

[This opening section appears in diary pasted in middle of entry for 28 November]

New Year's Day Friday [January 1, 1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 8 & sat out for Lit<sup>n1</sup> near 9 home p 12. Went to Change<sup>2</sup> 2 went to dinner with AD<sup>3</sup> [at] Mrs Symes's afterw<sup>ds</sup> to off:<sup>4</sup> visited Rachell<sup>5</sup> at Mr Davis's<sup>6</sup> where .. came last Tuesd<sup>y</sup>. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s7</sup> & at 7 ret<sup>d</sup> to Mr Symes's & spent the evening .. till p 10. Today the toll began to be collected,.. [Br]istol temporary bridge.<sup>8</sup>

Saturday [January 2, 1762]

Rose this m<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 7 took walk & [brea]kfasted with mother: then to .. & about 12 went up to the Lamb<sup>9</sup> where were also Mr He<sup>y</sup> Durbin, Ja<sup>s</sup> Smith,<sup>10</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> Penny & Eaton. We were all by ourselves in a room .. order to try an experiment with ..yling ye childrens water<sup>11</sup> with ... in it but the experiment was not properly tryed. The two children were present & Po[lley]<sup>12</sup> the eldest had like to have [been] strangled once & was quite black in the face, by ... invisible hand clasping rou.. her neck. This morn<sup>g</sup> they .. us she cou'd not drink a dish of ... Her arm being struck up.. as she had got the cup to her ... & once the tea cup was rais[ed] from ye saucer 12 inches ... perpendicular, by

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<sup>1</sup> The gunpowder works at Littleton (see introduction) lie in the valley of the Winford brook between Winford and Chew Magna.

<sup>2</sup> The Bristol Exchange off Corn Street, opened in September 1743.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Dyer\*.

<sup>4</sup> Dyer's office was the gunpowder office of Baugh\*, Ames\* and co, described in 1775 as 'first door on right up one pair of stairs 17 in the Exchange', above the Exchange Coffeehouse. They had moved there in December 1751, at an annual rent of £8, and they remained until 1792 when the Coffeehouse was replaced by a new bank.

<sup>5</sup> Rachel Tucker\*.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Davis\*.

<sup>7</sup> John Dyer\*.

<sup>8</sup> While Bristol Bridge was rebuilt, a temporary bridge was operating: a notice of the tolls ran in the Bristol papers from 14 December 1761.

<sup>9</sup> The Lamb Inn, 9 West Street, without Lawford's Gate, kept by Richard Giles\*. See the photograph on the front cover of this publication. BRO 40197/3 is a photograph of the Lamb Inn, West Street, endorsed 'diagram of building with measurements', c. June 1904.

<sup>10</sup> A James Smith baker was listed at 15 Lamb Street in 1775.

<sup>11</sup> See Eaton's diary 2-8 January for more on this as 'an experiment that was trying in order to afflict the w-ch'. A remedy against witchcraft in *FFBJ* 25 November 1752 had noted that a mixture of urine and other exotic ingredients, if boiled, would cause the witch agony and, if it boiled quite away, she would die. The recipe 'to perplex or kill a witch', was taken from an old collection 'written when the laws of our country admitted of witches and punishing them' and included, besides urine, foal's heart, apple, a lock of hair, blood and pins. The guilty party would be found naked, with their skin turned black and in most horrid torments. Sceptics about the Lamb Inn case picked on such counter-measures: one questioning those involved for sitting around while 'something is cooling over the fire that is to bring the witch to the door' (*FFBJ* 20 February), while another noted 'charms have been devised, the waters of the purest virgins have been preserved in urinals and tortured in a burning cauldron' before adding, more fantastically, 'whereto hath been added a select number of crooked horse-nails, ditto beheaded pins, the skin of a rat, the claw of a cat, the wing of a bat, the white of a rattle-snake, and the slime of a toad &c, &c, &c' (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, 15 February). Durbin's narrative generally omits all reference to this aspect.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Giles\*, known as Molly to Durbin and Polley (or Polly) to Dyer.

an invis.. power & then fell down in pieces. I staid there w.. above gentlemen 'till ½ p 2 & p 3 at off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till ... went again to the Lamb ... there with Mr Eaton 'till nea.. we set Polly to write several words but sometimes her righ.. was given such a sudden jerk .....

..dren were both put away in ...closed ½ an hour in the same ... room during w<sup>ch</sup> time Doppey<sup>1</sup> ye youngest cried out twice ... something was pulling her out of bed by the neck & we cou'd perceive her neck was strain'd as if pulled by something, but cou'd not see any thing. Polly had also like to be strangled 6 or 7 times & appea.. black in ye face each time when lifted her up in the bed as quick as possible & then it went off. This morn<sup>g</sup> about 10 o'clock the family had missed Doppey ... an hour & was under great consternation concern<sup>g</sup> her hav<sup>g</sup> searched every place as cou'd be thought of. At last Mr Giles turned up stairs & looking under a bed in an inward room i.e. the seco.. room from the stair case He said the poor child ...

... the bed but cou.. cry hav<sup>g</sup> its mouth cover.. said afterwards by an ha.. in a short time after he took her... cryed vehemently & said that a...was stand<sup>g</sup> by the kitchen ... a hand cover'd her mou.. another hand took her rou.. neck & lug'd her up stairs & ... don't remember seting one ... on ye stairs, nor does she .. whether any person was ... ye kitchen fire when she ... convey'd away. This same ... was quite pulled out of b.. a few nights ago. I had almost forgot to ment.. that this even<sup>g</sup> I heard in the ... a scratching several times ... as if done with iron claws ... upon striking once or twice with my foot against the Bed ste..

[ju]st as many times wou'd the scratching echo & I am quite convinced it cou'd not be done by the children

Sunday, [Janua]ry 3, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 went to the Lamb Heard Polley Giles has had a convuls..<sup>2</sup> ... tonight. Called on Mother Davis – in foren<sup>o</sup> went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & ... sacra<sup>t</sup> & had a comfortable opportunity.<sup>3</sup> Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs4</sup> ... ..all'd on Rachell at Mr Davis's from ..nce to Bro<sup>t</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> & then to Mr Eaton ... went with him to Quakers meet<sup>g5</sup> & spent near 2 hours there very ..greeably where I heard one Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Whitehead<sup>6</sup> a truly good man! Who delivered the truth wth clearness & energy.

Monday, Jan[ua]ry 4, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 - p 9 up in To[wn]<sup>7</sup> staid at off: &c 'till 2. After dinner went with Mr Ames to Mr ... but the latter was from home. At 5 home. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & p 7 we.. up to Mr Eatons & made enquir..

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<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Giles\*, known as Dobby to Durbin and Doppey to Dyer.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin's account (p. 13) describes the girl's fit in some detail, but argues that 'it was no convulsion' in a medical sense. See 5/1 for Dyer's views on this.

<sup>3</sup> Comfortable means strengthening or inspiring; in particular the 1547-8 order of communion refers to the 'most comfortable sacrament' and after the absolution there are scriptural sayings known as the 'comfortable words'.

<sup>4</sup> In Corn Street, rebuilt in 1759-61 and reopened in February 1761.

<sup>5</sup> Quakers Friars meeting house in Rosemary Street had been new built in 1747-9.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Whitehead (c. 1719-98) was a Quaker preacher, who was an insurance broker for many years (in 1763 he married Mrs Short, who kept the Exchange Coffeehouse and in 1775 Whitehead and Bailey insurance brokers were at 44 Corn Street, while he lived at 44 St Michael's Hill), but he also operated as a banker, being a partner with Ames\*, Deane\* and others in the Small Street bank. He subscribed (as a 'banker') to Lovett's\* *Philosophical Essays* in 1766.

<sup>7</sup> This refers to the main part of Bristol, across the Bridge from the Redcliffe/Temple area where Dyer lived.

concern<sup>s</sup> ye affair at the Lam.. w<sup>ch</sup> appears rather worse tha.. better. This morn<sup>s</sup> while in bed one of the children dec.. she saw a Hand & part of the body of a person who (I thin..) draw'd the curtain. [Added in smaller hand] There was a wom<sup>n</sup> who ... with ye children last night also declares she ... This day Bro:<sup>r</sup> and Sister Hop[kins]<sup>1</sup> dined with us & staid the ev.. This visit being to comme[mo]rate wedding day, which 10 years yesterday to them & 11 yesterday to me & my wife.<sup>2</sup>

[Tuesday, January 5, 1762]<sup>3</sup>

..had but just done when suddenly her head was jerked forward & struck her mouth against the cup. She was then desired to come & sit in a chair just by me and I held her elbow with one hand & her head with t'other when she drank without interruption but whenever she attempted to drink without so doing either her elbow or head was jerked.

After breakfast she sat in the window again (about 6 inches from her right side being the window shutter) soon after which her head was with a sudden jerk struck against the said window shutter. & this (I think) was repeated twice. Her sister Doppey or Dorothy was then placed between the window shutter & herself when of a sudden she was jerked against her sister & that with some violence & it appeared to her as if a hand had suddenly taken hold of the oposite arm just above the elbow & performed this sudden jerk. She was then removed to sit in a chair 6 inches from where I sat when it was not long before she was suddenly jerk.. against my side & she fell against me with some degree of force. She was two or three times pinched in the neck behind whilst siting in the window & I am confident it could not be done by herself because I saw both her hands before her at ye time she cried out & upon looking immediately saw her flesh indented about ½ an inch in length as if done by a thumb or large finger nail. Some people may term those sudden jerks convulsive motions but I am confident of the contrary.

The paroxysm or fit she had this morn<sup>s</sup> seem'd of the hysteric or convulsive kind, because of her hands being clinched & as she told me afterwards there seemed as if a ball ascended to her throat & (I think) she said her heart was clipped but I can't help thinking but this proceeded from a preternatural cause, & that this infernal agent which torments her was the occasion thereof. But that those indentures in her flesh were spasmodick I think is against all sense & experience to suppose. The woman who lay with the children again tonight declares that Doppey had once in the night very likely to have been pulled out of bed & that she held her with some violence to prevent it & she again declares that yesterd<sup>y</sup> morn<sup>s</sup> she saw a hand & arm & part of a body all one side as it were, but it pulled the curtain & seemed to endeavour to hide itself behind the curtain from her sight. One circumstance I had almost forgot which was that while Polley sat by me this morn<sup>g</sup> she thoug.. I whispered in her ear next to me & this happened two or three times but she first cou'd not distinguish what was whispered but at last she said she plainly heard it whisper something about "upstairs" but did not distinguish clearly any other words. & while she satt in the window & Mr Eaton very near to her she thought he had whispered something in her ear whereas he was looking

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel\* and Hannah Hopkins\*. Hannah was Ann Dyer's\* sister.

<sup>2</sup> Although Dyer had actual

ly got married on 23 December 1750, he regarded 3 January as his wedding anniversary because, like many people, he did not accept the calendar change in 1752 which had jumped 11 days to bring the British and continental calendars together.

<sup>3</sup> The start of this entry is missing. The central part of this account is not reported by Durbin (pp. 13-15) or Eaton, though Durbin does report a cup being snatched from Molly and a chamberpot moving (and a glass levitating – see end of Dyer's extracted diary for Brown), while Eaton reports part of the whispering, though he says Polley said 'stairs' not 'upstairs'.

quite another way. & also another circumstance was that she 3 or 4 times felt a damp hand laid on her bare skin just below the neck behind. Whereas no person visible touched her. These are things which I cannot impute to bare imagination.

½ p 9 went to Mr Ames & w<sup>th</sup> him to Mr Baugh & they both talk'd of advanc<sup>g</sup> ye price of powder<sup>1</sup> at least to suspend taking any considerable orders. Staid off. &c 'till 2. B Ramzor came to off: this morn<sup>g</sup> & I settled with him & at samtime told him my mind concern<sup>g</sup> his ill conduct. After din<sup>r</sup> went to off: at 5 went to Mrs Greens & drank tea there with AD and Sam<sup>2</sup> then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8.

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 6, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & p 8 went without ye Gate<sup>3</sup> & took short walk with Mr Eaton & call'd at the Lamb<sup>4</sup> where was Mr Hen Durbin. They inform'd me that yesterday about 1 o'clock at noon Doppey was taken up stairs by an invisible hand & when up stairs she saw the appearance of a woman who cryed "a witch a witch" & that she dragged the child under the bed & there kept it lying down by her & staring in the face. That when some body came up stairs to seek after the children the old woman disappeared but they found a great resistance when they pulled the child from under the bed. & last night the nurse maid declares she saw an old woman (& describes her dress) stand at the foot of the bed. & she herself (the nurse maid) was with difficulty prevented from being pulled out of bed by her feet. This morning I saw Polley when at breakfast several times jerked with her head against the wind<sup>o</sup> shutter & her hand likewise tossed up when attempting to drink a cup of tea. This aftern<sup>o</sup> Mrs Giles & Mr Eaton came down to our house I hav<sup>g</sup> proposed they shall have a room for the children.

At 11 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard an Excellent serm<sup>o</sup> & went into the vestry to Mr Symes. - staid on Change &c 'till 2. Then home & near 6 at off went to auction at ye Bush<sup>5</sup> & near 8 at Helpful Society.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gunpowder: see introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Dyer\*, William's youngest brother, aged 14.

<sup>3</sup> Outside Lawford's Gate. After complaints about its narrowness in both 1747 and 1751, the Gate was removed under the act of 1766.

<sup>4</sup> Both Eaton and Durbin have much fuller details of the Doppey story on 5 January, including details of the witch and her clothing.

<sup>5</sup> Bush Tavern at 40 Corn St, which became famous from the 1770s under the management of John Weeks and was listed in 1793-4 as one of two principal taverns and one of three principal inns in Bristol. See James Williams\* for the book auctions in its 'Great Room'.

<sup>6</sup> This was a friendly society, to support the widows of its members, which Dyer had joined on 4 September 1751, paying a 10s entrance fee. It met on the first Wednesday evening of each month, and Dyer always attended briefly; the (longer) annual meeting was in December. There is no mention of this Society in any public record in Bristol. Other members mentioned are a mercer, apothecary, haberdasher and teacher; 14 members briefly withdrew in 1752 and he mentions dining with 11 members that same year. From July 1759 it met at Mrs Coote's in Temple Street and from February 1763 at Mrs Gees (a Mary Gee, grocer, is at 59 Thomas Street in 1775); these locations and the other people mentioned all suggest that the society may have been for people living south of the river. Dyer's diary records the keeping of money in the Society chest, with keys held by various persons including himself as secretary for a period until 1766 when the writing master Abraham Gadd replaced him. He also records fruitless efforts in 1753-4 to establish a serge manufactory to earn a profit with their money. He notes the deaths of various widows supported by the Society (e.g. William Morrish's\* widow), the exclusion of a 'sodomite', and a controversy over whether to support the family of a suicide (Dyer opposed this, but it was approved by the majority). The Society probably operated similarly to the 'Useful Society', whose operations are clarified by references in a sermon preached for their annual dinner and published as sermon no 9 in William Davies, *Sermons on Religious and Moral Subjects* (Bristol, 1756); this used members' subscriptions to purchase annuities for the widows to commence on the decease of their husbands, so helping both them and any fatherless orphans; in 1756 the Society lent £3000 at 4 % interest to All Saints vestry.

Thursday, Jan[ua]ry 7, 1762

Rose near 8. Sent Ire to Mr E.. & reced an account of some remarkable occurrences last night at ye Lamb.<sup>1</sup> Called on Mr Brown: Staid at off &c 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mr Durbin ab<sup>t</sup> 4 at off: Drank tea with Bro<sup>r</sup> John who is today ret<sup>d</sup> from Glos<sup>r</sup> where he went last Tuesday. & I am under some concern with regard to his affairs. This even<sup>g</sup> at ½ p 7 went to the Lamb & was there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mrs Giles sometime when nothing material happened except that Polley once said that somthing whistled in her ear. Afterwards Mr Durbin Mr Eaton, Mr Roquet & Mr Smith breeches maker in Old King Street<sup>2</sup> also came there. Ab<sup>t</sup> ½ p 9 the children were just to bed & soon after we all went up in the chamber and what was very amazing and astonishing both the children were several times I suppose 6 or 8 times bit on their arms & there was the mark of two rows of teeth an upper & an under row which formed an ovall of 2 inches length sometimes (we measured it once with a rule w<sup>ch</sup> was exactly 2 inches) & somtimes it was a smaller ovall the childrens hands were most of the time in bed & their mouths above the bed clothes so that we are confident it cou'd not be their own doing but what is most amazing and what must puzzle the phylosophy of our reasoning gentleman was that there was a slimy spittle or a slaver [saliva written above in same hand] left all round the indentures as if it came from the lips of some person. We observed that the biting was much less when there was light in the room than when the candles were carried out. & therefore the candles were several times carried out of the room & Polleys hands were put out of bed but covered with a cloth. But notwithstand<sup>g</sup> she was very soon after bit. & Doppey's arms I held myself & she was also bit & somtimes the print of the teeth were so exceed<sup>g</sup> deep as if it were just thro' the skin once or twice there seemed to have been two bites just after each other in an oval form thus (drawing) But the generality of the bites were only in this shape (drawing) & what is most marvellous the slimy spittle which I felt with my fingers & am confident there was no deceit. Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton saw the same sort of bites last night and they think there was about 24 in the whole. After we were ab<sup>t</sup> 15 minutes in the room Mr Roquet & all ye company knelt down to pray & afterwards he spoke very suitable to the occasion which appeared to be well reced by every one present. & the hellish works of Satan entirely ceased as to the above affair from the time he begun his prayer 'till we went away which was past 11 o'clock. Mrs Giles told of an old wom<sup>n</sup> who came there this even<sup>g</sup> & behaved very oddly but cou'd give but little account of herself.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 8, 1762

Rose at 5 and gave keys of Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz<sup>3</sup> for ye wag<sup>n1</sup> went to bed and rose again at 8. Sent Robert<sup>2</sup> to Lit<sup>n</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> because I had sundry places to go to. p 9 up in town. afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eaton's diary of 6 January details these, mainly in the form of bites, whereas Dyer's diary has more on the bites seen on 7/1. The drawings of the bitemarks are shown on the photograph of this page used as the frontispiece to the volume. Neither Eaton nor Durbin (pp. 15-16) report what Mrs Giles says about the old woman, and Durbin omits Roquet's prayers and their effect.

<sup>2</sup> In 1775 Edward Smith breeches and glue maker is listed at 23 Old King Street.

<sup>3</sup> This ancient tower (called Tower Harriots on Millerd's map of 1673) was a major city landmark (one of Chatterton's favourites) and lay in the corner of the Great Garden, where Dyer lived; hence regular early morning calls by those requiring a key to store materials there. It had been used to store gunpowder when manufactured at Baber's Tower in

Ho:<sup>3</sup> also at Pit<sup>n</sup> Fields<sup>4</sup> Mr Webbs.<sup>5</sup> Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2. after dinner went to Mr Symes's & at 5 call'd on Mr Eaton & drank tea there. I find that Polly Giles had one violent bite on her arm this morning. p 6 up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Williams's auction of books<sup>6</sup> & staid 'till near 10.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 9, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 8 when James (belong<sup>g</sup> to ye wag<sup>ns</sup>)<sup>7</sup> called  
Went to Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz & reced some petre.<sup>8</sup> p 9 up in town went to Mr Ames's & Mr Baugh staid at off &c 'till 2. This day war was declared in Bristol against Spain. -  
After dinner went to Mr Ames & shewd lre reced from Bro<sup>r</sup> James.<sup>9</sup> In even<sup>g</sup> went to William's sale & bo<sup>t</sup> some books & was somewhat vexed.  
Went home at 8 & near 9 went up to the Lamb<sup>10</sup> & was in company there with Mr Harry Durbin<sup>11</sup> Mr Eaton & Mr Haynes - Mr Roquet was there some part of the time.  
I staid there 'till p 11 when nothing material happened & then came home with Mr Durbin. Tomor<sup>o</sup> the children are to be put out somewhere.

Sunday, Jan[ua]ry 10, 1762

'twas late when I went to bed last night & late when I rose this morn<sup>g</sup>. The affair at the Lamb has occasion'd my keep<sup>g</sup> late hours somtime past & has put me much out of course.  
Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> in foren<sup>o</sup> & staid at home all the aftern<sup>o</sup> and even<sup>g</sup>. Lord have mercy on me as I stand in need.

Monday, [January] 11<sup>th</sup>, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 at 9 went to Mr Eaton & ye Lamb & found that the children were yesterday removed to a house of Mr Lowdins at no 8 in Lowdins Court<sup>12</sup> & they crossed the water about the time that the

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Bristol in the 1670s and the gunpowder company had leased it from 1749 to store their gunpowder, but after a fire there the Temple parishioners (understandably) petitioned for the removal of all powder in July 1756 and it was taken out, moving to Hungrood (see 21/1) and then Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3) but some being kept in Redcliffe Backs (and Dyer moved house to be close to the store). In December 1757 a printed paper was dispersed about the dangers of storing gunpowder there and, after the company dispersed their own paper in reply, it was agreed to use Tower Harratz again, but only for small amounts of powder needed for 'town customers'. BRO f/Bond/3 are Tower Harratz bonds.

<sup>1</sup> The wagon was bringing powder into Bristol to store in Tower Harratz.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Dyer\*

<sup>3</sup> This had been erected 1710-11 at the centre of the north side of Queen Square, and it had within it the 90-foot Long Room.

<sup>4</sup> Pitman Scandrett Field\*.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

<sup>6</sup> See James Williams\*.

<sup>7</sup> William James\*.

<sup>8</sup> Saltpetre, one of three key ingredients of gunpowder, imported into Bristol, either directly or via London (often through James Dyer\*).

<sup>9</sup> James Dyer\*.

<sup>10</sup> Durbin (pp. 16-17) and in particular Eaton give more details of incidents this day, including Rouquet's\* prayers.

<sup>11</sup> Sometimes Dyer refers to Henry Durbin\* as 'Harry'.

<sup>12</sup> Cornelius Lowdin was a cutler, who lived opposite the Pelican (see 3/8) in St Thomas Street in 1762, and went bankrupt in May 1767; he may be the Lowdin 'cornbroker and auctioneer' listed at 125 Bedminster in 1775. Durbin

litany was reading<sup>1</sup> pursuant to advice which some persons had given them. – call'd at Father Davis's. Went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2. - after dinner visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> John who appears not far from the gates of death. Visited Mr Giles's children & had the satisfaction to find they have had not any thing of their tormentor since being at their new habitation.

Drank tea at Mrs Marstons new habitation where they are very lately remov'd to. Went to off & staid 'till near 8. then visited ye children in Lowdins Court. I look upon it as exceed<sup>s</sup> providential that this house was proposed to them it being without their seek<sup>s</sup> after it & it is ready furnished to their hands.

Tuesday, Jan[ua]ry 12, 1762

Rose near 8. Went to off: p 9 visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis &c went to Alderm<sup>n</sup> Laroche - & at off &c 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> visited Mr Giles's children in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Eaton. then to off:.. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Brewh<sup>o</sup>:<sup>2</sup> called on Mo<sup>r</sup> & drank tea at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 7. the Committee<sup>3</sup> met consist<sup>s</sup> of Mr Elton, Ames, Baugh, Miller Deane, Wansey.

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to sale of books & staid 'till 9 and was greatly deceived in the purchase of a book at last. May I learn wisdom!

Wednesday, [January] 13, [1762]

Rose p 7 visited my little patients in Lowdin's Court: Went to Mr Eaton's & to the Lamb. Afterwards to Mr Browns. Called on Mr Mills at the Bush<sup>4</sup> & got rid of the book I foolishly bou<sup>t</sup> last night. I staid on Change &c 'till 2 this after<sup>n</sup> and Mrs Elmes Mrs Giles and children paid us a visit. Last night Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> unexpectedly arrived at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> from Lond<sup>o</sup> & that on a disagreeable

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says that the house was in the Great Garden in Temple parish and furnished with Lowdin's goods. The name of the 'court' suggests Lowdin had developed it, but it may have been William Lowdin, presumably a relative, who had owned a glasshouse on Redcliffe Backs where Benjamin Lund had produced soft-paste porcelain 1749-52. In 1775 2 names are listed in 'Lowden's Court' – Edward Foxall cooper at no 2 and Elizabeth Smith widow at no 7.

<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 17) says they moved at 11 a.m; presumably it was thought the church service would offer some protection.

<sup>2</sup> In the Old Market. In February 1760, at Isaac Elton's\* request, Dyer 'first modelled and superintended his brewery accounts by examining and calling over the entries' made by the new clerk Charles Brown\*. Brown worked there until at least 1778, and Dyer clearly continued to supervise the accounts closely, calling in on 59 days.

<sup>3</sup> The partners in the two gunpowder companies that formed the United Company (see introduction) met each Tuesday fortnight in the evening to discuss the business. Elton\*, Ames\* and Miller\* formed the Littleton company; Baugh\*, Deane\* and Wansey\* (and sometimes Worgan\*) the Woolley company.

<sup>4</sup> This may be Thomas Mills (the grandfather of Lord Macaulay through his daughter Selina), who was a bookseller, initially in Bath. In 1765 he published a collection of hymns for Lady Huntingdon's Chapel in Bristol, where he was also a preacher and clerk, although he did not move his bookselling business to Bristol until 1773, when he took over the shop of Samuel Edwards, associated with Whitefield's\* Tabernacle (see 16/4) . Mills was attracted to the same mystic writers as Dyer, and published works by or about Boehme (see 10/12), Law\*, Guion and later Swedenborg; he was also attracted to the Quakers and applied for membership in 1778, though he was refused full membership and then disowned by them in 1789. In 1774 Dyer edited Guion's *Worship of God in Spirit and Truth* for Mills to publish in 1775. See 6/1 for the Bush Tavern.

errand poor Bro<sup>r</sup> J's affairs being very bad.<sup>1</sup> Spent the even<sup>g</sup> with Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> in comp<sup>a</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Cap<sup>n</sup> Phillips<sup>2</sup> a gent<sup>n</sup> who sets out with him this night at 12 o'clock: in a post chaise.

Thursday, [January] 14<sup>th</sup>, [1762]

Lay in bed 'till p 8. Visited ye child<sup>n</sup> in Lowdins Court. then up in town went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> also at off: &c 'till p 2. Mr Eaton came home with me and he went to visit ye children. after din<sup>r</sup> went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> & settled acco<sup>t</sup> with him. & can't help bearing part of his burthen - went to off at 5. Call'd at Mr Browns. Drank tea. Mr Symes's Mas<sup>r</sup> Dickey<sup>3</sup> had a bad fall while I was there. Went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 15, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & p 8 visited the children and was informed their malicious adversary<sup>4</sup> had found them out. Mrs Elmes is confident she heard a thumping at 7 done with a fist in some part of the room. & the nurse heard a scratching underneath her head. But the children seem not yet to be affected. p 9 set out for Littleton & was somewhat vexed at observ<sup>g</sup> she was blind in one of her eyes proceed<sup>g</sup> (as I suppose) from a blow & I charged the hostler therewith but he denies it. Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 12 dined & went to off: afterwards went to Mr Searles & sent for Hobby<sup>5</sup> & electrified her eye with my small machine.<sup>6</sup> p 3 went to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 5. Drank tea with mother: called at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> then to off. p 7 call'd on Geo Bush: then visited Mr Giles's children & home. They have seen something more of the witch's pranks this aftern<sup>o</sup> a handbrush being throw'd from the stairs down into the parlour.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 16, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7. p 8 went to Mr Eatons ye Lamb and to Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis who is much indisposed. Ab<sup>t</sup> 10 at off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. after din<sup>r</sup> went again to Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis & carried a medicine.<sup>7</sup> P 5 at off and st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 7 then to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup>. visited Mr Giles's children. then home.

Sunday, [January] 17, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 8 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & spent even<sup>g</sup> at home.

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<sup>1</sup> See 31/1 for John Dyer's\* bankruptcy.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps also the Capt Phil... who 'blusters' at Dyer in the undated entries from 17/21-December below. In 1775 a George Phillips 'captain of the Polly' lived at 33 Queen Square.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, son of Rev. Richard Symes\*.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (p. 17) reports that knockings/tattoes had been happening since the 12<sup>th</sup>, but does not report 'pinching' until the 17<sup>th</sup> or hairbrushes thrown until 19<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> A hobby is a small horse used for ambling rather than riding, and Dyer had shared the costs of keeping the mare Hobby with Rev. James Brown\* since 18 May 1761; she was old and had problems with her eyes and they made various efforts to sell her from July 1761 onwards, finally selling her for four guineas in January 1763.

<sup>6</sup> See introduction for Dyer's use of electricity for medical purposes.

<sup>7</sup> See introduction for Dyer's medical activities.



Monday, Jan[ua]ry 18, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 at 9 visited Mr Giles's child[ren] then up in town. visited Mr Symes staid at off: &c 'till 2 – p 3 at off: Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Baugh's and carr<sup>d</sup> him cash for a bill reced from ye bank - st<sup>d</sup> at off: 'till 6 then went to Palmers<sup>1</sup> & from then[ce] accompanied Mr Symes to Mr Pennys & spent the even<sup>s</sup> there - Mrs Daniell<sup>2</sup> supped with AD. p 10 home.

Tuesday, Jan[ua]ry 19, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 8 - visited ye children call'd on Mr W<sup>m</sup> Hopkins: then to off: & staid there &c 'till 2 - staid at home all ye aftern<sup>o</sup>. Mr Giles's 2 children came on a visit – p 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8. Mr Baugh informed me that his footman Jn<sup>o</sup> was seiz<sup>d</sup> with the small pox.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 20, 1762

Poor AD was very ill, early this morn<sup>g</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> occasion'd lying in bed late this morn<sup>g</sup> – p 9 went up in town. Staid at off &c 'till 2. Visited Mother Davis this morn<sup>g</sup> - after dinner went to mothers: ab<sup>t</sup> 5 home. ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 7

This day Robert has been assist<sup>g</sup> poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>.

This even<sup>g</sup> Mr & Mrs Marston spent at our house. He has been near 3 weeks unemployed w<sup>ch</sup> seems to proceed from the ill will of his master

I find Miss Giles's & the nurse were last night visited by their infernal guest who pinch'd ye children & gave the nurse a grasp on her arm near the shoulder - since writ<sup>g</sup> the above I find 'twas not properly a grasp but ye nurse only felt a large hand laid flat on her arm & instantly went off again.

Thursday, Jan[ua]ry 21, 1762

I have been much disturbed in a dream tonight about ye witchcraft concern<sup>g</sup> Mr Giles's children but cannot recollect the particulars.<sup>4</sup> upon enquiry I find ye children have been very much persecuted by their adversary today<sup>5</sup> Mrs Elmes informs me Polley was struck a hard blow on the side of her head. & as she was sew<sup>g</sup> on the neck gusset of a shirt the said gusset was suddenly snached away by an invisible power & the same has not been seen since.

Mrs Elmes had a knitting needle snatched out of a stocking w<sup>ch</sup> she was knitting which needle cannot to be found since - This evening between 7 & 8 I went to the children where was also Mr Giles and Mr Bull.<sup>6</sup> Where Polley was pinched twice in the neck & the indentures of a small nail were visible both times. Polley was struck against her side once or twice & once when she was

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<sup>1</sup> See John Palmer\*. This was Dyer's favourite bookshop.

<sup>2</sup> In 1766 Dyer recorded the death of Mrs Daniell in St James Square, widow of Mr Daniell a Quaker and 'iron merchant of great repute'. See also 17/3 and 2/7.

<sup>3</sup> See 28/1 and 30/1.

<sup>4</sup> See introduction for Dyer's views on dreams.

<sup>5</sup> Durbin (pp. 17-18) reports blows to the head on 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> and some of the details here about pins and the gauze cap, but not the others. Dyer's extracted diary confirms that the voice said 'well good night to you', as does Durbin.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably Giles's partner James Bull\* rather than John Bull, clothier, who employed Dyer to help straighten the affairs of Henry Allen\* when he was deranged in 1760; in 1775 John and Francis Bull were clothiers in Redcross Street.

putting a cup of table beer to her mouth, her elbow was suddenly jerked up - Betsey Giles<sup>1</sup> was stooping down before the fire with her head opposite the fire & Polley stand<sup>g</sup> just behind when suddenly the latter was push'd against the former whereby her head was bruised against the barr of the grate, but no other harm happend. Once Polley cried out a pin was pricking her leg near ye ancle & upon examination we found a crooked pin stuck into the stocking which I took out & brought away with me. I staid 'till near 9 which was sometime after Mr Giles and Bull went home and they took Doppey with them. & ¼ hour before my departure Polley cried out she was pinched in her neck and a voice spoke in her ear those words "well go[od] night to ye" which was ye last transaction I saw that even<sup>g</sup>.

Mrs Elmes told me that the witch had tore Polleys cap on her head today vizt a bla[ck] gauze cap w<sup>ch</sup> was rent in 2 places at ye back part of her head, 4 inches long each - Mrs Elmes told me a chair was once throw'd down suddenly today. Also a small round table was once over set by an invisible hand.

They saw likewise a net contain<sup>g</sup> worsted &c which lay in a window in the stair case 10 or 12 feet from where any person stood move or rather lifted up as if going to be flung at them, but it was not throw'd as was expected.

This morn<sup>g</sup> Mrs Stokes ye Brewers wife<sup>2</sup> came to be electrised. Mr Badderly breakfasted with us – call'd on Mr Brown - went to Mr Eaton's & Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis's - staid at off: &c 'till 1 then home & at 2 sat out for Hungroad magazine<sup>3</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 5 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 7.

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 22, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & at 9 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 1. Went to off & staid 'till 2 where was a wom<sup>n</sup> who has waited for me to be electrified & afterw<sup>d</sup> came Mrs Stokes w<sup>th</sup> some company for the same purpose.

After din<sup>r</sup> went up in town call'd at Williams's and Evans's<sup>4</sup> then to off: & near 5 home & staid all the even<sup>g</sup> having the company of my friends Mr & Mrs Symes Mr Brown & Mr Badderly.

I visited my little friends 2 or 3 times to day & reced the follow<sup>g</sup> account from Mrs Elmes vizt that Polley was not molested by her enemy all ye night after its wish<sup>g</sup> her "good night" as mentioned yester<sup>y</sup> even<sup>g</sup>.

But that Doppey, who was taken home last night by way of tryal, was persecuted very much this morn<sup>g</sup> & receiv'd one bite which fetch'd the blood. & there was prodigious rapping & thumping at her beds head. But none of this happened 'till 7 o'clock this morn<sup>g</sup> - that about 11 o'clock this morn<sup>g</sup> Polley said to her grandmamma "don't you hear somthing breathing" to which she replied "no" & immediately she had a violent pinch or rather deep indenture as if done with a large nail on her shoulder. & this breath<sup>g</sup> Polley says resembles that of a dog or some living creature after it had

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<sup>1</sup> Betsey, aged 7, was not affected directly at any time.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Hungroad was the inner anchorage of sea vessels on the Avon, upriver from Pill. In September 1751 gunpowder had been moved from Tower Hartz (in case a search was made there) to 'a house next to a publick house at Hungroad of Capt Buckley's' and then in 1756, after the problems at Tower Hartz (see 8/1) all the powder was removed to a lighter at Hungroad, then to a house at Ham Green near Hungroad. Although the Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3) became the main repository shortly after that, the Hungroad magazine was clearly kept on.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, Evans and co, tobacconists and snuffmakers, were at 33 Maryport Street in 1775. See also 11/12.

run almost out of breath.<sup>1</sup> & 'tis probable the witch was that instant come into the room & left tormenting her sister Doppy who was not yet come from her fathers. But she soon after came. This even<sup>g</sup> while I was present Polley cried out 'twice that she was prick'd in her elbow & on examin<sup>g</sup> each time a crooked pin was found stick in her shift with the point towards the skin one of which I took out myself & the other was taken out by another person. Afterwards the same child complain'd of being prick'd in her back & her stays being unlaced (as had just before been preparing for bed it being near 10 o'clock) I found a crooked pin stuck into her gown in the small of her back just in the part of the opening of her stays<sup>2</sup> which was unlaced with the point inward as the others above mentio.. which I took out myself & have preserved them all. This even<sup>g</sup> I was informed they were boyling Polleys urine in a crucib.. over a slow fire & she herself with a sharp knife was employed in stiring or rather cutting it by way of experiment to torment the witch<sup>3</sup> in which time Polley was once violently pushed against Mrs Beezer the nurse & another time her hand which held the knife in stir<sup>g</sup> the urine was suddenly jerked up. & after the urine was evaporated Polleys cap was seized as if by 2 hands taking hold of the 2 rents which were made yesterday & tore much worse than it was before. those are the most remarkable circumstances which has occurred today.

Saturday, Jan[ua]ry 23, 1762

At p 9 visited my little friends in ye court & staid an hour while an experiment was tryed of boyling the childs urine but it did not seem to have any visible effect.<sup>4</sup> They gave me 2 crooked pins which had been stuck into some part of Polleys cloaths this morn<sup>g</sup> & while I was there she was once pricked in the powl of her head & on examin<sup>g</sup> I found a crooked pinn entangled in her hair w<sup>ch</sup> I took out myself with some difficulty & another time she was pricked in her leg near the ankle w<sup>ch</sup> was also done with a crooked pinn & I likewise took out. Mrs Elmes inform'd me that this morn<sup>g</sup> they had much scratch<sup>g</sup> in the childrens bed & Mrs Elmes asked the follow<sup>g</sup> questions<sup>5</sup> of the daemon: "If thou art a witch scratch 3 times & no more, w<sup>ch</sup> was immediately complied with in the affirmative 2dly. "If thou dost belong to a wagg... scratch 5 times & no more, w<sup>ch</sup> was immediately done 3dly If thou dost drive a waggon scratch 3 times & no more, w<sup>ch</sup> was likewise comply'd with. Polley thereupon said If thou are the woman which appeared to us when we were going to the little house,<sup>6</sup> scratch 5 times & no more, w<sup>ch</sup> was immediately answered as before. But this is evidently a lying spirit, because there is no woman who drives a waggon as we know of. Those are the chief occurences w<sup>ch</sup> have happened today, except that a knocking was once heard in the stairs & Polley received an indenture as if done with a very large nail. & her cap has also been rent or tore on her head - this even<sup>g</sup> she was also pricked in her leg & Mr Harry Durbin being present as well as myself took out ye pinn from her leg. This day a very odd affair is related in the

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 18) has a shorter account of this.

<sup>2</sup> Polley's stays seem to have fascinated Dyer: see 14-15/4. Dyer omits this in his extracted diary for Brown. Durbin reports pulling a pin out of her back (p. 18).

<sup>3</sup> See above 2/1. Durbin omits this information, as does Dyer in his extracted diary for Brown.

<sup>4</sup> Again omitted by Durbin and by Dyer in his extracted diary for Brown

<sup>5</sup> Durbin (pp. 18-19) states that 'this was the first time of asking any questions', reporting only the first question as 'Art thou a witch', and then noting 'By asking questions this morning it answered that Mr \*\*\*\*\* had employed it. Mrs Elmes and the children heard it cry out, "*Jee woah*", as waggoners used to say in driving horses.' See William James\* and below 25/1 for more on the waggoner.

<sup>6</sup> The privy.

publick papers w<sup>ch</sup> has lately happened in Lond.. somewhat similar to the above.<sup>1</sup> I was this morn<sup>g</sup> urged by Mr Barrat<sup>2</sup> & Parson Barry<sup>3</sup> give some acco<sup>t</sup> of Mr Giles's children, but they seem resolved to disbelieve.

Staid at off &c 'till 2. after din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho: Drank tea with Rachell at her own little hovell where she arrived last Thursday<sup>4</sup> – p 6 at off: & p 7 home & afterwards visited the children as above.

Sunday, Jan[ua]ry 24, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited my little friends in the court & met Mr Harry Durbin there also - the same cap w<sup>ch</sup> Polley had on yesterday was this morn<sup>g</sup> just before we came rent & tore much worse than it was before. While we were present she was pricked twice - & each time a very crooked pinn was found sticked in the part one of w<sup>ch</sup> Mr Durbin took out & pocketed, the other I took out which was sticked in her stocking near the ankle - Mrs Elmes inform'd us they had a conference with their adversary this morn<sup>g</sup> between 7 & 8 while the children were in bed<sup>5</sup> - They heard it was in the room by several scratches which were heard in the childrens bed - Mrs Beezer the nurse asked if it knew her to answer by a certain number of scratches w<sup>ch</sup> it did exactly. She also enquired whither it was hired by any person to torment those children & if it was to make a certain number of scratches which she mentioned, & it was done immediately- she likewise asked how many weeks it intended to torment those children which it answered by a number of scratches. But they were not certain of the exact number one of the children says she told 40, but seem'd not positive. Polly asked the daemon whither she was the woman who gave her a pinn at the door 2 or 3 months ago. If she was to answer by such a number of scratches. But there was no answer given.

Several other questions were asked by Mrs Elmes & the nurse which were also answered but as 'tis a lying spirit there is no credit to be given thereto.

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis & also Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. Spent the even<sup>g</sup> at home.

Monday, Jan[ua]ry 25, 1762 Fair Day

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<sup>1</sup> For the Cock Lane ghost, see 18/2. When in London in July 1763 Dyer met 'Mr Langcake [see 3/4] and Mr Bray in Hosier Lane the latter being a principal in the Cock Lane affair, similar to that of poor Giles's children'. He probably means the London papers, as the first reference to the Cock Lane episode in *FFBJ* is the following Saturday, when a sceptical account appears, but we do not have the issues of *Bristol Journal* for these weeks.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly William Barrett (1733-1789), surgeon and historian of Bristol: see *ODNB* entry. Dyer was one of many Bristolians named here (including Henry Durbin\* and Richard Symes\*) who subscribed in 1788 to Barrett's *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* printed by Pine\* in 1789.

<sup>3</sup> William Barry was curate of St James in 1752, and rector of St Peters from March 1757 to his death in June 1781.

<sup>4</sup> In Maiden Court off Marlborough Street in St James.

<sup>5</sup> Durbin and Dyer both report the question and reply about 40 weeks of torment, but otherwise their accounts are different, though both question the reliability of the answers to questions, Durbin (pp. 19-20) reporting 'I said to Mrs Elmes that its answer ought not to be depended on, as it might put it on an innocent person', at which Durbin and those in the room heard 'distinctly' a 'laugh ha! Ha! Ha! Like a hollow shrill voice in a place where it echoes'. Durbin also reports other questions asked by the nurse, including 'if it lived without Lawford's Gate' and 'Mrs – said in haste "She is a liar, don't ask the lying old whore any more questions" (it had answered before it was a *woman* witch) it answered aloud, for them all to hear, "no more than yourself; kiss my a-‘ and they heard her smack her bottom aloud several times'.

This morn<sup>g</sup> rose p 6 & at ½ past 7 visited the children where was Mr Durbin before me & the witch was there, which was manifested by scratches in ye childrens bed. The follow<sup>g</sup> questions were asked while I was present.<sup>1</sup> Vizt

“How many p[er]sons are in the room answer 7 (with scratches) w<sup>ch</sup> was right.

“If she mov’d the waggon in the yard when the sack of flower fell out of it - make a certain num<sup>r</sup> of scratches - w<sup>ch</sup> was exactly answered

“If William James who keeps the wagons<sup>2</sup> - hired her - make such a num<sup>r</sup> of scratches - w<sup>ch</sup> was exactly answered.

“How many guineas were given you to torment the children - ans<sup>r</sup> ten by scratches

“If Mr James himself gave the ten guineas - ans<sup>r</sup> yes

“If she could appear to us - no answer

“How many weeks was she permitted to torment those children - answer forty

“From this time - yes

NB this seems as if the contract was for 12 months from the beginning - ‘tis remarkable that Mr Giles & Mr James had a very a severe quarrel some time ago. & about the time that Mr Giles engaged with the Lond<sup>o</sup> flying waggons<sup>3</sup> the children were first afflicted - the said engagement gave Mr James very great offence.

“are you p[er]mitted to torment any other p[er]son of the family besides those children - ans<sup>r</sup> no

“can you afflict those children if removed to another place - no

“do you live in Mangotsfield parish - yes

“Have you an husband - no

“are you a widow - yes

“have you any children - no answer

“Tell us your name - no answer<sup>4</sup>

This evening I attended there again with my wife about 9 o’clock & when ye children were in bed she began scratch<sup>g</sup> But when we entered the room it ceased. However after sometime it scratched tho’ very sparingly.

I asked How many p[er]sons were in the room - ans<sup>r</sup> 7- right

Dost thou know my name - yes

How many lres are in my surname - no ans<sup>r</sup>

How many children hath Mr Giles - ans<sup>r</sup> 8 - right

“art thou p[er]mitted to injure the childrens health - ans<sup>r</sup> yes

“art thou permitted to take away their life? no ans<sup>r</sup>

“Was it thou that pinched my finger at Mr Eatons<sup>5</sup> - ans<sup>r</sup> yes

“What day in Decem<sup>r</sup> was it - no ans<sup>r</sup>

“What day in the week was it - reckoning Mond<sup>y</sup> the first no answer

“Dost thou live in the town of Mangotsfield - yes

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<sup>1</sup> Although Durbin also reports this session of questions (pp. 20-1), he lists the questions in a very different order, omitting many given by Dyer but adding 4 others, namely, “If thou didst this of thine own malice” [no]’ “If any of Mr Giles’s family or servants were concerned” [no]’, “If Mr \*\*\*\*\* alone has hired thee” [yes]’, “If it was thee that stopped Mr Giles’s waggon on Hanham Hill, when he was obliged to put on ten horses before he could move it” [yes]’ (Durbin notes ‘Mr Giles paid 5l penalty for halling with so many horses’) . For the sack of flour in the yard see 9/2.

<sup>2</sup> See introduction and William James\*.

<sup>3</sup> See introduction and Richard Giles\*.

<sup>4</sup> See 26/1, 9/3 and Elizabeth Hemmings\*.

<sup>5</sup> See Dyer’s diary extracts for Brown and his epitomised diary, both for 15 December 1761.

“Art thou permitted to come here every day & every night in the week - yes  
“How many letters are there in Mr James’s surname - ans<sup>r</sup> five  
“How many lres in his Xtian name vizt. William - ans<sup>r</sup> seven  
“art thou permitted to torment those children worse than thou has already - ans<sup>r</sup> yes  
What hour wilt thou come tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> - ans<sup>r</sup> six

“What age is Polley - ans<sup>r</sup> 13 - right

“What age is Doppey - ans<sup>r</sup> 8 - right

“Does Mr James enquire at any time whither thou dost torment the children - ans<sup>r</sup> yes

NB the above ans<sup>rs</sup> were made with scratches but the witch seem’d more backward this even<sup>g</sup> in her ans<sup>rs</sup> than the morn<sup>g</sup> & probably it is a lying spirit & therefore the above answers entirely false.

At 8 this morn<sup>g</sup> went to Brewho: from thence to Mr Symes’s. then to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. p 4 at Brewho.

Drank tea with mother then to Rachells & read coppys of 2 letters w<sup>ch</sup> were wrote by our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S:<sup>1</sup> to Miss Braine.

then to off & at 8 home.

Tuesday, [January] 26, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ¼ before 6 hav<sup>g</sup> been awake ever since 3 -

Step’d to the court but they did not rise ‘till 7 nor did the witch trouble them ‘till that time, altho’ it said it would at 6 - Mr Eaton & I met there this morn<sup>g</sup> & the follow<sup>g</sup> questi.. were asked by myself<sup>2</sup> vizt

“How many persons are there in the room - no answer

“Do you know me - yes

“Do you know ye age of every person present - yes

“What is my age - no answer

“What is your Xtian name

When I mention the first letter thereof make 3 scratches - this question was put several times but no answer. I repeated some letters of the alphabet & at E she ans<sup>d</sup>- I conjectured Eliz<sup>a</sup> & then asked her surname by the same method. But no reply. I asked her age But no ans<sup>r</sup> ‘till after several times urging it when she thought proper to reply 43 -

I enquired how long she had practised witchcraft - ans<sup>r</sup> 14 years - I told only 13 but Mr Eaton said ‘twas 14

How many witches are there in the village of Mangotsfield this question was several times put, but no ans<sup>r</sup>. at last she thought proper to make I believe 50 scratches in ans<sup>r</sup> to said quest<sup>n</sup> but she did them so fast that we could not count them.

This even<sup>g</sup> I went there again & Mr Harry Durbin came with some company but the witch wou’d not act

Mrs Elmes informed me that Doppey had two large bites on her arm today with much saliva all round the indentures of the teeth. & her arm I saw was of a livid colour in the part where were those bites Polley was likewise bit once or twice - She attempted to knit today but the knitting kneedles were drawn out & throw’d under the grate.

The ribbon was pulled off Doppeys cap several times today - this Mrs Elmes affirmed was done about 12 o’clock at noon & they have been pretty quiet ever since.

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Scudamore\*

<sup>2</sup> See 9/2 for a fuller version of these questions.

Mr Eaton breakfas<sup>d</sup> with us - visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis – p 10 at off & std ‘till 2. after din<sup>r</sup> went to off - drank tea with Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> The committee met this even<sup>g</sup> consisting of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Elton, Ames, Baugh Miller, Deane, Wansey. p 8 went to Lowdins Court & home.

Wednesday, Jan[ua]ry 27, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> I was informed that last night the children were bit on their arms several times after we went away. But Mr Harry Durbin & Mrs Durbin in Temple Street & Miss Kitty Durbin were present.<sup>1</sup>

This even<sup>g</sup> p 8 I call’d up them & the children has been out on a visit all day & quite free from their adversary all the time & ever since their return ‘till just after I came in when Polley was pinch’d in her leg & soon afterwards had a crooked pinn very oddly crooked stuck with the point towards her back as near ye middle of her back as possible & at the very top of her stays which pinn I took out myself. She had also one or two pinches or rather indentures of only one nail in her back just above the top of the stays.

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 went to Delpratts<sup>2</sup> p 9 then to Brewho: & at 11 at off: & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. after dinner went to off - drank tea at home. p 6 visited Rachell & left Marsays discourses<sup>3</sup> for our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S - then to Brewho: & home at 8.

Thursday, [January] 28<sup>th</sup>, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 Mr Eaton call’d in this morn<sup>g</sup> he hav<sup>g</sup> visited the children this & nothing material has occured since last night therefore I declined going this morn<sup>g</sup>. p 9 went up in town.

Robert this morn<sup>g</sup> went to Newport<sup>4</sup> in an errand for poor JD & ret<sup>d</sup> home this afternoon

Staid at off ‘till 2 Mr Ames & Mr Worgan came there & the former staid & spoke to me about JD & Cor<sup>s</sup> Rog<sup>s</sup><sup>5</sup>

After din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 5 home. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Brewho: & p 7 call’d on JD & reced Hoskins’s note<sup>6</sup> hand for 14:17 w<sup>ch</sup> if pd will ball<sup>a</sup> B A Co debt.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 21) records that ‘several ladies’ were present. The former was the wife of his brother John and mother of John Durbin\*; the latter his sister Kitty\*.

<sup>2</sup> See William Delpratt\* and 2/2 and 6/2.

<sup>3</sup> *Discourses on Subjects relating to the Spiritual Life* (Edinburgh, 1749) by Charles Hector de Saint George, marquis de Marsay (1688-1753). In Scudamore’s\* biography (p. 28) is a letter of 22 February 1762 to an unnamed friend, thanking the person for the loan of the discourses, and see 6/2 and 22/2 below for clear evidence that this was Dyer (who edited the book). Dyer had been recommended Marsay’s discourses by Rev Fowler Comings (1728-92) in the 1750s, and later he records that Thomas Mills (see 13/1) was lent a manuscript life of ‘the celebrated Marsay’ by the mystic Ralph Mather ‘in bad English which I attempted to amend by preserving its original meaning. It contains much of interesting matter’.

<sup>4</sup> The attempt to get Thomas Fryer of Newport to honour a debt to John Dyer\* is referred to below on 12-13/3, 27/3, 29-30/3, 7-8/4.

<sup>5</sup> Corsley Rogers. There were two generations of Corsley Rogers, Quaker grocers and merchants. The older had died in 1761, while Corsley junior died in May 1779; his letters to Edward Pye Chamberlain 1755-6 are in BCL 19717.

<sup>6</sup> See 6/4 below for Benjamin Hoskins, who may be the man who attends the Lamb Inn with various Durbins on 1/2.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Baugh, Ames and co’ was the official name of the gunpowder partnership. As the 29/1 entry makes clear, by transferring Hoskins’ credit note to John Dyer\* into the company’s name, Dyer ensured that his brother’s debts to the company were secured.

This even<sup>g</sup> p 8 went to Mrs Elmes's but the children were gone to bed & she informed me 3 clergymen were above stairs. Vizt Mr Seyers, Price & Chapman together Mr Hen<sup>y</sup> Durbin & two other gentlemen - & therefore I made no stay -

This day I hear poor John Mr Baugh's footman is dead in the small pox - 'Tis also reported that Mr Eltons son is dead in the same disorder.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, Jan[ua]ry 29, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 - on enquiry this morn<sup>g</sup> I find ye clergymen's curiosity was not satisfied last night nor has anything happened all this day - the children were again at Mr Durbins on Redclift Hill<sup>2</sup> all this day.

At 8 set out for Lit<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 1 went to off: where was Mr A<sup>s</sup> who again conversed ab<sup>t</sup> poor JD & I informed him of hav<sup>g</sup> secured ye Comp<sup>s</sup> debt

This after<sup>n</sup> Mrs Allison & Miss Walkr<sup>3</sup> visited my wife -

p 3 went to Mr A<sup>s</sup> with our dra<sup>t</sup> on Hale & Madderne<sup>5</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I reced from Mr Miller.

Then to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 5. then home. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mrs Elmes then to off & at 8 home.

Saturday. Jan[ua]ry 30, 1762

This even<sup>g</sup> ye Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown & I visited my little friends in ye Court where we met Mr Harry Durbin Mr James Smith,<sup>6</sup> & Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Dyer of the Custom House<sup>7</sup> past 8 o'clock. we waited 'till ye children were put to bed, soon after w<sup>ch</sup> were heard a violent noise above stairs & immediately ran up where we found a chair throw'd down, w<sup>ch</sup> was done with violence & it frighted ye nurse pretty much. We went down & soon after another chair was thrown down. We all waited sometime in the room & interrogated the daemon several times but it gave no answer. The children complained of being pinch'd in their thighs & sometime their belly several times. & afterwards Dopey was twice bit on her back between the shoulders, the first was a dry bite without any spittle, but the second was accompanied with spittle - then Polley complained of being bit on her left shoulder w<sup>ch</sup> was towards the outside of the bed (& therefore could not be done by her sister) then she complained of being bit on her left arm & while we were all inspecting it with the candle held near that arm, she complain'd of being bit on the other arm which upon instantly inspecting we saw very plain & the impression of teeth were very deep. We all remained sometime in the room expecting to hear some scratching but it wou'd not act any otherwise than pinching the children very frequently & sometimes I really thought both were pinch'd at the same time - they all agreed to go down stairs & leave me alone with ye children & a candle burning in the room. I kept my eyes fix'd on the bed

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<sup>1</sup> See 24/3 for the deaths of Isaac Elton's\* sons.

<sup>2</sup> As this visit is not recorded in Henry Durbin's narrative, this presumably refers to Edward Durbin\* - see also 1/2.

<sup>3</sup> Dyer's epitomised diary identifies her as 'the niece of Mr Sanders in Great Garden'. She lodged with the Allisons\* until she left Bristol 1764. She may have been related to Rev. Samuel Walker\* of Truro.

<sup>4</sup> A written order for payment of money or withdrawing of money from a stock.

<sup>5</sup> William Hale and Robert Madderne were Virginia merchants and linendrapers in King Street, but Hale died in February 1762 and Madderne went bankrupt in December 1764, his chief creditor being the apothecary William Dyer\*. See below 7/7, 4/8 and 11/12.

<sup>6</sup> See 2/1.

<sup>7</sup> John Dyer (c. 1696-1780) was a searcher at the Customs House, living at 24 Trinity Street in 1775. He was one of the original trustees of the New Room (see 21/3) for John Wesley in 1745, and is recorded again as the first named trustee in 1767.



but observed no sort of motion there except that of the children when occasionally turning them selves in the bed. But the gentlemen had not been gone down many minutes before a violent scratching as if done with iron tallons was made in the bed. at one time it seemed at the foot of the bed below the childrens feet & then between the 2 children. So soon as the company came upstairs again the scratching ceased – at one time we all went down & sent up the nurse to stay with the children - & then I went up alone & sent down the nurse I slap'd both my hands together pretty loud several times & I very distinctly heard a smacking of 2 hands together several times as if done in answer to me & the same appeared to be behind Doppey whos face was turned towards me & her sister was lying before her & I saw no motion in the bed when that smacking was made. which could not have been possibly done by either child without a visible motion. & those bites on Doppeys back while she lay on the back cou'd not be possibly done by either of the children themselves. Mr Brown afterwards prayed & then we left them at ½ p10 & they appeared very quiet. This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Baugh gave me an acco<sup>t</sup> of his man John who appeared to make an happy end - at p 8 went to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 10 then to off & at 2 home p 4 at off at 5 home Mr Brown & Mrs Giles drank tea with us - & at p 8 Mr Brown & I visited the children as above. Mr Brown read to my wife & I a remarkable acc<sup>ot</sup> of the conversion of a nobleman a general in the King of Pollands service just before his death [note in another hand: Possibly this was General Dyhern]<sup>1</sup>

Sunday Jan[uary] 31, [1762]

At 9 visited the children & was informed that after we left them last night the witch played her pranks by thumping most violently against the chamber floor & which shook the bed on which Mrs Elmes lay.

This day put up a note at St Werburghs for the children as I did also last Sunday after church.<sup>2</sup> In ye even<sup>g</sup> mother came in tears on account of poor JD who it seems must shut up tomor<sup>o3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The narrative of the conversion of George Charles Dyhern (a Saxon nobleman and general in the service of the King of Poland, killed at the battle of Bergen in 1750), written by Johann Philipp Fresenius, was first published in French in 1760 as *Le Triomphe de la Verite sur l'Incredulite*, and later appeared in German. In 1796 Dyer noted that the editor Bonner had inserted in the *Bristol Journal* 'a letter found among papers of late Mrs Bowles mother of Mrs Symes [Anne Symes, Richard Symes'\* daughter-in-law]' about General Dyhern's 'extraordinary conversion' and in 1799 this was included as an annex to a selection of William Law's writings published in Bristol, namely *A Compendious View of Genuine Christianity, chiefly extracted from an Author of the Last Century, and a Much Esteemed Writer of the Present; shewing the difference between the primitive and modern Christians: and the causes thereof. To which is annexed an interesting manuscript, found among the papers of a lady deceased.*

<sup>2</sup> See also 21/2. These notes may be the origin of the story that Symes\*, rector of St Werburgh's, said prayers in church for 'two children grievously tormented', so greatly offending many who 'quit the church in disgust' (Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol*, vol. 3, p. 196).

