close to the path leading up to the church, the tombstone bearing, in addition to the usual particulars, the inscription: "Mr. Tregonwell was the first to bring Bournemouth into notice as a watering place by erecting a mansion for his own occupation, it having been his favourite retreat for many years before his death. Shortly afterwards Mrs. Tregonwell herself passed away at Portman Lodge, and was laid to rest beside her husband.

The valuable property owned by Captain Tregonwell at Bournemouth passed to his eldest son, St. Barbe Tregonwell, who until his death in 1859 took a great interest in the estate. He is specially remembered on account of his efforts to prevent the evasion of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, passed in 1849, he having put a stop to the use of dogs as draught animals,

himself keeping guard over the road used by the Poole fishermen bringing their catches to the moorland villages in carts drawn by dogs, and reporting the offenders to the police. His stepbrother, John Tregonwell, who was born in 1810 just before the completion of the first house at Bournemouth, was also very public-spirited and was mainly instrumental in securing the passing of the Improvement Act of 1856, holding the office of Commissioner for its enforcement for some years. It was not, however, to any of the descendants of the Founder of Bournemouth that the little settlement known as Bourne-Tregonwell owed its growth into an important town, but to the Lord of the Manor of Christchurch and Westover, Sir George W. Tapps-Gervis, the son and heir of the Sir George Tapps who, though, as has been seen, he sold to Captain Tregonwell some of the land inherited by or awarded to him in the neighbourhood, wisely retained the whole of the sea front between the Bourne and Boscombe Chine with considerable portions of the cliffs east of it, and of the adjacent inland districts. Sir George died in 1835, and in 1836 his successor, who took the name of Gervis on his accession to the title, inaugurated what may justly be called a new era for the property he had inherited, which when it passed into his hands, was still to a great extent but a wild uncultivated moorland dotted here and there with pine woods and rich in game, the delight of sportsmen and huntsmen, who little dreamed how soon their favourite haunts would be improved away.

Several different causes combine to give to the site of Bournemouth a unique character of its own, justifying the opinion of Sir George Tapps-Gervis, quoted in the first Guide to the new watering place, issued in 1842, that

it was endowed by nature with those special features and circumstances which eminently fitted it to become an approved resort of those who, at the termination of the London Season, seek on the coast that invigorating repose and that commixture of fashion and retirement which afford the best protection against ennui, and are most conducive to the restoration of that freshness and activity both in the physical and mental functions which the constant excitements of town life have a tendency to deteriorate.

In this quaint eulogy no word is said about the climate which has really been the main factor in determining the extraordinary popularity and consequent phenomenal growth of Bournemouth. That climate has, however, been exhaustively examined in many

a learned treatise and important volume, amongst the latter of which "The Medical Aspects of Bournemouth," by Dr. Horace Dobell, is still, though first published as long ago as 1886, specially valuable. The author dwells in it on the fact that the subsoil of the site of Bournemouth consists of siliceous sand and gravel entirely free from organic remains, through which water percolates rapidly and from which no fogs or mists arise. He also notes the value of the chines that here and there break the outlines of the cliffs, and whilst adding greatly to their beauty, carry off the surface waters, and serve as arteries through which the pure sea air penetrates to the crowded thoroughfares of the town; the abundance of sunshine from the vast expanse of sky, the limited rainfall, the Isle of Wight, Hengistbury Head, and Herne Hills on the east, with the Purbeck Hills on the west, acting as permanent rain traps by drawing down the moisture-laden clouds, whilst they also break the force of the north and east winds. Dr. Dobell also points out that the resinous emanations from the pines amongst which the houses are built, and from the belts of wood that here and there break the still open heathlands of the seaboard, mingle with the bracing breezes from the open bay, the double tides peculiar to the district aiding in securing a constant circulation of the atmosphere.

Sir George Tapps-Gervis, having resolved to develop his estate east of the Bourne, began by securing the services of the eminent architect Benjamin Ferrey, whose deeply interesting book, "The Antiquities of the Priory of Christchurch," ranks, as is well known, as a classic on the subject of which it treats. To this wise choice of a collaborator was due in a great measure the success of the first plans, one of the rules laid down by the architect having been that each house built "should be detached and stand in its own grounds shaded by trees and beautified by flowering shrubs." The earliest houses erected were those still known as Westover Villas, overlooking the site of the beautiful pleasure grounds which were laid out in the same year, and were among the first of the many open spaces set aside for the recreation of the people. In 1837 the Bath Hotel, precursor of a long series of rivals, rose up on the cliff, and as a matter of course lodging houses soon sprang up here and there, but for a considerable time longer most of them were set in scenes retaining much of their original rural charm, modern villas contrasting strongly with quaint old fishermen's huts and ancient farmsteads

surrounded by ploughed fields and meadow-lands. The Bourne, which rises on Canford Heath, north-east of Poole, was then fed by a tributary, the course of which can still be traced, which after crossing the common beyond what is now the cemetery and the winding valley which was to become Meyrick Park, flowed through the glen in the Winter Gardens to join the main stream opposite the site of the Mont Dore Hotel. A second tributary meandered through the gully which ere long was to become Old Christchurch Road, draining as it went the heath that then stretched between Holdenhurst and Lansdowne Roads and also the interesting relic of the long-ago known as Horse Shoe Common, flowing thence through a chine some twenty feet below the sites of St. Peter's Church and the Arcade, close to which it was spanned by a rustic bridge, beneath which it rushed to mingle its waters with those of the Bourne a little above the mouth of the latter. Other brooks that took their rise on the moorland north and east of the tract occupied later by the Central Station, met to form the rivulet that hollowed out the valley on the slopes of which cluster the houses of Boscombe, and also the lovely gorge since converted into Pleasure Grounds through which it flowed to the sea, receiving by the way three small tributaries, one with ferruginous properties that gave to Boscombe its early popularity as a spa. Between the districts watered by this important stream and the valley of the Stour, rises the water parting now called the East Common and Malmesbury Park, forming a very important topographical feature, the little brooks flowing from it in a north-easterly direction being joined by those from Winton and its neighbourhood, to unite with the Stour near Holdenhurst. It is this network of partly-concealed waterways, with the chines on the west hollowed out by the streams flowing straight to the sea, which give to Bournemouth and its suburbs their undulating character that contrasts so favourably with the monotonous flatness of so many modern coast towns. Fortunately Sir George Tapps-Gervis and his architect Mr. Ferrey were wise enough to follow the natural contours of the land to be laid out, an example which has in the main been followed by their successors, who have also been careful to preserve as far as possible and add to the pine woods that have so much to do with the attractions of the town on the Bourne.

Captain Tregonwell is sometimes credited with having been the founder of the first church in Bournemouth as well as the

Father of the town, and a story was long current of his having converted two semi-detached cottages at the foot of what is now Commercial Hill into a chapel, by pulling down the partition wall and fitting up one of the upper rooms as a gallery for musicians. On a little map of Bourne issued in 1835 a building is marked on the spot where the church is supposed to have stood, and in the first "Guide to Bournemouth" already quoted from, occurs the following statement: "At present divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England is regularly celebrated in a licensed chapel of small dimensions," whilst elsewhere reference is made to a chapel that was bought by Miss Talbot, the owner of some adjacent property who used the material for building the Talbot Village Schools. None of these allusions to a primitive sanctuary, however, really justifies the assumption that Captain Tregonwell, who, it will be remembered, let his house to the Marchioness of Exeter in 1820, concerned himself with the spiritual interests of the colony he started, but there is positive evidence that Sir George Tapps-Gervis did give considerable thought to them. A church that was eventually to form the nucleus of the present St. Peter's was included by his direction in Mr. Ferrey's general plan of the estate, and had been begun when the Lord of the Manor died in 1842. It was designed, not by the architect responsible for the town planning, but by a Mr. Tulloch of Poole, who enjoyed some little local reputation, and it was in the pseudo-Gothic style then much in vogue. It was completed in 1845 and consecrated on the 7th August in that year by the Bishop of Winchester, the preamble to the Act of Dedication containing the following interesting statements: "the population of Christchurch according to the last census exceeded 5,990 persons, the Parish—that is to say, the Priory Church, and chapels and other places for the public worship according to the rites of the united churches of England and Ireland would not together accommodate more than 1,800; the population of Holdenhurst exceeds 900, with accommodation for only 200; the hamlet or township of Bournemouth, situate partly within the parish of Christchurch and partly within that of Holdenhurst, and there for the spiritual advantage of the inhabitants of the said hamlet or township Sir George Tapps-Gervis did in his lifetime erect and build a church at Bournemouth to the honour of Almighty God, and for the celebration of divine worship. Furthermore an Act of Parliament has been obtained to enable the trustees to convey the church

to the commissioners for building new churches and to endow the same; and the trustees have conveyed the church and endowed it with £50 a year, and £6 a year for a repair fund reserving the patronage to Sir George's successors."

From this clear and graphic account of the ecclesiastical status of Bournemouth it will be seen that before it became a Parish by the passing of the Act of 1845, its position was a very humble one, dependent to a great extent on its smaller but more favoured neighbour Holdenhurst, which, though it remained until its constitution as a Vicarage in 1875 a mere chapelry of Christchurch, owned a modern church built in 1834 on the site of an Early English one, which had succeeded the Saxon chapel referred to in Domesday Book. Bournemouth, in fact, has no ecclesiastical past to link it with the long ago; its parish was filched partly from that of Holdenhurst and partly from that of Christchurch, but to atone for this it had from its first foundation a glorious future before it. The church dedicated in 1845 was to be the precursor of a stately building, which in its turn was to be the forerunner of many spacious places of worship, the number of which is ever on the increase. The originally small parish of Bournemouth has become the mother of numerous thriving ecclesiastical entities that have grown up simultaneously with branches of the older Christchurch and Holdenhurst, the need for which has been mainly the result of the rapid development of the town that grew out of the little settlement on the Bourne, and has sent forth vigorous offshoots, not only along the eastern and western coasts, but far inland.

When Sir George Tapps-Gervis died in 1842 his son and heir, Sir George Elliott Tapps-Gervis Meyrick, who took the last name in compliance with the will of his grandfather on his mother's side, was only fifteen years old. This did not, however, interfere with the building operations inaugurated by his father, which were vigorously prosecuted on behalf of the new Lord of the Manor and owner of the Bourne estate by trustees appointed by his father. Their first care was to complete the church, which was consecrated and dedicated to St. Peter by the Bishop of Winchester in August 1845. It was but a small, unpretending building on the site of the present Parish Church, consisting of a nave and chancel with a gallery at the western end, and very soon became quite inadequate for the increasing congregation.

Fortunately for the people of Bournemouth the first Vicar, the Rev. A. Morden Bennett, was a man of exceptional spiritual

gifts and force of character, combined with a winning personality which enabled him to imbue others with his own enthusiasm for promoting the best interests of those committed to his charge. An eloquent preacher, he filled the little sanctuary of St. Peter to overflowing from the very beginning of his ministry, his influence ever widening, till he became a true leader in the whole neighbourhood, in secular as well as in religious enterprise.

In 1850 Mr. Bennett started a fund for the enlargement of the church, and in 1851 a south aisle was added after the design of Mr. Pearce, an architect of Canford, who also built the parsonage and school still in use. The accommodation provided by the extension of St. Peter's rapidly becoming insufficient, it was decided that plans should be drawn up for what—with the exception of the then recently completed aisle—was practically a new building, and the task was confided to Mr. G. E. Street, the well-known architect. Under his superintendence the present beautiful Church in the Early English style, slowly rose up, its growth reflecting that of the town to which it gives a dignity of its own, dominating as it does not only one of its finest residential quarters, but also the very heart of its commercial activity. The north aisle was completed in 1855, the nave in 1859, the tower—in which is a fine peal of eight bells, six of which were given by the congregation as a testimonial to Mr. Bennett—in 1871, and the spire in 1879, the money for each portion having been collected in every case before the work was put in hand, so that no debt has ever weighed upon the consciences of the clergy or the parishioners.

The interior, of a somewhat complex structure, the building of which occupied thirty-four years, is remarkably dignified and harmonious, the lofty nave with its timber roof contrasting with the graceful arches of the aisles, and with the richly decorated chancel, which is divided from it by a well designed iron screen approached by a flight of marble steps, whilst the general effect of the many stained glass windows is good. These windows include that known as the *Te Deum*, or *Minstrel*, window in the chapel, in memory of the Rev. John Keble, who constantly occupied a seat beneath it during the last four months of his life, and who died in Bournemouth in 1867 in a house known as Brookside, overlooking the approach to the pier and marked by a tablet in his honour.

The churchyard of St. Peter's, which was gradually extended

as time went on, and is now supplemented by several well laid out cemeteries elsewhere, has several entrances, including a picturesque lych gate in Hinton Road. It is a very beautiful and most peaceful God's Acre, in spite of its situation in the midst of a busy town, and in it rest the mortal remains of many a noted citizen of Bournemouth, including those of its first Vicar who passed away in January 1880, only one month after the completion of the Church for which he had done so much, which will ever remain a silent witness to a life of unselfish devotion and unwearied activity in the cause of others. Nearly opposite to the south porch a stone cross rises from an octagonal marble base, enriched with bas-reliefs of sacred subjects, and amongst the tombs is that in which are interred the remains of several members of the Shelley family, particulars of whose connection with Bournemouth are given below.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Mother Church of Bournemouth proceeded the development of the various properties the limits of which had been defined in the Award Act. Soon after the accession to the title of the young baronet Sir George Gervis Meyrick, Mr. Ferrey was succeeded as architect of the estate on the Bourne by Mr. Decimus Burton, to whose initiative was due to some extent the building of a brick bridge across the stream, which had previously been spanned only by a rough planking for the use of pedestrians. This bridge was situated where the Square—a most inappropriate name by the way—now is, and soon after its construction, the deep hollow at the foot of what was then Poole Hill, and is now Commercial Road, was filled in, whilst on either side of the Bourne large houses and small villas were multiplied, what was still spoken of as the "Marine Village," sending out offshoots up the neighbouring heights and along the cliffs, though the inhabitants of all these new dwellings were still compelled to rely for their supplies on the parent town of Christchurch, or on Poole. It was at the former only that births and deaths could be registered, or medical aid obtained by those too poor to pay for it, that voters could register their names at Parliamentary elections, and that litigants could get their quarrels settled. The Tregonwell Arms, which was pulled down in 1884, was still the only public house properly so called, there was no police court to which delinquents could be taken for preliminary examination; no prison in which the convicted could be detained, but for all that the town continued to grow apace as one fine estate after another came into

the market, including that of Branksome, which stretched away westwards beyond the eastern boundary of Dorset, and northwards to the lovely Talbot Woods then owned by Miss Georgina Talbot, who built the picturesque village named after her, and whose heir, the late Earl of Leven and Melville, long allowed the public free access to the beautiful pine forest, which is, alas, now doomed to partial destruction, the property having been sold for building purposes.

As early as 1849 a regatta was held off the coast of Bournemouth, and in 1855 a wooden jetty was built on the beach close to the outlet of the stream, precursor of a pier, also of wood, that was to supersede it some years later. Between these dates two shipwrecks took place within sight of the jetty, that of the barque William Glen Anderson, which was driven ashore near Boscombe Chine in 1852, and that of the ketch Elizabeth and Ann, which grounded opposite the Bath Hotel in 1855, the captain and crew in both cases having been saved by the efforts of the coastguard, whose chief, Lieutenant Parsons, R.N., received the silver medal of the Institution for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck for the aid given to the latter vessel.

A less exciting, but far more important, event for the future of Bournemouth than the stranding of sailing vessels was the passing in 1856—the year, by the way, of a visit to Bournemouth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII—of the Improvement Act, which inaugurated a new era for the village of Bourne, giving as it did to the Lord of the Manor of Westover and a body of Commissioners powers for the more efficient paving, sewerage, drainage, lighting, cleaning, watering, and otherwise improving the district within the circle of the radius of a mile, the centre being the entrance to the Belle Vue Hotel, which was the first boarding house erected after the Bath Hotel. It will be noted that the very important detail of the control of the water supply is conspicuous by its absence from this summary of the authority confided to the newly appointed Commission, and also that the area defined excludes the now densely populated districts of Westbourne, Winton, Springbourne, Malmesbury Park, Boscombe, and Pokesdown, omissions significant of the fact that their development had not yet begun, though they were ere long to be absorbed into the vast Borough of Bournemouth. To make up for these limitations of their rights the Commissioners were authorized to borrow money for the erection of a pier, and to levy a general improvement rate of three

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BRANKSOME CHINE



shillings in the pound on the annual value of the property in the district under their control.

No time was lost in putting the new Act in force, and before another decade had passed away a very great change had taken place in the appearance and status of the village of Bourne, which was henceforth to be known as Bournemouth, and was to meet with but few checks in its triumphant career as the leading seaside health resort of Hampshire. The first meeting of the Commissioners was held in July 1856, in the Belle Vue Hotel, which continued to be their rendezvous until December 1857, after which they occupied hired premises near by for eighteen years, the Town Hall not having been opened until 1875. At the inauguratory gathering of the Commissioners Mr. Christopher Creeke was chosen as Surveyor and Inspector of Nuisances, an appointment he held for ten years, and he it was who was responsible for the laying out of the roads supplementary to those already in existence, and also for the design of the seal of the Commissioners, which consisted of a rose surmounted by a crown, bearing the inscription: "Improvement and Pier Act—Incor. 19-20 Vic. Chap. 30. Bournemouth Commissioners A.D. 1856."

One of the first improvements effected by the new municipal authority was the draining of the meadows forming the southern portion of the Pleasure Grounds which, as has been already noted, were from the first set aside by the Lord of the Manor for the use of the people, although it was not until seventeen years later that they assumed their present appearance, the work of converting what was little more than a swamp into a dry and healthy garden having been both long and costly. At one time it was proposed to turn the Bourne itself to account by linking its pure waters with the main sewer and carrying both to the sea underground, but fortunately this prosaic scheme was abandoned, and the stream though curbed in a narrow channel, remains one of the most picturesque features of the gardens, affording constant delight to the children of Bournemouth, who are never tired of sailing their toy craft on it.

