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# 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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**72. SOUTH SOMERSET MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.** Since 1970 a sustained effort has been made to record inscriptions on memorials in churches and on tombstones in churchyards within the district of South Somerset and this project achieves completion in 2004, with 178 churches and burial grounds recorded, 143 by myself with various assistants and 27 by other people.<sup>1</sup> Of these, during that period, memorials in eight churches or churchyards have been destroyed, six of them being nonconformist, together with Christchurch, Crewkerne and Knowle St. Giles, near Chard. Typescript copies of all of these can be viewed at the Somerset Record Office, at Taunton, and most are also available for consultation in Yeovil Reference Library (South Somerset Libraries HQ).

In only three instances are memorials still existing in places which are not publicly accessible, being on what is now private property, with no access by roads or footpaths, and I thought it would interest subscribers if I listed these, namely at Isle Brewers, near Ilminster; with Wheathill, near Castle Cary in the next issue, followed in the subsequent issue with Stoke Trister, near Wincanton.

### ISLE BREWERS OLD CHURCHYARD

A new church was built at Isle Brewers, near Ilminster, in 1861. The former, mediaeval church, on a site about a quarter mile west of the present church was then demolished, but the old churchyard still exists with evidence of some 13 memorials, of which 9 are still wholly or partially legible.<sup>2</sup> Public access was formerly via a wooden bridge across a mill leet which has disappeared. The site, now a wilderness, or more politely termed a 'wildlife refuge', can only be accessed through the garden of the Mill House, in the ownership of Hon. Mrs. C. Zielenkiewicz, to whom I am grateful for access, which she gave me in January 2004. She informs me that the old churchyard is now in her private ownership, having been sold to her by the Church Commissioners in about 1970.

1). Headstone (within same high iron railings as nos.2 and 3), located quite close to the mill leet on the east side of the churchyard, just south of where the chancel of the old church once existed (leaning backwards, very worn, in two columns). Left-hand column: 'In memory / ..... Taylor / who departed this life / November ... 176- (possibly 1761?) / aged 4 years / (further lines illegible)' (PR: clearly this must be 'Samuel Taylor' buried 6 Dec 1761). Right-hand column: 'Also of Sam:?' and / John Taylor, who

died / both Feb: 23, 1780 / aged 64 and 34 / (some lines of verses)' (omitted from PR, perhaps: neither were buried here).

2). Headstone (within same high iron railings as nos. 1 and 3) (leaning backwards, very worn, in two columns). Left-hand column: 'In / memory of / Joseph Taylor / who died Febru: 2<sup>nd</sup>. / 1838, aged 86 years (PR: aged 85) / Also Sarah, wife / of the above named / Joseph Taylor / who died May 21? / 1841, aged 87 years (PR: buried 28 May 1841) / Likewise Mary / daughter of the said / Joseph and Sarah / Taylor, who died / August 9?, 1797 / aged 21 weeks' (PR: 'Mary Taylor' buried 3 Sept 1797). Right-hand column: 'Also / to the memory of / Mary, wife of the / said Jos: Taylor / who died July 18<sup>th</sup>. / 1790, aged ... years (PR: buried 26 Aug 1790, age not given) / Also Sarah, his / second wife, who died / April 19<sup>th</sup>. 1791 / aged 3- years' (PR: buried 26 April 1791, age not given).

3). Headstone (within same high iron railings as nos. 1 and 2) (leaning sideways, worn, in two columns). Left-hand column: 'Erected / to the memory of / Frances, wife of / Angel Damen / who died January 24<sup>th</sup>. / 1845, aged 61 / Also James, son of / the said Angel and / Frances Damen / who died December 10<sup>th</sup>. / 1825, aged 6 months. Right-hand column: 'Also / in memory of / Angel Damen / who died December 21 / 1860, aged 77 years / Also Joseph, son of / Angel Damen / who died Sept: 11<sup>th</sup>. 1857 / aged 34 years'.

4). Block of stone, now leaning against high iron railings, about 3 metres west of no.2 (this, I think, was the end panel of a chest tomb, as the top of the same chest tomb is located close-by, oriented east-west, which bears no inscription). 'Here lye(th) the body / of William Butt, who / was buried the 14<sup>th</sup>. (of) / December, Anno 16— (possibly 160- ) / Mors mihi lucrum' (PR: starts 1705. No William Butt's burial recorded in surviving BTs 1600-1660, though a William Butt given as churchwarden on 1606 BT).

5). Small headstone, located about 3 metres south-west of no.3 (leaning backwards. worn). 'Here lyeth / ye body of Elizabeth / ye wife of Silas / Dowch?. She died the / 30d. day of November? / Anno Domini 1693 / (four lines of verses)' (No PR or BT surviving for 1693).

The following four headstones are located under a very old and large yew tree in the south-west corner of the old churchyard, about 15 metres south-west of no.5:

6). Large headstone. 'Here lie the remains of/ John Hughes / who departed this life June 8, 1831 / aged 43 / having lived eleven years / with strict fidelity / as a butler at Earnshill' (PR: as aged 45).

7). Large headstone. 'Here lie the remains of / Susanna Swain / widow of Robert Swain / who departed this life May 31, 1822 / aged 81 / having lived as a faithfull / and respected servant / at Earnshill for more / than 50 years'.<sup>5</sup>

8). Large headstone (leaning forwards dramatically, undermined by the hole of a badger sett just in front of it. flaking). 'Here / lieth the body of Jacob / Parsons, who departed this / life Oct: ye 30, 1797, aged 76 / Also

the body of Mary / wife of Jacob Pa...(rso)ns / who departed this life / .....  
ye 15, 1803, aged 86 / (four lines of verses)' (PR: 'Mary Parsons' buried  
21 Oct 1803).

9). Large headstone (leaning forwards dramatically, undermined by  
badger setts. In two columns. worn) left-hand column: 'Here lieth the /  
body of / Th(om)as Parsons / who departed this / life ye 18<sup>th</sup> of ..... / 1766,  
aged .....'. (PR: curiously nobody named Parsons was buried in 1766. This  
man is probably though the 'Thomas Parsons' buried on Christmas Day,  
25 Dec 1765). Right-hand column: '...../ the body of / Joseph Dorchester  
/ who departed this ...../ (F)ebuary ye 27<sup>th</sup>. 1— (flaked) / aged 32 years /  
Also the body of / Benjamn: D(or)c hester / who departed this life / January  
23, 1785 / aged 37 years / (four lines of verses)' (PR: 'Benjamin Dorchester'  
buried 2 Feb 1785. Curiously no Joseph Dorchester given as buried 1760-  
1812. PR: presumably accidentally omitted him).

## WHEATHILL

The church here, near Castle Cary, was declared redundant  
in the mid-1980s, and was sold to Mr: Robinson, who converted  
it into a private house. In 1998 he and I together recorded three  
legible churchyard memorials which then existed in his garden,  
together with three others, now illegible. One of the illegible  
ones, clearly a Georgian period chest tomb is most probably  
the 'altar tomb in churchyard marks the resting place of Robert  
Banbury, Gent: who died in 1744' in a printed account of the  
church of 1898.<sup>3</sup> Three mural tablets from inside the church  
are still preserved in the porch there. These are exactly as  
recorded in Phelps' *History of Somerset*,<sup>4</sup> namely for Mrs:  
Frances CURLL (nd. mid.18<sup>th</sup>.century), Thomas Benger of 1769  
and Zachary and Sarah Bayley, of 1767 and 1773. Another  
interior memorial recorded by Phelps is now preserved in the  
Somerset County Museum, Taunton Castle, for Captain Robert  
Mellier for 1683. I am grateful to Mr: Robinson for his  
permission and assistance given to me in 1998.

1). Coffin-shaped coped stone. 'Here lyeth the body of John Hill, of  
Spaxton, who dyed June the 26, 1-27' (the year is mostly probably '1627',  
as the memorial looks to be of that era. There is no PR: and fragmentary  
BTs for the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He is however most probably related to the Edward  
Hill who signed the Wheathill BT for 1622, and was buried here in 1629,  
in both described as 'Rector').

2). Chest tomb. 'In hope of resurrection unto life eternal, here resteth  
the body of William Cole, late of Milborn Port, Gent: who departed this  
life on third day of October, Anno Domine 1642'.

3). Inset into the exterior east wall of the porch, probably once a  
freestanding headstone (flaking): 'Here / lies ye body of / Joseph Gardner

/ who departed this life / in 1731, aged / 70 / Also / the body of Grace / his wife, who departed / this life in 1747, aged / 72 / Also ye body of / Richard Gardner / son of Jos: & Grace Gardner / who departed this life / aged 26 (date flaked?) / Also / the body of Edmund / who departed this life/ Dec: 6, 1792 (age flaked?)’.

## STOKE TRISTER OLD CHURCHYARD

The old church, which stood beside the Manor House, was demolished in 1841 when the present parish church was built on a new site about half a mile north-west, in a prominent position overlooking the town of Wincanton. The best descriptions of the old church are those given by Phelps in 1836<sup>6</sup> and recently in the *VCH*.<sup>7</sup> Nothing now exists of the old building apart from a brick-lined vault with stone cover, which was probably within the site of the nave or chancel. There are four churchyard memorials still in situ, with two further ones displaced. I am grateful to Mr: A.W. McCaw, of Stoke Trister Manor House, who granted me access to this site, which is now within his garden, in 1997.

1). Coffin-shaped coped stone (in situ). ‘Thomas Best, died November the 28 / in 1734, being in the 33 year of .... age’.

2). Coffin-shaped coped stone (in situ). ‘Dinah the ..... / Cross died March the 31? in ..... / being in the the 62 year .....’ (early 18<sup>th</sup> century).

3). Coffin-shaped coped stone (in situ). ‘Here lyeth the body of Rose Thick, who died ye 26 of June 1705 / aged 91 years’.

4). Coffin-shaped coped stone (in situ). ‘Here lyeth the body of / Thomas Best ye elder, who dyed / June the 9, 1744, aged 81 years’.

5). Headstone (displaced, leaning against an adjacent wall). ‘Here / lyeth Elizabeth ye / daughter of Jacob &/ Jane Prankard, who / dyed ye 23d. of April / Anno 1705 / She was to good for ..... keep / For she is gone to Christ to sleep’.

6). Painted metal plaque (which came from this churchyard site, but was being preserved inside the Manor House, which Mr: McCaw showed to me). ‘Henry Feltham / died 21<sup>st</sup>. Jany: / 1855 / aged 84 years’ (this plaque indicates that there were further interments in the old churchyard even after the new church and churchyard were opened in 1841).

1. The Bristol & Avon Family History Society have devoted a similar effort within the districts of Bath & North-East Somerset, and North-West Somerset (areas north of the Mendip Hills within the former county of Avon). Contact their Hon: Secretary for details.
2. A lost memorial from inside the old Isle Brewers church, to Henry Walrond of 1698 is recorded in Collinson’s *History of Somerset* (London, 1791), vol.1, p.55.
3. Earnshill House in 1843 became part of the newly-created parish of Hambridge. Before that date it was a separate parish without a church, hence the custom for residents there to walk over the fields to worship at Isle Brewers church.
4. Account of Wheathill church published in the *Castle Cary Visitor*, vol.3, p.176. No

parish register or Bishop's transcript for Wheathill survives for 1744, to verify this information.

5. Phelps, Rev. W. *The History of Somerset* (London, 1836), vol. 1, p.457.

6. *Ibid*, pp.201-2.

7. Dunning, Dr. R.W. ed. *Victoria County History of Somerset* (London, 1999), vol. 7, p.207.

MERVYN MEDLYCOTT

73. THE DORSETSHIRE LABOURER. In June and July 1846 a series of four articles appeared in the *Bridgwater Times* entitled 'The Dorsetshire Labourer'. These articles, extracted and summarised from *The Times* had been written by a correspondent sent into Dorsetshire to inquire into the condition of the labouring poor. It was the second series of this nature written by a *Times* correspondent. The previous series had dealt with the distress of the Irish people. The rationale behind this second series was to demonstrate that the lot of the Dorset labourer was very similar to that of his Irish counterpart. The theme was subsequently taken up by the *Bridgwater Times* later in 1846 as a basis for its long running series of articles - in the form of letters from the correspondent - on the Somersetshire peasantry.

Although only four articles appeared in the Dorsetshire series they paint a comprehensive and tragic picture of life at its worst in the 1840s. At the commencement of the first article, the Dorsetshire labourer was described as being 'lodged more vilely than the beast in his masters farm yard'.

In the first communication from the correspondent the parishes of Hilton and Milton Abbas were described.

William Hart - wages 7s per week. One bedroom. Has a daughter seventeen years old and a son fourteen. Altogether eight in family.

Thomas Maine - 9s per week. Nine in family. Two bedrooms.

