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Reviews

Edited by MALCOLM WATKINS

Joseph Bettey, *Morning Stars of the Reformation: Early Religious Reformers in the Bristol Region* (Avon Local History and Archaeology Books, 8, Bristol, 2011), 39pp. £3.50.

Modern research on medieval religion has represented the Bristol region as a locus of remarkable contrasts: a centre of orthodox public piety, as rich and creative in its forms of observance as in its fabric of its buildings, but also a potent and productive crucible of dissent. Recently, of course, it is the orthodox dimension that has held historical attention and (in no small way due to the witness of the wardens of All Saints) Bristol has become something of a byword for the 'vigorous, adaptable, and popular' religion which the revisionists have argued was so characteristic of pre-Reformation England. Joseph Bettey's brief survey refocuses the other Bristol, the region whose reputation for radicals and reformers was recognised by the very first annalist of the Reformation, John Foxe, and which remains enshrined in the heritage of today's city and its environs.

Bettey traces the origins of the tradition to the turn of the 14th century, to the secular clerks who were the first followers of John Wyclif, and the chief agents of transmission for his assault on the institutional church and its sacraments. Briefly, some of the most proficient preachers of popular Wyclifism passed through, finding a receptive audience, at least in the city; although rather adjacent to the region as he defines it, Bettey wants to connect William Ramsbury, a heterodox preacher of Salisbury diocese, whose own notoriety arose after Wyclif's death. It may be the region's place in this first wave of Wyclifism was little more than circumstantial, positioned as it was at the meeting-point of the western dioceses where Oxford clerks had always sought a livelihood. Nonetheless, as Bettey narrates, by the height of the heresy scare there were signs of a substantial sub-culture of heterodoxy between Avon and Severn. Indeed the Bristol region is thought to have contributed the largest cohort to the Lollard rebellion, led by Sir John Oldcastle, which threatened Henry V and his brothers in Jan. 1414. Sedition was defeated, but dissent lived on. Bettey draws together the sporadic cases of heterodoxy preserved in the diocesan records: they were widely dispersed (again straining Bettey's definition of the region) and are diffuse in character, a mix of layfolk and maverick clerks, whose 'Lollard' credentials lay largely in the suspicions of their accusers. A more coherent confessional character may be attributed to the concentrations of anticlerical layfolk who came to the attention of the authorities in the decades either side of 1500 in Bristol, the Avon valley and the Forest of Dean. Such early Tudor 'Lollards' have been found elsewhere in the south and east of England but it appears there was a particular vigour and longevity to these clusters: as late as the 1520s, Roger Edgeworth, prior of the Kalendars, scolded his College Green audience for 'I heare of muche suche dissension among you' (p. 29).

Bettey's final theme is the traces of early Protestantism apparent in the region, especially among the gentry families of South Gloucestershire: James Baynham of Westbury on Severn suffered for the cause of reform in 1531; the body of William Tracy of Doynton was subjected to the greater horror of posthumous burning, following recognition of the reformist sensibility of his will. It was in the same social and cultural context, of engaged and independent-minded gentry, that William Tyndale was nurtured and where he passed his early career as tutor to the Walsh household at Little Sodbury. Although in the region for scarcely more than a year (1522–3), as Bettey recounts, it was here that Tyndale's radicalism first emerged. It is fitting that Bristol should have harboured the only extant, complete copy of Tyndale's New Testament (1526), which passed from the Baptist College to the British Library in 1994.

This is a useful summary account of dissent and radical religion in the pre-Reformation West Country. Bettey is careful not to reprise the traditional Whiggish narrative of a simple progression from old Wyclifism, to early Tudor Lollardy and beyond, to the Lutheranism of the 1520s and the Reformation, but he is right

to remind us that the region which played such a prominent role in the development of dissent in the early modern and modern eras can also lay claim to a rich and colourful medieval past.

JAMES G. CLARK
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Alan F. Williams, W. Gordon Handcock and Chesley W. Sanger (eds.), *John Guy of Bristol and Newfoundland: His Life, Times and Legacy* (St John's, 2010), xxv + 394pp. (32 colour plates). $24.00, ISBN 978-1-897317-94-5. Obtainable from Flanker Press: www.flankerpress.com.

It is perhaps a little surprising that John Guy is not a better known historical figure in his native Bristol. Although not as famous as John Cabot, Guy's work in establishing the first English colony in Canada was nonetheless a great achievement, which played an important part in laying the foundations for future settlement. Founded in 1610, just three years after the establishment of the Jamestown colony in Virginia, Guy's colony at Cupers Cove was one of the earliest permanent European settlements in North America. He was also, as the book's title implies, a man of two worlds, and on his return to Bristol Guy played a significant role in local politics, serving as both MP and Mayor for the city.

Unfortunately, when Alan Williams, the author of this volume, died in 2003, he left a manuscript that, while complete, required significant revision before it was ready for publication. Gordon Handcock and Chesley Sanger, former PhD Students of Williams, are therefore to be praised greatly for stepping in as editors and ensuring that this valuable work was not lost. The result is a significant scholarly contribution with an engaging narrative.

