

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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NOTES

128. HOUNDSTONE MANOR AND FARM. My interest in Houndstone started when I was researching properties in Martock from the viewpoint of vernacular architecture. When examining the diaries of Elias Taylor, 'Farmer and Gentleman', who had extensive land and farming interests in Martock, I noted that he occupied also Houndstone Farm in the second half of the 18th century.¹ Houndstone is currently part of Brympton parish, but until 1884 it was included in Odcombe.² However, it has remained as part of Odcombe ecclesiastically.

At the time of Domesday *Hundestone* was held by Ansger le Bret of the Count of Mortain and paid tax for one hide;³ this is considered by the Rev. E. H. Bates to be about 144 acres in this area, although, generally, it is accepted that a hide is equivalent to 120 acres.⁴ A full history of the descent of the manor has been published and need not be repeated here.⁵ It was bought by John Hill (Hylle) from Richard II in 1389⁶ and remained in the family's possession, despite various efforts to unseat them, until 1567 when Robert Hill made an exchange of lands with John Sydenham of Brympton.⁷ The manor was held of the Honour of Dunster to which an annual rent of 2s was paid for respite of suit of court, the last recorded occasion being in 1714.⁵

In 1669 the property was described as a capital messuage and farm⁸ and its first detailed description is found in a survey dated 1700, commissioned by Sir Philip Sydenham; the fields then totalled 173 acres, and the house and homestead were recorded as being occupied by 'Mr Strouds'.⁹ The Sydenhams owned Houndstone until 1708 when Sir Philip sold it to Elizabeth Hawker for £3200¹⁰ and at her death, about 1730 it passed to her daughter Elizabeth, wife of Jepp Clarke of Chipley.¹¹

During the 18th cent. the farm was let to three generations of the Minchinton family, for a lease for 14 years made by Jepp and Elizabeth Clarke to Edward Minchinton of Mudford records that it was previously held by his father, Thomas. At the expiry of this term in 1751 it was followed by a 21 year lease

to Abigail, probably Edward's widow, and this in turn was succeeded by a 14 year lease to joint tenants, Edward Minchinton, Abigail's son, and the abovementioned Elias Taylor. In all three leases the Clarke family reserved the right to come upon due notice to occupy the house itself, with all the gardens, the coach house, the yard where the cherry trees stand, the hay barton and the best stable.¹²

Elias Taylor (as well as his seven brothers and sisters) was baptised at Brympton, where the family had lived since the early 18c.¹³ The diaries of Elias Taylor, who, as well as being termed a Gentleman, was also known as a Maltster, Chandler, Dealer and Chapman,¹⁴ indicate that he was widely travelled, lived well and was closely acquainted with the local gentry and clergy, and had lived at Houndstone Farm from about 1756. It is noteworthy that there was a large underground wine cellar in the farm-house and that in 1791, during a visit to Bristol, he bought 14 gallons rum, 3 gallons brandy and 2 gallons geneva. Whereas this acquisition may have been related to his business as a Chandler, at about the same time he complained that he was 'still lame and unwell. My foot painful'. One could perhaps assume from these two entries that he was suffering from gout! The crops which he grew at Martock and Houndstone included beans, barley, vetches, wheat, turnips, flax, clover and hay, as well as producing malt (probably at Martock as he owned a malthouse there) and growing apples. He also kept cows, oxen, hogs and sheep — some of the sheep being over-wintered in other parishes a number of miles away — and he regularly sent oxen for sale at Smithfield and Sarum markets.

Elias Taylor died in July 1791 aged 63 and was described by the 'Western Flying Post' as 'a capital farmer of Houndstone'.¹⁵ He was succeeded as tenant by his eldest son, William,¹⁶ who had inherited 'All the Freehold and real Estates' his other four children and one grand-child shared bequests amounting to £905.¹⁷

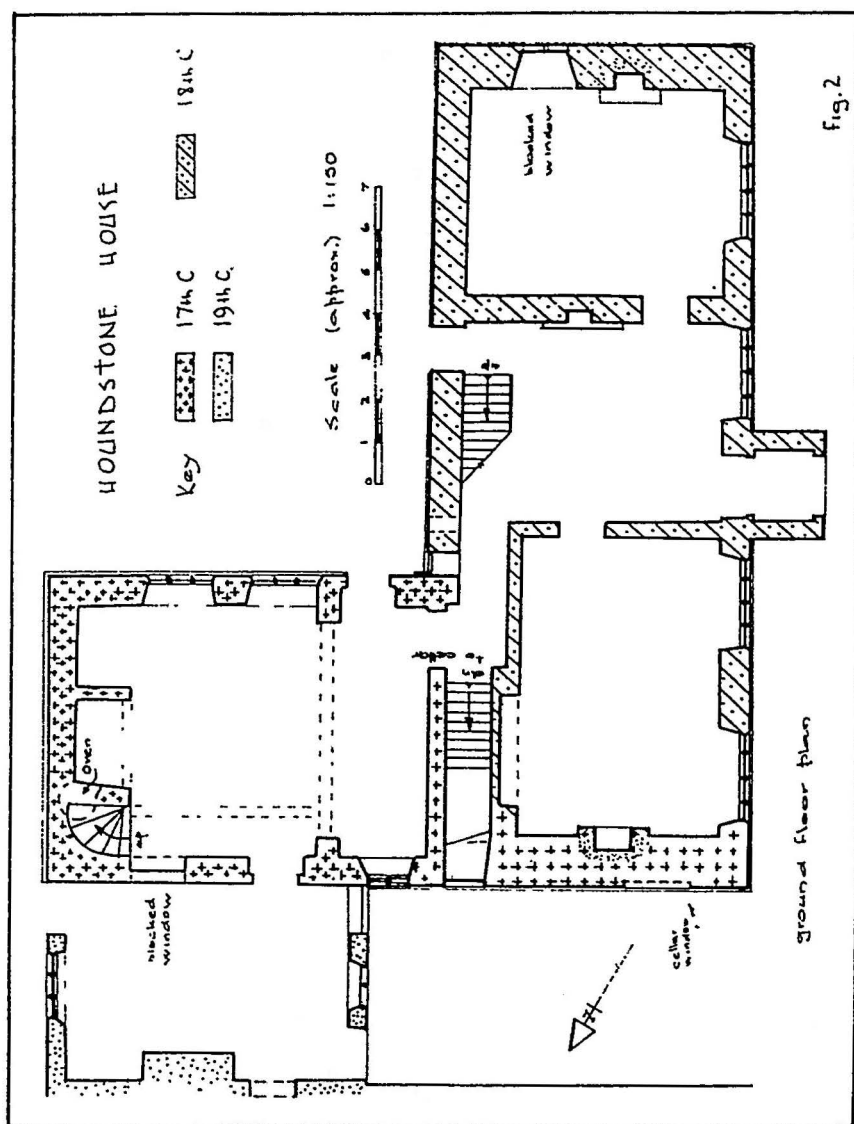
Elias Hawkins bought the farm from the Sandford family, as heirs of the Clarke family, in 1794, but, in order to clear debts so incurred, he was forced to sell in 1816.¹⁸ During this period he was also leasing the adjoining Brympton Farm as well as Highleaze Farm (from 1813-1816) both farms being part of the Earl of Westmorland's Brympton Estate. Houndstone Farm at the time of this sale consisted of 'two several Dwelling Houses and a Glovers Shop with Barns Bartons Stables Orchards and Gardens and divers pieces of Arable Meadow and Pasture Ground Lands containing in the whole 250 acres within the several Parishes of Odcombe and Brympton'.

A map of 1825, with reference book, shows the part of the farm which was in Odcombe to comprise 174 acres, being occupied by Mr Woolmington and owned by Jos. Chaffey, esq.

The land was all in-a-piece to the North of the farmstead with the Houndstone to Thorne Coffin road running through it.¹⁹ In 1838/39 John Woolmington is shown still farming 174 acres in Odcombe as well as 41 acres immediately adjoining in Brympton (*fig. 1*): All the land was owned by Joseph Chaffey and comprised 3a. orchard, 97a. pasture, 17a. meadow and 95a. arable. The farmstead was described as 'House and lawn, barn, barton, rick-yard and garden' and in addition there were cottages and gardens — probably those which still stand near Houndstone Cross (Nos. 1 & 2 Houndstone Corner).²⁰ Henry Talbot Moore occupied the farm in 1851 and held altogether a total of 418 acres.²¹ Houndstone's 215 acres were separated from this larger holding in 1863, when it was let to Thomas Sampson by the owner, Thomas Moore of Yeovil, at an annual rent of £480; the lease included a covenant that not more than six cows should be kept.²² At the time of the 1871 census he employed 6 men, 1 woman and 2 boys. He was also a horticulturalist²³ and during his tenancy the premises provided the venue for local horticultural society shows and displays.²⁴ He also laid out formal lawns and gardens around the farmhouse. His main business as a nurseryman and seedsman, however, was based at nurseries situated in the parish of Preston Plucknett close to the boundary (as it then was) with the town of Yeovil. In 1873 Thomas is known to have 'retired' to London with his large family when he was aged 39.²⁵ John T. Sampson, jun., Thomas' nephew, then took over and stayed until 1879, but by 1881 Daniel Richard Brake and family were clearly in occupation.²⁶ 'Post Office' directories give the following occupiers subsequently: 1889, 1894 Dan'l Richard Brake; 1902, 1910, 1914 Albert John Rowles; 1919, 1923 Geo. Gillett.

