
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

No	CONTENTS	Page No
1.	JESUS AT GLASTONBURY: A NEWLY REDISCOVERED VERSION	1
2.	ATTRIBUTION OF DORSET TITHE MAPS	9
3.	WADHAM'S ALMSHOUSES	24
4.	PORTFOLIO: PILOT PROJECT: THE EXCHEQUER PORT BOOKS OF POOLE	27
5.	EARLY TRACES OF THE DORSET DIALECT IN THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF WIMBORNE MINSTER: SOME NOTES	33
	Book Reviews	40
	Notes	44
	Replies and Responses	45

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Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset

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1. JESUS AT GLASTONBURY: A NEWLY REDISCOVERED VERSION. The notion that Jesus, as a boy or young man, accompanied Joseph of Arimathea on a tin-trading voyage to Britain has been, since the 1920s, popularly associated with William Blake's lines 'And did those feet . . . ?' as set to music by Parry in 1916 as the hymn 'Jerusalem'.¹

Investigation suggests that this 'voyage story' first appeared in print in Black's *Guide to Cornwall* in 1895, related to Marazion.² In the same year, an anonymous letter to *Somerset & Dorset Notes and Queries* enquired whether readers were familiar with the story as related to the Paradise district of Glastonbury.³ The 'tradition' was first publically owned in Glastonbury in a sermon preached at St John's in 1920 by the vicar, Rev. Charles Day, and was subsequently developed as a quasi-religious belief by the eccentric clerical writers, Reverends L. S. Lewis in Glastonbury, H.A. Lewis (no relation) in Cornwall, and Cyril Dobson, based in Sussex, in publications still in print. Responsibility for its original dissemination was claimed in 1916 by that enthusiastic scholar of Cornish culture, Henry Jenner, who maintained he had heard it at second hand as a London metal-worker's craft tradition not long before 1895.⁴

The ultimate origin of the tale is the medieval belief, traceable from the 10th century, that Christ Himself had dedicated Glastonbury's wooden 'Old Church' (burnt down in 1184) to His mother Mary. As Glastonbury's medieval chronicles became available in print in the 18th century, this religious tradition could be reported by topographers and antiquaries in a disarmingly prosaic manner, *e.g.*, Francis Grose, in the 1780s, wrote: 'The legend says it was consecrated by Christ in person'.⁵

Although the possibility cannot be entirely discounted, it seems unlikely that such antiquarianism actually influenced Blake, who showed no interest in Glastonbury, and whose visions concern the cosmic Christ. It had, however, inspired the writer Christopher Smart, who in the *Jubilate Agno* (c.1760) declared that 'The Lord was at Glastonbury in the body, and blessed the thorn'.⁶ Smart's poem was unpublished in his lifetime and was only rediscovered in 1938, and so is unlikely to have influenced either Blake or the development of the

Victorian ‘voyage story’. Blake’s poetry, taken somewhat literally, might, by contrast, have influenced the alleged London craft tradition which found its way to Jenner.⁷

The material re-published here was chanced upon by Dr. Adam Stout whilst researching George Wright and his sale of the Tor House property, which included Glastonbury’s Chalice Well, to the Roman Catholic ‘Congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus’ (MSC) in 1886. George Whitfield Wright (1822-1898) was a schoolmaster and prominent figure in Glastonbury in the second half of the 19th century. Born at Ongar, Essex, he arrived in Glastonbury in 1848 with his new wife Mary Pickford (died 1886), whose family came from Glastonbury. Alternating periods in London with residence in Glastonbury, he was instrumental in establishing the town’s Assembly Rooms and a library and in setting up the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society.

In 1877 he acquired the Chalice Well, together with the Tor House Inn, which had once belonged to his wife’s family. He described it as a

Very interesting old property, no end of deeds belonging to it, some 400 years old and in these the spring is spoken of as the Blood Stream or Holy Well. It seems certain that in the early times the disciples lived there at the foot of the Tor in caves as hermits. The house was turned into an inn [when] it was called the Anchor Inn.⁸

Having found that the Chalice Well water eased his asthma, Wright sought to revive Glastonbury’s brief 18th-century reputation as a spa town, opening the baths to the public in 1884. He failed to arouse the interest of the medical world in its medicinal qualities, but had more success with the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, established in France in 1854 and now looking for a mission-base in England. A short-lived school had been set up at Madeley in Shropshire, but the principal, Francis Xavier Deidier, believed that the Missionaries were ‘providentially conducted’ to Glastonbury and was able to convince the founder and superior of his order, Jules Chevalier, to acquire Tor House and Chalice Well in 1886.⁹



G.W. Wright c1885
(Somerset Heritage Centre, DD\GDL/131)

The *Central Somerset Gazette* of 7 August 1886¹⁰ contained a poem by Alice Maud Meadows, entitled *The Chalice Spring*:

“THE CHALICE SPRING.”

A ‘Legend of Glastonbury,

by Alice Maud Meadows, author of “Ethelwold,” “Fire Camp,” &c. &c.¹¹

Roll backward years -

The years have backward rolled.

The Isle of Avalon, Sea kissed, enclosed

By waters salt, by waves that lap and lap
Upon its shores, stands green, and beautiful -
Silence is reigning, save for that sad sound
The wavelets make, as with a vain regret
They reach their limit, and roll back again.

The rising Sun his golden glory pours
Across the shining Sea; and on its breast
A little barque is borne. Around the head
Of One who sits within, a halo shines,
And on each face (for others there are there
In number twelve) pure love, and holiness
Have set their stamp, Christ’s loyal followers they
And He Himself among them, on His brow
The marks of cruel thorns shew plainly still,
As witnesses ‘gainst man’s ingratitude.
And on His hands, and on His sanded feet
The print of nails oh! cruel, heartless men,

Thou who wouldst fain have slain thy God, thy King
Have sent him here to Britain.

From the barque

Slowly Christ steps, and up the verdant hill,
Close followed by the twelve (not the first twelve
The one of whom betrayed) He takes His way.

Joseph is there, he who Christ’s body gave
Its three days’ resting place; within his hand
He holds a cup, the Holy Chalice, that
From which Christ drank on that sad supper night, -
Half way Christ pauses, turning, takes the cup
From Joseph’s hand, then stooping strikes the earth,
And straight it rolls asunder, grass, and soil,
And solid stone beneath, cleft through as tho’

A mighty knife had cut them.

Round the twelve

In wonder stand; Christ kneels beside the gap
And lets the Chalice fall; then once again
The earth rolls to, the gaping mouth is closed.
None speak, all eyes are downward bent, and lo!
From out the earth a tiny streamlet springs,

Like liquid silver, o'er the mossy grass
It makes its way, and down the verdant hill
Meanders, going onward to the sea -
Roll backward years -

Ah me! so long ago
The mists, and clouds of ages come between
That time, and this, yet still the Chalice spring
Is bubbling up; nor winter frost, nor drought
Affect it, still it flows on ceaselessly.
No man's invention can divert its course,
Nor find from whence it comes; no hill supplies
Its shining waters, straight from out the Cup
It springs, and shall spring, ceaselessly, for aye,
A gift, a miracle from God, to man.



MISS ALICE MAUD MEADOWS, WHO IS WRITING THE
NEW SERIAL STORY FOR "THE PENNY MAGAZINE."

Alice Maud Meadows in 1903
(*The New Penny Magazine*, 17 (1903), p. 461)

Alice Meadows (1859/60-1913) was Wright's twenty-six-year-old niece, the daughter of his wife's sister Maria, and her remarkable poem cannot have been unconnected with her uncle's sale of the Well. Resident in North London, she was already established as a writer of short stories for magazines, and went on to write romantic novelettes and plays. She never married. Moving to Redhill, Surrey, she drowned while apparently trying to save her pet puppy, which survived.¹²

Wright had encountered no enthusiasm for his hopes of the Well amongst his fellow-townsmen, and much opprobrium, since the Council had wanted to acquire it for the town's water-supply. Meadows' poem might, then, be seen as part of a design to re-establish her uncle in the eyes of the town, if not as the reviver of the spa, then as an agent by which a Roman Catholic pilgrimage might be established, to the benefit of local trade. There is irony here as Wright, himself a Congregationalist, had recently stirred up controversy over a new window at the town's main Anglican church, St John's, which he felt had too much 'papistical detail'.

On 22 November 1886 Wright gave a talk to the newly-formed Glastonbury Antiquarian Society which was duly published in the first volume of the Society's *Proceedings* and also in the *Central Somerset Gazette* of 27 November. Inspired by Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, which had first brought the Grail to Glastonbury, and by Wagner's *Parsifal* (1882),¹³ Wright and his niece were together seemingly responsible for the development of the new mythology associating the Blood Spring with the Holy Grail which had been previewed in her poem. Here he set out to present it with an appearance of scholarship. Wright also lauded the medicinal qualities of Glastonbury water, and concluded by warmly welcoming the Catholic Missionaries to this very Protestant town: the new proprietors, 'being Roman Catholics will ensure the waters being used to the utmost of their health-giving and health-sustaining properties'. Wright included the last verse of his niece's poem, without acknowledgement.¹⁴

Wright's Chalice Well theories were rapidly adopted by Roman Catholics themselves. To Jules Chevalier, who had founded the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, it was 'where St

Joseph of Arimathea, the first apostle of Great Britain, miraculously caused water to spring up which still flows'.¹⁵ T.B. Snow, in an article 'Glastonbury' in *The Downside Review* of 1890, also included Meadows' last verse, unacknowledged, alongside those of Tennyson on St Joseph and the Holy Grail.¹⁶ Dom Terence Benedict Snow (1838-1905), a prolific writer, was titular Abbot of Glastonbury from 1888 and a prominent figure of the 1895 Roman Catholic national pilgrimage to Glastonbury, organised to commemorate the Beatification of Abbot Richard Whiting and Companion Martyrs.

Also in 1890, that same last verse was quoted in Charles A. Manning Press (1870-1943), *In the Verdant West*.¹⁷ Wright quoted it yet again in 1892 in his text to the fourth edition of *Goodall's Concise Guide to Glastonbury*, this time with a footnote attributing it to 'Alice M. Meadows'.¹⁸ Although Snow may have been quoting directly from Wright's paper rather than the *Central Somerset Gazette*, it is significant that Meadows' own uncle chose to confine his quotation to the last and least controversial verse: the notion that the Risen Christ himself had come by boat to Glastonbury was clearly a step too far for him.

Although interesting and significant, and despite thus featuring Joseph's arrival by boat with Jesus aboard, this poem cannot be considered a version of the Jenner 'voyage story'. Victorian society was more theologically literate than ours and so it is well to note that in mainstream Christian belief the Incarnate Christ, although He might walk on water or turn it into wine, was yet possessed of a physical body which operated within history and was subject to the laws of time and space; that of the Resurrected and Ascended Christ is not. The 'voyage story' concerns the former, giving Him a presence in Britain, whether as child or youth, as an historical personality, and Miss Meadows' poem, like the medieval Glastonbury traditions, concerns the latter. Hers is a spiritual vision which transcends mere geography and chronology. It graphically reflects the idea of Joseph coming to Britain to preach, in the words of St. Paul (*I Cor.* 1:23), 'Christ crucified,' and the poetic conceit that Christ Himself had hidden the Grail on Chalice Hill is clearly a development of the medieval concept of His consecrating the Old Church in His Own person. It may be impossible to say

how seriously she herself took her ‘vision’; Snow, in his paper, substituted Joseph as responsible for hiding the Grail and this is the version which has been remembered at Glastonbury. There can be little doubt, however, that her poem’s appearance in the local newspaper will have deepened a growing perception of the Well as a mystical place, even for those who soon forgot the details. She and Wright may also be seen as setting the stage for Glastonbury’s artistic and esoteric ‘Avalonian’ era¹⁹ in the early 20th century, giving it a rather more autochthonous character than has sometimes been supposed.

Without much further research on Miss Meadows and her associations, it would be rash to assert that she had no influence on the development of the classic ‘voyage story’ itself, although for the moment this seems unlikely. Her poem might well have come to the attention of the anonymous author of the 1895 letter to *SDNQ* but he himself had little impact on the further reception of the ‘legend’²⁰ and Chalice Well lies at the opposite side of Glastonbury to the Paradise district which was the focus of his interest. As both Anglo-Catholicism and British world power approached their high tide, it may be that the idea of Christ’s immanence in Britain was simply one whose time had come.

