

PART THREE
SINCE THE REFORMATION

Acrii Catharina jugi quâ vertice summo
Danorum veteres fossas, immania castra,
Et circumducti servat vestigia valli,
Wiccamicæ mos est publi celebrare palæstras
Multiplices, passimque levi contendere lusu,
Festa dies quoties rediit, concessaque rite
Otia purpureoque rubentes lumine soles
Invitant terricæ curas lenire Minervæ,
Librorumque moras et iniqua remittere pensa.

THOMAS WARTON,

Mons Catharina, ll. 1-9.

(Written between 1755 and 1760).

PART THREE

SINCE THE REFORMATION

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CONNEXION WITH WINCHESTER COLLEGE

THE whole story of the Hill in the Middle Ages has been the story of St. Catharine's Chapel. Nothing has appeared to suggest that in the 15th any more than in the three preceding centuries the place had an established importance in any other connexion. Yet Winchester College was founded in 1382 and opened in 1394, and generations of Wykehamists have counted among their most cherished traditions a prescriptive right to what is known among them as Hills. The claim was typically put by the Warden when in 1799 he protested to the Commander-in-Chief against its violation by soldiers bathing in the river below. "From time immemorial" wrote Dr. Huntingford, "a spot of ground called Catharine Hill, with the River and Field adjacent, has been appropriated to the Young Men educated at this College for the purposes of exercise, bathing, and recreation; and this appropriation is so well understood by the inhabitants of Winchester that they carefully avoid these premises, whenever it is possible for them to interrupt our Scholars."¹

Hills was, of course, never College property, and we have no hint that it passed out of direct ecclesiastical management till the Prior of St. Swithun's leased it to Wriothesley in 1538: as Dean he renewed the lease in 1542, but there is no evidence of the prolongation or further renewal of the lease after Wriothesley's death in 1550. The bulk of the Chapel had by then, as we have seen, been destroyed at least ten years, and as the secondary occupation of the south transept was clearly for secular purposes² devised by Wriothesley during his leasehold, we need not suppose that it continued after his death and the falling in of the lease. After the middle of the 16th century,

1. Cook, p. 342.

2. It has indeed been suggested that this occupation was in fact a re-consecration of the least ruinous part of the Chapel under Mary between 1553 and 1558. But as the endowment had been suppressed by Wolsey and seven years later the oblations had ceased, there can have been no inducement for such an undertaking, which would certainly have made stir enough, had it been carried out, for some mention of it to have survived.

then, Hills was for the first time for over 400 years unoccupied and desecrated: the Chapel and its attached building was a mouldering heap, and the cemetery was only represented by its grass-grown ditch. On the summit there may, as we shall see, have been trees, which vanished later, and whether the northern slope was still in part under cultivation is doubtful, but broadly speaking, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Hills was what it has ever since remained.

And the first evidence that the College resorted there belongs to the year 1565.

Before elaborating the obvious inference as to when the practice began, we must consider what a number of Wykehamical writers have had to say for the popular idea that it is coeval with the foundation of the College. Poets like Roundell Palmer have gracefully assumed its truth, and Charles Wordsworth comments on his lines by asserting that the College procession to Hills was 'according to Statute.'¹

But William of Wykeham's Statutes have no word to say of Hills. Adams, indeed, tried to supply an alternative authority by arguing² that *Tabula Legum*, which includes rules to be observed *Ad Montes*, dates from the foundation, but in fact it is certainly post-Reformation, as Cook³ has shewn, and probably belongs to about 1570: indeed, the true issue of this argument is to strengthen the case for the 16th century origin of the resort to Hills.

The boys went to and from Hills two by two in procession, and Leach⁴ finds it impossible to believe that the custom had not originally a religious significance. He discovers enough similarity to it in the Eton institution of *Montem* to argue that this was derived from the Winchester Hills when Eton was founded in 1440, and that the custom dates in each School from its foundation: but really the two seem always to have been widely different except in name, and there is no reason to suppose such a connexion between them. Anyhow *Montem* is not attested before 1560, and the case for its alleged religious origin is flimsy enough.⁵ Both these conclusions hold good also for Hills, and each institution is most likely to date from the middle 16th century; if Leach's contention be granted

1. Roundell Palmer, *Lines on the 450th Anniversary of the Opening of the College*: Wordsworth, *College of St. Mary Winton* (1848), pp. 108, 110, 116: Cook, p. 343.

2. *Wykehamica*, p. 93, note.

3. Cook, Appendix VI, cf. p. 344: see further here below, p. 264.

4. *History of Winchester College*, p. 276.

5. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, pp. 495-517.

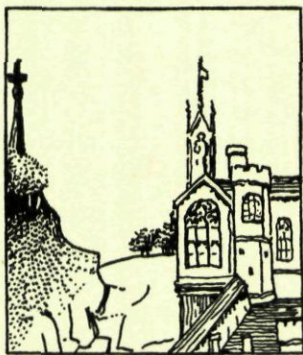
that "no one could have invented *de novo* such an absurd custom" as the Eton *Montem*, this must be the date of the borrowing of the Winchester idea therein implied. But that is the most that can be said.

To say that Hills at Winchester began as a mediæval religious observance can only mean one thing, that the boys were sent in procession to attend St. Catharine's Chapel: the Saint's character as patroness of learning, and thus of schoolboys, lends force to this idea, and Leach finds it suggestive in his contention¹ that her hill "had an early importance for Wykehamists." This he ingeniously supports by adducing Warden Chandler's drawing of the

College in about 1460. In the background of the left portion of this (fig. 30), between the east end of Chapel and the tall cross on the extreme left, probably Bubb's Cross at the end of St. John Street,² appears a clump of trees on a gently-rounded hill-top. The argument from this is as follows. This hill-top with its Clump is Hills: Chandler made a point of getting it on to his drawing

"in spite of all geography": he must have thought his picture incomplete without it: this must be because it already had an

importance for College as a resort for religious exercise. Now the presence of mediæval boundary-ditches round the Chapel, especially Ditch 2 (see pp. 229-30 above), makes it likely that it was wholly or partly surrounded by trees, and it is perfectly reasonable to suppose the hill on Chandler's drawing to be Hills, but there is really no need or warrant for further inference. Chandler's hill is quite near enough to the real position of Hills for a draughtsman with his standards of perspective: indeed, Kirby is quite content to say that it lies in the right direction, and there is no reason to think Chandler violated geography as he conceived it, still less that he did so with a purpose. He gives a still greater prominence to



from the CHANDLER MS.
c. 1460.

FIG. 30.

1. *History of Winchester College*, pp. 185-6.

2. Kirby, *Arch.* 53, pt. 1, p. 229: M. R. James, *Roxburghe Club* edn. of Chandler MS. (1916), p. 18.

Bubb's Cross, which had nothing to do with College at all. And the chapel, resort to which is supposed to be the whole reason for his drawing the hill, is left out altogether, though we now know that it was a dominating building which would have given Chandler a fine chance for a characteristic piece of imposing exaggeration. And even if the eye of faith can see a corner of it in the indistinct pen-strokes where the trees on the hill disappear behind the east front of College Chapel, this must be owned a very poor way of indicating it to posterity as a building of Wykehamical importance.

But the weightiest argument against the theory that going on Hills was originally a religious exercise is the absence of all mention of it from the Statutes. If there is one side of College life which the Founder there organized in minute and comprehensive detail it is religious observance, and it is perfectly clear that he intended his Chapel,¹ with its three altars and its minimum of seven daily Masses, to be all-sufficient for the spiritual needs of the community; Sunday attendance at Cathedral only began after the Reformation, and when there were processions they were round Cloisters. Thus it is natural that the Statutes should ignore St. Catharine's Chapel, and it cannot be supposed that resort to it was without record introduced by some 15th century Warden.