During the tenancies of the last two named the property was still owned by Thomas Moore, esq., a Yeovil solicitor.²⁷

In 1924 Albert Edward Mead became the owner-occupier, at which time it comprised about 200 acres located essentially as shown in the map above but without the land to the West of the railway-line. It was a mixed farm, growing corn and barley with about 50 cows, some sheep and pigs. The milk produced was not processed in any way. Three men were employed: a carter, a cowman and his son, with four working-horses and a hackney-horse. The farm buildings were still substantially as shown on the tithe map (1839) and confirmed by the 1903 ed. of the OS map.²⁸ They comprised corn-barn, cow-house, piggery, loose-boxes, bull-pen, stables and cider 'cellar'.²⁹ This mode of farming, on the same acreage, had been unchanged, with perhaps only some variation in the types of animals kept, since the early 20c. In 1939, immediately before the outbreak of War, Mr Mead and his family were compulsorily moved from the



farm by the War Dept. and an Army Camp was built on the land. The farm-house was subsequently converted for military usage. The farm remained in Government hands until 1980 when some of the land and the farmhouse (by then very badly neglected) were returned to private ownership.

The house is listed by the Dept. of the Environment as being of architectural or historic interest, Grade II and is described "Rubble and ashlar with slate roof having stone slate verges, coped gables, stone stacks, porch with segmental gable. 2s. Stone mullion windows, 4 window front. C18".

A detailed survey has been carried-out and a plan (fig. 2) and written record produced.³⁰ It is an 'L' shaped house and from evidence afforded by various structural features it is considered that the projecting E wing is the remains of a mid-to-late 17c house (Sydenham period). The plan-form of this earlier house is not clear but it is reasonable to assume, from the proportions, that it is likely to have been twice the size of the vestigial E wing. The present N-S (front) wing has a symmetrical facade and it is likely to have been built as-a-piece, after the W end of the earlier building had been mostly demolished. This new building is probably of mid-18c date and therefore is likely to have been built during the period of Clarke ownership. The present owner has completely renovated the house and it has recently been re-occupied after a lapse of 42 years.

- 1.* DD/X/RED: DD/SB 45/1, Warry Estate Papers.
- 2.* Local Govt. Board Order 16443.
3. *Domesday Book Somerset*, ed. C. & F. Thorn (1980), p.93a.
4. *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, 45, p.55, "The Five-hide Unit in the Somerset Domesday".
5. *Som. Rec. Soc. Extra Series* (1931), "Some Somerset Manors", pp. 344-347.
6. Do., 68 (1968), "The Hylle Cartulary".
- 7.* DD/FR 1.
- 8.* DD/SF 3116.
9. Brympton Estate Records (by permission of Mr C. Clive-Ponsonby-Fane).
- 10.* DD/SF 173.
11. G. F. Sydenham, *The History of the Sydenham Family* (1928).
- 12.* DD/SF 3142.
13. Brympton parish registers.
14. Bailey's *Western Directory* (1784).
- 15.* Issue of 25 July 1791.
- 16.* Q/REI Odcombe land tax assessments.
- 17.* DD/SB 45/1.
- 18.* DD/S/BT 101.
- 19.* DD/SAS C/212.
- 20.* Odcombe tithe map and apportionment.
- 21.* Microfilm of census.
- 22.* DD/BT 14/4.
23. Thomas Sampson's Commonplace Book, made available by Mrs. Battock.
- 24.* DD/BT 14/17.
25. Brympton parish rate book.
- 26.* Microfilm of census.
27. Information supplied by Mr G. A. Toose.
28. 25" LXXII.16.

29. Recollections of Mrs H. R. Timmis.

30.* DD/V Vernacular Architecture survey and report by the author.

* Items thus marked refer to sources in the Somerset Record Office. I gratefully acknowledge the help which the County Archivist and his staff gave me during my researches.

54 West Street,
Stoke-Sub-Hamdon.

J. T. DALLIMORE

129. SHERBORNE ALMSHOUSE & THE RECOINAGE 1696. The recoinage of 1696-9 which finally eliminated hammered coins from the English currency is well known but local evidence of the reasons for it are rare. It is therefore fortunate that among the records of Sherborne Almshouse are examples of the problems which led to this move.

During the 1690s the country's economy became depressed, largely due to William III's war with France. Taxation was at a far higher level than ever before with Parliament regularly passing acts levying taxes "towards the carrying on a vigorous War against France", and from Jan. 1695 the Bank of England had to agree to remit the astonishing sum of £230,000 a week to Holland. This was exacerbated by harvest failures in the first half of the decade. Although figures do not survive in Sherborne from Midsummer 1691 to Midsummer 1694 the price rises can be shown by the following annual prices of a quarter of wheat in shillings: 1689-90, 29-29; 1690-91, 30-85; 1694-95, 45-17; 1695-96, 56-98; 1696-97, 69-35¹, which forced the Almshouse to economise on the Almspeople's meat ration in 1692.² The coinage being mainly gold and silver became valued in times of uncertainty as bullion rather than money. In the case of silver the government's failure to match the denominative value to the bullion value led to a great increase in the practice of clipping coins in circulation, probably resorted to by otherwise fairly honest people in difficulty; while newly minted coins were hoarded or melted down. The result was very little silver in circulation; what there was being of dubious value. This produced a greater dependence on, and demand for, gold coinage, leading to an increase in its value, despite its unsuitability for ordinary use. Gold coinage was represented at this time mainly by the guinea, so called from being made out of African gold, and with a value that had fluctuated between 21s. 3d. to 21s. 9d. prior to 1695.

The first recorded problem for the Almshouse as a result of these conditions appears at the end of the Master, Baruch Fox's, account for the year 1695-96, "mr Foxe desired alsoe an Abatement of 8¹ for the loss of Soe much on the falling of Ginnys hee haueing taken 20 Ginnys in 30¹ & put them off at 22s each".³ It is likely that Fox was given the coins between July 1695 when he took office and Feb. 1696 during which time they were at their highest price of 29s. 4³/₄d. to 29s. 9³/₄d.,⁴ perhaps as

the fine of £30 paid on 20 March 1696 by Samuel Napper for the tenure of a house in Newland.⁵ Napper (d. 26 Sept. 1722),⁶ a mercer, was one of the town's more successful businessmen who also had interests in agricultural products, timber, exotic commodities and money lending. He had probably heard of the attempts to regulate the guinea that had been made since Jan. and been relieved to dispose of some of his risky assets. The guinea price was gradually reduced during March, being settled by statute at 22s. after April 10,⁷ which left people like Fox with a potential loss of 8s. per guinea, which in this case may have been realised when guineas were used to settle a £50 debt to the Birt's Estate charity in August.⁸

The other problem was the wretched state of the silver coinage. As has been mentioned, the perennial nuisance of clipping had become endemic during the famine years of 1692-95 with a 49% silver loss according to contemporary estimation. The first of the recoinage acts was passed on 17 Jan. 1696, which among its provisions, was intended to lay down recall dates for silver coins.⁹ Unfortunately the vagueness of the Act led to most people refusing hammered coin, except the sixpence, due to uncertainty about its recall date, while the new issue of milled coin continued to disappear from circulation into hoards. Evelyn made several comments in his diary on the shortage of coins for everyday use.

At some time before 18 Aug. Robert Wyer, Submaster for charities, was given £15 in 'Smale Sixe pences', the only coins available, probably as the rent of Birt's Estate in Hermitage. These weighed 30½ ounces which he sold by weight at 5s. 6d. an ounce so losing £6 12s. 3d. off their denominative value. The weight of a sixpence had been set since the reign of James I at 46½ grains¹⁰ so the coins should have come to 63¾ ounces together. In fact their average weight of 22¼ grains, or a loss of 51%, even allowing for wear, reveals the extent of clipping, and supports the estimate given above. Another interesting feature of this is that if the coins had been full weight & sold as bullion he would have received £17 10s. 6½d. for his nominal £15 which explains why new coins were being melted down or hoarded. In this case the next Submaster was ordered to reimburse him. Wyer's troubles continued when he took over as Master of the Almshouse in succession to Fox, on 18 Aug. and later received from William Wood the rent for the Almshouse land in Hermitage known as Wood's Gift, "Recd 14^l of mr Wood for his half years rent due at Mich. last wch I put away by wait at 5s. 6 was 49 ounces of it, soe that I lost 8s. by it."¹¹ In this case the grains lost per sixpence, or 16.6%, supports a contemporary suggestion that better quality coins were reappearing late in the year from hoards, due to official encouragement and the fear that they would cease to be legal tender.¹² One problem

remaining is that the rate paid for the coins, 5s. 6d., was higher than the London bullion price of 5s. 2d.¹³ Whether this was due to a difference in local rates, speculation or other reasons is not known. It would be interesting to know if similar examples of variation in coin values can be found locally. All mss. referred to are in the Dorset Record Office.

1. These are uncorrected Midsummer to Midsummer averages taken from the weekly figures given in the Almshouse weekbooks. They are higher than other price series (cf. B. R. Mitchell & P. Deane: *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*. C.U.P. 1962, 486), this being partly due to the wheat being bought in relatively small quantities compared with other institutions and partly from the inclusion of the cost of milling. I hope to discuss the matter more fully in an article for the *DNHAS*.
2. D204/DI, f.55v., Sherborne Almshouse Minute Book; C. H. Mayo, 'Guide to the Almshouse Sherborne', 1926, 47.
3. D204/A421, Draft Account of Baruch Fox, 1695-96.
4. Ming-Hsun Li, *The Great Recoinage 1696-9*, 1963, p.II. Figures for March are not given.
5. D204/A422, Weekbook of Baruch Fox, 1695-96.
6. J. Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd Edn., IV, 251.
7. M.-H. Li, 124-5.
8. D204/A424, Account of Robert Wyer Submaster 1695-96; D204/A423, Almshouse vouchers 1695-96, (notes on Birt's Estate money). For Birt's Estate see *Charity Commissioners Reports, Dorset*, 1890, 127.
9. M.-H. Li, 56, 116; 6 & 7 W.III Cap.I.
10. H. A. Grueber, *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, 1899, 100, 129. Figures have been rounded to nearest quarter..
11. D204/A428, Account of John Partridge Submaster 1696-97. Wood's Gift, see *Charity Commissioners*, 115.
12. M.-H.Li, 138.
13. *Ibid*, p.11.

