
NOTES & QUERIES

FOR
SOMERSET AND DORSET

EDITED BY

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

HERRICK

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18. SCANDINAVIAN LOCATION NAMES IN THE SEVERN SEA AND THE QUESTION OF THE PLOTNEYS ROCKS AT PORTISHEAD. A problem of particular linguistic and historical interest in and around the Severn Sea is the occurrence of place-names of Scandinavian (Old Danish or Old Norwegian) origin. Scandinavian names in the Western and Northern Isles and the west and north coasts of Scotland, Pembrokeshire, the Lake District, the Wirral and much of eastern and East Midland England are a well-known and well-understood phenomenon. Their distribution correlates with known waves of Scandinavian incursion and settlement from the 9th century onwards. The presence of such names for coastal features in parts of the south-west of England and south Wales is more mysterious, given the complete absence of Scandinavian settlement names in Somerset, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire, and their almost complete absence in Glamorgan. Such maritime names which are beyond reasonable doubt of Scandinavian origin include especially those of islands such as the outlying *Lundy* and *Caldey* (including Old Scandinavian [OSc] *ey* ‘island’), but also, and more intriguingly, the up-Channel *Sker* Point and *Tusker* Rock in Glamorgan (including OSc *sker* ‘flat rock, skerry’), and the grange called *Meles* in Margam (Glamorgan; though the source word *melr* ‘sandbank, sand dune’¹ may have been borrowed into the English language and used here as an English word. There is a very small cluster of inhabited places in south-east Wales with Scandinavian names: *Lamby* ‘long farm’ (*Langby*, 1401), *Wōmanby* ‘houndsmen’s farm’ (*Houndemanneby*, 1310), and *Homri* ‘Horn’s farm’ (*Hornby*, 14th century, *Horneby* 1540), all in the Cardiff area.² In the inner Severn estuary, in the Aust narrows, we find the late-recorded but characteristically Scandinavian-looking *Leary* Rock (apparently from OSc *leira* ‘mudflat’, or *leir(r)* ‘mud’, + *ey* ‘island’), *Gruggy* (also apparently ‘mud island’; compare *gruggóttir* ‘muddy’), *Guascar* Rock (apparently from *gás* ‘goose’ + *sker* ‘rock’) and *The Scars* (an anglicized plural form of *sker* ‘rock, skerry’).

It is often claimed that *Steepholm* and *Flatholm* should be viewed in this light as Scandinavian, since *hólmr* is a Scandinavian word for a small island. But since *Steep Holm* contains an English adjective (Old English *stēap* ‘steep’), it is pretty clear that *hólmr* must have been borrowed into English and used as an English word in this name. *Flat Holm* may well contain an English noun, Old English *flot* ‘deep water’, since spellings with <o>

predominate in early mentions. The sometimes-claimed evidence that it contains Old Scandinavian *floti* 'fleet', relying on an incident in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, can be refuted,³ though it could be argued on linguistic grounds that it has late Old Scandinavian *flot* 'piece of flat ground' + *hólmr*. But if that were the case, we would have to accept the odd conclusion that *Steep Holm* is English but *Flat Holm* Scandinavian. The upshot is that *Steep Holm* is definitely not a name given by Scandinavian speakers, and *Flat Holm* probably is not. Undoubtedly both names testify in a loose kind of way to Scandinavian influence in the region, in that *hólmr* has been borrowed into English, but the safest conclusion is that both these islands were named by English speakers.

The existence of the rest of the names mentioned above gives us confidence in interpreting other difficult names in the Severn region, including coastal Somerset, as Scandinavian. These include the various *Dunballs* and the like (*Dunball Island* and later *Dunball Wharf* in Huntspill, *Dunball Island* formerly in Easton in Gordano, *Dunball alias Cures Island* recorded in the 1770s in the River Parrett, and the lost *Dunbal Point* in Otterhampton), representing occasionally overflowed shoreline pasture (from OSc *dunna* 'mallard' + *ból* 'lair, den');⁴ *Middle Hope Bay* in Kewstoke (probably from *hóp* 'small bay'); and *Plotneys* (for which see below). The two appearances of the previously unexplained word *layer* which appears on either side of *Plotneys* on Williams's chart (1815; one instance shows on the extract in Illustration 2),⁵ suggested for the first time here as perpetuating OSc *leir(r)* 'mud', are also noteworthy;⁶ compare *Leary* above. The original name of Anchor Head at Weston-super-Mare (*Ankygsetyn* 'super mare' in 1480,⁷ *Ankershed* in 1492)⁸ appears to be for OSc *ankeris-sæti* 'anchorage'. The exact reason for the adoption and persistence of such alien maritime and coastal names in English- or Welsh-speaking territory is still not fully understood; the main problem is the sociolinguistic one of how an apparently non-resident population of Vikings can have had the effect of making their naming practices stick in particular cases in English- and Welsh-speaking territory. In our present state of knowledge, it appears too much to believe that the inhabitants of the three small Cardiff settlements with names in *-by* were home to a population capable of imposing their linguistic will in coastal Somerset and Gloucestershire without settling there.⁹

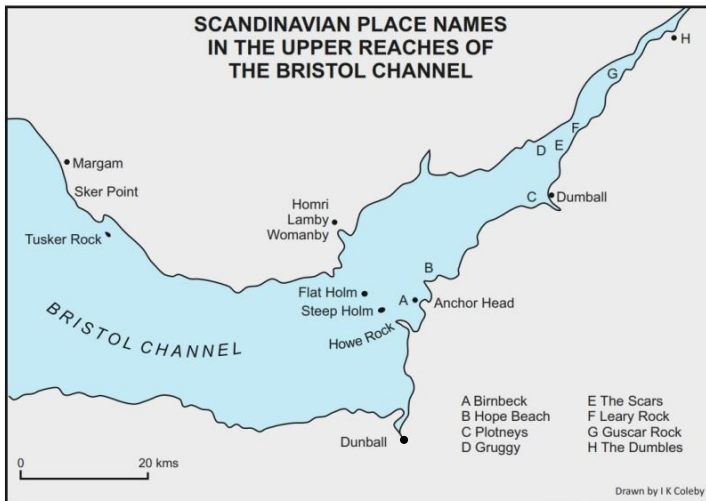


Illustration: Scandinavian place-names in the Upper Reaches of the Bristol Channel (Authors)

Plotneys: a case study

The name of the rock feature *Plotneys* on the Portishead/Portbury parish boundary has not been fully explained before. In the light of the preamble above, it could be explained as ‘flat promontory’, from OS *flatr* ‘flat’ + *nes* ‘ness, land projecting into the sea’, but with a modern form in <P-> probably due to a misreading of an early manuscript <F->, though it should be noted that surviving spellings in <P-> are earlier than surviving forms in <F->. The misread manuscript in question must now be lost, or at least undiscovered. This suggestion may seem chronologically perverse, but it should be noted that trying to find an etymology if the first element is Scandinavian and begins with original <p-> proves to be a wild Arctic goose chase. *Nes*, a word ultimately related to *nose*, appears Scandinavian; but Scandinavian words beginning with <p-> are rare, and almost always borrowed from other languages.

If the name included, instead, the more or less corresponding (West Saxon) Old English [OE, c.450-1100] word *næss*, we would have to conclude either that it always appears in an inappropriate Mercian or Kentish dialect form with <-e->, or that it has been influenced by precisely the Old Scandinavian word we are considering, and the possibility of Viking influence remains. OE

næss appears in Sharpness (Gloucestershire), in which spellings with <a> persist till the late 16th century before <e> takes over; and in Totnes (Devon), where <a> spellings are rarer, but appear till the 14th century. The English word is rare in the south-west of England, appearing in just these two major names. But OS*c nes* is quite common in the north and east, and appears in major names such as *Furness*, *Holderness*, *Skegness* and *Orford Ness*. It appears that by some combination of influence from the Scandinavian word, which must have been familiar in place-names to coastal seafarers, and vowel change in a final unstressed syllable, the *ness* type has pushed out the *nass* type. Since *Plotneys* appears late in the record, as we shall show, it cannot be ruled out that it originally contained *næss*. But if so, a problem with identifying the first element as English persists. The word *flat* is a medieval borrowing of Old Scandinavian *flatr*; there is no evidence for it before the Conquest. And if the first element is Middle English [ME, 1100-1500] or even Modern English *plat* or *plot*, the sense of this, ‘small patch of (cultivated) ground’, is hardly appropriate for a maritime feature.

The upshot of this difficult argumentation about *Plotneys* is as follows:

- (1) OS*c flatr* + *nes* requires acceptance of a manuscript transmission error substituting <P-> for <F->.
- (2) If it is a name coined with OE *næss*, no suitable first element can be identified. We might consider OE *flot* ‘deep water; ?fairway channel’, because of the fact that the channel runs close to Portishead Point, but the earliest spellings generally have <a>, not <o> (see below). Substitution of <e> for <a> must be assumed, whichever reason (borrowing or phonetic change) is preferred for this occurrence.
- (3) If it is a name coined with ME *flat* + *nass*, it cannot be earlier than about 1100-1200, a manuscript error must also be accepted, and substitution of <e> for <a> must be assumed, whichever reason (borrowing or phonetic change) is preferred for this occurrence.
- (4) If the earliest forms showing initial <P-> are authentic, no plausible etymology is available.

Clearly only (1) and (3) are viable possibilities. (3) cannot be ruled out, but (1) is the most straightforward, especially when backed

with the other evidence presented for Scandinavian influence in the Severn. With due reserve, then, we propose that the name *Plotneys* is another Scandinavian name.

The evidence offered by the charting history of the place about its being named, and about the form of the name when mentioned, is quite complex. The first record of this feature on a printed chart was made by Captain John Williams, who appears to have executed a survey around 1706.¹⁰ He referred to a small, but nevertheless noteworthy, area of rocks to the east of Portishead Point as *y^e Platness*, in which the first word is a scribal rendering of the definite article *the* which remained conventional until well into the 18th century. (It is not to be pronounced *ye*!) This feature was situated approximately halfway between Portishead Point and the entrance to the River Avon. As these rocks lay to the south of the important anchorage of King Road it is not surprising that this danger to navigation was shown, and more importantly named, by Williams.¹¹ What is surprising is that only a few years later, in c.1712, it was not named in a chart by Captain Holliday, even though the group of rocks is clearly shown in his chart, published as ‘A draught of the Bristol Channel from the Holmes to King Road, including the River Avon’, and included in Nathanael Cutler’s *A general coasting pilot*.¹²



Illustration: An extract from a chart of the Bristol Channel by Captain Williams, c.1706 showing 'ye Platness' as a group of rocks at King Road (Admiralty Library, Portsmouth)

Despite Williams' having marked and named the feature on his chart,¹³ it was not universally copied by other hydrographic surveyors, cartographers or publishers.¹⁴ Murdoch Mackenzie senior and his nephew Lieutenant Murdoch Mackenzie junior R.N. both show a feature on their published charts from the 1770s which appears to be a patch of drying ground, in the same area, but neither named it,¹⁵ and they were followed in this by Captain John Knight R.N. in his published chart of 1806.¹⁶ However, Mackenzie junior appears to have been the first person to make a detailed, and what must be classed as accurate, description of the 'Flatness, or Platness Rock' in 1772,¹⁷ the first use of a form with <F->, using wording which seems to suggest he thinks the form on 'the chart' may be misleading:

Flatness, or Platness Rock.

Flatness, or Platness Rock as it is called in the chart, is a rocky shoal that lies along the drying mud bank from the coast, between Posset [= Portishead] point, and Warth point; its outer or north side, is about ½ mile from the coast, and it lies ENE and WSW, and is about ¾ of a mile long, and about a cable's length in breadth: its west end, bears ENE from Posset point, ¾ of a mile distant, and its east end bears west from Warth point, a little more than ½ mile. Its east end is dry with spring tide, and very nearly joins the mud bank from the coast; but on the middle, and on the west end of this rocky shoal there are from 1, to 6 feet water, with spring tides.