Simultaneously with the planning of the town and the draining of its site, the laying out of the cliff and the approaches to it was proceeded with, and in 1859 the first piles of a wooden pier were driven in opposite the Bath Hotel in the presence of many invited guests. The work, however, had not proceeded far before a fierce gale swept everything away; but this misfortune did not check the enthusiasm of the Commissioners, who immediately

began to build another pier which was completed in 1861. A grand fête was held to celebrate the opening, and for the next six years the pier entirely fulfilled the expectations of the most sanguine. Unfortunately, however, in the terrible storm of 1867 that wrought such havoc all along the southern coast, and was responsible for many wrecks, the whole of the seaward end of the pier, which was of the shape of a T, was torn up and flung with such force upon the beach as to be broken to pieces. What remained could still be used as a landing place from small boats but it too was seriously injured a year later, and it was decided not to attempt to repair it, but to replace it with an iron pier as soon as the necessary funds could be collected. Meanwhile, a temporary embarkation stage was erected, and it was from it in 1868 that the first steamboat excursion started from Bournemouth, when a Southampton vessel, the *Fawn*, took a party to Spithead to witness the Review of the Fleet in honour of the Shah of Persia, then on a visit to England. During the next ten years various enterprising companies competed with each other in running pleasure boats between Bournemouth and Weymouth or the Isle of Wight, one of those chartered having been the *Heather Bell* alluded to by Thomas Hardy in his "Hand of Ethelberta."

The present iron pier was begun in 1878, and opened by the Lord Mayor of London in 1880, since which date it has been gradually extended till it reached its present length of 1,000 feet, its width being 35 at the entrance, and 100 at the seaward termination. It at once became a most valuable asset in the attractions of the town, for as early as 1882 the receipts for admission to it reached the large sum of £2,225, whilst in the first years of the twentieth century they increased enormously, the popularity of the many interesting sea trips that could be made from it having been very great until a sudden, though it is to be hoped temporary, stop was put to them by the outbreak of war in 1914. The tragic experiences of the Commissioners with their wooden piers did not fortunately damp their ardour for improvements of another kind, and under their auspices road-making and building proceeded apace, whilst many fine mansions were erected by owners of property beyond the area under their jurisdiction. In 1860 the residences known as Branksome Dene and Branksome Tower rose upon the western cliff, and Boscombe Lodge, replacing the cottage alluded to above, on the eastern, which, after remaining isolated for a short time, were in the course of the next twenty

years to be linked together by groups of fine residences, each set in its own grounds, whilst beyond them fresh settlements were formed, so that by the opening of the present century Christchurch and Poole were practically connected by an almost unbroken line of habitations, those on the sea-front having been rapidly supplemented by shops and houses for the working classes, who flocked eagerly to a town where employment was certain and wages were high. In 1863 a visit was paid to Bournemouth by H.R.H. the Princess Louise, who came over in the yacht *Elfin* from the Isle of Wight, and landed at the still uninjured wooden pier to dine with Sir James Clark in his seaside home, the *Eagle's Nest*, and listen to his praise of the climate of Bournemouth, which the great physician considered the best in England for invalids able to walk. Cranborne Gardens, it is said, were especially admired by the Princess who, when thirty years later she was again in what she aptly called the Forest City of our Southern Shore, expressed herself delighted with the Winter Gardens into which they had been converted.

It was in 1866 that the knell of the secluded village of Bourne and the keynote of its successor's commercial activity may both be said to have been sounded, for in that year it was decided to make a thoroughfare between Old Christchurch Road and Westover Gardens, involving the transformation of the beautiful vale known as Church Glen, with its picturesque rustic bridge, overlooked by the still unfinished St. Peter's and the first church house, which was later to be replaced by the present parsonage. The glen, through which flowed a gurgling brook which joined the Bourne near the mouth of the latter, was not, however, filled in, but the houses of the Arcade—named the *Gervis* after the Lord of the Manor, were built on its slopes, and for some little time were let at such unremunerative rents that what was to become a property of almost fabulous value was long known as "*Joy's Folly*," the architect, Mr. Henry Joy, having been warned that his scheme could only end in disaster. The Arcade was opened in 1870, a very important year in the history of Bournemouth, for it was that in which its first railway station was built, as the terminus of a line connecting it with Christchurch, which was supplemented in 1872 by one between Broadstone Junction and Poole, that was not, however, linked with its predecessor until 1885 when the Central Station was erected by the South Western Railway Company on the completion of their direct line from Brockenhurst to Bournemouth.

In 1873, thanks to the enlightened foresight of the Commissioners, was completed the long contemplated purchase of the upper Pleasure Grounds that included part of the Branksome Estate, then known as Coy Pond Meadow, and several acres higher up the valley of the Bourne, which with the grounds nearer the sea, the draining of which was then proceeding, now rank amongst the most beautiful peoples' gardens in the south of England. In 1875 the Town Hall, which will ere long be replaced by a larger building, was completed, and the Winter Garden Company was formed for converting Cranborne Gardens into a place of public recreation, beginning what was to be a long and chequered career with the opening of a skating rink in them in 1876. In spite of all the efforts of the Company the gardens never became the popular rendezvous they were intended to be, but they succeeded brilliantly in another direction, becoming a musical centre, the fame of the concerts given in the hall connected with them spreading far beyond the limits of the town, their success culminating in 1893 when the earliest Municipal Orchestra of England was established in them under the able conductorship of the gifted Mr. Dan Godfrey.

It was in the eventful year 1876 that the first extension of the original area controlled by the Commissioners under the Improvement Act of 1856 took place, when Boscombe and Springbourne, with the woods known as the Seventy Acres between the Chine and what is now Derby Road, came under their jurisdiction. The famous diplomatist and journalist, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, M.P., one of the editors of the "Owl," after which Owl's Road is named, was the true founder of Boscombe, he having bought a small estate east of the Chine which he called The Spa, because it was traversed by the rivulet already referred to as having medicinal properties. The first houses built by the new owner, Boscombe Tower and Tankerville, were quickly succeeded by others, the Chine was converted into gardens, and a picturesque bridge was erected across the valley connecting the cliff with Manor Road. Ten years later the new settlement had grown so large that it bid fair to rival even Bournemouth in popularity, and before another decade had passed the two had become for all practical purposes one town. In 1885 Boscombe Station was opened, and in 1888 Lady Shelley placed in position the first piles of a pier that was completed in 1889, the late Duke of Argyll presiding at its opening, since which time it has been a very important feature in the attractions

of the neighbourhood, excursion steamers, until the war led to their discontinuance, having taken up passengers from it on their way to and from Bournemouth.

Whilst the development of Boscombe was thus proceeding, yet another extensive tract of land was annexed by the energetic Commissioners, who in 1884 acquired what are now known as Malmesbury and Meyrick Parks and Westbourne, all of which soon became the centres of important residential quarters, supplemented by commercial and artisan suburbs. Altogether the Commissioners now controlled no less than 2,593 acres, but for all that Bournemouth was still, so far as municipal administration and the registration of voters was concerned, a mere dependency of Christchurch, with no power to hold even a parish meeting of its own, and it was felt that the time had come for a radical change to be made in its status. Already in 1882 the leading inhabitants of the Forest City had begun to agitate for a Corporation, and in 1890 their efforts were rewarded by the granting to the town of a Charter of Incorporation, which was signed by Queen Victoria on 3rd July of that year. A Town Council was at once elected, with the late Mr. T. McWilliam as the first Mayor, and Mr. James Druitt as the first Town Clerk.

Shortly after Incorporation the Council applied to the Heralds' College for a grant of Arms. This was given, and as the site of Bournemouth, as related above in the chapter on "The Early History of Twynham Manor," was originally part of a Royal Demesne of King Edward the Confessor, it was felt that the Arms of that monarch might properly form the field or basis of the Corporation shield. This consisted of a gold cross (fleurie) floriated on a field of azure differenced, to use an heraldic term, to meet the peculiar circumstances of the case. In the Bournemouth Arms the Cross of Edward the Confessor and the field were counterchanged. Thus the first and fourth quarters are gold, and the parts of the cross falling in that division azure; while in the second and third quarters the process is reversed. In the first and fourth quarters appears the British lion, but differenced, holding between the forepaws the Hampshire rose; in the second quarter six martlets—that is, birds resembling sand-martens—arranged in twos; and in the third four fish, the birds suggestive of those which haunt the sandy cliffs of Bournemouth, the fish of the salmon for which the Stour, forming its eastern boundary, is celebrated. The Crest of the Corporation—of which the motto is *Pulchritude et Salubritas*—is a pine tree

proper on a green mount, with four golden roses in front, the whole on a wreath of the proper colours.

The granting of the Charter of Incorporation to Bournemouth inaugurated a new chapter in the history of the town which was to be one of unbroken development. The Borough now (1916) includes many thousand acres, of which more than seven thousand are public recreation grounds, the chief being the Pleasure Gardens of the Bourne valley, already described, Queen's, King's, and Meyrick Parks, a truly noble heritage of the people, which vie with each other in their varied beauty and romantic charm, Queen's Park perhaps carrying off the palm on account of its vast extent and the fine views it commands. To these must be added Redhill Common and Winton Pleasure Grounds, with the small but interesting Horse Shoe Common of many memories, overlooking one of the busiest thoroughfares of the town, and the various characteristic chimes that add so much to the attractiveness of the cliffs, the disintegration of which has lately been to some extent arrested by the making of the fine Undercliff Drive. The present boundaries of Bournemouth are the pine woods of Branksome in Dorset on the west, the sea on the south, the river Stour and Hengistbury Head on the east, and the open moorlands beyond the still beautiful though doomed Talbot woods on the north. Winton, already almost a town in itself, Pokesdown, now a mere continuation of Boscombe, and Southbourne, have all recently been absorbed into the ever-growing Borough; the last, which once owned a pier and esplanade that were seriously damaged in the great storm of 1901, and have now entirely disappeared, enjoying very special advantages owing to its long sea frontage and its nearness to the river, which is spanned at Tuckton by a well-constructed bridge replacing that erected in 1882 by Dr. Compton, who was the first to endeavour to develop the district between the Stour and Pokesdown. The village of Tuckton still retains something of a rural character, and is linked with the charming hamlet of Wick by a most picturesque riverside lane that aids in preserving the continuity between olden and modern times, for it and the ferry across the Stour must have been in use before the College of the Augustinian Canons was founded.

Rapid as has been the secular growth of Bournemouth since the passing of the Development Act of 1856, the ecclesiastical progress has fully kept pace with it. Before the first Vicar of Bournemouth passed away no less than eight churches and

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QUEEN'S PARK, BOURNEMOUTH



chapels were erected, including Holy Trinity in Old Christchurch Road, St. Michael's and All Angels in Poole Road, St. John's, Moordown, a growing suburb north of Winton, St. James, Pokesdown, and St. Clement's, Boscombe, whilst the year after Mr. Bennett's death the noble St. Stephen's—in the road of the same name—designed by Mr. Pearson, rivalling in its dignified beauty the mother Church of Bournemouth, was built as a memorial of the man who had done so much to promote the spiritual needs of the district. To these were added during the next few years St. Swithun's in Gervis Road, a fine example of the flamboyant style by Norman Shaw, St. Augustine's in Wimborne Road, St. Andrew's in Florence Road, St. John's, Boscombe, St. John the Evangelist in Surrey Road, St. Luke's, Winton, St. Ambrose in West Cliff Road, St. Katherine's in East and All Saints in West Southbourne, and St. Alban's in Charminster Road, with many other supplementary chapels elsewhere.

Meanwhile the interests of those who did not belong to the Established Church of England were not neglected. In 1858 was laid the foundation stone of a temporary Congregational Church on Richmond Hill, succeeded by a spacious building in 1891. The fine Scotch church in the Gothic style on Richmond Hill is the third Presbyterian place of worship that has risen upon or near its site, and Baptists, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Quakers, and Unitarians all own suitable buildings for their religious gatherings, the various places of worship of whatever denomination being also provided with halls, schools, etc. It was not, however, until comparatively recently that Roman Catholicism was well represented in Bournemouth, the nearest church having for a long period been St. Mary's, Poole, to which in 1868 an omnibus ran on Sunday mornings from the Square. In 1869 two Roman Catholic fathers settled down in Astney Lodge, St. Stephen's Road, and services were held there by them for several months, worshippers increasing so quickly that in 1870 a small wooden chapel was built for their accommodation. In 1873 the foundation stone was laid at the junction of Richmond Hill and Albert Road of the Oratory of the Sacred Heart, which was completed and consecrated in 1875. The new sanctuary rapidly became too small for its congregation, and in 1896 it was supplemented by another church, which was skilfully added to it, the completed structure being one of the finest Neo-Gothic buildings in the town. Contemporaneously with it several other Roman

Catholic places of worship rose up, including the Church of the Annunciation in Richmond Park Road and the Chapel of Mary Immaculate at Westbourne, the latter the gift of Mrs. Coxon, who entrusted the making of the plans to Mr. (later Sir) Gilbert Scott. In 1896 the equally generous Baroness Pauline de Hugel gave to her co-religionists the fine church of Corpus Christi at Boscombe, and about the same time the Convent of the Cross was built in Parkwood Road for the Dames de la Croix, who had long been working in Bournemouth in the cause of education.

In spite of the truly remarkable growth of the Forest City and the multiplication of its centres of religious influence, Christchurch, as already explained in connection with its story, is still the political mother town of the new Corporation, and is justly proud of the vigorous offshoot to which considerably more than half its electors belong. In his "Rambling Recollections" Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the founder of Boscombe, who represented Christchurch from 1868 to 1880, speaks somewhat contemptuously of the parent Borough, alluding in one breath to its "building, agricultural, fishing and laundry interests"; but for all that it is chiefly to its close connection with the ancient town betwixt the rivers that modern Bournemouth owes the association with the past which gives so romantic an interest to its life story, linking it with the remote Saxon days when the foundations were laid of the beautiful Priory Church.

Though Bournemouth cannot claim to have been the birthplace of any of the great leaders of thought or of men and women who have made their mark in art, in literature, or in science, its attractions have drawn to it many who were eminent in one direction or another. Sir Henry Taylor, author of the noble dramatic poem "Philip van Artevelde" and of a valuable "Autobiography," with graphic realizations of the personalities of Wordsworth, Carlyle, Tennyson, Southey, Sir Walter Scott, and other celebrated contemporaries of the poet, spent the last twenty years of his life at Bournemouth. About 1850 Sir Percy and Lady Shelley—the son and daughter-in-law of the poet, the monument to whom in the Priory Church has already been described—took up their residence in what was to become known as Boscombe Manor, when there were but a few scattered cottages and a single inn, the "Ragged Cat," predecessor of the "Palmerston Arms," on the site of the now thriving settlement founded by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. There they hoped to welcome and to care for for the rest of her life the mother of Sir

Percy, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, who survived her husband for many years; but in 1851 the sad news reached them of her death, and her body was brought to Bournemouth to be buried in a vault in St. Peter's churchyard. By a strange coincidence it became necessary that same year to move the remains of Mary Shelley's parents, William Godwin, the famous political writer and novelist, and Mary Wollstonecraft, the pioneer of the Women's Rights movement in England, a Bill having been passed through Parliament sanctioning the running of a railway through old St. Pancras churchyard, which involved the desecration of their resting place. For this reason their bodies were taken from it to be laid beside that of their daughter, and later Sir Percy, who died in 1889, and his wife, who followed him to the grave in 1899, were interred in the same vault. The heart of the poet, which, as is well known, remained unconsumed when his body was burnt, and which had long been one of Lady Shelley's most prized possessions, was placed in the coffin of his son, so that in their deaths those who had loved each other so devotedly in life were not altogether divided. It may, indeed, be justly claimed that the "Forest City of our Southern Shore" has a special link with the ethereal nature which inspired the beautiful sonnet of F. J. Wallis, aptly entitled "Cor Cordium," and here quoted by permission:

There stole into this busy world of ours
A spirit lightly veiled in human dress;
Who broke the spell of Nature's silentness,
And rendered vocal all the varied powers
Of earth and sky. Rain sang in rhythmic showers,
The cold wind's deep and fathomless distress
Found words thro' him its yearnings to express;
He breathed the secrets of the voiceless flowers,
The mute mysterious mountains, deathly white,
To him their vast untainted souls revealed,
His breath the cataract's frozen lips unsealed
Until it shouted as it leapt the height.
Heart of all hearts was he. His lay concealed
Because no voice could utter him aright.

Whilst Boscombe Manor was the home of Sir Percy and Lady Shelley it became a centre of dramatic activity. A small theatre was established in it, and the drop-scene represented the home of the poet on the Gulf of Spezzia, whence he and his friend Edward Williams went forth so happily in June 1821

to meet Leigh Hunt and, after spending a few days with him, to set forth on the fatal voyage from Leghorn, from which they were never to return. In 1852 a play called "The Wreck Ashore" was being acted on the Boscombe Manor stage, when a Norwegian sailor was brought up to the house in a state of insensibility, having been rescued from the barque William Glen Anderson, the wreck of which is referred to above. He received every possible attention from his host and hostess, who did not relax their efforts on his behalf till he had fallen into a natural sleep, but the next morning, when they sent to inquire as to his condition, he had disappeared and no news was ever received of his fate, leading some to assert that his strangely opportune appearance had been but a myth.

For three years during the last decade of Sir Percy Shelley's life the famous novelist and essayist Robert Louis Stevenson was living near to Boscombe Manor, and became one of the dearest and most intimate friends of its owners, his winning personality, combined with the pathetic circumstances of his position as a sufferer from what turned out to be an incurable disease, exercising a peculiar fascination over them. It was in the summer of 1884 that Stevenson, then only thirty-four years old, but already widely celebrated for his eloquent writings, was ordered south from his native town of Edinburgh, and came to Bournemouth with his wife, going first to a lodging house called Wensleydale, on the West Cliff, and a few months later to a furnished house known as Bonallie Towers in Branksome Park, where they remained until April 1885, when the novelist's father bought for them a small but charming residence near Alum Chine, to which the name of Skerryvore was given, after a light-house built off the coast of Scotland by the novelist's grandfather, the celebrated engineer, Robert Stevenson, as explained by Robert Louis Stevenson himself in the following lines:

For love of lovely words, and for the sake
Of those, my kinsmen and my countrymen
Who early and late on the windy ocean toiled
To plan a star for seamen, where was then
The surfy haunt of seals and cormorants,
I on the lintel of this cot inscribe
The name of a strong tower.