Guy's life and works are followed in chronological order, with some divergences into the wider development of Newfoundland colonisation and mercantile Bristol. The early chapters set the scene, describing the Bristol that Guy would have known in his early merchant career and examining English activities in the Newfoundland fishery before 1610. Williams then moves on to examine the founding of the Newfoundland Company, its goals, and the instructions given to Guy prior to his departure. The heart of the book, however, are the chapters covering Guy's years in Newfoundland between 1610 and 1613. Based on a detailed examination of the surviving documents, particularly letters back to England from Guy and some of the other colonists, Williams paints a vivid picture of the perilous, but also hopeful, nature of life in these early days. Taking in building work, harassment by pirates, a perilous voyage of exploration, and a touching account of first contact with the native population, this section is a compelling read and a fascinating insight into the achievements of this small group of West Countrymen as they fought for survival in a strange and distant land.

Following Guy's abrupt return to England for the final time in 1613, the focus shifts back to Bristol and his political career – although future attempts at colonising, including the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers 'Bristol's Hope', are briefly covered. With his reputation no doubt boosted by his time in Newfoundland, Guy became one of the leading members of Bristol's civic community, serving as Mayor in 1618–19 and MP from 1620. Up to his death in 1629 Guy was clearly a significant figure in Bristol and, although details on his mercantile activities are lacking, he was undoubtedly a successful merchant, leaving his family a number of estates in the country.

The penultimate chapter reflects on John Guy's life, his ongoing legacy, and how his achievements have been remembered in the four hundred years since the founding of his colony. Finally, there is an examination of the archaeological evidence (updated to include work done since 2003), establishing the location of the Cupers Cove colony and evidence for ongoing occupation in the later 17th century.

Throughout, the text is supported by maps and images, all reproduced in the extensive central colour section. For those wishing to delve deeper, there are also several appendices. As well as transcriptions of related documents, these include supplementary sections of text providing more background detail, and also an assortment of lists of relevant individuals (including the first colonists, members of the London and Bristol Newfoundland Company, Bristol Merchant Venturers, and John Guy's family). On the other hand, as the editors have readily admitted, it should be noted that as a result of Williams' untimely death the references are, in places, not as complete as would be desired.

Slight weaknesses are the relatively thin coverage of Guy's career as a merchant and indeed of the overseas trade of Bristol as a whole in these years. It is unfortunate that Williams never had the chance to engage with recent work on Bristol's overseas trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, which has the potential to both provide a more detailed background to the commercial world from which the Newfoundland ventures sprung, but also to furnish more information about Guy himself. The recently digitised 1600/1 Port Book, for example, adds to the somewhat sparse information on John Guy's early merchant career.[1] Further examination of the early 17th-century customs accounts will almost certainly reveal more details of Guy's trading activities.

In his preface, written in 2001, Williams said of the book that it 'will have achieved its purpose if it explains Guy's remarkable but little-known activities in the New World to West Countrymen ... and satisfactorily reveals his life and achievements in England to Canadians'. Although perhaps a little weaker on the Bristol side of Guy's life and works, it certainly achieves these aims. For any student of Bristol's history this is a very worthwhile read, and adds much to our knowledge of this period when the city was broadening its horizons, and finally beginning to embrace the Atlantic World.

RICHARD STONE
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Jonathan Harlow (ed.), *The Ledger of Thomas Speed, 1681–1690* (Bristol Record Society vol. 63, Bristol, 2011), liii + 553pp. (including DVD). £15.00 + postage, ISBN 978–0-901538–32-1. Obtainable from: Bristol Record Office (Record Society Books), 'B' Bond Warehouse, Smeaton Road, Bristol, BS1 6XN.

Thomas Speed (1623–1703) was a fascinating character; a member of the Society of Merchant Venturers and one of the most prosperous Bristol merchants of his generation, but he was also a Quaker and a leading figure in the early years of the movement in Bristol. The ledger reproduced in this volume covers virtually the last decade of Speed's merchant career (from 1681–90) and gives a unique insight into his business and personal dealings, as well as the wider community into which he fitted. As was usual practice at the time, the ledger records Speed's household expenses alongside those of his business, so in addition to a valuable glimpse into the workings of a 17th-century merchant, we are also privileged to some intimate details of Speed's life. Alongside the exploits of Speed's reprobate heir Jahzeel, potential political conspiracy, and his forced return from retirement, the ledger tells the tale of Speed's third and fourth marriages, his failing eyesight (resulting in the purchase of a pair of spectacles), and ultimately the winding down of his business.

Merchant's ledgers are unfortunately rare (indeed this is the only example to survive from 17th-century Bristol) and thus Speed's ledger makes for an interesting comparison with that of John Smythe, one of Bristol's greatest merchants in the 16th century, which has already been reproduced by Bristol Record Society.[2] Unlike Smythe, Speed appears to have been scrupulously honest in all of his dealings, including those with the authorities. Unfortunately, therefore, Speed's ledger will not provide an opportunity for further investigations into Bristol's illicit trade, such as those carried out by Evan Jones on Smyth's accounts.[3] Nevertheless, Speed's extensive trading activities provide an insight into both the old and the new branches of Bristol's trade at this crucial point in its commercial history. The crux of Speed's business was his trade with southern Europe, exchanging worsted stockings for Spanish wine, but he also had an interest in trade with the burgeoning American colonies.