John Drake - has lately been working for 6s 3d per week, but refused to do so any longer, and now gets 7s. There are nine in family. Two bed rooms. The wife of this man showed me a novelty in the shape of bedding. The bed and pillow were stuffed with what they term "oat dust" being the refuse of oats which they collect from barn floors, The bedclothes were perfect rags.

I received information that a man named Nicholas Trass, an inhabitant of this parish was in a most wretched state of destitution and I consequently determined to visit him. On arriving at his dwelling, which in misery and squalor exceeded anything I have yet seen, and the mud floor of which presented a most uninviting appearance, I found his wife, an emaciated, unhealthy looking woman, engaged in peeling some most suspicious looking potatoes, while a boy, apparently about eight or nine years of age was employed in nursing an infant child. One of the children was running about without shoes or stockings, and altogether the scene was positively Irish.... I was credibly informed that the father of this man, an aged person, who received a weekly allowance of bread from the parish, was supposed to have deprived himself of the necessary quantity of food in order to enable him to administer to the wants of his grandchildren, and that it was strongly suspected that his death was ultimately the consequence of his continual self-denial.

In the parish of Milton Abbas distress and destitution are equally prevalent. In passing through the village you are forcibly struck with its picturesque appearance. The cottages, all of which are detached, with their whitewashed fronts, present a most clean and comfortable appearance; but, if you desire to maintain the illusion, do not look inside them. In this parish I did not find a single instance of a labourer receiving 8s per week; I will not however deny that such may be found. There appears to be much difficulty in "screwing" out the eighth coin.

The second communication was a report from Stourpaine.

A labourer's wife, in the course of my progress through the village told me she had eaten nothing since the previous morning. It was about eleven a.m. when she gave me the information.

It is by no means an uncommon thing for the whole family to sleep in the same room, without the slightest regard to age or sex. In one instance a family of nine persons occupied three beds in the same bedroom, which was the only one the house afforded. The eldest daughter is

twenty-three years of age and the eldest son twenty-one. I am enabled to give you the dimensions of the room into which these nine people are nightly crammed. It is ten feet square, not reckoning two small recesses in the side of the chimney, about eighteen inches deep.

In the case of a death occurring in a family, should there be but one bedroom, which is, I think, generally the case, the inmates of the house are compelled to pass their nights in the same room with the corpse until the time of burial. A gentleman informed me that he once inquired whether in such cases there was not much difficulty in reconciling the children to such an arrangement. The answer he received is particularly deserving of attention.

“Why sir, in such cases we let the children get dead asleep before we take them to bed, and in the morning we pull them out of bed and hurry them downstairs before they are properly awake. It is worse for the grown folks than for them”.

Silas Upward - Has 7s a week, out of which house rent takes a shilling weekly. There are seven in the family. This man's house was a miracle of littleness.

John Allen - Has eight in his family; wages 7s a week; house rent £3 per annum.

William Hew - Has six children all under fourteen years of age; wages 8s a week; rent £3; one bedroom in which all the family sleep; pays 7s for grist.

Robert Hayter - Wages 7s; gives 7s for grist; has four children living and has buried five; rent £1 5s a year.

George Ball - Has six children under twelve years of age; wages 7s a week; pays 7s for grist; one bedroom.

James Ainsworth - Pays £4 rent; wages 7s; has six in family; the eldest boy fourteen; all these sleep in one room; pays 6s 9d for grist.

— Jeans - Has eleven in family; two bedrooms in the house; in the first the husband, wife, and six daughters sleep; the eldest daughter will soon be twenty; in the smaller room three boys occupy the same bed, the eldest is nineteen, the next sixteen, and the youngest seven years of age; wages 8s; rent £2.

William Jeans - Family consists of seven persons; there is one bedroom which contains three beds, in one of which the husband and wife sleep; the second is occupied by three boys, the eldest of whom is fifteen; and the third by two girls aged nineteen and sixteen; pays £2 rent; wages 7s.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that dishes, plates and other articles of crockery seem almost unknown: there is however the less need of them as grist bread forms the principal, and I believe the only kind of food which falls to the labourers lot.

The last two letters do not mention any of the case studies by name. The reason for this is perhaps explained in a letter by Rev S.G. Osborne which tells of the plight of Robert Hayter of Stourpaine whose name appeared in the second communication. He had been brought before the magistrates and convicted of carrying a gun. A farmer tried to discredit him before the magistrate by stating that 'he was one of those that had communicated with the Times Commission'. On the next day he was discharged by his master. Another farmer to whom he applied for a job told him 'he ought to learn to hold his tongue'.

The third article stated that the truck system was prevalent at Sturminster Marshall. In one instance a farmer, who occupied a considerable number of acres in the parish, instead of paying his men in money at the end of the week, gave to each man a ticket, which is taken to the shop of his (the farmer's) mother, and then exchanged for provisions. To use his own phrase 'he is paid across the counter'.

Other cases mention overcrowding at Milburne and a heartless farmer at Milton Abbas who refused to give aid to a family whose son had been knocked down by the Magnet coach.

A fourth communication explained that :

In Corfe wages were found to be very good. Many of the labourers in the area were unconnected with agriculture but rather worked in the clay pits earning from 9s to 15s per week. Despite the better rate of pay there was a severe shortage of accomodation.

In one instance , I found a man, who was employed in the clay pits and earning 15s per week, occupying a garret in the "poor-house" where, in a single room in which I

could barely stand upright, himself and his family, numbering in all eight individuals, are herded together. In one of the beds a child was lying ill of what the mother termed "slow fever", and was apparently in a dying state. When asked how a man in receipt of 15s per week could be content to pass his life in so wretched and unwholesome an abode his answer was, that houses were so scarce and difficult to come by that they were compelled to remain where they were. In another instance I found two families in the joint occupation of a small cottage.

Both this cottage and some others I visited were the property of a gentleman in the neighbourhood. They exhibited signs of the most culpable neglect on the part of the owners. Judging from the filthy appearance of the walls, which are black with age and dirt, one feels disposed to imagine that the art of making whitewash, like that of staining glass, is lost. Here and there bare laths of the partitions, which have been long denuded of their coat of plaster, are to be seen and contribute to the comfortless and wretched appearance of the place.

The Poor Houses in some parishes in this neighbourhood are particularly deserving of reprehension. The building of the parish of Yetminster which rejoices in the above title is perhaps as complete a scene of wretchedness as the county is capable of producing. Within the four walls of this place I was informed that upwards of sixty persons are living. In one apartment my attention was drawn to a large aperture in the ceiling, which afforded a partial view of the room above. I inquired of the wife of the occupier if she was not apprehensive of the children falling through it into the lower-room and she explained that she was in the habit of covering it with a board to prevent such a catastrophe. These kind of contrivances are common; in one of the bedrooms I found a large hole in the room stopped by the remnant of a sack in order to render the room wind and water tight, which however, I was informed in wet weather it failed to do. The windows present one mass of rags and similar materials, the use of glass having long been discontinued in repairing them. At Chetnole, the adjoining parish, the Poor Houses are

in an equally disgraceful condition. They consist of four or five mud built cottages, which, I believe are tenanted by aged and infirm labourers. Here, a ladder is generally the means of communication between the upper and lower apartments in the former of which the thatch forms the ceiling. One of the inhabitants informed me that he was obliged to sit upon the bed while dressing and undressing himself, and I was convinced of the necessity of so doing by mounting the ladder and inspecting the height and dimensions of the room.

At Netherbury the amount of wages varies from 7s to 8s. The rent here is high. One labourer pays £4 rent; wages 7s. He has a family of six children some of whom are employed in making fishing nets, the proceeds of which, he considers, would generally cover his rent. I met with one case here which would have surprised me if it had occurred in any county but Dorsetshire. A labourer who has been for some time invalided and incapable of work is allowed by the parish the weekly sum of 4s and four loaves. Out of this miserable pittance the relieving officer regularly deducts a certain sum of poor rates! This is perhaps as farcical an instance of 'close shaving' as can readily be met with.

The four letters were augmented by another article in which an additional letter from Rev S. G. Osborne states further cases of distress from Ryme Intrinseca.

This parish belonged almost entirely to the Duchy of Cornwall, and again the truck system was in operation.

Here, the farmers offloaded on to their workers (at a price) the 'tailings' of the wheat. Butter and cheese of an inferior quality which could not be sold at market were also offloaded on the labourers. Worst of all was the sale of defective meat ... but what will the public think of a tailing of meat? Three days before I was at Ryme a sheep with the staggers was killed 'just afore he died', and sold to the labourers of one of the principal farmers at 4d the pound. When ewes die in lambing, or as the men express it 'are killed before they are cold dead' the men are sold the meat at 2½d. One woman who had some of a giddy sheep at 4d the pound, a few days ago said she would

have no more of this 'breeding ewe mutton' for it made her husband ill. It will happen on a dairy farm that a cow will die diseased. There is a complaint called the 'quarter evil' which seems to me to be the only purveyor of beef to the poor in these parts. When an animal has time in dying of this disease, to have his throat cut, it is retailed at 2½d the pound to the labourers.

Knowing there was a most respectable and humane man farming living a few miles off and that he is rather a fancy sheep breeder, I asked of a man what Mr P did with his animals that were so diseased. The answer was 'they be given to the dogs and pigs'.

As a specimen of what life still is in some instances, and was generally for many years, I went into the cottage of a man who it was found had stolen some of his masters wheat. I found the woman, with two of the children eating a few unwholesome potatoes and some bread; a child, of nine years of age, dead, in a coffin close to them; the only ascent to the bed room by a broken ladder; the roof so dilapidated that it rains down on the bed; they had five children, all young; she was close to her confinement; the husband earning 7s, paying 6s for a grist of tailings. Who can wonder they steal their masters corn. ?

Your commissioner made a faint attempt to describe one place in Yetminster in which sixty souls dwell. I went all over it. It is in truth the very cesspool of everything in which anything human can be recognised - whole families wallowing together at night on filthy rags, in rooms in which they are so packed, and yet so little sheltered that one wonders that the physical existence can survive as it does, the necessary speedy destruction of all existing moral principle. What matters if they are the refuse of the parish? It is a refuse pregnant with an eternal life, that requires a care and a preparation for its future birth, which the circumstances of such a place utterly forbids.

As a consequence of these articles a meeting was held at the school room in Beaminster chaired by Lord Stavordale. The purpose of the meeting was 'to take into consideration the propriety of forming a society for bettering the condition of the labouring classes by the Field Garden Allotment System'. One of those advocating the system was E Sarum of Swanage

who wrote 'I have been able to do something in the furtherance of the field garden system in the parish of Chardstock, where I have set apart twelve acres of land, under the management of the clergyman of the parish, to be occupied in this manner. It appears to be the surest mode in which a certain amount of good can be done to the poor of our agricultural parishes.'

Capt Scobell recommended the following rules for the system.

1. That there be no favourites among the tenants.
2. The tenants should be self-maintaining labourers and journeymen mechanics, no higher grades or permanent paupers.
3. The land should be of good average quality.
4. The size of the respective field gardens ought to be from twenty to forty poles, enough to grow for home consumption but not enough to make them salesmen.
5. The rent should not be more or less than the proportionate charge to the farmer for similar land.
6. Let the rules for occupation be few and simple.
7. A portion should be planted with vegetables, not potatoes.

A resolution was passed to form the society but, although the sentiments were commendable they did not address one of the fundamental problems. The chronic shortage of good housing and the continued maintenance of the current stock caused as much hardship to the Dorsetshire labourer as did the poor quality of food.

The original articles appeared in *The Times* on June 18th, June 25<sup>th</sup>, July 2<sup>nd</sup> and July 9-10<sup>th</sup> 1846. The *Bridgwater Times* articles appeared on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 27<sup>th</sup> August and 17<sup>th</sup> September 1846.

P. MANSFIELD

**74. THE GLASTONBURY SCENT MYSTERY.** Regarding the *ecclesia vetusta*, the 'Old Church' at Glastonbury, William of Malmesbury notes that: '... from the very beginning it possessed a mysterious fragrance of divine sanctity, so that, despite its mean appearance, great reverence for it wafted throughout the whole country.'<sup>1</sup> Malmesbury's statement is clearly intended as metaphor, succinctly conveying the veneration in which the 'Old Church' was held, while simultaneously evoking the prayerful aspect of earthly incense and the sweet odour of sanctity produced by the incorruptible

bodies of the saints. However, in 1910, reports reached the press of a literal 'divine' fragrance encountered in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury and in the town itself. The phenomenon consisted of '... a strangely-recurring scent of incense, coming from whence no one knows, lingering until its beautiful fragrance has been inhaled not only by one, but by many, and then vanishing in as sudden and strange a manner as it comes.'<sup>2</sup>

The odour was reported to have been encountered by two ladies near 'St. Dunstan's' in Magdalene Street (the house which stands between the Town Hall and St. Dunstan's car park), at a property in the High Street where it was detected by four persons and twice by the Post Office and St. John's Church. In the latter case an elderly lady noticed the scent while walking down the High Street. She traced the fragrance across the road and into the churchyard, where it dissipated by an 'old tomb'<sup>3</sup>. It was also noted during services inside the church, although no incense was employed by the Rev. H.L. Barnwell, Vicar of St. John's at the time.

