

NOTES & QUERIES

FOR

SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

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*"Attempt the end, and never stand to doubt;
Nothing's so hard, but search will find it out".*

HERRICK.

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51. PHELIPS OF MONTACUTE: TWO EARLY REPRESENTATIVES. This article has to do with two forbears of Sir Edward Phelips ⁽¹⁾ who built Montacute House; Thomas (c. 1440 to 1501) was Edward's great-grandfather, Richard (c. 1480 to 1560) his grandfather. No earlier antecedents have been identified. Appropriately in 1981, when Montacute celebrates its fiftieth year as a property of the National Trust, new information can be given about these two men, who belong, though remotely, to the history of the house.

Thomas Phelips. Tradition current in Edward's time attributed to Thomas Phelips the family's first foothold in Montacute. Thus, in a letter ⁽²⁾ written in Jan. 1588 Edward's father tells one of his sons, 'For thy better knowledge, albeit not all unknown unto thee, our poor house of Montacute ⁽³⁾ by the goodness of the Almighty is grown from two small burgages bought by thy great-grandfather ... to be well liked, a seat now, husbandly used the house with the demesne worth yearly at least £100.' This is supported by a conveyance ⁽⁴⁾ to Thomas in December 1479 of a half-burgage 'within the free borough of Montacute in North Street, namely on the east side of that street between a burgage of Thomas Geffray and a garden of the said Thomas Phelips on the south', preserved in the family papers.

Thomas must have been born about 1440, perhaps a little earlier, because he was old enough in 1460 (and important enough) to be named for arrest as a wanted man. A probable link ⁽⁵⁾ with Edward Brooke, Lord Cobham, a landowner in Kent as well as in the west country, is suggested by three entries in the Patent Rolls. The first, dated 29 Oct. 1460, ⁽⁶⁾ is a commission to Sir William Bonville with three other named commissioners and the sheriffs of London, Somerset and Kent to arrest and bring before the King in Chancery 'Thomas Philip of Lukton, county Somerset, Yoman', to find surety of good behaviour towards John Smokke, clerk. The second, dated Feb. 1466,⁽⁷⁾ is a pardon to 'Thomas Philip late of the parish of Colyng, county Kent, gentleman, alias of Lukton, county Somerset, gentleman, for all offences committed by him before 27 November 1465' and the third of the same date⁽⁸⁾ is a grant to 'Thomas Philip late of the parish of Cowlyng, county Kent, gentleman, of all the goods and chattels forfeited by him for certain felonies of which he was indicted before the justices of the peace in that county.'

This is the period of the Wars of the Roses. The commission for Thomas's arrest fits precisely into the interval between the Duke of York's assumption of power upon his return from Ireland in Sept. 1460 and his defeat at Wakefield in December.

According to one authority, 'Amid the prevailing political uncertainty law and order were gradually breaking down. In many regions, especially those remote from London, large bands of armed men roamed the countryside... Early in December the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon, at the head of their west-country retainers and tenantry, marched north to join Margaret [of Anjou, the king's wife] at Hull.' (9)

Sir William Bonville, named as commissioner for Thomas's arrest was the son of Lord Bonville of Shute, the most powerful magnate in the south-west, and both were enemies of the Earl of Devon. Other leading families in the south-west sought to protect their interests by taking sides, the Brooke-Cobham family (the Brookes of the west country had earlier intermarried with the Cobhams of Kent) being supporters of the Earl of Devon, but no constant loyalty to either the Lancastrian or the Yorkist cause is implied by such local and often temporary affiliations. (10) Sir William and his son were killed at Wakefield; old Lord Bonville was executed the following February.

'Lukton', in the commission of Oct. 1460, is the old spelling of Lufton, a village lying just a mile east of Montacute. It was at that time a part of the western lands of the Brooke-Cobham family. 'Colyng' and 'Cowlyng' (now Cooling) in the pardon and grant of 1466 is the castle and headquarters of the Brooke-Cobham family in Kent five miles north of Rochester and overlooking the south bank of the Thames estuary. The occasion for the precise dating (27 Nov. 1465) in the pardon has not been discovered, as this came during a period of comparative quiet in the early years of Edward IV's reign; nor has it been possible to unearth exactly the nature of Thomas Phelips' involvement in either instance.

While the evidence so far discovered falls short of positive proof of a link between Phelips and Brooke-Cobham, such a link does explain plausibly the otherwise mysterious migrations of Thomas between Kent and Somerset. If he were an officer in the Brooke-Cobham household, for instance their surveyor, his duties might well involve residence in both counties. There are also 15th cent. Brooke estate documents in the Phelips MSS. in the Som. R.O., the presence of which can best be explained on the hypothesis that they survive from Thomas's administration of that estate. Further confirmation of a connection comes from a lease of 7 Oct. 1501 from John, Lord Cobham, to 'Jane Philip, [Thomas's] widow,' of his manor of Brooke Montacute, preserved in the Kent R.O.⁽¹¹⁾ It will be shown below that Thomas's son also held such an office in another great household⁽¹²⁾. Moreover Thomas must have had some influential patron with court connections or he would not have been appointed to the crown office of county

escheator for the combined counties of Somerset and Dorset in 1417 and again in 1478 ⁽¹³⁾ — another office into which his son followed him in the next century — and his progress up the ladder of rank from yeoman in 1460 to gentleman less than six years later would also be explained in this way, for he seems not himself to have become a landowner of any great account.

This Phelps is probably not the Thomas Philip (with variants on the spelling) who was a merchant in Bridgwater and appears in the Bridgwater borough archives between 1445 and 1482, for it seems unlikely that he was old enough in 1445 to be paying 8d. to the common bailiff and 5d. to the churchwardens. Indeed there is a much earlier entry in 1418 against the name Thomas Phelps, recording the churchwarden's purchase of wax from him. A Thomas Philip, however, became collector of customs at Bridgwater in 1471, ⁽¹⁴⁾ and it is tempting to identify him with the present Thomas Phelps, even if the other Bridgwater connections are discarded, because his son came to hold the same office at Poole. In 1472 he is mentioned as one of the patrons of the living of Brympton, ⁽¹⁵⁾ which is near both Lufton and Montacute. In 1476 he appears as defendant in a suit to recover a debt of £20 and is described still as of Lufton⁽¹⁶⁾. In 1477 he is on a commission, ⁽¹⁷⁾ with Giles Daubeney, Robert Stowell, John Bekenyll, John Huggins, John Heron and the sheriff of Somerset, to enquire into a piracy case, the victim being a ship from Minehead.

Thomas Phelps made his will at Montacute ⁽¹⁸⁾ on 1 Jan. 1501 and died the same month. Incidentally this is the only direct evidence that he not only possessed burgages at Montacute (since before 1479) but also lived there. He directed burial in the monastery, as distinct from the parish church of Montacute, near the high altar. Others had done the same, notably William Carent, and, according to the letter of Edward's father from which a quotation has been given already, his purpose in buying the two small Montacute burgages in 1479 was 'to be in the priory there,' which probably means that he paid the monastery in advance for the right to be buried in their church by endowing them with the proceeds of these burgages (of all of which the monastery was ground landlord). Whether he had a special relationship with the monastery is not known, but Cluniac monasteries made much use of administrators from their local communities.

After small gifts to Wells Cathedral, Montacute parish church and the monastery church, Thomas left all his burgages, lands and tenements in Montacute to his wife Jane and to her heirs and assigns, which phrase implies, perhaps, that he possessed by this time rather more land in Montacute than the conveyance of 1479 indicates. No record has been found of Jane's maiden name, because she was a widow when he married her, 'the relict of one Abbott of Pendomer' ⁽¹⁹⁾ — a village five

miles south-east of Montacute, where 'Abbot's Hill' appears on the modern O.S. map, but there are indications that she may have been a Compton and from her may have come the crest of 'a beacon fired proper.' In later years the Phelips family owned land at Pendomer, perhaps brought to Thomas by this marriage, but what, if any, other land she possessed in her own right is not known. Curiously, the two burgages which Thomas bought in 1479 were lost to the family, because he bequeathed the reversion of the fee thereof to his stepdaughter, Jane Abbott, who married a Watson, and the burgages seem to have gone to their son, John Watson ⁽¹⁹⁾. The witnesses to Thomas's will were John Chamberlane, vicar of Montacute, John Saunder of Montacute, Giles Abbott and Richard Phelips. The inclusion of the last-named witness removes any shadow of doubt that this Thomas was the great-grandfather to whom Edward's father referred in the quoted letter.

Richard Phelips. In contrast to the sparse documentation of the life of Edward Phelips' great-grandfather, the records of his grandfather, Richard, surprise by their plenty and importance.

Richard Phelips was born about 1480, probably in Montacute, and died in 1560 at Charborough near Poole. He lived long, as also did his eldest son, who was still dictating vigorous letters at the age of eighty-eight. How or where Richard was brought up remains uncertain, but there is a passage in another of the letters written by Edward's father in 1588, ⁽²⁰⁾ where he writes of himself to one of his sons as 'having a father known to be a wise man and of great experience, trained and bred me until I was married to this honest my wife, your mother,' which possibly suggests that a home upbringing had been a break with tradition in the family. It would certainly conform with common contemporary practice if Richard had been brought up in a nearby household of higher status than that of his own father. Such a household could have been that of John Brooke, Lord Cobam or that of Thomas (Grey), 1st Marquis of Dorset and his second wife, whom he married in 1474, Cicely, Baroness Harington and Baroness Bonville, who was heiress to the estates of the Bonville family of Shute in Devon. These two magnate families possessed amongst their vast estates adjoining properties in the Montacute area.

Richard's first marriage must have taken place before the end of the century, as his eldest son was born in 1500. Unfortunately nothing is known about his first wife, the mother of his children, except her christian name, Emeline, and that she was still living in 1536, but from the direction in his will (1557) for burial near to 'my dear late wife Emeline deceased' it is likely that she had only just died and that Richard's second marriage to the widow of a Bristol man, John Spynge, took place between his will and his death (1560).

We have already seen that in Jan. 1501 Richard was a witness to the will of his father made at Montacute. The earliest reference to his business activities outside the family circle comes in a letter to him, as under-sheriff of Somerset in 1507, from Wells cathedral chapter, following a dispute over rights of water when the chapter had received a court order to remove obstructions to the flow of the river Tone. ⁽²¹⁾ Then in 1509 a 'Ric. Phyllyp' is named in the state papers as one of 120 members of the King's Guard at the funeral of Henry VII. Of course, this might be quite a different person, but nearly a quarter of a century later at another less reputable, royal occasion, 'Ric. Philips' is listed amongst 'knights and gentlemen to be servitors at the coronation of Anne Boleyn', and amongst the knights of the Bath in attendance is 'Marquis Dorset' — the third Marquis, Henry, later Duke of Suffolk, whom, as we shall see, Richard served as estates surveyor. In 1511 there appears in the Exchequer accounts a declaration of money received by Sir Robert Southwell as Chief Butler, ⁽²²⁾ which shows that Richard Phelips was his deputy in the ports of Lyme and Weymouth from 1511 to 1516, an appointment which may have continued and which no doubt proved lucrative. Moreover in 1522 he leased from John Russell, who later became the 1st Earl of Bedford, the customs of Poole, ⁽²³⁾ which controlled also Lyme and Weymouth, and kept them for five years. Richard's merchant connections stretched to the north coast of Somerset, where he possibly had interests at Bridgwater and certainly dealt with the Bristol merchant, John Smyth, ⁽²⁴⁾ whose sister, Elizabeth, married Richard's eldest son, Thomas, at some time before 1534. The Brooke, Lord Cobham family's strong connection with Long Ashton on the southern edge of Bristol might prove significant, because that was the Smyth home.

Richard's first election to parliament, in 1511 as burgess for Poole, is followed in the records of that borough by many later mentions of payments made to him. Which of such payments were made to him as burgess in parliament, which as under-steward of the manor of Canford (an appointment he is recorded as holding in 1531) and which for some other service, is impossible to disentangle, but he certainly represented Poole in many parliaments. Altogether the Poole records demonstrate the trust and respect of a wealthy merchant community.

Richard's name appears on a muster roll for Poole in 1512. In Oct. 1513 he was rebuked in the Canford manorial court ⁽²⁵⁾ for failing to keep his ditch in repair within the tything of Langflete, which in the 16th century was important enough to appear as a place separate from Poole on Saxton's map of Dorset (1575). The probability is that he moved from Somerset into Dorset soon after his father's death. In 1514 or 1515 he took a lease of Great Canford tithing for 50 years. ⁽²⁶⁾

Richard was also known in Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, representing the latter in the parliament of 1524. A letter from him in 1554 ⁽²⁷⁾ to the mayor of Melcombe Regis thanks him 'for that it hath pleased you, at my comtemplation [suggestion] to place my son Thomas Phelips to be one of the burgesses for your town at the next parliament.' His friendliness and informality appear in the ending of this letter, 'Scribbled in my poor cote at Charborough.' On 15 May 1555 he writes more formally to the outgoing mayor — and this time the letter is in the same handwriting as his signature, he is not using his clerk — conveying a command from the King and Queen. He himself has to be at one hour's notice (he must have been over seventy!) for military service 'as well with my own presence and service as with others whom I have within my office' (i.e. under his mustering authority) and he appends a list of six names of men whom the mayor is to cause to be from time to time in readiness with their armour and other weapons 'to serve their majesties, if I be required'.

The six are: Thomas Samways, Thomas Bucke, Richard Bellpyt, John Gregory the mayor, Edward Knaplock and John Helyer of Melcombe, son-in-law to Richard Francis. The occasion would have been a rumoured French attack on the coast and the source of Richard's muster authority a commission of array issued in the name of Philip and Mary.

