

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.

CONTENTS

No.		Page
	Obituary, Walter Stuart Best	409
240	Flint find at Priddy	410
241	The Chasey family of central Somerset	411
242	Alum Smuggling at Watchet	414
243	The Tolpuddle Enclosure	416
244	The Window Inscriptions at Montacute	418
245	The Wincanton Workhouse in the nineteenth Century	425
246	Tryphena Grove	429
247	Dorset Windmills	430
248	Monmouth Mare	431
249-256	Queries	432
257-261	Book Reviews	434

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Walter Stuart Best
D.L., J.P., M.A.

It is with deep sorrow that we announce the death of one of our most distinguished colleagues. Stuart Best was a member of the committee of *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* for thirty-five years, and supported the publications of the journal by contributions on Godmanston Parish records, Place-names of Dorset, the Romano-British Church, and Britain during the Dark Ages.

Educated privately, and at Sherborne and Trinity College, Cambridge, he began farming at Godmanston Manor Farm in 1934, and remained there until the end of his life. He took an active part in parish administration and local government, and in 1947 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. His love for Dorset was admirably expressed in his enduring concern with conservation, and he was actively involved with the National Trust, the Dorset Naturalists' Trust, the Trust for British Ornithology, and the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society.

We will remember him as a congenial colleague, a quiet scholar, a lover of his countryside, and a Christian in faith and principles.

240. FLINT FIND AT PRIDDY.¹ The bifacially worked flint implement (illus.) was found on the surface of ploughed land.² Flints typologically attributable to a variety of periods have been collected locally, making the identification of this piece difficult. The following possibilities are suggested:-

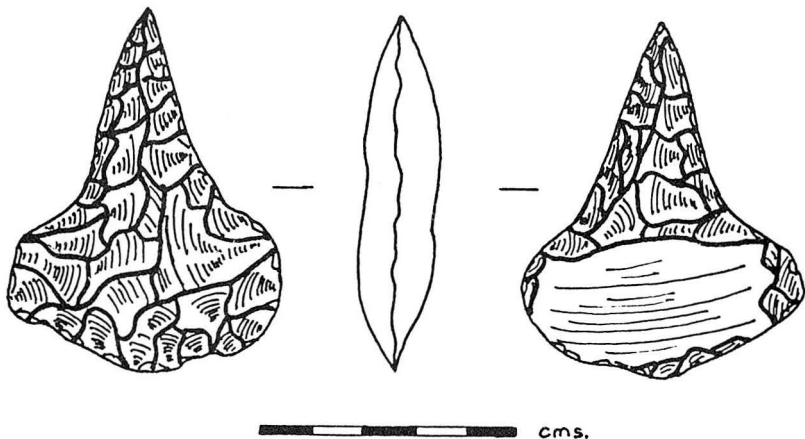
1. A piercer.
2. A small tanged axe, adze, chisel, or scraper.
3. A small hand-axe of 'ficron' type.
4. An individual interpretation in flint, inspired by a metal axe, rivetted dagger, or spearhead.

The grey patinated implement has been well made from a thick flake, and is in good condition. Faint traces of gloss occur in one or two places, but not adjacent to any supposed working edges.

1. NGR ST 50755255. 266m. O.D.

2. Thanks are due to Mr H.J. Sheppard for permission to collect; the implement will be given to a local museum.

BRIAN HACK



The Priddy Flint

241. THE CHASEY FAMILY OF CENTRAL SOMERSET. Reaney's *Dictionary of British Surnames* derives this surname from the family of Chausey which settled in Oxfordshire about the time of Henry II, and the county's *Victoria History* describes the family as 'substantial knightly tenants ... with their *caput* at Mapledurham'. An account of the manor of Mapledurham Chazey is given in Cooke's *Early History of Mapledurham* (1925), from which it is clear that the family spread slowly south and west into Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, a drift which would, sooner or later, bring it into Somerset. When this occurred is not known, but what is certain is that by the mid 16th cent. it was established in central Somerset, the core of the settlement being in the Glastonbury/East Pennard area. The Glastonbury branch consisted of labourers and lower class workers originally and continued thus for four centuries, and at East Pennard the story was much the same. One branch of the family, however, became properous yeomen by 1700, but this line had died out a century later, leaving only labouring poor to carry on the name until the mid 19th cent., when it disappeared from there completely.

It seems likely that it is the yeomen branch at East Pennard to which the arms of Chasey (Somerset), as quoted in Burke's *Armory*, *Gules, a griffin segreant or, on a chief ermine, three fusils sable*, should be attributed, and their once imposing memorial in East Pennard church (*see below*) suggests also that they were the only ones to have had social pretensions above the majority of their name in Somerset.

The earliest Chaseys so far recorded in the county are to be found in Evercreech, where in 1564 Joan the daughter of John and Alice Chacie was baptised. But the family lasted there little over a generation, John and Alice both dying within a week of each other in September 1597 at Bagborough (in Evercreech). In 1598 a William Chasey, also of Bagborough and probably a close relative, married Alice Yates, but within nine years she had lost both her husband and her son (drowned in a well at the age of five) and had re-married another Bagborough man, George King. Thereafter the name appears all over the area — in Butleigh, Pilton, West Bradley, West Pennard, East and West Lydford and, much later, in Wells and Shepton Mallet, but the registers show few obvious connections. Names appear from nowhere or disappear without trace. The only real continuity is to be found in East Pennard and Glastonbury.

At East Pennard isolated individual families appear in the early 17th cent., but the main line descends from Thomas (c.1615-1695) and Joan (d. 1708), who married c.1640 and had seven children between 1643 and 1652. Their 5th child, Robert, had advanced to yeoman status by 1700, and his descendants

were responsible for the memorial tablet which occupies the whole of the west wall of the south porch of East Pennard church.¹ Robert's elder brother, William, acted as trustee in the settlement upon the marriage of his niece, Joan Chasey, with John Coombs of Glastonbury, who had a leasehold property at Edgarley.² But the ascent up the social ladder was shortlived: Robert's grandson, John (m. 1747), died at the relatively early age of 36 in 1759, followed within six years by his two children in their teens, leaving only the poorer branches of the family. Of these there were plenty, for between 1740 and 1790 there were 31 recorded births in the parish, the majority being the children of Richard and Anne (seven), Thomas and Christian (twelve) and Stephen and Mary (seven). They provided the host of labourers, thatchers and paupers of this period, but their very number concealed the seeds of decay. The Napoleonic period was a graveyard for the East Pennard Chaseys. Thus, Thomas who married Edith in 1800 had four children, all of whom died young, and he himself died in Shepton Mallet workhouse in 1815. Another Stephen and Mary, who married in 1798, had five children, four of whom died young, while the eldest, Matilda, married and moved away. In fact this was virtually the end of the name in the parish, for her marriage in 1821 was the last, the last baptism was that of her brother, John, who died an infant in 1818, and the last burial was that of Stephen, a thatcher, who died at Ditchet in 1861 and was brought home to be buried. How far the growth of rural poverty following the agrarian changes of the 18th and 19th cents. had a hand in this rapid decline can only be surmised. What is certain is that here the family plummeted from numerical strength and some social importance to physical extinction in little more than two generations, and it underlines the difficulty before the present century of breaking permanently out of the working class.

In Glastonbury the registers of St John and St Benedict give a good picture of the family over 300 years and, in fact, the earliest decipherable entry in the former is of the marriage of William and Agnes in April 1604. As usual, the spelling varies according to the whim of the recorder: Chassey, Chasye, Chacy, Chacie all appear until finally it settles down as Chasey about the time when Richard married Margaret Walton (in 1676) and began the line which was to remain unbroken there until the mid 20th cent. Family legend always had it that a descendant of this Richard had been killed at Waterloo. There was nothing to prove or disprove this until 1979 when Margaret Chasey-Sexton of San Diego, California, produced a letter from the C.O. of the 14th Hussars written in June 1815 to Stephen Chasey of Glastonbury who had offered to buy out his nephew, Cpl. William Chasey. As the battle followed within

days of this, his discharge was doubtless delayed, but he survived to return to Glastonbury, where in 1817 he married a widow, Martha Quick, described in the register as 'wife of Henry Quick who fell at Waterloo'. Perhaps this conjunction of events was the source of the family legend. Of their six children the eldest, Stephen, began the family which was eventually to move to Bristol, Plymouth, Canada and finally California.

By the 1840s the only remaining family was that of John and Mary (Pallett), whose marriage ended after two years with the death of John from paratyphoid in 1846 aged 28. His wife lived on, unusually, as a widow for a further 55 years in the cottage on Hill Head which was to be the family home until demolished in 1975, possibly thought of as one who had never married. Her son, John, died a year later, having married Susan Tucker and fathered eight children. It was this generation which saw the dispersal and eventual end of the family in Glastonbury. Two sons, John Sylvester permanently and Albert temporarily, moved to Birmingham, Gertrude married and by coincidence returned to Evercreech, Stephen Frederick found work in Bristol and William set up shop in Burnham. Albert and his sisters, Rose and Florence, lived to old age at Hill Head, but with his death in 1956 the name ended in Glastonbury. Children of those who left still carry the name in Bristol, London, Manchester, Oxfordshire, Sussex and elsewhere.

