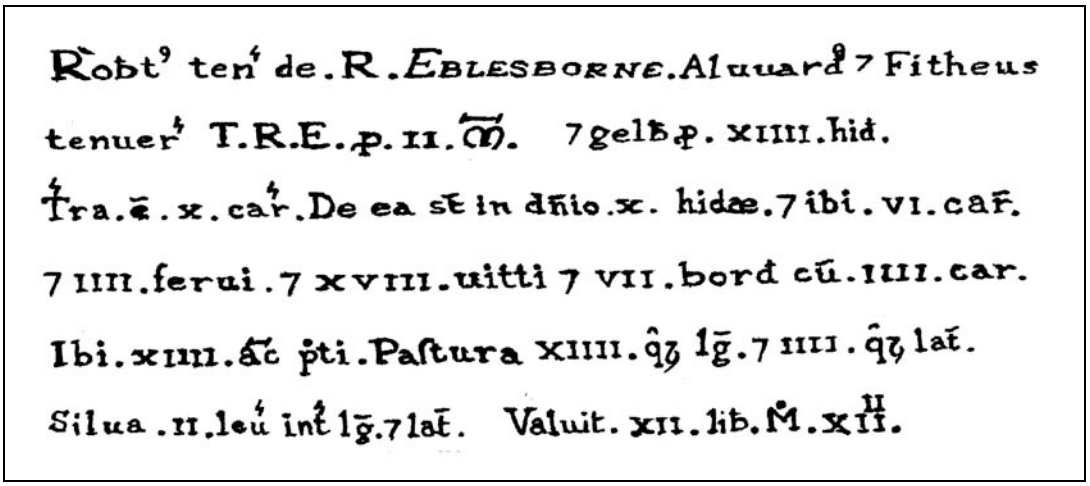
EBBESBOURNE WAKE THROUGH THE AGES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The Domesday Book, 1086

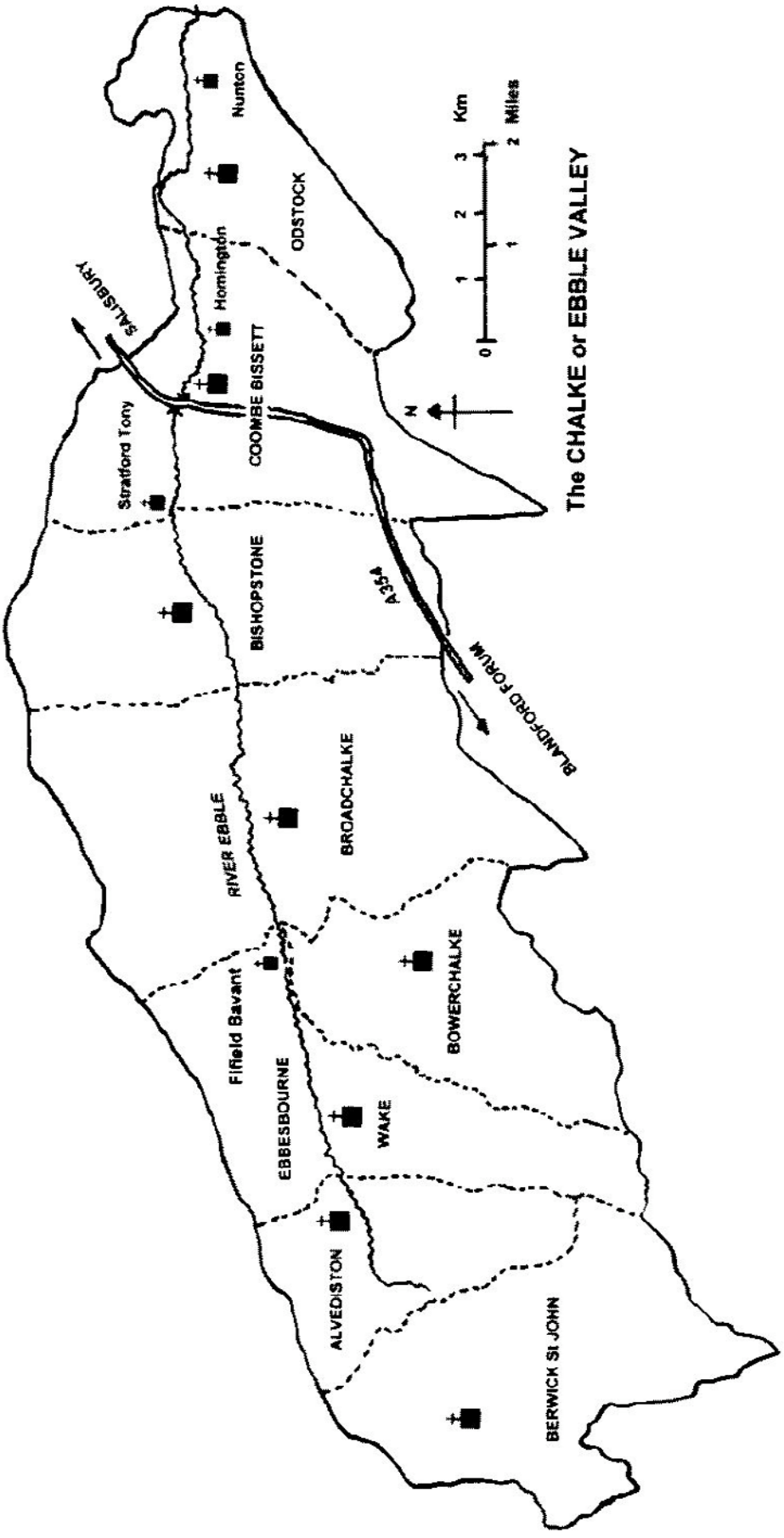
by

Peter Meers

THIRD EDITION

(EWTTA3.pdf)

EBBESBOURNE WAKE THROUGH THE AGES


The CHALKE or EBBLE VALLEY
Km
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Nunton
Homington
ODSTOCK
SALISBURY
COOMBE BISSETT
Stratford Tony
BISHOPSTONE
A354
BLANDFORD FORUM
RIVER EBBLE
BROADCHALKE
Fifield Bavant
EBBESBOURNE
WAKE
BOWERCHALKE
ALVEDISTON
BERWICK St JOHN

Frontispiece

THE CHALKE or EBBLE VALLEY, TODAY

The valley is home to the River Ebble. In its upper reaches this is a winterbourne (a chalk stream that flows only in the winter) though further downstream, with some help from pumps, it runs throughout the year.

The *Frontispiece* shows the valley divided into its eight administrative units or civil parishes. Each of these, established by Act of Parliament in 1894, was based on one or more of much earlier ecclesiastical parishes. In the case of the Chalke Valley there were originally 12 of these as illustrated, named and located by the positions of their parish churches in the *Frontispiece*. In their turn ecclesiastical parishes were founded on even more ancient manors. These landed properties were allocated by kings and queens to individuals, appointed as the lords of manors, as taxable rewards to those who had served or supported them.

EBBESBOURNE WAKE THROUGH THE AGES

By

Peter Meers

CD edition
EWTTA3.pdf

For Alison

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Contents, continued

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PREFACE

In 1979 when my wife and I bought Ebbesbourne's Dial Cottage we hoped that, one day, it might become our retirement home. Twelve years later the idea had become a reality and a lifelong interest in history developed into a study of the local history of the village and parish in which we now lived. As the millennium approached some parts of my collection, notably the writings of former resident and archaeologist William E.V. Young (1890-1971) had been transcribed and given a limited circulation, but the rest was in a largely uncoordinated state.

Some communities marked the year 2000 by the publication of local histories. Those who knew of my interest in this area indicated where my duty lay. The result was the first edition of *Ebbesbourne Wake through the Ages*, produced in haste against a millennial deadline, in which limited information about local inhabitants was set in the context of English history.

The fact that the 200-copy print-run of the first edition vanished unexpectedly quickly prompted the production of a larger, more considered second edition (2003), to include important information then newly come to light. By the end of 2005 yet more old records had emerged, and as these grew in volume so did the idea of a third edition. This, the result, has a new supplement that contains transcripts of seven of Ebbesbourne Wake's national census returns (1841-1901). In 2006 these seven are the only complete census records available for inspection by the public.

I am grateful to the many people who have added to my collection of data on the history of Ebbesbourne Wake either as documentary evidence or by word of mouth. Without their help there would be no book, and I hope all their names appear among the Acknowledgements. For the errors and omissions I take full responsibility.

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July 2006

EBBESBOURNE WAKE THROUGH THE AGES

SECTION ONE

GEOGRAPHY

The parish of Ebbesbourne Wake - its geographical setting

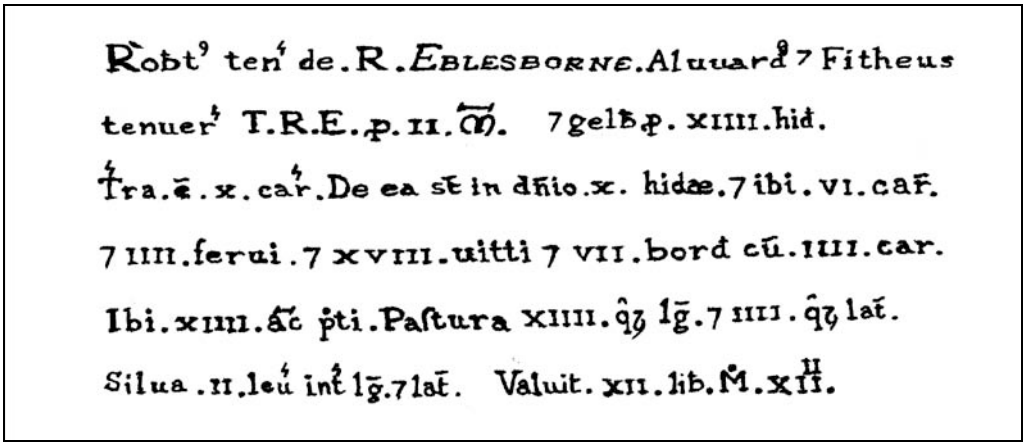
CONTENTS

GEOGRAPHY

The names

When the South-West Wiltshire village of Ebbesbourne Wake with its attendant hamlets of West End and Fifield Bavant were founded, and what at first they were called, is unknown. Fragmentary records from Saxon times relate to communities already well established but for significant detail it is necessary to wait until 1086AC (After Christ,) and the Domesday Book (Table I).

Table I, *Ebbesbourne Wake's Domesday Book entry*



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Robert holds Eblesborne from Robert. Aluard and Fitheus
held it before 1066 as two manors. (TRE = tempore Regis Edwardii, the time of Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066) Taxed for 14 hides.
Land for ten ploughs. In lordship ten hides, there six ploughs.
Four slaves. Eighteen villagers. Seven smallholders with four ploughs.
Fourteen acres of meadow, pasture fourteen furlongs long, 4 furlongs wide. Woodlands two leagues length and width. Value £12, now £14.
(A hide varied between 40 and 160 acres [16 – 65 hectares]. A 'modern' league measures 3 miles but the Normans used the Roman league of about 1.4 miles.)

Ebbesbourne Wake
In Saxon times (826AC) Ebbesbourne Wake was called *Eblesburna.* The Domesday Book (1086) describes it as *Eblesborne* (above); in 1249 it appeared as *Ebbelburn Wak*, and in 1785 as *Ebesborne Wake*. The prefix clearly refers to the river on whose banks the village stands, and it may be that this was named for a man called Ebbel who once owned the land through which it flowed. At various times the river itself has been called the Ebele, the Chele, Chalk or Chalke, or even the Stowford River or Stowford Water. In the 12th century Stowford was the name of the hundred (a subdivision of a county, originally 100 hides) that otherwise was always called Chalke. The hundred was divided into the parishes of

Berwick St John, Ebbesbourne Wake, Fifield Bavant, Semley, Tollard Royal and 'Chalke' later to become Broad Chalke, Bowerchalke, and part of Berwick St John. The name Stowford (originally Stoford) was probably derived from the bridge that crosses the river on the road to Bowerchalke close to its junction with the main valley road between Prescombe Farm and Fifield Bavant. This ancient bridge, mentioned in 1348, was probably built on the site of an earlier 'stony ford', the derivation usually given for Stoford. It has been suggested that this was where local moots were held.

The word Wak or Wake may have been added to avoid confusion with another village of the same name a little further down the valley. By 1166, luckily for modern postmen, this village had become *Bissopeston* (Bishopstone) after it was acquired by the See of Winchester. Historical confusion, however, is still possible. In his book *Domesday, a Search for the Roots of England* Michael Wood notes that in 902 the Bishop of Winchester leased an estate in Ebbesbourne to one Beornwulf at a rent of 45/- a year. The lease included a request by the clergy that certain named people should continue to be allowed to live there. Unfortunately for those seeking early anecdotes about Ebbesbourne Wake this lease almost certainly refers to the place now called Bishopstone.

Other phonetic spellings of Ebbesbourne Wake have appeared from time to time: indeed the spelling is still unsettled. Ordnance Survey maps of 1889 and 1927 apply the name *Ebbesborne Wake* to both the civil parish and the village from which it takes its name. A map of 1963, retaining the older spelling for the parish, named the village *Ebbesbourne Wake*, and this inconsistency was repeated in a map of 1974. Both the 1926 and 1965 editions of Fowler's *Modern English Usage* declare that according to a precise definition a *bourne* is a chalk stream that flows only in the winter, but they add 'the spelling is not consistent'. The spelling *borne* is the common variant.

The appendage Wake seems to have been taken from the name of Geoffrey de Wak who was granted the manor in the sixth year of the reign of King John (1199-1216). It is not known if, or how, this Geoffrey was related to the Hereward the Wake who led English and Danish rebels against the Normans in 1070 and 1071, but the shield of his coat of arms (seen three-quarters way up on the west side of the church tower, second from the left) is the same as that of the modern Wake family.

Fifield Bavant

Although no larger than the hamlet of West End Fifield Bavant was at one time a manor in its own right, and it is listed in the Domesday Book. Until the latter part of the 19th century when most of it was added to the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake it was also an independent ecclesiastical parish, so has its own (tiny) Parish Church. The name Fifield Bavant is taken from the five hides of land granted to the ancient manor, plus the name (with a discrepancy in the spelling) of the Bavent family who held it in the 14th century. Five hides of land were equal to one knight's fee, the minimum landholding that carried with it a duty of military service to the king. This is why the name Fifield or some variant of it is found elsewhere, and the family name may have been added to distinguish it from these others.

A hide originally represented the area of land required to support a peasant household. This varied from place to place and time to time from less than 40 acres to 160 acres (<16 – 65 hectares). The variables were the productivity of the land concerned, and changes in the rules governing taxation. The latter were subject to appeal so the assessment of taxable area might depend on the vigour and importance of the appellant. As a (very elastic) rule of thumb the following is taken from records made by monks in Glastonbury Abbey.

10 acres = 1 ferdal (furlong): 4 ferdals = 1 virgate: 4 virgates = 1 hide

A hide is approximately equivalent to a carucate, a measure of area used by the Danes and the Normans. It equalled the area of land that could be tilled by one plough within a given year.

As happened with Ebbesbourne Wake, the name Fifield Bavant has also varied. In the Domesday Book (1086) it was *Fifehide* (see below); in 1264 at the time of Henry III, when Peter de Scudamore was Lord of the Manor, it was called *Fifield Scudamore*, and in 1463, *Fiffehyde Beaufaunt*.

Fifield's Domesday entry may be translated as follows.

> *Alvred* [of Marleborough] *holds Fifehide, Ralph from him. TRE* [see Table I] *it paid tax for five hides. Land for four ploughs. In lordship three hides, there one plough and three slaves. Nine villagers and six smallholders with two ploughs. Two acres of meadow, pasture half a league long and half a furlong wide. Value £4, now £5. One forge pays 12d a year and two Wilton burgesses pay 18d. Woolmaer holds one hide from Alvred, the same person held it TRE, it was and is worth 10s.*

Other Chalke Valley manors

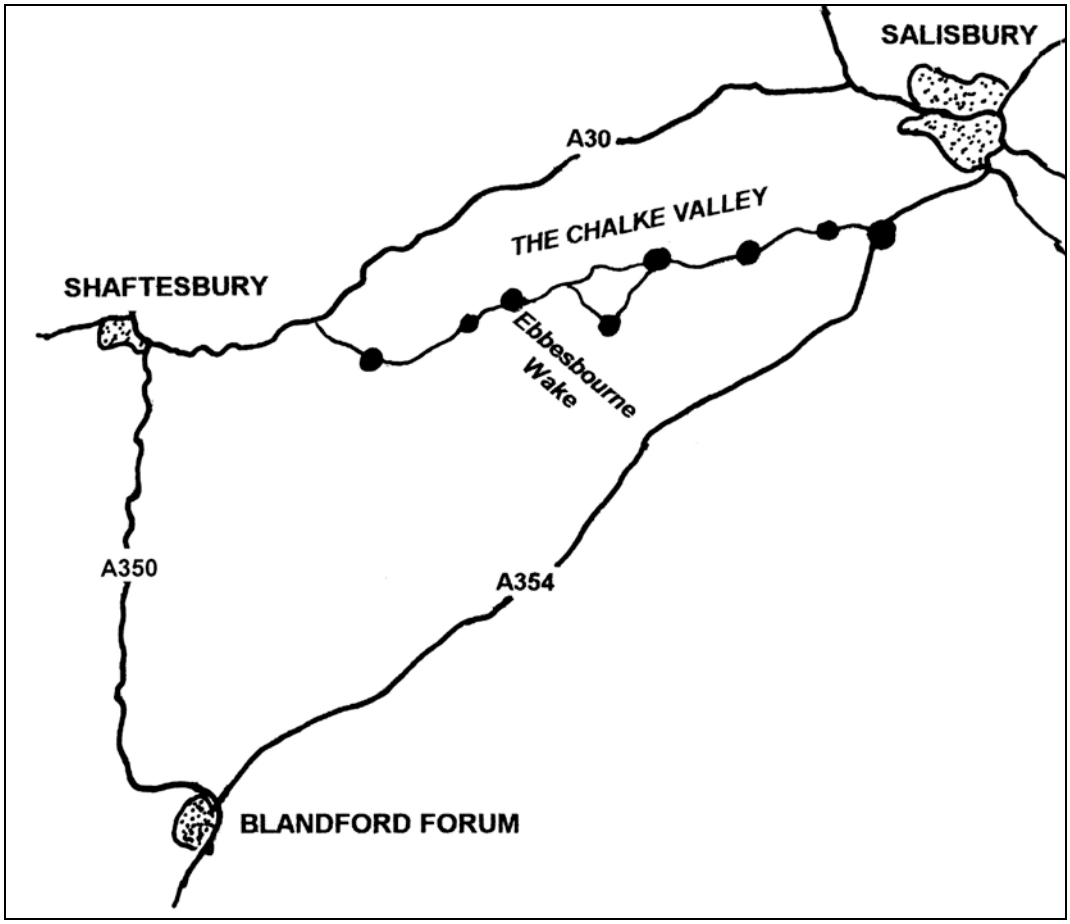
After the Norman Conquest, King William I transferred most former Anglo-Saxon manors to new Norman lords, and the awards made were recorded in the Domesday Book. The survey divided the Chalke Valley into eight manors. As well as *Eblesborne* and *Fifehide*, these were named *Chelche* (Chalke), *Cumbe* (Coombe Bissett), *Humitone* (Homington), *Odestoche* (Odstock), *Stradford* (Stratford Tony) and *Trow*. So far as the upper part of the valley is concerned the Domesday Book contains no trace of names that might represent the modern parishes of Alvediston, Berwick St John, Bishopstone, Broad Chalke and Bowerchalke. These emerged later as *Alfweiteston* (in 1165), *Bissopeston* (1166), *Berwyke* (1167), *Burchelke* (1225), and *Brode Chalk* (1380). Alvediston was formed from the western part of what had been the Domesday manor of Ebbesbourne Wake, plus the small manor of Trow. The large disconnected estate of Chalke was broken up as indicated on p. 4, though the ecclesiastical parish of Bowerchalke was not separated from Broad Chalke until 1880.

For eight centuries Fifield Bavant retained its integrity as a separate manor and parish until, in 1885, it lost its long 'tail' to Bowerchalke (Figure 2, p. 8) and it ceased to exist as a separate unit in 1894 when its residual northern part was

annexed to form the new civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, though it retained its ecclesiastical identity until 1923 when its St Martin's was united with Ebbesbourne's St John the Baptist. These were joined by St Mary's Alvediston when by Order in Council, Gazetted on 10 March 1970, the Queen formed the new joint benefice of what were once three independent parishes.

Topography

Figure 1, Villages in the upper Chalke Valley, from the left, Berwick St John, Alvediston, (Ebbesbourne Wake), Bowerchalke, Broad Chalke, Bishopstone, Stratford Tony, and Coombe Bissett



Ebbesbourne Wake is one of a number of villages strung out along the upper or western part of the Chalke Valley (Fig. 1). The valley is home to the River Ebble, which rises just to the east of the village of Berwick St John, between it and Norrington Manor. The river is a winterbourne in its upper reaches. Lower down, refreshed in Broadchalke by a tributary that rises in Bowerchalke, it flows throughout the year. When Sir Richard Hoare published *The Hundred of Chalk* in 1829 the river was apparently called the Stowford, though he notes that it was the Ebele in Saxon times. On the first edition Ordnance Survey map published in 1811 the winterbourne part of the Ebble is named Stowford Water, while further down its course it is called the Chalk Stream. So far as the Chalke Valley is concerned Sir Richard is dismissive - ' . . . its sequestered situation, the badness of

its roads, and the little intercourse between it and the more populous parts of the county . . . (it) is almost *terra incognita*'.

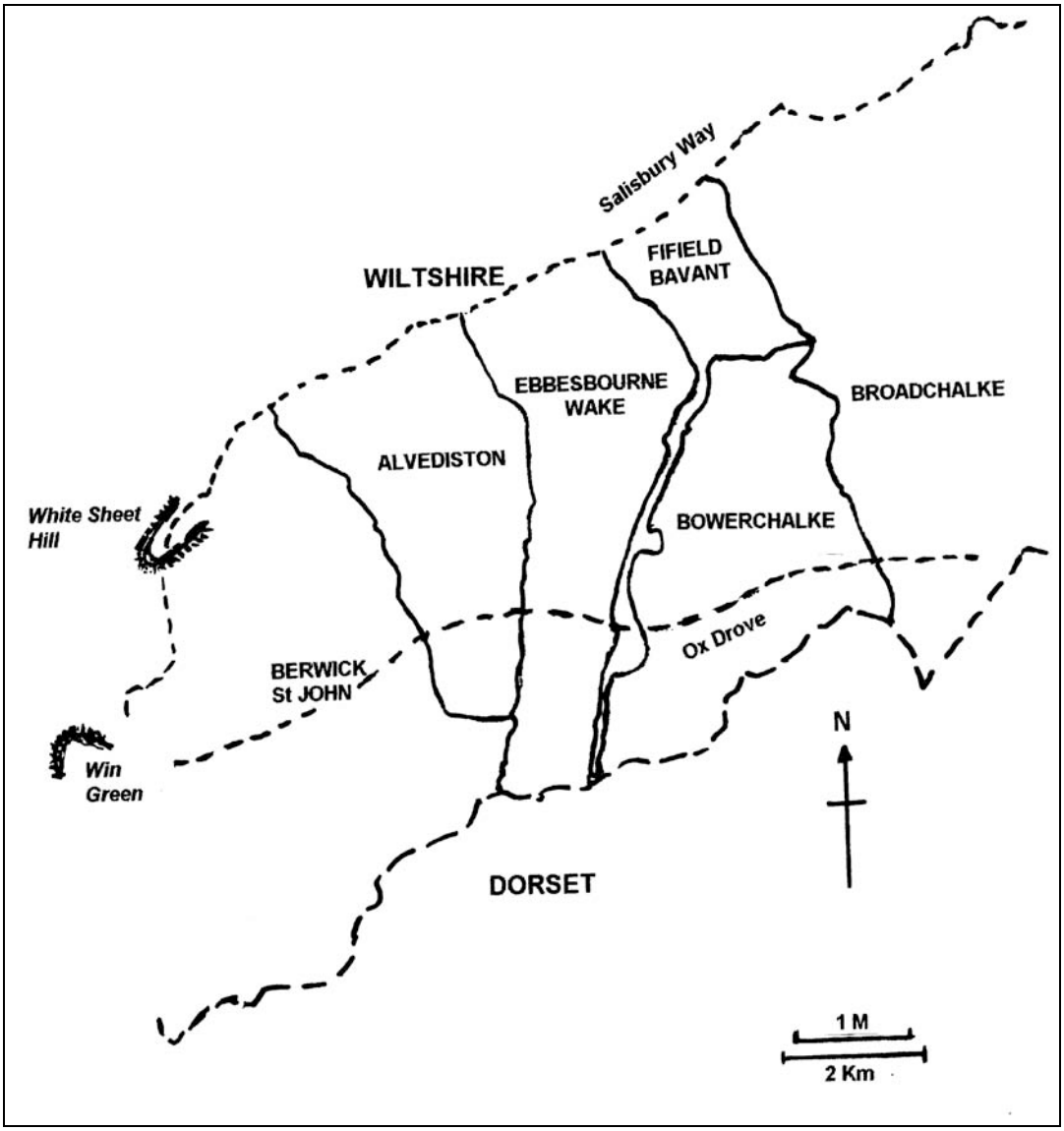
Millions of years ago the River Ebble probably rose (and the Chalke Valley began) to the south of the ridge on which Shaftesbury now stands. This ridge is a westward continuation of the Ebble's present northern watershed, broken at the foot of White Sheet Hill by the Donhead Gap. Here a 'river capture' has diverted the headwater of what had been the Ebble into the Nadder, a more vigorous river in the valley immediately to its north. Part of the watershed between the two rivers was washed away so what was originally the upper part of the Ebble became the source of the Nadder and in doing so converted that river's original source into a tributary, today the River Sem. The result is that the Chalke Valley now begins not at Shaftesbury but to its east, near the A30 Shaftesbury to Salisbury road between the prominences of White Sheet Hill and Win Green (Fig. 2, p. 8). From its present origin the upper part of the Chalke Valley runs for about 11 miles (18 kilometres) a little north of due east to end at Coombe Bissett on the A354 Salisbury to Blandford road (Fig. 1, p. 6). Entries and exits by road are inconspicuous, and as it is narrow and sparsely populated it was well-named *terra incognita*, or today 'the secret valley'. The ridges that form its north and south watersheds rise to over 650 feet (200 metres) and are rarely more than 4 miles (6km) apart (Fig 2, p. 8). Each is traversed by an ancient track. Stagecoaches once used Salisbury Way, to the north, on their way to and from London and Exeter, via Salisbury and Shaftesbury. The ridge-way to the south is the Ox Drove (Fig. 2). This was used for the purpose its name implies until late in the 18th century.

The civil and ecclesiastical parish of what is today Ebbesbourne (or Ebbesborne) Wake straddles the Chalke Valley, extending south for some 4½ miles (7km) from Salisbury Way on its northern watershed to cross the Ox Drove and reach the county boundary between Wiltshire and Dorset (Fig. 2). Before 1894 the width of the parish was about 1¼ miles (2km) at its northern end, and 1 mile (1.5km) at its southern, with an area of 2884 acres (1167 hectares). In 1894 the civil parish was combined with the residual northern part of Fifield Bavant after the latter had lost its long southern 'tail' to Bowerchalke in 1885 (Fig. 2). The 'tail' encompassed a number of cottages at Shermel Gate, only 1½ miles (2.5k) from Sixpenny Handley. Until 1885 the people who lived in these cottages were included in the census returns for Fifield Bavant. Their loss to Bowerchalke accounts for some of the fall in the population of the parish from 62 in 1881 to 43 in 1891 (Appendix D). The 1894 addition to Ebbesbourne increased the width of the parish at its northern end to about 2½ miles (4km), and its area to 3753a. (1519ha). The ecclesiastical parishes did not amalgamate until 1923. More recently all the Chalke Valley parishes have been consolidated into a single group benefice.

The village of Ebbesbourne Wake lies in the upper Chalke Valley, about 4½ miles (7km) from its western end. It is situated at a point where the valley floor is much narrowed by elevated intrusions, four from the north (Middle, Ebbesbourne, Prescombe and Fifield Downs) and two from the south, the larger of which extends from the southern watershed to end in Barrow and Pound Hills or, according to Ordnance Survey maps, in Chalkway Head. The main part of the village stands on a tongue-shaped knoll in the angle between the River Ebble to the north and an

unnamed tributary that joins it from the south at May (Sheepwash) Bridge. This tributary drains a large combe that leads up to Monk's Hole on the South Down to include a part of Elcombe Farm in Alvediston (Fig. 3, p. 9). It is part of an area designated as of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).

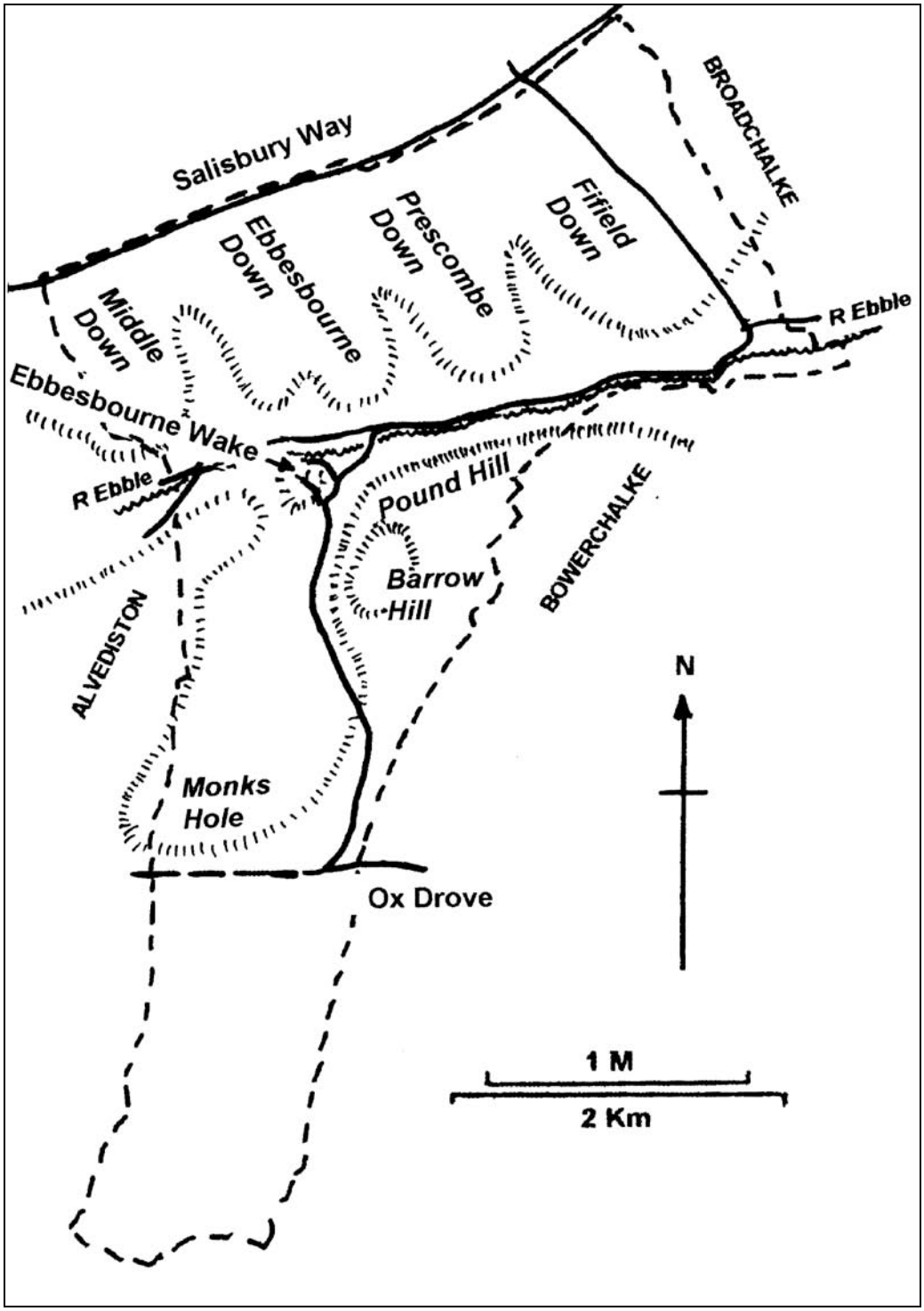
Figure 2, The upper Chalke Valley with the parish boundaries as they were before 1885. To compare these with the boundaries now, see the Frontispiece.



According to the Domesday Book the property allocated to a new Norman lord as the manor of Eblesborne was, in the reign of Edward the Confessor (June 1042 – January 1066), two separate Anglo-Saxon manors, the lordships of Aluard and Fitheus (Table I, p. 3). Their combined area must have been significantly greater than that of the later parish with a similar name. 'Woodlands two leagues in length and width', measured using the shorter Romano-Norman league (Table I, footnote), stretched about 3 miles in each direction, and this before adding the other areas described. The only reasonable interpretation is that the Domesday Eblesborne included what is now the parish of Alvediston, less the ancient manor of Trow. Trow is described in the Domesday Book, Alvediston is not. It is likely, therefore, that Eblesborne's pre-1066 second manor was Norrington, centred on a

building that existed many years before the Domesday survey was made. The Alvediston property now called Manor House is of the 18th Century.

Figure 3, The present civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, a pinch-point in the Valley



At the time of the Domesday survey by far the larger part (91%) of the manor of Eblesborne was wooded. The other 9%, probably in the form of variably narrow strips on either side of the river, had been cleared and was farmed (arable, meadow and pasture) or was used for housing. The 14 hides that were taxed, about 27% of the whole, comprised the cleared area plus significant marginal woodlands used for the collection of timber, coppice hazel and furze for housing, furniture, fencing and fuel, where domestic animals and birds were able to forage, and wild produce (berries, mushrooms, and the very important hazel nuts) were collected, in season.

The1086 Eblesborne headcount was 18 villains (villagers who were freemen, but subject to the manorial court), seven bordars (inferior to villains, probably owing enforceable service in the fields of the lord of the manor) and four slaves; in all 29 adult males. To arrive at a figure that includes women and children a multiplier of 4.6 has been suggested, yielding an estimate for the total population of the manor (today Ebbesbourne Wake and Alvediston, less Trow) of about 133.

Geology

In distant prehistory, between 144 and 65 million years ago, the site now occupied by the village of Ebbesbourne Wake lay nearer the equator in the depths of a warm ocean that extended from somewhere in today's Atlantic to cover most of north western Europe, from Britain to the Crimea. Astronomical numbers of microscopic sea creatures lived in this ocean. As each died its tiny skeleton fell to the ocean floor, eventually forming a layer hundreds of metres thick. As geological time passed, and depending on the physical conditions that prevailed, this layer was transformed into chalk, limestone or marble. Within the chalk deposits of silicon and compounds of iron and sulphur developed into flints and pyrite nodules that include fool's gold and marcasite. Later the African tectonic plate moved northwards, colliding with the European one to develop pressure that raised the Alps and caused some layers of European chalk to appear above the sea to form, for example, the White Cliffs of Dover and today's rolling chalk downs. When exposed to the atmosphere the soft chalk weathered and turned into a light clay in which the nearly indestructible flints still lie, sometimes in profusion, together with the rarer nodules of iron pyrites that some have called thunderbolts. Other than in valley bottoms into which the soft surface clay of the uplands has been washed by millions of years of rain, the thin residual layer on the upper downs supports the growth of the fine close turf that, before much of it was ploughed, made excellent grazing for rabbits and sheep.

Millennia later the modern county of Wiltshire straddles a line drawn from the Dorset - Devon border through Salisbury Plain, the Hampshire and Berkshire Downs, the Chilterns, the Gogmagog Hills in Cambridgeshire, and the Norfolk and Lincoln Wolds, to Flamborough Head. This line marks the boundary between areas to the south where chalk still predominates, and those to the north where, in geological times, the chalk has been lost, perhaps washed away by melt-water at the end of one or more of the glacial periods. The dividing line is thought to have given rise to the Wiltshire expression 'as different as chalk from cheese'. The chalky down-lands are where sheep were reared at a time when wool was the principal source of England's wealth. In consequence this part of Wiltshire was

home to comparatively wealthy owners of large farms and big estates. By contrast the north and west consisted mostly of meadow-land split into small family farms where milk and cheese were staple products. The more prosperous farmers who lived to the south of Devizes derided their cheesy compatriots as 'teat pullers'. The parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, when compared with its neighbours and although clearly part of the 'chalk', does not seem to have benefited economically from its apparently favourable position. The fact that the village stands at a point where the floor of the valley is narrow and its sides are steep may have something to do with this (Fig. 3 and p. 103).

Communications and services

Roads and railways

Ebbesbourne Wake lies at the centre of a rough rectangle the sides of which are formed by four ancient roads. The origins of two of these, the ridge-ways on the River Ebble's watersheds, Salisbury Way to the north and the Ox Drove to the south, are lost in history. It is certain that human feet, bearing people on their way to or from Stonehenge, trod at least one of these thousands of years before the birth of Christ. The other two sides of the rectangle, to the east and west, are made up of Roman roads. The one to the east, Ackling Dyke, ran between the Roman towns of Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) and Durnovaria (Dorchester), by way of Badbury Rings. The other, unnamed, connected Badbury Rings with Aquae Sulis (Bath). These roads were built by Roman legionaries nearly 2000 years ago and were used by them to subjugate and control the countryside.

The Ox Drove must have seen the passage of many tens of thousands of cattle (and sheep and geese) from the West Country that, with additions from the countryside through which they were driven, were to become food for the people who lived in towns all the way to London. As early as 1448 Salisbury Way was part of what was described as 'the best road from London to the west'. It would have been used by people on foot or on horseback and by teams of packhorses and strings of mules and donkeys. Each of these would be equipped with a pair of panniers slung across its back, the larger animals with goods in them weighing perhaps 400lbs (180 kilos). Wagons were drawn over the rough surface by teams of oxen or horses that would have struggled up the steep White Sheet Hill and the lesser though longer inclines at Harnham Slope and Harnham Hill. Until 1760 wagons had no springs so before then it must have been most uncomfortable to ride in one. Private carriages for the rich began to appear at the time of Elizabeth I, drawn by post-horses that were changed every few miles. In 1658 post-coaches began to provide regular public services between London and Exeter. Initially the journey took five days at an average speed, including daytime stops, of three miles an hour. When the first Royal Mail Coach ran in 1784 horses were changed every 11 miles and the speed had increased to seven miles an hour, again including stops. By 1850 this average had risen to 13 miles an hour, and the journey could be completed in a (rather long) day.

The first tollgate on Salisbury Way, opposite Chiselbury Camp, seems to have appeared before 1618 though tolls and tollgates were not fully legal until 1663. A separate Act of Parliament was required before each toll-road or turnpike was

established, and Salisbury Way was 'turnpiked' in 1761. The turnpike house at Chiselbury was provided with a bank and ditch placed at right-angles across the road to discourage travellers who might otherwise by-pass the gate. The tolls were 4½d for a carriage and 1½d for a horse and rider. Although the road had been used as an important route for a very long time, the official 'Turnpike on Salisbury Plain' had a short life. In 1787 a 'lower way' a little further north in the Nadder Valley 'with no hills to prevent expedition' was turnpiked as the 'Turnpike *under* Salisbury Plain'. This is now the Salisbury to Shaftesbury part of the A30, and the Ox Drove and Salisbury Way are un-metalled bye-ways.

Travel for the ordinary person was on foot. Dr Clay of Fovant tells the story of a young woman who collapsed and gave birth to a baby on Salisbury Way where the parishes of Ebbesbourne Wake, Fifield Bavant and Fovant meet. Mother and baby died. At that time the duty and the cost of burying strangers found dead in this way fell on the parish where the body lay, but in this case each argued that it was not their responsibility. Eventually the Overseers of Compton Chamberlayne were persuaded to accept it, presumably because this was where the unfortunate woman had started her journey.

To the south of Salisbury Way modern maps label as Gallows Hill a promontory situated about three-quarters of a mile to the east-north-east of Norrington Farm. It was again Dr Clay who claims to have located the gallows tree from which it took its name. It was a Scotch pine which had a thick branch stretching out at right angles, about eight feet from the ground. In it there was a deep groove cut by the chains of the gibbet as it swung in the wind. Highwaymen were active in the Tudor period. They may have been unemployed soldiers from the Wars of the Roses for whom highway robbery was easier than a return to peaceful existence. The heyday of the highwayman was, however, in the years between the restoration of the monarchy (1660) and the death of Queen Anne (1714). This was after the Civil War and the Commonwealth when once more there were surplus unemployed and unpaid soldiers. Our local Gallows Hill may date from about this time. The Murder Act of 1752 codified an aggravation of the death penalty to include the provision that *after* execution the body of the convicted prisoner should be taken to somewhere near the site of his crime, to be exhibited there in an iron cage. Alternatively the body could be handed over to surgeons, for dissection. It is unlikely that executions ever took place on this local Gallows Hill.

Compared even with the low standard of the turnpike, the surfaces of the roads that connected the villages in the valley bottom were undoubtedly much worse. In 1830 Bowles noted that the roads in the Ebble Valley were impassable for four-wheeled vehicles other than farm wagons, or riders mounted on sure-footed horses. In winter a journey along them must have been a perilous undertaking and even in summer it would have been a matter for comment when a stranger passed through, and this would only happen if the traveller had business in the valley. Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century these roads were, at their best, metalled with flint chippings, frequently renewed and rolled flat with a steam roller, particularly after winter frosts had broken up the surface. Tar macadam began to be applied to the valley roads in the 1920s and according to oral tradition (Mr Frank Roberts) this waterproof surface reached Ebbesbourne Wake in the 1930s perhaps at the same time as May (Sheepwash) Bridge was rebuilt and

widened. A plate on the bridge gives the date of this as 1936. (The name Sheepwash is derived from the presence nearby of a sluice that, when closed and there was water in the river, formed a pool where sheep could be washed, (p. 169). The site of this sheepwash is marked on some older maps.

The arrival of the railways made a great difference to people's ability to get about, and stage and mail coaches became redundant. The London and South Western Railway reached Salisbury in 1848, Tisbury in 1859, and by 1860 it had been extended to Exeter. At that time Dinton was the nearest railway station to Ebbesbourne Wake. By 1889 the journey from London to Exeter had been reduced to some nine hours (20-25 mph) and by 1990 the average speed had increased sufficiently to cut this time in half.

There were two proposals that might have brought a railway directly into the Chalke Valley. During the railway mania of the mid 1840s a route for a 'Direct London-Exeter Railway' was surveyed, and a plan of it was published in 1845, presumably as part of a prospectus that offered shares in the enterprise. The plan shows that the intended route for the line passed just to the north of the village of Ebbesbourne Wake, but straight through the middle of West End. As happened with many similar schemes at the time, this one failed for lack of support. The second plan was for a horse-drawn tramway or light railway, to be called the Chalke Valley Railway. A copy of the prospectus, written in 1875, was sent to the Vicar of Ebbesbourne, Tupper Carey. This proposed the construction of a line to run from Salisbury to Coombe Bissett, and then along the valley to Berwick St John. Local landowners were unimpressed, and this idea joined the earlier one in limbo.

Mains Services, (telephones, electricity and water)
Oral tradition (Mr Frank Roberts) suggests that telephones reached Ebbesbourne Wake in 1932 or 1933, first to the Post Office (then in what is now called Old Forge Cottage) and afterwards to some of the farms. No telephone numbers for the parish are listed in Kelly's Directory for 1931, while that for 1935 has three. One of these was in the Post Office and the others were in Prescombe Farm and a dairy farm in Fifield Bavant. The local exchange then, as now, was in Broadchalke. According to the same source mains electricity was first supplied to the village between 1937 and 1939, and piped water arrived in the early 1950s.

EBBESBOURNE WAKE THROUGH THE AGES

SECTION TWO

HISTORY

The historical context in which the parish developed

CONTENTS

HISTORY

The history of a small village naturally reflects, and indeed can only be fully understood, in the light of events at national and international levels. This is why English history, particularly in the context of the way religion has developed, forms such a large part of Section Two of this book. Historical details and anecdotes of a more local nature appear in later Sections.

Before Christ (7000 BC - 54 BC)

We shall probably never know if, a quarter of a million years ago, some of Britain's earlier human inhabitants visited the site of what is now the Chalke Valley. The first evidence of human activity in the neighbourhood goes back only to Neolithic times, 5000 to 7000 years ago, when large hilltop enclosures were first built. Some nearby examples are at Windmill Hill, Avebury, Wiltshire; and in Dorset at Hambledon Hill near Blandford and Maiden Castle near Weymouth. Even closer the un-chambered long barrow on the top of White Sheet Hill is also Neolithic. Such large earthworks could only have been built by a population of significant size living in a relatively ordered community some of whom, at least, had time to spare from finding the next meal. Even 5000 years ago, therefore, the site of today's Ebbesbourne Wake lay in an area that supported a significant, socially organised population.

Evidence for this has been found within the parish. Mr W.E.V. Young (1890-1971), a local archaeologist, discovered a late stone-age (Neolithic) site in the South Fields, where he found flint scrapers, arrow-heads and axes together with cores and flakes to indicate that these implements were made on the spot. Evidence from elsewhere has shown that by this time Neolithic people were no longer nomadic but had settled down to grow wheat and keep domestic animals. They must have constructed dwellings of some kind. In Ebbesbourne Wake these may have been on or near the South Fields, the combe that leads up to Monks Hole (Fig. 3, p. 9).

There is good archaeological evidence to show that local human activity persisted from Neolithic times into and beyond the early Bronze Age (1800-1400BC). By then the Beaker culture, defined by its characteristic pottery, was well established and barley, better suited to a colder climate, had joined wheat as an arable crop. Burials, at least of important people, were now in round barrows. Numbers of these can still be seen along the Ox Drove and elsewhere. In 1924 the one at the summit of Barrow Hill (Fig. 3, p. 9, now ploughed out) was excavated by Dr R.C.C. Clay of Fovant, and Mr Young. They discovered an urn containing cremated human remains, characteristic of a later Bronze Age burial (Table II, p. 18).

In 1944 a hoard of sixteen late Bronze Age bangles and a bronze torque was found buried very superficially in the angle formed by the Ox Drove and the western boundary of the parish, just above Monk's Hole (Fig. 3 and Table II). It is thought that these originated on the continent, and were accidentally dropped or hidden by a predecessor of the much more recent French onion man, who would have been very upset to have lost what must have been valuable objects. The find,

again investigated by Mr Young, showed that the hoard lay above the level of an extensive ancient field system (lynchets). These lie beneath and ante-date the Ox Drove, but lie above and post-date the round barrows, so were probably being cultivated 3000 years ago, in about 1000BC.

Table II, *Archaeological sites and finds in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake*
(Figures in parentheses are map-references. WAM, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*)

Ancient barrows
Nine bowl-barrows have been identified in the parish. Of those that have been excavated two were found still to contain human remains. Dr R. C. C. Clay of Fovant described both of them. In the one on Ebbesbourne Down (97982479) were found the remains of one man, three women and a child. The burial was thought to date from the early bronze age or the pagan Saxon period. The other on Barrow Hill (99402349) is from the late bronze age. It contained cremated human remains enclosed in a crudely decorated upright barrel-urn 51cm high and, in diameter, 28cm at the top and 22cm at the bottom. (WAM, **42**, 598; **43**, 324)

Ancient ditch
Crossing the Ox Drove on South Down (989214).

From the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age
On Fifield Down (00182564) a perforated axe-hammer.

Late Bronze Age
On Elcombe Down (98102169) a hoard of 16 bronze bangles and a bronze torque, found in 1944. Recorded by Mr W. E. V. Young. (WAM, **53**, 104)

Early Iron Age
On Fifield Down two large settlements (00102550 and 00902570). Found in 1922 and excavated by Dr Clay. Evidence found that iron had been smelted there.

At Monk's Hole (98402185) a copper-bronze stater, a coin or weight, found by Mr Young in 1907.

Roman
On Fifield Down an iron hinged brooch, shards of Romano-British pottery and coins.

Pagan Saxon
On Barrow Hill (99342340) in 1935, a shallow grave with the skeleton of a man, a spear-head and the remains of a shield. (WAM, **43**, 101; **46,** 168)

At the opposite side of both parish and valley are the sites of two early Iron Age settlements. Situated on Fifield Down and dating from about 500BC, these were excavated by Dr Clay in 1922 (Fig. 3 and Table II). Iron Age folk lived in large communal round-houses built of wattle and daub, with thatched roofs. Dr Clay found the large pits in which these dwellings may have been built, together with smaller ones used for storing grain (wheat, barley and oats were found) and a quern that would have been used to turn these into flour. Another pit contained iron slag

and a hearth, showing that the occupants also smelted and worked with iron. They would have ploughed their field with ards, drawn by oxen. An ard is a wooden plough without wheels, coulter or mould-board, and a share that might be tipped with stone or metal. Primitive grains were sown by hand, harvested with a sickle, and the harvest was stored in pits in the ground. They also grew ancient varieties of vegetables, and woad for dye. They kept early types of sheep and pigs, and when necessary used hurdles to enclose them. Romano-British pottery has been found in the same areas or nearby so there is good evidence of continuous human occupation in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake for at least four or five millennia BC, that is for a period twice as long as has elapsed since the birth of Christ.

At the time the inhabitants of Ebbesbourne Wake were probably members of a loose association of warring tribes called the Durotriges who built the complex hill forts used later to delay the advance of the Romans into south-west Britain. By now these people were Celts, members of a group spread over much of Europe who shared a culture and a language. The beginning of the iron age and the establishment of a Celtic culture in Britain could have been the result of an invasion or perhaps more simply due to the spread of ideas to pre-existing indigenous populations. What is more certain is that the names of some of our local rivers, including the Avon, Nadder and Sem, are of Celtic origin. European Celts sacked both Rome, and Delphi (in Greece) in 390 and 279BC, respectively.

The Celtic aristocracy encouraged art and religion, wore jewellery and drank wine. Women occupied an important place in society and might, as with Boudicca (Boadicea), become tribal leaders. Their priests were the Druids who believed in an after-life, worshipped in sacred groves in which oaks and mistletoe were important, and exercised power over life and death. According to Julius Caesar their religion, originating in Britain, was exported into continental Gaul. The Romans persecuted the Druids and in 61AC their last stronghold, on the Island of Anglesey, was overrun.

The first millennium after Christ (55 BC - 1065 AC)

The Roman era, (55BC - 408AC)
Christianity came to Britain in Roman times. Between 55BC and 43AC Roman legions came, saw and at their third attempt under the Emperor Claudius, finally conquered most of Britain. For the next two centuries Christian citizens of the Roman Empire lived at least under the threat, and often under the reality, of persecution. Many were martyred. Christ was worshipped more or less in secret, but despite this converts became more numerous and they were increasingly drawn from the more powerful, educated and influential classes of Roman society. Periods of relative official tolerance alternated with episodes of brutal suppression. Such changes as took place originated in Rome itself as Emperor succeeded Emperor, or were introduced by individual provincial Governors. For example the oppression of the Emperor Diocletian (284-305AC) was followed by indulgence under Constantius, and complete freedom of worship was finally established when Constantine I was converted to Christianity in 312.

The early development of Christianity in Britain reflected events elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Although at first any Christians among the Roman soldiers or administrators worshipped in private, by the third century the atmosphere was more relaxed. Christian symbols were displayed more openly and some churches were built, though a Britain, Alban, suffered martyrdom for his faith perhaps as late as the second half of the third century. St Albans is the name of the city that replaced the Roman Verulamium, and of the Diocese based on it. Christianity began to spread widely if superficially among the Celtic tribesmen who, earlier, had fought against the Roman Legions. By the beginning of the fourth century Christianity was sufficiently well established for British bishops to be appointed. In 314 three of them, with others, attended a council held in Arles, in France. The excavation of a Roman villa at Hinton St Mary in Dorset, 15 miles from Ebbesbourne Wake and dated to about 360AC, revealed a tessellated floor (now in the British Museum) that includes the figure of Christ.

This period saw the Christian religion develop from the small beginning of its early apostolic period into a more formal structure with monasteries and hierarchies headed by abbots, bishops and, at first, multiple popes. The first pope to be recognised as head of the whole church was Leo the Great (440-461). This period was also marked by disputations between churchmen who differed in their views of, for example, the form of church rituals, what it meant to be a Christian, the place of 'pagan' festivals, the importance of asceticism in the religious life, and predestination. A British monk called Morgan (Latinised as Pelagius) rejected the 'double standard' of 'ordinary' and 'ascetic' Christianity, and although he allowed for differences between laymen and clerics, the married and the celibate, he demanded ascetic perfection in everything, from everybody. He considered that this perfection could be achieved by the exercise of a power from within each individual, and he denied the doctrine of original sin. St Augustine of Hippo (in N. Africa) approaching these matters in a more pragmatic way, believing in predestination and in the existence of an external force that was required to produce 'conversion' from the pagan to a Christian state. In his view a lay Christian was as 'perfect' as a celibate monk. In 418, after Pelagius' views had been condemned by Augustine, he and his followers were persecuted as heretics.

The early (pagan) Anglo-Saxon era (409 - 664)
The last elements of the Roman field army left Britain in 408 when its legions and auxiliaries were withdrawn in what was to prove a futile attempt to defend the Province of Gaul from invasion from the east. By now the Roman Empire had begun to split into a Western part, based in Italy, and an Eastern part centred on Byzantium (Constantinople, Istanbul). The Christian Churches of the two empires grew apart. Eventually their differences could not be reconciled and in 1054 schism became a split and the Roman and Byzantine Churches separated and went their own ways. The Byzantine element became the Eastern Orthodox Church that today, (though itself schismatic) is the dominant Christian religion in Russia, Greece, Serbia and countries in the Middle East.

By now the Western part of the Roman Empire was in a state of serious decline. In 410AC the city of Rome was for a time overrun by Goths, accounted as barbarians by the Romans. Citizens who could do so fled to Sicily and to North Africa where an extension of Roman civilisation developed, together with an active Christian Church. This was centred on the old city of Carthage (close to modern Tunis) and on the town of Hippo where St Augustine worked for many years.

In 409 Britain was defenceless. Raids by Picts (from Scotland) and Scots (from Ireland) increased, but its fertile lands and material riches also attracted the inhabitants of Scandinavia (Angles and Jutes) and the North German plain (Saxons). Mercenaries from these areas had already been engaged by the British to repel the Picts and the Scots, but these soon turned against their employers and transient pillage turned to permanent settlement as whole families and tribes came over in a series of large migrations. Unlike the Romans these immigrants did not come as soldiers and colonial administrators but as invaders and settlers who dispossessed and drove out the former occupants of the land. The process was slow and, as with the Romans, incomplete.

Some Celtic tribes put up a fierce resistance. Between the years 500 and 520 a group of them, perhaps under the leadership of the legendary King Arthur, repelled the Anglo-Saxons at the battle of Mount Badon. Mount Badon has been tentatively identified with Badbury Rings, 16 miles from Ebbesbourne Wake or with Liddington, near Swindon in Wiltshire. In either case this Celtic victory delayed the Saxon invasion of Wessex. The Saxons renewed their onslaught in 552 and much of the Celtic population of Britain, together with any residue of its earlier occupants, were driven into the remote and mountainous areas in the north and west. Some left the country altogether and settled in Ireland and Brittany. After their victory Anglo-Saxon settlers moved up the rivers Avon, Bourne, Ebble and Wylie, although for some reason the Nadder did not attract them, so the villages of Fovant and Teffont retain their Celtic names. It may be that this was the period when the village of Ebbesbourne Wake began to develop into a permanent settlement, on its present site.

A shallow grave on the south side of Barrow Hill, 90m from the summit, may be a relic of this invasion (Fig. 3 and Table II, pp. 9, 18). Workmen digging a trench to lay pipes to connect Cleeve Cottages to the reservoir on the top of the hill came across some human bones. They proved to be of a man 5ft 9in (1.75m) tall aged about 50 who had been buried with his head pointing north. His grave contained

the remains of a shield and a spear. The burial is typical of the early (pagan) Saxon period.

The peace and unity of what had been the Roman province of Britain was destroyed. The period between the years 400 and 600 have been called the 'lost centuries' marked by a paucity of durable records, the replacement of the Romano-Celtic language by an early form of English, and the disappearance of the Christian religion from much of what was then Anglo-Saxon England. It has been suggested that the three most conspicuous residues of the Roman occupation were the site of the City of London, the elaborate network of paved Roman roads, and Welsh (Celtic) Christianity. The latter remained isolated though the faith was nurtured by visits of missionaries from mainland Europe. One of these was St Germanus Bishop of Auxerre who had served as a Roman soldier in Gaul. He led some of his followers in battle against the Saxons. At about the same time a British ex-Roman citizen, Patricius, was captured and carried into slavery by Scots from Ireland in a raid by boat up the river Severn into Wales. Patricius later returned to Ireland and became the Patrick who converted the Irish to the Celtic form of Christianity (432-461). Columba, a missionary from this new Irish Church, established a base on the Isle of Iona (563) from where Celtic Christianity was introduced into Scotland. Later Aidan used Iona as a base from which to reintroduce the religion into Northumbria and, in 634, he established a monastery on the island of Lindisfarne.

Meanwhile Pope Gregory the Great had sent Augustine (not to be confused with Augustine of Hippo) with 40 monks, to convert the English (Anglo-Saxon) population to (Roman) Christianity. His party landed in England in 597, intending to set up their headquarters in London. This proved impossible and by default Canterbury (where there had been a Christian church in the latter part of the Roman era) was the base from which first the population of Kent and in time the whole of Anglo-Saxon England was converted.

As had happened with the Eastern and Western Roman Churches separation had led the Celtic and Roman Churches to develop differently. As their influences spread face-to-face contacts between members of the two sects became more common. Differences led to disagreements. These centred on the hierarchical structure of the Church based on Canterbury, which submitted to the rule of Rome on all matters of doctrine and discipline, while the organisation of the Celtic Church was more democratic. Highlighted, however, were more mundane differences such as how to determine the date of Easter, and the form of tonsure adopted by the monks of each tradition. Tonsure in the Celtic Church involved shaving the whole of the front of the head from the ears forward, while in the Roman church it was confined to a circular area on the crown. The first conference set up to try to resolve these problems ended in acrimony, and the dispute was not settled until 664 when the Synod of Whitby decided that the Roman tradition, administered through Canterbury, would prevail.

The later (Christian) Anglo-Saxon era (665 - 840)

In the two centuries after the Synod of Whitby the Anglo-Saxon or English (Roman) Church expanded and consolidated its influence. Pope Gregory's plans were realised, at least in the south of the country, and an archbishopric and 12

bishoprics were established, and a second archbishopric (of York) was founded in 735. At that time Ebbesbourne Wake lay close to the boundary between the sees of Sherborne and Winchester, perhaps within the former. Taken together these two sees corresponded to the ancient Kingdom of Wessex. At the same time there was a remarkable proliferation of monasteries and other religious houses. A Priory, established in Wilton in 810, was enlarged in 871 to become an Abbey. A later Abbess was half sister to King Ethelred the Unready (978-1016) who, in 995, made grants of land to the Abbess and the Abbey that included the Chalke estate (*'Chelche'*, p. 5). At this time the English Church began to send missionaries to convert their Anglo-Saxon relatives who had stayed behind in their continental homelands. In 719 the West Saxon Wynfrid (later known as Boniface) was dispatched from somewhere not far from Ebbesbourne Wake to preach to some of these 'unbelieving gentiles'. His success was such that he has been named 'the Apostle of Germany'.

About now the first parishes appeared. Initially the term was applied to religious communities, for example those attached to cathedrals. Later the word developed a wider meaning and was applied to a geographical entity centred on a church of some description served by a priest who was not a monk so might be married. Many early parish priests began their ministries as chaplains and secretaries to the families of local magnates, for example lords of manors, many of whom could not read or write. They were encouraged to take responsibility for the souls of those who lived and, more critically, worked on their lords' lands. This lay patronage developed into the advowson, the right to nominate the incumbents of 'their' parishes, in perpetuity. This right had a market value so could be bought and sold as a way in which a younger son might be comfortably disposed of, in this case into the church, with little or no need for regular maintenance from family coffers.

Parish churches with their graveyards were the centres of village life. Most Saxon churches were made of wood but even at this time some were built of stone, particularly when this was found already dressed in nearby derelict Roman buildings. As priests and bishops multiplied and became more powerful worship of the Nordic gods Woden and Thor was abandoned, or was actively suppressed.

The power of the Church grew in the secular as well as in the spiritual field. The small part of the population that was literate was made up almost entirely of priests, monks, and their superiors. Their hierarchical arrangement and strategic distribution provided an organisation that was uniquely placed to influence those who wielded temporal power. The Church came to provide the equivalent of today's civil service and local administrations combined, and also formed part of the judiciary. This provided a base from which churchmen were able to influence kings, princes and other rich and powerful individuals who, to insure themselves against eternal damnation, were persuaded to endow or to provide other material support for bishoprics, monasteries and chantries. Churchmen were often involved in the preparation of wills so the rich and powerful, to mitigate or avoid purgatory, were induced not only to pay for prayers to be said for their souls, but also for places in which to say them. In this way the Church became a major landowner and in due course the possessor of many fine buildings.

To this bounty was added the product of tithes, equal to a tenth part of the gross product of the soil. At first these were voluntary but by the end of the 8th century they were compulsory. Churchmen, also active in the judiciary, were able to enforce these imposts and penalise defaulters. Tithebarns were constructed to receive and store the corn and the other goods that were collected. Most of these have disappeared, but a large and splendid example survives in nearby Tisbury which, though the present building dates from the 15th century, probably stands on the site of an earlier one. In this way the Church actively participated in and promoted the development of the feudal system that, over centuries, generated the wealth that paid for art and architecture, music, learning, leisure, and also the debauchery that stained parts of the medieval Church.

