
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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ISSN 0049 1306

Annual Subscription £5 (U.S.A. 30 dollars or £5 if paid in sterling), payable in advance. Two parts annually, post free.

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Subscribers are reminded that from 1st January, 1993, the annual subscription is £5 (\$30 for subscribers in the U.S.A. or £5 if paid in sterling).

Subscriptions should be paid in advance in January.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset has been published in unbroken sequence since 1888. Two parts are issued annually.

The Editors will consider contributions of short notes, queries, and articles not exceeding 2,500 words, on the history, archaeology, genealogy, folklore, and literature of the two counties. Transcripts/translations of documents are especially welcome.

All contributions should be clearly typed.

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Advertisements (whole width of page per issue): whole page £12; half page £8; quarter page £6; inch space £4; payable in advance to the Secretary/Treasurer.

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Derek Shorrocks 1924-2001

A Lancashire man, Derek was educated at Manchester Grammar School and then, after war service, at St. John's College, Cambridge where he gained a first class degree in classics. A diploma in archive administration at Liverpool University led to posts in the Essex and Kent Record Offices before moving to Somerset in 1957 as Assistant County Archivist. Promoted to the senior in 1978 he retired in 1988. His strengths lay in the interpretation and understanding of archives to which he brought the perfect balance of intellectual rigour and common sense. His discovery of the way the archives of the manor of Taunton Deane could be used for property history and his work on the court records in the diocesan archives, two of the most intractable series in the Somerset Record Office, stand as lasting tributes to his abilities. For the Somerset Record Society he contributed a calendar of medieval deeds of the Bath area at short notice to make what would have been a slim volume into a more substantial edition and, in 1997, an innovative edition of a bishop's visitation book and clerk of the peace's order book from the 1590's. However, it is as Somerset Editor of this journal that Derek made his most significant contribution to Somerset studies. Appointed in 1977 he brought to the post a profound knowledge of archival sources and a conscientiousness which ensured that the standard of contributions was consistently high across the wide range of subjects covered. His comments and advice, always well thought and constructive, were delivered with a dry sense of humour. Derek always liked to have a piece of his own in reserve in case copy was short. His fortune as editor in this being a rare occurrence may be our loss judging by the quality of his own contributions. He was always aware of the full title of the journal and was always keen to publish queries, as well as notes, and their responses thus establishing a dialogue between contributors which is the sign of a flourishing publication. Although robbed of good health for much of his retirement Derek's dedication and determination ensured that he fulfilled his office throughout to the very best of his ability. In this, as throughout his professional life, he received the full support of his wife Patricia, who with their children, provided the chief focus of his life and to whom we send our deepest sympathy.

10. WITHAM FRIARY CHURCH. This building near Frome, originally the chapel of Carthusian lay brethren who served the priory, was strikingly restored in 1875-76 and partially rebuilt. The architect was William White, an exponent of muscular Gothic, and the begetter the Revd. Alexander D'Arblay Burney, vicar of Witham from 1871 until 1881. An interesting new light on the work is shed by a letter from H. B. Festing, steward to the 12th Duke of Somerset, to his master at Bulstrode Park. It is dated from Maiden Bradley, Wiltshire, on 30th August, 1875 and is now amongst the papers of the Dukes of Somerset in the Wiltshire Record Office at Trowbridge (1332, box 35).

'My Lord Duke,

At a recent meeting of the Somerset Archaeological Society at Frome, The Witham Church restoration was not only discussed but the Church was visited by many of the leading members, and a strong desire was expressed that the present tower should be pulled down and the Church lengthened by building another bay.

This was the original proposal of Mr. White the architect!

In the intended alterations to make the present tower safe an outlay of £300 is necessary.

To pull down the tower and build a new bay with a bell turret something like the plan I have the honour to send for Your Grace's inspection, will cost about £250 more than would be saved, but there would be the value of all the tower material, nearly £100 worth, saved out of this, so the actual extra expense would be from £150 to £200.

In talking matters over with Mr. Burney I think Your Grace there will not be much difficulty in raising this sum.

My object now in writing is to ask if Your Grace will consent to the proposal, one great benefit of which will be the gain of *40 seats* instead of 8; and the Church attendance is on the increase.

The present tower is a sham with all its apparent massiveness. Portions of it are hollow; and those which should have been just the reverse for safety.

The parishioners I feel will agree with the usual unanimity that prevails amongst them, to anything that is considered necessary, even to finding more money should it be requisite to ask them.'

The tower had been added to the church in 1828, hence the description of it as a sham. The Duke's reply to Mr. Festing's letter is not extant but presumably he gave his consent as the offending tower was demolished and the extra bay and bellcote erected in its stead.

MICHAEL McGARVIE

11. THE ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY SAVES MONEY. In an award made on or before 24 October 1528 by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and legate, in a 'superior chamber' at Lambeth, the abbot and convent of Glastonbury, after a dispute dating back to the time of Abbot Nicholas Frome (d. 1455), found themselves freed of the responsibility of repairing the chapel of West Pennard.¹ The dispute had clearly been bitter. In accounts for the estate in 1489-90 a former reeve and collector of rents was charged with arrears which were said to have been incurred in Abbot Frome's time when the abbot seized holdings of tenants who had proceeded against him for not repairing the chancel of their chapel.² The dispute presumably rumbled on and thus to bring it to a conclusion Abbot Whiting had recourse to the highest ecclesiastical court in the land.

By canon law the rector was responsible for church repairs, but by custom parishioners had usually come to consider the nave as in their charge. In some places custom gave parishioners charge of the chancel too. West Pennard was a chapelry of St. John's Glastonbury, of which the abbey was undoubtedly rector. Abbot Frome seems to have been of the view that a chapel was entirely for the convenience of its users, and thus entirely their responsibility.

Hence, in what are technically letters testimonial, witnessed by Dr. John Cockes, the archbishop's auditor of causes, vicar general and official principal, Master Oliver Godfrey, the archbishop's almoner, and Thomas Bedyll, his secretary, and notarially attested by Master John Heryng, Richard Tanner, steward (*yconomus*) of West Pennard chapel, and four other inhabitants, on behalf of all the inhabitants of the place, putting behind all past controversies, henceforth undertook for themselves and their successors to be entirely responsible for the fabric of the whole building. Furthermore, the award was to be published in the presence of a majority of the inhabitants in the church on the Sunday before Christmas following, and was thus to be formally ratified. Within eight days of ratification mass might be said again if the chancel had by then been sufficiently repaired.

A second and closely related document³ has come to light which suggests that the abbot and convent of Glastonbury used this dispute with the people of West Pennard as a means to rid themselves of a financial burden.

That document is another award, dated 2 October 1528, three weeks earlier than the first, whereby Dr. Robert Bisse, described simply as commissary, presided over a hearing in the chapel of St. Patrick within the precinct of Glastonbury Abbey at which there appeared before him the stewards (*iconomi*) or wardens (*custodes*) of ten chapels within the Jurisdiction of Glastonbury, namely, Baltonsborough, Othery, Middlezoy⁴, Ashcott, Walton, Sutton (Mallet), Stawell, Catcult, Chilton (Polden) and St. Benignus, Glastonbury.⁵ These men, two for each chapel, except Chilton, and all named, declared – without any compulsion and fear of reprisal – each of them of their own free will, that time out of mind their chancels had been maintained by them, their predecessors and fellow villagers and that for the future they agreed with the abbot and convent that such a state of affairs should continue. This document had rather less important witnesses than the first, namely Master Walter Sydenham and John Trowbridge, clerks, and John Porter, gentleman; but it, too, was duly subscribed by two notaries, William Bell and Thomas Roger.

Is it too cynical to note how close in time were the two meetings recorded in these documents? The case against the wardens of West Pennard is likely to have been pending for several months before it reached a conclusion. Was this agreement with the chapelries of the rest of the Jurisdiction an attempt to bring about a settlement with the rebels and thus save the expense of a judicial hearing before the archbishop?

1. The copy of the award which passed to the chapel wardens, now in the County Record Office among the MSS. of Glastonbury Antiquarian Society (DD/GS 10), was still among the parish records in the 1920s and was printed by Robin Fowler in *Som. Rec. Soc.*, 'Collectanea I', vol 39 (1924), 35-47.
2. Longleat House, Longleat MS. 10743.
3. In the possession of Gregory Stevens Cox, Guernsey; a photocopy is in S.R.O. (T/PH/vch 93).
4. Not a chapel, perhaps an error for Weston Zoyland; *SDNQ XXX*, Part 301 (1975), 86.
5. Edington is missing.

ROBERT DUNNING

12. THE BISHOP'S PALACE, WELLS. The papers of the Francis family of Cole Park, Malmesbury, deposited in the Record Office at Trowbridge, contain an item which has a peculiar Somerset interest.¹ It is of paper, measuring 38.5cm long by 21cm wide formed by gumming two sheets together. The larger sheet, 27cm long, contains a descriptive survey of the Bishop's

Palace dated 1340-2, the text of which is given below, followed by a coloured sketch which appears to illustrate the buildings described. The words *hactenus MS.* in the bottom right-hand corner of the sheet imply a single source. The second, smaller sheet is a summary history of the Palace between 180 and 1661. The whole is in Latin, in a hand of the earlier 18th cent.²

The historical summary, evidently the work of 'T. F.', contains some surprises. It begins with the works of Giso, the builder of the first lodgings for himself and his canons. There follow the removal of the canons by John de Villula, the works of Jocelin in 1242 and of Robert Burnell of 1275, and the creation of the defences by Ralph of Shrewsbury in 1330. Thomas Bekynton is said to have built an inner gateway, kitchen and other buildings about 1450 which cost 6000 marks. Oliver King is credited about 1500 with building hall, bakehouse and chambers by the kitchen; Sir John Gates with the removal of the great hall and chambers in 1546; James Montague with putting up the inner gateway and chambers, finishing the chapel and decorating the organ in 1610. After 1649 fanatics laid the site waste but Bishop William Piers began to restore the damage in 1661.

The first part of the manuscript is the more significant. It is, first, a detailed description of the fortified Palace in the time of Ralph of Shrewsbury, including a prison, a mill, an oxshed and barn, and the gateway to the town. The source of the survey is clearly stated: an ancient memorandum book (*ex libro membranaceo pervetusto*) belonging to Lady (*Dominam*) Prowse of Berkley in Somerset. The lady in question was Abigail, elder daughter of George Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells 1704-27, and from 1707 wife of John Prowse (*d.* 1710) of Compton Bishop. Berkeley House and its estate were inherited by Abigail's infant son Thomas on his father's death.

What became of the original memorandum book is unknown but the extract from it and the rest of the compilation must have found its way to Cole Park either *via* the Lovell family of Axbridge, presumably acquaintances of Thomas Prowse; or may have been passed back to Hooper's successor-but-one, Edward Willes, bishop 1743-73, whose fourth son William, archdeacon of Wells, had a daughter Charlotte, who married Peter Harvey Lovell of Cole Park.³

There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the

1340-2 description, and the use of the word *forticetum* is its most striking feature if that use implies the existence of wall and moat. It has hitherto generally been assumed that the walls and moat dated from after March 1340 when Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury obtained a licence to crenellate.⁴ That licence, however, was not a simple one. It was to build a wall round the (cathedral) churchyard and the precinct of the houses of himself and the canons, and to crenellate and to make towers in it.⁵ That would seem to refer to a general precinct wall, not to the Palace defences alone. Yet the building date of 1330 as given in the second part of the manuscript seems to occur at an unlikely time in the first year of Bishop Ralph's episcopate.⁶ The question must for the time remain unanswered, although the most likely trigger for construction was the visit of Edward III at Christmas 1331.

Within the moat the sketch illustrates the chamber, porched hall and chapel which still occupy the south side of the courtyard and two ranges, actually drawn to suggest they stand at an angle to each other on the east side, perhaps reaching the precinct wall on its northern edge. Across the courtyard the sketch marks a path between the hall porch and the main gate and parallel to it an indication of a range between the chapel and the north wall, perhaps suggesting the buildings of Bishop Bekynton. South and east of the buildings are trees.