The fairway channel, from Fort point, to Kingroad; to the entrance of the River Avon; and to the entrance of the River Severn; is between the northside of Flatness or Platness Rock, the south end of New Bank, and the south side of Three Feet Shoal. New Bank, and Three Feet Shoal, are far nearer to the coast of Somerset, than they are to the coast of Monmouth; but as they lie on the north side of the fairway channel to Kingroad, and are always to be taken on the larboard hand in sailing from the Holms to the River Avon; we shall therefore differ our description of them, until we have described the other banks and shoals, that lie on the north or on the same side of the fairway channel as they do, and to the westward of New Bank.¹⁸

More evidence for the existence of Platness Rock was provided by Mackenzie when he described the 'Three Feet Shoal' and a channel between it and Platness leading to King Road. From this time forwards the Platness Rock appears not to have been included

in published sailing directions until 1821 (where it appears as *Plotness-rocks*).¹⁹ In a manuscript description of 1815 it is described as ‘a rocky shoal called the Flatness, to be avoided, which extends more than a Cable’s length from the Shore, and is dry at low water’.²⁰ This is where we begin to confront the most serious textual difficulty. We cannot tell for sure whether the author, probably Henry Brooker R.N. master, was continuing an authentic early tradition of a name beginning with <F-> which has been obscured by the (?mistaken) previous use of forms with <P->, or whether he was influenced by the existence of the ordinary word *flatness*, viewed as appropriate here. The rocks did appear on numerous subsequent printed charts as *The Platness* in 1794,²¹ *The Platnese* in 1800,²² a *Rocky Bank* in 1803,²³ *the Flatness opposite Chapel Pill* in 1815,²⁴ and as an unnamed area of rocks in charts produced by different publishers in 1820²⁵ and 1829.²⁶ The form *Flatness* was also used in sailing directions in the 1870s.²⁷

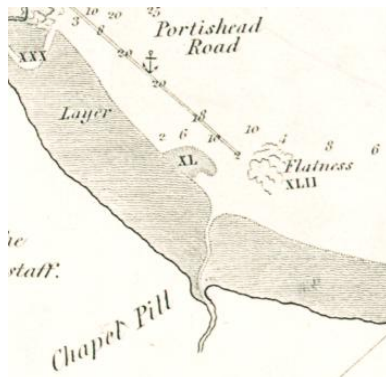


Illustration: An extract from a survey of the River Severn by Richard Thomas, published in 1815, showing the location of Flatness (U.K.H.O., L3895).

We have suggested above that there are cogent linguistic reasons for believing the form with <F-> must represent the earlier tradition, despite the appearance of the record.²⁸ But if that is the case, we must explain why the description ‘flat promontory’ is appropriate for a rocky shoal. OSc *nes* normally names a solid land feature, but the evidence of Thomas’ chart of 1815 suggests that it may have named an ancestor of the projecting mud bank conveniently marked XL (above); the rocky shoal ‘very nearly

joins the mud bank from the coast', according to Mackenzie junior. Accordingly, the name of the Plotneys must have originally been given to designate the rocky shoal for being close to some ancestor of this feature. We might also consider the possibility that the flat promontory was the one east of the shoal, the warthland (coastal grazing land) of Easton in Gordano, including the long point which became Dumball Island and is now lost in Avonmouth Docks.²⁹ That would certainly have been flat. The shoal is about equidistant from Portishead Point and Easton's promontory, but there is no evidence that either feature was called 'the flat ness', and Portishead Point is not flat. There is no merit in a possible alternative suggestion that the last syllable represents, or includes, OSC or OE *ey* 'island' because there is no feature meriting the description nearby at the right time and *Plotneys* itself is not an island.

1. Old Scandinavian words are given in their literary Old Norse form, as is conventional.
2. B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic place-names in Wales* (London, 1938), 240, 163, 158. Archaeological investigation in Womanby Street, Cardiff, has revealed nothing, according to G. O. Pierce, *Place-names in Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 2002), 183.
3. R. Coates, 'The Severn Sea islands in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', in *Notes and Queries* 61.1 [259 of the continuous series] (March 2014), 1-3.
4. R. Coates, 'South-West English *dumball*, *dumble*, *dunball* 'pasture subject to (occasional) tidal flooding'', in *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 39 (2007), 59-72.
5. U.K.H.O., L3895 R. Thomas, *Survey of the River Severn ...* (London, 1815).
6. J. Wright, *English dialect dictionary* (Oxford, 1898-1905), has an entry for *lair*, sb.2, meaning 'mud', but only as a Scots and North Country word.
7. Bristol Archives (B.A.), AC/D/11/29 lease, 1480; reading uncertain.
8. Information kindly supplied by Brian Austin, Weston-super-Mare, 2016.
9. Some of these names are discussed in greater depth in A.J. Webb and R. Coates, 'Somerset's maritime place-names' in A.J. Webb, ed., *A maritime history of Somerset, volume three* (2017), 27-82.
10. Williams appears to have executed a survey around 1706 with the title 'A New and Exact Draught of the Channell of Bristoll from Hartland Poynt to the River Avon & from Caldy Isle to Red Cliff', which was engraved and published (see A.J. Webb, *Charts and surveys of the Somerset coast, c.1350-1824*, Somerset Record Society 97 (2014), facsimile 6).
11. Copies of this are held at the B.L., Maps MAR III.79.1; Admiralty Library (A.L.), Vf2/33; National Library of Wales, 6013; Newberry Library, Ayer 135.E55 1766 between pages 42-43 (PrCt).
12. N. Cutler, *A general coasting pilot; containing directions for sailing into, and out of, the principal ports and harbours thro'out the known World, with a set of sea-charts, some laid down after Mercator, . . .* (London, 1728).
13. Webb, *Charts*, facsimile 6.
14. Webb, *Charts*, part two.
15. For details of the Mackenzies, see A.C.F. David, 'Collins, Mackenzie and the

- hydrographic surveys of the Somerset coast', in A.J. Webb, ed., *A maritime history of Somerset, volume one: trade and commerce* (Taunton, 2010), 93-106; Webb, *Charts*, 58-78, 144-51.
16. B.L., Maps1068(24); AL, Vu8/1; B.L., Maps1068(27).
 17. David, 'Collins, Mackenzie . . .', 100.
 18. Corporation of Trinity House, 1314 D5 f.59.
 19. J. Barlow, *The coasting pilot for the Bristol Channel and The Scilly Islands, from Scilly Islands and The Longships to Saint Ann's Light, Milford, and King-Road* (Ilfracombe, 1821), 84-5.
 20. U.K.H.O., MP92 remark book of H.M.S. *Myrtle*, 1815.
 21. B.L., Maps 1103(2) Laurie and Whittle's chart of the Bristol Channel, 1794.
 22. United Kingdom Hydrographic Office (U.K.H.O.), B265/3 Steel's chart of the Irish Sea or St Georges Channel (London, 1800).
 23. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, D8824 *W. Heather's new chart of the Bristol Channel* (London, 1803).
 24. B.L., Maps 1244(1) *Thomas junior's chart of the lower reaches of the River Severn* (London, 1815).
 25. B.L., Maps 1103.11 *Steel's new chart of the Bristol Channel* (London, 1820).
 26. B.L., Maps 1068(29) *Laurie's Chart of the English Channel* (London, 1829).
 27. Captain E.J. Bedford, *Sailing directions for the Bristol Channel* (London, 1879), 133-6.
 28. In making this point depending on an assumed error involving the first consonant, we should note that Williams' chart, the earliest document to mention the name, contains three clear errors in the immediate vicinity: *Porthet* for *Porshet*, the name of the town; *Blackmore Pt* for *Blacknore Pt*; and *Kings Road* for *King Road*.
 29. Much of this point is now occupied by Royal Portbury Dock.

RICHARD COATES and A.J.W.

19. "SLUTTISH WIDOW'S LOCKS": THE DEPILATORY POWERS OF ST CUTHBURGA. With ready access to haircare products and all the various accoutrements of modern hygiene taken for granted, tangled hair is no more than an odd inconvenience for most people, if at all – after a night's sleep on wet hair, or a weekend spent at a music festival. But in the gaping yawn of human history before shampoo and indoor plumbing, the reverse was true; and one interesting example of how serious the condition could become, and of the remedies ordinary people might seek, is to be found in a very unlikely place, among the reports of the commissioners for the dissolution of the monasteries.

At Thelsford Priory, in Warwickshire, in October 1538 one of the king's commissioners encountered an image of St Cuthburga, the patron saint of medieval Wimborne Minster, Dorset. Having accepted the surrender of the small group of friars in control of the priory, John London moved on to other religious houses in the area. A few days later, he told Thomas Cromwell about the encounter

with the image, in a letter.

Ther wasst a fonde fasshon of Idolytrye In the body of the church wasst an Image at an awters end callyd mayden Cutbroghe and under her feete wasst a trowgh of wodde descending undre the awter wich wasst holow. Thythor resortyd such as wer trobelyd with the hedde ache or hadde any slottiche wydowes locks. viz here growenn to gether in a tuft. Ther must they putt in to the trowgh a peckk of ootes and when they wer oons slydyd undre the awter the crosse fryers sthudd behynd the awter pryvily stole they owt and the sykk person must geve to the Fryer a peny for a pynte of thyse maydon Cutbrogh ootes and then they hedes schuld ak no more till the next tyme I have pullyd downe thys Idoll with herre mannger.²



Donna attaccata dal male chiamato Plica, il quale fa crescer i capelli.

An image of the so-called 'Polish plait', from a seventeenth-century treatise¹

Cuthburga was the sister of the famous West-Saxon king Ine, and founded an early royal monastery at Wimborne, with his blessing, at the turn of the eighth century; she had originally been wed to the king of Northumberland, but chose celibacy and the cloister instead. Later she came to lay in the Minster, and throughout the Middle Ages was worshipped with offerings by the parishioners and also pilgrims from outside the parish.³ The parish's churchwardens' accounts, the earliest of which date to 1403, record yearly offerings of money and other objects to her image in the church right up until 1538.⁴ As at Thelsford, an image of Cuthburga had a prominent place in the Minster, and the parishioners dressed her in wool and green silk, including an apron into which money, rings and other jewellery, spoons and daggers were placed. The cult does not appear to have spread far, though, with the majority of pilgrims probably visiting from east Dorset, and perhaps occasionally from as far away as Salisbury. In this regard, it was akin to the native cults of Cornwall described by Nicholas Orme, rather than the great medieval pilgrim cults, such as the Holy Blood of Hailes and the shrine of Thomas of Becket at Canterbury.⁵ Thelsford Priory is the only other location where a medieval image of St Cuthburga is attested; although the account comes at the very end of the cult's life at the priory. Like Thelsford's image, the Minster's was pulled down in accordance with the year's royal injunctions; but it was the parishioners themselves, and not an outsider, who had to do it.

