

# JOHN LOCKE'S SOMERSET PROPERTY

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## INTRODUCTION

As outlined in an earlier article,<sup>1</sup> John Locke, one of the greatest philosophers of the early modern period, inherited from his father farming lands and domestic buildings in the area of rural Somerset where he spent his childhood with his parents, around the small market town of Pensford and hamlet of Belluton, half a dozen miles or so south of Bristol. It was because of his inheritance that he retained his connection with the area, for one feature of his adult life was as a landlord. The letters, memoranda, rent-rolls and other accounts which survive amongst his papers, contain much information about his property and its tenants, sometimes relatively systematically, but usually not. What follows here (together with some material only published on the Society's website) is an attempt to piece together an account of this property and its tenants. It is unfortunately not complete, and Locke's papers contain many bits of information which remain to be fitted in.

Extra material, signalled in the text by bold square-bracketed letters, eg **[A]**, **[B]**, is to be found on the Society's website at [http://www.sanhs.org/JohnLocke'sSomersetProperty\(SupplementaryMaterial\).htm](http://www.sanhs.org/JohnLocke'sSomersetProperty(SupplementaryMaterial).htm).

## LOCKE'S INHERITANCE

According to Damaris, Lady Masham (whom Locke met in 1682 and at whose marital home in Essex he lived from about 1691), Locke's father 'inherited from his Father a much better Estate than he left ...

his Son'.<sup>2</sup> What did his father inherit? In his will of 25 August 1648 made three days before his death, Nicholas Locke, Locke's grandfather, bequeathed to Locke's father, also John, certain 'tenements and grounds' in Publow parish consisting of three leasehold properties (referred to in the following as (A), (B), (C)) which he (John) already 'held by grant' and which he was to hold for the rest of their term. Locke's father was also to have the whole interest in a freehold 'messuage or tenement in Belluton' (referred to in the following as (F)), in the parish of Stanton Drew, which Nicholas had bought from one John Feare. Finally, following various bequests of land and money to others, Locke's father, who was to act as Nicholas's executor, was willed the residue of the estate.<sup>3</sup> In fact there was further property Locke's father owned, and, though its origin is obscure, it may be that this should be counted as part of what he 'inherited' from Nicholas Locke.

According to Lady Masham 'the sole cause' of Locke's father's 'Fortunes being impaired' was not that he was in any way improvident, but rather 'probably' that he had been 'a Captain in the Parliament Army in the time of the Civil wars in England, and by that means a Private sufferer in those Publick Calamities'.<sup>4</sup> Lady Masham did not explain further, and what she says can hardly be right as it stands, for Nicholas Locke died and Locke's father inherited his 'Fortunes' only a few months before the end of the civil wars and the execution of Charles I. Perhaps she had in mind that Locke's father suffered in some way during the often disturbed aftermath of the civil wars, during the Commonwealth period and before the Restoration in 1660.

Nevertheless, it does seem that Locke's father's fortunes did suffer in some way. When ill, and approaching his death in 1661, he evidently wrote to his elder son John, despondent at how little he had to leave him and his younger brother, Thomas. John, then at Christ Church in Oxford, comforted him: 'I cannot distrust that Providence which hath conducted us thus far, and if either your disappointments or necessities shall reduce us to narrower conditions than you could wish, content shall enlarge it; ... if your convenience can leave me nothing else, I shall have a head, and hands, and industry still left me, which alone have been able to raise sufficient fortunes'.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this exchange had a connection with the 'business' in progress which Locke mentioned in an earlier letter to his father in 1658, business which seems to have related to some promises made regarding services his father had performed, and which, if it miscarried, might leave the family with merely some few acres of land to sell. '[H]otly', Locke told his father that he could not 'see your services soe rewarded, repeated promises so slighted and jugling in a great man without being movd'.<sup>6</sup>

E.S. de Beer suggests the 'great man' may be Sir Alexander Popham, the local manorial lord and JP whom Locke's father had served before the civil wars as an attorney, and in whose regiment he had fought during the wars.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps it is, and if so it may have been (though there is no other evidence for this) that Popham was attempting to go back on something we know he had promised half a dozen years earlier. For the fact is that if some favours Popham had earlier shown him were a reward for military services then, despite what Lady Masham said, there is a clear way in which Locke's father's 'Fortunes' were actually enhanced by the wars.

In an Indenture dated 6 July 1650, the year after Charles I's beheading, Popham gave Locke's father the lease, 'for many years yet to come' (for 99 years, or for the lives of his two sons John and Thomas) of various 'tenements and lands in the Parish of Publoe'.<sup>8</sup> In the absence of the Indenture itself we do not know exactly what tenements and lands these were, but a very good idea can be got from two other documents which refer to it.<sup>9</sup>

One of these is another Indenture dated almost exactly six years later, 17 July 1656. It records at least some of the property 'in the Parish and Mannor of Publoe and Pensford' which Popham did earlier 'demise and grant' to Locke's father,<sup>10</sup> and in whose 'hands use and occupation' they still then were:

- (Popham 1) 'All that one Cottage or Barne call[ed] Lighthouse or Buckhill howse with a Garden and Orchard thereunto near adjoining and belonging contayning by estimation one acre bee it more or less';
- (P2) 'one close of arable thereunto also near adjoining called the grownd by the howse contayning by estimation five acres bee it more or less';
- (P3) 'three Closes of Meadow lying altogether adjoining and near lying contayning by estimation thirteen acres bee they more or less';
- (P4) 'two Closes of Meadow or Pasture adjoining together called the great and the Little Buckfurlong, containing by estimation ten acres bee they more or less';
- (P5) 'one Close of Pasture called Henleys grove contayning by estimation ten acres bee it more or less';
- (P6) 'one parcell of meadow lying in a grownd called the Common Mead contayning by estimation three acres bee it more or less'.<sup>11</sup>

In total these properties amount roughly to 42 acres. At least some of them, and perhaps others, are mentioned in a further document, of 28 March 1664.<sup>12</sup> According to this at least some of the property in 'the mannor of Publowe and Pensford' whose lease Popham gave to Locke's father in 1650 was

- (P7) a 'cottage or house with a garden thereto adjoining, called Lighthouse and thirty and seven acres of land meadowe and pasture ground by estimation thereunto belonging';
- (P8) 'all that dwelling house in Pensford then [1650] of the said John Locke deceased in Pensford with all outhouses buildings orchard and garden and one close called the backside to the same house appertaining contayning in the whole by estimation two acres';
- (P9) 'one close of pasture or arable ground called the Newtinings contayning by estimation five acres be it more or less';
- (P10) 'some furze and underwood in Sideham Broad oak and Whitley gate';
- (P11) 'all that messuage or tenement then [1650] in the occupation of the said John Locke and Lison Hopkin his assignee with a little Garton thereunto adjoining and also a garden plott in Pensford aforesaid and all common

and common of pasture and other appurtenance to the said premisses belonging or appertaining’.

There is obviously some overlap between these two lists, for (P7) includes (P1), and, with its 37 acres, presumably at least some (if not all) of (P2)–(P6) too.

Whether or not he tried, there is no reason to think that Alexander Popham actually did renege in some way on his 1650 grant of a lease on this property. But it does seem that Locke’s father did, at some point, suffer some financial setback. For in Locke’s papers there are references (not always in his hand) to various properties which seem later to disappear from view. The three leasehold properties (A), (B), (C), his father was willed by Nicholas Locke are examples; though perhaps the lease on these simply expired and perhaps some of the other examples simply changed their names and were not forcibly sold. But there were three tenements in Bristol which do seem to pass out of the family,<sup>13</sup> and Feare’s tenement seems to have suffered a reduction from 52 to around 40 acres.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the rents from the property that he finally willed to his sons were reserved for at least four years to pay his debts.<sup>15</sup>

Some of this estate came down to Locke even prior to his father’s will (made in 1660). The 1656 Indenture (partially described above), was made between Locke and his father, and constituted an agreement between them concerning the leasehold properties (P1) to (P6) (granted by Popham), and the freehold property (F) (passed on by Nicholas Locke).

Part of the background to this indenture is that though Nicholas Locke willed that his son John Locke the elder should have the interest in (F), Feare’s tenement, he further willed that his grandson Thomas, should hold it ‘for life under ancient and accustomed rent ... after he hath attained age of 25’ (ie 9 August 1662).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, in the indenture, John Locke the elder (‘for diverse good causes and considerations him thereunto especially moving’) granted to his son John all of (P1) to (P6) from 11 August 1658 unless his other son, Thomas, in the period of two days between then and his 21st birthday (9 August 1658) surrendered to his brother, his future interest in (F).

