
NOTES & QUERIES

FOR
SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

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

HERRICK

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63. SAINTS OF GLASTONBURY AND THE MAKING OF 'ENGALANDE' : THE 'SECGAN' EVIDENCE. Aidan, first abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne (d.651), is known to have been 'associated with Glastonbury as early as the 10th century, as revealed by the Leofric Missal¹ . . . and the Old English tract, "Resting Places of English Saints" in *Die Heiligen Englands*'.² The latter, the so called *Secgan*, in Old English³ (which modern scholarship suggests attained its 'final form' in the early eleventh century⁴ although it 'seems to date in part' from the ninth century)⁵ lists 'about fifty shrines'⁶ and points to 'a high proportion of the cults that other sources show to be liturgically prominent and politically important in the late tenth and eleventh centuries'.⁷ In fact, the *Secgan* states that 'St Aidan and St Patrick, with many other saints, lie at rest in Glastonbury',⁸ although the near-contemporary *Old English Martyrology* records, more precisely, that half of Aidan's bones were 'on Scottum,⁹ half at Glastonbury in St Mary's minster'.¹⁰

Glastonbury's *Secgan* entry is numbered '37', and thus falls in the block which J. Blair has in recent years termed 'for convenience' and following the 'fundamental analysis of D. Rollason¹¹ as '*Secgan B*' (comprising entries 24-51), which was 'probably compiled no earlier than c.1000' (in fact the inclusion of relics of Florentius, which were acquired by Peterborough from the monks of Bonneval, in 1016, surely points to a date 'no earlier' than this, at least for its completion), and which has 'a clear bias towards houses of the late-tenth century reform',¹² the monastic renewal that had its origins at Glastonbury, during Dunstan's abbacy.¹³ Thence, via the refounded abbey of Abingdon, 'it happened that partly through Dunstan's counsel and action, partly through Aethelwold's conscientious cooperation, monasteries were established all over England, for both monks and nuns, living the regular life'¹⁴ under the revived Benedictine Rule and with common usage in accordance with the *Regularis Concordia* (of c.970), thus fulfilling St. Dunstan's dream of a 'strong and sublime tree', whose branches, stretching far and wide, 'were laden with numerous [monks'] cowls' surmounted by that of St Aethelwold.¹⁵ Incidentally, it was partly 'because of these two men, and the many other saints who sprang from that same church to spread religion [*i.e.*

Religious life] throughout the kingdom' that John of Glastonbury suggested (some four centuries later) 'rightly that place is called the fount and origin of all religion in *Anglia*'.¹⁶

Almost a century ago, Dean Armitage Robinson described Glastonbury's seventh century *monasterium* as 'a temple of reconciliation' which 'must have played no small part in the blending of the two races', Celtic and English.¹⁷ Perhaps it can now be more plausibly argued that the early-eleventh-century expansion of the original *Secgan* ('A') played 'a part in the unification of England'. For, as Rollason has written, 'the gathering together of its traditions into a single heritage' served 'to emphasise the unity' of former rival, and often warring, kingdoms,¹⁸ or rather of Wessex and Mercia (whose union, effected by Alfred the Great, made him the 'first king of the English')¹⁹ and those which had formed the '*Danelaw*', until their early 10th century re-conquest and re-evangelisation, including the gradual conversion of the significant Scandinavian element in their population.²⁰

It would seem that 'there is good reason for thinking' that Glastonbury's relics of various 'northern saints, including Aidan',²¹ were most likely 'brought south' during that period, by King Edmund of Wessex (939-46).²² In the words of the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, it was this short-lived grandson of Alfred who not only 'brought all Northumbria under his sway',²³ but who gave the 'royal island',²⁴ of Glastonbury (with mere shades of its monastic past) 'into the charge of St Dunstan'.²⁵ The appropriation of such treasured and spiritually potent relics²⁶ from the north, and the gifting (perhaps by way of return?) of two Greek palls and two golden arm bands by Edmund to the 'northern' shrine of St Cuthbert (then located at Chester-le-Street),²⁷ can be seen as a not insignificant political act in the process of nation building.²⁸ Moreover, their transfer to Glastonbury undoubtedly contributed to the development whereby, under archbishop Dunstan and King Edgar (959-75), a 'regional Wessex shrine with Celtic connections',²⁹ became (in M. Wood's words) 'a national shrine and the centre of a royal cult',³⁰ in whose abbey church both Edmund and Edgar were in turn buried. A degree of reciprocity between the religious centres of north and south had earlier been displayed by

Edmund's brother and predecessor, Athelstan (925-39), who after the victory of *Brunanburh* in 937, over a formidable Northumbrian and Celtic alliance, could claim to be ruler of 'the whole world of Britain'³¹ and who presented, *inter alia*, to St Cuthbert's shrine 'an illuminated copy of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert*, of southern English origin, perhaps made at Glastonbury'.³²

Post-script: the conundrum of Glastonbury's 'St Patrick'

Thus, Aidan, the apostle of Northumbria, became associated with Glastonbury, but only from the 940s, that is less than a century before he was listed as 'resting' there in the *Secgan*'s 'final form.' But how long might the 'legendary connection'³³ of St Patrick with Glastonbury, and his subsequent veneration here, go back?

B. Yorke has written that 'the contacts seen in Aldhelm's letters between his circle and Ireland may well continue links first established before the Anglo-Saxon take-over of the south west and its churches. Perhaps it was through such links that a [*sic*] relic of St Patrick reached Glastonbury by the tenth century . . .'.³⁴ Although noting that there is 'no evidence for any very early cult of fifth century saints such as Patrick and those associated with him' in Ireland, R. Sharpe comments that 'we have the means to recognise that Patrick's cult was promoted at a later date, in the seventh century, though its promoters in Armagh had problems at that time over the location of the saint's body'.³⁵ According to D. Farmer it was (simply?) this uncertainty regarding the 'place of his death and burial' that made it 'possible for Glastonbury to claim that the relics of Patrick the Elder [alias 'Palladius?']³⁶ which had long been there [but how long ?] were those of the historical St Patrick'.

However, 'the Irish' seemingly believed that, historically, there had been 'more than one Patrick', and, as J. Carley wrote, a quarter of a century ago, 'If there were two Patricks, the question inevitably arises concerning the identity of the one commemorated at Glastonbury', or, more precisely (one might now ask), whose 'resting place' is listed as here, in the *Secgan*.

While allowing for the possibility of devotion to 'Blessed

Patrick' at Glastonbury ('of the Gael', as it was subsequently called in 'commentaries on the *Martyrology of Oengus*'³⁷ which however referred to 'Sen Patrick' - 'Patrick senior') in the later seventh century,³⁸ it has to be admitted that we do not know at what date a Patrician *cultus* originated on this side of the 'Celtic' sea. Moreover, even if Glastonbury had been listed as his 'resting place' in '*Secgan A*' (as was St Columba's at Dunkeld), rather than combined with Aidan's in '*Secgan B*', this would, of course, have proved nothing as regards the authenticity of the subsequent claim that 'the Apostle of Ireland' retired and was buried here (let alone that he was the first abbot of an earlier foundation).³⁹

At most it would mean that the Glastonbury tradition that it possessed the remains of (a) 'Saint Patrick' (perhaps covering both possibilities, the calendar of the *Leofric Missal* included a commemoration of both 'St Patrick the bishop' on March 17th, and of 'Patrick senior, at Glastonbury' on 24th August) dated back at least a century and a half earlier than the statement found in the *Vita Sancti Dunstani* (compiled shortly after 988) that, in the early tenth century, Irish *peregrini* (those 'scholars in exile'⁴⁰ from whom the young Dunstan received his early education) 'frequented' its *lignea basilica* and precincts, 'chiefly out of veneration for the blessed Patrick the Younger [or 'the Elder' depending on the version!]⁴¹ who is said to rest there happily in the Lord'.⁴²

1. See F. Wormald (ed.), *English kalendars before AD 1100* (1934), 44-55. D. Farmer, *Oxford dictionary of saints* (2004), 9, records that 'Aidan's memory was somewhat eclipsed' after 793 (when Lindisfarne was first sacked by the Vikings), but 'in the 10th century Glastonbury monks obtained some supposed relics of Aidan [and] through their influence [his] feast appears in early Wessex calendars, which provide the main evidence of his cult after the age of Bede'.
2. W. Scott, *The early history of Glastonbury* (1981) [hereafter Scott, *WMDA*], 193, fn.48. See J. Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey, holy house at the head of the moors adventurous* (1988), 128, which states that 'even as reliable and early a source as the eleventh century *Old English Martyrology* reports that Glastonbury possessed the relics of the great St Aidan ... [whilst] in the calendar to the Leofric Missal (written towards the end of the tenth century) there are references to Aidan and Ceolfrith [first abbot of Jarrow, and as such Bede's 'spiritual father'] in *Glaestonia*'. Of the *Old English martyrology* (*OEM*) referred to by Carley (not to be confused with the *Secgan*, the oldest surviving 'resting place' list, referred to by Scott), D. Rollason, *Saints and relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989), 175, states that 'in so far as the original ninth century core ... can be distinguished from the eleventh century copy that

- has survived [this is] almost entirely derived from Bede'.
3. Its full title is *Secgan be paem godes sanctum pe on Enga lande aerost reston* ('Concerning God's saints who formerly [first] rested in England') hereafter *RPS*.
 4. F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (1889), 17, states that it was begun before 995 and completed by 1030: see H.P.R. Finberg, 'St Patrick at Glastonbury' (based on his O'Donnell lecture, Oxford, 1965), in *West Country historical studies* (1969), 72.
 5. Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 27, 158, 175, 238.
 6. Farmer, *Oxford dictionary*, xiv, which also describes the *RPS* as a 'short localised Menology'.
 7. J. Blair, 'A Saint for every Minster: Local Cults in Anglo Saxon England', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe, *Local saints and local churches in the Early Medieval West* (2002), 464.
 8. Finberg, 'St Patrick at Glastonbury', 72.
 9. See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 26, where Iona is possibly implied? See also D. Whitelock, *The beginnings of English society* (1952), 160: after the synod of Whitby, 'The extremists of the Irish party returned to Ireland, and founded a monastery on the island of Inishbofin off the coast of Mayo'.
 10. Blair, 'A Saint for every Minster: ...', 510.
 11. See D.W. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 61-93. See also R. Dunning, *Somerset monasteries* (2001), 81, which curiously states that Glastonbury 'had not been mentioned in a list of English pilgrimage places in the eleventh century'.
 12. Blair, 'A Saint for every Minster: ...', 464, where '*Secgan A*' - comprising entries 1-23 (pace Rollason), which, it is suggested 'may preserve the substance of a pre-Viking age list' (though it was arguably compiled after the great Viking invasion of 865-78, in which King Edmund of East Anglia, was martyred; significantly Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Whitby, all wiped 'off the map' by the earlier Viking raids, do not feature in it), and whose 'unique interest ... is that it gives a glimpse of the monastic and hagiographical landscape before 900' (but only of the *Danelaw*, and 'English' Mercia, however) is characterised as concerning 'relatively early saints'; this would seem to be an over-simplification, as it includes certain saints of the 8th century (as does *Secgan B*) and culminates with St Edmund (d. 869), whilst certain 'early saints' such as Petroc (at Padstow), Congar (at Congresbury), as well as 'Aidan and Patrick' (at Glastonbury), appear in *B*. Incidentally (and curiously) Ely (and St Ethelreda) appears in neither, and *Medeshamstede*/Peterborough (uniquely) in both, which makes one wonder where the lists were compiled, and by whom e.g. might the scholarly St Plegmund (based in western Mercia before being called to the Wessex court and who 'may have been partly responsible for the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*' according to Farmer, *Oxford dictionary*, 438-9) have been involved in the compilation of *Secgan A*?
 13. See Dom A. Watkin (ed.), *The great chartulary of Glastonbury*, vol. 1, Somerset Record Society, vol. 59 (1947), v, where Glastonbury is described as 'the centre of the monastic revival under Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald, the source from which the mainstream of English medieval monasticism took its rise'.
 14. See J.P. Carley (ed.), *The chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey, an edition, translation and study of John of Glastonbury's Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* [hereafter John, *Cronica*] (1985), 128-9, quoting from