Whatever their origins, the Glastonbury Chaseys were generally of the working class. One or two emerged as small craftsmen or shopkeepers, some had a smattering of schooling and could sign their names, but most were illiterate until the coming of compulsory education. This humble status is shown in their cottages which were usually found on the periphery of the town — Bove Town, Bere Lane, Hill Head — though some occur occasionally in the town centre — High St., Silver St., Benedict St. In the 19th cent. a number appear in the almshouses and some ended their days in the workhouse. With the decline of the old agriculture and its attendant industries and crafts it became increasingly difficult for younger members to find work in the area and they drifted away to larger towns and cities in search of better opportunities. The Chaseys lived in Glastonbury for at least eleven generations, never as numerous as their kin in East Pennard, but with greater staying power. That there was a common root to them all seems reasonable, but much remains to be uncovered to establish the origins of this ordinary family, but one whose case histories are perhaps typical of the many who normally go unsung.

1. Sadly now showing the effects of its age. It reads:

Near this place lieth the body of Joan Chasey the wife of Robert Chasey who dyd Sept. 9th 1723, aged 35. Also the body of the above named Robert Chasey who died Oct.

27th 1753 aged 72. And also the body of John son of Robert and Joan Chasey who dyd Jan. 25th 1759 in the 37th year of his age. Also the body of Robert son of John and Ann Chasey who dyd July 4th 1760 in the 12th year of his age. Also Joan the daughter of Robert and Joan Chasey who dyd June ye 2nd 1764 aged 45. Also Mary the daughter of John and Ann Chasey who dyd July 1st 1765 aged 12 years. Also Robert Chasey who dyd Jan. 22nd 1794 aged 70 years. And of Christian wife of Thomas Chasey who died in the year 1802 aged 61 years. Likewise of Thomas Chasey who died March 9th, 1804, aged 65 years.

2. S.R.O. DD/BR/hp 1.

Bristol.

HAROLD CHASEY

242. ALUM SMUGGLING AT WATCHET. Alum, a sulphate of aluminium and potassium, was an important mordant in the dyeing of wool and cloth, and the demand for alum rose greatly in England from the mid-fifteenth cent. because of the increased production of coloured cloths.¹ For much of the Middle Ages Genoa possessed a monopoly of the European trade in alum because of its mines at Phoea on the Gulf of Smyrna, but following the discovery of high-quality deposits at Tolfa in the Papal States in the fifteenth cent. the major parts of the trade passed to the Papacy. During the later Middle Ages alum, brought by Spanish, Portuguese and Italian ships, was a principal import through Bristol and Southampton from where it was distributed to dyers and clothiers throughout the cloth-producing area of the west of England.² As the demand from dyers grew, the price rose rapidly during the sixteenth cent., and the involvement of the Papacy in the trade meant that after the Reformation there was a religious as well as an economic incentive to find an alternative source of supply. Several attempts were made to produce alum in Dorset and the Isle of Wight during the reign of Elizabeth, but by the early seventeenth cent. the major hopes of obtaining a substantial source of supply in England were centred on Guisborough in Yorkshire. A patent was granted to a group headed by Sir Thomas Challenor to develop the industry there as a royal monopoly, and alum imports were prohibited by royal proclamation.³

It was a difficult and complicated process to remove the impurities such as iron pyrites from English alum, and dyers much preferred the purer material from the Papal States; supplies therefore continued to be smuggled into England from the Continent. A Commission of Inquiry set up by the Exchequer in 1617 reveals that one port through which alum was illegally imported was Watchet, and the depositions of witnesses give interesting details both of the method of smuggling and of the strong demand from dyers and cloth-workers in west Somerset.⁴ The Inquiry was held at Stogumber on 28 August 1617 before Thomas Luttrell Esq. and John

Dyds (?), and witnesses came from Stogumber, Watchet and Dunster. From their statements it is clear that the Bickham family was heavily involved in the illegal import of alum into the port. A cloth-worker, Thomas Slocombe of Watchet, reported that two years before Hugh Bickham had landed a large quantity of alum from France 'out of a shippe of Trewroe (Truro) whose masters name was Mitchell', and Slocombe also reported that he himself together with one Robert Blake had purchased 250 lbs of the alum.⁵ Other witnesses, including Walter Tyerill and John Streete of Stogumber, John Wheddon *alias* Wythie of St Decumans and John Somerwell of Dunster, described how 1½ tons of 'Romish allom made beyond the seas' were landed at Watchet by night from a ship called the John of Falmouth, and how the alum was quickly conveyed into a house near the harbour belonging to William Bickham. Another witness, Roger Lavye of Watchet, spoke of cargoes being landed by Hugh Bickham from two French ships. The alum was hidden under salt and wheat, but he believed 'there was a good quantitey of allom amongst the said wheat and salt'.

Another cargo of more than two tons was brought in by two French ships, and of that consignment 'one thousand, half one hundred and sixteene pounds weight' were delivered to John Somerwell of Dunster, dyer. The witnesses also described how when the two French ships arrived the customs official at Watchet, William Torrington, was invited into an inn kept by Thomas Porter in Watchet where he was 'caused to drincke soe muche Ale, Beere or Wyne as he was not able rightlie and dulia to exercise and discharge the office and dutie of a searcher'. Although Torrington was so drunk that he could not stand, he was held by the arms and carried on board both ships so that he could be said to have done his duty. During the next few days several horse-loads of alum were seen being taken from Watchet to dyers in Taunton, Dunster and elsewhere in the district. A curious twist to this story is provided by the fact that the innkeeper, Thomas Porter, was the principal customs official for Watchet, and William Torrington was his deputy. When Porter was questioned he denied that any alum had been brought into Watchet, but admitted that his superior, Mr Wallis, the customs searcher in overall charge of the ports of Bridgwater, Watchet and Minehead, had warned him about the drunken behaviour of his deputy, William Torrington, 'whereby things doe passe otherwise that they should'. But more than this he refused to say.

1. For an account of alum and its production see C. Singer, *The Earliest Chemical Industry* (1948); and R. B. Turton, *The Alum Farm* (1938).
2. E. M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (1954), 221-2; A. A. Ruddock, 'Italian Merchant and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600', *Southampton Rec. Soc.*,

1951, 81; J. Vanes, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century', *Bristol Rec. Soc.*, XXXI (1979).

3. J. H. Bettey, 'The Production of Alum and Copperas in Southern England', *Textile History*, 13(1), 91-8; W. H. Price, *The English Patents of Monopoly* (1913), 83.
4. P.R.O. E178/4465 'Concerning the Import of Alum Contrary to the King's Proclamation', 1617.
5. From the evidence presented at the Inquiry, it appears that Hugh Bickham was living in Cornwall at this time.

University of Bristol

J. H. BETTEY

243. THE TOLPUDDLE ENCLOSURE. In the otherwise excellent account in Joyce Marlow's *The Tolpuddle Martyrs*, published in 1971, of the six men of Tolpuddle who were transported to Australia in 1834 for administering an unlawful oath contrary to the Unlawful Oaths Act 1797¹ it is stated that their grandfathers were deprived of their rights as villagers by the enclosure of the common fields of Tolpuddle. The author states (p. 23) :-

'.... each villager retained the ancient, apparently inviolable rights to graze his cattle on the common land, to gather brushwood or turf for fuel from the waste land, to collect the gleanings from the community harvest which helped keep his family in bread for the winter months and to own a strip of common land on which he could grow what he chose. He also had some say in the management of the community land which meant he had a voice and status in the village life as a whole.'

This idyllic picture of life in pre-enclosure Tolpuddle is at variance with what actually happened. The villagers as such had no rights of any kind in the common land. Some villagers had rights of common because such rights were attached to the houses in which they lived, but it was decided as long ago as 1607 in *Gateward's Case*² that inhabitants as such cannot claim rights of common. Gleaning, on the other hand, was not confined to the common land, for the poor are allowed to enter and glean upon another's ground after the harvest without being guilty of trespass³. Although not really a right, gleaning was not interfered with by enclosure.