<sup>3</sup> John Dyer's\* grocer's business in Castle Street, established in 1759, had failed and one of his creditors, Samuel Brice, obtained a commission of bankruptcy, that is a commission raised by the Lord Chancellor appointing commissioners to administer a bankrupt's estate on behalf of the creditors (see 2/2 and 7/2). In addition to the diary, the course of this bankruptcy can be traced in notices in *FFBJ*. See 27 February for the sale by lots (by William Gaynor, broker) of the stock in trade of John Dyer grocer in Castle St at his dwelling house on Tuesday next (i.e. 2 March) at 10 am, and then on Monday 8 March his household goods, plate, china etc. On 3 April all those indebted to 'the estate of John Dyer late of Castle Street grocer' are to pay debts to Thomas Winwood at Messrs Brice and sons compter in Old Market. 4 September has another notice for demands on the estate of John Dyer, for which a dividend is shortly to be made. Demands should be sent to Brice's and all debtors are to pay at once or will be sued. Finally on 23 October creditors of John Dyer are informed that they can get their dividend from 25<sup>th</sup> instant from Brices.

This even<sup>g</sup> visited Mr Symes call'd also on father who has been greatly affected on JD's acco<sup>t</sup> but is now better

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 1, 1762

Rose before 6 - & near 8 went to Brewho: & from thence to mothers & visited poor JD p 10 went to off: where H Sweeting came & gave me some acco<sup>t</sup> of JD's affairs - st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2. After dinner went to off at 5 home then ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 6 visited poor Rachel and st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then went to Lowdins Court where were Mr Hen<sup>y</sup> Durbin<sup>1</sup> Mr Edw<sup>d</sup> Durbin Mr Hoskins Miss Kitty Durbin & c but the witch wou<sup>d</sup> not show away while I was there tho' ye company saw some bites on Polleys arm before I went up stairs

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 2, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7. Went to Brewho & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 10 - call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> home call'd on Mr White carpen<sup>t</sup><sup>2</sup> who came to view ye lumber at Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz. Set W<sup>m</sup><sup>3</sup> to chop up some part of the same. Call'd on Mrs Elmes, went to Mr Durbins in Temple Street<sup>4</sup> and reced interest for Helpful Soc<sup>y</sup>.<sup>5</sup> p 12 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. p 3 went to Brewho: at 5 home - ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8. Yester<sup>y</sup> I sent Ire to Delpratt & Pit<sup>n</sup> Scand<sup>t</sup> Field per Mr A<sup>s</sup> order & ye former has in consequence thereof called twice on me today. last night I find Mr Brice<sup>6</sup> sent for commission of bankruptcy for Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 3, 1762

Spent much time both morn<sup>g</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> at Brewho: but cannot find an error w<sup>ch</sup> prevents ye account balanc<sup>g</sup>.<sup>7</sup>

Visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> this aftern<sup>o</sup> & his wife in ye even<sup>g</sup> & she finds it hard work to give up all her household goods.<sup>8</sup> Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Helpful Soc<sup>y</sup> & then visited ye children: but there being much comp<sup>y</sup> their persecutor would not shew any pranks except for 2 bites on Polleys arm - the witch has cut them today & last night as if done with ye back of a knife.<sup>9</sup>

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 4, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 23) says that the children spent the day at his house.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly 'their man William' whom Dyer mentions at his brother John's on 5/2.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Durbin's\* brother John, a drysalter, and father of John Durbin\*.

<sup>5</sup> See 6/1.

<sup>6</sup> See 31/1. Samuel Brice and his son Edward were sugarbakers in Old Market (Edward was at 66 Old Market in 1775). Edward was sheriff in 1767 and 1775, and mayor in 1782, and partner in Richard Champion's pottery works in 1768.

<sup>7</sup> See 8/2, 13/2, 16-17/2.

<sup>8</sup> Dyer and the rest of his family did not get on with John's wife, who is never named in the diary. See 31/1 and 8-10/3 for the sale of the household goods.

<sup>9</sup> Durbin's account (p. 23) reports at length on knife-cuts on 2 February.

I have great part of this day had a cloud & fearful apprehensions on my mind. But I beg ye Lord to enable me to cast all my care upon him, pursuant to the advice of the apostle.<sup>1</sup>

This aftern<sup>o</sup> went to Mr Symes's with Mr Penny & spent the even<sup>s</sup> there. Where we were entertained with some electrical experiments together with hear<sup>s</sup> read Mr S's treatise 'on that subject'<sup>2</sup> -

This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Mrs Elmes - also visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. Lord have mercy 'on us as we need.

This day at Change time I went to ye Nags Head<sup>3</sup> & proved our debt 40:15 on ye estate of Hollis Saunders<sup>4</sup> - some of ye lawyers were diverting themse.. about ye credulity of Mr Durbin & others in the affair of Mr Giles's children.<sup>5</sup>

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 5, 1762

Went this morn<sup>s</sup> to Littleton as usual & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 12 went to off: & afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr Ames & Mr Bright came up & Mr Giles happen'd also to come just after & they made enquiry concern<sup>s</sup> ye children & treated what he or I related with the appearance of very little credibility.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & afterwards his wife also, who has poor woman been in a violent passion with their man William today, provoked thereto by some aggravating expressions of his - Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell - Bro<sup>r</sup> J: don't hear anything of ye comis<sup>n</sup> being arrivd<sup>6</sup> perhaps his creditors may have some schemes in their heads, Lord have mercy on him as he stands in need.

This day the poor man Wates I think is his name from near Leigh<sup>7</sup> call'd with a couple of rabbits & offered a guinea by way of gratuity for ye benefit he reced from electric<sup>y</sup> but ye latter I refused.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 6, 1762

Went to Brewho: this morn<sup>s</sup> & call'd at fathers but Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> was not stir<sup>s</sup> hav<sup>s</sup> had a bad nights rest poor man! I am full of thoughts concern<sup>s</sup> him & his affairs.

Went to Mr Baugh & Miss Brodribb<sup>8</sup> made enquiry concern<sup>s</sup> Mr Giles's children - my mind was much recollected in writing at the off. afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr B & Mr A consulted ab<sup>t</sup> Delpratt<sup>9</sup> & intended

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to 'casting all your care upon him' (1 Peter 5:7).

<sup>2</sup> On 12 October 1761 Dyer records 'Mr Symes now read to me the MS he had written upon electricity (Fire Analyzed) and he put this MS into my hands in order to make any remarks thereon as might occur to my mind. I wrote the contents affixd at the beginning and also the titles to each chapter, submitting the same to him, all which he thought fit to adopt and accordingly were printed. ' However, the volume was not actually published until a decade later, as *Fire Analysed* (Bristol, 1771), following further editorial help from Dyer.

<sup>3</sup> A tavern at 63 Wine Street; by 1775 it had become a bank.

<sup>4</sup> Hollis Saunders was an Africa merchant living in Princes Street who went bankrupt in December 1759; a dividend on his estate as a bankrupt was announced in *FFBJ* 30 January 1762.

<sup>5</sup> The first (extant) Bristol newspaper item on the Lamb Inn affair, a sceptical piece attacking the credulity of those like Durbin, appeared two days later in *FFBJ* 6 February 1762. The first recorded reference to it in a London paper also appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post* on 5 February.

<sup>6</sup> See 31/1 and 2/2.

<sup>7</sup> A road was made over Leigh Down in 1757 to aid travel to Pill (see 17/9).

<sup>8</sup> Miss Brodribb (c. 1728-1797) was a relative of Isaac Baugh\* and probably the daughter of Isaac Brodribb, glover and woollendraper in the High Street, whose widow continued his business when he died in October 1762.

<sup>9</sup> Baugh\* and Ames\* (see 27/1).

going to severity but after din<sup>f</sup> Mr A<sup>s</sup> sent for me & gave Mr Delpratt's dra<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he reced of him or Mr Bright for £150

This day Mrs Elmes & her three granddaughters dined with us & staid the aftern<sup>o</sup> they being to return home tomorrow -

This even<sup>g</sup> Mr & Mrs Symes came: also Mr Eaton & p 8 went went [sic] to see ye children in bed: Mess<sup>rs</sup> Camplin & Seyers were present & also several ladys - I saw 1 or two cuts or rather ridges on Polleys arm as if done with a piece of silk thread doubled or a piece of small pack thread. Likewise 2 or 3 bites - But the witch wou'd not act with freedom before so many persons - they left me alone in the room & then she began scratching & I asked 2 or 3 questions w<sup>ch</sup> were answered by scratching<sup>1</sup> vizt.

Do you torment the child in Thomas Street (Mr Tudways child)<sup>2</sup> yes -

Have you been at Mr Tudways today. Yes -

How many weeks are you permitted to afflict this child - no answer

Do you know ye gentlemen below stairs - yes

How many are there below stairs - no answer

How many are here in this room - three right

We staid 'till 10 & then Mr Symes Mess<sup>rs</sup> Camplin & Seyer & Mrs Symes rode home in a coach.

I met our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S: today who spake highly of Marsays discourses.<sup>3</sup>

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 7, 1762

Took my leave this morn<sup>g</sup> of my little friends in Lowdins Court & they return'd home to the Lamb today.<sup>4</sup>

Call'd at fathers this morn<sup>g</sup> & was informed the statute arriv'd last night<sup>5</sup> & that this day Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> was employed in taking acco<sup>t</sup> of stock w<sup>ch</sup> is to be deliv<sup>d</sup> the creditors tomor<sup>o</sup>.

Went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & sacra<sup>t</sup> in foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> visited Mother Davis & afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Symes's & took my leave of him he being to set out for Lond<sup>o</sup> tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup>.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 8, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer does not report any of these in his diary extracts for Brown.

<sup>2</sup> See Robinson Tudway\* for his daughter Nancy (named on 8/2). Durbin (p. 24) reports asking on the fourth, "If it had any power to torment Mr. -'s daughter' and again on the fifth "if it did torment Mr. - -'s daughter?" it scratched, Yes: and, "How many weeks before she would be cured?" it scratched four; and accordingly in a month she was cured, but left very weak. The doctor thought here incurable and would take no fees. She used to bark four or five times, and then crow somewhat like a young cock; turning her head from the right shoulder to the left, backwards and forwards twenty times, and yet her neck not swell. I have seen her tongue pulled, as it were, out of her mouth very long, then doubled down her throat; then after having rolled on the ground in great agony, she would go about the house, as usual, or sit and sew, barking and crowing all the time. She has continued very well ever since it stopped.' On the fourth Durbin also asked "if any power over the son that died lately?" No.' This might possibly refer to the death of Isaac Elton's\* son on 28 January.

<sup>3</sup> See 27/1.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (pp. 25-6) gives details of this move, caused 'as there were no hopes of being better by staying here; besides keeping two houses was expensive'. He also reports Molly telling him that 'when she came home it spoke to her and said "Now I have my full power" and then both she and Dobby were both cut till the blood came.'

<sup>5</sup> See 31/1 above. A statute of bankruptcy is the process by which a person is declared bankrupt, while a statute merchant/staple is a bond by which creditors have power to hold debtor's lands in case of default on a debt.

Rose before 6 & soon after went to ye Lamb where Mr Durbin came soon after. As soon as the children awaked we were called up the scratch<sup>g</sup> hav<sup>g</sup> begun  
 I asked the follow<sup>g</sup> questions & desired to be ans<sup>d</sup> by scratches as usual<sup>1</sup>  
 “are you the witch herself - no ans<sup>r</sup>  
 “are you her familiar - yes  
 “Do you torment Mr Tudways daughter Nancy – yes -  
 How many weeks since you began to afflict her - no ans<sup>r</sup>  
 Are you p[er]mitted to take away her life - no ans<sup>r</sup>  
 How many persons do you now afflict - ans<sup>r</sup> six.  
 Do they all reside in Bristol no  
 How many of them lives in Bristol - ans<sup>r</sup> four  
 Are any of them men - no  
 Are any of them women - no  
 Are any of them boys – no  
 Are they all girls - yes  
 How many weeks are you permitted to afflict Mr Giles’s children from this time - ansr 38 - see ye acc<sup>ot</sup> ye 24 u<sup>to</sup>?  
 She was likewise asked how many persons were in ye room & ye ans<sup>r</sup> proved right  
 I staid ‘till ½ p 7 & then went to Brewho: & breakfas<sup>d</sup> with mother & p 10 at off: in the afternoon went again to Brewhouse & begun calling over the whole years acco<sup>ts</sup> in order to discover ye error w<sup>ch</sup> prevents their balancing  
 This even<sup>g</sup> I find poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> meets his creditors  
 This day I met W<sup>m</sup> Evans<sup>2</sup> & spoke to him concern<sup>g</sup> his tak<sup>g</sup> any of JDs goods.

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 9, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> before 6 & went to ye Lamb<sup>3</sup>  
 I happen’d to be alone in the room with only Mrs Elmes Mrs Giles & the nurse ye children being in bed when I asked the follow<sup>g</sup> questions desir<sup>g</sup> to be ans<sup>d</sup> by scratch<sup>g</sup> as usual vizt  
 “Does our asking questions give you any ease - yes  
 “Are you one of the Devil’s imps - yes  
 “Does the witch imploy any other imps besides your self - yes  
 “Are here good good spirits in the room at this time yes - doth these good sp<sup>ts</sup> sometimes restrain you from torment<sup>g</sup> those children more than otherwise you wou’d do - yes  
 Does the witch bite her own hands when the childrens hands are bit - no ans<sup>r</sup>  
 Does the witch bite her own lips when you bite the children - yes

<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 26) only records three of these questions, and also asking how old Mr [Tudway’s] oldest daughter was (13).

<sup>2</sup> William Evans, a carpenter, is the brother-in-law of John Dyer’s wife (see epitomised diary 17/9). He may be the William Evans carpenter at 15 Cumberland Street in 1775, or perhaps William Evans and co timber merchants of 23 Princes St. See below 20/9 and comment in epitomised diary on that date.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin (pp. 27-8) records a different set of occurrences this day to Dyer, including cuts and pinpricks to ‘Molly’ in the presence of ‘two gentlemen’. He also reports an offer by two of Mr Giles’s porters to make an affidavit to the Turnpike Commissioners (who were dining there) that ‘at the beginning of the affair with the children’, while they were unloading flour in the yard, the waggon had moved a yard and a half uphill and rocked from side to side for two or three minutes ‘but as nothing then had happened very extraordinary to the children, neither Mr Giles, nor the family, did believe them.’ See 25/1 for a question re this.

“Have you any men witches - yes

“Do they live in Mangotsfield parish - yes

“Do they live in the village of Mangotsfield - no ans<sup>f</sup>

“How many years since the witch made a compact with the Devil - answer 12

Are you acquainted with Elizabeth Emming (alias Hemmings) in Mangotsfield - yes

How many years old is she - ans<sup>f</sup> 43

Is she in compact with the Devil - yes

Is Eliz<sup>a</sup> Emmings Mr Sartains sister<sup>1</sup> - yes

Some other questions were asked but ye daemon gave no answer.

Mrs Elmes inform<sup>d</sup> me that early this morn<sup>g</sup> Doppey was taken out of bed & put underneath the bed (every person in ye room being asleep) But Polley said something awoke her (a good spirit no doubt!). & upon feeling for her sister discovered she was gone. When they found her as above Doppey said she cou<sup>d</sup> not cry because of a hand being before her mouth. Polley was likewise pulled by her head & half her body was out of bed but on crying out the nurse maid held her by the legs & prevented her being quite gone. Mr Seyers came after I had ye above conversation together with Mr Eaton etc etc but the daemon would not act any more.

Went to Brewho: this morn<sup>g</sup> & staid two hours & then to off: I have been this day called to an account twice about the affair at Lawfords Gate. First to Mr Ames & Mr Worgan & this even<sup>g</sup> again by the same gentlemen together with the rest of the Committee vizt.

Mr Elton Mr Miller Mr Wansey Mr Deane

This after<sup>o</sup> I was at Mr Eatons where was also Mr Mark Harford Senr<sup>2</sup> & Mr Eaton informed me he asked the daemon yester<sup>y</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> several questions in Latin<sup>3</sup> to which he reced very precise answers. Mr Henry Durbin being present & not one person in the house besides them did understand Latin viz

“Whence come you from Heaven or Hell. If from Heaven scratch 3 times. If from Hell scratch 4 times - It ans<sup>d</sup> with 4 scratches

How many children has the master of this house - ans<sup>f</sup> eight - right

If you are the familiar spirit of the witch scratch 5 times - w<sup>ch</sup> it did.

How many persons are now in the room - ans<sup>f</sup> 7 - right

Afterwards another person came in & the same question was put again - & ye ans<sup>f</sup> was 8 - right

How many children have I (vizt Mr Eaton) ans<sup>f</sup> 4 - right

How old is this eldest child (meaning Mr Giles daugh<sup>t</sup>) ans<sup>f</sup> 13 - right

How old is the youngest (Doppey) ans<sup>f</sup> 8 - right

How many children has Mr Durbin - ans<sup>f</sup> 3 - right

Mr Durbin then asked the follow<sup>g</sup> question in Latin

“If there is a great God make 6 scratches - w<sup>ch</sup> it did

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<sup>1</sup> See Elizabeth Hemmings\* and William James\* for the likelihood that she is the sister of Samuel Sartain of Mangotsfield, involved in a London-Bristol carrying service, and that Sartain was related by marriage as well as business to James.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Harford (1700-1788) was from a leading Quaker family, and, though a linendraper by trade, was also a merchant with interests in brass manufacture and the malt distillery of fellow Quakers Dinham\* and Ball\* for whom Dyer had worked 1745-50; his son Mark was born in 1738. His papers are in BRO 28046 and see *ODNB* entry for the Harford family.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin (pp. 26-7) gives these questions in Latin and English, in a slightly different order. He states that ‘I purposed asking some Latin questions’ and though he admits ‘we asked’ them, he leaves out the question about Eaton’s children. He also translates differently the final question, “‘Si maximus est Deus’”, which he renders ‘If God be supreme’.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 10, 1762

I find my nerves very weak, because every little hurry fatigues & puts me in a fluster. I was this morn<sup>g</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> at Brewho: but cannot yet discover the mistake – call'd this morn<sup>g</sup> on Mr Eaton who informed me that Mr Seyer asked the daemon several questions in Latin & one also in Greek this morn<sup>g</sup> & was precisely ans<sup>d</sup> by scratches.<sup>1</sup>

This even<sup>g</sup> wrote Bro<sup>r</sup> James & enclosed a lre to Mr Symes with Mr Eatons Latin questions which are certainly a convincing proof of a supernatural agency in that affair.

Drank tea with mother visited Rachell this even<sup>g</sup> & my soul was refreshed.

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 11, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> at 5 & was at ye Lamb just p 6 - I was soon call'd up stairs & no person in ye room with ye children but ye nurse who inform'd me the witch had been thumping & making great noise but my coming in put a stop to it - However the candle was desired to be carried out of ye room when immediately thereupon I heard such a violent knocking against ye head of ye bed as if done with a large fist which shook the bed stead. & the curtain of the bed on that side next the door was shook as if done with a human hand which I cou'd discern by the glimmering light from the candle w<sup>ch</sup> came through ye crevices of the door & soon after I heard Polleys breast slapt as if done with a large hand 3 or 4 times ye nurse at ye samtime was leaning over the children - immediately after ye candle was brought in & then the above ceased & scratching in the bed (as usual) succeeded. But as I was in ye dark when ye above happened I cannot assert that I saw the children lye motionless in the bed altho' am very confident that ye whole was ye effect of a supernatural agent. I was in the room ½ an hour before any other person came & in that time asked the follow<sup>g</sup> questions w<sup>ch</sup> were ans<sup>d</sup> as customary by scratches.

“Tell me whither the good spirits now this moment lay any restraint upon you - yes

Wou'd you torment any person here present (Mrs Giles, the nurse & myself) besides ye children had you power - yes.

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (pp. 29-30) records many of these Latin and Greek questions, which were designed to see ‘if it would acknowledge the great truths of religion’, including ‘If Christ be the eternal God’, ‘if an angel of God protects these children’, ‘If Christ be God and Man’ and also ‘how many satellites the planet Saturn had’. Most significantly it was asked ‘if thy name be Malchi’, which it confirmed. As Durbin noted ‘about sixty years ago, one Perks, of Mangotsfield, had a familiar spirit that was named Malchi, agreeable to the account written by the Rev. Mr Bedford, late minister of Temple parish, in this city. And as it had said the woman lived at Mangotsfield, that did this mischief, it made us suppose it might be the same.’ Malchi is named again in Durbin’s account (pp. 54-5) of what the cunning woman of Bedminster told Mrs Giles when consulted on 29 November by Mrs Giles: ‘it was a very powerful spirit that was employed; it was a chief of the familiar spirits; it was Malchi (which was the name it told me [Durbin] it was called by) and therefore she was in doubt whether she could stop it. And this spirit knew all languages, and all thoughts; for there were some learned spirits and some ignorant.’ On 20 December 1760 Dyer recorded that ‘Stephen Penny had conversed with a Mangotsfield man who knew the noted Thomas Perks of Mangotsfield who had the art of raising spirits of whom Mr Bedford minister of Temple church gives some account in a letter to the Bishop of Hereford’ (actually the Bishop of Gloucester, but Bedford opens the letter by referring to his having told the Bishop of Hereford first). So we know, both that the Dyer circle were well aware of the story and that it was part of Mangotsfield tradition; the Victorian astrologer ‘Raphael’ reports ‘I have myself seen a very curious telescope and a very ingenious fowling-piece made by this said Thomas Perks and in my last tour to the west of England (1830) I found numerous versions of this particular account still extant among the peasantry’ (*Familiar Astrologer*, p. 699). Bedford’s own copy of his original letter, with minor differences from the printed version, is in BRO, Temple Lc 7.

Has ye Devil now at this time great power in this nation to torment children in this manner (referring to Mrs Giles's children then in bed) ans<sup>r</sup> yes  
 Is this power greater now than it was some years ago - yes  
 You told me there were men witches in Mangotsfield parish - tell me how many - I think ye ans<sup>r</sup> was three.  
 Do you know W<sup>m</sup> Flew of Mangotsf<sup>d</sup> p[ari]sh - yes  
 Do you know W<sup>m</sup> Llewelin of ditto<sup>1</sup> - yes  
 Is that man in compact with ye Devil - yes  
 Is your old friend who lives at ye Brewho in ye Old Mark<sup>t</sup> in compact w<sup>h</sup> ye Devil<sup>2</sup> - yes  
 NB There is no dependence on the assertions of an evil sp<sup>t</sup> who undoubtedly is a lying one.  
 I asked if any clergymen wou'd be here this morn<sup>g</sup> - yes  
 How many - two  
 Soon after w<sup>ch</sup> came in the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Camplin & Mr Brown & some remarkable circumstances succeeded - Mr Eaton & Mr Hill<sup>3</sup> were also present. Several questions in Latin were asked by Mr Camplin, Mr Brown & Mr Eaton respectively, to w<sup>ch</sup> very exact & satisfactory answers were given. Mr Camplin asked in English whither ye daemon knew his intentions - yes  
 Was he going a journey soon - yes  
 He then ordered such a num<sup>r</sup> of scratches to be given when he ment<sup>d</sup> ye place to w<sup>ch</sup> he was going & then he named Taunton, Exeter, York, Roches<sup>r</sup>, Lond<sup>o</sup> to ye last of w<sup>ch</sup> a reply was made & that was right.<sup>4</sup> An expedient then was proposed which if succeeded would infallibly prove that this affair could not be carried on by human agency (Mr Camplin also examin'd ye sacking on both sides) & that was to try if any ans<sup>r</sup> would be given if the questions were only whispered. Mr Camplin was seated 18 inches from the feet of the bed in a chair & he proposed ye first question. I sat in a chair close to him & looked at his mouth but could not possibly hear a word only saw his lips move - ye words were rather only conceived in the mind than uttered. However he had an immediate answer & that to ye amazement & astonishment of the whole company - then each person present proposed question or questions severally & were satisfactorily answered. A stronger proof of an invisible agency I think cannot be required ye tatoe was several times scratched in ye bed. Also a striking against ye sacking as if done with one finger & any striking against ye bed post w<sup>ch</sup> either of us made was immediately immitated. then a knocking against ye head of ye bed as if done with ye end of a stick & there the daemon made 5 7 or more knocks at a time just as we ordered it afterwards we beat ye bed with our hands where the scratching seemed to be made. & we evidently heard a squeaking 2 or 3 times resembling the small crying voice of an infant. I asked if I

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer was presumably aware of the discussion of Malchi and so Thomas Perks the previous day, as reported by Durbin. He must also have known of Perks's successor as an astronomer and instrument maker, William Lluellins (c. 1687-1773), 'the learned collier of Mangotsfield' who, according to a poetical epitaph by W.O. of Marshfield, spent his nights in stargazing and the study of the heavens, had a library of books worth £30 including Newton and Halley, made an almanac and ground glass to perfection, so producing excellent telescopes and microscopes. It seems likely that 'William Flew' was a false start for 'Llewelin'.

<sup>2</sup> Does this refer to Dyer's ongoing problems in balancing the Brewhouse accounts (see above 3/2)? William James\* also lived in the Old Market, but not in the Brewhouse.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah Hill was a merchant, living at 11 Old Market in 1775, with an office at 9 Castle Ditch. See 18/2 and 22/2.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (p. 30) reports Camplin's questions in greater detail, with some variations (the places named are York, Canterbury, Dover, Birmingham and Taunton, before London). He also reports asking many more 'mental questions' 'at night', presumably after Dyer left, as well as in Greek and Latin, and noted 'the children are not tormented while we ask questions'.



shou'd go a journey within a month to scratch 3 times w<sup>ch</sup> it did - But I know no probability of this at present.

Mr Camplin pull'd out his watch & asked what was o'clock w<sup>ch</sup> was then just at ye stroke of 8 - & 8 scratches were directly made.

He asked what day of the week - ans<sup>r</sup> 5

I called on Mr Penny & break<sup>d</sup> with him & amazed him with ye above acco<sup>t</sup>. & this even<sup>g</sup> I sent Mr Symes the said account inclosed in Mrs Symes's lre with whom I drank tea with AD who spent the day with Mrs Symes.

people now begin to be staggered concern<sup>g</sup> this affair called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> this even<sup>g</sup> & home p 8.

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 12, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 5 & at 6 repaired to the Lamb, where Mr Worgan soon follow'd me. Mr & Mrs Camplin & Mr Slade Baker<sup>1</sup> also came there & it being a very rainy morn<sup>g</sup> we all breakfasted at the Lamb. But ye evil genius wou'd not operate before any other than Mr Camplin & myself this morn<sup>g</sup> & we each asked a few questions & were ans<sup>d</sup> by scratches. At breakfast Polleys arm was jerk'd two or 3 times when taking a cup of tea to her mouth

The poor children especially Polley look'd quite fatigued this morn<sup>g</sup> being pinched almost during the whole night & were obliged to be removed from bed to bed but it seemed to have no effect. In the forepart of the night both children were pulled out of bed as Polley informed us - about 10 return'd home & set out for Littleton & return'd from thence at 2. & had fair weather all the time. This even<sup>g</sup> a most violent storm of thunder & lightening with rain happened & the thunder seemed to break just over the city. After din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewh<sup>o</sup> call'd on Mr Brown at Gram<sup>r</sup> School<sup>2</sup> & p 7 home. Mrs Elmes attributed the extraordinary ill treatment of ye daemon to ye children last night to Mr Giles who talked very rudely & threatened it &c &c.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 13, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 5 & repaired to ye Lamb p 6 & staid an hour before was admitted upstairs. When Mr Seyer & I went up together but ye daemon was very sulky & wou'd answer very little - other company also came to the house w<sup>ch</sup> was not admitted upstairs. Among ye number was Mr Adlam who went with me to Mr Eatons & I staid to breakfast there - whilst I was there a lady came to enquire some particulars with regard to Mr Giles's children she being just going for London.

Ab<sup>t</sup> 10 went to off: & this foren<sup>o</sup> went to several places 'on the dunn'.<sup>3</sup> After dinner went to Brewh<sup>o</sup> & finished calling over ye whole years acco<sup>ts</sup> but without discovering the error. Drank tea at Mr Allison's & gave them an acco<sup>t</sup> of ye Lamb affair. In my way met our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S. this even<sup>g</sup> visited poor Rachell who is ill in body & ye burthen of her mind seems very great. She says it proceeds not from ye sense of any guilt of her own. She possesses a solid peace beneath the same. But the burthen is on acco<sup>t</sup> of others. - She has indeed a sympathizing spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> Slade Baker (c.1714-1784) linendraper in High St, partner of Paul Fisher\* and William Griffin\*, and trustee with Fisher and Palmer\* of Redland Chapel. Family papers are held in BRO (8015 and 09476). A Mrs Baker was godmother of William Dyer's brother George\* in 1744.

<sup>2</sup> James Brown\* was undermaster at the Bristol Grammar School, with Seyer\* as headmaster. The Grammar School was in Christmas Street until 1769.

<sup>3</sup> To dun (a term first used c. 1600) is to importune for debts, but the phrase 'on the dunn' is not recorded in *OED*.

14 This day or yesterday (I am not certain which) dyed Mr Champness clerk to Mr Noble<sup>1</sup> after a short illness proceed<sup>s</sup> from a cold he caught in ship<sup>s</sup> ye men for King George privateer.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 14, 1762

In foren<sup>o</sup> went to St Werburghs & heard an excellent discourse from Mr Camplin - AD myself & Sam din<sup>d</sup> at Bro<sup>f</sup> Hopkins's - aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard Mr Camplin but his discourse was not so spiritual as that in ye morn<sup>s</sup>. Afterwards visited Bro<sup>f</sup> Johns. & at 6 went to Quakers meeting & spent 2 hours there I trust profitably.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 15, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 went to Brewhouse & staid 'till 10. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at sundry places on ye dunn. One of w<sup>ch</sup> was alderm<sup>n</sup> Laro:<sup>3</sup> who appeared in great ill humour.

p 11 went up to the Lamb where was Mr Eaton before me.<sup>4</sup> The children were employed in sewing & Polleys adversary was close at her elbow, which he wou<sup>d</sup> frequently remind her of by jerking up her right arm as she was sewing, & once or twice the jerk was so violent that she turned ye needle into her lip. Mrs Giles then held both the elbows with her hands & then Polleys feet were suddenly lifted up & once she said a hand had hold of each leg. But Mr Eaton thereupon lifting up her leg, she was disengaged. Presently she complain<sup>d</sup> that a pinn was in her back which upon examin<sup>a</sup> I found, being a very crooked one with ye point next her skin.

Her pinn cushion was robbed of 2 pins while I was there.

On Change, young Laroche made a bluster to Mr Baugh concern<sup>s</sup> our note on ye Cato<sup>5</sup> - after dinner called at Cadles:<sup>6</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mrs Symes's & drank tea with her & Mr Badderly came in meantime. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 But cannot yet ye discover the error notwithstanding I have run<sup>n</sup>d through ye ledger & exam<sup>d</sup> every acco<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> has been closed: called over the whle year: & exa<sup>d</sup> ye balances - therefore am doubtful must force ye ballances.<sup>7</sup>

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 16, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly Richard Champness of 15 Small Street, who had traded to Africa in 1759, or John Champness ropemaker and merchant who went bankrupt in 1757. The epitomised diary adds 'clerk to John Noble esq uncle to John Noble esqr living in 1801'. John Noble (c.1710-1768) was a merchant, sheriff 1745-6 and/or 1759-60 and mayor 1762-3; his nephew John is listed as a Newfoundland merchant at 31 Queen Square in 1775 and was sheriff in 1772-3, mayor 1791-2 and an alderman by 1793-4.

<sup>2</sup> A 32-gun ship captained by John Read. *FFBJ* noted on 13 February that the prizes from King George privateer were to be declared and on 21 August its return with more prizes from taking the Tyger frigate (an English frigate captured by the French in 1758) from St Domingo for Bordeaux, with the vessels it had captured – cargo included sugar, indigo, coffee, money etc. See below 17/8.

<sup>3</sup> See James Laroche, father and son\*. For his complaint see below and 16-17/2.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin reported (pp. 31-2) a number of experiments he and two gentlemen witnesses had conducted with marking pins the day before.

<sup>5</sup> A large slave ship built in 1746 but registered in Bristol in 1760, belonging in 1762 to James Laroche\* and co. It left Bristol on 26 May 1762 for Old Calabar, but then seems to have become stuck there until summer 1764 (losing most of its crew) when it sailed with slaves for St Kitts and Jamaica, not returning home until January 1765.

<sup>6</sup> See Thomas Cadell\* and 16/2 below.

<sup>7</sup> See 17/2.

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to Mr Cadles & bo<sup>t</sup> ye works of Van Helmont which I esteem a treasure.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards went up to ye Lamb where was Mr King<sup>2</sup> I spent ½ an hour there but not any thing happened to ye children in that time nor has anything very material happened 2 or 3 days since - afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Laroche's & explained to him the occasion of ye difference between our 2 times notes w<sup>ch</sup> were dd for ye Cato. When ye 1<sup>st</sup> was deliv<sup>d</sup> we had no acco<sup>t</sup> of ye pow<sup>r</sup> being filled & ye 2d note was dd because of 2 more b<sup>ls</sup> being dd than was charg<sup>d</sup> in ye former one. W<sup>ch</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> note was omitted to be destroyed & Mr Laro: seem<sup>d</sup> satisfied - after din<sup>r</sup> electrised my patients & p 3 went to Brewho: & once more exam<sup>d</sup> ye balla<sup>s</sup> but could not discover ye error. p 6 visited Rachell where was Mr Hawksworth before me but he left me there - then to off p 7 visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who seems very ill this even<sup>g</sup>.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 17, 1762

Went to Brewho: p 8 & notwithstanding ye most diligent search I cannot discover ye error of 4/7 & therefore I forced the ballances & this aftern<sup>o</sup> quite closed the years acco<sup>ts</sup> hav<sup>g</sup> had fatigue enough in searching for ye said error. Went this foren<sup>o</sup> to Mr Laroche's & carry<sup>d</sup> a note of ye b<sup>ls</sup> which he has short credited & went to sundry places on the dunn.

This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Durbin informed me that himself, Mr Eaton & Mr Brown were at the Lamb last night & ye answers were given in a more extra<sup>y</sup> mann<sup>r</sup> than usual.<sup>3</sup> The daemon spoke with a voice in Polleys ear & answer<sup>d</sup> them by that method every question w<sup>ch</sup> was asked for ye space of 2 hours & made a full discovery of the whole affair charg<sup>g</sup> W<sup>m</sup> James w<sup>th</sup> being ye p[er]son who hired ye witch & inform<sup>d</sup> them that if Polley & Doppey were kept separate that it wou<sup>d</sup> occasion ye death of one of them. & also that they must not remain longer than a fortnight in one place. But that if they were removed somewhere out of Bristoll & continue not above 14 days in one place & then removed to another & in that manner 8 times the children wou<sup>d</sup> by that means be deliv<sup>d</sup>. – Thus it seems ye Devil was obliged to make a declaration - this even<sup>g</sup> I called at Mr Eaton's about 9 but find<sup>g</sup> that Mr Ames & others were at ye Lamb I ret<sup>d</sup> home without going there - this even<sup>g</sup> drank tea with Mrs Will<sup>by</sup><sup>4</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno.

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 18, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> reced from Mr Durbin a more particular acco<sup>t</sup> of ye affair which happened Tuesday night which he took in writing at ye very samtime.<sup>5</sup> Copsy whereof is as follows: vizt Tuesday evening ye 16<sup>h</sup> the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown, Mr Eaton, & myself (Durbin) being at Mr Giles's as soon as we entered the chamber we heard a squeak 5 times. We went down stairs & waited 'till ye children were in bed & upon our returning up stairs, Polley told us ye daemon had informed her, that it would discover the whole affair. We thereupon said that if it would discover the same - to

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<sup>1</sup> John Baptista van Helmont's *Works* were published in London in 1664. In 1787 Dyer called Helmont 'a wise and great man' after reading him on 'the amazing power of imagination'. See 14/5.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Thomas King, one of Giles's partners in the carrying business: see Richard Giles\*.

<sup>3</sup> See Durbin (pp. 21-2) and 18/2.

<sup>4</sup> This may be the wife of city Chamberlain Christopher Willoughby (see 8/6); a Rebecca Willoughby was at 43 Princes Street, in 1775.

<sup>5</sup> Durbin's printed account is very similar, but it adds that the clergyman 30 miles hence was at Malmesbury. I cannot identify a Rev. Brooks there; Ralph Brooks was ordained in the Salisbury diocese but a rector in Kent from 1728 to his death in 1767.

answer by a certain number of scratches w<sup>ch</sup> we ordered & immediately it did so. We bid it scratch 7 times if the p[er]son who hired it lives in the Old Market. It reply'd with 7 scratches. & then we prescribed a certain number of scratches for answer. & asked will that p[er]son be brought to public shame. Ans<sup>r</sup> yes. Can he prosper long - no. In how many weeks before this will come to pass vizt his being bro<sup>t</sup> to public shame together with a manifest proof of this mischief hav<sup>g</sup> recoiled upon himself by unsuccess in his temporal concerns. & in how many weeks before the said person would he brought to acknowledge this wickedness - to all which, & respectively, it answered by 37 scratches. Imply<sup>g</sup> so many weeks. Will the witch suffer corporal punishment for this wickedness if so scratch 10 times - it did so.

Mr Brown asked in silence "How many children hath Mr Brooks (a clergymen) who lives 30 miles from hence- it ans<sup>d</sup> three by scratches - right.

How many children hath Mr Seyers - ans<sup>r</sup> 4 - right

I (Mr Durbin) asked in silence how many children hath Mr Hill.<sup>1</sup> It scratched 4.

We desired (as it could not speak by voice to us) that it wou'd speak to the child & acquaint her what it promised (namely) the discovery of the whole affair. Polley thereupon started up & said that it spoke in her ear as follows vizt "That the children would be cured by moving from place to place & it wou'd be brought to light by that means. "That it was tired with this work of giving answers & therefore wou'd give no more answers after that it had discovered the whole affair this evening. We then said "now name the person" Polley cryd out it says William James is the man that employ'd the witch. I'll make him acknowledge it. You do as I bid you - you move to several places - we then asked if in Bristol. It said Bristol won't do. Seven miles from hence first not long in a place. If you abide too long in a place my charm will be more than ever. the children will not be able to live long, if you abide too long in a place. Except the last place. the youngest must go along with her sister otherwise she would not be able to live, take your sister". All this was spoken to Polley & that in separate sentences with some intervals between. Doppey soon after said "It says to me that if I do not go with my sister I cannot live" But it seems this was misapprehension by the child. for immediately thereupon Polley saith it has said to me "your sister mistakes. 'tis you that will not live long, I shall affect you inwardly, if Doppey does not go with you. Attend to what I shall say next. Here it ceased & we waited about ye space of a minute. & then Polley said it saith that "If your sister is not with you at Mr Haynes's in two days after you get there you'll be in such violent rack of pain, that you will not live to see your friends.

We then asked where they shou'd go next. Ans<sup>r</sup> where you will, so it is not in Bristol. It must be 4 miles out of Bristol. & not exceed<sup>g</sup> two weeks at a place. We asked how many places they must go to after Mr Haynes's it scratched eight. We asked how many weeks at ye last place. It scratched twelve. & How many miles out of Bristol - scratched three. It then spoke to Polley (which she repeated to us) "If you let them stay more than a fortnight there is no doubt but they will loose their lives - & then it said now I'll talk my language which the child said was an unintelligible gibberish. But afterwards said I shall go & tell you when to go from Mr Haynes's. I was perswaded much, not to make this discovery but I would. The children will not suffer much unless you stay over the fortnight. be sure & mind about Doppey's coming over in two days - we then said "if Mr Haynes will take both children (for only Polley was proposed to be sent there) scratch 3 times. Which it did. In the midst of our asking this last question it said to Polley (as usual) "make haste & ask my time is short I have but a few minutes" & soon after (which was 12 o'clock) it entirely ceased & we could obtain no more answers.

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<sup>1</sup> See 11/2.

In the course of this conversation Mr Durbin asked If the affair of Mr Parsons's child at London was witchcraft or a ghost. It reply'd ye latter.<sup>1</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to the Lamb but the children have rested pretty quiet 2 or 3 nights since. Last night Mr Durbin ye younger & Major Drax were there & they collected a great number of pinns before they went away. Mr Drax had several pinns drop'd into his hand as if from ye air. & yesterday or the day before, Mr Eaton mark'd several pins & then put them in the child's pinn cushion w<sup>ch</sup> were soon taken out & Polley had them put into her bosom crooked in ye usual manner.<sup>2</sup> This morn<sup>g</sup> called at Mr Hen Durbin's & breakfas<sup>d</sup> with him - indeed my spirits are tired & fatigued about this affair - May I behave with ye prudence becoming a Christian - vizt one who is seeking ye things eternal. This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited sis<sup>r</sup> Hopkins & in the even<sup>g</sup> went up to Mr Symes's where was Mrs Hunt<sup>3</sup> & another lady.

Mr Symes was just return'd home from Lond<sup>o</sup> when I went in - staid there 'till 10 then home.

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 19, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> sent Rob<sup>l</sup> over to Littleton & staid at off: chief part of the morn<sup>g</sup> myself. Mr Ames & Mr Bright interrogated me today concern<sup>g</sup> the affair at ye Lamb & diverted themselves therewith. This even<sup>g</sup> spent an hour with poor Rach<sup>l</sup> in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Davis - oh may him & I be devoted to ye Lord.

This even<sup>g</sup> saw Mr Brown who informed me ye affair at ye Lamb is ridiculed in one of ye Lond<sup>o</sup> papers & ye enitial letter of our names are inserted.<sup>4</sup>

This even<sup>g</sup> visit<sup>d</sup> poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who is in a weak state of health.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 20, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 having been much disturbed in dream about our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S - in convers<sup>g</sup> with Mr A & Mrs A<sup>s</sup>: also - about 8 went to the Lamb & was inform'd of strange work which happened to the children last night<sup>5</sup> young Mr Durbin & Major Drax being with them at the same time - being as much as 3 or 4 strong men cou'd do to hold Doppey from being pull'd away from them they were put to bed & obliged to take them up again but it was the same below as above stairs. -

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<sup>1</sup> See 23/1. Durbin does not mention this question.

<sup>2</sup> This sounds like Durbin's account of 14 February (pp. 31-2).

<sup>3</sup> The wife of Mr Hunt of Chewton (d. 1773) who was Mrs Symes's\* brother; she died at Bath in 1773. See also 24/2 and 16/10.

<sup>4</sup> This may be the piece by 'A Bristol Conjuror' in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of 15 February, but this does not have initials so another article may be meant. The same issue carried a letter from Bristol dated 13 February reporting the affair in a sympathetic light. It is not clear who might have written this, though Dyer later reports Penny writing to a London paper - see 24/2. Dyer also fails to record the publication in *FFBJ* 20 February of the first article defending the reality of the Lamb Inn case, namely 'Some Seasonable Queries relating to the Affair without Lawford's Gate'.

<sup>5</sup> Durbin (pp. 35-8) not only gives a much fuller version of the events involving 'young Mr Durbin' (his nephew John Durbin\*) and Major Drax\*, but also describes another disappearance of Dobby earlier in the day. Durbin quotes her on the witch being 'dressed as usual, with a dirty chip hat and a brown ragged gown - She was of a middle size and had a sharp nose'. He also reveals that the children's paroxysms which the men could not control followed the children reporting voices telling them that they needed to move outside Bristol. Mrs Giles 'said she thought Dobby might tell lies, in order to go over with her sister to Mr -'s', and this distrust seems to have provoked the girls/spirits. Durbin also reports that Major Drax 'marked a great many pins ... which he carried up to London and shewed them at Court to many Bishops and Noblemen'.

Mr Drax it seems held Polley under her arms with all his strength to prevent her being pull'd out of bed by her heels but it proved insufficient: Mr Drax reced a pretty large pinch in the palm of his hand - this work contin<sup>d</sup> from 12 'till near 3 in the morn<sup>g</sup> -

This even<sup>g</sup> I visited the children again about 9 but could not leave them 'till p 11- about 9 they were put to bed & we were inform'd the same work was then going forward as last night upon which we went upstairs: viz Mr Henry Durbin Mr Eaton Mr Geo Alker<sup>1</sup> a young lady from Kingsdown & myself & we were fully employed for upwards of an hour.

I stood by Polley & as soon as she cryed out she was pulled by her legs I laid hold of her arms But sometimes the force was so great that I could not pull her up to the bolster & Mr Eaton & Mr Alker with ye young lady in their turns had the same difficulty with Doppey & it seem'd to go from one to t'other without ceasing ½ a minute for I sup<sup>e</sup> an hour & then we proposed the children should be taken out of bed & dress'd but that was soon found impracticable. However Doppey was taken up & wrapt in a quilt but that was pulled off from her & twas with great difficulty that Major Drax's serv<sup>t</sup> man<sup>2</sup> cou'd hold that child in his arms. With the assistance also of Mr Giles & others - at the sametime I was attend<sup>g</sup> poor Polley who was seized with a convulsion fit thro' the great fatigue she had under gone but when she recovered she was taken up & wrapd in a cloke & taken downstairs & the tormentor seem'd to vent all his malice upon poor Doppey who continued to be pulled & hawled about in a manner I can't express - at last find<sup>g</sup> no rest in the house 'twas agreed taking them both to Mr Eaton's when both of them fainted away & were strongly convulsed occasion'd by the very great fatigue. I staid 'till they were put in bed at Mr Eatons house & then left 'em hoping this diabolical spirit will not have power to afflict them so much there as at their own house.

Mr Durbin had occasion to come away an hour before me, consequently had not opportunity of seeing so much as I did.

Mr Giles inform'd us of one of his waggons which sat out from the Lamb last Wednes<sup>y</sup> aftern<sup>o</sup> at 3 o'clock was so retarded in going to Bath that it did not reach Bath 'till 7 the next morn<sup>g</sup> - & this is the second waggon which has been stop'd in going from hence to Bath. & no doubt by the same evil agent w<sup>ch</sup> torments the poor children.

Such a scene of ye kind as I have seen this even<sup>g</sup> never saw I before, The poor children might well fall into faintings thro' the great fatigue as I myself quite sweat in bustling with them. Some persons may accuse me with making too free with Satan in visiting those children. But I trust my motive in visiting them is not to converse with that evil spirit But in order to profit both them & myself. Them, by dropping any little word w<sup>ch</sup> may prove useful (tho' very incapable I am!) & myself by having my heart affected with the miserys of my poor fellow creatures who are suffered to be tortured by that mischievous spirit! Oh may the Lord gave them a due sense of this calamity & enable them to seek to him self for help.

A circumstance w<sup>ch</sup> made the scene this even<sup>g</sup> more affecting was, that Mrs Giles & all her servants were in tears.

Sunday, Feb[rua]ry 21, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & as soon as I had breakfasted hastned to the Lamb where I had the pleasure to hear the poor children rested well at Mr Eatons - Mr Giles intends going to Mr Haynes this morn<sup>g</sup> to request

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<sup>1</sup> George Alker was trading to Africa in 1759.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin (p.38) calls him his butler.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin (p. 28) has a fuller version of this, specifying that it was stopped at Kelson Hill 4 miles short of Bath and adding '*The first week Mr Giles set up the flying waggons for London these troubles began.*'

the children may be bro<sup>t</sup> there this aftern<sup>o</sup> - Staid at Mr Eatons 'till 10 & then went to St Werburgh's & in aftern<sup>o</sup> staid at home. The follow<sup>g</sup> note was put up at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> vizt "Prayers are desired for two children who continue to be grievously tormented"<sup>1</sup>.

The affair at Lawfords Gate brings to peoples remembrance things w<sup>ch</sup> has happened in times past. Mrs Hunt<sup>2</sup> was telling last Thurs<sup>y</sup> even<sup>g</sup> that she knows a man who well remembered the very extraord<sup>y</sup> affair w<sup>ch</sup> happened at Butley in Sommersetshire 20 or 25 y<sup>rs</sup> since where stacks of corn were set on fire on a preternatural way - large stones were thrown from the top of the house where the family lived on whom the calamity had fallen by an invisible power. victualls was taken out of ye pot over the fire by the same hand. & somtimes carry.. from the table by the same invisible hand. - The young man who was the person bewitched has been seen to be carryd up the chymney & let down again. & the farmer was almost reduced to poverty by this diabolical inchantm<sup>t</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Mrs Hunt saith there is an old man now living in the parish of Chew Sto[ke] who saith he converses with spirits every night & I doubt they are of the malignant kind.

Monday, Feb[rua]ry 22, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & at 9 went to the Lamb & to Mr Eatons & reced a bad acco<sup>t</sup> concern<sup>g</sup> the poor children - It being inconvenient for them to be taken to Mr Haynes's yesterday they remain'd at Mr Eaton's all day & lay there last night but were in that time grievously tormented vizt: at 5 o'clock yesterday even<sup>g</sup> & at bedtime & again early this morn<sup>g</sup> - when I call'd at Mr Eaton's they were at breakfast there this morn<sup>g</sup> & were pretty quiet in that time tho' we were obliged to hand the tea to Polleys mouth & likewise hold her chin & her head, the persecutor being very near & gave her a sudden jerk whenever we neglected to use that precaution - soon after breakfast as Doppey was standing in Mr Eatons kitchen she cryed out something was pulling her by the legs, & presently she sprawled down upon the ground, immediately thereupon Polley was seized in the same room & they both continued to be pulled for a considerable time in the same manner as on Saturday night. So that 'twas with difficulty Mr Eaton Mr Hen Durbin Mr Jere Hill<sup>5</sup> & myself (who were all present) could hold them from being pulled down on the ground. We carried them both out of the kitchen into Mr Eatons dining room & soon after that the lugging & pulling ceased but each of the childrens bodies were there upon violently agitated from head to foot. & Polley became entirely senseless - Doppey

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<sup>1</sup> See 31/1.

<sup>2</sup> See 18/2.

<sup>3</sup> The case actually occurred almost sixty years earlier and was reported in a pamphlet, *The Somersetshire Daemon* (1704) and a ballad, *The Somersetshire Wonder* (1704); it is also briefly discussed in John Beaumont's *An Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits, Apparitions, Witchcraft and Other Magical Practices* (1705), p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (pp. 39-40) gives fuller details of these, and also that 'a person proposed relieving them by casting their urine in the fire ... at last they threw the water of one of them into the fire and burnt it; as soon as it burned clear, that child was as well as if nothing had happened' and the same with the other, but the relief only lasted three hours. He adds 'Mrs -, in a hurry, called it some name. I begged she would not, lest it should have any power over her. She then beat it at the bed's foot, to prevent it hurting the children. It generally squeaked when beat, like a cat or a rat. Mr -'s daughter, about eighteen and son about fourteen, were standing by the bedside, they cried out they saw something lie between the children's heads of a shining colour, about the size of a cat, with a broad back, but could not see any head, feet or tail; as it seemed in a heap. Mrs. - then saw it, and went to the bed's head, and struck at it with her hand. She said it felt very soft and vanished, but somewhat at the same instant pinched a bit of flesh out of her arm, that the blood ran down. I saw the wound: it was as big as a small pea, bled a little the next day, and the mark continued some months.' (See Brown's letter of 28 February for another account of this.) Durbin also reports pinches to two women that left marks that lasted several months.

<sup>5</sup> See 11/2.

retain'd her senses & her thighs & legs were chiefly agitated - But in ½ an hour they both were recovered & what seems remarkable is that they were afterwards in exceed<sup>g</sup> good spirits<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is very contrary to ye effects of convulsion fits which come in a natural way! & is therefore a convincing proof to me of the above agitations being preternatural.

-near ½ p 10 I left them & went to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Salley Packer<sup>2</sup> who has been ill some days with an erisepilas<sup>3</sup> & fever

- at 1 went up to the Lamb & din'd there by request of Mr Giles & p 2 set out with him & Polley in a postchaise<sup>4</sup> & went to Mr Haynes at Wick & staid there 2 hours - after I had related to Mr H the discovery w<sup>ch</sup> the daemon made last Tuesday night. He desired that Doppey might be brought there tomorrow as he wou'd by no means part them to hazard their health - we left Polley behind us & reach'd the Lamb ½ p 7- went Home & then went up to Rachells & reced let<sup>r</sup> from d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S.<sup>5</sup>

Tuesday, Feb[rua]ry 23, 1762 - Shrove Tuesday

Rose at 7 & ab<sup>t</sup> 9 went to off afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mr Penny who read to me sundry querys relative to ye affair at Lawfords Gate w<sup>ch</sup> are to be publish in Sarah Farleys paper.<sup>6</sup> Afterwards went to sundry places on ye dunn. & staid at off & c 'till 2. Capt Cheyne call'd on me & was somewhat uneasy concern<sup>g</sup> Salley Packer who seems to have some bad symptoms - after din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho: & staid 'till near 5 then home. Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> dined with us & spent ye aftern<sup>o</sup> at our house.

This even<sup>g</sup> the committee met who consisted of Mr Elton Mr Ames Mr Baugh, Mr Wansey - As soon as they departed I went up to ye Lamb & to Mr Eaton who inform'd me he was just return'd with Mr Giles from Mr Haynes's where they carry'd Doppey this afternoon. & that Polley has hitherto remained quiet But their adversary tormented Doppey<sup>7</sup> at Mr Sandalls in the Old Market where she lay last night

p 8 called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & then home & sent some mer<sup>y</sup> pill<sup>8</sup> for his serv<sup>t</sup> maid who is ill in her bowells.

Wednesday, Feb[rua]ry 24, 1762 - Ash Wednes<sup>y</sup>

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & at 8 repair'd to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard an excellent descourse from Mr Symes<sup>9</sup> - Afterwards reced a note from Mr Symes requesting my company to dinner in order to give his

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 41) contradicts this, stating that they were 'greatly exhausted by their late exercises'.

<sup>2</sup> See George Packer\* and 23-28/2 and 1/3.

<sup>3</sup> Erysipelas is a disease causing deep red inflammation of the skin, also known as St Anthony's fire.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (p. 41) says 'at ten o'clock, Molly was sent in a post-chaise'. This was a 4-wheeled carriage with closed box for hire. In 1755 they could be hired from the Pelican and the Bell in St Thomas Street, Boars Head near College Green, White Lion in Broad St, Mr William Robins in Redcliff St and Mr Season's at George without Temple Gate.

<sup>5</sup> See 27/1.

<sup>6</sup> The *Bristol Journal*. See 6/3.

<sup>7</sup> Durbin (p. 41) reports she was bitten in her arms and a chair thrown down.

<sup>8</sup> Pills made using mercury, a common ingredient in remedies, especially anti-venereal ones. See 6/6.

<sup>9</sup> One of the Lent series of sermons sponsored by the city with funds from Edward Colston: *FFBJ* 20 February lists the Lent preachers including Symes.



sister Hunt<sup>1</sup> & 2 other ladys a succinct acco<sup>t</sup> of ye affair at the Lamb. W<sup>th</sup> which I complied & read to them Mr Eatons journal of that affair.<sup>2</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> met Capt Cheyne who inform'd me of Salley Packer being delirious & ye erisipelas proceeds all over her head.

Called twice at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> & gave some medicine to their serv<sup>t</sup> maid who has no passage in her bowells. This ev<sup>g</sup> drank tea with Mr Penny & read his querys designed to be publish'd in ye Lond<sup>o</sup> Chronicle w<sup>ch</sup> he enclosed in a letter<sup>3</sup> & I put it in ye post office.<sup>4</sup>

Thursday, Feb[rua]ry 25, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd on parents. & visited Salley Packer who appears extremely ill but Capt Cheyne has applyed cataplasms<sup>5</sup> to her feet w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will draw the disorder downwards: afterw<sup>ds</sup> Capt Cheyne & Mr Penny called on me. -

I find our fine reasoners quite ridicule ye affair without Lawfords Gate. & go so far as to assert that never any affair of this kind happened without being sooner or later discovered to be a cheat.

After dinner called on Mr Eaton & also at the Lamb & find ye children continue unmolested at Mr Haynes's - 'tis pity say some of our gentleman that they had not be put to a person who is no methodist.

This ev<sup>g</sup> drank tea w<sup>th</sup> Mrs Marston.

Friday, Feb[rua]ry 26, 1762

Last night I had an odd dream wherein I thought I swallowed sev<sup>l</sup> pins tho' at the sametime they seemed to do me no harm except that I felt a pricking in my stomach or side -

Mr Giles seemed to be in my company - Surely the old hag has not any power over us - but that even<sup>g</sup> hear<sup>g</sup> that Major Drax had a cut on his hand of the same kind as the childrens. & when he was not at ye house with the children gave me some alarm - However not any harm can happen unto those who trust in the Lord

This morn<sup>g</sup> went over to Littleton & this aftern<sup>o</sup> rode over to Mr Haynes & visited the children who continue unmolested - Drank tea there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mrs Haynes & her son - Mr Haynes himself set out for Lond<sup>o</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> - at my return call'd at ye Lamb & by Mrs Haynes's desire invited Mr & Mrs Giles to dine with her on Sunday next - arrived at off ½ p 6 afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Salley Packer who is extremely ill & her life almost despaired of - afterw<sup>ds</sup> I went to poor Rachell & reced I trust her seasonable reproof - Lord grant it may prove useful to me - our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S's serv<sup>t</sup> was there & deliv<sup>d</sup> me her mister<sup>s</sup> injunct<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I intend to obey.

Lord grant I may from this moment cast off every weight that doth hinder me running my Xtian course, that my soul may be entirely devoted to thee! Whither it be study<sup>g</sup> books visiting, or conversation: or whatsoever else shew it me & enable me to cast from me whatsoever impedes my entirely devoting my soul my all to thee - Grant this Lord Jesus Amen Amen!

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<sup>1</sup> See 18/2.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the diary reproduced below, as sent by Brown to Lord Dartmouth in April, though that version ends on 10 January.

<sup>3</sup> There is no sign of these in that publication, but see 23/2 and 6/3 for Penny's queries appearing in the Bristol press.

<sup>4</sup> This was in a wing projecting into Corn Street at the west end of the Exchange.

<sup>5</sup> Cataplasms are plasters or poultices.

Saturday, Feb[rua]ry 27, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited Salley Packer who continues much the same as yesterday

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Stockesleys<sup>1</sup> & to Wms's<sup>2</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> copyed my d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S lres & destroy'd the original by her desire<sup>3</sup> - after dinner went to Mr Symes's & took walk with him & went from his house to office ½ p 6 & home p 8.

