
NOTES & QUERIES

FOR
SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

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

HERRICK

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Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset

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45. 'FACTIOUS, PEEVISH AND PERVERSE SPIRITS': PURITAN CRITICISM OF THE CHURCH IN DORSET DURING THE 17TH CENTURY.

The group of churchmen charged with the task of revising the Book of Common Prayer in 1662 were in no doubt as to the difficulty of satisfying all sides in the religious divide which had opened during all the troubles of the previous decades. In the elegant Preface which still forms part of the Prayer Book, they acknowledged the impossibility of obtaining acceptance of the Liturgy by those they described in the words in the above title, and 'who under the late usurped powers had made it their business to render the people disaffected'. Among more extreme Puritans the rejection of formal prayers and a set pattern of worship had been growing ever since the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559. Those who wished for a more sweeping reformation in the Church preferred extempore prayers uttered by the minister as moved by the spirit, and desired an end to such 'relics of popery' and distractions such as vestments, images, chanting, kneeling and symbolism, for example, the sign of the cross in baptism or the use of a ring in the marriage service. As early as 1572 Thomas Cartwright, a professor of divinity at Cambridge, had pronounced a memorable condemnation of a set liturgy for public worship:

The Book of Common Prayer is such a piece of work as it is strange we will use it; besides I cannot account it praying as they use it commonly, but only reading or saying of prayers, even as a child that learneth to read, if his lesson be a prayer he readeth a prayer, he doth not pray. ... God grant us to feel our lacks better than this, and to take better order than this for prayer.

Evidence of the growth of such sentiments among both clergy and parishioners in Dorset during the years before the Civil War can be traced in the presentments or reports of churchwardens from those parishes which had remained as 'peculiar' of the Dean or Prebends of Salisbury cathedral after Dorset had been transferred to the newly-created diocese of Bristol in 1542. These presentments are preserved among the Salisbury diocesan records which are now in the new Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office at Chippenham.¹ Most of the churchwardens' presentments were concerned with immoral behaviour, adultery, illegitimate children, slander and probate irregularities, all of which were the concern

of the Church courts, but some also report on the conduct of the clergy, the content of sermons, unorthodox opinions or services and the behaviour of congregations in church or churchyard ².

In 1597 the churchwardens at Mapperton informed the Dean of Salisbury that contrary to his express orders, the minister, Mr George Bowden, refused to wear a surplice or other appropriate vestments, describing them as 'the badge of superstition'. The affronted churchwardens complained that such men 'go about to steale away the hartes of the people disquieting the church and abusinge the office of godly preacher'. There is no evidence that the Dean ever acted upon their complaint. At Bloxworth, Bere Regis and Stratton in 1606 the ministers were said to have refused to wear a surplice or to baptise infants with the sign of the cross. At Beaminster in 1616 the minister, Mr Barnard, refused to use the services prescribed in the Prayer Book and would not bow at the name of Jesus. Presumably he also shared the Puritan objection to hierarchy in the Church, since he was said to refuse to pray for Archbishops and Bishops as prescribed in the Prayer Book. Evidently some of the laity also objected to the Prayer Book, and at Beaminster in 1630 one parishioner was said to have snatched the book out of the minister's hand. A few of the laity had already left the church in favour of their own informal and extempore services, and 'separatists' are mentioned at Winterborne Tomson, Netherbury, Lillington and Bloxworth. John Warr of Yetminster was reported as 'an Inconformist to the government of the Church of England, not frequentinge divine service nor receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper'. He was also said to be a seducer of others to leave the Church.

In several other parishes the churchwardens complained that people were unwilling to accept the accustomed ritual. At Lyme Regis in 1635 there was said to be an unseemly 'wante of dew reverence and humble submission', and people refused to kneel to receive the Communion. At Bloxworth in 1622 the churchwardens complained that the minister, Mr Robert Welsteed, encouraged the congregation to sit when receiving Communion. Many of the parishioners at Fordington in 1635 refused to stand while the parish clerk read the gospel, 'contrary to the antient order and laudable use of the Church of England'. Because of their 'obstinacy and irregularity' more and more of the congregation remained seated or leant on their seats or pew doors, 'accountinge standinge but superstition'. Similar complaints were made from

Halstock, Fordington and Netherbury. From all parishes there were reports of absences from church or of people leaving before the sermon. Some of those attending only part of the service were Catholic sympathisers who hoped, by such show of conformity, to avoid the harsh penalties imposed on recusants. Puritan emphasis on preaching meant that sermons were often long, lasting for more than an hour. It is not surprising that there were frequent complaints about bad behaviour of children during such long sermons. At Lyme Regis in 1635 there were reports of 'rude and disorderly boyes' and of babies 'disquieting the church'. At Sherborne in 1638 the long sermons of the zealous Puritan minister, William Lydford, were said to be disturbed by the crying of babies and the ill-behaviour of small children; it seems unfair that at the same time several women were reported for 'sitting with their children in the churchyard' during the sermon time. Further evidence of the prominence given to sermons can be seen in the remarkable number of early 17th century pulpits to be found in Dorset churches. At Lyme Regis the pulpit was the gift of Richard Harvey, a London merchant, and a prominent inscription records his name, the date 1613, and his Puritan views with the text 'Faith is by Hearing'.

Puritans also laid much stress on Bible readings, and in 1611 a new translation of the Bible, the Authorized Version, was published and James I ordered that it should be used in all churches. Evidently some Dorset parishes were slow to obey this order, among them Bere Regis and Yetminster, where for several years the churchwardens confessed that they had not purchased the new version. At Lillington a rate was imposed on parishioners to pay for the new Bible, and in 1613 John Fitzjames was fined 8d for failing to contribute his share.³ The excuse of the churchwardens at Caundle Marsh in 1635 was no doubt echoed elsewhere:

Wee have not a Bible of the last translation, but our parson is well pleased with the Bible that hath been there the space of twentie yeares, and is a very fayer Bible, and new bownd within the space of nine yeares since.

The Puritan objection to Church ales and to games being played on Sundays which was the only time most people had leisure for such sports, no doubt goes some way to explain the frequent presentments of young men for playing at fives in churchyards.

Among numerous complaints are those from Fordington, Netherbury, Beaminster, Bere Regis and Long Burton.⁴ At Lyme Regis in 1609 there was a complaint about 'playing at scytels in the churchyard', and at Sherborne it was bowls which were played. Thomas Downton, vicar of Alton Pancras, in 1607 took members of his congregation with him to Cheselbourne 'to footeball upon a Sabbath day ... and lost Evening Prayer'. The churchwardens at Halstock in 1607 were however, able to report that although until recently games and plays had been used in the churchyard 'they have now upon admonition been discontinued'.

Those who disagreed with the doctrines preached by the clergy were not slow in expressing their disapproval. At Fordington in 1619 12 men were reported for 'Rude and immodest behaviour in Church in the tyme of Sermon, Layinge down their heads and arms uppon the foreparts of their seates ...as though they did sleepe'. Edward Wills of Hermitage described the vicar as 'a jack-a-napes' and was said to sleep through the sermons. John Birknell of Over Compton claimed in 1634 that 'his pigg can write and preach as well as the parson'. At Beaminster in 1630 several men were reported for 'rude and irrevent speeches' about the sermons of the minister, Mr Hartford, and Anselme Wall had proclaimed with a loud voice in church that 'Hee had more wit than the said Mr Hartford had learning'.⁵ Richard Christmas, gentleman, of Sydling St Nicholas set his cat on a post and 'pincht the catt by the ear and made her crye' saying that 'he wold make her preach as good a sermon as some of them'.

Several presentments from Lyme Regis include complaints of people using 'opprobrious words' to the vicar and of disorderly and inattentive conduct during the services and sermons. It was the lack of respect shown to the clergy that prompted the long-serving Puritan vicar of Lyme Regis, John Geare, to include a letter in the churchwardens' presentments for 1630. His letter was addressed to John Johnson, the registrar to the Dean of Salisbury:

Good Mr Johnson, for want of visitation and due execution of good Lawes, it is allmost with us as when there was no King in Israel, everie one did what seemed good in his owne eyes, jurisdiction, ministrie, ministers are despised ...It is high time to question and reforme these thinges unlesse wee shall have a general confusion, ataxie [anarchy] and disorder.

No action seems to have been taken by the church authorities. The machinery of the church courts, which should have pursued those presented by the churchwardens, was slow, inefficient and cumbersome. West Dorset parishes, in particular, were remote from the diocesan centres at Salisbury and Bristol, and the scene was clearly being set for the rapid growth in dissent and nonconformity which was to be such a notable feature of the area during the rest of the 17th century.

1. Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office D5/19/-.
For a complete list of records relating to the Dorset peculiars see Pamela Stewart, *Salisbury Diocesan Records*, (Wiltshire County Council, 1973).
2. Further details of presentments regarding immorality can be found in J.H. Bettey, 'Parish Life in Dorset during the early Seventeenth Century', *Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 124, 1992, 9-12.
3. Presumably this is Sir John Fitzjames of Leweston (d. 1625) whose splendid monument is in Long Burton Church.
4. Churchwardens also objected to fives because the game was played against the walls of churches and towers, often causing damage especially to windows.
5. Anselm Wall was summoned before the Quarter Sessions in 1632 for seizing the poor rates from the Overseer in Beaminster church. He was bound over to appear at the next Assizes. T. Hearing & S. Bridges, eds., *Dorset Quarter Sessions Order Book 1625-28*, (Dorset Record Society, 14, 2006, 188).

J.H. BETTEY

46. THE MERCHANT OF VENICE AT MONTACUTE VICARAGE. In 1875 William Robert Phelps (1846-1919), the last squire of Montacute, married Cicely Grace Fane. Their daughter Marjorie was born two years later and Cicely died then or soon afterwards. In 1881 William Phelps married Constance Louisa Ponsonby Fane of Brympton and three more children were born: Marjorie 1878-1957, Clare 1880-1927, Edward 1882-1928 and Gerard 1884-1940. In the vicarage next to the great house lived eleven children, six boys and five girls of the Reverend Charles Powys, 'a very good family' the squire was heard to remark to a visitor.¹ Certainly he took an interest in the Powys children. The diary of Katie Powys,² the third daughter, reveals that he showed her how to use her microscope and camera; her photographs, although not always clear as one would like, are most interesting.³ When John Cowper Powys was ill at Sherborne it was the squire's carriage that brought him home.⁴ When he showed a disinclination to be a clergyman it was the squire who asked him if he had thought of the Bar⁵ and it was the squire who introduced him to the novels of Dostoevski, my favourite of all novels.⁶ The Powys children received invitations, not always welcome, to dances and to play tennis at the great house, but the

most mutually satisfactory occupation was acting.

'The Phelips children were persuaded without difficulty' wrote John Cowper Powys, 'in spite of their Ponsonby grandfather being her Majesty's Censor of Plays, to make part of the cast of these performances'.⁷ Littleton Powys remembered

... when John would be directing the acting of some play, usually a play of Shakespeare, in which most of the family had parts and he the most important. There was one great occasion when we joined forces with the Phelips family and produced *The Merchant of Venice* ... We had a game called Nebuchanezzar something in the nature of charades in which scenes were acted without words.⁸

Marjorie Phelips was a considerable scholar and collected much material about the history of Montacute, now deposited in the Somerset Record Office. Among all these obscure and complicated documents is her diary of 1895 and 1896, in which the most interesting entry is the cast of *The Merchant of Venice* performed at the vicarage on 8 January 1895. The cast was as follows:

The Duke of Venice	Bob
Antonio	Tom
Bassanio	Edward
Solario	Mr de Grey
Gratiano	Gertrude
Shylock	Jack
Lancelot	Gerard
Lorenzo	Bertie
Balthazar	Gerard
Portia	Myself
Jessica	May
Tubal	Bob ⁹

Bob was the nickname of Theodore Powys, then aged 21, Tom was Littleton Powys, 22, Edward Phelips 13, Gertrude Powys 18, Jack (John Cowper Powys) 23, Gerard Phelips 11, Bertie Powys 14, Marjorie Phelips 17 and May (Marion Powys) 13. Of course John Cowper would play Shylock and Marjorie must have had

spirit and confidence to attempt Portia. Judging by the cast list all the rather tedious scenes involving the Princes of Aragon and Morocco were cut, which would have shortened Portia's part, and even more that of Bassanio, thus making it easier for the 13 year old Edward playing the lead as benefited the Montacute heir.