Jonathan Harlow's introduction provides an excellent window into the contents of the ledger. Drawing on the great body of work conducted for his PhD thesis, he first sets the scene by briefly examining the trade of late 17th-century Bristol. Although short, this is a useful account and provides some interesting insights based on the Society of Merchant Venturers Wharfage Books. He then moves on to provide a narrative

1. http://hdl.handle.net/1983/1308, accessed 08/12/2011.
2. J. Vanes (ed.), *The Ledger of John Smythe 1538–1550* (Bristol Record Society, 28, 1975).
3. E. Jones, *Inside the Illicit Economy: Reconstructing the Smugglers' Trade of Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Ashgate, 2012).

account of Speed's life, including the years before and after the ledger, before moving on to more detailed examinations of Speed's accounting practices, his trade, and lending. This examination represents one of very few detailed published studies to date of a 17th-century provincial merchant, and provides a great insight into the workings of his overseas trading business, including who he dealt with and how he raised his capital, but also other aspects of the merchant's life such as the eventual move into property ownership. What results is a fascinating portrait of Speed, and a glimpse of the principles of a man who was on the one hand highly successful, but who also bucks the trend of supposed 'Protestant Capitalists'. Honesty and the interests of family and friendship drove Speed's business, rather than the quest for maximum profits.

In terms of the volume itself, the text is perhaps a little on the small side (which is certainly understandable given the length of the document) but very clearly laid out and easily readable. The transcription is accurate and on the whole faithful to the original, although there are a few modernisations and expansions of obscure abbreviations to make the text useable for modern readers. In addition a DVD has been enclosed providing high quality images of the entire text at one image per double page folio, allowing readers to compare the text with the original ledger if they wish. The author has also recast the ledger in a journal format, and would be happy to make a spreadsheet of this available by email to anyone who is interested. It is perhaps a shame that this was not also included on the DVD, although an electronic version will certainly extend the possibilities for working with the ledger. The volume also includes a number of appendices and helpful interpretive aids. The appendices include a set of family trees covering Speed's four marriages; a useful explanation of the various forms of currency, bills, and methods of payment mentioned in the text; and a conversion chart for capacity measures, which demystifies the assortment of tuns, rundlets, tierces, and the like which are referred to in the ledger. There is also a glossary explaining some of the more obscure terms, and an extensive index. This is organised by folio and account number rather than page number, which feels a little awkward at first but does have the advantage of applying to both the digital and printed versions, and is more accurate in the frequent cases where more than one account appears on a page.

This volume is a valuable addition to the growing canon of texts which shed light on early modern Bristol and its merchant community. Speed's story and the insight into his personality are fascinating in themselves, but the ledger can also provide much more than this. Through it we are also provided with evidence for the literally hundreds of individuals with whom he dealt, but perhaps more importantly, an all too rare insight into how early modern merchants ran their businesses.

RICHARD STONE
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Jill Barlow (ed.), *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester 1700–1834* (Gloucestershire Record Series, 24, BGAS 2011), xxvi + 196pp., 5 tables. £30 (£22.50 to BGAS members).

Gloucester in the 18th and early 19th centuries was an economic power-house driven by the enterprise of its traders. A diligent mercer could accumulate a portfolio of property and bonds; James Wood (d. 1836), a third-generation draper-banker, had a fortune close to £1m.[4] The right to trade was initially limited to registered freemen, and one of the ways to the freedom was by registered apprenticeship, for which young men flocked to Gloucester from a wide area of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire. The bare names of the traders and their dates of registration are given in the registers of freemen, published in 1991,[5] but for their careers one must go to the registers of apprentices, of which Jill Barlow has already published those for 1595–1700.[6] Her present volume contains more than 2400 entries and concludes the series, because the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 gave trading rights to everyone and made further

4. C.H. Savory, *Life and Anecdotes of Jemmy Wood* (Cirencester, n.d.).
5. *A Calendar of the Registers of the Freemen of the City of Gloucester 1641–1838* (Glos. Record Series, 4, BGAS 1991).
6. *A Calendar of the Registers of Apprentices of the City of Gloucester 1595–1700* (Glos. Record Series, 14, BGAS 2001).

registration unnecessary. Within the volume the register for 1700–42 gives for each apprentice the name, occupation and home of his father, together with his master and trade; the register for 1765–1834 omits details of the father but adds the premium paid. In place of the register for 1742–65, which is missing, she has appended equivalent records from the national stamp duty returns. Comprehensive indexes enable the reader to trace a man's career as apprentice and master or to study particular trades and subjects.

In a masterly introduction, she sets out the relevant legislation and identifies historical trends. The number of apprentices registered declined from about 50 a year at the beginning of the 18th century to about 10 a year at the end, when the 1563 Statute of Artificers (which required anyone setting up in trade to serve an apprenticeship) was no longer enforced. Surprisingly the population was becoming less mobile, as the proportion of non-Gloucestrians among the apprentices, which had fallen from 77% to 47% through the 17th century, fell again to 39% in the early 18th. After 1765 more sophisticated trades began to appear, notably printing, upholding (i.e. upholstery) and the making of brushes, umbrellas and perukes. The growing factory system attracted a flood of apprentice pin-makers whose premiums of £10 or less were paid by municipal charities; in practice their numbers were swelled, as Mrs Barlow points out, by pauper apprentices who were bound by parishes under the 1601 Poor Law and do not appear in the registers. At the other extreme were the apprentices of trading 'princes' such as the brush-maker Samuel Jones who commanded a premium of £105 in 1804, the bookseller and printer John Washbourne (£150 in 1816), the chemist John Lovett (£150 in 1822), the ironmonger John Tovey (£157 in 1810) and mercers like Edwin Jeynes (£210 in 1788).