In the absence of any other information it is not clear what ‘especially moving considerations’ led Locke’s father to do this – perhaps something to do with debt? It is not clear either what inducement there

might have been for Thomas to make this surrender, but he does seem to have done so. For, given that various parts of (P1) to (P6) (together with (P7) to (P11)) were later willed to the brothers John and Thomas by their father, it looks as though John did not hold them during his father’s lifetime and so came into the freehold possession of (F) in the summer of 1658.

In his will of December 1660 John Locke the elder, who died early in 1661, left some of what he described as the leasehold property from the Popham grant to his son John – specifically ‘the House Stable and Backside now in the holding of Anne Hopkins widow and my part in a ground called the Common Mead, and one ground called Henlies Grove’. But this bequest did not exhaust the whole of the estate whose lease had been granted in 1650; and ‘All the rest of the said Tenements and Lands in the Parish of Publoe aforesaid to me granted by Alexander Popham Esq’ were willed to Locke’s younger brother Thomas.<sup>17</sup>

In effect, the tenements and lands willed to Thomas were (P7)–(P11). For the document of 28 March 1664 in which, as described above, these are listed, is in fact a deed of sale of them to Locke; the circumstances of the sale being that between late November 1663 and early February 1664 Thomas died and his widow Dorothy (later Mrs Robert Taunton) sold the interest in her late husband’s inheritance to her brother-in-law.<sup>18</sup> The price for this leasehold is variously recorded as £220, and £210.<sup>19</sup>

The last two of the three items left to Locke are obviously (P6) and (P5). But there is a puzzle about the first. Locke’s father’s will clearly implies that it was part of the original Popham grant, and, given this, it must be either (P1)/(P7), the Lighthouse or Buckhill house, or one of the houses (P8) and (P11). Indeed, as we have seen, in 1650 (P11) was ‘in the occupation’ of Locke’s father and Lison Hopkin, his assignee, and it would be easy to imagine that in 1660 when Locke’s father made his will Anne Hopkins was Lison Hopkins’ widow. But (P11) (along with (P7) and (P8)) was willed to Thomas (as in the list (P7)–(P11)), and later bought by Locke from his sister-in-law. It will be referred to below as (P?).<sup>20</sup>

So by 1664 John Locke owned the lifeleasehold Popham granted his father of (P1)–(P11) (including (P?)) – what he came to refer to as ‘my estate in Publow’ – and also the freehold of (F) which his grandfather had originally bought from John Feare – what he came to refer to as ‘my estate in Beluton’.

But there were further properties – described as ‘tenements and lands in St. Thomas’ – which (there is no reason to think otherwise) he also derived from his father, but of which there is no record of a formal passing on.

These properties can be found listed in three papers, endorsed ‘Survey 60’, ‘Ap 65’, ‘Survey 65’.<sup>21</sup> Having listed the various parts of (F), they go on to list ‘tenements and grounds in grant’, items which are clearly different from those of (P). The three lists, and other similar lists, have some but not all items in common; and they have items which, like the leasehold properties (A), (B), and (C), seem to disappear from the record. (Perhaps their term expired on the death of Locke’s father.)

Of the properties in this group (ST), whose later history can be traced, and whose freehold was owned by Locke, there are:

- (ST1) ‘Old Down’;<sup>22</sup>
- (ST2) ‘two grounds cald the Nineworthys’;<sup>23</sup>
- (ST3) Summers’/Kent’s tenement;<sup>24</sup>
- (ST4) Potters House;<sup>25</sup>
- (ST5) Gardiners tenement;<sup>26</sup>
- (ST6) ‘Lockiers ... Tenemt’.<sup>27</sup>

According to the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, what John Locke the elder left to his sons was ‘the residue of his much depleted estate’.<sup>28</sup> No details are given about this ‘depletion’, and perhaps the remark is simply echoing Lady Masham’s report that Locke’s father ‘inherited from his Father a much better Estate than he left ... his Son’. This report must have come from Locke himself, but it is not easy to see what lay behind it. We have seen that his father’s fortunes do seem to have suffered some set-back, but on the basis of the available evidence it is certainly not obvious (though it may still be true for all that) that the estate Locke came by, of (P), (F), and (ST), is a ‘residue of a much depleted estate’ and ‘much’ worse than that which came down to his father, larger though that does seem to have been.

Before trying to locate these properties and to trace Locke’s transactions concerning them it will be as well to see something in general of the different ways in which he rented them out.<sup>29</sup> In the east and the midlands, English landlords tended to let their land either on annual tenancies ‘at will’, or granted leases for a fixed term of years (normally not more than 21); in both these cases they charged a ‘rack-rent’, a sum equivalent or nearly so to the annual value of

the land. In the western counties such as Somerset, however, landlords also let their property on lifeleasehold – typically for the lives of three named individuals, or for a term of 99 years (or some such) determinable on three named lives. Leases of this sort were sold for a lump sum (known as a ‘fine’)<sup>30</sup> and then required payment of a small annual rent (known as ‘reserved rent’, ‘lord’s rent’, ‘chief rent’, ‘old rent’, ‘high rent’, ‘head rent’, ‘conventionary rent’), of an amount much less than the annual value of the land.<sup>31</sup> Further, renewing, ‘fines’ might be paid as names died or ‘dropped’ from a lease, or in substitution of one name for another.

The rate for a ‘fine’ for a new lease of 99 years determinable on three lives was (it has been estimated) roughly, twelve to 14 ‘years’ purchase’, ie twelve to 14 times the annual value of the property; six to seven years’ purchase for adding two new lives to a lease with only one remaining, two years for adding one.<sup>32</sup> In 1693 Locke’s agent reported to him that ‘A years purchase for A life’ was the rate for changing an already existing life.<sup>33</sup> (The following year he changed three existing lives for about two year’s purchase.)<sup>34</sup> The ‘lord’s’ or ‘old’ rent associated with a lifelease might be 2 or 3% of the annual value of the property.<sup>35</sup>

Locke dealt with his property in all three of these ways.<sup>36</sup> The property, (P1) to (P11), which Alexander Popham granted to Locke’s father was initially held on a lifelease of 99 years determinable on his and his two sons’ lives, and Locke followed what was not an uncommon practice (at least in the previous century) of selling sublifeleases on the same property. Such subleases would appear to have run the risk (particularly after the death of his father and brother) of the expiry of the head lease and the reversion of the property to the Pophams; as a study of the century previous to Locke comments, ‘It is difficult to see what legal status ... sub-tenancies had ... [but] there must have been some security of tenure’.<sup>37</sup> No doubt practices varied from place to place; sometimes, perhaps, sub-tenants were allowed to remain after the expiry of a head-lease, or perhaps the risk of eviction was reflected in the sizes of the ‘fine’ and the ‘lord’s rent’.<sup>38</sup>

#### POPHAM’S GRANT OF THE ‘ESTATE IN PUBLLOW’

Locke referred to the property he had come by under the Popham grant, (P), as his ‘estate in Publow’.<sup>39</sup>

There is some uncertainty about (P?), 'the House Stable and Backside ... in the holding [in 1660] of Anne Hopkins', but there are records from 1665 of Anne Hopkins renting what is presumably the same 'House Stable and Backside'.<sup>40</sup> In 1665 she also rented Common Mead (P6), and from then on Hopkins' house is (at any rate until at least 1674) always mentioned in tandem with it.<sup>41</sup> She was in the house until 1671. [A] From Lady Day 1672 the house (now being called the Stag's Head)<sup>42</sup> was occupied (along with Common Mead) by Elinor Locke, the widow since 1663 of Locke's uncle Edward.<sup>43</sup> In 1674 a sublease on the house was sold to William Gullock, Elinor Locke's son by an earlier marriage.<sup>44</sup> [B]

*Common Mead (P6)* [C] is described in detail in a memorandum dated 1 April 1664: 'Common Mead. Catlys mearstone [ie boundary stone] lyes by the dike neare a withy not far from the most Westerne of the Ashes in the next ground[,] the other lies about 60 paces from it Southward something inclining to the East Just between a little Ash near the River in the opposite hedg. Popes mearstones are 2 at the lower end about 10 foot asunder. There are 2 others in the middle and 2 at the upper end one just in the Corner and the other 12 yards and half from it towards the Church, that next the Church has his opposite stone just between it and a great Ash in the opposite hedg'.<sup>45</sup>

It is possible to go some way towards identifying and locating this piece of land, and other of Locke's property, by use of the early 19th-century nationwide Tithe Survey which mapped and documented the property in each parish or tithe district. Fig. 1 represents the area in question. The small market town of Pensford, where much of (P) was located, was (both in Locke's time and that of the survey) partly in the parish of Publow (a small village to the north-east of Pensford), and partly in that of the now defunct 'St. Thomas in Pensford'. The hamlet of Belluton (just up the hill to the north of Pensford), where (F) was situated, was in the parish of Stanton Drew (whose survey included 'the parish or Hamlet of St. Thomas in Pensford'). The relevant Tithe Maps (Figs 2 and 3) (with their related descriptive apportionments) are in the National Archives at Kew, with contemporary copies in the Somerset Record Office in Taunton.<sup>46</sup> This resource has to be used with some care of course, since roads, and field names and their patterns may well have changed over the 200 years between Locke's birth and the time of the survey.<sup>47</sup> But some identifications can still plausibly be made.