- Aelric's near contemporary *vita* of St Ethelwold.
15. John, *Cronica*, 128-9, quoting from the other near contemporary *vita* of Ethelwold, by another monk, Wulfstan.
 16. John, *Cronica*, 130-1, echoing the expression '*fons et origo totius religionis*', found in the so-called (spurious) 'Great Privilege of king Ine', *ibid* 96-9.
 17. J.A. Robinson, 'The Saxon Abbots of Glastonbury', in *Somerset historical essays* (1921), 35, referred to in G. Ashe, *Avalonian quest* (1982), 39, in the following context: 'Cenwalh and his successors, notably Ine ... made Glastonbury their chief holy place and in Armitage Robinson's words, a temple of reconciliation ... within Glastonbury's precinct [Saxons] mingled with Celts, who continued to join the community, including Irish. In their united work and study, it may be claimed the United Kingdom [*sic*] had its symbolic birth long before its political realisation'.
 18. Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 158-9.
 19. G.N. Garmonsway (trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (1953) [hereafter *ASC*], 80-1, under the year 886, records 'king Alfred occupied London and all the English people submitted, except those who were in captivity to the Danes'. F. Pryor, *Britain in the Middle Ages, an archaeological history* (2006), 77-8, describes the *ASC* as 'a fascinating mixture of history and propaganda' and 'a project' initiated by king Alfred 'sometime in the 890's', initially 'to glorify his deeds, his reign and the emerging English nation', and subsequently 'maintained and updated at major ecclesiastical centres', surviving manuscripts being 'associated with Canterbury, Worcester, York, and Abingdon'.
 20. On the continuing paganism of the 'Scandinavian element', see R. Hill and C. Brooke, 'From 627 until the early Thirteenth Century', in G. Aylmer and R. Cant, *A history of York Minster* (1977), 16-17, where, incidentally, it is noted that 'there were no monastic communities at all in England north of the Trent in the tenth and early eleventh centuries'.
 21. A full list (which includes relics of Hild, Coelfrith and Bede, but significantly not St Cuthbert, whose body remained intact in Northumbria) is given in William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, which records a seemingly unreliable 'in-house' tradition that they were brought to Glastonbury by abbot Tyccea (754): see Scott, *The Early History*, 68-9. Blair, 'A Saint for every Minster: . . .', 510, notes that according to (William's) *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, the relics of Aidan still possessed by the 'community of St Cuthbert' (formerly on Lindisfarne, then at Chester-le-Steet) 'were supposedly taken to Glastonbury in the 940s'.
 22. Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 152, where they are described 'as booty from one of his military campaigns'. Incidentally, where it is suggested that 'the form' of these 'so-called resting place lists, a genre peculiar to England ... implies that the bodies of the saints referred to were entire' although clearly Aidan's was not! (Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 27).
 23. *ASC*, 110-111, under the year 944.
 24. *Vita Sancti Dunstani, Auctore B*, in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (1857), 6-7.
 25. *ASC*, 110, under the year 943; see also 'B' in Stubbs, *Memorials*, 23-5.
 26. For a brief introduction to 'the potency of relics' with particular reference to Athelstan's zeal for them, 'both as earthly treasure with an earthly price, and heavenly treasure beyond payment', see C. Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman kings* (1963; Fontana ed. 1967), 121-4.
 27. Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 146, where a possibility that the 'Nature Goddess

- silk', thought to be 'a Byzantine textile' now in Durham cathedral's Treasury, 'may be one of the two Greek palls', is noted. However, this could not be so if Campbell is correct in suggesting that it is 'quite likely' that the 'new garment' in which St Cuthbert's body was 'wrapped' when exhumed and enshrined (698) was made 'from figured Byzantine silk with a repetitive patter of a "nature goddess"' (J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons* (1982), 81).
28. It could well be argued, as by E. Matyjaszek, in *The Catholic Herald* (August 15, 2008), 10, that this was foreshadowed 'as early as 672 or 673 at the Synod of Hertford', convened by (St) Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, 'when the bishops of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (excepting Sussex, which was still to be converted) met under his overall authority'; since then the *gens Anglorum* had existed as an 'ecclesial entity ... one spiritual and ecclesiastical realm', and thus England's 'spiritual existence', subsequently reflected (and propagated) by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (735), long 'pre-dated its political reality. It was conceived in the womb of the Church before it became a realm in law' under a single ruler.
 29. See J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 51: 'Glastonbury may well have had a history which began under the kings of Dumnonia, to end under that of Henry VIII. Its earliest abbots (as they appear in a late list) have apparently British names'.
 30. M. Wood, 'Glastonbury, the Grail, and the Isle of Avalon, ' in *In search of England, journeys into the English past* (1999), 57-61, where it is also stated that 'by the time Dunstan died in 988, England can only be described as a nation state and Glastonbury had been reshaped as its chief shrine'.
 31. See M. Wood, 'The Lost Life of King Athelstan', in *In search of England*, 149-68, esp. 151, where Athelstan, who 'turned the kingdom of England into a fact' is described as the 'first to rule what previously many kings shared between them'; *ASC*, 106-110.
 32. Whitelock, 234. The frontispiece to this, depicting St Cuthbert and Athelstan (either reading or presenting the book), is reproduced on the cover of J. Webb (trans.), *Lives of the saints* (1965), where it is described as 'by an unknown master of the Winchester School'; see also P.H. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1957), 21: 'the manuscript was probably painted either at Glastonbury or Winchester, the two most important monastic centres in the country' and 'written between 935 and 939'.
 33. The expression found in L. Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (1971; 1973 ed.), 251, citing C.A.R. Radford, 'The Church in Somerset down to 1100', *PSANH*, 106 (1962), 28-45.
 34. B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), 162, where she comments that the abbey's medieval traditions 'regarding the 'Irish monastics' Patrick and Bridget 'must be rejected', and citing L. Abrams, 'Nil ex nihilo fit?', in D. Dumville (ed.), *St Patrick, 493-1993* (1993), 233-44, concludes that such 'a relic of St Patrick' perhaps 'eventually inspired the fanciful stories of his role in the foundation of Glastonbury'.
 35. R. Sharpe, 'Martyrs and Saints in late Antique Britain', in Thacker and Sharpe, *Local saints and local churches*, 137.
 36. On this arguable identification see J. Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey*, 103-4, where attention is drawn to the fascinating detail that in 8th century Ireland 'a hymn was composed which stated that "When Patrick departed this life, he went first to the other Patrick; together they ascended to Jesus, the Son of Mary."'
 37. For the statement 'some of which date from the 9th century' see C. Slover,

- 'Glastonbury Abbey and the fusing of English Literary Culture', in *Speculum*, vol. x (1935), 149.
38. On this possibility, see my article, 'Glastonbury's "problematic double dedication"' in *SDNQ* 37 pt 380 (Mar 2015), 371-5.
 39. Regarding Glastonbury's claim 'to possess the relics of St Patrick', Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 154, 205, comments that 'the monastery's traditions confused his cult with that of St Petroc' and even seems to suggest that 'Glastonbury's Patrick was none other than the English [*sic*] Petroc', thus rather misrepresenting Finberg's comment that 'there are traces in the Glastonbury chronicles' of some 'confusion'. As noted by Carley (in John, *Cronica*, 281, n.86), what Finberg actually suggested was that John of Glastonbury records 'Padstow' as 'the place of St Patrick's arrival because of confusion between his name and St Petroc's'. Moreover, as Finberg's paper makes clear, the *Leofric Missal* is evidence of an undeniable 'Patrician' cult (clearly distinct from one of Petroc) at Glastonbury, as elsewhere in Wessex in the 10th century; see Finberg, 'St Patrick at Glastonbury', 79-80, see also 72, 78, and fn: 'cf. the Calendar of the Bosworth Psalter - which reflects Glastonbury practice - *The Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, 1908, p.100'.
 40. See Finberg, 74-76, and 78, where he also suggests that 'Dunstan's appointment marked the formal end of the Irish interlude ... beginning [only] perhaps between 887 and 892'. The current 'Welcome' leaflet available in the parish church of St John Baptist (Glastonbury) states that 'pilgrims were coming to the Abbey here from Ireland by 550'; one wonders what the evidence might be for this statement?
 41. S. Kelly (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters, 15: Charters of Glastonbury Abbey* (2012), 14, fn.46, has recently noted 'that a recent reappraisal of the manuscripts of B's Life', in M. Winterbottom, 'The Earliest Life of St Dunstan', *Scripta Classica Israelica*, xix (2000), 163-79, 'has some relevance for the debate: there it is suggested that the manuscript referring to *Patricius iunior* (generally regarded as the earlier) may indeed be later than the one referring to *Patricius senior*'.
 42. '*et maxime ob Beati Patricii junioris honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur*', from Stubbs, *Memorials*, 10-11, with its footnote re: '*senoris*' (to be found in the BL, Cotton MS. Cleopatra B.13. text, apparently a revision of the original, made at St Augustine's, Canterbury); translation from Rollason, *Saints and relics*, 204.

