

NOTES & QUERIES

FOR

SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

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*16 Melcombe Avenue, Weymouth, Dorset DT4 7TH**"Attempt the end, and never stand to doubt;
Nothing's so hard, but search will find it out".*

HERRICK.

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284. WILLIAM BELET: A SERGEANT OF THE KINGS RETINUE? A loosely-worded footnote in the most recent volume of the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* requires clarification and expansion.¹ In a paper on the Belet family it is suggested that William Belet was the "most well-off" sergeant in Domesday Dorset.² In terms of actual annual income and fiscal assessment of hidage this is not strictly true. Hungar fitzOdin paid tax for twenty-one hides at Broadwindsor, Dorset which brought him £20.00 p.a. Of the twenty ploughs his land was assessed as being capable of holding he held eighteen in demesne, the other two being held by the villagers. The land held by William Belet was assessed at, and paid tax for, twelve and a quarter hides spread over seven manors. He also had a salt-works and three mills worth a total of just over fourteen shillings to add to his annual income of £18.5.0. As a tenant-in-chief Belet held one hide at Woodcot, Hampshire which brought him thirty shillings a year. Hungar fitzOdin, as far as can be ascertained, held no lands outside Dorset. Although his income and potential income were greater than those of William Belet, Hungar fitzOdin did not possess the economic influence within Dorset that Belet did. A salt-works and three mills were powerful economic assets and useful tools for seignorial jurisdiction and management. In this way William Belet could make his presence felt within the local community in a way which fitzOdin could not emulate. The produce of the labour of fitzOdin's eighteen ploughs, and consequently the income therefrom, could be held to ransom because he did not possess a mill. If he was not to rely solely on hand-querns he had to pay for his grain to be processed to some other lord's gain. Belet could, and did, supplement his income from his economic assets. From this point of view Belet was better off than any other Dorset sergeant because he had more local influence and was of greater local significance, even though his annual income was not as great. There is also the possibility that William Belet had been granted fiscal concessions so that he paid tax for less land than he actually held. Dorset Domesday gives no clue to confirm this but in neighbouring Hampshire discrepancies between TRE assessments and the 1086 assessments suggests that this practice was quite common.

The paper also suggests, partly on the knowledge of the Belet family's later history, that Belet's assets and influence in 1086 might indicate reward for service within the retinue of Duke, later King, William. The revenue and assets of other sergeants recorded in Domesday Book have been investigated to try and establish whether or not there are others in the

position of Belet, whose holdings suggest especial reward by the king, presumably for service rendered. Hungar fitzOdin's restricted holdings and consequent relative lack of local influence suggests that he was not in fact of the king's own retinue. More local prominence and wealth is to be expected of him if he was. Of the other southern counties Kent, Sussex and Cornwall have no sergeants listed: this may be a factor of the exceptional tenurial arrangements within those counties, most of Kent was in ecclesiastical hands, most of Cornwall in Mortain's hands, and Sussex was split amongst several major barons alone. In Surrey, where the same group of men is variously labelled both *servientes* and *taini*, the only sergeant of note was Oswald, brother of the Abbot of Chertsey, whose family connections were no doubt partly responsible for his comfortable well-being. Hampshire has none amongst its sergeants to compare with Belet in terms of landed possession and wealth. Wiltshire has both *servientes* and *ministri* listed either side of the *taini*. Amongst the seven *servientes* there are none worthy of note. Within the ranks of the *ministri* (who are also referred to as *servientes* at one point) Ralf de Halvile held over ten hides and a mill worth sixteen shillings to supplement his £12 annual income. He had four manors centred on Wolf Hall, Grafton. William fitzAnsculf had nine and a half hides at Thornhill which brought him an income of £6, besides the five shillings his mill was worth (the size of the dues owed for a mill are taken to have been based on the income accruing from any given mill). Also listed are Croc the Hunter who held two estates as a tenant in chief in Hampshire besides those lands he held by sergeantry in Wiltshire; Richard Sturmid similarly held some land as a Hampshire tenant in chief as well as the eight hides he held as a Wiltshire sergeant; and Ansgar Cook who also held land in Somerset as a sergeant, and who may be the Ansgar who held land by sergeantry in Devon. In Somerset Edmund fitzPayne, whose descendants' activities were not dissimilar to those of the Belet family, held ten hides and two valuable mills, whilst in Devon William the Usher, with nearly nine hides amongst his ten manors and land enough for fifty-three ploughs, is by far the most significant sergeant in that county.

Of the above men those most likely to have served the king directly are those who also held land as tenants in chief, namely Croc the Hunter and Richard Sturmid. William fitzAnsculf, elsewhere known as William de Pichengi, was a major Midlands baron and his appearance here amongst the southern sergeants is a mystery. With a castle at Dudley he certainly should be regarded as a tenant in chief proper rather than a

favoured *serviens*. Ansgar Cook and William the Usher performed obvious, important household duties. The fitzPayne family, like the Belets, appear to have served the royal family directly for some generations to come both in Somerset and Dorset. Therefore it is suggested that these too may have been amongst the king's personal retinue though with nothing more than circumstantial evidence to go on such conclusions must be regarded as tentative suppositions and queries.

William Belet's son-in-law, Faderling, was a servant amongst Hugh of Port's retinue, assuming his associations with Hugh as a sub-tenant in Hampshire can be interpreted in this way.³ Other such sub-tenant/tenant in chief retinue relationships can be discerned throughout Domesday Book and it is to be wondered whether or not all those listed as sergeants were of the duke's retinue in 1066 as he sailed to Hastings. The very fact that they are listed separately as *servientes* of the king suggests some form of personal service to the king but in the centuries to come not all those who had tenure by sergeantry actually served the king in person, and certainly those Anglo-Saxons who are listed as Domesday *servientes* did not serve Duke William before 1066, so that it could be argued that not all those who are described as *servientes* in 1086 actually came with Duke William in his retinue. The functional nomenclature of many suggests service in the household or on outlying estates (for instance Cook, Interpreter, Usher, Porter, Falconer, Hunter) but where does this leave men such as Belet who were not designated with any obvious role? In the absence of conclusive evidence it can only be stated that those listed as *servientes* or *ministri* in Domesday Book were probably minor functionaries attached, however loosely, to the Conqueror's household. Those who survived as thegns under King William were probably of a similar disposition. Such was their relative lack of assets as recorded by Domesday Book that the very few sergeants who were well endowed stand out as being of particular note. A possible explanation for their prominence is that these favoured few served with the Conqueror before Hastings and performed special household service with William. The less well endowed sergeants may have performed less important ducal and royal service, or perhaps did not serve the king until after Hastings; Domesday was, after all, a generation after the battle of Senlac Hill. Albeit tentatively, it is suggested, based on the circumstantial evidence available, that those particularly well-off, such as William Belet, and accredited with potential local influences as well as landed wealth, were particularly favoured

because they were especially loyal and close to the king, perhaps as members of his own armed retinue.⁴ In the absence of conclusive evidence such a suggestion is as plausible as any other. It is not possible to do for the sergeants that which Douglas was able to do with others of the royal retinue in 1066.⁵ Yet the fact that a few, such as William Belet, stand out above the rest must add weight to the hypothesis that these were amongst King William's most trusted servants, and having acquired that trust through long and loyal service were rewarded accordingly as Domesday Book records. If the most trusted tenants in chief received the larger rewards then why should not the most trusted *servientes* be similarly rewarded? Because the relative scales of landed possessions can not be conclusive it can only be postulated that *perhaps* William Belet was a sergeant of the king's retinue.

1. C. G. Harfield, 'The Belets: Notes on a medieval Dorsetshire family from the 11th to the 14th centuries' *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 106 (1984), 43-49.
2. C. G. Harfield, *op. cit.*, p.43.
3. They almost certainly can. F. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166*, (2nd edn., Oxford, 1961), p.98, notes that sub-tenants of major barons in Domesday Book can be regarded as holding their sub-tenancies by some form of sergeantry, (Stenton suggests that this service would have been military in nature, probably castle-guard duties). He also cites (p.142) a passage from the 12th century *Leges Eadwardi Confessoris* which describes the legal relationship between barons, knights and their sergeants.
4. N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires* (Oxford, 1981), p.13, suggests that in military terms two *servientes* were the equivalent of one knight (*miles*). However, the functional nomenclature suggests that tenure by sergeantry may more likely have been the reward for personal non-military service to the king rather than military service. In Devon some bowmen are listed as tenants in chief when in fact their holdings would make them the equivalent of *servientes*. It is suggested that it is their specific military function as archers which causes them to be listed among the knights.
5. D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History*, 28 (1943), pp.129-147

C. G. HARFIELD

285. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, YATTON The parish church of Yatton stands at the south-east edge of a large alluvial plain bordering the Bristol Channel. The village itself, before its vast expansion in this century, was grouped around two sides of the parish church and along a winding street about a mile long. The tower of the church with its truncated pepper-pot spire is a landmark for miles to the north and west. At first glance, the church seems to be a handsome example of the Perpendicular style, but it is really a cruciform building of the early 14th cent., splendidly remodelled and adorned in the 15th and early 16th cents. A good deal of the remodelling was probably carried out fairly early in the 15th cent., but some of it is recorded in the

earliest churchwardens' account books. Nine of these books survive. The first three cover the period, 1445-1560, with only a few gaps where pages have been torn out.

Years of Activity, 1445-60

In the opening years of the first account book the churchwardens were preparing for a period of considerable activity which was to last until 1459. Timber was bought and transported — oaks were felled at Brockley, Backwell, Bitton, Selwood Forest, Nempnett Thrubwell and at Iwood manor in Congresbury (*y-wod*, not *Yde od*, as given in the printed transcripts). Imported wainscot boards were brought at Bristol and Southampton; one consignment from Southampton came up the R. Avon to Bristol, and then by the R. Chew to Chew Magna, where, presumably, it was collected by waggon. The carpenters, including John Hicks, were busy making seats, probably benches for the nave, but possibly, stalls; the word used is 'segys' (sieges). They made a new pulpit, a door to the spiral staircase of the tower, and two altars. One of them, John Crosse of Claverham, a skilled craftsman, made a cover for the font and cast the lead for the holy water stoup. There were repairs to St. James's Chapel in the north transept and alterations to the upper part of the tower. A new 'great bell' was acquired in 1451. This is almost certainly the present No. 7. It was cast by Hugh the Bellman in Bristol and cost £6. 4s, not counting minor expenses in the city. Will Hurman received 5s for 'fetching home of the new bell' and it cost 4s 4d to take down the old bell and hang the new one. Earlier, around 1445-6, a new church house was built, but it was not until after a complete rebuilding, *c.* 1470-71, that it was used for church ales. During 1455-58, the tower was partially rebuilt. It is not clear whether the entries refer to the top storey of the tower, or to the spire, the 'pepper-pot'; indeed, it could possibly be the time when the pepper pot was first erected. Stone was bought at Dundry, a cradle was made for those working on the tower, and a battlement was constructed.

