

# FROM QUAKER TRADERS TO ANGLICAN GENTRY: THE RISE OF A SOMERSET DYNASTY

J.H. BETTEY

*Presidential Address Given at East Coker, 11 May 1991*

This is the account of the remarkable rise of a family within a few generations from comparatively humble and commercial origins to a position of wealth and power as one of the leading gentry families of Somerset. Those involved are the Alloways of Minehead and Bridgwater, the Prankards of Somerton and Bristol, and the Dickinsons of Bristol and Kingweston. The early members of these families were all Quakers, and the Quaker influence played an important part in their business life and in their rise to fortune and gentry status.<sup>1</sup>

The story begins with the Alloway family who were Quaker merchants trading from Minehead during the second part of the 17th century. William Alloway, who died in 1686, had built up a prosperous trade, buying fish, especially herring, from various ports in Devon and Cornwall and shipping them to France, Spain, Ireland and the Canary Islands. His ships also carried cider and cheese, and they returned with wool, linen, serge, hides, tallow, tobacco and hops from Ireland, and with brandy, wine and dyestuffs from France and Spain. He also had a large trade in salt which was brought down the Severn from Droitwich in 'trows' or barges and used to salt the fish before export. Many of his cargoes, especially brandy and wine, were shipped directly to Bristol, and the annual settlement of some of his accounts was made at Bristol Fair, held in July each year. Like other merchants of the time, Alloway lessened the risks of his voyages by spreading his cargoes among various ships in which he had interests, and numerous small ships appear in his accounts, including the *Reformation*, the *Seaflower*, the *John*, the *Adventure*, and the *Endeavour*. Information about all the voyages and his widespread business dealings emerges from his account book, covering the years from 1683 until his death in 1686.<sup>2</sup>

William Alloway's son, also William, was closely involved in the business for several years before his father's death, and thereafter continued to trade in the same manner; and although he moved from Minehead to the larger and more convenient harbour of Bridgwater, his ships brought cargoes to both ports. His account book gives details of voyages with fish to Dublin, Cork, Youghall, Bordeaux, Morlaix, and St Malo, to Spanish ports, and occasionally across the Atlantic to Barbados. Return cargoes included brandy and wine, skins, tallow, dyestuffs, wool, linen, pitch, tar and tobacco, and he also continued the large trade in salt. His ships included the *Willing Mind*, the *Diligence*, the *Triumphant St Michael* and the *Satisfaction*. The latter was captured by a French privateer in 1695

and £40 had to be paid as a ransom.<sup>3</sup> The Quaker connection remained strong through both generations of the Alloways, and in 1686 William Alloway the younger married Hannah, the daughter of a Quaker goldsmith of Bridgwater, John Anderton, who was the author of a splendidly-titled work of Quaker theology, *One Groan More from Under the Altar*, a heartfelt complaint about the dominance of the Church of England and the sufferings of the Quakers. The marriage ceremony took place at Stoke St Gregory on 8 September 1686 and was witnessed by numerous 'people of the Lord called Quakers'. Three daughters resulted from this marriage, all of whom moved to Bristol where two of them married Bristol Quaker merchants. Hannah Alloway married John Galton, who traded in iron and metal goods from Old Market in Bristol, and in 1708 Sarah married Graffin Prankard.<sup>4</sup> The Prankards were a Quaker family from central Somerset, and Graffin Prankard's father was Robert Prankard, a maltster from Somerton. The malting business obviously prospered, and by the time of his death in 1708 Robert Prankard had bought land and tenements at Somerton and a small estate at Lymphsham which he left to his son, Graffin.<sup>5</sup>

The Alloways had strong business connections with the Quaker merchant community in Bristol, and it was no doubt due to his wife's family that Graffin Prankard was able to move to Bristol in 1708 and set himself up as a merchant, dealing in iron, timber, logwood, pitch, tar, rice and other commodities, and gradually building up a very extensive trade, regularly sending goods to Cork, Dublin, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Stockholm, Danzig, Gothenburg, St Petersburg and across the Atlantic to the Carolinas and the West Indies.<sup>6</sup>

During the early 18th century, Bristol was beginning to experience a massive expansion of its trade and prosperity, and this is reflected in the complex pattern of Graffin Prankard's trading activities, the numerous ports to which his ships went, the many different commodities they carried, and the network of trading links he established both abroad and throughout south-west England and south Wales as Bristol consolidated its position as 'the metropolis of the west'. It is interesting to note that Graffin Prankard was not involved at all in the traffic in slaves which has so often been allowed to dominate discussion of Bristol trade during this period.