Skerryvore became very dear to the invalid writer, who sounded its praises in a charming poem in which the following

passage occurs, dwelling on the contrast between it and its namesake in the north:

Here all is sunny, and when the truant gull
 Skims the green level of the lawn, his wing
 Dispetals roses; here the house is framed
 Of kneaded brick and the plumed mountain pine.
 Such clay as artists fashion and such wood
 As the tree-climbing urchin breaks. But there
 Eternal granite hewn from the living isle
 And dowelled with brute iron, rears a tower
 That from its wet foundations to its crown
 Of glittering glass, stands in the sweep of winds
 Immovable, immortal, eminent.

Though Stevenson was so weak that he was rarely able to walk beyond the grounds of Skerryvore, which extended from the brink almost to the outlet of the Chine, and were very prettily laid out under the superintendence of his wife, he was constantly at work during the three years of his stay at Bournemouth, having written there "Kidnapped," "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," "More Arabian Nights," "The Dynamiters," "The Memoir of Fleming Jenkin," "The Merry Men," and "A Child's Garden of Verse." Truly a record fully justifies his touching plea:

Say not of me that weakly I declined
 The labours of my sires, and fled the sea
 The Towers we founded and the lamps we lit,
 To play at home with paper like a child.
 But rather say: In the afternoon of time
 A strenuous family dusted from its hands
 The sand of granite, and beholding far
 Along the sounding coast its pyramids
 And tall memorials catch the dying sun,
 Smiled well content and to this childish task
 Around the fire addressed its evening hour.¹

The results of Stevenson's "play with paper," and earnest devotion to his "childish task," will be as enduring as the granite of his grandfather's lighthouse, and the memory of his brave fight with adverse circumstances will live as long as there remain any readers able to appreciate the vivid imagination and subtle humour of the man who could produce masterpieces of

¹ These quotations are given by permission of Lloyd Osbourne, Esq.

literature whilst waging what he quaintly called his "bed and physic bottle battle."

As a matter of course Stevenson was visited by many celebrities during his brief sojourn in Bournemouth. Sir Sidney Colvin, the well-known art critic and Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, who edited the Edinburgh edition of his works between 1894 and 1897 and his Letters in 1899, was often his guest, as were also the poet and critic William E. Henley, who collaborated with him on the dramas "Deacon Brodie" and "Robert Macaire," the journalist Wilfrid Meynell, Thomas Hardy, for whom he had an immense admiration, Sir Henry and Lady Taylor, who were his near neighbours, and C. Kegan Paul, then manager for Henry S. King and Co., who published some of the novelist's earlier works. The story goes that the idea of the dual personality of the hero in Stevenson's "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" was suggested by the complex character of Kegan Paul who, as is well known, differed greatly at different times, and more than once changed his religion. As a friend no one could have been more staunch or more generous, but as a publisher his business instincts sometimes triumphed over his feelings of affection for an author, a fact aptly defined by Stevenson when, soon after he left his first publisher, he remarked to Mr. Meynell, "Kegan is an excellent fellow, but Paul is a publisher."

With the names of the literary friends of Stevenson who added brightness and interest to his necessarily limited life, must be associated those of the medical men who eagerly ministered to the needs of his suffering body, amongst whom were Dr. Horace Dobell, to whom his patient dedicated "Underwoods," and whose valuable work on the "Medical Aspects of Bournemouth" has already been referred to, Sir Andrew Clark, who saw him several times at long intervals, and Dr. T. B. Scott, to whom so many residents at Bournemouth owe a deep debt of gratitude, all of whom still cherish the memory of the gifted writer who won the hearts of all with whom he was brought in contact. In his exile in distant Samoa Stevenson often talked of his Bournemouth friends. He dedicated the "Master of Ballantrae," published two years after he left Skerryvore, to his "fellow sea-farers and sea-lovers" Sir Percy and Lady Shelley, and during the last days of his life his head is said to have been constantly pillowed on a rest given to him by the great poet's son.

Skerryvore was occupied after the Stevensons left it for a considerable time by the well-known art-craftsman Mr. Heywood Sumner, who greatly improved the house, adding a studio to it, but the garden still remains to some extent what it was in 1887, when Mr. William Archer, writing in the "New York Critic," said of it:

The demesne extends over the edge and almost to the bottom of the Chine; and here amid laurel and rhododendron, broom, and gorse, the garden merges into a network of paths and stairways, with tempting seats and unexpected arbours at every turn. The seductive little labyrinth is of Mrs. Stevenson's own designing.

For many years a man of a very different type to Robert Louis Stevenson, but of equal celebrity, the great naturalist, Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, who anticipated the Darwinian theory of evolution, but generously refrained from claiming credit for it, lived and worked in a house overlooking Poole Harbour, removing thence shortly before his death to Broadstone, in the cemetery of which a monument to his memory, presented to his widow by a number of admirers of his genius, was erected in 1915. This monument consists of a fossil tree seven feet high from Portland, rising from a base of Purbeck marble, bearing the simple inscription "Alfred Russell Wallace. O.M." with the dates of his birth and death.

To enumerate all the distinguished men and women who have resided for a longer or shorter time at or near Bournemouth would be impossible, but amongst them must be mentioned as specially noteworthy the friend and near relation of the Earl of Malmesbury—whose close connection with the Forest City has already been explained—Lord Shaftesbury, after whom Shaftesbury Hall is named, who laid the foundation stone of Holy Trinity Church in 1868, a fact commemorated by the giving of his family patronymic to Ashley Road; Lord Palmerston, who in the earlier portion of his brilliant career represented South Hampshire in Parliament, and whose connection with Bournemouth is recalled in the name of Palmerston Road; the great lawyer and political leader, Lord Cairns, who made the popular seaside resort his headquarters from 1868, when he became Lord Chancellor, until his death, which took place there in 1885; his frequent guest and valued friend, Henry Reeve, C.B., the first Registrar of the Privy Council, who held that office until 1887, was for forty years editor of the "Edinburgh Review," and

edited the famous "Greville Memoirs." Henry Reeve was in close touch with Lords Clarendon, Palmerston, and Russell, as well as with the Duc d'Aumale, the Comte de Paris, and other members of the French royal family, and the leading politicians of France, especially with Thiers, Guizot, and Alexis de Tocqueville. He it was who built the first house of importance—now a school for girls—in Southbourne, which he named Foxholes, after a wood a portion of which was cut down to make room for it, and there he spent the greater part of the last twenty years of his long life, welcoming in it many of the most celebrated men and women of his time.

It was at Bournemouth that the veteran statesman, orator, and writer, William Ewart Gladstone, received his death warrant, for it was there that in his last illness he consented to a consultation being held as to the cause of his long continued suffering. He accepted the news that the end was near with calmness, declaring that he was glad to know the truth. He at once decided to return to his beloved home at Hawarden, but the sad news that he was doomed spread quickly through the town, and when he alighted from the carriage which took him to the station he found a sympathetic crowd awaiting him, who in reverent silence watched him slowly cross the platform, until just before he entered the carriage, some one, unable to restrain himself, cried, "God bless you, sir," at which Mr. Gladstone turned to the people and, raising his hat, said, "God bless you all, and this place, and the land we love."

Other notable personages who were at one time or another more or less closely associated with the neighbourhood of Bournemouth were the historian John Lothrop Motley, who is said to have written part of his famous monograph on the "Rise of the Dutch Republic" at Boscombe; Dr. George Macdonald, the Scotch poet and novelist, whose "Sir Gibbie" was penned at Bournemouth; James Payn, author of the weird tale, "By Proxy," and other romances; the Rev. Canon Twells, the first Vicar of St. Augustine's, who wrote the beautiful hymn, "At even when the sun was set"; Miss Agnes Clerke, the well-known astronomer; Richard Doyle, the famous artist; William Lecky the brilliant essayist—all of whom were often at Foxholes—Vladimir Tcherkoff, who represented in England the great patriot, reformer, and novelist, Count Tolstoi, and lived for some years at Tuckton looking after the Russian exiles who had taken refuge there; the talented C. J. Hankinson, son of a former Mayor of Bourne-

mouth, author of "My Japanese Wife" and several popular topographical works including "Wessex," published under the nom de plume of Clive Holland, and the well-known artist Edward Wimperis, long Vice-President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, who died at Southbourne in 1900.

Though the long-drawn out life-stories of the ancient boroughs of Christchurch and Poole are of course fuller of incidents that lend themselves to adaptation in fiction than the brief record of the still youthful Bournemouth, the town amongst the pines has not been altogether passed over by noted writers. It figures in several of Thomas Hardy's most famous novels, and the chief scenes of the "Hand of Ethelberta" are laid in it. The descriptions of the lonely heath where the heroine watched the hawk's pursuit of the wild duck, the Weir-House from which the sportsmen were witnesses of Picotee's weary waiting for a lover who never came, the pier on which Christopher loved to linger, the Manor House of Wyndway, where he and his sister played dance music for a whole night, at the command of the imperious Ethelberta, and the beach where that eccentric young woman met her sister in secret, are all evidently drawn direct from nature, and represent scenes in close touch with Bournemouth.

It was to Sandbourne that the evil genius of Tess of the D'Urbervilles brought the hapless wife of Angel Clare when he had at last induced her to sacrifice herself for the sake of her young brothers and sisters, and there began the last act in the tragic drama of the unfortunate girl's short and thwarted career. The opening sentences of the concluding portion of what is justly considered one of its author's masterpieces, give a vivid picture of Bournemouth as it was soon after the opening in 1872 of its second station:

This fashionable watering place [says Hardy], with its eastern and its western stations, its piers, its groves of pines, its promenades and its covered gardens, was to Angel Clare like a fairy place suddenly created by the stroke of a wand and allowed to get a little dusty. An outlying eastern tract of the enormous Egdon Waste was close at hand, yet on the very verge of that tawny piece of antiquity such a glittering novelty as this pleasure city had chosen to spring up within the space of a mile from its outskirts; every irregularity of its soil was pre-historic, every channel an undisturbed British trackway, not a sod having been turned there since the days of the Caesars. Yet the exotic had grown here, suddenly as the prophet's gourd, and had drawn thither Tess. By the midnight lamps he went up and down the winding ways of this new

world in an old one, and could discern between the trees and against the stars the lofty roofs, chimneys, gazebos and towers of the numerous fanciful residences of which the place was composed. It was a city of detached mansions; a Mediterranean lounging place on the English Channel, and as seen now by night it seemed even more imposing than it was. The sea was near at hand, but not intrusive, it murmured and he thought it was the pines; the pines murmured in precisely the same tones and he thought they were the sea.¹

In these words Hardy aptly realizes the continuous duet that still goes on between the voices of the Bay and of the land at Bournemouth, and no less true to reality is his definition of the characteristics of "The Herons." The stylish lodging house standing in its own grounds, and apparently so secluded as to be the last place in which to find lodgings, yet with the usual double doors between the apartments, and walls and floors so thin that no real privacy was possible in the rooms. How significant of the conditions of life at "The Herons" is the account of the landlady's spying on her tenants, and of the way in which the murder of Alec was discovered, of the untouched meal spread out in the drawing-room left exactly as it was when first taken in, except for the absence of the carving knife. How well brought out, too, is the contrast between the populous town through which in a quarter of an hour after the terrible deed had been committed the news had spread, and the lonely outskirts where Tess and Angel met, to wander forth hand in hand through the pine woods till they came to the deserted Bramshurst Manor House, which it has been suggested was the seventeenth-century Moyles Court, once the home of Dame Alice Lisle, from which she was dragged to be executed at Winchester by order of Judge Jeffreys as punishment for harbouring two fugitives from Sedgemoor. From this appropriate resting place for the doomed wife, she and her husband resumed their aimless flight, with the avenger of blood behind them, across the open country between Bournemouth and Salisbury, reaching at last the heathen temple, which was to witness their last parting. Truly in his "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" the sympathetic interpreter of Wessex scenery and Wessex men and women has conferred immortality on Sandbourne as he has on many a more ancient town of Dorset and of Hampshire, giving to it something of the romantic interest that lingers about his Egdon Heath, Havenpool and Casterbridge.

¹ Quoted by permission of Thomas Hardy, LL.D., etc.

CHAPTER X

THE ANCIENT MANOR OF CANFORD AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF POOLE

GR^{EAT} indeed is the contrast between the ever-growing town of Bournemouth and the old-world sea-port of Poole, the history of which, through its close connection with the ancient Manor of Cheneford, now represented by Canford, can be traced back to Saxon days. In the time of Edward the Confessor the Manor was held by a certain Ulwen and assessed at £50, but when the Domesday Survey was taken its value had risen to £70, and its extent was estimated at eighteen plow-gangs. In the Survey the property is alluded to as "Terra Edwardi Sarisbers," this tenant in chief having been, it is supposed, the son of Walter le Ewrus, a Norman noble who had come to England with William the Conqueror, whose existence, however, it must be added is questioned by some authorities. However this may have been, the estate then included what are now the separate parishes of Kinson, Hamworthy, Parkstone, Longfleet, and Poole, the last long known as Le Pole or Pola, but it is noteworthy that Branksea or Brownsea, the island which is so important a feature of Poole Harbour, was not included in the Manor of Cheneford in Saxon or Norman days, but belonged to that of Studland, held in the eleventh century by the Earl of Morton, and later by the Crown, Henry II in 1154 having granted to the Abbot of Cerne the right of wreck on it, a privilege confirmed several centuries afterwards by Henry VIII. Branksea, it may be added, is said to have derived its name from a Saxon called Bruno, and is referred to in ancient records as "Brunci Insula," notably in a manuscript Life of St. Ethelwold, in which it is stated that "Canutus, having spoiled the monastery of Cerne, took to the haven and sailed to Branksea . . . which is two miles from Poole, having on it no buildings save a chapel only."

The son and heir of the first Norman Lord of the Manor of Cheneford, Walter by name, founded the Priory of Bradenstoke in Wiltshire in 1142 for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, who

enjoyed a claim granted by him on his Dorset estate. He was succeeded by his son Patrick, who is said to have been made Earl of Salisbury by the Empress Maud, though it does not appear by what right she conferred the title, for although she was the daughter of one king of England and the mother of another, she was never queen of the country. The Manor descended from Patrick to William, generally called of Salisbury, who married Lady Eleanor de Vitrei, and on his death left all his estates to his only child, a lovely girl of seven called Ela, who thus became one of the richest heiresses in England, and was, it is recorded, accepted as Countess of Salisbury in her own right. Before her father's will could be proved, however, the little maiden mysteriously disappeared, and it was not until three years later that she was found by the English knight Sir William Talbot, who discovered that she had been taken to her father's ancestral home in Normandy. Disguised as a troubadour Sir William obtained access to the castle and managed to carry off the lady Ela, whom he brought safely to the court of King Richard, who promptly constituted himself her guardian. At this point of the romantic story her rescuer disappears as suddenly as she herself had done three years before, her chivalrous escort having received no reward for undertaking an enterprise in which he had risked his life.

Though Ela was even now but eleven years old, her new protector lost no time in choosing a mate for her, selecting his own step-brother William Longespée or Longsword, the son of Henry II, and the fair Rosamond Clifford. William thus became titular Earl of Salisbury, Lord of the Manor of Canford, and owner of all the rest of the vast possessions of his child-bride. Moreover, in addition to this he held on her behalf the shrievalty of Wiltshire, an office in virtue of which Ela received every year not only a large sum of money but a considerable tribute in kind, including 130 hogs, 2 bushels and 16 gallons of wheat, the same quantity of barley, 480 hens, 1,600 eggs, 100 cheeses, 52 lambs, and 140 fleeces of wool, a list very significant of the customs of the time at which it was drawn up.

Fortunately for Ela her husband seems to have won her heart as well as her wealth, for though little is known of her private life, that little proves her to have been absolutely devoted to him. She bore him four sons and four daughters, all of whom probably first saw the light in the old Manor House of Cheneford, where she resided during the Earl's frequent absences in the

Holy Land and on the Continent, and in which seven centuries later Thomas Hardy laid the earlier scenes of his gruesome tale of "Barbara of the House of Grebe," the second of his "Group of Noble Dames." A bold warrior, delighting in fighting for its own sake, William Longespée was in the thick of all the wars and political struggles of his time. He was deeply attached to his royal brother, whose death was a great grief to him, and though the crafty policy of John was abhorrent to his high souled nature, he remained true to him until the landing in 1216 of the French Dauphin Louis, when his allegiance for the first time faltered. He was present at the signing of Magna Carta, and was one of the witnesses to it, a fact on which he evidently prided himself, for he had a copy made of the important document which is preserved in the cathedral of Salisbury. After the death of King John, the titular Earl of Salisbury became the staunch friend and protector of the young King Henry III, during whose long minority he was constantly at court. In 1220 he and his wife were together at Salisbury, where they took part in the foundation of the new cathedral, a very interesting account of which, by the then Precentor of the see, William de Wanda, is amongst the treasures of the Library, and deserves quotation here on account of its vivid description of one of the very few public functions at which the Lady of the Manor of Canford is known to have been present:

On the day appointed for the purpose [says De Wanda], the Bishop came with great devotion; few earls and barons of the country, but a great multitude of the common people coming from all parts: and when divine service had been performed and the Holy Spirit invoked, the said Bishop putting off his shoes, went in procession with the clergy of the church to the place of foundation singing the Litany, then the litany being ended and a sermon . . . the bishop laid the first stone for our Lord the Pope Honorius, and the second for the Lord Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church at that time with our Lord the King in the Marches of Wales; then he added to the new fabric a stone for himself; William Longespée, Earl of Sarum, who was then present, laid the fourth stone, and Elaide Vitri, Countess of Sarum, the wife of the said Earl, a woman truly pious and worthy, because she was filled with fear of the Lord, laid the fifth. After her certain noblemen, each of them added a stone, then the dean, the chantor, the chancellor, the archdeacons and canons of the church of Sarum did the same amidst the acclamations of multitudes of the people weeping for joy and contributing thereto their alms according to the ability which God had given them.