The most important undertakings in this early period, 1445-60, are the building of the south porch and the construction of an elaborate rood loft. The porch survives. Around the four-centred arch of its doorway is a running leaf motif; above it is an ogee gable ornamented with leaves. The rest of the south face is decorated with blank panelling with arched and traceried heads. The interior of the porch has delicate lierne vaulting. Inside the church is a door to a straight steep stairway leading to the space above the vaulting. Work on the porch probably began towards the end of 1455, when 9d was paid for making the threshold. Unfortunately, the accounts for 1456 are

missing, and the payments in 1457 for 260 lbs of lead to 'hely' (cover) the porch show that the work was virtually completed.

The construction of the roodloft was a most prestigious undertaking, very dear to the hearts of the parishioners. It was begun in 1447-8 and was not completed until 1459. Although the whole of one year's accounts are missing, there are, over the period, a very large number of entries. Even so, it is most difficult to discover exactly what was really done. The word 'screen' is not mentioned. The word 'aler' is used from 1447-8 onwards; this is the way across the screen, the alley or aisle, the platform on top of the roodscreen. The word 'solarium' is used in those entries in Latin; this is much the same as 'aler' or 'alure', an upper passage. Bishop Hobhouse, editor of the printed extracts from the account books, held that the word 'syler', often used, meant the 'ceiler', a craftsman, but it is difficult to believe that it is anything else but the English word for 'solarium'. The word 'roodloft' is first used in 1448. The only reasonable conjecture is that an existing screen was left intact from the base of the roodbeam downwards, but was given a much more elaborate loft. This seems to be confirmed by a payment for 'taking a-down of the old loft'.

The churchwardens and parishioners meant to have the best roodloft they could afford. In 1447-8, 3d was paid 'for three men riding to Eastun (Easton-in-Gordano) to see the alure there. Later that year a first payment of £5 6s 8d was made to John Crosse 'for making the syler' (*pro factura solarii*). He was a carpenter of Claverham (a hamlet of Yatton) to whom the work was entrusted. He was probably a temperamental craftsman. Certainly he was elusive; on four occasions he was missing when needed, and a man was sent to fetch him, twice at least from a parish when an oak had been bought and felled. When he finally disappeared abruptly from the accounts in 1457-8, the job was virtually finished. There were other craftsmen at work in the church: John Hicks, carpenter, first mentioned in 1447-8, was still there, making benches in 1454; John Sutton was a pavior and possibly a carpenter. These would have been available when help was needed by Crosse and his boy ('Crosse his child') to raise and secure parts of the loft. Ironwork, including a chandelier to light the Rood, was supplied by Jenkin, the smith at Congresbury. Colours were bought at Bristol, and a penny was paid to a man 'for fetching of a stone from Chelvey to grind colours thereunto'. A painter was hired for a week for twenty pence, plus a penny 'for the same painter his bed'. 'Painting oil' was 10d a pottle ($\frac{1}{2}$ gallon) and varnish 8d a pound. Six shillings was paid 'for gold to paint the angel'. 'Images' adorned the front of the loft; there were

probably 69, costing just over an average of a shilling apiece; their 'setting up' cost 4d. A shilling was paid 'for making fast of the images at the high cross', although this may refer to the figures of the Virgin and St. John, flanking the Rood.

The churchwardens were careful to encourage Crosse: 3d was paid 'for expenses at Crosse his ale in setting up of the post of the rood loft', and a little later 2½d was spent on 'ale given to Crosse in certain times in his work to make him well-willed'. In 1457 he received a final large sum, £31 2s 11d. Altogether he was given at least 16 separate payments, totalling £73 19s 2d, a vast amount for what must have been a notable achievement. He did not die for perhaps another 20 years; in 1477-8, the churchwardens received a bequest of 20d from his children. In the next year, a John Crosse, probably his son, was one of the wardens. His achievement did not endure. The images were taken down in 1547-8. The Rood probably went at the same time; a new one was made in Mary's reign and taken down in 1559. The loft probably disappeared at the same time; certainly the new images were taken down. It may never be known when the screen itself went. All that remain today are stone carvings on the eastern responds of the nave arcades and a small stone figure on the sill of the easternmost window of the north aisle.

Church Finances

Perhaps the most remarkable features of the churchwardens' accounts are the ways in which the money was raised for the building. Those who have written about Yatton church have assumed that the Newton family of Court de Wyke paid for most of the building operations in the second half of the 15th cent. The accounts show otherwise — very much so. The Newtons are mentioned only 12 times in the accounts. Sir Richard Newton (d.1449) left the church a legacy of 20s towards the cost of the bells. His son, Sir John (d.1489) left a bequest of 10 marks (£6 13s 4d). Only four other family donations were made, totalling £1 1s 1d, and of this, 4s 6d was for torches at family funerals. They did not even build the Newton Chapel, although, presumably, they paid for their own fine monuments. In fact, in the period, 1445-60 and throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, the cost of new building, normal repairs and the maintenance of church services was borne almost wholly by the ordinary parishioners; and the accounts were always in the black. The only exceptions were those few bequests by the Newtons and an occasional contribution by the officials of the Bishop and by persons outside the parish. In her admirable church guide, Gillian Keily noted the 'surprising amount of money' which was raised by the labourers and yeoman, but she is the only writer to have done so.²

Over the first 4 years of the period, 1445-70, the receipts averaged £18, and the expenses, £12 10s; over the whole period, 21 balances are recorded; the average is £11 2s 2d. Practically no attempt was made to accumulate balances. The heavy building and construction expenses from time to time (especially the costly roodloft) was 'carried' by the receipts. In some of the years immediately before the Reformation, the wardens were able to increase expenditure on the ordinary needs of the church as distinct from special building projects.

The chief source of income was provided by church ales, a popular and boisterous form of fund-raising. The parish was divided into three — Yatton itself and the hamlets of Cleeve and Claverham. Each hamlet had two Lightmen or sub-wardens, and each held its own Ale, bringing in £2-3. The main Yatton Ale produced £3-4. It is not certain where they took place; the Yatton Ale was probably held in the Church House. But when the Church House was remodelled, perhaps completely rebuilt about 1471, all three Ales were held there in a properly equipped room and usually brought in more money than before.

Bequests provided a variable income in money and kind. In 1455, there were 18 bequests; in 1470 there were as many as 29. In 1502, the late parson, 'Sir Thomas', bequeathed a crossbow worth 6s. In 1505, John Edwards left two bushells of barley worth 7d, which the wardens sold for two clipped groats. A later churchwarden noted that the balance included 13 shillingsworth of broken money, 'dandypratts' and Irish groats — dandypratts were coins but were not legal tender.

Gifts in kind and money were regularly recorded. They *were* gifts: it is not known how far the arts of persuasion were used by priest and wardens, but there were no *legal* obligations to contribute. In 1446, a heifer was given and was sold for 3s. In 1448, the wardens received 'a pair of beads of amber' worth 7d. Rings were frequently given (and bequeathed); in 1478, the churchwardens handed over a balance of £19 11s 8d, plus 16 rings in stock. No doubt the incoming wardens would easily dispose of them — there was probably no goldsmith nearer than Bristol. Sometimes parishioners gave towards specific objects. In 1445, six people contributed a penny apiece, one person gave 2d another 4d towards building the Church House. In 1454 a new altar was built, presumably against the roodscreen; the altar slab cost 7s 6d and was paid for by 9 parishioners whose contributions ranged from 4d to 2s. In 1455, gifts included £1 7s paid for images to go on the roodloft at 1s per image; the vicar paid for 3 images. In 1457, there is a note in Latin that another 15 people had each promised to sponsor an image.

The churchwardens had other sources of income. There was the fee (6s 8d) for burial inside the church; this practice increased in the early 16th cent. The wardens also sold any surplus material. In 1447 they received a shilling from R. Dornebarne 'for 2 boards called planks'.

In expenditure on the maintenance of church services the wardens showed commendable common sense: they would spend well in due season, but they would mend and make do if needs be. Wax, lamp oil, incense and other necessities were bought when required, service books were rebound and vessels were mended. Considerable attention was given to the repair of vestments. They paid 4d 'for mending the best tunicles', and 40s 'for mending the red vestment and the black cope, and for dyeing of the old red vestment'. In 1519, they paid 5s 4d to 'a vestment-maker to make a vestment of the old cope'. This transaction is a reminder that Yatton church still owns a 17th cent. hearse cloth made of two 15th cent. dalmatics. For simple vestments it was cheaper for the wardens to buy material and make up the garments; for instance, they bought 'Irish cloth' (linen) for making albs. But they did not hesitate to spend heavily if the money was available and the need was there. In 1464, a new chalice cost £5 6s 8d; in 1449 they paid £18 for a new cross. In 1482 one of the wardens recorded that 'I paid at Bristol for a suit of vestments and a cope, £26 ... I paid to the Bishop his men for hallowing of the new suit of vestments, 6d.' There were close ties between Yatton and the neighbouring parish of Congresbury. In 1534, each parish bought a new suit of vestments and a cope, presumably at Bristol. The new Yatton set cost £30. Thomas Prewett of Congresbury brought them to his village, which then gave a joint Church Ale to mark their arrival. Then Thomas Tucker of Congresbury delivered the Yatton set to the Yatton wardens.

Last Years, 1460-1530

During the period, 1460-1530, there were two major building projects, three if the churchyard cross is included. The first was the extensive rebuilding of the Church House, which still survives on the north side of the churchyard. In 1470, stone was quarried at Felton, and there was a payment of four shillings 'to 4 men to break stones at Hendley'. This is probably the earliest local documentary reference to the quarry in Henley Wood, a spur of Cadbury Hill. This quarry was still being worked until a few years ago. More stone was quarried in 1471, a limekiln was set up and put to use, oaks and elms were bought, and the 'fundaments' were laid. In 1472, the 'chamber in the Church house' was hired out for the first time, a kettle and some pans were mended for 3d, and another 3d was paid for 'making of a

pig's foot', a scuttle, to hold fuel. Contributions towards the cost of building were being made in 1473 and following years, including, in 1477, twenty pence 'of the bequest of the children of John Crosse'. A well was sunk and lined with stone. It was completed in the following year when 2d was paid to two children who helped to gather the stones. T. Hathaway was paid 3s 6d for an iron chain and 'for hooping the bucket'. Does the pump near the old church stable stand over the well? In later years, inventories of goods in the Church House were recorded. In 1492, for instance, there were 2 great crocks, 2 lesser crocks, a cauldron, 4 pans, andirons, 5 tun vats, a large tub, 2 troughs, 9 stands, 9 barrels and 21 trendles or shallow tubs. The usual fee for hiring the Church House was a shilling a time.