Edington House,
Bridgwater.

A. A. MOON

130. THE SAXON CHARTERS FOR SOWY AND POUHOLT AND THE COURSE OF THE RIVER CARY. These notes concern the early Saxon charters granting 'Sowy' and 'Pouholt' to Glastonbury, the boundaries of the land, as adumbrated by Dr. Grundy in "The Saxon Charters of Somerset" (pp. 116, 114), and the course of the river Cary which separated these two areas of land. The text of the charters is given in the "Glastonbury Chartulary" Vol. II, ed. Dom Ailred Watkins (SRS 63, pp. 495, 372). Professor Finberg, in his "Early Charters of Wessex", numbers them 379, 381.

The first records the grant by Ine and his consort in 725 of 12 'manentes' in Sowy to the community at Glastonbury. This estate appears in Domesday Book as 'Sowi' with 12 hides, and, as later surveys make clear, included Middlezoy, Westonzoyland and Othery. Grundy thought that the charter granted Middlezoy only, and attempted to locate the landmarks given as features on the boundaries of that parish.

Taking the landmarks in turn:-

1. *First from Wilbrittispathe to the middle of the river Parrett.* Pathe on the boundary of Othery and Aller is indicated.

Grundy failed to identify this; Pathe is not on the boundary of Middlezoy.

2. *Down along stream to Bridweresmere.* This pool on the Parrett can not be identified. Grundy placed it where the Middlezoy boundary leaves the river; I would place it two miles further downstream, near where the Westonzoyland boundary leaves it.

3. *Then north along midmoor to the Cary.* The Cary must have been reached somewhere west or north-west of Westonzoyland.

4. *Then up the Cary to Greylake, from Greylake east up the Cary to Hamelondesmere to Pouholt.* This follows the text in the Chartulary, but Grundy omits the reference to Greylake. 'Hamelondesmere' suggests a pool in the river on the boundary of High Ham. I can not explain the reference to 'Pouholt'. The Cary has been the boundary of Pouholt for some miles, and it seems improbable that the estate covering a number of villages on the Poldens took its name from a copse on Sedgemoor.

5. *Then south on a line along Midmoor once more to Wilbrythes - pathesmore.*

The charter by which Athelard, King of the West Saxons, and his consort granted 60 'manencia' in land called Pouholt to Glastonbury in 729 appears in the Chartulary under Shapwick. The estate is represented in Domesday Book by 30 hides in Shapwick and 30 in Walton, each manor including several other villages. Grundy, misled by the title, omitted the Walton group, and did not look for the first landmark in the right place.

1. *On the east, Chalkbrok.* The stream dividing Street from Walton on the north slope of the Poldens was called Chalkbrook in an undated copy of a copy of 'Boundaries of Street', once in the possession of William S. Clark, which I have been unable to locate. 'Chalwell' survives as a field name in the Street tithe apportionment.

2. *On the south, Carswelle flows into the Cari, & Cari unto the place which is called Chedesie.* Drainage has obliterated old water courses on Sedgemoor; Carswell is unidentified; it is impossible to say where the boundary reached the Cary, which it followed as far as Chedzoy.

3. *It has on the west land which belongs to Cossington.*

4. *On the north half a marsh.* Parish boundaries now give the Polden villages a generous half of the moors towards Mark and Blackford, that includes Burtle, and half the moors towards Westhay and Meare.

These landmarks show that the Cary was then the north-east boundary of Sowi and the south (or south-west) boundary of Pouholt. Michael Williams in "The Drainage of the Somerset Levels" gives maps on pp. 48, 49 and 147 that show

watercourses on Sedgemoor before the Kings Sedgemoor Drain was cut at the end of the 18th cent., and the embankments and waterways, some constructed during the 13th cent., that had changed the whole system of drainage and communications. Greylake Fosse, a causeway linking Zoy with Greinton and Glastonbury, had obstructed the old course of the Cary. Beer Wall, a causeway linking Zoy with High Ham, provided alongside it a new channel for the river, which was diverted to reach the Parrett at Burrow Bridge. Lake Wall, running south from Westonzoyland to the Parrett, had alongside it a channel that once drained much of Sedgemoor west of Greylake Fosse.

The Cary skirted the rising ground of High Ham, (very much as it does today as far as Henley) crossed the moor to Greylake, and skirted the rising ground of Zoy to somewhere between Westonzoyland and Chedzoy; Williams shows an old water-course following this line. But where did the Cary reach the Parrett? He shows several old water-courses beyond this point. One, running south towards Andersey, may not have existed before Lake Wall was built and is inconsistent with "north along midmoor to the Cary." A channel running north and west round Chedzoy and reaching the old loop of the Parrett near Horsey is possible, as is a channel running west, south of Chedzoy, towards Bridgwater. Perhaps the Cary used more than one channel at one time, or changed its course. In Domesday Book, Walter of Douai held a small estate called 'Doneham', (Dunwear?) which is described as 'part of the land the King gave him between two waters.' Possibly these were the Parrett and the Cary; probably neither was embanked, certainly both were tidal.

Roman Way,
Glastonbury.

S. C. MORLAND

131. TOBACCO-PIPE-CLAY IN POOLE'S COASTAL TRADE, 1700-1741. By the end of the 16th century tobacco smoking had become firmly established in England, and by the beginning of the 18th century the habit was so common that most centres of population had resident pipe makers, and ale-houses and coffee shops offered tobacco and pipes as part of their service to customers.¹ The fine-grained clay mined around Wareham was ideal for the long-stemmed 'aldermen' tobacco pipes common during the late 17th and 18th centuries, for it could easily be rolled and drawn through the stem; the first and perhaps most skilled part of the entire manufacturing process. The pipe mould itself, often made of brass, was in two sections, and after pressing these together a stopper was firmly inserted to make the bowl. After trimming the excess clay which was exuded from the bowl, the finished pipes were packed in saggars in

preparation for firing. Frequently, of course, the makers decorated the bowls with emblems, crests, or personal initials, and these are the means of identification of the individual manufacturers. Further details of the manufacturers can be discovered in such sources as Wills, Apprenticeship Indentures, Parish Registers, and, for later periods, Directories. From these sources, individual manufacturers and their places of production can be accurately identified. What is not generally appreciated, however, is that wherever the kilns might have been — in places as far distant from Wareham as Plymouth, Liverpool, Sunderland and Edinburgh — many of the tobacco pipes were made not from the local clay, but from Purbeck clay transported along the coast from Poole.

Tobacco pipe-clay was a dutiable commodity, and from 1690 the merchant who shipped the clay had to complete a cocket which showed the exact weight of cargo, and this cocket had to be signed by at least 3 Customs officials in whose presence the clay was weighed.² Because coast duty was payable on every hundredweight, Exchequer Port Books show the entries of pipe-clay for each port, and, as in the case of Poole, the total weight transported, the individual vessels involved, and the port of destination, for the first half of the 18th century are all shown.³ Fifty-seven different places were named as ports of call, and, from 1703 to 1741, Poole merchants transported by coastal vessels 48,980 tons of tobacco-pipe-clay. Chief among these places was London, which received over 66% of the total coastal trade in pipe-clay; over 68% if London is taken to include Rochester, Queensborough, and Chatham.

Apart from entire cargoes of pipe-clay, Poole had only a normal and varied trade with London. It seems clear that London merchants were acting as wholesale purchasers, and were dealing in pipe-clay on their own account. The clay was probably re-sold to visiting coastal traders from other ports, or was distributed by road to the manufacturers in and around London. The remaining 53 places named as destinations, and in which the coast cocket was rechecked for weight and the cargo unloaded, were not regular ports of call for Poole's vessels, but received clay shipments irregularly, and, clearly, only after merchants had ordered cargoes in advance. The exception to this seems to have been Newcastle, which, with over 6% of the total shipment recorded as bound for that port, probably accepted clay as a return cargo after regular deliveries of coal to Poole.

By regions, the distribution of pipe-clay from Poole was:

Northern England	5,652 tons
Southern England	4,969 tons
The East Coast	2,697 tons

For the purpose of this analysis, the North included ports from

the Firth of Forth to Hull; Southern England stretched from Truro to Ramsgate; and the East Coast extended from Boston to Maldon. Interestingly, most of the ports had little in the way of trade to offer to Dorset, and the shipments of pipe-clay, often only part cargoes in the coasting vessels, were clearly a response to orders already placed with Poole merchants, and probably represented a net income for Poole and Wareham because the value of the return cargoes rarely matched the value of the pipe-clay transported. Because coastal vessels were smaller craft, often about 35 tons, with shallow draught, minor ports could be used: Burnham, Milton, Bampton, Aldborough, Wells, and even Heversham in the Lake District.

