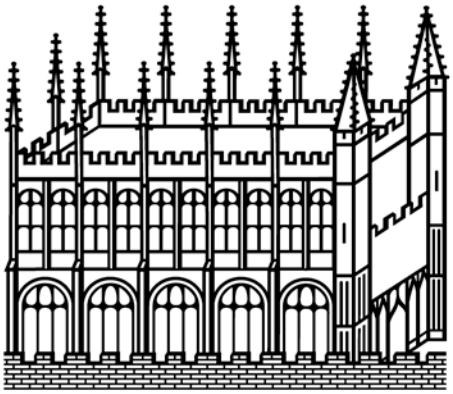

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600023506M

James Maidment.

Dear Sir

I will not fail to order pay
to yourself or Coults & Co. the
of your acct. as soon as com
in my power to do so. A nec
dwelling house here, without any
for dilapidations, & other he
distressing expenses, which attend
my relocations & coming here
been very embarrassing to me
the greatest difficulty in obtain
subscriptions to buy his long o
land from persons who forget
them & whom it is delicate to
the utility in owing. I was p
when your letter came.

yours truly
John Hodg

Hartburn Morpeth
9th Sept. 1835

1843

100 Copies printed, from the History of Northumberland, but with large Additions—

Memoirs,

&c.

Memoirs

OF

THE LIVES

OF

THOMAS GIBSON, M. D.
JONATHAN HARLE, M. D.
JOHN HORSLEY, M. A., F. R. S.
WILLIAM TURNER, M. D.

BY THE

REV. JOHN HODGSON, M. R. S. L.,

VICAR OF WHELPINGTON, &c.

NEWCASTLE:

PRINTED BY CHARLES HENRY COOK, (EXECUTOR OF THE LATE EDWARD WALKER.)

1831.

210. o. 352

TO THE

REV. ANTHONY HEDLEY, M. A.,

OF CHESTERHOLM, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

My Dear Hedley,—

These Memoirs to page eighty-six, are printed in an account of Morpeth, and in a work for the welfare of which you have constantly shown the deepest interest. In printing them in this separate form, and adding to them an appendix of considerable length, I feel greatly gratified in having an opportunity of placing your name at the head of them, as a token of the high esteem in which you are holden by a fellow-antiquary, and

Your ever-faithful friend,

JOHN HODGSON.

Whelpington, Aug. 5, 1831.

*** THESE Memoirs must not be considered as carrying with them any pretensions to much research, or attempt at composition; but as a hasty arrangement of such particulars as the author's limited means of collecting information for a great undertaking have enabled him to procure.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS GIBSON, M. D.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS GIBSON, M. D.

THOMAS GIBSON, or GYBSON, was not only like his townsman and contemporary, Turner, famous for his knowledge in divinity, physic, and botany, but was one of the early English printers. Bale mentions him in terms of high commendation, and says, his cures were almost incredible. He entered zealously into the spirit of the Reformation, and wrote in its favour; but, during the Marian persecution, fled to the continent, from whence he returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and settled in London, where he died in 1562. All his works were printed by himself, excepting the last in the list given of them in the note* below: but it does not

* 1. The Concordance of the New Testament, most necessary to be in the handes of all soche, as desire the communication of any place contayned in the New Testament. Imprynted by me, Thomas Gybson. Cum privilegio regali. London, 1535, 8vo., with the mark T. G. on

appear that he printed for any other person. Pultney, in his Progress of English Botany, has left him unnoticed; while he bestows twenty pages and great encomiums on Turner. Of the merits of his works I have not had an opportunity of forming any judgment, having

the sides of a cut, afterwards used by John Day, and with this motto, "Sum horum charitas." The epistle to the reader, written by himself, intimates his being the collector or compiler of it. Herbert had never seen this book; but refers in MS. to the bottom of page 245 of Ames.

2. A Treatise behoouefull, as well to preserue the people from the pestilence, as to helpe and recouer them, that be infected with the same; made by a bishop and doctour of phisick in Denmark; which medicines haue been proued in many places in London. London, 1536, 8vo.

3. The Great Herball newly corrected . Then the contents of this book . A table after the Latyn names of all herbes . A table after the English names of all herbs . The propertees and qualityes of all things in this booke . The descryption of vrynes, how a man shall haue trewe knoweledge of all sekenesses . An exposycyon of all the wordes obscure and not well knowen . A table, quyckly to fynde remedyes for all dyseases . God save the kynge . Londini in edibus Thome Gibson, 1536. This book has William Rastell's compartment; which was afterwards used by H. Smith.—*(Dibden.)* This, I apprehend, was not an original work. According to Pultney, a work called the *Grete Herbal* was printed and published in London by Peter Treveris in 1516, and 1526; and other editions of it followed in 1529, 1539, 1550, and 1561: but it was only a fabrication from the *Hortus Sanitatis*, frequently printed before that time in Latin and French, on the continent. The edition of it in 1526, is a small folio of 175 leaves, unnumbered either by folios or pages, exclusive of the preface and index. But it abounds with barbarous and mis-spelt names of the middle ages, and is undoubtedly the work which Turner refers to in the preface to his Herbal, where he observes, that "as yet there was no English Herbal, but one al full of unlearned cacographees and falsely naming of herbs." I fear, however, that a portion of this censure was intended to fall on Gibson's edition of the Great Herbal, which Pultney does not seem to have seen.

never seen a volume of them: and in turning over such works of Turner as have fallen in my way, I have thought it remarkable that I never met with Gibson's name, especially as there were so many coincidences in their lives—for they were not only townsmen and contemporaries; but both reformers, divines, physicians, and naturalists, both banished for the same cause, and both lived and died in London. Aikin says, he left "An Herbal," and a "Treatise against unskilful Chemists," in manuscript.—*(Bale, Aikin, and Watts.)*

4. John Campenses, his Paraphrase on the Psalmes, &c. No date. The translator anonymous. The original of this work was printed in London in 1534 and 1545.—*(Dibden's Typ. Antiq. iii.* 286, 290, 401.*)*

5. A summe of the actes and decrees of the bishops of Rome. No date. Herbert does not appear to have had a single copy of any volume printed by Gibson.

6. A breue Cronycle of the Byshope of Rome's Blessynge, and of his Prelates beneficiale and charitable rewardes from the tyme of Kynge Heralde vnto this day. Imprinted—by John Daye—in Sepulchre Parishe, at the signe of the Resurection, a litle aboue Holbourne Condiute. The preface—

"Who lyst to loke about
"May in Cronicles soon finde out,
"What sedes the popyshe rout
"In England hath sowen;
"Because the tyme is shorte
"I shall bryvely reporte,
"And wryte in dewe sort
"Therein what I haue knowen."

This work is on eight leaves only. Ames ascribes it to the rev. Thos. Gibson.—*(Dibden's Typog. Antiq. iii.* 400, 401*; iv.* 171.*)*

MEMOIR

OF

JONATHAN HARLE, M. D.

MEMOIR

OF

JONATHAN HARLE, M. D.

JONATHAN HARLE,* to whose memory Horsley performed an amiable act of piety by writing and publishing some account of his life—the only copy of which that I have been able to see wants one leaf, and, consequently, the account of his parentage and early education. I have, however, been told that he was born in

* I find that Horsley, in his letters and manuscripts, universally writes his name *Harley;* in which way he also subscribes himself in the following humourous letter addressed to "Mr Robert Cay, at his office in the Close, in Newcastle upon Tyne:—Alnwick, July 26th, 1726. Dear Sir,—I still insist upon it that it was a claim of the wife and no concession of the husband. She approached and entered the house with all the majesty and authority of a sovereign. One representing the little kingdom was to demand who she was, and she answering—Ubi tu Caius ego Caia—she took rightful and lawful possession. The only thing that sticks by me is—whether (seeing you sought to conceal this prerogative from your wife,

Newcastle, and studied medicine in Germany. The account of his life says that "he preached for some time at Brigg, in Lincolnshire, and afterwards settled at Morpeth." While he was at Brigg he officiated, I suppose, in the capacity of a licentiate, for by the following letter from Dr. Gilpin, of Newcastle, it is plain that he was not ordained till 21st Feb., 1693:—"Newcastle, 15th Feb., 1693. Sir,—Your absence from our meeting was excused by all upon your wife's account; but we had business of concern before us, particularly Mr Harle had laid before us the necessity of his ordination; and, to forward it, Mr Gill and I had given him the question *de gratiæ irresistibilitate*, which he managed exceedingly well yesterday to our great satisfaction. We have appointed his ordination to be at

and give it another form, as if it were a gracious grant from yourself) I be not bound in honour and conscience to your said sovereign spouse to make a discovery of it to her: but for this I shall wait your instructions and leave. I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant, JONATH. HARLEY.

P. S. Mr Gordon's book is come out, and I doubt not but hon'ble mention of you will be made in it. Mr Bourne is invited to preach at Shields. If his modesty do'nt hinder him to exert himself, he cannot fail to please. Be pleased to tell your father that we shall suspect their judgment and taste very much if you do not retain him. He here has an universal approbation from Catcleugh, to Clim of the Cleugh." Catcleugh was probably Gabriel Hall, esq. owner of that place, who was a presbyterian, and in trust for Horsley's chapel at Morpeth.

Newcastle, on Thursday, the 21st of this month. Your attendance is required, all excuse set aside, because the ordained ministers are so few—Dr. Pringle being dead, and Mr Harvey being gone. I give you as timely notice of this as I could, to prevent your entanglement in any other business. You are also named to preach in the afternoon of that day. Your affectionate friend and brother, RICHARD GILPIN. To the Rev. Mr Thompson, of Stockton." "It was not long after his ordination that he received a call to Alnwick, for this was the 10th of September, 1693. He continued for some time to preach one Lord's-day at Alnwick and another at Morpeth; but when Morpeth was provided for he left it altogether and settled at Alnwick." He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Ledgard, esq., a merchant and alderman of Newcastle.* According to the fashion among dissenting ministers at that time, he joined the study of physic with that of divinity, and had given advise in medicine several years before he took his doctor's degree, which is dated at Edinburgh, Dec. 28, 1710; but though he practised in this science near

* Thomas Ledgard, of Newcastle, is mentioned above, p. 430, note *, under the style of gentleman; and in Brand, i. 474; ii. 483, 484, is called esq. or alderman: and was perhaps the person whom the same author returns under the name of Thomas Ledger, as mayor of that town in 1647.

forty years he never could be persuaded to take any fees. He was well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, as well as with French, Italian, and Spanish. The printed account of his life contains some prayers, meditations, and verses composed by him, as well as a copy of verses addressed to him. His publications were —"A Discourse of Infant Baptism, by Way of Dialogue;" and a History of Scripture Diseases.* From his infancy he could never taste any kind of fermented or spirituous liquors; "but, notwithstanding his great temperance, his sedentary course of life had brought upon him both the gout and the gravel, which he justly called the rack and torture of his life." He died Dec. 24, 1729, leaving a widow, but, as far as I have seen, no children. He was buried at Alnwick, where the following inscription to his memory still remains in the chancel of the church:—"Jonathani Harle, M. D., fidei evangelicæ summo amatori et concionatori, medico peritissimo et omnigenæ literaturæ politioris scientissimo:

* "An Historical Essay on the State of Physick in the Old and New Testament, and the Apochryphal interval; with a particular account of the cases mentioned in Scripture, and observations upon them. To which is added, a discourse concerning the duty of consulting a physician in sickness. London: printed for Richard Ford, at the Angel, in the Poultry, near Stocksmarket, 1729." This is an 8vo. work of 179 pages, besides 8 pages of preface, &c.

mortuo x calend. Jan., M.D.CCXXIX. Hujus sepulchreti dominorum permissu B. M. H. M. P. C.* Maria maestissima conjux." Horsley preached his funeral sermon, and in it, speaking of his friends integrity, says it was "a rich jewel set in the midst of a great many others, and so shining with a redoubled lustre." The two posthumous sermons already noticed are rich in piety and thought.

¶ Jonathan Harle, of Horton-grange, voted for a freehold there at the election in 1748.

* Bene merenti hoc monumentum ponendum curavit. This inscription has the antiquarian style of Horsley's pen.

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN HORSLEY, M. A., F. R. S.

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN HORSLEY, M. A., F. R.S.

JOHN HORSLEY, an antiquary of the highest rank, succeeded his friend Dr. Harle in the pulpit here. The best account of this amiable and distinguished gentleman is by the rev. William Turner, of Newcastle upon Tyne, and inserted in the Newcastle Magazine for March, 1821. For my own part, I had enquired far and near respecting his parentage, life, and any unpublished papers he might have left, but without the slightest success, till I requested my excellent friend, W. C. Trevelyan, esq., of Wallington, to call upon John Cay, esq., of Edinburgh, for information on the subject; and immediate attention to my wishes in that quarter has enabled me, just as this article was going to press, to

throw into it much new material.* I will adopt Mr Turner's Memoir as the text of my account, and add to it, or put under it by way of note, such other information as the kindness of Mr Cay or my own researches have furnished me with. Horsley himself evinced an

* The papers Mr Cay has obligingly favoured me with the use of, are 12 long and interesting letters by Horsley, to Mr C.'s great-grandfather, Robert Cay, esq., of Newcastle upon Tyne, on subjects connected with the compilation, correction, and getting-up of the Britannia Romana; one letter from Dr. Harle; another from Mr George Mark to the same gentleman; and part of a letter to Horsley himself, from John Cay, esq., brother of Robt. Cay, and steward of the marshalsea, and author of the careful and accurate edition of the Statutes at large from Magna Charta to 30 Geo. II., published in 1758; and of the Abridgment of the same to 1 George III., published in 1762. But the most valuable result of Mr Cay's researches among his papers, is a folio manuscript of 109 leaves, many of them blank, besides 18 loose leaves of a sketch for a History of Northumberland, which the author himself, in a letter to Mr R. Cay, of Dec. 18, 1729, mentions as intending to spend his leisure time of that winter upon. The title-page of this work is all torn off, excepting the following date and words:—"1729. MATERIALS ..... HISTORY ..... DUR....." It is wholly about Northumberland. It commences with a preface; and then the chapters, which have been sketched out in the broadest way, are—traditionary tales; improvement and fruitfulness of the county; the name, figure, extent, and limits of the county; of cairns, barrows, and sepulchral monuments; the brass wedges (Celts) and natural curiosities. He then enters upon a description of the rivers Coquet, Tyne, Blythe, the coast from Tinmouth to Berwick; the post-road from Newcastle to Berwick: then again, Coquet, a second sketch; then Wantsbeck; the rivers Ale, Tweed, and Bramish; under which heads are brief notices of all the considerable places and

ardent and pious regard for the memory of his predecessor, Dr. Harle; for, with the sermon which he preached over his remains, he published a memoir of his life: but no friend or contemporary, after his death, was found to climb high in the temple of fame, and inscribe his name there among those of the enlightened and distinguished of his time, till the amiable author of the memoir I am about to transcribe, and make additions to, performed that last and holy rite to his memory, in 1821. "To the editor of the Newcastle Magazine. Sir,—I am sorry that I am enabled but in a very imperfect manner to redeem my pledge concerning Mr Horsley; but the great length of time that has elapsed since his death without any regular enquiries having been made concerning him, has rendered it now impossible to obtain the information which, at an earlier period, would have been easily accessible. It is surprising

families in the county. The concluding part is taken up with some meteorological observations, notices on old age, mineral springs, natural history, and a general account of Roman antiquities. The loose sheets accompanying the work are chiefly memoranda on the foul airs of the coal-mines and atmospheric changes, minutes made on journies, and other hints for the intended work. Some of its information is new and curious, and every flower in it of that nature, as long as Providence gives me life and powers to "weave the warp and weave the woof" of this lengthening work, shall be carefully taken up and woven into the part of it to which it belongs.

how little our forefathers appear to have concerned themselves to pay this sort of tribute to the venerable. Even the common tribute of a funeral sermon, which, by the dates and character it contains, often furnishes a clue to further researches, does not appear to have been paid to a man of such eminence among the protestant dissenters of his day."

"The family of Mr Horsley were undoubtedly of Northumberland, but from what part of it cannot now be ascertained. It is probable that, being non-conformists,† they had been obliged to change their residence during the severities of Charles or James the Second; for Mr Horsley himself is stated to have been born at Pinkie-house, in Scotland, in 1685.* The family

† It is known that the Horsleys, of Milburne Grange, were stanch presbyterians, so much so that George Horsley, then the head of his family, by his will, dated Aug. 17, 1684, left his body to be buried in his orchard there; and an altar tomb-stone in it still marks the site of his grave. His widow, Dec. 7, 1685, had licence to marry John Horsley, of Pegsworth, gent.; and they were married at Morpeth, on January 18, 1686. John Horsley, her eldest son by her first husband, Jan. 22, 1796, settled upon John Horsley, of Pegsworth, gent., and Mary his wife, late widow of George Horsley, an annuity of £100, payable out of Milburne Grange.—*(Deeds at Bolam.)*

* Mr Cay went to Inveresk, the parish in which Pinkie-house is situated, to search for the entry of Horsley's baptism, but did not find it, though he searched the registers for several years both before and after 1685. Pinkie-house is situated between Haddington and Edinburgh, and is celebrated in the

probably returned soon after the revolution and act of toleration, for it is understood that he received his early education at the grammar-school in Newcastle. He pursued his academical studies probably at Edinburgh, where he took the degree of M. A., and then settled at Morpeth as the minister of a congregation of protestant dissenters, which still flourishes there. It appears that during some part of his life he resided at Widdrington,*

annals of war as the field where the English, in 1547, under the duke of Somerset, overthrew with terrible slaughter a great army of the Scots under the earl of Arran.—(*Hume, iv.* 325.) At present it belongs to sir John Hope, whose family told Mr Cay that, in 1685, it belonged to the earl of Dumfermline as successor to the estates of the abbey of Dumfermline. Mr Cay, however, in the matriculation book of the college of Edinburgh, found Mr Horsley's name to the Sponsio Academica, March 2, 1698, p. 159; and his signature to the Laureation book on his admission to the degree of Master of Arts on April 29, 1701. As he is styled of Widdrington, gent., in the deed for this house, in 1721, I think it probable that he had not received ordination at that time, but preached in it as a licentiate: or was a dissenting minister at that time called gentleman, in legal phrase, to prevent his adopting the style of *clerk* used by the established clergy? His paper, in the Philosophical Transactions, on the rain that fell at Widdrington in 1722 and 1723, shows that he resided there in those years. According to the list annexed to Thomson's History of the Royal Society, he was admitted a fellow of that body on April 23, 1730.

* John Horsley, of Widdrington, gentleman, was one of a party to a deed respecting the presbyterian chapel of Morpeth in 1721, to which I think it probable he was ordained in that year, having before that time only preached as a licentiate, though he would then be 36 years old.

from which village a considerable number of families attended at Morpeth on the Sundays before they formed a congregation of their own; for in the "Philosophical Transactions, No. 377, p. 328, there is an account of rain in Northumberland observed at Widdrington in the years 1722 and 1723," by means of a funnel, the wider cylinder of which was 30 inches diameter, and terminated in a pipe 3 inches in diameter and 10 inches long, serving as a measure of the rain which fell. The pipe was graduated in inches and tenths; consequently ten measures of the pipe were equal to one inch of the cylinder, one measure to 1-10th of an inch, one inch of the measure to 1-100th, and 1-10th to 1-1000th part. By this the depth of any particular quantity of rain which fell might be set down in decimals with ease and exactness; and the whole, at the end of each month and year, summed up without any trouble. The result of his observations during the two years gives an average of 21.244 inches per annum. It should seem that shortly after this he was elected a F. R. S. Mr Horsley, indeed, appears to have been a considerable proficient in the mathematics and natural philosophy. He collected a considerable apparatus in mechanics and hydrostatics; and, at a time when such undertakings were not common, especially out of London, gave regular courses

of lectures in Morpeth, Alnwick, and Newcastle.* After his death, his apparatus was purchased by the rev. Caleb Rotheram, D. D., of Kendal, the father of the late Dr. John Rotheram, of Newcastle; and, at his death, in 1752, passed into the hands of a clergyman

* Amongst the papers transmitted to me by Mr Cay, I find the following letter and prospectus of a course of lectures:— "To Mr Robert Cay, in Westgate, Newcastle, with some papers. Sir, I would gladly have this advertisement inserted the first occasion in the Newcastle Courant. I hope it will come time enough to your hand to-morrow for that purpose. If the second part be too long, it may be omitted till another occasion. I have been so much hindered and hurried to-day that I have not had time to read it over since I penned it. I have no other hand to apply to but yours, and must leave a good deal to your own discretion. Perhaps it may be enough to add at the end of the first advertisement—N. B. There was another advertisement relating to a book of this gentleman to be published in a little time, but it was too long to be inserted in this paper. I wish you would revise what I send by the bearer, and dispatch them away by the first London carrier. I shall send you the Scotch maps by the next occasion if I have done with them. You may keep the profile of the walls. I wish you could find time to redraw the view of the walls, &c. for I take it for granted Mr Mynde has lost what he had; and if you can redraw the sketch of the country near Widdrington, I beg you would. I am afraid it will be worse than the late Mr Douglas's second-hand. It is now taken nearly from our geometrical survey. I would not miss sending those things away to-morrow, though they are not so perfect as wished by your humble servant, JOHN HORSLEY. P.S. Please to send my remarks away with the papers, and any which occur to yourself." The advertisement is:—"A complete course of experimental philosophy is intended to be begun at *Morpeth*, on Monday the 10th of May; in which will be performed all the usual experiments

near Liverpool, from whom they were purchased by the trustees of the Warrington academy. At the dissolution of that seminary, in 1786, they were transferred to the New College, Hackney; and are now (in 1821) deposited in the library belonging to the dissenters in Red Cross-street, London, bequeathed to the public by Dr. Daniel Williams.