By the end of the eighth century England was divided into a number of mutually antagonistic and often warring kingdoms of which Mercia, Northumbria and Wessex were the most powerful. In 825 at the battle of Ellendum (now Wroughton in Wiltshire) King Egbert of Wessex defeated the Mercians, and the star of Wessex continued to rise as he was succeeded by a series of able warrior-kings, among them Alfred the Great (he of the burnt cakes, not to be confused with the legendary Arthur). At this time the Church was the only thing to unite Anglo-Saxon England. Internecine warfare diverted attention from the need to protect the island from foreign adventurers. National land and sea defences were neglected and the country was once more as poorly protected as it had been when the Romans departed. From the continent England was seen as a rich plum, ripe for the picking. Viking pirates took advantage of this and in 790 their first raiders landed at Portland in Dorset, then part of the Kingdom of Wessex. Other raids followed in various parts of the country. In the course of one of these, in June 793, the monastery on Lindisfarne was destroyed, and its monks were slaughtered.

The Viking era (841 - 1065)

Norsemen (from Norway) and Danes (from Denmark) were the successors of the Angles, Jutes and Saxons who had invaded Britain nearly four centuries earlier. Collectively called Vikings these hardy races scratched a living from the limited cultivable margins of the Norwegian fjords, or from the salt-flats of Denmark. Unlike their Anglo-Saxon relatives they had maintained a lively seafaring tradition. Their Viking longboats combined seaworthiness with a shallow draught so they could withstand the open sea and also penetrate inland along rivers. With arms strengthened by long-distance rowing their disciplined crews, armed with battle-axe, sword or bow, were fearsome warriors on shore. By now peaceful, Anglo-Saxons were no match for them. Viking raids, first by Norsemen and then by Danes, proliferated and much of the unprotected coastlines of Britain, Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of the Continent and even the Mediterranean were attacked. Rich monasteries, many conveniently sited on offshore islands or on coasts or the banks of rivers, were favourite targets. The year 842 saw raids on the English towns of London, Rochester and Southampton. The raiders found a rich, fruitful and relatively defenceless land. The Danes decided to exploit this and turned from raiding to settlement.

The Danes mobilised an army that, in 865, descended on the east coast and occupied Northumbria and East Anglia. In 871 they began to invade Wessex but here they met more determined resistance. The elements helped the defenders

when, in 877, an armada of 120 Danish ships was wrecked on the cliffs near Swanage in Dorset. After years of changing fortunes the men of Wessex, now under King Alfred the Great, heavily defeated the Danes at Edington in Wiltshire. This happened in May 878, and after the battle the Danish commander, Guthrum, embraced Christianity and was baptised. Alfred was his godfather. Alfred made further gains in 886 when he freed London and confined the invaders to an area bounded by the rivers Thames east of the Lea in the south, and the Tees in the north. Alfred withstood another Danish assault in 892 and when he died in 899 he was replaced by his son Edward the Elder who continued to attack the Danes and to reduce the area over which they held sway. Even in the territory they still occupied (known as Danelaw) Englishmen and Danes were eventually accounted equals. By 935 the coinage issued by King Athelstan of Wessex and Mercia, great grandson of Alfred, described him by the (somewhat inflated) title of 'King of all Britain'.

The Danes continued to raid into those parts of the country they had not subdued and occupied. From time to time they harried the coast of Dorset and in 1006-1007 they invaded, swept through and ravaged the countryside from the Isle of Wight as far north as Reading. In this military sweep they must have come near, even if they did not enter, Ebbesbourne Wake.

Viking raids and the Danish invasions of the ninth century destroyed monastic life. The religious organisation of the Church throughout much of the eastern part of England, and even as far west as Wessex, was disrupted. The conversion of Guthrum towards the end of the century was accompanied by an increased tolerance of Christianity and eventually most of the Danish settlers were converted. By then, although monasticism was at low ebb, the religious life began to appeal to women. This might have been due to conviction, lack of marriage opportunities, or was forced on those who came from powerful families, for dynastic reasons or because of difficulties about inheritances. Alfred founded a nunnery at Shaftesbury, and others were established in Wilton and Winchester. In the year 939 male monasticism began to recover when Dunstan was appointed Abbot of Glastonbury, where he introduced the Benedictine rule. Monks trained by him led the monastic revival.

In the early part of the tenth century Edward the Elder reorganised the Church in Wessex when he replaced two earlier bishoprics (Winchester and Sherborne) with five new ones. Ebbesbourne Wake now fell to a new see whose bishop's cathedral lay in Ramsbury in Wiltshire. This was poorly endowed and the bishopric was short-lived. Shortly before the Norman Conquest it, with Ebbesbourne Wake, reverted to the see of Sherborne.

Meanwhile the Viking invaders of northern France had settled there and come to terms with the West Frankish King. In time this second 'Danelaw' became Normandy. By 911 under their first Duke, Rollo, the Normans were installed as a feudal aristocracy dominating the original inhabitants from whom, as had happened to the Danes in England, they adopted Christianity. After a few generations Normandy had become sufficiently powerful to mount a successful invasion of England.

The second millennium after Christ (1066 - 2000)

The late medieval period (1066 - 1485)

In the four centuries between the Battle of Hastings (1066) and the battle of Bosworth (1485), the throne of England was occupied by a succession of 18 kings. There were six Henries, five Edwards, three Richards, two Williams and one each, Stephen and John. The first four, two Williams, a Henry and a Stephen, were of direct Norman descent. The next three, Henry, Richard (the Lion Heart) and John were Angevins (named from the Count of Anjou). These, and the members of the rival houses of York and Lancaster that followed, have been called Plantagenets (Fig. 4).

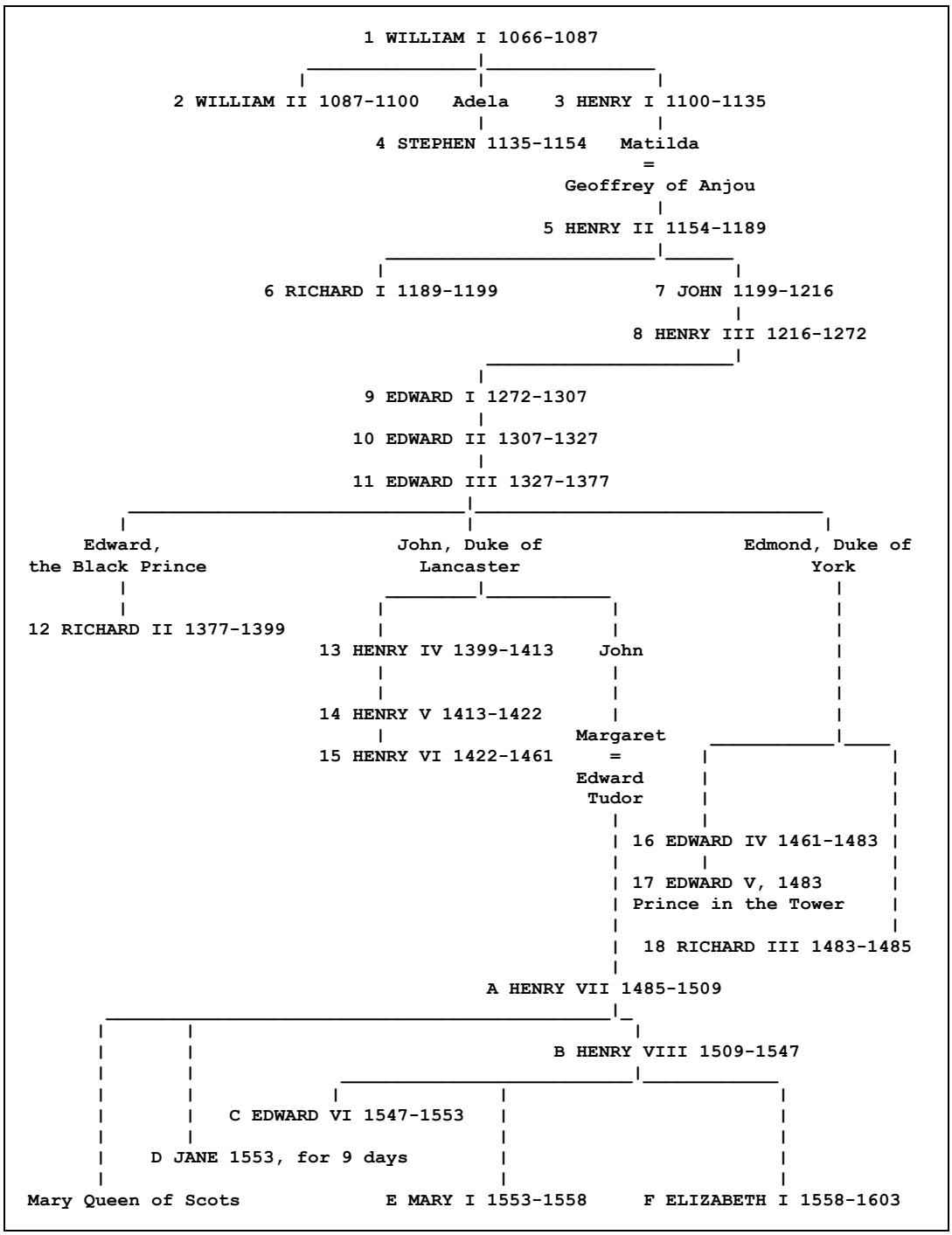
The Normans (1066 - 1154)

On the 28th of September 1066 William ('the Conqueror') of Normandy crossed from France and landed at Pevensey in Sussex. A few days earlier, on September 25th, the English King Harold and his army had repulsed a Viking invasion at the battle of Stamford Bridge, near York. Shortly after hearing of William's landing Harold travelled south, reinforcing his army on the way. On October 14th 1066 Harold was defeated and killed at the battle of Hastings and on Christmas Day of the same year, in Westminster Abbey, William was crowned King William I of England.

King Harold and many members of the English aristocracy died in the battle. That day either immediately, or in short order, Britain found itself subject to a new dynasty, a new nobility, a new church, new art and architecture, and a new language of government. William quickly subdued the rest of the country, building castles as he went. One of these was sited at what is now Old Sarum where, in 1070, he reviewed his victorious army. In its time Sarum had been an Iron Age camp, and it was occupied, successively, by the Romans and the Anglo-Saxons, and it was pillaged by the Danes in 1003. When William crossed The Channel in 1066 he was accompanied by his chaplain, a Norman priest called Osmund, who may also have been William's nephew. Osmund played a part in the compilation of the Domesday Book, and from 1077 he was the second Bishop of the new diocese of Sarum (Salisbury, created in 1075) where he completed and, in 1092, consecrated the first diocesan cathedral. This was established on the Norman 'secular' pattern with a bishop, dean and cannons rather than on the Anglo-Saxon model based on a monastic structure with abbots (bishops) priors and monks. In 1086 Sarum was chosen as the place to hold what is now called the Council of Salisbury at which William received the homage of the most important landowners in Britain. Although he had achieved supremacy by conquest he took care at first to legitimise his position as heir to Edward the Confessor (see Table I, p. 3). A few Anglo-Saxon magnates retained their positions, traditional English government continued, and the English Church was left much as it was. This did not last long, however, and outbreaks of Anglo-Saxon rebellion were followed by savage repression. By 1085 when William sent out teams of commissioners to catalogue and estimate the value of his new possessions (the Domesday Inquest, recorded in the Domesday Book, completed in 1087) only two of 180 major landowners, and

about 100 lesser landowners of a total of 1400, were still Anglo-Saxon. For example, the name of the Chalke Valley village of Stratford Tony is derived from Ralph Toni who was standard-bearer to William the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings. His reward included the manor and the village, still named after him.

Figure 4, The Norman, Angevin, Plantagenet (1-18) & the Tudor (A - F), successions, 1066-1603. English monarchs are given in capitals, with their dates.



In the church Anglo-Saxon bishops and archbishops were replaced by imports from the continent. The newcomers treated the residual native clergy in a tactless and overbearing fashion, and they insulted the general population by deleting the names of Anglo-Saxon saints from the calendar and by the destruction of some Anglo-Saxon cathedrals and churches (some of them very fine) and with them the tombs of senior Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Norman bishops wanted their cathedrals to be sited in populous towns – they did not approve of 'rural' cathedrals, so locally the diocese of Salisbury replaced that of Sherborne, together with what had been Ramsbury. At the same time large tracts of the country were set aside as reserves for hunting, with draconian penalties for anyone caught poaching. In one of the areas chosen, the New Forest, 22 villages were depopulated and razed to facilitate the sport.

Although William I Normanised the church in England he was generally supportive of it, but it was seriously mismanaged by his son William Rufus (King William II) who died in 1100 as a result of a hunting accident in the New Forest. He delayed appointing abbots and bishops so as to benefit from the revenues of vacant abbeys and bishoprics, which reverted to the crown, and he extorted payment from candidates for appointment to spiritual office, a practice known as simony. There followed a dispute about who had the authority to make such appointments - the king, or the pope and his archbishops and bishops. This touched on the 'divine right of kings' versus the authority of the pope. In the centuries that followed the same argument re-surfaced regularly until at the time of the reformation Henry VIII (1485-1509) settled it in his own favour, though the idea of a king's 'divine right' did not finally die until the time of James II (1685-1688). Even today the monarch has the power to appoint Church of England archbishops and bishops, though in practice the Prime Minister acts on the monarch's behalf.

By decree at the Easter Council in Rome in 1099 clergy were forbidden to marry, and the edict was repeated at the London Council in 1102. The ruling was widely ignored by princes of the church as well as by the lower clergy. Roger (1065-1139) Bishop of Salisbury (a diocese established in 1075) who later became viceroy of England lived openly with his mistress, Matilda of Ramsbury. His nephew, Bishop Nigel of Ely, was married. With such examples few parish clergy felt obliged to abandon sexual relationships, though the decrees did make illicit something formerly legal. The King took advantage of this and increased his income by fining some of those who transgressed. It is possible that the real importance of a celibate clergy rested less on the intrinsic value of asceticism than on the possibility that churchmen might leave items gifted to them by reason of their spiritual position to their wives and children, rather than to the church.

The Angevins (1154 - 1216)

The period was marked by kaleidoscopic changes in the complex relationships between popes, English kings, and English archbishops, bishops, archdeacons and rural deans. One high profile priest whose story is not entirely atypical was Thomas Becket who once lived at Ford near Salisbury while acting as priest in nearby Winterbourne. (St Thomas's Bridge on the A30 just south of Ford

commemorates this.) Becket became a confidant and friend of King Henry II, and was appointed his Chancellor. High rank exposed Becket to courtly pleasures, which he enjoyed to the full, but his life changed to one of austerity and self-mortification when he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. The former fierce champion of the King became an equally ferocious champion of the church.

An important feature common to the lives of Henry and Thomas was the great palace at Clarendon. The remains of this lie not quite 13 miles (21k.) from Ebbesbourne Wake just to the east of Salisbury, significantly not far from Winterbourne, and about a mile north-east of Alderbury. Clarendon House probably started its life in Saxon times as a hunting lodge. Norman and Plantagenet kings turned it into a palace which was used both for royal relaxation and from time to time as the seat of government, as well as for other purposes, for example to incarcerate King Henry VI during a period of insanity (1453-1455). The palace had grown significantly in size and grandeur by the time Henry II began to use it so that, throughout the land, only the Palace of Westminster surpassed it. When the court was at Clarendon a large area round about, including Ebbesbourne Wake, must have been affected. Just to produce the food needed by the royal party, the courtiers, high officials of state, court officers, soldiers and many hundreds of servants, to say nothing of fodder for the large number of horses and oxen required to move such a large assembly and their baggage from place to place was a major task, and a drain on the countryside.

The relationship between Henry and Thomas became seriously strained at the Council of Clarendon held in January 1164. In the Constitutions of Clarendon Henry re-stated the royal prerogatives that dated from Norman times, to clarify the rights and powers of the state *versus* the church. The clergy were forbidden to approach the Pope over the head of the King, the King and his tenants in chief could not be excommunicated or their property seized and the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys would revert to the crown. Among other things Becket opposed the King in his claim to try members of the clergy twice for the same crime, in the royal as well as in the ecclesiastical courts, and he sought to restore to the church revenues and properties that had been sequestered. Henry and his former chancellor, once close friends, became enemies, and the rift deepened when Becket excommunicated the Bishop of Salisbury who, among others, had taken the King's side in a dispute. Henry, known for his bad temper, transmitted his outrage to four of his knights who went to Canterbury and on a dark December night in 1170, and probably when drunk, hacked Becket to pieces in front of the altar in the cathedral. Becket, venerated as a martyr, was canonised in 1173. His tomb became a shrine and a popular resort for pilgrimage. Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, written more than 200 years later, tells of a group of about 30 pilgrims who left the Tabard Inn in Southwark on their way to Canterbury 'the holy blissful martyr for to seek'.

Well before Chaucer's time better-educated clerics often served as administrators to kings, bishops, abbots and other magnates. This is why parsons are still known formally as '*clerks* in holy orders'. Some performed duties equivalent to today's

civil service and local authority administrations combined. Many of these lived privileged lives and were absent from the parishes or other spiritual positions the incomes of which they enjoyed, often in plurality. The cure of their parishioners was left to poorly-paid sometimes illiterate temporary or assistant curates.

The remaining Plantagenets (1216 - 1485)
During this period many local, national and international events would have impacted directly or indirectly on villagers in Ebbesbourne Wake. They include the Crusades, Magna Carta, the construction of a second Salisbury Cathedral, the Black Death, Wyclif, Lollards and the Peasants' Revolt, the battle of Agincourt, and the Wars of the Roses that, ending at the battle of Bosworth, brought the Tudors to the throne. Cabbages and onions arrived to enliven the British diet in about 1400 and perhaps hops began to improve the flavour of ale though some authorities quote 1525 as the date for this. On a lighter note the Exchequer pipe-rolls of 1230 noted the existence of a Yorkshire outlaw called Robinus. (Pipe-rolls were Exchequer records of the accounts of county sheriffs. The long strips of vellum were rolled into 'pipes'.) Perhaps Robinus was the model for Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest, the fabled tormentor of the Sheriff of Nottingham.

The first of the eight crusades mounted between 1096 and 1270 set out to liberate the focus of Christianity, Jerusalem, from the grip of Arab Muslims. The crusaders called their opponents Saracens, and for the Muslims all European Christians were Franks. The first crusade started successfully. Much of the Holy Land including Jerusalem fell to the crusaders and although the Saracens soon recaptured Jerusalem parts of the Mediterranean coast of Palestine remained in Christian hands until 1244. The second crusade liberated the city of Lisbon from the Moors (as Western Muslims were known), and Richard I (the Lion Heart) was one of the leaders of the third (1189). He failed to recapture Jerusalem so the crusade was only partly successful. It was regarded as a duty for Christians to support the crusades and to take part counted as a holy pilgrimage. Many Wiltshire knights and their retainers must have joined in and it is likely that some came from the Chalke Valley.

Magna Carta (1215) is thought of as a great charter of liberties wrested from King John by his barons. Its principal effect was to secure the position of the English church, to codify the rights of the baronial class and to restrict the power of kings. Its reputation as a general charter of English liberty seems to be a doubtful, later addition.

Salisbury's first cathedral, built within the limited space available next to a hilltop castle and a royal garrison (now Old Sarum), proved an unhappy arrangement. Disputes arose between the clergy and the military authorities about many things, including access, curfews and, no doubt, about who should benefit from taxes on passing trade. The clerical hierarchy decided to move their cathedral to a nearby green-field site where a new town could develop on land the church already owned – today the modern City of Salisbury. The pope granted leave for

the move in 1217, and in 1220 the foundation stone for the second Salisbury Cathedral was laid close to a new bishop's palace, already under construction.

Salisbury Cathedral, in the Early English Gothic style, is unusual because it was built relatively quickly, to a single design. Those responsible were the brothers Herbert and Richard Poore, bishops of Salisbury 1194-1217-1228, with Canon Elias of Dereham, a skilled craftsman who had built the shrine to St Thomas in Canterbury Cathedral, who has been variously described as an administrator, clerk of works or an architect. After the cloisters and the chapter house had been completed the cathedral was consecrated in 1258. Osmund, Salisbury's second bishop who died in 1099 was later canonised (in 1457) and, re-buried in the new cathedral, became the city's patron saint. A later addition was the spire, finished in about 1362 and which, for centuries, was one of the tallest man-made structures in Europe. Among many notable features the cathedral possesses a clock that, made in about 1386, is probably the oldest still in working order anywhere in the world. As this enormous cathedral was built villagers from Ebbesbourne Wake, visiting Salisbury on market and fair days, would have carried home news of progress, and it cannot be doubted that the village supplied some of the food for the army of workers employed on the project.

Perhaps it was while the spire was being added to Salisbury Cathedral that Europe was struck by a disaster of unparalleled ferocity. A fearful disease swept through the continent. Later called the 'black death' it reached England in 1348. Contemporary writers interpreted its arrival as heralding the end of the world: Noah's flood had at least left some people to continue the human race. In Kilkenny 50 miles south-west of Dublin John Clynn wrote on a blank page left at the end of his chronicle that it was for the use of anyone still alive in the future. Others wrote that there were not enough living to bury the dead, and the stench of mass graves was such that people could hardly bear to pass their churchyards. Horror and disbelief led some writers to declare that, in the 18 months it took the disease to spread through England, 90% of the population had died. Modern research suggests that a 1300 population of about 4.5m had fallen to about 2.5m by 1380. On this basis in 80 years something over 40% of the population was swept away. During this period plague re-appeared three more times and although the epidemic of 1348-1349 was undoubtedly the most severe the 40% mortality represents the sum of successive visitations, together with the consequent reduction in the number of children born. In a series of epidemics of plague any children born after one episode are preferentially attacked in the next. This is because, unlike many of their elders who had been immunised by exposure in the preceding epidemic, none of them had any resistance to the infection. An excess mortality among children, a feature of later waves of plague in a succession of them, is called *mortalité des enfants*, or *pestis puerorum*. An example is the fate of the children who were swallowed up in a cavern (their graves) on the Koppelberg Hills outside the town in the allegorical poem *The Pied Piper of Hamlin*.

Although no positive local record has come to light Ebbesbourne Wake is unlikely to have escaped the pestilence (see p. 110). Chroniclers of the time differ about where the disease first appeared, with Bristol and Melcombe in Dorset vying

for the doubtful honour. It is clear that the disease came from France and probably Gascony from where quantities of wine were imported into England, so early cases might easily have been noted in both places. Melcombe (later Melcombe Regis because George III bathed there) now lies within the town of Weymouth but at one time it was a separate port that lay on the other side of the harbour. A chronicle compiled in the 1350s at Malmesbury Abbey in Wiltshire records that -

> *' . . . in 1348, at about the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the martyr (July 7) the cruel pestilence, hateful to all future ages, arrived from countries beyond the seas on the south coast of England at the port called Melcombe in Dorset. Travelling all over the country it wretchedly killed innumerable people . . . (it) was just as cruel among pagans as Christians.'*

Another chronicler notes that two ships had arrived in the port carrying Gascon sailors infected with the pestilence. Those on shore who were secondarily affected died, at the most, after three days of illness. Melcombe lies just 35 miles from Ebbesbourne Wake.

The disease arrived in London in November, and reached East Anglia the following year. In Coombe Bissett there is a large flat stone with a depression in one corner (a 'plague stone') that is supposed to have been used at this time, or in a later epidemic of plague. A village in which there were cases of the disease was quarantined. The depression in the stone, filled with vinegar as a disinfectant, was used to pass coins to those who lived outside the village in exchange for food, also left on the stone, to avoid physical contact between the parties.

The huge mortality had a profound effect on the countryside. Shortage of labour left much land uncultivated. The result was that rents fell and the cost of hiring labour increased. The ties binding labourers to their masters were broken as many deserted their homes to seek higher pay and better conditions elsewhere. Some landowners turned over their arable land to sheep as one shepherd with a dog could tend sheep on an area that required six men to till (for more background see *Farms and farming*, p. 101). Other landowners stopped working their land and let it out instead. Some peasant entrepreneurs took over the holdings of those who had died and rented more, so turned themselves into yeoman farmers. This newly gentrified class took the part of larger landowners (many of whom were senior churchmen) in an attempt to prevent what was left of the peasantry from getting out of hand. The Statute of Labourers (1351) attempted to fix the rates of pay for landless peasants at pre-plague levels and gave their lords first claim on their services. The intention was to control their wages and to keep them in their place, geographically and socially. It was even made a crime to wear clothes 'above ones station'.

Such harsh repression made things worse. Unsurprisingly protests against authority multiplied, from several directions. John Wyclif (1330-1384) Master of Balliol and a man of towering intellect but with an unpleasant manner felt that he had been thwarted in preferment. He began to speculate about the authority of the church establishment and he took the view that every word in the Bible, even when

contradictory, was literal truth. He also denied the mystery of transubstantiation and wanted to have the Bible published in the vernacular. Taken to extremes (and Wyclif was an extremist) such thoughts were at least subversive. When he developed the idea that the sinful (including sinful churchmen, even the pope) had no right to hold property and spoke forcibly about such things in public, subversion became heresy. Fortunately for him he had friends in high places and he escaped punishment. Although he had no close circle of disciples his ideas fell on fertile ground and a group of people called Lollards adopted and developed his ideas and spread dissention or, more accurately, acted to fan and focus that which already existed.

Another cleric who shared many of Wyclif's views (though he probably developed them independently) was John Ball. He had been excommunicated but he continued to preach, drawing large crowds. An informer who heard him reported that on at least one occasion his text was:

'Whan Adam daft (delved) and Eve span
Wo was thane a gentilman?'

When he began to urge his audiences to withhold their tithes he struck at the collection of taxes so at the heart of established order and at the close interdependence of church and state.

The last straw for many came when Richard II and his advisors, short of money, introduced a series of poll taxes. In their most severe form these were not graded by wealth and were payable from the age of 15 so the impost fell most heavily on the poor. In 1381 violent and apparently spontaneous protests arose particularly in the counties around London and in East Anglia. Riots broke out in which prisons were broken open, records burnt, lords, priors and lawyers murdered, and much property was destroyed. The Tower of London was besieged and, probably because the guards sympathised with the rioters, was entered. Among members of the court who had taken refuge there the young King and the Queen Mother escaped but others were seized among them Chancellor Archbishop Sudbury, Treasurer Sir Robert Hales, and the tax collector John Legge who had devised the poll tax in the first place. They were among a group who sought sanctuary in a chapel but who were dragged out onto Tower Hill and beheaded. (In 1990 Margaret Thatcher might have pondered their fate when she introduced a poll tax in England and Wales. A modern version of the Peasants' Revolt forced the withdrawal of the measure, though she escaped with her neck intact.) The 1381 Peasants' Revolt ended when the young King confronted the rioters at Smithfield where their leader Wat Tyler was stabbed to death. After it was all over and despite a promise of an amnesty many of the peasants' alleged leaders, including John Ball, were executed.

It is most unlikely that Ebbesbourne Wake was directly involved in the more violent of these events, but the villagers would surely have been caught up in the contemporary tide of social discontent. Even if the village was not visited by Lollards as they toured the country on their mission to preach against authority,

some villagers must have heard them speak in the market places of Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Wilton or Cranborne.

During the period 1327 to 1461 English Kings (Edward III to Henry V) shifted their expansionist policies away from the subjugation of Scotland towards a more vigorous pursuit of a long-running argument with the French about the right of English Kings to rule large areas of France. It has been said that the English found it easier (and more profitable) to pluck the lily rather than grasp the thistle. Many continental forays were made in support of their claims and it is likely that men from Ebbesbourne Wake served in one or more of the expeditions, and it is quite certain that they helped pay for them. Edward III's army of about 20,000 had been battle trained in wars against the Scots. They had learnt how to integrate formations of dismounted men-at-arms with larger numbers of archers to form a formidable fighting machine. In 1346 Edward's army met a French force of about 60,000 at the battle of Crécy. The mounted and heavily armoured French knights expected to ride down and annihilate the English but in the event the French were beaten with the loss of about a third of their force. Strangely the French learned nothing from Crécy. At Poitiers in 1356 the Crécy outcome was repeated and again in 1415 at Agincourt a sickly army of about 6000 English archers and 1000 dismounted men-at-arms, led by Henry V, used the same tactics to destroy a French force of about 25,000.

The part played by English archers in these victories has become the stuff of legend. Fundamental to their success was regular practice in the butts of thousands of English villages. If W.E.V. Young is right about the origin of the name of a small field in Ebbesbourne Wake called Butts Close (p. 175) it is attractive to think that it was here that some men of the village acquired the skills that so astonished and dismayed the French. Butts were often sited 'behind the Church' and this is where Butts Close lies in Ebbesbourne Wake. A proclamation by Edward III forbad coursing, cockfighting and other 'idle games' together with the ancient equivalents of handball, football and hockey so that men were not distracted from archery. Archery was taught from childhood. One who learnt the skill from his father describes how he was taught

> *' . . to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with the strength of arms as divers other nations do, but with the strength of the body. I had bows brought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger. For men shall never shoot well unless they be brought up in it'.*

The previously private dispute among noble members of the houses of Lancaster and York, rival claimants for the power and wealth associated with the crown, now spilled into the open. In 1453 King Henry VI, a member of the House of Lancaster, formed a 'host', a temporary standing army, to protect himself from members of the House of York who plotted his overthrow. His army was to include a large body of archers and these were supported and paid, for an initial period of six months, by the various local administrations from which they were

drawn. The largest number, 476, were Wiltshire men. It is likely that some of these came from the Chalke Valley, perhaps from Ebbesbourne Wake. Open conflict between the two sides, later called the Wars of the Roses, began in 1455. Despite his preparation when the Yorkists attacked the Royal army Henry was defeated, captured and eventually, in 1461, murdered in the Tower of London.

The wars went on for 30 years (1455-1485). They were marked by a bewildering series of military campaigns, alliances and plots. The two sides experienced astonishing changes in fortune and among the few who were involved in the fighting there was a heavy mortality that fell disproportionately on the lordly contenders. If not directly exposed to battle the rest of the population was largely indifferent so for most ordinary people life and business went on undisturbed. Matters came to a head after the murder of the (Yorkist) princes in the Tower, one of them the under-aged King Edward V, and the coronation of their uncle the Yorkist Richard III.

Meanwhile a Lancastrian heir apparent, Henry Tudor, was gathering an army in France. Henry was a grandson of the Owen Tudor who, captured in battle against the Yorkist King Edward IV, was murdered. The Duke of Buckingham signalled Henry to invade but initial attempts at Poole and Plymouth failed. On November 2nd 1483 Buckingham was executed for treason in Salisbury market place. A year later Henry Tudor landed successfully in his native Wales at Dale, near Milford Haven. He marched his growing army into the midlands and met and defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth (1485) in which Richard ('my kingdom for a horse', according to Shakespeare) was killed. Henry became King Henry VII. In 1486 he married Elizabeth the daughter of the Yorkist Edward IV, so after 30 years of bloodshed the two houses were united (*amor vincit omnia*).

The Tudors (1485 - 1603)

The royal line founded in England by William the Conqueror continued for 419 years. The line faltered from time to time and it finally fell apart in the futility of the Wars of the Roses. Henry Tudor's introduction of Welsh blood reinvigorated the monarchy. Although by modern standards ordinary Englishmen of the time were oppressed, they did in fact enjoy a degree of freedom unknown in other countries. The Tudor dynasty did not interfere with this and the country responded by developing a communal vigour that withstood all that Spain, then the most powerful nation in the world, could throw against it. The Tudor succession lasted for only 118 years but it bowed out with the bang of Good Queen Bess rather than the whimper of Richard III. When the end did come it was due to a lack of succession rather than a lack of vitality. Despite repeated pleas from her ministers Queen Elizabeth I refused to marry and she had no descendants.

In the last analysis the success of the dynasty lay, in one way or another, with its ten Tudor queens rather than with its three kings. Although six of the queens were wives of Henry VIII and one of the others reigned for only a few days, two of them managed 50 years between them. It can be argued that Henry's multiple wives had an involuntary but powerful influence on English history. They had a hand in England's break with Rome so with the Reformation, the rise of English Protestantism and, much later, the emergence of the United States of America as today's top nation.

Henry VII (1485 - 1509)
Henry brought peace to the land. The change was no doubt welcome to the villagers of Ebbesbourne Wake although they, with everyone else in Wiltshire, had been relatively fortunate. None of the battles of the wars of the Roses were fought on their soil so they did not have to submit to the truly serious unpleasantness of acting as involuntary hosts to contending medieval armies.

While he was on the throne Henry kept no standing army, so he had to use persuasion rather than the threat of force to get what he wanted. This was made easier for him because his nobles, no longer enriched by pillage from France, had also been impoverished by a long civil war. As they preferred to spend what money they had on a high standard of living they could no longer afford their bands of armed retainers. Many of the private armies that had infested England disappeared and as the few that were left depended on a state subsidy they were under royal control. The King's most powerful and potentially disruptive subjects, shorn of their military independence, were more easily kept in line.

Villagers would have been more interested in Henry VII's introduction of what were the nation's first high-quality coins. The sovereign that appeared in 1489 is still admired as a work of art. Made from nearly pure gold (slightly over 23 carats) it measured a huge 1.6 inches (4cm) in diameter, half again the size of a modern 50p piece. It was worth £1, equal to 20 shillings (20/-), or 240 pence (240d). Golden sovereigns continued to be issued as legal tender until 1917, though it was called a 'unite' in the time of King James I, (VI of Scotland), and in 1817 it was made smaller.

The other important coin, introduced in 1504, was the silver testoon or shilling of 12d. Although no longer made of silver the shilling (1/-) remained in use until it was replaced by a decimal equivalent in February 1971. The average villager would rarely, if ever, have handled a golden sovereign, but from time to time might have had a testoon in his pouch. In 1545, shortly after prices had risen substantially, the price of a 4lb (1.8 kilo) loaf of bread in London was 3d. In the year 2005 the equivalent would cost at least 80 times as much. This indicates just how little the pound in our pocket is now worth. In 1925 4lb of bread cost about 9d, only three times more than in 1545, so most of the devaluation of the pound has happened in the last 80 years.

Henry VIII (1509 - 1547)
Historically the reign of Henry VII's successor was a highly eventful one. It was accompanied by many changes that would have been noticed by the people who lived in Ebbesbourne Wake, but only two of them were the direct result of something done by the monarch himself. One was a dramatic fall in the value of their money, and the other some rather fundamental changes in the form of their Church services.

Like most kings (to say nothing of all governments) Henry VIII was chronically short of money. At a time when the face value of a coin was equal to the value of the metal in it he and his Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, (later a Cardinal) decided to enrich the Royal coffers (and themselves) by reducing the amount of gold and silver in the coinage while keeping its nominal value the same, or even for a time raising it. By 1547 Henry VII's splendid sovereign had been reduced in weight by 21%, and its gold content reduced to 20 carat, a devaluation of about a third. This debasement unfortunately coincided with failures in agriculture and trade so there was inflation and the prices of everything about doubled.

The changes in the Church were more complex. The Church of Rome's rigid hierarchical structure imposed a general conformity of belief on all adherents who, as the Church was universal, meant everyone. The discipline extended beyond purely religious matters and, at least in theory, it encompassed all human knowledge. Dissent was frowned on and even quite minor differences of opinion might be considered heresy. Under many administrations the punishment for heresy was death, perhaps by fire at the stake, so to be outspoken in dissent required a conviction and determination that might appear quixotic. The Princes of the Church (bishops, abbots, archbishops, cardinals, and finally the pope) were the arbiters, and as they possessed judicial powers and had their own courts and prisons, they could enforce their decisions.

At this time Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) revived the ancient though almost equally anciently discounted (though correct) idea that the earth and the other planets revolve round the sun. This directly contradicted the Vatican's Ptolemaic belief that the earth was the centre of the universe and that the sun and everything else revolved around it. Novel telescopic observations led Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) to publish his support for the Copernican opinion. This was heresy. In 1632 he was called before the Inquisition, imprisoned, at least threatened with torture, and eventually forced to recant. At the non-scientific end of the spectrum of belief it was heresy to deny the truth of transubstantiation. This, the central mystery of

the Mass, requires belief in the power of a priest to change the bread and wine of the Communion into the actual flesh and blood of Christ. Some died a painful death rather than accept this.

Dissent in matters of dogma and scientific fact seems to have been fairly widespread among the small group of scholars, themselves nearly all priests, who could read and understand the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Bibles. The Church tolerated private debate but when dissent became public it was suppressed. Wyclif, an early English dissident, was lucky to escape with his life, particularly as one of his more serious crimes was to promote an English language version of the Bible. In about 1384 some of his Lollard followers completed the hand-written English translation that he had started.

The eventual appearance of the Bible in German, French and English allowed a growing number of people to form an opinion of the accuracy of previously unchallenged official interpretations. Some even began to question and criticise the fundamental dogma on which the Roman Church was based. In this way vernacular versions of the Bible contributed to dissent, as indeed the Church had feared, and now the reaction, to destroy them when they did appear, fuelled the flames of the Reformation. One of the more important and influential translators was William Tyndale (1484-1536). He was persecuted in England so fled to Germany where he made his English translation. This was published in 1525. When copies reached England in 1526 the work was proscribed and most of them were burnt. Later when some German authorities began to react against the Reformation Tyndale was seized and condemned for heresy. He was strangled and his body was burnt. Tyndale's Bible lived on, however, and in due course it contributed significantly to the linguistic majesty of King James I's Authorised Version, still in use today.

Protestant reformist zeal manifested itself most strongly on the Continent where men like the Swiss Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), the German Martin Luther (1483-1546) and the Frenchman John Calvin (1509-1564) were highly influential. Zwingli preached reform in Zurich which, in 1520, became the first state to break with Rome. Luther worked in northern Germany and, like Zwingli, famously opposed the sale of papal indulgencies for the forgiveness of sins. His publication in 1516 of the 95 theses against a practice that allowed the rich to buy their way out of purgatory is considered to have marked the beginning of the reformation. The present Lutheran Church, strong in Germany, Scandinavia and the USA, is a memorial to him. Calvin settled in Switzerland and from Geneva, where his reformed Church was founded in 1541, his contribution spread more particularly in southern Europe and France. His version of Protestantism was oppressively narrow and austere, not dissimilar to that of later English Puritan sects, and it lies at the roots of Scottish Presbyterianism.

England, as usual in matters relating to the Continent, sat on the fence. Henry VIII strongly supported the authority and dogma of the (English) Roman Church. Indeed he allowed some English Protestant heretics to be burnt, and connived in the death of Tyndale. He also wrote an attack on Luther called *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*. For this Pope Leo X, in 1521, proclaimed him 'Defender of the

Faith'. Despite the Reformation this title is still used by British monarchs, on whose coins the letters F.D. (*Fidei Defensor*), appear.

Henry was, however, becoming increasingly impatient with papal assertions of authority in England over matters that Henry claimed for himself, a position also adopted by several of his royal predecessors. He began to listen to Englishmen who lent their pens and voices to a rising swell of dissatisfaction with the Church of Rome and to a growing anti-clericalism. A pamphlet of the time addressed to the King mentioned certain people who had -

> *.' .craftily crept into your realm . . holy and idle vagabonds . . bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons . . the idle and ruinous sort (who) setting labour aside have begged and gotten into their hands a third part of your realm . . '.*

Although extreme these views were widely shared, and not only among laymen. The point about a 'third part of his realm' was certainly not lost on Henry VIII, who saw the riches of the monasteries as a source of wealth on which he planned to lay his hands.

Compared with the pace of events on the continent Henry, and the English reformists, moved comparatively slowly. In Europe the ideas associated with Protestantism were popular with ordinary people and the Reformation spread like wildfire. From about 1517 the German population began to split in two. Because the country was broken up into small independent statelets it was relatively easy for Protestant reformists to take control in a significant number of these and then resist the counter-reformation. In Spain the Inquisition, set up under Thomas de Torquemada (1420-1498) had already been operating for some time. It is said that Torquemada himself was responsible for the burning of some 2000 heretics. In France the dispute between the two forms of Christianity was waged at a national level, with Calvinists (Huguenots) and Catholics at each others' throats. Led by the Church, ardent Roman Catholics formed a powerful counter to the Reformation. The Jesuits, whose well-organised opposition to the Reformation later won back large parts of Europe to the Roman cause, established a college in Paris in 1551. In the same year a French parliamentary committee called the Chambre Ardente (the burning chamber) declared that Lutheranism was a heresy, punishable by death.

Any room for compromise disappeared in 1562 when soldiers attacked a congregation of Huguenots and killed over 100, most of them women. The situation deteriorated into open conflict and between 1562 and 1598 there were eight separate religious wars in France. These eventually divided the country into a mainly Catholic north, and strongly Huguenot pockets in the south. A particularly low point was the St Bartholomew's day massacre in 1572 when some 3000 Huguenots were killed in Paris alone, and another 8000 were slain in other parts of France. The result was that about 250,000 Huguenots fled to England, Germany and The Netherlands, taking with them skills that were a loss to France and of considerable economic benefit to their new hosts. Many Huguenots arrived on the south coast of England so the people of Ebbesbourne Wake would certainly have known what was happening and they might have met some of the refugees.

Meanwhile, in England, matters were coming to a head. By 1524 Henry's Queen, Catherine of Aragon, was 40. She had had seven children (including four sons) but only one, Mary, had survived. Her failure to produce live offspring might be explained by the not incredible suggestion that Henry suffered from syphilis. This either as an entirely new disease or more probably a new more virulent variant of a pre-existing one, may have been brought back to Europe by sailors who had accompanied Columbus on his epic voyage in 1492. The 'great pox' as the disease was called to distinguish it from smallpox, cast a sinister shadow as it travelled across Europe to reach London in 1503. Here, naturally, it was called the French Pox. For their part the French called it the Neapolitan Evil.

Henry and his courtiers, increasingly worried about the succession, were desperate for a legitimate son. Unfortunately for Henry the pope refused to grant him a divorce, despite the powerful advocacy of Cardinal Wolsey, whose failure to achieve Henry's wishes led to his downfall. Henry's solution was to usurp the pope's authority, change the Church *in* England to the Church *of* England and have himself installed as its head. This remains the position and British monarchs, acting through the Prime Minister, still hold supreme authority in the Church of England. It is interesting to note that in year 2000 the pope, the head of a foreign sovereign state represented at the United Nations, appointed the new Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster as head of the Roman Church in England.

Henry's position as head of the Church was confirmed by the 1534 Act of Supremacy in which he assumed powers that included final authority over all decisions about wills, marriages and divorces. This open rebellion against Rome led to his excommunication by Pope Clement VII. Henry needed to consolidate his position at home so he, with the help of Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) who had been created Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533 and Henry's new Secretary of State, Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540), induced the English Church to accept Henry as its head. In 1533 Cranmer declared Henry's marriage to Catherine void, and she was pensioned off. Four months earlier Henry had secretly married Anne Boleyn who, already pregnant, bore him a daughter, Elizabeth, later the same year. In January 1536 Anne was delivered of a stillborn son, perhaps further evidence of Henry's syphilis. She was now of no more use, and in May she was executed for adultery. Henry married his third wife, Jane Seymour, a few days later. In 1537 Jane, who had refused the King's advances until they were married, produced a son, Edward, but she died soon afterwards. Henry's last three wives contributed nothing to the succession. Anne of Cleves, a protégé of Cromwell's, was brought over from Germany for political reasons. The plot went awry and Cromwell was executed. Anne was divorced and pensioned off. Catherine Howard, who lost her head because of 'indiscretions', followed her. Henry's sixth wife, Catherine Parr, outlived him.

While all this was going on Henry had not forgotten the monasteries. In 1536, after a very rapid survey, he began to close down the smaller houses whose annual incomes were less than £200. By 1537 an English Bible was in place in every Church. This, the Coverdale edition based on the work of others including Tyndale, was the first English language Bible to be printed in England. In 1539 it was replaced by The Great Bible, a version of Coverdale's that had been revised under the direction of Cranmer and Cromwell. All churches were required to have

a copy of this. In addition sermons had to be preached at stated intervals against the 'usurpations of Rome', and children were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, in English. Although the Mass was not abolished the power of the Pope to deliver souls from purgatory was denied, prayers for the dead were restricted and the use of images and relics condemned. These changes did not go unchallenged and there were a number of riots and risings of which the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) was the most serious. In the end Henry prevailed and some 200 rebels were executed. In 1538 a commission was set up to examine the larger monastic houses, and the following year they began to be dissolved. Dispossessed monks and nuns were pensioned off fairly generously. Opposition was generally low-key, and only three Abbots (Reading, Colchester and Glastonbury) were executed for obstructing the King's wishes.

One effect of the disappearance of the monasteries was that their charitable activities ceased. To a variable extent vagabonds had depended on monasteries for food and a dole of money to supplement what they raised by begging or theft. The population which had been decimated by plague was now on the increase once more but few of the farmers who had reduced their need for labour by enclosing land for sheep had reverted to more labour intensive mixed or arable farming. Unemployment was on the increase. Those in authority were alarmed by a threatened reduction in the number of strong-armed sons of the soil who made the best soldiers in time of war. The government, concerned by the spectre of rural depopulation and perhaps misled about the scale of it, issued a series of Royal Proclamations directing, for example, that fields be opened up, hedges rooted out and ruling that no one farmer could own more than 2000 sheep. These edicts were widely circumvented or ignored and even Wolsey, who attempted to enforce them by instituting an enquiry called 'The Domesday of Inclosures', had only limited success.

To the growing number of vagabonds was suddenly added many former employees of the monks who had supported monastic lifestyles at levels of grandeur that equalled and sometimes outdid the great secular lords. The fear that marauding bands of sturdy beggars might terrorise and pillage small communities led common people to join landowners in supporting the harsh treatment of vagabonds. As ordinary labourers were expected to work from dawn to dusk in winter for 3d a day and in summer from 5am to 7pm for 4d a day, with short breaks for meals, there was little room for compassion for the less fortunate.

The Beggars Act of 1531 was one of a series of statutes designed to control vagabonds. Local officers were enjoined to set 'all vagabonds, idle or suspect persons' in the stocks and then to eject them from the town or village, and ordered that all beggars who were unable to work should be returned to their own hundred (district) to beg there. The Act of 1531 made a distinction between the 'impotent' who could not, and the 'sturdy' who would not, work. Justices could licence the impotent to beg, but only within their own districts, where charitable collections were ordained for their support. Sturdy beggars were to be whipped and sent back from whence they came, with more severe penalties for repeat offenders. Any morality that underlay these measures was based on the by then already dead idea that everyone has a place in society and that society can provide work for everyone to maintain themselves.

By 1546 King Henry's legs could no longer support him, and he needed a wheel chair to get about. Archbishop Cranmer was at his bedside when he died on January 28th 1547. Although brutal, crafty and selfish he was also brave and politically astute. He guided England through times of change that were marked by serious civil wars in other countries. For many of his citizens he was indeed 'Good King Hal'.

Edward VI (1547 - 1553)
His successor, Edward VI, was Henry's only legitimate son. Edward was nine years old when he came to the throne, and was 16 when tuberculosis killed him in 1553. He was undoubtedly intelligent, but is variously described as a sickly youth (perhaps with congenital syphilis passed on from his father) or as a normal, healthy boy, and there are doubts about the extent to which his actions and enactments were his own or those of his mentors and advisors. During his reign the pace of Reformation quickened. His two Acts of Uniformity (1549 and 1552) required the church to adopt successive revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, and his Act against Images and Books encouraged religious iconoclasm. His death at Greenwich was kept secret for several days while courtiers plotted the succession. A few days earlier he had nominated his cousin Lady Jane Grey, a Protestant great-niece of Henry VIII, as his heir. The Protestant faction declared her Queen on July 10th 1553, but on July 19th she was deposed by Mary, Henry VIII's staunchly Papist daughter. Lady Jane was confined in the Tower and she was seventeen when she was beheaded in 1554. As she was led to the block she passed the headless body of her husband who had been executed a little earlier.

Mary I (1553 - 1558)
The writing was on the wall for the Reformation when the new Queen Mary heard a public Mass in Latin on August 13th 1553, the same day as Cranmer (who later died at the stake) was taken to the Tower. In 1554 Mary married the Catholic Phillip who later became Phillip II of Spain. Shortly afterwards a Papal Legate was installed in London, and the statutes for the punishment of heresy were revived. Even Mary's half sister, Elizabeth, was sent to the Tower for a time but public opinion was on her side, and she survived to become Queen on Mary's death.

In 1533 Mary had been declared a bastard, and in 1536 she was forced to make a formal declaration that the marriage between her mother and Henry VIII was 'by God's law and man's law incestuous and unlawful' (she had been the child bride of Henry's elder brother, Arthur, in what was probably an unconsummated marriage). In 1544 although restored to the succession, she refused to accept Protestantism. Her marriage to Phillip was a failure (he rarely saw her) but her passionate desire for an heir who, after her death, would continue her fight to bring England back to Rome led her to experience a series of phantom pregnancies that made her appear increasingly ridiculous.

Between the years 1555 and 1558 at least 274 people, including 60 women, were condemned as heretics and burnt at the stake. About 800 other influential Protestants (the 'Marian Exiles'), in fear of their lives, sought sanctuary in Germany and Switzerland. The application by the state of savage cruelty in the name of religion, on a scale not witnessed in England before (or since) was, perversely, the

opposite of what had been intended. The Protestant cause prospered, and Roman Catholics were stigmatised as brutally tyrannical. A final blow to her reign was the loss of Calais, the last remnant of what had been England's empire in France. In 1558 after five bloody years Mary's reign ended when, at the age of 42, she died.

Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603)
Mary was succeeded by her half-sister. The new Queen, Elizabeth I, was two years old when her mother, Anne Boleyn, was beheaded. When Elizabeth mounted the throne England was in a parlous state. The treasury was empty, the country's defences were crumbling, and her last foothold in France was gone. The French King Henry II who now stood just across the Straits of Dover also had a foothold in Scotland whose Queen, Mary Stuart, was married to his son Francis. Foreign affairs were only one of three persistent and overriding concerns that marked the Queen's 45 year reign. The other two were religion and the succession. Because these three threads are intricately woven a strict chronological description of the reign would be indigestible. Separate treatment of each of the threads is preferred, though this involves some repetition.

France and Spain were the two great European powers. At any time it was important for England to be on good terms with at least one of them, and most particularly that the two should never combine against her. At the beginning of her reign (notwithstanding the unhappy experience of Queen Mary and her Spanish connection) England and Spain were reasonably friendly, while France was the enemy of both. Because Philip II of Spain would not accept England's Reformation, however, it took only a few years for the tables to turn so that Elizabeth was driven to court France as Spain became the principal enemy.

One outcome of the Spanish succession to the Duchy of Burgundy was that the Netherlands, corresponding to today's Holland, Belgium and part of northern France, was ruled by Spain. Spanish rule was severe and from time to time the Dutch rose against their masters. A Protestant movement developed in the Netherlands comparable to the Huguenots in France. In 1550 the Spanish response to this was to introduce the Inquisition. Philip developed the idea of using the Netherlands as a base from which to attack the Reformation and at the same time extend Spain's secular power in Europe. He began to treat the Dutch even more harshly, not only in the matter of religion, but also by heavy taxation. Particularly brutal repression met the rebellion that broke out in 1566 and many thousands of Calvinist Flemings (natives of that part of the Netherlands called Flanders, today equivalent to Belgium with parts of Holland and France) fled to England. They were welcomed not least because of the skills they brought with them. One of these was the art of gardening, a love they transmitted to their English hosts. Immigrant Flemings founded the earliest gardening societies in England.

Meanwhile John Hawkins (1532-1595) ('Achines' as the Spanish called him) had begun to trade with the Canary Islands. What he learnt there persuaded him that he could break into the Spanish monopoly of the transatlantic slave trade. In 1562 he made a trial of this idea. Although the Spanish and Portuguese seized some of his ships and cargoes the Caribbean produce he brought back to England earned him a reputation and a handsome dividend. His success ensured that for subsequent larger expeditions he had the support, as shareholders or otherwise, of the Queen

and several Privy Councillors, and he was joined by a number of adventurers, including his cousin, Francis Drake (1543-1596). Although the official position adopted by the Queen and court was to deny any complicity, the Spaniards knew better and tension grew between the two countries. Hawkins was also responsible for the design of much improved ships that not only sailed better but were also heavily armed with cannon arranged to fire in broadsides, something which left the larger but less manoeuvrable Spanish vessels at a disadvantage, as the Armada discovered. His *Revenge* was the model on which English naval vessels were designed for the next 300 years.

In 1570 Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth, and at the same time incited European Catholic princes to invade England. As the news spread through the country serious anxiety spread with it. English Protestants knew what was in store for them if an invasion was successful. Sheriffs enrolled men into local militias and village greens were used for practice with the hackbut, the fore-runner of the matchlock musket. Beacons were prepared ready to be lit to spread news of invasion. Ebbesbourne's villagers would have been involved in the preparations and perhaps Win Green was the site of one of the beacons.

Elizabeth was now faced by the possibility that France and Spain might combine against England. To sweeten the French she began to negotiate marriage with the Duke of Anjou. Negotiations went on from 1572 to 1584 when the Duke died (of frustration?). At the same time she gave aid to the Dutch so they could resist Spain without Anjou's help. This was too little, too late, and the Dutch rebels were soon near defeat. Spain was now in a position to use the Netherlands as a base from which to attack England. In 1585 Elizabeth sent an army to Holland to help the Dutch (it failed in its mission), and she dispatched Francis Drake to harass the Spanish in their New World colonies. Drake was brilliantly successful.

At last Philip could bear no more. The execution of Mary Stuart, on whom he had depended to replace Elizabeth as a way of bringing England back to Rome, was the last straw. A huge fleet was gathered and in 1588 it set sail for the Netherlands where it would embark an army that would invade England. The English navy led by Drake, Hawkins and others, and reinforced by armed merchantmen, harried the Armada which was out-sailed, outgunned, and out-manoeuvred though not much damaged as it moved up the Channel. Demoralisation and incompetence prevented the planned junction between the ships of the Armada and the army in the Netherlands, and the Spanish fleet was broken up. Providential storms scattered it further and drove the diminishing residue into the North Sea, to battle its way back to Spain round the north of Scotland. Of 130 great ships that had set out barely half returned home.

Once on the throne, and despite her preoccupation with foreign affairs, Elizabeth saw to it that the religious tide turned once more. After the break with Rome Henry, seemingly without meaning to, began a Protestant reformation that speeded up under Edward but which went violently into reverse under Mary. It may be that Elizabeth intended to reproduce Henry's gradual approach but the return of the Marian exiles, who had been indoctrinated by contact with Lutheran and Calvinist ideas in Europe, caused events to move more quickly. In 1559 an Act of Supremacy reinstated Elizabeth as supreme governor of the Church (not its head

this time) and an Act of Uniformity re-imposed the English Book of Common Prayer. All clergy, judges, justices, mayors and other officials were required to swear an Oath of Supremacy, recognising the Queen's position. Clerics who persistently refused were to be imprisoned and laymen could be fined 12d for absence from Church. When they attended their Churches congregations would have noticed that English had once more replaced Latin in the services, and that at Communion everyone took both elements. These rapid changes are commemorated in a song of the time (an extract below) that recalls a pliant Vicar of the village of Bray in Berkshire who kept his head, and his living, through the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.

And damned are they that dare resist
Or touch the Lord's Anointed,
And this is the law I will maintain
Until my dying day, Sir,
So whatsoever King shall reign,
I will be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

In the early days of Queen Elizabeth's reign known Roman Catholics were not, in general, treated badly though they were harassed at times of increased tension between Spain and England. This leniency did not always apply to Papist symbols. In 1559 a reaction to Queen Mary's Catholicism set in and Protestant mobs, perhaps incited by Edward's Act against Images, began to enter Churches where they looted and burnt or broke up 'Papist gear'. This included rood screens, crucifixes, images of saints, copes, altar cloths, and there was other indiscriminate vandalism. In 1570 Roman Catholics experienced a change for the worse when Pius V published his Bull of Excommunication. This not only excommunicated Elizabeth but it also encouraged her own subjects (as well as continental Catholic princes) to rise against her. The pope declared that this was not only legal, but also a duty. In 1572 Pius's successor, Gregory XIII, repeated this direct incitement to treason. The call to rebellion came too late for English Catholics, however, as a revolt by some of them had just been crushed.

In time most English Roman Catholics learnt to live in peace under the Queen rather than suffer more extreme repression from their fellow countrymen or worse still the depredations of an invasion by Philip of Spain. A few did not submit, however, and these included the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel (not to be confused with local Arundell family of Wardour Castle, although they were also staunch Catholics). These conspired with others to depose Elizabeth and replace her with Mary Stuart. The sea captain, John Hawkins, contributed to the discovery of the plot that cost Norfolk his head in 1572, though Mary's remained on her shoulders until 1587.

The fear of invasion raised by the publication of the Bull of Excommunication was compounded by the near simultaneous arrival of Jesuit missionaries in England. These were young Catholic expatriates who had enrolled in one of the Jesuit Seminaries set up to train them for a secret return to England. Back in England they were to travel about to support and say Mass for the Catholics who had remained in the country, to persuade those who had relapsed to return to the Church, to convert Protestants and, when necessary, to hide in 'priests holes' in the

houses of the faithful. There can be no doubt that, as commanded by the pope, they also took any opportunity that presented itself to foment rebellion against the Queen. In 1580 there were about 100 of these Jesuit missionaries active in the country. The most famous of the Seminaries was that set up at Douai in Flanders in 1568. The most notorious and effective seminarian was the charismatic Edmund Campion (1540-1581). He was a powerful orator who at the age of 13 had been selected to make a speech of welcome to Queen Mary when she entered London, and again when Elizabeth visited the University of Oxford in 1566. Campion's sympathies lay with Rome and under suspicion he left England and entered the Douai Seminary. He returned in 1580 but in 1581 he was betrayed and discovered with two others in a secret chamber in a house in Berkshire. He was arrested, put on the rack to extract a confession of treason, which he denied. He was condemned and sentenced to die at Tyburn where he was to be hanged drawn and quartered. His executioners took pity on him and waited until he was dead before the sentence was completed.

The Church of England founded by Henry VIII, developed by Edward VI and re-established under Elizabeth, was and still is a curious mixture of Protestant doctrine and dogma and Roman ceremonial. At its foundation doctrine concerning such things as the use of English, belief in purgatory and the forgiveness of sins, transubstantiation, and the veneration of saints and prayers for the dead were new, but the conduct of services retained much of the old Roman form and ritual. It was thus open to attack from two sides, by Papists who wanted it to return to the traditional Roman fold, and by various Puritan or Nonconformist sects who wanted to be rid of all taint of Rome. Bishop Jewel objected to 'scenic apparatus' meaning the Roman vestments still worn by the priests of the new Church of England. As the queen liked them his objection could have been dangerous. Others disapproved of the use of idols and images and objected to the presence in church of statues of saints.

John Jewel (1522-1571) who was created Bishop of Salisbury in 1560 was something of a Puritan and could have been identified as such for his attack on vestments. He was a respected figure in the Protestant movement, however, so he escaped censure. He produced what remained for some time the standard work on Anglican doctrine in which he argued that the Church of England represented a return to the classical Christianity of Roman times. He derided the Pope's Bull of 1570, but he was in tune with the times when, in a sermon before the queen, he underlined his belief in witchcraft, and spoke of the need for harsh penalties for those who practiced it. He also spoke against the destruction by mobs of 'Popish gear'. Maintaining that a bishop 'should die in the pulpit' (which he very nearly did) he wore himself out riding round his diocese preaching, so perhaps his criticism of vandalism reflected knowledge of what had happened, for example, to Ebbesbourne Wake's Rood Screen (p. 137).

General anti-Catholic sentiment continued to grow because of public fear of invasion, aggravated by the presence of Jesuit 'spies'. Elizabeth and her court, whose lives were directly threatened by Pius's 1570 Bull of Excommunication, knew that a number of powerful families were plotting to overthrow her and put Mary Stuart on the throne. They reacted by enacting increasingly severe penalties against any Roman Catholics who were perceived to be a threat. The penalty for

failure to attend Church, previously a fine of 12d for each Sunday (probably rarely exacted) was increased to £20 a month. A Roman Catholic priest could be fined 200 marks (worth 13/4 each) for saying Mass, and he might be subject to the penalty for treason. Laymen could be required to swear before two Justices that they denied the authority of the pope. Those who refused were recusants, liable to the £20 a month fine if they did not attend Church. Failure to pay the fine could lead to the seizure of goods and chattels, and of up to two-thirds of any land held. Eventually recusants were forbidden to hold any public office, keep arms, go to law, travel more than five miles from their homes without a licence, or be an executor, guardian, doctor or lawyer. Some of these penalties were meted out to Thomas Gawen, originally of Norrington Manor in Alvediston but also of Ebbesbourne Wake (p. 176). Although anti-Catholic laws had been on the statute book for some years the fact that he did not feel their full weight until 1601 suggests that Elizabeth's approach to compliance in these matters was much more relaxed than that of her half-sister, Mary I.

On the other side of the religious divide many members of the Puritan faction worked from inside the Church, so were not so easily dealt with. When John Whitgift (1530-1604) was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1572 he found the Church in some disarray. Ecclesiastical law was widely ignored, there was much lack of uniformity, and the Elizabethan settlement had been undermined. With the Queen's help and approval he set out to correct this. He enforced anti-Puritan measures, but with circumspection so although Puritans came to hate him he did not create any Puritan martyrs. A feature of his time in office was his insistence that the Church should support the government's social and economic policies. As an example he told his bishops that they should enforce the law regarding the treatment of vagabonds and beggars. As a sidelight on the manners of the time it is notable that Whitgift was wealthy and although a generous benefactor he lived very well. His money came from pluralities: in 1571 he was, simultaneously, Dean of Lincoln, a prebend of Ely, Master of Trinity College Cambridge, and Rector of Teversham.