If the hill in Chandler's drawing is indeed Hills, which need not be denied, he put it in naturally enough to decorate the landscape and with no ulterior motive.

In fact, the sole purpose known to us for College going on Hills is recreation, and there is no reason to suppose it was ever anything else. That Hills was so used from the time of the foundation has, indeed, been suggested: Kirby says: "Hills may have been the School playground from the very first, for none is provided by the Statutes, and it is not likely that Wykeham intended his poor scholars to be confined to Chamber Court altogether."²

But we have no right to father modern Public School spirit on the Founder; as Cook very properly observes, his Statutes only take account of youthful energy to repress it inside the College precincts, and also imply that a scholar should only very exceptionally go outside. He clearly regarded games as a nuisance which should have no place in the life of his Society,

1. See *Winchester College*, W.C.A.S., Appendix D.

2. *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 421.

and if during the 15th and early 16th centuries scholars were ever allowed outside the precincts to play, it can only have been an exceptional privilege, from which the Wardens must have been careful, as is the way of school authorities, to allow no precedent to develop. If there were such occasions, and leave was given to go as far as the downs, surely the last place which would have been appointed for such *incauti et inordinati ludi*¹ would be a hill which was occupied by a large chapel with the residence of its guardian and a cemetery² attached, and belonged to a manor under the control of the Prior of St. Swithun's. To sum up, it is equally unlikely that either for religious or secular purposes College resorted to Hills in the Middle Ages.

But when the troubled years of the Reformation were over and even such a stronghold of conservatism as the Wykehamical body was settling down into many new ways, the first mention of College games on Hills appears, associated with the Head Mastership of that most humane and lovable pedagogue, Christopher Johnson. His ten years as Head Master began in 1561 when he was at most twenty-six: he was a layman and a genius, and his generous sympathies and wide outlook shew him to be just the man who would be likely to relax the narrow bounds of Wykeham's statutable routine by making games and recreation a regular part of College life. And for a playground it would be natural for his choice to fall on Hills, which rises so pleasantly above the narrow valley, while its associations with the old religion were already no more than a memory in his own school-days.³

Thanks to the diligence of one of his pupils, the Themes or Latin exercises which he composed and dictated have survived: it is in them that we can learn so much about him and his times, and it is in one of them, apparently belonging to 1565, that the playground that he had probably himself instituted is first mentioned.⁴ His subject is bravery and the perversity of rash boldness: he marvels that it is no new thing, despite the risk of detection and punishment, for boys to shirk games on Hills, work in School and worship in Chapel, and the still

1. Statutes, Rubric XLIII.

2. The cemetery must have been new about the time College was founded, if the evidence from the excavations in Ditch 1 be allowable: see above, pp. 228-9.

3. Johnson was elected *ad Winton* in 1549.

4. The pupil was William Badger, and his notebook, entitled *Themes at Winchester School*, is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 4379): the passage cited is from fol. 138 b. For the authorities for its authenticity, and for a delightful character-sketch of Johnson, see Cook, pp. 42-3.

more frequent occurrence of illicit games in School, idling on Hills and tumult in Chapel, makes him fear that disorder among schoolboys is as inevitable as heresy in the Church.¹ From this playful homily we thus learn that in 1565 recreation on Hills was as regular a thing as school work and Chapel, but that some boys occasionally shirked it, and the zeal of others for exertion sometimes flagged. If Johnson had established the custom early in his tenure of office, say in 1561 or 2, he would naturally speak of it a few years later as a fixed institution, while in a school where the Founder's unathletic tradition had been unbroken for nearly two centuries, public opinion would still need time to settle down after the innovation. When this had happened, as before Johnson retired no doubt it had, there is no need to believe the institution was unpopular: such an inference, as Cook remarks, is by no means to be drawn from the fact that its history begins, as we shall find it ending, with shirking.² For a good two hundred years Hills was, as he says, practically the Wykehamist's only playground, and the affection it has inspired is to-day, long after the institution of the present playing-fields, deeply enshrined in Wykehamical sentiment.

The rules prescribed for observance on the way to Hills in *Tabula Legum*, almost certainly also composed by Johnson, probably about 1570, apply also to going 'up town'—no doubt a rare excursion in those days: all must walk with a companion, behave decently, bow the knee and bare the head when meeting masters and superiors, and preserve in all ways an orderly demeanour.³ That these were not always strictly observed could be guessed even without the evidence of a protest from

1. The full text is as follows:—

Quā alia in discētibz mirari soleo, tum illud maxi | mē unde sibi tantum audent (*sic*),
fumere, ut in quo | sūm esse periculum vident, ab eo non abstinēat ne | deprehēsi quidem, ac
sepius castigati. multa sunt qui (*sic*) | intelliguntur hoc loco. nam et ā montibus abesse ali | quos
cum luditur, et ā schola cum studetur, et ā | templo cum feriatur, nequē novū est, et quoad potest |
fieri minimē impunitum. iisdem in locis turbationes esse | id verō multo est frequentius. nam et
in schola | luditur, et in montibus cessatur, et in templo tu | multuatur interdum, ut vereor ne
quēadmodum | in ecclesia dei hereses ita in discēntium | grege *ἀναξίας* esse necesse sit

2. Cook, p. 347.

3. The text of this section of the *Tabula* in its original form is:—

IN OPPIDO. AD MONTES.
Sociati omnes incedunto.
Modestiam prae se ferunto.
Magistris ac obviis honestioribus
Genua flectuntur,
Capita aperiuntur.
Vultus, gestus, incessus
Componuntur.

For the 18th century revision see below, p. 284.

Bishop Horne in 1571¹ against 'ranging abroad . . . in the fields when they go to play,' but doubtless the order kept was reasonable enough.

The whole proceeding is pleasingly narrated in Robert Mathew's descriptive poem, *De Collegio Wintoniensi*,² written in 1647 during the author's last months in the School. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, which were 'remedies' regularly granted by the Head Master's bestowal of the symbolic 'remedy-ring,' the boys did not remain in School in the early morning, but when the ring had been granted assembled, præfects on the right, inferiors on the left, at Middle Gate, where the Præfect of Hall called names. They then marched out, under his superintendence, two and two, along College Walk, over Blackbridge, along the path beside River and past Tunbridge up to the *apex* of Hills, where the procession disbanded and the whole hill-top was free for games within the encircling ring of Trench, *i.e.* the Early Iron Age earthwork, about whose origin the poet shews no curiosity. Lying about on the ground was forbidden for fear of 'fevers'—we may add, on nearly contemporary authority,³ on pain of punishment.

Of the games played Mathew mentions quoits, hand-ball, bat-ball and football, and speaks of others which he will not describe. Quoits and a game called Auly-auly, which may have resembled Mathew's hand-ball, were still popular in the 19th century on Grass Court: the relation of his bat-ball to cricket is open to conjecture, though his words⁴ rather suggest a sort of tennis played with a weapon like the long-bat till 1927 used for bat-fives on Ball-court. His football was no doubt a primitive form of the traditional Winchester game,⁵ though we hear nothing of the enormous 'hot' which was its principal feature when we met it in the 18th century. How far any such games were already current before Hills was instituted it is impossible to say: such echoes of College life towards the end of the 15th century as may exist in the *Vulgaria* of William Horman (Head Master 1495-1501) suggests that football, 'tenys' and wrestling were then not unknown,⁶ and it has been conjectured from the narrow oblong shape required for

1. Cook, p. 352.

2. ll. 134-170: Cook, pp. 20-23, with ch. XXVII.

