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So, in the end, there is a double paradox about Woodforde. He was intellectually and spiritually limited, incurious about so much in the world that filled others with delight and wonder. Perhaps he was not very intelligent. Perhaps, in the final outcome, all we can call him is a commonplace, ordinary man.

Ordinary, that is, except that he did one striking thing that is not ordinary at all. He wrote the diary. And the diary, although it may appear at first sight to be no more than the record of a life spent in the carrying out of routines, yet has the power to bring to life a whole, rich miraculous world which he, writing every day of what he had done and seen, preserved from instant oblivion and has given us to share.

(Roy Winstanley: *Parson Woodforde – the Life and Times of a Country Diarist*, 1996)

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EDITORIAL

Readers of the *Daily Telegraph* obituary to Roy Winstanley may have been surprised to find the first half of it devoted to another man – James Woodforde, of course – who had died almost two hundred years ago. Roy would have been happy about that although he would not have relished the reference to our diarist's supposed gluttony. It was, of course, entirely appropriate that in remembering Roy we should also remember Woodforde to whom he had devoted so much of his time, energy and penetrating scholarship. Our President, always staunch in his support of Roy's endeavours, provides another, more informed, tribute elsewhere in the *Journal*. It is accompanied by a bibliography of Roy's work completed since David Case's *Journal Index* of 1994. The length of it alone testifies to the extent to which we, as *Journal* readers, were in Roy's debt but what is remarkable is the quality of this massive output. Although those of us who submitted work for his consideration always found him a demanding critic, he reserved his perfectionism for himself. Sadly, in his later years, he believed his powers as an essayist to be failing but there are, I am sure, few if any of us who would not have been hugely satisfied to have written Roy's last piece for the *Journal*, that on Juliana Woodforde which appeared a little over a year ago.

Roy was not a car driver but, partly no doubt as a consequence, he was a great pedestrian – I can remember him regretting that he would never walk the Snowdon Horseshoe again – and it was on foot that he discovered many of the places that Woodforde had known. It has been said that he 'favoured Somerset'. In fact, I think, like many of us who do not have a particular interest in the one Woodforde county or the other, he took pleasure in the contrasts and in following in the diarist's footsteps around both. Yet, if he had to choose between Norfolk and Somerset, which he would have hated, it would probably have been the latter that he would, with many misgivings, have plumped for. He greatly enjoyed and vividly recalled his stays at the Old Parsonage in the days of Joan and Bernard Mewes and at South Cottage with Mollie and Derek Matthews. When the Churchfields at Ansford were built upon he was greatly affronted and deeply hurt. He spoke of it with bitterness as well he might, for Woodforde's Ansford figured prominently in his imagination and in editing the Ansford Diaries, so quickly passed over by John Beresford, he probably made his most important contribution to the study of the diary. Consequently, in

selecting, to mark his passing, just one of Roy's wonderfully invigorating essays, I have chosen one with a Somerset theme and the one I have chosen has a personal significance for it appeared in the very first *Journal* that I read and it convinced me that my £3.50 (then the annual membership subscription) had been very well spent indeed. There is, however, another reason. Roy greatly enjoyed the theatre and, as this article shows, knew a great deal of its history (one of the last books he recommended to me was Ian MacIntyre's splendid theatrical biography *Garrick*). It was one of his favourite topics and he treated it with all his customary authority, humour and elan.

While Roy did a great deal to flesh out the personalities of the farmers, labourers and servants of Woodforde's Weston, David Case has done sterling work in helping us to understand the geography of the parish. Here he takes us beyond Woodforde's own period to the early Victorian era by which time a number of the infants baptised by the diarist are themselves heads of households; the busy housewife of the Parson's early Weston days is now an old dame and the youthful ploughman a hoary-headed swain. Fascinatingly, we find out where Weston's families lived, how they were constituted and what land they occupied four censuses on from the day when 'Stephen Andrews called on me bringing an Account of the Number of Inhabitants of the Parish, Males & Females &c. &c.' We stay in the nineteenth century with Adrian White's continuing story of Edward Nares, a more energetic and ambitious parson than Woodforde and, probably, a far less contented man.

I hope Roy would have enjoyed this issue and that we will continue to build on the solid bedrock of Woodfordean study that he has provided for us. The best tribute we can pay him is to try, however hopeless the task may seem, to maintain the standard he so brilliantly set.

MARTIN BRAYNE

WESTON LONGVILLE IN 1841

In choosing to make a study of the population of Weston Longville it may seem strange to select the year 1841. James Woodforde, former rector of the parish, whose diary sheds so much light on the social structure of Weston, died in 1803, so that we are a generation removed from his times. The census of 1841, the first in which individual names were recorded, is much less informative than the later census returns. Nevertheless, the year 1841 is attractive for a particular reason: the census was taken on Sunday 6 June and just a few months earlier, in January 1841, the Tithe Apportionment, together with its accompanying Tithe Map, had been completed. These three documents contain a plethora of detail assembled within a short period of time and, when used together, make it possible to locate the vast majority of the households scattered about this parish.

Having transcribed the details of each family group contained in the census return and having located them on the ground by use of the Tithe Apportionment and its map, it is tempting to elaborate further by seeking additional information about the individuals from other sources. We have available the 1801 census (see below), the census records for later decades, the church registers, the monumental inscriptions which are to be found in the churchyard, various maps of the parish, a directory for 1845, and of course Woodforde's diary which illuminates the period from 1776 to 1802. I have added *some* information from these sources, but have tried to be selective. To over-elaborate in this way would be to detract from the central objective – which was simply to identify and locate the various households of the parish in this special year. In some ways this window into the history of Weston Longville provides a stepping stone between the Weston of the 18th century so well known to us from Woodforde's diary and the Weston of the early 20th century described in Marjorie Futter's book *An Historical Walk Round Weston Longville*. A surprising number of individuals are to be found in the parish who would have been known to Woodforde; on the other hand many familiar names, such as Cary and Andrews, no longer appear. Unfortunately, it is not possible to include *all* the 88 households in this article; eleven are set out in detail below to exemplify the information available.

The Census Return for 1841

The first 'modern' census was taken in 1801 and the exercise has been repeated at intervals of ten years ever since that date (apart

from 1941). However, the 1841 census was important because, for the first time, all names and ages were recorded, together with the occupations of the heads of the households. It is important to note, however, that in this census the ages of all those over the age of 15 were to be reduced to the next lower multiple of 5. In the Weston census return, this was followed faithfully apart from the household at Weston House and in a few other isolated instances.

In 1851, and thereafter, all ages were recorded to the nearest year, the relationships to the head of the household were to be stated for all the members of a household, all occupations were to ge given, and places of birth recorded. It will therefore be very clear that the census returns from 1851 onwards are of most interest to family and social historians. The 1841 census for Weston is nevertheless of particular interest as it followed so closely after the completion of the Tithe Apportionment and the preparation of its accompanying Tithe Map.

The Role of the Census Enumerator

The procedure followed in 1841 set the pattern for all the following years. So we have to picture our enumerator making at least two journeys around the parish. In the first week in June he walked or rode on horseback around the whole parish leaving schedules at each habitation. These were to be completed by the head of the household stating the names and ages of all those in his or her household on the night of Sunday 6 June, his or her own occupation, and answering yes or no to the question whether individuals were born in the county in which they were presently residing. On the following day, or shortly thereafter, the enumerator had to revisit all the households to collect the completed schedules. And this is where the story really begins . . . would there be anyone at home when he called? If so, who would it be? Was the householder sufficiently literate to have completed the form? In many cases, the enumerator would probably find that the schedule had *not* been completed. He would have to compile it himself, using the pencil with which he had been provided. Depending on whom he found at home, the information he collected would vary in its accuracy; he might sometimes have to depend on details provided by a neighbour! If he was conscientious, he might have to return again on a later day in order to complete some of the schedules. It was an arduous task and we need to consult these returns with these difficulties in mind. He would write down what he *heard* and this may explain some of the variations in spelling that are found. I once

spent many hours searching a census record for a family in London with the name Harbottle; I eventually found it – recorded as 'Bottle R'.

When the enumerator had collected all the completed schedules, he then had to copy all the information into a book and it is these books from which all the material now available is derived. When I first started to study family history and to use the census returns, one was reverently handed these original enumerators' books. Now, the copies of the census records which we consult are microfilm copies of these books; the original household schedules have been destroyed.

So, finally, there are additional concerns relating to the skills and memory of the enumerator. How conscientious had he been in collecting the house schedules? Could he read his own records, made perhaps on the doorsteps of numerous cottages? How faithfully did he preserve the order in which the schedules had been collected? Was his knowledge of the inhabitants in the parish sufficiently detailed to enable him to correct any errors he had made? As far as it is possible to judge, our own man, in 1841, appears to have made quite a good job of this daunting task. Only one household appears to be totally out of sequence. If he did make any other errors there is no way in which they can be checked.

The Census Enumerator in 1841

The census enumerator for the parish of Weston Longville in 1841 (and also in 1851) was Bowles Salisbury, a farmer living at Weston Green who was born in Weston on 11 June 1801; he was therefore within a few days of his fortieth birthday on census night. His unusual first name was the maiden name of his mother whom Woodforde described as "Lizzy Bowles". During his journey around the parish Bowles Salisbury would, in due course, visit the home of his father who was living at Greensgate.

We have to assume that Bowles Salisbury confirmed to the general requirements laid down for an enumerator:

> . . . a person of intelligence and activity . . . he must not be of such weak health as may render him unable to undergo the requisite exertion . . . he must be temperate, orderly and respectable, and be such a person as is likely to conduct himself with propriety, and to deserve the goodwill of the inhabitants of his district. (Higgs)

Bowles Salisbury was a tenant farmer occupying about 19 acres of land in plots clustered around his house and lying to the north of the crossroads at Weston Green. The land was owned by Thomas Trench Berney.

The Enumerator's Journey around the Parish

The sequence of family names, together with the annotations made by the enumerator – for example 'Weston Green', 'Cottage', 'Farm', Near Church' – enable one to follow the shape of his journey quite well. When combined with the information in the Tithe Apportionment (searching for the names) and on the Tithe Map (finding the exact location of the plots with which the names are associated), the route can be confirmed with considerable confidence. There are only a small number of examples where the sequence of locations visited is unclear. In the following summary I have included road names and place names which are used today.

Bowles Salisbury started his journey from his own house just to the west of Weston Green crossroads and his is the first family recorded. He then worked towards the east taking in Weston Green and the farms to the east of Weston Green. From Field Farm he crossed the fields, or took a more circuitous route by road, to arrive in the area near the rectory in Rectory Road. He proceeded up Rectory Road to Greensgate and then returned down Rectory Road to visit the houses in Church Lane and Post Office Lane. He then visited the small cluster of habitations close to the church including the Hart – 'Public House' – and Church Farm and so past the church and on to Woodcock's Lane at the junction with Morton Lane, up Morton Lane towards Weston House and then to the Old Hall. From the Easthaugh Road he crossed the fields or went a longer route by road to Loke Farm and Willows Farm. Then on to Hungate and so back to the cottages to the north west of Weston Green from which he had set out. He had recorded 87 hosueholds. On 14 June, just eight days after census day, he had completed and signed his enumerator's book.

It is remarkable how the clusters of habitations he visited correspond so closely with what we find at Weston today. The one exception is the site of the group of buildings at Hungate and between Hungate and Green Farm – an area which was later cleared to make way for the airfield at the time of the second World War.

The Tithe Apportionment and the Tithe Map of 1841

Tithes were once a payment of one tenth of a farmer's produce, in kind, to the church, or other tithe-holder, but usually for the benefit of the incumbent. From the 17th century, tithes were commonly converted into a cash payment and of course, in Woodforde's day at the end of the 18th century, we find him collecting hard cash on his Tithe Audit days, not pigs and corn. Nevertheless, it should be noted that when Woodforde first settled in Weston, some flexibility was still applied:

> Burrows of Morton, a stubborn old Farmer & a litigious one called upon me this morning to know if I would compound with him for Tythe of 50. Acres of Land set mostly to Barley this Year, I asked him 4. Pounds for the same, but he would not give a farthing more than 3. Pounds – therefore I would not compound with him, but will take it in kind this Year –
>
> (Diary: 5 August 1776)

With the arrival of inflation in the 19th century, some incumbents tried to revert to payments in kind; farmers were discouraged from agricultural development and court actions ensued. The whole process was subsequently reformed by the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 which would convert all tithes into an annual rent-charge and established the appointment of Commissioners to oversee the process. Much detailed discussion ensued concerning the accuracy of the new maps to be produced and whether any existing maps for a particular area could be utilised for the purpose of tithe apportionment.

In most cases a survey was made of each tithe district, usually a parish, and the owners and occupiers of all the parcels of land were recorded. Two documents emerged at the end of this process – the Tithe Apportionment and the Tithe Map. The Apportionment set out the names of owners and occupiers of each plot, the plot number, and an indication of how the plot was utilised (for example: Cottage, Pasture, Arable, or Woodlands). The total area was then converted into a rent-charge for each Occupier. The accompanying Tithe Map was a detailed map of the entire tithe district, with the plot numbers assigned to each plot on the map. Maps drawn to a scale of at least four chains to the inch were designated 'first class' maps. The Weston map appears to have been a 'second class' map as it was drawn to a scale of six chains to the inch. This was an enormous undertaking and we may pause to

wonder just how long it may have taken to assemble all the information required; one assumes that every plot of land had to be carefully surveyed and at Weston there were 439 plots.