The Tudor dynasty was beset by the problem of legitimate succession. Henry VII had two sons and two daughters, but he outlived his elder son and none of his second son's three children produced any offspring. The dynasty ended when Elizabeth died in 1603. In the matter of religion Henry (latterly and almost accidentally), Edward and Elizabeth were Protestants while Mary was a Papist. Elizabeth was anxious to avoid a Papist as her successor but failing a child of her own her heir was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, a descendant of one of Henry VIII's sisters, and a strict Roman Catholic. Despite many urgings Elizabeth refused to marry although she used the idea that she might with great skill. For dynastic reasons a match with Elizabeth was attractive to Swedish, Scottish, Spanish, French and Hapsburg princes as it would have led to the emergence of what at the time would have been a super-power. Her half sister Mary Tudor's experience of foreign marriage had, however, been inauspicious, but to take an English husband might have meant a return to civil war. Her trump card proved to be the avoidance of matrimony while holding protracted negotiations with a succession of foreign suitors chosen as dictated by the need to make friends and enemies among continental rivals.

Mary Stuart was one week old when she succeeded to the Scottish throne. She was brought up at the French court with the royal children and at the age of six she was married to the French Dauphin, Francis. When Mary Tudor died she claimed the English throne on the basis that Elizabeth was illegitimate because the pope had refused to invalidate Catherine of Aragon's marriage to Henry VIII. Although her claim was ignored in England she nevertheless formally assumed the title. In 1560, at the age of 18, her husband died. A year later changes at the French court caused her to return to Scotland even though the country was split on religious lines as a result of the Reformist zeal of John Knox. Knox had been one of the Marian exiles and was a stern Protestant in the Calvinist mould.

She was an inveterate though surprisingly incompetent schemer. Knox characterised her as of a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an obdurate heart. For example when she returned to Scotland she publicly undertook not to interfere in religious matters, though she had earlier told the pope that she intended to bring the country back to Rome. She married Robert Darnley, Earl of Leicester who was both a Catholic and next in line of succession to the English throne after Mary herself. She had a son by him who became James VI of Scotland and I of England. As the result of some extraordinary intrigues Darnley was murdered, and Mary was forced to leave Scotland. Why she chose to flee to England is a mystery though perhaps it was another example of her incompetence as a schemer. At all events and hardly surprisingly Elizabeth had her apprehended. She remained in England under house arrest for 19 years, many of which she spent secretly scheming Elizabeth's downfall through the Spanish Embassy in London. When she was executed in 1587 Elizabeth claimed, perhaps not very convincingly, that she had been tricked into signing her death warrant.

In Elizabeth's time the problem of what to do with paupers, vagabonds and beggars continued to grow. A contemporary writer estimated the number of 'sturdy beggars' at 10,000 and distinguished 23 different kinds of rogue among them. These varied from beggars who feigned misfortune or illness such as 'fresh water sailors', bogus shipwrecked mariners who had never been beyond Salisbury plain, or those who tried to gain sympathy by exposing arms and legs blistered with spearwort, ratsbane or some other corrosive, to prostitutes and outright thieves of various kinds. It was generally accepted that public benevolence should provide for the impotent poor who, through no fault of their own, could not support themselves but it was agreed that charity should not extend to shirkers, scavengers, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. The impotent poor included the aged, the infirm or the disabled, and children. The problem was how to separate the two groups, and then to find the money to support those who deserved it. Dependence on simple charity proved inadequate so it was decided to levy an obligatory rate or tax on those who could afford it. Five hundred years later nothing has changed.

Queen Elizabeth's 1563 statute reinstated the harsh provisions of Henry VIII and Edward VI for sturdy beggars but tempered the treatment of the impotent by arranging for bishops to oversee the collection of the compulsory levy. Those who failed to pay were to be coerced by the Justices. In 1572 the duty of collection was transferred to civil officials, who were also required to find accommodation for impotent paupers, whose children were put into service. Sturdy beggars were whipped and had a hole punched in their ears. Further benevolence was doubtless

intended when in 1576 it was decreed that honest paupers should be provided with work for which they were to be paid, though rogues were sent to 'houses of correction' (as prisons are still called in some American states).

In 1592 begging was prohibited, and the collection of the levy for paupers was delegated to officials in each parish called Overseers of the Poor, appointed by Justices. Their duty was to collect the levy or poor rate and distribute it in the form of outdoor relief for paupers who had somewhere to live or to provide accommodation for those who needed it, together with work which was intended to pay for their keep. Of course any work they did could not be allowed to undercut the economic activities of ordinary citizens so it was of necessity unpleasant, menial, and had to be enforced. The system was administered by those who paid the rates so the process was open to nepotism and corruption. It was not long before it was difficult to distinguish between the treatments meted out to rogues and vagabonds sent to houses of correction or that which was applied to impotent paupers admitted to workhouses.

Other notable features of Queen Elizabeth's reign were the beginning of the appearance of potatoes in the national diet, the multiplication of chimneys on cottages, changes in the calendar and, towards its end, the close of the era of the longbow. Potatoes first reached Europe in about 1570, and they arrived in England in 1586. They were destined to become an important item in the diet particularly of poorer people who found that the area of land on which they could grow food for themselves was shrinking. For many a significant area of the common field had turned into a cottage garden. Potatoes helped to make up for this as they produce four times as much carbohydrate (starch) as can be had from a similar area of wheat. In 1595 the Privy Council decreed that the longbow, for hundreds of years the mainstay of English armies, should never again be issued as a weapon of war. The bow had at last been overtaken by gunpowder.

In the days of the Henrys the average village would have boasted few if any chimneys. In cottages the smoke from wood or furze fires used for cooking escaped through cracks in doors and small unglazed windows. By 1577 chimneys began to multiply as the greater availability of bricks made them easier to build, and cottages were constructed of more durable materials than the former wattle and daub. A further stimulus was the decreased availability of wood as forests gave way to pasture or disappeared under the plough. Wood began to be replaced by coal. To make this burn properly a chimney was needed to make a draught and get rid of its acrid smoke. The coalfield nearest Ebbesbourne Wake was centred on Radstock in Somerset, south of Bath. Before canals and railways were established coal was distributed in panniers on the backs of strings of donkeys able to negotiate poor cross-country tracks.

The problem with the calendar is that it takes 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 46 seconds for the earth to complete its annual circle round the sun. Because of this the year cannot be divided up into an exact number of days, so an occasional adjustment is necessary if midsummer, harvest and midwinter and from a religious point of view, Church festivals, are not to move through the calendar. Julius Caesar's answer was to assume a year lasted 365 days and 6 hours (a quarter of a day) so his Julian calendar, introduced in 45 BC, added February 29th as an extra

day every fourth year, to make leap-years of 366 days. Caesar's correction, nearly right, was too much by only a few minutes and seconds, but over the centuries these added up and eventually the calendar was once more out of phase with the seasons. By 1582 the difference was ten days. Pope Gregory XIII allowed for the length of the year almost exactly by cancelling the leap year in three of each four successive centennial years. This is why the year 2000 was a leap year and why the years 2100, 2200 and 2300, although leap years by the normal rule, will have only 28 days in February. The pope also decided, at a stroke, to correct the cumulative ten-day error.

Most Roman Catholic countries adopted the Gregorian calendar at once. This provided that those who went to bed on October 4th 1582 would wake up the next day on October 15th. Most Protestant countries objected on principal to a papal decree so stuck to the Julian calendar. This meant that events taking place in Rome and London on the same day appeared to have happened on dates separated by ten days. This difference could be very important when treaties, or business and financial deals were struck across international boundaries. For this reason it was customary to write two dates on all agreements and correspondence, to give them in what were called the 'old' and the 'new' styles. England stuck to the Julian calendar until 1752 by which time it was necessary to add 11 days to correct the deficiency. For Englishmen Wednesday September 2nd was followed by Thursday the 14th. Many ordinary people were angry because they thought that the change had shortened their lives. The cry went up 'give us back our 11 days'! In Russia, again for religious reasons, the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar was not made until 1917. The great Bolshevik October Revolution happened in November.

On the 24th March 1603, after nearly 45 years on the throne and at the age of 69, Queen Elizabeth I died. She, variously and fondly referred to as 'Gloriana', 'The Faerie Queen' and 'Good Queen Bess' was, and still is, something of an icon. There is no doubt that she was the crowning glory of the Tudor dynasty, a dynasty that in itself was remarkable as the period that saw the establishment of many administrative and social structures that are still familiar today. Parliament had begun to develop the power and independence that in a few years would allow it not only to defy, but even to unseat a monarch. The Church had ceased to be an immoveable monolith. In its Anglican form it had to steer a course and strike a balance between the old Roman tradition on the one hand, and the new Puritans on the other. Government was still grossly undemocratic, of course, as it represented only a tiny fraction of the people, but this fraction had begun to understand that they must treat the rest of the population with at least some respect otherwise they might kill the goose that laid the golden eggs on which their lifestyles depended. On the other side of the Channel the French ruling classes failed to see this until too late when many of them lost their heads in a full-scale, bloody revolution.

Even after the lapse of time it is still difficult to establish a balanced view of the Tudor religious conflict. Opinion differs according to the religious or political stance of the commentator. As had happened in the British Isles nearly a thousand years earlier when the Celtic and Roman traditions of Christianity came into conflict serious arguments over fundamental differences became, on the surface, disputes over what now appear as trivia. In the first millennium AC these were the

date of Easter, and the form of tonsure adopted by the monks of the two traditions. In Tudor times deep religious differences were resolved into a question of treason. Adherents to the doctrine of the Reformation held that Queen Elizabeth I was their legitimate monarch. Roman Catholics held that Mary Stuart (Mary Queen of Scots) was the true heir of Queen Mary I. For Protestants an attempt to unseat Elizabeth was nothing less than treason. At the same time many Roman Catholics felt obliged to plot Elizabeth's downfall as two popes had said that this was a religious duty.

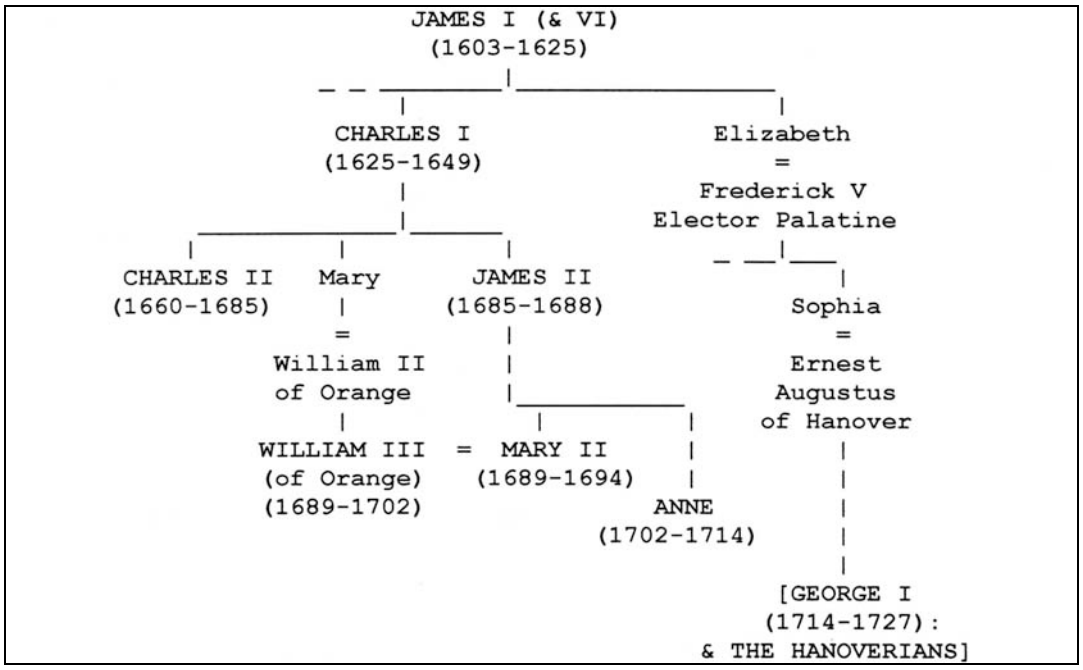
The result was that the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, and Edmund Campion together with many others (including Thomas Gawen of Norrington) were guilty of treason. In their own view, of course, they were literally on the side of the angels. The writings W.E.V. Young, a local historian and a convert to the Roman Church, show that he shared this opinion. So far as brutality is concerned a comparison between Mary I and Elizabeth I shows that Mary killed Protestants at an annual rate of 56, compared with Elizabeth's four Catholics. It may also be relevant that while Mary allowed her rival, Jane Grey, to live for only a few months, Elizabeth kept Mary Stuart alive, though in captivity, for 19 years and even then (on the worst interpretation of what she did and in the face of a serious threat from Spain) agreed to her death unwillingly. Elizabeth showed some compassion. Mary showed none.

The Stuarts and the Commonwealth (1603 - 1714)

By the end of the Tudor dynasty the principal arena in which English history continued to evolve had begun a move away from rural areas and the concerns of country-folk, and was increasingly turning to activities in towns and cities. Of course the central political apparatus was still engrossed with foreign affairs and court intrigue and with ever more rancorous disputes between the Monarch and Parliament, but even before the industrial revolution had started the centres of economic development had begun to migrate to urban areas. Though much of the distribution of agricultural produce was still operated face-to-face between producer and consumer it was increasingly taken over by middlemen who could organise its collection, marketing and distribution nationally and internationally, on a commercial basis.

Between them the Tudors and the Stuarts created the United Kingdom of Great Britain. During the Tudor era Welshmen flocked to the court in London. Wales, subjugated under a Welsh monarch, was incorporated administratively into England (a process now in reverse). The same thing happened to Scots under the Stuarts, though Scotland kept its Parliament for a time (and has now regained it) and it never lost its national Presbyterian Church, or its distinct legal system.

Figure 5, The Stuart dynasty (English monarchs in capitals, with their dates)



James VI of Scotland and I of England (1567 - 1603 - 1625)

At the age of one James, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, became James VI of Scotland. When he heard of Elizabeth's death in 1603 he set off at once for London to claim his English inheritance. James was writer - one of his many books was *The Counterblast to Tobacco*, published in 1604. He spoke with a

heavy Scots accent, washed infrequently, and was often drunk. His father had been murdered (his mother married the murderer) and he lived much of his young life in fear of assassination. He often wore a dagger-proof doublet and he had a dread of weapons. He was a homosexual who, in 1617, famously declared before the Council of State '. . for Jesus Christ did the same . . . Christ had his John, I have my George'. George was the Duke of Buckingham, one of James's favourites. James was exceptionally vain and his love of hunting often took precedence over his regal duties.

James never came to terms with the fact that Scotland and England were different countries, governed differently, under different laws. As he travelled south shortly after his accession a petty thief was caught in his presence. He was surprised to discover that his order, summarily to hang the prisoner, was unlawful. Once established in London, perhaps in revenge for having to sit through Scottish Presbyterian sermons, he lectured the House of Commons at length on the art of government and the Divine Right of Kings. Parliament was unimpressed and the result was a series of disputes with the court, a weak foreign policy, and the wasting away of the great Tudor navy.

Although he was friendly with Spain James took the side of the Anglicans against both Catholics *and* Puritans. Both of them (the latter jointly with Scottish Presbyterians) disputed the King's divinely ordained absolute right to rule the Church as well as the State. When the extreme Catholic faction realised that he was not going to lead the country back to Rome some English gentlemen led by Guy Fawkes, all of whom had served as officers in the Spanish army in the Netherlands, banded together in the Gunpowder Plot. This was designed to rid them of a King who was a disappointment together with an Anglican House of Commons by blowing them up at the Royal Opening of Parliament in the Palace of Westminster. The celebration of Guy Fawkes Day on November 5th every year is a lasting memorial to their failure. The plotters were executed and further anti-Catholic legislation was introduced banning recusants from public office.

Another lasting memorial to his reign was the publication, in 1611, of the King James Authorised version of the Bible. At the time a bound copy of this sold for 30/-. The majesty of the text is somewhat marred by a sycophantic dedication but even this is of interest as it contains an expression of the anxieties current at the time:

> *' . . whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well unto our Sion, that upon the setting of that bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would have so overshadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk . . . the appearance of Your Majesty . . .instantly dispelled these supposed and surmised mists . .'*

Other notable events during this reign were the adoption of the first Union Flag (a combination of the cross of St George and St Andrew's saltire: the cross of St

Patrick was not added until 1801); the beginning of the disastrous plantation of Ulster with Protestant Scots (1609); and the beneficial departure to the American colonies of 101 Puritan Pilgrim Fathers (1620). In the first two months of his reign James created more knights than Elizabeth had in her last ten years. Francis Bacon, philosopher, essayist and later Lord Chancellor and First Baron Verulam, himself offered a knighthood in 1603, wrote to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, minister to both Elizabeth and James, '. . . this almost prostitutes the title of knighthood'. Despite the reservation he accepted the honour. In 1603 Henry Bodenham, a member of the Ebbesbourne Wake manorial family, was fined for refusing a knighthood; why he did this is a matter of guesswork. Later in his reign James, kept short of money by Parliament, resorted to the sale of peerages.

Charles I (1625 - 1649)

Charles I shared his father's vanity, his love of hunting, and his support for the Anglican Church. Not so intellectual but more virtuous and Godly, there was less coarseness and fewer scandals at court in Charles' time. He also shared with his father the conviction that his right to rule was God-given and absolute. Because he would not submit his authority to the pope he was anti-Catholic, and he was anti-Puritan because the Puritans wanted to destroy the Anglican Church, of which he was the supreme governor. His anti-Catholic stance was weakened by his toleration of the Catholic faction that collected at Court round his French wife. Anti-Catholic laws were not enforced but he was less benign in his treatment of the Puritans.

Puritans were not of a single mind but in general they wished to rid worship of all formality and ritual. Many also hoped to abolish the episcopacy and replace Anglicanism with Presbyterianism. The King was an Arminian Anglican. (Arminius was a Dutch theologian whose followers rebelled against the tyranny of Calvinism, Puritanism and Presbyterianism. Arminians were the equivalents of today's Anglo-Catholics.) Charles appointed a number of Arminian bishops, including William Laud (1573-1644) who was created Archbishop in 1633. Laud began his life as an academic. He visited his first bishopric, St David's, twice in his six years as its Bishop and he never visited the see while he was Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was an idealist who wanted to restore the Church to its medieval greatness.

The King and his bishops acted together. The King protected the bishops against attacks by Puritans and particularly from the Puritan (Roundhead) faction in Parliament. In return the bishops, who followed the King in assuming their Divine Right to enforce decisions in religious matters, saw to it that the King was supported from the pulpit. According to the Court Puritans were guilty of sedition while bishops thought them guilty of blasphemy. As the pulpit and the printing presses were under the control of the king and the bishops the two principal routes by which information reached the general population were subject to censorship. Active Puritans turned to the clandestine publication of pamphlets. In 1637 some of their authors suffered public mutilation in the pillory but this had an effect opposite to that desired as the victims gained sympathy and support for their cause.

The King and the bishops used courts, including the Star Chamber, to enforce their decisions. As these courts were the prerogative of the King they bypassed the common law that was dispensed in ordinary courts. This caused even more discontent.

The general perception was that the King was friendly with Spain, the old enemy; that he tolerated Roman Catholic practices at court; that he supported his bishops in their adoption of pomp in their secular roles as princes of the Church; and that he approved their introduction into worship of ceremonial and rituals reminiscent of the pre-Reformation Roman Church. This perception, shared by Parliament, was a reason for keeping the King on a very short financial leash. The intention was to prevent him developing an army that could be used to suppress Parliamentary and other opposition to his supposed religious and autocratic designs.

In the first four years of his reign Charles called three parliaments. In addition to refusing him the money he hoped for they attacked his foreign and religious policies. After the dissolution of the third Parliament he ruled for 11 years without a fourth. He raised money by the imposition of a series of barely legal or frankly illegal taxes. These fell most heavily on the property-owning classes some of whom, as a result, joined the Puritans in opposing the King. His most serious blunder was to try to force the English Prayer Book on the Scots. This precipitated an armed rebellion to counter which Charles needed to raise money, so he had to recall Parliament. The new House immediately imposed a number of humiliating conditions, eventually voting to abolish bishops. Even for many who otherwise opposed the King, this was too much. The King imagined this division of opinion gave him an opportunity to regain the initiative. On January 4th 1642 the King, with a crowd of at least 300 armed retainers, went to Parliament to arrest the five members most active against him (Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hesilrige, and Strode). They, being warned, fled into the City of London where, under the protection of the City's train-bands (militia), they were out of the King's reach. A few days later the King, defeated, left London only ever to return to his capital as a prisoner. On August 22nd he raised his standard in Nottingham and on September 23rd 1642 an armed skirmish between the forces of King and Parliament marked the beginning of the Civil War.

At first the tide of war flowed in favour of the King and the Cavaliers but the leadership failed to capitalize on early success. In the end access to the sources of money and better organisation won the day. The Cavaliers were cut off from London and the major ports all of which, together with the navy, sided with Parliament. In Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) the Roundheads found a man of unusual will-power and organising skill who sooner or later, however, managed to offend most of those with whom he came into contact. Until he was 41 he had spent most of his life as a country gentleman and farmer, with no military experience. He entered Parliament in 1628 as member for Huntingdon and later as member for Cambridge (1640) he had a ringside seat as Charles played out his last days in power.

Cromwell supported the abolition of the episcopacy. This did not happen until 1646, but as the war continued Parliament gradually imposed more of its Puritan agenda. In 1644 a Directory of Worship replaced the Book of Common Prayer. This provided orders of service and biddings, but no set prayers, which were to be extempore. They also ordered the strict observance of Sundays, and forbad the celebration of the feast of Christmas. The *Directory* not only altered the form of weekly worship in most churches of the land, but it also abolished the standard forms of baptism, marriage and burial. By an ordinance of August 24th 1653 the Barebones Parliament decreed that a lay registrar ('Register', p. 109) must record all births and deaths, for a fee of 4d. When Charles I's body was buried at Windsor the only ceremony allowed was that provided in the new *Directory*. The same ordinance turned marriages into civil contracts which were sworn before a Justice. The fee was 12d (one shilling). Of all the changes this was perhaps the most resented and some couples arranged two or three ceremonies, for example first before a Justice, next according to the new *Directory*, and finally by a more traditional religious rite.

Cromwell learnt the art of war in 1643 when he led a series of skirmishes that secured the east of England for Parliament,. At the same time he formed and disciplined his own regiment, later called the Ironsides. His experience was put to good use in 1645 when Parliament designed and developed the war-winning New Model Army. In June 1646 Thomas Fairfax Commander in Chief of the Parliamentary army together with Cromwell, now himself a senior military commander, accepted the surrender of the King's headquarters in Oxford. The King had already given himself up to the Scots.

The Roundhead victory was followed by confusion as the King (who temporised endlessly in negotiation), Parliament, the army and the Scots all pulled in different directions. In 1647 Cromwell opposed Parliament when it tried to disband the army without the arrears of pay due to it and wanted to replace Anglicanism with Presbyterianism. At the same time he opposed the more radical elements in the army who pressed for a settlement based on an extreme version of Puritanism, amounting to communism.

Meanwhile, also in 1647, the Scots agreed with Parliament to exchange Charles for the sum of £400,000, an amount equal to about one-third of the arrears of pay due to the Scottish army. Charles, initially interned by Parliament, was seized by the army and held prisoner first in Newmarket and then at Hampton Court, while protracted negotiations continued about the conditions under which he might return to the throne. In November 1647 the King finally forced the issue by escaping to Carisbrook Castle on the Isle of Wight. He sealed his fate in December when he signed an agreement with the Scots by which they would attack the English army and restore him to the throne in return for which he would establish the Presbyterian Church in England.

By this ill-judged act Charles precipitated the Second Civil War which ended decisively in August 1648 when Cromwell comprehensively defeated the Scots at the battle of Preston. Winston Churchill wrote of this:

> *' . . King, Lords and Commons, landlords and merchants, the City and the countryside, bishops and presbyters, the Scottish Army, the Welsh people and the English fleet, (had) all now turned against the New Model Army. The Army beat the lot.'*

On the Isle of Wight The King reopened negotiations with Parliament which still hoped to restore him to the throne and establish Presbyterianism in the country. The army, enraged at having to fight Charles twice and fearful of Parliament's intentions, took direct action. Charles was re-arrested, the Parliamentary Presbyterian faction was sent packing ('Colonel Pride's purge') and the 'Rump' that remained set up a High Court of Justice that tried, condemned, and executed King Charles I in Whitehall on January 30th 1649 (or on February 9th 1649 according to the 'New Style', the Gregorian calendar that was already in use in much of Europe, though not yet accepted in England).

England had become a Commonwealth supposedly governed by the residue of Members of Parliament who had been elected eight years previously but in reality it was ruled by the army. A few days after Charles lost his head his son was declared King Charles II, but only in Scotland and Jersey. For its part Parliament abolished both 'the office of a King' and the House of Lords.

Of secondary importance to the general conduct of the war, but of great local interest were sieges mounted on two nearby castles. Corfe Castle, 25 miles away, was held for the King by Dame Mary Bankes. The Roundheads besieged the castle twice, in 1643 and 1646. On the second occasion it was taken after seven weeks as a result of treachery by a member of her garrison. A month later Parliament voted for its destruction, and engineers reduced it to its present ruinous state by mining and the use of gunpowder.

Closer at hand, only five miles from Ebbesbourne Wake, is Wardour Castle. Sir Thomas Arundell acquired this in 1547 but, found guilty of a felony, he was deprived of it in 1552. In 1570 it was bought back by his son, Mathew, who reconstructed it and in 1592 passed it on to his son, another Thomas, created Baron Arundell of Wardour by James I in 1605. The third baron supported the royalist side in the Civil War. His estate was forfeit during the Commonwealth but as a friend had bought it it was returned to the family at the Restoration. The family were staunch Roman Catholics and it is reputed that the castle was one of the few places in England where the 'old religion' never ceased to be practiced. The last Lord Arundell died in 1944. The present Arundell family, descendants through a female line, have adopted the old name.

During the Civil War the castle was besieged twice. In 1643 the second Lord Arundell joined the King in Oxford leaving his household in charge of his wife Blanche who was about 60 years old. Sir Edmund Hungerford, the Parliamentary leader in Wiltshire, besieged the castle. On May 2nd a force of 1300 faced a garrison of 25. Blanche initially refused to surrender. The besieger's small cannon did little more than break the windows but after a mine had been sprung the morale

of the besieged broke and they gave up on May 8th. The Roundheads decided to garrison the castle, and Edmund Ludlow was given command, supported by a few horsemen and a company of infantry.

In the meantime Blanche's husband had died of wounds and his son Henry, (the third baron) was part of what had become a strong Cavalier force in Wiltshire. He demanded that Ludlow surrender. This was refused, and the Cavaliers invested the castle. Before this had happened Ludlow travelled to Southampton to purchase ammunition, and he added to his stock of provisions by intercepting peasants (some must have come from Ebbesbourne Wake) on their way to and from the market in Shaftesbury. We do not know if they were paid for the produce that was confiscated. By the end of January several breaches had been made in the walls and food and water were running short. Mining began but resistance continued until on March 14th 1644 the mine was sprung. Severe damage was done and part of Ludlow's remaining food and ammunition were destroyed. Despite this the garrison continued to hold out until March 18th when Ludlow agreed terms of surrender. These were broken and although Ludlow was treated well two of his soldiers were shot and the remainder taken to Oxford as prisoners

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None of the important battles of the Civil War were fought in the vicinity of Ebbesbourne - the closest significant engagements were near Bath and Devizes in 1643, at Newbury twice (1643 and 1644) and at Arlesford, Hants, in 1645. Despite this from time to time people living in the village would have been aware of, and probably felt threatened by, the movements of bodies of troops. The pay of soldiers on both sides was almost always in arrears – often grossly so. Unable to pay for their food and lodging they were more or less forced to pillage to support themselves and feed their horses. As the war progressed non-combatant members of some local communities banded together under the title 'Club Men', to try to protect themselves from such despoilation. While claiming not to take sides they molested armies on the move by, for example, stealing their horses, though they claimed impartiality by threatening that . . . 'what party soever falls upon them, they will join the other'.

An example of their activities appeared in a letter written on July 3rd 1645 from Blandford in Dorset by the Roundhead commander, General Fairfax, asking for guidance from his political masters in London. The general had marched from Newbury with 11,000 partly trained men of the New Model Army to relieve Parliamentarians besieged by a Cavalier force in Taunton. After they had passed close to Ebbesbourne Wake and had reached Blandford the general wrote in his letter . . . 'I have the enemy before me, towards whom I am advancing . . . and in the rear these (Club) men who, being very numerous . . . I know not what they will attempt'. He also mentions the subject of soldiers' pay. 'I am careful to prevent any just cause of clamour from the country . . . and hope there will be care taken for the sending of money . . . (so the army) may give contentment to the people by discharging their quarters.' Attached to his letter were two appendices, first a deposition by a Salisbury Club Man, arrested on suspicion of spying, who gave information about their numbers, organisation and leadership and the second an example of the warrants issued by their leadership to surrounding parishes, seeking

subscriptions for their support. By coincidence the warrant concerned happens to have been addressed to the tithing-man of Ebbesbourne Wake, asking (with some menaces) for a payment of £2-18-4½d. Sums collected in this way were to be put together and used to pay for the subsistence of two local garrisons, as this was preferable to troops riding out to plunder local communities.

Fairfax identified the two local garrisons, one cavalier, the other roundhead, as located at what are today Longford Castle just south of Salisbury, and Faulston House in the Chalke Valley, at Bishopstone, within easy reach of Ebbesbourne Wake. The history of Faulston House goes back to Norman times when it was part of an estate belonging to the Bishop of Winchester. In 1376 its owner, Nicholas Baynton, was given permission to crenellate (fortify) the property, and as described later by John Aubrey it acquired a moat with a drawbridge, embattled walls and two towers. A later owner was Sir Richard Vaughan who, wounded at the Battle of Lansdowne, was a royalist who fought with the king, but the Parliamentary Committee for Wiltshire occupied his manor and used it as an administrative centre, under the protection of a roundhead garrison commanded by Major William Ludlow. The fortifications were 'slighted' (destroyed) in October 1645 when Ludlow was moved to take command of Longford Castle after its royalist garrison had been ousted. All that remains of Aubrey's 'noble old-fashioned house' is one of the towers, today a dovecote.

The response to Fairfax's letter led him to retrace his steps so, in the midst of an early heat-wave, his army marched for a fortnight with only one day's rest. They arrived back in Newbury exhausted, with their shoes worn out.

For most of the Civil War Sir Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671, later the third Baron) was commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army. A member of a Yorkshire Anglican family he was a religious moderate, and not much interested in politics. Between 1629 and 1631 he developed his military skills while fighting with William of Orange in the Netherlands and France. On the outbreak of the Civil War his father (an MP) was made commander of the roundhead forces in Yorkshire, with Thomas as the General of his Horse. Personal bravery and leadership ability soon identified him as the best military leader on either side. He refused to join the commission that judged and sentenced Charles I to death, and he was later appointed as one of those sent to invite Charles II to return to the throne. Although younger than Oliver Cromwell, he was senior to him. He lacked Oliver's puritan fanaticism and political ambition.

The Commonwealth or Interregnum (1649 - 1660)

The members of the Rump of Parliament and the officers of the army who now ruled England, with a Council of State as their executive, were neither constitutional nor popular. Their authority was challenged not only by Cavaliers and Presbyterians but also by Levellers, Diggers and other radical elements in their own army. The navy had mutinied and Cavalier privateers controlled the seas. Scotland and Ireland were in revolt in support of the Charles some already recognised as King Charles II. The American colonies were either indifferent, or frankly hostile, and Europe regarded England as an outcast, of no account.

Cromwell took as his first task the subjugation of Ireland. This was made easier because Protestants, of whatever hue, took him as their champion while those who opposed Parliament switched their allegiance from the Royalist to the Catholic cause. The methods used by Cromwell to defeat the native Irish did not differ from those used by the army in England during the Civil War but demonised by later Catholic Irish writers (for whom facts are never allowed to spoil a good story) the memory still bedevils Anglo-Irish relations. A more genuine cause of bitterness was Cromwell's acceleration of the transfer of land from Irish to British ownership, a process begun under the Tudors and the Stewarts. Cromwell's purpose (as theirs had been) was to head off Irish rebellions that might be accompanied by the entry of French or Spanish armies into Ireland as a convenient base from which to invade England. Interestingly the plantation of Cromwell's soldiers as yeoman farmers in Ireland rebounded when they bonded by marriage with the local Irish peasantry rather than with the Protestant gentry. In this way Saxon and Ironside qualities mingled with Celtic and Catholic resistance.

Next came Scotland. The natives of that country were divided into mutually incompatible mainly Catholic Cavaliers and a Presbyterian faction but these merged temporarily to support Charles II when he landed in Scotland in 1650 and was crowned at Scone in 1651. Charles collected an army and marched into England to claim his father's throne. He met Cromwell, the New Model Army, defeat and the utter destruction of his forces at and after the Battle of Worcester in September 1651. Charles narrowly escaped capture (at one stage famously hiding in an oak tree) and reaching Bridport he sailed to France.

The Council of State appointed one of Cromwell's senior army commanders, Robert Blake, as 'General at Sea'. Blake excelled as an admiral. In 1650 his first actions drove Cavalier Prince Rupert (another soldier turned sailor) from the seas. He then tussled, successfully, with the Dutch for the mastery of the Channel and the narrow seas and later with the Spanish as the newly invigorated English navy extended its influence into the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Caribbean. Naval historians number Blake with Drake and Nelson among England's outstanding naval heroes.

It is probable that Cromwell disliked ruling by the sword and he was certainly hated for doing so. As Lord Protector he looked for ways to return to rule by custom, law, and Parliament. His problem was that, until the Commonwealth, a monarch had always been an integral part of government. Cromwell even toyed with the idea of his own coronation though later when this was pressed on him he declined. When he died in September 1658 there was no one left who could wield the sword and the central pillar of the Commonwealth collapsed. His feeble son Richard could not replace him and anarchy threatened. In 1660 a freely elected Parliament voted to restore the monarchy and in May Charles landed in Dover. Twenty-six surviving regicides were hanged, appropriately in Whitehall, and the bodies of Cromwell and Ireton (Cromwell's Lord Deputy, married to Cromwell's daughter) were exhumed and hanged at Tyburn. In April 1661 Charles was crowned King Charles II.

It was in this period (1652) that the chancel of the parish church in Ebbesbourne Wake was said to be falling down (p. 138). It may be that the two tithe-holders who disagreed over paying for the repairs were on opposite sides of the deep religious and political issues that divided the nation. The repairs were probably in progress in March 1655 at the time of The Wiltshire Rebellion led by Colonel John Penruddock who lived in Compton Chamberlayne. He was a member of the Sealed Knot a group of Royalist conspirators who planned a general uprising against Cromwell that was to take place in 1655. The plot failed and Penruddock's was the only part of it to achieve any significance. He gathered about 400 men who seized Salisbury and marched to Blandford where Charles II was proclaimed King. The expected support did not materialise and Penruddock's small force was overwhelmed by a troop of New Model cavalry at South Molton in Devonshire. Penruddock was tried in Exeter, convicted and beheaded. Many of his supporters were transported to Barbados as indentured labourers. Some of them probably came from the Chalke Valley.

Charles II (1660 - 1685)

From this time forward, except when James II was forced to abdicate when he attempted to turn the clock back and seize absolute power, monarchy and Parliament began to work together. The 'royal prerogative' private courts were gone for ever and taxes could only be levied by Parliament. No general revenge was exacted on the Roundheads but how to deal with the lands and other property that had been expropriated during the Commonwealth was more of a problem. Where Catholics had been forcibly dispossessed of their property it was restored. Those who had sold their land to pay fines for 'malignancy' were not compensated.

The new Parliament contained a large number of Cavalier Anglican squires. Their 1662 Act of Uniformity reinstated the Book of Common Prayer and some 2000 non-Anglican clergy who refused to use it were deprived of their benefices, without compensation. Most of them were Presbyterians but they included a significant number of Congregationalist successors of Cromwell's Independents. A rector of Fifield Bavant seems to have fallen foul of this enactment (p. 137) which was one of the four Acts of the Clarendon Code, the Cavalier Parliament's revenge on ex-Commonwealth Puritans. The Acts had little to do with Charles or with his chief minister after whom they were named. It was some time before Puritans were tolerated and allowed to develop separately, in their own way.

True to form Parliament kept Charles short of money. The New Model Army was paid off and disbanded except for a few regiments such as the Coldstream Guards and the 3rd Foot (the Buffs), kept for service overseas. Experience of the Civil War and the Commonwealth had not only taught the people to distrust soldiers but also made them afraid of what the King might do with a standing army. By comparison the navy fared better (though it did not do well) largely because of the beneficial influence of men like Secretary to the Navy, Samuel Pepys (1633-1703). In 1663 an English squadron took New Amsterdam (New York) from the Dutch. In 1667 the Dutch took their revenge in the Medway. Shortage of money had led Charles to decommission a great part of the fleet. This was moored

at Chatham in the Medway and the sailors were laid off without pay. Some of them deserted to the Dutch and helped Admiral de Ruyter sail up the Medway where five of the navy's great ships were captured or burnt.

Clarendon was blamed for this debacle. Edward Hyde 1st Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674) was a member of a landed Wiltshire family, born at Dinton. During the Civil War he was one of Charles I's chief advisors. He played an active part in the Restoration and was appointed Chief Minister when Charles II came to the throne. His aloof, rigid character and high moral tone meant that he was unpopular at the best of times and his somewhat contemptuous treatment of Parliament and of the Royal mistresses made him important enemies both at court and in the country. One mistress was the actress Nell Gwynne (1650-1687). Charles had at least 14 illegitimate children including two boys by Nell, the elder ennobled as the Duke of St Alban's. For many years Clarendon had been a faithful and efficient servant of the Stuarts but when Charles needed a scapegoat for the Medway disaster he was threatened with impeachment and fled to exile in France.

Charles replaced Clarendon with a group of five advisors. The word cabal was already in use to describe a junta of this sort but the fact that the initials of the five men chosen could be made to spell 'cabal' has for some identified this group with the origin of the word. The five were Thomas, 1st Lord ***C***lifford (1630-1673), a Catholic landowner from Devon who in 1762 was driven from the Lord Treasurership by the passage of the Test Act (below). Lord Clifford was a signatory to the secret Treaty of Dover (also below). Next was Henry, 1st Earl of ***A***rlington (1628-1685), who had served on the Royalist side in the Civil War. Third was George, 2nd Duke of ***B***uckingham, second son of James I's favourite, the 1st Duke. He had grown up with the young Charles. George was disreputable even by the standards of the court at the time. Fourth was Anthony, Baron ***A***shley and 1st Earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683). Born at Wimbourne St Giles in Dorset he was a 'Vicar of Bray' who changed sides in the Civil War from Cavalier to Roundhead but he redeemed himself during the Restoration. He was ignorant of the Treaty of Dover. The final member was John, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of ***L***auderdale (1616-1682) who ruled Scotland for most of the reign of Charles II. A rough, broad Scot and originally a Presbyterian his support of the Stuarts was entirely pragmatic.

In 1670 Charles negotiated the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV of France. This engaged England to join the French in war against the Dutch. It contained secret clauses that provided for Charles, at a convenient time, to declare himself a Catholic and to accept the help of French troops to bring England back to Rome. For his part Louis would pay Charles a subsidy the first instalment of which amounted to about £166,000. It is not clear why Charles agreed to this, though he needed the money. Charles's 1672 Declaration of Indulgence offered freedom of worship to all dissenters, Catholics and Puritans alike. Parliament responded by refusing money until the Declaration was withdrawn, and it passed the Test Act which compelled all holders of military or civil office to accept the Anglican sacrament and deny the mystery of transubstantiation or, failing that, to resign.

The terrible insult to national pride inflicted in the Medway came on top of the return of the plague in 1665 and the Great Fire of London in 1666 when 460 acres and 13,300 homes were laid waste. Englishmen felt insecure. The King was seen to be more interested in his mistresses than in his kingdom. Stories began to circulate about Papists in Whitehall and in the atmosphere that existed light speculation turned into heavy rumour and thickened into dangerous plots. It happened that a practiced rumour-monger was at hand to take advantage of the situation.

Titus Oates (1648-1705) was already a convicted perjurer when he secured a chaplaincy to the Protestant members of the Duke of Norfolk's otherwise Catholic household at Arundel (Sussex). He began to ingratiate himself with Catholics and he enrolled in Catholic seminaries in Spain and France. In 1678 he returned to England and with another conspirator hatched his 'Popish Plot'. He alleged the existence of a Jesuit plan to murder the King and his Council, to put the Duke of York on the throne, to invade the country by way of Ireland, and to carry out a massacre of Protestants. Taken individually each allegation was credible. Guy Fawkes had undoubtedly planned to kill Charles's grandfather, James I, together with his government. The possibility that Ireland might be a base from which the Spanish or French could invade England had been a constant, genuine fear ever since the Reformation. Within (then) recent memory Protestants had been massacred in The Netherlands and in France. The Jesuits had certainly been involved in most if not all of these activities. What was lacking was proof of the existence of a real plot involving people of substance (other than the minor figure of Titus Oates himself) who could bring all the elements together. This did not matter because Oates had caught the public mood. Between 1678 and 1681 he was lionised as he appeared for the prosecution in a series of state trials as a result of which some 35 Catholics were executed. In 1685 after James II had come to the throne Oates was convicted of perjury for the second time. He was whipped from Aldgate to Newgate and two days later from Newgate to Tyburn. This punishment was probably meant to kill him; it is curious that it did not. He spent the rest of James's reign in jail.

With the help of Louis XIV's subsidy Charles dispensed with Parliament and the last four years of his life were spent relatively quietly. In 1685 he suffered a stroke. It is reported that at his death he said to those gathered round 'I have been a most unconscionable time a-dying; but I hope you will excuse it', and to his brother, James, 'do not let poor Nelly (Nell Gwynne) starve'. His brother, when he became James II, saw to it that she and her son were comfortably settled on an estate near Nottingham.

James II (1685 - 1688)

Legend has it that King Canute (Cnut, reigned 1015-1035) attempted, and failed, to reverse the flow of the tide. King James II tried to reverse two tides, simultaneously. Failure brought his reign to an ignominious end after just three years.

He first attempted to reverse the English tide flowing in favour of a constitutional monarchy to re-establish, for himself, the Divine Right of Kings. In this he emulated his father who lost his head as a result, and Louis XIV of France who succeeded. Second, he attempted to reverse the tide of the Protestant Reformation. James appointed Catholics as officers in the army, as magistrates, as Privy Councillors, and even to some Church of England benefices. He sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops, to the Tower. The Duke of Monmouth, exiled to Holland during the reign of Charles II, landed at Lyme Regis to lead a Protestant rising against the King. This was premature and in 1685 Monmouth's force was defeated at Sedgemoor by a royalist army led by John Churchill (later Duke of Marlborough). Monmouth was executed and Judge Jeffreys was sent on his 'Bloody Assize' through the West Country. These events coincided with Louis XIV's revocation of the Treaty of Nantes. This resulted in a great many Protestant deaths and the mass migration of Huguenots from France. The citizens of Britain knew what a return to Rome would hold in store for them. The religious designs of the Jacobite Stuarts appeared to have been laid bare. The reaction was predictable. Protestants of all shades of opinion banded together and with the support of a significant number of Catholic squires they brought about the revolution of 1688-1689.

William of Orange simultaneously nephew and son-in-law to James II and so a member of the House of Stuart (Fig. 5, p. 53) differed from his forebears: he was a staunch Protestant. He had led the Dutch in opposition to their Catholic Spanish oppressors in what at first appeared a forlorn hope but which turned into a dramatic success. He was invited to cross the water to 'defend the liberties of England'. William landed at Torbay with a small army on Guy Fawkes Day, 1688, and entered Exeter where he quickly gathered support. On November 29th James, reacting to the threat, set up his military headquarters in Salisbury where three roads from Exeter meet. Seriously weakened by important defections to the opposition (including that of John Churchill) he abandoned this position and on Christmas Day 1688 he retreated to France. He tried to re-impose his authority by invading Ireland but despite some initial successes on July 1st 1690 he was defeated by William at the Battle of the Boyne. A simultaneous pro-Jacobite rising in Scotland was also put down. James II returned to France where he had the support of the King until 1713 when Louis XIV agreed to recognise the English Protestant succession so he had to leave. The Jacobite cause was finally extinguished in 1745 when Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, failed in an attempt to return the Stuart dynasty to the British throne (p. 191).

William III (1689 - 1702) and Mary II (1689 - 1694)

Parliament interpreted James's retreat to France as an abdication. William and his wife Mary were proclaimed *joint* monarchs and in 1689 were crowned William III and Mary II. Mary and her sister Anne (later Queen Anne) and William, together the 'Orange' Stuarts, were all committed Protestants.

William and Mary's accession was attended by the imposition of constitutional checks that also applied to their successors. All future monarchs had to be Protestants, they could not leave the country without the permission of Parliament,

and they could not involve England in war to defend any of their foreign possessions. No future monarch could rule without Parliamentary consent, the Crown could not remove judges from office, and the Press was no longer censored. Parliament was determined that the excesses that had marked the reigns of James II and some of his predecessors would not be repeated. Parliament also decided the immediate Royal succession; from William and Mary, in the absence of issue, to Mary's sister Anne, then to James I's granddaughter the Electress Sophia of Hanover or her heirs (Fig. 5, p. 53).

At the level of individual worship religious toleration was the rule but this did not yet extend into public life. Those refusing the Anglican Communion, whether Catholic or Dissenter, were barred from government or municipal office and they could not enter a university. Although the Church of England had lost its power to prosecute lay people in its own courts it still exercised a strong influence on education and so on politics no matter if Whigs or Tories were in power.

As had been the case with the Cromwellian revolution, that of 1688-1689 required settlements to be made in Scotland and Ireland. It was feared that on the death of Queen Anne the Scots might try to bring back the Jacobite Stuarts to Edinburgh. The solution to this and other problems was the 1707 Act of Union under which the Scottish Parliament, by consent, surrendered its authority to Westminster, and abolished itself. The union opened the English market to Scottish produce and encouraged the Scots to use their considerable energies in aid of a common British development rather than in opposition to England. Despite the Jacobite problems with the Old and Young Pretenders in 1715 and 1745 this settlement lasted nearly two centuries during which the contribution of the Scots to the Union has been enormous, quite out of proportion to the size of their population. What will happen now that the Scots once more have their own Parliament remains to be seen.

Ireland was different. The religious divide was intensified by the introduction of a powerful Protestant base in Ulster by the 'plantation' of a large number of Scottish colonists. This was quite different from Cromwell's scattered Puritan settlers. In Londonderry and Enniskillen Protestants proclaimed William as King in opposition to James, who had been sent to Ireland by Louis XIV with the support of French money, troops, and generals. Louis XIV, encouraged by the Jesuits but not by the pope, hoped to rid himself of Dutch and English opposition to his religious ideas and expansionist European policies. The result was the Battle of the Boyne (1690) truly a European conflict with continental regiments on both sides. Had the battle gone James's way it would have been followed by a counter-revolution in England and the collapse of Dutch opposition to the Spanish and French. In the event William's victory was followed by an unjust anti-Catholic settlement that, unlike the Scottish one, was imposed by force and by the transplantation of the Anglican - Presbyterian sectarian quarrel into Ulster. English markets were not opened to Irish cattle and cloth so the Irish economy did not benefit and trade, which could have been the catalyst for a reconciliation, did not develop. Those affected included the new Protestant Ulster colonists many of

whom re-emigrated this time to America where in years to come their bitterness stiffened the revolutionary cause in the American War of Independence.

When Charles II of Spain died Louis XIV replaced him with his grandson, Philip of Anjou, and French forces occupied the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands. Opponents of this major French expansion included England, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and later Portugal. John Churchill, Earl (later Duke) of Marlborough (1650-1722), was appointed Captain General of English and Dutch forces. After a series of campaigns which included the battles of Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706) and Malplaquet (1709) the matter was settled (temporarily) by the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt and Baden (1714). France gave assurances (later broken) that the crowns of France and Spain would forever be separated.

Marlborough's military genius lay in his reinvention of the war of manoeuvre to replace what, on land, had become wars of sieges and fortifications. His Dutch allies and the English Tories thought his ideas too dangerous so Marlborough had to cajole and deceive to get his way. His success meant that he was also a considerable statesman but he lacked the charisma that would have made him a popular leader. Despite this he was undoubtedly one of the great figures of his age.

Queen Anne (1702 - 1714)

Meanwhile in 1694 Queen Mary died of smallpox, aged 32, and in 1702 while out riding King William's horse stumbled on a molehill. The King was thrown and he died of his injuries. William and Mary had no issue. After two early miscarriages she had no more pregnancies. Anne succeeded and reigned as Queen until 1714. She, married to Prince George of Denmark, had 18 pregnancies that yielded only five live births and all her children died before they reached adolescence. As a character Anne was pious but was noted for her appetite rather than her conversation. Her indifferent personality contrasted sharply with the glories of her reign, largely brokered by Marlborough. In 1711 with characteristic Stuart malice and ingratitude Anne dismissed Marlborough by means of a letter 'so offensive, that the Duke flung it into the fire'. Latterly Anne was an invalid and on her death the British Crown, as ordained, passed to the House of Hanover and so into German hands.

The German dynasties (1714 - the present)

After the Romans left the country in 408AC England was either forced to accept or chose to experiment with reigning dynasties of Scandinavian, Norman, French, Welsh, Scottish and finally German origins. The German dynasties are as follows.

I, The Hanoverians (1714-1837), George I (1714), George II (1727), George III (1760), George IV (1820), William IV, (1830)

II, The Saxe-Coberg-Gothas (1837-1952), Victoria (1837), Edward VII (1901), George V (1910), Edward VIII (1936), George VI (1936)
(In 1917 the Saxe-Coberg-Gothas, in deference to a strong anti-German sentiment in the First World War, changed their family name to Windsor.)

III, The Battenbergs (1952 to the present), Elizabeth II (1952)
(In 1917 the German surname Battenberg was translated into the English Mountbatten for the same reason that the Royal Family adopted the name Windsor. Since 1960 non-royal descendents of Elizabeth II are Mountbatten-Windsors.)

As indicated by their choice of names the Hanoverians were an unimaginative lot and they contributed little that was positive to British history. This did not matter as the development of a system of Prime Ministerial and Cabinet Government meant there were 'kings aplenty'. The earlier Georges at least, whose English was poor, preferred to spend time on their German estates rather than in Britain. For example George II often spent his summers in Hanover and in 1736-1737 he was famously absent for eight months in 'amorous dalliance' with a mistress who subsequently became the Countess of Yarmouth. His wife, Queen Caroline, was left behind in St James's Palace. She suffered the indignity of ribald notices posted on the gate such as 'it is reported that his Hanoverian Majesty designs to visit his British Dominions for three months in the Spring', or 'strayed out of this house a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish; whoever shall give tidings of him to the churchwardens . . .shall receive four shillings and sixpence '.

As a child in 1712 Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) was one of the last people in England 'touched' (by Queen Anne) as a cure for the 'King's Evil' (tuberculosis of the glands). He and Edmund Burke (1729-1797) became leading members of The Literary Club that brought together intellectuals and artists including Garrick, Goldsmith and Boswell. For such people nothing worthy of attention happened outside the world of poetry, prose, politics and the associated art-forms. These people and their intellectual disciples, that is to say most of the educated and influential individuals of the day, failed to notice much less control the gathering tide of the Industrial Revolution. The movement, perceptible by the end of the 17th century, was in full swing by the middle of the 18th. The result of this neglect was that the Industrial Revolution developed in an uncontrolled and politically uncoordinated fashion. Even the few who might have had some inkling of the implications of what was happening were so frightened by Jacobin ideas and the French Revolution that they did nothing.

Graduates in the humanities (originally with divinity as many of them entered the church) have long dominated Britain's political scene. The diversion of the

nation's best brains into the study of these subjects, with an often-contemptuous failure to understand other forms of knowledge, lies at the roots of Britain's steady decline over the last 150 years. Nothing has changed: the same kinds of people with the same dismissive attitudes are readily detected notably (though not only) among the *soi disant* intellectuals in the ranks of today's fourth and fifth estates.

The early and middle phases of the Hanoverian dynasty saw the Jacobite rebellions led by the Old (1715) and Young (1745) Pretenders, the financial disaster of the South Sea Bubble (1720) and the American War of Independence (1775-1783). The latter, precipitated and prolonged by incompetent government and the implacable stupidity of George III, pushed Britain into simultaneous military conflicts with most of the rest of the world. As a result Britain lost its American (though not its Canadian) colonies and the monarchy lost most its residual executive power in government. The end of this period came with the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic War.

Britain has gone to war four (or five) times to prevent continental Europe falling into the hands of a single power. In the time of Elizabeth and the Armada the fight was against Spain and the Inquisition. Next came Louis XIV of France and the Jesuits. Third was the Napoleonic War, and fourth and fifth were wars against Germany in 1914 and 1939, regarded by many as two halves of the same struggle. Today in the face of an increasingly united Europe some politicians and parts of the Foreign Office (still living in the days of Elizabeth I's divide and rule policy) find common cause with a bunch of football hooligans in their determination to stick to Britain's traditional position.

It is usual to date the beginning of the French Revolution to the fall of the Bastille in 1789. The horrible blood-bath that followed was the result of an explosive uprising by a mass of ordinary Frenchmen who tore down their noble oppressors. The waves of the Revolution spread far beyond French shores. They influenced the form of the then brand new American constitution, and rang loud alarm bells in Britain. Here fearful authority applied a new firmness in the suppression of ideas about reform whether already in existence or newly imported from France. The result was a powerful popular backlash and the counter-reformists backed off. Their timidity may have prevented the development of a full-scale revolution on this side of the Channel.

The Revolution had other profound effects. When Napoleon led France in a repeat of Louis XIV's expansionist policies his soldiers were motivated by a new nationalist zeal - they were fighting for France, not as vassals and serfs unwillingly serving an overlord. Fired by patriotism French armies subdued Spain, Austria, the German statelets and Italy, and India was threatened either by way of Egypt, or through Russia. These events led to the Napoleonic War (1793-1815) which for 20 years distracted Britain's attention and energies from its internal problems. Although shorn of its American colonies this newly-industrialising nation, with forces led by such men as Nelson and Wellington, emerged victorious from its war against Napoleon's France.

Napoleon's venture towards India through Egypt was thwarted by the navy under Nelson at the battle of the Nile (1798), and he was stopped at Moscow

(1812) by a combination of failed logistics and the Russian winter. The Battle of Trafalgar (1805) closed the seas to France and the war continued on land. Portuguese resistance to the French armies that had occupied Spain allowed Britain to land its soldiers on the Iberian Peninsula (1808). British and Portuguese troops together with Spanish guerrillas eventually drove the French out of Spain and to their eventual defeat on French soil at the battle of Toulouse (1814). 1815 saw the war end at the battle of Waterloo in Belgium, and Napoleon was banished to St Helena.

Catholic Ireland supported the French republicans. Wolfe Tone (1763-1798), the son of an Irish Protestant, embraced the Irish Republican cause. He colluded with the French and arranged for them to invade Ireland as part of a general Catholic uprising. Fortunately for Britain Napoleon was on his way to Egypt and could not spare sufficient resources to make the venture a success. Tone was captured and sentenced to death, but committed suicide before the sentence was carried out. The 'revolution' of 1798 was a failure, but the attempt caused Irish Catholics and Protestants once more to kill each other. This led to the formation of the Orange Order and the setting up of Orange Lodges, so served to deepen and perpetuate the Catholic-Protestant, nationalist-'loyalist' Irish divide.

At the end of the war in 1815 Britain was still ruled by a small elite group of men in the nation's Cabinet, appointed from among the members of the two Houses of Parliament. Their lives were spent in the company of fellow members together with friends in the clubs and coffee houses of London, and on their country estates. Most had been through similar forms of primary and secondary education with their higher education completed either in Oxford or Cambridge. The intake of these universities was restricted to male Anglicans from more or less wealthy families who could afford the necessary preliminary education. The more liberal London University was not founded until 1828, in time for Joseph (later Lord) Lister (1827-1912) the Quaker inventor of antiseptic surgery, to get his medical education in England. Most of the ruling elite lived lives that were spent insulated from, and so in ignorance of, the conditions in which nearly all of their compatriots existed. It was said that good men did not know the extent of the misery at their doors. If the consciences of any members of this elite ever pricked them they could turn to the Anglican clergy for assurance that social differences were ordained by Providence (see p. 145).

There were a few more determined reformers who refused to accept this comfortable doctrine. One of these was Sir Samuel Romilly (1757-1818), a lawyer, who wrote:

> *'If any person be desirous of having an adequate idea of the mischievous effects . . . produced in this country . . . by the French revolution . . . he should attempt some reforms on humane and liberal principles. He will then discover not only what a stupid spirit of conservation, but what a savage spirit, it has infused into the minds of his countrymen'.*

Another was the evangelical humanitarian and anti-slavery activist William Wilberforce (1759-1833). By 1807 he had managed to persuade Parliament to abolish slavery in all of Britain's possessions. Britain was the first nation to do

this; France followed suit in 1848 and in America slavery was outlawed during their Civil War (1861-1865).

The movement for reform that operated from below was fomented by the discontent of ordinary citizens whose lives were marked by intolerable working conditions (or no work at all), near starvation wages, appalling housing, terrible sanitation and the cruel and unjust provisions of the Poor Laws. The Industrial Revolution did not help. After James Watt had perfected his steam engine in 1781 it soon appeared in horseless carriages (1801), steamships (1802) and steam railway locomotives (1804). Steam engines improved the efficiency of mining so increased the production of coal to fuel more industrial development. For most people the introduction of steam meant that operations formerly performed by hand, foot or water-wheel were now increasingly mechanised. The first steam-powered weaving looms appeared in Britain in 1806. By 1835 there were 100,000 of them. Weaving until then had been a cottage industry the income from which gave large numbers of poor people a degree of independence. Many were forced to give up weaving altogether and those who struggled on found that their income from this source was halved.

Men full of angry rhetoric and 'pugnacious for justice' led the bottom-up reform movement. Compared with the standards of those they attacked few were considered educated and even when they were they lacked organising skills. Inflammatory language and the prominence of symbols that had been used in the French Revolution polarised opinion and from time to time rhetoric turned to violence. In the manufacturing districts of the midlands and north between 1811 and 1816 men smashed machinery under the leadership of the mythical Ned Ludd (hence Luddites).

Among the reformers some, for example Henry Hunt (1773-1835) and William Cobbett (1762-1835) stood out. Hunt, from Upavon in Wiltshire and a considerable orator, was idolised by crowds and became a scourge of ministers. He gave an address on Parliamentary reform to an audience of 60,000 at St Peter's Fields in Manchester which, intended as a peaceful demonstration, turned into the Peterloo Massacre (1819) when the clumsily handled Manchester Yeomanry charged the crowd. There were 15 deaths and a huge sense of outrage. The authorities refused to back down and Hunt was sent to prison. He later became an MP. He stood for universal suffrage, men and women alike, but his quarrelsome, egotistical character rendered him ineffectual.

William Cobbett a self-educated editor was, like Hunt, imprisoned and also later became an MP. He tried to persuade men to plan for political reform rather than to riot. In his *Letter to the Luddites* he defended machines: he maintained that it was the duty of government to minimise the effect they had on working people. A countryman at heart he was very much on the side of the agricultural labourer. The year 1830 saw the outbreak of the 'Captain Swing' agricultural riots when agricultural labourers, in their misery, rose to burn barns and cornricks and smash threshing machines (pp. 94, 105). 'I thank God', Cobbett wrote (somewhat prematurely) 'that they will not live on damned potatoes while barns are full of corn, the Downs covered with sheep and the yards full of hogs, created by their own labour'. The government accused him of instigating the revolt, but he defended himself ably and the case against him was dismissed.

Eventually the reformists ('Chartists') codified their demands and a People's Charter was prepared. Presented to Parliament in 1839 it asked for the following.

- *Universal manhood suffrage*
- *Votes by ballot*
- *Annual parliaments*
- *Payment of MPs*
- *Equal constituencies*
- *Abolition of property qualifications for MPs*

It took about 80 years for this list, except the unworkable idea of annual parliaments, to be enshrined in law. The leaders of the movement held different opinions and their more belligerent threats were in fact empty. The authorities knew this so despite some serious riots Parliament did not accept the Charter and the Chartists had to make do with what comfort they could derive from the idea that their constant reformist dripping was gradually wearing away the autocratic stone.

The ruling elite were, however, nervous. They had learnt about the power of the mob during the 1780 anti-Catholic Gordon riots in London, an impression strongly reinforced by the example of the French Revolution. There was no general police force so the only response to even low-level mob violence was the riot act and the use of troops. Such duty was distasteful to regular soldiers, and bad for their morale, so locally raised militias were usually employed to control local disturbances. Although many thought of 'reform' as equivalent to 'revolution', repression had been seen to make matters worse so the establishment was finally forced to yield to the reformists, but this was to be as little as possible, as late as possible. As a result even the most fundamental freedoms had to be fought for piecemeal, but Britain had entered its Age of Reform. The rest of this Historical Section is concerned with the comparatively bloodless social revolution that followed. For other significant happenings during this period see the chronology in Appendix C.