1. The genesis and development of the story is examined in detail in Paul Ashdown, *The Lord was at Glastonbury, Somerset and the Jesus voyage story*, (2010). The present authors are grateful to Dr T. Hopkinson-Ball, archivist at Downside Abbey, for reading and commenting on this article in draft.
2. As first established in A.W. Smith, “‘And did those Feet . . .?’: the “Legend” of Christ’s Visit to Britain’ in *Folklore*, 100:1 (1989), 63-83.
3. ‘Σ’, ‘Glastonbury Tradition,’ in *SDNQ*, vol. IV (1895), 312-13. Although Ashdown, *The Lord was at Glastonbury*, 21, implies that the name ‘Paradise’ is here of no great antiquity, he is now aware that it was already established by 1576 (C. Brett ed., *Crown revenues from Somerset and Dorset, 1605*, Somerset Record Society 96 (2012), 110 n.187). The name may be satirical: the town’s drains discharged here.
4. H. Jenner, ‘St. Joseph of Arimathea as the Apostle of Britain’ in *Pax, The Journal of the Benedictines of Caldey Island* (Summer, 1916), 125-41.
5. Ashdown, *The Lord was at Glastonbury*, p. 231 and refs.
6. ‘*Jubilate Agno*’. Fragment B2, line 232. Cat-lovers may be acquainted with the poem through the section beginning: ‘For I will consider my cat Geoffrey . . .’. Smart’s importance was first noted in Glastonbury historiography in Adam Stout, *The thorn and the waters: miraculous Glastonbury in the eighteenth century* (2007), 62-3, citing Christopher Reid, ‘Sacramental Time: John Jackson, Christopher Smart, and the reform of the calendar’ in *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 41 (2000), 205-24.

7. Blake's influence may probably be seen in Francis Thompson's *The Kingdom of God* (from *The poems of Francis Thompson*, published by Hollis and Carter Ltd., 1893). Thompson, a vagrant and opium addict in London, imagines 'Jacob's ladder/ Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross' and sees 'And lo, Christ walking on the water / Not of Gennesareth, but Thames!'
8. Somerset Heritage Centre, A\BJE/1, 'Notebook containing handwritten diary entries and autobiographical notes of G.W. Wright of Glastonbury', page 55. On the actual history of the Well, see Paul Ashdown, 'How Old is Chalice Well?' in *The Glastonbury Review*, vol. 12, no. 112 (July 2005), 152-7.
9. X. Deidier, *Richard Whiting, martyr, and last Abbot of Glastonbury* (1887), 15; H. Twohig, *Late but not too late: The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Great Britain and Ireland, 1877-1940*, vol. I (2005), 104, 109-10, 115-17.
10. *Central Somerset Gazette*, page 4, column 4.
11. *Ethelwold* was a poem on the supposed love-triangle between King Edgar, his thane Ethelwold, and the lady Elfreda, on which see Barabara Yorke, 'The Women in Edgar's Life' in D. Scragg ed., *Edgar, King of the English 959-975* (2000), 143-57, especially page 155. The poem makes no reference to Edgar's Glastonbury connections. *Fire Camp* was a tale of the California goldrush.
12. 'Steve' [S. Holland], 'Alice Maud Meadows', <http://bearalley.blogspot.co.uk/2012/01/alice-maud-meadows.html>.
13. See Ashdown, *The Lord was at Glastonbury*, 22-3.
14. G.W. Wright, 1886, 'The Chalice Well, or Blood Spring, and its Traditions', in *Proceedings of the Glastonbury Antiquarian Society* I (1886), 20-36. In quoting Meadows, p. 22, he substitutes 'its cup' for CSG 'the Cup'.
15. Twohig, *Late but not too late*, vol. I, 125.
16. T.B. Snow, 'Glastonbury', in *The Downside Review*, 9 (1890), 186-212 (Meadows is quoted at p. 210).
17. C.A.M. Press, *In the verdant West*, (1890), 31. Press, while explicitly quoting Wright, credits Meadows as Wright does not, implying he had seen the poem elsewhere.
18. *Goodall's concise guide to Glastonbury*, 4th ed. (1892), 24. The form quoted is again 'its cup'.
19. See P. Benham, *The Avalonians*, 2nd ed. (2006).
20. See Ashdown, *The Lord was at Glastonbury*, 20, 112.

PAUL ASHDOWN and ADAM STOUT

2. ATTRIBUTION OF DORSET TITHE MAPS. Discontent over tithe payment erupted into violence before remedy was found in the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. The essence of the settlement was the substitution of a money payment, fluctuating from year to year in accordance with the seven-year average price of wheat, barley and oats, in place of all customary payments whether in kind or in cash. This rent-charge for each district (usually a parish in southern England) was fixed initially by the actual value of tithes collected and

was apportioned among its landowners according to the type and value of their land.¹ The tithe commissioners were unwilling to impose a compulsory award if this could be avoided, and voluntary tithe agreements were reached between Dorset landowners and tithe owners in 185 out of 269 districts.²

Once agreement had been reached or an award had been imposed and the settlement confirmed by the tithe commissioners, the next stage was to prepare a draft apportionment of the rent-charge between the owners of tithable properties.³ The work of apportioning the rent-charge fell to men called tithe valuers. A majority of these were local people who regularly undertook land agency work and were skilled negotiators.⁴ Some valuers also did survey work, for example in Dorset John Martin (1780-1863) of Evershot, James Poole (1791-1861) of Sherborne, and John Baverstock Knight (1785-1859) of Puddlehinton, though more generally an individual usually specialised in one or the other task.⁵

Tithe apportionments are the legal documents in which the terms of a local tithe commutation are set down; the tithe map of a district is simply a visual illustration of the settlement designed to obviate future disputes over rent-charge payments.⁶

The original maps submitted to the Tithe Commission under the 1836 Act (as amended 1837) were retained by the Commission and are now in the custody of The National Archives (T.N.A.). Two copies of each map were also required, one each for the diocesan registry and the district. The diocesan maps for Dorset are kept at the Dorset History Centre (D.H.C.); searching them is greatly facilitated by their availability, with indexes to the apportionments, on the Ancestry website.

The T.N.A. maps are fully catalogued and indexed in Professor Kain and Dr Oliver's *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales*. Of the 269 entries for Dorset tithe maps 156 (58%) name the map-maker, a lower proportion than the figure of 66% for T.N.A. tithe maps as a whole.⁷ Where a name is given there was either an explicit statement of authorship or sufficient clues to ascribe a map with confidence to a particular map-maker. In cases where authorship of a map is inferred (either on grounds of style or from an ambiguous signature) the map-maker's name is preceded by the symbol '?'.⁸

One problem is that map-makers often signed their work in the margin where it is vulnerable to cropping or flaking. Kain and Oliver state that inspection of diocesan copies would enable more tithe maps to be attributed to a named map-maker. Stuart Mason found the map-makers of a further 41 Essex tithe maps by reference to diocesan copies in the Essex Record Office.⁹

I have examined the diocesan maps of 112 Dorset tithe districts for which Kain and Oliver report no map-maker(s) in the T.N.A. collection, looking at the nature and position of signatures (other than those of Tithe Commission staff), the presentation of titles and detailing of scale bars.¹⁰ It is essential to determine whether a signature on a particular map refers to the valuer, to the surveyor, or encompasses both functions. Valuers' names are taken from T.N.A. apportionment catalogue entries. There are grounds for 12 new attributions and one tentative one (Chardstock). In addition, survey and drafting responsibilities for Bincombe and Osborne districts have been clarified, and there is fresh evidence for authorship of the Belchalwell, Dewlish, and Somerton (Somerset) maps.

Athelhampton map:¹¹ the title states 'By William Bourne'. Bourne also valued the tithes.¹² He lived in Halton near Spilsby, Lincolnshire, and probably is the William Bourne (c.1795-1860) who drew the tithe map for Bilsby (1841), a village eight miles from Spilsby.¹³

Buckland Ripers map:¹⁴ the words 'John Taperell surveyor Etc.' appear in the title within curved embellishments under 'Dorset', below which is the date 1840 (Kain and Oliver have '1841?'). Taperell (c.1794-1882) used the same embellishments on his Osmington map.¹⁵ This brings the total area he surveyed to 7,438 acres (3,010ha) in five maps including his home district of Chickerell (on the T.N.A. version of which Taperell's occupation is 'C.E.', civil engineer), Portland, Weymouth and Wyke Regis. The Buckland Ripers valuer was land agent Francis Attwood (1797-1871) of The Close, New Sarum, Wiltshire.¹⁶

Charborough map:¹⁷ the words 'Henry Richards surveyor Abbots Court' lie within the base of the scale bar; this and the Taperell details above may have been overlooked earlier as the lettering is very small. The three maps accepted by Kain and

Oliver as Richards' have his name on or just below the scale bar. Richards also valued Charborough.¹⁸

Chardstock map:¹⁹ William Pickering (1784-1859) signed at the foot of the map, left centre. He may have done so in his role as valuer,²⁰ but since he was surveyor and valuer for Halstock in Dorset, and for Kilmington, Uplyme (for which he is the inferred map-maker) and Yarcombe in Devon, he may well have surveyed Chardstock. If accepted, this and the following attribution would increase Pickering's work to six maps, three in each county, and a total of 14,904 acres (6,032ha) surveyed.

Charmouth map:²¹ Pickering's signature is in the same position (bottom right corner) as on the Halstock map, and he was also the valuer.²² He worked from Axminster, Devon.

East Stower (now East Stour) map:²³ Kain and Oliver attribute 13 maps to land agent John Raymond (1787-1867), or Raymond and Son, including West Stower (West Stour). The Stower maps have similar styles of title embellishment, scale bars and lettering of adjoining parish names. Tithes in these districts and East Stower²⁴ were valued by John Raymond, in the cases of Sturminster Newton Castle and Bagber and West Stower with others.²⁵ The East Stower map is signed in the bottom right corner 'J Raymond Shaftesbury'. Raymond signed his name there, sometimes with additional wording, on three of the maps already attributed to him, and signed another three at the foot of the map. Six maps have no signature and one map was not seen. Two points are consistent with attribution of the East Stower map to Raymond. East Stower and all his other districts except Moreton and Toners Puddle are in or near Shaftesbury which he would have known well. Secondly, East Stower lies between West Stower and Motcombe and abuts Gillingham to the north, a continuous area most easily and cheaply surveyed by one person. Raymond surveyed 14 districts and 34,361 acres (13,906ha).

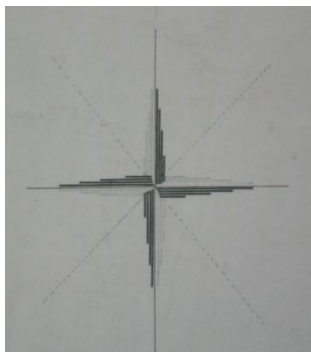
Frome Vauchurch map:²⁶ the signature 'John Martin Evershot Dorset Valuer' appears at the foot of the map, centre right, and the words 'John Martin Surveyor' in the bottom left corner, so Martin fulfilled both roles. The compass rose is unique amongst Martin's maps in having three lobes on each of the plain NE., SE., SW. and NW. pointers.