In another journal, I have recently discussed this encounter; in particular, what it reveals about the spread and popularity of the cult of St Cuthburga before the Reformation.⁶ But one aspect of London's description I was forced to pass over was the specific ailments from which pilgrims to the priory church were seeking relief. No other extant sources, from Wimborne or anywhere else, give any indication of what those ailments were; although there is ample evidence of people seeking her aid at Wimborne Minster, either through offerings of money or specific prayers. Henry VI, for example, another royal saint with a cult at Wimborne Minster, was believed to offer cures against migraines, and he was also regularly called upon to protect against the plague and, even more so, to protect children – a reflection, perhaps, of the child-like innocence imputed to him.⁷ The medieval collect to St Cuthburga that features in the Sarum Use, the main order of service for the southern province of Canterbury in the late Middle Ages, is simply

a general call for her favourable intercession.⁸ A writ for proof of age from the late fourteenth century records that, after the baptism in the Minster of Thomas Romsey of Leigh, the godfather, Thomas Scott, was witnessed giving a gold noble to the church's image of the saint, as a sign of thanks for the child's safe delivery; but this in no way means that Cuthburga was especially associated with childbirth.⁹ It should be noted that, without any evidence of direct contact between Wimborne and Thelsford, or further supporting evidence about this 'intrinsically unimportant saint', it is impossible to know whether Cuthburga's devotees in both places were seeking the same cures.¹⁰

The use of holy or 'blessed' oats was not uncommon at this time, and 'the head ache' requires no further comment.¹¹ But what to make of 'sluttish widow's locks'? This striking phrase is obviously both gendered and age-related; and although it could perhaps designate the phenomenon unkindly referred to by generations of children – and I suspect a few adults as well – as 'granny's beard', 'locks' is more likely to be a reference to hair of the head rather than the chin or face. 'Sluttish', in the now-antiquated sense of 'dirty and untidy in dress and habits' (*O.E.D.*), suggests then the dirty and disordered hair of a very old woman. The phrase 'sluttish locks', gendered or otherwise, appears to have been a commonplace of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Richard Brome's comedy *The Court Beggar*, first performed in 1632, one of the characters contrasts 'verminous or sluttish locks or combings' with 'harmlesse and sound haire, of innocent, and wholesome people'.¹² In Brome's usage, the phrase simply means 'dirty hair', but it could also have strong associations with bewitchment. In this regard, a very immediate resonance comes from another contemporary play, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. In Act I Scene V, Mercutio, soliloquizing on Queen Mab, says,

She is the fairies' midwife ... That plats the manes of horses in the night /
And bakes the elflocks in foul sluttish hairs, /
Which, once untangled, much misfortune bodes.

The belief that witches, cunning-folk and elves made knots or plaits to bewitch their enemies or their enemies' livestock goes far back in pan-European folklore. In the eleventh-century penitential of Burchard of Worms, for instance, two questions concern the

‘knots, and incantations, and those various enchantments which evil men, swineherds, ploughmen, and sometimes hunters make’ and ‘the vanities which women practice in their woollen work’, when ‘the threads of the warp and woof become so mingled together that unless they supplement these in turn by other counter-incantations of the devil, the whole will perish’.¹³ As Mercutio states, these ‘elflocks’ were not believed to bring misfortune per se, but only ‘once untangled’, and this appears to be a direct reflection of popular belief. Thomas Browne, in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* of 1650, an enquiry into vulgar errors and superstitions, recorded that many still feared ‘poling Elvelocks or complicated haire of the head, and also of locks longer then the other hair; they being votary at first, and dedicated upon occasion; preserved with great care, and accordingly esteemed by others’.¹⁴

We of course look to modern medicine for a natural explanation, and in doing so at least one Shakespeare scholar has suggested that Mercutio was referring to *plica polonica* or the so-called ‘Polish plait’.¹⁵ This condition is caused, either through poor hygiene and lack of care or by deliberate action (as for many centuries in Poland): the protective coating of the hair degrades or is encouraged to degrade, and the hairs stick together in heavy tangles and clumps. The condition can be extremely painful and unpleasant, especially when brought on by squalor and compounded with a lice infestation. The condition was common among the poor and marginal until the twentieth century; nor did its social epidemiology escape the attention, for instance, of pseudo-scientists, eugenicists and racists, including Mark Twain himself, when they inspected Europe’s huddled masses arriving in the United States.¹⁶ As well as his attribution of the condition to old women, London’s *videlicet*, that the hair was ‘growenn to gether in a tufte’, is compelling evidence that *plica polonica* should also be the diagnosis for the widows of Thelsford.

But why seek Cuthburga’s aid for the condition? Her association with head pain may have drawn sufferers to her. Another direct or proximate cause may have been the competing physical and superstitious demands of the condition, if indeed there were such. Despite *plica polonica*’s unpleasantness and the desire to be rid of it, the superstitious cachet of ‘elflocks’ meant that untangling the ‘foul sluttish locks’ oneself would have been thought unlucky: saintly depilation was perhaps then the only option.

1. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons [www.commons.wikimedia.org].
2. The National Archives (hereafter 'T.N.A.'), SP/1/138, f.45; also in J. Gairdner ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 13:2 (1893), no.719. I owe my awareness of this letter to the kindness of one of my supervisors at Oxford, Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch.
3. The antiquarian John Leland, who visited in the mid-sixteenth century, stated that 'S. Cuthburga was buryid in the north side of the presbyterie' (L. Toulmin Smith ed., *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, parts I to III* (1907), 257). On Cuthburga's relics in the Minster see W. Shipp and J.W. Hodson ed., J. Hutchins, *History and antiquities of the county of Dorset*, vol. III, 3rd ed. (1868), 225. For the parishioners' devotions to Cuthburga, see my article 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry: Two Royal Cults at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 1403-1538' in *Sixteenth Century Journal* (forthcoming). For Cuthburga's place among the medieval saints more generally see R. Rushforth, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St Cuthburga', *Analecta Bollandiana* 18:3 (2000), 291-324.
4. The churchwardens' accounts are held under the reference PE-WM/CW/1 at the Dorset History Centre, Dorchester (hereafter D.H.C.). I have written about the churchwardens' accounts for this journal: C. Cornish-Dale, 'Early Traces of the Dorset Dialect in the Churchwardens' Accounts of Wimborne Minster: Some Notes', *SDNQ* 38: 383 (2016), 33-39.
5. N. Orme, *The saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000).
6. C. Cornish-Dale, "'A Pint of These Maiden Cuthburga Oats': the Cult of St Cuthburga at Thelsford Priory, October 1538", *Midland History* (2017), 183-193. [<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0047729X.2017.1376374>].
7. D. Pirovansky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2008), 85-7, 89-94. Little has been written about Henry's cult at Wimborne, apart from J.M.J. Fletcher, 'King Henry's Box at Wimborne Minster' in *SDNQ* 17 (1923), 199-201. See my forthcoming 'Cuthburga and King Harry'.
8. Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*, 183.
9. J.L. Kirby ed., *Calendar of inquisitions post-mortem, 7-14 Henry IV (1405-1413)*, vol. 19 (1992), no.997.
10. The quotation is from R. Pfaff, *The liturgy in Medieval England: a history* (Cambridge, 2009), 383.
11. M. Milner, 'The Physics of Holy Oats: Vernacular Knowledge, Qualities and Remedy in Fifteenth Century England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43:2 (2013), 219-45.
12. R. Brome, *The court begger a comedie acted at the Cock-pit by His Majesties servants, anno 1632* (1653).
13. 'The Corrector of Burchard of Worms' in J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer, *Medieval handbooks of penance* (1990), 330.
14. T. Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica, or, enquiries into very many received tenents and commonly presumed truths together with some marginal observations, and a table alphabeticall at the end* (1650), 226.
15. J. Wickham Legg, 'Note Upon the Elf-Locks in Romeo and Juliet', *The New Shakespeare Society's Transactions* 4: 2 (1875-76), 191-3.
16. See for instance, S.L. Gilman, 'Mark Twain and the Diseases of the Jews', *American Literature* 65: 1 (1993), 95-115, especially 106.

CHARLES CORNISH-DALE

20. THE JOURNEY OF JOHN BUNN, SEAMAN, 1789. At the end of 1789, John Bunn, a seaman discharged from the navy as an invalid, returned home to Wedmore. His journey had started in Middlesex, where on the 30th of November he had been examined by W. Heckford, magistrate, and issued with a settlement order. Under the 1662 Act of Settlement, people in need were sent back to their place of 'lawful settlement', where they could receive assistance, paid by parish overseers of the poor out of the parish poor rate. They had to provide a legitimate reason to claim a place as their legal settlement, sworn before a magistrate who would issue the settlement order. They had to have been born in the parish, worked there for a year and a day, served there as an apprentice or been married there. Most parishes with surviving records from the 17th and 18th centuries will have, among the overseers' papers, such settlement orders, handed in by paupers arriving in the parish. Overseers were always eager to move passing travellers on before they became a liability, and to rush pregnant women over the parish boundary before a new baby could claim residence. What does not usually survive is any detailed information about how these impoverished and otherwise unknown travellers got themselves back to where they belonged.

John Bunn had been found 'Begging and lying about in the air' in the parish of Isleworth, in Middlesex. Isleworth lies beside the Thames on the west side of London, opposite present-day Kew Gardens. His deposition before W. Heckford, the magistrate, states that 'He was born in the parish of Wedmore (near Wells) in the county of Somersetshire, that he and all his family were legally settled there, & [he] served his Majesty in the *Euridice* frigate commanded by Captain George Lumdon [*sic*] and was legally discharged as an Invalid.' John Bunn could not write, and signed his name with an X.¹

H.M.S. *Eurydice* was a sixth rate, 24 gun warship of the British Navy, launched at Portsmouth Dockyard in 1781. During 1789, the year of the French Revolution, she was with the British squadron in the Mediterranean, although she does not seem to have been involved in any significant action in that year. Her captain from 1788 to 1790 was George Lumsdaine, who rose to the rank of vice admiral, and died in 1812.²

John Bunn first appears on the muster lists of *Eurydice* when the ship was in dock at Woolwich in June-July 1788, being made ready for sea.³ The ship 'Began Wages and Sea Victualling the 13th

day of June 1788'. The full complement of the ship, in theory, was 140 men (officers and crew), and they were later joined by a detachment of marines. During June and July 1788 the number of men signed on to the ship's company rose from 22 to 133. By August the total had reached 139 and recruiting was virtually complete – although there were setbacks. At the end of July, Captain Lumsdaine signed a list of 19 named 'Run Men' who 'did run from his Majesty's Ship *Eurydice* under my Command ... and in my present Opinion deserve no relief. G. Lumsdaine Capt. 31 July 1788'. These deserters escaped while the ship was still in dock. She sailed down the Thames to Long Reach on the 30th of July, and anchored at Gravesend on the 3rd of August, before sailing for Plymouth.

On the first muster list, covering June and July 1788, crew member no.46 is John Bunn, from Wedmore, Somersetshire, 'Able-seaman'. His early place on the list, out of the potential 140 men, suggests that he was already in Woolwich, probably off a returned ship and waiting around the dockyard to seek his next opportunity before he ran out of money. He gave his age as 45, and this may be significant, for Wedmore parish registers (see below) suggest that he was in fact 49. Most of the other sailors were aged from late teens to thirties, with only a few in their forties. John Bunn was old for a sailor, so this was probably far from his first voyage; he may have knocked a few years off his age in order to secure a place on the ship.

Eurydice sailed to Plymouth, where their complement of 22 Marines from 'Plymouth Headquarters' joined the ship. The Marines were later described as being from Plymouth 3rd Division. During September and October 1788 *Eurydice* operated around the English Channel and Channel Islands, occasionally chasing small boats suspected of smuggling contraband. In November she was back in Plymouth for repairs, overhaul and stores. Thursday 20 November 1788: 'Bent the sails ... rec^d Fresh Beef ... took on Board the Guns and the Barge, rec^d 16 Bags of Bread'. Wednesday 26th November: 'receiv'd Beer and water – return'd Empty Casks'. Thursday 27th November: 'Making ready for Sea, rec^d Fresh beef'. The ship was being prepared for her journey to Gibraltar. On Saturday the 7th of December they sailed into Gibraltar Bay where they 'Found lying here his Majesty's Ships Trusty, Aquilon, Mercury, Lowestoffe, Carysfort, Orestes, Ferret and Ranger with a Dutch Frigate'. On Thursday the 11th of December they 'sent on

Shore a Cable and two Hen coops, the Launch employed watering the Ship.’