It is interesting that Theodore already had peripheral, almost outsider's parts, and that Gertrude played a man. May was probably well suited as Jessica. It is curious that Llewelyn and Clare, both golden-haired and apparently best beloved of their families, had no parts. Were they dyslexic at this stage? Could they not learn the words? And who was Mr de Grey? Presumably the tutor of Edward and Gerard. Although their father was a governor they did not go to Sherborne like many of their family and forebears, so were they educated at home? Littleton, very much in character, played the staunch good friend. Many of these scenes would gain in entertainment value due to the real life relationships of the actors.

Marjorie and Clare were both married at Montacute; Marjorie on 3 August 1904 to Captain John Uchtred Macdonald Ingilby (1874-1948), younger twin son of Sir William Ingilby of Ripley Castle, Yorkshire and Clare on 3 December 1907 to the fifth son of the Earl of St Helens, Edward Granville Eliot (1878-1952), a naval lieutenant. Marjorie had two daughters, Cicely and Joan but neither married. Clare had a son and two daughters, who all married. Jane Asher the actress is Clare's granddaughter. Edward and Gerard Phelps both died unmarried. It was Marjorie and her younger daughter, Joan, who became a well-known local historian in Yorkshire, who in later life maintained the friendship with the Powys family as a number of letters to them from Gertrude, Littleton, Llewelyn and Katie Powys, now in the Somerset Record Office, show.

A letter from Gertrude to Marjorie written on 22 February 1951, Edward's birthday, bridges the years:

Dearest Marjorie,

If it were 60 years ago I would now be going tea with you with our governess and Nellie and Bertie, May and Lulu. We would go walking down the drive and soon be sitting near a fine candled cake and playing all the games we did play perhaps charades – I don't think we

began Nebuchanezzar till later on – when some clever person invented it.

Katie is better and is now going for her little walk. I am going to get tea and then deal with the coal and wood, and make up a large fire for tea. I wish you were coming in at the door to share it with me. Rose is Willie's daughter – she is at school in Switzerland for a year – she is taller than I am and a very nice girl now 16. She is kind and very quick to see what is needed. A good horsewoman. And likes training them – when she is at home in Kenya. They like Paris and they liked Switzerland and Rome. Ho these planes take you about you now. This has now to go to the post so good-bye. Very much love, darling Marjorie.

Gertrude¹⁰

Nellie was the second Powys daughter who died when she was 13, Lulu was Llewelyn, and Willie was the youngest Powys brother, who emigrated to farm in Kenya and was, in a worldly sense, the most successful of Charles Powys's children.

1. J.C. Powys, *Autobiography* (London, 1967), 629.
2. In private possession.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Powys, *Autobiography*, 155.
5. *Ibid.*, 195.
6. J.C. Powys, *Powys to Sea Eagle* ed. A. Head (London, 1992), 320.
7. Powys, *Autobiography*, 121.
8. L. Powys, *The joy of it* (Kilmersdon, 1993), 11.
9. SRO, DD/PH 230-257.
10. *Ibid.*, DD/PH 340.

SUSAN RANDS

47. WEALTH OF THE CHINCHEN STONE MERCHANTS, 1820. This may be calculated by using the relative valuations shown in the 1820 Parish Rate Book. A rate is a levy for local purposes based on an assessment of the yearly value of property. The Parish was the normal unit for the collection of Poor and other rates. The Rate books contain lists of householders and /or owners, with an assessment of the value of the properties and the amount to be collected from them. I have used the data contained in the 1820 Swanage rate book to make a study of the values of the properties in the parish and get

an idea of where the wealth lay. In 1820 there were 614 items in Swanage which were assessed for the rates.

- Properties with a combined total rateable value of £2,844..10..0
- Boats with a combined tonnage of 154
- Stock in Trade with a rateable value of £1018

A rate was set which enabled £63.6.10 to be collected for church maintenance.

Houses: In 1820 297 houses were assessed for the Swanage parish rate. The majority were assessed at £1 to £2. Nathan and James Chinchin as befitted the pre-eminent stone merchants of Swanage paid rates on their personal houses of £9 and £8 respectively. The Rectory was assessed at £17. The most valuable was a house assessed at £28, then in the hands of the Trustees of John Dampier.

Rateable Value	No. of Houses in Band
£0 ..10.. 0	1
£1	107
£1 ..10.. 0	1
£2	56
£3	17
£4	11
£4 ..10.. 0	2
£5	2
£6	6
£7	7

Rateable Value	No. of Houses in Band
£8	4
£9	4
£10	1
£11	1
£12	1
£17	1
£20	1
£28	1
Total houses	297

Farms: Three of the farms of the parish belonged to Stone Merchants; one being Court Farm, owned by the Nathan/James Chinchin partnership.

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Spencer	Messrs	Cowleaze	£24		12	0
Randall*	Thos.	Townsend Farm	£35		17	6
Budden	Robt.	Caulton	£45	£1	2	6
Lester	BL Esq	Part of Langton Farm	£50	£1	5	0
Chinchen*	Messrs	Court Farm	£74	£1	17	0
Willis	Joh.	Ullwell Farm	£85	£2	2	6
Marsh*	Samuel Snr	Newton Farm	£100	£2	0	0
Barnes	Jno.	Whitecliff Farm	£105	£2	12	6
		Total Farms	£518	£12	9	0

* *Stone Merchants*

Public Houses

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Hancock	Wm.	New Inn	£3		1	6
Haysom	Wm. Snr.	White Hart Inn	£3		1	6
House	Wm.	Globe Inn	£6		3	0
Adams	Jno	Black Swan Inn	£7		3	6
Pushman	Peter	Lion Inn & Field	£7		3	6
Francis	Pleasant	Swan Inn	£11		5	6
Spurlock	Mrs	Anchor Inn	£11		5	6
Travers	Wm.	Ship Inn	£11		7	6
		Total Inns	£63	£2	9	0

Stone Bankers: The Stone Bankers of Swanage were assessed for Rates in the same way as Houses. There were bankers rated at £1, £2, £3 and £4. In 1820 sixteen specific bankers were assessed,

of which three were owned by the Nathan/James Chinchin partnership, which, in terms of value amount to 34.8% of the total Swanage banker capacity. The nearest competitors were Thomas Randall and Samuel Marsh each with 13%. The detail is shown in the following table:-

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Bower	Isaac	A Banker	£2		1	0
Burt	Robert Jun.	Banker	£1			6
Chinchin	Chas	Banker	£1			6
Chinchin	Messrs.	Their own Banker	£1			6
Chinchin	Messrs.	Pushman's Banker	£3			6
Chinchin	Messrs.	Their own Banker	£4		2	0
Collins	Timothy	A Banker	£1			6
Damon	Chas	Pushman's Banker	£1			6
Harden	Jno	Bankers	£1			6
Marsh	Samuel Sen	Bonfield's Banker	£3		1	6
Pushman	John	A Banker	£2		1	0
Randall	Thos	Bower's Bankers	£1			6
Randall	Thos	Bonfield's Banker	£2		1	0
Stickland	Mr	Banker	£1			6
Warren	Jerh.	Bonfield's Banker	£1			6
Warren	Jerh.	Own Banker	£1			6
Total Bankers			£23		11	6

Quarries: In the same way the working quarries were assessed and given a rateable value. In 1820 there were 89 quarries rated, the majority at a rateable value of £1, but with about ten each of £2 and at £3. These quarries were worked by almost as many different small family groups. The Chinchin partnership did not own any quarries in Swanage parish.

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Benfield	Mat & James	A Quarry	£1			6
Benfield	Tho.	A House & a Quarry	£3		1	6
Best	Ricd.	A House & a Quarry	£1			6
Bonfield	Abel	A Quarry	£1			6
Bonfield	T	A Quarry	£1			6
Burt	Robt. Sen.	A Quarry	£1			6
Burt	Thos	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Butler	W & George	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Chinchen	George	A Quarry	£1			6
Chinchen	George	A Quarry	£1			6
Chinchen	Jonah	A Quarry	£1			6
Chinchen	Jonah	A Quarry	£1			6
Cole	Wm.	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Coleman &	Josh & Moses	A Quarry	£1			6
Collings	Josh	A Quarry	£1			6
Collins	Timothy	A Quarry	£1			0
Collins	W	A Quarry	£1			6
Collinse	Josh	A Quarry	£1			6
Collinse &	Joh, Tho & Mr	A Quarry	£2		1	6
Collinse &	Joh, Tho & Mr	A Quarry	£1			6
Ellery	Jno	A Quarry	£1			6
Foot	Joh	A Quarry	£1			6
Harden	Cha.	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Harden	Jno	A Quarry in Durdlestone	£3		1	6
Harden	Jno	A Quarry	£2		1	6

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Harden	Jno	A Quarry	£2		1	0
Harden	Jno	A Quarry in Durdlestone	£1			6
Harden	Joseph	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Harden	Joseph & George	A Quarry	£1			6
Harding	Sam	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Haysom	Geo.	A Quarry	£1			-
Haysom	Timoy.	A Quarry	£1			6
Haysom &	James & Josh	A Quarry	£1			6
Haysom &	Esther & P	A Quarry	£1			6
Hibbs	George	A Quarry	£1			6
Hibbs	Henry	A Quarry	£2		1	6
Manwell	Messrs	A Quarry	£1			6
Melmoth &	W & T	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Norman	Robt	A Quarry	£1			6
Phippard	Benn.	A Quarry	£1			6
Phippard	Martin	A Quarry	£1			6
Phippard	Peter	A Quarry	£3		1	0
Phippard	Wm	A Quarry	£1			6
Pushman	George	A Quarry	£1			0
Randall	Thos	A Quarry	£2		1	6
Shott	Jno	A Quarry	£1			6
Stevens	Robert	A House & Quarry	£2		1	0
Stevens	Robert	A Quarry	£1			6
Stickland	James	A Quarry	£1			6
Stickland	Tho. & Jno	A Quarry	£1			6

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Stickland	Thos & Jas	A Quarry	£1			6
Stickland	Wm	A Quarry	£1			6
Tombs	Josh	A Quarry	£1			6
Toop	Jno	A Quarry	£1			6
Toop	Jno & Thos	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Tubb	Tho. C	A House & a Quarry	£3		1	6
Warren	James	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Warren	Jerh.	A Quarry	£1			6
Warren	Thos	A Quarry	£3		1	6
Webber	Jno	A Quarry	£1			6
Weeks	Geo	A Quarry	£1			6
Total Quarries			£91	1	13	6

Stock in Trade: As well as paying business rates on their quarries the marblers and merchants were assessed on the value of the extracted stone which lay unsold. In 1820 this rate was 1s..6d %. The details of Swanage Stock in Trade assessments are shown in the following table.

Not all entries are stone; some are probably shops or the market boat but I have included all.