M.J. PROTHEROE

64. A VISITOR IN WEYMOUTH IN SEPTEMBER, 1804.

In 1804 John Skinner, the Vicar of Camerton in Somerset, having heard that George III was visiting Weymouth, decided to take that opportunity to travel to Weymouth 'with the design of spending a few days with my brother Fitz Owen stationed at Weymouth on board the *Royal Sovereign* yacht'. So, at 7 o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, 10 September he set out on horseback, travelling through Shepton Mallet and Ansford near

Castle Cary to arrive in Sherborne at 11 o'clock. He had done well considering the patchy conditions of most rural roads, for without stopping any length of time in one place he had covered, in his estimation, some thirty miles.

He stayed 'at a gentleman's house' while in Alton Pancras, and was persuaded to break his journey and remain there for a further day and a half 'to enjoy the amusement of shooting'. While that was an attractive and enjoyable break, he nevertheless decided that he should continue his journey despite the fact that it was by then late afternoon and still 'insufferably hot'. Despite the lateness of his start, and the heat, he made good time and arrived in Weymouth about 5 o'clock on the same day. Eager to see his brother he hired a boat to take him out to the *Royal Sovereign*. That, he discovered, was a mistake because the yacht, having already landed the royal party ashore, was still manoeuvring to find a suitable mooring in a bay already overcrowded with yachts, frigates, cutters, and merchant ships. The problem was that the harbour at Weymouth was small and narrow and could not provide adequate berthing for more than two ships at a time.

The boatmen were unable to approach the yacht until it moored, so they suggested that he should go ashore and ask the coxswain of the barge that belonged to the *Royal Sovereign* to take him to see his brother. The barge had already landed the royal party ashore, and now waited, as they did, for the yacht to drop anchor. That was shrewd suggestion on their part because he had already paid for the trip, and that could be legitimately shortened, freeing them to find another customer who wanted be rowed around the bay to view the royal fleet. Even if the Rev. Skinner realised that, the opportunity of having a journey in the royal barge was too tempting, and he was delighted to agree with their suggestion. They rowed him directly to the barge still tied up at the foot of the royal steps.

To his delight, when he approached the coxswain of the royal barge he was recognized and so he was willingly taken on board.¹ It so happened that when his brother, and the coxswain, had served on another ship Skinner had visited them, and so there was immediate recognition. So 'I sat in state to be rowed by 14 fine Fellows dressed in blue uniform'. But, 'my pride was

of short duration' because an impenetrable sea mist swept in'. The mist was so thick that the coxswain lost all sense of direction and for two or three hours they slowly and cautiously rowed and drifted in the mist unable to see anything or get their bearings. The danger was that any ship that was not securely and safely moored might shift its position and run down the much smaller barge. After a deal of aimless drifting they resigned themselves to spending the night out in the bay, and to Skinner's dismay they began to ship their oars and settle down to wait for dawn. The sea mist showed no sign of lifting, and everything on board was covered with the damp, clammy mist. Drifting on the tide, the barge fouled a cable, and to their relief they were rescued by the crew of a cutter at anchor. From there he was able to get a boat to take him ashore, and it was not until midnight that he was able to find a bed.

He saw his brother the following day, but 'the adventure of last night' was not confined to the barge episode, it included a night's lodgings in Weymouth where he survived a miserable night being tormented by 'all manner of vermin' in his bed. Tires, and with his eyelid swollen 'by the bite of a bug' he briefly strolled around Weymouth before hiring a boat to take him to the *Royal Sovereign*.

Fortunately, he chose the right time because the royal family were on shore and here was the opportunity for him to visit his brother, and to be shown around the royal yacht.

Breakfast being concluded, he conducted me over this beautiful Vessel. She is, in burthen, about 300 tons, and fitted up with every convenience that can be imagined, having below deck three superb rooms, two of them adorned with crimson damask, and panels of the finest mahogany, the windows plate glass, with large mirrors to each door of the apartments; the third chamber is painted white and gold, the flooring adorned, like the rest, with beautiful carpeting . . . It is here that the officers at present mess, but when the King is on board this room is occupied by the Lords in Waiting and attendants. In fine weather the Royal Family sit on Couches upon deck under a canvas awning, which stretches to the mainmast, the Queen's band always attending, arranged under the canopy at the stern of the ship. His Majesty's suite when the ship's under sail continue on the forecastle with the Captain and Officers, without they are particularly sent for by the Royal party.

. . All orders respecting the management of the ship are given in a low voice, so as not to be heard by those astern; indeed, the running rigging is so well contrived that there is never the least noise in hauling up or lowering the sails.

Skinner was so impressed that he felt that ‘even a polite drawing room cannot be better regulated’, and that it was, in every sense, ‘an elegant floating palace’.

But, war had already been declared between England and France, and the shadow of Napoleon was everywhere, even in the tranquillity of Weymouth Bay, so the yacht was not alone. Guarding the royal family were the *Augusta* and the *Charlotte*, two similarly appointed yachts, two frigates, the *Crescent* and the *Aeolus*, each with 30 to 40 guns, and two cutters. Standing off in the Channel and on constant patrol were other well armed naval vessels.²

Skinner stayed on board enjoying the guided tour that his brother was giving until it was time for the yacht to be prepared to receive the royal party. Every ship began to prepare anchor and to manoeuvre into position to follow the royal yacht. Ashore, they could see a crowd gathering to cheer the royal family, and to watch the ships as they began to move into position. The barge to fetch the King and his guests was being manned, and to Skinner’s great delight he was offered a seat. ‘I accordingly resumed my proud position at the stern of the most beautiful boat that was ever built’.

That touched his vanity, for in front of the entire fleet and the crowd ashore he would be rowed to the steps and then, as the only passenger on the royal barge, he would disembark before an awed and respectful crowd. Unfortunately, it was not going to happen as he expected, for as the barge pulled away and rounded the stern of the royal yacht it became obvious that the royal coach was early and so ‘the rowers exerted every nerve’ to cover the distance and arrive at the foot of the steps before the royal party. Skinner was appalled, for ‘to disembark thus in the face of Royalty was what not even a courtier could have wished, and I would for the moment have exchanged my situation with the humblest person in the crowd’. Fortunately, Admiral Neale, who stood at the head of the steps to assist the

royal family, realised what was happening, and with his timely assistance Skinner was able to step ashore and slip into the crowd without anyone noticing.

On the Friday and Saturday he did not re-visit the yacht, but, instead, he rode to Portland to visits the camps of the regiments of the Somerset and Staffordshire Militia. 'The day was insufferably hot, and the road dusty' and he was not impressed by his visit to Portland because 'the want of foliage. . . certainly detracts much from its beauty and convenience as a public resort'. But his visit to Maiden Castle the following day delighted him because he saw 'the troops march in succession before His Majesty', and the drill, impressive with its 'utmost precision' culminated in a tremendous charge with 'terrific shouts and clashing of swords'. Delighted with the military display, and in great spirits, he continued on to Dorchester to dine at the Fountain Inn. Later, he returned to Weymouth where he ended the day by seeing a play.

On Sunday, September 16, Skinner attended Church, but expressed a not very convincing surprise when he found the church so crowded because he must have realised that the royal family would also be attending. He saw the King, Queen, and the Princesses Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia and Amelia, with the Dukes of Kent, Sussex and Cambridge. After the service - which he appeared to enjoy - he walked on the Esplanade and then joined a party of ladies who went on a short tour of the *Royal Sovereign*. No doubt he rather enjoyed attending as an ordinary visitor, but, in his case, one who already knew a great deal about the yacht, who would be known to the officers, and who knew his way round and could draw the attention of the ladies to various points of interest. In the evening he 'attended the dress promenade at the Rooms' and again saw the royal family who walked through to the tea room. He, too, took tea before leaving to go on board the *Royal Sovereign* where he was 'accommodated with a much more comfortable bed than I have had for three nights'.

Lieutenant Skinner, knowing that the royal family would be sailing in the *Royal Sovereign*, arranged for his brother to accompany the royal procession around the bay by securing a place for him on board the 180 ton yacht *Augusta*. Skinner was

on board well ahead of the appearance of the royal party, and therefore had the opportunity to look around. He could see that the *Augusta* was a much older vessel, for it had been built for the present king's grandfather, and had been used to bring over his Queen from Germany, and, later, for his visit to Hanover in 1716. Skinner found it old fashioned and he was not impressed because it was 'fitted out in the old fashioned way with gilt leather opening to a little bedroom'. His exploration was cut short when the royal party boarded the *Royal Sovereign* because at that point all the ships fired a salute. The *Augusta* carried, for ceremonial purposes only, eight 4 pounder brass guns, and Skinner found that their salute was particularly painful because 'the ringing of the brass conveys a more piercing sound than the heavy report of an iron gun'. However, he enjoyed the trip around the bay for the royal vessel went as far as Lulworth before tacking, and all the other ships tacked astern of the royal yacht, and, as they passed the stern of the King's ship, men manned the shrouds and gave three heart cheers as 'a compliment to the Royal party'. Despite his pleasure at being the only civilian member of the royal fleet, Skinner sourly commented that 'we sailed the worst of the fleet'. He cheered up, however, when invited to dinner because 'when the King sails everything is provided on board and cooks are sent to dress the provisions'. He therefore enjoyed 'a handsome dinner with excellent wine . . . before the yachts came to their moorings'. At that point, as the royal party began to disembark, 'boats pulled off with the Captains of all the attending ships to wait on His Majesty and see him safe into the Barge'. As the barge pulled for shore and the King's party prepared to disembark all the vessels in the bay fired a salute.

On the Wednesday, the royal party set out for another trip round the bay, and because no other visitors were allowed on board the *Royal Sovereign* when the royal family was on board, Lieutenant Skinner arranged for his brother to accompany the fleet by being aboard the *Charlotte*. The officer in command of the *Charlotte*, Lieutenant Lowry, clearly did not like being asked such a favour, and his manner left Skinner in no doubt that he disapproved, for it became clear that 'there was a degree of hauteur about the Captain that . . . is not very agreeable'.