Graffin Prankard and his wife Sarah moved to Bristol in 1708 and leased a house and cellar facing the busy harbour on St Augustine's Back from the Dean and Chapter of Bristol Cathedral, continuing to live there throughout their marriage. He also rented a cellar behind St Stephen's church and a loft in Princes Street. Their connections with the tightly-knit and inter-related Quaker community remained strong, and their Quaker faith is reflected in their letters, in the dating method used in their accounts, and in Graffin Prankard's insistence on affirmation rather than taking oaths. A Quaker cousin, Nathaniel Alloway, was master of one of Prankard's ships; his business dealings in Bristol and London and elsewhere were predominantly with other Quaker merchants, such as the Champions, Harfords, Tyndalls and Goldneys, and he took as his apprentice Caleb Dickinson, member of another important Quaker family. In 1710 Prankard entered into partnership with the Quakers Abraham Darby and James Peters for the manufacture of cast-iron goods both in Bristol and at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. This partnership was to prove extremely profitable, for it provided a regular supply of cast-iron kettles, pots, pans, fireplaces and other goods which were sent down the Severn to Bristol in 'trows' and then carried to South Carolina and other parts of the American colonies. Very full details of Graffin Prankard's trade emerge from his letter books and accounts.<sup>7</sup>

Graffin Prankard appears from his correspondence to have been a cautious, fussy, querulous man, constantly attentive to his business affairs, always concerned

with maximum profits, devoid of humour or of interest in anything other than his ships and their cargoes. In his letters to the many agents in foreign ports he issued frequent warnings against frauds, short measure or poor quality goods, and was always anxious about getting a quick turn-around for his ships, and about the avoidance of all unnecessary expense. At Coalbrookdale, Abraham Darby received regular complaints about the goods he sent down the Severn, and occasionally grumbled to Prankard about his 'angry epistles'. Under Prankard's untiring supervision his business affairs prospered greatly. At first his cargoes were entrusted to the ships of various Bristol merchants, but in 1724 his own ship, the *Parham Pink*, was launched, and in 1732 a much larger ship, the *Baltick Merchant*, which became his great pride, was built at the enormous cost of £2,744 1s 8½d. At more than 200 tons, this had more than twice the capacity of most of the ships using the port of Bristol at this time.<sup>8</sup>

The pattern and complexity of Graffin Prankard's business dealings which emerges from his remarkably full accounts is amazing, and provides abundant evidence of the busy trade of the port of Bristol at this time. He dealt in iron, steel, pitch and tar from Stockholm, tallow, flax, hemp, deal and boards from St Petersburg, hides and tallow from Ireland, and rice and logwood from South Carolina; he had also built up a very large trade in salt which was brought down the Severn and from Bristol distributed throughout the west of England. Likewise, he supplied iron and steel to blacksmiths and dealers all over the west country and south Wales.<sup>9</sup> Exports included iron goods, tools, guns, lead and shot, cider, cheese, Hotwells water, and other occasional cargoes for the American colonies or the West Indies such as clothing, hats, furniture or luxury goods. Ships returning across the Atlantic brought sugar, molasses, rum, logwood and rice. Rice was one of the main commodities carried, and was destined for the markets in Europe such as Hamburg and Rotterdam, although British colonial law insisted that such cargoes had first to be brought to an English port before being re-exported. To control this remarkable international trade, Prankard, like other Bristol merchants, maintained a regular correspondence with agents in numerous foreign ports.

The profits of his commercial enterprises were invested in land, and Graffin Prankard added considerably to the estates which he had inherited from his father in Somerton and Lymsham, and from the 1730s he was involved in farming, stock-raising and malting in Somerton, buying sheep and cattle at various local fairs and taking a close personal interest in the progress of his crops and livestock.<sup>10</sup>