It is probable that local pipe manufacturers in the various regions were responsible for ordering the various shipments, and presumably bought what they needed from local merchants who occasionally traded out of the smaller, and convenient, nearby ports. In Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, almost 500 different pipe manufacturers have been identified between 1700 and 1750, but this number by no means represents a complete list.⁴ Under-estimate though this may be, it represents a considerable scale of manufacture, and a respectable demand within any region. Cargoes unloaded at places like Ipswich, Harwich and Colchester, must have been intended for local manufacturers, for, further south, the numerous pipe makers of London were better served by the port of London. Poole merchants traded regularly and in large quantities with London, and the port may well have found favour with Dorset traders because there they had the opportunity of picking up a return cargo of value. For example, in July, 1741, the *Desire* returned from London with 10 tons of hemp, 6 hogsheads of molasses, 8 bundles of brushes, a bellows, 310 gallons of spirits, 20 Pipes of oil, 100 quarters of wheat, besides Spa water, linen, glasses, and tobacco. This kind of varied and useful cargo was common as a return cargo from London. In one quarter in 1717, Poole coastal vessels brought in from London 3,188 ells of German linen.⁵ Almost all other cargoes of value at that time — especially coal, iron, timber and cloth — were collected from major ports; minor ports could only trade in common cargoes like salt, bread, malt, and wheat, and then only in small quantities.

Because pipe-clay formed only a part cargo for the smaller ports, Poole merchants filled the hold with other items, and among them were peas, butter, cheese, calves' skins, beer, smooth paving stones and pebbles, and from the Newfoundland traders, codfish, train-oil, rum, furs, and seal-skins. In May, 1718, 'Lead, Iron and Brass and wooden material for water worcks' were shipped to London; and in 1712, Samuel Windell carted six hundredweight of nails to

Poole quay which he had made, and which he loaded on to a coasting vessel. But these were unusual cargoes. Occasionally, Poole merchants shipped out Dorset made tobacco pipes together with the clay. In 1704, 170 gross of pipes were sent to Portsmouth; a second shipment took place two years later; and some pipes were also sold in Weymouth and Edinburgh. But, from the small numbers of manufactured pipes listed in the Port Books, and the relatively large quantity of clay, it is apparent that the merchants preferred to deal in the clay, and were content to allow the local manufacturers throughout the country to make their own pipes.

Bristol was a chief centre of pipe manufacturing during the early 18th century. Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire had large numbers of manufacturers also. From the few entries of clay shipments to Bristol — only 14 separate voyages throughout the period — it was probable that road carriers were used to carry clay from the Purbecks to these manufacturers. The figure of 48,980 tons calculated from the Exchequer records may, therefore, represent only that fraction carried by coastal vessels and liable to duty; it does not represent a total figure of pipe-clay production, for all that intended for Bristol and the Cotswolds must have been carried northwards by road.

1. G. L. Apperson, *The Social History of Smoking*, London, 1914.
2. H. Saxby, *The British Customs*, London, 1757. Tobacco pipe-clay is referred to:— 1 Wm & Mary c.32, sect.4. 7 & 8 Wm III c.28, sect.7. 9 & 10 Wm III c.40, sect.1. 1 Geo I c.46, sect.5. 5 Geo I c.11, sect.14.
3. P.R.O., Exchequer, class E. 190. Thirty Port Books have been referred to, extending from 1702 to 1741, and 433 separate entries of pipe-clay cargoes examined and recorded. Those books unfit for production, or imperfect, have not been included in this statistical analysis.
4. A. Oswald, *English Clay Tobacco Pipes*, Museum, London. n/d.
5. Almost 4,000 yards.

GLANVILLE J. DAVIES

132. THE MILLS AT WELLS. In 1978 in an unpublished dissertation¹ I argued that the accepted view of the location of the medieval mills at Wells was wrong. Particularly the work demonstrated that what is now known as Priory Mill never belonged to the Priory or Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Southover, Wells, but was the Bishop's Out Mills.² At that stage I was unable definitely to locate the Bishop's In Mills or confirm that there ever had been a Priory Mill. Since 1978, however, the Church Commissioners have released further documents to the Somerset Record Office, including the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' final sale of the Bishop's Mills in 1893³, and the opportunity to study these, other bishopric estate records and the limited numbers of private deeds available has enabled me to say something more definitive on the whole disposition of mills at Wells.

Domesday Book records nine mills in the manor of Wells, of which four belonged to the Bishop, two to the Canons, two to Erneis and one to Ralf, but as the manor then included Wookey, caution is necessary in allocating these, and at least one of the surviving mills seems to have been established well after 1086. When a picture of ownership can again be studied the Bishop's position is even more dominant. Focussing then on Wells, Bishop Savaric's charter of 1192/1205 includes a reference to the waters running down from the mill⁴. As the western limits of the town are then being described, the so called 'Priory' mill on West Street is almost certainly meant. By c.1290 In Mill had made its appearance under the latin form of *molendinum intrinsecum*.⁵ The name implies the existence of a *molendinum extrinsecum* and this duly appears in 1332/3⁶. Thereafter, the mills occur frequently, first as Inmulle and Outmulle but subsequently as In- and Outmill or mills. The existence of a Priory Mill is suggested by a deed of 1244/1247 when the Prior enters a bond that he will not raise the mill pool of the mill on the land of his house at Hilemore in the bishop's manor of Wells so high as to damage the mills of the manor nor is he to take custom from them. The name Hilemore is not otherwise known.

In the 16th cent. the mills seem to have fallen into the hands of the greedy kin of successive Bishops, whose doings have been revealed by Dr. Hembry.⁸ From before 1543 to 1555 Bishop Clerk's brother Thomas held Burcot and Wick mills paying 40s each and what are described as the four mills known as the Out Mills and the In Mills at £6 each. Hembry says that this was a monopoly, apart from one water mill and one fulling mill held by Walter Paynter.⁹ In 1587 Bishop Godwin leased various properties for 21 years to his son Thomas and son-in-law Thomas Purefry including 'the four grist mills in Wells commonly called the Town Mills or the In Milles and Out Milles', at the same rent of £24.¹⁰ In 1633, in a dispute over ship money, Wells (sc. borough) was said to have 368 messuages, houses and cottages and 5 mills, the latter probably being one at Keward and two each at In Mills and Out Mills.¹¹

Simes' plan of Wells of 1735 illustrates the position for the first time. Mills are identifiable (from west to east) on the surviving sites at West Street and Mill Street with a vanished mill immediately to the west of the moat of the Bishop's palace. The three appear again on the "Map of Canon's Grange, Wells, belonging to the Dean and Chapter"¹² dating after 1810 and before 1827 where they are named from east to west, Upper, Middle and Lower Mills. The survey of corporation property includes the Upper Mill in its plan of the Town Hall showing it to have occupied the sites of modern 1 and 2 Townhall

Buildings plus the adjoining car-park and public conveniences. By the first edition of the large scale O.S. in 1886 the Upper Mill has gone but Middle and Lower Mills remain. Until recently the interpretation of this has been that Upper Mills must have been the In Mills, Middle or Mill Street mills the Out Mills while the Lower or West Street Mills were the Priory Mill, leaving Keward Mill unaccounted for. This view seems to have been suggested first in Serel's lectures on the history of Wells in the middle of the last century and more recently in Aston and Leech's *Historic Towns in Somerset*, where the Priory Mill is identified as part of a large block of Hospital Land bounded by Tucker Street, West Street and Southover.¹³

In fact published and manuscript sources call this view into doubt. A number of leases in the *Somerset Record Society's* 'Wells City Charters' describe a road off Tucker Street, which must be modern West Street, as "the lane leading to the Bishop's mill".¹⁴ Others refer to the stream as leading to the Bishop's mill or specifically to Outmill as it flows behind Southover.¹⁵ The Bishop's estate surveys confirm the deduction. The 18th cent. or old survey has, as property No. 178, leases for 3 lives of the two grist mills under one roof called the Lower Mills in Mill Lane, 1726-1790 at £12 p.a. rent.¹⁶ In the new survey of the 19th cent. the description is even fuller as "all those two water Grist Mills called the Out Mills or Lower Mills in a lane called Mill Lane or Bull Lane",¹⁷ the terms remaining as before. The published sources are less helpful for the In Mills, although one deed has a High Street property adjoining the lane leading to the Bishop's inner mill¹⁸ which is best explained if the lane is the present Mill Street. The Bishop's old survey, however, is clear: property No. 51 comprises two water grist mills under one roof called Inn Mills or Mill Pond Mills with one little malt mill under the same roof, for which leases for three lives at £12 p.a. rent are recited between 1718 and 1775. There are subsequent leases for 1852 and 1865 in S.R.O. with similar descriptions and terms, but with the addition of plans.¹⁹ Thus, In and Out Mills are located respectively in Mill Street and West Street and show remarkable continuity. Out Mill was probably there by around 1200 and both were in being by the end of the 13th cent. Moreover, their rentals of £12 each were unchanged from at least 1543 to the 1850s.

However, the correct location of these two mills raises further questions: what was the status of the mill by the Palace and where was the Priory Mill? The former was clearly in existence in Simes' day and a sub-lease of 1739 of a house built over the millstream provides a name, as it describes the stream as flowing from Palace Mill towards the mills in Wells.²⁰ The

Bishopric estate surveys give details of leases for 3 lives between 1742 and 1832 at £4 p.a., during which period the description remains constant as 'the watergrist or cornmill commonly called Palace Mill'. A note added to the new survey²¹ also provides a lead to the sale in 1835 for £488 18s. to the Corporation of the mill with 'those several messuages to the south of the Gatehouse', in other words the site of the modern Post Office.²² An announcement of an auction to be held at the White Hart on 15 Sept. 1828, however, gives a somewhat different indication of its use, for Lot 1 is described as 'Silk Factory called the Palace Mill, with a dwellinghouse, outhouses, stable and large garden, in the occupation of Mr Johnson, silk throwster, held by lease under the Bishop for three healthy lives at a small lord's rent'. It is marked 'offer £1500'. Also offered at this sale were another silk factory in St Johns Street (*see below*) and the residue of the lease of Middle (i.e. In) Mills, here stated to include a bakehouse.