Lowry's wife, however, perhaps not understanding her husband's position, was 'most charming' and received him warmly. The explanation of Lieutenant Lowry's position could have been that he resented the favours that the King heaped upon Lieutenant Skinner. George III strongly approved all officers who had remained loyal to the Crown during the Spithead mutiny, and particularly towards the officers of the *San Firenze* who endured the subsequent Nore mutiny in the Thames. As Lieutenant Fitz Owen Skinner had been a serving officer aboard the *San Firenze*, the King showed his approval by 'putting his hand on his left shoulder he told him he should have an Epaulette there whenever the yacht left Weymouth'. That clearly meant that Lieutenant Skinner could expect rapid promotion and his own command, for 'patronage and "interest" counted at every stage in an officer's career but never more so than in his promotion from lieutenant'.³ Lieutenant Lowry was probably resentful. He commanded the oldest and now entirely redundant royal yacht, and, despite the war and the demand for experienced officers, his future only seemed to consist of further ceremonial functions. Really, Skinner was being disingenuous: he must have understood Lowry's feelings because in his journal he wrote that 'The great advantage of being in the Royal Yacht was the prospect of promotion . . . he [Fitz Owen Skinner] received a promise not long since from the King of being made Master & Commander as soon as the Yacht returned to Deptford'. Lieutenant Skinner's star was rising, while Lieutenant Lowry remained without any patronage.⁴

Skinner made no further mention of the visit of the King, nor had any further reference to the fleet of ships attending the royal party, despite the fact that the royal family still remained there, and so did his brother. What was clear to Skinner was that his money was disappearing much faster than he intended. Fully a week earlier he had calculated that on the hiring of boatmen alone he had already spent 17/6d, and that surprised him. However, despite that, he stayed on and used his time in exploring the area around Weymouth. He 'rode a circuit of six or seven miles around Weymouth'. He was very disappointed: 'the country is very bare and barren, affording few interesting rides or walks; therefore I am less surprised to see [that] the

Company [and here he probably means the royal company] prefer the Esplanade, to the village of Wick, or the shingly beach at Portland. There are no retired Vallies or shady coverts, to shield one from the scorching sun, which at present is intolerable; but wherever you turn yourself, it is all one wide plain expanse; on the one side the level ocean, on the other the plain unbroken surface of the Downs.'

On Thursday, October 4, he left Weymouth, travelling slowly because his horse 'seems literally starved, his ribs starting through his skin', despite having paid a guinea a week for his keep'. His journey ended on October 6 when he entered Camerton.⁵

Additional Note

This article is based upon H. Coombs and B. Coombs (eds), *Journal of a Somerset Rector, 1803-1834* (1930 revised 1971), 15-21.

John Skinner (1772-1839). Educated at Cheam School and Trinity, Oxford. Ordained deacon, 1797 and priest in 1799. Purchased the living of Camerton in 1800. He bequeathed his manuscript and books to the British Museum. He committed suicide in October 1839.

Fitz Owen Skinner was given command of a sloop in 1809. Died in his brother's arms of Phthisis (spitting of blood) on May 23 1810.

1. Barge: a vessel or boat of state furnished with elegant apartments, canopies, and cushions; equipped with a band of rowers, and decorated with flags and streamers (W. Falconer, *A Universal Directory of the Marine* (1780)).
2. Yacht: a vessel of state, usually employed to convey princes, ambassadors, or other great personages from one kingdom to another. . . The royal Yachts are commonly rigged as ketches, except the principal one reserved for the sovereign, which is equipped with three masts like a ship. . . They are generally elegantly furnished and richly ornamented with sculpture, and always commanded by captains in his majesty's navy. Besides these are many Yachts of a smaller kind employed by commissioners of the excise, navy, and customs, or used as pleasure-boats by private gentlemen. (Falconer, *Dictionary*).
3. Lowry, born 1773, was appointed lieutenant on 28 January 1802 and a commander in September 1822. He died in 1847 aged 74 years (see TNA, ADM 6 and ADM 9).
4. B. Lavery, *Nelson's Navy: the ships, men and organisation, 1793-1815* (1989), 97.
5. His expenditure of 17/6d for boatmen would be about £58 in today's money,

and the one guinea a week for stabling his horse would, today, be equivalent to £74. It certainly appears that when the King visited Weymouth payments for services were massively inflated. (The calculation is made by multiplying the sum of expenditure by the percentage increase in the Retail Price Index between 1800 and 2013).

G. J. DAVIES

65. EDWARD BERKELEY'S DIARY AND NOTEBOOK, 1690. In the diary of Edward Berkeley (c.1644-1707) of 'Pull in the county of Somerset' for 1690 can be found some entries and accounts worthy of note in *SDNQ*. The diary itself is bound in leather, tooled in the late 17th-century style and came into the possession of the author in 2002.¹ The diary consists of three sections. First is a section of unprinted pages, followed by a *Riders (1690) British Merlin . . .*, then another section of unprinted pages. Berkeley made good use of these once blank pages to record his activities during 1690, including events and transactions relating to his estate. The printed section of the diary, as well as containing a geographical description of the World, times of high water at London Bridge, an illustration of 'The Anatomy of Man's Body', etc, is interleaved with pages enabling the owner to record events against each month's printed calendar. Being quite a small diary, measuring 75 x 125mm, the entries made by Berkeley are often quite short and occasionally cryptic. Nevertheless they do give a good indication of his movements and activities during 1690.



'The Anatomy of Man's Body' reproduced from Berkeley's *Rider's Merlin* for 1690 (Author)

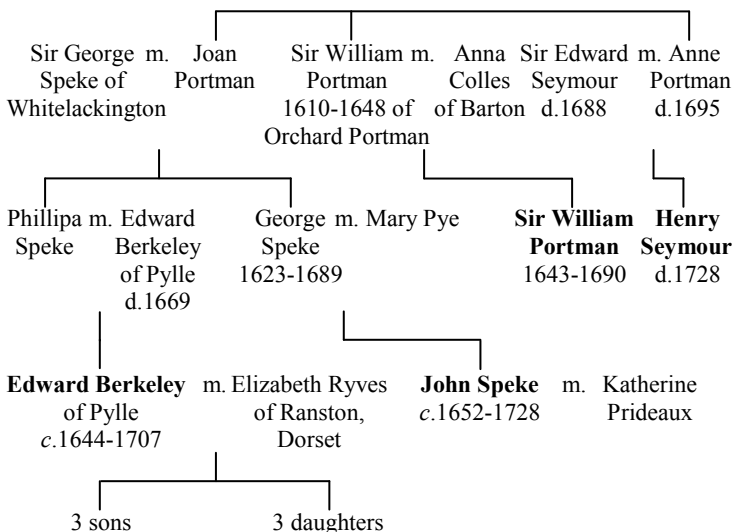
Edward Berkeley was the son of Edward Berkeley of Pylle (d.1669) and Phillippa Speke. His maternal grandparents were George Speke of Whitelackington and Joan Portman. Joan's brother was Sir William Portman (1610-1648) who married Anna Colles of Barton who had issue, Sir William Portman (1643-1690) who features in the diary and whose birthday is also recorded (although not against the correct month). Other family members who are mentioned include a niece, Lucy, a 'cousin' Jude Ryves who is recorded as having '260li principal 20 Guyn[eas]' and an uncle Ryves, as well as a Richard and Robert Ryves. He also noted the last resting place of Mrs Lucy (in 'hatton garden over against the new chapple in Kerby Street') and Mrs Harris ('where S^r Edward Phelipps lies').² Through Berkeley's marriage to Elizabeth Ryves of Ranston, Dorset the relationship to 'Cousin Jude' can be explained, but a close relationship to Mrs Lucy, Mrs Harris and Sir Edward Phelips is not easily explained. Especially as Colonel Sir Edward Phelips in a letter addressed to Colonel Edward Berkeley from Montacute, in 1685, addressed Berkeley as 'Brother Berkley'.³

The connection to the Portman family appears in the diary on several occasions. The main reason for Berkeley recording entries concerning his relations at Orchard was due to the death of Sir William in 1690. Portman must have been on his last legs when his will was written, as he directed that his

Body may be buried on the Vault which is in the Church of Orchard . . . if I shall happen to dye at Orchard within a ffortnight and if at Bryanston within Three weekes after my decease That my funerall be Decent Quiet and not Expensive and That there be no sermon seeing it will hinder my friends from returning to their homes in good time.

Portman made a great number of bequests to members of his family, including the Seymours, Spekes, Colles and Berkeleys. The diarist, referred to as 'the honourable Collonel Edward Berkly of Pull' not only received £200 but an additional £50 as he was one of Portman's executors. Berkeley was also party to Portman's 'Deed of Release' which transferred his estate to his first cousin, Henry Seymour (d.1728), fifth son of his aunt Anne

Portman (d.1695) and her husband Sir Edward Seymour, 3rd Baronet (d.1688), as Portman had no male heir to pass it on to.⁴



(People mentioned in the diary are shown in **bold**)

Berkeley served as M.P. for Wells from 1679-1680, 1685, 1689, 1690, 1695 and 1698 and sat as a commissioner for the 1690 assessment, served as a colonel in the Somerset militia, a justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant. Of his political activities around the time of the diary he rallied to the cause of William of Orange at the Revolution in 1688. He also signed the declaration of support at Crewkerne, was re-elected in 1689 and 1690, but 'apart from a complaint of breach of privilege, he was completely inactive'.⁵ Despite this inactivity in the House, he was very active whilst in Somerset dealing with political and local government issues. He also recorded his visits to the House and some of the votes he must have been interested in, which are described further below.

Berkeley's diary

At the beginning of January he was at Sir John Fowells (1665-1692) at Fowellscombe 'near Ivybridge', Devon. He was the

third baronet who in 1689 was elected Member of Parliament for Totnes, Devon until his death in 1692. He was one of the 151 M.P.s who voted against making the Prince of Orange king, but for declaring Princess Mary queen, therefore he was a fellow politician. Unfortunately Berkeley did not record the length of time he spent there and the next dated entry in his diary, being the 27th, simply states 'Parliament Prorogue'. After he attended Parliament he returned to Somerset on the 2nd of February. A cryptic entry on the 18th 'Mr S: Eyres' is followed by a record of accounts for money either spent, lost or obtained whilst at Wincanton and London.

Berkeley was hearing appeals at Wells on the 27th of February as part of his duties as a J.P. and on the 10th of March recorded the date of the assizes at Sarum, but if he actually made the trip to Wiltshire is not clear as the next entry records 'home' and 'Capt Stocker'. Berkeley shows his literary and geographical interests when he made a note about Edmund Bohon's *Geographical Dictionary*, which presumably he purchased. An entry on the 18th of March shows the death of his mother's cousin, Sir William Portman. The next entry, like others, is a cryptic one and was recorded after travelling to 'Lord Fitz:' (most likely his kinsman Maurice Berkeley, 3rd Viscount Fitzhardinge (1628-1690), M.P. for Wells 1661-1679 and Bath 1681-1690) when the diarist noted 'M^r Jo: Chicks declared M^r Dawes tending M^r Smyth held money due from M^r Field; to m^r Strode'. Presumably this transaction took place in the presence of Berkeley. That meeting, if at Lord Fitzharding's residence, most likely would have taken place at Bruton Abbey where he died on 13 June 1690 and was buried at the local parish church of St Mary's.⁶

As a J.P. it is not surprising that there are many examinations made before him amongst Quarter Sessions records from 1683 through to 1693. One examination in the year of the diary, on the 21 April, recorded the evidence of William Strode of West Lydford, husbandman, and William Salomon of same, yeoman, in a case concerning the alleged theft of wheat.⁷ There are entries in the diary at the end of April for Petty Sessions at 'Glaston' and at Wells the following day. But why these two entries should be followed by a list of

colonels that took commissions under King James, as well as a list of judges, is not clear. In May he noted courts of a different kind, this time manorial, at 'Dunhead' (Downhead) on the 6th, Pyllle on the 7th and Pierston (in Dorset) on the 13th. It is likely he was at Shepton Mallet on the 5th to hear 'Appeales'. His connection to Sir William Portman meant he had to prove his will on the 8th and he made an entry in his diary to pay Mr Bickerton of Great Russell Street in Bloomsbury 70*li*.