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Adams	Jno	Stock in Trade	£8			1½
Barnes	Jno	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Barns	Robt. John	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Bonfield	Mary	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Bonfield	Wm.	Stock in Trade	£30		1	4½

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Bower	Isaac	Stock in Trade	£50			9
Bower	Sarah	Stock in Trade	£10			2
Briggs	Jno	Stock in Trade	£8			1½
Burt	Robt Jun.	Stock in Trade	£8			1½
Butler	George	Stock in Trade	£160		2	4¾
Chinchen	Chas	Stock in Trade	£34		1	6¼
Chinchen	Messrs.	Stock in Trade Coals & Stone	£200		3	0
Collins	Timothy	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Coombs	Wm.	Stock in Trade	£4		1	0¾
Damon	Chas	Stock in Trade	£17			3
Ellis	George	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Ellis	Josh. Jun.	Stock in Trade	£10			2¼
Francis	Pleasant	Stock in Trade	£17			3
Grant	John	Stock in Trade	£25			4½
Harden	Jno.	Stock in Trade	£50			9
Hardy	Thos.	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Hatchard	Wm.	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
House	Wm.	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Marsh	Saml. Junr.	Stock in Trade	£10			2
Phippard	Peter	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Pushman	John	Stock in Trade	£25			4½
Pushman	Peter	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Randall	Thos.	Stock in Trade	£85		1	2½
Smith	W.	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Spurlock	Mrs.	Stock in Trade	£8			1¾

Surname	Forename	Premises Assessed	Rateable Value	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Stevens	James	Stock in Trade	£25			4½
Talbotts	Ric.	Stock in Trade Coals & Stone	£130		2	0
Taylor	Jno.	Stock in Trade	£4			0¾
Travers	Wm.	Stock in Trade	£17			3¼
Warren	Jerh.	Stock in Trade	£34			6¼
Weber	Robt.	Stock in Trade	£5			1
		Total Stock in Trade	£1,005		15s	1¼

Boats: Rates were charged on boats at ¾d. per ton, The small boats of Thomas Randall and John Pushman were probably used to ship stone to Swanage from the cliff quarries. The Chinchin partnership owned their own transport vessel Swanage while Nathan personally owned a 200 ton vessel named Portsmouth after his mother's home town.

Surname	Forename	Property Assessed	Tonnage	Rate @ ¾d per ton		
				£	s	d
Chinchin	Nat	Sloop <i>Portsmouth</i>	66		4	1½
Chinchin	Messrs.	Sloop <i>Swanage</i>	34		2	1¾
Randall	Thos.	Two Boats	8			6
Pushman	John	Five Boats	20		1	3
Francis	Pleasant	Market Boat	7		1	0¼
Lander	Joss.	Market Boat	13			9¼
		Total Swanage Boat Tonnage	£1,005		9	11

The Chinchin Partnership: The stone merchant partnership of Nathan & James Chinchin was the successor to the highly successful business carried on by Timothy Chinchin (c 1704-1766), the father of Nathan, and for whom James had worked

as clerk. Timothy had done good business in supplying stone for H.M Dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The partners had continued in the same way by securing a London market for Purbeck stone for several Thames bridges and a prison. In 1820 the total rates paid by the Chinchens as business partners (exclusive of their personal properties) far exceeded any other person in Swanage. They were the aristocrats of the village community. Their assets are listed in the next table. No other individual came anywhere near.

Surname	Forename	Property Assessed	Rateable	Rate @ 6d in £		
				£	s	d
Chinchen	Messrs.	Barn	£1s			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Their own (Banker)	£1			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	New Counting House	£1			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Part of Galley's	£1			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Quarry in Benleaze Thos Corben Occ.	£1			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Swanage Field	£1			6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Old Counting House & Store	£2		1	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Pushman's Banker	£3		1	6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Their own (Banker)	£4		2	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	New Close	£4		2	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Shades Croft	£4		2	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Peters Meadow	£5		2	6
Chinchen	Messrs.	Bake House	£6		3	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Backlin Mill Gate	£10		5	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Broad Lands hards	£50	£1	5	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Court Farm	£74	£1	17	0
Chinchen	Messrs.	Shop & Banking	£100		1	6
Subtotal property rated @ 6d in £			£268	£4	5	6
		Boat Rated @ ¾d per ton				
Chinchen	Messrs.	Sloop <i>Swanage</i>	34 tons		2	1½
		Stock in Trade rated @ 1s.6d%				
Chinchen	Messrs.	Stock in Trade Coals & Stone	200		3	0
Grand Total				£4	10	7½

Rateable Value of Chinchin partnership property as a percentage of Swanage wealth

	All of Swanage	Messrs Chinchin	%age of Swanage
Property rated @ 6d in £	£2,844..10..0	£268	9.42%
Boat tonnage rated @ ¾d per ton	148 tons	34 tons	22.97%
Stock in Trade rented @ 1s. 6d %	£1,018	£200	19.65%
Total rate raised	£63..6..10	£4..10s..7½d	7.12%

Business Success of the Partnership

The next table compares the value of the stone associated assets belonging to the Chinchin partnership with those belonging to their closest competitors. The Chinchens far out performed their contemporaries. They owned:-

- Over a third of all Bankers
- A fifth of Stock in Trade
- A quarter of all Swanage owned Boats
- 15% of the Farms

The business became Chinchin and Whites later in the century.

Stone Merchants Inc Boat Owners	Bankers		Stock in Trade		Boats		Farms	
	Rateable Value	Per cent	Rateable Value	Per cent	Tonnage	Per cent	Rateable Value	Per cent
Messrs Chinchin	£8	34.8%	£200	19.9%	34	25.2%	£74	14.29%
T. Randall	£3	13.0%	£85	8.5%	8	5.9%	£35	6.76%
Jerh. Warren	£2	8.7%	£24	2.4%				
Geo Butler			£160	15.9%				
John Pushman	£2	8.7%	£25	2.5%	20	14.8%		
Pleasant Francis*			£17	1.7%	17	12.6%		
Nathan Chinchin					66	48.9%		
Isaac Bower	£2	8.7%	£50	5.0%				
Sam Marsh	£3	13.0%	£10	1.0%			£100	19.31%
Rich. Talbotts			£130	12.9%				
Swanage Total	£23	100.0%	£1018	100.0%	135	100%	£518	100%

*Owner of the Market Boat which came weekly from Poole. Not a merchant.

48. ST WILFRID AND GLASTONBURY. The Avalonian scholar, Geoffrey Ashe, records that ‘an erudite monk at Downside abbey’ once told him: ‘You have only to tell a crazy story in Glastonbury, and in a decade it’ll be a legend’.¹ Does the story of a ‘visitation’ by St Wilfrid (of whom that very monk, Dom Aelred Watkin, once suggested, ‘there is some reason to suppose’ that he was ‘partly responsible’ for the introduction of the ‘Benedictine Rule’ at Glastonbury)² fall into this category? Or, is a Wilfrid-Glastonbury connection ‘questionable but not impossible’?³ Might this be hinted at by the so-called ‘Glastonbury kalendar’ in the late Anglo-Saxon ‘Bosworth Psalter’,⁴ which includes a commemoration of the Northumbrian bishop and arch-abbot, with other early saints particularly associated with Glastonbury abbey, such as the two Patricks, Bridgit and Gildas (but significantly with no mention of Joseph of Arimathea!)? His was also amongst the ‘names in religion’ given to Glastonbury monks of the final generation before the Dissolution;⁵ in fact it was borne by none other than Dom Roger James, the sacristan and one of the two companions martyred with abbot Whiting. So did Wilfrid come to Glastonbury, and even ‘reform’ its ‘Celtic monastery’ by enforcing ‘Roman customs’?

This presupposes that there was a pre-existing British, or Irish, community here, though some scholars now question this. One has stated that ‘hard evidence is lacking for a Celtic foundation . . . a British antecedent to the Anglo-Saxon community’⁶ on the later abbey site at least, while another has written that ‘the legends preserved at Glastonbury and reported in *De Antiquitate*, which maintain that there was a religious house at Glastonbury in the pre-English period, may be dismissed as being quite without documentary foundation’.⁷ But presuming, for the sake of argument, that there was, and that Glastonbury was occupied by the West Saxons c.658, it would seem reasonable to assume that the ‘Roman’ method of calculating Easter (the crux of the ‘reform’ of the ‘Celtic’ tradition) that Wilfrid⁸ was credited with establishing in his great Northumbrian diocese, was introduced here by others. If this did not occur during the missionary episcopate of Agilbert, prior to the 663/4 synod of Streaneshalch (only later known as Whitby, at which the Frankish bishop was the leading advocate of the Catholic consensus, though he delegated the role of spokesman to his disciple, abbot Wilfrid), then it could have taken place subsequently, and most likely, through

the influence of Aldhelm, Wilfrid's almost exact contemporary, and southern counterpart.⁹

As the (first) abbot of Malmesbury¹⁰ (c.675- 709?) and also a kinsman and leading adviser of the kings of Wessex,¹¹ Aldhelm seemingly played an important role in Glastonbury's development.¹² Furthermore, it was he who composed the letter to Geraint, king of Dumnonia (described by Bede as a 'notable book against the error of the Britons') following the synod of Hertford (673), at which it was decreed that 'we all in common keep the holy day of Easter on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month'.¹³ It has even been suggested that he 'possibly introduced the Rule of St Benedict' to Wessex,¹⁴ presumably from Canterbury where he had spent a year at the 'Roman' school established by archbishop Theodore and abbot Adrian. However, Dom Aelred Watkin¹⁵ tentatively suggested that the two inscribed monuments, the so-called 'pyramids' that dominated the monastic cemetery – one of which bore inter alia the names of 'Hate', 'Wulfred' and 'Eanfled' and the other 'Hedde episcopus' (the bishop of the West Saxons, 674/5-704/5) and 'Beoruuald' ('most likely . . . a form of Beorhtwald, the first Saxon abbot'),¹⁶ might have commemorated a visit to Glastonbury in the 670s by St Wilfrid. On the assumption that this was 'such a Celtic stronghold' and that 'Beorhtwald' is mentioned as abbot in a charter of 670 'whose genuineness seems certain',¹⁷ Dom Aelred suggested that 'it would seem probable' that this abbot 'Beorhtwald' had tried to initiate his traditionalist community into the new 'Roman customs', but was unsuccessful. Therefore, as 'under Hemgisel we find the Benedictine rule mentioned definitely in 678', its introduction by St Wilfrid, Queen Eanfleda and Haetla¹⁸ 'who were all strong Romanisers' - 'would therefore seem to have taken place between c.670 and 678'. Although this was admittedly only a 'conjecture', it has seemingly become an established fact, in so far as the abbey's latest chronicler has stated that 'under English influence and specifically through the determination of St. Wilfrid, Glastonbury abbey finally became Roman in its organisation, c.673' - 'that is approximately ten years after the synod of Whitby' to be precise!¹⁹

However, as Prof. Philip Rahtz has commented, 'there is no actual record of such a visit'.²⁰ In fact the only documentary evidence linking Wilfrid with Glastonbury is that he is recorded as having donated land to (an early 8th century) abbot

‘Beorhtwald’,²¹ including the 70 hides at Wedmore previously granted him by Centwine (by a charter long since lost, but which if genuine may belong to *c.*681).²² Although it has been pointed out, Wilfrid’s was a name readily available to forgers at a later age, and the credibility of these grants must be assessed with his renown in mind.²³

Moreover, it has become clear the Watkin hypothesis that the Benedictine Rule would ‘seem to have been introduced between *c.*670 and 678’, and that ‘there is no reason why [Wilfrid] should not have visited ... between 672 and his first exile in 678’²⁴ to bring this about, following the failure of an earlier abbot ‘Beorhtwald’ to do so, is unfortunately flawed. As we now know, there was no abbot of this name²⁵ during the late 7th century, and Eanfled, dowager-queen of Northumbria from *c.*670, was not the mother-in-law of Centwine, given by Dom Aelred as a likely reason for her visiting Wessex with Wilfrid, her protégé, in the 670s. It was in fact the unnamed sister of queen Iurminburgh (the second wife of Ecgrith, king of Northumbria 670–685) who was consort to the West Saxon king, and who, incidentally, so ‘detested’ Wilfrid that he remained in Wessex, during his supposedly one known visit (*c.*681), but ‘a short time’.²⁶

Thus even if, pace Abrams, ‘we decline to credit Watkin’s hypothetical delegation to Glastonbury - composed of Wilfrid, Queen Eanfled and Aetla bishop of Dorchester - with the aim of Romanising a ‘Celtic’ establishment, a grant to Wilfrid by Centwine is not inconceivable’ – ‘given that in the early 680s the exiled bishop had been received by the king’, and given Aldhelm’s praise of ‘Centwine’s generosity’ in ‘granting land to recently established monastic churches’.²⁷ However, could it be that Wilfrid was not so far from Glastonbury in 675 when perhaps in the south for the consecration of Eorcenwald to London? For in that year he witnessed the foundation charter of a newly endowed monastery at Bath (Mercia), together with archbishop Theodore and four fellow bishops, including Leutharius of Wessex (nephew of Agilbert) and his successor Haeddi.²⁸ So is it possible that Wilfrid did visit Glastonbury in the mid-670s, after all, and might he then have contributed to the early ‘Benedictinisation’ of its monastic life?