The first Reform Bill was introduced into Parliament on March 1st 1831. It was designed to disenfranchise 60 'rotten boroughs' with populations of less than 2000 (including Old Sarum with an electorate of about ten) and 48 boroughs that had returned multiple MPs were to have their numbers reduced (for example Weymouth and Melcombe Regis would have two members instead of four). The number of seats lost totalled 168, to be replaced by 106 new ones in areas that had been underrepresented. The vote was extended to include owners of property worth £10 a year. A statement by Viscount Althorp (John Spencer, 1782-1845), leader of the House, reflects the doubts of the establishment at the time, which:

> *'. . . felt the necessity . . . of preserving . . . the aristocratic share by increasing the influence of the great landed proprietors (and that) representation . . . should be confined to gentlemen of property'.*

On March 23rd the Bill passed its Second Reading in the Commons by one vote, but was later defeated in Committee. Parliament was dissolved. A General Election gave the reformers a larger majority and the Bill passed the Commons in September 1831, only to be rejected by the Lords in October where 21 bishops voted against it. Two London papers appeared in full mourning and in Birmingham muffled bells were tolled. Rioters appeared on the streets. Minor changes were made to the Bill (for example the number of rotten boroughs to be abolished was reduced to 56) but despite lobbying the Lords seemed determined to resist. Finally the King was persuaded to threaten to create enough new peers to see the Bill through. This was enough and the Lords approved the Bill in 1832, though it was still opposed by 16 bishops (see p. 145).

Some earlier historians saw this as a turning point in history. If so it was largely symbolic. Not only was most of the population still disenfranchised, but the twin effects of the enclosures and the industrial revolution that had so damaged the lives of ordinary people had in no way been addressed. The ruling elite was still just that, and to make matters worse its members took what appeared to be an act of revenge for their perceived defeat when they passed the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. This significantly increased the misery of the most disadvantaged, disenfranchised part of the population (p. 184).

In 1865 there were more than five million adult males in England and Wales among whom fewer than one million could vote in parliamentary elections. There had been no redistribution of parliamentary seats since 1832. One half of the urban population of England and Wales sent 34 MPs to Parliament, the other half returned 300. Something had to be done, but there was much argument about what this should be. In 1867 the Commons passed the Second Reform Bill that extended the vote to householders based on how much they paid for their property, measured by their rates rather than their rents. A parallel was drawn with a joint stock company where voting rights depended on the number of shares held by each shareholder. 'One man one vote' was not considered appropriate. The level of rate-paying fixed for enfranchisement was set at £6 for urban boroughs, and £12 for the rural population. This was why the Second Reform Bill, unlike the First, passed the Lords at the first attempt. Its effect was that agricultural labourers and miners, (most of whom also lived in rural constituencies) were still disenfranchised. This meant that the major landowners in the Lords, whose incomes depended to a large extent on the ready availability of cheap compliant labour, did not feel threatened. The Act extended the franchise to nearly one million new voters, nearly all of them in urban areas.

The extent to which agricultural labourers (and miners) were ill-used even in prosperous times is remarkable: 'the social history of rural England in the 19th century was a chronicle of disaster'. Things were even worse in times of agricultural depression, and this befell the country when its ports were opened in the 1870s to North American grain, South American beef and cheese from the Antipodes. Field labourers, who could only vote with their feet, did so in large numbers (Section 3). They deserted, or were forced out of, their miserable cottages to move into usually even worse accommodation in nearby towns. The influx did nothing to improve the lot either of themselves or of their new urban neighbours.

The inequity could not last, and reformers found a new and powerful champion in Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914). A radical Unitarian, the son of a shoemaker, he had developed his uncle Nettlefold's screw-making business. Chamberlain entered politics as a Birmingham City Councillor and in 1875 he became an MP. He attacked Lord Salisbury in what at the time were explosive terms:

> *'(he) constitutes himself the spokesman of a class . . . to which he belongs, who toil not neither do they spin; whose fortunes . . . originated by grants made . . . for services courtiers rendered Kings and have since grown and increased . . . by levying an increased share on (what) other men have done by toil and labour . . .'*

In 1884, under Chamberlain's lash, the Commons passed the Third Reform Bill which extended household suffrage to the countryside, and redistributed some constituencies. After some hesitation the Lords approved the measure. At last some miners and agricultural labourers (in villages by now severely depleted by the rural exodus) were enfranchised. The UK electorate was raised from three to about five million, and the idea of 'one man, one vote' began to be achieved. This did not bring immediate or complete relief to the countryside, however, as much local administrative (as well as judicial) power still lay in the hands of un-elected Justices. The first elected County Councils appeared in 1888 (with some women entitled to vote, see p. 164), and Urban, Rural District and Parish Councils followed in 1894 (see pp. 119). These measures restricted Justices to their judicial function, and the licensing of public houses.

In 1918 the Representation of the People Act gave the vote to nearly all men of 21 and to women of 30, in all to over 20 million voters. Women first voted in the general election the same year but the first woman to be elected to Parliament, Countess Markievicz, was among 73 Sinn Fein members who refused to attend Westminster. In 1919 Nancy Astor was returned in a bye-election in Plymouth so was the first woman to take a seat in Parliament. Women were finally given equality with men in 1928 but business and university votes continued until 1948 when 'one (registered) adult one vote' was finally achieved.

A summary of the major provisions of 20th century social legislation is to be found in Section 5 (p.183) and some other events of the period are listed in the Chronology, Appendix C.

The Mohammedans

A discussion of the influence of religion on British history would be incomplete without some mention of the Muslim faith. In 612 Mohammed began to preach in Mecca, and continued later in Medina. His teachings fell on fertile ground and formed the basis of a new religion. Under the banner of Islam many Arab peoples who formerly had been divided into small warring tribes, were united. A new vigorous nation began to spread its religious and political influence as it expanded in two directions. One thrust was to the west along the north coast of Africa until, reaching the Atlantic, it turned north and entered Spain. From there the Moors (as they were called) might have occupied the whole of western Europe but they were turned back at the battle of Poitiers (Tours) in France in 732. At the same time other Muslim forces, their members called Saracens, developed the second arm of a pincer movement north into the Balkans and the Caucuses to threaten Europe from the east. Initially this thrust was less successful and the Balkan part of it was halted at Byzantium, which withstood a siege in 718. The Saracens suffered another setback in 1096 when on their first Crusade the Franks (as Saracens called the Christians) drove them out of Jerusalem. The invasion of southern Spain lasted longer, however, and the Moors were not pushed out of Grenada until 1492, the year Columbus reached the New World.

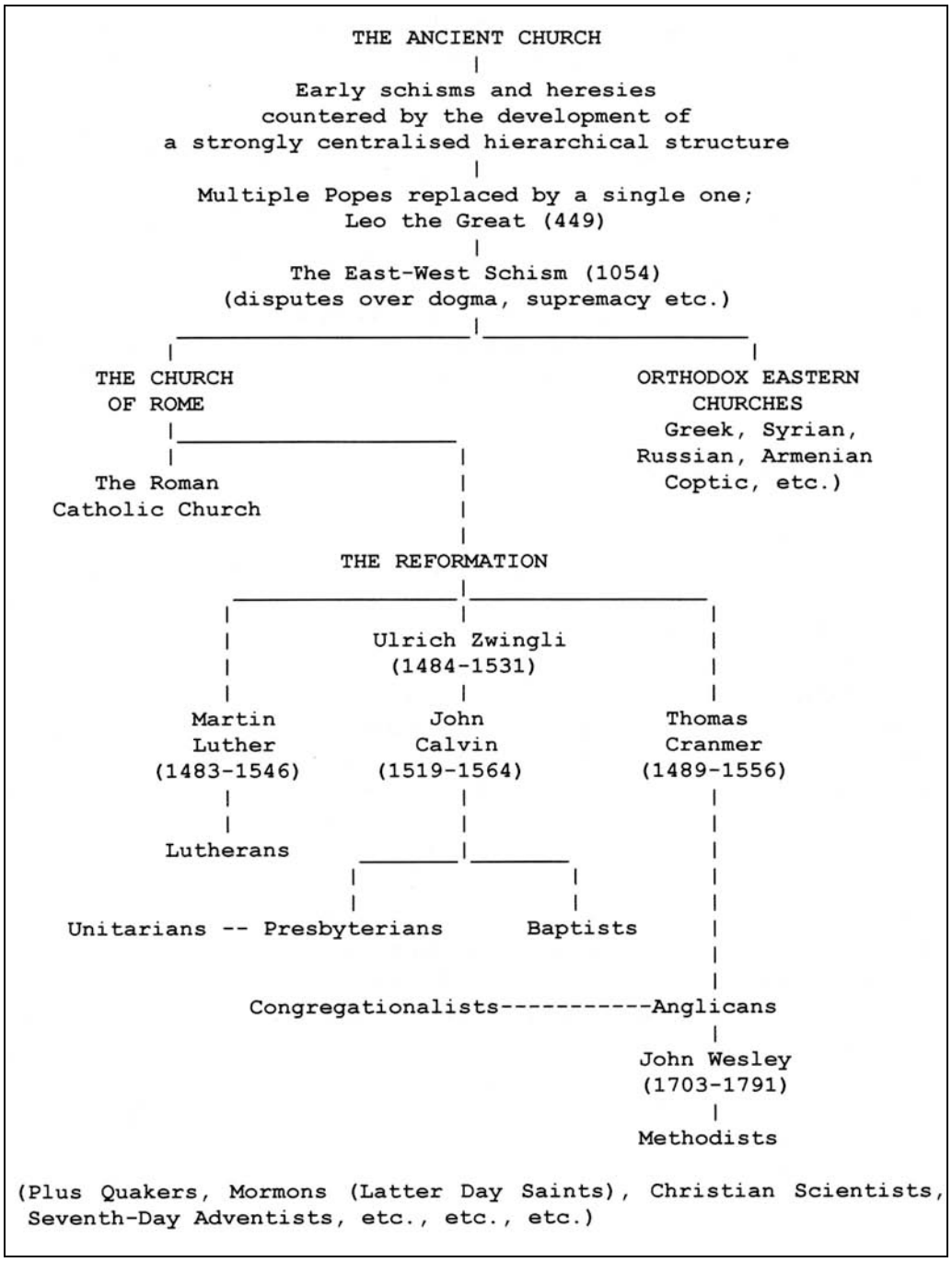
Islam's right-hook into Europe through the Balkans was renewed when the Ottoman Empire began its great expansion. The Turks occupied the whole of Palestine in 1244 and in 1389 they defeated the Serbs at the battle of Kosovo as a result of which much of what was until recently Yugoslavia fell under their rule for 500 years. Constantinople (Byzantium) and Athens fell to them in 1453 and 1456, respectively, but their advance faltered following a naval defeat at the battle of Lepanto off Greece in 1571. Despite this reverse they continued to expand until, in 1683, they reached the walls of Vienna where they were finally defeated, but they retain a foothold in the Balkans (so in Europe) to this day. This is where new (and unresolved) conflicts based on religious differences have broken out in Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo.

In the Caucuses and further to the east Muslim expansion was more successful and the faith spread, though its presence in that part of the world provoked and still occasionally provokes conflict, for example in Chechnya and Kashmir. Their missionary efforts in the Indian sub-continent, the Far East and elsewhere were also successful, most notably in Malaysia and Indonesia, and in parts of Africa. In modern times, curiously, Europe is subject to a new form of Islamic expansion by immigration rather than by conversion or conquest. It has been said that, in 2002, the Muslim population of Western Europe numbered 12 million, and growing. That of the United States of America was 7 million.

Postscript

At the beginning of this historical section it was noted that British history is intimately bound up with the development of Christianity. Fig. 6 summarises the history of the Christian Church, to show how it developed into a variety of sects.

Figure 6, Schismatic Christianity



SECTION THREE

PEOPLE IN EBBESBOURNE WAKE

Who they were, how they lived, and what they did

CONTENTS

PEOPLE IN EBBESBOURNE WAKE

People, before 1801

Before the first proper census in 1801 no accurate estimate had been made of the population of the British Isles. Figures given for earlier periods are educated guesswork. In the 14th century a series of poll-taxes were levied. The third of these, in 1377, was set at 4d a head. This was very unfair. Poor villagers depended on richer neighbours or on their employers to pay the tax for them, or failing that, might have to pay as much as 2/- for themselves and their families. Tax collectors had to conduct censuses of some sort to assess who should pay what, and to account for what they had collected, but there was much evasion and the figures that resulted from these informal head-counts are unreliable. They are, however, of interest. The number of poll tax payers in Berwick St John was 87; in Alvediston, 111; in Ebbesbourne Wake, 99; in Fifield Bavant, 67; in Bowerchalke, 153; and in Broad Chalke, 272.

Although archaeologists learn a great deal about the lifestyles of our ancient ancestors from the traces they left behind, writings that reveal something of the lives of ordinary folk in Ebbesbourne Wake did not appear until more recently. In his *History of the Young Family* W.E.V. Young cites a will that must be one of the earlier documents to shed any light on the local domestic scene. This, drawn up in 1581 in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, pre-dates by more than 30 years that in which William Shakespeare (1564-1616) famously left his wife his second-best bed.

'*T*

he Will of William Young, of Ebbesborne Wake, Wilts, husbandman. Dated 28 February 1580-1. Proved in the Court of the Arch: of Sarum, 6 April 1581.

To be buried within the Churchyard of Ebbesborne Parish Church 3s/4d to be paid within four years of my decease.
Son William the elder two ewes and two lambs.
Son Henry two ewes, two lambs, platter etc.
Son Rudulpe the same.
Son Symon an acre of wheat upon the ground.
Son William the younger an acre of barly upon the ground.
Daughter Anne, a cow, best pan, best crock, best platter and best pottinger.
Wife Margaret to have the use of all the said cattle and household stuff until the children come to the age of twenty years. Also the residue. She to be Executrix.
Cousin William Shirt (?Short) childer lamb to be delivered at the end of one whole year after decease.

I make my will beloved friends in Christ, Henry Jeffrey; and Rudulphe Button Overseers, and they to have each of them for their pains a bushel of wheat.
Henry Harvey of Burchalke (?Bowerchalke) £3 : 6 : 8.
Witnesses: John Rabbits, Symon Whyte.

> *Debts owed by Testator.*
> Thomas More of this parish 20s/- to be paid at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary next coming. William Haylocke of this parish 10s/- to be paid at the Feast of the Nativity of St John The Baptist next coming. John Addams of this parish 33s/4d to be paid at the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ, commonly called New Years Day next coming for a horse I bought of him, or else to have the horse again in his good lyking as he was when I received him of him at his own charge. Robert Roser of this parish 2s/-.'

Mr Young notes that his own adopted forename had been popular among the Youngs - indeed the testator used it for two of his sons. He regrets that gaps in the parish registers prevent him from establishing beyond doubt that these three Williams figured among his ancestors.

At the beginning of the Tudor period (1485-1603) ordinary villagers would have looked up to the lord of the manor or other holders of major estates, together with the parish priest, as those whose decisions ruled their lives. In smaller poorer parishes most if not all such people would have been absentees. Lords of the manor of Ebbesbourne Wake bear names that suggest that they were the landowners of estates elsewhere for whom the relatively poor properties in this parish would be regarded as sources of income rather than as somewhere to live, or maybe as places where younger sons, brothers or troublesome relatives might be put out to grass. The same applied to the parish priest who was usually represented by an impoverished curate. Few if any local villagers would have owned 'their' land outright, in the sense that they could sell the freehold. The nearest place where any major landowners lived on a regular basis may have been Wilton or, more certainly, Salisbury. Here at least the poor would have been entertained by the lavish goings-on in the great houses, and might have benefited from the excesses of their tables, particularly on feast-days.

Since Roman times prestigious buildings were constructed of stone bedded in clay or lime-sand mortar. Stone is easily re-cycled so can reappear in humbler dwellings of any age derived from earlier ones that had crumbled as a result of fire or neglect. Flints, also bedded in clay or mortar, were widely used in parts of the country where, as in the Chalke Valley, they are abundant. Flints are not suitable for the construction of the corners of buildings, chimneys or the openings of doors or windows: these are more easily made of stone or brick. Bricks were used in a limited way in the 16th century, and they became more generally available in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Very early villagers lived in 'wattle and daub' cottages built on wooden frames with walls made of rows of sticks through which twigs were entwined, the gaps sealed with a mixture of mud and straw perhaps strengthened with manure, though this was in short supply as its main use was on the fields. Somewhat later 'earth construction' (often called cob) was employed. This became popular in the 16th and 17th centuries and was still used in rural areas in the 18th and 19th centuries. Earth construction employed a mixture of clay, pounded chalk or other earths, plus chopped straw and water to form a stiff paste. This was raised into a wall about three feet high the sides of which, as they dried, were pared smooth with a hay knife. When the first layer had hardened further layers were added on

top until the desired height was reached. Surfaces of plaster and whitewash plus a thatched roof served to keep out the rain. With proper maintenance such earth walls proved very serviceable but neglect leading to the entry of water was fatal.

At first basic cottages had no chimney so the smoke from the fire (used for cooking rather than comfort) escaped as it could through the door or, when they were not blocked up to keep out the cold, the small openings that served as windows. The interior was dark and was commonly divided into two, for eating and sleeping. The floor was of pounded earth, covered with straw. In larger buildings such a floor was called 'the marsh' as it contained the remnants of nameless rubbish including spilt food and drink picked over by dogs, cats and hens, so these animals' excreta were also present. Artificial light, if essential, was provided by a rush-light, made by dipping the pith of a rush in melted tallow.

Furniture would consist of a few stools, a trestle table, a bench, a chest for Sunday clothes, and a frame or frames for the bags of straw or bracken that served as beds. Add some earthenware cooking pots, a home-made broom and a few simple agricultural tools. Outside there would likely be a small garden in which onions, cabbages, peas, beans, leeks and parsley might grow and a lucky cottager might have one or more fruit trees as well. Potatoes did not appear until the 16th century. Some hens or geese, perhaps a pig and more rarely a cow complete the inventory. In 1414 a catalogue of the possessions of an unusually well-off peasant noted that he held about 20 acres, mostly of wheat, rye, oats and vetch, valued at 50/-. He owned a wagon, a winnowing fan, a riddle, a plough, three cartloads of firewood, three vats of malt (for beer) a bacon, four hogs, twenty geese, a cock and four hens, two oxen and a cow. This was exceptional and as the owner was a horse-thief who had absconded (the list was made prior to confiscation and sale) it seems that he may have had an additional source of income. A peasant operating on this scale might expect to pay extra rent to his lord for the right to keep and pasture his animals.

For most the pot that hung over the fire would contain a pottage of vegetables thickened with oatmeal. Some of this, with a chunk of dark bread, would provide the evening meal. Except at the tables of the rich the bread would be made from flour ground from a variable mixture of grains, including rye. The flour might be ground by hand at home in a quern or come from a local mill. The nearest water-mill to Ebbesbourne would have been some way downstream where there was a reasonable flow of water all the year round, so no nearer than Broad Chalke or Stratford Tony. Closer at hand a windmill was listed as part of the Ebbesbourne manor estate in 1248, though by 1773 it had disappeared. Its former location is not known, though it may have stood on Windmill Hill (south of Norrington). At one time this feature probably lay within the boundaries of the manor of Ebbesbourne Wake (p. 8). The 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1963 records a windmill near the Ox Drove at map reference 98802170. It is assumed this was a more recent structure, probably a wind-pump.

On rare occasions cottagers' meals would be supplemented with a chicken or a snared rabbit or a netted pheasant, the latter probably poached at some risk to life and liberty. Work began at first light when peasants made their way to their individual strips in the common fields, or to the fields of the lord of the manor or other land-holders on those days when they owed service, or where they worked

for a wage of a few pennies. On such days they might be given a midday meal of bread, cheese and beer or cider, so might fare better than at home.

Villagers of this period, transported forward in time to the present, would be hard pressed to find buildings they would recognise. Even the church has changed a great deal, although the tower might be familiar if they had been alive when this was built in the 15th century, and they might, if they looked closely, recognise parts of Manor Farm, the Old Parsonage, Bounds Cottage, the stone cottages on The Cross and one or two in Handley Street.

By the time the Tudors gave way to the Stuarts (1603) the social structure in rural areas, particularly for poorer folk, was largely settled and would change little, except in religious matters, until well into the 19th century. At the top was the **squire** who might be the lord of the manor or, in a place like Ebbesbourne Wake, his nominee or tenant, who would farm at least part of the manorial estate. He would speak in the local dialect but would be distinguished from others by his maintenance of a small sporting establishment (horses and dogs) though not in Ebbesbourne Wake. The village was within Cranborne Chase where hunting was the preserve of the lord of the Chase and his guests. Sport was an important part of life for people of the rank of a manorial lord so this was another reason for such people to live elsewhere. Some squires might possess a coat of arms and a limited library, and be marked out by the respect due to a 'gentleman'. He was probably worth between £100 and £200 a year, and would regularly employ labour. On his once-in-a-lifetime visit to London he would stand out with his horsehair periwig, unfashionable clothes and rural accent. He might be appointed as a justice and be knighted.

Below him stood the **yeoman farmer** who owned a freehold plot of land of, say, 100 acres. This holding he would be likely to enlarge, variably from time to time, by adding plots taken as tenancies from the manor estate or the properties of other landowners in the parish. He might employ labour, probably seasonally, and be invited to join the squire when hunting (though not in Cranborne Chase) or on other social occasions. A writer at the time of the Civil War noted:

> *'The yeomanry is an estate of people almost peculiar to England. France and Italy are like a die which hath no points between sink and ace,* [a dice lacking the numbers between five to one] *nobility and peasantry . . .'*

The words 'freehold' and 'leasehold' need further definition. The word freehold, as used today and as formerly applied to a yeoman farmer, broadly means absolute ownership and the right to sell, let or lease the property concerned. Confusingly, however, the word was at times used more widely and could be applied, for example, to someone who was in fact a leaseholder but whose interest in the land was inalienable and lifelong and who might sub-let. A lease, a contract to convey lands or buildings, enforceable in the law courts, might be for a term of years (say 9, 99 or 999), or lives (until the death of a nominated person or the last of a nominated group of usually related people), or on some other agreed basis. Another term that was often used in this connection was 'copyhold'. This referred to a copy of that part of a manorial roll in which was recorded an agreement between the lord of a manor and his tenant for the temporary transfer of a plot of land, for the tenant's use. The form of these agreements varied from

place to place and might resemble a lease but as they were enforceable in the manorial courts they might be subject to the whim of an autocratic lord of the manor. In consequence a copyhold was less reliable than a 'real' lease.

Major landowners were often absentees. They might be senior churchmen, members of the aristocracy, substantial merchants, judges, senior government servants, court favourites and the like who had bought or had been given their land, or they might have acquired at a discount the property of those who had been dispossessed of it (as happened to Thomas Gawen of Norrington, see p. 176). With the purchase might come manorial rights. In 1735 when the Earl of Pembroke bought the manor of Ebbesbourne Wake he also acquired the title as lord of its manor. Other assets that might be acquired as a result of the purchase of land could be advowsons or even parliamentary seats in 'rotten' boroughs. The interests of this sort of landlord lay in politics or in the acquisition of social status, only rarely in the land itself. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) wrote 'our gentry are grown ignorant of everything of good husbandry'. Some landowners fancied themselves as 'country gentlemen' who might build 'country seats', though landowners associated with Ebbesbourne Wake left nothing of significance behind them.

Next below the yeoman farmers were the **leasehold farmers** and **craftsmen (artisans)**. Leasehold farmers owned no land but were tenants sometimes, like the peasant described above, in a substantial way. Craftsmen such as blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, carriers and cordwainers (boot-makers) were the backbone of the village as they not only provided services on which the community depended, but they were also the people from among whom were recruited the petty officials; parish clerks, overseers of the poor, waywardens, parish constables and the like.

Sometimes, as happened in a small village like Ebbesbourne Wake, a single individual might hold more than one of these posts simultaneously. The Ebbesbourne Wake blacksmith Joseph Young (1723-1797) was Parish Clerk and an Overseer of the Poor. He was also a tenant farmer who tilled a number of individually small plots scattered round the parish where he grew, according to his records, wheat, oats and barley. By comparison with people below them in the social order craftsmen were comfortably off. Joseph wrote in his notebook that, on 15 May 1751, his brother John 'had of his hear (had a haircut) at Barwick Saint John of tomas fricker'. This must have been an exceptional event for it to have been recorded at all, not the least exceptional thing being, if Thomas was a barber-surgeon, this haircut might have cost the then large sum of 6d. If he had needed to be bled a barber-surgeon would have charged 1/-.

Most of the population stood at a social level below the status of leaseholders and craftsmen. They included the **labouring people** who were employed more or less regularly, together with **domestic staff** who if they did not live with their employers were called **out-servants**. Below these again were simple **cottagers** and **paupers** who scratched a hand-to-mouth existence. People classified as paupers were those who, due to age, infirmity or some other misfortune were classified among the 'impotent poor' who received a dole from the parish rate, administered by Overseers of the Poor. Cottagers made do with occasional work at agriculturally busy times, by the sale of any excess produce of their patches in

the common field, and by their rights to the produce of common lands or the 'waste' for so long as these existed. Finally there was a **nomadic population**, often large, of peddlers, tinkers and other wandering craftsmen, gypsies, ballad-mongers, quacks, showmen, footpads and other beggars and vagabonds.

Until quite late in this period villagers had additional rights over the common lands and woods. These were very important to them. They could pasture their animals, gather bracken for bedding for themselves and their animals, and could collect furze and sticks for fuel, including any that could be pulled off trees 'by hook or by crook'. In season they could collect nuts, berries and wild fruit. Of course they were not allowed to take wild animals, birds or fish, and although poaching was commonplace, penalties for those caught could be severe. This was particularly so in Cranborne Chase where Chase Laws were harshly applied. In 1813 George Trowbridge (Troubridge) of Ebbesbourne Wake was transported to Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) for 'killing and stealing a fallow deer' (in Alvediston), and in 1816 four poachers caught in the Chase were transported for seven years. For the better off who knew, or perhaps were, the local justices and could afford the heavy fine poaching might itself be regarded as a sport (p. 191).

In 16th century Ebbesbourne Wake there were four open arable fields north and south of the river. Beyond these in each direction were pastures and beyond them again, particularly in the south, woodlands. These areas were shared between the Lords of the Manor, freeholders and tenants. The right to use the pastures to the north of the village depended on the tenure of land in the north fields or on the possession of a dwelling in the north part of the village. The same applied in the south. As time passed this arrangement seems to have collapsed in a series of disputes. The result was the development of some early enclosures and the establishment of riverside water-meadows. In his *Natural History of Wiltshire* John Aubrey (1626-1697) says of the latter that the first arrived in the Chalke Valley in 1635.

Towards the end of the period under review the lives of many ordinary country people changed for ever. In 1792, the award date established for Ebbesbourne Wake and the surrounding parishes by an Inclosure Act of 1785, the last of the common fields disappeared and common husbandry ended. Before 1792 about 35% of Wiltshire's common land had been enclosed. Of the remainder 47% was enclosed between 1793 and 1815, the rest followed a little later. Major holdings resulted. In the southern part of the county beneficiaries included the following.

	Acres
The Earl of Pembroke	*24,260*
The Bishop of Salisbury	*11,135*
The Dean and Chapter of Salisbury	*8135*
The Dean and Chapter of Winchester	*1897*
The Bishop of Winchester	*1398*

(2.471 acres = 1 hectare)

In Ebbesbourne Wake the area disposed of was 2187 acres (of a total of 2884) and in Fifield Bavant 812a. (from 1167). (Ebbesbourne and Fifield were separate parishes until 1894.) To what extent these enclosures were new, or were

formalisations of the status of some areas enclosed earlier by procedures of doubtful validity is not clear. The spelling *inclosure* is now obsolete.

In many parts of the country the loss of the right to gather fuel and bedding from what had been the common lands caused significant hardship. Under the Ebbesbourne award the villagers were compensated for their loss by access to 9 acres of furze on Cow Down in the extreme north-east of the parish. This allocation, ungenerous as to area and over a mile from the centre of the village, was later called Poor's Allotment. In 1989 the proceeds from the sale of this land formed the basis of what became the Ebbesbourne Wake Poor's Charity. In 1994 the Charity was combined with the Alvediston Thomas King Charity to become the Ebbesbourne Wake-King's Charity. Most of the rest of the 1792 Award (1631a.) fell to the Earl of Pembroke. Of this about 40% was arable, 40% pasture, and 20% woodland. Under the Award 755 acres in Fifield Bavant was allocated to the Marquis of Bath.

Arthur Young (1741-1820; in 1793 he was Secretary to the Board of Agriculture) was a prolific writer on agricultural matters. Critics who knew that as a young man he had failed as a farmer (though he later redeemed himself) unkindly remarked that he preached what he had failed to practice. Originally much in favour of enclosures he modified his views when he saw how they were implemented. He then wrote:

> *'. . . by 19 out of 20 Inclosure Bills the poor are injured and most grossly . . .they say "all I know is I had a cow and that Parliament has taken it from me".'*

The rector of Cookham in Berkshire wrote:

> *'. . . an amazing number of people have been reduced from a comfortable state of partial independence to the precarious condition of a hireling who, when out of work, immediately come on the parish.'*

'On the parish' meant to receive a parish dole so become a pauper. Although in general villagers were recompensed for the loss of common rights their compensation was often limited to a small sum of money or the grant of a patch of land. These patches were often too small to be used for grazing and too expensive to fence. Provided they were accessible they might still serve as limited sources of bracken for bedding or of furze used as fuel in traditional bread ovens. Even 150 years later the enclosures still rankled. In his story of Ebbesbourne Wake William E.V. Young notes that the peasants

> *'lost their strips of ground to the rich men, while the common lands were appropriated by the gentry in the 18th and early 19th centuries'.*

A great deal of ink has been spilt on the subject of enclosures, most of it critical. Although the deprivation seriously damaged the lives of many hundreds of thousands of ordinary people it is necessary to strike a balance between the harm done to these individuals and the need to increase agricultural output, starting from what had been a grossly inefficient base. By the early part of the

19th century much of the enclosed land had been hedged, ditched and drained. One by-product of this was a reduction in the breeding of mosquitoes and the beginning of the disappearance of ague (malaria) from some parts of the countryside. Some of the angry stridency displayed at the time may have been due to the fact that enclosures were an easily defined target on which to focus a much more general unhappiness. An important cause of this was the price of wheat, so of bread, coupled with a sharp reduction in agricultural wages that coincided with the end of the Napoleonic War (1815). Average agricultural wages in Wiltshire fell from 12/- a week in 1815 to 8/- a week in 1817, a fall of 33%. The price of wheat had apparently risen from 34/- a quarter in 1780 to 128/- in 1800. These figures must represent a national average of wholesale rates. Joseph Young (1723-1797), blacksmith, farmer and parish clerk in Ebbesbourne Wake describes a different set of prices. In 1773 he wrote (*verbatim*),

> *'Old wheat sold before harvest for 9 shilings and 6d some for 10 shillings a bushel but in harvest now wheat sold at Shasbury 2 bushells at first for 9s a bushel but next week it fell to 7s and 6d thay sais. . . . In 1775 our wheat Groed in Churchway ye year before was all eate by april and we bought a bushel of flower and baked the last bushel Palm Sunday ye 8 Aprel and flower sold at 9s and 10s bushel.' (10/- a bushel is 80/- a quarter, and 7/6, 60/-.)*

The terms bushel and quarter are confusing. A quarter measured by weight, of coal for example, was a quarter of a hundredweight, equal to 28lbs. Dry goods like corn were generally sold by volume. By this measure a quarter of corn was equal to eight bushels, or 64 gallons. A bushel of oats weighed about 40lbs, of barley 47lbs, of rye 53lbs, and of wheat 60lbs. Thus a quarter of wheat, at 480lbs, is about 17 times the weight of a quarter of coal. Just to make things even more difficult when liquids were measured by volume the bushels and quarters were not the same as those that applied to dry goods. As if this were not enough it was also accepted that a bushel might be 'stricken' or strict, or 'heaped', so more generous, and this by a standard amount. Some of those who cling to the Imperial System of weights and measures might, it seems, have some special reason beyond mere sentiment for doing so. It was certainly a way of keeping the general public in ignorance about how much had been paid wholesale for something being sold retail.

People, 1801 and after

Counting people: censuses

The size of a population can only be assessed, other than by guesswork, by means of a formal census. The UK Census Act of 1800 set up the legal and administrative framework for the performance, in 1801, of the first census in these islands, the process to be repeated every ten years. Since 1801 a census has been held every year that ends in the digit '1', except in 1941 during the Second World War. The four censuses for 1801-1831 were simple 'head counts'. Names were not recorded until 1841. The first census (1801) revealed that the population of England was 8.3 million, of Scotland 1.6m, of Wales 0.5m, and of Ireland, 5.2m.

In their early days officially appointed enumerators completed a census in each parish throughout the land. On the day ordained the enumerator went from house to house recording details of everyone present in each of them. The list of questions enumerators had to ask grew with successive censuses eventually to include each person's name, age, sex, marital status, occupation, place of birth, disability (if any) and their relationship to the individual identified as the head of his or her household. When literacy had improved sufficiently householders were provided with printed forms to complete for themselves and the questions asked became even more sophisticated and searching. Naturally some people find the whole exercise objectionably intrusive. Although it was difficult to hide intimate or embarrassing personal details in small village communities this did not apply among the growing urban populations of the 19th century.

To secure public compliance the government promised that the answers to questions that would identify an individual would be kept confidential for 100 years. On the other hand information about total numbers of people in each community and their sexes and ages (required, for example, to determine electoral boundaries or the number of people who might be conscripted in time of war) were analysed and published more quickly. This is why, in the year 2002, detailed census returns are available for public inspection only for the years 1841 to 1901. In the year 2011 a new census will be held, and in 2012 the detailed returns for the year 1911 will be released.

As part of the research for this publication transcripts were made of all the available census returns for Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant. Microfiche copies of these may be seen in the Reference Section of the Salisbury Public Library. Extensive use has been made of such details as the sexes, ages and occupations of former residents that were collected in this way, but this volume contains little more than a summary of the records of these individuals' names and relationships that were also collected. To have included them would have consumed a great deal of space, and been of little or no interest to the average reader. It was realised, however, that these data might contain information of value to anyone with a special, perhaps genealogical, interest in the village. To accommodate this possibility virtually complete copies of all seven census returns (1841-1901) together with analyses designed to help locate individuals and families have been deposited with the Clerk to Ebbesbourne Wake's Parish Council, and they are included as a Supplement to this, the third, edition.

The enumerator appointed for Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant in the year 1841 (the first census in which names were recorded) was William Bennett, aged 18. In the return for his own family he describes his father William (50) as a yeoman. He lists Susannah (39) as wife of the head of the house and after his own name adds brothers Harry (Henry, 16), John (6), Thomas (3), Frank (3 months), and sister, Susan (4). Also listed are Elizabeth King (27, governess), plus Amy Thorne (20), Elizabeth Sweet (17) and Susan Hewett (14), servants. In 1851 when the next census year came round William's junior brother Henry was the enumerator and Susannah, now a widow, was described as a farmer of 70 acres employing 26 men and 11 boys. With a workforce of that size the 70 acres quoted was the area she owned, to which must have been added some significant tenancies. Henry describes himself as the *son-in-law* of the head of house, now Susannah. This explains the gap of ten years in the succession of children: Susannah was the original William's second wife. This is an unremarkable example of what can be gleaned from an examination of successive census returns. Deductions readily made reveal facts, now mundane, that might have caused embarrassment 50 years ago. No wonder they were embargoed for 100 years.

Those who examine census returns face a number of difficulties. The first is the interpretation of handwritten records. The returns made by some enumerators are examples of copper-plate handwriting, but these are rarities. Second are variations in the spelling of surnames between one census and another, in the way forenames were recorded and inconsistencies in the ages given (in early censuses ages were rounded to the nearest five years, and in any case illiterate people were probably uncertain about their ages). Third, household addresses are at best vague and sometimes absent (everyone knows where old Tom Smith lives, so why write it down?). Examples of addresses in Ebbesbourne Wake still identifiable as general areas, but not indicating individual habitations, are The Cross, Handley Street, Pound Street, Duck Street, or West End Cottages, though the present whereabouts of Church Street is a matter of guesswork. In 1861, even more confusingly, Ebbesbourne Wake's enumerator used the names North, South and East Streets, and he reported ten separate households in 'West End Cottages'.

Enumerators also tended to inconsistency in recording the occupations of those they listed. Men in their 70s and 80s were often shown as occupied although many of them would no longer have been capable of physical labour, who depended on their children for support. Whereas teenage boys were often described as ploughboys, shepherd boys or under-shepherds, under-carters or errand boys, the spaces in which the occupations of teenage girls should have been recorded were usually left blank. Classification as a pauper (one in receipt of a parish dole) is another case in point. The number of paupers recorded as the heads of individual households in the six census years 1851 to 1901 were, respectively, 8, 0, 7, 12, 3 and 3. The numbers of heads of households against whom no occupation was given, for the same six years, were 1, 6, 1, 2, 0 and 1. It seems that Edward Jenkins (30), Ebbesbourne Wake's enumerator in 1861, who described himself as a carpenter and 'wheeler' (presumably a wheelwright), did not care to use the word pauper. Despite these minor reservations detailed census returns are full of fascinating information, and they make an enormous contribution to the understanding of English social history.

Either by accident, or deliberately to hide what at the time were embarrassing details, some census entries are demonstrably inaccurate and so mislead. A few examples are given: many others can easily be found. The first example, entry number 11 from the 1901 return, alleges the following relationships:

> ***1901***
> ***11**, Public House (Horse Shoe Inn)*
> Harry Compton (head of house) aged 31, beer house keeper
> Hetty (his wife) 34
> Collina Young (his daughter) 17, unmarried
> Jasper (his son) 6,
> Hortense (his daughter) 4.

Jasper and Hortense are readily accepted as the children of Harry Compton and his wife Hetty but it is much less likely that Harry was the father of a daughter aged 17 who, although unmarried, bore the surname Young. This impression is confirmed and the reality emerges in a record made ten years earlier, summarised as follows:

> ***1891***
> ***42**, Beer House*
> William Young (head of house) aged 65, innkeeper
> Sarah (his wife) 64, landlady
> Hetty (his daughter) 24, assistant landlady, unmarried
> Colina 7 (surnamed Young, described as William's *grand*-daughter)

Colina or Collina (in passing an example of an inconsistency in spelling) was therefore Hetty's love-child. Ten years later (1901) Hetty had married Harry Compton who not only succeeded William as innkeeper but had also accepted Colina into his family. It is therefore possible to correct entry 11 (1901) to show Colina as Harry Compton's *step-daughter*.

A second example starts with the 45th entry in the census return for 1901. This describes some relationships as follows:

> ***1901***
> ***45**, Pound Street*
> Richard Golden (head of house) aged 58
> Jane (his wife) 59
> Henry Hardiman (his son) 18
> Frank Hardiman (his grandson) 10, born in London.

The fact that the alleged relationships, surnames and ages do not match creates a difficulty, resolved by reference to entry number 50 in the 1891 return:

> ***1891***
> ***50**, Pound Street*
> William Hardiman (head of house) aged 51
> Jane (his wife) 48,

plus their children, Charles (17), Frank (15), Florence (13), Fred (12), Henry (7) and Beatrice (1).

The obvious discordance between the records suggests that William Hardiman died in the ten years between 1891 and 1901 and that his widow remarried to become Mrs Richard Golden. Henry Hardiman, 18 in 1901, was therefore the son of Richard's new wife Jane and was not (as recorded) Richard's *son* but his *stepson*. Richard's true relationship with Henry Hardiman's assumed nephew Frank Hardiman is clarified by an entry 20 years earlier (the 28th in 1881). Here William and Jane Hardiman's children are listed to include a daughter (also named Jane) then aged 9. By the time of the 1891 census this younger Jane, by now 19, had left home perhaps, as happened to many young women from rural backgrounds in those days, to become a servant in the household of a member of the growing urban middle-class, not improbably in London. It is therefore possible that Frank, aged 10 in 1901 and born in London, was the love-child of this younger Jane which is why he was originally described in the 1901 record as a *grandson* though this relationship was not with Richard, but with his wife: Frank was therefore Richard's *step-grandson*. It may also be that Beatrice, aged 1 in 1891, was another love child of the younger Jane rather than (as was described) her mother's (the elder Jane's) daughter. By then aged about 48 she was almost certainly beyond child-bearing.

A third example emerges from the records of Ebbesbourne's Congregational Chapel where in March 1906 it is reported that two members of their congregation, Emily and Annie Moxham, were about to leave for New York together with the rest of their family, who apparently did not attend chapel. The census returns for 1891 and 1901 lists this family as follows:

1891	***1901***
2 *Ebbesborne Farm Cottages 1*	***5****. Cleave Cottages*
Alfred Moxham, 52, carter, EW*	Alfred Moxham, 62, farm carter
Jane, w, 43, Alvediston	Jane w, 53
George s, 20, under carter, Alvediston	
Kate d, 18, servant, visiting, Alvediston	
Edith d, 15, Alvediston	
Percy s, 13, ploughboy, Alvediston	Percy s, 23, Agricultural Lab.
Alfred F s, 11, sch, Alvediston	Alfred s, Ag Lab
Emily M d, 8, sch, EW	Emily d, 18
EMC (s), 3, EW	Ernest s, 13, carter's boy
ACE (d), 2, EW	
AM (d) 10/12, EW	Annie M d, 10

*Birthplace, EW=Ebbesbourne Wake; w=wife, s, d=son, daughter, sch=scholar.

The 1891 entry suggests that Alfred's wife Jane, after five barren years and aged 40-43, produced three children in rapid succession. In 1891 and 1901 the three youngest children in the family were recorded as Alfred's, and so as Jane's sons and daughters. In 1891, curiously and rather uniquely, they were listed only under their initials. This suggests that the enumerator intended to draw attention to what, in a small community, was known of their parentage.

Enumerators sometimes ignored the evidence, recording such children as the sons or daughters of unreasonably elderly parents, or they described them more accurately as grandchildren or stepchildren. In 1891 George Benjafield, the 20-year-old son of a major farmer in the parish, seems to have adopted a different plan. The probability is that the youngsters he recorded by their initials were in fact the children of Jane's servant-girl daughter Kate ('visiting' in 1891) who usually worked elsewhere, perhaps in London, Bristol, Portsmouth Southampton or Salisbury. Two children listed in 1891 as EMC and AM were revealed ten years later as Ernest and Annie M, now aged 13 and 10. The third member of the trio, a girl called 'ACE', had disappeared by 1901. Deaths in childhood were still relatively common 100 years ago and this may have been her fate. Their putative mother Kate, born in Alvediston, appears in the 1881 census return for that parish as 'Elizabeth PK', aged 8, the daughter of Alfred, 42, and Jane, 33. This entry, as recorded by the Mormons in their transcription of the 1881 census returns, renders the surname *Moxholm*, and gives their address as *Alvesdiston*, so this record was difficult to locate.

The Mormon's special interest in genealogy arises from the comparatively recent origin of their sect (subsequent to 1830) and a belief in a family-oriented afterlife. They describe this as existing at three levels, terrestrial, telestial and celestial, the highest and best of the three accessible only to elders of the church, their wives and families. The ancestors of elders who died before the church developed may be reunited with their descendents in the celestial grade of eternity by means of a ritual resembling a *post-mortem* baptism.

Between 1870 and 1890, as noted elsewhere (pp. 74 – 96), English agriculture collapsed. The result was that a significant number of younger members of rural populations, lacking employment, deserted the countryside. Many of these were young women who left to work as domestic servants in, or to walk the streets of, towns and cities. The result was the appearance of an increased numbers of very young children in rural family groups that did not include females of an age appropriate to motherhood. Examination of the (pre-collapse) 1861 census reveals that only 8 (10%) of the 79 families living in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake fell into this 'suspicious' category. By 1901 the comparable figure was 24% (14 of 59).

In the 'census century' (1801-1901) eleven censuses were held all of them now (in 2005) open for public inspection. Here this increasingly documented century has, for descriptive purposes, been divided into three eras. The first is the pre-Victorian era (1801-1841), followed by the early (1841-1871) and late (1871-1901) Victorian eras. The next century (1902-2001) saw only nine censuses as that due in 1941 was omitted. The details of these will be released between 2012 and 2102 in each year that ends in a '2', except 2042. So far as this still hidden information is concerned the period 1902 to 2001 is a 'silent century'.

The 'census century'; the pre-Victorian era, 1801 - 1841

Prior to and during the dawn of the Victorian era Britain experienced the turbulence of the American War of Independence (ended in 1783), which resulted in the loss of its American colonies, followed by the French Revolution (began in 1789) and the Napoleonic War (1793-1815). Of more day-to-day concern for ordinary country-folk, however, was the fact that after the end of the war in 1815

not only did their wages fall very significantly (page 88) but their lifestyles were also increasingly adversely affected by the Industrial Revolution. An example of the latter was the 'perfection' of the steam engine (1781) that eventually led to the introduction of mechanised spinning machines and power looms. These revolutionised weaving and destroyed what had been a widespread cottage industry, depriving already poor families of an important source of income. In the countryside the enclosures (formalised by Inclosure Acts, for example in 1785 for Ebbesbourne Wake) excluded agricultural workers from the common lands where they had been accustomed to grow and collect food for their families, pasture their cows and pigs and geese, and gather fuel for cooking. In the quotation from the Rector of Cookham (p. 87) about the condition of post-enclosure agricultural labourers the word 'serf' might with accuracy be substituted for 'hireling'. It is ironic that a marked reduction in the status of British agricultural workers and a serious deterioration in their standard of living should have happened at the same time as Britain outlawed slavery (p. 71).

By the time Queen Victoria came to the throne both urban and rural labouring populations were, and for some time had been, seriously ill-used. Most led lives of such downtrodden misery that, here and there, crowds gathered to complain and sometimes to attack symbols of their oppression. A protest entered into Ebbesbourne Wake's Baptismal Register on Christmas Day 1827 (p. 111) must be seen in this context. In industrial areas 'Luddites' smashed machinery (notably in 1811) and in the country 'Captain Swing' rioters burnt barns and hayricks, and broke up threshing machines (for example in 1830, p. 72). With no generally established police force magistrates reacted to even minor violence by reading the Riot Act and troops of mounted part-time yeomanry (many of them hunting folk in military uniform) were used to break up meetings and scatter activists. The Peterloo Massacre (15 dead in 1819) was an example of what could happen when a part-time militia was used in this way. Closer to home the local militia under the command of Lord Arundell of Wardour was called out to major incidents at Martin and at Pythouse near Tisbury where, in 1830, a rioter was shot dead. A Justice of the Peace, speaking of Sixpenny Handley, commented that if everyone known to have been involved in these riots had been brought to court two of every three of the labouring population would have been committed. This is the reality of what some today call 'countryside tradition'.

At the time of the first British national census in 1801 the area of the ecclesiastical parish of which Ebbesbourne Wake is now a part comprised three separate parishes. Table III shows the sizes of the populations of each of these as they were recorded in the census returns for 1801-1821. The equivalent figures for 1871 have been added for comparison and later comment.

Table III, *The populations of the parishes named, in the census years shown.*

Year	Alvediston	Ebbesbourne	Fifield	Totals
1801	217	225	42	484
1811	160	206	47	413
1821	224	239	42	505
1871	281	338	62	681

Of 71 people lost to the area between 1801 and 1811, 57 had disappeared from Alvediston alone. This disproportionate loss requires explanation. In the Chalke

Valley the Enclosure Act of 1785 took effect in the years after 1792. The Act restricted or removed the right of access by ordinary people to the common lands where they had been accustomed to grow or collect food for their own use, gather bracken for bedding and furze and sticks for fuel, and perhaps pasture their animals. These traditional rights had given ordinary country folk a minor degree of independence and some individuality. After the enclosures a large number of these people were reduced to a hand-to-mouth life, perilously close to serfdom. In Ebbesbourne Wake the principal beneficiary of the enclosures was the Earl of Pembroke, in Fifield Bavant, the Marquis of Bath. In the years immediately after the Act came into effect the treatment of tenants and sub-tenants of these major landowners may have changed little if at all, but things may have been different in Alvediston. A landholder there was one Thomas King, perhaps the person whose will, proved in 1826, bequeathed £500 to set up what was called the King's Charity. This apparent generosity may be set against an oral tradition, recorded by local archaeologist W.E.V. Young (1890-1971), that identifies a certain 'wicked Tom King' who seems to have been judged brutal even by the Dickensian standards of the day. If so this will may have been a Scrooge-like death-bed repentance, or an act of reparation by an heir.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne the population of England, some 17 million, was evenly balanced between rural and urban lifestyles. By the time she died the population had risen to about 35 million, most of whom worked in mines, mills and factories and lived in towns and cities. This was the first time a country had experienced a shift from a predominantly rural to a chiefly urban society. In Britain the switch took place in the 1830s, in Italy in the 1870s, in Germany in about 1900 and in the USA in the 1920s. In France it did not happen until the 1930s. For Britain the pre-Victorian era was turbulent and existence for most of the population was at least hard, and often miserable. More positively, however, the changes that took place allowed British agriculture to fuel the most dynamic period of the country's Industrial Revolution. As a result Britain became (for a time) Top Nation and she developed (also for a time) the greatest Empire the world has ever seen.

The 'census century'; the early Victorian era (1841 - 1871)

This was an era of growth. After the initial fall between 1801 and 1811 the population of Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant rose again until, in 1871, it reached what was perhaps an all-time maximum (see Table III, above). This is accounted for by the increased number of agricultural labourers required to begin the industrialisation of agriculture after the imposition of the enclosures and under the protection of a series of Corn Laws. In 1846, partly in response to the Irish potato famine, the Corn Laws were repealed. The immediate outcome was that major landowners, fearing a loss of income, forced the resignation of Robert Peel's Conservative administration. In the event the repeal made no immediate practical difference as for the next 25 years steadily increasing production and a succession of good harvests kept foreign corn out of the country.

Some demographic details for the parishes of Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant (for brevity simply 'Ebbesbourne' or as they now belong to a single civil unit, 'this parish') are given in Appendix D. This Appendix adds to the population figures the number of occupied habitations in each place for the years in which this information is available, together with some national demographic data.

Between 1801 and 1901, the period covered in Appendix D, the population of England more than quadrupled from about eight to some 35 million. Measured over the same period the population of Ebbesbourne fell somewhat (267 to 230) though figures for individual censuses varied between a low of 230 (1901) and a high of 400 (1871). Such variations are to be expected in a rural community as agriculture (the industry on which it entirely depended) prospered or faltered. In the early Victorian era, as defined, the English population rose from about 17 to 24 million (an increase of 41%) while that of this parish grew by just 14%. Although from 1821 to 1871 the village population grew only slowly this period was marked by generally significant agricultural prosperity. Despite the Repeal of the Corn Laws (in 1846) farmers faced little competition from abroad and they enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the supply of food and wool in a rapidly growing, increasingly urban, domestic market.

Though the rural labour force did not grow as fast as its urban industrial counterpart the countryside was, for a considerable period, able to meet the increased demands placed upon it. It achieved this because agriculture had begun to modernise itself. The central point of the Victorian era and the end of its early part coincided with the 1871 census. By this time rural Britain had to struggle to meet the still growing demand for food and 1871 marked the peak of the 19th century agricultural boom. Landowners and large farmers were prospering (note the increase in the number of servants in the parish, Table IV, below), but little or none of this prosperity trickled down to the average villager. In his 1830 *Rural Rides* through southern England William Cobbett (1762-1835), editor and seed-merchant, records that in Wiltshire he came across some 30 men digging a field of about 12 acres. They were paid 9d a day 'which was as cheap as ploughing'. Cobbett comments . . . 'if married how are their miserable families to live on 4/6d a week?' Doubtless it was this sort of thing that lay at the roots of the 1827 protest made in Ebbesbourne's Baptismal Register (p. 111) and of the 'Captain Swing' agricultural riots of 1830.

Table IV summarizes the ways in which the size and character of the population of Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant changed during the Victorian era. Data from Alvediston are not included because these have not been analysed in detail, but a superficial examination suggests similar changes there.

The 'census century'; the late Victorian era (1871 - 1901)

If for agriculture the preceding two eras of the census century were of consolidation and growth, the third was of disastrous decline. In the 1870s the fortunes of farmers changed dramatically for the worse. A series of wet summers and disastrous harvests were compounded by outbreaks of rinderpest, foot and mouth disease and liver-rot among farm animals. The resulting serious decline in agriculture and the rising cost of food for the urban population was turned into a disaster for farmers by the political decision to open the home market to foreign competition. The result of the importation of cheap corn from North America and other food from elsewhere is described later. Between 1871 and 1901 while the population of the country continued to grow (by 46% between 1871 and 1901) Ebbesbourne's population *fell* by 43%, from 400 to 230. Successive census returns show that this fall was not caused by a significant reduction in the number of children produced by each family, so it must have been due to people leaving the village.

Most of the migrants went to swell growing urban populations. Others went overseas, moved in with relatives elsewhere, entered workhouses, or they died. Younger people would be more likely to move to towns and cities so the average age of those left behind should rise. Averages calculated for the parish of Ebbesbourne in each of the census years 1881 and 1891 show that this did happen though the tendency was reversed in 1901. The number of surnames new to the parish added between successive censuses starting with the decade 1841 to 1851 (actual numbers of new names and this figure expressed as a percentage of total households) were, 1 (less than 2%), 11 (14%), 6 (9%), 13 (17%), 4 (6%) and 18 (31%). Between 1891 and 1901 while the population of the parish *fell* by 20%, 31% of households included people whose surnames indicated they had arrived *after* 1891. It appears that not only did large numbers of country-folk move into urban areas, but that a significant number were also moving about *within* the countryside seeking employment, housing or better conditions for themselves and their families. Of 18 incomers between 1891 and 1901 nine were farm workers (four shepherds, three agricultural labourers and two carters), four were farmers (one of them already retired by census day in 1901) and the others were a parson, a printer, a wheelwright, the keeper of the Beer House and a widow.

Table IV, *Changes in the population of Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant during the Victorian era arranged to allow comparison between the situation at the start of the era (1841), at the peak of agricultural activity (1871), and at its end (1901). (Data from census returns.)*

	1841	**1871**	**1901**
Total population	***351***	***400***	***230***
Males	172	198	127
Females	179	202	103
Male/female ratio	***0.96***	***0.98***	***1.23***
Number of households/dwellings	***68***	***86***	***59***
Occupations			
Farmers, farm managers and farm bailiffs	5	4	8
Farm labourers* (heads of households)	50	53	33
All workers on the land**	?	91	63
Artisans, etc.*** (heads of households)	8	17	9
All artisans, etc.**	?	22	13
Servants (four males in 1871, otherwise all females)	9	24	7
People aged 18 or over living with their parents			
Males	?	11	17
Females	?	15	5
Totals	?	***26***	***22***
Average number of people in each household	***5.1***	***4.5***	***3.9***

** Includes shepherds, carters, etc. ** Includes lodgers and children, not heads of households, but who were recorded as in employment. *** Masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, shopkeepers, carriers etc., whose services supported those who were employed on the land. ? Data unreliable or unavailable.*

The four farmer-incomers between 1891 and 1901 raised the total number of farmers in the parish to eight. By 1901, therefore, the four farms that existed in 1891 must have reduced their holdings to release land that was taken up as

tenancies by new farmers who came from outside the parish. The change in the number of farmers is confirmed in Kelly's Directories where four are listed in 1899 and eight in 1903. The four shepherds among the incomers may indicate a simultaneous shift of land usage from tillage to pasture.

A sidelight on the migration from the village is that there was an excess of females among the emigrants (Appendix D and Table IV). This was accompanied by a subtle but perhaps, in the long-term, a more damaging change. In early censuses females had always outnumbered males but in 1881 for the first time the population contained a small excess of males, and this became more pronounced in 1891 and 1901. The effect of this on people of marriageable age can be seen from Table IV, (males and females over 18, still living with parents). By 1901 many young women had disappeared, and the young men were left without potential mates. It has been supposed that the young women left to work as servants in the homes of the rapidly growing urban middle class at a cost to their new employers of little more than their food and clothing, plus an iron bedstead in an attic room. This supposition is strengthened by the observation that, in 1901, some households in the parish listed grandchildren and great-grandchildren without the presence of females of an age appropriate to be their mothers. Some of these children were noted as having been born elsewhere (for an example see p. 91).

The reduction in population is directly accounted for by the reaction of farmers to their new economic circumstances. The number of people employed to work in the fields was significantly reduced, and this reduction spread, inevitably, to involve the artisans who provided the services that supported them (Table IV). The result was that the population of those directly or indirectly employed on the land fell from a high point of 113 in 1871 to 76 in 1901, a reduction of 33%. Among them were a number of heads of households whose loss from the workforce obliterated whole families, and reduced the number of occupied habitations from 86 to 59 (by 20%, Table IV). The reduction in the working population included the loss of three-quarters of the artisans who, in 1871, had been described as working in the building trades. Empty cottages were not kept in good repair and the poorer sort with indifferently thatched roofs quickly turned into ruins. The loss was permanent.

The 'silent century', 1901 - 2012

With a minor reversal in 1911 and perhaps another in 2001, (Appendix D) successive censuses from 1871 document a fall in the population of the parish from 400 to a little over 200. Over the same period a much more striking change has been a large reduction in the number of inhabitants whose livelihoods depend on the soil. In 1841 well over nine of every ten households in the parish were directly dependent on the land. Among fewer households in 2006 the number barely reaches one in ten. A major revolution has swept through the British countryside as, in the last 150 years, farm labourers have all but disappeared to be replaced by people whose interest in the land is emotional rather than economic.

The census of 1871 recorded a population probably at its all-time peak. Twenty years later it had fallen by nearly half but despite this the 1901 census showed that the focus of the remaining parishioners was still primarily agricultural (Table IV). With the parson perhaps as a partial exception incomes and livelihoods still

depended entirely on the product of the land within the parish boundary. At best everyday life was miserably hard and when accident, illness, old age or agricultural depression intervened, it became brutal. The chocolate-box Victorian image of rural life that still persists in some quarters was, and is, a myth. The idea probably originated among members of the growing urban middle class who ooooooosubstituted a nostalgic Utopian image of a happy bucolic past for what in reality had been, for nearly all of them, a miserably impoverished rural ancestry.

In 1901 non-rural, non-agricultural incomers had not begun to move into (or more accurately back into) the housing their agricultural ancestors had deserted or from which they had been evicted. For the time being the 'silent century' conceals the details of the how and when, and to some extent the why, of this rural reoccupation. The slight rise in the (estimated) population in 2001 (Appendix D) may prove to be the beginning of a significant extension of this process. The answers will be revealed piecemeal over the next century as further censuses are opened for inspection.

The 'census century'; family names in Ebbesbourne Wake, 1841 - 1901

Those with a genealogical interest are invited to consider the fact that everyone has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, 16 great-great grandparents and so on. A simple calculation shows that 14 generations ago each of us now alive had 16,384 great-great (plus 10 more greats) grandparents and since then has accumulated a total of 32,766 *direct* bloodline forebears. Fourteen generations of 25 years each goes back to about 1649, the year that Charles I lost his head. Among his citizens there were, in theory, over 16,000 individuals equally entitled to be included as full-blooded members of each of our family trees. Similar figures apply to everyone else whose family has lived in Britain for more than three or four generations. Many individuals' forebears also figure repeatedly in many other people's pedigrees, of course, so the number of *different* individuals is significantly fewer than 16,000. We all share large numbers of identical forebears so all of us are cousins.

Historical haziness further confuses each of our huge true-blood ancestries. Add a serious uncertainty about paternity (it is said to take a wise man to know his father) and latterly, because of in-vitro fertilisation, about maternity as well. It is certain that tinkers, tailors, soldiers, sailors, rich men, poor men, beggar-men and thieves, to say nothing of royalty, aristocrats, commoners, saints and sinners, are to be found among the ancestors of every one of us. A family tree traced back through male parents with the same family name for 14 generations produces a manageable list of 14 direct bloodline (apparent) ancestors compared with the unmanageable total of 32,766 people all of whom can claim, with complete justification, an equal share in most of our individual ancestries. Engage a professional genealogist and with one or two deviations through female lines he will produce a right-royal pedigree. Royal dynasties have done this for centuries so why not the rest of us?

Eighty-nine different family names appear among the heads of households listed in the seven census returns, 1841-1901, 18 of them for the first time between 1891 and 1901 (pp. 96, 97). Twelve of the names figure in all seven, eight in six, six in five, and another nine in four. The names concerned are listed in Table V (p. 100). The surname Young appears most often with between six

and ten separate households listed and a minimum of 27 and a maximum of 37 individuals called Young recorded in each return. If the maiden names of married women were known the number would have been greater and at times perhaps as many as one person in five was a member of the tribe of Youngs. In terms of numbers the Moxham family ran the Youngs close, with no other family in contention. It is surprising that in the last 100 years both these names have disappeared from the parish and indeed among the 35 names listed in Table V only six were still extant as recently as the year 2005. The other 54 names figure in fewer than half the returns, many appear only once. It emerges that between 1841 and 1901 the community was made up of a large number of people from a small number of families who formed a stable core round which was gathered a larger number of families who made a transitory contribution to village life.

The record contains examples of migrations overseas, one at least under compulsion, by transportation (p. 86). Sometime after 1903 a member of the Ebbesbourne tribe of Youngs, Charles, accompanied by his wife Emma and their three children, emigrated to Canada. In the census return of 1891 Charles and his family were living in The New Stores and Charles, aged 31, was listed as sub-postmaster and as manager of the Ebbesbourne branch of the Cooperative Society. Kelly's Directory for 1889 shows that he was still in Ebbesbourne and though he was replaced for a time by a certain William Duckles (in 1895) in 1901 and again in 1903 he was still sub-postmaster, shown as living in the New Stores. Charles Young died on December 30th 1930 in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. At about the same time a family of Moxhams apparently left for New York, and it is almost certain that other names that disappeared from the record at about this time belonged to people who had also emigrated.