Sunday, [February] 28, [1762]

Sent to Salley Packer this morn<sup>g</sup> & reced a good acco<sup>t</sup> as there appeared more favourable symptoms this morn<sup>g</sup> than has hitherto been. But I was astonish'd this aftern<sup>o</sup> at being inform'd her father & mother had taken her home in a post chaise this aftern<sup>o</sup> & in all human probability it must cost her, her life & this proceeded from the obstinacy of her parents with a mixture of stupidity & ignorance. This affair has given poor Capt Cheyne great anxiety & notwithstanding<sup>g</sup> all his concern yet they wou'd have their own way.

This foren<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at home. In the even<sup>g</sup> visit<sup>g</sup> Rachell. oh may her advice prove a blessing -

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> but there I have too much reason to say conversation was not free from sin.

Monday, March 1, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> about 6 & p 7 took walk & then call'd on Capt Cheyne & we both went to Mr Brown & informed him of the behaviour of George Packer & wife & 'twas proposed I shou'd go over this aftern<sup>o</sup> to enquire after Salley But it happened inconvenient which proved very well, because Packer himself came to Mrs Oakeys<sup>4</sup> this aftern<sup>o</sup> & said that Salley was brave & that they conveyed her home without harm w<sup>ch</sup> is a circumstance not at all owing to their prudence or care. After din<sup>r</sup> Mr W<sup>m</sup> Hopkins came with one Mr Jos Curtis of Frampton near Acton to view my machine & I went with him afterwards to see a wooden tube w<sup>ch</sup> his son an apprentice to Mr Davis ye carpenter in the Pithay<sup>5</sup> has, w<sup>ch</sup> is only part of a moppstick made perfectly dry by baking, whereby fire is as readily excited as with a glass tube - & he says that any kind of wood made perfectly dry & kept in that state by being kept in the chimney corner continually will do the same. Also that any sort of dry vegetables will do the same vizt bean stalks &c perfectly dry'd - He saith that a rabbit skin will likewise do it - He has charged an electrical vial from a cats back - I took him to Capt Cheynes

Moth<sup>r</sup> din<sup>d</sup> with us & spent the day at our house.

This morn<sup>g</sup> clos<sup>d</sup> last months acc<sup>ot</sup> of cash - st<sup>d</sup> at off 'till 8 this ev<sup>g</sup> then home.

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<sup>1</sup> Stockesley's cutlery and gunpowder warehouse moved in January 1762 from opposite St Nicholas Church to opposite the temporary bridge leading to Tucker Street.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly James Williams\*.

<sup>3</sup> See 27/1 and 22/2.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified. See 26/7.

<sup>5</sup> In 1775 a Gilbert Davis, carpenter, was at 38 Queen Square.

Tuesday, March 2, 1762

Rose p 6 - went to Brewho & call'd over last months accompt afterwards visited Mr Symes - then to off - Mr Wallis came to town this morn<sup>g</sup> with sample of ye government composition.<sup>1</sup> But it is not likely to succeed. Mr Ames talked to him about ye works stand<sup>g</sup> still sometime & turn<sup>g</sup> the work men off in that interval<sup>2</sup> & probably it may be thought meet to turn some one else off likewise. But may I cast all my care on the Lord who certainly careth for me. May I remember that I am only a strang[er] & sojourner in this world -

This foren<sup>o</sup> went to Mr Baughs with him to Cust<sup>o</sup> Ho, who made affidavit to our ship<sup>g</sup> 30 bls pow<sup>r</sup> per ye Union<sup>3</sup> in Octo<sup>r</sup> last for Dublin. Spent 2 hours & drank tea w<sup>th</sup> Mr Penny this aftern<sup>o</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at off & at 7 visited poor Rachell & home near 9 - I have more satisfaction in ye conversation of a poor but experienc'd Xtian than I shou'd in the company of the greatest man on earth who is void of religion.

Wednesday, March 3, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited Fath<sup>r</sup> Davis - staid at off & c 'till 2 then home & staid 'till p 5 Mrs Pope<sup>4</sup> came & staid the even<sup>g</sup> - went to off & ½ p 7 at Helpful Society & afterw<sup>ds</sup> accompanied Mrs Pope home to whom I was enabled to declare with some freedome some truths w<sup>ch</sup> many serious persons cannot receive.

Thursday, March 4, 1762

Sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to Lit<sup>n</sup> this m.. to fetch samples of Governm<sup>t</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> were sent to Lond<sup>o</sup>. - Went to off at 9 - reced lre from Bro<sup>r</sup> James w<sup>th</sup> acco<sup>t</sup> of ye Lo.. pow<sup>r</sup> makers advanc<sup>g</sup> 5 / per Barrel w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I went to Mr Ames. Mr Baugh & Mr Elton - then staid at off 'till 2 - after dinner took walk. Drank tea w<sup>th</sup> Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> Then to off: & ½ p 7 visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who is very ill & I fear his time is very short in this world. Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>'s sale of ye shop goods began last Monday & I find not yet quite finished. & it seems they have sold much under value.<sup>5</sup>

Friday, March 5, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> near 8 mounted Hobbey & rode to Fulligrove magazine<sup>6</sup> & took accompt of stock on hand w<sup>ch</sup> was done with great ease consider<sup>g</sup> the very large quant<sup>y</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is upwards of 1700 barrels -

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<sup>1</sup> See introduction for the failed attempt to supply the Ordnance Board with gunpowder of the required strength, copying the samples sent back on 4/3.

<sup>2</sup> See 19/3.

<sup>3</sup> Ship not identified.

<sup>4</sup> When Joshua Pope at the Sun in Stokes Croft died in December 1769, Dyer noted that 'his wife was a professor of religion and our acquaintance some years'. He first records meeting her at Allison's\* in 1757.

<sup>5</sup> See 31/1.

<sup>6</sup> On the river south of Shirehampton, now the site of Fulligrove House. See the introduction for this magazine, which was developed by the Woolley partners in 1749. Dyer described it as the only place on the river Avon where a piece of land with 'a good tith' could be obtained, and noted that powder was hauled by land from Littleton to Fulligrove from

we finished before 1 o'clock - din'd there & reach'd home ½ p 3 - went to off near 5 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home.

Saturday [March] 6<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

This has been a day of great activity with me & my spirits have thereby been greatly afloat. Went to Mr Ames's & Mr Baughs & shewd 'em Ire from Liverp<sup>o1</sup>

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mr Symes & the paragraph in Felix Farley's & querys in Sarah Farley's paper today very much pleases those who believe the reality of ye affair without Lawfords Gate.<sup>2</sup>

Met with Mr Haynes this morning & went with him to Capt Cheynes to shew him his machine. -

This afternoon went to Mr Ames with Ire from Capt Hamilton<sup>3</sup> from Lond<sup>o</sup> who wants 100lbs pow<sup>r</sup> to be sent to Falm<sup>o4</sup> - went to Mr Deane & consulted him - & this even<sup>g</sup> wrote Ire at Mr Ames's w<sup>ch</sup> he signed to Captain Hamilton inform<sup>g</sup> we could send pow<sup>r</sup> to Falm<sup>o</sup> but then he must obta.. license to ship it from thence to Africa<sup>5</sup> & we wou'd dd it here to a Falm<sup>o</sup> vessell at ye Lond<sup>o</sup> price w<sup>ch</sup> we apprehe.. is 90/ per barrel.

Drank tea with mother - call'd at Mr Sweetings & he opened a scene to me w<sup>ch</sup> he has very lately discovered per Mrs Sprake<sup>6</sup> concern<sup>g</sup> poor JD's untoward wife.

This even<sup>g</sup> bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & his wife go up to fathers to sleep there - as the sale begins morn<sup>g</sup> of their household goods.

Sunday, March 7, 1762

Went this foren<sup>o</sup> to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & at sacra<sup>t</sup> there - after din<sup>r</sup> visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who was extremely ill - aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup>. In even<sup>g</sup> visited poor Rachell who said it was now the hour of darkness with her & temptation presseth hard upon her. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> I went to Mr Eatons & from thence went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & p 9 home.

Monday, March 8, 1762

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August 1756 until at least 1801. A plan of the buildings in 1792 survives and parts of the works, including a crane on the waterfront, survived until 1986, when the area was developed for housing.

<sup>1</sup> Between June 1756 and December 1762 Baugh Ames and co had licenses for 5200 barrels for shipments to Liverpool merchants for use in the Africa trade. See 1/4 for plans to send powder overland to supply Liverpool.

<sup>2</sup> See 23/2 for Penny's\* queries. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was run at this date by Felix's widow Elizabeth, who was, like him, a Wesleyan Methodist, although from 1758 she had stopped publishing for Wesley. A full run of this paper for 1762 survives in Bristol Reference Library's Bristol collection. Sarah Farley's paper is the *Bristol Journal* established in rivalry to *Felix's Farley's Bristol Journal* in 1752 by the Quaker Samuel Farley (d. 1753) and inherited by Sarah Farley (his brother Edward's daughter from Exeter) who, though a Quaker, was part of Bristol literary circles as a friend of the young Hannah More and made her paper much closer to the Whig city establishment. Only a few issues of this paper survive for 1762, none covering the Lamb Inn affair.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps David Hamilton, a Bristol ship's master until 1764 and then a major sugar importer from 1766; a Captain Hamilton is listed at 12 Dowry Square in 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Falmouth was the port for the Atlantic packet boats, but it might also have supplied the Cornish mines.

<sup>5</sup> A 1756 act controlling the export of gunpowder had allowed Liverpool and Bristol merchants to export gunpowder, ammunition and arms to Africa for use in their own ships and trade, but they required a license to supply other places, at home and abroad, or traders from other ports. In 1758 the company's petition to have a general license to ship powder to the mines of Wales and Cornwall failed and in July 1762 Wansey\* told Strachey\* that due to wartime restrictions 'we cannot supply our orders for ye mines in Wales and Cornwall'.

<sup>6</sup> A friend of John Dyer's\* wife. See 8/3, 10/3, 18-19/3, 29/5.

Rose before 7 Ja<sup>s</sup> Duffet<sup>1</sup> came this morn<sup>g</sup> & was electrised for ye hypocondria.<sup>2</sup> p 9 visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. staid at off & c 'till 2 H Sweeting inform'd me that poor JD's unhappy wife has taken care to have great part of the household goods purchased for her acco<sup>t</sup> today<sup>3</sup> tho' she had been so abominably deceitful to promise him none shou'd be bou<sup>t</sup>.

After din<sup>r</sup> went up to the Lamb & was informed they suspect their adversary is again begin<sup>g</sup> to operate on their poor children at Mr Haynes's<sup>4</sup> - when I went home to tea I was inform'd Mr Giles had sent me a roast<sup>g</sup> pig w<sup>ch</sup> I intend send<sup>g</sup> my friend Mr Symes.

I visited this even<sup>g</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown who was at Mr Days in the Castle<sup>5</sup> who reced a kick from our mare yesterday morn<sup>g</sup> & thereby was cut below his under lip & his lower teeth were forced inward. 'Twas a mercy it happened no worse.

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home p 8.

Tuesday, March 9, 1762

Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 went up to Mr Eatons & Mrs Eaton said ye goods were sold yesterday at a very high rate especially those who were bou<sup>t</sup> for JDs wife.

This morn<sup>g</sup> sent roast<sup>g</sup> pig to Mr Symes's went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House & gave bond for powder to be ship'd for Padstow.<sup>6</sup> -

After din<sup>r</sup> visited Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard Mr Symes - this ev<sup>g</sup> the committee met consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Elton, Mr Ames, Miller, Deane & Wansey.

p 7 visited poor JD where was also H Sweeting.

I find that this day Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>'s son Jackey who was at nurse in the country dyed: hav<sup>g</sup> been sometime since troubled with convulsion fits.

Wednesday, March 10, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited poor JD & his wife was in a rage when I went in, occasioned by hearing her friend Mrs Sprake had betrayed her trust - such is the friendship of the world! Went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mr & Mrs Symes who were both going to visit Mr Purnell & I went part of the way with 'em. Then off: Afterw<sup>ds</sup> drank tea with Mrs Marston afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachel. Then to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home ½ p 8 Having little business at present, I have much time on my hands - may I employ it to a right use. This even<sup>g</sup> H Sweet<sup>g</sup> declared the whole affair to poor Jn<sup>o</sup>'s unhappy wife. But she stifly denied every thing with w<sup>ch</sup> she was charged

Thursday, March 11, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Clerk to Farrell and Jones, leading Virginia merchants (see 24/8); in 1775 Duffett is listed as the turnpike man at 138 Bedminster, as discussed by Dyer in his epitomised diary.

<sup>2</sup> Hypochondria is the soft part of the abdomen under the ribs, and hence the morbid state of mind associated with disease there (properly hypochondriasis).

<sup>3</sup> See 31/1.

<sup>4</sup> See Durbin (p. 42) and below 11/3.

<sup>5</sup> Mr and Mrs Day\* were related to the wife of Rev. James Brown\*, who jointly owned the mare Hobby with Dyer.

<sup>6</sup> See 6/3.

Went up in town about 9 & staid at off: &c 'till near 2. Mr Giles came to office this morn<sup>g</sup> with concern in his countenance & informed me he had heard the children begin to be visited by their adversary & beg'd me to go with him in a post chaise this afternoon. Accordingly I went to the Lamb after dinner & we both sat out for Mr Haynes's & staid there 'till past 6. But I was much disturb'd in my mind (tho' discovered but little thereof) at hearing the ridiculous talk of Mrs Haynes who charges the poor children carrying on the cheat themselves (as she terms it) oh may the Lord convince her to the contrary She told us that on Tuesday morn<sup>g</sup> Doppey was taken up stairs two storry high & put under the bed but she wou'd not believe but 'twas done by direction of her sister. Doppey says that the witch appeared to her & carry'd her upstairs by her head. Yesterday morn<sup>g</sup> both children were violently agitated in their bodies while in the parlour & sometime today Polleys head was struck against the wainscot once or twice. But notwithstanding they will not believe but 'tis the childrens own doing.<sup>1</sup> 'tis to be remarked that last Monday was a fortnight since Polley was carried over & Tuesday was a fortnight since Doppey went at which time we were all in expect<sup>a</sup> of hearing somewhat extraordinary.<sup>2</sup> At our return to the Lamb this even<sup>g</sup> Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton were wait<sup>g</sup> for us.

Friday, March 12, 1762, Publick Fast day

Rose p 6 & p 9 visited Mr Brown & from thence to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & afterwards to St Werburghs & heard an excellent descourse from Mr Symes - the text Ezra 8:23 so we fasted & besought our God for this & He was intreated of us.<sup>3</sup>

Staid at home all ye aftern<sup>o</sup> & at p 6 went to Mr Symes's & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 10. I sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to Littleton this aftern<sup>o</sup> because of his going to Newport tomor<sup>o</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

I am much concerned at times for the poor children. & pray the Lord will preserve them & at samtime convince Mrs H & her family, that those innocent children may not be wrongfully accused.

Saturday, March 13, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Miss F..<sup>5</sup> from thence to off: & staid there &c 'till 2.

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<sup>1</sup> It is clear from later entries (12/3, 14/3, 16/3, 27/3, 30/3, and especially 6/4) that Mrs Haynes remained sceptical, but Dyer's accounts do not corroborate John Evans' statement in 1824: 'Mrs. Haynes had the two girls to her house, still known as Wick-Court, and put them to sleep in one bed on a middle floor. Noises were heard in the night, as theretofore at the Lamb, and, on visiting the bed, Miss Molly was found wanting. Search being made, she was discovered hiding in an upper room, with newly made scratches on her innocent flesh. Nothing alarmed by these supernatural tokens, Mrs. Haynes directed the natural application of a birchen rod to Miss Molly's sensible posteriors; and Dobby was promised a spice of the same wholesome discipline, if she ventured any like experiment upon her hostess's credulity. The Spirit of Evil from that day departed from these precious lamb-kins, and was no more heard of.' (*Chronological Outline*, p. 279).

<sup>2</sup> See 18/2 for the spirit's warning that the children should only stay a fortnight in any place to which they were sent.

<sup>3</sup> The Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner notes 'a very crowded audience' at his parish church for this day of prayer and supplication established by royal proclamation 'for obtaining pardon of our sins and for averting those heavy judgments which our manifold provocations have mostly justly deserved and for imploring His blessing on the arms of His Majesty by sea and land, and for restoring and perpetuating peace, safety and prosperity'.

<sup>4</sup> See 28/1.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Miss Fisher\*.

People begin to be very clamorous about Mr Giles as their suspicions are now confirmed - w<sup>ch</sup> was that this affair of witchcraft was a meerly contrived thing, to lessen the value of the house part whereof did not belong to Mr Giles<sup>1</sup> & now that part has been sold (2 or 3 days since) & was bou<sup>t</sup> by Mr Dyer the sadler<sup>2</sup> for Mr Giles.

This morn<sup>g</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> went to Newport w<sup>th</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Fryers<sup>3</sup> note & return'd without the money: But he promises it in a month from this time.

This even<sup>g</sup> call'd on Mr Baugh went to Bro<sup>f</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>: afterwards call'd on Mr Brown & home p 8.

Sunday, March 14, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 7 mounted Hobbey & rode to Wick where the poor d<sup>r</sup> children continued unmolested & Mrs Haynes & her son are firmly of opinion that the whole is a trick of the childrens - May they be convinced of the contrary & may the poor children be preserved from their adversary. I breakfasted there & p 9 sat out from thence - then went to Geo Packers & found poor Salley much better than expected. Sat out from thence at 11 & reached home at 12 - aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> in ye even<sup>g</sup> visited Mr Symes & went from thence to Mr Giles's also visited Father Davis. From thence to Bro<sup>f</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & came home with AD p 8.

Monday, March 15, 1762

Chief part of this foren<sup>o</sup> I was employed in framing a letter to ye board of ordnance & after din<sup>f</sup> went to Mr Ames & Mr Baughs to read it to them.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards wrote it fair & shewed the same to Mr Elton who approved thereof. Drank tea w<sup>th</sup> AD at Mrs Marst... - p7 visited Bro<sup>f</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Rachells & home near 9.

I am frequently considering about providing for Sam<sup>5</sup> - May the Lord direct me.

Tuesday, March 16, 1762

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to Brewho afterw<sup>ds</sup> to Capt Cheynes & to Mr Pennys. Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2 - aftern<sup>o</sup> near 5 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited mother & Bro<sup>f</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> where was Mr Yeatman the apothecary<sup>6</sup> - afterwards went to the Lamb & Mrs Giles appeared very uncar<sup>g</sup> about her poor

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<sup>1</sup> See 10/4. This explanation of the affair became the standard one in later histories, although some accounts blame the grandmother Mrs Elmes (and her daughter) and refer to her, not Giles, buying the inn.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> A creditor of John Dyer's\*.

<sup>4</sup> See introduction and 17/3, 19/3, 1/4.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Dyer\* stayed at Bristol Grammar School until 1764 and was then apprenticed.

<sup>6</sup> Harry Farr Yeatman (will proved 18 June 1788) was a Dorset woolstapler's son, apprenticed for £105 in 1745 to Sam Smith apothecary and druggist, and freed in 1751 as husband to the daughter of Rice Charleton, a leading apothecary whose partner he became during the 1750s, dealing both as apothecaries and in selling oils and colours. In 1775 he is listed as a druggist at 141 Redcliff Street, and in the same year he and his near-neighbour Henry Durbin\* jointly leased some civic land; they also acted as co-executors for one Mary Freeman.

children, especially on consider<sup>g</sup> of Mrs Haynes's incredulity who will not suffer the poor children to make their complaint.<sup>1</sup>

I spent an hour at Mr Eatons & home p 9.

Wednesday, March 17, 1762

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to Mr Roquet & by Mrs Giles's request desired him to go over to see the children. This morn<sup>g</sup> wrote over again ye letter for ye Board ordnance & Mr Baugh sent this even<sup>g</sup> - I carry<sup>d</sup> ye said letter to Mr Baughs after din<sup>r</sup> where was Mr Daniell.<sup>2</sup>

Afterwards visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who is extremely ill & by his desire electrised him this even<sup>g</sup>.

At 8 oclock this even<sup>g</sup> went to the Lamb & was informed that Mr Roquet has been & ret'd from Mr Haynes's & that the children appear well.

Thursday, March 18, 1762

Visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> 3 times today he being extremely ill - This after<sup>n</sup> visited Rachell where was Mr Hawksworth also call'd on Mrs Pope<sup>3</sup> this ev<sup>g</sup> who has been very ill - I step'd to the Lamb this ev<sup>g</sup> & heard that ye children are well. Lord pardon my weakness & whatever I have done amiss.

This ev<sup>g</sup> Sis<sup>r</sup> Dy<sup>rs</sup> intimate fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs Sprake came to visit her.

Friday, [March] 19<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Sat out at 8 for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> from thence at 12 - our magazine at Littleton is nearly full & in all probability the works must soon stand still - Every thing at present wears a gloomy aspect! My poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> in a bad state of health & his tempor<sup>a</sup> affairs in equally as bad condition. My poor parents unable to provide for themselves<sup>4</sup> - Bro<sup>r</sup> Sam unprovided for & probably I may soon loose my employ - May the Lord be my help & may all my care be cast upon Him.

After din<sup>r</sup> called on Mr Ames & he proposes the works going on until we receive an ans<sup>r</sup> from ye Board Ordnance.

Visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who is somewhat better than yesterday. But his poor wife still harping on ye same string. Mr Sweeting & Sprake was there also

Called at Mrs Allison's from thence to Mr Symes's & spent the even<sup>g</sup> there.

Saturday, March 20, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 11/3.

<sup>2</sup> in 1756 Dyer had posted the account books of Francis Daniell 'at his lodging room at his mothers in the Customs House', and he was trading to Africa in 1759, but he was bankrupt in 1762. In 1775 a Francis Daniell gentleman lived at 39 St Philips Plain and in 1778 the subscribers to Thomas Malton's *Complete Treatise on Perspective* included Mr Daniel FRS (mistake for Francis?) merchant in Bristol. See 18/1 for Mrs Daniell, perhaps his mother?

<sup>3</sup> See 3/3.

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas? Dyer\*.



May ye Lord pardon me & humble me under a sense of my guilt! May I unfeigned.. resolve to be a poor pilgrim! May Jesus give me a pilgrim spirit! & help me to live here as seeing things which are invisible!

This morning read part of Justin Martyr & Tertullians apologys for the Christian religion (lent me by Mr Symes) wherein are mention of daemons & evil spirits together with daemoniacs of the Christians in those days dispossessing those who were possessed by evil spirits whereby it appears to have been no uncommon things in those days. As also shews the great power Xtians were then possessed of, thro' the great prevailing name of Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

This afterno visited poor JD - Drank tea at Mr Allisons - He inform'd me of his going a journey to Plym<sup>o</sup>. Since w<sup>ch</sup> a whim has seized me of going likewise a journey. Oh Jesus guide & direct & preserve me from whatever may prove an evil.

The even<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Eatons & home p 9.

Sunday, March 21, 1762

In foren<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>gh</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> staid at home at 5 went to Room & heard Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Westley.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards visited Rachel & wrote a few lines to our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S - & my soul was somewhat quickn.. there. Oh may ye Lord awaken the drowsy powers of my poor soul & make me sensible & keep me sensible of the most important things.

Monday, [March] 22<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 8 went to Brewho & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 10 then to off: Mr Deane sent for me & shewed a letter he reced from Capt Powell of ye Bristol Merch<sup>t3</sup> & desires me to write a few lines to Bro<sup>f</sup> James directing him to ship ye brimstone<sup>4</sup> he has b.. on board said vessell. which I did - & at.. JD thereof this even<sup>g</sup> - This day AD & I dined at Mr Symes's & she staid ye aftern<sup>o</sup> & at p 7 I went up & we both came home p 10.

It appears to me that the evil spirit ye prince of darkness is devising mischief against me! But may Jesus be my help! & may I be enabled to trust in thee o Lord.

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<sup>1</sup> William Reeves' edition of *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix, in Defence of the Christian Religion*, was published in 1709 and again in 1716.

<sup>2</sup> The Room or (as it now known) New Room between Horsefair and Broadmead, was first bought as a meeting-room for the religious societies in 1739, but enlarged into its current form as a chapel in 1748. John Wesley (1707-91), co-founder of Wesleyan Methodism, often visited Bristol, and Dyer records attending many sermons by him at the New Room and several meetings with him, including Wesley coming to tea at his house on 9 October 1755. He was never a Wesleyan member himself (unlike his wife?), and merely noted Wesley's death in 1791, with no appreciative comment about him (unlike his brother Charles), perhaps because of John Wesley's eventual support for the separatist tendencies within Methodism. Wesley's Journal passes very rapidly over the second half of March (spent in Bristol) but on Saturday 27th he records: 'I heard a large account of the children near Lawford's Gate which has made so much noise here. The facts are too glaring to be denied. But how are they to be accounted for? By natural or supernatural agency? Contend who list about this.' See *ODNB* entry.

<sup>3</sup> The Bristol Merchant was an 80-ton snow, built in 1749 and owned by Nathaniel Wraxall\*, which sailed to Boston and back in autumn 1762. Severall Powells operated as ships' masters, including Valentine in 1754-6 and Thomas in 1775. Mr Powell might also be John Powell, the leading agent in Bristol slaving voyages 1755-76, who is listed as merchant at 31 College Green in 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Sulphur, one of the chief ingredients of gunpowder, imported via London.

Tuesday, March 23, 1762

Notwithstand<sup>s</sup> I find within me a will to do good yet evil is also present with me - Lately there has been many reason<sup>s</sup> & specious pretences ab<sup>t</sup> going a journey for acco<sup>t</sup> of ye pow<sup>r</sup> work whereas 'tis probable ye chief motive was to gratify my own will - but it seems that will is disappointed of its hope. May I praise God for all things - Enable me o Lord to give myself entirely to thee & to be thine alone.

This morn<sup>s</sup> went to Mr Giles's but could not learn any thing material hath happened to ye children - visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. This aftern<sup>o</sup> took walk with Mr Penny Drank tea with Sis<sup>r</sup> Hopkins - the committee met this even<sup>s</sup> consisting of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ames, Baugh, Miller, Wansey. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> step'd to ye Room & heard one letter read concern<sup>s</sup> the Russians.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, March 24, 1762

This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Rachell - May her words of instruction fasten in my soul as a nail in a sure place - reced an encourag<sup>s</sup> lre from our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S.

At noon went with Mr Adlam to St Peters Hospital<sup>2</sup> & saw the electrical machine there.

This day advice is reced of Martiniq.. hav<sup>s</sup> surrendered to ye English forces<sup>3</sup>

This even<sup>s</sup> Mr Eltons second son was buried & ye 3<sup>rd</sup> son is likely soon to follow. w<sup>ch</sup> is an affecting circumstance he hav<sup>s</sup> buried 2 sons already within a short space of time.<sup>4</sup>

This ev<sup>s</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home p 8.

Thursday, March 25, 1762

This foren<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard a gift serm<sup>o5</sup> from Mr Symes from these words "unless ye be converted & become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven" with which my heart acquiesced & oh may I experience that true conversion to God w<sup>ch</sup> was treated of in said discourse.

In the morn<sup>s</sup> went to Mr A with ye branch of ye Tryal<sup>6</sup> but was bid to come Mondy next.

Aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Drank tea at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> with AD - then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home.

Friday, [March] 26<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>s</sup> p 8 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 12 went to off & staid 'till 2 - at 5 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: p 7 took short walk visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & also Rachell oh may I benefit by every visit.

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps regarding a Methodist mission to Russia?

<sup>2</sup> The city workhouse had included its own medical facilities since its opening in 1699, and rivalled the Infirmary in providing medical care, though for paupers rather than charity cases (as catered for at the Infirmary).

<sup>3</sup> Martinique surrendered on 15 February, and news reached Bristol on the 24<sup>th</sup>, judging by a poem on its surrender dated Bristol 24 March which appears, along with long accounts of the 'capture of Martinico' in *FFBJ* 27 March.

<sup>4</sup> See Isaac Elton\* and 28/1 for the deaths of Abraham and Jacob Elton. His third son (Isaac) did not die as feared.

<sup>5</sup> An endowed sermon. The text is Matthew 18:3.

<sup>6</sup> Meaning unclear, but the Tryall was a slaving ship, registered first in 1744 and again in 1754; its whereabouts between 1757 and 1763 are unclear, but it was re-registered at Bristol as a prize on 12 February 1763, owned by Henry Bright\* and Jeremiah Ames\*) and left Bristol on 6 March 1763 for Old Calabar then Jamaica, not returning until June 1764. It operated as a privateer on this voyage and in June 1763 the Susanna from San Domingo arrived in Bristol after being taken as a prize by her. Alternatively, the 'tryal' in question may refer to trials at the gunpowder works.

Saturday, March 27, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> called at Sweet<sup>gs</sup> Rogers<sup>1</sup> Rock<sup>2</sup> Cust<sup>o</sup> House - & ye remaind<sup>r</sup> of foren<sup>o</sup> at off: &c I had some conversation with Mr Whittuck of Hanham concern<sup>g</sup> ye affair of Giles's children & he believes it a trick of ye children but can bring no other proof than immagination. Jo Coates also seems to be of the same class.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> took walk with my friend Penny & drank tea with him at Miss Clarks at Barton Hundred<sup>3</sup> - at our return called at the Lamb. & find Mr & Mrs Haynes are not yet convinced that ye extraordinary transactions w<sup>ch</sup> has happened is not ye childrens own performance.

This ev<sup>g</sup> wrote lre to Bro<sup>r</sup> James called on Sweeting - left with him Fryers note.<sup>4</sup>

Sunday, March 28, 1762

foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> twice today and was somewhat affect<sup>d</sup> to observe him so ill & his poor unhappy wife seems miserable & discontented.

Call'd on Rachell this even<sup>g</sup> but made very little stay there being company. & my poor spirit was fluttered at going in & coming out of the court. Such power hath the fear of man over me - My spirit is somtimes as 'twere convulsed or it may be compared to the tide or a rapid torrent such is its violent motion. But if I am enabled to resign myself to ye Lord in silence or lye as a simple existence without any activity of my own the Lord calms the raging of the sea & in both respects this has been my experience this even<sup>g</sup>.

After I came from Rach<sup>s</sup> went to Quakers meet<sup>g</sup> & then home.

Monday, March 29, 1762 [for pages pasted on top of this entry in the diary, see 17-21 December]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> about 5 in order to carry a letter to ye Glos<sup>r</sup> stage coach, for Fryer .. Newport, but no person being up I went to the Room & heard Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Wesley's farewell serm<sup>o</sup> & he having set out from hence for Ireland this morn<sup>g</sup><sup>5</sup> & afterwards I was vexed to find the stage coach sat out at 7 o'clock & I did not send the letter.

At 9 went up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr Ames's, Rocks<sup>6</sup>, Bonbonous<sup>7</sup>, Mr Camplins<sup>8</sup> - staid at off &c 'till 2. after din<sup>r</sup> visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. Drank tea with Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown & at 7 I went with him to George Barnes a journeyman smith to a coachmaker liv<sup>g</sup> opposite the bottom of Glos<sup>r</sup> Lane next door to Kingston<sup>9</sup> (called on Mr Penny in our way but he cou'd not go with us) & this man gave us a very

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<sup>1</sup> See 28/1 above.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Rock, merchant and shipowner, went bankrupt in August 1764. In 1771 Thomas and Mary Rock sold the New Fire Office in Corn Street, and in 1775 'Rock' (with no occupation) is listed at 5, Avenue to St James Square. In 1791 Dyer noted 'poor Mr Rock distiller in St Thomas Street drowned himself'.

<sup>3</sup> The White Hart Inn at Lower Easton was commonly called Barton Hundred.

<sup>4</sup> See above 12-13/3.

<sup>5</sup> Wesley's Journal records that he 'came to the New Passage (see 12/4) a little before nine' on his journey to Ireland (via Chester), remaining there until the end of July.

<sup>6</sup> See 27/3.

<sup>7</sup> See Bonbonus\*

<sup>8</sup> See 20/4.

<sup>9</sup> Not identified.

remarkable account concerning himself, but his heart seem'd ready to burst & he was greatly affected before he began the relation as well as when giving us the same he shedding tears several times.<sup>1</sup>

He said that about 7 months ago (vizt in the month of August last) he was seized one night when in bed with a trembling of his whole body & he heard a voice in the room, or rather 2 or 3 different voices w<sup>ch</sup> seemed to sport themselves with seeing him in that scituation. He could hear them sometimes say see how the dog sweats the sweat runs off his legs. I cou'd tear out his heart if I had a mind to & a great deal of such kind of language. & he was serv'd in this manner 3 nights successively w<sup>ch</sup> fatigued & tormented the poor fellow exceedingly. The last of said nights he started up in the bed & asked "What he had done that he was thus torment.. 'em - He was replied "get up, but first kiss your wife & tell her you are going to take a walk (he did so being very desirous of getting rid of this torment if possible) & when he got down stairs the voice bid him put on his other breeches - He did so - then told him to weigh ½ oz tea & ¼ lb sugar. But before he had time to do this his wife was come downstairs - the voice bid him purswade his wife to go up stairs - He did so & succeeded. Then he went to weigh the tea but the voice bid him put it in his pocket without weigh<sup>s</sup> He did so (vizt his wastecoat pocket) He then was going to weigh some lump sugar - But it told him not to stay to weigh it but make haste & put it loose into his pocket without weigh<sup>s</sup> because his wife was coming. He obeyed then was told to go to the bakers next door for a sixpenny loaf & say that he was going to the country - He was likewise told to take ½ a pound of butter out of the cellar. But however the voice bid him make haste leave that 'till another time Accordingly he set out & was guided by somthing suggesting in his mind which was the right way but not by a voice out of himself w<sup>ch</sup> was the case before. Accordingly he sat out (it being as he thinks about 5 o'clock in the morning) & was hurried along in a terrible sweat & by & by a voice told him shou'd any person meet him he must enquire if they knew of any person who kept a fighting cock. It happened that he met 2 or 3 persons & he did as ordered. At length he came to a dismal looking ho.. where the voice ordered him to stop & knock at ye door. He did so but no person came out. & he said to himself "this looks like a witches house" upon w<sup>ch</sup> he was deprived of the use of his limbs & a voice said "a witch house! I'll witch ye" & seiz'd with universal trembling when he pray'd to the Lord to help him & he was soon delivered & then left this house & was guided to one or two houses or rather hutts in Kingswood to enquire after a fighting cock. & at last was guided to Betty Cottles or Bett.. Hill NB Her husbands name (who is now living) is Cottle but she is sometimes called by the name Hill her maiden name.<sup>2</sup> Here he enquired for said woman who was out in the field milking. & he waited 'till she returned & then delivered the tea & sugar telling her that the butter & bread she shou'd have when she called at his house with milk. NB When he bou<sup>t</sup> ye loaf he thought it wou'd prove cumbersome & therefore carryed it to his own house & left it there with design (as he says) of giving it to this Cottle together with ye butter above mentioned because he was positive the voice was her voice.

Betty reced ye sugar & tea together with 1/2 in cash & took no notice only told him he should have some bread & cheese & drink some milk He did so. & felt that he seemed to be deliv<sup>d</sup> from his torment. After he had finished eating Betty Cottle sat out to town with him with her payl of milk & on the road told him she advis'd him not to go out this day for if he did he wou'd get drun.. &

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Brown's version in his letter to Dartmouth of 5 April: each gives a substantial number of details not found in the other.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Cottle married Elizabeth Hill at St Philip and Jacob 30 April 1752.

mischief would befall him. & said she remembered Mr Grimes's man on the Weare NB this poor man some months ago drowned himself.<sup>1</sup>

Barnes & Cottle parted before he came to his house & he then went home & seemed pretty easy but was strictly ordered by the voice not to tell his wife what had happened. Accordingly he pretended to have been taking a walk & sat down & drank some tea with his wife. But presently after it was suggested to his mind that he had made a compact with the Devil & wou'd go to hell. Which put him in great agony & consternation & he cried out to his wife to take the knife out of his way. Soon after which his wife sent for a methodist preacher to come & pray with him but poor Barnes was in such miserable horror of mind that he cou'd not kneel down nor say the Lords prayer tho' after sometime (it seems) he became able to kneel & confessed the whole affair. Soon after which Betty Cottle came with milk to the house & they charged her with being the author of this poor mans affliction but she denyed & said she wou'd fetch the things again which he had brought her & then went away. Mrs Barnes then procured a sheep's heart (by some person's advice<sup>2</sup>) & stick'd it full of crooked pins & put it in the fire & while it was burning Bett Cottle returned with the tea & sugar in a violent rage & declared she was never in such torment in her life before, her inside was so hot & she continued near the door & at ye neighbours until the afternoon or ye evening very much exclaiming against poor Barnes. The poor man has been tormented ever since August last without any long intervals except about 6 w<sup>ks</sup> in which time, he ..rd very little of his adversary. But for about a fortnight past he has been very much affrighted almost every night by evill spirits talking to him when in bed & threatning him! & he has lately felt somthing creeping up his legs like unto grasshoppers – but it has been often declared to him that they have no power over his wife, she being big with child. But they threaten what they will do to her by and by. One night he heard them (the spirits) say that he (Barnes) “had broke mother's arm” aluding to a morn<sup>g</sup> when he went out of ye door with a candle it was blow'd out very suddenly & he heard a flutter<sup>g</sup> over his head w<sup>ch</sup> he struck at & afterwards kept waving his stick all the way to the Drawbridge<sup>3</sup> & to the shop near ye Boars Head<sup>4</sup> College Green where he works.

Tuesday, March 30, 1762

This day I have been chiefly employed in writing most of the remarkable transactions I can recollect concern<sup>g</sup> the Lawford Gate affair with a design to give to Mr Penny who had some thoughts of publishing a narrative of that extraordinary affair with remarks thereupon. But having spent this even<sup>g</sup> with him in comp<sup>a</sup> of Mr Eaton I find his mind is altered fearing it might hurt the minds of the persons by filling them with jealousys & fears

This morn<sup>g</sup> I called on Mr Hen Durbin who inform'd me that he was with Mr Giles at Mr Haynes's yesterd<sup>y</sup> & dined there, but they all persist in the opinion of the whole affair being a trick of the children's tho' they have made no detection thereof.

This ev<sup>g</sup> drank tea at Mrs Allison's with AD & ½ p 6 went to Mr Pennys & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 10.

This ev<sup>g</sup> sent Jos Horwoods<sup>5</sup> Ire by one Mr Wallington<sup>1</sup> for Fryer of Newport.

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<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Brown clarifies that this was by the advice of the ‘white witch of Bedminster’, for whom see below 16/10, 22/11, 30/11 and 7/12 and Durbin (pp. 54-5).

<sup>3</sup> Over the Frome, completed in 1714 but rebuilt in 1755; its operating mechanism was still considered very impressive in 1793-4.

<sup>4</sup> At 5 Limekiln Lane.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Joseph Horwood, attorney and notary public at 12 Corn Street in 1775. See also 30/8.

Wednesday, [March] 31<sup>st</sup>, [1762]

Went to the Lamb this morn<sup>g</sup> & desired Mr Giles to furnish me with ye most remarkable occurrences w<sup>ch</sup> has happened in his presence. Met with Geo Roach ye hallier<sup>2</sup> at Monkley...<sup>3</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> who inform'd me that being at Mr Giles's ye 1<sup>st</sup> January last about 8 in ye even<sup>g</sup> in ye barr & siting within 6 feet of ye fire he saw ye poker arise from where it stood near the fire & with great swiftness seemed (by an invisible hand) to be throw'd towards him & fell at his feet & no person in ye room was so near ye fire as himself- the 2 children & several of Mr Giles's family were present. Visited Mr Symes near 11- afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> - st<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> after dinner visited Barnes ye bottom of Glos<sup>r</sup> Lane & hope ye affliction he has lately expe[rienced] will prove serviceable - He has not felt anything extraord<sup>y</sup> since Mr Brown & I was there. Mr Brown Mrs Brown Mr Badderly spent this even<sup>g</sup> at our house. May ye Lord have mercy on me.

Thursday, April 1, 1762

This morning reced Ire from Mr Strachey with acco<sup>t</sup> that our petition totally rejected by ye Board Ordnance w<sup>ch</sup> I also shewed Mr Ames Mr Elton Mr Deane Mr Miller Mr Wansey & they seem enclined to send by land Liverpool.<sup>4</sup>

Aftern<sup>o</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at home 'till p 4 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 8 - Draw'd up an abstract of Mr Giles's affair for Mr Brown.<sup>5</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> my sp<sup>ts</sup> were greatly agitated w<sup>ch</sup> discovers ye weakness of my nerves.

Friday, [April] 2<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

Sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> about 8 - call'd on Mr Hipsley & on my return call'd on Miss Fisher with some reluctancy as I must give her pain when I come. Mr Wallis was order'd today to stop the mills working after tomorrow. Went to Change & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> took a serious walk & call'd at Brewhouse.

How uncertain are my intentions having design'd 2 or 3 things but at last choose neither of them - Call'd on Rachell at Mr Davis's she came last Tuesday.

Drank tea w<sup>th</sup> Mrs Marston staid at off 'till near 9.

This day Mr Giles's children were fetch'd from Mr Haynes's: Polley being left at a house in Kingswood<sup>6</sup> & Doppey brought home - they have been unmolested 3 weeks since.

Saturday, April 3, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> A Widow Roach hallier was at 11 Whitson Court in 1775, close to Monkley's (see next note).

<sup>3</sup> This is probably Samuel Munckley (1724-1801) merchant and sugarrefiner, who was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1768 and in 1775 lived at 53 Queen Square, with a counter at 8 Princes Street, while 'Monkley and co sugarrefiners' were at 8 Whitson Court.

<sup>4</sup> See below 17/4, 22/4, 26/4, 1-3/5.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the diary entries included with Brown's letter to Dartmouth of 5 April, reproduced below.

<sup>6</sup> Specified as Nurse Cooke's on 6/4.

This morn<sup>g</sup> went up to the Lamb - visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> call'd on Mr And<sup>ws1</sup> Staid on Change &c 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> went to Mr Symes's & st<sup>d</sup> the aftern<sup>o</sup> with him - near 7 at off & home p 8. How variable & changeable is my poor mind! It has lately been often plan<sup>g</sup> & schem<sup>g</sup> about go<sup>g</sup> a journey into Cornwall. Whereas when sedate & calm it determines that that wou'd be best let alone. Because if pow<sup>r</sup> is wanted there & they cannot get it from Lond<sup>o</sup> they will naturally apply here. & then for while this scheme subsides but by & by revives again. Lord help me to depend on thee & lay a side all my own planning & scheming. At another time going in search after d[og]wood<sup>2</sup> has prevailed but that scheme was crush'd today by Mr A<sup>s</sup>. This even<sup>g</sup> Mr Symes gave me a little tract lately sent him by Mr Langcake being extracts from Mr Laws writings & entituled "Truths of the most important concern to every soul of man".<sup>3</sup>

Sunday, April 4, 1762

Lord make me truly thankful for all mercies - This morn<sup>g</sup> I had several thoughts about going to sacra<sup>t</sup> at St Nich<sup>s</sup> but they were not distressing thoughts. In general I seem'd in suspense but at last intended going to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup>. However in my way to church my mind inclined to go to St Nich<sup>s</sup> with w<sup>ch</sup> I complied & have no reason to be sorry that I indulged the impulse. The Lord pitys weakness & infirmities & should we err in a matter where our motive is good he certainly accepts ye intentions and pitys & pardons - O Lord help me to be totally devoted to thee! & overcome every obstacle & hindrance to that total surrender of myself to thee. Aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & spent ev<sup>g</sup> at home.

Monday, April 5, 1762

p 8 call'd on Mr Penny & lent him small tract<sup>4</sup> - then took walk alone & near 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2. Mr Wallis came to town today & Mr Ames proposed to him to go to the pow<sup>r</sup> mills near Lond<sup>o</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Charles Andrews, grocer in Castle St, but later manager of Ames\* & Ireland's sugar house (see 24/10) before his death in 1785.

<sup>2</sup> Normally the plant *cornus sanguinea*, but also applied to *rhamnus frangula*, the alder buckthorn or black alder, which is probably the meaning here (see 18/6). Every time the gunpowder company experimented with making stronger powder they had to obtain supplies of dogwood charcoal from Guildford.

<sup>3</sup> This must be *Truths of the Most Important Concern to Every Soul of Man*, a 20-page pamphlet extracted from various of William Law's\* writings, sold for 18d a dozen or 10s a hundred, although the British Library edition is from 1769. Thomas Langcake was a clerk in the Bank of England and editor of Jacob Boehme's works between 1764 and 1781, as well as co-editing William Law's *Collection of Letters* in 1760. Dyer met him when he visited London in 1763, and records seeing Langcake at Symes's\* house in Bristol in both 1767 and 1774. Langcake (misspelled as 'Landcate') discussed Law with the Quaker Sarah Fox in 1779 and in 1788 visited her with Thomas Mills (see 13/1) and the writer on universal restitution, Rev. Richard Clarke (1723-1802). Dyer also records Langcake and Clarke discussing alchemy at Dyer's house in 1788. Langcake seems to have moved to Bristol by then (and was still there in 1795) and lodged with a Mrs Field in Hillgrove Street. Dyer reports Langcake relating to him the 'remarkable circumstances' reported in *The Glory of the Heavenly City and Blessings of Departed Saints Graciously Manifested in a Vision to a Young Lady of Bristol* (Bath, 1782) which records the visions of Field's daughter during a near-death experience on 10 October 1781, as well as other supernatural disturbances in their house.

<sup>4</sup> See 3/4.

Aftern<sup>o</sup> took walk with AD went to off: at 5 & near 7 took walk call'd at Barnes's<sup>2</sup> & sat sometime with his wife who gave me some acco<sup>t</sup> concerning her husbands troubles - she says that at first she look'd on it as his fancy that he was whimsical &c. But one night as he sat talking to his invisible attendants his under jaw was twisted round almost to his ear w<sup>ch</sup> greatly frightened her & then she began to believe there was some reality in what he had told her. Sometimes she says the spirits wou'd tell him she had concealed money from him & some other things which she saith was true, & that no person living was privy to it which was another convincing proof to her. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> called on Mr Eaton & also at the Lamb.

Tuesday, April 6, 1762

Rose at 6 & went to Nurse Cookes in Kingswood where is Polley Giles & made a particular enquiry concern<sup>g</sup> the old affair. & from what she said I have reason to think the infernal adversary yet continues to persecute her. She assures me that almost every day since the first fortnight w<sup>ch</sup> they were at Mr Haynes's, she or her sis<sup>r</sup> Doppey or both heard or felt something of that accursed spirit. 'tho not in so strong a manner as when at home. But they kept it to themselves on account of Mrs Haynes's menaces & threats.<sup>3</sup> Doppey when going alone one day to the little house, was throw'd down in the garden & dirted by the witch who appeared to her in the shape of a woman as heretofore.

Return'd home p 9 - then to off: & staid there &c 'till 2- after din<sup>r</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. This even<sup>g</sup> the committee met consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Baugh, Ames, Miller, Deane, Worgan & consulted about send<sup>g</sup> powder to Liverp<sup>o</sup> but it seems a perplexing affair.

This morn<sup>g</sup> left Hoskins's note<sup>4</sup> with Zeph Fry who promises to send it to Player or some other friend at Ross.<sup>5</sup>

I wish it may prove good.

This even<sup>g</sup> read Bunyan & rank'd myself with the character of Talkative Shame &c.<sup>6</sup>

Polley told me this morn<sup>g</sup> that her elbow has been frequently jerk'd when going to drink & that one day she had a violent blow on her elbow (while at Mr Haynes's) & no person present but Mrs Haynes's sis<sup>r</sup> who was soon perswaded to believe that ye sound w<sup>ch</sup> she heard was occasion by the crack of her elbow.

Wednesday, April 7, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> The main gunpowder mills supplying the government were around London (in Surrey and Essex) and Wallis came from there in 1755 and would return there in 1765.

<sup>2</sup> See 29/3.

<sup>3</sup> See 11/3.

<sup>4</sup> See 28/1 and 19/4.

<sup>5</sup> Zephaniah Fry\* was a Quaker (or 'friend'), and presumably had contacts with Quakers in Ross-on-Wye.

<sup>6</sup> The character of 'Talkative' 'of Prating Row' in Bunyan's *Pilgrims Progress* initially impresses Faithful with his talk of 'vanity of earthly things and benefit of things above', 'necessity for new birth' etc, but (as Christian warns Faithful) 'he knows but only to talk of them' and by 'his wicked life' causes 'many to stumble and fall', and when Faithful challenges him on his experience 'Talkative at first began to blush' and finally angrily leaves Faithful, who calls him 'a shame to all professors'. Presumably Dyer read Bunyan with a view to giving a copy to Polley Giles, as he takes her an abridgement on 19/4.



This morn<sup>g</sup> about 11 o'clock sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to Newport who ret<sup>d</sup> this even<sup>g</sup> with acco<sup>t</sup> that Fryer has absconded & been missing about 3 days since w<sup>ch</sup> is bad news to tell Bro<sup>r</sup> James.

This morn<sup>g</sup> took walk called on Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis: Mrs Allison: Mr Brown: Sweeting & at 9 home. Then up in town & staid all ye morn<sup>g</sup> at office. After din<sup>r</sup> took walk and then again to off & staid there &c (tho' no business to do in ye powder way) 'till 7 called on Rachell & near 8 at Helpful Society call'd at Sweetings & home at 9.

Thursday, April 8, 1762

Called on M<sup>s</sup> Fisher this morn<sup>g</sup> & reced of her £20 bank note - then up in town called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> both him and I pretty much vexed about Fryers note - called on Mr Sweeting & beg'd him to go today to Newport about this affair w<sup>th</sup> which he comply'd & sat out at 10 o'clock.

Staid at off: &c 'till 2 - after dinner went to Mr Ames & Mr Baugh & ord<sup>d</sup> insur<sup>a</sup> on ye brimstone<sup>1</sup> com<sup>g</sup> from Lon.. at Wraxall & Blakes office<sup>2</sup> per Mr A<sup>s</sup> order.

At 5 home Mr Southcote drank tea with us - took walk p 7- called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home.

I find Mr Sweeting ret<sup>d</sup> f<sup>m</sup> Newport this even<sup>g</sup> but his journey proved useless.

Friday, April 9, 1762 Good Friday or the crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & sacra<sup>t</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> p 1 went to off &c home & near 3 set out for Littleton on foot (Mr Brown hav<sup>g</sup> ye mare) & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 7 after an agreeable walk. This day which ought to be observed as a very solemn day by those who pretend to observe times & seasons is very much abus..

Saturday, April 10, 1762

Near 9 went up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd at Capt Cheyne's where was Mr Burche & his wife<sup>3</sup> to whom I gave some acco<sup>t</sup> of ye witchcraft at ye Lamb - afterw<sup>ds</sup> at off & staid there 'till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> went to Mr Symes & took walk with him. & drank tea at his home, in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Camp[lin] & ½ p 6 went to off: afterwards call'd on Mr Eaton: took a short walk: & then call'd with him at the Lamb. & Mrs Elmes related to us the whole affair concerning the selling of the house in w<sup>ch</sup> are some very odd circumstances, tho' she declares they knew nothing of the house being sold until about a month before the sale. Whereas the children were afflicted 2 or 3 months before - therefore a very unlikely story that ye affair of the children was only with a design to lessen the value of the house.<sup>4</sup>

Sunday, [April] 11<sup>th</sup>, [1762] Easter Day

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<sup>1</sup> Insurance for the safe delivery of brimstone (see 22/3).

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Wraxall (1725-81) was a merchant (father of the memoirist Sir Nathaniel Wraxall) who, despite going bankrupt in 1755, was SMV Warden in 1762 and is listed as an America merchant at 17 St Augustine's Back in 1775; after a further bankruptcy in 1776 he was made city swordbearer in 1778. Dyer was responsible for dealing with the accounts of his estate after his death. William Blake was a merchant at 16 Dove Street in 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Birch haberdasher was operating in 1752. In 1775 a Martha Burch widow lived at 4 Guy Street, while a James Birch gent was at 33 Old Market.

<sup>4</sup> See 13/3.

Rose p 6 my mind heavy, stupid & confused. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & sacra<sup>t</sup> in ye morn<sup>g</sup> & at 4 in aftern<sup>o</sup> went to ye Mayors Chappel<sup>1</sup> & heard an excellent discourse from Mr Symes “Blessed & holy is he that hath part in ye first resurrection on such ye second death hath no power.” Revelation 20:6 this was ye text.

Afterwards spent 2 hours very agreeably with poor Rach<sup>l</sup> May ye Lord sanctify our convers... to ye profit of both our souls.

This morn<sup>g</sup> I discovered ye keys of ye w[are] house had been neglected to be bro.. home yesterday which caused the fire to kindle but blessed be the Lord it did not break forth. Praised be the Lord for restraining my activity in some measure.

Oh ye deeps of corruption I may complain of for when in Xtian conversation ye lust of concupiscence arises.

Monday, April 12, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> at ½ p 12 I sat out on Hobby with AD behind me & rode to ye New Passage<sup>2</sup> to breakfast but felt ye wind extremely cold being chiefly in my face going & therefore rendered the ride unpleasant - we returned home to dinner about 1

After din<sup>r</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> home p 4 - afterwards went to Mr Symes's & spent this even<sup>g</sup> there.

Tuesday, [April] 13, [1762]

Rose p 8 - went up in town p 9 & staid at off & c 'till 2. Bro<sup>r</sup> Hopkins & wife din'd with us today - after din<sup>r</sup> took walk - also went to St Nicholas & heard Mr Symes there.<sup>3</sup> p 6 called on Rachel at Mr Davis & staid 'till 8. poor Rach<sup>l</sup> now experiences dissection.

Wednesday, April 14, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> took a ride with AD before breakfast & at 10 sat out again by myself & rode to Rich<sup>d</sup> Coopers at Wharton<sup>4</sup> & told him we shou'd not want ye quantity of charcoal this year which was intended. Went from thence across the moor, through Nailsey & Backwell to Littleton & gave Jn<sup>o</sup> Battle a medicine for his boy who has ye ague.<sup>5</sup> Mr Wallis is ill with ye same disease & is tak<sup>g</sup> medicine. He tryed cold water (by my prescription) lest it prove ineffectual - reached home ½ p 5 went to office - afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>.

[Extra page pasted over here]<sup>6</sup> I was disturb'd in dream<sup>g</sup> last ni<sup>t</sup> I tho<sup>t</sup> I went to Mr H<sup>s</sup> house to see P:G: that when I ent<sup>d</sup> ye k<sup>n</sup> ye cloth was laid & P: G: siting near ye table I sal<sup>d</sup> her & sat down soon

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<sup>1</sup> St Marks in College Green, used as the civic chapel.

<sup>2</sup> This was 9 ½ miles from Bristol (closer than Aust Passage – see 27/8 - but a longer (3-mile) crossing of the Severn).

<sup>3</sup> The Tuesday afternoon sermon at St Nicholas (normally given by James Brown\*) was soon to move to St Werburghs (see 7/9).

<sup>4</sup> See also 18/6. This is presumably Walton-in-Gordano, close to the Elton\* family's Clevedon properties.

<sup>5</sup> An acute or violent fever.

<sup>6</sup> This extra page, which clearly relates to the dream reported on 15/4, may come from a note Dyer took of this dream when he woke: it uses more abbreviations than his normal entries, such as n<sup>t</sup> (night), tho<sup>t</sup> (thought), sal<sup>d</sup> (saluted), num<sup>ts</sup> (numbers) and enq<sup>d</sup> (enquired). It certainly makes overt a sexual dimension to Dyer's feelings about Polley Giles (and

after w<sup>ch</sup> she hurry'd open her stays & that instant I tho<sup>t</sup> I felt num<sup>ts</sup> of little crabs runn up my body w<sup>ch</sup> was the very same w<sup>ch</sup> she felt & it made me shud<sup>r</sup> when I had waked. Soon after came in Mrs H: to whom pay<sup>g</sup> my respects I enq<sup>d</sup> after Mr H: & also her son who she said were very well & point<sup>g</sup> to a part of ye room said there is my son who I tho<sup>t</sup> stood at a desk (a compt<sup>g</sup> house desk) writ<sup>g</sup> bare headed & then he just spoke to me but I wondered he had not spoken before being in the same room

Thursday, April 15, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> I was terrifyed in my sleep by a dream. wherein I thought I was in comp<sup>a</sup> with Polley Giles at Mr Haynes's & that both she & I had numbers of small crabs crawling up our body conveyed there by diabolical enchantment. Which made me shudder & made great impression on my mind after I was awake.

Went to Mr Baughs p 9 & also at Mr Ames's & by their order sent Robert over to ye Wooley carr<sup>r</sup> at Wick - vizt Rich<sup>d</sup> Strange<sup>1</sup> desir<sup>g</sup> him to come to Mr Baugh Saturday morn<sup>g</sup>. Mr Ames also agreed that our workmen at Littleton shall be allow<sup>d</sup> 2/ per week while they are unemployed<sup>2</sup> to which Mr Miller & Mr Deane consented 'on Change.

After din<sup>r</sup> took walk. Call'd at Brewho Drank tea with AD & Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> then to off: & home p 8.

Friday, April 16, 1762

Near 7 this morn<sup>g</sup> sat out for Littleton. Left direction with Mr Wallis to acquaint ye men that 2/ per week will be allow'd while unemployed. & that they will be expected to come to work again whenever we may have an occasion. Three men will be kept all next week all ye rest are to be discharg'd tomor<sup>o</sup> night.

Ret<sup>d</sup> home near 12 went to off & staid 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> called at Halls afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to College.<sup>3</sup> spoke to Mr Brown who intends enquiry after grass for our mare in the country. Call'd at Mrs Allisons drank tea there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Rachell & spent somtime there. Near 7 went to off: & afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Tabernacle<sup>4</sup> & heard Mr Whitfield.

May ye Lord convert my soul.

Saturday, April 17, 1762

Lay in bed late this morn<sup>g</sup> went in town p 9 & staid at off: & c 'till 2 . Mr A<sup>s</sup> talks of send<sup>g</sup> ye Wooley carr<sup>r</sup> with powder to Liverpool. After din<sup>r</sup> took walk alone call'd at Brewho: & at off: at 4 afterw<sup>ds</sup> home & near 6 called on Mr Penny & took a serious & profitable walk together & at 8 home.

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her stays!) not otherwise acknowledged in the diaries. See below 15/5 for the angry exchange with young Mr Haynes which Dyer sees as relating to 'the dream of the crabs', which may be why he kept this fragment.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. Wick was on the Chippenham road leading to Woolley, north of Bath.

