
NOTES & QUERIES

FOR
SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

J. A. FORD, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

*15 Sandon House, 643 Blandford Road, Upton,
Dorset. BH16 5ED*

AND

A. J. WEBB, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.B.Cart.S., M.R.Hist.S.

'Staverton', 19 Kirke Grove, Taunton, Somerset. TA2 8SB

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

HERRICK

No	CONTENTS	Page No
6.	GLASTONBURY AS ROMA SECUNDA: AN EXCURSUS	49
7.	THE ARNOLD FAMILY OF ILSINGTON	53
9.	MASONS' MARKS IN WEDMORE PARISH CHURCH	59
10.	DESCENDENTS OF JOHN DACKOMBE OF STEEPLETON	63
11.	GLASTONBURY AND TINTAGEL: PARALLELS AND LINKS?	70
12.	ABBAY GRANGE, SHERBORNE ABBEY'S FORMER TITHE BARN	73
13.	THE SECOND WIFE OF HENRY FOWNES LUTTRELL	78
14.	LIEUTENANT COLONEL PAULE ST DE BEVILLE IN SOMERSET, 1768	82
	Notes	86
	Replies and Responses	88
	Book Reviews	88

ISSN 0049 1306

Annual Subscription £8 (U.S.A. 30 dollars or £10 if paid in
Sterling) payable in advance. Two parts annually, post free.

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Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset

has been published in unbroken sequence since 1888, and now issues two parts annually. Editors are prepared to consider typed or e-mailed contributions on the history, archaeology, genealogy, literature & folklore of the two counties. Authors requiring additional copies of the issue in which their contribution appears should inform the appropriate editor at the time of acceptance.

Subscriptions

Annual subscription £8 (U.S.A. 30 dollars or £10 if paid in Sterling).
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Somerset Editor: aj.webb@virgin.net

Dorset Editor: judith_ford@hotmail.com

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Whole page £12; half page £8; quarter page £6; inch space £4;
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Back numbers: £2.50 each plus postage.

6. GLASTONBURY AS ROMA SECUNDA: AN EXCURSUS.

In his 1933 letter, 'An Appeal for a National Church at Glastonbury, "*The Cradle of Christianity*"', the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton wrote that the medieval abbey was 'often called the *Second Rome*'.¹ It has more recently been suggested that 'because of its early foundation, Glastonbury became known as "The second Rome"'.² However, when precisely, and why exactly, this honour (which clearly implied the pre-eminent dignity of Rome, as the Western patriarchal see, whose primacy however was not based on its having been founded first)³ came to be applied to Glastonbury, is a mystery.

In fact, the title appears only once in the abbey's annals, in a passage in *De Antiquitate*, supposedly recording the affirmative response of a monk of St Mary's to the question of a French confrere from the abbey of St Denis: 'Is that ancient church of the perpetual Virgin and compassionate Mother still standing?'⁴ The French monk is reported as commenting that his religious house 'of the most glorious martyr Denis' and that of St Mary of Glastonbury 'share the same honour and privilege', as 'they both arose at the same time and each was consecrated by the great high priest' (*a summo et magno pontifice*). However, 'in one degree' Glastonbury was said to be 'superior': '*Roma etenim secunda vocatur*'.⁵ One can only assume that it was because like Rome (hailed in the 5/6th century hymn, ascribed to Elpis, in the words:

O happy Rome! Who in thy martyr princes' blood, a twofold
stream art washed and doubly sanctified. All earthly beauty thou
alone outshines far, empurpled by their outpoured life-blood's
glorious tide)

Glastonbury claimed to be 'the repository of so many saints', and was thus 'said to be a heavenly sanctuary on earth': '*merito ergo dicitur celeste in terris sanctuarium tot sanctorum reconditorium*'.⁶

It is significant that in the 'Great Privilege' of Henry II, granted '*in honorem Dei et Beatissimae Virginis Matris, quae locum sibi specialem et primum in hoc regno elegit*', the 'Old Church' of St Mary church is described as both '*Mater sanctorum*' and '*tumulus sanctorum*'.⁷ Furthermore, a papal bull (dated November 1332) from John XXII (to whom incidentally the Glastonbury monk, Dom Edmund Stourton dedicated his treatise '*On the Names of Jesus and Mary*')⁸ to Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells, in support

of the 'petition of the abbot and convent of the monastery' ('*beate Marie Glaston*') that the churches of Meare and Street (with its annexed chapelry of Walton) be 'appropriated' to the abbey's use, records that Edward III had recently visited Glastonbury 'on account of the multitude of martyrs there buried'.⁹

The epithet '*Roma secunda*' was certainly not a claim to a virtual equality of precedence with Rome, let alone to an autonomy (and by extension to a notional original 'independence' of the church in England) from the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, on the grounds of a first century date of foundation; charters incorporated in his *De Antiquitate* by William of Malmesbury make clear, for example, one purportedly granted by King Edgar which confirms Glastonbury's privileges and immunities, 'saving only the dignity of the holy churches of Rome and Canterbury'.¹⁰ On the contrary, a number of 'charters' show that Glastonbury looked to the Apostolic See for protection against successive bishops of the local diocese. For instance, *De Antiquitate* contains the text of a 'privilege' dated 965 and granted by Pope John [XII?] 'humbly besought by Edgar, glorious king of the English, and Dunstan, archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury' by which 'the monastery of St Mary of Glastonbury' was received 'into the bosom of the Roman church and the protection of the blessed apostles'.¹¹ The spurious 'Great Privilege of King Ine' went even further in making the extraordinary claim that the Pope had received the *vetusta ecclesia* into his protection 'as the Mother of his Lord' ('*ut matrem Domini*'). It also asserted that 'She who rules over the choirs of angels in heaven will not yield servile obedience to any man on earth', even to the bishop of Wells, who was supposed to acknowledge Glastonbury as 'his mother church' ('*matrem suam Glastoniensem ecclesiam*')¹²

Even V. Lagorio, in her very influential and oft-cited¹³ article, displayed misunderstanding of the medieval reality, in her misrepresentation of the (often complex) triangular set of relations between the English throne, the Papacy and the Church in this realm, and the role of Glastonbury's Joseph 'legend' in this. Thus she wrote that 'the British [*sic*] monarchy favoured a national Christianity' (presumably this should read 'Church', anyway?), and proposed that whilst

Glastonbury did not envision setting up a *Roma secunda* to rival Rome, the will to exploit the abbey's legends in the interests of a

national Christianity did exist and could explain a concerted promotion of their hidden saintly asset, Joseph of Arimathea

following the royal visit of Edward III in 1331¹⁴ even though there is no evidence of such policies. Furthermore Lagorio's paper contains the most odd idea that both Glastonbury and St Denis was 'called a second Rome'. On this flawed basis, is advanced the novel notion that by the early 15th century 'the issues underlying the Anglo-French apostolic [*sic*] rivalry revolved around the accolade of being a second Rome, with all of the attendant power, prestige and privileges'¹⁵ this presumably conveyed, as if the church in either country could be 'a second Rome', whether or not the earliest religious house in each was so-called.

Quite simply, the '*Roma secunda*' epithet was never cited, even during the nationalistic confrontations at the early 15th century Conciliar gatherings, as an English argument against French claims to precedence, let alone against the medieval papacy in support of (the inconceivable notion) an 'independent' *ecclesia anglicana*. Lagorio was seemingly correct, however, in stating that the 'issue of precedence based on apostolic conversion was never concluded',¹⁶ although the idea still prevails in Glastonbury circles that L.S. Lewis was correct in his contention that 'the disputes of England, France and Spain . . . were decided in favour of England by Glastonbury's [Joseph] story'.¹⁷

1. W. Lee, privately printed leaflet, dated 17 June 1933, which implies that the epithet continued to be applied to the rebuilt abbey church after the fire of 1184 that had destroyed, *inter alia*, the *vetusta ecclesia* to which it had originally applied.
2. J. Weir, *The West country: great walks* (1993), 35.
3. For a wider and historical perspective on this, see E. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners* (1997), esp.32-3, where it is pointed out that 'the papal primacy of honour derived from the succession to Peter . . . Rome was seen as the senior patriarchate . . . [but] the claim of Constantinople to be "New Rome" was a constant threat to papal primacy . . .'.
4. J. Scott, *The early history of Glastonbury, an edition, translation and study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (1981) [hereafter cited WMDA (Scott)], 50-51; as regards its dating, Scott comments, 187: the 'reference to Henry of Blois in the past establishes that this chapter was not William's work' and post dates the abbot's death in 1171; but V. Lagorio, *The Evolving Legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury, Speculum* XLVI (1971), 221, presumed that this incident was recorded by William himself and thus the conversation must have occurred 'sometime prior to 1129'.
5. See G. Ashe, *The Avalonian Quest* (1982), 41, translates 'the sobriquet of *Roma Secunda*' as 'the Second Rome', following L.S. Lewis, *Glastonbury - the Mother of Saints* (1925; 1985 ed.) 19; and J. Cousins, *The Glastonbury*

- documents (ii) *What is Glastonbury?* (2009), 24, who having quoted Ashe, comments: 'Throughout the 5th and 6th centuries' [though surely much later?]' 'the Old Church - with its mysterious origins, its growing collection of relics, and the increasing number of saintly and royal burials - became an international centre of pilgrimage, its reputation earning Glastonbury the title: *Roma Secunda*'.
6. WMDA (Scott) 66-67. L.S. Lewis, *Glastonbury*, 19, also states that the abbey was called 'the "Second Rome"' because of 'the number of saints buried there'. There is also an interesting reference, seemingly derived from the 12th century *Liber Landavensis*, in W. Greswell, *Chapters on the early history of Glastonbury Abbey* (1909), 76, to Bardsey island '*quae more Britannico vocatur Roma Britanniae*'.
 7. J. Carley (ed), *The chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: an edition, translation and study of John of Glastonbury's cronica sive antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1985), 174 [hereafter cited J. Carley (*Cronica*)], and 297, fn. 382, where it is noted that the document, which first appeared in *Adami de Domerham, historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus* edited by T. Hearne (1727), 336-40, 'seems to owe much in its format to the forged charter of King Ine and the forged charter of King Edgar'. Dom A. Watkin (ed) *The great chartulary of Glastonbury*, vol. I (1947), LXXII, describes it as 'puzzling' and 'very enigmatic' and suggests that 'it deserves more study than it has yet received' [perhaps still the case, over 60 years later?]. It was reprinted in R. Warner, *History of the Abbey of Glaston* (1826), XLI, where the immediate source cited is [N] Harpsfield, *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, ch.ii, 3,4 [published 1622] which reads '*specialem*' rather than '*specialiter*'.
 8. J. Carley (*Cronica*), 44-45; cf. 278, fn.62, which notes that we only know about this 'lost work', *De nominibus Ihesu et Marie*, from this single reference.
 9. Watkin, *Great chartulary*, xvi, doc.18; incidentally cf. xv: confirmation by Honorius III (1218) of Bishop Savaric's appropriation to Glastonbury of the church of Street, for 'alms and support of the poor'.
 10. WMDA (Scott) 126-7.
 11. WMDA (Scott) 128-9, and n.124. D. Dales, *St. Dunstan, saint and statesman* (Lutterworth, 1988), 54, notes this was 'obtained perhaps by Dunstan as a result of his visit in 960' to Rome to receive his metropolitan's pallium, and observes that 'such papal acts of protection and exemption for monasteries grew apace during the latter half of the tenth century, and were not without precedent in England'.
 12. WMDA (Scott), 98-103.
 13. E.g. in J. Carley (*Cronica*), passim.
 14. V. Lagorio, *Evolving legend*, 218, where even the 'anti-papal feeling of royalty' is also suggested!
 15. *Ibid.*, 221, apparently following M. Deanesley, *The pre-Conquest church in England* (1961), 15.
 16. *Ibid.*, 222-3.
 17. L.S. Lewis, *Glastonbury*, xxii, adding somewhat disingenuously, that 'Spain and France and the Councils generally must have had convincing proof, even if that proof no longer exists after the destruction of Glastonbury's great library and muniment room'.