In October 1531 Richard took possession as lessee of the manor of Charborough, five miles to the north-west of Poole, and it is as a consequence of his lease that there survives in the records of Chancery in 1547 ⁽²⁸⁾ a few words describing Charborough before it became 'extinguished and depopulated'. They refer to a house called 'Caseweyshouse', a 20-acre close called 'Bestclose', parcels of ground called 'Stepewode' and 'Meadland', a wood called 'Eastwood', a house and field called 'Conyngary', a house called 'the Chief (perhaps 'Chaff') House', 'Taylor's Close', 'Medeclose' (9 acres), 'the Oxenhouse', 'a house called the Sh...pen', 'Stype? Wood', 'Lowesbaroughe', unspecified acres of arable land, 'a piece or part of the said manor or farm called The Town' and 'a presentment of the church of Charborough when it should happen to be void again'. The whole area on the ground (Charborough Park) is now quite different and the names do not survive, but another document refers to 'Dullor Farm' which occurs in Richard's lease; this does survive, with its 16th cent. name, a little to the east. The Charborough church mentioned in the case went long ago and with it has vanished all trace of the burial place of Richard and his first wife. So also did his father's grave disappear when the monastery buildings at Montacute were pulled down. Although Richard bought the manors of Corfe Mullen and Corfe Hubart in c. 1539, the Court House there, in which the Dorset historian Hutchins was able to observe and record so much Phelips heraldic glass, was probably not built in Richard's lifetime and he makes no mention of it in his will.

Pevsner suggests early 17th cent. as its date, the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments the latter half of the 16th century.

Richard's main employment in middle age was as surveyor to the Marchioness and her son the Marquis of Dorset for their lands in the west. This business relationship appears very clearly in a suit brought by the Marchioness in about 1527. ⁽²⁹⁾ She is suing Phelips for extortion and oppression of her tenants. In her plea in Star Chamber she describes how he came to be appointed: 'Having a special trust and confidence in one Richard Phelips, thinking him to be of just dealing, honest in behaviour and of good conscience,' she had ordained and made him by deed of grant 'her general surveyor of her manors of Woodbury, Combyne and Lymptone in Devon and of all others her lordships... lying within the said county & in the counties of Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset & Wilts, with the yearly fee of vili xiiis iiijd exercising & occupying of the same office for term of his life ... And ... putting no doubt nor mistrust of the honest, just dealing and conscience of the said Phelips not only she but also the rt. hon. lord Thomas Marquis Dorset, son & heir apparent ... the xiiijth day of July in the xvjth year of the reign of Henry VIII [1524] ... by their joint commission ... deputed, ordained and made the said Richard Phelips & one Nicholas Kyrkham of (her) part and one Nicholas Chaunterell, clerk, & Christopher Wrenne for the behalf of the said lord marquis indifferently to survey ... [all their western lands] to the intent that they should set good order and direction among the said tenants, farmers & copyholders.' In the Phelips papers at Somerset R.O. only one document exists recording the appointment. It is a counter-part lease of Coleridge Park, Devon, and the reversion of the office of keeper granted in 1526 by Richard Phelips and Nicholas Chaunterell on behalf of the Marchioness and Marquis. ⁽³⁰⁾

That Richard Phelips was serving in high and dangerous circles seems indicated by a Chancery case soon after the death of Cardinal Wolsey in 1530, ⁽³¹⁾ in which Nicholas Chaunterell is described as 'commisary of the late Lord Cardinal'. There existed a special relationship between Wolsey and the Dorsets: he had taught three sons of the 1st Marquis at Magdalen College School and had received his first church livings from the Marquis. Nevertheless the 2nd Marquis had been one of the signatories to the Articles against Wolsey in 1529.

In the light of Richard's continued service with the Dorsets, we must view the Star Chamber action as a cynical doublecross by the Marchioness of her own tenants. For she stated in her plea that the commission to Phelips and Chaunterell stood void and Phelips had forfeited his office; and yet in the 1530's he becomes even more intimately involved, negotiating loans for the family, and as late as 1545 he presides over one of their manorial courts. The tenants were to think that she disowned the new, more commercial and less feudal style of landlord-

tenant relationship which Phelips and Chaunterell were introducing. ⁽³²⁾ She pleaded that they had 'unlawfully put out divers and many of old tenants ... which beforehand had made fines for their lands' but also had 'made grants, new copyholds as well, to divers persons which never inhabited within the said lordships ... whereby divers of the old tenants-at-will holding of the said manors are expelled ... contrary to the ancient custom of the said manors and by colour of which commission Phelips and Chaunterell have taken great sums of money & rewards ... which they have converted and employed to their own uses ... they dayly do vex, trouble and inquiet the said tenants, farmers and copyholders ...' The answer made to this plea has not been found in the court records, neither has the court decree. But an item in the will of John Witdecombe, a wealthy mercer of Martock, then a small town near Montacute, dated 1527, ⁽³³⁾ shows how Phelips suffered in his reputation while the case was in progress. Witdecombe appoints as his executors John Glyn, and 'my cousin Richard Phelips, with this condition that, if the said Richard Phelips can within one month of my decease clearly discharge himself of and from all such trouble as he is against ... the King'.

A survey of the Dorset family's estates in the west, made by Phelips and Chaunterell in 1525 as a direct consequence of their appointment, survives in the P.R.O.⁽³⁴⁾ It is on paper in a book of over 230 pages, written in latin in a large and clear hand. A later hand has compiled at the beginning an index of places and advowsons, the numbers of places being: Wilts. 1, Dorset 8, Somerset 21, Devon 51 and Cornwall 9. The following single page relating to Sock Dennis, now just a farm, but then a village south of Ilchester on a ridge track leading to Montacute, is particularly relevant to the family of Richard Phelips:

SOCKE DENYS in the COUNTY of SOMERSET

Richard Phellypps, Emeline his wife and Thomas and Bertram, sons of the same, hold by grant of the Lord Henry late Earl of Wiltshire and the right noble lady Cecily, Marchioness of Dorset, Baroness Harington, Bonville and Astley, wife of the said Earl, and afterwards by the confirmation of the said right noble Cecily in her pure and legitimate widowhood, half of manor above written for the term of the life of the aforesaid Richard, Emeline, Thomas and Bertram — by rent each year XXII li
The other half of the said manor belongs to William Bartlett, knight, and the said manor contains in total four hundred acres of grazing, pasture and meadow.

Being resident in Dorset by this time, the Phelips family presumably sublet their half of Sock Dennis.

Some idea of Richard's financial standing can be gained from the subsidy roll of 1524, in which he is rated as an inhabitant of the liberty of Poole at 3li 6s — above average for the county as a whole, but below the average for Poole. In Poole the two most wealthy merchants, Thomas White and John Stocker, are assessed at figures which, put together, exceed the total of the other nine, including Richard's, whose

name appears at the top of the list of eleven. Stocker and White became mayors of Poole and John Stocker married Richard Phelps' daughter Edith as her first husband. He died before 1539, when Edith's second marriage to John Horsey was registered in Poole parish register.

It was in 1521-22 that Richard held the crown appointment of escheator for Somerset and Dorset. In 1522 he appears for the first time on the commission of the peace for Dorset and he continues as a justice for the next 32 years, gaining a place on the 'quorum' [justices qualified to deal with the more serious cases] with his increasing experience. Occasionally he is on the Somerset commission as well as that of Dorset. He serves from time to time on subsidy commissions, on commissions of gaol delivery and of oyer and terminer, and on other special commissions.

Richard may have gone into retirement before the Grey family overreached themselves and came to disaster in the plot to crown Lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of the 3rd Marquis, then Duke of Suffolk, as Queen after the death of Edward VI, and their subsequent support of the Wyatt rebellion. Their lands were forfeited, and thereupon the basis on which Richard Phelps' career had rested collapsed in ruin, although Richard does not seem implicated in either plot, being well into his seventies in 1554 when Suffolk died. Having no large holdings of land and no great money fortune, he now had no power base to leave to his son, Edward's father, who was himself sixty years old when Richard died. The querulous letters which the son wrote just before his death bear witness to his disillusionment and distress, as well as to his pride in the estate at Montacute, which he had struggled to develop.

Within the Phelps family also great difficulties arose during Richard's lifetime. Thomas, Richard's eldest son was charged with complicity in a mysterious gaolbreak at Ilchester and was in danger of execution. Much more scandalous was the behaviour of the third son, Henry. He was the notorious Henry Phillips, who brought about the arrest which led to the trial and judicial murder of one of the greatest scholars of the English protestant Reformation — William Tyndale — by betraying him to the Catholic authorities in the Netherlands. Both these events occasioned correspondence, preserved in the P.R.O., between Richard and Thomas Cromwell, with whom he appears to have been on the best of terms, even suggesting that his son Thomas should enter Cromwell's service. No indications appear of Richard's own political or religious leanings. Perhaps it would be fair to credit him with tolerance and respect for sound administration in preference to any brand of fanaticism. At the time of the Dissolution he befriended the Abbot of Cerne, for Montacute Priory he provided services of a legal nature (for which he was paid), and at Muchelney, where the manor belonged to the Dorsets, he undertook temporary custody of the monastery estates. His

will was made in catholic form, but that may mean only that he conformed to the new dispensation under Queen Mary.

Bertram, his second son, never reappears after the Sock Dennis item in the survey described above and probably died young. No one knows what fate overtook Henry. To Thomas, the eldest, he left most of what he had, subject to his second wife's life interest. Richard died in 1560, which, some say, was the year of the birth of his grandson and builder of Montacute House.

1. This spelling became standard about 1750.
2. S.R.O., DDPH/224/4; the spelling and punctuation have been modernised in this and other transcriptions, for a number of which I wish to thank Ms. Celia Parker.
3. The context requires 'house' to mean estate, not family. It was the property conveyed to Edward Phelps by his father in Dec. 1587 under the description 'all that his mansion house of Montacute, the lordship or manor of Hyde and all his houses, lands and tenements in Montacute,' but discussion of this earlier mansion house must be deferred to take its place in a life-story of Edward's father.
4. S.R.O., DD/PH5
5. Suggested to me by Dr. R. W. Dunning.
6. *C.P.R. 1452-61*, p.649.
7. *Ibid.* 1461-67, p.421.
8. *Ibid.* p.483.
9. C. Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, pp. 49-50.
10. See, for example, R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, p. 174, 'After their [the Yorkists'] victory at Northampton he [Lord Bonville] once more gave York his support.' This short book describes events in the south-west.
11. Ref., U601 T202
12. 'Particular families specialised in this kind of work generation after generation,' J. R. Lauder, *Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth Century England*, p.105.
13. *Cal. Fine Rolls*, Vol. XXI, nos. 83 and 458.
14. *Ibid.* Nos. 8, 10 and 12.
15. F. W. Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 36 [But only as a Sydenham trustee — Som. Ed.]
16. De Banco Roll, referenced in Dorset County Museum as 57/858/202d.
17. *C.P.R.*, 1476-85, p. 79.
18. By a quirk of probate administration the record of this will remains in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral.
19. From the previously quoted letter of Edward Phelps' father.
20. S.R.O., DD/PH229/1.
21. *Cal. Wells D. & C. MSS.*, II, 203
22. *L. & P., F. & D., Hen. VIII*, Vol. I, pt. 2, 3313 (6).
23. Devon R.O., Bedford Papers Index, Vol. II, p. 929, and Bedford Estate Office, 29 A Montague Street, London WC1B 5BL, where the bond for payment is in the 1st Earl's papers, no. 2. The lease included the Woolhouse, now called the Town Cellars, part of which has been converted recently by Poole Museums Service into an excellent Maritime Museum.
24. *The Ledger of John Smyth*, H.M.S.O. and Bristol Rec. Soc. 1974.
25. Poole Museum Archives, Canford Memorial Roll 7.
26. Hutchins, *Dorset*, 3rd ed. III, 301.
27. The Weymouth documents are in the Local History Museum at Weymouth.
28. P.R.O., C1/1167 m. 30-32; a worn and faded MS.
29. P.R.O., STAC 2/12/310.
30. S.R.O., DD/PH228/5.
31. P.R.O., John Brody v. Nicholas Chaunterell, C 1/697 f.45.
32. See R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 350, and L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, Chap. 6, 'Estate Management'.
33. S.R.O., DD/SAS C/795 FA 22/1-58 — Abstract from Sherwood MSS.
34. P.R.O., E 315/385 f.29. I am grateful to Dr. R. W. Dunning for this reference. Since the original draft of this article was written there has appeared a translation of the whole survey under the title 'A Survey of West Country Manors 1525' by T. L. Stoate and published by him, with his valuable Introduction, from Lower Court, Almondsbury, Bristol. Mr. Stoate writes 'I believe that there is only one other printed 16th century manorial survey to compare with it in extant.'

In conclusion I wish to thank the staffs of many record offices, libraries and museums for help provided so willingly and pleasantly.

Malvern

J. H. C. PHELIPS

52. HARDY AND THE DORCHESTER POUNCYS — PART ONE. A glance through the Dorchester Parish Registers shows that the family name Pouncy crops up consistently over the last 400 years and is the subject of the last pedigree in R. Grosvenor Bartelot's *Dorset Families in Olden Days*. I am not concerned here with tracing the genealogy of any number of Dorchester Pouncys but rather with providing fairly detailed accounts of two of the better known Pouncys and highlighting their various links with Thomas Hardy. These are: John Pouncy (1818-1894), and Harry Pouncy (1870-1924). I will also append a note on Walter (1844-1918) son of John Pouncy. The families of John and Harry Pouncy are only most distantly related, the common ancestor being John Pouncy of Dorchester Trinity, who died in 1599. ⁽¹⁾

Let me at the outset indicate the factors which relate these three separate men and link them to Hardy. In 1926 Sydney P. Tyler, a Hardy enthusiast, bought from Mrs. Frances Pouncy a large collection of photographic slides which her late husband, Harry Pouncy, had assembled in order to illustrate his popular lectures on Hardy and Wessex. ⁽²⁾ Harry Pouncy had begun to assemble his slide collection in 1907, the year after he began to lecture on Hardy, taking many of the slides himself but incorporating a considerable number of rare old slides taken as early as 1854 by John and Walter Pouncy who had since the 1850's worked at photography as a profession. ⁽³⁾ In all likelihood, Harry received these slides from Walter Pouncy, who may well have suggested to Harry that he illustrate his lectures using relevant photographic slides. Whatever the case, the groundlines of the links between Hardy and the Pouncys begin to emerge; the collection of photographs is the link between the three Pouncys and had as purpose the illustration of certain aspects of Hardy's work for Harry Pouncy's lectures. Hardy seems, therefore, to be the pivotal point in the work of the three Pouncys: however, it is not quite as straightforward as this. John Pouncy, in particular, had no intention of taking photographs in order to illustrate anyone else's work — his interest was the taking of photographs for his own professional reasons, either family portraits or landscape photographs. In fact, at least fifteen years before Hardy published his first novel, John Pouncy was taking photographs of notable Dorset views in order to illustrate a book of his own. It is arguable that John Pouncy's approach to landscape and what he achieved in producing this book, *Dorsetshire Photographically Illustrated*

(1857), may have been a factor in Hardy's own response to and use of the Dorset landscape. If this is the case, and I will pursue this argument below, then we have come full circle; some of the photographs which Harry Pouncy used in his lectures on Hardy were themselves earlier influences on Hardy. The relationship between the work of the three Pouncys is not, therefore, as simple as one might at first assume.