To begin with, on the basis of Locke's description of it as near 'the River' and 'the Church' it seems clear that his 'Common Mead' is to be identified with (at least part of) the 'Common Mead' of PT98(B), on the other side of the river Chew from Publow parish church (located around Ordnance Survey ST 622641). Further support for this can be built up from Locke's father's mention in his will not simply of Common Mead, but of 'my part' in it. This reflected the fact that there was 'a little slip', 'a little parcell' of meadow lying in the Common Mead neare Publow Church, which was not included in Popham's grant to Locke's father.<sup>48</sup> Whether or not his father ever rented this strip, Locke himself did. [D] It surely survived as PT97(B), a narrow unenclosed part of PT98(B).

The Tithe Survey suggests nothing about the possible identity of (P?) 'the Stag's Head' (the house occupied by Anne Hopkins in 1660), nor (beyond recording a number of fields with 'Grove' in the name) about that of the third item from the Popham grant which Locke's father willed to him, the 10 acre *Henleys Grove (P5)*. [E]

Besides the property from the Popham grant which his father willed him, Locke also acquired, by purchase from his brother's widow, (P7)–(P11), in particular (P1)/(P7), *The Lighthouse* or *Buckhill*, described as 'a very small house'.<sup>49</sup> He noted in a memorandum dated 2 April 1664 that he had just 'taken possession of Buckhill howse in the name of the whole', and on that same day he renewed his brother's agreement with the existing tenant.<sup>50</sup> The Tithe Survey records various pieces of land in Publow parish called 'Bookhill' (PT201(B), PT202(B), PT203(B), PT204(B)), all in the region of OS ST625637, and an earlier map shows a homestead in one of them (PT204(B)), 'Bookhill Home Mead'.<sup>51</sup> If this is Buckhill house then perhaps the other pieces relate to (P2), (P3), (P4), ie to some of the land described at (P7), for certainly they all, except for PT204(B), were owned by the Pophams at the time of the survey. Some reason for locating Buckhill House in PT204(B) is given by the fact that PT204(B) is very close to one end of Common Mead which was described as 'the hom[e] living'<sup>52</sup> and which often had the same tenant as Buckhill House. [F]

Presumably part of the 37 acres 'belonging' (as in (P7)) to Buckhill house was the 10 acres of two adjoining closes of the Great and the Little *Buckfurlong (P4)*. [G]

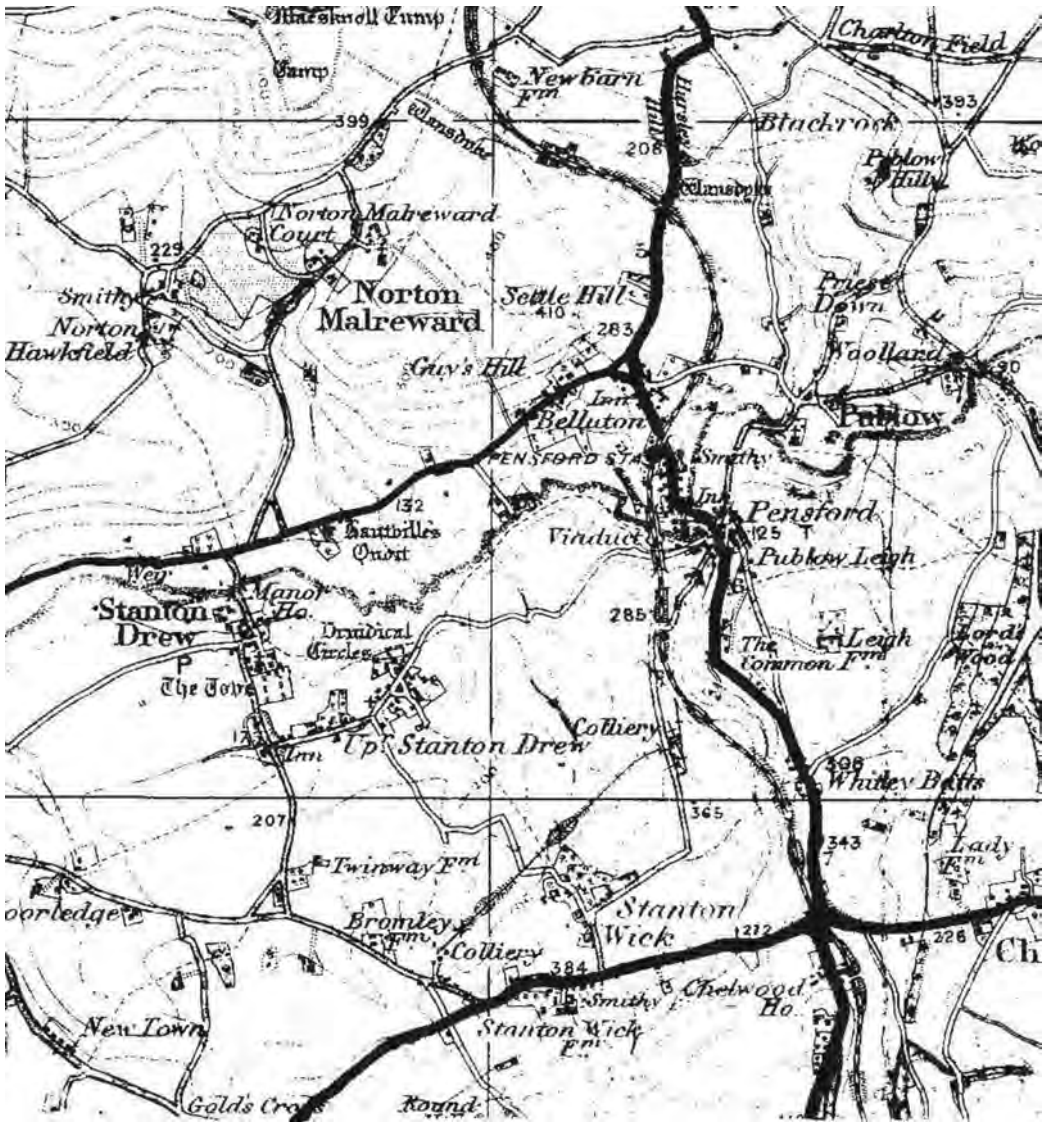


Fig.1 The area of John Locke's properties in Somerset: 1919 OS Map

The 5 acre *Newtinings* (P9) was another of the items of the Popham grant whose head-lease Locke bought from his brother's widow. There is little to go on to locate it. The Tithe Survey records half a dozen 'Tinings' (fenced enclosures). PT106(B), of c. 6½ acres is near Buckhill PT204(B). *Newtinings* (often just 'the Tining') typically appears in tandem with 'the Paddocks', an adjacent piece of land, whose

relation to it is described in a memo Locke made on 28 March 1664: 'E[linor] Locke said that the ground in the Tineing was measured [...] about a year after her marriage with Ed[ward] Locke and two merestones set up and foot for foot allowed for the ground adjoining to the Orchard and one strip of ground in the Paddocks and five years after separated by a hedg and ditch'.<sup>53</sup> A few days later Locke noted