The fragrance also manifest at several locations in the abbey ruins. Albany F. Major, writing for *Folk-Lore*, interviewed a 'gentleman of Glastonbury' actively involved in the abbey excavations who told him he had been sceptical about the phenomenon: '... till one day he suddenly got a whiff of incense as hot and strong as if a burning censer had been swung in his face, and his clothes smelt of it even afterwards.'<sup>4</sup> Frederick Bligh Bond, Director of Excavations at the abbey (1908-21), first noticed the odour amongst the ruins in November 1909: '... I drove into Glastonbury with my friend, and on the way we picked up a mutual friend, a clergyman of the district, who accompanied me to the Abbey, and we stood on the open grass about 40 feet away from the north side of St. Mary's Chapel. There we discussed for some minutes certain points in the architecture, when suddenly the same incense like odour made itself evident in a powerful manner. My friend turned to me and said, 'Whatever is that burning?' Almost before he had finished speaking the scent had faded away again.

He then left me, and I walked right up to the eastern end of the Abbey, where I took out my pencil and note-book, and began to make a sketch. Again without the slightest warning I was enveloped in this beautiful aroma, and then instinctively lifting

my hand to my face I found it was as though my thumb and forefinger had been impregnated with some essences of powerful fragrance. I can say positively that I carried no scent. A few minutes after it had entirely gone.<sup>5</sup>

While a number of explanations for this delightful phenomenon were advanced, such as sweet scented peat smoke, an unidentified fragrant herb or medieval incense gums disturbed by the abbey excavations, none satisfactorily accounted for its perplexing appearance and disappearance. Mr. Mantell, the reporter for the *Central Somerset Gazette* in the company of his Well's counterpart, experienced the odour in Glastonbury High Street.

'Quite recently I was walking up the High-street in company with a friend. We had arrived at a point close by the post office (which is just below the churchyard of St. John's, the church itself standing about 200ft. from the roadway) when suddenly I became aware of a strong aromatic smell, so overpoweringly strong that the only impression that it created on my mind at the moment was one of almost intoxicating pungency

I realised in a moment that the character of the scent was the same as that of the gums, yet with a subtle sweetness that they did not possess. The time by the town clock opposite was exactly 11.45. It was as if we had come suddenly into a limited area in which the scent was perceptible, and for some minutes we remained conscious of it while we were standing talking. But even as we were talking it vanished entirely in the same sudden manner in which it had first become evident, and although I visited the place twice afterwards within an hour it did not again appear.'<sup>6</sup>

However, the mysterious odour does not seem to have been first encountered in Glastonbury. In January 1905, the recently wed Capt. Ronald Waterhouse of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dragoon Guards, purchased the ancient Manor of Ivythorn as a country retreat. The house stands on the southern slope of Ivythorn Hill, looking out towards Compton Dundon and was anciently held by Glastonbury Abbey.<sup>7</sup> At intervals over the next four years, the Waterhouses' were aware of a mysterious and fleeting fragrance about their newly acquired property. Early in 1909, Waterhouse tired of Ivythorn and leased it to a Mr. James Dunn. Upon taking up residence, Dunn also:

'... noticed a peculiar fragrance in certain places, not only in the house, but in certain parts of the garden, and was unable to account for it. My wife also commented upon the scent, which she imagined

came from the lime trees, but, as I told her, the lime trees were not in blossom at that time. We noticed this fragrance now and then in the hall, the drawing-room, in one or two of the bedrooms [and] on the staircase... A well-known London preacher who was with me for a week in the spring of this year was constantly aware of this delightful odour, which he said was so strong that occasionally it was almost pungent. Another gentleman, living a few miles from me, noticed it in my drawing-room, and two recent guests have both had very marked experiences of it, and are prepared to make a statement of the same, with their signatures. The lady noticed it in her room, and it had the same elusive character. A local clergyman, walking with me in my garden, suddenly became aware of it at the same time as I did myself.<sup>8</sup>

Bond too experienced the scent at Ivythorn. He was Dunn's guest in the autumn of 1909, later designing the manor's castellated garage wing for him. While staying at the house Bond noticed 'a most exquisite fragrance something like incense' in the centre of his room. Somewhat puzzled, Bond '... searched round about, but the scent grew fainter in each direction as I left the original spot where I had noticed it. Outside the circumference of a yard or so it was quite imperceptible.'<sup>9</sup>

But what of the scent itself? Reports as to its exact odour understandably differed. Bond investigated.

'After noticing this fragrance of the Abbey and the Manor House I set to work to investigate the nature of the smell, and collected a large amount of gums, balsams, and fragrant woods, experimenting with them in combinations. I finally discovered that the nearest approach to the true scent was obtained by subjecting a certain balsam to a moderate heat on a metallic surface without allowing it to be burnt. I consider that the scent cannot be regarded as that of any incense used in the Western Church and it is more like what I would associate with Oriental worship.'<sup>10</sup>

He later confirmed the identity of this balsam as 'balsam of Tolu',<sup>11</sup> also describing the scent as reminiscent of '... a choice blend of fine incense, oriental spices and attar of roses'<sup>12</sup> and 'spices and cinnamon-bark.'<sup>13</sup>

Public interest in the Glastonbury incense mystery was as fleeting as the scent itself. While it was briefly mentioned in *The Churchman's Guide*<sup>14</sup> the following year, it soon passed from popular consciousness. However, a curious addenda to this tale was recorded in January 1921, by none other than the poet W.B. Yeats. Yeats and his wife, George, were travelling through the west country on their way to Sussex when they

stopped off at Wells and Glastonbury – Yeats had heard of Bond's work at the abbey and was apparently interested in his experimentation with automatic writing.<sup>15</sup> In a notebook he recorded:

'When we reached Wells we went the first day to the Cathedral & George smelt some sweet odour, flowers she thought perhaps roses – then when we got back to Hotel I smelt it very strongly, especially when entering rooms, as though a confined space made it stronger. Later when we were out of doors, I found my hand smelt of it & George smelt it also coming from my hands. She then said it was like May flower... We drove to Glastonbury by motor the next day and as we got near George smelt the odour again.'<sup>16</sup> Was Yeats's experience wholly coincidental, or was he one of those of whom Violet Firth, author of *Avalon of the Heart*, was thinking, when she wrote in 1934: 'Many have smelt the Glastonbury incense that comes suddenly, in great breaths of sweetness'?<sup>17</sup>

1. Scott, John (ed) *The Early History of Glastonbury: An edition, translation and study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1981) 53.
2. Anon. 'A Strange Story' *The Central Somerset Gazette* June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1910, 4.
3. Possibly the medieval altar tomb moved into the North Transept of St. John's Church in the autumn of 1928 at the instigation of the then incumbent, Rev. Lionel Smithett Lewis.
4. Major, Albany F. 'Somersetshire Folklore' *Folk-Lore* Vol. XXII, No. 4., December 1911, 495.
5. Anon. 'A Mystery of Glastonbury' *The Daily Chronicle* June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1910, 3.
6. *Ibid.*
7. For a brief historical and architectural history of Ivythorn Manor, see Little, B. 'Ivythorn Manor, Street' *The Somerset Countryman* Vol. XIX, No. 6, July-September 1958, 174-176. Also see Marshall, J.C. 'Ivythorn House, Somerset' *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* Part LVII, March 1902, 35-39.
8. Anon. 'A Mystery of Glastonbury' *The Daily Chronicle* June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1910, 3.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.* Bond's copy of E.G.C. Atchley's *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (London: Longmans, Green, 1909) inscribed by the author and used by Bond in his investigations, survives in the Library of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, Taunton.
11. Anon. 'The Glastonbury Scent Mystery' *The Central Somerset Gazette* July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1910, 5. Balsam of Tolu is a reddish or yellowish brown semisolid or solid balsam, obtained from the South American tree *Myroxylon toluiferum*. It is highly fragrant when burned, possessing an odour resembling vanilla or benzoin.
12. Bond, F.B. *The Inspiration of Glastonbury* 21. MS. Author's collection.
13. Bond, F.B. 'No. 385.- Incense at Glastonbury' *The Somerset County Herald* April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1922, 3.
14. Reynolds, Arthur (ed) *The Churchman's Guide: A Handbook for all Persons, Whether Clerical or Lay, Who Require a work of Reference on questions of Church Law or Ecclesiology* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1911) 161.
15. See Harper, G.M. *The Making of Yeats's A Vision: A Study of the Automatic Script: Volume 1* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1987) 176-178.
16. Harper, M.M. & Martinich, R.A. (eds) *Yeats's Vision Papers: Volume 3, Sleep and Dream Notebooks, Vision Notebooks 1 and 2, card File* (London: Macmillan, 1992) 84-85.
17. Firth, V. *Avalon of the Heart* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1934) 42.

T.F. HOPKINSON BALL

**75. FRANCIS NEWMAN IN SOMERSET.** Francis William Newman, emeritus professor of Latin at University College, London, brother of Cardinal John Newman and himself an important nineteenth-century thinker, died in Weston-super-Mare at the age of 92 in October 1897, having lived there for quarter of a century.<sup>1</sup> This note is to record some of Newman's activities as noticed in local sources.

Francis Newman lectured and wrote to challenge what he saw as social injustices and instances of misguided legislation, attacking some in his 'Barbarisms of Civilisation' published in the *Contemporary Review* in 1879. He continued as a prolific writer, the British Library catalogue listing 39 new titles dating from 1872, when he came to Weston. Their astonishing range of subject matter included mathematics, philology (e.g. *A Libyan Vocabulary*), commentaries on the classics (as well as *Robinson Crusoe* translated into Latin) and especially theology.

In Weston, Newman was soon challenging what he saw as the unfair system of land tenure. Lecturing to the Weston-super-Mare Social Science Club, he concluded that it was against the public interest for any individual to own more than 1000 acres of rural land; that the land on which a town was situated should be made the property of the town; that the density of inhabitants in large towns was deleterious to public health and welfare and that efforts should be made to disperse them more widely; and that cultivators of land should have a fixed tenure at a fair rent and from the state. The government should therefore take as much land as possible into public ownership 'for the service and freedom of the nation'.<sup>2</sup> Newman was a vice-president of the Land Nationalisation Society and his views naturally provoked widespread reaction. Addressing a meeting at Wellington (Somerset) 'on behalf of the agricultural labourers', he was frequently interrupted by a 'big, red faced, broad-shouldered farmer' who was particularly incensed by a placard showing a skeleton driving a plough, watched complacently by a well fed farmer. Newman was sufficiently well known for the lecture to be noted and attacked at a meeting in Kent.<sup>3</sup>

As a temperance campaigner, Newman first considered the legal regulation of the 'Drink Traffic'. When he lectured on the subject in Weston in 1875, the chair was taken by Rev F Hastings, minister of Weston's Congregational church who had also shared the platform with Newman at the Wellington

meeting on land tenure. The audience was small but Newman's lecture was well reported in the local newspaper. As he was speaking 'against those set in authority', Newman read his lecture, 'lest he should utter an unwary word'.<sup>4</sup> Drunkenness had such a demoralising effect on the nation that it was right for government to control the trade in alcohol. But the system was unsatisfactory because the revenue benefited greatly from the trade and the licensing magistrates might have vested interests and were removed from the social levels at which drunkenness had such devastating effects. Newman suggested licensing by local boards set up for that purpose alone and elected locally.<sup>5</sup> Newman encouraged personal abstinence by supporting temperance friendly societies. Presiding at an open night of the Independent Order of Good Templars in Weston, he was again supported by Rev Hastings and also by Rev J Temperley Grey, another Congregationalist. Later, Newman was involved in founding the Warburg Lodge in Weston when a previous Templar lodge had failed.<sup>6</sup>

Compulsory vaccination was another target of Newman's polemics. Lecturing at Bristol in 1882, he called the legal compulsion a gross violation of the cardinal rights of citizenship.<sup>7</sup> This was the common objection to vaccination but protestors usually argued also that it was illogical or even immoral to introduce diseased fluids from sick animals into healthy human beings, and that there was not even any good evidence that vaccination prevented smallpox. Newman's remarks along these lines were quoted in the Weston newspapers, and again, his writings were of sufficient influence to be noted and attacked by the *Lancet*.<sup>8</sup> The anti-vaccination movement was strong in Weston from the 1880s but Newman did not apparently become involved in the active protests against prosecutions and was in his final years when protests became major public disturbances.<sup>9</sup>

