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THE DIARIES OF
JEFFERY WHITAKER
SCHOOLMASTER OF
BRATTON, 1739–1741

EDITED BY

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AND

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TROWBRIDGE

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PREFACE

The editors wish to thank Mr. K. H. Rogers, F.S.A., who took the photographs to illustrate the volume, and gave much personal help, and the staff of the Wiltshire Record Office for constant assistance. They are also indebted to Miss Melissa Willcox who drew the map of Bratton.

J. L. KIRBY

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Agricultural Records</i>	J. M. Stratton & J. Houghton Brown, <i>Agricultural Records A.D. 220–1977</i> , ed. Ralph Whitlock (London, 1979).
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
<i>Freehold Book</i>	<i>Wiltshire Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736</i> , ed. J. M. P. Fowle, <i>W.A.S. Records Branch</i> , xi (1955). Appendix II.
<i>Meeting House Certificates</i>	<i>Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates and Registrations 1689–1852</i> , ed. J. H. Chandler, <i>W.R.S.</i> xl (1984).
<i>T.R.H.S.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</i>
<i>V.C.H. Wilts.</i>	<i>Victoria County History. Wiltshire.</i>
<i>W.A.S.</i>	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.</i>
<i>W.N.Q.</i>	<i>Wiltshire Notes and Queries.</i>
WRO	Wiltshire Record Office.
<i>W.R.S.</i>	<i>Wiltshire Record Society.</i>

Longleat Leases were consulted in the WRO and are referred to here as LL. MSS. OS. (i.e. Old Survey, 1743). They are now in the Longleat archives. All the Parish Registers referred to here are in the WRO.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page ii

1 Two pages from Jeffery Whitaker's third diary.

Following page xxviii

2 Front page of John Drewett's 'Multiplication Table', 1701.

3 Advertisement for the School, 1750.

4 Fragment of a home made geometry book.

5 Fragment of a home made school book.

6 Advertisement for the School, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5 February 1787.

At end of volume

7 Map of Bratton, *circa* 1740.

8 The Whitaker Family tree.

INTRODUCTION

I. Bratton in the eighteenth century

I came along the north side of the famous hill called Bratton Castle, so renowned in the annals of the Romans and of Alfred the Great. . . . My road was now on the line of separation between what they call South Wilts and North Wilts, the former consisting of high and broad downs and narrow valleys with meadows and rivers running down them; the latter consisting of a rather flat, enclosed country; the former having a chalk bottom; the latter a bottom of marl, clay, or flat stone; the former a country for lean sheep and corn; and the latter a country for cattle, fat sheep, cheese and bacon; the former, by far, to my taste, the most beautiful; and I am by no means sure that it is not, all things considered, the most rich. . . . All my way along. . . . I had the steep and naked downs to my right, and the flat enclosed country to my left. . . . The land here is very good; better than almost any I ever saw. . . . The turnips are very good all along here for several miles; but this is, indeed, singularly fine and rich land. The orchards very fine; finely sheltered, and the crops of apples and pears and walnuts very abundant.

William Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (1826)¹

Bratton lies in West Wiltshire under the northern edge of Salisbury Plain, three miles east of the town of Westbury. It is one of a line of villages strung out along a band of greensand below the chalk of the Plain and above the gault clay of the vale which stretches north towards Trowbridge and Melksham. The site of the village was determined by the never-ending flow of pure spring water at this level. In the eighteenth century it still fell into the three hamlets of Bratton, Milbourne and Stoke.

Like most parishes in this part of the county, it consisted of three distinct types of ground. The southern part lay on the undulating chalk downs of Salisbury Plain, approximately 500 ft. above sea level, open, windswept, almost totally without trees. The higher downs provided grazing for hundreds of sheep, the more level stretches grew heavy crops of wheat and barley while some areas were reserved for growing furze for fuel.² The steep escarpment between the Plain and the village provided more grazing.

The shelf of greensand, about 300 ft. above sea level, on which the village was built, was ideal soil for gardens and orchards, while the low-lying clay grew good hay and deep grass for cattle, with some ploughed land on the dryer parts. In the mid-eighteenth century farming had little changed from medieval strip cultivation, each tenant having his

1 William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ed. E. F. Darglish (London & Toronto, 1932), 268–9.

2 See Diary, entry for 8.1.40/1: 'Willm. Whitaker's plow fetch a Load of Furze.' *Plow*, cart, cart and horses together (dialect). Furze was used particularly in bread ovens.

allotted acres in the common fields and his allotted number of sheep, cattle and horses which he might graze on the common pastures and fallows.

Lands in Bratton at this time belonged to several estates. The largest was Bratton manor, owned by Lord Weymouth of Longleat. But there were also lands which were part of the manors of Westbury Arundel, Westbury Stourton and Westbury St. Maur, belonging to the Earl of Abingdon, as well as Westbury Chantry, held by Mr. Bennett of Norton Bavant. In addition, Mr. Drax of Wedhampton owned Manor Farm and Grants Farm, while the Ballard family possessed some freehold property.³

Thomas Davis, author of *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Wilts*, written in 1794,⁴ gives a detailed picture against which we may view Jeffrey Whitaker's farming activities. Davis was for over forty years steward of Lord Weymouth (later Marquess of Bath) and though he was writing fifty years after these diaries, he was looking back over his experience of the Longleat estates, to which the manor of Bratton belonged, and describing old farming methods so that he might the better put forward his reasons for advocating the enclosure of common land. He writes:

Under the common field husbandry, little or no variation of crops could take place. . . . Before the introduction of artificial grasses, the arable lands of each manor were usually laid in three common fields, of which the round was, Wheat, Barley or Oats, Fallow. . . .

But the tenants, in many common fields, being convinced at length of the profit of sowing ray grass, clover, &., came to an agreement to sow it in all or part of their spring crop, and to mow all or part of it in the next summer, previous to a wheat crop, instead of suffering the ground to lie fallow. . . .

The general courses of husbandry in the common fields may therefore now be said to be these, viz. in those cases where the occupiers can agree to sow clover.

First, Three field husbandry. 1. Wheat

2. Barley, with clover

3. Clover, part mowed, part fed Then wheat again.

Secondly, the *bad* four field husbandry. 1. Wheat

2. Barley

3. Oats, with clover

4. Clover, part mowed part fed.

3 For estates in Bratton, see *V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 148-50, 153, 161. Manor Farm, the 'Farm' of the diaries, had originally been part of the estate held by Edington Priory. It passed through a succession of owners to Sefton Bromwich whose memorial is in the south aisle of Bratton Church. From this family it passed to the Ernleys of Etchilhampton and finally through Elizabeth Ernley to Henry Drax whom she married in 1720. This was the Squire Drax who dined at the Farm (Diary, entry for 17.10.39).

4 Part of Thomas Davis's work was published under the title 'Extracts from a General View of the Agriculture of the County of Wilts, &.' in *Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, & selected from the correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society* . . . (Bath, 1795), vii. 113-221. The whole work was republished by Thomas Davis's son in 1813.

But neither of these systems can exist unless they have good sheep downs.⁵

Bratton common fields in the eighteenth century were not yet enclosed, there were extensive sheep downs, and farming practice seems to have followed Davis's first system.

Leases in the manors of Bratton, Arundel, Stourton and St. Maur show that Jeffery Whitaker held over 100 acres of land, both arable and pasture. A lease in Bratton manor, dated 1735, describes 'Jeffrey Whitaker's home living'.⁶

	a.	r.	p.	⁷
House, garden, orchard				
2 little Grounds ⁸	3.	-	-	
Stoke Mead & Grounds	7.	-	-	
Stoke Parrock ⁹		1	-	
Butts	2.	-	-	
Patcomb hillside	3.	-	-	
North Side of Longcomb	3.	-	-	
Heaven Cleeve ¹⁰	3.	-	-	
Hipleigh	3.	-	-	
Yerburies Hill	2.	-	-	
Horsheads on North Side of Longcomb	3.	-	-	
Lower end of Longcomb	2.	-	-	
King Oak on lower Stoke Hill	2.	-	-	
Upper end of Longcomb	$\frac{1}{2}$.	-	-	
Upper or West Stoke Hill	6 $\frac{1}{2}$.	-	-	
West side of Mr. Holtons	1.	-	-	
Lays ¹¹	6.	-	-	
Lays	2.	-	-	
Deanleigh	$\frac{1}{2}$.	-	-	
Brandiers	$\frac{1}{2}$.	3.	-	
Catswell	3.	-	-	
Comb Bottom	7.	-	-	
Kingsthorpe	5.	-	-	
Coleman	1.	-	-	
Wainshord	1.	-	-	
Stokecomb Wood	2.	-	-	
	<hr/>			
	70	-	-	

In Bratton manor he also had 64 Sheep Leaze¹² on the Cow Down, 64 Sheep Leaze in Stokecomb field, 10 Beast Leaze and 1 Horse Leaze.

Only Jeffrey Whitaker's holdings in Bratton Manor are well

5 Davis, 1813 ed., 43-4.

6 LL.MSS. OS. 194. For all field names, see map at end of volume.

7 Land measure: 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ square yards = 1 pole, perch or rod; 40 perches = 1 rood; 4 roods = 1 acre.

8 *Ground*, enclosed grassland.

9 *Parrock*, small field, paddock.

10 *Cleeve*, hillside, cliff.

11 *Lay*, grass sown as part of a crop rotation to be enclosed for mowing.

12 *Leaze*, as much pasture as will feed one animal.

documented. His leases in the other manors have had to be reconstructed from later evidence concerning land 'late in occupation of Jeffrey Whitaker'. This comes from an Indenture dated 1 March, 1790, between the Rt. Hon. Willoughby, Earl of Abingdon and Joseph Flower of Bratton:

*All that land in Bratton part of the Manor of Arundell, late in occupation of Jeffery Whitaker*¹³

	a.	r.	p.
Arable in Naish Land shooting ¹⁴ to Furze Hill	1.	0.	39
Arable at Sheer Furlong	1.	1.	28
Arable at Lower Stokehill		2.	10
Arable in Cow Down Field called Hinds Three Acres	3.	1.	1
Arable in Halcomb Bottom under Urberrys Hill		3.	0
Arable at Stoke Hill	1.	1.	10
Arable in Stoke Hill	2.	3.	34
Arable in Cow Down Acre	1.	0.	15

Also all that land in Bratton in the Manor of St. Maur, late in occupation of Jeffery Whitaker

	a.	r.	p.
Pasture in Barrow Mead		3.	0
Arable in Fleet Meadow	1.	3.	5
Arable in Naish Land		3.	35
Arable at Puddle Ditch			37
Inclosure of arable called Stoke Orchard		2.	10
Arable called Finger & Thumb		1.	19
Arable in Long Coomb Bottom		1.	14
Arable at Lower Stoke Hill	10.	1.	6
Arable at Sheer Furlong		2.	39
Arable at Brandiers		2.	2
Arable at Holcomb Bottom		2.	0. 37
	18.	3.	4

Jeffery also held one Beast leaze in each of his holdings in the manors of Stourton, Arundel and St. Maur.

The leases found so far must represent nearly all Jeffery Whitaker's estate. It lay scattered across the parish, some parts enclosed, mainly to the north of the village, the remainder in strips in the common fields on Salisbury Plain and between Bratton and Westbury below Bratton Castle. His homestead was on the north side of the village, in the Lower Road, and consisted of the house then called Smarts, with rick-yard, stable, wainhouse and other farm buildings round the house, together with a garden and orchard.

On this holding of about one hundred acres we know of only two full-time

¹³ WRO, recent accession.

¹⁴ *Shooting to*, extending to.

workers: William Hinwood (or Henwood) and Tom.¹⁵ It is clear that most of the ploughing, sowing and harvesting was done by arrangement with other farmers. Thus, on 24 June, 1740, Jeffery writes: 'Walked up at hill to show my land to W. Whitaker's Son for plowing.' He had only one horse leaze and therefore, we presume, kept only a riding horse, not a working farm horse. This meant that he had to hire help to bring home loads of farm produce, fuel or building materials. Typical entries in the diaries run as follows:

28.2.40/1 Willm. Whitaker wth. his plow hal'd thorns from the fleet¹⁶ to Stoke & 1 load of Sand home. A Tree from the Close to the pit and the Tree from Marsh.
28.4.41. John Blatches plow fetch'd 3 load of Wood from the Fleet.

Jeffery Whitaker and his two men concentrated on certain farming activities not too far from the house, the preparation and conservation of catch-work water meadows, to be described later, and the cultivation of the Butts land. He had two acres in the Butts, a piece of land between the hamlets of Milbourne and Bratton. The soil was greensand and easily cultivated. It grew barley, clover for the horse, beans, peas, turnips and fruit. Jeffery hired outside help with the ploughing. The following series of entries demonstrates the rotation of crops on the Butts ground:

5.4.39. John Sweetland plow'd Butts ground.
19.4.39. John Sweetland sow'd Barley and Clover in Butts Ground.
19.6.39. Tom sow'd turnips at Butts.
21.8.39. Willm. Hinwood mowed the Barley at Butts.
24.8.39. Turned the Barley at Butts abundance of clover in it.

The harvest was much delayed by bad weather so we move on to:

2.10.39. Willm. Hinwood and Tom Cock'd the Clover at Coleman and a load of Barley at Butts. J.Blatches plow brought it home.

The following year there was no spring ploughing because there was a crop of the clover which had been sown with the barley and the remaining area could be dug by hand. So we read:

18.4.40. Willm. Hinwood digging at Butts.
24.6.40. Clover cut at Butts.
26.6.40. Clover turned.
27.6.40. Clover at Butts carried one load by John Blatch.
21.8.40. I had a fine fruit tree cutt at Butts. offered half a crown to know who did it.
2.10.40. John Blatch plow'd Butts Ground.
7.11.40. John Blatch sow'd Butts Ground to Wheat.
20.11.40. Willm. Hinwood sow'd pease and set beans.
26.2.40/1. Willm. Hinwood diging and planting Beans at Butts in the Corners.
22.6.41. peas and beans stole at Butts.

15 For these two servants see pp. 89, 90.

16 *The Fleet*, an area of marshland to the north-west of Bratton.

Thus we see that part of the Butts ground was under a rotation of crops—barley, clover, wheat—while another part grew vegetables and fruit.

Thomas Davis explains that ‘barley and oat crops are almost uniformly mowed with a scythe in this district. They are seldom strong enough in the straw to require shearing. They are forked from the swath into cocks or pooks, and the ground raked by hand.’¹⁷ In fact the barley was cut and dried in the same way that grass was cut for the hay. Wheat was cut with a sickle, bound into sheaves and stood upright in stooks to dry. The barley crop in 1739 must have been of very poor quality after lying on the ground in pouring rain for six weeks.¹⁸

Sheep were an important factor in the economy. They provided meat, though lamb and mutton appear much less frequently on the Whitaker dinner table than beef and veal, while records of sheep-shearing show the continuing importance of wool. But, in addition, sheep afforded the main source of fertility. Fed on fodder crops grown in rotation, they were folded each night on arable fields with the aid of hurdles which were moved daily across the land so that each area was dunged in turn. A farm account book kept by Philip Ballard between 1704 and 1711 notes how many nights the fold was on his land:

1708. March the 26. Philip Blatch & ours joynd to wee hayd, then till April the 12 then the fold began to go between us & wee had the fold first June 11. Philip Blatch had the fold 5 weeks and too night till the 18 of July, then wee had too weeks & 3 nights, that is till 4 of august the fold went between us. In the aker and half & in the aker & to akers & half 3 weeks and 3 nights. Philip Blatch had the fold in the too halves about rugway 12 nights.

Account of the fold. In 1709 the 22 of April the sheep come together & Philip Blatch had the fold six weeks and on night.

April the 17 William Croomes fold was carried off the Crop into the Sumer field.¹⁹

These and similar entries show that the customs in Bratton followed that described by Thomas Davis:

The common sheep down is open for the common flock during summer and autumn. The unsown (or summer field) is open till it is all ploughed for wheat. The sheep have then only the down, till the harvest is over and the other fields are clear. They then have those fields and the down until the winter obliges the owners to give them hay. Until this period they are folded on the arable fields in a common fold; but when they begin to eat hay, every commoner finds his own fold and his own hay, the common shepherd feeding and penning the whole. When the ewes are near yeaning, the owners take them home to their inclosed meadows; and by the time all the ewes have yeaned, the water meadows are ready to take them on grass.²⁰

17 Davis, 1813 ed., 76.

18 Cf. *Agriculture Records*, 74: ‘1739. . . . Great damage to crops was caused by excessive rain and gales in September.’

19 Philip Ballard’s Account Book, WRO, 1195.

20 Davis, 1795 ed., 127.

Thomas Davis's description of how the water meadows were managed appears to be unique and since this part of agricultural practice in Wiltshire has never been studied in detail, we quote here extensively from it.²¹ He distinguishes two kinds of water meadows, the 'flowing Meadows' in wide river valleys such as the Wylde and the Salisbury Avon, and the 'catch-work meadows' using springs. Those at Bratton were the second kind. Stradbrook, the main stream, could not be used as it was controlled by mill owners for use of corn and fulling mills, two in Bratton and others further down the stream in Edington. The water meadows of Bratton lay west of the village, below Tiswell, a small but unfailing spring, and beside Stokemead Water, a trickling stream which rises near the Court House and flows westward through the Fleet, marsh land which had once been an unenclosed boggy waste.²² We can date its enclosure through the chance preservation of a scrap of paper among the Ballard documents. On the back of a judgement against John Brown of Bratton for theft of wood, dated 27 April, 1705, is a memorandum: 'The marsh was enclosed 74 years since, was a dyke planted athwart the ground to keep the way to one place, there was a stone hars path the greatest part of that ground and have been repaired by the parish surveyors untill this quere began.'²³ Assuming that the note was scribbled on the back of the magistrate's order about the time the sentence was carried out on John Brown—to be whipped if he did not pay for the stolen faggots—then the enclosure was started in the 1630's.

The main purpose of a water meadow was to encourage an early growth of the grass in the spring to feed sheep when hay was running short and grass had not yet begun to grow on the cold, wind-swept downs. Davis described a water-meadow as a 'hot-bed for grass'.²⁴ He said:

The 'catch-work meadow' is made by turning a spring or small stream, along the side of a hill, and thereby watering the land between the New Cut (or as it is provincially called, the Main Carriage), and the original water course, which now becomes the 'main drain'. This is sometimes done . . . merely by making the new cut level, and stopping it at the end, so that when it is full the water may run out at the side, and flood the land below it. But as the water would cease to run *equally* for any great length, and would wash the land out in gutters, it has been found necessary to cut small parallel trenches or carriages, at distance of twenty or thirty feet, to catch the water again, and each of these being likewise stopt at its end, lets the water over its side, and distributes it until it is caught by the next, and so on over all the intermediate beds to the *main drain* at the bottom of the meadow, which receives the water, and carries it on to water another meadow below. . . .

To draw the water out of these parallel trenches or carriages, and lay the intermediate beds dry a narrow deep drain crosses them at right angles, at about

21 *Ibid.*, 130–45.

22 See map.

23 WRO, 212B.

24 Davis, 1795 ed., 131.

every nine or ten poles length, and leads from the main carriage at top to the main drain at the bottom of the meadow.

When this meadow is to be watered, the ends of the carriages adjoining the cross-drains are stopt with turf dug on the spot, and the water is thrown over as much as the meadow as it will *cover well* at a time, which the water-men call a 'pitch of work', and when it is necessary to lay this pitch dry, they take out the turves, and let the water into the drains, and proceed to water another pitch. . . .

As soon as the after-grass is eaten off as bare as can be, the manager of the mead (provincially 'the drowner') begins cleaning out the main drain, then the main carriage, and then proceeds to 'right up the works', that is, to make good all the water carriages that the cattle have trodden down, and open all the drains they may have trodden in, so as to have one tier or pitch of work ready for 'drowning' and which is then put under water . . . during the time the drowner is righting up the next pitch. . . .

The length of this autumn watering cannot always be determined, as it depends on situations and circumstances; but if water can be commanded in plenty, the rule is to give it a 'thorough good soaking' at first, perhaps a fortnight or three weeks, with a dry interval of a day or two, and sometimes two fortnights, with a dry interval of a week, and then the works are made as dry as possible, to encourage the growth of the grass. This first soaking is to make the land sink and pitch close together; a circumstance of great consequence, not only to the *quantity* but to the *quality* of the grass, and particularly to encourage the shooting of new roots which the grass is continually forming, to support the forced growth above.

While the grass grows freely, a fresh watering is not wanted, but as soon as it flags, the watering may be repeated for a few days at a time, whenever there is an opportunity of getting water, always keeping this fundamental rule in view, '*to make the meadows as dry as possible between every watering*'; and to '*stop the water the moment the appearance of any scum on the land shows that it has had water enough.*' . . .

In the catch meadows watered by springs, the great object is to keep the 'works of them' as dry as possible between the intervals of watering: and as such situations are seldom affected by floods, and generally have too little water, care is necessary to make the most of the water by catching and reusing it as often as possible; and as the *top works* of every tier or pitch will be liable to get more of the water than those lower down, care should be taken to give it to the latter a *longer time*, so as to make them as equal as possible.

It has already been said, that the great object in this district of an early crop of water meadow grass, is to enable the farmer to breed early lambs.²⁵

Every farmer who keeps a flock of sheep, and particularly a breeding flock, in so cold and late-springing a district as South-Wilts, knows and feels the consequence of the month of April. 'That month *between hay and grass*, in which he has not water meadow . . . for his ewes and lambs, frequently has *nothing!*' The ewes will bring a very good lamb with hay only; perhaps a few turnips are preserved for the lambs, which, in a favourable season, may last them through March; but if they are then obliged to go to hay again, the ewes will shrink their milk, the lambs 'pitch and get stunted', and the best summer food will not recover them.²⁶

As soon as the lambs are able to travel with the ewes, (perhaps about the

25 *Ibid.*, 133-40.

26 *Ibid.*, 139.

middle of March) they begin to feed the water meadows. Care is, or ought to be taken, to make the meadows as dry as possible for some days before the sheep are let in.

The grass is hurdled out *daily* in portions, according to what the number of sheep can eat in a day, to prevent their trampling the rest; at the same time, leaving a few open spaces in the hurdles for the lambs to get through, and feed forward in the fresh grass. One acre of *good grass* will be sufficient for five hundred couples for a day.

On account of the quickness of this grass, it is not unusual to allow the ewes and lambs to go into it with empty bellies, nor before the dew is off in the morning.

The hours of feeding are usually from ten or eleven o'clock in the morning to about four or five in the evening, when the sheep are driven to fold; the fold being generally at that time of the year . . . on the barley fallow. And the great object is to have water-mead grass, sufficient for the ewes and lambs, till the barley folding is ended.

As soon as this first crop of grass is eaten off by the ewes and lambs, the water is immediately thrown over the meadows, (at this time of the year two or three days over 'each pitch' is generally sufficient) and it is then made perfectly dry, and laid up for a hay crop. Six weeks are usually sufficient for the growth of the crop. It seldom requires eight; and there have been instances of great crops being produced in five.

The hay of water meadows, being frequently large and coarse in its nature, it is necessary to cut it young; and if made well, it then becomes of a peculiarly nourishing milky quality, either for ewes or dairy cows. The water meadows are laid up for a second crop, in *some instances*; but this is only usual when hay is scarce: not that it is supposed to hurt the land, but the hay is of that herbaceous soft nature, and takes so long time in drying, that it is seldom well made. It is usually of much greater value to be fed with dairy cows. And for that purpose a flush of after-grass, so early and so rank, will be precisely of the same comparative service to the dairy, as the spring feed has been described to be for ewes and lambs. The cows remain in the meadows till the *drowner* begins to prepare for the winter watering.²⁷

Against this background it is possible to understand the references in the diaries to work at Stokemead, Jeffery Whitaker's water meadow. It was reached by a path from Lower Westbury Road to Horsecroft Farm, presumably by the 'hars Path' mentioned in the document quoted on p. xix. The work was done by William Hinwood and frequently by Jeffery himself. Thus we read:

10.3.38/9 At Stokemead in the afternoon, made trenches for Watering in the NE part of the Lower Ground.

24.3.38/9. Willm. Hinwood Watering at Stokemead put in a Drock in Hooper's Ground.

2.4.39. Willm. Hinwood at Stokemead about Water Works.

17.4.39. Henry Nevil at Work mov'd stile . . . from against Blatches fleet to Stokemead Water Carriage.

5.5.39. Willm. Hinwood and Tom put up rails at Upper Ground at Stokemead,

27 *Ibid.*, 142-3.

turned in the Water there.

19.2.40/1. I went to Stokemead with Willm. Hinwood trenching ground.

21.2.40/1. I went to Stokemead and the Fleet, measured the bounds that William Hinwood had new Scoured 19 Lugg at Stokemead Upper Ground & 34 at W. side of the Fleet.

24.2.40/1. Let down the bays at Stokemead.

30.3.41. Much dry weather of late, but little water run into Stokemead.

4.7.39. Mr. Blatch brought hay from Stokemead.

23.8.40. Jonathan Ballard's oxen baited²⁸ in Little Stokemead.

A sheephouse provided shelter from the worst of the winter weather. It lay in a field north of the village, west of the road to Steeple Ashton. The only activity in connection with sheep which Jeffery records is on 20 March, 1740/1, when he, with Henry Nevil and William Hinwood 'New boarded the Sheephouse'. He occasionally walked over to Sheephouse Ground, and notes on 26 April, 1740, 'Spring very backward a great Rot in sheep John Croom had to open Croft Sheep House.' The late spring meant insufficient grass and the sheep had to be brought back into winter quarters and fed hay.

Cattle played little part in his day to day life. They grazed with the common herd. On 7 May, 1739, he remarks: 'the herd went up at hill first.' They had gone to graze on the cow downs for the first time that spring. On 12 April, 1741, he records: 'the Cow calv'd' as though there were only one. Probably this was the house cow. On 24 September, 1740, he mentions that 'the field broke last night.' This meant that the harvest was gathered in so the field was opened for cattle to graze over the stubble. Pigs are mentioned in the diaries four times. They killed their own pigs and fattened them in the autumn.

Thomas Davis described the management of the common herd in those manors which had cow downs. Those of Bratton lay on Salisbury Plain and were less extensive than the sheep downs. Davis says:

The common herd of cows usually begin to feed the cow downs early in May, (usually Holy-Rood Day [3 May]) and finished when the fields are clear of corn. At the beginning and end of the season they are driven down in the morning, and brought back in the evening; but in the heat of summer, they are only kept on the down during the night, and in the morning they are brought back into the villages, where they feed the lanes and small marshes . . . till after the evening milking. When the stubble fields are open, the cows have a right to feed them jointly with the sheep: and if there are common meadows (whether watered meadows or not) they have exclusive right to feed them, till the end of the commoning season (usually St. Martin's Day, 11th November, O.S.) when the owners take them home to the straw yards. After the cows leave the down to go into the stubble fields, it becomes common for the sheep flock, during all or a certain part of winter, when it is again laid up for the cows.²⁹

Tenants did not keep their own bulls. Male calves were castrated to

28 *Baited*, fed.

29 Davis, 1795 ed., 129-30.

provide oxen to draw the plough, or fattened for beef. Among the presentments to the Court Baron of the Manor of Bratton we find: 'Thomas Bennett Esquire to find a Sufficient Bull for the Cow Down to be put into the herd the fourteenth day of May new stile' (3 May, O.S., i.e. Holy Rood Day). 'And for not providing a sufficient Bull at the time above mentioned to forfeit the Sum of five Pounds.'³⁰

II. The Whitaker family in the Westbury neighbourhood

The earliest of the Whitakers in this district of whom we have definite information was John Whitaker, a clothier who probably founded the fortunes of the family in the mid-fifteenth century.¹ In 1466 he appears to have been the biggest clothier in Westbury, paying tax on 120 cloths as compared with 80, the next highest. In 1519 a second John probably built a New Mill, Edington; an estate called Westbury Priory was leased to him between 1522 and 1551; in 1545 he acquired the lease of a fulling mill at Westbury Leigh and in 1550 a mill at Edington was held by him. There are other early references to Whitakers: in 1522/3 a Richard Whetacre alias Bathe is recorded as a jurymen in Bratton and again a Richard Whetacre collects a lay subsidy in 1538, the year in which the will of a Richard Whitacre alias Bathe of Edington was proved. In 1545 Jeffery Wheatacre was assessed for a benevolence and in the Feet of Fines for 1552 he holds messuages and lands in the parish of Westbury. He was described as a clothier of Westbury c. 1550, while c. 1545 a Richard Whitaker, clothier, had 160 acres of enclosed land in Westbury and a sheep house. His son Adam claimed this after his father's death in 1571. In 1561 Thomas Whitacre, clothier of Westbury, was fined by the London ulnager for defective white cloth and in 1570 he was in litigation over a share in a Westbury fulling mill. Two brothers, Christopher and William, sons of a Richard Whitaker and Joan his wife, sold a grist mill in Bratton in 1585, while Christopher paid a lay subsidy in 1586.

These scattered references show Whitakers well distributed in the neighbourhood by the mid-sixteenth century. This evidence and the fact that the family was already well entrenched in the cloth industry makes it probable that the Stephen Whitacre who was granted arms on 16 March, 1560, belonged to these indigenous Wiltshire Whitakers.² This contradicts the commonly alleged claim that this Stephen was one of the Whitakers of Holme in Lancashire who had migrated south. There is no contemporary evidence for this claim which appears to have its origin in Colt Hoare's

30 WRO, 845.

1 For the information in this passage, see *V.C.H. Wils.* iv. 134, 144-5, 149; viii. 168, 173-4, 245; *W.N.Q.* ii. 111-12, 157-8, 244; viii. 554; G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry* (Oxford, 1943), 12.

2 J. B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1884), 1100.

History of Modern Wiltshire.³ The only basis for it is the fact that the arms granted to Stephen were similar to those of the Lancashire Whitakers: Sable, three mascles or, with the addition of a Crest: a horse pass. or. This, however, does not prove the connection since it was common practice to assign to a new armigerous family the arms of an already established one with the same name. Stephen apparently did not relish paying for this honour: at the Visitation in 1565 he 'disclaimed the name of gentleman'.⁴ But the Bratton Whitakers later treasured the armorial device, for they had a strong sense of history. The framed version of it which survives may well have been the book-plate of Jeffery Whitaker, the diarist.⁵

With or without the title of gentleman, Stephen Whitaker prospered. In the 1560's he was buying land in Westbury, Westbury Stourton, Bratton and Steeple Ashton, but he was also a considerable clothier with mills at Penleigh and Bitham.⁶ When he died in 1576 he left a large and propertied family. His eldest son, Henry, was at one point M.P. for Westbury and retained Westbury connections when he moved to Plymouth.⁷ His son, William of Westbury, is described in a survey of 1573 as owning:

one fair mansion house . . . with a large fulling mill and loft over it and all things fitting for the dressing of cloth, the water being better for scouring than most other mills, having a clear course from the springhead. Also a garden and yard to the said capital mansion and three acres of arable land . . . Bitham house and mill, Bigwood tenement, fifteen acres of arable and seven acres of meadowland . . . and three acres between Westbury town and the hill.⁸

Stephen's second son, Jeffery, described as 'clothman of Tinhead', established himself in the Edington/Bratton district, with mills in both places. He bought Mompesson lands in Edington and Tinhead, acquired a fulling mill at Langham, North Bradley, and owned lands and mills in Ashton and Westbury.⁹ The house called Becketts in Tinhead may have been his. It is significant that his will, proved in 1601, shows him in possession of animal stock, including a flock of sheep, as well as mills.¹⁰ Times were changing. The white cloth trade was declining and it would seem that the Whitakers were shifting into farming. The line of this Jeffery suffered misfortune: his son, Nash, died in 1619, leaving his Bratton Mill and 'best cloth mark' to his son Jeffery.¹¹ But this Jeffery died without

3 R. Colt Hoare, *The History of Modern Wiltshire. The Hundred of Westbury* (London, 1830), 42. Ramasay, *op.cit.*, 41, n. 6, comments: 'The ancestry ascribed to the Whitakers by Sir R. C. Hoare . . . is demonstrably fabulous.'

4 *1565 Visitation of Wiltshire*, Harl. MS., 1565, ed. Walter C. Medcalfe (Exeter, 1897), *Addendum*, 56.

5 *W.N.Q.* 'Wiltshire Book Plates', i.170, ascribes a book plate with this coat of arms to Jeffery Whitaker, 1750-80.

6 *V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 149, 168.

7 *Ibid.*, 149.

8 *Ibid.*, 172.

9 *Ibid.*, 174, 226, 243, 245-6.

10 *W.N.Q.* iv. 107.

11 *Ibid.*, 111.

issue in 1625, as did his uncle, another Jeffery. Little more is heard of the cloth mills and we turn to other branches of Whitakers, established in Bratton, for the immediate ancestors of Jeffery the diarist. The connection between the earlier and later Whitakers is not clear, although, as we see below, the link may be through Stephen, the youngest son of Stephen of Westbury. That they were connected is suggested by the recurrence of the name Jeffery and by the later use of the coat of arms by the Bratton Whitakers. A paper, probably written by Philip Whitaker (1766–1847), gives the family tradition of descent thus:¹²

Supposed line from Stephen married 1585 to Margery Bannocke

Henry Son of Stephen bap. Ap. 1590

John Son of Stephen bap. May 1586

John married to Margaret Aldridge Sep. 1627

Henry Son of John & Margt. bap. Nov. 2 1642

John Son of Henry bap. June 1667

Henry Son of John and Mary Nov. 1694

who had a son John who died a bachelor

Anne datr. of Do. Married A. Emblen Nov. 1696

John Son of Do. Nov.

Wm. Son of Do. (father of Mrs. Glazier) July 1700

Thomas Son of Do. (the father of Aldridge) Jan. 1705

Philip Son of Do. born Jan. 1707

Thomas Son of Philip & Mary born Oct. 1735

Philip Son of Thomas & Caroline born Mar. 1766.

Was the Stephen who married Margery Bannocke the youngest son of Stephen Whitaker of Westbury? This is not certain but is our presumption. According to the Bratton Parish Register,¹³ the marriage took place at Bratton, as did the baptism of their eldest son John in 1586. The same register also confirms John's marriage to Margaret Aldridge in 1627. But it records as well a prior marriage of a John Whitaker to a Dionise Aldridge in 1618. She died in 1626. That these were first and second marriages of the same John Whitaker is proved in his will, dated 1665.¹⁴ In it he asks to be buried 'so near to my first wife as may be', while children of both marriages appear in the right order, except for the omission of his eldest son, Jeffery, and his widow Margaret is provided for. If Dionise and Margaret were the daughters of James Aldridge, born respectively 1600 and 1602, John Whitaker managed to marry his deceased wife's sister. He and his first wife probably settled at the Court House where the initials JWD are carved on a beam.

From this double family sprang the two main branches of the Bratton

12 MS. in possession of M. Reeves. The family tradition of descent from the Stephen who married M. Bannocke seems a reliable guide since the Philip who collected this data was a careful recorder. But the will of Robert Smart (1640) referred to below raises difficulties unless it is assumed that the Whitaker relationships there mentioned arose from female connections through Aldridge marriages.

13 For all the following information, see Bratton Parish Registers.

14 WRO. Wills. Chantors.

Whitakers. The earliest document in the Whitaker archive which specifically names the family is a copy of the Court Roll of the Manor of Bratton in 1666 concerning land in Southaye, Thorncombe Bottom, Portwei furlong, Sandes and Broadlayne, held by Arthur and Henry Whitaker. These are sons of John's second marriage, born in 1639 and 1642. The next document in the collection is an agreement between Henry's widow Anne and John Drewett concerning his marriage to her daughter Anne.¹⁵ From this point onwards the parish register and other documents confirm the family descent as given by the later Philip Whitaker. A second family tracing its descent back to John and Margaret was that of the Whitaker Steps who took the distinguishing name of Steps from their Bratton property. This may have been a house with front steps on the site of Melbourne House, or the property may have been in Stoke near the church steps. The Christian name William was constantly repeated down to the William Whitaker who was a later diarist.¹⁶ This branch proliferated in long families with a continuing descent to the twentieth century.

The other branch, springing from John Whitaker's first marriage to Dionise Aldridge, was less prolific. It included a second sequence of three Jefferys, of whom the third was our diarist. At some point in the second half of the seventeenth century this branch of the family came into possession of Smarts. The original house on this site had been owned by the Smart family. The Robert Smart who died in 1638 left no will, but a detailed inventory of his possessions survives from which it seems clear that the house was only two-storeyed and lacked the substantial north wing and western end of the later house.¹⁷ His son, also Robert, died only two years later, leaving a will in which several bequests go to Whitaker relations, two uncles, William and John, Jeffery Whitaker and various Whitaker women.¹⁸ Since two Robert Smarts had married into the Aldridge family (1574 and 1607), the relationship with the Whitakers may have been through the Aldridge connection. In any case, with the death of the second Robert, the Smart family died out and then their property passed to the Jeffery Whitakers. A Longleat survey of the Manor of Bratton in 1682 shows the first Jeffery and his two sons, Jeffery and Chamberlain, holding a messuage or tenement by copy dated 1670 which corresponds closely enough with the later lease of 1735¹⁹ to identify it with Smarts. The acquisition of this property may account for the omission of Jeffery, his eldest son, from John Whitaker's will in 1665. It is possible that Jeffery had fallen out with his father over religion. John Whitaker remained an Anglican but Jeffery was probably associated with the Baptists at an early stage for, in 1663 his son Jeffery (the second

15 Whitaker documents, now deposited in the WRO. The earliest document in the collection is a land conveyance to Roger le Hoppe, dated 27 December, 1346.

16 *William Whitaker His Book 1776-1840*, ed. and introduced by J. Morrison (West Wiltshire Branch of the Historical Association, undated).

17 WRO. Wills. Chantors.

18 WRO. Wills. Chantors.

19 See above, p. xv.

Jeffery) was recorded in the Parish Register as 'born', not baptised.²⁰ The Aldridge family, too, was committed to the Baptist cause at a very early date and it may well be that Jeffery was provided for by his Aldridge relations who were more sympathetic to his position than his father. In 1698 the 'now dwelling house of Jeffery Whitaker' (i.e. the second Jeffery) was licensed for a Nonconformist meeting.²¹ This must have been Smarts. If, as we argue later,²² the school at Smarts was already in being in the life-time of the second Jeffery, known as Jeffery the Elder, some of the additions to the house were probably made before the end of the century to accommodate the boys.

The third Jeffery was born on 3 June, 1703, the fourth child of Jeffery the Elder who married Katharine Randall of Trowbridge. The eldest son in this family was given the unusual name of Merari. In a lease of 1741 he is described as a 'gentleman belonging to his Majesty's Troop of Horse Guards.'²³ This seems a surprising career in view of his background but there is no reason to doubt it: Jeffery visits him in London and he comes home 'on furlough'.²⁴ Presumably he was not interested in the school kept by the family or in farming and so had opted for one of the few careers open to dissenters at that time. But he maintained a stake in Bratton property and his brother Jeffery looked after his interests.²⁵ Mary and Dionise, the second and third children, both married. At the time of the diaries Jeffery, a bachelor, was living at Smarts with his mother and younger sister, Katharine (called 'Sister' in the diaries), whose marriage, recorded by Jeffery, caused a family disturbance.²⁶ Jeffery's father had died in 1737 and the business of

20 See below, p. lii.

21 See below, p. liii.

22 See below, p. xl.

23 See LL. MSS. OS. 195. Merari—a most unusual Biblical name which we have not met elsewhere—was the third son of Levi (see Genesis 46: 11) and therefore one of the priestly tribe. It is possible that Jeffery the Elder hoped his eldest son would become a Baptist minister but was later disappointed in him, since he only left Merari £40, whilst his second son, Jeffery—obviously the scholarly one—inherited the school and the home property. In the eighteenth century troopers in the Horse Guards were called 'gentlemen'. Until 1788, when the Horse Guards were amalgamated with the Horse Grenadier Guards to form the First and Second Life Guards, troopers had to purchase their appointments. There is no evidence on methods of recruitment, but there would have been no religious bar on Baptists, only Catholics, see Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Life Guards* (London, 1840). Dr. G. A. Stepler, to whom we are indebted for help, draws our attention to the strange story of James Maclane, also a dissenter, who tried to join the Horse Guards in the 1740s but ended up at Tyburn. The case confirms the fact that a premium had to be paid (see *The New and Complete Newgate Calendar, or Villany Displayed in all its Branches* (London, 1796), iii. 264–77). A curious fact is that a succession of later Whitakers on other parts of the country joined the Horse/Life Guards in the latter part of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. The first of these was a John Whitaker who enlisted at Ashford on 28.8.1779. Unfortunately the musters do not start until 1759, too late for Merari (PRO. WO. 12/52).

24 See Diary, entries tor 26.5.40–2.6.40; 4.11.40–7.12.40.

25 See below, p. xxxiv.

26 See Diary, entry for 4.7.40 and following entries. There were also two younger children, Paul, who died aged one month, and Margaret who disappears.

proving his will and renewing the succession of 'lives' on the property figures in the diaries.²⁷

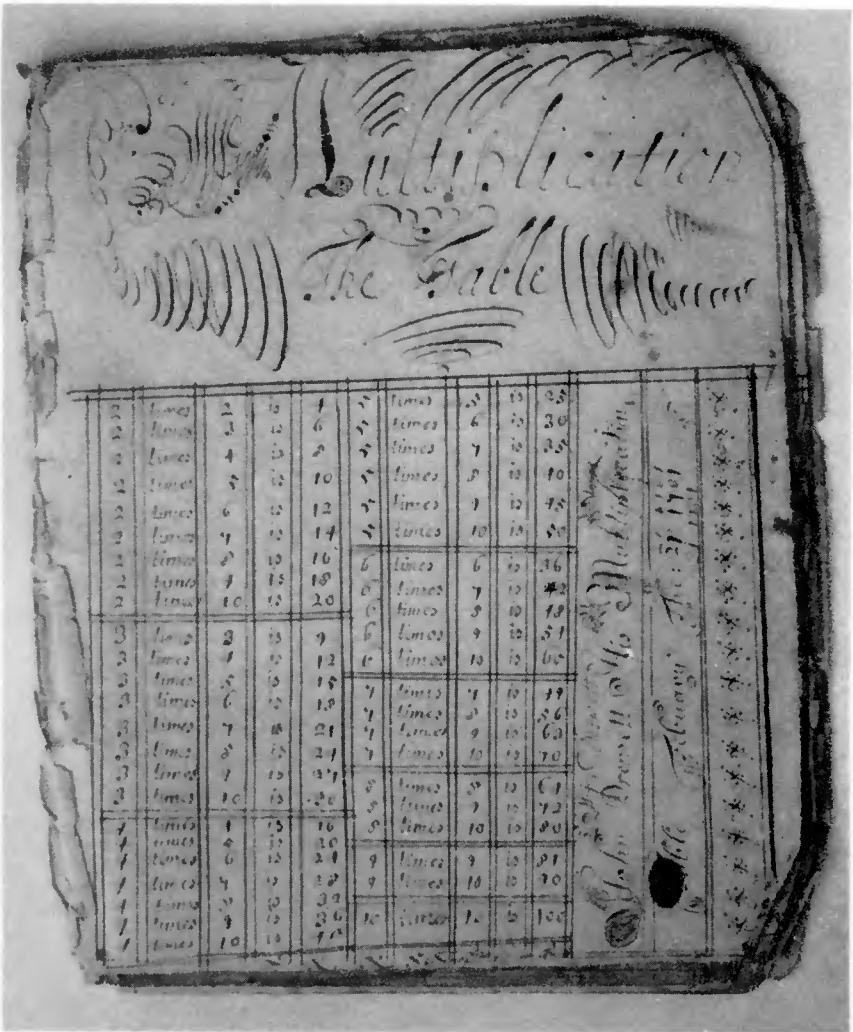
Among the relations we meet early in the diaries are Jeffery's uncle and aunt. On 4 September, 1739, Jeffery reports the death of 'Aunt Whitaker', giving details of her funeral on 7 September. This was Mary (née Ballard), wife of John Whitaker. This uncle himself died on 3 February, 1740, perhaps suddenly, since there was no will. His death occurred in the gap between two of Jeffery's surviving diaries. As he died intestate, 'Jeffery Whitaker of Bratton, schoolmaster, his brother's son' was granted the administration of the goods. So we get a succession of entries in the diaries, from April to November, 1740, concerning the settlement of 'Uncle's' affairs. Another relation whose name appears often in the diaries and who was a late victim of the small pox (8.6.41) was 'Cousin Elizabeth Whitaker'. She was Elizabeth (née Salmon), widow of Henry Whitaker (1694–1738), in the other branch of the Whitakers. Her family lived at Burnett, Somerset, and a Mr. Salmon who visits Bratton may have been her brother. 'Cousin Judith Boulting' from the other branch also turns up in Bratton (17.4.41). Other step-cousins are the Drewetts who appear a number of times and Philip Whitaker, described as maltster, who figures in the diaries as an energetic, grasping man during the squabble over the administration of the Ballard property (1740–1).