M.J. PROTHEROE

7. THE ARNOLD FAMILY OF ILSINGTON. The Arnold family acquired most of the tithing of Ilsington within the parish of Puddletown, Dorset, in 1613. The property consisted of some 700 acres along the river Frome south of Puddletown, extending across the river to Woodsford Castle. It was purchased by Henry Arnold of Bagber from Henry Hastings of Woodlands, who was lord of the manor of Puddletown. Henry Hastings retained the rest of the manor of Puddletown until his death at the age of 99 in 1650. Successive members of the Arnold family continued to own Ilsington for the next two centuries. Their genealogy is complicated by the fact that in each generation the eldest sons were called Henry, but the succession can be constructed from notes made by the Revd. Dr Henry Arnold (died 1778) who was a canon of Wells cathedral, and from information he supplied to John Hutchins for the *History of Dorset*.¹

Ilsington was an attractive and valuable property. It is shown in detail on a map drawn by Isaac Taylor of Ross in Herefordshire in 1770. This provides an illustration of the fine house surrounded by walls, gardens, orchards and barns, and the map shows much of the land enclosed, with a dairy house, cottages, rights to common grazing on the nearby heaths and access to woodland.² The adjacent lands were part of the estate of the Walpole family, Earls of Orford, whose principal seat was at Houghton in Norfolk; earlier the estate had belonged to the Rolle family of Heanton, Devon. The land at Tincleton to the east of Ilsington was part of the large estate of Henry Sturt of Crichel, a notable exponent of agricultural improvement. An account of the inhabitants of Puddletown in 1724 compiled by the vicar, Dr Henry Dawnay, lists numerous houses and cottages around Ilsington, although it does not include the gentry families of the parish. The settlement consisted of Ilsington House itself, the Dairy House in the barton or farm-yard, another nearby house containing two families, and other houses along the adjacent road leading to Stinsford and Dorchester.³ Further details are provided by the extensive records kept by the Arnold family which are now in the Wiltshire History Centre at Chippenham.⁴ Lying beside the river Frome, the property was well-situated for the construction of water meadows, and as early as 1608 four tenants at Ilsington had drawn up a carefully-worded legal agreement for making a water course 900 yards long and seven feet wide from the river in order to water some of their meadows.⁵

Henry Arnold I (died 1643) energetically pursued this new development and immediately after acquiring Ilsington he obtained a licence from Henry Hastings 'to erect Weares and bays athwart the river for watering their grounds so that no damage is done or cattle drowned'.⁶

The technique of carefully-controlled watering of meadows to provide early spring feed for sheep and lambs, followed by an abundant hay crop, was introduced in the district lying between the rivers Piddle and Frome earlier than anywhere else in the country, and these are among the earliest records which have been found. Henry Hastings at Puddletown and Henry Arnold at Ilsington were among the foremost promoters of this new and highly-important development in agriculture. A further large-scale creation of water meadows was carried out in the Broadmoor at Puddletown in 1629 under direct pressure from Henry Hastings upon his tenants. The water meadows were so successful that within a few years the whole valley, including Ilsington, had many acres of watered meadow, and the channels, drains, weirs and hatches are still evident all along the rivers.⁷

Henry Arnold I entered with enthusiasm into the further advancement of his estate at Ilsington. He improved the house and barns, and obtained additional land by the purchase of further properties from Jacob Jolliffe and Mr Darbyn.⁸ He had three sons and four daughters. The eldest son, Henry Arnold II (1600-59) was provided with the typical education of a young man destined to be a country gentleman. He was sent to Wadham College, Oxford in 1616, leaving without taking a degree in 1620 to spend some time at the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court in London.⁹ He returned to Ilsington and married Judith, daughter of John Squibb of Winterborne Whitechurch. Their eldest son Henry Arnold III (1634-85), was baptised on 19 August 1634. Henry Arnold II died in 1659 leaving a fortune of £2508 18s 10d.¹⁰ He had succeeded in securing the marriage of his eldest son, Henry Arnold III in 1651 to Edith Gillett, daughter of the wealthy farmer and landowner, Melchisedek Gillett of Winterborne Came. The complex marriage agreement provided Edith with a dowry of £1000.¹¹ The surviving documents provide copious evidence concerning the household and farming enterprise of Henry Arnold III. In particular he left a large ledger giving a detailed account of his income and expenses during the years 1652-71. This lists the income from his farm, the sales of livestock and corn, the rents received for grazing sheep and cattle

on his land, and money lent and borrowed. It also lists the most trivial items of expenditure on foodstuffs and household equipment, clothing and minor repairs, as well as goods purchased at the annual fair at Woodbury Hill each September. He records purchases of wine, beer and cider, payments for work on his garden, small sums received for his stallion's service to his neighbours' mares and doctor's charges for advice on his health and for examining his urine.¹² The size of his household can be judged from the Hearth Tax return of 1662-4 which assessed Ilsington House for 13 hearths.¹³ As a leading landowner, Henry Arnold III was much involved in public affairs in Puddletown. It was apparently at his instigation that a detailed custumal of Puddletown was compiled in 1657. The heading of the document includes a note of the fact that it 'was made at the request of Mr Henry Arnold of Ilsington, the Elder, gent., 1 September 1657'. This gives details of land tenure, manorial obligations, labour services required from the tenants at hay and corn harvest, and the duty of landowners to provide the labourers with meat and drink. It lists the customs over widows' estate, timber entitlement and rights of common pasture on Rainbarrow. One particularly interesting custom is recorded as follows: 'Their custom is that against their Churchale they may goe to the Lord'swood and with strength of men and other yewthor to load and bring the said load of wood in a Carte to the Church House once in the yeare'. The custumal is followed by a detailed circuit of the whole manor, the bounds marked by streams, trees, bushes and numerous heaps of stones.¹⁴

A few years earlier, in 1654, the Jury of the Out Hundred of Puddletown had reported on the condition of the district. They noted that it 'is large, rich in soile and sundry brave livings if carefully improved and manured'. At Ilsington they reported that the roads were well mended, but were liable to damage from the fact that 'many springs break forth in winter to the great annoyance of the highways'. They ordered that the stocks belonging to the tithing should be replaced since they were old and rotten. While the people of the Out Tithings were well behaved, the Jury complained that all the trouble came from Puddletown and observed that, 'There doe live in that same village of Puddletown more drunkards, Ale-house haunters and Idle licentious people than in all the eleven Tythings of the Out Hundred'.¹⁵ Later 17th century tax lists and muster rolls for the tithing of Ilsington provide evidence of the population. In 1662 24 people are listed as tax-payers, and in

1677 a muster roll shows 12 people responsible for providing three muskets and one pike.¹⁶

By the time of his death in 1685 Henry Arnold III was a wealthy man and his probate inventory lists his goods and stock worth £2662 9s 10d. This included the well-furnished house at Ilsington, 58 milking cows, 9 yearlings, 4 bulls, 7 cart horses, 4 other horses, 777 sheep and large quantities of wheat, barley and rye.¹⁷ He and his wife, Edith, had seven children, three sons and four daughters. The eldest, Henry Arnold IV (1654-1712), was born on 15 April 1654. The family were evidently keen to keep the goodwill of Edith's wealthy father, Melchisedek Gillett, and the second son was named Melchisedek and the third son was called Gillett. Henry Arnold IV succeeded to the estate at Ilsington, while Melchisedek Arnold was favoured by his grandfather and was left considerable property and the tithes of Whitcombe. Gillett Arnold and his sisters were also left legacies from the great wealth of their grandfather. At the time of his death in 1680 this was assessed at £4,672 7s 10d.¹⁸

It is an indication of the status of the family that the daughters of Henry Arnold IV secured advantageous marriages. For example, Judith was married to William Frampton, heir to the extensive estates at Moreton, and Christine was married to Dr Henry Hooton, vicar of Puddletown. Their mother, Edith, died in 1671 and was buried at Puddletown.¹⁹

Henry Arnold IV became the owner of Ilsington on his father's death in 1685. He advanced the family fortune by marrying Susan, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Hull of Tolpuddle. He continued to improve the estate, converting former heathland to productive pasture and extending the acreage of water meadows to support even larger sheep flocks during the early spring and thus enable more arable land to be enriched with their dung. An elaborate agreement was drawn up in 1687 between Henry Arnold and the tenants of Puddletown, settling disputes over rights to water, the creation of new channels and drains, and provision of access routes for sheep and cattle.²⁰

Henry Arnold V (1692-1722) died only ten years after his father. He married Margaret, daughter of John Taylor, clerk, who lived at Crewkerne but was the non-resident rector of the Somerset parishes of Charlinch and Lympsham.²¹ After his early death and burial at Puddletown, his widow, Margaret, with their recently-born son, Henry Arnold VI, left Ilsington and the farm was

managed by a steward. The account of Puddletown in 1724 by the Revd Dr Henry Dawnay, lists Ilsington House, belonging to 'Mrs Arnold, widow, by right of Jointure, now uninhabited'.²² An undated sketch plan of the water meadows along the Frome at Ilsington, which appears to date from the early 18th century, shows channels and hatches labelled as belonging to 'Mrs A's tenant' and a weir in the river 'belonging to Mrs A'.²³

Henry Arnold VI (1722-78) was enrolled at Balliol College, Oxford at the age of 17 in 1739. He obtained the degrees of B.A. in 1742, M.A. in 1745 and D.D. in 1761. Like his maternal grandfather, he became a clergyman and was ordained deacon in 1747 and priest in 1748, serving in the diocese of Bath and Wells at Godney, Wookey, Farleigh Hungerford and finally becoming a canon of Wells cathedral.²⁴ Since he was non-resident, the farm at Ilsington was let to tenants and for a time was managed by George Boswell (1735-1815) of Puddletown, the author of an influential treatise *On Watering Meadows* first published in 1779. Boswell had a shop in Puddletown, but also acted as agent for various local landowners including Dr Philip Lloyd who was the non-resident rector of Puddletown, Lord Orford and James Frampton of Moreton.²⁵ In addition Boswell farmed on his own account on land which he rented in the district. In 1754 Dr Arnold asked Boswell to act on his behalf in negotiations over rights to water for a meadow which was leased from the Orford estate. Clearly, Boswell was already managing Ilsington farm, and the letter also asks Boswell to convey Dr Arnold's compliments to the vicar, Dr Dawnay and all friends at Puddletown. Later, in 1785 after Dr Arnold's death, Boswell made a full valuation of Ilsington and suggested various improvements which might be made to the land. He valued the estate, including 103 acres of meadow at £377 18s 0d. Later, after Henry Arnold's death, Boswell managed the estate for the widow, Ann Arnold, and was given power of attorney to act on her behalf.²⁶

Henry Arnold VI married Ann Awdry, daughter and co-heiress of Ambrose Awdry, a wealthy Wiltshire landowner. Their son, who would have been Henry Arnold VII died in infancy, so that when Dr Arnold died in 1778, his widow returned to Wiltshire, and the Arnold family records became part of the extensive Awdry family archive which is now in the Wiltshire History Centre at Chippenham. The Arnold land at Ilsington continued to be leased to tenants until 1836. By this time buildings and land appear to

have been neglected and in bad condition. The thatch roofs of the farm buildings were decayed, the water meadows were infested with rushes and the arable land was poorly maintained. Eventually, after protracted negotiations over the probable cost of repairs, the property was sold to Lord Orford and incorporated into his adjacent estate, thus ending the long association of the Arnold family with Ilsington.²⁷

1. J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd edn (1863), 617-8.
2. Isaac Taylor was a well-known surveyor who had already drawn maps of the Erle-Drax estates in Dorset. He charged £15 19s 2d for his beautifully-drawn and detailed map of Ilsington. British Library, Maps A.5. (15). Wiltshire Archive Service (WAS) 873/96.
3. C.L. Sinclair Williams, *Puddletown: House, Street and Family*, Dorset Record Society, II (1998), 65-7.
4. The records relating to Ilsington in the Wiltshire History Centre at Chippenham have the reference 873/84-103.
5. WAS, 873/85, Agreements concerning water meadows.
6. WAS, 873/85, Agreements concerning water meadows.
7. J. Bettey, 'The Development of Water Meadows in Dorset during the 17th century', *Agricultural History Review*, 25 (1997), 37-43; J. Bettey, 'The Floated Water Meadows of Wessex: A Triumph of English Agriculture', in H. Cook & T. Williamson, eds, *Watermeadows* (2007), 8-22.
8. WAS, 873/100.
9. J. Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (1891).
10. WAS, 873/96.
11. WAS, 893/100. For details of Melchisedek Gillett's farming enterprises see J. Bettey, 'Large scale Farming in South Dorset', *SDNQ, XXXV* (2005), 468-71.
12. WAS, 873/92, Henry Arnold's Account Book 1652-71.
13. C.A.F. Meekings, ed., *Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-64* (1951), 12.
14. WAS, 873/84, Custumal of Puddletown and Perambulation of Bounds, 1657.
15. WAS, 873/89, Presentments of the Jury for the Out-Hundred of Puddletown, 1654.
16. WAS, 873/88, Tax List and Muster Rolls for Puddletown, 1662 & 1677.
17. WAS, 873/100 Inventory of the Goods of Henry Arnold, 1685.
18. *Ibid.* Inventory of the Goods of Melchisedek Gillett, 1680.
19. Hutchins, *History*, II, 617-8; 'Visitation of Dorset 1677', *Harleian Society*, 117 (1977), 1, 60.
20. WAS, 873/85, Ilsington Water Meadows.
21. Hutchins, *History*, II, 617-8.
22. Sinclair Williams, *Puddletown*, 65-6.
23. WAS, 873/85.
24. WAS, 873/103, Will and genealogy of Henry Arnold d. 1778.
25. For details of Boswell's career see Bettey, 'George Boswell of Puddletown', 58-69.
26. Dorset History Centre (DHC), D/PUD/M6-9 Earl of Orford's Puddletown estate 1760-96; WAS, 873/96, Ilsington Farm MSS.
27. WAS, 873/98, Correspondence concerning the sale of Ilsington, 1836-8.