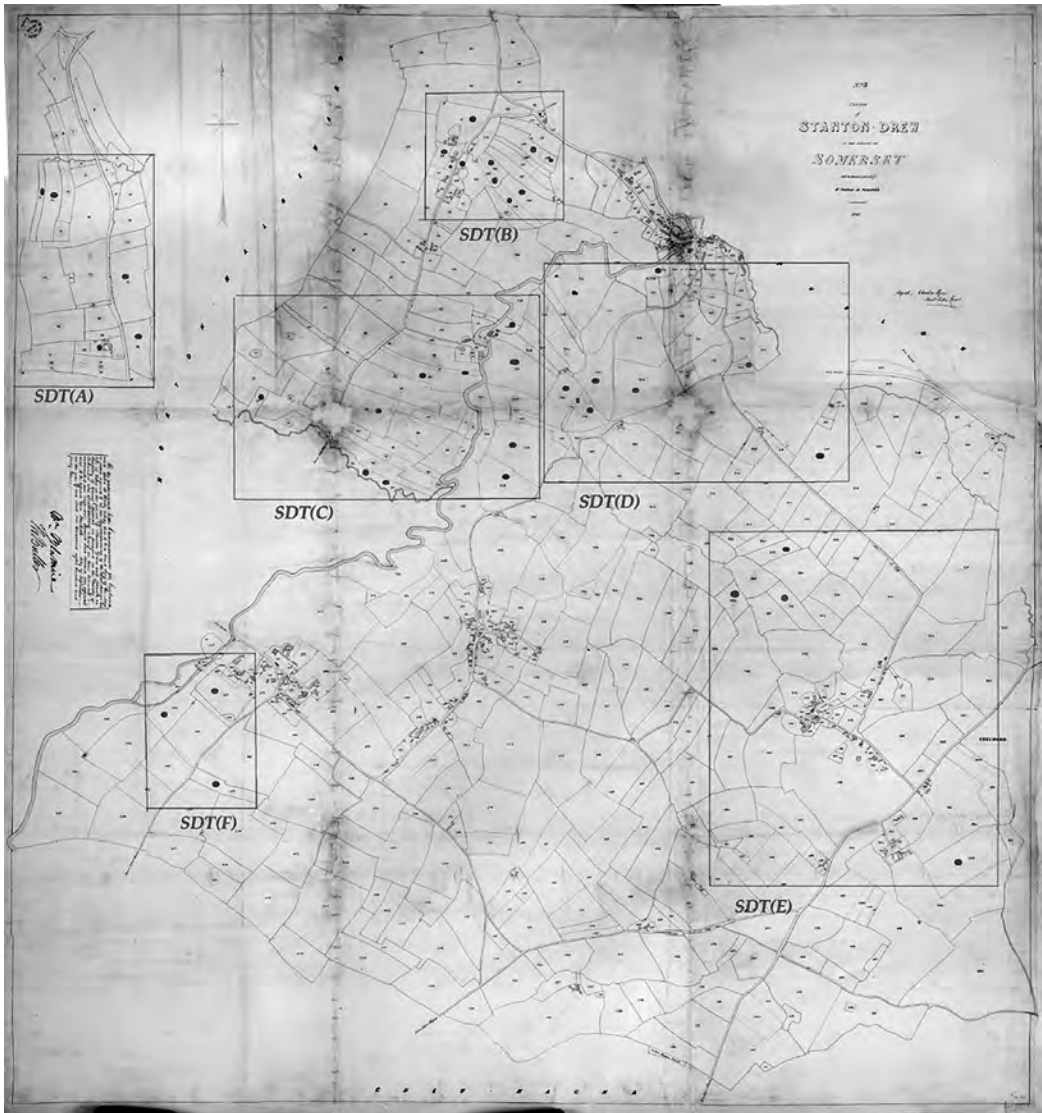


Fig. 3 Tithe apportionment map for Stanton Drew. For detailed maps, marked by the added rectangles, see the full paper on the SANHS website

that he had just ‘Taken possession of the Tineings’, which he had bought from his sister-in-law. ‘At the same time’, he recorded, he had ‘let the upper part newly enclosed to E. Locke for 30s p. annum to end at L[ady] Day next’.<sup>54</sup> [H]

Some *furze and underwood* ‘in Sideham Broad oak and Whitley gate’ (P10) was a further item in Locke’s purchase from his sister-in-law. ‘Whitley’

occurs twice in the Tithe Survey as the name of two adjacent pastures located around OS ST623623, just south of Whitley Batts (nearly 5 acres at PT148(E); a little over 3 acres at PT150(E)). ‘Sideham’ occurs as the name of another pasture, something over half a mile north, just to the east of Broadoak Farm (OS ST617630) on the road from Pensford to Stanton Wick (16.5 acres at PT58(D)). [I]



FEARE'S TENEMENT, 'MY ESTATE IN BELTON'<sup>55</sup>

(F) was a major item of freehold property which came down to Locke from his father. His grandfather's will spoke only of 'a messuage or tenement in Belluton', and it is not clear just what it consisted of when it came into Locke's hands in 1658. According to surveys dating from the early 1660s, it consisted of around 40 acres of land, with an annual value of around £31, and a capital worth of £635.<sup>56</sup> An undated but earlier survey measured it at over 52 acres.<sup>57</sup>

In more detail, and according to a survey dated 1660, it consisted of:

- (F1) 1½ acres of 'Howses Backside and Orchard' (yearly value £3);<sup>58</sup>
- (F2) 2½ acres 'At Carisbrooke on the East side of the way' (yearly value £2);<sup>59</sup>
- (F3) 'Sawtry', 6½ acres (yearly value £4.10s).<sup>60</sup> Elsewhere these 6½ acres are simply referred to as 'West of Carisbrooke';<sup>61</sup>
- (F4) 7 acres of 'Great Ricfurlong and the mead' (yearly value £6);<sup>62</sup>
- (F5) 2 acres of 'Little Ricfurlong' (yearly value £1.10s);<sup>63</sup>
- (F6) over 1 acre 'Gaston' (yearly value £1.10s);<sup>64</sup>
- (F7) 2 acres at 'Bymill Mead' (yearly value £2);<sup>65</sup>
- (F8) 'One close arab' of 1 acre (yearly value 10s);<sup>66</sup>
- (F9) 5 acres at 'Teacre' (yearly value £2);<sup>67</sup>
- (F10) 'Mead there', ¾ acre (yearly value 13s.4d);<sup>68</sup>
- (F11) 2 acres at 'Hummerbrooke' (yearly value £1.10s);<sup>69</sup>
- (F12) ½ acre 'Mead' (yearly value 10s);<sup>70</sup>
- (F13) in various pieces 'in the West field' (3½ acres) and 'in the East field' (6½ acres, yearly value £3);<sup>71</sup>
- (F14) 'Friars Mead' or 'Monks Mead', 2 acres (yearly value £3);<sup>72</sup>
- (F15) 'A little plot in Tho. Fifetts mead' (yearly value 2s.6d).<sup>73</sup> [J]

In 1667 Locke exchanged (F6), the 1 acre 'Gaston', and 'one piece of field ground in the West field about half an acre, and one little corner of pasture ground in [or 'at'] Amercombe about two perch', with John Evans for 'one piece of meadow or pasture ground cald Little Ric Furlong containyng by estimation one acre be it more or less and one piece of pasture or field ground cald Bustors Pits

contaynyng by estaimation one acre be it more or less'.<sup>74</sup> The tithe survey (SDT34(A), at OS ST617649) records 'Amercombe cottage and premises' (nearly 1¾ acres); the cottage is named on the OS Old Series one-inch map. Adjacent to it and, still outlined on the OS Explorer map, are SDT21(A), 'Ammercombe pasture' (nearly 8 acres), and SDT38(A) 'Ammercombe pasture' (nearly 4¼ acres).

(F6) is not the only property in the 1660 list to disappear from view. (F12) and (F14) are missing from an almost identical 1665 survey,<sup>75</sup> and others (eg (F2), (F3), (F4), (F5), (F6), (F7), (F8), (F9), (F10), (F12), (F15)) are not visible in later rent rolls. One reason behind at least some of this is that a large part of (F) was rented out *en bloc* to one longstanding tenant.<sup>76</sup> Another is possibly that, even after the exchanges with Evans, this estate was evidently not physically well-organised – at one point Locke requested his agent to 'view all the parcels of land belonging to the tenement at Belton often, for that some of them being mixed in amongst others may else be in danger to be lost'.<sup>77</sup>

It is apparent from (F1) that, besides the land listed above, Feare's tenement had a house, referred to as 'Beluton House' associated with it.<sup>78</sup> This house is of particular interest in that it is where Locke and his parents lived, at least for some of his early years.