The second and more prestigious undertaking was the building of the Newton Chapel in the angle between the north wall of the chancel and the east wall of the north transept. There is some uncertainty over the chapels associated with Yatton church. Today, this north-east chapel is called the Newton Chapel and is said to be dedicated to St. John the Evangelist; the chapel in the north transept is called the de Wyke Chapel and is said to be dedicated to St. James. According to Mary Peart, there was also a chapel in the churchyard, reported by the Chantry Commission of 1548 to be ruinous.³ There were two other chapels in the parish, one at Claverham Court and the other at Court de Wyke. According to the churchwardens' accounts the Newton Chapel in its early years was closely associated with St. Katherine: in 1502 an 'image' of her and an altar dedicated to her were set up, but their position in the church is not known. However, there seems to be little doubt that the many references in the accounts to St. James's Chapel apply to the north transept; it may well have been founded by the de Wykes in the early 14th cent. — the effigies in recesses in the north wall are said to be those of Egelina de Wyke and her husband, Sir Robert de Gyene. However, it may be that when the Newton Chapel was completed and the archway made between it and the north transept, the term St. James was applied to the now united chapels. Support to this theory is given by a payment of £1 in 1503 'for the glazing of two windows in St. James's Chapel'. Since the completion of the Newton Chapel there has never been more than one window in the north transept, whereas there is a pair of north-facing windows in the Newton Chapel above the monument to Sir John Newton.

As early as 1489, building materials were being accumulated. The large quantities of Mendip lead bought at Burrington in 1489 were probably for the releading of the chancel, but a ton

was left over in the custody of the wardens for use in the new building. In 1490-91, 2 wey of coal (probably about 6½ tons) were brought by water from Rownham-on-Avon to Kingston Seymour, and thence by land to Yatton. The lime kiln was repaired for 6d. Two hundredweights of iron cost 10s. On four separate occasions, freestone was brought from the Dundry quarry. These totalled 77 loads, and 27 waggons were needed to transport them and the coal. Eightpence was paid for digging the foundations.

The main building activities took place in 1492-3, but unhappily the accounts for that year are missing. Building was still going on in 1493-4: 32 more loads of freestone were needed. But by that time, the masons were working on the top of the chapel. Two more tons of lead for roofing cost £8 1s. More scaffold timber was needed, and wainscot boards for interior work cost 8s and were landed at the tidal head of the Yeo and then brought by cart to the church, the transport costs being 1s 4d. In 1495, boards worth 21s 8d were bought for the ceiling of the chapel. The masons' crane, no longer needed, was taken down, and inside the chapel an altar was set up. In the next year, Lady Newton became one of the churchwardens, and in that year the coverings and hangings of the altar were made. Against the entries for 1497, a note in a later hand reads 'Dame Isabell Newton dyed in the year 1498, which is 165 years ago to this present yeare, 1663 — Nicholas Prater'.

A somewhat less important project was the building of the churchyard cross outside the main south door.⁴ The churchwardens could well afford it. In 1523-4, the previous wardens had left them a balance of £35 19s 1d, and the total for that year was £51 19s. In 1524-5, three Church Ales brought in £13, and there were many bequests. In that year, 34 waggon loads of stone, costing 13s 4d, were brought from Felton for Will Hort, the master mason, who was paid 20s; whether they were all used for the cross is not known. Eighteen pence was paid 'for ridding the ground to the cross'. Special Bath stone for the head of the cross cost 3s 6d, plus 10s 4d for bringing it home. Scaffolding and the setting up of the head cost 2s 8d. Finally, the newly worked 'green' stone of the cross was thatched with reeds to protect it from frost.

During the period, 1460-1530, there was a good deal of activity, apart from the main building projects. There were running repairs to the chancel and two of the windows and, on several occasions, to the tower. In 1501-2, 8d was paid 'for ridding of gutters of the church and the gargoyles'. The church had a treasure-house at least as far back as 1467, when 6½d was paid 'for hanging of window leaves (folding shutters) in the

treasure house'. In 1481, additional security was provided by an iron bound chest which cost 21s 7d to make.

In 1529-30, new benches were made. Earlier, in 1476, an altar table was set up on its return from Wells where it had been blessed by the bishop. Another altar, with its stone, was provided in 1495, and in 1502-3, 6s was paid 'to the mason for the making of St. Katherine's altar', and 8d for the altar stone itself. Occasionally, the Easter Sepulchre is mentioned: in 1471, for example, three men were given 4d 'to wake at the sepulchre'.

An organ was first mentioned in 1460, when 2d was paid for repairing it. Later, in 1480, 10d was 'paid to Lyon for playing at the organ'. By 1526 a new one was needed. The Bristol organ maker received £27 in four separate payments over 1527-8, a very large sum. Its transport to Yatton cost 7s 0½d, and there were payments of 8s and 8s 8d 'in expense for the organ maker and for his company that gave attendance with him to help him'.

From time to time there were expenses in painting and gilding. In 1467, £4 was paid 'to the painter to paint Our Lady', and £1 for painting St. Christopher; the former was almost certainly a statue, the latter probably a wall-painting. In the years 1511-14, the church had a thorough restoration. In 1511, the gilder, John Wakelin, was paid £12 16s 8d 'for painting and gilding of the church'. This was followed over the next two years by seven more payments totalling £8 13s 4d. He was also paid £1 for gilding the 'image' of St. Thomas which was about to be set up in the church. One of the payments to Wakelin comes in the middle of some puzzling entries —

Paid in expenses for heaving up the cloth afore the rood loft	3d
for the canopy	5s 10d
for washing the high altar	2s 8d
to J. Wakelin for gilding	6s 8d
to W. Hathaway for iron to the high beam	5s

The Rev. J. A. Bennett, considered that the final entry referred to iron and wire gear for hanging a lamp to cast light on the Rood and for the veiling of the Rood in Lent.⁵ However, the iron may merely have been used to secure the canopy.

Throughout the period, 1460-1530, the wardens took great care of the church bells. There were repairs and recastings in 1464, 1482, 1502, 1529 and 1532. These could be expensive; in 1529, the Bristol bellfounder charged £19 0 6d for recasting a bell, and 12s 4d was paid in loading, reloading and transport charges. During 1483-5, large sums, totalling £12 14s 4d were paid to Nicholas Ket, scrivener, 'for writing of the new book'. Two of these were paid in the presence of Sir John Newton and another for the 'legerd'. The Rev. J. A. Bennett considered that '... the scrivener's work was not a service book, but the Ledger.

This book, prepared under the special care of Sir John Newton, must have been more than the Wardens' account book, probably a Terrier, recording the deeds of appropriation of the rectory, the endowment of the vicarage and the establishment of the two manorial chapels and of that in the churchyard'.⁶

At first, after 1530, the churchwardens accounts seemed to go on much as before. Essential repairs were carried out; R. Greenfield was paid 4s 'for taking down an elder tree out of a pipe above in the tower'; a gargoyle head was mended for 20d; the 'great' bell was recast at Bristol; the organ was repaired; the figures of St. John and St. George were set up. In 1539-40, a new clock house was made (presumably within the tower) and a new clock was bought for £2 13s 4d. In 1541, a new beam was needed above the high altar. Making the beam itself cost only 10s, but 171 lbs of iron (15s 6d) was bought and a smith from Bristol charged 17s 10d for erecting and securing the beam. But there were some early signs of change: there was no rebuilding programme, and there was a decline in church revenue. The dominance of Henry VIII over the English Church was reflected in the payment of 13s 8d 'to a gilder of Bristol for gilding the King's arms'.

After 1547, there were sharp changes in the accounts quite distinct from those which reflected the fundamental changes in doctrine and church services brought about by national legislation. By 1549 the church ales were down to one a year, bringing in only £2 10s. In 1558 came the last recording of a 'Tavern' or ale. In 1551-2 the wardens declared a balance of £7 6s 4d, but added 'whereof there must be allowed for the fall of money in the same year, £3 6s 4d.'

However, from 1547, most of the accounts echo the national changes in religion. These are seen in many other churchwardens' accounts for the period, but perhaps more fully in Yatton than in most parishes. In 1547-8, two men were paid 12d for taking down the images. From 1548-9 onwards, the changes almost completely fill the accounts;

'Paid for taking down Our Lady in the chancel,	4d
To W. Sensam and John Merifield for taking down the cloths in the Chapel,	4s 8d
for a book called Paraphrases and [of] Erasmus,	11s 4d
for a bible of the largest volume,	11s 0d
to Sir Nicholas Poore for writing the mass in English,	8d
From the clerk of Henbury for gilt images,	12d
To Sir John Smith for the Injunctions,	4d
To a table board,	3s 4d
for dressing the altars and carrying out of the church,	7s 10d
To T. Carpenter for making the table in the chancel,	3s 4d
for legs to the table,	8d
unto John Dale for making the Inventory when we appeared before the King's commissioners,	6d

unto Sir John for fetching the precept,	2d
a book for the Communion,	4s 4d
the last day of May of John Merifield for 2 hundredweight of brass of old candlesticks,	32s
Paid for paving the place where the table standeth,	8d
unto John Lett for the fringe about the table.	4d'

Then, in 1553, came the entry heralding the return to Rome: 'to the ringers at the proclamation of our sovereyn Lady, Queen Mary'. A new altar was immediately set up. Between 1554 and 1558, the following payments were made:

'for a processional,	2s 6d
for making of the sepulchre,	8½d
for 3 banner lugs,	6d
for a missal,	16s
for a manual,	6s 8d
in expenses seeking the said books,	7d
for a sacring bell,	4d
for a whole portas,	20d
for a censer and a pax,	9d
for the net cloth over the pyx,	18d
for a new corporas cloth,	23d
for frankinsense,	1d
for tassels for the pyx,	2d
for mending of the veil,	1d
a line for the veil,	3d
for 2 proclamations concerning, the one for reconciliation of the people, the other for the bulls of the Pope of Rome, the which was read in <i>cena Domini</i> (on Maundy Thursday),	6d
for 3 yards of linen cloth the same time for the Rood,	2s
for the Rood cloth ... for painting,	5s
to W. Daye, senior, for the pyx and pall cloth,	20s 8d
expenses for the fetching the painted cloth at Bristol,	12d
for painting of the cloth of the high altar,	8d
for making of the tabernacle,	12d
for oil for the lamp,	1d
for the lamp,	4d
for wire for the lamp,	1d
Our expenses for going unto Banwell unto my lord bishop to ask for counsel for the tabernacle,	9d'

A new processional cross was bought, five parishioners each standing surety in the sum of 20s. A new Rood cost 13s 4d, and 12d was paid for setting it up.