Jeffery was also much involved with relations among the Aldridges, Ballards and Blatches, families with whom the Whitakers were so interlocked in marriage.²⁸ In the background hovered a host of other relations who sometimes visited Bratton. Among these were the Randalls (Rendalls) of Trowbridge, his mother's family; the Collinses of Frome, perhaps relations on his mother's side; the Tuckers, probably distant cousins from an earlier marriage, and others—Uncle and Aunt Fuidgee of Westbury Leigh, Cousin B. Small, Aunt Queen, Cousin John Moody, Uncle Stephen—still unidentified.

Like the earlier branch of the Jeffery Whitakers, however, this branch also died out on the male side. There is no record of any children born to Merari, Jeffery the Elder's eldest son, and his second son, Jeffery the diarist, died a bachelor. So the male branch of the family which had conducted the school at Smarts ended in the younger Jeffery. The family descent continued however through Philip, Jeffery's youngest cousin. His son, Thomas, married Caroline Attwater from Bodenham. In the eighteenth century this branch of the Whitakers probably lived in the house now called Ballards. Thomas's son Philip moved to Manor Farm, called The Farm in Jeffery's diaries and then home of the Drewetts. This Philip's family carries us into the nineteenth century. Perhaps Philip had caught from the schoolmastering side of the family his interest in family history: a brown paper parcel, labelled Mr. Philip Whitaker, which has come down to us, contains various

27 See Diary, entries for 9.5.39; 22.5.39; 9.1.40/1.

28 On these families, see below, pp. 83–6.



2 Front page of John Drewett's 'Multiplication Table', 1701.

At Bratton in the County of Wills.
are taught.

Writing in all hands Practical, and Ornamental.

Arithmetick Vulgar, and Decimal.

Geometry Superficial, and Solid.


Trigonometry Plain, and Spherical.

With the Application thereof to Surveying
of Land, Gauging, Navigation, &c.

Also Merchant Acco.^{ts}

Wm. Whitaker

July 30. 1750.



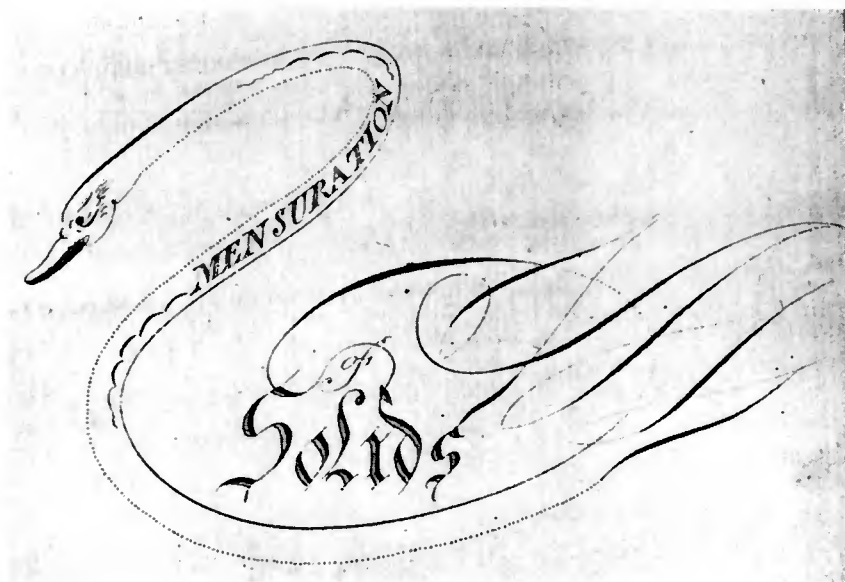
DEFINITIONS.

A Line is length without breadth, and is either right, when it is the shortest distance between two points, or curved, when it is not the shortest distance between two points.

A Superficies is a figure which hath length and breadth, and is inclosed or contained between right or curved lines.

Note. One curved line may contain a space or superficies, but of right lines, less than three cannot contain a space.

When one line is inclined towards another



5 Fragment of a home made school book.

BRATTON SCHOOL.

AT this SCHOOL YOUNG GENTLEMEN are genteely boardd and carefully instructed in the learned Languages, and in every other branch of Literature necessary to form the scholar, and man of business, by the

Rev. J. COOPER and Mr. WILLIAMS.

Mr. COOPER returns thanks to his friends and the public for the very generous encouragement they have given him since he had the superintendency of the above school, and assures them, that in connection with his colleague Mr. WILLIAMS, his endeavours will be wanting to render this seminary deserving that attention which has been paid to it for many years.

The above school was conducted by the late worthy Mr. JEFFERY WHITAKER for more than half a century with the greatest reputation, and is highly esteemed for its healthful and pleasant situation. Its distance from Devizes is 10 miles, from Frome 10, Warminster 6, Trowbridge 5, and Westbury 4.

6 Advertisement for the School, *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5 February 1787.

family trees and notes, including the one quoted above. To this concern for history we owe the survival of Jeffery's diaries and other family papers. For a time after the schoolmaster's death in 1775 Smarts passed out of Whitaker occupation but it returned to the family in the nineteenth century. Smarts was renamed the Yew Trees and there all the family papers were finally gathered together, probably in the lifetime of John Saffery Whitaker (1840–1915).

III. Jeffery Whitaker, schoolmaster

When he died an obituary in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 26.6.75, described Jeffery the schoolmaster thus:

Lately died, Mr. Jeffery Whitaker of Bratton, school-master, aged 72. He was a gentleman of a most amiable character, happy in his natural disposition, eminent and successful in his profession for over fifty years, under whom many persons of considerable eminence were educated, who do great honour to his memory, a great lover of learning and learned men, a real Christian and zealous promoter of genuine Christianity, much esteemed in life by the many who knew him, and justly lamented in death by all his connections.

Jeffery Whitaker comes over here as an individual character. The brief, laconic style of his diaries tends to conceal his personality, but one can penetrate behind the mask to a certain extent and the even tone of his daily chronicling is occasionally broken by illuminating outbursts of feeling.

As far as his personal habits are concerned, we can only discover that he wore a wig, had a light grey suit and a 'gown', and got his great coat washed.¹ He must have been interested in food since for the first 85 days of the surviving diaries he almost invariably records what his household ate for dinner, except when he was away. He drops this practice completely after a severe attack of colic, when he records that the doctor 'was very much shocked with my Disorder, finding a very sensible alternative in all the *Animal Oeconomy*' (11.5.39). He was, indeed, very nervous about his health, noting stomach upsets and colds.² When he had a boil, he could not sit down (9.6.40). He sends to Westbury or Warminster for physic: sometimes 'it worked', sometimes it did not.³ He was bled from time to time and summoned Dr. Towgood or Dr. Baily from Westbury when ill.⁴ He was pleased by attention on such occasions and was obviously flattered when Mr.

1 Diary, entries for 25.3.39; 20.4.40; 22.4.40; 26.7.40; 9.12.40.

2 Diary, entries for 10.5.39–15.6.39; 23.9.39; 11.6.40–15.6.40; 2.8.40; 22.8.40; 25.28.9.40; 4.10.40; 7.10.10.40; 17.18.11.40.

3 Diary, entries for 17.19.3.38/39; 3–5.6.39; 10.12.6.39; 10.11.6.40; 15.6.40; 18.11.40; 28.11.40; 29.12.40; 31.12.40; 3.1.40/41.

4 Diary, entries for 1.2.6.39; 10–13.6.40; 10.10.40; 17.18.11.40.

Phipps of Westbury Leigh sent him a special remedy.⁵ The menace of small pox filled him with apprehension.⁶

Jeffery the schoolmaster, a precise, even pendentic, man comes through continually. There is only one fleeting reference to his own education in his mention of the death of his old schoolmaster, Philip Ellis of Shrewton whose books he was invited to buy.⁷ He began teaching at the age of 15, presumably in his father's school and records on 15 October, 1740: 'This day 22 years ago I began teaching school'. His handwriting is meticulous, small and fine, with many elegant flourishes. There are occasional erasures and corrections in the diaries but on the whole they flow on very deliberately. His pedantry is demonstrated in the use of astronomical symbols for the days of the week. Inside the cover of the third diary he lists the days recorded therein by months and adds them up correctly to 233. He has a passion for meticulous detail, as seen for instance, in his recording of births and deaths to the precise half or quarter hour and an eclipse of the sun to the minute.⁸ Where they can be checked by other evidence, he is accurate in his dates.⁹ He makes cross-references in the diaries and occasionally uses a shorthand.¹⁰ He spends time in his closet sorting papers.¹¹

Obviously Jeffery Whitaker was a bookish man. He received boxes of books fetched by his servant Tom from Warminster and Devizes. Gadby of Devizes bound books for him.¹² On his visit to London he 'looked over books' at a bookseller's named Ward with whom he was clearly in touch.¹³ His Sunday reading at this time is in Foxe's so-called *Book of Martyrs* which he cites by its proper title. From time to time he records the number of pages he has read that day, concluding finally: '28 June, 1741: '... finished. reading Fox's Acts and monuments have read the three vols. in fol. printed 1641, began reading the Third vol, Sep. 28, 1740.'¹⁴ He enjoys occasionally

5 Diary, entry for 2.6.39.

6 Diary, entries for 10.6.40; 18.11.40; 28.11.40; 26,28.12.40; 22.3.40/1.

7 'my old schoolmaster Philip Ellis died this day at Shrewton (30.4.40); 'Mr. Ellis's executors here for me to go to buy Books' (9.5.40).

8 See entries for 22,7.39; 4.8.39; 17.11.40; 20.11.40; 18.6.41. An eclipse of the sun ends at '29' after 5' (24.7.39).

9 For instance, the official records corroborate his entries concerning Thomas Phipp's 'taking the Test' and the Petty Sessions to issue ale-sellers' licenses, see entries for 8.7.39, 5.9.39.

10 Cross references to a missing diary occur in the entries for 16.6.40; 25.10.40. Shorthand appears after the following entries: 19.10.39; 23.10.39; 10.8.40; 21.3.40/1. Possibly Jeffery uses this for remarks which were not for other people's eyes.

11 Diary, entries for 22.4.40; 1,2.,1.40/1.

12 Diary, entries for 28.7.39; 7.8.40; 15.8.40; 13.12.40; 20.12.40.

13 Diary, entries for 31.5.40; 3.6.40; 19.11.40.

14 Diary, 11.5.40: 'I read in 2nd vol Foxe's Acts and monuments from page to (blank); 24.8.40: 'I Read in Acts and monuments vol. 2 from page 396 to 438'; 31.8.40; 'I Read in Acts and monuments from page 498 to p.543'; 28.9.40: 'began 3d. vol. Acts & mon; 19.10.40: 'I read in Acts and monuments vol.3 from p.120 to 166'; 26.10.40: 'I read in Acts and mon. vol.3. from p.166 to 216'; 14.12.40: 'I read . . . in Acts and mon. vol.3 from p.390 to p.430'. On Christmas Day and the 26th he was 'at home reading Fox' and also on 29 March, 1741.

displaying his command of language—as in the use of ‘Animal Oeconomy’, ‘the Horologe’ and the curious reference to a ‘hermaphrodite’¹⁵—but he also uses a number of homely dialect words.¹⁶

His interest in historical records took him to the Bratton Church Registers. In the actual register itself he must have been responsible for the entry of his father’s burial on Feb. 1, 1737/8, ‘aged 73 years’, in a distinct gothic hand and dark ink which stands out from the rest. Furthermore, two little hand-made note books of Jeffery’s have survived, the first headed ‘The Register of Bratton Alis Stoke In the Hundred of Westbury under the Playne in the County of Wilts’, running from 1653 to 1683, and the second (with no special heading) from 1732 to 1746. In all probability the intervening period was covered by notebooks now lost. From his diary we learn that Jeffery had already begun this transcription in January, 1741 (10.1.40/1). At the end of the first book there is a note: ‘The above was examined by the original and I believe it to be a true Copy of the Register. July 5. 1748. Jeff. Whitaker’. The copy is made in a clear, careful hand and includes the original preamble at the beginning of the first notebook, dated Nov. 14. 1653. Comparison with the original registers reveals small differences in amended spelling, additional information, revised dates and some use of New Style reckoning. In the second notebook Jeffery displays his knowledge of Latin (and of the individuals concerned) by adding to the record of burials appropriate adjectives: *juvenis, senex, anus vidua, maritus, anicula, virago, coelebs, puer, puella, adolescens*. Today his copies have proved useful in supplying details and in filling illegible gaps in the originals. A further transcription of Jeffery Whitaker’s has come to light consisting of pages from a terrier, now apparently lost, known as Phillip King’s Book and dated 1669. It would seem that he made this copy in connection with the settlement of the estates of ‘Aunt Whitaker’, who died in September 1739, and Uncle John Whitaker, who died in February, 1739/40. Aunt Whitaker, née Mary Ballard, had inherited property from her uncle Philip King which included the parcels of land known as Withy-bed and Tinkers and it was the details of these which Jeffery carefully copied to support his negotiations for a settlement at Longleat.¹⁷

Intellectually, it would seem, Jeffery Whitaker’s learning and curiosity went well beyond mere pedantry. He was clearly interested in natural phenomena. He thrice records an Aurora Borealis (‘very Red and Surprizing’¹⁸). When there is an unusually violent storm he rushes out to measure the hail-stones: ‘bigger than Boys marvels, pointed ends near an inch long. two Storms one between 4 & 5, the other between 5 & 6. the last Storm tho’ it lasted no more than 20’ yet the water run down Tinkers lane almost enough to drive a mill . . . an unusual appearance in the East about 6

15 Diary, entries for 11.5.39; 20.3.38/9; 2.8.39.

16 See glossary, pp. 98–9.

17 A copy of the lease from Philip King’s book is in the possession of J. Morrison. For the negotiations, see below, p. xxxiv.

18 Diary, entries for 18.3.38/9; 30.3.39; 24.10.39.

in the Evening, not much unlike a Spout at Sea.' (20.5.39). After another storm he goes on the hill: 'Rose between 4 & 5 walk'd to patcomb hill to see a Gulf drove out of the Linch at the lower end of our Acre. it contains about Ten Load of Earth drove with great force at least 30 foot into Thos. oldens Land under the Linch. I suppose it was done ♀ last by the violence of the rain, no appearance of a flood above it but great appearance of a flood below it, so it must be a Collection of water under ground burst out Suddenly with great violence.' (16.7.39). On his visit to London he makes a point of going to see the 'curiosities of the Royal Society'. (4.6.40). When doing business with Mr. Lydford at Nunney, he sees 'Nunny Castle and manor.' (29.5.41).

The most striking of Jeffery Whitaker's 'learned curiosities' is, disappointingly, not recorded in the surviving diaries. The evidence of his excavations at Bratton Camp adjoining the White Horse comes from correspondence and reports written after his death and now in the W.A.S. library at Devizes. In a letter dated 24 December, 1802, William Cunnington wrote to Archdeacon Coxé:

I am informed from good authority that the late Mr. Whitaker, a schoolmaster at Bratton, had several Roman and other coins that were found in and in the vicinity of the camp. But unfortunately they were lost when his daughter's house¹⁹ was burnt down a few years ago. The same person also found in the area of the camp some querns or hand-mills for grinding corn, also some parched wheat. The latter was very perfect. My neighbour, the Revd. Mr. Williams, saw them. Nearby, at the same time and place was found almost two cartloads of cogle stones or pebbles which were probably used to sling.²⁰

Similar information appears in a manuscript compiled by S. Yockney in 1801 on 'Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Warminster'. He writes of a discovery made some years ago at Bratton Castle 'by that late ingenious and intelligent man. Mr. Whitaker, schoolmaster, who on opening a tumulus in one of the ramparts discovered a skeleton and sword deposited . . . together with a cross-bow and battle axe: a pair of querns with a large quantity of parched wheat were also discovered near the spot at the same time.'²¹ These reports provided the source for Colt Hoare's brief paragraph in 1812:

In a field beneath the north side of the camp, near the turnpike road, Mr. Cunnington found a great deal of Roman pottery of various kinds, and was informed that Mr. Whitaker, the schoolmaster at Bratton, had once in his possession several Roman coins which had been picked up on the same spot. The same person had also found within the area of the camp some querns or mill-stones, and nearly a cart full of large pebbles.²²

19 This is incorrect. When part of the house was burnt down in 1789 the school belonged to Mr. Thomas Williams, see below, p. xlv.

20 The information on Jeffery Whitaker's excavations has been collected by P. H. Robinson, 'The Excavations of Jeffery Whitaker at Bratton Camp', *W.A.S. Bi-Annual Bulletin*, 25 (1979), 11-13.

21 Yockney's MS (MSS. 15) is in the W.A.S. library, Devizes.

22 R. Colt Hoare, *The Ancient History of South Wiltshire* (London, 1812), i. 56.

It is sad that we have no clue as to the date of these excavations nor any report on them. Studying the meagre evidence, P. H. Robinson concluded that Jeffery Whitaker had excavated on at least three different sites at Bratton Camp: the Neolithic long barrow, the round barrow, and within the hill fort. His judgement on these excavations is worth quoting in full:

While the results of his excavations are poorly known today, it is interesting to note that they appear to have remained widely known in that area for long after his death. The reason for this is not so much the spectacular results of his work—while the finds he made were indeed of considerable interest, they were not of any dramatic importance and he lacked the facilities to evaluate them fully—but the actual approach he made. While individual excavations, generally of barrows, were by this time far from unknown, a definite policy of excavating all the major archaeological monuments in a particular area seemingly for evidence that they might provide for the earliest history of that area was certainly a novel one at least as far as goes for local history studies in Wiltshire. One suspects too that knowledge of Jeffery Whitaker's work may well have been one of the factors which influenced William Cunnington when he commenced his archaeological work in Wiltshire. . . . Had more details survived of the excavations, particularly in the form of a contemporary published report, then no doubt both Cunnington and Colt Hoare would have described them more glowingly and we should today accept them more readily as pioneering activities in the history of archaeology in Wiltshire.²³

In the diaries there are only two fleeting references to Bratton Camp or Castle. On 18 July, 1739, Jeffery 'Walk'd up the Hill and round the Castle wth. Mr. Love and sister.' Again, when a party of friends is visiting, Jeffery's casual remark 'the rest Rode on to sec the Camp after Dinner' (6.4.40) may perhaps indicate that he had stimulated interest in the ancient earthwork. The only other evidence comes from two later reminiscences. The first is from Richard Harris's *History of Westbury* (c. 1823):

The inhabitants of Bratton and scholars of the late Mr. Whitaker's school of Bratton repeatedly assembled on or near the White Horse and observed a certain day in the course of every year to commemorate the victory of King Alfred over the Danes at which time it was customary for them to clean and repair said horse.

Secondly, following a visit to Bratton in 1815, John E. Halliday (a cousin of the Ballards) wrote of the White Horse: 'If I am correctly informed it has for many years past stood indebted for its preservation to the boys of a neighbouring school.'²⁴

We shall deal with Jeffery in the school later, but the diaries show him involved in a great many other affairs. In the first place there was all the business of a medium-sized farm and the maintenance of the Smarts property which included brew-house, buttery, stable, wainhouse and barn beside the family house. Jeffery constantly records the weather, with all the

23 Robinson, *loc. cit.*, 13.

24 Richard Harris's notes for Hoare's account of Westbury are in the WRO. For his reference to the scouring of the White Horse, see J. Morrison, 'Westbury White Horse', *W.A.S. Bi-Annual Bulletin*, 12 (1972), 7. For J. E. Halliday's reminiscences, see WRO, 628.

farmer's anxious expectancy. The labourers whom the family employs dig, scour, drain, plant, sow, harvest, in the successive seasons. The property receives much attention: the front 'on the Street' is altered, doors made, the cellar enlarged, the staircase altered, the outhouses improved. Loads of tiles, wood, 'paviors' are brought by a neighbour's 'plow'. Jeffery rides to Bradford for paint which leaks and 'painted my cloathes' on the way home (18.4.40). Perhaps this was an era of property improvement in Bratton, or perhaps Jeffery was simply seeking to keep up with the important Ballard family almost next door, whose building activities he constantly notes,

Secondly, there was a good deal of legal business connected with property and the settling of bonds and accounts, including the school accounts. Jeffery often rides to Warminster or Frome about such affairs. There were legal matters connected with his father's death in 1737. Curiously, he had to be prompted to prove his father's will as late as 1740.²⁵ He rides to Longleat to negotiate a new lease of the family holding, adding his sister's life for £65—£5 more than he thought he should have paid.²⁶ The financial affairs of his uncle who died in February, 1739/40, continue to cause trouble for some time.

Over the years Jeffery Whitaker was clearly interested in extending his holdings. He takes on the tenancy of his uncle Chamberlain's property (17.4.40)²⁷ which he later lets to William Whitaker (5.1.40/1).²⁸ He is interested in securing his uncle John's copyhold in the Chantry estates of Mr. Bennett. On 13 October, 1740, he discusses this with Jonathan Ballard but nothing comes of this. In 1741 he was nibbling at the offer of the Hooper estate in Bratton (15.5.41).²⁹ His brother Merari also wanted a stake in Bratton property and Jeffery acts on his behalf as well. Thus he records: 'by appointment at J. pryors to talk about J. Hooper's Estate for Brother' (4.6.41). Then he shifts his attention to a project probably nearer his heart. On 3 July he writes: 'I intend to go to Longleat about purchasing Something for Brother.' He was hoping to obtain the lease of Tinkers and Withybed, a total of 17 acres, together with the cottage called Tinkers almost opposite Smarts on the Lower Road. This had been part of Philip King's estate in the seventeenth century, bequeathed by him jointly to his niece, Mary Ballard and her brother, and finally through her, descending to her husband, the John Whitaker who was Jeffery's uncle. Clearly Jeffery had his eye on this holding of his uncle's, for as we have seen, he copied the relevant extract from 'Philip Kings Book'.²⁹ He secured this holding on 31 August, 1741, in the names of Merari, his sister Katharine and himself.³⁰ Finally, in 1750, he

25 Jeffery Whitaker the elder was buried on 1 February, 1737/8. On 9 May, 1739, 'A man warn'd us to prove Father's will.' But it was not until 9 January, 1740/1 that Jeffery records: 'Mother and I cited to Salisbury about proving Father's will.'

26 Diary, entries for 22.5.39; 14.6.39.

27 For Chamberlain Whitaker, see family tree.

28 For the Hooper/Pryor property, see below, pp. 92, 95.

29 See above p. xxxi.

30 LL.MSS. 0S.195.

was able to lease Blagdens and the farm next door, when the previous lease for lives ended with the death of Margaret Olden, née Croom.³¹ The actual management of the farm seems to have remained in the hands of Thomas Olden, junior, son of Thomas and Margaret Olden.³² A similar arrangement may have been made with the Nevils over the working of Tinkers and Withybed.³³ The implication of these transactions is that Jeffery Whitaker was more interested in extending the Whitaker property than in managing a larger farm.

Jeffery also acts in legal matters for his relations. He deals with 'Cousin Whitaker's' lawyers (12.2.40; 3.5.40), becomes his mother's executor (16.8.40) and is involved in his sister's financial affairs (10.12.40). As an educated man, with some legal knowledge, he plays a responsible part in the village community, acting for and advising friends and neighbours. As a mediator we find him helping to persuade Mr. J. A. Ballard to go back to his wife (21.3.38/9) and reconciling the Crooms and Nevils (30.3.39). He writes letters for Mrs. Anne Ballard when she is wrestling with the problems of her dead husband's estate (26.1.40/1), makes a will for Mr. Pryor (28.1.40/1) and draws up a bond for John Nevil (24.3.40/1).

Thirdly, as one of the 'middling sort' in rural society, Jeffery Whitaker had his share of local government duties. We shall survey these later. The fine shades of class distinction seem to place the Whitakers in an anomalous position. Sometimes they are called yeoman in the records, sometimes gentlemen. Jeffery designates most of his acquaintances as plain Mister, but he is careful to give the title Esquire where appropriate. The families most closely connected with the Whitakers socially—Ballards, Blatches, Aldridges, Drewetts—appear as of similar standing, that is, the small property owners on whom the humble duties of local government fall. The Phipps family lies outside this category, yet there was clearly a social connection. The escapade of the Phipps ladies recorded in the diaries (26–31.3.39) indicates a degree of intimacy with a family which was obviously a cut above the Whitakers. Jeffery and his sister dined with Mr. Phipps of Leigh and, as we have seen, Jeffery was flattered by Thomas Phipps's concern for his health.³⁴

The personality behind all these activities remains elusive. He takes part in a round of sociabilities and the obituary notice already quoted describes him as 'a most amiable character, happy in his natural disposition'. Yet in some ways he seems a solitary person, despising rural gambollings—'A parcel of fools new dressing the Maypole in the lower street', he writes on May Day, and 'a great ado at Revel this year but I thank God I saw none of it'³⁵—and spending Christmas Day reading Foxe. He shows little affection

31 See below, p. 91.

32 See below, p. 94.

33 See III, n. 145. All references to textual footnotes are indicated by notebook number, followed by footnote number.

34 For the Phipps family, see below, pp. 88–9.

35 Diary, May Day, entries for 1.5.39; 5.5.39; Bratton Revel, entries for 23.7.39; 25.7.39; 27, 28.7.40.

for his mother, merely recording her toothache and illnesses. When his sister Katharine falls in love with a Devizes tradesman whom his mother obviously regards as beneath the Whitakers, Jeffery dismisses the lovers' feelings in a few scornful phrases: 'this powerful Sweetheart would have an Answer possitive to be married this morning. Sister being drove to such a pinch, like a fond fool consented to be married tomorrow.'³⁶ Yet he acted as a go-between in this family row and on other occasions appears in the role of mediator. We cannot judge his temper as a schoolmaster, but he seems to be aware that he cannot handle the naughty Ben, his school assistant, very successfully: 'Ben having taken a haunt of late to stay out till 10 a Clock most nights, but last night I having sat up till 11 he did not come all night and this morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 9 he went to bed till 12 wth. out saying anything & left the School to me. I have endeavoured all I can to reclaim him by fair means' (30.5.39). He could occasionally be obstinate in the exercise of duty, as, for instance, when he refuses 'to write a certificate for J. Callaway or any other,' (5.9.39), when alesellers' licenses came up at Petty Sessions.³⁷ But on the whole Jeffery Whitaker comes over as a mild man who seldom writes in a censorious tone about his acquaintances—with the exception of the Ballards.

Of all his neighbours the two Ballard brothers impinged most irritatingly on Jeffery Whitaker's consciousness. It seems that he lived between them on the Lower Road.³⁸ He disapproved of John Aldridge Ballard's goings-on: 'Mr. Ald. Ballard laid a bed all Day at pipers' and the next day: 'Mr. Ballard continued at pipers till Mr. Froud and myself got him out and try'd to the utmost to reconcile him and his wife.'³⁹ Legal disputes arise and Jeffery is obviously nervous about clashing with either Ballard at law. Just before his visit to London he hears that 'J. Ballard has a Writ for mother.' This puts him in a panic and he does not leave until Ballard has promised not to serve the writ until he comes home.⁴⁰ The extent to which the Ballards got under Jeffery's skin is strikingly revealed when that family was struck down by smallpox which carried off both John Aldridge and Jonathan Ballard. Suddenly Jeffery departs from his usual matter-of-fact style to indulge in sharp Judgements:

At 3 this morning died Mr. Jonathan Ballard of the Smallpox a facetious Companion Given to Drinking and idle Company his affairs being large is much wanted in it and lamented by his Family and Servants. (17.11.40)

Mr. John Aldridge Ballard Died this morning about 8 a Clock of the Small pox. He

36 Diary, entry for 15.7.40. Sister's love affair and marriage appear intermittently in the diary from 24.6.40 to 7.8.40.

37 See below, p. 24.

38 J. A. Ballard lived at what is now Grange Farm and Jonathan probably at Winters, both on the Lower Road with Smarts between them.

39 Diary, entries for 20,21.3.38/39. For J. A. Ballard's misdoings, see I, n. 15 and ref.

40 Jeffery Whitaker's uneasiness in business relations with the Ballards appears a number of times, see Diary, entries for 5.4.40; 17.6.40; 22-4.5.40; 4.6.40; 25,28.6.40; 1.7.40; 13.10.40.

was Stubborn and perverse in his temper Tyrannical in his Family, Arbitrary in the neighbourhood, and when he had drink'd Quarrelsome in Company possitive and self-will'd in his assertions ambitious and despising others and much given to Law. his Life more desired by his dependents and those that loses by him than others. I wish I could say as much on the bright side of his Character. I hope the Lord gave him a true sight and Sense of his folly before his Death. (20.11.40)

In the dark days of the small pox epidemic, on 10 December, 1740, a new note creeps into the diary: 'Dreamed a pleasant Dream that I was married to Mrs. —m, with all the pleasant Circumstances thereof.' The courtship does not really get going until the following spring. On 18 April, 1741, Jeffery records:

At 25 min. after 6 mounted my Horse Rode to Bull Mill and made an offer of myself and Substance to Mrs. Molly Adlam and also told her Mother my intention and had a favourable Answer and 2 or 3 hours of Mrs. Mary's Company for which I bless God for his mercy being persuaded if I obtain her it will be in mercy.

The following pages chronicle some pleasant meetings and ridings together. But it was a timid courtship: the schoolmaster could not compete with more lively companions when they all went on a riding jaunt together. The dismal record is committed to his diary:

19 May . . . apprehensive of being Sleighted by Mrs. Adla[m], and jealous of T. Fricker but however danc'd with her in the Evening.

20 May . . . Mrs. Adlam Rode behind T. Fricker she sleighted me much more to my great grief and disappointment had thoughts of Riding away but my best friends persuaded to the Contrary.

23 May Being resolv'd to know Mrs' mind perfectly, she discharged me quite and will hear no more on that head. . . . no objection was made against my person Character or Circumstance but as I think Mrs. being naturally brisk and airy and I being used to Reading and Study am thoughtful and grave in Countenance which she cannot like and perhaps willing to try another. Oh! most unfortunate Journey this Week to lose my Chiefest delight in this World!

24 May at Home all day being greatly vext at my late disappointment can hardly bear up under it God of his infinite mercy either turn her Heart or Support me under all trouble this being the greatest I ever met with.

15 June . . . am very thoughtful about things since may 23 last. I hope my health nor senses will be impair'd.

So we finally get an intimate glimpse of the schoolmaster sitting alone meditating on the disappointments of life. He lived another thirty-four years as a bachelor.

Jeffery Whitaker's piety was expressed in conventional eighteenth-century style. Emotion was well controlled. Every Sunday he attended the meeting house and recorded the text of the sermon. But he also went to the parish church occasionally⁴¹ and the boys from the school went sometimes to

41 See Diary, entries for 27.5.39; 17.6.39; 17.8.40. On 12 October, 1740, he was at the church when he 'heard Mr. Greenfield make a Sorry Sermon' in the morning from Deut. 10: 20, first part. No doubt he compared it unfavourably with Mr. Watts's afternoon sermon. Jeffery

Newport Pagnell and Ames Short of Lyme Regis.¹ But these tended to evolve into academies which specialised in preparing young men for the ministry. Sometimes the line between boarding school and academy was blurred. Thus in the early period Dr. Charles Owen 'conducted an academy at Warrington which was at that time mainly a boarding school for boys.'² As the line of demarcation becomes clearer, it seems that the minimum age for entering an academy was about 14 and that, as a rule, young men went at about 16 or 17 to study a curriculum modelled on university lines with a strong element of ancient languages and divinity. Those who kept such establishments were usually ministers, the earlier ones with Oxford or Cambridge degrees. The nearest to Bratton was the Trowbridge Academy started by John Davisson, minister of the Conigre and Southwick churches. This was a pioneer institution, already in existence in 1714, and carried on after Davisson's death in 1721 by Thomas Lucas. It was recognised as a leading academy in 1737 when the Barbican Church in London donated books to it.³

In his thesis on 'The Early Separatists, the Baptists and Education 1580-1780', Dr. Henry Foreman points out that, because Baptist churches were independent, any educational work 'would be either the work of individuals or local churches.'⁴ In the period he studied, Dr. Foreman found few specifically Baptist schools, although a number of Baptist divines produced schemes and books for education and Baptists participated in the charity school movement. Since Baptist ministers in the period received little by way of stipend, it has been assumed that many of them must have kept schools. Dr. Foreman, however, found only 6 Baptists between 1660 and 1700 recorded as keeping schools, and only 32 between 1700 and 1800. In the early group he notes a 'writing and grammar school' kept by John Sanger, Baptist minister of the Downton church, and Edward Terrill's writing school in Bristol. These were the closest to Bratton but no details are known. In the later period 29 of the Baptist schoolmasters found by Foreman were ministers and only three were known to be of the laity. He concludes in his survey: 'By any reckoning, Baptists do not figure as major providers of schools or schoolmasters.'⁵

The Whitaker school adds significantly to this sparse record. Although noting Jeffery Whitaker's bequest for the education of poor children, Dr.

1 'Early Nonconformist Academics' (unsigned), *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, iii (1907-8), 286; iv (1909-10), 233, 305; v (1911-12), 157.

2 *Ibid.*, vi (1913-15), 272.

3 *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii, 123, n. 86; 'Bampfild's Plan for an Educated Ministry' (unsigned), *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, iii (1912-13), 17.

4 H. Foreman, 'The Early Separatists, the Baptists and Education 1580-1780', unpub. thesis, Bristol Baptist College Library, p. 359. We are grateful to Dr. Foreman and the College for permission to draw on this material.

5 *Ibid.*, 392. Other Nonconformist schools in Wiltshire in the eighteenth century were kept by H. Philips of Brown Street Baptist Church, Salisbury, J. M. Moffat of Malmesbury Congregational Church, S. Taylor of Westbury Congregational Church and J. L. Moffat of Devizes (*V.C.H. Wilts.* iii, 123, n. 86.)

Foreman did not discover the Bratton establishment since its existence is hardly recorded outside family papers. It was distinctive in several ways. So far as we know it was started and carried on (until the late eighteenth century), not by ministers, but by laymen without university education, who combined farming with schoolmastering. Its curriculum under this regime seems to have been geared to the needs of the rising mercantile class, although many of the boys must have been farmers' sons. There is no hint that any of them were educated for or were sent to a training for the ministry.

The school was presumably begun in the lifetime of Jeffery the Elder since, as we have seen, Jeffery the younger started teaching at the age of fifteen. Moreover, in his will the father left his son fourteen beds 'now in the second and third storeys of his dwelling house' which must have been for boarders.⁶ If Jeffery the Elder conducted the school himself, his own education remains a puzzle, but entries in the Parish Register suggest that he had a precise mind and fine handwriting.⁷ His Baptist upbringing and continuing devotion may well have instilled in him the type of pious culture associated with the Nonconformity of the period. The fact, however, that Jeffery the younger mentions his own old schoolmaster, Philip Ellis, makes it possible that Ellis ran the Bratton school before removing to Shrewton. So far we have not been able to trace him. Another possibility for Jeffery the younger is that at some stage he went to the Trowbridge Academy. But the qualifications of either the Whitakers or Ellis for running a school remain unknown. One thing we know—that in order to conduct a school they would have been required by the Toleration Act of 1689 to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy and the declaration against popery. They would also have had to subscribe to the doctrinal articles of the Thirty-nine Articles. These were reckoned to be 36. They would have been excused the other three relating to church government. In addition Baptists were permitted relief from that part of Article 27 relating to infant baptism.⁸ It was not until 1779 that Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters were permitted to make a general assent to the Articles.

Jeffery the younger is maddeningly reticent about the details of his school. He does not tell us about the ages of the boys nor what the full complement of the school was. On various occasions we learn there were 23 boys (23.4.39), 15 boarders (6.7.39) and 18 boarders, 14 day boys (17.6.40). Only occasionally does he mention subjects of the curriculum. But, by a stroke of luck, we have an original advertisement for the school, probably in Jeffery's own hand. This survives because a hundred years later the

6 *W.N.Q.*, iv. 205.

7 See Bratton Parish registers, entries for the births of Jeffery (1703), Paul (1708) and 'Margret' (1709), where the record is written in a distinctive, fine hand and the exact time of birth is noted. They are, of course, all entered as 'born', not baptised.

8 See E. N. Williams, *The Eighteenth-Century Constitution* (Cambridge, 1960), 44, where the relevant clauses of the Toleration Act are set out. We are grateful for help from Dr. Grayson Ditchfield on this subject.

Wiltshire antiquarian, Edward Wilton, sent it to Joshua Whitaker in a letter. With beautiful flourishes it announces:

At Bratton in the County of Wilts are taught Writing in all hands Practical and Ornamental. Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal. Geometry Superficial and Solid. Trigonometry Plain and Spherical. With the Application thereof to Surveying of Land, Gauging, Navigation etc.

July 30, 1750.

Jeffery Whitaker

This clearly suggests that the school had turned away from classical studies and followed a curriculum like that of Thomas Crosby's school at Southwark, where the focus was on mathematics and commercial subjects.⁹ But another advertisement of 1787, after Jeffery Whitaker's death, describes the curriculum in more traditional terms:

At this School Young Gentlemen are genteely boarded and carefully instructed in the learned Languages, and in every other branch of Literature necessary to form the scholar and man of business, by the Rev. J. Cooper and Mr. Williams.

The above school was conducted by the late worthy Mr. Jeffery Whitaker for more than half a century with the greatest reputation, and is highly esteemed for its healthful and pleasant situation. Its distance from Devizes is 10 miles, from Frome 10, Warminster 6, Trowbridge 5, and Westbury 2½.¹⁰

Possibly the school had changed complexion under new management. In any case, the curriculum indicates a grammar school level, rather than a primary. And there was at least one older pupil, possibly two or three. Jeffery records doing special exercises with Samuel Hilliker, taking him out to measure ground (23.7.40), surveying with the 'plain Table' (9.8.40) and teaching him 'Spherical Trigonometry' (2.9.40). He also notes: 'Mr. Hill began merchant accounts and Thomas Joyce Do.' (27.10.40). On his visit to London Jeffery took Hilliker with him and unsuccessfully tried to get him apprenticed to an attorney (28.5.40; 31.5.40). We do not know if he habitually took young men of this type.

Almost all the scanty details on what was taught which we can glean from the diaries concern mathematics. Ben Bourne, the school assistant, was often employed writing out home-made schoolbooks:

Ben wrote out operations in the Double Rule of three (27.7.39).

Ben wrote Tare and Trett Sums with operations (31.7.39)

Ben writing out Interest (6.8.39)

Ben writing Spherical Geometry (4.4.40).

Ben wrote Q and Rules in the use of Square Root (10.4.40).

A fragment of one of these books has survived. It is on Practical Geometry, with an elegant title-page of a swan bearing the inscriptions 'Mensuration'

9 Thomas Crosby, the Baptist historian, advertised in 1740 as follows: 'at his Mathematical School . . . in Southwark, Young Gentlemen were boarded and taught arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, the use of Globes, Charts and other Mathematical Instruments and Book-keeping', see S. J. Price, 'Dissenting Academies 1662-1820' *The Baptist Quarterly*, vi. 3 (1932), 134.

10 *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5.2.1787.

and 'Solids'. Ben also made '4d books' (28.6.39)—perhaps exercise books—and on other occasions 'pasted a dozen of books (14.7.39), 'cut books, 50 summing paper, 43 2d books' (25.8.39) and made 44 3d books (14.11.40). Once he was 'writing copies', perhaps for handwriting exercises (7.5.41). That the boys had printed books as well is implied by the entry: 'began to write titles on edges of printed books' (3.7.40). We have one complete arithmetic book which appears to be a survival from the earliest days of the school. It is inscribed: 'John Drewitt his Multiplication Table, February The 27: 1701.' Each page is elaborately set out, with flowing lines and scrolls and little decorations. From Tables it proceeds to Dry Measure, Long Measure, Troy weight, Haverdupois Weights, Subtraction, Multiplication, Reduction, in coins such as Angels, Crowns, Nobles and Marks, ending with Division in the manner of the Golden Rule.¹¹ The only other details of the curriculum which Jeffery recorded was 'the boys learned to bow' (6.5.40). This may perhaps be linked with a book which survived at the Yew Trees, *The Polite Academy or School of Behaviour*, though this is the fifth edition, published in 1771. Jeffery would have been using an earlier edition.

For the most part the teaching appears to have been left to Ben Bourne, Jeffery Whitaker's assistant, who came from Westbury. An earlier Ben Bourne who died in 1718 was Parish Clerk in Westbury and a William was Mayor of Westbury about the same time. The Ben of the diaries was probably Benjamin, son of John and Posthume Bourne, born 30 October, 1717, and baptised 5 November at Westbury. This would make him 21 at the opening of the diaries. His background offers a slight indication of scholastic attainment but it is clear from the diaries that he 'don't like confinement' (10.11.40) and will be off to a fair or revel at the drop of a hat. Jeffery endeavoured to understand, as well as discipline, this unruly usher, but the scholarly man who hated revels found him a trial. When Ben was absent, with or without leave, or failed to turn up when he had promised, Jeffery himself 'attends the school', sometimes with great vexation. But once at least he records with emphasis: 'Ben not come all day. I attend the school myself with pleasure' (8.12.40).

With regard to the time-table, we only glean the information that in March the boys were in school before 6 a.m. and did one hour's work before breakfast (7.3.40/1). As a concession in unseasonable cold weather there was sometimes a fire in the schoolroom (15.3.38/9; 19.3.40/41; 19.4.41). According to family tradition this schoolroom was on the first floor at the back of the house, a long room with a balcony which once had an outside stair leading up to it, used by the boys. It is probable that the boys slept on the two upper floors, perhaps two or more to each bed. Once there was 'an ado about a bedfellow' (22.7.40).

11 On the back of some pages there is a tascinating series of scribbles of various hands and dates. These include a prayer, jottings concerning the office of surveyor and road presentments, a draft of a letter and an account of 'desbusments for Bratton farm' for 1711-12.