John Pouncy, chronologically the first of the three Pouncys, is also the most interesting. An altogether fascinating man, he began his working life as a housepainter in Dorchester. He was born July 16, 1818 in Piddletrenthide, married Mary Anne Sprackley in 1843 and had one child, Walter, by her before she died in 1846. In 1850 he married Mary Catherine Wills who bore him, according to the family bible, "one son and four daughters, all died young."⁽⁴⁾ Until 1854 he worked exclusively as a housepainter, decorator, carver, glazier and gilder,⁽⁵⁾ but at that time decided to take up the then novel profession of photographer. It seems that at least for the first years Pouncy's new profession was subsidized by his old one, for an 1857 advertisement for what he rather grandly called the Dorchester Photographic Institution is half taken up in offering goods and services for decorating, paper-hanging, glazing, and picture framing,⁽⁶⁾ and an article in the *Dorset County Chronicle* informs us that even as late as 1859 "Mr. Pouncy's proper profession is that of a housepainter."⁽⁷⁾ In later years the photographic business evidently did better, the imprint on the back of his photographs informing the public that Pouncy had won prize medals from France, 1859; Scotland, 1863; Prussia, 1865; and Edinburgh, 1867; and that the studio had been patronized by H.R.H. the late Prince Consort and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.⁽⁸⁾ It is also interesting to note that John Pouncy holds the distinction of being the first photographer of Hardy. The well-known photographer of Hardy as a boy of sixteen has been attributed, correctly I think, by James and Gregory Stevens Cox, to Pouncy.⁽⁹⁾

In its obituary notice for John Pouncy of March 29, 1894, the *Dorset County Chronicle* mentions his "strong will and firm determination," and it is, I think, these qualities which led to the later success of Pouncy's photographic business. His firm determination to succeed is evidenced by his early announcement on Jan. 31, 1856 in the *Dorset County Chronicle* of his intention to publish, by subscription, a series of photographic views of Dorset to be accompanied by brief description and historical commentaries. What better way could there be of making one's mark in a new profession? Pouncy immediately ran into a problem which was becoming a threat to all photographers — that of fading. He had hoped to produce permanent visual records of Dorset, but the prints

provided by the salts of silver process were, in the 1850's, proving to be notoriously susceptible to fading. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Pouncy attempted to solve the problem before publishing his book by experimenting with other photographic printing processes. He claimed to have "printed by every variety of method my own brain could suggest, and by every means devised by others" without success. ⁽¹¹⁾ Still determined to produce a permanent record of Dorset, but failing to achieve an acceptable photographic method, Pouncy sidestepped the problem to some extent by resorting to photolithography, but even here he ran into an enormous problem: there was no process he knew of which had so far successfully produced photolithographs. Nevertheless, Pouncy persisted in his experimentation and this time attained a certain measure of success. His book, *Dorsetshire Photographically Illustrated* was published in 1857 and in his introduction Pouncy declares that the union of photography and lithography achieved by him had "hitherto been regarded as altogether unattainable," a claim which bears witness to the provocative nature of the man but which is close to the truth. *Dorsetshire Photographically Illustrated* is the first English book to contain photolithographic illustrations and as such is an extremely important document in the history of photography and printing⁽¹²⁾.

Not content with either the process of photolithography or the quality of the pictures he obtained (it must be admitted that some of the plates in *Dorsetshire* are primitive and rather more lithography than photograph), Pouncy returned to the problem of producing permanent photographs. In 1855 the Photographic Society in London had initiated an inquiry into the problems of fading and had offered an award, and, in the following year, the Duc de Luynes, through the Société Française de Photographie, had established awards for the invention of a process which would produce permanent photographic prints. Pouncy was certainly aiming at one of these awards; however, he ran into many difficulties: "I have been overwhelmed with failures and disappointments, so much so that I have sometimes been driven to despair ... till I have got in such a conglomeration of difficulties that I scarcely knew what course to pursue. Sometimes my pictures would not develop; at others everything would go on as I wished, and the picture appear beautiful, but the next moment all had vanished, and I seemed as far from accomplishing my desire as when I began" ⁽¹³⁾.

The basic principle of the process Pouncy worked on was discovered in 1839 by Mungo Ponton, who noted that paper treated with bichromate of potash becomes light sensitive. In Pouncy's process, paper coated with a mixture of bichromate,

gum arabic and vegetable carbon is exposed under a photographic negative, the image being fixed by several hours immersion in water. Pouncy reported this process to the Photographic Society in 1858 just before patenting it. His method is in fact similar to that of Alphonse Poitevin, a Frenchman who took out a British Patent in 1855, two and half years before Pouncy, but who, unlike Pouncy, had not produced practical results at the time ⁽¹⁴⁾. When Pouncy demonstrated his process to the Photographic Society he was poorly received, partly because of his forthright claim to be the inventor of the process (which because of Poitevin's prior patent is clearly disputable) and partly, one suspects, because the Society was rather set on its heels by this tradesman who came up from Dorchester claiming to be able to accomplish satisfactorily what nobody else could. For the next 4 or 5 years Pouncy continued to develop his process, taking out another patent in 1863, ⁽¹⁵⁾ and the question as to who had invented carbon printing continued to be debated at the Photographic Society and elsewhere. Aside from the acrimony, Pouncy did receive some recognition of his work: Thomas Sutton, the editor of the widely-read journal *Photographic Notes* and a prolific writer on photographic subjects, was his ardent supporter from as early on as 1858, campaigning in his journal for public support of Pouncy in the form of a subscription;⁽¹⁶⁾ and, in 1859, Pouncy finally received the silver medal awarded by the Duc de Luynes. The gold medal was awarded to Alphonse Poitevin, but not until 1867 and after much controversy. Pouncy very definitely thought that he himself should have received the gold medal since he had been the first to produce acceptable carbon prints in response to the Duc de Luynes' appeal in 1856. When the French Commission in charge of the contest ignored, in 1867, his offer to demonstrate the process, Pouncy declared that the French were clearly "unwilling to award the prize to an Englishman, however much he might deserve it⁽¹⁷⁾". The debate has never been satisfactorily resolved. Strictly speaking, Poitevin must be regarded as the inventor since his patent pre-dates Pouncy's, but an examination of the dates of crucial announcements in the local press make it clear that Pouncy was working independently of Poitevin⁽¹⁸⁾. This is not the place to get involved in the dispute and perhaps the best final statement comes from Arthur Gill, the photographic historian, who says that although Poitevin was the first patentee of the carbon process, Pouncy was the first to achieve acceptable practical results⁽¹⁹⁾.

I think Pouncy has a legitimate claim to be regarded as a photographic inventor and he certainly was known locally as such.⁽²⁰⁾ And it is in this guise that he appears in Hardy's novel *A*

Laodicean. William Dare, the photographic inventor and son of Captain de Stancy is a perfect composite of John and Walter Pouncy. From John he gets his photographic accomplishment and from Walter his precocious youthfulness, and it is entirely likely that when Hardy describes Dare preparing to take a photograph, we are getting an eyewitness account of the photographer John Pouncy at work: 'they observed Dare as he walked round his instrument in the mead and busied himself with an arrangement of curtain and lenses, occasionally withdrawing a few steps, and looking contemplatively at the towers and walls' (21). What Dare is doing here is precisely the kind of thing John Pouncy must have done in preparing his book on Dorset, and it is to this I now return.

Dorsetshire is remarkable not only for its originality in technique but also because the finished product is not at all what one would have expected from this indefatigable house-painter-cum-photographic inventor. The letter-press sections of *Dorsetshire* run to approximately 200 double-panel 8" x 10" pages, each of the 80 illustrations receiving two or so pages of description and historical commentary. Pouncy's prose style in these commentaries is interesting. He clearly attempts to give the impression that he is learned and lettered, his sentences for the most part being long, syntactically complex and rather turgid. Each commentary is riddled with learned allusions, quotations from classical sources and from such appropriate nature poets as Thompson, Cowper and Wordsworth. His writing, while styled after the 18th and 19th-century essay, is more typical of the autodidact trying to persuade the reader of his learning; in fact it is mindful of some of the more wordy passages which were later to come from the pen of Hardy. Yet through it all shows the lucid, powerful mind of an intelligent practical man. The first paragraph of the Introduction serves as a good example of Pouncy's best and worst traits and at the same time reminds us of an important link with Hardy: "It is a common practice in the present day with those who make their appearance before the world in the capacity of authors, to announce that their publications are intended to supply a "felt want." It not unfrequently happens, indeed, that the "want" in question never had any existence at all, but in the mind of him whose interest it was to supply it, and that so far from the public having been sensible of any deficiency in the quarter specified, they are by the book itself for the first time made aware, not indeed of a want, but of an excrescence, or, perhaps, a nuisance. The projector of the present Series of Plates, however, entertains a hope that his contribution to the illustrated productions of the day will prove, if not a necessary addition, at least not a superfluous one; and flatters himself that a detailed

representation of the more remarkable points of interest in a county comparatively little known but worthy of being known better, though it cannot be announced as a positive requisite, may be introduced without an apology".

The intention hinted at here, and developed later in the introduction, of producing a book which will make known the notable beauties of Dorset to a largely oblivious public is an intention which is very close to one of Hardy's major purposes in his novels. Both men in their different ways made their interior response to Dorset an exterior one. Hardy's exteriorization of Dorset's life and landscape was more persistent and powerful than Pouncy's, indeed, it became his life's work, but I think Pouncy's enthusiasm for and response to Dorset and the use he made of it is not only analogous to, and a forerunner of, Hardy's, but that it was a very real influence on Hardy.

Let me trace very briefly my reasons for thinking as I do. (22) First, there is considerable internal and external evidence that Hardy not only knew of Pouncy's book but was very familiar with it. Besides, it is inconceivable that a young and inquisitive Hardy could have remained ignorant of the work of such a highly visible local man as Pouncy. Second, Hardy's interest in the visual arts which declares itself continually in his novels, shows that Hardy was more than usually responsive to all kinds of illustration and exceptionally retentive in his memory of examples. That he does not specifically refer to Pouncy's work in his novels means merely that he recognized such reference would be meaningless to most of his readers (and also that reference to a relatively unknown local artist could be regarded as provincialism, a trait he wished to avoid being accused of). Third, Hardy's realistic depiction of landscape corrects the idealized and romantic description which had become conventional in the 19th century novel in very much the same way as Pouncy's photolithographic rendering of landscape corrects landscape convention in 19th century engraving and lithography. This third point is the most important and, lest it be objected that Pouncy had no alternative but to be realistic in his rendering of subject, since his illustrations were produced photo-mechanically, let me point out and underline that Pouncy's photolithographic image on the lithographic stone needed extensive doctoring before a print could be pulled. Once having obtained his weak photographic outline on the stone Pouncy could therefore very easily have made the printing image as conventional as anyone could desire. Pouncy, just as much as Hardy, resisted a conventional response to and use of landscape, and his anticipation in a different medium of the work of the greater artist should be acknowledged.

This link between Hardy and John Pouncy makes Pouncy's photolithographs the most authentic illustrations we could possibly have of Hardy's Wessex. First, because they represent Dorset as it was at the fictional time of Hardy's novels, and, second, because they informed and sensitized Hardy's own vision of landscape. And of course it is a reciprocal relationship: just as Pouncy's illustrations enlighten the reader of Hardy's fiction, so also do Hardy's novels enliven for the 20th-century viewer Pouncy's photolithographs.

In retrospect, *Dorsetshire Photographically Illustrated* is John Pouncy's most significant achievement, but during his lifetime he was better known as the inventor of the photographic carbon printing processes. After patenting his second process in 1863 and enthusiastically promoting it for a year or so, Pouncy's interest in photography seems to have declined, perhaps as a result of the incessant squabbling within the profession over the merits of the processes and their authenticity as unique and original. He continued to run both his housepainting and photographic businesses during the 1860's but probably left the running of the photographic studio more and more to his son Walter, who, as I have intimated above, was from his earliest years a keen photographer. Advertisements for Pouncy's studio show that finally in Sept. 1872 John Pouncy relinquished control of the photographic business; henceforward it was known as W. Pouncy's Photographic Institution, Dorchester.

About Walter Pouncy it is difficult to say much. He may have been a precocious photographer in his early youth but he had neither his father's rugged personality, his scientific inventiveness nor his penchant for controversy, and consequently was not a very noticeable figure in that life of Victorian and Edwardian Dorchester. He successfully ran the family photographic business for over 40 years, producing literally hundreds of landscape studies of Dorset — a large number of which now reside in the photographic collection at the Dorset County Museum. He produced many photographic slides for Harry Pouncy's illustrated lectures on Wessex and, like his father, also took studio portraits of Hardy, ⁽²³⁾ but it was as an accomplished landscape photographer that he was best known locally. Perhaps the most fitting characterization of Walter Pouncy is that given him in a March 5, 1914 review of his *chef d'oeuvre*, a large photograph of Maiden Castle. For the *Dorset County Chronicle* he was quite simply the "doyen of Dorchester photographers."