One copy of the Tithe Map would eventually be deposited with the parish, in the care of the churchwardens or the incumbent, and this new map would undoubtedly be consulted in the future for a variety of reasons – for example to note changes in ownership, to determine the field and parish boundaries, and to settle various disputes.

One example will indicate the type of entry to be found in the tithe documents. Bowles Salisbury occupied seven plots all owned by Thomas Trench Berney. Six were 'Pightles' of arable land and the seventh was 'House Yards and Pightle'. The acreage of each plot is given and the total amounted to 18 acres, 3 roods and 5 perches which converted into a rent-charge of £6-10-9. The 'House Yards and Pightle' was plot number 264 which is to be found on the Tithe map just to the north west of Weston Green Crossroads (see Figure 1). It is reasonable to suppose that this is where Bowles Salisbury lived. The sequence of households found in the census records confirm this location and the census return indicates the names of all those who were living there with Bowles Salisbury on census day.

Thus, by combining the information from the Tithe Apportionment, the Tithe Maps and the census records, all drawn up within the space of a few months, one may reasonably endeavour to identify and locate all the households in Weston parish in the year 1841. The results of these endeavours are illustrated by the households listed below.

Houses and Households

One of the most vexed problems with the census returns is that we cannot be sure how the various enumerators differentiated between buildings, houses, separate habitations within any one house, and individual households. When he reached the next 'Inhabited House' he was expected to put a '1' in the left hand column of his return; after entering the names, he would then mark a double dash under the first initial of the last name, signifying that he had come to the end of the entry for that 'house'. In the 1841 census for Weston, the enumerator appears to have done this for each household. However, it is clear that many of the households were in buildings divided into several habitations, for example a 'double

cottage', the forerunner of the modern 'semi-detached'. I suspect that our enumerator has worked by household – so that he will often have entered 'Cottage 1' and then the next household has 'Do 1' [ditto 1] opposite to it signifying *either* 'I have come to another cottage' *or* 'this is the next household in the same cottage' and we shall never know which was implied. In comparing the census return with the Tithe Apportionment it is clear that in many cases, at one particular 'Cottage' listed in the Apportionment several households are described in the census return as though they were in separate cottages or 'houses'. The probable truth of the matter is that in different places, the various buildings were divided into a number (unknown to us) of households. Our man in 1841 worked on living spaces or family households and probably didn't give the matter too much thought!

This problem is exemplified by a plot at Weston Green (Households 3 and 4). The Tithe Apportionment records 'Cottage and Gardens' occupied by Thomas Atterton and Robert Atterton. The census enumerator finds two households living there, as we would expect, but he precedes each household with a '1', as though he had visited two *houses*. We really don't know whether these two families shared the same single cottage, lived in adjoining cottages, or in two quite separate buildings. The most likely explanation is that this was a 'double-cottage'. Other examples are more difficult to unravel. The bottom line is simply that we can't use the enumerator's numbers of 'houses' to mean separate 'buildings'.

The Tithe Apportionment indicates that there were about 56 habitable buildings in the parish (Farm, House, or Cottage) and the census return records 87 households apparently in separate houses (together with two houses being built – one being the new Rectory – and one uninhabited).

In the census return it should also be noted that a single short line was drawn (between the first letters of two consecutive listed surnames) to indicate that those below the line were not related to the head of the household. Husband wife and children, for example, should be separated by such a line from unrelated visitors, servants and lodgers.

Other Available Sources

Those interested in the history of Weston Longville are fortunate in having access to the 1801 census. Although this only required that the total numbers living in the parish should be recorded, we

find that the compiler, Stephen Andrews, did his homework on the back of the sheet. We thus have a list of all the sixty-eight names of the heads of the households in the parish in this year; about a dozen of these folk are still to be found at Weston in 1841. In addition, I have added to the entry for each household whatever relevant details may be found in the church registers kept during the incumbency of James Woodforde and from records of the monumental inscriptions to be found in Weston churchyard. Some useful details may be gleaned from a Directory for 1845. I have included a very limited selection of quotations from Woodforde's diary where they refer to the individuals concerned. Some information has been added from the 1851 census, but this has been limited to the heads of households in order to record their more exact ages and their places of birth.

Unfortunately there are no surviving Churchwardens' Accounts or Overseers' Accounts for this period.

A Corner of Early Victorian Rural Norfolk

This snapshot of Weston Longville is taken in the early summer of 1841. Queen Victoria has been on the throne for just four years and in 1840 was married to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. 1840 saw the erection of Nelson's column in London and Roland Hill's introduction of the 'penny black' postage stamp. In 1841 Dickens' novel *The Old Curiosity Shop* was being published, Peel became Prime Minister, and the Great Western Railway completed the line from London to Bristol. On the other side of the world the gruesome events of the (first) Afghan War were unfolding.

Most of these events almost certainly passed unnoticed in Weston Longville – although the inn sign at the public house has probably been changed to a Prussian 'Eagle' to mark the marriage of Victoria to Prince Albert. This rural parish was otherwise untouched by the major changes occurring elsewhere: the proliferation of manufacturing industries, canal construction, and the development of the railway systems were all very distant. It would be another four years before the first railway in Norfolk – from Norwich to Great Yarmouth – would be opened. There is no new industrial activity here and agricultural practices have probably changed very little since Woodforde's time; the steam engine has probably yet to appear in any farmer's yard. The population numbers are static – 369 in 1801, 409 in 1841 and 404 in 1881. The agricultural recession which followed the Napoleonic wars is well in the past.

It is fourteen years since Parliamentary enclosure took place here – affecting only specific parts of the parish – and most of the field boundaries were probably fixed long before this event.

We may therefore be forgiven if we imagine Weston in 1841 to be a sleepy rural community largely untouched by external change since Woodforde's day. By the time that the census was taken in June one of the major topics of gossip may well have been the impact of the recent Tithe Apportionment; in one Weston family the legend persists to this day of a village farmer who chased the rector, John Conyngham, off the farm at the end of a pitchfork, when the farmer was called upon to pay the new rent charge. Sleepy perhaps, but the word idyllic would not be appropriate. A labourer's weekly wages were about 10 shillings and would be largely committed to the purchase of bread or flour. His accommodation would in most cases be tied to employment. Medical and dental practice would be little advanced since Woodforde's time and the new anaesthetic chloroform was not yet generally available.

It is interesting and convenient to study one particular parish but one needs to keep in mind the various resources in neighbouring parishes and the practical and social interchange which unconsciously crossed parish boundaries. In 1841 there are many trades which are *not* to be found amongst the inhabitants of Weston; there was apparently no tailor, draper, butcher, baker, miller, grocer, wheelwright, glazier, painter, glover, saddler or veterinary surgeon here – all trades which might be found in Norfolk villages of comparable size at this time. As in Woodforde's day, the services of many such tradesmen would be sought from other parishes and the nearest doctor must be in a neighbouring parish. In addition, one needs to strive to understand the significance of the adjacent city of Norwich. Albeit a journey of some two hours away, this vast urban centre with its cathedral, castle, numerous churches, its markets and its seething community of tradesmen must have seemed like an altogether different world for those who spent almost all their time in a quiet rural village.

Weston Longville in 1841

The Tithe Apportionment for the parish of Weston Longville is dated 22 January 1841 when it was 'confirmed' by the Tithe Commissioners. The parish was found to contain Arable Lands (2192 acres and 3 roods), Meadow or Pasture (319 acres and 2 roods), Glebe lands (47 acres and 1 rood), Woodlands (138 acres

and 1 rood) and Public Roads and half the River (44 acres and 3 roods) – a total of 2742 acres and 2 roods. This, it was agreed, converted into an 'annual sum of Six hundred and Eighty Pounds sterling by way of Rent Charge . . . paid to the said John Conyngham as Rector of the said parish and to his successors instead of all the Tithes of the Lands of the said parish . . .'

The Apportionment appears to account for every square yard in the parish and lists 439 plots variously described as Farm, House, Cottage, Barns, Yards, Gardens, Allotments, Plantations, Pasture, Arable, or Meadow. All the fields are described or named and include some delightful entries which I feel obliged to exemplify: Further Long Close, Home Pasture, Eleven Acres, Long Pightle, Cow Meadow, Shepherd's Pightle, Tooley's Close, Cart Shed Ten Acres, Three Cornered Plantation, Rookery, and my favourite: Poor Turnip Close.

It should be noted that enclosure had taken place here in 1827 and the majority of the fields in 1841 were just as they were set out in the Enclosure Award. The main area affected by enclosure was Weston Field – the huge area to the north west of Post Office Lane and the church.

The major landowners in 1841 were Hambleton Custance (who owned just over half the land in the parish – 1435 acres), Thomas Trench Berney (335 acres), John Collison (279 acres), Edward Lombe (200 acres), and Henry Collison (191 acres). These five men owned 89% of the land in the parish and only one of them, Hambleton Custance, actually lived there.

The census shows that 409 persons were found in the parish, living in 87 households. I have included the rectory (which was in the process of rebuilding) making a total of 88 in the total listing. The total of 409 may be compared with the 365 individuals recorded in 1801. Bowles Salisbury recorded that there were actually 411 individuals found in the parish in 1841 but this total included two 'males living in open-air' whose names are not recorded.

In general, occupations were only given consistently for the heads of the households and we find amongst these 46 Agricultural Labourers (53%), 19 Farmers (22%), 8 of Independent Means, 3 Shoemakers, 1 School Master and 1 School Mistress, 2 Carpenters, and one each: Journeyman Carpenter, Journeyman Smith, Publican and Drover. Three offered no occupation. About 75% of the households were apparently financially dependent on agricultural

occupations. The rector John Conyngham was living at Ringland while his new rectory was being built. A Chapel is mentioned in the census return at Weston Green and from a directory published in 1845 we learn that 'The Wesleyans have a small chapel here, built in 1839'.

The various households in the census were found at Weston Green (20), near the church (18), near the rectory (10), at Hungate (8), close to Weston House (7) or at Greensgate(6), and the remainder (19) scattered about the corners of the parish. It is interesting to note the large numbers of households at Weston Green and curious to find that the name 'Hungate' is never used in either the census return or the Tithe documents. When the next census was taken, in 1851, Bowles Salisbury referred to Weston Green as 'Oddenham Green' and the place-name Hungate was used.

Structure of the Material Presented

The 1841 census return (HO 107/764/11) for Weston is set out on folio 4 page 1 to folio 12 page 17 and I have indicated against each household the folio and page number on which the entry is found. The 'Household Numbers' I have used are in the order of the households as they appear in the census return, which was the order in which they were recorded by the enumerator in his book.

The plots described in the Tithe Apportionment and recorded on the Tithe Map (Norfolk Record Office ref DN/TA 464) are not arranged in the sequential order found in the census. The plots are listed in the Apportionment under the name of each owner and the owners' names are listed in alphabetical order. Within the list for each owner, the plots are arranged by alphabetical order of the names of the occupiers. This means that any one occupier's name may appear in the lists under more than one owner. It also means that adjacent plots on the ground may appear in quite separate parts of the document. The information in the Apportionment is contained on sheets numbered from 1 to 16. For each household I have indicated the Sheet Number on which the indicated plot number is to be found in this document.

I have indicated the locations of plots on the ground by using the normal system of Ordnance Survey grid references. These can be used to find the present location of any site on an Ordnance Survey map of the area, for example the Pathfinder 882 (TG 01/11) 'Lenwade' map which has a scale of 2½ inches to one mile. Using this method, Weston church, for example, is at OS 113159. As

reproduced in this article the maps in Figures 1–3 appear at a scale of approximately 2 cms to 1/10th mile (176 yards).

In the references to the 1851 census the entries are transcribed in the following format: name/relationship to head of household/ marital status/age/occupation/place of birth. Lastly, with respect to land areas, it should be noted at 40 perches = 1 rood and that 4 roods = 1 acre.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the patient assistance of the Local Studies Library in providing copies of the census return and of the Norfolk Record Office in supplying a copy of the tithe documents. The illustration of 'The Census Enumerator' is reproduced by kind permission of the Public Record Office.

Individual Households at Weston in 1841

It is not practical to include all the 88 households of 1841 in an article of this kind but I have included just eleven of them to illustrate the type of information available (see Appendix 1). For each household, the census entry appears first, followed by information derived from the Tithe documents, and information available from other sources. Similarly, a dozen sectional maps are required to cover the entire parish but just three are included here (Figures 1 to 3), by kind permission of the Norfolk Record Office, to illustrate the level of detail to be found in the Tithe Map and to indicate the locations of the various households. An index to all the surnames appearing in the 1841 census is provided (see Appendix 2) and I should be happy to supply readers with the household details for any surname of particular interest.