Soon after this interesting ceremony, William Longespée went to Gascony, taking with him Richard, brother of Henry III, in order that, to quote the words of an old chronicler, "the young prince might flesh his maiden sword under the gallant warrior's eye." William Longespée was away for two years, and for some months before his return home no news was received from him, with the result that it was taken for granted that he was dead. As a matter of course his supposed widow was at once overwhelmed with suitors eager to gain possession of her wealth, but she turned a deaf ear to them all, declaring that she knew her husband was still alive, and that if not she would never marry again. Amongst the most persistent of these suitors was a certain Reimund, a nephew of the famous Hubert de Burgh who figures in Shakespeare's "King John," and was, as is well known, high in the favour of Henry III. Hubert vigorously espoused the cause of Reimund, and won the consent of the King to his marriage with Ela, but the Lady of the Manor of Cheneford replied to all solicitations that "she would yet see the Earl's ship come into the harbour of Poole, and her husband standing on the deck watching for her to bid him welcome." She was right, for he did return early in January 1226, after having been three months at sea in a succession of violent storms, and it is related that he was very indignant when his wife told him of the persecution to which she had been subjected by Hubert de Burgh. It so happened that Henry III and his favourite were then at Salisbury, having gone there to be present at the first service in the cathedral, the foundation stones of which had been laid six years before. Thither, therefore, the newly returned Earl also repaired to be received, says the manuscript already quoted from, "with great joy," and to take part in a procession to the new fabric. Whether Ela went with him is not stated, but it seems certain that he quarrelled whilst at Salisbury with Hubert de Burgh, who determined to be revenged on him at the first opportunity. The story goes that his enemy pretended to be reconciled with him, and on 7th March of the same year invited him to a banquet at the Castle of Sarum, or according to another account at Marlborough, to which the Earl went with a happy heart, all unsuspecting of any evil being intended. Immediately after this banquet he was taken ill, the symptoms leading to a suspicion that he had been poisoned, and he died the next day before his wife could reach him. He was buried at once, apparently without any inquiry having been made into the cause of his death, in the cathedral of

Salisbury, Matthew Paris relating that at the funeral in spite of the fact that a storm of wind and rain was raging, the candles borne in the procession were not extinguished.

The grief of Ela at the death of her husband so soon after their reunion may be imagined, but though her heart was broken she continued for some time to perform all the duties incumbent on her as Lady of the Manor of Canford and Sheriff of Wiltshire. When, however, she was assured that her eldest son William would be a worthy representative of her, she became a nun, taking her vows on Christmas Day 1238. She founded the Priory of Hinton and the Abbey of Lacock, ruling over the latter as Abbess for many years, but shortly before her death, which took place in 1261, she resigned her position and lived in the strictest seclusion until the end. She never lost touch with her children and grandchildren, who turned to her in all their joys and sorrows, and many of whom she survived.

The second William Longespée appears to have been a special favourite of his mother, who when he came of age sanctioned his applying to the King for the right to assume his father's title of Earl of Salisbury, and to enjoy all the privileges of Lord of the Manor of Canford. His request was refused on the ground that the granting of it would be an infringement of the feudal law of the land, the Countess being still alive, and it was as a plain Esquire that he went to the Holy Land soon after his marriage to Idonea, daughter of Richard de Camvile. He distinguished himself considerably in his first crusade, and was knighted in 1233, but he continued to hanker after the higher honour, and in 1247 he went to Rome to try to persuade Pope Gregory IX to use his influence on his behalf. Matthew Paris in his "Historia Anglorum," dwells much on the eloquence and prowess of the young knight, describing minutely the interview with His Holiness when Sir William, pointing to the cross upon his mantle, pleaded:

I am signed with the cross and am about to go on the expedition to the Holy Land with the King of France, I bear a great and noble name William Longespée, but my fortune is small because my lord the King of England, though he is my kinsman, has taken away from me the title of Earl with its estates.

The Latin chronicler goes on to say that the Pope was so taken with Longespée that, whilst refusing his actual request, he granted him "a broad thong out of another man's hide," that

is to say, he gave him a share of the privileges enjoyed by the Earl of Lancaster. Exactly what those privileges were is not specified, but Sir William had to be content with them and returned home to prepare for his second crusade. It is supposed by some authorities to have been then that he granted, with the consent of his mother, without which any action in the matter would have been invalid, the famous first charter to the people of Poole, which was not only a confirmation of the rights inherited by them from early Saxon times, including that of cutting heath, furze, and turf, and pasturing their cattle on Canford Common without interference from any hayward, but also the foundation of all the privileges bestowed on them by later Lords of the Manor.

This most valuable document, one of the first in which Poole, then known as Le Pole or Pola, is mentioned, which, strange to say is undated, though collateral evidence proves it to have been penned between 1248 and 1261, is preserved amongst the archives of the town and deserves quotation at length, so significant is it of feudal relations at the time of its issue and of the position then occupied by the ancient port:

Know all persons present and those to come, that I William Longespée have given and granted and by this my present writing have confirmed, for me and mine heirs to my burgesses de Pola and their heirs all liberties free customs and acquittances as well of their bodies as their chattels from toll and all other customs and suits coming out of my borough of Pola to me or my heirs appertaining, as other free citizens or burgesses of the cities or towns of our Lord the King throughout all England in all lands belonging to me or my predecessors or heirs throughout all my lands, upon the land, sea, ports and passages, saving to me and mine heirs out of every ship sailing over the seas to foreign parts 2^d. I grant also to the same burgesses for me and for mine heirs, that they may choose out of themselves as often as need shall require for the government of my said town of Pola six burgesses wherof I and mine heirs for the time being or as we shall please shall appoint one to be our præpositus [reeve] who shall swear to preserve the said rights of us and our burgesses upon his oath, which if it shall later be found that he is not diligent in looking after our rights we shall have him removed and put away and another substituted in his place. I and mine heirs moreover shall appoint a bedel by our will in the said town who after his oath taken before our bailiffs and burgesses shall swear that he present faithfully and without any delay to the præpositus of the said town or our bailiffs if they shall be present, all attachments respecting the rights of me and mine heirs whereby our advantage may in any way arise. Also the bailiffs of me and mine heirs shall hold and keep our pleas six times

a year in our said town for the breach of measures and assises and all other things to us of right appertaining, (that is to say) on the morrow after the Circumcision, eight days after the Purification of the Blessed Mary, the morrow after the Annunciation of the same, the next Saturday after Hockday (the second Tuesday after Easter) the Wednesday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and three days before St. Peter which is called Ad Vincula and if it happen at any of the said times or whilst the pleas are so holden within the said town according to the custom of the boroughs and towns of Our Lord the King, that the said pleas by our said bailiffs shall be presented and brought to judgment the amerciaments arising therefrom shall be taken by our said bailiffs for our use according to the offence. Moreover if it should so happen that any of our said burgesses at the time of our courts so holden through the hinderance of the sea be away, our said bailiffs shall by no means impute to them any default, but on their return if any open pleas have in the meantime arisen against them they shall be compelled to appear according to the aforesaid custom. Furthermore when any foreign or stranger merchants whoever they may be shall come and resort to our said town of Pola and wish to return with expedition and if in that time they have committed any default our said præpositus and burgesses may amend it. I will for me and mine heirs if our bailiffs be absent that it may be redressed by our said faithful præpositus and burgesses and the profits thereof they shall repay to the said bailiffs and the said merchants may freely and quietly depart, saving that for me and mine heirs of every vessel of foreign corn brought to be sold one bushel by the mesure of the same shall be reserved for the bettering of my coast at Canford. If the King, whosoever he be according to the custom of his cities and towns doth take tollage of them so shall it also be lawful for me and mine heirs to take tollage of my said burgesses. I will also for me and mine heirs that the said burgesses shall have good and peaceful pasturage for their cattle on my heath as they have always been accustomed to have and also the fuel necessary for their firing from mine heaths and turbaries by the view of my bailiffs and for this gift and grant and the confirmation of this present charter the said burgesses have given to me by their hands three score and ten marks; whereupon I and mine heirs are held to warrant for ever the said liberties to the said burgesses and their heirs and for the more strengthening of this present I have corroborated this present writing by the affixing of my seal. These witness: the Lord Everard Theutonic, Thomas de Hyneton, Roger de Lebourna, John de Basentino, knights; Ralph de Aungiers, Thomas de Hyneton the younger, masters Walter de Salsario, Peter de Salceto, Lord Simeon Berringerio, Ralph parson of Upwimborne, Thomas Mackerel and Valentine clerks, with many others.

Having by the granting of this charter and the appointment of a representative to look after his interests during his absence

from England, satisfactorily settled his affairs at home and secured a sum of money equal to about £475 of the present coinage to aid him in meeting his expenses abroad, Sir William went to Lacock to take leave of his mother, who seems to have had a presentiment that she would never see him again. To her care he confided his wife and only child, the third William Longespée, who was all too soon to become his heir, for the gallant knight was killed in 1249 at the Siege of Mansoura. The news of his tragic fate reached England through a wandering minstrel who celebrated his powers in a quaint poem entitled, "Des Suffrances de Guillaume Longespée pris par les Saracins," preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, of which the following translation is included in the "Excerpta Historica" of 1831:

List with grief and with pity who wish to be told
 Of the good William Longespée the champion so bold.
 Who at Shrove-tide in Egypt his life-blood hath spent
 As among the great host of King Louis he went,
 At a Castle of Egypt Mansoura by name,
 Which shall never in Paynim relinquish its fame.
 For 'twas there that King Louis a captive was ta'en
 With the other brave knights who were then in his train.
 And 'twas the Comte d'Artois, Sir Robert the fierce
 Whose pride was the cause of so sad a reverse.
 With esquires and true knights many more met their fate
 So complete the disaster, the slaughter so great.
 There a host of brave men have alas found their grave
 And there fell the good knight William Longespée the brave.

Sir William Longespée was at first buried near to the scene of his death, but later his body was taken to the Church of the Holy Cross at Acon and there interred with great solemnity. His mother Ela is said to have had a vision of the reception of his soul in heaven at the moment of his passing away and to have recognized him by the device on his shield. Scarcely able to believe that the glorified knight, over whose arrival angels were rejoicing, was indeed her beloved son, she asked aloud: "Who is this for whom the gates of Paradise are opened?" and received the reply: "It is William thy son!" When the tidings actually reached her, therefore, she expressed no surprise, but falling on her knees, gave utterance to an impassioned rhapsody, crying: "Oh, Lord Jesus, I give Thee thanks that from me an unworthy sinner Thou hast willed a son to be born whom Thou

hast vouchsafed to redeem with the crown of so glorious a martyrdom. I therefore trust that by this tutelage I may the more quickly arrive at the roof of my heavenly country."

Whether Sir William's widow and son were equally resigned to his loss the chronicler of this touching episode does not mention, but it would appear that they lived together happily at Canford until in 1254 William Longespée the third married his cousin Matilda, the only child and heiress of Walter, Baron de Clifford, and grand-niece, as he was great-grandson, of the Fair Rosamond. Only three years after the wedding William was so seriously injured at a tournament held in the presence of the heir to the throne at Blyth in Northumberland that he died a few months later, leaving an infant daughter named Margaret, who, though she was but one year old at the time, was at once betrothed, with the consent of her mother and grandmother, to Henry, eldest son and heir of Edward de Lacy. The father of the future bridegroom died that same year, and the new Earl and his child-bride being both minors became wards of the King and Queen. The death in 1261 of the Countess Ela, who till she passed away was the real Lady of the Manor of Canford, considerably altered the position of the little Margaret de Lacy who was now the sole representative of the family founded by her ancestor, the first Lord of the Manor of Cheneford. Margaret's widowed mother Matilda resided in the old Manor House until 1271, when she married Lord Gifford, after which she took little or no share in the life of her daughter, who, after her union with Henry de Lacy, reigned as Lady of the Manor of Canford and Countess of Lincoln, neither she nor her husband making any attempt to secure the right to the Earldom of Salisbury.

An ancient manuscript preserved among the Poole archives refers to the Manor of Canford about the time when it came into the possession of the Earl of Lincoln in right of his wife in the following terms:

where is a capital messuage and garden cum aisimentis [*i.e.* easements or commodities enjoyed in the land of another] value 6^s 8^d. In the same are 120 acres of arable land yearly value 20^s at 2^d per acre; a separate pasture yearly value 20^s; three parks from which nullus proficiens pro feris &c. yearly value 60^s and a water mill yearly value 30^s. . . . There are freeholders who pay a rent of assize of 42^s 5^d quarterly 26 copyholders (custumarii) each of whom holds one messuage and half a virgate of land and who pays 48^s at the said term quarterly by equal portions their services valued at 8^s. Also 8 cotarii

each of whom holds one messuage cum curtillegio [*i.e.*, with a curtilage or enclosure round the house] and also pay at usual times 8^s per annum in all 100^s. At La Pole there are free burghers at the yearly rent of £8. 13^s 4^d paid at Christmas Midsummer and Michaelmas belonging to the said manor total £46 0^s 8^d.

After the deaths of the Earl and Countess of Lincoln, their vast estates were inherited by their only surviving child, a daughter named Alice, who had been married when she was but nine years old to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, a match that united two great families but had no permanent results. The Earl was executed for high treason in 1321, and though his widow was twice married after that she left no children, and with her death in 1349 the family with which Canford Manor had been so long associated became extinct, she having been the last descendant of the Countess Ela and William Longespée the first.

During the latter portion of the protracted tenancy of the Dorset property by the Longespées many incidents are referred to in contemporary records linking the history of Poole with that of the rest of England. It was one of the towns to which writs were issued by Edward I forbidding the use of the debased coins known as pollards or crockets; in 1312 an inquisition was held in which the burgesses of the seaport are referred to as holding a free borough and paying a fee farm rent of £8 13s. 4d.; in 1308 the authorities were instructed to send a vessel and a crew of forty of the best men of the port to a muster at Skruburnness, and this was the prelude to many a similar order. In 1326 a pathetic appeal was made by the unfortunate Edward II

to his trusty subjects the bailiffs and commonalty of Poole urging them to make constant and diligent search concerning all correspondence from foreign parts . . . to arrest all suspicious persons and retain them in custody until instructions should be sent as to what should be done with them.

Occasionally certain of the burgesses were honoured by being summoned to Westminster to be present at important conferences concerning the affairs of the realm, and early in the reign of Edward III an inquisition was held before the King's escheator at Poole, the report of which gives a very vivid and accurate picture of the status of the town at the time, referring as it does to it as a free borough, the burgesses of which were entitled

to tollage from every ship that entered the harbour, an imposing list of the fees to be paid being given.

One of the earliest acts of Edward III after his accession was to grant the manor of Canford—which had reverted to the Crown on the death on the scaffold of the Earl of Lancaster in 1321, and had been held for a short time by Hugh le Despenser—to John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, and his wife Joanna for their lives, with reversion to William the son and heir of the William Montacute or Montagu, whose position with regard to the manor and borough of Christchurch has already been explained in the chapters relating to them. In the deed of gift to the Earl of Surrey and also in the *Inquisitiones post mortem* it is stated that Canford was held of the king in chief by service of two knights' fees, and that the property included a hundred called Cokedene, with "quaedam Custuma" at La Pole. The latter represented a very valuable asset, though the amount brought in by them was greatly reduced in 1348 and 1349, when Poole shared with the rest of the south of England the devastation wrought by the Black Death, which swept through the whole of Dorset, vessels full of the dead with no hand to steer them having, it is related, drifted along the coast, whilst many hundreds died at Melcombe Regis, Bridport, Dorchester, Blandford, Wimborne, Wareham, and Poole. It was during the first visitation of the awful scourge that the wife of the Earl of Warren and Surrey was divorced, but she was allowed to hold the Manor of Canford until her death in 1362. Her tenancy of it was marked by the fact that in 1353 Poole was for the first time represented in Parliament, it having sent up two members to Westminster in that year, so that it may justly be claimed that the seaport took part in the legislation necessitated by the change which had then begun to take place in the relations between feudal lords and their tenants, through the extraordinary reduction of the population by the Black Death.

It was to the son of the William Montacute, mentioned in the royal deed referred to above, who had been made Earl of Salisbury in 1337, that Canford and Poole passed after the Lady of the Manor's death. The new Lord was a man of very considerable note who had fought at Crécy and at Poitiers, and was one of the King's most trusted nobles. From the first he took a great interest in his town of Le Pole as he called it, and in 1371 he granted to it a charter confirming all the privileges conferred by William Longespée, summing them

up with others that he added to them in the following quaint terms. He

grants that the satisfaction for breaking the assize of bread and ale and ameracements for defeat of measures, reserved by William Longespée to him and his heirs shall for a fine of half a mark for holding his court on the morrow of the circumcision and for a fine of one shilling and sixpence for holding the fine of other courts yearly, remain for ever to the burgesses; nevertheless any injury &c. complained of or presented concerning the premises shall be redressed and punished by his stewards . . . he grants liberty to his burgesses, to dig turf, cut heath and furze for firing on his great heath in the common of Canford and Le Pole as anciently accustomed.

Moreover, he declares that "henceforth the præpositus or Port Reeve shall be stiled his Mayor as in other boroughs, and have the government of the borough as has been accustomed," a significant concession, for it was the first step towards the incorporation of the ancient seaport, but he adds the equally significant rider that "the ameracements forfeitures &c issuing from his office should be reserved to the Lord of the Manor and his heirs."

William Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury, died without issue, and the Dorset property passed to his nephew John, the third Earl, who espoused the cause of Richard II, and when that unfortunate monarch was deposed, was imprisoned on a charge of treason. He was pardoned for this first offence, but he was drawn into a plot against Henry IV in 1405, and was executed at Cirencester in January of that year, leaving a very troubled heritage to his son Thomas, then only twelve years old, who, though his career opened so tragically, was to take his share in some of the most stirring events of his time, and to win back the greater part of his father's vast possessions, including the Manor of Canford.