Table V, *Family names of the heads of households that appear in more than half the seven census returns for Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant, 1841-1901.*

Number of census years in which a surname appears			
All	***Six***	***Five***	***Four***
Bath	Emm(s)	Andrews	Benjafield
Critchell	Foyle	Bennett	Castle
Gear	Martin	Harvey	Compton
Gould	Rebbeck	Jenkins	Hallet
Hardiman	Sheppard, Shepherd	Topp	Head
Kerley	Stevens	White	King
Moxham	Thorne		Marks
Philpott	Troubridge		Read
Smart			Shergold
Snook			
Thick			
Young			

Farms and farming

Within what is now the civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake human activities associated with farming can be traced back to Neolithic times, 6000 years ago. Farms now occupy the whole area so land that was once covered by ancient woodland is now almost totally bare. Curiously in habited areas the application of modern policies designed to preserve trees has turned the village of Ebbesbourne Wake (whose gardens were used until recently to grow vegetables) into one of the most heavily wooded parts of the parish.

Once the small early population of farmers and their labourers had satisfied their basic nutritional needs (in the form of grain, vegetable and animal protein) it was sheep, and their wool, that drove much of England's early social and economic development. Sheep shaped its countryside, and the riches derived from wool made a significant contribution to the nation's architecture. As early as 1297 it was claimed that half the country's wealth was derived from the export of wool – fleece really was golden. When acting as speaker of the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor still sits on a woolsack (there were originally four of them) in memory of the time when wool was England's staple export. Rural depopulation due to the plague was not the only cause of the abandonment of mediaeval villages as men, it was said, were also 'devoured by sheep'. This happened because pasture was preferred to labour-intensive arable land where, area for area, one shepherd and a dog might replace six agricultural labourers set to grow corn. The exchange was profitable for landowners who were led to enclose any land suitable for the rearing of sheep wherever, whenever and however they could lay their hands on it. As early as 1489 such informal enclosures and the associated depopulation threatened to reduce the number of sturdy labourers who were needed to make soldiers in time of war. Fear of this led central government to legislate against the practice. The statute that resulted, and subsequent re-enactments of it, had little effect. Between 1485 and 1607 in Leicestershire, for example, about 140 hamlets of a total of 270 were completely, or at least partly, enclosed. A ballad of 1520 declared that –

'Great men maketh nowadays
A sheepcote in the church.'

At the same time ordinary people complained that these same 'great men' –

'take our houses over our heads, buy our ground out of our hands,
raise our rents, levy unreasonable fines and enclose our commons'.

Despite such outbursts, and occasional anti-enclosure riots, economic pressures and the realities of power allowed landlords to ignore both the protests, and the law.

Powerful landowners formed majorities in both houses of parliament. They continued to increase the sizes of their flocks and eventually cloaked their acquisitions in legal respectability. Between 1760 and 1800 parliament enacted about 1300 separate Inclosure (Enclosure) Acts until, in 1801, the procedure was simplified

by the passage of a general Enclosure Act so that, between 1801 and 1820, nearly 1000 more reached the statute book. The surveying, legal and other costs associated with each of these Acts ensured that the conduct of all such procedures was entirely in the hands of those who would benefit from them, many of whom were also parliamentarians, or at least numbered such among their friends and acquaintances.

As noted elsewhere the year 1792 saw the parliamentary form of enclosure imposed in Ebbesbourne Wake, the consequence of an Enclosure Act of 1785 that also involved the neighbouring parishes of Fovant, Swallowcliffe, Broad Chalke, Bowerchalke, Alvediston, Bishopstone and Fifield Bavant. One unintended result, of lasting antiquarian interest, was the production of early accurate, detailed maps of the area, together with information about the ownership of properties within it. These maps are much more informative than the first edition Ordnance Survey Maps produced between 1805 and 1811.

The census return for 1841, the first recorded in sufficient detail, shows that among the heads of the 68 separate households in the parishes of Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant, 50 (50/68, 74%) either worked or had spent their working lives as farmhands (Table IV, p. 97). For this purpose a farmhand is defined as an individual whose occupation is described in the return as an agricultural labourer, a local carter (not a carrier), a shepherd or, as a sympathetic enumerator recorded of a man in his eighties, an agricultural labourer, 'work done'. When the farmers themselves are added the figures rise to 55/68, or 81%. The artisans who supported them (blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, boot-makers, etc.) account for another 10%, so just over nine out of every ten heads of households were employed either directly, or at one stage removed, in agriculture. By the 1901 census comparable figures had fallen significantly, but were still substantial. Farmhands now accounted for 33/59 (56%) of heads of households or 41/59 (69%) when the farmers are added. In 1901 an overall total of 71% (seven out of ten) household heads were still employed directly or indirectly in agriculture. One hundred years later, by the end of the millennium, the number of heads of households in the parish still engaged in agriculture in each category (except farmers) now approaches, or actually reaches, zero. The number of farmers has changed little if at all. In 1841, 1871, 1891 and 1901 the number of farmers was 5, 4, 4, and 8, respectively (the last figure is an anomaly, see p. 97).

Between 1871 and 1901 the number of heads of households employed as farmhands in Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant fell by 38%, from 53 to 33. The picture remains the same if to the counts of heads of households are added those who lived in the same houses who also worked on the land. The figures then become, for 1871, 91 (including 13 boys aged 15 or less) and for 1901, 63 (now including only four boys, two of whom were the sons of a farmer). It is interesting to note that after the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, France and Germany continued to impose such a tariff on imported corn that in these countries farmhands did not lose their jobs. An underlying reason for this was a requirement for a steady stream of sturdy rural conscripts for the large continental armies of the time.

In summary the 1841 census return reveals that the work of the villagers of Ebbesbourne Wake was almost totally dedicated to agriculture, something that had not changed for centuries. Prior to the middle of the 20th century the economy of the parish depended completely or latterly at least very significantly, on agriculture. Now in the year 2006, apart from contributions to farm subsidies through their taxes, agriculture is irrelevant to the incomes of most of those who live in the village, and nationally the contribution of farming to the gross domestic product has fallen dramatically. The first signs of this major revolution appeared between the censuses of 1871 and 1881 and were the result of a rapid rise in the demand for food as urban populations grew, compounded by a series of wet summers and poor harvests. The resulting shortages and increased prices led Gladstone to import cheap corn transported from the prairies of North America over recently-laid railway tracks and in new-fangled steamships, with meat and cheese brought from elsewhere. In the 1830s about 2% of the grain consumed in England had been imported. In the decade beginning 1880 the figure was 45%, and for wheat, 60%. Between 1870 and 1890 chalk-land production of wheat and barley fell by over 25%, the number of sheep by 20%, and water meadows went out of use.

Since 1871 the number of people employed on the land in England has declined steadily, a process that accelerated in the depression of the 1930s (Appendix D). In the Ebbesbourne of today the process is virtually complete. A visit to rural areas in France shows that the same process started there much later than in the UK, and that it is still incomplete, so relatively cheap properties are still found in the countryside. So far as England is concerned the suggestion that a still significant rural population can be equated with a large number of traditional country-folk is, at best, devious. Organisers of countryside pressure groups use the idea to inflate the apparent size of their constituencies as they pursue narrow vested or emotionally-based interests.

Prior to the second half of the 20th century the condition of the labouring population in rural areas was everywhere more or less abysmal, but the economic conditions enjoyed by the better-off varied considerably. This is reflected in the general appearance of the villages and notably in the architectural merits of their parish churches and the quality of the memorials and tombs on display in and around them. Some idea of the economic health of a community can also be gained from the value of the living granted to their parsons. In 1830 in Ebbesbourne Wake this was £30 a year, and £170 in Fifield Bavant. In 1830 Alvediston's incumbency was still combined with that of Broad Chalke and Bowerchalke (at £336) though when in 1842 Alvediston began, ecclesiastically, to stand on its own its living was valued at £80. For comparison the 1848 figures for Berwick St John and Bishopstone were £500 and £769, respectively.

Why was Ebbesbourne Wake so poor? In a word the answer may be *water*. As noted on page 11, and depicted in Fig. 3 (p. 9), Ebbesbourne Wake is sited in an exceptionally narrow and steep-sided part of the Ebble (Chalke) Valley. The valley broadens out to the west of it, towards Alvediston, and again to the east beyond Fifield Bavant. Along this narrowed stretch the river flows for perhaps half of each year. It follows that before mains water was installed in the 1950s and for some six months annually all the water for human and animal consumption was drawn from

wells. Considerable physical labour was involved: the well at Buntings was over 50 feet deep (see below). The precious water was then carried to animals pastured on the higher slopes. In earlier times people used buckets hanging from yokes to do this, or (just within living memory) larger quantities were transported in horse-drawn water-barrels. So-called dewponds, shallow depressions in chalk uplands lined with puddled clay to make them waterproof, supplemented these supplies, but as they depended more on rain than on dew to fill them variable weather conditions meant that they were unreliable.

In about 1919 Mr William P. Burrow introduced a radical solution to the problem. Mr Burrow worked Manor Farm after the Earl of Pembroke sold the outlying parts of his estate (p. 178). According to oral tradition (Mr Frank Roberts) the tank or covered reservoir near the summit of Barrow Hill was constructed between 1919 and 1921 (it appears first on an Ordnance Survey map of 1927). This supplied drinking troughs for animals in the South Fields, and some fifteen years later running water for the human occupants of Cleeve Cottages (see also Table II p. 18, under *Pagan Saxon*).

Water for the tank was originally pumped from a well in the garden of Buntings Cottage at the lower end of Ebbesbourne Hollow. Formerly called Buntons it was probably originally Buntain's from the name, in 1792, of a local landholder. In the depths of the well, dug more deeply to 56 feet (17m) in 1921, there were two force-pumps, powered by a Victoria petrol engine. The leather seals on the pistons of the pumps needed to be replaced every six months. Men from a Wilton firm were lowered in a canvas sling, controlled by a windlass, to perform this task. Frank Roberts, who was born in Buntings and lived there for 34 years, was the fifth and last boy in a family of six. He says that the engine sometimes ran for four or five hours a day, and that during droughts the well would be pumped dry and pumping had to be suspended for some hours until it filled up again. The Bristol firm that supplied the engine apparently went bankrupt in 1926. When spare parts ran out the petrol engine was replaced by a diesel and later still by an electric motor. The pump-house, in the garden of the cottage, is still in existence but the water it pumps up to the reservoir now comes from the mains supply.

A feature of at least the later development of farms in what is now the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake is the frequency with which they not only changed hands but also grew, shrank or disappeared as they merged or were split up, or as tenancies were added or subtracted. Smallholdings appeared and disappeared with even greater frequency, and the point at which a smallholding became a farm was a matter of debate although at one point in the 19th century 150a. (61ha.) seems to have been the dividing line. This broke down when, as sometimes happened, personal pride intruded. One of Ebbesbourne Wake's census enumerators records against the name of a head of household, doubtless at her insistence, 'farmer of one acre'. Another reason was the appearance of specialist farms, for example for poultry. In 1927 there were three of these, one each at West End, in Ebbesbourne Village, and in Fifield Bavant, under different managements.

What follows indicates only the broad outline of what happened to the farms that constitute today's parish. In 1794 Ebbesbourne Farm (900a., 364ha.) was worked from what is now Manor Farm House, much of it lying to the north of the river with a little in the centre of the parish to the south of it. Most of the latter area was subdivided into a number of small tenancies. West End farm occupied a strip of 323a. (131ha.) distributed along the western edge of the parish. By the middle of the next century Ebbesbourne Farm had split into Manor and Prescombe Farms. Chase Farm developed as a subsidiary of Manor Farm when the latter was enlarged by the clearance of 350a. (142ha.) of woodland lying to the south of the Ox Drove. Later on 300a. (121ha.) of Prescombe farm to the south of the river became Hill and Valley Farms. Other farms were Cleeves (108a., 44ha.), and Chase Barn (220a., 89ha.) that merged with Chase in 1920 to became West Chase Farm. By the end of the 18th century, with the exception of the rector's glebe of 23a. (9ha.), the parish of Fifield Bavant comprised a single farm.

The serious agricultural riots of 1830 were one part of the rising tide of protest by ordinary people, both urban and rural, against the conditions under which they lived and worked. In the countryside enclosures, low wages, the rising price of food, the employment of itinerant gangs of labourers who lived and slept rough and undercut even the poor wages of ordinary villagers, and the introduction of threshing machines all combined to bring the pot to the boil. Riots broke out, fences were torn down, machinery destroyed and ricks and barns were burnt. A letter, signed by a mythical 'Captain Swing', was often delivered before an attack. This is an example.

> *'This is to inform you what you have to undergo gentlemen if providing you Don't pull down your messhenes and rise the poor mens wages the married men give tow and sixpence a day the single tow shillings or we will burn down your barns and you in them this is your last notis.'*

Riots were particularly severe in Hampshire, Wiltshire and the neighbouring counties. At nearby Martin the Coote family was besieged in West Park until they were relieved by a troop of yeomanry under Lord Arundell. On Christmas Day 1830 Pythouse (between Semley and Tisbury, eight miles from Ebbesbourne) was attacked by a mob of about 400 who, it is reported, had already destroyed three threshing machines belonging to local farmers. Again the yeomanry arrived and there was a fight in which a rioter was killed (by whom is in dispute) and several were wounded. There were 25 arrests.

It is likely that one of the three threshing machines that were smashed belonged to Farmer Rebbeck of Ebbesbourne Wake. When the mob passed through the village William E.V. Young described how his blacksmith great-grandfather, James (1797-1875), who was also the parish constable, hid behind his donkey-cart under an arch in Duck Street. This was a sensible precaution as constables elsewhere had been manhandled by rioters. They took his 28lb sledgehammer and used it to smash up a new threshing machine that belonged to Mr Rebbeck of West End Farm. Mr Rebbeck had tried to hide it 'under Aston Hedge' (the parish boundary with Alvediston), but it did not escape - the local villagers would undoubtedly have told

the rioters where to find it, even if (improbably) they took no part in its destruction. The sledge was returned together with some iron spindles from the machine, for the smith to 'make something out of'. The arch inside which the constable hid is still visible, though it is now blocked up. The space where the donkey cart stood may still exist, now occupied, according to reports, by an abandoned motor-cycle sidecar.

A local Justice speaking of nearby Sixpenny Handley commented that if they had committed everyone known to have taken part in the riots two out every three of the labouring population of the district would have been involved. In the light of this the complicity of villagers in Ebbesbourne Wake cannot be doubted. The riots were suppressed with some ferocity. Nationally about 2000 rioters were charged of whom 800 were acquitted or bound over, 644 were sent to prison, 505 sentenced to transportation to Australia, seven were fined, one was whipped, and 19 were hanged, most of the latter for arson. In 1834 six agricultural labourers (the Tolpuddle Martyrs) were transported for attempting to set up a trade association, or union. The village of Tolpuddle in Dorset is just 22 miles from Ebbesbourne Wake.

According to W.E.V. Young's family history the Youngs and Rebbecks settled in Ebbesbourne Wake in the 15th century, the former having moved from Handley, the latter from Cranbourne. Joseph Young (1722-1797) records that on November 12th 1746 he travelled to Coombe Bissett with Farmer Henry Rebbeck to meet an absentee landlord, William Coles, to arrange for Joseph to 'buy' (in fact lease) a house in Ebbesbourne Wake. Generations of Rebbecks were substantial farmers so the family contributed significantly to the agricultural history of the parish, particularly in relation to the long-term operation of West End Farm. Despite this the name Rebbeck does not figure in the Wiltshire County History's section dedicated to Ebbesbourne Wake, where details are found of generations of almost entirely non-resident freeholders of estates within the parish, including West End. Among Deeds and Conveyancing Papers deposited with the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office (ref.1214/72, date 1770-–1831) is the following:

> *'Leases of the capital messuage farms called West End farm Ebbesbourne farm (1795) and the Rectory* (1823) and cottages and land in Ebbesbourne Wake from 1818 principally to the Rebbeck family with copyhold admission.'* (*Presumably the property in Pound Street now called The Old Parsonage.)

At one time the Rebbeck family applied the name John to a succession of their elder sons so a series of John Rebbecks can only be distinguished by their ages and family circumstances. At least one of the Johns distinguished himself outside the agricultural field by an appearance at the Salisbury and Amesbury Petty Sessions: entries in the justices' minute book for November and December 1823 record a bastardy order against a John Rebbeck, of Ebbesbourne Wake, yeoman, as the father of a male child, born in Alvediston. In 1846 a more seemly entry records a marriage settlement between presumably another John Rebbeck and a Mary Powell of Little Bathampton, Steeple Langford, with the appointment of a new trustee in 1870. In 1841 the census return records one of the John Rebbecks as married to a certain

Anne: ten years later seemingly the same John Rebbeck was married to a Mary born in Steeple Langford, so apparently she of the settlement. What happened to Anne? The 1841 census return suggests that the couple had recently married and were without children. In the 19th century it was not uncommon for young women to die in childbirth.

In 1861 John, now aged 56, was recorded as a farmer of 1000 acres, still married to Mary. On census day that year a visitor to West End Farm was one Elizabeth Powell who, ten years younger than Mary, was probably her unmarried sister. John apparently died some time in the 1860s (the date in his memorial window in the church has been obliterated, perhaps deliberately). By the next census, in 1871, this family had moved away from Ebbesbourne Wake and another more junior John Rebbeck now occupied West End Farm. His family included yet another John, aged six, and a younger son of four, Edward Heyward Rebbeck. A few years later this family had also moved away for the 1881 census (taken during the agricultural recession) records that the farmhouse was occupied by a bailiff, James Butler and his family, from Somerset, presumably appointed to tend the property until Edward Heyward reached maturity. By 1891 Edward, aged 24, had claimed his inheritance. According to the census of 1901 he was described as a farm manager so was still under supervision, but by 1907 he was called a farmer. By 1912, however, the name Rebbeck had disappeared from the village and West End Farmhouse was occupied by a farmer called Edward Parrot.

Although the Rebbeck family were major farmers, they held the freehold of little or none of what, in 1861, John claimed as 1000 acres of 'his' land, though evidence from elsewhere suggests that only 300 of these were freehold. As noted above, in 1818 at least, they were major copyholders, a form of tenure usually considered less substantial than a formal lease. At the time of the commutation of the tithes (1843) John Rebbeck already occupied more than 800 acres, nearly all of it the freehold property of either the Earl of Pembroke or of Margaretta Michel. The portion that belonged to the latter had come to her as the daughter of an earlier owner, Edmund Pleydell, who died in 1835. Margaretta took her surname from her husband, the Reverend James Michel.

According to John Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire* water meadows first appeared in the Chalke Valley in 1635. Ebbesbourne's major example, once named *Long Mead* (long meadow), borders the river to the south between Sheepwash (May) Bridge and the old boundary with Fifield; another probable one is to the south of the river in Fifield Bavant, west of the ancient clapper bridge; with a third possible site upstream within Ebbesbourne Wake itself, this time to the north of the river. Water-meadows were nearly flat fields covered in winter by a thin sheet of water to keep the soil slightly warmer and so encourage an early crop of grass in the spring. The skills necessary to arrange a covering of water at the right depth, together with the formation and maintenance of the necessary channels, drains and sluices were the province of (apparently sometimes itinerant) specialists called 'drowners'. According to long-term local resident Frank Roberts the last drowner to operate in Ebbesbourne Wake was Thomas Snook who was listed in each of the national census returns between 1851 and 1901. Thomas worked for farmer Percy Benjafield and lived at

Prescombe on the north side of the river, opposite Long Mead. In wet weather the original courses of the channels and drains that allowed this field to become a water meadow can still be seen, and a dilapidated hut that (just) stands outside the southern edge of Sunnybank's garden was once used to store the sluice gates or hatches when out of use in the summer.

The question of who has the right to take how much economically important water from which watercourse or spring, and when this might be done, has potential for serious contention. To prevent angry confrontations and even bloodshed an arbiter was required. The Enclosure Act, as drawn up for Ebbesbourne Wake in 1785, included a provision headed *Springs, streams, hatches and rights to water: appointment of Waterman to oversee equitable distribution*. The plan that accompanied this Act applied the label 'Waterman' to a property to the south of The Cross that had formerly been a manor house or dwelling provided for the village squire (Fig. 7, p.174). The other properties on this map were labelled with the names and initials of their occupiers so the fact that this is the only plot to be labelled without an initial suggests that 'Waterman' relates to an office rather than to someone's name. This official, elsewhere referred to as a Water Bailiff, must have been quite important to have been housed in so large a property, so he was probably responsible for an area significantly larger than the single parish of Ebbesbourne Wake.

The parish registers

The *Victoria History of Wiltshire* records the existence of parish registers that list births, baptisms and deaths in Ebbesbourne Wake from the year 1653, and of marriages from 1654. It adds that in the 17th and 18th centuries the entries for some years are missing. W.E.V. Young describes four separate volumes. At the top of the first page of volume one is written:

> *'Henry Roberts of Ebbfbourne in this Countie was foorn* (sworn) *ye approved Register of the fame pish* (parish) *the 27th of May, 1654, before me, one of ye Justices of ye Peace of ye County aforsyd. In witness wherof I have thereunto set my hand. Wal. South.'*

In 1653 the Nominated or Barebones Parliament ordered that the custody of parish books be transferred from the clergy and churchwardens to an official called the Parish Register, who charged 4d for entries of births and deaths, and 1/- for marriages. Marriages became civil contracts, with vows made before a justice rather than a parson. That Ebbesbourne's registers date from 1653 and 1654 is thus significant and it may be that in a place like Ebbesbourne Wake the poorer sort of parson who in earlier times should have kept the registers was nearly, if not actually, illiterate.

The four registers are for 1654-1720, 1720-1773, 1754-1807 (marriages only) and 1773-1812 (baptisms and burials). In 1654 four 'civil' marriages were recorded. The *Victoria History* notes that the records were irregularly kept. W.E.V. Young comments that this prevented him from extending his family tree as he could otherwise have done.

On the cover of the second volume of the register is written:

> *'Samuel Jobson Publifhed Clarke by Mr Shuttleworth Cureat, April ye 2nd, Being Palm Sunday in the year of Our Lord 1732.'*

Samuel Jobson was a blacksmith who lived and worked close to the bridge in West End. The name Dropson's Drove applied to the track that leads north onto the downs from near this bridge is almost certainly a corruption of Jobson.

Underneath this entry there appears:

> *'Joseph Young, Publifhed Clark by Mr Good, Cureat, March ye 26th Being Easter Sunday att Fifield and Ebbesbourne, Both places, in the year of Our Lord 1758. Mr Good sarve both Churches then that year.'*

Mr Young notes that this volume was not entirely used for the 'humdrum' recording of births, marriages and deaths. The first two and the last three pages are mainly devoted to specimens of handwriting. It seems that Joseph made use of the book to teach his boys how to write.

Two issues of medical interest emerge from an examination of these records. The first concerns the deadly disease, plague. Although there were many lesser outbreaks of plague three major pandemics (worldwide epidemics) of the disease have been recorded. The first began in Egypt in 542AC and spread *via* Turkey to Europe. The second, called the 'black death', spread from Asia Minor and Africa to Europe in the 14th century. This is known to have reached England, perhaps *via* Melcombe in Dorset, in 1348 (p. 32). The third severe visitation was in 1665, when the disease killed some 70,000 people in London alone.

Did the 1665 epidemic of plague reach Ebbesbourne Wake? No positive record has been found to show that it did, but there is good negative evidence to suggest that the village by no means escaped. In the ten years 1655-1664 the registers record a total of 35 deaths. No deaths were recorded for 1665 or for any subsequent year until 1692 when deaths at about the pre-plague rate reappeared. No births were recorded in 1666 or in any of the following years until 1677 when between one and three were entered annually until 1695 when annual entries approaching the earlier average of seven were resumed. A sudden cessation of village records of births and deaths that exactly coincides with the arrival of plague in England is highly suggestive of an attack that not only decimated the population but perhaps also, as has been described elsewhere, made early casualties of the parson and the clerk.

The second item of medical interest is a series of deaths in 1731. They appear as follows:

'October 11 Elizabeth Lucas
November 4 John Bell
10 William Fox
12 Richard Fox
December 1 Elizabeth Wise
5 George Wise
January 16 Henry Ingram
31 John Ingram
Thease 8 died of the small pox'

At the time smallpox was endemic and sometimes epidemic throughout Europe. In its usual more virulent form it killed about 30% of those attacked and left the rest more or less disfigured or disabled. An outbreak in which there were eight deaths would have involved a total of about 28 cases of smallpox and among the 20 survivors many would have been severely ill. The effect of events on such a scale in a small community within a period of four months must have been devastating. Of interest is the fact that of the eight who died only two were women. As women usually did the milking, contact with cowpox may have made many of the village females immune to smallpox.

In 1796 Edward Jenner (1749-1823) showed that material taken from a cowpox pustule on the hand of a dairymaid (Sarah Nelson) scratched into the skin of eight-year-old James Phipps protected him from subsequent exposure to real smallpox. Jennerian vaccination reduced the annual mortality from smallpox in the

UK from 3000 per million before it was introduced to about 300 per million by the middle of the 19th century, and to 13 per million by 1900. Apart from mortality there was disfigurement. In former times the faces of many young women were heavily scarred by smallpox: Queen Elizabeth wore such thick makeup because at the age of 29 (in 1652) she suffered a severe attack of smallpox. It was probably no accident that the 'pretty maiden' in the poem that starts 'Where are you going to my pretty maid?' turned out to be 'going a-milking, Sir'. As Oliver Goldsmith wrote in *She Stoops to Conquer* 'Since inoculation began there is no such thing to be seen as a plain woman'. Inoculation was an earlier, cruder and more risky way of immunisation against smallpox. Entirely supplanted by Jenner's method, it was declared illegal in 1840.

Biddy Trahair of Alvediston kindly drew my attention to a page in Ebbesbourne Wake's Baptismal Register on which a baptism performed in 1873 is recorded, on which also appears the following:

> *'I trust the various abuses of the church will be rectified before this book is filled up to this. December 25, 1827. There are few parishes where the poor can be more abused than they are here. A few, when compared to the number of the poor, live by their labour and ill use them, why is it so?'*

The background to this Christmas Day protest (written 47 years before the book was 'filled up to this', originally concealed in then unused pages of the Register) can only be guessed at, though something of its historical context appears on p. 105. Parish records of marriages and deaths were the responsibility of the Parish Register or Clerk. It was not until 1837 that these data began to be recorded centrally by the Registrar General, in Somerset House. Before then the most usual form of 'birth certificate' was a certificate of baptism issued by a parish priest and recorded in the parish's Baptismal Register.

Who was the author of the protest? Initially suspicion fell on one of the curates paid a pittance to perform the duties of an absentee incumbent. A comparison of the author's handwriting and the handwriting of the three officiating ministers who conducted baptisms between 1827 and 1829 reveals such fundamental differences between the four hands that this idea was abandoned. The handwriting of the protestor slopes somewhat backwards and appears to be the work of someone who used a pen less frequently. Suspicion then fell on the parish clerk, a blacksmith called William Young (1759–1837) who held this office between 1797 and 1837. Among the papers of William's great-great grandson and namesake, local archaeologist William E.V. Young (1890–1971), are verbatim transcripts of some of his forebear's writings. The earlier William's spelling and grammar strongly suggest that the he was not the author.

Attention then turned to a baptism that took place just two days before the Christmas Day protest was written. The child, christened Mary, was the daughter of James (1797-1875) and Susannah Young. This James was the son of parish clerk William who, like his father, was a blacksmith and also later parish clerk, a

combination of occupations that persisted through several generations of the Young family. The child's mother, Susannah, (shortly to become the village schoolmistress), born in Alvediston, was a member of the King family. The Kings were major farmers, Alvediston's equivalents of the Ebbesbourne's Rebbecks, so she had probably been better educated than most other villagers of her time. Sadly it seems that her daughter Mary did not survive. The return for the 1841 census records James Young, 44, blacksmith; his wife Susannah, 45, and children William, 15, and Elizabeth, 5. The ten-year break in the succession of children suggests that Mary, who would have filled the gap, may have been a victim of the heavy infant and child mortality that was common at the time.

Closer examination of the handwriting concerned suggests that the author was indeed a woman and the syntax of the protest indicates that she was not without educational sophistication. This leads to the tentative conclusion that the author was not Susannah, but was the wife of a curate who could gain access to the Register on Christmas Day, perhaps while her husband was out conducting a service. The entry would do well for someone frustrated at having to pinch and save to make ends meet on her husband's miserable stipend as they waited, or hoped, for preferment.

Parish records, the Parish Council and other parish meetings

Background
For most of the nineteenth century much local (as distinct from national) administration was carried on by County Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace sitting in so-called Quarter Sessions, or was dealt with by a heterogeneous collection of corporations, commissions, parish vestries and so on. The first truly nationwide local authorities were the Boards of Guardians set up to administer the 1834 Poor Law, followed by the School Boards established under the 1870 Education Act. County Councils were formed in 1888 but most of the members of these new bodies were drawn from the same social group as those who had always sat in the Quarter Sessions.

A more genuinely democracy first appeared with the passage of Fowler's Local Government Act of 1894, otherwise known as the 'Parish Council Bill'. Under this Act 6880 Parish Councils were established throughout the land, together with intermediate tiers of Rural and Urban District Councils interposed between parishes and County Councils. Although property-owning women were granted a vote in elections for these bodies they still played no part in the election of members of parliament. In the late 18th and in the 19th centuries there were two other enactments that more or less seriously affected the lives of people in Ebbesbourne Wake. Both also left their mark for students of local history in the shape of useful maps and schedules of the names of owners or tenants of properties that sometimes included actual inhabitants. The first and more important of these enactments was:

'an Act for Dividing and Allotting the Open and Common Lands and Grounds within the ſeveral pariſhes of Foſſont, Swallocliſt, Ebeſborne-Wake, Broadchalk, Bowerchalk, Alvedeſton, Biſhopſton, and Fifield, in the County of Wilts'.

This particular Act, one of a great many collectively called the Inclosure (Enclosure) Acts, was passed in 1785 and came into effect in 1792. The second was the:

'apportionment of the rent charge in lieu of tithes in the Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake in the County of Wilts'.

This regulation was made by the Tithe Commission under the provisions of 'an Act for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales' as applied to Ebbesbourne Wake in 1844.

The Enclosures, Ebbesbourne Wake
A copy of a book, dated 1785, bound in tooled suede leather measuring 33cm x 21cm x 2cm entitled *Ebesborne-Wake,* the property of the Parish Council, has recently emerged from hiding. The book is in two parts. The first (pp. 1-24) is a printed copy of the specific Act of Parliament, the second (with a title page followed by pp. 1-81, plus an index, 4pp.) is hand-written, in brown ink.

The book describes the process by which various lands in this part of south Wiltshire, previously open to all members of each of the communities concerned for various defined purposes, were closed to them and were allocated to established landowners. The legal basis for the process rested on a series of Acts of Parliament, one for each of many small area of the country. At the time these Acts were collectively known as Inclosure (enclosure) Bills, though this usage of the word does not appear in the copy of the Act preserved in the book described here. When the Act came into effect in 1792, most ordinary countrymen were deprived of access to soil that formerly had contributed significantly to their economic independence. More of the historical context may be traced *via* the Index.

The second, handwritten part headed *'Ebbesbourne-Wake'* covers only this parish, so similar books or documents exist to deal with the other parishes named: see below for the Fifield Bavant award. The Act dealt with the parishes of Broad Chalke, Bowerchalke and Alvediston (the ancient estate of Chalke) as a single entity. Transcripts that follow are true copies, though spelling and punctuation have been modernised. The book does not include the plans it describes, though copies exist in the hands of some individuals in the parish. Copies are also kept in the County Records Office in Trowbridge, Wiltshire.

Transcripts from the (printed) Act
Page 2. Patrons and Tithe Owners
And whereas the said Henry, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery is patron of the Rectory of Fovant, and the Reverend Thomas Eyre, Doctor of Laws, is the present incumbent and as such is entitled to certain glebe lands and to all tithes both great and small* to the said rectory belonging, or to some modus or composition in lieu thereof.
*See pages 24 and 117 for definitions of these terms.

And whereas the Reverend Thomas Osborn, Doctor of Laws, is prebendary of the Prebend of Swallowcliffe aforesaid, founded in the collegiate church of Heytesbury, and as such is seized of certain glebe lands and all other tithes both great and small to the appropriate parsonage of Swallowcliffe belonging, or to some modus or composition in lieu thereof, and Arundell Frome, widow, is lessee under the said prebendary.

And whereas the Reverend Charles Tarrant, Doctor of Divinity, as subchanter of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Sarum, is seized of the appropriate rectory or parsonage of Ebbesbourne Wake, and of certain glebe lands and a portion of the tithes within the said parish, to the said appropriate rectory or parsonage belonging, and William Coles esq. is lessee under the said subchanter, and the said Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery is also seized of a portion of the tithes within the said parish belonging to and parcel of the ancient Priory Farm*, in Ebbesbourne Wake aforesaid. (*Later Ebbesbourne and now Manor Farm.)

And whereas the said Worshipful and Provost and Scholars of The King's College of our Blessed Lady and St Nicholas in Cambridge are seized of the appropriate rectories and parsonages of Broadchalke, Bowerchalke and Alvediston aforesaid, and are patrons of the vicarage of the parish church of Broadchalke together with the

churches of Bowerchalke and Alvediston, and Henry Banks esq. Lessee under the said provost and scholars of certain glebe lands and tithes belonging to the said appropriate rectories or parsonages, and the Reverend John Bainbrigge is vicar of the said vicarage of the parish church of Broadchalke, together with the churches of Bowerchalke and Alvediston, and as such is entitled to certain glebe lands and tithes to the said vicarage belonging, or to some modus or composition in lieu thereof, and the said Henry, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery is also seized of a portion of tithes within the said parish of Broadchalke, heretofore belonging to the Monastery of Wilton.

And whereas the said Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery is patron of the rectory of Bishopstone aforesaid, and the Reverend William Nevill is the rector of that parish, and as such is entitled to certain glebe lands and to all the great and small tithes belonging to the said rectory, or some modus or composition in lieu thereof.

And whereas the said Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth is patron of the rectory of Fifield aforesaid, and the Reverend Wadham Diggle is the present incumbent and as such is entitled to certain glebe lands and to all tithes both great and small to the said rectory of Fifield belonging, or to some modus or composition in lieu thereof.

Proprietors

And whereas the said Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery and the said Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, the said Provost and Scholars of King's College in Cambridge, and the said George Jackson esq., the said Henry Banks esq., Charles Penruddocke esq., Edward Morton Pleydell esq., Richard Bingham esq., James Cleare esq., William Slater esq., Charles Lisle esq., the Master of St Nicholas's Hospital at Sarum, the Master of St John's Hospital near Wilton, the assignees of William Burlton esq., Francis Blundell gent., Henry Jerrard gent., John Rebbeck gent., Edward Hewett gent., John Lodge gent., Thomas King gent., and divers other persons are owners and proprietors of, or interested in the said open and lands and grounds, and it would be very advantageous to the several parties if the same were divided and allotted among them, in proportion to their respective rights and interests therein, but the same cannot be done without the aid of parliament.

Other Section headings

Page 4	Election and swearing in of commissioners
	Notice of meetings
Page 5	Surveys and valuations of lands
	Claims from proprietors
Page 6	Settlement of disputes
	Perambulation of boundaries
Page 6/7	Lands to be divided and allotted
	Roads, bridges, watercourses etc.
Page 8	Allotments for the benefit of the poor: for growth of furze for fuel, not more than 10 acres. (Poors Furze Allotment, pp. 60, 61, map C. 9)
Page 9	Allotments to proprietors: remainder of open and common fields, meadows etc. divided among owners, proprietors lessees etc, proportionately.

Page 10	All other common rights extinguished
Page 11	Lands exchanged by consent
Page 11/12	Boundary lines made regular
Page 12/13	Springs, streams, hatches, and rights to water: appointment of Waterman to oversee equitable distribution.
	Trees, hedges, bushes etc.
Page 14	Conditions
Page 15/23	Payment of expenses, other financial matters and appeals

Transcripts from the handwritten, second part of the book
Title page A copy of such part of an award as particularly relates to the Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake . . . made and executed . . . .by virtue of an Act of Parliament in the 25th year of the reign of George the Third . . . .in the year of our Lord 1785.

Roads etc. confirmed (extract)
Pages 3 – 17 '. . . public carriage road and driftway of the breadth of forty feet beginning at or near the northeast corner of several downs belonging to William Coles esq. And from there extending eastwards in its usual course and direction through and over an allotment to Sarah Carey and through and over several allotments to the Earl of Pembroke etc., etc.

Page 17/18 Allocation of 9 acres on Cow Down in trust for the purpose of growing furze or other fuel for the use of all and every of the poor parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish . . .

On the remaining pages the names appear of those to whom allotments were made, viz:
Pp. 18-27, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery
P. 28, 29, Sarah Carey
P 29, John Coombes
P. 30, 31, William Jenkins, Henry Philpot
P. 32, Thomas Scammell, George Younge, John Younge, Thomas Fox
P. 33-41, Benjamin Pryce
P. 41, 42, Henry Bankes, lessee of King's College, Cambridge
P. 42-46, William Coles, lessee, subchanter Tarrant, and Edmund Morton Pleydell esq.
P. 47, 48, John Rebbeck, freehold
P. 49, Stephen Emm, freehold
P. 49, 50, George Jackson
P. 51, 52, Henry Rebbeck, lifeholder under George Jackson
P. 52, Rebecca Rebbeck, do
P. 53, Richard Lawes, William Purchase, Joseph Younge, all lifeholders, do
P. 54, Hon, Everard Arundell, freehold coppice
Pp. 54-57, Regulations for watering Ebesborne Long Mead.
Pp. 57-79, sundry exchanges and payments
Pp. 80, 81, list of lifeholders and their lessors.

The Enclosures, Fifield Bavant
This document is equivalent to the second part of the Ebbesbourne Wake Enclosure Book (p. 103), though in a different format. The manuscript is written in brown ink on large (28x21 inch) sheets of heavy paper, numbered 161-167, headed *Fifield***.** The use of the word 'eighthly' in the preamble is because Fifield was eighth and last of the parishes listed in the Act.

Preamble
And eighthly for and in respect of the Parish of Fifield aforesaid. Notice given in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal did require all persons having any right to property or interest whatsoever in or upon the said lands and grounds or any part thereof to deliver in such manner in writing as should relate to the said parish of Fifield on Wednesday the seventh day of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five at the house of Nathaniel Kowden known by the sign of the Cross Keys in Fo*ff*ant aforesaid. And the said Commissioners did also by like Notice given in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal fix and appoint Monday the 24th day of October one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five for perambulating the boundaries of the said parish of Fifield or such parts thereof as appear to them to be doubtful or in dispute and did meet and perambulate the said boundaries accordingly.'

Summary of remainder
P. 161, Fifield award begins: claims delivered: boundaries perambulated: claims determined: boundaries settled: land valued: roads set out: day for hearing objections: roads confirmed: public road from Ebesborne (sic): road from Fifield to Brodchalke: to Teffont: (P. 162) from Broadchalke to Sutton Mandeville: from Teffont Hut towards Broadchalke: Fifield towards Shaftesbury: from Ebesborne to Bowerchalke: herbage of the roads: allotments to the proprietors.
P. 163, Allotments (allocated numbers that agree with the Inclosure map, 1792)
To Lord Weymouth freehold, M1
To Lord Weymouth lessee under Charles Lisle, M2, M3
To Joseph Heaswell lessee under Lord Weymouth, M4
To John Rebbeck freehjold M5, exchanged to Joseph Heaswell
To Thomas Bond freehold M6, do
To Reverend Henry Diggle Rector Fifield, three allotments:
P. 164, M7, M8, M9
Landshards (uncultivated strips or linchets) to be left between the allotments
Fifield exchanges M5 (above) for M10, M6 (above) for M11
Remainder 'general matters', mostly financial.

The Commutation of Tithes
Tithes were one-tenth of the produce of the land, given to the Church. At first voluntary, by the end of the 8th century these 'gifts' had become compulsory. The *great tithes* were those of the major crops, the *small tithes* consisted of lesser produce. In pre-reformation times the great tithes of some parishes were appropriated by monasteries or other religious bodies, who in return were obliged to appoint (nearly always poorly paid) *vicars* or *perpetual curates* in the parishes concerned, for whom the small tithes were usually reserved. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries the great or *rectorial* tithes were granted to cathedral chapters, university

colleges or to laymen (the 'impropriators'). The parson in a parish who received the great tithes directly was called a *rector* who was generally more powerful and usually better paid than a vicar. As parishes developed tithes became increasingly important as contributions to parsons' incomes so tended to become sources of friction between clergy and their parishioners a friction intensified by the growth of nonconformity, as nonconformists found they had to pay for the upkeep of priests of the church from which they dissented. Commutation of tithes (exchanging them for less contentious payments) began in the 16th century and the Act of 1836 attempted to reduce them to a single rent-charge. Acts of 1937 and 1951 commuted these to a lump sum redeemable by instalments up to the year 2000. In about 1224 the great tithes of the old parish of Ebbesbourne Wake had been transferred to the Bishop of Salisbury, who granted them to the subchanter (succentor) of the cathedral. The ecclesiastical parish of Fifield Bavant was a rectory and so it remained until 1923 when it was merged with Ebbesbourne Wake.

Apportionment of the rent-charge in lieu of tithes in the Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake in the County of Wilts.
The document is stamped 'received by the Tithe Commission 5th August 1844'. It includes a schedule of the properties (pp. 57 – 58 of the original) and a map from which the location of the numbered plots can be determined. These documents and maps, together with copies of later amendments, are held by the parish clerk on behalf of the Parish Council, together with a copy of an analysis of them, cross-referenced to census returns, designed to facilitate their study.

Early Parish Council Minute Books
Two books, **A** and **B,** are extant. **A** contains printed copies of 'Procedures as to Parish Meetings' and 'Procedures as to Meetings of Parish Councils' and it covers the period 1895-1897. Book **B** is inscribed *Minute Book, Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, from December 4th 1894* and it contains printed sheets headed 'Local Government Act, 1894'. It covers the period 1894-1957. Pages 150-153 have been cut out.

That there were two books suggests that it had been the intention to separate the minutes of Parish Meetings and Parish Council Meetings. In the event only the first ten Council Meetings were recorded in **A** (April 1st 1895 to February 5th 1897). At first Council Meetings were held in the Schoolroom, and a Mrs Young (presumably the schoolmistress Louisa, wife of John Young) was paid one shilling to see to the cleaning, lighting and heating of the room for each meeting. The fifth Council Meeting, the last to be held in the Schoolroom, took place on May 20th 1895. The next, on September 26th 1895 was held in the Village Room, when it was reported that Lord Pembroke had visited the Room (sometimes called the Parish Room) and he had agreed, subject to certain undertakings, to allow the Room to be managed by the Parish Council. (The New Stores in Handley Street, with the Village Room on its first floor, was built in the early 1890s.)

Book **B** was much more completely used. It contains records of Parish Meetings from December 4th 1894, and the minutes of Council Meetings from April 15th 1897. In the years that followed nearly all Council Meetings took place in the Village Room while most Parish Meetings were still held in the Schoolroom until, in 1919,

they too moved to the Village (Parish) Room. Meetings of both kinds were held there until January 6th 1923 when the then new Village Hall, also in Handley Street, became available.

The first entry in **Book B** are the minutes of a Parish Meeting held on December 4th 1894. These are of particular interest because it is clear that this meeting was held under the shadow of the impending Local Government Act of the same year. The introduction of even a whiff of democracy at parish level, particularly when a rural parish was involved, must have been of concern to landowners and their major tenants. Until then these people had wielded absolute power as they not only decided who should live and work where, when and for how much, but they also controlled every branch of local administration through the Boards of Guardians, School Boards, and the Justices' Quarter Sessions. This probably accounts for the fact that the minutes of this Parish Meeting contains one of the few records of a public disagreement to appear anywhere in the record. Fears that the establishment of Parish Councils would lead to something approaching communism were dispelled when it became obvious that these bodies, at least in small rural parishes, possessed little power to do anything other than complain.

The meeting held on December 4th in the School Room opened with the election of Mr W. Duckles as temporary chairman, pending the formal election of a Chairman for the year. (Duckles was the village shopkeeper and postmaster.) Robert Andrews (aged 56, a farmer's carter living in Prescombe Cottage) proposed the name of Mr Duckles for this office, seconded by Thomas Bath (widower aged 49, a shepherd living in West End Lane). An amendment moved by Mr F. Arnold (Frank, the 35 year-old son of Charles a farmer of Fifield Bavant, aged 64) and seconded by Rev. L. Selby (Leicester Selby was curate under the Curate in Charge of Ebbesbourne and Rector of Fifield, Rev. Tupper Carey. Tupper Carey, aged 70, lived in the then spanking new vicarage in Ebbesbourne while the curate lived in the old Rectory in Fifield, next to the Arnold farmhouse.) They nominated Mr E.H. Rebbeck, (aged 27, farm manager and about to become farmer of West End Farm). This election was clearly between a candidate supported by the 'lower orders' (named in the Minutes in the manner of the time without a courtesy title) and that of the 'establishment'. Mr Duckles was elected by 24 votes to 8. This may have reflected the division of the village population into 'Chapel' and 'Church', a division as much political as religious.

The next business was to decide if Ebbesbourne Wake should apply to be allowed a Parish Council (that is with formally elected Parish Councillors, in theory a more democratic arrangement) or to make do with the less formal Parish Meeting to which they were accustomed. Henry King (aged 51, agricultural labourer of Duck Street) and Samuel Moxham (aged 54, carrier and sexton of Handley Street) proposed the Parish Council, while Mr Arnold and the Rev. Selby again combined to oppose this. The former option was adopted by 26 votes to 4.

The next Parish Meeting, called to elect five Parish Councillors, was held on March 25th 1895. The following were nominated.

- Robert Andrews (already described)
- Walter Lush (aged 29, labourer, of the New Cottages)
- Samuel Moxham (already described)

- Albert Young (aged 27, blacksmith, The Cross)
- William Young (aged 52, blacksmith, West End Lane)

With five candidates for five seats no election was held.

The first Parish Council Meeting proper was held on April 1st 1895. The only business conducted was to re-elect Mr William Duckles as their Chairman. Today councillors elect a chairman from among themselves, but under the rules that existed at the time it seems that the chairman did not have to be an elected councillor, so the first full council had a membership of six.

The principal business of succeeding Council Meetings was to elect Overseers (at first Messrs E. H. Rebbeck and F. Arnold) together with an Assistant Overseer, who was paid a salary. The first recorded was Ella Benjafield, aged 23, wife of Percy, 24, farmer of Manor Farm, at £7 a year, who had to post a £25 bond as surety against default. Overseers operated the provisions of the Poor Laws under the direction of the Board of Guardians in Wilton, who also ran the Wilton Union Workhouse. The fact that the Overseers and their assistant were all farmers, or from farming families, is highly significant. Overseers saw to the distribution of 'outdoor relief' – money given to people who were not in employment, but who continued to live in the community. 'Indoor relief' meant committal to the Workhouse (p. 183). The money for outdoor relief came from Rates levied on householders, in rural areas mainly farmers, artisans and tradesmen. Farmers could use the system to provide cheap casual labour and so depress regular wages. Failure to comply could result in relief being withheld or a move to the prison-like conditions of the Workhouse where, in the early days, husbands wives and children were housed separately.

During this early period Chairman Duckles acted as his own Clerk. His minutes, written in a clear hand, are easy to read. Albert Young (aged 28, blacksmith of what is now Chapel Cottage) was appointed treasurer. Council expenses were met by the proceeds of a halfpenny Rate, yielding £3-9s-11d. This was drawn from the Overseers, who were responsible for collecting the Poor Rate, a job probably delegated to their paid Assistant.

Parish Meetings and Parish Council Meetings fell into a routine. Over the years most Parish Meetings, called annually, were held to receive nominations for parish councillors. There were nearly always only five of these so no elections were needed. On a couple of occasions when six were received one of those nominated stood down, so again there were no elections. One of very few other matters dealt with at a Parish Meeting, on January 30th 1896, arose from a dispute with a 'Mr Carey' over the administration of the Coal and Clothing Fund. The meeting condemned 'in the strongest possible manner' the fact that Mr Carey had refused to allow certain persons to join the club, that he released club funds only for the benefit of those who 'helped themselves', and that he had not ordered coal 'in good time'. The only Carey listed as living in the village during this period was the Rev. Tupper Carey in the Vicarage, aged 72 and about to be replaced by the Rev. John Attwood Jacob. Tupper Carey had two sons, Albert D. and George G. whose only appearance in a census return was in 1871, as children. By 1896 they were in the early stages of careers in the church and the army so would not have been involved. Recently a letter has emerged in which

Tupper Carey (from an address in The Royal Parade, Bath) rebuts the charges, indicating that he was indeed the target of the complaint. The club was taken over by the Council, and three Councillors were nominated as trustees.

Matters dealt with in Council were generally mundane. Their minutes are filled with details of the appointments of Overseers and their Assistants (perhaps their most important function), decisions about the Assistants' salaries, nominations for the School Management Committee, and elections of their own Officers. Neville Chamberlain's Rating and Valuation Bill (1928) abolished Boards of Guardians and the office of Overseer. Advanced notice of this must have been given because on October 10th 1925 the Parish Council voted to make a formal protest about the loss of their Overseers. This was ignored. According to Council Minutes the last Overseers (Messrs W.P. Burrow of Manor Farm and C. Andrews of Hillside Cottage) were appointed in 1926.

A recurring issue in meeting after meeting was the condition of roads and footpaths, and the provision of road signs (nothing changes) but it is surprising how matters of national importance were ignored. For example the First World War gets no mention at all, other than indirectly. A County Council offer of seed potatoes made in late 1916 resulted in an order for 11 hundredweight (560kg) of them. The offer coincided with the start of unrestricted German submarine warfare in the Atlantic and was presumably a Government initiative designed to grow more food in the expectation of a shortage. In the early part of 1917 German submarines sank eight million tons of transatlantic shipping though these losses were much reduced when merchantmen began to sail in convoys, guarded by the Navy. Germany's escalation of submarine warfare was an important element in America's decision to enter the war (April 1917).

Surprisingly even the sale of the outlying parts of the Wilton Estate in 1919, which had a profound effect on the village, attracted only one direct comment. At a Parish Meeting on March 17th 1919 the Chairman was instructed to write to Lord Pembroke saying 'the people of the Parish are feeling very sore and hurt over the Parish Room been sold away'. This must have been when the New Stores, previously the property of the Earl (and much later called The Valley Stores), was sold to its shopkeeper trading under the name of E.F. Bailey and Son. Bailey allowed the village to continue to use the Parish Room at a rent of 1/- a year though according to Dennis Gates, a former owner of part of what was the Stores, this generosity was enforced in the contract of sale. The Parish Council continued to meet in the Parish Room until January 6th 1923 when they began to use the (then) new Village (or Parish) Hall.

Some less direct consequences of the sale did appear in the Minutes. Most of the farming land in the parish, once part of the Wilton Estate, was sold off in smaller packets to become the freehold property of a number of individual farmers. Some of these farmers decided, unilaterally, to close various 'rights of way' villagers had been accustomed to use to go to work or for other purposes. These crossed what were now the property of new owners, who probably lived on their newly-acquired land. Protests about the blocking up of paths with gates (and once by a bull in a field) or complaints that they were ploughed up, became common. The great depression of

the 1930s figured in the Minutes only as a letter from the District Council announcing the imposition of economy in the public services.

Other matters to appear repeatedly were reports of tediously lengthy negotiations about the introduction of telephone, electricity, mains water, refuse collection and bus services. Sadly those who wrote the Minutes neglected to record the dates on which agreements were eventually made and the services provided. The Second World War (1939-1945) received a little more attention than the First. Matters discussed included air-raid precautions, fire-watchers and stirrup pumps though the fact that for half the year there was no water in the river (and as yet no mains water) made planning difficult.

The last Parish Council Meeting recorded in book **B** was held under the Chairmanship of Mr D. Fergusson, with Councillors J. Allen, Brigadier Mills, L. Varwell, and the Clerk, F.E. Oborn, in attendance. Subjects discussed were the provision of litterbins by the Salisbury and Wilton Rural District Council (the offer was rejected), the failure to appoint a Civil Defence Leader and Deputy Billeting Officer (the matter was held over) and a provisional map of rights of way received from the County Council. (Another set of maps of still provisional rights of way arrived from the County Council in 2002.)

Other books

Book **C** contains the Parish Council's accounts and is inscribed Ebbesbourne Wake Treasurer's Book. In 49 pages the book covers the annual accounts for the years ending 31st March 1931 to 31st March 1982.

Book **D** is a combined Minute and Account Book of the old Village Hall. At the end of the First World War a military encampment at Fovant was dismantled and the Village acquired a large army-surplus hut. This, re-erected in Handley Street, became the Village Hall (at first called the Village Hut). It was used from late 1922 until the second Village Hall newly built on the edge of the football field was opened on June 25th 1988. The old hut was pulled down a little later and the site remained vacant until 2002 when a house ('Barrow View') was built on it. The book is in very poor condition, lacking a back cover and with the binding on the spine missing. The pages are not numbered. It has been used in an unusual way, the Minutes starting at the front, and the Accounts at the back. The two types of entry meet near the middle. Practically everything in it relates to the old Village Hall.

Minutes recorded in book **D** are of four Parish Meetings (June 24th 1922 to October 17th 1922) followed by Minutes of three Parish Hut Committee meetings (October 6th 1922 to November 19th 1922) and then by Minutes of the Parish Hall Committee from December 4th 1922 to October 1st 1962. The **Accounts** are for the Village Hall for the period September 29th 1922 to September 15th 1950.

The major item for discussion in each of the first four Parish Meetings was the development of the new Village Hut (Hall). 'Local gentlemen' were asked to support the Hut Fund, a Building Committee was formed and a Mr Harrington was thanked for hauling the parts of the hut from Fovant. An agreement was reached with Mr

Bailey, the shopkeeper, which relieved him of his obligation to allow the Committee to use the Parish Room (above his shop, see Book B, above. The space was subsequently used as a furniture store.) In return Mr Bailey made a donation of £10 to the Hut Fund and he provided, at cost, the (oil) lamps used to light it. A vote of thanks was passed to Messrs H. Oborn and B. and W. Young for preparing the site and re-erecting the building. Accounts signed on September 29th 1922 showed that these individuals had been paid, (including the cost of National Insurance stamps) £12-13-10d, £12-14-4d and £10-5-8d, respectively. The total cost including building materials was £75-4-6d. No mention is made of the cost of the hut itself. As the Fovant site had to be cleared in any case it may be that public bodies like Parish Councils were allowed to take them away for nothing.

Parish Meetings reported at the beginning of this Book describe the formation of a Village Hall Management Committee and the appointment of three Trustees (E. Parrot, a farmer at West End, P. Burrow of Manor Farm, and Rev. C.N. Arnold). Rules for the conduct of users were made. These, for example, forbad bad language and allowed intoxicants only with prior permission. Once established the meetings of the Parish Hall Committee soon fell into a predictable pattern. Their Minutes suggest that they were conducted very formally. Ideas became motions that were proposed and seconded by named individuals and (almost always) carried unanimously. The Hall ran on a seasonal basis, with most activities held in the cooler and darker parts of the year. The 'Reading Room', also used for games, was available to members who subscribed 3d, presumably weekly, to pay for lighting and heating. Opening times were, for example, 6pm to 10pm Mondays to Fridays, and from 6pm to 9pm on Saturdays. In summer the Room opened only when it was wet. Over 90% of the Minutes are concerned with administration (the appointment of the Committee's officers, caretakers at first paid £6 a year, nightly supervisors for the reading room, and so on). For the rest they record the arrangements made for very frequent whist drives; the booking of bands and the organisation of less frequent dances (later a radiogram was used to provide the music); and less common social events such as children's Christmas parties.

The property was insured initially for £250 (buildings £150, contents £100), at a premium of 8/9d a year. A dartboard, dominoes, cards, and a bagatelle table were provided. A full-sized bagatelle table resembled a small billiard table with nine balls and two or more players used cues to 'pot' the balls. Players were charged 1d per game.

A problem recorded in the Minutes was occasional bad behaviour by the 'lads' as they were called. The cure varied from simple admonishment, through the expulsion of a named individual, to closure of the Hall in the evenings until the 'lads', sufficiently chastened by being deprived of somewhere warm to get together, repented.

At the last meeting of the Village Hall Committee recorded in this book, in October 1962, the Chairman announced the death of Mr D. Fergusson. Members stood in silence for a minute in memory of one of their former Chairmen.

Paupers

Under the Poor Laws as they were amended over hundreds of years and made more rigorous in 1834, those genuinely afflicted by age or infirmity such that they could not earn a living or otherwise support themselves were called paupers, entitled to Relief. The granting of *indoor relief* meant admission to the workhouse (the Wilton Union Workhouse served Ebbesbourne Wake) where inmates were accommodated in prison-like conditions and, until 1842, families were separated as men, women and children were housed apart. The alternative to 'indoor' was *outdoor relief*. Under this regime paupers stayed at or near their homes, supported by payments (called the dole since the passage of the National Insurance Act, 1911) originally paid from the parish rates by the parish's Overseers of the Poor. If a member of a pauper's household (a son, for example) was gainfully employed so could support their pauper relative he or she might continue to live in their old home, or alternatively they might be taken into the household of a relative or neighbour. Failing this (and short of admission to the workhouse) paupers were accommodated in properties provided by the parish as substitutes for alms-houses.

In 1843 Ebbesbourne Wake maintained three dwellings for this purpose. One of them was a cottage that used to stand at the bottom of Pound Street on what later became a village pound, next to today's Blue Cottage. The other two were at either end of what is now Wavertree, originally a terrace of three cottages, housing three families.

The population of Ebbesbourne Wake, as recorded in 1851, was 163. This figure included 12 paupers on outdoor relief, eight of them females (average age 52) and four males (average age 76). Eight of them were still listed as the heads of their respective households, and four lodged with families whose surnames differed from their own. In 1843 five paupers lived in the parish 'alms-houses'. In the Wilton Board of Guardians report for the second half of 1898 it is recorded that two Ebbesbourne Wake ex-residents had been granted indoor relief (Thomas Castle, 60, for paralysis and George Smart, 76, for old age). Eleven more (3 males and 8 females) had received outdoor relief (to a combined total of £37-13-5d), all on account of old age.

The apparent unwillingness of Ebbesbourne Wake's 1861 census enumerator to use the word pauper has been noted (p. 90). This early example of 'political correctness' had become more general by the time of the 1901 census when the term 'parish pay' was used as a substitute for it.

Ebbesbourne's blacksmiths

The archaeological record shows that iron-age men smelted and worked with iron on Fifield Down, and the Domesday Book notes the presence of a blacksmith's forge in Fifield Bavant. The area covered by what is today the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake can therefore claim to have played host to working blacksmiths since before the birth of Christ, in all for a total of some 2500 years. Records for the last 250 years show that in that time the parish has been home to six separate blacksmiths' forges and at least ten blacksmiths. The buildings that housed three of the forges still stand, the others have disappeared. The first blacksmith to work in the village whose name has survived was Samuel Jobson, who died in 1759. He was followed by a series of members of the Young family, and the last, Lucien Varwell, died in 1988. Mr Varwell, like his mentor Tom Young in his later years, only undertook decorative ironwork.

In 1936, at the age of 45, W.E.V. Young wrote a history of his family. The original handwritten manuscript, in the possession of a relative, Mrs Grace Goodfellow, has been transcribed and a limited number of copies of *The Young Family: Ebbesbourne's Blacksmiths* have been circulated in the village together with transcripts of other titles from Mr Young's papers. William Edward Vincent Young was born in Ebbesbourne Wake on September 26th 1890. He appears in the census return for 1891 as Edward Young, aged six months, the first child of Edward Tom Young, aged 26, shoeing and general smith (himself also born in Ebbesbourne Wake) and his wife Fanny, aged 21.

Edward was baptised on November 9th 1890 by the Anglican vicar, Tupper Carey. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church in November 1913 with, as witnesses, the Hon. Gerald and Ivy Arundell, later the last Lord and Lady Arundell of Wardour. In September 1914, at the age of 24, he was baptised for a second time by the Rev. G. Blount SJ in the Church of All Saints, Wardour Castle and at some point he adopted the additional forenames William and Vincent. He served with the army in India during the First World War. In 1925 he began to work for the Dundee marmalade magnate and amateur archaeologist Alexander Keiller (d. 1955), who employed him as foreman of his team of diggers who excavated the huge pre-historic site in and around Avebury, Wiltshire. As a result he became an increasingly competent field archaeologist and later was appointed Curator of the Avebury Museum. He continued to work for Keiller until 1966, and he died on November 20th 1971. His funeral was held in the Catholic Church in Tisbury but he is buried close to his parents in the Anglican churchyard, Ebbesbourne Wake, where his gravestone records that he was an archaeologist.

William Young's history concerns only that part of his family that he could prove from the parish registers (see his family tree, Appendix E). It begins with his great, great, great grandfather, Joseph Young (1722-1797) who was born shortly after thousands were ruined when the 'South Sea Bubble' burst, and between the last two stirrings of the Stuart cause, the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Joseph is the first proven member of a line of Youngs who for several generations are said to have occupied what is now Old Forge Cottage. It was, however, in West End that

he learned his trade. According to his own account (which contains inconsistencies) he was apprenticed to the blacksmith Samuel Jobson in 1737, probably when he was aged 15. Jobson's forge was at West End, at the foot of Dropson's (Jobson's) Drove, a largely unmade track that leads to North Hill Farm. His original cottage and forge were pulled down in 1933 to make way for the house now called West End Cottage, built by Mrs Mary Morris, the daughter of William and Sarah Young (Appendix E).

In 1743 at the age of 21 Joseph bought a notebook in Shaftesbury. By this time he had learnt to write, probably with the help of his master Samuel Jobson. Samuel was parish clerk from 1732 until 1758, when Joseph succeeded him. The notebook, bound in leather and with a brass clasp contains 49 pages and measures six by four by one-and-a-half inches. It cost him 10d. Entries were made without punctuation, and with no regard to order by date or time. It contains items that range from family matters to the construction of the works of a clock and the recipe for a complicated 'green ointment'. The notebook passed in the family into the possession of the Mrs Morris, noted above, who allowed Mr Young access to it.