The captain’s log books document the minutiae of *Eurydice*’s stay at Gibraltar between December 1788 and February 1789: the constant cleaning and maintenance, provisioning and fetching water, taking turns at guard duty, acknowledging other British and foreign ships, and giving assistance to other ships in the British naval fleet when needed. The ship patrolled Gibraltar Bay and the Straits, and provided an escort to passing British merchant ships. In January and February 1789 much time and effort was spent refloating and repairing ‘a Ragusa ship’, presumably from Ragusa (now Dubrovnik), which had gone aground in Gibraltar Bay and was probably an inconvenience or danger to other ships in the harbour. Wednesday the 28th of January: ‘sent a Midshipman & 15 Men to assist in getting off [f] a Ragusa Ship’. Thursday the 29th of January: ‘Lent y^e Spare Bower anchor & Cable to y^e Ragusa. Midshipman and Men as before’. Tuesday 10th February: ‘sent a Midshipman & seventeen Men on board y^e Ragusa Ship’. A midshipman and a gang of hands worked on the stranded ship at frequent intervals until Monday 23rd February, when ‘y^e party of Men return’d after having hove off y^e Ragusa a considerable way ... 2 boats sent to assist in towing y^e above Ship into y^e New Mole ... Mast^r & men went to Weigh y^e Anchor lent y^e Ragusa – at Noon got y^e Anchor with a Cable on Board’. On Thursday the 26th of February they prepared to leave on a brief voyage to the Bay of Algiers, and were back in Gibraltar Bay by Wednesday 11th March.

Eurydice remained at Gibraltar until early May. The ship’s musters show that on the 31st of March no.46, John Bunn, was discharged (‘D’) as ‘unsuitable’ and transferred to Gibraltar Naval Hospital. ‘Unsuitable’ was a term used (and still used) to cover discharge for any reason other than criminal or mutinous charges. John Bunn made it clear in his later statement to the Middlesex magistrate that he had been ‘legally discharged.’ He continued to be listed in the ship’s muster books, as being in Gibraltar Hospital and regularly received his two-monthly allowance of ‘slop cloaths’ worth 12s.3d., tobacco 6s.4d. and advance pay of £1.18s.2d. Leaving John Bunn in hospital, the *Eurydice* sailed from Gibraltar on the 9th of May on a voyage to the eastern Mediterranean. They sailed by Majorca, Leghorn (now Livorno), Naples and ‘M^t Strombello’ (Stromboli, in the Aeolian Islands) to the Greek island of Milos and thence to Smyrna (now Izmir) in Turkey. On Monday

the 15th of June they 'at 7 pass'd a Turkish Squadron consisting of 3 Frigates 5 Xebacks & 2 Galleys', came into Smyrna Road and 'found lying here a French & Dutch Frigate, & His B[ritannic] M[ajesty's] Frigate Carysfort.' On Wednesday 17th June they 'Saluted y^c British consul with 11 Guns', and went on to 'exercise' the sails, take on board water and fresh beef. The ship remained at Smyrna until mid-October, showing the flag, saluting other vessels, and undergoing a thorough maintenance overhaul, including masts and rigging. At intervals the launch went on shore with a gang of hands to cut broom, probably as a substitute for straw, whether for animal fodder, or human/animal bedding. On Wednesday the 23rd of September, 'at 1 fired 21 Guns and 3 Volleys with small arms and mann'd Ship in commemoration of H.B.M. Coronation'. On Sunday the 11th of October they commenced the return voyage, back along the same route to Leghorn, from where, on Tuesday the 1st of December 1789, they sailed for Genoa.

All this time John Bunn had been in Gibraltar Naval Hospital and receiving his regular payments. He is absent from the ship's muster book for January-March 1790, and it is clear from his settlement order that he was back in England by November 1789. Gibraltar Naval Hospital had been established in 1741, but unfortunately there are no surviving registers of patients before 1793. Meticulously detailed and beautifully kept, the hospital records show that earlier books might have given us the missing details of what had happened to John Bunn to render him 'unsuitable' for service.⁴ The permanent staff at this time comprised James and Robert Anderson, the 'contractors' or hospital managers, Edward Vaughan the surgeon, two assistant surgeons, an apothecary and a porter. Labourers and groups of women nurses came out from England at intervals. From 1795, the registers record the 'Quality of the Disease or Hurt', ranging from broken bones and amputated limbs to dysentery, scurvy, gunshot wounds, asthma and 'great Debility'. It is noticeable that most of the patients survive and are returned to ships, though not necessarily the one they arrived on. The few funerals for which the hospital paid cost 10s. a time. Contingent expenses in July-September 1798 included £2.17s 8d. 'for 50lbs. Candles for illuminating the Hospital on Admiral Nelson's Victory by order of Dr Harries'. The Gibraltar Naval Hospital seems to have been an efficient, caring and patriotic institution.

At some point before 30 November 1789, John Bunn had

returned from Gibraltar to England. The fact that he was found begging in Isleworth suggests that he came back by sea, his ship docked in the Thames, and that he started to walk westwards, following the Thames upstream. Most paupers would be left to make their own way back to their home parish, largely unrecorded. John Bunn's case is different. His settlement order, issued by Magistrate W. Heckford on 30 November 1789, ordered the constable to take John Bunn to Colnbrook in the county of Buckinghamshire 'that being the first Town in the next Precinct, through which He ought to pass in the direct Way to the said parish of Wedmore', where he and his pass were to be handed over to the constable there. Written on the back are four notes, each in a different hand, which show how he was passed from one official to another on a comparatively rapid journey back to Wedmore:

(1) Bucks. Convey the within named Vagrant to Maidenhead in the County of Berks. Given under my hand this 30 day of November 1789. H. Bullock.

(2) Town of Maidenhead in the County of Berks: To the Constable of the said Town: Convey the within named Vagrant to Charnham Street in the County of Wilts., given under my Hand the 30th November 1789. Henry Seymour, Mayor.

(3) Wilts., To Wit: To the Tythingman of Charnham Street in the said County: Convey the Within Named Vagrant to Bath Ford in the County of Somerset. Given Under My Hand this 4th Day of December 1789.

L. Begg.

(4) Somerset, to Wit: to the Tythingman of Bathford in the said County: Convey the within named Vagrant from Bathford aforesaid to the Parish of Wedmore in the County of Somerset. Given under my Hand this 7th Day of December 1789. J. Wiltshire.

John Bunn arrived home after travelling about 137 miles in nine days, probably including overnight stops at the handover points and possibly elsewhere. He was sent home by coach or wagon, with remarkable efficiency, down the main road that is now the A4. From Isleworth and Colnbrook, he left London on Monday, the 30th of November on the main road to the west, passing through part of Buckinghamshire to reach Maidenhead, all on the same day. He then travelled through Reading and Newbury to reach Hungerford on the Friday, 4th December.

Charnham Street is the main road (now A4) through Hungerford, which was in the county of Wiltshire until 1894 when it was transferred to Berkshire. The Bear, dating from the 13th century, is the famous coaching inn at the eastern or London end of Charnham Street, but a Land Tax assessment of 1780 shows that Charnham Street was crowded with inns, any or all of which would have offered stabling and accommodation for coaches, wagons and all social levels of travellers.⁵ In addition to the Black Bear, as it was then known, there were the White Hart, the Swan, the Sun, the Crown, the Red Lion and the Three Tuns. Charnham Street in Hungerford was where the main road from London divided into routes to different parts of the west and southwest, and where John Bunn probably changed to a different coach or wagon. His route continued along what is now the A4 through Marlborough and Calne to Chippenham, and then turned southwest to cross the River Avon at Bathford, avoiding the centre of Bath. He was in Bathford the following Monday, 7th December, and would probably have taken at least one more day to trundle down what is now the A367 to Radstock and Midsomer Norton, the A39 to Wells and the B3139 to arrive at Wedmore on or around Tuesday, 8 December 1789.

His need for 'conveyance' organised and paid for by local officials as he went, and the succession of formal handovers, suggest the invalid sailor could not travel on his own, and was not well enough to walk. Following his long stay in Gibraltar Hospital, he had been 'legally discharged' from the navy for reasons that remain unknown. Speculation that he had been wounded in a skirmish, or met with a shipboard accident which left him unable to walk, use ladders or climb rigging is disproved by the subsequent Wedmore parish records.

Once back in Wedmore, John Bunn was soon in the care of the Overseers of the Poor.⁶ He first appears in the accounts on 3 January 1790, when he was given 7s. 'in Illness' and 3s.6d. was 'paid for a Spade for John Bunn'. His discharge from the navy and conveyance to Wedmore was not, therefore, because he had lost a limb, and he was expected to work when fit. He was still ill on the 31st of January, when he was given a further 4s. On the 28th of February he received 3s. because he was 'in Distress'. Then he apparently fended for himself until July 1791, when he was ill again and was soon receiving regular payments, usually 6s. a month. The amount could, however, vary depending on the income

available to the overseers from the parish rates. In February and April 1794 he frequently received extra payments, usually 1s. a time whilst 'in illness'. He was not, apparently, living in the Poor House at this time. He may have occupied one of the little cottages owned by the overseers, which were scattered around the parish, or he may have been living with members of his family. The extensive Bunn family have been Wedmore farmers from the 1560s to the present day, their lives and deaths briefly recorded in the parish registers. William and Goody Bunn lived in the Borough in the middle of Wedmore in 1686, while by the late 18th and early 19th century Ann Bunn widow, and Ann Bunn spinster were both living in Blackford and prosperous enough to be paying Land Tax.⁷ The same Widow Bunn and Ann Bunn were also paying the poor rate at the time when John Bunn was receiving it. On 3rd May 1807 the overseers' accounts suggest some sort of crisis. John Bunn received an unusually large monthly payment of 12s. 6d., 4s. was spent 'Attending on John Bunn', and a further 1s. 2d. in 'Expenses Bringing John Bunn to Poor House', which stood just outside the west gate of St Mary's parish church.

During his subsequent years, living in the poor house, he received regular monthly payments, starting at 10s. 6d. or 12s. and gradually increasing to 16s. by the end of his life. There are only two subsequent references to him being ill, in November 1807 and October 1809, although as a resident receiving a higher allowance, he would not have received extra payments for illness or 'distress', so that failing health went unrecorded. Dr John Sprake attended him on several occasions, and his bills survive: 'John Bunn 2 powders Hemorhoid, 8d.' in January 1789, 'John Bunn 2 Cathartic powders, 6d.' in December 1789, 'Bleeding John Bunn pectoral Drops & Renewing plaister, 2s. 6d.' on 26th July 1791 and 'John Bunn 1 Viol Balsamic Mixture, 1s.' in September 1791.⁸ Other doctors were employed by the overseers to attend to the sick poor over the years, but their detailed bills do not survive. On 4 March 1801 the Vestry 'Order'd for ... John Bunn Canvas & Flannel for a Truss'. His ailments would seem to have been those of old age, rather than anything relating to his naval service.

As with all the destitute poor, John Bunn was given clothing: shirts, shoes, a smock, waistcoats, and material with which to repair his clothes. Shoes appear repeatedly: 'A pair of Shoes for John Bunn' cost 6s. 6d. in February 1798; 'Mending John Bunn's Shoes' cost 6d. in January 1799, and a further 3s. 6d. in September.

On 21 December 1800, the Vestry 'Order'd for ... John Bunn a Blankett'. The winter of 1800-01 would seem to have been unusually harsh: John Bunn received extra payments 'in Illness' and 'in Distress' between December and March, and the list of one-off payments to people in need is much longer than usual. On 5 May 1805, 'Gave John Bunn for Cloth to mend his shirt, 1s.'. On 20 October 1805, the Vestry 'order'd for ... John Bunn Flannell for a Waistcoat', and three years later he had a replacement when, on 29th May 1808, the overseers 'Paid for Making John Bunns waistcoat, 3s. 1d.'. On 1 April 1810 the overseers 'Paid for making John Bunns smockfrock, 1s. 6d.'. A smock was the protective 'overall' of the farmworker or labourer, and implies that John Bunn might, on occasion, have been working. Vestry orders show he was provided with new clothes to the end of his life: 'John Bunn a Shirt' on 23 June 1811, 'John Bunn a pair of Shoes' on 12 October 1811, 'John Bunn a waistcoat' in 11 October 1812, 'John Bunn a pair of Breeches' on 3 January 1813 and 'John Bunn a Shirt' on 20 June 1813.