He arrived in London on the 10th when he made enquiries at Mr Saunders at the Barbers Pole at the end of Bartholomews Lane. He also noted the delivery of money to 'Jack' in London. Whilst in London he may have attended the Commons as he noted on the 23rd that 'Parlament adjournd till July 7:'. He recorded beneath this entry the names of Richard Fownes, Nathaniel Palmer, Henry Seymour and Henry Wallopp esquires. These men were, like Berkeley, executors of Sir William Portman's will and the diary contains details of payments for gloves at the funeral (£8 3s) and 'for ye Coffen [and] other funeral charges' (£10) but not specifically for Portman's funeral.⁹ Of these men, Henry Seymour was the son of Sir Edward Seymour and Anne Portman and therefore was his mother's cousin. An additional executor was Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle PC (1650-1720), who was an English army general and politician who sat in the House of Commons of England and of Great Britain from 1678 to 1718, served as Governor of Portsmouth and a Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.¹⁰ Portman referred to him in his will as the 'Honourable Colonel Thomas Erle of Charborrow', or Charborough in Dorset.¹¹

Berkeley returned from London to Somerset on the 3rd of June and obtained '20 dousin and halfe of claret' from 'G.H.', possibly a wine merchant. A cryptic entry on the 20th reads 'Nurs Bezir had ye opportunity of her husband FB', possibly referring to the family's nurse who might have been looking after his children. More financial transactions are noted on the 24th with payments of £70 to Mr Bickerton, £30 for himself, £120 to Mrs Lucy, £50 to Mr Parry of Frome, £34 12s 6d to Grace Albyn and £10 to 'T: Phil: borrowed'.

July starts with another cryptic entry: ‘Mr Will Martin sen^r. With y^t John Maby promised to give his daughter 500^{li} if she married Tom Miller’. Why this event interested Berkeley enough to record it in his pocket diary is not clear, unless he was somehow involved in the affair, either as a witness or in some financial capacity. The only other events recorded in July were visits to Wytham and Corton on the 8th and 10th, until the latter end of the month. On the 27th Berkeley was involved with militia matters, which saw him issuing warrants at Wells for mustering his regiment at Glastonbury on the 28th. He marched his regiment to Somerton that same night where they stayed until the next morning when they moved on to South Petherton, arriving there on the 30th. From Petherton the regiment moved on to Chard, but he did not record in his diary what happened to his regiment after that point, although the portreeve at Chard paid 2s 6d ‘for beer to the souldiers’ on the 2nd of August.¹² The mustering of his regiment was a result of growing problems with France that saw an ‘ingagement at sea with the French’ on the 30th of June, an event he recorded in his diary, and much nearer to home around 1,000 Frenchmen had invaded and burned significant amounts of property at Teignmouth (in south Devon) on the 26th of July. Near the front of the diary Berkeley recorded some of the costs involved during his regiment’s manoeuvres:

p ^d for y ^e carriage from Wells to Somerton	06 : 0
p ^d Vowles at Somerton	05 : 0
p ^d for hooping the powder barrels	02 : 0
p ^d Vowles Dec: 24	07 - 6
p ^d for y ^e carriage of powder and ball from Chard	17 - 6

He only recorded three events in August, two relating to the dates of the assizes at Sarum and Wells and the other, on the 21st, ‘to dine with M^r Goold’. September was equally sparse as he only recorded the names of Mr Richins ‘a Farrier in Holborn near Bloomsberry Square’ and John Russell of ‘Stoaklane a huntsman’. Of those three men, Mr Goold could well have been one of that family who owned Sharpham Park and Russell lived

only 8 miles from Pylle and could well have been huntsman to more than one local magnate.

Berkeley was at home on the 7th of October as he noted how he felt an earthquake between 6 and 7 in the morning whilst still in bed at Pylle. Apart from this event the only other diary entry for this month was made for the 23rd to mark his journey to London and the name of a shoemaker, Mr Purdue, in Russell Street. This is surprising as the manor court for 'Pull' was held on the eleventh¹³ and he had noted the date of the court held five months earlier. November has no datable entries, only 'George Read in Coll: Webbs company of Grenadiers' and 'M^r License to write to M^r John Eatwell S^r Boswell Fairbrace contra S^r Humphy Edwyn'. Why Berkeley was interested in a case involving Sir Humphrey Edwin (1642–1707), a merchant and lord mayor of London, who, with others, in August 1688 attended the Prince of Orange on his entry into London, took part in February in the proclamation of the king and queen and was appointed by the king, in April 1689, as a commissioner of excise, is not clear.¹⁴ Berkeley only remained in London for three weeks, during which time he 'laid' a pair of gloves with his niece as she was 'with child' and attended to parliamentary business.

House of Commons

His parliamentary business is recorded mainly on the pages of the blanks and he did not record which seats were being contested, or what issues were being voted upon that he was recording whilst in parliament. From the *Journal of the House of Commons* for 1690¹⁵ and the diary it is clear that he was more involved in some issues than Henning's brief biography suggests.¹⁶ He was involved in a case brought before the Committee of Privileges following an alleged breach of privilege committed by John Perne against Berkeley, who 'had printed a scandalous Paper touching him, and his Title to the said Estate' in Wiltshire and Dorset.¹⁷ On the 20th of January the Committee found Perne guilty 'of a Breach of Privilege of this House, in entering upon the Possession of Colonel Birkley' and Perne was sent for.¹⁸ An entry in his diary records 'Perns Articles b[e]ar[ing] date Aprill 14:1684'. He also noted in his

diary how Mr Richard Smith was required to attend the 'Committee of Elecions and Priviledges on Wednesday' but he did not record for what purpose.

Elsewhere in the diary Sir Peter Rich, who had been elected as M.P. for Southwark in 1689,¹⁹ is mentioned as receiving 162 'noes' and 152 'eys' but it does not state what for. Several other votes are recorded, two of which on the 10th and 16th of January, concerning restoring corporations and a Bill of Indemnity, appear to have been written down incorrectly by Berkeley or by the clerk.²⁰ Numerous blank pages contain other political notes, such as

Sr Tho: Gravener	Eyes	192
Mr Levy 186	Noes	167
Coll. Whitley 185		
371		

The first entry refers to the controversial Chester election, which was referred to the Committee for Privileges and Elections. The question whether Sir Thomas Grosvenor bart. should have been elected was put to the House on the 2nd of December and those voting 'yes' supported Mr Levy with 186 votes and those voting 'no' supported Colonel Whitley with 185 votes. The second entry refers to a vote on the same day regarding the election of aldermen to the Corporation of London.²¹ Surely Berkeley must have been in the House on this day, but which way he voted is not recorded in his diary.

A whole page is dedicated to recording votes for Messrs 'P' (for Phelips), Palmer, Sydenham and Speke for the Somerset county elections on 4 March 1690. The History of Parliament website does not record the votes cast,²² but Berkeley made a note in his diary of the outcome of the voting. It appears the votes were cast over three days, with Sir Edward Phelips receiving 1594, Nathaniel Palmer 1378, Sir John Sydenham bart, 988 and John Speke 971. But who did Berkeley vote for? John Speke (c.1652-1728) was Berkeley's first cousin, son of George Speke of White Lackington by Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Pye of Westminster, Middlesex and Faringdon, Berkshire.²³ With Sir Edward Phelips, Berkeley was involved

with two property transactions involving land at Stogursey in 1691 and one in 1698²⁴ and another concerning land at Aller in 1696 with Robert Cecil, brother of James, Earl of Salisbury, deceased, John Hunt of Compton Pauncefoot, esq., Jerrard Newcourt of Ivythorne, Street, gentleman,²⁵ George Horner of Mells, esq., George Northover of Aller, gentleman and Anne Stawell, eldest daughter of Ralph, Lord Stawell, deceased.²⁶

More revealing is his involvement with a deed concerning the Wroth and Acland estate in Lyng in 1697/8 which saw him involved with Edward Leigh of Testwood, Hampshire, Lady Grace Pierrepont, Robert Cecil, brother of James, Earl of Salisbury, deceased, Sir John Austen bart of St Pauls Walden, Hertfordshire, John Hunt of Compton Pauncefoot esq. and Jerard Newcourt of Ivythorn, gentleman (administrators of James, Lord Stawell of Somerton, deceased and statutory trustees for payment of his debts) and Sir Thomas Wroth bart of Petherton Park, North Petherton, which transaction also included rent due from Sir Edward Phelips out of West Newton.²⁷ This interest in the Phelips family may have been through Edward Phelips (c.1613–1680) who was M.P. for Ilchester with Henry Berkeley from 1640, because the latter was the diarist's uncle.²⁸ However, despite Berkeley's interest in the Phelips family of Montacute, he kept his own political views out of his diary for 1690. But in his will he recommended to his trustees and executors:

my loving friend and Kinsman William Phelipps Esqr as their Councell to advise them on all occasions in his profession and to have notice of attending on their annuall Meetings and upon the sale or sales of any of my before devised Estate or Estates for the payment of my Debts and Legacies . . .²⁹

Another page, facing February, most likely records the result of the county election for Devon in 1690. However, it is known that 2,099 people voted in 1712,³⁰ whereas in 1690 Berkeley recorded 'Courtney' receiving 2,658 votes, 'Rol' 1,985, Davy 658 and 'Drak' 579, making a total of 5,880 voters! This election saw Francis Courtenay and Samuel Rolle elected, both of whom were returned for the following two elections in 1695

and 1698. But why was there such a great disparity in the number of voters in 1690 compared to 1712?

2	12	15	10	15	20
805	572	826	783		
789	796	112	185		
1594	1378	988	971		

Extract from a page recording votes for Messrs Portman, Palmer, Sydenham and Speke, corrected in black ink, reproduced from Berkeley's *Rider's Merlin* for 1690 (Author)

Accounts

Numerous financial accounts in the diary give a further insight into Berkeley's activities in 1690, such as his stay at the Devil's Tavern and its cost; was this the infamous tavern in London frequented by men such as Samuel Pepys and Judge Jeffreys? But by far the most detailed accounts show the extent of his involvement with his estate and the livestock and animals he owned. He was quite closely involved with estate matters, as he noted the dimensions of windows, crop yields, livestock movements, leases, the sale of horses and details of his hounds. He let Ralph George two crops and made allowances for 22 bushells of beans at 3s 3d per bushel. He noted the dimensions of a 'close walke at Orchard' measuring 5½' wide with sides 6' high, most likely at Orchard Portman the home of his kin the Portmans.