Other activities in the school are sometimes recorded. The boys go nutting (20.9.40); they pick apples (18.10.40); they cut Mrs. Ballard's hedge (13.2.40/1). A puzzling entry reads: 'the boys lammas the orchard' (21.10.40). Since this was much later than lammastide (August 1st), it is difficult to know exactly what they were doing. A later tradition stated that once a year Mr. Whitaker took the boys up on the hill to scour the White Horse.¹² On 5 November, 1740, Jeffery records: 'Bonfire as usual'. An obvious high-light must have been the day when 'a man brought a man tiger to show the boys' (4.5.39). On several occasions tailors came to the school to mend the boys' clothes. On Sunday they went to the Baptist meeting house except on the occasions when Jeffery records that they went to Bratton church or to Westbury with Ben Bourne. During the smallpox epidemic those who had not had the the disease stayed at home and Jeffery read sermons to them.

Some care was taken over the boys' health. A backboard was bought for one 'to make him hold up his head' (6.7.39). In another case, when a dislocated arm had grown crooked through being too tightly bound, Jeffery reports that his mother was bathing it with dwarf elder and that it was straightening (1.8.39). He notes a boy ill (3.9.39) and an accident (2.7.40). When the smallpox epidemic in the village became serious Jeffery took good care to notify parents in case they wished to remove their boys. Some did; some did not.

Only occasionally does the even tenor of school life appear to have been broken by misbehaviour. There is an enigmatic entry: 'Boys bought apples. returned them' (7.7.39) and once they broke windows (24.7.40). The most serious crime was stealing, noted twice, perhaps three times (11.8.39; 29.8.39; 18.6.40). How harsh the regime was cannot really be measured except by the number of boys trying to run away. Jeffery records only two occasions, both in the winter of 1740/41. Two Mattock brothers absconded early in the morning in 'cold freezing weather' (15.12.40). Jeffery lets their uncle know but otherwise only remarks that 'a man came from Mr. Mattock for the Boys Cloaths.' In the following February Thomas Joyce attempted to run away and Jeffery records: 'I wrote a letter to his Father and Got a man and Horse to send to his Father when he was discovered he gave me abundance of trouble he made his Submission in Writing' (20.2.40/1). Two days later he writes: 'Joyce Careless of his Business.' Possibly the combination of bad winter weather and restrictions owing to the smallpox epidemic had produced a mood of gloom and despondency in the school.

Parents come and go, bringing and fetching their boys, though some of the nearer ones go home on foot. There is no direct information on the social background of the boys nor how many came from Baptist families. But a considerable list of names can be compiled¹³ and the number of places from which the boys came can be extended through the fact that Jeffery and his

12 See above, p. xxxiii.

13 See below, pp. 96-97.

sister went on what was obviously a fee-collecting tour in June, 1739 (18–25.6.39). The catchment area was surprisingly wide. On that tour they rode first to Durrington, Amesbury and Salisbury, where they spent the night and then to Fordingbridge where they were ‘well entertained and paid’ by Mr. Joyce. On the third day they went to Norington and Tisbury where they spent the night at Mrs. Alford’s. Finally they came home via Crockerton.¹⁴ At least one boy came from Bruton. Nearer home the school drew boys from Warminster, Nunney, Corsley, Beckington, Trowbridge, Worton, Devizes and West Lavington. There must also have been local boys from Bratton and Westbury.

There is little to show what impact Jeffery made on his pupils, but he records three visits from old boys: Samuel Goodson, ‘a scholar here about 8 years ago’ (14.10.40); James Papps of the same standing who ‘came to thank me for his education’ (25.8.40); John Piper from 7 years ago (20.6.41) who stayed overnight.

After Jeffery Whitaker’s death the school was carried on first by his later assistant, Thomas Morgan, and then by the Rev. John Cooper, Baptist minister in Bratton, and Mr. Thomas Williams of Trowbridge. In 1789, however, a crazy scholar burnt down part of the house and, when the school was temporarily moved to Westbury, made a second attempt. The house, however, was rebuilt, as the following advertisement shows:

BRATTON SCHOOL, near Westbury, Wilts.

Mr. Williams begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that his HOUSE and SCHOOL are now rebuilt and will be opened for accommodating Boarders on the 29th instant, and that he continues with proper Assistants, to instruct Boys in the Latin and Greek Languages, Writing and Accounts, and every other accomplishment necessary for the scholar and man of business.

Parents and guardians will find, that notwithstanding the most particular attention is paid to the morals and health of the pupils of this school, as well as their literary

14 A similar school at Tilshead, flourishing in 1779, is described by Henry Hunt. His schoolmaster takes a similar journey in the holidays to collect fees:

‘I was sent to a boarding school at Tilshead in Wiltshire, at five and a half years of age. . . . This school, which was situated in a healthy village upon Salisbury Plain, consisted of a master and an usher, who had the care and instruction of sixty-three boys. the scholars were better fed than taught; but as a healthy situation was more looked to than their education, by the parents of those children who were sent there, the discipline was calculated to give general satisfaction. We learned to read (the Bible), to write, and cast accounts, and at the end of one year I was taken from this school. . . .

When I left this school, Mr. Cooper, the master, came round during the holidays, as was customary, to collect his bills. My father, having settled the amount and invited him to dine, informed him of his intention to remove me to Hursley, in Hampshire. . . . Mr. Cooper, who was one of the best hearted and worthy men that perhaps ever lived, and who possessed as little of the pedantry and stiffness of a schoolmaster, as any man who had spent his life in such an occupation, replied that he was very sorry to part with me. . . . He spent the day with my father and mother, and in the most benignant and good-humoured manner, recounted some of the idle boyish tricks and frolics that he had detected me in.’ (*Memoirs of Henry Hunt, Esq. Written by Himself in His Majesty’s Jail at Ilchester* . . . (London, 1820), 41–2, 46–7).

improvement, the yearly amount of Mr. William's charges is much more moderate than is now common at public schools.

French and dancing taught on the usual terms.¹⁵

A succeeding advertisement in the same journal for 31 January, 1791, gives the fees:

BRATTON SCHOOL, near Westbury, Wilts.

Mr. **WILLIAMS** has opened his School, for the reception of Young Gentlemen, as usual. His terms are £16. 16s. a year, for boarding and instruction in Greek and Latin, English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic etc.

Entrance £1. 1s.

Wanted, in the capacity of Usher, a steady young man, who writes a fine hand, and perfectly understands Arithmetic and Merchants' Accompts. Apply by letter post paid.

After this the existence of the school is shadowy, although it can be traced by advertisement until 1820.

V. The social scene

In the mid-eighteenth century, as we have seen, the Whitakers were primarily small farmers, with fields scattered in and around the village.¹ Jeffery Whitaker was sensitive to all the changes of weather and—in spite of his studious temperament which set him a little apart—was one with the whole village in its anxieties at harvest time, the climax of the agricultural year. He was also alert to the prices of wheat which he records five times in the diaries.²

We have a vivid illustration of how completely farmers were dependent on the variable weather in the entries for 1739. On 27 June Jeffery wrote: 'the Weather has been very wet for some time. I think the wettest summer that has been known for a long time.' Then it cleared up and on 2 July we read: 'Uncle and Tom Cock'd the Clover', and they got it in next day. But wet and stormy weather returned and it was not until 20 July that we really get into the haymaking season: 'the Weather fine busie Haymaking.' Although eorn reaping began early in August, it was not until the 14th that Jeffery recorded 'fine weather'. Then, we may conclude, everyone worked furiously for, on 18 August we read: 'This week has been fine Harvest Weather abundance of Wheat housed this week. Scareely any Wheat earried before this Week and but little out this night a very quiek Wheat Harvest.' Alas—the weather turned bad again. On 21 August William Hinwood mowed barley at Butts but on the 28th Jeffery records: 'Bad Harvest Weather the Barley at Butts Wet.' On 8 September it was still out: 'turn'd the Barley it being very wet

15 *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 27.9.1790.

1 See above, pp. xv–xvi.

2 Diary, entries for 26.8.40; 13.9.40; 20.9.40; 22.10.40; 13.6.41.

and (in) a bad Condition'; on 18 September: 'It has rain'd from yesterday before noon to this day before noon the Barley like to be Spoil'd but little got such a wet Harvest was never known'; on 22 September: 'Weather very wet Barley like to be spoil'd.' On the 26th there had been two dry days so the barley was turned, but it rained again in the evening and 'Barley near spoil'd.' Finally, the first week in October was 'a tollerable Week for Harvest' and on the 8th at last: 'J. Sweetland a Jobb of Barley from butts.'

Animal husbandry, apparently, was not important in the Whitaker economy and the few references have already been noted.³ Garden and orchard, however, had their own place. The garden was sown with vegetables but flowers were grown as well. There were gooseberries, plums, damsons and filberts as well as the all important apples and pears in the orchard. The orchard gets smoked in early May (8.5.40). Apples and pears are gathered in September and October, including crabs. Some apples were stored and brought into a chest in the dining-room when the frosty weather began (26.11.40). Making cider and perry was a major activity in the autumn, going on through October. The Whitaker cider press was often lent to others. On 23 October, 1740, they were 'wringing out cyderkin' and on the 24th Jeffery remarked that they had made too much perkin. Beer was brewed periodically, usually from 'Mr. Cockles malt.' 'Snags for brandy' were got on 18 October, 1740, and in November of the same year Jeffery and his brother were fetching wine from Tinhead.⁴ In winter and early spring trees were shrouded and dung was carted to put round the apples trees. On 9 January, 1740/1, Jeffery 'open'd the Rind of the Young Apple trees.'⁵

The social background of the various men and women who are employed on the Whitaker properties reveals an interesting picture.⁶ William Hinwood (Henwood), in the regular employ of Jeffery Whitaker, was a landless labourer who came from outside Bratton. 'Tom'—about whom we know almost nothing—seems to have been a houseboy who also worked in the garden and did riding services. Apart from these two, however, most of the others employed in an agricultural or craftsman capacity belonged to families with holdings of their own, some of the cottage variety but some of a more substantial 'yeoman' type, pretty much on a par with the Whitakers themselves. Thus the Crooms owned the farmhouse next to Jeffery's on the east side and had been considerable property owners, although the male line in Bratton dies out during the period of the diaries. The Burgesses were a yeoman family which had declined. Nimrod Bristow came into his mother-in-law's property in Melbourne Street. Thomas Olden appeared as a Freeholder in 1736 and as a rate-payer for Blagdens.⁷ John Sweetland, who did carting work for Jeffery, belonged to a family which a little later gave its

3 See above, pp. xviii–xxiii.

4 Diary, entry for 8.11.40.

5 On this practice, see III, n. 26.

6 For further details of people mentioned in this paragraph, see below, pp. 84, 89–91, 94–5.

7 See the *Freehold Book*, 148 and the *Westbury Rate Book*, WRO. 584/13. For Olden at Blagdens, next door to Smarts, see below, p. 95.

name to a property on the Lower Road. The Nevils, who frequently worked for Jeffery were substantial farmers with about 100 acres of land and a farm house. John Nevil appeared in the Freehold Book whereas Jeffery did not. Henry Nevil, his son, was a master wheelwright. But it would seem that the Nevils were not in the Whitaker social circle. A pointer to the distinction may be seen in the fact that John Nevil appears to have been illiterate: as churchwarden he witnessed the Presentments with his mark and Jeffery Whitaker did paper-work for him.⁸ Within the Whitaker circle itself Jeffery could call upon both William Whitaker Steps and John Blatch—both substantial property-owners—for carting from a distance.

Thus the over-all picture emerges of a society in which the social distinctions between employer and employee are blurred, since they come from much the same level in society and work side by side in the fields. There is no 'village squire' and the leading families only stand out as those with somewhat larger properties and houses, who probably did more entertaining and undertook more public duties. They are the ones who had maintained or were improving their material position, while the employees tending to belong to families which—through mismanagement or misfortune—have declined or are declining. Whether Jeffery Whitaker's school set his household a little apart is a matter for speculation. Certainly he and his mother entertained a wide range of visitors. Moreover, Jeffery's literacy and legal knowledge gave him a slightly superior position: we have already noted his role as a drafter of wills and legal documents.

No complete picture of domestic routine emerges. The one feature of household work that Jeffery notes regularly is 'our people washing', a big wash which must have occurred at intervals of roughly three to four weeks.⁹ It was done by a team of two women whose names vary, suggesting that they were not household servants but came in for this particular job. An unknown Amy, whose habits were not altogether desirable (7.11.40), is the only household servant named, apart from Tom. He was often employed escorting the ladies on horseback or riding to fetch goods from Warminster or Devizes. Sometimes he would 'go afoot' to fetch back the Whitaker horse when it had been lent out.¹⁰

For nearly three months from the beginning of the first note-book Jeffery gives an almost complete set of menus for dinner.¹¹ There was always meat and they rang the changes on all the main joints of beef, mutton and veal, with variations of bacon and cale, 'brisquat', once 'pigs feet, hocks, Ears. blade bones etc', and once pidgeon pie. 'Neats rand' was the local name for a fillet of beef. 'Harslet' and 'boil'd handles of veal' are also local terms.¹² Beef prices are given once: '28 March, 1741. Beef sold for 4d

8 For details on the Nevils, see below, p. 94. For Churchwardens' Presentments, see WRO. D25/12.

9 Diary, entries for 20.3.38/9; 3.4.39; 15.5.39; 29.5.39; 25.7.39; 6,7.5.40; 22.7.40; 2.9.40; 17.9.40; 1.10.40; 29.10.40; 3.2.40/1; 20,21.4.41.

10 For example, Diary, entry for 6.7.41.

11 Diary, entries for 8.3.38/39 to 31.5.39, with nine exceptions chiefly when he was ill.

12 See glossary. p. 98.

and 6d p. lb.' Fish is never mentioned. Sometimes 'pudding' appears, once apple dumplings, once pancakes. 'Our people baking' occurs once (23.8.40). On 1 June, 1739. Jeffery was taken extremely ill with the colic and his recording of dinner menus ceases abruptly.

Buying cheese was an important business since it does not seem to have been made at home. For this purpose some of the household usually rode to one of the fairs: 'Tom and Sister to Corsly fair' (30.7.39); Jeffery to Warminster fair (11.8.40); 'Cousin Mary' to Marsh fair (15.9.40); Tom and Mary to Bradford's Bridge (27.10.40); 'Cousin Mary' and Nimrod to Frome (28.3.41); 'Cousin Mary' to Marsh fair (28.30.3.41). Prices recorded are: 25s per hundredweight (11.8.40); £3. 2s. for two hundredweight (27.10.40); 33s per hundredweight (30.3.41). When 'garden stuff' was short, Tom was sent to Devizes for it (16.10.40) and once also for beef (18.6.41). Otherwise we assume that meat was supplied from their own or neighbours' animals. That tea was a precious commodity is incidentally recorded by Jeffery: 2 July. 'Tea lost' (at Ballards'); 4 July. 'Mr. B. search'd for Tea found some on Francis Merritts wife.'

During the period covered by the diaries Jeffery Whitaker was engaged in alterations and improvements to the property. A wall was built against 'the street' in front of the house and new doors and gates put in. Later an 'uping stock' was made on the street.¹³ For labour Jeffery employed Henry Nevil, and Robert Barnes as carpenters and the two Henry Saintsburys, father and son, as masons. Hinwood carted earth and dug out foundations and Thomas Gawen gravelled paths. Freestone was bought from a Mr. Knapp and Jeffery rode to Bradford to get paint for the gates.¹⁴ In May, 1740, Henry Abraham was employed to thatch the house with reed. Repairs and thatching to the stable, wainhouse, brewhouse and other buildings continued throughout the period. In August, 1740, Jeffery embarked on internal alterations to the house, first enlarging and improving the cellar and then, in the spring of 1741, building a freestone fireplace in the hall, putting an oak floor in the parlour, altering windows and the staircase, paving the passage and so forth. Paving stones came from 'Atford', i.e. Atworth, and oak and deal boards were bought in Warminster.¹⁵ No financial problems seem to arise: presumably the Whitakers were in comfortable enough circumstances to keep the property in good order and to indulge their fancy a little. This was, perhaps, a period of house improvement in Bratton, for Jeffery records in detail the much more extensive house alterations going on at the Ballard homestead almost next door.

There was much sociability in the form of visiting friends. Jeffery constantly records the coming of visitors who often dine at the Whitaker house and sometimes 'lie' there for the night. Equally, he will visit in

13 *Uping stock*, mounting block.

14 Diary, entry for 18.4.40. Paint was evidently sold in a bladder which leaked on the way home.

15 Diary, entries for 7.10.40; 7.5.41; 26.5.41. 'Atford' was a common usage for Atworth, near Trowbridge.

Warminster, Crockerton, Frome or Devizes as easily as he might make calls in the village. There was probably a Nonconformist social network in the district and some of his contacts, as for instance with the Adlams and Warrens, seemed to have derived from this. People in the Whitaker stratum of society tended to have roomy houses, so they could, no doubt, accommodate their friends easily. Jollifications are only hinted at in such a sober record but on the occasion of the curious visit from the two Phipps ladies from Westbury Leigh (26–31.3.39) they danced at ‘the Farm’¹⁶ and once Jeffery rebukes himself for drinking too much on a visit (20.5.40). But, as we have seen, vulgar jollifications were not to his taste. We do, however, learn from him of May Day celebrations around two maypoles in Bratton (1.5.39; 5.5.39) and the Bratton Revel (23,25.7.39; 27,28.7.40). Futhermore, because of Ben Bourne’s penchant for such low amusements, we hear of the Edington Revel and fair (9.7.39; 14.7.40) and the Rode Revel (31.8.39). Important fairs were held at Warminster in early April and late October, at Corsley at the end of July and at Dilton Marsh in March and September.¹⁷

One form of pleasurable expedition, to which we have already alluded, is faintly reminiscent of the spring jaunt of Chaucer’s Canterbury pilgrims. On 18 May, 1741, Jeffery rode out with ‘Brother and Sister Collins’, first to Crockerton, where they picked up an agreeable mixed company, including, of course, Miss Mary Adlam, and then to Norington for dinner, where they enjoyed an evening’s dancing and lay for the night. Next day they went on to Sutton Mandeville, the ladies riding pillion behind the men. As we already know, the rest of the expedition was spoilt for Jeffery by Miss Mary’s behaviour, but we have here, perhaps, a fleeting picture of a characteristic form of recreation.

Religious festivals play little part. Christmas and Easter, for instance, pass almost unnoticed, except for a reference to ‘Gooding Day’ (21 December).¹⁸ But funerals were important occasions. Jeffery describes two in particular. On 7 September, 1739, he writes: ‘Aunt Whitaker buried at the south side of Ballard’s Tomb. Pall Bearers J. Whitaker Senr. J. Whitaker Steps W. Whitaker Steps John Blatch John Pryor John Nevill. John Matravers serv’d the mourning Gloves and Scarves for men Gloves for Women Mr. Wroughton preach’d the Sermon from Rom. 2: 6,7,8,9.’ The other was the funeral of Mr. Ben Adlam of Crockerton, ‘a sober young Gent is much lamented by his Friends and Acquaintances’ (27.3.41). On 30 March Jeffery rode over to the funeral at Crockerton: ‘I was one of the pall Bearers

16 For ‘the Farm’, which Jeffery visited frequently, see p. 86.

17 Warminster had three fairs: (a) 9–11 August, granted to William Mauduit in 1253; (b) 22–29 October, granted to Henry Greene in 1447; (c) 10–12 April, granted to Thomas Thynne in 1679. The diaries mention only (b) and (c): 11.4.39; 11.4.40; 28.10.40. In 1232 Godfrey de Craycombe granted a yearly fair to Corsley on the feast of St. Margaret (20 July). Jeffery Whitaker records this fair for 30.7.39. In the eighteenth century Dilton Marsh held a fair on Easter Monday and c.13 September; the Diary entries for 13.9.39; 15.9.40; 20.3.41 no doubt refer to these. See *V. C. H. Wils.*, viii. 20, 175.

18 For ‘Gooding Day’, see below, III, n. 15.

INTRODUCTION

Gloves Hatbands and sashes white silk. few people but handsomely manag'd.' Funerals were status symbols and the distribution of gloves, scarves etc. had to be generous. Thus at the death of Aunt Whitaker 'Uncle gave J. Ballard the Diamond ring to be the Expence of the funeral.' (6.10.39). Jeffery specifies the burial place in several cases. John Aldridge Ballard and a child of his were apparently buried actually inside the meeting house 'on the west side of the pulpit' (11.10.39; 20.11.40). Jonathan Ballard, however, was buried at church 'in the chancel' (17.11.40). The burial of 'Aunt Whitaker' at 'the south side of Ballard's tomb' (7.9.39) must have been at the church since Mr. Wroughton, the vicar, preached the sermon.^{18a} 'Cousin Whitaker', on the other hand, was clearly buried in her husband's grave at the meeting house. Thus the divide on religion reveals itself.

These accounts of ceremonial funerals throw into pathetic relief the records of hurried, unceremonious burials at night for the poor smallpox victims (17,11,40; 20.11.40; 18.6.41). The smallpox epidemic occupies a good deal of Jeffery Whitaker's attention during the latter months of 1740 and the early part of 1741. It is heralded by a rumour on 25 April, 1740 and the solitary case of John Croom, Senior, who died on 2 May. On 9 May one other case is reported and —significantly—Jeffery gets in a panic about catching the disease because of a dream that he 'was going to bed with young Croom.' But after that we hear no more until 17 August when a child is reported to have smallpox and another on 6 September. It is not until 12 November, however, that a new note of alarm is sounded when Jeffery reports that 'Holloway's boy at the next door house has had the Small pox more than a Week unknown to the Neighbours.' This prompts Jeffery to send out letters to some of the families of the schoolboys in case they wish to fetch their boys home. On the 13th Jeffery reports victims in several houses. This is the point at which the epidemic begins to come to its peak. On the 17th and on the 20th the two Ballard brothers died and the smallpox was raging in their families. The fact that two of his close contemporaries were struck down so swiftly brought Jeffery to a low point of morale: 'was ill and low spirited thought I was going to have the Small pox Sign'd my will' (18.11.40). From 9 November to 1 March he stayed away from the meeting house and other meetings and kept at home on Sundays the boys who had not already had smallpox.

At various times during the epidemic Jeffery turned to his sovereign cure of vomit¹⁹ and once something called 'Extract of Rudii' (28.11.40).²⁰ The usual remedy of bleeding was resorted to in the case of Jonathan Ballard when he was *in extremis*. On 19 December Jeffery 'smell'd burnt Wollen or Hair . . . Supposed to be burnt at one of the Small pox houses.' All through December and rather less frequently in January (1741), cases are reported

18a This tomb can still be seen beside the path on the south side of the Church, with a partially readable inscription.

19 Diary, entries for 10.11.13.6.40; 18.11.40; 29.12.40; 31.12.40; 3.1.40/41.

20 See glossary, p. 98.

but in February the epidemic seems to be abating. Boys come back to school. On 1 March Jeffery takes them to meeting again but on 18 March another reported case heralds a further flare-up of the disease and on 22 March Jeffery records: 'the small pox increasing I did not go to meeting nor boys that had not had it.' Cases occur in April. One of the latest victims is 'Cousin Whitaker' who died 18 June.

It is difficult to determine the extent of this epidemic or how many people died, for the Parish Register is undoubtedly incomplete. Jeffery records 14 deaths for the period covered by his diaries, whereas the Register has only 10. Other evidence shows that there was smallpox all round the district at that time. One point stands out from the cases reported by Jeffery: a considerable proportion of those who caught the disease were young people.

Bratton was conveniently circled by the market towns which supplied most things not home-grown. There was constant riding or walking to Warminster, Westbury, Frome, Trowbridge, Bradford, Melksham and Devizes. 'Going afoot' seems surprisingly common and extends to Crockerton, Westbury Leigh, Keevil and even Devizes. On several occasions Tom has to take or bring back a horse from Devizes, doing one way on foot. The ability to stay in the saddle for long hours is taken as a matter of course. On 12 September, 1739, Jeffery rode to Norton and Salisbury and on the next day he writes: 'Mounted at Salisbury $\frac{3}{4}$ before 6 home $\frac{1}{4}$ After Ten in the morning Rode to Marsh Fair.' Going to London seems to be a matter of course, especially on legal business (5.8.39; 6.2.40/1; 11.6.41). Jeffery himself, as we have seen,²¹ goes there for a jaunt, though perhaps a little apprehensively.²² Even his mother is prepared for such a journey: 'Mother and Mr. James Collins Rode to Devizes to go to London by the Carravan' (5.7.41). The record for riding from London belongs to one of the Ballard brothers who 'came from London this day on one Horse set out at 5 in the morn here at $\frac{1}{2}$ after Eight' (12.8.40). The women, too, ride as a matter of course, generally escorted by someone. Sometimes they are specifically stated to be riding pillion but otherwise it would seem that they rode their own horses. Jeffery's mother rides to Crockerton and Frome and his sister often goes shopping, to Warminster and Frome—once for wedding clothes (29.7.40)—or to one of the fairs. One November day after her marriage she walked the eleven miles from Devizes to Bratton with her husband and elder brother (4.11.40).

Most of the constant visiting was, of course, done on horseback and stabling at the house which entertained often must have had to be ample. People of the Whitaker social stratum clearly needed at least one horse but it is noticeable that the Baptist minister apparently did not own one, for the diaries continually report: 'Mr. Watts our horse to - '. Jeffery himself appears to have only one horse. As for public transport, the diaries contain

21 See above, p. xxx.

22 On the day of his return to Bratton he wrote: 'I thank God I came home in good health' (6.6.40).

very little information except on the London caravan from Devizes. Otherwise we only hear of a carrier at Rudge (16.4.39).

VI. Nonconformity in Bratton

The origins of the Baptist Church in Bratton lay in the village of Erlestoke, three miles distant on the road to Devizes. In 1662 the Churchwardens' Presentments show an established conventicle in this village, with a number of families refusing to attend the parish church or to have their children baptised, including the families of George, Axford and Aldridge.¹ The conventicle was meeting in Thomas George's house and was fined in 1671, though licensed briefly in 1672.² At the same time, under the Declaration of Indulgence (1672), John Axford and William Aldridge were licensed momentarily as Baptist preachers.³ In 1674 Edward Froude of Edington and his wife were presented for non-attendance at church and in 1683, among other presentments, Froude was named as a 'Nonconformist Anabaptist preacher'.⁴ The continuing life of this conventicle is attested by the consistency with which certain families appear, both in Quarter Session records and Churchwardens' Presentments, and among these we note the Aldridges, Axforde and Froudes who in the eighteenth century were closely connected with the Whitakers. When the Toleration Act of 1689 gave freedom of assembly, the 'Ecclestocke Baptist Church' sent William Aldridge and Edward Froude to the first General Assembly of Particular Baptists held in London in September, 1689.⁵ In July of the same year the dwelling-house and barn of John Axford had been licensed for a Baptist meeting (witnesses Edward Froude and John Aldridge) and in 1698 a similar certificate was issued.⁶

At an early point some of the Whitakers of Bratton appear to have been drawn into this Erlestoke group. At least, there is evidence that they were Nonconformists. In the Bratton parish Register the entries of children after 1660 are consistently given as 'Bap.' with two significant exceptions: on 4 November, 1663, 'Jeffery S. of Jeffery and Margt. Whitaker' is entered as 'Born' and on 23 February, 1664, 'Cible D. of Peter and Jane Rawlings' is similarly entered. These entries suggest that two Bratton families at least were not having their children baptised. It is almost certain that the Whitakers were attached to the Erlestoke Baptist cause: the early Aldridge/Whitaker family connection suggests so and the first records of the Bratton Baptist Church link it firmly to that at Erlestoke. One entry in the

1 Sar. Dioc. Regy., ChW. Pres. 1662.

2 WRO, O. Sess. Rolls, 2 May, 1671; G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (London, 1911), i. 543.

3 Turner, *op. cit.*, i. 543.

4 *V.C.H. Wills.*, viii. 249.

5 *Proc. of Gen. Ass. of Bapt. Churches, 1689*, f. 63.

6 *Meeting House Certificates*, Nos. 3, 72, pp. 1, 7.

register, however shows a Whitaker having second thoughts: Oct. 30, 1674. 'Willm. S. of Willm. and Rachel Whitaker Born', but below: 'Bap. 7 Augt. 1676.' The Jeffery Whitakers, however, remained firm. Among the early Meeting House Certificates is the following: '21 May, 1698. Bratton. The now dwelling house of Jeffery Whitaker.' (Witnesses: William Ball, Samuel Himons).⁷ This must have been Smarts.

In 1701 the house of William Whitaker in Bratton, 'now in the occupation of Robert Bathe', was licensed for use 'as a meeting house for the exercise of religious worship by Protestant Dissenters' with William and Jeffery Whitaker as witnesses.⁸ Possibly this meeting collapsed, for before 1720 the elder Jeffery and his wife Catherine were, for some reason, walking over on Sundays to the Baptist meeting at Westbury Leigh. Here the record in the first Minute Book of the Bratton Baptist Church tells us that the Jeffery Whitakers used to meet John Watts in the fields as he walked to Erlestoke to preach to the congregation there. They persuaded him to break his journey and preach to a group in their house (i.e. Smarts).⁹ The Bratton group clearly became part of the Erlestoke Church, with John Watts as pastor ministering in both places. Finally, when the project of building a meeting house was initiated, this was located in Bratton, not Erlestoke, perhaps because the 'some of worth' in Bratton who pressed for it outweighed the Erlestoke members in status and wealth. The names of those particularly involved in this undertaking show the same family connections: William Axford, John Aldridge Ballard, John Blatch, Henry Whitaker, Jeffery Whitaker jun., Edward Frowde, Philip Whitaker. These formed the first trustees, witnessing the certificate on 4 July, 1734, of a 'house newly erected on a piece of ground commonly know as Brown's Plot lying to the north-east corner of a ground called Brown's Berry.'¹⁰

Obviously this group supplied the main social and religious context for Jeffery the diarist. It was, perhaps, the support and resources of the Whitakers which made it possible for the Western Baptist Association to meet in Bratton in 1735, the very year after the meeting house had been built. This seems a surprising undertaking for a small village in view of the wide geographical area covered by the Association. A unique group of original letters from some of the churches involved survived at the Yew Trees.¹¹ They come from churches at Grittleton and Malmesbury, Yeovil and Crewkerne, Plymouth and Penygarn near Pontypool, preserved, perhaps, by Jeffery Whitaker's historical sense. He himself was one of the Bratton delegates to the assembly, together with John Watts the pastor, William Axford and John Blatch. At the 1736 meeting at Yeovil John Watts and John Blatch represented the Erlestoke/Bratton Church, reporting a membership of 30, a meeting at both places on Sundays and a 'weekly

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 70, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 123, p. 11.

⁹ First minute Book of the Bratton Baptist Church, now in the WRO.

¹⁰ *Meeting House Certificates*, No.261, p. 23.

¹¹ All the church papers mentioned here are now deposited in the WRO.

lecture' at Bratton during half the year. From 1737 to 1739 a membership of 35 to 39 was reported but in 1740 this had dropped to 27. By 1741 the membership was back to 35 but Erlestoke was beginning to drop out, finally disappearing in the 1750s. In the period covered by Jeffery Whitaker's second transcript from the Parish Register (1732-46) more children are recorded as 'born' than those 'baptised'—112 to 80. This suggests strong family support at least for a time. Perhaps adherence to the Baptist cause went in waves, for later some Baptist families appear to return to the Parish Church. But certain families consistently supported the meeting house. Among these were Axforths, Blatches, Drewetts, Snelgroves, Tuckers, Walters and one branch each of the Ballards and the Whitakers. In both these latter cases the diaries show the family divide very clearly in the burial rites.¹² But relations seem amicable. Nonconformity had shed the sectarian fervour of the seventeenth century and had not yet taken on the evangelical zeal of the next century.

Since the Jeffery Whitakers had played such a large part in the establishment of the Baptist Church in Bratton, it is strange that church affairs figure so little in the diaries. On 5 July, 1739, Jeffery records 'Time spent in prayer at the meeting house being a day appointed by the Association' and on 27 April, 1740, the Association Letter was read at meeting. On 7 November, 1740, there was again 'a day of prayer at the meeting house', which, occurring at the height of the smallpox epidemic, can surely be related to this, as may also 'a fast day appointed by Public authority—service twice at Bratton Church' (4.2.40/1). Jeffery mentions the celebration of the Lord's Supper at the meeting house three times¹³ and once a baptism 'in the mill-pond' (28.6.41). However, apart from occasional illness and the period of the smallpox epidemic, he rarely fails to attend the meeting house once, sometimes twice, on Sundays and to record the preacher and the text. Is there, one wonders, any significance in the fact that the only time he actually writes out the text in full is this from Ps. 9: 7: 'The Wicked shall be turned into Hell and all the nations that forget God' (15.4.39)? The preacher was usually John Watts, except when a local substitute did duty while John Watts officiated elsewhere.¹⁴ When Jeffery Whitaker was in Frome he went to hear local preachers there and when in London he made a point of hearing Dr. Andrew Gifford, the well-known Baptist divine.¹⁵

There is no evidence on the officials of the Church in the eighteenth century except that at some point Jeffery Whitaker the diarist became a deacon and that in his last years he took over a treasurership. But the fact that various documents and scraps of records survived at the Yew Trees suggests that he, and perhaps his father before him, had acted as secretary.

12 See above, p. xxxvii and below, p. 56.

13 See references above, p. xxxviii.

14 One of the preachers who officiated regularly in Mr. Watt's absence was Samuel Aldridge of Frome.

15 See below, II, n. 40.

There is a copy of a letter, dated 1732, from 'the Church of Christ in Sarum to our Brethren of the Church meeting in Stock' (i.e. Erlestoke), recommending a member who had moved to this area. A draft of the 'Earl Stoke and Bratton' Church's Association Letter for 1738 was probably written by Jeffery the diarist, exemplifying the characteristic style of these epistles:

To our Honoured and beloved brethen Meeting in association in Broad Mead, Bristol . . . As to our Church State, we have cause to morne but not to dispaire, we have had none added for a long time; death hath defaced our Glory but not (blessed be God) broken our peace: our numbers of hearers do not deminish; though it is somewhat like the Moon; two Meetings every Lord's day; one at Stoke, the other at Bratton; Church meetings once a month; some times meetings of prayer; evening lectures Lord's Day many times, but the waters of the Sanctuary but little stirred, tho' we hope not altogether still.

One scrap of paper gives a list of new trustees for the meeting house in 1756, with all the flourishes of Whitaker handwriting. The names include Merari Whitaker, John Blatch the younger, Thomas Whitaker and William Ballard. Jeffery presumably does not figure in this list because he was already a trustee. Another scrap of paper gives an account of the 'Collections taken monthly at the Lord's Supper', balanced by an account of what 'Mr. John Blatch gave to the Poor from the Collections at the Lord's Supper and for Wine.' The account runs from 1769 to 1772 under Blatch's treasurership. In January, 1773, Jeffery Whitaker takes over, writes out the account and signs for the balance of £1. 6s. 6d. One episode in the diaries also suggests that Jeffery Whitaker's household played a leading part: 18 July. 1740. 'Mr. J. Ballard being Affronted with Nimrod for letting old Gawen into the Meeting House with whom he was at Law, that he lock'd up the House and would not suffer the Meeting there as appointed so the meeting was at our house.'

Nothing further is recorded to disturb the even tenor of a pious eighteenth-century Baptist congregation. Sunday by Sunday the Word was preached by the indefatigable John Watts until his death in 1747. Sunday by Sunday Jeffery Whitaker recorded his text. If more of his diaries had survived, we should doubtless find this practice continued. Clearly, by the time of his own death in 1775, Jeffery was one of the pillars of the Baptist Church whose members at that time penned a disconsolate letter to the trustees of two funds for the relief of poor churches, mourning the irreparable loss of our 'truly pious and worthy friend and deacon.'

VII. Local administration.

The ecclesiastical parish was the basic unit of local administration in the eighteenth century. Bratton lay in the ancient parish of Westbury which was co-extensive with the hundred. By common law the inhabitants were summoned to a Vestry meeting at Eastertime and at other times as

necessary. At the annual Easter meeting the churchwardens for the past year presented their accounts and one or more were elected or re-elected for the coming year. Local custom determined whether all ratepayers could vote or only the more substantial ones, but it would appear that dissenters were not excluded and might even be elected as churchwardens. The Vestry had charge of a wide range of local responsibilities, including, of course, the upkeep of the church nave and property which was one of the particular concerns of the churchwardens. If necessary, they could levy a church rate, but when this was needed they must submit the proposal to a Vestry meeting.

Jeffery Whitaker speaks several times of a 'parish meeting' at Westbury. These were almost certainly Vestry meetings. Indeed, in one case (3.7.41) he describes the same meeting as both 'parish' and 'vestry'. On 24 April, 1739, Jeffery Whitaker 'walk'd afoot to Thos. Phipps Esqr.', dined there and later 'walk'd to Westbury Parish Meeting at Wm. Mansels in the Evening wth. Young Esqr. Thos. & his two Sisters, Mr. Wm. Turner & his five sisters, two of Esqr. John's Daughters, Mr. Pech, Mr. Hillier & Dr. Baily.' This bevy of women at a Vestry meeting is curious and perhaps indicates that it was something of a social occasion, for Jeffery 'came home after midnight'. But as far as business was concerned, this was probably the annual meeting at which officials were chosen. Jeffery records a similar one on 31 March, 1741, when he was nominated for Overseer.¹ By this period Vestry meetings were becoming more frequent to deal with a variety of business. Thus the one mentioned above in July, 1741, seems to have been concerned with assessments for the poor rate.

But Bratton had its own distinct Vestry. This is clear from Jeffery Whitaker's allusions which provide evidence confirming the presumption of the *Victoria County History* that Bratton was, in this respect, in the same category as Dilton Marsh.² There is no doubt that Bratton's historical relation to Westbury was ambivalent and the fact of its separate Vestry underlines this peculiarity.³ On 30 April, 1739, Jeffery records: 'Parish meeting at Tuckers which should have been Easter Monday.' Again, on 7 April, 1740, he notes: 'Church Wardens not bringing in their accounts

1 See below, p. lvii.

2 *V.C.H. Wills.*, viii. 179-80.

3 There was a running dispute in the eighteenth century over Bratton's status in relation to Westbury parish. Since the Reformation vicars of Westbury had claimed Bratton Church as a chapel of ease, like Dilton. This was bitterly disputed by Bratton. The earlier copy of the Register is lost but in 1795 this was referred to by John Whitaker, churchwarden, when he copied the following memorandum at the beginning of a new Register:

'This Church Book doe take place after the Old Church Book and severall loose papers which are roled up in the old Book which Old Book beareth Date 1554. By which Book and other proofs and Records fetched from Canterbury The Church of Little Stoke situated in or near Bratton was Proved not to be a Chappell But a Church all Parochial Rights and Pryambillations, and to be also 315 years longer built than the Church at Westbury. The Expense of which lawsuit cost this Parish of Bratton upwards of a 100£. The said Lawsuit of Westbury which was a design of then to Prove our Church a Chappell of Ease was overthroned in the year 1625.'

Chose others.' Both these entries surely refer to the annual Vestry meeting. The parish clerk at this time was John Tucker, hence the meetings were held at Tuckers, a thatched house which still stands in the main street opposite Bratton House, with the date 1623 on the front. Jeffery also notes a parish meeting on 26 December, 1740, to which he did not go because of the smallpox. This was probably also a Bratton meeting. One other reference to a 'meeting at Tuckers' (25.10.39) must, however, have been an ordinary village meeting dealing with customary rights in the common fields for the business was 'for Jonathan Ballard to have leave to put his sheep in the Cow down.'

The other chief officials in the parish, besides the churchwardens, were the Surveyor of Highways and the Overseer of the Poor. Jeffery Whitaker does not appear to have been burdened with the first during the period of the diaries, but some members of the family were involved, since among the Whitaker papers is an 'Account Book for Bratton Tything highways', running from September 22, 1768 to February 17, 1836. The first surveyors named are Thomas Whitaker and John Blatch Junior.⁴ But what Jeffery records as his 'nomination' as Overseer of the Poor (*in absentia*) in March, 1741, threw him into a fine state of alarm: April 1. 'Sent W. Hinwood with Letter to Mr. Hicks to get me off from overseer. Rode likewise to T. Phipps Esqr. but could not speak with him.' 2 April. . . 'Co. Blatch got me from being overseer.' There is no doubt that the office of Overseer of the Poor, establish by statute in 1579, was universally disliked and avoided. Discharging the parish's obligation to set the poor to work, maintain the sick and aged and apprentice pauper children was an onerous duty, especially since it involved setting and levying a poor rate on all occupiers of land and houses. There was continual pressure to prevent this rate from rising and particularly to curb the propensity of Overseers to allow their small money doles to become a mounting pension list. In 1692 Parliament made it the duty of the Vestry to go through and prune this list every Easter.⁵

By the end of the seventeenth century the formal appointment of the Overseer was in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, but by local custom he could apparently be nominated by the Vestry. Jeffery Whitaker's nomination by Thomas Phipps Junior may in fact have been by a J.P. On 8 July, 1739, Jeffery had recorded that Thomas Phipps Junior 'took the test at Bratton Church.' This was Holy Communion 'according to the usage of the Church of England', required of office-holders such as Justices of the Peace. Jeffery's statement is corroborated by the official certificate which survives.⁶ This may be the moment when the younger Phipps became a Justice. The Overseer was mainly responsible to the Justice to whom he submitted his

4 This Thomas Whitaker was the son of the Philip Whitaker who appears in the diaries.

5 See S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government. English Poor Law History: Pt. I. The Old Poor Law* (London, 1927), 160.

6 WRO. A1/235. Trinity, 1739. The Robert Tucker who was one of the witnesses to this ceremony dined with the Jeffery Whitaker household afterwards according to the diary entry.

accounts and his proposal for the poor rate. On one occasion Jeffery shows considerable anxiety about the rating of his mother's property in relation to others in the tithing (2,3.7.41).

Interlaced with the ancient units of local government were the survivals of medieval feudal structures based on landholding. In Bratton in the eighteenth century the most important estates were those belonging to Lord Weymouth of Longleat, The Earl of Abingdon and the manor of Westbury Chantry. Jeffery Whitaker records a number of dealings with Longleat. In May, 1739, after the death of his father, he negotiated the addition of his sister's life to those of his mother and himself for the property they held.⁷ In September of the same year Lord Weymouth's bailiff collected two horses as a heriot for property which had been held by 'Aunt Whitaker' who had died on September 4th. Evidently there was some cause for complaint since Jeffery 'rode to Longleat with uncle about it' (10.9.39). We have already seen that the successive deaths of Aunt and Uncle John Whitaker led to a typical case of family negotiation for land already held within the family network.⁸ Similarly, Jeffery tried but evidently failed to get a further holding in the Chantry estate.

The diaries record courts held by all three of the chief landowners. These would be meetings of the Court Baron dealing with strictly manorial business, such as admission of new tenants and offences against manorial custom. All tenants had the obligation to attend. At Bratton these courts were held in the Court House. On 18 April, 1739, occurs the entry: 'Mr. Pryor kept a Court Dinner. Mr. Palmer did not come so no court.' Pryor was one of the substantial tenants who by custom provided hospitality when the Longleat court met. Mr. Palmer was Lord Weymouth's steward. The obligation to provide the dinner went in rotation. By good fortune we have a list of the 'Rotation of Court Dinners' for Bratton, though for a later date, 1789. This shows all the properties liable for this duty. In 1739 it was probably the property called Blagdens for which Mr. Pryor was responsible.⁹

7 See Diary, entry for 22.5.39.

8 See above, p. xxxiv.

9 WRO. 845. Box 18: Rotation of Court Dinners at Bratton.

1789 Whites & Skinners	-	J. Whitaker
1790 Harts & Deanyl	-	Do.
1791 Grants	-	Nevill
1792 Ballards called Hoopers	-	W. Ballard Mr. Whitaker
1793 Bulls	-	Mr. Whitaker
1794 Hind's	-	Mr. Ballard Miss Do.
1795 Causways	-	Do.
1796 Coles's	-	Mr. Whitaker
1797 Shutes	-	Miss A. Ballard
1798 Hills	-	John Blatch, Devizes
1799 Jno Blatches called Hickmans	-	Do.
1800 Humphrey Whitaker's called Frickers	-	Hy. Whitaker

Jeffery approved of the dinner but may have thought Mr. Palmer negligent since a few days later he writes: 'Mr. Palmer not at leisure to make a contract this three weeks.'