The individual buildings mentioned in the 1340-2 survey outside the moat include a substantial gatehouse leading into the market place, a prison, a mill, an oxshed and a barn. All those are noted on the sketch, the mill evidently driven both by the stream, later called the Horse Pool, which now runs underground between the moat and the south cathedral cloister, and also by a watercourse running from the west side of the moat.

Various clues including the indication of Bekynton's buildings, the turreted Bishop's Eye, the millstream and the prison strongly suggest that the sketch was made to illustrate the survey but at a date much later than the original. In fact it fits neatly between the panorama by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck published in 1733 and the town map by William Symes of 1735. Buck shows Bekynton's tower at full height; the oxshed had gone by 1735.

Whatever the exact date, the sketch is significant in revealing the site of the bishop's prison, a freestanding building on the south side of the Horse Pool.

Episcopal Palace at Wells anno 15 Edward III and in the year of Our Lord 1340.

From an ancient memorandum book in the possession of Lady (*Dominam*) Prowse of Berkley in the county of Somerset.

1. There is there a capital messuage containing by estimation around 10 acres in which is a little fortress (*forticetum*) built like a castle (*ad modum castris constructum*), within which is a hall and chapel; three chambers very decent, spacious and suitable; a chamber over the hall entry; a turret over the common entry in which are private apartments and small chambers; and all aforesaid covered in lead.

2. There are two separate and spacious buildings covered in stone, of which one for kitchen, brewery and bakery, and the other for larder and other necessities; and one separate house for a barn; and one granary, covered with stone.

3. There are outside the little fortress a gateway towards the town, with a hall and two chambers on one side and a hall and two chambers on the other, under one roof; and other apartments covered in stone are adjoining: item a hall with chambers and other apartments; and a house for a prison with apartments, likewise covered in stone.

Which aforesaid houses are set aside for visiting lords. They are not extended on account of deductions.

4. There are also outside the little fortress an oxshed, a hay house above, a barn, a cart house, suitable and spacious covered in stone; which easements are worth year on year 7s 8d.

Item the herbage in the garden, with herbage in other places within the said messuage are worth year on year 20s, and fruits of the garden each year worth 6s.

Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office 161/142

1. Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office, 161/142. We acknowledge with gratitude the kindness of Steven Hobbs of W.S.R.O. for telling us of the MS.
2. The 15th year of Edward III ran from 25 Jan 1341 to 24 Jan 1342.
3. *Land. Gent.* (1914), 1191, information provided by S. Hobbs.
4. T. S. Holmes, *Wells and Glastonbury*, 48.
5. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338-40*, 466, quoted in R. Dunning, 'The Bishop's Palace' in L. S. Colchester (ed), *Wells Cathedral* (1982), 235.
6. *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, (Som. Rec. Soc. 1895), IX, xix-xxii.

A. J. SCRASE & R. W. DUNNING

13. PONTER'S BALL OR PORTER'S? In considering the origin of the name 'Ponter's Ball',¹ Dr Dunning follows closely the arguments of Dean Armitage Robinson.² The arguments of both are based on a single authority: the list of tenants 'outside Havyatt' in *The Rentalia and Custumaria of Abbot Michael of*

Amesbury (1235 - 1252) where we have a Walter of the bridge and a William Pontarius who is the more significant in this context as he pays no rent for his land because of his office.³ There seems no doubt that a 'pontarius' was a bridge-keeper but the precise nature of his duties remain undefined.

Two other published lists of abbey tenants, *Liber de Henrici de Soliaco*, and Aelred Watkin's splendid edition of the Abbey Cartulary, have no 'pontarius' but they do have a 'portarius', a 'porter' or 'doorkeeper'. It is interesting that where there is a 'ponter' in the list there is no 'porter' and *vice versa*. Henrici de Soliaco was abbot fifty years before Michael of Amesbury. His Walter the Porter held one virgate of land 'freely because of his office'. There is also a Walter the janitor in the list who pays rent.⁴ Dom Watkin's *Cartulary* covers a hundred and fifty years; the charters are published complete in Latin and in summary in English. Six deal with the lands of Walter the Porter. The earliest, dated c.1190 concerns lands that Walter received from William Pasturel when Walter married William's daughter. It consisted of a messuage in Glastonbury and three parcels of land at Edgarley which Walter's descendent granted to Roger de Mere in 1263.⁵ Dom Watkin gives a family tree of the Pasturel and Porter families and notes Walter as the son of the 'master-porter' in 1189 and that he had a son also Walter alive in 1263; he notes also the names of four other porters through the century: Virivus, Peter, Ralph and Henry.⁶ A number of charters, not relating to his own land, are witnessed by Walter the Porter, he was evidently a person of importance. Four of the charters, dated 1244 and 1245, describe at length and in great detail, land that Walter was granting to other people. It is all on the steep ground at Sticklynch where there may once have been a motte and bailey castle.⁷

Steanbow bridge on the main road is immediately north of this land. Dr. Dunning believes that this must have been the one that the 'pontarius' looked after. The duty of keeping it may well have been connected with some defensive or lookout place on the hill above. The master porter may have had the duty of providing escort for visitors to the abbey between Steanbow and Ponter's Ball.

Steanbow is an ancient bridge, named in both versions of the Saxon Charter of West Pennard, as 'staenbryege' and 'Stanene Brugge'.⁸ It was unusual for its time in that it was built of stone.

One of the charters is tenth century and it is considered probable that it relates to a gift that was even earlier. A well-known passage in the *Custumaria of abbot Roger of Ford* (1252 - 1261) describes the duties of the abbey boatman, Robert Malerbe, one of which is to 'carry the Lord Abbot wherever he wishes to go namely to Mere, Brent, Butleigh, Andredsey, Godney and La Bowe.' Admittedly, 'La Bowe' as the only variation in the latin of the charter provides a problematic exercise in etymology but I take it to refer to Steanbow.⁹ Moreover the boatman must guard the abbot's wine at 'la Bowe' until it is brought to Glastonbury, presumably along the Whitelake river, a pleasant task. It is interesting that then, as now, wine was made at Pilton.

McGarvie, Dunning and Armitage agree that 'Ball', derived from the Middle English 'Ball' means 'a rounded hill or hillock' and by extrapolation, one set up as a boundary. Whatever its origin and date this fits Ponter's Ball. The word also occurs in Stickleball Lane which runs south from Steanbow over Pennard Hill. 'Stickle' means 'steep' and the 'ball' here can refer either to Pennard Hill itself or to the fact that the lane is a boundary between East and West Pennard.

Whether the man responsible for the safe conduct, and the paying of dues, of visitors to the abbey between Steanbow and Ponter's Ball was a 'Ponter' or a 'Porter'¹⁰ could surely be decided by an expert palaeographer although 'r' and 'n' look very alike in many Mss. It may be that he was sometimes written as one and sometimes the other just as 'Pennard' was sometimes written (or read by the copyist) as 'Pommard', possibly with the profusion of orchards in mind. It may have depended on which function was uppermost; as the abbey became more worldly the collecting of dues would seem more important than providing safe conduct, or, in the days of Henry of Blois, defence.

1. R. Dunning, 'Ponters Ball', *SDNQ*, XXXV, Pt. 353, 1-2.
2. A. Robinson, 'Edgarly, Ponter's Ball, Havyatt', *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* (1916), 2-3.
3. C. J. Elton (ed), *Custumaria and Rentalia*, *Som. Rec. Soc.* (1891), V, 123.
4. J. E. Jackson (ed), *Liber de Henri de Soliaco*, (1882), 21, 27.
5. Aelred Watkin (ed), *The Glastonbury Cartulary*, *Som. Rec. Soc.* (1948), II, 250.
6. *Ibid*, xcii.
7. *Ibid*, 257, 473. See also S. Rands, 'West Pennard: evidence of a Motte and Bailey Castle at Sticklynch', *SDNQ*, XXXIII, Pt 341, 353-355
8. G. B. Grundy (ed), *The Saxon Charters of Somerset*, *S.A.N.H.S.*, (1929), 76.
9. C. J. Elton, *Rentalia*, 176, 177.
10. See M. McGarvie, *SDNQ*, XXXII, Pt. 329, 758-9.

14. A SOMERSET PROVERB AND ITS BACKGROUND Regional proverbialisms can be of great interest, and a West Somerset example collected by Elworthy demonstrates the point. His phonetic rendering may be transcribed *Vuur a-vaught, dear a-bought*, but exegesis will still be necessary. The fourth and final word means 'bought', and the second is also a past participle, in this instance of the obsolete verb *to fet*, a close relative of *to fetch*. We thus arrive at the rendering 'Far-fetched, dearly bought', which will be recognized as a variant of *Far-fetched and dear bought are good for ladies*, a proverb attested since the middle of the fourteenth century.¹ The gist is, of course, that luxuries brought from afar command high prices from devotees of fashion.

The literal use of *far-fetched* is striking here. It is in other contexts that the expression will have moved from its original, now obsolete, sense of 'brought from afar' to the present-day one of 'remote from what seems obvious', as in 'a far-fetched argument'.² A further observation would be that what appears to be an obscure Somerset regionalism turns out to be a variation on a national proverb with a long history.

Since proverbs often transcend the national, the question next arises as to whether our Somerset regionalism has Continental cognates. What does spring to mind is a French saying that points in the opposite direction. It is *Cela ne va pas chercher bien loin*, which, like its German equivalent *Das ist nicht weit her*, has the literal meaning 'That isn't from afar'. An idiomatic translation would, however, be along the lines of 'That isn't up to much'.

It would be unwise to see these apparently conflicting proverbialisms as indicative of national attitudes. After all, *far-fetched*, both in its original, literal, and its modern, transferred, sense does have an exact German equivalent in (zu) *weit hergeholt*. The other German expression we have cited, *Das ist nicht weit her*, will originally have applied only to people, implying that, as they had not travelled to gain experience, their competence as any kind of experts was in doubt. They were stay-at-homes; they had not 'been around'.³

By contrast, our English proverb refers in the first place not to people, but to products: desirable artefacts that come from afar are likely to be overpriced. Of course there is a side-swipe

at people too, those who are so addicted as to pay the price demanded. Whether or not that part of the message is acceptable, it is omitted in our Somerset Version. What makes this still pithier and more memorable is the prosody. Beyond the alliteration, which echoes that of the standard *far fetched*, there is the rhythmic satisfaction of past participles made resonant by their archaic prefixes.⁴ Note also that, because of its otherwise obsolete form, *a-vaught* rhymes with *a-bought*. The result is a compact, euphonious and ironic antithesis that stands out against the sententiousness of the standard version.

1. Frederick Thomas Elworthy, *The West Somerset Word-Book* (London, 1888), p. 799; Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905; rpt. London, 1970), 2, 339-40; J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989), 5, 853-56; *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, rev. F. P. Wilson, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1970), p. 173.
2. Simpson and Weiner, *op. cit.*, 5, 731-32.
3. Lutz Röhrich, *Das grosse Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1991-92), 3, 1712; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 14, 1, 1 (Leipzig, 1955), 1298; Heinz Küpper, *Illustriertes Lexikon der deutschen Umgangssprache* (Stuttgart, 1982-84), 8, 3078.
4. A- before past participles represents the Old English prefix *ge-*, and has a mainly south-western distribution. See Martyn F. Wakelin, *English Dialects: An Introduction*, rev. edn. (London, 1977), p. 121.

J. B. SMITH

15. LADY SUSAN O'BRIEN AND THE DUKES OF GLOUCESTER. Susan Fox, the eldest child of Lord Ilchester, Baron of Woodsford Strangways, was born in 1743, the same year as William Henry, third son of the Prince of Wales. William Henry has come down in history as 'silly Billy' and many historians have dismissed him as nearly imbecile. It is true that in at least one portrait his mouth is open and he has a 'distracted' look, and he was certainly no beauty. However, the story of his life and contemporary accounts, particularly those of Horace Walpole, the pre-eminent chronicler of the age, indicate that he was at least of normal intelligence. According to Walpole, his mother, the Princess Augusta, loved him the least of her children though he was the 'most meritorious'; she thought him 'insuperably dull ... one day in his childhood she indicated him before his brothers and sisters and bid them laugh at the fool. He sat silent and thoughtful. She said, "What! now you are sullen." He replied, "No, I was thinking what I should feel if I had a son as unhappy as you make me."¹ In adult life, again according to Walpole, he suffered from a 'confirmed asthma;'

and judging from his frequent sudden illnesses and equally sudden and sometimes almost miraculous recoveries, it seems probable that he also suffered from acute allergies. Walpole described William Henry as 'extremely good and amiable' and 'naturally obliging' and says that he is 'decent, prudent and amiable' and that no one 'knows so well how to unite dignity with propriety.'² William Henry was only seven when his kindly father died and he was brought up by tutors and his fierce mother.