Such was (and still is) the general law relating to the rights of villagers, or rather to the lack of such rights. To ascertain whether a person who could be described as a villager was entitled to benefit from common land it is necessary to look beyond a general statement of law to the evidence relating to that particular person. Fortunately, the evidence relating to the pre-enclosure rights of common at Tolpuddle has survived and is preserved in the Dorset County Record Office. Strictly speaking, this evidence relates not to the village, but to the manor of Tolpuddle. The manor is not coterminous with the parish of Tolpuddle, which also includes the manor of

Southover on the south side of the river.⁴

In the early years of the eighteenth century the lord of the manor of Tolpuddle was Francis Hull, on whose death in 1719 the manor was inherited by his four sisters. The lordship of the manor was further fragmented when one of the sisters, Katherine Rogers of Chard, died leaving two daughters. In 1726 all the shares were purchased by George Pitt of Stratfield Saye. The indenture by which Susannah Young of Chard, one of the daughters of Katherine Rogers, conveyed her one-eighth share to Pitt on 26 March 1726 includes a schedule setting out the names and ages of all the copyholders and leaseholders of the manor⁵. Nothing is said about rights of common, but the court book of the manor contains entries which show that there were such rights, the last being in the record of the court held on 13 October 1790, when the homage presented that the tenants should have liberty to mow the common meadows on the following 25 June.⁶

From George Pitt the lordship of the manor descended to his grandson, William Morton Pitt. It was William Morton Pitt who in 1794 obtained an Act of Parliament for dividing and allotting the open uninclosed and commonable lands and grounds within the manor of Tolpuddle.⁷ By this time the position was very different from what it had been when George Pitt purchased the manor in 1726. There were no longer a large number of manorial tenants, presumably because as their estates for lives fell in, they were not renewed and the land was added to the demesne of the lord of the manor, who then let it to farmers. The award made by the enclosure commissioners shows that there were three open fields — West Field, Middle Field, and New Field — , but that only a few people were entitled to rights of common in them⁸.

The few remaining commoners and the areas of land which were allotted to them in lieu of their rights of common were as follows:-

1. James Pearce for the estate which he held under the heir-at-law or devisee of Sir James Tylney Long Oa. 3r. 32p.
2. Dinah Lawrence for the like estate Ia. Or. 32p.
3. The heir-at-law or devisee (unnamed) of Sir James Tylney Long 3a. 3r. 15p. and Oa. Or. 28p.
4. William Vye as lessee under William Morton Pitt in respect of an estate demised to John Vye, deceased by lease dated 13 November 1738 determinable on the death of Mary Vye and a reversionary lease dated 28 February 1758 determinable on the death of William Vye 2a. Or. 25p.
5. William Vye in respect of an estate demised to John Vye by lease dated 13 February 1758 determinable on the deaths of William Vye and John Vye, his brother 5a. Or. 19p.

6. William Vye in respect of an estate held by copy of court roll dated 1 November 1770 for the lives of William Vye and John Vye and Barbara Vye, their sister 3a. Ir. 37p.

In addition, William Morton Pitt was allotted 476a. or 36p., 1a. 2r. 20p., and 34a. Or. 21p. in respect of his estate in possession and right of soil in the common fields.

The absence of any mention of the grandfathers of any of the 'martyrs' in the award shows that none of them lost any rights by the enclosure, for if there had been any rights for them to lose, they would have received small allotments of land in lieu of those rights.

1. *Rex v. Lovlass* (sic) 8 Carrington & Payne's Reports 596.
2. Coke's Reports 59.
3. W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-9), 212-213. The practice of gleaning was said to have Biblical sanction in *Leviticus* c. 19, v. 9 and c. 23, v. 22.
4. J. Hutchins, *History of Dorset* (3rd edn), ii. 632.
5. D[orset] C[ounty] R[ecord] O[ffice], D 396/T 684.
6. 34 Geo. III, c. 74 (private).
7. D.C.R.O., Award enrolled in Dorset Quarter Sessions Record Book, III. 423.
8. The record of the admission in the court book gives the ages of William Vye (about 36), John Vye (about 28), and Barbara Vye (about 15), and states that the land consisted of 3a. of arable land in the common fields and 1a. of meadow in the common meadow, which had come into the lord's hands on the death of Sarah Hughes. On 16 April 1826 Barbara, by then married to Charles Old, surrendered the allotment of 3a. Ir. 37p., which was then granted to William Brine of Tolpuddle, yeoman for her life.

G. D. SQUIBB

244. THE WINDOW INSCRIPTIONS AT MONTACUTE. This paper contains transcriptions and translations of two latin poems, *Felix cui mentis* and *In Nat: Matris*, which are to be found scratched on the east window of the Library or Great Chamber on the first floor of Montacute House [Pl. 1], and these are followed by my arguments for assigning their authorship to two members of the Phelips family in the third quarter of the 18th cent. A further four lesser graffiti, three in english and one in latin, on the same window are also transcribed and attributed to the author of the first named latin poem. Strangely this collection of interesting and readable inscriptions scratched on a window in an important house, long open to the public, has attracted little attention. My aim, therefore, is to bring them to notice and by recording them to preserve their knowledge.

Felix cui mentis [Pl. 2]

Felix cui mentis Vis & diviniar Ardor

Intima naturae pandere sacra dedit

Qui potuit Causas Scrutari & foedera rerum

Qui Newton tuis gressibus ire Comes

5. Felix ille etiam curas qui novit Agrestes

Qui novit varias quas habet Hortus Opes

& quatenam arboribus novit natura Creandis

Quo potior Surgat Singula quaeque Solo
 & quae felici limo atq' uligine Stagni
 & quae saxosis gaudeat Herba Iugis

10. Quaeque reformidat Boreae penetrabile Frigus
 Quaeque inter Scythicas frondeat usque Nives
 Nec tenuem incuses nec Deditare Laborem
 Hic etiam Curam Maximus Auctor Habet
15. Non illum Caeli tantum inter Lumina quæras
 Est etiam in Minimis quo fateare Deum

1770 Garden of Eden

Translation

Happy is the man with the keen intellect and superhuman eagerness to reveal the innermost secrets of nature; happy is he who can grasp the causes and relationships of matter; who can walk in the footsteps of Newton as his companion. But happy too is the man who cares for his fields; who appreciates all the manifold riches of his garden; who has learnt the art of grafting trees that each may thrive in its favourite soil; and who knows which are the happiest in the rich mud and ooze of the pond; which rejoice on the rocky ridges; which shun the biting cold of the north wind; and which flower high up in the snowy wastes of Scythia. Do not scorn or grumble about this modest toil; it is shared by the greatest gardener of all. Do not look for him only amid the stars of heaven: for it is in the ordinary things of life that you may find God.

Commentary

The opening lines (1-4) of this poem echo a sentiment expressed by two great Classical poets, one Roman the other Greek. The Roman poet is Vergil, whose famous line 'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas' (*Georgic* II, 490) must surely have been at the back of the mind of the writer. This passage has been translated thus by C. Day Lewis:

Lucky is he who can learn the roots of the universe,
 Has mastered all his fears and fate's intransigence
 And the hungry clamour of hell.
 But fortunate too the man who is friends with the country gods —
 Pan and old Sylvanus and the sisterhood of nymphs¹

The Greek is Euripides and the source is a fragment from one of his lost plays, translated by the late Sir Maurice Bowra as follows:

Happy is he who has the knowledge
 That comes from enquiry. No evil he stirs
 For his townsmen, nor gives himself
 To unjust doings,
 But surveys the unageing order
 Of deathless nature, of what it is made,
 And whence, and how.
 In men of this kind the study
 Of base acts never finds a home.²

Lines 5-12 must surely owe their inspiration to *Georgic* II, 177-194 and in addition individual words, clauses and even whole lines suggest a strong familiarity with the same work (hereafter *G.*) generally: thus, *pandere* & *G.* IV, 284; *foedera* & *G.* I, 60; *curas..Agrestes* & *G.* II, 493; line 7 & *G.* II, 178; *uligine* & *G.* II, 184; *saxosis* & *G.* II, 111; *Boreae..frigus* & *G.* I, 93; *auctor* & *G.* I, 27, II, 315; *lumina* & *G.* I, 6.

Varias..Opes is taken *verbatim* from *Martial* X. xlviii. 8. *Reformidat* should read *reformidet* and is probably a slip in inscribing, as it parallels three other subjunctive verbs in surrounding lines.

In Nat: Matris

- Ite procul curae, durum genus, ite dolores,
 Praesentem obducant nubila nulla diem,
 Haec est festivis lux concelebranda choraeis,
 Haec natalitiis charior usque meis,
5. Dicite Io Paeon, cumulate altaria donis,
 Surgit amari aliquid, legitimaeque preces,
 Haec est illa dies pulchri quae conscia partus,
 Emisit formam (chara Maria) tuam,
 Si pietas, si prisca fides, castissima virtus,
10. Ingenium felix, innocuique sales,
 Si prolis studiosa tuae, tutela iuventae
 Pervigil, et nulla sorte labandus amor,
 Si quid habent pulchri haec, vel si quid amabile, jure
 Esto tua haec mater laus, propriumque decus.
15. Quid tibi pro tantis meritis pia Musa rependet,
 O vere Pyllos digna videre dies,
 Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus,
 Ullane te ex animo deleat Hora meo,
 Ante tui quam me capient obliviae cultus,
20. Irruat horriferi Mortis amara quies,
 Et quoties rapido cursu revolvibilis anni,
 Haec redit ante alios ordine laeta dies —
 Sacra tibi, Lucina potens, altaria fument,
 Votivumque pecus sanguine tinget humum.