So Palace Mills can be documented for about 100 years from 1735 to its demolition by the Corporation as part of their scheme for the new market hall and attendant facilities. Previously, it can be traced back to 1596 when its rent, already £4, appears in Bishop Still's accounts.²⁴ Hembry comments that these receipts of 1596 are, with two exceptions, exactly what was collected 30 years before. Palace Mill was one of the exceptions and 'therefore presumably kept in hand'.²⁵ While this is a reasonable hypothesis it could alternatively represent one of Bishop Still's efforts to improve his revenues. If it was there earlier it is surprising that neither Thomas Clerk extracted it from his brother nor Thomas Godwin jnr. from his father when they were amassing mills. In any event the mill must presumably have appeared after the foundation of the Palace, when watercourses in that area had settled into more or less their modern pattern.

Priory Mill is more elusive. The list of Hospital property in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* does not include a mill at Wells, but it may have been disposed of by 1535, as the will of John Welshote of 1519 includes a "tuckyng mylle" at Keward described as his 'purchase of St. Johns, Wells'.²⁶ If this is the Priory Mill it must have been converted at least temporarily to fulling and it is as yet unclear to which of the two known mills at Keward it relates, if either. Further information comes from John Prowse's estate survey of 1684 and deeds, 1706-29, among the Tudway papers. Both refer to a close of four acres at Keward Green (itself noted as "Hospital Lands") on the east of Keward Mills *alias* Priory Mills.²⁷ It was subsequently merged with the land to the east and shared its name Blackstakes which can be fixed from the tithe map, thus showing Priory Mills to be the upper, and surviving, mill at Keward.

Of the lower mill at Keward, I have traced nothing, but there is one reference of 1554 that could relate to either. It is in the will of Thomas Clerk, the Bishop's brother, who left William Gervys one of his servants his mill and ground at Keward. After Gervys' death, Mr. Parson Fitz-James was to have it, paying yearly to the Almshouse of Wells £5.6.8d.²⁸

Having dealt at length with grist mills, the other varieties can be discussed far more quickly, beginning with fulling mills. There are five of these recorded, the earliest dating from the 13th cent., thus emphasising the importance of the wool trade of medieval Wells. One is mentioned in 1232,²⁹ another from some time in Jocelyn's Bishopric (1206-42)³⁰ and a third is only dateable to that century.³¹ Another is recorded in 1391/2³² and the last is Welshote's tuckynngmylle discussed above. Apart from the last only the third can be located. This is described as at 'Lichcheleyg' in the manor of Milton, but, as it is one of only two Wells properties of St. John's, Bath, it can be identified with their site later described as under Randalscroft and on College Lane.³³ It therefore stood on the east of College Road to the north of its junction with North Road, an area where old divisions were lost at the making of Stoberry Park. Presumably it used the waters of the branch of the Ludburn which flow down this road and then along the North Liberty.

There is one reference to a perry mill: in 1397 and 1398 a property in Northfields was described as bounded by the way from Sare Orchard to Purymulle, which seems to indicate a site on the brook flowing between Beryl and West Horrington.³⁴ Finally, there is the second item in the auction of 1828: 'Lot 2 Another silk factory and water wheel, engines and machinery in St. Johns Street, with dwellinghouse, bakehouse, etc., in occupation of Jos Johnson or his tenant'. This is otherwise a mystery, although Simes does show a building protruding into the stream in this area which might be a mill.

This survey demonstrates the enormous practical use made of the waters of Wells until long after the Industrial Revolution. Inevitably, it leaves various questions unanswered, which private deeds may one day answer. A detailed survey of the present buildings (unlisted) on the Mill Street site might also prove of value.

1. 'Wells: a study of pre-urban origins and town development'. Presented to Birmingham Univ. Dept. of Archaeology; copies also lodged with C.R.A.A.G.S. and the libraries of Wells Museum, Som. Arch. Soc. and Bristol Polytechnic (St Matthias site).
2. This view is supported by M. Meek, *The Book of Wells* (1980).
3. Som. RO, DD/CC 255700.
4. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 46, p.3.
5. Hist. MSS C., *Cal. of MSS of D. and C. of Wells* (2 vols., 1907, 1914), II, p.573 (hereafter *Cal.*).
6. *Cal.*, II, pp. 599-600 and *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 46, p.47.

7. *Cal.*, I, p.476.
8. P. M. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640* (1967).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.
10. *Cal.*, II, p. 312.
11. T. Serel, *Historical Notes on the Church of St Cuthberts in Wells* (1875), p. 108.
12. Som. RO, DD/CC 10878.
13. Publ. by C.R.A.A.G.S. (1977), pp. 151-2. Unfortunately their block of Hospital land can be shown to be non-existent in other ways, as including areas owned by the Corporation and Vicars Choral.
14. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 46, pp. 47, 54 and 69.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2, 46-7 and 58-9.
16. Som. RO, DD/CC 13202.
17. *Ibid.*, DD/CC 31526, p. 310.
18. *Cal.*, II, p. 647.
19. Som. RO, DD/CC 98908-910.
20. *Ibid.*, DD/WM 1/118.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 115.
22. Som RO, DD/CC 12137.
23. Copy in the possession of Dr R. D. Reid, whose help is acknowledged in developing this whole interpretation.
24. P.R.O. S.C.6/Add 3545/84, S.C.6/Eliz/2008 and 2009.
25. *Op. cit.*, p. 202.
26. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 19, p.199.
27. Som. RO, DD/CB 36 p. 27 and DD/TD 32/17 respectively.
28. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 19, pp. 156-60.
29. *Ibid.*, 7, ii, p. 53.
30. *Cal.*, I, p. 477.
31. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 73, pp. 77-8.
32. *Cal.*, I, p. 302.
33. *Cal.*, II, p. 688 (ch. 693) and Som RO, DD/CC 116013.
34. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 46, pp. 101 and 103.

19 Denny View,
Portishead

A. J. SCRASE

133. HANHAM AND GROVE FAMILIES. The following information may usefully amplify the account of the two marriages recorded in the family history of the Hanhams of Wimborne (*SDNQ* Sept 1980, 29 and March 1981, 58).

Robert Grove's marriage settlement of 1661 (WRO 1641) shows that Mary Hanham brought, as his bride, a portion of £2100 from her late father and a further £400 from Edward Dodington (presumably her uncle). Their first child, Mary, was baptised at Berry Court (the original seat of the Groves in Donhead): their third, John, was born at Ferne, the home of Robert's parents. The death of Robert's mother is not recorded but it was probably the occasion for Robert and Mary to move from Berry Court to Ferne in order to 'keep house' for Robert's father, Thomas, who lived on to his 82nd year. Mary died in 1688. In 1692 Robert took a second wife, Tryphena Lloyd, widow of a citizen of London. Tryphena's parentage is something of a mystery. Her mother is described variously as Lady Lisle of Ringwood and 'the celebrated Lady Russell'.

The marriage of Robert Grove's grandson John to Eleanor

Hanham was sadly brief and failed in its obvious purpose of providing an heir to inherit Ferne. Their only child, William, died with his mother at birth. The burials of both are recorded in 1754 in the Berwick St. John register. There is an additional record of a puzzling nature in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1754 which states that on March 16 'died in childbed Rt Hon Countess Dowager of Abercorn, Lady of John Grove of Ferne, Wilts'. As Eleanor Hanham was only about 19 when she married John Grove it is, to say the least, improbable that she could have been a dowager making a second marriage. I can only assume that the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* was misinformed.

DESMOND HAWKINS

[Perhaps the editor of *G. Mag.* ran together 2 separate entries: Mrs. Grove in childbed and the Countess Dowager of Abercorn. G. E. Cokayne: *Complete Peerage* under Abercorn gives the latter as d. in Sackville St., Middlesex, aged 86, but for 19 March as against the *G. Mag.* 10 March. *Somerset Ed.*]

134. THE FIRST LIFE OF ADMIRAL BLAKE: A SOURCE FOR SAMUEL JOHNSON. In 1740 Samuel Johnson, then relatively unknown, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* his short biography of Admiral Blake.¹ The following year a more detailed memoir appeared under the title of *The History and Life of Robert Blake*. This work has been conjecturally attributed to the Somerset historian John Oldmixon, and in another place I have examined the evidence with the aim of clinching this attribution.² But neither of these was the earliest Blake biography, and Oldmixon's share in the proceedings was not limited to the production of the rival life. In fact, I shall argue he was himself the major source for Johnson. As is well known, Johnson relied mainly on an anonymous account of Blake's career to be found in *Lives English and Foreign* (1704): indeed, he expressly acknowledged this debt with a verbatim quotation at the close of his own brief life.³ Johnson is stated to have supplemented his main source with authorities such as Clarendon, Rapin and Anthony Wood. In fact, Wood was consulted by the author of the earlier account.⁴ It can now be shown beyond all reasonable doubt that this author was Oldmixon. The first full-length life of Blake, at all events, came from the hand of another Bridgwater man.