In the year 1729 Mr Horsley published a funeral sermon for the rev. Jonathan Harle, M. D., an eminent minister and physician at Alnwick, the author of an useful work entitled "Scripture Physic," published some years before the Medica Sacra of Dr. Mead; and

in mechanics, optics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics. A large account and explication will at the same time be given of the several experiments, and of the several truths demonstrated by them. All possible pains will be taken in these lectures to render every thing plain and intelligible, even to those who have no previous acquaintance with mathematical learning: though the more rigorous demonstrations will also be given to such as understand the elements of geometry and conic sections (if any such think fit to attend). By JOHN HORSLEY, M. A. and F. R. S. The charge is a guinea and a half, to be paid in such time and manner as the gentlemen themselves shall think fit. Such as design to attend are desired to send in their names any time before the course is to begin." The advertisement, respecting the Britannia being in the press and to be published in a little time, describes the book nearly in the same manner as it is in the copy of the title-page of the work given in a note below, but more fully, and with an account of the copper-plates with which it was intended to be illustrated.

of two Posthumous Sermons, published along with the Funeral Sermon by Horsley. In this discourse he speaks of his relationship to the Dr., and dedicates it to Mrs Harle, (late Miss Ledgard, of Newcastle,) of whom he subscribes himself "the affectionate kinsman." As I am not acquainted with this name of Ledgard* as belonging to any family at present in Newcastle, and have not learned what Mrs Horsley's maiden-name was, I have no means of ascertaining whether he was related to this lady by himself or by marriage. But the work by which he is best known was his Britannia Romana,† which was not published till after his death.

* See note *, above, p. 17, respecting the Ledgards.

† The work itself is in folio; consists of 520 pages; is preceded by a dedication of three pages to sir Richard Ellys, bart., dated at Morpeth, Jan. 2, 1731-2; has xxxii pages of preface, and finishes with "A Chronological Table of Occurrences relating to the Roman Affairs in Britain;" "An Index," in xx parts, "of the inscriptions and sculptures, divided into chapters after the manner of Gruter and Reinesius;" and an index of the Roman names of people and places in Britain, and a general index upon signatures from 6 R to 7 C. The bastard title is—"Britannia Romana, or the Roman Antiquities of Great Britain;" and the title as follows:—"Britannia Romana, or the Roman Affairs of Britain, in three books.—I. Contains the History of all the Roman Transactions in Britain, with an Account of their legionary and auxiliary Forces employed here, and a Determination of the Stations per Lineam Valli; also a large Description of the Roman Wall, with Maps of the same laid down from a geometrical Survey.—II. Contains a complete Collection of the

Roman Inscriptions and Sculptures which have hitherto been discovered in Britain, with the Letters engraved in their proper Shape and proportionate Size, and the Reading placed under each; as also an historical Account of them, with explanatory and critical Observations.—III. Contains the Roman Geography of Great Britain, in which are given the Originals of Ptolomy, Antonini Itinerarium, the Notitia, the Anonymous Ravennas, and Peutinger's Table, so far as they relate to this Island, with particular Essays on each of these antient Authors, and the several Places in Britain mentioned by them." London, printed for John Osborne and Thomas Longman, &c. M.DCC.XXXII.

A few extracts from his letters will show how much Mr Horsley trusted to the judgment and learning of Mr Robert Cay, as well as of his brother John, in correcting and preparing the Britannia Romana for the press. All the extracts, except the last, are from letters addressed to Robert Cay:—

"Morpeth, Wednesday, Nov. 15, 1727. Sir,—I intended to have wrote to you on Monday evening, but was prevented by the company of professor Hamilton and the principal of St. Andrew's. The scheme you have laid, and according to which you intend to proceed is in effect, when I come to consider it, the very same with what I was thinking of; and if the map was once formed according to it, you would certainly be able to correct any error in your allowance for longitude." This extract, and some of the following, show that Robert Cay assisted Horsley in making his Map of Ancient Britain.

"Morpeth, 9th Feb. 1728. Sir,—I desire you would send me by the bearer the copy of the Inscriptions at Cousin's-house, for which I shall be obliged to you. If you look into Ptolomy's map, and correct the position of Scotland after the manner you did that of the Meeting-house at South Shields, I believe you'll find that Ostia Alauni, Ostia Vedræ, and Bremenium, will answer as to situation and distance with pretty much exactness to Tweedmouth, Tinmouth, and Riechester; and I am fully convinced these are the three places."

"Morpeth, Monday night." No other date. "Dear Sir,—I have sent you some more papers, and some other miscellaneous hasty remarks, which you may consider at your leisure. And if a proper place for inserting them occur to you, please

polish'em a little, and add them where you think fit, if you think them worthy of notice." " I wish you would correct the mistakes in the maps you observed, and add your own observations about the shape and form of the island."

" Morpeth, 22d April, 1728. Sir,—I sent you in some more papers by Mr Wilson, which I hope you have received, and desire you would examine them with the same freedom with which you have done the others; and beg you would correct the mistakes you observed in the maps, in such manner as you yourself shall think proper."

In a letter without date, he says, "the hint you give me determines the order in which the parts" of the Britannia Romana "you have must be placed, and that the historical part must be first; for, as it was wrote first, so in it, I now well remember, that I refer to the account as posterior, and in the account of the wall, to the other, as prior." Also in another without date, he says—" I must beg the favour of you to send me back what you have among the papers respecting Scotland. I should also have a letter of your brother, about some inscriptions, to be further examined, which I believe is among the bundle of letters; and another of baron Clerk's, which has in it an inscription at Middleby, in Scotland."

" Morpeth, 26th June, 1728. I am to preach on Friday afternoon; but shall be at liberty about 3 o'th'clock, and should be glad then to have an hour's conversation with you in your way to Alnwick, if your affairs will not permit you to stay here all night."

" Blossom's Inn, (London), 30th July, 1728. If you go to Whitehaven I wish you would take the dimensions and draught of the equestrian figure at Elenborough, for the very rudeness of it is a curiosity."

" Morpeth, 18 Dec. 1729. Sir,—I have sent you a pacquet of papers, maps, &c. relating to the Britannia Romana. I am quite wearied out with them; but I am in great hopes, that if you fall fresh to the work you'll go far to compleat it upon the foundation I have laid; though in some places the foundation itself may need your helping hand a little." " You may, if you please to take the trouble, put any thing you think worth inserting in the proper place of the papers." " If it

This event took place on Dec. 12, 1731,* at the early age of 46. He had previously distinguished himself

falls in your way to procure me an authentic account of the quantity of coals sent from Newcastle to London yearly, or any thing else that is curious and fit for a natural History, you'll please to be mindful of me. I think to spend my leisure time this winter on that subject. I shall be most at a loss about the baronies and law affairs, but I hope our good friend Mr Collingwood will lend me a lift at that dead weight."

John Cay, esq., junior, at the conclusion of a letter to Horsley, gives him a draught, dated July 2, 1730, upon his brother Robert for £2 2s., which he has receipted and signed. Only as much of the letter has been preserved as contained the draught and receipt, and the following short postscript on one side, and a copy of a well-known inscription and annexed observations upon it on the other. The postscript is:—"I think the supposed track of the inner military way from Cambeck to Stanwicks should be laid down in the map. Sir Rich. Ellys has sent to Mr Osbourne for the printed sheet." The indorse—

"Haec inscriptio in via publica juxta locum palustrem erecta inveniebatur."	K E E P O N T H I S I D E	This answer is in Horsley's hand-writing. "You'll now understand the meaning of *keep on this side*, by the Latin inscription. I have kept no copy."

"This inscription comes from my lord Macclesfield: it was transmitted to Mr Ward by Mr Wright since the publishing your advertisement. His lordship has offered a reading of it, and if you, and such antiquaries as you think fit to consult, hit upon the same, it will confirm the truth of it. I have just now left the ninth volume at Mr Ward's, and wrote a note of the references to be made to Montfaucon, Vegetius, and Gale. That to Tacitus I have made: but the place where Gruter should have been quoted is in the printer's hands, and I fear printed. The distance of Bede's murus ad vallum is observed."

* The author seems to have had wrong information respecting the time of Horsley's death: for he dated the preface

among learned antiquaries by his profound knowledge of the antiquities of his native country; in the search after which he appears to have taken many journies,*

to his Britannia Romana on Jan. 2, 1732, between which time and May 10 in that year, it is probable that he died, for Mr Cay informs me that his great grandfather debited his brother John, the steward of the marshalsea, on that day, for £75 18s. 1d. paid on his account, viz. :—To Mrs Horsley, bills on me, &c. £13 13s.; sir Richard Ellys' present, £31 10s; on account of books sold, £16 16s. &c. &c.; and that there are many such entries in Robert Cay's books to show that he and his brother endeavoured to promote the sale and collect the proceeds of the Britannia Romana for Mrs Horsley's benefit.

* In the preface to his Britannia, he says—"This collection, which at first I intended only for my own amusement and pleasure, now ventures to show itself in public. It is now four years since I was prevailed with to compleat this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. Several thousand miles were travelled to visit antient monuments, and re-examine them where there was any doubt or difficulty." By his letters from Bath and London, in 1728, it appears that his surveyor, in that year, travelled with him, as well as a Master Hall, who was probably a pupil of his; and whom he mentions in these letters as being well, and sending his love or desiring to be remembered to Mr Cay's family. In his Manuscript History of this County he has the following curious passage respecting Morpeth Castle:—"It is now neglected and the fortifications ruinous. Before the castle is a hill called the Haw-hill—perhaps High-hill. It is plainly artificial; but it has been made a question whether it was a work of the enemy, or an out-work for the better defence of the castle. I think it too large, too near the castle, and too much laboured to be the work of an enemy. I remember as I *rode* through the skirts of Wales in the year 1728, I passed by Clifford Castle, and town—a place which gave title to the lord Clifford, and is one of the several places where

and engaged in very extensive correspondences. A considerable number of letters* to Roger Gale, esq., of Scruton, in Yorkshire, are understood to remain among the papers of that gentleman in the museum of George Allan, esq., of Blackwell-grange, near Darlington."

"The Britannia Romana, which is now become scarce, gives a full and learned account of all that was then known of the remains and vestiges of the Romans in Britain. But as many discoveries have since been made, it is highly desirable that a new edition should be

the neighbouring country people say fair Rosamond was born. According to the people here, she was the daughter of sir Thomas Clifford, of this Clifford, which is a mile south of the river Wye. This castle is now also ruinous; but what I have mentioned it for is, that I there observed an out-work of the very same nature with this at Morpeth." In the letter from Bath, of July 20, 1728, to Mr R. Cay, he says—"I am got thus far and no further yet on my way to London. I would have given you a more particular account of what I have done or discovered in my journey, but it cannot well be comprehended in a letter:" and in the one to the same gentleman, dated from Blossom's Inn, July 30, in the same year—"I have received your letter since I came to town," &c. In the course of these journies he made a collection of about 20 Roman altars, which were in his own possession when he wrote the Britannia Romana, but which mostly belonged to Northumberland.—(*Brit. Rom. p.* 181.)

* Several of these have been published in Hutchinson's View of Northumberland, vol. 1, viz.—7 letters, dated in 1729, at pp. 40, 41, 163, 196, and 202; and 2, in 1730, at pp. 204 and 205. The same work also contains 4 letters on Antiquarian subjects, at pages 148, 149, 173, and 199, and dated in 1732, 1734, 1735, and 1736, from Robert Cay, esq. to Roger Gale.

undertaken by some one competent to the task. For this purpose it is much to be wished that the plates engraved for the original edition could be recovered. The author of the Biographical Dictionary states, on the authority of Mr Nichols, that they were purchased of one of his descendants for 20 guineas by the late Dr. Gifford, for the British Museum, where there is also a copy of the work, with considerable additions, by Dr. John Ward, of Gresham College.* But I am informed by Thomas

* These are the accounts of the plates, and Ward's notes, given in the Literary Anecdotes:—"The plates of Horsley's Britannia Romana remained in the hands of Mr E. Randall, who married one of his daughters, and was clerk to a merchant in the Old South Sea House. In 1763 they were offered to the Society of Antiquaries. About the year 1769, when they were at Mr Major's, late engraver, St. Martin's Lane, he asked Mr Gough £100 for them, who offered 20 guineas as their utmost worth. They were offered to Dr. Gifford, of the British Museum, for the latter sum, in 1780; at which time he kept a school at London Wall. Jan. 30, 1781, Dr. Gower had an idea of purchasing them at 20 guineas, the price asked" *(so)* "in 1769; 'if he could have acquired the copyright of the book;' and would 'have re-published it with additions had he been sure of return.' In December, 1784, the editor of these 'Anecdotes' would have given double that sum for them, but they were unluckily melted down about two hours before he had an opportunity of making the offer."—*(Nichols' Lit. Anecdotes, ii.* 48.) Professor Ward, according to Nichols, revised all this elaborate work in manuscript, and communicated to him many important remarks for its improvement.—*(Lit. Anecdotes, v.* 52.) Gough copied all Professor Ward's notes on the Britannia Romana in Jan. 1764, and gives this account of them and the work:—"From a copy

Walker, esq., of Killingbeck House, near Leeds, that they were lent to a person of the name of Sharp, near Bradford, and, as far as he knows, were never returned."

"Mr Horsley's widow, after his death, resided in Newcastle, with one daughter, the sole issue of the marriage.* She married Samuel Halliday, esq., a very

interleaved and filled with notes by Professor Ward, now in the British Museum, which notes are all copied, and augmented with others from different quarters, as well as my own, I had thoughts of re-publishing the books; but, having turned my thoughts to other modes of illustrating our National Antiquities, and observing how incorrect the copies of the inscriptions were, and how much more correctly later discovered inscriptions have been given to the public, I leave the idea to some abler hand, if our national antiquities in so remote a period are not become unfashionable."—*(Gough.)*

* Mr Horsley's wife was a daughter of Professor Hamilton, who, as appears by his letter to Mr R. Cay, of Nov. 15, 1727, was on a visit to him at Morpeth; and Wood (a gentleman by nature deaf and dumb), in his antient and modern state of the parish of Crammond, as a reason why Horsley's account of the Roman Antiquities in that parish should be accurate, expressly states that Professor Hamilton was minister of it, and that Horsley was his son-in-law. For this information I am indebted to Mr Cay. The late Ralph Spearman, esq., of Eachwick, in a manuscript note in Hutchinson's View of Northumberland, says, "that Horsley was master of an academy at Morpeth, and his only child, an heiress, married Samuel Holliday, an eminent surgeon in Newcastle; and their daughter married Mr Thomas Walker, a drysalter in Leeds, son of the Rev. Thomas Walker, a presbyterian minister, from whom he inherited an estate at Wylam, and from Holliday lands at ....., in Northumberland." From the preceding note it would, however, appear that, besides Mrs Halliday, he had a daughter married to a Mr Randall, in London; and on his own authority

eminent surgeon, actively concerned in establishing the Newcastle Infirmary, and had a son and daughter. The son was bred to his father's profession, but died young; the daughter, an excellent lady, married Wm. Walker, esq., of Killingbeck House, near Leeds, and had a numerous family, of which Thomas Walker, esq., abovementioned, is the present representative. His brother, Captain Samuel Walker, of the Guards, was killed at Talavera. A monument, erected by public subscription to him and an equally unfortunate brother officer and townsman, is a great ornament to the parish church of Leeds. George Walker, a third brother, is the author of the 'Costume of Yorkshire.' I am afraid the Walker family are not in possession of any of Mr Horsley's papers. I am, &c. WM. TURNER."

I find he had a son: for, in his MS. History of Northumberland, he has the following paragraph:—"Dr. Harley gave my son what they call an Eagle stone, which was found near Stamford. The outer shell or stone includes the inner, as a shell does the kernel. When it is shaken the included one rattles so as that it may be heard very easily and very distinctly." Under the head Medicinal Wells he has this minute:—"Morpeth, neglected. Dr. Harley says it only wanted a name. Try'd with success in Mrs Frye's case and my own daughter's." And the only other notice connected with his family which I find in these curious papers is the following:—"Old Age. I was told þt cousin Nesbitt's father was 114 when he dyed: that he was 80 when he married the second time, after which he had several children; but the truth of this I very much question."

The only printed works of Horsley which I have seen, besides his Britannia Romana and his life of Dr. Harle, are, a small work on experimental philosophy, and his map of Northumberiand. The former of these works is on three sheets 12mo., and is intituled "A brief and general Account of the most necessary and fundamental Principles of Statics, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, and Pneumatics; adapted more especially to a Course of Experiments performed at Morpeth, in the County of Northumberland. By John Horsley, A. M. Newcastle upon Tine, printed by John White, for the Author." This is a very simple and ingenious "Pocket Companion" to his course of lectures; and shows how well he was capable of conveying useful knowledge to minds unacquainted "with the very elements of geometry," and "with the more abstruse and difficult parts of mathematical learning." Mr Thos. Bell, of Cumberland Row, Newcastle, is in possession of the only copy of it which I have seen; but he tells me that there is another in Dr. Thomlinson's Library, which, however, is not noticed in the printed catalogue of that collection.

The only other published work of Horsley's not noticed in the preceding memoir, with which I am acquainted, is "A Map of Northumberland, begun by the late Mr John Horsley, F. R. S., continued by the Surveyor* he

* The surveyor whom Horsley employed was Mr George

employed, and dedicated to the Right Honourable Hugh, Earl of Northumberland. By R. Cay. A. Bell, Sculpt. Edinburgh, 1753." The index to it, which is very copious and accurate, was also printed at Edin-

Mark, who is often mentioned in Horsley's letters, and who, from Dunbar, May 6, 1737, addressed a letter to Robert Cay, esq., Newcastle upon Tyne, of which the following is an extract:—"Dear sir,—'Tis now more than time I think we had finished the map . I have not had much time to apply myself to it, but have now nearly done . &c. &c. I had made the actual survey of Watling-street a long time ago for Mr Horsley: provided you know any thing what is become of it, I should like to have it . I also left with him a copy of the whole survey of the county in two little books, and would gladly have them both, and whatever else you can lit on relating to it . If you think it necessary that an actual survey be made of the boundary or marches let me know it, and I shall endeavour at the time of our next vacation in harvest to have it done." Mr Mark had travelled with Horsley and assisted him in his investigations, for in a letter to Mr R. Cay, from Morpeth, 26th June, 1728, he observes, "I have sent you inclosed Mr Mark's opinion and observations about the military way—nec nostrum est tantas componere lites." Also, in another letter to R. Cay, from Bath, on July 20, 1728, already quoted, he says, "I sent Mr Mark to Meywood (and a wretched way he had to it) who tells me that there seems to be one side or more of a station remaining, and other ruins;" and again, "Mr Mark discovered a Roman encampment, at least, if not a station, with a military way, very visible near a place called *Clero*, or *Clethro;* but I have not yet had the exact distances from him." And, from London, July 30, in the same year—"If Fetherwood," in Redesdale, "be omitted in the map, it must be by mistake, because, if I rightly remember, I saw the observations with relation to it which Mr Mark had taken in the survey book."

burgh, by Hamilton and Barfleur, in 8vo., in the same year; but both it and the map are now very scarce.

About a year before he died, he told his friend Mr R. Cay that he was quite wearied out with his attention to his Britannia Romana, which I think he lived to see printed off, but, perhaps, not published. It had probably injured his health, and when the excitement of going on with it ceased, he lingered and fell—died without seeing how his great work was received by the tyranny of letters, and with the sad reflection that his labours were not only profitless, but might never repay his family the sums he had expended upon them. One dying under such circumstances is little lamented and soon forgotten. With himself, his family lose their support, and poverty soon wrings affectionate remembrances for the dead out of the hearts of dearest relatives and friends. The minister of religion performs the same official rites over his remains that are said over all: but the obsequies of his funeral are not perfumed with the incense of eulogy, or his memory consecrated and cherished by any account of his life. No stone tells which was Horsley's grave, nor any parish register that I have seen where he was buried. What a lesson to the mind that riots on the hope of posthumous fame!

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM TURNER, M. D.

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OF

WILLIAM TURNER, M.D.