Queen Mary died on 17 November 1558, and it was obvious that England's brief reconciliation with Rome was at an end. The Yatton accounts reflect a few of the changes made by Elizabeth's government in order to establish a church to which most people would be content to adhere. The altar was taken down and 6s was paid 'for the the table and the forms for the Communion'. The Rood with its attendant figures of the Virgin and St. John were spared for a year; then they were taken down and 6d was paid 'in expenses at the plucking down of the

images'. A book of Common Prayer cost 5s, and 4d was paid for a copy of the Injunctions. The processional cross, little more than two years old, was sold — 'Be it remembered that this year was sold the silver cross, the account whereof, remaineth in the hands of Thomas Wall and William Smithies'.

A new England was emerging. The Yatton wardens conformed to the various changes required by law; the parishioners acquiesced, apart from a few who did penance for a letter they wrote in 1555. But the accounts give no clear and full indication of the effects of the Reformation on the minds of Yatton men and women; only one change is reasonably certain: there was no longer the corporate spirit which had carried out and paid for (with little help from the lord of the manor or from outsiders) that late medieval transformation of Yatton church into the fine building often called 'The Cathedral of the Moors'.

1. The Rt. Rev. Edmund Hobhouse edited the early churchwardens' accounts of six parishes, including those of Yatton, 1445-1560/1, in *Som. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV (1890). The transcriptions for Yatton and three other parishes were made by the Rev. J. A. Bennett, who initially made full transcripts, but who soon summarized especially over details of building materials. The originals (now in Somerset R.O., ref. D/P/yat. 4/1/1-3) have been consulted to fill out the 'gaps' caused by these summaries. The spelling in quoted extracts has been modernized.
2. Gillian Keilly, *A Guide to the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin* (1982), p.4.
3. M. C. Peart, *St. Mary the Virgin Yatton. A Short History* (1931), 18-19.
4. The Calvary of the Cross has survived. It was restored in 1921, and a new shaft and head were erected.
5. See n.l.
6. See n.l.

A. C. EDWARDS

286. LECTERN IN ST. JOHN BAPTIST CHURCH, YEOVIL. (*SDNQ.* IX, 71, 153, 268) Transcripts of thirty-three 16th cent. Yeovil churchwardens' account rolls were made in the 18th cent. by churchwarden Andrew Everton, many of which have not survived. These transcripts, until recently kept in a chest in the crypt of St John's church, have been transferred to Somerset R O together with account and vestry minute books dating from 1693, as well as parish registers. It is strange that entries contained in the 1541 transcripts of accounts which, without doubt, relate to the purchase of the rare type of lectern which is one of the great treasures of the church today, have hitherto escaped notice. The relevant extracts are:

Payde for the Dext that standeth in the Quire	3 - 0 - 0
For the carrying the same from London to Bruton	0 - 3 - 4
Skowring and carying the sayd Dext at London	0 - 2 - 0
To Thos Spracklyn to help cary the same from Bruton home	0 - 0 - 4
HenY Welfare Servant for his Dinner and horses meal	
For the cariage of the said Dext from Bruton hither	0 - 0 - 8

The fact that the 'Dext' was 'skowred' while still in London shows it was in need of polishing when purchased, and suggests it had either been 'in store', or out of use, for a while. That St. John's churchwardens were aware of its availability in London suggests, too, that it was being sold by Crown Commissioners as part of the spoils resulting from the suppression of ecclesiastical houses. Though speculation, it appears to the writer that there is a distinct possibility the lectern once graced the Abbey and Convent of St Saviour and St Bridget of Syon at Isleworth, to which establishment the rectory of Yeovil had been granted by Henry V in 1420. The abbey was not far distant from London, and St John's vicar and churchwardens may well have been aware of its existence there, and were anxious to acquire it. If, indeed, this rare example of its type — Pevsner¹ states it is 'probably East Anglian', and it is said to be one of only four other examples of this style of desk lectern in the country and the only one in a parish church today — did in fact originate from Syon, it is appropriate that it should grace the church with which such close links existed for some 130 years.

The obliterated head of Brother Martin Forester on the two desk surfaces was due to the removal of 'images' in the reign of Elizabeth I — the accounts for 1564 show a penny spent on 'Incke to blott owte the trinite in the glassene wyndowes' — and the entry recording the abrading of the faces on the lectern occurs in the accounts for 1565:

Pd for the puttinge owte of the two pictors vppon the brasse dexte that the lessuns be read on ijd

Exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1930 on the occasion of an exhibition of English Medieval Art, it was stated in the catalogue that the knob or finial surmounting the desk was a 17th cent. addition 'probably replacing the figure of a saint'.

1. *Buildings of England, South and West Somerset*. Nikolaus Pevsner, 1958.

L. E. J. BROOKE

287. A WAYSIDE CROSS (*SDNQ*, XV, 193). Preb. E. H. Bates Harbin reported the discovery at Yeovil, in April 1916, of a 'much-mutilated head of a cross', possibly of 13th cent. date, during the course of road widening in Sherborne Road near its junction with Reckleford, and suggested the probability of a wayside cross at this point. He commented that 'when destroyed, the socket stone would do for the foundation of a house, the steps of the calvary for the walls, the shaft for a gate post, while the head seems to have been utilized to fill up a rut in the road.'

On a map of the town by E. Watts, dated 1806, in Yeovil Museum, there is a diminutive drawing of a cross in the middle of the road in Reckleford where it is joined by the present Market Street (the original Reckleford), and this is the sole example of such a representation on the map. Among residents of long standing, this spot is still known as Reckleford Cross, and it seems most likely that the 1916 discovery was the head of this cross, which had been taken some 500 yards or so further along the road to effect repairs at the time it was removed. It is no longer indicated on a further Watts map of 1831.

L. E. J. BROOKE

288. JOHN CLAVELL, 1601-43, BURGLAR, HIGHWAYMAN, POET, DRAMATIST, DOCTOR, LAWYER Although a Dorset man, baptized and probably born at Wootton Glanville, John Clavell may possibly not qualify as a Dorset worthy; yet he was certainly a remarkable and unusual character. He is known for little else than his activities as a highwayman, knowledge which has been current since his exploits in that field in the 1620s. He has figured in books on highwaymen, and still does; and it is simply in that role that he is mentioned in Hutchins' *Dorset*. He came of a good Dorset family that "could boast an antiquity not to be equalled in this county, and very rarely in any other" (Hutchins, I, 566); but is the only Clavell member in reference works such as the *D.N.B.* and *Oxford Companion to English Literature*; and this again is solely due to his repute as a highwayman and his *Recantation*². But in fact he was a many-sided man, and his crimes seem relatively unimportant — although they were enough to get him a sentence of death, from which he was reprieved — compared with his other activities.

Clavell's life may be divided into two parts, the first closes about the end of 1627 and includes his criminal career, and the second his reputable activities. The first may be opened with a note on his family, of which fuller details, including a pedigree, are given by Hutchins. His father, (buried 14 May, 1623 at Wootton Glanville), also John, referred to here as Clavell, *sen.*, had married Frances, née Willoughby, widow of James Wickham. They lived at the Manor or Mansion house, later called Golden Grove and subsequently, as now, Roundchimneys, standing about 1 mile n.e. of the church in the district first known as Newton Montacute and then Nether Newlands but now simply a part of Wootton Glanville. But their domestic life was troubled and each partner seems at times to have lived separately elsewhere; and at least one child, Willoughbie, although baptized at Wootton, was born

elsewhere, at Cadbury, Somerset. Furthermore there were lawsuits with the Churchills who acquired Roundchimneys (to use the later name) probably not long after Clavell, *sen's* death; and certainly the latter was in financial difficulties. There were 5 children, of whom John, the only surviving male, was the fourth, born on 11 May, 1601 and baptized on 21 May. A document of c. 1617 includes the following statement about Clavell, *sen.*, "John Clavell beinge a maryed man hath for many years past lyved from his wife and ... with a woman ... whome he kepeth in his house, for which he hath bine ... publickly reprov'd ... by the Justices of Assizes". He was then living at Sandford Orcas, then in Somerset, "beinge dryven out of Dorset for the cawse aforesayd" ("The Knoyle Wardship" by J. P. Ferris¹ in *SDNQ*, Sept., 1980, 52). The same document — which, although an *ex parte* statement, must contain some truth — asserts that Clavell, *sen's* brother, Sir William, 1568-1644, was leading a life which was no fit example for his ward "as it is well knowne", and that he too was living apart from his wife. John Clavell was heir apparent to this uncle and had much correspondence with him. He, Sir William Clavell, of Smedmore, is perhaps the best known member of the family. He had a command in Ireland where he won distinction in the Tyrone rebellion at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and apparently then acquired property at Carrigrohane, county Cork. In subsequent lawsuits concerning this property, John Clavell, having become a barrister in Ireland, presented his uncle's case in the Dublin courts. Sir William "was an intensely energetic landowner and engaged in a number of different industrial projects" in Purbeck, but "his attempts to fight the monopolists ended in his ruin and the loss of most of his estate" (J. H. Bettey, "The Production of Alum and Copperas in Southern England" in *Textile History*, 13(1), 91-98, 1982). Dr Bettey also notes that "Clavell's attempt to defy the glass monopoly ... led to his arrest in 1623 and imprisonment in the Marshalsea". But Sir William was a many-sided man: he was M.A. of Oriel College, Oxford, a member of the Middle Temple, and, like other gentlemen-scholar-soldiers of the time, also wrote verse. He contributed a poem to Coryate's *Crudities*, 1611, and there is verse by him in Clavell's *Notebook*, '58. John Clavell also kept in some touch with his mother and his younger sister Elizabeth, from whose husband, Robert Freke, he borrowed money. But these contacts were apparently slight: he strove mainly, with varying success, to regain favour with Sir William who had been outraged by his nephew's crimes. In his *Recantation* Clavell addressed a repentant poem to his uncle, but Sir William outlived him and made his last will after

Clavell's death and so it cannot be known whether he had previously disinherited his nephew.