Meanwhile Susan Fox, her father's favourite child, grew up in Somerset at Redlynch near Bruton which her paternal grandfather had built from the huge fortune that he had amassed from brilliant service to six monarchs. A lively child, Susan was considered clever by all who knew her, family, friends and servants. When she was fifteen her immensely wealthy maternal grandmother, Susannah Strangways Horner died at Melbury in Dorset. By her wish, her son-in-law added the name of Strangways to his own and thus began the Fox-Strangways family. By several stages and curious means Susan's father became an Earl in 1756, two years before his mother-in-law died. So it was as Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester, that Lady Susan, aged fifteen, came to London to be presented at court.

She lived at Holland House, the home of her uncle, Henry, Lord Holland, and soon became the close friend of Lord Holland's young sister-in-law, Sarah Lennox. It is well known that the Prince of Wales fell deeply in love with Sarah and would have married her if he could. When he became King in 1760, Lady Susan, carrying messages to Lady Sarah, 'almost thought myself Prime Minister'. But the King was persuaded to marry Charlotte of Mecklenburg and Susan and Sarah were two of her twelve bridesmaids. In 1762 Sarah married Sir Charles Bunbury and 1764 Susan eloped with the actor William O'Brien and married him. In the same year William Henry was made the Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, given his own establishment and an income of £12,000.

Walpole tells us that William Henry was the King's favourite brother. Almost as often as the King was with Sarah the Duke would have been with Susan. In a letter to Susan dated 11 July 1761 Sarah refers to him as 'your Billy', and at the end of April 1764 she tells Susan, by this time married, that the Duke was

'very dismal that you are gone'. However, by the end of December 1764, when Susan was in America, the Duke was paying court to the Dowager Countess of Waldegrave, seven years his senior and the mother of several daughters. An acknowledged beauty she was the illegitimate daughter of a milliner and Sir Horace Walpole's talented elder brother, Edward. Of the Duke's partiality for Lady Waldegrave, Sarah commented to Susan, 'it is a sad falling off I think from your cunning little face to her insensibility'.³ The Duke secretly married Lady Waldegrave in 1766. The marriage was considered nearly as disgraceful as Lady Susan's and it was partly to avoid the disapproval of the King and Court that the Gloucesters spent much of the following years travelling on the continent. Thus they suffered a similar, though less severe, exile to the O'Briens'. The King recognised the Duke's marriage in 1772, and it is to his kindness at this time that Horace Walpole attributed the Duke's recovery from a serious illness.

While still a young man the Duke had been advised by Ralph Allen, postmaster, philanthropist and architect of Prior Park, Bath, that sea bathing would be good for his 'precarious constitution' as Horace Walpole called it. The Duke must have known that Lady Susan lived at Stinsford, only eight miles from Weymouth, and it is just possible that this influenced him to follow Dr. Allen's advice there. By 1780 Gloucester Lodge had been built. William O'Brien working in London in his attempt to become a barrister evidently thought that the presence of the Duke at Weymouth would be advantageous for he wrote to his wife, at Stinsford, concerning the desirability of buying a new coach 'for ours is scandalous and beggarly' and 'as I desire you should renew your acquaintance with the Duke of Gloucester our appearance at Weymouth should be decently handsome'.⁴ History does not relate whether they got their coach. Susan's mother, the Dowager Lady Ilchester, would have had to pay for it. In any case the Queen, on some occasion not documented, but often referred to bitterly by Lady Susan in her journal, had forbidden, in public, the O'Briens to come to Weymouth at any time when the Royal family was there. Presumably this was to prevent the King from having any chance of making contact with Lady Sarah, to prevent Lady Susan from being in touch with the Duke, and to prevent the O'Briens from being a bad example to her daughters. The King,

however, was extremely fond of Weymouth and whenever possible dashed from London with his family to enjoy its delights. In the event, Gloucester Lodge, later extended, seems to have been used more by the King than by the Duke. Lady Susan's journal relates how several times he made enquiries about her from friends and relations of hers that he met in the vicinity of Weymouth.

Proof of attachment between Susan O'Brien and the Duke of Gloucester lies in Lady Susan's description of the Duke's son's visit to Melbury in 1817.

He talked too of his father's great attachment to me; how we sat at the Oratorios in boxes that joined and what great friends we were. It seems surprising to me that all this youthful nonsense gets talked of. I should not have thought a father's flirtations likely to be transmitted to his son or that ever it should be thought of or mentioned when once at an end.⁵

That the feeling was mutual is shown by the letter that Lady Susan wrote to her favourite niece Eliza when the Duke died in 1805. 'I am very sorry for my old friend; he was my first friend and my only constant one in that family for he was kind and friendly to the last ...'⁶

William Frederick, who became Duke of Gloucester on his father's death, was very different both in personality and upbringing. Born abroad in 1772 he was the Gloucesters' second child and the only one to survive into adulthood. He got his degree at Cambridge in 1790, served as a Colonel in Flanders with the First Footguards, was made Knight of the Garter and promoted to Major General in 1794, gained his LL.D in 1797, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. Intriguingly, in the present context, he had correspondence and several meetings with William O'Brien during 1801 when O'Brien was Commissioner for the Island of St. Domingo.⁷

In 1816, when he was forty, William Frederick married his first cousin, Mary, the fourth daughter of George III. She too was forty. He had been considered as a possible husband for the Princess Charlotte who said that she would have preferred him to the Prince of Orange. Aged seventeen when the Duke was thirty-seven, she confided to her companion, Miss Knight, that his character was so good that she might reasonably look forward to being treated with kindness. The eminent advocate, Lord Erskine, also spoke of the Duke 'in warm terms of

approbation' and said that 'no one better understood the constitution of England or had more zeal to preserve its excellence ... that the best thing that could happen to this country would be the marriage of the Princess Charlotte to the Duke of Gloucester...' ⁸ How different her life might have been. A few months after the marriage the Princess stayed with the Gloucesters and described them:

'they are not the most agreeable people in the world still they are exceedingly good-natured, kind and easily pleased. We are going to stay with them at Bagshot on the 14th of next month. The Duke seems very fond of Mary and to be very happy; he is certainly all attention to her but I can not say she looks the picture of happiness or as if she is much delighted with him ... He is much in love and tells me he is the happiest creature upon earth. I wont say she does as much but being her own mistress, having her own house, and being able to walk in the streets all delights her in their several ways.' ⁹

It was just over a year after his marriage that the Duke of Gloucester surprised Lady Susan on her gravel walk at Stinsford on 13 September 1817. Her own words describe the occasion.

He said he was very glad to find me at home as he wished to see me and had taken the first opportunity he had had of calling on me. I thanked him for his goodness. He said it was a very pretty place. I asked him if he would not go into the house. He offered his arm going up the steps which I accepted being very infirm. He then chatted about various people and things, said it was a pleasure to see a family so united as ours, that it was not often the case with a sister in law. I said Lady Ilchester had great merit and I believed the family were sensible of it and had great esteem and respect for her; he talked of Mrs. Pitt, said she was very serious, a great alteration. 'Yes, Sir, people do alter.' 'That they do.' Then of Lady Sarah, a favourite topic with them all. Had she been as handsome as was said? He had been to see her at Brighton. Her eyes he thought disfigured her. She had been very much admired. Yes she had and when young was very beautiful. Much admired by some people. Yes, Sir, very much indeed. Then of Lady C. Damer who was much broke and looked very ill. Complimented me on being so little changed and looking so well and asked me if I came often to Weymouth and if they should see me there. This subject was what I was afraid of. I said that I had so many reasons to prevent my going there that I hoped His Royal Highness would believe that it gave me great pain not to be able to pay my duty to him and the Duchess and that I hoped they would forgive my not doing it. He was sorry I had any reason as he would be very glad to see me there. He continued talking very good-humouredly on different subjects. All this time his four gentlemen sat round the room like a sort of audience hearing every word that was said; it was very disagreeable and formidable. If old Garth had been one of them I should not have been so much afraid of him. After a pretty long visit he rose to go and his

attendants went out ... He lingered and said again he should be very sorry not to see me at Weymouth. I felt very much embarrassed but felt that I had better now take courage and give my reason which would prevent further invitations and foolish insignificant excuses so I said it gave me great pain to decline the honour his Royal Highness allowed me, that He never probably knew that I had many years ago been prohibited Weymouth. He had never heard so. By whom? By her Majesty, I believe Sir. That severe prohibition never having been taken off in twenty years or during O'Brien's lifetime I should feel wanting in respect to his memory were I to appear there now that I was a widow The prohibition, all the circumstances, my never having been there when any of the Royal Family were there, it being known all over the neighbourhood did make it particularly painful to me. He often interrupted me with great kindness and good nature. Said He could not blame my feelings. I said His Royal Highness was too young to hear anything of me at the time and his goodness both to O'Brien and me made it so singularly painful to decline the occasion of paying my respects to both. He answered that it was not my being a widow that induced him to say what he did, that if he had been at Weymouth before he should have had great pleasure in seeing us both, he had been very much obliged to him for what he had done for those he had interested himself for at the St. Domingo board and had always a great esteem for him. As I mentioned this neighbourhood as particularly unpleasant to me, desired if I came to London he might know it. He had wished the Duchess to make my acquaintance. All this is so gracious I don't know what to do. I only know I was much more at my ease before. It is very odd that kind or unkind the Royal Family being at Weymouth is always a distress to me.

However a Royal visit to Melbury was arranged by the Ilchesters for the end of October to which Lady Susan was to be invited. 'I must set about my dress and all my long past courtly propriety', she commented, and her niece Lady Harriet advised her about her dress, 'ribbons and all that sort of thing now become quite important', and she felt 'discontented all day thinking of my silly gown and regretting this change'.⁸ Shortly before the party the Dowager Lady Ilchester arrived from waiting on the Queen at Windsor. The Queen had asked whether Lady Susan was to be of the party and when Lady Ilchester said that she was the Queen replied, 'I'm glad for then Mary will be pleased'.

The Royal Party duly arrived at Melbury for a stay of three nights. Lady Susan wrote a lengthy description of the event in her journal. Half of this has been published in the *Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*. The rest is as follows:

"She [Mary, Duchess of Gloucester] talked also of her present situation, of the trials she had had and how well she had gone through them,

lamented the King, said the decrees of Providence could not be scrutinized but that it seemed hard so good a man should have had all the grief and difficulties of so long and unfortunate a war and not be permitted to see the happy conclusion to it. She spoke of Bagshot as an agreeable place but the house wanting some additions as it belonged to the crown would be repaired by the [illeg] of Works but added that in such times one can not ask for anything. I said her Royal Highness and the Duke could only be repaid for their prudence by the praise and respect of the people which they enjoyed to a very great degree, that I heard on all sides how much their moderation and conduct was admired. The Duke told me that the Princess of Brunswick had inquired after me when in London and had I been there would have desired to see me – I could hardly credit him as she had always showed much dislike to me before her marriage. The conversations I mention did not pass at once but at different times during the three days – and all concluded most graciously towards me. I was most pleased with her saying to Charlotte that she honoured me for my conduct so that I have lost nothing by following the dictates of my heart. Indeed I took the opportunity of saying to her that I hoped the Duke had told her what I had said to excuse my not going to Weymouth and that I assured his Royal Highness no other motive should prevent my paying my duty there. She said she understood my reasons and could not desire me to come there but desired me not to be in London without letting her see me. I made one of the Duke's whist party with Isabelle Thynne by all accounts of her a sort of [illeg] bien saisant who says short things and [illeg] people she don't like; she was very civil and good natured to me and to everyone here. I had the pleasure of hearing from Lord and Lady Ilchester that I really was of use to them in this party instead of being an incumbrance as I feared but a new person and some new jokes are something desirable in such sort of party. The Duke's attendants were Sir H. Douglas, Sir Fred. Murray, Col. Dalton and Mr. Curzon, all very gentlemanlike, agreeable men which made conversation pleasant and rational. Sir H. Douglas remarkably pleasing and well-informed on all subjects, the woods and lakes of America and of his and my travels amongst them. We had a good deal to say. It renewed so many ideas that were lost and gone that I have a good mind to write my reminiscences like Mr. Walpole. Our company was large, eighteen or nineteen at the table, two round tables at cards besides the whist. Nothing could be better managed than the whole entertainment was. No bustle or confusion, and from the Hall, the Steward's room, the nursery and the drawing room, so far as my judgement and knowledge goes everything was perfect and to finish the climax Lord and Lady Ilchesters' conversation was even more than perfect – eight pretty and amusing children caused amusement and entertainment – one whole morning was spent going to see Sherborne. Lord Digby returned with them after showing them his beautiful place and entertaining them with a handsome luncheon."