3. That of Joseph Godwin, admitted scholar 1648: Cook, pp. 301, 325, 348.

4. "sive per auras Sæpe repercusso pila te iuvat icta bacillo" (ll. 159-60).

5. The writer in *Winchester College*, W.C.A.S., p. 45, states his belief that the game was from its beginning played on Hills: this view seems far more probable than the suggestions here noticed in the next paragraph.

6. Cook, pp. 38-9.

the ground it is played on that Winchester football originated in Outer Court, or even in College Street: however this may be (and the latter suggestion anyhow is scarcely plausible), games in the College precincts, if played at all, must have been connived at rather than established, and it was the institution of Hills alone that enabled them to develop.

The morning procession to Hills that Mathew describes must have started soon after six,¹ and the boys were breakfastless: at nine the præfect called "Domum" and they returned as they had come—the poet's hint (l. 165) about straggling recalls the Bishop's protest noticed above—to the first meal of the day at last (ll. 213-15). Thus ended what has always been known as 'Morning Hills.' After work dinner followed about noon (ll. 224-5) and on the same 'remedies' there ensued what was later called 'Middle Hills,' which was a repetition of the same programme, lasting till three. 'Evening Hills,' with the bathing it implied, was a later institution and will be noticed below (p. 281).



OWN
'AUL

FIG. 31.

Stamps on clay pipes.

This, if weather permitted (*cf.* ll. 134, 179), was the routine of a normal 17th century 'remedy' all the year round: the poet's only hint of variation is that if it was very hot, leave might be given to go under the trees in Meads, but this was clearly exceptional (ll. 175-6).

All this time it should not be forgotten that Hills must have been a regular resort of the citizens of Winchester, as it is to-day, though the habit grew up of respecting the hours during which the School was there. To their visits may be attributed some 17th century Bellarmine ware found near the Chapel site and the farthing token noticed and illustrated above (p. 244: pl. XVI, 5). Some also of the clay tobacco-pipes found may be dated before about the middle of the 17th century, as their form shews: three of these are stamped on the heel with

¹ *cf.* l. 59, with ll. 134 ff.

the maker's mark and are here illustrated (fig. 31). The legends are WB, in heart-shaped frame, . . . SIM, and (I)OHN PAUL : for the first cf. Hilton Price, *Arch. Journ.* LVII (1900), p. 231, fig. 5, and p. 233, fig. 12, where the evidence for dating will be found : pipes of the later 17th and 18th centuries, as well as more modern examples, also occurred, and no doubt the more daring spirits among the College men were responsible for some of these at every period, as they certainly were in the 19th century.¹

In fact, it may be that we have here a tangible comment on Mathew's hint that in his account of the pastimes enjoyed on Hills he has only mentioned those of the 'innocuous,' and not all even of them.² Whatever it may be now, there is no need to suppose that the Public School attitude to smoking was substantially different in Mathew's day or even earlier from what it was a century and a half or two centuries later.

One other matter belonging to the 17th century remains to be noticed. We have seen that in the 15th century trees quite probably stood around the Chapel : if Ditch 2 was part of their boundary-ditch, they formed a much larger clump than that standing to-day. But later on this clump disappeared. In Speed's map of 1611, 'S. Kathrens hill' is shewn (see inset to fig. 1 above) with three sparse trees on its summit, in a manner which suggests that the presumed 15th century clump had dwindled : perhaps Wriothsley had felled some timber. Indeed, the exact number of Speed's trees cannot be used as evidence : they are perhaps hardly more than a conventional sign that a clump existed, whatever its size, and since he puts his 'S. Kathrens hill' where St. Giles's Hill ought to be, as is clear from the lie of the adjacent roads, his testimony should possibly be discounted.

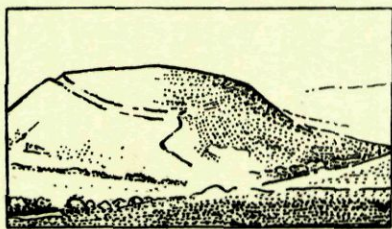
But Mathew's poem, which describes Hills without a word of trees, may fairly be considered negative evidence for 1647, and Hills was definitely treeless before the end of the century, as the oil painting shews which hangs in the Warden's dining room and dates from about 1692 : fig. 32 is a drawing from this picture, which Cook has reproduced as his frontispiece.

1. See p. 283 below.

2. See p. 265 above. The reference is to ll. 161-3 :

"his lusibus uti
Innocuis fas est ; fas est his lusibus uti,
Lusibus atque aliis, quos iam praescribere nolo."

The story of the present Clump will appear in due course : meanwhile Mathew has given us what is no doubt a reliable enough picture of the Wykehamical institution of Hills as it was for about the first century and a half of its existence, and the new features that appear in the tradition with the 18th century require treatment in a fresh section.



THE TREELESS HILL IN 1692.

FIG. 32.

From an oil painting in the Warden's
Lodgings at Winchester College.

LABYRINTH AND THE LEGEND OF 'DULCE DOMUM'

Perhaps the most striking omission in Mathew's account of Hills is the square turf-cut maze, sometimes called 'the Mizmaze' by the townsfolk, but in the School known always as 'Labyrinth,' which lies on the flat crown of the Hill between the Chapel site and the prehistoric Entrance (see fig. 36). The College tradition of treading this maze was established by the end of the 18th century as of legendary antiquity, and while we have seen no reason to believe it could have begun before the Reformation, it might be supposed anyhow to date from the time of Christopher Johnson. But if Labyrinth existed and the custom was current in Mathew's time, it is most extraordinary that this should be one of the pastimes which he declines to describe (l. 163), for we shall find that antiquaries loved to trace a connexion between the treading of such mazes and the game played by Iulus and his companions in the Vth book of the *Aeneid*,¹ and for a poet with Mathew's delight in classical allusion to pass over such a golden opportunity for some pregnant hexameters is so surprising as to suggest that in 1647 Labyrinth did not yet exist at all. It certainly could not then have had the importance in Wykehamical story that it has had during the known period of its existence.

In fact the earliest positive evidence for it is the plan discussed and reproduced below as fig. 33, which is dated 1710, and it is thus natural to presume that it was cut between Mathew's time and that date. However, it has often been argued or assumed to be earlier, and as the case for this can only be based on certain theories about mazes in general, we must see whether they are strong enough to outweigh the negative testimony of Mathew.

There are in England a number of such turf mazes,² and the idea that they are ecclesiastical products of the Middle Ages is suggested by the proximity of some of them to sacred buildings. There is a maze by St. Martha's near Guildford, a 12th century hill-top chapel which closely resembles our St. Catharine's, and the maze at Sneinton (Notts) lay also on a hill-top near a well and chapel of St. Anne, built in 1409 and a place of pilgrimage, while that at Alkborough (Lincs.) is close to the site of a Benedictine monastery, and the Boughton Green

1. ll. 545-603. See further below, pp. 270, 272-3.

2. The modern work to be consulted is W. H. Matthews' *Mazes and Labyrinths* (1922).

maze (Northants) adjoins a ruined church of St. John the Baptist and is said to have been the origin of the fair started there in 1353. The Alkborough maze is also near the parish church, and so is the one at Wing (Rutland). The further observation that the plans of these and other English turf mazes correspond in a number of cases to those of mosaic labyrinths in certain Continental churches and cathedrals, led Edward Trollope to argue, in his *Notices of Ancient and Mediæval Labyrinths*,¹ that "some of these works may have been originally created as a means of performing penance, . . . and that they were designed by ecclesiastics" (p. 228). As this theory would of course bring our Labyrinth into connexion with the Chapel, the case for such a mediæval association must be reviewed.