It has been suggested that ‘in view of its Frankish connections, abbess Berta’s monastery at Bath, may have observed the Benedictine Rule, especially if Wilfrid, a champion of the Rule

at a time when it was not the norm in England, was involved in its foundation'.²⁹ A reference to the Holy Rule in *De Antiquitate's* summary of a Glastonbury charter of 678,³⁰ which the abbey claimed to have been granted by Centwine to abbot Hemgils, although regarded by Watkin as an indication that 'its introduction would therefore seem to have taken place between c.670 and 678,'³¹ has been rejected as anachronistic'.³² However, as has been pointed out,³³ references in Bede's writings with respect to the Wearmouth-Jarrow community seem to leave no doubt that the Benedictine procedure for electing an abbot in 689 and 716, was known even outside Wilfrid's foundations (Ripon, Hexham, and a number of Mercian houses), although admittedly this does not mean that the Rule was being observed in other respects, or even that the complete text was known elsewhere that early. Bede in fact stated that Benedict Biscop, drew on the 'best established rules of the [17] ancient monasteries which he had learnt on his pilgrimage' in compiling that of his twin Northumbrian houses, and indeed such a composite or 'mixed' rule was probably characteristic of much Anglo-Saxon monasticism, as at Glastonbury, until Dunstan's mid 10th century 'Benedictine reform'.³⁴ Most likely, only then did the full implementation of the Holy Rule take place here, and elsewhere in Wessex.

1. *Western Daily Press*, 26 Oct 2007; cf. G. Ashe, *King Arthur's Avalon* (Stroud, 2007), new preface to the 50th anniversary edition, ix.
2. Dom A. Watkin, *The story of Glastonbury* (London, 1960), 7.
3. L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: church and endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996), 91-2.
4. Cf. D. Dales, *Dunstan, saint and statesman* (Cambridge, 1988), 34, which states that 'the kalendar which was added shortly after Dunstan's death, is distinctive- commemorating saints precious to Glastonbury [e.g.] Paulinus and Wilfrid, bishops of the era recorded by Bede'; but also see D.N. Dumville's 'The Liturgical Kalendar of Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: a chimaera?', in *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England, four studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), 65, who states although 'the possibility must at least be considered the kalendar represented by Leofric 'B', Bosworth, and the surrounding group, be attributed to [Christ Church] Canterbury, perhaps c. 969 [when] in Dunstan's time the cultus of Glastonbury would naturally be of interest', this might provide 'an indirect route [to] the liturgical kalendar of Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury'.
5. R.W. Dunning, 'Revival at Glastonbury, 1530-39', in *Studies in Church history* (London, 1977) 213-22; referred to by J. Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1988) 74-5, who writes of the younger monks 'memorialising' figures from 'Glastonbury's illustrious past' like a 'living catalogue', a *liber vitae*- including royal patrons like Arthur, the religious name of Dom John Thorne, the treasurer/martyr 'a testimony to the wealth of ties' with England and Glastonbury's 'Christian heritage'.
6. L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, 123; cf. M. Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), 127, 130, 136, which lists Glastonbury as 'an 8th century foundation', but also states that it was 'refounded in 705 by Ine of Wessex', but either way suggests that it 'had been dedicated to Mary since its first foundation'.
7. S. Foot, 'Glastonbury's early abbots', in L. Abrams and J. Carley, *The archaeology and history of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1991), 168.

8. Cf. Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi* [VW] 47, which records Wilfrid as declaring at the synod of Austerfield (703) 'Was I not the first to root out from the Church the foul weeds planted by the Scoti? Did I not convert the whole Northumbrian nation to celebrating Easter at the proper time as the Holy See demanded and to having the proper Roman tonsure in the form of a crown instead of your old way of shaving the back of the head from the top down? Did I not teach you the chant according to the practice of the early Church, with a two-part choir singing harmoniously and doing the responses and chants together antiphonally? Did I not bring the monastic life into line with the Rule of St. Benedict never before introduced into these parts?'.
9. Cf. J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 57, notes that the witness list for a later royal land grant made [688] at Besingahearn in Wessex [Hampshire or Surrey?] 'evokes the remarkable image of Wilfrid, Eorcenwald, Haedda and Aldhelm gathered on the site of a pagan cult'.
10. After Cyneigils' conversion (635), 'as the boundaries of the [West Saxon] kingdom moved out towards the west, they overran two important centres of Celtic Christianity, one at Malmesbury founded by an Irishman called Maildubh and later renowned in the days of Aldhelm, and the other at Glastonbury of even earlier origin' (P.H. Blair, *Roman Britain and early England* (London, 1963; Cardinal edition, 1975), 242).
11. William of Malmesbury even attributed the foundation of its monastery to king Ine at Aldhelm's instigation, in his earlier *De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 1870), 196-8.
12. D. Dales, *Light to the Isles* (Cambridge 1997), 116, has observed that 'West Saxon power inter-penetrated rather than conquered absolutely in Somerset, Dorset and beyond; constructive co-existence, particularly in the life of the church, seems to have been likely for much of the 7th century' and 'the case of Glastonbury, though shrouded in obscurity, legend and tampered sources, may shed further light on the process whereby the interests of the two churches were peacefully intermingled under Aldhelm's leadership. There had been a British monastery and shrine on what was then an island in the Somerset fens for sometime before the west Saxons became dominant ... during Aldhelm's lifetime its patronage was assumed by the kings of Wessex, notably Ine who is portrayed as a principal benefactor and builder of the church of St Peter there. In these negotiations Aldhelm features regularly ... his friendship with the place may well have been long and deep'.
13. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* [HE] v, 18; iv, 5.
14. D.H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), 10-11.
15. Dom. A. Watkin, 'The Glastonbury 'pyramids' and St. Patrick's 'companions'' in *Downside Review*, 63 (1945), 30-41.
16. But not according to the Cotton Tiberius B.v. ms. See Foot, *Glastonbury's early abbots*, 168-9: 'there seems no reason to doubt that the first person named ... Hemgils, for Haemgils, should be identified as the first abbot [sic] of Glastonbury'.
17. But according to S. Foot, *op.cit.*, this 670 'Ferramere' charter of king Cenwalh is 'spurious ... fabricated'.
18. *I.e.* Heddi, although Dom Aelred (and J. Carley following him) does not make this identification clear; thus he refers to Hedde as bishop of Winchester from 674-705, and Aetla/Haetla (= 'Hate?') as bishop of Dorchester, c.675-685, citing Bede, *HE* iv, 23.
19. J. Carley, *op.cit.* 5; cf. 151: 'Dom Aelred Watkin has made a number of tentative attributions from [?] of 7th century notables' and he 'thinks the two pyramids were not memorials to individuals buried in the cemetery but rather commemorative of a visit to Glastonbury by St. Wilfrid, Queen Eanfleda and bishop Haetla'; cf. *WMDA*. 32: 'I will not rashly certify what these mean but hesitantly suggest that within these hollow stones are contained the bones of those whose names can be read on the outside'. The latest assessment is found in R.W. Dunning, ed. *A History of Somerset*, vol ix (London/Woodbridge, 2006), 11, which cites R. Cramp, *The pre-Conquest sculptures of Glastonbury Monastery* (2001) in suggesting that the pyramids were 'probably 10th century cross shafts bearing the names of the abbey's early patrons'.
20. P. Rahtz and L. Watts, *Glastonbury, myth and archaeology* [2003] 43; cf. the post-Conquest claim of a visit of St Paulinus, 625, *WMDA*.19; cf. *ibid.* 22 'resting there are St. Paulinus, archbishop of Northumbria ...'.
21. William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitate* [WMDA] 40, in J. Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury* (Woodbridge, 1981), 95.

22. P. Sims-Williams, 'St. Wilfrid and two charters dated AD 676 and 680' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39 (1988), 179.
23. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, 91.
24. But presumably not before Haetla/Hedde became bishop of the West Saxon see, c.674/5 and Centwine became king of Wessex, c.676?
25. The subject of much scholarly confusion, compounded by the translation of 'Beorhtwaldus/Beorhtwaldus' as 'Brihtwald' by J. Scott, *op.cit.*, 91 ff. WMDA 35-37, 71, presumed that he was formerly the first Saxon abbot, and later archbishop of Canterbury; cf. J. Carley, *op.cit.*, xx and 5, though he incorrectly refers to his becoming 'bishop' rather than 'abbot' of Reculver in the interim. Carley, *op.cit.*, 6, also writes of 'a second Beorhtwald (c.705-c.712?)' who 'knew St. Wilfrid' and 'whose name was engraved on one of the pyramids', cf. WMDA 40, 32. However, S. Foot, *op.cit.*, 168ff, has concluded that 'there is no acceptable evidence for the existence of an abbot Beorhtwald at Glastonbury at any time in the Anglo-Saxon period', and 'the fourth name in the Tiberius list, Beorhtwald, would seem an error for the different name Beorwald or Berwald'.
26. Cf. VW 40, where Eddius also mentions that Ecgrith's sister (and thus Eanfleda's daughter?) was wife of Aethelred, king of Mercia. Watkin, *op.cit.*, 38, 41, suggested if somewhat ingenuously, that given his subsequent grants of land to abbot 'Beorhtwald', St Wilfrid was 'therefore interested in the abbey and it is thus more than probable that at least in the year 681 when the saint came to Wessex he visited the spot', and 'we may, I think, feel tolerably certain that where the green grass now grows outside the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury, there stood some 1250 [now some 1300] years ago a saint, a queen and a bishop in whose ears still sounded the grey waves of the North Sea beneath the cliffs of Whitby'.
27. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, 91-2, but note the (somewhat confused?) observation: 'the alleged beneficiary of Wilfrid's grant, Abbot Berwald, is of questionable reality himself'; cf. *ibid*, 90, which states that this transfer took place 'apparently in the time of king Ine', when even S. Foot accepts that there was an abbot 'Berwald' (*alias* 'Beorhtwald' of WMDA 32, 40).
28. Sims-Williams, *op.cit.*, 167, who also notes, *op.cit.*, 178: 'there are signs ... that Aethelred of Mercia [king 674-704] exercised some sway in northern Wessex, in the years before the rise of Caedwalla in 685'; might this have included Glastonbury?
29. *Ibid*. 171; the author adds that 'the early eighth century English manuscript of the Rule, Bodleian Library Hatton 48, may have been written at Bath'; cf. P.H. Blair, *The World of Bede* (London, 1970), 200-1: this 'oldest surviving copy of the Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia in the whole of Europe ... is believed to have been written c.700' and 'although its date is not undisputed, and the place of its composition as yet undetermined, it seems not to be a manuscript of Northumbrian origin, and in view of the evidence of Eddius, it would seem natural to associate it with the scenes of Wilfrid's monastic activities, perhaps in the Midlands'.
30. This states that 'the brethren of the place should have the right of electing and constituting their superior *iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti*'.
31. Watkin, *op.cit.*, 40-1, where also he stated: 'this document is now lost, and William's account of it [WMDA 37] presents certain difficulties, but there is no reason, I think, to doubt its fundamental genuineness'.
32. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, 125.
33. P.H. Blair, *op.cit.*, 197-9.
34. See J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, *passim*.