Paj

Translation

On my Mother's birthday. Begone all anxieties, you harsh species; begone all pain. Let no clouds darken the present day, which, dearer to me by far than my own birthday, must be celebrated with festive dances. Shout three cheers; heap the altar with gifts; something bitter (sic) is at hand and prayers are in order. This is the day which, conscious of its beautiful offspring, put forth (dear Maria) your form. If you have piety; if you have an old-fashioned faith, unspotted virtue, a happy disposition and harmless wit; if you are anxious for your children and watched anxiously over their youth; if your love is indestructible; in short if there is anything beautiful and lovable in these qualities, by right, mama, all the praise and glory must be yours and yours alone. How can the sacred Muse repay you for such splendid virtues, you who deserve to reach a ripe old age? As long as my memory is sound, as long as there is life in my limbs, can you at any time be far from my mind? Before I forget my devotion to you may I be engulfed by the bitter peace of frightening death. And with the rapid course of each revolving year this day returns, by far the most joyful of all. Let the sacred altar smoke specially for you, mighty Lucina, and let the sacrificial ox stain the earth with its blood.

Commentary

Classical allusions are more widely represented in these verses, and words and phrases recall usages found in the works of Ovid, Lucretius, Propertius and Vergil's *Aeneid*, line 17 being taken almost *verbatim* from the latter (iv, 336). *Amari* (line 6) is clearly not the word intended. Mr. J. G. Griffith, Emeritus Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, has suggested ingeniously that the author intended to write *amoeni*, 'delightful', but subconsciously recollected a stock grammar-book example *aliquid amari*, 'something bitter', which got the better of his memory, hand and graver.

Maria (line 9) is Maria Philips nee Wright (1730-1793), wife of Edward senior (1725-1797). The latter writes in his autobiography (SRO DD/PH 224/114): 'On the 27th Day of May 1747 I intermarried with Miss Maria Wright, Daughter of William Wright Esqr of the Exchequer and Ann his Wife, who resided in St Stephens Court near Westminster Hall; which Marriage, I thank God, I had no reason to repent.'

Line 18 is enclosed by a pair of marks which resemble the upper half of a left hand bracket. Their meaning is unclear unless they are intended to represent a question.

Lucina (line 23) was 'the goddess of light or rather the goddess that brings to light, and hence the goddess that presides over the birth of children. Hence she was identified with both Juno and Diana and became a surname to both goddesses' (Sir William Smith, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary*, 1898).

To whom or what the word or letters at the foot refer is not known. The 'j' is undotted.

The remaining four inscriptions, with a translation of the last, follow:

True Greatness of the Soul soars far Above
What the World calls misfortune & affliction
Kind heav'n in Bounty, raises storms about us,
That give Mankind occasion to Exert
And practise virtues, which oft lie conceal'd
In the Smooth Seasons, & the Calms of Life.

1775

To Virtue only & her friends a Friend,
The World besides may blame or may Commend,
All the Malicious Lies the World can raise
Disturb me not, I count its Censure praise.

EP 1770

A Settled Virtue
Makes itself Judge, & satisfied within,
Smiles at that Common Enemy, the World
Defleo Praeteritae Commissa Piacula vitae
Flagrat et Aeterni pectus amore Dei

Translation

I weep for sins committed in my past life and my heart burns with love of eternal God.

When I first studied these poems and graffiti, I saw no obvious clues to the identity of their authors on the various window panes, nor was either poem signed or initialled. At first I imagined that they had all been scratched on the glass one wet afternoon some time in the second half of the 18th cent. by some bored guests or young members of the Phelps family. At first, therefore, I could see little point in spending time on what seemed to be a fruitless search, but in due course I decided to make one attempt to establish the identities of the authors. Accordingly, in July 1978 I wrote to Derek Shorrocks, Somerset County Archivist, to ask if he could supply specimens of the handwriting of the seven children of Edward and Maria Phelps. He replied that for John (1756-82), who died as a young naval lieutenant, nothing had been preserved; that for

Elizabeth (1750-1841), Maria (1757-92) and the Rev. Charles (1765-1834) he could find signatures only; and for the other three children more extensive examples had been preserved: for Rhoda (1759-92) a recipe book kept after her marriage (DD/HN Box 19), for the Rev. William (1755-1806) a certificate among his brother's ordination papers (D/D/Bo) and for Edward (1753-91) a latin composition addressed to his father (DD/PH 224/77). The final paragraph of Mr Shorrocks' letter contained a suggestion that eventually led to the establishment of the identity of one of the authors. I reproduce it in full as a splendid example of serendipity:

'At this stage, by happy coincidence, I left the office to attend the High Sheriff's garden party at Montacute and was able to spend a few minutes in the Library (Great Chamber). As a result and, as you will appreciate, not having examples of handwriting available for comparison, I would like to suggest one further candidate for your consideration in the perhaps less likely person of Edward Phelps sen., father of these children. I fancy that some of the letter forms could be his, although I have not made a study of his hand and it is difficult to carry an image of letter forms in one's mind.'

I later visited the SRO to examine the Phelps MSS mentioned above and others in Edward senior's hand to which Mr Shorrocks had referred me.³ The letter forms in all these documents and also in 'True Greatness of the Soul', 'To Virtue only', 'A Settled Virtue' and *Defleo Praeteritae* are so similar to those in *Felix cui mentis* that it is reasonable to suggest that all of them were the work of one man, Edward Phelps senior. Additional support for this suggestion is provided by the fact that DD/PH 224/79, DD/PH 224/114 and 'To Virtue only' were initialled 'EP'. Another document, not mentioned hitherto, bears the same monogram at its foot. This is a poem prefixed as 'A Reflection collated and adopted April 23d 1788 A^o Aet^s 63'.⁴

They tell me 'tis my Birth-day, and too clear,
Tis but a funeral of a former year:
Year following year steals something every day,
At last they steal us from ourselves away:
Whether Old-age with faint and glimmering ray
Attends to gild the Evening of my day;
Or Death's black flag already be display'd,
To wrap me in the universal shade;
Safe in the hands of One Disposing Pow'r,
Contented I await the awfull hour;
Using the words of the Beloved Son,
In Earth as Heav'n God's blessed Will be done

E:P:

The writing is neat and formal and resembles that of 'True Greatness' more than the others. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that it was written by the same hand. The fact that it was initialled by the only Edward Phelps known to have had his 63rd birthday in April 1788 establishes the identity of the author and fixes that of the author of *Felix cui mentis*.



Plate 1.

The East Front of Montacute House, with the window
of the Great Chamber arrowed.

Felix cui mentis vis & divinior Ardon
Intima naturae ponderare sacra dedit
Qui potuit causas scrutari & foderare rerum
Qui tentare tuis gressibus ire Comes
Felix ille etiam cavis qui novit Agrepta
Qui novit varias quas habet Notus Opes
In quorum arboribus novit natura Genedis
Quo potior surgat singula quoque solo
Quoque felix limo atque uligine stagni
Qua saxosis gaudeat Herba jugis
Quoque reformidat Boreo penetrabile Trigus
Quoque inter Scythicas frondeat usque rivus
Nec tenuem incertas nec Dignare Laborem
Hic etiam sacrae maximus Auctor Habet
Non illum soli tantum inter Lumina queras
Est etiam ea minimis quo fateare Deum

1770

Plate 2.

The text of *Felix Cui Mentis*, photographed at night with a ring flash.
Compare the handwriting of plates 3 and 4.

private ^{ness} convinced in a close & fair investigation I might fairly have
thoroughly convinced in a close & fair investigation I might fairly have
carried by two to one against either of my competitors. Consequently Mr
Case & to order. Devotion were elected and there was much grumbling
and dissimulation amongst my friends on the occasion, not without
some obloquy & dislike of my conduct, but I considered all this entirely
to arise from disappointment & regret. In the 21st Day of October
Miss Abner eldest daughter of my friend & neighbour was married to
Doctor. Watson a young physician of Devon. On 22 of November, I
took the Parsonage House at Calstock for the purpose of running
myself in hunting being quit of the Duty of Attending, & absent.
On the 20th of December I received a most extraordinary letter
from Mr. Mowbray concerning Edward to whom in my answer I briefly
replied. I am: he being of full age & having had little or nothing to do
in the affair between them; However in the event it proved the
Cause & Means of entirely breaking of All Intimacy & every kind
of intercourse between the Families of Males Park & Montacute house.