Newman also attacked vivisection in his 'Barbarisms of Civilisation' and, in 1885, lectured to the Antivivisection Association at Weston's Temperance Hall before a good audience, perhaps because Frances Cobbe was also present. More commonly he chaired antivivisection meetings (at the Town hall, Assembly Rooms or Friends' Meeting House) or was simply listed as present, though he usually contributed to the proceedings.<sup>10</sup> Of the medical and moral considerations

concerning vivisection, the doctors had managed to make the politicians see only the medical ones in favour of the procedure: but no-one could practice vivisection 'without hardening the heart' and they could not 'justify animal torture without justifying human torture'. Another matter touching on animals was vegetarianism which Newman also championed. In 1877 a Weston newspaper noted that Newman was president of the Vegetarian Society, quoting from the *Dietetic Reformer*, a journal in which Rev Temperley Grey also wrote; and in 1880 the newspaper noted that Newman was addressing the Vegetarian Society at its annual meeting at Cambridge. In 1890, he chaired a lecture in Weston's Assembly Rooms by a vice-president of the Vegetarian Society.<sup>11</sup>

Objection to vaccination, vivisection, flesh foods and alcohol formed a common 'package' for many unconventional thinkers. Among them were those who also challenged orthodox medical dogma, including the radical health reformers and naturopathic practitioners. Elements of the 'package' were frequently accepted also by the practitioners of the medical heresies of hydropathy (the water-cure) and homoeopathy who relied on the *vis medicatrix naturae* but usually remained within the medical profession.<sup>12</sup> Although attacking the usual views of the medical profession over vaccination and vivisection, Newman did not venture on general criticism of orthodox medical practice, but he supported the medical heresies. Long before coming to Weston he sent his wife for hydropathic treatment at Malvern, but emphasised that her physician there was regularly qualified. In 1866 his wife was seriously ill and was treated by two physicians before being looked after by Garth Wilkinson, a homoeopathic physician and Swedenborgian. Newman had 'no complaints against any of the physicians' but 'it was by nursing, not by medicine, that she was saved.' In his own final illness, he was treated by Dr Wilde, the regularly qualified Weston homoeopathic physician. Newman's suggestion to his friend, James Martineau, that his sister Harriet might benefit from mesmerism represented a considerable deviation from medical orthodoxy, as did Newman's naturopathic sentiments picked out for attack by the *Lancet*.<sup>13</sup> But the annual reports of Weston's Hospital and of the Sanatorium show that Newman was a subscriber to both these orthodox medical charities.

Many other causes that Newman championed did not attract attention in Weston sufficient to warrant a newspaper report. He had lectured on behalf of Parliamentary suffrage for women at Bath in 1870, at the Guildhall in the presence of the mayor. Widening the field to an attack on all political and social inequalities of women, he saw it as axiomatic that 'equal pay be awarded to equal service, without distinction of sex'. He was to have spoken on the subject to a 'drawing-room meeting' in Weston but unfortunately was ill and had to send a letter instead.<sup>14</sup> In protests against the Contagious Diseases Acts (which he saw as aimed at 'providing safe harlots for profligate men') Newman was chosen as opening speaker in an approach to the Home Secretary in 1871 by a deputation including Josephine Butler: but a protest meeting in Weston was for women only.<sup>15</sup> The Weston press also noticed Newman's letter to the *Times* suggesting a coin that would be useful when decimal currency was introduced.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from noting Newman's intention of joining the Unitarian Association in 1876, the local papers do not seem to have picked up items about his personal faith, though it was the startling divergence of his religious beliefs from those of his brother, John Henry, that had proved of compelling interest in the mid-nineteenth century. Francis Newman's rationalistic rejection of much Christian dogma had provoked discussion and antagonism: his *Phases of Faith*, first published in 1850, had reached a sixth edition by 1860. After retiring to Weston he was still a prolific writer but failed to capture the degree of attention that his writings might seem to merit.<sup>17</sup> In challenging conventional views and social evils, his was no longer the isolated deviant voice that it had been. An obscure note in 1898 claimed that 'This age has had few, if any, who have excelled Prof Newman in scholarship, in keenness of intellect, or in moral earnestness' – but it was written by a friend. An article surveying Newman's achievements in 1934 allowed him only faint praise; but his *Phases of Faith* was republished in 1970 with a useful introduction.<sup>18</sup>

Newman's move to a seaside resort may have contributed to his fading from the public eye. Though keenly interested in national and international affairs, he does not seem to have been involved in local ones, and his personality (with his reputed lack of a sense of humour) did not make him a popular

figure. After retiring, he moved to the Clifton area of Bristol in 1867: the further move to Weston was probably because of his wife's poor health. She died in 1876 and Newman later married her close friend who was nineteen years his junior and outlived him.<sup>19</sup> Weston newspapers noticed Newman's ninetieth birthday, but only by reprinting an appreciation from *Humanity* and, when he died, they referred to him as a 'distinguished resident' and a 'venerable figure', but reported little that reflected any strong personal relationship with the resort. They were largely content with reproducing obituaries from other publications.<sup>20</sup> Retrospectively, his biographer even tried to deprive him of his theological notoriety by suggesting that, in his last years, Newman returned to his original fully Christian faith, citing Rev Temperley Grey who conducted his funeral at the cemetery chapel in Weston. What Grey was reported as saying was not exactly this, but that Francis Newman 'did not see Jesus as many of us see Him, but I have never known a man who was more steeped in the Spirit of Christ'.<sup>21</sup>

1. Obituary and letter, *The Times*, (1897), 6 October, p.4c and 7 October, p.7f. F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, (London, 1965). Vol.6, p.285. I.G. Sieveking, *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman* (London, 1909).
2. 'English Landed Tenure', *Weston-super-Mare Mercury* (hereafter WM), 23 October 1875.
3. Sieveking, (note 1), p.351. 'Professor Newman and the Somerset Farmer' and 'Reply to Professor Newman', *Weston-super-Mare Gazette* (hereafter WG), 31 October & 7 November 1874.
4. WM, 9 October 1875.
5. Pamphlet of 1882, reproduced in Sieveking, (note 1), chap. 22.
6. Reports of friendly society meetings, WM, 9 January 1875; 24 January 1880; 12 August 1882.
7. WM, 20 May 1882.
8. 'Anti-vaccination Arguments', *Lancet*, vol.1, (1877), 73 and WM, 24 February 1877. Letter, WG, 12 January 1895.
9. *SDNQ*, XXXV (2002), part 355, 93-96.
10. Reports of antivivisection meetings, WM, 29 November 1884; 24 April 1886; 7 July 1888: WG, 16 May 1885; 9 March & 23 November 1889.
11. 'Dietetic Reformer', WM, 24 March 1877. Reports of vegetarian meetings, WM, 15 May 1880; 8 March & 22 November 1890.
12. P.S. Brown, 'Social context and medical theory', in W.F.Bynum & R.Porter, eds, *Medical fringe and medical orthodoxy, 1750-1850*, (London, 1987), pp.216-233.
13. Sieveking, (note 1), pp. 82-83, 142, 193-194. 'J J Garth Wilkinson', in Boase, (note 1). 'Death of Professor Newman', WG, 9 October 1897. *Lancet*, (note 8).
14. Newman, *Lecture on Women's Suffrage* (Bristol, 1870). 'Professor Newman on Women's Suffrage', WG, 23 May 1885.
15. 'The CD Acts', WM, 17 July 1880. E.M. Bell, *Josephine Butler* (London, 1962), pp.93-94.
16. *The Times*, 16 July 1886, p.7f, and WM, 24 July 1886.
17. Annotation on Prof Newman, WG, 2 September 1876. W. Robbins, *The Newman Brothers* (Cambridge, Mass, 1966).
18. *Notes & Queries*, 9<sup>th</sup> series, vol.1, (1898), 251. K.N. Ross, 'Francis William Newman', *Church Quarterly Review*, vol.118, (1934), 231-244. F.W. Newman, *Phases of Faith*, introduction by U.C. Knoepfelmacher (Leicester, 1970).

19. Sieveking, (note 1), pp. 58-59, 102, 120, 194. The claim in the *Times* obituary that Newman belonged to no political party had to be corrected by a letter pointing out that he was a vice-president of the Somerset Liberal Unionist Association, see *The Times*, (Note 1).
20. 'A Humanitarian Thinker and Worker', *WG*, 24 August 1895. 'Death of Professor Newman', *WG & WM*, 9 October 1897.
21. Sieveking, (note 1), pp. 46-47, 65, 215, 344. Report of funeral, *WG*, 16 October 1897.

P.S. BROWN & DOROTHY N. BROWN

**76.** FAIR AND MARKET DAYS IN SOMERSET AND DORSET IN 1729. An earlier paper in *SDNQ* listed the market days for Somerset and Dorset market towns in 1685.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the 18th century lists of fairs held in 13 counties of the West Country were published under the title *A Book of Fairs or A New Guide to the West-Country Travellers*.<sup>2</sup> An anonymous edition published in 1729 went a step further and included lists of market days.<sup>3</sup> This 1729 publication contains 19 printed pages, each page measuring 105mm x 175mm. The first page begins:

A

Book of FAIRS

OR, A

Guide to West-Country Travellers.

Shewing them all the Fairs in these 13 several Counties following, viz. *Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Glamorgansh. Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Hampshire*. Which if any Person hath occasion to go to any of these Fairs, he may find them in this Book, and the Day of the Month of every particular Fair, and where they are kept: together with all the Moveable Fairs in the several Counties aforesaid. As also an Account of the number of the Fairs in each County. The fix'd Fairs ... in *Somersetshire* are 118, the Moveable Fairs 30, in all 148. The fix'd Fairs in *Dorsetshire* are 55, the Moveable Fairs 15, in all 70...

The following entries are extracted for Somerset and Dorset, the original spelling of place-names is retained.

#### *Fairs in Somersetshire*

*January*. The 25th at Bristol.

*February*. The 3rd at Bath and Axbridge, the 14th at Ashbretle, the 24th at Froome.

*March.* The 25th at Axbridge, Bishop's Lidiard, and Croscomb.  
*April.* The 23rd at Bruton and Chedder, the 25th at Stowgummer, Pensford, Stokeunderham and Mountague, the 27 at Philips-norton.

*May.* The 1st at Philips-norton, Wilscomb, North-Petherton and Castle-Carey, the 3d at Stowgursie, Chard, Wells and Holloway, the 9th at Wellow, the 12th at Bagborough.

*June.* The 4th at Rison, the 5th at Milborn-Port, 11th at Axbridge, Porleck and Stayord, the 17th at Taunton and Yovel, the 24th at Wells, Bridgwater and South-Petherton, the 29th at Bath, Lamport, Dilvarton, Huntsfield and Radnige.

*July.* The 7th at Taunton, Watley and Ware, the 22d at Langridge, Wedmore and Ilchester, the 25th at Chard, Staverdel in the Wood, Limson and Milverton.

*August.* The 1st at North currie, Stow-gummer and Lidford, The 8th at Shipton-mallet, the 10th at Lansdown, Preddy, Laursnce liddiard and Martock, the 13th at Bleagon, the 15th at Estbrint, Ilminster, and Yarlinton and Moorlide, the 24th at Crookhorn, St. Deacons and Ubley, 29th at Philips-norton, Ilchester and Westonzaland.

*September.* The 1st at Dunderry Hill, the 4th at Hambridge-Green, the 7th at Netherstow, the 8th at Burton, Glastenbury, Eddy-mead, Buckland, St. Mary, Wotton and Bishops-liddiard, 9th at Wrinton, the 12th at Stowgursie, the 14th at Wiltscomb, Coombsbury and Babcary, the 17th at Stavord, the 18th at Castle-Cary and Wincaeton; the 19th Sommerton; the 21st at Bridgwater and Blackwell; the 24th at Lamport; the 29th at Milverton, Glastenbury, Burrough, South-Brent, and Buckland.  
*October.* The 11th at Wells; 14th at Wells and Queen-cammel; 18th at Chiselbury and Chedder, 28th at Pensford, Sommerton, Dilverton and Milborn-port.

*November.* The 2d at Chard and Brombel; the 6th at Yovel, Otterford and Shepham; the 11th at Lamport, Porlock and Nunny; the 25th at Froome; 27 at Wells; and 30th at Wells.

*December.* The 6th at Comb; the 29th at Cockhill.