J.H. BETTEY

9. MASONS' MARKS IN WEDMORE PARISH CHURCH.

The present parish church of St Mary, Wedmore is basically a 15th century building. It is at least the third church on the site, and there are surviving fragments of a high quality 13th century church. The present church is not, however, a hopeful field for masons' marks, being rubble-built and originally rendered. The interior is plastered and whitewashed. The only ashlar blocks are at corners, windows and doors, and in the tower and parvise stairways. Not unexpectedly, no traces of masons' marks have been found anywhere on the walls. An unexpected find, however, has been a series of hitherto unrecorded masons' marks on the pillars and arches separating the medieval nave from the south nave aisle, which was added about the middle of the 15th century.¹

The four freestanding pillars are identified, from east to west, as pillars 1, 2, 3 and 4, with a respond (demi-pillar) on the wall at each end, and five arches between. The pillars have attached shafts around 4 concave recesses. Masons' marks were found on three of these four pillars, and on all five arches. There are four marks: a 'star of David', formed of two opposed triangles, often crudely and rather lopsidedly cut into the stone (★); a very simple wide-splayed X with a small indentation at one end of each stroke, where the mason set his tool into the stone (X); a mark of two conjoined triangles, one smaller than the other (Δ^2); and a mark resembling a W, probably made using the acute angle of a set square (W).²

The marks on pillars are located by the quarter-segment of the pillar (NE, NW, SE, SW) in which they lie, and by their approximate height from the top of the round moulding around the base of each pillar shaft. These mouldings are level with each other, but the distance of the moulding (and thus of the mark) above the present floor level varies considerably from pillar to pillar.³ The pillars have been very thoroughly scraped during cleaning and restoration in the 1880s, and probably at other times, so that some marks are damaged; others may have been lost altogether. The marks found on the mouldings of the arches are located as being on the north or south face of the arch, and to the east or west of its apex. The marks which are listed in the National Association of Decorative & Fine Arts Societies (NADFAS) inventory are indicated thus: *.

East respond

No visible masons' marks

Arch between East Respond and Pillar 1

✱ N face, low down on W side of arch

Pillar 1

X NE quarter c.7 cms above pillar base

X NE quarter c.82 cms above pillar base

Δ^2 SE quarter c.175 cms above pillar base *

✱ SW quarter c.56 cms above pillar base *

Note: These two X marks are on one block

Arch between Pillars 1 and 2

W S face, one third way up W side of arch

Pillar 2

X NE quarter c.10 cms above pillar base

✱ NE quarter c.68 cms above pillar base *

X NE quarter c.107 cms above pillar base

Note: All three marks are on one block, the Xs near each end

Arch between Pillars 2 and 3

$\Delta^2 + \Delta^2$ S face, E side of arch

$\Delta^2?$ S face, high on W side of arch: a partial, incomplete or damaged mark

Pillar 3

✱ SE quarter c.182 cms above pillar base *

✱ SW quarter c.240 cms above pillar base⁴

Arch between Pillars 3 and 4

Δ^2 S face, W side of arch

Δ^2 S face, high on E side of arch

W S face, lower down on E side of arch

Pillar 4

No visible masons' marks

Arch between Pillar 4 and West Respond

W N face, high on W side of arch

Δ^2 N face, lower on W side of arch, a partial, incomplete or damaged mark

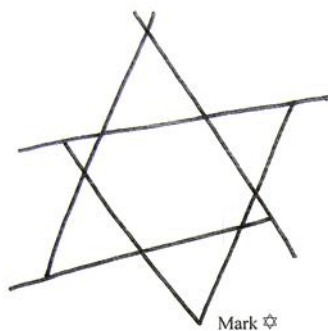
West Respond

$\Delta^2?$ SE quarter c.33 cms above pillar base:
incomplete or damaged mark

The symbols of ✱, X and W are simple and common masons' marks, and compared with similar 15th century marks at Wells Cathedral these Wedmore examples are crudely cut and probably the work of local masons.⁵ The Δ^2 mark does not seem to be found at Wells Cathedral. The occurrence of more than one mark on a single block of stone, on Pillars 1 and 2, is odd.⁶

No masons' marks have been observed on the corresponding four pillars separating the north aisle from the nave at Wedmore. The north aisle is thought to have been constructed about thirty years after the south aisle, and in a simpler style. This absence of any masons' marks on the north aisle pillars reinforces the suggestion that there are two separate periods of construction involved.

In addition, three scribed circles have been noted on ashlar blocks in the church.⁷ Very deliberate, these are probably the work of masons setting out an exemplar against which they or other stone-carvers can subsequently check their compasses and dividers. One would expect them to be later than the ashlar blocks on which they are scribed. One is on the west face of the south-west pillar of the 13th century tower: a clear circle 12.5 cms diameter and c.120 cms above the top of the stone plinth. It appears to be very much the same diameter as the shafts of the 15th century south nave aisle pillars nearby. There are also two scribed circles on the outer west side of the south door; one is 13 cms diameter, and 112 cms from the ground, the other is a smaller, incomplete circle c.9.5 cms diameter and 75 cms from the ground. There do not, however, appear to be any shafts with these diameters in the immediate vicinity.



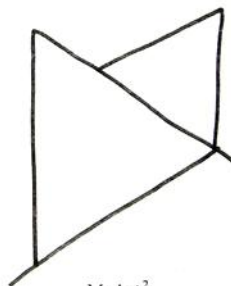
Mark ☆



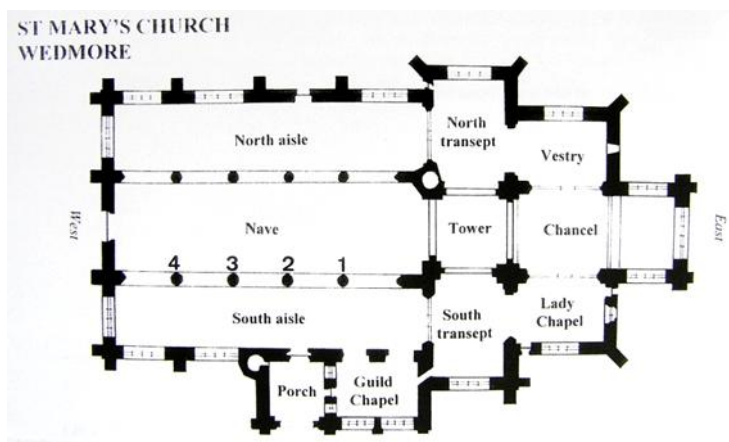
Mark ×



Mark W

Mark Δ^2

Masons' marks in Wedmore church (Authors)



Plan of Wedmore church

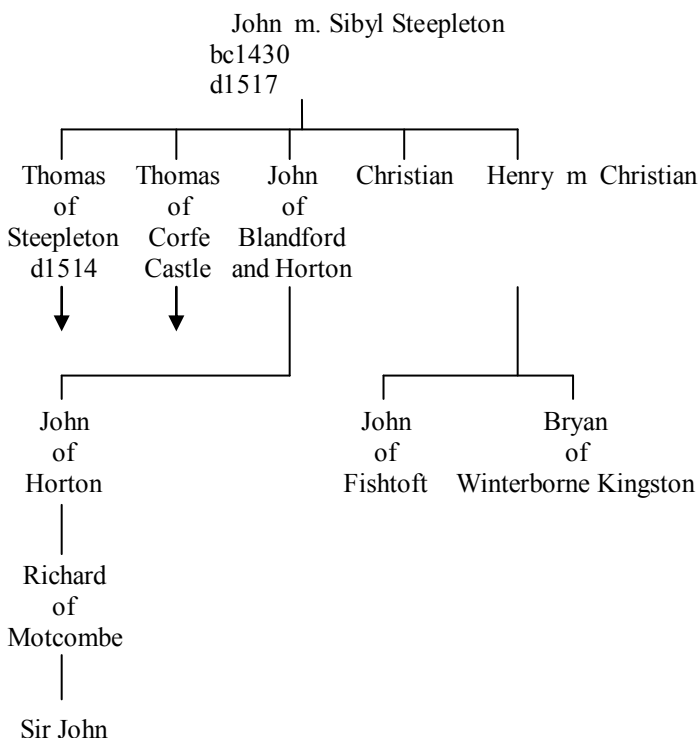
1. This investigation initially took place in 2008, and further additions were made with the help of Jerry Sampson in 2010. Jerry Sampson has recently done considerable work on locating masons' marks in other rubble-built parish churches in Somerset. NADFAS compiled an inventory of Wedmore church in 2008-9.
2. The NADFAS inventory only recorded the 'star of David' mark.
3. NADFAS measurements were made from the floor or the pad-stone below the pillar.
4. The NADFAS inventory erroneously notes this star as being in the NE quarter, not in the SW.
5. Revd G.A.A. Wright and W.A. Wheeler, *Masons' marks on Wells Cathedral Church* (1971): marks 316, 319, 492, 498, 453, 468.
6. Jerry Sampson comments that this might represent some form of supervision.
7. These circles were not recorded in the NADFAS inventory.

HAZEL HUDSON AND FRANCES NEALE

10. DESCENDENTS OF JOHN DACKOMBE OF STEEPLETON. Steepleton Iwerne lies three miles north of Blandford Forum. The Dackombe family acquired the manor there before 1378, and remained in possession for two hundred and thirty years.¹

Motcombe lies nine miles north of Steepleton. Here, Richard Dackombe had a son, John (born c1570), who became secretary to Robert Cecil, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and was knighted in 1616. The life of Sir John was described in a previous note,² but any connection with the Steepleton family was not then known. The surname may be spelled Dacom, Dackham (as well as other variations). 'Dackombe' was used by Sir John and is used in this note except for quotations.

The pedigree of the Steepleton family, derived from the *Visitations of Dorset*³ and other sources,⁴ begins with John of Steepleton (who died in 1517) and shows that he had two sons both named Thomas, and a third son, named John. It is now proposed that John, the third son, was the grandfather of Richard of Motcombe. It is also suggested that the second son, Thomas, headed the Dackombe family of Corfe Castle and that there was a fourth son, Henry, who gave rise to families in Dorset and Lincoln as shown in Fig.1.