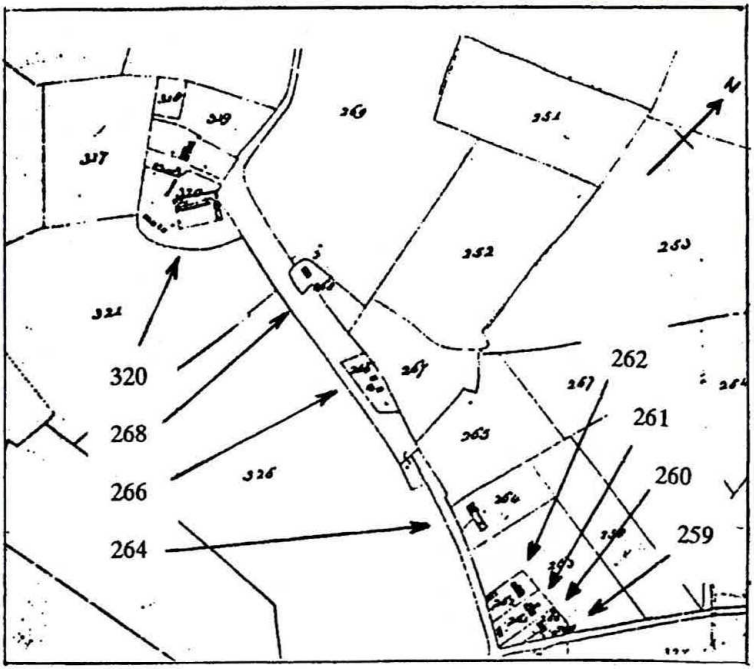
Appendix 1

Household 1 (f4 p1)

Weston Green	Bowles	Salisbury	40	Farmer
	Susan	do	40	
	James	do	12	
	Ann	do	10	
	William	do	6	
	Susannah	do	9 months	

	Elizabeth	Blyth	15	FS

(The enumerator starts his journey from his own house just to the west of Weston Green crossroads – see Figure 1)



Tithe Plot	*Census Household*	*Head of Household*
259	H7	Jeremiah Bates (Ag Lab)
260	H5	James Hardy (Ind)
260	H6	Thomas Arthurton (Ag Lab) [Atterton in Tithe Apportionment]
261	H3	Robert Arthurton (Ag Lab) [Atterton in Tithe Apportionment]
261	H4	Thomas Arthurton (Ag Lab) [Atterton Junior in Tithe Apportment]
262	H2	Mary Besford (Ind)
264	H1	Bowles Salisbury (Farmer)
266	H88	Mary Howlett (Ind)
268	H86	James Buttle (Ag Lab)
268	H87	Jonas Arthurton (Ag Lab) [Atterton in Tithe Apportionment]
320	H85	Charlotte Howlett (Farmer) [now known as 'Green Farm']

Figure 1: Area to the west of Weston Green crossroads in 1841 (Tithe Map reproduced from microfilm)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 4, Plot 264
Bowles Salisbury was the occupier of House Yards and Pightle (3r 14p) (owned by Thomas Trench Berney). This was just to the west of Weston Green crossroads at OS 105144.

Bowles Salisbury was occupier of 7 plots: 254, 256-258, 263-265 (total: 18a 3r 5p) all owned by Thomas Trench Berney.

Further Information
This plot was within the area later cleared to make way for the second World war airfield.

Bowles son of Thomas Salisbury and Elizabeth (Bowles)
b 11.6.1801 bap 14.6.1801 at Weston.
His parents: Thomas Salisbury of Easton married Elizabeth Bowles at Weston 19.9.1799.

Bowles Salisbury was the census enumerator in both 1841 and 1851.

1851 census: Bowles Salisbury/Head/M/50/Farmer of 25 acres employs 1 man/Weston He appears to be living in the same place.

Household 3 (f4 p1)

Do	Robt Arthurton		35	Ag Lab
[Weston Green]	Rose	do	35	
	William	do	14	
	Jane	do	9	
	Sarah	do	6	
	Robert	do	2	
	Henry	do	5 months	

(The enumerator is at Weston Green crossroads – see Figure 1)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 13, Plot 261
Robert Atterton [sic] and Thomas Atterton Junior (see Household 4) were occupiers of plot 261 Cottage and Gardens 1r 5p) owned by James Hardy (see Household 5).

Located at the north corner of the crossroads at Weston Green OS 106144.

Further Information
As in other entries of this kind this may have been a double- cottage. The enumerator records the two families as though in separate houses, but the Tithe Apportionment suggests that it was one building, as it is described simply as a Cottage.

1851 census: not found.

Household 28 (f6 p5)

Rectory	1B	It appears that no one was living here but I have included it because of its importance.

(The Enumerator is in Rectory Road – 1B signifies that a house is being built here)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 15, Plots 222 and 223)
Parsonage House Yards and Buildings (3a 3r 36p) – Glebe 'owned' by the Reverend John Conyngham at OS 105156 and apparently occupied by him.
The Glebe included plots 194, 196, 222-224, 226, 228, 229, 238, 293 and 359 (churchyard) (total of 47a 0r 21p).

Further Information
The enumerator has written 1B in the column of the return headed 'Houses Uninhabited or Building' and this is written opposite the name of Margaret Holman (see Household 27). His instructions were to insert such a note near the place concerned. I understand that the Reverend John Conyngham was at this time living at Ringland while the new rectory was being built (correspondence with one of his descendants): his name certainly does not appear in the census return.

A Terrier dated 1872 written into the church register mentions 'An entirely new built Parsonage-House (AD 1841)'. A photograph of the new building appears in Margorie Futter's book, page 108.

1851 census: John Conyngham/Head/Widower/47/Rector of Weston/Ireland. He was living at the rectory with his four children, a visitor, and four servants.

Household 32 (f6 p5)

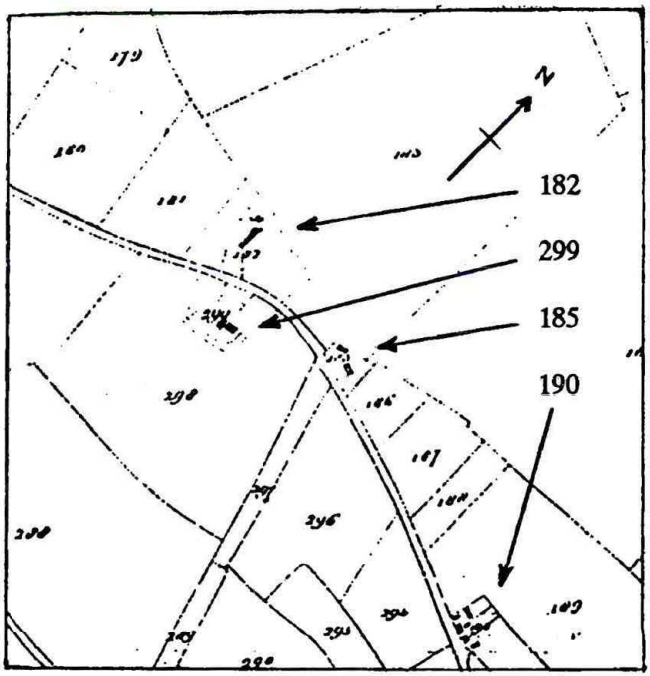
Shop	John Whisson		60	Shoe M
	Ann	do	65	
	Charles	do	40	

(The enumerator is leaving the area near the Rectory and walking towards Greensgate – see Figure 2)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 16, Plot 190

House and Yards (1r 19p) occupied by John Whisson *and others*. He owned plots 190 and the adjacent plot 191 (1a 1r 24p).

This is the cottage known today as Greensgate Thatch at OS 104157, on the right of the road as one walks towards Greensgate.



Tithe Plot	*Census Household*	*Head of Household*
182	H38	Thomas Bates (Farmer)
182	H39	John Bates (Ag Lab)
185	H40	William Large (Ag Lab)
190	H32	John Whisson (Shoe Maker)
190?	H33	Mary Dack (School Mistress)
190?	H34	Henry Whisson (Shoe Maker)
		[Plot 190 was occupied by John Whisson 'and others']
299	H35	Thomas Salisbury (Ind)
299?	H36	Thomas Flowers (Ag Lab)
299?	H37	William Carson (Ag Lab)
		[Plot 299 occupied by Thomas Salisbury 'and others']

This area is immediately to the north west of the Rectory.

Figure 2: Households at Greensgate in 1841
(Tithe Map reproduced from microfilm)

As this is the only such plot in this area shown on the Tithe Map I have assumed that John Whisson (this Household), Mary Dack (Household 33), and Henry Whisson (Household 34) are all living at this site. The Tithe Map suggests that there were at least two buildings in this plot, in addition to the double-cottage.

John Whisson was also the occupier of plot 289 (2r 5p) (Sheet 16) owned by Trustees for the Town Lands.

Further Information

John Whisson and Ann Ward married 17.7.1797 at Weston.
Charles son of John Whisson and Anne b 1.6.1798 bap 3.6.1798 at Weston.

John Whisson appears in the 1801 census with a household of 4.

"Nancy sent an Answer to her Brother's letter early this Morning by our Neighbour Whisson who went to Norwich this Morning early" (Diary 12 July 1801).

This was the location of Thomas Cary's shop in Woodforde's day – see Articles in *Parson Woodforde Society Journal* XXXII, 3, p. 4 and XXXIII, 3, p. 4.

1851 census: John Whisson/Lodger/Widr/75/Pauper formerly Shoemaker/Colton. He is a 'Lodger' in the household of Mary Dack.

Household 35 (f6 p6)

Do	Thos	Salisbury	60	Ind
[Cottage]	—			
	Fanny	Pratt	25	FS
	Alfred	do	12	
	Walter	do	8	
	Julia	do	6	
	Joseph	do	2	
	Elijah	do	1	

(The enumerator has now reached the cluster of buildings at Greensgate – see Figure 2)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 15, Plot 299

Cottage and Garden (2r 18p) owned by Thomas Salisbury and occupied by him and others.

This plot is at Greensgate to the south of the road at OS 101157.

Thomas Salisbury also owned plots 189, 288, 294, 298, 300-302, 431-436, 438 and 439 (88a 2r 8p) occupied by Thomas Salisbury Junior (see Household 22) and 437 (see Households 23 and 24).

Further Information

This Thomas Salisbury is presumably the father of Bowles Salisbury (see Household 1) and Thomas Salisbury Junior (see Household 22).

Thomas Salisbury of Easton married Elizabeth Bowles 19.9.1799 at Weston.

"Lizzy alias Eliz. Bowles of this Parish, was married this Morning at Weston Church by Licence to Thos. Salisbury of Easton . . . The new Married Couple, set off, immediately after the Ceremony for Newmarket to Salisbury's Grandmother who lives there to spend a few Days with her . . . Our Maid, Sally Gunton, Cousin to Lizzy Bowles, was at her Marriage" (Diary 19 September 1799).

"Lizzy Bowles who lately married one Salisbury of Easton are to live where Mr Buck is going out" (Diary 30 October 1799). Numerous references in Woodforde's Diary.

Thomas Salisbury appears in the 1801 census in a household of 5.

1851 census: Thomas Salisbury/Head/M/76/Annuitant/Cheveley Cambs at Greensgate.

Household 40 (f7 p7)

Cottage	Wm	Large	80	Ag Lab
	Henry	do	40	
	Mary	do	40	
	Hannah	do	17	
	Sophia	do	13	
	Mary	do	11	
	Rebecca	do	9	
	Rachel	do	7	
	William	do	5	
	Henry	do	2	

(The enumerator is at Greensgate – see Figure 2)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 16, Plot 185

William Large was the occupier of House and Yards (34p) owned by the Trustees for the Widows Charity. This was at Greensgate at OS 102157 to the east of Plot 182 (see Households 38 and 39) and on the north side of the road.

William Large was the occupier of plots 185-188 (total: 2a 1r 13p) all owned by the Trustees. William Large also occupied plot 29 (Sheet 16) (3a 2r 28p) which was Glebe land.

Further Information
"I married Will[m] Large and Anne Heavers this Morn' by Banns at Weston Church" (Diary 28 October 1783).

William Large appeared in the 1801 census with a household of 10.

"Will[m] Large paid his rent for the Widows Cottage due at Michaelmas last the Sum of 5.0.0" (Diary 18 December 1801).

He is referred to by Woodforde as "my clerk Will[m] Large" (several refs Diary). Directory for 1845: 'Henry Large, parish clerk'.

1851 census: William Large not found but his son Henry is at Greensgate: Henry Large/Head/M/54/Farmer of 7 Acres/Weston

Household 46 (f7 p8)

Do		Wm Richmond	55	Farmer
[Near Church]		Elizabeth do	55	
	f8 p9	Wm Richmond	30	
		Elizabeth do	15	
		—		
		Martha Case	80	Ind

(The enumerator appears to be coming back down what is now known as Post Office Lane)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 4, Plots 215, 216
William Richmond was occupier of plot 215 House and Yards (1r 19p) and 216 Cottage and Gardens (24p) both owned by James Bidewell. These plots are on the south west side of Post Office Lane at OS 110157.

William Richmond was the occupier of plots 211-216 (total of 4a 2r 26p) all owned by James Bidewell and all clustered around the House and Yards. He also occupied plots 196, 228 and 229 (Sheet 16) (total 19a 1r 22p) all Glebe.

Further Information
It is not clear why William Richmond was the 'occupier' of two dwelling houses. Did he sublet one of them? The enumerator's record suggests that all the above named were living in one building.

William son of William Richmond and Anne bap 30.6.1782 at Weston. The father (husband of Anne) appears in the 1801 census in a household of 7.

Martha Case was the direct ancestor of the author. She died 1846. Elizabeth Richmond (aged 55 above) was her daughter. Numerous references to this family in Woodforde's diary.

1851 census: This (Richmond) family was living at Cawston.

Household 53 (f8 p10)

Public House	Mary	Hardy	45	Publican
	Emily	do	18	
	George	do	16	
	James	do	14	
	William	do	8	

(The enumerator is now at the 'Eagle' – see Figure 3)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 9, Plot 203
House Yards and Pightles (3r 22p) occupied by Mary Hardy and owned by H. T. Custance. This is the public house at OS 113158 on the opposite side of the road to Church Farm.

Further Information
This building was known to Woodforde as the 'Hart' and is now a private house known as 'The Old Hart'.