Joseph served seven years as an apprentice and then continued to work for his former master as a journeyman blacksmith. He was paid £8 for the year 1747 and '8 geneys' (guineas, 21/- each) for the years that followed. When he was 24 he bought a house from William Coles, presumably a member of the family whose forbear was buried in the chancel of the Parish Church in 1688 (p. 139). What he had bought was evidently a lease (p. 84) as he notes that he:

> *'. . . bought an old houfe for £11 from William Coles . . . went and Paid him at Coombe Bissett and Farmer Henry Rebbeck was with me November the 12 day 1746 . . . and it was old Jane Magses* (?Francis) *. . . put George Young's life and Joseph Youngs and his own life in the Leese to hole him as long as they all Doth Live and no longer'.*

The other lives mentioned were probably Joseph's brothers. It seems this purchase was intended as an investment because a few days later (on November 27th) he let the house to a John Sturgist for 25/- a year. This did not work out as he records later:

> *'John Sturgist goods was Put out the 19 Day of February being Monday 1749 And he owes me now 15 for rent and 1/6d for what his wife had when she Bought Som hoopes'.*

Joseph's description of his own wedding in 1753 (also taken from the notebook) appears on p. 191.

In 1762 Joseph notes that he 'had the liven of my father'. As he goes on to describe how he sowed wheat in the South Field that year this may mean that he had taken over his father's farm, evidently a number of tenancies scattered about the parish. The Enclosure Award Map of 1792 shows that Joseph Young held seven acres in the South Field, where his presumed brothers George and John also

held land. It may be that his father died about this time and the distribution of land reflects wishes expressed in his will. Joseph moved into the family home, now considerably enlarged as The Old Forge at the top of Duck Street. His father was not a blacksmith so Joseph must have installed a new forge leaving little room in the cottage for anything else. It seems that Joseph suffered from fits. Perhaps he had one in April 1797 as he rode to visit friends in Dorset for at his inquest it was reported that 'he fell from his horse and expired immediately'.

When Joseph died in 1797 he was succeeded as blacksmith, farmer and keeper of the family notebook by his son William (1759-1837). William's speciality seems to have been as a locksmith, and he is credited with having made locks for the gates of Wilton Park, and with the invention of a lock that could be adjusted from the inside so that it could not be opened with a key from the outside. William succeeded his father as parish clerk, and was also appointed Overseer of the Poor, and Waywarden. William and his wife Mary had eight children and the third of these, James (1797-1875), followed him in the family business when William died in 1837.

Before his father died James, who married a Susannah King of Alvediston, worked at a second forge opposite his father's on the other side of The Cross. This was set up in a small building that used to stand in the garden of what is now Chapel Cottage, where the couple lived. It was in this cottage that Susannah opened a Dame's School for the village children. On the death of his father James moved across the Cross to the old family home and forge and he was replaced in 'Chapel Cottage' by his brother Joseph, who had formerly worked at the forge in West End. It was this James (1797-1875) who, as Parish Constable, hid under the arch in Duck Street while the rioters involved in the 'Captain Swing' agricultural riots of 1830 passed through the village and destroyed Farmer Rebbeck's new threshing machine (p. 105). Constables elsewhere had been manhandled so his caution was justified.

Eventually James's eldest son William (1826-1894) took over the family business and the family home. By this time increasingly sophisticated products of the Industrial Revolution were beginning to put traditional blacksmiths out of business. Farm machinery was increasingly made in factories not in smithies, and when something was broken standard spares could be found. By and large blacksmiths became farriers, and to make a living they were forced to diversify. William did this and the census return for 1871 describes him as a beer-house keeper; that of 1881 lists him as an innkeeper and blacksmith, and that of 1891 as an innkeeper, farmer and blacksmith, address the Beer House. William and his wife Sarah (née Foyle) had several children, one of them Edward Tom Young (1866-1954) who, as the last of the Ebbesbourne Youngs to work as a smith, was father of the archaeologist W.E.V. Young (1890-1971).

Joseph Young, brother to the Parish-Constable-James, was born about 1805. He and his wife Dinah had several children, one of whom was yet another William (born in 1841), also a blacksmith, and who even more confusingly married someone called Sarah (see Appendix E). In the census returns for 1861 this

William, 19 years old, is described as a journeyman blacksmith living with his parents Joseph and Dinah. By 1871 he was married, had moved into a separate house with his wife, and had started a family. Unlike his cousin William who was landlord of the village Beer House this William was, in successive census returns, only described as a blacksmith.

William Young the archaeologist described what must have been his early childhood in what is now Old Forge Cottage. The blacksmith's shop was under the same thatched roof at the end of the house nearest the lane leading to the Church. It contained a full-sized forge with a pair of large bellows on either side, one for each furnace, and there were wooden shutters at the windows above the benches that could be opened to admit more light and air. Against one wall stood the lathe and drilling machine, and the anvil stood just inside the door. Outside this along the front of the house was an open space cobbled with flint called 'The Pitchings' where larger items were stored while being repaired.

The children's bedroom was over the shop. William remembers the floor was often quite hot, particularly when the iron tyres for wagon wheels had been made. After a strip of metal of exactly the right length was 'shut' in a circle it was placed flat on the forge and passed through both furnaces until it was red hot all round. It was then carried out with tongs to a large circular platform in the garden opposite on which the new wooden wheel, with axle, spokes and rim, was already screwed down. The tyre was hammered into place and then cooled with water to make it contract. The various components of the wheel, pulled together in this way, turned into a solid unit. At such times, William said, the smoke and heat in the low-ceilinged room was nearly intolerable. He recalls that on dark winter evenings when the bellows were hard at work showers of sparks used to fly out of the chimney and he thought it a mystery that the house was not burnt down. Whenever the roof was thatched a layer of fine cinders was cleaned off first. He also relates how the William Young who lived there from 1759 to 1837 once used a hollow tree-trunk as a chimney. One day it caught fire and rolled down the roof again without setting it alight.

In 1918 when the Earl of Pembroke sold off much of his Wilton estate the Youngs gave up their tenanted ancestral home. Edward bought the more commodious cottage called Gawens on the opposite side of Duck Street together with their old garden lying up the hill between Gawens and what is now the site of the War Memorial. He also bought one of the army huts made redundant when the military camp at Fovant was dismantled at the end of the 1914-1918 war: this, re-erected in the garden of Gawens, became his new forge. The forge was disused after Edward died in 1954 and the building disappeared about 1976 when David and Grace Goodfellow cleared the site and built their new bungalow, Ebble Close. Another larger hut from the same source, re-erected on part of the original garden of a cottage (now Pound Cottage in Handley Street) became the Recreation Hut or Village Hall (p. 104). This was demolished when the new Village Hall, on the edge of the football field, was opened in 1988.

Meanwhile Joseph Young who was born about 1805 and had lived with his wife Dinah in what is now Chapel Cottage was replaced by Joseph's grandson, Albert Kerley Young (1866-1940). At some point Albert, who worked largely as a farrier, and his wife Olive moved from Chapel Cottage into the Old Stores (later Sundial and now Dial Cottage) where he set up a new forge in what had been the shop (and is now a sitting-room). The disused forge in the garden of Chapel Cottage fell down or was demolished in the early 1930s.

Kelly's Directory for 1899 shows that Edward Young had also diversified, in his case to become the village sub-postmaster. From about 1907 his work as a smith was restricted to ornamental ironwork. In the 1930s Lucien Varwell, a medical student who did not complete his studies due to illness, moved into the village and married Helen the daughter of the vicar, Rev. C.N. Arnold. He bought and refurbished Bounds Cottage. Edward took him on as an 'apprentice' and after he had learnt the trade Lucien built a new forge in his garden. At present he was the last blacksmith to work in Ebbesbourne Wake, and some of his work can still be seen in various houses in the village. His death in 1988 marked the end of an era that began some 2500 years ago, when Iron Age smiths lived and worked on Fifield Down.

Table VI, *Summary of Ebbesbourne's forges and blacksmiths from the early 18th century, from W E V Young's family history and census returns (C, from a census with its date. As censuses were held at intervals of ten years the dates are not exact.)*

In West End:	Samuel Jobson (d.1759) Joseph Young, his apprentice for seven years from 1737, continued to work for him after finishing his time until about 1762 (see below). Some time later Joseph's grandson, another Joseph Young worked there until 1837. He was followed by his son, William Young.
At Forge Cottage:	Joseph Young, ? in 1762 (on the death of his father who was not a smith), until 1797. William Young until 1837 (C 1841, widow Mary, 73) James Young until 1875 (C 1841, 44 with wife Susannah, 45, also Cs 1851-1871) William Young until 1894 (C1861, 35 with wife Sarah 34, also Cs 1871-1891 in the Beer House) Edward Tom Young until 1918 when (Old) Forge Cottage was sold by the Earl of Pembroke.
At Gawens:	E. T. Young moved to Gawens in 1918 and worked there until 1954.
At Chapel Cottage:	James Young until 1837 when he moved to (Old) Forge Cottage then Joseph Young his brother, from West End, (C 1841, 30) with wife Dinah, (C 1851, 30), and listed as on The Cross, (Cs 1861-1891). He was followed by Albert Kerley Young, Joseph's grandson.
At Dial Cottage, formerly The Old Stores then Sundial Cottage:	At some point Albert moved from Chapel Cottage to Dial Cottage, and set up a forge there in what is now the sitting room. He was already established in Dial Cottage when he bought the property from the Earl of Pembroke in 1919. He continued to work there until he died in 1940.
At Bounds Cottage (Bounds Forge):	Lucien Varwell until 1988.

SECTION FOUR

PLACES IN EBBESBOURNE WAKE

Landmarks in the parish

CONTENTS

PLACES IN EBBESBOURNE WAKE

Housing

A tantalising aspect of local historical research is the paucity of data about who lived where, when, and under what conditions of tenure. The 'who' began to be resolved in 1841 when the first national decennial census was held in which individuals were recorded by their names and their relationships, within households. Unfortunately, in rural areas at least, the opportunity this provided the better to define details of 'where' was not grasped, though in this respect the diligence (if not the accuracy) of enumerators did improve with time. In their defence it must be noted that, in Ebbesbourne Wake for example, enumerators lacked fixed geographical points of reference other than the names of major farms or general areas such as West End or Pound Street. In towns and cities it was possible to identify individual dwellings by means of a number in a named street, but 150 years later such precision is still not available in many rural areas.

Before electoral registers began to mark the nation's move towards universal suffrage in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and so far as Ebbesbourne Wake was concerned, three events briefly illuminated the darkness that otherwise prevents the identification of who lived where in the parish. The first was the Enclosure Act of 1785. This, effectively abolishing any remaining common land, defined who owned what within the parish and provided a plan that identified each property and traced its boundaries. The second illuminating event arose from the imposition of a change in the way some taxes were collected to allow a move from the collection of tithes based on the annual, so variable, produce of the land to a more predictable system based on a rent or rate charged on the value of the each property. In 1843 an 'Act for the Commutation of the Tithes in England' was applied to an area that included Ebbesbourne Wake: this was registered in 1844. This local enactment included the production of a plan that divided the parish into numbered plots accompanied by a schedule that listed the areas, owners or occupiers, and the rent due from of each of them. The third event was the issue, in 1845, of a prospectus inviting support for the building of a railway that was to have run from London to Exeter *via* the Chalke Valley. The prospectus included a plan and schedule of properties that might have been involved. These, of excellent quality, are of restricted usefulness because the properties surveyed and described all fall within the narrow strip through which the railway was to have run. The fact that the last two illuminating events were separated by only a few months allows cross-referencing and so improves the accuracy of descriptions of individual tenancies, though only in West End.

These three events, planned with different objects in view, reveal differences and inconsistencies in the way the words 'ownership' and 'occupier' were used. Over the years there have been changes in the meaning of the word 'landowner'. Nowadays applied exclusively to a freeholder, the true owner of a property, in 1843 it included leaseholders whose 'ownership' was limited to a term of years or of life-spans. The Enclosure Award was concerned with ownership without distinction between true freeholders and long-term lessees. The Commutation of

Tithes identified those who would pay the new rates, so in this case 'owners' included leaseholders of properties whose freeholders might or might not be identified. The schedule that accompanied the prospectus for the proposed railway named freeholders, lessees and occupiers, any of whom might have claimed recompense for the loss of land, had the line been laid. Other than in the latter people listed as 'occupiers' might be true inhabitants or 'inhabitants by proxy', that is, individuals who sub-let their 'occupancy' for rent, or for payment in kind, in labour for example. The principal 'proxy' occupiers were farmers who sub-let their properties to their own farm labourers in return, in part at least, for service in their fields. These sub-tenancies carried no guarantee of tenure so under the threat of eviction labourers could not easily refuse unreasonable demands from their landlords. In the conditions that existed just after the end of the Napoleonic Wars (less work, prices up, wages down) even the most downtrodden eventually turned against their masters and 1830 saw the 'Captain Swing' agricultural riots. Driven by misery and frustration farm labourers burnt hayricks and barns, tore down hedges and fences, and destroyed farm implements. Among the latter was a new threshing machine belonging to farmer Rebbeck of Ebbesbourne Wake where a more permanent echo of the general discontent appeared in a protest entered into the parish's Baptismal Register on Christmas-Day, 1827 (p. 111). The relevant part of this complains that:

> *'there are few parishes where the poor can be more abused than they are here. A few, when compared with the number of the poor, live by their labour and ill use them, why is it so?'*

There can be no doubt that John Rebbeck and perhaps to a lesser extent John Bennett, Ebbesbourne's principal farmers, are to be identified among 'the few' referred to. As 'occupiers by proxy' they held leases on labourers' cottages that were sub-let to their employees. In 1843 there were 47 separate habitations in the parish, a habitation defined for this purpose as an entire, detached, inhabited building. In those days such a habitation could be used to house two or three different families. Eighteen of the 47, or rather more than a third of those that existed, were in the gift of these two farmers, who used them to house 28 of the 61 families living in the parish at the time, that is nearly half of them. The actual figures were, for Rebbeck, 15 habitations and 23 families, for Bennett, three and five.

The figures also reveal that in 1843 (and for years beforehand and afterwards) members of the Rebbeck family were outstandingly Ebbesbourne Wake's major farmers, so must have been chief among those identified as the *few* who ill-treated their employees. A stained glass window on the north side of the chancel of the village church was installed in memory of John Rebbeck. The dedication at the bottom of this window is partially obliterated, seemingly deliberately. This apparent vandalism may be another indicator of the family's unpopularity. Despite their historical importance the name Rebbeck does not figure in the Wiltshire County History's section dedicated to Ebbesbourne Wake, where details are found of generations of almost entirely non-resident freeholders of estates within the parish, including West End.

Of the 'three illuminating events' identified (above) the map that accompanied that of 1785 depicts habitations as they existed at the time, but too much of the accompanying detail describes (mostly absentee) major landlords or 'occupiers by proxy'. The maps and documents that accompanied the events of 1843 and 1845 are much more informative, though it is still not always possible to distinguish between owners and occupants (freeholders, tenants or sub-tenants). Due to the very restricted coverage of the railway map of 1845 West End is the only part of the village to appear in all three early maps, so more information is available about occupancy in this hamlet than exists for any other part of the parish. An attempt has been made to use this mass of information in such a way as to couple the identities of individual habitations with the names of their owners and, if possible, their occupants, and then to cross-reference this information with the relevant census returns. Copies of the rather extensive analysis that has resulted have been deposited with the Clerk to Ebbesbourne Wake's Parish Council.

Churches, & the Chapel

St Martin's, Fifield Bavant
St Martin, Bishop of Tours between 371 and 397 is the patron saint of innkeepers and reformed drunkards. A late spell of fine weather in the autumn is sometimes called St Martin's summer because Martinmas, his day, is on the 11th November. In Saxon times this was when the store of animal fodder ran out and so to the annual slaughter of many of the oxen, sheep and pigs. Their flesh, preserved with salt, was stored for the winter, and 'St Martin's geese', fattened by gleaning the stubble, were eaten.

The Church, a simple rectangular building measuring 35x14 feet (10.7x4.3m) dated to the 13th century, is the smallest still in use in Wiltshire. The list of rectors goes back to 1305. It has a small bell-tower with a single bell, though at one time it is said there were two. The parish registers date from 1610 and the baptismal register was started when a certain Thomas Shaw was rector in 1695. Thomas Coles, a rector in the 17th century was presented by members of the Coles family, one of whom is buried in Ebbesbourne Wake (see below). This seems to have been an example of the use of an advowson for family advantage (p. 24). The rectory (in which Florence Nightingale took tea) is reported to be of the 17th century.

In the 17th century inhabitants of the parish could, for a fee, be buried in Broadchalke. In his *History of Modern Wiltshire* Sir Richard Hoare notes the absence of monuments from the Church and gravestones in the churchyard. Today a number of gravestones are visible in the churchyard and two tombstones are let into the floor of the Church, just inside the door. *The Victoria History of Wiltshire* records the existence of a parish register of burials that began in 1696 so it seems that Sir Richard (or rather his source, Charles Bowles) was mistaken.

In 1585 it was alleged that the curate 'was sometimes drunk', though the services he conducted were orderly. In 1660 or 1661 the incumbent, Thomas Crapon, was ejected from the benefice as a nonconformist. In 1923 the ecclesiastical parishes of Fifield Bavant and Ebbesbourne Wake were amalgamated.

St John the Baptist, Ebbesbourne Wake
There are no records to prove it, and no remains have been found but it is probable that Ebbesbourne Wake's first church dated from late Saxon times. Saxon churches were usually built of tree trunks in the fashion of a log hut, and few surviving stone churches ante-date the Norman Conquest. A Norman-type font, put in about 1224, is the oldest remaining feature. The west tower, of ashlar in the perpendicular style, was added late in the 15th or early in the 16th century. Called simply St John’s in 1763, the dedication was later confirmed to be to St John the Baptist.

In 1520 the Bishop of Salisbury, Edmond Audley, dedicated a fine oak rood screen surmounted by a rood-loft. (A rood is a crucifix and rood screens were so-called because they bore this representation of Christ crucified. Above them there might be a gallery loft, reached by a small set of stairs.) Following the Reformation this screen was removed, either during the reign of the boy-king

Edward VI, or early in the reign of Elizabeth I at the time of the vandalism that marked the death of her half-sister, Queen Mary. Many rood screens disappeared at about this time. The present simple screen was erected in 1889.

In 1652 the General Quarter Sessions of the County of Wiltshire, informed that the chancel was 'falling down', ordered its repair. In 1655 a churchwarden together with others from the parish complained to the court that of the two tithe-holders who should pay for the repair one *'utterly refuseth to doe his part therin*'. This had the required effect and above the east window on the outside of the chancel are carved the tithe-holders' initials WP (for the William Penney who initially failed to pay) and JB for John Bodenham (the lord of the Manor) with the date 1656 when the repair was completed.

Why did Penney 'refuse to do his part'? At the time of both complaint and repair the Civil War had just ended, Cromwell and the army held power, the country was a Commonwealth and in Wiltshire, in March 1655, Colonel Penruddock from Compton Chamberlayne had led a forlorn and futile rising against the Roundheads (p. 56). Political and religious feelings were running high. It is entirely possible that Bodenham and Penney were on opposite sides of one or both disputes or, more simply, that Penney lacked the money.

In 1842 a gallery was erected at the west end of the nave to provide additional seating and to act as a musicians' gallery. Kelly's Directory for 1875 (presumably drafted in 1874) records that the church was '*in* (the) *last stage of decay,* (and) *will shortly be pulled down*'. In 1875 the church, apart from the tower, was almost entirely rebuilt. The walls were largely renewed, the gallery was stripped out and the roof and many of the windows were replaced. The tower, the font, two piscinae and a niche in the south wall of the chancel and the saints' heads on either side of the door are nearly all that remain identifiable of the pre-Reformation church. The restoration cost £1520. At about the same time a new vicarage, with a floor area significantly larger than the Church its occupant was meant to serve, was built nearby. The then incumbent, Tupper Carey, hung two new bells in the tower, to make a peal of five, and installed an organ. Members of the orchestra left the church in disgust.

In 1829 Hoare in *The Hundred of Chalke* (part of his *History of Modern Wiltshire*) describes the Church as 'mean in the extreme', an impression reinforced by its central aisle, and lack of transepts. His plan shows a building whose size and shape are the same as the present one, but without the vestry now attached to its northern side (with a boiler house, now disused, underneath) and with the north and south chancel windows, now offset, then opposite each other. The north chancel window was moved closer to the east end to make space for the organ and the archway that leads into the vestry. The nave and the chancel remained the same width, without a chancel arch. The chancel is distinguished from the nave by a lower roof-line, and a raised three-stepped floor. Another change is that, in 1829, the font stood near the centre of the nave, almost opposite the main door, and the porch also seems to have been altered (p. 159).

W.E.V. Young believed that a pre-existing chancel arch was removed when the chancel was rebuilt in 1656, and he suggests the stones that formed the original arch can now be seen in the wall of Old Forge Cottage where there is a course of keyed stones over a window that overlooks Duck Street. He commented that they would not have been so shaped if cut to occupy their present positions. He must be right but his idea about their origin may be fanciful. Before they arrived at their present site these stones had almost certainly been used elsewhere but another possibility for their origin is the manor house that once stood on The Cross. As the chancel and the nave are the same width what was the need for a chancel arch?

Other conspicuous changes were made at the time of the renovation. At one time two raised tombs stood longitudinally one on either side of the chancel, in the angles between its north and south walls and the east end. All that is now visible are the tops of the stone slabs, once their upper surfaces, that now form the floor below their original positions. The slab on the south side bears the scarcely legible remains of an original inscription. In 1830 Bowles recorded this.

> *'Here lies the body of William Coles of the Close, Sarum who died on 10th of October 1688 in the 73rd year of his age. Close by him lyeth the body of Catherine his wife, who died on the 10th of June, 1725, in the 85th year of her age.'*

After 1224 when the Breamore Priory estate in Ebbesbourne Wake was granted to the Bishop of Salisbury (see below) it passed as an endowment to the Cathedral's succentor. During the Commonwealth (1649-1660) this was confiscated by Parliament, and sold to Benjamin Drew who a little later sold it on to William Coles of Salisbury. At the restoration of the monarchy the confiscation was reversed. When the succentor recovered his endowment he leased it back to the same William Coles whose family, with a confusing succession of Williams, continued as lessees throughout the 18th century. The William Coles buried in the chancel was presumably one of these. As he is described on his tombstone as 'of the Close, Sarum' it seems that he, like other landlords in Ebbesbourne Wake, was an absentee.

The slab on the north side bears no trace of any inscription on its upper surface. According to Bowles the tomb was square, solid and apparently ancient. It bore no names or dates, but on its western end (facing into the nave) were carved three shields, the first quartered with the arms of Bodenham and Wake, the second with the arms of Gifford, and the third with those of Berenger. This panel, now worn, is still visible as the smaller and more easterly of two panels let into the wall of the chancel just above the slab, with the Berenger shield partly obscured by plaster. The second panel, not mentioned by Bowles, is of the same depth as the other, but is significantly longer. It bears two armorial shields of the same size as those on the first, so it may originally have been placed on the only other exposed side of the tomb, facing inwards towards the altar. One of these shields bears the arms of Bodenham (repeated in a coloured version at the other end of the church, below the west window), the other, unidentified, a fesse between three fleurs-de-lis. Bowles

records that in his time the wall above this tomb bore a tablet on which was written:

> *'In the vault underneath, lye the remains of PHILIP BODENHAM, Esq. last heir male of a branch of the ancient family of Bodenhams, who for many years were possessors of this manor. As he practiced all truly Christian duties and every social virtue, so he merited and had the just applause of all men bearing or esteeming the like amiable character. After a life of 60 years he departed hence the 21st of March, 1743, to reap the reward promised to the virtuous. This monument is erected to his memory by SAMUEL MITCHELL, of Hummington, in this County, Gent. who married Mary, the eldest niece of the said Philip Bodenham. Vicit Iter durum'.*

Samuel Mitchell and Mary Bodenham were married in Ebbesbourne Wake's church on February 13th 1737.

It is not known what happened to this memorial tablet. From the length of the inscription it must have been quite large. W.E.V. Young suggested that it may have joined Philip Bodenham 'in the vault underneath' when the top of his tomb was reduced to floor level. There is, however, another possibility. In the plaster of the north wall of the nave a little to the east of the mid-point between the two windows of plain glass a large scar can, with difficulty, be made out. My wife noticed it while listening to a sermon. Whatever once occupied this space was not placed symmetrically between the windows. The reason appears to be that the exact mid-point between the windows coincides with the position of a north door, now blocked up, still distinctly visible from the outside. The scar is a rectangle 6ft 2ins (1.8m) long by 2ft 7ins (79cm) high measured to the top of its curved upper border. Its length corresponds to the length of the Bodenham tomb, allowing for three inches (7.7cm) now buried in the plaster of the east wall. When the north chancel window was moved to the east in 1875 there was insufficient space to restore the tablet to its original position, so it might have been reinstalled at the site of the scar. Why whatever it was that occupied the site was removed and how it was disposed of is unknown. If it was the Bodenham memorial then in its new position in the nave the inscription 'in the vault underneath' had become inaccurate. Its removal might also account for the rather odd position of a coloured representation of the Bodenham arms beneath the west window, behind the font. This might have been part of the missing memorial tablet.

It is curious that when Philip Bodenham died in 1743, eight years after selling his estate to the Earl of Pembroke, he should be the only member of his family, Lords of the Manor for over 300 years, recorded as buried in its Parish Church. Most if not all must have been absentee landlords. The striking lack of substantial memorials in and around the Church says a great deal about the long-term poor economic status of the parish. The most notable tomb in the graveyard is a relatively simple and now degraded vault dedicated to the Rebbeck family. The Rebbecks are believed to have moved into the parish in the 15th century and they

continued to live and farm there until the last disappeared from the Ebbesbourne Wake record just before the First World War (1914).

Around the edge of Philip Bodenham's grave slab, now invisible below floor level, Bowles records that there was, and perhaps still is, written:

'As thou dost lyve, O reader dere
So did I once, which now lys heare
And as I am, so thou shalt be
For all is frayle, as thou mayst see'.

At one time inscriptions of this type were common. Another version, recorded from the Church in Fovant, runs:

'All you that come our grave to see
As we are now, so you will be
As you are now, so once were we
So go your way, prepare to die
When you are dead and in your grave
There no repentance you can have'.

A vernacular version of the same theme appears in a notebook kept by Ebbesbourne Wake blacksmiths. When William Young (1759-1837) recorded the death of his daughter Elizabeth on August 17th 1830, aged 30, he adds:

'Stop passer by and Cast thy eye,
If you are old prepare to die
If you are young prepared bee
Death may in moment seize on you as did on me'.

The Salisbury and Winchester Journal records the result of an inquest held on the body of Elizabeth Young by Mr Whitmarsh on 23rd August. *'The deceased was about 30 years of age and she had been missing to her mother, who, in consequence thereof, went out and found her lifeless in the garden, stretched on the ground.* Verdict: - *Visitation of God.*'

As the oldest surviving major feature the bell-tower is of interest. It is surmounted by a gilded weather-cock. A mid-9th century Papal enactment directed that a figure of a cockerel be set up on every church as an emblem of St Peter, who, it will be remembered, denied Christ thrice before the cock crowed twice.

The west face of the tower, immediately below the pierced window of the bell-chamber, bears a panel on which there is a row of four somewhat weathered shields. That on the left (north) side bears a representation of the keys of St Peter. The keys arranged in saltire (when coloured one gold and the other silver) are part of the Papal insignia and, as Peter was a fisherman, they also figure in the arms of the Fishmongers' Livery Company. Their presence on the tower is clearly of ecclesiastical significance. On its right and still fairly clearly visible are the arms

of the Wake family. In one place in his book Bowles gives the blazon as a field *Or*, on a chief, three annulets, *gules*, having two bars of the same. The charges are in fact roundels which, when coloured red, are called torteaux. Bowles describes them as such elsewhere in his book. The next shield is either so worn that nothing can be made out, or it was left blank and has never been sculpted. The fourth shield, on the right, again worn, seems to bear the charge of a sword, sinister, though the object may be a tilting spear, a palmer's staff, or something similar. I have not discovered the meaning of this.

Immediately below the panel with the shields is a small window that lights the ringing chamber. Below this again is an empty oblong niche which is flanked on either side towards the top of the tower's buttresses by, on the left, a figure of the 'grim reaper' with his skull and scythe still just visible and on the right by another empty niche. The two empty niches may at one time have held figures, perhaps of saints. The niche on the right shows some evidence of this as in its depths can be seen what may be the remains of an attachment for a small statue. Below these niches is the west window, and below this again a blocked-up west door. The empty niches may be relics of the same vandalism that saw the end of the Church's rood screen.

Records show that the three bells that hung in the tower in 1553 were replaced, one by one, in 1633, 1637 and 1660, and that in 1884 treble and tenor bells were added to complete the present peal of five. These, from treble to tenor, are inscribed Tupper Carey, 1884 (Laus Deo); ID 1633; Thos. Kingman, William Jay, CW 1660; Sing to the Lord ID 1637; Tupper Carey, 1884 (Laus Deo). The bells, silenced during the Second World War, were rung in 1945 to celebrate peace. They were silenced again almost immediately as the wooden bell-frame was dangerously decayed. They remained silent until 1997. A grant of £25,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund and an equivalent sum measured in hours of parishioners' labour together with money collected locally paid for the frame to be repaired, for the bells to be tuned at the Whitechapel Bell Foundry, and for them to be re-hung. A band of ringers (including the author's wife, Alison) was trained in time to ring in the millennium.

The stained glass windows depict, at the east end, Christ Crucified and Christ in Splendour. Four of the apostles are split between the north and south chancel windows. The pair on the north (the side on the left, facing the altar) are dedicated to the memory of the farmer John Rebbeck and, apparently, his wife. The inscription has been substantially obliterated, and the dates are completely illegible. On a cold December morning in 2004, condensation had outlined some otherwise invisible letters. The inscription on the left-hand window of the pair says *'In memoriam John Rebbeck, Died (illegible)* and the one on the right reads *'In Memoriam Ann Maria Rebbeck (illegible)* The census returns for 1841 gives his wife's name as Anna, those of 1851, 1861 and 1871 as Mary, so the window appears to commemorate two wives (see p. 106). If the damage is, as it seems, deliberate, then in some quarters at least the family was very unpopular. John Rebbeck appears in the Ebbesbourne Wake census returns between 1841 and 1861 after which he must have died or left the village, and the farm passed to his son.

The presence of a Rebbeck family vault in the graveyard has already been noted. On the south side the windows are dedicated to James Parham recorded as having died on September 12th 1873, and his wife Eliza, who died on November 13th 1865. Although census returns show that there were families of Parhams living in Ebbesbourne Wake in 1841 and 1851 the only James Parham recorded was an agricultural labourer who was aged 40 in 1851 and who lived at that time in Prescombe Cottage with a wife called Harriet. An Elizabeth Parham, identified as a widow, lived with her brother John Jenkins, a shoemaker, but she was still alive in 1871. Biddy Trahair of Alvediston has discovered that a family of Parhams, including one named James, worked Norrington Farm as tenants in the 1860s. It seems probable that this is the James remembered in the window, though why he should be commemorated in Ebbesbourne is a puzzle.

Outside the church once more, on the south east corner of the chancel there is a Mass or scratch dial. This, six inches (15cm) in diameter, is incised into a stone five feet (1.5m) above the ground. The shadow of a stick held in the central hole of this dial was used to decide when a service was due, though only if the sun shone.

The church possesses a pre-Reformation silver chalice that somehow escaped melting down during the reign of Henry VIII. This rare and valuable piece is in diocesan safe-keeping. It was brought out to celebrate Holy Communion on Easter Day, 2001 (the real millennial year) but sadly it was found to have developed a small leak so was not used.

The present ecclesiastical parish of 'Alvediston with Ebbesbourne Wake cum Fifield Bavant' is the relic of three originally separate parishes, so has three parish churches. The former parish of Fifield Bavant was amalgamated with Ebbesbourne Wake in 1923. Unification with Alvediston began to be discussed in 1950, the benefices came together in 1956, and formal amalgamation followed in 1970. The three are now part of a group benefice that incorporates what at one time were 13 separate parishes.

The Clergy

The earliest known incumbent of the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake was appointed in 1239, and a record exists of the men who held the living from 1325 to the present day. The earliest incumbents received the tithes so were rectors but as the Hampshire Benedictine Priory of Breamore owned land in the parish, the income had to be shared. The residue may have been insufficient to support the living. In 1224 the priory granted the land and patronage to Bishop Richard Poore, founder of the new cathedral in Salisbury, work on which had begun four years earlier. The living then became a permanent curacy (and later a vicarage) in the gift of the Bishop. The living at Fifield Bavant seems to have been a rectory from very early times and remained one until the parish merged with Ebbesbourne Wake in 1923.

Incumbents often enjoyed the income of more than one parish ('plurality'). In the early days those appointed to either Ebbesbourne Wake or Fifield Bavant rarely if ever lived there because, by comparison with other parishes, they were poorly endowed. The incumbent in Ebbesbourne Wake was also either precentor

(chanter) or succentor (sub-chanter) in Salisbury Cathedral. Precentors and succentors were vicars choral who led the right and left choirs respectively in chant and response, across the choir. Most incumbents of Ebbesbourne Wake naturally preferred to live in the Cathedral Close so they appointed curates to look after the parish. Although Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant were separate parishes so should have had separate parsons, there is evidence that a single curate often served both places. Joseph Young (1723-1797), blacksmith, was appointed a Parish Clerk in 1758. He wrote in the parish register:

> *'Joseph Young, publish clark March ye 26th 1758, being Easter Sunday att Ebbesbourn and Fiffield both in one day by Mr Henry Good, Curiet att both plases at that time, 1758. Mr Good Sarve both Churches that year'.*

In 1753 Mr Good officiated at the marriage of Joseph to his wife Mary (née King, p. 191). Although bride and groom both came from Ebbesbourne Wake they had to go to Fifield Bavant for the wedding so it can be assumed that Mr Good lived in the Rectory there and not in the much smaller pre-Reformation parsonage that had once served the larger church in the larger village. It is likely that this had been sold off at the time of the Reformation.

Although the two parishes remained apart until 1923 returns of the censuses held every ten years, seven of which (1841 to 1901) are open for inspection only one parson is listed for the two parishes in five returns, and in the others none (1861) and two (1881). Many, like Mr Good, are shown as living in The Rectory, Fifield Bavant. Their names are recorded as Henry Down Fussell (in 1841), William T. Allen (in 1851), Estcourt B. Mereweather, (in 1881). Others that can be added from the Kelly's and Langmead & Evans' Directories are William Smith (1859), H.E. Bicknell (1875), and Leicester Selby (1897-8), and from the Inclosure Award of 1792 William Evans who appears as curate in the deed that set up the Ebbesbourne Wake charity known as Poors Allotment.

In 1861 a certain Tupper Carey was appointed technically as curate-in-charge (in practice the Vicar) of Ebbesbourne Wake, and Rector of Fifield Bavant. This must have been after the census had been completed as he is not recorded in the 1861 return. By 1867 and for the years that followed he was also the Rural Dean. The fact that the real incumbent lived in the parish, a significant break with tradition, coincided with a national move to discourage clerical absenteeism.

At first sight Carey's forename, Tupper, is a curiosity, but it appears to be explained by where he was born. As noted in *A Complete Book of Heraldry* (A. C. Fox-Davies, 1978) families who lived in the Channel Islands could not prove any coat of arms they might claim unless they had taken the trouble to register it in England. Among those who did this was a family named Tupper. It can be assumed therefore that Tupper Carey was descended in the female line from an important Channel Islands family, a fact he did not wish to be forgotten. His surname, perhaps coincidentally or perhaps not, is the same as that of a Sarah

Carey whose name appears on the Enclosure Award Map of 1792 as a landholder in West End.

Oral tradition supports the idea that Tupper Carey was an autocrat to whom the 'lower orders' (that is, all his parishioners) should show proper deference (see p. 121). He like most other Anglican churchmen of his age would have found nothing amiss with the third verse of the well-known hymn 'All things bright and beautiful', written by Mrs Cecil F. Alexander (1823-1895). This runs:

'The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate
God made them high and lowly,
And ordered their estate'.

As recently as 1940 a new edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* went no further than to note, rather coyly, 'This verse may be omitted'!

At first Tupper Carey lived in the Rectory at Fifield Bavant where, according to the census return for 1871, he still resided. There his age is given as 47, birthplace Guernsey, living with his wife Helen (39, born in Islington Middlesex), and his sons Albert (5) and George (4), plus a cook, nurse, maid, nursery-maid, kitchen-maid and a gardener, all recorded at the same address. He also employed an agricultural labourer who tended his Fifield Bavant glebe of 26 acres. Tupper Carey moved to the new Vicarage in Ebbesbourne Wake presumably when this was completed in 1876. The 1881 census shows him living there with his wife but now without the children who were probably away at school when the census was taken. His household then included three living-in servants. The census also records that cottages in or adjoining the vicarage grounds housed a gardener (with wife and three children) and a coachman (also with a wife and three children) the latter household including a boarder described as a groom. A curate now occupied the Rectory at Fifield Bavant so Carey had an assistant who would officiate at services whenever he wished. We can only speculate about how Carey passed his time though the size of the stable block attached to the vicarage suggests an interest in horses. He certainly did not emulate Gilbert White who was 'curate' (presumably a permanent curacy) of the parish of Selborne between 1767 and 1793 while he wrote his world-famous *Natural History*. While he worked in Selborne White had, since 1757, enjoyed an income as the absentee vicar of Moreton Pinkney in Northamptonshire, also served by a curate.

Tupper Carey's standard of living perhaps gives some insight into the life of absentee incumbents in such places as Salisbury's Cathedral Close, evocative of Anthony Trollope's Barchester novels. Carey's lifestyle, supported by six living-in servants bears comparison with that of his four most substantial parishioners, farmers of nearly 2400 acres in the parish. In 1871, between them, the families of these four employed seven domestic servants (one of whom, aged 19, really was called Fanny Adams). There is no doubt that Tupper Carey, with a maximum of 400 parishioners, had very little work to do. At the age of 67, in 1891, he still lived in the Vicarage now apparently cared for by a single female servant, aged 15 and,

at least on the day of the census without his wife, Helen. Helen, *née* Sandeman, came of the wealthy family of port merchants, and tradition suggests that she was tired of living in the village and of supporting Tupper's lifestyle. After he died in 1900 a memorial tablet on the wall of the chancel records that she replaced the altar and erected the reredos (the screen behind the altar) in his memory. In passing, of Tupper's two children the elder, Albert occupied the sinecure position of Anglican chaplain to the Riviera, adding 'Tupper' to his name by deed-poll in 1887. The other, George Sandeman Carey, joined the army, and served in the South African and First World Wars. He rose to the rank of Major General (late RA), serving with some distinction in France.

In 2005, during a visit by a group of descendants (including Diana Pooley, aged 90, daughter of General Carey) some details of the original Tupper's last years emerged. It seems he developed the inexorably progressive and then untreatable locally malignant condition, rodent ulcer (today treatable and now called a basal cell carcinoma). His last days must have been extremely unpleasant as the lesion, usually on the face, would have been large, unsightly and offensive, so he is likely to have become a recluse.

In 1897 Tupper Carey was replaced by John Attwood Jacobs who was followed in 1901 by Henry Philip Montolieu Margesson. The 1901 census lists Jacobs in the Ebbesbourne Vicarage, but the Electoral registers of 1898 and 1899 do not list either the vicarage or an incumbent in Ebbesbourne Wake. The register of 1899, however, records Jacobs as a qualified voter because he was the holder of the Rectory in Fifield Bavant, which by then had become part of the civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake.

Similarly Cecil North Arnold, appointed to the parish in 1908, was listed in the electoral register of 1912 with an address at The Vicarage, Ebbesbourne Wake. A carillon installed in Arnold's memory (now disconnected and no longer useable) notes that his appointment was as 'Curate in Charge, Ebbesbourne Wake, and Rector Fifield Bavant', and that he died in his 100th year, in 1958. A marble tablet in the chancel strikes a sad note with the record of the death of Arnold's eldest son, Leonard, who was killed in Waziristan in 1919 on active service with the Indian Army in the aftermath of the Third Afghan War. Another sad memorial is to B.J. Young, the only son of his parents who was killed in France in 1918 just a month before the armistice. This Bertrum Young is listed in the census return for 1891, then aged 8, as the son of John and Louisa Young. His death can be linked to that of another Young who is recorded on the only military headstone in the churchyard. This marks the grave of Charles, of the Wiltshire Regiment, who died in August 1945, aged 26. This soldier is almost certainly the Charles Young whose photograph appears in a village school group taken about 1930. He was something of an artist, and some of his drawings survive.

In *The Hundred of Chalke*, published in 1829, Sir Richard Hoare says of Ebbesbourne Wake:

> *'There is a dissenting meeting-house well attended; nor can it be wondered at, when it is considered how little is paid to him who represents the person, or parson, who derives so large an income from the tithes of this parish'.*

Sir Richard goes on to say that the (presumably combined) annual value of the livings of the two parishes was £480, while the curate was paid £40 a year. Sir Richard's point about attendance is confirmed by the fact that on census Sunday in 1851 145 people attended an afternoon service in the Parish Church, while 180 attended an evening service in the Independent Chapel. Unless some were hedging their bets and attended both, the total of 325 must have represented the whole population of the parish though it is possible that some came from further afield to inflate the Chapel total. On the same day 26 people attended a morning service in Fifield Bavant.

Two descriptions of the role of the village parson *in situ* (as distinct from the situation in Ebbesbourne where a curate represented an absentee) written at almost the same time as the protest quoted above throw further, if somewhat inconsistent, light on the matter. The first describes him as 'a black dragon, kept there to do battle for the powers of tyranny and obscurantism'. The second, more benign though with the same sting in its tail, says that he is 'the patriarch of the parish its ruler, doctor, lawyer, magistrate and teacher, before whom vice trembles and rebellion does not show itself'.

W.E.V. Young records that, during the summer of 1933, a lady staying at the Vicarage with Mr and Mrs C.N. Arnold picked up a small (12 x 9 inch) tablet of white marble in Ebbesbourne Wake's churchyard. Carved on the tablet was a shield with the arms of Gould impaling West Lord de la Warr. (Gould, a chevron with three pineapples between three roses: de la Warr, a fesse dancetté, with a crescent in chief, the latter a sign of cadency indicating a second son.) When the tablet was found it was clean and un-weathered, so could not have been there long. Bowles in his *Hundred of Chalke* (1830) records the presence of a similar shield in the Church at Alvediston. At one time the Gould family had owned Alvediston's Samways estate. A branch of the family was established in Ebbesbourne Wake and the name appears in all the census returns for the village that are now open for inspection. A John Gould is recorded in 1841 and he appears again in 1891, aged 66, as a 'mason and pond-maker', and once more as a bricklayer aged 76 in 1901. He died in 1907.

John Gould was an expert in the construction of dewponds and he apparently travelled widely as his services were in demand beyond his home village. He was related to the Goulds of Alvediston and his elder brother Josiah went to Chancery to lay claim to Samways. This was in 1866 at the same time as the famous Chancery case of the Tichborne claimant began. Someone then chiselled the Gould inscriptions from the monuments and headstones in Alvediston Church and cut pages that might have been relevant to the claim out of the Alvediston register. Suspicion falls on a Thomas King (possibly a relative of the 'wicked' Tom King, p.

95) who was leaseholder of Samways at the time. The marble tablet was restored to Alvediston Church in about 1935.

The War Memorial
The parish War Memorial stands on The Cross. On it are recorded the names of eight men from the village who fell in the 1914-18 war plus one who died in 1919 (p. 146), and of two who fell in the Second World War, 1939-45. Also listed are the names of 23 other villagers who served in the forces between 1914 and 1918.

Nonconformity
As baptism by the immersion of adults was a central feature in the religious life of the ancient Christian Church the Baptists can claim an equally lengthy heritage. The sect has attracted devotees throughout Church history but it was only after the Reformation that it began to spread more widely. At this time adherents were known as Anabaptists because adults who had already been baptised as infants were re-baptised. Baptists were persecuted by other Christian sects: in England under Henry VIII they were ordered, on pain of death, to leave the country. John Bunyan (1628-1688) was a Puritan Baptist who fought with the Roundheads in the Civil War and who, as a result of preaching his faith, spent the years 1660 to 1672 in Bedford county jail. In 1675, again in prison this time for six months, he finished the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Apart from the early history of the Baptists and John Wyclif's Lollards significant developments among nonconformist sects date from the period of the Commonwealth. Cromwell's Puritan Independents, based in East Anglia, gave rise to today's Congregationalists. These, originally Anglican Protestants, developed their local churches so that each was autonomous, depending for decisions on the united opinion of its own membership. As a result they are free of higher ecclesiastical authority and may choose their own ministers. A purer form of religious democracy is probably only to be found among the Quakers.

In 1729 in Oxford Charles Wesley, joined by his brother John Wesley and George Whitefield, all priests in the Anglican Church, formed their famous ‘Holy Club’. Members of their group were derisively labelled Methodists because of the methodical way in which they ordered their lives and observed their principles. Methodism has developed as another major offshoot of Anglicanism. After an early missionary expedition to North America the founders of Methodism returned to England and, because established incumbents refused them their pulpits, they began to preach in the open air. They found a ready (some called it an hysterical) response from the poor and the deprived as well as from ordinary working families. Their style was preferred to the perfunctory ministrations of the beneficed clergy many of whose parishes the Methodists invaded to stimulate the masses and awake them to 'the truths of the living gospel'. John Wesley (1703-1791), a formidable preacher and clever administrator, spent 50 years spreading his message as he travelled a quarter of a million miles round the country, on horseback.

The Chapel

The John Gould mentioned above with his brother William took the lead in establishing an independent meeting house for dissenters in Ebbesbourne Wake. William Gould had fallen under the influence of Mrs Joanna Turner, a Congregationalist missionary who had founded the Tabernacle in Trowbridge. In 1781 she moved to Tisbury where she opened another house for worship. She offered to send preachers to Ebbesbourne if a meeting place could be found and Bunton's (or Buntings, though probably originally Buntain's after a local 18th century landholder) was chosen. The first service was held there on January 13th 1782 an event commemorated on a tablet in its wall placed there in 1953. William Gould was denounced from the pulpit of the parish Church, and his name was posted on the Church door as a 'deceiver'. Mrs Turner described William Gould as a 'solid man', and she records that 'they have blown horns twice to disturb (his meetings), but are now more peaceful'.

The lease of the first chapel

A copy of the lease under which John West made over the cottage called Buntings to William Gould for use as a meeting-house, together with the other documents described below, are held by the secretary to the committee responsible for the upkeep and the running of the chapel. John West, at the time a tenant of the Earl of Pembroke, was either the farmer who worked what was then called Ebbesbourne (now Manor) Farm, or was someone who having acquired it, had leased it to a third party. The following is a transcript of William Gould's lease.

> ***'Know all men*** *by these presents that I John West have sold ye meeting house and a road thereunto which reaches a part of my possessions held under ye Right Honourable Earl of Pembroke and which I have sold for ye term of those three lives by which I held it namely Thomas Moxsom, Isaac Moxsom, Richard Moxsom, during their lives. I have sold it to William Gould of the parish aforesaid for the sum of six pounds of good and faithful money of Great Britain which was paid to ye said John West [on an un-stated] day of December in the twenty-third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George ye third by the grace of God of Great Britain France* and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so forth and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty three.'*
>
> *'Take notice that if ever this do cease to be made use of as a meeting house it shall no longer remain the property of the said William Gould or his heirs, executors or administrators but it shall fall back into the possession of the said John West his heirs executors or administrators. The condition of this obligation is such that if the above John West his heirs executors or administrators should offer during the term of ye said three lives to deprive or take away this meeting house from ye said William Gould his heirs executors or administrators the said John West his executors or administrators for so doing shall and do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above named William Gould his heirs*

executors or administrators or assignees the full sum of twenty pounds . . .[etc].

***Sealed** in the presence of John Adams, John West and B… West, his x mark.'*

*Although Britain lost Calais, its last possession in France, during the reign of Queen Mary I (1553-1558) it was not until 1801 that British monarchs dropped this historically pointless claim to the throne of France.

Chapel records, notebooks A to D
These notebooks record some of the activities associated with the Congregational (or Independent) Chapel in Ebbesbourne Wake. As expected the narrative changes in quality from time to time according to the ability and diligence of the secretary or treasurer concerned. The notebooks contain descriptions of the appointments of ministers, deacons and other officials of the chapel, of the conduct of services and the names of visiting preachers. They also include the minutes of administrative meetings, lists of members of the congregation, communicants and new admissions, and the details of income and expenditure. The contents of the four notebooks are summarised, below.

Notebook A, which covers the period 1862 to 1914, is headed 'Church book of the Independent Church Ebbesbourne, Wilts AD 1862'. It opens with a certified copy of some events from 1858, that is, from about the time the Congregational Chapel (as it stands today) was built in 1857. Curiously the front cover of this book has attached to it a small blue label bearing what appears to be an Arabic or shorthand inscription. The minutes of a meeting held on May 6th 1863 reported that 'members considered the propriety and desirability of instituting a day school in connection with the church; Miss Anne Bowles [was] proposed as teacher'.

[Nothing came of this proposal. By 1863 a Church of England National School was already well established in the village. Rivalry existed between two charities, one Anglican the other Nonconformist, both active in setting up primary schools. The problem in some rural areas where only a single school was affordable (as in Ebbesbourne Wake) was that Nonconformist children, for example, had to attend an Anglican school, or receive no education. This was one of the reasons why compulsory primary education was not introduced until 1888.]

Notebook B, covering the years 1894 to 1916, is headed 'Account Book Ebbesbourne Wake Congregational Chapel January 1896'. As happened with Notebook A this book opens with details of accounts, copied from elsewhere, for the years 1894 and 1895.

Notebook C was used from both ends – minutes of meetings and other details for the period 1918 to 1956 starting at one end, and accounts (1915-1947) at the other. A special meeting held in 1919 decided to buy, for £10, the freehold of the site on which the chapel still stands. [This date coincides with the sale of outlying parts of

the Earl of Pembroke's estate. Despite this resolution conveyance of the freehold did not finally take place until 1923.]

Notebook D, covering the years 1956 to 1968 is headed 'Ebbesbourne Wake Congregational Church September 1956. Secretary, H. E. Churchyard'.

Each of the notebooks contains, interleaved, newspaper cuttings, printed orders of service, correspondence, etc. Copies of part of a correspondence between the chapel secretary and a solicitor in Trowbridge reveals that, in 1954, there arose a question about a right of way over what is now the drive of Dial Cottage. The solicitor pointed out that this drive was not included in the 1923 sale, but the chapel secretary (so presumably members of the congregation) seems to have been concerned about the recent erection of a gate in the drive over which, it was implied, they had formerly been at liberty to pass (the drive had formerly been the route by which customers from the village reached, at first, the village shop and post-office, and later a smithy). The context is interesting. Until 1952 what had been The Old Stores, then Sundial and latterly Dial Cottage, had been in the hands of long-standing village families (particularly the Youngs) some of whom were staunch supporters of the chapel. Between 1952 and 1954 three successive new owners of the property came from outside the village. As the common boundary between the chapel and Dial Cottage was and is the wall of the chapel itself there might have been concern that the newcomers might deny access if repairs etc. were required to that side of the chapel, particularly after the gate appeared. This may be why questions were asked about a possible right of way. In later correspondence the chapel secretary indicated that the matter had been settled amicably.

From the time of the Commonwealth to the present day nonconformists have maintained a strong presence in the upper part of the Chalke Valley, though curiously dissenters in neighbouring villages divided their allegiance between different nonconformist sects. Historically Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists were all represented plus, today, a scattering of Jehovah's Witnesses and other more recent schismatic sects.

In about 1791 the Earl of Pembroke allowed the independent congregation to occupy the old manor coach house of the Bodenham family, then his property (p. 174). In 1857 the coach house was demolished to make way for the present Chapel built on approximately the same site with the help of a benefactor, Charles Jupe, of Mere. The new Chapel opened for worship on December 30, 1857. The ten perches (55 square yards) of land on which it was built remained the property of the Wilton Estate. In his 1918 Abstract of Title, preparatory to the sale of its outlying parts, it is recorded that the site of the Chapel was let to William Barnet and others, at a reserved annual rent of 1/- (p. 178). As noted above the congregation acquired the freehold of the site in 1923.

The Chapel gate that leads onto Handley Street is surmounted by an ironwork arch that once supported a lantern. The arch, almost certainly made by Edward Tom, W.E.V. Young's father, is inscribed 'HM King George V, Crowned June 1911'.

Post Offices

'Posts' were set up in the time of Henry VIII (1509-1547) for the transmission of government dispatches. By the end of the 16th century the system, by then operating internationally, was also used by merchants. This required the establishment of a public office, and the first Post Office was set up in London in 1635. As the system grew private letters were accepted. Charges initially varied according to the carrier but eventually they were standardised by the distance involved. In 1808 it cost 4d to send a letter 15 miles, 8d for 120 miles, and 1/- for 400 miles.

In 1840 Sir Rowland Hill (1795-1879) introduced the 'penny post'. At almost the same time the explosive spread of railways and the 1835 invention by the American Samuel Morse (1791-1872) of the first effective telegraph system led to a revolution in communication. This was exploited nationally and the day of the Post Office had arrived. By 1893 there were 19,625 post offices in the United Kingdom, and the average number of items transmitted in a year, per person, had risen from 39 in 1886 to 47 in 1893. By 1838 the Money Order system was already incorporated into the Post Office, and the Post Office Savings Bank was set up in 1861. By 1893 this had 5 million depositors with savings of nearly £76 million. In 1865 a life insurance business was added, and the parcel post started in 1884. A statue of Henry Fawcett, the man responsible for this, stands in Salisbury's market square. In 1892 the Post Office acquired the various private telephone companies that had begun to appear (it missed the one in Hull which remained independent), and a national and international telephone service began to develop.

The Post Office Directory of Wiltshire for 1848 records that letters for Ebbesbourne Wake had to be 'sent for from Swallowcliffe, whence they arrive from Salisbury'. The Directory for 1855 reports the existence of a Money Office in Shaftesbury, and the Directory of 1867 (now published by Kelly and Co., London) notes the existence of one in Tisbury, but letters for Ebbesbourne continued to arrive *via* Swallowciffe, as was still the case in 1875.

Kelly's Directory of 1880 announced that the Post Office had arrived in Ebbesbourne Wake. The postmistress, Elizabeth Young aged 45 and unmarried, was presumably the daughter of James Young, blacksmith, and his wife Susanna (Appendix E). Uncertainty arises because in the village at the same time there was another Elizabeth Young of the same age also the daughter of a James Young who was an agricultural labourer but whose wife was called Jane. The latter family was not included in W.E.V. Young's version of his family tree. Absent from the record of 1871, Elizabeth reappeared in the return for 1881 as postmistress, address the Post Office. The service she then provided included the Savings Bank and a Money Order Office. A letter-box (they had first appeared in London in 1855) was installed and the post arrived at 8.15 am, and was dispatched at 5.00 pm, or 10.00 am on Sundays. This was a better service than we have today. Clearly Miss Young would have required significant skills to manage such an operation. It is

likely that she acquired these during her absence from Ebbesbourne when she may have worked as an assistant in a Post Office elsewhere.

Where the first Post Office was located is not stated though the enumerator for the 1881 census, who almost certainly moved round the village from one house to the one next door, placed this entry among a series labelled 'The Cross'. The Ordnance Survey map of 1889 clearly identifies the Post Office with the site of the Store, later the Old Store and now Dial Cottage. The Store, a purpose-built brick and flint extension attached to the south-west corner of the older part of the cottage, was added in the middle of the 19th century. Between 1875 and 1880 a Post Office was incorporated into the business already established in this extension.

Miss Young did not last long as postmistress. Kelly's Directory of 1885 lists another Young, Charles William (presumably her nephew), as postmaster (and blacksmith) with Annuity Insurance added to the services on offer. He was also the manager of the village branch of the Cooperative Society, Ltd. The census return of 1891 shows that Miss Young had again disappeared from the parish, and confirms Charles, aged 31, as postmaster now living in the New Stores in Handley Street with his wife Emma (36) and three children, the eldest six years old. It may be that Charles gave up his former occupation as assistant inn-keeper on his marriage, probably in 1885, and that his first move was into the (Old) Stores. The New Stores in Handley Street with its Parish Room attached was built in the early1890s and it opened for business sometime before 1895.

Kelly's Directory of 1895 names the postmaster as William Duckles, offering the same services as before. He was also the manager of the village branch of the Cooperative Society. The Co-op does not seem to have lasted long. A receipt in the possession of Mr Dennis Gates dated February 1897 for £11 - 9 - 3d, on account of the Clothing Club, is headed 'W. Duckles, Post Office & Supply Stores', with no mention of the Co-op. The Directory entry for 1897-8 confirms this. Mr Duckles did not last long either. The Directory for 1899 shows that the enterprise had passed back to the Young family, now listing Edward T. Young, W.E.V. Young's father, as sub-postmaster (and blacksmith) and the name Duckles has disappeared. By 1903 Edward Young's elder brother Charles William was once more sub-postmaster and grocer, and the only service missing from the Post Office was the telegraph. The nearest Telegraph Office was in Broad Chalke.

By 1907 (and probably in 1905 according to a Parish Council minute of October 4th 1904) a major change had taken place. The sub-postmaster was now Thomas William Wright, and the Post Office somewhat downgraded by the loss of the Money Order business to Bowerchalke. The Telegraph Office was still in Broadchalke and Mr Wright was now also listed as a boot-maker. The grocery business, on the same premises, was in the hands of Messrs E.F. Bailey & Sons. When the catalogue for the Pembroke sale of 1918 was prepared (p. 178) the 'house, Post Office and stores in the centre of Ebbesbourne', part of the Wilton Estate, was let to Mr T.W. Wright for £15 a year (this rent did not include the Parish Room). At the sale or shortly after the grocer, Ebenezer Frank Bailey, bought the whole property. This turned the tables on Mr Wright who, formerly

Ebenezer's landlord, was now his tenant. These arrangements did not change significantly until some time after 1920, although a wall letter-box was installed at West End in 1915, and post was collected twice a day and once on Sundays. By 1923 Mr Wright had added the function of Schools Attendance Officer to his other activities, and Charles Hearn was now the boot-maker.

By 1927 there had been another major change. Perhaps as a result of the shift of power from sub-postmaster to shopkeeper the Post Office moved out of the Stores and was established in what is now Old Forge Cottage at the top of Duck Street, earlier vacated by the blacksmith, Edward Tom Young (p. 130). A newcomer, Stanley Jason Walker (who was also a poultry farmer) was in charge. Mr Walker continued to run the Post Office until after the Second World War. The only significant change during his time was the arrival of the telegraph service, probably when telephones reached the village in the early 1930s.

In 1962 Mr Young recorded that, on the death of Mr and Mrs Walker, the Post Office moved from Old Forge Cottage first back to the Stores in Handley Street (where Mrs Ellison was proprietor), and then to Dial Cottage where Mrs Henry Tomlinson acted as sub-postmistress between 1954 and 1961. Finally the Post Office returned to the Stores where it remained until the last sub-postmaster, Mr Dennis Gates, caught like so many other village enterprises between rising overheads and falling sales, closed both Post Office and what by then was known as The Valley Stores. On May 31st 1990, after 100 years of trading, the doors closed for the last time.

Shops

Perhaps in conformity with Napoleon's jibe about 'a nation of shopkeepers' enterprising villagers must often have been tempted to set up small shops. At first sight it seemed a good idea to keep a stock of regularly used items not otherwise available within the community, to sell to villagers who in the absence of such a service would have to travel to a fair in a nearby town to buy them, wait for a peddler to call, or do without. In practice most such ventures appear to have been short-lived though they did force itinerant peddlers out of business. In Kelly's Directory of 1875 a certain George Norris is described as a shopkeeper though he does not appear in the census returns for either 1871 or 1881. Another who briefly yielded to the temptation to open a shop was John Gould. John lived in West End. Listed as a mason or bricklayer in every return from 1841 to 1901 just once, in 1875, he adds the occupation of shopkeeper.

When different individuals within the same family combined the occupations of shopkeeper and carrier the enterprise appears to have been more viable. In 1841 John Philpott, aged 52, is listed as a carrier and by 1848 he is also described as a shopkeeper. The census of 1851 places him in Pound Street and this return together with the Directory for 1855 reveal the secret of his success. His business as a carrier took him to Salisbury on Tuesdays and to Shaftesbury on Saturdays. His wife, Jane (62), and daughter Elizabeth (24) were described as shopkeepers. The family could replenish their stock-in-trade twice a week, if necessary, as John

travelled on his regular business as a carrier for which he was paid by those who entrusted their goods to him. His overheads were kept to a minimum because he did not need to tie up money in stock, and of course he carried his own goods for nothing. In 1861 John, now a widower, was still a carrier and shopkeeper with his daughter keeping the shop. By 1871 Elizabeth now 44 and still unmarried is listed as a retired grocer with a 16-year-old girl described as a servant living with her. In 1881 (in the middle of a serious agricultural depression) Elizabeth, now on her own, seems to have returned to active life as a grocer but by 1891, still living in Pound Street, she has once more retired. The present Meadow Cottage in Pound Street was at one time used as a shop so it is very likely that this is where the Philpott enterprise was based. Between 1855 and 1867 a couple called Charles and Miriam Critchell operated a similar carrier-shopkeeper combination. In 1871 Miriam, now a widow, was still listed as a grocer.