Besides the people already mentioned the company had consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Selwyn, Sir Charles and Lady

Charlotte Lemon, Lady Harriet Frampton, Mrs. Charles Strangways with her children, Fanny, Charles and Harry, Lady Mary Poulet, Captain Stephen Digby, Mr. Giles Strangways, and Miss Newbolt, so it was very much a Strangways family party. In the house there were one hundred and fourteen people altogether, 'lodged and fed,' and in the stables twenty-two horses besides Lord Ilchester's own. The day after the Royal party's departure was, naturally, a day of rest, 'a real Sabbath'.

Relations were now so warm between the Gloucesters and Lady Susan that when the young Lady Ilchester died in childbirth two years later the Duchess wrote a heart felt letter of condolence to which Lady Susan replied:

Madam, I received the Honour of your Royal Highness's letter at Melbury, a house at present in the deepest affliction. it is impossible for me to have said more in praise of our lost Caroline than her merits fully deserved and justified and than all my family as well as her own will long and deeply lament. It is with satisfaction I can say your dear nephew supports himself as well as we can wish or hope. As your Royal Highness justly says the consolations of Religion will be to him a future comfort and I may add are so even now; his resignation is great for he felt his happiness and feels its loss to the greatest extent. His children are much with him and sometimes smoothe and amuse his grief. The infant is a very fine one and likely to live. I don't know how to express my gratitude to your Royal Highness for the very kind notice you have been so good to take of me. I am not ill but certainly this loss is the very severest to me that I can now have to deplore. Her kindness has been that of a daughter as well as that of an affectionate friend.

Allow me Madam to subscribe myself with Gratitude and respect

Your Royal Highness's dutiful, humble servant,

Susan O'Brien.¹²

1. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George III*, IV.242. 1845.
2. P. Toynbee (ed), *Letters of Horace Walpole* (1905), VIII, 31, 120, 412.
3. Countess of Ilchester & Lord Stavordale (eds), *Life & Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, I, 154. 1901.
4. British Library [BL], Add Mss 51352.
5. Ilchester & Stavordale, *Life & Letters*, II, 315.
6. Laycock Abbey Archives, WRO 2664, 20 Susan O'Brien to Eliza Fielding, 1805.
7. BL, Add Mss 51352, Letters of Prince William Frederick & William O'Brien.
8. Annabella Milbanke, Journal, quoted in M. Elwin, *Lord Byron's Wife* (1962), 91.
9. A. Aspinall (ed), *Letters of Princess Charlotte* (1949), 243, 245.
10. BL, Add Mss 51360, Susan O'Brien's Journal.
11. *Ibid.*
12. BL, Add Mss 51352, Lady Susan O'Brien to Duchess of Gloucester.

16. LOVE LETTERS FROM BATH, 1756, 1757. In the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office there is a small collection of love letters from the mid 18th cent, which offer a brief glimpse into aspects of the social and political life of Bath. John Lovell, an apothecary of the city and member of the Lovell family of Axbridge, sought to win the heart of Sarah Lovell of Cole Park, Malmesbury, Wiltshire, and, what proved more of a challenge, the approval of Sarah's aunt, Mrs. Mary Smith of Shaw in Melksham. His letter to Aunt Mary reveals the extent to which he sought to earn her good opinion of him.

Madam Bath Novr. 11 1756.

Happening by Chance to hear of Mr. Alderman Hale's Intention to be at your House this Morning, I requested his conveyance of this to your Hand, which he kindly undertakes to do.

The Person whom I mention'd to you for a Servant will not, as I since find by Enquiry, be discharg'd from her present Mistress within Three Months, which I suppose will be too long for you to wait; therefore have said nothing to her: but have heard of another who has been out of service about a Month. This last liv'd under the Character of a Sort of upper Servant at Doctor Moisey's a Physician here at Bath. She is 20 Years of Age; rather of small Stature. I ask'd Mrs. Moisey her Character, who in her Answers tells me, She is very good-natur'd, honest, and sober; not fond of gadding abroad, or scheming to bring Visitors home; can clean a Room; can wash small Things, and iron them up decently: and that she is not without some Knowledge in Cookery, which she believes was much improv'd whilst in her Service. When I talk'd with her I advis'd her to ask no Wages, but such as you gave the last Servant whither much or little; which she promises to be satisfy'd with, and expresses a great Desire to engage with you upon such Condition. I confess I wish you will have her, first taking her upon Trial; after which you may either discharge, or make the general Contract with her. If She comes to you I wish you much Satisfaction in her Services, which will prove to me a very pleasing Consequence from this my Recommendation of her. My Man Anthony Webb tells me he knows her, and assures me that all late Fellow Servants speak favourably of her. He believes she will serve your Purpose very well, and wishes me that you may take her.

Madam,

By this earliest Opportunity I acknowledge myself highly oblig'd by your late repeated Favours, and for which I now most sincerely thank you. I got very well home Monday Night, much befriended in the latter Part of the Journey by a fine Moon Light. I, and my Beast, both travel'd very sluggishly on, and which left Shaw with the greatest Reluctance is difficult to say. I flatter myself under a strong Assurance that, the same Night I left you, you was by Miss Harvey made acquainted with my ambitious Aims, but most impatiently do I wait to learn how far they be countenanc'd by your much wish'd for

Approbation. To prevent the Trouble of communicating your Mind in Writing, it is my present Intention to revisit Shaw in a few Days (perhaps the Beginning of next week) purposely to receive in Person your Answer at the very Place, the Proposal was last Monday originally advanc'd by him, who, to the Tender of his most hearty Compliments accompanying this, begs Leave to superadd the unfeigned Assurances of his remaining with solid Esteem., Mr. Smith's, the agreeable Miss Harvey's, and, worthy Madam,

Yours truly Faithful, and ever most respectful Servant,

John Lovell.

Writing to his sweetheart a month later he was sufficiently excited by political events in Bath, in which he clearly took an active interest, to give precious space in his letters to a description of the election of a member of Parliament for Bath on the previous day.

My Dear Miss Harvey Bath Decr, 19 1756.

Madam,

I rest under Presumption that you reciev'd my Two Letters sent together last Saturday; tho' differently dated. I cannot forbear interrupting you with another by the present Opportunity to express the real Satisfaction you give me in the account deliver'd by Sarah Norris under your Commission that you are well, that your Uncle and Aunt continue in Health as when I left them, and that they are pleas'd with what I sent them. Indulge me like wise in the Favour of a little more Patience by attending to the few Words I shall deliver in Reference to our Election yesterday of a Representative to fill up the Seat in Parliament, lately vacated by Mr. Henley's being made Attorney-General. The Number of Electors for Members to represent this City consists in all of Thirty, and they are the whole Corporation. Eighteen of these, for a considerable Time back, were under the strongest Connections by Promise, to vote in Favour of honest Mr. Langton, at the next Vacancy that should happen, either by Death or Promotion. At the Day of Trial Six of our Party (the above mention'd Eighteen) prov'd Traitors, and went over Henley's side, so that Mr. Langton's Interest was entirely destroy'd, and this Time we could do nothing for him: but to show a just Resentment and Contempt of the six Traitors, and the whole of Mr. Henley's Party, Twelve of us absented Ourselves from the Election. There were Eighteen present at the Election, Seventeen of voted for Henley, whom Mr. Collibeer, the Mayor (who is one of us) pronounc'd to be duly elected, but, when his voice was ask'd, said, for such Reasons as were best known to himself, he should not vote for Mr. Henley, and therefore would give no Vote at all. It was observ'd there was not a Quarter Part of the Number of People as usually at the Hall on the Occasion; that those who were present look'd highly disgusted during the Process of the Election; and that after it was over there was not so much as One Hiss or Huzza. I must tell you it was ever a Custom with the Corporation of this Place to entertain the Member, on the Day of Election, with either a Dinner or Supper, but our honest Mayor would

give neither, which occasion'd the greatest Disappointment, and no less Mortification, to enemies, especially the shameful Six. I hope my at Shaw will not only applaud the honest Twelve who absented, but remember them likewise in the next Bottle of October² they shall open after this arrives.

With my avow'd Continuance of the highest Esteem and Regard to the lovely Miss Harvey, and my readiest Services to Mr. and Mrs. Smith I must again do myself the Honour of subscribing myself

Madam, Your ever faithful and ever affectionate John Lovell

P.S. When I can collect myself into a Suitable Frame of Mind, which I expect will be in a few days, I will attempt an Answer to your Aunt's letter.

Robert Henly, recorder of Bath was the city's M.P. but resigned on his appointment as Attorney-General in November 1756. However he was re-elected, as John Lovell describes, and continued to represent Bath until the next year when he was succeeded by William Pitt.

In order to give an indication of the intensity of John's feelings the final extract from a letter of 18 June 1757 to Aunt Mary is offered which may strike a chord with many readers.

I got home Tuesday Night safe, and in good Time - The Clouds of Dust rais'd by the successive Whirlwinds were very troublesome almost the whole Way. This disturb'd Condition of the Roads seem'd to bear a strong resemblance of the ruffled state of Mind throughout the preceding Night; and 'tis profitable if I purposely search'd into the spacious field of Nature I might not have provid'd another Comparison under which I could more perfectly represent it to your Imagination than this which offer'd itself so near at hand.

John married Sarah in 1758 the year in which first Mr. Smith died followed soon after by his wife. The letters, a record of a successful courtship, were preserved at Cole Park as part of the family's archives.

1. W.S.R.O. 161/102

2. A beer brewed in that month with newly harvested malt.

S. D. HOBBS

17. DURNOVARIA, THE ROMAN NAME OF DORCHESTER. Everybody accepts that *Durnovaria* in the Antonine Itinerary is the Roman Name of Dorchester. It is also agreed that the first element of the name is British **durno-* 'fist' (cf. Welsh *dwrn* 'fist', perhaps also 'fist-sized stone', as in the Scottish place-names *Dornock* and *Dornoch* 'site covered with fist-sized

pebbles'. But the meaning of *-varia* has been obscure. Rivet and Smith link it with British *Varar* (Beaully Firth, Scotland) and *Varis* (St. Asaph, Wales), which they think mean 'water' and 'at the waters'. They thus regard *Durnovaria* as describing the site of Dorchester on the banks of the river Frome, and not that of Maiden Castle. Hence they rule out the conjecture that the name of the hill-fort was transferred to the town.¹ Though noting Kenneth Jackson's remark on Gaulish **uaro* 'water' that 'the evidence for such a meaning in western Indo-European is poor, and in Celtic it is nil', they counter this by suggesting (on the basis of ancient Continental and Insular place-names) 'that a non-Celtic word was early adopted into Gaulish and also into British'.²

Yet this is not very convincing, and what follows offers another solution. According to the rules of philology, British *-var-* would give Welsh *gwar*, meaning 'nape, back of the neck', but also 'place just above and behind something; upper part, brink, verge, margin', which is a common place-name element in South Wales, as at Gwar-coed, Gwaryfelin, Gwarffynnon, Gwarnant, locations respectively above and behind a wood, mill, spring, and stream. As regards *gwar*'s origins, it derives (like Old Cornish *guar* 'neck') from Indo-European **ursa* 'elevated place' (with vocalic *r*).³ In Celtic, vocalic *r* before the spirant *s* would have given **uarsa*.⁴ Indo-European *rs* here gave Celtic *rr*, probably very early.⁵ The development is seen in Welsh *car* 'vehicle, car' and Irish *carr* 'cart', both ultimately related to Indo-European **kers* - 'run' and **krso-s* 'waggon'.⁶

In this context, a meaning for *-varia* as 'upper part (of land), higher place' (with Celtic-Latin suffix *-ia*) is possible. We may compare a charter of about 605 in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff, mentioning a boundary going to *guar alt rudlan dour* 'the upper part of the slope of the red bank of the Dore', the river Dore (SO 33) in Hereford and Worcester.⁷ The main objection to such an etymology is the absence in the Antonine Itinerary of gemination in the predicted form **-varria*. But if that can be accounted for on scribal grounds (or change of *rr* to *r* through assimilation), we could explain *-varia* in *Durnovaria* as 'upper place' and not as 'water', which has no real basis in the Celtic languages as we know them.