Compass roses and finials on Dorset and Somerset tithe maps attributed to John Martin

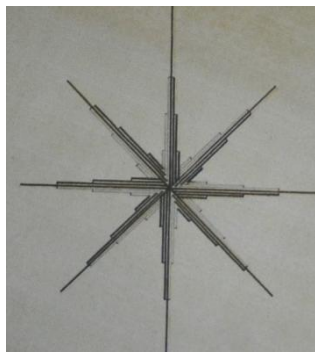
North pointer finials	Compass roses	
	<i>Type 1</i> Four shaded pointers	<i>Type 2</i> Eight shaded pointers
<i>Type A. Shaded fleur-de-lis (length: breadth ratio 1-2)</i>	<i>Group 1A</i> Abbotsbury Belchalwell; inferred authorship Burton Bradstock Chilfrome Fordington Frome Vauchurch* Maiden Newton Mappowder* Symondsbury Toller Fratrum	<i>Group 2A</i> Allington Batcombe Chedington Cheselbourne Dewlish; inferred authorship Melbury Sampford Mosterton* Osborne* Somerton, Somerset (with compass on boss); inferred authorship Toller Porcorum (with compass on boss) Winterborne Monkton Winterbourne Steepleton Wraxall
<i>Type B</i> Elongated, shaded fleur-de-lis (length: breadth ratio >2.5)		<i>Group 2B</i> Corfe Castle
<i>Type C</i> Black fleur-de-lis	<i>Group 1C</i> Compton Valence Sydling St Nicholas	<i>Group 2C</i> Hilfield Melbury Bubb* Stockwood

Excludes Wootton Fitzpaine (north-pointing feathered arrow), Evershot and Frome St Quintin (oak leaves, rosette on boss), Melbury Osmond (crossed lines), Bincombe (crossed lines, T.N.A. map only), Stratton (four 'cream-horn' pointers), Fleur-de-lis finials on last four.

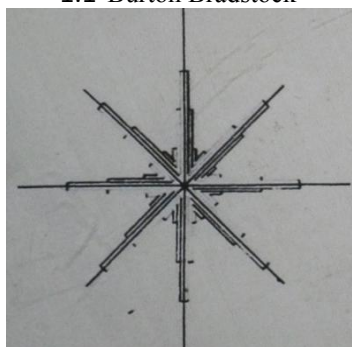
* Attributed in this paper.



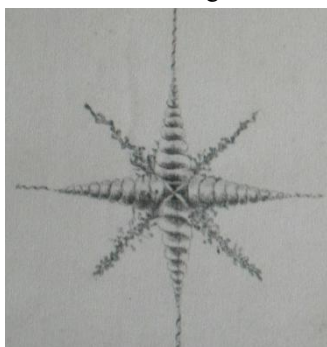
1.1 Burton Bradstock



1.2 Cheddington



1.3 Stockwood



1.4 Stratton

Figure 1. Examples of John Martin's compass roses and black finial. Not to scale. (Dorset History Centre).

No one feature identifies Martin's compass roses. They do, however, fall into groups combining compass rose characteristics with those of the north pointer finials (see table). These groups can provide additional evidence of Martin's draftsmanship.

Most compass roses on Martin's tithe maps take one of two forms. In type 1 each of the four cardinal pointers (N., S., E. and W.) is shaded with sets of light and dark stepped lines, light and dark shading alternating around the circle as shown in Figure 1. Type 2 has each of the eight compass pointers shaded in the same manner (Figure 1). A few maps show other forms of compass rose or have none.



2.1 Abbotsbury



2.2 Cheddington



2.3 Frome Vauchurch



2.4 Mappowder

Figure 2. Examples of John Martin's shaded north pointer finials. Not to scale. (Dorset History Centre).

The north pointer finials on Martin's maps also fall into three types. The most frequent design is a shaded fleur-de-lis, each slightly different. Most of these finials have a length:breadth ratio of 1-2 (type A), but the ratio is 2.5 or more for Bincombe (T.N.A. map only), Corfe Castle and Stratton (type B). Type C has a narrow black fleur-de-lis with two small additional lobes near the top.

The Frome Vauchurch compass rose is consistent with

group 1A, *i.e.* it has four shaded pointers and a shaded, non-elongated finial (Figure 2). The compass roses on the Belchalwell and Dewlish maps, for which John Martin is the inferred surveyor (Dewlish with John Baverstock Knight),²⁷ fall into groups 1A and 2A, respectively,²⁸ strengthening their attribution.

Mappowder map:²⁹ Mappowder employed John Martin as valuer,³⁰ and he signed 'John Martin' in the bottom right corner of the map. Twenty-four of the 28 Dorset districts with which Martin was involved as surveyor and valuer or surveyor - whether alone or in partnership - had diocesan maps signed either (a) 'John Martin', with or without 'Surveyor', with or without his address, or (b) as in (a) plus 'John Martin Valuer', *i.e.* two signatures. The remaining four maps are signed 'John Martin Valuer'. There is thus a roughly 85% (24/28) chance that the Mappowder map was also drawn by Martin. The unsigned maps were of Maiden Newton, Wotton Fitzpaine, and Bincombe (but see below). The Mappowder compass rose also fits in group 1A (Figure 2).

Melbury Bubb map:³¹ this is again signed twice, with 'J Martin - Surveyor' in the bottom right margin and 'John Martin Valuer' in the bottom right border. The finial differs only marginally in basal lobe size from his usual black finial.

Melcombe Horsey map:³² Kain and Oliver state James Poole made 18 Dorset maps. His map for Purse Caundle is traced onto an Ordnance Survey map, and the Steepleton Preston map was unavailable, so these could not be checked. The remaining 16 maps each bears under the scale bar the words 'J Poole Surveyor Sherborne Dorset' (or a slight variant thereon), followed by the date in 12 cases; the Cerne Abbas, Longburton and Lydlinch maps are dated in the title. Kain and Oliver date the T.N.A. Haydon map 1840 but the receipt stamp on the diocesan copy suggests 1842. They list Poole as tithe valuer in 15 of the 18 districts, and the above wording as map-maker occurs irrespective of whether he was also sole or joint valuer (12 maps) or someone else made the valuation (three maps). The Melcombe Horsey map has Poole's standard wording under the scale bar, and its date in the title; he also valued the tithes there.³³

James Poole was sole surveyor and valuer in 33 districts, and in three – Folke, Lydlinch and Trent – he valued tithes with Edward Thomas Percy (1793-1848).³⁴ *Robson's Directory* for 1835 suggests they worked together at Greenhill, Sherborne but by 1844 'James Poole and Sons' had a separate address on Cornhill.³⁵ Poole's Wiltshire maps are stated to be 'neat but otherwise unremarkable'.³⁶

Mintern Magna (Minterne Magna) map:³⁷ this is signed by Edward Thomas Percy at centre bottom, with what may be stamped text in the bottom right corner reading 'EDW^D THO^S PERCY, LAND SURVEYOR & ARCHITECT, SHERBORNE, DORSET'. I assume the signature is as valuer, the text as draughtsman of this his fifth Dorset map. Percy, who was also an auctioneer, therefore surveyed 19,402 acres (7,852ha) in the county and Somerset.

In the terrier for his *Plan of the Town of Sherborne* 1834 Edward Percy records himself and his brother as living at the south-east corner of the Cheap Street–Long Street junction (later 87 Cheap Street).³⁸ William John Percy (1809-58) became Rector of Silton, near Gillingham, Dorset.³⁹ Edward Percy's 1842 Sherborne tithe map draws on the earlier map but excludes former monastic property exempt from tithe; 89% of the apportionment is by holding.⁴⁰ Percy designed the Sherborne Union workhouse for 240 inmates which stood in Horsecastles between 1837 and 1938.⁴¹

Mosterton map:⁴² this is again signed twice, with 'John Martin Valuer' in the bottom left corner and 'John Martin Surveyor' in the bottom right margin; the map is in group 2A.

Somerton, Somerset map:⁴³ this has an inferred attribution to John Martin and is his only Somerset tithe map. He signed 'John Martin' towards the bottom right corner. The tithes were valued by Samuel Hasell, of Compton Dundon, a village four miles north of Somerton, and John Martin. The compass rose falls into the latter's group 2A. The miniature compass in its boss is similar to that on his Toller Porcorum (Dorset) map except that the white and black card areas are reversed.⁴⁴

The T.N.A. maps of Cheddington (Chedington), East Chelborough, Evershot and Frome St Quintin, Frome Vauchurch, Maiden Newton, Melbury Bubbs, Melbury Osmond,

Melbury Sampford, Mosterton, North Poorton, Stockwood, Stratton and Winterborne Kingston each carries a recital of proceedings for its adoption by the landowners.⁴⁵ A majority of the diocesan copies lack this information.⁴⁶ It is striking that John Martin surveyed ten of the 13 maps and valued 12 (not Winterborne Kingston, valued by Charles Gearing of Eling, Hampshire and Hezekiah Bartlett Guy of Hinton St George, Somerset).⁴⁷ Who surveyed North Poorton or Winterborne Kingston is unknown.⁴⁸ The 12 districts John Martin valued cluster around Evershot. The corresponding maps are dated 1838 or 1839, with one dated 1840, but recitals were then discontinued. The practice served no legal purpose but allowed every landowner to place on record their commitment to the voluntary agreement reached with tithe owners. Apportionment discussions were required by the Tithe Act to involve the owners of not less than two-thirds of the land subject to tithe, so in a particular district not all landowners may have participated in those negotiations.

East Chelborough map:⁴⁹ on re-examination of this map for potential links to John Martin the 'ex.^D JP' on the left side of the scale bar plinth suggests James Poole. Plinths feature on 11 of his Dorset maps (including Melcombe Horsey), are absent on six, and two maps could not be checked. Some of Poole's Somerset tithe maps also have plinths.⁵⁰ However, Poole's name and address are not given in the form noted above, and the plinth is relatively thicker than elsewhere. The initials could be those of a member of the Tithe Commission who examined the map, though such entries (where present) were often written in the bottom right corner of the map and dated. No firm attribution can yet be given for East Chelborough.

James Poole is recorded by Kain and Oliver as drawing 45 maps in Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, but the Mere map in their Wiltshire catalogue is credited to James Poole junior (1820-54). It is not clear whether father or son valued Mere with surveyor Thomas Tilbrook (1779-1860) of Horningsham, Wiltshire.⁵¹ The attribution for Melcombe Horsey maintains James Poole senior's net total at 45 maps covering 98,992 acres (40,062ha).

Twenty-four of James Poole's maps show tithe areas by

holding rather than field-by-field: Devon 0/1, Dorset 9/19, Somerset 4/11, and Wiltshire 11/14, overall 53%. Reduced survey and drafting costs would be attractive to landowners as they had to share expenses according to acreages owned. Across England and Wales only 6% of districts were apportioned by holding.⁵² Most counties had a few districts apportioned by holding but this was most common in north-east England and in parts of Wales where it was related to the prevalence of *modus payments in lieu of tithe*.⁵³ The tithe files in the T.N.A. IR/18 series, one for each district, might reveal James Poole's dealings with his clients. They can also yield information on map sources; just two of 269 T.N.A. Dorset tithe maps hint at the circumstances in which they were made.⁵⁴ For example, the assistant tithe commissioner recommending adoption of the draft apportionment for Purse Caundle wrote that the accompanying map was 'made about 20 years since [c.1818] which is considered tolerably correct'.⁵⁵ It may well be that many Dorset tithe maps were based on copies of earlier surveys, notably those made for enclosure.⁵⁶

Up Cerne map:⁵⁷ the valuer was Charles Berjew (1768-1854) of Hermitage, Dorset, a surveyor who leased 40 acres of the Duchy of Cornwall's estate in the parish.⁵⁸ There is a small, indistinct signature in the bottom left margin of the map: 'H Richards Surveyor'. Richards (1812-86), of Abbots Court Farm, Winterborne Kingston, Dorset, therefore drew maps for Almer and Mapperton, Charborough, Morden, Tarrant Crawford and Up Cerne, surveying a total of 9,545 acres (3,863ha). He occupied 370 acres and employed 16 labourers by the 1851 census.