According to his Victorian biographer, Henry Fox Bourne, writing in 1876, Locke lived at least during his earliest years in Pensford, in a 'house which belonged to old Nicholas Locke until his death in 1648, but which seems to have been long previously occupied by his son [John], [and which] was situated in the eastern part of the village [on the east side of the Bristol–Shepton Mallet road], with a field that is still known as Locke's Mead in its rear. It was thus in Publow parish, although in Pensford village'.<sup>79</sup>

As described earlier, at Nicholas's death his son John already 'held by grant' from him some leasehold 'tenements and grounds in the parish of Publow' ((A), (B), (C)); and there is no reason to think that, both before and after his marriage to Agnes and the birth of their son, he did not live in Pensford in one of these. It is unfortunate, though, that Bourne's statement that Nicholas Locke's Pensford house, which was lived in by his son John, had behind it a field 'still known' (in 1876) as Locke's Mead, gets no support from the Publow parish tithe survey of 1839 which shows no field of that name in Pensford.<sup>80</sup>

But besides (A), (B), or (C), there are two other possibilities for an infant home for Locke in Pensford: namely the dwellings (P8) and (P11) which were owned, not by Nicholas Locke, but by Alexander Popham and of which he gave Locke's father the lease in 1650. At that time they were already described as being 'of' and 'in the occupation of' John Locke the elder.

According to Cranston's 1957 biography, however, Locke and his parents lived, from immediately after his birth in Wrington, at 'Belluton, the house which Nicholas Locke had bought at Pensford when he first came to Somerset'.<sup>81</sup> The reference here is obviously to (F1), the house associated with Feare's tenement. Whether or not they were there from the very outset there is some reason to think that Locke and his parents did at any rate later live in this house: a memorandum dated 30 March 1664 recorded that Robert Haroll 'acknowledged those things of mine to be in Beluton house one Clothes rack one Clothes press a Table bord in the Kitchen, a Salting board'.<sup>82</sup>

'Beluton house' was evidently a sizeable house, paying chimney tax for three hearths.<sup>83</sup> Described as 'ly[ing] near the roade', and as being 'next the Highway', it seems to have been built on something of a slope.<sup>84</sup>

At least at the time of the Tithe Survey there were two roads through Belluton to Bristol: one running northwards from Pensford, one running east from Chew Magna. The first of these (the present A37) has 'next it' one sizeable house, gardens, and orchard (SDT125(B), at OS ST617644). The other road to Bristol (the present B3130) has, judging by the survey, two possibilities on it for Locke's 'Beluton house'.

The first of these, on the left hand side, is SDT49(B) (OS ST613645), a  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre 'House and Garden'. Adjacent to the end of the garden, SDT49(B), and to the road is SDT47(B), 5 acres of pasture called 'Lock's Mead', and adjacent to the side of the garden away from the road is SDT50(B), just over 1 acre of orchard. The house and garden of SDT49(B) plus the orchard amount to just under 2 acres, not a long way from the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres of (F1). The early 19th-century house now on the site has adjacent to it a small cottage, known locally as 'Locke's Cottage', and said by English Heritage's Listed Buildings Online to be 'early C17, altered mid C19' and '[s]trongly reputed to have been the home of John Locke'.<sup>85</sup> It is evidently SDT49(B) that Cranston is speaking of when he says that Locke's

house at Belluton was a 'Tudor farmhouse ... entirely rebuilt since Locke's time, and only some parts of an adjacent cottage remain of the original buildings'.<sup>86</sup> The Tithe Survey describes SDT49(B) simply as 'House', giving it no name. However the 1887 (1:10560) OS map records it as 'Belluton House', and it carries that name today. The tithe map, however, offers another possibility for (F1), Locke's 'Beluton house'; and this is the house of SDT121(B) (at OS ST613644), on the other side of the road from SDT49(B). The tithe map and the 1887 OS both record this as 'Belton House', and some reason can be given for supposing that this is Locke's 'Beluton house'. His house was described as having a 'furthest feild on the left hand of the Road that Leads towards Bristol'.<sup>87</sup> Doesn't this imply that this field, which we might suppose became 'Lock's Mead' of SDT47(B), was on the *other* side of the road from the house? – in which case the house must be SDT121(B) rather than SDT47(B). The fact that the house of (F1) had adjacent to it some land referred to as 'the Home-close' is further support for this.<sup>88</sup> Two of the 'Home Fields' recorded as such in the tithe survey, SDT670(F) (just over 5 acres near Stanton Drew, OS ST595633), SDT350(D) (10 acres south of Pensford, OS ST619629) are hardly 'next' either of the possibilities for the house of (F1). But 'Home Field' (SDT133(B), SDT134(B), 4 acres) is adjacent to the house and land of SDT121(B).

It is curious that the 1887 OS map should have been able formally to record, in very close proximity, both a 'Belluton House' (at SDT121(B)) and a 'Belton House' (at SDT47(B)), since the word 'Belton' appears just to reflect the local pronunciation of 'Belluton'. But, whatever the case about that, it is not clear that any inference can be made from the fact that Locke referred to his house as 'Beluton house'. On the face of it this might seem to point to 'Belluton House' (at SDT121(B)) rather than to 'Belton House' (at SDT121(B)), but Locke also referred to his 'estate in Belton', signed himself on occasion as 'John Locke of Belton', and spoke in his will of 'Beluton alias Belton'.<sup>89</sup>

According to English Heritage, however, the house at SDT121(B) was initially '[p]robably C18'. (It was 'remodelled mid C19', which was perhaps when its name changed from 'Belton House' to the present 'The Grange'.)<sup>90</sup> This would make it, unlike the 'early C17' SDT47(B), too late to be the 'Beluton house' of (F1).

A document dated April 1665 records Feare's tenement as 'in hand', but by early 1664 the house

and its grounds and what must have been a good proportion of the lands (F2) to (F15) (though not including (F11), nor (F13) or (F14) (see *East field and West field, Hummerbrooke, and Friar's Mead*, below)), was, described simply as 'Beluton', rack-rented out.<sup>91</sup> [K]

The 2½ acres at (F2) *Carisbrooke* were described as being 'east of Carisbrooke' and as 'on the east side of the way'. Associated with this land, and 'West of Carisbrooke', were the further 6½ acres of *Sawtry* (F3): 'The ground at Casebrook is Caled as they say by the name of Satry they say it is but one ground that the brook runeth thorow soe that it is yours [ie Locke's] on both sids of the brook'.<sup>92</sup> The tithe survey records adjacent fields called 'Gravesbrook' (SDT14(A), 4¼ acres) and 'Cavesbrook' (SDT15(A), 1½ acres); but (around OS ST617653) they are on the west side of the nearby 'way', the road to Bristol, and there is no brook running through them. A very likely location for (F2) and (F3) is in the area of what the OS Landranger map records as 'Cottles' (ST622622). The farm here, PT301(A), recorded on the OS Old Series one-inch map as 'Caersbrook Farm', has been known also as 'Carsbrook', and the nearby brook as 'Casebrook'.<sup>93</sup> If this is the brook that 'runeth through' between (F2) and (F3) (in a north-south direction) then 'the way' on the east side of which (F2) and (F3) lay would have been what is now the narrow road running north from the Belluton-Publow road, past Cottles farm.

Presumably (F2), (F3), and (F4) were part of the estate first let to Haroll simply as 'Beluton' and eventually leased to John Veale. Neither Locke's papers nor the later tithe survey offer any suggestions as to their location. (F4), Great Ricfurlong, was said to be joined on its north side by the 2 acres of Amercome.<sup>94</sup> (F3) provided more income for Locke by virtue of the coal mining that took place there (see below).

(F5) *Little Ricfurlong*, was evidently adjacent to the 'East Field' of (F13). It was either rented by Haroll as part of the Belluton estate or leased by him along with (F13) (see *East field* below).

(F6) *Gaston*: The survey records Pool Garton Pasture (SDT128(B)/129(B)) and, close by, Long Garston Pasture (SDT138(B)/139(B)), both about 5 acres and located around OS ST61564644, just south of the junction of the present B3130 and A37 roads at Belluton.