M.J. PROTHEROE

49. A HOUSE OF CORRECTION IN PURBECK STONE FOR THE MIDDLESEX J.Ps. Letters held in the London Metropolitan Archive shed some light on the operation of the Purbeck Stone industry in the late 18th century. The documents span a period of about 4 years and deal with the supply of Purbeck stone for use in building a House of Correction for the J.Ps for

the County of Middlesex. The site of the prison was at Cold Bath Fields in Clerkenwell. Most of the letters were between Daniel Hinley, the Clerk to the Middlesex Justices, and the Swanage Stone Merchant partnership of Nathan and James Chinchin.¹

In 1787, when the letters began, the Middlesex magistrates were well settled in their new Sessions House, rebuilt in 1779 on its old site on Clerkenwell Green. This correspondence, sent from and received in the Sessions House between 1787 and 1791, is concerned with supplying the stone for a new prison. The transcripts of the letters sent by Daniel Hinley on behalf of the Justices are made from his original drafts, the fair copy having been sent at the time to the addressee. I have retained some of Hinley's inserts and crossings out as they reveal his thinking as he searched to find the best phrasing for his letter. The letters remind us that the Swanage Stone Merchants had close business and family links to some of the most influential architects of the day. The Chinchens at this time also supplied large quantities of stone for the expansion of H.M. Dockyard Portsmouth and they were related by marriage to Francis Spriggs, a master mason whose circle of friends included Thomas Gayfere a prominent stone mason and builder of the City of London.

The letters were almost certainly written by Nathan Chinchin (1756–1840) of Swanage who was the third generation of an increasingly successful family of merchants in Purbeck stone. Later, in 1803, he would be appointed Superintendent for the defence and safety of Rowbarrow Hundred, the eastern part of Purbeck, and was required to carry out a census of the population and to plan for the evacuation of the civil population in the event of a French invasion. In 1824 he wrote a letter to the manager of the Dorsetshire Bank asking him to set up a Branch Bank in Swanage, but admitted that he was ‘perfectly Ignorant of the Banking business or the method of keeping the Accounts.’ As a result of his approach the first Swanage branch of the bank opened in his house in 1824.

James Chinchin (1742–1829) was the partner of Nathan but despite having the same surname they were not closely related. In 1845 John Mowlem recalling him in his diary said of him ‘He was a stone merchant and always dressed like a gentleman. So did the stone merchants of old. What a contrast now; those in my youth wore a clean shirt every day.’²

Others who were mentioned were Daniel Hinley: Clerk to

the Committee of the Middlesex Justices, and James Paine (1717–1789 an architect who was the son of a carpenter from Andover. His talents caught the attention of the Earl of Burlington, who recommended him (at the age of 19) as the assistant to the gentleman architect in charge of the work at Nostell Priory near Doncaster. His success in this role appears to have led to offers of work from the local gentry in the Doncaster area, where he was involved in the building or alteration of several large country houses. He subsequently enjoyed a long and successful career in London and the north of England where he designed the bridge over the lake at Chatsworth. In London he was co-architect of Richmond Bridge (1774 -1777) and designed Chertsey Bridge (1780-1785) and Kew Bridge (1782-1789). All three London bridges were built with Purbeck stone supplied by the Chinchin partnership.

Sir Robert Taylor, 1714–1788, an architect, was trained as a mason and sculptor. Having failed to achieve success as a sculptor he decided to take up architecture and worked on the design of the Bank of England. By diligence and his keen business sense he eventually became one of the most prosperous and prolific architects of his time, and was appointed Architect of the King's Works. He had close connections with the City of London, where he was a member of the Masons' Company, and was elected Sheriff in 1782. He was responsible for the design and build of Maidenhead Bridge (1772–1777) constructed using Purbeck/Portland stone, and also designed the Lord Mayor's coach which is still in use today. The esteem in which Taylor is held is shown in a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. This bears the inscription; 'His works entitle him to a distinguished rank, among the first class of British architects.'

Others mentioned in the letters were Mr Wilkinson, who may have been one of James Paine's men who had gained some knowledge of Purbeck stone prices while working on the Thames bridges. One letter is from Mrs Emma Williams who, with her husband, were condemned to the debtor's prison at New Ludgate. It is not clear why Sir Robert Taylor should seek information from her about the price of Purbeck Stone but maybe her husband had been one of Paine's men who had worked on the London bridges. Since the request Hinley had sent to Wilkinson had failed to produce any answer, maybe Williams could supply the information. Whatever the reasons Mrs Emma Williams may have

seen an opportunity to solve her family's financial problems, and she set out to charm Sir Robert Taylor herself. Her letter shows that she was clearly a lady of some education and it is fascinating to speculate whether she got Sir Robert to settle her debt before he died. Finally, Mr Hopcroft is mentioned, and he appears to have been the Clerk of Works for the new prison and responsible for paying the Chinchens for the stone they had delivered to London. Various workmen are named : John Hamilton, Robert Ashton, Joseph & Thomas Braynes, I. Collins, E. Williams, and William Hopcroft.

Daniel Hinley managed the House of Correction project from the Middlesex Sessions House, which had been built in 1779 at the west end of Clerkenwell Green, and was once the largest and busiest court house in England. Cold Bath Fields House of Correction was completed in 1794 but was further enlarged during the 19th century so that the jail could house over one thousand prisoners. Being a House of Correction meant it was a jail run by local magistrates and most of the prisoners served short term sentences. The prison housed men, women and children until 1850 when it was decided to restrict it to male offenders over 17. The old prison building was finally replaced by a purpose-built Post Office building in 1890.

The first of the letters, dated 29 March, 1787, was from N & J Chinchin to James Paine, Architect, 'respecting the stonework', and was evidently a reply to his request for a quote for supplying stone for the building of a new prison. The Chinchin partnership was keen to take advantage of this new market.

'We have favor of the 23rd Inst. Concerning the New Bridewell for the County of Middlesex and should be happy to supply you with what Stone may be wanted for that Building provided it does not exceed our Scantlings,³ - The shafts of the Piers we cannot get in one stone our Blocks seldom running large enough, and as to the Cornices and other fine mouldings would by no means recommend you to have workd here being attended with many disadvantages, not only in the Danger of breaking the edges &c. but we are of opinion the Mouldings could be run cheaper in London, our people here not being much accustomed to any but plain work; we can work it to the size and

cut it to the Angles so that you will have nothing to do but run the mouldings, which is the usual manner of sending it from here all the other Articles we can send compleat for seting delivered in the River Thames for the following prices.

	s.	d	
<i>Purbeck Portland Stone in Facias Plinths Chain</i>			
<i>Bondstones Imposts & Aubes at per foot Cube</i>	1	9	½
<i>Landings at per foot Supl. toold on one side</i>	2	0	0
<i>Cornices at per foot Cube wrought as mentioned above</i>	1	1	0
<i>Blocking Course at per foot Superficial</i>	2	2	2

We hope what we have said will meet your approbation but should any further information be wanting beg you will give us a line as one of us shall be in Town when we will take the liberty of waiting on you.

The second, undated, letter in draft form, was written by Daniel Hinley and intended for Mr Wilkinson at Wrangbrook nr. Doncaster. It appears that Wilkinson, at some time in the past, had supplied estimates for Purbeck/Portland stone to the Committee of Justices at 1s 4d per foot. cube and for piers at 1s.6d per foot super. These were much cheaper than the Chinchens had quoted in his letter to James Paine. The Committee of Justices were aware of both quotes and probably wanted to know if Wilkinson knew of any other Purbeck Merchant able to undercut the prices of the Chinch partnership. Wilkinson, at the time of this letter may have been working on one of Paine's many Yorkshire projects.

Sir

The Committee appointed to build the new intended House of Correction for this County finding upon Examining the Estimate made by you of the mason's work to the said House of Correction that you have Estimated (as underwritten) the Cube of Purbeck Portland Stone at One Shilling and fourpence, and the

shafts of Piers each in one at One Shilling and Sixpence per foot. ~~and the Committee wishing to know the names and places of abode of those from whom you obtained your Information respecting those prices (before mentioned) and whether you know whether you know all or any of them will Execute the stone work at those prices for those Sums wish to know the Names and places of abode of the respective persons from whom you obtained your Information respecting the prices before mentioned and whether all or any of them will undertake to Execute the work at those prices~~

The archive does not contain a reply from Mr Wilkinson but letter 4 shows that Wilkinson did write to the Chinchens advising them that their quote to James Paine for supplying stone had been lost or mislaid. Wilkinson may have directed Hinley to Mr E Williams, to get more up to date estimates, because Hinley, writing on behalf of Sir Robert Taylor, the Architect of the King's Works, sent his next letter to Williams, who was then residing in a debtor's prison.

The letter, dated 2 Feb. 1788, was to Mr E. Williams from Daniel Hinley, Clerk to the Committee, on behalf of Sir Robert Taylor.

I am directed by Sir Robert Taylor to Enquire of you from what Quarry the Purbeck Platna Stone comes, whether it is (comes) from the same to whom Sir Robert may write ~~upon the Occasions~~ (respecting the same;) whether the Owner of the Quarry will work Stone to a Dimension given, without there being a necessity to Rework it in London, and at what price ft. Cube; and what ~~would~~ (ought to) be the price for setting the same in the new intended House of Correction to be built in Cold Bath Fields; whether the person that Owns the Quarry will deliver them at the Building or only at the Wharf; and at what price foot Cube they will be taken from the Wharf (including Wharfage) and carried to the Building; - Sir Robert has appointed me to call upon him respecting this business next Tuesday at Ten o Clock, before which time you will favor him or me with an answer to these Inquiries. ⁴

Then, on Feb 14, 1788, Mrs Emma Williams wrote on behalf of her husband from Ludgate prison to Sir Robt. Taylor at Spring Gdns., Charing Cross.

I have received a Letter from a Mr Dan's Hinley which says he was directed by you to know particulars respecting the price J C of Purbeck platnors, that Or any Other information that is in my power I shall always gladly furnish Sir Robert with, but ... my present unhappy situation, in some measure prevents me, My Affaires are come to a Crisis that Ten pounds will Liberate me and enable me to attend Personally on Sir Robert, to take. His Commands therefore hope you will indulge me with your signature to my Account , now standing unsettled with the Bank of England, which will give one that Assistance to restore me to support my family and at all times at the Command of Sir Robert. I have the honour to Subscribe me sir Your Most Obedient & Very Humble Servant Emma Williams

On 6 March, 1788, Daniel Hinley wrote to the Chinchin firm.

I am directed by the Committee (of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex) appointed to carry into Execution the approved plan of a House of Correction for the said County ~~into execution~~ (to transmit to you the inclosed Copy of a Letter wh. you sent to us and) to request that you will inform me at what price you will Execute the work mentioned in the said ~~inclosed~~ Letter to ~~to Mr Paine~~ ac with (the best) Purbeck Platna Stone, and in what parts of the building you think the same can be used with propriety, and whether it will [unreadable] Platna Stone (if laid horizontally ~~with the usual drip~~) will carry Water ~~Horizontally with (if laid with)~~ the usual Drip.

And the reply on 9 March 1788

We have your favor of the 6th Inst. with a copy of our letter to Mr Paine and prices of Purbeck Portland Stone for the House of Correction delivered in London

and wrought in the manner described in the said letter. You also wish to be acquainted with the particulars respecting our Platna Stone which we think you mean such as we sent for the Bridges of Richmond, Chertsey, Kew, &c as also for Wharfs, Fortifications &c in short it is used and fit for any Buildings where ornament is not required being very hard and always cut in such a manner that it must lay in its natural bed as it is raised from the Quarry, so that no weight can affect it, and it may be used in any part of a Building provided the courses do not exceed the thickness of our beds which generally run from 9 to 13 Inches in hight promiscuously, and which courses if necessity required it can get some courses more or less; the Bed of the Stones may be made almost to any size as from one foot to four feet if required,

The price we cannot fix to a certainty untill we are informed nearly of the Dimensions of the hight of the courses, the length of the Bed, the return of the perpendicular joints and whether it is to be toold fair on the face, or only pointed, also if it may be sent of any length promiscuously on the front part- these things beg to be informed of as it signifies more with this than our Purbeck Portland on account of its hardness, so that at present can only say it will come considerably cheaper than the other.----We also send this sort of stone frequently for Foundation of large Buildings being very strong and come cheap as we send it almost rough as it comes from the Quarry being generally large and plain Beds the price of this delivered will be about 15 Shillings per Ton. The favor of an answer soon will greatly oblige, Sir

P.S

The sooner we have an answer the better as one of us must be in Town in the course of a fortnight or thereabout He can make it sooner or later according to your answer which must be governed by ... (the passage was unfinished.)