TURNER, WILLIAM, M.D., a native of Morpeth, is a character whom I wish from the first to introduce to my reader as one entitled to high consideration for his learning and labours. No one will dispute the competency of Conard Gesner to pronounce judgment on the merit of the scholars and natural historians of his time; and he, in the preface to his History of Birds, printed in 1555, has said, that before himself, a few, in modern times, had briefly written upon the names and natures of birds, among whom, Gyb. Longolius, a German, and William Turner,* an Englishman, were both men of the greatest

* The following is the best list of his works I have been able to collect. Of several of them I have had opportunities to write descriptions from copies in the British Museum and

learning, and deserving of the highest praise. Also in his book *De Herbis Lunariis* he says, about 15 years

the Bodleian Library. The extracts from them were made for the several purposes of showing their nature, of illustrating the history of their author's life, and of collecting some antiquarian notices respecting the natural history of this neighbourhood and county. The works naturally divide themselves into two classes—Divinity and Natural History, each of which I have, as far as dates would allow me, arranged in the order of time:—

I. WORKS ON DIVINITY.

1. In 1537, the year after parliament had dissolved the lesser monasteries, he published the first edition of his work entituled —The Comparison of the Old Learning and the New, written by Urbanus Regius, and printed at Southwark. This edition was followed by a second in 1538, and a third in 1548—of the last of which I have seen a copy, and have this account. The title is in black-letter, between two wood-cuts, and as follows:—"The Old Learnyng and the New compared together, whereby it may easely be knowen which of them is better and more agreyng wyth the euerlasting Word of God. Newly corrected and augmented by Wyllyam Turner." On the back of the title page are—"The Contents of this Book: Of the Sacramentes, of Penaunce, of Confession, of Satisfaction, of Free wyll, of Faith and Workes, of Merits, of Synne, of the Worshypyng of Sayntes, of the Supper of the Lord, of the Choyse of Meates, of Fasting, of the Difference of Days of Prayer, of Vowes, of Counsels, of Matrimony, of Bishopes, of Ceremonies, of Man's Traditions, of Councels & Lawes made by a Multitude of Bishops gathered together."

"TO THE READER.

"Som ther be that do defye
All that is newe, and euer do crye
The old is better, awaye with the new,
Because it is false, and the old is trew.
Let them this booke reade and beholde
For it preferreth the lerning most old."

since, Turner, an Englishman, returning out of Italy, paid me a visit: and I found him a man of such excellent learning, both in medicine and most other sciences, that I can scarcely mention such another. Harrison,

This book consists of 8 sheets, from A to H, 7 of them containing 16 pages each, and H only 14. Signatures A ii. and iii. contain—¶ "The Preface of the Translator vnto the christen Reader." The end of the translation is on sheet H, iii. a., and the remaining 8 pages are taken up with an address "To the Christian Reader." The colophon between the same two wood-cuts as those in the title page is—"Imprinted at London by Robert Stoughton dwelling within Ludgate, at the signe of the Bysshops Myter, M.D.XLVIII."—*(British Museum.)*

2. The Hunting of the Romish Fox, which more than seven years hath been hid among the Bishops of England, after that the king's highness had commanded him to be driven out of his realm. Basil, 1543, 8vo. Published under the name of William Wraughton.—*(Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss. i.* 362.)

3. The Rescuyng of the Romish Fox; otherwise called the Examination of the Hunter, devised by Stephen Gardener, doctor and defender of the Pope's canon law, and his ungodly ceremonies. Printed 1545, 8vo. Published also under the name of William Wraughton.—*(Id.)*

4. The Huntyng of the Romyshe Vuolfe, made by Wuylliam Turner, doctour of Pysic. "¶ Take hede of false prophets, which come vnto you in shepes clothyng, but wythin are rauening wolues." This is a small octavo of 44 leaves, which are neither folioed nor paged. It is in German black-letter, and has probably been printed at Cologne, for some of his Herbal seems to have been from the same type. The dedication is "to the right honourable yonge lordes and worchipfull yonge gentlemen of Summersetshyre, of Wyltshire," &c. &c., and the work itself a dialogue between "The Foster and the Hunter," full of quaint wit and raillery. After the preface is

too, under Bath, in his Description of England, calls him "Doctor Turner, the father of English Physicke," and in another place, "The famous clerk, doctor Turner." Turner, says Dr. Merret, in his Pinox, "was

"¶ The Romyshe foxe latelye returned into England againe speaketh—

"Gardener, my sonne, whych with wepying teares
"Cut once awaye quite the toppes of mine eares,
"Hath taken from me of late such payne,
"That they are growen and healed againe."
&c. &c. &c,

This volume contains a full sheet engraving of Gardener, Bonner, Tunstal, &c. Romish bishops in their robes, but masked in wolves heads and skins. Bonner is devouring "the lamb," and the bishops holding cups for its blood. Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, Hooper, Roger, and Bradford, are represented as sheep lying before their persecutors with their feet bound.—*(Bodl. Lib. A.* 122, *Linc.)*

5. The Hunting of the Fox and Wolfe, because they did make havoc of the Sheep of Jesus Christ. 8vo.—*(Bliss's Wood's Ath. Ox. i.* 363.)

6. A Preseruatiue or Triacle agaynst the poyson of Pelagius, lately renued & stirred vp agayn, by the furious sect of the Annabaptestes deuysed by Wyllyam Turrner, Doctor of Physick. "Beleue not euery spirite but proue the spirites, whether they be of God or no." This work is in octavo, and consists of 13 sheets of 8 leaves each, and concludes with—"¶ Imprinted at London for Androw Hester, dwellyng in Powles Churchyarde, at the Wytthorse next to Powles scole, an. 1551, the 30 of Januarij.—Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." The dedication is addressed "To the most stedfast, godly, and true preacher of God's word, Maister Hugh Latimer, &c. &c." and says—"About xx yeares ago ye toke great paynes to put men from their wyl works:" and "we that were your disciples had much to do in Cambridge after

the most indefatigable man of his age, and published a book on birds, little in size, but great in value;" and Pultney, in his Progress of Botany in England, confers this remarkable eulogy upon him—"The True Æra of

your departing from us, with them that defended praying unto sayntes:"—"and though this stryfe agaynst God's enemies were common to me with many; yet I had specially to do with a bucke:—with a certain man that had a name of the colour of madder: with the Fox and his Foster; and with a certain wytche called Maystress Missa. But after I was easid from al these monsters"—"beholde sodenly sterte oute a Wood Spirite much perillouser than all the beastes that I had to do with before, not because he is stronger then the other, but because his poyson, that he intendethe to spoute oute is more perillous than the others poyson was. Some man peradventure wyll saye, that if I woulde, I myght haue auoyded all these perilles if I would haue meddled with my Physick only. To which I answer, that, if I had had a conscience, as so many now adayes haue, that I could haue founde in my harte to take the dignities, rewardes, and liuynges of Christes churche, and to do nothing for them," "I might in deede haue easily auoyded this perillous labour. But after that my lord Archbyshop of Yorke, had once geuen me a prebende, I could not be quiet until I had licence to reade or preache. Whiche obteyned, I began to rede, and so to discharge my conscience. And because I did perceyue that diuers began to be infected with the poyson of Pelagius, I deuised a lecture in Thistelworth against two of the opinions of Pelagius—namely against—That childer haue no original sin, and that they ought not to be baptized: but within a few weeks after, one of Pelagius disciples, in the defence of his master's doctrine, wrote against my lecture, with all the cunnyng and learning that he had. But lest he should glorye and crake amonge his disciples that I would not aunswer him, and to the intent that the venemous seede of his soweyng maye be destroyed and hyndered from bryngyng forth frute, I haue set out this

botany in England must commence with Dr. William Turner, who was unquestionably the earliest writer among us that discovered learning and critical judgement in the knowledge of plants; and whose 'Book of

boke to aunswer hym in the one of his opinions, and, God willing, when I haue set oute my Herbal, I shall aunswer hym to the other, and this small worke I dedicate vnto you as a worthy patrone to it, &c. &c."—*(Bodleian Library.)*

7. A new booke of Spirituall Physik for dyuerse diseases of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of England, made by William Turner, doctor of Physik.—Prov. 12. The waye of the folyshe man semeth right in his owne eyes, but he that is wyse wyll heare counsell.

Ad Nobilem Britannum.

Vivere si cupias multos feliciter annos
Et post hanc vitam regna videre Dei:
Pharmica quæ grata Turnerus mente propinat
In mentem penitus sume, q; tutus eris.

Anno 1555, 10 Calen. Martij. This work is a small 8vo. The first sheet contains "Dedication," "Fautes to be amended" and "the Contents of this booke." The remaining part is on 95 folios, and ends thus—"¶ Imprented at Rome by the Vaticane churche, by Marcus Antoninus Constantius, otherwise called Thraso Miles Gloriosus." The Dedication is addressed—"¶ To the right honorable Dukes and Erles, the duke of Northfolke, the duke of Suthfolke, the erle of Arundall, the erle of Derbi, the erle of Shrosbery, the erle of Huntyngton, the erle of Cumberland, the erle of Westmerland, the erle of Pembroke, and the erle of Warwik, William Turner, Physician, wysheth perfit knowledge in Goddes holy worde, and grace to live according to the same." These noblemen were strong Romanists: and this dedication to them is written in a polite, but free and bold tone. As this work was published during Mary's reign, and while its author was in exile, I think it probable that it was printed at Cologne, or in some other town in Germany.

Herbs,' as Dr. Bulleyn observes, 'will always grow green, and never wither as long as Dioscorides is held in mind by us mortal wights."

The following passages occur in it:—"When as of late yeares I practised bodely physick in Englande in my lorde of Sumersettes house, diuers sick beggers came vnto me and not knowing that I was a phisician, asked of me myne almose. To whom I offered to heale theire diseases for Goddes sake. But they went, by and by, awaye from me, and wolde none of that."—*(Signature, B. i.)*

8. "A new Dialogue wherein is conteyned the examination of the Messe, and of that kynde of Preisthode which is ordeyned to say Messe: and to offer vp for remyssion of synne the bodye and bloude of Christe againe . Beleve not everye Spirite, but trye the Spirites, whether they be of God or no: for many false prophetes are gone into the worlde." On the back of the title-page are "The names of the Speakers in this Dialogue." In the preface to the reader, he says "I answered wythin these seuen yeres a certayne learned man of England, and confuted as well as I could hys boke; but he contrary to all honestie and learnyng perceyuynge that he was not able to answere my booke in euerye booke that he wrote afterwardes agaynste other men, rayled and scoffed agaynste me by name." The work is in octavo, and contains 102 unnumbered pages. It has no printer's name nor date; but, in the preface, he says—"I haue sette my name vnto thys boke that yf thou"—i. e., the reader—"thynke that I haue wrytten herein any thinge agaynst Gode or hys word thou mayest knowe to whome thou shouldeste wryte."

9. Palgrave's Catechisme translated, &c. Lond. 1572, 8vo. —*(Watts.)* This edition was probably a reprint.

10. "A Treatise on Original Sin, written against Rob. Coccheus, is mentioned by Parkhurst. MS. Norwic. Mor. 125, fol. 23."

11. "Hearne informs us that he had prepared an edition of

This justly celebrated divine, physician, and naturalist was born at Morpeth, about the commencement of the sixteenth century. A family of the same sirename

William of Newbury's Hist. rerum Anglicanarum for the press, the original copy of which was in the possession of Mr Fulman."—*(Bliss's Wood's Ath. Ox. i.* 363.)

12. "The summe of Divinitie drawen out of the Holy Scripture, &c. drawen out of Latin into English by Robert Hutton. Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwellyng in litle Britaine Streete without Aldersgate, the 15th of March, 1567." To this work "William Turner" prefixed an address "To the christian reader," which begins thus:—"After that my scholler sometime and servant Robert Hutton had translated this book out of Latin into Englishe, he mistrusting his own judgement to be sufficient to iudge whether the compiler of this booke had in his writings done al things according to the vaine of holy Scripture offered the book vnto me that I should examine it with the touch stone of Holy Scripture," &c.—*(In the Bodl. Library.)*

13. A homily against drunkenness is mentioned by Tanner as one of Dr. Turner's works, and Wood refers to John Bale, cent. 8, nu. 95, for what else he had written and translated.

II. WORKS ON NATURAL HISTORY.

1. *(a.)* BOTANY. Within a rude wood-cut border "LIBELLVS DE RE HERBARIA NOVVS in quo herbarum aliquot nomina greca latina, et Anglica habes, vna cum nominibus officinarum in gratiam studiose iuuentutis nunc primum in lucem editus." In a Latin address to the reader, printed on the back of the title-page, he notices, that it may be justly wondered why a beardless youth like himself very slenderly skilled in the science of medicine should venture to publish a work on botany, while he was aware that there were so many persons in the country better acquainted with the subject than himself. This work consists of only two sheets and a half: it is in Latin, of which the following account of the Daisy is a specimen:—"BELLIS sive bellius, ab officinis consolida minor vocatur. Hec est illa

had long before that time been resident here. Robert Tornour, of Morpeth, conveyed property here to Thos. Smith, in 1342; John Tornor occurs as a witness to a deed in 1441, and as serjeant of the town in 1456, 1493,

herba quam vocamus *a Dasy* . Quanq' apud Northu'brienses meos ea sola vocatur *a Dasy* que puniceo flore altilis et hortensis est, erraticam illam vocant a BANWORT." In the shops the bellis is called the lesser consolida, in the language of the country, a daisy; but in Northumberland we only call that a daisy which has a purple flower, and is raised in gardens: the flower we call a Banwort. On the last leaf, side *a*, is an address with this title:—¶ "Studiose ivventvtis vnico hvivs ætate patrono longe benignissimo M. Thomæ Patinsono sacræ theologiæ doctori, Gulielmus Turnerus, S. P. D.," which ends thus—"Vale mæcenas optime." The imprint is "Londini apud ioannem Bydellum . anno d'ni 1538."

(b.) "Historia de Naturis Herbarum Scholiis et Notis vallata . Colon. apud Gymnicum, 1544, 8vo."—*(Bromaldus quoted by Pultney.)*

(c.) The next edition of this work was in 1548. The title-page is in a neat wood-cut border, and as follows:—"THE names of herbes in Greeke, Latin, English, Duche, and French, wyth the commune names that Herbaries and Apotecaries vse . Gathered by William Turner." The dedication is "To the mooste noble & mighty Prince Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerset, erle of Hertforde, viscount beauchamp, lord Semour, uncle unto the kynges highnesse of Englande, governour of his most royall person and protectour of al his realmes, dominions, and subjects, lieuetenant generall of al his majesties armies boeth by lande and sea, treasurer and erl marshall of England, governour of the isles of Gernesey and Jersey, knight of the garter, William Turner his servaunt wisheth prosperitie boeth of bodie and soule."

and 1494; Robert Tornor filled the office of bailiff in 1456; and, in 1515, William Bewick conveyed to Wm. Turner, of Morpeth, tanner, 22 roods of land lying in the Milnhaugh.

"IN a certain little boke whiche I set furth iiii yeres ago and somthynge more, which I dedicated unto the Kynges Grace that nowe is, I promised that if I perceyved that he woulde take in good worth that little treaties, to set furth an herbal and an other boke also of fishes. Partly to fulfyl this my promise streightway after, I began to labour to make up a Latin herbal, whiche thynge I have finished ii yeres ago, but when I had intended this yere to have set it furth and axed the advise of physicians in this matter, their advise was that I shoulde cease from settynge out of this boke in Latin tyle I had seen those places of Englande, wherein is moste plentie of herbes, that I might in my herbal declare to the greate honour of our countre what number of sovereine and strang herbes were in Englande that were not in other nations, whose counsele I have folowed deferryng to set out my herbal in Latin, tyl that I have sene the west country, which I never sawe yet in al my lyfe, which country of al places of England, as I heare say is moste richely replenished with al kindes of straunge and wo'derfull workes and giftes of nature, as are stones, herbes, fishes, and metalls, when as they that moved me to the settyng furth of my Latin herbal, hearde this so reasonable an excuse they moved me to set out an herbal in Englishe as Fuchsius dyd in Latin with the discriptions, figures and properties of as many herbes, as I had sene and knewe, to whom I could make no other answere but that I had no such leasure in this vocation and place that I am nowe in, as is necessary for a man that shoulde take in hande suche an interprise.

There is no account where he received the rudiments of his education. By a letter of his own, to Fox, the martyrologist, it appears that he and bishop Ridley were fellow-students in Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge

"But thys excuse coulde not be admitted for both certaine scholars, poticaries, and also surgeons, required of me if that I woulde not set furthe my Latin herbal, before I have seen the west partes and have no leasure in this place and vocation to write so great a worke, at the least to set furth my judgement of the names of so many herbes as I knew whose request I have accomplished and made a litle boke, which is no more but a table or registre of suche bokes as I intende by the grace of God to set furth here after, if that I may obteine by your graces healp suche libertie and leasure with a convenient place, as shall be necessary for suche a purpose.

"This litle boke conteineth the names of the moste parte of herbes, that all auncient authours write of both in Greke, Lattin, English, Duche and Frenche, I have set to also the names whiche be commonly used of the potacaries and common herbaries. I have tolde also the degrees of so many herbes as Galene the chief doctour of al phisicians hath written of, and because men should not thynke that I write of it that I never sawe, and that Potecaries shoulde be excuselesse when as the ryghte herbes are required of them, I have shewed in what places of England, Germany, and Italy the herbes growe and may be had for labour and money, whereof I declare and teache the names in this present treates. Whiche howe profitable it shall be unto al the sicke folke of thys realme, I referre the matter unto all them whiche be of a right judgement in phisicke. Thys small boke of myne I dedicate unto your grace, signifying thereby, only what mynde I bear unto your grace disiringe you to take thys in good worth tyle that I maye have leasure and occasion to write some greater and more worthy worke to your highness, whom almightie God long continue in all vertue and honour to his pleasure. Amen.

(*Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii.* 229); and in the dedication to the second part of his Herbal, in 1568, to Thomas lord Wentworth, he says—"and who hath deserved better to have my booke of herbes to be given to him, than he

From your graces house at Syon Anno Dom. MCCCCCXLVIII. Martii XV."

I give the following as a specimen of this work:—"MEUM, called of the Grecians Meon and Meion, is called of the potecaries Meu, in Dutch bearwurtz . Some potecaries in Antwerp vse thys herbe for Pucedano and so they cal it . I neuer sawe this herbe in Englande sauynge once at Saynte Oswarldes, where the inhabiters called it speknel . It groweth in great plenty eighte myle aboue Bon, in a fielde besyde Slyde, in Germany . It maye be called in englishe Mewe, in Duche dyl . The rootes are hot in the thyrde degree, and dry in the second." [This plant grows plentifully on a whinstone hill, little north of Thockerington, in this county, where it is called *Houka*.]

"Of the herbe called *aconitum*, the one kynd is called Pardalianches, which we may call in Englishe Libardbane or onebery . It is much in Northumberland in a wood besyde Morpeth called Cottingwood . It hath foure leaves like vnto great plantaine, and in the ouermost top a little blacke bery, like a blacke morbery, but blacker & greater." "*Carex* is called in England a sedge: it groweth in fennes and in watery places . It is called in Northumberland sheare-grasse, because it cutteth mennes handes that touch it."* "*Chameleuce*, named in

* Of this numerous genus of plants several are admirably adapted for making feet brushes for passages. Last summer, in July, I had one made with the dried grass of carex riparia, which grows plentifully on wet sandheaps on the sides of the Wansbeck. It was made in the following manner; & though it has been constantly in use in the passage to my kitchens from the time it was made to the present, Aug. 26, 1831, it is still nearly as good as when it was new. In a beech board about two inches thick, and having its upper outside angles gently rounded off, I bored 19 rows of holes, each row containing 8 holes, and each hole made 1¼ of an

whose father with his yearly exhibition did helpe me, beyng student in Cambridge of physik and philosophy; whereby with some further help and study am commed to this pore knowledge of herbes and other simples that

latin Populago faragium and Farranum, is called in Northumberland a Luchen Golland. It groweth in watery meaddows, with a leaf like a water rose, wherefore it may be called also Petie nunefar." [The plant which, as a boy, I was taught to call Locken Gowen or Goudy Locks, is the Trolius europea of Botanists. Turner's Luchen Golland we called water golland, which is the marsh marygold of Ray, and the caltha palustris of modern botanists.

We'll pou the daisies on the green,
The Lucken-Gowans frae the bog.
Alan Ramsay.]

" *Filiz Thelypteris* is the common ferne or brake which the northerne men call a bracon.—*Lepidium* is well known in Eng-

inch deep, first with a taper bit of 1 inch in diameter, and then quite through with one of ¼ of an inch. The narrower hole on the outside was widened with a rimmer, and each holeful of carex fastened with whipcord; and the cord itself protected from rotting or wearing away by a rim of wood, ½ an inch thick, nailed round the back. Brushes of this kind are every way much better than mats for cleaning the feet upon; and when the cord and frame-work are once procured, any person with a sheaf of tough carexes, grass, or rushes, may easily make or renew one. The beard of the brush I have here described was shorn down uniformly to the length of 6 inches, which is perhaps a little too long; and the outside row of holes, all round, was placed at an angle of about 45°. While I am writing on the uses to which a class of plants may be put, which have hitherto been thought of little use, but as protecting river banks from being torn up by floods, let me direct the attention of naturalists and mechanics to the great quantities of hemp that may be procured from the vegetable fibre in the leaves of horse radish, and of flax in the grass of the spring crocus, especially of such crocusses as grow near a wall with a south aspect, and consequently have very long grass—which, without any other preparation but drying very gently, may be platted or spun into excellent cord.

I now have." He also, in his dedication to the Preservative against the Poison of Pelagius to bishop Latimer, in 1551, reminds that prelate that about 20 years before that time he was one of his disciples at Cambridge,

land, and is called with a false name dittany . Duchemen cal it Pfefferkraut . It groweth in Morpeth in Northumberland by a water called Vanspeke in great plentie alone, without any setting or sowing.—*Orobanche* is so rare an herbe in Englande that I never sawe it in all Englande, but in Northumberland, where it was called New Chapel Floure." This is orobanche major, which still grows on the banks about Our Lady's Chapel, in Bothal wood.