Of some masters a little more is known. The ironmonger John Ellis, who took apprentices in 1730 and 1736, used Shropshire iron to make nails and belts as cheap as those of Birmingham and Stourbridge. Samuel Burroughs, who simply called himself a gentleman when taking apprentices in 1703 and 1704, was a grocer whose gentility derived from his landed property in Gloucester, Brockworth and Littledean.[7] The draper-banker James Wood, who has already been mentioned and took an apprentice every seven years, was reputed a miser, but the premiums he charged (£126 in 1807, £99 in 1814, £49 17*s.* 6*d.* in 1820) suggest that he was less interested in exploiting prospective apprentices than in avoiding the higher rates of stamp duty. Jill Barlow's two volumes are a remarkable achievement and will promote further welcome research into a class of men who kept the city prosperous for 240 years.

JOHN RHODES
Gloucester

J. Barry (ed.), *The Diary of William Dyer: Bristol in 1762* (Bristol Record Society vol. 64, 2012), 246pp., 2 maps. ISBN 978-0-901533-31-4.

Why are diaries so fascinating? Is it because they enable us to pry into what would otherwise be the author's privacy? Is there something attractively transgressive about reading someone else's unpublished diary, an action which would probably be regarded as impermissible in the case of a contemporary? Similarly, in the case of a diary from a past age, but one whose author gave instructions (as did William Dyer) that his diary should be destroyed on his death? Or is it because the diarist's focus on the mundane and the humdrum is a welcome change from the grandiose generalisations and abstractions propounded by professional historians? Do diaries share characteristics with the soap opera, or with tabloid journalism? Are they a form of entertainment? Not that diaries licence us to suspend our critical faculties: even if they do not sink to that lowest form of archival life, the diaries of professional politicians written with a view to publication, point-scoring and profit, diaries can be sodden with narcissism, self-justification and spin, so they need to be deconstructed, interpreted and evaluated just like any other source.

The diary of William Dyer (1730–1801), however, is not of that sort. Dyer was no literary stylist, no Aubrey or Pepys. His abbreviated sentences somewhat resemble modern texting, prosaic and verging on the pooterish. As Dr Barry observes, Dyer's life seems to have been free of both culture and politics, which may not be altogether surprising, as the former was rather under-represented in Bristol in 1762. He was not from

7. Peter Ripley, 'The Economy of the City of Gloucester 1660–1740', *Trans. BGAS*, 98, pp. 142, 145.

Bristol's wealthy elite, though he worked for some of them – not that there will have been much polish to rub off. Nor did he hobnob with the nationally famous, though his contacts included the Wesleys, Priestley and Jenner. Trained as an apothecary, he practised medicine intermittently, with a particular interest, unscientific but enquiring, in the application of electricity. One wonders what Dyer might have put his mind to had he been stimulated by non-commercial education. He acted as clerk (that is, as manager, secretary and bookkeeper) to various businesses, in two of which he held partnerships. One, in the manufacture of gunpowder, was short-lived, but not for the reason one might surmise. Fairly late in life Dyer turned his medical skills from ailing people to ailing businesses and found fortune, often unsolicited, as an insolvency consultant. So Dyer is interesting as a sample from the largely undocumented and under-researched stratum below the upper crust of the rich and influential, a layer which in places like Bristol and Gloucester must have been populous and important to the functioning of the city's economy.

Dr Barry's introduction describes the diary and its provenance; pinpoints its singularities; evaluates its importance; sketches a brief biography of its author and his family; describes the various sorts of work he did and their success or otherwise; outlines Dyer's social environment and how he spent his day and year (Dyer's marriage was childless, and Dr Barry speculates why Dyer spent so much time out and about); and analyses the journeys he made and the people he visited, many of whom had religious inclinations. That leads into an appraisal of Dyer's own religious opinions, beliefs and practices: an Anglican, Dyer did not attend either of his local churches, but tended to follow preachers with whom he sensed affinity, across several denominations; his beliefs seem to have straddled the boundary between religion and superstition. That leads to a consideration of the Lamb Inn affair (regarding which Dr Barry has made notable contributions to the now voluminous literature on witchcraft and attitudes to it: in 1762 being a witch was no longer a crime, but pretending to be one was.) There follows a sketch of Dyer's medical practice. Dr Barry makes a case, not over-stated, for regarding the diary as an attempt at, or means towards, self-improvement and a striving towards a sense of self-identity.