If so, this has important consequences. It means we could identify the original *Durnovaria* as Maiden Castle, the Iron Age

hill-fort (amongst the largest in Europe) two miles south-west of Dorchester. As such, Maiden Castle would have Scottish parallels. Rivet and Smith (though they reject it) cite Watson's surmise that Durnovaria was Maiden Castle, which he thought implied by the name of Dùn Dùirn 'fort of the fist', the ancient stronghold of Dundurn (NN 7023) in Perthshire and Kinross. Watson could not say why Dundurn should be called 'fort of the fist', though he thought it might have been from its shape, comparing Dùn dà Làmh 'fort of two hands' (NN 5892), near Laggan, Highland. But he also recorded a tradition that the lords of Dundurn levied a tribute of handstones (*dornagan*) from local people, which they used as weapons. Watson related this to medieval Irish and Scottish accounts of the use of sling-stones in combat. Finally, he mentioned an ancient fort on top of Durn Hill (NJ 5763) near Portsoy in Aberdeenshire, where the name may also be from the Pictish equivalent of Welsh *dwrn* 'first' or from Gaelic *dòrn* 'fist'.⁸

If the plan of Dundurn is any guide, Watson's idea that these forts were called 'fist' because they looked like fists can probably be ruled out.⁹ It may be safer to think of 'fist' as denoting a fortified headland or prominence, with the 'two hands' by Laggan perhaps referring to the two headlands at this site, one above the other. Alternatively (if we trust local tradition), it is possible that the forts were called after the weapon used in them, bows and arrows being unknown to the early Celts. This explanation certainly suits Maiden Castle better, Sling-stones were used as weapons in Gaul and early Ireland, and vast stocks of them were found at Maiden Castle, so that Jackson thought one purpose of the camp's enormously wide ramparts (now dated to the second century B.C.) may have been to keep attackers beyond sling range until the embankments had broken their rush, and the defenders could pick them off with slings.¹⁰

In Scotland we have Dundurn and Durn Hill, both sites of hill-forts. In Wales we have Gwar-coed, Gwaryfelin, Gwarffynnon, and so on, all places on rising land. We have also seen that evidence for interpretation of British *-varia* as 'water' is poor. So Scottish and Welsh place-names with *durn* and *gwar* may imply that Durnovaria was also a hill-fort on rising land: that it was, in other words, not low-lying Dorchester, but lofty Maiden Castle. We might hence translate *Durnovaria*

as 'fist height' or (better) 'sling-stone height'. Hence Rivet and Smith's attempt to link *-varia* with water could be eliminated, and we might regard Dorchester's Roman name as one transferred to the town from the great hill-fort near it, which was on elevated land (but lower than the hills south of it), and was extremely well-prepared against assault.

Lastly, what about *Durnueir*, the Old Welsh name for Dorchester recorded by King Alfred's friend Asser and noted by Rivet and Smith? If *-varia* is to be related to *gwar*, why do we not have **Durnuarr*? Here Asser's *-ueir* is probably due to final *i*-affection of short *a* in late British, taking place in the earlier sixth century.¹¹ Welsh *gwar* is historically a feminine, originally ending in *a*. So its vowel did not change. But with *Durnovaria* the *i* of the place-name suffix *-ia* must have diphthongized the preceding *a* to *ei* (compare Welsh *eil* 'second' from British **alios*), before *-ia* was itself lost about the year 600. Hence Asser's *Durnueir*, a name he applied to Dorchester, but which seems much older than that town, if it was in fact the original name of Maiden Castle.

1. A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), 345.
2. Rivet and Smith, 486.
3. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-), 1576.
4. Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1937), 5.
5. Lewis and Pedersen 23; K.H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 541.
6. D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967), 63 n. 2.
7. *The Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1893), 163; Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), 104.
8. W. J. Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 488.
9. R. W. Feachem, 'Fortification', in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. F.T. Wainwright, 2nd edn (Perth, 1980), 66-86, at 82.
10. K. H. Jackson, *The Oldest Irish Tradition* (Cambridge, 1964), 15, 32-3; Niall Sharples, 'Maiden Castle', in *The Celts*, ed. Sabatino Moscati et al. (London, 1991), 607.
11. Jackson, *Language*, 581, 603.

ANDREW BREEZE

18. THROUGH AUSTRALIAN EYES – DORSET 1916-1919.

Yesterday, four of us went to a village named Bere Regis. It was an eye-opener to us. There was a smithy's shop with a fine old anvil, and a roof which was exquisitely in need of repair. Several waggons waited outside, their poles and harness on the road, their masters and dear old horses inside the shop doing their slow old business. Great slow old horses, just as human as their quaint old masters! These old chaps were actually in smocked coats and heavy clog-like boots, just like the pictures I have often seen on canvas but never hoped to see in reality. The great beasts seemed to understand perfectly the dialect of the men, which, I must admit, was more than I could do.

The above is an extract from a letter sent home in Oct 1916 by an Australian soldier named Dene Fry. He was one of the 105,000 Australian troops who were stationed in Dorset at one time or the other during the First World War. He was based at Bovington but most of the Australians were sent to what was initially known as 'The Australian Convalescent Centre'. This consisted of four camps – Monte Video (Chickerell), Westham, Littlemoor and Portland. They were helped to recover from the wounds which they had received at Gallipoli or on the Western Front and retrained before being sent back to their regiments or, if they were unfit for further active service, to Australia. Naturally most of them wrote home and many of their letters which have since come to light contain descriptions of Dorset as it appeared to them. Other contemporary descriptions of the county appeared in the camp journal 'The Australian At Weymouth'.

One feature which stands out from these various descriptions is the vast difference which existed between the towns and the villages. Whilst Weymouth was flourishing as a 20th. century resort and towns like Dorchester and Wareham had been more or less modernised by the coming of the railway, the villages appear to have been lingering in the 19th. century. Continuing the description of Bere Regis, as an example of a village for instance, the writer explained how;

The village contained 50 or 60 small houses, which lined this road and the cross road. There were two small inns, The Squire's Arms and a refreshment room for cyclists – all so charmingly out of date! The houses were wretched examples of architecture. Some jutted into the street further than others, and some were actually inclined and in a perilous condition ... In the window facing the road of each house from which a man had enlisted is found a yellow card which reads, "This house has sent a man to fight for King and Country". Isn't this truly English?

The descriptions of the various places in Dorset which appeared in the camp journal were written by the chaplain, 'Padre C. A. J.'. Of the county town, he wrote:

The visitor to Dorchester is at once struck with the avenues of trees encroaching upon the country roads. They are on three sides of the town, on the fourth is the river Frome. These trees were planted in 1700 or thereabouts and we are told that the avenues follow the lines of the walls of the old town.

A soldier informed his family that:

Dorchester is charming, and well worth a more lengthy visit than a single Sunday afternoon. There is a large German concentration camp here, and a charming stream wends its way through the town. The White Hart Inn has a large statue of a white deer in front of it, quite an acquisition to the inn front. It stands back from the road with a cobbled platz in front, and I could just picture Mr. Pickwick taking the foaming tankard from the inn maid, while the old leggin'd groom wiped down the sweating coach horses.

Weymouth was obviously a lively spot. Besides numerous dance halls, two cinemas and music hall, it had a flourishing theatre. The first issue of 'The Australian At Weymouth' stressed that:

Weymouth is fortunate in possessing the handsomest and most up-to-date theatre on the south coast. The repertoire includes every phase of theatrical work, drama, comedy, farce, musical comedy and opera. All the great London successes are staged and every type of theatre-goer is catered for.

One soldier described how, on arrival in the town, 'We soon found ourselves marching through a street of fine houses.' Another new arrival wrote:

Weymouth in the evening is quite an eye opener for those who see it for the first time. The natural beauty of the beach, together with its promenade and the ornamental fronts of the fine buildings facing the sea, send a thrill of pleasure through the heart of any 'digger' who knows Ypres or the country of the Somme in winter. A stroll down the street revealed a smart businesslike air, and artistically arranged shop windows far above the usual English standard. On the promenade the sound of music caught the air, and the Alexandra Gardens were visited. Again a delightful surprise, the orchestra played real music.

Portland had few ornamental buildings but it did have the Citadel. This was considered to be one of the finest barracks in Europe and the Australians who have been quartered there "can say that they have occupied one of the great Sentinels of England".

The Citadel we are in is a wonderful place. It is one of the most

strongest defensive posts of Old England. It is situated on the top of a very high hill on a small island connected by Railway and narrow road to the mainland. It is surrounded by a moat on three sides about 50ft. wide and about 40ft. deep. Inside the massive stone battlements is an enormous Garrison. About 20 acres is taken up in huge stone buildings, big gun pits, Magazines, etc. To get into this place we have to cross the moat by means of a draw bridge.

[‘The Australian at Weymouth’ was first published in June, 1918. That was three years after the arrival of the first Australian soldiers in Weymouth, and five months before the Armistice. The final edition, number thirteen, appeared in July, 1919. The Weymouth printers, Sherren, undertook the printing, and the only copies known to exist today are those held by the directors of that company.]

GEORGE LANNING

20. RODDEN CHURCH IN 1832 It has always been known that All Saints (anciently St. Blaise), Rodden was restored and enlarged in 1832, but no detailed account of what was done survived locally. This want is now supplied by the discovery of letters from the curate, Revd. Edward Edgell, in the Incorporated Church Building Society file 1381 at Lambeth Palace.

Edgell applied to the Society for a grant towards enlarging the church and the correspondence covers the years 1831 and 1832. He was a younger son of the Edgells of Standerwick Court, near Frome, and married his second wife, Elizabeth Wilsonn, the niece of the wealthy, but decrepit, incumbent of Berkley and Rodden, Revd. John Methuen Rogers.

The letters are addressed from Berkley House, Rogers’ seat, where Edgell was living with his uncle, there being no clergy house at Rodden. When Revd. E. B. Ramsay, later the famous Dean of Edinburgh, has been curate from 1816 to 1823, he lived at Peartree Cottage. The Frome diarist, Thomas Bunn, tells us that Edgell received from ‘a relation [doubtless Mr. Rogers] so enfeebled by paralysis that he could not speak ... by signs a living of nearly one thousand pounds a year’.

So Edgell was acting for his uncle whom, he told the ‘noble society’ in August, 1831, was ‘extremely desirous to enlarge the church’. He explained that Rodden church had been built by order of Arch-bishop Laud in 1640.² It was a perpetual curacy with an income of £20 a year and divine service fortnightly. Mr. Rogers had endowed it with £5000 (in another letter £6000 is mentioned)³ but ‘the church is very small and not equal to

hold half the population'. In addition, many Frome parishioners used it as they lived so far from their own parish church.

The church had been enlarged by an aisle (presumably the vestry room) at the east end and 'the plan is to add a similar one at the Western End, which would return the uniformity, and provide a sufficient number of sittings'. Edgell says that £150 would 'affect this very purpose'.⁴ The description is vague but the plans show that the church was to be extended westwards by 20 ft., the extension incorporating a slender tower and gallery.

On 2 August the I. C. B. S. sent Edgell its usual questionnaire, but no answer was received until March, 1832. He then explained that the delay was due to Mr. Rodgers' age (83), blindness and 'bodily infirmities', but took it upon himself to try to answer in the incumbent's stead. Edgell reports that there was a Sunday School at Rodden, 'a large school room having been lately built at the expense of the Proprietor of the Factory with a contribution of timber and stone from Mr. Rogers'. This building, now listed, is at the east end of the church and is now used as the church hall.