Mary Hardy was probably related to James Hardy (see Household 5) who was himself once at the "Weston-Heart Inn" (Woodforde's diary). There are numerous references to the 'Hart' (or 'Heart') in Woodforde's diary.

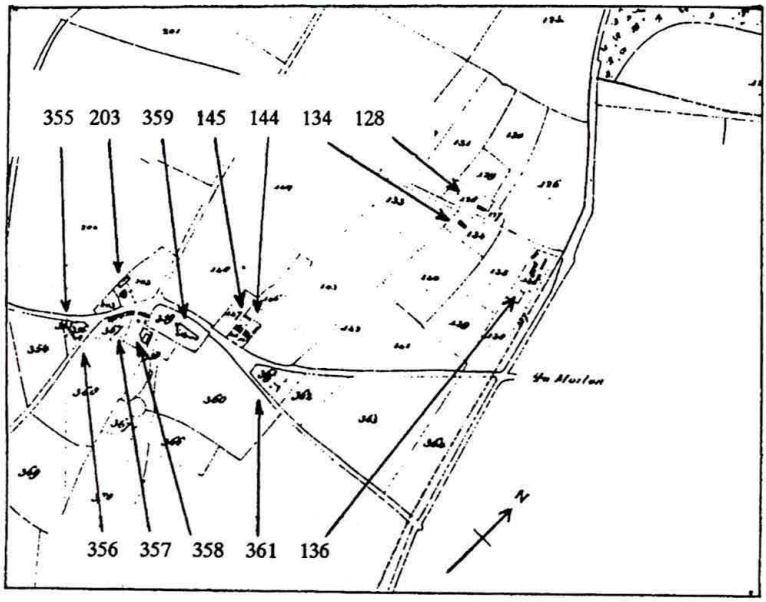
There is an old photograph of this building in Marjorie Futter's book (page 21) showing the Eagle sign on the end wall.

1845 Directory: Mary Hardy vict[ualler] at the 'Eagle'.

1851 census: Mary Hardy/Head/Widow/56/Innkeeper/Ringland.

MI at Weston: George Hardy who died 3 April 1838 aged 44 years also Mary wife of the above who died 26 May 1870 aged 75 years.

It has been suggested that the 'Hart' was renamed on the occasion of the marriage of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert in 1840. However, it is known that the name was changed to the 'Eagle' much earlier than this; celebration of Queen Victoria's marriage may have been marked by the adoption of a more Prussian style of eagle on the inn-sign. One source relates that 'during the First World War, it was taken down so as not to offend the local population'. Another suggests that 'soldiers so heavily stoned the sign that it was removed'. The name reverted to the 'Hart' at some time in the twentieth century.



Tithe Plot	*Census Household*	*Head of Household*
128	H60	Andrew Sprag (Farmer)
134	H61	John Denney (Ag Lab)
136	H59	William Gray (Farmer)
144	H56	Charles Baker (Carpenter)
145	H55	Henry Hubbard (Carpenter)
203	H53	Mary Hardy (Publican, 'Hart')
355	H49	Joseph Pratt (Ag Lab)
356	H47	Robert Blyth (Smith)
356	H48	George Blanch (Carpenter)
357	H50	Edmund Sterting (School Master)
357	H51	John Brand (Ag lab)
358	H52	Edward Blyth (Farmer)
359		Churchyard
361	H57	Robert Milk (Ind)
361	H58	Robert Chambers (Ag Lab)

Figure 3: The area around the Church in 1841
(Tithe Map reproduced from microfilm)

Household 56 (f8 p10)

Do	Charles Baker	45	Carpenter
[Cottage]	Elizabeth do	45	
	Caroline do	15	
	Charles do	13	
	Edgar [?] do	11	

(The enumerator has passed the church and this plot is next door to Henry Hubbard – see Figure 3)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 3, Plot 144
House and Yards (19p) owned and occupied by Charles Baker. This is just east of the church and on the opposite side of the road at OS 113159, next door to Henry Hubbard (Household 55).

Further Information
Charles son of Henry Baker and Sarah (Harvey) n 11.9.1787 bap 18.9.1787 at Weston.

Charles Baker who died Nov 11 1875 aged 88 years (MI at Weston).

Directory for 1845: Charles Baker joiner and beerhs [beerhouse].

Was this 'beerhouse' (in 1845) the forerunner of 'The Five Ringers' – now the 'Parson Woodforde'?

1851 census: Charles Baker/Head/M/63/Carpenter & Keeper of a Beer House/Weston.

Household 59 (f9 p11)

Farm	William	Gray	50	Farmer
	Ann	do	45	
	Mary	do	20	
	Sarah	do	15	
	William	do	13	
	Henry	do	11	

(The enumerator has left the area near the church, walked north east to Morton Lane, and then along Morton Lane to the farmhouse at the corner of Woodcock's Lane – see Figure 3)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 13, Plot 136

House and Yards (1r 24p) occupied and owned by William Gray.

This farm was at the function of Morton Lane and Woodcock's Lane and at the south corner of this road junction at OS 116163.

William Gray owned and occupied plots 131, 135, 136, 138, 139 and 146 (total of 6a 3r 37p).

Further Information

This farm was once known as 'Baker's Farm' and Woodforde and his retinue passed by here after 'beating the bounds': ". . . then by Bakers and so back till we came to the Place where we first set of". Their journey started and ended at the 'Hart' (Diary 3 May 1780).

"William had to pay tithe . . . to the Reverend John Conyngham and . . . on one occasion [he] chased the poor man off his premises with a pitchfork". (*Wensum Diary* 'A Family History', John Gray)

This plot is annotated 'Gray's Farm' on the 1881 OS Parish Boundary map.

There is a photograph of William Gray (the great-grandson of the above William Gray) outside the thatched farmhouse in Marjorie Futter's book, page 100.

Ann wife of William Gray who died 11 May 1862 aged 72 years, also William Gray husband of the above who died 13 May 1864 aged 72 years (MI at Weston).

1851 census: William Gray/Head/M/60/Farming 40 Acres – 1 Labourer/Weston.

Household 63 (f9 p12)

The Hall	Ham^{n} Custance	62	Ind
	Hambleton do	31	Ind
	Mary do	50	Ind
	Frances do	33	Ind
	—		
	Thomas Denney	22	MS
	Thomas Smith 26	MS	
	William Randle	33	MS
	James Jimpson [?]	23	MS
	John Barker	48	MS
	John West	25	Ag Lab
	Mary Ramsome	32	FS
	Ann Davies	34	FS
	Mary Gibbons	29	FS
	Mary Richmond	21	FS
	Susan Bye	26	FS
	Char. Plummer	19	FS
	Sarah Aldridge	28	FS

(The enumerator has presumably tidied himself up before entering the grounds of Weston Hall. It should be noted that he records, for the first time, what appear to be the exact ages of all the adults here!)

Tithe Apportionment: Sheet 10, Plot 105
Hall Buildings and Yards (1a 1r 32p) owned and occupied by Hambleton Thomas Custance.

This was located at OS 109171. If my arithmetic is to be trusted, I find that H. T. Custance owned 1435 acres of land in the parish which accounts for 52% of the total. He occupied 433 acres himself and the remainder was occupied by 28 tenants (14 of whom occupied 1 acre or less). His major farming tenants were: Edmund Juby (385 acres), David Milk (127 acres), Robert Fuller (125 acres), John Bussey (102 acres) and Edward Blyth (83 acres).

Further Information
Hambleton Custance was of course the son of Woodforde's 'Squire' John Custance and there are numerous references to this family in Woodforde's diary.

Hambleton Thomas Custance son of John and Frances b 12.2.1779 bap 11.4.1779 at Weston.

"Capt[n]. Hambleton Custance drank Tea with us this Evening in a friendly way. He came walking, dressed in a neat plain way as a private Gentleman – nothing at all Militaire" (Diary 4 September 1799).

Directory for 1845: 'H. T. Custance, Esq., the lord of the manor . . . resides at Weston House a neat cemented mansion, in a beautiful park'.

Engrailed plot in the churchyard: Hambleton Tho. Custance Esq eldest son of John Custance Esq. and Frances his wife Born 12 Feb 1779 Died 5 Dec 1845.

There is a photograph of Weston House in Marjorie Futter's book, page 79.

NB James Jimpson may be James Simpson; the enumerator's capital J and S are indistinguishable.

1851 census: the son appears – Hambleton F. Custance/Head/M/41/Landowner – 500 Acres Employs 37 men – 4 Boys/Norwich. The household has a Governess and twelve servants.

Appendix 2

Index to the Surnames Occurring in the 1841 Census Return for Weston

NB The figures refer to Household Numbers and not to the pages of this article.

Aldridge 63; Allen 4; Allott 75; Arthurton 3, 4, 6, 72, 87; Baker 56; Barham 73; Barker 63; Barnard 68; Barratt 30, 85; Bates 7, 24, 38, 39, 86; Besford 2; Bidewell 41; Blanch 48; Blyth 1, 47, 52; Bradfield 11, 69, 70; Brand 16, 51; Brandfield [?] 12; Buck 73; Bunn 21; Bussey 77; Buttle 86; Bye 63; Cantrelle 62; Carson 37; Case 46; Chambers 58; Chapman 84; Clarke 10, 43, 66; Collins 22; Copland 8; Coxford 12; Custance 63; Dack 21, 33, 62; Davies 63; Dawson 6; Denney 61, 63, 68, 71; Dunnel 29; Elliott 72, 75; Elsey 19; Fisher 54; Flowers 36, 85; Fowler 69; Fuller 17, 60; George 72; Gibbons 63, 68; Girdlestone 66; Gotoen [?] 80; Gray 54, 59, 81; Grimes 15; Groom 65; Hardy 5, 53; Harley 82; Harman 77; Harper 41; Harrison 82; Hart 88; Haylett 64; Hector 82; Herne 69; Holman 27, 78; Howlett 85, 88; Hubbard 20, 55; Jack [?] 73; Jimpson [?] 63; Juby 69; Just [?] 85; Knights 18; Large 40, 76; Leeds 10, 20; Leggett 23, 31; Lincoln 81; Maddis 12; Mead 5; Milk 57, 72; Moor 52; Morter 44; Neal 18; Nichalos [?] 25; Parfit 23; Parfitt 79; Parker 50; Plummer 42, 52, 63; Pollard 16; Pratt 14, 25, 35, 49, 77, 83; Press 15; Randle 63; Ramsome 63; Rayner 62, 80; *Rectory, The* 28; Richmond 9, 18, 46, 63, 70, 85; Salisbury 1, 22, 35; Savage 52; Sherwood 13; Simpson [?] 63; Smith 63; Spelman 36; Spencer 15; Sprag 60; Steer [?] 76; Sterting 50; Symonds 62; Temple 26, 67; Thirtle [?] 7; Turner 45; Waight 74; Webster 72; West 63, 78; Whisson 32, 34; Wilkerson 45, 69, 82; Witt [?] 73; Woods 41, 44.

Abbreviations Appearing in the Census Return

Ag Lab – Agricultural Labourer; B – Bailiff; Char – Charlotte; Danl – Daniel; do Do – Ditto; Do [Cottage] – the previous entry was 'Cottage; Farmer B – Farmer Bailiff; FS – Female Servant; Geo – George; Han^{r} – Hannah; Ham^{n} – ambleton; Ind – Independant; J Carp – Journeyman Carpenter; J Plas^{r} – Journeyman Plasterer; J Smith – Journeyman Smith; Jeh^{m} – Jeremiah; Jontha – Jonathan; MS – Male Servant; Rob – Robert; School M – School Master or Mistress; Shoe m – Shoe maker; Shop K – Shop Keeper; Thos – Thomas; uk – unknown; Wm – William.

Other Abbreviations

a – acre; b – born; bap – baptized; M – Married;
MI – Monumental Inscription; OS – Ordnance Survey;
p – perch (40 perches = 1 rood); r – rood (4 roods = 1 acre);
sic – signifies that the strange spelling was found as shown;

Do	signifies that the enumerator has written Do (Ditto)
[Cottage]	and that the last word he wrote above 'Do' was 'Cottage'.

Bibliography and Sources Used

Census records for Weston Longville 1841, 1851. Microfilm copies may be seen at the Local Studies Library, Norwich and at The Family Records Centre, 1 Myddelton Street, London EC1R 1UW.

Census record for Weston Longville 1801 see Parson Woodforde Society Journal XIV, 3, p. 8. The original is at the Norfolk Record Office.

Diary of James Woodforde:

The Diary of a Country Parson – James Woodforde, Ed. John Beresford (OUP in five volumes 1924-1931).

The Diary of James Woodforde (The First Six Norfolk Years 1776-1781) Ed. R. L. Winstanley (The Parson Woodforde Society in three volumes 1981, 1983, 1984).

The Diary of James Woodforde (Volume 10 1782-1784) Ed. R. L. Winstanley (The Parson Woodforde Society 1999).

The Diary of James Woodforde (Volume 11 1785-1787) Ed. R. L. Winstanley and P. Jameson (The Parson Woodforde Society 2000).

Durrant, T. *Sketches on a Norfolk Family.*

Enclosure Map for Weston Longville (1827) – Norfolk Record Office.

Estate Map: An Estate at Weston Longville (1829) – Archives of New College Oxford.

Futter, M. *An Historical Walk Around Weston Longville* (Greensgate Publications, 1997).

Higgs, Edward *Making Sense of the Census* (HMSO, 1989).

Journals of The Parson Woodforde Society.

Monumental Inscriptions at Weston Longville.

Ordnance Survey of the Parish Boundary for Weston Longville (1881) – Public Record Office.

Registers of Weston Longville Church – Norfolk Record Office.