#### *Moveable Fairs in Somersetshire.*

*On the first Thursday in clear Lent at Bridgwater; the 2d Monday in clear Lent at Lamport; the 2d Wednesday in April at Hambridge-Green; the Monday before Palm Sunday at Ilchester; Tuesday before Palm-Sunday at Castle-cary; Tuesday after Palm Sunday at Somerton; Thursday before Easter at*

*Wellington; Good-Friday at Midsummer-Norton; Easter-tuesday at Wincanton and Milverton; Easter-wednesday at Ashill; the 3d Tuesday after Easter at Sommerton; Tuesday before Holy-thursday at Somerton; Holy-thursday at Wellington, Chuton, Lidford and Cutcomb; Whitson-Monday at Dunstar, Binnegar and Whit-down; Whitson-tuesday at Castle-Cary; Whitson-Wednesday at Winson; Whitson-thursday at Binnegar; Trinity-Monday at Berrington; Trinity-tuesday at Somerton; Trinity-thursday at Queen-cammel; the Monday after Lammas-day at Curryevil. The Feast at Road is the Sunday after the 29th of August; and the Revel is the Monday after. Wednesday after the 8th of September at Ashhill; the 2d Thursday after Michaelmas at Cutcomb.*

#### *Fairs in Dorsetshire.*

*February.* The 2d at Dorchester and Lime; 24th at Blandford and Frampton.

*March.* The 25th at Burport.

*April.* The 6th at Wareham; 23d at Frampton; 25th at Stowbridge.

*May.* The 1st at Sturminster, Corfcastle and Ever-shet, 3d at Woolbridge, 18th at Tallowdown.

*June.* The 11th at Stockland, 24th at Dorchester, Wareham and Shaftsbury; 29th at Blandford, Abbotsbury and Charmouth.

*July.* The 5th at Woodland, 7th at Sherbourn; 15 at Sherbourn, 16th at Evershet; 22d at Allington; 25th at Dorchester and Holthill.

*August.* The 10th at Farnham, 15th at Armitage; 24th at Cranbourn, Stowbridge and Frampton; 31st at Tallowdown and Wareham.

*September.* The 1st at Gillingham, the 3d Wimbourn 7 at Woodburyhill, 8 at Beaminster, 14th at Shroton 21 at Lime and Searn-abby, 29 at Burport, Chestock, and Ower.

*October.* The 13 at Stourminster, 18 at Piddletown, Corf-castle and Pamphil, 21 at Blandford.

*November.* The 1st at Pool, 11th at Shaftesbury and Martins Town; 30th at St. Andrews-milbourn.

*December.* The 6 at Cranbourn and Sidland.

#### *Moveable Fairs in Dorsetshire.*

*Midlent monday at Searn-abby; Saturday before Palm-sunday at Shaftsbury; Good friday at Winbourn; Easter-tuesday*

at Piddletown; Holy thursday at Burdport, Searn-abby and Elmer-green, the Saturday after Holy thursday Castletown; Trinity monday at Dorchester, Gillingham and Broad windsor; Wednesday before Midsummer-day at Lamberts castle, the tuesday after St. James's day at Abbey-milton; Wednesday before St. Bartholomew's day at Dallard, the first Monday in October at Sherbourn.

At the end of the book are listed '*The Names of the Market-Towns... and the Days of the Week on which each Market is kept, being of great Use to all Chapmen or Trading People. Note m stands for Monday, t for Thesday [sic], w for Wednesday, th for Thursday, f for Friday, and s for Saturday*'. Again the original spelling has been retained. Note how the compositor made a number of mistakes e.g. setting North Curry as 'North Cinry'.

### Dorsetshire

|                                   |                                    |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Middleton <i>m</i> ,              | Cornabbes <i>w</i> ,               | Cranborn <i>w</i> ,                  |
| Abbotsbury <i>th</i> ,            | Corfe Castle <i>th</i> ,           | Sturminster Newton <i>th</i> ,       |
| Frampton <i>th</i> ,              | Wimbourn <i>t</i> , and <i>f</i> , | Dorchester <i>w</i> and <i>s</i> ,   |
| Shaftesbury <i>s</i> ,            | Blandford <i>s</i> ,               | Wareham <i>s</i> ,                   |
| Pool <i>th</i> ,                  | Weymouth <i>t</i> and <i>f</i> ,   | MelcombRegis <i>t</i> and <i>f</i> , |
| Sherbourn <i>t</i> and <i>s</i> , | Bridport <i>s</i> ,                | Beamiester <i>th</i> ,               |
| Lime <i>f</i> ,                   | Evershot <i>t</i> ,                | Abbymilton <i>t</i> ,                |
| Shafton <i>s</i> .                |                                    |                                      |

### Somersetshire

|                                  |                                     |                                   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Somerton <i>m</i> ,              | Chard <i>m</i> ,                    | Glassenbury <i>t</i> ,            |
| Wivelscomb <i>t</i> ,            | Pensford <i>t</i> ,                 | Wrinton <i>t</i> ,                |
| Wincaunton <i>w</i> ,            | Ilchester <i>w</i> ,                | Froomselwood <i>w</i> ,           |
| Axbridge <i>th</i> ,             | Wellington <i>th</i> ,              | Bridgwater <i>th</i> ,            |
| Cainsham <i>th</i> ,             | Shepton Mallet <i>f</i> ,           | Yovil <i>f</i> ,                  |
| Dunster <i>f</i> ,               | Winton <i>s</i> ,                   | Langport <i>s</i> ,               |
| Crookhorn <i>s</i> ,             | Ilminster <i>s</i> ,                | Watchet <i>s</i> ,                |
| Dalverton <i>s</i> ,             | North Cinry <i>t</i> and <i>s</i> , | Taunten <i>w</i> , and <i>s</i> , |
| Bath <i>w</i> and <i>s</i> ,     | Wells <i>w</i> and <i>s</i> ,       | Philipsnorton <i>th</i> ,         |
| Minehead <i>t</i> and <i>s</i> . |                                     |                                   |

A word of warning to those wishing to use this data: since many publishers were guilty of plagiarism before they went to print and did not check the information they were about to disseminate, any particular given fair or market day must be checked for accuracy with other sources if possible. For instance the market day for Abbymilton (Milton Abbas) is here given as *Tuesday* whereas it is shown as *Monday* in 1685<sup>4</sup>; also the market day for Philipsnorton (Norton St Philip) is given as *Thursday*, but the author has shown that this day was incorrect,

Friday being the correct day.<sup>5</sup>

1. C.J. Brett, *SDNQ*, pt. 359, 304-307.
2. J. Bridges, *A Book of Fairs; or a New Guide to West-Country Travellers*, 7th impression, 1709, and B. Seaward, *A Book of Fairs: or a New Guide to West-Country Travellers*, first impression reviv'd, 1714.
3. Anon., *Book of Fairs. Or a Guide to West-Country Travellers*, 1729.
4. See reference 1.
5. C.J. Brett, *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings*, 144, pp. 189-191. This paper gives many references for others to research their own particular field.

COLIN J. BRETT

**77. SOME EARLY LETTERS TO HENRY FOX.** It is two hundred and fifty years since John Calcraft bought Rempstone Hall near Corfe Castle, and much land and property nearby in Alfpuddle, Corfe, Langton Matravers, Poole, Studland, Tarrant Gunville, Wareham, Stoborough and Worth Matravers. In 1975 Major Ryder, the grandson of Calcraft's great-grand daughter, Georgina Emily, deposited in the Dorset Record Office a wonderful archive of Calcraft papers which until then had been at Rempstone.

John Calcraft was born and baptized on 4 Sept 1726, at Grantham in Lincolnshire, the son of John Calcraft, attorney and town clerk, and his wife Christian née Burslem. Presumably because in his letters he often referred to Henry Fox as his 'relation' as Fox also referred to Calcraft, it has been suspected and is sometimes said that Calcraft was Fox's illegitimate son;<sup>7</sup> but in fact he was Fox's first cousin once removed, for Calcraft's mother, Christian, was the niece of Fox's mother Christian Hope, the elder sister of Calcraft's grandmother, Jane Hope, who evidently named her daughter after her sister. At the time of Calcraft's conception Fox, born on 28 Sept 1705, and so still under age, had just returned from Paris with his elder brother Stephen, and their tutor George Wigan and was living on the Fox family estate at Redlynch in Somerset. It is, to say the least, unlikely that he went to Lincolnshire at this time to meet his provincial cousin, and still more unlikely that she, newly married, came to Somerset.

When Calcraft was only eighteen he married Bridget Burbidge, a lady of whom no more is heard until after Calcraft's death. She had no children, and from force of circumstance, if nothing else, they could not have lived together for more than a few years. Aged only nineteen Calcraft became deputy pay-

master to the Duke of Cumberland's army; it is possible that Fox's first acquaintance with his very talented young cousin was through his performance of this duty. Once discovered he used and promoted him, as he hoped to use and promote his sister-in-law Sarah Lennox and his niece Susan Fox, twenty years later; with the girls he signally failed but with Calcraft he was only too successful for the protégé, hoping to rise even higher, finally deserted his patron.

Calcraft's early promise can be seen in his letter book, a small vellum volume, neatly kept; it begins when Calcraft was nineteen<sup>2</sup>. Most of the letters are directed to Collectors of Excise and Customs and deal with Pay Office matters; nine are to Henry Fox. The earliest of these, dated 4 Feb 1745 is written from Newcastle and gives a boyish account of an incident in the Jacobite rebellion:

I have the honour to Acquaint you that we have Several Accounts of the Rebels retreating from Stirling at 7 o'clock on Saturday Night that they have Crossed the Firth in a great hurry and before they left Stirling Nailed up their Cannon there, where they have also left most of their Baggage.

Just as their Rear was Marching their Magazine of Powder which was in the Church of St Miniam's was blown up.

Our Army was Encamped at Falkirk on Saturday Night. I am with the greatest respect Sir, etc.

The second letter, written a month later and also from Newcastle continues the story:

I should have done myself the honour of writing to you much sooner but have scarce had an hour to spare this month being always Travelling or Busy some way or other and as nothing material has happened since last hope your goodness will Excuse it.

We have this day a Report that the Rebels are in a greater Body than was Expected that they have got possession of Inverness and Lord Loudon is Retired. I hope this will find yourself Lady and Son well who am with the greatest Respect etc.

The 'lady' refers to Fox's wife Caroline née Lennox whom he had married, greatly against her parents' wishes, the year before,

1744, when Calcraft had also married. Stephen, the Foxes' eldest son to survive to adulthood was not born till 1747 so the letter must refer to another who died in infancy, a fact which may partly account for the Foxes' unusual anxiety about their children and indulgence of them.

The third letter to Henry Fox was written over a year later on 1 May 1746 from Grantham; possibly Calcraft was visiting his wife:

I am this instant honoured with yours and am much obliged to you for the trouble you have had and have wrote to Mr. Andrews Pursuant to your directions as soon as the Paymaster is appointed should be glad to know whether you think it proper for me immediately to write to him or wait till I hear from him. I have underneath sent you an account of the Places I have yet to go to and am with great respect yours ever etc.

PS. Stamford 1, 2 and 3 Inst return here on Sunday in my road to Leeds for which place I shall proceed the next morning be there 9th York 10th and at Newcastle the 14th or 15th.

Evidently Fox was mentor as well as patron. The timetable given in the PS indicates Calcraft's hectic life; Grantham to Stamford is a 40 mile round trip, Grantham to Leeds 70 miles, Leeds to York 30, and York to Newcastle 80; he must have been constantly on the move with all the hazards of travel in those days.

The fourth letter dated 5 May 1746 was also written from Grantham, presumably on a flying visit on his return from Stamford before setting out for Leeds and the north:

I am ashamed to impose on your honour's Goodness so often but as the Public is concerned daresay you will excuse it my being earnest to prevent their suffering therefore have troubled you with the enclosed which I have this morning received from the office and I am sorry to find no Paymaster yet appointed and that Mr. Andrews is unwilling to transact business.

As there is a large sum of money at Leeds for me and the Gentleman that has it will I am certain not care to part with it without such orders as were sent to Mr. Denshire and Mr. Andrews seems not to countenance my drawing

till a Paymaster is appointed must desire your advice by the next post for which I shall wait here and that I may be at Leeds at the time appointed have sent my clerk and escort this day forward with the chest which I will overtake post on Friday and am Sir, yrs John Calcraft.

No wonder he sounded hard-pressed and anxious for orders. Winnington, the Paymaster General had died in April and his deputy, Joseph Andrews, was temporarily in charge. William Pitt was soon to be appointed with James Grenville as his deputy. Already at nineteen, Calcraft, the son of a provincial town clerk was associating with the great; upward mobility is not new.

Henry Fox evidently responded promptly to Calcraft's cry for help for in his next letter to Fox written only a week after the last, Calcraft said:

I was honoured with yours at Leeds last Friday for which favour I am extremely obliged Pursuant to your advice therein I immediately wrote to Mr Pitt. I beg leave to assure you I will ever endeavour to deserve the many favours conferr'd on me and am with the greatest respect etc.