The principal item of evidence concerns the writer's reference to his own background. At the start of his biography (hereafter *Life*), he congratulates himself on the "fair Opportunity" afforded him "to shew his unalterable love to the place of his Birth". He speaks of General Blake proudly as "his Countryman."⁵ Now Oldmixon is the only contemporary writer of any sort who is known to have hailed from Bridgwater, the hometown of Robert Blake. More

significantly, he goes out of his way elsewhere to express his warm feelings for the town⁶ — a little surprisingly, in that many of the years he spent there were anything but happy and spoken of by Oldmixon as “exile”.⁷ But it is the end of the *Life* which provides the real clue. The writer claims firsthand acquaintance with the Blake family (but not, incidentally, with the Admiral himself, as E. L. McAdam implied).⁸ Certain information is supplied “which the Author avers from his personal Knowledge of his Family and their Circumstances, having been bred up in it in his younger Years, and has often heard his Brother give this account of him”. This points directly to Oldmixon, who was brought up by a niece of the admiral — the eldest daughter of his brother. Here it is Benjamin Blake who is named: in the *History and Life* it is Humphrey. Moreover, Oldmixon was clearly proud of this link with the leading local worthy and staunch Parliamentarian Blake; he refers to it on every possible occasion.

The writer goes on to describe the hard times suffered by Blake’s brother on account of his dissenting faith. Similarly, the *History and Life* displays an equal knowledge of the latter’s enforced emigration to Carolina. The two accounts are quite independent of one another, and neither could have been fabricated without authentic information.⁹ Robert Blake’s bequest to his brother, as well as another anecdote obviously based on family tradition, is mentioned at the very end of Johnson’s life. Other “inside” knowledge concerns Blake’s colleague and friend, Edward Popham. Oldmixon’s uncle had married Popham’s daughter, and it was probably this more than anything which prompted the Blakes to give a home to the fatherless child.¹⁰

The author of the *Life* takes a story from Wood concerning Blake’s failure to gain a fellowship at Wadham. Wood had briefly suggested that this might have been because of a prejudice on the part of the Warden, Sir Henry Saville, against men of short stature.¹¹ This hint (for that is all it is) Oldmixon develops in at least two other places when speaking of Blake — just as the author does here. “Happy were these Nations,” the *Life* complacently goes on, “that the Knight hinder’d Blake of a Preferment, which wou’d have kept him out of the World, where he made so glorious a Figure in his Countries Service.” The *History and Life* contains a similar reflection. Johnson refers to the story in passing, but his comment is much more laconic: “So much do the greatest events owe sometimes to accident or folly!”¹² Johnson omits the *Life’s* statement that Blake was bred at the Free School in Bridgwater, as well as a certain amount of earlier family history.¹³ Indeed Johnson states categorically, “Of his earliest years we have no account”; the more accurate assertion would be that we have only the limited amount of information supplied (unquestionably from

private knowledge) by the writer of the *Life*.

More revealing is the emphasis placed in the *Life* on the transference of Blake's body, by command of Charles II, from Westminster Abbey to a "pit" behind St. Margaret's. Wood mentions this episode (noting that Edward Popham's remains were disturbed at the same time), and Johnson paraphrases Wood's reference.¹⁴ However, the act of desecration was especially objectionable to Oldmixon, who recounts the story in no less than five books.¹⁵ The tone of the reference in the *Life* accords with this feeling of outrage.¹⁶ Equally the writer's portrayal of Blake's political views, his suspicion of Cromwell, his opposition to the dismissal of the Presbyterians, and so on, represent precisely the motives Oldmixon attributes to such men in discussing his favourite seventeenth-century topics. Blake's dislike of Laud's measures is another fact Oldmixon would be certain to stress, as the writer does here.¹⁷ Johnson understandably plays down all these elements.

Only one slightly puzzling feature emerges. Near the end of the *History and Life* (p.112), the author quotes "a later Historian" [than Clarendon], and in fact cites a passage from the *Lives* of 1704, p.124. He refers to this writer as "his [Blake's] and my Countryman." This naturally suggests that the two writers are distinct and that only one of them can be Oldmixon. I believe this is not so. In the first place, it was a common habit on Oldmixon's part to refer to his own earlier books (especially those which came out anonymously) by a third-person form: thus he will speak of "a Modern Historian" in his *History of England* (1735), p.49, meaning his own *Secret History of Europe*. Secondly, the author of the *History and Life* varies the quotation, silently, in one significant respect: he substitutes £1500 for £500 in naming the sum left by Blake in excess of what he had inherited as his patrimony. This implies that Oldmixon was correcting his earlier statement; otherwise, he would normally have made a great song and dance about setting the record straight. Thirdly, it should be remembered that we are otherwise left with the astonishing coincidence that *two* professional writers were brought up, around the same time, in the household of Admiral Blake's niece. If this is so, I can only observe that one of these writers has been totally lost to history. (By 1740 such a person by definition would have been well advanced in years, and so it is utterly improbable that a new or unknown writer could have been responsible for the later book at least.) It seems justifiable assumption that Oldmixon was, for whatever reason, attempting to conceal his own responsibility for the earlier life. His relations with the booksellers were complicated and somewhat chequered, and this in itself might be enough to explain the devious shifts he was on occasion pushed to. It goes without saying that there are

a great many books, demonstrably his, which he never publicly acknowledged in any way.

The evidence suggests then, that Oldmixon is by far the likeliest candidate for the authorship. His claim to have been educated in the Blake family — the strongest indication — is backed up, in particular, by the many correspondences with the *History and Life*. If Oldmixon was the author, then the question naturally arises whether he contributed any other portions of the *Lives* as a whole. I believe that he very probably did, and that a good deal of internal evidence can be adduced to justify that view, much of it concerned with local, that is Somerset, material.

The most likely of the other biographies to have issued from Oldmixon is that of the Duke of Monmouth. Again we have two kinds of indications: certain clues suggesting personal knowledge, and similarity with Oldmixon's other work. Oldmixon as a boy had witnessed the preparations for Sedgemoor and its aftermath on the following day. His brother-in-law was a prominent local adherent of Monmouth.¹⁸ It would not be particularly surprising if at this juncture, whilst a Stuart still reigned, a prudent author considered it more tactful not to associate himself publicly with the unsuccessful attempt to put Anne's half-brother on the throne. In later books, after the Hanoverian accession, Oldmixon did admit to being an uncomprehending "well-wisher" to Monmouth when the Duke rode through Bridgwater just before the battle; although like the writer of the present *Life*, he was never blind to Monmouth's personal defects.¹⁹ In the *Life* there are only fleeting indications of a firsthand knowledge of the campaign in Somerset. The Mayor of Bridgwater, Alexander Popham, is described as a "very loyal Gentleman," somewhat irrelevantly. Monmouth's ascent of Bridgwater church tower, and his stealthy departure for Sedgemoor at eleven o'clock at night (most authorities state ten o'clock, but Oldmixon elsewhere names the same hour) were both events the twelve year-old boy saw for himself: both feature in the *Life*.²⁰

A better piece of evidence concerns something which happened five years earlier. The author mentions Monmouth's visit, whilst he was in the region of Chard, to "Mr. Prideaux, a Gentleman who afterwards suffer'd highly for his Acquaintance with the Duke. Jeffrey's [*sic*] when he was Chief Justice, forcing him to give almost £15000, for a Bribe to save his Life." Now Edmund Prideaux was another relative by marriage of Oldmixon's uncle, Sir John Bawden. He married into the Popham family and in addition to this saw his daughter Margaret marry Francis Gwynn. Gwynn was already a blood cousin of Bawden's wife, and became a beneficiary of Bawden's will; Oldmixon often refers to him.²¹ More particularly,

Oldmixon has a habit of bringing up the transaction involving Prideaux and Jeffreys. In three other books he names the sums of "almost 15 000 l" (1712), "between 14 and 15 000 Pounds" (1729), and "14 760" (1735).²² The steadily growing precision may have something to do with family knowledge.

Turning to other sources of evidence, we come on several features which mark off the *Life* of Monmouth as resembling other compositions by Oldmixon on allied subjects. For example, the other quotes Dr. James Welwood's *Memoirs*, always heavily used by Oldmixon, as his principal published source. His account of the flight of Monmouth and Lord Grey, together with their eventual capture, follows the exact lines traced by Oldmixon in his *History of England*. Even if a broad similarity were thought to be dictated by a common source, the selection of detail varies astonishingly little. Oldmixon's judgment of the various errors and miscalculations committed by Monmouth falls in very closely with those of the author of the *Life*.²³ In his *Secret History of Europe*, Oldmixon speaks of the opportunities which he has managed to take to gain fresh information concerning the Monmouth episode.²⁴ One informant may have been Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who came over with the Duke and whom Oldmixon later knew. In any case it is apparent that Oldmixon had a special interest for the greater part of his life in the subject-matter of this biography. Many of the attitudes it embodies, for instance the hatred of Jeffries' cruelty and the glee at his "infamous Death", square precisely with Oldmixon's often enunciated likes and dislikes.²⁵ Although Monmouth was not quite such an obvious topic for Oldmixon as Blake, in that the direct family link is missing, he was assuredly an object of great fascination on the part of the historian, who provided much fuller material on the Duke than did, for instance, Bishop Burnet — on whose *History of his own Time* Oldmixon otherwise draws heavily.

There are other grounds, irrelevant to this enquiry, for supposing that Oldmixon may have contributed extensively to the *Lives English and Foreign*. But it can hardly be open to serious questioning that it was he who was responsible for the life of Blake. The attribution is worth recording, not only for its intrinsic interest, but also because it establishes Oldmixon as the main source for Johnson's briefer sequel.²⁶ Since Dr. Johnson later did as much as anyone to damage the reputation of Oldmixon in the eyes of the posterity, in describing him as one of the "lowest of all human beings, a scribbler for a party",²⁷ it is pleasant to recall that, on one occasion, the great man did peruse with profit the work of Oldmixon. That much at least, the indefatigable old compiler seems to deserve.

1. G.M., X, 301-307 (also republished separately in the same year); see C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine* (Providence, R.I., 1938), p.130 and n. The reprinted version has recently appeared in Johnson's *Early Biographical Writings*, ed. J. D.