Tithe Apportionment and Tithe Map:

Two copies are at the Norfolk Record Office – presumably the copy originally lodged at the parish and the copy deposited with Diocesan records. A third copy, retained by the Tithe Commission is presumably to be found at the Public Record office.

White's Directory for Norfolk 1845.

ROY L. WINSTANLEY (1913-2000)

IN MEMORIAM

Roy Leslie Winstanley, for almost 30 years the accomplished editor of this Journal, died on 28th November last. He had been in failing health for some time, although still able to take a lively interest in our Society's affairs and, indeed, to continue almost to the last his contributions to the Journal.

He was born in 1913 into not very promising circumstances. Despite a disrupted early education Roy was possessed of a fixed determination to overcome this difficulty. With rigid self discipline he mastered classical Latin, as well as several European languages, by the time he had reached maturity. He went on then to acquire a thorough grounding in history and literature, both English and European. Throughout all this time he held down a series of routine clerical appointments.

Towards the end of World War II Roy was offered a post with the Allied Control Commission where his undoubted abilities as an interpreter were put to good use on the continent and in Berlin. This work over, Roy spent two years in Canada before returning to England to take up a post with an iron and steel company which he referred to later as "Hard Labour".

This period of Roy's llife ended when an opportunity came to him to fulfill an ambition he must long have thought impossible of achievement. His intellectual ability was recognized by the award of a mature scholarship at St Catherine's College, Oxford where he read in the Honours School of Modern History. Obviously a most happy period in his life, he came down in 1958 with a 2nd class honours degree and moved straight into teaching. In 1963, however, he was offered and accepted a lectureship in English Literature and Economic History at the Matthew Boulton College in Birmingham where he was to stay until his retirement in the 1980's.

Roy has recounted the story of his first acquaintance with Woodforde. He was about 18 when volume two of the Beresford edition fell into his hands. "I recollect every detail of that meeting with the utmost clarity. I was hooked before I more than glanced at it" he wrote, many years later. It is not surprising that the formation of the Parson Woodforde Society in 1968 should have attracted him from the first nor that, in the following year, he began that long period of editorship which was to prove so very fruitful. It resulted in an immense output of scholarly research into

Woodforde's life and times. From the very beginning Roy not only edited but wrote many of the Journal's articles, nor did this work constitute his whole endeavours. From the 1970's on, Roy commenced the Herculean task of transcribing from the manuscript those portions of the diary omitted from the Beresford edition. Fully annotated and, after the first volume, indexed, the ten volumes Roy produced made available to academia and the general reader alike a work to be compared favourably with the Latham and Matthews *Pepys*.

In 1996, when the Folio Society decided to publish a volume of extracts from Woodforde's diary, their editor visited me to discuss the possibility of including Roy's transcriptions. This was done and the resultant volume provides a fuller account of Woodforde than does the well-known single volume of "passages" published in 1935.

Roy fulfilled a long-nurtured ambition in the later years of his life when he published the first biography of Woodforde. Characteristically, Roy maintained that he anticipated a subsequent biography by someone "with more academic clout". No such work has yet appeared. I was both touched and honoured when Roy's book was dedicated to me. Roy's final literary work on Woodforde was to contribute the appropriate entry to the new Dictionary of National Biography and to produce a "pocket biography" for the Lark's Press.

There can be little doubt that, over the years, Roy fully earned his reputation as the leading Woodfordean scholar, and his memorial must surely be that he secured recognition for the diarist as an authority on his own time and place. Members of the Parson Woodforde Society are in Roy's debt and we are the poorer by his passing.

Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.

G.H.B.

R. L. WINSTANLEY: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT WORK

BOOKS

C. S. S. Nicholls (ed.) – *Dictionary of National Biography – Missing Persons:* James Woodforde, Oxford University Press (1993)

Parson Woodforde: the Life and Times of a Country Diarist, Morrow & Co., Bungay (1996)

H. C. G. Matthew (ed.) – *New Dictionary of National Biography* – articles on George Carleton and James Woodforde, Oxford University Press (Forthcoming)

BOOKLET

James Woodforde: Parson and Diarist, Larks Press, Dereham (1996)

ARTICLES

No case for the Vice-Chancellor, *Oxford* Vol. XLII, 1 (May 1990)

The following articles all appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of the Parson Woodforde Society* from Vol. XXVI, 2. Mr Winstanley's contributions to earlier *Journals* will be found listed in D. Case: *Index of the Journal of the Parson Woodforde Society* (1994). Articles marked * appeared under Mr Winstanley's *nom de plume* Robert Deverill.

Biographical

Early Friends – the Rookes of Somerton, XXVI, 2; 4-25

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HIGH JINKS AT CASTLE CARY: A first Enquiry into some aspects of the Provincial Theatre in Woodforde's time.

James Woodforde was, at least while still a young man, a fairly assiduous playgoer, even if he must be counted a somewhat passive and uncritical participant in what I am sure was for him a social occasion, rather than an art to be loved and cherished for its own sake. His diary throws here and there a certain light upon the contemporary theatre and the conditions in which it operated. (He attended performances at the great London playhouses only a handful of times in his life.) From the entries we can learn something about the relative popularity of plays, prices charged for admission, seating and staging conditions, and many other matters. Only a fraction of this material found its way into the printed diary, where it was used in a way that robbed it of all historical value. A number of plays are indeed mentioned by name in the printed text, and these titles picked up in the index to each volume. But the stage is mentioned only once or twice in Mr Beresford's commentary, and the sole remark (*The Diary of a Country Parson* I, 57) intended as a general statement on the theatre as one of the amenities of a small country town in the mid-eighteenth century, begs all sorts of questions.

Woodforde's playgoing took place most frequently when he was away from home. Then as now, visits to the theatre were considered an integral part of a good holiday. There were, on the other hand, occasions when a touring company of actors visited Castle Cary itself and played there for a season. These times are of particular interest, for they show the diarist making the most of his opportunities and seeing a number of plays in the course of a week or so. The most detailed and revealing of them is the three-week period from 14 May to 6 June 1770.

Later I wish to discuss the plays and other dramatic fare of those weeks. The various playwrights must also be looked at, in view of the fact that there is not a single attribution of a dramatic piece anywhere in the five volumes of the printed diary. This, however, will involve the introduction of new evidence from outside sources, as will a similar enquiry into the identity of the troupe concerned. So for the moment I prefer to concentrate exclusively upon what Woodforde has to tell us about this three-week Cary season. Like other subjects which have been pursued in essays of this kind, it

has first to be related to the general context of Woodforde's life at the time when those particular diary entries were made.

In the spring of 1770 he was approaching thirty, and working extremely hard in sole charge of the two livings his father was now too ill to serve. His own prospects were uncertain, but he could scarcely have foreseen his ultimate failure to secure either of the churches and had, in fact, no future to look forward to in the district so long associated with all he most cared about and valued. He was living now at the Lower House with his two brothers, whose rackety and unpredictable behaviour gave him a lot of trouble. Castle Cary itself was settling down after a period of dissension. The long-drawn quarrel between Creed and the churchwardens and other townsmen over the singing gallery had been made up after a fashion, but there was still a residue of bad temper left in its wake. Perhaps Woodforde welcomed the arrival of the players as something able to provide a social framework in which the lately estranged notabilities of the little town could meet peacefully in the enjoyment of a common pleasure. Some of his friends: Justice Creed himself, for example, or Counsellor Melliar, appear to have been rather more fond of the British drama than was the diarist. Once he wrote that he went to the theatre because he had promised Creed: once that the Justice persuaded him to go. But perhaps he was merely soothing his conscience by that display of scruple.

On Monday 14 May the season, with no preliminary mention in the diary, started with a sure-fire winner, 'The Beaux' Stratagem', and a piece which Woodforde calls 'Wives Metamorphos'd'. They were staged "by desire of M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Scroggs of Hatspen".

Woodforde's diary entry for 16 May, two days later, is very full and detailed. He went in the morning to the Archdeacon's Visitation at Bruton, representing his father, had dinner and stayed there until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Then he rode over to Yarlington to bury the aged mother of his friend Parson Gapper. He had previously bought seven theatre tickets from the actors; but arriving back with only just enough time to get over to the theatre, he was unable to distribute three of them: "The Tickets however will do another Night", he commented philosophically. The play was 'The Recruiting Officer', with 'Lethe'. The diarist went to the play with Justice Creed.

Two days later he gave his surplus tickets away to Sister Clarke, Jane and "Miss Tucker", nineteen in this year and presumably well-acquainted with the great London theatres. He bought a fourth

ticket for Sister White but did not attend the performance himself. That night: "Brother John dined &c. at Shepton Mallett came home very late and disturbed the whole House, as he did not go to bed till three in the Morning – N.B. very little rest all Night".

The following day, 19 May, a very interesting passage recounts that "Gay and Benson two of the Players at Cary spent the Afternoon supped & got themselves quite merry at the L. House with my Brothers. They were gone away and my Brothers with them before I got home at Night – and my Brothers stayed out till near 12 –". By this time, the old Puritan prejudice against actors and acting had vanished, and the very distinguished London players such as Garrick were accepted guests in the highest society: but the status of ordinary touring actors was still not high, and this entry like others in the early diary leaves us with the impression that in mid-eighteenth century Somerset social class barriers could be crossed without much difficulty. The actors would not have received so much consideration everywhere. By contrast there is an unconsciously amusing letter of the poet William Shenstone, written a few years before. He had received two well-dressed and nicely spoken visitors to his famous "natural garden" at The Leasowes, personally taking them on a conducted tour of the estate: only to find out later, to his intense annoyance, that the couple were strolling players appearing that week at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham!

Woodforde did not attend the theatre again until 21 May when he wrote: "I went to the Play (Hamlet and the Citizen the Entertainment)". He paid for his sister Jane and Miriam Tucker, and spent another shilling on "oranges to eat at the Play". I do not suppose it ever happened in respectable Cary, but the rowdy audiences at the London playhouses sometimes found another use for the fruit, as handy missiles. Perhaps the nearest Woodforde got to this was hearing the Prologue to 'Lethe', which Johnson had written for his friend Garrick thirty years before:

> Oft has our Bard in this disastrous year,
> Beheld the Tragic Heroes taught to fear.
> Oft has he seen the Poignant Orange fly,
> And heard th'ill-omen'd Catcall's direful cry . . .

His next visit was two evenings later. The players put on that perennial favourite 'The Beggars' Opera' and a piece entitled 'Chrononhotonthologus', of which I have more to say below. Woodforde misspelled the title at first, and no wonder, correcting

it when the piece was later repeated. "A pretty full House they had", the diarist commented. He went to the theatre with John, who for once was on his best behaviour. They walked home together. "Brother Heighes was not gone to bed and was pretty merry".

The next time he was "at the Play" was on 28 May, and he treated "Miss Molly Pew": they saw 'The Provoked Husband' and 'The Honest Yorkshireman'. These were staged "for the Benefit of M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Morris, and M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Hooker four of the Players". The season was clearly maintaining its popularity: "The House was very full M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Scroggs, M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Melliar, M^{r}. & M^{rs}. Bailey &c." The last-named gentleman was perhaps William Bayly, who in this year became vicar of South Barrow, where he had previously been curate. Oranges were not the only form of refreshment available: "to black Jack the Gingerbread Man for six Queen Cakes – p^{d}. – 0 - 0 - 8".

Next day he read prayers at Cary, "being the 29. of May": or in other words the anniversary of the Restoration. Dr Clarke, who combined his medical practice with running a farm, had his sheep-shearing feast in the evening, to which Brother John was invited. Heighes stayed home all day, "being ill by purging much". The theatre was open again the following night. The diarist and John went together and saw the popular 'Jane Shore' and 'Midas', put on "for the Benefit of M^{r}. and M^{rs}. Wood, Miss Wood and M^{r}. Gay four of the Players". Very sensibly the actors had withheld their benefit nights until the later stages of the season, when their popularity was established. "The House was as full as it had been yet", Woodforde wrote, and added: "Bruton Ladies and Gentlemen filled the greatest Part of the Pitt – The most genteel Company they have yet had at the House". The last clause is an allusion to the audience, not the actors.

On the next evening John, either out of good fellowship or because any excuse was good enough to sit up drinking, "had several of the Players to spend the Evening with him at Lower House". It was the Thursday before Whit. Next evening, the diarist was once again in the theatre audience, and in addition to 'The Busy Body' and 'The Lying Valet', there were, sandwiched between the two stage pieces, "a Hornpipe by Miss Wood and a Liliputian Dance by M^{r}. Benson, very droll for the Benefit of Miss Norman, M^{r}. Benson, M^{r}. Way and M^{r}. Browning four more of the Players". He bought five "Play Tickets" on this occasion. "I gave one to Miss Tucker, another to Jenny Clarke, one to Brother Heighes and another to Sister Jane.

They had a very good House this Evening". He bought another shillingsworth of oranges.

4 June was Whit Monday. He made another visit to the theatre, going with Creed after dinner and the afternoon spent at the Justice's house, to see 'Richard III' and 'Chrononhotonthologus' a second time. Between the two there was a song "by M^{r}. Gaudry who is just come from Bath".

Two days later the actors staged their last show of the season. This time they pulled out all the stops. They had reserved two tried favourites: 'The Conscious Lovers' and 'The Miller of Mansfield'. The audience heard another song, this time by "M^{rs}. Taylor from Bath", while Mr Benson once more gave his rendering of the Liliputian Dance. "A very good House", Woodforde wrote, with the air of a person who had enjoyed the evening. No doubt the players shared his satisfaction. This must by any standard have been a highly successful tour.