The reason for John Bunn's discharge from the Navy, for his long stay in Gibraltar Naval Hospital and his recurring illness at Wedmore remains a mystery. It could have been anything from a debilitating recurrent illness contracted during years away at sea (malaria?) to mental instability. Yet he lived on in Wedmore for twenty-five years after his discharge, intermittently ill and unable to work for most or all of that time, but cared for by the parish authorities until the end.

John Bunn died in January 1814, and the burial register records that he was aged 75, and buried in the churchyard on the 14th of January.⁹ The overseers of the poor 'Paid Expenses Burying John Bunn, 6s. 6d.' and 'Paid Bell and Grave for John Bunn, 2s. 6d.'. It had clearly been a bad winter, with pages of extra payments by the overseers to people 'in Distress', and it had proved too much for John Bunn. If he was 75 in 1814, he would have been 49 in 1788, when he joined *Eurydice*. He would have been elderly for a sailor, which suggests that he deducted a few years, appearing in the muster rolls as aged 45. Given his age, he could be one of two John Bunns who were both baptised in 1739. One is John son of William Bunn, baptised on 16 January 1738/9; the other is John son of Isaac Bunn, baptised on 18 March 1738/9.¹⁰ We do not know when he left Wedmore and the extensive Bunn family, in search of a better life in the navy; but on his return home he brought with him the

record of his journey back across southern England.

1. Somerset Heritage Centre (hereafter S.H.C.), D/P/wed/13/3/1(81) Wedmore parish settlement examination.
2. The authors are most grateful to Graham Thompson, Archives Assistant at the Royal Museums, Greenwich, for his help in initiating the search for details of John Bunn's naval service.
3. Records of H.M.S. *Eurydice* at The National Archives (hereafter T.N.A.): ADM 36/11113 Ship's musters, *Eurydice* 1788-1790; ADM 35/589 Ship's pay books, *Eurydice*, 1788-1794; ADM 51/321 Captain's log books, *Eurydice*, 1788-1791.
4. T.N.A., ADM 102/226-229 Gibraltar Naval Hospital registers, 1793-1799.
5. http://www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/Places/Charnham_Street.
6. S.H.C., D/P/wed/13/2/8-10 Wedmore overseers' account books, 1783-1820; D/P/wed/9/1/2 Wedmore vestry book, 1763-1828.
7. S.H.C., DD/X/HKN/1 fo.33v Journal of Dr John Westover; Q/REL 4/8a Land Tax for Blackford, 1788, 1793, 1800.
8. S.H.C., D/P/wed/13/2/16 Wedmore parish vouchers, 1789-1792.
9. S.H.A. Hervey, *Wedmore parish registers: burials 1561-1860* (1890), 259.
10. S.H.A. Hervey, *Wedmore parish registers: baptisms 1561-1812* (1890), 226-7.

HAZEL HUDSON & FRANCES NEALE

21. A USE OF ORAL HISTORY IN EVIDENCE REGARDING GRAZING RIGHTS AT EAST CREECH, 1401.

A small document dated 3 May 1401 was recently rediscovered during the listing of the Bond archives at Dorset History Centre.¹ The antiquarian John Hutchins mentions that he had found this document at Grange, the home of the Bond family.² It is also noted in an abstract that lists the various deeds belonging to the lands of John de Franke of East Creech, Isle of Purbeck, the earliest of which dates to February 1329.³ But neither source provides a transcript. As it is the earliest known example of a report of a verbal dispute in Dorset, it merits being more widely known.

The document is an agreement between William Franke, yeoman, of the parish of Knoll (Church Knowle) and Robert Stokes of the same parish and concerns Robert having taken his cattle from Barneston to graze on East Creech Hill. The land belonged to William and a few words were exchanged resulting in an irate William banning Robert, in front of the neighbours, from ever taking his cattle there again. Robert took no notice and three days later took his cattle back to East Creech Hill. William had them impounded.

The text records that Robert sent a *repleve* [replevin] and retrieved his cattle.⁴ By now William had had enough and brought a case against Robert. It seems to have been held in the churchyard at Church Knowle perhaps because the church was too small to

hold everyone or because it was a secular dispute. The oldest villagers and the community were summoned to hear the case. The elders of the village were asked if, in their opinion, cattle from Barneston had ever been allowed to graze on the Franke lands. They could not recall it ever happening in their time and remembered their fathers saying that Barneston had never been involved with these lands. So Robert lost the case and agreed never to trespass on William's land again under the penalty of £40 compensation were he to do so – a prohibitively large sum when a shepherd might earn 4*d.* per day.

The document shows an early example of oral history and is unusual among contemporary legal, manorial and estate documents in being recorded in English. The elders whose testimony was sought are reminiscent of those who attested medieval surveys and whose memories were the repositories of the communities rights and customs.⁵ The case would have been of great interest to the local people as if Robert had won, others would have had access to the pasture for their cattle. It is worth noting that the older men would have been born before the Black Death arrived in Dorset in 1348 and recalled a period for which little documentation survives for Purbeck.

The document is worn in places and even with the use of ultraviolet light not all the words were legible: these appear in square brackets.

Transcript with the original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation retained.

Thyrs bell made the thryday off the monythe off may the seconde
yere off the Rayne off Kynge Hary the ffowethe gevythe grettyn in
our lorde godde To every trwe crysten man or woman to wom thys
present wryttinge shall come to that hys tosay howe thys byll
recordeythe and testyes off a grette debate and veryan that ther
wasse by twene one Wylliam Ffrancke yeoman in the parysson off
Knoll wt thyn the cowntte off Dorssett off the one parte And one
Robertte Stoks dwellynge in the parysson off Knoll and wt thyne
the sayd contte off the othr parte Sendythe knowelage unto all
mane off men syngulary howe the sayd Robertte Stokys dyde enter
priesse malycyusly and wrong ffully wt hys cattell wt thyne ye
lybertte and ffredome off Wylliam Ffrancke the wyche comyn hyl
callyd eyste chryche wt the tenor off purbycke and cowtte off
dorssett fferther more thyes sayd matter wasse hade incomyninge
wt the elldestemen and wt all the countre In generall wether that

the place off Barnystone shulde have eny commyn wt thyne eyste chryche or wt thyn eny maner off grownde off the sayde Wylliam and ther they sayd evedently that yt wasse never sen by theredays nother by there ffaths dayes asse they dyde here then speke dyveres tymys how that ye place off Barnyston shulde have no enteryste wt thyne ye lyb[erte] off francke and were asse the sayd Robrtt hathe so usyd wt hys cattell hedyd the sayd wylliam the more ingery were ffore the sayd wylliam in audyenes off hys neybors fforbede the sayd Robertt that he shulde not use hys grounde under that maner and he sayd to the sayd wylliam that he wollde nott take no suche warnyng off hym and bese hym dowe hys beste and apon thys speche they depertyde and so evedently wt thyn the space off iii dayes after the sayd Robertte sende beysts ynto este chryche and thr the sayd wylliam Francke toke thys cattell and pennyd them then the sayd Robertte Stokes sett a repleve and hade hys cattell then ye sayd William toke the sayd Robertte insutt yn the comyn place and thr he caste the sayd Robertt in a wronge reyntre contrary to the kyngs laws in somoch that the sayd Robertt made ffrynds and greys wt the sayd William ... under thys maner and byndyths hysellff and hys eyrys and hys asynes in fforty pounce off lawfull mony off ynglonde to be payde to the sayd Wylliam hys eyrs or asyners never to clayme no ffredomm wt thyn the sayd William and thr they were braughtt to a ffynall congcorde off all maner off yngeryesse and tresspasse and thr to they have ynter chayngabyll put to thr sealls the date above reerssyd and yt ys yn the checarde wytnyssyt Thomas Buckeler off corf Robertt Coolde off eyst lowleworth wt other mowe.

Transcript in modern English

This bill made the third day of the month of May, the second year of the reign of King Harry the fourth gives greetings in our Lord God to every true Christian man or woman to whom this present writing shall come to, that is to say, how this bill records and attests of a great debate and variance that there was between one William Franck, yeoman, in the parish of Knoll within the County of Dorset of the one part, and one Robert Stokes dwelling in the parish of Knoll and within the said County of the other part Sendeth knowledge unto all manner of men singularly how the said Robert Stokes did enter press maliciously and wrongfully with his cattle within the liberty and freedom of William Franck the which common hill called East Creech with[in] the tenure of Purbeck and County of Dorset; further more this said matter was held in communion with the eldestmen and with all the country in general whether that the place of Barneston should have any

common within East Creech or within any manner of ground of the said William and there they said evidently that it was never seen by their days nor by their fathers' days as they did hear them speak divers times how that the place of Barneston should have no interest within the liberty of Franck and where as the said Robert hath so used with his cattle he did the said William the more angry wherefore the said William in audience of his neighbours forebade the said Robert that he should not use his ground under that manner and he said to the said William that he would not take no such warning from him and b[ade?] him do his best and upon this speech they departed and so evidently within the space of 3 days after the said Robert sent beasts into East Creech and there the said William Franck took these cattle and penned them then the said Robert Stokes sent a repleve and had his cattle then the said William took the said Robert in suit in the common place and there he cast the said Robert in a wrong re-entry contrary to the king's laws in so much that the said Robert made friends and agreed with the said William [...?] under this manner and binds himself and his heirs and his assigns in forty pounds of lawful money of England to be paid to the said William his heirs or assigns never to claim no freedom within the said William and there they were brought to a final concord of all manner of ingress and trespass and thereto they have interchangeably put to their seals the date above rehearsed and it is in the churchyard witnessed Thomas Buckler of Corfe, Robert Coold [Gould?] of East Lulworth with other more.

1. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C), D/BOC/889/18/Ba3.
2. J. Hutchins, *The history & antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd ed. (1861), vol. 1, 586.
3. D.H.C., D/BOC/889/18/9B.
4. Replevin is an action to recover personal property that was wrongly taken or detained. It seeks the return of the actual thing itself rather than a monetary equivalent.
5. M. Forrest, 'A Broad Sydling Survey' in *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. 37 (2013), 221-4.

LOUISE HAYWOOD

22. ARMORIALS IN MONTACUTE CHURCH. Montacute Church, dedicated to St Catherine, has painted shields down each side of the nave, high up on the corbels, where they are held in the hands of carved angels. Facing the altar, those on the left side are mainly ecclesiastical, but the ones on the right side are secular, and represent those who have owned the lands at Montacute, before and after the dissolution of its Cluniac monastery in March 1539. They include the arms of some men whose portraits are in the Long Gallery at Montacute. The descriptions quoted date from the

restoration and re-opening of the church in 1871, as described in the *Western Gazette and Flying Post* on June 7th of that year.



Robert, Earl of Mortain (c.1031-1090) half-brother to William the Conqueror, who also bore two lions on his shield. He was a Norman nobleman who took part in the Battle of Hastings, and appears in the Bayeux Tapestry. William granted the manor of Montacute to Robert in about 1070 AD.²

Montacute, or Drogo de Monte-Acuto, Earl of Salisbury (1040-1125) 'A confidential follower of the Earl, and keeper of his castle, who was ennobled with this title . . . and became very distinguished, but subsequently . . . he was attainted and the peerage was forfeited . . . In the course of the restoration of the church tiles were dug up, bearing the arms of the Earl of Moreton, (two lions) and of Montacute Earl of Salisbury (three fusils) thus affording an interesting corroboration of the above facts'.²



David Phelips, Esq. One of the earliest known members of the Phelips family. He was the brother of Sir Edward Phelips' great-grandfather Thomas (Escheator of Dorset and Somerset 1479-1482). His effigy, with that of his wife Ann, can be seen on a funerary monument in the church, dated to the year of his death 1484. 'It appears from the old records that the Phelips family were the next owners of the manor [after Drogo] and . . . he owned some portion of it in the time of Richard III'.³ The Cluniac monks in Montacute had been given the manor, castle and borough by William, Count of Mortain (son of Robert) in 1102, and they held them to the Dissolution in 1539.⁴



Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542), poet and diplomat, who 'obtained a grant of the Priory in Montacute in the 33rd year of King Henry VIII together with lands belonging thereto'.⁵ The unquartered arms appear in the corner of his portrait in the Long Gallery of the house.