The second court to which Jeffery Whitaker was answerable was that of the Earl of Abingdon. On 17 April, 1740, he writes: 'at Lord Abingdon's Court was admitted a Tennant in possession of what was Chamberlain's.' Chamberlain, his uncle, had died in 1696. Jeffery also notes on 23 April, 1741: 'law day at Westbury. sent my rent by J. Pryor.' 'Law day', generally speaking, was a nickname commonly used for a manorial court. What exactly this court was is uncertain, but it is likely to have been Lord Abingdon's court for his Westbury manors.¹⁰

On 17 October, 1739, occurs the entry: 'Notice of Mr. Bennetts Court.' This was the Court Baron of the Manor of Westbury Chantry. The Court Book for the period 1736–1811 survives and certain entries dovetail neatly with those in the diaries: 'Court Baron of Thomas Bennett esq., fermor,¹¹ of the Manor of Westbury Chantry, 30 October, 1739. We present Mary Whitaker dead and John Whitaker the next life named in the copy.' And then at the court on 21 November, 1740: 'We present John Whitaker King¹² dead and the Estate in the Lord's hands.'

The parsonage or Chantry Manor at Westbury had originally been held by the Church of Westbury. Later, when the living was given to Salisbury Cathedral, it was appropriated to the office of precentor or chantor. In the sixteenth century it came into the hands of the Bennett family of Norton Bavant through Thomas Bennett, Precentor of Salisbury Cathedral in 1558. The property remained in the Bennett family until it died out in 1781.¹³ An enigmatic remark about Mr. Bennett on 5 April, 1740, may relate to Jeffery's desire to take over his uncle John's copyhold in the Chantry estate.

1801 Ballards home living	–	Ballard Blatch
1802 Burgess's	–	Jno. Blatch, Devizes
1803 Aldridges	–	Miss Ballard Mr. Blatch's Children
1804 Smarts Late Jeff. Whitaker	–	Mr. Williams
1805 Tinkers	–	Do.
1806 Blagdens	–	Do.
1807 Bucks & Smiths	–	Jno. Whitaker
1808 Trulands	–	Ph. Whitaker
1809 Lancasters Mill	–	Jno. Harris
1810 Rawlin's	–	Jno. Smith
1811 Upper Mill	–	Jas. Newman
1812 Hodge's	–	Ph. Whitaker

10 See above, p. xiv, for the Abingdon estates.

11 *Fermor*, (fimir, fermer), a farmer of the profits of an estate.

12 The epithet 'King' is added because, from his wife, John Whitaker had inherited lands from Philip King.

13 See *V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 153.

As we have seen,¹⁴ he was disappointed: the property remained 'in the Lord's hands' right through the period.

The 'Visitation' and 'Visitation Court' mentioned by Jeffery are ecclesiastical. The Spring Visitation was the annual routine visitation usually made by the Archdeacon or his representative but, because Salisbury was a 'peculiar', in this case by the Precentor. At this presentments were made by the churchwardens, there was an inquiry into the affairs of the parish and the incoming churchwardens were sworn in. This would be the Visitation recorded on 15 May, 1739. In 1740, in addition to the annual one on 29 April, there was a second visitation which Jeffery describes as 'visitation court' on 14 October. The churchwardens' presentments for both these survive and give the probable explanation for the second court:

29 April, 1740: 'We present the pavan of the Church out of Repair. We present Mr. Jonathan Ballard and John Pryor to be the churchwardens for the year ensuing.

(signed) Jonathan Ballard. John Sweetland.

14 October, 1740: 'We present the Church out of Repaire but now Repairing and nothing else presentable.

(signed) Jonathan Ballard.¹⁵

The Justices of the Peace, drawn from the county gentry, were, of course, all important in local administration. They exercised surveillance over parish government, appointed and checked the accounts of the Overseers of the Poor and the Surveyors of Highways, and served on commissions for land and window taxes. Any two could approve parish accounts, ratify assessments of poor and highway rates and license ale-houses. By the eighteenth century informal meetings of small groups of Justices to transact such small business had taken on a more formal character in the regular meetings known as Petty Sessions. The 'Sessions at Leigh' recorded by Jeffery on 22 August, 1739, and again on 5 September, would be Petty Sessions. The latter was called to renew ale-sellers' licenses, when Jeffery notes: 'I refuse to write a certificate for J. Callaway or any other.' A later statute, 26 George II c.131, states that Justices should grant licenses to none not licensed the preceding year unless they produced certificates of their good character. This entry in Jeffery Whitaker's diary suggests that the later act reflected current practice. On this occasion the official record corroborates the diary entry exactly.¹⁶ The entry: 'Lee Baily found guilty of stealing 15d at Westbury' would also appear to refer to a meeting of Petty Sessions (24.6.40). 'Session at Charlford' must be a slip for Chalford, the residence of one branch of the Phipps family (2.7.41).

The Sessions at Warminster to which Jeffery rode on 10 July, 1739, were obviously Quarter Sessions, the full quarterly meeting of all the Justices of the Peace, when the whole county was supposed to be represented. This dealt with serious criminal offences—the most serious being sent on to the

14 See above, p. xxxiv.

15 WRO. D25/12.

16 WRO. A1/325.

Assizes—and also with such business as licenses, roads and bridges, and all other civil matters. The court was assisted by juries of sworn men from each hundred who had the duty of making presentments. The High Bailiff of the Hundred had to summon a sufficient number of residents to furnish this jury. This would be the reason for Jeffery Whitaker's attendance, since he was 'called on the Hundred Jury', where he proved an awkward member for he records: 'I did not agree to the presentments' and on the next day: 'I did not set my hand to the presentment about the road through Thicketts Lane and the Governor's grounds.'¹⁷ There is only one reference in the diaries to the Assizes: 'Mr. Ballard with his witnesses gone to the Assizes' (21.7.40). There is no clue as to what this case was, since the matter of J. A. Ballard's affair with Nan Thrush would not have gone to the Assizes.¹⁸ The coroner came once to Bratton to view the body of a lad killed in an accident with a horse (30.9.40). Clearly this was an accidental death, so he summoned no jury but took a fee.

In the eighteenth century Westbury was a borough, sending two members to Parliament. A mayor is first mentioned in 1591 but no charter was granted and the evidence for the history of the borough is fragmentary. It appears never to have developed full autonomy in local government. In the eighteenth century the mayor was elected annually by an assembly known as the General Council which consisted of the capital burgesses. These were few in number and it was possibly this narrow basis of election which encouraged the mob intervention recorded by Jeffery: '... a great ado at Westbury at the beginning of the Week about Chosing the mayor, fighting with the Justice and other Gentlemen' (2.10.40); '... great ado at Westbury about choosing and Swearing a mayor' (3.11.40).¹⁹ Jeffery's entry recording 'the election at Westbury' on 4 May, 1741, refers to a parliamentary election. There were about 24 electors and the mayor was the returning officer. On this occasion George Evans and Joseph Townsend were elected for the ensuing Parliament.

Finally, we see Jeffery Whitaker involved in financial duties of various types. We find him assessing and collecting Land and Window taxes. The Land Tax had been established by two Acts of William and Mary in 1693 and 1698. In 1698 the quota system was finally adopted by which a set quota was to be raised annually in every county by assessment of property. County Commissioners, centrally appointed, were in overall charge of the assessment and collection of this tax. These Commissioners appointed suitable persons in every parish to assess all property. This was an obligation

17 This entry provides the clue to the enigmatic statement: 'the Governour into the Country' (30.4.39). In 1724 Thomas Phipps had left Heywood House to his mother and after her to his younger brother, William, who became Governor of Bombay. The 'Thicketts Lane' of the presentment, now Capps Lane, runs close to the grounds of Heywood House. The 'Governour' is therefore obviously William Phipps.

18 For the Thrush case, see I, n. 15.

19 There is some evidence of rioting and turbulence in Westbury at this period, see *V.C.H. Wills.*, viii. 169.

under penalty of a fine and the Assessors were required to take the oath of allegiance. They were usually appointed in pairs with a clerk to record their business. Their assessments were revised by the Commissioners. Assessors usually served also as Collectors, since clerks and collectors were paid but not assessors. In rank they could vary from substantial farmers to landless labourers. Local receivers, appointed by the Treasury, collected the tax payments quarterly from the parish collectors. Finally, the receivers' accounts were audited centrally.²⁰ In May, 1739, Jeffery Whitaker was a collector and 'carried the Land and Window tax to Westbury' to pay to Mr. Richard Gibbs.²¹ In the next year John Drewett and J. A. Ballard were assessors of the Land Tax. Jeffery goes to see Drewett about this and appears to be nervous about the outcome, for he comments: 'J.B. partial about assessing me and himself.'²²

In August, 1739, Jeffery Whitaker was assessing the Window tax (28.8.39). This was also established in the reign of William and Mary in an Act of 1696 to raise money for the purpose of 'making good the Deficiency of the Clip'd Money.' It was assessed and collected by the same machinery as the Land tax. We have a Window tax schedule for 1696 which gives the standard form to be used by assessors appointed in the County of Wiltshire. They were required:

with all care and diligence, to make Certificates and Assessments in Writing, of every Dwelling House Inhabited charged by the said Act within your Parrish and of the number of Windows in each house, unless the number of windows in any House shall exceed Twenty; and in such Case it shall not be necessary to mention in such certificate what number of windows any House hath above Twenty; together with the Name and Surname of the several Occupiers or Inhabitants of each respective House, and of the several Sums of Money they ought to pay, by Virtue of the said Act, without Concealment, Love, Favour, Dread or Malice . . .

Cottages were exempt; a flat rate of 2/- p.a. was charged on all other inhabited dwelling houses and in addition all houses with between ten and twenty windows had to pay 4/- a year and those with twenty or more, 8/-. The assessors were to charge these payments directly on the occupiers and not on the landlords. The assessors were not to rate any commissioners or themselves; the commissioners were to rate each other and the assessors.²³ Such were the duties placed upon a man of Jeffery Whitaker's standing and capability.

20 For this account of the operation of the Land tax, see W. R. Ward, *The English Land tax in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953).

21 Richard Gibbs of Westbury was a receiver of taxes.

22 See Diary, entries for 13,16.6.40.

23 Quoted from a schedule in the possession of J. Morrison.

VIII. The notebooks

Jeffery Whitaker's surviving diaries are contained in three small notebooks measuring four by six inches. These were preserved at Smarts (the Yew Trees) and are now in the possession of M. E. Reeves. The first, with a picture on the cover of a 'Iannitser' and on the back of a 'Turck from Constantinopolen', is labelled at the top 'From March 7. 1738/9 to October 28, 1739'. In fact the first entry is March 8 and the last is October 27. The second, with a marbled cover, is labelled 'From April 2 to Novbr. 22, 1740' but actually runs from April 3 to November 21. Inside the front cover is a calculation of the days covered:

Ap. 28
 May 31
 June 30
 July 31
 Augt. 31
 Sept. 30
 Octobr. 31
 Novr. 21 – 1740

233

The third, with a plain cover of thick blue paper, bears the inscription:
 From Novr. 21 1740

Journal

To July 8 1741

The entries actually run from November 22 to July 7. On the cover are the following scribbled calculations:

72
 21
 ———
 93
 40
 in 1796
 In 1796 — 93
 How old in 1740
 1796
 1740
 ———
 56

That there was another notebook filling in the gap (October 28, 1739 to April 2, 1740) is clear from cross references in the diary entries for 16.6.40 and 25.10.40. Since the first notebook begins abruptly and the third ends similarly, it is presumed that Jeffery Whitaker kept a diary over a longer period in notebooks which are now lost.

The handwriting is small, fine and usually very clear. Each page is headed with the month and year and he is precise in making the change from the heading March 1738/9 to March 1739 at the date March 25,

and similarly in the year 1740/41. Mistakes in dates are corrected and sometimes there are heavy erasures. These seem to relate to people and probably represent revisions made later by Jeffery himself or someone else. Perhaps a similar desire to conceal an opinion lies behind the use of shorthand on five occasions after the entry (19.10.39; 23.10.39; 10.8.40; 21.3.40/1; 2.4.41.). Various systems of shorthand had been developed in the seventeenth century. Elisha Coles, a London schoolmaster, lists thirty authors of such systems in his *The Newest, Plainest and the Shortest Shorthand*, published in London in 1674. Which system Jeffery Whitaker was using is uncertain.

Each day of the week is indicated by an astronomical symbol, examples of which are given below. These were used in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by astrological physicians, but remained, as a form of shorthand, after their astrological significances had been discarded. They were, for instance used by the first Astronomer Royal, John Flamsteed, who died in 1719 and were still in currency for a good part of the eighteenth century.¹ Thus Jeffery Whitaker would be displaying a common piece of erudition in using them. He does so consistently, not only in marking each entry, but also when, in the text, he refers to days of the week.

☉	Sunday
☾	Monday
♂	Tuesday
♀	Wednesday
♃	Thursday
♀	Friday
♄	Saturday

In editing the text the original line lay-out, idiosyncratic spelling and use of capitals have been retained, but some of the punctuation has been inserted. The headlines indicate the beginning of a fresh page in the diaries. In the text, footnote references to people are given at the first mention only, see notes on selected persons, pp. 83–97. For field-names, see map at end of volume. Words which were inserted as a correction above the line are indicated thus: []^r.

1 We are indebted to Dr. Alan Chapman for information on these symbols.

THE DIARIES OF JEFFERY WHITAKER

NOTEBOOK I

March. 1738/9.

8. Dinner Bacon and Veal, cold meat.
William Hinwood¹ Diging and Sowing Seeds in the
Garden. East plat.

9. Dinner Roast Veal &c.
gave Ben² leave to go to lent fair³ in the morning
and for his encouragement allow'd him to stay till
monday morning. William Hinwood Dig'd and set plants
in the Garden.

10. Dinner Leg of Mutton and Broth.
I attend the School. at Stokemead in the after
noon. made Trenches for Watering in N E part
of the Lower Ground.⁴ mastr. Aldridge feteh home; his
Father ill.⁵

⊙ 11. Dinner Rump of Beef &c. Mr Watts⁶
in the Afternoon from 2. Cor. 5. 14. Mr Froud⁷
at Bratton. Cold and Snow.

March. 1738/9

12. Ben did not come till $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 9.
Mrs. Leah Aldridge died. John Croom⁸ Died this
morning. unele and Sister⁹ to Deveril after
Dinner. Mrs. Hill, Mr Barnes & Mr Aldridge brought
here.¹⁰ Willm. Whitaker of Westbury Jealous of my

1. For William Hinwood (alt. Henwood), see p. 90.
2. For Ben Bourne, Jeffery Whitaker's school assistant, see p. 89.
3. The first Friday in Lent and Easter Monday were regular fair days in Westbury.
4. For this and subsequent references to the management of the water meadows, see pp. xix–xxii.
5. For the Aldridge family, see p. 83.
6. Mr. John Watts who came from Westbury Leigh was the regular minister at the Bratton Baptist meeting house. He died in 1747.
7. For the Froud (alt. Froude, Frowd) family, see p. 87.
8. For the Croom family, see p. 91.
9. 'Uncle', John Whitaker, also called John Whitaker King or John King because he inherited through his wife property from Philip King, see family tree and p. xxxiv. 'Sister', Katharine (alt. Catharine), later Mrs. Katharine Collins.
10. Two pupils at the school.

Courting the Widow.¹¹ Dinner Roast Qr. of Veal.
Snow and very cold.

13. Dinner stufft Beef &c.
The Weather has been Dry this fortnight.

14. Dinner Lcg of Mutton and broth &c.
Mrs. Leah Aldridge buried at Stoke.¹² John Croom buried
at Bratton a little N E of the Yew Tree.¹³

15. Dinner fry'd Briskat and Boil'd
Beef. cold, Snow. it Snow'd all day long.
fire in the School.

16. Roast Veal for Dinner & Bacon Cale.
the Weather cold and Snowy. Uncle and Sister from
Crockerton.

March. 1738/9.

17. Rode to Warminster before Dinner.
three Rioters to be hang'd. George Warren
set sail for the East Indies, vizt. Bombay.
sail'd from the Downs about a week ago.¹⁴

⊙ 18. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from
Isaiah 55.7. first Clause. Mr. Watts Junr. in
the Evening from Eph.3.19. first Clause.
Dinner Rump of Beef, Bak'd pudding.
Aurora Borealis, very Red and Surprizing every way.

19. Dinner Roast Leg of Mutton &c.
Roast Qr. Veal. two Mr. Watts's at Dinner.
Mr Froud and his Wife at Bratton.

11. The Westbury branch of the family was descended from Stephen Whitaker's grandson, William, see family tree. 'The Widow' is almost certainly Susanna Whitaker, widow of Humphrey Whitaker.
12. Mrs. Leah Aldridge was a member of the Erlestoke Baptist Church. The Erlestoke Parish Register records: 'Leah Aldridge was committed to the ground without Christian burial.'
13. The burial was in the Parish Church graveyard, see Parish Register, 14 March, 1739.
14. The Warrens were substantial clothiers in Warminster. In 1736 Thomas Warren was on the Grand Jury for the Trinity Quarter Sessions and was described as a gentleman (W.A.S. xi [1955]. 67, 147). In the mid-eighteenth century Pitman Warren was living at what is now 32 Vicarage Street. But the cloth trade was declining in Warminster (*vide V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 111). George Warren was probably a younger son of this family who left the country to seek a fortune in the East Indies. The Downs – a roadstead for shipping between the North and South Forelands. The Warrens, like the the Wanseys, had close connections with the Nonconformist cause in Warminster and this probably accounts for Jeffery Whitaker's contact with them. He records three times dining in Warminster with Mr. Warren (11.7.39; 1.9.39; 5.4.41).

Nan Thrush accuses her master with getting her with Child. Mr. J.A. Ballard.¹⁵

20. Dinner Boild Beef &c.
Mr Shore the Watchmaker here to set going the Horologe,¹⁶ having stood still ever since 16. Feb.
Bet Walter & Sal. harman Washing.¹⁷
Mr Ald. Ballard laid a bed all Day at pipers.¹⁸

March. 1738/9.

21 Dinner Leg of Mutton and Broth &c.
Mr. Ballard continued at pipers till Mr. Froud and myself got him out and try'd to the utmost to reconcile him and his Wife which with the assistance of other Friends we happily effected about midnight.

22. Dinner Chine of Beef &c.
sent a Drock¹⁹ to Hoopers Stokemcad, Willm. Hinwood at work there. Brew'd malt of Mr Cockles.²⁰

23. Dinner Boil'd beef &c.
Nan Thrush before the Justice.

24. Dinner Bacon & calc, fry'd beef &c.
Willm Hinwood Watering at Stokemcad. put in a Drock in Hoopers Ground. J. Crooms goods detain'd by J.Nevil.²¹

- © 25. Dinner two Qrs veal Roast & pudding.
Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Ps.29.11. first pt.
Lt. Gray & Lt. Wig.

March. 1739.

26. Dinner Boil'd leg of Mutton & Beef,
Broth &c. Willm. Hughes Taylor at work.²²

15. John Aldridge Ballard lived at the house in the Lower Road now called Grange farm. For the Ballards, see p. 84. For the Thrush case, see Diary, 23.3.38/39; 29.4.39; 17.9.39.
16. *Horologe*, a clock showing hours, not minutes.
17. These were two washerwomen regularly employed in the Whitaker household. For the 'big wash', see p. xlvii. For the Walter family, see p. 96.
18. Pipers has not been certainly identified, although it was probably the White Horse Inn. Our suggestion is that, since Edward Gale who was licensed as an ale-seller on the 5 September, 1739, (see below, n. 145) married Elizabeth Piper, this may have been the name given to his inn. John Sweetland, who lived next door to this inn, stood surety for Gale in 1739.
19. *Drock*, a short underground drain, usually under a roadway. It can also mean a flat stone forming a bridge over a drain.
20. Mr. Cockle, probably of the Westbury family.
21. For the relations between these two families see p. 94.
22. William Hughes was regularly employed to mend the boys' clothes.

April. 1739.

5. Dinner Rump of Beef & Cale, garden stuff being very Scarce. Mr Ballard tiling part of his house of the home living.³⁰ John Sweetland plow'd Butts ground.³¹ Mr Humphrey here after Dinner. Mr Hilliker and his Wife stay'd all night.³²
6. Dinner Bacon and Boild veal, Roast Loin of veal. Mr Salmon at Bratton.³³ Mr. A Ballard differed with uncle at pipers. Willm. Whitaker upholder from London.³⁴
7. Mr Salmon and I Rode norton to pay a Years Rent for the Widow. Mr Bennett³⁵ not at home. came by Warminster.
- ⊙ 8. Dinner Roast Chine of Beef. J.North's Father here.³⁶ the wind very High. blow'd of the top of the Hay rick. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from the same as last ⊙. Mr Axford puts his horse at Mr Blatche's.

April. 1739.

9. Dinner boild veal and bacon, greens. the Wind very cold and high. John Sweetland pd 13£ towards Rent. Mothr. paid Sister 15£. Willm. Hinwood grubing at Marsh.
10. Dinner 2 Legs of Mutton and broth. Willm. Hinwood as Yesterday. Mr Atkins came.³⁷ Weather cold & windy.
11. Dinner 2 loins of veal, Roast, fry'd and Stew'd meat. Sister and Tom³⁸ at

30. 'Ballard's home living', now Grange Farm, almost next door to Jeffery Whitaker's 'home living' on the Lower Road. For this property, see LL.MSS. OS 206.

31. For John Sweetland, see p. 95.

32. Messrs. Humphrey and Hilliker were parents of pupils living respectively at Berkley and Frome, see p. 97.

33. Mr. Salmon, a relation of 'Cousin Elizabeth Whitaker', née Salmon, widow of Henry who had died in February, 1739. Her family lived at Burnett in Somerset.

34. *Upholder*, dealer in small wares or secondhand articles (clothes, furniture etc.). The connection of the London Whitakers with the Bratton ones is not clear.

35. For Mr. Bennett of Norton Bavant, owner of the Chantry estate, see p. lix.

36. J. North, a pupil at the school.

37. Mr. Atkins, parent of a pupil.

38. For Tom. see p. 89. His surname never appears.

Warminster Fair.³⁹ Tom Spew'd⁴⁰ down Stairs.
William Hinwood at Marsh.⁴¹ Weather Warm.

12. Dinner Rump of Beef & thick end of Neats Rand.⁴² weather fine. Mr Ballard diging Cellar at W End of the home house.⁴³

13. Dinner two Roast Loins of veal &c. Willm. Hinwood began laying out the walk in the Orchard. Sister Rode to froom with nimrod.⁴⁴

April. 1739.

14. Dinner Gammon of Bacon & veal. Henry Nevil⁴⁵ cut of Timber, hal'd it up, made a Cole Box. Willm. Hinwood about the Walk.

⊙ 15. Dinner Sr. Loin of Beef & Leg of mutton, both boil'd & pudding. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Ps. 9. 17. The Wicked shall be turned into Hell and all the nations that forget God.⁴⁶

16. Dinner Loin and Shoulder of veal, Roast cold meat. Tom went with parson to Rudge to the Carrier. Mr Mattock⁴⁷ & Mr Alwright⁴⁸ just at Dinner time, but would not stay Dinner. Will. Whitaker of London & his Father. Ms. Salmon & Ms. Rebekah here. Willm. Hinwood cleaving plocks.⁴⁹

17. Dinner Boiled Beef, vitz. pt. of the Chine & thick end neats rand. Henry nevil at Work. mov'd Stile from the Sheephouse Ground to the upper end of the Marsh; Do from against Blatches fleet to Stokemead water Carriage.

39. Three fairs had been granted to Warminster in earlier centuries. This was the third in point of time, granted to Thomas Thynne in 1679 for 10–12 April, see above, p. xlix.

40. *Spew'd*, an unusual use of this verb in an intransitive form.

41. Marsh, Dilton Marsh.

42. *Neats Rand*, a fillet of neat (ox).

43. Jeffery makes a number of comments on J. A. Ballard's house alterations along the road. The datestone still on the front of the house marks this rebuilding:

B

I A

1 7 3 9

44. For Nimrod Bristow, see p. 90.

45. For the Nevil family, see p. 94. Henry Nevil's wheelwright shop and saw-pit were immediately next to Smarts, on the site of what is now 'Whitakers'.

46. Almost the only occasion when Jeffery quotes the text in full.

47. Mr. Mattock of West Lavington had two nephews in the school, see p. 97.

48. Mr. Alwright was an ale-seller in Edington.

49. *Plock*, dialect word for a block of firewood, still in use.

April. 1739.

18. Dinner at home Leg of mutton, veal Broth, pudding. Mr pryor kept a Court Dinner. Mr Palmer [~~kept~~] did not come, so no Court.⁵⁰ the Dinner good; victuals large in Quantity and well Drest; good Beer and good Attendance.

19. Dinner Boil'd Beef &c.
John Sweetland Sow'd Barley and Clover in Butts Ground.⁵¹

20. Dinner Roast Loin of veal, furmity.⁵²
8 Boy went home for Easter. wind Cold N.E.
Spring Backward.

21. Dinner Boild Beef &c.
Tom went wth. Alford⁵³ to Warminster. the Weather very Cold, Wind N.E. Mr Palmer not at leisure to make a Contract this 3 Weeks.
Let Sister bleed.

- ⊙ 22. Dinner Roast loin of veal. Mr. Watts in the Afternoon from Ps. 34. 22. Rain all Day long.
Ben. home before Dinner to come ♂ morn.

April. 1739.

23. Dinner fry'd Beef and Cold veal.
but 8 boy left of 23. Co. Eliz Whitaker here in the Afternoon. the foundation of Mr Ballard Cellar began last week.

24. Ben. Came about 10 aClock. I walk'd afoot to Thos. Phipps Esqr. din'd there wth Mr French and Mr Warren. before Dinner took a walk to see Well head new Mill.⁵⁴ walk'd to Westbury Parish meeting at Wm. Mansels⁵⁵ in the Evening wth Young Esqr, Thos & his two Sisters, Mr. Wm. Turner & his five Sisters, two of Esqr John's Daughters, [Mr Peach],⁵⁶ Mr Hillier & Dr. Baily.⁵⁶ came home after midnight.

50. For the Court Dinners and Mr. Palmer, the Longleat steward, see p. lviii. For the Pryor family, see p. 95.
51. On the rotation of crops on the Butts ground, see p. xvii.
52. *Furmity*, frumenty, hulled wheat boiled in milk, seasoned with cinnamon, sugar etc.
53. Alford, a pupil, see p. 96.
54. Thomas Phipps lived at Westbury Leigh. Nothing remains of Wellhead New Mill which was at the south end of Wellhead Lane.
55. For the Westbury Vestry meeting, see p. lvi. William Mansell was a churchwarden at Westbury (*W.R.S.* xi (1955). 16.)
56. Dr. Baily, one of the Whitakers' medical doctors.

25. Ben went yesterday with Mr Edwards. did not come all this day, so that could not go my Journey but attended the School. sent Tom after him.

26. Rode to Beckington. Din'd with Mr Naish.⁵⁷ he paid for 1 year. Mr Skurray⁵⁸ not at home – Mr. Love⁵⁹ – Rode to Froom. put my horse at Cuzners. Lodg'd at Mr Collins's.⁶⁰ Mrs. Moody Junr.⁶¹ Ms. Adlam⁶² there.
Ms. Elianor⁶³ to Bratton.

April. 1739.

27. Mr John Watts of Bristol, having sent 4 of Flavel's⁶⁴ fol. to Froom, directed to me to sell for him. I left two with Jonath. Watts. Mr Prichard paid me 5s for J. Harris.^{64a} Din'd at Mr Collins, home after.

28. Dinner Fry'd meat and pudding.
Ben. Clean'd the Windows in the School. I began to Collect the Land Tax.⁶⁵

- ⊙ 29. Dinner two Roast Spear Ribbs.
Mr Watts from the same as last ⊙.

57. Mr. Naish, a parent at Beckington, see p. 97.

58. Mr. Skurray, a parent at Beckington, see p. 97.

59. Mr. Love, a parent. Members of the Love family visited Bratton frequently, see p. 97.

60. The Frome Collinses were related to the Whitakers.

61. The Moody family was also related to the Whitakers. This was probably the cloth-worker family attached to Badcox Lane Baptist Church.

62. The Adlams were clothiers and maltsters, chiefly in Westbury, Warminster, Corsley and Crockerton. Samuel Adlam was a clothier in Corsley in 1688 and William Adlam, clothier of Bull Mill, Crockerton, is recorded in 1704 (*V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 20, 69). The Adlam family, like the Aldridges, were early associated with Nonconformity. For their support of the nascent Baptist Church at Crockerton, see II, n. 55). The Warminster Adlams supported the Independent cause and played a part in the secession from the Old Meeting to the New c.1720 (*V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 126). Jeffery Whitaker's close association with this family no doubt arose out of this dissenting tradition. They figure largely in the diaries, especially Miss Adlam whom Jeffery wished to marry, see index for all references.

63. Miss Elianor, a member of the Froud family who visited Bratton frequently and probably lived in Edington. Later she was named in a lease of Ballards in Bratton but does not seem to have lived there. She died a spinster, leaving in her will (proved 1776) £50 to the Bratton meeting house (*W.N.Q.* iv. 54).

64. John Flavel, son of an ejected minister, was educated at University College, Oxford, ordained in Salisbury in 1650 and settled as a minister in Dartmouth, Devon, during the Commonwealth. He was himself ejected in 1662 but continued to preach clandestinely to his flock, 'flipping into Dartmouth' on occasion. All accounts of him stress his erudition and reputation as a preacher. He published several volumes of sermons and after his death his works were collected in two volumes, together with his *Life*, in 1701, with later editions in 1716 and 1731. In this reference, Jeffery must mean separate volumes of sermons. Flavel proved a standby later at the time of the smallpox epidemic, see index for references.

64a The Harrises of Frome were cloth-workers associated with Badcox Lane Baptist Church.

65. For the Land Tax, see p. lxi.

the Young Thrush hatcht about 1 in the Afternoon.⁶⁶

30. Dinner Boild beef &c pidgeon pye.
Mr Gibb's present of a Doz. of pidgeons 3.
parish meeting at Tuckers which should have been
Easter Ƨ.⁶⁷ the Governour into the Country.⁶⁸

1. May Dinner roast Qrs of mutton.
A parcel of fools new dressing the Maypole
in the lower Street.⁶⁹ the weather having been []
for some time, the Apple Trees all in a
Blossom. Mr Froud at Bratton.

May.1739.

2. Dinner Boild beef & mutton pye.
like to have Difficulty to Collect the Taxes.⁷⁰
Boys come in but slowly after Easter.

3. Dinner Roast Qr of veal & cold meat.
the Season very prolific.

4. Dinner pigs feet, hocks, Ears, blade bones
&c. Mr. Richd. Moody at Dinner. a man came
with a man Tiger to shew the boys. Mr Ballard
differs with his mother-in-law. tapt the last ½ hhd [hogshead]
of Cyder.

5. Dinner Roast Qr of Lamb & Gammon of
Bacon & Cale. Mrs. George gone from Mr Ballard's
to Mr. Watt's. Mr. Bell gave me notice that the
news was sent. fools dressing the upper maypole.

- ⊙ 6. Dinner Boild Beef pudding &c.
Mr Watts being gone to Bristow, Mr. Wilkins (John)
preach'd in the Afternoon from Math. 10. 15.
Ben. to Westbury Church. came back in good time.

May.1739.

7. Dinner Roast ¼ of veal &c.
Mrs. George from Bratton. Mr Ballard (JB)
very backward in payments. the herd went up at hill
first.⁷¹ Wm Leigh died this day.

66. Jeffery's oblique way of referring to the birth of Nan Thrush's illegitimate child, see references above, n. 15.

67. For the Bratton Vestry meeting at Tuckers, see pp. lvi-lvii. Ƨ = Monday.

68. The Governour, William Phipps of Heywood house, Governor of Bombay, see below, n. 115 and p. 88.

69. See p. xxxv.

70. See p. lxii.

71. See p. xxii.

8. Dinner two Roast Legs of Mutton.
Mrs. Eliz. Whitaker, Ms. Salmon & Sister walk'd to
Westbury. Mr. J. Ballard a Wicked man to his Wife.
Mrs. Hodges here.

9. Dinner pigs face, green Bones, boild handles⁷²
of veal &c. A man warn'd us to prove Fathers Will.⁷³
Mr. J.B. looks mighty budge.⁷⁴

10. Dinner Roast Chine of Beef &c.
after Dinner was taken very ill in a Collick. this
disorder has worse effects than any of that kind before.
the Court Leet at Westbury.

11. Dinner Chine of Bacon, Cale &c,
Apple Dumplings. Lanham⁷⁵ brought.
very much Shock'd wth my Disorder, finding a very
Sensible alteration in all the Animal Oeconomy.

May 12. 1739.

Dinner Cold Roast Beef & pancake &c.
in the Afternoon Carried the Land and window Tax
to Westbury. pd it to Mr Richd. Gibbs.⁷⁶ was at Mr
Wroughtons,⁷⁷ to pay him but he was ill. did not see him.
Recd. a Letter from Mrs. Bird with the Acct.

72. *Handles*, 'something resembling a handle', used of joints of meat.

73. Jeffery's father had died at the end of January, 1737, and his burial on 1 February, 1737, is recorded in the Parish Register in a distinctive gothic hand, presumably by his son. The delay in proving his will is strange. It was not until 9.1.41 that Jeffery and his mother were summoned to Salisbury for this purpose, see below, III, n. 27. The will, dated 8.9.36, was proved in London, 8.7.41.

74. *Budge*, grave, out of temper, sulky (dialect).

75. Lanham, a local doctor of Melksham, also father of a pupil, see p. 97.

76. For these, see pp. lxi-lxii. Mr. Richard Gibbs, receiver of taxes in Westbury.

77. Mr. Wroughton, Vicar of Westbury and Norton Bavant, with Dilton Marsh and Bratton attached as chapels of ease. Presentments at the Visitation Courts record a running feud between the churchwardens of Bratton and the Vicar, as illustrated in the following in 1721: 'We present Mr. William Wroughton Vicar of Westbury for not officiating and performing Divine Service either by himself or Curate in our Parish Church of Bratton on Whitsunday now last passing and several other Lords Dayes.' William Whitaker & William Emme, Churchwardens.

'2nd August, 1721. I present Wm. Whitaker and Wm. Emme the present Chapel Wardens or Guardians of Bratton annex to Westbury for neglect of their Duty in not providing a full & publick Common Prayer Book (the old one being very defective) and also for neglecting to provide two or three Bibles for the Pulpit & pew for the decent exercise of my ministry there. Wm. Wroughton, Vicar of Westbury.'

'9th Nov., 1721. We present Mr. William Wroughton Vicar of Westbury with Bratton annexed for not reading prayers and p'forming Divine Service in the Parish Church of Bratton aforesaid on Sunday the sixth also on Sunday the Twentyeth of August last on Sunday the first & on Sunday the fifteenth of October last . . . William Emme, Will. Whitaker, Churchwardens.' (WRO. D25/8). For the dispute over the status of Bratton, see p. lvi.

- ⊙ 13. Dinner Roast Qr of veal & Pudding.
Mr Watts not at home. Mr Horton preach'd from
John 16.27 first part. Ms. Elianor came down to uncle
king's after Meeting.⁷⁸ Mr. Ballard not at meeting.
Tom powney Watch'd this night first.

14. Dinner Boil'd Beef bacon &c.
Kill'd the pig in the Evening. Weather wet.

15. Dinner fry'd harslet,⁷⁹ cold meat.
I have not been right well since 24 last.
the Visitation at Westbury.⁸⁰ Moll Ransom &
Sal harman washing.

16. Dinner Roast Chine of Beef &c.
Mr Allen (Dur)⁸¹ at Dinner with 2 of his friends.
Ms. Elianor in this Street.

May. 1739

17. Dinner boild beef &c. I took physick
(vizt. Tinkture of Rhubarb) in the morning. I should
have taken it over night for it did not work till the Afternoon. it
was a very wet morning.

18. Dinner Roast Spear Ribbs, Cold meat.
Aunt Queen ill. ⁸² I don't think she will live long.
two young Elms Saw'd off at Butts.

19. Dinner Cold meat and fry'd &c.
Bought two piggs of John Blatch for a Guinea.
Took another dose of physick at night wch work'd next day.

- ⊙ 20. Dinner a Roast Shoulder of Mutton,
Bone of Bacon, pudding &c. Mr Watts in the
Afternoon from Hosea. 14.8.
A great Storm of Thunder Lightning & hail,
hail Stones bigger than Boys marvels, with
pointed ends near an Inch long. Two Storms,
one between 4 & 5, the other between 5 & 6. the
last Storm, tho' it lasted no more than 20', yet
the water run down Tinkers lane⁸³ almost enough

78. Mr. Horton, probably one of the Frome Horton family. John Horton belonged to the Baptist Starve-acre congregation and then the Badcox Lane Church. Uncle kings, see above, n. 9 for the epithet 'king'.

79. *Harslet*, haslet, meat loaf of chopped pig meat set in a mould. This cold meat would make a quick, easy meal on washing day.

80. For the Visitations, see p. lx.

81. Mr. Allen of Durrington, see later references, 12.9.39; 7.1.40/1.

82. 'Aunt' Queen, unidentified relation.

83. For the lane, still called Tinkers, see map.

to drive a mill, and in other places in the like proportion so that it was a great flood. an unusual appearance in the East about 6 in the Evening, not much unlike a Spout at Sea.

May 1739.

20 [1]. Dinner hocks & feet &c. Ben in an ill temper last night and this morning because he did not go to Westbury yesterday to stay all night.

21 [2]. Rode with Mr Pryor & Mr Jonathan Ballard to Long leat. added another Life in this, vitz. Sister's for 65£. it was 5£ more than should be.⁸⁴ yesterday was my Lords birth day.

22 [3]. Dinner boild Beef &c. Mr ladd & Mr pryor at Dinner, Mr Ladd measured Mr Ballards Timber. at Sheep house Grounds; mark'd 5 Trees.

23 [4]. Dinner Roast Quarter of veal & fry'd meat, and pudding. Sister & Mrs. Blatch walk'd to Leigh to Esqr. Phipps. came home late. Ben home in the Evening; with leave.

24 [5]. Dinner Boild Beef &c. Wm. Hinwood & 3 more cut down 5 Scrubbed trees at Sheep house Grounds. Aunt Continues ill. Ben. came about half an hour after 7 in the morning but was forc'd to sit up for him in the Evening. Tom fetch'd Co. S. Rendall.⁸⁵

May. 1797.

26. Dinner Fry'd meat & Chine of Bacon & Cale. Mr. J. Ballard I hear has agreed at Long leat about the Timber & Bought Skinners.⁸⁶

⊙ 27. Dinner Roast Qr Lamb & Roast Leg

84. The extra 'life' on the Whitaker property held from Lord Weymouth was necessitated by the death of Jeffery Whitaker's father. The new lease 'to Jeffery Schoolmaster' was dated 5.6.39 (LL. MSS. OS194).

85. For the Rendall (alt. Randall) relations, see p. xxviii.

86. The lease was dated 16.6.39, granting J. A. Ballard 'a Tenement with the Orchard wherein a House formerly stood in Bratton together with all other lands to the same belonging . . . called Skinners.' (LL. MSS. OS210). The orchard was close to the junction of Emms Lane and the Tynings. When J. A. Ballard died of smallpox in November, 1740, Arthur Whitaker took the lease and here William Whitaker, the later diarist, built a little mud house in which to meditate (see *William Whitaker His Book 1776-1840*, ed. & introduced by Jean Morrison (pub. by the West Wiltshire Branch of the Historical Assoc., und.).

of mutton & pudding. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from 1 Kings 18. 21. I was at Church in the morning. heard Mr Wroughton from [].

28. Dinner. Roast Chine of Beef, Cold meat, I sent a Letter to Brother.⁸⁷ I have been very well ever since I took the Tincture of Rhubarb about a Week ago

29. Dinner pigs Chaps, hocks &c, pudding.
Ransom

Mol. ~~Ransom~~ & Sal. Harman Washing.
the weather very Dry for 4 or 5 days past.

30. Ben having taken a haunt of late to stay out till 10 a Clock most nights but last night I having sat up till 11, he did not come of all night & this morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 9 he went to Bed till 12 without saying any thing & left the School to me. I have endeavoured all that I can to reclaim him by fair means.

May 1739.

31. Dinner Roast beef. Mr Hill & Mr Barnes here; paid me.⁸⁸ I was taken ill in the Evening.

June 1. was extreamly ill last night in the Chollick and this day an Extream bad fit sent for Dr. Towgood⁸⁹ & Dr. Baily. I was bled [14 oz]ⁿ and took pills in the Evening.

2. Dr. Towgood being here the fore part of the Day, I being bad, the physick workt pretty well. Thos. Phipps Esqr. sent a man last night on purpose with a Bottle of something for the Collick.

- ⊙ 3. This day, being ill, did not go to meeting. had abundance of visitors. took another dose of physick at night. Mr Joyce⁹⁰ came last night. tarryed this day. I was this day 36 Years of Age

87. 'Brother', Merari, Jeffery's elder brother, see p. xxviii.

88. Messrs. Hill and Barnes, both parents of pupils. Jeffery mentions two Hills, one of Warminster, one of Horningsham, see p. 97.

89. Dr. Towgood, another local doctor.

90. Mr. Joyce of Fordingbridge had two sons in the school, see p. 97.

4. Physick work'd. I was very weak but easy of the former pains. I am oblig'd to many Friends that came and sent to see and hear of me.

June. 5. 1739

Tho. I continued very weak, I took a vomit in the Evening of a ʒ of *ippichocuanna*⁹¹ and went to bed Extremely weak. Mr Salmon had his Family home.

6. hopes of amendment. Ben writ out Accts. I having kept myself in the Hall for the most part.

7. I have not eat a bit of flesh since this day Sennet. Mr. Ballard's load of freestone. I continue to amend.

8. Henry Saintsbury⁹² white wash'd the School. Tom and Ben. Back bite their Master last night. I sent Ben home but did not tell him what I knew of him. I ventured out of Doors this Day not having been out this week & eat a little Chick flesh.

9. The weather very Wet all this week past. I had a pretty good Stomach. eat heartily at Dinner

June. 1739

⊙ 10. Being taken very ill last night [about 12]^a with another fit of the Collick, continued in pain till about noon. took more pills that carried it off.

[11. No entry]

12. was very much reduc'd with this last fit and am very weak. began taking testacious powders.⁹³

13. I was a little better. sister with Amy went afoot to Crockerton. weather of late has been much inclining to wett.

91. *Ippichocuanna*, *Ipecacuanha*, originally a South American shrub with purgative properties but the name was applied to many other plants with roots used for emetic purposes.

92. Two Saintsburys were employed by Jeffery Whitaker as masons but nothing is known of them in Bratton.

93. *Testacious powders*, medicinal powder prepared from shells of animals, used for indigestion.