*

So far Woodforde has been our unique source of information, and he tells us nothing about the plays he watched. He does not cite so much as the name of one dramatist, and I think it is likely enough that he did not know, or indeed care, who had written some of the pieces. So far all we have done has been to expand the commentary in the first volume of the Beresford diary. At the same time we have collected a good deal of miscellaneous data, which has now to be assembled, if possible, into some kind of coherent picture of the provincial stage of those days.

The players were at Castle Cary for just over three weeks: twenty-four days to be precise. They put on a show on alternate evenings, three a week, except for the final week of the tour, which ended on the Wednesday. Of the eleven evenings on which there was a show, Woodforde was present on nine. His only absences were on 18 May when he bought four tickets to give away but did not attend the theatre himself, and 23 May when he did not mention the theatre in the diary entry for that day.

The building in which the plays were staged was called by Woodforde the "Court House". It is unlikely that a town so small as this would have more than one public building spacious enough to have accommodated theatre audiences, I have assumed that it was identical with the erection mentioned by Collinson, whose book was published in 1791:

The old market-house (built in 1616) is now converted into dwelling-houses.

The present Cary Town Hall must be at least approximately on the site of this vanished market house. We can see this from its position vis-a-vis to the old market place. The name Woodforde used may perhaps have originated in the fact that in the past the building was used for meetings of the Court Leet. Although meetings of the Court Leet were still held, they were by Woodforde's time of little importance, since nearly all their former functions had been transferred to the Sessions, held in larger towns. So far as I know, the diarist never mentions the Court House except in association with the theatre.

Now, even the purpose-built theatres of the time were primitive by modern standards, but the best and most up-to-date ones would have had the still observed division into "pit" and "gallery". The Court House could not have been a theatre in that sense, and I doubt whether much more could have been done to transform it into something resembling a real theatre than to run a row of candles at one side to mark off the stage area from the auditorium, and erect a few screens to serve the needs of exits and entrances. That all the spectators were on the same floor-level can be seen from the flat-rate admission charge of 1/6d. That, at least, was what Woodforde and his friends paid: but on one of the play evenings, 30 May, Woodforde wrote: "I gave my Maid Betty Crich leave to go to the Play & I gave her – 0 - 1 - 0". This probably means that the "lower orders" were crowded into a space at the back of the auditorium, almost certainly without seats. This "elitist" arrangement lasted a long time at public exhibitions and meetings. Admirers of the superb Wodehouse, Grand Master of English waggery, will need no reminder of the immortal occasion when, wonderfully inebriated, Augustus Fink-Nottle distributed the prizes at Market Snodsbury Grammar School. Then, it was from "the standees at the back" that trouble was rightly to be anticipated.

The actors took very seriously Dr Johnson's famous dictum that

The Drama's laws the Drama's patrons give,
And we who live to please must please to live.

They insured against the disaster of staging unwanted plays by previously "waiting on" members of important local families, and asking them to choose a programme. This was known as the

"bespeak" system. It did not actually guarantee the sale of tickets, but those who had "bespoken" a play were expected to persuade their friends to come along and watch it. Besides the already mentioned Mr and Mrs Scroggs, other patrons were Creed and Melliar, and on one evening "the young Gentlemen of Cary & Ansford".

The double bill may come as a surprise to those unacquainted with the eighteenth century theatre. At this time it was the invariable custom to follow up each full-length play with a so-called "Entertainment", much shorter and often of a farcical nature. This reveals a wide gulf in aesthetic sensibility between eighteenth century theatre-goers and those of our own time. We should find intolerable the staging of some knockabout farce straight after a moving performance of 'Hamlet' or 'King Lear'. But to the audience of Woodforde's time this sort of comic relief was evidently necessary to dispel the melancholy which might otherwise have settled upon the mind at the conclusion of a tragedy, and to send the customers home happy to bed. The 'Entertainments', however, were not exclusively farces.

If we look first at the nine full length plays, they make up a varied enough bag. We do not have to explain the popularity of the two Shakespeare plays or 'The Beggars' Opera'; or of the two by George Farquhar, although I think these last survive now as literature rather than examples of the living drama, and are the raw material of academic theses rather than works which still appeal to the emotions. The other four have sunk without trace. In Woodforde's day they all commanded a considerable measure of popularity. 'The Provoked Husband' (1728) was otherwise known as 'A Journey to London', its original title. It was an unfinished play by Vanbrugh completed by Colley Cibber, and may be described as a Restoration farce doubled with the then new style of sentimental comedy. The moralizing vein, so different from the cynicism of the Restoration theatre, appears in Cibber's Prologue, in which he says that "the Design" of the play was "chiefly to expose, and reform the licentious Irregularities that too often break in upon the Peace and Happiness of the married State". Woodforde had previously seen it, also at the Court House, in 1766. 'The Busy Body' (1709) by Mrs Susannah Centlivre belonged to the tradition of satirical Restoration comedy. Plays like this were, indeed, now more frequently staged than the great Restoration plays, considered more and more as too coarse and bawdy for contemporary taste.

One of the remaining pair was a tragedy. 'Jane Shore' (1714) was by Nicholas Rowe, the friend of Pope and editor of the first complete edition of Shakespeare after the three folios. It was said by its author to have been written "in imitation of Shakespeare's style", but is unlike a Shakespearean play in every possible way. Dr Johnson, praising the drama for its emotional content – "it lays hold upon the heart" – wrote that "this therefore is one of these pieces which we still welcome on the stage". 'The Constant Lovers' (1722) by Sir Richard Steele was an adaptation of a Roman play, the 'Adria' of Terence, but as Allardyce Nicoll wrote: "sentimentalized out of all recognition. It attacks "marriages of convenience, duels and the evils of the law. Love in the comedy is tender and pure; the air if positively thick with sympathy and pity and emotion". This kind of play was to grow increasingly popular with the developing sensibility of the age, was to continue through the nineteenth century and provide the basis of countless Hollywood films in the first half of the twentieth.

The "Entertainments" also belonged to several different genres. The piece called by Woodforde 'Wives Metamorphos'd', which he saw on the opening night, was better known under its alternative title of 'The Devil to Pay'. According to the check-list of plays which forms vol. 6 of Allardyce Nicoll's 'History of the English Drama' it was by C. Coffey and W. Muttley. This and 'The Honest Yorkshireman' (1735) by Henry Carey, may be called examples of ballad opera. 'The Miller of Mansfield', called for again and again by eighteenth century audiences, also had songs and music. 'Lethe' (1740) and 'The Lying Valet' (1741) were by Garrick, while 'The Citizen' (1761) was by Arthur Murphy, a very prolific and successful dramatist of the time, now mainly remembered because it was he who introduced Dr Johnson to the Thrales. All three, and 'Midas' (1762) by K. O'Hara, were farces.

The most interesting of these "Entertainment" pieces, all the same, was 'Chrononhotonthologus' (1734) by Henry Carey, and I have selected this one for rather more extended analysis. Henry Carey, the author also of 'The Honest Yorkshireman', was a rough and perhaps somewhat embittered satirist who flourished towards the end of Pope's lifetime. He died in 1747, possibly by his own hand. He gave a word to the English language: 'namby-pamby', the name he bestowed upon his contemporary Ambrose Phillips, the writer of pastorals. He also wrote a song which will be remembered so long as our language endures: it is 'Sally in our Alley'. As for

'Chrononhotonthologus', it is really based on a better and more amusing play, Fielding's 'Tragedy of Tom Thumb the Great'; but what is interesting in our particular context is the way in which it impartially sends up all the kinds of dramatic fare which the actors were busy presenting on the other nights. All the same, like 'Tom Thumb', it is chiefly aimed at the versified tragedy of its time. This is clear from the introduction to the printed play in which it is called:

> The Tragedy of Chrononhotonthologus: Being the most Tragical Tragedy, that ever was tragedyz'd by any Company of Tragedians. Written by Benjamin Bounce, Esq.

A good deal of it is reminiscent of Carey's attacks on Phillips, for the babyishness of his diction. So here, the Prologue says:

> The Fiddle-Faddle numbers flow,
> Serenely dull, Elaborately low.

Much of the farcical dialogue that follows is implicitly concerned with the criticism of style. With some skill Carey hit off the would-be poetical, refined language of the elevated speeches, with their disastrous plunges into bathos and commonplace:

> Day's Curtain's drawn, the Morn begins to rise,
> And waking Nature rubs its sleepy Eyes.
> The pretty little fleecy bleating Flocks,
> In ba'as harmonious warble thro' the Rocks:
> Night gathers up his Shades in sable Shrouds,
> And whispering oziers tattle to the Clouds.
> What say you, ladies, if an hour we kill,
> At Basset, Ombre, Picquet or Quadrille?

He was also quite good at mimicking the bombast which commonly served for the climaxes:

> A blow! Shall Bombardinian take a blow!!
> Blush, blush, you sun! Stand back, thou rapid ocean.
> Hills, vales, seas, mountains! All commixing crumble
> And into chaos pulverize the world . . .

And so on. It may all sound bleak and un-funny today, now verbal humour has nothing like the appeal it once had and, indeed, seems to be tolerated only in the degraded form of puns. Of course, it may also be the case that the words were little attended to, and that the unsophisticated audiences of the time enjoyed the farce for its slapstick alone. Thus, one stage direction calls for:

> Rough music, viz. Salt-boxes and Rolling-pins, Gridirons and Tongs, Sow-Gelders Horns, Marrow-bones and Cleavers, &c. &c.

After this, it is not surprising that the Queen, like Titania, has to remark:

> What heavenly sounds are these that charm my ears.
> Sure 'tis the music of the tuneful spheres.

We may hope that it brought down the house, on those two evenings at Castle Cary long ago, and that our diarist laughed with the rest.

*

Another question which must be asked here relates to the quality of this entertainment, if it is measured against anything approaching modern standards. I have no doubt that a playgoer of our time, accustomed to the restrained techniques of modern realistic acting, would find the histrionic style of the eighteenth century mannered and declamatory to an insufferable degree. As a contemporary satirist put it:

> See how he grinds his Teeth, and strikes his Head,
> And, on his Toes, he scorns the Earth to tread;
> Such monstrous actions never can be just,
> Too oft repeated, it [sic] must give Disgust.

Garrick was widely acclaimed by his contemporaries for having introduced a more natural style of acting: but there was only one Garrick, and whatever he and similar progressives were doing in London in 1770, I doubt much whether new acting ideas would have made much progress in the provinces.

A similar query surrounds the versions from which Shakespearean plays were acted. At a time when the textual criticism of Shakespeare was just beginning, it would be naive to expect provincial theatre managers to have had at their disposal anything like the accurate texts of today, which anyway do not prevent modern producers from mangling the plays at will. There is, however, a significant difference. In the eighteenth century Shakespeare was not played "straight", as it were, but in one or other of the many "improved" versions which later adapters had foisted on to the plays: for example, Nahum Tate's 'King Lear' with a happy ending, or the notorious Davenant–Dryden 'Tempest' with an extra hero and heroine thrown in. Thus there can be little doubt that the 'Richard II' seen by the diarist in 1770 would have been Cibber's version, containing the famous punch-line:

> Off with his head! So much for Buckingham.

What is more, the audiences would have been deeply offended if this and other favourite speeches had been left out.

*

Finally, who were the actors?

We have seen that the company which appeared at Cary in the late spring of 1770 was a large and probably well-appointed one. Woodforde mentions thirteen different actors and actresses by name, two of whom are mentioned as joining the company at a late stage in the season and were added attractions because they could sing.

It may be thought that no more could be done here than to make a vague guess at the identity of the troupe. Fortunately, we have more to go on than that. I think there is a very strong possibility that these players were either members of, or closely associated with, a group known as 'The Salisbury Company of Comedians'.

Now this was not, strictly speaking, a mere random group of touring actors, but what may be called a circuit theatre company, of altogether higher status. Apparently originating in Winchester, it first appeared at Salisbury in 1764. The first manager, a certain Samuel Johnson, set about erecting a new, purpose-built theatre, which for the next few years were to be headquarters of the company. From time to time improvements and amenities, of various kinds, were announced. In 1775, for example, the building "was illuminated with wax lights" (more expensive than tallow but much more valued because the candles burned clearly and without fume) and the "instrumental band considerably improved by the assistance of some gentlemen of the city" – presumably amateurs. Prices were: two shillings for the pit and one shilling for the gallery.

It was the custom for the company to stay in Salisbury over the winter months, from October-November to February-March, and for the rest of the year to tour round a group of other towns. These itineraries have been worked out and are to be found in a book called 'The Georgian Theatre in Wessex', written by Arnold Hare and published in 1958. I am greatly indebted to it for most of the information relative to this section of the essay.

The company did not play the towns in the same order each year, nor did they visit all the towns in each touring season, but in general they appeared regularly at Winchester, Southampton, Portsmouth and Lymington, rather less often at Wells and Taunton, and sometimes so far away as Chichester.

These places had all certain features in common. They were all important market towns, and each of them supported a local newspaper. The programmes of the Salisbury Company appear in the columns of these local papers, and constitute Mr Hare's unique source of information. There are some obvious pitfalls in this kind of research, and Mr Hare admits that his touring company's lists are incomplete. If the itineraries are examined, they will be seen to have large gaps in them, sometimes extending over months. It is essentially less likely that the company was doing nothing in these summer months when conditions and opportunities for travelling were at their best, than that they were engaged in small towns where no newspaper existed to record their progress. This means that the lists are so far misleading in that they give an impression of the company as being more limited in its choice of touring places than really seems to have been the case.