Graffin Prankard's career illustrates both how it was possible to make a considerable profit in trade and commerce, and also the many dangers which attended all trading ventures, including the possibility of heavy losses. With such widespread and complex trade his ships were at constant risk from storms, pirates or errors of navigation, and there were also troubles with agents in foreign ports, rapid fluctuations in prices, particularly for rice, difficulties with foreign exchange, as well as the problem of maintaining contact with the masters of ships once they had left English ports. An example of the sort of problem that could arise occurred in May 1731 when Evan Williams, the master of Prankard's ship *Parham Pink*, was returning from South Carolina with a cargo of rice. This was to be taken first to Cowes to obtain the necessary documents and then immediately on to Hamburg. Unfortunately, the master made an error of navigation and instead of sailing up the English Channel, came up the Bristol channel, only realizing his mistake when he sighted the island of Lundy. Further difficulties occurred when he turned back to sail around Land's End, for the ship began to leak and some of the rice was damaged. Repairs to the ship delayed him further and it was late June before the rice was delivered in Hamburg. Thereafter, the ship sailed under ballast to

Stockholm before returning to Bristol with a cargo of iron, deal and tar in September 1731.

From 1736 a succession of disasters struck Prankard's business. The first blow came when his agent in South Carolina, Paul Jennings, who had undertaken a great many complex business dealings on Prankard's behalf, died, leaving his affairs in total confusion and with a great number of uncollected debts. Since he had acted for various merchants and had kept no proper accounts, it proved impossible to make any sense of his affairs, and Graffin Prankard lost large sums as a result.<sup>11</sup> Then in May 1738 his ship the *Baltick Merchant* ran aground while leaving harbour at Charlestown, South Carolina. The ship was fully laden at the time so that her hull was damaged and much of her cargo of rice was spoilt. Another disaster occurred with the loss of his small ship *Seaflower* which was wrecked off St Petersburg in 1740.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile an even more serious catastrophe had hit Graffin Prankard's business in 1739 when his great ship the *Baltick Merchant* was lost. In May 1739, she was again returning from Charlestown with a cargo of rice and logwood, together with a few passengers, under the command of Nathaniel Alloway. Unfortunately hostilities had broken out between Britain and Spain over various colonial disputes, and when the *Baltick Merchant* was almost in sight of the Isles of Scilly, she was attacked by a fast and strongly-armed Spanish privateer. All attempts to escape or to fend off the attack were in vain; some members of the crew were killed; the ship was captured and taken into the Spanish port of San Sebastian. From Spain Nathaniel Alloway wrote to Graffin Prankard telling him of the loss and describing in graphic detail the way in which the ship had been captured in spite of all their efforts to escape or to defend themselves:

... finding him [the Spanish privateer] resolutely bent on boarding us, we had no hands to stand by our small arms whilst others fought the guns; and now I had likewise the mortification of seeing one of my sailors drop down dead on the spot just by my side, which at any other time would have been a very shocking sight, but at this time had no effect on any body as I could perceive, so much had the noise of guns and heat of action altered our natures.

Shortly afterwards the second mate was also killed, 'so now despairing of success, having a ship with Ten Guns lashed to our side and 100 men and upwards on deck', they had no alternative but to surrender. Eventually Nathaniel Alloway, his passengers and crew members were released and managed to get home through France, but the ship and her cargo were a total loss.<sup>13</sup>

When the news of the loss reached Bristol the effect on Graffin Prankard's business affairs was immediate and dramatic. Most of his dealings were conducted on credit, generally payable at Bristol Fair each July. As soon as his loss became known his creditors rushed to demand instant payment, and he was quite unable to meet all the demands made upon him. He was fortunate in avoiding arrest and imprisonment for debt, and was only saved by the intervention of his Quaker relatives. A London merchant and Quaker kinsman Thomas Hyam offered help, his brother-in-law John Galton, a Bristol merchant, temporarily took over the running of Prankard's affairs, and above all he was saved by the intervention of his wealthy son-in-law and former apprentice, Caleb Dickinson.<sup>14</sup>

At this crisis in Graffin Prankard's affairs and in the face of the total collapse of the business which he had so painstakingly built up over the previous twenty years, the Quaker steadfastness and fortitude of his wife, Sarah, shines through in the letter she wrote to their daughter Sarah Dickinson to tell her of the catastrophe. Sarah Dickinson had gone with her husband, Caleb, to Yorkshire on business and her mother wrote to her on 30 June 1740 to give details of their ill fortune. She described how the creditors, hearing of the loss of the *Baltick Merchant*, crowded to

the house to demand their money and made 'such a run on him that it was Impossible to answer it'. In this crisis much of the mother's worry was for her daughter and what effect it would have on her son-in-law: '. . . tho' its a very great affliction, I can truly say I am more concerned for thee than I am for my self, but I hope thy Husband will not reflect on thee but that you will still have a good affection for each other.' Above all, she placed her trust in the mercy of God and urged her daughter '. . . don't forget going to worship him who is the Author of all goodness and who will stand us in most stead when all Earthly things fail.'<sup>15</sup>