13. [*sic*] I continue to amend. appetite increasing. Mrs. Ballard and Ms. Elianor here.

14. Mr Palmer, my Ld. Weymouth's Steward, came here with the Leases. I paid him the residue of the fine and Executed the Lease for Sister's Life after mothers & mine.⁹⁴

June 1739

15. Mr Saml. Adlam brought Sister home. Amy lost her self. I seem to amend very fast. I take a glass of Wine night and morning in which Bitters is infus'd.

16. being recovered from my illness, Rode after Dinner to West Lavington to Mr Mattock's.

- ⊙ 17. abode at home. I heard Mr Watts in the Afternoon.
at Church. heard Mr Wroughton in the morning.

18. Sister and myself Rode to Durrington,⁹⁵ from thence to Amesbury & Salisbury, where we lay all night.

19. Rode from Salisbury to Fording Bridge. Din'd with Mr Joyce. lay there at night. was well entertain'd & paid.

June. 1739.

20. Rode from Fording Bridge to Norington. Mr. Henry⁹⁶ not home till the Evening. we got there about noon.

21. After Dinner set out from Norington to Tisbury. lay there at night at Mr. Alford's.⁹⁷

22. After Dinner Rode home but stay'd some time at Crockerton.

23. Rode to Beckington & Froom. lay at Mr Collin's Din'd at Mr Naishe's.

94. See above, n. 84. The lease shows that he paid a fine of £65 for adding his sister's name to the lease.

95. The start of a round of fee-collection, see p. xlv.

96. Mr. Henry, presumably a parent.

97. Mr. Alford, also presumably a parent.

24. at From all Day. heard Mr Henwood in the morning and Mr Hendy in the Afternoon.⁹⁸

25. from Froom to Mr Humphrey's to Dinner. home in the Afternoon.

June 1739

26. Mother & Tom Rode to Crockerton, Mrs. Fricker⁹⁹ being there. I rose early in the Morning. walkt for my health.

27. the Weather has been very wet for some time. I think the wettest Summer that has been known for a long time. but 6 Boys come. Mother & Tom came home.

28. Willm. Hinwood cut the Acre of Clover at Coleman & a swathe down the Close. Ben made 4d Books.¹⁰⁰ vine Cut by T. Gawen.¹⁰¹

29. Tom Sow'd Turnips at Butts Weeded plants agains Blatches fleet. the Weather better.

30. Rode to Warminster. din'd wth Mr Aldridge. his Son not to come but other Sons to come another time. they are well Satisfied wth what I have done for Mr Richd. I saw a man make a pen and write without hands.

July. 1739.

⊙ 1. heard Mr Watts in the Afternoon from 1. Cor. 7.29. first Clause. I gave Ben leave to go to Westbury Church in the Afternoon & to stay all night.

2. Ben came between 6 & 7 in the morning. Uncle & Tom Cock'd the Clover: the weather fine. for almost a week past. Mother & Sister at Mr Ballards. Tea lost.¹⁰²

98. Edward Henwood was assistant pastor at Sheppard's Barton Church from 1733, under William Hendy, pastor 1708-41. Henwood succeeded him, dying in 1752/3. See also below, entry for 26.4.41.

99. The Fricker family of Warminster were probably close acquaintances of the Whitakers, see below, Diary, May to June, 1741, for Jeffery Whitaker's rival in love, T. Fricker. There was a property in Bratton called Frickers, probably now Court Farm, but the family had left the village some time earlier.

100. Making homemade schoolbooks was part of Ben's job, see the references on pp. xli-xlii.

101. For Thomas Gawen, see p. 43.

102. The value of tea is obvious from this and the entry for 4.7.39.

3. had in the Clover. gave ben leave to go to Horse Race about 3¼ hs in the Afternoon. home at 10.

4. Mr Blatch brought hay from Stoke mead. Mr Ballard search'd for Tea; found some on Francis Merritt's wife.¹⁰³ Mr Joyce with his son.

5. Time spent in prayer at the meeting house. being a day appointed by the Association.¹⁰⁴ Thos Olden¹⁰⁵ cut his grass. the Weather continues fine. Dr. Bayly and his Sister Mrs. Smith here.

July. 1739.

6. A back board for T. Lawes¹⁰⁶ to make him hold up his head. but 15 Boarders. I continue in as good health as ever in my Life. thanks be to God. Jean Tucker¹⁰⁷ died this night.

7. Uncle's Close cut. Boys bought Apples; return'd them. Mr J Ballard to London. design'd to be at home 3.

⊙ 8. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Rom. 7. 24. Thos. Phipps Junr Esqr. took the test at Bratton Church.¹⁰⁸ Mr Tucker here at dinner. J.D' may before the Church.¹⁰⁹

9. The way into the Church Yard mended.¹¹⁰ Ben. had leave to go to Edington fair.¹¹¹ staid till 1. John mattock a fit, Compounded of Drunkenness and a Hydrophoby¹¹² I think.

10. Rode to Warminster Sessions. was called on the Hundred Jury; did not agree to the presentment.¹¹³

103. For the Merritt family, see p. 93.

104. The Western Baptist Association.

105. For Thomas Olden, see p. 94.

106. T. Lawes, a pupil, see p. 97.

107. For the Tucker family, see p. 95.

108. For the occasion on which Thomas Phipps 'took the test' and the corroborating certificate, see p. xxx n. 9.

109. For J. D'May. see p. 90.

110. See p. lx.

111. A fair belonging to the manor of Edington Romsey is recorded c. 1550, held then on Relic Sunday, i.e. the third after Midsummer Day. Later it was held on a Monday early in July (*V. C. H. Wilts.* viii. 246).

112. *Hydrophy*, lit. horror of water, hence rabid disease, madness. Probably a sly joke to the effect that he should have taken more water with his drink.

113. On Quarter Sessions and the presentments of the Hundred Jury, see pp. lx-lxi.

Din'd at the Search Hoop.¹¹⁴ Mr Ballard from London in the morning.

July. 1739.

11. Rode to Sessions with Sister behind me. I did not set my hand to the presentment about the road through Thickets lane & the Governours Grounds.¹¹⁵ Din'd at Mr Warren's.

12. the Horse shoed all round. Tom fetcht Sister from Warminster. Aunt Q. took bad. finish'd making the Ink began 2 Inst. War proclaimed. Letters of marque¹¹⁶

13. The Weather having been wet for 2 days past, this was very wet. a great flood run over between the Close and Redlands.¹¹⁷

14. Sent a Letter to Mr Ward¹¹⁸ and one to Brother. Ben pasted a Dozen of Books.

- © 15. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Rev. 3. 18. Ms. Elianor not at meeting, ill in her teeth and head. the Weather wet. Boys not at Church any where. Ben abode in the School.

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16. Rose between 4 & 5. walk'd to patcomb

114. The Search Hoop, an inn on the north side of the High Street, Warminster, part of the Hungerford estate. It was probably really the Hungerford Arms. These arms included roundels. A search or search hoop was a dialect word for a round sieve. Hence the nickname. The inn was burnt down about 1818.
115. This entry give a clue to the identity of 'the Governour' (see entry 30.4.39). Thickets Lane now Capps Lane, ran close to the grounds of Heywood House, the residence of William Phipps, Governor of Bombay.
116. This entry refers to the outbreak of war between England and Spain, the so-called War of Jenkins's Ear. War was not officially declared by Britain until 19 October but the outbreak of hostilities took place in July. Jeffery Whitaker either received the news in garbled form or turned a rumour into an actual proclamation of war. Letters of marque: letters of reprisal first issued by George III on 26 April, 1738, 'to such of his subjects whose Ships or effects may have been seized on the High Seas by Spanish *garda costa* . . . (see H. W. V. Temperley, 'The Causes of the War of Jenkins Ear, 1739,' *T.R.H.S.*, 3rd ser. iii. (1909). 198-236.
117. Redlands (i.e. reedlands), a low-lying pasture north-west of Bratton liable to flooding from Tiswell Spring.
118. Mr. Ward, a London bookseller.
119. For various calculations of this type, see p. lxiii.

hill to see a Gulf drove down out of the Linch¹²⁰
 at the lower side of our Acre. it contains about
 Ten Load of Earth drove with great froce at least
 30 foot into Thos. Oldens Land under the Linch.
 I suppose it was done ♀ last by the violence
 of the rain, no appearance of a flood above it
 but a great appearance of a flood below it, so
 that it must be a Collection of water under ground
 burst out Suddenly with great violence.
 Cucumbers sold 3 a penny. a great shower about
 3 a Clock. no news came.

17. Ms. Mary Love came before Dinner.
 Amy's ¹²¹ Father buried out of the Work house.

18. Weather chang'd for dry. Walk'd up the
 Hill and round the Castle¹²² wth Ms. Love & Sister.

19. Willm. Hinwood and his boy cut the Grass
 below the house. I walk't to Edington wth Ms.
 Love and Sister to Mr. Alwright's.

July. 1739.

20. The Weather fine. busic Hay making. Ms.
 Love sent for.
(a line erased, probably later)

21. work'd very hard at Haymaking.
 3 Boys ill, vitz. Mr Willm. Humphrey, Mr Joyce.
 Mr Atkins. Mr Hilliker and his Wife came Just
 at Dinner. Rick'd the Hay in pt.
 uncle & Nimrod. Yesterday & today & Mr Watts pt.

⊙ 22. Mr Humphrey came to see his Son.
 Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Isaiah. 41. 17.
 Thos. morgan born about half an hour after 9
 in the morn. set down may 23. 1745. [this is in a small hand later.]

23. Bratton Revel.¹²³ Ben out from leaving

120. 'The Linch', pre-historic lynchets can be seen on the west slope of the hill. See map for the location.

121. Amy, a household servant, see p. 89.

122. The iron-age earthwork was already called 'the Castle', as it still is today.

123. Village revels usually took place on or near the day of the saint to whom the parish church was dedicated. Bratton's patron saint was St. James the Great, celebrated on 25 July. Bratton revel continued until late in the nineteenth century. *The Wiltshire Times*, 27.7.1878, reported stalls, a tea and dancing to the village band which was curtailed by a thunder storm. School log books (WRO.386) record through the 1860s and 70s many absences on account of Bratton revel. An entry for 26.7.69—'Bratton revel and Stokes feast'—shows that the church origin was not forgotten (Bratton Church was in the hamlet of Stoke).

work time till 11 Clock, Tom till $\frac{1}{2}$ after 10.
dry'd the orchard hay & put it on the Reek.¹²⁴

24. An Eclipse of the Sun: observ'd the end
at 29' after 5 pm. Tipt the Reek.
Ben went out about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 8. did not come
home of all night. I sat up till after 10.

July. 1739.

25. Ben home about 5 morn. went to bed. I
attended the School till 10.
Washers this day. a great ado at Revel this
year but I thank God I saw none of it.

26. Bottled Ink. filled 16 Quart Bottles. The
Hay reek Thatch'd. Weather inclining to wet
again. Willm. Emme died.¹²⁵

27. I attend the School the whole day. Ben
wrote out operations in the Double Rule of three.

28. Tom went to Warminster wth the Horse for the
Box of Books. I at Farm in the Evening wth James
Drewett.

⊙ 29. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Acts 4.12. Ben
to Church in the Afternoon. stay'd all night.

July.1739.

30. Sister and Tom to Corsley fair¹²⁶ to buy
Cheese. Mrs. Ballard & Ms. Elianor here. Tom
came home with the Cheese.
Ben came about 9 in the morning.

31. Tom went after Sister. Mr Ballard took
down his Granary to remove it.
Ben wrote Tare and Treet Sums wth operations.¹²⁷

August 1. Reaping began at Bratton 3 last.

124. *Reek*, dialect word for rick.

125. For the Emm (alt. Emme) family, see p. 92.

126. In 1232 Godfrey de Craycombe granted to Corsley a weekly market and an annual fair on the feast of St. Margaret (20 July). According to the *V.C.H. Wilts.* (viii. 20) 'the fair is not mentioned again until 1770 when it was held on Corsley Heath on the first Monday in August for the sale of cattle, horses and cheese.' But clearly it was flourishing in the mid-eighteenth century, held in 1739 on Monday, 20 July.

127. *Tare*, the weight of a wrapping or receptacle deducted from the gross weight of goods in order to determine the net weight.

Trett, an allowance on goods sold by weight after deduction of tare. Such sums were obviously designed for boys entering a merchant career.

John Humphrey's Arm grown Crooked by keeping it up too Close with a Drying Cere Cloth¹²⁸ when Dislocated. but like to become straiter with mothers bathing it with Dwarf Elder¹²⁹ &c.

2. Mr. Ballards Cornice & upper floor put up. mastr. Francis Skurray here and naish, an Hermophrodite here Mrs. Blatch all the afternoon. Mr Halliday at the door.¹³⁰

3. Rode to Beckington to advise with Mr Skurray about Bird's affair. din'd with Mrs. Love. call'd on Mr Henwood; Mr. Hillman paid in full.¹³¹ none of the Birds family to be spoke with at Trowbridge.

August. 1739.

4. Rode to Mr Madox about Bird's affair. call'd on Mr Hill at Mr. Frouds, at Mr Moodys, & Mr Adlams, at Warminster. home with Mr. A. Ballard. he at Law with Mr. Maddox.

⊙ 5. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from St. John. 14.6. John Moody to London.

Ben. & 2 Boys to Ashton Church. Amy gathered filberts.

6. Sent a Letter to Bird the Carrier. Ben. Writing out Interest.

7. Dig'd down a Shord¹³² to come with the faggots of Stokemead into Rush bed. Willm. Hughes and his Son here to amend Cloaths.

8. Willm. Hughes here amending Clothes. Mr. Blatches plow¹³³ fetch'd Wood from Stokemead, 5 Load.

128. *Cere cloth*, a cloth smeared or impregnated with wax, used as a plaster (e.g. Pepys, 1667: 'did sprain my right foot . . . To bed and there had a cerecloth laid to my foot').

129. *Dwarf Elder*, *Sambucus Ebulus*, a herbaceous plant whose leaves—bruised and boiled—were made into a poultice for reducing swelling and inflammation.

130. Mr. Halliday, almost certainly a relation by marriage of the Ballards. John Ballard, eldest son of Philip Ballard, married Elizabeth Halliday, daughter of Giles Halliday of Wedhampton at Urchfont. 13.11.22. See below, entry for 18.9.39.

131. Mr. Hillman, a parent, probably of Frome.

132. *Shord*, cleft or gap in a hedge or bank.

133. *Plow*, a cart. See p. xvii for Jeffery Whitaker's arrangements about carting.

August. 1739.

9. Two Taylors at work here
Mr. Blatches plow fetch'd 4 Load of Wood from
Stokemead.

10. Mr Ballard's Foundation for a Wall from our
Barn against the Street. the mason to have 8d a
perch & the wood of the hedge that stood there &
to Dig out the foundation.

11. Mastr. Etheridge,¹³⁴ having been detected of taking
money out of the Boys' Boxes and pockets, was whipt
this Day. Ben had leave to go to Westbury.

⊙ 12. Mr. Watts preach'd a funeral Sermon
for Martha [] at Easterton in the morning and
repeat the same here began at 4 a Clock from 1 Thes. 4. 14.

13. Mr Ballard's Wall Building beyond the barn.
Tom Watts cut his face.¹³⁵ fine Weather for harvest. wth
Ms. E——r from uncle's in the Evening. Aunt Whitaker¹³⁶
very ill like to die. was down stairs.

Augt. 1739.

14. Tom Rode to Froom with Mother.
Aunt Fuidge¹³⁷ very ill. fine weather
Mr. Thos. Skurray at Dinner.
Talk'd hard to uncle about my money.

15. Mr Warren's youngest Son buried this
Day; died 3. Aunt Whitaker very ill.

16. Willm. Fuidgee died this Evening, tho' he
was down Stairs yesterday Smoaking and drinking.

17. Tom sent to Froom for Mother. I went
to Leigh to Fuidgee's Funeral. mother came there likewise.
Dr. Baily & Zach. at Dinner.

18. This Week has been very fine Harvest
Weather. abundance of Wheat housed this Week
Scarcely any Wheat carried before this week
and but little out this night. a very Quick
Wheat Harvest.

134. Etheridge's guardian was apparently James Collins of Devizes, see below entries for 29.8.39; 19.8.40.

135. The Watts family lived at Tinkers, close to Smarts.

136. 'Aunt Whitaker', née Mary Ballard, was John Whitaker's wife. Her death on 4.9.39 set in train for Jeffery a series of negotiations over property, see p. xxxi.

137. For the Fuidgee relations, see p. xxviii.

August. 1739.

- ⊙ 19. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Ps. 133. 1. Ld.
Supper at Bratton.¹³⁸
20. The weather continues fine.
Harvest of Wheat almost done.
21. Willm. Hinwood mowed the Barley at
Butts. Weather inclining to alter.
22. Mr. Blatch fetcht Timber at Sheep house
Grounds. Weather altered. I wrote Assessments
of Windows.¹³⁹ Sessions at Leigh this day.¹⁴⁰
23. Mr. Blatch haled more Wood.
Aunt Fuidgee Dead. wet weather.
24. A fine Day but wet at night.
Turn'd the Barley at Butts; abundance of
Clover in it.

August. 1739.

25. went to Leigh to Aunt Fuidgee's Funeral. Ben Cut
Books 50 Summing paper, 43 2d books.¹⁴¹
- ⊙ 26. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from John 4. 16. Lat.
Clause. Mr Froud at Bratton.
27. Weather continues wet. H. Nevil
Timber by 4 plows. I cant get the brick hal'd
for d6 *p.c.* Turnips at Dinner.
28. Bad Harvest Weather. the Barley at Butts
Wet. Sal. Tucker Tapt Beer.
29. Mr Blatch's plow Haled 1350 Bricks at 2 Load. Mr
Collins of Devizes here.
I told him of Mr Etheridge's fault. paid the money for him and I pd the
Boys 8s 6d money he had Stole from them.
30. Mr Blatches plow hal'd 1500 Bricks. Sweetlands
1400 from Greenland.¹⁴²
Aunt Whitaker continues ill.
Mr Shore here to look on the Watch.

138. There are only three mentions of a Communion Service at the Meeting House in the diaries, see entries below, 14.10.39, 14.9.40.

139. On the Window Tax, see p. lxii.

140. Sessions, that is, petty Sessions, see p. lx.

141. See p. xlii for references to home-made school books. Two of the three diaries seem to be of this type.

142. Greenland, a brick and tile maker at Westbury.

August. 1739.

31. Mr Blatches plow fetch'd 1500 Brick from Westbury. Sister at Westbury and Leigh. Beckington Boys home to Rode's Revil.¹⁴³

Ms. Elianor tooth drawn yesterday; bleed all this day.

Septembr. 1. Rode to Warminster before dinner. Din'd at Mr Warren's. draw'd on Mr Adlam for 7£ 16s, payable to J. Moody, for paying Mr Ward the like Sum for me. the Weather wet.

⊙ 2. Mr. Read preach'd in the afternoon from Isai. 61. 10 first Clause.

Mr Watts at Calne.

3. Mastr. Joyce ill in the Colick.

Mr Ballard's House Tiling at 3s. 6d *p.* Square.

4. Aunt Whitaker Died this morning at $\frac{1}{4}$ after 5.

Agreed with Mr. Knapp¹⁴⁴ for freestone Coping for the Wall before the School and house agains the Street.

Septembr. 1739.

5. Sessions at Leigh for renewing Ale sellers' Licences. I refused to write a Certificate for J. Callaway or any other.¹⁴⁵

Mr. Froud a Son Born.

6. Willm. Hinwood mow'd the orchard.

Tom digging the Sawpit. Uncle gave J. Ballard the Diamond ring to be at the Expence of the funeral.

143. Information from Miss Woolley of Rode, kindly supplied to us through Mr. Sidney Fussell, shows that Rode Revels continued into this century, probably until the 1914-18 War. They were held on the Green, formerly known as the pound, and, according to Miss Woolley, took place in September, whereas the diary entry is for 31 August. She remembers a procession with a band to Christchurch at Rodehill and a service there, followed by a fair on the Green. Since Christchurch was not built until 1824, when a separate parish was formed out of the North Bradley parish for the Wiltshire part of Rode, the procession and service may have been a later addition to the proceedings. Alternatively, if the eighteenth-century Revels involved both the Somerset and the Wiltshire parts of Rode, the service may have been held at St. Lawrence's Church on the Somerset side. The fact that Beckington boys went shows that it attracted people from beyond Rode itself.

144. Mr. Knapp, an unidentified stonemason. A Knapp is recorded at Westwood which would be a good place for freestone.

145. Petty Sessions held 'at the house of John Phipps known by the sign of the George in Westbury Leigh' (WRO A1/325). For the procedure of granting ale-sellers' licenses, see p. lx. The only Bratton name brought to the magistrates was that of Edward Gale for whom John Sweetland stood surety in the sum of £10. The Callaways had been weavers and possibly were looking for a new occupation as their craft declined.

7. Aunt Whitaker buried at the south side of Ballard's Tomb. pall Bearers J. Whitaker Senr., J. Whitaker Steps, W. Whitaker Steps, John Blatch, John Pryor & John Nevil. John Matravers serv'd the mourning. Gloves and Scarfs for men; Gloves for Women. Mr. Wroughton preach'd the Sermon from Rom. 2. 6.7.8.9.¹⁴⁶

8. turn'd the Barley, it being very Wet and a bad Condition. Mustard seed at Stokemead stole or eat with Horses.

Septembr. 1739.

- ⊙ 9. Saml. Aldridge ¹⁴⁷ preach'd in the Afternoon from Ps. [], Mr Watts being from home.
10. Ld. Weymouth's Bayliff fetch'd two Horses for Heriots.¹⁴⁸ I Rode to Long leat with uncle about it. Henry Nevil hewing Timber.
11. very high Wind. Bad harvest weather. Mr Cuzner & Mr Hilliker brought their Sons.
12. Rode to Norton wth uncle to Mr Bennett's about purchasing the Chantry,¹⁴⁹ and from thence to Salisbury to speak with Mr Allen in Goal.¹⁵⁰
13. Mounted at Salisbury $\frac{1}{2}$ before 6; home $\frac{1}{2}$ After Ten in the morning. Rode to Marsh fair.¹⁵¹ gave Ben leave to go after 5 & stay til h morning.

Septembr. 1739.

14. Attend the School while Ben was at Marsh fair.
15. Ben came in the morning about 8.

146. On the full funeral ritual, see pp. xlix-l. This branch of the Whitaker family had remained faithful to the Parish Church. For members of the family involved in the funeral, see family tree. John Matravers belonged to a well-known Westbury family of clothiers and, like others, the family had close connections with Nonconformity, see *V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 184. Leases (WRO. 212B) show land around Westbury and the Rose and Crown and Malt mill at Erlestoke assigned to John Matravers, mercer of Westbury.

147. Samuel Aldridge, a Baptist preacher belonging to the Frome branch of the Aldridge family.

148. *Heriot*, the ancient feudal right of the lord to exact one or more of the best animals at a tenant's death.

149. On the Chantry property, see p. lix.

150. Mr. Allen of Durrington, presumably in prison for debt, was later transferred to the Fleet prison in London, see entry, 7.1.40/1.

151. Dilton Marsh Fair was usually held on Easter Monday and 13 September, chiefly for the sale of cattle, horses and cheese, see further references, 15.9.40; 20.3.40/1.

I rode Warminster to speak with Mr Palmer. I bid him 168£; he ask'd 196 for Tinkers & Withey Bed.¹⁵² Mr Aldridge paid me in full.

- ⊙ 16. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Heb. 13. 12. Mrs Holliday at meeting.

Ben wth 3 Boys to Westbury Church; home again in order.

17. Mr Papps brought his Son.¹⁵³ the Weather again going to bc wet, but little Barley got in. the Thrush Swore against John Aldridge Ballard.¹⁵⁴

18. It has rain'd from yesterday before noon to this day before noon, the Barley like to be Spoil'd. but little got. such a wet harvest as was never known.

John Hinwood died this Evening about 10.

Septembr. 1739.

19. made about 2 or 3 & 20 Galls of Cyder falling Apples. uncle had Cyder made here. the Weather continues wet

20. A Traveller that Gilds with powder. I bought the Rect. of him to Quicksilver Lookinglasses. Mr Atkins here. Wm. Hinwood Trench in the orchard.

The Turks and Germans made peace.¹⁵⁵

Mr Ballard levelling his way against the Wall.

21. Henry Nevil Sawing out posts.

Wm. Hinwood wringing perkin.¹⁵⁶ his Boy buried at N E part of the C Yard.

22. W.H. put Rails to keep the Cow¹⁵⁷ out of the Orchard. Weather very wet. Barley like to be Spoil'd.

152. For this negotiation, see p. xxxiv.

153. Three boys from this family were at the school, see p. 97. Jeffery also records visits from James and John Papps, two old pupils.

154. See above, n. 15.

155. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1736-39, Austria, as the ally of Russia, was involved in an unsuccessful campaign against Turkey. As a consequence, she concluded with Turkey in September, 1739, the Peace of Belgrade in which she lost previous concession by the Turks, including Belgrade itself. It is surprising that Jeffery records this comparatively small diplomatic event.

156. *Perkin*, a weak form of perry.

157. It seems that Jeffery Whitaker had no herd but one cow for domestic use.

- ⊙ 23. Mr. Watts at Study in the morning
and upon the same as last ⊙ in the Afternoon.
I catch a cold yesterday; I suppose wearing thin
Shoes in the Dirt.

Septembr. 1739.

24. having a bad Cold, did not go up into
the School of all day. Spaniards proclaim War.¹⁵⁸
25. my Cold continues bad. went into the
School in the Afternoon. the Sawyers could not
work because I could not go out to give then orders.
26. Being better hope, turn'd the Barley, it
being not quite dry, though yesterday & monday
was dry, and this Evening Rain came again.
27. Wet day. barley near spoil'd.¹⁵⁹
a letter from Brother. he spoke with Cousin
Whitaker's Lawyer. Answered about buying uncle's.
28. The Dog Lion hang'd. Dick Halliday fought
with R. Cook and J. Ballard one after Another at
pipers. Uncle sold a Bed, Bedstead and Bolster Cord and
mat fo 32S. A Carved Tester.
Sarah Grant mired.

Septembr. 1739.

29. William Hinwood began making the way to
the press House. Henry Nevil Sawing posts and
Durns.¹⁶⁰ Jos. Lanham¹⁶¹ home; his mother is dead.
- ⊙ 30. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Eph. 5. 25
last Clause.
Tom Austin Brought a Dog from Haykridge,¹⁶²
name Driver; cost 2s 6d. bringing 9d.
- Octobr 1. no news this Day. got in 6 Sacks of
Apples, bought of uncle at 4s. 6d *p* Sack.
2. Willm. Hinwood and Tom Cock'd
the Clover at Coleman and a Load of Barley
at Butts. J. Blatches plow brought it home.
2 Taylors came.

158. See above, n. 116. The aggressive actions of English ships in the West Indies drove Spain reluctantly to declare war, although Britain did not make the war official until 19 October.

159. See pp. xlv-xlvi.

160. *Durns*, dialect word for a door-post of solid wood.

161. Joseph Lanham, a pupil from Melksham, see p. 97.

162. Haykridge, Hawkeridge.

3. Willm. & Tom. Wheel'd away the Horse dung hill. began digging the Foundations of the Wall.

October. 1739.

4. Henry Nevil made Durns for Doors to put in the Wall. he with Willm. Hinwood put the great Gate post up to stand at the Corner of the Wall.

5. Willm. Hinwood dug out the foundation at south side of the Little garden. took down the Steps. Mr. Love and Mrs. Love at dinner. Steps out of the Dining Room into the Street.

6. Henry Nevil morticeing posts to put round the hay Rick. Willm. Hinwood digging and wheeling Earth. put up the two posts at the Street door.

this Week has been a tollerable Week for Harvest, especially the 3 last days.

- ⊙ 7. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from the same as last ⊙.
Mr. J Ballard's Child Rachel died this Even about 8.¹⁶³

October. 1739.

8. Willm. Hinwood Diging the Foundation and the two H. Saintsbury's began the Wall. the Weather fine. J.Sweetland fetch'd a Jobb¹⁶⁴ of Barly from butts.

9. The masons at Work on the Wall. W. Hinwood digging up and wheeling Earth. H. Nevil saw'd the post to the Bevil of the Wall st S.W.<.

10. the masons as yesterday. W.Hinwd. Bounds the hay rick $\frac{1}{2}$ Day. Paul Nevil fetch'd the Clover from Coleman. Mr. B. Adlam here; pd for Mr Hancock's Board.¹⁶⁵

163. Rachel, daughter of John Aldridge Ballard, born 14 April, 1737.

164. *Jobb*, a dialect word for cart-load.

165. Hancock, a pupil from Frome, probably of the same family as the Baptist preacher to the Catherine Hill Congregation (1746). But there was obviously some family relationship with the Adlams of Crockerton, see below, entry for 30.3.41., where Hancock and Adlam are fetched home to their brother's funeral (i.e. Mr. B. Adlam).

11. masons at Work. I was at the funeral of Mr. Ballard's Child. Buried at the meeting house at the west Side of the pulpit. Mr Watts preach'd from Job. 14.1.2.

12. The weather wet. Recd. a Letter from Mr Palmer to come and purchase the Estates of uncle's lately fell to the Lord.¹⁶⁶
Mr Blatch refuses to fetch freestone.
Thos. Olden made Cyder here.

Octobr. 1739.

13. Willm. Hinwood and Tom made 8 Sacks of Apples into Cyder. Apples of Uncle. Weather wet. Field broke two days ago.¹⁶⁷ Cousin Molly Rendal came here.

© 14. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Job. 22.21, Ld. Supper at Bratton.

15. Wm. and Tom Wrung perkin.
masons at work about the wall.
John Blatch refuses to fetch free stone

16. Wm. and Tom got in Apples.
the masons made the Wall as high as the door going into the Barkin. Weather dry.

17. Wm. and Tom made Cyder.
notice of Mr Bennett's Court¹⁶⁸
Esqr Drax Din'd at Farm.¹⁶⁹
Harvest not done. a frosty morning.

Octobr. 1739.

18. Mrs. Bord sent a man to pay me 6£ 12s due 4 years ago – the weather dry and frosty.

19. After Dinner Rode to Mr. Bennett's at Norton and to see John Adlam at Bull mill, he being very ill. lay there at night (*shorthand note*)¹⁷⁰

20. Staid to Dine at Bull mill, at Warminster after. weather very Cold.

166. For these negotiations, see p. xxviii.

167. 'Field broke', i.e. stubble fields opened for grazing animals.

168. For Mr. Bennett, see p. lix.

169. For Mr. Drax, see p. xiv.

170. On Jeffery Whitaker's shorthand, see p. lxiv.

- ⊙ 21. Mr Watts the same as last ⊙.
Ben at Edington till 8 at night at Ale
house. Mr Blatch ill.
22. Weather cold and frosty.
mother and Sister at Farm. Mrs. Blatch
an ill wife [some think]¹⁷¹ Mr Salmon at Chapman-
slade to see J.W. Tennant.¹⁷¹
Mr Ballard pul'd down the front of his
house to rebuild it.

Octobr. 1739.

23. Mr. Salmon and Mr. Drewett to Chapmanslade to
Seize the Effects of John Whitaker's Tennant.
Weather cold and Rithmy.¹⁷² I at Mr Ballard's in the
Evening (*shorthand note*)
24. I am as well and as healthy as ever I was in
my Life (I bless God).
Aurora Borealis. Ben out till $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour
after 8.
25. A meeting at Tucker's for Jonathan
Ballard to have leave to put his Sheep in the Cow
down.¹⁷³
26. Mr. Ballard uncovered the North side
of his house to new Roof it. the Weather very wet
27. Ben leave to go home till 3.
put the piggs a fatting.

171. J. W. Tennant, i.e. John Whitaker's tenant. In his will (proved 15.5.39), Henry Whitaker left an estate at Chapmanslade, held under Lord Weymouth, to his son John, born 1730. Henry was Jeffery's cousin (see family tree), but in this case others were acting for the heir who was a minor. Mr. Salmon was a relation of Henry's widow, Elizabeth, née Salmon. See above, n. 33 and below, III, n. 92, also *W.N.Q.* iv. 205.

172. *Rithmy*, rimy, frosty.

173. See p. xxii.

NOTEBOOK II

April. 1740.

3. Rode from Froom in the morning.
Recd. an angry and unreasonable Letter from
John Watts¹ of Bristol, wanting an abatement
to be made for Holidays.

4. Willm. Hinwood threshing out Barley.
Mr Watts remov'd to where uncle liv'd.²
I attended the School. Ben Writing Spherical
Geometry.³

5. Rode to Warminster. paid J. Askews
Creditors 4s. in the pound by my Brothers order.
Mr. Bennett less Complaisant than usual.
Resolv'd to make up the matter with Mr
Ballard in the best manner I can without
Law.⁴

⊙ 6. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Heb. 10. 36. Mrs.
George at meeting.
Ms. Eleanor gone to Deveril.⁵

7. Easter 3 Ben in the morning;
home in the Afternoon. Mastr. Horlock
and Mastr. Lucas⁶ to see me at Tucker.
Church Wardens not bringing in their Accts.
Chose others.⁷

8. Henry nevil began about the Gates against
the Street. Willm. Hinwood digging hole for
posts. Willm. Tucker play'd the Rogue wth Tom
last night. Ben home $\frac{1}{2}$ Day.

1. Three Watts families appear in the diaries: John Watts, Bristol, a parent, mentioned here; Mr. Watts, the Baptist minister at Bratton, mentioned in the next entry and many other times; the Watts family living at Tinkers, close to Smarts.
2. In the interval between the first notebook and this one Jeffery Whitaker's uncle, John Whitaker, had died. This brought in its train various negotiations about property, see entries below: 14.4.40; 16.6.40; 25.6.40; 28.6.40; 1.7.40; 12.7.40, and p. xxxiv.
3. See pl. 4-5 and pp. xli-xlii for references to homemade schoolbooks.
4. The cause of this particular dispute is not stated but Jeffery Whitaker seems constantly to have been in, or on the verge of, litigation with the Ballards, see above pp. xxxvi.
5. Elianor Froud, a branch of whose family lived at Longbridge Deveril, see p. 88.
6. Although 'Master' is generally used of the schoolboys, the context here suggests residents of Bratton.
7. See pp. lvi-lvii for the Bratton Vestry and churchwardens' duties.

9. Henry nevil and W Hinwood as Yesterday. Mrs Ballard & Mrs. George here. Sister and Tom to Warminster.
10. Rode to Melksome to speak wth Mr. Lanham. he not at home. spent time wth Mr. Chivers.
11. W. Hinwood sunk the Street before the Door⁸ Henry nevil Hung the little Gate into the Barken.⁹ Sister and Tom to Warminster fair [Sister] left there ill.

April. 1740.

12. Rode to Warminster. order Cousin Whitaker's Lawyer to be paid at London. Sister tho' better Rems. at Warminster. the Weather Cold, Rain. A monster born at Crockerton some time past. Gates hung against the Street.
- ⊙ 13. Mr. Watts in the Afternoon from Ephe. 5. 1.
14. Henry nevil made doors to be hung to morrow. W. Hinwood diging N.W plat in the Garden. met Mr Ballard in the Evening at pipers to divide and Settle the Rents and Taxes of uncles' Estate. Sister home.
15. Henry nevil hung door S.E < of the house & between the Barken & little ~~Barken~~ Garden. W. H Diging at Butts.
16. the Sun being so fierce against the new gates, resolv'd to get some paint for it as soon as I can. Mr Ballard taking his Wall lower &c.

April. 1740.

17. at Lord Abingdons Court. was admitted a Tennant in possession of what was Chamberlain's.¹⁰
18. Thos. Gawen puting the flower Garden in order. Willm. Hinwood diging at Butts. Henry nevil has been here at Work from the 8th. Instant. I rode to Bradford after $\frac{3}{4}$ after 4 for paint. it got out of the bladder¹¹ and painted my Cloaths.

8. The ground level at the front of the Yew Yrees is still well below the level of 'the Street'.
 9. *Barken*, an enclosed yard beside a house (Wilts. dialect).
 10. See pp.xxvi, xxxiv.
 11. Note that paint was sold in a bladder.

19. In the Afternoon I painted the Great and Small gates against the Street and that between the little Garden and barken & Door at S.W. < of the house &c.

- ⊙ 20. Mr Watts in the Afternoon frm Cor. 1. 30. – put on light Grey the first time sincee Winter. Henry best brought Mr. Gennings.¹²

April. 1740.

21. Henry nevil here at work. William Hinwood gone for Co. Whitaker. Wind very Cold. Wheat kil'd with the hard winter in Several places and plow'd up for barley.

22. Weather eold. took a Cold 3. put on my gown. Sorted and put up Brothers Letters aeording to the order of time. mary powney dead.

23. abode within, having a Cold. the wind N. very eold.

24. Mrs. Blatch and the nurse at Dinner.¹³ Mr. Blateh in the Evening. Henry Nevil and I cuting the heads of the posts eoming in a Door.

25. Rumour'd that John Croom has the small pox. H. N. painted the baek side of the Gates & the two posts [heads]ⁿ eut yesterday, before the Street Door

April. 1740.

26. Henry Nevil made Stable door and other work, the weather very dry. Spring very baekward. a great Rot in Sheep. John Croom had to open Croft Sheep house.¹⁴

- ⊙ 17. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Eph. 3. 8. Read the Assoeiation Letter.¹⁵

28. Henry Nevil hung up the Stable door going into the Barken. Thos. Gawen Graveling the Alleys in the little garden

12. Mr. Gennings, a parent.

13. Anna, daughter of John Blatch, had been born 23.3.40. so the nurse is probably the baby's nurse.

14. For the management of the flock, see pp. xviii, xx–xxi.

15. The circular letter from Western Baptist Association, sent out after the spring Association Meetings.

29. Mr. Thos. Love here at dinner. paid me for mr John Love in full. Visitation Court at Westbury.¹⁶

30. William Hinwood elming Straw¹⁷ and fetch 4 Dozen of Read from John Nevil Junr. yesterday. my old School master Philip Ellis died this day at Shrewton.¹⁸

May. 1740.

1. Mr Spicer's [] sent for to see their Mother.¹⁹ Mr Blatch and I went to the Barrow²⁰ to set out the bounds of my half there.

2. Mr. Ald. Ballard a new plow. weather very dry. Willm. Hinwood howing peas. John Croom died last night of the small pox.

3. Rode to Warminster. pd. Co. Whitaker's Lawyer. A rumour that Cartagena was taken.²¹ John Croom buried this day.

⊙ 4. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Cor. 1. 30. Mr Watts our horse to Studly. Thos. Lawes taken not well.

5. Willm. Hinwood and Tom put up Rails at the upper Ground at Stokemead turnd[?] in the Water there. a great Storm of hail and snow in some places.

Henry Abraham²² began thatching at S.E < of the house. thatch'd with read over the S. Dressing Window.

16. For the Visitation Court, see p. lx.

17. *Elming straw*, a variant of the verb *to helm*, i.e. to lay straw in bundles for thatching. Straw was probably used on the outbuildings see entries for 10,13,16.5.40; reed was used for the house, see 5.5.40. Reed-beds are mentioned in manor leases.

18. This is the only clue to Jeffery Whitaker's own education, but it has not been possible to trace Ellis. See above p. xl.

19. Two Spicer boys were at the school, but they appear to have had a guardian, Mr. Waton, see entry for 30.5.41.

20. The Barrow, not the long barrow at the White Horse, but a field with that name, see map.

21. See I, n. 116, for the beginning of the War of Jenkins's Ear. The British effort was focused on a great expedition to capture Cartagena, a major Spanish port on the Caribbean coast. This did not get off the ground till June, 1740, and was badly equipped and led. In fact Cartagena was never actually taken (see H. Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739-48* (London, 1920). See below, entry for 22.6.41.

22. Abraham, a thatcher regularly employed by Jeffery Whitaker.

May. 1740.

6. the Thatcher thatching in the middle of the S. side of the house. our people washing. the Boys learn'd to bow.²³
7. The Thatcher. 2 Washers. Ms. margret Drewett and Lucy hearne²⁴ here in the evening. blite on trees in the orchard.
8. Mr. J. King of Crockerton, Mr John moody and his Wife. Mr Ben. Adlam & his 2 Eldest Sisters here at Dinner. Weather fine Smoak'd the orchard.
9. put in Crooks to tye horses to nevil's trees. tis said J. Deacon's maid has the small pox.²⁵ Mr Ellis's Executor here for me to go to buy Books.²⁶
10. H. Saintsbury the Elder and younger mending the ground wall of the Stable²⁷ & Dwarf wall in the flower Garden. H. Abraham north side of the wainhouse.

May. 1740.

- ⊙ 11. Mr Watts from the same as last ⊙. I Read in 2d vol. Fox's Acts and monuments from page [] to [].²⁸
12. Recd. a Letter from Mr. Ward. the Saintsburys put up an uping Stock²⁹ over against the Street door. William Tucker died last night.
13. the two Saintsburies building the Brick wall at S.E. < of the house. Thatching on the stall.
14. Tomy Lawes having been ill in an Ague Since 4 Instant, his Brother came for him this day from From. lay here at night.

23. See p. xlii.

24. For the Drewetts and Hearnese, see pp. 86-7.

25. The Deacons, a Bratton family.

26. See above entry 30.4.40.

27. 'The ground wall of the Stable', the low wall on which was laid the wooden ground sill. the base of a timber-framed building.

28. Throughout the following months Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was Jeffery Whitaker's staple Sunday reading, see above p. xxx.

29. *Upping stock* mounting block.

15. Mr Stephen Fricker [came]ⁿ here in the Afternoon. lay here at night. has taken a farm at a place called Gumbleton³⁰

May. 1740.

16. a great deal of Rain last night,
but the Wind cold. more like octobr.
Mr Hill home.³¹ Thatching in the old brewhouse.

17. Some Boys home afoot. Ben
Bourne wrote Accts. agreed with him further.

⊙ 18. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from 2 Sam. 12.23. Mr
Blatches Child's Funeral Sermon.³²

19. Thatcher made an end; pd him.
sent to take a place in the Caravan,³³ being
Resolv'd to go to London next Week.

20. Rode to Melksham & Trowbridge,
Beckington & Froom. lay at Mr Collins's;
memdm. not to drink so much another time.

21. Hilliker³⁴ to go to London with me.
came wth Mr Humphreys³⁵ to his house. lay there
at night.

May. 1740.

22. at Westbury Leigh & Westbury;
home at night. I hear J Ballard has a Writ for
mother.³⁶ I at his house in the Evening.

23. at home to speak with J. Ballard,
but he from home

24. J. Ballard promis'd not to serve the
Writ till I came home from London.
I rode to Warminster.

⊙ 25. Heard Mr Watts in the ~~Evening~~
Afternoon, then Rode to the Devizes.
did not go to bed but set out in the Caravan

30. Gumbleton, alt. spelling for Gomeldon in the parish of Idmiston.

31. Mr. Hill, an older pupil.

32. Anna, daughter of John and Anna Blatch, born 23 March, buried 18 May, 1740.

33. *Caravan*, a public conveyance for passengers.

34. Hilliker, an older pupil, see above p. xli and below p. 44.

35. The Humphreys of Berkely sent pupils to the school, see p. 97.

36. Jeffery was obviously upset by the threat of litigation just as he was leaving for London, see the following entries. In London he 'Searchd. For a Writ in the Court of Kings bench and Common pleas but found none' (4.6.40).

3 about midnight. 26. breakfast at Marlborough.
Din'd at Thatcham. Sup'd and laid at Reading.