781

11 of January I lost a perfect friend & sensible neighbour in the Death of Mr
William Cole of Marple who was a general ~~off~~ but particularly so to
the Hundred of Marple = 28th of Jan^y. I received an account of the Death of
my Friend & Schoolfellow Mr. B. Harry Fisher of Hamb. I was not in
England very unexpectedly. Just as his Affairs were settled & he was about
to have returned to his living = But out for Calstock Feb^y 13th with my
family James Mowbray Esq. & April 22nd returned to Montacute well pleased
with my Spring Diversion. = Apr. 22nd I lost my much regretted partner
John in the High-Fishery who died there of the Country Fever. He was

Quanta sim Laetitia affectus rebus tuis tam feliciter
profectis facilius existimas quam ego scribam. Cum
et omnia cessata accidisse gaudeo, tum ~~Tam~~ ^{Tunc} ~~Jeffrium~~ ^{Amherst}
Amherst gratulor eo quod et ~~Tam~~ ^{Tunc} sua et ecclesia
Sarniensi Decori & ornamento optime consuluisse.
Mea vota, mei quantuli unguis ^{sic} coratus Bonorum
vela prosperis implere student flatibus. Indet, Niget
dicere quam fragili (sed ita est seculum) Boni homines, et
honesti navigant remigio.

Tu qui pro consuetudine tua, aliorum felici-
tatem non a te alienam putas, ~~non~~ ^{non} ~~audere~~ ^{audere} indignaris
filium meum Johannem bene et prospere agere, eo
magis quod tuis consiliis ~~inveniam~~ ^{inveniam} - et tua ope non
minus indignum easisse senties.

~~Et~~ ^{Et} tibi vel Conjugi contingat ~~hanc regionem~~ ^{hanc regionem}
visere. ~~Ab~~ ^{Ab} ~~hanc~~ ^{hanc} nostro quid amor quid amicitia, ~~potest~~
vivere non difficile erit difficile.

Viva et Vale vir Reverende

Ita vovet

tibi devotissimus

J. P.

Ex Aditu Montacubanis Sc.
15 Nov 1712

Vir Reverende

Quanta sim Laetitia affectus cognitis tuis rebus tam feliciter adfectis
facilius est tibi existimare quam mihi scribere. Cum hac accipere
gaudio tum Jeffrium Amherst Congratulor eo quod honori suo et
ecclesia Guerrigiana honori ipsam tam abunde consuluisse. Mea
vota Mei quantuli sint Coratus, prosperis Bonorum Vela flatibus
aspirare student; Indet, Niget dicere quam fragili navigant
remigio. — Tu qui pro consuetudine tua aliorum felicitatem tuam
anque Arbitraris es, filium meum Johannem bene et prospere agere
audire non indignaris, eo magis quod tuis Consiliis & Ope non indignum
omino putasse. — Et tibi vel tua Conjugi has Oros in Animo est adire
Ab hanc nostro & Amorem & Amicitiam usque Certas res invenire
Valeas Vir Reverende. Meis & meorum Votis affectus J.P.

Montacuta Juxta. D. Nov.

No reference has yet been made to the most striking similarities in the letter forms of the graffiti attributed to Edward senior. When I showed photographs of all the inscriptions to Mr Shorrocks, he drew my attention to the writer's tendency 'to begin straight line capitals, F, H, I/J with an elaborate ear' and to 'similarities in the forms of the capitals C and D, and the ampersand.' The tendency to write vowels and diphthongs in the concavity of the capital C and the recurved tail of the ampersand are very characteristic; as is that of the upper and lower loops of the small s to assume the shape of a closed oval. Striking similarities can also be seen in the forms of the small b, d, e, f and r.

Thus we can be almost certain that all the inscriptions on this window, except *In Nat: Matris*, were the work of Edward senior. Many men and women in the 18th cent. read and wrote latin and would not have thought his behaviour eccentric, but while we may wonder why he spent some of his leisure committing his thoughts to such a fragile medium and in a long dead language, this was clearly a pastime shared by the family. For, in addition to the letter which he himself wrote to an unnamed clergyman [Pl. 4 and n3], we know that his son, Edward, wrote a letter to him in latin c. 1770 (DD/PH 222/77), which his wife, Maria, translated and wrote out herself (DD/PH 224/78). Moreover, it is possible that he was taught at Westminster by Vincent Bourne, well known in his day as a latin poet.⁵ The fact that the author of *Felix cui mentis* drew heavily on the works of such poets as Vergil and Martial indicates that he was familiar with the classics.⁶

There is no reason why there should be any connection between the author of *Felix cui mentis* and that of *In Nat: Matris*. However it is almost certain that the latter was composed and written by Edward Phelips junior, the son of the author of *Felix cui mentis*. This suggestion is based on a comparison of the letter forms in the poem and those in the latin letter to his father referred to above. Furthermore, on line 8 of *In Nat: Matris* the author refers to his mother Maria, who can scarcely be anyone other than Maria Phelips (née Wright).

We know very little about Edward junior's life. His father tells us in his autobiography that he was born on 29 April 1753, attended Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, was called to the Bar, 'was chosen one of the Representatives' in 1784 and 'afterwards Intermarried with Elizabeth Lockyer'. He died in 1791, without issue. A portrait of him also hangs at Montacute. The curious reader would surely like to know more about any well educated adult son given to expressing himself so emotionally on the occasion of his mother's birthday! My interest in his personality was aroused after reading about an incident that took place in December 1780. According to his

father's autobiography:

'On the 20th of December I received a Most Extraordinary Letter from Mr Horner Concerning Edward to whom in my Answer I entirely referred him: he being of full age & I having had little or Nothing to do in the Affair between them; However in the Event it proved the Cause & Means of Entirely breaking of All Intimicacy & every kind of intercourse between the Familys of Mells Park & Montacute house.' [Pl. 3]

The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, who has the correspondence in his care, very kindly answered the riddle.⁷

'The cause of the rupture between the two families was his failure to fulfil a promise — or at least some sort of commitment — to marry Thomas Horner's daughter Elizabeth Ann. It seems to have been a fairly long standing one. By 1778 financial arrangements had been agreed and there is a letter to her of some interest dated October (probably 1780) which could be regarded as still honouring the commitment. By December 1780 he had become evasive and there follow the letters from Thomas Horner seeking confirmation — or explanation — of his intentions.'

Elizabeth Ann Horner's life and fortunes are perhaps not strictly relevant to this paper. However it is proper to record that she lived a long and satisfactory life. She was born in 1759 or 1760 and died in 1843. This youthful disappointment did not blight her life and in due course she married twice. Her first husband was Henry Hippisley Coxe Esq.; her second was Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart.⁸

At the outset Mr Shorrocks cautioned me that we were attempting to compare two different representations — a flowing pen on paper with a more laborious scratching on glass and that the writers might be unknown outsiders, whose handwriting is not represented in the Phelps archives. However we both agree that there are very good grounds for believing that the home archives in this case contain the answers to the questions "Who did it?"

1. *The Georgics of Virgil* (1957), pp. 50-51.
2. *The Greek Experience* (1973), pp. 196-97. It is Fragment 910 in Nauck's *Euripidis Perditurum Tragoediarum Fragmenta* (2nd ed.), still the standard reference. Mrs M. E. Hamilton, one of the Guides at Montacute, remarkably recalled another version which she had once read in a magazine and had copied out and I am obliged to her. It runs:

Happy the man whose lot is to know
The secrets of the earth.
He hastens not to work
His fellows hurt by unjust deeds
But with rapt admiration
Contemplates immortal
Nature's ageless Harmony
And how and when her order came to be.

3. His autobiography [see Pl. 3 for extract] and an earlier draft (DD/PH 224/114 and 229/23 (b) respectively) and two drafts of a letter in latin written by him in 1772 to a clergyman who had apparently received preferment in Guernsey (DD/PH 224/79 and Pl. 4).
4. Written in Vol. I of the family Bible kept in the Great Chamber at Montacute.
5. 'The Latin Poetry of Vincent Bourne', M. Storey in *The Latin Poetry of English Poets*, ed. Binns (1974), pp. 121-149.

6. See Commentary to *Felix cui mentis* above.
7. Letters to the writer, 28 Oct. 1980 and 22 Feb. 1981.
8. Confusingly, in spite of the similarity of their names and the fact that they both lived in succession at Ston Easton Park as her husbands, they were not related.
9. This paper could not have been written without considerable help and encouragement from others. It gives me great pleasure, therefore, to thank Wing-Commander D. H. Wood, the National Trust's Administrator at Montacute, who gave me permission to publish these inscriptions and welcomed me there on many occasions, in and out of season; Squadron Leader W. D. Brunger, his successor; Mr D. M. M. Shorrocks, Somerset County Archivist; the Right Hon. the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, PC; Mr J. G. Griffith, Emeritus Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and Mr John Sparrow, OBE, formerly Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. Any errors in the text are my responsibility, but there would have been more had not my draft been minutely scrutinised by Mr Griffith and Mr Sparrow. Finally, my many visits to Montacute were enriched by the voluntary Guides, who showed great interest in my work and made many helpful suggestions.