Although Graffin Prankard eventually recovered from the diasater, and during the 1740s was able to trade again, he did not have the same enthusiasm for international trade as before, and devoted more and more of his time to his farming interests in Somerton and Lympsham, establishing duck decoys and other landholdings, and acquiring land in High Ham and Pitney. He maintained his widespread correspondence with agents and business connections, but his predominantly agricultural interests were evidently well known, and during the 1750s several correspondents refer to farming matters. For example, in 1750 Lawrence Growdon, a plantation owner from Philadelphia with whom Prankard had many business dealings, wrote to ask that a supply of broad bean seed and of 'the best Blue Ball wheat such as grows about Bridgwater' should be sent to him. In an interesting reference to the spread of improved farming methods, he informed Prankard that 'I have a mind to try Blue Ball wheat here in Mr Tull's method of Drilling and Horse Hoeing.' Graffin Prankard and his wife, Sarah, continued to live on St Augustine's Back in Bristol, but by the time of his death in 1756 he had obviously disposed of his trading interests and his will does not mention any ships or merchandise.<sup>16</sup>

On his death Graffin Prankard's wealth passed to his daughter Sarah and his son-in-law, Caleb Dickinson, and it was their family which was to make the final climb into a large landed estate and gentry status. Caleb Dickinson was a member of a wealthy Quaker family. During the mid 17th century William Dickinson B.D. was rector of Appleton, Yorkshire, and of Bessells Leigh near Oxford, and was deprived of these livings by Parliament because of his support for the royal cause. One of his sons, Francis, served as a captain in the army under Penn and Venables at the taking of Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, and in return for his valiant service was rewarded with a grant of 6,000 acres of land on the island. This land was to become a productive sugar plantation known as Barton Isles and worked by a large force of slave labour. It was this which formed the basis of the family fortune. One of the sons of Captain Francis Dickinson, Caleb, who was a Quaker, settled at Monks in the Wiltshire parish of Corsham and married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Vickris of Chew Magna. It was their son, also called Caleb, who was apprenticed to Graffin Prankard. No doubt it was the Quaker appreciation of the benefits of useful toil and dislike of idleness that led Caleb Dickinson to be apprenticed to a Bristol merchant, for the family interests in Jamaica meant that they were already very wealthy, and when his father died in 1731 Caleb inherited a third of the estate, the other thirds going to his elder brother Ezekiel and younger brother Vickris. Caleb's ledger reveals that he received lands, plantations, negroes, cattle, horses and mules, as well as investments worth no less than £33,027 from the 'Estate of my late Father, Caleb Dickinson, deceased'. He also inherited a small estate at Congresbury.<sup>17</sup> In 1738, when his apprenticeship to Graffin Prankard had ended, Caleb married his master's only child, Sarah, at a Quaker ceremony in Bristol, and the couple made their home at Castle Green in the city.<sup>18</sup> He still descibed himself as 'merchant' and during the next few years traded extensively from Bristol, exporting iron, metal goods, cloth, glass and other products, and



Plate 1. Kingweston House, 1834, from a drawing in the Society's Smyth-Pigott collection.

importing sugar and rum from the West Indies, iron, timber and hemp from Stockholm and St Petersburg, and having dealings with many Bristol merchants including John Galton, Nehemiah Champion, James Hilhouse, Graffin Prankard and Thomas Goldney.<sup>19</sup>