<sup>2</sup> See 16/4, 23/4.

<sup>3</sup> Bristol Cathedral on College Green, close to the Grammar School where Brown worked.

<sup>4</sup> Dyer was present on 13 July 1753 when the first stone was laid for the Tabernacle in Penn Street in the Old Orchard, after a sermon at Smiths Hall (the previous meeting place of Whitefield's\* society), and he also heard Whitefield preach at the opening on 25 November.

Sunday, [April] 18<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> where I heard two excellent discourses from Mr Symes.

Monday, [April] 19<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Rose between 5 & 6 & took walk to Nurse Cookes & visited Polley Giles who continues well & quite free from her adversary. I staid ½ an hour & then return'd home. Left with her an abridgment of Bunyans Pilgrims.<sup>1</sup> Ret<sup>d</sup> home at 9 afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Ames<sup>s</sup> & Mr Baughs ye latter indisposed with ye gout. Went to ye bank with Mr Worgan & reced a bill on Lond<sup>o</sup> for £400

Staid on Change &c 'till 2. after din<sup>r</sup> went to Zep Frys & to Morgan<sup>2</sup> & took walk with Mr Penny. Call'd on Mr Brown & drank tea with him. He has agreed with Mr Griffin Inn<sup>r</sup> of Chew Stoke for grass for our mare.<sup>3</sup> To whom I am to send her tomorrow. p 6 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd Mr Daltera's<sup>4</sup> then to Room & home at 8.

Tuesday, April 20, 1762

Rose p 5 sent Giles Gillard<sup>5</sup> with our mare to Mr Griffins at Chew Stoke. Father breakfasted with us He intends going for Glos<sup>r</sup> tomorrow. This morn<sup>g</sup> went to sundry places on the dunn without success. Call'd on Mr Baugh - staid at off &c 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> went to off: & at 4 St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard Mr Sheppard.

This evening the committee met consisting of Mr Ames, Miller, Wansey, Deane & Worgan. Mr Rich<sup>d</sup> Camplin<sup>6</sup> came & represented to them the case of his powder w<sup>ch</sup> we charg'd him housing. But they will not agree to abate ye charge of housing.

This day met Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Brown who was going to ye mayor as a candidate for ye living of Coombsbury<sup>7</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> is a gift of the corporation) vacant by the death of Mr Taylor of Clifton.<sup>8</sup>

Wednesday, April 21, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 6/4.

<sup>2</sup> If not the tailor George Morgan (see 15/11) this may be the druggist and colourman James Morgan of 34 Corn Street. Dyer discussed him in July 1757, noting that he was an 'honest tradesman' but 'brought religion on the carpet, ridiculed the scriptures and from appearance is a real deist', a view confirmed by a conversation with him on 2 July 1761.

<sup>3</sup> The Griffins were the leading Methodist family in Chew Stoke, and presumably kept the inn there. They may be related to John Griffin\* and they might be Dyer's New Year's Eve guests (see 31/12).

<sup>4</sup> This could either be Joseph or James Daltera, both merchants. Joseph (d.1774) was master of the Merchant Venturers in 1760 and sheriff in 1761, but went bankrupt in 1764, while James (d. 1801) was merchant at 4 Trinity Street in 1775 and treasurer of the Merchant Venturers in the 1770s and 1780s.

<sup>5</sup> Giles Gillard assisted Dyer in odd jobs.

<sup>6</sup> Probably from the firm of Camplin and Smith, linendrapers and merchants, who went bankrupt in 1763/4; BRO 11109/15 is the 1759-61 account of this firm with William Miller\*.

<sup>7</sup> This is a variant spelling of Congresbury, a living owned by Bristol Corporation (see below 29/5).

<sup>8</sup> Rev. Thomas Taylor (d. 1762) was rector of St Ewin's from 1730 and of Congresbury from 1733, and the 'minister or proprietor' of Clifton, where he was succeeded by his son John, whom Chatterton attacked for 'superstition' and a love of mammon.

This morning called on Mr Symes. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Am.. & Mr Baughs & at sundry places on ye dunn but without success. Staid at off: &c 'till 2.

My mother and Mrs Pope<sup>1</sup> dined with us

This morning father sat out for Glos<sup>r</sup> May ye protect.. of God attend him!

After din<sup>r</sup> called at Palmer – p 5 home - ret<sup>d</sup> to off:.. at p 7 call'd at Mr Henry D[urbin] & spent the even<sup>g</sup> there.

Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Dyer of the Custom Ho<sup>2</sup> was there some part of the time.

Thursday, April 22, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited Moth<sup>r</sup> Davis & staid at off: &c 'till 2. after dinner visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> - home at 5 - called on Rachell this aftern<sup>o</sup>. St<sup>d</sup> at off 'till p 7 then home.

There appears to be a faculty or power in ye human mind of retaining any impression made upon it thro the channel of the senses - If the eye sees an object suppose any human person features of that person are impressed in ye mind & notwithstanding it may soon after be forgotten, & therefore appear to be quite obliterated yet in reality it is not so, because at some distance of time afterwards & unexpectedly an idea of that person vizt of his features shall spring up in the mind as if the person was then present – this I have often experienced - & the same with regard to any discourse w<sup>ch</sup> hath been receiv'd into ye mind by means of ye ear. It may lye dormant as it were in ye mind for many months or year, & on a sudden be fresh awakened & appear as strong in ye mind, as if it had but just then been heard. This is a mystery & a wonder.

This day poor Mrs Dinham at Castle Gate departed this life.

Friday, [April 23], [1762]

Dream'd last night or this morn<sup>g</sup> of being in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Walker of Truro who has been sometime since deceased. But it did not appear so in my dream.

Called at Mr Allison's, Mr Brown's & on Mr Penny this morn<sup>g</sup>. Afterwards went down to Mr Harford's<sup>3</sup> - then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 2. & near 3 mounted Morrish's horse & road to Littleton consulted Mr Wallis about making a waggon ready for the intended journey to Liverp<sup>o</sup> - all ye men were discharged except 3 last week - ret<sup>d</sup> home p 6. afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Tabernacle & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 9.

Saturday, April 24, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Ames & from thence to Mr Giles at the Lamb & enquired whether he can furnish us with a waggon for Liverp<sup>o</sup>.

There I saw his daughter Polley who is return'd home from Nurse Cookes at Kingswood.

Went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House & enter'd Mr Ames's pow<sup>r</sup> per ye Harford<sup>4</sup>

Staid at off: & on Change 'till 2. after dinner Mr Brown came & was electrised for head ache. After which Mess<sup>rs</sup> Penny & Eaton came & we 4 went together & took walk & at Hengrove drank tea & ret<sup>d</sup> to town ½ p 7. Having had some agreeable conversation or rather heard some agreeable conversation between Mr Penny & Mr Brown.

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<sup>1</sup> See 3/3.

<sup>2</sup> See 30/1 (not Dyer's brother John).

<sup>3</sup> See 9/2.

<sup>4</sup> Ship not identified, but presumably associated with the Harford family – see 9/2.

This even<sup>g</sup> my poor mother came down to disburthen her mind having receiv'd some exceed<sup>g</sup> abusive treatment from that wicked woman whom poor JD is united with for life & JD's wife is gone this even<sup>g</sup> to sleep at her sisters.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, April 25, 1762

Went to St Werburghs foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> - Mr Sheppard preach'd at ye latter Mr Symes ye former part of ye day. This even<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Symes & home p 8

Monday, April 26, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went up to Giles's called on Mr Penny then to off Afterwards Mr Giles & Bull came with Mr Townsend of Bath with whom I went to seek after Mr Ames. & at Change time Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ames, Baugh & Wansey agreed with Mr Townsend for his waggon to set out with ours next Monday for Liverpool. My poor mother din'd with us today being burdened with ye treatment she has lately reced.

This even<sup>g</sup> I went up to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & staid 2 or 3 hours (Mr Vin..<sup>2</sup> was there part of the time) we talked over the whole affair but his wife does not intend to lodge any more under that roof & by his acco<sup>t</sup> seems irreconcilable with poor mother.

Oh may we pity one anothers infirmities.

Tuesday, April 27, 1762

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to Brewhouse call'd on Mr Penny - then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at mothers - & near 7 called on Rachell from thence went to Mr Eatons & was inform'd that last night Polley Giles was again persecuted by bites cuts pricking &c afterw<sup>ds</sup> went into the Lamb<sup>3</sup> and was there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Messrs Brown, Sheppard, Durbin & Eaton & staid 'till ½ p10. Sat sometime in ye room after Polley was bed. When everything was quiet but as soon as we went out she was pulled down the bed by her heels & 2 chamber pots were broke by the same invisible agent.

Wednesday, April 28, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited Mother Davis also Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who seems very ill again & without doubt under some perplexity about ye perverse temper of his wife.

This morn<sup>g</sup> sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to magazine by water & staid at off myself 'till 2. Young Mr Haynes call'd on me & promised to call'd again in afternoon but he came not 'till after the time appointed & then I was gone out.

Drank tea at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Mr Penny & reced from him a paragraph to be published by Mr Giles<sup>4</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> employ'd me 2 hours transcribing at off: this even<sup>g</sup> - home p 9. This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd on Zeph Fry & settled with him for Benj<sup>n</sup> Hoskins's note.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the wife of William Evans the carpenter (see 8/2).

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin (pp. 42-4) has fuller details of the cuts and the chamber pots moving.

<sup>4</sup> See 29/4 and 5/5.

This day I hear Polley Giles was taken to a farmers near Hembury.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday, April 29, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Penny came down to me & made some little alteration to ye above paragraph. & I was chief part of ye foren<sup>o</sup> employed in transcribing it again.

After din<sup>r</sup> took walk - called on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & at 5 home where I drank tea with Mr & Mrs Green.

p 7 went to off & home p 8

May I be thankful for ye Lords mercies & live in constant dependence & resignation to Him. Oh may Jesus have mercy on me, as I stand in need.

Friday, April 30, 1762

Near 9 up in town. Call'd on Mr Oliver.<sup>3</sup> Afterw<sup>ds</sup> on Mr Brown then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. Call'd on Mr Giles this morn<sup>g</sup> who (I find) went to his landlord yesterday but was refused what he wanted. Doppey Giles has been persecuted ever since her sister Polley has been removed & last night Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton were ans<sup>d</sup> several questions by scratching.<sup>4</sup>

This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Mr Symes & staid there 'till p 6. afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield.

Saturday, May 1, 1762

This morning Mr Brown came to be electrified & breakfasted with us & we went in town together we had a little altercation together concern<sup>g</sup> ye mystick writers<sup>5</sup> but did not agree w<sup>ch</sup> occasion'd my writing some of my thoughts today.

Call'd at Broadways & bespoke a tin plate with our companys name on it<sup>6</sup> to be fixed to our waggon. Afterwards took walk to Bedmins<sup>r</sup> to view some grass there. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off: near 12 & staid &c 'till 2.

After dinner went to off & prepared despatches for our wag<sup>n</sup> who is to set out with another for Liverpool, next Monday. At 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off: p 8 visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home p 9.

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<sup>1</sup> See 28/1 and 6/4.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin (p. 44) says 'a friend's at Kingsweston'.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified. Dyer later keeps his mare in a field belonging to Mrs Oliver somewhere in Bristol (see 16/7 onwards until 29/10).

<sup>4</sup> See Durbin (pp. 44-5) for details of Doppey's sufferings by pins, and for questions in Greek and Latin. Durbin adds 'It said, it wanted to discover some secrets to Mr Giles, but it did not. It said it would speak to Mr Giles on Wednesday, May 5, at five o'clock. He waited in his counter, but it did not come. It would answer any one that whistled a tune, by whistling the same. I have heard it scratch various tunes very correctly. Also when the children's hands have been out of bed, I have heard it slap hands in bed as loud as a man, several times. Sometimes I have heard it pant like a bull-dog under the bed, yet I could never see anything there. Sometimes the room was filled with an insufferable smell, like putrified blood, &c. from a shambles. I have smelt it several times.'

<sup>5</sup> Writers in the Behmenist (see 10/12) tradition (including the later writings of William Law\*) and French mystics such as Guion, Marsay, Poiret and Bourignon. Evangelical clergy, like John Wesley, had a mixed response to these writings, valuing their spiritual insights but distrusting their quietist emphasis on personal introspection rather than public action: see introduction.

<sup>6</sup> John Broadway tinplate worker was at 3 Thomas Street in 1775 (and was listed there in 1768 as 'Broadway's tinmen').

Sunday, May 2, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Baugh & Mr Deane Mr Ames being out of Town & consulted them about send<sup>g</sup> 10lbs pow<sup>r</sup> in each waggon tomor<sup>o</sup> more than what was designed (because the act of Parliament exempts ye magazines near Liverp<sup>o</sup> from ye penalties)<sup>1</sup> to which they agreed & Mr Wansey yesterday consented thereto.

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & a sacra<sup>t</sup> & the Lord blessed my soul.

Aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Rachell & then home. Oh Lord Jesus shew mercy unto me that mercy w<sup>ch</sup> I need.

Monday, May 3, 1762

Rose p 5 soon after w<sup>ch</sup> John Hill<sup>2</sup> came (who is going with Jn<sup>o</sup> Jones<sup>3</sup> with our wag<sup>n</sup> to Liverp<sup>o</sup>) to whom I gave ye needful instructions & p 7 sat out on to Robt Davis's horse<sup>4</sup> myself for Fulligrove magazine & gave directions about load<sup>g</sup> ye 2 waggons for Liverp<sup>o</sup>. Our waggon was there but Mr Townsends<sup>5</sup> was not arrived. But I met him on my return home.

p 12 went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> called at Brewho afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Pennys where I was in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Neighbour<sup>6</sup> then to off:. Drank tea with AD at mothers - ret<sup>d</sup> to off & at 7 went to ye Lamb & afterwards took walk w<sup>th</sup> Mr Eaton - call'd on Mr Penny & home p 9. My sp<sup>ts</sup> are tried with much activity today.

Tuesday, May 4, 1762

If there is any truth in dreams<sup>7</sup> probably I have this day experienced ye completion of a couple ... them I had sometime since. one was that I thought a man rushed violently upon me. But that I violently set upon him & overcame him - the other - that the papers in my desk were on fire & that I sent Rob<sup>t</sup> down stairs to fetch some water, but that I took up a p.. of water w<sup>ch</sup> stood near me & extinguish'd it myself - I tho<sup>t</sup> Mr A<sup>s</sup> was present together with another gentlem..

Today I sent RD with ye ship Hungerfords<sup>8</sup> note to Mr Powells<sup>9</sup> who greatly abused me concern<sup>g</sup> ye charge of the powder. & on Change he attack'd me but he was silenced by my reply.

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<sup>1</sup> See 6/3.

<sup>2</sup> A workman at Littleton, who died in 1785.

<sup>3</sup> The 'old waggoner' at Littleton gunpowder works, who died in 1771.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear who this Robert Davis is. It is not William's father- or brother-in-law (both called Robert Davis), because on 25/6, when Dyer again uses this man's name, he refers to 'his poor wife' dying on 30 May, and in any case he would have called him 'Father' or 'Brother' Davis. See also 31/7.

<sup>5</sup> See 26/4.

<sup>6</sup> This may be the Swedish-born Moravian minister, Lawrence Nyberg (1728-92) who was in charge of the Bristol Moravian congregation from 1756 to 1763. A Joseph Nighbour, clock and watchmaker at 17 Broadmead in 1775, may be related, as a 'brother Nyberg' remained in the Bristol Moravians after Lawrence left. In 1783 a Sarah Neighbour was a Wesleyan with a school in Merchant Street.

<sup>7</sup> See introduction.

<sup>8</sup> A slaving ship of 120/180 tons and 16 guns owned by John Powell and co. It left Bristol 13 May for New Calabar then the West Indies, arriving in Guadeloupe January 1763 and leaving St Kitts in April, returning home in May 1763 ahead of its next voyage in July. See 7-8/7.

<sup>9</sup> See 22/3.



In the even<sup>g</sup> I acquainted Mr A<sup>s</sup> of the affair & the fire soon kindled & broke forth but he was soon cooled by what I said. Probably the above may be a completion of my dreams. [This last sentence may be a later addition.]

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to sundry places on the dunn & staid at off 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> p 4 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 7.

The committee met this even<sup>g</sup> consisting of Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Wansey, Miller & Deane. Afterwards I went to Tabernacle & home p 9.

Wednesday, May 5, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Penny & reced from him Giles's address to the publick<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he has now quite finished & w<sup>ch</sup> employed me all ye morn<sup>g</sup> at off: transcribing - after dinner went to Mr Giles & left ye same with him - w<sup>ch</sup> he designs publishing next Saturday. Afterwards at off: & in even<sup>g</sup> at Helpful Society - May ye Lord shew mercy unto me

Thursday, May 6, 1762

Rose p 6 - at 9 up in town - at Halls - also at Cust<sup>o</sup> House cleared powder for Padstow - Cash of Fisher Baker & co<sup>2</sup> for a dra't ... them reced from Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup>.

At 11 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard a sermon - afterwards spoke to our friend Mrs S.

Staid at off & c 'till 2. I felt great weakness of nerves.

After din<sup>r</sup> called on poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>.

At 5 home where was father who ret<sup>d</sup> yesterday from Glos<sup>f</sup> & informs me of uncle James<sup>3</sup> being in a low spirited way - I hope it will prove for his good.

This even<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Symes & staid 'till near 10 - then home.

Friday, May 7, 1762

Call'd on Mr Penny this morn<sup>g</sup> then to office & staid there 'till 2. After dinner call'd on Mr Penny went with him & Mr Eaton over the ..own & called at a farmer house belonging to Mr Jackson<sup>4</sup> where I drank some tea w<sup>ch</sup> Mr Eaton ..d bro<sup>1</sup> with him. & gave ye woman of ye house a prescription both for herself & 2 children. She hav<sup>g</sup> been afflicted with ye ague 6 months since & ye children with ye hooping cough. May ye remedy (if they use it) have a blessed effect. I prescribed cob webb for ye mother & quick silver for ye children.<sup>5</sup> We ret<sup>d</sup> to town after a pleasant walk at near 8. then went to Tabernacle & heard part of an excellent discourse from Mr Whitfield.

Then home when I found Polley Giles had call'd to take leave of me, she being brought from the country today & is to sail for Swansey per Captain Button tomorrow morn<sup>g</sup> - I afterwards went to ye Lamb<sup>6</sup> & where with Mr Durbin & Mr Eaton I took my leave of Polley. Home p 10.

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<sup>1</sup> See 8/5.

<sup>2</sup> See Paul Fisher\* and above 12/2.

<sup>3</sup> See Thomas? Dyer\*.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

<sup>5</sup> Cobweb appears in John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* as cobweb pills; quicksilver is liquid mercury.

<sup>6</sup> Durbin (pp. 45-6) discusses incidents after Molly's return from Kingsweston 'where she was not at all tormented, though she stayed near six weeks'. 'Mr Giles was determined to send Molly to Swansea till the year should be nearly

Saturday, May 8<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 6. After trou..some nights rest - thought hav<sup>g</sup> oppressed my mind - i.e. about Giles's address to ye public w<sup>ch</sup> appear.. in both ye Bristol papers today<sup>1</sup> - Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 up in town - call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> then to off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho: - called on Mr Fisher- at 5 home - then to off & p 6 took walk in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Penny & Mr Eaton & home p 8.  
I find Mr Miller has given Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> leave to live in his house (late Mr Knox's) at Clifton.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday, May 9, 1762

Rose 6 went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield & foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> - in even<sup>g</sup> with AD at Mr Symes's & staid 'till 10. then home.

Monday, [May] 10<sup>th</sup>, [1762]

Rose p 6. took walk. Call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> also at Mr Allison's - at 9 home. Went to off: & staid there all the morn<sup>g</sup>. After dinner went to Mr Pennys & with him went to Room at 4 & heard a funeral sermon preach'd for Molley Davis a washerwoman who departed in ye Lord - the corps were brought to ye Room - afterwards drank coffee at Mr Pennys & staid there 'till p 7 then home. May ye Lord shew mercy to me.

Tuesday, May 11, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> [sic] went to Mr Symes's at 8 afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & p 9 went to Quakers meeting it being their yearly meeting - & ½ p 12 at off - After dinner went again to the same meet<sup>g</sup> in ye meantime our friend Mrs S: came to our home & was gone before I came home. In even<sup>g</sup> visited Rachell at her own little house<sup>3</sup> where she went yesterday.

Wednesday, May 12, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> near 10 went to town & staid at off &c 'till 2 - after dinner went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & walk'd with him to ye post chaise in Cherry Lane<sup>4</sup> from whence him & his wife & 2 children sat out for Mr Millers house at Clifton where they are to continue until a tenant offers - poor Jn<sup>o</sup> is so extremely

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out, during which it said it would continue to torment her.' Durbin gives details of odd events regarding the money she packed to take with her to Swansea. He adds 'After Molly was gone to Wales, Dobby was neither bit nor cut; only some crooked pins were run into her skin; and some thrown into her bosom, and it continued scratching at nights.'

<sup>1</sup> The address is printed in *FFBJ*; the *Bristol Journal* issue does not survive.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably William Miller\* had bought the house, a rather grand one, which is advertised for sale in *FFBJ* on 18 March, following an auction of all Thomas Knox's\* household goods 'at his late house in Clifton near the Hotwells' advertised on 13 February. John Dyer\* had worked for Miller 1755-9. See below 12/5.

<sup>3</sup> See 23/1.

<sup>4</sup> Off North Street in St James, at the start of Stokes Croft.

weak that his walking down from father's was rather too much for him - May the Lord shew mercy unto him. -

This even<sup>s</sup> took a short walk met Mr Barry<sup>1</sup> - afterwards visited Rachell & home at 9.

Thursday, May 13, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> about 9 went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> at Clifton & ret<sup>d</sup> to office p 10 & staid there 'till 2 then home and staid there all ye aftern<sup>o</sup>. In ye even<sup>s</sup> my friends Mr Symes & Mr & Miss Penny paid us a visit & staid 'till p 9. -

I find at present I have a violent cold which much affects my head. -

At this time a disorder is epidecimal [sic] (most people have a touch of it) which has the appearance of a cold, attended with weakness & pain in all their limbs.<sup>2</sup>

Friday, May 14, 1762

Rose p 6 & p 9 up in town & staid at off: all the morn<sup>s</sup> 'till 2. Most of my time being employed in studying Van Helmont on ye great power of magnetism. wherein he speaks very sensibly & I apprehend agreeable to true philosophy.<sup>3</sup> -

This aftern<sup>o</sup> called on Miss Fisher: then home & at 5 at off: & at 7 went to Tabernacle & heard a good discourse from I Chronicles 28:4 "He liked to make me king"

Saturday, May 15, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> & several times today my nose has bled - probably it may prove serviceable to me. -

This morn<sup>s</sup> visited poor Giles at ye Lamb who is very ill of the present epidemical disorder.<sup>4</sup> Lord prepares us all for the dispensation of his divine providence!

This foren<sup>o</sup> Mr Wallis came to town & informs me his wife is very ill with a complaint in her bowells & vast numbers of people in the country are much afflicted with colds.

This even<sup>s</sup> Mr Green our neighbour is suddenly taken ill with a shivering &c.

After dinner today call'd on Mr Symes & took walk with him to Bro<sup>r</sup> Johns - ret<sup>d</sup> and drank tea with Mr Symes & at 7 at off: afterwards met young Mr Haynes & talked with him sometime about ye Lawfords Gate affair. & he seems very angry - probably my dream of the crabs is yet to be fulfilled.<sup>5</sup>

Oh my Lord prepare me for whatever calumny mankind may be suffered to cast upon me & help me to be honest & simple.

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<sup>1</sup> See 23/1 and 1/12.

<sup>2</sup> A contemporary dictionary defines epidemical as 'a general or spreading disorder by means of contagious or infectious corruption of the air, wherby people are universally affected without communicating with others'. Dyer discusses this further on 15/5 ('the present epidemical disorder') and 17/5 ('this epidemical disorder') and 22/5 ('ye epidemical cold') and in his epitomised diary from 1801 refers to it as 'a kind of cold termed influenza' and 'the prevailing disorder (influenza)'. *FFBJ* 22 May notes 'the present reigning distemper', with 'all ranks of people afflicted with it more or less'.

<sup>3</sup> See 16/2.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (pp. 47-8) says he was first ill on the 13<sup>th</sup>, vomiting copiously, 'I advised to send for a physician, which he did the next day'. Durbin presents his illness on 15<sup>th</sup> ('he thought he should die') and 16<sup>th</sup> (the doctor had but little hope, as his disorder seemed a little uncommon') as much more serious than Dyer implies on 22/5.

<sup>5</sup> See above 14-15/4.

This even<sup>g</sup> visited poor mother who has also a sore throat - Lord open all our eyes alarm us, & help us to call upon thee in this our time of need, when dangers surround & threaten us greatly.

Sunday, May 16, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> I went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup>. Aftern<sup>o</sup> at Quakers meeting. & from thence with Mr Eaton to Mr Giles's who is extremely ill in a fever attended with pleuritick pains<sup>1</sup> - afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfields farewell serm<sup>o</sup> he being to leave Bristol tomorrow. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mr Hopkins<sup>2</sup> who with his wife & child are all ill with colds.

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> called on poor Rachell who is ill a bed & home near 8.

May the Lord prepare me for all events! & whatever weapon may be forming against me, Lord cause it not to prosper. The cause of this petition proceeds from a suspicion I have of Mr Giles's adversarys entering a persecution against those who are his friends.

Monday, May 17, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> about 7 & was greatly shocked when I went in town, on being informed that poor Mr Giles expired last night about 9 o'clock.<sup>3</sup> when I was there at 5 o'clock the same evening I advis'd 'em to Dr James's powders<sup>4</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they procured but declined adminis<sup>g</sup> 'em until Dr Drummond came, when he approv'd of it & half a paper was given but it prov'd ineffectual, as he expired soon after. & left a very disconsolate wife with 8 children behind him. He was sensible to ye very last. He sent for a lawyer to make his will & had given instructions but before the attorney cou'd finish writing the same poor Giles was no more as to this world. May the Lord prepare me for so awful a change.

Went to Mr Eatons this morn<sup>g</sup> & reced ye above particulars from Mrs Eaton who was with him at ye time he dyed. Visited my poor mother several times today who is extremely ill with this epidemical disorder. This aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Allisons & both him & his wife are ill.

Staid at mothers 'till 9 - call'd at Mr Durbins & home.

Tuesday, May 18, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd on Mr Durbin & reced some acco<sup>t</sup> concern<sup>g</sup> poor Giles & from what he said & some corroborating circumstances it seems probable that that infernable diabolical tormentor w<sup>ch</sup> persecuted his poor children may have had some hand in his death. 'tho to outward appearance his decease seems natural. Yet those sptual wickedness's are capable (very probably at somtimes) of executing their horrid deeds in such manner as to deprive a man of life 'tho as not to be perceptible by any one present nor even by ye person so assaulted. May Jesus be my preserver & protector from all ye mischievous designs of this accursed spirit.

What seems probable that ye infernal charm had power to operate on poor Giles is, from Barnes at ye bottom of Glos<sup>r</sup> Lane who has been at times along while afflicted in a strange manner

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<sup>1</sup> Pleurisy is a disease of, or resulting in, pain in the chest or ribs and hence in breathing.

<sup>2</sup> See William Hopkins\*.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin confirms (p. 48) that it occurred at 9 p.m., and adds 'whether any witchcraft hastened his death, God knows'.

<sup>4</sup> See 21/5. The London physician Dr Robert James (1703-1776) patented his fever powder which was marketed extensively by John Newbery from 1746 onwards; it contained several sweating agents. See his *ODNB* entry.

acquainting Mr Durbin last Thursday even<sup>g</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> was the day Mr Giles was taken ill) that the proceeding night he had been perplexed with voices in his room in ye manner heretofore (tho he had been quiet for sometime since 'till this) & he heard some of them say that they had not much power now over the children at the Lamb but they said something about their having power over the old one but he could not clearly understand whither they said they had power or shou'd have power or whither they shou'd try to have power over the old one - nor did he apprehend what they meant by the old one - but 'tis highly probable that poor Mr Giles was the person meant, & 'tis remarkable that several times it had been intimated to one or both the children afflicted by ye witch that she had something to say to their father. But however that something was never communicated to him therefore probably his death might be ye thing meant. another odd circumstance was last Sunday evening in the dusk (ye very even<sup>g</sup> Mr Giles dyed) an old woman with a straw hat look'd in at the kitchen door & ask'd a servant maid if her master was not dead yet I ... not whether ye maid made any reply but however she ran immediately to fetch Doppey to see if that was the old woman (the witch) who had frequently appeared to her but before they came she was gone down the yard. This acco<sup>t</sup> Mr Eaton gave me today.<sup>1</sup>

Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 called at Mr Symes's from thence went to ye Mayor in Clifton<sup>2</sup> & ask'd him to lend Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> a horse now & then for an airing w<sup>ch</sup> he assured me he wou'd have readily granted but he has not a saddle horse of his own.

Afterwards visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & on my return call'd again on Mr Symes who was so kind to offer Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> his horse, but I doubt that won't do, he being too maundy.<sup>3</sup>

At 11 call'd at Cust<sup>o</sup> House afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor mother - staid at off & c 'till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> called on Ramzor & also Miss Fisher: Mrs Allison & poor mother - near 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home. The committee met this even<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Elton, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey & Mr Deane came & went away before them.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> AD visited Miss Penny.

Wednesday, May 19, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 6 & went to Clifton at 8 & told poor Jn<sup>o</sup> to hire a horse when he wanted & I would pay for it. But I know not whither he will comply. Visited also poor mother & near 10 at off & staid there & c 'till 2 - At 4 went to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> drank tea with Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> visited poor Rachell & from thence to mothers. & p 7 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till ½ p 8 then home - poor AD has been this even<sup>g</sup> to visit poor Jn<sup>o</sup> & was roundly abused by his unhappy wife.

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 47) reports his conversation with Barnes (see 29/3), whom he identifies as 'Mr -'s, a smith, in Gloucestershire' (an editorial misreading for Gloucester Lane?) on 13 May. 'He had been troubled for two months past, with two different voices in the *Kingswood* language, threatening to do him a mischief. His neighbours thought him disordered in mind, but he always talked very sensibly to me, and related a variety of odd circumstances. The voices foretold him many things concerning himself. He told me, that last night he was troubled again with the voices, and that amongst other things he was told, that they should have but little power at the Lamb (meaning Giles's) over the little ones, but they should get power over the old one there, the father. They seemed to dispute together about it, and at last seemed pleased that they should have power over Giles himself; and said something else about him, but he could not understand them. He told me he was troubled for him, though he had no acquaintance with the family. I did not tell him Mr Giles was ill, lest he should tell some of Mr Giles's family of it.' He later adds (p. 48) 'What the voices said to the smith before he was taken so ill, is very remarkable. I never told Giles's family of it till some months after his death.' See 26/5 below. Durbin does not report Dyer's story of the old woman with a straw hat.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Elton\*, who had a house in Clifton, was then mayor.

<sup>3</sup> No meaning of this kind is given in *OED*. Perhaps Dyer meant 'maungy' i.e. mangy or scabby?

This even<sup>g</sup> I find the remains of Mr Giles were inter'd at St Ph..<sup>1</sup> & the funeral was very private only about 6 or 8 p[er]sons in 2 coaches attended ye corpses.

Thursday, May 20, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> rose ab<sup>t</sup> 4 o'clock hav<sup>g</sup> had a very restless night occasion'd by flatulency, together with thoughts of what had pass'd between AD & Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> wife yesterday afternoon. Call'd this morn<sup>g</sup> before 6 on Mr Eaton & took walk & home p 8. Went to off at 9 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. Visited poor father 2 or 3 times today & gave him Dr James's powders this after<sup>n</sup> he being seiz'd with violent shooting pains all over his body last night, attended with a fever.

AD went to Mr Symes's this after<sup>n</sup> & in ye even<sup>g</sup> Mr Eaton came to our house & was electrised. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> I went to AD at Mr Symes's & staid there 'till near 11 where poor AD was very ill & which increased after we came home.

Friday, May 21, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited father & found that the single dose of Dr James's powders (w<sup>ch</sup> operate by perspiration of about 4 hours continuance) has given him relief. He is now quite free from pain. But poor mother is very ill, whom I perswaded to take half a paper of ye same powder which she complied with & it operated in the same manner (sweating) but she continues very weak with a violent head ach. Went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House this morn<sup>g</sup> & ent<sup>d</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> for New York. Staid at off: 'till 2 .- After dinner call'd on Miss Fisher & reced 21: 5/ ye remainder of her note hand - p 5 went to off: visited poor mother at 6 went to Room & heard a funeral sermon for 2 aged persons: the corps of whom were both in ye Room. p 7 up in town & went home with Mr Eaton & electrised his eyes -

Saturday, May 22, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> made a decoction of bark<sup>2</sup> for poor mother & carr<sup>d</sup> up to her vizt 1oz bark with ¼ oz sal nitre<sup>3</sup> boyled in 3 pints water until reduced to half the quantity. Visited Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & p 10 at off: At noon both ye waggons arrived from Liverp<sup>o</sup>. Mr Wallis came up to off: also Mr A<sup>s</sup> & Mr Townsend - & it seems to be the resolution of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ames, Baugh, Miller & Wansey that ye waggons shall go with another load next Monday se'night.

After dinner visited Father Davis who was a few days since seized with ye epidemical cold - call'd also on poor Mrs Giles who this day se'night had a husband living & walking about ye House (for he was only confin'd entirely to his bed on Sunday the day he died) but now he is both dead & buried. May this afflicting providence have a due effect on ye whole family!

At 5 home afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mrs Allison. my mother. Then to off: wrote Ire to Bro<sup>r</sup> James & left with H Sweeting to enclose under his frank.<sup>4</sup> & ½ p 7 went home and electrised Mr Eaton.

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<sup>1</sup> The epitomised diary confirms that this was 'St Phillips' i.e. St Philip and Jacob.

<sup>2</sup> Decoction involves boiling over the fire to prepare diet drinks while bark probably means Jesuits or Peruvian bark i.e. quinine (the bark of the cinchona tree). There are many advertisements in the Bristol papers in 1762 for similar products, e.g. Walkers Patent Genuine Jesuits Drops in 5s or 2s 6d bottles (*Bristol Journal*, 3 April 1762). See 10/9.

<sup>3</sup> Potassium nitrate (an ingredient of gunpowder) used as a cooling sedative, especially for bronchial cases.

<sup>4</sup> The signature of a person entitled to send letters post free and hence an envelope with such a signature. It is unclear why Sweeting\* (a grocer) had such a privilege.

This day Mr Marston was suddenly seized when up in town & seemed to be deprived of all strength whereby 'twas with great difficulty he reach'd home.

Sunday, May 23, 1762

This day I have enjoyed very little retirement. In the morn<sup>g</sup> about 7 went to Clifton & visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & then to mothers & at 9 home. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & after church met our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S w<sup>ch</sup> excited a disposition in me to write a few lines w<sup>ch</sup> I enclosed in *Worldly Compliances*<sup>1</sup> & deliver'd ye same to her serv<sup>t</sup> at Rachells in ye even<sup>g</sup> - May ye Lord grant that no evil may come thereof w<sup>ch</sup> I trust was done in simplicity - oh Lord prepare me for all events endue me with Christian courage & fortitude.

Aftern<sup>o</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell where was also Kitty. Mrs Green & Mr Davis came also - Mr Davis & I staid 'till p 7 then home.

Monday, May 24, 1762

Called this morn<sup>g</sup> at B.. took walk & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at mothers - then to off: & staid all the morn<sup>g</sup>. After din<sup>r</sup> visited Father & Mother Davis who are both indisposed - at 5 home where was our d<sup>r</sup> friend Rachell who just before came there with Mrs Bull<sup>2</sup> & her sis<sup>r</sup> Peggy<sup>3</sup> - went to off: & home with Mr Eaton near 8 & electrised him.

I may truly say with regard to myself that "within are fears" But Lord grant I may be enabled to trust in himself & there tis impossible any harm can happen to me

Oh Lord Jesus grant that not any weapon formed against me may be suffered to prosper.<sup>4</sup>

Tuesday, May 25, 1762

Rose at 6 & at 7 went to Clifton & found poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> extremely weak. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd at Mr Symes's & heard of a melancholy accident which happened to one Mr Pomfry a young clergyman on Sunday last who was riding through Bedmins<sup>r</sup> & met by a man riding full speed & threw him off his horse & fractured his scull. & he dyed the same day.<sup>5</sup> -

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Father Davis then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mr Adlam - went to St Nich<sup>s</sup>. Drank tea with mother st<sup>d</sup> at off 'till p 7 & then went home with Mr Eaton.

Wednesday, May 26, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> *Worldly Compliances* by Jeremy Leaf, dedicated to Lady Frances Shirley, was first published in 1752, with a second edition the next year. For the response see 20/6.

<sup>2</sup> Probably not the wife of James Bull\* but of Thomas Bull (d. 1791) with whose family Dyer's friend Rachel Tucker\* lived in Dalton's Court from December 1768 onwards.

<sup>3</sup> See Rachel Tucker\* for her sisters Peggy and Sukey/Susannah.

<sup>4</sup> 'No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper' (Isaiah 54: 17).

<sup>5</sup> The story appeared in *FFBJ* 29 May.

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & at 9 up in town called on Mr Adlam & saw a new electrical machine w<sup>ch</sup> he has had made for a gentlem<sup>n</sup> at Warmins<sup>r</sup> Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Fa<sup>r</sup> & Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis staid at off: &c ‘till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: drank tea at home & at 6 call’d on Mr Penny & with him on Mr Eaton & we all took walk together. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> I called on Barnes who told me he was greatly tormented last night - & ‘twas intimated to him that they wou’d have his life. & also that they should endeavour to afflict Mrs Giles - may ye Lord have mercy on these poor afflicted people - it seems those infernal wretches who talk to Barnes in ye Kingswood language (tho’ he can only hear their voice but cannot see any thing visible) & probably is the spirits of sundry witches told him last night “that he had finish’d Mr Giles & they wou’d finish him & that they shou’d now endeavour to have power over Mrs Giles.”<sup>1</sup>

Thursday, May 27, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6. Electrised Cha.. Slade<sup>2</sup> for rheumatism in his a.. afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Clifton but poor bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> was not come down & return’d again without seeing ... call’d at Mr Symes’s afterwards visited poor Barnes also mother Davis & poor Mrs Giles who see.. to be under much distress concer.. her worldly affairs. May she be enabled to flee to the Lord & there find comfort, where alone it is to be found. At 11 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. Mr A<sup>s</sup> complains of Ramzor his not being at magazine & employ<sup>g</sup> yesterday a boy to shift powder who had nails in his shoes.<sup>3</sup> –

At present it appears the world has set itself against me the behaviour of the men of the world evinces it Lord Jesus help me to follow thee! Harden my brow ..s a flint that I may not be afraid of the world.<sup>4</sup> This aftern<sup>o</sup> called on Shurmer Bath<sup>5</sup> & saw some electrical experiments. Drank tea at home. - In the even<sup>g</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & went a little way with him & his wife when she begun upon her delightful topick of railing against poor mother &c &c but I civilly took my leave & ret<sup>d</sup> home - call’d on mother and beg’d that we may all of us determine to say nothing of this poor unhappy woman in any of our conversations – so that we may never be the means of stiring up the flame.

Friday, May 28, 1762

Last night dreamt that my wife & I were in a boat together somewhere in ye Bristol river & that I scull’d the same but met with numbers of difficultys sometimes being in very shallow water and then get out from thence into deeper then again quite aground & on dry land & obliged to get ye boat over a short length of dry sand, then again into shallow water, then deep & at length I thought we came into very deep water – this appears to me a real emblem of life but probably it may be design’d as a kind notice of some approach<sup>g</sup> difficulty.<sup>6</sup> But whatever may be its meaning may the Lord enable me to blindly to resign myself to him & may He enable me to go thro’ good report and evil report & truly to follow my d<sup>r</sup> Lord Jesus. -

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<sup>1</sup> See 29/3 and footnote to 18/5.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Nails might create sparks setting off the gunpowder.

<sup>4</sup> ‘As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not’ (Ezekiel 3: 9).

<sup>5</sup> Shurmer Bath (d. 1800) was a Quaker maltster, living in 1775 at 93 Stokes Croft. He was a friend of both Symes\* and the Quaker Sarah Fox, to whom he lent Law’s\* attack on the stage; he subscribed to Lovett’s\* *Philosophical Essays* (1766) on electricity.

<sup>6</sup> See introduction.



This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Brewho: breakfas<sup>d</sup> with mother – afterw<sup>ds</sup> saw Mr Hart - p 9 call'd at Borbonous Mr Rocks<sup>1</sup> Mr Deanes Mr Wanseys. Birches<sup>2</sup> Mr Nobles<sup>3</sup> – st<sup>d</sup> on Change 'till 2 then home & staid 'till 6 then to off & at 8 ret<sup>d</sup> home again

Saturday, May 29, 1762

p 7 went to Brewho: breakfas<sup>d</sup> with mother afterw<sup>ds</sup> called at Palmers where Mr Badderley came & desired me to go with him to Mr Normans<sup>4</sup> (who has ye liv<sup>g</sup> of Congresbury given to him) which I complied with. Mr B: told Mr N: that he took unkind what he has lately reported at Mr Jo: Smiths<sup>5</sup> concern Mr B: & Mr N: reply'd that it was no more than what he was inform'd by the people of Coombsury vizt. That Mr B: shou'd say to his congregation whilst he was reading prayers & even when saying the Lords Prayer that if they did not repeat the prayers in the same manner which he did, that they would be damned – with some other disrespectful things tending to injure Mr B's character Mr N: acknowledged he had spoken it & also that the clerk of some other church w<sup>ch</sup> Mr B: served told him that there did not above 2 or 3 people besides himself come to church – all w<sup>ch</sup> are absolute untruths - However Mr B: and Mr N: spoke in friendship. - Mr B: told Mr N: that if 'twas not inconvenient he shou'd acquit the church after tomorrow, & Mr B: to take to it Trinity Sunday or the Sunday after tomorrow, which Mr N: agreed to. & Monday or Tuesd<sup>y</sup> next Mr Badderly intends setting out to visit his father who lives about 120 miles from hence. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> met Mr Sweeting who told me that Mr Sprake<sup>6</sup> told Sis<sup>f</sup> Dy<sup>r</sup> to her face that he counted 50 guin<sup>s</sup> & 7 Jno<sup>s</sup><sup>7</sup> besides other money w<sup>ch</sup> was in the box w<sup>ch</sup> money she took away & £18 was left in the hands of his wife and Mrs Sprake so that 'tis probable there was £90 in the whole.

This morn<sup>g</sup> Capt Cheyne call'd on me.

Our wagon & Mr Townsends was to have set out Mond<sup>y</sup> for Liverp<sup>o</sup> but are now prevented by a letter rec<sup>d</sup> from Mr Strachey today. Staid at off: 'till 2. At 6 call'd on Mr Wansey: from thence went to the mayors and spoke to Mr Baugh & he came to off: and wrote Ire.

p 7 home. This evening it seems Uncle James left Glos<sup>t</sup>.<sup>8</sup>

Sunday, May 30, 1762 Whit Sunday.

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 took walk & call'd at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> near 8 but no one was up. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Father Davis's & Mr Eaton's & home at 9. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & sacra<sup>t</sup> there - also aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & in even<sup>g</sup> went up to Mr Symes's and took my leave of him who setts out tomor<sup>o</sup> with Mrs Symes and their son for Chewton<sup>9</sup> where they intend stay<sup>g</sup> 3 wks.

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<sup>1</sup> See 29/3.

<sup>2</sup> See 10/4.

<sup>3</sup> See 13/2.

<sup>4</sup> George Norman was a graduate of Magdalen Hall Oxford, ordained in 1754-5 and rector of Itton 1761-2 before becoming vicar of Congresbury from June 1762 until his death in August 1798. For 'Coomsbury' see 20/4.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the Joseph Smith watchmaker in Broad Street who took subscriptions for the Unity Street fire in November (see 19-20/11).

<sup>6</sup> Dyer noted the death of 'poor Charles Sprake' in 1764. See 6/3 for his wife and John Dyer's\* wife.

<sup>7</sup> I cannot identify such coins.

<sup>8</sup> See 7/6 and 1/7.

<sup>9</sup> Chewton Mendip. See 18/2 and 20/6.

Monday, May 31, 1762

Rose at ½ p 4 & near 6 sat out on Ramzors mare in comp<sup>a</sup> with Cha<sup>s</sup> Brown<sup>1</sup> & arrived at Mr Brown's at West Hartree<sup>2</sup> about 8 & spent the day there very agreeably. Sat out from thence about 6 in ye even<sup>g</sup>. Called on Mr Wallis at Littleton on our way home & reached home p 8. This night poor Mr Knox dyed, after a few weeks illness.

Tuesday, June 1, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 5 took walk met with Mr Eaton & call'd with him on Mrs Giles & afterwards call'd on Mr Durbin who purposed going to ye Lamb this even<sup>g</sup> together with Mr Eaton & I intended going also but was prevent'd, in order to talk with Mr Bull about Mrs Giles's affairs. -  
Staid at off & c 'till 2.

After din<sup>r</sup> went to off. In even<sup>g</sup> ye Committee did not meet altho' 'twas ye ev<sup>g</sup> in course. At ½ p 6 went up to M<sup>r</sup> Clifton<sup>3</sup> where I found poor J.D. somewhat better in appearance then he has been lately.

I am at present under some streights on acco<sup>t</sup> of ye malitia being to be ballotted soon for this city.<sup>4</sup> -  
But may I be guided therein by the Lord.

Wednesday, June 2, [1762]

Took walk this morn<sup>g</sup> p 5 & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8. At 9 up in town & staid 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off  
Call'd at Mr Morrish's about ye malitia affair. At 5 home where was Mr Norton<sup>5</sup> one Mr Tho<sup>s</sup>  
Whielden of Ilminster & Mrs Hopkins who with Mr Hopkins<sup>6</sup> spent the evening. -

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Brown\* was the brother of 'Mr Brown' i.e. Rev. James Brown\*.

<sup>2</sup> West Harptree (James Brown's\* parish).

<sup>3</sup> Presumably a slip of the pen for Clifton.

<sup>4</sup> Under the militia laws, all eligible men were balloted for 3 years' service in the militia, but those selected could pay for substitutes to replace them. As early as January 1762, a Bristol insurance office (calling itself 'the militia insurance office') was offering tickets for substitutes at 7s 6d, and 10s 6d sub for militia substitute (*FFBJ* 9 and 23 January). The same paper reported an alteration in the law regarding substitutes on 17 April, and on 29 May that the militia would be raised 'with all speed' and constables were taking down a fresh list of all persons liable for service in their wards, with more information on these lists on 12 June. On 17 July they advertised for substitutes wanted for the men selected. Dyer, who paid 10s 6d for his insurance was therefore quite slow to respond, but so was the Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner, as it was only on 25 June that he noted that he was setting up a parish club to raise a fund to pay the £10 for a substitute. *FFBJ* 28 July 1764 noted that when militia balloting started most people in the city, including the poorest, joined societies for procuring substitutes and 8 December 1764 recorded a meeting of the militia club at Griffin Inn, St Michael's Hill for dinner at 2 on Thursday 23 December to receive 'their dividend'. See 2/6, 7/6 and 20/6.

<sup>5</sup> Probably James Norton a Wesleyan, who (Dyer reports in 1760) was in charge of Wesley's book room at the New Room in Horse Fair: Dyer had lent him William Law's\* letters but he returned them with 'very unworthy remarks thereon'. In 1761 Dyer notes that Norton is leaving 'Mr Hopkins' (probably William\* rather than Samuel\*) to board with Mr Stringer in the country. By 1768, at the latest, Norton was apprenticed to Gottlob Schusler (who had a bookshop in Corn Street near the Tolzey from 1754 onwards) and in 1771 he opened his own shop in Wine Street, being listed in 1775 as 'working stationer, print and bookseller' at 52 Wine Street.

<sup>6</sup> See William Hopkins\*.

At p 7 went to Helpful Society & home at 9.

Thursday, June 3, 1762

Awoke this morn<sup>g</sup> about 3 o'clock out of a very disagreeable dream from which I had apprehensions of poor Rach<sup>l</sup> being departed this life. I arose before 4 & was very agreeably convinced that my apprehensions were without foundation. Soon after I sat out with intent to walk to magazine but met Mr George on ye road which preven.. it. - Call'd at Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> on my return & ab<sup>t</sup> 8 home. p 9 up in town. Call'd this foren<sup>o</sup> at Fath<sup>r</sup> Davis<sup>s</sup> & also on Mrs Giles - St<sup>d</sup> on Change 'till 2 then home & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 5 then at off & home at 8. Fath<sup>r</sup> & Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis has been at our ho: this aftern<sup>o</sup>.

Friday, June 4, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ½ p 4 & at 5 sat out on Mr Ramzors mare & reach'd West Harptree at ½ p 6. & about 9 sat out from thence with Mr Brown & rode thro' Chewton, Old Down & sundry other places ye last whereof was Stratton on the Foss & at last arrived at Farmer Peter Worms at I think 'tis call'd Pitcarn<sup>l</sup> where we found poor Mrs Worm in extreme pain, having last Sunday morning accidentally fallen down & pitch'd on her hip of the same side. - We dined there and from thence went to Coleford 2 miles beyond to ye Methodist preach<sup>g</sup> house in order to view an electrical machine there<sup>2</sup> – then return'd back to Harptree over Old Down & sundry other places as above (tho' my nearest to Bristol was directly from Coleford) rested an hour at Harptree where was Mr Grigg and his wife<sup>3</sup> & then sat out alone & arriv'd at Mr Ramzors p 8 then home. in our way to farmer Worms we call'd on one Flower a butcher at Chilcompton, a noted poet.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday, June 5, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Brewho & from thence at fathers & then to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & near 10 at off. & staid there &c 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Mrs Hitchens's<sup>5</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at St Nich<sup>s</sup> at 5 home p 6 took walk & met with Mr Eaton. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> called at fathers & home p 8.

Sunday, June 6, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Probably an error for Pitcot(e), a hamlet of 11 houses at the south end of Stratton Fosse parish.

<sup>2</sup> Interesting confirmation of the association of electrical treatment with Methodism. John Wesley pioneered the use of such treatment in his *The Desideratum: or Electricity made Plain and Useful* (1760), which Dyer 'perused' on 25 February 1760. Wesley preached at Coleford on 26 October 1762.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Flower 'butcher of Chilcompton' published *The Prodigal Son, a Poem; or, a dialogue between an extravagant youth, his father, Fancy, (the youth's companion) and an elder brother. In imitation of the parable of the prodigal in the 15th Chap. of St. Luke* (printed at Bath, 1771, for T. Mills bookseller in Wine- Street Bristol). One of the poems by the evangelical Clifton gardener William Job in his *Poems on Various Subjects* (Bristol, 1785) is addressed to Flower.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the wife of George Hitchens (aged 85 in 1791) who had been cooper at Dinham's\* distillery in Castle Gate when Dyer worked there 1745-50.

Rose p 6. & p 9 call'd on Mr Brown at his lodgings in Lower College Green & near 10 went with him to College heard a good discourse there from Mr Chapman staid to sacra<sup>t</sup> & after<sup>n</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard Mr Camplin afterw<sup>ds</sup> home & spent ye ev<sup>g</sup>. Gave this even<sup>g</sup> 7 drams crude mercury to Rachel who was very ill in her bowells, & it gave very quick relief.

Monday, [June] 7, [1762]

Rose p 5 went to Mallowgo-slum & plung'd myself in the water<sup>1</sup> - At 9 up in town, & st<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 2. Mrs Giles at ye Lamb call'd at our office this morn<sup>g</sup> to ask ye gentlemens favours for carriage. -

This after<sup>n</sup> drank tea with AD & Rachell at Mr Greens.

This after<sup>n</sup> (I hear) dyed Mr Ja<sup>s</sup> Hilhouse who was a few years since sheriff of this city & failed not long since.<sup>2</sup> Went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8 this ev<sup>g</sup>. May ye Lord open mine eyes to see ye great things which most nearly concern me.

This day on Change I saw Packer of Glos<sup>r</sup> who surprized me with an account that Uncle James has left Glos<sup>r</sup> about 8 days since (he sat out yesterd<sup>y</sup> was se'ennight) & gave orders to an attorney to sell his stock of cattle &c to pay ye rent. But Aunt yet continues to keep shop.

This morn<sup>g</sup> I subscribed 10/6 at Mr Wilmot's the church warden<sup>3</sup> towards a fund for providing substitutes in case any of ye subscribers are choosen to serve in ye malitia for this city.<sup>4</sup>

Tuesday, June 8, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> sent Giles<sup>5</sup> to Harptree for our mare & at noon sent Rob<sup>t</sup> up with her to Clifton where I design she shall be kept for ye present for Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> to ride out when able. At 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Cust<sup>o</sup> Ho & Mr Deane swore to debenture.<sup>6</sup> Staid at off: &c 'till 2. -

Near 4 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard Mr Chapman ye Prebend. ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & at 7 went to Clifton Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & Mr Sweeting were gone to Clifton but return'd before I came away. This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Elton sent for me and gave me his Brewh<sup>o</sup> book.

Last Monday morn<sup>g</sup> Willoughby & Berry stop'd payment.<sup>7</sup>

Many very remarkable occurrences has happened in ye course of ye present year which is hardly half expired yet.

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<sup>1</sup> The Malago brook or vale now runs in a culvert under the Bedminster area of Bristol, and presumably then formed a marshy area ('slump') which had been adapted for cold bathing. See also 16/6. In February 1756 Dyer noted that he had 'long accustomed' himself to cold bathing 'even in frost and snow' but 'after several years' reduced and then declined the practice. In May 1757 Dyer had subscribed for a year for his wife to bathe at Rennison's Baths at Trim Mills for 10s 6d (and he could bathe as well 'by finding my own towel') and in June 1758 he reports providing a ladder for 'the boyling well' (see 17/6) which 'stood many years under water after I had declined bathing'.

<sup>2</sup> James Hilhouse was a sugarbaker and merchant, who was warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1752 and sheriff 1755-6; he had sugarhouses in Lewins Mead and a house in Clifton.

<sup>3</sup> Three Wilmots are listed south of the river in 1775, a housecarpenter, a mason and a cooper.

<sup>4</sup> See 1/6.

<sup>5</sup> See 20/4.

<sup>6</sup> A certificate given exporters regarding imported goods on which a drawback of customs dues was allowed if they were then exported again.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Willoughby (d. by 1773) was city chamberlain in 1762, in which year he was left the residual estate of Paul Fisher\*: his papers are BRO 09463-76. Berry may be George Berry, ship's broker, at 12 in the Exchange, in 1775. The epitomised diary specifies that they were 'insurance brokers'.

Wednesday, June 9, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6. at 8 call'd at Ramzors – p 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Bonbonous & Alderman Laroche's - staid at off & on Change 'till 2 – p 4 at off: at 5 home ye painter finished paint<sup>s</sup> my bookcase<sup>1</sup> this aftern<sup>o</sup>. At 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8 then home.

Thursday, [June] 10, [1762]

Went to Brewho: this morn<sup>s</sup> called at mothers – p 9 called at Morgans<sup>2</sup> & Mother Davis's & I find her son Robert came to see his father & mother last Mond<sup>y</sup> & sat out again yesterday morn<sup>s</sup> & there appears in him great hopes of a backslider return<sup>s</sup> unto Him from whom he hath deeply revolted. Went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> p 10 & clear'd pow<sup>f</sup> for Dublin. - Staid at off & c 'till 2. Mr A<sup>s</sup> & Mr Whatley<sup>3</sup> came up in off: & talk'd about some acco<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> Devonsheir & co<sup>4</sup> & of an imposition in ye frei<sup>t</sup> of some goods 14 or 15 yrs since. -

This aftern<sup>o</sup> wrote Bro<sup>r</sup> James – in ye ev<sup>s</sup> at 6 visited Mr Penny & staid there 'till p 8 in comp<sup>a</sup> with friend Hawksworth.

Friday, June 11, 1762

Rose ½ p 6 & sat out for Fulligrove magazine call'd at Clifton with design to ride on our mare, but as he was not in stable, walk'd it call'd at King's Head at Sea Mills & breakfasted there. & ret<sup>d</sup> by way of Clifton & reach'd home about p 8 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 at 3 ret<sup>d</sup> there again & staid 'till 6 then call'd on Mr Penny & with him to Mr Eatons & we all took walk together & on our way met Mr Baugh & his 2 daughters coming from Frenchay. At near 9 ret<sup>d</sup> home almost tired. spent an hour with Rach<sup>l</sup> & we are both under apprehension our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S is under difficulties at this time. May the Lord support her. May she look to him for that purpose - & if any difficulties & trials await we two likewise may the Lord prepare us for the same - May I have courage to acknowledge God - Oh may I be deliv<sup>d</sup> from the slavish fear of man. Lord give me the Christian courage I want!

Saturday, June 12, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 8 up in town went to bank & reced cash & bills. & from thence went to Mr Baughs w<sup>h</sup> £300 in cash. Likewise went to Mr Ames. & they propose send<sup>s</sup> ye 2 wag<sup>s</sup> for Liverp<sup>o</sup> Mond<sup>y</sup> if Mr Townsend can send his waggon.

Went to Mr Miller & Mr Elton who hath sign'd note of hand to bank for £2000 - Staid on Change & c 'till 2. After din<sup>f</sup> prepared pills of balm Gilead<sup>5</sup> for Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & st<sup>d</sup> at home 'till 6. then to off: &

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<sup>1</sup> When Dyer moved into the Great Garden house in 1758 he bought a desk and book case costing £7.

<sup>2</sup> See 19/4.

<sup>3</sup> This could be either Edward Whatley sugarbaker (sheriff in 1752-3, mayor in 1768-9, alderman at 16 St James Square in 1775) or Henry, wholesale grocer at 76 Castle Street in 1775, who were both trading at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Devonshire (d. 1766) and Paul Reeve were Quaker merchants heavily involved in the sugar and slave trades.

<sup>5</sup> The balm of gilead plant is *dracocephalum contrieuse*, used as an antiseptic. Originally the Biblical term 'balm' meant a gum or resin of a plant but the word became confused with balsam. The Bristol papers for 1762 have many advertisements for 'essence of balm of Gilead' at 5s per large bottle and 3s per small (*Bristol Journal*, 3 April).

at 7 carry'd the said pills up to Clifton & home near 9 - This day rec'd lre from Bro<sup>f</sup> Geo: with acco<sup>t</sup> of Bro<sup>f</sup> James being ill. May the Lord shew him mercy.