Hinley replied on 10 April 1788:

I am desired by the Committee of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex appointed to carry into Execution the approved plan of a House of Correction for the said County to inform you, that they have ordered Plans or Models of the stones that will be wanting for the said building, to be prepared for your use; the(y) ~~Committee~~ wish to ~~know whether~~ (be informed if) you intend being in Town soon as in that case they would like to have an Interview with you. But if you do (should) not ~~intend coming~~ (have business in Town soon they ~~intend to (will direct)~~ (will order) the Clerk of the Works to send you the Plans and Models of the Stone and every other particular that you would wish to be informed.

On 17 April, 1788, Hinley invited them to meet the Committee which would oversee the building of the new prison:

I have laid your letter of 13th Instant before the Committee of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for this County appointed to carry into Execution the approved plan of a House of Correction for the said County and they have directed me to inform you that their next meeting will be held at the Rotation Office in Litchfield Street, Soho on Thursday the first day of May next at Ten o Clock in the forenoon precisely at which time and place the Committee hope you will make it convenient to attend.

James Chinchin agreed to attend and the negotiations must have been successful for the Chinchens began to ship their stone to the wharves on the banks of the Thames. However, after three and a half years of work they had to remind the Middlesex Justices that all further deliveries would be suspended pending payment for all the stone delivered to date. On 2 Oct, 1791, they politely raised the matter of outstanding payment:

We hope you will excuse the liberty we have taken in troubling you with this letter, but as we are very considerably in arear with Mr Hopcroft for stone sent

to the House of Correction and having made repeated applications to no purpose, and drawing on him of no use; as when our Debts become due the money intended for us, (we imagine) he has been obliged to make use of in the other part of the Business, which has caused a great relaxation in forwarding the stone and being still in a state of uncertainty with respect to our money, shall take it as a particular favor if the Gentlemen of the Committee will indulge us so far as to make an Agreement with Mr Hopcroft that our Money may be lodged in your Hands which we think he will have no objection to, having signified as much to us in his letters.

We have considerable stone prepared which we shall ship by the first opportunity if this mode could be adopted; this you will be pleased to lay before the Committee at their next meeting and inform us of the result. In the interim We are Sir

Your most obedient Servts

Nat & Jas. Chinchin

Clearly, payment was made, and the Chinchens continued to expand what was already a successful business. By 1820 the partnership owned the largest part of Swanage. They did not own or rent any quarries, but their business assets consisted of

- 35% of the Swanage bankers upon which the stone was stacked awaiting shipping.
- 20% of the Stock in Trade held by merchants.
- 25% of the total Tonnage of Swanage owned ships, including the Swanage, a 24 ton sloop,
- 14% of all the Swanage farms.

And all that was in addition to each man's own considerable individual wealth.

1 London Metropolitan Archives, MA/G/CBF/245-257 ; MA/G/CBF/312.

2 Lewer, David (*ed*), John Mowlem's Swanage Diary, 1845-1851, (Dorset Publishing Co. 1990).

3 The largest size block that can be made. Its size is determined by the thickness of the stone.

4 Platna is not a term used by Purbeck quarrymen today, and it is clear from the Chinchens' reply that they did not use the term either. It seems that James Paine and Sir Robert Taylor used the word to refer to stone from the Purbeck/Portland beds obtained from the cliff quarries between Durlston Head and Winspit.

50. BARLINCH PRIORY. In 1457 the small priory of Augustinian canons tucked away beside the Exe beneath the south-eastern edge of Exmoor in the parish of Brompton Regis, might have seemed to have been relatively active and comparatively successful. On the day of the death of Prior Thomas Bury there were eight canons in the community, and of those canons six had responsibilities - a sub-prior, a cellarer, a precentor, a refectorer and a sacristan together cared for the liturgical and domestic life of the priory between them.¹ At the next fully-recorded election, just over thirty years later on the death of Prior John Chester in 1488, there were but three electors for his successor;² and in 1492 when Robert Wynde either resigned or was deprived the three canons then in the house, unable or unwilling to make choice of one of themselves, referred the problem to Richard Nykke, the Bishop Fox's vicar-general. His answer was to import a canon from Taunton priory in the person of Thomas Birde, who served as head of the house until his retirement through old age in 1524.³

That period of stability was no doubt good for the community, which had suffered problems of recruitment perhaps understandable in such a remote place; and also a fairly rapid succession of priors, at least two of whom were evidently not entirely acceptable. From a reasonable complement of eight canons in 1457 there was a fall to three in 1488 and but a small rise to four in 1492. The Chapter of the Augustinian Order was thus moved in 1509 to declare after a visitation that two more canons were to be found within a few months.⁴ The warning was heeded: one presumably new recruit was made a subdeacon in September 1510 and two more in September 1514.⁵ In fact there was something of a revival over the following few years in spite of the fears of a leading Augustinian who spoke at the Leicester Chapter in 1518 of the imminent 'lamentable ruin of all monasticism' and the statement of none other than Cardinal Wolsey who said it was 'in danger and threatened with speedy ruin'.⁶ Thus at the retirement of Prior Thomas Birde in 1524 there were as many as nine canons led by prior, sub-prior, sacrist and cellarer.⁷ Twelve years on, when the king's commissioner came to close the house, the former cellarer had become prior and among his five brethren were two old men, one who had been there at least since 1490; the prior himself had been there for at least twenty-two years.⁸

The rapid succession of priors might in part have been caused by death but was also the evident result of poor leadership of some

kind. William Hampne, prior in 1478, was presumably responsible for trying to improve the finances of the house by acquiring in that year the right to hold two fairs at Bury.⁹ He had either died or moved elsewhere by July 1480 when Bishop Stillington's vicar-general was asked to confirm the election of his successor Stephen Dunster. The record of the business¹⁰ reveals that there was opposition to Dunster from at least two fellow canons, Robert Langman and Robert Wynde alias Cruce. Dunster's name was not among members of the house at the election in 1457 but he was there early in 1465 when he was made subdeacon¹¹ and thus by 1480 a canon of at least fifteen years experience. Langman had been a canon at Barlinch for twenty years and might have considered he had a claim on account of his seniority; Wynde had apparently joined much more recently, for he had been made acolyte and sub-deacon only a year before Dunster's election and was to prove himself a disruptive influence.¹²

Dunster ruled the house for only a short time for his successor John Chester died in 1488 and Robert Wynde was chosen as prior by his surviving fellow canons William Lewys and John Hamelyn. Something soon went wrong and within four years Wynde was removed from office - the words deprived and resigned are both used¹³ - and it was at this point that Thomas Birde was brought in from the priory at Taunton. That was not the end of the problem of Robert Wynde. He presumably remained at Barlinch and evidently raised the issue of his legal position. Had he resigned or had he been otherwise dismissed? To settle the matter, a public declaration of his resignation was made in the vicar-general's house in Wells on 7 May 1498 and formally entered into Bishop King's register.¹⁴ Thereafter Prior Birde ruled, so far as is known, without challenge for another twenty-six years and then took honourable and relatively comfortable retirement, in the room at Barlinch formerly reserved for the sub-prior.¹⁵

John Tregonwell, visiting in 1535, found the then prior, John Norman, willing to resign in favour of his capable deputy John Berwick, himself both discreet and intelligent,¹⁶ who had been a canon for at least twenty years.¹⁷ He surrendered his house in the following year.¹⁸

Thomas Birde's long rule, after the trouble with Robert Wynde, was typical if not exemplary, for a Visitor on behalf of the Chapter of the Augustinian Order about 1509 found that canons left the house without permission, wandered from the

dilapidated dormitory after compline, and employed more than one servant each. There was no inspiring reading during meals, junior members contradicted their seniors in matters of religion and had no-one to teach them grammar.¹⁹ It was perhaps in answer to that last comment that a schoolmaster appeared at Barlinch, the informal writings of whose lay pupils were published (how surprised they would have been) by Professor Nicholas Orme in 1984 and 1990.²⁰

1. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Bekynton*, ii (Somerset Record Society I), 454-6.
2. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte (ed.), *The Registers of Robert Stillington and Richard Fox* (S.R.S. lii), 171-2.
3. *Ibid.*, 199 and n.; H.C. Maxwell-Lyte (ed.), *Bishops' Registers 1518-59* (S.R.S. lv), 78.
4. H.E. Salter (ed.), *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons* (Canterbury and York Soc.), 184.
5. Somerset Record Office, register of Hadrian de Castello (D/D/B reg 10), f. 151b; Devon Record Office, Chanter 13, register of Hugh Oldham, f. 117v.
6. *Chapters of Augustinian Canons*, xxxvi, xxxviii.
7. *Bishops' Registers*, 78.
8. TNA, SC 6/Hen. VIII/7298; Devon R.O., Chanter 12/2, register of Richard Fox, f. 155v; *ibid.* Chanter 13, register of Hugh Oldham, f. 117v.
9. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-85*, 93.
10. SRO, D/D/Ca 1, 241ff.
11. *Ibid.* D/D/B reg 29, register *sede vacante*, unfoliated.
12. *Register of Thomas Bekynton*, ii. 521; S.R.O., D/D/B reg 7 (5 June 1479).
13. *Registers of Stillington and Fox*, 199 and note.
14. *Register of King and Hadrian*, 15.
15. *Bishops' Registers*, 78.
16. *V.C.H. Somerset*, ii. 133.
17. DRO, register of Hugh Oldham, f. 117v.
18. TNA, SC 6/Hen. VIII/7298.
19. *Chapters of Augustinian Canons*, 184.
20. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 128, 55-63, 134, 183-5.

R.W. DUNNING

51. VERWOOD 'OWLS': A SUGGESTED ETYMOLOGY.

For the small coopered containers formerly much used by farm-workers to carry beverages into the fields a good many names have been recorded,¹ most of which – take *harvest barrel*, *wooden bottle*, or the Essex *'lowance bottle* – seem fairly straightforward with a minimum of probing. *Lowance* or *allowance* was for instance a widespread expression for the allowance of drink given to labourers in addition to money.² Slightly more difficult is the term *field firkin*, known in eastern parts of Dorset and some neighbouring counties to the north and east.¹ It is based on *firkin*, a word of Dutch provenance originally denoting a small cask (whence the diminutive suffix *-kin*) holding a measure equal to the fourth part (Dutch *vierde*) of a barrel. Similarly intriguing is *costrel*, not only at one time to be found in Dorset and other

English counties, but also adopted by Welsh as the feminine noun *costrel*, a regular word for 'bottle', whence *costrelu*, 'to bottle', the ultimate source being Old French *costerel*, a diminutive form of a word for 'side'³ that survives for instance in modern French *côté* and our *coast*. It may therefore perhaps be assumed that costrels got their name from the fact that their holed 'ears' made it possible for them to be suspended by a string or thong from their owner's waist, next to his side.⁴

While wooden bottles are said to have come into use only about 1700, it will be noted that the last two terms discussed are clearly older than that, so will most likely have been originally used for containers made of material other than wood. Certainly the word *costrel* was used for containers fashioned from leather or pottery. This now brings us to the word *owl*, used in parts of Dorset to denote a wooden bottle, but 'more often associated with the small round bulbous earthenware vessels made in the Verwood region'.⁵ From this I understand that the term *owl* was originally applied to the earthenware vessel, but then, as this went out of use, to the wooden bottle which tended to take its place. If this is so, one might claim that a small round bulbous pot could well have reminded its users of a roosting owl, and that when such pots were superseded by wooden bottles the name *owl* would quite naturally be transferred to these. This may indeed be part of the story, but I believe it is by no means the whole of it.