This work, like those already noticed, has not its pages numbered, but has signatures from A to H, eight sheets, and 8 leaves on each sheet. On the 8th leaf of sheet H are "Fautes escaped in the printing on one side and on the other." "¶ Imprinted at London by John Day and Wyllyam Seres, dwellynge in Sepulchre's Parish, at the signe of the Resurection, a little above Holburne Conduite. ¶ Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The copy in the British Museum, from which these extracts were taken, formerly belonged to sir Joseph Bankes.

(d) "A new Herbal, wherein are conteyned the names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englysh, Duche, Frenche, and in the Potecaries and Herbaries Latin, with the properties, degrees, and natural places, of the same, gathered and made by Wylliam Turner, Physician vnto the Duke of Somersettes grace. Imprinted at London by Steven Mierdman anno 1551. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. And they are to be solde in Paules Church-yarde." The dedication is "To the myghty and christiane Prince Edward duke of Summerset, Erle of Herford &c." In the Prologue he says, "I declare also the vertues of every herb and shew the place where I have seen it, lest I should seme to be one of them which write of thynges they neuer saw." All the facs, or initial letters, are very large, and chequered after the manner of the first letters in inden-

which accords well enough with the account Baker gives of his being admitted Fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1531. The same author also says that "he was in deacon's orders at least; for on March 20, 1536, he had a title

tures and other deeds. This is a black letter book in folio, and has 16 signatures from A to P, each signature consisting of 3 or 4 sheets, enlaid like the first part of the next number (*e* 1.) It begins with Wormwood and ends with Bean. According to Watts, Book II. of this work was published at Collon in 1562; but I have not seen this part.

(*e* 1.) "The first and second partes of the herbal of William Turner, Doctor in Phisick, lately ouersene, corrected, & enlarged with the third part lately gathered, and nowe set out, with the names of the herbes, in Greke, Latin, English, Duche, Frenche, and in the apothecaries and herbaries latin, with the properties, degrees, & natural places of the same.—Here vnto is ioyned also a booke of the bath of Baeth, in England, and of the vertues of the same, with diuerse other bathes, most holsom and effectual, both in Almanye, and England, set furth by William Turner doctor in phisick. God saue the Quene." After which are the arms of England and France quarterly, and then—"Imprinted at Collon by Arnold Birckman, in the yeare of our Lorde, M. D. LXVIII. Cum gratia and privilegio Reg. Maiest."—The dedication "to the most noble and learned Princesse in all kinds of good learninge, Queene Elizabeth, &c."—is on two leaves, and is dated "From my house in London the Crossed Friars the 5th day of Marche 1568." In the conclusion of the dedication he says—"May it please your graces gentlenes to take these my labours in good worthe, not according vnto their vnworthines, but accordinge vnto my good mind and will offering and giving them vnto you, which thinge if I can perceyue to come to pass, so that I may haue rest and quietnes in my olde age, and defence from my enemies, which haue more than these eight yeares continuallye troubled me very much, and holden me from my booke, and sickness will suffer me, I extend" *(so)* "to set out a

from his college, and was then Fellow and Master of Arts. His first work, The Comparison of the Old Learning and the New, was published in the following year; and his first work on Botany, in 1538, in which

booke of the names and natures of fishes, that are within youre Mayesties dominions, to the great delite of most noble men and profite of your hole realme." Then follows "the table of the names of the herbes" and "Nomina auctorum per quos in Herbario meo profeci." The first part begins with signature A and ends with T, and occupies 224 pages. "In this part he professes to treat on the plants not known to Dioscorides and the Ancients. It consists of near an hundred articles, amongst which we find introduced many of the exotic subjects, which had before been but little known, such as—cassia fistula, cubebs, guaiacum, nutmegs, myrobalans, nux indica, nux vomica, anacarduim, rhubarb, sarsaparilla, senna, and tamarinds. For these many new figures were cut, which are executed in a stile superior to the others. The remainder are principally the productions of our own country." —(*Pultney, i.* 70.) I have the following extracts from part the first:—"I have sene Sea Wormwode in Northumberlande by holye Islande, in Freselande besyde Norden, in Brabant besyde Barrowe. But in no place so greate leaved as Matthiolus setteth oute in his figure. I rekon that he setteth out in the stede of Sea Wormwode the righte Mugwort."—(*Fol.* 11.)

"Aconitum . Pardialanches Fuschij . Oneberry.—The herbe that hath bene taken for Libardesbayne groweth plenteously besyde Morpeth in Northumberland, in a wood called Cottingwood, and the same herbe is called of the barbarus writers Herba Paris, and they saye that it is so far from poyson that it is a good and sufferene remedy against divers kindes of poyson."—(*Fol.* 19.)

"Sea Cole . I neuer sawe it in all my life sauing in Douer Clyffes." "The same is called in Northumberland this daye wild kole."—(*Fol.* 89.)

"Of clinopodium . I haue sene this herbe diuerse tymes

year Pultney says he found him a student at Pembroke College, where he acquired great reputation for his learning; and speaking himself in the last edition of his Herbal, "of the herbe called Myrrhis," or Casshes, he

growinge in Germanye: fyrste in the walles of Colon, hard by the Rene, and afterwardes in great plentye aboue Bonne by the Ryne side among stones . I found this herbe of late right ouer against Sion."—(*Fol.* 151.)

"Of Beane of Egypt . I haue seen the right Colocasia in Italye, & a kinde of the same in Germany, and ones growynge in Englande . It that I sawe in Germanye grewe upon thre English miles from Bon beside Siberge."—(*Fol.* 157.)

"Of the Cytisus tree . I neuer sawe this bush anywhere ellis growyng naturally without setting or sowing, sauing in the mount Apenine besyde Bonony, where as I saw great plenty of it; but I have had it growing ones at Collon & now I haue it growyng here in my garden at Wesenburg."—(*Fol.* 196.)

"Of Dictamnye of Candy . I haue sene it growynge in England in Maister Riches gardin naturally, but it groweth nowhere ellis that I know of sauing only in Candy."—(*P.* 203.)

"Of Heth . Irica . The hyest heth that euer I saw groweth in Northumberland, which is so highe that a man maye hide himselfe in it."—(*P.* 210.)

(*e*, 2.)—The Second Part has a separate title page, and the arms and imprint as on the first. The second leaf, on side *a*, contains "the table"—side *b* is blank. The signatures from A to Ff comprise 171 leaves, and there is a blank leaf and three pages of "Fautes and Errors" with the signature Gg on the first page. I have a perfect copy of this part.

"Scorpiones tayle" . "I neuer sawe it growynge in Englande, neither in Germany, sauing only in my garden in Collen, & in my garden at Wellis in England."—(*Fol.* 13, *b.*)

"Of Juniper tree . In England it groweth most plenteouslie in Kent: it groweth also in the bisshopryche of Durram, and in Northumberlande . It groweth in Germany in many places

says—"It groweth in orchardes amongest ye gras vnder ye trees very lyke vnto homlok . I neuer saw greter plenty of it then I haue sene in the hortyard of Pēbrook-hall, in Cābridge, where as I was some tyme a pore

in greate plentye, but in no place in greater than a lytle from Bon, where as, at the time of year the feldefares fede only of Junipers berries, the people eate the feldefares undrawen with guttes and all because they are full of the berries of Juniper." Excellent cooks and stomacks!—*(Fol.* 25.)

Larix or Larch. "In Rhetia where as I have sene the maner of gathering of the comen turpentine, is thys:—They cut an hole depely dounwarde in the larche tre, with an hatched & chisel, so great it will holde a great olial of the rosin . When the hole is ful they take it out with ladles & spownes, & put it into vesselles. Antonius Traversus a ryght gentleman of the countre of Rhetia, when as I lay in hys howse, restyng me after my great labours that I had taken in seking of herbes in the Alpes, tolde me for a suretie, that the carpenters of that countre knowyng the holesomnes of the rosin, when they chance upon any plenty of it, whilse they cut the larche trees, drinck largely thereof, and become as dronken therewith, as if they had dronken a great deale of strong wyne."—*(Fol.* 29.)

"This Lepidium groweth plenteously about the water syde that rynneth thorow Morpeth in Northumberland, in suche places as great heapes of stones are casten together wyth the might of a great spat or floode."—*(Fol.* 35.)

Flax or line. "It hath blue floures in the top of the stalk, and after that they be gone, ther come forth round knoppes, sauing that ther is in the end a sharp thyng lyke a prick growyng out . These knoppes or heades are called in Northumberland bowles, and wythin these heades are long flat sedes in color redishe, and eche sede is conteyned in his proper cell diuided from the rest."—*(Fol.* 39, *b.)*

Under Meon or Mew, he says:—"Feniculum tortuosum which I take at the leste to be a kynd of Mew, if it be not Athamanticum, groweth in the bisshoprik of Durram, in wild

felow." In a passage quoted from one of his works by Pultney, he also says:—"Being yet a student of Pembroke Hall, whereas I could learn never one Greke, neither Latin, nor English name, even amongst the

mores, called felles, and viij myles above Bon in Germany in a countre called caltland, and a litle from the toun of Bathe in hyghe Germany. I saw it also ones in Antwerp, in Apothecaries gardin, but the pothecari, named Petrus de virulis, called it peucedanum, not without greate error. I saw it also growyng in Newcastel in a gardin in greate plenty, where as I learned that it was called spicnel.—(*Fol.* 57.)

Orobanche.—"The herbe which I haue taken and taught xv yeres ago to be Orobanche, which also now of late yeares Matthiolus hath set out for Orobanche, groweth in many places of England, both in the north countre besyde Morpethe, where as it is called our lady 'of new chapillis flour,' and also in the south countre a lytle from Shene in the broum closes. But it hath no name there. I haue sene it in diuerse places of Germany, and first of all betwene Colon and Rodekirck."—(*Fol.* 71, *b.*)

"Petasites hath soft stele or footstalk a cubit long and somtyme longer and is of the thicknes of a mannis finger, and in the top of it groweth a lefe which hath the fasshon of an hat, and it hangeth doun after the maner of a todestool." "It hath a grete and long bitter roote with a very strong smell. This herbe is called in Northumberland an eldin, in Cambridgeshire a butterbur, in Dutch pestilentz wurtz."—(*Fol.* 83.) Here, at Whelpington, it is called an Ell-docken.

Phalaris.—"The first tyme that euer I saw thys herbe, was in the citie of Come, where as the chefe Physciane of the citi no lesse gentle then well learned shewed vnto me, and my felow master Johan Walker. Afterwarde I saw it in England taken for mil, for they that brought Canari burdes out of Spayn, brought of the sede of Phalaris also to fede them with, whereof when I had sowed a litle I found that it was the right phalaris which I had sene in Itali before."—(*Fol.* 85.)

physicians, of any herbe or tree: such was the ignorance of the time; and as yet there was no English Herbal, but one all full of unlearned cacographies, and falsely naming of herbes."

Oak.—"I haue not sene any galles in England growing upon oke leaves . But I haue sene them growing vpon oke leues, not only in Italy, but also in very great plenty in East Fresland in a wood a little from Auriche." "It was told me by a learned man, a frende of myne, that in the year of our Lorde M.D.Lvij that there was a greate plentye of Galles found vpon oke leues in the north countre of England, and namely about Hallyfax."—*(Fol.* 109.)

Sorbus ouatum.—"The tree groweth in moyst woddes, and is called in Northumberland a rowne tree, or a whicken tree, in the south partes of England, a quickbeame tree."—*(Fol.* 143.)

Of the black Hellebor.—"I dare not saye that euer I founde the righte black hellebor, but thys I dare holde, that a man for defaut of it, maye vse very well that kinde of bear-foot that goeth euery yeare into the grounde, whereof groweth great plentye in a parke besyde Colchester, and in the west parke besyde Morpeth a litle from the riuer called Wanspek.—*(Id. fol.* 160, *b.)*

(e, 3.)—"The Thirde Parte of Vuilliam Turner's Herbal, wherein are conteined the herbes, trees, rootes & fruytes, whereof is no mention made of Dioscorides, Galene, Plinye, and other olde Authores." Arms and imprint as before. The dedication of this part is "To the right worshippfull Fellowship & companye of Surgiones of the citye of London chefely, and to all other that practyse surgery within England, William Turner sendeth greting in Christ Jesu," which dedication concludes thus:—"Being so much vexed with sickness, and occupied with preaching, and the study of diuinitye and exercise of discipline, I haue had but small leasure to write Herbelles." But "if ye take this my poore present in good worth, I think that I haue bestowed my labours well, and if I can perceyue this, it may be an occasion, that if God send me

The pagan rites and doctrines, which had been engrafted on christianity during the first three centuries, began to be generally exposed, and the ecclesiastical tyranny, with which it had been enthralled in succeeding

health, leasure, and long life, that I take some more paynes, for your profit in some other matter . The Lord kepe you . At Welles 1564, the 24 daye of June." After the dedication there is a treatise "of the degrees of herbes, and other things, and what a degree is:" and the remainder of the book occupies 81 pages, and the signatures from Aaa to Ggg, each series having three sheets excepting Ggg, which has only 5 leaves. I have no extracts from this volume.

2. BIRDS.—"Avium praecipvarum, quarum apvd Plinium et Aristotelem mentio est, brevis et succincta historia . Ex optimis quibusq; scriptoribus contexta, scholio illustrata et aucta . Adjectis nominibus Grecis, Germanicis, et Britannicis . Per Dn. Guilielmum Turnerum, artium et medicinæ doctorem . Coloniæ excudebat Johan. Gymnicus anno M.D.xliiij." This is a small octavo, with signatures from A to K, and two more printed leaves. On K, 3 *a*, is "Peroratio ad lectorem," which runs over 5 pages, and ends thus:—"Sed ad te jam redeo, candidissime lector, quem etiam atq; etiam obtestor, ut si qua tibi sese peregrina facie offerat auis paucis mihi illam, addito nomine gentis tuæ, depingere non dedigneris, et mihi et omnium bonarum literarum studiosis scies te magnopere gratificaturum, nam non facti in secunda hujus libri editione ero immemor, nec quicquam, quod ad hoc disciplinæ genus pertinet, mihi explóratum, te celabo . Vale . Coloniæ Calend. Martiis." This work is dedicated to Edward prince of Wales, and the dedication, which occupies 6 folios, is dated "Coloniæ, 5 Idus Februarij, anno M.D.xliiij." I give the following as a specimen of this work:—"DE FRINGILLA . Σπιζα, fringilla; Anglice a Chaffinche, a sheld appel, a spink; Germanice eyn buchfink. Fringillæ, authore aristotele, estate tepidis locis, et hyeme, frigidis degunt, et inde puto apud Latinos nomen accepisse, quod in frigore plures conuolantes apud nos cernantur, quam

ages, to be successfully combatted and overcome about the period when Turner began to flourish—and he entered into the views and spirit of the Reformation with so much zeal and activity as to bring upon himself the

estate . Pascerem magnitudine æquat, uariis coloribus, albo nempe, uirido, et ruffo distincta est . maris pectus rubescit, fœmine pallescit: cantat mas primo vere . Nidulatur fringilla in summis fructicum ramis, aut arborum infimis, nidumq; intus ex lana, forisq; ex musco facit."—(Sheet D. fol. 6, *a*.) This little work, indeed, consists of quotations from Aristotle and Pliny, respecting different kinds of birds, and is interspersed with curious notices, descriptions, and criticisms of the author.

3. MINERAL WATERS.—"The booke of the Natures and Properties, as well of the Bathes in England, as of other bathes in Germanye and Italye, very necessarye for all sycke persones that can be healed without the helpe of natural bathes, lately oversene and enlarged by William Turner, Doctor in Physick. God save the Quene." The arms and imprint as in the title-page of the third part of the Herbal, in the edition of 1560. "The Preface of the Author vnto his welbeloved neighboures of Bath, Bristow, Wellis, Winsam & Charde," is dated from "Basil, the x Martij, in the year of our Lorde 1557." The whole comprized on 17 folios.

4. FISHES.—In the Calends of November, 1557, Dr. Turner dated a letter on English fishes, from "Wissenburg," to Conard Gesner, which letter that giant in literature and natural history printed in the beginning of his third volume of his History of Animals. The letter occupies four folio pages, and concludes with the declaration of its being written entirely from memory, unaided by notes or comment. "Quartum genus nusquam in tota Anglia, nisi in Northumbria vidi, ubi a *Codling* appellatur . Piscis est Haddok multo major, sed coddo multo minor . forma coddum et sapore lengum, nisi me mea memoria fallat, refert. In littore Northumbrico prope oppidum Bednel, in copia multo maxima capitur."

persecution of bishop Gardener and the censure of a biographer of more celebrity than candour. It has already been shown that Turner had a title for orders from his college; but Anthony Wood, a man to whom nature had given a saturnine disposition, and the times he lived in a monkish hatred to every species of reform,

5. MEDICINE.—" A new booke on the natures and properties of all wines that are commonly vsed here in England, with a confutation of an Errour of some men, that holde that Rhennish and other small white wines ought not to be drunken of them that either haue or are in daunger of the stone, the reume, and diuers other diseases, made by William Turner, doctor of Physicke . Whereunto is annexed the booke of the natures and vertues of Triacles, newly corrected and set forth againe by the saide William Turner. Imprinted at London by William Seres—anno 1568." This is an octavo book, and like most of the rest of his smaller works, without folios or pagings, but has signatures. The finis is on E, 4 a ; and then, on E, 5 a, this new title :—" This booke sheweth at large the powers, commodities, vertues, & properties of the Three most renouned and famous preservatives or Triacles: to wete, of the greate Triacle called in Latin Theriaca Andromachi; of the Triacle Salt; and of it that is called by the name of the finder out & maker Mithridatium . Gathered of Galen and Aetius by the labours and paines of William Turner, Doctor of Physicke, newly corrected and amended.—Mellis si nimia est copia bilis erit." On the last signature, G, is the Finis, and "¶ Imprinted at London by William Seres, dwelling at the West ende of Paules at the signe of the Hedgehogge." Near the conclusion of the dedication " To the right honourable sir William Cecil knight, chiefe secretary unto the quenes maiestye &c." he speaks of a former edition of the work on Triacles, "which was negligently and falselye printed, and diuerse honest men think it necessarie to be printed againe."

improvement, and inductive enquiry, above a century after his death, has ventured to insinuate that he was never ordained, and to calumniate his labours and intentions in the following terms:—He was "a noted and forward theologist of his time"—"very conceited of his own worth, hot-headed, a busy body, and much adicted to the opinions of Luther," and "would needs, in the heighth of his study of physic, turn theologist, but always refused the usual ceremonies to be observed in order to his being made priest: and whether he had orders confirmed upon him according to the Roman catholic manner, appears not. Sure it is that while he was a young man, he went unsent for through many parts of the nation, and preached the word of God not only in towns and villages but also in cities." Thus, "following his old trade of preaching without a call, he was imprisoned and kept in close durance for a considerable time. At length being let loose and banished he travelled into Italy, and at Ferrara he was made doctor of physic, and as much there in esteem for his faculty as after his return in England he was among the reformed party." "This banishment," as Pultney observes, "proved favourable to his advancement in medical and botanical studies: he resided at Basil, at Stratsburgh, at Bon: but principally at Cologn, with many other English refugees. He dwelt also for some time in Weissen-

burgh," to the neighbourhood of which place he assigns localities to a sort of wild radish, and satyrion. "As at this period the learned were applying with great assiduity to the illustration of the antients, it was a fortunate circumstance to Dr. Turner that he had an opportunity of attending the lectures of Lucas Ghinus at Bologna, of whom he speaks with great satisfaction in his Herbal, and frequently cites his authority against other commentators." Under "pistatia" or "fistic nut," he says, "In lyknes and bignes haue I sene the lētisk or mastic tree and the fistic in Bonony, where as I learned the knowledge of herbes and practice of physic of my master Lucas Ginus, the reder of Dioscorides there, of whom Matthiolus in his Commentaries upon Dioscorides oftymes maketh honorable mention:" and under the plant Alexander, he says, he learned first the knowledge of herbs from his masters, Antoninus Musa, Fuschius, and Ruellius, whom he judged masters in such matters.—*(Herbal, part ii., fol.* 67, *b.;* 91, *b.)* Numerous localities of plants are also scattered over his botanical works, from which it appears that he had travelled from Friesland, in the north of Holland, by the Rhine and the Rhetian Alps to Bologna, and the Apenine chain, in Italy. He relates a case about giving a decoction of fever-few to a sick woman in East Friesland, in which there was then only one apothecary's shop, and that at Em-

den. He also saw galls growing in great plenty, on oak leaves, in a wood a little from "Aurike," in East Friesland, and speaks of an opinion that prevailed in a country where he had been in the dukedom of Cleves, called Sourland, of wheat "being sown on that sourland, as it is truly called," and becoming rye in the second year, and two years after going into darnel. Other sorts of plants or trees he found in the neighbourhoods of Andernach, Bonn, Worms, Weisenburgh, Lauterburgh, and Basle. He found larch in great abundance in the diocese of Cour; and an herb he calls *polium*, near the city of Cour, and a sort of cinquefoil on its walls. "I never saw better hops than I saw growing wild a little from the wall that goeth from Chertosa by a little rivers side." "I saw rise grown in great plenty beside Milan." The white asp he did not remember to have seen in England, but by the river side of Padus, in Italy, where it is called *albera;* and by the side of the Rhine, in High Germany, where they called it *saurbaum*. Rhamnus, or Christ's Thorn, he found on the mount Appenine a little from Bologna. On islands about Venice, he saw the herb peplis growing, "which is very much like unto an English wart wort." In his sojournment in Italy, whatever knowledge he might have obtained of "simples," he however brought out of it a bad opinion of its morality, for he said of it that it was "not to be seen without a

guide, that is without special grace given from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behaviour of the people."* The extent of his botanical researches cannot be better summed up than in the following passage from the last edition of his Herbal:—"I haue gone thorough England, high Germany and low Germany, and a great deale of Italy, whereas I sought diligently all kindes of herbes; but I could neuer finde yet any such herbe, as Matthiolus setteth furthe for Sion.—(*Herbal, part ii., pp.* 22, 23, 25, 28, 55, *b.*, 96, 99, 101, 109, 112, 115, 123, 128, *b.*, 129, 138.)