Fig.1 Descendants of John Dackombe of Steepleton**John, 3rd son of John of Steepleton**

In a previous note it was shown from a variety of sources that the father of Richard of Motcombe was John Dackombe of Horton, eight miles from Blandford.⁵ He was listed as an archer at Horton in the 1540 muster roll and assessed there for £8 in the subsidy of 1545. In that year he was called 'a most comberous wilful & seditious person' in a law suit.⁶ He was injured by an arrow in the wars against the rebels (c1550) during the brief reign of Edward VI⁷ and died between 1555 and 1558.⁸ His wife was named Jane (and she may have been Jane Halswell of Goathurst in Somerset).⁹ Details of their six children including Richard of Motcombe were described in the previous note.¹⁰

John's father was also named John.¹¹ John the elder leased the farm at Horton in 1527 from the priory there.¹² Before that, he lived at Pimperne, two miles from Blandford Forum, where he was assessed for £40 in the subsidy of 1525. He and his wife Johanna obtained the manor of Littleton near Mapouder (Mappowder) in 1519,¹³ possibly at the time of their marriage. He died between 1538 and 1544¹⁴ and was, at that time, married to Elizabeth, who was the executor of his will.¹⁵

A number of records show that this Horton/Blandford family was related to the Dackombe family of Steepleton: (1) A pedigree in the 1623 *Visitation of Dorset* states that (unnamed) Dackomb of Steepleton and Dackomb of Horton were brothers. (2) Robert Dackombe, son of John the younger of Horton referred in his will to James Dackomb of Steepleton as his *cousin*.¹⁶ (3) James Dackombe, the last of the Steepleton line to hold the manor, referred in his will to Robert Dackombe, vicar of Horton, as his *kinsman*.¹⁷ The vicar was the grandson of John the younger of Horton.¹⁸ (4) A later John Dackombe of Steepleton, who died in 1571, was godfather to Sir John Dackombe, grandson of John the younger of Horton.¹⁹ (5) Although it does not prove a relationship, it is noteworthy that Robert Dackombe, son of Richard of Motcombe, acquired Steepleton before 1600 from James of Steepleton.²⁰

Each of these points is satisfied if John the elder of Horton were the third son of John of Steepleton. Moreover, their estimated birth dates, calculated as follows, are within the same time frame. Thomas, the eldest son of John of Steepleton, died in 1514, three years before his father.²¹ If the father were no more than 80 at death therefore Thomas would have been born after c1457. Thomas' second son was a collector of books and obligingly annotated one with his date of birth, 1496.²² Thus Thomas, eldest son of John of Steepleton, was born between c1457 and c1473. So John, the third son, was born after c1460 and probably within that decade. John the elder of Horton died, c1540, and his son, John the younger, was born c1500. Assuming that John the elder was no more than 80 at his death, he was therefore born between c1460 and 1480, similar to the estimated birth date of the third son of John of Steepleton. It is concluded that John the elder of Horton was the third son of John Dackombe of Steepleton, probably born between 1460 and 1470.

Thomas, 2nd son of John of Steepleton

The 1623 *Visitation of Dorset* has a pedigree of the Dackombe family of Corfe Castle, 20 miles from Steepleton, headed by Thomas Daccomb who acquired the property there by marrying the heiress Elizabeth Clavell. This family was said to be a younger branch of the Steepleton family.²³ Was Thomas the second son of John of Steepleton?

The arms of the family strongly support this suggestion. Burke's *General Armory* describes the arms of the Steepleton family as a silver griffin on a green background, while the Corfe Castle family has the same arms with an added crescent. The addition of a crescent is the sign of a *second* son.²⁴ Burke and the *Visitations* also give the arms of the Steepleton family as three roses and three steeples, but Hutchins states that the griffin was the original Dackombe emblem, the rose and steeples coming from families they had married.²⁵

Dates of marriage and death of Thomas of Corfe Castle are also consistent with the age of the second son. Thomas of Corfe married Elizabeth Clavell, who was born 1488, and their daughter Johanna who married John Stanter before 1529.²⁶ Therefore, if neither Elizabeth nor Johanna was younger than 20 at marriage, Thomas married c1508. He died in 1541. In the discussion above, it is shown that the eldest son of John of Steepleton was born between about 1457 and 1473, so his second son Thomas would have been born after c1460 and probably before 1475. If he were Thomas of Corfe Castle, he would have been aged between 33 and 48 at marriage (1508) and between 66 and 81 at death (1541).

These are very plausible ages, so it is probable that Thomas of Corfe Castle was the second son of John of Steepleton. This conclusion remains unconfirmed however as it is not made by Hutchins in his *History*, nor in the *Visitations*, nor in any other known source.

Was there a fourth son named Henry?

The pedigrees from the *Visitations of Dorset* name only three sons of John of Steepleton. A number of records, however, suggest that there was a fourth son named Henry. John's wife Sibyl was the daughter of Henry Pole, and a fourth son could have been named for him. The evidence from these records may be summarized as follows:

1. In his will of 1514, John's eldest son Thomas left 20 sheep to his

brother John and 20 sheep to *Henry Dackham*.²⁷ John is named as a brother in the will, as also is his other brother, Thomas, whereas no relationship is stated for Henry. However, it was necessary to distinguish his *brothers* John and Thomas from his *sons* John and Thomas, because all four are mentioned in the will. Thomas had no son named Henry, so no confusion arose. Clearly there could have been no doubt in the minds of his executors as to who Henry was, and the fact that he received the same bequest as brother John, supports the proposal that he was another brother of Thomas.

2. The inquisition post mortem held in 1517 after the death of John of Steepleton shows that he had given his property including the manor of Steepleton in trust for his son and heir.²⁸ The trust included *Henry Dacombe* and it is not improbable that he included his youngest son in the trust to ensure that it did not fail because of the death of its members before it had achieved its purpose.

3. Other members of the trust included three members of the Morgan family of Chitterne in Wiltshire 25 miles from Steepleton. In 1504 *Henry Dacombe* and his wife Christian sold land in Chitterne.²⁹ Possibly Henry's wife was Christian Morgan of Chitterne, and the sale may have been made on their marriage. Two children of Thomas of Steepleton later married members of this Morgan family.³⁰

4. *Henry Dacombe* was assessed for £2 in the Corfe Castle subsidy of 1525 and was named as an archer with 6 arrows in the 1539 muster of the Knoll tithing (Church Knowle two miles from Corfe Castle), but was not mentioned in the 1544 subsidy, so probably died c1540. It might be expected that these references are to a member of the Corfe Castle Dacombe family, but although this family is well documented, no Henry of suitable age is recorded.

There is no confirmation that all these documents refer to the same Henry Dackombe. On the other hand, the dates do not preclude the possibility that they all refer to the Henry shown on the tree above, born c1470, married c1504, died c1540, having connections with both the Steepleton and Corfe Castle branches of the Dackombe family.

Descendants of Henry

There remain two other Dackombe pedigrees in the *Visitations* besides the Steepleton, Corfe Castle and Horton pedigrees. A

Dackombe family at Winterborne Kingston, 8 miles from Steepleton, was headed by Bryan Dackombe in the 1623 *Dorset Visitation*. Bryan had a brother John who headed the other family which was domiciled at Fishtoft in Lincolnshire³¹ from at least 1528.³² These families are branches of the Steepleton family since the arms of the Lincoln family are the rose and steeple arms of Steepleton.³³ The eldest son of Bryan, and the second son and heir of John of Fishtoft were both named Henry. It is proposed therefore that they were sons of Henry Dackombe, the fourth son of John of Steepleton, as shown in Fig.1.

John of Fishtoft had a son born c1541.³⁴ His widow remarried and had a son born c1539.³⁵ These are approximate dates but sufficient to show that John died c1540. Since he had five children, he was therefore married before c1530 and born before c1510, consistent with the marriage (c1504) of his proposed parents Henry and Christian.

The pedigree derived from the *Visitation of Northampton* however, places John of Fishtoft as the son of John, the 3rd son of John of Steepleton.³⁶ The pedigree is clearly in error when it states that the son and heir of John of Fishtoft was *John* Dackombe married to *Dorah Hall*, since a Lincolnshire pedigree³⁷ and other sources³⁸ confirm that the son and heir was *Henry* Dackombe married to *Dorothy Hawley*. It is concluded therefore that it is also in error in assigning the descent of John of Fishtoft to the 3rd son John, who, as shown in this note, founded the Horton branch of the family.

Conclusions

All the Dackombe pedigrees given in the *Visitations* have been related to the sons of John of Steepleton who were probably born around the decade 1460/70. The first son, Thomas, remained at Steepleton. The second son, Thomas, headed the Corfe Castle family. The third son, John, founded the family at Horton, leading to Sir John Dackombe. A fourth son, Henry, founded the families in Lincolnshire and Winterborne Kingston in Dorset.

1. G. Mann and D. Williams, 'Sir John Dackombe 1570-1618 (Part One)', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* (hereafter *SDNQ*), vol. 33 (1990), 363.
2. G. Mann and D. Williams, 'Sir John Dackombe 1570-1618 (Part Two)', *SDNQ*, vol. 33 (1990), 408.
3. F. Colby and J. Rylands (eds), *Addenda to the Visitation of Dorset 1623* (1888), 23.
4. Mann and Williams, 'John Dackombe (Part One)', *SDNQ*, vol. 33, 368.

5. Mann and Williams, 'John Dackombe (Part One) *SDNQ*, vol. 33, 369.
6. The National Archives (TNA) E321 13/7, Court of Augmentation, Dacombe v Derby.
7. TNA, DL4/14/18, Deposition 1572.
8. TNA, REQ2 50/34 Gardiner & Mownsell v Dackham, 1558.
9. Somerset Record Office, DD\S\WH/5, Records of the Kemeys-Tynte family, 1533.
10. Mann and Williams, 'John Dackombe (Part One)', *SDNQ*, vol. 33, 369.
11. TNA, C1 1046/28-30, 1538-1544, Peter v Dackham.
12. TNA, E321 21/46 Court of Augmentation, Derby v Dackham.
13. J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd edition, 1863, vol. 3, 726.
14. TNA, C1 1046/28-30, Peter v Dackham.
15. TNA, E321 21/46, Derby v Dackham.
16. Will of Robert Dackombe, proved 1606, TNA, PROB 11/109.
17. Will of James Dackombe, proved 1628, TNA, PROB 11/153.
18. Mann and Williams, *SDNQ*, vol. 33, 369.
19. Will of John Dackombe, proved 1572, TNA, PROB 11/54.
20. Mann and Williams, *SDNQ* vol. 33, 366.
21. Will of Thomas Dackham, proved 1514, TNA, PROB 11/17.
22. A. Watson 'A Sixteenth-Century Collector: Thomas Dackomb', *The Library*, vol. 18, 204.
23. Hutchins, *History*, vol. 1, 509.
24. B. Burke, *The General Armory of England Scotland Ireland and Wales*, 1884, xii. In the *Visitations of Dorset*, the Corfe Castle arms are quartered into six parts: parts one and six contain the griffin with a crescent; part two contains the steeples, part four contains the roses.
25. Hutchins, *History*, vol.1, 299.
26. Hutchins, *History*, vol.1, 510.
27. Will of Thomas Dackham, proved 1514, TNA, PROB 11/17.
28. TNA, E150 905/15, Inquisition post mortem.
29. TNA, CP25(1) 257/66/41, Foot of Fine, 1504. The *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* suggests that Christian was the daughter of Roger Newburgh, but this cannot be correct; Christian Newburgh married John Lord Marney.
30. Colby and Rylands, *Addenda to the Visitation of Dorset 1623*, 23.
31. *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, vol. 8 (1915), 233.
32. C.W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Wills*, vol. 2 (1918), 73.
33. *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, vol. 8, 233.
34. A. Maddison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, Harleian Society, vol. 50 (1902), 285.
35. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, Harleian Society, vol. 51 (1902), 631.
36. *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, vol. 8, 233.
37. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 50, 285.
38. (1) Inquisition post mortem, Sleaford 1574, *The Genealogist*, vol. 14 (2000), 65; (2) G. Turner (ed.) 'Calendar of Feet of Fines Huntingdon 1194-1608', 1560, 1566, 1567; (3) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls', 1561, Elizabeth I, vol. 2, 203.