The first purpose-built shop in the parish was erected as an extension to a cottage (now Dial Cottage) on The Cross, as described under Post Offices, above. At the time the property belonged to the Earl of Pembroke, so the Wilton Estate must have been involved. A likely arrangement would have been for the Estate to pay for the construction of a Village Store and to recoup its investment (with interest) by renting it to a succession of shopkeepers. The two-storey extension (the upper part perhaps intended as a stock room) still communicates at both levels with the older cottage, so it was obviously expected that the shopkeeper would live on the premises. The census return for 1851 lists a Charles Duckett, aged 29, a draper and grocer with his wife Miriam (27) and a daughter Betsy, 5. Their address is given as The Cross, so it is very likely that they lived in the cottage attached to what had by then become the Village Store. Perhaps Mr Duckett was the first full-time shopkeeper to live in Ebbesbourne Wake, with Charles Critchell and George Norris, mentioned above, as some of his successors. Curiously the return of 1861 shows that Mr Critchell's wife, aged 37, was named Miriam. This forename was not common among villagers and she is exactly the same age as Miriam Duckett would have been in 1861, also with a daughter Betsy (another uncommon name) formerly five, now 15. It seems that Charles Critchell had married Charles Duckett's widow. Ten years later, in 1871, Miriam is still a grocer, but now widowed for a second time. She is listed as the head of a household in which she lives with her daughter (aged 25, now Mrs Alfred Cox) together with her son-in-law, and a new grandson.

When The New Stores opened in Handley Street between 1890 and 1895 the grocery business in the Old Stores closed though the building was subsequently used as a Post Office and for a time as a blacksmith's shop. In its early days the New Stores doubled as the Village Post Office but this was not always the case. The Parish Room, built as part of the New Stores, was used as a reading room, for meetings, band practices, and for such things as gramophone recitals. When the First World War military encampment at Fovant was dismantled the village acquired a large army surplus hut that, re-erected in Handley Street, became the Village Hall. The Parish Room, no longer required, reverted to the Bailey family who were now in possession of the whole of the property on that site. The Parish Room was used to extend the grocery business to include the storage of furniture.

When first built the New Stores provided a home for the proprietor. This was entered through the green door that now gives access to what today is a separate property. The Parish Room was entered through another door, now blocked up, at the opposite end of the frontage on Handley Street, with the double-fronted entrance to the shop and Post Office between the two. When the Parish Room became a furniture depository access for larger items was through a shuttered opening on the first floor facing the back of the pub.

Schools

The National background

The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo freed England from what had been a serious threat of invasion from the continent. In 1815 the English, no longer involved in a major war, could begin to contemplate their country's internal problems. The demographic town-and-country split, intensified by the Industrial Revolution and the Enclosures, increasingly separated rural from urban populations. After the end of the war wage cuts and increases in the price of food caused the already dreadful living conditions endured by most of the population to reach new depths. Divisions based on religion and politics further muddied already turbulent waters. Religious intolerance set supporters of the established Anglican Church against Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics alike, while doubts about the supremacy of Parliament and the legitimacy of the Stuart-Hanoverian succession developed in a partisan fashion as Whigs (Liberals after 1868) began what was to develop into a long-standing confrontation with the Tories (Conservatives from 1830).

Political and economic power still lay in the hands of a relatively small group of well-connected and usually seriously-moneyed men. As a rule (a generalisation tested by important exceptions) such people were either rural, strongly Anglican Tory landowners or Whig industrialists based in urban areas who were at least tolerant of nonconformity. Initially both parties were prejudiced against the primary education of the masses. The labouring classes were expected to work hard while living on subsistence wages (or to act as cannon-fodder in war) to support the aristocratic and superficially genteel lifestyles of their lords and masters. It was held that education of ordinary people produced no commercial benefit and might lead to social unrest, and some gentlemen went so far as to think education unnecessary even for their own sons. The minds of influential people were obsessed by the example of the still-recent French Revolution.

In well-to-do households at this time primary education was mainly in the hands of governesses. For ordinary people education was delivered in Dames' Schools or their equivalents, or it did not exist. Dames' Schools were of very variable quality: many were little more than child-minding services provided for the children of labouring families where both parents needed to work to earn enough to feed and clothe themselves: the cost to them might be between one and three pence a week. Children might learn to 'read' the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, but writing was rarely taught.

Despite the general apathy, some held more enlightened opinions. In 1815 there already existed two (rival) voluntary organisations concerned with the establishment of primary education. The first, formed in 1811, was the National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Church of England. The second, formed in 1814, was the British and Foreign School Society in whose schools *denominational* religious education was supposed to be excluded. Problems with this system were that both organisations took more interest in religious than in general education, and that their subscribers could not provide for the whole country. Despite this they both opposed, and for a long time blocked, any idea of state support lest one side might be treated more favourably than the other.

In 1833 a committee of the Privy Council began to make a small annual grant to allow the voluntary organisations to build more schools, particularly in places where half the cost might be raised by public subscription. The strength of feeling that still existed between religious denominations is illustrated by the fact that, somewhat later, the Archbishop of Canterbury went so far as to complain to the Queen about the very existence of such a committee. By this time a survey had determined that about one-third of working class children received no schooling at all, and that the rest attended schools only 10% of which achieved an acceptable standard.

Many of the schools set up in rural areas were called National Schools because they were founded by the National Society. Foster's 1870 Education Act increased the size of the central government grant and it was applied more widely to include Catholic schools. Schools were in theory un-denominational, were administered by locally elected School Boards and were paid for at least in part from local rates. In rural parishes such as Ebbesbourne Wake this was a bone of contention because Nonconformists found themselves paying for Church of England National schools. For this and other reasons school attendance was not made compulsory until 1880, when the leaving age was 11, rising to a target of 14 in 1888.

This interdenominational squabble was somewhat ameliorated in 1902 when School Boards were abolished and schools began to be administered by Local Authorities, though in rural areas in particular many nonconformist children still had no alternative but to attend Church of England schools. In some Welsh villages the only Anglicans in a parish were the parson and the schoolteacher. David Lloyd George began his rise to political prominence over this issue, and the Anglican Church in Wales was disestablished in 1920.

While English primary education developed in this inefficient way events in continental countries and the USA were managed better so that, educationally, they overhauled us, most critically in the fields of secondary, tertiary and technical education. In these countries engineering skills, for example, were taught in special institutions so engineering became a profession. In England for much of the nineteenth century engineers were trained as apprentices, so the occupation was

considered a trade. This country failed to capitalise on the flying start provided by the Industrial Revolution. Our engineers are still undervalued.

In Ebbesbourne Wake

So far as Ebbesbourne Wake is concerned the development of primary education trailed a little behind the national picture described above. The principal sources from which the details that follow were drawn are the Victoria History of Wiltshire (VHW), the writings of local archaeologist and historian W.E.V. Young (WEVY), returns of the decennial national censuses (Cs) from 1841 to 1901 and, after 1855, a series of local Directories (Ds) including those of the Post Office, Kelly's and Langmead & Evans'.

The VHW records that, in 1818, 'the poor of Ebbesbourne Wake desired education for their children' but as late as 1833 there was still no day school in the parish. It is not known when the first Dame's School was opened – indeed in the nature of such things Dames' Schools may have come and gone in the same way as village shops came and went. WEVY reports that the wife of one of his ancestors, James Young (1797-1875) opened a school in what is now Chapel Cottage 'sometime in the 1830s' (Cs 1841 and 1851). The 'Dame' was Susannah (née King) who had married James in 1822. An example of private education in Ebbesbourne Wake appears in the household of John Bennett, a major yeoman farmer (C 1841). This census return indicates that a governess called Elizabeth King (aged 27) educated his children. By 1851 this Elizabeth had been replaced by Anna Pearce (22) from Bath (C 1851). At this time governesses, and the (usually female) schoolteachers who began to supplant them, were classed as servants.

According to the VHW a school affiliated to the National Society was opened at an unrecorded site in or a little before 1846. In 1851 Susannah Young was listed as a schoolmistress and as the 1851 census return lists no other it is likely that she was the first to teach in the National School. Before purpose-built schools appeared in individual villages side-chapels or annexes of their churches were sometimes used as schoolrooms. In his History of Fovant Dr R.C.C. Clay notes that a Chantry in the Village Church was, at one time, walled off from the nave and used as a school-room. Recent examination of an enlargement of a map of 1843 suggests that the porch of the Church of St John the Baptist in Ebbesbourne Wake was then much larger than it is today or than it was in 1830 when Sir Richard Colt Hoare included a plan of it in his History of Modern Wiltshire. W.E.V. Young placed an early Ebbesbourne Wake school 'in the churchyard'. It is possible that, in 1843, an enlarged church porch accommodated a schoolroom, though by 1875 when the church was reconstructed the then recently built National School had made the enlarged porch redundant so it was reduced to its original size.

In 1851 a purpose-built National schoolroom for 80 children was erected on The Cross. A plaque let into its wall reads *'Erected in AD MDCCCLI, William Taprell Allen, Curate'*. A house for the teacher was added in 1870. The latter is of brick decorated with knapped flint panels. The shapes of the panels suggest input from the estate of the Earl of Pembroke - panels of similar shape are visible on an

extension to a cottage on The Cross built a little earlier by the Pembroke estate to provide the village with a shop (now part of Dial Cottage). It seems that the establishment of a National School (as well as of the original village shop) may have been made possible by contributions from the Earl of Pembroke, who was Lord of the Manor at the time. In 1859 about 50 children attended the school, and this included some who walked to and fro daily from Fifield Bavant. For the rest of the century attendances varied between 33 in 1895 and 52 in 1907. In the mid 1960s the accommodation provided for the teacher was annexed for use as part of the school: it is now an integral part of the 'Old School House'.

In compliance with 'an Order of the Honourable, the House of Commons, dated 7th February 1859' a school inspection was carried out by the Reverend William Warburton MA, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. He submitted 'An account with map of all Schools for Children of the Labouring Classes, arranged by parishes, in the County of Wilts'. The entries for Alvediston (no. 336) and Ebbesbourne Wake (337) are as follows: (This document was discovered in the County Records Office, Trowbridge by Mr Mike Longstaffe.)

> *'Alvediston (including Norrington), population 278, rateable value £2059. Thirty infants taught by an ex-pupil teacher in a cottage; she receives 5s a week, and is the daughter of, and resides with, the mistress of the school at Ebbesbourne Wake.*
>
> *Ebbesbourne Wake, population 319, rateable value £2097. A very fair building, erected for the purpose, in a good situation with separate porches for boys and girls; about 50 children mixed, under a mistress (for) whom there is no residence* [this was provided in 1870]. *The school is supported by private subscriptions. The children of Fifield Bavant attend here, that parish being too small to have a school of its own.'*

The Post Office Directory for 1855, five years before the date of the inspection, names a Mrs Pike (below) as the schoolmistress in Ebbesbourne Wake. These simple statements may conceal a major storm in the parochial teacup. James was a member of the long-established Ebbesbourne Wake family of Youngs, a succession of whom had been parish clerks. James was married to Susannah (below) who was the first village schoolteacher whose name is known, and perhaps the first ever. When a purpose-built school appeared in 1854 an incomer, Mrs Harriett Pike (who was almost certainly one of a new breed of certificated teachers) supplanted her. It seems the 'daughter' mentioned by the inspector was the 'adopted' Kate Carley (below).

Entries from the 1851 and 1861 census returns are as follows.

1851
57, *Duck Street*
James Young, 54, blacksmith, parish clerk, (born in Ebbesbourne Wake)
Susannah, w, 55, schoolmistress (born in Alvediston, née King)
Anna, d, 27, dressmaker (born in Ebbesbourne Wake)
William, s, 25, blacksmith (do)
Elizabeth, d, 15, (do)
(This Elizabeth is probably the person who, *circa* 1880, became Ebbesbourne Wake's first postmistress in the village's first post office.)

1861
40, ***Church Street***
Joseph Pike, 69, mason-labourer (born in Ansty)
Harriett, w, 57, schoolmistress (Ansty)
Kate Carley, adopted, 20, governess (Donhead)
Fanny W (indecipherable), 2, (Devon)
Maria Gould, servant, 17 (Alvediston)

By 1907 the school was known as an Elementary School. Initially children of all ages were taught in one class by a single teacher helped by an older girl acting as a monitor, but later there were two classes and two teachers. The longest serving teacher, Mrs Louisa Young, joined the school before 1891 and left sometime after 1920. In July 1985 the Local Education Authority closed the school. The last teacher to serve the village was Mr Brian Stacey. The building is now a private dwelling.

Table VII, *A summary list of the teachers recorded as having served in Ebbesbourne Wake's Primary Schools, together with other important educational events, 1815-1914. The information was drawn from the sources listed above, at points indicated by the dates shown. Because of gaps between these dates the list of teachers may not be complete.*

1833	No record of a school in the parish.
~1837	A Dame's School established by Susannah Young in Chapel Cottage (WEVY)
1841	C 1841 [19], Susannah Young elsewhere after she had moved with her family into (Old) Forge Cottage on the death of her father-in-law William Young (1759-1837).
1848	The first National School had been opened by this date, exact site unknown, perhaps in the Churchyard. (D, WEVY). VCH gives the date as about 1846.
1851	C 1851 [57], Susannah Young recorded as the schoolmistress
1854	New schoolroom built, extant as part of today's Old School House. (VCH)
1855	National School, schoolmistress Mrs Pike. (D)
1859	Schoolmistress Mrs Harriett Pike. (D)
1861	C 1861 [40], Schoolmistress Mrs Harriett Pike aged 57, of Church Street.
1870	Residence for the schoolteacher erected, attached to the schoolroom (VCH, see 1854).
1871	C 1871 [6], Mrs Harriett Pike schoolmistress with, as a boarder, Miss Kate Karley (*sic)*, governess, from Donhead. Miss Carley (see below) was probably appointed as a pupil teacher: such apprenticeship training was common at this time due to a shortage of proper training places for teachers.
1875	National School, Miss Catherine Carley schoolmistress (see 1871). (D)
1880	National School, Miss Elizabeth Fiford, schoolmistress. (D)
1881	C 1881 [34], National School, Miss Maria Hargreave, 21, schoolmistress, now with Mrs Harriett Pike, widow (see 1855), as her assistant. (D)
1885	National School for 80, average attendance 43. Mrs Louisa Young, schoolmistress. (D)
1889	As 1885. (D)
1895	National School, attendance 33. Mrs Louisa Young, schoolmistress. (D)
1897/8	As 1895. (D)
1899	As 1895. (D)
1901	C 1901 [17], The School, Mrs Louisa Young, 46, schoolmistress, from Malmesbury. Her daughter, Ethel (16) recorded as a school monitor.
1903	School attendance 38, Louisa Young schoolmistress. (D)
1907	Elementary School, average attendance 52, Mrs Louisa Young schoolmistress. (D)
1912	Mrs Louisa Young, schoolmistress. (D)
1915	Mrs Louisa Young, schoolmistress. (D)

Garages

The 1927 edition of Kelly's Directory lists Harry Booth as the first motor engineer to live and work in Ebbesbourne Wake. Harry was an ex-merchant seaman whose wife, Alice Mary, was a schoolmistress in the Ebbesbourne Wake Elementary School sometime prior to 1927; she was still there in 1930. While they lived together in the School House Mr Booth opened the first Gylven Garage. This stood on the opposite side of the road to the later establishment, on the space that now surrounds a seat overlooking the former football field. The last owners of the garage, Peter and Claude Booth, say both garages were named from the field on which the first one stood. On the Inclosure Award map of 1792 this field, named Gilven's Close, abuts two others called Gawen's Moor and Gawen's Ground, now part of the football field (Appendix J). It may be that both Gilven and Gylven are corruptions of the name Gawen. Thomas Gawen, charged as a recusant in 1601, was dispossessed of Norrington Manor but he was allowed to retain some property in Ebbesbourne Wake (p. 176). In all copies of Kelly's Directory from 1929 to 1939 (the last to appear before the Second World War) the proprietor of Gylven Garage, described as a motor engineer, is named A. M. Booth, which is the name under which the business traded until 2004, when it closed for business.

The pub

Today the words ale (of Scandinavian origin) and beer (from the German) are used virtually synonymously, though the darker beers, the stouts and porters, are still not called ales. At one time ale was a superior brew that was clear (transparent) while beers were cloudy (today compare clear ginger ale with cloudy ginger beer). Small beer, a drink of low alcohol content, was drunk instead of water by most of the population, including children. Dark beers made from roasted malt were popular especially among labouring people, hence the name 'porter', with its more potent relative, 'stout'.

Originally female members of even smaller households brewed ales and beers. Some produced more palatable products than others, of course, and the most expert 'ale wives' were sought after. Important households employed ale wives as brewers to satisfy the needs of the owners, their guests, their domestic staff, and perhaps to provide drinks to accompany the meals of bread and cheese served to some as part of their pay when working in the fields. Stronger brews were prepared for special occasions. 'Bride' ale was brewed for weddings and was sold to the guests, with the profits going to the bride and of course the alcohol to everyone's head. Drunkenness at weddings (not unknown today) was common and in 1223 Bishop Richard Poore of Salisbury protested that marriages should be reverent affairs, and should not be marred by 'laughter, sport and potations'. Other special ales were brewed seasonally, for example lamb ales and scythales, as well as for such occasions as fairs, funerals and wakes.

The first alehouses developed round the dwellings of the more successful ale-wives, who would sell their products to be carried away in jugs and buckets to be drunk in people's homes or in the fields. By the end of the 14th century these

had begun to develop into places where customers could drink on the premises, in company. In the middle of the 15th century hops appeared to replace other flavourings, one of which, wormwood, is still used in vermouth. By the 17th century most villages had their own alehouses and these developed into communal focal-points to complement their parish Churches. By the middle of the 18th century the name 'public house' began to be used.

The building that today accommodates Ebbesbourne Wake's The Horseshoe Inn appears on the Enclosure Award map of 1785 (p. 113) where it is listed as the property of John Rebbeck, farmer of West End Farm. In 1843 at the time of the Commutation of the Tithes (p. 117) the same plot was in the possession of (a presumably different) John Rebbeck who still held West End Farm, though it is now recorded that he held this as the tenant of Margaretta Michel. What eventually became the Horseshoe Inn was then described as 'a house, garden and orchard', sub-let to John and James Kerley. The 1841 census return shows these individuals as agricultural labourers, heads of families housed elsewhere in the village, some distance apart. The nature of the arrangement is obscure: it may be that the place was already a beer house and the occupants named were operating it as non-resident landlords and cider makers.

It is not known when an ale- or beer house first appeared in Ebbesbourne Wake. According to the *Victoria History of Wiltshire* today's Horseshoe Inn occupies a building of the 18th century. The 1785 map depicts, within the same plot, another quite large uninhabited building that might have been a stable or in those days a brew house where beer and much more probably cider was made and stored. Early maps show the existence in and around the village of many small orchards so apples for the latter were plentiful, and much later long-term resident Frank Roberts reports that, as he walked to school from his home in Bunton's Cottage, he saw a cider press being operated on the forecourt of The Horseshoe Inn.

The first mention of a keeper of a beer house in the village appears in Kelly's Directory of 1867 where he is named as William Young. This name and occupation is confirmed in the census return for 1871 where William Young (1826-1894) aged 45 is shown married to Sarah, with four children including the Edward Tom who was W.E.V. Young's father. In the next census return (1881) William's address is given as 'The Public House'. His occupation is shown as innkeeper and blacksmith and he is now helped by his son Charles William, 21, described as an innkeeper's assistant. Apparently it was not uncommon to find innkeepers who were also blacksmiths, 'a neat combination of thirst-provoking and thirst-quenching occupations'. It might have been at this stage that the beer-house was christened the Horse Shoe (later Horseshoe) Inn, although this name does not appear in the census return for 1901, or in any Kelly's Directory until the one of 1907, by which time the licensee was called Arthur Oborn. For several years after 1894 when William Young died, aged 68, his wife Sarah stayed on as licensee. An interesting sidelight on the times is that because of her position the Electoral Rolls of 1898 and 1899 list Sarah, address the Beer House, as entitled to vote in County Council and Parochial Council elections, though as a woman she could not vote for a Parliamentary candidate.

Sarah's maiden name was Foyle so it is not surprising that by 1915 the licensee was Enos Foyle. Enos was still in possession in 1939 when he was described as a beer retailer. This means that, like previous landlords, he was not licensed for the sale of spirits. In earlier days this did not matter as most village pubs (especially those near the coast) would have kept a supply of contraband brandy or gin for trusted customers.

An early water-coloured sketch of Handley Street clearly shows the Horseshoe's inn-sign, which otherwise seems to be identical to the present one, with the open part of the horseshoe pointing downwards. A photograph taken before the First World War proves that this was not just artistic licence as the horseshoe really did hang in this position. Mr M.B. Marshallsay, licensee 1966-1969 (licensed for the sale of beers and spirits on or off the premises from a house that at the time was tied to the brewers Hall & Woodhouse) declares that in his time the horseshoe was still 'upside-down'. Some time later the pub became a free house and the horseshoe was inverted.

When deciding how to hang a horseshoe it has to be remembered that as long ago as the 13th century the heraldic arms of people with names like Farrer or Ferrier might include horseshoes that were shown on their shields with their open ends pointing downwards. The bread-and-butter of a village smith of old would have been his work as a farrier so it seems that the original orientation of the inn-sign has a good deal of history on its side. It is also possible that the name doubled as a vulgar joke. In the 18th and 19th centuries the word 'horseshoe' was in common use as a low colloquialism for a part of the female anatomy.

Village roads

Charles Bowles, in dedicating his book '*The Hundred of Chalke*' (1830) to Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead, writes:

> *'Allow me to lay before you an attempt to elucidate the History of the Hundred of Chalke; and to add, that if you shall think the whole, or any part of it, worthy of a place in your "Modern Wiltshire," I shall be amply paid for the trouble I have taken in its compilation.'*

He opens the chapter in which he describes Berwick St John as follows:

> *'In pursuance of the plan I have prescribed to myself, I now enter the vale of Chalke, the most sequestered and unfrequented district of this county. . . . The roads in the vale are impassable for any other four-wheel carriages than those used for husbandry purposes, and are suited only for a* sure footed *horse. Husbandry is, however, well understood, and the improved turnip system is generally pursued here.'*

There can be no doubt that, in those days, anyone travelling from afar to visit a particular village or property in the Chalke Valley would do so by travelling along the tracks on one or other of its watershed ridgeways, most likely the one on the north (that part of the main stage coach route from Salisbury to Exeter that is called Salisbury Way), or perhaps from the south, from the Ox Drove. Then, in either case on reaching a point above his destination, the traveller would drop down into the valley on one of the many lanes that ran north or south from either of the ridgeways.

In the case of Ebbesbourne Wake the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1811) shows three routes from the north, and three from the south The first of the former leads to West End by what is now a track adjacent to North Farm, ending in Dropson's Drove; the second further to the east splits on the Down; one branch terminates at Prescombe (originally spelt Prestcombe) farm and the other just to the west of the inhabited part of Fifield Bavant; the third is now part of the modern metalled road that leads from the A30 to end in the centre of that hamlet. Routes from the south are represented by today's Ebbesbourne Hollow; the road over Stoford Bridge to Bowerchalke; and what is now a little used pathway leading south from the ford and clapper bridge in Fifield Bavant.

As if to make Bowles' point about the quality of the road in the valley bottom the 1811 OS map shows no complete route from Alvediston to Ebbesbourne Wake. On the map what is now the road that connects the two is interrupted at the summit of Castle Hill for a distance of a quarter of a mile. What was almost certainly once the more important route was a farm track that ran from the original position of Church Farm, past Alvediston Church and through the field to the north of the Ebble, to join the track that now terminates at a cottage in West End, now known as Brookland's Farm.

The two routes from Alvediston to Ebbesbourne Wake, on either side of the river, meet in West End at the ends of a bridge over The Ebble. A traveller eastbound from Alvediston who turns left at this bridge will find himself on higher ground to the north of both river and the main part of the village of Ebbesbourne Wake. This route, in existence in 1785, is a kind of village bye-pass once called Barton Eyes Road. It rejoins the main valley road to the east of the village just beyond May (Sheepwash) Bridge, before this reaches Prescombe Farm, once Barton Eyes Farm. The old English derivation of 'Barton' may be 'Barley Farm', and of 'Eye' as dry ground on the edge of a marsh. Both seem appropriate to what is today Prescombe Farm.

In 1801 a traveller taking the lower road at West End Bridge (originally called Church Way) would soon pass West End Farmhouse, a building considerably enlarged since the first part of it appeared in about 1600. This house, until recently the most substantial in the parish, is owned by members of the Parnell family, relatives of the Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) who together with Gladstone (like others before and since) was famously frustrated in an attempt to settle the Irish Question. Until recently Christopher Parnell, Lord Congleton, occupied the farmhouse and worked the farm.

Along Church Way, just beyond West End Farmhouse, the course of The Ebble has been altered. In the earlier part of the 18th century the river turned sharp left just beyond the south-east corner of the present farmhouse, to loop *behind* Westbourne Cottage (to serve which the revised course of the river is now crossed by a bridge) to rejoin its existing channel behind the modern version of an older Dairy Cottage. That part of the river that runs *in front* of Westbourne Cottage, as marked on the Tithe Award Map of 1844, is thus not more than 200 years old. Prior to 1778, where Church Way passes the small stone building now used as a garage (identified by the post-box in its roadside wall), the road turned into a footpath: it is still a footpath at its other end, before it reaches the Church. A *'diversion plan of part of the Alvediston to Salisbury road, taken by Mr England of Shaftesbury, 1778'* is described as:

> *'a plan of the old road through the water in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, also of the new intended road through the tenantry fields across the corner of a meadow called Butts Close, to avoid the water'.*

From this plan it is seen that, at that time, the main road bore left just before the building with the post-box, to pass between it and Westbourne Cottage, there to enter the bed of the river. It then ran along the course of the river for a little over 500 yards (450m) before emerging to join the bottom of Duck Street and climb the hill to reach The Cross and the centre of the village.

If we assume that our traveller used the *'new intended road'* shortly after it had been completed and the old road *'through the water'* was no longer in use, they would pass strips and plots of arable land on either hand, rising steeply on their right, but sloping more gently down to the river on the left. A few plots bore cottages or other buildings on them, called Lush's Buildings on some older maps. In

1845 this land was shared between three landowners; Margaretta Michel, John Rebbeck, and The Earl of Pembroke. Some of it had been sub-let to various villagers where they grew food that made a significant difference to their standard of living.

A little further on the traveller would have passed a track on the left called Watts Lane (now vanished) which formerly led down to a footbridge over the river. After this, again on the left, is Butts Close, where it is assumed that medieval archers developed their skills. Our traveller would then reach an intersection. The right hand fork (now called May Lane) leads up-hill towards Ebbesbourne (now Manor) Farm and beyond that up Ebbesbourne Hollow towards Sixpenny Handley. The first part of this road does not appear on John Andrews and Andrew Drury's map of 1773 or on Mr England's map of 1778 but it is marked on the Enclosure map, surveyed about 1785, so it may have been built as an extension of Mr England's *'new intended road'* when this was made. The left-hand fork leads down-hill and is the part described as *'new'* in Mr England's plan, *'across the corner of Butts Close'*. Halfway down this hill the footpath that forks to the right is the eastern end of the old Church Way running along the southern side of what was Bounds Close and is now the garden of Old Forge Cottage. At the foot of the hill the 'new' road joins the bottom of Duck Street. As it does so it passes, on the left, a gate that marks the place where the road 'through the water' emerged to link with Duck Street and, on the right, the end of the ancient Butts Lane, originally the eastern end of Butts Close. Duck Street then turns right, up-hill, to reach The Cross passing on the left Bounds Cottage and the cottage named Gawens, and on the right a cottage part of which used to be a blacksmith's forge, now Old Forge Cottage.

On The Cross the traveller leaving Duck Street might take one of three routes. A turn into a lane, sharp right, lead to the Church and a collection of three small cottages (no longer in existence) grouped round the entrance to the churchyard in what may have been called Church Street. A turn to the left would lead him downhill, into Pound Street, while if he bore a little to the right he would enter Handley Street. Handley Street and Pound Street were (and are) where most village inhabitants lived (and live). Emerging onto The Cross the traveller would see, in front of him to the left, the village stocks (one of the last to be confined in them is said to have stolen turnips from a field) and behind them, set back from the road, three buildings. The largest of these (in 1801 probably in a ruinous state) had been a squire's residence or manor house seemingly built about 1720 to replace an older Ebbesbourne Manor, now Manor Farm. The building on its left, by 1801 already occupied as a cottage, had been the second Manor's stables and that on the right its former coach house. By 1801 this was already in use as a Congregational Chapel (p. 148).

If our traveller chose to bear right into Handley Street he would move down-hill to reach Ebbesbourne (Manor) Farm and beyond it (up-hill again) along what is now May Lane, he would eventually complete a circular tour of the village. The original part of Manor Farmhouse, an early version of Ebbesbourne's Manor House dating from the 16th century, is of cruck construction (p. 171). On his way back from

viewing Ebbesbourne Farm he might stop to refresh himself at the Beer House (now the Horseshoe Inn).

After a mug of ale, beer or cider and a bite of bread and cheese he would return to The Cross and move on down Pound Street at the bottom of which he would cross The Ebble once more at May (or Sheepwash) Bridge where the river is joined by a small un-named winterbourne that drains the South Fields. Just beyond this, on their right, a part of the river bed had been dug out and provided with sluices that, when closed and the river was running, formed a pool in which sheep were washed before they were shorn (only a few stones of this remain). A little further on he would pass the junction where the northerly by-pass rejoins the main road and he would leave the village near the entrance to Barton Eyes (Prescombe) Farm. The road and the river now run together, and to the south of both lies a large water-meadow (Long Mead) which by means of sluices and channels dug for the purpose was 'drowned' in winter to encourage the growth of a lush early crop of grass in the spring. A little later a junction on the right leads to a road that almost immediately crosses the Ebble at Stoford Bridge, on its way to Bowerchalke.

After a little over a mile (2k.) he would reach the hamlet of Fifield Bavant and beyond that the Parish of Broad Chalke. As he enters this hamlet the traveller passes a junction with a (minor) right hand fork that leads to a ford and an ancient clapper bridge. This, now a footpath, was once part of the main valley road that led through the medieval site of part of Fifield Village that lay on the south of the river, where the ancient road joined what is now a cul-de-sac that runs west from Broad Chalke past the modern water-cress beds to serve the settlement of Little London. The (now major) left-hand fork leads to a double-S bend and to a higher road a little to the north. This, constructed more recently, is part of what is now the main road along the bottom of the valley.

Under the first part of the right-hand fork is a brick-built culvert. The ground to the right of the track has been raised to form a dam (on the top of which a dilapidated wooden shed now stands). The dam has been broken through at its centre to allow water to flow through it in the winter. The culvert lies perhaps three feet (0.9m) above the level of the present river-bed. The position of the culvert can only be explained if at the point where the river now flows through the dam there was once a sluice that would, when closed, 'drown' the field upstream. The difference between the height of the river-bed and the culvert, which acted as an overflow, means that when the field was flooded the lower end of it must have resembled a small lake rather than a water-meadow. This may have served as a reservoir from which to draw water after the winterbourne part pf the River Ebble had run dry in the late spring or summer.

Beyond the site of the medieval village and on the north side of the river lie the old Rectory (now Glebe Farm), Fifield Bavant Farm and farm buildings, and the tiny Church of St Martin's. Beyond these our traveller enters Broad Chalke, leaving behind what was, in his time, the parish of Fifield Bavant, today part of the civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake or ecclesiastically part of the Parish of Alvediston with Ebbesbourne Wake cum Fifield Bavant.

Ebbesbourne Wake's Manor Houses

The Victoria County History of Wiltshire identifies the small central part of what is now Manor Farm House, dating from the 16th century, as the only Ebbesbourne Wake manor house that still exists. The original building, of cruck construction, was enlarged to the west in the 17th, and to the east in the 18th, centuries. For hundreds of years the building has been used as a working farmhouse. For most of the time the house and farm was called Priory, or more usually Ebbesbourne, Farm and the latter name persisted until the middle of the 19th century when the property was divided into Manor and Prescombe Farms. The name Ebbesbourne Farm continued to appear on Ordnance Survey maps until the 1927 edition, when 'Manor Farm' replaced it. The name Priory Farm was undoubtedly applied as a reminder of the fact that the Braemore Priory in Hampshire held property in the parish until it was transferred to the Bishop of Salisbury in 1224.

Cruck construction was an early elaboration of the simple 'A'-frame house in which heavy timbers in the shape of a letter 'A' supported the two ends of a building, with one or more extra 'As' inserted in between if a longer structure was required. This is one reason why plan views of the houses of ordinary people were shaped as relatively narrow oblongs, or if they grew larger might develop into a 'U' or square around a central courtyard. An improvement was to choose timbers for the two sides of the 'A' that were naturally curved. These timbers, called crucks, were arranged with their convex sides facing outwards to provide more useable space to a greater height inside the building.

Although the names of the lords of the manor of Ebbesbourne Wake are known from 995 (Table VIII), it seems that few if any of them chose to live in the village. The nearest thing found among local residents would have been one of their junior relatives or other nominees or tenants of the lord, who would have been accepted by the villagers as their squire. By the time the 17th century was reached such people would not choose to live in a small working farmhouse of ancient construction. At some point a more modern residence would have been built. There has been some discussion about where such a later manor house was sited.

Oral tradition, recorded in the 1940s by Mr W.E.V. Young, suggests that it stood 'in Mr Dimmer's garden' where 'extensive foundations have been traced' and which 'was pulled down many years ago'. Mr Dimmer's house is the un-named cottage on The Cross now occupied (in 2006) by the Emm and Penny families. An alternative site suggested was the area where, in 1876, the new Vicarage (now Wake House) was built. An examination of the Enclosure Award map of 1785-1792 appears to settle the issue. This map was the result of a survey made some 50 years after the manor and its lands had been sold to the Earl of Pembroke. The map shows inhabited buildings fully blocked in, while those that were not occupied (for example the Church) are indicated in outline (see Fig. 7, p. 174 with a more modern map for comparison).

The map identifies the area now occupied by Wake House as part of what was called Ebbesbourne Farm. What is today called Manor (earlier Ebbesbourne) Farm House, shown on the opposite side of the road, is blocked in to indicate habitation. Three long narrow buildings, marked in outline only, occupy what later became the Vicarage site. They have the appearance of barns. According to the scale given on the map the largest of these is 150 feet (46m) long, half again as long as the Church. As the parish was once a rectory this might have started life as a tithe barn. If so it would have been a little over half the length of the one at Abbotsbury in Dorset (270 feet, 82m) reputedly the longest to survive in England, and it does not compare with the one at Place Farm, Tisbury, said to be the largest.

Table VIII, *Chronology, Ebbesbourne Wake manor houses: a list of Lords of the manor or their tenants*

1086	Robert holds the manor for Robert, son of Gerard.
1166-67	Geoffrey Wake passes it to Simon Wake, and then -
1207	to another Geoffrey Wake, and from him to -
1210-11	his daughter, whose husband is ? William Duston, and then to -
1218	Geoffrey's sisters, Hawice and Isabel, from them to -
1222-36	Hawice's son, Mathew Wake, then to Mathew's daughters Joan, Christine and Ellen.
1249	Joan passes her portion to sister Christine & husband John Berenger of Wells (d. 1272). Ellen's portion eventually also returns to the Berenger family.
1336	Son of John Berenger, another John, settles the estate on his wife, for life. On her death (1380) it passes to John's nephew, Nicholas Berenger, who passes it to his daughters, Joan and Anstice. Anstice marries Stephen Bodenham.
1422	Estate settles on Richard Bodenham, Anstice's son. The estate passes through generations of Bodenhams until
1735	Philip Bodenham sells the manor to Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
1918 -	Reginald, Earl of Pembroke breaks up his estate and *inter alia* sells 2000 acres in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake to sundry purchasers.

Only two other inhabited buildings of any size are shown on the map. One stands on the present site of West End Farmhouse, the other no longer exists. The latter is unusual in that, in plan, it is square whereas all other buildings in the village are shown as oblongs (Fig. 7 p. 174, 1792). It is the largest structure in a group of three that stand within the same perimeter. The 1792 perimeter corresponds almost exactly to the combined boundaries of the present Independent Chapel, Chapel Cottage, Dial Cottage, and the property described earlier as Mr Dimmer's, now the residence of the Emm and Penny families. One of these buildings, shown blocked in, corresponds more or less exactly with the present Emm-Penny cottage. Occupying part of the site of the present Independent Chapel is a smaller building, shown in outline. Between these two stands the large square building measuring about 52 feet (16m) in each direction. When a tracing of the 1792 map is superimposed on a modern one it appears that this once extended from a few yards

in front of the Emm-Penny property to reach to the far side, and so enclose, the site where, later, the older northern part of Dial Cottage and the eastern end of Chapel Cottage were built (Fig. 7, 2000).

A reasonable interpretation of this is that at one time the square building served as Ebbesbourne Wake's 'manor house' or squire's dwelling. The Emm-Penny property was therefore the stable block shown as inhabited because it is likely to have included accommodation for a coachman and a groom. The outlined building was the coach house. From 1791 this was used as the Independent Chapel and it was demolished to make way for the present Chapel that opened for worship in 1857 (p. 148). The area now occupied by the west end of Chapel Cottage must have been the stable yard.

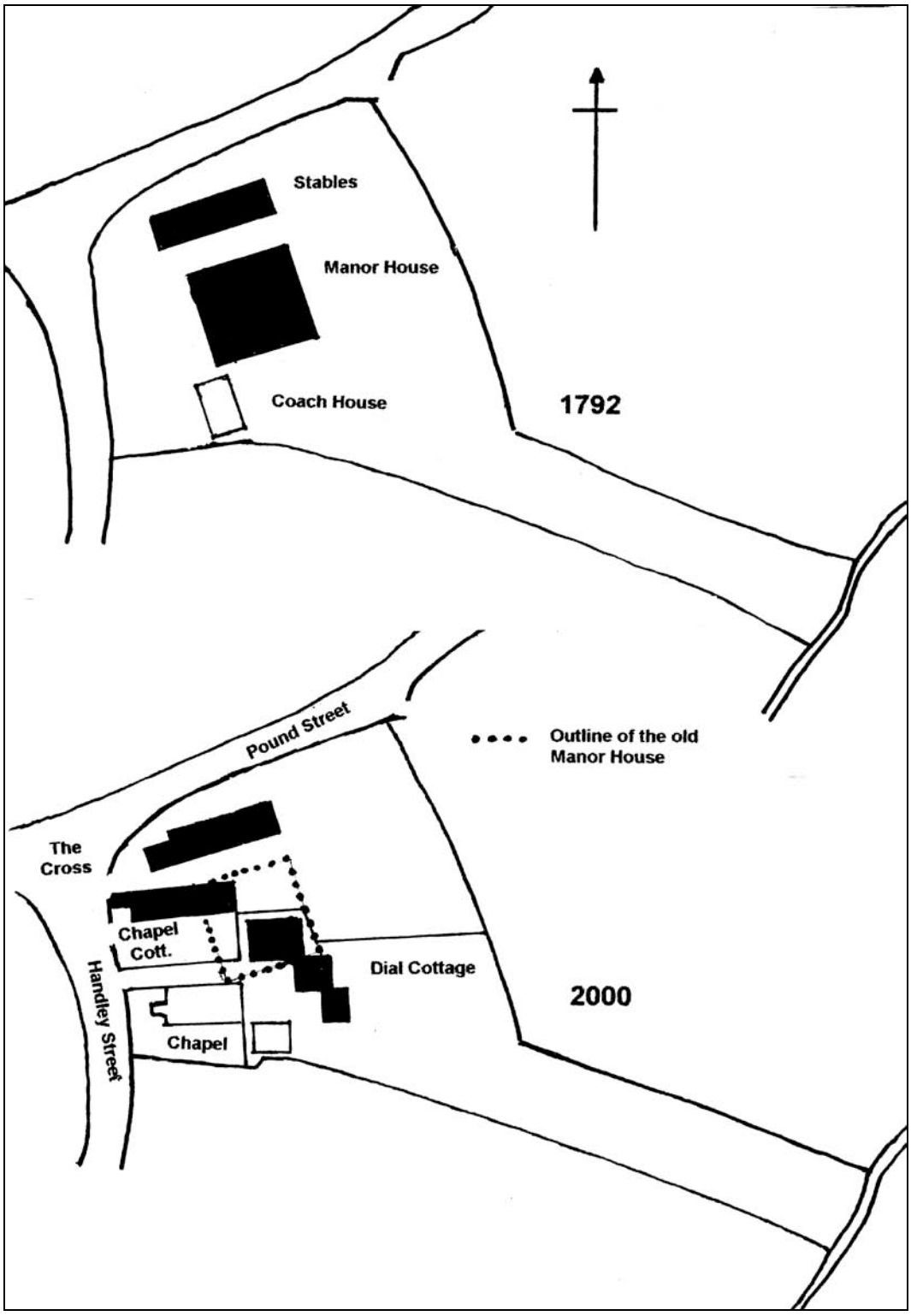
Supporting evidence for this emerged recently when Mr Penny paved a terrace near his front door. Preparatory excavation uncovered two large drains of oblong section measuring about 12x20 inches (30x50cm) made of large flat stones top and bottom, about 2 inches (5cm) thick, separated by rows of bricks, four deep. The two drains merge close to Mr Penny's front door, their junction formed by a carefully sculpted piece of stone. One upstream arm of the drain disappears in the direction of the garden of Chapel Cottage exactly in line with an existing grating that appears too large for domestic purposes, but which would do well for a drain in a stable yard. The shaft of a well, now filled in, has broken through this arm of the drain. Until the mains reached the village the well provided water for the occupants of Chapel, Dial, and the Emm-Penny cottages. It is obvious that the well was dug after the manor house had disappeared. The existence of a conduit that later ran into a well throws light on the quality of the water drawn from it. The other upstream branch leads towards the end of the Emm-Penny cottage nearest the road, where the stables were probably located. After the two branches merge the now single drain disappears downhill, parallel to the front of the cottage.

Sundial or Dial Cottage is named for a large sundial, bearing the date 1720, that is inserted into the south-facing wall of its older north-eastern part. According to the 1792 map Dial Cottage did not exist in 1720. In any case the dial is too imposing to have been made for an unimportant cottage, and it was obviously designed for a wall that stood at a different angle to the sun from the one into which it is now inserted. When originally calculated the angle of the gnomon would have allowed the dial to be set flush into a wall. The large square building, now identified as a manor house, would certainly have been suitably imposing, and it was built at such an angle that the dial could have fitted flush into its south-facing wall. The date 1720 may be when the 'later' manor house was built or, less likely, when it was refurbished. It is possible that the cost of erecting and maintaining such a large structure was so great that, 15 years later, the Bodenham family decided to sell their Ebbesbourne estate.

When the Earl of Pembroke bought Ebbesbourne Wake Manor in 1735 he probably had no use for its manor house and although it was still occupied in 1792 the cost of its upkeep would have been beyond the means of an ordinary villager or even a minor official. That being so the building gradually fell into disrepair and when this became irreversible the valuable stone was salvaged for use elsewhere.

Some of it, probably including the sundial, would have been used in the construction of Dial and Chapel Cottages.

Figure 7, One of Ebbesbourne's manor houses or squires' dwellings in 1792 and the same site in the year 2000



This chronology is supported by finds of potsherds and other artefacts collected in the course of routine gardening in the grounds of Dial Cottage. These, submitted for examination to the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, were mostly of the 18th and 19th centuries, from the New Forest potteries, so coincide with the putative date for the manor house and subsequent occupation. Among the potsherds, however, were some dated to the 12th and 13th centuries, indicating human activity and habitation at the time Salisbury Cathedral was under construction.

Butts Close & Bounds Close

In his analysis W.E.V. Young implies that these closes, adjoining meadows that lie on the northern side of the ancient footpath called Church Way, might both have been used for archery. The important part played by archers in English medieval history has already been noted (p. 35), as has the fact that skill in archery was only acquired by regular diligent practice from an early age. The era of the English longbow (originally developed in Wales) lasted from the time of Edward I (1272-1307) until 1595 when the Privy Council decreed that it would no longer be issued as a weapon of war. It is practically certain that the village of Ebbesbourne Wake would have had an area, called the butts, set aside for archery. The long narrow field named on a map of 1778 as Butts Close almost certainly identifies the site, a place that seems well suited for the purpose. The idea that Bounds Close might also have been used for archery appears less secure. To avoid stray arrows in the centre of the village shooting would have been from east to west, but because Bounds Close is slightly curved passers-by in Duck Street would also have been at risk.

The *maximum* range of the English longbow is said to have been 400 yards (366m), though what is described as the *maximum effective* range (presumably meaning aimed with residual penetrative energy) was 250 yards (230m). If Butts Close is assumed to have extended from Butts Lane in the east to Watts Lane in the west this provides a maximum range of about 320 yards (290m) (Appendix J). There is a little uncertainty about this distance because although the position of Butts Lane is clearly visible today Watts Lane is not. Even 300 yards, however, would provide ample space for archery practice, aiming at targets at a maximum range of 250 yards. As Butts Close runs nearly east-west and prevailing winds are westerly archers would often have been spared the effect of a cross wind that must have been an even more serious problem with an arrow than it can be with a modern bullet.

The origin of the name Bounds Close is obscure. Bounds Cottage, standing on its north-eastern edge, is thought to be one of the oldest buildings to survive in the parish. Its principal chimney has the aspect of an addition made to the outside of an earlier structure. The idea that the close and the cottage are named for an individual called Bounds is probably rather more speculative than to suggest that the name refers to the boundary of the churchyard.

Gawens

Northington or Norrington Manor, a mansion with gardens, stew ponds, bowling green and terraces, plus about 1477 acres, was granted by King Edwig (Edwy, 995-959) to the Abbess and Nuns of Wilton. In the first year of Richard II (1377) John Huse passed it to John Gaweyn the younger and Petronella his wife. (Aubrey in his Miscellanies, 1721, notes that the Gawens had long been settled in this place. Chaucer mentions Gawain as a Knight, who was also one of the legendary knights of King Arthur's Round Table.)

In 1601 during the reign of Elizabeth I Thomas Gawen of Norrington Manor was fined £1380 for not attending his parish church in Alvediston, plus £120 for not making a submission as required by law. He was adjudged a Popish recusant who, presumably refusing or unable to pay the fine, forfeited two-thirds of his estates to the Crown. He was finally imprisoned in London. Among his properties was a small farm of about 150 acres and a house in Ebbesbourne Wake. He was allowed to keep these and from 1654 until February 3rd 1771 four generations of Gawens lived there. The sites of some his Ebbesbourne properties are shown in Appendix J and these include a plot with a building on it labelled 'Gawens'. The position of this does not coincide with the position of the cottage that today bears the inscription 'Gawens 1602'. It may be that the stone with this inscription was transferred to its present site from the earlier Gawens, which no longer exists, or more probably that it was carved where it now appears by someone who believed (or hoped) that this was the site of the original Gawens. It may be significant that this was for some years the home address of the Roman Catholic convert and apologist, W.E.V. Young. Why the date 1602 was added is unclear.

On the accession of James I Thomas Gawen was released (though his lands were not restored) and he joined his wife Katherine at Hurdcott Manor where he died a month later (August 12th 1604). He was buried by night in the Gawen Aisle in Alvediston. Norrington had meanwhile been granted to Sir George Fortescue who had leased it to a Richard Kennell, who lived there. On 7th August Mrs Gawen with two servants entered Norrington while everyone was at church, and locked the doors. A riot ensued, but they kept possession for some days 'shooting at the Kennells with bows and guns'. Kennell's reaction to this discomfiture was sufficiently exceptional as to lead to Star Chamber litigation. The following is extracted from a transcript of the case added to his papers by Mr Young.

> *'Star Chamber case: concerning the burial of Thomas Gawen of Norrington, Wilts. [Statement of] William Yonge of Ebbesbourne Wake in the Countie of Wilteshire, husbandman, aged 37 years or thereabouts, sworn, etc. on 29 May 1605:*
>
> *William Yonge had known T. Gawen for 20 years, a near neighbour. On 21 September last (1604) Richard Kennell procured Thomas Banester and William Fanston to take the body of Thomas Gawen out of the vault in the church and after standing the coffin on end in the grave for a quarter of an hour, did draw it with a cordlyne out of the church*

> *through the churchyard of Alvediston, and down a hill into a meadow about 20 yards distant by two persons reputed as Kennell's servants. Xopfer Kennell, a son, fetched hammer and pincers - - broke open the coffin and tumbled the body out on its face and bellie upon the ground - the body was turned over with a staff and Fanston ripped up the shroud with a knife from the lower breast to the crowne of the head: Kennell announced that Gawen had strangled himself'* (suicides could not be buried in consecrated ground).

The jury and the coroner, Hurst, could find no evidence that Gawen had died unnaturally. The church remained locked for four or five days while the body lay on the ground, but finally it was reburied in the churchyard, but by Kennell's orders, 'overthwartly'.

The Pembroke sale

According to the extensive catalogue prepared prior to this sale 'outlying portions of the Wilton Estate in the Parishes of Dinton, Teffont, Swallowcliffe, Bower Chalke, Ebbesbourne and Alvediston, all freehold . . .area about 8400 acres' were on offer. The auctioneers were Messrs Carter, Jonas & Sons with Messrs Lofts & Warner, and the auction was to be at The White Hart Hotel, Salisbury, on Wednesday and Thursday, 13th and 14th November, 1918, 'by the direction of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery'. It appears that the estate was in a poor financial state. The rent-roll shows a net income for 1874 of £11,138, for 1890 of £4907 and a *loss* of £2122 for 1896.

The catalogue for the sale must have taken months to prepare, preceded by many more months of wrangling by lawyers, agents and accountants, to say nothing of the time taken by the family to reach a decision to sell in the first place. When the process began the First World war must have been at its height, and its outcome uncertain. The date chosen for the sale, within two or three days of the Armistice at the highly symbolic 11th hour on the 11th day of the 11th month was obviously unplanned, unfortunate, and probably an embarrassing coincidence. The sale may not have taken place as planned. Evidence for this is that some of the properties originally to be offered at auction were eventually sold piecemeal. For example, the deeds of Dial Cottage open with '. . . 1 December 1919 Reginald Earl of Pembroke to Mr Albert Kerley Young, blacksmith, . . .'. Another example, from the deeds of Bounds Cottage in Duck Street, reveal that although listed in the auction catalogue as lot 111, it was still in the possession of The Earl in 1927 when it was sold to a Mrs Olive Jay. Ten years later, in 1937, Mrs Jay sold the property to Mr and Mrs (Lucien and Helen) Varwell. Lucien renamed the cottage Bounds Forge.

Catalogue lots 95-97 describe those farms that were offered for sale that lay wholly within Ebbesbourne Wake, while lots 98-103, a group of properties that extended into Bowerchalke, were originally offered as a single lot. They are as follows, with the names of the Earl's tenants-in-chief, and their areas:

Lot 95, Manor Farm, Mr P. C. Benjafield, 417 acres
Lot 96, Prescombe Farm, Mr G. H. Benjafield, 920 acres
Lot 97, Cleeve Farm, Mr W. Weeks, 108 acres

Lots 98, 99, 100, 101, and 103:
Chase Barn Farm, Messrs Foyle and Son, 254 acres
West Chase Farm, Mr S. Spicer, 318 acres
Middle Chase Farm, Mr R. Roper, 470 acres
East Chase Farm, Mr T. Ireland, 336 acres

Properties that existed in 1918 but did not appear in the catalogue belonged to other landowners. The major property that fell into this category was West End Farm and the cottages, including the Old Parsonage, that were part of that estate. Other properties missing were the pub, the Vicarage (now Wake House) and its associated buildings, and the School House. Among properties in the village that

were included in the sale so were part of the Wilton Estate (identified by the names they bear today but with the names of their tenants at the time and their annual rents) were the following:

Lot 104, Shop and Post Office, (Wistaria House plus Green Door), Mr T. W. Wright, £15, excluding the Parish Room, see p. 121.
Lot 105, Chapel Cottage, Mr A. Young, £5, see p. 174.
Lot 106, Dial Cottage: see below
Lot 107, the Emm's and Penny's cottage, Mr G. H. Benjafield (attached to Prescombe Farm) £4, see lot 96, above.
Lot 108, Meadow Cottage, also Mr G. H. Benjafield, £6 - 10 - 0
Lot 110, Old Forge Cottage, Mr E. T. Young, £3, see p. 130.
Lot 111, Bounds Cottage, Mrs James Young, £2 - 12 – 0.
Lot 112, Gawens, also Mr G. H. Benjafield, £5

Lots 109 and 113 to 118 were plots variously described as gardens, closes and meadows on some of which building have subsequently appeared. Several other cottages were listed and offered for sale as parts of the farms, above. Within the village proper these include Pound Cottage, Buntings, Vine Cottages (originally one cottage with a barn attached) The Cottage on the Bank, Blue Cottage and 'a row of four modern cottages'. The Independent Chapel is not listed in the catalogue though as late as 1918 the land on which it stood was still the property of the Wilton Estate.

As an example of the full description given for each property that for Dial Cottage is as follows.

'Lot 106, Cottage, yard, workshop and garden, 1 rood 35 perches, brick, flint, slated, two living rooms, kitchen, four bedrooms, laundry and store room. Yard with large workshop, timber built, iron roof and garden with timber and slated piggery and EC (earth closet). *Garden at back with other property, Mr A. Young, rent 14/-. Cottage and remainder to William Strickland, £9.'*

The unsatisfactory subdivision of the property within which The Old Stores (now Dial Cottage) stood, suggest difficulties with access. These had been resolved by the time the house was sold to the same Mr Albert Kerley Young who had formerly been the tenant of 'the garden and other property', and who was at the same time the tenant of what is now Chapel Cottage (see above). What happened to Mr Strickland, listed as a dairyman in Kelly's Directory for 1912, is unknown.

SECTION FIVE

A MISCELLANY

Village postscript

CONTENTS

A MISCELLANY

Medical and social services

Until the early part of the 20th century medical services for those who could not afford anything better were either extremely rudimentary or non-existent. The little that did exist was based on charity or was administered under the Poor Laws. Those who try to design such laws discover that it is not easy to separate shirkers, scavengers, vagabonds or 'sturdy beggars' from the more virtuous who, through no fault of their own, cannot support themselves. This is as true today as it was 500 years ago. Under statutes of Henry VIII and Edward VI (1509-1553) members of either group were treated with equal harshness, though Poor Law enactments made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) were somewhat more benevolent. Some workhouses were set up, originally for altruistic reasons, and the deserving poor received financial help. Justices of the Peace appointed 'Overseers of the Poor' in every parish. The Overseers were charged with the collection of taxes from ratepayers, and the disbursement of the income that resulted. Not unnaturally ratepayers objected to the impost, and as those who administered the system were themselves ratepayers the rules were interpreted in many different ways and the process was subject to nepotism and corruption.

At the millennium in George III's reign (1760-1820) most of his ten million British citizens were agricultural workers. Even those in regular employment were paid, housed, fed and clothed very poorly, and a large semi- or completely unemployed under-class eked out an even more wretched existence. In 1795, with the enclosures in full swing, Justices in Berkshire attempted to rationalise and standardise the methods used for the relief of the poor. Their 'Speedhamland System', laid down ways in which the wages of the labouring poor could be supplemented, when necessary, from parish rates, and their System was adopted by many other counties. Its overall effect was to ensure that the basic wages of those in employment were kept at a bare subsistence level and, as a natural consequence, the partly- or unemployed fared even less well. In 1813 of a total income of £8.5m from local taxes, £7m was spent on this relief.

At this time only the wealthy could afford to pay for the services of a doctor. Medical or dental care for the mass of farm labourers and their families, if they could afford anything, was usually limited to the ministrations of itinerant quacks and tooth-pullers who set up their stalls at whatever local fairs sufferers could reach, on foot. Paupers, the sick, the disabled and the aged had to make do with any help offered by their neighbours, or they were forced to enter workhouses. Under the Workhouse Act of 1723 any parish that wished to do so was empowered to establish a workhouse. By 1776 there were nearly 2000 of them, with an average of 25-30 inmates each. An Act of 1782 allowed neighbouring parishes to amalgamate to form 'Unions' so as to share the expenses and administrative costs of these provisions. Workhouses were very unpopular. During the 'Captain Swing' agricultural riots of 1830 some workhouses were attacked and more or less severely damaged, though their inmates were not harmed.

The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act revised the rules that governed the treatment of those who applied for public alms and restricted the availability of the 'outdoor relief' paid to the unemployed who continued to live in their communities. Workhouses (often called 'Bastilles') were deliberately made even more unpleasant with poor (near starvation) diets, enforced hard uninteresting physical work, harsh discipline, and families were separated as men, women and children were housed separately. This was 'indoor relief'. The rules were designed to drive healthy males to seek paid employment, but they applied equally to women, children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled (*vide* Oliver Twist). The system was overseen from Somerset House in London by three Poor Law Commissioners. These, christened the 'Bashaws', supervised the 'Boards of Guardians of the Poor' set up in each parish or union of parishes. The members of these bodies, who were elected by the local ratepayers, managed significant sums of money that, formerly, had been administered by the justices. In 1842 the rules governing workhouses were relaxed a little and married couples began to be housed together.

The Wilton Union was formed shortly after the passage of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. The area this covered was divided into five Divisions, the fourth of which included the Chalke Valley villages of Broad Chalke, Bowerchalke, Bishopstone, Fifield Bavant, and Ebbesbourne Wake. Alvediston, in a different Division, sent its paupers to the Tisbury Union. The administrative separation of Alvediston and Ebbesbourne Wake was confirmed when, under the Local Authorities Act 1894, these civil parishes were allocated to different Rural District Councils. Today they belong to different wards, and at the next general election will be in different parliamentary constituencies.

In 1837 the Wilton Board of Guardians founded a Union Workhouse on a site near 'Sheep's Fair'. Much later this became Moody's Removals in Kingsway House, Warminster Road. In 1846 Jeremiah Baker of Broad Chalke, a farm worker who earned 8/- a week and whose wife, already with six children under ten and again pregnant, was granted 'relief'. His daughter Elizabeth (9) and son John (8) were sent to the workhouse. Eventually they would be let out as servants, or as nearly happened to Oliver Twist, hired into some even less pleasant employment. Oliver Twist, it will be remembered, nearly became a chimney sweep's boy. In those days boys were made to climb up the insides of (much larger) chimneys to dislodge the soot. Many died young.

The first resident doctor appeared in the Chalke Valley quite late in the nineteenth century. In 1848, for example, farmer George Wright of Mousehole (now Mount Sorrel) Farm, Broadchalke, called a doctor from Donhead to attend him in what was his last illness. He was charged 5/- for each of the frequent visits made, plus amounts varying between 2/- and 4/- for the mixtures, powders and pills that were prescribed on each occasion.

When Florence Nightingale (a frequent visitor to Wilton House) established her School of Nursing at St Thomas's Hospital in 1860 the generality of the destitute sick, if cared for at all, were looked after by 'Parish Doctors'. These were employed, usually part-time, by individual Boards of Guardians. In 1838 the Wilton Board admonished a Dr Beckingsale, one of its Parish Doctors, for

failing to attend a sick woman in the Chalke Valley, a round trip on horseback of not less than three hours. Other wage-earners depended on 'sixpenny doctors'. These were GPs who saw patients in their surgeries and prescribed the more or less harmless, more or less ineffective remedies of the day but more usefully provided certificates that entitled patients to draw sick pay from any benefit society or club to which they belonged.

Any who required admission to hospital might be taken to one of the small but growing number of 'Voluntary Hospitals' whose patrons had the right to recommend patients, often their own employees, for admission. Salisbury's voluntary hospital, which opened in 1767, was an early one. In these institutions patients were exposed to a regime only a little less harsh than that applied to the destitute sick who might be admitted to a workhouse. As late as 1896 a survey of some 58,000 sick people in residential care found that while 22,000 were housed in general infirmaries the larger part, some 36,000, were 'cared for' in workhouses.

In the 1860s the Guardians asked the principal landowner (the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery) to provide a house for a doctor who would live and work in the Chalke Valley. At first Netton House in Bishopstone was proposed, but as this was situated at the extreme eastern end of the Division there would have been 'great hardship upon the sick poor to have to walk so far for medical aid'. The maximum journey from the extreme western end would have involved a round trip of about 12 miles, a difficult distance to cover for someone who was sick or injured, or time-consuming for the doctor if he was required to make a call. It was decided that Broad Chalke was the preferred site though at the time no suitable accommodation could be found.

In about 1867 a medical officer, Dr Frederick Isaac Flower, was appointed to serve this part of the Chalke Valley. Initially he had to live in, and practice from, a series of rented cottages. When Dr Flower had to vacate one of these he threatened to resign, and Lord Pembroke agreed to build a house for the doctor if the Guardians paid a fair rent for it. Some argument ensued about how much this should be, but between 1870 and 1874 a house called Sunny Mead (now Brook House) was built on an allotment on the north side of South Street to which other plots were added, all of them the property of the Pembroke estate. The house comprised an entrance hall, a sitting and dining room, kitchen, five bedrooms, offices, surgery, stable (with four stalls), a carriage house and harness room with loft and bedroom over it for a servant.

In 1885 Dr Flower (then about 42 years old) was replaced by Dr Arthur Longman aged 32, who seems to have continued to practice in the valley until 1923 when he was aged about 70. He visited his patients mounted on a green Raleigh bicycle wearing a trilby that 'he pulled down further with increasing anger'. One of the vicars of the parish noted that although Dr Longman claimed to be a member of the Church of England, he never appeared in church. Dr George Cuthbert Adeney replaced him and in 1918 when Lord Pembroke began to dispose of most of the outlying parts of his estate Sunny Mead was sold to the resident doctor. For about two years from 1925 the practice was held by a Dr D. Petty, who may have been the last GP in the area to use a pony and trap to travel round the practice.