Sunday, June 13, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 & near 9 went to Mr Baugh who was at Bath yesterday & agreed with Mr Townsend to send his wag<sup>n</sup> to magazine tomorr<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> to load for Liverp<sup>o</sup>. I therefore sent W<sup>m</sup> Harris<sup>1</sup> with letters to Mr Wallis order<sup>g</sup> our wag<sup>n</sup> to come tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup>. Jn<sup>o</sup> Jones the wag<sup>r</sup> also came to me at 12 o'clock.

Went to St Werbur<sup>ghs</sup> both foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> where Mr Roquet served - his text was Ezek 18:30 "Repent, & turn yourselves from all your transgressions & so iniquity shall not be your ruin" His discourse in the morn<sup>g</sup> was very striking. In the aftern<sup>o</sup> also 'twas very good, tho somethings that were said were exceptionable to delicate hearers - but 'tis good to make a stir sometimes. - May what he has deliv<sup>d</sup> be useful to those who heard it.

This day poor Rach<sup>l</sup> has kept her bed. - & also kept a fast by way of medicine - & Satan has been very busy. But the Lord hath been her defence.

Monday, June 14, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 5. Jn<sup>o</sup> Jones our waggoner came to whom I gave ye necessary despatches for his journey to Liverp<sup>o</sup> & at 6 I went to Clifton mounted Hobby there, & rode to magazine & staid sometime there - where both of our wag<sup>n</sup> & Mr Townsends waggons came. - I came away when ours began to load - Left ye mare at Clifton & home at 12 - Went to off & staid 'till 2. Ret<sup>d</sup> again to off: p 4 wrote letter to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Alloway & sent Giles Gillard with it to magazine to be car<sup>d</sup> on to Capt Willye.<sup>2</sup> Miss Walker & Mrs Pope<sup>3</sup> drank tea at our house. At 7 went to Room & at 8 home.

Tuesday, June 15, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6. At 7 went to Brewho: & near 9 call'd at Bro<sup>f</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & breakfas<sup>d</sup> there - then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at ye mayors and Mr Deanes with notices of meeting this even<sup>g</sup>. Staid at off: &c 'till 2 - afternoon went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard a long serm<sup>o</sup> from Mr Brown from Jn<sup>o</sup> 3 v. 6.<sup>4</sup> Staid at off: 'till p 7 then call'd at Mr Allison's who shew'd letter from Cap<sup>t</sup> Garrison.<sup>5</sup> Took walk with Mr Allison his wife & Miss Walker to their field & home at 9. This ev<sup>g</sup> I saw Mr Step<sup>n</sup> Stringer.<sup>6</sup>

The Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Ames, Mr Miller, Mr Deane & Mr Wansey.

Wednesday, June 16, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Porter to the Littleton gunpowder company.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John Willye, captain of the Prince William.

<sup>3</sup> See 29/1 and 3/3.

<sup>4</sup> 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the spirit is spirit'.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Stringer, possibly the staymaker listed at 4 College Street in 1775. James Norton (see 2/6) had gone to 'board with Mr Stringer in the country' in November 1761, suggesting he was a Wesleyan.

Rose before 6. Went to Mallago slump & emerged my self into ye water<sup>1</sup> - At 9 went to off: & to bank afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Clifton & found poor Bro<sup>f</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> greatly fatigued with his cough. - Oh Lord sanctify it unto him. Lord pity & relieve him.

Ret<sup>d</sup> p 10 & afterw<sup>ds</sup> sent Rob<sup>t</sup> up with some prunes. - Staid at off: &c 'till 2. - At 4 went again to off: call'd at Mr Ames's & at Cross's<sup>2</sup> - drank tea with mother call'd on Miss Penny then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd at Dominiceti's<sup>3</sup> where Mr Penny had been doing business: but he was gone from thence - Went home p 6 & spent an hour or two alone. Oh Lord bless & do for me & for all belong<sup>g</sup> to me, as we respectively need.

Thursday, June 17, 1762

Rose p 6 at 9 up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Ames's twice & reced money of him.

Went likewise to Bonbonous's - Staid at off &c 'till 2 - After dinner step'd to Dominiceti's sale & then to Mr Penny's & stay'd there 'till 6. Mrs Green came while I was there – a person I have not seen many years since - she was formerly Miss Dinham.<sup>4</sup>

Went to off: & afterw<sup>ds</sup> took walk & read in a book Mr Penny just now lent me “The world unmasked or the philosopher the greatest cheat”<sup>5</sup> wherein I found some satisfaction. Mr Ames & his servant who were tak<sup>g</sup> a ride to Glass Mills<sup>6</sup> overtook me - & I met them again at my return. At

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<sup>1</sup> See 7/6.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly John Cross, warden of the Merchant Venturers in 1751 and wine merchant, who went bankrupt in September 1763. He may also be the John Cross who in 1770 became partner in Beddome (see 18/8) and Cross.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholemew di Dominiceti (fl. 1735-1782) was, by his own account, a Venetian nobleman, physician, surgeon and chemist, who arrived in Bristol in about 1756 and stayed until 1764, when he moved to London and established himself at 6 Cheyne Walk in Chelsea. His particular trademark was the provision of hot and cold bathing facilities for treating patients at his houses (in Bristol in Guinea Street then on College Green), but he also had an apothecary's shop on the Key until September 1762. He was imprisoned for a period in 1758 on unknown charges (when also described as 'alias Alexander Cortesi') but released, and he engaged in regular press disputes with rivals, including the Bristol apothecary Jeremiah Slade, publishing works to vindicate himself, namely his *Short and Calm Apology* (Bristol, 1762) and later his *Medical Anecdotes of the Last Thirty Years* (1781). He was listed as a bankrupt druggist in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762 (p. 243) and his sale (see 17/6) is presumably of the contents of his apothecary shop.

<sup>4</sup> This must be Sally Green; in 1785 Dyer records the death of William Green distiller who had married Sally, daughter of Robert Dinham\*.

<sup>5</sup> *The World Unmasked – The World Unmask'd: or, the Philosopher the Greatest Cheat; in twenty-four dialogues Between Crito a Philosopher, Philo a Lawyer, and Erastus a Merchant In which True Virtue is distinguished from what usually bears the Name or Resemblance of it: The many Prejudices and Mistakes in Judgment and Practice, in regard to conscience and religion, are examined and rectified: And the Value of truth is shewn; with the Reasons why it is not more generally known. To which is added, The state of Souls separated from their Bodies: Being an Epistolary Treatise, wherein is proved, by a Variety of Arguments, deduced from Holy Scripture, that the Punishments of the Wicked will not be Eternal; and all Objections against it solved. In Answer to a Treatise, entitled, An Enquiry into Origenism. Together with A Large Introduction, evincing the same Truth from the Principles of Natural Religion. Translated from the French.* (London, 1736; second edition in 2 volumes 1743), a translation of Marie Huber's *Le monde fou préféré au monde sage* (1731), and *Le système des anciens et des modernes* (1733).

<sup>6</sup> The 'Glass Mill', fed by the Boiling Well Brook (see 7/6), was in Ashley Vale Stapleton, along a lane from Baptist Mills.

my return saw a corps interr'd at ye burying ground near George's Street<sup>1</sup> the man who prayed spoke very feelingly & seemed possess'd of the root of the matter.

Call'd on Barnes - also on Mr Eaton & Mrs Giles. Ye latter seems in great affliction proceed<sup>s</sup> from the threats of her adversary Mr James. May Jesus oppose every diabolical charm which may be levelling against her & may the Lord sanctify this affliction unto her.

Friday, June 18, 1762

Rose about 5. Went to Clifton & took horse there - rode to Littleton.<sup>2</sup> from thence to a wood near Havdet Green<sup>3</sup> beyond ye Bell at Wrington Leigh, & view'd some alder w<sup>ch</sup> was corded up leo<sup>f</sup> by Rich<sup>d</sup> Cooper.<sup>4</sup> From thence rode to Nailsey & that with some perplexity: hav<sup>g</sup> lost my way several times & my strength was much exhausted for want of refreshment - Went to Twickenham Wood<sup>5</sup> near Nailsey & viewed some alder there also - & past 4 arrived at ye George at Backwell & dined there & between 6 & 7 arrived at Clifton & home p 8.

I have experienced great mercys today - The Lord directed which way to set out that is I first designed going to Nailsey and come home by Littleton w<sup>ch</sup> wou'd have proved very inconvenient whereas I was lead to go to Littleton first which proved much the best.

Saturday, June 19, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 - Call'd at fathers this morning - afterw<sup>ds</sup> at off: & 'till 2 - p 3 at off: & in even<sup>g</sup> went with Mr Eaton to Clifton - ye behavio<sup>r</sup> of that unhappy woman<sup>6</sup> depresses my mind but may I look above it. Mr Brown call'd this ev<sup>g</sup> He wants ye mare next week.

Sunday, June 20, 1762

Rose about 7. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & heard Mr Symes who ret<sup>d</sup> from the country yesterd<sup>y</sup>. In ye ev<sup>g</sup> I reced a lett<sup>r</sup> f<sup>m</sup> our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S & this even<sup>g</sup> my spirits were in great ferment occasion'd I suppose by s<sup>d</sup> let<sup>r</sup><sup>7</sup> whereby I had but an indifferent nights rest - awoke at 2 o'clock &

Monday [June] 21 [1762] morn<sup>g</sup> rose at 3 employ'd my self 'till 5 in scribling an ans<sup>r</sup> to our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> after all I believe I shall not send. About 6 went with Giles Gillard to Clifton & sent him from thence with the mare to Mr Brown at Harptree - where she is to continue the whole week. Ret<sup>d</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *FFBJ* 16 October 1762 onwards carries an advertisement for the universal burying ground behind Eugene St near the poorhouse without Lawford's Gate. It was presumably universal both as a non-denominational site and because of its low prices: it offered a burial for 4 shillings for a man or woman, 3 shillings for a child and 1 shilling for a stillborn child. They had also opened a 'coffin and shroud warehouse for the benefit of the poor', and a list of their prices is given.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer's first Friday visit to Littleton since the suspension of work there on 23 April. He resumes weekly visits from now on, though he never states that the works have been re-opened.

<sup>3</sup> Havyatt Green is between Wrington and Langford. On Bowen's map it is spelled Havgat, though in Rack's survey it is Havyatt Green or Havyatt.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the alder was to be used to make charcoal for strong powder - see 3/4 and 14/4. I do not know what 'leo<sup>r</sup>' is an abbreviation of.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably an error for Tickenham, a parish just north-west of Nailsea, which contained Limebridge Wood.

<sup>6</sup> John Dyer's\* wife.

<sup>7</sup> See 23/5, 21/6 and 26-27/6.



home & at 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mother Davis<sup>s</sup>. Staid at off &c 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> electr<sup>d</sup> a couple of patients one of whom was an elderly man whom Mr Brown sent from Harptree. p 3 at off: In the even<sup>g</sup> I visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who is reduced very low by a purg<sup>g</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he has had 2 or 3 days past. - Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8. Last Saturday even<sup>g</sup> the balloting of malitia men for this city was performed.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday, June 22, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 8. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on my friend Mr Symes - & at 10 at off staid there &c 'till 2 - At 4 went to St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard Mr Symes there - In even<sup>g</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & home near 9. This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Brights who interrogated about ye affair at ye Lamb.

Wednesday, June 23, 1762

Awoke this morn<sup>g</sup> about 2 & was somewhat uneasy about poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> from a dream w<sup>ch</sup> I had last night. I apprehended it a kind notice given me of his approach<sup>g</sup> decease, whether it was so or not, ye Lord only knows.<sup>2</sup> -

Went up in town p 9 - afterw<sup>ds</sup> sent Rob<sup>t</sup> up to Clifton. Staid on Change 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> call'd on mother - then visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & had ½ an hours serious convers<sup>n</sup> alone. Ab<sup>t</sup> 6 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off: and p 8 home again.

Thursday, [June] 24, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7.- At 9 up in town - At ½ p 10 went to St Werburghs & heard an excellent discourse & the opportunity was a blessing to my soul. - Staid at off: &c 'till 2. - Ret<sup>d</sup> again p 3 went to Brewho. at 5 home. Then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8. Mr Durbin came & was electrified this aftern<sup>o</sup>.

Friday, June 25, 1762

Rose p 6. & at 8 mount Robt Davis's<sup>3</sup> mare, & road to Littleton. & made an excursion to Harptree. but my friend Bro.. was from home. Made a short stay & reach'd ye Great Garden<sup>4</sup> ½ p 3 to dinner. Ye above R Davis's poor wife dyed (it seems) ye 30 May last after a short illness. After din<sup>r</sup> went to off: call'd at Mr Davis's drank tea at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> from thence went to Mr Penny's and to Mr Eaton's, and we three took walk & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8.

Saturday, June 26, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 1/6.

<sup>2</sup> For dreams as 'kind notices' see introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See 3/5.

<sup>4</sup> Dyer's home since 1758 was a house 'wherein Mr Geo Berry had dwelt', costing £8 yearly, which he considered 'a palace' in comparison to his former house in Redcliff Street. It was in the area known as Great Garden, built on the former gardens of the Augustinian Friars in Temple parish, which included Church Street and Temple Church Lane, Avon Street and Tower Street. It is now underneath the Temple Meads station area. It is not clear which street Dyer lived in; his 'neighbour' William Green\* is listed at 6 Avon Street in 1775, while Robert Marston, son of his 'neighbour' Marston, is at 12 Tower Street.

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6. - Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went in Stokes Croft. called on fathers. p 8 at off & finished my let<sup>r</sup> to our fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S: w<sup>ch</sup> I've been labour<sup>g</sup> about all this week.

Mr A: came to off: & ord<sup>d</sup> that all ye petre 500 bags shall be sent per James as he will carry at 2/9 & Giles people will not carry under 3/ per C [hundredweight?]. The selfishness and cunning of worldly men seems more & more manifested every day. Lord give me not to fear man. But to walk humbly before my God & to be solely devoted to himself. This aftern<sup>o</sup> wrote Bro<sup>r</sup> James - about 5 visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> -call'd at Mr Symes's afterw<sup>ds</sup> & home p 8. This ev<sup>g</sup> mother ret<sup>d</sup> from Bath where she went yesterday morn<sup>g</sup> to visit Mrs Luther<sup>1</sup>, but ret<sup>d</sup> without seeing her & therefore without success.

Sunday, June 27, 1762

This day some few particular occurrences has happened more than usual.

In ye morn<sup>g</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard an affecting discourse from these words "Thou fool this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be &c"<sup>2</sup>

Convey'd my epistle to our worthy friend who informed AD that she wou'd pay us a visit this aftern<sup>o</sup> - on which acco<sup>t</sup> I staid at home. But was disappointed of our expectation & our friend sent to acquaint us she was prevented com<sup>g</sup> by a person who happened to visit her.

In ye even<sup>g</sup> Mrs Giles & Mrs Eaton came & drank tea.

O my Lord shew that mercy to me I need.

Monday, June 28, 1762

May I be enabled to take ye advice given me by my friend Rachel this even<sup>g</sup> that is, to only look at ye present moment & not to look forward & be anxious for how I shall live in future. The Lord preserves & provides for me now, therefore trust him to preserve & provide in future.

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Brewho: breakfas<sup>d</sup> with mother. p 9 at off & staid there &c 'till 2. Mrs Ramzor call'd aftern<sup>o</sup> din<sup>r</sup> desir<sup>g</sup> me to get her husband excused serv<sup>g</sup> ye office of collect<sup>g</sup> ye wind<sup>o</sup> tax<sup>3</sup> at Bedmins<sup>r</sup> but 'tis not in my power. - Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & Mrs Hill<sup>4</sup> drank tea with us. - I staid 'till 6. then to off afterwards at Room & p 8 home.

Tuesday, June 29, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & p 7 went to Brewho & staid 'till 9. then up in town & afterwards reced a written invitation from Mr Attwood to dine with Mr Mayor today. - At 11 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard a good discourse.- Staid on Change &c 'till ½ p 1 then went home & dress'd myself. & at ½ p 2 went to Mr Mayors (viz Isaac Elton esq) in ye Square<sup>5</sup> & dined there with 60 or 70 persons besides. Amongst whom were most of ye Custom house officers belonging to ye port - or rather ye clerks

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<sup>1</sup> The will of a Charlotte Luther widow of Bath was proved on 14 May 1778; in 1775 a George Luther was a customs house officer at 3 Stoney Hill in Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> The text is Luke 12: 20.

<sup>3</sup> The window tax of 1696 had been revised in 1747 and was increased in both 1758 and 1761.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs Hill lived in an apartment within the household of Samuel\* and Hannah Hopkins\*, Ann Dyer's\* sister. See 19/7.

<sup>5</sup> During his year of office the Mayor (Isaac Elton\*) occupied the mansion house in Queen Square.

w<sup>ch</sup> sit in ye Long Room.<sup>1</sup> ye rest were chiefly landwaiters<sup>2</sup> ye remain<sup>r</sup> of ye comp<sup>a</sup> were tradesmen & captains of Mr Elton's ships. - I unluckily was situated at ye lower end of the table whereby I became toastmaster. - I staid 'till ½ p 4 & was very glad then to get away - Went home & drank tea. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 6 - The Committee met consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey, Mr Deane - who most of 'em came in singly & made very last stay - At 7 I visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who appears much better - & at 8 went to Mr Symes's & st<sup>d</sup> there with AD (who dined there) 'till 10 then home.

[Wednesday 30 June 1762 – see next day]

Thursday, July 1, 1762

Yesterday morn<sup>g</sup> about 8 I sat out for Glos<sup>r</sup> & arrivd there ½ p 3 - went to Aunt Dyers where I took up my lodg<sup>g</sup> & heard the whole acco<sup>t</sup> of poor uncle, but things are not so bad with regard to him & Mrs Freely as was reported.<sup>3</sup> But I seem to have come labour in vain with regard to Bro<sup>r</sup> James's note.

I went to Aunt Davis also to Mrs Oliver & reced ye remainder of ADs legacy which is ye whole unless a bond of £100 shou'd ever be paid, w<sup>ch</sup> is not expected.

Put up at Boothall<sup>4</sup> and this morn<sup>g</sup> rose before 4 & at 5 sat out. - Rachell Dyer daughter of my uncle Williams (who has been sometime with uncle James) accompanied me to ye south Gate. - I came home in company with a gentlemans servant & arrived at ½ p 12

aftern<sup>o</sup> went to off: & wrote long letter to Bro<sup>r</sup> James went up to Mr A<sup>s</sup> but cou'd not meet with him.

Friday, July 2, 1762

Rose p 6. Electrised Miss Roe<sup>5</sup> for rhumatism. - At 8 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 12. Dined & went to off p 1 & staid there &c 'till 5 then home - AD visits Mrs Daniel<sup>6</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> this aftern<sup>o</sup> - p 6 went to Mother Davis<sup>s</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> took walk with Mr Eaton & home p 8.

Saturday, July 3, 1762

Rose p 6. Electrised<sup>d</sup> Miss Roe went up to town p 9. This day our waggon arriv'd from Liverp<sup>o</sup> staid at off &c 'till 2. Communicated to Mr A<sup>s</sup> the contents of Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> letter ab<sup>t</sup> send<sup>g</sup> ye petre. & he orderd that James and Giles shou'd have ½ each if at 2/6 per C.

Afterno wrote Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup>. Staid at off 'till p 7 then went to Clifton & found Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> greatly mended. May he make a due use of his time. May I as well as him do the same.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> Mr Badderly call'd on me at off:.

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<sup>1</sup> See 8/1.

<sup>2</sup> Customs officers who oversaw the loading and unloading of goods.

<sup>3</sup> When Dyer had visited his uncle James Dyer\* at Gloucester in March 1761 they were 'in company with Mrs Freely', and it seems his uncle was suspected of an affair with her. See 29/5 and 7/6.

<sup>4</sup> The guildhall of Gloucester on the south side of Westgate Street; a Boothall inn, where Dyer stayed, occupied the street frontage of the site.

<sup>5</sup> See 25/8 onwards for Dyer's treatment of one of two sisters for cancer. The epitomised diary says they lived in Cannon Street near St James.

<sup>6</sup> See 18/1.

[Sunday, July 4, 1762 – see next day]

Monday, July 5, 1762

Yesterdy morn<sup>s</sup> went to College & sacra<sup>t</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & spent ev<sup>s</sup> at home. This morn<sup>s</sup> rose about 6 at 9 up in town & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House. - At 2 home. after din<sup>r</sup> wrote let<sup>r</sup> to Bro<sup>r</sup> James & afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to College Green & met with Mr Brown there & consulted him & agreed to sell our poor mare, who will very probably be soon blind. We went to Mr Allison's & drank tea there & parted at 7. Mr B gave such an acco<sup>t</sup> of poor Mr Chapman as is enough to make one shudder.

Surely this is a time of falling away! Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall!<sup>1</sup> Lord enable me to watch & pray.

This ev<sup>s</sup> called on Mr Morrish & home p 8.

Tuesday, July 6, 1762

Went this morn<sup>s</sup> to Brewho: & afterwards went to the Lamb, where poor Mrs Giles inform'd me that the old work has began again.<sup>2</sup> Last Sunday morn<sup>s</sup> it begun with throw<sup>s</sup> about Doppeys shoe. - She has since been pinch'd scratch'd & cut & great numbers of crooked pinns have been conveyed into her bosom.

At 9 went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2.

Staid at home 'till ½ p 5 then up in town went to Mr Symes's but he happened to be from home. He dined at the Infirmary feast today & preached also before ye subscribers.<sup>3</sup> At p 7 went home & Mr Brown came afterw<sup>ds</sup> & st<sup>d</sup> 'till towards 10. His Bro<sup>r</sup> Char<sup>s</sup> likewise called upon us.

Wednesday, July 7, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> went to Capt Nicholas's<sup>4</sup> also to Hale & Maddernes<sup>5</sup> with bill reced from Bro<sup>r</sup> James for £40 but refused paym<sup>t</sup>. Staid at off & 'till 2.

Mr Levi Ames & James the waggoner came up to off: this morn<sup>s</sup> & the sight of the latter made me somewhat shudder as I saw the same man in my dream some nights ago & he looked with exceeding great bitterness upon me & no doubt bitterness was in his heart today tho' it did not appear in his countenancy. May I be thankful that God has suffer'd several times (of late months expecially) kind hints to be given me in my sleep of any thing particular w<sup>ch</sup> was soon approaching.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall' (I Corinthians 10: 8).

<sup>2</sup> See 12/7.

<sup>3</sup> *FFBJ* 3 July contains a notice that Tuesday 6<sup>th</sup> July, the sermon at St James for the subscribers to Bristol Infirmary would be by Symes\*. The Infirmary (established in 1737) depended on annual subscriptions, and each year saw a civic procession led by the corporation, with the clergy and the medical faculty in their gowns, to an annual sermon (normally at St James) followed by a dinner and meeting for subscribers. See 10/7 for the sermon.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Edward Nicholas, who was trading to Africa in 1759 and is listed as a merchant at 10 Orchard Street in 1775.

<sup>5</sup> See 29/1.

Mr Powell came up this morn<sup>g</sup> & order'd me to call for ye Hungerford.<sup>1</sup> Mr A<sup>s</sup> was there at same time.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> went up to Clifton afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd at Mr Symes's & they both were going out. At 5 home then to off: & std 'till ½ p 7. Mr Southcote called & had a dra<sup>t</sup> of me for £13 - & gave me cash. Went to Helpful Society & home ab<sup>t</sup> 9.

Thursday, July 8, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> ½ p 8 call'd to Mr Fry with his key of Soc<sup>y</sup> Chest<sup>2</sup> & then to Mr Powell & reced for ship Hungerford then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House. Staid at off: & c 'till 2 at 4 up in town - p 5 went to mothers & drank tea p 6 at off & staid 'till 8 then home.

This day the Lord has sent a gracious rain upon his inheritance - the thirsty earth stood much in need of it.

Friday, July 9, 1762

About 8 sat out for Littleton & went from thence to Hungroad magazine call'd at Failands Inn<sup>3</sup> & dined & at 4 reach'd home where unexpectedly met d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S: who staid 'till near 7. Mother & Miss Suckey Cox was also there.

Went to off at 7 & home at 8. Reced a let<sup>r</sup> from Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> today & from a hint therein, I doubt he is in a bad state of health, w<sup>ch</sup> has excited a disposition in me to visit him.

Saturday, July 10, 1762

Went to Brewho: this morn<sup>g</sup> call'd at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> breakfasted at Mr Symes's & at 10 went home & spent 2 hours w<sup>th</sup> d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S: who paid us another visit.

Went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 p 3 at off: & at 4 went to Mr Symes's took walk - drank tea with him & he read his discourse w<sup>ch</sup> was preach'd before ye Infirmary subscribers last Tues<sup>y</sup>\*. p 7 up in town & then home. \* Ye poor ye have always with you & you may do them good" St Mark chap: ye ... th.<sup>4</sup>

Sunday, July 11, 1762

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & heard two excellent discourses.

Enjoy'd a calm of mind chief part of this day. This even<sup>g</sup> niggardliness arose within me, but simply & in silence laying my heart open to ye Lord, it was soon suppressed.

Mother & Miss Cox spent the even<sup>g</sup> with us - Read one or two accounts out of Burnhams pious memorials, w<sup>ch</sup> were very affecting.<sup>1</sup> May the Lord deeply impress them on our hearts.

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<sup>1</sup> See 4/5.

<sup>2</sup> See 6/1. Mr Fry may be Zephaniah\* or perhaps a Fry who lived south of the river. Dyer later noted the deaths of both William Fry grocer of 2 Dolphin Street (in 1776) and (in 1788) of 'my old acquaintance Mr William Fry of Guinea Street, founder of the house of mercy for 8 women on Colston's parade'. Dyer left a legacy in his will of 1797 to this almshouse, opened in 1778 and endowed with £50 p.a. by Fry.

<sup>3</sup> Failand is a village on the road between Long Ashton and Wraxall; *FFBJ* 13 July 1762 advertised the Failands Inn to let at Michaelmas.

<sup>4</sup> See 6/7. The text is Mark 14: 7 'ye have the poor with you always and whensoever ye will ye may do them good'. Some of these sermons were published, for example those by Seyer\* in 1755 and Camplin\* in 1766, but not this one.

Monday, [July] 12, [1762]

This day I have nothing material to record. Took a walk this even<sup>g</sup> & talk'd with him who is invisible.

Staid at off: &c from 10 'till 2. This aftern<sup>o</sup> Mrs Morris sen<sup>r2</sup> drank tea with us.- This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd on Mr Eaton who inform'd me that last Wednes<sup>y</sup> ye infernal tormentor ans<sup>d</sup> him & Mr Durbin some quest<sup>s</sup> by scratches as usual since which the child (Doppey) has felt little or nothing.<sup>3</sup>

Tuesday, July 13, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> ½ p 8 went up to Clifton but Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> was gone to mothers to breakfast. I went down to ye Wells<sup>4</sup> to seek after them & afterwards call'd on Mr Mayor<sup>5</sup> who kept me an hour convers<sup>g</sup> about ye pow<sup>r</sup> wk &c. - near 11 at off & staid 'till 2 p 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till ½ p 7. The Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> which consisted only of Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, & Mr Wansey - Afterw<sup>ds</sup> took walk. Met with Mr Eaton & home ab<sup>t</sup> 9. May I be thankful for the Lords mercy that he preserves me from out of the way of those temptations w<sup>ch</sup> woud allure & draw my heart away after them.

Wednesday, July 14, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> at 7 went to Mr Bulls & staid 'till 10. Then to off & staid there &c 'till 2. Near 5 up in town & st<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 8 then home.

Thursday, July 15, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> *Pious Memorials; or, the power of religion upon the mind in sickness and at death: exemplified in the experience of many divines and other eminent persons at those important seasons. Interspersed with what was most remarkable in their lives. By the late Mr Richard Burnham. With a preface by the Rev. Mr Hervey, author of the Divine Meditations (1753; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1754). See 31/12.*

<sup>2</sup> See William Morrish\*.

<sup>3</sup> Durbin's first recorded visit to the Lamb since May is on Wednesday 7 July (p. 48) when he mentions pins, bites and knife cuts. They also asked several questions, including 'If Mr Giles lost his life wholly by the witchcraft' (yes) and 'If Mr Giles had spoken to the woman that day, would his life have been saved?' This refers to an episode on 12 May (the day before Giles fell ill) recorded by Durbin (p.46-7) but not Dyer: 'Mr Giles was a little out of order, He told me he had been to Bath in his one-horse chair and coming home, near the place where his wagons used to be affected, the leather broke belonging to his horse. He got out of the chair to mend it, and went round the wheels of it, but saw nobody. After it was mended, he saw standing still by the wheel, a woman dressed in a cloak. He looked at her. She said nothing but stood still. He then thought it was the woman that troubled his family, and that said, She wanted to speak with him [see footnote on 30/4]; but as she did not speak, his heart failed him, so that he got up into his chair, and did not speak. He drove on a little, and then looked back, but she was gone. This happened before night.' They also asked 'If anyone else would die?' and were told a female would die: Durbin notes 'the youngest daughter died some months after, but had not been affected as her two sisters'. For Dyer's treatment of this girl (Jane) see below; she died 15 April and was buried 18 April 1763 at St Philip and St Jacob. Durbin also records pins in Dobby's shift on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The Hotwells.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Elton\*.

Surely there is a blessed and good providence resides over me! Lord make me truly thankful. I reced a let<sup>r</sup> from Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> today & from an invitation given me therein I intended taking a place in ye one day machine<sup>1</sup> to pay him a visit who is poor fellow in a bad state of health. But exceed<sup>g</sup> providentially I discovered today that Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> was going to Lond<sup>o</sup> (tho' with great secrecy)<sup>2</sup> & at 10 clock this even<sup>g</sup> I saw him take coach at ye Bridge End. May the Lord protect & bless him. This morn<sup>g</sup> breakfas<sup>d</sup> with moth<sup>r</sup> p 9 at off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. Our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S paid AD & Rach<sup>l</sup> a visit this morn<sup>g</sup>. This aftern<sup>o</sup> at 4 Mr Hen Allen came to our office & assisted me in exam<sup>g</sup> Hazards acco<sup>t</sup>.<sup>3</sup> This ev<sup>g</sup> at 6 call'd on Mr Symes & him & I went to Clifton & call'd on JD. afterw<sup>ds</sup> I call'd on Mr Brown then to off & home at 9 & then ret<sup>d</sup> up in town as above.

Friday, July 16, 1762

Rose about 6 after an indifferent nights right.<sup>4</sup> The transactions of yesterday had occasion'd some disturbance in my spirits.

This morn<sup>g</sup> took in a load petre from James's wagons - & at 8 went to Mrs Olivers<sup>5</sup> & staid some time before ye mare was bro<sup>t</sup> from field. - Then rode to Littleton - call'd also at farmer Reeds<sup>6</sup> & home p 12. - p 1 up in town - afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz & took in another load petre from James. - p 3 call'd on Mr Brown at Gram<sup>r</sup> School. Then to off: at 5 home. - At 7 took walk & p 8 ret<sup>d</sup> home again.

Saturday, July 17, 1762

Rose near 7 - near 9 call'd on Mr Symes & near 10 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> went to off: & transcribed a memorial to be presented Lord Ligonier<sup>7</sup> & went with it to Mr Wansey, Mr Baugh & Mr Ames & both the latter signed it. Near 6 home where had ye pleasure of drinking tea with Mr Symes - p 7 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & copyed a long letter w<sup>ch</sup> Mr Wansey had wrote to Mr Strachey Jun<sup>r</sup> which detained me 'till near 9 then home but my fr<sup>d</sup> Mr Symes was gone home.

Sunday, July 18, 1762

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & heard 2 excellent descourses - spent ev<sup>g</sup> at home & found retirement very sweet.

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<sup>1</sup> The first advertisement regarding this machine is only in April 1763. It took 24 hours to reach London, operated only in the summer months and cost 30 shillings. This was 3 shillings more than the two-day machines, running since the start of the century, which operated three times a week in the summer, starting at 2 a.m.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably John Dyer\* was worried his creditors might arrest him for debt.

<sup>3</sup> A plumber called Hazard had been in dispute with Dyer's brother John (settled by arbitration) in January 1761; in 1775 'Hazard, widow, plumber' is listed at 30 Lewin's Mead.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Dyer meant 'rest'.

<sup>5</sup> See 30/4.

<sup>6</sup> Not identified.

<sup>7</sup> John Ligonier (1680-1770) was in 1762 both Commander in Chief of the army, and also Master General of the Ordnance. He was also M.P. for Bath and so open to lobbying to support the nearby gunpowder works at Woolley, though he referred their requests (via Strachey\*) to his surveyor-general Sir Charles Frederick to answer. See *ODNB* entry.

Monday, [July] 19, [1762]

Rose before 6. p 9 up in town went to Palmers shop & met w<sup>th</sup> some there who conversed about Dr Chandler's book relative to David a man after Gods own heart & also of another author who has answer'd said book<sup>1</sup> – but it seems to me these learned men are only quarrel<sup>g</sup> about words – 'tis heart experience they want in order to make 'em fit to write or speak properly of David that man of experience. When I afterw<sup>ds</sup> look'd into ye 12<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Corinth<sup>s</sup>2 I felt something far sweeter than was ye dry insipid convers<sup>a</sup> 'on ye above subject. St<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 at off: &c. p 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: again. This aftern<sup>o</sup> our d<sup>r</sup> friend Rachell ret<sup>d</sup> home to her little habitation it was this day 8 wks since she came to our house. - At 5 I went to Sis<sup>f</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & drank tea in Mrs Hills apartment<sup>3</sup> with AD & Rachell. Surely ye convers<sup>a</sup> of that child of God has been often useful to my poor soul. Lord grant me onely to prize ye blessing while I can enjoy it. p 6 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home.

Tuesday, July 20, 1762

Rose p 6. - p 7 went up in ye Croft<sup>4</sup> breakfas<sup>d</sup> with mother. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Capt Cheyne & look'd in his Medical Essays<sup>5</sup> – p 9 at off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> visited Mrs Green who seems inclinable to ye dropsy<sup>6</sup> – advised her to red cow's urine. p 4 at off at 5 home. ret<sup>d</sup> to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mother Davis's call'd on Mrs Giles<sup>7</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Rach<sup>l</sup> & enjoyed a comfortable opportunity there.

Wednesday, July 21, 1762

Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 up in town then went to Mr Bulls & st<sup>d</sup> there 'till ½ p 10 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. I felt pride & corrup<sup>n</sup> today. Lord have mercy on me as I need. This aftern<sup>o</sup> at 5 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & begun mak<sup>g</sup> some extracts from Poirets 6<sup>th</sup> vol.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [John Noorthouck], *The History of the Man after God's own Heart* (1761), was responded to by Samuel Chandler in *A Review of The History of the Man after God's own Heart; in which the Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of the Historian are Exposed and Corrected* (1762). Noorthouck replied with *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler* (1762).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Corinthians chapter 12 considers the diversity of 'spiritual gifts', leading to the famous thirteenth chapter on 'charity'.

<sup>3</sup> See 28/6.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes Croft.

<sup>5</sup> There is no sign that Cheyne\* published any such work, so this probably refers to Cheyne's copy of the very popular *Medical Essays and Observations* by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, first published in 1746, whose 5<sup>th</sup> edition in 1752 was in five volumes.

<sup>6</sup> A morbid condition with accumulation of watery fluid.

<sup>7</sup> Dyer omits several developments affecting Doppey which Durbin (pp. 48-9) records, including pins and spittle on 15 July. On 20 July 'It being near the fair [which started on 25 July], Dobby was sent to a house in Kingswood; as several of their customers had gone to sleep in other inns, on account of these troubles, by which they were great losers.'

<sup>8</sup> *The Divine Oeconomy: or, an universal system of the works and purposes of God towards men, demonstrated. Written originally in French by Peter Poiret. In six volumes* (1713). Volume 6 was entitled 'The oeconomy of universal providence for the salvation of all men..' and also includes 'The principles of real and internal religion asserted and vindicated. ...'. Dyer first records reading this work by Poiret (1646-1719) on 17 April 1759, noting that it was 'replete



At 6 call'd on Mr Penny & we both went to Mr Eatons & from thence we all took a walk up to Whitehall<sup>1</sup> - saw Mr Hart in our way, who said that Mr Johnson of Cirences<sup>2</sup> (he hears) has discover'd a method of convey<sup>g</sup> ye electrical shock witho<sup>t</sup> giv<sup>g</sup> pain. But I cannot conceive how. Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8.

Thursday, July 22, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 went to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 9. Called at Mr Palmers who lent me Dr Casaubon who wrote in 1675 on spirits, witches and supernatural operations. which is chiefly composed of quotations from old authors & there are several things therein worthy of note.<sup>3</sup> I employd most part of ye foren<sup>o</sup> in giv<sup>g</sup> it a running read<sup>g</sup> & then ret<sup>d</sup> it to Mr Palmer.

At 2 went home. p 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 6 went to Brewho: but CB:<sup>4</sup> was gone out ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & home p 8

Friday, July 23, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 mounted Rob<sup>t</sup> Davies's horse, Mr Brown not being ret<sup>d</sup> from ye country with our mare – rode to Littleton & to Mrs Hipsleys at Chew Magna<sup>5</sup> - ret<sup>d</sup> home p 11 - & at 12 up in town – ret<sup>d</sup> home at 2 – at 4 at off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 6 then to Brewho: & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell & there read a good lre w<sup>ch</sup> our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S: sent for Rach<sup>s</sup> perusal & approbation it being for her mother in law.<sup>6</sup> She therein sings (in imitation of King Dav<sup>d</sup> ye sweet singer of Israel) of the loving kindness of ye Lord - & takes occasion to observe that this may be called enthusiasm but she observes that it is esteemed wisdom to speak of ye excellencys w<sup>ch</sup> may appear in any of our fellow creatures, how much more sho<sup>d</sup> it be esteemed wisdom to speak of ye excellencys of Him from whom every thing amiable is derived - with much more to the same purpose & much better than I can express it. Friend Hawks<sup>th</sup> also sent a lre to Rachel this ev<sup>g</sup>. St<sup>d</sup> there 'till p 8 then home.

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with most excellent matter' and in 1801 he re-read the sixth volume, summarising its argument as 'no predestination but every dispensation is to recover every man into glorious state for which originally created – but all have free will to accept or reject grace'.

<sup>1</sup> A building adjoining the Bridewell, used by the corporation of the poor early in the eighteenth century for a spinning school and in 1739 included within the Bridewell prison.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Johnson (1725-84), perpetual curate of Cirencester 1753-78, was married to Catherine Johnstone, whose sister Jane married the Rev. Richard Hart\*. Johnson's son married the daughter of Henry Davis\* and his wife, Hart's sister Mary. For his sister Elizabeth, whom Dyer called 'an old experienced Christian among the Methodists' in Bristol at her death in 1798, see *An Account of Mrs Elizabeth Johnson* (Bristol, 1799); in 1794 she sided with Henry Durbin\* and Pine\* against the separatists.

<sup>3</sup> *A Treatise proving Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by Pregnant Instances and Evidences* (1672), a new edition of *On Credulity and Incredulity in Things Natural, Civil and Divine* (1668) by Meric Casaubon (1599-1671).

<sup>4</sup> Charles Brown\*.

<sup>5</sup> The Hipsisleys were an extensive and leading family in the area of Somerset north of the Mendips – see [www.boddyparts.co.uk/hippisleys.htm](http://www.boddyparts.co.uk/hippisleys.htm).

<sup>6</sup> See Rebecca Scudamore\*.

Saturday, July 24, 1762

Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 went up in town staid at off: 'till 2 & applyed pretty in writ<sup>g</sup> &c – p 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: again & at p 6 went to Sis<sup>r</sup> Hopkins<sup>s</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> took walk & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 8.

Sunday, July 25, 1762

Saw Mr Durbin this morn<sup>g</sup> who inform'd me that there was great disturbance at ye Lamb last Friday even<sup>g</sup><sup>1</sup> & Doppey was greatly tormented.

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & in ev<sup>g</sup> at Mr Symes's & home p 8.

Monday, July 26, 1762 Fair Day

This morn<sup>g</sup> our mare Hobby<sup>2</sup> was sent to fair for sale but bro<sup>t</sup> back again. most part of this morn<sup>g</sup> I was employ<sup>d</sup> in writ<sup>g</sup> a let<sup>r</sup> to Mr H: Dur<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> him his book accompany<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> said let<sup>r</sup> this aftern<sup>o</sup>.<sup>3</sup> At p 4 at off at 5 drank tea w<sup>h</sup> Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup>: call'd on Mr Baugh. afterw<sup>ds</sup> draw'd up petition for ye Board Ordnance<sup>4</sup> - & near 8 home - This aftern<sup>o</sup> Mrs Oakey<sup>5</sup>, Miss Salley Hawkswell, my mother, & one Mr Evans a preacher<sup>6</sup> drank tea at our home.

Tuesday, July 27, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> I arose at 6 with intent of going down to magazine but upon going to Mrs Olivers I was disappointed of the mare who was not bro<sup>t</sup> from field & was inform'd a horse there was fast in the mire in ye horse pool. from whence I concluded it was our mare & thereupon I laved away to field - but found myself under mistake – met with Ramzor who was going down to magazine - at p 9 went to off: visited poor mother who is much indisposed - St<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 2 felt much insurrection within today & this aftern<sup>o</sup> met with a trial from poor Rob<sup>t</sup>. The comp<sup>a</sup> met this ev<sup>g</sup> vizt Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Mr Miller, Mr Deane Mr Wansey.

Visited poor Rach<sup>l</sup> this ev<sup>g</sup> who has been in great distress lately on acco<sup>t</sup> of friend Mrs S.

Wednesday, July 28, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> By Durbin's account (see 20/7) Doppey would have been away in Kingswood on this evening. Perhaps he meant the previous Friday (16 July), but Durbin records disturbances on the 15<sup>th</sup> not the 16<sup>th</sup> (pp. 48-9).

<sup>2</sup> See 5/7.

<sup>3</sup> It is unclear what book of Durbin's Dyer meant. If this was a first draft of his *Narrative* of the Lamb Inn affair, then there is no sign in the final version that it was originally composed at this period (see 7/12 footnote). For Dyer's letter see 1/8 and 5/8, showing that he was apprehensive as to how Durbin would receive it, which does not suggest that it was about the Lamb Inn affair, so perhaps it was a religious book about which they disagreed?

<sup>4</sup> See introduction.

<sup>5</sup> See 1/3.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Evans a preacher – Not identified.

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 sat out for magaz: inspected several barrels of powder there & found them much overweight. Ret<sup>d</sup> home at 11 met with a tryal with poor Sam - ye Lord wash out ye impression w<sup>ch</sup> sin has made in my soul on that acco<sup>t</sup>.

Staid at off: 'till 2 Mr A<sup>s</sup> has bo<sup>t</sup> 5 h<sup>ds</sup> sug<sup>r</sup> of P.S. Field<sup>1</sup> in order to secure our debt & this aftern<sup>o</sup> went & informd Mr A<sup>s</sup> of their being hall'd to G. Bush's - visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis this ev<sup>g</sup> who is much indisposed.

Thursday, July 29, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis & afterw<sup>ds</sup> to my mother. then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 - After din<sup>r</sup> went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Fowler & had money for our note on ye Indian Prince<sup>2</sup> - Then visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis - called on Mrs Giles at ye Lamb who are all very quiet & have been so since ye Fair begun - At 5 home - then to off: & at p 7 went down in ye Fair w<sup>h</sup> Charles Brown & found our mare unsold. - Then home.

May ye Lord wash away & blot out ye stains w<sup>ch</sup> sin made in my s<sup>o</sup> yesterd<sup>y</sup>. 'tis remark<sup>le</sup> that I dreamt this morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> my beat<sup>g</sup> Sam violently about his head. W<sup>ch</sup> seemed to be fulfilled in his com<sup>g</sup> home from school today very ill in his head.<sup>3</sup>

Friday, July 30, 1762

Rose p 5 when ye waggon came to Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz - at 7 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup>. - Call'd at Mrs Hipsleys at Chew Magna<sup>4</sup> - ret<sup>d</sup> home ab<sup>t</sup> 12. - Went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. W<sup>m</sup> James ye wag<sup>f</sup> came to me & I settled with him for ye car<sup>ge</sup> of petre.

p 4 went again to off: p 6 call'd at Mr Allisons - took short walk & then to ye Room & heard a discourse from a venerable old gentleman with white silver locks.

p 8 home.

Saturday, July 31, 1762

This forenoon I was chiefly employ'd in transcrib<sup>g</sup> Mr Laws 2 letters no 10 & 11 on Christian comfort <sup>5</sup>w<sup>ch</sup> I design for poor Rob<sup>t</sup> Davis in whose mind ye work of the Lord seems again to be reviving.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pitman Scandrett Field\*. See 2/2 and 31/7, 18/9, 20/9. A hogshead was a large cask holding 63 gallons or five hundredweight.

<sup>2</sup> John Fowler, who was master of many slaving vessels, and then 1758-77 the most active agent in Bristol slaving voyages. The ship the Indian Prince (registered in 1739) regularly traded to West Africa. In 1762 it was owned by 'John Fowler and co' and left Bristol on 28 May, carrying letters of marque allowing it to act as a privateer, but it was taken by the French man of war Modeste and sunk. However another ship of the same name was acting as a slaver by 1765.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Dyer\* was at Bristol Grammar School, taught by Seyer\* and Brown\*.

<sup>4</sup> See 23/7.

<sup>5</sup> *A Collection of Letters on the Most Interesting and Important Subjects, and on Several Occasions* (1760) by William Law\*. See 15/8.

Staid at off &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Pitm<sup>n</sup> Scand<sup>t</sup> Fields but without seeing him. afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Symes's - p 5 home & drank tea in comp<sup>a</sup> with Rev Mr Brown. – near 7 poor Mrs Brown is very ill at Harptry. At off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mo<sup>r</sup> Davis also to my mother & home p 8. This morn<sup>g</sup> Mrs Davis in Maryport Street<sup>2</sup> was bro<sup>t</sup> to bed of a fine boy.

Sunday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 1, 1762

This day poor AD & Sam have been all day ill at home. I went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> – ye let<sup>r</sup> I sent Mr H D<sup>3</sup> sometimes oppresses my mind – may ye Lord pardon what I have done amiss therein - & deliver me from selfishness: pride: vanity of mind & ye like. - Lord crucify these enemies of thine in my heart.

Monday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 2, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 6 after a very indifferent nights rest occasion'd by poor AD's illness. – call'd on Mr Brown this morn<sup>g</sup> to enq<sup>re</sup> after Mrs Browns health who is somewhat better. Went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> p 4 visited Rachell & staid there 'till near 6 then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Allisons & then call'd on Mr Symes & took a short walk & home near 9.

Tuesday, [August] 3<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to booksellers in fair. Met with a book there wrote by Beaumont<sup>4</sup> on ye wonders of ye invisible world, wherein are some things extraord<sup>y</sup> related of Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Pordage concern<sup>g</sup> his eyes being opened to ye light & dark world & what he saw of each.<sup>5</sup> Called at Edwards's:<sup>6</sup> visited Mother Davis: then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> at 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off afterw<sup>ds</sup> at St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard a good discourse from Mr Brown 1: Peter 5 “And when the chief shepherd shall appear ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.”<sup>7</sup> - At 6 went to Mr Pennys & staid there ½ an hour. - Mrs Ball was there also Mr Wilcox & Mrs Balls daughter Wilcox<sup>8</sup> - But Mr Penny cou'd not go with me therefore went up to Mr Eaton & we both took walk together. It seems that last Friday or Saturday even<sup>g</sup> Doppey Giles was again tormented pretty much by bites.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to his friend who lent him his horse (see 3/5) rather than his brother-in-law Robert\*, though see 10/6 and 26/8 for references to the latter's revival of religious interests. See 18/8.

<sup>2</sup> See Henry Davis\*.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Durbin\*. See 26/7 and 5/8.

<sup>4</sup> See 21/2 and 18/8 for Beaumont's book.

<sup>5</sup> John Pordage (1607-81) was a radical Behmenist. In 1771 Dyer 'perused the trial of Dr Pordage'. See *ODNB* entry.

<sup>6</sup> Not identified.

<sup>7</sup> The text is I Peter 5: 4.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Goldney, Hannah Ball's\* brother, recorded that Joseph Wilcocks had married Molly Ball on 10 October 1760.

<sup>9</sup> Durbin (p.49) records that when Doppey returned home after the fair 'there was nothing material happened, but a repetition of the same things'.

On my return home p 8 I heard Mr Webster of Lond<sup>o</sup> a friend of Bro<sup>r</sup> James's had call'd & desired my comp<sup>a</sup> at ye Pelican<sup>1</sup> this even<sup>g</sup> but lucky for me I happened to be out as I am an exceed<sup>g</sup> improper person to spend an even<sup>g</sup> at an inn. - Oh Lord keep & preserve me in every time of need. This after<sup>o</sup> the Glouces<sup>r</sup> shire<sup>2</sup> from Jam<sup>a</sup> I hear is arriv'd in Kingroad.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 4, 1762

Call'd this morn<sup>g</sup> before 8 on Mr Webster at the Pelican & breakfas<sup>d</sup> with him there - p 9 at off: went to bank & enquired there concern<sup>g</sup> Hale and Maddernes<sup>4</sup> dra<sup>ts</sup> p[er] Mr Websters request & at 11 call'd on him at Forsters Coffeehouse<sup>5</sup> & went with him to Benedict Maddern whom we met with at Post Office. - I left them in ye Exchange & went to off: & std 'till 2 near 5 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & found Mr Webster had been there waiting for me. But I missed him. Std at off: &c 'till p 7 then went to Helpful Society & home. & at 9 went to the Pelican to Mr Webster where was Benedict Maddern with acco<sup>t</sup> of H & M debts &c. - Staid there with 'em 'till 10. then home.

Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 5, 1762

Near 9 went up in town - call'd at Palmers & met Mr HD: there who shook hands friendly & thanked me for my lre - Staid at off: &c 'till 2. Settled w<sup>h</sup> Mr D<sup>nc</sup> for ye Greyhound<sup>6</sup> & met with a rebuff from him as I did likewise from Mr A<sup>s</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> & my poor sp<sup>ts</sup> were greatly disturbed - Lord shew mercy to me - after din<sup>r</sup> electrised Mother Davis for deafness, & she reced benefit. Near 4 up in town at 5 home. Drank tea in comp<sup>a</sup> w<sup>h</sup> Miss Cox. - Ret<sup>d</sup> to off: p 7 call'd on Moth<sup>r</sup> Davis & also on Barnes & at 8 call'd on Mr Webster at ye Pelican (who intends seting out tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup>) supp'd with him & staid 'till p 10. Left with him a letter for Bro<sup>r</sup> James.

Friday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 6, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & p 7 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 11 - p 12 up in town & staid at off: 'till near 4 then went to Brewho: drank tea with mother afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Rachells near 7 at off: & near 8 home. - Oh may I have ye mercy shew'd me I need!

Saturday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 7, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> In 1755 it was noted that all the posthorses (except to Bath) put up at the Pelican in St Thomas St, where postchaises could also be hired.

<sup>2</sup> Ship not identified but see 9/8, 11-12/8.

<sup>3</sup> The outer anchorage of sea vessels for Bristol, off Portishead, where they waited for a tide to go up the Avon and were boarded by the customs men.

<sup>4</sup> See 29/1.

<sup>5</sup> At 51 Corn Street.

<sup>6</sup> One or more ships of this name were involved in the Africa and America trades from the 1720s until the 1770s. This particular one was registered in New England in 1747 and again in Bristol in 1760, and 'Thomas Deane\*and co' were recorded as the owners in 1760 and again in when it sailed from Bristol on 21 June 1762 for Africa. It was reportedly taken by the French man of war Modeste but later redeemed and reregistered in Bristol on 5 February 1763 for 'Thomas Deane and co', sailing again for slaves at Bonny the next day.

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 5 - & at 7 sat out for Fulligrove magazine & ret<sup>d</sup> home ½ p 10 - Went to off & staid 'till 2. Then home & ret<sup>d</sup> ½ p 4 & at 6 went to Mr Penny's & took walk with him & met with Mr Eaton on our road. Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8 - May I be thankful for ye temporal mercys bestow'd upon me.

Sunday, [August] 8, [1762]

Went this foren<sup>o</sup> to sacra<sup>t</sup> at St Nich<sup>s</sup> - aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup>. went with Mr Symes from thence & staid 'till p 7.

This day Mrs Pitman in Baldwin Street dyed.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 9, 1762

Went up in town p 9 & staid at off & c 'till 2. - After dinner call'd on Mr Rowand & discover'd some resentment about his behav<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> regard to punch<sup>n</sup> rum<sup>2</sup> between himself, Mr Faulkes and myself. But my behaviour proceeded from selfishness as well as his did. May that serpent be more & more discovered to me & may Jesus bruise it under his feet.

p 5 went to Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & drank tea call'd on Rach<sup>l</sup> who shew<sup>d</sup> me Ire from our fir<sup>d</sup> S to her sis<sup>r</sup> & from p 6 up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Room & home p 8.

Tuesday, [August] 10<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 8 went to off: sorted the town acco<sup>ts3</sup> & delivered several of them this foreno. - Staid at off: & c 'till 2 - After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mr Jones's in Tho<sup>s</sup> Street<sup>4</sup> then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> went down to Key cross<sup>d</sup> ye water to Guiney Street<sup>5</sup>, call'd on Miss Fisher & drank tea there. Lord pardon ye sin I have contracted this day. This ev<sup>g</sup> the committee met, consisting of Mr A<sup>s</sup>, Mr B<sup>gh</sup>, Mr Miller, Mr D<sup>ne</sup>, & Mr Wansey. St<sup>d</sup> at off 'till near 8 then home.

Wednesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 11, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & near 7 mounted Hobby with AD behind me & rode 3 or 4 miles & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 9. Then up in town. - Call'd at Mr Rowands & p<sup>d</sup> him 6 guineas to pay duty of my share of punch<sup>n</sup> rum w<sup>ch</sup> came home p[er] ye Glostershire. Staid at off: & c 'till 2 then home I design'd going down to magazine this aftern<sup>o</sup> with Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> behind me, but was prevented by Mr Brown send<sup>g</sup> to inform me he shou'd want ye mare, tho afterw<sup>ds</sup> he himself did not go.

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<sup>1</sup> John Pitman was a plumber in Baldwin Street, who had established a lead smelting works across the Avon from the Hotwells in 1756 with his father John (d. 1761); he himself died in 1781.

<sup>2</sup> A punchion is a vessel holding 84 gallons -see 3/8 and 11-12/8.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the individual accounts of town firms with the gunpowder company.

<sup>4</sup> In 1775, 3 people called Jones are listed for Thomas Street, two victuallers and Griffith Jones butter merchant.

<sup>5</sup> Of the five ferries over the Avon in 1793-4, one went from the Grove to Guinea Street.

After din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Mr Tudways at 4 went to Mr Nicholls & saw him & assisted him to electrise a parallitick man<sup>1</sup> - at 5 home. ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & p 7 went up to Mr Symes's - Met with Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who return'd from London last night & seems in good health.

AD & I ret<sup>d</sup> from Mr Symes's about 10.

Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 12, 1762

We were much disturbed last night by our neighbour Sturmy<sup>2</sup> who was several hours rapping at his door last night & cou'd not get admittance.

This morn<sup>g</sup> at 9 went up in town – went to Rocks:<sup>3</sup> Mart<sup>n</sup>: French's<sup>4</sup> &c Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Greens & bou<sup>t</sup> a couple of old books<sup>5</sup> - This aftern<sup>o</sup> at 3 went with Mr Searl to Rowands & filled 30 gall<sup>s</sup> rum out of a h<sup>d</sup> reced by the Glos<sup>r</sup>shire for acco<sup>t</sup> of Row<sup>d</sup>, Faulke & myself. St<sup>d</sup> there 'till p 5 then to off: & p 6 home.

Friday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 13, 1762

Rose at 5 & between 6 & 7 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> on Rob Davis's mare & met Mr Brown on ye road in his return home on our mare.

Ret<sup>d</sup> from Littleton at 10 reced from Mr Wallis a complaint against Jn<sup>o</sup> ye waggoner<sup>6</sup> & Jn<sup>o</sup> complain'd (at my return in town) against Mr Wallis who quarrelled with him yesterd<sup>y</sup>.

After call'd on Stockesley<sup>7</sup> & settled with him. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Brewho & staid an hour. Drank tea with mother & then visited Rachell whom I found (unexpectedly) very ill in bed convulsed from head to foot, but amidst all the pain she possesseth solid peace – she intimated that if the fits continue so extremely violent as they are at present she thinks it impossible to live ye night over. She as much as ye fits wou'd let her said many things to encourage me. But her mouth several times was stoped with the violence of ye fits. She said the enemy was angry with her for encouraging me. In the course of her discourse she said that nothing but sin can separate between a believing soul cloathed with flesh & blood & a departed saint, because spirit will unite with spirit. In the midst of her extreme pain she said “My body is no more to me than if I had no body. Indeed (continued she) this is a glorious evening”. She said again “It is a great thing to have the Lord for our friend” again “My soul doth experience what my tongue cannot utter. It seems as if I were already in eternity. As if I were already out of the body. I feel no more anxiety about the pain, than if I had no body.” She said to me she wanted me to help her praise the Lord to w<sup>ch</sup> I intimated my inability in that respect

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholls was a surgeon and man midwife, who was practising at Mrs Labee's (see 18/10) in Castle Green in 1758, but moved from there to St James Barton in 1763 before taking his practice to Bath. On 19 September 1760 he had come to view Dyer's electrical machine, having lately bought one for himself.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> See 27/3.

<sup>4</sup> Martin French was a shipowner and trader to Africa, living in Queen Square, who died in November 1763.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Green was originally a plainmaker, whose wife Mary had become executrix in December 1761 of the estate of a bookseller called Fisher on the corner of Silver Street in St James. On 20 March 1762 he advertised that he was carrying on the bookselling business 'in all its branches' at the bottom of St Michael's Hill near Trencher Lane and had purchased the entire stock of the late Mr Edward Fisher 'many thousands of volumes old and new' sold 'at the lowest terms, also books let to read by quarter, month or volume'. By 1767 he had a further shop on the Key near the Merchants Hall, and in 1768 he moved his shop to Wine Street on the corner of Dolphin Lane.

<sup>6</sup> John Jones (see 3/5).

<sup>7</sup> See 27/2.

then said “I will call upon those ... eternity to help me” & after some little silence she said “This moment I feel the angelic power about my bed to help me praise the Lord”

In the course of our conversation she spoke of some of the trials that she had gone thro’ in the course of her Christian race. ... mention’d what she experienced at my house about 3 years ago vixt great darkness & distress to which succeeded a revelation from the Lord in which the Lord discovered to her the glorious body which she shou’d be cloathed with when she dropped this earthly tabernacle & that chapter which speaks of the revelation made to St Paul (she said) was applicable to herself, for she could not nor cannot express what was discovered to her.