In 1770, Mr Hare's record is more scanty than for almost any other year. It shows that the winter season in Salisbury came to an end in February as usual, and they are from then on untraced until they returned to Salisbury in October. I am almost certain that for part of this time, from 14 May to 6 June, they were at Castle Cary, and that we have been investigating their histrionic activities in that small town.

In 1767 the 'Salisbury Journal' gives the names of the company, or of some members of it, active at that time. The list includes two names, Wood and Gaudry, which as we have seen figured in Woodforde's diary in 1770. It need occasion no surprise that there is no wider area of confirmation. Everything we know about touring actors of the time suggests that their ties with the companies which employed them were tenuous in the extreme, and that they moved from one to another troupe with great facility. After the passing of three years, we should not expect to find more than a handful of the players still working for the company. It might be thought that the name 'Wood' is too common for there to be any certainty that the two are the same. But we cannot possibly say this about 'Gaudry'. Singer rather than actor, he had made his debut as Captain Macheath in 'The Beggars' Opera' at Salisbury in 1766. He is therefore authenticated as having been both a Salisbury player and a member of Woodforde's troupe.

It also happens that we can pick up these two names from another source – this reference I owe also to Mr Hare's book. All criticism of the arts in the eighteenth century was brutal enough, far

exceeding the bounds which a critic might feel justified in crossing today. Of all critics, the most vicious were the theatre critics, who went in on a big scale for what can only be called "character-assassination". Far and away the most popular and influential critical work on actors and acting was 'The Rosciad' (1761) by Charles Churchill. Its qualities of ferocious scurrility and gratuitous insult are far more obvious than any humour or wit it may be thought to possess. Yet we are told that Tom Davies, who has his own niche in the Temple of Fame because it was in his back parlour behind his bookseller's shop in Covent Garden that Johnson and Boswell first met, had been driven from the stage by a single characteristic line in the 'Rosciad':

He mouths a sentence as curs mouth a bone.

Now it so happens that in 1767 a poem was published in Salisbury that was clearly in the 'Rosciad' tradition, although the author could produce only a pallid and feeble imitation of the London satirist's peculiar brand of venom. It was entitled 'Candour, An Enquiry into the real merits of the Salisbury Comedians'. Among other persons who do not concern us, our same two actors, Wood and Gaudry, are attacked. Here are the relevant verses:

GAUDRY no mark of real merit brings,
The creature cannot speak – he sweetly sings –
Strong Affectation, superficial Art,
Mark ev'ry Line, and mangle ev'ry Part:
Yet, in an Age like this, he still must please.
He sings with Taste, with Judgment, and with Ease.

If, like a School-Boy, drawling on one Note;
And barely whining out his Part by rote;
If Marble Stiffness has a Pow'r to please,
And Memory atones for want of Ease:
WOOD may stand foremost in the List of Fame:
No Man so perfect, and no Man so tame.

*

I think we can now summarize what has emerged from the foregoing. Small places like Castle Cary were not obvious stops for the better companies, because it was impossible to publicize a visit by the actors, and the number of potential customers could not have been great. They were thus driven to depend wholly on the bespeak system to fill the theatre. At the same time, a spare fortnight or three weeks in their summer touring season could easily have been fitted in, the place being so near to the areas in which they habitually

circulated. It is for these reasons that I believe the theatrical company which Woodforde saw at Castle Cary in May and June 1770 was either the Salisbury Comedians or a group of actors and actresses having close ties with that company.

APPENDIX: MR TAYLOR AND THE 1773 SEASON

On 12 January 1773 Woodforde wrote in his diary: "M[rs]. Taylor the Player waited upon me this morning and desired me to bespeak a Play". The time of year shows clearly that the Salisbury Company cannot have been concerned here, because they were in the middle of the winter season at their permanent theatre.

We are dealing here, in fact, not with a circuit theatre at all, but with that much more humble and characteristic phenomenon of its time, a true strollers' group, travelling round from one small and inconsiderable market town to another.

Perhaps the very fact that the manager's wife (I do not know if she was the "M[rs]. Taylor" who had come from Bath to sing during the Cary season three years before, but I should think it very unlikely that the two were the same) called on Woodforde for a "bespeak" suggests that they were not aiming very high and were consequently of little account. He could not possibly have seemed to the players like the sort of person out of whom a patron of the British drama could be made. He was an unbeneficed clergyman of uncertain prospects, and the Salisbury Company had certainly not sought his patronage in 1770. Another possible sign that the company was an inferior one was that four days before the diarist had launched out on one of his highly infrequent pieces of criticism. He had seen 'Midas' again, and pronounced tersely that it was "murdered".

Although we did well to identify the Salisbury players, it might be thought that in Taylor we are faced with a figure so obscure as to be quite beyond trace. It is not so, indeed. We have a complete corroboration of Woodforde in a piece of primary evidence to show that not only was there a theatrical manager of that name with a strolling troupe, but that he and they were specifically associated with Castle Cary in 1773.

John Bernard was born in 1756. He was an actor who eventually made the London stage, and spent the last part of his career in America. In early days, however, he had considerable experience of the strolling life. Early in 1773, when he was seventeen, the stage-struck youth made a hundred-mile journey to Bristol, to see

the well-known manager Bensley, who did not take him on. Determined to tread the boards, the young man discovered that in a nearby place, Chew Magna, a manager named Thornton had a vacancy for "a young walking-on gentleman". After a spell at Chew Magna, the company moved on to Glastonbury where, however, Bernard took it into his head to leave:

> My situation in this company, however, had latterly become unpleasant, from the accession of a gentleman who "divided the business" with me, as it is termed; and being indignant that the Manager should stint me in the only thing he ever gave me – parts! I walked over to Castle Cary, where a Mr Taylor was exhibiting the glories of Shakspeare to "fit audiences though few", and ascertained that there was an opening for my services. I accordingly returned to take leave of Mr Thornton and my companions; and beheld myself advertised with a kind of bullfrog importance, for the character of Hamlet.

From the fact that he gave this of all parts to an unknown youth with a total acting experience of a few weeks, we are able to estimate the level of Mr Taylor's services in "exhibiting the glories of Shakspeare", although in fact it was common enough to advertise newcomers in important parts as though there were a particular value in their being unknown. Mr Vincent Crummles played that trick in 'Nicholas Nickleby'. Bernard's reminiscences continue:

> Of Castle Cary, Manager Taylor, or his Company, I have retained no trace, either in my brain or my papers, worth transplanting to these pages; more than that, our principal actress, a Mrs Kirby, playing "Lady Jane" one evening, and inquiring very piteously, "Oh, when shall I find rest?" a ruthless grocer started up in the pit and shouted out, "Not till you have paid me my one pound one and tenpence, Ma'am".

In fact, Bernard could not have been with this company more than a week or two. He tells us that after the troupe had left Cary and was going on to "Westbury under the Plain", he decided to return to Mr Thornton, who welcomed him back to his troupe. However, something of the standards attained by Taylor may be judged by this writer's criticism of another troupe with which he acted soon afterwards, the company of "Manager Jackson", of Farnham, Hampshire:

> The Company consisted of a heavy man, who played the tyrants in tragedy, and the French horn in the orchestra (not the first actor who has blown his own trumpet); – Mr Jackson, prompter,

money-taker, scene-painter, machinist, and fiddle-player, who was a company in himself, inasmuch as, being letter perfect in every stock-play, he could carry on all the mechanical duties of the house, and play ten parts a-night with equal facility, *behind the scenes* – this was a general practice at the time – the "walking gentleman" (a Romeo at night, but the apothecary by day), who sang a little, did the lovers, danced hornpipes, and played tricks; –a low comedian – low enough, Heaven knows! – a fat fusby* little woman his wife, and Mrs Jackson, who had the choice of every thing, but being an old woman, naturally selected the young ones. With this band of dramatic desperadoes, Manager Jackson performed the Witches' ceremony of "double, double, toil and trouble", and three times a week put William Shakspeare on the rack, to the delight of the red-headed bumpkins of Hampshire. (John Bernard: 'Retrospection of the Stage', 2 vols (1827))

I do not think that Bernard was exaggerating much, if at all. However grotesquely it reads, his account tallies too closely with that of other contemporary evidence to allow much doubt of it.

It is plain that Castle Cary was one of Mr Taylor's main "stands", and I suppose it could be said to his credit that he provided dramatic fare more regularly and for longer periods at a time than the superior Salisbury players. His company was much nearer the usual level provided for such small places than the actors of 1770, whose season may have been quite exceptional.

Finally, the fact that Woodforde went to the theatre nine times during the three-week visit of the Salisbury troupe and only twice, including the night of his own "bespeak", in a much longer stay put in by Taylor's company, would suggest that he knew quite well the distinction between good acting and bad.

(This article originally appeared in Vol. XI, 2 of the Journal)

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* sic in orig. Qu. "fubsy"?

THE MEMOIRS OF THE REVD. DR. EDWARD NARES 176201841 (continued)

Rector of Biddenden

Putting aside his ambitions the Revd Nares sought to make the best of being a rural parson, while endeavouring to broaden his connections in the countryside. This was all the more desirable because of his increasing preoccupation, as a lone parent, with the proper upbringing of his two little girls. He felt ill-fitted to educate them in the accomplishments appropriate to their position and prospects, 'likely to be, when they grow up, quite independent of me in fortune and connections'. However, there was to be a happy outcome to his predicament. He declines to enlarge on the steps leading to his second marriage, although at pains to justify same.

> I wd. not wish my second marriage to be admitted as a commentary on my first. If in the latter instance mercenary views were ever attributed to me, my 2d. connection might surely absolve me from all such feelings. I found a second time much sooner than my vanity could have led me to expect another person willing to blend her fortunes with mine. In a *worldly* point of view we might both have done better – in all other respects, both of us might have done much worse. We were well satisfied with each other, and thank God! we continue to be so. We thought we could promote each others happiness and in this we have not been disappointed. I confess I was surpris'd that I shd. have been capable of exciting so strong an interest in my favor, there being a difference of at least 18 years between our ages, and no attractions of *person or fortune* to secure to *me* such a *preference*, among *many competitors*.

Our conscientious scribe considered it his duty to report his impending marriage to the Marlborough family, for which purpose he called on his late wife's sister, Lady Anne Ashley. He also wrote suitably to the Duke of Marlborough, and to his heir Lord Blandford. In every respect he was gratified with their response and with the reactions of those others similarly informed.

> It seem'd to be thought almost necessary, that for the sake of my infant Daughters I should marry again, and it was gratifying to me that credit was fully given to me for making such a choice as might be of service to them. On the 30th of June 1803 I was accordingly married to Miss Cordelia Adams, second Daughter of Thomas Adams Esqr. late of Swifts Place in the County of Kent.

Sadly, before the year was out Edward was stricken by the death of his youngest daughter, she whose future, with that of her elder sister, had caused him such anxiety. The little maid had been ill since the previous winter but, despite every endeavour in the way of advice and convalescence, had failed to respond. She died at Biddenden 22 December 1803 and was buried in the south aisle of the church. 'It occasioned me much distress, and brought back to my recollection many most painful circumstances'.

Edward's marriage seems to have reawakened his desire for preferment. This time he resolved to look solely to his own merits for advancement. Paradoxically, he hoped that his diligence would bring him to the notice of some patron. Accordingly he listened to the advice of his Oxford friends, the Provost of Worcester College and the Warden of Merton. They proposed that he should preach the Bampton Lectures before the University in the coming year. It appears that another had particularly wished to be proposed for the year 1804, so Nares readily assented to his nomination being postponed until 1805. This was confirmed by the college heads 17 April 1804. On the prior Tuesday, 10 April, Mrs Nares safely bore a son. He was christened Edward Robert on the 7 May at Biddenden. His sponsors were Mrs Nares' brother Thomas Adam of the India House, Nares' good friend Mr Greenhill, and Mr Kneller of York Place, Portman Square.

The preceding winter had been wholly spent at Biddenden.

> I had scarcely been permitted to do so before, firstly on account of the extreme dampness . . . and secondly because I was continually taught to expect a better place of residence.

Our reticent parson who had never formerly ventured to enter the University pulpit, having now agreed to lecture, was daunted by the prospect of addressing such a distinguished and learned company. Nevertheless, encouraged by his friends he applied himself to the subject.

> I had long determined to take some opportunity of combating the most *plausible* objections of *modern infidels* to our holy religion and, as this appeared to quadrate exactly with the injunctions of the Founder of the Lecture, I speedily resolv'd to make it my topic. And as my studies had been pretty various I purpose to classify the several sort of objections. This led me to arrange them, as in my Book, under the Heads of *History, Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics and Criticism.*

Edward's main difficulty concerned his abode in the Weald of Kent, remote from any source of scholarship. Libraries, book shops, seats of learning, were all wanting. Some books were acquired but at a cost he could little afford. Moreover, dwelling in an agricultural community the intelligentsia, with whom he could have discussed academic problems, was lacking. For these reasons it was decided that the whole family would move to London for the two months prior to his appearance in the pulpit at Oxford. On the 24 January 1805 the family arrived 'at an indifferent house acquired for the purpose'. As fate would have it, in the course of their journey to London Edward caught such a severe cold that his ensuing illness prevented him from making use of the much-needed facilities for which he had so carefully planned.

> . . . I was compelled to go down to Oxford . . . so little ready that actually when I preach'd my first Sermon at St Mary's, my 2d. was not written or begun. No Soul knew anything of this but myself. I was obliged to manage as I could.
>
> I preach'd my first sermon on Sunday 10 March 1805 – the church was rather crowded than otherwise. The Galleries were full of young Men; a large Strew of Masters in the Area below, & many Noblemen. There were also two of the Bench of Bishops, and most of the Professors.