Dr Robert Lucien Wood replaced Dr Petty, perhaps in 1926. Dr Wood, who had served in the RAMC in France during the First World War, died in about 1961. He took as his second wife the widow of Colonel C.S. Collison DSO (1871-1935) of The Rectory House, Stratford Tony, whose drawings of local scenes appeared in a slim volume entitled *Sketches near Salisbury,* published privately in 1930. In 1933 Dr Wood moved his surgery, and his home, to the more prestigious Reddish House in Broadchalke later occupied, among others, by the well-known society photographer, Cecil Beaton. This was the situation until June 1947 when Dr John (Chris) Brown bought the practice for £1500. For another £3000 he acquired the original doctor's house, now renamed Brook House, where he re-established the practice surgery.

Dr Brown had served with the Chindits in Burma during the war. In the Chalke Valley he participated in the organisation of sporting activities and in local musical and theatrical performances. He was Chairman of the Chalke Valley Liberal Association for nearly 25 years, and later was the Chairman of the Salisbury Liberal Branch and at various times was a member of the Parish, Rural District and District Councils.

In 1984 the single-handed practices at Sixpenny Handley (Dr Ian Geddes) and Broadchalke (Dr Chris Brown) merged to form the Sixpenny Handley and Chalke Valley Practice. The practice, about 200 square miles in extent, lies mainly within the counties of Wiltshire and Dorset, though it includes a fragment of Hampshire. It falls within the territories of a number of different health authorities under arrangements that are re-organised with depressing regularity. Most hospital services are provided from Salisbury, though the practice also makes use of hospitals in Shaftesbury, Blandford, Dorchester, Wimbourne, Poole, Ferndown and Winchester.

When the combined practice was formed a third partner, Dr Hugh Pelly, was appointed. Dr Chris Brown died suddenly in 1985. Dr Alison Stables filled the vacancy. The original practice accommodation in Broadchalke was now inadequate and a new purpose-built surgery was planned for the Doves Meadow site in the village. This was opened in 1988 by Bobby Brown, Dr Brown's widow. The surgery in Sixpenny Handley, now the administrative centre of a much larger practice, was also too small. A considerable extension was planned which when completed in 1989 provided space for two doctors and for additional administrative staff. A year later Dr Stables resigned and Dr Elizabeth Nodder was appointed in her place. In 1995 Dr Ian Geddes retired, and was replaced by Dr Mark Morgan. In 2002 Drs Pelly, Nodder and Morgan were joined by Dr Kate Trevelyn Thomas to form a four-handed partnership, with other changes in personnel later. The practice operates from two fully-equipped surgeries situated a little over six miles apart. Each surgery has two consulting rooms, a treatment room, a community staff office, a reception area and office, a dispensary, and a waiting room. Additionally the Sixpenny Handley surgery has a staff room (also used for elderly day care and meetings) and an office for the practice manager.

The twentieth century has seen exponential developments in many areas of human activity. Notable have been exceptionally rapid improvements in the care of the sick and the destitute. The emergence of truly scientific medicine was the

catalyst for huge advances in the prophylaxis and treatment of disease, and these have been accompanied by incremental and eventually far-reaching changes in the way healthcare is administered. In only a few decades there have been dramatic improvements in the way the sick are cared for though this, depressingly, has been accompanied by an equally exponential rise in the number of complaints about the quality of that care. Today, at least in theory, even the most deprived members of society have access to everything that modern medicine can offer.

The Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 made the twilight years of some a little easier, and so prolonged their lives. The 1911 Health Act gave poor wage-earners access to medical care through the panel lists of those doctors who chose to enrol in the scheme. The provision of hospital care lagged, however, as it still depended either on charity, or on institutions that were successors to Poor Law workhouses. Compared with those in employment the lot of the unemployed was still miserable, but at least the 'dole' allowed many to continue to live at home with their families rather than suffer in workhouses.

A major turning point came in 1942 with the publication of the Beveridge Report. This identified want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness as the principal social evils. To tackle these it was necessary to sweep away the last vestiges of the old Poor Laws. This happened in 1948 when the National Insurance, National Assistance and National Health Services were inaugurated. Although less than perfect these measures turned the United Kingdom into a more civilised place than it had been.

Unhappily successive governments decided that they could not afford an open-ended commitment as increasingly strident demand has outstripped the resources they are prepared to provide. Successive Secretaries of State for Health, unable to square this circle but fearful of appearing inactive, resorted to repeated administrative reorganisations. These have produced a great deal of confused non-productive work, and a growth in the number of administrators, but with insufficient benefit to patients so the quality of British healthcare began, and has continued, to lag behind that of comparable European countries. More insidiously and in the long term more seriously politicians have undermined the morale of important members of the workforce. Most of those of us who live in pleasant rural surroundings have yet to experience the effect this has had on the quality of healthcare in more deprived urban areas.

Parochial and other anecdotes

Peonies

The word peony (or paeony) is derived from the Greek word for healing. The rhizomes, seeds and flowers of the plant contain a poisonous glycoside that causes nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain and faintness of a severity that varies with the dose. In former times an extract containing uncertain quantities of this glycoside was used for the treatment of, among other things, epilepsy and asthma. As the cure might be worse than the disease, sensible people recovered very rapidly.

W.E.V. Young recounts a belief, traditional in his family, that one of his forebears who lived in what is now Old Forge Cottage was called out one night to go to the garden of the manor house to dig peony roots for the treatment of a child who was suffering from fits. Perhaps it is only coincidence that in 1625 at the age of 25 Henry Bodenham, a member of the family of lords of the manor between 1422 and 1735, was declared lunatic. This Henry was the son of the Philip Bodenham who died in 1599, just before his heir was born. Henry's mother Anne, later remarried to Sir William Bamfield, was appointed his guardian. Maybe this Henry was the one for whom an extract of peony was required.

Parish pounds

Pounds were designed to keep stray animals secure until their owners could claim them. Dr Clay recorded the scale of charges levied in 1820 for the redemption of animals from the pound in the nearby village of Fovant.

> *'For cattle, 6d for one or more belonging to the parish*
> *6d per head for all cattle not belonging to the parish*
> *After sunset, 1/- for strange cattle*
> *Sheep, 3d a score, double for strangers*
> *Pigs 6d for one or more, double for strangers*
> *Un-ringed pigs 2d extra: pigs less than two months, free.'*

Mr Young (writing in about 1940) locates an early Ebbesbourne Wake pound 'in Mrs Priddle's garden'. No Priddles are listed in the census returns 1841-1901, but a Charles Priddell, whose occupation is given as an engine driver is shown in Kelly's Directory for 1912 living in Fifield Bavant, and a Mrs Sylvia Priddle is listed in the Directories of 1927 and 1929-1930 with an address first in Duck Street, and then given as 'The Common'. Interviewed in 2000 Mr Frank Roberts said that he remembers a Mrs Priddle who lived in what is now Blue Cottage at the extreme eastern end of the village. He adds that the area where Blue Cottage stands was at one time called 'The Common'.

The boundaries of Blue Cottage's garden seem not to have changed for at least 200 years. The small plot of land (now derelict) that lies between the garden of Blue Cottage and the bottom of Pound Street is the property of the Parish Council. Maps of 1792 and 1889 show that a building the same size as, or slightly larger than, the present Blue Cottage once stood on this site, though it had disappeared by the time a map dated 1901 was surveyed. When all common

lands were registered in 1966 this site was identified as a former Parish Pound. The fact that the names Pound Hill (Fig. 3 p. 9) and Pound Street are of ancient origin suggests that a pound must have existed nearby, and it seems that this was the site of one version of Ebbesbourne's Parish Pound. Mr Young records that until improved fences and better stock control made them redundant, there was also a pound 'at the back of the Horseshoe Inn between the latter and the Stores'. An Ordnance Survey map of 1889 confirms this site and shows that, at this location, a good deal more space was available than would appear today. The only building then shown on the plot now occupied by Wistaria House and Green Door corresponds to the site of Green Door on its own. Evidently the New Stores (originally comprising both properties and built in about 1890) did not exist at the time the survey for the 1889 map was carried out. This appears to have been the site of the last Parish Pound.

A story, retold by Mr Young, suggests that pounds were sometimes used to secure people as well as animals. He tells of a man called Joe Hiscock, a coalman who used to drive eight or nine donkeys bearing panniers through the countryside from Radstock in the Somerset coalfield with coal for sale to anyone who would buy it. Mr Young's blacksmith forebears would have been regular customers as coal was used in their furnaces. It seems that one evening on his travels between Radstock and Ebbesbourne Wake Joe was locked up in a village pound, with his donkeys, for being drunk and disorderly. The next morning the parish constable found the birds had flown. How they escaped has lost nothing in the telling. It is somewhat improbably alleged that Joe lifted the donkeys to freedom, one by one, over the gate.

Stocks

Stocks were used to confine petty offenders and vagrants. They were secured by the ankles, or sometimes much more painfully by the wrists as well, between two sturdy planks of wood grooved on adjacent faces to form holes that would accommodate wrists and ankles, but were too small for feet and hands to be withdrawn when the two planks were brought together and locked in position. In many cases, particularly with early models, the two planks slid up and down grooves cut in vertical stakes driven into the ground at either end, an arrangement from which the name 'stocks' originates. Alternatively the two planks, or beams, were hinged at one end, to be fastened together at the other. The writer has seen a youth confined in stocks of the latter type in a village in West Africa, its wooden beams carved to represent the jaws of a crocodile. We know that the last stocks to be used in Ebbesbourne Wake were of this variety (though probably not with the added decoration) as Mr Young records having seen its hinge, acquired by one of his blacksmith ancestors. This may have happened in 1816 at the same time as the use of pillories (in which the neck of the victim was also secured) was discontinued except for perjury, for which they were employed until 1837. The ignominy associated with the public nature of the confinement was an important part of the punishment though in some cases physical abuse might add serious injury or even death to the sentence. Tradition places the Ebbesbourne stocks on the eastern side of The Cross, possibly at the roadside end of what are believed to have been the Manor stables (p. 172) behind what is now Chapel Cottage.

Mantraps
It was not until 1827 that the use of mantraps was made illegal. They were outsized versions of the gin traps used until more recently to trap animals (now also illegal). Mantraps were employed to discourage poaching, particularly in pheasant coverts. It can be assumed with some confidence that they were used in Cranborne Chase. In his notebook the Ebbesbourne Wake blacksmith, Joseph Young (1723-1797) describes 'a ginn' he made for a Jeremiah Soff in December 1778, to trap foxes. It was 14 inches long overall, with jaws 4 inches high and 7 inches long, armed with 13 teeth, and fitted with a chain to secure it to the ground. Jeremiah paid 10s 6d for it.

A trespass
In his *Anecdotes and History of Cranborne Chase* (1818) William Chafin relates the story of a 'trespass' in Ebbesbourne Wake. It seems that a group of mainly titled men had gathered for dinner at the house of a Mr Hanham, later Sir William Hanham. Hanham, presumably the squire, probably lived in the 'new' manor (p. 171). The party included Lord Castlehaven and his brother the Hon. Mr Touchet, Lord Kenmare and Lord Blaney (Irish peers), the Hon. Mr Arundells, a Colonel Treby, the author and his brother. The author, William Chafin (1723-1818), was the youngest of the five sons of George Chafin, none of whom produced an heir. William, who was ordained, was the last Chafin to occupy Chettle House in Dorset which had been the family seat since the time of Queen Elizabeth I. A succession of Chafins acted as Rangers (managers) of Cranborne Chase, and William hunted there for 70 years.

William Chafin records that when the dinner was over 'and the cloth removing' a report was received of a buck that, disturbed by reapers in a wheat field, had taken refuge in a field of barley some 500 yards from the house. The company decided to course it, and 'two brace' of greyhounds were procured to catch the deer, which was killed. The party returned to the house and sat down to their claret. Shortly a Chase Keeper arrived to collect the deer and take the names of those responsible for its death. The upshot was that the party agreed to pay the recognised fine, £30, of which £15 was paid into the village poor fund. The informant, due the other £15, declined payment and received a bottle of claret for his forbearance.

The names recorded by Chafin suggest this was a Jacobite gathering and though no date is given it is possible that the meeting took place at about the time of the 'Forty-five', the 1745 last throw of the Jacobite cause when the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, landed in Scotland (p. 65). Charles with an army of Highlanders entered England to reclaim the throne for the Catholic Stuarts. He reached Derby on December 4th but lack of English support led to retreat and eventual bloody defeat at Culloden in April 1746. In 1745 William Chafin would have been 22 or 23, an age that fits this hypothesis, and as the party took place at harvest time it may have coincided with early Jacobite successes at Edinburgh and Prestonpans (September 1745). The 'lack of English support' must have been the outcome of anxious discussions in many parts of the country among similar groups of actual or potential Jacobite supporters. They knew that, if their plans for an armed Jacobite uprising were to fail, they would be charged with treason, with penalties for which were extreme, and extremely painful.

A wedding

The name of almost certainly the same Hanham appears in another context in the Ebbesbourne story. The first member of the Ebbesbourne Wake family of Youngs to be a blacksmith was Joseph (1723-1797). He kept a notebook in which he recorded details of his wedding.

> *'Joseph Young Was Mared July 13 1753 At Fifield and Henry Good* [the curate] *Mary Mee and Esqr Hanham was father and we dined at Mr Hanhams that day, and Thomas Addams was Clark at Fifield the Same Time. My Time was out* [apprenticeship completed] *this 1 of July by the old stile but now it is 12 July by the new stile so I was maryed the next day following which was 13 but I had been out of my time when I was maryed 12 year and 7 years I was prentes that makes 19 years I had been a smith and 11 years and half when I was prentised so I am 30 years of age Last Crismas or Cranborn fear* [fair].*'*

In setting out his complex method for the calculation of his age Joseph forgot to mention his wife who was called Mary King. Mr Hanham's role as 'father' was to give the bride away. Joseph's mention of the 'old' and 'new stiles' reflects the fact that the Gregorian calendar was introduced into England in September 1752, ten months before the wedding. Joseph's notebook records that, on 'May 21 1753, I Bought a Ring Cost 13s', and that somewhat earlier he had acquired 'a new coat and wastcoat of Broad Cloath a grean wastcoat and lite coat and new Britches at Chilmark fear. Before cost 16s.' This must have been for the broadcloth, a wide dressed black cloth that was used to make coats, while the yard of green material for the waistcoat cost another 10s. At about the same time he paid 5/6d for a hat.

A funeral

This took place as a result of some exceptionally severe weather in the winter of 1786. The Salisbury and Winchester Journal of January 9th of that year records:

> *'Friday was found frozen to death in the snow at Ebbesbourne, in this county, James Trowbridge, carter to Mr Knight, of that place. He had been to Woodyates Inn with some geese on Thursday morning, and perished from the weather.' The paper describes the weather thus: 'There was a very heavy fall of snow in these parts on Monday evening, attended with frequent flashes of lightning. Tuesday was stormy and very few people from the country attended our market. Wednesday morning early a violent snowstorm began, and continued through the day almost incessantly, attended by a very high wind, and more extreme cold than has been remembered for many years; by evening all the roads were literally impassable, and the country presented a scene dreary and horrid beyond description. Some few persons travelled on Tuesday, but with great difficulty; and on Wednesday, such as attempted it were compelled to return, finding it impossible to proceed. The impracticality of travelling on Wednesday, is best proved by that days receipts at the London*

turnpike-gate near this city on the great western road which amounted to two-pence only! a similar instance cannot perhaps be adduced since the gate was erected. We understand the snow has been heavier westward than in this county, and with those parts, as with us, has almost entirely cut off all intercourse; the mails and stages being compelled to cease travelling. The thaw which commenced on Wednesday night has since continued with heavy rains, has already swollen the rivers greatly, and we fear we shall in our next present many melancholy events from various parts of the kingdom. . . .The waters are very much out in the town and neighbourhood of Wilton, so that in many parts the streets are impassable but for horses and boats'.

Although the thaw may have started on Wednesday it probably had not extended to the higher ground about the Ox Drove which James Trowbridge would have crossed on his way to and from Woodyates on Thursday. It is likely that it was here, either on his way out or more likely the worse for drink on his return, that he met his death. A few days later Joseph Young (1722-1797) as Overseer of the Poor records:

January ye 29th, 1786	*£ - s - d*
paid the Juary for James Trobarge	*0 - 8 - 0*
paid for Diging James Trobarge grave	*0 - 2 - 6*
paid for going after the Crouner	*0 - 2 - 6*
paid for shroud for James Trobarge	*0 - 3 - 6*
paid for James Trobarg's Cofon	*0 - 8 - 6*

Four months later James' wife Mary gave birth to a daughter, Martha. The name Trowbridge (with minor variations in spelling) appears in the census returns for Ebbesbourne Wake in each of the four census years between 1861 and 1891, though not in those of 1841 or 1851. The name Trowbridge still appears in the Salisbury telephone directory so it may always have been common in this part of Wiltshire. The name of Trowbridge's employer, Knight, does not appear in any of Ebbesbourne Wake's returns. At the time of the first census in which names were recorded (1841) James' posthumous daughter Martha would have been 54 or 55 years old, and the name Martha appears five times in the return for that year. All of the five were married and two of them (a Mrs Hardiman and a Mrs Kerley) were of an age to suggest that either could have been the Martha in question. There were also two Marys (aged 73 and 84) one married the other a widow. Either might have been Martha's (re-married) mother.

Smuggling

When nations make individual decisions about sales taxes (miscalled 'duties' by generations of government spin-doctors) certain goods will cost less in one country than in another. For so long as this goes on, smuggling will continue. Today smugglers drive white vans; centuries ago it was strings of horses, ponies or donkeys. Everyone knows it happens, the larger number of people who receive smuggled goods profit a little, and a much smaller number of smugglers profit a great deal. Few are ever caught and punished. Rudyard Kipling's *A Smuggler's Song* has always, and always will, ring true.

'Five and twenty ponies
Trotting through the dark -
Brandy for the Parson,
'Baccy for the Clerk
Laces for a lady, letters for a spy
And watch the wall, my darling,
While the Gentlemen go by!'

In 1825 duty was paid on 1,300,000 gallons of French brandy. The Excise estimated that another 500,000 gallons were smuggled into the country. The essayist Charles Lamb (1775-1834) called smugglers '. . . honest thieves . . . (who) robbed nothing but the revenue, an abstraction I never really cared about'.

Although records do not connect Ebbesbourne Wake with smuggling the geographical closeness of the south coast make it inevitable that most of its inhabitants would at one time or another have at least been recipients of smuggled goods. For ordinary folk Kipling's list might include tea, and perhaps pepper. In addition to the many recipients there is little doubt that some villagers would have been more actively involved in the trade. Poole Harbour and Christchurch were two of many favourite spots only a few miles away where cross-channel contraband was unloaded. The booty took many routes as it was distributed northwards, but Hindon, Fovant and Sixpenny Handley were notorious. A beacon used to be lit on the turret of the tower of Fovant Church to guide smugglers to their delivery point, and one of the routes from Poole is said to have passed through Alvediston.

Sixpenny Handley has links with Isaac Gulliver, a notorious smuggler. In 1768, at the age of 23, he married the daughter of a local landlord who was both a blacksmith and an innkeeper, a combination of trades also seen in Ebbesbourne Wake (p. 164). Gulliver, who became the landlord of the Thorny Down Inn on the Salisbury-Blandford road, ran a smuggling (and no doubt poaching) gang known as the 'White Wigs' because they wore their hair long and powdered, so at first sight they appeared respectable. By 1778 he had enough money to start acquiring farms. Despite the attention of the Poole excise men he was never charged and curiously, in 1782, he received a King's pardon. It is suggested that this was because, while organising his lucrative cross channel smuggling venture, he was also gathering and transmitting intelligence from the continent. At that time England had recently been at war with the France of Louis XV (the Seven years War, 1756-1763), and was now again at war with France, plus Spain and Holland, supporters of the Americans during their War of Independence (1775-1781). Admiralty records from this period show how much they depended on, and how they reacted to, information about the movements of French naval vessels.

One of the properties Gulliver took over may have been in Broad Chalke where, according to the Enclosure Award of 1792, the Earl of Pembroke leased a farm to an Isaac Gulliver. After his pardon Isaac, perhaps still on the shady side of the law, went into the wine trade, became a churchwarden in Wimbourne Minster, and now the possessor a large fortune, founded a family. Two of his grandsons were knighted.

SECTION SIX

APPENDICES ETC.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARIES

Appendix A, English history before Christ

A selective chronological summary of early English history

BC	
250 000	The approximate date of part of a skull from Swanscombe in Kent, very early British human remains.
200 000	Evidence for the presence of Neanderthal man in Britain.
18-14 000	Height of last glaciation over the British Isles.
To 10 000	Remains of late ice age cave dwellers with tools fashioned out of stone and bone found in the Mendip Hills near Bristol.
By 6500	The English Channel has separated Britain from the continent.
4000-3000	Neolithic farming spreads from Europe. Flints worked,wheat grown and pottery made. Long barrows with multiple burials and hilltop enclosures begin to be built (Windmill Hill Avebury; Hambledon Hill Blandford; Maiden Castle Weymouth).
3000-2400	Henges (for example the first Stonehenge) appear, together with wooden buildings and round barrows. Wessex is at the centre of these developments but by the end of the period Stonehenge has been abandoned.
2300	The Beaker people reach Britain with their distinctive pottery. Copper and gold are worked and barley is grown.
1800-1400	The early bronze age starts with Wessex culture still dominant. Stonehenge redeveloped and enlarged. Round barrows appear with individual burials, later with cremations. By the end of the period Wessex culture is in decline.
From 1400	Wessex culture disappears and new centres develop elsewhere. Farming is intensified and horses are ridden and driven.
800-450	Celtic culture spreads, and the iron age begins. The two-ox plough is introduced, sheep become important and wool is woven for clothing. More hillforts (e.g. Hengistbury Head) are constructed and their defences improved.
325	Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles) circumnavigates Britain and describes Cornwall's tin trade with the Mediterranean.
From 100	Mixed and arable farming intensifies in the south. Coins are introduced and the Druids take charge of religion and education.
55	Julius Caesar, proconsul of Gaul, lands between Deal and Walmer. Bad weather prevents reinforcement and he retires.
54	Second Roman invasion in Kent by five legions and 2000 cavalry. They withdraw after three months.

Appendix B, The first millennium after Christ

Selective chronological summary

AC	
43	Aulus Plautius, with four legions and 20 000 auxiliaries, invades Kent and overcomes resistance. Vespasian uses his Legion II Augusta to dominate the south and drives west to Exeter, reducing hillforts, including Maiden Castle, on the way.
60-61	The last Druids are over-run in Anglesey.
220	North German Saxons raid the southeast coast of Britain.
250-300	Christians are persecuted in Britain, and Saxon raids increase.
313	The Emperor Constantine legalises Christianity (Edict of Milan).
360	Christianity spreads among the Celts; a Christian villa is built in Dorset.
401-410	Roman rule ends in Britain.
432	St Patrick, enslaved there earlier, returns to Ireland and converts the Irish to the Celtic form of Christianity.
447-450	Extensive settlements in Britain by Saxons, Angles (Schleswig Holstein) and Jutes (Jutland), who jointly become the English. They drive the Celts into the west.
500	Or 520, alternative dates for the Battle of Badon; the English (Saxon) advance into Wessex is delayed.
563	Irish bishop St Columba founds a monastery in Iona and begins to convert the population of Scotland (to Celtic Christianity).
597	St Augustine lands in Kent and begins to convert the English (to Roman Christianity).
612	Mohammed begins to preach.
635	St Aiden founds a monastery on Lindisfarne and re-converts Northumbria.
664	The Synod of Whitby. Roman Christianity prevails over the Celtic tradition.
711	Muslim Moors from North Africa begin to invade Spain.
725	Bede, a monk in Jarrow, introduces 'AD' (AC) dates to England.
790	Vikings raid Portland in Dorset.
800	Vikings and Danes begin to invade and settle in the east.
842	Danish raiders plunder Southampton.
878	King Alfred defeats the Danes at Edington, Wilts. The Danish leader is converted to Christianity.
880	King Alfred founds Shaftesbury Abbey.
911	Vikings found a state in N. France, later to become Normandy.
978	King Edward the Martyr, murdered at Corfe Castle, is buried in Shaftesbury Abbey. In 995 his successor Ethelred the Unready enriches the Abbey of Wilton with a grant of lands.
1006-07	Danes ravage the countryside between the Isle of Wight and Reading.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ

Selective chronological summary

1066	Battle of Hastings, King Harold defeated and killed, William the Conqueror crowned King William I.
1075	William begins to build a new cathedral at (Old) Sarum.
1079	The New Forest is enclosed as a hunting reserve.
1085	The Domesday Survey begins.
1086	King William accepts homage from major landowners at the Council of Salisbury.
1096	The first Crusade liberates Jerusalem.
1164	Henry II's Council of Clarendon defines boundaries between Church and State.
1170	Archbishop Thomas Becket is martyred.
1215	King John is forced to sign the Magna Carta.
1220	Building of a cathedral in Salisbury begins on a new site, it is consecrated in 1258, and its spire completed in about 1362.
1280	The first documentation of Cranborne Chase as a royal hunting reserve separate from the New Forest.
1346	The battle of Crecy.
1348	The black death reaches England, probably through the port of Melcombe in Dorset.
1351	Statute of Labourers tried to freeze wages at pre-plague levels
1381	The Peasants' Revolt begins.
1415	The battle of Agincourt.
1455	The Wars of the Roses start.
1476	Caxton sets up the first printing press in England. His first major publication is Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.
1483	The 'Princes in the Tower' are murdered. The Duke of Buckingham is executed in Salisbury.
1485	Richard III is killed at the Battle of Bosworth and the Wars of the Roses come to an end. Henry Tudor is crowned King Henry VII to begin the Tudor dynasty.
1492	Columbus discovers America.
1495	The Beggars Act: vagabonds are punished and returned to their parishes.
1509	Henry VII dies, and Henry VIII comes to the throne.
1516	Martin Luther's 95 theses begin the Protestant Reformation in Germany.
1521	Henry VIII named 'Defender of the Faith' by Pope Leo X.
1526	William Tyndale's English Bible arrives in England.
1530	Copies of Tyndale's Bible are burnt in London.
1531	The first signs of the English Reformation appear. The Statute against Vagabonds provides that 'impotent' beggarsare licensed and 'sturdy' beggars punished.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*

Selective chronological summary

1533	Thomas Cranmer, created Archbishop of Canterbury, declares Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon to be void. Pope Clement VII excommunicates the King who is already secretly married to Anne Boleyn. 1534, Henry is declared *head* of English Church.
1536	Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
1539	Dissolution of the remaining monasteries.
1545	Henry's great battleship, The Mary Rose, sinks off Portsmouth.
1547	Henry VIII dies. His nine year old son, Edward VI succeeds him.
1549	The Act of Uniformity imposes a new Book of Common Prayer.
1550	Act against Images encourages iconoclasm.
1552	Second Act of Uniformity requires a revised Book of Common Prayer t be used in all churches.
1553	Edward VI dies and Lady Jane Grey is Queen for nine days. Mary I ascends the throne. All the anti-papal measures of Henry and Edward are repealed.
1554	Mary marries Philip II of Spain. Prominent Protestants burned at the stake and many others flee.
1558	Calais is lost and Queen Mary (Tudor) dies. Elizabeth I, Queen.
1559	Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity re-establish the anti-papal laws of Henry VIII with the queen is now *governor* of the Church. Bishop Jewel of Salisbury preaches about the Church of England. Looting and burning of 'papist gear', roods, crucifixes, images of Saints, copes, altar cloths, with much wanton vandalism.
1562	John Hawkins breaks into the Spanish 'monopoly' of the transatlantic slave trade, and brings tobacco to England. French religious wars begin
1570	Pope Pius V excommunicates Elizabeth and incites Catholics to rise against her.
1572	The senior Roman Catholic noble, the Duke of Norfolk, is executed. St Bartholomew's massacre of Huguenot Protestants in France. Protestant Dutch revolt against their Spanish masters.
1568	The Douai Jesuit seminary in Flanders trains English Roman Catholics to enter England secretly, as Papist missionaries.
1574	The Jesuit mission to England begins.
1576	Puritan (nonconformist) sects oppose the Anglican Church.
1580	More Jesuits reach England, including charismatic Edmund Campion. Protestants in Norwich found Congregationalism.
1581/93	Elizabeth enacts more severe penalties against Roman Catholics.
1581	Campion is executed at Tyburn.
1583	Puritan repression begins under Archbishop Whitgift.
1586	Potatoes reach England.
1587	The heir to the throne, Mary Stuart Queen of Scots, is executed.
1588	The Great Enterprise against England, the Spanish Armada, is defeated.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*

Selective chronological summary

1598	Previous Poor Law enactments are codified and additions are made. Workhouses set up, and local poor rates established.
1603	Queen Elizabeth dies and Mary Stuart's son, James VI of Scotland is James I of England. The Stuart dynasty begins.
1605	Guy Fawkes and other Catholics arrested attempting to blow up the Palace of Westminster during the royal opening of Parliament.
1606	Anti-Catholic legislation strengthened.
1609	The plantation of Ulster begins
1611	King James Authorised version of the Bible is published.
1614	Conflict between the King and Parliament over taxation.
1616	James raises money by the sale of peerages.
1620	The Mayflower and 101 Puritan Pilgrim Fathers sail for America.
1621	Disputes between king and Parliament over affairs of state.
1625	Death of James I, succeeded by his son, Charles I.
1626	Charles in dispute with Parliament dissolves it and imposes a forced 'loan'. Opponents are imprisoned.
1628	A new Parliament with Oliver Cromwell as member for Huntingdon.
1630/31	Poor harvests cause social distress.
1633/34	Charles revives forest laws and makes other imposts to raise funds.
1639	Attempt to impose bishops and the English Prayer Book on the Scots provokes an armed rebellion.
1640	Charles needs money to suppress this so has to recallParliament. The 'Short' and the 'Long' Parliaments again disagree with the King, and parliament proposes to abolish bishops.
1642	Charles, exasperated, enters the House of Commons but fails to arrest the 'five members', his principal oponents. London is in uproar, Charles flees north and raises his standard in Nottingham and the Civil War begins. Initial advantage goes to the royalist armies.
1646	Finally defeated the royal army disintegrates and Charles surrenders to the Scots. Parliament abolishes the episcopacy.
1647	The Scots hand Charles over to Parliament.
1649	Parliament tries, convicts and executes King Charles I. England is proclaimed a Commonwealth.
1650	Charles's son, another Charles, lands in Scotland and is crowned Charles II at Scone in 1851. He invades England to claim the throne.
1651	Cromwell comprehensively defeats the Scottish army at Worcester. Charles, narrowly escaping capture, flees to France.
1653	Cromwell expels the 'Rump' of Parliament and becomes Lord Protector.
1655	A royalist rising in Wiltshire under Col. Penruddock is suppressed. England is divided into 11 districts, each under a major-general.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*

Selective chronological summary

1657	The rule of the major-generals is abolished.
1658	Cromwell dies and the Commonwealth begins to collapse over the lack of a successor.
1660	Parliament votes for the restoration of the monarchy. Charles II lands in England and 26 leading regicides are hanged.
1661	Anglicanism, and bishops, reinstated.
1665	Plague sweeps the country again. 70,000 people die in London.
1666	In the great fire of London 460 acres of the city are razed and 13,300 buildings are destroyed.
1667	Dutch Admiral de Ruyter sails up the Medway and captures or destroys important naval vessels. Blame falls on Clarendon who is replaced by the 'Cabal'.
1670	In a secret part of the treaty of Dover Charles II accepts a subsidy from Louis XIV of France. In return Charles undertakes, at a convenient time, to declare for Rome.
1672	Charles attempts to introduce 'The 'Declaration of Indulgence' to lift penal laws against both Catholics *and* Puritans. Parliament refuses taxes until the Declaration is withdrawn.
1673	Charles complies and Parliament passes the Test Act under which office-holders must accept the Anglican Communion.
1678	Titus Oates, spreading rumour of an anti-Protestant plot, incites a hysterical reaction against Catholics.
1683	A great frost: in January a fair is held on the frozen Thames.
1685	King Charles II dies. He is succeeded by the Duke of York, James II, a Catholic.
1686	James starts to form an army with mainly Catholic officers.
1687	A papal nuncio is received at court.
1688	The Archbishop of Canterbury is imprisoned in the Tower. William of Orange is invited to 'defend the liberties of England' and James II flees to France.
1689	William of Orange crowned William III; his wife is Queen Mary II.
1690	James II invades Ireland and is defeated by William at the Battle of the Boyne. Ulster is settled by Protestant Scottish farmers.
1694	Queen Mary II dies of smallpox. An Act of Settlement provides for a Protestant monarchy, in perpetuity.
1702	William III dies after a fall from his horse. Mary's sister Anne is crowned queen.
1704	Marlborough wins the battle of Blenheim.
1707	Scottish Parliament accepts the Act of Union, and is abolished.
1714	Queen Anne dies. George I of Hanover crowned King.
1715	Rebellious Jacobite army under James II's son, 'The Old Pretender', is defeated at Preston.
1720	The 'South Sea Bubble' inflates and bursts: thousands are ruined.
1727	George I dies and is succeeded by George II.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*

A selective chronological summary

1729	Charles Wesley founds the Oxford Holy Club, and Methodism.
1745	Rebellious Jacobite army under James II's grandson, 'The Young Pretender', reaches Derby, but turns back for lack of support.
1746	The Jacobite cause is finally snuffed out at the battle of Culloden.
1752	The 'New Style' Gregorian calendar is adopted in Britain.
1760	George II dies, succeeded by his grandson, George III.
1770	The 'Boston massacre', five rioters shot in the American colony.
1775	American War if Independence begins.
1780	Anti-Catholic hysteria leads to the Gordon Riots in London.
1781	James Watt perfects his steam engine.
1783	America becomes independent
1784	First flight by balloon in England.
1789	Start of the French Revolution.
1793	King Louis XVI of France is executed.
1795	Speedhamland system fixes 'outdoor relief' for paupers.
1796	A French fleet lands troops in Ireland. Jenner introduces vaccination against smallpox.
1801	First census: population of England 8.3m, Scotland 1.6m, Wales 0.5m, and of Ireland, 5.2m.
1802	Trevithick's steam carriage carries passengers by road. First Factory Act: pauper children under nine not to work in mills, maximum working day for older children, 12 hours. Similar measures are not extended to other children until 1819.
1804	First steamship travels 20 miles.
1805	The Battle of Trafalgar: Franco-Spanish navy defeated by Nelson, who dies in action. The first steam locomotive is demonstrated.
1808	Britain abolishes slavery, and becomes involved in the Peninsular War.
1812	Organised breaking of machines by 'Luddites'.
1813	USA declares war on Britain: war ends in 1814.
1814	Wellington drives the French from Spain, he enters France and is victorious at the battle of Tolouse.
1815	Wellington victorious at the battle of Waterloo. A Corn Law allows the free importation of corn only when the home price tops 80/-d a quarter.
1817	Civil unrest increasing throughout the country. Gas lighting first introduced.
1819	More civil unrest and the 'Peterloo Massacre' is followed by repressive legislation.
1820	George III dies, succeeded by George IV. The 'Cato Street Conspiracy' hatches a plan to blow up the government. The first successful steamship.
1829	Catholic Emancipation Bill becomes law.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*
A selective chronological summary

1830	George IV dies, is succeeded by his brother William IV. August - December, 'Captain Swing' agrarian riots.
1831	First Parliamentary Reform Bill defeated in the Commons: passes on second attempt but rejected by the Lords: opposition by bishops is decisive.
1832	The Reform Bill passes both houses: bishops now 12 for, 16 against. It extends the franchise to the upper middle-class. New constituencies created, and rotten and pocket boroughs abolished.
1834	Tolpuddle martyrs sentenced to 7 years transportation.
1836	Over the next 10 years the 3300 stage and 700 mail coaches that run on British roads are replaced as 44 railway companies are set up. A Registrar General begins to record all births, marriages and deaths: registration is compulsory.
1837	William IV dies and Queen Victoria comes to the throne.
1838	The first steamship crosses the Atlantic, from Queenstown (Cobh), in Ireland, to New York.
1839	Chartist riots.
1840	The 'Penny Post' is introduced.
1845	Potato blight appears in Ireland (also in England).
1846	Repeal of the Corn Laws.
1854	The Crimean War: British and French troops land in Crimea in support of Turkey against Russia.
1857	The Indian Mutiny.
1861	Outbreak of the American Civil War
1867	Second Parliamentary Reform Act enfranchises most men in towns but excludes most ordinary agricultural labourers and miners. The last convict ship sails for Australia.
1868	The last public hanging.
1869	Corn Importation Act repealed.
1884	Third Parliamentary Reform Act introduces universal male suffrage: some 2m farm workers get the vote. First petrol-driven road vehicle runs in England.
1885	General Gordon killed in Khartoum.
1888	Local Government Act, County Councils set up, some women given the vote.
1891	Public telephone links London and Paris.
1894	Local Government Act, Parish Councils set up.
1899	Boer (South African) War begins.
1900	Ladysmith and Mafeking relieved. Children under 13 no longer allowed to work in the pits.
1901	Queen Victoria dies. Australia becomes a Commonwealth.

Appendix C, the second millennium after Christ *(continued)*
A selective chronological summary

1903	First aeroplane flight.
1906	The word 'suffragette' is used for the first time. Suffragettes disrupt the State Opening of Parliament.
1909	Bleriot flies across the Channel.
1907	Sinn Fein League set up.
1909	The first old-age pensions are paid: 5/- a week for the over 70s.
1913	Ulster Volunteer Force set up to resist Home Rule in Ireland.
1914	Beginning of the First World War against Germany.
1915	First Zeppelin raid on London.
1918	11th November, Armistice Day. End of the German war.
1921	Representation of the People Act gives vote to most men, and to women over 30.
1928	Equal Franchise Act gives vote to women on same basis as men.
1929	The Wall Street crash begins a world depression.
1939	Beginning of the Second World War: America joins it in 1941.
1945	May 8th, Victory in Europe: August 6th, first atomic bomb used in anger dropped on Hiroshima: August 15th, Victory over Japan.
1946	First meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Appendix D

Population Figures for what is now the Civil Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake

Year	*Ebbesbourne Wake*		*Fifield Bavant*	
	Population	*Houses*	*Population*	*Houses*
1801	225		42	
1811	206		47	
1821	239		42	
1831	278		49	
1841	306	60	45	8
1851	319	63	42	7
1861	326	72	33	6
1871	338	74	62	12
1881	271	65	62	11
1891	244	58	43	8
1901	195	51	35	8
1911	275			
1921	233			
1931	194			
1951	221			
1981	217			
1991	198			

In the Domesday Book (1086) Ebbesbourne Wake and Fifield Bavant are recorded as separate manors, each with its own manorial lord. In due course they developed into independent ecclesiastical parishes. Eight centuries later, under the provisions of an 1894 Local Government Act, they were merged to form a single civil parish as a member of a new national network of some 6000 Civil Parishes and Parish (or Town) Councils, much as these exist today. The two ecclesiastical parishes, originally separate, were brought together in 1923.

The figures (above) are taken from National Census returns. Between 1801 and 1831 censuses were simple headcounts. The much more detailed returns for the years 1841 to 1901 are now (in 2006) open to public scrutiny, while those recorded in 1911 and subsequently are still under the confidentiality embargo that extends for 101 years from the dates on which they were held, so cannot yet be studied.

Changes in the population of Ebbesbourne Wake may be compared with the figures for the whole of England. These rose from 8m in 1801 to 18m in 1851, reaching 30m in 1901 and nearly 50m in 1971. The population of London, just under 1m in 1801, had risen to well over 2m by 1851, to over 3m in 1871 and nearly 7.5m in 1971. The rise in the urban population seen in the figures for London reflects a significant national change in the balance between the numbers living in towns as compared to the countryside. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) the rural population outnumbered the urban, though by the time of the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 the balance had begun to swing in the opposite direction. By 1971 nearly 80% of British people were living in towns.

The increase in the population took place despite a small fall in the birth-rate but this was more than offset by a significant decrease in infant and child mortality, though this remained distressingly high in the earlier part of the period under review. The decrease in infant and child mortality was a much more important cause of the observed rise in average life expectancy than was the effect of increased longevity in old age. Population growth would have been greater but for immigration into North America, some from Britain, but more of it from Ireland. Irish immigration into Britain was also significant. In 1815 about one-third of London's beggars were Irish, and in 1835 there were already some 100,000 Irish people living in Lancashire.

Among the many noteworthy points that arise from a study of these data (discussed elsewhere in this volume), two stand out. The first is the dramatic fall, between 1871 (400 individuals) and 1901 (230), in the population of what later became the civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake. The disappearance of nearly 50% of the population over a period of 30 years is accounted for by the collapse of British agriculture, a disaster described on pp. 96 and 103 above, and elsewhere. The second somewhat smaller reduction in the population between 1911 (275) and 1931 (194) is likely to have been due to the effect of the First World War (1914-1918) and the beginning of the great depression (1929).

The second noteworthy point is a change in the numerical balance between the sexes that accompanied the larger of these population collapses. (See the Table on the next page.) The figures show that, whereas before 1871 the population contained more females than males, from 1881 on the reverse was true. An explanation for this will be found on p. 98.

Table

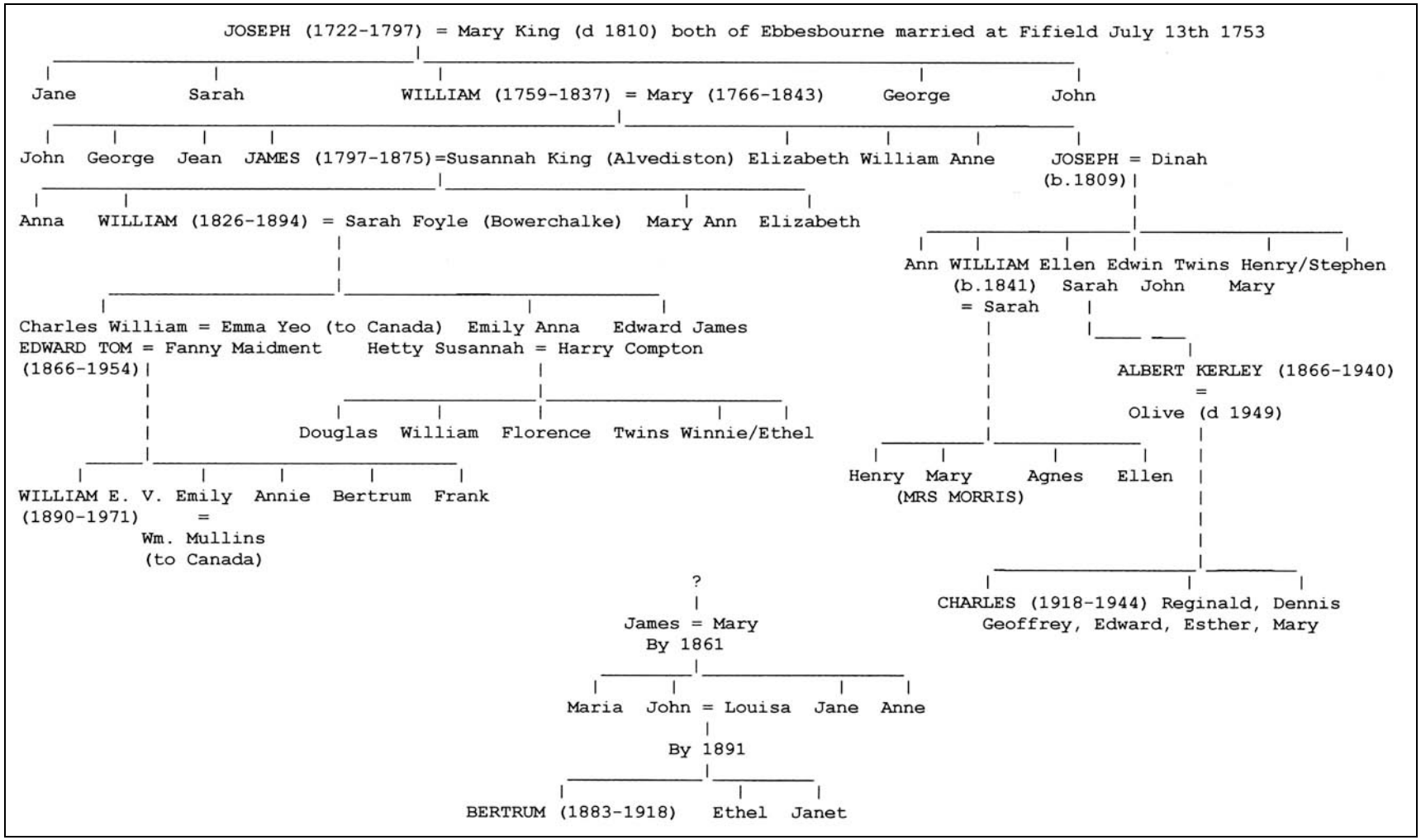
Population of what became the civil parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, by sex, 1841-1901

	Males	***Females***	***Totals***
1841	172	***179***	351
1851	174	***187***	361
1861	171	***188***	359
1871	198	***202***	400
1881	***168***	165	333
1891	***160***	127	287
1901	***127***	103	230

Preponderant sex in ***bold italic***

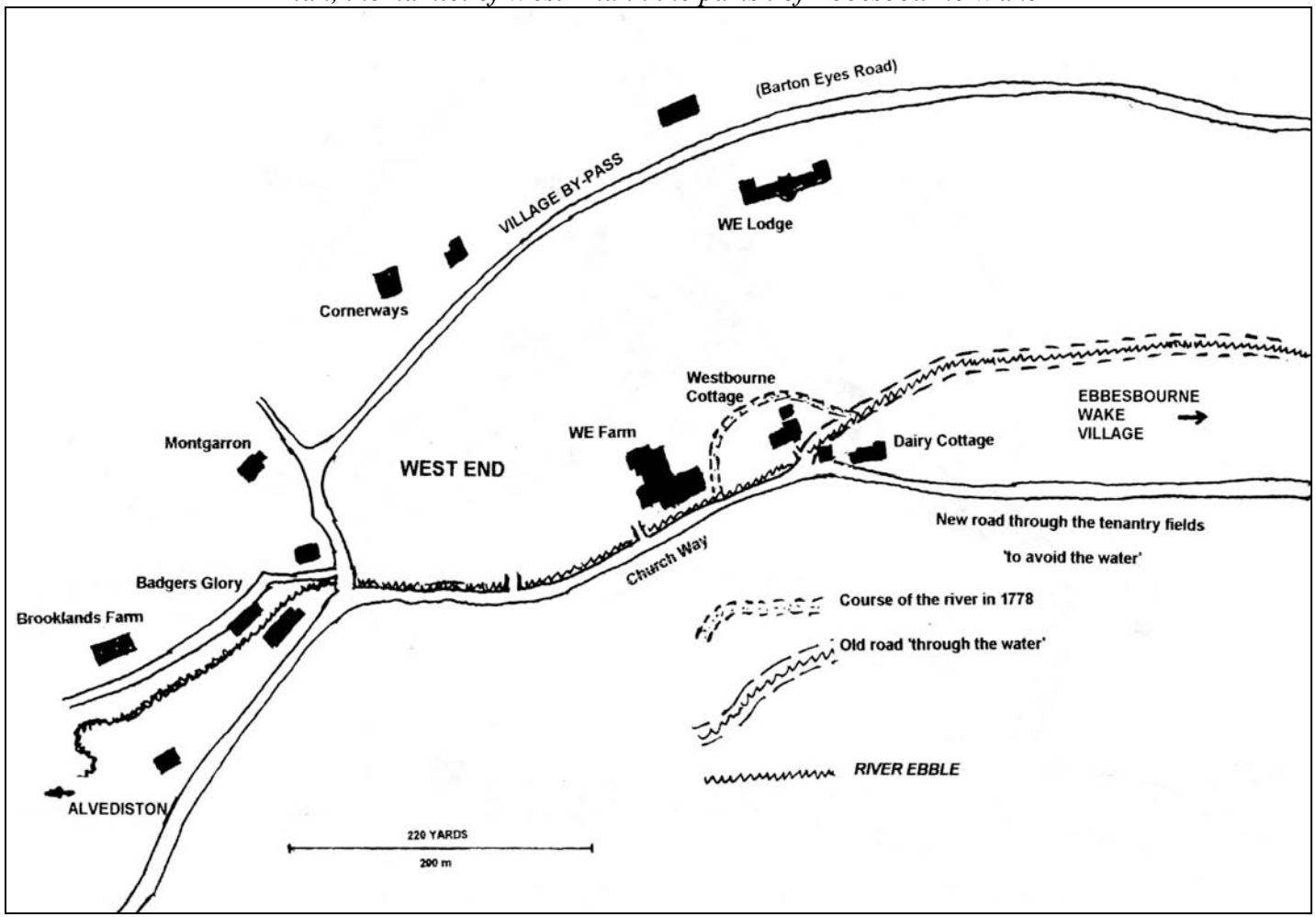
Ebbesbourne Wake: Appendix E

Part of the family tree of the Ebbesbourne Wake Youngs. (From W.E.V. Young, with additions from censuses.) Names in capital letters figure more or less prominently in the narrative.



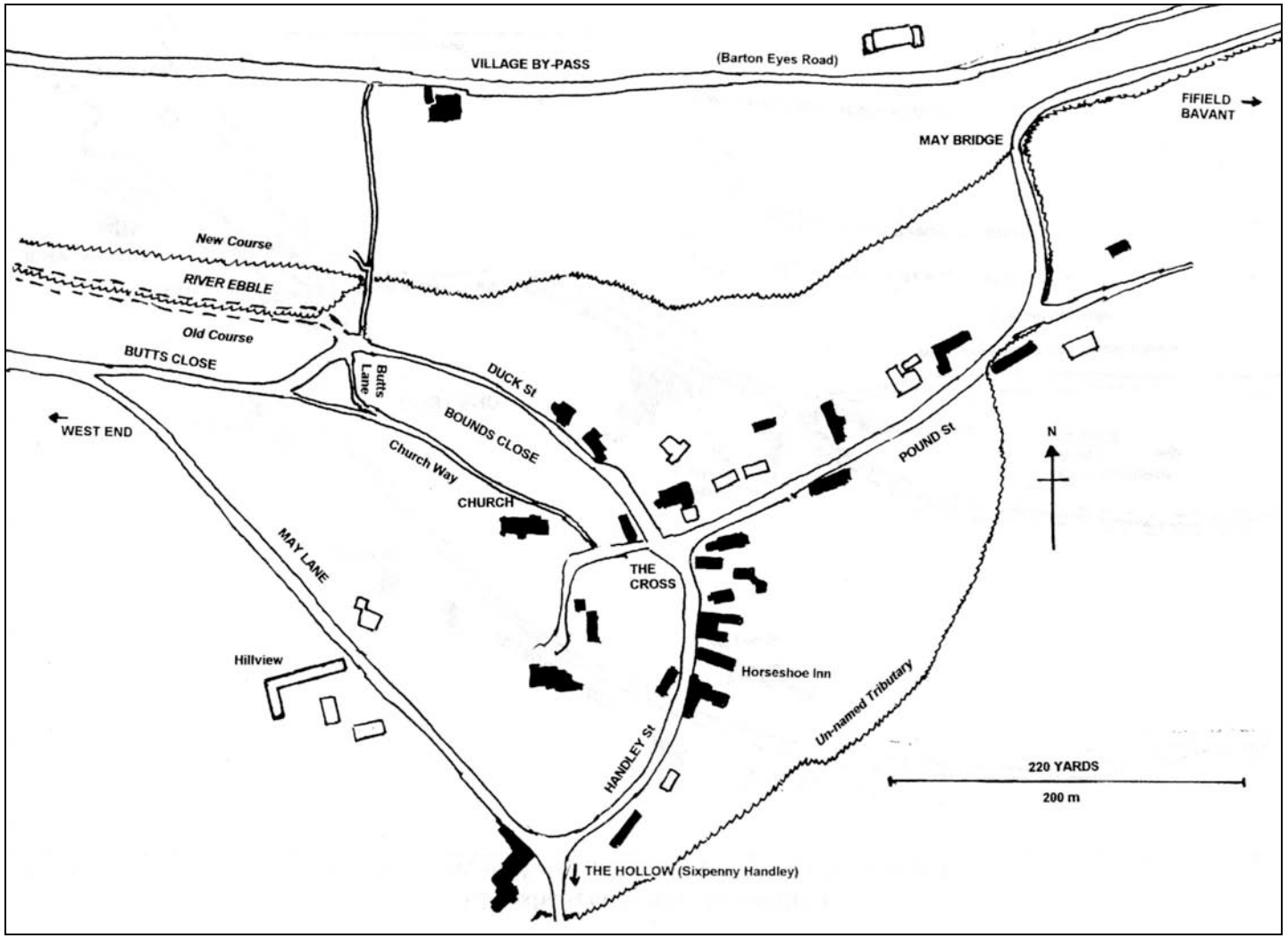
Ebbesbourne Wake, Appendix F

Plan, the hamlet of West End in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake



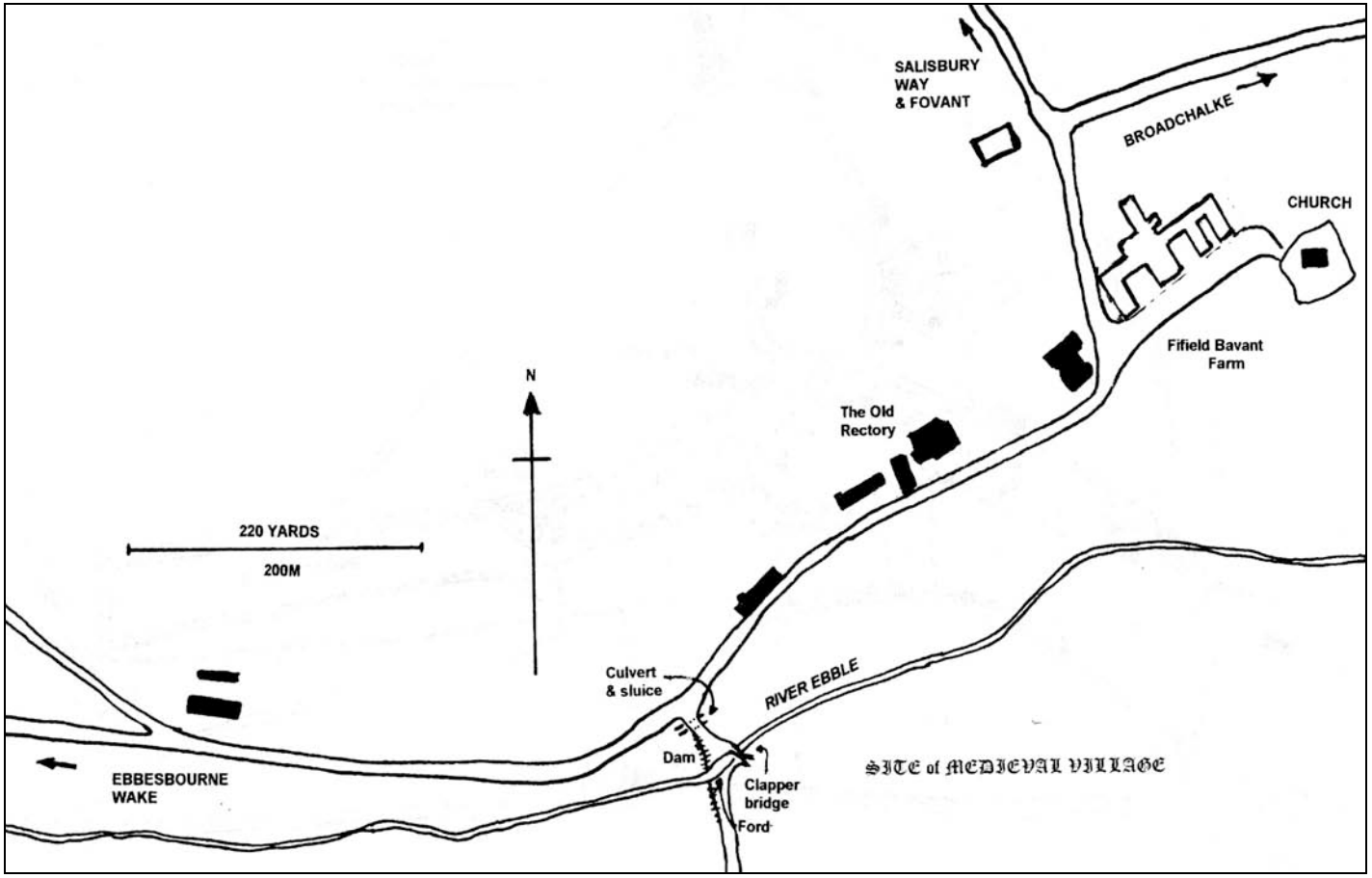
Ebbesbourne Wake, Appendix G

Plan, the village of Ebbesbourne Wake. Buildings shown as outlines are dated later than 1901

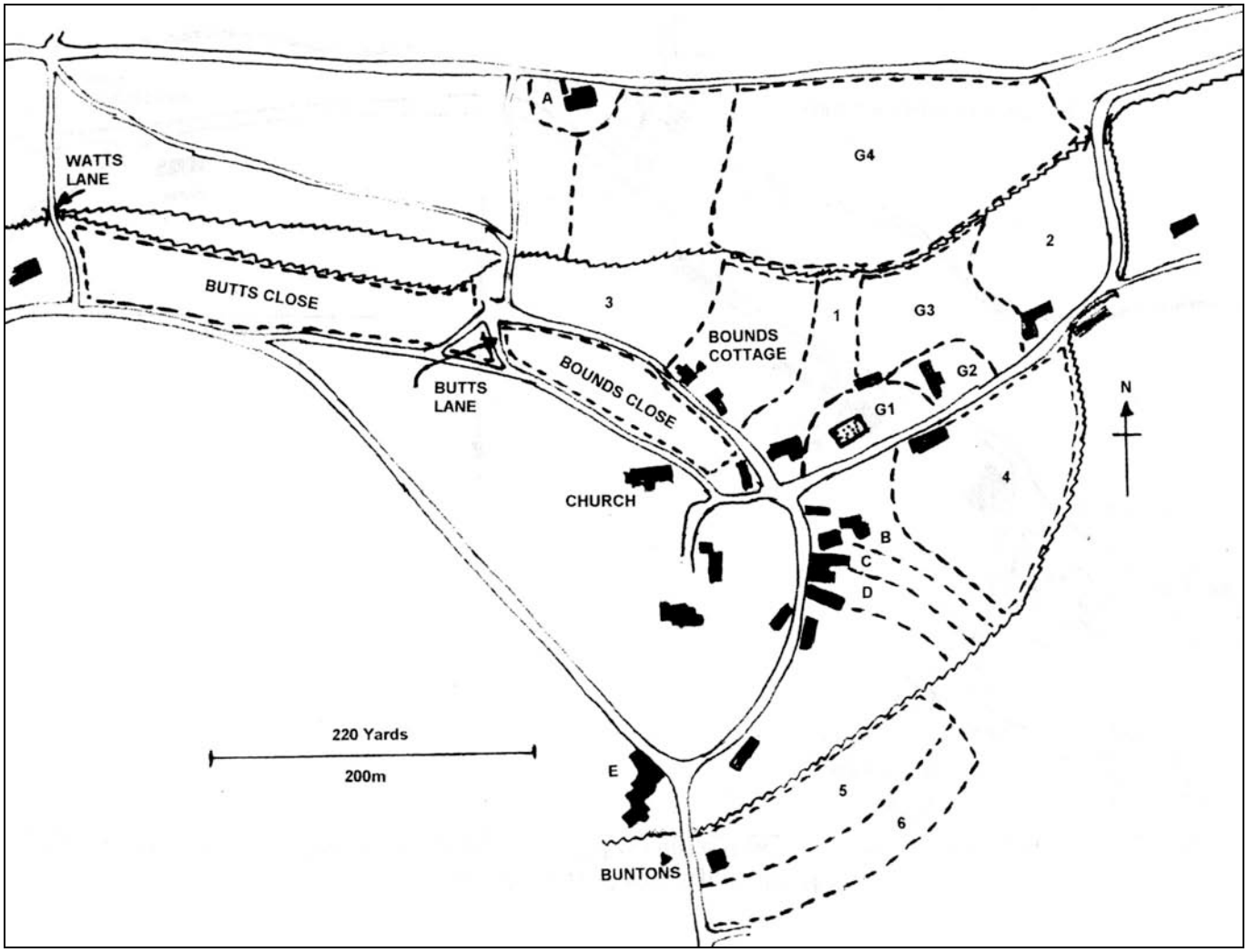


Ebbesbourne Wake, Appendix H

Plan, the hamlet of Fifield Bavant in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, with the position of the medieval village.



Ebbesbourne Wake, Appendix J1



Ebbesbourne Wake, Appendix J2

(Facing page) *Plan, the position of Butts and Bounds Closes, the sites of some other named places in Ebbesbourne Wake, and of areas associated with the name Gawen. The letters and numbers below refer to those given on the plan, opposite. (Taken from the Inclosure Award Map 1792 with, for clarity, some buildings of a later date added.)*

Named places	*Buildings associated with named people*
1, Thomas Fox's orchard	**A**, J Thick's cottage
2, Little Mead	**B**, Waterman*
3, Penny's Moor	**C**, M Philpot
4, Home Mead	**D**, J Rebbeck
5, Home Mead	**E**, Ebbesbourne Farm
6, Priory Close	

Places associated with the name Gawen or a corruption of it
G1, Gawen's (A significant building stood on this site at that time
G2, Gawen's Ground
G3, Gawen's Moor
G4, Gilven's Close

* Waterman, without the forenames or initials that accompany names elsewhere suggests that as used here it describes an occupation. In 1792 water meadows were common features of riverside areas in the Chalke Valley, and some of their remains are clearly visible in Ebbesbourne Wake today. (See p. 107)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

General historical sources

There were a great many of these. Only the principal ones are listed.

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INDEX

Abbreviations: AL Alvediston; EW, Ebbesbourne Wake: FB, Fifield Bavant
Figures in *italics* refer to Tables or Figures