In what year he attended the lectures of Ghinus, at Bologna, or took the degree of doctor of physic at Ferara, I have found no mention; but I think it probable that he studied and graduated in Italy between the time of the publication of his first work on botany in 1538, and the death of Henry the Eighth in Jan. 1547: for during the whole of that period he seems to have been in banishment, and to have published no work in England. Indeed Gesner, in his notice of him, makes it plain that he had been in Italy about the year 1540: for, in the passage already translated from the work De Herbis Lunariis, which was published in 1555, he says that Turner, on his return from Italy, about 15 years

* Harrison's Description of England, p. 150.

before that time, called upon him, no doubt at his own house, at Zurick, in Switzerland. Basle seems to have been his first place of residence and practice as a physician, after he had completed his professional studies at Ferara and Bologna—Bononia mater studiorum—of the gentle blood of whose inhabitants Boccaccio exclaimed—O singulare dolcezza del sangue Bolognese. It was at Basle that Turner printed the little volume intituled The Hunting of the Romish Fox, in Oct. 1543; but he, probably soon after that time, removed down the Rhine to Cologne, for Bumaldus mentions a work of his with this title, and printed there in 1544:—"Historia de Naturis Herbarum scholiis et notis valata," which was in octavo, and printed by "Gymnicus," at Cologne, in that year. Pultney had never seen this work, or found mention of it by any one but Bumaldus, and suspected that it was not republished in England: but I think it pretty certain that the account Bumaldus gives of it is correct; for the preface to Turner's little jewel of a book, on the principal birds mentioned by Pliny and Aristotle, is also dated from Cologne, on Feb. 9, 1544, and was printed there by John Gymnicus—from whose press the History of Plants is said to have issued; and, in the dedication of his Names of Herbes, in 1548, he expressly mentions a "certain little book, which he set forth four years ago, and dedicated to Edward prince of

Wales"; and that he would, if he perceived that treatise well received, set forth an Herbal and a book of Fishes: which Herbal he finished in Latin, but was dissuaded from publishing it in that language, and till he had seen the plants which grew in the west of England, where he had never been, but which had been represented to him as "richly and replenished with all kinds of strange wonderful works and gifts of nature." His Rescuing of the Romish Fox and Hunting of the Romish Wolf appeared in 1544, and was probably printed at Cologne, and sent to England to circulate.

After the accession of Edward the Sixth, and the triumph of the protestant cause, Turner returned to England and renewed his labours in natural history, physic, and divinity. He was made physician to the king's uncle, the duke of Somerset, then protector of the realm, in whose household he resided at Sion, and from thence, in March, 1548, dated the dedication to his patron, of his "Names of Herbes." Wood says, he was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford; and the same degree, according to another author, was confirmed upon him at Cambridge. By a passage in his book of Spiritual Physic it is plain, that during some part of Edward the Sixth's reign he sat in the house of commons, but for what place I have no means of ascertaining. The

passage I allude to is this:—"But yf they wyll not folowe these gentlemen, but wyll be wylfully blynde and suffer themselues to be led whether so euer it shall please theyr blynde guydes to leade them, they may as well tarry at home, as come to the parlament house, to syt there, except they wyll other slepe, or elles tell the cloke whylse learned men dispute the maters that are in contention, as I haue seen some gentlemen of the fyrst head do, when I was a burgess of late of the lower house."—*(Folio 44, b.)*

About this time he was also promoted to the prebend of Botevant, in the church of York, and to a canon at Windsor; but I have not the exact dates of his appointment to these preferments. According to an authority, however, quoted by le Neve, he was advanced to the deanery of Wells in 1550; and, on July 5, in the same year, a letter of the Council was directed to Oriel College, Oxford, to accept of Dr. Turner, by the king's appointment, as master of that institution.—*(Bliss's Wood's Ath. Ox. i.* 364.) Also, in 1550, he published his humourous and satirical tract, entituled The Hunting of the Romish Wolf, which, from its being dedicated to the young gentlemen of Somersetshire, and other neighbouring counties, I suppose, did not appear till after he was raised to the dignity of dean of Wells. From the

Preservative or Triacle against the Poison of Pelagius I have given a large extract in the account of that work, which is dated Jan. 30, 1551, and in which, at signature B, 7 b, he mentions his sermon as "faithfully gathered of me by Thomas Norton;" and, on the same folio, tells his opponent—"ye wrote not one word against me, vntil yt ye had my hole sermon writtē in youre handes."

From the accession of Mary, on July 6, 1553, to her death, Nov. 17, 1558, he was again driven into exile; and resided in different towns on the Rhine, or its tributary streams. His "New book of Spiritual Physic" is dated Feb. 20, 1555; but the imprint to it "at Rome, by the Vatican Church," is a fiction: for it was, I have no doubt, printed at Basle or Cologne. When and where the work on the Romish Mass (DIVINITY, No. 8, in the above notes,) was printed, I cannot, from the information before me, form any probable conjecture; but the notice in its preface, of an answer he had written within these 7 years to a certain learned man of *England*, and the omission of the printer's name, seem to show that it was printed secretly, and in some foreign country.

On March 10, 1557, he dated the preface to his book on Baths to his neighbours about Wells, from Basle; but the death of Mary, on Nov. 17, in that year, finally released him from banishment, and he returned to his

native country, and preferment, which he was suffered to enjoy during the remaining period of his life. On the first of Nov., 1567, he was residing at Weisenburgh, on the Lauter, and from thence, on that day, dated his Letter on the Fishes of England to Gesner, who, in the list of authors that had assisted him in the third volume of his Natural History, mentions "Guilielmus Turnerus, Anglus Medicus Weissenburgi eximius."

There can, I think, be no doubt but he made some considerable collection of materials for a work on British Fishes; for, in the dedication of his Names of Herbes, in 1548, he mentions a promise he had made of setting out a book of Fishes; and, in the dedication to the first part of his Herbal, to queen Elizabeth, in 1568, he tells her that, if he could in his old age get rest from his enemies, and sickness would suffer him, he intended to set out a book on the Names and Natures of the Fishes within her dominions.

His literary pursuits seem now to have been chiefly confined to improving his Herbal, of which the edition in 1568 was the last, and of its kind by far the most important book which to that time had been ever published in England. His work on Wines and Preservatives also appeared in 1568; on the 7th of July in which year, to use the words of Anthony Wood, he

"quietly laid down his head and departed this life. whereupon his body was buried in the chancel of St. Olave's church, in Hert-street, London, leaving then behind him several children; of whom Peter,* a doctor of physic, was one, and father of Samuel and Peter." In the dedication to the first part of his Herbal, which is dated from his house in "the Crossed Friars," in London, March 5, 1568, he mentions his old age and sickness; but, from the circumstance of his being a student at Cambridge about the year 1531, one is apt to suppose that he could not be much above 60 years old at the time of his death. He lived in an age of great excitement and trouble, and complains of bad treatment

* Peter, son of Dr. William Turner, married Pascha, sister of Dr. Henry Parr, bishop of Worcester, and by her had eight children, one of whom was called *Peter*, and was born in 1599, in the parish of St. Helen, Bishopgate, where his father lived, and practised his faculty. This Peter was probationer at Merton, 1607; professor of geometry in Gresham College, July 25, 1620; M. D., 1636; but being, as Wood says, in a manner undone by the parliamentarian visitors, he retired to the house of his sister, a widow of the name of Wats, who was a brewer against the Compter-prison, Southwark, with whom he died in Jan., 1651, aged about 66. He wrote many admirable things, but being too curious and critical, he could never finish them to his mind. He was of a proud and haughty mind, but the snivelling presbyterians did not stick to report that he died no better than a brewer's clerk, because he often inspected the accounts of his sister, and had a great care for her concerns.

from his enemies for the last eight years of his life: so that his dignities had not sat easily upon his brow. His houses at Wells, and the Crutched Friars, in London, seem to have been his principal residence in England. During his exiles his family probably followed his fortune: for he not only mentions plants as growing in his garden at Wells and in London, but in his gardens at Cologne and at Weisenbergh; and particularly in his account of the Cytisus tree, in the edition of the first part of his Herbal, in 1568, he notices that he had it growing once at Cologne, and "*now* I have it growing here in my garden at Weisenburgh."—(*Fol.* 196; *see also part ii., f.* 13, *b., and* 16.) "Dr. William Turner married Jane, daughter of John Ander, an alderman of Cambridge, who, after her husband's death, married to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely; and, in her second widowhood, and in memory of her first husband, left to Pembroke Hall an annuity of five marks, and some pasture lands in Knapwell.—(*Bliss's Wood's Ath. Ox.* 1363.)—She also set up a monument to his memory in St. Olave's church.

Of his Herbal, Pultney says:—"The arrangement is alphabetical, according to the Latin names; and after the description he frequently specifies the places of growth. He is ample in his discrimination of the spe-

cies, as his great object was to ascertain the Materia Medica of the antients, and of Dioscorides in particular, throughout the vegetable kingdom. To this end he bestows much criticism on the commentaries of Fuschius, Tragus, Matthiolus, and other of his contemporaries; and professes to have corrected many of their mistakes, in the application of the names of Dioscorides. In all this he has shown much judgement, and, I may add, much moderation, in avoiding, more than usual, the license taken by many of the commentators of applying the names of plants described in Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Pliny, to those of the western parts of Europe. What he says of the virtues of plants, he has drawn from the antients; but has, in numberless instances, given his opinion of their qualities, in opposition to those sages, and recorded his own experience of the virtues. He nowhere takes any doubtful plants upon trust, but appears to have examined them with all the precision usually exercised at a time when method and principles now established were unthought of, everywhere comparing them with the descriptions of the antients and moderns. *He first* gave names to many English plants; and, allowing for the time when specifical distinctions were not established, when almost all the small plants were disregarded, and the cryptogamia

almost wholly overlooked, the number he was acquainted with is much beyond what could easily have been imagined, in an *original writer* on his subject."

"The complete edition of the Herbal, in 1568, was printed at Cologne, unquestionably to receive the advantage of the figures, probably at that time the property of Birckman, the printer. They are the same with which the octavo edition of Fuschius was first printed, in 1545; in all, 512. Of these Turner has used upwards of 400, to which he has added about 90 new—making the whole number 502. There are some instances of the wrong application of these figures, an error that might readily happen, when the author was at such a distance, and was common in almost all similar works of that time. There are also several figures to which no description of the plants can be found; for instance, the six figures of the geraniums from Fuschius occur, with a slight mention of only two species in the text."

"Turner is the first author who has given a figure of the lucern, which, I apprehend, he first brought into England, and named horned clover. He treats largely of its cultivation from Pliny, Palladius, and Columella."

"In the dedication to the edition of his Herbal, in 1551, Dr. Turner speaks in very respectful terms of the botanical knowledge of several of his contemporaries;

and apologizes for his undertaking so arduous a matter while there were learned Englishmen better qualified. He enumerates Dr. Clement, Dr. Merdy, Owen Wooton, and master Falconer. The last mentioned author is several times introduced in the body of the work. I can scarcely doubt that he was John Falconer, who is recorded as having communicated many English plants to Amatus Lusitanus, who taught physic at Ferrara and Ancona, and made himself known as a commentator on Dioscorides in 1553. In treating on glaux, of which Turner gives a new figure, he says, "He never saw it in England, except in master Falconer's book, and that he brought it from Italy.* From this and other like citations, it may reasonably be conjectured, that "Falconer's book" was a Hortus Siccus;† and, if so, must

* Of this plant he says further, that he "saw it ones in Flanders by the sea side thre myles beyonde Dunkirke."—*(Herbal, part ii. vol.* 12.)

† Turner himself, under Irion, says—"I saw ones in Germany, about Andernake, an herbe in my judgement in all pointes agreinge wyth the description of Dioscorides; but because I lost the stalke that I gathered, and could learne no Duche name of it, I could not set furth the figure of it here at this time." Under Gentisk, he says the leaves of that plant resemble those of the ash tree in the order of their standing, and "with their maner of standyng eury payr representeth a couple of byrdes wynges stretched furth redy to flie, and chifely then, when as they are pressed furth upon a booke." I have quoted these passages as the only ones I have seen in

have been among the earliest collections of that kind that is noticed in England."—*(Pultney.)* Gesner enumerates among those, besides Turner, who assisted him in his great work on fishes, John Cay, a famous London physician—John Falconer, an excellent English physician and theologist—and John Parckhurst, a most elegant poet and divine.

Turner has also scattered over his work, notices of other botanists and herbalists, particularly of Master Ryche. Under Organ, he says:—"I neuer saw ye true Orgā in Englād, sauing in master Ryches gardin in Londō, where as I saw many other good & strange herbes, which I neuer saw any where elles in all England. I haue sene Origanū Cretense both in Itali ꝛt also in Antwerp, where as it may be had in metely good plenty of Peter Cōdenberg, a faythful ꝛt a learned apothecari."—*(Part ii., fol.* 69.) On Verbascum Sylvestre, he says:—"The black mollen is lyke vnto the whyte in all poyntes: but it hath broder and blacker leaues. And there is also a wylde kinde that beareth long twigges like a tre, and it hath leaues lyke vnto sage, and hyghe twigges, and woddish, and about them litle

skimming over Turner's works, which seem to indicate that he made collections of plants in a book, or at least knew the use of such a book.

boughes as horehounde hath, and it hathe yelowe floures lyke vnto golde . The whyte verbascum is called commonly in English, mollen or *hickis taper*, and in some places long-wurt . The black may be called black molen . The wilde one groweth no where in England, sauinge in gardines . I haue sene it of late in maister Riches gardin . It may be called in Englishe, sage mullen."—*(Part ii., p.* 161.)

"In appreciating the merit of Dr. Turner as a botanist due regard must be had to the time in which he lived; the little assistance he could derive from his contemporaries, of whom Brunsfelsius, Ruellius, Fuschsius, and Tragus, when he published his first part of the Herbal, were the chief; in which view he will appear to have *exhibited uncommon diligence and great erudition, and fully to deserve the character of an original writer.*"

"Our author paid early attention to mineral waters . He was probably the first who wrote on the baths at Bath, in Somersetshire . He visited several of the mineral springs in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy ; and drew up, whilst abroad, a short account of ten of these waters, to which he prefixed a more enlarged History of the Waters of Bath . This was written, as it should seem, at Basil, and is dedicated to his 'well-beloved neighbours of Bath, Bristow, Wells, Winsam, and

Charde, March 10, 1557' . He adjudged the principle of Bath water to be brimstone, and possibly a little copper, from the vicinity of that metal in the neighbouring mountains . He says, he had been informed, that, besides brimstone, the King's bath held alum, and the Cross bath saltpetre; but he could find neither . He concludes his account of the baths, by a set of general rules for all who drink mineral waters; many of which do him no discredit, when compared with the injunctions of modern physicians."

There is a list of his works in the Athenæ Oxonienses, "and a more accurate and enlarged one in Bishop Tanner's Bibliotheca . Several of his tracts are yet in manuscript in various libraries . He collated the translation of the Bible, with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin copies, and corrected it in many places."* "He procured to be printed at Antwerp, a new and corrected edition of the "Historia Gentis nostræ s. Angliæ, written by William of Newburgh, from a manuscript he

* Under Thistles, he clearly shows that the passage, Luke viii. 7, Καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, in the version "and some fell upon thorns," should have been translated, and some fell among thistles; and in support of his argument brings passages from Aristotle and Dioscorides, to show that the acanthos of the Greeks was a thistle.—*(Herb. ii., 144, sig. B b. iiij.)*

found in the library of Wells: but complains that the printer not only omitted to insert certain articles sent by him, but left out the preface he sent him, substituting one of his own." "I will not conclude," says Pultney, "this short memoir of Dr. Turner without remarking, that the succeeding Herbalists—Gerard, Johnson, and Parkinson—seem not to have paid due honour to his merit and learning, from the silence they observe relating to him in their writings . Gerard, indeed, mentions in his Preface, 'that excellent work of Master Dr. Turner;' and in another place styles him 'that excellent, painefull, and diligent physition Mr Dr. Turner of late memorie' . In justice to Turner, they should have noticed all the plants he has recorded, particularly the natives of England . Ray, at the distance of near a century, was sensible of his worth, having styled him—'a man of solid erudition and judgement' . In honour of Turner, too, his name has been annexed by Plumier, the French botanist, to a new genus of plants, well known at this time in the English gardens . It was first discovered by Sloane in Jamaica, and described by him under the title of Cistus Urticæ folio."*

* Bale's Catalogue of Illustrious British Writers was printed at Basil, in 1557, at which place both he and Turner were residents during the Marian persecution: they both died in 1568.

The catalogue is said to contain an account of Turner's works; but while I have been engaged with these Memoirs I have found no opportunity of consulting it. The following extracts will serve the double purpose of filling up a blank space, and of further illustrating the life of Turner as a traveller and a botanist:—"PEPLIS is a busshy herbe, full of milky juice . It groweth amongst the vindes & in gardines . I neuer saw thys herbe in any place sauying only in Bonony, where, as my master Lucas, above xvj yeres" since, "shewed me, with many other strange herbes, which I neuer saw sence I came out of Italy."—*(Fol.* 81, *b.)* PEUCEDANUM.—"I have sene it growing not only in shaddowye hilles, as at Grenfels, in Germany, whereas I saw it first, but also in watery myddowes besyde Wormes, and also in dry myddowes, but within the breth of the Rhene . I here say that it groweth also in England, and I found a root of it at Saynt Vincentis rock, a little from Bristow . But it was nothyng so great as it of Germany."—*(Fol.* 83.) "There are three kyndes of POPULUS, the whyte, the blak, and it that is called lybica, which is leste and blackest in the lefe, and most commended of all other, for beryng of todestooles, or, as the Northumberlanders call them, *bruches.*" This "is our comon asp in England, or ellis I know not what it is." —*(Fol.* 99, *a & b.)* "PORCELLAYN is good agaynst the bytyng of a venemus beast called *Seps*, not vnlike vnto it that is called in the north parte of Englande a *Swyfte.*"—*(Fol.* 103.*)* "The wild RUE is so *gesen* and scant that I could never find it in all my life time, neither in Germany nor in England, sauing one tyme in Wessenburgh, and the sede of that was sent me from Zurich, by Dr. Gesner."—*(Fol.* 122, *b.)* Botanists, like other naturalists, as they wander over hill and dale, in eager quest of the objects of their pursuits, are counted brain-stricken and useless idlers by the careful and incurious drudges of the world; but

> How various his employments, whom the world
> Calls idle: and who justly in return
> Esteems that busy world an idler too!
>
> COWPER.

ADDENDA.

*** The preceding part of these Memoirs is printed in the author's History of Northumberland, Part II., vol. ii., under the Alphabetical Part of Morpeth. The following additions, it is supposed, will not be unacceptable to the bibliomanists who may be disposed to have a copy of this tract.

TURNER's "New Herbal," noticed above, under (d) p. 58, and printed in 1551, is the First Part of the edition of 1568; and Book II., mentioned from Watts, on p. 59, as having been printed at Collon in 1562, is the Second Part of the Herbal, and is the one of which, under (c 2), at page 61, I have said I had a perfect copy in my possession, and from which the extracts in that and the three following pages are made. Pultney says, that the First Part was re-printed with this, as well as the Book of Baths. Its title is—"The SECONDE PARTE OF VUILLIAM TURNER'S, *herbal*, wherein are conteyned the

names of the herbes in Greke, Latin, Duche, Frenche, and in the Apothecaries' Latin, and some tyme in Italiane, wyth the vertues of the same herbes wyth diuerse confutationes of no small errours, that men of no small learning haue committed in the intreatinge of herbes of late yeares.—Herevnto is ioyned also a booke of the bath of Baeth in England, and of the vertues of the same wyth diuerse other bathes most holsum and effectual, both in Almany and Englande, set furth by William Turner, Doctor of Physik." Then follows the printer's devise, and "Imprinted at Collen by Arnold Birkman. In the year of our Lord M.DLXII. Cum gratia et priuilegio Reg. Mag." Then follows The Dedication, "To the right honorable and his very good lorde syr Thomas Wentworth, knight, lorde Wentworth," on three unnumbered pages; and, on the fourth page, "The Table," consisting of 179 references to trees and plants, in English, and Finis at the end of it. The body of the work is numbered to 171 pages, and the last signature is Ff iii; after which follows one blank leaf and three pages of "Favtes and Errores."* The arrangement of the volume,

* There is some confusion in numbering the folios of this volume: for instance 96 is put for 69, and 133 for 121. Some folios are left unnumbered, as 114, 117, and 118; and from 127 to 151 nearly every folio is wrong, for 132 should be 131, and 131, 133, from which number, if its sequences be carried regularly forward to 151, the whole will be set right.

as in the other parts, is alphabetical under the Latin names of the subjects, which commence with Fagus, "the bech tre;" and end with "Xyris or Spourgwurt." The following curious extract occurs under *Spartum*. From Pliny I gather that this herbe "is a kind of sea bente or sea rish, whereof the frayles are made, that figges and rasines are carried hether out of Spayne. The same bent or sea rish haue I sene in Northumberland, besyde Ceton Delauall, and there they make hattes of it. I haue also sene it in great plenty in ii ylands of Easte Freslande, whereof the one is called Just, and the other Nordenie: there men use this rishe onelye for to make ropes of it (as Pliny writeth) and to cover houses wyth it."—(*Folio* 146, 147.)