Once in the pulpit Nares forgot his nervousness, gaining confidence from the sight of many old friends. These included the Vice Chancellor ('being one of the most intimate acquaintances'), also many old parishioners of St Peter's, anxious to see their old pastor. It was gratifying to find that the latter attended the whole course of lectures. His address lasted 50 minutes and he was well satisfied with its content and its reception.

> The Vice Can. [Chancellor] indeed followed me to my Lodgings to tell me . . . that every body had been much delighted.

The interruption of his studies by illness was now compounded by the hospitality of his friends. The next three lectures were not yet written and his whole programme was threatened. There was nothing for it but to revise the order of his lectures, returning to his main theme in the fourth discourse. Although he was less than happy, these addresses continued to be well received, and by a visibly increased attendance. Lectures 5, 6, 7 and 8 followed in due course, having benefited from some conveniently occurring vacations. On the Sunday after completion he was appointed to preach another benefaction sermon before the University.

While the family were in Oxford the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough expressed a wish to see his seven year old daughter at Blenheim. When in London she had frequently been in the company of Lady Anne Ashley, also her sister Lady Elizabeth Spencer, and others of the Marlborough family. Nares was anxious for her to go to Blenheim, although on her own, in order to pay due respect to their Graces. The carriage was accordingly sent. She stayed only three days and was shown every kindness. It was understood that they would have been pleased had she consented to stay longer.

The publication of the Bampton Lectures exposed the lecturer to the frustrations common to all authors. The printing alone cost more than his fee for the lectures, while the eventual receipts fell far short of all the expenses that he had incurred. On the other hand, 'real friends to religion were satisfied that I had effectually exposed sophistry . . . and had done some service to the great cause I undertook to defend'. Finally he was proud to have received a 31 page letter 'from that worthy Swiss Philosopher *M. De Luc*, detailing his own labours the same way'.

> On Monday 10th. Feby 1806 Mrs. E. Nares was brought to Bed of her second Son George Walter Adams Nares.

Nares' University friends were confident that he deserved preferment and all that was lacking was his application. This, with the increase in the size of his family, weakened his resolve to seek promotion solely by his own merits. A letter was written to the new Archbishop of Canterbury,* accompanied by a copy of his book, merely intimating to his Grace the importance he placed on the opportunity to move to a living in Norfolk belonging to Merton College, when it should fall vacant. He added that there was good reason to think that the late Archbishop had expressly intended to offer it to him. Not having received any reply or thanks for his book our aspirant wrote to Lord Chancellor Erskine 'as being the son of a Judge well known to him, and for whom he had express'd a great regard. His Lordship obligingly acknowledged my letter but said nothing of preferment'.

However, on 25 April 1806 the Revd Nares was 'commanded' by the Archbishop to preach before him on the occasion of his Primary Visitation at Ashford on 13 June; an invitation which Nares considered an honour and 'great professional distinction'. The

* Charles Manners-Sutton, previously bishop of Norwich.

occasion drew a mixed and crowded congregation, including members of the adjacent military garrison and many clergy. He was most gratified at the close attention paid to his words and the compliments expressed to him at the close. Later, sitting next to the Archbishop at dinner, his Grace proposed his health and 'appeared to omit no civility customary on such occasions'. Without bitterness, he goes on to note that the 1804 Bampton lecturer was rewarded with a rich living. He was assured by his friends that it would be his turn next. It was not to be.

In 1807 an extraordinary sermon, preached by a Mr Francis Stone, came to his notice, 'entirely in abuse of the Creeds and Articles of the established Church'. It also approved a publication which Nares had reviewed and condemned. Outraged, he in turn launched into print, refuting each of the arguments so speciously promoted. His letter was favourably received by the public; the Archbishop himself causing his thanks to be conveyed to him through his relation Archdeacon Nares. The Bishop of London, Dr Porteus, also wrote applauding his words. Perversely, Mr Stone gained far more from the several editions of his sermon than did his critic who had copies of his pamphlet left on his hands. However, justice was, in Nares' view, served when the said Mr Stone was deprived of his living.

A letter reached Edward Nares on 12 July 1807 informing him that the University had been pleased to appoint him to preach one of two sermons recommending the translation of the scriptures into oriental languages. He readily acceded, choosing 29 November for his address. Prior to his arrival at Oxford he learned that the University had conferred upon him a further honour by appointing him as one of their select preachers for the years 1808 and 1809. This was a very flattering testimony to their good opinion. He duly preached his Buchanan Sermon at St Mary's church on the 29th, 'before a very large assemblage . . . and had every reason to be satisfied with the impression it seemed to make'. He had engaged to print this sermon, the cost of which much exceeded his 30 guinea emolument.

> I continued in London by the advice of those who wished me well, in order to have an opportunity of delivering it personally to the Archbp., the Lord Chancellor & the Bishops of London & Durham, to all of whom I was in some degree unknown. I waited upon them accordingly – but they were severally from home. I returned next day to Biddenden for the remainder of the winter.

The receipt of the above appointments had given Edward cause to assess his worldly wealth. It was apparent that he had consciously been living in an unsustainable style, in the hope and belief that his writings and reputation would bring him advancement in his profession. Due to the increase in taxes and other outgoings he could no longer afford to leave Biddenden in the winter months (and employ a curate) but was obliged to face the hardships and social desert of his rural parish – 'without a single *Neighbour* beyond the rank of a Farmer or Grazier, with such bad roads to be incapable of using Horse or Carriage . . . It will be scarcely credible that on the 27th March with 4 horses to my Carriage I have not been able to get within 3 miles of my House'. The anxious father was again concerned for the education of his daughter, now nine years old, and hinted at an addition to his family.

In his anxiety for the future Edward wrote to the Duke of Marlborough. He respectfully explained the inconvenience of his situation which prevented him from doing justice to the allowance which his Grace was good enough to continue. How great an advantage it would be towards the education of his granddaughter, he continued, to procure them a better winter residence, 'even without any increase in income'. He also hinted that many thought he should be provided for in view of his connection with his late wife's family. 'Many more wd. not serve me at the risk of disobliging a person of his high rank and fortune'. The reply from his former patron was mortifying in the extreme. It was intimated that 'since one of my daughters was dead, any further application of that nature would induce them (the Marlboroughs) to deduct half my allowance, *and make me accountable for the remainder'*. This cruel rebuff underlined the precariousness of Nares' position, being dependent jointly on the life of his eldest daughter and the goodwill of the Marlboroughs. Thus he was impelled to write to Lord Eldon. He had succeeded Lord Erskine as Lord Chancellor and a copy of the Bampton Lectures had been inscribed to him. Edward represented the impossibility of advancing the interests of his family as situated, and begged for 'some small thing tenable with Biddenden'. His connection with the law as the son of a judge, grandson of a Master of the Rolls, and grand-nephew to a Chief Baron, were pleaded as extenuation for his importunity. The note concludes, 'I am sadly unworldly! From that time to this, his Lordship has never notic'd either my letter or myself'.

The frustrated cleric had, for the sake of himself and his family,

endeavoured through his works to become better known, but with little success. He reflects that his father's legacy had been spent (not squandered) in many worthy causes; his only extravagance being on books to improve his knowledge. A lot of expenditure, more than he could afford, had been incurred for the comfort of Lady Charlotte, not only because of the splendour to which she was accustomed, but also in the expectation of his elevation on her account. He remarks that he has never gained the smallest advantage from *his own* works. 'The living I now enjoy was given expressly to Lady Charlotte's husband'.

The next three pages of Nares' memoirs are devoted to a dissertation on the inequity of ecclesiastical preferment. Unfavourable comparisons are made with the systems of promotion in the military and legal professions. He is particularly bitter at seeing many of his former juniors now in positions senior to him, also seeing others to whom he had done favours in the past, now ignoring him. There is also a mysterious reference to 'a recently discovered Pecuniary loss of Great importance to myself and Children; a loss wholly unexpected and consequently unprovided for'. Yet again he suppresses his scruples and writes to one who he expected to be favourably disposed, and to whom he had at one time been of service. The Bishop of Durham had been well known to his father, and even better to his uncle Mr Strange. Mr Ashley (future Earl of Shaftesbury and, through their respective wives, a brother-in-law) had presented the Bishop with a copy of Nares' Bampton Lectures and interceded on his behalf. The Bishop's reply was most flattering and encouraging but held out no promise of assistance. This final disappointment prompted Edward, with great regret and many apologies, to renounce his appointment as a Select Preacher, being no longer able to afford the expenses involved.

At this point the 'diarist' pauses to take stock and to count his blessings.

> I have a good Wife, most interesting and affectionate Children, a good House to live in and, owing to my improvements, a prettier place than commonly falls to the lot of persons in my situation. In Summer the Country is beautiful, the Neighbourhood respectable, nor is there a family of any importance with whom we are not on terms of intimacy. I am belov'd in my Parish, nor do I know that I have an Enemy, either among the high or low, the rich or poor, Churchman or Dissenter. I write, preach & argue against the latter – but with so little rancour, and so careful a regard to truth

& moderation, that they all speak of me with respect. . . . I reside constantly during the Summer and generally during the Winter. I preach two sermons every Sunday. I have been able . . . to increase the number of Communicants from three to 100 at the least, who attend the Altar 8 times in the year. Before I was known no Parish could be more averse to the claim of Tythes. But upon a late proposal to raise my Living £100 per annum, I heard not a dissentient voice, and many told me they wd. have given me more. I have at present an Ample income and can maintain my family in a style the most handsome & respectable.

Why then, he asks himself, the desperate search for preferment? He answers himself thus: because he needed to make provision for his family after his death (in the expectation of better things he had failed to save when he had the ability to do so); because he was unable to help those who looked to him for help in their need; because his religious studies and proselytizing left him insufficient time to care for the interests of his family; lastly, for his reputation and the good opinion of his creditors.

On Friday the 16th. of September 1808 at 2 o'clock P.M. My Wife was safely delivered of a Daughter – Baptised . . . *Mary Anne Rolls.*

So the pursuit of advancement continued, encouraged by his friends and the knowledge of his abilities and worthiness. The prospect of Preacher to the Hon. Society of Gray's Inn becoming vacant through the elevation of Dr King to the See of Rochester led to him being urged to apply for the post. It was not to be, the Bishop chose to retain the office. When eventually he did resign, another was appointed. The death of the Bishop of London led to the appointment of Nares' old tutor at Christ Church, Dr John Randolph, Bishop of Bangor, in his stead. Undaunted, Edward seized the opportunity to place his case before him. After a mild reproof for not applying to the Archbishop of his own diocese, the Bishop added, 'I must suppose that he had many other claimants for the Preferments in his own Diocese which, he had reason to believe, had been filled with young lives'.

In May 1809 the attention of the Reverend Edward Nares was diverted towards more contentious religious matters.

(To be continued)

CHAIRMAN'S ENDPIECE

An unassuming person is how I best remember Roy Winstanley. My personal recollections complement the many tributes paid in our Journal, the Daily Telegraph and elsewhere.

Canon Wilson and Roy were the focus of the Society during my first few years as a member – or so it appeared to me. Both worked vigorously to develop a greater insight into Woodforde. In many ways the Society was a by-product of that enthusiasm. They sought to share their interest, excitement and curiosity for Woodforde; and how successful they have been! Their vision is one your committee follows today.

Roy's personality is stamped over those earlier Journals and Diaries. How fortunate we are that his memory will stay with us through his works.

So too, and I hope Roy will forgive me for this, will Roy's typewritten output. Few of us were privileged to receive letters from Roy. Those who did obtained a typewritten communication. Roy's typewriter could not keep up with his grammar, speed or eagerness to capture his thoughts. Keys would simultaneously career towards the parchment! Chance would decide which key was first to impress; Tipp-Ex would correct undue impetuosity.

Roy was I feel a shy and retiring person. It was only his passion for Woodforde that made him leap to the fore and enthral us. For many years his health was sufficiently robust for him to attend the Frolics. You could always tell where he was amongst the members. There would be a quiet and tightly gathered group of members, listening intently as Roy chatted of things Woodfordian. He did not seek such attention, but his enthusiasm was too infectious for us to resist.

I shall miss Roy's great contribution to the Society but intend to build upon his legacy. In looking towards our May Frolic it is the right that we attribute to him our gratitude. He guided the contribution that individuals made to the Frolic – through warmth of friendship; through a common shared interest in Woodforde; through a modesty that accommodated all of us – from academics to persons such as myself with family links. JoAnn Archer has not been too well of late. Characteristically her planning has resulted in an excellent London-based Frolic. Roy's influence will be there. I hope you will join us, either physically or in spirit.

NIGEL CUSTANCE

THE PARSON WOODFORDE SOCIETY

The Society was founded in 1968 by the Rev. Canon L. Rule Wilson and may be said to have two main aims: one, to extend and develop knowledge of James Woodforde's life and the society in which he lived, and the other, to provide opportunity for fellow enthusiasts to meet together from time to time in places associated with the diarist, and to exchange news and views.

Membership of the Parson Woodforde Society is open to any person of the age of 18 years and over upon successful application and upon payment of the subscription then in force, subject only to the power of the committee to limit membership to a prescribed number.

The Annual membership subscription of £12.50 (overseas members £25) becomes due on 1 January and should be forwarded to the Treasurer, Dr David Case, 25 Archery Square, Walmer, Deal, Kent CT14 7JA.

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