The Lamb Inn affair dominates the diary for 1762. Two girls in the innkeeper's family claimed to have experienced poltergeist and other phenomena the previous November, so the second entry hurls the reader into the action *in medias res*. There were allegations of witchcraft, of manipulation to reduce the value of the property, and of unfair business practices. Most people regarded the claims as fraudulent, but Dyer defended them. There seems to have been no litigation, so perhaps it was normal for Bristol. He acknowledged that he did not know what was going on, and expressed credulous fear, even when the supposed evil spirit responded to requests for information by making scratching noises. Like many of his contemporaries in a time of social and intellectual change – Hannah More, for example – Dyer comes across as a man of contradictions: versed in other people's businesses but not very successful himself as an entrepreneur; devout and conformist in beliefs, but ecumenical in attendance; rational and with an interest in the scientific, but crossing the indistinct boundaries between religion and superstition and trusting to the point of gullibility; family-centred, but spending a lot of time out and about; keen on self-improvement but apparently lacking ambition or the drive to do much about it, apart from keeping and epitomising a diary.

This is a meticulously edited transcription. The commentary and footnotes are thorough, showing the editor's detailed knowledge of the minutiae of Bristol life in the mid eighteenth century, which must surely be where the value of the diary, and of this edition, subsists. The three indexes of people, places and subjects are comprehensive, and I found only one pagination error. A separate biographical index, giving information about the principal individuals named, is helpful, because many of them are not much known or referred to in the standard local histories. The biographical index would have been even more valuable had it referred to its sources, for which the reader must truffle in the footnotes to the introduction or to the text. Perhaps there is a case for a comprehensive and detailed study of eighteenth century Bristol individuals, their networks and connections – familial, commercial, social and religious – of the sort pioneered by Ronald Syme within the narrative framework of his *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), and developed by later ancient historians such as Ernst Badian and some of the prosopographical work of historians of British politics like Lewis Namier. Even so, Dr Barry has given us a useful addition to the social history literature of Bristol, extending the view of the *dramatis personae* some way below the top of the bill.

Dyer's is the second diary of which Bristol Record Society has recently published an edited transcript, Dr Madge Dresser having edited that of Sarah Fox in that Society's vol. 55 (2003). The manuscript diary for 1763

of the south Gloucestershire mad-doctor Joseph Mason, held by the medical history library of the University of Bristol, is mostly what is nowadays classed as a spiritual diary, likely to be of interest mostly to students of religious belief and its psychology but also with much relevant to the history of the treatment of mental disorders. A few extracts have been published (e.g. *Trans. BGAS*, 129 (2011) at p. 208), and a transcript exists: see Hayden, the Revd. R., *Diaries – Do they exist anymore?* Baptist Historical Society Newsletter accessed July 2012 (http://www.baptisthistory.org.uk/bhs_newsletter/Newsletter-0506.pdf). One wonders whether there may not be more local diaries from this period in private hands, and Bristol Record Society might perform a public service if it were to ferret them out and have them transcribed, edited and published.

WILLIAM EVANS

Anne Stott, *Wilberforce: Family and Friends* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 13 black and white illus., three family trees. ISBN 978-0-10-569939-1

Abolition, first of the slave trade and then of slavery in British jurisdictions, is so important to the economic, social and cultural history of Bristol and its hinterland that a scholarly biography of England's principal anti-slavery campaigner calls for notice. Anne Stott's *Wilberforce: family and friends* differs from William Hague's *William Wilberforce: the life of the great anti-slave trade campaigner* (Harper Press, 2007) in several respects. *Wilberforce: family and friends* is not a political biography: it narrates Wilberforce's entry into politics and his early support for the younger Pitt, but does not go into the political detail of Wilberforce's lifelong campaign. For example, Thomas Clarkson is mentioned barely half a dozen times, and then only obliquely. Rather, *Wilberforce: family and friends* is a study of the emotional, and particularly the religious, character of Wilberforce and his extended family and close friends. Those friends feature prominently, because although the title of the book is not misleading and Wilberforce occupies about two thirds of it, the narrative of Wilberforce's life serves as a structure for the study of the Clapham set. (That term, I suggest, is preferable to the received 'sect', because the beliefs and practices of the members of the group are indistinguishable from those of other contemporary Anglican evangelicals. Perhaps the publisher's marketing department deemed that a title like 'Henry Thornton and his circle' or 'The Clapham set and their interrelationships' would not sell so many copies).

Whilst Stott empathises sensitively with her subjects, Wilberforce does not come across as an attractive character – though not nearly as unattractive as Zachary Macaulay. Fervently pious from childhood, Wilberforce attended Cambridge as an idle wastrel. Inheriting great wealth from the family business, he aspired to the status of a landowning gentleman, via the route of a seat in parliament. He bought his election for the borough of Hull, aligned himself with the younger Pitt, opportunistically switched to the Yorkshire county constituency, was converted to vital religion, and then seems, not being minded to take orders from a political party, to have cast about for a cause by which to further his ambitions. He settled on the abolition of slavery and the reform of morals: causes, a cynic might observe, that were not likely to lose him many Yorkshire votes. Desperately in need of affection, Wilberforce encouraged and then disappointed several young women before alighting on Barbara Spooner, who had no interest in politics, could handle neither household nor children, but shared Wilberforce's religious obsessions and gave him the loyal devotion his self-absorption craved. When his county candidacy ceased to be unopposed, Wilberforce moved to a pocket borough. Dogged by ill health (he had a prolapsed rectum and what a later age might have called irritable bowel syndrome, for which he took laudanum), and lacking the financial nous that he might have learned had his wealth been earned, Wilberforce spent his way through the family money, eventually having to sell his house and making one ill-judged move after another. On his death he left his widow and children inadequately provided-for. Much admired during his lifetime – and since – by modern standards Wilberforce's behaviour and attitudes seem moralistic, over-religious and not altogether consistent with mainstream Christian beliefs: his reactions to the deaths of young children, for example, seem to modern eyes unfeeling and callous.