GEOFFREY MANN

11. GLASTONBURY AND TINTAGEL: PARALLELS AND LINKS?

It has been suggested that 'England has a kind of mythical geography, a network of associations and oppositions, now dwindled largely to . . . tourism, but once a vital part of the country's being' and that 'Glastonbury's place within this . . . has a great deal to do with its reputation as an Arthurian site'.¹ Even if this is more the case with Tintagel, 'both Tintagel and Glastonbury exploit their Arthurian connections for all they are worth',² i.e. the 'mythic' connections first made in the 12th century, by Geoffrey of Monmouth (who located Arthur's conception in the 'fortress of Tintagel') and those who subsequently identified Glastonbury as the 'Isle of Avalon' to which the 'renowned King . . . was carried off . . . so that his wounds might be attended to'.³

C. Thomas, the leading authority on its archaeology, has written that 'what makes a study of Tintagel . . . so fascinating is the gradual discovery of layer upon layer of hidden discourses'.⁴ Indeed, whilst stating that 'If a real Arthur ever existed . . . he is unlikely ever to have come to Tintagel', though 'it is clear from archaeological finds that an important king lived on this site and imported wines from the late 5th century'. English Heritage promotes this 'awe-inspiring' location - with its 'air of mystery', with the invitation to 'let your imagination find the answers'.⁵

One Cornish writer has commented that 'perhaps the perceptive Arthur Mee, editor of *The King's England*, arrived at the heart of the matter when he wrote: "In the evening when the sun is sinking into the Atlantic . . . a deep sense of something mysterious comes upon us"'. But it was an obscure Anglican cleric⁶ who 'conceivably' provided 'the key' when he said: 'I do not know what historical evidence there is connecting Tintagel with the Holy Grail legend, but I am convinced something of spiritual import happened here'.⁷ This calls to mind a somewhat similarly, cryptic observation about Glastonbury, that taken 'together' the Avalonian 'legends' (including that of the 'burial of King Arthur') 'tell of something very odd [*sic*] that happened here during the opening centuries of our era'.⁸ The latter seems to be echoed by a somewhat enigmatic remark of Martin Palmer, an expert on comparative religion: 'certainly something outstanding has been here for a very long time . . . whatever was here was special and treasured since at least the 5th century, and probably much earlier'.⁹

Reflecting on possible 'hidden discourses', is it possible that imported Mediterranean amphorae of 'Arthurian or dark age' date

(so-called ‘Tintagel B’ ware) of which ‘about a dozen pieces’¹⁰ were unearthed on the Tor, reached what was later Glastonbury via Tintagel, where ‘thousands of fragments from a hundred vessels at least’¹¹ have been discovered on what is now interpreted as a secular ‘high status’ site. The English Heritage information board at Tintagel Haven (‘a small cove’ between the eastern cliffs of the headland and Barras Nose, which is ‘relatively sheltered’) states that

it was likely here, over 1500 years ago, that merchant ships brought pottery amphorae containing wine and olive oil, tableware, and glass drinking vessels from the shores of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. Perhaps they traded for Cornish tin. Extensive archaeological finds on Tintagel Island indicate quite an extensive import trade.

It has even been suggested that ‘the rich range of imports’ found points to at least a seasonal ‘Byzantine mercantile element’ at Tintagel, and, thus, through its links with ‘late antique Byzantine culture’, the post-Roman settlement there (a royal citadel rather than a ‘Celtic’ monastery is the ‘currently preferred model’)¹² ‘may have been a centre for significant Christian ideological influence coming from the same regions’.¹³ Other scholars have spoken of the ‘reasonable assumption that these trading links also brought about a traffic in religious and cultural ideas’,¹⁴ and that ‘individuals and ideas could have travelled by the same routes, and there is no reason to see western Wessex as an outpost, isolated from other former provinces of the Roman Empire’.¹⁵ However, what these intellectual and spiritual ‘ideas’ might have been is seemingly never specified.¹⁶

Might the ‘influence’ and ‘ideas’ alluded to have included Eastern Christendom’s more developed devotion to Holy Mary, the *Theotokos*, whose ‘reception’ in south west Britain by the second quarter of the 6th century is hinted at by Gildas’ cryptic reference to the ‘*Genitrix*’?¹⁷ The diffusion of such veneration (via Tintagel to Glastonbury?) would indeed have been ‘something of spiritual import’, of immeasurable significance in the spiritual history of this land, whose marked devotion to the Mother of God was to make it, by the medieval period, the acknowledged ‘Dowry of Mary.’ Incidentally, G. Ashe’s long-held view that *Yniswitrin* (Glastonbury) was ‘the first home (c.500) of the Marian cult in

Britain' has now received a degree of recognition in the abbey's revised guidebook.¹⁸

As a postscript, might one propose a further 'hidden discourse'? Professor Thomas has argued that 'Dumnonian kings or sub-kings after 500, periodically on [Tintagel] Island, were together with their extended families or superior followers, all Christian, nominal or devout'.¹⁹ Might not one of these have been the 'rex Domnonie' who granted land on 'Inesuuitrin' to Glastonbury's *ecclesia vetusta*, but whose name, according to William of Malmesbury, was unknown because of 'the age of the document'?²⁰

1. T. Shippey, cited and commented on, in R. Rouse and C. Rushton, *The Medieval quest for Arthur* (2005), 60; compare with Peter Ackroyd, author of *Thames: sacred river* (2008) 'who has become the high priest of what might be called psycho-geography' in the words of C. Pepinster, in an interview published in *The Tablet* (2008), who spoke of England as 'very much a Catholic country', for 'its pre-Reformation past still resonates today' not least in 'a sense of the transcendent, the mystical, and the numinous.' How true this is of both Glastonbury and Tintagel!
2. P. White, *King Arthur's footsteps* (2002), 15.
3. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae* (c.1136); see the Penguin edition, trans. L. Thorpe, *The history of the Kings of Britain* (1966), 261; incidentally it is not stated that Arthur was actually born at Tintagel.
4. C. Thomas, *Tintagel, Arthur and archaeology* (1993), 17, having remarked, 15, that this term 'is now rather an in-word among theoretical archaeologists'.
5. Information provided at the site Visitor Centre.
6. Identified as the Reverend Bernard Walke.
7. M. Williams, *Tintagel* (1975), 11.
8. R. Chamberlain, *The idea of England* (1986), 166, which, incidentally, states that 'the abbey [*sic*] was begun sometime in the late 5th century, the first certain date for the town. As to what happened before, who can say?'
9. M. and N. Palmer, *Sacred Britain* (1997), 203, where Glastonbury is also described as 'surely the best known if the most misunderstood of all English sacred sites' and 'a place of great spiritual power'.
10. P. Rahtz, *Glastonbury Tor*, in G. Ashe (ed.) *The quest for Arthur's Britain* (1968; Paladin edition, 1971), 118 compare with the hill-fort of South Cadbury, which C. Thomas, *Tintagel*, 64, notes has 'yielded a hundred or more sherds'.
11. Thomas, *Tintagel*, 64. B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), 20, notes that Cadbury Congresbury (Somerset) 'has produced more imported pottery than any other English [*sic*] site, apart from Tintagel in Cornwall'.
12. Thomas, *Tintagel*, 88 but compare with L. Olson, *Early monasteries in Cornwall* (1989), 35: 'The available data permit the interpretation that some or all the buildings represent an occupation-phase later than the deposition of the imported wares on the site. A number of building complexes remains to be excavated and a major cemetery may of course be discovered. Further excavation and study will probably show the occupation at Tintagel to have been more complex than has hitherto been supposed, as for example by the recovery of traces of wooden structures, and it could prove to have been the site

- of an early monastery. At present, however, that interpretation must remain doubtful.’.
13. S. Turner, *Making a Christian landscape, the countryside in early medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex* (2006), 55ff. C. Thomas has argued that Tintagel may have been the *Purocornavis* of the *Ravenna Cosmography*, a 7/8th century Byzantine collection of itineraries: see M. Todd, *The South West to AD 1000* (1987), 203.
 14. I. Bradley, *The Celtic way* (1993), 10. See P. Rahtz and L. Watts (ed. R. Croft), *Glastonbury, myth and archaeology* (2003), 71-2, where, following C. Thomas, it is noted that ‘a ship carrying amphorae and other goods from the Mediterranean’ was ‘one mechanism whereby Christian ideas and perhaps even missionaries could have found their way into the western parts of Britain’.
 15. Yorke, *Wessex*, 25. Compare with Yorke, *Wessex*, 295-6: ‘One route may have travelled up the west coast of Cornwall ... calling at Tintagel (where the largest concentration of imported pottery has been found) for tin and along the north Somerset coast for lead and silver from the Mendips’.
 16. However, Prof A. Manning, in an Open University *Landscape mysteries* programme (BBC 2, 2003) ventured to suggest that the amphorae sherds found on Glastonbury Tor pointed (specifically) to ‘Church contacts with Constantinople’.
 17. See my article *Gildas, Glastonbury and the Genitrix*, in *SDNQ*, vol.36, 211-12; also please note the mis-spelling of ‘Genitrix’ there : *mea culpa*!
 18. J. McIlwain, *Glastonbury Abbey, the Isle of Avalon* (1999), 5 (new edition, 2008, 4). It is noteworthy that this possibility does not appear in the original text by C.A.R. Radford (1966), and gets no mention in the otherwise very comprehensive *A history of the county of Somerset, vol.ix: Glastonbury and Street*, edited by R.W. Dunning (2006).
 19. Thomas, *Tintagel*, 102.
 20. See J Scott (ed.), *The early history of Glastonbury* (1981), 88-9.

M.J. PROTHEROE

12. ABBEY GRANGE, SHERBORNE ABBEY’S FORMER TITHE BARN. The Abbey Barn was built in the 14th or 15th century as the monastic granary of Sherborne Abbey,¹ which had been founded as a Benedictine institution in 998. The monastery was dissolved in 1539 and eventually the Barn and many other buildings passed into the hands of Lord Digby of Sherborne Castle.

The Abbey Barn stood some 190m north of the Abbey, on the east side of what is now Hospital Lane. The standard cruciform shape is clear on John Ladd’s map of 1735, from which its approximate size was 32m east-west and 16m north-south.² The Barn lay in the Abbey Precinct which stretched north from the Abbey to where the Yeatman Hospital now stands. The Abbey Barn, and consequentially Abbey Grange, was built in the warm biscuit-coloured Sherborne Building Stone from beds of Upper

Inferior Oolite.

A second barn, c 21x8m (maxima) stood in the Rick Barton, at the north-west tip of the Abbey Barn.³ Its eaves stood 3.66m above the modern road surface. The Rick Barn was perhaps always thatched: it certainly was at some time 'before 1913'.⁴

After the Dissolution the Abbey Barn's use is unknown, but it gradually decayed. A barn (probably the Abbey Barn) and plot of ground were leased from the Digby estate in 1770 by Samuel Wise.⁵ In the 18th century it would appear substantial sums were spent on keeping the Barn (or the remains of it) in repair:

Michaelmas 1753 Tying the Abbey Barn at Sherborne £13-18-2

Michaelmas 1779 John Hyde tyler for work at the Abbey Barn £3-13-0

Michaelmas 1781 John Hyde tyler for work at the Abbey Barn £4-10-0

Michaelmas 1784 Thomas Webb for repairs to the Abbey Barn £4-9-6⁶

Edward Blore drew the south porch of the Abbey Barn in the early nineteenth century.⁷ Another illustration, of unstated provenance, shows the Barn in 1820 when the east and west ends were still standing.⁸

Earl Digby granted a lease on 29 September 1826 to James Ridout the Elder (1780-1836), a Sherborne (King's) School governor and Old Shirburnian, of 'The Porches of the Monestery Barn in the Abbey to be converted into a D[wellling]house'.⁹ James traded in Cheap Street as a mercer, draper, and wine and spirit merchant. The premises covered by the lease were the Abbey Barn itself, the front garden or lawn, and a privy attached to the Rick Barn.¹⁰ The 99-year lease was upon the lives of three sons of the lessee, James the Younger (1799-1853), Charles Vie (1810-72) and Ingram (1804-32), and subject to a £100 fine and an annual rent of 10 shillings. A covenant specified that the south porch with its two-stage side-buttresses should apart from insertion of windows be kept 'in its present antique state', that all chimneys must be of stone, and exterior brickwork was forbidden. The original arch into the south porch has a continuous chamfer and a hoodmould.¹¹ Inside, the south porch has rough collar-beam roof-trusses and the oak post of one of the main roof trusses is exposed. The north porch has an entrance similar to that in the south but without a hoodmould.¹²

In 1827 James the Elder removed the east and west ends of the Abbey Barn, by then very ruinous (some traces of the foundations of the north wall of the 'nave' still seem to project very slightly into Hospital Lane at the foot of the 19th- century garden wall). He

repaired the transepts to make a house of two storeys and attics,¹³ calling it Abbey Barns.¹⁴ All the mullioned windows and shields on the west front were inserted at this time, as were two doors. A large two-light Perpendicular window replaced the existing opening over the south porch.