26. [27] Breakfast at Maidenhead. Din'd
at Colebrook.^{36a} got into London about 6 a Clock.
Brother met me at Hide park Corner and I
lodg'd at his house. Small pox at Brentford.

May. 1740.

28. Brother and I walk'd into the City.
I went with Hilliker to his Master, one Mr Hodsdon,
an Attorney in Carter lane.³⁷ to Mr. Askew's and
Mr. Ward's at vaux hall in the Evening.

29. Went in to the City & Rose mary lane.
saw Mr Love. over the Water to Snows fields³⁸ for John Grant.

30. Went in the park to see for Ld. Weymouth.
saw John Whitaker³⁹ afterwards in the City.
got Mr. Humphrey's bill accepted by Mr. Davis.

31. went into the City. Din'd with Mr Ward.
the Attorney would not take Hilliker under 60
Guineas. a fire in Coleman Street.

© June 1. heard Mr. Gifford⁴⁰ morn and Afternoon.
saw the Duke and the princesses⁴¹ at St. James's
between the meetings.

June. 1740.

2. went into the City. spent time in the
Evening wth Jas. Drewett & Brother at Jane

36a. Colebrook, probably a mistake for Colnbrook, a famous coaching station outside London.

37. Carter Lane, south of St. Paul's.

38. Snow fields, south of the present London Bridge station.

39. One of the London Whitakers.

40. Andrew Gifford (1700–84) was a well-known Baptist minister and also a distinguished numismatist. His father and grandfather had been Baptist ministers in Bristol and, after education at Tewkesbury Academy, he became assistant to his father in Bristol in 1726. From 1730 until his death he was pastor of the Baptist meeting in Eagle Street, London. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, received the degrees of D. D. from Aberdeen University in 1754 and became assistant librarian at the British Museum in 1757. No doubt Jeffery knew of him through the Bristol connection and would be attracted to such a learned preacher (see *D. N. B.* entry).

41. 'The Duke' must be William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II (1721–65). As he was unmarried, 'the princesses' must refer to several of George II's six daughters. The Princess Royal, Anne, married the Prince of Orange in 1734 but came back to England after her mother's death in 1737. The second and third daughters, Amelia and Caroline Elizabeth, were unmarried. Mary was married in 1740 and Louise in 1743. So it could have been any of them on display.

Cooks in Windmill Street.⁴²

3. I was this day 37 years of age.
look'd over Books at Mr Ward's. Din'd with him.
4. Search'd for a Writ in the Court of Kings
bench and Common pleas but found none, see May
22. saw the Curiosities of the Royal Society.⁴³
5. came out of town by the Caravan.
lodg'd at Theal where I had the misfortune to
lose my mourning Ring.
6. came to the Devizes about $\frac{1}{4}$ an hour after 5. Rode
home after.
I thank God I came home in good health.

June. 1740.

7. Rode to Warminster. a mobb. in the Market
about Exporting Corn.⁴⁴

42. This entry suggests a meeting of friends. James Drewett is probably the younger of the Drewett brothers who had disappeared from Bratton records by the time of the diaries and therefore may have gone to London to make a living. It is possible that Jane Cook also was from Bratton, see p. 91.
- 42a. Writs were issued by Chancery and returnable to King's Bench or Common Pleas which dealt with all important suits between individuals which were not part of Equity. Jeffery was looking to see if a copy of a writ issued against his mother was on the files of these courts. nothing more appears to have been heard of this writ.
43. The Royal Society was founded in 1662 by Royal Charter for the advancement of scientific knowledge. The collection of specimens of all kinds early became one of its activities. With a catholic breadth of interest these ranged from geological and archaeological specimens to curious exhibits from the animal world, objects collected from primitive tribes and mechanical inventions. The Catalogue compiled by Nehemiah Grew in 1681 has four parts: 'Of Animals, Of Plants, Of Minerals, Of Artificial Matters.' Under the last heading there is a curious jumble of objects such as 'An Aire Pump', 'The Model of an Eye', 'A Way-Wiser', 'A model of a Double Winding Staircase', 'A Box-Hive', 'An Indian Peruque Made not of hair but Feathers', 'Sir Robert Moray's Head in Wax'. Such collections became fashionable: there was Tradescant's at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, while Gifford (n. 40) bequeathed his collection to Bristol Baptist Academy. By the early eighteenth century, however, the state of the Royal Society's collection had deteriorated. In 1710, when the German traveller, Zacharias Conrad v. Uffenbach, visited the Royal Society, then at Gresham College, he was amazed at how wretchedly the exhibits were arranged: 'in two long narrow chambers, where lie the finest instruments and other articles . . . not only in no sort of order or tidiness but covered with dust, filth and coal smoke . . .' (*London in 1710. From the travels of Zacharias Conrad v. Uffenbach*, trs. & ed. W. H. Ouarrel & M. More (London, 1934), p. 98). By Jeffery Whitaker's time the Royal Society occupied 2 Crane Court, Fleet Street.
44. By the eighteenth century the second Corn Bounty Act of 1689, which gave a bounty of 5/- a quarter on the export of wheat when the home price did not exceed 48/-, was operating in favour of an enterprising gentry involved in technical improvements. Hence the export of grain expanded rapidly between 1715 and 1750. Defoe described England as the supplier of Europe. But years of poor harvests put the system under strain and the years 1739 and

June. ~~May~~ 16. 1740.

16. [17] Mr. John Drewett and Mr J. Ballard Assessors of Land Tax. J.B. partial about Assessing me and himself.⁵¹
17. [18] The Ground very dry, ever since Christmas but little Rain.⁵² 18 Boarders 14 Day Boys.⁵³
18. [19] Mastr. James lost 6d out of his Desk. went to Mr Ballard's to settle our affairs but he not at home.
19. [20] Rain much wanted. Recd. my Box wth Brother's Tankard.
20. [21] Watered the Garden. Mr Collins here. my head Shav'd.
- ⊙ 21. [22] Mr Watts in the afternoon from St. John 6.34. Ms. H. & others at meeting.

June. ~~May~~ 1740.

22. [23] I walk'd up on the hill. Corn very bad, especially Wheat in the lower furlong Stoke hill.
23. [24] Walk'd up at hill to show my land to W. Whitaker's Son for plowing, the while Lee Baily found Guilty of Stealing 15d at Westbury.⁵⁴ Mrs. Rachel to Bratton. I was in the Evening at Mr. Ballards Gossiping. Clover cut at Butts.
24. [25] Two or three hours with Mr. Ballard about uncle's affair. Saml. Spicer by carrying a naked Knife in his pocket Stab'd it into his Thigh. Sisters Sweetheart here.
25. [26] Cousin Whitaker. Sheep Shear. Ben. home in the Evening. Clover turn'd.
26. [27] Clover at Butts carried, one load by John Blatch. took a walk wth Ms. Rachel and Ms. Eleanor.

51. See p. xxxvi.

52. The previous winter had been phenomenally dry. *Agricultural Records* p. 74 quotes Gilbert White at Selbourne: 'not three hours continued rain from the beginning of November until the following April', but this quotation cannot be traced.

53. One of the few precise statements about numbers in the school.

54. At Petty Sessions. For Lee Baily, see below, entry for 3.3.40/1.

June. 1740.

28. waited again on J. Ballard about this bond. in the Evening at Jonathan Ballard's Sheep Shear.

⊙ 29. Mr. Froud here. Mr. Watts in the Afternoon from 1 John 2. 15.

30. Rode to Crockerton to alter Mrs. Fricker's will but as it could not be done there and, as an appointment was made for Several Gent to meet to morrow to consult about building a meeting house at Crockerton,⁵⁵ I came home the same night.

July

1. in this morning made an agreement with J. Ballard about this old Bond so long in dispute and paid him 78£ for it and am to pay the Bond of 20£ to Mr Hill of the Marsh with 2 years Interest in all 100£. he gave me a Guinea out of it. Rode to Crockerton. finish'd Mrs. Fricker's Will. afterwards at the Ship in Warminster about this meeting house.

July. 1740.

2. Mr. Woton of Trowbridge here to see his Grandson. he cant put his knee strait, being hurt 24 ult.

3. began to Write Titles on the edges of printed Books. Ms. Rachel and Ms. Elianor here in the Evening. Mr Tilly of Stoke, being here only two Days, went home for hay making.

4. wrote Titles to printed books. Sister resolv'd for a husband. Weather very dry; only a little rain to lay the dust. Load of Coal by Sweetland's plow.

55. From the mid-seventeenth century there was a Baptist cause in and around Crockerton. In 1656 the inhabitants of Longbridge Deveril petitioned that William Adlam be allowed to preach and in 1672 his house was licensed for Baptist teaching (*V.C.H. Wilts.* viii. 111-12). The Adlam family continued to take a leading part, figuring in two meeting-house certificates in the early eighteenth century (see *Meeting House Certificates*, 11, 13. In 1739 the Church appealed to the Baptist Board in London for assistance in building the meeting house which is here referred to (see *Trans. Bap. Hist. Soc.* v (1916-17). 217. By the time of the first Trust Deed (1745) the meeting house had been built.

5. A snake seen to come out of the Ground wall of the Barn. Wm. Whitaker Steps.⁵⁶ Junr. very ill. Hilliker sent home a foolish Letter yesterday.
about 8 at night had notice that Sister was to be married 3 which caus'd a great disturbance between mother and her. the appointment made 30 ~~last~~ ~~Jmonth~~.

July. 1740.

⊙ 6. Mr Watts in the afternoon from James 5. 12. Sister's Sweetheart came in the Evening. Mother forbid him the house. at Mr Watt's he and I had abundance of talk.

he refus'd to trust me with his Writings.

7. (*erasure*) sent Mr Withrel home with Mr. Collins. Sister very uneasy on the disappointment. Mary Rendall with her Child. I sent a Letter to Brother wth a Relation of the whole affair.

8. Mr. Fuller wth other Gentlemen here talk about Sister's Sweetheart.

9.

10. John Collins came again with a Bond ready drawn for Sister's marriage Settlement, but so disadvantageous for her that it could not be accepted.

July. 1740.

11. the same J. Collins came again and took his Writing again but I first took a Copy of it.

12. Rode to Marsh. Thos. Hill paid him £22 10s for principal and Interest on uncle's Acct. and to Froom. Din'd there and to longleat & to Warminster.

⊙ 13. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Isaiah 44 – 23. a Storm of rain with Thunder.

14. Mr Humphrey and his Wife here. Walk'd with them to (*erasure*) Edington fair.

56. See family tree.

Sister refused to comply with her Sweetheart without a Settlement.

15. this powerful Sweetheart would have an Answer positive to be married this morning, Sister being drove to such a pinch, like a fond fool consented to be married to morrow

Willm. Hinwood began mowing in the Orchard.

July. 1740.

16. This morning at half an hour after 7 Sister went from home in order to be married. as it was against our Consent, Mother forbid this man's coming here & so they lay at Blatches.

17. Sister with Mrs. Ballard and Mrs. Rachel came after Dinner. her Husband stay'd at Bratton till ♀ morning.

Mr. S. Gibbs here in the Evening.

18. Mr. J Ballard, being Affronted with Nimrod for leting old Gawin into the Meeting house with whom he was at Law, that he lock'd up the House and would not suffer the meeting there as appointed so the meeting was at our house.

Rick'd the Hay at home.

19. Rain in the morning. Mr S. Skurray fetcht his Box.

fetch Hay from the Barrow.

July. 1740.

⊙ 20. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from the same as last ⊙.

21. Mr Ballard with his witnesses gone to the Assizes.⁵⁷ Sister ill at Blatches. did not come home of all day.

22. 2 Washers and 2 Taylors at Work.

Willm. Hinwood Seoured the Ditch against the fleet.

I began to make 4 Gills of Ink.

Mr. Gennings make great ado about his bedfellow.⁵⁸

57. There is no indication of what lies behind this statement. The case of Nan Thrush's accusation against Ballard would not have gone to the Assizes. see above, I n. 15.

58. An indication that the boys slept more than one to a bed.

23. I went wth Hilliker to show him how to measure ground. measured my land at the maple.⁵⁹

24. Sister's Husband came to Bratton in the Evening. Windows mended that boys broke.

25. came here Mr. S. Adlam, Mr J Adlam, Ms Mary Adlam, Mr Robt. Long,⁶⁰ Mr John Down, Mrs. E Collins, Mrs. Moody Junr, Mrs H. Down, Mr. Smith of From. Din'd here & home in the Evening.

July. 1740.

26. Tom Rode with Sister to Warminster to buy Cloaths; left her there. Tom Brought home my dark Wig from Yockneys⁶¹ new mounted. I walked in the Evening to Westbury.

⊙ 27. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Galn. 3. 29. Bratton Revel.

Read in Fox vol. 2 from p.224 to 258.

28. Tom with our horse fetcht Sister at Crockerton. I and Ben not from home in the Evening, tho Bratton Revel.

29. Tom wth Sister to Westbury and Tom to Froom wth our horse for her. She Bought Wedding Cloaths.

30. Sister's Husband at Bratton. a Storm of Thunder and Rain in the Afternoon. a man of Edington Kill'd wth Lightning on Tinhead hill.

July. 1740.

31. Sister with her husband Rode to Froom. Mother Refus'd him to Ride on our Horse. A Gentleman from Bruton about his Son.

August. 1. Before Dinner came Cousin Molly Tucker, Co. Kathy Rendall, Sally Rendall & Betty Fuidgee. Sister came from froom a little after Dinner. Finished making Ink began 22d.

59. Hilliker was clearly given special tuition on surveying, see below, entries for 9.8.40; 2.9.40.

60. For Robert Long, see p. 93.

61. The Yockney family were barbers and peruke-makers in Warminster. William is recorded as a barber in 1715 and a peruke-maker in 1720; George, as a barber in 1743, 1753, 1759, see *Wiltshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760*, ed. C. Dale, W.R.S. xvii (1961). 40, 73, 137, 140, 143.

2. last night being wet, Cousins did not go home till this morning. having had a very bad Boil for three Days past on my left Buttock, Mr Hicks being here lanc'd it and cut it open wth Scissors.

- ⊙ 3. Mr. Watts Rode to Bristol 3 last and, not being come home. ordered a man from Froom to supply his place. his name is [] preach'd in the afternoon from these Words (Jesus met them) Mat. 28.9. more rain fell this day than has in one day since Christmas.

August. 1740.

4. Henry nevil put short pieces between Joists to strengthen them under the School and mended Rack and manger in the Stable. Mrs. Ballard and her Sisters to take leave of Sister whilst she was elsewhere for the same purpose.

5. Tom fetcd'd Co. Collins from froom. wet Weather. people Washing.

6. came here in the morning Mr Benjamin Saml., John Willm., Mary & Judith Adlam & Mr. Robt. Long. only Ms. Mary abode here to go with Sister. the rest rode on to see the Camp.⁶² after Dinner Sister set out behind her husband in Company wth Mr John Blatch, Mrs. Hearne, Mrs. Collins of Froom and Ms. Mary Adlam.

7. Tom wth our Horse Carried Sisters Box to Devizes. my Books not Bound at Gadby's.⁶³

August. 1740.

8. the Weather wet all this Week past. Street Dirty. Mr Aldridge call'd here.

9. went wth Hilliker and the plain Table to the maple piece. Survey'd it wth the plain Table. Mr. Ballard to London.

- ⊙ 10. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from 1 pet. 2. 7. first Clause. (*shorthand note*)⁶⁴

62. The only mention of the archaeological site in the diaries. See pp. xxxii–xxxiii for Jeffery Whitaker's interest in this.

63. Bookseller and bookbinder at Devizes.

64. For the shorthand used by Jeffery Whitaker, see p. lxiv.

11. Rode Warminster fair bought Cheese 25s p C.⁶⁵
din'd wth Mr Aldridge. stay'd late for Jonathan
Ballard.

12. Mrs. Hawkins came here. abode all
night. Mr Ballard came from London this
day on one Horse. set out at 5 in the morn,
here at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after Eight.⁶⁶

August. 1740.

13. Tom home wth Mrs. Hawkins
an fetch'd the Cheese. Mr James Collins of Froom
and Mr James Collins of Devizes call'd here.

14. Mr Lee here;⁶⁷ pd me one Qr.
Mr Joyce came in the Evening wth his Son.

15. Tom Rode to Devizes for Mrs. Collins
of Froom; came without her.
brought Bound Books for me.
Mr Joyce sold Curtains to Eliz. Gale.

16. Mr. Joyce home. Mother made her Will; Mr.
Joyce and Ben. Bourne Witnesses.
I made Executor.

© 17. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Cant 6. 3. lat. Clause.
Old Mrs. Exton Dead at Stoke.
Service ar Bratton Church twice.
Tom Walters⁶⁸ Child the Small pox.

August. 1740.

18. Sent Tom to the Devizes for Co. Collins,
Ms. Adlam & Sister. Ben. not come all
Day. attended the School my self.

19. Ben Came in the morning about 8.
Sister, Mrs. E. Collins & Ms. Adlam visiting
in the Afternoon. I went to Westbury to
speak with Mr. Matravers. A man at Tinhead
kill'd wth a bowl. Mr. James Collins of Devizes
here; paid me for Mr Etheredge.

20. Mrs. E. Collins intending to go to
Froom was hindered by wet weather.

65. This was the fair for 9–11 August originally granted to William Maudit in 1253, see p. xlix.

66. This seems to be fast time for the 100 or so miles.

67. Mr. Lee, a parent.

68. For the Walters family, see p. 96.

Ms. Adlam's Brother Wm. came for her;
hindered going home by the weather.

21. Mrs. Collins carried to Froom wth our
Horse and afterwards to Devizes wth Sister. Ms.
Adlam home. I had a fine fruit tree cutt at
Butts. offered half a Crown to know who did it.

August. 1740.

22. I have a boil near the same
place I had three Weeks ago. the Weather wet.

23. Walkt to Sheep house Grounds
and Stokemead. our people baking. Jonathan
Ballard's oxen baited⁶⁹ in little Stokemead.

⊙ 24. Mr Watts our Horse to Studly; in the
afternoon preach'd from Hose 4. 1.
I read in Acts and monuments vol.2
from p. 396 to p. 438.

25. Mr. James Papps who was my Scholar about
8 Years ago came to thank me for his Education.
the Rout in the Street against the pitching wore down.⁷⁰

26. A very wet day and Evening;
bad melancholy harvest weather. Wheat 34s
p Sack. Henry nevil about enlarging the
Cellar. Mr Hawkins here this afternoon.

August. 1740.

27. Henry nevil Sawing. (the Weather
wet) he workt within; put durns &c into the
Cellar. Ben home this Afternoon wth leave; I attend.

28. Henry nevil pul'd down the portion
of the Cellaer to enlarge it &c.

29. Tom carried Mrs. George to Stoke.
Henry nevil put up the Dresser in the Brew
house. H Saintsbury Stopt the Window N of
the Cellar and plaistered the Walls.

30. the Weather fine yesterday and to
day. H. Nevil Squaring and Sawing.

69. *Baited*, fed.

70. 'The pitching' was a paved area or paving stones placed against a slope. In this context 'rout' must mean a path, since a further reference (26.3.41) reads: 'Hinwood sinking the yonder Rout in the Street.'

- ⊙ 31. Mr Watts preacht in the Afternoon from 1 John. 2.1. lat. Clause. I Read in Acts and monuments vol. from p 498 to p543.

Sept. 1. Henry nevil Sawing.
the weather fine; good harvest Weather.

September. 1740.

2. Henry nevil Sawing. our people Washing. Saml. Hilliker learning Spherical Trigonometry.
 3. The Horse Shoe'd all Round.
 4. Henry Sainsbury nail up Ceiling Laths in the Brewhouse.
 5. Brew'd 6 Bushels of Mr. Cockles malt.
 6. Rode to Warminster. Jno. Moody pd me. Mr Bennett's Child the Small pox.
- ⊙ 7. Mr Watts in the Afternoon from the same as last ⊙. very Wet day.

Septembr. 1740.

8. Mother and I at Mr. Ballards in the Evening. Ms. Rachel ill.
9. Hilliker Rode to Devizes with our horse.
10. Willm. Hinwood mow'd the Orchard. Henry nevil put Window Board in the School. Wet Harvest; Wheat not all Reapt.
11. a very Wet day; melancholly harvest Weather. Brew'd 6 Bush. Mr. Aldridge's.
12. Sainsbury lathing the Brewhouse and making mortar for plaistering.
13. the two henry Sainsburys and and a Server Ceil'd the brewhouse & the South part of the inner Buttery. Henry nevil put Durns of Door between Stable and Barn. Wheat at Warminster at 40s p Sack.

Septembr. 1740.

- ⊙ 14. Mr. Watts our horse to Stoke; in the Afternoon from Cant. 2. 4.
Ld Supper at Bratton. fine day. 4
Boys to Westbury Church in the Afternoon.

15. Let Mr. J Ballard bleed. Gave Ben leave to go to Marsh fair⁷¹ at 11 a Clock. Weather wet. Co, Mary⁷² went there and bought a Hundred of Cheese.

16. Ben Did not come as he promis'd. Mr Wotton at Dinner. I attend the School. Henry nevil put door between Stable & barn.

17. I attend the School. Ben not come. Henry nevil at Work. our people Washing.

18. Ben came after ten. Walk in the Grounds. met Mr Blatch in Guard Land. did not agree about paymt. of uncle's Rent & Sister's affair.⁷³

Septembr. 1740.

19. Weather fine. one from Mr J Butler about Stone Jugg of his broke here Some years ago & about a Scholar coming to School.

20. Weather fine. Boys nuting in the Afternoon. Corn at Warminster a little falling. Wheat Harvest hardly done.

⊙ 21. Mr Watts our Horse to Stoke. He preacht in the Afternoon from 2 Cor. 13. 14.

22. Willm. Hughes came to Work. Weather fine.

23. Willm. Hinwood made Cyder of falling Apples. Mr Hill came. Mr May Do.⁷⁴ Wet Evening, having been Dry for a Week past. Willm. Whitaker would not fetch Stones till after Harvest. at Mr Ballards in the Evening. Mother a bad cold.

Septembr. 1740.

24. Willm. Hinwood [~~and Tom Weeding the Garden Fetching chips &c~~] cleaning the Street. the field broke last night.⁷⁵ John Blatch would not pay the poor Rates.⁷⁶

71. Dilton Marsh Fair, see above 1, n. 52.

72. Cousin Mary, unidentified relation.

73. Another example of Jeffery's involvement in property disputes concerning his relations. Guard Land, on the boundary between Bratton and Edington, where there is a small field called Guard Land and a path along the boundary.

74. Mr. May, a parent, probably from Worton.

75. See p. xxii.

76. For the Poor rate, see p. lvii.

25. Garden before the House Weeded.
Mother and I a bad cold. Mr. George here.

26. Tom Rode to Devizes with a basket of
Damsons. Mr Ballard made Cyder, [above]ⁿ a Sack
of Apples [of our press]ⁿ dry yesterday and to Day.

27. Hilliker and Mr R. & W. Humphrey went home a foot.

⊙ 28. Mr Watts our horse to Stoke; in the Afternoon
he preacht from s. John 3. 36.

my Cold continues. began 3d. vol. Acts & mon.

Septembr. 1740.

29. Christopher Tucker's Son, about 11
Years old, being a Servant to Jonathan Ballard,
in Riding from thirteen acre to Locklands, was
thrown off the Horse & his Leg being fast in the
Stirrop Leather was dragg'd to the top of Gods
Hill and was so much bruis'd and torn that he
died immediately.⁷⁷

30. The Coroner came but summon'd
no Jury but took a Guinea for his fee.

Ben went home last night and did not come
again all day, so I attend the School.

octbr.

1. our peoplc washing yesterday & to day.

Sister came last night a foot.

Ben not come, so I attend the School.

2. Ben came in the morning Early.
people Haymaking in the Grounds like July. a
great ado at Westbury at the beginning of the
Week about Chosing the mayor.⁷⁸
fighting with the Justice and other Gentlemen.

Octobr. 1740.

3. Tom carried Sister to Devizes.
John Blatch plow'd Butts Ground.
the Weather for this past Week fine and
Dry; Frosty mornings. Sister, by her
Husbands Letter of the 1st. Instant to Mr
J. Ballard, warn'd in the payment of her 100£
he had of hcrs on Bond Dat. Sept. 12. 1738.

77. William, son of Christopher and Anne Tucker, bap. 31.8.29, buried 2.10.40. Locklands, Gods Hill, see map.

78. On the election of the mayor at Westbury, see p. lxi.

4. Mr Alford called here. made up Acct. wth him. my cold continues.
Recd. a Letter from Mr Good.
- ⊙ 5. Mr. Watts in the Afternoon; preach'd from the Same as last ⊙
6. Mr Frowd here in the morning.
Tom & Cousin mary Rode to Devizes.
7. Willm. Whitaker fetcht a Load of paviors from Atford for me.⁷⁹
my Cold continues.

Octobr. 1740.

8. Ben not minding the Boys to my liking, in the Evening I blam'd him but he in a mog⁸⁰ refused to go up wth us to prayers.
9. Willm. Hinwood gathering Apples.
Weather dry and Frosty. plants set in the West plat of the Garden.
10. I was bled. H. Sainstbury Senr. & Junr. and Henry nevil at Work about paving the inner buttery & the partition. W. Hinwood fell off the Appletree; hurt himself. I bleed him.
11. The Same Workmen as Yesterday. we got in the Cyder Apples. Mr. Atkins at Mr Blatches in the Evening. Thos. olden made Cyder at our press.
- ⊙ 12. At Church with Mr Atkins. heard Mr Greenfield⁸¹ make a Sorry Sermon A.m. from Deut. 10. 20 first pt. Heard Mr Watts p.m. from the same as last ⊙. Mr Atkins and his Daughter at dinner & meeting.

Octobr. 1740.

13. mason & Carpenter about the partition between the parlour and Cellar.
Jonathan Ballard here in the Evening to have an Acct. of the Chantry land.⁸²

79. *Paviors*. paving stones. Atford, local alternative for Atworth, near Trowbridge.

80. *Mog*. dialect word meaning presumably bad temper. sulkiness.

81. Mr. Greenfield, a curate or visiting clergyman at the Parish Church.

82. For negotiations over the Chantry lands, see pp. xxxiv. lix.

14. Henry nevil Casing the Cellar Door. Mr. Saml. Goodson (who was a Scholar here about 8 years ago) came here in the Evening to see me. he lay at phil Whitakers.⁸³ Visitation Court at Westbury.⁸⁴

15. Masons and Carpenters as 3. Weather fine and Dry. this day 22 years ago I began teaching School.⁸⁵

16. Garden stuff being very scarce at Bratton, sent Tom to Devizes on purpose for some. Tom brought 3 pidgeons.

17. Masons finished the inner Room & mended the Groundwall of the Barn. Cousin Mary came in the morning. went away ♀ to meet her Husband.

Octobr. 1740.

18. got in the rest of the Apples with the Boys. got a few Crabs. the frost had Spoil'd some. got snags⁸⁶ for Brandy.

⊙ 19. Heard Mr Watts in the Afternoon from Cant. 4. 8. first Clause. Mr Watts our Horse to Study. I read in Acts and monuments Vol. 3. from p. 120 to 166.

20. Tom wth John Grant & W. Hinwood made Cyder. weather Slabby.⁸⁷

21. put up Cyder. Henry nevil made a Horse for the inner Cellar. Boys Lammas the orchard.⁸⁸

22. Sent tom. to Lavington wth Stephen Offer. bought a Sack of old Wheat for 34s. Snow in the Evening.

23. Tom wth John Grant wrung out Cyderkin. Weather cold; Snow & frosty nights.

83. Philip Whitaker, Jeffery's cousin, see family tree.

84. For the Visitation Court, see p. lx.

85. This statement dates the start of Jeffery Whitaker's school- mastering career as 1718 when he was 15 years old.

86. *Snags*, dialect word for sloes, i.e. wild plums.

87. *Slabby*, slushy, sloppy.

88. A curious use of the word 'lammas' as a verb; meaning not clear, since Lammas day was 1 August.

Novr. 1740.

5. Ben not come. Boys a Holiday.
Bonfire as usual. Mr Watts preachd from Ps. 146. 10.
Jonathan Ballard ill.
6. Ben came about 10. Brother and I walk
up to hipley Longcomb &c. at Farm in the Evening. Jonathan
Ballard the small pox.
7. Amy discovered to be a nasty, filthy Jade for Sh-t--g
in the Cupboards in the upper Rooms, it being done Several
times more than a year ago.
John Blatch sow'd butts Ground to wheat.
John Aldridge Ballard ill.
a Day of prayer at the meeting house.
8. Sister and Mr. Hilliker Rode to Warminster. Mr.
J. Ballard the Small pox. Brother and I walk'd
to Tinhead to N. Baldwin's for Wine mother being
ill. one of the Bottles burst as it stood on
Alwright's Table.⁹¹

Novr. 1740.

- ⊙ 9. Mr. Watts in the Afternoon preach'd from
Heb. 13. 10.
Mr Hill sent for fear of the Small pox.
10. Ben did not come till after
Dinner. he is careless of coming at all;
dont like confinement. Willm. Hinwood
Diging. Bro. & I walk'd out in the field.
11. I expected Robt. Withy to let me
bleed but he did not come
12. Holloway's boy at the next house
has had the Small pox more than a Week
unknown to the Neighbours. We being
alarm'd, brother Rode to Berkley & Corsly
With Letter to Mr Humphrey and Mr Mears⁹²
about it to fetch their Sons home if they think
proper.

91. N. Baldwin was a licensed ale-seller in Tinhead and Alwright similarly in Edington (WRO A1/1325). It is possible that Baldwin kept the George or its predecessor which was on the coach route between Bath and Salisbury and therefore might have kept superior wine for travellers. Perhaps Alwright kept the Lamb.

92. Mr. Mears, a parent, see p. 97.

Novr. 1740.

13. It is said that the Smallpox is at the two Mr. Ballards, at Springs,⁹³ Bengers⁹⁴ and Holloways, if not parson Watt's too.

Brother Rode with Sister to Devizes and wth Letters to Mr May at Worton & Mr Mattock at Cheveril wth advice of the Small pox being near.

14. Willm. Hinwood remov'd filberts from Redlands into the Garden. Mr. May dont design to fetch his Son home. made 44 3d. Books.

15. Mr. Mattock do not design to fetch home his nephews.

I accod. wth John Blatch on uncle's Acct.

⊙ 16. abode at home wth the Boys and Servants that hath not had the Smallpox.

Mr Watts to palton,⁹⁵ Mr S. Aldridge preach'd here. Jonathan Ballard given over by his physicians. Ps. 50. 22.⁹⁶

N.B. he was bled this day about noon.

Novr. 1740.

17. At 3 this morning died Mr. Jonathan Ballard of the Smallpox, a facetious Companion, Given to Drinking and idle Company, his affairs being large, is much wanted in it and lamented by his Family and Servants.

Brother rode towards Norington.

I went afoot to Keevil and was bled. I stay'd a little to late and took cold.

93. 'Springs', site unidentified, probably in the Lower road. There was a family of Springs in Bratton in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Abraham Spring married Ann Rawlings in 1678. Their only son William had 8 children before he died in 1730 but they do not appear in the Parish register after baptism.

94. The Bengers family probably settled in Bratton in the early seventeenth century. In 1614 one of the parties in an enfeoffment of a messuage called Barksdale Hold was Richard Benger of Manningford Bruce, yeoman (WRO 212B). His children were baptised in Bratton between 1618 and 1634 and the next generation also appears in the register but after the mid-eighteenth century the name disappears from Bratton records. Barksdale Hold was described in a mortgage of 1686 between William Benger and John Aldridge as 'a barn . . . lately converted . . . into a dwelling house and now in the possession of William Ellis . . . that plott of garden ground on the North side of the house against the high way.' But it has not been possible to locate the site of 'Bengers'.

95. Palton. Paulton.

96. Psalm 50 : 22: 'Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver.'

Jonathan Ballard buried in the Chancel about 8 at night.⁹⁷

18. was ill and low Spirited. thought I was going to have the Small pox. Sign'd my Will. Sent to Westbury for a vomit but did not take it. put Water in the Ink.

19. was something better. Sent a Letter to Mr Ward for Books. Ben Leave to go home. promis'd to come in the morning Early.

20. Mr. John Aldridge Ballard Died this morning about 8 a Clock of the Small pox. He was Stubborn & perverse in his temper, Tyranical in his Family, Arbitrary in the neighbourhood, and when he had drink'd Quarrelsome in Company,

Novr. 1740.

possitive and self-will'd in his assertions, ambitious and despising others and much given to Law. his Life more desired by his dependants and those that loses by him than others. I wish I could say as much on the bright side of his Character. I hope the Lord gave him a true sight and Sense of his folly before his Death.

20. Ben did not come till 10 a Clock. Robt. Withy clean'd the Clock. Mr. Aldridge Ballard buried at the meeting house at the west side of the pulpit about 10 at night about 14 hours after his Death. Willm. Hinwood Sow'd pease and set beans at Butts.

21. Very Wet and windy but warm. Mrs S. Ballard and her Children taken in the Small pox, Some Yesterday some to day. Sarah Harman the Small pox. ~~Mrs. Susan Ballard & her Children took~~

97. Jonathan Ballard was buried in the parish church, whereas John Aldridge Ballard was buried at the meeting house (20.11.40). See p. liv for the division in the Ballard family, as in the Whitaker family, which is symbolised in their burial practices.

NOTEBOOK III

Novr. 1740.

22. Brother came back from Norington Crockerton &c. set out Monday morning last. Holloway child at the next Door the Small pox.

© 23. I and all the Boys abode at home for fear of the Small pox. I read to them a Funeral Sermon on Eccle. 12.1.¹ Weather cold and frosty

24. Ben did not come till 11 Clock. Mr. E. Froud & Mr W. Axford Junr. here and at Mrs. Ballard's.² the workmen turn'd off, not pd nor not Effects enough to pay his Bonds. Mr. Joyce came in the Evening.

25. Mr. Joyce went away about noon. his Brother came about 2 for Thos. Joyce. weather cold and Frosty.

16. Sent Willm. Hinwood wth our Horse wth Moses Joyce to Fording bridge. the weather frosty. put Apples in the Chest in the Dining Room to keep them from freezing.

Novr. 1740.

27. Mrs. Anne Ballard³ and her children taken in the Small pox this morning. the Weather chang'd from frost to Rain.

28. last night I took one pill and this morning 3 more of Extract of Rudii⁴ to prepare for the Small pox but it workt but very little.

29. Mrs. S. Ballard and her Children in a good way; their Servant maid likely to die.

1. Eccles. 12:1: 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.'
2. Mrs. Ballard, Susanna (née Whitaker), widow of Jonathan Ballard. Her financial state was parlous and house alterations in progress were stopped.
3. Mrs. Anne Ballard (née Froud), widow of John Aldridge Ballard.
4. *Extract of Rudii*, a medicinal remedy, probably some preparation from marigolds (used as a stimulant and an aperient) since *ruddes* was a country name for marigolds.

Willm. Hinwood Cutting Hedge at the fleet at 9d p Lugg; if he deserves more he is to have it.

- ⊙ 30. abode at home with 4 Boys that has not had the Small pox. Read to them one of Flavels Sermons and another in the Evening. Mr. Frowd here. Mr. Ballard's Affairs bad.

Decembr. 1740.

1. Brother Reed. orders not to exceed his Furlough, it Expiring the 11 Instant.⁵
Brother Rode to the Devizes. Mrs. A Ballard in a Dangerous Way.
2. Brother Rode to Crockerton.
very bad Weather in the Evening, Thunder, Lightning, Wind and rain. several persons struck down with the Thunder and Lightning.
3. Mrs. Susan Ballard and her Children in a good Way, but the Servant maid like to die.
my Ld Weymouth's Steward here yesterday for Mr Ballard's Herriots, 4 Horses cash worth 20£ as it is said.⁶
4. Brother came home from froom in the Evening. Ben home in the Evening, to come early next morning. Mr Ballard's affairs Bad.
5. Kill'd the pig wt 168.
Mrs. Anne Ballard said to be bad.
Willm. Hinwood cutting Hedge at the fleet.
Bet Maggot Buried.⁷

Decembr. 1740.

6. Willm. Hinwood with Brother's Box to Devizes. Mrs. Susan Ballard and her children down Stairs in the parlour. Mrs. Anne Ballard better; her son Philip like to die. H. Stiles the Small pox at Shoot House.⁸
- ⊙ 7. Brother rode to Devizes in order to go to London; Set out about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 2.
Willm. Hinwood went a foot to bring back the

5. This statement supports evidence that Merari was in the Horse Guards.

6. *Heriot*, see above, I, n. 148.

7. Bet Maggot, Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis and Mary Maggot, baptised 21.5.1704 at Bratton Parish Church. Her death is not in the Parish register.

8. For H. Stiles and Shoot House see p. 95.

Horse. Weather very wet all Day. the Boys that had had the Small pox went to meeting; the rest of the Family at home. I read to them one of Flavel's Sermons in the Afternoon and another in the Evening.

8. Weather very wet. Ben not come all Day. I attend the School my self with pleasure. the plaister of the School in drops; the large letters very Wet; some fell down. Recd. an Answer from Mr Ward.

9. Ben came $\frac{1}{4}$ after 9. Weather Tempestuous in the night. blow'd down Glass in the Dressing room. our people washing; wash'd my Great Coat.

Decembr. 1740.

10. Dream'd a pleasant Dream that I was married to Ms. M. A——m with all the pleasant Circumstances thereof.⁹

Mr. J. Collins here about Catharine's Bond on J Ballard.¹⁰

11. Henry Goodenough the Small pox at Aldridges house.¹¹ Harry Deacon the Small pox at Holloways next Door.

12. A very hard frost began this morning. Mrs. Anne Ballard past Danger. her Son philip like to Die Sent John Watts Junr. his Acct., there being something still behind. his Son has been gone ever Since Whitsuntide 1739.

13. The frost Continuing, I ordered Willm. Hinwood to wheel down two barrows of Dung to each apple tree to put in the trench. Recd. a Letter from Brother of his safe arival in Town.

Sent Willm. to Warminster after a Box of Books but it was not Come. sent a letter to Brother.

Decembr. 1740.

© 14. Read in afternoon a sermon out of Flavel's and another in the Evening both to the

9. This is the first indication of Jeffery Whitaker's desire to court Miss Mary Adlam of Bull Mill, Crockerton, see index for references.
10. Mr. J. Collins, John Collins of Devizes, husband of Jeffery's sister. This old financial transaction obviously caused much trouble to settle, see below, entries for 31.12.40; 5.1.40/1; 15.3.40/; 4.4.41; 6.4.41; 9,10,11.6.41; 25.6.41.
11. 'Aldridges house', a timbered house between Grange Farm and Smarts on the Lower Road. Both this house and 'Holloways', which was perhaps part of Blagdons, were close to the Whitakers.

Family. did not go to the meeting because of the Small pox I read besides in Acts and mon. vol. 3 from p.390 to p.430. Mr Watts gone from home, Mr S. Aldridge preached in his stead. Weather very Cold;¹² Snow all the Afternoon and Evening.

15. John Mattock and his Brother James ran away from School¹³ in the morning early. sent Willm. Hinwood to let their uncle know it. Ben cam between ten and eleven. A man came from Mr Mattock for the Boys' Cloaths. Joseph Hamlin Taylor mending the Boys' Cloaths.

16. very Cold freezing Weather. Willm. Hinwood Wheeling Dung to the Apple Trees. Harry Deacon like to die of the Small pox at the next Door.

17. Willm. Hinwood as yesterday; Taylor Do. Ben home after Dinner with leave. Hilliker Home afoot. Frost and Snow.

Decembr. 1740.

18. This morning I hear of the death of Henry Goodenough & H. Smith's Wife, both in the Small pox.¹⁴ Ben came between 10 and 11. Weather very cold. Harry Deacon like to die in the Small pox.

19. Weather Cold [I]ⁿ Smell'd burnt Woollen or Hair in our garden. Supposed to be burnt at one of the Small pox houses.

20. Sent Wm. again after the box of books to Warminster and Trowbridge; he came wth it from Trowbridge late. I ordered Ben to come again after Xmas. [heavy erasures for 1½ lines – later ink and pen]. a great deal of bad Weather; Snow and wind.

- ⊙ 21. Read one Sermon in Flavel. Mr Watts our horse to Studly. he taken ill in the pulpit. J. Collins lay here at night. a great deal of Snow and high Wind.
Harry Deacon Died this day in the morning.

12. This was generally recorded as a hard winter, see *Agricultural Records*, p. 75.

13. See p. 97.

14. Neither death is recorded in the Parish Register, indicating that at this time of epidemic and hasty burial the official record is incomplete. Similarly, H. Deacon's death on 21. 12. 40, below.

Decembr. 1740.

22. gave the poor a penny a piece.¹⁵
the Snow melt away apace. Rain.
John Burges¹⁶ the Small pox as thought.

23. Burges the Small pox. Snow almost
gone. 4 Boys left.

one of the Flower's boys taken.¹⁷
phil. Whitaker intend to Adminster to both
Effects.¹⁸

25. another of the Flower's taken. at home
reading Foxe. vol. 3. from p. [].
by abstemious living and confinemt, I think
I am thinner than I have been this 7 years,
but I bless God am better or at least
as well in health as I have been many years.

26. at home reading Fox from p. | |.
did not go to parish meeting for fear of the
Small pox.

Decembr. 1740.

27. Sent a Letter to Brother. J. Ballard's Eldest
Son Philp dted this Day. Phil. Whitaker, as I
hear, was at Salisbury yesterday for Adminstrat.

- ⊙ 28. at home reading in Fox &c. Sent Willm.
Hinwood to Warminster to Mr. Pearsehall¹⁹ for advice
of preparation for the Small pox. Mr Jno Blatch
taken ill. P. Ballard buried in the meeting
house N.W.

15. 21 December, St. Thomas's Day or Gooding Day, was by custom the day when poor widows went 'gooding' or Thomassing', visiting the larger houses to offer sprigs of holly or posies of late flowers. In return they received gifts of food or money. In 1740 St. Thomas's Day fell on Sunday, so they did not come round until Monday, see Woodforde's *The Diary of a Country Parson*: 'Dec. 22nd, 1800. Yesterday being Sunday and St. Thomas's Day, the Poor deferred going after their Christmas Gifts till this Morning.' In Bratton and other Wiltshire villages this custom survived until the beginning of the twentieth century.
16. For the Burgess family, see p. 91.
17. For the Flowers family, see p.92.
18. Administration of Jonathan Ballard's goods had in fact, been granted to Susanna his widow on 12 Dec. but this was the beginning of a long tussle over the administration of the property of both the Ballard brothers. Philip Whitaker presumably claimed the right by virtue of being the husband of Mary, the sister of the two brothers. He appears as very pertinacious, see entries below for 27.12.40; 13.1.40/1; 23.1.40/1; 26.1.40/1; 6.2.40/41; 9.2.40/41; 10.6.41; 6.7.41; and n. 32.
19. Mr. Pearsehall (alt. Pearsall), an apothecary in Warminster.

29. Blake²⁰ fetcht away, no boy left; I was taken a little laxative.

30. Mary²¹ Rode to Westbury & Leigh. Mr James Collins of Devizes brought a Letter from Sister & another back.

31. Sent W. Hinwood to Warminster to Mr. Pearsall for his prescription preparative. Mr. John Collins lay here at night. he intends to have a Writ for P. Whitaker.

1 Jany. Spent the day in the Closet looking over and sorting fathers papers. I am thinner than usual and sweats at night, by confinement and Abstinence.