Sixty children from the factory (a cloth manufactory owned by the Sheppard family) attended the Sunday School.⁵ The church could seat 120 but the population was 272, even without the attendance from Frome. Mr. Rogers would provide 120 or 125 new seats including 50 in the gallery to accommodate the Sunday School children. The cost had now risen to £230 of which sum the I. C. B. S. was asked to provide only £50.

Edgell adds that Mr. Rogers was building a house for the curate at very great expense to himself and lists his many ecclesiastical benefactions. The 'greatest proportion' of the new seats were to be for the poor: 'at present there is one seat for the Ministry servants and only a very small one for the clergyman himself'. In the official return to the society the church is said to be 54 ft. long 17½ ft. wide and 18 ft. wide.

The 'experienced architect' was Charles Long, of Wine Street, Frome, described in County *Directories* between 1830 and 1842 as merely a carpenter and joiner. Thomas Bunn tells us that Long could neither read nor write but he appends a laborious signature to the certificate of completion of the works at Rodden. Long restored and built a tower at Witham Friary church in 1828⁶ and in the early 1830s constructed East Hill at Rodden

for Mr. Edgell himself.

Long expected to take two months over the work and the cost remained £230. As for outside donations, 'nothing has been received' and 'nor can any Thing be expected'. But if the £50 were to be forthcoming, Mr. Rogers would finance the rest of the project and provide stone from his own quarry. Work commenced so presumably the I.C.B.S. agreed to the grant; no formal offer has survived.

In September, 1832, Edgell wrote that the work on the church was 'near completed' and asked for the grant. A certificate signed by Edgell, Long, Benjamin Harding, Thomas Coles, and Abbott Barry declared that the 'work had been completed in a substantial and workmanlike manner'. There were said to be 142 additional free seats.

The I.C.B.S. quibbled about the free seats. Edgell explained that he could not 'absolutely denominate the seats in the Gallery free sittings as they are reserved for the School children, the Teachers, and the Singers, who could not claim sittings in Right of Property'. He concludes: 'The church is now painting and more than exceeding our expectations, and, indeed, unlook'd for expenses have been increased by putting in one new window, by enlarging another, to make the appearance of the church uniform'.

1. Quoted in J. O. Lewis, *History of the Parish of Rodden* (1933). The original diaries are now in Frome Museum.
2. There was a church at Rodden in the early 13th cent. When Ralph and Roger were rectors. *Som. Rec. Soc.* 'Medieval Deeds of Bath and District', 73, I, pp. 24, 77 (1974). The present building dates from the early 16th cent. but fell into disuse at the Reformation. Before the 1640 restoration the church was being used as an oast house (Mordaunt papers, Warwickshire RO, Box 4).
3. The Revd. W. Phelps, researching the history of Rodden about 1850 says Mr. Rogers augmented the living first by £200, then by £4,336 (BL Add. Ms. 33,826, ff. 72-77).
4. The vestry is attached to the north side of the church so a western extension by no means provides balance or uniformity as far as this is concerned.
5. The Sheppard family employed 122 people at this factory. (K. Rogers, *Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills* (1976), p. 200).
6. Lambeth Palace: I.C.B.S. file 904 and Michael McGarvie, *Witham Friary* (1989).

MICHAEL MCGARVIE

20. ROBERT GOADBY AND WILLIAM OWEN'S BOOK OF FAIRS, 1752-1793.

Note. September 2nd 1752. This day the Old Stile ceases, and the New Stile takes Place. So that tomorrow which should have been the 3rd is to be the 14th of September. That this Month of September 1752 is the shortest Month we have ever known, It containing no more than 19 Days and But 2 Sundays.¹

So wrote George Wansey, a clothier of Warminster, in his account book on the last Wednesday to be reckoned by the Julian calendar – the Old Stile – and before the use of the Gregorian calendar – the New Stile. Pope Gregory XIII had ordered the use of a reformed calendar in 1582, but 170 years were to elapse before England was to synchronize its dates with most of the rest of Europe.

There can be no doubt that Wansey's concern was echoed in the minds of the whole population in that momentous year. One particular worry for owners of fairs was that their vendors and customers would not know when a particular fair would be held. Would the fair be held on the accustomed date or eleven days later as if the calendar had not been altered? The 'Act for Regulating the Commencement of the Year: and for Correcting the Calendar now in Use' failed in its attempt to make the situation clear by stipulating, *inter alia*, that

Markets, Fairs and Marts, ... kept at any moveable Time or times depending upon the Time of Easter or any such moveable feast ... shall ... be holden and kept on such Days and Times whereon the same shall respectively happen or fall ... according to the happening of falling of the said Feast of Easter, or such other moveable Feasts as aforesaid, to be computed according to the said new Calendar, Tables and Rules.

and the holding and keeping of all Markets, Fairs and Marts ... which are either fixed to certain nominal Days of the Month, or depending on the Beginning, or any certain Day of any Month, ... shall not ... be continued upon, or according to the nominal Days of the Month, or the time of the Beginning of any Month, to be computed according to the said new Calendar, but ... shall be holden and kept upon, or according to the same should have been so kept or holden, in case this Act had not been made: that is to say, eleven Days later than the same would have happened, according to the nominal Days of the new Supputation of Time.²

Robert Goadby had, on 30 July 1744 at the age of 23, issued the first number of *The Western Flying Post, or Yeovil Mercury*, printed in Yeovil. In 1749, three years after the death of William Bettinson who started the *Sherborne Mercury* in 1737, these two papers were united under the title of *The Western Flying*

Post; or Sherborne and Yeovil Mercury, with Robert Goadby as proprietor. Goadby's printing office was moved from Yeovil to Sherborne.³ Robert Goadby was the son of Samuel Goadby who held the post of Deputy Measurer in the City of London. Robert came to the West Country after apprenticeships, firstly as a barber surgeon, and secondly as a bookseller.⁴

Early indications of the uncertainty of the dates on which fairs were to be held started to appear in Aug 1752 when the proprietors of fairs in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and Wiltshire placed advertisements in *The Western Flying Post* appraising readers of the intended dates. The following are typical:

Sherborne Fair, which is usually held on the first Monday in October, yearly will this Year be held on the sixteenth of October, (being the third Monday in that month) but all future Fairs will be held as usual on the first Monday in October.

Whereas in the present Calendar, eleven Days are omitted in the month of September ... the next Fair on Woodberry-Hill will begin on the Eighteenth Day of September ... and henceforth annually ... the same natural day on which it always began before the Alteration of the Stile.

Beaminster Fair will be held this Year on Tuesday the Nineteenth Day of September next; and that, after this year, all future Fairs will be held as usual on the Eighth Day of September yearly.

Brewton Fair, which used to be kept the 8th of September, will be held ... on Tuesday the Nineteenth of the same month.

Milverton. Whereas our Fair has been usually held on Michaelmas Day, being the 29th of September, This is to give Notice, That on Account of the Alteration of the Stile, according to Act of Parliament will be held on the Tenth of October, and so to continue yearly.⁵

Further advertisements appeared in *The Western Flying Post* and other newspapers throughout the rest of the year and in 1753. The following notices for the Evershot and Newton Abbot fairs could have caused more confusion than intended.

The Two Fairs ... usually held at Evershot ... on the first Day of May, and the sixteenth Day of July, will for the future ... be held on the twelfth Day of May and the twenty-eighth of July yearly, being the old Time, unless they happen on a Saturday, and then the Monday following. This Year on the fourteenth Day of May, and the 29th of July.⁶

It being thought more convenient for the Persons usually attending the Fair at Newton Abbot on the first Wednesday in September, that it should be held at the same Time that it was before the Change of the Stile. Notice is hereby given That the said Fair (notwithstanding the

Advertisements in this paper) be held on the twelfth day of September next, and will continue afterwards to be held on the First Wednesday after the eleventh of September.⁷

It is easy to visualise Robert Goadby handling these advertisements as they came into his office in Sherborne, and being amazed at the way the public were being confused. Out of his amazement a commercial enterprise was born.

William Owen was an enterprising bookseller, at Temple Bar in London, and was already collaborating with Robert Goadby in that *The Western Flying Post* was a vehicle for promoting Owen's books, some of them printed by Goadby. Together, Goadby and Owen, decided to take advantage of the general uncertainty over dates of fairs and to publish a book giving the correct dates on which they were to be held. There had been previous books and almanacs giving dates of fairs, such as *Rider's British Merlin*, but these were incomplete and not to be wholly trusted. A starting point for Goadby and Owen was *A Book of Fairs* that had first been issued about the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁸ This book covered thirteen counties in the West Country, but Owen's intentions were to cover the whole of England and Wales in as complete a manner as possible. Accordingly, in Nov 1753, Robert Goadby inserted an advertisement in his own paper advising readers that he and Owen were 'now printing a List of the Times and Days on which all the Fairs in England and Wales are now kept, according to the New-Style, and likewise the chief commodities sold at them', and as many Clerks of Fairs and others had already sent in details of their fairs, would 'those who have not yet done it, would immediately send in an account of the days on which all the fairs in their Neighbourhood (however small) are kept according to the New Style'.⁹

On 18 March 1754, Goadby and Owen announced in *The Western Flying Post* that 'This Day was published An Exact Account of all the Days on which all the Fairs in England and Wales are now kept', compiled by a 'method never before taken, and for Want of which all other lists are full of great Mistakes.' They also claimed to have inserted details of 'above 200 Fairs more than ever were in any list before'.¹⁰ Similar advertisements appeared both in *The Western Flying Post*¹¹ and *The Bath Journal*.¹² Such optimism was misplaced. The list was indeed printed,¹³ and some were sold, but as was explained some two

years later,

The Proprietors ... after using unwearied Diligence, and expending great Sums of Money, in printing an Account of Fairs, ... found, after it was made public, that tho' it was by far the most correct and compleate Account ever published, Yet, what by the Proprietors of the Fairs, at first, after the Alteration of the Stile, fixing their Fairs on one Day in one Year, and on a different on in the next and by other Misinformations, great errors were crept into their Account: They, therefore, when they found this, made waste Paper of the unsold Books, being unwilling to Injure the Public by farther distributing and incorrect Account of the Fairs. And they found such insuperable Difficulties in collecting a more correct one, that they should have wholly laid aside their Design, had not an Honourable Gentleman ... generously offered his assistance ... as perceiving of what great Use a correct Account of Fairs, which might be depended on, would be to the Public.¹⁴

Daunted by the doubts of ever publishing their book, but financially assisted by the honourable gentleman, Goadby and Owen persevered in ascertaining the correct information. William Owen was sure enough of the outcome of their endeavours to petition George II for a licence to print, publish and sell the book. The King gave his Royal Letters of Licence on 12 Jan 1756.

In May 1756 Goadby and Owen placed advertisements in *The Salisbury Journal* notifying the public that 'On Tuesday June 1 will be ready to be delivered to the Publick, handsomely printed ... An Authentic account (Published by the King's Authority) of all the Fairs in England and Wales'.¹⁵ On June 7 a further advertisement appeared in *The Salisbury Journal* announcing that the book was 'Now ready to be delivered'.¹⁶ It was not until the end of June that Robert Goadby placed an advertisement in his own paper,¹⁷ followed by one in *The Bath Journal*.¹⁸

The Book of Fairs is a humble book, measuring 6¾ by 4 inches. The frontispiece of the first edition¹⁹ contains the Royal Arms and a statement that 'All Lists of Fairs are full of great mistakes, and in no wise to be depended on, unless signed with the Hand-writing of Mr. Owen', which signature then appears underneath. Perhaps this was a means of distinguishing this book from the preliminary one of two years before, that had had to be withdrawn from sale. The next page contains the Royal Letters of Licence that granted William Owen permission to print and publish the book for the term of fourteen years, and this is followed by a title page. Then follows an

announcement to the public explaining the difficulties of obtaining the correct dates, and the reason for the delay in publication. Then comes 'The Proprietors ... after more than two years spent about it, they have, they flatter themselves, compleated an Account, which is correct and compleate as such a Thing can be. But if any small errors have crept in ... [would] the Proprietors and Clerks, of any Fairs wrong fix'd, take the Trouble of sending a Line of better information to Mr. William Owen'.