Following Ingram Ridout's death a further lease was granted dated '29 September 1833' (altered in pencil to 1832) of 'Same Premises as now converted into a good House', when the life of daughter Mary Wallington Ridout (1803-87) was included. The Survey Book notes: 'Lord Digby granted this last Lease, without a Fine, in Consideration of the great improvement of the Property'. The rent was unchanged.¹⁵ In 1834 James the Elder held the freehold of 73% of the area of the Abbey Barns site and as already noted leased a further 16%.¹⁶ The freehold elements comprised a cellar, the 'best' privy, with a staircase, pantry and larder. Outside were a yard, pump house, coach house, stable and the back garden. The southern part of the front garden (11%) continued for some time to be owned by Earl Digby as a shrubbery or plantation;¹⁷ beech, hornbeam and lime survived there into the 1950s. When the whole site became freehold property is unknown.

James the Elder also owned a house and garden in Cheap Street, which could be reached from Abbey Grange through a door in the centre of the east garden wall, since blocked up. This house is now No. 40 Cheap Street.¹⁸ Under James the Elder's will,¹⁹ Abbey Barns passed in trust to his sole executor, the Reverend Ralph Lyon, headmaster of Sherborne School, James's wife Susannah being allowed use of the properties during her lifetime. On her death the assets were to be sold by public auction or private treaty. Any daughter(s) wishing to live in the Cheap Street house would be given preference on payment of £600. In the event, Frances (1798-1862) and Mary Wallington Ridout moved to a house in Newland, Sherborne.

Shortly after his father's death James the Younger paid Robert Mayo £4 for a small piece of ground jutting into the north-east corner of Abbey Barn's back garden, to allow the east wall in that area to be straightened.²⁰

The earliest use I have traced of the name Abbey Grange is in the 1871 census.

Between the Ordnance Survey 1/500 map of Sherborne surveyed in 1886 and some time 'before 1913',²¹ a massive triangular, tapered infill was made at the south end of the coach

house between two sections of wall.²² This was possibly to prevent the area being used as an informal toilet,²³ or, given its size, more probably to strengthen the structure.

Geoffrey O'Hanlon (1885-1975), an assistant master at Sherborne School, purchased Abbey Grange in 1913 for £2,100. The distinguished architect William Douglas Caroe (1857-1938) of Caroe and Passmore came down from London to make proposals for alterations, which were accepted. In Sherborne Caroe undertook work at various times in the Abbey and at boarding houses belonging to Sherborne School for Girls. A staircase was built in 1914 in the gabled projection to the west of Abbey Grange's south porch, the top step opening into the first floor study. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England mistakenly believed the staircase to be an original feature.²⁴ A stone bearing the inscription 'J. R. 1827' in what became the bathroom was retained when alterations were made.²⁵ In the east wall of the house is a doorway off the half landing of the main staircase with chamfered jambs and a segmental-pointed head,²⁶ the keystone inscribed 1914. The bathroom almost certainly dates from this time as it, the doorway and the main stairwell all lie under the southern flat roof.

After war service and 16 years as housemaster of Westcott House, Geoffrey O'Hanlon returned to Abbey Grange in May 1936. Caroe and Passmore were commissioned to undertake further work to accommodate his growing family: a playroom/nursery, linked to the scullery by a covered way, abutting what had been the north porch of the barn, with a larder, two fuel stores, a toilet and loft space and the internal oak door into the playroom. The double oak door between the outer hall and the dining room is typical of W.D. Caroe's design,²⁷ and the internal oak door into the playroom is of similar style.²⁸ I understand Caroe considered the pergola alongside the playroom a vital element of the extension. It was very similar in style to the one at Vann, his country house in Surrey. The thatched stables and coach house became a double garage and potting shed. Alterations under the northern flat roof at the rear of the house, providing two bathrooms and a toilet, must be contemporary.

The large dun-coloured stone tiles of the roof were re-laid c1953. Five years later the southernmost part of the front garden was ceded to the School to allow Abbey House, the boarding house next door, to gain 'a neat set of studies'.²⁹

A valuation of Abbey Grange in 1968 for £15,000 lists the ground floor accommodation: hall with inner hall, cloakroom with separate toilet, drawing room, dining room, kitchen, scullery, pantry, plus the areas added in 1936. Off the first floor landing were five bedrooms (one of which was used as a study), three bathrooms and a toilet. On the split-level second floor were three bedrooms and a box room.³⁰

Sherborne School purchased and refurbished Abbey Grange in 1969-70 as the headmaster's house. It replaced the front door in the south porch by a new entrance through what had been the scullery, thus restoring the northern doorway in the west front inserted by James Ridout the Elder. The playroom is now a kitchen. The pergola was dismantled presumably for safety reasons, except for the bases of the piers. W.D. Caroe would not approve!

1. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset* (RCHME), vol. I (1952), 214.
2. J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 2nd edn, vol. 4 (1815), before p. 75. This copy of Ladd's *Map of the Manor of Sherborne*, reduced by Joseph Ayres in 1802, has no scale. Approximate measurements were made by comparing the sizes of the Abbey Barn and the Abbey with the dimensions of the latter in ref. 1, 200-02, 204.
3. DHC, D/FFO 38/24 J. Poole, Mr Ridout's house and premises in the Abbey Sherborne, 1834.
4. K. Barker, *Sherborne Camera* (1990), photograph 25.
5. Sherborne Castle Archive (SCA), estate survey, 1770. I am grateful to Ann Smith for comments incorporated in this paragraph.
6. SCA, Digby estate accounts 1753-85.
7. British Library, Add. 42021 f.12 Abbey Barn, south porch, drawing by Edward Blore, early 19th century.
8. A.B. Gourlay, *History of Sherborne School* (1971), 312-313.
9. SCA, Digby estate leasehold (lifehold) survey book.
10. Poole, Mr Ridout's house and premises.
11. J. Newman & N. Pevsner, *Dorset* (1989), 383.
12. RCHME, *Inventory*, 214.
13. Gourlay, *History of Sherborne School*, 315; G.H.D. Pitman, *Sherborne Observed* (1983), 116.
14. Will 25 April 1836, proved London 14 September 1836, TNA, PROB 11/1870.
15. SCA, Digby estate leasehold (lifehold) survey book.
16. Land areas are taken from the survey accompanying 18.E.T. Percy, Map of the Manor of Sherborne, 1834.
17. Poole, Mr Ridout's house and premises.
18. A. Oxford, *The Known History of the Shops in Cheap Street, Sherborne* (2005), 65.
19. Will 25 April 1836.
20. DHC, D/FFO/26/29 Agreement for sale of strip of land in Sherborne, October 1839. The area concerned is shown on Poole's plan.
21. Barker, *Sherborne Camera*, photograph 25.

22. *Sherborne Conservation Area Assessment* (adopted December 2007), 30.
23. *Sherborne Conservation Area Assessment*, 36.
24. RCHME, *Inventory*, 214. G. O'Hanlon made ms. comments in his copy, author's collection.
25. Gourlay, *History of Sherborne School*, G. O'Hanlon's ms. addition to note. p. 93, author's collection.
26. RCHME, *Inventory*, 214.
27. I am grateful to Henk Strik of Caroe and Partners for his opinion on the double door, and to Sherborne School for photographs. This door probably dates from the alterations in 1914.
28. Author's recollection.
29. Gourlay, *History of Sherborne School*, 310.
30. Author's collection.

MICHAEL HANSON

13. THE SECOND WIFE OF HENRY FOWNES LUTTRELL.

Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte (1848-1940), the eminent archivist and historian, was for forty years Deputy Keeper at the Public Record Office. He wrote histories of Eton College and the University of Oxford, and catalogued the muniments of St Paul's Cathedral and of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle. He brought order and system to the vast collections of documents at the PRO, and advanced the compilation of the calendars of the Chancery Rolls. He was also a keen genealogist.¹ He was a descendant of the Lyte family of Lytes Cary² and was the grandson of Rev. Henry Francis Lyte (1793-1847), composer of the hymn *Abide with Me*. Through his mother he was descended from Charles Churchill (1656-1714), elder brother of the Duke of Marlborough, and owner of Minterne Magna in Dorset. He married Frances Fownes Somerville (1853-1925) in Wells in 1871 and had strong connections with Somerset. He compiled a history of the two families who owned the Dunster estate in north-west Somerset; the Mohuns and the Luttrells, and provided pedigrees of the main branches of the families.³ He also wrote a two part history of Dunster.⁴

During the early 18th century the Luttrell estate was periodically deeply in debt. When Margaret Luttrell inherited the estate at the age of eleven (in 1737) Dunster was placed in the hands of a receiver and the castle was closed up. When Margaret came of age she married her cousin Henry Fownes of Nethway in Devon who added the Luttrell name to his own. He brought money and some stability to the estate. Margaret bore Henry ten children, including

John Fownes Luttrell (1752-1816) who succeeded to the Luttrell estates in 1780. Margaret died in 1766 and Henry remarried in 1771. Henry's second wife, a member of the Bradley family who lived in Dunster for most of the 18th century, is the subject of this brief note. It does not seek to challenge any of Maxwell Lyte's Luttrell genealogy, but to clarify a point concerning Bradley ancestry.

In his monograph *Dunster and its Lords* Maxwell Lyte gave a genealogy of the Luttrells of Dunster, and stated that his sources for the Fownes Luttrell pedigree were based on '... the registers of the parish of Dunster, on entries in the "Gentleman's Magazine", and on private information'.⁵ He also had access to the Luttrell family papers, and was the originator of the catalogue of the Luttrell archives covering the period from the late 17th to early 19th century; the vast Luttrell collection is currently held by the Somerset Heritage Centre.⁶ In his *History of Dunster* he stated:

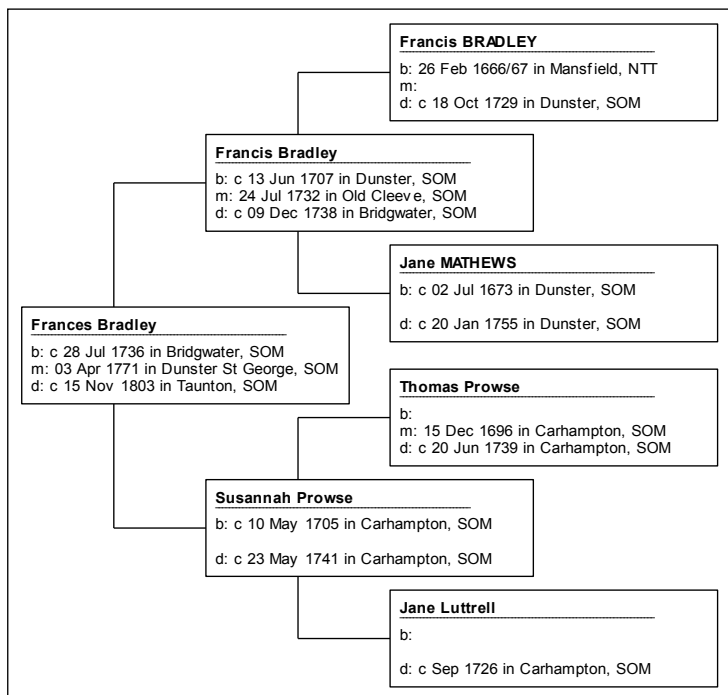
Margaret Fownes Luttrell, the heiress of Dunster, having died in 1766, her husband remained a widower for some years. In 1771, he married Frances daughter of Samuel Bradley of Dunster, who claimed descent from the Luttrells through her mother. After his death, she resided at Taunton, but she was buried at Dunster in November 1803.⁷

This statement is almost certainly based on the genealogical data included in the lease to George Gale of a house 'near the church stile' in Dunster.⁸ The lease was agreed after Frances's marriage to Henry Fownes Luttrell and the catalogue entry, produced by Maxwell Lyte, reads:

- 1: Samuel Bradley gent, Henry Fownes Luttrell in the right of his wife Frances nee Bradley, Jane and Catherina Bradley spinsters legal representatives of Francis Bradley dec'd father of the said Samuel and grandfather of said Frances Jane and Catherina
- 2: George Gale yeoman

Maxwell Lyte had summarised the relevant part of the document well enough, but had misread a name, and made a fundamental error in his interpretation of the genealogy. The name Samuel is in fact Lemuel, as a close study of the original document and signature proves. This was an understandable mistake in that Lemuel is a much less common name than Samuel, and in the

contemporary handwriting *Ls* are very similar to *Ss*. However, there are several other documents referring to this Lemuel Bradley which Maxwell Lyte must have seen, but no others to a Samuel at this time. The more fundamental error arises from an assumption that the document does not support. If A is the father of B and grandfather of C it does not follow that B is the father of C. The document does not explicitly say this, but Maxwell Lyte had interpreted it as such.