At first glance the attributed map-makers for the different versions of the Bincombe and Osborne maps appear contradictory. The endowments of Gonville and Caius College, one of the oldest and wealthiest of the colleges in the University of Cambridge, include several estates in the West Country. John Caius (1510-73) is regarded as the third founder of the College, and was sixteenth Master. He practically doubled the endowments of the College. By a deed dated 1 March 1558 he conveyed to the Master and Fellows a manor in Hertfordshire and two Norfolk manors; they were old monastic property

which he had purchased from the Crown. In 1590 the manor and advowson of Bincombe and Osborne manor were purchased, largely with his money. The total sum spent on the five manors and on the advowson was not far short of £1,600.⁵⁹ The College subsequently acquired property in Marshwood (Dorset), in Poyntington (Somerset, transferred to Dorset in 1895), and Kittisford (Somerset), as well as much land and premises elsewhere, especially in East Anglia.⁶⁰

Gonville and Caius College still owned 76% of the land at Osborne in the 1830s,⁶¹ ‘... chiefly arable, and producing all kinds of grain, and turnips of good quality’.⁶² The published attribution of the T.N.A. map⁶³ is to R. J. Wright, with ‘R. J. Wright Norwich Del.’ written in the bottom right corner, the abbreviation standing for ‘delineavit’, ‘drew this’. The signature’s form and position are as found on the diocesan Bincombe map,⁶⁴ and the compass roses are identical. The two Osborne maps are the same except in the lettering of the titles, but the diocesan copy has ‘J: Martin – Surveyor – Evershot – Dorset’ in the bottom right margin and a group 2A classification, with no mention of Wright.⁶⁵

Both versions of the Bincombe map are subtitled ‘the Property of The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge’, a contemporary noting that ‘... the pasture land [is] in general excellent. There are some quarries of a very fine durable stone, easily worked, a great quantity of which has been used in the public buildings at Dorchester.’⁶⁶ The diocesan copy⁶⁷ has the signature ‘R.J. Wright Del: Norwich’ in the bottom right corner. Martin’s name does not feature. The T.N.A. map for Bincombe⁶⁸ is attributed by Kain and Oliver to John Martin, the title lettering again differing.

Robert John Wright (1781-1854) was a land agent and surveyor, his appointments including ‘Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter’ of Ely Cathedral.⁶⁹ He valued both Bincombe and Osborne tithes.⁷⁰ At the end of 1839 Robert Wright sent Thomas Ffooks (1775-1844), the Sherborne solicitor involved in both commutations, a statement of apportionment expenses.⁷¹ Mr Ffooks’s bills were £36.6.5 for Bincombe and £25.9.1 for Osborne; his own bills were £42.2.0 and £26.11.0, respectively; and John Martin’s bills were £14.13.0 and £29.5.0, respectively.

Robert Wright's charges equate to 10.59 (old) pence per acre at Bincombe, and 10.75 (old) pence per acre at Osborne. John Martin charged over three times as much per acre at Osborne as at Bincombe, presumably because he was able to update his 1827 enclosure map of the entire parish of Bincombe but surveyed Osborne from scratch.⁷² We know Wright worked with another person elsewhere:⁷³ Norwich surveyor and lithographer William Browne (alive 1859) surveyed two districts for him, Pidley cum Fenton, Huntingdonshire⁷⁴ and Rettenden in Essex,⁷⁵ but Wright drew both maps deposited with the Tithe Commission.⁷⁶ Robert Wright's Dorset costs apparently included preparing one original map (Osborne) and one diocesan copy (Bincombe), and similarly for John Martin.

The five new attributions posited above (Frome Vauchurch, Mappowder, Melbury Bubb, Mosterton and Osborne) mean John Martin surveyed 62,389 acres (25,248ha) in Dorset, including Dewlish and Sydling St Nicholas jointly with John Baverstock Knight of Puddlehinton (Piddlehinton),⁷⁷ and 6,925 acres (2,803ha) in Somerton, Somerset.

Attribution of the Castleton map⁷⁸ is to William Fooks (misprinted Took on page 150). He was a solicitor in his father Thomas's firm. The T.N.A. catalogue entry 'By ?William Fooks'⁷⁹ accords with the fact that his signature appears only on the summary of the schedule of apportionment,⁸⁰ *i.e.* as valuer. William Fooks (1815-73) also assessed the nearby districts of Haydon, North Wootton and Thornford (Dorset) and Goathill (Somerset).⁸¹

1. R.J.P. Kain & R.R. Oliver, *The Tithe maps of England and Wales. A cartographic analysis and county-by-county catalogue* (1995, paperback edition 2011), 1.
2. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 6 & 145.
3. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 7.
4. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 14.
5. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 147.
6. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 8.
7. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 147.
8. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 22.
9. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 717, 719 & 831.
10. A 113th unattributed map, of Steepleton Preston, was not available on Ancestry.
11. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C.), T/ATH Athelhampton tithe map, 1841.
12. The National Archives (hereafter T.N.A.), IR 29/10/11 Tithe apportionment of

- Athelhampton, 14 May 1840.
13. T.N.A., IR 29/20/40 Tithe apportionment of Bilsby, Lincolnshire, 12 Jan 1841; T.N.A., IR 30/20/40 Tithe map of Bilsby, Lincolnshire, 1841.
 14. D.H.C., T/BCR Buckland Ripers tithe map, 1840.
 15. D.H.C., T/OSM Osmington tithe map, 1839.
 16. T.N.A., IR 29/10/33 Tithe apportionment of Buckland Ripers, 9 Oct 1837.
 17. D.H.C., T/CHB Charborough tithe map, 1849.
 18. T.N.A., IR 29/10/47 Tithe apportionment of Charborough, 6 Jun 1848.
 19. D.H.C., T/CHK Chardstock tithe map, 1841? [Kain & Oliver].
 20. T.N.A., IR 29/10/48 Tithe apportionment of Chardstock, 6 Nov 1839.
 21. D.H.C., T/CMO Charmouth tithe map, 1841.
 22. T.N.A., IR 29/10/50 Tithe apportionment of Charmouth, 5 Jun 1840.
 23. D.H.C., T/EST East Stower (East Stour) tithe map, 1842.
 24. T.N.A., IR 29/10/206 Tithe apportionment of East Stower (East Stour), 22 Jul 1842.
 25. T.N.A., IR 29/10/212 Tithe apportionment of Sturminster Newton Castle and Bagber, 6 Apr 1839; T.N.A., IR 29/10/207 Tithe apportionment of West Stower (West Stour), 2 May 1842.
 26. D.H.C., T/FRV Frome Vauchurch tithe map, 1838.
 27. T.N.A., IR 30/10/15 Tithe map of Belchalwell, 1841?; T.N.A., IR 30/10/76 Tithe map of Dewlish, 1845?
 28. D.H.C., T/BEL Belchalwell tithe map, 1841? [Kain & Oliver]; D.H.C., T/DEW Dewlish tithe map, 1845? [Kain & Oliver].
 29. D.H.C., T/MPD Mappowder tithe map, 1842? [Kain & Oliver].
 30. T.N.A., IR 29/10/140 Tithe apportionment of Mappowder, 28 May 1841.
 31. D.H.C., T/MBB Melbury Bubbs tithe map, 1840? [Kain & Oliver].
 32. D.H.C., T/MCH Melcombe Horsey tithe map, 1839.
 33. T.N.A., IR 29/10/148 Tithe apportionment of Melcombe Horsey, 12 Jan 1841.
 34. T.N.A., IR 29/10/86 Tithe apportionment of Folke, 23 Sep 1840; T.N.A., IR 29/10/133 Tithe apportionment of Lydlinch, 19 Jun 1840; T.N.A., IR 29/30/428 Tithe apportionment of Trent, Somerset, 14 Feb 1839.
 35. www.westcountrygenealogy.com/blackmore/sherborne/robsons_1835.htm, retrieved 2 Jun 2015; *Pigot's Directory of Dorsetshire* (1844), 24.
 36. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 550.
 37. D.H.C., T/MIM Minterne Magna (Minterne Magna) tithe map, 1844.
 38. A. Oxford, *The known history of the shops in Cheap Street, Sherborne* (2005), 45.
 39. B.P. Pick (ed.), *The Sherborne register, 4th edition, 1550-1950* (1950), 26.
 40. D.H.C., T/SH Sherborne tithe map, 1842; D.H.C., T/SH Sherborne tithe apportionment, 16 Sep 1842.
 41. G.H.D. Pitman, *Sherborne observed* (1983), 114.
 42. D.H.C., T/MSN Mosterton tithe map, 1838.
 43. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 446; Somerset Heritage Centre, D/D/Rt/M/385 Tithe map: Somerton, 1842? [Kain & Oliver].
 44. T.N.A., IR 29/30/380 Tithe apportionment of Somerton, Somerset, 24 Jun 1841; D.H.C., T/TRP Toller Porcorum tithe map, 1844? [Kain & Oliver].
 45. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 150, 151, 153-5 & 157.
 46. No recital of proceedings on: D.H.C., T/CHD Chedington tithe map, 1839? [Kain & Oliver]; D.H.C., T/ECH East Chelborough tithe map, 1839 [Kain & Oliver]; D.H.C., T/EVT Evershot and Frome St Quintin tithe map, 1838; D.H.C., T/FRV Frome Vauchurch tithe map, 1838; D.H.C., T/MSN Mosterton

- tithe map, 1838; D.H.C., T/NPO North Poorton tithe map, 1838? [Kain & Oliver]; D.H.C., T/STR Stratton tithe map, 1838 [Kain & Oliver]. The Winterborne Kingston map (1843?) is replaced on Ancestry by the altered, post-enclosure map of 1848 and has not been seen.
47. T.N.A., IR 29/10/251 Tithe apportionment of Winterborne Kingston, 16 Sep 1842.
 48. D.H.C., D1-LX/43/1 Winterborne Kingston tithe apportionment, 16 Sep 1842. I am grateful to Dr Mark Forrest for checking this file. The compass rose on the post-enclosure map is not Martinesque (D.H.C., T/WKN Winterborne Kingston altered tithe map, 1848); it may have differed on the earlier map.
 49. D.H.C., T/ECH East Chelborough tithe map, 1839 [Kain & Oliver].
 50. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 429.
 51. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 558 & 855; T.N.A., IR 29/38/195 Tithe apportionment of Mere, Wiltshire, 22 Jun 1848.
 52. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 8.
 53. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 8 & 11.
 54. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 150 (Chalbury 1840) & 152 (Horton with Woodlands 1841).
 55. T.N.A., IR 18/1780 G. Louis, Tithe file. Report to the Tithe Commissioners ... Parish of Purse Caundle, 18 Oct 1838.
 56. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 145.
 57. D.H.C., T/UPC Up Cerne tithe map, 1840.
 58. T.N.A., IR 29/10/235 Tithe apportionment of Up Cerne, 4 May 1839; D.H.C., T/HER Hermitage tithe apportionment, 22 Jul 1840.
 59. J.P.C. Roach (ed.), *The Colleges and halls: Gonville and Caius. Victoria County History. A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. Vol. 3: The City and University of Cambridge* (1959), 356-62. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66646>, retrieved 10 Nov 2014.
 60. *Official archive of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge: Bursarial records 1155-2003*. 5pp. <http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk>, retrieved 28 Mar 2013.
 61. D.H.C., T/OBN Osborne tithe apportionment, 30 Jun 1838.
 62. S. Lewis (ed.), *A Topographical dictionary of England* (1848), 467-69. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=51190>, retrieved 27 Nov 2014.
 63. T.N.A., IR 30/10/158 Tithe map of Osborne, 1838.
 64. D.H.C., T/BIN Bincombe tithe map, 1837.
 65. D.H.C., T/OBN Osborne tithe map, 1838.
 66. Lewis, *Topographical dictionary*, 244-48. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=50800>, retrieved 24 Nov 2014.
 67. D.H.C., T/BIN Bincombe tithe map, 1837.
 68. T.N.A., IR 30/10/18 Tithe map of Bincombe, 1837.
 69. [Ely Cathedral], *An Account of the progress of the restoration of the Cathedral, with a list of subscribers* (1851), 13.
 70. T.N.A., IR 29/10/18 Tithe apportionment of Bincombe, 3 July 1838; T.N.A., IR 18/1756 G. Bolls, Tithe file. Report to the Tithe Commissioners ... Parish of Osborne, 22 Jun 1838.
 71. D.H.C., D/FFO/24/2 Letter re Bincombe and Osborne apportionments, 25 Dec 1839.
 72. 'Bincombe' in R.J.P. Kain *et al*, *The enclosure maps of England and Wales 1595-1918. A cartographic analysis and electronic catalogue* (2011).

<http://hds.essex.ac.uk/em/>, retrieved 15 Feb 2015.