Elizabeth Strode, to whom this property was granted 'in the second year of Queen Mary' [1555]. 'This family owned much property in Somerset and an effigy of one of the members is to be seen in the church at Stoke-sub-Hamdon'.⁶



Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester (1532-1588). A favourite of Queen Elizabeth 1st, and one of her suitors. A patron of the arts, with his seat at Kenilworth Castle. He acquired the lease of Montacute, in 1574, but not for long. His portrait, one of many he commissioned, is in the Long Gallery in the house.



Thomas and Elizabeth Phelips, whose joint monument is in the Phelips chapel in the church. Thomas, the father of Sir Edward Phelips, died in 1588.⁷ 'The arms . . . represent the ownership of the parish from 1580 to the present time'.⁸ Elizabeth was a Smyth from Long Ashton near Bristol.



On the left-hand side facing the altar, the first of the ecclesiastical shields is the emblem of St Peter, the crossed keys.



On the second are the crossed swords of St Paul. The former Priory, adjoining the church, was dedicated to St Peter and St Paul.



The third coat of arms is the wheel of St Catherine, to whom the church is dedicated.



The fourth, a wavy sword on a blue ground, represents St Michael, to whom the adjoining hill is dedicated.



The fifth shield is that of Lord Arthur Hervey, (1808-1894) the then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who preached a sermon at the restoration service. He was a son of the Marquess of Bristol, of Ickworth in Suffolk.



The sixth is that of William Phelps, (1823-1889) the patron of the living at the time: the shield shows Phelps impaled on Helyar. A window inserted on the north side of Montacute House library, celebrates that marriage, to Ellen Helyar of East Coker, in 1845.⁹



The seventh shield is that of the Rev. C.C. Goodden, the vicar of Montacute in 1871.

The church restoration was undertaken in 1871 by William Phelps and members of his family. The total cost was £3,200 of which only £300 was outstanding on the date of re-opening. The main contractor was the builder, William Pudden, of East Coker.¹⁰ His total costs came to £1,714 3s 7½d. A Mr Porter charged £7 for '14 shields decorated'. According to the report in the *Western Gazette*, 'the shields and inscriptions on the corbels have been brought out in bright colours by Messrs Foot and Son, painters, etc., of Yeovil. The arms on the corbels form an index of the history of the parish church, representing as they do the temporal and spiritual interests which from time to time have been associated therewith'. There was a big service to celebrate the restoration, with thirty clergy present, and many local gentry. The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells preached the sermon, and afterwards the 'principal visitors' were entertained at Montacute House by Mrs Phelps, the tenants of the estate dined at Manor Farm, and 76 tradesmen involved in the restoration were entertained at the King's Arms. In the afternoon the fife and drum band played in the streets, and bells of the church rang 'right merrily'.¹¹

I note that there is no shield for Sir William Petre, to whom the monastic lands were initially granted, and who held them later, and

whose portrait hangs in the Long Gallery of the house.

1. B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain' in M. Chibnall ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII; Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990*, Ed. Marjorie (1991), 124.
2. From a report in the *Western Gazette and Flying Post* of 2nd June, 1871, issued as a pamphlet by the church. The original report is also preserved in a Phelps family scrapbook at the Somerset Heritage Centre (hereafter S.H.C.), A/CFH/5/2. Subsequent quotations come from the same source.
3. S.C.H., A/CFH/5/2 Phelps family scrapbook. In this scrapbook is a copy and translation of a Latin charter conveying a property in North Street, Montacute from Richard Bole, a merchant of Winchester, to Thomas Phelps in 1480. The Phelps family settled in the parish by 1479 (R.W. Dunning ed., *V.C.H. Somerset* 3 (1974), 214). David Phelps lived for one year under Richard III.
4. Dunning, *V.C.H. Somerset* 3, 213.
5. Dunning, *V.C.H. Somerset* 3, 214 states 'in 1542 Sir Thomas Wyatt of Allington (Kent) acquired the reversion of Sir William Petre's lease . . . he bequeathed his interest to Elizabeth Darrell of Littlecote'. Elizabeth was his mistress.
6. There is a funerary monument to Thomas Strode of 1595 in Stoke-sub-Hamdon church. An Elizabeth Strode, formerly Courtenay, who was born around 1487, married William Strode, and died in 1581 at Newham in Devon. The Strode family bought Barrington Court from Sir Thomas Phelps in 1625, and owned it for 120 years. Strode House was built there as a stable block in 1674.
7. Thomas, born c.1500, was an MP for a time. He may have worked in Catherine Parr's household. He had four sons, but left his property at Montacute to his youngest son Edward. Further details appear in M. Rogers, *Guide to Montacute House* (2000), 10. Thomas's portrait hangs in the entrance hall screens.
8. The present time being 1871.
9. In later years he suffered from mental illness and the estate was run by his younger brother Richard. (Rogers, *Guide*, 28).
10. S.C.H., D/P/mon/8/2/1 Accounts for the restoration of Montacute church, 1871.
11. *Western Gazette and Flying Post*, 7 June 1861.

PETER HILL

23. THE HAVILLAND FAMILY OF LATE MEDIEVAL POOLE. Poole rose to prominence in the fifteenth century as the principal Dorset port and the following century was sufficiently prosperous to become an independent county borough. However, the origins of the leading families in the town's development are often obscure. Poor survival of records makes the compilation of family biographies difficult. But, by combining the few customs accounts, court rolls, wills, borough records and churchwarden's accounts it is possible to reveal some details of town's development.

The Havellond, Havilland or Havy lond family had their origins in the Channel Islands where they were among the ruling elite.¹ For three centuries they had maintained their position within Guernsey before branching out into cross channel trade. The patriarch

Thomas Havilland was a Jurat of St Martins Parish, Guernsey 1470-2 and the first member of the family to be associated with Poole.² Thomas was recorded in the Poole customs accounts importing or exporting twenty cargoes in 1466-7 and certainly exported more in other years.³ The Channel Islanders provided a significant carrying service between England and France during the fifteenth century, and Thomas always used captains from his native Guernsey, who took small, quick ships called spinaces on frequent voyages across the Channel.⁴ All of his exports were woollen cloths, probably produced in Dorset and Somerset, most of his imports were Norman linen cloths, although on two occasions he imported wine and iron.

His successor, probably his son, James Havilland, used both Guernsey and Poole captains and also exported woollen cloth and imported mostly linen in the 1480s and 1490s. More of his cargoes are recorded and his imports were more diverse; including soap, tar, oil, malt, hops, iron and madder, a dye used by cloth makers.⁵ John Havilland imported hops and batry work (scrap metal) in 1482 and exported copper and woollen cloth and four cargoes in 1503, and in the same year Richard paid duty on seven cargoes.⁶

The Havillands were an established merchant family looking to expand their fortunes beyond their base on Guernsey and the growing town of Poole was apparently happy to accept them into its governing elite.⁷ James Havilland served as mayor in 1494, 1498, 1502 and 1506, Richard was churchwarden in 1504, bailiff in 1505 and mayor in 1512 and 1519, John was mayor in 1514 and 1520, and William was ale conner, an assessor of quality and measures, in 1504 and bailiff in 1506. No other family has more than one member elected as mayor between 1490 and 1525.

The Havillands were dominant, but shared the office of mayor with the heads of other prominent families who were also involved in cross Channel trade: John Norton mayor 1490, 1491, 1496 and 1501 paid import or export duty on at least eighteen cargoes, Thomas Whyte mayor in 1504, 1510, 1511 and 1517 was previously constable and bailiff, paid duty on six cargoes in 1503 and was probably related to William Whyte mayor in 1459. John Bedford mayor in 1493, 1499, 1503 and 1509 paid duty on at least forty-six cargoes.

Little is known of the family's trade links within England as these are not mentioned in the customs records. But, in 1498 James Havilland brought a case against a Shaftesbury inn keeper for a

debt of £6 6s 8d, and in 1505 against a Hastings brewer for £13 6s 8d and the executors of a Berkshire man for cloth worth £2 sold at Newbury.⁸ These cases indicate that he was involved in trading networks with merchants in other English harbours and inland towns over quite large distances.

Members of the Havilland family were not content to be involved in the secular development of the town. Richard was one of very few known pre-Reformation Poole churchwardens and an inscription over the arches in the old church of Poole St James records a contribution towards its expansion '*These six arches made at the charge of James Havilland and Helene his wife, on whose sould God have mercy. Amen. MCCCCCLII (1552)*'. This James may be the father of Christopher Havilland who as mayor in 1569 took receipt of lands formerly belonging to the fraternity of St George.⁹

Choosing to make philanthropic bequests to good causes might enhance spiritual well-being and status within the community, but paying taxes to the Crown was entirely different. Customs duties had already been paid on goods imported and exported, these were set at a relatively low rate and penalties for avoidance were punitive so there was little smuggling in the late medieval and early Tudor periods and the Havillands paid their duties on most if not all of their cargoes. Tudor subsidies, or taxes, were assessed on either land or goods and these were much easier to conceal from the assessors as they were only paid in an individual's main place of residence. In 1523 Richard Havilland was assessed in Poole to hold goods worth £180, William £85 and John £80; smaller sums than the £433 6s 8d on which both John Stocker and Thomas Whyte were assessed, but still 18% of the total for the town.¹⁰ These sums should be regarded as the minimum figures for the wealth of individuals with interests in Poole and in Guernsey, on ships, in warehouses and in land.

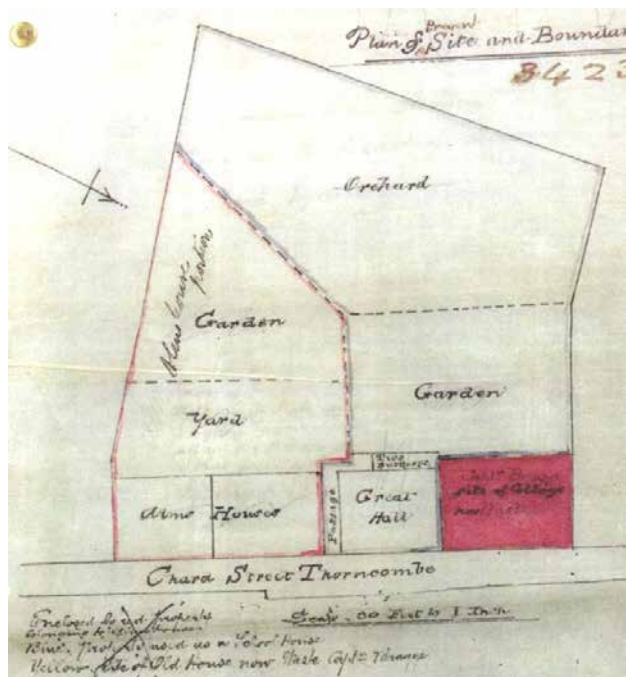
In the following generations the Havillands acquired property in Poole, Dorchester and Somerset. William took a lease on the Purbeck manor of Eastington from the prior of Christchurch in 1537 and in the post-Reformation land grab picked up the priory and farm at Wilkeswood in Purbeck. Their fortunes were built upon the late medieval cloth trade and the peculiar position of the Channel Islands whose merchants bridged the gap between England and France at the end of the Hundred Years War. At a time when documentary evidence for the growth of Poole is limited they

provide an insight into a complex commercial world.

1. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C.), D/RGB/LL/686 pedigree of the Havilland family compiled by the antiquarian Revd Bartelott circa 1926.
2. Jurats were members of a panel of twelve elected to represent each parish in the Crown court. The names of Jurats since 1299 are recorded on a Roll of Honour board in the Jurats' Chambers in the Royal Court House.
3. The National Archives (hereafter T.N.A.), E 122/119/8. The Poole customs accounts are discussed in M. Forrest, 'The development of Dorset's harbours in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* (2017), vol.138, 17-33.
4. W. R. Childs, 'Channel Island Shipping as Recorded in the English Customs Accounts, 1300-1500' in A. G. Jamieson ed., *A people of the sea: the maritime history of the Channel Islands* (London, 1986) 45-50.
5. T.N.A., E 122/119/18, E 122/120/2-4.
6. T.N.A., E 122/176/27.
7. Other officers are recorded in the earliest town record book (D.H.C., DC-PL/B/1/1/0).
8. T.N.A., CP 40/943, CP40/971.
9. J. Hutchins, *The history and antiquities of the County of Dorset* (Westminster, 1861), 3rd ed., vol. 1, 47 and 59-60.
10. T.N.A., E 179/105/347 part 15.