During the minority of the young heir to the property in Dorset, Poole suffered many things at the hands of the French, and was burnt by the famous seaman John de Vienne, who, in command of a number of vessels, spread terror along the whole of the southern coast of England, and for many years after the withdrawal of his force there were constant rumours of the approach of hostile craft. The people of the ancient seaport, however, were not slow in making reprisals, and in the early years of the fifteenth century a certain Harry Page, whose name the French and Spanish converted into Arripay, became celebrated for the boldness with which he attacked the foreign ships that ventured into

the Channel, which he was in the habit of patrolling with three or four well armed vessels, returning home on one occasion with no less than one hundred prizes, which he had captured off the French coast. He became the hero of his fellow townsmen, and his high-handed proceedings appear to have been condoned by the authorities, for he was for some little time in command, in conjunction with Lord Berkeley, of the fleet belonging to the Cinque Ports. Fact and fiction are, however, so closely interwoven in the accounts of his career that it is impossible to separate them. Some writers speak of him as a generous high-souled hero of romance, others condemn him as an unprincipled pirate who brought a terrible doom upon himself by his reckless misdeeds, which included sacrilege, for he carried off from Finistère a famous miracle-working crucifix after burning the church in which it was enshrined. In the end the French and Spanish appear to have combined to bring about his undoing, no less than forty ships suddenly bearing down upon Poole. A strong force was landed, and though the inhabitants under the leadership of Page beat off their assailants, the town suffered considerably. What became of the cause of all the trouble is not related, but his brother and a good many citizens were killed, and it was not until a considerable time after the attack that Poole recovered from the adventure.

Thomas, fourth Earl of Salisbury, was rarely at Canford, the greater part of his life having been spent in France, where he greatly distinguished himself as a brave and chivalrous leader in the fierce struggle then going on. Fortunately perhaps for him he was so seriously wounded in the earlier portion of the siege of Orleans that he died in November 1428, thus escaping any share in the disgraceful treatment of Joan of Arc after she was taken prisoner. The Earl had been twice married, but he left no son, and after the death of his second wife, who had held a third portion of the Manor of Canford, the other two having been given to her brother-in-law Richard Montacute for his life, the whole estate was restored to Alice, the daughter of the late Lord, who had married during her father's lifetime Nevile, son of Ralph Nevile, the first Earl of Northumberland. When the Countess Alice in her turn passed away leaving no son, Canford Manor once more reverted to the Crown, and during the next two centuries it changed hands constantly, the successive occupants of the throne bestowing it now on one now on another favourite as a reward for services.

Henry VI, who had already given to Poole the privilege of holding a market on Mondays and two annual fairs, now issued letters patent granting to the burgesses the right to fortify the town. The chief defences raised after this privilege was secured were a massive wall and an embattled gateway that remained standing until they were destroyed by order of Charles II. The ancient wall, of which a fragment can still be seen in St. Clement's Alley near the quay, was of later origin, having been built in the reign of Richard III. Henry VI, who seems to have had a special predilection for the Dorset seaport, also transferred certain privileges long enjoyed by Melcombe—a town which was eventually to be absorbed by Weymouth—to Poole, which was at the same time raised to the dignity of a Port of the Staple, that is to say one licensed to import and export certain goods including wool and leather, and to hold a court presided over by an official known as the Mayor of the Staple. Such courts no longer exist, but the seal, which was used in that of Poole bearing the inscription "Sigill: Stapulæ de Pole," is still preserved.

Six years after this important event in the history of the town of Poole, writs were issued to the Mayor and bailiffs of it, and other "cities villes and portes du Mer" to subject all foreign merchants to the inspection of certain officers called "hostes and surveours," who were to keep a register of all they bought or sold, and to take twopence in the pound of them on all transactions. A little later further writs were received ordering the authorities to "check the peculations of officers out of the wages and food of the troopes which led the soldiers to commit robbery and caused a long continuance of the werre," a rider significant of the corruption of the time at which it was penned.

In 1439 the fortunes of the Manor of Canford were yet more closely linked with those of the rest of England, the King having bestowed it on the famous Henry of Beaufort, a natural son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, with descent on his death to his heirs and assigns. Legitimatized after the marriage of his parents in 1396, when he was nineteen years old, Henry—who figures in Shakespeare's "Henry VI" as a clever but unscrupulous plotter—played a very important part at the court of his nephew Henry V, under whom he was more than once Chancellor of England. He was made a bishop when he was only twenty-one, and a cardinal shortly afterwards.

Though he was seldom at Canford Manor, Henry of Beaufort took a great interest in Poole, spending some of his vast wealth

on its improvement, and on his death in 1447 he left the estate to his cousin John, Duke of Somerset, a grandson of John of Gaunt, from whom, he having left no children, it passed to his brother Edmund, Earl of Moreton, who had been made Marquis of Dorset in 1443. Whilst the latter held the property, Henry VI gave to Poole yet another charter, in which he referred to it as "the only port in the county of Dorset," proving that Melcombe had by this time quite lost the position it had once held. This charter was dated 1453, and in it occurs the following sentence relating to the fairs that were held in the port:

It was also granted that the mayor bailiffs, burgesses and inhabitants, their heirs and successors may hold all manner of pleas for trespasses and bargains and other matters arising during the said fairs in the court of the said mayor, bailiffs, burgesses and inhabitants before the mayor and bailiffs, so that no justice, escheator, sheriff, steward, marshal, coroner, clerk of the market, or other bailiff or minister of the King, should interfere and that all persons resorting to the said fairs, in coming there, tarrying or returning therefrom, should be free from all arrests and disturbances of the said officers.

A year after the issue of this charter Poole was included amongst the towns ordered to furnish a loan to the King on the security of the customs, the amount being assessed at £40, but there is no actual record of its having been paid.

In 1455 the Duke of Somerset, who had taken part in the Wars of the Roses on the Lancastrian side, was killed at the battle of St. Albans, the Manor of Canford passing to his son Henry, then only nineteen years old, who nine years later laid down his life at Hexham for the same cause. One of the results of this tragedy was that the Dorset property reverted once more to the Crown, to be given in 1465 by Edward IV to his brother the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, who was then in high favour but was soon to fall into disgrace, and in 1478 to meet his fate in the Tower of London. He had bequeathed the Manor and all its appurtenances to his young son Edward, who was summoned to court by his royal uncle and allowed to take the title of Earl of Warwick in succession to his grandfather the King-maker, who had been killed at Barnet in 1471. The young Lord of the Manor was, however, never to enjoy his property, for as is well known he was kept a close prisoner throughout the reigns of Edward V and Richard III, to fall a victim in 1499 to the fears of Henry VII, who caused him to be beheaded in the Tower in which he had passed the greater part of his sad life.

Little was heard of Canford or of Poole outside the limits of the Manor for some few years after the death of the Duke of Clarence, but it is recorded that in 1482 "of the custume and subsidie in the Port of Pole by the hands of the collectors and custumers of the same for the time being a hundred pounds were apportioned towards the expenses of the Royal Household," considerably more than the amount of the contribution exacted in 1454 and therefore an incidental proof that the prosperity of the port had increased, not diminished, during the long interval between the two dates.

Shortly before his death Edward IV granted the tolls and "parva custuma" of Poole, which, as has been seen, were considerable, to a certain John Danby, who appears to have enjoyed them for the whole of the interregnum between the imprisonment of the young Duke of Warwick and the accession of Henry VII. However that may have been, the sea-port came into prominent notice again in 1483, it having been chosen by the Earl of Richmond as his landing-place in accordance with an agreement made by him with his fellow-conspirator, the Duke of Buckingham. As a direct descendant of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, the future king would, but for the tragic events which gave the property back to the Crown, have been the hereditary Lord of the Manor of Canford and for that reason he expected to be eagerly welcomed by the men of Poole. Unfortunately for him, however, his arrival had been delayed by a storm, and his vessel did not come in sight of the coast until after the defeat and death of the rebel Duke. As the Earl approached the land he saw a great concourse of armed men assembled on the shore and jumped to the conclusion that Buckingham himself had come to meet him after a decisive victory. He sent a messenger to make inquiries and received from him so dubious an account that he suspected treachery, and to quote the words of Holinshed: "he at once weighed anchor halsed up his sails and having a prosperous and streinable wind . . . sent over by God to deliver him from that peril, arrived safe in Normandy." Others relate that he met so awful a storm in the Channel that he narrowly escaped with his life; but the tide was soon to turn in his favour, and, two years later, he was firmly established on the throne as Henry VII. Very soon after this he gave the Manor of Canford for her life to his mother the Countess of Richmond, who held it for nearly a quarter of a century, passing away in 1509, the year of the death of her son and the coronation of her grandson, Henry VIII.

The latter kept possession of the property for twenty-two years, giving many a proof of the interest he took in the prosperity of Poole. In 1511 he gave the town a charter confirming all the old privileges granted by the first Lord of the Manor of Canford, and in 1521 he issued an order with his sign manual, giving the burgesses permission, "as they were destitute of wood for their necessary fuel in their own district to take it out of his counties of Southampton and Sussex."

In 1526 a mandate was given by Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, then Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, under Henry, Duke of Richmond, Lord High Admiral of England, exempting "the Mayor brethren, burgesses and inhabitants" of the Dorset sea-port from all jurisdiction of the Admiralty and empowering them to hold a court of their own to try any cases affecting vessels putting into or leaving the port, a much valued privilege which was retained until it was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1832. The court, which was presided over by the Mayor as Admiral, was held once a year, sometimes on the quay and sometimes at an outlying place called Bromehill, and as stated in one of a series of interesting records of its proceedings preserved amongst the town archives:

a jury was empanelled to enquire concerning all offences within its jurisdiction, viz. concerning felony in the port, or on the sea, on ships, &c of pirates, of all ships that may be found wayffe on the high sea or in the port; what is found on the sea-flats, any tun of wine, oil &c, anything found at the bottom of the sea, anchors, gold &c of murder on any ships &c of any dead body found,—of strays—of such as buy and receive stolen goods—of such as have dragged oysters or muscles from Holy Rood day in May to Holy Rood day in September—of such as take brood or fry of oysters or muscles; of regraters or forestallers of fish or fowl, of such as use unlawful nets, of such as fish or suffer an engine to lie in the sea to take fish on Sundays; of such as have not brought fish to market at a lawful hour and staid there according to the old order—of clearing the channel from soil—of regulating ballasting and unballasting of ships—how long any vessel should lay at the Key, after her lading is discharged and where the beacons ought to be placed &c.

a truly comprehensive summary, proving how varied were the activities of the men of Poole at the time it was drawn up.

The Corporation of Poole owns a most valuable volume with the following title:

The booke of the admyrall courts kept and holden w'thin the toune of Poole, being kept alwayes by the Mayor of Poole for the tyme being,

who is and ever hath byne admyrable wthin the same toun and the libertyes therof tyme owt of mynde. The usuall places for the keepinge of the sayd admyralls court hath byn alwayes usyd tyme owt of memory of man some tymes upon the keye and some tymes over the passage nere to a place called Broomehille.

Amongst many interesting entries in this book, which is apparently the second of a series, the first having been lost or destroyed, occurs the following statement, dated 1609:

The liberties, franchises and priviledges of this toun and poorte of Poole is knowne at this daye . . . is and begineth from a place called Shaggrogg or Shaggrocke being aboute Russell poynte, and so goeth all alonge that channell until you come to North Hauen poynte and from the North haven poynte as farre to seaward as a humber barrell maie be seene and descried in the sea.

The "North haven poynte" here referred to is one of the tongues of land forming the entrance to Poole harbour and in the perambulations which from time to time were conducted with great pomp by the Mayor as Admiral of the Port, attended by the magistrates and other notables, it was customary, as related in the same old Record book:

for the water bailiff and several jurymen to set forth in a boat and having rowed sea-wards for about three miles to where they found certain old marks and bearings to put a humber barrell¹ out of the boat and lay it floating on the water at a point from which it could be descried with the naked eye from an elevated sandbank at North Haven on which other members of the jury remained.

Extant records of various perambulations vividly reflect the manners and customs of the time when they took place. In that of 1626 an old inhabitant was called upon to swear exactly where "a certayne spring of water which gave its name to Atte-Well had once gushed forth," and in that of 1632 one of those who took part in it tells how, "having landed at the great key, we presently troop'd upp our colours and company and soe went to church and gave glory to the Lord." The perambulation of 1667 was made the occasion of an earnest protest against certain illegal encroachments on lands belonging to Poole, forty boats proceeding up the Wareham Channel to Atte-Well Lake to

¹ This was probably a barrel of the size usually made at Hull and other places on the Humber.

anchor off it, when the Mayor-Admiral read aloud the charter of the municipal liberties, after which the procession rowed down to the Poole Stakes, and the whole party having landed there, the Mayor again read the charter setting forth the rights of the borough he represented. To impress upon the children present the significance of the proceedings witnessed by them it is further recorded that the Mayor when at North Haven

took severall little boys by the hande and being provided with severall dozzens of points smote the sayd boys on the palmes of the hands telling them that thereby they should remember the sayd bounds of Poole aforesayd and there dispersed the sayd points among them.

In 1821 a stone was set up at the spot now known as Redcliff Attwell bearing an inscription to the effect that it marked the extent of the rights and liberties of the town and county of Poole and it remained standing long after the abolition in 1830 of the local Admiralty Court and jurisdiction.

In 1531 Henry VIII gave the Manor of Canford to his natural son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, who built a blockhouse on Branksea—an incidental proof that the island had now become part of the estate—which was succeeded not long afterwards by a castle for which Poole had to supply a guard whilst the King provided arms and ammunition. This castle, with the island and the water surrounding it, were given in 1539 by Henry VIII to the Earl of Oxford, and in the later history of Poole it figures constantly, rising into considerable importance in the reign of Elizabeth, by whom it was bestowed upon Sir Christopher Hatton, who distinguished himself by the vigour with which he defended the right he claimed of exacting ferry dues and toll from ships entering the harbour, firing, for instance, in 1589 on the barque "Bountiful Gift" and killing its captain. The castle—which in the late nineteenth century was greatly improved by its then owner, Colonel Waugh, who also built the charming little church—was all but destroyed by fire in 1896, but was skilfully restored and still dominates as of old the seaward entrance to the harbour.

The Duke of Richmond died in 1536, leaving no son, and his royal father granted the Manor of Canford to Henry, Marquis of Exeter, to be held in chief by knight's service and an annual payment of £16 5s. 5½*d.* Before the Marquis had been in possession of the property for three years, however, he and the Marchioness both fell under the displeasure of Henry VIII

because they had espoused the cause of Cardinal Pole. Husband and wife were alike found guilty of high treason, but though the former was condemned to death and executed, the latter escaped with her life and the confiscation of all her estates.

A few years after this tragedy, whilst the property was still in the hands of the crown, Henry VIII gave the mayor, burgesses, and people of Poole permission to erect a windmill on the King's waste ground at the outlying Baiter and to sink a conduit at Totnam, the head to be not more than 16 ft. square. For these privileges one peppercorn a year was to be paid to the royal feudal lord, a nominal rent to emphasize the fact that the King was the owner of the property affected. The well especially was evidently much valued and kept in careful repair, for it is recorded that in 1540 payment was made to two men for digging about it, and in an ancient book of municipal accounts for 1545 occurs the entry of money set aside "towards the condyte."

Amongst the duties the burgesses of Poole had to perform in return for the various concessions made to them by the King, was that of serving a beacon at Worbarrow on the Isle of Purbeck and of watching on the adjacent coast, those actually employed being known as "noblers," who patrolled on horseback and gave the alarm when necessary, as stated in an ancient manuscript bearing date 1544 in the possession of the Corporation, in which occurs what is quaintly defined as "a list of all ther namys that of owlde have been accustomed and owght to fynd noblers to kepe the watche in the tyme of warre at the bekon callyd Werybarrowe."

Writing about the time when Henry VIII gave the windmill and the well to Poole, John Leland, who in 1533 was made King's Antiquary, gave a graphic description of the sea-port, which he visited from Wareham, that well deserves quotation here:

From Wereham to Lichet village [he says] five miles by somewhat low and morish ground such as is in Purbeck forest. There commith a smaull gut as in a fenny ground out of the haven of Pole unto the town of Lichet or I entered into it. When I rode out of Lichet there lay a way to Pole by a fery agayn Pole itself, so that by this way Pole is but two miles from Lichet. Pole is no toun of ancient occupying in merchantdise; but rather of old tyme a poor fishar village and an hamlet or member of the paroch church (i.e. of Canford). It is in *hominum memoria* much increased with fair building and use of merchandise. It standeth almost as an isle in the haven and hangith by N.E. to the

mayne land by the space of almost a flite shot. And in this place is a dyke and to it often commith throughout the haven water and here is an embatelid gate of stone to enter into the town. The length of the town liyth almost full by N. and S. The kay for the shippes standeth S.E. There is a fair town-house of stone by the kay. King Richard III began a pece of a toun waulle at one end of the kay and promised large thinges to the toun of Pole.

I can gather no otherwise but wheras of old times, shippes came sumwhat nere Wereham, up the haven and there had vent of their wares, and since shippes lost their rode there for lack of depth of water shippes kept and resortid nerer to Pole toun and so it by a litle encreased and Wereham fell clene to ruins. Howbeit Wereham was ons sore raisid in the Danes wars. There is a fair chirche in Pole. There lyith agayne the kay a point of land as a causey, after the fashion of a brode Swerd with a sharp poynte. The poynte is agayn towarde the toun and the brode parte hangynge up to the land, and by this causey men cum from Lichet to the fery. The water of Pole Haven gusith in on both side of this causey or point of ground. If a man should round about cumpace the water within the mouth of Pole Haven it wold streach welle toward twenty miles. There be men alive that saw almost all the town of Pole kyverid with segge and rishis.

Early in 1551 Edward VI gave the evidently greatly coveted Manor of Canford, with the hundred of Cokedean and what he defined as the "small customs and prisage of mines at Poole," to his uncle, the Protector Somerset, who did not live to enjoy it long. When, at the close of that fateful year, the Earl saw the toils closing around him, he is said to have contemplated withdrawing to Poole and fortifying the town, but his bitter enemy, Sir Thomas Palmer, discovered his intentions and circumvented them, as related in the Journal of Edward VI for October 1551, in which the following deeply interesting passage occurs:

Sir Thomas Palmer confessed that the gens d'armerie on the muster day should be assaulted by two thousand footmen of M^r. Vane's and my lords hundred horse besides his friends which stood by and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown he would run through London and cry Liberty Liberty, to raise the prentices and if he could he would go to the Isle of Wight or to Poole.