- Fleeman (1973), 67-85.
2. See *SDNQ*, XXIX, 185-88, "Oldmixon and the Family of Admiral Blake".
 3. *GM*, X, 307.
 4. *Lives English and Foreign*, II, 97, 113, 124.
 5. *Lives*, II, 75. For the use of this phrase see also the *History and Life*, 124.
 6. See for instance *History of England* (1729), 285-88: Oldmixon there introduces an account of the siege of Bridgwater with avowals of "the Love which every one naturally bears to the Place of his Nativity."
 7. See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, 113, pp. 86-98, "John Oldmixon in Bridgwater, 1716-30."
 8. E. L. McAdam, jr., "Johnson's Lives of Sarpi, Blake and Drake," *PMLA*, LVIII, 466-76.
 9. *Lives*, II, 121-25: cf. *History and Life*, 117-19; *History of England*, 421. In fact it was Benjamin (d. 1689) who emigrated in 1682: see C. D. Curtis, *Blake: General at Sea* (1934), esp. 171-78.
 10. Oldmixon's maternal uncle Sir John Bawden (d. 1688), was a West Indies merchant with strong political interest in Bridgwater. See *SDNQ*, XXX, 357-62.
 11. A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), I, 825.
 12. *Lives*, II, 75; *GM*, X, 301: cf. *History of England*, 420; *History and Life*, 4-5, and *SDNQ*, XXIX, 185.
 13. See McAdam, "Johnson's Lives", 471. *History and Life*, 3, conveys the same information.
 14. Wood, I, 825; *GM*, X, 307.
 15. *History and Life*, 109; *History of England*, 421; *Clarendon and Whitlock Compar'd* (1727), 320; *Critical History of England* (1726), II, 381; *Secret History of Europe* (1712-15), IV, 79.
 16. *Lives*, II, 123-24.
 17. *Lives*, II, 76, 86-87, 96, and *History and Life*, 6-7. Blake is said to have thought Charles I's sentence "Barbarous and Illegal": cf. Oldmixon, *Critical History of England*, I, 235.
 18. *History of England* 702-04; see also my article, "Two Notes on John Oldmixon", *Notes and Queries*, XVII (1970), 293-300.
 19. *History of England*, 703; but cf. *Secret History of Europe*, II, 25: "I cannot pretend from my own Memory to report what I saw, being too young to form any Judgement of it, or to distinguish right from wrong."
 20. *Lives*, II, 318, 325-26.
 21. *Lives*, II, 286: see *SDNQ*, XXIX, 54-57, "Oldmixon, Francis Gwynn and the Prideaux Family."
 22. *Secret History of Europe*, II, 30; *History of England*, 706; *History of England*, p. 54.
 23. Compare *Lives*, II, 315, 320-24, with *Secret History*, II, 19 ff, and *History of England* (1729), 701 ff, particularly regarding Monmouth's error in allowing himself to be proclaimed King at Taunton, and the influence of Ferguson.
 24. II, 33.
 25. *Lives*, II, 332.
 26. As McAdam pointed out ("Johnson's Lives", 474), Johnson's basic working method is one of simple condensation. He subtracts far more from the source than he adds to it from other authorities.
 27. Samuel Johnson, *The Idler and the Adventurer*, ed. W. J. Bate, J. M. Bullitt and L. F. Powell (1963), 203.

University of Bristol

PAT ROGERS

135. A HORSEY/STOCKER MARRIAGE 1538. The following entry is in the marriage reg. of Poole under date 1538: *cy pole* has been inserted in a seemingly contemporary hand but obviously some years later in Elizabeth's reign when the borough was made a county of itself. The abbreviation is unusual but can hardly stand for anything but county of Poole: "Mastr John horsey the son of sir John horsey knyghte of the p[ar]yshe of Clyffton was maryd to Edythe Stocker the Wyffe late of John Stocker m[er]chaunt cy pole the xiiij day of

De[cem]ber be privylegge gevyn by our sup[re]me hedd of the chyrche of Ingelond kynge henry the viii th."

On the face of it this could indicate that Stocker was still alive but divorced from Edith; but this is unlikely. The pedigree of Horsey of Clifton Maybank in the *Addenda to the Visitation of Dorset* merely states that John Horsey mar. Edith d. of Richard Phelips of Montacute, and in the Phelips pedigree in Hutchins is the same information with nothing about the bride having been divorced.

P. N. DAWE

136. CHAPEL HAYS (*SDNQ*, XXXI, 220). There is strong circumstantial evidence for a similar use of this term to denote the site of a former chapel at Ston Easton, where both manors, Ston Easton Major and Ston Easton Minor, possessed separate chapels prior to 1548. The former continued as the parish chapel, but the survey of chantries taken in 1548 recommended that the latter's chapel 'maye welbe spared for that Eston Maior standeth within ij furlonge and nerer the towne'.¹

The manor house and manorial jurisdiction were separated in the 17th cent., but deeds of 1660 and 1713 in the Som. RO relating to the manor house of Ston Easton Minor refer also to 'one parocke thereunto adjoining called Chappellhey', which must surely have been the site of the pre-1548 chapel.² Unfortunately, both house and field name disappear from later sources, and subsequent maps and surveys do not allow either to be identified positively. But supporting evidence accumulated during a tithe dispute in the early years of the 19th cent. places them to the west and to the south of the turnpike road, and this, coupled with the names of some associated fields, strongly suggests a site in the vicinity of the present Clare Hall.

1. *Som. Rec. Soc.*, II, 98.

2. DD/SAS C/112/14 and DD/HI.

D. M. M. SHORROCKS

137. LANGFORD FAMILY. MILBORNE LINE (*SDNQ*, XXIX, March 1970, 106). May I add the following to Mr. Ferris's notes:-

3A ALEXANDER LANGFORD, m. 25 May 1638 at Sedgehill, Wilts (Bp's Transcripts), FRANCES dau. of John Brethers of East Knoyle, Gent. She remar. c. 1648-50 ROBERT EDMONDS of Britford, Wilts., Gent. and was bur. 5 Jan. 1656/7 and he 26 Feb. 1679/80, both at Britford. Their children were

4a FRANCES, b. c. 1639; m. April 1656 at Britford, WILLIAM

PEWDE of St. Edmund's, New Sarum, Clothier and had issue (who were born & bapt. at Stratford Sub Castle, Wilts).

4b PRUDENCE, m. 27 Oct. 1663 at Stratford Sub Castle, THOMAS PRIDE of Shaftesbury, Apothecary. His Letters of Admons. registered in Arch. Blandford 49/1686.

4A ALEXANDER LANGFORD (as in Mr. Ferris's account).

N. J. ROYAL

138. THOMAS SHOEL, 1759-1823, SOMERSET POET. In *SDNQ*, March 1982, 223, it was said, in error, that there was an essay on Shoel in Llewellyn Powys's *Somerset and Dorset Essays*, 1957. The reference should have been to Powys's *Somerset Essays*, 1937, where the essay is on pp. 131-151. It was omitted in the later volume which is a selection including only 19 of the 37 Somerset essays which appeared in 1937. Copies of Shoel's slim books of verse are scarce which makes the selection given by Powys very welcome. Shoel was a man of humble origin in Montacute but he had genuine ability and a marked nobility of character. He published three books of sacred music and two or three of poetry (v. E. Green: *Bibliotheca Somersetensis*, 1902, 3, 247), and although the verse may not be of the highest order, it can be moving, and, in Powys's words "delicate in conception" as may be illustrated in "these slight but touching verses to a dead canary":

Methinks I see thy pretty feet alight,
With gentle movement perching on my hand
Thy little form appearing all delight,
While taking there thy oft accustomed stand.
But thou art dead, alas! for ever dead
No more thy pipe shall charm, thy form delight,
Thy little life alas! alas! is fled
No more to please and entertain my sight!
Sweet bird adieu! to thee I bid farewell,
No more thy song shall warble in my ear,
But let this artless verse to others-tell,
That thou wast lovely, that I loved thee dear.

In the essay on his brother Albert Reginald, Llewellyn says that A.R. "described Shoel with singular imaginative sympathy as being 'like a rare autumn crocus crushed in the print of an ox's hoof'" (*Somerset Essays*, 171).

J. H. P. PAFFORD

139. THOMAS GERARD. A PhD dissertation by Q. E. Deakin on 'The Early County Historians of Wales and Western England, c. 1570-1656' is now available at the National Library

of Wales and the Hugh Owen Library, Aberystwyth, and through the inter-library loan system. This work includes a lengthy chapter on the life and writings of Thomas Gerard of Trent on Somerset and Dorset [for whom see also *SDNQ*, V, 97, and *Som. Rec. Soc.*, vol. 15 (1900) — *Som. Ed.*]

140. SELICK FAMILY. This is very much a west country name and until recently was to be found almost exclusively in Somerset and Devon. Dr. J. T. C. Sellick of 30 Leicester Road, Uppingham, Rutland, has been researching the ancestry of his name for some years from General Register Office sources, wills and other records and would be happy to share his knowledge with interested readers.

141: BOURNEMOUTH TEACHERS' CENTRE LOCAL STUDIES GROUP. This claims to be "a unique local history factory of amateur enthusiasts who are making an important and continuing contribution to recording this part of Dorset". Some publications of the Group were noticed in *SDNQ*, 1981 (March, 127; Sept., 179). It has issued many others on Bournemouth and District and other places in E. Dorset including Cranborne Chase. There are surveys of *Wagons and Coaches in Dorset* and *Poole Clay Tobacco Pipes* and studies of *Admiralty Signal Stations* and of *Wireless Telegraphy in Dorset*. In preparation are a 3rd edition of *Oil in Dorset* and a study of *Ferries from Mudeford to Sandbanks*. For a complete list send a stamped, addressed envelope to Bournemouth Local Studies Publications, Teachers' Centre, 40 Lowther Rd., Bournemouth.