1. According to Bartelot, p. 275 Bartelot's *Genealogy* is in the D.R.O.
2. Sydney Tyler emigrated to Canada in 1929 taking the slides with him. They were recently rediscovered in Wolfville, Nova Scotia and have since been donated to the Dorset County Museum by Dr. and Mrs. Sherman Bleakney of Wolfville, son-in-law and daughter of Mrs. Tyler.
3. When the collection was complete it numbered well over 500 slides. Harry Pouncy seems to have availed himself of every opportunity in gathering relevant slides from at least ten photographers (among them Herman Lea, A. S. Hill, T. Powell, and Col. Gale) and he carefully ascribed many of the slides in his meticulous hand, but there remain many which have no ascription. It is therefore impossible to say definitively how many slides came from the cameras of John and Walter Pouncy. A report in the *Dorset Yearbook* 1907-8 of Harry Pouncy's lecture in London on Dec. 13, 1907 implies that of the 140 slides then shown, most were taken by that "accomplished topographical artist-photographer, Mr. Walter Pouncy." Following this implication and from a scrutiny of the entire collection considering such things as ascription, subject matter, condition of slide, and type of mounting, I would suggest that John and Walter Pouncy were responsible for up to 200 of the slides.
4. Bartelot, p. 276
5. See "Dorchester in 1851". *Monographs on the Life of Thomas Hardy: No. 48*, St. Peter Port, 1968, pp. 148 and 151; and *Post Office Directory for 1859*; p. 613.
6. This advertisement is included in the end papers of *Dorsetshire Photographically Illustrated*.
7. *Dorset County Chronicle*, Jan. 20, 1859.
8. The prizes were awarded for the excellence of the carbon prints Pouncy submitted to international exhibitions promoted by the respective national photographic societies.
9. "Young Mr. Thomas Hardy", *Monographs on the Life of Thomas Hardy: No. 9*, St. Peter Port, 1966, p. 15.
10. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, in their *History of Photography 1685-1914*, New York, 1969, pp. 335-37, while recognizing that there was a problem, maintain that the widespread anxiety of the photographic profession was in fact an over-reaction.
11. *Journ. of Photographic Society*, Jan. 8, 1859, p. 125.
12. Pouncy's book is widely accepted as historically important. See, for instance, H. and A. Gernsheim, *Hist. of Photography 1685-1914*; W. Turner Berry and H. Edmund Poole, *Annals of Printing*, London, 1966; Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration*, Newton Abbot, 1973; Ruari McLean, *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing*, London, 1972.
13. Remarks from a meeting of the Photographic Society of Scotland, Dec. 13, 1864. Reported in the *Photographical Journal*, Jan. 16, 1865, p. 179.
14. See Arthur T. Gill, "Hist. of the Photographic Bichromate Process," London: Royal Photographic Soc., Historical Group, 1978, p. 2.
15. Pouncy's two Patents are No. 780 of April 10, 1858 and No. 267 of Jan. 29, 1863.
16. In 1863 Sutton published a short book on Pouncy's process, *Photography in Printing Ink*, but this was at the specific request of Pouncy.
17. Letter to the editor, *Dorset County Chronicle*, May 27, 1867.
18. I cannot discuss this issue at length but statements in the *Southern Times*, Feb. 16, 1856, and the *Dorset County Chronicle*, May 29, 1856 established beyond dispute that within ten weeks of the publication of Poitevin's patent (Dec. 13, 1855), Pouncy had so far developed his photolithographic process (which was very closely related to the photographic process he was struggling with) as to have employed lithographic artists to help in the preparation of plates and to have invited the local press to see examples of early illustrations. Since it would have been quite impossible for Pouncy to have progressed this far in ten weeks he must have been experimenting with the bichromate process long before Poitevin had declared his patent.
19. "Hist. of the Photographic Bichromate Processes," p. 4.
20. W. Wallace Fyfe, editor of the *Dorset County Chronicle* from 1854 to 1864, reported frequently on Pouncy's experimental work in the Local News-column of his paper. There are over 40 references to Pouncy's various processes, and the national and international reactions to them, in this ten-year period.
21. Thomas Hardy, *A Laodicean*, Library Ed., 1962, p. 81.
22. I discuss this idea more fully in "Landscape Convention. Thomas Hardy and John

Pouncy", forthcoming in *The Thomas Hardy Yearbook*.

23. On Jan. 14, 1918 Walter Pouncy wrote to Hardy requesting his permission to issue in postcard form a photograph he had taken of the writer in 1913. Pouncy wished to print at the foot of the photograph a facsimile of Hardy's signature. In his reply (Jan. 15, 1918), Hardy acceded to the general request but refused permission for reproduction of his signature. Pouncy's letter, with Hardy's pencilled reply on the back, is in the Dorset County Museum.

(To be continued).

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53. THE BRIDGWATER BY-ELECTION OF 1720. The death of George Dodington of Eastbury, Dorset, on 28 March 1720 created a vacancy among the members of Parliament for Bridgwater which he had represented (with the exception of 1713-15) since 1708⁽¹⁾. In the event, his replacement was selected on the following 19 April when William Pitt of Cricket Malherbie narrowly defeated Henry, Lord Herbert, the eldest son of the eighth Earl of Pembroke and a Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales⁽²⁾. Although four of Herbert's brothers subsequently sat in the Commons⁽³⁾, he himself did not persist in his efforts to enter the lower house and remained outside Parliament until he succeeded his father in the Lords in 1733. Documents have recently come to light which reveal the circumstances behind Lord Herbert's candidature at Bridgwater in 1720 and provide an indication of the hostility felt towards him there which led to his defeat. These are in the form of letters from local Whig politicians to Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, who was the leader of one of the two national factions in the party⁽⁴⁾.

In this period Bridgwater was in turmoil over the issue of the borough charter. Action was precipitated c. 1717 when a group of Tory-minded individuals headed by the mayor were able to consolidate their control of the town by expelling three of their opponents and electing seven new adherents. Their Whig adversaries, led by two former members of Parliament, John Gilbert and George Balch⁽⁵⁾, accused them of perverting the town's constitution and resorting to inferior persons and the common rabble to retain office⁽⁶⁾. The dispute went to the King's attorney and solicitor-general but was adjourned when it was discovered that the borough charter was in fact invalid since the previous one had not been legally surrendered⁽⁷⁾. Both sides hoped to use this issue to secure control of the corporation. The matter was contested at Westminster, at least

in part, by the two current members of Parliament for Bridgwater, who were divided according to their party loyalties, with George Dodington pressing the Whig case against the representations of his Tory colleague, Thomas Palmer of Fairfield, Stogursey⁽⁸⁾. Unfortunately for his side, Dodington died just weeks before the dispute was to be heard at court⁽⁹⁾. This both hindered the presentation of the Whig case and made the charter an issue in the by-election contest.

On 6 April, only nine days after Dodington's death, John Oldmixon, the Whig historian and pamphleteer, wrote to Sunderland revealing their plight and requesting assistance. ⁽¹⁰⁾ He informed Sunderland that Palmer was in the process of coming to Bridgwater in company with Lord Herbert with the intention of securing the latter's election for the vacant seat. The two had already obtained the support of Dodington's nephew and heir, the famous George Bubb Dodington (c. 1691-1762). Bubb Dodington was then in the House of Commons as a representative of Winchelsea, but in the 1722 election he transferred to Bridgwater, where he remained a member of Parliament until 1754. ⁽¹¹⁾ It seems likely that Bubb Dodington and Lord Herbert had come to an agreement in London without the knowledge or participation of the local party, whereby the former supported Herbert's candidature for the duration of the present Parliament. Oldmixon and his colleagues were in a quandary because they did not know anything of Lord Herbert and were suspicious of him, especially in regard to any assistance he could provide in the issue of the borough charter, because he was identified with their enemy Palmer.

This antipathy towards Lord Herbert was apparently strong enough to produce his defeat at the polls, in spite of the fact that he was supported by both Palmer and Bubb Dodington. The Whigs turned instead to William Pitt, who won with the narrow majority of seventeen. This was clearly a temporary shift in the normal voting pattern produced by these exceptional circumstances. During the 1722 election when Pitt stepped down and attempted to transfer the seat to his cousin, Samuel Pitt, he failed through lack of support. Instead the constituency reverted to Palmer and Bubb Dodington.

1. Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715-1754* (1970), I, 615.

2. *The Complete Peerage* (1945), X, 425.

3. Sedgwick, II, 129-31.

4. These letters are contained in the Blenheim MSS, recently acquired by the British Library.

5. Balch represented Bridgwater from 1701 to 1710 and was later followed by his grandson, Robert Balch, for the period 1753-61: Sedgwick, I, 429.

6. John Gilbert & George Balch to Sunderland, Bridgwater, 20 Oct. 1718: Blenheim MSS. (Sunderland), D 1/34.

7. *Ibid.*, and J. Oldmixon to Sunderland, Bridgwater, 6 April 1720: *ibid.*, D 1/37.

8. For Palmer, see Sedgwick, II, 322.
9. Oldmixon to Sunderland, *op. cit.*
10. Oldmixon had been closely associated with Dodington, who had arranged for Oldmixon's removal from London to Bridgwater c. 1716 [See P. Rogers 'John Oldmixon in Bridgwater, 1716-30', *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, 113, pp. 86-98—Som. Ed.]
11. Sedgwick, I, 500-03.

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54. LIBRARIES IN BLANDFORD FORUM, 1770-1830.
William Sollers, 27 year-old son of a former vicar of Blandford, opened a bookshop on the south side of West Street in or about 1770 ⁽⁴⁾ and shortly after issued a catalogue of his circulating library ⁽¹⁾ To join, a Blandford resident could pay 10s 6d as a year's subscription, or 3s for three months, and was allowed to take out two books at a time, of which only one was permitted to be a *new* book. Alternatively, non-subscribers could borrow one volume for 2d or 3d according to its size. Borrowers, subscribers or non-subscribers, might be required to leave the value of any book they borrowed, and were forbidden to lend the books to others. Sollers laid down that "If any Book is wrote in, or Leaf of a Book, whether blank or printed, is torn or damaged, whilst in any Person's Custody, Subscriber or Non-Subscriber, that Book or Set of Books to be paid for at the Price fixed in the Catalogue."

Sollers promised that it was intended "that all new Books, whether History, Novels, Plays, or others on any General Subject, if they bear a good Character, and of a moderate Price, shall be constantly adding to the Library; but as the Subscribers must be the best Judges, what new Books will be most agreeable to them; it is proposed that every *Annual* Subscriber, shall have the Liberty to nominate any Book to the Proprietor, for him to add to his Library, once during his Subscription, provided that the Book be not on any particular Science, and the Price not exceeding half his Subscription." Sollers also promised that "The Monthly Review; Gentleman and London Magazines; and the Sessions Paper, containing the Trials of all the Prisoners of the Old Bailey, to be constantly taken in for the Use of the Subscribers; but no Subscriber to keep either of these in the first Month, above one Day." Attendance would be given at the Library from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. in summer and from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. in winter "and no longer."

The catalogue contained 577 numbered items, in alphabetical order, and a separate list of 261 Operas, Plays and Farces. Many items in the main part of the catalogue were accompanied by descriptions of their nature. Sollers pointed out that "The Criticisms, or Remarks, which are in the following Catalogue, are taken from Cibber's Poets,

Biographical Dictionary, &c., &c. The Proprietor hopes this first Attempt, of the Kind, will be favourably received, as it is intended to convey to the Subscribers some Idea of the Authors, before they undertake to read them." A survey of the 577 items shows that they fell very roughly into nine categories: fiction 45%, voyages and biography 10% each, history 8%, collections of plays 7%, poetry 5%, essays and belles lettres 5%, natural history 2%, and miscellaneous 8%. The works of Swift were available in 21 volumes, those of Rabelais in 5, Voltaire's in 10, Shakespeare's in 7. Defoe was represented by *Robinson Crusoe*, Smollett by *Roderick Random*. Some items were listed without an author's name, among them *Sermons by a Lady*; *Adventures of an Atom*; and *Chiron, or Mental Optician*. Others had obviously been chosen with the female part of Blandford's population primarily in view: the catalogue contained many such titles as *Reclaimed Libertine, or History of Hon. Charles Bellmont and Miss Melvill*; *Male Coquette, or History of Hon. Edward Astell*; *Fruitless Repentance, or History of Miss Kitty Le Fever*; and *Unexpected Wedding, in a Series of Letters*.

In Sept. 1801 Sollers announced that he was about to retire to London and was vacating his bookshop in favour of John Galpine ⁽⁵⁾ No evidence has been found to suggest that Galpine did in fact take over. Sollers himself appears to have continued in occupation of the house ⁽⁴⁾ and evidently had a second string to his bow for when he died 15 years later he was described as having been "an eminent banker and late bookseller" in the town ⁽⁶⁾.

At the same time as Sollers announced his retirement, John Shipp, who had been his shopman, advertised that he was about to open a circulating library near the Crown Inn ⁽⁵⁾. His premises appear to have stood about four doors along from his old place of employment ⁽⁴⁾ and it seems possible that he founded his business on his old employer's stock. About 1815 Shipp moved his business to larger premises in the Market Place ⁽⁴⁾. No catalogue of his circulating library has come to light, but a 6-page pamphlet, issued probably in the 1820's and listing the 148 patent medicines and 240 other miscellaneous items he stocked, included a mention of his circulating library ⁽²⁾. Shipp died in 1832 and the business was carried on by his descendants until the early 1920's, when it was acquired by W. H. Smith & Son, who continue to run it.