The Francis Bradley (1667-1729) referred to in the lease had two sons who lived to marry and have children: Lemuel (1710-1779) and (another) Francis (1707-1738). He did have a son called Samuel, but he died as an infant.⁹ Frances his granddaughter, the second wife of Henry Fownes Luttrell, was one of the daughters of Francis Bradley (1707-1738)¹⁰ and was baptised in Bridgwater on 28 July 1736.¹¹ Frances claimed descent from the Luttrell family through her mother Susanna,¹² who was the daughter of Thomas

Prowse¹³ and Jane Luttrell of the Rodhuish/Carhampton branch.¹⁴

Henry Fownes Luttrell died in 1780 and was buried in Dunster.¹⁵ In his will he left 'my dear wife Frances Fownes Luttrell' £100, and an annuity of £200 providing she did not remarry. If she remarried the annuity was reduced to £50.¹⁶ The bequest was 'in lieu bar and full satisfaction' of any claim Frances had on the estate. Frances died in Taunton in 1803, but was buried in Dunster.¹⁷ A short ancestor chart clarifies the genealogy.

It may seem churlish to highlight an error of minor historical significance by a man with such a distinguished contribution to the study of archival material. Maxwell Lyte would have looked at hundreds of documents while compiling his catalogue and writing his histories of the Luttrell family. However, it does serve as a warning to the humble family historian that even the experts make mistakes. Such mistakes enter the historical record, and original sources should always be checked wherever possible.

1. V.H. Galbraith, 'Lyte, Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell (1848–1940)', rev. G. H. Martin, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34653>.
2. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *The Lytes of Lytescary* (Taunton, 1895), reprinted from *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol XXXVIII (1892).
3. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 'Dunster and its Lords 1066-1881', in *Archaeological Journal*, 38 (1881), privately reprinted in 1882.
4. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A history of Dunster and of the families of Mohun and Luttrell* (London, 1909).
5. Maxwell Lyte, 'Dunster and its Lords 1066-1881', 219.
6. Somerset Heritage Centre (formerly Somerset Record Office) description of the Luttrell Catalogue, group code DD/L. The medieval to early 17th century material was catalogued by William Prynne during his detention in Dunster Castle in 1650. The collection, including a list of the modern material made by the National Register of Archives (NRA), was deposited in 1958 by Mr. Geoffrey Luttrell (NRA, catalogue no. NRA6670).
7. Maxwell Lyte, *A history of Dunster*, part 1, chapter VII, 261.
8. SHC, DD/L/1/28/22/13, lease of house near the church stile, dated 29 September 1773.
9. Samuel was baptised in Dunster on 26 August 1705 and buried on 3 March 1705/6 (SHC, parish register Dunster St George D\p\du/2/1/3). Samuel was remembered in Francis Bradley's will, which is very long but immensely informative, confirming Francis Bradley's birthplace and his wife's maiden name (TNA, PROB 11/638 PCC will, written 21 March 1727/8, proved 29 June 1730).
10. Francis Bradley (1707-1738) also left a will, but none of his daughters were mentioned (TNA, PCC will PROB 11/695, written 29 November 1738, proved 6 March 1738/9). He was 'of Bridgwater ... Gentleman' in his will but was buried at Carhampton on 9 December 1738 (SHC, D\p\car/2/1/3 Carhampton St

- John the Baptist parish register).
11. Frances was baptised as 'Fanny Bradley D Francis & Susannah', and used both names in later life. Frances was one of four sisters: Jane, Susannah (Sukey), Frances (Fanny) and Catherine (SHC, D\p/bw.m/2/1/4 Bridgwater St Mary parish register).
 12. Susanna was baptised 10 May 1705. Susanna [Prowse] Bradley was buried in Carhampton on 23 May 1741 (SHC, D\p/car/2/1/3).
 13. Susannah had been granted a marriage portion of £500 by her father Thomas Prowse '... upon her intermarriage with Mr Francis Bradle[y] ...' (SHC, DD/L/2/33/5, will written 8 August 1738, proved 4 July 1739).
 14. Maxwell Lyte, *A history of Dunster*, part 2, appendix C, 532. Thomas Prows[e] married Jane Luttrell at Carhampton on 15 December 1696 (SHC, D\p/car/2/1/2). Jane Luttrell, the daughter of Thomas Luttrell (1637-1714) and Catherine Sindercombe, was probably baptised in Carhampton. If so the record is missing as the Carhampton registers have major gaps between 1653 and 1676.
 15. SHC, D\p/du/2/1/4, Dunster parish register 7 November 1780.
 16. TNA, PROB 11/1134, PCC will written 10 January 1779. The original will was not witnessed and was declared null and void. It was proved in London on 25 October 1785 after two witnesses, Michael Russell and William Gale, attested that it was in the handwriting of Henry Fownes Luttrell.
 17. SHC, D\p/du/2/1/5, Dunster parish register 15 November 1803.

ROBERT BARBER

14. LIEUTENANT COLONEL PAULE ST DE BEVILLE IN SOMERSET, 1768. The difficulties between France and Great Britain during the 18th century, like those between most nations at war, led to a need for geographical intelligence. Not only did countries need good quality surveys of their own lands for defensive purposes, but they also needed information on their enemy's lands if they were to invade them. Therefore surveys were made in September and October 1768 by Paule St de Beville a lieutenant colonel of Dragoons of numerous ports around the south coast of England, when he included the River Parrett and River Avon. His surveys eventually found their way into the papers of William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham and are now at The National Archives of England and Wales.¹

These surveys were ordered by the Duc de Choiseul, Minister of War and of the Marine, who was preparing France for an invasion of Great Britain in the 1760s. Choiseul believed that the only effective way to attack England was to concentrate his forces on London,² but nevertheless by ordering surveys along the coast of southern England he was not limiting his options. Despite having a degree of responsibility for the French policy of providing

instruction in hydrographic surveying and navigation³ (in France), he did not instruct Beville to record any hydrography. Therefore if he was hoping to use the final product for any type of navigation, when it came to an invasion, he would have had to overcome some serious inaccuracies in his intelligence gathering.

Beville had to determine the best places for an invasion. In addition to the main focus on London, action was considered against some of the ports along the coast. To achieve this Beville was instructed to

reconnoitre carefully the roads leading to these different ports; to observe the best places to attack and to hold, on these routes; the rivers to be crossed and the camps that could be used; in short, the means of keeping up communication between the different corps which would have to be detached for these expeditions.

With this in mind he sailed for England on 7 September 1768, arriving at Dover he made his way to London then on to Oxford. From there he travelled through Woodstock, Gloucester, and Bristol when he undertook his survey of the Avon. He visited Bath and Wells before heading for Bridgwater for his next survey, after which he visited Taunton before going into Devon.⁴

In the vicinity of the Avon on the 18 September he recorded an inlet below Portishead (which dominated the Channel) as a pecked line of little significance and the anchorage of King Road as 'the place where vessels remain waiting for the tide so as to enter Bristol or which make ready to leave'. As he worked his way up the Avon towards Bristol he noted the ferry across the Avon at Shirehampton, and having passed St George's and Kingsweston how 'parts [were] made of very high, sheer rock which form the bed of the river, which is very narrow'. He noted on the Somerset side a 'favourable camp on the Nailsey rise which is very high' in front of which there was a 'large valley where it appears a brook runs, the meadow there being flooded'. All of this area was overlooked by a 'small turret where one keeps a look-out during the war' on the hill above Kingsweston which he named the Mountain of the Spy.

In the Bridgwater area he noted, over two days on the 19 and 20 of September, the course of the Parrett from Bridgwater, selectively recording the coast between Stogursey and Brent Knoll. Following his map from the well cultivated land below Brent Knoll

working to the south, he mistakenly recorded a *Gros village* to the south of the River Brue before reaching Huntspill; this is undoubtedly Burnham, which because his map was made in a hurry he placed it on the wrong side of the River Brue. Along the south side of the Brue he noted how the land was also broken up by hedges, but their depiction is highly generalised. Continuing towards the Parrett he noted the hamlets of Stretcholt and Pawlett Hill before reaching 'Paulett' itself, recording the low lying terrain. To the south of the Parrett, starting at its mouth, he did not record any of the islands lying off Huntspill but two further offshore as 'small islands which do not appear inhabited, the largest is high and cut perpendicular all around'. At Steart Point he noted a 'small castle belonging to George Parc and called Stratzum' which he had seen on a map marked as Warmhouse. Again his recording was not particularly accurate as the building was the Warren House, which was recorded on Strachey's map of Somerset in the 1730s. At Wall Common he found the coast to be 'low land where one can unload between these two headlands' and the 'high hills' at Stogursey were 'much further away to continue unloading'. He also recorded a windmill on the Poldens.

Beville's surveys were clearly made in haste. What Beville mapped was undertaken at the end of the day from memory, therefore sailing up and down Somerset's main rivers with a sounding line would have attracted far too much attention to his activities. Subsequently in the Parrett he did not record the two islands by Huntspill but placed them offshore, neither did he note a major shoal in the river. Even worse was his survey of the River Avon as he failed to draw an island adjacent to King Road at the mouth of the Avon. This may not appear too much of a problem unless you consider how important an anchorage area was to all shipping using the River Avon to and from Bristol, as well as other vessels who used it in emergencies.

To survey the topography surrounding over twenty miles of river in only three days, including travelling from the Avon to the Parrett, explains why his surveys are far from accurate when compared to British mapping from the same period.⁵ However, such inaccuracies would have been of minor significance when his surveys were used for invasion planning, which fortunately did not materialise. If they had then the two rivers could have been of some importance had Somerset been chosen as a place for invasion.



A map of the River Parrett and adjacent lands by Paule St de Beville, surveyed in 1768 and orientated with South at the top. Although highly coloured an attractive it was highly inaccurate (The National Archives)

1. TNA, MF1/54. I am very grateful to Rose Birley for kindly translating Beville's description in French into English. The folio of 20 surveys Beville made have the endorsement '*Plans qui accompagnent la reconnaissance faite en Angleterre aux mois de Septembre et Octobre 1768. Paule S^t de Beville L^t Colonel de Dragons*'.
2. M.C. Morison, 'The Duc de Choiseul and the invasion of England, 1768-1770' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Third Series, vol.4 (1910), 86.
3. A.J. Turner, 'Advancing navigation in eighteenth-century France: teaching and instrument-making in the port of Rochefort' in *The Mariner's Mirror* 91:4 (2005), 535.
4. Morison, 'The Duc de Choiseul', 95, 97.
5. TNA, MF1/54/6-7. He also made a plan of Lyme Regis (MF1/54/11).

A.J.W.

NOTES

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE WILL OF JOHN VINCENT OF FONTMELL [MAGNA], EDGE-TOOL MAKER (1658).¹

Edge-tool makers made a wide range of cutting tools for agricultural workers (such as scythes and pruning hooks) and for craftsmen (such as chisels and planes). The will of John Vincent is short but apparently provides early evidence of an edge-tool mill in Fontmell. In the section headed *Memorandum* the testator mentions equipment related to his trade and indicates that he had an interest in at least two mills in Fontmell Magna at the time his will was made.

Transcription

(Spelling and punctuation have been transcribed as they appear in the will register.)

The last will and testament of John Vincent of Fontmill in the county of Dorset edgetoolmaker First and formost I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of almighty God who gave it me and my bodie to buried [*sic*] in the churchyard of Fontmill aforesaid Alsoe I give unto Ambrose Vincent my sonne twelve pence Alsoe I give unto John Vincent my sonne twelve pence Alsoe I give unto Joane Burden my daughter twelve pence Alsoe I give unto Elizabeth Burte my daughter Twelve pence Alsoe I give unto my other three children twelve pence ² All the rest of my goods and chattels both moveable and unmoveable ³ within Dorset and without ⁴ my debts being paid and legacies discharged I give unto Marie my wife whom I make my whole [*sic*] executrix Alsoe I make my Cozen Richard Vincent and James Burden my overseers/

Memorandum I the said John Vincent before the ensealing hereof doe give unto Robert Vincent my Grandchild that Anvill and Bellows at the further Forge ⁵ with leather to cover the Bellowes // John Vincent his mark // ⁶ Witnesse hereunto John Potter John Chime Edward Vincent //

[This will was proved on 8 April 1659.]