It is no doubt in folk-dancing that the origin of mazes should be sought: the myths of the Cretan Labyrinth, of Theseus there slaying the Minotaur, and of his festival dance at Delos, of Ariadne's thread, and of the dance devised for her by Daedalus, seem to have crystallized round the immemorial ceremonial of following a leader in 'mazy dances.' Such dances were presumably also the origin of the ancient maze-game of the *lusus troiae* or 'game of turnings'; this appears in Italy, as depicted, for instance, on an Etruscan vase inscribed TRUIA, as a martial exercise; it was afterwards by popular etymology connected with the penetration of the defences of Troy or the wanderings of the Greeks after the Trojan War, and was immortalized by Virgil. The Labyrinth itself (the name is apparently pre-Hellenic) appears early on coins of Cnossos, and later became throughout the Græco-Roman world a favourite decorative design, particularly on Roman mosaic pavements, as at Pompeii.

The earlier centuries of Christianity were marked by a strong taste for allegory, and the labyrinth design, with its mythological significance, was taken over by the Church and invested with a mystic religious meaning. In an early Christian basilica, for instance, found at Orléansville in Algeria, the design appears on a mosaic pavement, with a pattern made of the words SANCTA ECCLESIA in the centre replacing the pagan Minotaur.² Similar designs occur in ancient churches in Italy and France, belonging particularly to the 12th and 13th centuries. The symbolism is of the Church as the ark of salvation only to

1. *Arch. Journ.* XV (1858), pp. 216-235.

2. Trollope, *op. cit.* p. 219: Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 69, is definitely wrong to state that no labyrinths occur with distinctively Christian symbols.

be reached through the tortuosities of sin by the Ariadne-thread of Divine grace, and thus of the Christian's pilgrimage, combining the ideas of Christ's pilgrimage to Calvary, our earthly journey to the heavenly Jerusalem, and the actual pilgrimage to the earthly Jerusalem. This last notion explains the prevalence of Church labyrinths in the crusading period of the 12th and 13th centuries. Trollope gives Continental examples as in Lucca Cathedral, in Rome at Santa Maria in Aquiro and Santa Maria in Trastevere, at Ravenna in San Vitale, at Pavia in San Michele, at Aix-en-Provence, St. Quentin, the cathedrals of Amiens, Arras, Bayeux, Chartres, Rheims, and Sens, and the Abbey Church of St. Bertin at St. Omer. He gives evidence (not, however, earlier than the 18th century¹) that these were called *Chemins de Jérusalem*, and states that they were used as "instruments of performing penance for non-fulfilment of vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land," and "as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general; penitents being ordered to follow out all the sinuous courses of these labyrinths upon their hands and knees, to repeat so many prayers at fixed stations, and others when they reached the central *Ciel*." It seems, however, that these statements can be traced no further back than the early 19th century French antiquary Wallet, and though there is no doubt about the pilgrimage symbolism in the name *Chemin de Jérusalem*, it is going too far to suppose that these church labyrinths played so important a part in the life of mediæval Christendom. No doubt some pious folk trod them daily, but they were probably far more often trodden merely as a semi-devotional pastime: in all the literature of mediæval piety no allusion has been discovered² to their use for penance or as a substitute for a genuine pilgrimage.

Now while there are apparently no turf-cut out-of-door mazes abroad, there are no indoor church mazes in England, and this fact, coupled with the resemblance in plan between English turf-cut examples like the Alkborough maze and that, for instance, in Sens Cathedral, led Trollope to suppose that the turf mazes were the English counterpart of the church mazes abroad. But this is no more than a theory. There is no positive evidence for the association of any English maze with the old

1. *Op. cit.* p. 221.

2. In the researches of either Trollope or Matthews: nor are any known to Dr. G. G. Coulton or Dr. M. R. James, who have both been kind enough to write on the subject to the present author.

religion. The only definitely dated example is at Hilton (Hunts), which as its central obelisk records was cut by William Sparrow in 1660. No doubt this is later than a great many: Aubrey in the 17th century observed¹ that there were many mazes in England before the Civil Wars, and that the young people used to dance upon them, or as the term was to tread them, and Sparrow must have cut his maze to celebrate the removal of the Puritan ban on such merry-making under the Commonwealth. In fact the existence of mazes in mediæval England may confidently be assumed, but it must always have been with rustic sports and not with mystical piety that they had to do.

Indeed, the very fact that indoor church mazes were never introduced into England argues that the devotional use of the labyrinth remained a foreign one, and we have seen that even abroad its prevalence has probably been exaggerated by modern writers. Shakespeare could hardly have spoken of mazes as he did² had they been scarcely more than 50 years earlier penitential devices of the Church. They are as clearly native to the English country as the nine men's morris or the fairy-tales of Robin Goodfellow himself.

It is said³ that on the Cumberland shore of the Solway mazes have been from time immemorial cut by herdsmen, and by shepherds also in Wales, and as well as such names as Miz-maze and The Mazles we find both at Sneinton and Boughton Green the mazes were called Shepherd's Race. And there is evidence of the great antiquity of the name. By the 12th century the old 'game of Troy,' whose ancient Italian history has been noticed already, had been introduced into England: it had no doubt been kept alive or re-born in the early Middle Ages under the influence of Virgil: Fitzstephen describes the youths of London sallying out to play it on horseback, and it played some part in the origin of the tournament, while itself lasting on through mediæval times⁴: it assimilated the ancient maze-games of the countryside, so that we find mazes called in

1. *History of Surrey* V, p. 80.

2. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 199-200:—

Titania. And the quaint mazes in the wanton green
For lack of tread are indistinguishable.

Tempest, III, iii, 2-3:—

Gonzalo. Here's a maze trod indeed
Through forth-rights and meanders!

ib. V, i, 242: *Alonso*. 'This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod.

3. *Notes and Queries*, ser. II, vol. V, p. 211.

4. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* (ed. J. C. Cox, 1903), pp. 113-14.

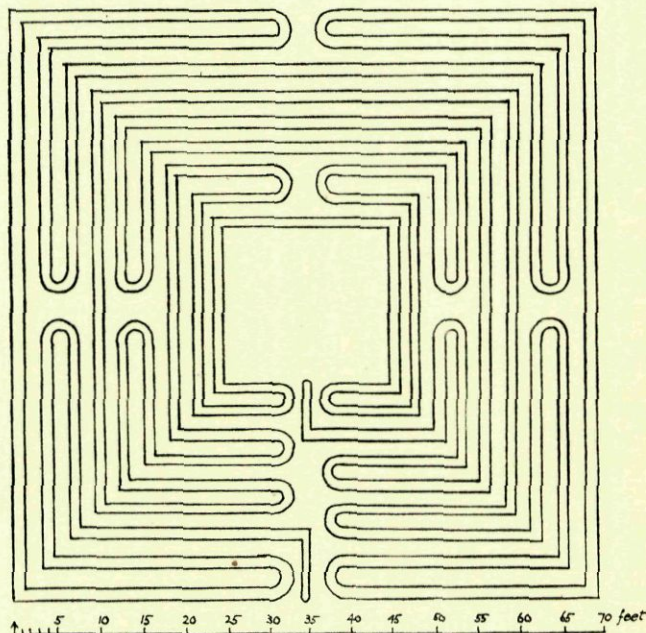
England Walls of Troy, as in Holderness, and Troy-town, like those of the Cumberland shepherds, or at Pimperne (Dorset) or Somerton (Oxon.), while the Welsh called them Caerdroia, and invented an allusion to the fabled Trojan origin of the Britons and their King Brute. Side by side with these exist names recalling Iulus and his playing of the game in Virgil's lines, such as July Park, Julian's Arbour, Juliberry's Grave, Julaber's Barrow (near Chilham, Kent), and Julian's Bower (at Alkborough and Horncastle, Lincs.). The simple name of Shepherd's Race must stand before English folklore was invaded by these echoes of the *Aeneid*, which themselves became well established during the Middle Ages, and lasted to become the delight of Renaissance and later antiquaries.