Nothing is known of Clavell's childhood, but his writings² show that he had been well schooled or tutored. Sherborne school has no record of him, but there were schools in several local towns. After his baptism the next thing known is that he was admitted to Brasenose College, Oxford on 10 April, 1619 and matriculated (armiger) and signed the subscription register to the 39 Articles on 19 Nov., 1619. BNC has no other information about him; but what next comes to light indicates that he was impoverished and without prospect of help from a broken home, and that he was also — perhaps largely from those causes — a desperate character; for it is no less than a record of "A speciall pardon graunted to John Clavell for stealing plate out of Brason Nose Colledge in Oxford, without bayle. Teste xe Aprilis 1621" (P.R.O., C231/4, fo. 122; a docket book of the Crown Office in Chancery). The college knew only that its Treasure House had been broken into and plate stolen some time probably in the early 17th century. The date can now be fixed as between Nov. 1619 and April 1621, perhaps nearer the latter than the former; and the, or a, culprit named. Clavell was presumably imprisoned for this offence but was at liberty by 29 May, 1623 when he was administrator of his father's estate (*SDNQ*.3.94). A document in the P.R.O. (C2/Chas. 1/C91/54) of 9 May, 1629, speaks of a time 5 or 6 years earlier when Clavell had been living in or about London engaged in his father's business. This probably refers to his attempts to raise cash on the Wootton Glanville property he claimed to have inherited from his father. In this he was unsuccessful. According to his own account he fell into the hands of financial tricksters, particularly a goldsmith, William Banks — at that time goldsmiths were also moneylenders — and was cheated. He incurred debt, and, Mr Ferris tells me, the document contains much about Clavell's experiences in the sponging-house and in Newgate, and his flight through the streets of London, penniless, with Bank's myrmidons in pursuit. Hence it is clear that Clavell derived little from his father's estate, and that his attempts to obtain money on it were so disastrous that he was once again led into evil courses. This time he took to the road and to horse stealing — a horse being a necessity for his trade. But with little success; for his nefarious career was short and he was soon arrested. His crimes, as set out in Patent Rolls 3 Chas.1, part 28, no. 8, are that in Nov. 1624, with a labourer named Thomas Morris or Price, he committed a robbery at Aylesbury, and is described as late of Beaconsfield, gentleman; on 14 Dec. 1625 another robbery



That I may neither beare anothers blame
 Through' wronge suspicions nor yet act Ye same
 At any time hercafter, but prove true
 Doe to be knowne yow haue my face at viewe

Published as the Act directs Sept. 1727 by J. Goullight London.

at Edgeware, and is late of Edgeware, gentleman. At about the same time he stole horses in Westminster, and is given as late of the parish of St Margarets. All this is probably equivalent to the modern "of no fixed abode". The document noted above of 9 May 1629 records that Clavell admitted to robbing Thomas Tench on the highway about Christmas 1625 of £92 which may refer to the robbery at Edgeware just mentioned. This record shows little of the glamour of the romantic highwayman; but although that glamour was no doubt always largely fictitious, the daring thief, then as now, made some appeal to the popular mind. In his *Recantation* Clavell reminds his readers that highwaymen were termed "Knights of the Road" and held in awe and called "Captains" by inn servants; and it was as a gentleman-highwayman that he himself certainly wished to be seen.

In *N. & Q.* 8 Dec. 1860, 442, T. W. Jones prints a letter of 15 Dec. 1625 from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor of London and the J.P.s of Westminster, Middlesex and Surrey, commenting on the recent "frequent and insolent" robberies on the highway in and around London, and instructing them to take every measure to arrest the culprits. Jones says, without giving his authority, that Clavell was at the head of these highwaymen. Whatever truth there is in this, the timing and nature of the letter suggests that it may well have been to some extent inspired by Clavell's exploits. He would certainly have known of it, and this may explain why, in his first appeal for mercy to the king he specifically expressed the hope that the king would act without referring to his Council, for, from the letter, Clavell knew only too well that the Council would recommend severity.

Clavell had been declared a felon and his estate forfeited by 4 Feb. 1625 when there is a caveat "that no grant pass the Seals of the forfeiture of the estate of John Clavell, of Wotton Glanville... except to Jeremy Brett" (*Cal.S.P.D.* 1623-5, vol. 183, p.467). Clavell must have been arrested soon after his crimes in Dec. 1625, for he was convicted at the King's Bench bar and sentenced to death on 30 Jan. 1626; but was soon reprieved. He had sent an appeal for mercy to the king even before his trial, and there can be little doubt that his reprieve and, apparently, promise of a pardon, arose mainly from a general amnesty on the occasion of Charles's coronation on 2 Feb. 1626. But in a poem which is only in the 2nd edition of *A Recantation* Clavell says that he owes his life to his wife, who "besought the Lords, the Queene, the King" and "got my freedome, sau'd my Life". Yet he seems anxious to distribute credit for his reprieve — he had in fact not got his freedom — as widely as possible, to the king and, particularly, to the queen, to

the duchesses and other ladies of the Court, and even, in his *Notebook*, 45, to one of his noble friends (?Lord Chancellor Loftus in Ireland). But the lucky timing of the coronation, "The lubily of mercie" as he calls it, coupled with his own efforts, were probably the main causes of his reprieve. Yet the pardon ratified on 28 April, 1626 (*Cal.S.P.D.* 1626, p.566) does not seem to have been signed until 22 Nov. 1627 (Patent Rolls, 3 Chas. I, part 28, no.8), and certainly Clavell languished in gaol until that time, for in *A Recantation* the "To the Reader" is signed "From my lonely sad, and unfrequented Chamber in the *Kings Bench*, October, 1627". This is even in the 1634 edition, but it is reasonable to assume that Clavell was released soon after 22 Nov. 1627.

This closes the first period of his life, but a little more may be said about it. In the first place he had at least one love affair when young. It was with someone who was probably an orphan, since she was in charge of her brother, and it came to nothing apparently because it was opposed by Clavell's father. The episode is in 3 letters in his *Notebook*, 3-4. But on 1 Jan. 1625 Clavell married in Fulham someone whose first name was Joyce (Chancery Suit C2/Chas. I/C67/27 of 6 June 1630). The Fulham parish registers for the period are lost. Clavell writes at length about his wife in the poem in *Recantation 2* mentioned above. This is an appeal to his mother and sister Elizabeth Freke to recognize Joyce even though she was of humble station, because she had not only obtained his reprieve but had nursed him through sickness and meant everything to him. But Clavell married during his career as a highwayman; and his mother and sister may have had reasons other than simple snobbery for being reluctant to acknowledge Joyce: for she, however worthy in some ways, could have been of the underworld fraternity with which Clavell was then associated. At all events the poem, which is mainly about her, is not in *Recantation 3* and Clavell married again on 14 April 1635, and so Joyce may have died before or early in 1634. Clavell wrote to his uncle on 3 July 1634 (*Notebook 50*) making a sort of will, but with no reference to a wife. There is a moving elegy to a lady he has lost who was too good for him in *Notebook 24*, which may be a lament for Joyce. And *Notebook 84* contains a bill dated 15 June 1634 for funeral expenses and payments to doctors, nurses and a midwife. Clavell would have been in London and this may indicate that Joyce died in childbirth.

During 1634 Clavell was in London and probably had some dealings with his publisher Meighen over the 3rd edition of *A Recantation*; but he returned to Ireland on 14 Dec. 1634 and was very active. Within 4 months he had married his second

wife, Isabel Markham, in Dublin on 14 April 1635 (*Notebook*, 18, 23, 42, 46), she being then not 10 years old (Bodleian ms. *Ashmole* 243, fo. 162, and Chancery Bills and Proceedings. John Clavell vs. John Jesopp and others. C.3/398/162. This letter also says that Isabel was the only daughter and heiress of a rich Dublin vintner; cf. *N. & Q.* Jan 1857, p.9). Clavell had this time married where there was money and influence, for Markham was not only rich but a friend of Loftus, the Lord Chancellor, who wrote approvingly of the marriage and in high praise of Clavell to the latter's uncle Sir William on 1 July 1635 (*Notebook* 46). It is in this letter that Loftus says "at his (Clavell's) earnest entreaty and out of my respects towards him I haue made him a Barrester". His admission as a barrister on 13 Nov. 1635 is duly recorded in the ms. "Black Book" of the Honourable Society of King's Inns, Dublin, where he is entered as "de Lincolns Inn Armiger" and as having paid the admission fee of £20. While perhaps entitled to the term "armiger" he had no right to claim to be of Lincoln's Inn, for the Inn has no trace of him in its records. The fee was probably paid by his father, as Clavell, (quite normally), referred to his father-in-law. As Isabel was only 9 when married, she is unlikely to have come into her inheritance when Clavell died less than 8 years later. Nothing more is heard of her; and there is no record that Clavell had children by either marriage. There are several letters in the *Notebook* in which Clavell says that he is pursuing at law his uncle's case concerning his property at Carrigrohane, the opponents being named Baker and Dillon. King's Inns, Dublin, can trace no record of the case, and it is not known what came of it, or whether Clavell practised in the law outside his uncle's affairs. But he was certainly active as a physician. In the *Notebook*, of 71 pages which are probably by Clavell, 23 are filled with medical prescriptions or other medical matters, some claiming to have effected cures on various people. There is a further account of his cures in Bodleian ms. *Rawl. D.399*, fos.208-10, and 868, fo.97. Clavell says in this account, dated 25 Apr. 1636, that the earlier cures were performed in and about Cork, others were "done here by me in dublin, immediately after my Comming out of Munster", and his medical practice probably continued at least until his return to England.

In the *Lismore Papers* (see above) the earl of Cork wrote on 17 June 1637, "This daie I sent in a boxe sealed vp, my ffyne of the mannor of Stalbridge in dorcetshier, acknowledged onely by thearle of castlehaven, with my lettres to Thomas Cross, my steward there, by Mr John clavell, the phisicall lawyer". After this, nothing is known of Clavell until the record of his death "of a plurasy 17 feb. 1642", i.e. 1643, (Bodleian ms. *Ashmole*

243, fo.162). The registers of Wootton Glanville for 1642-60 are missing, and it is not known where Clavell died or was buried.