When William Sollers opened his circulating library about 1770 there had stood, since about 1764, almost facing him at the present No. 2 West Street, the establishment of Samuel Simmonds ⁽⁴⁾. It is not known whether, in those early days, Simmonds sold only books and stationery: but there is no doubt that in due course he branched out into all the depart-

ments then commonly associated with such a business. When, very early in the 1800's, Simmonds printed a new catalogue of his circulating library ⁽³⁾, he claimed on the cover that in his shop at the head of the Market Place in Blandford he sold "Books in all Languages; Stationery Wares of every kind; Transparent and color'd Paper for Artificial Flowers; A great variety of plain and color'd Prints; Musical Instruments & Music of all Sorts; Strings, Reeds, Books of Instructions, &c. for ditto; Most of the Genuine Patent Medicines that are Advertised in the News-papers, &c. Oil'd Lawn, Ditto and Plain Silk Umbrellas; Perfumery from the First Shops in London; Pomatum at 6d. and 1s. per Roll or Pot; A great Variety of Ivory, Bone, Horn and Tortoiseshell Combs, and Fishing Tackle, from the best Makers in this Kingdom; Spectacles, Temple, Common and Double Joint; Convex and Concave Reading-Glasses; Stamp Paper, Parchment, &c. as cheap as in London." When Simmonds printed his catalogue his library subscription was 10s. per annum or 3s. for three months but inflation later caused the figures to be altered by hand to 12s. and 4s. The conditions laid down closely followed those imposed by Sollers 30 years earlier. And it was now likewise promised that "New Books, whether Histories, Novels, or others that bear a good character, shall be constantly added by the Proprietor to the Library."

Simmond's catalogue contained 870 numbered items in alphabetical order. It included a sprinkling of works that have come to be regarded as classics — *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Jones*, the *Spectator*, etc., and of voyages, essays, poetry and memoirs; but was made up very largely of contemporary or fairly recent novels in 2, 3, 4, or 5 volumes. Many of the titles suggest that (as with Sollers) the female part of the populace had been kept primarily in view. There were, for instance, *Agenor and Ismena or War of the Tender Passions*; *Delia, a pathetic and interesting Tale*; *Memoirs of a Woman of Honor*; *Alvarez, or Irresistible Seduction, a Spanish Tale*; *The Reclaimed Libertine*; and *The Depraved Husband*. But the library was not given over entirely to the fair sex. Science fiction addicts could borrow *A Trip to the Moon* or *The Balloon or Aerostatic Spy*, while other works that probably, by reason of their local associations, stayed seldom for long on the shelves were *The Adviser*, a popular legal work by John Bristed, a native of Sherborne; Charlotte Smith's novel *Montalbert*, containing references to Portland; and, perhaps most popular of all, *Blandford Races*, published in 2 volumes in 1782 and now seemingly untraceable.

Samuel Simmonds continued trading until 1828. On 4 April in that year he issued an advertisement ⁽⁵⁾ giving thanks for favours received during a period of more than 60 years in

business ("never while life lasts will it be forgotten"). As his successor he recommended John Barrett, a 23 year-old from the nearby village of Farnham, who the previous day had married Miss Thompson, one of Simmonds's assistants. Then tragedy. John Barrett was taken ill on April 7 and died on the 27th ⁽⁵⁾. Simmonds lived on until Oct. 5 but with his death the business finally closed ⁽⁴⁾.

The Blandford Reading Society was established on 26 March 1792. Among the 25 conditions set out in the original ms rule book ⁽⁷⁾ it was laid down that the Society was to consist of 25 members: the number of members not resident in Blandford was not to exceed one third of the whole: the subscription was to be one guinea a year: the Society was to meet 4 times a year to vote for the purchase of "such Books as are thought proper."; and fines were to be levied against members who did not attend meetings, the penalty for not attending the annual meeting in July being set at 3s. 6d. The rule book also contained a list of members: as original members died, withdrew, or left Blandford, and new ones joined, the list was amended accordingly. Amongst the 42 names in the list it has been possible to identify 6 clergymen, 5 attorneys, 4 surgeons (one described in a contemporary directory as "surgeon, apothecary and man-midwife"), 2 gentry, 2 drapers, a builder, a chemist, a banker, and a grocer and wine merchant. Dr. Richard Pulteney, M.D., F.R.S., (1730-1801), resident in Blandford for upwards of a quarter of a century, was the first president. William Sollers was a member for a time but later withdrew. The last name on the list was that of Mason Chamberlin (junior), the Royal Academician, who left London to live in Blandford for many years with his wife and children. The ms. contains evidence that the Society was in existence in July 1809 but it is not known how long it continued after that date. Another set of rules of the Blandford Reading Society, bearing the same date of foundation ⁽⁸⁾ lists 19 members, not all of whom coincide with those in the longer list: the 19 include 9 clergymen, 4 attorneys and 2 surgeons.

The Blandford Commercial Reading Room was established 1 Jan. 1833. Its printed rules and list of members ⁽⁸⁾ show that the objects of the institution included the establishment of "a permanent useful public library, the principal object in such collection of Books being established Works of reference." Members were to pay half a guinea entrance fee and one guinea annually. A local draper served as treasurer, a surgeon as secretary, and the committee of management consisted of two builders, a brewer, a hatter and an innkeeper. The committee hired a room at the Assembly Rooms, to be open from 8 a.m. till 9 p.m., where members could consult the *Globe*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Salisbury Journal*, the *Sherborne*

Journal, the *Mark Lane Express* and the *Patriot*. The first list of members, including the 7-man committee, totalled 16, and included a clockmaker and gunsmith, a grocer, a printer and a nurseryman.

1. *A Catalogue of Sollers's Circulating Library, in the Market-Place, Blandford, where Books in all Languages, Stationery Wares of every kind, Prints of various Sorts, Concave and Convex Reading Glasses, and Spectacles, are sold as cheap as in London. Books Bought or Exchanged.* [i] title: [iii]-iv Conditions: 1-40 Catalogue: 41-48 Operas Plays and Farces. A note on p. 48 records the addition "since the printing of the former Part of this Catalogue" of Baretti's *Journey from London to Genoa*, 4 vols: this work was first published in 1770.
2. *John Shipp, Printer, Bookseller, Binder, and Stationer, Jeweller, and Perfumer, at the Stamp Office, Genuine Patent Medicine Warehouse, and Circulating Library, Market-Place Blandford.* Pp. 6. Probably of the 1820's.
3. *A New Catalogue of the Circulating Library of S. Simmonds, Bookseller, Book-binder, Stationer & Printer, at the head of the Market-Place, Blandford, Dorset ...* [i] [i] title: iii-iv Conditions: 5-22 Catalogue. A sample of the titles collated against A Block, *The English Novel 1740-1850* shows a preponderance of publishing dates in the 1780's and 1790's, and the latest date 1803. The watermark appears to be 1802.
4. Blandford Overseers accounts at D.R.O.
5. *Salisbury & Winchester Journal.*
6. *J. Hutchins, Hist. of Dorset*, 3rd ed.
7. Rules and Orders of the Blandford Reading Society instituted March 26 1792. D.R.O. ref. NU/140.
8. Shipp collection, Dorset County Museum.

For the general background Paul Kaufman, *The Community Library: A Chapter in English Social History*, Philadelphia, 1967, has been most useful.

Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are in my possession.

Blandford Forum

VICTOR J. ADAMS

55. FIRE PRECAUTIONS IN 17th CENTURY BATH.

Fires presented a serious threat to the pre-industrial town. The widespread use of wood in building construction, thatching of roofs, lack of adequate chimneys, the practice of trades with a high fire risk in unsuitable premises and the sheer congestion of buildings in many towns all contributed to the danger. The extent of the destruction depended partly on the weather, dry and windy conditions were especially dangerous, and partly on the promptness and efficiency with which citizens responded to the alarm. Although many fires were contained before they had done much damage, occasionally the flames were not controlled and gutted a large area. There were particularly destructive fires in Nantwich in 1583, Darlington in 1585, Tiverton in 1598 and again in 1612 and in Dorchester in 1613. Gradually civic authorities began to tackle the problem, by introducing regulations designed to reduce the dangers and by improving the equipment and organisation for fighting fires.

The widespread use of local stone in building, as both Evelyn and Pepys remark, meant that the risk of an extensive fire in Bath was much less than in most other west country towns. ⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless it was a characteristic feature of medieval towns that even where suitable stone was available nearby timber construction was common. Those buildings which were of stone frequently incorporated timber features, especially in the shops and other rooms fronting onto the street⁽²⁾. Such practices had not completely died out by the 17th century. Moreover, the less substantial buildings, such as outhouses and workshops, were commonly of simple timber construction. We may surmise, therefore, that although 17th century Bath was largely a town of stone, some timber was still used in building. Similarly, although stone tiles had been used in Bath during the Middle Ages, it is clear that thatch continued as a roofing material. Its relative cheapness recommended it for use in the proper parts of the town, such as the northern suburbs, and on outbuildings⁽³⁾. This represented a considerable fire risk, for although covering it with a layer of whitewash reduced its inflammability to some extent, thatch was nevertheless readily combustible, and once a fire had taken hold flames could spread rapidly from one roof to another. In Bath the narrowness of the streets, a feature commented upon by a number of contemporary writers, and the relatively high density of buildings within the area enclosed by the town walls meant that the use of thatch was particularly dangerous⁽⁴⁾. In order to minimise the threat it was decided in 1633 that, in future, leases of city property granted by the corporation were to contain a clause stipulating that repairs to roofing were to be done with slate or tile and not with thatch. In those cases where a building still had a thatched roof it was specified that it should be replaced within a fixed period, and lessees who planned to build upon a site were enjoined to roof the new buildings with tile⁽⁵⁾. It is difficult to estimate how successful this policy was. The fact that the corporation owned a very high proportion of the property in the city meant that there were few buildings to which this injunction did not apply ⁽⁶⁾. Presumably the chief problem which arose was to get the thatched buildings re-roofed. It was difficult to insist that those householders who pleaded poverty should undergo the expense involved and the corporation was both unwilling and unable to bear the cost itself. This only applied in a few cases, however, and the evidence suggests that by the mid 17th century most buildings had tiled roofs.

Other fire hazards included domestic chimneys and tradesmen's workshops. Medieval houses usually contained either inadequate chimneys, often of wood, or none at all. According to Harrison one of the most noticeable changes in English domestic architecture during the 16th century was the

erection of a 'multitude of chimneys'⁽⁷⁾. This process can be identified in Bath and it was a development which considerably reduced risk of an accidental fire⁽⁸⁾. The premises of such tradesmen as bakers, brewers, blacksmiths, dyers, tallow chandlers and maltsters, however, presented another peril. All needed to use an oven or furnace and their stocks of fuel stored nearby increased the danger. The greatest worry was that a fire would break out during the night when it might take hold before being discovered. To guard against this possibility the corporation employed a bellman who 'for the better preservation of this City from Fire and other dangers at night' patrolled the streets from 10 p.m. until 3 a.m. in the summer and from 9 p.m. until 5 a.m. in the winter. In addition, in 1647 it forbade brewing or the drying of malt between 9 p.m. and 4 a.m. and imposed a fine of 5s. 0d. for every offence⁽⁹⁾. The danger was not completely eliminated by these regulations and in 1685 at least two houses and, significantly, a malt house in Southgate Street were 'burnt to the ground'⁽¹⁰⁾.

Early-modern Bath was fortunate enough to have a fine water supply system. Water was conveyed from springs outside the city to 7 public conduits and to many houses. As Henry Chapman shrewdly remarked, this was very convenient if there was a fire. ⁽¹¹⁾ When an outbreak of fire was discovered a human chain was formed and buckets of water were passed from hand to hand. The corporation kept a stock of leather buckets for the purpose. Seventy-eight of them were purchased (usually in London) during the 17th century, each costing between 3s. 0d. and 3s. 6d. There is a mention of 'oyle for the buckets' in the chamberlain's accounts, presumably to be rubbed on them to prevent them from splitting, and other payments for their repair are occasionally recorded. ⁽¹²⁾ Normally they were kept at the Guildhall, but during the Civil War they were apparently moved to St. Mary de Stall's church, while a few years later they were stored in the Market Hall. In addition to the city's own buckets any other suitable vessels to hand were pressed into service in emergencies, and on one occasion 12s. 0d. was paid in compensation for pails which had been lost at a fire. ⁽¹³⁾ At the end of the century, in order to increase its stock, the corporation resorted to the expedient of including buckets as part of the fine levied on the granting of a lease. In some cases as many as 6 buckets were specified, but generally the number charged was less. Presumably the lessee could either supply the actual buckets or pay their value in money. This was apparently a successful policy, for it became a common practice in the early years of the 18th century. ⁽¹⁴⁾

The other fire-fighting equipment kept by the corporation was comparatively primitive and consisted of ladders and fire-hooks or 'crooks'. The crooks were used to pull the thatch off those buildings which were already alight or which lay in the

path of the flames, in order to create a fire break. In 1627-8 Bath acquired two crooks, presumably made by a local blacksmith, which were used at several fires in the next few years.⁽¹⁵⁾ After about 1650, however, only one is referred to in the accounts. The ladders and crooks were usually stored with the buckets. Hand held squirts, which had a capacity of roughly a gallon, had been in use since the early 16th century. Fire engines, on the other hand, were an innovation in the 17th century. The first models, based upon German patterns, came into use in England during the second quarter of the century. Considerable advances in their design were made in the next few years and corporations increasingly found it advisable to invest in one.⁽¹⁶⁾ There is no mention of any squirts being used in Bath, however, nor did the city acquire its own fire engine until one was presented to the corporation in 1694.⁽¹⁷⁾ This gift may have been prompted by the serious fires in Warwick and York during the year which attracted considerable sympathy because of the extent of the damage. Bath's apparent tardiness in obtaining a fire engine may reflect the confidence of the city council in the existing fire-fighting arrangements and the knowledge that the predominant building materials meant that a serious conflagration was unlikely. Indeed their optimism was not misplaced, for although the 17th century was punctuated by outbreaks of fire in the city there was no extensive damage and the transformation of Bath after 1700 was to reduce still further the danger of a major blaze.⁽¹⁸⁾

1. *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, III (1955), p.102; *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Latham and Matthews, IX (1976), p.233.
2. Platt, *The English Mediaeval Town* (1979), p.73.
3. *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael, Bath, 1349-1575*, ed. C. B. Pearson (1878), pp.iv, 119, etc.
4. H. Chapman, *Thermae Redivivae: The City of Bath Described* (1673), p.2. Evelyn and Pepys, *op. cit.*
5. Bath Council Book, 1,22/4/1633, etc., and Corporation Leases, 104, etc.
6. J. Wroughton, *The Civil War in Bath and N. Somerset* (1973), p.6.
7. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (1968) p.201. See also Platt, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5.
8. Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp.v., 123. Chamberlain's accounts, 1632-3.
9. Council Book, 1, 15/2/1647; and 2, 28/10/1662.
10. *Ibid.*, 3, 30/3/1685.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.
12. Chamberlain's accounts, various dates, 1620-1680.
13. *Ibid.*, 1693-4.
14. Council Book, 3, 29/3/1697, etc.
15. Chamberlain's accounts, 1627-8, etc.
16. Bristol, for example, in 1647 and Gloucester in 1648: see J. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (1900), p. 216, and S. Porter, 'Gloucester's first fire engine,' *Gloucestershire Local History Bulletin* 37, 1978, pp. 12-14.
17. Chamberlain's accounts.
18. Chamberlain's accounts, 1623-4, 1681-2, 1684-5, 1693-4. R. Warner, *Hist. of Bath*, 1801, p. 220.