January 1740/1.

2. as yesterday sorting papers in the Closet.

3. Took physick as prescrib'd by Mr. pearshall. H. peplar's²² boys not well. thought to be the Small pox. W. Callways Do.

⊙ 4. Read in Fox from page 594 to page 649. vol. 3. Acts & monuments. Tom went and got himself drunk at Mrs. Hudds.

5. Mr. John Collins got Nimrod to serve p. Whitaker wth a Copy of a Writ. Willm. Whitaker & John Matravers appraising John Ald. Ballards Goods & Effects.²³

6. I walk down to the fleet, not having been out of the Back side before since Nov 10. last. Divers Stories on Mrs. Ballard's Talking about her Husband.

January 1740/1.

7. very cold Wind. Mr Long & P. Whitaker here in the Evening. Small pox at Jr Axford's J. Allen of Durrington in the Fleet prison.

8. Willm. Whitaker's plow fetch a Load of

20. Blake, J. Blake, a pupil, see p. 96.

21. 'Mary', probably Jeffery's 'Cousin Mary'.

22. For the Peplar (alt. Pepler) family, see p. 94.

23. This was the ancient procedure in which an inventory and valuation of the deceased's movable property had to be made by two local rate payers.

Furze.²⁴ Wind cold. Mrs. A. Ballard's Maid raises Stories about her master, so going away.

9. Walk'd to Stokemead and Sheepphouse Grounds. Atkins and Shallard come.²⁵ I open the rind of the Young Apple Trees.²⁶ mother and I cited to Salisbury about proving Fathers Will.²⁷

10. Transcrib'd some of the parish Register.²⁸ Weather very Cold.

- ⊙ 11. Read in Acts and monuments vol. 3. from p. [].
Tom again walkt out contrary to orders.

Jany 1740/1.

12. but few boys came. Ben desired leave to stay away 3 weeks. J. Hawkins & another Gent here.

Jonathan Ballard's Creditors met at pipers.

13. I attended Boys. weather very Cold. several Rode to Salisbury about Administering to Jonathan Ballard's effects.

14. Thos. Joyce come in the Evening to see if the small pox would admit of his coming to School.

15. Mr. French of Warminster came here about his Sons coming to School.²⁹ two little master Adlams came to school. extreme cold.

24. Furze or gorse was used to heat bread ovens.

25. Atkins, Shallard, boys at the school.

26. 'Opened the Rind of the Young Apple Trees', *Rind*, bark. The operation of rinding fruit trees was a regular practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see A.E. Know, *Ornithological Rambles in Sussex . . .* (London, 1849), pp. 212-13: 'the appearance of the Wryneck, or Rinding Bird was supposed to indicate the proper time for . . . removing the bark or rind from the trunks and branches of trees, an employment in which a considerable portion of the agricultural population . . . are engaged at this period of the year. The operation of "Rinding" cannot be attempted until the sap has begun to flow.' In view of the last statement it is surprising that Jeffery Whitaker was doing this as early as 9 January. The purpose was apparently to enable the trunk to expand faster.

27. See above, I, n. 73. Because wills came under ecclesiastical law, the summons was to the diocesan centre of administration.

28. Two note books survive containing Jeffery's transcription from the Bratton Parish Registers, the first running from 1653 to 1683 and the second from 1732 to 1746, see p. xxxi.

29. For the French boys at school, see p. 96.

16. sent Willm. to Shrouding up at Stoke.
I hear of ash cut at Stoke by J Sharp Will Deacon and Will Brin.

17. J. Collins from Devizes. Mr. J. Drewett and P. Whitaker
here in the evening.
Tom powney's Wife the small pox.

Janry 1740/1.

⊙ 18. Read on Flavel's Sermons in the Afternoon to the
Family. I read likewise in Fox vol. 3. from p. 696 to 793.

19. Willm. Small wth another Boy to School.
Jonathan Ballard's Creditors met again at pipers.

20. Mr. John French of Warminster here
with his Sons. Mr. Lydford of nunny to agree
about his Sons coming.³⁰ Mr. John Blatch at Mrs.
Susan Whitaker's.³¹ I think it is very Soon after
the Small pox.

21. I wrote a Letter to Brother.
Willm. Hinwood Faggoting at Stoke parrick.

22. Mr. John Blatch here in the Evening. Acctd.
and paid Rent.

23. J. Collins here. J. Ballard's Creditors
intend to set aside phil Whitaker's Administration.
Mr. Joyce came with his Son.
a very high wind.

Janry 1740/1.

24. Mr. Joyce home. J. Collins Do.
Mrs. Anne Ballard cited to Doctors Commons
to Administer.³²

⊙ 25. Mother at meeting, not having been there for
a Quarter of a year before. I read a Sermon in Flavel
& in Acts & monuments.
Mrs. Anne Ballard at meeting.

30. Nunny, Nunney in Somerset. For William Lydford at school, see p. 97,

31. Mrs. Susan Whitaker, Sussanna, née Ballard, widow of Humphrey Whitaker, see p. 2 and family tree.

32. This relates to the dispute about the administration of J. A. Ballard's effects. 'Doctors Commons' was literally the common table of the College of Doctors of Civil Law, and hence its buildings which housed five courts. One of these was the Court of Arches which dealt with all matters of ecclesiastical law, including testamentary affairs. Mrs. Ballard was cited to this court presumably as a claimant of the administration.

26. J. Collins here. Phil Whitaker's Administration made void. Mrs. Anne Ballard here for me to write letters for her.³³

27. Mr Watts our Horse to Devizes.
Mr J. Blatch here in the Evening.
Jonathan's Effects appraised.

28. made a Will for Mr. Pryour.
Ben cant come this month.
weather very cold.

29. John Ald. Ballard's Crs met J. Collins not come. Ms. Adlam a legacy of 300 £ by the Death of a Relation.³⁴

Janry. 1740/1.

30. Weather fine. walk'd down to Stokemead.
Jos. Bathes Da.³⁵ the Small pox.

31. pil'd the faggots at the fleet in the Afternoon.

⊙ 1 Febry. Read in Flavel and Foxe.

2. Mr. Lydford brought his Son Willm.
Humphrey fetcht his Box.

3. posts and Rails putting up in Aldridge's Side against our orchard.³⁶

4. A fast day appointed by publick Authority;³⁷ Service twice at Bratton Church.
Mr J. Drewett & Mrs. E Whitaker here in the Afternoon and Evening. Acctd. for Wheat.

5. Mr Hicks here; paid me for J. Blake.³⁹
W. Whitaker in the Evening; pd. me $\frac{1}{2}$ years rent for Chamberlains.⁴⁰
Tom set bunch peas in the Garden.

33. One of the cases showing Jeffery Whitaker in the capacity of legal adviser and amanuensis.

34. For Jeffery's interest in Mary Adlam, see above, entry for 10.12.40 and below, for 2.4.41; 18.4.41; 25.4.41; 2.5.41; 10.5.41; 14.5.41; 19,20,21.5.41; 23.5.41.

35. For the Bathe family, see p. 90.

36. See above, n. 11.

37. This should, perhaps, be related to the small pox epidemic.

38. Mrs. E. Whitaker. 'Cousin Elizabeth Whitaker', see p. xxviii.

39. J. Blake, a pupil apparently with a guardian, Mr. Hicks, see p. 96.

40. For 'Chamberlains', see p. xxxiv.

February 1740/1.

6. Phil Whitaker to London Yesterday.
Tom at work in the Garden seting Gooseberry trees.
7. In the Afternoon Willm. Hinwood and I made more trenches for Watering in the lower ground at Stokemead.
- ⊙ 8. Read in Flavel to the Family as usual and in Fox Vol. 3.
9. J. Ballard's Creditors met again & I hear the Widows will Administer. W. Hinwood Cuting Wood at Stokemead, upper ground, lower end.
10. Tom making Border round the Garden but went to Edington in the Evening till after midnight. no Holiday for Boys.⁴¹
11. was at Stokemead & the fleet.
Weather fine.
12. Uncle Stephen⁴² & Willm. Hughes here. uncle Refuses to pay me 50s that came from Anthony Hill, tho' he owes me above 9 £.

Febry 1740/1.

13. Henry Nevill Brought a Sawing Image.⁴³ Willm. Hinwood faggoting at Stokemead.
Boys cuting Mrs. S. Ballard's Hedge.
14. Henry nevil morticeing posts &c.
W Hinwood & Tom. piling Faggots at Stokemead.
Wet in the Afternoon, so could not go to Trenching as Intended.
- ⊙ 15. Mr Watts to the Devizes. Mr Horton⁴⁴ at Bratton.
I at home. read a Sermon in Flavel to those that abode at home & in Fox in the Evening as usual.
16. Henry neville $\frac{1}{2}$ Day morticeing posts.
Weather wet.
17. Willm. Hinwood cut down a Trec in the close &c. weather wet. our people washing.
paule Rendall in the Evening.
18. Reconed wth John Austin & paid him in full.

41. This was Shrove Tuesday.
42. 'Uncle Stephen', unidentified relation.
43. *A Sawing Image*, a templet or pattern.
44. Mr. Horton, a Baptist preacher

Febry 1740/1.

19. Ben came at Dinner time and Stay'd the Afternoon. so I went to Stokemead with Willm. Hinwood trenching Ground.

20. Thos. Joyce Attempted to run away. I wrote a Letter to his Father and Got a man and Horse to send to his Father when he was discovered. he gave me abundance of trouble. he made his Submission in Writing.

21. In the Afternoon I went to Stokemead and the fleet. measured the bounds that William Hinwood had new Scoured, 19 Lugg at Stokemead upper ground & 34 at W. side of the fleet.

⊙ 22. Mother abode at home. I read in Flavel and Fox as usual. Co. Whitaker in the Evening.

23. Weather very Cold. Joyce Careless of his Business. Mr. Hancock⁴⁵ to Nimrod's in the Evening. lay there to go home next morning.

Febry 1740/1.

24. let down the bays at Stokemead. Willm. Hinwood finished hedging there.

25. Ms. French & Ms Hodges⁴⁶ came just before Dinner. Willm. & Tom piled Wood at Stokemead. they cut of a Tree at the Close a foot too Short.

26. Thos. olden Ditching against Redlands. Willm. Hinwood Diging and planting Beans at Butts in the Corners.

27. Willm. Hinwood cut down a tree at marsh.

28. Willm. Whitaker wth his plow hal'd thorns from the fleet to Stoke & 1 Load of Sand home. A tree from the Close to the pit and the Tree &c from marsh. Henry Nevil hew'd rails, mended the gate at marsh and Stokemead &c. I at the Barrow which was inclosed.⁴⁷

45. Mr. Hancock of Frome, a parent but see I, n. 166.

46. Ms. Hodges, perhaps a slip for Mrs. Hodges. Widow Hodges paid rates for Southay farm (now Emms) in 1739. The family came from Warminster and by this date she had returned there. They were Ouakers and the barn at the farm had been licensed as a meeting house in 1701 (*Meeting House Certificates*, No. 109).

47. Barrow Mead had been open common grazing but was now fenced for a crop of hay.

Febry 1740/1.

March 1. I with the Bpys went to meeting, not having been there since Novr. 9. last on Acct. of the Small pox. Mr Watts from Luke 19. 10. Christopher Tucker stole Luggs from Co. Whitaker.

2. Willm. Hinwood cut down some Scrubed Elms that grew near others & low in the bank against Blagdens &c. Bro. Collins came here and hav obtain'd Judgement against Phil. Whitaker.⁴⁹

3. Lee Baily Stole 6d at Mr. Matraver's and took in it⁵⁰ Weather fine. our people Washing.

4. Willm. Hinwood sticking bounds at Stoke. I was at farm in the Evening, the first time of being out.

5. Tom Rode to Devizes. brought Sister with him. master Hancock from Froom.

6. Tom carried Sister to Warminster to buy Sheets, Shirts, &c, & to Crockerton. Tom home. Mr. Watts with Mrs. Ballard to Deverill.

7. Tom fetcht Sister from Warminster. the weather very dry frosty mornings. the Boys in school before 6. in the morning; 1 ho. Breakfast

⊙ 8. At Meeting; Mr. Watts from Mat. 9.13. Sister, Co. Whitaker in the Evening.

9. Mrs. George, Mrs. Anne Ballard & Mr. E. Whitaker at Dinner. they and others most part of the day. No Gazetteer.⁵¹ H. Nevil Squaring &c.

10. Tom carried Sister home. Mrs. Gawen & S. Pool to make mother a gown. Henry Nevill Sawing.

48. *Lugg*, meaning here an actual pole or long stick rather than a measure of land.

49. It would appear that Katharine Collins's claim on J. Ballard was now transferred to P. Whitaker who was seeking administration of Ballard effects. See above, n. 10.

50. See above II, n. 54.

51. This was probably the *Daily Gazetteer* which appeared under that name from 30.6.35 to 27.6.48 (see *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals* (London, 1956), 2 (i). 3. This may have arrived normally by a postal service. *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1741 carried this notice: 'June. A new conveyance for Cross Post letters three days in every week was settled between Bristol, Bath, and the following towns: Freshford, Bradford, Trowbridge, Melksham, Devizes, Lavington, Westbury, Froom, Warminster, Heitsbury, Wilton and Salisbury' (xi. 330). Although this advertisement is three months later, some such service may have been running already, connecting with one of the services from London.

11. H. Nevill & Mrs. Gawen Do. Ben 3 ho.
Agreed for Freestone Chimney in the Hall.

12. Ned Croom Grassing at Butts. W. Hinwood
Gardening there. H. Nevell & Mrs. Gawen Do.
Mary & Tom. Quarrel'd.

March. 1740/1.

13. Tom Brewing 6 B. Mr Aldridge's malt.
Mother taken very ill last night. went to bed in the
day time. Mary ~~much~~ given to drinking which
I am sorry for. H. nevell framing S. side of
the Stable. W Hinwood Diging E. platt of
the Garden.

14. Mother very ill. sent Tom to Devizes for
Sister. H Saintsbury the Small pox.
freestone Chimney piece brought.

⊙ 15. J. Collins came here. Phil Whitaker not agreed
with him.⁵² Mr Watts from Mat. 6.13 lat part. mother
something better.

16. no news. W, Hinwood sticking thorns against
B. fleet to save young Hedge – two French Surveyors
Surveying Bratton Farm.⁵³ I went up at Hill. say em
Survey the Farm Down & thongs;⁵⁴ they are not very
particular I think.
Ben Bourne all day here.

March. 1740/1.

17. J Saintsbury set Chimney piece in the
hall. Harry the Ground wall of the Stable against
the Street. Henry Nevell and Willm. Hinwood. – R. Cook
the Small pox. B. Bourne all day.

18. Weather very Cold; Snow.
J. Saintsbury, H. Saintsbury & H Nevill each
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Day. Willm. Hinwood.
John Deacon's & R. Ricket's Child the Small pox.

19. H. Nevill all day; W Hinwood $\frac{1}{2}$.
H Saintsbury put steps over to the uping

52. See above, n. 49.

53. A curious entry. No other evidence of 'French surveyors' in the district has come to light.

54. *Thongs*, the name of a piece of ground, denoting strips.

Stock. Henry Saintsbury Dangerous.
Fire in School this two Days, weather being
very cold.

20. H Nevill before Breakfast. put up and fited
the Rails against Blagdens.⁵⁵ afterward he and I
& W. Hinwood new Boarded the Sheephouse.
B. Bourne all Day.

March. 1740/1.

21. H. Nevell put up Rafters at South side of the
Stable. H. Saintsbury Died of the Smallpox about
9 in the morning.

Tom carried Sister to Devizes.

Co. B. Small⁵⁶ & Ms. pothcary⁵⁷ came here
in the Evening (*shorthand note*)⁵⁸ B Bourne.

- ⊙ 22. the Small pox increasing, I did not go to
meeting nor boys that had not had it.
Co. B. Small, her man & Ms. pothcary went away
about 5 in the Evening. Tom had our horse &
Co. Whitaker's to vize for Cath to go to Bristol. it
is reported that Anne Watts at Tinkers the Small pox.

23. Nimrod at Froom. Hilliker owing me above
18£ is in mean Circumstances.

24. Weather very Cold. I let to Willm. [Whitaker]ⁿ
Chamberlain's for 8£ the Year 1741 and 12£
the Year 1742.⁵⁹
made a bond for John Nevell.⁶⁰

March. 1740.

25. H. Abram thatching South Side of the Stable. W. Hinwood
made a new floor, E End of the Barn.

26. H. Abriram Do. Willm. Hinwood sinking the
yonder Rout in the Street. Horse from Devizes.

27. made a Bond for J. Nevell.

55. Blagdens, the farm next door to Smarts on the east side.

56. Cousin B. Small, an unidentified relation.

57. Ms. pothcary, perhaps a member of the family related to the Tinhead Whitakers in the
early seventeenth century through Christopher Poticary (alt. Pothcary), a clothier of
Stockton, who married Mary, daughter of Jeffery Whitaker, see the latter's will (*W.N.Q.*
iv. 109).

58. For Jeffery Whitaker's shorthand, see p. lxiv.

59. See above, n. 40.

60. See p. 94.

Mr. Ben. Adlam died this Day. this Sober young Gent is much Lamented by his Friends and Acquaintances.

28. Co. Mary Rode to Froom to Buy Cheese with Nimrod. S. Hilliker came with them. Beef Sold for 4d & 6d *p* lb.

- ⊙ 29. abode at home. Read in Flavel and Fox. Mr Watt's Daughter in a good way in the Small pox. T. joyce went away with his uncle.

March 30. 1741.

30. Easter 3. Co. to Marsh fair.⁶¹ bought Cheese at 33s *p* C. much dry Weather of late, but little water run into Stokemead. Mr Hancock & Mr Adlam⁶² fetcht home to their Brother's Funeral ☞ next. I invited.

31. I attend boys in School. did not go to parish meeting at Westbury. T. Phipps Junr. Nominated me for overseer.⁶³ Dick Smith the Small pox. Began making a Gallon of ink.

April. 1. Sent W Hinwood with a Letter to Mr Hicks to get me off from overseer. Rode likewise to T. Phipps Esqr. but could not speak with him, I not having been on Horse back since Octobr. 28 last. Afterwards Rode to Crockerton to the Funeral of Mr. B Adlam.⁶⁴ I was one of the pall Bearers. Gloves, Hatbands & Sashes, white Silk. few people but handsomely manag'd.

2. at Bull Mill till after 11 Ms Mary Shew'd me the old Gold given her by Mr Gamlin and told her Adventures at mere. (*shorthand note*)⁶⁵ Din'd at J. Moodys at Warminster, Afternoon. Ben here Yesterday and this Day. Co. Blatch got me from being overseer.

April 1741.

3. Ben came in the morning but did not stay. Mother bad this Day. Bro. Collins & his Bro. pope lay here at night.

61. Dilton Marsh fair, held on Easter Monday.

62. Hancock and Adlam appear to have been step-brothers. see above I. n. 166.

63. For the Vestry meeting and the office of overseer, see pp. lvi-lvii.

64. This burial is entered in the Longbridge Deverill Parish Register.

65. For Jeffery's shorthand, see p. lxiv.

4. Bro. Collins left me a writ for Phil Whitaker.⁶⁶ walk'd in the grounds.
- ⊙ 5. Rode to Warminster. Din'd with Mr. Warren. heard Mr. Miller of Downton⁶⁷ preach a Funeral Sermon for Mr. Ben. Adlam from 2 Cor. 5. 4. after at Mr Warren's with John Moody Mr. Kercher &c.
Richd. Smith died this Evening of the Small pox.
6. Weather dry. Ben came about 11 clock. talkt with Co. Mary about drinking. Bro. Collins has the writ of me.
7. Ben here. Willm. Hughs taking my Cloaths less.

April. 1741.

8. Rode to Studly. Mr Wotton not at home;⁶⁸ from thence to Hilliker. he promise well but am afraid I shall lose by him. din'd at Mr. Collins's. in the Evening at the George & Mr Shephard's. lay at Mr. Collins's. Ben attend the Boys.
9. Advis'd with Mrs. Collins about a Certain Momentous affair.
Came out of Froom about 10 in the morning. Din'd with Mr. Humphrey. he complains of the want of money, so did not pay me. came home about $\frac{3}{4}$ after 3. Ben had not been here with the Boys as I expected which vext me very much.
10. Ben here. wrot Q. and Rules in the use of the Square Root.
Weather hot and moist; fine Spring Weather.
11. Mother Continues very ill.
Recd. A Letter from Bro. and a pamphlet by the post.⁶⁹

April. 1741.

11. I attend the boys. ~~Tom carried home~~
Tom carried home Co. Sarah and brought the Cheese. Sent for Dr. Bayly to mother.

66. For this continuing dispute, see above, nn. 10, 49.

67. A Benjamin Miller has been associated with the beginnings of Nonconformity in Downton see *Meeting House Certificates*, Nos. 148, 151, 200.

68. Mr. Wotton (alt. Woton, Waton) of Trowbridge, connected with pupils in the school, see p. 97.

69. On possible postal services see above, n. 51.

Rickits's the Small pox. John Smiths Da.
Do. Henry Watts took.

- © 12. I abode at home. the Cow calv'd.
Tom put on his best Cloaths the first time,
walkt out about 3, came home about 10 at
night, he being much wanted from 6, his evil
words and Deeds provok'd me to beat him.
13. Ben came about 8. Co. Mary ill.
Tom a bed most part of the Day ill, being
Drunk over night.
14. Tom continues ill. Willm. Hughes
mending Boys Cloaths. Ben here.
Mother took bark of intermiting fever.⁷⁰
I put pegs in the Orchard where Trees may
be set. heard the Cuckoo, first time.

April. 1741.

15. Bro Collins here. presented Mother
with a trout and Barm; me with a Stick
with a Crook. lay here at night.
16. Jonathan Ballard's Crs. met but concluded
on nothing. Ben here. I survey'd the Close
and Redlands. an hot day; plumbs & pears in
fine Blossom.
mother better and down Stairs – B. Collins.
17. Finished making a Gallon of ink;
this is writ with it. Ben here.
Co Judith Boulting here.⁷¹ Lucy Herne wth Child
18. At 25 min. after 6 mounted my Horse. Rode
to Bull mill. made an offer of my self and
Substance to Ms. Molly Adlam and also told her
mother my intention and had a favourable Answer and
2 or 3 hours of Ms. Mary's Company, for which I
Bless God for his mercy, being persuaded if
I obtain her it will be in mercy.

April. 1741.

18. Ben here. Attend the Boys. I bought
a new saddle. a present of a brace of Trouts from
Bull mill. Willm. Mollins died.⁷²

70. 'Bark of intermiting fever', bark of Cinchona tree from which quinine was obtained.

71. Cousin Judith Boulting, see p. xxviii. and family tree.

72. William Mollings (alt. Mullings), buried the same day.

- ⊙ 19. Abode at home. Read in Flavel & Fox as usual. Weather Cold. fire in School.
20. Henry Nevell married to Lucy Hearne⁷³
M. Watts & M. Ransom Washing. Springing Rain.
I attend the School.
21. our people washing. Weather cold.
I attend the School.
22. Ben here. I measured Sawing for Mrs. Ballard. saw'd by Henry Ballard at Kine hay.
J. Nevell Senr. displeas'd with his Son Henry for marrying &c.

April. 1741.

23. I attend the the School. Law day at Westbury.⁷⁴ sent my Rent by J Pryor. Recd. a Letter from Co. J. moody wth an Acct. of Ms. Mary Adlam being this day gone to From. Reckoned wth J Austin.
24. I attend the School.
Weather Dry. rain wanting.
25. At half an hour after 6 mounted my horse. Rode to From to pay a visit to Ms Adlam. had several hours of her Company. walkt with her and Co. E. Collins to the vineyard & I call'd at Hillikers. he offers to sell me a House. I lay at Mr. Collins. Ben Came timely in the morning.
- ⊙ 26. Heard Mr. Henwood in the morning, Mr. Hendy in the Afternoon and Mr. Robts at 5. a Clock.^{74a} came home with Mr. John Blatch.

April. 1741.

27. I attend the School. W. Hinwood weeding Hedge at Sheephouse Grounds. Hester Lyde⁷⁵ the Smallpox.

73. Their son, Henry was baptised 18.7.41. See entry, 22.4.41 for Nevil senior's displeasure.

74. 'Law Day at Westbury', see p. lix.

74a. Frome Baptists in the eighteenth century were split into several congregations, enabling the keen sermon-taster to hear various preachers on a Sunday. See above, I, n. 98, for Hendy and Henwood. James Roberts preached in Frome on and off from 1725 to 1765, to the splinter congregation at Catherine Hill and Starve-Acre, and also at Badcox Lanc Baptist Church.

75. Hester Lyde, wife of John Lyde, a sergeweaver of Bratton.

28. John Blatches plow fetch'd 3 Load of Wood from Stokemead and one from the Fleet. Henry Nevell half a day proping the Wainhouse.

29. William Whitaker's plow fetch'd 3 Load of Wood from the Fleet. I sent a Letter to Brother. Ruth Line⁷⁶ the Small pox. Brewing.

30. Sent a Letter to Ms. M — A — to Froom. Rainy, warm, Growing Weather.

May. 1. Gravel put in the Flower Garden; pease Stick'd.

May. 1741.

2. At 6 in the morning mounted my horse. Rode to Froom. spent the Day till $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 7 at Mr James Collin's, most part of it with and in the Company of Ms. Mary Adlam, which was greatly to my pleasure and Satisfaction.

⊙ 3. at home; read in Fox. Mr. Watts Family said to be well of the Smallpox. Mrs. Phipps Died.⁷⁷

4. Sent Tom to Devizes for Sister. the Election this day at Westbury.⁷⁸ Weather very dry.

5. Sent Tom with Sister to Froom. a fine Shower of Rain in the Evening. Tom very Wicked and Stubborn.

6. Tom rode to Froom for Sister. fine Rainy Weather.

May. 1741.

7. Robt. [Barnes]ⁿ went to Warminster for Board.⁷⁹ Sister here. Ben Writing Copies for task. weather warm, growing.

8. Robt. Barnes began about the Stairs. Ben here. Tom carried Sister to Devizes.

9. Ben here. pd him in full.

76. Ruth Line, see p. 92.

77. Mrs. Phipps, Christen, wife of Thomas Phipps, buried 6.5.41.

78. This was the Parliamentary election, see p. lxi. The two members elected were George Evans, Joseph Townsend.

79. Robert Barnes, a carpenter.

DIARIES OF JEFFERY WHITAKER

broke up but one Boy fetcht. Tom to Warminster for Board. Wet all Day.

- ⊙ 10. Rode to Crockerton, Heard Mr Wilkins from Mark 14. 38. Din'd at Bull mill. spent the Afternoon wth Ms. Adlam very agreeable.

11. Henry Nevell put Quartering⁸⁰ between the parlour and passage. R Barnes about Stairs. Some Boys fetchd.

John Axford the Small-pox.⁸¹

May. 1741.

12. Rode to Devizes after Dinner. H. Nevell & Barnes about Stairs &c.

13. H. Nevell and Barnes Do. Rode to Crockerton after Dinner. Spent the Evening agreeable with Ms. Adlam. lay there.

14. Spent most part of the day agreeable with Ms. Adlam. H. Nevell and Barnes as yesterday. Mrs. Pinnock the Small pox at Farm.⁸²

15. going to put Stairs between the parlour Door and Street Door. Chang'd my mind and made them pull it down again and put it toward the inner Cellar. John pryor offered me to buy John Hooper's Estate in Bratton.⁸³

16. Robt. Barnes & H. Nevell about Stairs &c. Bro & Sister Collins came.

May. 1741.

- ⊙ 17. at home Reading &c.

18. my self, Bro. & Sister Collins Rode to Crockerton & wth Ms. Adlam, Mr. James Collins of Froom & his Wife, Mr. John Moody & his Wife & Mr. King, Rode to Norington by Dinner time & Mr. S. Adlam.

80. *Quartering*, a quarter, a piece of wood 4 by 4 inches square and 2 or 4 inches thick used as an upright stud in partitioning.

81. John Axford died and was buried on 20.5.41.

82. For Mrs. Pinnock, see p. 87. She recovered from the smallpox, since she is mentioned in her mother's will, signed in October, 1741.

83. For negotiations over the Hooper estate, see pp. xxiv, 92.

19. at Norington. apprehensive of being Sleighted by Ms. Adlam & Jealous of T. Fricker, but however danc'd wth her in the Evening.

20. All of the forementioned wth T. Fricker & Mrs. Foot [?], Rode to Sutton mandeville & Din'd wth Mr. H. Fricker (Ms. Adlam Rode behind T. Fricker). she sleighted me much more to my great grief and disappointment. had thoughts of Riding away but by my best friends persuaded to the Contrary. Mr. J Moody & his Wife, Mr. Saml. Adlam, Bro. Collins & Mr. King remain'd there to come home next day. the rest of us Rode back to norington.

May. 1741.

21. We Breakfasted and Din'd at Mr. John Lawes's & rode [& spent]ⁿ the Evening wth Mr. Foot of Barwick. being so vext and Disappointed, found my self not well & Ms. & my self was Aukward Company & neither could be free wth the Company or each other.

22. Din'd at norington. we all came to Crockerton after Dinner. T. Fricker came with us to this side of Hindon. Sister and I lay at Bull mill.

23. Being resolv'd to know Ms's. mind more perfectly, she discharg'd me quite & will hear no more on that head. her mother vext about it & said she persuaded her to be reconciled to it. her Brother saith he should have been glad if she had accepted me. no objection was made against my person, Character or Circumstance but as I think Ms. being naturally brisk & airy & I being used to reading & Study, am thoughtful & grave in Countenance which she cannot like, & perhaps willing to try another (an opportunity offering). Oh! most unfortunate Journey this Week to lose my chieftest delight in this World!

May. 1741.

- ⊙ 24. at Home all day, being greatly vext at my late disappointment. can hardly bear up under it. God of his infinite mercy either turn her heart or Support me under all trouble, this being the greatest I ever met with.

DIARIES OF JEFFERY WHITAKER

25. Mr. Froud Din'd here. I at Mrs. Anne Ballard's the first time Since the Small pox R. Barnes all last Week [putting up stairs,]⁸⁴ now making triangular Wainscot under the Stairs.

26. Rode to Warminster. Bought oak & Deal Board. a Commission there about the Administration to J Ballard's Effects.⁸⁴ I Rode to Mr Froud's at Deverill. lay there. I pd Mr. Warren & Mr. Aldridge. a Fire above the marketplace.

27. Rode wth Mr. froud about his fields. after Dinner to Mr Hill of Horningsham. he paid me in full

May. 1741.

28. At home, not being right well for a Week past.

29. Rode to nunney to Mr Lydford's Din'd with him. Saw nunny Castle and manor house.⁸⁵ came to Froom. lay at Mr James Collins's.

30. Wet morning, there till after Dinner. Hilliker has promis'd me payment next Week. Mr. Humphrey has promis'd me after he comes from London. Rode from thence to Trowbridge. Mr Waton⁸⁶ has promis'd me payment for Mr Spicer.

⊙ 31. at home on acct. of Small pox. Mr Watts our Horse to Stoke.

1 June. John Blatch refus'd to fetch timber. Willm. Whitaker fetch'd it, 3 Load being 3 Oaks to floor the parlour. Barnes all last Week. Willm. Hinwood this day.

June. 1741.

2. Willm. Hinwood filling Tree holes. $\frac{1}{2}$ day. Mr Lydford wth his Son. J. Nevell took Tinkers and Withy Bed.⁸⁷

84. See above, nn. 18, 32.

85. Nunney Castle was built in 1373 by Sir John de la Mare. It is rectangular with towers and a moat.

86. Probably Mr. Wotton, see above, n. 68.

87. This was the holding for which Jeffery Whitaker was negotiating at this time, see p. xxxiv. The lease was not finally secured until 31 August. Since J. Nevil nowhere appears as a Longleat tenant, the presumption is that Jeffery was already securing his services as a sub-tenant since he was more of a working farmer than Jeffery himself.

3. this day I am 38 years of Age.
J. Saintsbury wth 3 others mov'd the Window at
the Stair foot against the Street.
4. by appointment at J. pryor's to talk about
J. Hooper's Estate for Brother.⁸⁸
5. went to parish meeting at Westbury⁸⁹
after 4 a Clock afoot.
6. Rode to Warminster after Dinner.
I hear T. Fricker has been twice at Bull
mill & that it goes finely to their liking, tho'
to my misliking. C. Whitaker ill.
Barnes all this Week.

June. 1741.

- ⊙ 7. at home reading.
Co. Eliz. Whitaker the Small pox.
8. Mr. Frowd here. made a Bond for Mrs. A Ballard and
him to J. Drewett for £200.
made Co. Whitaker's Will. sent a letter to Bro.
9. A Letter from Sister about p.
Whitaker. sent an Answer. am determined to
forget my late disappointment as much as
I can and never see her any more.
10. sent Tom to Devizes wth a Letter,
hearing that P. Whitaker will be put out of
the Adminstration.⁹⁰
11. Bro. Collins Supany'd⁹¹ Co. John Drewett to
go to London about the tryall with p. Whitaker.
Co. Whitaker a great Burthen of Small pox.
Mr. Sutton came here. Mr Watts to Sarum
nimrod our horse to Bristol.

June. 1741.

12. Co. Whitaker Dangerous as thought. wrote
a letter to Mr palmer about Chapmanslad Estate.⁹² Mr.
Knapp about Freestone.

88. See above, n. 83.

89. Parish meeting at Westbury, see p. lvi.

90. See above, nn. 18, 32.

91. 'Supany'd', subpoenaed. This seems to refer, not directly to the administration of the Ballard property, but to the dispute between the Devizes Collinses and P. Whitaker, see above, nn. 21, 91.

92. See above, I, n. 172.

13. Barnes work'd one Day & half this Week, the rest ill. S. Offer⁹³ bought a Sack of Wheat for us at Warminster for 30s.

⊙ 14. I rode to Devizes. heard Mr. Fuller morning & Afternoon.

15. Co. Whitaker given over for Death. Co. J. Drewett gone to London about the tryal. am very thoughtful about &c, see may 28 last. I hope my health nor Sences will be impair'd. sent a Letter to Brother. Ben Bourne ill. Brew'd 6 B. Mr Cockle's malt.

16. Mr Sutton went this morning. Co, Whitaker still continues alive against Expectation. rainy Day. Mr Joyce came with his Son in the Evening.

June. 1741.

17. Mr. joyce to Bath after Dinner. Co. Whitaker past all hopes of Life.

18. Co. Whitaker died this morning about 5 in the morning to the great grief of her friends. she was buried the same day about 10 at night in her husbands grave at the meeting house.⁹⁴ Sent Tom to Devizes market for Beef &c.

19. Thunder and Rain. gave orders for freestone Door & Window in the parlour & pavemt. in the passage.

20. in the Afternoon spent time wth John piper my Scholar about 7 year ago. I Recd. a hatband & Gloves for Co. Whitaker

⊙ 21. Mr. Watts our horse to Stoke. J piper at Dinner. I. read 50 p. in Fox vol, 3. ask'd the Boys Catechism singly & heard them read.

June. 1741.

22. Mow'd the walk down the orchard.

93. Stephen Offer, an inhabitant of Bratton who was bailiff of the Whorlesdown Hundred (*W.R.S.* xi (1955). 56). One of the many instances when entries of burials at the meeting house are recorded in the Parish Register.

peas and beans stole at Butts. bad news from Cartagena.⁹⁵

23. Mr. Joyce from Bath.
Mastr. French discontented.
Henry Nevell part of the Day.

24. Henry Nevell put up trimmer⁹⁶
&c in the new Stairs &c.
Co. John Drewett from London.

25. I hear Bro. Collins has the tryal
with phil. Whitaker⁹⁷ Henry Nevell hewing
Timber.

26. H. Nevell and H. Ballard Sawing.
Mrs. Ballard & Mr. Watts our Horse to Stoke.
a very hard Storm of rain & land flood.

June. 1741.

27. Barnes casing the Door into the parlour. W. Whitaker's
plow brought a Load of Freestone. Tom. keeps Company
with Mrs. Ballards maid.

⊙ 28. Abode at home. Mr Watts our Horse to Stoke. A
person Baptiz'd at Bratton mill pond⁹⁸ in the
morning. finished reading Fox's Acts and monuments. have
read the 3 vol. in Fol. printed 1641. began reading
the Third vol. Sep. 28. 1740.

29. At W. Whitaker's sheep shear in the
Evening. Bro. & Sister Collins came in the
evening.

30. Henry Nevell making Street door. Hester
Bath died in the morning.⁹⁹
Bro. and Sister Collins with our Horse home.
Mr. Lucas here.

July. 1741.

1. Paul rendall here & Will. Whitaker
who refuses to take money for the Bond with out the

95. The attempt to capture Cartagena was finally abandoned on 7 May, 1741. This news seems to have taken a long time to reach Bratton.

96. *Trimmer*, a short beam across an opening such as a stair-well to carry the ends of the joists.

97. See above, entry for 11.6.41.

98. The mill pond was above the mill on Stradbrook, called Aldridge's mill. Until near the end of the nineteenth century baptisms at the Baptist Church took place here.

99. This death is not recorded in the Parish Register.

note. John Saintsbury put paving and Haut pas¹⁰⁰ within Street door.

2. H. Saintsbury brick'd the partition between the parlour and passage. Henry nevell fixt the new Street door & durns put up Yesterday &c. A Sessions at Charlford¹⁰¹ to Compare Mr. Wadman's Estate With the value of others in this Tything to be abated to the poor.

3. I intend to go to Longleat about pur chasing Something for Brother,¹⁰² was Disappointed by reason of Mr Wadman's affair being referd this day to the vestry at Westbury¹⁰³ & fearing Mothers Estate might be advanced, so I went to Westbury parish meeting. Ben here yesterday and to day. Mr Frowd of Deverill throw'd from his horse.

July. 1741.

4. Tom had the horse to Froom for Mr. James Collins to come to Bratton. H. Saintsbury made gout¹⁰⁴ from the Street door and put partition between Kitchen and passage. B. Bourne ♂ & ♀. Barnes all the week.

⊙ 5. By Mr Collins I hear T. Fricker & M Adlam is near marriage.¹⁰⁵ mother & Mr James Collins Rode to Devizes to go to London by the Caravan.

6. Tom went to Devizes a foot. brought Sister hither with the horse. Mrs. Ballard, fearing to purchase any of the goods, had opinion of Counsel who advis'd her that Phil. Whitaker had power to sell it.¹⁰⁶

7. Mrs Ballard look'd out and bought a great part of the goods. two mowers began mowing the orchard.

100. *Haut pas*, high step. It is interesting that Jeffery uses the proper French form instead of the anglicized *halpace*.

101. Charlford, Chalford.

102. See p. xxxiv.

103. For the Vestry meeting, see p. lvi. Mr. Wadman: John Wadman was a J.P.; Edward Wadman was described as a 'gentleman of Winfield' (*W.A.S.* xi (1955). 29. 132).

104. *Gout*, a covered drain or culvert.

105. See entry in the Longbridge Deverill Parish Register: 25.7.41: marriage of Thomas Fricker and Mrs. Mary Adlam.

106. P. Whitaker's administration was finally revoked. On 7.9.41 the administration of the goods of John Aldridge Ballard was granted to P. Webb, a creditor.

NOTES ON SELECTED FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS APPEARING IN JEFFERY WHITAKER'S DIARIES

I.

Families closely connected with the Whitakers

The Aldridge Family

The Aldridges were closely associated with the Baptist cause in Erlestone and Bratton from its beginnings. In the second half of the seventeenth century some of them were presented for not having their children baptised, although some baptisms appear in the Bratton Register. William Aldridge is listed as a licensed Baptist preacher in 1672 and he attended the first general Assembly of the Baptists in 1689.¹ In her will, proved 5.10.1714, Mary Ballard, née Aldridge, left £20 in trust to Mr. Edward Frowde of Tinhead and John 'Olredge' of Westbury for the poor of 'the baptized Congregation meeting in Earl Stoke'.² Later, Samuel Aldridge of Frome followed the vocation of a Baptist preacher and is recorded several times in the diaries as preaching at Bratton.³ In Warminster the Aldridges were associated with the cause of Independency and the secession from Old Meeting to the New c. 1720.⁴

The Aldridge family was spread around Erlestone, Bratton, Westbury, Warminster and Frome. Isaac Aldridge of Erlestone is recorded in the Freehold Book of 1736⁵ and Jeffery Whitaker notes there the death and burial of Mrs. Leah Aldridge in March, 1739.⁶ In Bratton the Aldridge home was a timbered house between Grange Farm and Smarts on the Lower Road which has now disappeared. Jonathan Aldridge appears in the Freehold Book under Bratton and in the Westbury Rate Book as owning a mill.⁷ When Jeffery Whitaker rides to Warminster he dines there with Mr. Aldridge, and one son, at least, from this family attended the school.⁸ From the early seventeenth century, as we have seen, the Whitakers were linked with the Aldridges by marriage. Later marriages interlocked Aldridges both with Whitakers and Ballards, so that we meet the Christian names Aldridge Whitaker and Aldridge Ballard.

1. For the Baptist connections of the Aldridges, see above, p. lii.
2. *W.N.Q.*, iii. 525.
3. See Diary, entries for 9.9.39; 8.8.40; 11.9.40; 16.11.40; 14.12.40.
4. *V.C.H. Wilts.*, viii. 126
5. *Freehold Book*, p. 144.
6. See Diary, entries for 12.3.38-39; 14.3.38-9.
7. *Freehold Book*, p. 148; WRO. 548/13.
8. For Mr. Aldridge, Warminster, see Diary, entries for 30.6.39; 15.9.39; 11.8.40; 28.10.40. For Richard Aldridge at school, see entries for 10.3.38-9; 12.3.38-9; 30.6.39.

The Ballard Family

The Ballards were closely connected with the Whitakers. Among the Whitaker papers is an account of this family, written in 1843 by an unidentified person. Obviously the earlier part is compiled from recollections of an older generation:⁹

The first within my recollection is William Ballard who occupied an estate in the village partly leasehold and partly freehold and appeared to have succeeded in life and left to an only son his business during his life time, spending the remainder of it in retirement in a house called Winter's in the lower street. This son, named Philip, resided on an estate called Ballard's Home Living. he built the large House in Milbourne Street occupied by his descendants but never resided in it himself, dying at the early age of 45 or thereabouts. He left three sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom named John inherited an estate at Imber purchased by his father, where he lived to a good age and died childless in the year 1777, leaving his freehold to his Nephew William Aldridge Ballard.

The second son of Philip, named John Aldridge, occupied the large house before mentioned. He married a Miss Frowd by whom he had one son and two daughters—he died early of small pox. This son, William Aldridge by name, married Miss Woodyear by whom he left one daughter Mary afterwards married to Edward Froud Seagram M.D. The eldest daughter of John Aldridge—Anne—remained single. She died in the year []. Elinor the youngest married Mr. John Blatch of Bratton yeoman by whom she had two sons and a daughter, Philip Ballard, John and Sarah. The latter is at this time 1843 the only Survivor.

The third son of Philip Ballard—Jonathan—settled also in Bratton and married a daughter of one Humphrey Whitaker living where Joshua Whitaker now resides, by whom he had two daughters, Elizabeth & Broadhead, who married in succession a person named William Tree. The eldest daughter of Philip Ballard, Mary, married Mr. Philip Whitaker Maltster, for further particulars see Philip Whitaker. the second daughter, Elizabeth, married a medical gentleman of the name of Davidson residing at Trowbridge. They left one son who died in early manhood.