In December 1740 Caleb's social status was dramatically changed when he purchased the capital mansion and estate at Kingweston from William Stradling or Swadlin for £6,400. The property had formerly belonged to the Smyths of Ashton Court, and then passed into the hands of Edmund Bower of Somerton. William Stradling was the only son and heir of Rachel Stradling, widow, who had married Edmund Bower in 1725. Caleb Dickinson kept his house on Castle Green in Bristol, and continued to trade as a merchant and to be much involved in the administration of the Barton Isles Plantation, the purchase of slaves, sale of sugar, rum and molasses and the dispatch of essential supplies from Bristol; but he and his wife Sarah now spent more and more time at Kingweston where, during the next few years, he acquired considerably more land, including property in Charlton Mackrell, Charlton Adam, Keinton Mandeville, East Lydford and elsewhere. After Graffin Prankard's death in 1756 he also acquired the Prankard lands in Somerton, Lymphsham and Berrow, and throughout the rest of his life Caleb continued to add to his estate, for example buying lands in Baltonsborough in 1759 and in Butleigh in 1772.<sup>20</sup> Caleb's wife Sarah also inherited land at Weston Zoyland, Burnham, Bridgwater and Clifton from her unmarried aunt Elizabeth Alloway, who died in 1763, so that by the time of Caleb's death in 1783 he was a large landowner in Somerset, as well as the possessor of a profitable sugar plantation in the West Indies. In the Parliamentary Return of Landowners in 1874 Francis Henry Dickinson possessed an estate of 4,279 acres with a gross annual income of £5,843.<sup>21</sup>

In 1743 Caleb Dickinson acquired another profitable property by purchasing a share in the lighthouse on Flat Holm, together with the dues for its maintenance paid by ships using the Bristol Channel.<sup>22</sup> Caleb emerges from the voluminous estate and other records as an active man, pursuing his business interests with great energy and determination, a hard bargainer with little patience or sympathy for inefficiency. It is clear that he was not an easy man to deal with, and several correspondents complain of his business methods; he did not hesitate, for example, to sell the live and dead stock of tenants who were in arrears with their rent. In pursuit of trade he travelled extensively in England, and in 1758 undertook a journey to his West Indian property in Jamaica. During the sea crossing he suffered agonies from violent sea-sickness, but once arrived in Jamaica his letters provide a fascinating picture of life on the plantations there.<sup>23</sup> Not unnaturally, his transformation from Bristol merchant to Somerset landowner had a considerable effect upon Caleb Dickinson's life-style and expenditure, and this emerges very clearly from his cash and ledger books.<sup>24</sup> For example, his cash book covering the years 1749 to 1757 includes payments for his coach, coachman and coach horses, the purchase of clothing for his servants (including a footman), work on the house, gardens and orchards at Kingweston, considerable expenditure on his own clothing and a wig, and expenses in Bristol and London. It also records generous contributions to the Quaker Meeting House in Bristol and to the Bristol Infirmary. Farming matters and estate management occupied more and more of his time, and his accounts contain many entries relating to his crops and livestock and to the purchase of sheep and cattle at fairs in Bristol, Ham Hill, Castle Cary, Bridgwater, Somerton and Crewkerne. Expenditure on the house at Kingweston included large bills from cabinet makers, upholsterers and carpenters, and for the purchase of chairs, tables, a clock, a marble chimney piece, 10 prints, 6 India figures, books including Camden's *Britannia* and volumes of geography, as well as a microscope.<sup>25</sup> Other account books record the money received each year from the sale in Bristol and London of sugar, rum and molasses from the Jamaican plantation, and regular expenditure on the purchases of slaves and other expenses including beef, fish, flour, soap, clothing, shoes, tools, horses and other essentials which were purchased in England and sent out to the plantation.<sup>26</sup>

Four children were born to Caleb Dickinson and his wife Sarah, but the twins Sarah and Mary died soon after birth, and another daughter Frances died in infancy. Their son William was born in 1745, after the move to Kingweston, and was given an education suitable for his position as the son of a wealthy landowner. He was sent to Westminster School, which was regarded as one of the best schools in the country, and in 1765 went to Edinburgh University to complete his education.<sup>27</sup> The choice of Edinburgh was no doubt because of the continuing family attachment to the Quaker faith which would have excluded him from Oxford or Cambridge, and would also have prevented him from holding any public office. During 1765, Caleb and Sarah Dickinson made the long journey to Edinburgh to see their son, and returned to Kingweston via London. Sarah died in 1766 and her funeral was conducted at the Quaker Meeting House in Bristol. She had remained steadfast in the Quaker faith, but after her death the restrictions which this involved became more and more difficult for Caleb and his son William. By purchasing the Kingweston estate Caleb Dickinson had become patron of the rectory of Kingweston and was inevitably involved in the presentation of rectors and in other aspects of Church of England affairs. Moreover, having completed his education in Edinburgh, William wished to play a part in national politics, and this would have been impossible for him as a Quaker. Both, therefore, abandoned the family faith and became members of the Church of England. William Dickinson

became MP for Great Marlow in 1768, and between 1777 and 1790 he was MP for Rye in Sussex. From 1796 until his death in 1806 he was one of the county members for Somerset. In 1770 he married Phillippa, daughter of Stephen Fuller of Brightling, Sussex. Like the Dickinsons, the Fullers had estates in Jamaica, and they also had Somerset connections, being related to the Aclands of Fairfield. For nearly thirty years Stephen Fuller was the London agent for Jamaican affairs.<sup>28</sup>