56. THE SUPPLY OF SALT FOR THE NEWFOUNDLAND TRADE. English fishermen at Newfoundland favoured the 'dry' method of curing the catch: spreading the salted cod on Flakes, or brushwood platforms, which extended along the beach. Drying was a lengthy process which began with a careful salting, and continued with several weeks of controlled exposure to wind and sun. At night the cod was covered with bark to prevent the accumulation of moisture, and when the drying was almost complete the catch was stacked before loading in the ship's hold for passage to the Mediterranean. The success of the sale depended to a great extent upon the initial salting, and any failure in the drying process might result in a spoiled catch which, if discovered at Newfoundland, would, at best, guarantee a sale at 40% less than normal market price to New Englanders who transported it to slave plantations in the West Indies; or no sale in the Mediterranean because the hold was, by that time, filled with rotting fish, unsaleable in any port.

England did not possess a plentiful supply of cheap salt, and fishing vessels journeyed to the Portuguese-held Isle of May (Maio) in the Cape Verde Islands where salt could be gathered from the estuaries. This added considerably to the length of the voyage, and merchants, as the 18th century progressed, preferred to gather salt as a return cargo and store it, or transfer it directly to the fishing vessels as they fitted out at the beginning of the Newfoundland season. Much of this trade in salt has no surviving evidence, for the Customs officers were not required to record the amount of salt held in ships' holds, for that carried no duty. Salt unloaded and stored was liable to duty. Salt taken from storage and shipped to Newfoundland was given 'drawback' or re-payment of duty. Port records chiefly concern stored salt; salt in the hold was unrecorded.

Exchequer Port Books (class E 190) show that large quantities of salt were stored in port. Five Weymouth vessels in 1677-78, unable to journey to the fishery because of an embargo, unloaded 217 weys⁽¹⁾, of salt. Such warehousing, though available in Weymouth at the end of the 17th, and beginning of the 18th centuries, was not provided after about 1730, for there is no evidence of salt storage after that date. Among the last entries: March 17, 1725, the *Brimpton* went from Weymouth to New England carrying 13 weys of Spanish salt which had been imported in the *Blessing* entering from Cadiz on Jan. 4, 1724; and on Jan. 20, 1730, the *Brimpton* again sailed to New England carrying 27½ weys of French salt which had entered port on Nov. 8, 1729. The last Newfoundland ship with salt as a cargo gathered from the port was the *William and Mary*, June 9, 1729, with a mere 60 bushels of French salt which had been in store since Dec. 21. After this date, Weymouth

ships fitting out for Newfoundland generally did so at Poole, and took whatever return cargo of salt they had and stored it at that port. Warehousing was available at Poole, and supplies of salt were entered in store in preparation for the start of the fishing season. In the first quarter of 1722 — immediately at the start of the season — 208 weys of salt were placed in store; in the same quarter of 1723, 323 weys; in the year 1732-1733, 400 weys; in 1751-1752, 563 weys; and in 1755-1756, 848 weys. Such large quantities represented the total salt requirement of that port in the Newfoundland trade. Ideally, merchants planned their return cargoes of salt to coincide with the fitting out of vessels for the fishery, and this would avoid lengthy storage. The *George and Mary* from Lisbon entered Poole in 1721 only days before the departure of 4 fishing vessels, and 72 weys of salt were transferred. The *Merry Thought* in 1722 supplied the *Industry* and *Anne* with 22½ weys. Such supplies could be guaranteed because merchants went to considerable trouble to time return cargoes so that they exactly coincided with the start of the season. The Lesters of Poole, positively to ensure this, had 2 vessels, the *Sukey* and *Lamb*, as regular carriers of foreign salt during the 1760's and 1770's.

Although foreign salt was always available, the Newfoundland fishery sometimes made use of English salt. Home produced salt was expensive: in 1682, Cheshire salt sold for 6d. a bushel, while Lisbon salt cost 3¼d. per bushel. Salt produced by evaporation — the usual English method of production — could only be produced in relatively small quantities, and with costs of production which prevented it from competing with foreign solar salt. Local supplies were obtained by coastal vessels from Lymington, and by 1740 'English white salt' was a regular importation into Poole. By the late 1750's, certain vessels were making regular trips to Lymington, carrying wheat, barley, and assorted cargoes of Norway deals, plantation pitch, and Purbeck stone, and returning with salt in bulk. From Jan., 1758 to July 1759, 322 weys of English salt were imported from Cowes and Lymington, while 260 weys of foreign salt were transferred from Weymouth to Poole in preparation for the start of the fishing season. Some salt was shipped to other overseas markets. The *Jolliffe's Adventure* exported 40 weys of English salt, and 94 grinding stones to south Carolina in 1740. 51 weys of English salt had been transported to the same market in 1732-33. Newfoundland, however, remained the principal outlet for salt, and from as early as 1705 English salt was used to supplement foreign salt in the fishery. By 1709, merchants from as far inland as Worcester were buying quantities of salt — probably the salt of Cheshire — for sale to the Newfoundland merchants. By 1776 the *Illustrious Five* was able to leave port

with a supply entirely composed of English salt. However, the supply of English salt was never sufficient to enable the merchants entirely to rely upon that source. In 1732-33, for example, Poole exported 531 weys of salt directly to Newfoundland, and only 10½% was English. In 1781, unable to journey to the Mediterranean first, merchants found a desperate shortage of salt, and prize salt from New York had to be transferred to the fishery. The shortage of salt remained until the war ended, but the supply of home salt was not, even at that late date, sufficient to supply the full needs of the fishery.

1 wey = 40 bushels = 320 gallons.

GLANVILLE J. DAVIES

57. PARISH LIFE IN BRADFORD-ON-TONE.

Records of Bradford-on-Tone include two documents which provide interesting examples of aspects of parish life in the 17th and 18th cents. The earlier of the two, dated 13 April, 1637, concerns the recreational use of the churchyard. It takes the form of 'The Certificate of Walter Travers & others appointed to view the Churchyard of Bradford', and is addressed to the bishop. (1)

'After our due and lowlyest observances most humbly tendered, May it please your Lordship to understand, that wee whose names are subscribed, haveinge by vertue of your Lordships order, taken a full and exact view of the Churchyard of Bradford, doe conceive that the whole plott of ground which lyes about the said Church, was anciently layd therunto for a Churchyard but whether the whole be Consecrated ground or no wee cannot learne, either by any Tradition or by any Records or by any memory of the procession walke. Thus much therfore wee can only Certifie to your good Lordship, that the plott of ground lyinge aboute the said Church is verie large & spacious; And that it appears to us by our owne eye, that the parte therof in question lyinge on the backside & west end of the said Church, hath not at any time as farre as wee can discern been a place of Buriall, but a place of recreation. And that 'it further appears by the testimony of very ancient men, both Parishners there, & neighbours therunto adioyning, that for above these threescore yeares & beyond the memory of any man, the said place in question hath beene a place of bowlinge: & that the Parishners there, haveinge beene questioned at the Archdeacons Court about forty yeares since, for usinge that exercise in that place, were dismissed from the Court without any acknowledgement of havinge offended therein; & immediately therupon & ever since have Continued it as a sportinge & bowlinge place without molestation or interruption, as they did before. In witsnesse wherof wee have hereunto subscribed our names, the 13th day of Aprill, anno 1637.'

The 'backside' must refer to the north side of the church, for north sides of churchyards were traditionally not favoured for burials. (2) At Bradford-on-Tone, the area to the west as well as to the north of the church was reserved for recreation, and it may be significant that an inn called the Blackboy stood on the western edge of the churchyard in 1841, (3) for the inn could well have originated as a Church House, and the area of churchyard

immediately behind it may have been used for the social and recreational activities associated with such a building. The 'procession walke', referred to in the document, may be a reference to a ceremony of beating the bounds.

The second document, dated 11 Dec. 1786, takes the form of 'Articles of Agreement made between all the Singers of Bradford & their Teacher'.⁽⁴⁾

'Be it remembered that we do agree to give Joseph Crocker one Shilling for each Friday Night and one Shilling for each Sunday that he attends, & to continue it for one whole year from the date hereof if the forfeits, Mr. Burrow's kind present of a Guinea, & the Money collected at Christmas, and any other collections or presents made, will support it so long. And we agree to forfeit twopence each for each time we neglect to attend in Bradford Church on any Sunday when Service is in the forenoon before ten o'clock, & when in the afternoon before two, in Sickness only accepted and Joseph Crocker to forfeit one Shilling for each of such neglects. And any such of us who swears an oath in Church or tells any tale that do not concern Singing, or makes fun or laughs so as to interrupt the Singing while in Church to forfeit one Penny for each offence. And we agree to go round the Parish to sing on Christmas or forfeit one Shilling each that refuses, or do not go. And to deposit the Money collected in the Hands of the Clark to pay the Teacher. The forfeits also are to be paid the Clark immediately after such neglect or offence, which forfeits are to pay the Teacher. To meet Fryday 15th of this Instant at the Church by 7 o'Clock in the Evening and the Fryday Following at Heale. To be Continued During their meetings — and Every young Singer to Deposit one Shilling.'

The document concludes with a solemn undertaking signed by Joseph Crocker and 18 members of his choir, and annotations indicate that one member was 'Excus'd from Friday night', that another was 'Excus'd from Heale', and that six individuals at some point either owed or had paid a shilling each (although it is not clear whether these were forfeits or deposits).

The 18th cent. was reputedly a period of inertia in the Anglican Church, and in the case of Bradford-on-Tone it was reported that there were only 16 communicants in the parish in 1776.⁽⁵⁾ Nevertheless, there seems to have been an increasing interest in congregational singing and the use of choirs in parish churches during the century,⁽⁶⁾ and the articles of agreement at Bradford-on-Tone (which echo a reference in John Cannon's diary to the setting up of a choir, with fines for non-attendance, at Glastonbury in 1724⁽⁷⁾) seem to represent an attempt to improve the quality of church services in this particular parish. Some, if not all, the Bradford singers were evidently young, and the choir presumably held its practices on Friday nights, meeting alternately at the church and in the hamlet of Hele on the outskirts of the parish. During Sunday services the choir may well have been accommodated in a gallery which is known to have stood at the west end of the nave of the church in 1836, but there is no indication of the form of accompaniment (organ, barrel organ or church band). Mr. Burrow, who had

made a donation of a guinea, was probably the John Burrow, curate at Bradford from 1785, and vicar from 1789. There is no evidence as to how successful or lasting the system proved to be, but the problem of mischievous choirboys is clearly a perennial one.

1. S.R.O., DD/SF 3152.
2. M.D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches*, 1971, 15-16.
3. Bradford-on-Tone tithe map.
4. S.R.O., D/P/bra.t. 1/7/1.
5. S.R.O., D/D/Vc 88.
6. J. H. Bettey, *Church and Community*, 1979, 112.
7. R. W. Dunning (ed.), *Christianity in Somerset*, 1976, 58.