73. Kain & Oliver, *Tithe maps*, 189 & 233.
74. T.N.A., IR 30/16/44 Tithe map of Pidley cum Fenton, Huntingdonshire, 1839.
75. T.N.A., IR 30/12/27 Tithe map of Rettenden, Essex, 1838.
76. The diocesan copies have not been seen.
77. T.N.A., IR 29/10/76 Tithe apportionment of Dewlish, 8 Nov 1844; T.N.A., IR 29/10/216 Tithe apportionment of Sydling St Nicholas, 11 Jul 1839.
78. D.H.C., T/CAS Castleton tithe map, 1844? [Kain & Oliver].
79. T.N.A., IR 29/10/39 Tithe apportionment of Castleton, 16 Nov 1841.
80. D.H.C., T/CAS Castleton tithe apportionment, 16 Nov 1841.
81. TNA, IR 29/10/103 Tithe apportionment of Haydon, 18 May 1839; T.N.A., IR 29/10/264 Tithe apportionment of North Wootton, 31 Dec 1842; T.N.A., IR 29/10/225 Tithe apportionment of Thornford, 21 Mar 1843; TNA, IR 29/30/202 Tithe apportionment of Goathill, Somerset, 11 Jun 1839.

MICHAEL J. HANSON

3. WADHAM'S ALMSHOUSES. In 1606, being rich but having no children, Nicholas Wadham of Ilton near Ilminster decided to build some almshouses for the local poor. He and his wife Dorothy were by all accounts generous hosts to their friends: according to Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies of England* (1662) 'his house was an inn at all times, and like a court at Christmas'.¹ But they did not neglect the poor: there is a tradition that every morning provisions were taken to a 'beggars' bush', or hollow tree, at the park entrance, so that needy wayfarers might help themselves without visiting the house. The almshouses were founded for 'eight poore people', and were built close to his home at Merifield, which no longer exists, apart from a sizeable stone-faced moat.² They are to be found in Merifield Lane in Ilton, on the site of an ancient four-acre meadow called 'Perryhay', which is recorded in the *Register of Athelney Abbey* in 1412.³ This drawing, which appears to be dated 1891, and signed by the author of the official history of Wadham College,⁴ illustrates the single block, with its four large external chimneys and its thatched roof.

The deed of foundation, dated 6 June 1606 (which still exists, but today is almost unreadable), appoints twelve trustees, of whom the founder of Montacute, Sir Edward Phelips (described as 'the King's Ma^{tre} Seriant att Lawe'), is second on the list. Others include Sir William Petre, Sir John Sidenham, Sir Edward Hext and Sir Alexander Brett. This is of interest,

because the date is about eight years after the completion of Montacute House, and four years before the start of construction of Wadham College in Oxford. Both founders employed the master mason William Arnold on their design and construction. Each poor person admitted to the almshouse was to get £5 per annum, and would be chosen first by the Wadhams, then by the trustees, and in their default by the bishop. One of the eight poor had to be literate, in order to say prayers daily.⁵ At the end of the 19th century, each occupant had a set of two rooms, an attic, a strip of garden, and two shillings a week. It goes without saying that the beneficiaries had to be Protestant, although the Wadhams had Catholic sympathies, and in 1613 Dorothy Wadham was regarded as a recusant.



THE WADHAM ALMSHOUSES AT ILTON.

A signed drawing by T.G. Jackson for his history of Wadham College.

Most of the files on the almshouses are concerned with financial management, upkeep and repairs. However, in 1906 there was concern about one pensioner, 'the woman Down', of whom one official wrote 'she must be made to conduct herself properly and not cause annoyance to her neighbours', and although the writer recalls 'an ancient deed', he could not remember any instance of the ejection of a pensioner.⁶

In the mid-1950s repairs to the almshouses were required,

and permission was granted for the conversion of the building to five dwellings, for a total cost of £4,439. In 1997 an application for National Lottery funding was made, and local architects Stone and Partners were employed to make major improvements, particularly to the back of the property. Three schemes were proposed. The number of occupants was now reduced to four, but by this means, each enjoyed a good deal more floor space – 44m², whereas previously a feasibility study showed that for each of them it had been as small as 29.7m². The thatch was replaced by clay tiles on timber. Total costs for the works completed in 1999 seem to have been around £132,000.

The Almshouses today



The much-altered almshouses today. The roof is now clay-tiled, and modern, if inharmonious, doors and windows have been inserted into the building's façade. (Author)

The date of the original construction, and the friendship between the Wadhams and the Phelipps, suggests that perhaps William Arnold and his masons might have been involved in the construction of the almshouses. I have been allowed to inspect them, but was unable to find any marks on the stone. The interiors have all been plastered in the latest renovation, and windows and doors were replaced with modern commercial units. Although the exterior stonework, notably on the chimney

stacks, has copious adze marks, there are no masons' marks to be found. The building is not listed by English Heritage.

1. Quoted by William Wyndham in 'The Wadhams and Merifield', his Presidential Address in July 1934 to the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society (SANHS), to be found in their *Proceedings*, vol. 80 part II, p.7.
2. The house was pulled down in 1637 by Sir John Wyndham, who inherited this share of the Wadham estates from his uncle. He re-used some of the stones to build a new house, Woodhouse Farm (as stated in its listing by English Heritage), where the porch has a Wadham coat-of-arms in stone over the entrance. Material was also taken to build Scots Farm in Ilton; oak panelling and a sculptured stone formerly at Merifield were presented to Wadham College by Mr Wyndham. An expanding Elizabethan oak table, also by tradition from the hall at Merifield, is now in the V&A.
3. Wyndham, 'The Wadhams and Merifield'.
4. T.G. Jackson, *History of Wadham College* (1893)
5. Somerset Heritage Centre, DD\WY/10/Z2/1-2.
6. S.H.C., A\DLU/3/1,2,3 & 4; A\BFU; A\ATC/4; A\DLU/2/3.

PETER HILL

4. PORTFOLIO: PILOT PROJECT: THE EXCHEQUER PORT BOOKS OF POOLE. The early years of the reign of Elizabeth I saw a comprehensive reform of the system for collecting customs payments on goods entering or leaving the realm. Firstly, an Act of Parliament forbade the import or export of goods into or out of the country except at designated places, and then, in November 1564, regulations were introduced requiring port officials to keep detailed standardised records of all shipping and its cargos in books provided by the Exchequer for the purpose.¹ These records, known as the Exchequer Port Books, superseded the less-detailed Particulars of Customs Accounts (T.N.A., E 122), and continued to be kept in some places until 1798.

There remained at first some ambiguity concerning the loading and unloading of goods sent coastwise, for although the *regulations* required a record to be kept of goods sent from one part of the realm to another, the *law* limited the places of trans-shipment only for those goods entering or leaving the country. This was the point raised by the Mayor of Poole when he wrote to Lord Burghley complaining that copperas was being loaded directly from the works at Okeman's House on the east side of Poole Harbour, without passing through Poole, and that the

vessels concerned in this operation were dumping ballast in the main shipping channel, threatening to choke the harbour:

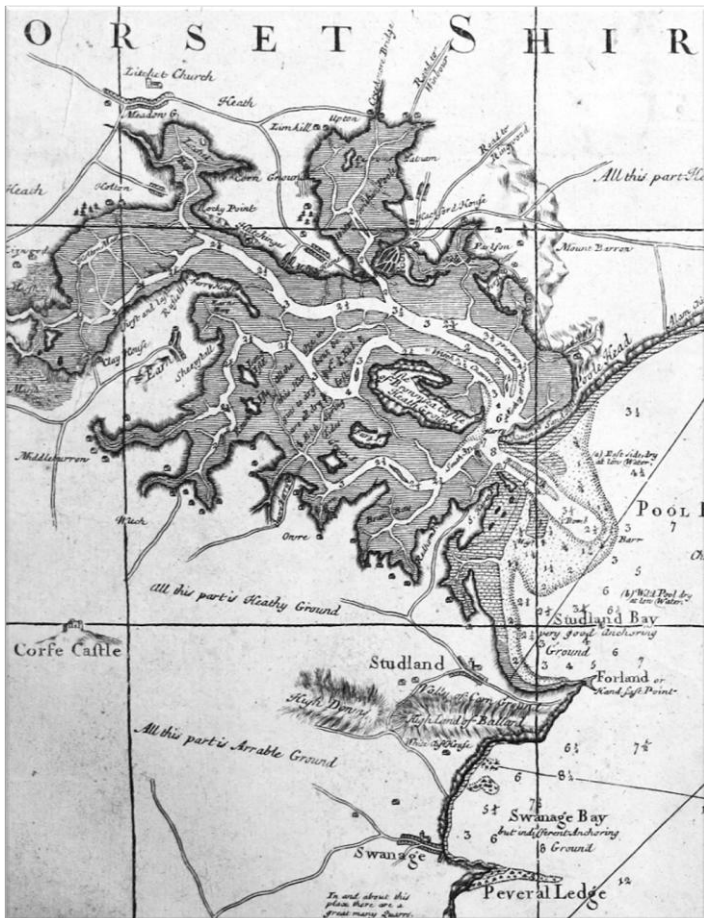
... lately there hath ben sundry barques and boates laden with copporas from one of the mynes called Okemans which is distante from this Towne of Poole aboute two myles and in the cheffest parte of the Channell of this haven which copporas hath ben usually heretofore laden in this Towne at a place commonly called the key where all merchants goodes by prescribed order are appointed to be laden and unladen tyll now of late yt is founde out by those of the mynes of Okemans that all manner of goods passing a long the Coast may be laden at any other place and not at the place appointed for goodes to passe beyonde the Seas for that (say they) there is no barr in the Statute to the Contrary . . .

Ominously, the mayor's letter also included the information that:

... here arryved of late a merchant of this Towne from Lysburne [Lisbon] who reporteth there is a very greate fleete and Army perparing by the kynge of Spayne but whether goe we cannot learne, but as he sayth the Common reporte amonge the Souldiers, is, to have the sacke of London.²

Burghley condemned the practice of loading vessels at Okeman's House when he replied in February 1584, but the loophole was not apparently closed until February 1592, when Burghley steered further regulations through the Exchequer, limiting the loading and unloading of goods to established places and requiring the presence of customs officials.³ This fudge was finally settled by Commission in 1679, when the geographic extent of the port of Poole, and the permitted quays within the port, were determined and recorded by the Court of Exchequer. The port encompassed the entire coast from Hengistbury Head in the east to Durlston Head in the west, between which points the only legitimate places for the landing or loading of seaborne goods were to be 'The Great Key' and 'The New Little Key' at the town of Poole itself.⁴ Historically, the Dorset-Hampshire county boundary was arguably known as the *Durnelynche*, probably close to the modern coastal

boundary between Poole and Bournemouth.⁵ The inclusion of 'Bornemouthe' itself within the port of Poole at least as early as 1565 is an interesting early example of the extension of a Dorset-based jurisdiction into ancient Hampshire, pre-figuring by several hundred years the reforms of the Local Government Act 1972.⁶



The port of Poole, as illustrated by the 1721 edition of Joseph Avery's hydrographic chart. (T.N.A., MPH 1/218)

The extents of Poole's two member ports of 'Weymouth and Melcombe Regis' and 'Lyme Regis' were similarly determined at this time, but both had kept their own sets of Port Books since 1565. The extents reveal an anomalous gap between Durlston Head and St Aldhelm's Head, apparently at this time a part of no port, but the boundary of the port of Poole was evidently soon afterwards extended westward to close the gap, and the port was included in its entirety in Joseph Avery's renowned hydrographic survey.⁷ This survey is usually dated to its first publication in 1721, but was executed late in 1714 together with the survey of the port of Southampton, at which time the ports shared certain supervisory resources. Avery's appointment and his remuneration are recorded in the Southampton Customs Outport Letter Books, which also record the cross-port patrols of officers stationed at Christchurch.⁸

The Exchequer Port Books are described more fully elsewhere,⁹ but essentially, (as stated on the web site of The National Archives)¹⁰ they are of three kinds:

- Entry books of the collectors and other officials, recording the details of cockets issued as receipts for the payment of the various duties on imports and exports;
- Entry books of searchers, waiters and other officials who were concerned with shipping movements and the inspection of cargoes, not with the collection of duties;
- Coasting books), which record the issue and return of certificates for the transit of goods by coast from one English port to another. The certificate stated that the shipper had entered into bonds to unlade only at another port within the realm.

Each entry in a Port Book generally contains:

- the name of the ship and its master;
- the names of the merchants (sometimes giving the merchant's mark) and whether they were aliens;
- date on which duty was paid (not the date of arrival or unloading);
- a description of their goods;

- the amount of duties paid (in the entry books of the collectors);
- the ship's destination or port to which it was sailing next.