The welfare and extent of his stock is recorded. For example, on 1 May he owned

12 miltchd cows
06 Heiphers
10 plow oxen
05 steares

07 Calves
25 horses
2 Asses
8 Welch Buers 17 : 16 : 6

09 Yerlings	3 miltch cowes let of
12 young beast [kept at Lamyatt]	20 Fating sheep
14 Grasing oxen	51 hard sheep
10 Grasing cowes	26 Lambs July 2:
	54 Hogg sheep at Lamyat

He also recorded the movements of his stock, on 1 July, when grazing cows were sent to Lamyatt and their return on the 12th of the same month; livestock were valuable enough to be mentioned as a specific item in his will drawn up ten years later.³¹ He noted the care of horses: 'Crude Antymony give y^e horse a dram morning and Evening at a time', as well as the products of his breeding programme:

Hounds bred out of Trounser and Tomboy sent abroad Au: 15
 Rumbelow Mrs. Feth:
 Tumler Mr Broadbred
 Cumberland S: Whyting
 Damsel John Syms
 Burslie Will. Wallis
 Kindness T: Hoopper

The 'S: Whyting' may well have been the Mr Whyting who purchased 'wool', most likely fleeces, from Berkeley at 8s 9d a pound, totalling £22 5s 9d.

Although this diary is not a literary masterpiece, it does contain some unique information of value to those interested in the life of Berkeley, his private and public interests, including the purchase of a beaver hat and a payment to an apothecary. There is also some useful information about the breeding of hounds, his taste in alcohol and connections to his near kin. Two of those relations were mentioned in his will, drawn up in 1700/1, but referred to as 'my Honoured friends Henry Seymer of Stoke under Bull Barrow in the County of Dorsett Esq^r and William Speke son of George Speke late of Whitelackington'. Both men received the rents, issues and profits out of the manors Berkeley had purchased from Robert Welsted of London, goldsmith and, with Berkeley's sons, the manors of Pierston and Gillingham in Dorset, his farm at Lamyatt, and his manor and farm at Donhead. What is not shown in the diary is

any reference to his wife or children. A hint at a reason for this can be found in his will, in the unusual statement:

And though I have no reason to doubt of my Wifes Love to her Children, or of their Duty to her as she hath allways a most carefull and tender Mother. Yett I do earnestly request that after I am gone there may not only be Peace but an entire Friendship and Kindness between 'em which will procure Gods Blessing on them

. . .³²

1. An earlier diary, for the year 1684, is held at the Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (<http://www.worldcat.org/title/farm-accounts-and-memoranda/oclc/780099563>). A future edition of SDNQ will contain details from this earlier diary.
2. This is either Sir Edward Phelips (c.1555/60–1614) or another of the same name (c.1613–1680).
3. A. Fea, *King Monmouth, being a history of the career of James Scott, the Protestant Duke, 1649-1685* (1902), 235.
4. S.H.C., DD/PM/1/6/10 draft will of Sir William Portman, 27 Feb. 1689/90.
5. B.D. Henning, ed., *The House of Commons, 1660-1690, volume 1* (1983), 632.
6. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/berkeley-maurice-1628-90> accessed 9 Aug. 2014.
7. S.H.C., Q/SR/181/2.
8. Ibid, DD/PM/11/2/4 Manor of Pull court book, 1662-1707 also records a court held on this date.
9. S.H.C., DD/PM/1/6/10 draft will of Sir William Portman, 27 Feb. 1689/90. Fownes was from Steepleton, Dorset, Palmer from Fairfield, Somerset and Wallopp from 'Husbornes' in the county of Southampton.
10. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Erle, accessed 17 Aug. 2014.
11. S.H.C., DD/PM/1/6/10 draft will of Sir William Portman, 27 Feb. 1689/90.
12. Ibid, D/B/ch 11/1/1 f.194 Portreeve's accounts, which record a payment on 23 October 'By a h[ogs]head of Beere given the Souldiers Novemb[er] 5 00:18:00', but it does not state whether this was Berkeley's militia or not.
13. Ibid, DD/PM/11/2/4 Manor of Pull court book, 1662-1707.
14. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Humphrey_Edwin, accessed 9 Aug. 2014.
15. *Journal of the House of Commons volume 10 1688-1693* (1802).
16. B.D. Henning, ed., *The House of Commons, 1660-1690, volume 1* (1983), 632.
17. A petition was submitted by John Perne, and Jane his wife, which claimed 'That the Petitioner having a Right to enjoy divers Lands in the Counties of Wilts and Dorset, as her Jointure of Two hundred Pounds *per Annum* Value, and Fifteen hundred Pounds Arrears; and having had one or more Decree or Decrees in the Court of Chancery for the same, they have been, by Threats, and other undue Means, forced, by Deed and Fine, to convey away the same; and an ancient Statute which protected the same, to *Edward Berkley of Pull, Esquire*, for Four hundred Pounds only, or his Trustees: And having been so injuriously dealt with, and being remediless, save in Parliament: And praying, that this House would take the Premises into their Consideration, and give them such Relief as the Merits of their Case shall deserve, . . .' (*Journal of the House of Commons volume 10 1688-1693* (1802), 234-6, 304-305).
18. *Journal of the House of Commons volume 10 1688-1693* (1802), 336-7.

19. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/rich-peter-1630-92> accessed 9 Aug. 2014.
20. *Journal of the House of Commons volume 10*, 328-33.
21. *Ibid*, 490-2.
22. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/somerset> accessed 9 Aug. 2014.
23. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/speke-john-1652-1728> accessed 9 Aug. 2014.
24. S.H.C., DD/AH/27/1/2-4.
25. *Ibid*, DD/AH/8/1/3.
26. *Ibid*, DD/AH/9/8/15.
27. *Ibid*, DD/AH/1/3/5-6. For other property transactions after 1698 involving Berkeley see for example DD/AH/10/3/4, 9/9/4, 6/11/1, 8/1/4, 9/8/19 and 9/1/2-3; DD/PM/9/3/3, 19/3/5 and 20/2/1; DD/BC/111-112.
28. F.A. Crisp, ed., *Visitation of England and Wales notes vol.9* (1911), 156-7, 169.
29. S.H.C., DD/BR/wr/25 draft will of Edward Berkeley, 20 Jan. 1700-1.
30. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/devon>, accessed 17 Aug. 2014.
31. S.H.C., DD/BR/wr/25 will of Edward Berkeley, 20 Jan. 1700/1. He left, amongst other things, '... six of my best Cows and six of my best Plow Oxen' to his wife.
32. *Ibid*, DD/BR/wr/25 draft will of Edward Berkeley, 20 Jan. 1700-1.

A.J.W.

66. SOME CHALLENGES OF PASSENGER TRAVEL IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL, 1676-1809. Chapter one of the recent publication of *A maritime history of Somerset volume two* (referred to as *MHS2*) has vividly demonstrated the reasons for and the issues relating to passenger traffic north-south across, and east-west through the Bristol Channel before the Age of Steam. This was a very common occurrence and the Bristol Channel was a transport route that opened up opportunities, not a barrier, to travel. The same chapter shows that Minehead and Pill were of very different character but were Somerset's main passenger 'ferry' ports from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

The following three cameos complement the detail in *MHS2* and have a common theme. They are perhaps three of the best extant personal records of the trials of maritime travel for passengers commencing a maritime journey from Somerset's waters, where considerable detail is given regarding wind direction, the state of the tides and the effect these elements could have in making a transit more than tiresome and often terrifying.

John Gailhard travels to Ireland with Philip Percival in 1676. On the 28th of June, Gailhard and Percival continued their wait at Ashton Court for a fair wind and were worried by tales of delays of two to three months for a passage from Pill to Ireland. The day before, to pass the time, Gailhard had travelled to Wells and called on the Bishop. He also visited and went into Wookey Hole. Over a week later on Thursday the 6th of July, some members of the Smith family, of Ashton Court, went down to Pill with Gailhard and Percival to send them on their way to Ireland. The two travellers boarded a vessel before mid-day, there being an 'indifferent NNE gale'. They sailed as far as the hill by Minehead, when the wind turned westerly so the captain felt it correct to turn back to Sully, Glamorganshire, where they rested for the night on land. The next day was good sailing with a NE wind. But on the following day, a Saturday, as they were in the St George's Channel, the sea was very high and rough and the vessel sprang a leak. The master thought of running to St Ives, but the sea grew calmer so they sailed on to Cork, where they landed at Cove by noon on the Sunday. It was noted that 'Sir Philip held out well at sea and was not sick'.

Percival completed this journey as part of a grand tour of Ireland. He visited his mother in Kinsale and then went on to see his estates at Burton, 19 miles from Cork and became acquainted with the needs of the people and the estate. On arriving back in Minehead, on the *Norwich* on Sunday the 30th of August, he went to Weston in Gordano to visit relatives, before travelling on to London and then on to Dover for the journey to Calais.¹

Thomas Story, Quaker, 'tides' down the Bristol Channel in 1716. On the 20th of May, about 7 in the evening Story sailed from King Road 'with and easterly wind which came up just as we fell down thither with the tide'. The next morning, at about 7 o'clock, he noted how

we were a little below Minehead and about 10 anchored further down, the wind coming up westerly and ahead. About 5 in the afternoon we weighed anchor and fell down with the tide and a fresh gale arising in the night we turned it down till we came in

sight of Lundy Island. But the very wet hazy weather and a fresh gale ahead we returned back to Minehead. Where we anchored about four in the afternoon and there went on shore with John Davis the master of the vessel, the *Friendship* of Bristol.

Story attended a Quaker meeting on the 24th of May in Minehead, which 'was quite small since it was not advertised' and stayed in the town until the 26th when the *Friendship* set sail at

about 9 in the morning on the turn of the tide, the next morning they were at Lundy and because of the calm they hovered there all day till sunset when a breeze arose from the north-east and increased. About 4 in the afternoon the next day they were within sight of Ireland and arrived in the outer parts of Cork harbour that night. The next morning they were about 7 miles from Cork, and anxious to arrive at a Quaker meeting, there being no boat fit to take his mare ashore.