M.P.F.

24. THORNCOMBE'S GREAT HOUSE. Further to my article in *SDNQ*, vol.38: 383, Thorncombe vicar Thomas Cook's deed of settlement for his 'great house' specifies that the new school will consist of the 'great hall, and two butteries on the right side of the entry with three chambers over them for a schoolmaster to teach poor children' together with a third of the garden plot and orchard. The rest of the premises are to be used for 'an almshouse' for 'poor persons', nominated by overseers ... 'to be maintained from 'public rates'.¹ The schoolhouse was demolished in 1875 to make way for an elementary school, subsequently destroyed by fire in 1974. But the workhouse still survives as 1 and 2 Church View, Chard Street. While both properties have been extended and extensively renovated during the intervening centuries, surviving architectural features from the ground floor inner room and kitchen and interpretation of a 19th century plan enable a theoretical reconstruction of the original late 16th /early 17th century structure.



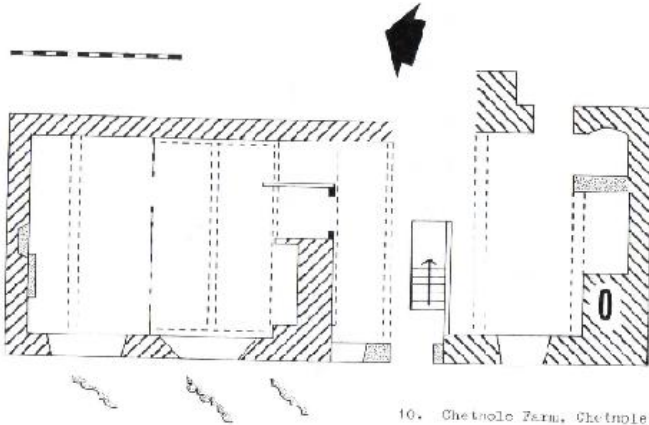
Cook's 'Great House' on Chard Street. Copy of 1873 showing proposed site of the new National School.²

'Great House' as it was colloquially known among Thorncombe parishioners for the next 200 years, appears to be 'a lesser version of the major medieval house' and to adhere to the traditional three-room plan. However, Bob Machin, an authority on 17th-century Dorset vernacular architecture, drawing on evidence from Chetnole, near Sherborne, suggests that the structure was originally a house with a byre [cattle shed] next door, possibly dating back to the late 16th century. He agrees that, 'It has the traditional pre-1650 plan of three units in line with a central hall,' but points out that, 'the 'Great Hall' with two rear butteries is at one gable end,' so not in the middle. Using a process of deduction, he goes on to suggest that given,

This end of the house is wider, indicating different building dates on either side of the cross-passage, an explanation might be that 'Great House' was originally a two-unit long-house.

He suggests that,

[perhaps] the former byre-end was rebuilt in conformity with the traditional three-unit plan. Chetnole Farm, Dorset is an exact parallel. The *inheritance excepts* show that Chetnole Farm was rebuilt in the way suggested for 'Great House' in 1575, when the two parts were described as the *old house* and the *new house*.³

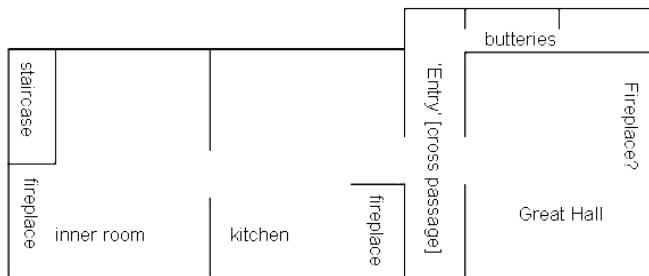


Ground plan of Chetnole Farm.

(© Bob Machin. Reproduced with kind permission)

During the 17th century butteries were used for general storage including barrels of beer, butts being barrels.⁴ It is likely given its domestic importance, there was a fireplace in the Great Hall. During this period it would have functioned as the main living room of the house where food was cooked and eaten and visitors received. In 2 Church View, Chard Street, Thorncombe the fireplace survives, which suggests the ground floor room may have been the kitchen. Unlike today, kitchens were general workrooms used for storage, brewing, cheesemaking, baking and making malt. Their function as a room for preparing food evolved in the 18th century.⁵ A large open fireplace and next to it, what is possibly the original 17th century staircase leading to chambers on the first floor, also survive in 1 Church View. This inner room, later known as the parlour, with its fireplace and stairs to the rooms above afforded the occupants privacy and security for their valuables. Ironically, the layout indicates that before it became a charity

school for the poor and a workhouse, the former occupants of the ‘Great House’ were individuals of high social status.



1 Church View

2 Church View

Wellstone House

Illustration: Theoretical reconstruction of Cook's 'Great House'; traditional pre-1650 three-room cross-passage layout.

In 1752/3, there are various entries in the overseers' accounts suggesting a major building project. The 'parish house' windows were glazed, 200 bricks were bought and 2000 spars [withies used to staple thatch to the roof] and 200 billeys [battens?] were acquired for a large thatching job.⁶ This suggests that this part of the 'Great House' was remodelled to increase the accommodation through the addition of a third floor. What may have been the original thatch was discovered by builders beneath Church View's corrugated iron roof during recent work to replace the corrugated iron roof with slates.

1. T.N.A., CHAR2/67 Extract from deed of settlement by the Rev^d Thos. Cooke of a Dwelling House in Thorncombe for a school and an alms house dated 13 Nov. 1734, 15 June 1873; E. Higgs, 'Thorncombe's parish poorhouses, school and workhouse' in *SDNQ* vol. 38, part 385 (March 2017), 209.
2. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C.), PE-THO/SC/8/3 Draft for a conveyance for the building of a school in Chard Street with plan, 1873. Reproduced courtesy of Dorset History Centre and Thorncombe Parish Council.
3. R. Machin, *The houses of Yetminster* (1978), 26-39, 13; R. Machin, *Probate inventories and manorial excerpts of Chetmole, Leigh and Yetminster* (1976), no.5. The author thanks Mr Machin for his advice and guidance in interpreting the 1873 ground plan for 'The Great House'.
4. J. Bristow, *The local historian's glossary of words and terms* (2001), 29.
5. Machin, *Yetminster*, 9.
6. D.H.C., PC-THO/3/2 Thorncombe Parish Council, overseers of the poor, account book 1750-1757; <http://thatchingadvisoryservices.co.uk/helpful-info/thatching-terms/>.

EVE HIGGS

REPLY

PATERNITY OF THOMAS PAULET D.1586. Following the note submitted by John Gowar on ‘The Brent Family of Langford’,¹ where John’s source states Anne Brent married Lord Thomas Paulet son of the Marquis of Winchester,² I wish to draw to the readers’ attention that this source is incorrect and I submit the following notes as evidence of this.

The Rev. John Coker (d. c.1635) tells us that Lord Thomas Paulet second son of William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester married Mary Moore daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Moore of Melplash.³ Victoria County Histories of Hampshire and Somerset tell us that Thomas Paulet married to Anne Brent was the son/grandson of Sir William Paulet.⁴

The will of Thomas Paulet drafted 1585 and proved 1586, names his daughter Elizabeth wife of Giles Hody, another apparently younger and unmarried daughter Ann, his wife Elizabeth (I assume Anne his first wife died) and three references to my brother the Lord Marquis of Wiltshire,⁵ this being William the eldest son of John the second Marquis, it is reasonable to say that Sir John Paulet (d.1576) second Marquis was the father of the above Lord Thomas Paulet.

1. *S.D.N.Q.* vol. 38, no.15 (2017), 229.
2. Revd J. Collinson, *History and antiquities of Somerset* vol. 3 (1791), 436.
3. J. Croker, *A survey of Dorsetshire, containing the antiquities and natural history of that county, with a particular description of all ... publish’d from an original manuscript written by the Reverend Mr. Coker of Mapowder in the said county* (1732), 21.
4. ‘The Parish of Romsey’ n.145 and ‘The parish of Broughton with Frenchmoor’ n.55 in *Victoria County History of Hampshire* vol. 4 both cite The National Archive (hereafter T.N.A.), C 142/156/14 Chancery inquisition post mortem as the source; ‘The Parish of Cossington’ n.59 in *Victoria County History of Somerset* vol. 8 also cites T.N.A., C 142/156/14 and n.60 cites T.N.A., C 142/215/245 which are both cited in ‘The parish of Bridgwater’ n.73.
5. T.N.A., PROB 11/69/160 will of Thomas Paulet, drafted 1585, proved 1586.

DAVID MATTHEW

NOTES

‘A JAR FULL OF JIN’: AN INSTANCE OF CORRUPTION IN THE WEYMOUTH CUSTOM HOUSE? On 24th August 1842, William Williams, Captain of the schooner *Elmgrove* of

Caernarfon, wrote an indignant letter to Lord Newborough of Glynllifon Park, Llandwrog, North Wales. Captain Williams asked Newborough to accept the 'one Gallon of Cognac Brandy' that accompanied his letter, and then went on to give the following report about a cargo, carried by the *Elmgrove*, that had apparently been intended for his lordship:

I raily thought after prepare for you in France that I would not be able to get it home wen in Portland roads on my pasage home I went into Weymouth to Report, the officers came on Bord to search the Vessle they consider I had to much they tooke from me such a Jar full of Jin I shall feel of much oblidge to you if so kind as to inform me the way to address my letter to the Bord as I intend to wright into the Bord aboute it in case they take it for their own use as they cannot make it a smugle as I have reported in the Custom house more than I had on Bord.¹

It is not known whether Captain Williams gained satisfaction from the Customs Board, but it seems unlikely that the jar full of gin survived its removal from the *Elmgrove* for very long. Perhaps Captain Williams thought twice about reporting to the Custom House 'more than he had on Bord' on subsequent visits to Weymouth.

1. Caernarfon Record Office, XD2/20074. The document is damaged, but the few letters that remain on the outside of the document indicate that the address of the recipient was Glynllifon. There are several other letters extant between Captain Williams and Lord Newborough, and the letter here discussed begins, 'My Lord'. Spelling and punctuation are as they appear in the document.

JUDITH FORD

A BLACKSMITH MAKES HIS MARK, 1673-1684.

Acknowledging receipt of payment of a bill, or signing a more formal document in the presence of witnesses, the non-literate workman of the late 1600s-1700s would make his mark – usually a +, or occasionally an initial. Leonard Joyce,¹ who was paid for his work at Wells Cathedral between 1673 and 1684 'made his mark' in a more unusual style.

Outside workmen called in to undertake jobs for the Cathedral presented their bills to the Communar and Keeper of the Fabric. They were either able to write the bills out themselves, or the bills were written out for them, presumably on the spot at their dictation, by one of the Communar's clerical assistants, often one of the Vicars Choral earning a small supplement to his regular

income. In these cases the clerk wrote in
‘the mark of’

forename [space for mark] surname

and the bill would be countersigned by one or more canons, authorising payment.