The edition of his work on *Baths*, in 1562, bears this title—"A book of the natures and properties, as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germany and Italy, very necessary for all seik persons that can not be healed without the helpe of natural bathes, gathered by William Turner, Doctor of Physick." Then comes in the printer's usual device, a good cross-hatched wood-cut larger than the one in the Second Part of the Herbal in this year, and below it, "Imprinted at Collen by Arnold Birckman, in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.LXII." The second leaf contains on the first side, the Dedication;

and, on the second, "The names of the learned men, which write that the bathes haue the vertues and properties which hereafter in thys boke I gyve unto them;" "The names of the Bathes and places where they be, whereof is mention made in this booke;" and "The names of the sicknesses which may be healed by these bathes;" which last list of names ends upon the first side of the third leaf; on the back of which, and partly on one side of the fourth unnumbered leaf is The "Preface of the Author." The body of the work consists of 17 folios.

The *Dedication* is "To the Right Honorable and Christian Lorde Edward Semar, earl of Herford, William Tvrner wisshes the perfect knowledge of Goddis holy worde and grace to lyve thereafter with all prosperitie of body and mind;" and the following is an abridgement of it:—"After that I had bene in Itali and Germany and had sene diurse natural bathes, and was called by your father's grace;" and "after that I hard tel that their was a natural bathe within your father's dukedome, I ceased not till I got licence to go to se the same: which done I caried certaine diseased persones with me with whom I taried as long as I could, and tryed for the shortnes of the tyme (for I had very short tyme granted me) the nature and workinge of it. And after being dean of Welles, which place is not far from Bathe, and hauing liberty to tary ther so long as I list, I tried the same

bathes a litle farther, and found it by experience, that they were a verye excellent tresure and unwurthely estemed and iudged of al men: But after that for the safegard of my lyfe I was cōpelled now of late in my age to fly in to hygh Almany, occupying the office of a Phesicion there, was wyth diuerse seik folke in the bathes of Germanye (where as I trust I learned sumthinge besyde it that I knew before,) I haue written a small treatishe of the bath of Baeth here in England, and haue gathered out of divers learned mennis workes the nature and workyng of diuers of the most holsum and strong working bathes, which ar to be found either in Italy or Germany. If I shall perceye that this pore reward do please you, I shall be thereby much boldened to dedicate vnto you both greater and more learned works, as my health and lesuer wil serue. The Lord preserue you and all your brethern and systern. At London the xv. of Feb. In the year of our Lord 1560."

"The *Preface* of the author vnto his vvelbeloved neigbores of Bathe, Bristovv, vvellis, vvynsam and Charde," in an abridged form, is as follows:—"After that I had trauayled thorow Italy and Germany, and studied Pysic in these countres I saw many holsum bathes there, the vertues and properties wherof in healing of many sore and otherwyse vncurable syknesses, I haue learned partely by experience, partly by reding of

good writers, and partely by conferring with the best learned men that I could find there. The names therfore of these bathes, the places and the vertues of the same, haue I now declared vnto you in thys litle booke. I haue also writen so well as I can of the bath of Baeth in England to allure thyther as many as haue nede of suche helpe as Almighty God hath granted to gyue. Wherof, that I wote of, no man hath writen one word, that I euer could rede. I haue writen at large what diet all men shall kepe in the bathes, and how they shall prepare thēselues vnto them, and ordre themselues after that they are cummed out of the same again. If that I shall perceyue that ye do thankfully receyue these my laboure ye shall haue shortly, God willing, an other booke of the natures of all waters, and certayn rules how that euery man may make artificial bathes at home, whereby he may both kepe and deliuer himselfe from manye sore and greuous diseases. Farewell. From Basil the x Martij in the year of our Lorde 1557."

Respecting the Bath waters he has these observations: "The chefe matter whereof these bathes in this citye haue theyr chefe vertue and streingth after my iudgement is brimstone." "If there be anye thynge lightly menged with the brimstone, which thinge I could not perceyue, it must be copper. For whylse I walked aboute the mountaynes, out of the whyche the bathes do springe,

I founde here and there litle peces of marquesites and stones, menged with copper, but I could by no sense or wit perceyue, that the bathes had any notable qualitie thereof." These marquesites were probably pieces of sulpheret of iron, and what Turner in this treatise calls the "miner or matter" which produced the brimstone, which was "the chief ruler in these bathes." Modern analysis has proved that their mineral contents consist of sulphates of soda and lime, and sulpharet of iron, carbonic acid gas in very small quantity, carbonate of lime, silecious earth, and of oxide of iron in minute proportions.

In the edition of this "Booke of Baths," at Collen, in 1568, after the title, follows the preface of the author, ending with 1557; then, "An Addition* to the Booke of Bathes;" and after it the names of learned men and of the bathes, and sicknesses mentioned in it, as in the

* In this addition he says, he had learned by the experience of his friends, "that there is some alum mixed with some brimstone in the kinges bath; and some saltpeter mixed with brimstone in the Crossebath." "If anye man dout whether they have these minerals in them or no, they may cause them to be stilled and tried out according to the learninge of philosophie. I sawe that there is some saltpeter in the Crossebath by a tryal yt my frende shewed me; but yt profe yt was shewed me for the tryal of the presence of alum in the Kinge's bath liked me not so well as the other did, wherefore it were well of some honorable man to cause these bathes to be more fullye tryed, yt thereby men knowyng the trueth, euery diseased person may more boldely go into that bath which he knoweth to be most fit for the healinge of his disease."—*(Abridged.)*

edition of 1562; but the dedication to the earl of Hertford is omitted, not because he was dead, for that event did not occur till 1621; but probably because the dean of Wells spiritedly put out of the second edition of his work a compliment, for which he had received nothing but neglect,—that common currency issued by men, who, in the thraldom of the pitiable pride of birth and education, forget that they are human creatures. Deference and respect are due to rank and power; but rank and power, that treat deference and respect with studied neglect, are, to men of high-minded virtue, only proper objects of derision and scorn.

Bath was celebrated, in the Roman age, for its Hot Wells. Then it had elegant baths and sudatories, large remains of which have been discovered in modern times. Whence is it, that for so long a period as eighteen centuries, and with so much uniformity, these wells have retained their heat? Are their waters carried downwards through clefts of rocks, or along the backs and fissures of regularly inclining strata, to so great a depth below the surface, as to be heated by an increasing temperature of the earth towards its centre, and then, against the opposing side of a great fault or impervious wall of rock, suddenly forced up to the surface on the principle of an Artesian well, or syphon? Their heat is 116° Fahrenheit, that is 16° above blood heat, and 96° below boiling

heat. The Britons called this place *Caer Baden*, the City of Baths, *Caer ennant*, or City of Ointment; and the Saxons, Ace-manne—ceaſtep, or Sick-man's City. From the Roman age till Turner's time they were, however, frequented only by leporous and diseased persons and cripples from the adjoining neighbourhood. They were quite unknown, in Turner's time, to the northern and eastern parts of the kingdom. "For as all men can tell verye fewe in times paste haue bene by the aduise of Physiciones sent unto these bathes." What effect his work had while he lived, or, as he calls it, in his own "lightlye and learned tyme," in bringing them into notice and use, I have here, for want of books of reference, little means of discovering. He complained that rich men, when they knew that these baths were so profitable, would "no bestowe one penny for God's sake upon bettering and amending them, that the pore sik and deseased people yt resort thyther, might be better & soner holpen when as they are there." "There is money inough spent vpon cockfightinges tenesplayes," and other games; "but I haue not hearde tell that anye rishe man hath spente upon these noble bathes, beynge so profitable for the hole comonwelth of Englande, one grote these twentye yeares." But Harrison, in his description of England, which was first published in 1577, says—"What cost hath of late been bestowed upon these baths by diuerse

of the nobilitie gentrie communaltie and cleargie it lieth not in me to declare." The king's bath "is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, wherein be two & thirtye arches for men and women to stand in separatelie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, doo resorte thether indifferentlie:" and the same amiable and entertaining author concludes his chapter "of Baths and Hot Wells" with observing, that he hoped "some man yer long will vouch safe to perform that" respecting these bathes, "which the famous clearke, Doctor Turner, hath briefle yet happilie begun, touching the effects and working of the same."

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΥΔΩΡ.

Oh! pause awhile, whoe'er thou art
That drink'st this healing stream;
If e'er compassion o'er thy heart
Diffused its heavenly beam,

Hither the helpless stranger bring,
Relieve his heartfelt woe;
And let thy bounty, like this spring,
In genial currents flow.

ANESTY.

LETTERS FROM HORSLEY

TO

ROBERT CAY, ESQ.

"*I beg the favour of you to keep this letter as a memorandum, since the contents of it are recorded no where else, as far as I can remember.*" —(Letter 4.)

"*Whatever memoranda are not inserted in the papers, I beg you would take the trouble of packing them up with the paper, that none of them may be left, lost, or forgot.*"—(Letter 8.)

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1. To Robert Cay, esq., at Newcastle.—Morpeth, Wednesday, Nov. 15, 1727.* Sir,—I intended to have wrote to you on Monday evening; but I was prevented by the company of Professor Hamilton, and the Principal of St. Andrews. The scheme which you have laid, and according to which you intend to proceed, is in effect, when I come to consider it, just the very same with what I was

* The ink on some parts of this letter is a good deal discharged by damp, and the writing much effaced.

thinking of; and, if the map was once formed according to it, you would certainly be able to correct any error in your allowance for longitude or latitude. I still think 40 miles is too much for a degree in the one, and 54 too little for the other. I know not whether Ptolemy and Antonine could have their numbers of miles from the same hands. If there was any reason to believe this, it would be very proper to compare the Itinerary with Ptolomey's degrees of longitude and latitude: nor would it be amiss to determine how much in truth does answer to a degree of longitude, either according to the latitude of the several parts of this island, or rather Ptolomey's erroneous supposition about it. For Ptolomey, being a mathematician, could scarce be grossly mistaken about this. I have not a compleat copy of the places mentioned by Ptolomey; but of those I have, I look upon what follows to be pretty certain, from Tacitus, Antonine, Notitia, or some other reasons too long to be here inserted:

Londinium, London.
Eboracum, York.
Isurium, Aldborough.
Olicana, Ilkley in Yorkshire.
Itunæ Æstuarium, Solway Firth.
Tinæ Ostia.
Bremenium, Riechester.
Bodotria, Firth of Forth.
Tava (or Taus, as in Tacitus), Tay.
Sabrianæ Æstuarium, Severn.

I think, considering the walls and number of stations hereabout, that the length of the wall is so expressly mentioned by Roman historians, nearly contemporary with Ptolomy, this author was very likely to know

the rivers and distances hereabout. You will see plainly that Alauni Ostia and Vedræ Ostia must not be on the coast. The former, I think, is justly supposed to be South Tine. I have not time to think whether the latter can be the Caude, or any other river that runs into Eden—the antient Ituna. I have filled my paper, and so must conclude. I am, with respects to Mrs Cay, your very humble servt. J. HORSLEY.

2. To Robert Cay, esq., Newcastle.—Morpeth, 9 Feb., 1728. Sir,—I desire you would send me by the bearer the copy of the Inscriptions at Cousin's-house, for which I shall be obliged to you. If you look into Ptolomy's map, and correct the position of Scotland after the manner you did that of the Meeting-house at South Shields, I believe you'll find that Ostia Alauni, Ostia Vedræ, and Bremenium, will answer as to situation and distance with pretty much exactness to Tweedmouth, Tinmouth, and Riechester; and I am fully convinced these are the three places. I have got a pretty certain account that there is a military way running easterly and westerly, that is visible upon the Fells between Lanchester and Old Town, which can, I think, have passed from no other place but Lanchester, and to no other place but the Chesters, near Old Town. And I find that if *Lanchester* be *Glannoventa*, and Old Town *Galloua (so)*, as it is always written in the Itinerary, every thing in that iter goes on with ease

and exactness—Whitley Castle being *Alone*,* so that I believe South Shields has been early ruined and abandoned, that Lanchester (perhaps originally *Glanchester*) is *Glanoventa*, and that Old Town is *Galava*, the distance answering exactly to that in the Itinerary, as does also the distance of Whitley Castle from Old Town—the one

* I long ago ventured to differ from Horsley on the subject of the Tenth Iter of Antonine; but I believe there is little more authority for my disposal of the route of that iter, than for his.—(*See Poems, at Lanchester*, 1807, *p.* 68, *&c.*) In his Britannia, he says, "At Old Town, near Catten-beacon, on Alon-water, there are some ruins and remains of antiquity." "This station is not near so considerable, nor the ruins of it so certain, or so large, as either that at Lanchester or Whitley Castle."—(*Brit. Rom. p.* 453.) I have searched the ground, dwelling-houses, and walls of the enclosures about Old Town, for Roman remains, but without the slightest success. There is certainly a paved street or causey from that hamlet to a curious old stone bridge over the East Alne; but I do not recollect that this street is seen on the other side of the bridge, in the direction towards Whitley Castle. Warburton, however, strongly contends (and Authority, I cannot tell for what reason, continues to be attached to his name), that Alone, or Alione, was at Old Town, and says, that the station there had a portway seven yards broad, all paved with stone, ranging between it and Portgate, and that it was situated on the very brink of the river Alone, and of a square figure, entrenched.—(*Hutch. Northumb i.*, 115.) It seems extraordinary, that there is no account in Horsley or in Warburton's letters, of the antient way from Budle, by the Charletons, southward; or of that which runs eastward from Rochester, in Redesdale, by Halystone, and through the parishes of Alwinton and Rothbury, towards Whittingham. A knowledge of these, to the antiquaries of the beginning of the 19th century, would have opened a rich source of speculation for routes for the Tenth Iter.

18 measured, for Roman miles—the other 12. Perhaps, as the name of the second station is wrote both Galaua and (though I know not by what authority) *Gallana*, it has been originally Gallauna, and may have its name from *Alauna* or *Alon-water*, which probably has been one Alauna, though not Ptolomey's. My service to Mrs Cay. I am your humble servant, J. HORSLEY.

3. To Robt. Cay, esq., at his house in Westgate, Newcastle, with some papers, with care.—Morpeth, Monday night. [No other date.] Dear Sir,—I have sent you some more papers, and some other miscellaneous hasty remarks, which you may consider at your leisure. And if a proper place for inserting them occur to you, please to polish'em a little, and add them where you think fit, if you think them worthy of notice. Probably the reason, that Ptolomy gives the name of *Devana* to Chester instead of Deva, may be, that it went by the name of *Colonia Divana*, as in one of Geta's Coins. I see, under the command of the Comes, Britanniæ was the whole province, but never a garrison in it, according to the Notitia. Does not this favour the conjecture, that the middle of England was that part which was under the command of the Comes Britannia,* because in fact, that there were no Roman garrisons there at the time when

* See Brit. Rom. p. 480.

the Notitia was wrote? I observe that, in one of the inscriptions to Hadrian, he is said to be consul the second or third time, i. e. either A. D. 118 or 119. These inscriptions were most likely to be erected when that emperor was here in person, and probably when the vallum was building. If so, this shows that he came over to Britain and erected the vallum more early than is generally supposed.* The *Nervii Dictenses* were at Dictum, according to the Notitia, and the *Cohors sexta Nerviorum*,† at Virosidum. This I have supposed to be Elenborough, and the other the Workington station, or Moresby, which are very near to each other. Perhaps the Nervii Dictenses might be a part or detachment of this cohort; and then this would favor or strengthen the aforesaid conjecture; for the Cohors tertia Nerviorum‡

* See Brit. Rom. p. 305.

† The Cohors sexta Nerviorum were probably, at one time, quartered at Great Chesters on the Wall, as the following inscription, which I copied from an original tablet at Walltown, a little to the west of that station, and which, I was told, was supposed to have been brought from Great Chesters, seems to prove:—VICTORIE AVG. COH. VI. NERVIORVM CVI PRAE. EST. C. IVL. BARBARVS PRAE. FEC. V.S.L.M. The purport of which is, that Caius Julius Barbarus, Prefect of the Sixth Cohort of the Nervij, set up some monument or figure in due performance of a vow for a victory of Augustus, i. e. of one of the Roman emperors.

‡ Hutchinson found an inscription erected by Julius Caninus, Prefect of the Third Cohort of the Nervii, to Mars the Conqueror, in the wall of a house at Vindolana, or Little

was at a much greater distance, being at Alone, or Whitley Castle. The Cohors prima Dalmatorum, the Cohors prima Hispanorum, and Cohors prima Bætasiorum, appear by inscriptions to have been all three, though in all

Chesters, at which station the Notitia places the Tribune of the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls; and recent researches in that interesting fort, by its proprietor, the rev. A. Hedley, have, among other curious antiquities, brought to light several fine altars, and one inscribed by the Prefect of the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls, which fully establishes the accuracy of the Notitia. The finest of these altars is four feet nine inches high, and bears the following inscription. The lines 9 and 10 have been purposely obliterated.

I . O . M
CETERIS . QVE
DIIS . IMMORT
ET . GEN . PRAETOR
Q . PETRONIVS
Q . F. FAB . VRBICVS
PRAEF . COH . IIII
GALLORVM
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
EX . ITALIA
DOMO . BRIXIA
VOTVM . SOLVIT
PRO SE
Ac SVIS.

A stork with a young one, spiritedly drawn on this side.

A stork standing on one leg, and clutching its prey in the other, on this side.

The other altars found with it are considerably mutilated; but one of them has *genio* upon it, and the other *genio praetori*, which last words should, I think, as Mr Hedley suggests, be read—To the genius of the Pretorium,—which is synonymous to the common dedication—*Genio loci.* Many inscriptions in Gruter are dedicated to Jupiter, the rest of the immortal Gods, and the genius of the place where they were erected: and, in the same work, there are inscriptions to the Genii of a great

probability not altogether, at Elenborough. The first I find no where in the Notitia, unless there be a mistake in the copy, and the cohors secunda be the same which was at Magnæ or Caervorran on the Wall; the second, according to the Notitia, was at Axelodunum on the Wall; and the last at Regulbium, in Kent. Camden *(last edit., p.* 1022) makes Warwick Virosidum, and Linstock Olenacum, only from an imaginary resemblance of sound; for it is not pretended that there are any evidences of Roman stations, or remains of Roman antiquity here. What

variety of objects, as of Cassus the ensign bearer, of the army, of a granary, of the lares of the Pupian granary, of the baths of Metellus, of this place and Fortune, of a town, of the deity of a fountain, of the town Sebetanum, of Sleep, and many others. In all these inscriptions, the word *genio* is followed by a word in the genitive case. There is also in Gruter, an inscription to the memory of a soldier from Brixia, or as it is now called Brescia, a fine town in Italy, "rebus omnibus affluens & solertis ingenij populo," whom Scaliger has complimented with the character of being "gens nescia fraudis."

Q. BISIVS SECVNDVS
Q . F . DOMO . BRIX .
MIL . LEG X . G . 7 . COMINI
CELSI . AN . XXX . STIP . VII
HERED . EX . T . F . C.—*(P.* 534.)

The well-known tablet found at Risingham, in Northumberland, and inscribed to the Divinities of the Emperors by the *fourth cavalry Cohort of the Gauls*, has a stork on one corner of it, which, like the birds of Piety and Gratitude on the new Vindolana altar, were no doubt intended as symbols of doctrines taught in the Pagan rites. See Gesner de Avibus; sed hactenus hæc.

think you of Cambden's opinion, that Brementuracum is Brampton? Objections against it are—its nearness to the Wall and Cambeck-fort, and want of sufficient evidences of a Roman station there; and the military way which goes by Watch Cross, points towards Brampton, and the part of the Wall to be strengthened by this garrison would answer very well; for then, every of the five secondary stations would stand upon different military ways leading to different parts of the Wall at regular distances.

I would fain, as I said before, have somewhat sent to London as soon as possible, and yet I believe it will be necessary to transcribe some sheets which are not legible, and to correct any word or expression that is any way obscure or improper. This I leave entirely to your discretion and judgment, if you can but spare time to run them once over again before they go away. If you take the trouble of sending them away, please to direct them for Mr John Osburne, bookseller, at the Ship, in Paternoster Row. I was unaccountably interrupted and hindered when I was at Newcastle, so as that I could get little or nothing done, and am afraid that the little I did do will not be legible or intelligible.

I wish you would correct the mistakes in the Maps, which you observed, and add your own observations about the shape or form of the island, the south-west of Scotland being so far extended, as another reason why

the war and inroads were most on that side; for I like the reason very well. I have sent some papers, with directions for the engraver. Please to put them up beside the Maps of the Walls, and add the two numbers which are wanting. The numbers to be added are those of the Map, in which the places mentioned in the directions are contained. In the Map of the military way from South Shields, the Deenbush* should be added on the east side of the three or four prick lines, which denote the greater visibility of the way. You will know best where and how to insert it; and I think there should be a plurality of marks where there is a village in this Map, as well as those of the Wall. I am, in haste, your obliged humble servant, J. HORSLEY.