University of Bristol

JONATHAN MUSGRAVE

245. THE WINCANTON WORKHOUSE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. With the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, the Elizabethan parochial system of poor relief was swept away. In its place the framers of the Act envisaged bureaucratic uniformity and conformity based upon the Union, each with its own Workhouse dedicated to rigid discipline and labour.¹ The rest of the century was to reveal that this was a theoretical principle as, once the new system had been established, local variation became an important element. The Wincanton Board of Guardians jealously defended their local autonomy and frequently deviated from the required pattern. Their actions, however, were rarely so pronounced that they led to open conflict with the central authority. Local conditions, traditions and customs influenced their attitude to their treatment of poverty.²

It was inevitable that a system which altered so profoundly the basis of poor relief would create opposition. In the Wincanton Union such opposition was minimal when compared with other areas of the country, but it did nevertheless exist in various forms. One category of opposition came from the poor themselves, but it was never on a large scale and consisted of isolated acts rather than a concerted, organized attack upon the whole system. There was no attempt to cooperate with discontented elements in other Unions or other parts of this or neighbouring counties. The opportunities for such cooperation were there, as Chartism spread through the depressed manufacturing towns of Somerset and Wiltshire in 1839, with unrest reported from Frome, Bath, Trowbridge, Radstock, Bristol, Bradford and Westbury.³

As the majority of the recipients of poor relief were illiterate or semi-literate, some of the opposition to the new system was expressed in physical terms with acts of incendiarism, assaults

on Union officials, the use of threats, attacks on Guardians' property and damage within the workhouse. Twice the workhouse was reported to be in a state of 'mutiny', but in each case it was less a general protest against the system than an attack upon a specific grievance.⁴ There were, however, literate paupers who expressed their grievances to the central authority in writing. Although few in number their letters vividly illustrate many aspects of poor relief and treatment of the poor.

In 1850 Ann Tulk threw light upon the inadequate pittance paid as outdoor relief, and added some observations upon her local Guardian.⁵

Galhampton March 16 1850

Gentlemen,

I have taken the liberty and opportunity of writing to you concerning my affair and condition of cruelty and severity of the Guardians and Relieving Officer of our Parish to me. I am a poor feeble woman of 72 years of age, not able to do any work, & sometimes scarcely able to get out of doors & I have but 1/6 & a loaf of bread per week to keep me & lodging 6d per week to pay out of that which is but a poor little for a woman to live on while others in my state or condition have 2s and a loaf per week which I consider to be a very cruel and severe thing to me of my age and condition our Guardian Farmer Thomas Gifford of North Cadbury stoped my pay for eight weeks & as for our Guardian he have been in this office ever since the new poor laws took place as I suppose he is fond of the office which I am informed that ought to be a fresh one chosen every year, but he being a cruel and severe man to poor Soul's they let him remain in that office as I suppose no other do covert or want the office so now a poor soul may lie and die for what they care about them as I suppose that is what they want to get rid of us if they can out of this world ...

Ann Tulk.

The diet and medical care were two other areas rich with complaints.⁶

Union House,
Wincanton.
November 4th 1872

Sir,

I have written to inform you that the meat that we get hear is not wholesome to eat and it is no good to make any complaint to the matron as the Master and there is a great deal of difficulty made hear between some of the inmates the mistress and the Master give them the best of everything to live with and some of us sometimes have not our sufficiency Sir and I have written to ask you if it is allowed by your wish Sir and I want to know if there is not paid for one inmate as there is for another and the reason that I am in workhouse is for my affliction I am afflicted with the fits but I am not treated as if I am afflicted and some of the women that is hear with children is treated a great deal better than I am

I remain
Your Obedient
Servant Jane Sergeant

Wincanton March 13 1873

Dear Sir

I write these few lines to inform you that the management of Wincanton Union I have been in here two years with a bad eye and neck the complaint That I am making as a bout The doctor if I ask him for any Medicine he only make Sport of me if the Master see me in The open air he says that is no place for you why should we poor men be treated in This manner worses then a dog we cannot goes out for a day when we like I remain Yours G Could

John Gould, in a letter received by the central board on 30 May 1881, complained that he had been punished by being discharged

from the Infirmary and by sending me over with the able bodyed men where I am compeld to crack stones and where I get scarcely any thing to eat but dry bread and a few potatoes and nothing else to drink but a drop of cold water.

Fear of being sent to the workhouse was apparent in the letters of some old people.⁷

Honnard Gentlman of the Bord Guardians,

I feel it a Becoming Dewty of us to make my case nown unto you Gentlman. I John Sheares and Rebecca Shears of the Parish of Bruton Wincanton Union in County of Somerset for this last 6 years have Racived from the Parish of Bruton 2. 4 Pounds loves and now at prest Gentlman Theay have Stopped it our agde Gentlman is John Shears 71 years of adge Rebeca Shears Adge is 69 years Gentlman Wee ar not in power able to Suport our Selfes wee wish not to Go to the Union

Will it Pleas you Geatlman So to order for to Poore Pepol as we ar the Short time that we have to Tarie hear to have Sorm Suport for our Frail Boody and and wee well do the Best wee can if you Pleas Gentlman Be a frind to us and Will Feal it our Bounding Dewty to Remain your humble and obeadient Servants

John Rebecca Shears
Bruton Wincanton Union

The most persistent criticism of practically every aspect of workhouse life came from Richard Lewis, a blind pauper, who bombarded the Local Government Board with letters in the 1880s and 1890s. He undoubtedly enlivened the workhouse at the end of the nineteenth century and on one occasion, when he was sentenced in the local court to 21 days hard labour, he declared,

You know there is no tribunal to whom a pauper can appeal; but the time will come when you will have to answer for your wicked cruelty to a tribunal. I do not care for you and I would not flinch if you ordered my being burnt in the Market Place.⁸

His most interesting protest, however, was the following poem which was enclosed with a letter in 1884. It reveals not only everyday life in the workhouse, but also pauper attitudes to administrators of the system.⁹

Come listen ye men, that labour for nought,
For a man that did so was bitterly taught,
When his labour was ended his employer did say,
Go to the union for there you may stay.

Then away to the guardians to seek relief,
But alas when he gets there they add to his grief,
They tell him that now, his labour is done
To the union workhouse he must surely come.

Then cries the old man in wild despair,
Is there no one here who pities my grey hair,
Will you not allow me a half a crown each week,
That with that wife myself I may keep.

Then the kindhearted clerk who is too weel paid,
Speaking for the board says we cant we are afraid
For if we allow it you'll spend it on beer
So we'll do no such thing but keep you in here.

Then He's locked up in the receiving ward,
Parted from all friends surely his fate is hard,
And there he is kept 3 nights and 3 days,
That God would take him, he earnestly prays.

Then the union doctor at the end of that time,
Goes to visit him and says you do find
Anything the matter with your flesh or your bones,
And Dont you think you could crack a few stones.

So in a close yard he is safely locked,
Whilst cracking the stones on an iron block,
And if he complains, it will sure to be in vain,
For the master will only laugh at his pain.

And if with his food, he ever finds fault
He'll find that the master will not long halt
But catch him hold quick to push him out of door
Saying you idle old scamp you won't get no more.

And that's how he ends his miserable life,
When God calls him away from that place of strife
And takes him, to his happy bright home above,
For ever to dwell with the angels of love.

But, listen thou tyrant, though master thou be.
Far away thou shalt be called, thy judge to see.
And he will require of thee thy soul.
That he may send it to eternal Woe.

Then howl, ye rich, ye that devour the poor,
And the widows rights, for yourselves do procure,
But the widow with children ye send to the gaol
And leave them in sorrow, their fate to bewail.

Now hearken, ye tyrants, ye guardians and squires,
God hath reserved for you a ceaseless fire,
Companions for the devil and his angels to be
Through the countless ages, of eternity.

Psychologically rather than physically the workhouse system made its mark, for it was to a certain extent irrelevant whether the stories about the Workhouse were true or not: what was important was that many poor believed they were. Countless small examples served to convince the poor that workhouses were places to be avoided, except as a last resort. But as that last resort they entered the Wincanton Workhouse rather than starve outside. Not all became institutionalized; some resisted the depersonalizing rituals which were designed to reduce individuality.