Leonard Joyce presented numerous bills over ten years, for labour and materials while extensive work was still in progress to make good the neglect during the Commonwealth decades. He first appears on 29 March 1673 when he put in a bill of 2s. 6d. for window bars for the Chapter House. On 26 May 1674 there is a bill for ‘Window Barrs’ and ‘spriggs’ for fixing glass and leadwork. On 24 June 1674 he charged 1s. 6d. ‘for one twist for the Quiristers house’ – probably an iron window fastening. On 15 July 1674 he presented a bill for 15s. 4d. ‘ffor 24 pound of Led nails at 6^d the pound’ and ‘ffor 22 pound of Boltes & keeyes and ferrells at 4^d the pounce’. A bill for 8s. 6d. dated 1 August and paid on 22 August 1674 was for ‘Work done by Goodman Joyce’, providing ‘1 pare of Twists’ and 15 lbs. of lead nails. On 21 November 1674 he was paid for more ironwork, and on 12 June 1675 there is a bill for ‘for work done by Linard Joyce & used about the Lady Chappell’: he had supplied 23 lbs. of lead nails and 30 lbs. of ‘Bolts & Cramps’, costing £1 1s. 6d. On 9 September 1676 he presented a bill for £6 8s. 8d. for 386 lbs. of iron ‘for woorke which he have don for the Worshipful Dockters concerning the Iron of the windowes about the qwire’. So the bills continue, usually once or twice a year, supplying window bars, hooks, twists and nails, or simply ‘Iorn’. His final appearance is in 1684, with a bill for ‘Windowe barrs ffor the Church’ and ‘sprigs’ on 9 May, and ‘51 lbs of Windowe Barres’ on 26 July.²

Between 1673 and 1684, therefore, Leonard Joyce provided ironwork for windows in and around the Cathedral, together with the lead sprigs and nails needed to hold window glass in place. He made bolts and fittings for windows. He was a blacksmith, not in the Cathedral’s own workshops but probably based in Wells. He could not sign his name to the bills, but in almost every case he made his mark – an abstract curved shape surrounded by six dots, three on each side, which we suggest represents a horseshoe and its nails. Small out-turned strokes at each end of the curve represent the calkins.³ The mark is a pictogram representing his trade, reminiscent of some of the mason’s marks (stonemason’s mallet, set square) which he might have seen on stone blocks being

worked in the Cathedral yard, or on the walls of the Cathedral itself.

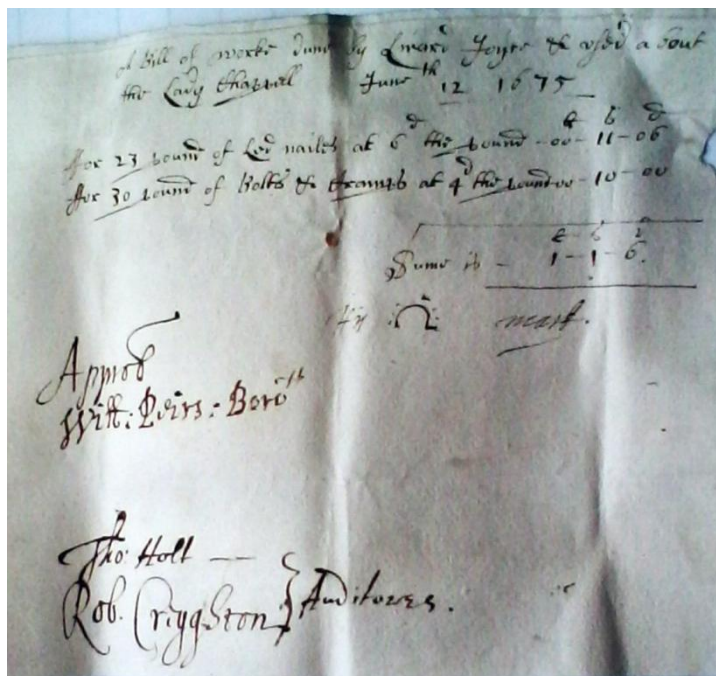


Illustration: Leonard Joyce, his mark, 1675 (Photograph by Phil Kitcher reproduced with permission of the Chapter of Wells Cathedral)

Leonard Joyce may have been unschooled, but his unusual ‘mark’ suggests an imaginative approach to identifying himself.

1. Leonard Joyce was from a local family and was baptised at Wells St Cuthbert on 14 August 1631 the son of John Joyce (S.H.C., D/P/w.st.c 2/1/1).
2. Wells Cathedral Archives, DC/F4/8-19 original bills.
3. Calkins are protrusions forged on the heel-tips of horseshoes to give the horse a better grip on the ground. They went out of use with the arrival of metalled roads because, on the unyielding surface, they could cause pain to the horse. Calkins appear on some heraldic horseshoes, e.g. the arms of Rutland county.

Acknowledgements: The authors are grateful to Dr Robert Dunning, Dr Andrew Butcher and John Page for their comments.

BOB FROST & FRANCES NEALE

TWO WOMEN HOLDING OFFICE IN 15TH CENTURY BRIDPORT. Among the Bridport Borough records held at the Dorset History Centre are a number of documents relating to parish fraternities (sometimes referred to as guilds).¹ These played an important role in the life of Bridport in the late Middle Ages. They were separate from the parish administration itself (led by the Rector and the churchwardens), but often worked collaboratively with that administration to enhance worship in the Parish Church of St Mary, or its associated chapel of St Andrew, taking responsibility, for example, for maintaining lights in front of particular images at the side altars of the nave. Such fraternities were widespread throughout the towns and villages of late medieval England; records survive (in Latin) of eight such bodies in Bridport, providing us with their ordinances, lists of their members' names and some details of their accounts. As well as fulfilling their primary purpose of keeping lights burning, the fraternities operated as a kind of mutual help organisation, arranging, for example, funerals for members and financial assistance for those who fall on hard times.²

The membership lists show that both men and women could be members of the fraternities – indeed the records normally refer to “*fratres et sorores*” (brothers and sisters) when speaking of the membership. Women, however, are almost always listed by reference to their husbands – a typical entry would be “*Robertus Scarlet et Alicia uxor eius*” (Robert Scarlet and his wife Alice). Where women are listed alone, it is often clear that they are widows, rather than single people. On a fixed date each year the membership of each fraternity would elect two (or occasionally three) “*custodes*” or wardens, who would take responsibility for administering the fraternity's funds and accounting for them at the end of their year of office. Across the surviving records of the fraternities, covering a period between 1406 and 1481, more than 80 names are recorded as taking the office of warden. Virtually all of these, perhaps not surprisingly, are men. However I have found two examples where women have been elected as one of the wardens for the year.

The Fraternity of St Katherine, founded in 1368 by Robert Bemynstre, appears to have been one of the more exclusive and prestigious of the fraternities of Bridport. In June 1434, Henry Gamelyn was elected as warden for the fraternity, and re-elected for the following two years. There then follows a long gap in the

sequence of annual entries, which resume eighteen years later in June 1452, when we read: '*Venerunt Iohannes Burges et Iohanna nuper uxor Henrici Gamelyn custodes fraternitatis Sancte Katerine predictae et reddiderunt compotum suum*' (John Burges and Joan, widow of Henry Gamelyn, wardens of the said Fraternity of St. Katherine, came and rendered their account). Because of the break in the record, we have no way of knowing if this was Joan Gamelyn's first and indeed only year of office (she was not re-elected in 1453).³

At the Christmas gatherings of the Fraternity of the Light Hanging before the Cross, in both 1454 and 1455, John Atkyn was elected as warden for the coming year. But he must have died during his second year of office, since he was replaced at the following year's reading of accounts by his widow, Margaret.⁴ That it was not simply a matter of Margaret Atkyn completing and reporting on her late husband's year of duty is clearly shown by the fact that she was duly elected as warden in her own right for each of the following five years until 1461.

It would be good to know more about these two women of Bridport and their status in the town. But it is certainly worthy of note that, in the male-dominated society of the time, they could command sufficient respect to be elected to this post and entrusted with its attendant responsibilities.

1. Dorset History Centre (hereafter D.H.C.), DC-BTB, the Bridport Borough archive.
2. A. D. Brown, *Popular piety in late medieval England: the Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995), 160-2, 134-7 and 170-80.
3. D.H.C., DC-BTB/CD/22, Fraternity of St Katherine. Accounts of wardens; names of fraternity.
4. D.H.C., DC-BTB/CD/11, Fraternity of the Light hanging before the Cross. Names of fraternity and rules, undated; accounts, 1424-1461.

ANTONY WILSDON

BOOK REVIEW

Mark Forrest, ed., with contributions by Jenny Halling Barnard, Rose Mitchell and Martin Papworth, *Ralph Treswell's survey of Sir Christopher Hatton's lands in Purbeck, 1585-6*, ix, 189pp, illustrated, A4 colour hardback, published by the Dorset Record Society as volume 19 in that series, 2017, I.S.B.N. 978-0-900339-22-6, £19.95, plus £2.50 p&p. Order forms on the Dorset History

Network and Dorset County Museum websites, or it is available at the Dorset History Centre, Dorset County Museum and the Swanage Bookshop.

This latest volume in the Dorset Record Society series is a collective effort by Forrest, Barnard, Mitchell and Papworth presented in a less than traditional record society style which is essential, as will become clear. Each contributor has provided specialist information on their area of expertise: Martin Papworth on the archaeology and historic landscape evidence within Treswell's maps; Rose Mitchell on the cartographers Christopher Saxton, Treswell and John Hawsted and their maps; Jenny Halling Barnard on the condition and conservation of the maps and the survey; and Mark Forrest on the context of the written survey. The volume is designed in a clear style with excellent illustrations. Each expert's contribution is clearly written and includes a reflective element of the subject matter in its wider context.

This volume, according to the introduction, 'reproduces, describes, transcribes and sets in context a volume of maps and written surveys preserved among the muniment of the Bankes family of Kingston Lacy, Dorset'. The traditional written survey of Hatton's lands was supplemented with a fine series of maps, also by Treswell. Bound with the survey and maps is a copy of Christopher Saxton's map of the county of Dorset, which is also reproduced. Thus the reader is given a unique view of this part of the Dorset coast on the eve of the Spanish Armada of 1588. Such volumes of both survey and maps from this period are rare and thus highly valuable as a historic resource.

Treswell's written survey and the accompanying maps are a delight. They represent the product of a man who recorded both the landscape and the legal agreements between landlord and tenant, combining to form a unique view of part of Elizabethan Dorset. Treswell's work is reproduced in facsimile and as transcripts in this publication, making this valuable historical resource available to a much wider audience. The analysis contained in this volume reveals many aspects of the survey as a whole that otherwise would remain hidden. For example, the description of the background to the production and acquisition of the materials used to physically produce Treswell's book make for essential reading. Fortunately all of the expert's contributions are free from jargonistic complexities, which opens up this important source to a wider, and hopefully appreciative, audience. This volume has opened up important

source material for people interested in maritime, manorial, cartographic, natural history, landscape, architecture, agriculture, book production and much more besides.

I found this volume a delight and the contributors are to be congratulated on a very fine and attractive collective publication. The information on Hatton and the background to the work as a whole makes for a good read. Inevitably there are some minor faults. The list of surveys attributed to Treswell junior, on page 30, does not include the work he undertook in 1614 or 1615 surveying the manors of Week Fitzpaine, Winneatts, Stogursey, and part of Over Stowey.¹ Unfortunately the printing is smudged on page 185. Also some of the maps are slightly too small and some images could be reproduced at a higher resolution. Not having seen the original volume, but having worked on a similar survey of 1614-1615, it is a shame the quality of paper is not of a slightly higher quality to reflect the vibrant colours employed by an Elizabethan craftsman over 430 years ago. These are only minor criticisms of a worthy addition to the history of cartography and that of Dorset.

1. Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/X/WI 34 and 88 Survey by Ralph Treswell, 1614, 1615.

A.J.W.

NOTICES

WHAT IS A ‘NOTE’? In order to encourage shorter contributions for SDNQ the following guidance has been produced. A ‘note’ is normally the shortest type of submission accepted by SDNQ. They are short, informative pieces, approximately 600 words long. They are aimed to bring obscure material to a wider audience, such as records in private collections, or found in an unusual or newly listed collection in a public archive. Often such pieces are narrative and not long enough to develop an argument but are nevertheless of wider interest to other researchers.

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NOTICE. Readers will be sorry to note the death of Michael Protheroe, a long standing contributor to this Journal.

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