In some German dialects of the Rhineland we find that the word for the owl (the bird) is similarly applied to earthenware pots and other types of vessel. Thus in the area on the left of the Rhine to the west and south-west of Düsseldorf, *Ül*, 'owl', is used variously for a type of earthenware jug with blue patches painted on it, a wide-necked jug, a coffee-pot, a vessel for cooling charcoal, and a badly burning lamp. The first of these is owl-like in shape, when seen from the front, and for most users this doubtless explains the name. In fact, however, popular etymology has been at work here, as evidenced by the use in the same area of alternative forms which have nothing to do with birds, but are variants of the word *Aul* (also *Aule*, *Aules*). This has barely survived in the standard language, but occurs in numerous dialectal forms, with the basic meaning of 'clay vessel', 'earthenware pot', the ultimate derivation being from the Latin *olla*, 'pot', 'jar'.

The same Latin expression, *olla*, came into Old French as *oule*. Although this was superseded in the standard by *marmite*,

it survives in the dialects of the south-west as *ouille*, and in those of the centre and south-east as *eule*. Perhaps of more immediate interest from our point of view is the Guernsey French reflex *houle*, 'earthenware pot'. If a form similar to this, or to its Old French predecessor *oule*, entered English in the period before the fifteenth century, when diphthongization of Middle English [u:] set in, it will quite regularly have come to be pronounced *owl*, just as, say, Old French or Anglo-Norman *alouer*, *coucher*, or *poudre* became *allow*, *couch*, and *powder* in present-day English.⁶

Of course Old French *oule*, or a variant thereof, is unlikely to have been adopted in the absence of the object it refers to. What evidence have we, then, of French pottery entering Dorset or adjacent parts of England in the period before the fifteenth century? Certainly large quantities of such wares came to the important trading centre of Hamwich (Southampton) on the south coast from as early as the middle of the seventh century onwards.⁷ It would be surprising if, in the course of time, these did not include vessels of the type described as *oule*, and even though the imports did not apparently get much further inland,⁸ it would be equally surprising if adjacent areas of Dorset remained ignorant of them and failed in due course to imitate them.

My hypothesis is, then, that the Dorset term *owl* derives ultimately, through French, from Latin *olla*, 'pot', 'jar'. The owl-like shape of some of the earthenware pots which were the original referent will have helped to remotivate an otherwise opaque name. That users of the wooden bottles which inherited the name could associate them with birds is indicated by the nicknames given by a Dorset thatcher of my acquaintance to his set of *flagons*: alongside *drunken little Dick* (three pints), he kept a *blackbird* (five pints), and an *old thrush* (one gallon).⁹ Compare also the Somerset *goose egg*, used for a very small wooden bottle, 'possibly one used by a child or female worker'.¹⁰

That the term *owl* was known not only in Dorset, but also in parts of Somerset, is perhaps suggested by the fact that it is mentioned in J. A. Garton's *Glowing Embers from a Somerset Hearth*, a book published in the 1930s and concerned almost exclusively with Somerset folk ways. In any case, Garton's account is worth quoting for the information it gives on wooden bottles: 'They had got back to the empty wagon, and the "bottle" referred to was not of glass, but a miniature cask of oak holding about half a gallon, and usually called a "bottle" or "ooden bottle", though

in some parts it is spoken of as a “verkin barrel” or “owl”. They are not often seen now, and there aren’t many coopers who make them, but cider keeps far better in them than in a glass bottle or stone jar. If there was a stream nearby, the men used to make them fast to a stump and float them in the water all day to keep the cider cool.’¹¹

Since writing the above, I have been able to study some relevant exhibits in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, which is located in the King’s House, The Close, Salisbury. A map there shows over half a dozen pottery-kiln sites in Verwood and district, along with major centres of distribution in south-east Somerset, south Wiltshire, south-west Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, and all parts of Dorset. Among the various pottery vessels displayed are some recovered from farms and described as costrels, harvest bottles, or Dorset owls. Sold in the nineteenth century by hawkers travelling over southern England by horse and cart, they were used to take drinks into the field. The smallest is of a size to contain about a pint. The largest will have contained perhaps as much as a gallon. All have the typical brown colour associated with Verwood pottery, except that one has been completely covered by way of decoration with colourful fragments of china. On another there remains a piece of string that was threaded through the ears to function as a handle, suggesting carriage by hand rather than suspension from the waist, for which in any case most of the vessels in question would have been too unwieldy. A further inference is that, though Verwood owls gave their name to miniature wooden casks, the nineteenth century saw the continuing use, if not production, of the ceramic prototypes.

1. S. C. L. Harris, ‘The Wooden Bottle, 1700-1900’, *Folk Life*, 25 (1986-87), 18-32.
2. Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905; rpt. London, 1970), 3, 674 and 1, 44.
3. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989), 5, 953.
4. *Ibid.*, 3, 992; Harris, *op. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. J. B. Smith, ‘Thatchers’ “Owls”,’ *Folk Life*, 26 (1987-88), 101-102, and references there.
7. J. G. Hurst, ‘The Pottery’, in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (London, 1976), pp. 283-348.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
9. The thatcher was William Tuck of Beaminster, born 1900. The conversation during which he gave me this information took place on 21 September 1987.
10. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
11. J. A. Garton, *Glowing Embers from a Somerset Hearth*, 2nd edn. (Wells, 1937), pp. 50-51.

52. FAIR DAYS IN SOMERSET IN 1815. Preceding papers on the fair and market days held in Somerset and Dorset covered the years from 1685 to 1783.¹ We now make a leap into the nineteenth century. Owen's *Book of Fairs* was still being published regularly, but here an alternative source of data is considered. In 1815 Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, printers of Paternoster Row, London published Cooke's *Topographical Library or British Travellers Pocket County Directory for 'Somersetshire'*. The book, measuring 3½ by 5¾ inches, by G.A. Cooke, Esq. was declared to be a 'Topographical and Statistical Description of the County of Somerset: Containing an Account of its Situation, Extent, Towns, Roads, Rivers, Minerals, Fisheries, Manufactures . . . The Direct and Principal Cross Roads . . . A LIST OF THE FAIRS . . . the Whole Forming a Complete County Itinerary'.

Cooke's list follows with the original spelling: where there are differences between his 1815 list and Owen's list for 1783 the latter are placed in square brackets.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ALL THE FAIRS IN SOMERSETSHIRE.

<i>Ashbrittle</i>	February 25, and Oct. 21, for cattle.
<i>Ashill</i>	April 17, and September 11, cattle of all sorts; and pedlary.
<i>Axbridge</i>	Feb. 3, March 25, cattle, sheep, cheese, and toys.
<i>Backwell</i>	Sept. 21, cattle, sheep, and colts
<i>Baghor West</i>	May 12, cattle of all sorts
<i>Bayborough</i>	May 23. [new]
<i>Banwell</i>	Jan. 18, July 18, cattle, sheep, and cheese.
<i>Bath</i>	Feb. 14, and July 10, cattle.
<i>Binegar</i>	Whit Monday, all sorts of cattle; Whit Tuesday, cloth and horses; Wednesday, sheep; Thursday, horses.
<i>Bishop's Lydiard</i>	April 5 [March 25], bullocks, horses, and sheep. September 8, all sorts of toys
<i>Blagdon</i>	Aug. 30 [Last Friday in August], bullocks, horses, sheep, and toys.
<i>Bridgewater</i>	March 7 [Second Thursday in Lent], June 24, Oct. 2, and Dec. 28; cattle, cheese, &c.
<i>Bristol</i>	March 1, leather, broad-cloth, and cattle; September 1, broad-cloth, cattle, and all sorts of goods; each lasts ten days.
<i>Broadway</i>	Sept. 14, cattle and pedlary. [new].
<i>Broomfield</i>	November 13 [3], cattle, hats, and pewter goods.
<i>Bruton</i>	April 23 [May 4] and Sept. 19, cattle.

<i>Buckland</i>	Oct. 10, cattle and cheese.
<i>Buckland St. Mary</i>	Sept. 21, 22 [18 and 19]; horses the first day, bullocks the second.
<i>Burnham</i>	Trinity Monday, cattle, &c.
<i>Castle-Carey</i>	Tuesday before Palm Sunday [Midlent-Tuesday], May 1, and Whit Tuesday; bullocks and sheep.
<i>Chard</i>	First Wednesday in May, Aug, and Nov. [May 3, August 5, November 2].
<i>Cheddar</i>	May 4, and Oct. 29, cattle, &c.
<i>Chisselborough</i>	Oct. 31 [18], cattle, cheese, &c.
<i>Cock-Hill</i>	Jan. 8 [December 28], cattle.
<i>Comb St. Nicholas</i>	June 18 [new], Wednesday before Dec. 11 [10], bullocks, horses &c.
<i>Conquersbury</i>	September 14, cattle &c.
<i>Crewkerne</i>	Sept. 4, cattle, linen-drapery, cheese, and toys.
<i>Crowcombe</i>	First Friday in May, Monday after Aug. 1, Oct. 31, for cattle and drapery.
<i>Curvey-Rivel</i>	Aug. 5, [Monday after Lammas, or August 1], cattle and sheep.
<i>Dulverton</i>	July 10, Nov. 8, cattle.
<i>Dundry</i>	Sept. 12, cattle, &c.
<i>Dunster</i>	Whit Monday, pedlary.
<i>East Brent</i>	Aug. 26, cattle, &c.
<i>Freshford</i>	September 6, cheese.
<i>Frome</i>	Feb. 24, July 22, Sept. 14, and Nov. 25, cattle and cheese.
<i>Glastonbury</i>	Sept. 19 [29], and Oct. 11 [new], horses and fat cattle.
<i>Hinton St. George</i>	April 23.
<i>Holloway</i>	May 14, cattle.
<i>Huntspill</i>	June 29, cattle and sheep.
<i>Ilminster</i>	Last Wednesday in August, horses, bullocks, pigs, sheep, cheese, &c.
<i>Ivelchester</i>	Monday before Palm Sunday [new], July 2, and August 2, cattle.
<i>Keynsham</i>	March 24, and Aug. 15, cattle and cheese.
<i>Kilminster</i>	August 26 [Monday after St. Bartholomew, or August 24].
<i>Kingsbrampton</i>	Wednesday before Holy Thursday, Thursday se'nnight after October 10, cattle.
<i>Langeridge</i>	August 2, cattle.
<i>Langport</i>	Second Monday in Lent, fat cattle. June 29, black cattle and lambs; Oct. 5, cattle and colts; Nov. 22, cattle, hogs and sheep.
<i>Lansdown</i>	Aug. 10, June 29 [new], cattle and sundries; Oct. 5 [new] and Nov. 22 [new].
<i>Lidford-Green</i>	May 15 [new] and Aug. 12 [August 1],

<i>Limpsham</i>	April 25, cattle and cheese.
<i>Mark</i>	Tuesday before Whit-Sunday, August 10 [new], and Sept. 15, cattle.
<i>Martock</i>	October 9 [August 21], hogs, &c.
<i>Mells</i>	Monday after Trinity Monday, cattle, cheese, and toys; and September 29 [new].
<i>Milborne-Port</i>	June 5, and Oct. 28, cattle and toys.
<i>Minehead</i>	Whit Wednesday, pedlary.
<i>Moortinch</i>	August 20, cattle.
<i>Milverton</i>	Easter Tuesday, July 25, October 10, horses, cattle, cheese, &c.
<i>Montacute</i>	May 8 [6], leather, sheep and cattle.
<i>North Curry</i>	Aug. 1, Sept. 3 [new], bullocks, sheep and toys.
<i>North Petherton</i>	May 1, cattle, shoes and toys
<i>Nunny</i>	November 11, cattle.
<i>Otterford</i>	November 28 [17], cattle of all sorts, and linen and woollen.
<i>Pensford</i>	May 6, and Nov. 8, cattle, &c.
<i>Philip's Norton</i>	March 21, 27, May 1, and August 29, cattle and cloth.
<i>Porlock</i>	Thursday before May 12, Thursday before Oct. 10 [9], Thursday before November 12, cattle.
<i>Portbury</i>	Whit Monday, cattle and sheep.
<i>Priddy</i>	August 21, 22; cattle of all sorts.
<i>Queen Camel</i>	June 11 [new], and Oct. 25, cattle.
<i>Redlinch</i>	June 29, oxen and sheep.
<i>Road</i>	Monday after Aug. 29, cattle and cheese.
<i>Ruishton</i>	Whit Monday, bullocks and toys.
<i>St. Decuman's</i>	August 24, and Sept. 16 [new]; horses, cattle, &c.
<i>Shepton-Mallet</i>	May 30 [new], June 7 [new], and August 8, cattle &c.
<i>Snowdon</i>	Whit Thursday.
<i>Somerton</i>	January 29 [new], Palm Tuesday, Tuesday three weeks after ditto, Tuesday six weeks, and Tuesday nine weeks after ditto, and November 8 [new]; cattle of all sorts.
<i>South Brent</i>	October 10, cattle.
<i>South Petherton</i>	July 5 [6], cattle.
<i>Stroordale or</i>	
<i>Wincaunton [new]</i>	August 5, bullocks.
<i>Stopford</i>	June 11, and September 28,
<i>Stogursey</i>	May 2, and Sept. 12, cattle &c.
<i>Stogumber</i>	May 6 [April 25], and Aug. 1, bullocks, &c.
<i>Stoke Under-Hamden</i>	April 25, cattle and pedlary
<i>Stowey</i>	September 7, cattle and toys.
<i>Sucklebridge</i>	Friday before Holy Thursday, Wed. after October 10, cattle.