1. *The Poor Law Report of 1834*, ed. S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland (1974), esp. pp. 335, 338, 375, 378 and 430.
2. For a detailed examination of the Wincanton Union see P.W. Randell, 'Poor Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union, 1834-1900', unpubl. M.Litt. thesis, Lancaster University, 1983.
3. P.R.O. HO 41/13, Disturbance Book, vol.13, 1837-9, p.370; HO 40/47, Letters, March to December 1839, ff. 848-1112.
4. *Report from the Select Committee on the Continuance of the Poor Law, 1838*, App 2, pp. 446-7; P.R.O., *Parliamentary Papers*, 1837-8, XVIII, pt. III, MH 12/10567, Letter from Joseph Cox to the Poor Law Board, 22 May 1850; *Sherborne, Dorchester and Taunton Journal*, 11 Dec 1834; *Western Flying Post*, 16 and 24 May, 6 June and 15 Aug. 1836; *ibid.*, 29 Feb. 1836; SRO, Minute Books of Wincanton Guardians, D/G WN 8a/4, 10 Nov. 1841, 10 Feb. 841; P.R.O., MH 12/10576, Letter from David Jones to Local Government Board, 11 July 1877.
5. P.R.O., MH 12/10567, Letter from Ann Tulk to P.L.B., 16 March 1850.
6. P.R.O., MH 12/10573, Letter from Jane Sergeant to L.G.B., 4 Nov. 1872; Letter from G. Gould to Do. 13 March 1873; Letter from J. Gould to Do., 30 May 1881.
7. P.R.O. MH 12/10569, Letter from John Shears to P.L.B., 22 May 1858.
8. *Western Gazette*, 1 Nov. 1889.
9. P.R.O., MH 12/10577, Letter from Richard Lewis to L.G.B., undated but with reference 41776/84.

Lancaster

P.W. Randell

NOTES

246. TRYPHENA GROVE. I am grateful to Sophia Rawlins for her demonstration that the published date for the death of Lady Hoghton (formerly Lady Russell) in 1736 as 'December 1' is an error and should be 'September 1'. This correction reconciles the death at Reading with the burial at Donhead St Andrew on September 12.

What continues to puzzle me is why Lady Hoghton was entered in the burial register as 'Lady Russell' and indeed why she was buried at Donhead at all. She was not a Grove — a step-daughter only of Robert Grove, who had been dead more than forty years. She had spent only five years of her life at Donhead and her sole link with the place had ended when her mother died in 1726. I can only hazard a guess that, during her first marriage — to Lord James Russell, she recorded her wish to be buried with her mother and perhaps made a positive arrangement to that effect as Lady Russell.

Incidentally there appears to be a slip of the pen in Sophia Rawlins's reference to 'Tryphena Lloyd's sister, Elizabeth'; it should surely read 'Tryphena Lloyd's *daughter*, Elizabeth'.

DESMOND HAWKINS

(We accept responsibility: Elizabeth was, of course, Tryphena Lloyd's daughter — Dorset Ed.)

247. DORSET WINDMILLS. In my article in *SDNQ*, March 1980, I listed 26 known or probable windmill sites in Dorset, together with a further 5 possible locations. Desmond Hawkins (*SDNQ*, September 1980) has suggested that another probable windmill site is shown on Thomas Aldwell's 1618 map of Cranborne Chase at map reference ST 985153. This can be numbered '32' if we follow the format of my 1980 notes. It is now possible to add 3 more sites to the 'known or probable' category, two in the Poole area and one at Winterborne Whitechurch.

The Simmons papers on wind and watermills in the Science Museum Library¹ contain some brief notes on Dorset windmill sites, including valuable references to two further windmills in the Poole area which were not mentioned in my notes. Both references are transcriptions of eighteenth century fire insurance valuations² and are of particular interest on three counts: they appear to refer to wooden smock mills, whereas previously identified Dorset windmills seem to have been post or stone tower mills; they are the first references to be discovered to windmills in Dorset for industrial use rather than corn-grinding; and they are also the first references to provide some evidence as to the cost of Dorset windmills. These extracts are given in full below.

The most likely use of the windmills in the Poole area would have been for the preparation of hemp for spinning in a bolling or balling mill. The operation of balling mills at this time in the Bridport area, the main centre of the hemp and flax industries in the county, is described by Stevenson:

*'Balling mills, or more properly, bawling mills, so called from the noise they make, are employed to separate the fibres of the hemp, which is laid in hollows, and struck repeatedly by heavy pieces of timber (called stampers, rounded at the end) which are lifted by mill-work and descend by their own weight; a boy being employed to turn the hemp over in the interval between each stroke.'*³

Balling mills in Bridport were powered by water but there are examples of windmills being used for a variety of industrial purposes at this time, when suitable water-power sites were unavailable.⁴

The value of the Poole mills — £200 to £300 — seems to indicate that they were fairly small when compared to that of others constructed at this time.⁵

The reference to a windmill site at Winterborne Whitechurch

is similar to many in my 1980 article. The windmill had disappeared by 1840, when the tithe documents were produced, and the field name doubtless recalls a mill operating for grist purposes in the medieval or early modern period.

33. **Poole**

'16 June 1791: Lawrance Tullock and John Bunn, of Poole in Dorset, Twine Spinners.

On their dwelling house and offices adjoining situated as aforesaid brick and tiled £200. Long Spinning House and Counting House adjoining with loft over near £350.

Utensils and stock £430.

Wind Millhouse in West Butts near, Timber, £200. Mill and going gears therein £100. Utensils and stock therein £350.'

(Sun Fire Insurance Policy No. 584591 (v 376).)

One of the maps (Map E) which are part of the Great Canford Enclosure Award of 1822, in the Dorset Record Office, includes the area near the present West Butts Street in Poole and the accompanying award shows John Bishop Bunn as owner of lands around West Butts Green (approx. SZ 008907). No windmill is shown, but one of the buildings has the distinctive shape of a twine walk and it is assumed that this is the site of this mill.

34. **Near Poole**

'7 June 1793: Sir John Webb, Baronet. On a Windmill for Beating Hemp, timber built, situate near Poole in the Co. of Dorset £200.'

(Royal Exchange Fire Insurance Policy No. 134140)

It has not been possible to locate this mill site.

35. **Winterborne Whitechurch**

Vol. II of A D Mills Place-names of Dorset (1980) includes a reference to 'Windmill Field' in the Winterborne Whitechurch Tithe Award. The Tithe Map shows the field (No. 188) to be to the south of the village, to the east of the A354 Blandford road at approx. SY 836992.

1. See SDNQ XXX part 302 pp. 147-148 for a note on the Simmons Papers. I am grateful to Dr J H P Pafford for drawing my attention to this.

2. See SDNQ XXX part 303 pp. 171-172 for details of insurance valuations of textile firms in Dorset and Somerset.

3. William Stevenson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dorset*, 1812, p.293.

4. Jennifer Tann, *The Development of the Factory*, 1970, p.47.

5. G N von Tunzelmann, *Steam Power and British Industrialization to 1860*, 1978, pp. 123-124.

The figures £200-£300 are given as the cost of erecting a windmill in Scotland in 1797. The powerful Union Mill at Cranbrook in Kent is said to have cost £3500 in 1814.

M. R. BONE

248. MONMOUTH MARE (SDNQ XXX, 455). In 1979 I transcribed a letter from Edward Hill, steward to Margaret, Dowager Countess of Orrery, recounting how the woodmen had discovered a mare abandoned by one of the Monmouth rebels on her Marston Bigot estate. Hill claimed her as a stray, but was apprehensive that the Militia might seize her. This letter is among the Orrery papers in the National Library of Ireland. It is intriguing that the sequel to this tale has now turned up in

another letter from Edward Hill, not, in Dublin, but among the Orrery papers at Petworth House in Sussex. The letter (MS. 13225 (15)) is dated 1 March 1686:

'I am sorrowe (*sic*) to tell you', writes Hill, 'the mare seized (upon Monmouthes route) is since dead, I was told she was glanderly when tooke up, which others (as well as myselfe) thought ye winter runing would have cleared, but did not, and thereof she dyed'.

An earlier letter (MS. 13225 (13)) from Hill to Lady Orrery (4 July 1685) is of rather more importance:

'I knowe not (as tymes are) when I shalbe in London & feare not this [legal] Terme; yet I will myselfe there conceaveinge it a safer place then where I am [Frome], for there hath beene this week in Froome two different Armies, the one deemed to consist of aboute 10000; ye Other 15000; and where such Armies March greate Oppressions & spoyles are unavoydably made, and this County is like to be the seate of warr, and if soe you may well conclude little proffitt can be made of lands heare, nor will [*word illegible*] tennts. (as they say) pay what Rents are due; and this Somers drought thereabouts a death of Cattle. I have yet receaved none of the wood money, nor knowe I howe to return it if I had it; and to kepe it by me I dare not; I have had considerable losse alreddy, yet spedd better than some others'

Frome

MICHAEL McGARVIE

QUERIES

249. WARRE SWORD. Our subscriber, Miss Jean M. Edwards of 9 Greville Park Ave., Ashted, Surrey, asks if anyone knows of the present whereabouts of this sword, reputedly taken from John of France by Johann la Warre at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, which remained at Hestercombe until the death of Miss E. M. T. Warre in 1872. According to a note in *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* 49 (1903), pp. 190-91, it was among the heirlooms drawn for by lots after her death by the descendants of the Revd Thomas Eagles [Miss Warre's uncle by marriage, *Som. Ed.*]. The sword fell to a Mr Guppy who is believed to have taken the surname Warre subsequently and may be (or may be connected with) the Mr C. Bampfylde Warre who in 1903 was living at 19 Brunswick Place, Hove, Brighton.