Stott's study is scholarly and well-documented. She makes extensive and telling use of letters, diaries and other personal sources, which she quotes to catch her subjects' motives and emotions. The style is lucid, the judgments reasoned and measured. The point of view of women is often taken, and the book may come to be

regarded as an excellent example of feminist literature, but it is free from the strident hatred of the male that mars much feminist writing. Readers who enjoyed Stott's *Hannah More: the First Victorian* (Oxford University Press, 2003) will not be disappointed.

Because the political aspects of Wilberforce's life are secondary to her approach, Stott makes little mention of Bristol or its people, though the narrative is occasionally seasoned by comment, usually astute, from Hannah More. But three local episodes stand out. First, an entertaining account of the elopement of Clementina Clerke from Selina Mills's Park Street school for young ladies, and the prosecution and sensational acquittal of Richard Vining Perry. Second, Wilberforce and his wife's inexplicable negotiation of an engagement between their daughter Elizabeth and West India merchant Charles Pinney (of The Georgian House) and, when James Stephen had pointed out the obvious difficulty, their naïve (or wilfully self-serving?) casuistic attempts to distinguish morally between a proprietor (who must have owned slaves) and a West India merchant (who merely held mortgages on proprietors' plantations and other property, dealt in sugar, and drew income from the trade without actually having direct contact with slaves or slave traders). Third, the importance of Bath not just as spa, social centre and tubercular graveyard, but as a blatant marriage market with the 18th-century forerunner of speed-dating. No wonder Jane Austen, dragged there by patriarchal decision, disliked the place.

This is an absorbing and worthwhile study, humane and empathetic in welcome contrast to the moral and emotional sterility of many a political biography. One disappointment is the quality of the illustrations. Most attractive are the colour versions, on the paper jacket, of the prenuptial portraits of Wilberforce and Barbara; those in the book are dingy and some are too small: a hilarious Cruikshank cartoon showing a wizened Wilberforce holding up his top hat to cover the unfeasibly large attributes of Westmacott's *Wellington as Achilles* is so reduced that text and caption are needed to explain the joke. A map of Clapham Common and environs, showing the Clapham set's fenceless houses (the area is now built over) would have been informative. One gets the impression that the publishers have skimped: not surprising these days in the case of academic monographs, but less so when the subject matter is a national hero. Copy-editing may have been skimped as well: 'council' for 'counsel', twice, is not what is expected of an academic publisher.

WILLIAM EVANS

Anton Bantock, *Not All Came Back: A Somerset Farmer's Son at Gallipoli* (The Malago Society and Redcliffe Press, 2010), 103pp., numerous illustrations. £10. ISBN 978-1-906593-62-9.

This book is based on the diary and pocket book of Sergeant-Major Sydney Llewellyn Hall (1893–1915), who served with 1st Field Company of the Royal Naval Division (R.N.D.) Engineers in Gallipoli, augmented by letters to and from his parents, brother, sisters, extended family and friends, and notes made in an almanac by his maternal uncle, Edwin Light Wyatt (1849–1946).[8] These sources are drawn together in a fine account by the author, Dr Anton Bantock, a retired teacher and honorary graduate of the University of Bristol who, with the aid of contemporary photographs, a detailed knowledge of Bishopsworth and Bedminster, reconnaissance in Gallipoli, and his skills as an artist and cartographer, has brought to life the contrasting worlds of Edwardian Bristol and Gallipoli.

Sydney Hall was the son of Benjamin Hall, a substantial gentleman farmer of Fillwood Farm, Bishopsworth, whose family had been tenants of the Temple Estate since the sixteenth century. The house has now gone; purchased by Bristol City Council, it was demolished *c.*1950 for development, and the fields subsequently covered with houses.

Sydney was educated at Merrywood Grammar School, Bristol, and the University of Bristol, where he studied mechanical engineering, obtaining a B.Sc. in 1913. He was an early member of the University's

8. Wyatt was a pillar of St Peter's Church, Bishopsworth, then a small village in North Somerset, but later swallowed in the post-war housing developments initiated by Bristol Corporation, and chief cashier to Messrs Burges, Ware and Salmon, solicitors of Marsh Street, Bristol.

Office Training Corps (O.T.C), founded in 1911, joining as a cadet at the outbreak of war in August 1914, before entering the R.N.D. in September of that year.

The book provides some fascinating glimpses of life in the early years of the University which, although founded as a university college in 1876, only gained its charter in 1909. A letter from a former fellow student, Jai Ran, his 'old and sincere friend', dated Feb. 1915, and by then an assistant engineer at Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency, is testimony to the fellowship which existed across the ethnic and religious divisions at the University, and expresses the hope that the war will result in 'more sympathy between white, black and brown'.