To discuss Clavell's literary achievements adequately would need much quotation for which there is no space. His writings are in the *Notebook*, *A Recantation* and *The Sodder'd Citizen*.²

The *Notebook* contains poems which are largely elegies or addresses of fair quality, and there is little scatological doggerel. Clavell's dramatic interest is shown in the "Introduction to the Sword Dance" mentioned above and in a prologue to Fletcher's and Massinger's *Beggars Bush* and two prologues — one at the New house, Dublin — and an epilogue to John Cooke's *Greene's Tu Quoque*, all in heroic couplets (*Notebook*, 85-6). Most of his verse is in this metre although some is in 7 or 8 syllable couplets. Perhaps the most moving piece is the elegy, apparently to a wife, mentioned above, and the most studied his ode "Upon his Majesties return from Scotland" and "A Gratulatory to Ben Jonson for his voluntary Adoption of mee to bee His Sonn", of 64 lines (*Notebook*, 10-12).

Clavell's literary writings should also be mentioned here, since some of them, including *A Recantation*, certainly belong to this period. While confinement for 2 years or so in a lonely and unfrequented chamber may have been sad, it apparently stimulated and enabled Clavell to write. His writings are briefly mentioned later, but the chief almost certainly originated in the King's Bench gaol.

During the second part of his career, after his release from prison probably about the end of 1627, Clavell led a reformed and active life. He would first have been concerned with the publication of his book, *A Recantation*, of which 2 editions appeared in 1628, and then with the production of his play *The Sodder'd Citizen*.² It is not known when or where this was performed, but that it did appear on the stage is reasonably certain since the only surviving ms. contains a list of the actors taking the various parts who are all known to have been members of the King's Company about 1630; and there are various indications that the play was written after 1626 and performed before 1632. It is also probable that some of the poems and other material in his *Notebook* were composed before 1628 although not copied into the book until later. Clavell was also engaged in legal cases in London in 1629-30, with the 2 bills mentioned, those of 9 May 1629 (C2/Chas. I/C91/54) and of 6 June 1630 (C2/Chas. I/C67/27). The latter indicates that at some time after his release from the King's Bench, Clavell was arrested for debt, and had another, but probably short, term in prison, in Newgate.

He is next heard of in Ireland. Why he went there is not known: perhaps to avoid creditors, or to disengage from troublesome lawsuits, or to get clear of unsavoury associates from the days of his criminal career, or perhaps from a wish to be somewhere where his reputation was not widely known, and where he could start a new life. And that is exactly what he did. Indeed he started two new careers, as a doctor and as a lawyer, following both professions simultaneously. He also succeeded in getting to know several important people; and he re-married. But he was not immediately happy and successful in Ireland. He had two spells there: the date of his first arrival is not known, but was probably in 1631 or 1632 after the production of *The Sodder'd Citizen*, since he had the ms. of that play with him, and wrote on it doggerel lines saying that if he could only get back to England he would never set foot in Dublin again. This despondency seems related to the early part of his first visit, for later he was successful in Ireland. He first left Ireland about 27 Sep. 1633 (*Notebook*, 60). After about a year in England he landed in Ireland for the second time on 14 Dec. 1634 (*Notebook*, 49), and returned to England about 17 June 1637 (*Lismore Papers*, Ser. I, vol. 12, p.12. The earl of Cork here describes Clavell as "the phisicall lawyer", showing that he was known as a practitioner in both professions). If Clavell wrote the introduction to the sword dance at Christmas 1632 at Lord Barries in Ireland (*Notebook*, 13), he must have been there (?David Fitz-David Barry, 1st Earl of Barrymore, ? at Barry, Co. Longford — see below for his esteem of Clavell) by early Dec. 1632, and that would hardly have been immediately after arrival in Ireland, Clavell's interest in the drama suggests another reason for going to Ireland: he may have heard of the development of interest there in the drama (v. Wm. S. Clark: *The Early Irish Stage*. 1955. Chap. 2), and hoped to get his play staged in Dublin. But perhaps his main reason was the property in Carrigrohane, for he certainly started to obtain support for his uncle's claim to this, as is shown in a letter to his uncle from London of 3 July 1634 (*Notebook*, 50). And if the letter of 27 Sep. 1633 from Lord Barrimore to Clavell's uncle (*Notebook*, 60) may be taken at its face value, he had won friendship and esteem from many of the "quality". The letter, signed "D. Barrimore, Castlehouse", says that he is not alone in having the highest opinion of Clavell, for this is shared by many of the best Peers in the Realm "whoe striue to out doe mee in their noble affections towards him. As my Lord of Corke my Lord Chancellour my Lord of Orm(ond) and others", and continues in giving Clavell fulsome praise. The copy of Sir William's reply is cautious: he had feared that his nephew might relapse into his early disastrous courses; and, although somewhat reassured by

Barrimore's letter, is not entirely happy, and is especially concerned about Clavell's proposal to get married. There are no details of this, but it may be referred to in a letter (*Notebook*, 62) in which Clavell laments that his beloved's attitude to him has suddenly changed "from verry louinge to extreame dogged" *i.e.* sullen, and asserts that he has sent to England for proofs of his birth and estates that will be settled on him. This is a letter to an adult, not to a child like Isabel Markham (see below); but apparently nothing came of it; his unknown beloved remained dogged. As few entries in the *Notebook* are dated it cannot be told whether Clavell began to practise as a doctor during his first visit to Ireland.

A Recantation contains as preliminaries 7 or 8 poems and 4 prose addresses to various people. The work itself is in some 1800 lines of heroic couplets including a final appeal to the king for liberty. Like most of Clavell's verse, the style is fluent and passages express genuine feeling, particularly when recounting his own injuries. All editions are prefaced by his appeal to the king for mercy. In the 1st edition this reads:

A few Lines presented vnto his Maiestie after I was apprehended, yet before my tryall.

I that haue rob'd so oft am now bid stand,
 Death & the Law assault me, & demand
 My life & meanes; I never vs'd men so,
 But having ta'ne their money, let them go.
 Yet must I dye & is there no releife?
 The King of Kings had mercy on a theife.
 So may our gracious King too, if he please,
 Without his Counsell grant me a release.
 God is his precedent, & men shall see
 His mercy go beyond severity.

Clavell's comment that the king could ignore or not wait for his Council may be because of the urgency of his case or because he knew of the Council's letter of 15 Dec. 1625 (v.p. above) and the severe view they took of highway crime. But, once promised a pardon, and needing the Council's support for his release, Clavell, with judicious tact, altered the couplet, in the next two editions, to read:

So may my gracious King in mercy saue me,
 Although grim Death, and Law, doe thus out-braue me.

This appeal has been frequently reprinted, and is often incorrectly called Clavell's *Recantation*.

The Sodder'd Citizen means "the citizen who has been made financially sound again (soldered, repaired) after having been broken (bankrupt)". The title, although not particularly apt, would have been far less clumsy *c.* 1630 than it is today, for *solder* was then widely used for the repair of the abstract as well as the concrete. The 1936 edition notes (xi) the two references in

the play to the author as highwayman, but says that apart from these there is no evidence that the plot in any way reflects the circumstances of Clavell's life (xviii). But the Prologue's statement that the author is a reformed highwayman, the references to life in prison, the struggles of an impecunious young man and the interest in medicine certainly reflect episodes of Clavell's life. And, now more is known about that life, it can be seen that the play is almost the story of one part of it, as one episode seems to prove. Clavell, we know, had been tricked by a fraudulent goldsmith named Banks. In the play a foolish young man who has been led astray and is now in prison, Brainsick, has been tricked by a dishonest goldsmith, Mountain. Brainsick says that he will re-Christen Mountain, and a name to suit him is "The lesser Bancks, or, the little Mountebancke", and Mountain replies, "Troth Sir I commend your true jest, / It speaks my person and condition right" (163-72), which is surely admission of a pun on a real name. There is, incidentally, an echo here from *A Recantation*, 1634 p.18 which speaks of "*Noyes* flood ... topping the rankes / Of the great Mountaines, and the *lesser Bankes*." The heroine in the play is an orphan as, apparently, was Clavell's first love; and there are other links. One character, Hodge, uses the conventional stage western dialect, of which Clavell would have known a real variety in Dorset. The ms. of the play is slightly defective, especially at the end, and so the full dénouement is not known. But there is enough to show that the play lacks distinction. Although written fluently it is, as the prologue says, a prentice effort, and shows little sign of dramatic promise in its author.

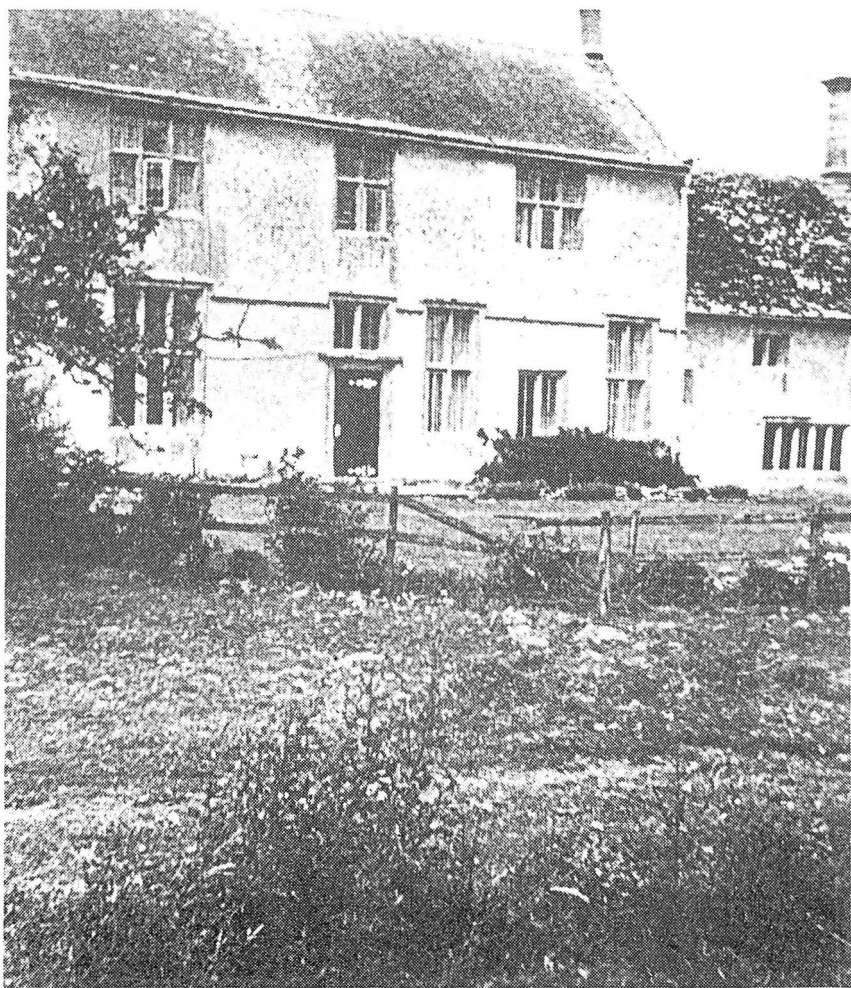
As to Clavell's character, his life up to 1628 would show him to have been headstrong and foolish and with criminal tendencies. For if robbery on the highway could be put down to a form of youthful panache, that could hardly be said of stealing college plate. But he came from a broken home, and when he burgled and presumably decamped from his college he may even have had no home to go to, and no money. This does not excuse his crime, but in such circumstances an irresponsible and foolish youth could easily be led astray; and it would not be showing undue charity to suggest that his crimes may have stemmed not so much from criminal tendencies as from evil influences on a weak character in desperate circumstances. His portrait could well show such a man. His irresponsibility and foolishness are apparent in the ease with which he allows himself to be tricked by the goldsmith Banks and others, and the lack of the most elementary business sense in disposing of the Wootton Glanville property; even, by his own admission, signing a deed of conveyance without reading or attempting to