The main text is divided into three lists. The first list contains the fairs arranged alphabetically, whin each County of England and Wales. As an example the entry for Norton St. Philip, in the list for Somerset, is:

Philips-Norton (104) March 21 Cattle and cloth. March 27 Cloth. August 29 Cattle and Cloth.

The '104' is the mileage from London, taken, no doubt, from John Ogilby's *Britannia* of 1675, or from the subsequent *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved* of 1720 by Emmanuel Bowen. The second list contains all the fairs in England and Wales held on fixed days, and arranged in twelve monthly lists. The corresponding entries for Norton St. Phillip for March read, '21 Philips-Norton', and '27 Philips-Norton'. Then follows a third list of all the fairs held over the moveable feasts of the Church year. Further advertisements for this edition of *The Book of Fairs* were placed in *The Salisbury Journal* and *The Western Flying Post* in October and November 1756.²⁰ By 1759 there was sufficient reason for a second edition²¹ to be printed, but Goadby and Owen do not appear to have used the three local newspapers to advertise it. This second edition, which retained the original size and format, was improved by the addition of the notification of when the local market day, if any, was held. The amended entry for Norton St. Philip, where the 'Th' stood for Thursday, is:

Philips-Norton (104) March 21 for cattle and cloth. March 27 for cloth. August 29 for cattle and cloth.(Th)

In 1764 a third edition²² was printed and advertised for in *The Western Flying Post*.²³ Goadby and Owen were always aware that their book was not totally correct or up-to-date, and in each edition they always included a request for corrections or additions to be sent to William Owen. Additionally, in December 1764 William Owen inserted a notice in *Boddely's*

Bath Journal – ‘Of Public Concern. A True List of a the Fairs ... with the Commodities sold at them is a Thing of very general concern, and very much to be desired ... But as Proprietors of many fairs have since found convenient to make Alteration of the Days of holding them, and a new Edition is now preparing for the press, it is earnestly desired that all Proprietors of Fairs ... would IMMEDIATELY send [an] Account of the Days ... to Wm. Owen, bookseller, Temple Bar, London ... as many buyers are prevented form attending Fairs on Account of the Uncertainty they are in of the Days they are held upon.’²⁴ This notice was followed in March 1765 by the first of a series of lists published by Robert Goadby in his newspaper. This first list was of the fairs to be held in the third week of March 1765, both those of fixed date and those ‘Moveable Fairs’, in all the counties of England and Wales, together with the commodities sold.²⁵ Five further similar lists appeared in the subsequent weeks.²⁶ Either the effort of setting the type for these lists was too much, or the few replies being received from outside the west country, caused Robert Goadby to reduce the content of the lists to those fairs in Gloucester, Hereford, Wilts., Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall for the next four weeks.²⁷ There is then a hiatus in these lists until July 29, and then the lists appeared fortnightly, each covering two weeks, until Sept when they ceased.²⁸ No comparable lists were inserted in *The Salisbury Journal* or *Boddeley’s Bath Journal*. A fourth edition of *The Book of Fairs* must have been printed in 1765 or 1766, but is neither extant²⁹ nor was advertised.

The above examples of the entries for Norton St. Philip have been chosen because they illustrate the difficulties Goadby and Owen experienced in obtaining the correct information, even for fairs and markets that were held less than thirty five miles away from Goadby in Sherborne. First, the important fair held on the first day of May was omitted, and secondly Thursday was listed as the market day, when in fact Fridays were market days. When the fifth edition was published in 1767,³⁰ the omission of May 1 for Norton St. Philip was rectified. The entry for market day was never corrected, or removed from the list when the market ceased to exist.

In Nov 1772 a new edition of Owen’s *Book of Fairs* was advertised, ‘To which are now added all the Acts of Parliament relating to Fairs, will be ready for the Booksellers ... on the

17th of this instant November.³¹ But it was not until Dec 1773 that this edition was actually published when advertisements appeared for 'A New Edition corrected. To which is now first added, An Abstract of all the Acts'.³² This sixth edition was published under the amended title of *Owen's Book of Fairs*.³³ By now the Royal Licence had expired but it was still included in the book, except for the reference to the fourteen-year term. A further edition appeared in 1774³⁴, and a new edition in 1776, but this is not extant.³⁵

William Owen was a prolific book publisher³⁶ and another book that was destined to be a best-seller was *Owen's Book of Roads*, first published in 1777. In March of that year William Owen placed an advertisement in *The Bath Chronicle* for the first edition of that book as 'being a Companion to Owen's Book of Fairs'.³⁷ Also in 1777 another edition of *Owen's Book of Fairs* was published.³⁸ From now on the two books were to be inseparable, each book advertising the other. Both books were priced at one shilling each, or the two could be had bound together for two shillings and six pence. As was announced later 'These Two Books, in one Volume, will be a most useful Companion to Gentlemen and Dealers in their Journey to any Part of England and Wales'.³⁹

On 12 August 1778 Robert Goadby died and the printing-business was continued by his widow, Rachel, under the name of 'R. Goadby & Co.' In Feb 1779 a new edition of *Owen's Book of Fairs*⁴⁰ and the second edition of *Owen's Book of Roads* were published and jointly advertised in *The Western Flying Post* and *The Bath Journal*.⁴¹ Further editions of the Fair book appeared in 1780, yearly from 1782 to 1786, 1788 and in 1792, all under the title of *Owen's New Book of Fairs*.⁴² Not all of these editions were advertised in *The Western Flying Post*,⁴³ in Aug 1785 Rachel Goadby charged William Owen six shillings for his advertisement for the 1785 edition, and the next year there was no advertisement for the 1786 edition. By 1788 R. Goadby & Co. had ceased to print *Owen's New Book of Fairs*, thus ending the Sherborne relationship with William Owen. Rachel Goadby died on 30 March 1790 and the printing business continued under the joint proprietorship of Samuel Goadby and Samuel Lerpiniere, Robert Goadby's brother and nephew as under the terms of Robert's will. William Owen died in 1793, thus bringing the original partnership to an end.⁴⁴

The genesis of the *Book of Fairs* lay in the confusion caused by the change of the calendar in 1752. By much hard work and after a faulty start, it was published in more than thirty editions and became a best-seller. Although it always contained mistakes and errors of omission it was looked upon as the most reliable of the lists of dates for the fairs in England and Wales.⁴⁵ Other publishers of books and almanacs shamelessly copied the lists into their own publications, thus perpetuating the errors of Goadby and Owen. The 1792 edition, the last to be published in William Owen's lifetime, was used in 1888 by a Royal Commission in a comparison of the fairs and markets of that year with those of the previous century.⁴⁶ As an example of a perpetuated error, the edition of the *Book of Fairs* list the date of St. Decuman's Fair as Aug 24. The proprietors of St. Decuman's Fair announced in 1777 that their fair 'will this year and for the future, be held on the 16th of September instead of the 4th of September'.⁴⁷ This last date is eleven days after August 24, i.e. the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars; so Goadby and Owen had failed initially to put the New Style date of Sept 4 into their book, and Aug 24 remained uncorrected, even though Robert Goadby should have seen the St. Decuman's Fair-notice in his own paper. Interestingly, the 1824 and 1827 editions list both Aug 24 and Sept 16.⁴⁸

This account has been compiled from the evidence in the many editions of the *Book of Fairs* and the contemporary provincial newspapers most readily available to the author. No attempt has been made to research other newspapers that might show how Goadby and Owen advertised their book throughout the rest of the country.

1. Wiltshire Record Office, 314/2/1.
2. *Statues at Large*, 24 George II, cap. 23. 'Supputation' = calculation or reckoning.
3. Brooke L. *Spreading the News*, undated, is the story of the *Sherborne Mercury* and *Western Flying Post*. A typescript is in Yeovil Reference Library.
4. *Bath Journal*, March 4 and 11 1744/5 contain advertisements for a book sale by a 'Robert Goadby, Bookseller of Wade's Passage, Bath' who was 'about to go to the Hague'.
5. *The Western Flying Post*, Aug 17 1752.
6. *Ibid*, April 16 1753.
7. *Ibid*, July 16 and Aug 20 1753.
8. The seventh impression of *A Book of Fairs; or a New Guide to West-Country Travellers* was published by John Bridges of Chippenham in 1709. A further impression was published by Seaward Benjamin of Somerton in 1714; and an anonymous impression was printed in 1729.
9. *The Western Flying Post*, Nov 12 1753.
10. *Ibid*, March 18 1754.
11. *Ibid*, March 25, April 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1754.
12. *Bath Journal*, March 25 1754.
13. There is no extant copy of the preliminary 1754 edition.
14. Owen W., *The Book of Fairs*, 1756. This was the first edition proper, but not identified as such.
15. *The Salisbury Journal*, May 24, 31, 1756.

16. *Ibid*, June 7 1756.
17. *The Western Flying Post*, June 21 and 28 1756.
18. *The Bath Journal*, July 7 1756.
19. Owen W., *The Book of Fairs*, 1756.
20. *The Salisbury Journal*, Oct 4, 11, 18, 25 Nov 15, 22, 29 1756; and *The Western Flying Post* Nov 8, 15, 22, 1756.
21. Owen W. *The Book of Fairs*, Ed. 2, 1756.
22. *Ibid*, Ed. 3 1759.
23. *The Western Flying Post*, July 9, 16 1764.
24. *Boddely's Bath Journal*, December 3 1764.
25. *The Western Flying Post*, March 11 1764.
26. *Ibid*, March 18, 25, April 1, 8, 15 1764.
27. *Ibid*, April 22, 29, May 6, 13 1764.
28. *Ibid*, July 29, Aug 5, 17 Sept 2, 16 1764.
29. For the purpose of this paper 'extant' means 'not listed in The British Library English short Title Catalogue 1473-1800', that lists the holdings of over 1500 libraries around the world.
30. Owen W., *The Book of Fairs*, Ed. 5, 1767.
31. *The Western Flying Post*, Nov 9 1772.
32. *The Western Flying Post*, Dec 20 1773; *The Bath Journal*, Dec 17 1773.
33. Owen W., *Owen's Book of Fairs*, Ed. 6, 1773.
34. A copy of this 1774 edition is in the Washington Library of Congress.
35. *The Western Flying Post*, April 7 1776.
36. British Library 1607/5139, *Books printed for and sold by W. Owen at Homer's Head, near Temple Bar, in Fleet Street*. 1754, lists 81 books. This list does not contain the preliminary edition of *The Book of Fairs* that was published in 1754 and subsequently withdrawn.
37. *The Bath Chronicle* March 6 1777.
38. Owen W., *Owen's Book of Fairs*, 1777.
39. *The Bath Journal*, Aug 9 1779.
40. Owen W., *Owen's Book of Fairs*, 1779.
41. *The Western Flying Post*, February 22, April 5 1779, and *The Bath Journal*, April 5 1779.
42. Owen W., *Owen's New Book of Fairs*, 1780, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1786, 1788, 1792. No edition numbers are printed, all are called 'A New Edition'.
43. The 1780 edition was advertised in *The Western Flying Post* of June 12, 19 and 26 1780. Further advertisements appeared on March 11 and 25 1782, Aug 16 and 23 1784, Aug 15 and 22 1785, Sept 22 and Oct 1788 and July 30 1792.
44. Further editions of *Owen's New Book of Fairs* continued to be published until 1824 'by assignment from W. Owen'; thereafter more editions appeared. Editions of *Owen's New Book of Fairs* are extant for 1795, 1802, 1805, 1808, 1813, 1820, 1824, 1827 and 1836. Finally, two editions of *Owen's New and Correct Book of Fairs* were published for 1856 and 1859-60.
45. The last two editions were for fairs in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.
46. Elton C. I. and Costelloe B. F. C., *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls* (HMSO), 1889.
47. *The Western Flying Post*, Aug 11 1777. The change of date of St. Decuman's Fair, from Sept 4 to Sept 16, was to avoid conflict with Bristol Fair that ran for ten days from Sept 1.
48. Other editions of *The Book of Fairs* have not been checked to verify when 'Sept 16' was added to the lists.

COLIN BRETT

BOOK REVIEW

Reading Latin Epitaphs: A Handbook for Beginners, by John Parker (Cressar Publications, Ludgvan, Penzance, 1999), 133 pp., £4.95 paperback, ISBN 0 9535399 03. Obtainable from the publisher.