Three family letters give an account of a night operation held at Bishopsworth by the University's O.T.C. on 30 April/1 May. Lieutenant McBain and two 'somebodies in khaki', Sergeant James and Private Cope-Proctor, motored over to co-ordinate the operations with Sydney's father: 'We were surprised to find how nervous Lieut. McBain was in company.' Sydney's younger brother was disappointed that the exercise was so tame, 'as the attackers only attacked [with blank cartridges] a couple of rifle pits in Murphy's ground, instead of coming on into their grand barb wire entanglements and tearing their clothes whilst they were shot at.' The exercise ended at about 4:00 a.m. when the cadets had their coffee in the yard behind the barn. Mrs Hall remarked on how tired they were. Sydney's sister Dorothy wrote:

> 'Don't be surprised to hear that I've been seeing round the University, as Lieut. McBain said he will at any time be delighted to show me the chemical part, while Mr James and Mr Cope-Proctor will be very pleased to take me round the rifle range etc.! ... they were exceedingly nice when here and not a bit swanky. The new University building on the Blind Asylum site is to be a beauty – magnificent architecture after the style of Redcliffe church, so Lieut. McBain says.'

Lieutenant James William McBain, F.R.S., (1882–1926) later served as the first Professor of Physical Chemistry at the University between 1919 and his death. Sydney, already a seasoned veteran, wrote wryly to his mother on 28 May in response to her account of the O.T.C.'s night exercise: 'The attack must have been a farce. I wish I'd been there to show 'em...'.

The book also provides some charming vignettes of several local Church of England clergymen, particularly the handsome Vicar of St John, Bedminster, the Revd. John Baghot de la Bere, who engaged in a warm flirtation with Sydney's sister, Dorothy. In May 1915 he walked over Dundry Hill from Flax Bourton in the company of the Revd. John Bateman-Champain, vicar of St Mary Redcliffe, to take tea at Fillwood. However, all hopes of a *tête-à-tête* with Dorothy were dashed by the, to him, unwelcome and unexpected company of the wife and daughters of the vicar of Bishopsworth. Disappointed in his object he promised to come up to Fillwood for a game of tennis. Dorothy writes of him with humour and affection, reporting subsequently that 'the shocking' Revd. de la Bere had fulfilled his promise to visit Fillwood: 'He <u>didn't</u> come for tennis, but, he <u>did</u> come for tea and talk.' Soon the Vicar was promising to help with haymaking and was said to be almost 'living at Fillwood lately'. Dorothy, at once both flattered and mildly shocked, called him 'an old hypocrite' for saying that he was too busy to play tennis with the Misses Gardiner, only to arrive at Fillwood to play tennis with her. When the annual Sunday school outing to Weston was not possible, Mr de la Bere asked if he could bring the children, numbering 1,000, to Fillwood.

Sydney knew the Vicar, perhaps through the University's Church of England Guild, and thought well of him. Writing home he comments 'Dor's account of Mr de la Bere and co. was very humorous; to put it coldly, I bet he's a scream.' Sydney's feelings of fellowship for the Vicar, who had recently been vaccinated in preparation for serving as a padre in France, were returned. Mr de la Bere wrote to Sydney on 15 June 1915, saying: 'I thought you might like a word from one who is proud to be numbered among your friends'. On 9 June 1915 Dorothy wrote to her brother about a visit from the Rt. Revd. George Nixon who had recently become the second bishop of the re-established see of Bristol in 1914:

> 'Bishopsworth was honoured yesterday by a visit from the Lord Bishop, who went to the schools, then to see the sick of the parish; back to tea at the vicarage, where the communicants were invited to meet him at 6:30 p.m. Of course, we turned out in our numbers and back to a service in church at 8 o'clock. The bishop is very nice indeed. We like him better on the vicarage lawn than in church'.

Sydney set sail from Avonmouth for the Dardanelles on St David's Day, 1915. His journey took him *via* Gibraltar and Malta to the island of Lemnos which had been transferred to Greece from Turkey in 1913 following the second Balkan War, and from where he was sent with the troops on Lemnos for training in Egypt, arriving in Alexandria on 27 March 1915, before returning to Lemnos on 18 April. His diary and letters reveal a lively sense of humour and an engaging prose style, almost on a par with that of his sister, Dorothy. Talking of his recent promotion he compares himself to the quasi-sinister, quasi-comic gaoler, Wilfrid Shadbolt, in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Yeoman of the Guard*: 'Provost Sergeant means policeman in general, head jailor and assistant tormentor'.

The landings began on 25 April 1915. John Masefield, who had trained as an officer in the mercantile marine in *H.M.S. Conway*, was there with the Red Cross, and has left an unforgettable description of what he witnessed. Sydney disembarked on 28 April and wrote movingly, as did so many other young men in similar circumstances: 'I thank God for my country, relatives, friends, and pray for His mercy and blessing on all.' The horrors the troops encountered: barbed wire, constant shelling, machine gun fire and the sea running with blood are only briefly touched upon in his letters and diary.