LAURENCE DOPSON

QUERIES

142. JOHN FRY REEVES. Mrs. C. A. Goodall, 7 Barrack Street, Bridport, Dorset. DT6 3LX, seeks information on date and place of burial of JOHN FRY REEVES, one time Attorney and Banker of Glastonbury, Somerset, and later of Fitzhead, Somerset, where he and his family appear in the 1851 census.

143. FARRANT FAMILY (*SDNQ*, XXX, 221). A Sherborne reader kindly sent a copy of a tree of this family whose roots were in Hemyock, Devon, and on which were named several Samuels. Over the intervening years research has extended this tree not only farther backwards but also forward to to-day, and the enquirer has contact with a Samuel farming in Oxfordshire and many other descendants, but no branch seems to have had any connection with Bath or the Samuel Farrant sought. The

Wellington area has also been researched with a similar result.

Additional information concerning Samuel of Walcot has come to light. His allegation for marriage to Maria Blackwell of Painswick in 1812, held at the Gloucester R.O., states he was a baker, and carries his clear signature. Their daughter was baptised Eliza at Painswick on 14 July 1816 at the same time as two other of their children, Ann and George. Later children were baptised in Middlesex, where his occupation was always given as carpenter or pianaforte maker. His baptism and parentage are still problems. It is known from advertisements and apprenticeship records that a gingerbread baker named George was in Bath from c. 1775, who was literate and spelt his surname Farrant, however spelt, it would be welcome at George (1776), Francis (1782) and Thomas (1785) at St. Michael, and John (1790) at St. Mary [? Bathwick, *Som. ed.*]. Thomas later practised bookbinding for many years in Bath and brought up a large family there.

If Samuel's age on his death certificate is correct, then he was born in 1785/6, which would imply that he was not a child of George and Elizabeth. If anyone has any knowledge or suggestions bearing on this matter, or indeed of any unpublished information or documents mentioning the surname Farrant, however spelt, it would be welcome at Lezayre Lodge, Lezayre, Isle of Man, by E. J. Farrant.

144. BOWDITCH FAMILY. Cdr. R. V. P. Bowditch, 25 Rockwood, Arundale, Halifax, Nova Scotia B3N 1X4, Canada, seeks information about the racial origin of his family. Earliest records indicate that the family existed in the 12c. at a hamlet known as Bowdich or BurrIDGE near Chardstock, reputed to be near a pre-historic ditch which separated hostile tribes and, therefore, established a boundary between them. Is the family name derived from the boundary and ditch? Is the racial origin of the family Norman, Anglo-Saxon or earlier?

BOOK REVIEWS

145. THE CHURCH TOWERS OF SOMERSET. By John H. Harvey. Pp. 27 + 3 figs.; **ELEANOR VERE BOYLE.** By Michael McGarvie. Pp. 52, 21 illus. Both reprinted from the Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society vol. 26, 1982, by Frome Historical Research Group, 1982. Each £1.50. The Group is to be congratulated on its enterprise in securing permission to reprint these two extended essays, thus bringing them to the notice of a wider local public. Dr Harvey's work is a strongly sustained critical review of P. Poyntz Wright's *The*

Parish Church Towers of Somerset; their construction, craftsmanship and chronology, 1350-1550 (1981). In particular, he regrets the revival of outmoded positions and argues against the theories that towers in a given group were built successively by the same team and that individual towers could be built in a short space of time, drawing in the latter instance on his own knowledge of sources elsewhere and the practical advice of modern master masons. But the essay is not simply destructive: although much has been done since the first broad sweeps were drawn 130 years ago, Dr Harvey recognizes and underlines how much more detailed study is needed of the "minute and sometimes almost invisible quirks and variants" before a definitive history can be produced. Both in text and lengthy appendices he makes his individual contribution to this body of material, the fruits of a lifetime's research.

Michael McGarvie, in a style which catches admirably the harmony of his subject, has produced a charming biography of a minor Victorian celebrity and her circle. Eleanor Boyle was the wife of the youngest son of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, the Rev. Richard Boyle, rector of Marston Bigot. She made her own positive contribution to parish life for 30 years and in her day (which ran from 1825 to 1916) had a national fame as artist, writer and illustrator. Her illustrations of nursery rhymes, made originally for the amusement of her own children, were the first of their kind to be published. The text is well supported by a nice blend of photographs, old and new, and examples of her work, but the complex pedigree has been reduced a little too much for comfortable reading, and a bibliography of her work might have replaced the memorials of her (Gordon) family in Aberdeenshire.

D.M.M.S.

146. SOMERSET MAPS: DAY & MASTERS 1782, GREENWOOD 1822. *Som. Rec. Soc.* Vol. 76. £6.00 SOMERSETSHIRE DELINEATED. By C & J Greenwood. Pp. viii, 215. First published 1822, republished 1980. Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., Gloucester. £6.00. The Society has broken new ground in reprinting these two county maps, the first to be produced on a scale comparable to the 1st ed. 1" O.S., which they conveniently straddle. The maps are supported by an introduction, the work of Dr J. B. Harley, the authority on the Greenwoods, and Dr Dunning, the Society's general editor, and the whole is presented in a slip case which cannot quite match the format of its traditional publications. The Greenwoods' topographical gazeteer was originally produced as a work of 'very general utility and useful as an index' to their county map. It has now been reprinted independently, but in collaboration with the

Record Society, to coincide with the republication of the map, to which an introduction by Dr Dunning has been added.

D.M.M.S.

147. CONCERNING AGNES. THOMAS HARDY'S "GOOD LITTLE PUPIL". By Desmond Hawkins. Pp. xi, 148. Alan Sutton, 1982. £7.95. The author's article "Concerning Agnes", *Encounter*, Feb., 1977, was used by D. Kay-Robinson in *The First Mrs Thomas Hardy*, 1979, and is here expanded into a full-length study of Agnes Pitt-Rivers, later Lady Grove, and of her family and that of her husband and their social background. Agnes Grove was an able, intelligent, active, dominating, witty and beautiful woman; a militant for women's suffrage, liberalism, anti-vivisection and many other causes; and — to some extent guided by Hardy — a minor author. She was prominent in Society but was hampered by relative poverty and the inability, shared by many of her class, to recognize — until late in her life — that her social inferiors were not necessarily her inferiors in any other way. She belonged to the autocratic element in society which largely disintegrated in 1914-18. She died in 1926 and Hardy wrote what Mr. Hawkins justly describes as the "tender and moving elegy" *Concerning Agnes*, which appeared in *Winter Words* soon after Hardy's death.

Mr Hawkins's book is an account of a remarkable woman and of two mainly Dorset families, Pitt-Rivers and Grove, and their *milieu* which included Hardy and Emma. It is, like all his work, based on careful research which is well interpreted and beautifully written.

J.P.

148. BRISTOL AND THE CIVIL WAR. By Patrick McGrath. Pp. 50, 4 illus. Bristol Branch of the Hist. Ass., 1981. £1.00. This is the fiftieth pamphlet in a remarkable series on Bristol history published with commendable energy and enthusiasm by this Association since 1960. Throughout, Professor McGrath has been editor of the series, and he has now produced an excellent addition to the list of pamphlets. This corrects a number of commonly held beliefs about the attitude of Bristolians to the Civil War and provides a readable and well-informed account of the fortunes of the city during the war when it constituted a major prize for both sides. The capture of Bristol by the royalists in 1643 provided a tremendous boost to the King's cause, and its loss to the Parliamentarian army in Sept. 1645 following the defeat of Goring's army at Langport in July marked the end of any hope of success for the royalist cause in the West. Professor McGrath traces the effect of these events,

paying particular attention to the religious and political attitudes of the merchants who dominated the government of the city and who were dragged reluctantly into a bloody conflict which they did not want and which they had done their best to avoid.

The Association is to be congratulated on the success of this enterprise in producing these excellent pamphlets at such a modest price.

J.H.B.

149. WEST STOUR IN DORSET. A JOURNEY THROUGH THE CENTURIES. By John Ash, O.B.E. Pp. xiii, 162 + map. Published by the Author, West Stour, SP8 5RL. 1980. £3.50 + 45p post. This small village of about 140 people some 5 miles west of Shaftesbury has had an uneventful history; and, as documents for this are scarce, especially before 1750, the early history is largely imaginative. But although "probably" and "it is reasonable to suppose", or similar words and phrases, occur frequently, it has all been done responsibly and Mr Ash has made skilful use of material concerning similar places in the locality to build up this well-written and illustrated history of his village. A minor criticism is that long *s* is printed as *f* (pp. 39, 60, 64, 73 and on 157 in the name index where an *f* for the first *s* in Rossiter brings the name out of its alphabetical position). The usage, which has recently been noticed elsewhere, cannot be too strongly condemned.

J.P.

150. GLASTONBURY TOR: FACT AND LEGEND. By E. M. R. Ditmas. Pp. 22, 3 illus. Toucan Press 1981, unpriced. This is No. 13 in the West Country Folklore series, and can be unreservedly recommended as a guide to the Tor, the Chalice Well, the Glastonbury Maze and the Somerset Zodiac. The documentary evidence is carefully researched and full use made of Professor Philip Rahtz's excavations on the Tor and at the Well. The author is sympathetic and fair in her assessment of the legends associated with the area, and adds a useful booklist. The two illustrations at the end spoil an otherwise readable and well-produced booklet.

L.C.H.

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