(F7) *Bymill Mead*: The modern OS Landranger map still marks 'Bymills Farm' (ST609638) where

the tithe survey recorded 'Bye Mill and Yard' (SDT251(C)), and perhaps the 2 acres of Locke's 'Bymill mead' were in this vicinity. In this same area the survey certainly recorded a near-acre of pasture called 'Bye Mill' (SDT249(C)), and 8½ of 'Bye Mill Ground' (SDT252(C)).

A fifth of a mile away to the north-east, closer to Pensford, are 3½ acres of 'Mill Mead' pasture (SDT230(D)), and close to what was possibly another mill, at Stanton Drew, are 4 acres of 'Mill Mead' (SDT666(F)). (In Publow parish, and well over a mile to the south of Belluton, there are three other Mill Meads (PT154(E), around OS ST628625; PT186(C), around OS ST635645; and PT191(C), adjacent to PT186(C)).

The 5 acres of (F9), *Teacre* (or 'teker'), were 'by the wayside that goeth down to Stanton'.<sup>95</sup> Locke's tenants at Belluton House, such as John Veale, found it easier to get into this land through property belonging to one John Mills, but because of Mills' objections to this Locke was advised by his agent that he should arrange to improve and 'make the way better then it is out of the hieway'.<sup>96</sup> It is not clear, however, whether this 'hie way', also referred to as 'Belton Streate', is one and the same as the way 'that goeth down to Stanton'.<sup>97</sup> There is no 'Teacre' as such in the tithe survey, but there are two 'Two Acres' (SDT333(E), SDT336(E)) neighbouring 2¼ acre fields around OS ST614625; either, particularly the latter, could have been next to some route down to Stanton Wick. There are two 'Three Acres': SDT322(E) of just over 3 acres, in the near vicinity of SDT333(E) and SDT336(E); and SDT655(F) of just under 3 acres and still marked on the OS Explorer map, centred around ST594630, and with one end adjacent to an 1836 way from Chew Magna to Stanton Drew. There are two 'Ten Acres': SDT268(D) of 10¼ acres and still marked on the Explorer Map, centred around ST614634, and alongside a way from Pensford to Stanton Drew; and SDT393(E) of just over 10 acres, centred around ST615614, and conceivably near a way to Stanton Wick.

But perhaps a better bet than any of these is offered by two adjacent fields recorded in the survey as 'Teager' (SDT96(C)/97(C), over 7 acres in total), and 'Part of Teager' (SDT97(C), 1¼ acres). The south-easterly end of these narrow fields lies near Byemill (see above) and where there might well have been a track to Stanton Drew; the north-westerly end abuts what would have been the main route from Beluton to Chew Magna (the present B3130).

Unlike much else of Feare's tenement, the 2 acres of *Hummerbrooke* (F11) was not tenanted by Haroll. At least from 1664 Benjamin Smith had them on a lease for lives with an old rent of 6s p.a.<sup>98</sup> [L] *Hummerbrooke* was described as being in St Thomas and the tithe survey records 'Hummerbrook' in four places: at SDT84(C) (1½ acres), SDT74(C) (nearly 1 acre), SDT83(C) (over 1 acre), and SDT94(C) (over 6 acres). All of these fields are near, and three are adjacent to the brook which runs down from Hammerhill (Hummerhill?) towards the Chew, as it crosses with the B3130 to Chew Magna, one and a half miles from Belluton. Though there is no sign of it on the tithe map, the OS Old Series one-inch map records 'Hummerbrook House' at the corner of the way down to Byemill from what is now the B3130.

(F13) *East field and West field*. In 1665 the land in the east field was described as consisting of three pieces (of 4, 2, and ½ an acre).<sup>99</sup> It seems quite possible that the east field, being next to the house, was also known as 'Beluton field'.

Quite possibly the third piece was that for which a memo dated 13 April 1666 records Locke's receiving 17s. 6d from Benjamin Smith as 'the remains of the fine for the half acre in Beluton field, and granted it to him for his own and Samuel Parson's life the sonne of Wm. Peyton of Dundry under yearly rent of 2d'.<sup>100</sup>

Quite possibly the first two pieces were the estimated 6 acres of 'the new tyning in the East Field' for which in April 1667 Locke sold Robert Haroll a 99-year lease determinable on his life. [M]

This enclosed tining was described as 'the home-close' and said to be 'soe neare the house'.<sup>101</sup> Two 'Home Fields' in the tithe survey (SDT670(F), just over 5 acres near Stanton Drew; and SDT350(D), 10 acres south of Pensford) are hardly 'neare the house' of (F1) – if that is SDT121(B). But 'Home Field' (SDT133(B)/134(B), 4 acres) is adjacent to the house and land of SDT121(B).

In 1660 the 2 acres of *Friar's Mead* (F14) was let to John Maggs for 50s p.a., on the understanding that every load of hay he took out of it would be replaced by five loads of dung.<sup>102</sup> He may, or may not, have been the 'Mr J. Maggs' who was paying that rent from 1664 until 1667.<sup>103</sup> But by 1668 and through to 1670 the tenant, at the same rate, was Robert Haroll.<sup>104</sup>

#### 'TENEMENTS AND GROUNDS IN ST THOMAS'<sup>105</sup>

Besides (P) and (F), 'those two estates of mine in Publoe and Belton', Locke had a freehold interest, whose origin is obscure, in (ST), some 'Tenements and grounds in St. Thomas' (that part of Pensford which did not fall into Publow parish).

One of these grounds, *Old Down* (ST1), was listed in 1665 as 'in hand', valued at £3 p.a. and worth £60 if sold.<sup>106</sup> [N] The tithe survey records six fields with the name 'Old Down'.<sup>107</sup> They form a group in the area along the way to Stanton Drew where the modern OS Explorer map still refers to 'Old Down' (OS ST613635).

(ST2) *Nineworthys* (or 'the grove') is a freehold property. It figures in a survey of 1660 and in later documents, which leave unanswered how Locke came by it.<sup>108</sup> He counted it as part of 'the estate I have in Belton', but it is hardly obvious that it was part of the original Feare's tenement.<sup>109</sup> It is, however, possible to locate it with some certainty. For a start, *Nineworthys* was said to be 'lying by Sideham' and the tithe survey records a 'Nineworthys' pasture (SDT275(D)), (just south of Pensford at OS ST618633), adjacent to a common called 'Sideham' (PT58(D)).<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, SDT275(D) lies, just south of Pensford, on the east side of the way to Stanton Wick and this relates well to the fact that, because Locke's *Nineworthys* was 'on the othe[r] side of the [unspecified] high way' from the bulk of Locke's Beluton property, St Thomas parish tax collectors claimed it belonged with them and not with Stanton Drew.<sup>111</sup>

So, at just over 1 acre it could well be that SDT275(D) is part of the 5 acres of the '2 grounds cald the Nineworthys', valued at £4 p.a., and of which Captain Burges was the tenant in 1660.<sup>112</sup> [O]

Possibly the freehold properties (ST3)–(ST6) somehow relate to (A), (B), and (C) (see above), which Locke's father inherited from Nicholas Locke. Possibly, too, they are what a 1660 survey records as 'An howse and backside' (value £3 p.a.) and 'Three cottages in Pensford' (total value £3 p.a.).<sup>113</sup> Their histories are difficult to untangle at times because members of the Floury family were tenants of three of them. There is nothing to go on to determine their location. [P]

On Locke's death the leasehold property (P) which had originally been granted his father would have reverted to the Pophams. This left the freehold

property listed in a document endorsed by Peter King 'Particulars and values of the Lands descended to me and Peter Stratton as Copartners which I had from Mr Lyde':<sup>114</sup> (ST1), leased by widow Haroll; (ST2) rack-rented by William Gullock; (ST3), leased by George Horwood; (ST4), leased by James Casse; (ST5), leased by Elizabeth Hopkins; (F11), leased by Benjamin Smith; and the remainder of (F), rack-rented by John Veale. Though the document does not mention the fact, that last item had already been settled on Peter Stratton by an agreement Locke had come to with William Stratton in 1687.<sup>115</sup> The details of the document are not easy to follow, but it would seem that King, with Stratton, sold all of this freehold (which in 1665 he had valued at £872)<sup>116</sup> to Benjamin Branch for £615 ('£600 and 15 broad pieces').