understand it. But Clavell was skilled at special pleading, and here he was anxious to emphasize his trusting innocence against the villainous guile of those who deceived him. We have only his own word: he could be businesslike in keeping copies of important letters, as is shown in his *Notebook*. He was plausible and would have no difficulty in giving a picture of himself as the injured innocent, which was indeed with him a favourite rôle. His plausibility was no doubt one reason for his success in the second part of his life in gaining access to and even the friendship of, people of importance, and in marrying an heiress. But plausibility could not have been enough: he must have had personal qualities, and may well have given services, medical, legal or literary (as in writing for the sword dance). But, so far, there is little that is attractive in his character, and that little is not enhanced by his marriage, aged 33, to a girl of 9. His tendency to boast, often without strict regard to facts, rather indicates someone who had never grown up. His picture of himself as the daring highwayman ranging over Gad's Hill, Redhill and Shooter's Hill (*Recantation*, I), to which Salisbury Plain is added — although here with no personal claim — in the prologue to his play, does not square with his recorded crimes; but of course the record may be incomplete. Just before his second visit to Ireland he wrote to his uncle, Sir William, saying that he had been often at Court and kissed the king's hand, and implied that he was well known in the City, adding that he had over £150 in cash, clothes worth more than £150, plus jewels, watches and a rich sword (*Notebook*, 53-4); and to him again on 20 Dec. 1634 from Ireland asserting that he was "as well accoutred (equipped) as any young Lord in the Kingdom" (*Notebook*, 48); all of which may well have left his uncle unconvinced. He could also boast of estates that he could have no certainty of inheriting, and of a non-existent membership of Lincoln's Inn. But here again one is tempted to make at any rate some excuse for the vain glory of a young man without money or influence who, genuinely convinced that he had something in him, was desperately determined to make a name for himself. And certainly the picture of Clavell would be unjust and incomplete without due notice of his absolute reformation after 1627 and of his energy and undoubted ability. He somehow acquired sufficient knowledge of the law to justify his admission to the Irish Bar, and at the same time an apparently extensive knowledge of medicine; and he put both, especially the latter, into active practice. He also published a lengthy poem, and wrote and had produced a five-act play, and composed many other pieces in prose and verse. Not only did he achieve all this but he gained admittance to the chief literary circle of his day; for he was

sealed of the tribe of Ben, as his "Gratulatory to Ben Jonson" records. He may have owed this distinction partly to influence, perhaps of Massinger, but his own literary output was not inconsiderable, and he may have written other poems, now lost, which had been circulated among friends. Meanwhile he travelled in and between England and Ireland, made many friends, and was extremely busy in his two professions and in his correspondence.

If we were dealing with an ignorant, unknown, penniless ex-gaol-bird, such a record would of course be quite extraordinary; but the case is not like that: Clavell was well educated, and, far from being unknown, had, in a way, become something of a celebrity. The reformed gentlemen-highwayman who had received a royal pardon and had published a lengthy and rather sensational poem under royal approval was the central figure in a minor *cause célèbre* of the day, and as such attracted wide interest. Yet, even if this fame or notoriety did in fact give him some advantage in starting a new life, it, too, was due to his own endeavours; and it may fairly be claimed that his achievements, in the 14 years or so which were left to him, do indeed mark him out as an unusual and remarkable man.

1. I am much indebted to Mr J. P. Ferris who has not only discovered Clavell documents in the P. R. O., as those concerning the Brasenose burglary, and Clavell's dealings with Banks and others, but has kindly sent abstracts and discussed them with me. I am also indebted to Mr. C. Chaffyn-Grove for kind permission to publish material in the Troyte-Bullock mss. in the Wilts Record Office, Trowbridge.
2. Clavell's main writings, *The Notebook*, *A Recantation*, and *The Sodder'd Citizen*. *The Notebook*. This is in the Troyte-Bullock mss., ref. 865/502, and is on 45 leaves of folio size paper. From what seems to be the front, pages run from 1 to 39; then the book is used the other way up, presumably starting from the end, p. 90. Hence detailed pagination could be 1-39, 40(A51)-90(A1), but for convenience, 1-90 is used. The whole is apparently in Clavell's hand and assumed to be composed by him unless there is evidence to the contrary, as there is for 8 pages. The assumption may be wrong; but there is nothing that Clavell could not have composed. The remaining pages contain: 26, Poems and drama; 20, Letters and Memos; 23, Medical; 2, Miscellaneous; and 11 are blank. Only one item, a poem by Philip Massinger, has been published, in *N. & Q.* Dec. 1978, 503 and Aug. 1979, 347, where the ms. is incorrectly described. *A Recantation of An Ill Led Life: Or, A Discoverie of the High-way Law. With Vehement Disswasions to all (in that kind) Offenders. As also, Many cautelous Admonitions and full Instructions, how to know, shunne, and apprehend a Thiefe. Most necessary for all honest Travellers to peruse, observe and practise. Written by John Clavell, Gent ... Approved by the Kings most excellent Majestie, and published by his expresse Command. The third Edition, with Addition.* London, Printed by A. M. for Richard Meighen ... 1634. pp. (23), 47 and portrait of Clavell. All editions are published by Meighen with substantially the same titles. The 1st and 2nd are dated 1628, the 2nd having *With additions Corrected likewise and amended by the Authour*, and, alone of the 3, having the poem "To his deare Mother, and euer louing Sister, Mrs. Frances Clavell, and Mrs. Elizabeth Freake". *The Sodder'd Citizen*. The ms. of this play, published by the Malone Society in 1936 is with the *Notebook* at Trowbridge. It is in 5 acts with scene divisions, mostly in blank verse with a little prose and 7 songs. There were probably about 2920 lines, but, as 1 or 2 leaves are missing at the end, the text after l. 2862 in Act 5, Sc. 5, is lost. The ms. is in



ROUNDCHIMNEYS, WOOTTON GLANVILLE
(See Note 4)

hand of a professional scribe with corrections in Clavell's hand and in that of the book-keeper of the king's company and possibly other hands. It bears no author's name but Clavell has written his name on it and almost beyond doubt it is by him. One of the named actors, Richard Sharpe, is known to have been buried on 25 Jan. 1632, and others were first heard of in the company in 1626. The Malone Society kindly permit use of material in their edition.

3. The portrait of Clavell, aged 25, was made by William Marshall presumably in 1626 when Clavell was in prison. The print of it was apparently prepared for the 1st or 2nd ed. of *A Recantation*, since it is dated 1628, but seems first to have appeared in the 3rd ed. of 1634. It is reproduced in the 1936 ed. of *The Sodder'd Citizen*. In 1792 it was republished and the present print has been made from that version, by kind permission of the Dorset Record Office.
4. Roundchimneys has had alterations since Clavell's day. See Hutchins, 3, 744; *Proc. D.N.H.A.S.*, 21, 1900, 218; *SDNQ.*, Sept., 1906, 130; Roy. Com. Hist. Monuments: *Dorset*, 3 Pt 1, 1970, 97. For the present photograph and permission to publish it I am indebted to Mr. B. E. J. Rich, the present owner of the house.

J. H. P. PAFFORD

289. PHELPS' COUNTY HISTORY. The letter published below, from the archives of the Earl of Oxford and Asquith at Mells Manor, explains why no more of the Revd. William Phelps' *History and Antiquities of Somersetshire* appeared after volume II in 1839. It also gives an interesting insight into his working methods. The prospective volume on the Eastern Division of Somerset including Frome and Mells which he hoped to publish within a year is with Phelps' other papers in the British Library (Add. Ms. 33826). It is fairly complete, mostly in manuscript but some sections set up in type. The letter is almost certainly addressed to the Revd. J. S. H. Horner, rector of Mells as well as lord of the manor. His father, Colonel T. S. Horner, had died in 1844 and the Colonel's eldest son the previous year, hence the 'sad additions' necessary to the family tree.

Phelps appears to have been confused about Lady Montgomery and her husband. She was Gabrielle Roberta, daughter of a French Huguenot leader, the Count of Montgomery, and widow of Gawen Champernowne of Dartington, Devon, who died in 1592. She was the third wife of Thomas Horner (1546-1612) and lived until 1628. It would be useful if the lithographs of Marston House (at Marston Bigot outside Frome) and Mells Park could be traced.

Newport Mon:
March 26th. 1847

Revd Sir,

Several years have elapsed since I had the pleasure of paying you a visit at Mells. The melancholy changes during that interval are painful subjects of record; and to you as the present head of your family I beg leave now to address myself.

The pedigree which is in type and which was corrected by my late friend Mr. Williams of Marston, I send to you for your perusal, and sad additions which are necessary.

I am not certain as to the place where George Horner who married Lady Montgomery should come in. Was George Horner son of the first Sir John Horner?

The delay which has taken place in the prosecution of my arduous undertaking, was occasioned by ill health, which led me to the German Spa, where having recovered my health, I proceeded to Rome to meet my friend the present Sir Calverly Trevelyan,¹ who had directed my attention to some Mss. in the library of the English College there. I then travelled through a considerable part of Central Europe, with a friend, and returned to England in 1845. I then resumed my literary labours, and the mass of important information I found in the Parliamentary and other reports, and Statistical matter, had caused me no regret, but has most completely furnished me with details absolutely necessary to be incorporated into a County history.