A further proof of the persecuted nobleman's predilection for the Dorset property is afforded by one of the fifteen questions which were prepared to be put to him in his trial having been: "With how many did you confer concerning the taking of the Isle of Wight and the fortifying of Poole?"

No chance was given to the accused Protector to provide himself with a refuge, for, as is well known, the Earl of Warwick so poisoned the young King's mind against him that he was condemned to death and executed in January 1552. The following year Queen Mary gave to her trusted friend Gertrude, the widowed Marchioness of Exeter, a number of manors for what she defined as "the better maintenance and sustentation of her estate and degree," including two-thirds of that of Canford with Poole, the so-called Great and Little Parks and certain outlying lands that had been previously owned by the Earl of Richmond, the money value of the whole amounting to more than £60 per annum. The marchioness was to hold the property *in capite* by the payment of one-twentieth part of a knight's fee, and was permitted to leave it to whomsoever she would. She chose her near kinsman, James, Lord Mountjoy, who has already been referred to in the chapter on the Life Story of Bournemouth as having held a patent for making alum, and other privileges connected with the mineral wealth of the then unoccupied site of the now popular health resort.

In her will dated 1557, the year before her death, the Lady of the Manor of Canford bequeathed her Dorset property to Lord Mountjoy on the condition, to quote her own words, that:

if she should appoint a priest to pray for her soul in the church of Canford and six poor men or women to pray for her soul and all Christian souls within it he would carry out her wishes.

She also instructed her heir to erect six houses for the said six poor men or women, and stipulated that he and his successors should pay 40s. a year to the priest and £4 13s. 4d. to the poor men or women for keeping their homes in repair and for their maintenance. All these wishes were duly respected by Lord Mountjoy, who, however, had the almshouses, which are still standing, erected not on Canford Manor, but near the entrance to the town of Wimborne beneath the shadow of the Minster of which, the testatrix is buried. The recipients of the bounty were however, chosen by the holders of the Canford property, the ancient dwellings remaining to this day a link with the olden time when the feudal lord was a power in the land, looked up to with reverence by all the people living on his estate.

The anguish of Queen Mary in the last sad years of her tragic life, when she had given up all hope of winning her husband's love or of becoming a mother, is reflected in an appeal addressed

in the same year as that in which her *protégée* made the will quoted above, to:

Our lovyng frynds the Maior and his brethern of our towne of Pole: After our ryghte harty comendacions [says the harassed Queen] all be hyt we dowght not but you knowing that the enemy practisyth by all wayes & menes the anoyauce and hurt of all the quenes ma^{tes} good subjects, specially upp^o the sea costs, will forese & have vigilant eye to the securtie & defense of your selves & that towne, yet have we thought good too put yow in remembrans thereof & therewyth to requier yowr assemblyng yowrselves together to call such others before yow as be resyant and dwellyng wthin the p^rsyncts of your lyberteis, and to tak order for the keypyng, mannyng and strengthening of your fort and towne ther as may best seme for the defense of the same & your selves, and such as shalbe obstynat and refuse (as we thynke ther wilbe none) to be contributors ther vnto resonably for his porcion we will yow to s^tefy us thereof ande so bynde them in obligacion to aper before us to aunser the same. This fare ye well. From the corte the second of M^ch 2^o 1557.—Signed by Winchester, T. Sussex, Pembroke, Anthony Montagve, F. Clynton, Edward Hastings, T. Darcy, Rutland.

The Marchioness of Exeter died in 1558, and all her instructions with regard to her Dorset property were duly carried out by her successor, Lord Mountjoy. The third portion of the Manor of Canford referred to above as having been withheld from her passed on her death, with the consent of Queen Mary, to her nephew, Sir John Bicker, and it was not until many years later, that is to say in 1611, that the residue was once more connected with the original estate, it having been bought from the heirs of Sir John by the then owner of the other two-thirds, Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon.

During the interval between 1558 and 1611 a great difference took place in the position of Poole, and, as a result, in that of the Manor of Canford, as well as in the value of both, through the granting to the seaport by Queen Elizabeth in 1568 of a charter raising it to the dignity of a corporate county, and separating it from Dorset. This charter, which is preserved amongst the town archives, is a most important document and the giving of it was very vigorously opposed by Lord Mountjoy who justly feared that it would interfere with his privileges, and he was little comforted when Her Majesty assured him that it would not. He insisted in season and out of season that a clause protecting his interests should be inserted and did not cease from his importunity till he had succeeded in securing a bond from William

Newman, William Constantyne and William Grene, leading merchants of Poole, in the sum of £50 with a condition that

if by the charter there be any breach of the liberties, privileges, customs and usages of the Lord of the Manor of Canford and Poole they on behalf of the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses and commonalty will make such compensation as the judges of assize shall certify, also that his Lordship shall enjoy all privileges of buying and selling within the Town.

The Queen appears to have considered the question of granting a new charter to Poole in the very year of her accession, for it is recorded that in 1558 Richard Thomson, town clerk of the sea-port, was paid 3*s.* 4*d.*, with 1*s.* for his man's horse on account of a journey he took to Southampton on behalf of the Mayor and burgesses to examine the charter of that old-established borough, with a view to being able to judge to what extent the one they hoped to secure would tally with it. The result of the report of their envoy was to make the authorities of Poole ready to pay a considerable sum for a similar document, and there appears to have been no grumbling even when the amount was assessed at what was then the very high figure of £173 12*s.* 3*d.*

The Charter of Queen Elizabeth is far too long and too full of repetitions to be quoted at length but its chief contents are as follows: It confirms all previous grants and patents concerning markets, fairs, the port, etc., sets forth that Poole was an ancient and populous town, gives to it the right to nominate its own Mayor from amongst its burgesses, one of whom it adds may also be chosen by the Lord of the Manor as his reeve. It declares that the sea-port shall henceforth and for ever remain a free town, adding that its corporation was to consist of a mayor, two bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty, with power to plead and to be impleaded, and to purchase lands in the town and precincts. The Mayor should be elected every year on the Friday after St. Matthias Day and be not only the chief municipal officer but Admiral within the Liberties, Mayor of the Staple, and escheator, with power to appoint a clerk of the market, and on sufficient cause shown to remove the two bailiffs and elect others. He was also yearly to nominate brokers for merchandise, carmen, watermen, and porters in the same way as the Mayor of Southampton. The town and precincts were to be styled the County of the Town of Poole, and once a year, on the same Friday as that specified above, a sheriff was to be elected from amongst the common burgesses whose name the mayor was to certify to the

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THE QUAY, POOLE HARBOUR





barons of the Exchequer under his seal of office. The coat of arms on this seal, still that of Poole, is described in old records as "a Barry of eight, sable and vert, over all a dolphin naiant argent, with besides three escallops of the first," the scallop shell having been introduced because it is one of the symbols of St. James, the patron saint of Poole. The more modern crest of the municipality is equally appropriate, a mermaid with long mane-like hair holding an anchor in her right hand, typical of the maritime importance of the town at the time of its adoption.

More valuable than any of the other privileges enumerated above as granted by Elizabeth to Poole was that of holding separate courts instead of depending for the administration of justice on that of the Manor.

The Mayor [it is stated in the charter] may hold a monthly Court on a Monday, all writs to be directed to him and no other sheriffs or bailiffs to exercise office. The Mayor and senior burgesses are to hold the Queen's Court in the Guildhall every Thursday for pleas of debts &c as in the town of Southampton; the Mayor is to appoint the assize of bread wine &c; he and one skilled in law [answering to the modern recorder] and four burgesses are to be yearly chosen on the Friday aforesaid justices of the peace and no justice of the county is to be allowed to act in the town.

Scarcely less important than these legal facilities were those connected with the control of funds, the Mayor having been given towards the charges of the town, the so-called "view of frankpledge" already explained in connection with the Manor of Christchurch, with various fines, forfeitures, etc. It was further enacted that none of the citizens of Poole were to be empanelled on any jury at the assizes; they were to have their own guild or fraternity, to be free from all tolls by land or by sea, except that of 2s. to be paid on every ship sailing to foreign parts, and from the taxes known as murage, pannage, and keyage.

Henceforth, Poole had its own separate Court Leet, but for a considerable time after the granting of the Charter of 1568 the Manor still had the right to hold one of its own, and, as was but natural, constant disputes arose between the Lord of the Manor and the Corporation, the former clinging with pathetic devotion to the privileges and rights enjoyed by his predecessors, the latter eager to profit to the utmost from the new status conferred on the town it represented. For a considerable time afterwards a few copyholders continued to do suit and service to the time-

honoured feudal lord—there were still two in Poole and two in Canford in 1836—but by slow degrees the long-established connection between the ancient manor and the rapidly-growing modern town became completely severed for all practical purposes. Of the once beautiful old Manor House on the south bank of the Stour nothing now remains but a portion of the kitchen called John of Gaunt's, in memory—though he was never there—of the first Duke of Lancaster, father of the famous Henry of Beaufort, whose connection with the Manor of Canford is explained above. Part of the ancient mansion was pulled down in 1765 and the remainder was occupied in the early nineteenth century by a branch of the nuns of the Teresan Order from Hoogstraat in Brabant, who left it in 1825, after which it was replaced by a modern Hall in the Elizabethan style, designed by William Blore and later enlarged by Sir Charles Barry. It is the seat of Lord Wimborne, the present Lord of the Manor, who retains some of the old feudal rights, including that of fishing in the Stour from Blandford to the sea, and near to it is the picturesque model village of Canford, in the nineteenth-century church of which is incorporated a portion of the ancient Norman sanctuary that once occupied its site.

Queen Elizabeth supplemented the actual Charter granted to Poole with the following eminently characteristic letter, significant of the attention to detail which was the secret of much of her success as a ruler:

To our loving freends the maior and his brettehne of the toune of Poole.

After our hartie Co'mendacions, where the quenes ma^{tie} hath bye her highnes l^{res} patent under her greate seale appointed our very good lord the L. Montioye & our very loving frend Sir Will^m Pawlet Knight to be her ma^{ty} lieutenants of the Countie of Dorset as well within liberties as without, forasmuch as we understand that you of that towne have of late obtained by l^{res} patent from her highnes to be a countie within yo^r selves; we have thought mete to signifie unto you that her ma^{ty} plesure & comandm^t is that her said lieutenants shall have the charge ordre & rule as well of the said towne as of all other places wthin the whole circuite of y^e countie, what libertie or priviledge so ever be pretended to the contrary; and therefore chargeth & comandeth you that you faile not to followe such ordre and direction as shall from tyme to tyme be prescribed unto you by them or either of them for her ma^{ty} service by virtue of their said lieutenancie during the continuance of the same, and hereof not to faile as ye tender her ma^{ty} service and yo^r dewties towards

her highnes and your countrey—So fare you well. From Windsore the vjth of December 1569.

Nine years after Poole became an independent corporation a Commission was issued by the Crown which may be said to have been prophetic of the trouble that was later to become a chronic source of worry to the authorities, the illicit trading which culminated in the eighteenth, and was not finally put an end to until near the middle of the nineteenth century. This Commission set forth, to quote the actual words of the instructions to those concerned, that:

whereas divers ill-disposed persons have of late in sundry vessels and ships frequented the seas upon the coasts of this realm, robbing and spoiling honest quiet merchants and others and the said pirates were victualled and furnished by persons residing near and within the havens, creeks or landing places of this realm receiving stolen goods of the pirates in exchange, the Mayor of Poole, William Marquis of Westminster, Viscount Howard of Bindon, Sir Henry Ashley, Sir Matthew Arundell, Sir John Horsey, Sir John Younge, the Recorder of Poole, George Trenchard and William Horsey esquires are appointed commissioners to prevent such enormities being used in the havens, creeks or landing places of the town of Poole; and are empowered for that end to choose honest discreet and trusty persons dwelling within or near every one of the said havens &c to see how the deputies perform their duties &c and to issue precepts to the sheriff to empanel juries to try offenders.

The Corporation of Poole owns amongst its archives a number of curious records of the early days of its existence, including the following quaint document, reflecting the Queen's intense hatred of the "usurped power of the byshope of Rome" and determination to maintain her own royal supremacy in matters of religion:

Yee shall owe [it says] trewe obedience to the Queen's Majestie, her heires and successors; yee shall renounce the usurped power of the byshope of Rome according to the tenor of an act of Parliament made in anno primo of Quene Elizabeth, yee shall kepe secrett the lawful counsell of the toun and the wealth and profyte thereof mayntayne to your power, yee shall obey such constitucions and orders as are or shall be decreyed for the profyte and benefyte of the same toun by the maior for the tyme beyng, hys bretherne, the assistaunce or the most parte of them and by the—

Here the manuscript breaks off abruptly, as if the writer had been suddenly interrupted.

Less important, but with a significance of their own as reflecting ancient customs, are the details given of payments made by the authorities for what are defined as "S'tin landes, tenements, closes and gardins leying within the toune of Poole and belonging to the said toune" amongst which are the following items:

The passage purchased and maintained by the towne over against the great keye, the yearly rent of the same, being one couple of capons, paid to the bailiff of the toune—Quit rent 2^d.

The great Keye porchasyd, edefyd and buylded by the towne Quit rent 2^d.

The Allmes houses within the Towne of Poole to the same belonging and holden time owte of mind Quit rent 6^d.

A little prison by the keye called Salisbury of which the quit rent is a peppercorn.

All the common ground within Poole gates as the West Butts, Great Pydwins, Little Pydwins and Bayter the Same quit rent.

A market house in the Pyllorye Street Same quit rent.

Amongst the accounts of other payments made by the Corporation are the important ones of £13 18s. 3d. to a "s'tin M^r Green for s'tin priveleges for y^e towne and for powder and shott for ye castell and ordenans and also for that I was a bogess of Parliament," and £2 10s. "for frayght of the Queen's maiesties ordenans, yt was had owte of the castell of brownsaye," both significant of the importance of the defences of Poole, whilst the fact that the town sometimes had to borrow money is proved by the entry of £3 paid to one Giles Estcourt of Sarum as half of the interest on a loan from him of £50.

In 1573 a census, still preserved amongst the town archives, was taken at Poole, giving the numbers of the inhabitants as 1,373, of whom 116 were householders and under-tenants, supplemented by a list of 116 burgesses who were "to syrve at the Castell of Brownsea." Four years after this, Queen Elizabeth sent down a Commission to the sea-port to inquire into a rumour which had reached her ears that the sea-port, to which she had shown such marked generosity was supplying provisions to pirate vessels, boats sent from them lurking about the creeks of the harbour. She ordered that "honest discreet and trusty persons should at once look into the matter and prevent a recurrence of the mischief," but it evidently continued unabated for a long period after that, the Lords of the Privy Council having

sent a party of gentlemen down in 1584 with instructions to allow no boats to go in or out of the port without due examination, whilst in 1589 the Lord High Admiral of England sternly reproved the authorities for their wilful blindness to the evil.

The value set upon and the price to be paid for the freedom of the town of Poole by those to whom it was granted are proved by various entries in the records of the Port, notably in one dated 16 March 1583, which states that

on this day William Pythe, of Weymouth . . . merchant, is made a free burgesse of this towne and Countie of Poole, who is to pay for his freedom to the Corporacion of the same towne and Countie, two hundred weight of good corne powder; and for his absence he is to pay to the Use of the said Corporacion, xx^s. per annum, until such time as he shall come to inhabite in this towne of Poole, and then shall he be discharged of the said xx^s. per yeare. And he is to give his attendaunce always on the Friday before St. Matthewes day, yerely in Poole, in the Guyldhall there, at the election of the officers for the Service of Her Ma^{tye}. And for such corne or grayne as shal be laden by him this yere, he is to pay the one moitie or half the duties thereof.

And when God shall appointe of his Mother's disceasse, he, the said William Pythe promiseth that within shorte tyme there after he will repayre hither and inhabite within this towne of Poole.

One of the last acts of the Maiden Queen was to take up the cause of the poor people of Poole, who had been defrauded of the tenth part of all the grain shipped from the port to which they were entitled by ancient prescription. She instructed the Lord High Treasurer of England to have the matter inquired into without delay, but with what result is not recorded. Another proof of the attention given in the reign of Elizabeth to the cause of those unable to look after their own interests in Poole is afforded by the following statement in the Municipal archives, dated 18 September 1601:

Mr. William Bramble, maior of this towne and countie of Poole, Mr. Richard Swayne, recorder of the same towne, and by his brethren and assistaunce, ordered, condiscended, and agreed that from thenceforth the inhabytants of this towne, whose names are hereunder written, eu^{er}ie one of them . . . shall bestow one after another daie by daie as they shallbe appointed, one meales meate towards the reliefe of the prisoner now in the gaiole, during such time as he shall remayne ther. And that the sherife shall appoint one honest poor bodie dylie to gather the same of those persons by the howses orderlie as he shall be appointed.

This quaint order is succeeded by an impressive summary of the pains and penalties which will be inflicted on anyone who fails to comply with it, and by a list of those who are to furnish the meals on specified days.

The latter portion of Lord Mountjoy's tenancy of Canford Manor appears to have been greatly troubled by the results of its separation from Poole, and he consoled himself for the realization of the fears he had expressed to the Royal owner in chief by experiments in the transmutation of metals, as well as in the exploitation of the mineral resources of his estate already referred to. It is said that he entered into relations with Sir Thomas Smith, who claimed that he could convert iron into copper, and came to Poole in the hope of being able to purchase cheaply there the materials necessary for his experiments. It is even stated that he paid £300 a year to the Lord of the Manor for the lease of some of the outlying Canford lands, but no result of any importance is recorded, and before his death Lord Mountjoy, with permission of the Queen, alienated the property in which he had ceased to take much interest, to two brothers named Charles and James Brown, who sold it to Henry, the third Earl of Huntingdon, from whom it passed, he having left no heir, to his brother George the 4th Earl. The son and heir of the latter having died before his father, Canford Manor became the property of the grandson of the 4th Earl who bought back the portion of the estate which had, as related above, been alienated by Queen Mary when she gave the remainder to the Marchioness of Exeter.