Of course the value of these records has not passed unnoticed by historians, and they are often cited as source records. Those historians almost invariably bemoan their reliance on small samples because of the sheer number of surviving books, kept at Kew (quite remote from many of the ports to which they relate), and the volume of their detail. The problem of manageability of data was recognised some time ago by a team based at the University of Wolverhampton in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, led by Professor Malcolm Wanklyn,¹¹ who with dogged determination and the assistance of an army of volunteers, over several years completed the transcription of the Gloucester Port Books and the publication in 1998 of a digital database on CDROM. The range of research outputs facilitated by their newly-tamed data can be seen on the web site of the Economic and Social Research Council, which funded a phase of the project: titles include 'From ABC to Zedoary: a dictionary of traded goods 1550-1800', 'Investigating regional economic development: the Gloucester Port Books programme', and 'The distribution of retailing tradesmen in north Shropshire 1660- 1750'.¹² Genealogists and other family historians have also found the database useful for documenting the careers of merchants and masters of vessels.

Technology has obviously moved on dramatically since 1998, and the chief purpose of this essay is to draw attention to a new project based at the University of Winchester, which owes much in terms of concept to the Gloucester Port Book Project. Dubbed 'Portfolio', it aims ultimately to make available, online and without charge, images of every folio of every surviving Port Book for every port in England and Wales, and to provide online tools for crowd-sourcing their transcription. The first stage of the new project involved reforming The National Archives' catalogue listing of the books, so that they can now be searched and sorted by port, date, and type of book. The Gloucester Port Book data were

then imported to a new database and form the core of the Portfolio data, but this is not as yet hyperlinked to any images of the Gloucester Port Books, nor indeed is there yet a search interface.¹³

There being almost 20,000 surviving Port Books from around England and Wales, the ambition of the Portfolio Project is perhaps a little eye-watering. Encouraged by the success of the Gloucester project, however, a modest start has been made on the Poole Port Books, arising from an investigation of the Elizabethan copperas industry mentioned above, and images of about a sixth of the books are already available online. Additionally, about a third of the surviving Southampton Port Books have been photographed and uploaded, in connection with a study of trade through Christchurch Harbour.¹⁴ Preliminary work on the software for the transcription system has facilitated the identification of some curious trends in copperas production,¹⁵ and other interest includes tracing the fortunes of the later pipe-clay industry. Sample transcripts relating to alum and copperas are hyperlinked directly to the relevant portions of relevant images.

It is intended to focus continuing efforts initially on the *Poole* Port Books, as a pilot project, first by completing the photography of these books, and then by developing not only the transcription tools but also a volunteer network and quality-control system. Lessons learned from this process can then be addressed, and software developed for querying the data, before expanding the scope of the project to include other ports. Because of the double-ended nature of the coastal trade, gaps in the survival of books for one port might eventually be partially reconstructed from the records of other ports. The Portfolio Project can be found online at <http://portfolio.winchester.ac.uk> : please follow the social media or contact links found there to discover more or to register interest.

1. B. Y., *The modern practice of the Court of Exchequer in prosecutions relating to His Majesty's revenue of the Customs* (1731), 1-3, 431-46.
2. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C.), DC-PL B/1/1/1 Poole Borough record book, 1566-1701, f.21.
3. B. Y., (1731), Clause IX, 455.
4. *Ibid.*, 93-95.
5. This point is to be argued in Stephen Gadd, 'Dumelynche: The Coastal Migration of the Hampshire-Dorset County Boundary', *Proceedings of the*

Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society (pending, accepted for publication), (2015).

6. The National Archive (hereafter T.N.A.), E 159/350 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Roll, Hilary, 7 Eliz., rot.340 m.3
7. T.N.A., MPH 1/218 An exact Draught of the Sea Coast from Arundel in Sussex to St. Albans, 1721.
8. T.N.A., E 190/904/4, T.N.A., E 190/904/4 Poole: Customer and Controller Coastal 13 fos (1713), 1713; T.N.A., CUST 62/60 Customs Outport Letter Books: Southampton, 18 Jul 1717 - 26 Mar 1728.
9. D.M. Woodward, 'Short guide to records: Port Books' in *History*, lv (June 1970), 207-210.
10. T.N.A. class E190, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Port Books.
11. J.J. Cox, N.C. Cox, D.P. Hussey, G.J. Milne, A.P. Wakelin, M.D.G. Wanklyn.
12. The Computerisation of Port Books for the Study of Internal Trade, 1565-1799. Retrieved 20 Mar 2015, from <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RB00232218/read/outputs/Date/25/1>.
13. The encouragement and support of Dr David Hussey (who has taken over the reins of the Gloucester project from Professor Wanklyn), and of Dr Sean Cunningham at The National Archives, are hereby gratefully acknowledged.
14. Efforts to stimulate commercial use of the River Avon and Christchurch Harbour are the main subject of Stephen Gadd's PhD research at the University of Winchester.
15. The industry is to be reappraised in Stephen Gadd, "The Fools' Goldrush: Forgotten aspects of the Alum & Copperas industry in Dorset and South-West Hampshire, c.1450-1618" in *Southern History* (2016). Pending - accepted for publication.

STEPHEN GADD

5. EARLY TRACES OF THE DORSET DIALECT IN THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF WIMBORNE MINSTER: SOME NOTES. For the past century and a half, the early churchwardens' accounts of Wimborne Minster have been much discussed by local historians and antiquarians.¹ One aspect of these immensely rich sources that has largely escaped mention, however, is the information they can offer the historian of local dialects. In this neglect, they are not unusual among the extant sets of accounts. A notable and well-known exception are the Tudor accounts of the Devon village of Morebath, which form the basis for Eamon Duffy's book *The Voices of Morebath*. They preserve, in Duffy's own words, the 'unmistakeable burr of a deep Devon accent':

The font is always the 'vawnte', the altar the 'awter', the workmen who cut up trees in the wood are 'zaers' and what they are doing is 'zayng', large trees are 'grette', the elderly are 'wolde' and the

woods are full of 'wokes' ... money spent by the vicar is 'ledde out' or 'ledde forth' on the church's behalf, workmen renew the 'pwontyng' on the church, a poke is a 'vyre pyke' ... and we hear of a 'noke', a 'nox' and a 'nonest' woman.²

The burr in this case belongs to the hero of Duffy's story, the parish priest, Sir Christopher Trychay. It is just one part of an 'idiosyncratic and garrulous personality, a single voice, the same no matter whose name heads the bill'³ – the voice through which the voices of Morebath speak.

Although a single strong voice may not cut through the receipts, expenditures and memoranda of the accounts of Wimborne, another unmistakable (and not unrelated) burr is still clearly audible, and across a much wider expanse of time.⁴ The Wimborne accounts begin in 1403 and continue, with a few notable and frustratingly placed gaps (most of all, the whole of Mary Tudor's reign and the first decade of Elizabeth's), until 1969, making them among the earliest and most extensive churchwardens' accounts in Britain. They are held in the Dorset History Centre, under the mark PE-WM/CW/1. The accounts from 1403 to 1479 are preserved as loose rolls, with the rest bound and organised into books (1475-1580, 1581-1640, 1640-96 and so on).⁵ The loose rolls are all in heavily abbreviated Latin, always with an intermixture of English, sometimes more, sometimes less. Specialist words for which Latin equivalents were unforthcoming – words like 'baldric' (a leather strap for hanging the clapper of a bell) – are the most commonly found in English. From the beginning of the 16th century, the accounts are written entirely in English.

In Wimborne, the font is often the 'vaunte' (1498-99) – or sometimes the 'bason' (1648-49).⁶ The altar, like Morebath's, is also the 'awter' or 'hauter' (1404-05), but there are at least four of them: the 'wak' or 'work' or 'warke awter' (1504-05, 1459-60, 1509-10); 'our lady awter' (1527-28); the altar of St Clement (1406-07); and, of course, the 'hygh auter' (1510-11). Upon them you find 'awter clothys & towellys' (1498-99), with the 'horteclothis' (1407-08) and vestments often washed by the wife of a churchwarden or one of the clerks. The church contains more than one 'dext', and parishioners – such as the 'Fezaunte' (1567-68) family – look to purchase seats by them: near the 'dexk for the ministers to catechise' (1633-34) or, if their ears (and purses) are

up to it, 'under the organ loft by the Clarks dex' (1632-33). Doors have 'lades' (1621-22), 'hockes' (1596-97) are placed on hatches. A psalter is a 'sawter' (1548-49), solder 'saunder' (1413-4), soldiers 'sodyers' (1596-97). Along with many Irish and the odd 'egipcian' (1575-76) and 'Grecian' (1622-23), itinerant soldiers receive regular charity from the parish – 'two maymed soulders that came out of Bohemia' (1622-23), for instance, and even 'a poore shoulder' (1622-23). As in Morebath, cutting timber is 'zawyng' (1504-05), and this, naturally, takes place in't 'zapitt' (1631-2) specially dug for the purpose in the churchyard. Likewise, Wimborne's masons renew 'le pwontyng' (1495-96), especially on the church's increasingly crumbly spire, which fell in 1600. But unlike Morebath, what is old is 'yold' (1548-49) not 'wolde', and the woods are not full of 'wokes' – only the occasional 'ocke'. We hear of no 'nokes' or 'noxes', nor indeed of 'nonest' women.

The chronological range of these pronunciations is immediate testimony to at least two things: the deep roots of the local dialect; and the enduring role its speakers played in the parish administration, including the important literate roles. This administration was extensive and unusual. Wimborne Minster parish was extremely large, incorporating town and country, with numerous chapelries, a leper hospital and, from the early 16th century, a grammar school. The minster church itself was something of an anomaly in an otherwise poor – chalk and heath – area of east Dorset, a church with ancient royal associations and prestigious benefactors. Before 1547, it was both a parish church and a royal free chapel, a college in the direct possession of the king and outside the ordinary jurisdiction of the Church. Dean and chapter were largely absent from the minster, whose running was therefore delegated to priests in their stead, under the guidance of a sacristan and with the help of two churchwardens and a number of clerks. The deanery appears to have served primarily to enrich and advance men of the royal household, and appointment to Wimborne was more than once the first step along the road of a momentous career in the church; for men such as Hugh Oldham, later to be bishop of Exeter, and Reginald Pole, later to be cardinal and chief agent of the counter-Reformation in England under Mary Tudor. After the college was dissolved by order of Edward VI, many of the former powers and possessions of the dean and church were vested by Elizabeth in a corporation of 12 governors drawn from among the local worthies. These governors were responsible

not only for religious provision within the parish, but also for the grammar school, newly refounded after the abolition of the chantry that had supported it, in 1547.⁷

It is this grammar school you might imagine to have educated many of the local men who wrote the accounts. Generally, it is very difficult to tell who exactly they were. Some later accounts suggest – often through the use of personal formulas – that the scribes were the churchwardens themselves, but this is never made explicit. Other accounts record a payment for the writing of the account – *ad faciendum istum compotum* – but not to whom it was paid. A handful state that this payment went to one of the church clerks – the accounts for 1413-14, 1444-6, 1449-50, 1479-80, 1564-65, 1565-66 and 1567-68 for example – but do not name the clerk.⁸ Systematic identification of the clerks is only possible through the receipts for ‘knell pence’, an annual collection of some sort for the church bells, which began after 1547. It was the particular responsibility of the clerks to gather and deliver the money up to the churchwardens. Another responsibility of the clerks was the church clock, as a number of payments – *ad custodiendum horlogium* (1415-16) or *pro le klokis* (1429-30) – show, and on rare occasion these payments name them. From the beginning of the 17th century, the clerks received set wages rather than payments for individual services; although – no surprise – if they are named their position is usually not given, and vice versa. Two scribes, however, are named. The first is one ‘John Ottre’. He wrote the accounts for 1537-42. He also draughted two important indentures between the dean and parishioners. The first, in 1537, was a second forty-year lease of the market and fairs. In 1497, forty years previous, Henry VII had granted:

to the then Churchwardens and other parishioners of the parish...
Two fayres to be kept yearely at Pemphill within this parish viz.
thone to be kept on St Thomas day the Marter and thother on St
Lukes day under the yearely rent to be paid to the said King his
heires & Successors the sume of 00 06 08 [6s. 8d.]⁹

The second indenture, made in 1539, concerned an acre of mead in Netherwood (on the western outskirts of the town) recently granted to the church by Simon Benson, sacristan of the college. The profits of the land were to continue to be used, as they had ‘byn always apperteyning’, to the ringing and maintenance of

the church bells. In time, this land came to be known, for that reason, as the Bell Acre.¹⁰ In 1531 Otte had bought a ring from the churchwardens for 12 pence and in 1542 he bought 'x laumber stoens' – de-burred: 'amber stones'. The second named scribe is a certain 'William Duye'. As well as 'kepen ye boke' between 1548 and 1551, he hosted a dinner at his house for the young King Edward's 'comysseors' (1548-49). He may also have been the 'duye' who was later paid 'for whippinge of dogges owte of the Church' (1575-76).¹¹ Neither man is named as a clerk, but the fact that Duye received wages from the parish all but confirms that he, at least, was.