On looking over my portfolio I found the drawing of Mells Park, which your late lamented father caused to be taken to illustrate my book, and which had not been placed in the engravers hands. The improvements in lithography have been so great during the last seven years, that I have decided on that style for the embellishment of my work. I had the pleasure to show the drawing of Marston House (by the same artist) to Lord Cork, a few day (*sic*) since, and to ask his opinion of the style I proposed, when he expressed himself satisfied. The price will be half, five guineas instead of ten, and the effect much superior: I trust the change will not be unacceptable to you.

The district of Mells & Frome is in the press and waiting for final revision; and the Mss. for the remaining portion of the Eastern Division is sufficiently forward to enable the printer to complete this district in a year.

I beg to apologize for my long letter, and I have the honour to be your obliged and obedient Servant

W. Phelps

My address will be at Richd Blakemore Esqr. MP the Leys Monmouth.

My brother in law.

Endorsed: Mr. Phelps County History

1. Sir Walter Calverly Trevelyan, bt., of Nettlecombe

MICHAEL MCGARVIE

290. GLASTONBURY, THE ABBOT'S CANAL(?). In my youth a wide and deep trench ran alongside the main road from Northover towards Glastonbury below Wirrall Hill; my grandfather and his friends called it the 'Abbot's canal'. During the intervening years most of it has been filled in and levelled; only 300 yards or so remains visible, running eastward from near the junction with Beckery New Road. When the main road was constructed by the Wells Turnpike Trust in 1820, the engineers must have had a choice between following a line close to the bottom of the hill, which would have involved filling the deep depression, or using the outside bank, probably the wellconsolidated soil dug out when the canal was made; they chose the latter.

At about 500 yards from the end of the new road at its junction with Magdalen Street, it rises a little, so that the canal,

continuing to contour, would have emerged on its other side. Here, buildings and a car park have obliterated all trace until the Fair Field is reached, where a wide depression crosses the bottom of the slope near Magdalen Close. This may be a continuation of the canal.

I have found two possible references to it: Pollard and Moyle's survey of the Abbey estates in 1539 refers to Wyrral Park as having 'therbage verye goode & fertyle, with a ronnyng streme throwe the same' (Warner's *Glastonbury*, App. no. XX, p. lxxiv; and the *Proceedings* of the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society for 1904 includes a paper by the late J. G. L. Bulleid on 'The Streets, Highways & Byeways of Glastonbury'. In it he describes the entry to the Park Estate before the road was constructed where 'old inhabitants of Glastonbury, recently dead, could well remember the gate between two poplar trees leading into these fields and the footpaths across them by the ditch under Weary All'.

I hope that an opportunity will be found before the remaining traces of the canal are covered over or obliterated to ascertain the old water levels and to establish whether it is indeed a canal and of mediaeval construction.

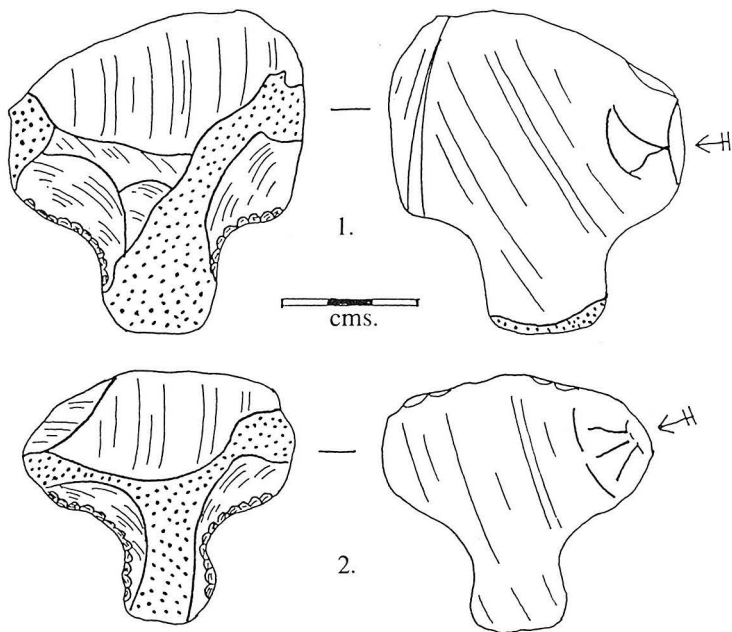
S. C. MORLAND

291. AN 'ENIGMATIC' PAIR OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM THE MENDIP HILLS, SOMERSET. The two implements which are described and illustrated as items 1 & 2 over, were found on the surface of ploughed land.

Item 1. was found at NGR ST 510504 in May 1977. The find spot is 350m East of the quarry at Westbury-sub-Mendip. It is made from a 20mm thick cortical flint flake. Its overall dimensions are 73mm x 67mm. The implement shows slight signs of utilisation in the steeply worked hollows, and on its long edge. The main flake surface terminates in a hinge fracture. It is patinated a light grey.

Item 2. was found at NGR ST 509525 in October 1981. The find spot is 750m Southeast of Cheddar Head Farm. It is made from a 17mm thick cortical flint flake. The overall dimensions are 59mm x 55mm. This implement also shows slight signs of utilisation in the steeply worked hollows, and on its long edge. It is patinated a dense white.

Comment. When item 1. was collected it was considered as unusual, but as being 'probably a one-off'. The subsequent finding of a further example suggests that both these tools were made with the same pre-determined conception in the mind of their maker(s). Ideas concerning these implements would be welcomed.



BRIAN HACK

QUERIES

WILLIAM FITZ-PARNELL (BEAUMONT) William, son of Robert Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, known to be living in 1204, was a Crusader, and a leper who founded a Leper Hospital at Leicester, and possibly one at Wimborne, where the family owned the Kingston Lacy Estate.

Can any reader suggest a source of further information? Replies to Miss E. Holmes, 79 East Borough, Wimborne.

HORSEY FAMILY & HORSEY MANOR FARM. The family held Horsey Manor Farm and Horsey Pignes until 1641. In 1703 Horsey Manor Farm was owned by J. M. Pleydell, and in 1868, ownership passed to Joseph Boon, and subsequently to the present owners, the Greenhills, in 1877. Any information, particularly about the Horsey family, to Mrs. A. C. N. Hudson, 18 St. Michael's Rd., Claverdon, Warwick CV35 8NT.

RUGGS FARM, BROMPTON REGIS. Subscriber, Mrs. B. Mottershead of 44 The Green, Southwick, Sussex BN4 4FR, would be interested to know if this farm ever belonged to a

family of the same name, although she has not been able to discover the name in the area.

She has amassed a large number of Rugg references and if any subscriber has Rugg ancestry would be happy to assist by checking her files.

CORRECTION

HANNAM. Rev. D. C. Hannam has pointed out that the Index to vol XXXI refers only to Hannams of Wimborne Minster. The spelling of the name was altered to Hanham early in the 17th Century, and this is indicated on page 29 of the volume. For accuracy, subscribers may like to alter the references in the Index.

BOOK REVIEWS

C. Pepen (Ed), *Hengistbury Head* (Bournemouth Local Studies, Teachers' Centre Local Studies Group Publication, 1985. Pp. 79, 4 maps, illus.)

This is a fourth edition of a comprehensive guide to Hengistbury Head, and includes succinct accounts of the Archaeology, Geology, Flora and Fauna, and the management and conservation of the area. The booklet is simple to use, well laid out, and written as a clear, no-nonsense guide for the field visitor. For further study, each section contains a recommended booklist, and this would be a great advantage to the interested student.

G.J.D.

G. J. Davies (ed) *Touchying Witchcraft and Sorcerye* (Dorset Rec. Soc., vol.9, 1985. Pp.iv & 74. £4.00 from the Hon. Sec. c/o Dorset County Museum, Dorchester, DT1 1XA — members of D.N.H. & A.S. £3.50).

Dr. Davies has brought together details of six cases of witchcraft in Dorset between the 16th and 19th-centuries. The documents quoted extensively or transcribed in full include a case of a woman forced to seek the protection of the courts after having been accused of bewitching a neighbour in 1604, the case of Deanes Grimmerton who was suspected of appearing as an apparition and causing violent fits in her victims and the examination of John Walsh which gives the volume its title. Dr. Davies has also reproduced part of Christina Hole's introduction and all of the text of her *Witchcraft in Toner's Puddle* (Dorset Rec. Soc. No.2 1964 out of print) in which the Revd. William Ettrick, vicar of Affpuddle and Toner's Puddle recorded how he was forced into an unwilling belief in

witchcraft by a series of unpleasant events in his home.

In his introduction Dr. Davies gives a general introduction which places Dorset's witchcraft in a coherent context and is a useful and polished examination of the power of fear and superstition on people's minds.

H.J.

Ilchester and District Occasional Papers. The Toucan Press has published 6 more papers, obtainable from J. Stevens Cox, Mount Durand, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, C.I.

No. 55 Sock Dennis Tithe Apportionment, 1839

No. 56 Roger Bacon by Sir John Edwin Sandys (a paper read to the British Academy in May, 1914)

No. 57 Schedule of Stephen Shutter, Insolvent Debtor in Ilchester Prison, 1837

No. 58 Report of Commissioners on Ilchester Gaol, 1822

No. 59 Roman Bone Objects from Ilchester

No. 60 An Ilchester Gallimaufry, 1985

L.C.H.

Laurence Keen & Charlotte Lindgren: *William Barnes. The Dorset Engravings* (Dorset Nat. Hist. & Archaeol. Soc., 1986. Pp. vii, 40 illus. £4). The text, on pp. 1-19, is on Barnes's aspirations as an artist and his work as a wood-engraver, particularly on the 27 engravings of Dorset subjects shown on pp. 20-36. It is a scholarly and largely pioneer study of a little known side of this most versatile and truly remarkable man. Over 200 engravings by Barnes have been traced; many, including some in this book, hitherto unpublished. Barnes had to abandon his project to become a professional artist and engraver since it became clear that he could not afford the necessary training. Hence, although his work has undoubted charm, it is little more than that of the highly skilled amateur and apprentice, as he himself came to know. He greatly admired Bewick, whose influence, but not his quality, can be seen in his work. The knight in his effigy in St. Peter's church looks perhaps even more uncomfortable in Barnes's engraving no. 26; and, although delightful, the Bewickian illustration of Fielding's house in 23 and on cover, seems, even to the untutored eye, to have faults in perspective. But this is an important book and all lovers of Barnes will be grateful to the authors, who promise a companion work on Barnes's Somerset engravings.

J. P.

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the named addressees*

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