She mentioned that she has had many severe trials from the people professing godliness, & that if it had not been for the great power of God in keep<sup>g</sup> her she shou’d have long since thro’ ye violent distress on that acco<sup>t</sup> have laid violent hands on herself.

Thus it is thro’ much tribulation this servant of the Lord must enter into glory. She is truly a living instance of the power of religion on a sick bed.

I omitted to mention above that Rach<sup>l</sup> complain’d of the rebellion of nature (as she express’d it) which she now feels at times. & has experienced in this present sickness w<sup>ch</sup> is yet of only 2 dayes continuance. She said yesterday “Nature murmured & said I will not lye a bed, I will get up” whereas poor creature she is quite unable to sit upright in bed at this time. She said that even this aftern<sup>o</sup> from the extreme rage & violence of pain, she thought (& mentioned it to a person who was present at the time) that she cou’d not forbear cursing & swearing – but the power of God prevented it. But this shews what nature is – there is no goodness in it. She said that frequently after she has experienced great manifestations from ye Lord she has been tempted to believe it was all a delusion. This she said was the thorn in her side – like St Pauls.<sup>1</sup>

This aftern<sup>o</sup> our fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S visited AD

Saturday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 14, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 5 p 6 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine & ret<sup>d</sup> home again ½ p 9 - Afterw<sup>ds</sup> call’d at Cust<sup>o</sup> House &c but ‘tis a holiday there & great rejoicings in town on acco<sup>t</sup> of ye birth of a prince who was born last Thurs<sup>y</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> 7 o’clock.<sup>2</sup>

Went to Mr Camplin’s<sup>3</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> & reced money on acco<sup>t</sup>. – after din<sup>f</sup> ½ p 3 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 6. Then went to Mr Eaton’s & we both went to the Lamb where there has been scratching & answers given to questions last night & ye night before, but Doppey is not tormented any other wise than by the scratch<sup>g</sup> begin<sup>g</sup> so soon as she is in bed.<sup>4</sup> Took short walk with Mr Eaton. Visited father & mo<sup>r</sup> then called on Rach<sup>l</sup> who is somewhat better but was extremely bad after I left her last night

p 8 home & bro<sup>t</sup> let<sup>r</sup> for AD from Mrs S.

Sunday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 15, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Rachel Tucker’s Pauline references are all from 2 Corinthians, namely 5: 1-4 (glorious body) and chapter 12 (revelation to Paul) especially 12: 7 (‘a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me’).

<sup>2</sup> The future George IV was born on 12 August. *FFBJ* 21 August has news and poems on the birth and 28 August has the corporation’s congratulatory address to the king.

<sup>3</sup> See 20/4.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (p. 49) does not mention this episode, but mentions questions on 18 August regarding the date of Polley’s return (correctly predicted as in 3 weeks).



Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & was employ'd between church time in collect<sup>g</sup> out some passages from Mr Law's writings & put<sup>g</sup> it into ye form of a letter.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, [August] 16<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

My spirit is opprest & low this even<sup>g</sup>. Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> at 5 & at 9 up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup>. &c. St<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> &c 'till 2. p 3 went to off: & staid expect<sup>g</sup> Mr Penny 'till ½ p 6 then visited father who has been lately ill with a looseness & then to Rachells May ye Lord impress on my heart ye advice w<sup>ch</sup> she has given me this ev<sup>g</sup>.

Tuesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 17, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & p 8 up in town – people were in high spirits this morn<sup>g</sup> on acco<sup>t</sup> of a rich prize bro<sup>t</sup> in by the King George Privateer<sup>2</sup> – poor fallen man elevated with a shadow! A very trifle! A meer nothing! With regard to real substantial riches 'tis worse than nothing & destruction to ye poor soul who feeds on such emptiness. But notwithstand<sup>g</sup> the truth hereof my poor mind was infected with the spirit of the people this morn<sup>g</sup>.

Went to Rocks<sup>3</sup> & settled with him. - Visited Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> who is extremely ill with retching & purg<sup>g</sup>. she seems to have had yester<sup>y</sup> a kind notice of this illness from some invisible attendant by 2 loud raps on ye table as she sat in the room below stairs in ye morn<sup>g</sup> which Mrs Hill heard as well as herself. - She says she has generally had notice before ye death of either of her children which has been by 3 raps - This is meer whim to some people - But I believe it to be fact.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at home &c 'till 5 then to off & ½ p 6 visited Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & at 8 home with AD.

Wednesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 18, 1762

Rose p 6. - Mr Badderley came to breakfast

at 9 up in town visited Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> who is better.- Then to off & staid 'till 2 read some part of Beaumont on the operation of spirits &c wherein are some extra<sup>y</sup> acco<sup>ts</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

Mr Badderley dined with us today.

At 4 called at Mr Beddomes.<sup>5</sup> His partner has a bad eye & intends being electrised.

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> down to Gibb<sup>6</sup>. - At 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 7 then home. It seems that Rob<sup>t</sup> Davis & his wife came to Bristol yesterday & are now in Lamb Street.<sup>7</sup>

Thursday, [August] 19, [1762]

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<sup>1</sup> It is not clear if these are for Robert Davis (see 31/7) or for Rebecca Scudamore\* (see 9/11). See also 22/8.

<sup>2</sup> See 13/2.

<sup>3</sup> See 27/3.

<sup>4</sup> See 3/8.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Joseph Beddome, who ran a turpentine warehouse in Small Street with John Cross (see 16/6) from c. 1769 and died in 1794.

<sup>6</sup> On the Back.

<sup>7</sup> This is Ann Dyer's\* brother Robert\* from London, staying with his parents. See 26/8 and 29/8.

Rose ½ p 5 & at 6 went to Mrs Olivers & at 7 sat out on Hobby for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 11. I went this morn<sup>g</sup> because Mr Brown rides out this aftern<sup>o</sup> & will not ret<sup>n</sup> with our mare 'till tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup>.

Went to off at 12 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. After dinner went up to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> at Clifton who has been much indisposed with a cold a few days since.

Near 5 went to Sis<sup>f</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & drank tea then w<sup>h</sup> AD & Mo<sup>f</sup> Davis.

p 6 at off & at 7 home.

Friday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 20, 1762

Rose near 7 - at 8 went to the Lamb & call'd at Mother Davis's - p 9 at off: & staid there &c 'till 2 - After din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 5 home. - Ret<sup>d</sup> again near 6 - Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Brown who sent to me about our mare - p 7 visited Rachel & home near 9. - My poor mind is covered with clouds & darkness. May I rely upon the Lord.

Saturday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 21, 1762.

I have gone thro' this day with much bodily weakness - Went out in ye morn<sup>g</sup> near 9 & staid at off &c 'till 2. - Mrs Stroud<sup>l</sup> bro<sup>t</sup> money to pay for her pow<sup>r</sup> & my poor spirits were much fatigued with her talk.

I evidently feel two contrary wills within me. One draw<sup>s</sup> one way, the 2nd another way which I evidently experienced this morn<sup>g</sup> - when I was most determin<sup>d</sup> on going to Mr Sy<sup>s</sup> 'twas strongly against one will to decline it. But ye other will suggested great reasons to the contrary which with some concur<sup>s</sup> circumstances prevented my going. 'tho the Lord knows I shou'd hardly have declined it had not a restraint chiefly proceeded from these concur<sup>s</sup> circumstances, tho 'twas certainly best that I did not go - Unless the Lord keep me I cannot keep myself.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till ½ p 6 - then visited parents & home near 8.

Sunday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 22, 1762

Went to St Werburgh's both forenoon & aftern<sup>o</sup> & spent even<sup>g</sup> at home. Made some pretty large extracts from Mr Laws writings.

Monday, [August] 23, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> in much better health than when I went to bed - Praised be the Lord for his mercies. At ½ p 5 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine & staid there for breakfast. Ret<sup>d</sup> home ½ p 9 - The Lord pardon my sins.

At p 10 went to off & staid 'till 2. RD has been engaged all day at Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz in tak<sup>g</sup> in brimstone.

After din<sup>r</sup> went to Seyers<sup>2</sup> at Bedmins<sup>r</sup> then up in town - saw Mr Hart & Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne at Palmer's shop - at 5 step'd home. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off & near 7 went up to Mr Symes's. from thence to Rach<sup>l</sup> and at 8 home.

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<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified; see 17/9 for Dyer ordering bran and rye there, perhaps for his horse.

Tuesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 24, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 went to Brewho & staid 'till p 9 afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Mr Brown at his lodg<sup>gs</sup> then to off: also step'd to Guildhall & staid ½ hour hear<sup>g</sup> some part of a tryal<sup>1</sup> – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Farrell<sup>2</sup> – Bonbonous & ret<sup>d</sup> & staid at off & c 'till 2 - p 3 up in town - ret<sup>d</sup> home at 5 - then to off & afterw<sup>ds</sup> up at Mr Symes's & went with him to Clifton & call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> – p 8 ret<sup>d</sup> home w<sup>h</sup> Sukey Tucker.

May ye Lord pardon my offences of this day.

I was this even<sup>g</sup> in some pain on acco<sup>t</sup> of our d<sup>r</sup> fir<sup>d</sup> Mrs S may the Lord be her defence.

This ev<sup>g</sup> ye Comp<sup>a</sup> was to have met, but Mr Baugh and Mr Wansey agreed on Change to postpone it.

Wednesday, [August] 25, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> between 4 & 5. Went to Room & heard Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Wesley<sup>3</sup> - ret<sup>d</sup> home & at 8 went up in town. Call'd on Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & then to Capt Cheyne's & with him visited Miss Roe who was ill in bed occasion'd by ye disorder of her breast increas<sup>g</sup> up her neck<sup>4</sup> - At 11 went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House. staid on Ch<sup>g</sup> 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> visited Rach<sup>l</sup> & drank tea w<sup>h</sup> her & heard of our poor friend who was in much distress yester<sup>y</sup> & this morn<sup>g</sup> but is now deliver<sup>d</sup> – May the Lord be her friend & her guide. - Call'd on Mr Allison's this ev<sup>g</sup>. - Staid at off 'till p 7 then home.

Thursday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 26, 1762

Rose ½ p 5 & ½ p 6 went to Mr Bulls & staid 'till 9 then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House and at Hump: Browns concern<sup>g</sup> his having ye key of ye pack<sup>g</sup> room & we want to fill another ship cargo. But he will not deliv<sup>r</sup> up the key until ye pow<sup>r</sup> which he fill'd is deliver'd<sup>5</sup> - My poor spirits were pretty much hurry'd this morn<sup>g</sup>.

Mr Wansey sent in hurry wanting 100 half b<sup>ls</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> to be made ready for him by tomor<sup>o</sup> which occasion'd my seting out at 2 o'clock for ye magazine - Call'd in my way at Clifton & reced from Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Watt's of Glos<sup>r</sup> note for £5: 10: 10 I enclos'd the same to Mr Niblet under a frank & sent it p[er] this afternoon's post. - Staid at magazine 'till 5 - Call'd at publick house at Shirehamp<sup>6</sup> & drank tea & arriv'd at office near 7 - Staid 'till 8. Wrote a little note to Rach<sup>l</sup> - Lord pardon what I've done amiss this day.

This ev<sup>g</sup> my wife saw her bro<sup>r</sup> at the Room, & was much affected therewith.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quarter-sessions and assizes were held here in Broad Street, and it had a large and lofty hall with galleries for spectators in 1793-4.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Farrell from Virginia was the leading tobacco importer to Bristol from the late 1720s, and was joined as a partner around 1760 by William Jones (master of the Merchant Venturers in 1770, d. 1792); in 1775 they are listed as Virginia merchants at 36 Queen Square.

<sup>3</sup> See 21/3. Wesley arrived in Bristol on the 24<sup>th</sup> and stayed until Friday 27<sup>th</sup> when he left for Exeter and on into Cornwall.

<sup>4</sup> See 2/7 and below until death on 26 October.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Humphrey Brown an Africa trader and owner of slaving vessels in the late 1750s.

<sup>6</sup> Close to the Fulligrove magazine (see 5/3).

<sup>7</sup> See 31/7 and 18/8.

Friday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 27, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> at 4 & at 5 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 9 – at 10 mounted Hobby with AD behind me & rode to Aust Passage<sup>1</sup> Dined there & also drank tea & staid from ¼ before 2 ‘till 5. & reach’d home at 8 - Lord make me thankful for the mercies of this day.

We met with an elderly man on horseback when we walked out at the Passage who pretended to be reduced & now in want & shew’d me a petition<sup>2</sup> & thereby he gain’d 1/.

Saturday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 28, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 – p 8 went up in town & left poor AD extremely sick hav<sup>g</sup> taken 5 gra<sup>s</sup> of ipecacuana<sup>3</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> – visited Miss Roe – Afterw<sup>ds</sup> call’d on Mr Wansey & contrary to expectation he inform’d me, that ye 100 half b<sup>ls</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> ship<sup>d</sup> per ye Cape Breton<sup>4</sup> are to be placed to ye companys acco<sup>t</sup> – I inform’d Mr A<sup>s</sup> of it on Change & he agreed it shall be so - St<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> ‘till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> took walk. At 5 at off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 7 then visited Rachell & met w<sup>h</sup> Mr Hawksworth there - at 9 home may ye Lord have mercy on me as I need.

Sunday, [August] 29, [1762]

I have noth<sup>g</sup> material to note this day. Went to St Wr<sup>b</sup><sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Davis, w<sup>ch</sup> was the first time of seeing him since his return.

Monday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 30, 1762

Rose before 6 – at 8 up in town – Rob<sup>t</sup> went to magaz<sup>ne</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> p 9 – went to sundry places on the dunn this morn<sup>g</sup>. - Staid on Ch<sup>ge</sup> & c ‘till 2 – p 3 went w<sup>h</sup> Horwood<sup>5</sup> to Mr Adlams to inspect a curious grub – afterw<sup>ds</sup> call’d on Mr Wansey & then went to Mr Symes’s at 5 up in town then home drank tea w<sup>h</sup> Mrs– went to off. & c as very angry with poor RD for some of his untowardness. May ye Lord reform both of us - At 7 went to Room & heard Jn<sup>o</sup> Nelson<sup>6</sup> & in com<sup>g</sup> home heard that poor Mrs Morrish in Temple Street who was bro<sup>t</sup> to bed some time ago dyed this aftern<sup>o</sup>. & Tuesd<sup>y</sup> ye 31<sup>st</sup> Rachell told me she was inform’d Mrs Morrish departed in the Lord.- Sunday night she altered for death (as ‘tis termed) & the nurse proposed calling Mr Morrish. No, says Mrs M: He is now no longer my d<sup>r</sup> Mr M: those bands are dissolved & I am the Lords, I resign up both him & my child. & then she burst out in singing very heavenly – This it seems was ye purport of what she then said & at 4 o’clock Monday aftern<sup>o</sup>, she dyed.

Tuesday, Aug<sup>t</sup> 31, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> 11 miles north east of Bristol, with a 2-mile ferry crossing over the Severn.

<sup>2</sup> An official document signed by parish officials or justices authorising a person to beg for money during his return to his parish.

<sup>3</sup> Ipecacuanha is the root of a South American shrub, with emetic or purgative properties.

<sup>4</sup> See 26/8. A ‘Cape Britton’ from Larne is recorded arriving in Bristol from New York on 8 June 1763.

<sup>5</sup> See 30/3.

<sup>6</sup> See 15/9. John Nelson (1707-1774) was a leading Methodist itinerant preacher, who published an autobiography, *The Case of John Nelson*, in 1744; a fifth edition was published by William Pine\* in Bristol in 1761. See *ODNB* entry.

Rose ½ p 6 & near 8 went without the Gate called at Mr Eatons & also at Mother Davis's - at 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at sundry places on the dunn – call'd at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & st<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> 'till 2. – near 4 went to Brewh<sup>o</sup>: & exa<sup>d</sup> ye month of Aug<sup>t</sup> at 5 home then to off: & at 7 visited Rach<sup>l</sup> where AD came to me & we ret<sup>d</sup> home p 8.

Wednesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 1, 1762

Near 8 up in town: visited parents then call'd on Magniss Faulke & took short walk with him - at 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Bonbon<sup>s1</sup>  
st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2 - at p 4 up in town – p 6 took walk with Mr Eaton p 7 at Helpful Society & at 9 home. - Lord pardon the sins I've this day committed.

Thursday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 2, 1762

Rose before 6. My poor father call'd this morn<sup>g</sup> & inform'd me that Miss Hawkswell was dying with whom mother sat up all night.

Call'd at Mr Symes's near 9. afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> - p 10 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 – p 4 call'd at Mr Penny's: also at Rachells & drank tea there with Mrs Jones<sup>2</sup> – p 6 at off & near 7 went up to AD at Mr Symes's & staid 'till 10.

This day Mr Searle came up to office & afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr Meyler sen<sup>r</sup> com<sup>g</sup> also to request me go to Mr Berjew (Searles landlord)<sup>3</sup> & desire him to take 10 gui<sup>s</sup> for ye present & he shall have ... more in a m<sup>o</sup> because it seems Mr B: presses Mr S: for the rent w<sup>ch</sup> is due being 2 years ... – accordingly I went to Mr B's house after din<sup>r</sup> but he was out. I also call'd on Mrs Searle & told her my sentiments, which is that 'tis better to let the landlord have all ... the household goods to endeavour to compound with the rest of the creditors. But poor creature she is in great distress about it & can't consent.

Friday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 3, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> ½ p 6 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> p 11 then to off & staid 'till 2. – near 4 went to Mr Meyler sen<sup>r</sup> & told him my sentiments concerning poor Searle, & Mr Mey<sup>r</sup> thinks it will be best to let ye landlord take ye househ<sup>d</sup> goods provided an offer of 5/ in ye £ can be made to the other creditors, & therefore he desired me to go to Searles & get of his wife ye 10 gui<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was propos<sup>d</sup> to be paid Mr Berjew (w<sup>ch</sup> sum was tendered him by Mr Searle but refused) & keep in my hands & to get Searle's dra<sup>t</sup> on Mr Lloy.. ye commiss<sup>g4</sup> for between 5 & £6 - ye sum due from him in order to make an offer of the same to his creditors. - Accordingly ye poor wom<sup>n</sup> p<sup>d</sup> me ye money & I went again to Mr Meyler & offer'd ye money to him, but he choose that I shou'd keep it. - & likewise shew'd him inventory of ye small stock of timber on hand amount<sup>g</sup> to about £9: 5 – besides about 300 staves £2: 8 – w<sup>ch</sup> Mr M: designs to send for, because they are his own, sent to Searles for hemp, - but the other timber he will not meddle with. - Perhaps I am involving myself in trouble in

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<sup>1</sup> Bonbonus\*.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Berjew (d. 1782) was an apothecary in High Street, with a monument in St Thomas Church (Searle lived in St Thomas parish).

<sup>4</sup> Not identified, but probably someone involved in a commission of bankruptcy procedure (see 31/1).

this affair but may I act from a real principle of doing good to my poor fellow creatures! & may I receive wisdom from God to enable me to act rightly amen amen!

Staid at Mr Meylers 'till near 8 then home. This morn<sup>g</sup> ye country looked beautiful & ye fields w<sup>ch</sup> 3 weeks or a month ago were dry & barren & ye grass almost scorched up & withered away are now covered with great plenty of grass, & the blue & yellow flowers spring up, just as in spring of the year & in many places daysies are to be seen.

Saturday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 4, 1762

Rose p 6 - & p 8 up in town – staid at off: & c 'till 2 – p 4 at off: & p 6 visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> called on Miss Roe who is in much pain – the groans of ye afflicted affect my mind. May I profit by it. When I came home at 8 Searles wife had sent to me for a guinea. I went to their house & let ES: have 21/.

Sunday, [September] 5. [1762]

Rose p 6. Mr Coates's man came this morn<sup>g</sup> to be electrised for weakness of nerves & shaking of his hands.

Went this morn<sup>g</sup> to College & sacra<sup>t</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & then to Rachells & home ½ p 6. - Miss Cox spent the ev<sup>g</sup> with us.

This ev<sup>g</sup> Mr Searle bro<sup>t</sup> me a list of his debts & credits.

Monday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 6, 1762

Rose at 5. This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Searle came again & left the list of his debts & credits with me. Said he shoud go out of the way until his landlord had taken to the goods. -

p 8 went up in town. saw an odd advertisement of Mr Hen<sup>y</sup> Allens stuck up against ye Coffee House<sup>1</sup> - call'd p 9 at Mr Symes's – p 10 at off & std there 'till 2. - Mr Meyler came up to me & spoke about Searle & intimated that he & his wife must take care of themselves so that he seems to flinch from what he had signfyed before - Lord enable me to trust & depend on thee my only true friend.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> went up to Clifton & with Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> visited poor Mr Peglar<sup>2</sup> who is a shock<sup>g</sup> spectacle, hav<sup>g</sup> a cancer in his leg w<sup>ch</sup> has spread from ye middle down to the foot & up to his knee & a thick fungous seems to cover the whole. He is about 50 & ever since 11 y<sup>rs</sup> of age he has had an ulcer in that leg occasion'd first by an hurt reced from a plow share as he was at work in driving the plough - & for about 8 or 9 years since ye cancer has been encreas<sup>g</sup> for w<sup>ch</sup> he can get no relief & now he

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the Exchange Coffeeshouse, next to Dyer's office (see 1/1).

<sup>2</sup> See epitomised diary entry for more on him. This may be the John Pedler, 'vendedor of milk, Clifton' whose will was proved on 23 May 1803, although by Dyer's estimation that he was about 50 in 1762 and suffering with acute cancer, he would have done well to reach 90 years of age, so it may be a descendent. When John Dyer died in January 1764, 'Mrs Peglar' sat up with the corpse. There are several references to a Mr Pedlar, Pedler or Pedder renting property in Clifton in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1775 '– Pedder esquire' is listed at 'lower path of Clifton Hill' (though esquire seems an unlikely designation for a milk vendor), and a Thomas Pedlar is recorded as building Beaufort House in Clifton in 1767. See 11/9, 20/9, 18/10.

has only to rely on ye efficacy of hemlock w<sup>ch</sup> he intends tak<sup>g</sup> as soon as possible & desired me to write to Lond<sup>o</sup> for 2 oz of the extract.<sup>1</sup>

Drank tea at Bro<sup>rs</sup> & p 6 at off at 7 home. Call'd on Mrs Searle & by her request went to Mr Berjews but he not being at home I acquainted his young man that E:S: had left his family & that the goods was all that was left to pay ye rent.

Tuesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 7, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> it seems Mr Berjew sent an officer to take account of Searles goods. & Mrs Searle & her children remove to Mr Nash's.<sup>2</sup>

Rose p 6 & p 8 up in town – staid at off &c 'till 2 then home. – after din<sup>r</sup> went by Mrs Searles request to Mr Meyler & acquainted him of the above & he signified that he sho<sup>d</sup> buy them a few necessarys as first proposed.

At 5 went to St Werburghs where Mr Browns lecture sermon is now remov<sup>d</sup> on acco<sup>t</sup> of St Nich<sup>s</sup> being shut up & this is the first time.<sup>3</sup> - This ev<sup>g</sup> ye Committee met consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Baugh, Mr Miller Mr Wansey. - St<sup>d</sup> at off 'till p 7 then at Rach<sup>l</sup> & home p 8.

Wednesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 8, 1762

Rose p 6 & at 7 mounted Hobby w<sup>th</sup> AD behind me. Rode beyond Brislington & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 9.

Then went up in town. afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> Farrells & co<sup>4</sup> - Visited Miss Roe - staid at off &c 'till near 2. Mrs Hop<sup>s</sup> din<sup>d</sup> with us<sup>5</sup> - At 4 at off at 5 call'd on Mr & Mrs Brown who's family came from Harptree last Thurs<sup>y</sup> & have taken part of Mrs English's house on Stoney Hill - St<sup>d</sup> there 'till 6 then at off & home at 8. Finished read<sup>g</sup> Dr Storck on hemlock<sup>6</sup> - May my studys be directed for ye glory of God. May hypocrisy & deceit be crushed in my heart.

Thursday, [September] 9<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

I am somehow or other under pain of mind on acco<sup>t</sup> of our dr fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S: lest the Devil shou<sup>d</sup> undermine & overset her poor soul. May ye Lord counteract & oppose all the stratagems of that enemy of souls.

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<sup>1</sup> Hemlock or *conium maculatum* is a powerful sedative, which Dyer begins to use widely for the rest of 1762. Its use was highly fashionable (and controversial) at this time – see 8/9.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Nash, a draper and merchant, was governor of St Peter's Hospital (the corporation of the poor) 1762-3, and died worth £40,000 before 1785, probably before 1775; another Stephen Nash, perhaps his son, was knighted during his year as sheriff 1785-6 and died in 1792. See 14/9.

<sup>3</sup> The Tuesday afternoon lecture James Brown\* preached at St Nicholas had to move because of the rebuilding of the church as part of the Bridge works. *FFBJ* 28 August has an advertisement for the contract for taking down and rebuilding the church and the last service was 29 August. The rebuilding took until 1769.

<sup>4</sup> See 24/8.

<sup>5</sup> Here and on 11/9, 18/10 and 5/11 this refers to the wife of William Hopkins\*, not Ann Dyer's sister Hannah\*.

<sup>6</sup> *An Essay on the Medicinal Nature of Hemlock* by Anton Storck (1731-1803), a Viennese physician, was first published in English in 1760, followed by *A Second Essay* (1761) and *A Necessary Supplement to the Former Essays* (1762); all three were reprinted in one volume at Edinburgh in 1762, and an abridged *An Essay on Hemlock* was also printed in Aberdeen in 1762.

This morn<sup>g</sup> arose about 6 & set about preparing extract of hemlock for Miss Roe. she hav<sup>g</sup> sent me some of the plant.

p 9 up in town - afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Millers - & Cust<sup>o</sup> House & Farell & Jones<sup>1</sup> - staid at off & c 'till 2 then home & staid all ye aftern<sup>o</sup>.

Mr Faulke & his wife drank tea with us.

p 7 went to off: call'd on Miss Roe & visited Rachell & home at 9.

This morn<sup>g</sup> it seems Polly Giles arrived at home from Swanzey.<sup>2</sup> This morn<sup>g</sup> Mrs Shaw<sup>3</sup> came to ask my advice & to be electrised. May the Lord keep me amidst multitude of snares.

Friday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 10, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & at 7 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> home near 12 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 – staid at home 'till near 6 & was employ'd in prepar<sup>g</sup> & mak<sup>g</sup> up pills of hemlo: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at off: & then visited Mrs Shaw & prescribed a small q<sup>ty</sup> of Jesuits Bark<sup>4</sup> to be chew<sup>d</sup> ev<sup>y</sup> time ye cough is troublesome. & to mix 1oz cream tartar<sup>5</sup> & 1 oz honey & take tea spoonful 2 or 3 times per day to remove costiveness<sup>6</sup>. Then call'd on Miss Roe & left 12 pills extract. to take 1 of 'em m<sup>g</sup> and ev<sup>g</sup> & drink decoction<sup>7</sup> of elderflower afterw<sup>ds</sup>

then went to Mr Symes's & home near 10.

Saturday, [September] 11, [1762]

Rose before 6. at 8 up in town went to Lamb & saw Polley Giles & her invisible attendant stood at her elbow w<sup>ch</sup> was manifested by twice jerking her elbow when drink<sup>g</sup> tea while I was present. Nancey the servant maid told me that this morn<sup>g</sup> while she & the children were in bed the chamber pot was truckled from one side of the room to t'other & at last conveyed upon the bed & danced upon their feet as they lay in bed then 'on the floor again without any visible power to perform it. But ye pot was not broke. last night they told me the children were pinch'd & bit as usual.<sup>8</sup> Call'd on Mr Eaton at 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Deanes & at Cust<sup>o</sup> House & p 10 went up to Clifton & with Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> visited poor Pedler who lyes in a miserable condition & his leg smells very offensive.<sup>9</sup> - Ret<sup>d</sup> to off at 12 st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 then home. After din<sup>r</sup> took walk – p 5 at off and p 6 went to parents. also at Mrs Hopkins & visited Rachell & Miss Roe. Ye latter says she has been sick today probably in consequence of ye pills w<sup>ch</sup> she took vizt 1 last night & 1 this morn<sup>g</sup>.

Sunday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 12, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 24/8.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin (p.49) reports that she came back on the predicted date (see 14/8) although 'no person wrote to her to come'.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> See 22/5.

<sup>5</sup> Crystals from the acid potassium nitrate, which form a crust in winecasks.

<sup>6</sup> Constipation.

<sup>7</sup> See 22/5.

<sup>8</sup> Durbin (p. 49) reports bites and pins on 10 September but nothing on the 11th.

<sup>9</sup> See 6/9.



Rose before 6 took walk & call'd on Father Davis & spent ½ hour with Bro<sup>r</sup> Davis his mother & wife & both children went in a boat for Chepstow<sup>1</sup> last Wednes<sup>y</sup> even<sup>g</sup> – went this morn<sup>g</sup> at Werburghs & had ye pleasure of speak<sup>g</sup> to our friend Mrs Scuda-re. Aftern<sup>o</sup> also at same church. In ev<sup>g</sup> visited Miss Roe.

Monday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 13, 1762

Rose before 6. Mounted Hobby & rode to magaz<sup>ne</sup> met Mr Scudam<sup>re</sup> on ye road - breakfas<sup>d</sup> at George's who together with his wife has been ill in a fever 6 or 8 days since. - Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 9. Went to off: p 10 afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup>: & st<sup>d</sup> at off: &c 'till 2. After din<sup>f</sup> went to Mrs Ramzor - ret<sup>d</sup> home & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 6. Polley and Betsy Giles drank tea with us.<sup>2</sup> - At 7 visited Miss Roe & then call'd at Mrs Allison's where was Rachell who arriv<sup>d</sup> there this aftern<sup>o</sup>. p 8 home.

Tuesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 14, 1762

This day has been almost wholly employ'd on acco<sup>t</sup> of poor Mr Searle. Rose about 6. wrote a letter for him to send to his friends in the west - & near 9 went to Mr Meylers who desired me to attend the sale this day & buy some goods for ES: - at 10 to ye said sale. – Miss Sukey Nash<sup>3</sup> was also there by Mrs Searles desire & most things sold very dear – I staid 'till ½ p 1 then to off: Mr Wallis came to off: & at 2 home - at 3 went again to ye sale & tarryed there 'till p 6 then to off & p 7 was glad to go home & compose myself. Mr Elliot was actioneer<sup>4</sup> & Mr Bates ye mayors officer<sup>5</sup> was also there. This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Badderly breakfas<sup>d</sup> with us.

Wednesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 15, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 8 call'd on Mrs Searle & then to Mr Meyler & shew'd him acco<sup>t</sup> of what I had bo<sup>t</sup> for ESearle at the sale amount<sup>g</sup> to 15:15:5 w<sup>ch</sup> a little surpriz<sup>d</sup> him. He paid me 10:10:0 on acco<sup>t</sup> of the same afterw<sup>ds</sup> met with Mr Penny who wanted some empty h<sup>ds</sup><sup>6</sup> to fill with earth for holliday. I went with him to Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz & shew'd ye brimstone h<sup>ds</sup> & he propos'd to take 8 of 'em at 5/6. – call'd at ESearles & p 11 at off & staid there &c 'till near 2 - then home. Father & Sucky Tucker din<sup>d</sup> with us – after din<sup>f</sup> called at ESearles - then to off & at 5 home & drank tea with Jn<sup>o</sup> Nelson<sup>7</sup> Mr & Mrs Green – at 6 went to Mr Eatons & to ye Lamb<sup>8</sup> & call'd on Mother Davis who ret<sup>d</sup> home from Chepstow yester<sup>y</sup> aftern<sup>o</sup> call'd at Mrs Allison's & home at 8.

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<sup>1</sup> See 15/9.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin (pp. 49-50) reports questions asked the children in the morning, and that in the evening there were 'several bites and cuts as usual' and 'Molly was caught by the throat, and was senseless half an hour'. He also reports further questions on the 14<sup>th</sup> about who would visit them which 'prove its foreknowledge of some events'.

<sup>3</sup> See 7/9.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Elliott was auctioneer at the sale of Knox's\* goods in February 1762.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Bate mayors officer lived at 20 Charles St in 1775.

<sup>6</sup> See 28/7 for hogsheads.

<sup>7</sup> See 30/8.

<sup>8</sup> Durbin (pp. 50-2) gives a full account of events that occurred after Dyer had left involving pins, objects thrown and questioning about how long the attacks would continue. Durbin asked 'If any more money was given by the man for

Thursday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 16, 1762

Rose this m<sup>g</sup> p 6. Electrised Mrs Day - & near 9 up in town: visited Miss Roe – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Palmers then to off: & twice at Pitm<sup>n</sup> Scand Fields but he was not up - St<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> &c ‘till 2. p 3 call’d on Mr Gards<sup>1</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> spoke with Mr Adams<sup>2</sup> at ye Bell<sup>3</sup> & told him of Mrs Hipsleys<sup>4</sup> put<sup>g</sup> up ye Meer Stones at Mill no 4.<sup>5</sup> - Near 4 at Brewho: & at 5 went to Mrs Morrish’s & drank tea there - & at 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till near 8 then home. May ye Lord have mercy on me.

Friday, [September] 17, [1762]

Rose p 6. Mounted horse at 7 & rode to magazine: staid there ‘till p 9 gave Mr George about 9 gra<sup>s</sup> of James’s pow<sup>r</sup>.<sup>6</sup> - Cross’d water at Pill<sup>7</sup> & then to Littleton – Baited at ye Fox & Crane<sup>8</sup> - call’d at Seyers at Bedmins<sup>r</sup> & p<sup>d</sup> for brann - & beg’d him to procure me a bush<sup>1</sup> of rye.<sup>9</sup> – p 3 home at off at 4 & afterw<sup>ds</sup> went by myself as far as Lord Barclay’s wood<sup>10</sup> in pursuit of Mr Penny & Mr Eaton but cou’d not overtake them ret<sup>d</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & went to mothers & drank tea from thence to Mrs Allison’s & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 8 then home.

Saturday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 18, 1762

Arose before 6. The waggon came - staid at home ‘till p 8 then up in town visited Miss Roe – then to Palmers & to off: & staid there &c ‘till 2. Went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> & call’d at Pit<sup>n</sup> Fields but he was not up.

Staid at home all ye aftern<sup>o</sup> ‘till p 5 then at off & at 6 went to Mr Symes’s & p 8 home.

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the witch to continue longer than the year’ (yes) and ‘how many guineas’ more (ten, making twenty in all). It also confirmed that it was ‘the power of God’ that required it to confess and that ‘many good angels in the room’ ‘saved the children from more hurt’. But it also threatened to kill Dobby within three days if she stayed in the house, and strangled her till ‘she turned red and blackish in the face’ and lay senseless as if asleep for ‘three parts of an hour’ not even responding to Durbin’s sister’s ‘fresh bottle of salts’. On the 16<sup>th</sup> (pp. 52-3) Durbin reports even more disturbances, with objects thrown and suddenly disappearing, culminating on Dobby’s disappearance and discovery in ‘an old garret, three storey high, where they found her under a bed speechless’, although there was a bolted door on the way. The effect of all this was that ‘they were forced to send them to Kingswood as soon as possible’ and they left on the 16<sup>th</sup>, not returning until 15 November ‘the year being finished that they had been tormented’.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Gaad of Gaad and Keate, malsters and brewers of 19 Temple Street in 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Bristol had numerous Bell public houses, including a Bell at 12 Avon Street in 1775, close to where Dyer lived, and the Bell in St Thomas Street (see 22/2).

<sup>4</sup> See 23/7.

<sup>5</sup> A local dialect term for boundary stones. There was a further powder mill south of Littleton, now under Chew reservoir, which may be meant here.

<sup>6</sup> To treat his fever (see 13/9): see 17/5.

<sup>7</sup> A village five miles from Bristol, chiefly inhabited by the river pilots.

<sup>8</sup> Not identified, since given Dyer’s route it can hardly be the one in Eugene Street.

<sup>9</sup> See 23/8.

<sup>10</sup> Stoke Park or House, Stapleton, rebuilt c. 1760 by Norborne Berkeley, who became Lord Lieutenant of Bristol in 1762 and Baron Botetourt in 1764; his sister was Duchess of Beaufort. In 1793/4 its ‘woods, temples and monuments’ were ‘justly stiled a terrestrial paradise’ in summer.

Sunday, [September] 19, [1762]

Went to St Werburghs morn<sup>g</sup> & afternoon.

Monday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 20, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 6. & near 9 up in town – visited Miss Roe – then to off: & staid there &c ‘till 2. Mr Pitn Scand<sup>t</sup> Field came to off; & settled acco<sup>t</sup> with Miss ... He appeared much displeas’d about the sugars. – p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: afterwards went to Clifton & carried 2 boxes hemlock pills & some of ye herb reced this day from Lond<sup>o</sup> for Pedler & met with such reception as I did not expect.<sup>1</sup>

May I be taught wisdom! & enabled to act properly in everything.

Call’d at Mr Symes’s & was inform’d of Mrs Symes being taken ill last night – but she is not yet bad enough – afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Eatons & took short walk with him – afterw<sup>ds</sup> call’d at Mrs Allison on Rach<sup>l</sup> & then home.

Poor Evans ye carpenter<sup>2</sup> has stop’d paym<sup>t</sup> ever since Friday last.

Tuesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 21, 1762

Rose about 6. – p 8 up in town call’d at Mr Hawksworths but he was gone out – then to off: & p 10 went to Quakers meet<sup>g</sup> & heard an excellent discourse from a young woman - ret<sup>d</sup> to off near 1 & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> call’d on Hall - then to off & at 4 at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard Mr Brown - ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 7 The Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Ames, Miller, Deane & Worgan.

Call’d at Mr Brittons & then home.

This even<sup>g</sup> about 9 o’clock Mrs Symes was brought to bed of a son and Decem<sup>r</sup> ye 25<sup>th</sup> in the morn<sup>g</sup> he dyed [phrase from ‘and’ added afterwards in Dyer’s hand]

Wednesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 22, 1762

Rose near 7 - & tow<sup>ds</sup> 9 went up to Mr Symes’s - afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Miss Roe & Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> - staid at off &c ‘till 2 at 3 call’d on Hall - afterw<sup>ds</sup> call’d at Mr Hawksworths but he was out. - Then to Mother Davis & staid ‘till 5 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 7 – then call’d on Mr Jos Orlidge<sup>3</sup> & reced two guineas for a draught sent to Mr Searle from Mr Menich of Wellington - I paid Mrs Searle the 2 gui<sup>s</sup> at din<sup>r</sup> time when she call’d ‘on me.

Thursday, [September] 23<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

Rose p 6 & p 9 at off: & staid there &c ‘till 2 – this aftern<sup>o</sup> we were to have visited Mr & Mrs Day but bad weather prevented us - staid at home ‘till p 6 then at off. Mr Meyler call’d & desired me to go to Searles creditors & propose 5/ per £ - p 7 home.

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<sup>1</sup> See 6/9.

<sup>2</sup> See 8/2.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Orlidge was a cooper and wine merchant in Small Street, whose will is proved in 1783; in 1775 Orlidge and sons wine merchants were at 18 Small Street.

Friday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 24, 1762

Rose at 6 & p 7 mounted Hobby & was heartily vexed 'on being informed that Mr Roquet who rode to Harptree to bury a corps for Mr Brown last Tuesd<sup>y</sup> had rode our mare excessive hard & went & return<sup>d</sup> in little odds of 3 hours.

I went to Littleton & from thence cross<sup>d</sup> over Leigh Down<sup>1</sup> & arriv<sup>d</sup> at magazine p 11 from thence p 12 & arriv<sup>d</sup> in town p 1 – then to off & std 'till 2. Met on ye road Mr Worg<sup>n</sup> & our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S: in a postchaise. - This after<sup>n</sup> at 5 went to Mr Days & with AD drank tea there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mrs Brown & Mrs Barry<sup>2</sup> & at 7 went from thence – call<sup>d</sup> at Mr Allison's & home p 8.

This day our Sam met with an unlucky blow for one of his school fellows very near his eye. But very providentially escaped his eye.

Saturday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 25, 1762

Rose p 5 - being call<sup>d</sup> up by the waggoner – p 8 went up in town visited Miss Roe & Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> also visited Mrs Giles who inform<sup>d</sup> me both ye children have been at a house in Kingswood<sup>3</sup> a week since & they have been very quiet ever since but she is much distressed poor woman about her affairs w<sup>ch</sup> yet remain unsettled. – ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 10 & staid there & c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> call<sup>d</sup> on Mrs Searle - & at 3 went to Mr Pennys & with him & Mr Eaton took walk to Mr Barclay's park<sup>4</sup> & near 6 ret<sup>d</sup> to Mr Penny's & drank tea with him - then to office & transcribed a form to be signed by Searle's creditors if they agreed to take 5/ per £ - & call<sup>d</sup> on Mr Meyler & left it with him.

Sunday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 26, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & after<sup>n</sup>.

Monday, [September] 27, [1762]

This has been a day of great motion with me & I have been brought thro' it, tho' I sat out in much weakness this morn<sup>g</sup>. - Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & p 8 visit<sup>d</sup> Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> Miss Roe & Mother Dav<sup>s</sup> – then call<sup>d</sup> on Mrs Giles & left 12 hemlo: pills of 1 gr: each for her youngest dau<sup>r</sup> 3 yrs of age<sup>5</sup> who has a deep ulcer in her neck of ye scrophulous kind<sup>6</sup> - to take 1 for 2 nights succeed<sup>g</sup> & then 1 morn<sup>g</sup> & ev<sup>g</sup> until the whole are expended – near 10 at off: & then went by Mr Meylers request to divers of Searles creditors & propos<sup>d</sup> buying 'em 5/ per £ - but met with a repulse from Devonsheir & Reeve<sup>7</sup> who say they will not take it – the rest consented.

Ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 11 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. -After din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho: p 5 home then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 7 then to Room & home p 8.

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<sup>1</sup> See 5/2.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the wife of the Rev William Barry –see 23/1.

<sup>3</sup> See 15/9 footnote.

<sup>4</sup> See 17/9.

<sup>5</sup> See 12/7 footnote.

<sup>6</sup> Scrophula is the enlargement of the lymphatic glands around the neck – also known as the king's evil.

<sup>7</sup> See 10/6.

Tuesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 28, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 - & p 8 call'd on mother then up to Clifton & visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> call'd at Mr Symes's in my return - ½ p 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> st<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>se</sup> &c 'till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Mr Meylers ab<sup>t</sup> poor Searles affairs - & then went to 2 or 3 of his little creditors & met with a repulse w<sup>ch</sup> has fatigued my poor spirits - this ev<sup>g</sup> call'd on Rach<sup>l</sup> at Mr Davis's - afterw<sup>ds</sup> at ye Room & then at Mr Meylers & inform'd him of ye ill success & he advises poor Searle to go to sea - call'd on Searle who is come to his wife this ev<sup>g</sup> - after din<sup>r</sup> went with Mrs Searle & look'd at a shop in Temple Street w<sup>ch</sup> probably may have taken wind & prov<sup>d</sup> to Searle's prejudice.

Wednesday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 29, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 call'd on poor Searle - call'd at Mrs Oliver: also at Coates Mr Hawkesw<sup>th</sup> Mr Days & ret<sup>d</sup> home - at 9 up in town p 11 went with Mr Faulkes to Rowand & squabbeled with him about our acco<sup>t</sup> - p 12 went home & dined & p 1 sat out for Littleton & took acco<sup>t</sup> stock - Ret<sup>d</sup> home p 6. Went to off: visited Miss Roe - Sukey Cox & home p 8. Poor Mrs Searle came with her complaints & their pretended friend appears extremely fickle - oh Lord help the distressed - preserve & help me accord<sup>g</sup> to my needs.

Thursday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 30, 1762

In much heaviness all this day! May the Lord help me to believe & trust in him.

Rose at 6 took short walk - at 9 up in town - p 10 at Cust<sup>o</sup> House - & gave bond for powder p[er] ye Garland<sup>1</sup> - & join'd with Mr Coram<sup>2</sup> in 2 or 3 bonds for him for goods p[er] ye Charlotte to St Kitts.<sup>3</sup>

Staid at off &c 'till 2 - paid Mr Ames £6:11 - for a debenture<sup>4</sup> on ye Harford I reced for him 2 days ago but did not take any receipt of him - p 3 up in town - at 5 call'd on Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> then visited Sukey Cox & drank tea there w<sup>h</sup> KD<sup>5</sup> & advised a vomit of 25 gras ipeca:<sup>6</sup> steep'd 10 minutes in a cup of tea & drink ye clear liq<sup>r</sup> & advised to take 1 oz bark & boil in 1 ½ pint water & make strong decoct<sup>n</sup> & then add ½ pint wine & take a glass thereof every 3 hours.

p 6 at off & at 7 at Room.

Call'd on Searle who has been today with his daughter to visit a gentlewom<sup>n</sup> a relation at Bath, who has made 'em a present.

Friday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 1, [1762].

Last night we were awaked between 12 & 1 by ye most violent thunder & lightning w<sup>ch</sup> I have heard a long while since - But as pretty much rain fell with it, hope there is not much damage done.

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<sup>1</sup> Ship not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Ship not identified.

<sup>4</sup> See 8/6.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Kitty Durbin\* rather than his niece Kitty Davis, then only five, although she might have been staying with her aunt.

<sup>6</sup> An abbreviation of ipecacuana (see 28/8).

This morn<sup>g</sup> near 9 sat out for Fulligrove magazine & staid there all day 'till ab<sup>t</sup> 5 & took acco<sup>t</sup> of 3 rooms but cou'd not compleat the whole - On my arrival at ye office I heard an acco<sup>t</sup> come of ye Havannah being taken & great rejoicings are mak<sup>g</sup> this even<sup>g</sup> on ye occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 2, 1762

Rose p 6 – p 8 visited Miss Roe Miss Cox - & then to Mrs Giles's & left 12 hemlock pills of 2 gra<sup>s</sup> each for her child, to take 1 for 2 ev<sup>gs</sup> & if finds no inconveniency to take afterwards 1 morn<sup>g</sup> & ev<sup>g</sup> & shou'd the child at any time be sick after ye pills to take a little white wine & water. Call'd on Mr Eaton – then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there & c 'till 2. After din<sup>f</sup> went to Palmer's then to off: at 5 home ret'd to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till ½ p 7 then home –

Sunday, [October] 3<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

Rose p 7 ... went in ye rain up to mothers & in my return overtook our fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S & walk'd to church with her – we had a goodly company there & comfortable opportunity at ye sacra<sup>t</sup> – at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> – went there both foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rach<sup>l</sup> then home & staid all the even<sup>g</sup>.

Monday, 4 Octo<sup>r</sup>, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 & near 7 sat out for magazine & on my arrival there met with a tryal which immediately overcame my little patience & I fell into passion & fretfulness, w<sup>ch</sup> has disorder'd my poor mind ever since. May ye Lord have mercy on me as I need! & may I learn wisdom by experience! I finished taking acco<sup>t</sup> of stock but was so fretful & extremely hasty that my eyes were often blind to the thing w<sup>ch</sup> might otherwise have been easily seen! Oh may the Lord convert my soul.

Staid & din'd with B Ramzor.

& arriv'd home p 3 when I found 2 or 3 women waiting with a child (a girl) of 5 year age to be electrified the child's father lives in Haverfordwest & she has been bro<sup>t</sup> from thence to our Infirmary, but cant get any relief – she cannot speak & they suspect she is deaf & she seems to have a weakness in all her nerves & has also all ye symptoms of an idiot. However I electrised her but doubt without any effect. This ev<sup>g</sup> ½ p 6 went to Room & heard letters read by Mr Jn<sup>o</sup> Westley<sup>2</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> continued 'till near 9 o'clock.

After w<sup>ch</sup> my poor mind was better composed than before.

Tuesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 5, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> ½ p 6 at 8 went up in town to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 9 then to Mrs Purnells & went to Mrs Purnell & with her visited a poor woman in Ellbroad Street who seems deeply possess'd with a

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<sup>1</sup> *FBJ* 11 and 18 September had carried details of the siege of Havannah, then 2 October reported that the M.P. Nugent\* had paid for bonfires and ale to be distributed in various parts of city and that the bells were ringing yesterday for the great and happy event of the surrender of 'the Havannah' fortress. The 9 October issue has a poem on 'the reduction of the Havannah' and the articles of surrender.

<sup>2</sup> John Wesley arrived back in Bristol from the west country on 2 October and 'in the two following weeks I visited as many as I could of the societies in the country, as well as regulated those of Bristol and Kingswood.' He finally left Bristol only on 29 October.

melancholly spirit. I electrised her with my small machine, but I doubt without effect. Saw Mr Hawskworth in our way who generously gave 10/6 for a poor wom<sup>a</sup> whom Mrs Purnell beged for. At 10 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. Met with a small tryall w<sup>ch</sup> am confident I had an intimation of in a dream last night w<sup>ch</sup> is about settling my acco<sup>t</sup> with Rowand. He has given a dra<sup>t</sup> to me to Mr Faulke for more than I owe him.

This aftern<sup>o</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 4 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8. I have been affected with read<sup>s</sup> the History of Katherine Evans & Sarah Cheevers – 2 quakers who were 4 years confin<sup>d</sup> in ye inquisition prison at Malta.<sup>1</sup> The Committee met this ev<sup>s</sup> consist of Mr Ames Mr Miller & Mr Elton.

Wednesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 6, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> p 7 went to Brewho: & staid till ½ p 8 – call'd at mothers – at Mr Pennys – Mo<sup>f</sup> Davis<sup>s</sup>: Mr Eatons & on Mrs Giles - also on ye poor woman in Ellbroad Street. near 10 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House - st<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> &c 'till 2 at p 3 at Palmers & met Mr Eaton there by appointm<sup>t</sup>. Mr Penny was also to have come – we took walk to Hotwells. call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> and ret<sup>d</sup> near 6 - then home – call'd p 7 at Miss Castles<sup>2</sup> - also at Mr Davis's & then to Helpful Soc<sup>y</sup> & home p 8.

Thursday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 7, 1762

Rose p 6 – electrised Miss Hawswell – p 8 up in town visited Miss Roe – then to off p 10 – afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Kings glass ho:<sup>3</sup> & to Mr Bishops<sup>4</sup> & on Ch<sup>ge</sup> 'till 2 – p 4 up in town. afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Jones's<sup>5</sup> & at Nock's<sup>6</sup> on Searles acco<sup>t</sup>. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 5 & p 6 visited my worthy friend Mr Hawskworth & spent the ev<sup>s</sup> there with Mr Dallaway<sup>7</sup> & p 10 home.

Friday, [October] 8, [1762]

Rose near 7. Call'd on Mrs Searle & also again at din<sup>f</sup> time when I found ye shop in Temple Street was taken yester<sup>y</sup> by another person.

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<sup>1</sup> The original version, *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings undergone by those Two Faithful Servants of God, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers* (1663) was reprinted in 1715 as *A Brief History of the Voyage of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, to the Island of Malta*. Given the title he gives, Dyer probably read the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> William King, originally an excise officer, opened a glasshouse at St Philips, but he was arrested in 1766 and his glasshouse auctioned off; he died in London in 1777.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Nock was a blacksmith or ironmonger, listed at 3 Redcliff Street in 1775.

<sup>7</sup> James Dallaway (1730-1787), an Anglican banker from Stroud in Gloucestershire, was a long-term friend and correspondent of the Quaker A.R. Hawskworth\*. His son, the antiquary James Dallaway (1763-1834), was born in Bristol on 20 February 1763, and the family seemed to have lived in Bristol at this period; James lived in Castle Green in 1764.

At 8 set out for Lit<sup>n</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> at 12 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. Electr<sup>d</sup> a poor crazy wom<sup>a</sup> p 3 went to Mr Symes's & was there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Price of Chewton 'till 5 then home then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 & visited poor Miss Roe who is very ill.

Saturday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 9, 1762.

Rose near 7. Electr<sup>d</sup> Miss Hawkswell & also Capt Purchase<sup>1</sup>. at 9 up in town. - Call'd at Palmers & near 10 at off: staid there & on Change 'till 2. Had cause for thankfulness today that I am preserved from much encumbrance with the things of the world. Oh may I see deeply see the mercy herein! & be content with the station w<sup>ch</sup> providence allots me.

At p 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 7 then visited Rachell (who return'd from Mr Davis's to her own room yesterday) & spent a comfortable hour there. Lord shew the mercy to me as I need & help me entirely to devote my soul & body to God.

Sunday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 10, 1762

Met with a tryal this morn<sup>g</sup> May it prove for good!

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Suckey Cox & ½ p 5 home.

Monday, [October] 11, [1762]

May I thank God for bringing me through this day. In ye morn<sup>g</sup> visited Miss Roe & Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> the latter is very ill again & I sent him a dose of James's powder to take this ev<sup>g</sup> - at 10 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne call'd on me & gave him a bill £25 for cash - Ramzor call'd & I settled with him & it seems that Searle is gone to his house to work today - Staid at off 'till 2 then home. After din<sup>r</sup> at Palmers: at off: down to ye Key at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & at 7 went to Room then home.

Tuesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 12, 1762

May ye Lord pardon what I've done amiss today! A day of much activity & motion.

After electr<sup>g</sup> 2 patients this morn<sup>g</sup> visited Mother Davis: also Mrs Giles who inform'd me her youngest child is much better since taking hemlock - call'd on Mr Eaton - then to off: after visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who seems better since tak<sup>g</sup> 6 gra<sup>s</sup> of Dr James powder last night. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off p 11 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> spoke to Mr Pierce ye mal<sup>r2</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> pay<sup>g</sup> him dividend for Searle but he refused it & from ye character poor Searle bears it discourages me acting in his affairs. Call'd on Mr Morrish: then to off: at 5 visited Miss Sukey Cox - then to Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup>: Miss Roe's & to Palmers & bo<sup>t</sup> packet of Dr Ja<sup>s</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> & sent Miss Sukey 5 gra<sup>s</sup> for a dose tonight wrote Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> & home p 8.

Wednesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 13, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> at p 8 went up in town call'd at father's then to Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheynes & from thence to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & near 10 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Bishop & to Donne's<sup>3</sup> & paid them dividend for Searle - staid at

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<sup>1</sup> In 1775 a Mary Purches widow lived at 53 Lewins Mead.

<sup>2</sup> In 1775 Andrew Pearce maltster was at 7 Rose Street.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.



off &c 'till 2 – p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 5 visited Rachell & drank tea ret<sup>d</sup> to off & p 7 visited Miss Roe & Suckey Cox – gave ye latter another dose of Dr James's pow<sup>r</sup> & p 8 home.

Thursday, [October] 14, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Peningtons<sup>1</sup> Atkins's<sup>2</sup> Clymores<sup>3</sup> Sedgleys & co<sup>4</sup>; Lynes<sup>5</sup>; Brights; Stockesleys<sup>6</sup>; Whitlocks<sup>7</sup> – st<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 2. - After din<sup>r</sup> visited Suckey Cox. then to off at 5 drank tea at Mrs Marstons ret<sup>d</sup> to off & at 7 went to Room & from thence went home with Mr Penny & spent an hour with him.

Friday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 15, 1762

This day God has preserved & protected me! May I be truly thankful!  
In the morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 rode to Lit<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> p 11. then to off & tarried 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne call'd 'on me & we both went to Bedmin<sup>r</sup> in quest of hemlock. Ret<sup>d</sup> home near 5. Drank tea then to off: Afterwards went to two or three places with design of spend<sup>g</sup> an hour but was disappointed in each therefore came home & endeavour'd to enjoy ye best of friends in silence & repose. Lord help me totally to surrender soul & body unto thee.

Saturday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 16, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Wallis came to town & breakfas<sup>d</sup> at our house. near 9 I visited poor Miss Roe who has now apply'd to an old woman at Bedmin<sup>r</sup> (& therefore laid aside ye hemlock) who promises her help.<sup>8</sup>  
Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went with Mr Wallis to ye Pothouse<sup>9</sup> & had ye cockle halled to ye crane at ye Back<sup>10</sup> & loaded it in our waggon there.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Thomas Pennington, a slave trader and major sugar importer from the 1720s to the 1770s, and listed as Pennington and Biggs merchants 18 Orchard Street in 1775. In 1774 Dyer noted the death of a 'former acquaintance' Mrs Penington of Marlborough Street, whose funeral was at the New Room.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Michael Atkins, merchant and shipowner, and Bristol's leading sugar importer, who died in March 1763, leaving an estimated £70,000.

<sup>3</sup> William Clymer (d. 1771), a sailmaker, owned lots of properties on the Quay, and was involved in slaving; another William, soapmaker and chandler, was at 51 St James Back in 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Sedgeley (d. 1801) was a major tobacco importer, shipowner in the slave trade and partner in a sugar house; he was sheriff 1760-1 and a member of the Lewin's Mead congregation.

<sup>5</sup> More likely 'Lyne tobacconist' on the Back in 1768 than the Quaker physician Edward Lyne (d. 1772); in 1775 a Thomas Lyne linendraper was at 16 Maryport Street, and a Richard Lyne baker at 23 Bedminster.

<sup>6</sup> See 27/2.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly Thomas Whitlock, grocer and teadealer at 4 Thomas Street in 1775; a Mr Whitlock subscribed to Crocker's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* in 1764.

<sup>8</sup> Presumably the cunning woman consulted earlier by the Barnes family (see 29/3) and later by Mrs Giles (see 22/11, 30/11 and 7/12 and discussion there).

<sup>9</sup> Bristol's various potteries were known as 'pot-houses'.

<sup>10</sup> Cockle stoves, made at Coalbrookdale by Darby and brought to Bristol by his agent Thomas Goldney, were used for drying in gunpowder production, and so were being loaded in the wagon for the mills at Littleton. The 'great crane', built in 1733 by Padmore, was still one of Bristol's chief attractions in 1793-4.

Staid on Ch<sup>ge</sup> &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> went to Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & in my return from Clifton met Mr Symes & took walk with him & afterw<sup>ds</sup> drank tea at his house in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mrs Symes & also his sister Mrs Hunt<sup>l</sup>. Near 7 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell & home p 9.

Sunday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 17, 1762

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> & afternoon.

Monday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 18, 1762

This has been a day of much activity with me, and my poor spirits have been much agitated thereby. In the morn<sup>g</sup> visited Mother Davis – Mrs Giles & left 12 more hemlo: pills for her child who is abundantly better for those he has taken – near 10 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Brights, & Mr Atkins's – st<sup>d</sup> at off & on Change 'till 2.