In 1610 the new Lord of the re-united Manor got into a serious dispute with the authorities of Poole concerning the rights of turbary, which had been enjoyed by the people of the estate from time immemorial. Ambitious to revive the alum and copperas works at Parkstone, inaugurated by Lord Mountjoy, he ordered large portions of the waste lands to be enclosed with a view to securing a good supply of turf, great quantities of which were required for fuel to feed his furnaces. As was to be expected this aroused strong public indignation, and the fences were no sooner put up than they were torn down by an angry mob. The Earl thereupon accused the Mayor, whose name was Maudley, and certain brewers of having instigated the outrage, and obtaining no redress from them he filed a bill in Chancery, setting forth what he considered his claim, not only to the common lands, consisting of some eight or ten thou-

sand acres, but also to the very ground on which Poole was built, declaring it to be an integral portion of his estate. The reply on the part of the respondents was, that all the land in question was held of the King's Majesty in chief, that from time out of mind the dwellers on it had been entitled to the right of turbary without stint and to free access for themselves and their cattle, etc., at all times to the common.

In the end the bill was dismissed, not because the claims set forth in it were unfounded, but because it was decided that the case was one which could be tried at common law. Lord Huntingdon, however, took no further steps in the matter and a little later he gave the greater portion of the Canford Estate to Sir John Webb, a Salisbury merchant, who had been knighted by James I in 1603. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was made a baronet by Charles I in 1644, but two years later fell under the displeasure of the King, who sequestered the whole of his Dorset property, then valued at £300 a year. It was, however, restored to Sir John's son and heir by Charles II, and remained in the Webb family for many generations, passing in 1811 to Barbara, daughter of the sole surviving child of the only daughter of the fourth Sir John Webb, who in 1814 married the Honble. Francis Spencer Ponsonby, the third son of the Earl of Bessborough, who represented Poole in Parliament in 1827, 1830, and 1831. The estate, after again changing hands more than once, eventually passed to an ancestor of the present Lord Wimborne, who is now Lord of the Manor of Canford.

During the long tenure by the Webbs of the Canford property, numerous disputes arose between them and the people of Poole. In 1739, for instance, Sir John Webb made an abortive attempt to establish a right to a portion of the foreshore belonging to the town, and to certain dues, including keyage and cellarage. He too filed a bill in chancery, only to be defeated as his predecessors Lord Mountjoy and the Earl of Huntingdon had been, the Lord High Chancellor declaring, when giving judgement against him, that

it would be a mischievous thing if people were permitted, on discovering old musty papers in their closets, to come into this Court and dispute the rights of others without showing any in themselves.

To set against this disappointment, however, Sir John Webb recovered possession of the salterns at Parkstone, which had

been appropriated by the Corporation of Poole, and were proved to be above high water-mark, thus being part of the original Manor. Encouraged by this success Sir John endeavoured to exact a toll known as chiminage, setting up every year a toll booth within the gates of the town; but in 1744 the structure was pulled down by order of the Mayor, and no further dues were obtained by the usurper of a privilege of the municipality. The feud between Manor and Town was still, however, kept up, and in 1781 the fourth Sir John Webb petitioned Parliament for leave to enclose several hundred acres of moorland near Parkstone, the Corporation at the same time setting up a counter plea. It was not until 1800 that the dispute was finally settled by an Act of Parliament which satisfied neither party, but was perforce accepted as final. One of the clauses of this Act gave to the people of Poole various tracks of woodlands in lieu of and in full compensation for their rights of common and turbary, whilst another relieved them from the payment of the customary fee-farm rents, and yet another declared that the famous well at Tatnam already referred to as granted to them by Henry VIII, should for ever remain unenclosed and unappropriated.

CHAPTER XI

POOLE FROM 1619 TO THE PRESENT DAY

BUT for the purely local disputes between the Lord of the Manor of Canford and the newly created Corporation of Poole related above, little was heard of the Dorset seaport during the reign of James I, who did not share the affection shown by his predecessor for it. The only recognition by the Government of the existence of a town which had been singled out for special favour by Elizabeth, was the issue from time to time of peremptory orders for contributions of money or ships. Thus, in February 1619 instructions were received by the Mayor to call together all merchants and owners of shipping to inquire of them how much they could contribute to the £40,000 needed to suppress piracy. In any case, it was added, £50 must be paid by them before 1 April of that same year, and their plea that this was impossible was disregarded, terrible threats being made as to what the consequences would be if it were not forthcoming. The only concession made to complainants was the inclusion of the chief traders of the town amongst those liable to take their share in the payment, and the sum was duly raised. It was but the first of many similar exactions, and Charles I was scarcely on the throne before he laid Poole under contribution, his demands being more arbitrary and unjustifiable than those of his father had been, absolutely no excuse for non-compliance being accepted. In 1626 Poole, Weymouth, and Lyme Regis were ordered to furnish ships to guard the seas; and in 1634 writs were issued to all the southern counties levying large sums towards furnishing 45 ships, that to Dorset containing the remark: "the towne and countie of Poole may well beare £60 thereof."

It was but natural that Poole, which prided itself on its independence, indignant at the constant illegal demands made upon it, should early have espoused the cause of the Parliamentary Party to which it remained true until the end of the Civil War.

In January 1642 a significant order in Session was made for

a watch to be kept in the town, one watchman, one rounder, and one gunner being appointed to stand on guard at the town gate during the day, and six watchmen and two rounders to take their place at night. In July of the same year Parliament gave leave to the Mayor and Aldermen "to arm volunteers to resist attack and to hinder the surprise of the ordnance," a privilege that was turned to immediate account, £50 having been at once spent on strengthening the fortifications of the town. The precaution was taken not a moment too soon, for three weeks later the Marquis of Hertford, then in command of the royal forces in the West of England, appeared before the gates and summoned the garrison to surrender. A Puritan writer named Vickers gives a graphic account of the episode, remarking that the Royalist general

thought no place so fit to entertain his greatnesse as Poole, where he promised to be so noble and generous as to spend 200*li* a week there, and to fortifie that town most strongly for their greater security and safeguard. But it seemed (and blessed be the Lord for it) that those old birds were not so easily to be caught with such chaffe, for the major and townsmen sent him this answer—that their towne was already very well fortified and provided with ordnance, horse, and foot to oppose any malignant whomsoever, and that therefore they need not trouble his lordship to send any forces to assist them, but if he sent any without their consent they would deny them entrance.

The Marquis withdrew without proceeding to extremities, and the next incident of importance recorded concerning Poole is that the Mayor, Henry Harbin, and the Recorder, named Constantine, with other citizens, were arrested on a charge of conspiring to betray their town to the royalists and taken to London to be tried. They were there thrown into prison by order of the Parliament and remained there for some little time, but in the end the Mayor won his freedom by sacrificing his conscience, though he lost the seat he had held in Parliament, and his property was sequestrated. What became of his fellow conspirators is not stated, nor is there any record of Harbin's return to Poole, which now began to take a very active share in the Civil War, the garrison, aided by that of Wareham, having covered itself with glory by defeating an Irish regiment under Lord Inchiquin; falling upon a Royalist convoy on its way to Weymouth, and seizing £3,000 in money, with large quantities of ammunition, and taking 100 prisoners. Three years after this exploit the sturdy defenders of Poole took part in one of the most thrilling

episodes of the fratricidal struggle, for, under the command of Sir Walter Erle, they aided in the siege of Corfe Castle. The story goes that a small party of the Poole men managed to get into the stronghold by a stratagem, pretending that they were merely engaged in a stag hunt, but the ruse was discovered by Lady Bankes, who had been left in charge by her husband, Sir John Bankes, the owner and governor of the Castle, during his absence at York with the King, and the intruders were promptly turned out. Whatever truth there may be in this tale, the chatelaine proved a very worthy representative of her lord, for she defended her home for three months, returning indignant refusals to every demand for the surrender of the guns. To quote the words of an old chronicler:

Instead of delivering them, though at the time there were but five men in the castle, yet these five assisted by the maid servants at their ladie's command did mount these pieces on their carriages and loading one of them they gave fire which small thunder so affrighted the sea-men that they all quitted the place and ran away.

Though this is evidently a very inadequate account of what happened it is very certain that Sir Walter Erle was compelled to withdraw without having effected anything, whilst the fame of the gallant conduct of Lady Bankes spread throughout the whole realm, even the enemy endorsing the honours paid to her. When in 1645 her castle was betrayed into the hands of the Parliamentarians by a traitor in the garrison during a second siege, in which the people of Poole again took part, her life and those of her faithful retainers were spared and she was allowed to keep possession of her estates.

In the autumn of the eventful 1643 Poole was besieged by Prince Maurice, but his presence being urgently required elsewhere, he was compelled to delegate the task of reducing it to the Earl of Crawford, who, according to a report presented to the House of Commons on the 29th September of that year, made an abortive attempt to achieve by stratagem what his predecessor had failed to do by force. One-sided though it is, this contemporary record of an important incident in the history of the Dorset seaport deserves quotation at length, so characteristic is it of the time at which it was issued, with its many plots and counterplots:

Captaine Francis Sydenham being quartered in Poole in the house of a malignant, who, wanting monies, and having some debts owing

him in the countrey, obtained leave for his wife to goe to Wimborne, a malignant towne, about foure miles distant, there to receive some money, and accordingly thither she went, where meeting with captaine Thomas Phillips (who dwelt not far thence), and he discoursing with her, and amongst other things required what captaines there were in Poole; and she amongst the rest coming to name captaine Francis Sydenham, captaine Phillips thereupon seemed desirous to speake with him, the woman at her returne to Poole, finding the captaine somewhat discontented and willing to hear newes and withall taking upon him the face of a malignant, and complaining to her of his losses in Ireland, and in the parliament Service, she thereupon imparted unto him captaine Phillips his desire of giving him a meeting unto which, out of a purpose to dive further into the businesse, he seemed to consent, so as it might be done with secrecy; and to contrive it the better, letters passing to and fro, a place of meeting is appointed, and herewith captaine Sydenham makes Master Bingham, the governor, privately acquainted. At this meeting (after some compliment) captaine Phillips seeming much to desire the other's good, and conceiving him to be in a wrong way, persuaded him to stand for his Majesty, whereunto captaine Sydenham seemed to give consent, so as hee might have his pardon, and the losse which he had sustained in the Parliament's Service repaired, which captaine Phillips promised to procure, so as he would be helpfull for the gaining of the town of Poole for his Majestie's Service, which as he supposed lay in his power to doe; whereunto captaine Sydenham seemed to be willing; captaine Phillips afterwards acquainted the earle of Crawford with the whole businesse, who being ready to grant what was desired, sent unto captaine Sydenham a letter under his hand and seale, promising pardon for all former delinquencies, and satisfaction, for losses in the Parliament Service, with free egresse and regresse, to effect the gaining of the town for his Majestie. Captaine Sydenham thinking to make some other advantage hereof, seemed to desire some assurance of the reality of his promises; whereupon the earle sent him forty pounds by one Melledge, a malignant minister; promising with all, that he should want no money, so as he would be constant to his Majestie and his lordship; upon this captaine Sydenham vowes and protests never to fight against his Majestie; with which protestation the earle was so well satisfied, as that they began to treat more particularly of the manner, how to betray the towne and ship in Brownsey roade, which was contrived in this manner, viz., that he should be captaine of the watch at a night appointed, his men being on the guard, and the earle then to approach the towne with some troopes of horse in the dead of the night, and that the gate should bee left open, and the earle comming in should cause a horne to be blown (as captaine Sydenham used to do for want of a trumpet when he went abroad), that so the towne and the small ships lying right against the gate might not suspect

them; and so they entering the towne and the captaine flying for safety, and crying out that he was betrayed, should presently go to the Parliament ship, and with such strength as he had with him to seize upon her.

The Earle liking the plot very well, sent the captaine an hundred pounds, promising him a Sergiant major's place (at the least) in the King's army, and the ship for his paines; dureing this treaty the earle's advise was: that the captaine, to avoyd suspition, should shew himself as advenferous as ever before, which was accordingly followed by captaine Sydenham, who tooke lieut.-col. Verney and some officers prisoners, besides divers horses and arms. The night being designed and the time about two of the clock, the captaine sent out one of his men to tell them that all things was in a readinesse, and that he expected their comming: whereupon, at the time appointed, the earle with all his horse, being eight troops, and two regiments of the marquesse of Hertford's foot, under Colonell Ashley and Colonell Griffeth, being about four hundred, which, with such foot as they could get up in the countrie, made in all five hundred, came on, the captaine sending out some to draw them along, whom the earle kindly entertained, and he comming on was welcomed crying: "All is our owne; on, on! which they hearing, rushing in upon the gate, the earle being one of the foremost; but before the gate was a halfe-moone, at the entrance of which there were chaines to be drawne up at pleasure; the earle with his horse filling the half-moone, the chaines were then drawn up and the muskets and ordnance (placed conveniently on purpose) gave fire upon those that came on, which caused all that were not slaine to throwe downe their armes and runne away. The armes which they lost, for horse and foot, were about three hundrede; in the halfe-moone were taken neer fifty horse, the riders escapeing, all but twenty which were taken prisoners; the earle himselfe escaping narrowly. Had not the great gunns been mounted too high above the ground where most of them were, there had not many of those escaped that were within shot. The number of those that were slaine is not certainly knowne; the country reports there were divers cart loads.

The services rendered by Poole to the Parliamentary cause during the last few years of the sad reign of Charles I were rewarded by various gifts of money voted for its use by the House of Commons, including on one occasion the large sum of £1,000. Soon after this very liberal donation eight pieces of ordnance were sent down for the defence of the town itself and four for that of the Castle of Brownsea, whilst an order was issued that the garrison should never number less than one hundred men. To set against these privileges Poole had to contribute its share

to the support of the forces employed elsewhere, notably £9 16s. 7d. a month towards the £600,000 required for the maintenance of the army in Ireland, with the result that the Corporation was often considerably out of pocket. In 1648, when Colonel John Rede was governor of Poole and Brownsea, a letter from him was read in the House of Commons, asking for further supplies for the garrison under his command, whilst the financial position of the town is reflected in a curious statement of accounts, dating from the years immediately preceding the execution of the King, which is preserved amongst the municipal archives. Part of this valuable relic of the most tragic period of the history of the United Kingdom relates to the cost of a journey undertaken by the Public Treasurer, Haviland Hiley by name, to London that he might, to quote the actual words of the interesting document, "attend the House of Commons and there with all his wit and wisdom sue the house for the settling of a competent subsistence for two able ministers," and in the remainder are various entries of sums paid for the "souldiers forming the garrison," and for work done and value received that illustrate well alike the arduous duties of the municipal officers and the purchasing power of money at the time when the statement was drawn up, for which reason a portion of it is quoted here:

	£	s.	d.
P ^d to mysef for 11 days jerney in getting this order for the money and for expenses with the Clarks	5	7	4
For money allowed me at the Committee of Lords and Commons for the safety of the Western Counties for money disbursed which was seventy pounds to M ^r Henry Bridges they allowed me in parte	40	0	0
For money disbursed in riding to Portsmouth	1	10	0
For a new key where the bread was put	1	0	
For 13 deales for peniles bench	15	2	
To John Trew for laths & nailles	4	8	
To John Parkins for the pownd	5	5	0
To Carpenters and labourers to set it up	6	9	
For the ironworke for the doare	8	9	
For my expenses in rideinge to the Committe to Waymouth . . . and many other places to get in money and p ^v isions in the sicknes time and for getinge the 80 li. out of the 4 hundreds in w ^{ch} I was out above 7 weeks and lost one horse at Sterne and lamed another and account for y ^e time five shillings a day	12	0	0

To this detailed statement of his own outlay, the treasurer added the following account of some of the money he received for the account of the town:

	£	s.	d.
July 30 th 1645 Imp ^s from the Parliament for the town	450	0	0
July 27 1646 Sold the pest houses by M ^r Maior's order to William Pelly for	14	0	0
And the 100 li. I did receive for the bread as fowloweth:			
July 27 1647 Received from George Fillater fifty pounds of which I paid him 50 ^s . so I had but	47	10	0
Oct ^r . 17. 1647 Received from George Fillater 25 li. payinge him 40 ^s . so I had but	23	0	0
July 30 th Received from George Fillater	10	0	0
Oct ^r . 9 th 1648 Received from George Fillater fifteen pounds out of which hee had 5 Li. for his paines and care so I had but	10	0	0

During the Commonwealth and the time of anarchy which succeeded the death of Cromwell, Poole remained true to its convictions and was always ready to aid the cause it had espoused. A Parliamentary vessel of war was constantly on guard off the quay, and amongst the many creeks and inlets of the harbour running inland to the great heath, lurked sinister craft, ever ready to turn to account the chance of plundering the Royalists. Two years after the Restoration, however, Poole was visited by an executive Commission sent down under the Act for the Regulation of Corporations, and an order was issued by its members for the destruction of the fortifications. Moreover, the authorities of the town were compelled to swear never to take up arms against the king and to renounce formally all the obligations they had undertaken in the oath known as that of the Solemn League and Covenant, it being further stipulated that none should henceforth hold any municipal office but those who had received the Lord's Supper, in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, one year before their election.

In spite of the fact that Poole had been on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War, Charles II did not hesitate to take refuge in it in 1665 from the plague then raging in London, receiving, as recorded in a somewhat fulsome account of the proceedings in the town archives, a very hearty welcome from what had become, so far as outward appearances went, a loyal city. His Majesty was on this occasion accompanied by his beloved son James, Duke of Monmouth, who won golden opinions

by his handsome presence and sociable manners. With him Charles made a tour by boat of the harbour, taking, it is said, an exact view of Brownsea, the Castle, and the Bay "to his great contentment." The year after the King's visit to Poole the great Fire of London and its terrible consequences so touched the hearts of the burgesses that they contributed a very large sum to the funds for the relief of the distress. Possibly this may have had something to do with the granting by the King in 1669 of a new charter to the Dorset seaport, confirming all the privileges given to it by Queen Elizabeth and her predecessors, with certain minor concessions of but little importance. About the same time leave was given to the town to coin its own copper money, the Corporation accounts containing a record of the stamping with the municipal arms of farthings to the value of £10. All, in fact, seems to have gone well with Poole until 1684, when Charles II made the notorious attack upon the liberties of his people by a seizure of most of the borough charters through the issue of writs of *quo warranto*, with a view, it was said, to securing a majority in Parliament in favour of the arbitrary measures he wished to become law. The liberty-loving burgesses bitterly resented this high-handed proceeding, which took away all the local rights they had so long enjoyed. They lost no time in presenting a petition for redress to his Majesty, but absolutely no result ensued, and it was not until 1688 that James II, just before his flight to France, granted to Poole a charter of complete restoration, under which it was governed until 1836, when it came, with the rest of the boroughs of the kingdom, under the new municipal system.