What a courageous enterprise Mr. Parker has undertaken, such as only an ever youthful retired school-master would be likely to attempt! I just hope that his would-be scholars will be as passionate about learning as he is about teaching them. It takes one back to the time when Kennedy's *Shorter Latin Primer* was familiar to all prep-school pupils, with its title inked over into 'Shortbread Eating Timer'. How many people now know even the names of the parts of speech, much less anything about the grammatical structure of a sentence?

To achieve his stated object of giving 'the briefest possible account of the grammar of Latin', Mr. Parker condenses Kennedy's seventy or so pages of copiously illustrated examples of basic grammar and syntax into twelve pages, which must seem to today's beginner dauntingly complex, full of words like 'genitive', 'declension', 'adverb', 'number', 'qualify', 'passive voice', 'subjunctive mood', 'gerundive', etc., etc. As he says in his word of warning on p. 1, 'Latin is not an easy language to master'; the road along which the reader is taken is 'at times extremely stony'. He is wise to warn his readers that theirs is no primrose path of dalliance; however, the achievement of being able to read the prime historical sources that epitaphs provide is worth the effort, an effort much eased by the clarity with which those twelve pages are laid out, with the addition of some masterly pages explaining the Latin forms of names, dates and numbers, as well as vocabulary which contains all the Latin words used.

Conscious that these pages are unlikely to be grasped at first reading, but will be used for reference, he has provided a translation and very detailed notes beneath the texts of the fifty-two epitaphs which he has selected. In the notes he has tried to explain *everything*, often it seems to me in rather tedious and repetitive detail. Here he seems to have underrated the intelligence of his readers and may well bore them by continuing to treat them too much like small children in his effort to ensure that they have missed nothing. Would it not have been a good

idea to have allowed them to test themselves by including four or five epitaphs with no translation, or perhaps a crib upside down at the end?

While notes about the grammar and syntax are very adequately provided, those that there are about the historical and literacy background such as the allusions to Tiberius' dictum (9) or Horace's Odes 24) and the family backgrounds of his subjects (50, 51 and 52), for instance, are welcome but rare: more would enliven the readers' interest – after all, their ultimate object is to discover such bits of history beyond the texts. Readers would also be interested to know a little about those epitaphs which are in verse, e.g. 26 and 51, even if lapses in prosody would be beyond his brief. The additional length involved in such additions could probably be compensated by a little less wordiness in some of the notes, e.g. those on *Brevi ... peracta* (29) or *Invide* (32).

The translations seem to me to be almost entirely excellent and fulfil their object well, rightly showing a preference for clarity to grace where a choice had to be made. However, in 52 the meaning of *audiret* has been completely misunderstood: a more correct translation of the line would be, 'so that he was reputed to be equally the glory and the darling of the age'. One or two queries naturally arise, e.g. in 30, *SVBTILIS*: 'shrewd' rather than 'wise' perhaps? In 51 should not *condidus* perhaps be *conditus*, 'steadfast'? and in 49 *MEMORIS* seems to stand for *MEMORIALIS*, thus making more sense of the idea of a memorial made by hands.

This is an excellent and carefully thought out introduction for really serious Latin beginners, especially those who wish to take their Latin further. They will find their labours well rewarded when they visit churches in future.

R. C. M. B.

Derek Shorrocks was impressed by this book when he read this review in *Devon & Cornwall Notes and Queries*, vol. 38, Pt. 8, 255-256, and he sought permission from the editor, and the author, to reproduce the review in full in *SDNQ*.

NOTES

SIR THOMAS MORE, CARDINAL WOLSEY AND GLASTONBURY ABBEY. By 10 Sept. 1529¹ until 29 Oct. 1532² and almost certainly for longer, Sir Thomas More held the office of Chief Steward of Glastonbury Abbey. For much longer, ever since 1

June 1519, he had been in receipt of a royal corrody at the abbey, an income he enjoyed until Dec. 1534.³ The chief stewardship, however, was potentially much more significant, and was itself a title used neither before nor since. It was, on each occasion it was recorded, exercised by deputy, in every case by John Porter.⁴ The references all occur in connection with the law-hundred of Ham.

Richard Bere, Abbot when More was appointed corrodian, may well have been happy to accept the king's councillor on his payroll; his sympathy with the foreign policy of Wolsey is clear from his inclusion among the notables ready to welcome the Emperor Charles V at Dover in 1522, and the late removal of his name was very likely on the grounds of age or ill health.⁵

It may reasonably be assumed that More was appointed chief steward by Abbot Richard Whiting. The vacancy caused by the death of Bere early in 1525 proved a chance, taken apparently without difficulty, for Wolsey to find a successor personally beholden and a prestigious house utterly amenable. Thus the conge d'elire was issued on 1 Feb and the election took place on 3 March.⁶ Clearly, during the intervening month successful negotiations had taken place between Wolsey and the monks, the outcome of which was that the 47-strong community⁷ agreed to delegate the choice to the Cardinal. The formal election by Wolsey was held in his chapel at York Place and his commissioners, John, Abbot of Westminster, and Dr. John Dowman, confirmed the choice, with the restitution of temporalities on 5 April.⁸ The chosen one was Richard Whiting, chamberlain of the house and before that by 1515 receiver of casual payments.⁹ More's successor in the stewardship was the Taunton lawyer William Portman who was in office by Oct 1535.¹⁰

That More when Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster should have been appointed Glastonbury's Chief Steward and that he should have retained the office when he was Lord Chancellor is a fact of no little interest. Whether Whiting and his community ever called upon their distinguished counsellor for advice will probably never be known.

1. Longleat Ho., Longleat MS. 10757.

2. *Ibid.*, 10760.

3. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iii (1), p. 96; vii, p. 598.

4. *Register of John Clerke of Somerton, gentleman* (Som. Rec. Soc., 1940) 1 v, p. 88.

5. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 966.

6. *Ibid.*, iv (1), p. 459; iv (3), p. 3006.
7. Or 48: *Reg. John Clerke*, pp. 84-5.
8. *Letters and Papers*, iv (1), p. 546.
9. Longleat Ho., Longleat MSS. 10021, 10748.
10. *Ibid.*, 5816.

ROBERT DUNNING

HUNSTRETE HOUSE *SDNQ*, XXXIV, Sept 2000, 415 and *SDNQ*, XXIX March 1973, 255-57. Dr. Bettey has drawn to my attention his previous article on this mansion. He writes: 'The illustration is a gem. It clearly shows the arches of the portico which survive forlornly in a field by the edge of the lake ... It is very odd that illustrations of so large and important, though short-lived, houses are so rare. One illustration survives behind the portrait of the original builder, Francis Popham, which used to hang at Littlecote.'

Dr. Bettey goes on to say that the account in his article 'differs in some respects from the information you found. I think the house undoubtedly stood empty in the 1820s, and was certainly demolished by 1836 when many features were sold to Prior Park...' The Popham archives at the Somerset Record Office contain no mention of the rector of Marksbury living in the house.

MICHAEL McGARVIE

'FRY-PAN CHIDEOCK. My query in *SDNQ*, XXXV, Part 353, p. 47, has elicited replies from the owner, Mrs. E. Lawrence, and Mr. R. Burleigh of Charmouth. Mrs. Lawrence indicated that the name applies to the present house and land, and that on the 1834 map (Tithe?) in the County Record Office it is marked as 'Frying Pan Plot'. An orchard beyond the plot was called 'Frying Pan Orchard', and beyond that was a square shaped plot of land touching the river which was known as 'Frying Pan'. Mrs. Lawrence believes that the origin lies in the words *Frig*, *Freya*, or *Fry*, and their appearance in place names *Froyles*, *Frying Dales*, and *Friday*, may be a dedication to *Frig*, wife of Woden. Mrs. Lawrence also drew my attention to the place name 'Frying Pan' on the hill above the Cerne Abbas giant, and that *Pan* is the Old English for enclosure.

RODNEY FRY

The information which Mrs. Lawrence has given to Rodney Fry may also be found in a book recently published by the Dorset Publishing Co., at Wincanton, entitled *A Wander through Chideock*. The explanation of the origin of the name may be found in great detail on pages 58-9, and a photograph of Frying Pan house is included.

The word 'enclosure' is derived from the French 'enclos', and there appears to be no exact Old English equivalent. The nearest one can get to that word in Old English is *hegstaef*, which literally means 'an enclosure with a hedge' (*hege* means 'hedge', and *hegian* means 'to make a hedge, fence in or enclose'). Interestingly, the Old English *panne* means 'pan or frying pan'. Cooked food, for example, would be *pannmete*. So it may be that the origin of the name 'Frying Pan' is Old English, but the association with *Frig*, *Freya*, etc. is very doubtful.

Dorset Ed

THE PEIRS FAMILY OF WELLS. Thanks to two correspondents for their responses to SDNQ, XXXV, Part 353, pp. 3-10. N. J. Royal of Bath has done extensive work on the Weston family and established that Bishop William Peirs married Ann Weston about 1609. Her father, John Weston, was canon and treasurer of Christ Church, Oxford, where he was buried in 1632. In his will¹ he left Ann and William a house and lands at Denton in Oxfordshire in return for their 'love and affection', commenting that they had had to move from their London home after being robbed of goods to the value of £200. The Peirs/Weston extensive royalist connections with Oxford become evident. Ann Peirs's sister Elizabeth Weston married Thomas Iles who was expelled by visiting Parliamentarians from Christ Church, where he was a canon, in March 1647/8 for 'high contempt'. Another sister, Dorothy, married Sebastian Smythe, also a canon of Christ Church who became in 1634 a canon of Wells. Ann's brother John also became a canon of Wells and he was reported in 1642 to have armour for 100 men in his house there.² Mr. Royal identifies the bishop's second wife as Mary Alwyn (*d.* 1679). Her tombstone is at Walthamstow.

Pat Manning sent an article written for *Bromleage* (March 2001), the journal of the Bromley local history society, on the Berties of Bromley. Elizabeth Peirs, daughter of William (4) married Lord Montagu Bertie who died in 1753. He was one of six children of Robert, 1st Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, by his second wife Albinia. Montagu's brother Robert has a memorial in St. Nicholas Church, Chislehurst which reads:

'Under this monument be buried the remains of the Right Honble Lord Robert Bertie, 5th son of the 1st Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, General of His Majesty's Forces, Colonel of the 2nd Troop of Horse Guards, Lord of the Bedchamber to His Majesty, Governor of the Fort of Duncannon in the Kingdom of Ireland and Member of Parliament. From the town of Boston in England he married Lady Raymond relict of Robert the 2nd Baron of that name and one of the coheiresses of Lord Viscount Blundell of the Kingdom of Ireland with whom he lived in the freest love and harmony for many years and who being now his disconsolate widow has erected this monument to his memory. He died 10th March 1782 aged 61 years.'

This article brings out the aristocratic ramifications of the family and also the connections with Ireland. Thus not only did the Peirs family have its own Irish connections, but Elizabeth had other connections through her in-laws. Whether this sheds any light on the re-naming of Wookey rectory as Mellifont Abbey after the Irish abbey must remain open, as must any connection between the renaming and the rebuilding of the rectory under the Peirs leaseholds.

1. Court of the Chancellor of Oxford University, proved 25th July 1632; in the Bodleian library.
2. Enemy Newsheet 16th August 1642.

JOAN HASLER

QUERY

CRUMPELHERE/CROMBEWELLE. Ron Crumpler, Thimble Cottage, Upper Leazes, Stroud, GL5 1LB, asks, are these one and the same name? The late Dr. Reaney, etymologist, was of the opinion that both originated from Cromwell, Notts. which in the Middle Ages was pronounced 'Crommell'. Would the clerk who wrote John de Crombewelle, in London in 1310, have written Crumpelhere, had he heard the name pronounced with an east Dorset, as did the clerk in Dorset in 1516? Crombewella, along with Cromwella and Crumwella, are given by Reaney as leading to Cromwell, as the male lineage of Lords Cromwell ceased with the death of Ralph in 1455.

Your views, particularly if you have knowledge of the east Dorset dialect as it was in the Middle Ages, would be appreciated.

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