4. To Mr Robert Cay, in his house in Westgate, Newcastle, with some papers.—Morpeth, 22nd April,

* If the Map here alluded to was not No. 2, at p. 158, it probably was never engraved, as no other Map accompanies the book in which the Roman way from South Shields is laid down; but on that, opposite to the middle of Jarrow Sleck, three dotted lines are put on the west side of the track of Wrekendike, which, at p. 451 of the Britannia, is described to be there sensibly raised above the level of the adjoining ground; but "Deanbush" is not marked on any part of that Map. Featherwood, in Letter No. 10, is also mentioned as "omitted in the Map, and if so, by mistake." I think it probable, that some general map of England was intended to accompany the Britannia, but omitted on account of the expence of getting it up, or of the author's health not allowing him to construct it.

1728. Sir,—I sent you in some more papers by Mr Wilson, which I hope you have received, and desire you would examine them with the same freedom with which you have done the others. I beg you would correct the mistakes you observed in the Maps in such a manner as you yourself shall think proper, that so they may not be forgot. The 2d Map, No. 2, must be corrected by No. 1, which is right. There are some other remarks which have occurred to me, which I beg you would insert in their properest place, if there be nothing of that same nature mentioned any where in the papers already, which I do not remember at present. *Brougham* may seem to carry in it a good deal of the sound of Brocavum, and so further confirm this opinion to those who are disposed to lay a stress upon such affinity of names. But I should rather prefer another etymology of the name Brough-am, and suppose it to be compounded of *Burgh*, or *Brugh*, and *Ham*, and to signify the same as Castle-ton.*

N.B. This following passage to be just added at the end of the present state of the Wall. Cambden, page 1017, supposes that the Wall began "A mile beyond

* Brit. Rom. 435. The antient spelling of this name is Burgham, in which manner the name of the ancestors of the present Lord Chancellor, owners of the manor of Brougham, was written in the time of Henry II., and for many generations afterwards.—(*Burn's Westm.* 393.)

Bouness, as appears by the foundations at low water." But upon search and enquiry into this matter, I could not find or hear of any thing of this nature, that could be relied on; and, therefore, am of the opinion, that it has been the foundation of one of the small forts or castles which were placed along the side of the Firth, that has led him into this error.*

I believe the gentleman's mistake about *Brementuracum* for Borcovicus has been occasioned by misunderstanding a passage in Cambden *(last edition, pp.* 1033, 1034.) "This," viz. Brampton, in Cumberland, "I take to be the Bremeturacum along the Wall where formerly the first cohort of the Tungri, and in the decline of the Roman empire, the *Cuneus Armaturarum*, were in garrison. It is evident that Cambden meant nothing more than that this cohort of the Tungrians was formerly, that is, in the former part of the Roman empire here, somewhere about this Brampton; but that, in the decline of the empire, or when the Notitia was wrote, the Cuneus Armaturarum was at Brementuracum, and the Cohors prima Tungorum at Borcovicus.

* Brit. Rom. p. 158. Dugdale's Baronage, ii., p. 24, from Leland's Itinerary, vol. 6, fol. 59, says, that lord Dacre, upon the old ruins at Drumbugh (not Drumbrugh, as in Horsley, p. 157), built up a little castle for the defence of the country, for the structure whereof he took stones out of the Picts' Wall, which is near unto it.

Brementuracum is the third of the five stations* that are not rigorously upon the line of the Wall; but in another line near, and nearly parallel to it. I am in doubt whether this can be the same with Brougham, or old Penrith, that is, Brocavum or Vereda, in the Itinerary. The considerable ruins and large remains of Old Penrith make it more probable that it has been a Notitia station; and, if any, I think Brementuracum. On the other hand there is some little more affinity between Brocavum and Brementuracum, than between this and Vereda; but then, the station of Brougham wants that criterion of a Notitia station which the other has. Perhaps Vereda has been re-built, and taken a new name, when it was so. This is agreeable enough to the history, to which I refer without taking any notice of the different ways of writing both Vereda and Brementuracum.

* Concerning these five stations, see one of Horsley's letters to Gale, Hutch. Northumb. i. 41. He seems to have been strongly interested in finding out the actual situation of Bremetenracum, which is one of the five puzzling stations which stand at the end of the list of garrisoned fortresses on the line of the Wall, and which follow Tunnocellum in the following order:—Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, Olenacum, Virosidio. Are not the three first of these five stations the same as Glannibanta, Alone, and Bremetonacis, of the Tenth Iter of Antonine? The whole of them and the Tenth Iter seem to have haunted and harassed the mind of the author of these letters, and after all his trouble, reasoning, and conjecture, his last opinions upon them seem to be as dubious as the first.

It may seem a little hard to suppose two stations to have been so near as at Carlisle and Stanwix. But it is very possible that the station upon the Wall at Stanwix might not be built till that at Carlisle was abandoned or ruined. All the stations upon the Wall were probably repaired in the decline of the Roman empire, and some new ones, it may be, erected. But Luguvallium seems to have been one of those that were in being at the time of writing the Itinerary, but not maintained till the writing of the Notitia, for it is not mentioned in it.*

As the author of the Notitia appears in other cases to have pursued some certain course, or observed some certain rule, in his account of the stations, so it is, also, highly probable that he has set down the stations per Lineam Valli in some certain regular order. The stations upon the wall and near it, mentioned in the Notitia, were probably those which, according to the history, were repaired, or erected anew, by Theodosius, in the reign of the emperor Valentinian the First. See the Historical Part. Vegetius, lib. 2, cap. 2,—Barbaricæ nationes, *catervis* utebantur in prælis, in quibus erant sena millia armatorum.—The word catervæ somewhere occurs in the papers in a quotation from Tacitus, where,

* Brit. Rom. 114. It is called *Lugubalum* in Ravenna's Chorography, and in that work stands between Bereda and Magnis.

I believe, it would be proper to add this from Vegetius, by way of marginal note.—Ibid. ad finem capitis . Documentum est magnitudo Romana, quæ semper cum legionibus dimicans, tantum hostium vicit, quantum vel ipsa, voluit, vel rerum natura permisit. This may be added to the reasons why Cæsar brought over only two legions with him to Britain : viz., the great confidence they reposed in their legions, and the surprizing success the Romans often had met with, and frequent victories obtained over enemies vastly superior to them in numbers. I find by inscriptions that the legio secunda Augusta, in the reign of Hadrian, was at Netherby and Bewcastle. Could they be posted there in these advanced stations to guard or secure the workmen that were building the Vallum? [This to be added where I observe in the antient state of the wall, that the Romans had advanced stations when the wall was building, if not added already.]

When the Cohors sexta Nerviorum, which appears by an inscription to have been at Brugh, in Richmondshire, advanced to Virosidum, Elenborough, I suppose the Cohors prima Hispanorum, which by inscriptions was at Elenborough, moved to Axelodunum, Brugh upon the Wall. Somewhat of the same nature may be observed as to the Cohors 2da Thracum. I observe that Virosidum and Dictis were both garrisoned by Nervij, which

may favour the opinion that Virosidum is Elenborough, and Dictis the station near Workington. The Cohors 2da Thracum was about Moresby or Workington.

Query, how far the name Pons Ælij, supposing it to be taken from Ælius Hadrianus, the emperor, will prove the station prior to the Wall or vallum, or that this station was built at the same time with the Vallum.

Brampton was Bremeturacum, according to Camden. The affinity of name and the situation, in one respect, make for it; the situation, in another respect, makes against it—too near the wall: too much out of the 2d line: no proof of a station there: the work near it I thought modern. Can Virosidum and Voluntium be the same?

The Cohors secunda Lingorum was at the Moresby station, near Workington, but might remove from thence when the Nervij came there.

I have just mentioned these remarks as they occurred to me, and wish they were inserted in their proper places. However, I beg the favour of you to keep this letter as a memorandum, since the contents of it are recorded no where else, as far as I can remember.

I have sent you the Historical Part, and another chapter, whose title you will see in the papers. That which is designed as a sort of a table of all the places and garrisons in the Notitia, I shall take care to have better

transcribed from the original itself. I would fain have somewhat sent to London, that they may make a beginning. But I hope to see you shortly, and, in the mean time, am your obliged, humble servant,

JOHN HORSLEY.

5. To Mr Robt. Cay, at his house, in Westgate, Newcastle. [No date.] Sir,—I received your's, and thank you for it. The hint you give me determines the order in which the parts you have must be placed, and that the Historical Part must be first; for, as it was wrote first, so in it I now well remember that I refer to the account of the Wall as posterior, and in the account of the Wall to the other as prior. The only question is—whether or no the collection of inscriptions and notes upon them must not be first of all. This seems the most natural, because it is the foundation upon which, in a great measure, the other is built. If you could look over the Historical Part, I believe most part of it might be sent away; though I know what relates to the chronology needs transcribing more than any: but if the engraver be set on work it will be enough.

There should, I think, be a direction given to the engraver with respect to the draught of Elsdon Fort;*

* There is no engraving of this highly interesting earth-work in the Britannia Romana; but in it the author says: "'Tis

that is, he should be told that the round part overtops, or is about as high again from the ground, as the other; and let him represent this in the best manner he can.

The journal, if there be any, is sent by mistake, being I suppose, the account I have taken on some of my journeys by way of memorandum.

certain from the" fort "at Elsdon, that the *Romans* sometimes used circular forts here in Britain, at least upon the top of a hill."—(P. 101.) He also describes the antiquities found upon it; and at p. 396 says, "a military way seems to have gone from Elsdon through Greenchesters to Watling-street, passing by Elishaw, and falling near Blaikhope on Watling-street." But he has no where, that I see, printed a description of it. However, in a loose half sheet of Memoranda of a Journey from Morpeth into Redesdale, he has the following minutes:—"On Thursday, Feb. 6, 1729, I came from Otterburn, and called at Elsdon. I observed that they called the Roman fort there the *Mote*, not the Mount, and that the lower part had been rather square than curve, only the angles turned off in a curve, as usual, and the falling down of the rampart makes it appear more like a curve. The entrance to the circular fort was on the south side, and a cast all the way on the side of the hill from the foot of the western bank, going obliquely to this entrance. Upon the top of the tower, or (now) parsonage house, is a coat of arms crosslets, and under it these letters, as they told me, and as I could read them from the ground—*Rodaid*, in the Saxon or old characters. I, upon this occasion, heard again of the *Battle Shank*, near Catcleugh, which was a great cairn, or rather the ground is called Battle Shank, on which this cairn stood, which was a great heap of common roundish stones, which were led away not many years ago; but I could not hear of any bones or any antiquities found among the stones. I heard also of the place called *Battle Trees*, near Otterburn, where they say there were several burial places, and an old"—The rest worn off the bottom of the page.

I find Pancirollus expressly asserts, *(Imper. Occid., cap.* 71,) Ala Herculea ab Herculeo Maximiano est dicta.

The bridge, St. Angelo, at Rome, was antiently called Pons Ælius, from its being built by the emperor Ælius Hadrianus. *(Montfaucon, vol.* 4, *p.* 116.) Could the bridge at Newcastle be built at the same time with the Vallum? According to Montfaucon, *(vol.* 4, *p.* 82,) the stations æstiva, as well as hyberna, were sometimes built of stone.

I think it would not be amiss to take a more particular notice of the confirmation the scheme concerning the stations per lineam Valli receives from Whitley castle's being confirmed by an inscription to be Alone, and falling in so patly in the second line. I have no great doubt about any of the rest; but I am not satisfied about Brementuracum. I am your very humble servant,

J. Horsley.

6. To Mr Robert Cay, at Newbiggin, to be left at Mr Ralph Emmerson's, in the Groat Market, Newcastle.—Morpeth, Monday.—Sir,—I find Gordon does not take the least notice of a station near Halton or Portgate. He mentions some ruins at the Chapel Houses, not far from you; but does not take them to have been a station. I wish you could view them, because the distance

from Newcastle and Rochester* will suit better there than at Benwell; and this may be supposed to have been abandoned after the time of Antoninus Pius and the building Severus's wall. The Roman foot I find is, according to the model to be seen in the capitol, to the English foot as 1306 to 1350; though others will have it to be as 1334 to 1350.

As the line of the wall appeared clearly to me to pass over the east or south side of Pandon Gate, I am much of the opinion that it has taken a small turn there or at the Stockbridge,† and shall take it for granted that it has done so, if that bridge and the Nether-dene-bridge be found much on a line one with another, and with the other places through which we supposed the wall to have passed to the Westgate. And I am apt to think, upon enquiry, you will find it to be so: or, perhaps, the two angles have been just at the two gates.

I think the scheme of the stations per lineam Valli will certainly hold good. I have been agreeably surprized to find, since I came home, that Dumbugh Castle may

* This is Newbigging in the parish of Newburne. It is about a mile west of Fenham, and at present the seat of Henry Bell, esq.

† Stockbridge had, probably, no high antiquity, having been made long after the Roman age, for its very name imports that it was made of wood.

be proved by undoubted inscriptions to be the antient Axelodunum; and I am amazed that inscriptions there and at Aydon Castle (that is near the station we observed) should never have been made use of before to determine the one to be Axelodunum and the other Hunnum. I have sent you an old copy of the stations per lineam Valli, which I had by me. I have not time to transcribe it; but have just added hastily what I take at present to be the places; though I am a little doubtful as to some of them. But Tunnocellum is undoubtedly Itunæ Ocellum—Promontorum Itunæ, and a proper place for marines. The other five stations appear, by Alone, to be on the south side, and at some small distance from the wall. I write in haste, and am, your very humble servant,

JOHN HORSLEY.

No. 7. [Address torn off.] Morpeth, Friday night.—Sir,—I thought to have seen you to-morrow at Newcastle; but I believe I shall be disappointed. I must beg the favour of you to send me back what you have among the papers relating to the wall in Scotland. I should also have a letter of your brother about some inscriptions to be farther examined, which I believe is among the bundle of letters, and another of baron Clerk's, which has in it an inscription at Middleby, in Scotland. I received your copies of inscriptions at Mr Shaw's, and upon comparing the one with the other, I find the Greek

inscription to be the same in sense with the Latin—ΤΙΤ. ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟC ΤΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟC—Titus Flavius Titianus Tribunus. Titianus is mentioned, I believe, in Gruter. However, Titianus is a Roman and a consular name. Your copy has in the third line in the flaw ΛΤΙΑΝΟ—mine and Mr Mark's do not make the first obscure stroke oblique. Your humble servant,

J. HORSLEY.

8. To Mr Robert Cay, at his house, in the Westgate, Newcastle. Morpeth, 26th June, 1728.—Sir,—I have sent you by bearer another pacquet; and must give you the trouble of putting up the whole, and sending them away by the London carrier. What materials are yet undigested, or memoranda not yet inserted, must remain so till we come to London.

I have sent you inclosed Mr Mark's opinion and observations about the military way:—Nec nostrum est tantas componere lites. I am to preach on Friday afternoon, but shall be at liberty about 3 o' th' clock, and should be glad then to have an hour's conversation with you in your way to Alnwick, if your affairs will not permit you to stay here all night.

Whatever memoranda are not inserted in the papers I beg you would take the trouble of packing them up with the paper, that none of them may be left, lost, or forgot. I am pleased with the account of the sculpture

at Risingham, which now puts my opinion beyond all doubt or exception, viz.: that the three figures are Æsculapius, Telesphorus, and Hygiera; and as for Robbing of Risingham, I see as little reason to question, but it must be the emperor Commodus in the habit of Hercules.

I desire you would take a memorandum of what number of inscriptions are in each county, and how many published before, and how many not, and bring it with you. Your much obliged humble servant,

J. Horsley.

9. To Mr Robert Cay, in Westgate, Newcastle upon Tyne. Bath, 20th July, 1728.—Sir,—I am got thus far and no further yet in my way to London. I would have given you a particular account of what I have done or discovered in my journey, but it cannot well be comprehended in a letter. The first discovery was of a station at Piercebridge, which is beyond all contradiction. I had the hint from Dr. Hunter, and my farther enquiries put it out of all doubt. The house-steads are remaining, that is, the foundations of them. Coins are thrown up every day, several of which I purchased myself.* This, I believe, is a Notitia station; but not

* July 5, 1831.—I observed a tomb of the kistvaen kind above the limestone quarry, in the township of Carlebury,

mentioned in the Itinerary. There is nothing at Congleton, Bangor, or Old Radnor: only the two last are certainly very antient places. No military way can be discovered or traced out near Chester; but from Abergeveny to this place, I believe the stations, military way, and distances, are certain; but in Wales, a Roman mile is just $\frac{2}{3}$ of a computed one.

I sent Mr Mark to Meywood,* (and a wretched way he had to it,) who tells me, that there seems to be one side or more of the station remaining, and other ruins: but as the ruins may be of buildings not so old as Roman, I cannot say that I am fully satisfied as to this matter.

At Wroxeter, three miles from Shrewsbury, nearly S. east, there has been a vast town and station, which is generally supposed to be Uriconium. The military way

which is separated by a small brook from that of Piersbridge, in which the station is situated. Carlebury, indeed, seems to have contained the suburbs of the station, for numerous Roman coins and other curiosities have very frequently been found in it.

* This place is Meifod, or Meivod, in Montgomeryshire, and supposed to be the Mediolanium of Ptolomy, or the Medeolanum of the Itinerary and Ravennas; Geraldus Cumbrensis says, that in his time it had many remains of high antiquity; but, though many skilful antiquaries have explored the whole neighbourhood of the village, not a vestige of Roman antiquity has ever been discovered at or near it. The antient importance of the place is further shown by the Princes of Powys being buried in its church, which stands in a burial ground of nine acres.

is here very visible in some places, and all people call it Watling-street. I was told it bore this name to Old Radnor: but after 15 miles riding, in half way between Church Stretton and Ludlow, I lost both name and thing, nor could I hear the least tittle of it in all my way to Old Radnor and from it.

Mr Mark discovered a Roman encampment at least, if not a station, with a military way very visible, near a place called Clero or Clethro,* but I have not yet had the exact distances from him.

The Watling-street, as it goes from Wroxeter northward, seems manifestly to be on a line to the east, and so does the general tradition make it to do. Can the military way to Chester have gone off, and returned pretty quickly to the other? The station at Manchester is very visible, being a little out of the south end of the town.

What puzzles me is, that the distance from Tadcaster to Chester (Calcaria to Deva) is of a less number of Roman miles, than the nearest cut is of computed, if the account I have be right, for I directly enquired about it.

The remains and evidences of stations at Caerleon and Cairwent, six Welsh miles the one from the other, are remarkable and great, and the military way very con-

* Clethro, in Wales.

spicuous. The Itinerary makes the distance between Isca and Venta Silurum 9 miles. These two places I look upon to be as certain as any.

I have scarce left room to tell you that Master Hall is very well, and gives his love to you and Mrs Cay, and that I am, to you and her, an obliged, humble servant, J. HORSLEY.

10. [The address torn off.] Blossom's Inn, July 30, 1728.—Sir,—I have received your letter since I came to town; but have not yet had an opportunity of enquiring about the papers you have been so kind as to send up. I should be glad to have the remainder as soon as you can, because, otherwise, I shall not see them whilst I am here; and, if that cannot be done, it may perhaps do as well to let them stay where they are till I return.

If you go to Whitehaven, I wish you could take the dimensions and draught of the equestrian Figure* at Elenborough, for the very rudeness of it is a curiosity; and, when you are there, you may also look over the other inscriptions, particularly there is one with the name L. Abancus, or Abareus, in it, and a C after the name, as remember. We differ in a letter or two from

* This figure, No. LXXIV. of the Cumberland Inscriptions in the Britannia, was engraved from a draught furnished by Dr. Stukely.

Mr Gordon; and I would be glad to be more fully ascertained which of us are in the right.

As for your queries, I believe they the R was generally, though, I believe, not only, used in the later times; but I shall consider it farther when I revise the inscriptions.

The word Triputiensis should be in the inscription as well as in the reading, and has been omitted in the transcribing.

The V in the 4th foreign inscription falls without the compass of my alphabet, which I confine to the originals in Britain, being unwilling to make myself answerable for what I never have seen, nor ever can see in the original. You will see one V a little round at the bottom of the alphabet, if it has not been omitted by mistake, which is taken from an original.

As for the goddess Tertiana, she has been taken by all for a local goddess, like Matunus, Monnus, Setloceina, &c., and in this I concurred with others. The doctor's conjecture is ingenious; but the original of the inscription is lost.

I incline to read Benef. Consulis rather than Cæsari, from other parallel instances, where it is COS, and so cannot be otherwise read than Consulis.*

It is usual, I think, to print the readings either in

* Brit. Rom. Northum. LXXX. Dur. XXVIII.

capitals or else in a particular character. But this is a matter of no great importance.

If Fetherwood be omitted in the map, it must be by mistake;* because, if I rightly remember, I saw the observations with relation to it, which Mr Mark had taken in the survey book.

We would have been glad to have heard of Mrs Cay's safe delivery. Master Hall is well, and desires to be remembered to you all. He has received no letter yet from home. I am your obliged, humble servant,

J. Horsley.

The two boxes are both come safe, and are with Mr Osburne, but not yet opened; for what reason I know not, for I have not yet seen the bookseller.