His troubles did not abate: little over two weeks later, on 30 May, 1746, he wrote again to Fox:

I hope your honour will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with this and desiring your Advice on the underwritten affair for I am this day acquainted by order of the Commander of Excise that a bill for my drawing the 18 April in their favour for £1200 was noted the 9th inst for non payment and as there are several others of later dates for much larger sums if they meet the same fate shall be greatly at a loss how to Act not being Acquainted with the reason which I presume you are.

I humbly beg leave to congratulate you on your new office and assure you that I am with great respect

Yrs, J.C

Fox's new office was Secretary of State for War and member of the Privy Council. Again he seems to have responded promptly to assuage his protégé's anxiety, for Calcraft replied from Newcastle on 10 June:

I was honoured with the favour of yours last post for which I am extremely obliged and was very glad to hear the reason for the bill's being noted as I was very uneasy about it.

I was last week in Edinburgh where they expect the Duke in 3 or 4 days and if he's coming so soon I imagine I shall return very shortly after but can't acquaint your honour when as I've had no order about it who am

Yrs ever J.C.

Three weeks later on 1 July he made haste to bring Fox the latest news of the rebellion:

I've taken the Liberty of troubling your honour with this to Acquaint you we are this day told by two Officers just come from Scotland that Secretary Murray was taken on Fryday, about 20 Miles from Edinburgh and next day carried before Lord Justice Clarke who Committed him to Edinburgh Castle where he now is, and 'tis said he Endeavoured to make his Escape on the Road but was prevented.

We've various reports where and how he was taken some that it was at his own House and by 4 of Kingstons Horse who were discharged, other that it was at an Alehouse where he was dressed like a Farmer both which are mentioned in some private letters.

I hope this Intelligence will come so early as to make it worth your honour's Acceptance and beg leave to Assure you I am with great respect, Sir, yours ever J.C.

A few days later in the last letter of this sequence Calcraft wrote to Fox from Newcastle on 6 July 1746:

Col. Stanwix this morning shew me your honour's letter to him wherein you order us to Inspect Mr. Steele's Account and me to advance such a sum of money to exceeding £100 as should be necessary for the service. I therefore beg leave to Acquaint you I will execute your orders with the utmost caution and diligence and use my utmost Endeavours to procure this affair's being transacted to you honour's satisfaction of which when finished you shall have an account and in the interim am with great respect etc. J.C.

I sent you by Tuesday's post an account of Murray's being taken which I hope you received.<sup>2</sup>

That Calcraft's 'utmost Endeavours' were indeed satisfactory to his master is shown by numerous recommendations in Fox's letters to his associates. For example on 16 March 1749 he asked Governor Clinton to appoint 'my near relation Mr Calcraft' as his agent, and on 15 February 1750 he asked Governor Cornwallis to appoint as his agent 'a near relation of mine Mr John Calcraft a Clerk in the War Office for whom my Brother and I will most willingly give Security.' Again, a month later, he recommended to Col. Darouse, Calcraft 'a near relation of mine and a Clerk in this office as one who would make you an able and faithful Agent.' It was in 1747, aged not quite twenty-one, that Calcraft became a clerk in the Pay Office, a post he kept for nine years during which time he became the agent for over fifty regiments. London, not Grantham where he seems to have left his wife, became his base, and he was frequently in the company of the Fox brothers and their families.

In Fox's Game Book for 10 Sept 1749 Calcraft is teasingly and humorously described as, 'Jack, alias Lord William, alias Sportly, alias Vermin, alias Beau Calcraft, alias Squire Calcraft of the Grange alias Mr John Calcraft...' and on 10 Sept 1750 he is 'as bad a companion at shooting as he is clever in all other things.'<sup>3</sup> That Calcraft made himself useful is shown in a letter from Henry Fox writing from his estate at Redlynch to his brother Stephen, a much keener sportsman, at their shooting lodge at Maddington on the edge of Salisbury plain: 'Mr Calcraft lends me a horse and that and my grey shall be both there on Monday night to rest Tuesday and after that if you'd show me Birds I will for 8 or 10 days work both Birds and Horses extravagantly.'<sup>4</sup> In August both in 1749 and 1750 Calcraft stayed twice with Henry Fox at Maddington. There are several indications that overlooking the care of horses was one of his special concerns. As early as 26 Aug 1746 he told his friend John Hesse, 'I've just now been to see your horses watered which both look well and I make my servant look after them with my own, your little brown horse got the skin knocked off his fetlock joint by a fall at Colsterworth as ye Soldier told me but I've Applied what is proper to heal it and it will be well in a day or two...'<sup>5</sup> He also made himself useful in other ways. He accompanied the Foxes' nephew Edward Digby, their sister

Caroline's son, when he went to France on a diplomatic mission in July 1749, and in August he was with Henry Fox and his wife Caroline when they went to Bath for Lady Caroline's health.<sup>6</sup> He ran a lottery, saw to the carriage of vital items such as pet parrots or a 'chest of cherry brandy' and was expected to keep an eye on the feckless young relations of the much favoured companion of both Ilchesters and Foxes, Joanna Cheeke. For example on 14 Dec 1752 Lord Ilchester wrote to Henry Fox, 'Pray ask Mr. Calcraft whether Jack Cheeke can be taken up for a deserter in case he does not go to his parish or can be compelled to go there,' and on 22 Dec, 'I understand from Bruton [where Miss cheeke lived] today that Jack Cheeke is there and has made a very unwelcome visit to his cousin Anny in his way to the garrison and Scilly and complains that Mr Calcraft is very hard on him and unkind in not sending him to Hull. Scilly he says is nothing but rock. I have no pity for him and if he was to pass the next dozen years upon Salisbury spire I should think it a situation good enough for him.'<sup>7</sup>

For 28 Sept 1751 the Melbury Game Book records that 'The Secretary at War Henry Fox, Messieurs Digby and Calcraft set out for Malmesbury the first to be sworn into the great office of High Steward the second to visit his corporation and the third in hopes of meeting with some success with the Wiltshire girls.' Whether he did is not recorded but a year later Calcraft was much in love with the beautiful and highly successful actress Gergiane Bellamy. In the Game book for 1 Oct 1752 Henry Fox wrote: 'with the Secretary from Bath arrived John Calcraft Esq. whose tender love for Miss Bellamy returned with equal ardour by the fair one will be remembered as long as these records shall remain. This hidden fire which had been kindled for a long time, and for a long time for good reasons carefully concealed, broke out into a flame last Spring and was the talk of the whole Town but this affair desires to be, and will I doubt not be the subject of a separate History. It should suffice to remark here that Miss Bellamy is the best Actress that has appeared upon the Stage a long while, and now very big with Child.'<sup>8</sup> The child was almost certainly not Calcraft's but that of the man she infinitely preferred, George Montgomerie, Lord Metham, a friend of Calcraft's. From the very beginning Calcraft's relationship with Bellamy did not go smoothly, and writing to his brother on 28 Nov 1752 Lord Ilchester

commented, 'Calcraft is really so sad a dog I wonder Miss Bellamy will have anything to do with him.'<sup>8</sup>

Metham could not marry Bellamy, although fond of her, because finding himself short of funds during their affair he had married a rich woman for the sake of her dowery, which in the event he was deprived of; Calcraft could not marry for the same reason, that he already had a wife. But he tricked Bellamy into living with him by saying that he would marry her eventually and signing a document promising to support her until he did. The reason he gave her was that his patron Henry Fox did not wish him to marry and he had to please Fox for the sake of his career. He never admitted that he had a wife and it seems that not even the Fox brothers knew of her. Bellamy's life, as Henry Fox predicted, and her relationship with Calcraft, Henry Fox, and many others, is indeed a 'separate History', published in 1788 in five volumes, three years before her death and after she had given up acting. It purported to be written by Bellamy herself but is now thought to have been written by an historian called Alexander Bicknell. These volumes were condensed into one, the story re-arranged to be more chronological and the facts as far as possible authenticated by another historian Cyril Hughes Hartmann and published as *Enchanting Bellamy*<sup>9</sup> by Heinemann in 1956. There is much in it about Calcraft who reputation probably suffered from what Bellamy said of him, and Henry Fox is mentioned in their company.

When Bellamy confronted Fox with his being against Calcraft marrying her he was apparently very surprised for it was not true; needless to say the revelation did not endear Calcraft to her, and indeed he only won her in any sense by a series of tricks. They began to live together in 1753 in Calcraft's house in Brewer Street which he had previously shared with Edward Digby, 'now,' as already mentioned 'abroad'. 'Although she did not love Calcraft' as Hartmann tells, us 'and never pretended to, she was determined to do all in her power to further his career, which happened to be extremely congenial to her for it consisted in entertaining politicians, peers and, above all, high ranking military officers. Those who had command of regiments were fed, flattered and cajoled into giving Calcraft their agencies. Henry Fox, the Marquess of Grandby and General Harvey were regular guests at her breakfast, dinner and supper

parties.’<sup>10</sup> Like Mrs Jordan, when she lived with William IV before he was king, Bellamy continued to act, and to produce children and her high salary contributed to their expenses. Their daughter Caroline Elizabeth was born in 1754 the day after Bellamy had acted the part of Fulvia in Rich’s tragedy *Constantine*. Henry Fox, his wife Caroline, and Bellamy’s stepmother Lady Tryawley were the god-parents.<sup>11</sup>

In the same year Calcraft bought Holwood Park near Keston in Kent which was conveniently near to London and for Fox when he went to his house at Margate; often he met his political friends there; inevitably Bellamy’s name was coupled with his until, such was her fear of antagonizing Lady Caroline, she refused to go to Holwood when Fox was there. Her son by Calcraft, or so it is said, was born at Holwood on 4 September 1756 and was christened Henry Fox Calcraft.<sup>12</sup> Afterwards Bellamy was very will, and wished, not for the first time to leave Calcraft; she only consented to remain with him on two conditions, that he would pay all her debts and never attempt to speak to her alone. On this curious basis they continued together for another three years when Bellamy decided, against the advice of all their friends and relations, including Henry Fox, to leave Calcraft for good. She never went back to him although he continued to hope that she would, and as late as 1761 he said he would pay all her debts if she would retire to his house in Dorsetshire, Rempstone, which he had purchased in 1757 but she refused.<sup>13</sup>

Calcraft continued to prosper in his career, and to amass riches. He bought extensive property in Lincoln, Essex and Kent as well as in Dorset but in 1763 he deserted Fox for Shelburne and Pitt,<sup>14</sup> to Fox’s grief. ‘I do not know one man in the world so much obliged to another as he has been to me,’ he said, ‘I loved him. I did not expect this and have not left off thinking of it.’<sup>15</sup> Bellamy had other lovers and died in 1788, Fox died in 1774, and Calcraft in 1772, aged only 46.

After he had been deserted by Bellamy in 1759 Calcraft found another actress to live with, a young girl called Elizabeth Bride. They lived grandly at Ingress Abbey on the banks of the Thames at Greenhithe, and had a daughter Catherine and four sons, John born in 1765, Thomas Grandby in 1767, Richard in 1770 and William in 1772; all survived to adulthood and did well in life. In his will Calcraft left the care of all his children to Miss

Bride, and to herself £3000 outright, an annuity of £1000 with an additional £500 a year until she re-married or the youngest child came of age. Their eldest son John was to inherit the bulk of his property and each of the other children was to receive £10,000 and certain residuary rights in his landed property if John had no heirs. Calcraft's brother Thomas, and his sister Christian Lucas, were also beneficiaries. His children by Bellamy, Henry Fox Calcraft and Caroline Elizabeth, were to receive £5,000 each. Elizabeth Bride had the right to live at Ingress, with the use of the furniture, plate, garden and so on for the rest of her life.<sup>16</sup>

Calcraft had been Member of Parliament for Calne in Wiltshire and for Rochester in Kent, and during his last years, when not in London, he lived mainly at Ingress. Nevertheless he had been made Lord of the Manor of Wareham in 1767, and his brother Thomas became member of Parliament for Wareham the following year. Calcraft seems always, as Hartmann says, to have had 'a particular affection for Dorset,'<sup>17</sup> and chose to be buried in a vault in St. Mary's church, Wareham where his epitaph reads:

To John Calcraft Esq, MP for Rochester, who departed this life at Ingress in the county of Kent, on 23rd day of August 1772 and is buried in this church. As an affectionate tribute to his memory this stone is placed to record the gratitude of his family who owe everything to his exertions.<sup>18</sup>

All his sons were a credit to him: John became member of Parliament for both Wareham and Rochester and was a member of the Privy Council, Thomas was a Major General, Richard was Secretary to the Audit Office and William was a Major in the 7th Light Dragoons. But the eldest John was only seven when his father died.<sup>19</sup>

Calcraft's executors were his brother-in-law, Anthony Lucas, Edward Barnwell and Thomas Williams. Lucas was to receive, £1,000 and the other two £500 each. Only three days after Calcraft's death Williams, then staying at Rempstone Hall, received a letter from a Mr Bishop:

By last post Mr Filliter had a letter from Mr Townely Ward in Henrietta Street London telling him of his being recommended to him by Mr Dorson and says he is

employed by Mr. Calcraft's widow who is not provided for either by will or settlement therefore she is about to claim her dower in all Mr. Calcraft's estates. He desires Mr. Filliter will spare no cost to get a particular of every estate in Dorset with the tenants name that they may be served with writs of court according to law of her claim to dower.