250. A BLAKE PORTRAIT. C. D. Curtis in his biography of Robert Blake (1934) refers to a portrait of Blake in the possession of the Revd. D. R. Pelly of Wincanton. Information about its subsequent history and present whereabouts would be welcomed by Peter Parnwell, Blue Haze on Camel Hill, Queen Camel, Yeovil. [The Revd Mr Pelly died at Wyke Champflower on 14 March 1943. An obituary appeared in *The Times* of 16 March and a notice a week later in the *Western Gazette*. His

widow died on 6 Oct. 1952. He and his family (he left a son and grandsons, the latter born 1938 and 1941) can be found in Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* under Pelly, Bart. *Som. Ed.*]

251. ANN FRANCIS, wife of Henry Francis of Compton Dando, died 27 April 1895 in Bath, aged 53. She left successive life interests in her property to her husband (d. 1927) and John Taylor of Camden Town (d. 1932), the property to be sold thereafter for the benefit of the latter's children. Arabella Boyes of Malton, Yorks., widow, and William Jerome Boyes of Westbourne Terrace, London, were named as trustees. Information on Ann's maiden name and relationship to John Taylor and possibly to Arabella and W. J. Boyes is sought by our subscriber Mrs G. F. Johnson, School House, Chedington, Beaminster, John Taylor's grand-daughter.

252. YETMINSTER CLERICAL SOCIETY. This society was inaugurated by the Reverend George Southwell, Vicar of Yetminster, in July, 1861, and, with a later change of name to the Vale of Blackmore Clerical Society, existed in 1922. Our correspondent, E. Neilson, 22 Clover Mead, Yetminster, would appreciate any further information.

253. BLENNERHASSETT J. Rector of Ryme Intrinseca in 1830. Any information to E. Neilson, 22 Clover Mead, Yetminster.

254. PARTRIDGE. Penelope Partridge, christened at St. John, Yeovil, 5 Feb 1734/5, presumed daughter of William Partridge, Curate in Yeovil, 1730-33, who later married Sealy Poole, St John, Yeovil, 15 June 1756. Any further information to Pamela Shields, 2907 Tatla Place, Coquitlam, B.C., V3C 4W8, Canada.

255. TELEGRAPH SIGNALS. It is generally believed that during the Napoleonic wars a line of telegraph stations linked the West coast to London, and semaphore messages could transmit information rapidly. P. N. Dawe, Rosehill Flat, 30 West Hill, Budleigh Salterton, would appreciate information on hill sites, and the possibility of semaphore by mechanical arms, or hand-flags, as the means of communication.

256. ONESIPHORUS (*SDNQ*, XXXI, 37, 72). Two Dorset clergymen of the 17th and early 18th cents. surnamed Toup prompted a query about this forename. Our subscriber, Miss T. M. Munckton, has found a third Onesiphorous Toope, who ought surely to have some connection with them. If so, he must have come down in the world, for this O. was serving as a soldier in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards and his existence is known only because his wife, Alice, was found begging and sleeping

rough in Harrow. She was returned as a vagrant on a pass to Taunton, her husband's alleged birthplace. This can be verified by reference to the registers of Taunton St. Mary, which record his baptism as the son of (another) Onesiphorus and Rebecca (née Lock) on 19 Dec. 1714 and his parents' marriage on 4 Oct. 1711.

BOOK REVIEWS

257. Somerset and South Avon Vernacular Building Research Group, *SOMERSET VILLAGES The Vernacular Buildings of WEST and MIDDLE CHINNOCK* (Press-tige Office Services, Crewkerne, 1984, Pp. 64, 9 maps. £3.75 + 70p., p. & p., from The Old Bakery, Swan Hill, Haselbury Plucknett, Crewkerne) This active little group's second study follows hard on the heels of its first, *Long Load and Knole, Long Sutton*, and develops the formula there established of a mixed architectural and historical approach. It has made a wise choice of associated villages which are handily sited 2mls. south of Ham Hill and themselves possess quarries of hamstone within their boundaries, which provide sufficient examples of simple and unpretentious old houses to make them worthy objects for a vernacular architecture study. They are blessed also with substantial documentary sources from the 15th cent. in the Earl of Ilchester's MSS in the Dorset RO.

A detailed investigation of 22 houses, all built before 1850, forms the core of the work; common structural features are discussed and the houses individually described in historical sequence and assigned to their basic plan types. Ten are extensively illustrated with plans, elevations and sections and drawings of 21 are interspersed throughout the text. By way of counterpoint, surrounding chapters sketch in the historical background and survey the farming and flax industries and their associated buildings. Maps of the village streets provide analyses of population density and occupational use and locate not only the houses surveyed, but also those demolished or built since 1840.

The Group has not been satisfied simply to repeat the earlier pattern: at every stage from preparation to final presentation there have been developments and improvements. All that one can suggest for their next is that a glossary of architectural terms might be added for the layperson's benefit and, as they admit, a more detailed investigation of documentary sources might help to answer dating and constructional problems. But, arguably, this should be left to the Chinnock historians and, if so, their task will be immeasurably eased by this study, which has been published with the help of a generous grant from the Maltwood Trust.

D.M.M.S.

258. David Young, *Somerset in the Old Days* (Bossiney Books, 1984. Pp.120 + 143 illustrations, £3.50). The author of this collection of photographs and postcards, the well-known Television South West's roving architect, has made an unusual and varied selection of late Victorian and early 20th Century views and personalities in the county. After a pleasantly written introduction, he provides detailed captions with informative comments on many aspects of social life in the more recent past. A book not to be missed by lovers of Somerset.

L.C.H.

259. Patricia Pearce, *Where the cider apples grow: the story of Shepton Beauchamp* (1984. Pp.152 + 120 illustrations. £7.50, obtainable from the author, Penber Cottage, Love Lane, Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset) Miss Pearce's book is not a village history but an evocation of its community life over the last one hundred years, copiously illustrated with lengthy extracts from parish records, and many photographs of village personalities and scenes. It fulfills the author's intention of preserving the recollections of many Shepton people both living and dead, in an age of rapidly changing local conditions.

L.C.H.

260. B. Putnam, *Roman Dorset* (Dovecote Press, 1984, Pp. 95 + 3 maps, 42 illus. £4.95) The author is widely acknowledged to be an authority on Roman Dorset, and it is very pleasing to see that he has produced this book as an introduction for the general reader. The chapters are concise and well-written and cover every significant aspect of the Roman period. The chapter plan is fundamentally chronological, beginning with the Durotriges and ending with the collapse of Roman rule, but, between these headings, dealing with the main themes important in the Roman period: Government, Towns, Roads, Villas, the Countryside, Religion, Trade and Industry. Each chapter presents a carefully edited selection of archaeological evidence, and this, perhaps, is the greatest strength of the book, for the material is never irrelevant or trivial, and the reader is drawn along inexorably and effortlessly to the acceptance of established conclusions. Clearly, only an author with a profound knowledge of the evidence, and the keen sensitivity of an experienced teacher, could have presented such a straightforward and carefully prepared account. The simplicity of the design of the text does not, to the intelligent reader, hide the scholarship.

The illustrations are carefully and deliberately chosen, and the strikingly effective drawings of the late Alan Sorrell are particularly apt in a book which so clearly has the general

reader in mind. I would recommend this book to readers of all ages.

G.J.D.

261. *Ilchester and District Occasional Papers.*

We have received the following papers published by the Toucan Press, 1984, and obtainable from J. Stevens Cox, Mount Durand, St Peter Port, Guernsey, C.I. Price not stated.

- No. 51 Ilchester and Northover Tithe Apportionment, 1838 (Illus.)
- No. 52 Whitehall Hospital, Nunnery and Free Chapel, 12th-18th C., by Thomas Hugo, 1867 (Illus.)
- No. 53 Suppression of Sock Dennis Rectory, 1883 (Illus.)
- No. 54 The Bird Trappers of Wessex by J. Stevens Cox, 1984 (Illus.)

L.C.H.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Editors wish to acknowledge a grant from the Publications Committee of the University of Bristol to meet the full cost of the four illustrations to Dr Musgrave's article, 'The Window Inscriptions at Montacute', which appears in this issue.

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