M. B. McDERMOTT

[Robert Evans, vicar of Old Cleeve, charged with neglect of his parish duties in 1601, was alleged to have played bowls at Cleeve Abbey during time of evening service. *Somerset Ed.*]

58. HANHAM'S OF WIMBORNE MINSTER
(Continued from Sep. 1980, 71). (I am indebted to Mr. F. S. Hanham for locating the marriage of the 2nd bart. to Jane Eyre: it was at Colerne, Wilts 19 Dec., 1693. *D.C.H.*) Sir William's finances were still shaky when he married Mary Norris, of Nonsuch, Wilts, for in the mar. settlement, 13 June 1717, her father agreed to give £3800 to clear debts etc. (if the same will extend thereto). In return Sir William conveyed to William and John Norris enough of his estates to secure payment of an annuity of £400 during Mary's lifetime. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ They were m. at Bromham, Wilts two days later. There were 9 children, the first 6 being bapt. at Bromham and the last 3 at Wimborne Min.: (1) William, 4th Bar.; bap. 16 May 1718. (2) John, bap. 10 Mar. 1720/1; d. young. (3) Thomas, bap. 21 June 1722; matric. at Oxford (Oriel) 26 Mar. 1740; d. before 20 Mar. 1744/5. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ (4) John, bap. 10 Apr. 1724; bur. 2 Apr. 1746 at Wimborne Min. (5) James (Rev.), 6th Bar., bap. 1 Mar. 1725/6 (6) Elizabeth, bap. 1 May, bur. 15 July 1719 at Bromham. (7) Elizabeth, bap. 26 June 1730; bur. 21 Aug. at Wimborne Min. (8) Penelope, bap. 19 June 1732; bur. 18 Sept. 1736 at Wimborne Min. (9) Eleanor, bap. 21 Jan. 1733/4, m. 6 Feb. 1752 John Grove of Ferne, Wilts, and d. in childbirth 1754. Her husband, grandson of Robert Grove and Mary Hanham, was born 1696, but did not marry until his elder bro. d. childless in 1750. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

Sir William began the rebuilding of Deans Court in 1725, roughly threequarters of the present building, L shaped, the frontages being north and east. They were evidently in residence by 1730. He d. 28 March 1762 leaving no will; admon. granted to sons William and James 26 May 1762. His widow d. 22 Dec. 1774 at Bath: will P.C.C. 54 Alexander. Sir William,

4th Bar., matric. at Oxford (New Coll.) 18 Nov. 1736. His 1st wife was Anne, dau. of James Jennings of Shiplake, Oxon, by Jane, dau. of William Constantine of Merley, descended from William and Jane: The mar. settlement, 20 March 1744/5 recites his parents' mar. articles, recording what provision was made for the other children. ⁽⁵¹⁾ This marriage was childless; Anne was bur. at Wimborne Min. 22 Sep. 1756. He m. 2nd 2 June 1762 Mary, dau. of William Lynch, Dean of Canterbury, by Mary dau. of William Wake, Archbp. of Canterbury. ⁽⁵²⁾ She was the mother of William Thomas, 5th Bar., born June 1763, but d. after giving birth to a dau. Mary Ann. She was bur. 23 Oct. 1764; the child, b. 19 Oct., was bur. 14 Nov. 1764. Sir William m. 3rd Harriott, dau. of Henry Drax of Charborough. There was no issue of this marriage. He d. 11 Feb. 1776: the will (P.C.C. 76 Bellas) includes £400 in trust for Robert Hanham 'a child of 5 years last Sept. now residing with Mrs. May of Chisselbourn, Dorset for his maintenance and education' ⁽⁵³⁾ Dame Harriott d. 2 April 1786: Will P.C.C. 335 Norfolk. Sir William Thomas Hanham matric. at Oxford (Corpus Christi) 30 Oct. 1781, died unmar., and was bur. at Wimborne Min. 18 Aug. 1791: Will P.C.C. 388 Bevor. He was succeeded by his uncle Rev. James Hanham, educated at Winchester and Oriel, Oxford: matric. 17 Dec. 1744; B.A. 1748. In 1775 he obtained an LLB at Cambridge. Ordained deacon 24 Dec. 1752, priested 4 days later, by the Bp. of Norwich in the chapel of his London house, on behalf of the Bp. of Winchester. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ He had his title as Minister of Wimborne Min; from 1754 to 1800 he was Rector of Winterbourne Zelston, and 1800-6 Rector of Pimperne. He m. at Wimborne Min. 6 Sep. 1757 Jane (Bur. at Corfe Mullen 1 Aug. 1783), niece and sole heir of William Phelips of Corfe Mullen, and d. 11 March 1806. (In *The Gentleman's Magazine* 24, 1754, p. 191 is an entry: "Marriage Rev. Mr. Hanham, youngest son of Sir William Hanham Bart, of Dean's Court to Miss Phelips of Winbourn, Dorsetshire. 10,000 £ 29 Mar." This is puzzling as there is no doubt about the date in the Wimborne marriage reg.). He had 5 sons and 8 daughters: (1) James (Rev. Sir), b. 10 March 1760 at Corfe Mullen. (2) William, b. 2 Jan. 1765, living 8 Apr. 1806: nothing else is known of him; he may have mar. and had children. (3) Edward, b. 16 Apr. 1768; Lt. R.N.; d. at Bermuda 1796. (4) Charles, b.c. 1772/3, m. Eleanor⁽⁵⁵⁾, dau. of Rev. Ahier of Jersey; d. in Jersey 23 Nov. 1856. Eleanor d. 1858 aged 88. Their son, Charles Edward, of Clair Val, Jersey, m. Jane dau. of John Ley, of Cornwall, their dau. Jane m. Philip Aplin, Capt. 3rd Reg. of Foot (5) John, b.c. 1774/5, Capt. 2nd Regt Native Infantry, H.E.I.C.S.; d. at Seringapatam 1800. Among papers at Deans Court is a testimonial by his brother officers. He wished to m. Eleanor Ahier's sister Anne, but permission was refused. She never mar. and was living 1858 aged 84 when his nephew Capt. John

Hanham was stationed in Jersey⁽⁵⁶⁾. (6) Eleanor, bap. 3 Oct., bur. 10 Nov. 1758 at Corfe Mullen. (7) Jane Penelope, b. 2 July 1761, d. unm. 20 Dec. 1841. (8) Elizabeth, b. 3 Sep. 1762; bur. at Wimborne Min. 18 Apr. 1803, unm. (9) Ann, b. 18 Feb. 1767, Living 8 Apr. 1806. (10) Eleanor, b. 1768/9, bur. at Hinton Martell 8 Feb. 1857. (11) Harriet b.c. 1770/1, bur. at Wimborne Min. 5 July 1800. (12) Maria, b.c. 1776/8; m. at Bath Sep. 1806 Richard Bentley of Raymill Cottage, Berks, d. at Bath 25 Nov. 1811. (13) Penelope, bur. at Wimborne Min. 12 Feb. 1805. The 5 children b. between 1761 and 1768 were all bapt. at home and received into Church 10 Oct. 1768. The next 5 were also bapt. at home and received into Church 14 Sep. 1778. Unfortunately in this case the Corfe Mullen Register does not give dates of birth. There is no record of the bapt. of Penelope.

The Rev. James Hanham, 7th Bar., educated at Winchester and Oxford (Trinity), matric. 18 Nov. 1778. Rector of Winterborne Zelston 1800-1849. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ He married (1) 16 Apr. 1793 Ann (d. 15 July 1801) dau. of Lieut. Edward Pike (not Pyke as in Hutchins & Burke) ⁽⁵⁸⁾ R.N. of Lytchet, Dorset, by whom he had issue 4 sons and 2 daughters: (1) James, b. 7 Apr. 1794, d. 4 Dec. 1798, bur. at Corfe Mullen. (2) Edward, b. 18 Aug. 1796, d. 19 Sep. 1807, bur. at Wimborne Min. (3) William 8th Bar., b. 7 May 1798. (4) Phelps (Rev.) b. 24 June 1801; matric. at Cambridge (Peterhouse) Lent 1825; B.A. 1829, M.A. 1832; ordained deacon at Ely 1 June 1828 (by letters dimissory from Bristol), priested at Bristol 29 Jan. 1829; Minister of Wimborne Min. 1829-48; Rector of Hinton Martell 1848-52; d. unm. 9 Mar. 1852. (5) Jane Penelope, b. 10 April 1795, d. at Richmond 24 Aug. 1835. (6) Ann Pike, b. 2 Jan. 1800; d. 24 Mar. 1818. The first 4 children were bapt. at home and received into Church at Corfe Mullen 7 Sep. 1798.

49. Marriage articles at Deans Court.

50. Date of 4th Bart's mar. settlement which lists liabilities for brothers and sister living; no mention of Thomas.

51. Extant at Deans Court.

52. Mar. settlement 10 June 1762 at Deans Court.

53. Will at Deans Court.

54. Bishop's Reg. at Norwich City Library.

55. Not Anne, as Hutchins: as recorded in 'A Leading Case' by Mrs. Caillard, she and her 1st husband, Capt. John Hanham, met both sisters during their stay in Jersey 1857-8.

56. 'A Leading Case', as above. The Testimonial is printed in full.

57. Not 1806 as stated by Burke.

58. Mar. Settlement 28 Feb. 1794 at Deans Court.

59. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

(To be continued)

REV. D. C. HANHAM

59. AN UNUSUAL MONUMENT TO EDWARD LEAR. In *SDNQ*, XXI, 1935, 95, reference was made to a figure of Father Time on a barn at Wiltown, Curry Rivel. The explanation was then offered that such figures were used in the

recruitment of harvesters. It was removed in 1935. After a prolonged period in storage, the wrought iron figure (approx. 35" high and 17" wide) has now been repainted flesh-tint with a dark brown band over one shoulder and at the waist and restored (1976) to its original location⁽¹⁾.

The building, a handsome stone barn of blue lias, part of the farm associated with Wiltown Place, has several interesting features in its own right. Parts of the lower section to a height of 7ft. are of an earlier construction. Extensive rebuilding to the present size, incorporating a Victorian postal box and a delicate Hamstone pointed arch for pigeon access, was carried out in 1888 by Charles Fry, ⁽²⁾ the then owner-occupier of Wiltown Place. The weathercock, a replica of that at Drayton Church, is a recent addition. It was commissioned (1906) by Frederick Lumsden Hunt for Hillards House, Curry Rivel, where it remained until its present relocation in 1977. ⁽³⁾ The wall adjoining the north end of the building encloses the old Curry Rivel pound. Immediately across the road are the remains of what was the drinking pond. It is, however, the stone carvings that attract the greatest interest. Set in the south facing wall are two figures, an owl and a pussy cat. Their companion from the famous nonsense poem by Edward Lear, the piggiwig with a ring in the end of its nose is located on the north wall along with the commemorative plaque C FRY (1825-1901). Though there is no obvious connection with the Fry family, Lear did have distant relatives in the village since his nephew C.H. (Charles) Street had married a Sophie Dabinett of Curry Rivel. ⁽⁴⁾ In fact Lear, amongst his many travels, made several jaunts to the S.W., especially during the summers of 1849-1853 and could well have paused at Curry Rivel to visit kith and kin. Equally tantalising is the fact that the elaborate renovation of the barn took place the same year that Lear died (29 Jan. 1888 at San Remo). Perhaps a mere caprice on the part of Fry, the building, nevertheless, provides an intriguing memorial.

1. Mrs. M. Glover, who was given custody of the figure, asserts that it was made by her great grandfather and village benefactor, Robert Sewers (1806-1873) of Townsend House.
2. Master builder and craftsman; clerk of works during the rebuilding of the tower (1861) and donor of the beautifully carved wooden pulpit to the church.
3. I am indebted to Mr. W. D. Hunt for this and other information relating to Wiltown Place.
4. Evidently Lear had been especially fond of his nephew (his sister Sarah m. Charles Street of Arundel). On hearing of his death (1887) Lear writes: "I am in great distress. My dear, good nephew Charles Street having died quite suddenly" see Lady Strachey, *Later Letters of Edward Lear to Chichester Fortescue (Lord Carlingford)*, 1911.

Warwick

G. R. WILLEY

60. GROVE OF FERNE HOUSE, WILTS. The pedigree of this family given in Hutchins (under Chettle) derives from

Colt Hoare's *Hist. of Mod. Wilts.* (under Dunworth). The children of the first Robert Grove, MP for Shaftesbury, are shown as two sons, William and Matthew; a dau., Mary, m. to Hugh Kete; and a fourth child shown somewhat ambiguously as an unnamed dau. who m. Walter of Honiton and bore him three daughters — or alternatively as a son, Walter of Honiton, who m. an unnamed woman. The ambiguity turns on three factors: the precise position of the line of descent in the drawing of the family 'tree', the fact that Walter is shown second as the person therefore entering the family by marriage, and on the other hand the absence of a surname for 'Walter of Honiton' which implies that he was Walter Grove. Burke's *Baronetage* might seem to have resolved the matter by stating roundly that Walter was indeed Walter Grove, son of Robert Grove.

What I am proposing to establish is that the ambiguity contains a half-truth in either of its alternatives. I believe Walter is correctly named as Walter Grove, but that he was not Robert Grove's son. Instead, he m. Robert's un-named dau. and so became his son-in-law. My investigation of the Grove family papers has brought to light the wills of Robert Grove and his son William, with other documents from which it is possible to define the precise relationship of Walter Grove of Honiton to the Groves of Ferne. Robert Grove's will dated 31 Dec. 1579 was proved 21 June 1580. The beneficiaries are his two sons, William and Matthew. There is no reference to a third son. No daughters are named, but there is a reference to Mary's husband as 'my sonn Henry Keete' (*Henry*, incidentally, and not Hugh). From this I conclude that the second dau. did not marry her kinsman Walter until after the writing of this will in 1579.

The other will, that of Robert's son William, also MP for Shaftesbury, is relevant here because of the feoffees or trustees it names. They include three son-in-laws, the father of a daughter-in-law and 'Walter Grove of Honyngton' whose presence in this context supports the view of him as William's brother-in-law. It was the customary practice among the Groves to recruit their trustees from their male relatives by marriage. William Grove died in 1582. In 1629 Walter Grove was one of the last two surviving trustees and is so described in documents of that time. Significantly William's nephew, Robert junior, refers to Walter as 'my uncle', which confirms that Walter was one of the same generation as William Grove and, if not his brother, must be his brother-in-law.

The nature of Walter's connection with Honiton is perplexing. The parish register records the burial of 'Walter Grove, Gent', on 28 Feb. 1629/30 and it might be expected that earlier entries would record the death of his wife and the baptisms and possibly deaths of their children — not least the 3

daughters mentioned in the Ferne pedigree. Since the register dates from 1562 some reference to his parents even, or to any brothers and sisters he may have had, might be anticipated, but not a single entry of the kind appears. The first mention of the name of Grove comes as late as 1619 and refers to the burial of Nicholas Grove, of whose identity nothing is known. It is in the last years of Walter's long life, in the 1620's, that the Grove presence in Honiton suddenly enlivens the register with evidence of 3 young families developing. Apparently 3 sisters, named Hoskyns, married 3 Groves who may be presumed to be brothers. The men's names — William, Robert and Walter — conform to Ferne traditions and it is not as extravagant assumption to place them as Walter's grandsons. Through them the Grove connection with Honiton persisted into later generations, but the mystery remains of the antecedents of 'Walter of Honington' in the Ferne pedigree and the location of his wife and children during the 1580's and subsequently.

In 1913 a Salisbury genealogist corresponding with Sir Walter Grove proposed to identify Walter of Honiton with a Walter Grove who lived at East Coker from his marriage in 1577 until 1591. There is however no evidence to connect him with Honiton and his wife's maiden name was not Grove but 'Mary Burdwell alias Vaughan'. The association of this Walter and his Mary, before their marriage, with the Courtenays of Powderham (Som. R.O. ref DD/WHh 713) suggests that he came originally from Dartmouth where a Walter Grove flourished in the 1530's. The connection of the Groves of Ferne with the town of Honiton in the 16th century preserves its enigmatic quality. Any fresh clue will be welcome.