With William Dickinson the family abandoned its merchant links and ceased being actively involved in trade, thus completing its ascent to the status of county gentry. The change was marked by William Dickinson II (1771–1837), who rebuilt and considerably enlarged the old manor house beside the medieval church at Kingweston. He was also an MP, first for Ilchester and later for Lostwithiel; from 1806 to 1831 he represented Somerset.<sup>29</sup> During the mid 19th century the church at Kingweston was rebuilt by Francis Henry Dickinson, who also played a prominent part in local affairs and was one of the founding members of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society. The Dickinson family continued to live at Kingweston until the tragic death of the last male heir, also Caleb Dickinson, who at the age of twenty-one was killed whilst serving in the Royal Air Force in October 1941.<sup>30</sup>

#### REFERENCES

1. Much of this account is based on the mass of material contained in the Dickinson papers in the Somerset Record Office (SRO, DD/DN). Other important information is to be found in Joy Burden, *Winging Westward* (Bath, 1974), and in W.E. Minchington (ed.), *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol Record Society, 20, 1957).
2. SRO, DD/DN, 147, 461–3, Alloway account books; DD/DN 145, will of William Alloway, 1686.
3. SRO, DD/DN, 462–3.
4. SRO, DD/DN 145. For fuller details of Graffin Prankard's career and trading activities, see J.H. Bettey, 'Graffin Prankard: an Eighteenth Century Bristol Merchant', *Southern History*, 12 (1990), 34–47.
5. SRO, DD/DN 105–19, 144, 185.
6. R. Mortimer (ed.), *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1686–1704* (Bristol Record Society, 30, 1977), 150, 233; SRO, DD/DN 433–41. For brief extracts from some of Graffin Prankard's voluminous journals and account books, see W.E. Minchington (ed.), *op. cit.*, 101–23.
7. B. Trinder, *The Darbys of Coalbrookdale* (Chichester, 1974), 21.
8. G. Farr, *Shipbuilding in the Port of Bristol* (National Maritime Museum, 1977), 24.
9. For details of Bristol's remarkable hinterland trade, see W.E. Minchington, 'Bristol – Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 4 (1954), 69–89.
10. SRO, DD/DN 190.
11. SRO, DD/DN 431.
12. SRO, DD/DN 441.
13. SRO, DD/DN 149, 200, 429. For a full account of this dramatic incident and the valiant efforts made to save the ship, see J.H. Bettey, 'The Capture of the *Baltick Merchant*', *The Mariners' Mirror*, 76 (1990), 35–40.
14. SRO, DD/DN 200; Bristol Reference Library MSS, B17368, correspondence of John Galton.
15. SRO, DD/DN 200.
16. SRO, DD/DN 144, 431.
17. SRO, DD/DN 143, 405. See also the very full Dickinson family account books kept by Ezekiel Dickinson of Monks, Corsham, 1732–79 (Wiltshire Record Office, 1171, box 5).



18. SRO, DD/DN 137.
19. SRO, DD/DN 405–16, Caleb Dickinson's account books.
20. SRO, DD/DN 1–29, 196–8.
21. SRO, DD/DN 145, will of Elizabeth Alloway 1761; J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain* (1883), 131.
22. SRO, DD/DN 189.
23. SRO, DD/DN 201, 212, letters of Caleb Dickinson from the West Indies.
24. SRO, DD/DN 405–12, Caleb Dickinson's account books.
25. SRO, DD/DN 412.
26. SRO, DD/DN 465, Waste book for Barton Isles plantation 1742–51.
27. SRO, DD/DN 215, 217, 221, 410.
28. SRO, DD/DN 215–21, 486–519. I am grateful to Mr Stephen Morland for information about Sarah Dickinson.
29. R.G. Thorne, *The House of Commons, 1790–1820* (History of Parliament Trust, 1986), 595–8.
30. A full account of the later members of the Dickinson family and of the death of Caleb in 1941 has been written by Caleb's sister, Joy Burden, in *Winging Westward* (Bath, 1974).