Thomas Story and the son of the master, Robert Davis, went ashore in a boat and walked to Cork arriving exhausted, having been sea-sick, in time for the meeting. Prior to the meeting they went to see Story's friend, Robert Pike, where they received refreshment.²

J. Field endures a stormy passage from Pill to Waterford in 1809. J. Field was a former Royal Artilleryman who had seen foreign service and was aged 40 at the time of his journey. He was a devout Christian, and described as a Methodist. His maritime journey, like so many others, began at Pill on the 7th of September 1809 and lasted until the 16th. The details of his personal experience are given below:

On 7 Sept. 1809 I went aboard a sailing packet, anchored at Pill, being soaked by heavy rain going aboard the *Prince William Henry* for Cork.

8th. Sailed down the Bristol Channel for 20 miles. The wind turned against us and blew a gale, the vessel being small and heavily laden the sea washed over her and everyone became soaked in salt water. We could make no progress so returned to Pill.

11th. Sailed again but the wind came round west so we anchored near Cardiff. At night, striving to profit from the (ebb) tide we

weighed anchor but a strong gale blew against us. We beat about the Bristol Channel all night not daring to venture into any port. The vessel now sprang a leak and about 50 passengers had no place but the deck. The hatches were nailed down. The heavy waves and rain did not spare us. Men, women and children were in a miserable condition. I often had to take my clothes off to wring them but new waves made them as bad as before.

By the good providence of God at eight in the morning on the 12 September we got into Minehead and were glad to get ashore. A stranger invited me into his house but many had to wait on the wet exposed deck.

13th. The leak runs free as ever but our Captain afraid, his passengers would leave him, put to sea. The wind was high but fair and the rain was heavy. In order to protect my sea store (food) I asked the Captain to put it below deck which he did, but when I was hungry neither him nor the mate brought it up. In the evening, with the permission of the Captain and the help of a cabin boy the food was retrieved and I had my breakfast. The wind shifted north and soon west. The pumps gave us enough to do.

15th. At noon we saw Ireland but the wind was high and contrary so we had to keep to sea.

16th. No land. An armed Brig bore down on us, we thought it an enemy but most were so stupefied by cold, wet, hunger and tiredness that she gave little concern. She proved to be a friend. The seas were huge and food ran out. Our condition was truly miserable. Mid-day saw land but the wind would not allow us to make for Cork so we stood in for Waterford and anchored at passage at 7p.m. We landed and once refreshed I went by land to Cork arriving at 3 a.m. on 21 September I went to the Wesleyan Chapel in Patrick Street, laid down my knapsack and sword, knelt on the stone flag outside the iron gate and heartily praised the God of all grace for his mercies.³

One cannot help but have admiration for the patience and fortitude of the maritime traveller, as well as the determination of the skilled mariners who were able to keep goods and passengers moving in the narrow waters of the Bristol Channel. Conditions could be extremely difficult for navigators, especially when they were up against the 6 knot tides if the wind was not in their favour. Travellers like those heading east along the Channel only had half as many days when the wind was in their favour, compared to vessels travelling in the other direction. One wonders, therefore, if mariners took more risk

sailing west because there was a greater pressure to make their destination. Readers wishing to find more about the context of these journeys should consult chapter one in *MHS2*.

1. *Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, vol. 2 (1909), 44-6 and 50; J. Anderson, *A genealogical history of the house of Yvery* vol. 2 (1742), 379-80.
2. T. Story, *A journal of the life of Thomas Story* (1747), 531-2.
3. J. Field, *A devout soldier* (1869), 100-103.

P. ASHFORD

NOTES

‘CHANCELLOR’ AND CHANCELLOR’S FARM ON MENDIP. Chancellor’s Farm, now owned by the Somerset Wildlife Trust, lies on the outskirts of the ancient Mendip hill village of Priddy. It is one of the least altered farms on Mendip, with its unimproved meadows and 16th-17th century features in the farmhouse and outbuildings. It lies to the north of Priddy village and in the southern tip of West Harptree parish, where West and East Harptree and Chewton Mendip all come together and adjoin Priddy parish. The curious shapes of the parishes abutting Priddy suggest an ancient determination by all the neighbouring landowners to claim a share of the open Mendip hilltop with its sheepwalks and minerals. The siting of Chancellor’s Farm, so far from the main village of West Harptree, is a physical demonstration of this intent.

Chancellor’s Farm has, however, an additional distinction: it appears on the picture map of Compton Martin, dated c.1574.¹ It is drawn as a small, simple house with the caption ‘chaunselers howse at thende of dey wey’. Dey wey may be an error for Drey (or wagon) Way. The name was, therefore, attached to the farm by the late 1500s.

The name ‘Chancellor’ has provoked some debate. No documentary evidence has been found for any connection to the office of a chancellor, whether of Wells Cathedral or of the diocese of Bath and Wells, or of any other bishop or diocese or royal court, central government or judiciary. This part of West Harptree parish was probably the land granted to Bruerne Abbey in Oxfordshire c.1189, and up until the dissolution of the monasteries would have been held and worked for them by a local lay tenant farmer.²

A Chancellor family was certainly living in the parish of West Harptree very close to Priddy in the early 1600s. On 19 June 1623 Matthew son of John Chaunceller of the parish of West Harptree was baptised at Priddy, with the permission of Mr Peard, vicar of West Harptree; and on 3 March 1623/4 John Chaunceller of West Harptree (presumably Matthew's father) was buried at Priddy, again with the consent of Mr Peard. St Lawrence's church at Priddy would be much nearer Chancellor's Farm, but the approval of the vicar of their proper parish was needed.³ It would seem highly probable, therefore, that these are the Chancellors of 1574 Chancellor's Farm. Later Chancellors were baptised at West Harptree itself: Anne (6 March 1689/90) and William (16 Oct. 1692), children of Richard and Joan Chaunceller. The family, or a branch of it, may have moved down to West Harptree; or the vicar at the time may have been less amenable than Vicar Peard. Earlier individuals with the surname Chancellor occur in Somerset wills and deeds, but mostly from the Keynsham and Bath area and with no apparent connection to West Harptree or Priddy.

Now, however, one much earlier local example of this distinctive surname has appeared. A deed, undated but c.1288/90, refers to rents and services owed by a tenant 'William le Chaunzeler' to his lord Robert Malherbe in Cheddar.⁴ There is no clue as to whereabouts in Cheddar this William le Chaunzeler held his lands, whether up on the hill towards Priddy, around the village or down on the edge of the moors; but it does show that an ordinary, lay tenant with this surname was farming in the area three hundred years before Chancellor's House appears on the 1574 map, and may finally lay to rest speculations about nameless official chancellors.

1. Somerset Heritage Centre: Somerset Archives ref. DD/SPY/110. On the date of 1574, see David Hart, ed., *Compton Martin Tudor Map* (Compton Martin History Society, 2013), p.5.
2. British Library, Harleian MS 51 E 29, identified and analysed by Albert Thompson in his researches on the origins of Priddy; personal communication.
3. First noted by Ted King of Priddy in his history of Chancellor's Farm (2005).
4. Wells Cathedral Archive, VC/CF/1/2 fo.86v.

FRANCES NEALE

AN APPEAL TO A SHIPOWNER - WITH UNIQUE SPELLING! In Higher Court of Admiralty there is a letter dated 1712, which was intended for Solomon Merritt, a shipowner dealing in general merchandise. Merritt had financed the coastal vessel *York* to collect and to deliver various items of cargo along the coast. Stopping briefly at Weymouth, the *York* continued along the coast eventually stopping at Dover. Wages had not been paid, but that was a frequently voiced complaint. Wages, especially in coastal vessels, were often withheld because the ship's master wanted to discourage men from leaving the ship in expectation of earning more money in that port of call, or because recruitment in that port would be difficult. Frustrated at not being paid when they reached Dover, the crew decided to write directly to Solomon Merritt.

The letter was composed in the 'York Galey' (the 'kitchen' where meals were prepared).

From on board Y^e York Galey
In Dover pere Apr^{ll} Y^e 9:

Mr Meritt

S^r I thinck Convenent to aquaint you of the trubles att this port Of a Cross mas^t in acxeing him for ther wagese everey won dide as well as my Self he having every wone and bid them goe to you for payme^{nt} which I beleve a goud word wold have gon funder then a bad won S^r you are sensible I beleve and I have tacking a Count of what hasse bein delivered from yⁿ Ship att Severall ports which mack all the men saye y^t ther wages is due att this port by having so maney ports of Delevere and here to they all Sett ther hands S^r your Omble Servt att Comand.

Edw Poundey

John Moyne

Sammunt

S^r I hope you wount tack itt a misse in my righting tis the men Desire and I doe this to mack them Esey the wend is outt of the way Yett I hope will gett us here youe the first post.¹

Wages were regulated in 1729 (2 George II, C.5) & (2 George II, c.36). From that date all seamen were to make contracts in writing *viz* 'sign-on', and thus agree to the terms of employment, and the wage to be paid.

1. T.N.A., HCA 24/130.

QUERIES

VISITING TUDOR STONEMASONS AND CLOTH-WORKERS. In Peter Hill's paper on 'William Arnold and his stonemasons' working at Montacute house at the cusp of the 16th and 17th centuries¹ there is mention of a mason by the name John Burges of Chiselborough. Some time from 1565 to 1571 a rental was made for the manors of Hinton Charterhouse and Norton St Philip.² In Norton, in addition to the sixty copyholders (men and women) with their names annotated with their annual rents, there were sixty men who were described as being 'resident in Norton' but with no noted manorial financial obligations. As most of the surnames of these 'residents' were different from those of copyholders, the non-copyholding 'residents' were probably lodgers and not family members of the copyholders. Among these sixty 'residents' were four who were particularly identified by their occupation – 'Thomas Longe the tucker', 'Thomas Longe the wever', 'William Burges the mason' and 'Peir [blank] Burges man'. It is reasonable to assume that these four were outsiders as there were no other Burgeses or Longes in Norton, and also that the compiler of the rental used their occupations to identify them as such. So, what can be said about these four men?