I desired Mr Filliter to send you a copy of the letter by this day's post which he promised me he will. Mr. Filliter is so obliging that he will either proceed in the affair or not as you shall think right and if you approve of his proceeding he will take no other step but as you approve of. As he is so obliging I must think it will certainly be advisable for him to undertake it or at least for him to propose for his son to undertake it – Though if there be such a woman I hope it will be in your power somehow or other to put a stop to these public Demands before it is publicly known in this country or it will certainly make a great noise and do great Damage in the Borough. Should Mr Filliter decline acting for the widow you may depend Bartlett be the person Employed who will Glory in doing all the harm possible (*sic*) he can both in the Borough and elsewhere.

I am Sir your very humble servant.<sup>20</sup>

Williams replied:

Dear Sir,

I am favoured with your letter. Mr Filliter and his son is an assistant that must not be parted with. It is pusilanimous to fear an Enemy. Mr Barnwell and myself have wrote by this post to assure of our relyance on their good offices. The Subject of your letter I have heard much of since Mr Calcraft's death. It is at present very mysterious and I can not yet give credit to your report. You shall hear further occasionally.

And on 1 October Williams wrote also to Filliter:

We are indeed very, much obliged for your kind letter. Mr Calcraft himself taught us to place a firm relyance on your good offices. (*2 words illeg.*) you must do as we do with the assistance of Mr Bishop as our sheet anchor. (*1 word illeg.*) It is right and proper that you should have

your option but if after this you should think the business requested of you by Mr Ward incompatible with the confidence imposed by Mr Calcraft's family you will then be prepared to give him such an answer and at the same time you will assure him that from your knowledge we shall be ready to give his Agent every intelligence she (*sic*) can be entitled to without unnecessary expense. That you have acquainted us with the purport of his letter and no doubt that he will soon hear from us.

P.S. The subject of your letter is at present a very mysterious business but if one many speak from circumstances gathered from Mr Calcraft's conduct it is not yet to be credited. Mr. Lucas being in Lincolnshire we can only thank you for him likewise at present. He will most assuredly concur with us in everything else that shall appear right. Mr. Bishop is by this post referred to you.

We are dear Sir

Your most obliged servants.

On 30 Nov 1772 Filliter wrote from Wareham to Thomas Williams, Attorney at Law in Dartford, Kent:

Mr Mayor has shown me your letter to him wherein you mention that Mr Lucas and yourself propose coming down here some time next month. I should be glad if you could remember to bring with you the Assignment to Mr Bruce and also any account with the late Mr Calcraft and am wishing you an Agreeable journey.

Your most humble servant

Thomas Filliter

There seems to be no record of the process of the law during the next five years but a big handsome parchment dated 15 July 1777 with a schedule of all the late John Calcraft's possessions records the Agreement heard before the Lord High Chancellor between Calcraft's executors Barnwell, Williams and Lucas, his sister Christian and Bridget Calcraft.<sup>21</sup> Bridget who seems to have meant nothing to Calcraft during his life and done nothing for him except prevent him from marrying either of the women he wished to, got half the value of his property in Kent, and a third of the value of his properties in Essex, Lincoln and Dorset. The mystery still remains why it

was Dorset that became the family seat. Since Calcraft's son and heir was only seven when his father died and had three younger brothers perhaps the value of the other properties was consumed in their upbringing; perhaps Thomas Filliter of Wareham was a more efficient Agent than those who served the executors elsewhere. Much is still unsolved.

1. Rodney Legg, *Dorset Families* p. 113.
2. Dorset Record Officer, D/RWR, Calcraft's Letter Book.
3. Earl of Ilchester, *Henry Fox* (1920), Vol I, pp. 57-59.
4. British Library, Additional Manuscripts 51419, letters of Henry Fox and Lord Ilchester.
5. DRO, D/RWR.
6. BL, Add Ms 51419.
7. Manuscript at Melbury: 'Memoirs de la Chasse'.
8. BL, Add Ms 51419.
9. Arthur Bryant called Hartmann 'a fine and accurate scholar'. In his introduction, Hartmann explained that he had re-told Bellamy's life because of the difficulty of obtaining her version, though it can be consulted in many major libraries. He also asks readers to accept his version rather than hers because he was able 'to consult many books of reference and sources of information that were not available to her'. The book is lively and informative about the eighteenth century stage, and society's involvement with it.
10. Hartmann, p. 153.
11. *Ibid*, p. 152.
12. *Ibid*, p. 172.
13. *Ibid*, p. 220.
14. For a good account of this see Edward Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Second Earl of Shelburne*, (1875), vol III, p. 201.
15. Lewis Namier, *History of Parliament*, 1754-1790, p. 172.
16. DRO, D/RWR, L 6.
17. Hartmann, p. 283.
18. Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, vol I, p. 113.
19. *Ibid*.
20. This and all following letters : DRO, D/RWR, L 6.
21. DRO, D/RWR, L 7.

SUSAN RANDS

**78.** IN SEARCH OF SOMERSET SOUNDS. A famous consonantal feature of Bristol pronunciation is its intrusive *l*, well illustrated in numerous jokes. Thus, Bristol is 'the only city in Britain to be able to turn ideas into ideals, areas into aerials, and Monicas into monacles'. Add to this the story of the father who had 'three lovely daughters, Idle, Evil and Normal', and that of the local girl who was learning to dance and was heard to say, 'I can rumble but I can't tangle'. As emerges from these and other examples, the intrusive *l* tends to be added to the final vowels of words such as *banana* and *tomorrow*.<sup>1</sup>

How are we to account for this phenomenon? First, try a simple experiment. If you say the word *milk*, you will find yourself pronouncing the *l* with the tip of your tongue against

your upper teeth ridge. Now pronounce *milk* as a Cockney would, and you will find that the contact between tongue tip and teeth ridge is no longer there. Instead of the *l*, you are in effect producing an *o*- or *u*-like vowel.<sup>2</sup> This type of pronunciation is not exclusive to Cockney. For mid-east Wiltshire, for instance, Wright recorded what we may here represent as *bio* for 'bill', *tuo* for 'tool', *nibo* for 'nibble', and so on.<sup>3</sup>

In Bristol, a similarly 'vocalized' *l* will have been a feature of words such as *apple*. Under pressure from Standard English, Bristolians will have restored the *l* of *apple*, but will have overshot the mark and put it where it did not belong, thus also producing hypercorrect pronunciations such as *bananal* or *tomorrowl*. The very name *Bristol* is said to have come about in this way.<sup>4</sup> Consisting of the elements *bridge* plus *stow* ('place'), and thus meaning 'site of the bridge', it had by 1200 become *Bristoll*, with the final *l* that is now *de rigueur*.<sup>5</sup>

While writing in 1982, Wells claimed intrusive *l* 'always to have been a pretty local phenomenon, not occurring beyond the boundaries of Avon' and 'even within them ... by now quite rare',<sup>6</sup> whereas Wakelin, writing in 1986, found it to be 'of frequent occurrence, even in younger speakers'. Interestingly, he also found pronunciations apparently along the lines of our hypothesized 'apple without an *l*', mentioned above. Thus, *imperia* (for 'imperial'), *penaty* (for 'penalty') and possibly *Taj Maha* (for 'Taj Mahal').<sup>7</sup> Moreover, as far afield as Sutton Benger, twenty one miles ENE of Bristol, Wakelin found *Hindial* for 'India',<sup>8</sup> just as, earlier, he had noted *diphtherial* for 'diphtheria' at Blagdon, eleven miles SW of Bristol.<sup>9</sup>

The signs are, then, that intrusive *l* is, or was, of wider occurrence than assumed by Wells. Moreover, to the evidence for this presented by Wakelin, we can add some relevant information from a booklet on the folklore and dialect of the lower Wye, published in 1973. According to this, Chepstow showed the influence of Bristol in the pronunciation *ideal* for 'idea', and even *Chepstoll* for 'Chepstow', which nicely matches the already discussed *Bristol* for 'Bristow'. Of particular interest is *barrel duck* for *burrow duck*, a name given to the sheldrake because it nests in disused rabbit burrows.<sup>10</sup> There is also an example of the feature in context, in an unattributed dialect anecdote relating to the period before the

First World War, where we find: '... stroike me if oi had an ideal what a shemozzle was going to 'appen afore the noight was out.'<sup>11</sup>

In the last paragraph but one we noted Sutton Benger *Hindial* for 'India'. Not only does this have intrusive *l* at the end; it also has intrusive *h* at the beginning. Well-known from hypercorrections such as *harm* for 'arm' or *hink* for 'ink', this is a widespread phenomenon. It reminds us, however, of another type of initial *h* that is certainly not intrusive and is of very limited geographical distribution. Found only before *r* at the beginning of words,<sup>12</sup> it was recorded in the mid-twentieth century in part of Somerset, but not elsewhere. The word 'rat' was for instance pronounced with *hr* rather than just *r* at the beginning, the northernmost evidence for this being from Coleford near Radstock. Similar pronunciations with initial aspirated *r* were noted at Stoke St. Gregory near Taunton, but also, close to the Somerset-Dorset border, at Merriott near Crewkerne and at Horsington in the extreme south-east of Somerset.<sup>13</sup> The same type of pronunciation will have obtained throughout the area circumscribed by a line joining these places. Certainly, as we shall see, evidence from written sources suggests as much.

Although this interesting feature seems to have slipped through the nets of Victorian dialectologists, it was not overlooked by authors writing and commenting on dialect within the area in question during the first half of the twentieth century. John Read, who hailed from Podimore near Yeovil and went to school at Bruton, is very much to the point when he says: 'The initial R is strongly aspirated.' Generally, though, except in the spelling *hrafted*, 'excited', he has no special orthographic convention for the feature. We are expected to remember that 'rack' is to be pronounced *hrack*, 'rain' *hrain*, and so on.<sup>14</sup>

Our next author is J. A. Garton, who lived some eight miles to the east of Glastonbury, at Pylle. He saw the dialect of his locality as belonging to the 'east central district' of Somerset, a linguistic area which extended 'from the southern slopes of Mendip to the south-eastern boundary [of Somerset], and to the river Parrett in the west' with 'a considerable degree of uniformity'.<sup>15</sup> Garton's message is similar to Read's, though his orthographic conventions are not. In the dialect notes to his

*Glowing Embers* he says: “‘R’ at the beginning of a word has the sound of ‘hr’; rain is pronounced ‘*hrain*’, road ‘*hroad*’.” In his Glossary he has no words at all beginning with *r*. He has *hrabbut* for ‘rabbit’, *hroost* for ‘roost’, *hrub* for ‘rub’, and so on.<sup>16</sup> Needless to say, he is entirely consistent when it comes to rendering discourse. Here is a relevant extract from a passage on haymaking: ‘Can ‘ee bide an’ gi’ us a hand? I don’t bother z’long’s I can pick up theaze last two hrollers [‘ranks of hay’]; thic bit o’ hrakens [‘rakings’] wun’t hurt if do hrain.’<sup>17</sup>

It is worth noting that, in the work of other authors, occurrences of aspirated *r*, or at least representations of it, can be sporadic. For instance, a pamphlet on the early twentieth-century dialect of Ilchester appears to contain no relevant information, except that the local word for ‘wide open ditches’ is given as *rhines*, with the information that this is pronounced *hreens*.<sup>18</sup>

At this point, it will be worth saying a little more about the word *rhine*. *The Oxford English Dictionary* allocates it to the south-western dialects, gives the pronunciation as [ri:n], and points to a relationship with words such as *run*. It adds that the spelling *rhine*, current since 1714, is ‘difficult to account for’, and suggests that the variant *reen* is ‘more phonetic’.<sup>19</sup> For a word that we may assume to have been pronounced *hreen* alias [hri:n], not just at Ilchester, but throughout that part of Somerset where word-initial aspirated *r* was current, the conventional spelling *rhine* is in fact ‘more phonetic’ than *reen*. We may therefore hypothesize that the ‘difficult’ spelling *rhine* arose in the part of Somerset in question, as an attempt to represent the way in which the word was actually pronounced there.