DESMOND HAWKINS

QUERIES

61. HINDLEY & SON, BOURTON, N. DORSET. This firm, which closed in 1927, produced in 1904 a steam lorry, and later two improved versions of it. I am anxious to trace drawings of the third version in order to make a scale model. I should be grateful to anyone who could tell me where these drawings are or might be. N. Graham, Flat 3, Southfield Avenue, Lodmoor, Weymouth, Dorset.

62. ST. LO HERALDRY. The arms of the family of St. Lo given in the *Visitation of Dorset, 1677* (Harl. Soc., 1977) are quarterly of ten: I cannot identify the alliance represented in the third quarter: *Ermine, a cross gules* I shall be obliged if any reader can supply the information.

20 Victoria Buildings, Dorchester.

P. N. DAWE

63. ENGLISH SMOCKS. Subscriber Miss P. Davies, 45 Limes Road, Tettenhall, Wolverhampton, seeks information relating to the countryman's traditional smock, particularly photographs. Any cost incurred will be refunded. [Miss Davies has been referred to "Somerset Smocks" by M. C. Brown in *SDNQ*, March 1977, 228-37, and to M. Hall *Smocks*. Shire Album 46, 1979. *Dorset Ed.*]

BOOK REVIEWS

64. SOUTHERN HISTORY: A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN ENGLAND, VOLUME I 1979. ed. by J. R. Lowerson. Pp. 272. Dawson, £10. VOL. 2, 1980, pp. 282. £12. These academic year books produced mainly by members of 6 southern universities, seek to provide a focus for local and regional studies, both professional and amateur, in England south of the Thames. Of 9 scholarly studies in Vol. 1, 2 are of special interest to our readers: the market towns of southern England 1500-1700 and social crime in the rural south in the 18th and early 19th centuries. There is a critical appraisal of local Record Offices, together with book reviews, an annual review of periodical literature for 1977 and 1978 and a select list of local history pamphlets. The well produced books should, as the editor hopes, "become a centre for co-operation and encouragement for considerable growth".

L.C.H.

65. ILCHESTER AND DISTRICT OCCASIONAL PAPERS. The Toucan press, Mount Durand, St. Peter Port, Guernsey. General Editor: J. Stevens Cox 1980. No. 18 The Navigation of the River Ivel — Act of 1785. No. 19 Letter from Henry Hunt to the Radical Reformers, 1822. No. 20 Bridle's Letter to the Aristocracy, 1836. (Ilchester Gaol). No. 21 Cadbury Castle, South Cadbury, by C. A. Raleigh Radford and J. Stevens Cox; Ribbed Durotrigian Bowls from Ilchester, by J. Stevens Cox. No. 22 Yeovil and Ilchester Turnpike Trusts — the 1852 Act. No. 23. Brief for the Prosecution in the case of Slade and Simpson, Somerset Midsummer Quarter Sessions, 1858.

L.C.H.

66. STONEHENGE AND ITS ENVIRONS: MONUMENTS AND LAND USE. xxiv 37 Pp. 23 plates, 16 figures and 3 maps. Published by Edinburgh Univ. Press for the Roy. Comm. on Hist. Monuments, England, 1979. £3.50. The inventory lists with bibliographical references field monuments within 13 sq. miles around Stonehenge, grouped as barrows and other burial sites; circuses, henges and allied sites; settlements and enclosures; boundary earthworks and ditches; and 'Celtic' fields. The illus. include air photographs, maps, plans and sections: of special interest are the photographs of Stonehenge in 1904, Hoare's map of the Stonehenge area in

1810 and Stukeley's drawings of the Stonehenge Avenue in 1740. The historical introduction is especially valuable for the section on land use, in which air photography and early maps are used to show how the activities of men have modified or obliterated the field monuments in the area.

L.C.H.

67. CASTLE CARY. By Michael McGarvie. Pp. 48, 1 map, 13 colour and 31 black and white illus. Avalon Industries, 1980. £1.50 (£2.00, by post), from the Shoe Museum, Street. The Clark group and Mr. McGarvie have followed their *Bowlinggreen Mill* with the present work, which was originally conceived as a history of the same company's subsidiary factory, the Ansford Factory at Castle Cary, acquired in 1960 from the firm of John Boyd & Co. Ltd. The original John Boyd, an enterprising young Scotsman, had established a horse hair weaving concern in the town 123 years previously and it is his life and business and the ups and downs of this unusual industry which provide the central theme of this book. Unhappily, few firms preserve their business records as carefully and completely as the Clark organisation and Mr. McGarvie has been forced, therefore, to cast his net more widely and to include also a general sketch (the author's word) of the town's industrial and social history. A sketch it has to be, for primary sources are few and the town has little claim to fame, other than in the pages of Parson Woodforde and, somewhat tenuously, in the person of the writer, Helen Mathers, 'daughter' (but, surely, granddaughter) of Boyd's rival, Thomas Matthews, who had introduced horse hair weaving into the town.

The book is beautifully produced and, in particular, its fine colour illustrations are as mellow and golden as the Hadspen stone they portray. Castle Cary still awaits its historian; until one appears, Mr. McGarvie's 'sketch' provides a readable source for the past two centuries.

D.M.M.S.

68. THE BOOK OF WELLS. By Marion Meek. Pp. 128. £10.95. THE BOOK OF FROME. By Michael McGarvie. Pp. 148. £11.50. Both Barracuda Books Ltd., 1980. The Barracuda formula is clearly a popular one and, if native patriotism permits us to continue to include Weston-Super-Mare, these are the 4th and 5th town histories in the series to be published for Somerset in the last three years. Marion Meek's *Wells* is set very much in the familiar mould, consisting of two thirds illustration to one third narrative, the latter being arranged in subjectual chapters. Inevitably, the cathedral and its

associated buildings and personages loom as large in these pages as they do in reality, not only monopolising the longest chapter, but sooner rather than later taking over most others, and Miss Meek is at her best when dealing with this aspect.

Superficially, Michael McGarvie's *Frome* follows the same general pattern, but there are significant differences: the balance of text to illustration is, with advantage, tilted in favour of the former not only on a simple page count, but also by the use of a no less pleasing smaller type face; and, secondly, he has adopted a straightforward chronological approach, possibly because he had no such obvious central theme and a less well trodden path to follow. He has had to rely on his own researches, but happily the result is a balanced and substantial work containing much that has previously gone unreported. He is particularly strong in documenting and describing the building developments in the town since the late 17th cent. and he has been both diligent and fortunate in the selection of illustrations which show both what has been lost and what preserved of Frome's architectural heritage.

D.M.M.S.

69. CHARD IN 1851. Chard History Group Publication No. 5. Pp. 92. Yeoprint, 1980. Available from the Area Librarian, Chard Library. BYGONE YEOVIL. By L. C. Hayward and Leslie Brooke. Pp. 32. Yeovil Arch. & Local Hist. Soc., 1980. £1.50, from the Series Editor, 18 Stiby Road, Yeovil. These two commendably enterprising societies have continued their publishing activities, producing contrasting booklets, which reflect perhaps as much the differing interests and talents of their members as available source material. The Chard Group adopts a practical, down to earth, approach to both subject and presentation, analysing the 1851 census of what was then shown to be a youthful, developing town as the central framework for their study. Other chapters add flesh to this frame with information on everyday life, industry, transport, etc., from sources for the most part from the same year. *Bygone Yeovil*, a more traditional piece of work, centres on the parish church and, in particular, the fine spread of churchwardens' accounts. Inevitably, some of the facts and illustrations have appeared in other recent works by the co-authors, but Leslie Brooke's talents in design and decoration nicely balance Leonard Hayward's research and writing.

D.M.M.S.

70. DOMESDAY BOOK: SOMERSET. Ed. C. & F. Thorn (gen. ed. John Morris). Pp. 415. Phillimore, 1980. £10.00 (hardback), £5.00 (limp). It always comes as a shock to be

reminded that, apart from the Victorian photozincographic facsimile, the text of Domesday has been printed only once, and that in 1783. Even in translation it is relatively inaccessible and generally only available in reference libraries: hence the misconceptions and exaggerated beliefs which have become attached to it. The Phillimore organisation, therefore, has conceived the commendable idea of republishing both text and a new translation side by side for the individual English counties in an edition cheap enough to attract a wider public. In this there is some danger of falling between two stools: thus, to reduce expense, the text used is a photographic reproduction of the 1783 one, which may well baffle the ordinary reader by its retention of all the abbreviations of the original manuscript and the representation of them by its own special symbols; whereas the scholar may be irritated at having the obvious explained; and both will be confused by the overloading of the translation pages with cross-reference letters and figures.

That said, however, the editors have supported the text with lengthy appendices, recording, for example, the additional information and discrepancies in the Exeter Domesday, bringing together all work done on the identification of many ambiguous place-names since the publication of the V.C.H. translation and explaining the reasons for their own interpretations. It is always rash to claim any work as definitive and no doubt future scholars will establish cases for some revision of places here identified. At the same time, they will have to acknowledge that their task has been eased by this exhaustive textual study.

D.M.M.S.

71. SOMERSETSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS 1668-1699. Ed. Stephen C. Morland. Pp. ix, 303. Som. Rec. Soc. Vol. 75, for 1978. Available to non-members from the Local History Librarian, Taunton Castle. New ground has been broken in this publication of a full transcript of the earliest proceedings of the formal organisation established in 1668 to regulate Quaker affairs in the county at the equivalent of diocesan level. They cover, therefore, some twenty years of enthusiasm and suffering, perhaps most graphically summed up in the words, 'Prison — the Quaker Headquarters', and the first ten years of religious liberty under the Toleration Act, before the onset of quietism in the 18th-cent. The editor, a Somerset Friend and historian, has added a lengthy and informative introduction and a full index.

D.M.M.S.

72. HOLDENHURST. MOTHER OF BOURNEMOUTH. By Kathleen M. Chilver. Pp. 112. Bournemouth Local Studies Group, Teachers' Centre, 40 Lowther Road, Bournemouth. 1980. £1.50 (By post £1.75). This is a welcome re-issue of the illustrated and well-documented history from the middle ages, of Holdenhurst, Throop. Muccleshell and Muscliff, leading up to modern Bournemouth. It is an important contribution to the history of the district and likely to be a key work in the story of Bournemouth. It is one of many publications of the Local Studies Group which cover many villages in W. Hants & E. Dorset and of which a list can be obtained from the Group.

E.R.P.

73. FAN VAULTING: A STUDY OF FORM, TECHNOLOGY AND MEANING. By Walter C. Leedy, Jr. Pp. v, 234, 242 illus. London: Scolar Press, 1980. £16.00. Fan Vaulting is an English phenomenon of the last age of Gothic architecture. It is also, as Dr. Leedy now shows, typically a feature of building in Somerset and Dorset, which contribute 46 of the 130 examples in the book. Of these 40 are from Somerset, but the great vaults of Sherborne Abbey, probably the first of wide span ever built, restore to Dorset a fair share of the harvest. Nor is our predilection for the fan-vault unexplained: whereas in 1377 Somerset ranked only 23rd in lay wealth in the whole country, it had moved up to second place in the county league by 1515. Fan-vaulting, an expensive luxury, had become an outstanding mark of fashion by early Tudor times. Between 1478 and 1540 at least 37 fan-vaults were built in Somerset; of these 21 were in towers and 9 in porches. That fan-vaulting normally indicates a late date is well known, but Dr. Leedy shows that some vaults were later insertions in towers of a substantially earlier period (e.g. Shepton Mallet). It is significant that the tower at Cheddar, designed c. 1400 and certainly under construction between 1403 and 1413, should have a lieerne vault, not one of fan type. The fan-vault at Axbridge may be of c. 1430 but, if so, it is the only example from the early 15th century.

Although Dr. Leedy mentions a few of the architects responsible, he is more concerned with the technique of construction than with design or individual attribution. From his rich corpus of plates, and those in F. E. Howard's pioneering *Fan-Vaults*. (1911), several 'schools' can be discerned in our area, besides the work of the King's Masons, the brothers Robert and William Vertue, at Bath Abbey (c. 1504-18). The most distinctive and the richest vaults are those associated with William Smyth, working at St. John's,

Glastonbury, after 1465, a freeman of Wells in 1475, and who died in 1490. To him may be attributed the Wells Cathedral crossing vault and the lost Cloister Lady Chapel of 1477-88; Sherborne nave, Milton Abbey crossing, Ilminster tower vault, and the porch vault and lost tower vault (with much else) at Crewkerne; perhaps too the vaults at Ditchat, Muchelney and Shepton Beauchamp.

The book comprises a short text and a detailed gazeteer of examples which are mostly illustrated. It is handsomely produced and well printed, but a large number of mistakes escaped correction, particularly in the spelling of place-names, which is the more serious in that no map is provided. It must also be said that, based as it is on a doctoral thesis of 1972, little use has been made of recent published research. It is, nevertheless, a vitally important study of national scope and one with notable relevance to our two counties.

J.H.H.

74. ROPE, TWINE AND NET MAKING. By Anthony Sanctuary. Pp. 32. Shire Publications (Album 51), 1980. 75p. This is a highly compressed but lucid and profusely illustrated account of the history and technical processes of this industry as carried on in Bridport, and particularly at the present time by the firm of Bridport-Gundry, of which Mr. Sanctuary was company secretary and is a director. He was therefore supremely competent to write this booklet on an industry which dates back in the town to at least 1211; and, as far as a layman can judge, he has carried out his task in a way which, in the space available, could hardly have been bettered.

J.P.

75. THOMAS HARDY AND THE HARDY PLAYERS. By Norman J. Atkins. Pp. 23. Toucan Press, Guernsey. 1980. 50p. This enlarged version of 'Hardy, Tess & Myself, 1962', with 6 illustrations, is an important account of the Hardy Players 1920-1928 by one who, with Gertrude Bugler & others, acted in their productions. It is valuable too in its descriptions of Hardy and Florence by a visitor to Max Gate during those years.

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