Increasingly the letters from Bishopsworth, with their news of births, marriages, the lovely weather, haymaking, summer frocks, a new hat, price rises, tennis and cricket, sound unreal. There were problems in obtaining servants. His sister Win asked jokingly if Sydney 'can find them a Turk?' His mother talked of eating new potatoes every Sunday, the blight on the roses, the need for rain, and the excellent crop of black cherries.

In contrast, we learn in the historical accounts of the allied casualties. The Turkish troops, well-trained by the German general Liman von Sanders, who were well entrenched, and held the almost vertical cliffs in the bloody first battle of Krithia. 630 out of 932 men of the Lancashire Fusiliers fell storming the barbed wire; 63 of the 80 naval ratings were killed or injured; and half the officers (of whom Sydney had formed a poor opinion on the voyage to Lemnos) were killed. The second battle of Krithia resulted in almost equally dramatic losses for equally insignificant gains. The third action, an attempt to reach the Anzacs hemmed in on the cliff tops 20 miles away, resulted in huge losses and also failed in its objectives. The R.N.D. was cut to pieces, sustaining 1,170 casualties, and two battalions were amalgamated.

There is no news in the letters of the war in France, but letters to Sydney mention the sinking of the *R.M.S. Lusitania* on 7 May 1915, and the Germans (or enemy aliens) having a 'warm time' subsequently, particularly in Liverpool (the vessel's home port) and London.

Sydney clearly valued his letters from home with their news of family and friends and his previous life, and reminded him why he was in Gallipoli, where he had to endure plagues of flies which fed on the unburied dead and the other detritus of war; boredom; exhaustion; frustration at the stalemate; dysentery; the difficulties of washing his clothes; the lack of sleep and the noise of shells. His mother, like all mothers, was concerned that he might not be able to get clean clothes and enquired if he needed soap. His sister Dorothy wrote humorously of her ruthless efforts to exterminate flies in the house in sympathy with her brother's situation, while also telling him of the good crop of wheat, barley, potatoes and peas. How remote from him they must have seemed.

This was the last news he received from home. He was killed by a Turkish shell on 21 July 1915 at the base depot on the sea shore, aged only 22. He was buried at Cape Helles, and the high regard in which Sydney was held by his men is demonstrated by the fact that his grave was the only one belonging to a member of the First Field Company to be marked with a headstone. The stone, in the form of a Celtic cross, was quarried and carved by a member of the same division, Sapper Beach, who had been a stone mason before the war; it was erected under shellfire by his friend, Sergeant Alfred Ball. Sadly it was removed after the war and disposed of by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, to be replaced with the standard grave marker. Sergeant Major Hall's name was subsequently carved on the war memorial at the entrance to the Great Hall of the University of Bristol's Wills Memorial Building, which was unveiled in 1924. The service was conducted by the former chaplain to the O.T.C., the Revd. Dr de Lacy Evans O'Leary, Vicar of Christ Church, Barton Hill, who had served as a chaplain with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force in 1916 and would have known Hall through their membership of the University's Church of England Guild.

The family notified the University of his death and subsequently received a letter of condolence from Professor John Munro, the head of the Faculty of Engineering, who was then holidaying in Ross-shire.

At the start of the new academic year, Frank H. Bullock, secretary of the University's Engineering Society, wrote to say how Sydney had 'contributed greatly to the success of the society, both by his papers and by his helpful criticism', praising his ability and keenness and his readiness to help others. The University of Bristol's *Nonesuch* magazine (vol. IV, No.14, Dec. 1915) carried both an appreciation and a photograph of him in uniform by the noted Bristol photographer, Oswald Veale of Victoria Street. Sydney was clearly held in great esteem by those who knew him. Not least of the many qualities which endeared him to others was his sense of humour. In a delightful letter he describes 'the holy kiss' in the Greek church, and opines that this is the way for an English parson to fill his church!

The Gallipoli campaign dragged on for a further five months. The Suvla Bay offensive which began on 6 August 1915 was another costly failure, and the allied forces, British, French and Anzac, were finally withdrawn between 19 and 20 December, having achieved nothing except the resignation from the cabinet of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill. In 1934, Kemal Mustafa, *aka* Atatürk, wrote movingly of the fallen dead of Gallipoli: 'There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehmets to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours'.

Dr Bantock's detailed and moving account complements the book written about Lieutenant Stanley Booker, a former pupil of Bristol Grammar School, who was killed at a similar age in Flanders, and whose letters are now housed by the Grammar School. Booker's life and death are celebrated in a section of the new Museum of Bristol, based in M Shed, and it is to be hoped that the curator responsible for this will also find the space to record something of the life of Sergeant-Major Sydney Llewellyn Hall, which is told so sensitively in these pages. The author provides much that is new, conjuring up the contrasting worlds which Sydney inhabited in fact and in memory during the last five months of his life.

A reader who is unfamiliar with Edwardian Bristol may be overwhelmed by the number of names and relationships mentioned in the text, and the book could usefully include at least two genealogical tables detailing the Wyatt and Hall families and their connections. A page of *dramatis personae* to act as a reference of lesser characters would also be helpful. However, this book is a valuable addition to the material already available on Gallipoli, but most of all it is a moving and intensely personal account of one man's experience of the horror of war.

MARTIN J. CROSSLEY EVANS

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