From all this it will be clear that intrusive *l* and aspirated initial *r* have been under-recorded in Somerset. Readers of *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* are, however, in a unique position to supplement the somewhat scanty evidence that has so far been collected. I would therefore be most grateful for any relevant information, whether drawn from first-hand experience of dialect as spoken now or in the past, or culled from genuine dialect literature or descriptions of dialect.

1. J.C. Wells, *Accents of English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 2, 344. Wells owes the jokes to D. Robinson, *Son of Bristle* (Bristol: Abson Books, 1971).
2. Cf. Eva Sivertsen, *Cockney Phonology* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1960), 131-33.
3. Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 1898-1905; (rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 6, Grammar, 60.

4. Wells, op. cit., 2, 345.
5. Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), p. 66.
6. Wells, op. cit., 2, 344-45.
7. Martyn F. Wakelin, *The Southwest of England*, vol. 5 of *Varieties of English around the World* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986, pp. 198-201.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.
9. Martyn F. Wakelin, *English Dialects: An Introduction*, rev. edn. (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1977), p. 164, note 17.
10. Ivor Waters, *Folklore and Dialect of the Lower Wye Valley* (Chepstow: The Chepstow Society, 1973), p. 25.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
12. This is what the usual spelling *hr* suggests. Strictly speaking, what we have is not a sequence of an *h* followed by an *r*, but an aspirated *r*. In other words, the two sounds are simultaneous.
13. See Harold Orton, Stewart Sanderson and John Widdowson, *The Linguistic Atlas of England* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), map Ph224. Note that the Coleford-Stoke St. Gregory-Merriott-Horsington enclave shown here belongs to the somewhat more extensive south-western area that has retained initial *h* in all positions. See Wakelin, *English Dialects: An Introduction*, p. 98 and, for a cartographic representation, Peter M. Anderson, *A Structural Atlas of the English Dialects* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), map 111.
14. John Read, *Wold Ways A-gwain: Scenes from a Western Countryside* (Yeovil: Western Gazette, 1914), pp. 177, 182, 185. Strictly, Read's 'rule' needs refining. Words such as *reproach*, mentioned by him on p.185, are for instance unlikely to have begun with aspirated *h*.
15. J.A. Garton, *Glowing Embers from a Somerset Hearth* (Wells: Cathedral Press, 1937), p. 13. Interestingly, the area thus described coincides more or less with the Coleford - Stoke St. Gregory - Merriott - Horsington enclave characterized, as we have seen, by initial *hr*.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 120-21 and 123.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
18. J. Stevens Cox, *An Ilchester Word List and Some Folklore Notes* (St. Peter Port: Toucan Press), 1974, p. 44.
19. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 13, 860 and 454.

J. B. SMITH

## BOOK REVIEWS

Dr John Wroughton, *Stuart Bath: Life in the Forgotten City, 1683-1714*, (The Lansdown Press, 2004), pp. 209, illustrated, ISBN 0 9520249 4 2 (paperback) £16.99 0 9520249 5 0 (hardback) £25.00, available from bookshops or the author at 41 The Empire, Grand Parade, Bath, BA2 4DF; please add £3.50 p&p, with checks made payable to The Lansdown Press.

Dr Wroughton has skilfully produced a magnificent volume on the history of Bath being the first definitive study of Stuart Bath ever to be published. The volume contains over 200 pages of text and illustrations divided into chapters covering the

subjects of the government of the city, political life, security, life at home, public health, agriculture, the cloth industry, the baths, commercial activity and post, the poor, education, the daily pressures of civil war, religious life, and entertainment. The cover of the volume states that 'it tells the story of life and work in the 17<sup>th</sup> century city - a period which has been largely ignored by historians in the past and gently airbrushed out of Bath's rich heritage. And yet this forgotten city was a lively, colourful and affluent place with fine buildings, a vigorous health spa and the brand-new Abbey Church'.

Dr Wroughton has gone to great lengths in searching out materials for this excellent history and the careful selection he has made of the illustrations (including many from his own collection) gives this volume an extra dimension. Use has also been made of the most recent archaeological research undertaken by Marek Lewcun which has added to the knowledge of the topography of Stuart Bath and the impressive list of printed material which the author has consulted is another indication of the extensive research which has gone into making up this volume.

The author has set his subject matter into appropriate chapter headings and drawn on national sources to put the history of Bath into its correct context as an important provincial city which attracted not only the great and good but also many rogues and vagabonds. This volume will undoubtedly be a bestseller in Bath but there is also a great deal of information concerning social history, North Somerset, as well as national affairs during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This book is not only easy to read but both entertaining and definitive – a must for every bookshelf.

A. J. W.

Peter Clery, *The Wealth and Estates of Glastonbury Abbey at the Dissolution in 1539* (Curlew Publishers, Curlew Court, Guy's Head, Sutton Bridge, Lincs PE12 9QQ, 88pp., illus., £12.99). In this work, Peter Clery has used his business training and experience to full advantage in a comprehensive historical study, giving us a concise view of the values and workings of the Glastonbury Estates at the critical time of the Dissolution. He has helpfully provided modern day equivalents of the

contemporary currencies and land values. As can be expected from his professional background, his widely researched analysis is precise and detailed. The tables are clear and easily understood, and the photographs of high quality.

For those who are unfamiliar with the extent of the estate of Glastonbury Abbey in chapter five the individual Estates are described in detail starting with Wiltshire, then Somerset, followed by Dorset, Devon and Monmouthshire. The appendices include the perambulation of Street, the record of a customary tenancy at Boltonsborough, a list of bailiffs in 1536 and a list of names of tenants which will be of inestimable help to readers with family history interests.

Henry of Blois was Papal Legate and one wonders whether John Grey of Westry may have lived at Westhay? The Abbot's kitchen is generally considered to be earlier than suggested, and the OS scale 1:25,000 represents 2.5 inches to the mile. Despite these small errors such an excellent compact book (one will soon be on many a bookshelf), crammed with easily read yet detailed information, deserves an index.

JAMES SKEGGS

Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters: Women and Children in the Georgian Country House*, (Hambleton and London, 2004), pp. 454, illustrated in black and white, £19.95. This book must be of particular interest to readers of *SDNQ* because all four of the women whose letters, diaries and household accounts – the material on which it draws – lived much of their lives in Somerset and Dorset. The earliest is Susannah Strangways Horner (1689-1789) the heiress of Melbury and wife of Thomas Horner of Mells; the next is her daughter Elizabeth (1723-1792), her only child to survive to adulthood, who married Stephen Fox of Redlynch and became the first Countess of Ilchester; Stephen's sister Caroline married in 1729 Edward, 6th Baron Digby of Sherborne Castle, the first of the many marriages between the Digbys and the Fox Strangways. The third woman is Susan (1743-1827), the eldest daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth, who is well known for her elopement with the actor William O'Brien. She lived at Stinsford for fifty years, and kept a journal from 1787 till her death in 1827; she was evidently unusually preceptive and her apt remarks on

people and events make an interesting commentary; one is frequently struck by the soundness of her judgement. Thomas Hardy's mother worked for Susan's younger brother, Charles Redlynch Fox Strangways, the rector of Maiden Newton, and Thomas Hardy knew people who remembered Lady Susan's kindness; he wrote several poems about her. Lastly there is her niece Mary, the second daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester; she married Thomas Mansel Talbot of Margam and Penrice in Wales but she paid visits to the county of her childhood and frequently wrote and received letters from her relations in Dorset.

The second Earl of Ilchester had four other daughters: the eldest, Eliza married William Davenport Talbot and lived much of her later life with their son William Henry Fox Talbot, the eminent scientist and photographer at Lacock Abbey. The third daughter Harriet married James Frampton of Moreton, the magistrate who condemned the Tolpuddle Martyrs. The fourth, Caroline, married Charles Lemon of Carclew in Cornwall, and the youngest, Louisa, married Lord Henry Petty and became the third Marquess of Lansdowne, a notable hostess at Bowood.

We are given, first, individual biographies of the four main characters and then detailed descriptions of their occupations and concerns, household management, health, education, literature and science, gardens, travel and patronage. This structure makes it easy to pursue a special interest. The book is beautifully written with biographical notes, bibliography and family trees, and handsomely produced with fascinating illustrations most of which have never been published before.

SUSAN RANDS

## NOTES

THE OLD BLACK MULE. August, 2004, was the 90th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War so the publication of these rather touching verses in honour of an unlikely subject may be thought not inappropriate. The author was Driver W. J. Brooks of Trudoxhill, near Frome, a member of an Artillery Support Company.

His verses are literate and spirited. They appeared in *The Somerset Standard* in Feb, 1917. Mules seem to have been more curst than praised, so for one to be the subject of an affectionate poem is unusual. The mule was called *Truck*, a diminutive of Driver Brooks' village. This is still in use today. A corner on the boundary of Trudoxhill and Witham Friary, officially known as Dunstan's Gate, is locally called Truck Corner.

**Written by Driver W. J. BROOKS, A.S.C.,  
Trudox Hill, Frome.**

The transports of the A.S.C. are worth their weight in gold,  
And the stories that the lads could tell, would make your blood  
run cold.

To talk about the daring deeds just now I don't intend,  
But I'll tell you of an old black mule that proved to be my friend.

He is a noble animal, and a better you'll not find

At getting over ditches, to jump, he's not behind.

When he hears me cry his Somerset name, his tail he wags with  
glee,

And many a dangerous place we've gone, my old black mule and  
me.

He is cool, and he is cunning, wherever he may be,

And he's proud to be a member of the gallant A.S.C.

My word you ought to see him, he's just a perfect gem,

And the gallant work my mule has done deserves the D.C.M.

One night up in France, we got orders for to load,

The Germans came and attacked us, and we made off for the  
road.

But here's a little incident I tremble when I tell,

That some of my companions got buried by a shell.

When all the smoke had passed away I crept from 'neath the dirt,  
My comrades gathered round me, to see if I was hurt.

I tried to walk but couldn't, I staggered like a fool,

And that say, my first words uttered was "Where is my old black  
mule?"

When I got my senses back again, a thought went through my mind,  
I pictured dear old Truck and the ones I left behind.  
Oh, that night of agony, the world to me seemed cruel,  
But I am glad to say, I am here to-day, along with my old black mule.

Though the night be dark and stormy, and days be very wet,  
We'll remember good old Somerset, for we are not downhearted yet,

Likewise all my comrades, they sing and dance with glee,  
They are a credit to old Somerset and the grand old A.S.C.

Now here's a little question I ask you all at home,  
It never has been answered, in these lands where I do roam.  
It's just another's by-word, it's something of the past,  
So here's the little question. How long will this war last!

MICHAEL McGARVIE

GROUNDING PICKS. I was interested to read the article about 'Grounding Picks' on page 331 of the current issue and the reference therein to 'put the end of the stael on the ground'. My mother and grandmother, Lancastrians both, always referred to a brush or broom handle as a 'stele'. I have never heard the word used in that sense of a handle by any other people other than our Rochdale family branch. My grandmother used to converse in 'correct' Lancashire dialect, using the special words of that speech's composition with her sisters on a daily basis. I presume that it must come from the same route as the Gloucestershire word. Perhaps this northern use might also be of interest to readers.

IAIN H. PARSONS

## QUERIES

ROOFLESS AND LANDLESS. It seems unlikely that the Waldegrave clerks were as 'indifferent' in their use of language as Colin Brett suggests (p327). In 1740 they described what is now Wills Farm, Priddy as a 'A Landless Place' although it had over 40 acres! It paid heriot, as well as 4s 8d rent and a fat goose!<sup>1</sup>

The important distinction was between tenements and land. Land, derived from overland, as Collinson suggests required no heriots, nor services, etc. Tenements carried rights and obligations. Over time tenements with houses decayed and lost their houses, became 'roofless', but the rights and obligations were remembered. The land of the tenement was farmed from another place. Tenements that started life with no land, 'landless', acquired land, which might come from one of several sources. It was important for surveyors and clerks to remember the origins of property and the terms they used were precise. Rights of common came to be asserted at the time of enclosures and property owners needed to be able to justify their claims.

So *row lease* (rough pasture) was used to describe land and *roofless* a tenement.

1. SRO DD/WG box 9/9.

BARRY LANE

FREEMEN OF THE CITY OF WELLS. Apart from a monetary fine freemen were also required to give gloves, wine and wax in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. I would like to know how much wine was required and if the gloves were silk for ceremonial use or leather for every day use? I have always thought the former but as it would seem quite a large number were given each year I am beginning to think it may have been the latter. For example, six dozen pairs were distributed to the burgesses at the convocation on 20 Oct 1642.

V.J.S. DODDRELL

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