We have seen that mazes kept their popularity at least as late as the Civil Wars, and from the 15th century they attained elegance in the form of the topiary labyrinths that were so fashionable under the Tudors and early Stuarts, formed by lanes between formally clipped hedges or rows of shrubs. The Theobalds and Hampton Court mazes are known to everyone, and they bore the same relation to the turf-cut mazes of the countryside as the very similar ingenuities of Pliny's garden did to the country field mazes of contemporary Italian children. And the country mazes of England survived the rigour of the Puritans, just as the maypole and the jack-in-the-green did. We have already seen how William Sparrow must have cut his maze at Hilton to celebrate the Restoration. The famous maze at Saffron Walden (Essex) was worn with use and duly re-cut in 1699, and has since been renewed five times, and it is only the great development of ball games mainly in the 19th century that has tended at last to oust this and other sports of the village green, though indeed our Labyrinth is to-day by no means neglected.

To return to the question of its date: it now appears that though there were many mazes in mediæval England, later examples may occur, and we have no special need to ascribe this one to the Middle Ages. The presence of the chapel and graveyard adjoining is no argument for a pre-Reformation date. It has no name to suggest association with the mediæval 'game of Troy.' Its alignment with the mediæval Ditch 1 cannot be used to suggest that it was contemporary with it: the ditch would at any time make a very convenient base-line for the complicated business of laying it out. In fact, no consideration

concerning mazes in general can be brought forward to oppose the strong argument from Mathew's silence that it dates from later than 1647.

But it was in existence in 1710, and the plan (fig. 33) which establishes this fact for us must now be considered. It shews that, like the Saffron Walden maze but unlike most others, it consisted then, as it does now, of a narrow winding channel



PLAN OF THE LABYRINTH on CATHERINE HILL. 1710.
DRAWN BY J. NOWELL. in the College Library.

FIG. 33.

The earliest known plan of Labyrinth.

cut in the turf, and not of a band of turf demarcated by a cut border. The length of its side, however, 70 ft., is 16 ft. less than it is to-day: the 19th century re-cutting which was the occasion of this change will be noticed in due course. The plan belongs to College, and was presented to Moberly Library by the Rev. H. J. Wickham, formerly a housemaster. It is signed 'J. Nowell,' and in view of the persistent tradition that

Labyrinth was the work of a Wykehamist, it is curious to find that in 1710 a boy called Nowell appears in the Long Roll of the School, as a Commoner in Fifth Book.¹ It would be very rash, however, to identify this Nowell with the author of the plan. He does not appear as a Commoner in any subsequent year, but in 1711 the Register of Scholars shews that a William Noel was admitted into College senior on the Election Roll, as Founder's Kin, having been elected at Michaelmas the previous year.² This Noel, who belonged to a Leicestershire family who were not really Founder's Kin at all, is probably identical with the Commoner Nowell of 1710. At that period and later commoners frequently stood for College and were elected: they had the advantage of being known to some at least of the electors. When a commoner on one Long Roll does not reappear subsequently as such, but a scholar of the same surname, however spelt, appears for the first time in the ensuing year, the two may in default of contrary evidence reasonably be considered identical.³ In fact, the existence of the plan and its date form the only case for believing the commoner of 1710 to be its author J. Nowell and not the next year's scholar William Noel, and the plan itself does not look like the work of a school-boy. It appears to have been drawn by someone with a trained hand, perhaps a surveyor or surveyor's clerk. It has not been possible to trace any such likely person of the name, but there was apparently a Nowell family in Winchester at the time, if the marriage of Anne Nowell of the City of Winchester to Thomas Guerny of the Soke be accepted as evidence, for it took place in the Cathedral on September 1st, 1715.

The plan therefore gives us no evidence concerning the origin of Labyrinth: it only tells us that in 1710 it was existing in the form shewn, and that some fairly skilled person thought it worth mapping. And it affords no reason for connecting the maze with the School; in fact, the earliest evidence for such a connexion appears over half a century later, and against it there is negative testimony from the intervening period.

However, the Wykehamical legend of 'Dulce Domum' and its author has at this point to be reckoned with. In its full

1. *Winchester Long Rolls, 1653 - 1721*, ed. C. W. Holgate, p. 122.

2. This information and the comments which follow are due to the kindness of Mr. Herbert Chitty, Keeper of Archives of the College.

3. Where Long Rolls for both the years concerned are extant, the question of identification is clarified by the relative position in the School of the name on each: in this case however, we have no Long Roll for 1711, and by 1712 William Noel had clearly left, as he is described when admitted a pensioner of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in May 1713, as coming from Mr. John Hunter's School, Lichfield.

form this legend is as follows. A certain boy was condemned for some misdemeanour to be kept behind in College during the Whitsuntide holidays: he was chained to a tree near the river bank below Blackbridge, on which he carved the verses of the song he composed in his captivity, and, thereafter pining away, died on the day of his schoolfellows' return to College; he is also said to have roamed, presumably during intervals in his bondage, on Hills, where to while away the time he devised and cut Labyrinth and also the cross called 'Domum Cross,' and used to gaze on the scene of his former joys from the northern corner of Trench, hence called 'Misery Corner.' It is also said that he drowned himself in the river.

Now the tune of 'Dulce Domum' is fairly reliably ascribed to John Reading, the College organist from 1681-92, and Cook has reasonably argued¹ that the words are very little older. A letter of 1682² attests the fact that detention during the holidays was then a punishment sometimes inflicted, and if the verses be thought fit to be ascribed to a schoolboy, the main assertion of the tale may be accepted. The breaking-up ceremony of singing the song round the traditional 'Domum Tree' was certainly established by the middle of the 18th century,³ and though the supposed poet could hardly have been chained to it⁴ he may well have carved his lines on it, or at least composed them under it, else there would be nothing to bring the tree into the story. But though the Domum legend begins to appear in print in the third quarter of the 18th century, it is not till 1798, when Milner's *History of Winchester* appeared, that Labyrinth, or indeed Hills at all, comes to be connected with it.

Between 1755 and 1760 Tom Warton, the future Laureate, then an Oxford don, and from 1757 Professor of Poetry, wrote a Latin hexameter poem entitled *Mons Catharina*.⁵ He was not a Wykehamist, but his elder brother Joseph was in College 1735-40, Second Master 1755-62, and thereafter Head Master: he habitually spent his Long Vacation with him, haunted College, and as this and other poems shew, was thoroughly conversant with the School. Indeed, as early as 1750 he was familiar enough with Winchester to write and publish a *Description*

1. Pp. 409-10.

2. Of Ralph Verney, quoted by Cook, pp. 411, 428.

3. See Cook, pp. 412-13.

4. Adams, *Wykehamica*, p. 411, suggests he was chained to his chamber-post on the breaking-up morning.

5. In Charles Wordsworth's anthology, *College of St. Mary Winton* (1848): see Wordsworth's introductory note there (p. 94) for the circumstances of its composition.

of its *History and Antiquities*. The opening lines of his poem are printed above: he goes on to describe Hills and the doings of the boys upon it in detail, and he devotes seven lines (ll. 58-64) to Labyrinth. Some boys, he says, tread it, but its origin is unknown: perhaps fairies ('Lemures') or a love-sick shepherd cut it. Of Dulce Domum and its author he says no word. Now Warton knew many Wykehamists, whose memories must have gone back to about the beginning of the century,¹ and his ignorance suggests very forcibly that there was no Wykehamical tradition about Labyrinth towards 1700; and certainly nothing to connect it with Dulce Domum. That Labyrinth should have been cut by a boy after 1647 in his School's only playground and the fact forgotten, despite its popularity, in roughly 50 years or less, is most unlikely in such a storehouse of tradition as Winchester College, and it is thus a very reasonable presumption that it was cut by somebody quite unconnected with the School.