The Ballards were obviously one of the chief propertied families in Bratton. Together, Jeffery Whitaker's two contemporaries, John Aldridge Ballard and Jonathan Ballard, account for the largest number of Bratton holdings in the Westbury Rate Book, apart from the Whitakers.¹⁰ They also figure in the Freehold Book.¹¹ Both appear frequently in the diaries until they died of smallpox within a few days of each other in 1740. In two respects the account given above is incorrect: John Aldridge Ballard left the house in Milbourne Street which was leased to Robert Long and settled at Grange Farm on the Lower Road; he actually had two sons, but the eldest, Philip, also died of smallpox, leaving the William Aldridge Ballard mentioned above. Jonathan Ballard lived at Winters, also on the Lower Road, on the other side of Jeffery Whitaker.

9. Paper in possession of M. E. Reeves.

10. WRO. 548/13.

11. *Freehold Book*, p. 148.

Marriage connections between the two families go back at least as far as 1660 when a John Ballard married Catherine Whitaker. More recently, William Ballard's daughter Mary had married Jeffery Whitaker's uncle, John Whitaker. This was the Aunt Whitaker who died in September, 1739. As we have seen,¹² Jeffery was interested in securing some of the property which she had inherited from her uncle, Philip King. A second property and marriage involvement arose in connection with the leasing of the property known as Ballards to Humphrey Whitaker in 1710. This continued after his death¹³ on the lives of Susannah, his widow, and her daughter, Susannah, who had married Jonathan Ballard. In 1739 a new lease was granted to Susannah Whitaker who, as we have suggested,¹⁴ was 'the widow' courted by Jeffery and others and would certainly be a desirable catch in the marriage market. A third Ballard/Whitaker marriage took place when Philip Whitaker, Jeffery's cousin, married Mary, Philip Ballard's eldest daughter. Again, this led to a property involvement when Philip Whitaker claimed the administration of effects when the Ballard brothers both died of smallpox.

The Blatch family

The Blatches were prosperous yeomen whose names appear in Bratton Parish Registers from 1547 to 1854. They owned property in Bratton, Westbury, Keevil and Bulkington. Stephen Blatch bought Brook House in Westbury in 1693 and left it to his brother John.¹⁵ This was probably the John Blatch of Westbury who in 1687 was a party to the marriage settlement between Anne Whitaker and John Drewett.¹⁶ The Blatches married into Aldridge, Ballard and Whitaker families. In the same paper as that describing the Ballards is a note on the Blatches:

Mr. Philip Blatch owned a small farm still called Blatch's living. He left two sons—John and James—the eldest John occupied the family estate and marrying had a son and two daughters, John his son succeeding him in the business. He married Eleanor Ballard and by her had several children, three of whom survived him, named Philip Ballard, John and Sarah. James the youngest son of the aforementioned Philip settled in Amesbury early in life. He had a large family of sons, the eldest of whom, James, settled as a farmer at Whitchurch, William at Cholderton, Henry at Winterbourne, John in London & Benjamin entered the Church and had the living of Chicklade. the daughters of Mr. John Blatch: Deborah the eldest married Mr. Stevens of Trowbridge, the other, Elizabeth, Mr. Ruty of Steeple Ashton—they left no children.

The family homestead, Blatch's living, formerly called Hills, was on the Lower Westbury Road and is now Rosenheim Farm. The elder John Blatch left goods in his will, proved in 1716, to 'Cousin John Whitaker'.¹⁷ His son

12. See above, pp. xxviii.

13. His memorial stone is on the south wall of the south aisle in Bratton Church.

14. For the leases, see LL. MSS. OS 200.

15. *V.C.H. Wilts.*, viii. 152.

16. Indenture among Whitaker documents.

17. WRO. Wills. Chantors.

was the John Blatch mentioned frequently in the diaries and described as 'Cousin Blatch'. He appears in the Freehold Book and as a ratepayer for his dwelling.¹⁸ Five of his children are recorded as 'born', not baptised, showing that this family adhered to the Baptist cause. Obviously they were comfortably off: John Blatch owned a 'plow' and his will, witnessed by Jeffery Whitaker and his sister, Katharine Collins, in 1773, mentions a considerable amount of furniture, looking glasses, plate, jewels, 'China ware', bed and tablelinen, an eight-day clock, two family coats of arms in gilt frames, and two glazed prints of the King and Queen. He left to his grandson Philip 'my set of Silver Coat and Waistcoat Buttons, my Silver Watch, my Silver Shoe Buckles and Four Crown pieces'.¹⁹

The Drewett family

In 1687 Anne, daughter of Henry Whitaker, married William Drewett, yeoman of Bratton Farm. According to a note on the back of their marriage settlement (WRO 785/6), William, widower, came from Wedhampton and the family originated in Patney. William died in 1706, leaving his eldest son, John, in possession of 'the Farm', as it is called in the diaries. An arithmetic book, dated 1701, which survived at the Yew Trees,²⁰ indicates that 'John Drewett', born in 1690, had been a pupil at the school. His mother, Anne Drewett, still appears as the ratepayer for Bratton Farm and other properties in 1739 but John figures in the Freehold Book.²¹ Jeffery was a frequent visitor at the Farm, where John and his brother Henry lived. His youngest brother, James, was in Bratton on 28 July, 1739,²² but otherwise seems to disappear from Bratton records at this period. On the other hand, Jeffery meets a James Drewett in London. We have already suggested that this might be a case of the youngest son seeking a fortune in the metropolis.²³

William Drewett's two daughters also turn up in the diaries. Lucy married Arthur Hearne (alt. Heron, herne being the dialect word for heron). Possibly she married beneath her for she does not seem to have had the approval of her mother who, in her will (signed 21.10.41) left her £6 p.a. 'payable unto her alone, without the intermeddling of her husband, Arthur Heron'.²⁴ Mrs. Hearne's daughter Lucy is mentioned by Jeffery Whitaker as 'With child' on 17 April, 1741, and marrying Henry Nevil on the 20th. His father, John Nevil, was 'displeased with his son Henry for Marrying'. Mrs. Hearne's son

18. *Freehold Book*, p. 148; WRO. 548/13. Henry Blatch was Constable of Westbury (see *Wills. Quarter Sessions*, Nos. 27,46, 148).

19. Above, n. 17.

20. In the possession of M. E. Reeves.

21. WRO. 548/13; *Freehold Book*, p. 148.

22. See Diary entry for this date.

23. See above, pp. 38 n, 42.

24. WRO. Wills Chantors.

William lived to be 90 and gave evidence at an enquiry on Westbury Common Right in 1803, saying that he 'came to Bratton 74 years ago, worked on Bratton Farm 64 years and has since kept a turnpike gate (i.e. opposite Bratton Farm). Mr. John and Mr. Henry Drewett then occupied Bratton Farm.'²⁵ William Drewett's second daughter, Margaret, married John Pinnock. She was staying with her brothers at the Farm in May, 1741, when she caught smallpox (14.5.41). We know she recovered because she also is mentioned in her mother's will: 'daughter Margaret, £20, and the £50 lent to her husband John Pinnock.'

Mrs. Emblon (alt. Emblin, Emblen)

Mrs. Emblon (née Anne Whitaker) married Arthur Emblon of Bath in March, 1727. In Bath she ran a School for the Tuition of Young Ladies in partnership with a Mrs. Pullen. She owned property in Bath, Trowbridge and Bratton. The Bratton property included the Rose and Crown public house at the corner of Milbourne Street and Lower Road.²⁶ She eventually returned to Bratton where her husband was buried in July, 1743. She herself was buried in Bratton in October, 1760. She left her property to the widow of her brother Aldridge Whitaker and to various nephews and nieces.²⁷

The Froud (alt. Froude, Frowd) family

In the second half of the seventeenth century, as we have seen, Edward Froud of Edington was prominent in the leadership of the nascent Baptist cause in Erlestoke.²⁸ In the eighteenth the family was still living in Edington and Tinhead. James Frowd (alt. Froud) of Tinhead appeared for 'trespasses and misdemeanours' before the Quarter Sessions in 1736.²⁹ Edward Frowd was one of the first trustees of the Baptist meeting house in Bratton in 1734.³⁰ Mr. Froud and his wife who appear quite often in the diaries must have belonged to this branch. A frequent visitor was Miss Elianor Froud who remained a spinster. She probably lived in Edington but attended the Bratton meeting house. In her will (1776) she left money to the Bratton Baptist Church.³¹ But the Frouds had wider connections. Anne Froud (1684–1769) married William Steele, the minister of an important Baptist cause at Broughton. Their daughter was Anne Steele who is still known for her hymns and who wrote verse under the pseudonym of 'Theodosia'. A literary circle grew up around her which included the Attwatters of Bodenham and so brought the connection back to

25. WRO. OL. Box 18.

26. Westbury Rate Book, WRO. 548.

27. WRO. Wills. Chantors.

28. See above, p. lii.

29. *Wills. Quarter Sessions*, Nos. 481, 603, 755.

30. *Meeting House Certificates*, No. 261.

31. *W.N.Q.*, iv. 54.

Bratton. There were also other branches of the Froud family whom Jeffery Whitaker visited in Warminster and Longbridge Deverill.³²

The Phipps family

The Phipps family were well-to-do landowners and wool merchants in the Westbury area, always referred to as 'esquire' or 'gentleman' and somewhat above the Whitakers in social status.³³ At the end of the sixteenth century two brothers, Henry and Nicholas Phipps, acquired the manor of Westbury Maudit and purchased a fulling mill in Westbury Leigh. In 1620 property at Chalford and Westbury Leigh came to Paul, a younger brother. By the beginning of the eighteenth century another branch, represented by Thomas Phipps, a mercer, had acquired the manor of Dilton and Heywood House. His son, Thomas, who died in 1724, conveyed Dilton to Paul Phipps of Chalford in 1721-2. Paul died, however, in 1722 and the property descended eventually to his second son, Thomas, who died in 1747. At the time of the diaries this Thomas Phipps was living at Leigh House with his family, Thomas the younger and two daughters, Anne and Jane. It is the younger Thomas and his sisters who figure in the diaries. The Thomas Phipps who died in 1724 had left Heywood House to his mother and after her to his younger brother William who became Governor of Bombay. This is 'the Governour' mentioned twice in the diaries.³⁴

There appears to be some close connection between the Phipps family and Bratton. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Thomas Phipps of Westbury Leigh held land in the north of Bratton parish. Philip Ballard, in 'His Book', lists under those liable for Land Tax (24.4.1705):³⁵

Thomas Phipps Esq. & oqorpuipers
for flatt Palmers
for midell Palmers
for uper Palmers
for the two chinges
for marsh leaze
for Thickets
for Lides

On 21 June, 1705, this same Thomas Phipps married Christian Warrent of Warminster in Bratton Church. Jeffery Whitaker recorded her death on 3 May, 1741 and her burial on 6 May is in the Westbury Register. On Sunday, 8 May, 1739, Jeffery notes: Thos. Phipps, Jun. Esq. took

32. See Diary, entires for 26,27.5.41; 8.6.41; 3.7.41; At Sedgehill in 1700 the house of an Edward Froud had been licensed for Baptist worship, see *Meeting House Certificates*, No. 48.

33. For the following details of the Phipps properties, see *V.C.H. Wilts.*, vii. 155-6, 162-3.

34. See above, pp. 9, 18.

35. W.R.O. 1195.

the test at Bratton Church.' Thomas Phipps, senior, had 'taken the Test' on 3 October, 1736.³⁶ He was an alderman, receiver of taxes and a J.P. For these offices it was essential to have a certificate of taking the Sacrament according to the Church of England rite. No doubt his son Thomas was now preparing for a similar career.

There were also clearly social links with Bratton families. Jeffery Whitaker, though aware of their superior social status, is on friendly terms: he and his sister dine at Leigh House and Thomas Phipps sent Jeffery medicine.³⁷ The two Phipps sisters walk over to Bratton in what appears to be something of an escapade and stay for four nights.³⁸ It is possible that the two families shared other social connections. The Thomas Phipps who died in 1724 married Elizabeth Gay of Haycombe who belonged to a family which had produced a notable Nonconformist preacher in the late seventeenth century. Elizabeth's sister, Anna, married Thomas Attwater of Bodenham and in the next generation Caroline Attwater married Jeffery's cousin, Thomas Whitaker, and came to live at Bratton. Here the connection was almost certainly the Nonconformist network. It may be that the Phipps family at some stage shared the Whitakers' leanings towards Dissent.

II.

Servants employed by the Jeffery Whitakers.

Amy

She appears to be the only resident house maid. Her surname is not known and the only information given about her family is that her father 'was buried out of the workhouse' (17.7.39).

Tom

Again, his surname is not given and nothing is known of his family. He was employed both inside and out and does riding services.

Ben Bourne

Jeffery Whitaker's school assistant came from Westbury. An earlier Ben Bourne who died in 1718 had been Parish Clerk in Westbury and a William Bourne was Mayor of Westbury at about the same time. The Ben of the diaries was probably Benjamin, son of John and Posthume, Bourne, born 30 October, 1717, at Westbury. This would make him twenty-two when the diaries begin. If there is a slight suggestion of scholastic attainment in his background, it is clear that he himself had little taste for schoolmastering.

36. *Wilts. Quarter Sessions*, No. 736.

37. See Diary, entries for 24.4.39; 24.5.39.

38. See Diary, entries for 26-31.3.39.

William Hinwood (alt. Henwood)

He appears to be the one wholetime outside worker employed by Jeffery Whitaker. He was almost certainly not born in Bratton, nor does his death occur in the burial register, but he married Sarah Player on 16 December, 1717, at Bratton Church and his four children were baptised there. Sarah's name appears in the diary entry for 14.6.40. In the diaries William comes over as a hard-working, trusted labourer, digging trenches and controlling the flow of water in the water meadows, grubbing out hedges, cutting down trees, making hay and so on. He must have been in almost daily contact with Jeffery, yet the latter records the death of his only son John, aged seventeen, quite coldly: 18.9.39. 'John Hinwood died this evening about 10.' 21.9.39. 'Wm. Hinwood wringing perkin, his Boy Bury'd at the N.E. part of the churchyard.'

III.

*Other Bratton inhabitants**The Bath (alt. Bathe) family*

A note found among the Whitaker papers and dating from the early nineteenth century, recalls: 'Joseph Bath a farmer in low circumstances lived in the premises lately occupied by Mrs. Blatch. He had three sons, Joseph, William and John, the two former left no children, the latter left one son who is a labourer in the village, and five daughters, the eldest of whom married John Demay.' In the mid-eighteenth century the Baths probably adhered to the Baptist cause: in the Parish Register their children are recorded as 'born', not baptised, in 1734, 1736 and 1739. Children called 'May' are similarly entered in 1742, 1745 and 1746. These may be the offspring of the John D'May mentioned in the diaries: 8.6.39: 'J. D'May before the Church'—probably for non-attendance at the parish church. Thus the Bath/Demay marriage may have been an alliance of Baptist families.

Nimrod Bristow

'Nimrod Bristow and Martha Heavil, both of the parish of Edington, were marr'd at Earlestoke, April 18th 1715.' Their four children were baptised in Bratton Church. Bristow acquired a cottage on the south side of Milbourne Street, Bratton, through his mother-in-law, Anne Hevill, to whom it had been bequeathed by her husband, William Hevill, husbandman of Bratton. This acquisition was on the following terms: '. . . whereas the said Anne Hevill is at this time grown antient and feeble and not Capable to Manage or Provide for herself, And is willing and desirous to live and inhabit with Nimrod Bristow her son- in-law, Therefore in consideration of the said Nimrod Bristow taking care of and suitable and sufficiently providing for the said Anne Hevill his Mother-in-law During the time of her natural life. . .'³⁹

Bristow's occupation is nowhere exactly stated but as he usually appears in connection with travel, he possibly kept horses for hire. He also helps with the hay, delivers a writ and puts up a traveller. Certainly he travelled about, for after the death of his first wife he married Susannah Watts of Westbury in 1751 and after her death, Dorcas Kington, widow of Melksham, in 1757.

John Burgess

The Burgess family were yeomen in Bratton in the seventeenth century. In 1651 Henry Burges married Mary Whitaker. By the eighteenth century, however, they had declined into landless labourers. There were several Johns and it is not possible to identify the one mentioned in the diaries.

Robert Cook

The Robert Cook of the diaries was the grandson of Robert Cook who held two fulling mills in Milbourne by inheritance from his father who held them by grant of William Bromwich in the reign of Charles I.⁴⁰ His son, Robert Cook senior, was a Baptist, being presented at Quarter Sessions in 1682 and 1683 for his adherence to the Baptist Church.⁴¹ His great grandson, William, fell from grace and was excluded from the Baptist Meeting for 'the sin of intoxication'. By the time Robert Cook senior died in 1690 the Manor of Bratton had been bought by the Thynnes of Longleat and the lease of the mills was not renewed to the Cook family. The Robert in the diaries was a farm labourer. So were his sons, Robert and William. They lived at Winters on the Lower Road. This had been the retirement home of William Ballard and after him of Jonathan Ballard until he died in 1740. It was then converted into two small cottages.

The Croom family

In the seventeenth century the Crooms were yeoman holding leases in the manors of Westbury Stourton and Westbury Arundel and in Bratton Manor under Lord Weymouth. John senior died on 12 March, 1739, and his nephew, John junior, succumbed to smallpox on 2 May, 1740. Here ended the male line in Bratton. The property, Blagdens, a farmhouse just east of Smarts on the Lower Road, went to Margaret, daughter of the elder John and married to John Pryor of Edington. After her death a new lease was granted to her daughter Margaret, married to Thomas Olden and after her death Jeffery Whitaker secured the lease.⁴² Adjoining the farmhouse there was a carpenter's and wheelwright's shop (see under Nevil).

40. LL. MSS. OS216.

41. For the Cooks' later residence at Winters, see Ballard papers. WRO. 212B/640.

42. LL. MSS. OS193; *W.N.Q.* lv. 9: Croom wills. WRO. Wills. Chantors.

The Emm (alt. Emme) family

The Emm family first appears in Bratton Parish Register in 1642. All the later members of the family seem to be descendants of the William Emme of that date. Most were small farmers, sub-tenants whose names seldom appear in legal documents. The signature of William Emme, churchwarden, figures in Churchwardens' Presentments from 1717 to 1722. In 1744 Benjamin Emm was presented for non-payment of the clerk's dues.⁴³ Since in the nineteenth century a number of the family were Baptists, his refusal to pay may have been a protest against the Established Church. he and his wife Grace (née Dew) built a small thatched house in Lower Road. Both died there in 1803. A stone in the wall of the house bears their initials and date:

G
B E 1795.

The family name is perpetuated in Emms Lane and Emms Farm.

The Flower family

Robert and Jane Flower were Baptists living in the Lower Road, probably in the house called Flowers which was leased to their sons in 1756.⁴⁴ These sons are listed in the Parish Register as 'born': James (1724), Robert (1727), John (1731), Stephen (1734), William (1736). Robert, John and William all married and had families. The other two have not been traced. Possibly they died unrecorded of the smallpox.

John Hooper

John Hooper of Edington married Elizabeth Pryor of Bratton. In the diaries the Hooper estate was under discussion. This was in the Lower Road, Bratton, near the Lower Mill. A copyhold had been granted by Lord Weymouth in 1697 for the life of Elizabeth, daughter of John Pryor, in reversion after Margaret her mother and John Croom Pryor, her brother.⁴⁵ This consisted of a messuage, 4 closes of pasture, containing by estimation 5 acres, and 22 acres of arable land in the Common Fields. Jeffery Whitaker started to negotiate for this property for his brother, Merari,⁴⁶ but no lease to Merari Whitaker has been found. The deal evidently fell through. In 1759 a lease of the property was granted to Robert Sweetland of Bratton, baker, who had married Margaret Pryor, sister of Elizabeth Hooper.⁴⁷ For the next hundred years the property was known as Sweetlands.

Ruth Line

Ruth Line was the wife of Thomas Line. The name Line occurs in the Bratton Parish Registers from 1637 to 1855. In the eighteenth century the

43. WRO. Chantors Court.

44. LL. MSS. OS197.

45. LL. MSS. OS187.

46. See Diary, entry for 4.6.41.

47. LL. MSS. OS187.

family lived in cottages owned by William Grant, yeoman, and appear as agricultural labourers. Ruth survived the smallpox and had two more children in 1744 and 1746. After her death, among the Banns read in Bratton church we find, in June, 1774, 'Thomas Line, widower, and Mary Line — Forbid. She is widow of Richard Line, own brother to Thomas Line.'

Robert Long

The Longs of Rood Ashton leased Bratton House after the early death of Philip Ballard in an epidemic of smallpox in 1723, which had left his wife and small children in somewhat straightened circumstances and therefore glad to let the large new house. The lease was renewed in 1746 to William Long.⁴⁸ Colt Hoare records an inscription in Bratton Church which is now lost: 'Robert Long, Gent., 14 January 1745, aged 55.'⁴⁹ All that is left of his tomb is a small alabaster plaque at the west end of the south aisle bearing the arms of the Long family with a crescent for difference.

Francis Merritt

Francis Merritt was a wheelwright and his brother John was a miller. Earlier generations had also been wheelwrights or millers, leasing property on the Lower Road. The mill was Lower Mill, formerly Robert Cook's, leased from Lord Weymouth.⁵⁰ Land Tax assessments in 1705 show John Merritt paying 6 shillings for his 'Tuking Mill', but a later note on his lease records 'now a grist mill'.⁵¹ This lease had been granted to John Merritt and his sons, John and Francis Merritt, in 1704. The Merritts also leased the wheelwright's shop next to John Croom's farmhouse. When Croom married Edith Merritt, who was one of the 'lives' in the lease, he took possession of it, though Francis Merritt continued to use it as his workshop.

The family lived in a cottage on the south side of Lower Road, described in 1682 as 'one ancient cottage with a garden and orchard contayning halfe an acre.'⁵² A new lease was granted in 1736 to Francis Merritt for his own life and the lives of his wife Bridget and son John.⁵³ Subsequent leases over the years until the making of the Tithe Map in 1840 enable us to be certain that this was the cottage which stands at the lower end of the footpath running down from the Baptist Chapel to the Lower Road. It remained a small, plain cottage until the 1950s.

48. WRO. 212B/628.

49. R. Colt Hoare & R. Harris, *Modern Wiltshire. The Hundred of Westbury* (London, 1830), p. 48.

50. LL. MSS. OS216.

51. *Ibid.*

52. LL. MSS. OS197.

53. *Ibid.*

The Nevil family

The Nevils farmed about 100 acres in Bratton in the eighteenth century. The first in the village was a John Nevil of Shortstreet, near Westbury, who married Edith Gilbert, joint heiress with her brother Giles Gilbert, after her father's death in 1634, of a farm now known as Scotts Farm in Bury Lane. Giles died childless and the property was inherited by the descendants of John and Edith Nevil. Nevils farm was in the Manor of Bratton, held from Lord Weymouth. But the Nevils also held land in the manors of Westbury Arundel and Stourton.⁵⁴ They were sub tenants of various small properties, such as the cottage and wheelwright's shop and saw-pit, formerly Merritts', on John Croom's farm in the Lower Road. This last was the cause of a dispute after the death of John Croom in March, 1739. It had been sub-let to John Nevil and his sons, Paul and Henry Nevil. Henry was the actual occupier. We do not know the exact nature of the quarrel, but John Nevil seems to have claimed goods left in the shop by Croom. Jeffery Whitaker was consulted and drew up a bond to settle the dispute (30.3.39).

John Nevil was a substantial farmer but he was outside the Whitakers' social circle. As we have seen, he was probably illiterate.⁵⁵ Jeffery Whitaker again draws up a bond for him on 23 March, 1741. Yet his name appears in the Freehold Book,⁵⁶ whereas Jeffery's does not. Henry, his son, was a master 'wheeler' to whom John Prior of Keevil was apprenticed for eleven years in 1744.⁵⁷ As a carpenter living next door to Smarts, he did a good deal of work for the Whitakers. Jeffery could have seen him working in his saw-pit from his own window. We do not know why his father was displeased with Henry for marrying Lucy Hearne, a Whitaker relation (see Diary entry, 22.4.41).

Thomas Olden

Thomas Olden was a tenant farmer at Blagdens, the farm next door to Smarts. His wife, Margaret, daughter of John Pryor, was the third life in the lease of the farm, after her maternal grandfather, John Croom, and her mother, Margaret Pryor, née Croom. Olden appears in the Freehold Book and as a ratepayer for Blagdens for 1739/40.⁵⁸ he does a considerable amount of work for Jeffery Whitaker.

Henry Pepler

Henry Pepler was a blacksmith living in Bratton but related to the Peplers of Edington. His grand-daughter Eve Pepler married Robert Reeves, blacksmith, and their sons founded the firm of agricultural engineers in Bratton.

54. Abingdon lands. Sale Particulars, W.R.O. 130/8.

55. See above, p. xlvii.

56. *Freehold Book*, p. 148.

57. *Wiltshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760*, ed. C. Dale, W.A.S., xviii (1961), No. 1920.

58. *Freehold Book*, p. 148; WRO. 548/13.

The Pryor family

John Pryor of Edington, yeoman, leased a property, formerly Thomas Tru-land's in the Manor of Bratton, by a grant dated 17 September, 1733, for the lives of himself, his daughter Sarah and his grandson, William Hooper.⁵⁹ His daughter Elizabeth had married John Hooper of Edington. On 15 May, 1741, he offered to sell the lease to Jeffery Whitaker. The deal fell through but the property eventually came into the family when Thomas Whitaker took it in 1756.

Henry Stiles

Jeffery Whitaker describes Henry Stiles as living at Shoot House. Shoot (or Shute) House was at this time leased to John Aldridge Ballard and presumably let to Stiles. It still stands, a half-timbered cottage above the water shute running down to the Lower Road by Court Lane, and now called St. Anne's Cottage. No personal details are known about Henry Stiles, but the family remained in the village until the middle of the twentieth century.

John Sweetland

A note in the Westbury Parish Register says: 'Old John Sweetland who lived and died in his own house next to the White Horse in Bratton.' This house was one of a row of cottages which have now been converted into the Duke Inn. John Sweetland and his son Samuel could sign their names as witnesses to the will of John Brown in 1748.⁶⁰ John Sweetland was buried on 12 January, 1759.

The Tucker family

'Tuckers', which still stands opposite the entrance to Bratton House, in the main street, is a thatched house with the date 1623 on the lintel of the front door. At the time of the diaries it was leased from Lord Weymouth by John Tucker, parish clerk, who died in 1777, aged 79.⁶¹ The Easter Parish meetings were held in the Clerk's house. Other members of the Tucker family mentioned in the diaries are Jean, wife of John Tucker, William, not positively identified but possibly John's brother, and Christopher who definitely was John's brother. The latter was described by Thomas Hewitt, Vicar of Westbury, as 'my clerk'. He rented the vicarage garden at Bratton and died owing two years' rent to the vicar which his younger brother, Solomon, paid on the 5 April, 1757.⁶² There is a long account in the Westbury Parish Register of this and of arguments concerning the Church house which stood, with the

59. LL. MSS. OS187.

60. A copy of John Brown's will (dated 1.3.1753) was found among papers of the Baptist Church, now in the WRO. The copy had been made by Jeffery Whitaker who noted 'There was no probit affix to the original.' He doubted the authenticity of Brown's signature, as he believed him to be illiterate, but did not question the signatures of John Sweetland, Samuel Sweetland and William Fuidgee, witnesses.

61. LL. MSS. OS217.

62. See notes by the vicar in Westbury Parish Register.

vicarage garden behind it, almost opposite Tuckers. Solomon Tucker's wife, Susannah, was left 10 in the will of Anne Emblen (née Whitaker).⁶³

Tom Walter

The Walters had been in Bratton since at least the second half of the sixteenth century and some remained until the early twentieth century. They were mainly farm labourers and shepherds and there was a George and a Thomas in every generation. Many of them were members of the Baptist community. A George Walter married Margaret, daughter of William Whitaker in 1639, but the others did not aspire so high. Tom Walter, whose child caught smallpox, had married Jean Miller in 1730; they eventually had at least five children. Bet Walter, the washerwoman, was probably Elizabeth, aged about 50. In the nineteenth century another Walter was a much valued farm bailiff to the Whitakers.

IV.

Families sending boys to the School

Adlam,⁶⁴ Crockerton – two boys
 Aldridge, Warminster – Richard
 Alford
 Atkins
 Barnes
 Bird (?)
 Blake – J. Blake, paid for by Mr. Hicks
 Butler
 Cuzner
 Etheridge – guardian (?) Mr. James Collins, Devizes
 French, Warminster
 Gennings
 Goodson – Samuel, former pupil
 Hancock, Frome
 Harris – Mr. Prichard, Frome paid for J. Harris
 Henry
 Hill, Warminster
 Hill, Horningsham
 Hilliker, Frome – Mr. & Mrs., Samuel
 Hillman, Frome (?)
 Humphrey, Berkley – William, John, R. W.

63. See above, p. 87.

64. For the Adlam family, see I, n. 57.

Joyce, Fordingbridge – Thomas, Moses

Lanham, Melksham – Joseph

Lawes, Norington (?Frome) – John, Thomas

Lee

Love — Mr. & Mrs., John, Ms. Mary

Lydford, Nunney – William

Mattock,⁶⁵ West Lavington/Cheverill – James, John (nephews)

May, Worton (?)

Mears,⁶⁶ Corsley

Naish, Beckington

North – J. North

Papps⁶⁷ – James, John (old pupils)

Piper – John (old pupil)

Shallard

Skurray, Beckington – Francis, Samuel, Thomas, William

Small – William

Spicer – guardian Mr. Woton (? Wooton), two boys

Watts, Bristol – John

Woton (Wootton), Trowbridge (Studly) – grandson

'Gentleman from Bruton about his son' (31.7.40)

65. John Mattock the elder of Great Cheverill and Richard Mattock of Bishops Lavington appear in the *Freehold Book*, pp. 144, 146.

66. John Meer was bailiff of Warminster Hundred (*Wilts. Quarter Sessions*, No. 468); the house of John Meares of Corsley was licensed for Nonconformist worship in 1724 (*V.C.H. Wilts.*, viii. 24).

69. Richard Papps was a maltster of Trowbridge (*Wilts. Quarter Sessions*, No. 18).

GLOSSARY

Baited (v)	in this context, (oxen) put to feed
Bark (n)	bark of Cinchona tree from which quinine is obtained
Barken (n)	enclosed yard beside a house (Wilts. dialect)
Barm (n)	yeast
Budge (adj.)	solemn in demeanour, pompous (<i>O.E.D.</i>), in this context, out of temper, sulky
Caravan (n)	covered public conveyance carrying passengers and goods
Cerecloth (n)	cloth smeared or impregnated with wax, used as a plaster (see Pepys, 1667: 'did sprain my right foot. . . . To bed and there had a cerecloth laid to my foot.'))
Cyderkin (n)	weak form of cider (Wilts. dialect)
Drock (n)	short underground drain, usually under a roadway, also a flat stone forming a bridge over a drain (dialect)
Durn (n)	door post of solid wood (widely used dialect)
Dwarf Elder (n)	<i>Sambucus Ebulus</i> , herbaceous form of elder whose leaves, bruised and boiled, were made into a poultice for reducing swelling and inflammation; formerly common in the district and known as Danes' Blood from the belief that it grew where Danes had been killed
Elming straw (v)	variant of verb <i>to helm</i> , i.e. to lay straw in bundles for thatching; <i>helm</i> used as a noun occurs in John Whitaker's inventory (1665), see WRO. Wills. Chantors.
Extract of Rudii (n)	probably some preparation from marigolds, used as a stimulant and aperient, see <i>ruddes</i> , country name for marigold
Fleet (n)	a run of water, in this context low-lying wet meadowland
Furmity (n)	<i>frumenty</i> , dish made with hulled wheat, boiled in milk, seasoned with cinnamon, sugar etc.
Gout (n)	covered drain or culvert
Handle (n)	something resembling a handle, used of joints of meat
Harslet (n)	<i>haslet</i> , loaf of chopped pig meat set in a mould
Haut pas (n)	high step, raised part of a hall floor, dias, anglicised as <i>halpace</i>

- Herriott (n)** *heriot*, ancient feudal right of a lord to exact one or more best animals at a tenant's death
- Horologe (n)** time-piece showing hours, not minutes
- Hydrophoby (n)** lit. horror of water, hence madness
- Ippichocuanna (n)** *ippecacuanha*, originally a South American shrub with purgative properties, applied to other plants
- Jobb (n)** cart-load (Wilts. dialect)
- Lugg (n)** land-measure= one pole, perch or rod, also an actual pole or long stick
- Marvel (n)** (boy's) marble (Wilts. dialect)
- Mogg (n)** bad temper, sulkiness (Wilts. dialect)
- Neats rand (n)** fillet of neat (ox) (dialect)
- Pavior (n)** paving stone (dialect)
- Perkin (n)** weak form of perry (Wilts. dialect)
- Pitching (n)** paved area or paving stones placed against a slope
- Plock (n)** block of wood used for firewood (Wilts. dialect)
- Plow (n)** cart and horses together (Wilts. dialect)
- Quartering (v)** using a *quarter*, i.e. a piece of wood 4×4 inches square, 2 or 4 inches thick, used in partitioning
- Reek (n)** rick (Wilts. dialect)
- Rithmy (adj.)** rimy, frosty (Wilts. dialect)
- Rout (n)** pathway
- Sawing image (n)** templet, pattern
- Sennet (n)** *sennight*, a period of seven days and nights
- Shord (n)** cleft or gap in a hedge or bank (Wilts. dialect)
- Shrowded, shrouding (v)** lopping lower branches of trees (dialect)
- Slabby (adj.)** muddy, sloppy
- Snags (n)** sloes, i.e. wild plums
- Spew'd (v)** unusual use as an intransitive verb
- Supany'd (v)** subpoenaed, summoned by a writ to a court
- Tare and Trett sums (n)** *Tare*, weight of wrapping or receptacle deducted from gross weight of goods
Trett, allowance on goods sold by weight after deduction of *tare*
- Testacious powders (n)** prepared from shells of snails, shell-fish etc. or from baked clay, in the latter case used as an indigestion powder, based on kaolin (china clay); see T. Fuller, *Pharm. Extemp.* (1710), p. 392: 'I think testacious powders exert their Virtues much easier and sooner when fine.'
- Thong (n)** here denotes the name of a strip of ground
- Trimmer (n)** short beam across an opening, such as a stair-well, to carry the ends of joists
- Upholder (n)** dealer in small wares or secondhand articles
- Uping stock (n)** mounting block
- Wringing (v)** here denotes pressing, squeezing cider or perry

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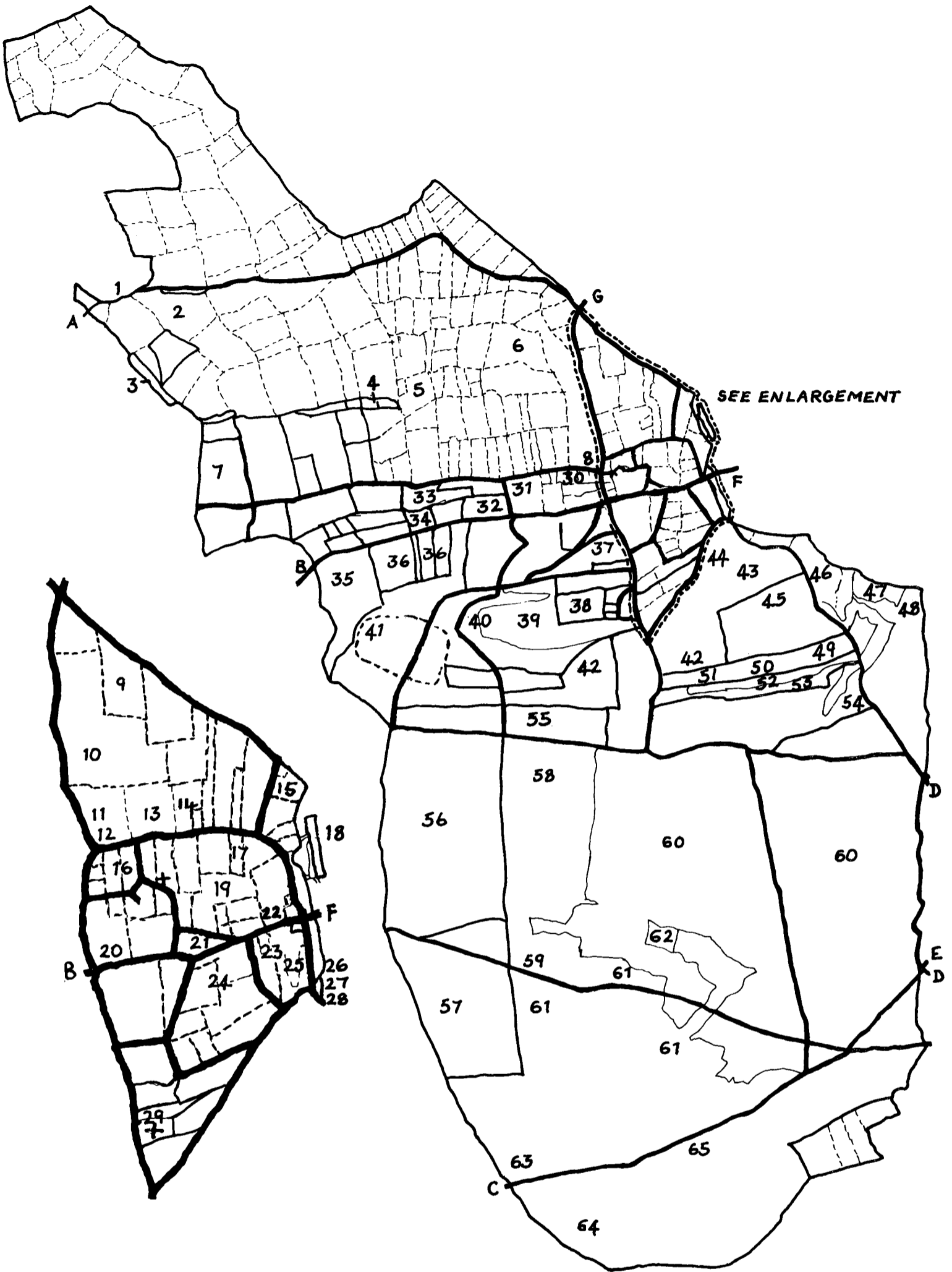
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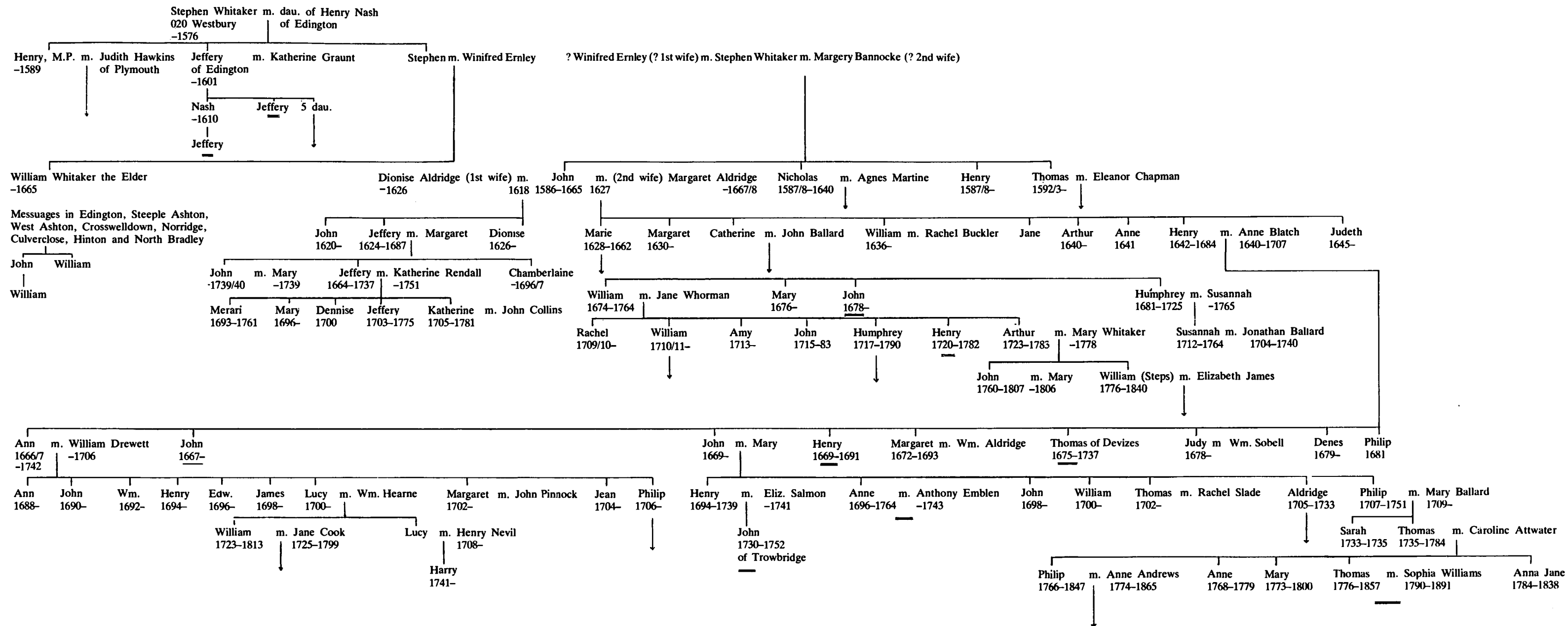
SEE ENLARGEMENT

- 1. Thickett Lane
- 2. Thicketts
- 3. Barrow, The
- 4. Stockmead
- 5. Fleet
- 6. Sheep House Ground
- 7. Withy Mead
- 8. Court House
- 9. Guard Land
- 10. Great Ground
- 11. Little Ground
- 12. Ballards Farm
- 13. Smarts, J. Whitaker's Home Living
- 14. Blagdens
- 15. Smiths
- 16. Nevils
- 17. Winters
- 18. Lower Mill
- 19. Baptist Meeting
- 20. The Farm
- 21. Pipers
- 22. Bratton House
- 23. Tuckers
- 24. The Butts

- 25. Hodges Farm
- 26. Aldridge Mill
- 27. Baptismal Pool
- 28. Cats Well
- 29. Bratton Church
- 30. Blatches
- 31. Sand Field
- 32. Sand Hill
- 33. Naishes
- 34. Tiswell
- 35. Coleman
- 36. Sandfields
- 37. Lower Portway
- 38. Stoke Parrock
- 39. Combe Bottom
- 40. Finger and Thumb Piece
- 41. Bratton Camp or Castle
- 42. Stoke Hill
- 43. Lower Stoke Hill
- 44. White Cleeve
- 45. Halcombe Bottom
- 46. Deanly
- 47. Hipley
- 48. Patcombe Hill

- 49. Yerbury Hill
- 50. Horseheads
- 51. Sheer Furlong
- 52. Long Combe
- 53. Heaven Cleeve
- 54. Gods Hill
- 55. Cow Down
- 56. Sheep Down (Drax)
- 57. Sheep Down (Phipps)
- 58. Common Down for cows only
- 59. Farm Down
- 60. Arable, strip cultivation
- 61. Common Sheep Down
- 62. Grants Farm
- 63. Holtens Down (Drax)
- 64. The Down (Drax)
- 65. Summer Down for sheep
- A. To Heywood
- B. To Westbury
- C. To Warminster
- D. To Imber
- E. To Devizes
- F. To Edington, Erlestoke & Devizes
- G. To Steeple Ashton

7 Map of Bratton, circa 1740.



8 The Whitaker Family tree.