<i>Taunton</i>	June 17, for bullock and horses; July 7, three days, the first day bullocks and horses, the others pedlary and confectionary; if July 7 fall on a Saturday, it is kept on a Monday [new].
<i>Ubley</i>	October 4, cattle and cheese.
<i>Watchet</i>	August 25, cattle.
<i>Wedmore</i>	August 2, cattle and sheep.
<i>Wellington</i>	Thursday before Easter, Holy Thursday, cattle and sundries.
<i>Wellow</i>	May 20, Oct. 17, for cattle.
<i>Wells</i>	January 4 [new], May 14 [30], July 6 [June 24], October 25 [10, 14], and November 30; horses, cattle, and sundries.
<i>Weston-Zoyland</i>	Sept. 9, cattle and cheese.
<i>Whitedown</i>	Whit Monday and Tuesday [new], pedlary, bullocks and horses.
<i>Williton</i>	Trinity-Monday, pedlary. &c.
<i>Wincaunton</i>	Easter Tuesday and Sept. 29, horses, pedlary, &c. — see Stroordale.
<i>Winsham</i>	Whit Wednesday.
<i>Wiveliscombe</i>	May 12, and September 25, cattle and sundries.
<i>Woolavington</i>	Oct. 18, cattle. [new]
<i>Wooton-Courtney</i>	September 19, cattle.
<i>Yarlington</i>	August 26 [15], cattle, &c.
<i>Yeovil</i>	June 28, cattle of all sorts, and wool; Nov. 17, cattle, &c.; if Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, then held on Monday [new]. ²

Cooke based his list on Owen's, but because his Pocket County Directory included much other information besides data on fairs he shortened each entry. In addition to omitting the information of distances from London, the number of parliamentary members and the days of the week for the markets, he condensed many of the entries. Instances are; 'horses and sheep', was substituted by '&c.'; 'for all sorts of cattle' became 'cattle'; and for Yeovil 'horses, bullocks, sheep, lambs, hogs and wool' became 'cattle of all sorts and wool'. For Kilmington 'cattle, horses, pigs and cheese' was omitted entirely, and for 'Stopford' 'for horses, bullocks, sheep, lambs and wool' was also omitted.

The present author repeats a warning that information given in this series of papers must be treated with respect. Previous mention has been made of the confusion caused by the transition from the use of the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar in 1752, when eleven days were taken from September of that year.³ Fair-goers wanted to know when a certain fair would be held, on

the accustomed date or eleven days later? Fair proprietors were tardy in sending correct information to William Owen for his *Book of Fairs*. Cooke's published data of 1815 gives instances where his fair date differs from Owen's of 1783 (in square brackets) by eleven days; five fair dates are given eleven days later - Bishop's Lydiard - April 5 [March 25], Cock-Hill - Jan. 8 [December 28], Otterford - November 28 [17], Stogumber - May 6 [April 25], and Yarlinton - August 26 [15]. However, 'Bruton - April 23 [May 4]' is shown as eleven days earlier.

For Blagdon Owen gave the 'Last Friday in August'. For that to be correct for 1815 Cooke should have given 'August 25', but he gave August 30 as the date, which would have been correct for 1816.

Owen had always given the 'Monday after Lammas, or August 1' as the fair day for Curvey-Rivel but Cooke gave August 5. That date, too, would have been correct for 1816. In 1815 it should have been August 7. Without knowing exactly when in 1815 Cooke published his book, perhaps he was anticipating that his book would have been correct for the next year!

Cooke, however, might have been correct when he printed the 'First Wednesday in May, Aug, and Nov.' for Chard. Owen had given 'May 3, August 5, November 2' in 1767 and 1783. If the fair days were indeed the first Wednesday in these three months the dates should have been May 6, August 5, and November 4 for 1767 and May 7, August 6, and November 5 for 1783. An inspection shows that 'May 3, August 5, November 2' is never correct for these three Wednesdays in any year! 'Bayborough', Broadway, Woolavington are given as completely new fairs and new additional dates are given for 'Comb St. Nicholas', Glastonbury, 'Ivelchester', Lansdown, Mark, North Curry, Queen Camel, St. Decuman's, 'Shepton-Mallet', Somerton, Wells and Whitedown.

Originally fairs were initiated by a royal charter, and treated as a valuable franchise and with the Crown receiving revenue in tolls. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it appears that local proprietors could set up and derive benefits from their new fairs without a charter. An example of a legitimate fair is when in 1708 William Blathwayt received a grant by letters patent for a fair to be held at Lansdown near Bath on the 11th and 12th days of August.⁴ In 1815 four fairs were being held there. After a fair

was set up nearby at Wellow in 1737, and another at Freshford, the proprietor of the Dog-Fair at Norton St. Philip (founded by charter in 1345) complained that 'There is no Charter or Grant for holding a Fair . . . at Wellow . . . or at Freshford . . . [and] the same will be unlawful assemblies'. The Wellow and Freshford proprietors surmounted this objection by calling their fairs 'Meetings'.

1. C.J. Brett, *SDNQ*, XXXV, Pt 359, 304-7; Pt 360, 358-62; Pt 362, 443-7; XXXVI, Pt 365, 124-32, Pt 367, 188-92.
2. C.J. Brett, *SDNQ*, XXXVI, Pt 365, 124-32.
3. British Library, Harl. 7350, 29 June 1708.
4. C.J. Brett, *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 144 (2000), 167, 180-1.

COLIN J. BRETT

BOOK REVIEWS

John Folkes and Clare Bishop, *Images of England Taunton* (2007), Tempus, I.S.B.N. 978-0-7524-4506-9, 128pp, £12.99. Of volumes offered in recent years containing reproduction photographic images, this one stands out for the length of the text accompanying each image. Readers will undoubtedly find the extra effort the authors have put into researching the background to the images very useful and informative. This volume is also divided into seven sections, of which the first six predominantly cover Taunton, enabling the reader to have a thematically organised view of times past. Such a view is mainly from the early 20th century but there are some pictures from the floods of the 1960s.

This volume is particularly strong on its military content but there are good representations of education, sport and architecture, with single images of individual events, such as the visit to Taunton of the Duke of York. The last section is given a title of 'Around and About' and contains images of Halse, Kingston, Hatch Beauchamp, Norton Fitzwarren, Combe Florey, Bishops Hull, Pitney, North Curry, Lyng, Curry Rivel, Bradford-on-Tone, Corfe, West Monkton, Blagdon Hill, Bishops Lydeard, Milverton, Cothelstone and Crowcombe. The volume is priced at £12.99, which may be a little steep for the casual purchaser of such commercial ventures, but for those with a thirst for nostalgia it will be money well spent.

A.J.W.

NOTES

A PRE-REFORMATION CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT.

In the course of preparing a revised calendar of part of the Luttrell papers at the Somerset Record Office, an interesting survival has come to light in the form of a late mediaeval churchwardens' account for the parish of Withycombe.¹ Although it is a small, simple sheet, written on one side and contains no surprises, we at least know that John Combe and John Tapper were wardens in 1511. Pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts are always of interest, and Somerset is quite rich in such survivals. Time will tell: perhaps there are more to be found in this collection.

In this instance, Withycombe was a valuable estate in Carhampton Hundred and at Domesday was held by the bishop of Coutances whose heir, Robert Mowbray (Earl of Northumberland) was in difficulties with William II, and the manor forfeited to the Crown. It was then granted to William de Mohun. The original manor was split into three, the most important part being the manor of Williton Hadley, so named by its passage through the several families of FitzUrse, Martin and Durborough to Hadley. The whole fascinating story may be found in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, volume 52, part one, page three et seq.

This churchwardens' account was found amongst bailiffs' accounts for the manor of Withycombe. A Hadley heiress took with her the manor when she married a Luttrell in the mid-sixteenth century, and so we can see the connexion.

1. SRO, DD/L P 32/24/1.

JAMES SKEGGS

THOMAS JONES. The Thomas Jones mentioned in the *Taunton Courier* on 18 March 1829 was actually baptised William Jones on 27 November 1796 to John and Ann Jones of Durleigh; presumably the *Taunton Courier* was incorrect in giving him the name 'Thomas'. After fleeing Durleigh in March 1829 he was finally apprehended at Lewin's Mead, Bristol in January 1830 and committed to Ilchester Gaol on 6 January 1830 age 35. He was tried in the same month at Wells Epiphany Sessions for disturbing the body of Sophia Bryer of Cannington. The sentence given was just four months imprisonment. He had been

a resurrection man¹ for some thirteen years. Jones died just one year later in Bristol.

The *Bristol Mercury* of 1 February 1831 takes up the story.

On Saturday week a person by the name of William Jones died at our infirmary. He had been for several years a practitioner in the art and mystery of a resurrectionist in various parts of the country; and to show his unnatural attachment to the surgical art, he bequeathed his body to Dr Riley, on condition that it should be dissected at his anatomical school in Limekiln Lane, and afterwards made into a skeleton. This extraordinary bequest is now being fulfilled. Jones was the man who was discovered carrying on the trade of a resurrectionist at Bridgwater, a short time since. He had booked a hamper for the London coach, containing a subject, but told the parties at the office it was wine; in the night the ostler, wishing for a bottle of the liquor to wash away care, stole softly to the hamper, and having inserted his hand, grasped not a bottle, but the cold foot of a dead body. He instantly screamed murder, and the truth came out.

1. Those who practised body snatching or grave robbing were often known as resurrectionists or resurrection men. Body snatching was viewed as a lesser criminal act and thus was only punishable with a fine and imprisonment rather than with transportation or execution. This explains Jones' 'light' sentence considering the normal harsh penalties of the early 19th century.

PAUL MANSFIELD

QUERY

CHURCH WINDOW, BEAMINSTER. One of the most important treasures of St Mary's Church, Beaminster was a window, the work of Pugin from glass by Hardman. The two panels depicted Christ and Martha: 'Thy brother shall rise again', and Christ and the nobleman: 'Thy son liveth', with a palm tree over the top. It was in memory of Peter, only son of Peter and Annie Cox, who died at Bekjeya in the Lebanon on 11th Sept, 1850. It seems that the panels were removed sometime in the 1960s or 1970s.

Can anyone recollect the window? Has anyone taken a photograph which shows the window?

Any information at all would be helpful. Please contact Anne Douglas, 13 Hanover Court, Hogshill St, Beaminster, DT8 3LR.

CORRIGENDUM

In SDNQ 367, article 36 p.211 should read 'mater ecclesia' (Michael Protheroe).

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