Later, however, the School claimed it for its own. An anonymous Wykehamist who was in College from 1768 or a little earlier,² wrote three articles of reminiscences in *Wheeler's Hampshire Magazine* for 1828 (pp. 305-6, 354-5, 555-6): in the first he describes the Dulce Domum ceremony, without a word of Hills, in the second Hills, without a word of Domum; the maze, he says, is 'famous in Wiccamical story,' and is said to have been cut 'by a College boy.' This marks the first stage in the growth of the legend: within a decade or rather more from 1760 Labyrinth, previously unexplained, was attributed to a Wykehamical hand. The next stage was to be the ascription of that hand to the author of Domum.

The writer states that in his time boys ran out the maze as a race, and he also gives the traditional date for the boy's cutting of it as about 1710. This date is highly suspicious: such traditions very rarely preserve the suggestion of an exact date. The writer was clearly a Hampshire, perhaps a Winchester man, and it looks very much as if he had seen Nowell's plan and grafted its date on to his version of the tradition as the date

1. For instance, the Head Master, Dr. Burton, entered College 1705, and Warden Coxed (died 1757) in 1710.

2. He mentions (p. 555) as a contemporary the drowned scholar commemorated in Cloisters by the inscription *Sicut Flos Agelli*: this was John Bingham, admitted 1763, drowned 1768 (Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, p. 258), but he must himself have been considerably younger. He had left before 1780-1, for (pp. 555-6) he frequented Cloisters, which were from that time closed to the boys, and while he must thus have been at least 65 in 1828, he is not likely to have been much over 70, else his allusion (p. 305) to his boyhood as '30 or 40 years ago' would be stretching the point even further than it actually must. His dates may be reasonably guessed as c. 1767-1775.

when Labyrinth was cut. Nowell was no doubt a Winchester man, and the family of Wickham, the ultimate donor of the plan to Moberly Library, had lived there for three generations: probably the document has never left the City. At least the date as given by the anonymous author merits scepticism.

However, his reminiscences are at any rate untainted with the Domum legend, which properly speaking has nothing to do with Hills at all.

Not twenty years from his school-days were needed to involve Labyrinth, and no doubt also Domum Cross and Misery Corner, in the myth. Winchester in the 18th century was indeed 'a school of poets.'¹ Milner says in 1798²: "The fabled origin of this Dædalean work is connected with that of the Dulce Domum song," and thereafter the tale suffers no abatement.

He also says that it "is always kept entire by the coursing of the sportive youth through its meanderings," and as late as 1829 Mr. Britton³ testifies to "the continued coursings of the students of Winchester College, who daily thread its mazes in the full spirit of diversion and exercise." But the practice was dying out. The passage quoted should have been cut out of the 1839 edition of Milner's work, for 'tolling Labyrinth' was (and is) poor sport compared with Winchester football, which during the first quarter of the 19th century grew rapidly in popularity and importance, so that when Warden Barter was elected to office in 1832 he found it an established institution to play 'long game' over the site of Labyrinth, which must have been practically obliterated and certainly disused.

He had it re-cut, and thereby considerably annoyed the School,⁴ who continued to disdain it. A MS. 'Notion Book' of 1842⁵ says: "it is fast going to ruin," and in 1846 Moody⁶ writes of the "traces of the once famed mizmaze, which the collegians formerly felt a pride in preserving, but which is now neglected, filled up, and almost forgotten." Dr. Fearon, who was in College 1852-59, makes it clear that he only "endeavoured to solve the mysteries of labyrinth" when he was "at his wits' end to know what to do."⁷

1. Leach, *History of Winchester College*, ch. XXV.

2. *History of Winchester*, ed. I, vol. II, p. 155.

3. *Historical and Descriptive Guide to the City of Winchester*, p. 87.

4. Adams, *Wykehamica*, p. 295.

5. By R. Gordon (COLL. 1837-43).

6. *Sketches of Hampshire*, p. 72.

7. *The Pasting of Old Winchester*, p. 36.

But Barter's re-cutting was an event of importance because of the alterations it involved. The old outline could scarcely if at all be traced, and Edward Trollope, who had four cousins in College at various times and was himself in a position to get direct information,¹ states in the paper of 1858 above quoted² that the Warden proceeded "with the aid of a plan that had

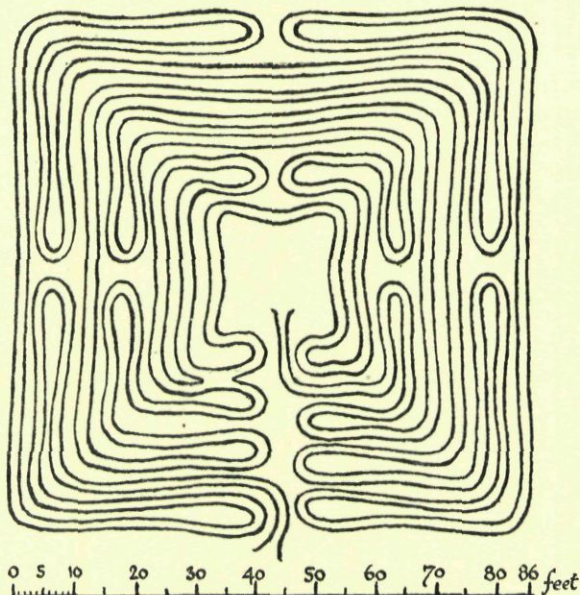


FIG. 34.

Plan of Labyrinth in 1929.

been fortunately preserved by a lady in the vicinity." This suggests that the plan was Nowell's, which we have before suspected to have been 'in the vicinity,' perhaps already in the hands of the Wickham family, but if so, its aid was turned to indifferent account. For as comparison of figs. 33 and 34 shews, while the general plan remains the same, the side of the square is now 86 instead of 70 ft. and an appreciable curve has

1. *i.e.* from Barter himself. He was anyhow a friend of the Rev. W. H. Gunner, of Blackbridge House, Winchester (scholar from 1824), an enthusiastic and knowledgeable Wykehamist, who till his death in 1859 was, like Trollope, a prominent member of the Archæological Institute, and also of course intimate with Barter.

2. p. 226.

been given to stretches of path which in Nowell's plan are perfectly straight.

It seems that it was not till about 1880 or soon after, when the old institution of 'Hills' had been abolished as will shortly be seen, that 'tolling Labyrinth' was re-introduced as part of the annual ordeal for new boys known as 'doing Hills.' As shewn in fig. 34, a cutting, clearly not part of the original design, has been made presumably since that date, by which two adjoining stretches of path have been made to run together. Unwary feet can thus by crossing from one to the other inadvertently begin to retrace their steps. This innovation has made the maze what it never was before, a real puzzle: formerly it only provided the excitement of a rather peculiar race, but as it is it becomes bewildering enough, whether following the College custom you start inside and run outwards, or as the townsfolk do, no doubt more correctly, you try from the outside to reach the centre. In either tradition, its popularity seems at present securely established.¹ Its actual condition is reasonably good, the mean level being very slightly lower than that of the surrounding turf, which is barely noticeably banked up. If at all, indeed, it seems more likely to suffer from excessive wear than from neglect.