Sent Robt to Pedlars at Clifton<sup>2</sup> to fetch ye 2 boxes hemlo: pills & left 'em at Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheynes by his desire – after dinner call'd on ye man at 3 Kings<sup>3</sup> & p<sup>d</sup> him on Searles acco<sup>t</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Allison's & desir'd him to write for 50 or 60 lbs of milch butter<sup>4</sup> – at 5 drank tea with Mrs Green – Mr Southcote & his wife was there also. AD was to have been there but prevented by Mrs Hopkins & Mr Norton<sup>5</sup> coming to our house. At 6 went up to Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne's to inspect some green hemlock which he has procured. – Mr Roquet & his wife & child was there & the late Mrs Labbee & her husband.<sup>6</sup> At 7 at Room & then home

May my poor mind take release in God, in whom alone true rest can be found.

Tuesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 19, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Weltons<sup>7</sup>, Jenkins<sup>8</sup>, Davis, Cadell, Whites<sup>9</sup> and Gortons<sup>10</sup> & pd 'em dividend on Searles but some of 'em reced it with great ill will – went also to Custom House & to Alderm<sup>n</sup> Laroche's - & staid at off &c 'till 2. p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> to off at 4 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard Mr Brown In ev<sup>g</sup> ye Committee met consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Elton, Mr Ames, Mr Baugh, Miller, Deane, Worgan. They staid 'till ½ p 7.

Then I went to Room & heard part of a sermon from Mr Howell Harris.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See 18/2.

<sup>2</sup> See 6/9.

<sup>3</sup> Several public houses shared this name, including one at the 'Head of the Quay', but perhaps this is one of the two south of the river in 1775, namely at 30 Thomas Street or 41 Tucker Street.

<sup>4</sup> See 10/12.

<sup>5</sup> See 2/6.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs Labee, now clearly remarried, was the widow of Francis Labee, surgeon and man midwife, who was freed in 1726 and was described at his death in 1755 as 'an eminent surgeon of the city for 30 or more years'. He had been raised a Baptist and one of his apprentices was the Baptist minister and hymnwriter Benjamin Beddome, but Labee and his wife were also close to the Wesleys from 1739 onwards. Dyer had bought Mrs Labbee's old clock at auction for 4 guineas in 1758, and noted that 'it continues good' in 1801.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly Sam Welton brewer and maltster at 18 Baldwin Street in 1775.

<sup>8</sup> Both Philip and Richard Jenkins were trading to Africa in 1759, and one of these was probably the Mr Jenkins of Baldwin Street selling bar iron in 1755.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps Daniel White, trading to Africa in 1759, or the carpenter named on 2 February.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps John Gorton, perukemaker at 29 Narrow Wine Street in 1775.

Last night or this morn<sup>g</sup> poor Mr Price ye taylor lost his wife in childbed.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 20, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited poor Miss Roe who lyes in a weak condition. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Laroches Mr Curtis's & afterwards visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off at 12 & staid 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheynes & then to Sis<sup>f</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Rachells & at off near 7 & home p 8. Call'd this morn<sup>g</sup> 'on Ramzor & also on Knock<sup>3</sup> & another p[er]son being both creditors of Searle. - After din<sup>r</sup> call'd 'on Mr Morrish.

Thursday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 21, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Mr Penny & shew'd him a rough draught of a letter to be presented to ye lady's at Clifton, on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup>'s acco<sup>t</sup> & left it with him to alter & mend.<sup>4</sup> Afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Curtis's – also at Mr Halls in Wine Street & p<sup>d</sup> him Searle's dividend. – staid at off 'till 2 then home. After din<sup>r</sup> at Palmers & at off: Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne came & wrote a letter - at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> again to off & at 7 at Room then home. May Jesus have mercy 'on me & teach me knowledge of himself for I am blind & ignorant.

Friday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 22, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> at 7 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> at ½ p 10 - Mr Millard ye carpenter<sup>5</sup> came to inspect ye roof at Tow<sup>r</sup> Harratz w<sup>ch</sup> wants repair<sup>g</sup> – I went there with him: Then to off & from thence to Custom House – std on Ch<sup>ge</sup> &c 'till 2 & after din<sup>r</sup> at p 3 went to Mr Penny's from whence in company with Mr Eaton we took a walk - I ret<sup>d</sup> with Mr Penny & drank tea at his house in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mrs Bridges<sup>6</sup> - & p 6 at off & home near 8. May ye Lord create in me right dispositions. Amen Lord Jesus Amen!

Saturday, [October] 23<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 went up to Mr Brown at his new habitation in Fort Lane<sup>7</sup> he inform'd me Mr Badderly is turn'd out of his curacy at Hembury for preach<sup>g</sup> the plain truth – afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Miss Roe who is as helpless as an infant being deprived of the use of both hands & feet – then to Mr Penny's & reced from him draught of a lre for Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> to write to Miss Drax.

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<sup>1</sup> Howell Harris (1714-73) was a leading Welsh evangelical preacher, who regularly visited Bristol. On 20 August 1757 Dyer and Henry Davis\* had met James Brown\* and Harris at Symes's\* and staid up until 11 p.m. 'hearing Howell Harris relate the many remarkable providences which had attended his pilgrimage, so exceeding interesting that I could have staid the whole night, had it not been for making my dear wife uneasy at home'. See *ODNB* entry.

<sup>2</sup> The epitomised diary adds that he lived in Small Street. In 1775 a William Price taylor was at 3, Daltons Court, and Price and Rees taylors and staymakers at 2 Spring Lane.

<sup>3</sup> See 7/10.

<sup>4</sup> See 23/10 and 22/12 for letter intended for Miss Drax. Maybe John Dyer was thinking of reopening a grocery shop seeking the custom of the ladies of Clifton?

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Millard (d. 1783) was the city carpenter, listed in 1775 as at 8 St James Barton, who became the partner of William Hopkins\*.

<sup>6</sup> Not identified, though Thomas Goldney knew William Bridges's wife who died in 1766.

<sup>7</sup> Now Royal Fort Road.

At 10 went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 - After din<sup>r</sup> visited poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & gave him the above Ire & staid with him 'till 5 then went to mothers with my spirits much depressed on acco<sup>t</sup> of poor JD who appears very ill, his cough extremely violent &c - Drank tea at mothers & at 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8. & gave Dr Storck<sup>1</sup> a run<sup>s</sup> read<sup>s</sup> & it appears that hemlock may prove useful to poor JD – May the Lord bless it to that purpose.

Sunday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 24, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> went to Capt Cheyne & consulted him with regard to Miss Roe & then carried 2 doses of James's powders of 6 gra<sup>s</sup> each & order'd both to be given if ye first did not operate in 2 hours after it was taken w<sup>ch</sup> I find has been done & ye 2<sup>d</sup> operated by vomit<sup>s</sup>.

Call'd on Mr Allison's where was Mr Ireland<sup>2</sup> & had some conversation relative to poor Sis<sup>r</sup> Dyer<sup>3</sup> & her ill conduct I was told she accuses me very much for sleighting them – this seems to come very close to me! But may I be enabled to look above all these things & to go thro' evill report & good report in the strength of the Lord. – afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & there again in aftern<sup>o</sup> & afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell & left Ire for our friend Mrs S who has made herself uneasy for a trifl<sup>s</sup> matter. Then visited Miss Roe & home at 7.

Monday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 25, 1762

Arose at 5 with intent of going to magazine this morn<sup>s</sup> but rain prevented – at 8 up in town went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne & consulted him ab<sup>t</sup> poor Miss Roe & then visited her & advised to make a decoction of marshmallow & elder flowers & stupe her reins & abdomen &c & left 3 mer: pills 1 to be taken at 11 another this ev<sup>s</sup> & ye other tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>s</sup> provided she does not make water. She has had a total suppression of urine several days since & her water is obliged to be drawn off by the help of a surgeon.

At 9 at off afterw<sup>ds</sup> at alderm<sup>n</sup> Laroche & settled with him ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. – at p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> there again & applied pretty close in settling Mr Heyw<sup>ds4</sup> & finish<sup>s</sup> ye annuall acco<sup>ts5</sup> 'till 7 then relaxed my mind by going to Room & p 8 home.

Tuesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 26, 1762

Arose this morn<sup>s</sup> before 7 with my poor spirits greatly agitated having awoke out of a dream w<sup>ch</sup> made very deep impression on my mind<sup>6</sup> – the chief part of it was – that I thought I was in Miss

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<sup>1</sup> See 8/9.

<sup>2</sup> James Ireland (1724-1814), of Bristol and Brislington, began his career, according to Dyer, as shopman to the grocer Charles Andrews, but Andrews ended up working for him as manager of the sugar house at the head of the Quay belonging to Ames\*, Ireland and co sugar refiners; Ireland prospered as a merchant and became sheriff of Somerset in 1781. Ireland was an evangelical sympathiser, friend of the Countess of Huntingdon and particularly close to John Fletcher, 'Wesley's designated successor', caring for him during his illness; Fletcher preached the funeral sermon for his first wife in 1769. He met Dyer through Allison\* and Rowand\* in 1760 and for a while they met on Sunday mornings at Ireland's house.

<sup>3</sup> A rare naming of his brother John's wife!

<sup>4</sup> Arthur and Benjamin Heywood were the Liverpool agents of the Bristol gunpowder company.

<sup>5</sup> See 27/10, 30/10 and 2/11.

<sup>6</sup> See introduction.

Roe's chamber & that she was in the greatest agony, seemingly the agony of death, & that I was very busy in endeavour<sup>s</sup> to keep her down in ye bed. I thought also that Dr Drummond was present – likewise in some part of my dream it seemed as if I was somewhere at church & in great confusion. I wanted to get out by a little door but on attempting was disappointed – but ye matter relat<sup>s</sup> to Miss Roe I take the greatest notice of. As soon as I cou'd I went up to her house & was inform'd by her sister that she has been dying ever since some time yesterd<sup>y</sup> & that she did not now expect her to live an hour – this is certainly a confirmation of my dream or rather my dream was a notice given me of her death.

May I follow her, so far as she has followed Christ Jesus. – I was greatly alarmed at my dream, lest ye pills I had left yesterday had proved of any bad consequence - but I find she took only one of 'em & no kind of operation perceived.

Went to Brewho: this morn<sup>s</sup> & call'd over ye month of Septem<sup>r</sup> - at 9 home then to off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 11 then went up to Clifton to see Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & told him something of his poor wife's talk<sup>s</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> me. Staid on Change 'till 2 – at 3 up in town visited Rachell met our poor friend twice may ye Lord protect & guide her!

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & heard Mr Brown then to off: & at 7 went to Mr Symes's & at 10 home. – last night we had ye most violent rain & wind w<sup>ch</sup> has been long since known.

Wednesday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 27, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> p 7 call'd on Mr Eaton & took walk with him – afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Mrs Giles & left 12 more hemlo: pills for her child – then to Mother Davis's & at 9 at off & std there all ye morn<sup>s</sup> 'till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> there again & staid an hour & finished ye annual accompts for both companys.<sup>1</sup> – then ret<sup>d</sup> home & at 5 our worthy friend Mrs S: came & staid 'till 8 May God ye Lord be her preserver & protector – afterw<sup>ds</sup> I went to ye Room being watchnight & staid 'till 10<sup>2</sup> & return'd home with AD.

I find that poor Miss Roe departed this life last night. This poor young woman began tak<sup>s</sup> hemlo: pills ye 10 Sep. last & declined 'em ab<sup>t</sup> 14 days since owing to a nausea & vomit<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> came on – in the course of her taking them a sediment was always observed in her urine her breast was also thought to be in a much better state by the surgeon who visited her. So that 'tis probable the disease struck in upon her lungs &c.

Thursday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 28, 1762

This morn<sup>s</sup> at 9 went to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Curtis's & ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. - & then went to dine with Mr & Mrs Symes in consequence of an invitation reced this morn<sup>s</sup> AD went with me likewise after din<sup>r</sup> took walk w<sup>h</sup> Mr Symes & p 6 up to off: & ret<sup>d</sup> again to Mr Symes's & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 10 then home.

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<sup>1</sup> In July 1756 the 2 gunpowder companies in Bristol united: see 12/1 and introduction. The combined operations lasted until 1803 when the Woolley works were closed and production concentrated on Littleton.

<sup>2</sup> Watchnights were introduced by the Kingswood colliers as a night of prayer and hymnsinging to replace a Saturday night in the alehouse. John Wesley extended the practice around the country in 1742, and Dyer attended his first watch night in the Room on 4 October 1754. The services started about eight and finished a little after midnight, so the Dyers left early!

I find ye remains of Miss Roe were carried to ye Room this even<sup>g</sup> & from thence to be interr'd but I did not hear of it 'till too late to go myself.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 29, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> p 6 but was prevented set<sup>g</sup> out for Lit<sup>n</sup> by ye rain 'till p 8 & detain'd also at Mrs Olivers - ret<sup>d</sup> home from thence at 12 & then to off & staid 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mrs Harford & paid rent<sup>2</sup>. also on Mr Morrish & at Mrs Catcotts<sup>3</sup> & p<sup>d</sup> her 20/ for E Searle w<sup>ch</sup> she accepted for ye rent. She sent her daughter Mrs Davey up stairs to sign her name Hannah Catcott & said that wou'd do as well as if done by herself. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor Rachell & my spirits are depressed on hear<sup>g</sup> of ye instability of many who did begin to runn well – may Jesus ye Lord have mercy on them & myself also.

At 5 went up to AD at Mr Brown's in Fort Lane & spent the ev<sup>g</sup> there & at 10 home.

Poor Rachell requested that shou'd I survive her, that there may be no pompous funeral, but that she may be interred privately & without any noise - This she mentioned in reference to the great bustle & noise w<sup>ch</sup> is making on acco<sup>t</sup> of those who are buried from the Room – which she much disapproves of & therefore desires she may not be buried from thence.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 30, 1762

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> ½ p 6 & p 7 up in town – call'd on ye surviv<sup>g</sup> Miss Roe who bears cheerfully the loss of her dear sister between whom there was a very remarkable affection – reced from her ye remain of hemlo: pills – ret<sup>d</sup> home to breakfast & p 9 up in town – staid at off & c 'till 2 - the gent<sup>l</sup> seem greatly pleased at this years profits – Mr Deane I paid today his dividend. It is meat & drink to some people to get money. May Jesus give me a right understand<sup>g</sup> & grant I may not set my affections on earthly things but that I may be sweetly lead & governed by his divine blessed spirit. This aftern<sup>o</sup> spent most of my time at off: & staid there 'till 8 & then home.

Sunday, Octo<sup>r</sup> 31, [1762]

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> Mr Symes's subject in ye morn<sup>g</sup> was “take up thy cross dayly & follow Jesus Christ”<sup>5</sup> The aftern<sup>o</sup> Mr Sheppard preached & in his discourse undertook to reconcile St James & St Paul, concern<sup>g</sup> faith and works.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 1, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> John Wesley describes this funeral in his Journal. ‘One who had adorned the gospel in life and in death having desired that I should preach her funeral sermon, I went with a few friends to the house and sang before the body to the Room. I did this the rather to show my approbation of this solemn custom and to encourage others to follow it. As we walked, our company swiftly increased, so that we had a very numerous congregation at the room. And who can tell but some of these may bless God for it to all eternity?’ Rachel Tucker's comment to Dyer (see 29/10) suggests that she did not share Wesley's approbation of the ‘solemn custom’.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer rented the house in Great Garden from her since 1758.

<sup>3</sup> The landlord of Mr Searle\* in Temple Street, and possibly the mother of the Hannah Catcott who married William Morrish jnr\* at Temple in January 1761 and died after childbirth 30 August 1762. In 1775 Hannah Catcott widow was at 86 Stokes Croft and Margaret Davey widow at 40 Frog Lane.

<sup>4</sup> See 10/5, 21/5 and especially 28/10 and footnote.

<sup>5</sup> The text is Luke 9: 23.

Arose p 5 & near 7 mounted Hobby & rode to magazine – call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> in my ret<sup>d</sup> [sic] home ½ p 9 & p 10 at off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. Closed last months acco<sup>t</sup> cash & I find an overplus of £40 w<sup>ch</sup> cannot accot for. – after din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho: then call'd on Rachell & heard some acco<sup>t</sup> of our poor friend Mrs S may ye Lord be her guide.

Then home - Mother Davis & Sis<sup>r</sup> Davis w<sup>h</sup> Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> drank tea with us. - p 5 at off: & p 6 went to Mr Penny & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8. I find myself puzzled about settling ye profits of last year in the just proportion to each comp<sup>a</sup> & Mr P: has not yet quite helped me out.

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 2, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 8 went up to Mr Eatons & consulted him about ye acco<sup>t</sup> which puzzles me – afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Mr Penny & p 9 at off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> went up to Mr Browns & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> church then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 8.

The Committee met this even<sup>g</sup> but ye Littleton gentlemen<sup>1</sup> met first viz<sup>t</sup> Mr Elton, Mr Ames, & Miller to whom I paid their dividends by dra<sup>ts</sup> on ye bank - & afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr Baugh, Mr Wansey & Mr Deane came – Mr Deane had his dividend last Saturd<sup>y</sup>. Mr Miller, Mr Deane and Mr Wansey went away first when I had opportunity to speak to ye other 3 gentlemen about advancing Bro<sup>r</sup> Roberts salary & they readily agreed to give him £30 per annum to commence 29 Sepr last & were also pleased to order me to pay myself 20 guineas as a gratuity which I esteem very generous. May I be thankful to God for his mercys & may I have wisdom & prudence.

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 3, 1762

Arose before 6 - p 7 went to Brewho: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till ½ p 8. then went to Mr Symes's where there came a poor girl to be electrised for a violent cramp – went to off at 10: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. I acquainted Bro<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> concern<sup>g</sup> ye gentlemen agree<sup>g</sup> last night to advance his salary to £30 p[er] ann: but poor boy he discovers discontent & wants me to allow him £5 besides. - However I told him I shou<sup>d</sup> make him a present out of my own pocket of three guineas at ye end of next year i.e. at Mich<sup>l</sup>mas being in consideration of his attend<sup>a</sup> upon Littleton waggon for me.

After din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Searle & ord<sup>d</sup> him to make 20 quar<sup>r</sup> bls & also at Mr Meylers but he is confin<sup>d</sup> to his room.

St<sup>d</sup> at off 'till ½ p 4 then to Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & drank tea with Mr & Mrs Pine. & then to Rachells & at 7 at off: from thence to Helpful Society & home p 8.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 4, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 9 call'd on Mag<sup>s</sup> Faulke: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Palmers: Jenkins<sup>2</sup> Curtis's: Farr<sup>s3</sup> & R<sup>d</sup> Browns<sup>4</sup> – staid at off 'till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> call'd on Mr Meyler & settled with him with regard to Searles affairs. He p<sup>d</sup> me the ball<sup>a</sup> due to me – afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Searle & gave him all the receipts & acco<sup>t</sup> of what

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<sup>1</sup> See 27/10.

<sup>2</sup> See 19/10.

<sup>3</sup> The Farris were a leading merchant family, with Richard Farr a major sugar importer until about 1760; Thomas and Richard are listed as merchants in 1775, going bankrupt together in 1778.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Richard Brown, captain of the Warmley, at 31 on the Key in 1775.

I paid for him – drank tea at Mrs Hop<sup>s</sup> w<sup>th</sup> AD & her bro<sup>r</sup> – then to off: & at 8 went up to Rachells to AD & home p 9. AD had a sumptuous sup<sup>r</sup> at Rach<sup>s</sup> on friends present.

Friday, [November] 5, [1762]

Ab<sup>t</sup> 8 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> at 12 staid at off ‘till 2 after din<sup>r</sup> call’d on Mr Penny & near 5 went to mothers & drank tea then to off & near 8 home.

Saturday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 6, 1762

Call’d this morn<sup>g</sup> at Mr Eatons & at Mrs Giles, her youngest dau<sup>r</sup> has reced amazing benefit from ye hemlock.<sup>1</sup>

Near 10 went to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House – st<sup>d</sup> on Change & c ‘till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> call’d on Mr Symes & took walk & call’d on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> ‘on our return home - May the Lord shew mercy unto him! Drank tea w<sup>h</sup> Mr Symes & p 6 at off & home near 9.

Sunday, [November] 7, [1762]

Went to Colledge this m<sup>g</sup> & sacra<sup>t</sup>. Aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> - then went to father & drank tea w<sup>th</sup> him – afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Rachell & home p 7.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 8, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went up to Mr Brown’s but he was not ret<sup>d</sup> from Harptree, afterwards reced a note from him signify<sup>g</sup> that he had left our mare in ye country w<sup>th</sup> directions for her to be taken to Pensford fair<sup>2</sup> this day. This foren<sup>o</sup> staid at off: my poor infirm body heavy & dull after din<sup>r</sup> met with Mr Hart. Call’d at Mr Allis<sup>s</sup> Mr Cheney’s – at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 8. Yester<sup>y</sup> & the day before people were in great expect<sup>a</sup> of a peace<sup>3</sup>, but today things carry a different appearance.

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 9, 1762

This day ‘tis said 2 or 3 expresses are arriv’d at Brist<sup>o</sup> w<sup>th</sup> acco<sup>t</sup> of preliminaries of peace being actually signed.<sup>4</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> went up to Mr Browns – Mr Stokes<sup>5</sup> came whilst I was there – Mr Brown told me that him & Mr Powiss a gentleman now at Bath intend going to see Mrs Giles’s children in ye country – my poor vain mind had some notion of going with them, but I believe they did not go today. Went to off at 9 & st<sup>d</sup> there ‘till 2. At ½ p 3 went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> where I saw poor friend & reced ye extracts from Mr Laws writ<sup>gs</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I lent her sometime since.<sup>1</sup> - Drank tea w<sup>h</sup> Mrs Marston & p 6

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<sup>1</sup> The epitomised diary notes that she nevertheless died on 15 April 1763.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Rack noted that Pensford’s regular Tuesday market had ceased by the 1780s, but does not record a fair there.

<sup>3</sup> See 9/11.

<sup>4</sup> The entire back page of *FFBJ* 11 November is given over to the preliminary articles of peace.

<sup>5</sup> While this could be the brewer whose wife Dyer electrised on 21 January, it may be Thomas Stokes (d. 1773) whose daughter Mary (Polly) Stokes (1750-1823) was a friend of Rebecca Scudamore\* and later, as Mrs Dudley, a Quaker preacher: see her *ODNB* entry.



went up to Mr Symes's & staid an hour, but his churchwardens being to sup with him this ev<sup>g</sup> prevented my stay<sup>g</sup> any longer. - I ret<sup>d</sup> home ab<sup>t</sup> 8. Call'd at Mr Hawksworths, but he was not at home. [Crossed out is 'This ev<sup>g</sup> our neighbour Mrs Howell dyed' – see 11 Nov.]

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10, 1762

Arose before [blank] after a very disturbed nights rest – my dreams were troublesome, & I suspected from what I dreamed that poor Rach<sup>1</sup> was dead- but I found my suspicions groundless upon visit<sup>g</sup> her this morn<sup>g</sup>. Went also to Rudhalls<sup>2</sup> - & to Mr Curtis's st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2. - This aftern<sup>o</sup> drank tea w<sup>h</sup> AD at Mr Greens & we both spent the ev<sup>g</sup> there.

This morn<sup>g</sup> met poor Mr Bull who was clerk to Mr Bright some years ago.<sup>3</sup>

Thursday, [November] 11<sup>th</sup>, [1762]

This day has been cold & winterish attended with snow & rain.

in ye morn<sup>g</sup> went to off near 10 & staid 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> went to Mr Browns drank tea there.

afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd on Mr Allison & greed to send our mare to their field. 2/6 per week was mentioned. - & to pay what more shall be reasonable when hay is given to her – this matter I am apprehensive will be attended with inconveniency to me. Near 6 at off & home at 8.

Finished this ev<sup>g</sup> some extracts from Mad<sup>m</sup> Bourignons Ires.<sup>4</sup>

This morn<sup>g</sup> it seems our neighbour poor Mrs Howell dyed.<sup>5</sup>

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 12, 1762

Rose ½ p 6 & ½ p 7 mounted Mr Greens mare – met with Mr Blake<sup>6</sup> (who was going into Cornwall) as I was going out of town –

I rode to Littleton from thence to Hungroad magazine. dined at Pill - call'd on Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> & reach'd home near 3 – p 4 call'd on Mr Ames afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Brewho: then to mothers p 6 at off: at 7 visited Rachell & spent an hour with her & Miss Roe & at 8 home.

Saturday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 13, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 22/8.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly John Rudhall of the ironworks in Bristol who subscribed to a Farley book in 1753, who may be the father of John Rudhall, the future proprietor of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, who was an apothecary's apprentice and friend of Thomas Chatterton in the 1760s.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> *A Collection of Letters, written by Mrs. Antonia Bourignon, upon Occasion of the Many Persecutions rais'd against her, for the Sake of the Truth. Done out of French. To which is prefix'd, her Confession of Faith: With A Preface to the English Reader* (1708).

<sup>5</sup> See epitomised diary entry.

<sup>6</sup> See 8/4.

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> at 7 & near 9 call'd on Mr Allison. - This day Giles fetch'd our mare from Harptree & put her into Mr Allisons ground. This morn<sup>g</sup> went also to Rudhall & near 10 at off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2 - At 4 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: drank tea at home then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8.

My poor mind has been excised today at poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who has sent to me for 5 gui<sup>s</sup> for acco<sup>t</sup> Bro<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> & I have paid it & wrote him a lre this ev<sup>g</sup>1 – may the Lord have mercy on him!

Sunday, [November] 14<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup> & spent ev<sup>g</sup> at home. Father and mother was with us in ev<sup>g</sup>.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 15, 1762

This m<sup>g</sup> I rose ½ p 6 & p 8 call'd on Mr Allison & went with him to field & saw our mare. Ab<sup>t</sup> 10 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Geo Morgans<sup>2</sup> & at Zeph. Frys. – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Curtis's staid at off 'till 2. p 3 at off: at 5 home where was Mr Brown who staid 'till p 6 & was electrised for strain of his instep – I went up in town with him – at 7 at Room & then home.

Tuesday, [November] 16, [1762]

Rose this morn<sup>g</sup> somewhat indisposed in body – near 9 call'd on Mr Symes & at 10 at off: - afterw<sup>ds</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne came & by his desire went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> & spoke to Mr Bullman<sup>3</sup> who is a friend of Mrs Lanes & she has half a house w<sup>ch</sup> Capt Cheyne wants to purchase hav<sup>g</sup> already bought ye other half.<sup>4</sup>

Staid on Ch<sup>ge</sup> 'till 2 - st<sup>d</sup> at home 'till 5 then at off: & st<sup>d</sup> 'till near 8. The Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Ames, Mr Elton, Mr Miller, Mr Wansey, Mr Worgan, & Mr Deane came before.

Wednesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 17, 1762

Lay in bed late this morn<sup>g</sup> being somewhat indisposed with a cold – heard a melancholy acco<sup>t</sup> on my coming down stairs viz<sup>t</sup> that about 1 o'clock this morn<sup>g</sup> a fire broke out in Unity Street St Phillips Plain & burnt down a house & what is worst of all a poor woman with child together with 7 children besides perished in the flames.<sup>5</sup>

near 10 went to off: & staid there &c 'till 2 - On Change went with Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne & Mr Bullman to Coffee House & those 2 gentlem<sup>n</sup> conversed about Mrs Lanes house at Bath.

After din<sup>r</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at home 'till near 5 then at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home. - Wrote a long lre to Bro<sup>r</sup> James this ev<sup>g</sup>.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 18, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 19/11 and 22/11.

<sup>2</sup> George Morgan was 'many years' Dyer's tailor in New Street, dying in 1792.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Thomas Bullman (listed in 1775 as Thomas Bullmas gentleman of 22 Trinity Street), who was chief creditor of various bankrupt merchants in the 1750s, and may be the cashier at the Customs House who Dyer records suffering a stroke in 1770.

<sup>4</sup> See 17/11 for her house in Bath. Cheyne\* moved to Bath and died there.

<sup>5</sup> See 19-20/11.

This morn<sup>g</sup> made a visit to several of my friends viz<sup>t</sup> to Mrs Giles where I saw Polly & Doppey who both came from the country last Tuesday, & we hope their persecutor has left ‘em<sup>1</sup> – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mother Davis: also my mother’s: Sis<sup>r</sup> Hop<sup>s</sup> & to Rachells - then ab<sup>t</sup> 10 at off: & staid there &c ‘till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> at Palmers & dip<sup>d</sup> into Bishop Warburtons Treatise on the doctrines of grace, wherein he falls upon Mr Law & Mr Westley.<sup>2</sup>

At 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & near 7 call<sup>d</sup> on Mr Penny then to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield who is lately come to town & p 8 home.

Lord have mercy on me pardon all my sins and do for me as I need.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 19, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> arose at 6 - & p 8 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 12. – Went to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> went to Rudhalls:<sup>3</sup> Brittons & up to fathers - & at 5 home & p 6 went to Mr Symes’s & spent ye ev<sup>g</sup>. Mr Symes has sent an acco<sup>t</sup> of ye poor sufferers by fire in Unity Street to be published tomor<sup>o</sup> & proposing a collection for them. This day reced a lre from poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> wherein he greatly resents what I said in my letter to him last Satur<sup>y</sup>.

Saturday, [November] 20, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 8 went up to Mr Browns & Mr Allison came there to inform of his horse being let out of field by ye boy that took our mare yesterd<sup>y</sup> – call<sup>d</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> on Mr Penny; & also on Britton then to off: & at 10 call<sup>d</sup> again on Britton & went with him to ye Iron Forge or smiths shop in St Phillips & met our wag<sup>n</sup> there who brought an iron spindle w<sup>ch</sup> was broke<sup>d</sup> – called at Rudhalls & then to off & st<sup>d</sup> there &c ‘till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> called at Palmers & gave 5/ towards a subscrip<sup>n</sup> for ye poor sufferers by fire<sup>5</sup> – visited Moth<sup>r</sup> Davis & electric<sup>d</sup> her toe w<sup>th</sup> my small machine afterw<sup>ds</sup> call<sup>d</sup> on Rachell & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 6 then to off & at 8 home. May the Lord have mercy on me as I need.

Sunday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 21, 1762

Heard Mr Whitfield twice today vizt morn<sup>g</sup> & ev<sup>g</sup>. Went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> foren<sup>o</sup> & aftern<sup>o</sup>.

Monday, [November] 22<sup>d</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Clifton & conversed with poor J:D: about his let<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he sent me & I hope all illwill &c will now subside on both sides – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at p 9 call<sup>d</sup> on Mag<sup>s</sup> Faulke then to off: then to Ogbornes<sup>6</sup> - call<sup>d</sup> at the Lamb & heard an acco<sup>t</sup> from Mrs Giles of her being to the woman at

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 53) says they came on Monday 15<sup>th</sup> and were ‘free from every disturbance till Saturday the 27<sup>th</sup>’.

<sup>2</sup> *The Doctrine of Grace: or the Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism* (1762) by William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, attacked both William Law\* and John Wesley. The latter spent 22-26 November answering Warburton’s book, publishing his reply in March 1763.

<sup>3</sup> See 10/11.

<sup>4</sup> See 23/11 and 29/11.

<sup>5</sup> *FFBJ* 20 November has a long account of the fire at Unity St, inviting people to send money to Mr Smith watchmaker in Broad St or Mr Palmer’s\* bookseller in Wine Street. On 24 December it publishes an account of all the subscriptions and how they were spent.

<sup>6</sup> A Quaker ironmonger, listed in 1775 at 12 West Street.

Bedmins<sup>r1</sup> (who rents a room at ye Queens Head<sup>2</sup>) on acco<sup>t</sup> of a moider<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> Mrs Elmes has lost or mislaid but is since found, agreeable to ye said womans prediction - & from all circumstances, it appears pretty evident that ye poor wretch has a familiar to attend her.  
at 11 ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Palmers & at Brewho: & tow<sup>ds</sup> 5 home - Then to off: & near 7 went to Tabernacle & near 9 home.

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 23, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> near 9 went to Page & co forge about iron spindle w<sup>ch</sup> they have mended<sup>4</sup> – then to Brewho: & ½ p 10 at off: then call'd on Mr Wansey & with him went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House & he gave bond for 3 deben<sup>res5</sup> – ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> there & c 'till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Garnetts<sup>6</sup> - then visited poor Rachell & ab<sup>t</sup> 5 went to mothers & drank tea & near 6 at off – near 7 at Tabernacle & home ab<sup>t</sup> 9.

Wednesday, [November] 24, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 9 up in town: then to Cap<sup>t</sup> Garnetts & from thence to Mr Symes's where was poor Jacks ye clerk of St Nicholas who came there to clear himself concern<sup>g</sup> his not serving for Mr Brown at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup>. He declared that he has not refused serv<sup>g</sup> himself, but that his reason for not

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<sup>1</sup> See above 16/10 and below 30/11 and 7/12. John Evans in 1824 (*Chronological Outline*, pp. 278-9) assumed that this woman was the same 'Mrs Biggs a pretended conjuror or cunning woman of Bedminster' whom Samuel Norman reports was consulted concerning the possession of George Lukins of Yatton in 1788. She promised to cure him of his fits by driving the witches or devils out of him and sent several packets to be burned on the fire during his fits, which consisted on brown paper rolled up with pins driven through it. When the packets were thrown on the fire Lukins apparently uttered 'horrid execrations'. On 28 July 1791 Martha Biggs was tried and convicted at the Somerset quarter-sessions at Bath under the Witchcraft Act of 1736, for claiming to be able to identify the thieves who had stolen property from three Somerset men in the Shepton Mallet area who had travelled to Bedminster to her husband's alehouse to consult her; in two cases she had charged them each one and a half guineas over two consultations, while in the third case she had also provided a cure for rheumatism. Martha presented a petition (signed by the local clergymen, churchwardens and 8 other parishioners) claiming that she was a midwife who had 'bred up a large family of 9 children with reputation'. However this Martha, who was buried at Bedminster aged 57 on 12 December 1804, was almost certainly the Martha Hughes baptised at St Mary Redcliffe 19 July 1747, who had first married William Marshall at St Philip and St Jacob 6 May 1771, then John Bromfield at Temple on 6 February 1781. Again a widow by 1784, on 14 July 1785 she married Richard Biggs, a victualler at Bedminster (Richard's first wife Ann Barton was buried 15 April 1785). If Martha was born in 1747, it hardly seems possible that she had established herself as 'the cunning woman of Bedminster' by the time she was 15 years old in 1762 (and Dyer refers to the cunning woman as 'old' on both 16 October and 7 December, though he never met her himself). Perhaps it was her mother Ann Hughes (Thomas Hughes had married Ann Gage at St Mary Redcliffe 30 September 1744), or Biggs' first wife Ann, or another woman who taught Martha the 'art'.

<sup>2</sup> There were numerous public houses of this name in Bristol, including in 1760 ones in the Castle, in King Street and in Cuckold Alley, St James Barton. If it was operating in 1762, the most likely location would be the Queens Head inn in Redcliff Street (from whence the wagons went to Langford and Wrington in 1793-4) which was on the road to Bedminster, but this inn is not listed in 1775, so it may not have been operating then (a 1760 list of licenses does not cover the wards south of the river).

<sup>3</sup> A Portuguese gold coin valued at 27 shillings.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Page was an ironmaster with an iron forge or smith's shop in St Phillips; in 1775 he is listed as a gentleman at 42 St Philips Plain.

<sup>5</sup> See 8/6.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Garnett merchant of 7 Trinity Street is listed in 1775; and he subscribed to Croker's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* in 1764.

serv<sup>g</sup> hitherto was want of a person to lead him to church his boy being employed every day except Sundays.<sup>1</sup>

Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> & at 11 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. – after din<sup>r</sup> visited Mr Penny & staid the whole aftern<sup>o</sup> with him 'till 6 then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8 then home.

Thursday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25, 1762

Rose not 'till p 8 – p 9 up in town – went to mothers – Palmers - & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Thomas & co<sup>2</sup> & c – st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> met Mr Ames's serv<sup>t</sup> who was com<sup>g</sup> for me – I went to Mr A<sup>s</sup> who gave me 2 letters he reced – then to off: w<sup>h</sup> intent to ans<sup>r</sup> one of ye lres viz<sup>t</sup> Mr Strachey but with Mr Wanseys advice declin<sup>d</sup> it - at 5 drank tea w<sup>h</sup> Mrs Marston. Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Williams's auction of books<sup>3</sup> & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home. AD informs me (who has visited Rachell this ev<sup>g</sup>) that our friends serv<sup>t</sup> maid is married, w<sup>ch</sup> occasions a tryal to her. She has been married a month since, but kept it secret 'till last Tuesday.

Friday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 26, 1762

Rose p 6 & ab<sup>t</sup> 8 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> & return'd near 1 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> again to off & at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> up in town & ab<sup>t</sup> 6 visited poor Rach<sup>l</sup> & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8. - This servant of God is at present under darkness & heaviness – may she stay her mind on ye Lord.

Saturday, [November] 27, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 8 went to Palmers & read ye papers & c. then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Sedgley & co<sup>4</sup> - & Thomas's & co – st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2 & then by invitation of friend Hawksworth, went to his home & din'd with him in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Badderly & esq<sup>r</sup> Haynes. - Ret<sup>d</sup> to off ½ p 3 – at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> again to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8.

Mr Durbin this aftern<sup>o</sup> inform'd me that ye disturbances again begun at the Lamb last night.<sup>5</sup>

Sunday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 28, 1762

Morn<sup>g</sup> – just now (p 9 o'clock) visited Mrs Giles at ye Lamb, who inform'd me that last Thurs<sup>y</sup> night Molley ye nurse maid heard some kind of noise in ye chamber where she lay like something jingling w<sup>ch</sup> frightened her a little but noth<sup>g</sup> more was heard that night - Friday even<sup>g</sup> Polley Giles was sent to bed by herself & soon after she went up stairs heard like ye jingling of keys in ye room w<sup>ch</sup> greatly affrighted her & she call'd for ye maid to come up stairs – afterw<sup>ds</sup> she heard nothing – yesterday (Saturday) morn<sup>g</sup> soon after one of ye servants arose, a noise was heard in ye room where ye children lay some distance from the bed, namely, nine small raps against the floor (I think it was) & immediately the same number of exceedingly loud thumps w<sup>ch</sup> awaked Mrs Giles who lay in a room adjoining – afterwards Polley Giles was pulled out of bed by her feet by the same

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably he was blind. Brown's Tuesday lectures, formerly at St Nicholas, were now being held at St Werburgh's – see 7/9.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> See James Williams\*.

<sup>4</sup> See 14/10.

<sup>5</sup> See 18/11.

invisible power & immediately afterwards fell into a fit & foamed at ye mouth but 'on being removed to another room recovered – afterwards Polley, Bettey, & Doppey Giles were all going down stairs together & when they had advanced down a few stairs an apron w<sup>ch</sup> before lay in a basket with some foul clothes on top of the stairs was as 'twere whisked before their eyes covered their faces w<sup>ch</sup> greatly affrighted them & they all skreemed out & retired back to their mamma who was not yet come down stairs – this was all that has happened 'till this morning when sometime after ye family were come down stairs Doppey standing at ye door w<sup>ch</sup> enters their public kitchen ye same old woman she has seen heretofore, appeared, took her up pretty high from the ground (as the child expresses it) & carry'd her to a dark hole under the stairs (I think it is) in ye back kitchen & there seated her & ye old woman sat by & told the child that she shou'd not trouble them as usual, but shou'd visit 'em now & then – also she said that there was a family in town now troubled in ye same manner as they had been – the child was here a quarter of an hour before ye family cou'd find her 'tho they searched every place as they cou'd think of. & ye children declare that when she was first missed they searched even this dark hole but cou'd not see her & 'tis remark<sup>le</sup> there was a woman in ye back kitchen making a fire under ye boiler & was there before the child was conveyed to ye above mention'd place & continued in the kitchen 'till after she was discovered & yet did not here not see her put in – the child declares she cou'd not cry out for them to hear her, tho' she cou'd hear her mamma call out "Doppey" several times.<sup>1</sup>

[two pages pasted in here which appear to be 1 and 2 January so moved to start]

After service at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> this morn<sup>g</sup> went into ye vestry to Mr Symes & by his invitation went home with him to dinr & afterwards ret<sup>d</sup> again to church with him. In ye even<sup>g</sup> went to Tabernacle & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Quakers meet<sup>g</sup> & hope spent that time profitably.

Monday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 29, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 9 went to off & then call'd on Mr Britton & went with him ... ye forge in St Phillips<sup>2</sup> & staid an hour while he was instruct<sup>g</sup> Powell<sup>3</sup> about setting ye spindle right w<sup>ch</sup> he has made crooked in mend<sup>g</sup> it. Ret<sup>d</sup> to off at 11 & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2. – after dinr took walk to Mr Allison's field & at 4 at off afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Sistr Hop<sup>s</sup> & drank tea there ret<sup>d</sup> to off & ½ p 6 went to Tabernacle & heard Mr Whitfield from these words viz<sup>t</sup> For me to live is Christ & to dye is gain<sup>4</sup> tomor<sup>o</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Whitf<sup>d</sup> sets out for Plym<sup>o</sup>.

This day Mr Ames sat out for Lond<sup>o</sup>

Tuesday, Nov<sup>r</sup> 30, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p.53) only records 'nine loud knocks and frighted Molly into fits' on Saturday 27<sup>th</sup>, and none of the other events recorded by Dyer. However, he adds 'It spoke (so loud that the maid heard) that the affair would be brought to light. They answered, that it had told them lies, in saying that it would cease in a year. It said, though it was hired afresh, it would not torment them long. This, and the following, was spoken audibly, that the maid heard it. It said also that another family was troubled, but that this would likewise be brought to light.'

<sup>2</sup> See 23/11.

<sup>3</sup> John Powell brightsmith (at 17 Bridewell Lane in 1775) made an electrical machine for Symes\* in 1760, and a pocket one for Dyer himself on 28 April 1761.

<sup>4</sup> The text is Philippians 1: 21.

This morn<sup>g</sup> visited poor mother (& carry<sup>d</sup> her decoction of bark<sup>1</sup>) who was extremely ill in ye night wih a violent head ach – p 10 at off: - afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mother Davis & call'd on Mrs Giles who went yesterd<sup>y2</sup> to ye cunning woman at Bedmins<sup>f</sup> to ask advice about her affliction<sup>3</sup> May ye Lord pardon this folly! It seems that both yesterday & this morn<sup>g</sup> a very distinct articulate voice was heard by ye nurse maid as well as ye children in their chamber to pronounce several words.<sup>4</sup> St<sup>d</sup> on Ch<sup>ge</sup> 'till 2 – after din<sup>f</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited poor mother who is very ill! p 5 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 7 – then went to Mr Symes's & staid 'till near 10. The Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Miller Mr Baugh Mr Deane & Mr Wansey.

Wednesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 1, 1762

This has been a day of tryal to me but ye Lord has brought me through it praised be his holy name. In ye morn<sup>g</sup> visited Mrs Giles – then to off p 9 where Mr Miller came & appeared extremely angry of Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> acco<sup>t</sup> say<sup>g</sup> he had used him ill<sup>5</sup> of w<sup>ch</sup> I sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to acq<sup>t</sup> JD - afterw<sup>ds</sup> father came to inform me that poor mother was extremely ill with pain in her head & quite delirious. I visited her at 1 o'clock: & from thence went to Mr Barry to send her an open<sup>g</sup> mixture in aftern<sup>o</sup> – after din<sup>f</sup> went up again to mothers who seemed a little better but her head exceed<sup>g</sup> bad – near 5 went home & afterw<sup>ds</sup> Mr Symes came & drank tea. I took my leave of him  $\frac{3}{4}$  p 6 & went to yearly meeting of Helpful Society<sup>6</sup> where I staid 'till  $\frac{1}{2}$  p 8 & then home. - Mr S<sup>s</sup> went home before my return.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 2, 1762

Visited poor mother 3 times today who seems much easier in her head this even<sup>g</sup> praised be God for it!

This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd on Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne – then went to mo<sup>rs</sup> then to off: also to Cust<sup>o</sup> Ho: saw Mr Wansey who has a scheme to send me in ye North – Lord order for ye best & preserve me from evil – st<sup>d</sup> on

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<sup>1</sup> See 22/5.

<sup>2</sup> Durbin (p. 54) offers a rather confusing chronology at this point, as he refers to 'Monday the 19<sup>th</sup> it troubled them as usual. Molly the maid, felt a cold hand slap her across the eyes. I saw one eye blackish. At night I went, but it woud not answer many questions. Mrs Giles had asked my opinion, whether they should not go to those called *White Witches*, to have these troubles stopped. I told them, if *they* could stop it, it must be done by the power of the devil; therefore I thought it not lawful to go to them; but to trust the providence of God for deliverance. But as it continued above the year, and was hired for another year, they were determind to go to the woman at *Bedminster*, to see if she could stop it. The morning they went it was very violent, and spoke aloud, and called Mrs Giles, and said they should not be much the better for going to the *Cunning Woman*; and as they were going out at the door, pinched Molly in the cheek till the blood came. I saw the mark of it.'

<sup>3</sup> Durbin (p. 54) adds 'Mrs Giles and two neighbours, went to Bedminster; but were resolved not to tell what they came about, to see if the woman knew their thoughts. They sat down in her room, and she began, without their telling what they came about, and told Mrs Giles, that she should have come to her before, for that there had been horrible Witchcraft at her house; that Molly and her sister had been troubled much; that her husband had lost his life through it; that a man in Bristol had given many pieces of Gold to a woman in Gloucestershire to do it. And so, for an hour and a half, told them every thing that had happened, and some *secret* things, which Mrs Giles said, she thought she could not possibly have known by hearing. But, as all these things had been long and publicly talked of, she might have easily heard the whole, and yet no WISER than her neighbours.' She then referred to Malchi (see quotation in footnote under 10/2). See also below 7/12.

<sup>4</sup> See 28/11 footnote.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably over the use of his house in Clifton (see 8/5).

<sup>6</sup> See 6/1.

Ch<sup>ge</sup> 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewho. in ye ev<sup>g</sup> visited Rachell & at 9 went with AD from mothers home.

Friday, [December] 3, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> I was disappointed of our mare – she having taken a lameness when Mr Brown last rode her & therefore hired Mr Greens mare & sat out for Littleton p 7 & ret<sup>d</sup> near 12 – our d<sup>r</sup> friend Mrs S: made a short visit to us this morn<sup>g</sup>. –

Went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to ye farriers & call'd on Mr Brown & then to poor mothers & staid there in comp<sup>a</sup> with Miss Fisher 'till ½ p 4 then home – then to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 – may ye Lord shew ye mercy to me I need!

Saturday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to field, call'd on Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne & on moth<sup>r</sup> & at 10 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2. – p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> to off & Mr French<sup>1</sup> came & desired me to write Mr Elton who is Lond<sup>o</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I did. – at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off: p 6 went to Palmers: then to Rachells & to mothers & p 8 home.

Sunday, [December] 5, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> went to Temple Church & sacra<sup>t</sup> there<sup>2</sup> - & aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> & spent ev<sup>g</sup> at home.

Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 6, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 7 took walk visited poor mother & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 9 – then to off: sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to maga<sup>z</sup> on foot this morn<sup>g</sup> – went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> st<sup>d</sup> at off & c 'till 2 – reced complaint from Mr Bonbonous that B Ramzor wou'd not deliv<sup>r</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> yesterday.

This afterno went into Lambstreet then to my mothers & drank tea there with AD – near 6 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Mr Symes's where was Mr Camplin & Mag<sup>s</sup> Faulke. Staid 'till p 8 then home.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 7, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> Mr Badderly breakfas<sup>d</sup> with us – p 9 went up in town – visited Mother Davis – also called on Dickey Symes who is at Mrs Pearce<sup>s</sup><sup>3</sup> for change of air on acco<sup>t</sup> of hooping cough – call'd also at ye Lamb & Mrs Giles inform'd me ye old woman of Bedmins<sup>r</sup> has lately been there and given 'em instructions how to manage ye children in order to counteract ye charm & likewise gave expectation that she wou'd bring to light ye persons concerned in that affair<sup>4</sup> – oh may Jesus be ye refuge of that family & may they not flee to ye Devil for assistance. -

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<sup>1</sup> See 12/8.

<sup>2</sup> This was Dyer's parish church, although he preferred St Werburgh's (see introduction).

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Durbin (p. 55) describes this as if it was recommended at the visit on 29 November: 'she bid them, however, take the two children's first water in the morning, and put it in the pipkin on the fire; and if, when it boiled, all colours of the rainbow came out of it visibly, she could cure it, and she would do the rest at home. They accordingly put the water on the fire, and, several told me, beautiful colours came out of it, like the rainbow. – From that day they have had no disturbance; but have been quiet above a year. How far the *cunning* woman may have contributed to this, I will not pretend to say.' The penultimate sentence suggests Durbin's account was written in late 1763 or early 1764. The



went to Cust<sup>o</sup> House this morn<sup>g</sup> visited mother – st<sup>d</sup> at off &c ‘till 2. –  
at 3 went to St Werburghs & heard Mr Hawies<sup>1</sup> preach there from Titus 2:14<sup>2</sup> & p 5 visited Rachell  
ret<sup>d</sup> to off ½ p 6 & about 8 home.

Wednesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 8, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 9 up in town – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Brewho: & staid an hour.  
Visited poor mother – then to off & staid ‘till 2 – oh may Jesus be my refuge. –  
after dinner went to Clifton & spent a short time with Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> – call’d at Mr Symes’s ‘on my return  
& was informed Mas<sup>r</sup> Dickey is very ill – then home ret<sup>d</sup> to off: afterwards spent an hour at  
Williams’s auction of books w<sup>ch</sup> discomposed my poor mind & unsettled my nerves - May ye Lord  
pardon me herein as well as in every other instance of folly.  
Afterw<sup>ds</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till near 9 read<sup>g</sup> Jacob Bohme<sup>3</sup> which prov’d a blessed means of restoring  
my mind to composure.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 9, 1762

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 7 went up in town p 9 accidentally met with Mr Symes as I was going towards his house  
& parted with him at ye back door of St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> where he was going to marry a couple – afterw<sup>ds</sup>  
visited Father Davis who is layn by on acco<sup>t</sup> of bad health – ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & at 12 visited poor Rachell  
& ret<sup>d</sup> to off: near 1 staid there &c ‘till 2 - & after din<sup>r</sup> went to Father Davis<sup>s</sup> with a bottle of gum  
guaicum<sup>4</sup> p 5 ret<sup>d</sup> to off: where was my poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> who staid a short time with me. – at ½ p 6 left  
off: & went to Mr Pennys where I spent the ev<sup>g</sup> in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Eaton – May Jesus have mercy  
‘on me as I need!

Friday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 10, 1762

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reference to rainbow colours may have resonated with Durbin because of another event, omitted from the narrative itself, but included in the editor’s preface (pp. 6-7) in 1800. This reports that Durbin’s ‘often repeated request to the Spirit, as it was termed, to favour him with an interview ... on any terms consistent with his character as a Christian’ led eventually to a meeting where Durbin ‘adjured it in the most solemn manner, to shew itself in any form, or way it thought proper. After a short time spent in waiting, a loud knocking took place on the opposite side of the wainscot (it was at night, and the place in deep darkness.) Lifting his eyes towards the place where the noise seemed to be, he discovered a coloured luminous appearance, of a circular form, about the size of a common plate: the colours resembled those of a rainbow: the brighter ones were extremely vivid, and deeply shaded with the *red*, *blue*, and *indigo*. The Writer believes that Mr. *D* said, he then asked some questions, but what they were, he cannot now recollect.’

<sup>1</sup> Rev Thomas Haweis (c. 1734-1820) was an Oxford graduate and evangelical, who became chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon and published a *Short Account* of her last days in 1791, as well as a range of other works such as *Evangelical Principles and Practice* (1762) and *The Communicant's Spiritual Companion: or, an evangelical preparation for the Lord's supper* (1763); in 1791 he preached the funeral sermon at Temple for the evangelical minister there, Joseph Easterbrook (see James Brown\*).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.’

<sup>3</sup> See 10/12 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Guaicum* is a West Indian genus of tree/shrub, whose wood is used in medicine as *lignum vitae* and its resin is gum guaiacum.

Sat out for Littleton ½ p 7 & ret<sup>d</sup> home p 12. – went to off: & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Allison’s who has reced a cask butter w<sup>ch</sup> is for Bro<sup>r</sup> James<sup>1</sup> – p 5 ret<sup>d</sup> to off & p 6 went up to Mr Symes’s & spent the ev<sup>g</sup> there – Mr Walker<sup>2</sup> was there part of ye time.

Near 10 home.

Mr Symes has reced lre from Mr Langcake<sup>3</sup> advis<sup>g</sup> that ye works of Jacob Behmen will be printed & that ye threefold life ye 40 questions & way to Christ will be published ab<sup>t</sup> March next in a quarto vol: & that ye philosophy is illustrated with many curious figures by Mr Law.<sup>4</sup>

Saturday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 11, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> at 9 up in town – visited Father Davis afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> & was inform<sup>d</sup> of license being arriv<sup>d</sup> for ship<sup>g</sup> of pow<sup>r</sup> to Liverp<sup>o5</sup> then went to ye Liverp<sup>o</sup> vessel – ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & st<sup>d</sup> there &c ‘till 2 – Mr Ames inform<sup>d</sup> me that Shapland in ye Castle<sup>6</sup> has laid an attachment<sup>7</sup> for £150 on a sum money w<sup>ch</sup> Williams & Evans<sup>8</sup> owes Hale & Madderne<sup>9</sup>, & desired me to go to Mr Bengough<sup>10</sup> & make affidavit to our debt of £16 14. 8 & desire him to lay an attachment for that sum also which I did. – after din<sup>r</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: at 5 went up to mothers – then visited Rachell p 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 8 then home.

Sunday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 12, 1762

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<sup>1</sup> See 18/10.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the brother who had brought Symes a letter from Rev. Samuel Walker\* in 1755.

<sup>3</sup> See 3/4.

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Jacob Behmen, the Teutonic Theosopher. ... . Containing, I. The Aurora. II. The Three Principles. To which is prefixed, the life of the author. With figures, illustrating his principles, left by the Reverend William Law, M.A.* (4 vols, 1764-1781). The local publisher of Jacob Boehme (1575-1624) was to be Thomas Mills (see 13/1) who published *The Way to Christ discovered and described in the Following Treatises. 1. Of True Repentance. 2. Of True Resignation. 3. Of Regeneration. 4. Of the Supersensual Life. By Jacob Behmen. To which are added some other pieces relative to the same subjects; as also a treatise on the four complexions. Written by the same author* (Bath, 1775) and sold *Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial, and Wonderful Writings, of Jacob Behmen: now first done at large into English, from the best edition of his works in the original German. With an introductory preface of the translator, directing to the due and right use of this mysterious and extraordinary theosopher. By Francis Okely, Formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Northampton, 1780).

<sup>5</sup> See 6/3.

<sup>6</sup> Neither the leading apothecary Joseph Shapland (b. 1727), nor the soapboiler Thomas Shapland (d. 1791) are recorded in the Castle area.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Taking securing or detaining a person or thing by means of a writ’.

<sup>8</sup> See 22/1.

<sup>9</sup> See 29/1.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Bengough (c. 1739-1818) was clerk to the attorney Cadell in Wine Street, marrying his daughter in 1760 and becoming a leading attorney (at 28 Wine Street in 1775). He was undersheriff by 1763 and served as mayor in 1792, establishing a civic charity in his name (BRO 33041/BMC/10); he was an Unitarian. His papers are in the Jeffries collection in Bristol Reference Library.

This day heard Mr Hawies<sup>1</sup> preach at St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> both foren<sup>o</sup> & afterno where was very large congregations both times. Spent ye ev<sup>g</sup> home & desire to be thankful for all mercies.

Monday, [December] 13<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> call'd at mothers then to Mr Symes who inform'd me that Mrs Symes & his son Dicky is at Hotwells where they went Saturday & are to continue sometime for change of air for Dickey – at 10 went to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House st<sup>d</sup> off &c 'till 2 p 4 visit.. ...

[pages then out of order 15/16 comes before rest of 13 and 14 – then gap to 22nd]

Father Davis – in even<sup>g</sup> p 5 Geo Bush call'd for me by Mr Deane's direction to whom we both went & I gave Mr Deane an ord<sup>r</sup> for pow<sup>r</sup> for his ship ye Juba.<sup>2</sup>  
Afterw<sup>ds</sup> went to Wms's sale of books & at 7 went to Tabern<sup>a</sup> & home at 9.

Tuesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 14, 1762

Lord forgive my sins and folls of this day!

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cust<sup>o</sup> House also at Mr Deane's &c staid at off: &c 'till 2 - after din<sup>r</sup> went to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> – drank tea with Mrs Marston – then to off: the Committee met this ev<sup>g</sup> consist<sup>g</sup> of Mr Ames, Mr Elton, Deane, Miller, Wansey – they went away near ... & I spent afterw<sup>ds</sup> an unprofitable hour at Williams's sale of books Lord forgive me.

Wednesday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 15, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> p 8 went to Brewho afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited mother then to off: sent Rob<sup>t</sup> to magazine – went to Cust<sup>o</sup> H<sup>o</sup> call'd at Mr French's<sup>3</sup> – st<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 2. After din<sup>r</sup> call'd at Mr Ames's & he told me the 70 b<sup>ls</sup> might be dd to KM Johns<sup>4</sup> order as he has promis<sup>d</sup> to pay housing – afterw<sup>ds</sup> down to Key &c. – visited Rachell p 6 at off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8 then home.

Thursday, [December] 16, [1762]

Rose p 7 – p 9 up in town – visited Mr Symes – afterw<sup>ds</sup> at ye Lamb ab<sup>t</sup> salt petre. call'd on Father Davis – staid at off &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> visited mother – saw Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne – p 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 8.

[17-21 December missing, but probably include the following two other torn pages, which appear on top of the pages for 29 March. The reference to 'field' dates them after mid-November (when

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<sup>1</sup> See 7/12.

<sup>2</sup> A large slaving vessel which was registered in 1752 and again in 1760, when it belonged to John Curtis\* and co. In 1762 its owners were Thomas Deane\*, John Curtis and Michael Atkins (see 14/10) in 1762 and it left Bristol on 24 December for Bonny then South Carolina, where it arrived August 1763, leaving in October to get home in December. Later trips are recorded as 'Thomas Deane and co' and then 'James Laroche\* and co'. On its journey home from its 1769 voyage it was lost with all its crew off Barnstaple Bay in 1770.