## COAL MINING

Coal mining was a feature of the Pensford area and Locke received some income from his property by virtue of it.<sup>117</sup> There was mining in three places on his land. One was (F2)/(F3), 'the ground at Casebrook ... Caled as they say by the name of Satry [ie Sawtry]', for which in 1680 'Mark Heale and his partners' (William Cottrell, William Hedges, Richard Chancellor) sought 'Articles ... of the agreement and a bond of performance on each side'.<sup>118</sup> Locke wanted as part of the seven-year agreement that he would appoint, and the partners would pay for, a third party to sell the coal – a condition that Heale was reluctant to accept, but one which he thought was born of Locke's already having 'bean knaveishly dealt with and therfor ... mistrustfull' in connection with coal mining.<sup>119</sup> After half a dozen years the venture petered out, but for each of two or three of them it yielded Locke £1.3s.<sup>120</sup>

The knavish dealings Heale was thinking of were in connection with the mining which had started some years earlier, elsewhere on Locke's property, at (F5)/(F13), when, in November 1671, Locke granted Edward Taylor 'the Cole works in little furlong and tining for 7 years at 3s. 6d per librum in the furlong and 2s in the tining'.<sup>121</sup> Locke's rent-rolls usually make no mention of this source of income, but according to one rare entry £1. 13s. 8d was due on Lady Day 1672 from the coalworks.<sup>122</sup> Indeed, towards the end of 1674 Locke questioned Peter Locke regarding what Taylor had been doing 'in the Coleworks at Beluton'. 'I have received

noething since August [16]73' he commented.<sup>123</sup>

In fact Taylor was still mining, and, claiming that he was paying Haroll the lord's rent (for (F13)) and 6d per week for the privilege, he continued digging for coal after the expiry of his lease in 1678.<sup>124</sup> This 'knavish dealing' was compounded by his not reinstating the ground by filling in the mine, as his lease had required.<sup>125</sup> However, as Stratton pointed out, there was still about £40 worth of coal in Locke's land, coal which would be lost if the pits were filled.<sup>126</sup>

Indeed, in 1681 Mark Heale and his partners wanted to take over Taylor's workings to get this coal.<sup>127</sup> The workings appear now to have involved only one usable pit, and so presented some problem of ventilation, and it was perhaps for this reason that Heale never embarked on the venture.<sup>128</sup> In 1683 Jo. Hedges and others expressed interest in trying their hand, but this too (which held out to Locke the prospect of receiving a tenth of the yield) seems to have come to nothing.<sup>129</sup>

There was of course the risk for Locke that if others took over from Taylor it would be harder still to keep him to his obligation to reinstate the land.<sup>130</sup> But this proved impossible anyway. John Veale, the tenant of the land in 1694, complained that the unfilled ground was dangerous and, Stratton informed Locke, 'If his cattell should miscarry he will expectt satisfacktion from you'. Though it was still Taylor's duty 'to fill them up ... he is soe poore that I thinke he is but one step above the parishes Releife, and know not how to have it don by him'. Stratton's advice was that it should be done at Locke's own cost, and two years later Veale was disbursed 5s for doing some of the work.<sup>131</sup>

Mining also began on part of Locke's leasehold estate when in 1691 agents for the landlord, Popham, began 'coal-work' in the Newtinings, (P9). Locke's friend and legal advisor, Edward Clarke, thought this 'is and will be to your damage' but did not know just what to advise until he had looked at the lease granted by Popham.<sup>132</sup> In the event, digging did not last more than a few months and there was an expression of 'a readiness to make a reasonable satisfaction for any damage you or your tenants have sustained'.<sup>133</sup>

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#### ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used: dB: de Beer; L: Locke's correspondence as enumerated in dB; Moger: Webb and Jones; NA: National Archives, Kew.

Unless indicated otherwise (eg NA), all manuscripts are from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> Woolhouse 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Woolhouse 2003, 171.

<sup>3</sup> Moger, 552.

<sup>4</sup> Woolhouse 2003, 171.

<sup>5</sup> King 1884, 2 (L110).

<sup>6</sup> L43.

<sup>7</sup> dB, vol. 1, 60. For the Popham family see Janes 2003, 4–6.

<sup>8</sup> MS Locke c.25, fol. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Locke had the Indenture or documents associated with it in his possession for some years, as is clear from various references to it in his papers: 'J. Locke's lease: 1650. A. Popham granted to J. Locke amongst other things the tining without any exception' (MS Locke f.12, p. 1); 'Memo ... 2 Ap 64 left with Mr Strachey in a black box sealed A. Popham's lease to my father' (MS Locke f.12, p. 3); 'Memo 66: J. Strachey. Left with him Apr. 24 my lease of Buckhill.' (MS Locke f.12, p. 8); 1 March 1680 'My uncle Locke restored me a black box wherein was A. Popham's lease of Buckhill to my father' (MS Locke f.4, p. 22).

<sup>10</sup> Cranston 1957, 79, n.4 is mistaken that Locke's father bought (rather than was given) the lease.

<sup>11</sup> MS Locke b.5/1.

<sup>12</sup> MS Locke b.5/2.

<sup>13</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 32, see also fol. 39.

<sup>14</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 6r, f.12, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> MS Locke c.25, fol. 6; also Moger, 554. The 1664 payment of £3 Locke made to Thomas

Watts was perhaps in this connection (MS Locke c.26, fol. 20rv).

<sup>16</sup> Moger, 552.

<sup>17</sup> MS Locke c.25, fol. 6; also Moger, 554.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas' will is at Moger, 552–3 (according to Bourne 1826, vol. 1, 82, the will is that of Locke's uncle Thomas); MS Locke b.5/2.

<sup>19</sup> MSS Locke b.5/2, c.26, fol. 17.

<sup>20</sup> If the house was in fact not part of the original Popham grant of (P1)–(P11), could it have been one of (A), (B), or (C), the leases of which were willed to Locke's father by Nicholas Locke?

<sup>21</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9r; c.26, fol. 34r; f.12, pp. 5–6. See also c.26, fols. 14, 32r, 39r.

<sup>22</sup> MSS Locke f.12, p. 6, c.26, fol. 34.

<sup>23</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 9r.

<sup>24</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 34, f.12, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 52r, f.12, p. 8, NA PRO 30/24/47/30, fol.11v.

<sup>26</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fols. 32, 34, f.12, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 32r.

<sup>28</sup> Milton 2004, 217b.

<sup>29</sup> For what follows I am indebted to Clay 1981.

<sup>30</sup> L767, MS Locke c.26, fol. 74r; L1282 talks of selling the property instead of selling the lease.

<sup>31</sup> The terms, the first five of which can be found in Locke's papers (L848, L895, L936, L952, L954, L1282, L1283, MSS Locke c.26, fol. 73v, c.19, fol. 1), varied from district to district.

<sup>32</sup> Clay 1981, 89.

<sup>33</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 81 (L1669).

<sup>34</sup> L1812.

<sup>35</sup> Clay 1981, 85.

<sup>36</sup> Some documents are quite explicit about some of the distinctions between them (L952, L954, L1871, MS Locke c.26, fols. 70, 74). Estimates of Locke's income from his property (Kelly 1991, vol. 1, 101; Milton and Milton 2006, 5, n.3) ignore the fact that some of his rents were minimal 'old' rents and that in these cases he also had income from selling leases for 'fines'.

<sup>37</sup> Harrison 1972, 88.

<sup>38</sup> I am grateful to David Stead for discussion of the issue.

<sup>39</sup> L952, L2230, L2236.

<sup>40</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> MS Locke f.12, pp. 242–3, 240–1, 238–9, 236–7, 234–5, 232–3, 230–1, 228–9, 18, NA PRO 30/24/47/30, fol. 11.

<sup>42</sup> L293, L936, MS Locke f.13, p. 26.

<sup>43</sup> MS Locke f.12, pp. 18, 226–7.

<sup>44</sup> MS Locke f.13, pp. 25–6, 27, L936, L2679.