1. The present writers, whom the work of excavation kept on the Hill all day for four successive months of August, very rarely saw Labyrinth without someone attempting to trace it, and often there was quite a crowd. In fact, on one occasion they saw the interesting sight of a man pursuing its windings on a motor-bicycle!



FIG. 35.

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES: CONCLUSION

Labyrinth and its associations have of necessity been dealt with separately, and the due sequence of history may now be resumed at the beginning of the 18th century. The School routine of going on Hills seems after Mathew's time to have suffered only two important innovations before Warton described it between 1755 and 1760. Commoners were added to the regular procession of College men no doubt under Dr. Burton, who established them on what was really a new footing between 1739 and 1742 with the institution of their quarters in 'Old Commoners.' And some time within the same half-century the morning and afternoon excursions to Hills on Remedies were supplemented by 'Evening Hills,' which took place daily in the summer between the evening meal and 8 o'clock. At 'Evening Hills' the hill was not climbed, for the purpose was nothing but bathing at various recognized places in the Itchen beneath it.

Warton describes the procession, the confinement of the majority in the morning and afternoon within the ring of Trench (which he ascribes to the Danes), the contemporary form of Winchester football played on the summit, the bathing at Evening Hills, the ranging over the surrounding country permitted to Praefects and their friends, with the illicit pleasures it afforded, and various other pastimes including wrestling and 'tolling Labyrinth.' He goes on to commend the boy who seeks the top of the *tumulus* and enjoys the view. The prospect he expatiates upon from the mound which actually covered the ruins of the Chapel is an unbroken one, and it is clear that in his day, as in 1692, there was no clump of trees on this spot.

In fact the clump was planted soon after he wrote, and the event was an incident of the Seven Years' War which interrupted the history of Hills as a School playground. In September 1778 George III and Queen Charlotte visited Winchester.¹ On the 30th they were received in College 'Ad Portas,' and after that ceremony were conducted by way of School ("whose just proportions and elegance of the roof His Majesty much admired") into Meads. Here "the King was struck with the view of the plantation on Catherine hill, and was much pleased when he was told that it was compleated *in one day*"² by Lord Botetourt, during the last encampment of the Militia, when he was Colonel of the Gloucestershire."

The planting came about in this way. In 1756 the fear of a French invasion led the Government to bring over 10,000 Hessian troops and encamp them on the downs round Winchester.³ In 1759 Pitt's administration replaced them by detachments of the English County Militia, thereby earning much patriotic approval. In the winter the troops were quartered in the City, and their summer camp occupied a triangle of ground between the Andover and Basingstoke roads, which is now cut in half by the railway.⁴ The Gloucestershire Militia was present in 1760⁵ and 1761,⁶ under Colonel Norborne Berkeley, who in 1764 became Lord Botetourt, and continued in command till 1765, and as the Militia was disembodied at the Peace of Paris in February 1763, he must have set his men to plant the trees during the summer encampment of 1762, which would in 1778 be called 'the last.' One may suppose that he did it for a wager.

Adams has asserted⁷ that the troops actually encamped on Hills, but the engravings already cited place them on the north of the City, and they also shew that the permanent marks which the camp could leave in the ground would be those of a fence

1. Charles Blackstone's MS. *Book of Benefactions to Winchester College etc., etc.* (preserved in the College Muniment Room), pp. 111-115: passage quoted, p. 114. Information kindly given by Mr. Herbert Chitty.

2. Underlined in MS.

3. *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, 1773, vol. II, p. 150 ff. (the anonymous author was Mr. Porter of Winchester: see *Gentleman's Magazine* 66, i, p. 287): *The Winchester Guide*, 1780, pp. 87-9: Milner. *History . . . of Winchester*, 1798, vol. I, p. 445: Ball, *Historical Account of Winchester*, 1818, p. 78. Milner's figure is 7,000.

4. As shewn by engraving by Godson, Surveyor to the Winchester Corporation, in Gough's *Topographical Collections, Hants*, dated Oct. 18, 1756, and entitled *A Correct View of the Hessian Camp on Barton Farm near Winchester*, which is preserved in the Bodleian.

5. As stated on another engraving, in the same *Collections*, of that date, dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham, who was in command of the camp, which apparently shews the same site.

6. Wooll, *Life of Warton*, p. 278.

7. *Wykehamica*, p. 294.

against which arms were piled on either side of the parade-ground, of a thatched hut with projecting wings standing at the back of the lines, and of six square or circular 'Kitchens cutt in the ground' which faced the hut.

No such traces were found in the excavations, nor is it in the least likely that if this unit changed its camping-ground between 1760 and 1762, so waterless and inaccessible site would have been chosen: Adams must in fact have been guessing.

Indeed, the Wykehamical body would no doubt have protested had such a military intrusion been continued for longer than one day. We have already noticed Warden Huntingford's protest of 1799, which was evoked by soldiers merely bathing in the Itchen: he gained his point, and the Commander-in-Chief was equally tractable when he repeated the School's claim to Hills on the occurrence of a fresh intrusion in 1811, while during Napoleon's threat of invasion, when the Government put a beacon on Hills, orders were issued to the watch that while preventing mischief they were "to be civil to the boys while at their exercise on the hill."¹

The only relics found in the excavations which seem likely to be connected with any of these occasions are two brass ferrules, rather too small to belong to scabbards and perhaps from aiguillettes, and a lead musket-ball weighing 1.095 oz. and .689 ins. in diameter, clearly a bullet for the muzzle-loading musket known as 'Brown Bess,' in use in the British Army without change of bore from c. 1700 to 1840. The regulation diameter for such bullets was .677 ins., but the bore of the musket was .75 ins., and the tolerations were habitually large, this ball being distinctly on the large and heavy side (the standard weight was only 1.06 oz.).²

The fragments of tobacco-pipes and wine-bottles found near these close to the site of the west end of the Chapel seem to be in part contemporary, but may have been dropped by anyone: perhaps some of the pipes, like the 17th century examples noticed above, belonged to College Præfects.³

The School was anyhow accustomed when Dean Hook was in it (1812-17) vigorously to repel intruders⁴; its own routine was then and later little changed from the previous two centuries.

1. Cook, pp. 342-3.

2. Information kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. E. M. Ridley, Experimental Officer to the Director of Artillery, through the Adjutant, Small Arms School, Hythe.

3. See fig. 31 and p. 267 above: cf. Fearon, *The Passing of Old Winchester*, pp. 36-7.

4. Stephens, *Life of Dean Hook*, vol. I, p. 12.

About 1790, when Warden Huntingford revised *Tabula Legum*, he suppressed the obsolete rule of genuflecting to masters and inserted the previously unwritten one of keeping within the bounds of Trench,¹ but the latter of course continued to be a dead letter for Præfects and their selected friends.

The rigours of Morning and the delights of Evening Hills, the many and various games, and the impressions the institution made on boys according to their dispositions, are amply described in the literature of Wykehamical reminiscence.² As the first quarter of the 19th century wore on, and cricket and football, which could now be played far better in Meads, became more and more organized, the popularity of Hills declined.³ The time-honoured sport of badger-hunting, indeed, was as yet strongly kept up, and in the '30's and '40's there was rifle-shooting in Chalk-pit, but though some football was played on the Hill until 1860, and cricket, in the form of Junior Match between College and Commoners, lasted till 1866, the whole affair was by then an anachronism. The tall-hatted procession had come rarely if ever to undergo a names-calling, and there was felt to be no virtue in the old customs like the pulling of Præfects up the Hill by teams of juniors, and the calling of 'Domum' when it was time to go down by two juniors running round Trench one each side of the Hill, while a third went across the top.