1. TNA, PROB 11/296. The National Archives' catalogue lists wills by proving date.
2. The small bequest of 12d to each of his children might indicate that John Vincent had made some provision for them before he came to make his will. It does not necessarily mean that they were 'cut off with a shilling'.

3. A testator's 'goods and chattels' would normally include only moveable items (such as household goods and leasehold land). Immovable ('real') property (i.e. freehold land) was, in law, neither 'goods' nor 'chattles'.
4. The phrasing here suggests that John Vincent held property outside Dorset and this would provide an explanation for his will being proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; the wills of testators with property in more than one probate jurisdiction had to be proved in a higher, over-riding court.
5. In the 18th century Hurdles Mill (or Hurles Mill) in Fontmell Magna was described as an Edge Tool Mill run by a man called Isaac Vincent. Edge Tool mills 'were used to power trip hammers for forging and grindstones for finishing and sharpening'. Fontmellmagna.net.
6. An inability to write cannot be inferred from the lack of a signature to a will. John Vincent may have been too ill to write his name when his will was drawn up; the lay-out of the will (with, for example, some children specified as beneficiaries and others not) might indicate that it was drawn up in a hurry.

J.F.

PITMINSTER CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1599-1667. Whilst researching materials for the office of clerk of Taunton Castle, I came across the following catalogue entry at The National Archives [of England and Wales], 'FOREMAN v COOPER 10 tithe books including tax and poor relief details relating to the parishes of Pitminster, Blagdon, Leigh and four other tithings in the hundred of Taunton, Som, together with loose papers', under the reference E140/35/4. On closer examination the first two volumes, although containing material on parochial tithes, are in fact the missing churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Pitminster.

The documents were exhibited in the Court of Exchequer in 1825 for the case of *Foreman v Cooper*, when the books and papers were deposited with Thompson and Son, who were the clerks in court for the plaintiff. In total there are 11 volumes, including a late seventeenth century tithe account book kept by the vicar of Pitminster, but mainly tithe rate books from the 1791-1811, and over 40 individual papers. Included in this last bundle is an account of Mrs Sherwood's Easter tithes for 1708 and rates made in 1700 and 1707. It appears that these documents were delivered by Mr Anthony Rich for the Reverend Mr Dickson, vicar of Pitminster in 1825, which explains why they do not appear in the 1914 report on ecclesiastical records of Bath and Wells, or the 1938 inventory of parochial documents in the Diocese of Bath and Wells.¹

The Somerset Record Office holds the continuation of these accounts from 1668 to 1861.

1. T.S. Holmes, *A report to the convocation of the province of Canterbury on the ecclesiastical records of the Diocese of Bath and Wells to which is added a short account of the church plate now in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Wells and of the parochial clergy of Somerset* (Taunton, 1914); J.E. King, *Inventory of parochial documents in the Diocese of Bath and Wells and the county of Somerset* (Taunton, 1938).

A.J.W.

REPLIES AND RESPONSES

WATERTABLE AND DIAL INQUIRY. Included in the accounts for Sherborne School discussed by Ann Smith in her 'Watertable and Dial Inquiry' (*SDNQ*, vol.36, part 372, September 2010, 439) is the term 'summer' ('two summers and two trusses' worth 15d each). The term 'summers' probably refers to 'Breastsummer[s]', that is, a 'Beam across a broad opening sustaining a superstructure'.¹ The mention of the fireplace, later in the same account, is suggestive of the position of the 'summers'.

1. H.W. and F. G. Fowler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 5th edition, rev. by E. McIntosh, reprint 1974.

GEOFFREY HAYWARD

BOOK REVIEWS

M. Siraut (ed.), *A History of the County of Somerset volume X Castle Cary and the Brue-Cary Watershed*, pp.256, 74 illustrations and maps, published by The Institute of Historical Research by Boydell and Brewer, 2010, ISBN 978-1-904656-35-6, £95.00.

Volumes of the Victoria History of the counties of England are always eagerly awaited and when they arrive they never disappoint the readership. This volume, although it covers a relatively small area in the east of the county, being the north part of the Hundred of Catsash, is no exception. The lion's share of the volume concerns Castle Cary and within this is a large section concerning its economic history; of the 218 pages of text Castle Cary takes up 60 of them, including over 16 pages on trade and industry. As Somerset was predominantly agriculturally orientated this study of Castle Cary's industrial past is particularly valuable.

The predominant industry appears to have involved horsehair, once obtained locally but it is now imported from China. Thought to have started in the 1810s, the business run (today) by Boyd's in 1901 employed some 130 workers and in 2001 was the only business of its kind in Britain. This business uses 30 of the same looms that were in use during the 1870s and a visit to see them is a memorable occasion.

In addition to cloth-based industries in Castle Cary other trades included the making of parchment, gloves, edgetools, cabinets, coaches and tinplate objects. Alongside those trades were more of the everyday ways of life in rural communities and Mary Siraut's meticulous eye for detail in her research has documented them in a clear and understandable fashion. There is so much information in this volume that it would be possible to fill many pages of SDNQ with a review of their contents.

In such a large tome there are inevitably going to be some errors, such as the mention on page 30 of a 'Sir Richard' without making clear which family he came from. However, personally what I find less attractive is the way in which the sub-headings have been typeset, appearing clumsy and inconsistent. But this is a minor criticism of what is an essential and much valued reference work for historians interested in the many different subjects covered in this series.

This volume is generously illustrated with a mixture of historic and current images, notably with modern maps produced to a very high standard. These images complement the traditional contents of volumes covering churches, manors and architecture, which are there in abundance. The Victoria County History volumes have a reputation for being thorough, scholarly and authoritative, and readers' whose pockets can stretch to the £95 needed to purchase a copy will not be disappointed. This may appear an expensive purchase but the work of the Victoria County History needs supporting if it is to continue in such a prolific style.

A.J.W.

Michael Hanson, *'Voices that be Gone': Reconstructing the Victorian Parish of Castleton, Dorset, 1834-1901* (Somerset and Dorset Family History Society), 2010, pp.81, illustrated, A4 format, soft cover, ISBN 978-1-905639-23-6, £12.

A book published by a Family History Society is usually full of names, and this book is no exception. 40 pages are devoted to

tables of names, mostly transcripts of the census returns 1841-1891. However, this book is more than a resource for the family historian. Michael Hanson's main interest is in demographic change, and he charts in this book the decline of a community through the Victorian period.

Castleton is a small parish on the east side of Sherborne, close to the Old Castle, from which it takes its name. In 1834 Sherborne and Castleton were mapped by E.T. Percy for Earl Digby, and the accompanying survey gives a snapshot of land and property occupation at that time. Using this, the 1845 tithe map and the census returns, Hanson explores population changes, migration (in and out) and occupational changes.

The biggest change came with the arrival of the railway in 1860. The route of the railway cut through Castle Farm, and entailed the demolition of Castleton Mill, both Digby properties. Sherborne's East Mill, which was employed in the local silk throwing industry, was also destroyed and the course of the river was altered. 92 residents were made homeless by the demolition of a row of houses, effectively destroying the heart of the old village. Hanson has managed to find the names of about 20 families affected, some of whom were re-housed by the Digby estate in a new terrace off the Osborne Road, built for the purpose. The coming of the railway encouraged mobility, and this is reflected in migration out of and into Castleton.

Where the book comes to life, is in his exploration of individual families. For example, Joseph Brittan, owner of the *Sherborne Mercury*, was a founder member of the Society of Canterbury Colonists (set up by the Archbishop of Canterbury) and in 1850 he emigrated to New Zealand, where he was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands and a member of the Provincial Council for Christchurch. His emigration was prompted by a scandal over his marriage to his deceased wife's sister, at that time illegal in England (the wedding took place in Scotland, where it was lawful). George Frederick Jelfs is another example provided by Hanson. He came from a family of ten, and emigrated to Canada in 1871, where he prospered and became a barrister and magistrate. He was the only one of the children to outlive his parents; the remainder succumbed to diseases such as tuberculosis and were buried in Castleton churchyard. Hanson comments that emigration probably saved George Frederick's life.

In order to fit them on to a page, some of the tables are in rather

small print (Tables 1 and 4 particularly, and the diagram, Figure 3). It is a shame that one page of the census transcriptions was missed out and had to be included loose as an erratum.

ANN SMITH

M. McDermott and S. Berry (editors), *Edmund Rack's Survey of Somerset*, 440 pp., 34 illustrations, facsimile map, published by the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2011, ISBN 978 0 902152 22 9, £45.00 plus £5.00 p+p. Copies are available from the Society, c/o Somerset Heritage Centre, Brunel Way, Norton Fitzwarren, Somerset, TA2 6SF, office@sanhs.org, 01823 272429

Very rarely is a volume published that immediately becomes a cornerstone of historical reference; Edmund Rack's survey of Somerset is one such volume. Meticulously edited and very expertly typeset, this is a monumental volume covering almost the whole of the ancient county of Somerset that will be referred to by historians for generations to come.

In 1781 Edmund Rack collaborated with the Reverend John Collinson in preparing the *History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, to which his major contribution was the 'Survey'. His principal task was to carry out a survey of the county, hundred by hundred, which involved personally visiting each parish as well as collating information supplied by others, such as clergymen, including responses to questionnaires. At intervals over several years Rack sent Collinson his descriptions of parishes, hundred by hundred. He was also involved in marketing the proposed *History* by seeking names for the list of subscribers and collecting subscriptions. He visited the court of quarter sessions at Taunton, where he found 'near 40 Principal Gentlemen' enthusiastic of his efforts, although they insisted that they should see a printed account of a parish as a 'specimen' of the work.

The survey was undoubtedly an arduous physical undertaking, causing Rack to travel for days at a time, presumably in all weathers. He encountered a 'thousand' fleas at an inn at Compton Martin and for a man with a weak constitution the survey took its toll, as he frequently suffered from colds and a recurrent winter cough. On 10 January 1787 he informed Collinson, in handwriting fainter than usual, that for ten days he had been so ill that he could scarcely hold a pen, writing 'I must resign myself to the fury of the storm which will soon hide me for ever'. Unfortunately Rack died

shortly afterwards and his death prevented his work from being completed. Fortunately some parts of the survey were undertaken by others who were interested in local history, such as Joshua Toulmin who contributed an account of Taunton and Abraham Crocker who contributed an account of Frome as well as providing much valuable information on eastern Somerset. This has left us with a unique collection of material on almost the whole of the ancient county of Somerset, very well produced in all aspects.

This volume is the product of a great deal of hard work and good will from volunteers, supported by some generous grants from individuals and institutions, without this it is likely that it would never have been produced in this way. Reproductions have been added to give the text an extra dimension, including a facsimile of the prospectus and sample pages from the original manuscript. It also includes a colour full size facsimile map of the county from the mid-eighteenth century, which, along with the volume, offers a wealth of information for the asking price of £45.

A.J.W.

NOTICE OF AN SDNQ EVENT

COUNTY CONNECTIONS. The historic links between Somerset and Dorset will be explored at a study day in the historic setting of Downside Abbey on Saturday 1st October. Katherine Barker will present the latest research from the County Boundary Survey, looking at the factors that influenced the drawing of the boundary and offering explanations as to when and why it was set out. David Cousins and Colin Brett will talk about monastic connections between the two counties and the effects of the Dissolution. The Abbot of Downside, Dom Aidan Bellenger will give a presentation on nonconforming congregations along the Somerset and Dorset boundary. David Bromwich will speak about bellfounders in the two counties and to bring the series into the modern era, Colin Maggs will give a talk about the Somerset and Dorset Railway. The study day is organised by Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries and is open to all. The charge for the day is £15.00, to include lunch, coffee and tea. For more information contact the Hon. Secretary on 01305 264259, email smith_wellbridge@btinternet.com for details and a booking form or download one from www.downside.co.uk.

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