No. 11. To Mr Robert Cay, at his house in Westgate, Newcastle.—Sir,—I have sent you a pacquet of papers, maps, &c., relating to the Britannia Romana. I am quite wearied out with them; but I am in great hopes that if you fall fresh to the work, you will go far to complete it, upon the foundation I have laid; though in some places the foundation itself may need your helping hand a little.

* This remark probably relates to the author's Map of Northumberland, as it does not appear that any map comprising Redesdale is given in the Britannia; which work is certainly deficient in not containing a list of the plates which should accompany it.

You will be obliged to compare maps, essays, &c., altogether, in order to be thoroughly apprized of my scheme. When that is done, I believe, if a new map was drawn, having for its foundation a line from London to Lincoln, and another nearly perpendicular to it, from London to Bath, and two lines more, perpendicular, or nearly so, one to another, from London to Venonæ, and from London to Colchester,—I believe a new map might be formed from the Itinerary, that, for aught I know, might be more correct and exact than most of our modern maps. In forming this map, I believe, parallels and perpendiculars, with respect to the lines of the way, must be very much kept to. In a few instances, the particular numbers must be corrected from the sum total prefixed to the iters, or from some other cogent manifest reasons, for which I must refer to the papers; and, I doubt not, more of this nature will occur to yourself. Camden, Dr. Gale, &c., should still be farther consulted for remains of stations and ways, though I have taken a good deal of pains that way myself: perhaps more may still be discovered that has escaped my notice. It would be well to have a map for the Notitia stations and ways, and another for the Itinerary. I would have sent you the modern map, but I believe all the common maps are of the same size.

There would be no great difficulty in settling the

whole affair without making use of any military way or station, but what is imagined or invented to one's hand; but I would gladly, if I could, build upon a surer foundation than either other people's imagination or my own.

So far had I writ before I heard you were gone to London: now I hope my letter will find you safely returned.

I have been trying what could be done to form a map according to the before mentioned scheme; but it will not do with any great measure of exactness. The way must be bent a little; and the angles are not exactly right ones, though not very different from them. Yet I suspect that the Romans have supposed Lincoln to be directly north from London; and Dr. Stukely says expressly that the Herman Street runs directly north and south; and then I would also conclude that they had looked upon the Bath as directly west from London, the first course of Watling Street nor. west, and that way to Colchester N. east, though these ways are not exactly so in fact.

There is nothing else can be done, I think, but to make the map of England as exact as one can, and to set off the course of the military ways according to the best intelligence we have, distinguishing between what are certain and visible, and what only conjectural; and then to compare the distance in our modern maps with those in the Itinerary and with the computed miles, and so to

correct one thing by another, and take what upon the whole appears to be truest.

If we had Beighton's late map of Warwickshire, it would give us pretty certainly the course of Watling Street through that county.

If Ogilby's measures could be relied on, it would certainly be a good way to try the several counties according to those numbers, and some common general scale. By this one might guess what counties are enlarged and what are contracted.

I think the military way from Silchester towards Salisbury would rather, according to Mr Gale's account of it, tend to Amsbury, (where Mr Gale, in his letter at the end of Gordon, observes, that there is a large camp called Vespasian's camp.) But I doubt this will still do no service.

Could the side station of Vindonis be any where on the military way (so supposed) called Stane Way, or Stane Street, in Surry?

I have chose to send the extract from the new survey of Mr Salmon, and leave it to your perusal. You may, if you please to take the trouble, insert any thing you think worth inserting in the proper place of the papers; for it is time now for me to finish a letter that was begun before you went to London. I need not desire you

to preserve what loose papers and memorandums I have sent in the box.

If it falls in your way to procure me an authentic account of the quantity of coals sent from Newcastle to London yearly, or any thing else that is curious and fit for a natural history, you will please to be mindful of me. I think to spend my leisure time this winter on that subject. I shall be most at a loss about the baronies and law affairs, but I hope our good friend, Mr Collingwood, will lend me a lift at that dead weight.

My service attends Mrs Cay. I am your very humble servant, J. HORSLEY.

Morpeth, 18 Septemb., 1729.

EXTRACTS

FROM HORSLEY'S MS. HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

*** *The last paragraph of the last letter evidently refers to the History of Northumberland and Durham, which he projected, and began to compile in* 1729. *The part respecting Durham has not been found; of that relating to Northumberland, nearly the whole is in the form of Memoranda, and in a rather rough and unfinished state; I will, however, conclude this little volume with a few extracts from it.*

"PREFACE. There is a small book published under the name of The Natural History of Westmorland and Cumberland, the philosophical part of which will by no means be grateful to the taste of a modern Virtuoso; but as far as the Natural History of the two counties which I now venture to undertake, I know not that it has ever been attempted by any before."—(P. 5.)

"NATURAL CURIOSITIES. *Prestwick Carr* is large and remarkable. In the dry summer A. D. ....., I

remember the water was so much exhausted, that a vast number of the roots of trees became visible, and in many the marks of the axe were very visible, certain, and easy to be discerned and distinguished. This may further help us to account for the trees that are found in mossy grounds, and shows that such grounds have formerly been covered with wood, in all probability."—(P. 31.)

"In the year 1723 was a dry summer. Prestwick Carr almost free of water, we crossed the middle of it."—(P. 187.)

"I remember the late Mr Potts, of Prestwick, told me a pleasant story of a south country gentleman, who would not be dissuaded from going through the Carr at the nearest cut to Berwick-hill. He proceeded very briskly at first, but his carreer was effectually stopped before he got far; and then he, who had before resolutely refused the advice of some who were upon the Carr, was glad to accept their assistance. With some difficulty they first dragged out himself, who was sunk down to the arm-pits, and then got out his mare. When the company were afterward drinking the token he gave them, and he lying in bed, they began to talk of dividing the Carr, he pleasantly told them they might share it among them as they pleased for him, for he had got enough of it already."

"It would certainly be a fine spot of ground if drained

and divided. But I believe there is no great prospect of having either the one or the other done on a sudden. Pont, when in a flood, runs into the Carr, so that they cannot have much level on that side; however, it might be drained by cutting a large ditch, and raising a large mound on each side of it, so as to exceed the greatest height that Pont ever flows to. This they do in Holland."—(P. 31.)

"COQUET. Some have taken a particular notice of its having been twice dry, or nearly so, as far down as Weldon. This, as usual, was looked upon as ominous. But it is easy to account for it, without supposing any thing preternatural in it. A sudden strong frost may stop the springs or higher part of the water for a short space; or a strong violent wind will sometimes produce such an effect. *A relation* of my own informed me that a pretty rapid water, which runs between the two Newtons, in Glendale, was once entirely dry when he passed it. It comes down from the neighbouring mountains, and it was a keen frost that morning; so that my friend himself was of the opinion that the springs were frozen or dammed up for a time.

"This river rises not far from the borders. It flows close to some Roman fortified ground, near a little house called *Gamblespeth*, just on the boarder; and then passes

close by a house called *Mack-a-din*, which, with a small estate, belongs to Mr Robson."—(P. 37.)

"THE LODGE, or SEATON LODGE, the seat of the late Sir John Delaval, is said by some to have been the finest *thatched* house in the kingdom. Query, if yet thatched: Sir John used to value it for this. At a small distance" "stands SEATON DELAVAL, the rising glory of the north." "This grand edifice may deserve a more particular description than my narrow compass would allow me to give to any other. The late admiral Delaval, brother to Edward Delaval, of Dissington, esq., whose son inherits this and some other large estates in this county, ordered, and begun this sumptuous building; and, as is said, made a large provision in his will for the finishing of it. It is not yet finished; but the design may be thoroughly known from what is already completed."—(P. 85.)

"WIDDRINGTON CASTLE has been built at several times, for which reason it wants that regularity and uniformity which it might have had if the design and building had been at once; but yet it has an agreeable situation, and somewhat that looks grand and magnificent. It was inhabited by the late lord Widdrington, and, since his forfeiture, the estate was purchased by the York Building's Company, in whose possession it now is. In a little time, it is probable, the same fate will at-

tend this castle, that has laid a great many others in ruins and neglect. The antient name of the family was *Wodrington*. (Quære, if with a *g.*) This is plain from two old inscriptions on stones which I have seen, to wave other evidences. One of these stones was lying some years ago in the court, but I cannot now learn what is become of it; this bore date 1559. The other is built in the wall of the newest part of the house, above a small door, and I read it thus:—" [Here a blank space is left in the manuscript for the inscription, and then follows:] "The word *fieri* is obscure; but I think it can be no other; and the expression *fieri fecit* may be justified by some parrallel instances in antient inscriptions."—(Pp. 91, 92.)

COQUET ISLAND. "There was, not long ago, a Roman coin, of the emperor Valerian, found upon this island. It was first given to Dr. Harley, and then presented by him to Dr. Mead. It is of no value, but on account of the place where it was found: I scarce think the Romans ever came upon this island, the coin, therefore, has, probably, been accidentally dropt afterwards by some or other, for it was single; and no other Roman antiquities, as far as I know, or ever heard of, have been found in this island. The coin was very rude and coarse, suitable to the time of Valerian."—(P. 94.)

"FLODDEN FIELD. The curious entaglio that was

found here, probably had been Roman, and used by the king, or some of the Scottish nobility, or preserved as a curiosity by them. It is now in the family of my lord Cowper. I have been told the late earl gave 50 guineas for it, whereas a friend of mine might once have had it for three. The woman upon it, parly clothed, partly naked, was supposed by Dr. Harley to be Britain: the clothed representing that part which was conquered, and become provincial; the naked part signifying the unconquered barbarian part of the island. For Tacitus tells us that Julius Agricola persuaded the conquered Britains to use the Roman clothing.—*(Vit. Agr.)* Mr Gorden gives us the figure of this entaglio; but takes little or no notice of Dr. Harle's explication of it, mentioning another, which, in my humble opinion, is very improbable. That on the woman's head, which is taken for a *tiara*, is almost like a Caledonian bonnet, such as is seen upon the heads of the Caledonian captives in the figure of the stone at Glasgow. If a bonnet could be supposed to be any part of a woman's dress, or proper in a figure to be put upon a woman's head, this unclothed part of the figure might still more aptly represent Caledonia." —(P. 179.)

WEATHER. "The winters here have generally been more moderate than they used to be formerly."—(P. 187.) "I think it remarkable that we never in the

wettest years have double the mean quantity of rain, nor in the driest less than half. Yet in the rainiest month that I have yet observed, we have never had much more than double the mean quantity for a month, i. e., not much above four inches; though on the other hand we have sometimes had little or no rain at all for a whole month." —(P. 189.)

"NATURAL HISTORY. The damps deserve to be particularly considered, and the reasons of them enquired into. The first step towards a remedy is to discover the true cause of the disorder that is to be rectified. The phænomena relating to this matter are very various and very surprizing."

"Sometimes the effluvia are mostly near the roof, sometimes near the bottom, and so a candle burns best near the bottom or top. This must be as the effluvia are specifically lighter or heavier than the air they swim in."

"Mr Peck* told me of a place in sinking, where, for a

* This was, probably, Mr Richard Peck, an eminent colliery viewer, one of whose Minute Books, in folio, of his professional transactions, is now in the possession of Mr Straker, of Burraton. It contains many curious and interesting facts in the history of the Newcastle coal trade. He and Mr Amos Barnes were the Buddle and the Hill of their day—standing eminently at the head of their profession. Mr William Peck was also a colliery viewer at the same period. Peck's Houses, near Newbigging, where Robert Cay resided in 1728, probably had their name from some member of Peck's family residing at them.

fathom, they had very strong bad air, and good above and below. This shows it to be in these strata. They ventured to fire it, and it blew down the timbering that kept it in."

"*Suffocating Damp.* I was also surprized to hear that a certain stone becomes soft as clay, if lying at the bottom; when the same, in the roof, continues hard, though the air has free access to it. Can this be owing to the heavy effluvia. *Cat heads* (I think, query,) of this sort and ..... receive the impressions at first most easily."

"The steams of fires in the general, but especially of charcoal, are found, and universally confessed, to be both dangerous and troublesome. The emperor Jovian is said to have been killed by the excessive steams of a charcoal fire.—(*Eutropius, lib. x.*, § 17, 18.)"*

"And I think my friend, Mr Cay, has tried, or seen tried, the experiment of burnt air destroying animals immediately, when the iron pipe was not heated at a charcoal fire; in which case, viz., when heated at a common coal fire, the experiment did not succeed so well, though the degree of heat in the iron was the same in both cases."

"When I was down the pit I breathed a little in the bad air. I fancied it to be astringent and bitter on my

* Nimietate prunarum.

tongue and in my throat. Upon my saying so, the pitmen told me that when they continued in it for some time, they found it very bitter in their throat. It seemed to occasion a sort of swimming and dull pain in the head, which was also confirmed by Mr Peck."

"On 29 Sep., 1729, I went down a pit, in company with Mr Peck, to see somewhat curious about the foul air. They had holed into a waste, and the aperture might be about a yard diameter. The waste was standing about a yard, perhaps, deep with water. In the place where they were working there was plenty of good air; but it was curious to observe how the fresh air was slowly and gradually entering into the waste, and the bad coming out; and that the bad was in this case specifically heavier than the good; for the good air entered in at the top, and the bad came out at the lower part of the aperture. This appeared plain, because a candle held in the upper part burnt very well, and the course of the flame, which was bent, pointed or was directed inward, or toward the waste. The candle also, when held within the waste, as far as we could reach, burnt well near the roof; but if settled about half down, either in the hole or within the waste, it immediately went out." Thus far Mr Horsley remarks on choak damp; we now turn to his observations on

"The *inflammatory*, or, as Mr Cay calls it, the *fulminating* damp," which "is of a different nature from the suffocating; for whereas this latter extinguishes a candle before it be dangerous, or at least mortal, the other makes the flame of the candle larger by much, and the flame of the candle is most enlarged before it takes fire, destroying all before it. The reason of this is very obvious. The sulphureous and combustible particles are attracted towards the candle, and the stronger the air is, that is, the greater quantity there is of these particles, the more of them will approach the candle, and, by consequence, the more will flame be diffused."

"Where the damp is of a suffocating nature the men can go a good way further than the candle will burn. I myself held my head a considerable time where the candle went out, though this was just in the limit, and found no sensible inconvenience or prejudice by it."

"Some of these effluvia must certainly be of a very strong, poisonous, and corrosive nature, and most probably of a mineral kind. Mr Peck tells me that the water is some times so strongly impregnated with particles of this kind, that it corrodes and eats the very flesh of the horses."*

* The water here alluded to was, probably, charged with sulphuric acid, from the decomposition of sulphuret of iron, with which the old pits about Newbigging abounded, and of which there is still ample testimony in the ochre deposited by the water which runs past the lodge at Woolsington.

"I cannot but think that the water thus impregnated must be poisonous. So I imagined the skim at the top of the water in the waste at Newbigging to be;* though these particles, being specifically lighter than water, could not enter into the body of it, no more than air, or at least, no otherwise than in the same manner and degree, by slowly insinuating itself, and only in a very small quantity."

"The fumes and smoke that frequently arise out of pits which are much troubled with bad air, of the inflammatory kind, and of the increase of it that is occasioned by fires of straw, burning dead horses, &c., seem to argue that it must be owing to steams and effluvia mixed with the air."

"The suffocating damp is, I think, mostly in old wastes that have been long shut up and not wrought."

"The whole art of curing this bad air, must, in general, consist in expelling, by any means, that air which is so much impregnated with these noxious steams, and introducing a quantity of fresh air, sufficient to overpower the other. For, no doubt, the same absolute quantity of steams, mixed with a small quantity of air, may be mortal, which, when diffused through a much larger quantity of air, would not be in the least prejudicial."

"By making a fire at the bottom of the pit, which communicates with a large waste, and closing it up nearly

at the top, leaving a single deal, or so, open, it is plain that there must be a flux of air from the waste up that pit, (just as in a funnel chimney); and if there be any other pit in the same waste for fresh air to come down, the end must be answered.* When once the flux is one way, the impulse continues it in the same course."

A CHAPTER† ON THE NAMES OF PLACES.—*Berry*, or *bury*, I believe sometimes from brough, sometimes from barrow, as Berryhill, near Stanton. A large barrow, beside Barrow, near Lintlow, in Knaresdale.

Felton and Moreton, Morpeth, names of persons and towns; a town on the fell or moor, or way to it. From *gentlemen's* names, or these from the towns, as in France and Scotland.

High, as Heaton Highleys. Highway, according to Dr. Stukeley, is derived from the raised Roman ways.

Hills, from which several places have their names. Downham, in Glendale, from ham and dunum. Can don be from dunum, as Heddon Brandon ?

* Here, certainly, is the germ of the principle of ventilation by rarefaction and atmospheric pressure; which afterwards was improved into ventilation by a furnace under the up-cast shaft, and coursing the air to it from the down-cast shaft, up one board and down another, through the whole waste and workings, and so keeping the discharge of fire-damp from the coal below the explosive point.

† This chapter is much interlined, and difficult to read in the original, and seems to consist of minutes put down hastily and at various times; but, in its present form, its materials have been partially brought together into similar subjects, and arranged in alphabetical order, but without additions or alteration.

Hirst, Longhirst.

Kier, names ending in, as Wallker.

Kirktown, Kirkheaton, i. e. Kirkhightown.

Law, a hill, Lampet-law, Heddon-law, &c. Is *ley* the same or different? Highleys, Kirkley, &c.

Modern names derived from antient, as Binchester, Lanchester, Corbridge.

New ton, Newbigging, Newham, Newby, Newton, Newcastle, Newwark, Kirknewton; perhaps Yevering has been the old town the name refers to; Newminster.

Old.

Rivers, the wards usually take their names hence.

Shaw, Birkshaw, I think, a hill, or, query, a holme. Birkside and wood upon it.

Sheal, in Scotland, a shelter, a herd's house; a small cottage used in the summer in a wild place. (See Camden, 1079.)

Street, names from, no Streton with us. Chester on the Street.

Wall, names from the, as Wall, Weltown, Wallbottle, Wallsend.

Welton, has, perhaps, been Walltown. Well for wall in Benwell.

Wick, *ham*, *bye*, *biggen*, all are Saxon, and signify a building, habitation, or village. Fenwick and Walwick on the Wall or Fen.

Woods, several places from, as Woodtown, turned into

Wotton. Wodrington, now Widdrington, Woodhorn: the old inscription. (See p. 133.)

Since the preceding part of this volume was printed, Mr Woodman has favoured me with the following extract from the burial register of the parish of Morpeth, from which it appears that Horsley's remains were buried there only thirteen days after the date (Jan. 2, 1732,) of the dedication of his Britannia:—"173½, Jan. 15, Mr John Horsley."

Such is the brief record which the parish clerk of Morpeth, (the common chronicler of his time, for the stage he acted upon, of the entrances into this life, and the exits out of it,) thought fit to make in his melancholy journal, respecting this eminent man. Even after he was dead, this important officer refused him his proper and well-earned title of *reverend*; and, probably, only because he was a minister of a congregation, which, though in practice, as far as regarded discipline and government, it was Presbyterian, yet professed the doctrinal articles of the Church of England. And who, that is experienced in the schemes and treacheries of human nature, will undertake to say, that our author's acknowledged and admired talents, among men of worth and

genuine learning, had not roused the jealousy of influential, but little-minded men, to prejudice the vulgar, (and, amongst the rest, the parish clerk of Morpeth,) against himself, his labours, and his studies? For Horsley, in learning and scientific knowledge, went far before the common herd of critics and smatterers in philosophy, who existed, and were the arbiters of fame and fortune, in his time and neighbourhood; and, on these accounts, was very naturally honoured with a liberal portion of their envy and neglect: for calumny and ill-usage are the natural rewards that idle and jealous minds, in all ages of the world, have delighted in bestowing upon the best benefactors of mankind. They persecute the honest and the deserving, and patronize charlatans, and the advertisers of their own nostrums and drugs. They stir up the rabble to cry out—"Not this man, but Barabbas." But Horsley's genius had taken him high above the mists and gloomy atmosphere of prejudice and traditionary lore. It had liberated his mind from the thraldom of vulgar maxims. "There is," says he, "that beauty and agreeableness in truth, even supposing it to be merely speculative, as always affords, on the discovery of it, real pleasure to a well-turned mind; and I will add, that it not only pleases but enriches it too." He determined to do something permanently useful, and in doing it, to think and reason for himself; and when he

had once engaged in his projected work, "I thought myself," says he, "obliged, on many accounts, to go through with it, and leave nothing undone, that I was capable of doing, in order to render the whole more complete:" and, certainly, no person was ever more successful in completing a great experiment than himself; for the light he has thrown upon the history of Britain, in a dark, but most interesting æra, can never be extinguished as long as civilization and letters continue to flourish in the favoured countries which his genius and perseverance rediscovered and illumined.

There is no account that friend or relative hallowed his grave with monumental stone; but, if such "frail memorial" ever existed, it has, probably, shared the fate that many similar tokens of affection and piety have been condemned to undergo in the church-yard of Morpeth—to become flagging for its foot-paths: still, however, his name shines with bright and unsullied lustre in the temple of Fame; and

> "Nomen quæsitum ingenio non excidit:
> "Erit indebile."

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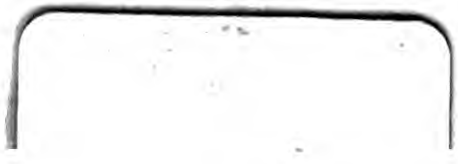
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