In 1832 the bounds for Præfects were extended, in 1847 the hours were reduced, in 1859 the ascent ceased to be compulsory at all, in 1860 Morning Hills was discontinued. But shirking was now more prevalent than ever, and these and Dr. Ridding's still wider concessions of 1867 could not save the institution. Of the attempt made later in the same year to save it by different means, the Præfect of Hall concerned has himself very charmingly written⁴; the result was that in the autumn of 1868 Hills was abolished.

But the traditional associations of the place were strong enough not many years later to revive the custom of going there in a new form. The land has been since 1836 in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and in 1878 their lessee made an unwise and fruitless attempt to fence off the Hill. Indignation was strong in the School, and the feeling then

1. "Intra terminos | Ad Montem præscriptos | Quisque se contineto."

2. e.g. Adams, *Wykehamica*, p. 290 ff.: Fearon, *op. cit.*, ch. IV, and the authorities for Cook's ch. XXVII.

3. For this see Cook's ch. XXVIII.

4. Cook, pp. 362-3.

aroused may have helped to lead to the popular devising, in the years immediately following, of the custom of 'doing Hills' as a ceremonial ordeal for new men. The rites involved are not identical throughout the School, and are most fully honoured in College: many of them are meaningless, but at least 'tolling Labyrinth,' as already described, provides a link with the former practice.

In 1894 free access to Hills was again said to be threatened, and Dr. Fearon instituted an official custom, called in memory of its predecessor 'Morning Hills': before breakfast on a day at the beginning of the Summer and Autumn Terms the School climbs the Hill and sings the traditional hymn *Jam lucis orto sidere*, after which names are called by the Praefect of Hall.

Dr. Fearon also arranged, together with Dean Stephens, for a much-needed renewal of the clump of trees in 1897. There is some doubt about the kind of tree planted by the Militiamen of 1762. Milner¹ calls them firs, and they are so described till after the middle of the 19th century,² but in the '70's, when well over 100 trees were still standing, the majority were beeches. There is no record of re-planting before 1897, and the explanation must be³ that Norborne Berkeley planted fir and beech together. The firs would grow much the quicker, and would mask the beeches until they themselves began to die off, when the beeches, having thus been protected during their slower growth, would at last predominate. But they in their turn were getting thin in the '90's, and fifty trees, again both fir and beech, were then added. Of these the firs have now all vanished: they appear in a minority of two to five in the 1909 Ordnance Survey, and almost all of the 53 trees remaining in 1917 were beeches. In fact the clump has been rapidly dwindling⁴: in 1925, when an accurate survey was made by one of the present writers, there were forty-five trees only, all beeches. Early in the previous year, however, a serious effort was made to restore the clump to its former glory by planting seedling beeches round these old trees. In spite of a wire fence, many have died, but if the survivors thrive and the old trees disappear, it will be possible

1. *History . . . of Winchester*, 1798, vol. II, p. 154.

2. e.g. Moyle Sherer (entered College 1800), *Story of a Life*, vol. II, p. 82: Sewell, *To Catherine Hill, on leaving Winchester College* (which he did in 1821): Duthy, *Sketches of Hampshire*, 1839, p. 246: Moody, *Notes and Essays relating to Hants and Wilts*, 1851, p. 137: Woodward, *History of Hants*, 1863, vol. I, p. 12.

3. As Mr. Chitty has acutely pointed out to the writer.

4. However, the figures for 1922 given in *The Wykehamist*, no. 625, are certainly incorrect.

in the future to lay open and preserve the ruins of the Chapel,¹ which would thus be surrounded by a ring of trees, while the familiar aspect of the Hill would be unchanged.

For indeed it is a justly treasured landmark, and an importance more than local attaches to each of the three phases of its history, in the centuries before Christ as a British settlement and stronghold, in the Middle Ages as a place of devotion, and thereafter as a Public School playing-ground that has been strangely beloved.

1. See above, p. 220, with fig. 21.

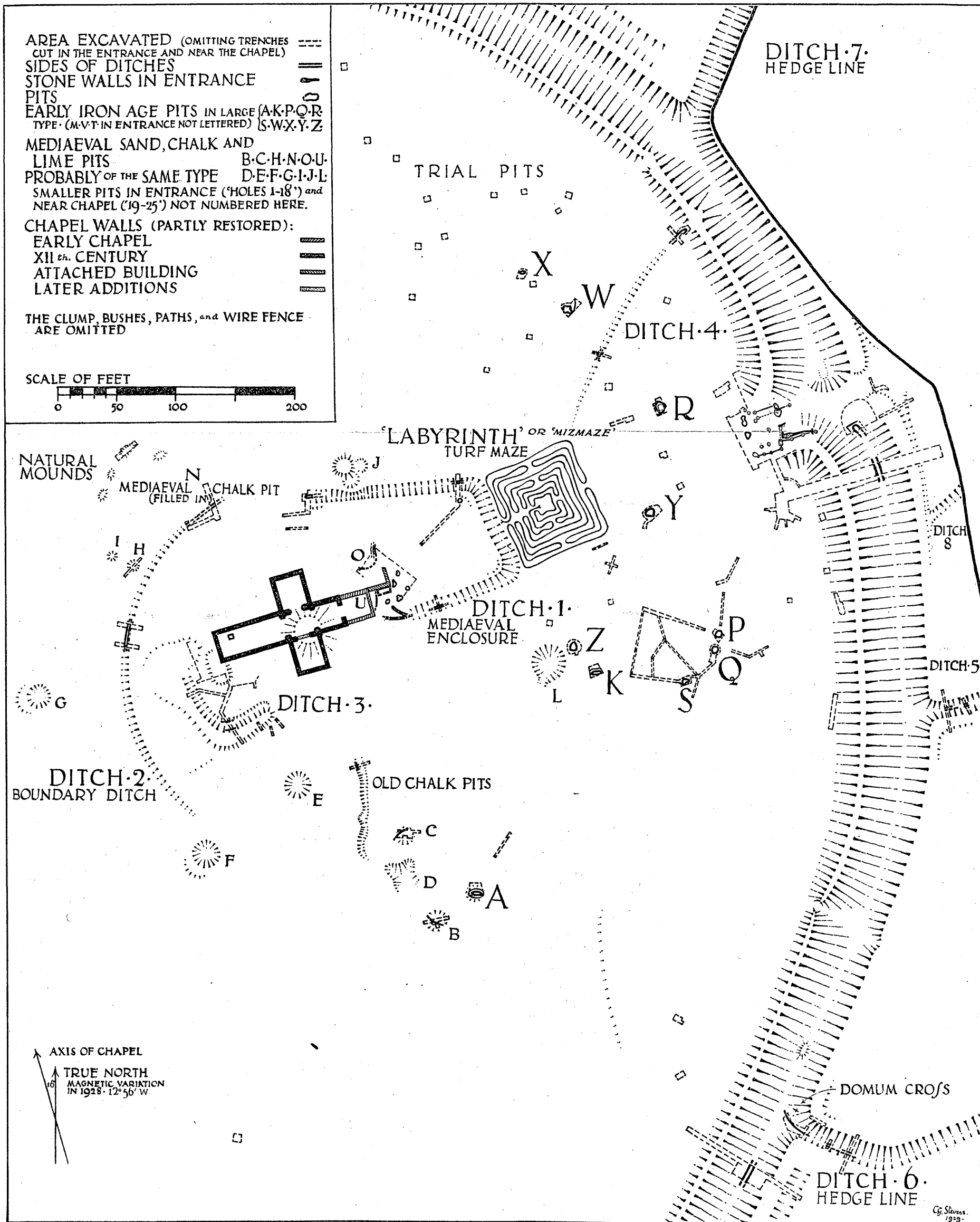


FIG. 36. GENERAL PLAN OF THE EXCAVATIONS, 1925-1928.