By the mid-16th century, local dialects were coming to be looked down upon among the educated. In 1562, the bishop of London visited the recently founded Merchant Taylors' school to assess the students and staff:

The guests found fault with the 'Cumbrian accents' of the masters and students, complaining that the masters 'were northern men born, and therefore did not pronounce so well as those that be brought up on the school of the south parts of the realm'.¹²

The public-school accent, based largely upon the pronunciations of south-east England, was already on its way to becoming the most audible mark of the educated man. When this incipient snobbery reached Wimborne is unclear. You might expect it to have arrived reasonably early, since the local grammar school took its cue from two establishments that would come to be at the heart of the public school system – Eton and Winchester. The original grammar school, founded by the executors of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, was to teach grammar in the 'form and manner and to the ages all and single as is the use or will be the use at the grammatical school at Eton or Winchester'. The school was supported by her perpetual chantry in the minster, and it was the chantry priest who served as schoolmaster. He was to be appointed, in the first place, by the master and scholars of Christ's College, Cambridge – another of Lady Margaret's foundations.¹³ When the school was later refounded, this model was upheld, and the governors were 'for ever to finde a fitt schoole maister & usher to teache ye knowledge of Grammar in ye said schoole house to all Commers thither to bee taught according to the Custome of ye Grammar school of Eaton or Winchester'.¹⁴ But the continuing

presence of dialect words in the churchwardens' accounts, if they did indeed come from the pens of men educated at Wimborne grammar school, suggests that the public-school accent – imported from Eton or Winchester or Cambridge – probably hadn't made as strong or as early a rebuke to local speech as at Merchant Taylors'. From my ongoing investigations, which have taken me to the end of the Civil Wars, in the mid-17th century,¹⁵ it does appear, however, that such pronunciations become less frequent as time passes.

So without the names of the scribes who wrote Wimborne's early churchwardens' accounts, we are left with their voices: less individual than Sir Christopher Trychay's but still with the distinctive imprint of time and place, and certainly no less worth listening to.

Do any readers know of accounts from Dorset and Somerset that contain similarly 'unmistakeable' traces of local dialect? Can their scribes be identified with any less difficulty than those of the Wimborne accounts? The medieval accounts of Sherborne All Hallows, many of which are printed in this journal, contain a number of the dialect words noted in the Morebath and Wimborne accounts. An inventory of 1509, for instance, records 'auter clothys of dyaper' (a patterned cloth), a 'bason' and a 'grete pyx of sylver'. Another 'vaunt' appears in the account for 1523-24.¹⁶ Sherborne, like Wimborne, was a complicated and sophisticated parish – a former bishop's see with an important Benedictine Abbey – and the town had a late medieval grammar school which also survived the Reformation, but eventually became a public school.¹⁷ Again, the possibility that the scribes who wrote these accounts were local men locally educated. A deeper investigation might reveal who they were and, perhaps, something more of the language they had – and were coming under increasing pressure to lose.¹⁸

1. On the churchwardens' accounts, see E. Kaye le Fleming 'Wimborne Minster Church Wardens' Accounts' in *SDNQ* XV, 175-81 (including a translation of the roll for 1413); J.M.J. Fletcher 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Wimborne Minster' in *SDNQ* XXII, 102-6 (a transcription of the earliest roll); and J.M.J. Fletcher 'Churchwardens of the Collegiate Church and King's Free Chapel of Wimborne Minster' in *SDNQ* XXV, 49-50 (a list of the medieval churchwardens). There are also a number of essays on the churchwardens' accounts in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society*. A selection from the medieval and early modern churchwardens' accounts is reproduced as an appendix, along with other material, in Charles Herbert Mayo, *History of Wimborne Minster: the Collegiate Church of Saint Cuthberga and King's Free Chapel* (1860).

2. E. Duffy, *The voices of Morebath: Reformation and rebellion in an English village* (2001) p36.
3. Duffy, *Morebath*, 36.
4. For a detailed analysis of the Dorset dialect, see B. Widen, *Studies on the Dorset dialect* (1949). The classic work of the Dorset poet William Barnes, *A glossary of the Dorset dialect* (1863), may be harder to acquire, although it is available in later reprinted editions. Note that the focus in this essay is on pronunciation rather than specialist matters such as syntax and morphology. I have tried to identify words that unambiguously *sound* as they are spelled, without using a recondite vocabulary to describe them. In any case, given that most entries not only in the Wimborne accounts but in churchwardens' accounts more generally are brief and formulaic, detailed material for studying the syntax of early dialect forms would probably have to be sought elsewhere.
5. There is an overlap between the loose rolls and the first accounts in the first book.
6. The dates listed here, and below, do not exhaust the appearances of dialect-words in the account. Indeed, words for everyday items, such as solder, are ubiquitous.
7. On Wimborne before 1547, see P. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (1993). On post-Reformation Wimborne, see D.C. Reeve 'Wimborne Minster, Dorset: a Study of a Small Town, 1620-90', PhD (University of Exeter 2000). Otherwise, there is a voluminous antiquarian literature on the town and aspects of its history; see the indexes to this publication and to the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society*. I am currently studying for a PhD at Lincoln College, Oxford, on Wimborne's religious culture across the Reformation.
8. There were at least three clerks after 1562, and four before the dissolution of the college.
9. This is recorded as one of a number of memoranda at the end of the account for 1663, in D.H.C., PE-WM/CW/1/42. The memoranda all concern long-established rights and privileges claimed by the church, some of which, especially the market rights, appear to have been especially valuable. Why were these rights and privileges re-stated at this time? Were they under threat somehow? Six years before, in 1657, a number of parishioners had lodged with the Lord Protector a complaint alleging abuses on the part of the governors. A copy of their petition, along with Cromwell's reply, is held in the parish archive, under D.H.C., PE-WM/GN/2/3/3. This was actually not the first, but the third challenge against the governors' legitimacy, the first having come at the beginning of James I's reign, and the second having come, at the instigation of a local group, in 1636. Material pertaining to these disputes is also held in the parish archive.
10. This indenture is given as one of the memoranda in the account for 1663. The quotation is from this memorandum, not the entry for 1539.
11. According to J.C. Cox, 'almost every parish possessed [a dog whipper]'. This position usually included other not dissimilar duties such as waking sleepers and placating restless children during services (J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (1913), 309.
12. D. Turner, *The old boys: the decline and rise of the public school* (2015), 19.
13. The foundation grant for the chantry and school is usefully reproduced as document 6 of appendix V in Coulstock, *Collegiate Church*. The grant is in

- Latin. The translation is mine.
14. Copies of the incorporation charter of the governors, which contains the re-foundation clause for the grammar school, can be found at the Dorset History Centre under PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2. The quotation is from PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5b, a mid-17th century account of the history of the church and parish.
 15. I have transcribed all of the accounts from 1403-1653, and hope to publish my transcriptions, with a suitable apparatus criticus, at some point in the not-too-distant future.
 16. The inventory is printed in Joseph Fowler 'Sherborne All Hallows Church Wardens' Accounts' in *SDNQ* XXIII 189-94. The medieval accounts are serialised across volumes XIII and XIV. The reference to the 'vaunt' is from the account printed in XXIII 311-14.
 17. In the case of Sherborne, the key relationship in the medieval town was between the Benedictine Abbey and the local inhabitants. The abbey had a number of dependent churches and chapels, including the parish church of All Hallows. The co-existence of town and abbey was often far from harmonious. The 'vaunt' of the abbey church was a particular source of contention, enough so that a dispute over its position led the townspeople to burn down the church in 1437. On that particular incident, see J.M. Luxford, *The art and architecture of English Benedictine monasteries* (2012), 142. On Sherborne more generally, there is valuable material in Andrew Brown *Popular piety in late Medieval England: the Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (1995) and J.G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (2014).
 18. Part of the school's extensive archive, including papers relating to its earliest history and its charter of 1550, is held in the Dorset History Centre. The rest resides at the school itself.

CHARLES CORNISH-DALE

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Philip White (ed.), *Recipes and remedies. An 18th century collection by Margaret Bampfylde of Hestercombe*, pp.66, 12 illustrations, published by The Hestercombe Gardens Trust, 2014, ISBN 2112345678900, £6.50.

This attractively produced book brings to a wider audience an unusual survival from the 18th century of a gentry lady's recipe and remedy book. This publication is divided into three sections. The first is a transcript of the recipes and remedies collected by Margaret Bampfylde (1694-1758) of Hestercombe, the second is an account of Bampfylde and an analysis of the content of her book, with the third section containing a detailed and much needed glossary.

Philip White should be congratulated for bringing this volume into print in a format which will, hopefully, attract people visiting Hestercombe to purchase it. It has been expertly designed with

some full page illustrations of members of the family, pages from the book and other supporting material. The reduced size of the text has allowed for a great deal of information to be packed into this slim volume. A combination which makes this a worthwhile publication to add to anyone's shelf who has an interest in not only the recipes and remedies, but the Bampfylde family and the context in which the book was compiled.

It is difficult to pick a favourite out of the many recipes and remedies, so the following is a sample list of some of the more unusual: liquorice balls for a cold, to preserve the Golden or Barefoot Pippins, Colonel Strangways drops, to stew Carp white, to make cream pancakes, tincture of rue, for a cancer or kings evil, a clister to stop a purging in a child, and how to make a quart of ink. There is much in this delightful little book which explains these unusual topics and is well worth reading.

A.J.W.

Geoff Body and Roy Gallop, *Any Muddy Bottom. A History of Somerset's Waterborne Trade*, 155 pages, 66 b&w illustrations, 9 maps, appendix, glossary, index, published by The History Press, 2015, ISBN 9780750961639, £12.99 (pb).

The authors state in their introduction that the impulse to write this book was provided by the discovery of the remains of lock gates at Lilstock; your reviewer entirely understood their motivation having only a week before receiving this book come across a lime kiln on the beach below Bossington, and wondered how it came to be there.

The book is divided into three parts: 'Coastal Sailing Trade'; 'The Ports, Pills and Wharves'; and 'Sail Gives Way'.

The first part has five chapters and starts with a description of the physical coast line from Pill to Porlock. It then outlines the trade in the Bristol Channel, with a useful plan showing the ports of the Bristol Channel and the cargoes that were imported and exported. A chapter on the vessels used in the trade, where they were built, and how their design developed provides background for subsequent chapters by noting the advantages of various rigs. The fourth chapter covers the working conditions of the seamen involved in the trade. The difficulties involved in handling vessels with limited manoeuvrability in channels devoid of beacons and buoys are emphasized. The last chapter of Part 1 takes the reader through the inland waterways, up the Rivers Axe, Brue, Parrett,

Tone and Banwell, and beyond the rivers.

The second part, Ports, Pills and Wharves, comprises three chapters: North Somerset; The Parrett Estuary; and West Somerset. They give detailed descriptions of the various landing places ranging from, in their heyday, the busy ports of the River Parrett to the beach landing used by fishermen at Kewstoke. For this amateur industrial archaeologist this part was fascinating. The account of how the local industries were supported by the shipping trade, and the effect of the new railway networks is portrayed in a most interesting fashion.