When in 1685 the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, great excitement was caused at Poole, the people of whom retained a very pleasant memory of the Royal Pretender, who had been amongst them with his father twenty years before. After the check he received at Frome, a rumour reached Poole that he was about to come to it, in the hope of there securing a ship in which to escape to Holland, but fortunately for the seaport this plan was abandoned, and it thus escaped sharing in the terrible vengeance taken during the Bloody Assize under Judge Jeffreys on all the towns which had espoused the cause of the Duke. An entry in the Records of the Corporation of 1685, however, quotes the following gruesome and significant order issued by the Mayor—the very one, by the way, who had presided over the banquet given to Charles II—to the constable or

tythingman of Upper Litchet, which vividly reflects the aftermath of the rebellion.

. . . Greeting on his Majestys behalfe and by virtue of authority to me granted by the right honourable George Lord Jefferyes, Lord Chief Justice of England I doe hereby will and require of you to take unto your care and custody two quarters of the severall persons this day executed within this toun and county and herewith sent you by Charles Barfoot of Sturminster-Marshall husbandman and to affix them and put them on poles or spykes in the most notable and convenient places within the said parish of Upper Litchett and thereof fail not at your perills.

The people of Poole shared the joy of those who had remained true to the Protestant faith when the accession of William and Mary in 1689 secured the final defeat of the Roman Catholic party and also the consternation caused the following year by the arrival off the southern coast of the French fleet. On 21 June seventy-eight ships of war and twenty-two fire ships were sighted from Poole and vigorous measures were taken by the authorities to repel the landing which was hourly expected. It did not take place, the hostile force having passed on to Beachy Head, where occurred a naval battle which was the first episode of a war that lasted till the signing in 1697 of the Peace of Ryswick. During this protracted struggle many gallant deeds were done by individual heroes of Poole who are still honoured, not only in local, but in national records. In 1694 a certain Peter Joliffe, cruising about in a small craft called the Sea Adventure, captured a French privateer and snatched from its grasp a Weymouth fishing boat it was carrying off, an exploit rivalled the following year by a fisherman named William Thompson, who brought into the harbour of Poole a French sloop of war with its captain and crew, all bound hand and foot. Both were rewarded by the King himself with a gold chain and medal that are still treasured by their descendants, several of whom distinguished themselves in the later wars with France.

Unfortunately, it was not only in legitimate enterprises such as those of Joliffe and Thompson that the sturdy people of Poole gave proof of their brave and dauntless spirit. Many of them took a vigorous share in the smuggling which in the early years of the eighteenth century reached such gigantic proportions, and in the practice of which all laws, human and divine, were often set at defiance. As already noted in the account of

smuggling at and near Christchurch, it was not until the nineteenth century was considerably advanced that the authorities succeeded in coping with the evil and many are the thrilling stories related of the conflicts between those engaged in the illicit trade and the revenue officers. On one occasion a Poole smuggler who had been surprised whilst superintending the landing of a cargo held the representative of the law over the cliffs, threatening to drop him till he swore not to summon assistance. Several natives of the seaport were members of the notorious Hawkhurst gang, so named after a village in Kent which they made their headquarters. Their leader, Thomas Kingsmill, hesitated at no crime that could aid him in effecting his purpose or wreaking vengeance on those who thwarted him, and for a long period he escaped capture. In 1744 he took prisoners an officer and a party of his assistants, and finding that amongst them were two men who had once been members of his band, he had them tied to trees in a wood and whipped nearly to death.

In 1747 the Hawkhurst gang became closely associated with Poole through a daring attack made on the Custom House on the night of 6 October, when they seized 37 hundredweight of tea which had been taken a few days before from a smuggler's lugger captured in the Channel. The bold raid was carried out with no little skill, thirty men being stationed as scouts on the roads leading to the town, whilst thirty others made the actual assault, quickly overpowering the few guards and carrying off the booty to Fordingbridge, whence, to quote the words of one of them who turned King's evidence, "they went to a place called Brooke where they got a pair of steelyards, weighed the tea and equally divided to each man his share, making five bags a man with about twenty-seven pounds in a bag." Nearly two years elapsed before any of the perpetrators of this outrage were brought to justice, although a large reward was offered to any one who would aid in their apprehension, and before that they had added a double murder to their crime of robbery. Having heard that a Custom House officer named Galley, accompanied by a shoemaker named Chater, who was to act as a witness against them, were on their way to give evidence concerning the Poole affair to Major Butten, a Sussex justice of the peace, they enticed the messengers from the inn at the village of Rowlands where they were resting, and carried them off. After treating them both with great cruelty for many weeks, they put them to

death, burying Galley in the valley of Hartingcombe and flinging the body of his companion down a well in Lady Holt Park. The non-appearance of the two victims naturally caused an immense sensation, but though many were aware of their fate, no one dared to tell of it, so strong had the smugglers become through the great increase in their numbers. At last, however, an anonymous letter was received by a magistrate, saying where the bodies of the sufferers would be found, and giving the names of several of those responsible for their deaths. Seven of the desperadoes were soon afterwards taken, and a special assize for their trial was held at Chichester in January 1749, when they were all found guilty. With the exception of one who had died in gaol, they were hanged the day after their condemnation, and it is related that in a pocket of the ringleader in the torture of Galley and Chater was found an appeal to the three Holy Kings of Cologne to "pray for us now and in the hour of death," an incidental proof that smuggling and murder were not looked upon as unpardonable offences by those who took part in them. Three months later Thomas Kingsmill himself and one of his associates who had so far escaped were arrested, tried at the Old Bailey, and hanged at Tyburn, their bodies being taken thence to be suspended in chains near their homes in the south of England.

Even the awful fate of so many free-traders did little to check the practice of smuggling in the counties within easy reach of France, and various modifications of a severe character were introduced in 1779, 1784, and 1805, into the Smuggling Act, which had been passed in 1736. As is well known, Napoleon showed special favour to free-traders, recognizing that the courageous and enterprising spirit so many of them displayed could be turned to valuable account. To quote the great leader's own words, he ordered "a little camp at Gravelines to be prepared for their accommodation when they had gone out of the limits assigned to them at Dunkirk," and there is no doubt that the inmates of that "little camp" served on occasion as spies and messengers to those with whom the French were in correspondence in England. Sailors who had been employed in smuggling craft made excellent fighters on men of war, and amongst the Records of Poole are several letters claiming the reward promised for impressing them, of which the following, dated 12 July 1807, from John Carter, commander of the *Sea-Gull*, which had captured the smuggling cutter *Diana*, is a typical example:

Gentlemen [he says], I beg leave to inform you that James Harris, the person detained by me on board the "Diana," smuggling cutter, in the act of running her cargo of contraband goods, has since been released by the magistrate on his making election to enter as a seaman in His Majesty's Navy. I herewith enclose a certificate of his being received into H.M.'s Naval Service from Lieutenant Ellary of the Impress Service, and beg you will crave of the Honorable Board the reward allowed me under the Act.

It is signed "John Carter, Commander," and the enclosure, dated "Poole Rendezvous, 5 February 1807," states:

Received from John Strong, Esquire, Mayor of Poole, James Harris, belonging to the "Diana" smuggling cutter captured by the Sea-gull, John Carter Commander. (Signed) Robert Ellary (Lieutenant).

Other references equally significant of the continual prevalence of smuggling are preserved amongst the documents in the possession of the Poole Corporation, notably one reporting the shortage in a prize cargo brought from Weymouth to Poole in the Dove, of 28 gallons of brandy and 11 of wine, the writer suggesting that the crew had embezzled the liquor, there having been a number of pegs driven into the casks. In a letter received about the same time, reference is made to the seizure by a riding officer of the port of a large quantity of contraband wool, valued at £250, whilst the wagon in which it was packed, and the horses drawing it were, it is stated, worth £20 and £48 respectively. All these and similar allusions point to the eagerness with which the free-traders were pursued, as well as to the large sums they must have made when they escaped capture. It was not until 1831, when the Coastguard—which grew out of the abortive coast blockade inaugurated in 1820—was founded, that any real diminution of illicit trading took place. Even after that there were many cases of the successful landing and concealment of quantities of contraband goods, and of collusion between those whose duty it was to check the evil and the offenders against the law. Early in 1832 the chief officer of the Poole Coastguard was dismissed for allowing a vessel containing contraband, concealed in a false bottom, to proceed up the Harbour without examination. A little later the Mary Ann, of Poole, supposed to be laden with coal, eluded the vigilance of the authorities and landed no less than 600 tons of spirits in one of the creeks adjoining the port, and in 1835 another local craft all but escaped capture, which was fitted with an ingenious contrivance used by smugglers, consisting of a movable cast-iron plate to which

tubs of spirit were fastened, that could be floated off en masse and would drift inland with the tide. In 1850 the Master of the revenue cruiser *Secret* of Poole was convicted of being in constant friendly communication with a famous smuggler, known as Richard, whom he used to meet at Mervagissy, in Cornwall.

In his "Distracted Preacher," Thomas Hardy gives a very vivid picture of the way in which the practice of smuggling permeated all ranks in Dorset, and of the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in the secretion of contraband goods. The naiveté with which the heroine invites her lover, the Wesleyan minister, to come and help her get the spirit she recommended him to take for his cold, not hesitating to lead him to the cemetery where the kegs were concealed, is very significant of the moral obliquity that condoned actions which in any other cause would have been considered criminal. The scene described in the chapter headed: "At the Time of the New Moon," must have been one very familiar to the people of Poole, and the great search at Nether-Moynton might have taken place amongst the narrow alleys of the ancient seaport, in the creeks and the inlets running up into the desolate Egdon Heath, and the little hamlets that ere long were to be swallowed up by the now prosperous suburbs linking the old world town with modern Bournemouth.

The somewhat melancholy record of crime and disaster of the closing years of the 18th century in Poole are to a certain extent relieved by the generosity shown in 1793 by the Corporation, which set apart £200 of its funds for augmenting the bounty paid to local seamen on entering the navy, and also by an exceptionally brave deed performed by a Poole sailor in 1797, who, after the brig *General Wolfe*, of which he was mate, had been taken by a French privateer, rescued it from his captors and took it safely into the harbour of Cork. The strenuous days of the struggle with Napoleon, when there were constant fears of a hostile landing at Poole, were fortunately marked not only by deeds of daring vieing with those related above in connection with smuggling, but also by the public spirit displayed by the authorities of the ancient seaport who established an armed volunteer association and got up a subscription of many hundred pounds for the relief of wounded soldiers and sailors. Poole became a meeting place for militia regiments and was kept in a perpetual state of ferment, through the constant coming and going of troops, anticipating the excitement that was to prevail a century later, through the threat of a yet more serious invasion than that

which Napoleon had contemplated, when an indignant burgesse of Poole, whose firm had been fined for having an uncovered skylight, made the following promise, dated 3 June 1915, which it then seemed possible he might be called upon to fulfil:

£50 to the Poole Red Cross Fund for every one of the first twelve Zeppelins or airships that drop bombs on any part of the Borough during the months of June, July, and August, and £10 each to the next of kin to the first 50 persons killed by the bombs; and £5 each to the first 50 persons seriously injured by or through the bombs, subject to one proviso, that the Germans do not break through in Flanders and capture Calais and Boulogne.

Though smuggling and the defence of the coast appear for a considerable time to have absorbed much of the energies of the burgesses of Poole, it must not be forgotten that from quite early times a close connection existed between the seaport and certain colonies and foreign towns. Very soon after the discovery of America there was frequent intercourse between the fishing fleet of Poole and that of Newfoundland, whilst later there was a considerable trade in rice with the Carolinas and the West Indies, as well as in wool with Flanders, many wealthy merchants from the last having settled in the town and founded families there. In 1613 a bye-law was passed by the Poole Corporation, regulating the duties payable on Newfoundland fish and in a letter from the Port-Reeve to the Lords of the Privy Council dated 1619 occurs the following sentence, tersely summing up the situation with regard to the over-sea traffic: "The adventures of this town are not in any shape but in fysheing voyages for the Newfoundland and so home." After the close of the last war with France, however, competition for the lucrative commerce with America arose, special rights having been given to French fishermen and others, with the result that the trade with Poole rapidly declined, never to be revived. This has been to some extent atoned for by the fact that quantities of timber for the Baltic ports and of plastic clay from the quarries near Poole for the home potteries are shipped from the port, whilst trawling is successfully carried on by a considerable fleet of local fishing boats and until the war broke out in 1914 excursion steamers ran frequently between Poole Harbour and various neighbouring coast towns.

In "To Please his Wife," the sympathetic interpreter of Wessex idiosyncrasies presents a very realistic drama of life in Poole in the days of constant intercourse between it and Newfoundland, and in the "Melancholy Hussar" an equally faithful

picture is given of the conditions that prevailed in many an outlying hamlet. When George III and his Court were at Weymouth a regiment whose colonel lived in the old manor house of Hamworthy was quartered at Poole and, to quote Hardy's own words, "battalions constantly descended on the open country around."

In spite of the remarkable change that has during the last half-century taken place in the surroundings of Poole through the rapid growth of the suburbs of Parkstone and Canford Cliffs and the building of a huge hotel and rows of modern houses on the strip of land bounding the Harbour on the south and known as the Haven, where not so very long ago the first installation of wireless telegraphy in the British Isles was set up, the sea-port itself still retains a certain old-world character. True, there are but few ancient buildings, the most notable, all of which overlook the quay, being the sixteenth-century Town Hall, the quaint Harbour Office, the humble but picturesque Steam Packet Inn, and, above all, the venerable structure called the Town Cellar, the King's Hall, or the Woolhouse, concerning which there has been so much learned controversy, some claiming that it is a relic of a monastery founded by the first Lady of the Manor of Canford, whose romantic story is related above, others that it was never anything more dignified than a structure used in the first instance by the feudal lords to keep the goods they received as toll or tollage. Near to the quay is another survival of the long-ago, a fifteenth-century toll gate, and in Church Street is an interesting group of almshouses supposed to have belonged to the Guild of St. George, founded in the late fourteenth century, the chief object of which was to pray for the souls of its members and its benefactors.

In the greatly-modernized streets leading up from the harbour are a few eighteenth-century houses, once the homes of the rich merchants of Poole, such as that described by Hardy as the dwelling of Emily Lister, whose prosperity roused such bitter envy in the heart of her opposite neighbour and former school-fellow, the grocer's wife. The fine Georgian Guildhall and the modern church of St. James, replacing one in the gaol beneath which the father of John Wesley was once imprisoned, link the present with the past, the latter retaining but little to recall the days when the now important parish of Poole, with its many vigorous off-shoots, was but a dependency on that of Canford Magna, on which from the early twelfth century the Priory of

Bradenstoke, founded, as has been seen, in 1142 by Walter, the son and heir of the first Norman holder of the Manor of Canford, had a certain claim, granted to it in the first instance by him and confirmed by his successors.

In the suburb of Hamworthy, long an important ship-build-
ing centre, the name of which is supposed to signify the hamlet
betwixt the waters, the aroma of the past is far more noticeable
than in Poole, so full is it of decayed old tenements and relics of
once sea-worthy craft, so haunted by ancient sailors eager to re-
count their memories of the long ago. Its life story can be traced
back to the time of Edward the Confessor, when it was held by
the famous Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the more
important Sturminster-Marshall, of which it remained a mere
tithing, owning, however, its own chapel, which was destroyed in
1630, and providing for its own poor until comparatively modern
times, when it became a separate parish. It was for a consider-
able period in the possession of the Turberville or D'Urberville
family, the supposed ancestors of the unfortunate heroine of
Hardy's tragic tale, as proved by the reports of inquisitions held
in 1372 and 1428, passing from them to the Carews and eventu-
ally becoming merged in the Poole estate. Separated by a
narrow channel of the estuary from the seaport, Hamworthy is
now connected with it by a spring bridge, which also links it
with the main road to Wareham, but for a long time it was only
accessible from Poole by means of a ferry, a huge boat, capable
of holding eighty persons, plying to and fro, residents in the
neighbourhood paying fourpence a year and strangers a half-
penny a time for the privilege of using it, the rent charged to the
lessee, which included the use of a passage house, having been
two capons a year.

Poole is in close touch with some of the most beautiful
scenery of Dorset and of Hampshire and from the heights over-
looking it grand views are to be obtained of the Purbeck Hills,
Corfe Castle, the wild moorlands dominated by them, the
Channel with the Isle of Wight, and the coast districts between
the Haven and Hurst Castle. It is, however, to its situation
on the shores of a wide-spreading estuary some forty miles in
circumference, that the time-honoured town owes its unique
and abiding charm. The aspect of the intricate labyrinth of
waterways on which it looks out varies continually accord-
ing to the state of the tide, the double ebb and flow of which,
adding to the multiplicity of effects, now presenting the

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appearance of a vast inland lake or a tempest-tossed sea, now of a series of gleaming mud-flats intersected by streams and rivulets, haunted by the sea-birds that breed near by, amongst which are herons, curlews, sheldrake, oyster catchers, pochards, ring-plovers, black-headed and other gulls, the harbour will never cease to be an inspiration to the poet and artist, as well as to students of natural phenomena. In it can be watched with exceptional facility the never-ceasing conflict between land and water, the victory in certain portions of the wide expanse accruing rapidly to the former, some of the deep channels being already silted up by alluvium, the work being aided by the rapid growth of spartina grass, the two agents combining to convert tracts of unproductive ooze into fertile soil. The day of Poole Harbour as an anchorage for large vessels and a point of departure for important naval expeditions is over, but it still often presents a very busy scene, modern fishing boats and up-to-date yachts contrasting with quaint old-world craft, such as brigs and schooners with complicated rigging, or lumbering barges with great tawny sails, recalling the days when *Le Pole* was redolent of the romance of the sea and fierce pirates and smugglers jostled in the narrow alleys running down to the quay, the peaceful burgesses whose descendants still enjoy many of the privileges granted to their ancestors by the Lords of the Manor of Canford.

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