In the 16th century the Long family were noted clothiers of west Wiltshire, at Whaddon, Steeple Ashton and Trowbridge – all places not too distant from Norton. Generally speaking a clothier organised the various processes of manufacture and marketing of a piece of woollen cloth, issuing the wool to hand-spinners, and then the yarn to weavers to convert it to cloth in their homes. After weaving the cloths were fulled, or tucked, either in the clothier's own mill or by a specialist fuller to whom the clothier paid a commission. The clothier was heavily dependent on a merchant for marketing his cloths.³ A Thomas Long, a 'big clothier of Trowbridge', was selling consignments of cloths to a Hamburg merchant at Blackwell Hall in London in the years 1566-72.⁴ 'Thomas' was a common name in this family.⁵ There was also another Thomas Long, son of a clothier, in Beckington, just to the south of Norton,⁶ and yet another at Steeple Ashton.⁷

A cloth-making industry existed in Norton, and although references to it are scarce, William Tovy, the landlord of the 'George' inn since 1564,⁸ was licensed by Elizabeth I in 1577 to weave 'woollen cloth, long or short, and kersies, pinned whites or plain straights' even though he had neither served the seven years apprenticeship nor worked in the trade according to statute, but as the JPs noted 'that he is of great credit to the county, an honest man, has traded in making woollen cloth ... and keeps many men at work in Norton'.⁹ As the zenith of woollen broadcloth making was probably over, Tovy was forward-looking in trading both the traditional broadcloths and the narrow, coarser and light-weight fabrics. Long and short woollens (the broadcloths) were made from short wool which was carded; the cloth was then fulled to produce a felted texture. Kersies, and other light-weight cloths were made from long wool which was combed; the cloth was not normally fulled.¹⁰

With regard to fulling or tucking, there was no fulling mill in Norton.¹¹ Trowbridge lacked sufficient water-power for driving fulling-stocks,¹² and the clothiers there leased fulling mills in the surrounding area. Additionally, many cloths, particularly broadcloths, were exported undressed and undyed to be finished on the Continent. Also not all fullers or tuckers were associated with mills since fulling could mean more than the felting of the cloth and include all the finishing processes including raising the nap and shearing.¹³

So although 'Thomas Longe the wever' might have been working his trade in Norton, what sort of tucker was 'Thomas Longe the tucker'? Was he one who operated or oversaw a fulling mill; or was he, more likely, a man responsible for the finishing of cloths? Were the two Thomases just temporarily working at Norton or was one of them the 'big clothier of Trowbridge' primarily visiting with the other Thomas to inspect and buy cloths from the likes of William Tovy?

Continuing the theme, William Burges the mason and his 'man' appear to have been temporarily residing at Norton St Philip and presumably were being employed on local building work. The local stone is Forest Marble, a shelly limestone, which although conveniently quarried nearby can only be used

for coursed rubble walling. The shaping and laying of imported freestone, for quoins, window-frames and door-frames would require the expertise of a professional stonemason, someone very unlikely to have been employed full-time locally. Was William related to John Burges and were William and Peirs from the Chiselborough area?

1. P. Hill, *SDNQ*, XXXVII, 317-24.
2. S.H.C., DD/SE 28 (4) in C.J. Brett, *The nanors of Norton St Philip and Hinton Charterhouse 1535-1691*, Somerset Record Society (SRS) 93, 84-5.
3. M. Palmer and P. Neverson, *The textile industry in south-west England* (2005), 45-6.
4. G.D. Ramsay, *Wiltshire woollen industry* (1943), 26, 42-3.
5. *Wiltshire visitation pedigrees, 1623*, Harleian Society 106 and 107 (1954), 116. One of the Thomas Longs (b.1539) was MP for Westbury, Wilts in 1571. He, later described as 'a very simple man and of small capacity', had obtained his seat by bribery and 'was licenced to depart home [from Parliament]' in the same year, 'but immediately after he was sent to Bridewell' and later retired back to Wiltshire. He had an uncle Thomas (the clothier) and a younger brother Thomas. (P.W. Hasler, *The history of Parliament 1558-1603* (1981)).
6. F.W. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval wills*, SRS 21, 217. Will of William Long, clothier, d.1558.
7. *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* 6, 421.
8. Cambridge University Library, CUL.Ee.3.32 in SRS 93, 60. Tovy and another paid the highest copyhold rents.
9. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1575-78*, 372. His 'licence' was issued to regularise the fact that he had broken the law but was now fully authorised to continue in the cloth trade.
10. K.G. Ponting, *The woollen industry in south-west England* (1971), 7.
11. The nearest fulling mills were at Stowford, on the way to Trowbridge, owned by the Bailey family; and in Hinton Charterhouse at Eckford, to the north-west, later known as Tuckstone Mill, and at Iford to the north-east. (SRS 93, 38, 18). The mill at Iford was owned by William Horton, a rival to the Longs.
12. R.P. Beckinsale, *The Trowbridge woollen industry*, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch 6, viii-ix.
13. K. Rogers, *Wiltshire and Somerset woollen mills* (1976), 6-7.

COLIN J. BRETT

REPLIES AND RESPONSES

THE WOAD TRADE IN SOMERSET AND DORSET. As an addition to J. Bettey's paper¹ further information on the importation of woad into Somerset in the 16th century is contained in the records of a London mercer, Sir Thomas Kytson.² He operated in the decade before John Smythe of Bristol and exported white broadcloths to the four annual cloth-

markets at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. The returning ships brought him fine fabrics, Spanish olive oil used in spinning wool, and other goods including woad. The woad was imported in bales or 'baletts' each weighing from 1½ to 2 hundredweights or in half bales, each weighed accurately to the nearest pound. Between 1530 and 1537 Kytson sold 253 bales and seven half bales to Somerset clothiers. No purchase prices are given but the usual sale price was between 14s. and 16s. the hundredweight. Although Kytson purchased small quantities of cloth from Dorset³ he sold no woad to clothiers there. Sir Thomas owned the twin manors of Downhead and Stoke St Michael⁴ and his main customer was James Bysse of Stoke St Michael who bought 42 bales in 1532, 33 bales in 1533 and 67 bales in 1537. John Horner, also of Stoke St. Michael, also purchased 47 bales and 6 half-bales in the same decade.

1. J. Bettey, 'The woad trade in Somerset and Dorset, *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* XXXVII, Pt. 377 (March 2013), 194-200.
2. Cambridge University Library (CUL), Hengrave Hall Ms.78/2, quoted in Colin J. Brett 'Thomas Kytson and Somerset Clothmen, 1529-1539', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* 143 (2001), 29-56.
3. Kytson bought 20 white broadcloths from 'John Davey of Shereburne' in May 1535 and made a bargain with 'John Gastred the younger of Gillingham in Dossertshire' in June 1537 to buy 7 white broadcloths which he received in August and October 1538 (CUL, Hengrave Hall Ms. 135, 214).
4. The two separated parts of the twin manor were what are now the parish of Downhead, and the middle of three manors in the present parish of Stoke St Michael. The two parts had been combined since at least AD 854. (J. Jefferson (ed.), *A history of Stoke St. Michael* (2006), 6, 10-11).

COLIN J. BRETT

MASONS. A correspondent, Penny Gay, has pointed out to me that one of the three Taverner brothers, Edward Taverner (who was married to Agnes Thorne) is recorded as having died in 1608, and on the baptismal record of their son, also called Edward (who was born three months after his father was buried), Agnes is recorded as a widow. So this Edward could not have gone as a mason with his brothers to Wadham in 1610. He is described at his burial as 'Edward Taverner the Younger', implying there was still living in the parish of Stoke-sub-Hamdon an Edward Taverner the elder. And Edward was the name of his father, so it must be him. This Edward would have been born, before Stoke's parish records begin, in the mid-

1550s (his eldest child was born in 1573), so in 1610 he would have been around 55 years old.

Curiously, Edward Taverner is not on the list of those masons paid to travel to Oxford, dated 9 Apr 1610. However, in the record of payments to masons for May 28th to June 2nd, it states ‘paid Edward for four days, five shillings and fourpence’. There is no surname. But none of the other masons was called Edward. So we must assume that this Edward was Edward Taverner senior, the father of the Edward Taverner who died in 1608, and that he had joined his sons Guy and Giles to work on the construction of Wadham College in Oxford.

PETER HILL

BOOK REVIEWS

A.J. Webb (ed.), *A Maritime History of Somerset volume 2*, pp.213, 175 illustrations and maps, published by The Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2014, ISBN 978 0 902152 26 7, £19.95.

This book is a large A4 sized volume, beautifully produced to a very high quality by a local society, with financial support from the South West Maritime History Society. This book went on sale in July 2014 and is the second book to be produced in an intended series. The quality of its illustrations is outstanding, and the volume covers five topics in depth, written by acknowledged specialists in their fields.

Chapter 1 looks at ‘Four hundred years of maritime travel via the Somerset coast’ from 1435 to 1835 by Philip Ashford. This is a fascinating examination of Somerset’s coastal ports (therefore not Bristol specific) covering the trades from King Road, Pill, Bridgwater and the most important, Minehead. The economics of trade, and what was traded are dealt with in a very comprehensive analysis of the conditions prevailing over the 400 years covered, with 59 illustrations – some A4 in size, and 12 pages of notes and sources – which in themselves are very complete. We are drawn through the development and the close ties with Ireland and Wales to say nothing of travel to the Americas and West Indies. This chapter also looks at the merchant families engaged in the trades. The author examines the reasons for sea travel:- trade, leisure,

religious, political, military, troop movements, government and economic reasons. Altogether this is a fascinating and very comprehensive overview.

Chapter 2 is 'An account of the development of Somerset's seaside resorts' by Sue Berry, with 44 illustrations and covers the progress of holidaying and leisure from the late 16th century, and bathing machines from the 1800s, right up to the 20th century. Also covered is the development of holiday camps, passing by coastal pleasure voyaging and the construction of facilities to meet this demand – both piers and hotels.

Chapter 3 examines 'Two Somerset river ferries' by Dr Joseph Bettey and Dr Adrian Webb, including 25 illustrations, covering the ferries from Pill to Shirehampton, and the Rownham Ferry which is illustrated on the front cover. This chapter looks at the history of both ferries from medieval times, until Rownham ceased to operate on 31 December 1932 after 800 years of existence and Pill stopped operating much more recently.

Chapter 4 covers 'Thomas Surbey's 1701 survey of Minehead Harbour' by Captain Paul Hughes, with 25 illustrations. Minehead had become possibly the most important port in the immediate area and in 1701 Minehead's two MPs commissioned the survey, which is closely examined both as to the old harbour works and Thomas Surbey, a noted civil engineer. His cartography is commented upon and comparisons drawn with Minehead up to the 21st century. The illustrations are particularly detailed and well presented.

Chapter 5 concludes with an examination of 'Sea fishing in Somerset: past, present and future' by Commodore Bill Kelly, with 22 illustrations. This is a particularly interesting chapter examining the history of a thousand years of fishing using an ecosystems approach. The sale of fish at localised markets is considered, together with the effects of global temperatures over some 2,000 years, and associated with variations in population. The technology of sea fishing is considered and how this evolved, with statutory regulation dating back to at least 1376. This chapter concludes with a section seen from Somerset's point of view, covering potential sea fishing in 2060 and the supply and demand issues that arise, and the possible effects of a Severn Barrage being constructed.

Altogether this is a really outstanding book, brilliantly produced and illustrated. This book should be in every Somerset ship lover's collection at its very reasonable price.

DAVID B. CLEMENT

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