The third part, which has two chapters, covers the transition from sail to steam, and then motor power in the first chapter. The final chapter describes the decline of the sailing vessels. The economics of small, slow vessels, the opening of the Severn Tunnel, and the continuing development of road transport all contributing to the reduction in seaborne trade. For the coast walker the paragraphs which list where wrecks of old vessels can still be seen will be of interest. Some hulls are still in use to stabilize the beach between the River Severn and the Gloucester and Sharpness Canal. The book ends on an upbeat note, giving a list of where restored vessels can be seen. It is heartening to learn that at three Bristol boat yards traditional wooden vessels are being restored and constructed; indeed some Bristol Channel pilot cutters are still in use and replicas are being built.

The maps are most useful in illustrating the text, and are clear and simple. A minor quibble here is the lack of scales, so on page 68 we are told that coal was carried by packhorses for the last three miles to Taunton, but this statement cannot be quickly related to the map on page 69. The photographs have been well chosen and, despite being in black and white, have reproduced very well. The only obvious error was that 'the tidal rise and fall' in the Severn is given as 39 metres, whereas it is about 39 feet.

This book is probably not for the academic, as it lacks a rigorous system of references to sources; there is a list of sources in the introduction. However, it should appeal to anyone with an interest in the development and decline of maritime trade on the Somerset coast, how it was linked to local commerce, and the effect of the expansion of the railways and roads on local trade. In future your reviewer will look more closely at the ground under his feet as he walks the coastline; he might be treading on an old dock. When the weather prevents walking his interest has been fired to

find out more about dredging using the ‘eroder’ vessel *Pioneer*, the mining of calamine at Shipham, and why, in the 17th century, Bristol’s glass industry needed kelp from Ireland. In short this is a book that arouses interest not only in Somerset’s maritime history, but also in the history of the industries along the coast.

DAVID IVES

Chris Stephens, *The Reverend Dr Thomas Sedgwick Whalley and the Queen of Bath. A true story of Georgian England at the time of Jane Austen*, pp.438, illustrations, index, published by Candy Jar Books, 2014, ISBN 978-0-9928607, £9.99.

A detailed biography of the Reverend Dr Thomas Sedgwick Whalley (1740-1828) is a welcome and affordable addition to the biographical works on notable men and women of Somerset. Chris Stephens has written a well researched and easy to read account of a man who not only had associations with Bath but also the Mendip Hills, and much more besides.

Some readers may be familiar with the two volumes of Dr Whalley’s letters that were sanitised by his great nephew. But as the author points out, the ‘do not tell the whole story’. A good proportion of the story comes from the letters of three of his friends Mrs Piozzo, Hannah More and Anna Seward. Other friends and associates included the brother of a prime minister, the Duke d’Arenberg, Bishop Beadon, Erasmus Darwin, Dr Johnson and William Wilberforce, to name but a few. He thrived in the grand age of Jane Austen and the wonders of the city of Bath. He ultimately had fingers in many pies, with interests in agriculture, industry, education, the arts, science, religion, moral and women’s rights, as well as travel and philanthropy.

Described as a playwright and socialite, toast of William Wilberforce and Marie Antoinette, poet, pamphleteer, traveller and horticulturist he lived a life of extravagance, generosity and intellect. He travelled from the Mendip Hills, to Napoleon’s France, visited gardens, school houses, and the meeting rooms of the Bath literati. His connections to numerous local families are recorded in great detail and although not of the landed elite of the county he was a man of some influence and wealth. This book is a joy to read and no stone has been left unturned in the compilation of this volume of which Whalley would no doubt have been proud.

A.J.W.

NOTES

SOMERSET CHARTS. In the recently published *Charts and surveys of the Somerset coast c.1350-1824* is an account of a series of three charts covering the Bristol Channel that appear never to have been published.¹ It is clear that even from 1807 the Admiralty's Hydrographer knew there was a deficiency in the charting of the Bristol Channel, but exactly when steps were taken to rectify this is not clear.² Can it be assumed that following the appointment of Captain Thomas Hurd R.N. (1754-1823) as Hydrographer to the Admiralty Board in 1808 he soon after took steps to rectify this problem? Evidence for this appears in the contents list of an atlas titled *Charts of the English Channel: Compiled, Selected, & Engraved, in the Hydrographical Office, from Original Surveys and other Authorities, for the use of the Royal Navy by Capt. Hurd, R.N. Hydrographer to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, printed by Ballintine and Byworth in 1811. The printed contents list shows 43 charts divided into two types, either 'general' or 'particular'. The 'general' type of charts are small scale and were compiled in the Hydrographical Office from a variety of sources. The 'particular' charts cover smaller areas, such as Tor Bay, Plymouth Sound or the north coast of Kent. Although the atlas is dated 1811 the contents page has a watermark of 1808 and one of the charts has a publication date of 7 March 1812.

The Bristol Channel is included on a small scale chart of the entrance to the English Channel extending in the north as far as Aberystwyth, east to Portland, south to St Gildas (France) and west to the Blaskets (off the south west coast of Ireland). But the contents page of the atlas shows entries for three specific charts of the Bristol Channel and one for Milford Haven that were 'intended' for publication. Unfortunately the four charts were not included in the atlas. However, as this atlas does contain Lieutenant Murdoch Mackenzie's chart covering the coast from St Agnes (Cornwall) to Hartland Point (Devon),³ the remaining part of the Bristol Channel, including the entire Somerset coast, was intended for publication and the three charts identified as E143/1-3 are the manuscript compilations.⁴ Therefore Hurd put in place a programme of chart scheming for the Bristol Channel when the idea of this atlas was conceived, some time before it was published in 1811. Why these charts appear not to have been published in

1811 is far from clear. Perhaps they may have been published afterwards, but despite an extensive search examples have not come to light.

1. A.J. Webb, *Charts and surveys of the Somerset coast c.1350-1824* S.R.S. 97 (2015), 157-68.
2. Webb, *Charts*, 161.
3. Captain Hurd, *Charts of the English Channel: Compiled, Selected, & Engraved, in the Hydrographical Office, from Original Surveys and other Authorities, for the use of the Royal Navy by Capt. Hurd, R.N. Hydrographer to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1811).
4. United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, E143/1-3 shelf Dc.

A.J.W.

REPLIES

FIVES. I would refer the questioner to the excellent article by Roger Ford that was published in the *Frome Society Yearbook* 17 (2014), pp.91-8 entitled 'Fives in Frome?'. All details of Frome Society publications are available through the website www.fsls.org.uk. Also the Caroe & Partners Architects website (http://www.caroe.co.uk/fives_research.php) gives details of Jerry Sampson's research.

ALASTAIR MACLEAY

FIVES. A court at Sexey's School, Bruton was built in the 1920s or 1930s. When I went to school in 1948 it was in use for a variety of hand fives and for an illegal version (according to the staff) of football fives. On my last visit to the school some years ago re-development meant that the court had disappeared but the wings of the wall could still be seen. There is a reference to fives in the book *Somerset in living memory* published in 1992 by the Somerset Federation of Women's Institutes. On page 15 it describes games played at Pawlett by teams from Combwich and Pawlett.

W.J. INGLES

PROVENANCE OF A THORNCOMBE TERRACE. In addition to my article in *SDNQ* 381 pp.357-71, it would appear that Grace Bragge née Tillman (1678-1724) died with few personal possessions. In her will, she left a shilling to each of two of her daughters, Grace Phelps and Dorothy Cole.¹ To another daughter Sarah [Limbury] she bequeathed two cooking pots, an oak coffer,

and all her clothes with the exception of a 'coton whittle' [cloak or shawl] which she left to her other daughter Elizabeth Pye.² A small box 'that will hold about a peck' and lace handkerchief went to her grand-daughter Elizabeth [Limbury]. To her son John Bragge, who she appointed sole executor, Grace Bragge left the balance of her estate and chattels after debts and funeral expenses had been paid.

According to a privately owned Deed of Assent (date illegible but verified on 27 July 1987) relating to 'premises at Thorncombe' belonging to E.E. Ousley deceased, it transpires that Miss Ousley was christened Elsie Eliza not Edith. She was born in Bridport on 14 April 1893 and died in March 1971. Her family's association with Pinneys therefore extended for 275 years not 276 years. The 1911 Bridport census gives her father Richard Read Ousley's occupation as glove leather cutter.³ Following Miss Ousley's death, her properties on The Terrace were gradually sold off piece-meal between 1972 and 1987.

1. D.H.C., D-RGB/LL/45 Copy will of Grace Bragge dated 9 Dec 1723 with probate.
2. Oxford English Dictionary on-line at www.oed.com (accessed 14.03.2015)
3. 1911 census for Bridport, www.ancestry.com (accessed 14.03.2015)

EVE HIGGS

WEBSITE

LIST OF WORLD WAR I MEMORIAL HALLS IN SOMERSET AND DORSET. The list of Somerset and Dorset Memorial Halls on the 'World War I Memorial Halls' page is still in need of contributions. This is particularly true for Dorset which has only two entries at present. The idea of creating a record of World War I Memorial Halls was put forward by Felicity Hebditch and the list appears at the foot of her article on that subject. One of the interesting aspects emerging from the list is the many different uses to which these halls have been put over the years. For example, one now houses a museum and doll collection (Dunster), and another has been a theatre since the 1930s (Frome). Many of the halls were built not only in remembrance of those who fell in the war but also as thank-offerings for the return of those who survived and in some communities the hall is the only official memorial. Photographs of memorial halls in the two counties, taken by the contributor, are also welcome for consideration for

publication on the website. Some memorial halls were built following World War II and commemorate the fallen of both World Wars. The SDNQ list is concerned with halls that were built before World War II.

JUDITH FORD

CORRIGENDUM

SDNQ 381 p.361, 'In 1738 Esther Chubb married Henry Hoar and in 1740 their daughter Edith married butcher Thomas Ousley in 1769', should read: 'In 1738 Esther Chubb married Henry Hoar and in 1769 their daughter Edith married butcher Thomas Ousley'.

EVE HIGGS

OBITUARY

Margaret Holmes Dorset's first County Archivist, died in January 2015 in her 92nd year in Charminster.

After service in the WRENS and reading English at Oxford, Margaret was one of the first to take the then new Diploma in Archive Administration at London University. On qualification, she spent several years working at Gloucestershire Record Office.

Dorset followed many other counties in setting up an archive service or county record office. In the mid-1950s, the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society suggested to the County Council that it was time that Dorset employed a full-time, qualified person as their archivist to look after the collections then held in County Hall and the Dorset County Museum. Margaret Holmes took up the new appointment of County Archivist in September 1956. In later days, she would recount with typical, self-deprecating humour some of the 'challenges' she faced in the early days, matters, which, in practice, must have been quite trying and difficult to resolve. Initially, she had no office or public research space and worked in and between two stores in the Museum and County Hall, with little in the way of resources. In typical style she was not down-hearted and soon persuaded those in authority to give her fledgling service priority over the storage of empty ballot boxes. In fact, she was quite quickly able to amalgamate the two collections in one place and to create a fully-

functioning service. To begin with, she shared her office with the public, a situation which continued for some years until a separate, 'temporary' building was put up in the courtyard to provide a public search room.

In her own way, Margaret Holmes was a determined and formidable person and yet with typical modesty and humour, she established Dorset's archives firmly as a much-appreciated, fully rounded service, used and enjoyed by thousands of people. Harnessing the initial impetus and continuing support, which she maintained and increased over her time, Margaret drew in to permanent safe-keeping many of the major archive collections recording so much of Dorset's history. These included not only the great archives of the county, but she also collected and made accessible the records of the parishes, popular with many family historians.

She contributed pieces to SDNQ, based on interesting documents she had come across,¹ and in October 1969 she joined the editorial committee as a member for Dorset. During this time, she encouraged her staff to write up interesting or unusual documents for publication in SDNQ. In 1986 she resigned from the editorial committee, three years after her retirement.

Margaret Holmes held her learning lightly and over the years willingly shared her knowledge with all who sought to use and enjoy the archives. Margaret laid permanent, solid foundations for the successful preservation and use of Dorset's archives to this day. In Dorset she was a pioneer and a successful one.

1. Transcript of a deposition from Lyme Regis Borough records, 1678 on suspected witchcraft (*SDNQ* vol. XXVII, part 278 (1963), 142-6); 18th century letter to William Bryer (*SDNQ* vol. XXVII, part 283 (1966), 264-5).

Mrs Ann Smith
(former archivist at the Dorset Record Office)

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