- <sup>45</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 2.
- <sup>46</sup> Map and Apportionment: Publow (1839) NA IR 30/30/346, IR 29/30/346, (copies in Somerset Record Office D/D/Rt 112; much of this, including the map, is reproduced in Janes 2003, 31–89); Stanton Drew (with St Thomas in Pensford) (1842) NA IR 30/30/384, NA IR 29/30/384, (copies in Somerset Record Office D/D/Rt 411). In what follows, reference to some specific tithe item will be of the form PT97(B) (Publow tithe map item 97 – which can be found on map PT(B) on the website) – or SDT21(A) (Stanton Drew tithe map item 21 – which can be found on map SDT(A) on the website). I am grateful to the Somerset Record Office for permission to reproduce and use their maps in this way.
- <sup>47</sup> See Kain and Prince 2000 for a discussion of the survey, its results, and its value as a resource.
- <sup>48</sup> MS Locke c.26, fols. 69, 63, 74.
- <sup>49</sup> L2162.
- <sup>50</sup> MS Locke f.12, pp. 2–3.
- <sup>51</sup> Janes 2003, 54. PT201(B) is ‘Bakers’ in the survey, but ‘Bookhill’ on the earlier map.
- <sup>52</sup> L755.
- <sup>53</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 1.
- <sup>54</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 3.
- <sup>55</sup> L2226, L2230.
- <sup>56</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fols. 5, 9, 32, 34, f.12, p. 5.
- <sup>57</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 6r.
- <sup>58</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 6r (‘Garden orchard and backside’).
- <sup>59</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9r; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 6r (‘East of Carisbrooke 2 closes’, 3 acres, no value given).
- <sup>60</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 9.
- <sup>61</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 6r.
- <sup>62</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fol. 5r.
- <sup>63</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 6r.
- <sup>64</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 6r.
- <sup>65</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r, 6r (3 acres).
- <sup>66</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fol. 5r.
- <sup>67</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fol. 5r.
- <sup>68</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fol. 5r.
- <sup>69</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9; also at f.12, p. 5; c.26, fol. 5.
- <sup>70</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fols. 9r; also at 5r.
- <sup>71</sup> MSS Locke c.26, 9r; also at f.12, p. 5, c.26, fols. 5r (same size, value £3.2s.6d, 6r (‘about 7 more acres’).
- <sup>72</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9r, b.5/5; also at c.26, fol. 39r.
- <sup>73</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 9r; see also fol. 5r (‘A little plot in Tho. Fifetts mead at Teacre’, value 1s.1d), f.12, p. 5 (‘a little plot in Jaxons mead’, value 3s).
- <sup>74</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 59; see also f.12, p. 10. How does Evans’ Little Ric Furlong relate to (F5)? Possibly the two perch piece at Amercombe is part of the ½ acre Amercombe in an early survey of Feare’s tenement (MS Locke c.26, fol. 6r).
- <sup>75</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 5.
- <sup>76</sup> A rack-rent of £22 (see [K]) must have encompassed a good proportion of lands whose estimated annual value was £31 (even though the former also included Belluton House).
- <sup>77</sup> Rand 1927, 196 (L906).
- <sup>78</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 1. Its value seems not be included in the above valuations of Feare’s tenement.
- <sup>79</sup> Bourne 1826, vol. 1, 11–12, 81.
- <sup>80</sup> But, see below, the survey does show a field of that name behind one of the possibilities for the house which Nicholas Locke owned at Belluton as part of the tenement he had bought from John Feare.
- <sup>81</sup> Cranston 1957, 6.
- <sup>82</sup> MS Locke f.12, fol. 1.
- <sup>83</sup> MSS Locke f.12, pp. 254, 255, 259, f.13, pp.30, 49, f.4, p. 44.
- <sup>84</sup> MS Locke c.19, fols. 39 (L952), 19 (L869), L1537.
- <sup>85</sup> <http://lbonline.english-heritage.org.uk>. LBS Nos. 32610, 32611.
- <sup>86</sup> Cranston 1957, 6.
- <sup>87</sup> L869.
- <sup>88</sup> L1055, L936. See *East field and West field* below.
- <sup>89</sup> L2226, L2230; MSS Locke f.7, pp. 121,122–4, c.19, fol. 22, b.8/11; MS Locke b.5/14.
- <sup>90</sup> LBS No. 32612.
- <sup>91</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 34; c.26, fol.8, f.12, 1, 259, 257, 256, 255, 254, 242–3, PRO 30/24/47/30, fol. 11rv.
- <sup>92</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 4 (L543).

- <sup>93</sup> PT301; see Janes 2003, 68.  
<sup>94</sup> MS Locke b.5/5.  
<sup>95</sup> L1448, MS Locke c.19, fol. 68 (L1427).  
<sup>96</sup> L1427, L1448, MS Locke c.19, fol. 93 (L1822).  
<sup>97</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 68 (L1427).  
<sup>98</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fols. 8, 69, 73v, 94v, f.12, pp. 259, 257, 251, 250, 242–3, 240–1, 238–9, 236–7, 234–5, 232–3, 230–1, 228–9, 226–7, f.13, pp. 12, 28, c.19, fols. 3r, 27v, cf. fol. 2, f.4, p. 22, NA PRO 30/24/47/30, fol. 11rv, L296.  
<sup>99</sup> MS Locke f.12. p. 5.  
<sup>100</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 6. Later rentrolls refer to this land as the ‘tining’. It is not mentioned after 1671. (MS Locke f.12, pp. 240–1, 238–9, 236–7, 234–5, 232–3, 230–1.)  
<sup>101</sup> Rand 1927, 274 (L1055), MS Locke c.19, fol. 26 (L936).  
<sup>102</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 16.  
<sup>103</sup> MSS Locke f.12, fols. 259, 257, 255, 251, 249, NA PRO 30/24/47/30, fol. 11rv, L41, L42. In being dignified by a title ‘Mr Maggs’ was not a typical male tenant.  
<sup>104</sup> MS Locke f.12, fol. 242–3, 236–7.  
<sup>105</sup> L2230.  
<sup>106</sup> MSS Locke c.26, fol. 34, f.12, p. 6.  
<sup>107</sup> SDT258(C), SDT259(C), SDT263(D), SDT264(D), SDT265(D), SDT267(D); ranging from 10 (SDT259(C)) to three eighths (SDT264(D)) of an acre.  
<sup>108</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 37v (L936).  
<sup>109</sup> Locke MS c.19, fol. 37v (L936).  
<sup>110</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 37v (L936).  
<sup>111</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 77 (L1558); see ‘Rates, taxes, and other payments’ (on the website).  
<sup>112</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 9r. A 1656(?) reference to ‘Capt. Burges 2 grounds. 13 years. £1.05 old rent. Value £2 p.a., £30 to be sold’ (c.26, fol. 32), and a presumably earlier one to ‘C Burges 15 years, £1.05’ (c.26, fol. 39) are somewhat unclear as between Nineworthys and Old Down.  
<sup>113</sup> MS Locke c.26, fol. 9r.  
<sup>114</sup> MS Locke c.26 fol. 95v.  
<sup>115</sup> MSS Locke f.12, pp. 5–6, fol. 34; (F) and (ST) were valued at £636 and £236 respectively. An inventory he made of his father’s goods shortly after his death includes ‘1 chattle lease for 2 lives £400’ (MS Locke c.25, fol. 7). Presumably this was the lease for (P), the two lives being those of Locke and his brother.  
<sup>116</sup> For details see Woolhouse 2008, pp. 5–6  
<sup>117</sup> Janes 2003, 29–30.  
<sup>118</sup> MSS Locke c.19, fol. 4 (L543); see also f.4, p.

- 49, L550, L568, L583, L614, L630.  
<sup>119</sup> MS Locke c.19, fol. 5 (L550).  
<sup>120</sup> L936, L954; MS Locke c.19, fols. 29r, 29v, 31v.  
<sup>121</sup> MS Locke f.12, p. 18.  
<sup>122</sup> MS Locke f.12, pp. 228–9.  
<sup>123</sup> L293, MS Locke f.13, p. 40.  
<sup>124</sup> L550, L568. In the spring of 1680 Locke received a total of £9.6s.9d for ‘my one tenth of the coleworks at Beluton’ (MS Locke f.4, p. 28).  
<sup>125</sup> L568, L630.  
<sup>126</sup> L568.  
<sup>127</sup> L630.  
<sup>128</sup> L630. See Bulley 1952, 68–9, for mine ventilation in the early Somerset coalfield.  
<sup>129</sup> L755.  
<sup>130</sup> L630.  
<sup>131</sup> MSS Locke c.19, fol. 93 (L1822), c.26, fol. 82.  
<sup>132</sup> Rand 1927, 304 (L1369).  
<sup>133</sup> Rand 1927, 313 (L1406).

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