<sup>3</sup> See 12/8.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

their horse is put in Allison's field), and there are no other missing pages after October. If they are successive days then given that neither is a Sunday, they are either 17-18 or 20-21 December, but as they are separate sheets they may be two different days in that period. In the other diary (fo 125) it says that 21 December entry records Mr and Mrs Symes going to Hotwells, so neither of these items appears to be 21 December, so it is perhaps most likely that they are Friday 17 and Saturday 18 December]:

Happen'd to me w<sup>ch</sup> ... happen in one day. In ye morn... call'd at Mr Brittons went to Marst.. Cust<sup>o</sup> House & Mr Atkins's<sup>1</sup> & was disappoint.. ship ye powder on bo<sup>d</sup> ye Henry<sup>2</sup> altho' I had entered it. At change time Capt Phil...<sup>3</sup> came up to ye off: & in his bluster<sup>g</sup> w.. made a great noise & I in my turn stormed at him. Bro<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> w.. home ill. – at 2 I went home & p... to off: in ye ev<sup>g</sup> Ramzor came & ... about his not being able to fulfil his ... of living at magazine & yet he seems .. to leave ye place – my behaviour was stern – may Jesus overcome in my ... every wrong principle ½ p 7 went to Rob<sup>t</sup> from thence to Mr Symes's & ... p 8.

... & home at 12 soon after our d<sup>r</sup> fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S came & spent an hour – p 1 went to off & st<sup>d</sup> 'till 2 afterw<sup>ds</sup> call'd Mr Brown & went with him ..ield & afterw<sup>ds</sup> called on Capt ...ne & we had some unprofitable ..versation on religion his ..timents being very different ..om mine – at 5 home ret<sup>d</sup> ... off and st<sup>d</sup> 'till p 8.

Wednesday, Decer 22, 1762

This morning p 7 went with Mr Allison to field & call'd on Mr Brown in our return – afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited my mother also Fath<sup>r</sup> Davis - & ab<sup>t</sup> 10 at off: st<sup>d</sup> there &c 'till 2. 'on Change spoke to young Mr Durbin request<sup>g</sup> him to remem<sup>r</sup> Miss Drax concern<sup>g</sup> Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o4</sup> – after din<sup>r</sup> visited Bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> home at 5 then to off: Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne call'd & bro<sup>t</sup> me Dr James on canine madness.<sup>5</sup> we spent ½ an hour together & he went to hear a famous German preacher<sup>6</sup> staid at off: 'till 8 then home.

Thursday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23, 1762

Rose near 8 – p 9 up in town & st<sup>d</sup> at off &c 'till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> took walk - & ret<sup>d</sup> home near 5 then to off: & p 6 went from thence to Room where Mr Cha<sup>s</sup> Wesley<sup>7</sup> preached – near 8 home.

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<sup>1</sup> See 14/10.

<sup>2</sup> Ship not identified.

<sup>3</sup> See 13/1.

<sup>4</sup> See 21/10 and 23/10. John Durbin\* was Miss Drax's\* brother-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> *A Treatise on Canine Madness* (1760) by Robert James M.D. (1703-1776), inventor of Dr James' Powder, on whom see 17/5.

<sup>6</sup> Probably at the Moravian church in Upper Maudlin Lane, which Cheyne's\* wife attended.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Wesley (1707-1788), co-founder with his brother John of Wesleyan Methodism, had a house in Bristol at 3 Charles Street from 1749 to 1778, and it was his chief residence 1756-71. Dyer visited him with Henry Davis\* on 5 November 1761, and when he died called him 'a man of real piety and in his early life possessed a remarkable genius for divine poetry, probably not to be equalled'. See *ODNB* entry.

Friday, [December] 24, [1762]

Rose ab<sup>t</sup> 6 after a bad nights rest – at 8 sat out for Lit<sup>n</sup> & ret<sup>d</sup> at 12 then up in town & at 2 home – after din<sup>r</sup> visited mother & Rachell p 5 at off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till p 7 then home.

[next 4 pages in diary are from a different diary? –see below – 1777?]

Saturday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 25, 1762 Xmas day

This morn<sup>g</sup> did not rise ‘till 9 hav<sup>g</sup> had a bad night’s rest occasioned by cold in my head – near 10 call’d on Mr Penny (by appointment) & accompanied him & his sister & Mr Beck<sup>1</sup> to St Werb<sup>ghs</sup> – I staid at sacrat & spent after<sup>n</sup> at home in even<sup>g</sup> went to Room & afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Mr Symes’s & was inform’d that his youngest son departed this life this morn<sup>g</sup>. At 8 home.

This even<sup>g</sup> a most raging fire broke out at 11 o’clock at Alderman Barnes’s sugarhouse in Duck Lane & entirely consumed the same.<sup>2</sup>

Sunday, [December] 26<sup>h</sup>, [1762]

Went to St Werbghs morn<sup>g</sup> & after<sup>n</sup> where Mr Badderly performed ye duty both times Mr Symes not being out on acco<sup>t</sup> of the death of his child.

In ev<sup>g</sup> went to Room & heard Mr Hoddy.<sup>3</sup> I have some concern for our fr<sup>d</sup> Mrs S: may ye Lord be her preserver.

Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 27, 1762

This morn<sup>g</sup> electrised Mr Barnett<sup>4</sup> - near 9 went up to Mr Eatons & we both went to Mr Penny & at 11 all three of us sat out together & walked to Fulligrove magazine & dined at Mr Georges & ret<sup>d</sup> home at 5 in ye even<sup>g</sup>.

May the Lord forgive mine iniquities.

Tuesday, [December] 28, [1762]

This morn<sup>g</sup> extremely cold. Went to Mr Brown & settled with him for horsekeep<sup>g</sup> to this time & afterw<sup>ds</sup> took walk with him: then up in town afterw<sup>ds</sup> visited Mrs Parsey<sup>5</sup> and lent her Storck on hemlock<sup>6</sup> – then call’d on Rach<sup>l</sup> & spent an hour then to off: & staid on Change ‘till 2. The

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Joseph Beck (d. 1793) of King Square and Frenchay, Quaker and friend of Sarah Fox, and a leading philanthropist. He must have been ecumenically minded to attend an Anglican service, even at Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> William Barnes (d. 1767) and his son William were both sugarrefiners who served as sheriffs, mayors and aldermen; the father went bankrupt in 1765 but his son was mayor the next year. William Wansey\*, one of Dyer’s employers, was married to the daughter/sister. Duck Lane was near the Frome bridge leading to Broadmead; *FFBJ* I January 1763 described the fire.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Ebenezer Barnett sadler at 6 West Street in 1775.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs Parsey was sister of Mrs Marston\*, and probably the wife of Thomas Passey broker at 23 Old Market in 1775.

<sup>6</sup> See 8/9.

gentlem<sup>n</sup> agreed to decline meet<sup>g</sup> this evg – after din<sup>r</sup> went up to mothers & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till tow<sup>ds</sup> 6 then to Room & home.

Wednesday, Decr 29, 1762

Rose at 7 & p 9 at off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at bank & met with friend Hawksworth there who gave me invit<sup>a</sup> to his house. Staid at off & c ‘till 2 – after din<sup>r</sup> went to Brewh<sup>o</sup> call’d on moth<sup>r</sup> at 5 home where was Miss Sukey Cox & little Sam Dyer<sup>1</sup> – p 6 at off & staid ‘till 8 when went to Mr Hawksworth & staid there ‘till near 10 in comp<sup>a</sup> with Mr Hen Davis.

Thursday, [December] 30, [1762]

Rose p 7 – went to Mr Allison’s p 9 & then to off: afterw<sup>ds</sup> at Cap<sup>t</sup> Garnetts<sup>2</sup> ret<sup>d</sup> to off: & staid ‘till 2 - p 3 ret<sup>d</sup> there again st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 5 then home ret<sup>d</sup> to off & st<sup>d</sup> ‘till 8 visited my mother this ev<sup>g</sup>. Narrowness of spt & c I’ve this day felt very sensibly but ye grace of God has prevented its breaking out. The Lord be praised.

Friday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 31, 1762

This finishes the present year – may God grant me to be wiser and better as I grow older. – This morn<sup>g</sup> at 8 sat out for Littleton & ret<sup>d</sup> at 12 went to off: & staid ‘till 2 & spent all ye aftern<sup>o</sup> at home.

Mr & Mrs Brown & Mr & Mrs Griffin<sup>3</sup> came & spent the even<sup>g</sup> with us, some part whereof was employed in read<sup>g</sup> Burnham’s Memorials<sup>4</sup> - & the latter part in exhibiting electrical experiments. Lord make me thankful for preservation from mischief this even<sup>g</sup> by means of spirits of wine being throwed on the chamber floor quite in a flame by means of elect ...

[Between 24 and 25 December entry are the following pages (out of order but this is correct order). From references in Dyer’s epitomised diary, it is clear that these items relate to 1777.]

Saturday, 19 April, [1777]

Arose this morn<sup>g</sup> before 6 o’clo: went down to the Col<sup>r</sup> H<sup>o</sup><sup>5</sup> & with Bro<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> & Joe weigh<sup>d</sup> & turn<sup>d</sup> out 20 b<sup>ls</sup> brown<sup>6</sup> to go to Dublin. - Ret<sup>d</sup> home ½ p 8 & spent the foren<sup>o</sup> in h<sup>o</sup> – went to Ch<sup>ge</sup> spoke with Moody.<sup>7</sup> Moody have agreed to the lease in manner w<sup>ch</sup> I proposed.- In aftern<sup>o</sup> went to Wind<sup>ey</sup><sup>8</sup> & the clerk proposes our part of the lease next Tuesday ev<sup>g</sup>. –

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<sup>1</sup> His brother John’s\* son, as opposed to his own brother Samuel\*.

<sup>2</sup> See 23/11.

<sup>3</sup> See John Griffin\* for various candidates, but also 19/4 for another possible Griffin.

<sup>4</sup> See 11/7.

<sup>5</sup> See introduction for the Colour House in Great Garden, opened in November 1772, in which Dyer had a half-share.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Spanish Brown’ was the only colour made at the Colour House.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly James Moody accomptant, listed at 34 Welsh Back in 1775.

<sup>8</sup> Nathaniel Windey, attorney and notary public at 27 Corn Street in 1775.

After tea call<sup>d</sup> on Mr Fry in Guin<sup>y</sup> Street who has somti.. been laid up in the gout<sup>1</sup> also took walk – also stayed up in town - called at Adlams – call'd on Sis<sup>r</sup> Sam –

At my return made a memorandum, life being uncertain, in what manner I choose to dispose of my effects – and should this & my other journals or dairys fall into my executors hands it is my will & desire that they be immediately burnt without being inspected by any person ... for my view<sup>s</sup> solely and only penned for my own use & amusement – & further it is my will that my dear wife would give a book (any book which she shall choose) to either or any of my acquaintance by way of keep sake<sup>2</sup> –

May Christ my redeemer shew that mercy to me & to all belonging to me as we need.

[Sunday], April 20, [1777]

In the morn<sup>s</sup> awoke out of a dream wherein I tho<sup>t</sup> I saw 3 mice each caught in a trap but were still alive - & I tho<sup>t</sup> I saw Bro<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> with a trap in his hand with a rat caught therein but alive -

Whether it implies anything the Lord knows – May the Lord prepare me for all events & defend me ag<sup>st</sup> all enemies whether open or secret -

This foren<sup>o</sup> at Coll<sup>ge</sup> & heard Mr Camplin in aftern<sup>o</sup> at St Nich<sup>s</sup> & heard his son –

Went into Castle Street & drank tea with SD<sup>3</sup>.

Entries from William Dyer's epitomised diaries (BCL 20095), extracted from his original diaries in 1801, which relate to the year 1762. In these entries he often brings together material from a variety of dates following the first date recorded.

fo 118

Dec 10<sup>th</sup> 1761 Sat up all night with my friends Geo Eaton Steph<sup>n</sup> Penny & Cap<sup>t</sup> James<sup>4</sup> at Rich<sup>d</sup> Gyles's at the Lamb Inn without Lawford's Gate where 3 of his children (daugh<sup>rs</sup>) were strangely afflicted, at first unaccountable, but at length imputed to diabolical magic or witchcraft Decem<sup>r</sup>. 15: I myself had a pinch on the knuckle of (I think) my right hand forefinger when at Mr Eatons where 2 of these children were at play. Dec<sup>r</sup> 16, 19 and 31 are further details of this wicked affair; & in the course of my dairys many particulars are recorded, down to the times this deplorable affliction to Gyles's family ceased. See 1762 Jan<sup>y</sup> 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9<sup>th</sup> & ye 11<sup>th</sup> the children were removed to no 8 in Lowdin's Court in Great Garden the 15<sup>th</sup> the operations began afresh at that place and again the 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 & 27<sup>th</sup> inst the 30 I myself was anguish'd by sensations of hands<sup>5</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 31, Feb 1, 3 & 6 they remain'd at Lowdins Court, Do Feb 7: the children remov'd from ditto home to the Lamb Inn without Lawfords Gate Feb 8, 9 further acco<sup>ts</sup> on the 10 Feb<sup>ry</sup> the Rev Mr Seyer propos'd questions in Latin & Greek & was precisely ans'd Feb<sup>ry</sup> 11, 12 & 13 answer'd to mental questions see further acco<sup>ts</sup> Feb 15, 16, 17 and 18 this day Major Drax visited these child<sup>n</sup> on Feb<sup>ry</sup> 19, 20, 21, & 22<sup>d</sup> I went with Rich<sup>d</sup> Gyles & with Polley to Mr Haynes's at Wick Feb<sup>ry</sup> 23 her sister Doppey was also sent to Mr Haynes's 25 are remarks the 26 I visited the 2 chil<sup>n</sup> at the Haynes's

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<sup>1</sup> See 8/7.

<sup>2</sup> This note is presumably why Dyer preserved these pages pasted into his diary for 1762. See introduction.

<sup>3</sup> His brother Samuel Dyer\*.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Captain John James at 2 Montague Street in 1775 or Captain Thomas James, then victualler (at the Goat) at 81 on the Key.

<sup>5</sup> This is not recorded in his diary for 30/1.

fo 119

1762 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> war was declared in Bristol against Spain

1762 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 11 our opposite neighb<sup>r</sup> Marston remov'd to their habitation, where she remain'd to her death many years after

1762 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 13 poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Johns affairs in disorder at his shop in Castle Street this bro<sup>t</sup> Bro<sup>r</sup> James from London the 1: of Feb<sup>ry</sup> & on this day the shop was oblig'd to be shut Feb<sup>ry</sup> 6 a commiss<sup>n</sup> of bank<sup>t</sup> arriv'd the com<sup>n</sup> sent for by Mr Brice undated entry Bro<sup>r</sup> Jno<sup>s</sup> affairs deranged his goods were sold, especially those for his wife the 8 March 1762

1762 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 19 Mr Baugh's footman sickened in the small pox and died the 28<sup>th</sup> inst. Jan<sup>ry</sup> 30 Mr Baugh gave me a pleasing acco<sup>t</sup> of this young man.

1762 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 29 Mr Allison and Miss Walker at my house she was (I think) niece to Mr Sanders in the Great Garden She left her lodgings at Mr Allisons 1764 March 23 in order to depart for Wolverhampton

Feb<sup>ry</sup> 4 proved a debt of £40 15 0 due to Baugh Ames & co under a com<sup>n</sup> bank<sup>t</sup> against Hollis Saunders at the Nags Head Tavern Wine Street where the lawyers diverted themselves with the credulity of those who believed there was anything preternatural in the affair of poor Gyles's children. This was all owing to the said lawyers' ignorance.

Feb<sup>ry</sup> 13 this day or yesterday died Mr Champness clerk to to Jn<sup>o</sup> Noble esq<sup>r</sup> uncle to Jn<sup>o</sup> Noble esq<sup>r</sup> living in 1801. Poor Champness's death occasion'd by a cold he caught in shiping men for the King George Privateer.

Fo. 120

!762 March 1 saw a mop stick made perfectly dry by being placed in or over an oven from which, with a piece of silk, I think it was, rub'd swiftly up & down the dry mopstick, electric sparks of fire, were excited.

1762 March 6<sup>th</sup> some unanswerable queries (written by Mr Step<sup>n</sup> Penny in favor of the afflicted family at the Lamb without Lawf<sup>ds</sup> Gate) appeared this day in Sarah Farleys Castle Green paper, relative to Gyles's poor afflicted children.

March 8 Farrall & Jones's clerk applied vizt James Duffett & by his desire electrised him. He was hypochondriac. His body was bulky, but fancied he had no bowels; was for ever complaining of it in the compting house so as to prevent doing any business himself & interrupting others that were writing: insomuch that Messrs Farrell & Jones found it needful to dismiss him. They however procured the collectors place for him at the Turnpike Gate at Bedminst<sup>t</sup> where his attention was necessarily employed with but little intermission & here he & his wife resided some years I believe till his death. & I have often paid him at passing thro' the Gate, but without hearing any complaint as formerly. He had no child.

1762 March 10<sup>h</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Giles's 2 children Polley and Doppey began to be persecuted by their invisible adversary at Mr Haynes<sup>s</sup>. I now made them a visit. March 14<sup>h</sup> I heard Mrs Haynes & her son had declared it is all a trick. The 30<sup>h</sup> Mrs Haynes continued of the same sentiment, yet 'twas meer conjecture, without any discovery to confirm it.

March 20 perused some accounts of the primitive Christians having power to disposses evil spirits – but when do we meet with such Christians at this day?



March 24<sup>h</sup> This evening the second son of Isaac Elton esqr of Clifton was buried. He has now buried 2 sons within a short span of time.

March 29 April 5 and May 26<sup>h</sup> remarkable accounts given me by George Barnes, smith to a coachmaker. Barnes's wife kept a shop where he & she liv'd opposite the lower end of Gloucester Lane & adjoining to Wade Street. He was under great distress, being affected by an invisible agency. Parson Brown and I visited him.

March 31 an account taken from George Roach (probably the hallier) of the extraord<sup>y</sup> transactions he saw at the Lamb, relating to poor Gyles's children.

April 2<sup>d</sup> the 2 children remov'd from Mrs Haynes's to Nurse Cooke's in Kingswood the 6 April I visited and conversed with Polley the eldest who related some transactions whilst at Mrs Haynes's the 19 visited again April 24 Polley return'd home the 10 April is some account respecting the sale of Gyles's house April 27 Polley again persecuted as usual at home April 28 she was taken to a farmers near Henbury Apr<sup>l</sup> 30 Doppey at home, molested as usual July 7<sup>1</sup> Polley was remov'd from the above farmers & about the 8 July embark'd on board Capt Button for Swanzey from whence she did not return until the 9 Septem<sup>r</sup> 1762. 1762 July 6, 12 & 25 Doppey at home under persecution as usual.

1762 March 20<sup>2</sup> Mr Brown now soliciting the Corporation of Bristol for the living of Combsbury vacant by the death of Mr Taylor of Clifton, the last incumbent – given to Norman

March 22<sup>3</sup> a just remark is made concerning impressions on the human mind.

fo 121

1762 April 22 Died Mrs Dinham, wife of Mr Robt Dinham at Castle Gate.

April 23 Dream'd of being in company with the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Walker of Truro, who died sometime ago.

May 3 John Hill one of the workmen at Littleton and John Jones the old waggoner sat out with a waggon load of gunpow<sup>r</sup> for Liverp<sup>o</sup> and Mr Townsend (London carrier from Bath) also sent his waggon with another load of gpw<sup>r</sup> to d<sup>o</sup>. Both waggons return<sup>d</sup> & arriv<sup>d</sup> at Bristol the 22 May June 14 both the same waggons sat out again with a load as before & return'd to Bris<sup>l</sup> from Liverp<sup>o</sup> the 3<sup>d</sup> July i.e. 19 days out & home.

May 8<sup>th</sup> an address this day appeared in both the Bristol papers, from Richard Gyles to the public, respecting his poor children. It was written by Step<sup>n</sup> Penny, of which I took a copy<sup>4</sup> before 'twas printed.

May 12<sup>h</sup> Mr Will<sup>m</sup> Miller permitted Bro<sup>r</sup> John to inhabit late Knox's house at Clifton until a tenant offer'd and this day, in an extremely weak state scarce able to walk to the chaise in Cherry Lane Broth<sup>r</sup> John, his wife & 2 children went to reside there, but see pa 123 where we had flattering hopes & 15 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1763 I solicited to get him a place in the Custom House, but without success.

1762 June 13<sup>5</sup> a kind of cold termed influenza very prevalent at this time & people in general affected attended with weakness & pain in the limbs. I had a touch of it.

May 15 Rich<sup>d</sup> Gyles at the Lamb taken ill then suppos'd to be the prevailing disorder (influenza) but the 16<sup>h</sup> he had an high fever with pleuritic pains & this night the 16 May 1762 the poor man

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<sup>1</sup> A mistake for May.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake for April.

<sup>3</sup> A mistake for April.

<sup>4</sup> Dyer played a larger role than that, according to his diary.

<sup>5</sup> A mistake for May.

died. It was strongly suspected to be occasion'd by the same diabolical power that had tortured & persecuted his 2 children – He was only confined to bed on the day he died. He was sensible to the time he expired. Mr Geo Eaton was with him at the awful moment & Mr Eaton was entirely of opinion poor Gyles's death was occasion'd as above. See my diary 22 and 26 inst. He left a widow & 8 children. Gyles had given an att<sup>y</sup> instructions to make his will but was dead before it cou'd be prepared. The 18<sup>th</sup> inst the above opinion was confirm'd from circumstances mentioned in my diary. The 19<sup>h</sup> May his corps were inter'd at St Phillips.

1762 Sep 9 Polley the eldest dau<sup>r</sup> being this day remov'd from Swanzey. Sept 11 I was present when her invisible attendant was manifest by jerking her elbow when drinking tea whilst I was present this day at the Lamb Inn the 11 Sep<sup>r</sup>.

1762 Sep<sup>r</sup> 25 heard that both Polley and Doppey Gyles are now remov'd to a house at Kingswood in order to try whether by change of situation they can be rid of their persecutor Novemb<sup>r</sup> 16 both children return'd home Nov 27, 28 is a long detail of the disturbance & Novem<sup>r</sup> 30 these disturbances continuing Mrs Gyles very improperly applied to the cunning woman at Bedmins<sup>r</sup> for her advice. Decem<sup>r</sup> 7 this cunning woman (as she was term'd) attended at the Lamb Inn & gave instructions for counteracting that charm which accordingly came to pass, when this diabolical affairs expired; yet Mrs Gyles's serious friends blamed her for having recourse to a woman of equal bad repute with the miserable wretch who was the author in conjunction with the spirit of darkness of all the troubles witnessed by poor Gyles and his children & family. (note to see p 112 their grandmother died).

fo 122

1762 May 22 an excellent prescription 1 oz Jesuits bark, and ¼ oz nitre, boiled in 3 pints of spring water until reduced to half the quantity.

May 23<sup>d</sup> Sunday Mr Pomfrey a young clergyman passing thro' Bedminster on horseback was met by a man riding full speed threw Mr Pomfrey off his horse and fractured his skull. He died the same day.

May 28 an emblem of my pilgrimage upon earth was display'd in a dream last night.

May 29 the living of Congresbury (solicited by Mr Brown) given by the Corporation to Mr Norman a detail is given in my diary of a report circulated by Norman in disfavor of old Mr Baddely who was now curate of Congresbury but soon after quitted it. Baddely intends visiting his father in the north of England about 120 miles from Bristol.

May 31<sup>t</sup> died, I think at his house in Orchard Street Bristol, Thomas Knox esq<sup>r</sup>. Late a bankrupt. His friend Mr Nugent had procured for him the collectorship at Quebec.

June 7 died Mr James Hilhouse who a few years since was sheriff for Bristol but became bankrupt a short time ago.

June 7 Willoughby & Berry insurance brokers stop'd payment.

June 16 Dominiceti employ'd Step<sup>n</sup> Penny to settle his acco<sup>ts</sup>.

June 18 Being sultry weather I was much exhausted in a ride to Nailsey & meeting with no kind of inn wanted refreshment at length dined at the George at Backwell & have recorded the mercy of being influenced & guided.

June 18 experienced now & for sometime past perplexities from Broth<sup>r</sup> John's wife

June 22 apprehensions of poor Bro<sup>r</sup> Johns approaching dissolution. We had now some serious conversation by ourselves alone.

fo 123

1762 June 29 dined at the dwell<sup>g</sup> House of the Mayor Isaac Elton esq<sup>r</sup> by invitation; & the company besides consisted of Customs House officers, captains of ships, & tradesman; 60 or 70 persons in all. Out of modesty I placed myself at the lower end of the table which happen'd to be opposite to the Mayor at the upper end & thereby unluckily became toast master. I was glad to leave my station as soon after dinner as possible.

June 30 rode to Gloster purposely to visit aunt Uncle James her husband having taken it into his head to leave her. Here I met with Rachael Dyer a daughter of uncle William Dyer. I reach'd home next day the 1<sup>t</sup> July.

July 15 Bro<sup>r</sup> John had strength sufficient that day to set off in the stage coach for London and strange to remark returned the 10<sup>h</sup> August in apparent health notwithstanding<sup>g</sup> all our apprehensions of death a short time since yet this was only a respite of short duration.

July 20 I advised a person in the dropsy to take red cows urine.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Mr Webster from London I now breakfasted w<sup>th</sup> at the Pelican St Thomas Street.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 8 died Mrs Pittman in Baldwin Street.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 13 some remarkable expressions of my spiritual friend Rachael Tucker worthy of perusal.

Great rejoicings in Bristol the 14 August a Prince of Wales born the 12 Aug: 1762 afterwards named George.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 19<sup>h</sup> Sister Hopkins heard two loud taps on the table, an intimation she generally had given to her, previous to the death of each of her children.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 21 I remark in my diary concerning two contrary wills in the soul of man

Aug<sup>t</sup> 27 my wife rode behind me to Aust Passage where we dined & drank tea

August 30 died Mrs Morrish (late Miss Catcott) wife of William Morr<sup>sh</sup> (in Temple Street) son of my old friend Mr Morrish deceased. She was brought to bed sometime since. Some particulars relating to her happy end are related in my diary. This Will<sup>m</sup> Morrish sometime afterwards married a 2<sup>d</sup> wife who outlived him.

fo 124

Sept 2: my dear mother sat up last night with Miss Hawkswell who is now dying.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 2 Edward Searle, cooper to the gunpow<sup>r</sup> works, in great distress. He owes Mr Berjew (apothecary) his landlord £42 for 2 years rent besides debts to divers other persons. It is proposed to offer a compositi<sup>n</sup> of 5s p[er] £ to his creditors. Old Mr Meyler is his friend, Searle's wife being his relation & Mr Meyler put me upon treating with Searle's creditors & carrying thro' his difficulties. Poor Edw<sup>d</sup> Searle went to work for Benj<sup>n</sup> Ramzor at Bedmins<sup>r</sup> the 11 Octo<sup>r</sup>.

Septem<sup>r</sup> 3 the weather & the fields appear at this late time of year like summer

Sept<sup>r</sup> 5 electrised a man of most remarkable weak nerves a journeyman to Jos. Coates my barber.

Septem<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>h</sup> with Bro<sup>r</sup> John visited a Cornish man from I think Wadebridge tho' long since resident in Clifton keeping asses for supplying milk a near neighb<sup>r</sup> to Bro<sup>r</sup> John at Clifton. Poor Peglar had a cancer in his leg, very offensive, & he a miserable spectacle. I procured hemlock pills for him from an apothecary in Piccadilly London but of no avail; & being I think 5s a box, I was abused for my trouble.

Sept 7 St Nicholas Church being now shut up, Tuesday afternoon lecture was this day (Tuesday) remov'd to St Werburghs where Mr Brown this day preach'd said lecture for the first time.

Sept 9 Magnus Faulke & wife drank tea at my house. She was daug<sup>r</sup> of Mr Braine peruke maker, Old Market.

Septem<sup>r</sup> 10. Prescribed chewing a small quantity of Jesuit bark whenever the cough is troublesome & to remove costiveness take 1 oz cream tartar and mix with 1 oz of honey, taking a teaspoonful of this mixture 2 or 3 times a day. And for a cancer take 1 pill of extract of hemlock morning and evening drinking after each dose a decoction of elder flower, but the pills of hemlock are to be increased from 1, 2, 3, to 6 or 8 according as the patients constitution can bear.

Sept 8 mother Davies with Rob Davies wife & 2 daug<sup>rs</sup> Cath<sup>e</sup> & Hannah Davies, went in the Chepstow Boat to visit Rob Davies's wife's relations: & return'd home the 14<sup>h</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 13 Tho<sup>s</sup> George & his wife, who is Ramzors sister, are both now at Fulligrove magazine, having the care thereof, and the 15<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1763 the gpow<sup>r</sup> comp<sup>a</sup> having determin'd to discharge Benj<sup>n</sup> Ramzor from having any longer the care of the magazine, for he declin'd liv<sup>g</sup> there tho at first pretended he wou'd, yet constantly sent some person to supply his place, which was his design in now send<sup>g</sup> George & his wife, hence the company fix'd Tho<sup>s</sup> George to be sole manager at the magazine at 12s per week which George readily accepted and the 25<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> paid Ramzor home to the 15<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1763.

Sept 17<sup>th</sup>. Evans the carpenter brother in law to Sister John<sup>l</sup> this day stop'd payment.

fo 125

Sept 21 Mrs Symes deliverd of a son who died 25 Decem<sup>r</sup> 1762. Decem<sup>r</sup> 21 Mr and Mrs Symes at the Hotwells with do.

Sept 27 prescrib'd a hemlock pill of 1 grain to a child of 3 years old for a scrophulus complaint taking 1 such pill 2 nights succeeding & then 1 pill morn<sup>g</sup> & even<sup>g</sup> until 12 pills are taken. Octo 2: directed 1 pill of 2 grains of hemlock extract for 2 evenings & if no inconvenience appears then take 1 such pill morn<sup>g</sup> & even<sup>g</sup> – that shou'd the child be sick afterwards give it a little white wine & water.

Septem<sup>r</sup> 30 advis'd a grown up person for a vomit to steep 25 grains of ipecacuanah powder 10 minutes in a cup of tea & then drink the clear liquor also advis'd 1 oz of Jesuits bark to be boiled in 1 ½ pint of spring water making a strong decoction, then pour it off & add ½ pint of port wine, taking a glass thereof every 3 hours. Nov<sup>r</sup> 6 Mrs Gyles's daug<sup>r</sup> of 3 years old reced amazing benefit from the above hemlock pills in the scrophula or king's evil. But this child died the 15 April 1763.

Octo 15 went with Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne to Bedmins<sup>r</sup> in quest of hemlock, where we now or at another day discover'd real hemlock & I took a root home & planted in my garden.

Octob 18: at Cap<sup>t</sup> Cheyne's in company with the late Mrs Labbee & her present husband also Mr James Roquet.

Octo 19: heard Howell Harris preach at Mr Westleys room and 1763 March 4 spent even<sup>g</sup> with Howell Harris at Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Browns Price the taylor in Small Street lost his wife. She died in child bed 19 Octo 1762

Octo 23 Baddely dismiss'd from his curacy at Henbury, for preaching the truth.

Octo 26 died Miss Roe in Cannon Street near St James Church. A child of God endured grievous pain with a cancer in her breast the 27<sup>h</sup> some acco<sup>t</sup> thereof. I had an intimation of her death, in a dream.

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<sup>1</sup> John Dyer's\* wife.

Nov 11 died Mrs Howell late Capt Williams widow & sister to Mrs Marston. [Later adds] This must be a mistake 'twas probably Howell's first wife.<sup>1</sup>

Novem<sup>r</sup> 17 about one o'clock this morning a fire in Unity Street, St Phillips Plain. The house where it happen'd was burnt down and worst of all a poor woman big with child together with seven children all perished in the flames.

Decemr 25<sup>h</sup> Christmas day in the evening a most raging fire broke out and entirely consumed Alderman Barnes's sugar house in Duck Lane, going towards Broadmead, & near Froome Bridge.

Rev. James Brown's letters to Lord Dartmouth, with enclosed materials, now preserved in Staffordshire Record Office (D(w)/1778/II i 812)

[24 February 1762]

My Lord<sup>2</sup>

According to your desire I send your Lordship some farther account of y<sup>e</sup> two children in this city, who continue to be haunted by some evil spirit as usual; I could send all y<sup>e</sup> particulars that have happened in this distressed family since I last wrote to your Lordship concerning it, but think that y<sup>e</sup> reading so long an account must be tiresome.

Just after my last,<sup>3</sup> I went myself to y<sup>e</sup> house with a design to see & hear for myself.<sup>4</sup> Young Mr Durbin of this city, who married Miss Drax, went with me; he went entirely incredulous, even his own uncle's testimonies<sup>5</sup> were not believed; there were two ladies with y<sup>e</sup> children to put them to bed, that they might see that there was nothing concealed; as soon as they were in bed, we went up stairs, & y<sup>e</sup> scratches & knockings began, & y<sup>e</sup> children began to cry out that they were bit & we saw y<sup>e</sup> bites, & while we were looking on their arms, there were very deep indents from fresh bites & all the company were well assured, as their eyes were stedfastly on y<sup>e</sup> children, that they were not concerned in it – soon after Mr Durbin took a pen knife out & gave y<sup>e</sup> eldest child; she held it about half a minute, with her hand out of bed, & y<sup>e</sup> 7 in y<sup>e</sup> room saw y<sup>e</sup> knife drawn out of y<sup>e</sup> child's hand by some invisible power; then they desired him to put up his knife, lest it should be thrown at her, as many things before had been, & y<sup>e</sup> knife was no sooner put up than y<sup>e</sup> child cried out that she was cut, & as we were all looking on (y<sup>e</sup> child's hands out of bed) there were 16 cuts on her arms, tho' her arms were quite free before, & the child cried out she saw an arm with a case knife in it over y<sup>e</sup> bed.<sup>6</sup> Many things of y<sup>e</sup> like nature we have seen.

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer's correction refers to later pages, on which he notes that 'our opposite neighbour in Great Garden' Mrs Williams heard on 15 April 1764 that her husband Captain Williams had died in Jamaica in January; she then married Mr Howell the taylor on 10 September 1764 and she died on 19 January 1768.

<sup>2</sup> William Legge\*, second Earl of Dartmouth since inheriting the title from his grandfather aged 19 in 1750, was known as Lord Dartmouth.

<sup>3</sup> The events and people Brown\* describes suggest that he visited on 17 February, so his previous letter to Lord Dartmouth would have been about 9 days earlier.

<sup>4</sup> This implies that the 17 February visit was Brown's\* first. But Dyer tells us that Brown 'prayed' there on 30 January, asked questions in Latin on 11 February, and was there on 16 February: he is not actually named as there on the 17<sup>th</sup>!

<sup>5</sup> John Durbin's\* uncle was Henry Durbin\*.

<sup>6</sup> The details regarding knives on the 17<sup>th</sup> are not in Dyer or Durbin, though Durbin describes similar details on 2 February (p. 23), and Eaton's diary refers to knives on 7 and 9 January.

Several clergymen<sup>1</sup> have attended within this month, and have proposed questions in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, & right answers have been given by scratches, nay y<sup>e</sup> most low whispers have been rightly answered & questions only conceived in y<sup>e</sup> mind.

The children were removed from Bristol Monday last, but Saturday & Sunday they were more affected than ever they were before, so that their parents were obliged to take them out of bed Saturday night & take them into y<sup>e</sup> neighbours house but their tormentor followed them there, & so affected their bodies & understandings too that for a considerable time they lay senseless, as tho' they had been dead – but ye Friday before this Major Drax went with Mr Durbin, & while he was in y<sup>e</sup> room the children were pulled violently out of bed, & when they were put in bed again The Major said they should not be pulled out again, & so took hold of y<sup>e</sup> eldest but he perceived some invisible power pulling ag<sup>st</sup> him, he was obliged then to take y<sup>e</sup> child underneath her arms, to hold her faster, but she was pulled with such amazing force that it drew him down on y<sup>e</sup> bed, & then a prodigious pinch was given him on his hand, that is black & blue even now – Saturday night when they were carried to a neighbour's house, something was seen in y<sup>e</sup> room quite black which vanished at y<sup>e</sup> striking at it; this four serious persons will testify on oath, & y<sup>e</sup> person that struck at it told me last night, that, as she struck, her hand was so violently pinched that y<sup>e</sup> blood immediately came, y<sup>e</sup> mark of it I saw myself.<sup>2</sup>

This affair of y<sup>e</sup> witch craft makes a great noise here, but there are but few comparatively give credit to it – I have sent your Lordship inclosed what was in our last weeks paper concerning it.<sup>3</sup> I am as much persuaded from what I have seen of something supernatural in this affair, as I am almost of my existence; & I believe y<sup>e</sup> prayer of faith is y<sup>e</sup> only expedient they ought to have recourse to in this distress, tho' they are continually trying some ridiculous nostrum or other prescribed in such cases.

If your Lordship is desirous of a more particular account than you have here of what has past, please signify your desire, & I will get y<sup>e</sup> diary of some friend who has kept an account from y<sup>e</sup> beginning.<sup>4</sup>

If the children continue, as I apprehend they will, to be thus harassed, in y<sup>e</sup> country – I will take y<sup>e</sup> liberty to send your Lordship word of it.

I am, my Lord, with all possible respect and deference, your Lordship's most obed<sup>t</sup> humble ser<sup>t</sup>.  
James Brown

Grammar School, Bristol, Feb<sup>y</sup> 24 1762.

Bristol April 5 1762

My Lord,

I must appear rude in not answering your Lordship's last letter sooner, & sending y<sup>e</sup> desired continuation of y<sup>e</sup> narrative concerning y<sup>e</sup> tormented children. I have waited for matter as y<sup>e</sup> children have remained unmolested ever since their removal, as far as I can hear, and as to a continued account to y<sup>e</sup> time of their removal out of Bristol, I could not have thought that I should have found such difficulty in getting it, as I apprehended many had minuted down all the

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<sup>1</sup> These included himself, as noted above.

<sup>2</sup> Brown\* is referring here to 'Saturday night', that is 20 February, but what he recounts resembles the episode Durbin (p. 40) describes the following night: see footnote to 22/2.

<sup>3</sup> *FFBJ* 20 February had several items on the affair (see 19/2).

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Dyer, Durbin, Eaton\*, or Penny\*.

particulars that occurred, but I find myself much mistaken; two or three<sup>1</sup> had done something of that sort, but very imperfect, & a gentleman that had attended most, & taken down most of y<sup>e</sup> things that happened, is unwilling at present to part with his journal,<sup>2</sup> fearing it may steal out into y<sup>e</sup> world; but as your Lordship is desirous of seeing y<sup>e</sup> whole account, I hope I shall be able to send y<sup>e</sup> best that can be got in about a fortnight or three weeks.

And the beginning of this week I have had as convincing a proof of witch craft, as in y<sup>e</sup> affair of these children. – Last Monday I went to see a man<sup>3</sup> that I heard was much distrest; & I had heard sometime before of some extraordinary things that he had related of himself – He told me that about 6 months ago he had a voice continually sounding in his ears, threatening him with every evil, & harassing & distressing him wherever he went; for some time he kept it to himself, & did not reveal it to his wife, tho' she perceived a manifest change in him & an unusual dejection; but one night while in bed he found himself affected more than ever, not only a voice (a voice he well knew) sounding in his ears & threatning him; but his arms & legs violently pulled &c &c, so that his wife was awaked out of her sleep & as she found him sitting up in y<sup>e</sup> bed, she asked him what was y<sup>e</sup> matter, & who he was talking to (for he had answered many questions that had been put to him just as if he had had some person visible in y<sup>e</sup> room with him) however he would not satisfy his wife at that time, but said he had been much distressed, & (she told me that that same morning y<sup>e</sup> sheets were as it were drenched in water from his profuse excessive sweating); The voice in his ear had told him that he should have some ease if he would carry such & such things to one Betty Cottle's in Kingswood; he promised that he would, & accordingly arose, & went into the shop before day (his wife keeps a shop) & took a quantity of tea, sugar & money, just as y<sup>e</sup> voice had commanded him, & out he went tho' not knowing whither he was to go, but the voice was continually saying, "go on, I will direct thee". When he had got about 2 miles out of town, he thought he was come to y<sup>e</sup> place appointed, for he saw a poor cot & says within himself, "Surely this is y<sup>e</sup> old witches"; for this, he was immediately tormented in a most dreadful manner inwardly, & was thrown into so great agitation of mind & body, as, for a short season, to be totally deprived of his senses & strength: however, this was not the place, he was to go on farther, & at last he was directed to y<sup>e</sup> house, which he entered, & found 3 or 4 children about y<sup>e</sup> fire, who, being asked where their mother was, answered in y<sup>e</sup> paddock, milking; the man sent one of y<sup>e</sup> children to call her, & soon after she came in, & did not seem at all surprised at seeing this man, (indeed she knew his person, as she served his house with milk) just after her coming in, he went up to her & told her he had brought y<sup>e</sup> things, & asked her whether he might take them out before y<sup>e</sup> children, & directly she took him aside, & held up her apron, wherein he put the tea, sugar & money, & soon after this, she put her pail on her head to come to town & he asked her if he should walk with her, so on they came together, but he could not speak freely to her, as she had her son with her, a boy, 13 or 14 years old, but he took an opportunity to let her know that he could not bring y<sup>e</sup> loaf & butter she had ordered him to bring, & she made answer, "very well" – soon after they parted, & he came immediately home, where his wife sat with a heavy heart and swoln eyes, (supposing her husband had been gone out to lay violent hands on himself) she rejoiced to see him, & especially to see him somewhat more cheerful, as he indeed was, he desired his wife to let him have a dish of tea for he was much fatigued; & as soon as he had drank ye first dish of tea, all on a sudden his colour left him, tremblings and most horrible apprehensions came upon him, his wife seeing this, thought he

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<sup>1</sup> This could refer to Dyer, Eaton\* and Penny\*.

<sup>2</sup> This seems most likely to be Henry Durbin\*, but might be Penny\*.

<sup>3</sup> George Barnes\*. See 29/3 for Dyer's account.

was taken for death, & immediately went out and called in some neighbors, especially a good man<sup>1</sup> to pray with him: The man soon after came to himself in some degree, & told them all what had happened to him, & he said that he had sold himself to y<sup>e</sup> Devil, & then mentioned the things he had carried into Kingswood, & what induced him to do it; at this crisis, this woman, B: Cottle, came in with her milk, & y<sup>e</sup> poor tormented man, in y<sup>e</sup> room near y<sup>e</sup> shop, immediately as he saw her, cried out to her, “Thou hast undone me, thou hast undone me”; she pretended to know nothing at all of y<sup>e</sup> matter & asked him, how she had undone him; his wife made answer that by some diabolical art or other she had haunted him, & had drawn him that morning into Kingswood with such & such things; this she denied, & said that she had seen nothing of him that day, but discover<sup>d</sup> in her countenance great marks of guilt, but thought of evading y<sup>e</sup> charge, by saying that he was out of his mind, & no credit was to be given to him; tho’ when y<sup>e</sup> company prest her on that point, & could prove that he was at her house that morning, she was at last obliged to own it, but said, “it was only what a kind neighbour might well do”; she was extremely confounded at this detection – but I forgot to mention a circumstance, which should have come in before; the wife & sister of this tormented man were so weak as to go to a person in Bedminster, a place contiguous to this city, who is reputed to be what they call a white witch<sup>2</sup>; immediately as she saw them, she s<sup>d</sup> she knew what they were come upon, to be informed concerning the author of her husbands distress & to get some relief; she informed them who was y<sup>e</sup> author (Betty Cottle) & pointed them to a way of relief, which they immediately complied with & according to her order, bought a sheep’s heart & stuck it full of pins and threw it into a pretty good fire, & it was there to be burn’t to a coal – this they did, as soon as ye woman (who is supposed to be ye tormenter) was gone out of their house; before the heart was consumed this woman returned in a most violent hurry with all y<sup>e</sup> things in her lap (this was about half an hour afterwards in which time she had gone near 5 miles) & threw them down in y<sup>e</sup> shop in a great passion, saying she had never suffered so in all her life time, she had (as it were) been inwardly broiled (but she knew nothing of what they had been doing) – all these circumstances confirmed y<sup>e</sup> many people present in their belief of y<sup>e</sup> guilt of this woman – the man has suffered greatly since that time, but his neighbours (some of them) would persuade him that it is all whim & fancy, but he is fully convinced of it, & feels y<sup>e</sup> dreadful effects of it, and I really believe it will be instrumental to y<sup>e</sup> good of his precious soul, he was earnestly desirous of my prayers & joined with me I believe with all his heart – If I find any thing more worth communicating happens to this man or y<sup>e</sup> children; your Lordship may depend on y<sup>e</sup> most early account.

I hope your Lordship will excuse y<sup>e</sup> slovenly manner in which I have been obliged to write it, & impute it not to any want of respect, but to the multiplicity of business in which I am engaged. While I was writing y<sup>e</sup> above, y<sup>e</sup> inclosed was sent to me, I just ran it over, & can witness y<sup>e</sup> truth of it

I am, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obed<sup>t</sup> humble ser<sup>t</sup>  
James Brown

If I have y<sup>e</sup> honour of hearing from y<sup>r</sup> Lordship again, would beg y<sup>e</sup> favour to know if Mr Hill<sup>3</sup> (my dear & hon<sup>d</sup> patron) is in town, I presume he wonders he hath not heard from me, & I fear must

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer calls him ‘a Methodist preacher’.

<sup>2</sup> See 22/11. Dyer reports the burning of the heart but omits the story of visiting the cunning woman.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Hill (1733-1808) was the older brother of Rowland Hill (1744-1833) who was later Brown’s curate: see James Brown\*. Richard had become evangelised in 1758 by the preaching of Thomas Haweis (see 7/12) at Oxford. See *ODNB* entries for the two brothers.



look upon me as ungrateful, which I should be very sorry for – if he is in town, shall I presume to direct to him to y<sup>r</sup> Lordships?

Extracts from William Dyer's diaries, sent to Lord Dartmouth by Brown on 5 April 1762

1761 December 15<sup>h</sup> Tuesday<sup>1</sup>

This evening about 8 o'clock I called at Mr Eaton's next door to the Lamb without Lawfords Gate, where were Mr Giles's 2 children who are reported to have been bewitched. Mary of about 14 and Dorothy of about 8 years of age.<sup>2</sup> – I had not been there long<sup>3</sup> before each complained she was pinched on her arm, & this was repeated several times in the space of half an hour: sometimes the print of 2 nails (as if done by the forefinger & thumb) were very discernable; at another time the impression of only one nail was perceptible. At length 'twas agreed to satisfy ourselves more evidently that this was not done by the children themselves, that one person shall cover with his hands the arm of each of the children from the wrist to the elbow (being the part which was chiefly affected) & which wou'd discover likewise whither any pinches cou'd be made on the part so covered. For which purpose Mr Eaton took one of the children near him but (I think) he covered both the arms in the best manner he was able with both his hands. I took the other child & covered one arm as well as I could with both my hands, & Mr Eaton's daughter Nancy covered the other arm with both her hands in the same manner but notwithstanding the child was several times pinched in like manner as before & the pinch was sometimes on the very part of that arm which was covered with my hands as also on that which was covered with the hands of Nancy Eaton. While my hands were employed in covering the child's arm I felt a very sensible pinch on the nuckle of y<sup>e</sup> forefinger of my left hand<sup>4</sup>; & thought it was done by some person present, but was soon convinced of the contrary. It is remarkable that when I felt the pinch I saw a small hand & arm draw away from my finger.

Those are the most material circumstances which happen'd whilst I was present that evening.

William Dyer,

Mr Henry Durbin, chymist in Redcliff Street saw a small glass rise about two feet from the table (without being touched by any one present) & was flung at a person in y<sup>e</sup> room.<sup>5</sup>

1762 Janry 10<sup>h6</sup>

The children were remov'd from their own house to a house in the Great Garden, and remain'd there unmolested until y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> in the morning, when a loud thumping as if done with a large fist was

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<sup>1</sup> According to his epitomised diary, Dyer's first diary entry on the affair was on 10 December, but no details are given.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer has given the children their formal names in this beautifully written version of his diary, clearly intended for wider circulation.

<sup>3</sup> Although Dyer reports these events after 8 p.m., in Eaton's version they take place in the afternoon, whereas in the evening 'nothing happened' save 'a little scratching in the bed'.

<sup>4</sup> His epitomised diary says '(I think) my right hand'.

<sup>5</sup> Durbin (p. 14) records this on 5 January in some detail (e.g. the glass 'struck the nurse on the hip a hard blow, so that I heard it give a loud report'), not entirely consistent with this version, as it rose from a 'case of drawers' not a table, and 'about a foot' not two feet. He adds 'I then thought I would examine the glass, whether there were any wires or hairs tied to it. I then took up the glass from the floor, and found no wires nor any thing else; but the glass was quite whole, except the foot of it was broken, as if pincers had pinched it all around'. It took place 'about nine in the morning, clear day-light, close by a sash-window'.

<sup>6</sup> Dyer has omitted his diary entries for 16, 19 and 31 December (referenced in his epitomised diary) as well as his quite detailed entries on 2 and 4-7 January.

heard in the room where they lay. In the afternoon a hand brush was flung out of the stair case into the parlour by an unseen hand. Y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>h</sup> at night the children when in bed were pinched, & the nurse who lay with ‘em, felt y<sup>e</sup> palm of a large hand suddenly laid flat on her arm & as suddenly taken off again. Y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> the eldest child reced a hard blow against the side of her head, & as she was sewing the neck-gusset of a shirt it was suddenly snatch’d away by the same invisible attendant, and has never been seen since. – This was done at noonday. In the evening she was twice pinch’d in the neck & the indentures of a small nail were visible both times. She also reced one or two hard blows against her side & sometime afterwards happening to stand behind her sister Betsey (who has never been affected<sup>1</sup>) who was opposite the fire & stooping to pick up something was suddenly push’d against Betsey with such violence as struck her head against the barr of the grate - Soon afterwards she complained of being pricked in the leg, which upon examining was discovered to be done by a crooked pinn stuck in the stocking with its point next the skin. It being agreed to part the two affected children this evening, Dorothy (the youngest) was taken home & Polley left behind. Soon after which the latter reced a pinch in her neck and at the samtime heard a voice say “well good night to ye” but heard nothing more of her invisible adversary all the night afterwards. – a black gauze cap which Polley wore today reced a rent (while on her head) 4 inches long. A chair was suddenly throw’d down, & a small round table overset. A net containing thread, worsted, &c which lay in a window of the stair case (10 or 12 feet distance from any person in the house) was observed to move, or rather to be gently lifted up, as if going to be flung at them, but was quietly laid down again. All which was transacted in open day light and that by the same unseen cause as before.<sup>2</sup>

22<sup>d3</sup> in the morning Dorothy was terribly affrighted when in bed at home by very loud thumping at her beds head & reced a deep bite in her arm which caused the blood to start. About noon she was remov’d again to her sister & just before her arrival Polley reced a violent pinch on her shoulder as if done with a large nail & declared she heard something pant like a dog who had ran itself out of breath, but no one else heard it, nor was any thing to be seen at that time. In the evening Polley complain’d of being pinch’d several times, & a crooked pinn was always found in her cloaths which cover’d the part affected. Y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> several more crooked pinns were taken out of her cloaths with the point towards the skin. This morning much scratching was heard in the childrens bed before they arose, as if done with iron claws. Polley’s cap was tore today while on her head. Y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>h</sup> her cap again rent as before, & several crooked pinns stuck in her cloaths as usual. Y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> much scratching heard in the childrens bed. Y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Dorothy reced 2 large bites on her arm with much saliva attending ‘em. Polley was likewise bit once or twice tho’ not quite so deep as her sister. The ribbon of Dorothys cap has been several times pulled off. Polley has been prevented knitting (tho’ several times attempted it) by the kneedles being snatch’d away & throw’d underneath the grate. Both children when in bed this evening were several times bit. Y<sup>e</sup> 27 Polley pinch’d a few times. 28<sup>h</sup> & 29 both children unmolested. Y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>h</sup> Dorothy reced 2 bites between the shoulders when in bed this evening & laying on her back. Polley likewise reced several bites in her arm – Being myself alone in the room with the children this evening, standing at the

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<sup>1</sup> This clarification is not in his original diary.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is not in the original diary.

<sup>3</sup> Again Dyer has passed over other diary entries, including a lengthy one on the 21<sup>st</sup>. On both this day and the next he omits the diary information on the boiling of the girls’ urine and all references to questions asked by the family are omitted. A few minor details are also added which are not in the diary, such as the ‘iron claws’ on 23<sup>rd</sup>, ‘not quite so deep as her sister’ on 26<sup>th</sup>, ‘being 18 inches below the children’s feet’ on 30<sup>th</sup> and ‘heard at least 20 yards distance’ on 2<sup>nd</sup>. These all suggest that Dyer was recalling the events as he wrote, not merely transcribing his original diary.

beds feet with a candle near me, I heard a violent scratching in the bed as if done with iron tallons, which began at the bottom (being 18 inches below the childrens feet) and ascended gradually up the bed until it came betwixt the children, when some persons coming up stairs it ceased. I kept my eyes fixed on the bed but observ'd not the least motion. Afterwards being again left alone I stood at the bedside (the childrens faces being towards me) & clap'd my hands 5 or 6 times pretty loud & was each time answer'd with the like kind of claping ye 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> not quite so loud but afterwards equally as loud as mine & it might have been heard at least 20 yards distance. The sound seemed to proceed from about 12 inches behind the farthermost child. There was not the least motion in the bed at the time & it was impossible for any person to have been concealed at the side or underneath the bed without being discovered.

When all the family were gone to bed there was such violent thumping against the chamber floor (where the children lay) which shook the room & every thing in it.

1762 Feby 1<sup>st</sup> Polly reced a few bites on her arms

2<sup>d</sup> both children unmolested

3<sup>d</sup> Polley reced a few bites & some cuts or ridges in her arm, as if done with the back of a knife

4<sup>h</sup> and 5<sup>h</sup> unmolested

6 Polley cut & bit several times – scratching heard when in bed at night<sup>1</sup>

7<sup>th</sup> both children remov'd home

9<sup>h</sup> early this morning Dorothy was conveyed underneath the bed (her sister and nurse being asleep) & when discovered said she cou'd not cry until they took her up, because an hand stoped her mouth. Polley was afterwards very nearly being pulled out of bed by the shoulders but prevented by the nurse.

ye 10<sup>th</sup> Loud knocking was heard this morning against the bedshead & afterwards scratching as usual – sundry mental questions answer'd by the usual method of scratching this morning.<sup>2</sup>

ye 11<sup>th</sup> both children pull'd out of bed, & were pinched with extreme violence during the whole night, & cou'd not be alleviated by removing them into different beds, nor by any other method which cou'd be thought of

ye 15<sup>h</sup> Polleys elbow frequently jerk'd up as if done by an hand, while she was sewing; & that somtimes with such violence as to runn the needle into her lip

ye 16<sup>h</sup> several silent questions exactly answered by scratching

19<sup>h</sup> both children violently pulled by an invisible agent whereby 'twas with great difficulty they were held by several strong men.

ye 20<sup>h</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> both children treated the same as above, which always begun as soon as they were in bed.

ye 22<sup>d</sup> Polly removed out of town

23 Dorothy ~ ~ ditto.

Extracts from George Eaton's diaries, sent to Lord Dartmouth by Brown on 5 April 1762

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<sup>1</sup> On this day and 8-9<sup>th</sup> Dyer omits all the questions he himself and others asked.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer finally mentions questions 'answer'd by the usual method of scratching' (to which he has not referred previously!), but according to the diary Latin and Greek questions were asked on 10/2 and 'mental questions' were not asked until the 11<sup>th</sup> – in fact all the details he gives for this day fit better on 11/2. He also passes over the questions asked on 17-18/2.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 14 1761<sup>1</sup> This evening abo<sup>t</sup> ½ an hour past 10' o'clock, I was call'd in by Mr Giles to see his child, a girl between 13 or 14 y<sup>rs</sup> of age who was supposed to be bewitched. She was not then put to bed. Mr Giles took me up stairs into y<sup>e</sup> room where she had been first tormented, & shew'd me the bed also, in which were then, 2 younger children, both girls, the elder of them between 8 & 9 y<sup>r</sup> old & the other about a year younger. We continued in that room near ¼ of an hour during which time Mr Giles gave an acco<sup>t</sup> in what manner the disturbance first began. By this time the eldest daughter before mentioned was put to bed in another room adjoining & my wife about this time had also enter'd the same room together with Mr Giles myself & 1 or 2 more of y<sup>e</sup> family. We had stood but a little time round the bed in which y<sup>e</sup> eldest daughter then lay, before we were alarm'd with an outcry from 1 of ye 2 children before ment<sup>d</sup> that it was pinch'd as it lay in bed. Whereupon those 2 children were both taken out of that bed & put into bed with their eldest sis<sup>r</sup> one on the right & y<sup>e</sup> oither on the left hand. Soon after which my wife standing by the bedside, & no other p[er]son then near her, receiv'd a grasp on the right arm a little above the elbow, which left a painful sensation the whole evening & her arm was of a livid hue y<sup>e</sup> day following. A little after the two elder girls both at y<sup>e</sup> same instant cry'd out & s<sup>d</sup> they saw something black & as big as a small puppy dog ran along the top of a high pair of drawers which stood at the beds feet, but no one else saw any thing of it. This was succeeded with scratchings in the bed which first began at the lower part of the bed, & seem'd to move from place to place; but was chiefly observ'd to be betwixt the two elder girls both of which frequently complain'd of being pinch'd; the youngest of y<sup>e</sup> three not at all. The scratching was very frequent, sometimes gentle & sometimes louder, tho' the childrens hands were kept out of bed & when the least motion could not be p[er]ceiv'd on the surface of the bed. The 2 eldest children frequently complaining of being pinch'd, my wife put her hands into the bed, to try if she could feel the hand that did it. She sought for it but to no purpose, but in a little time she herself reced a pinch on y<sup>e</sup> back of her hand, the children's hands being out of the bed at the same time & soon after she felt a finger & thumb rest<sup>s</sup> a little on y<sup>e</sup> back of her hand, but as if done by mistake, suddenly quitted her & pinch'd one of the children: not long after she felt something pressing w<sup>th</sup> some w<sup>t</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> back of her hand, but quickly left her. Having been inform'd that some uncommon motions had appear'd the week before<sup>2</sup>, such as the sudden rising or popping up of the bed cloths whilst y<sup>e</sup> children were in bed, I was the more attentive & curious to examine into the cause of any motions in y<sup>e</sup> bed that appear'd like it. Therefore as often as I saw any motions in the bed, especially the lower part of it, I examin'd with my hand & frequently found one or other of the childrens feet, they at y<sup>e</sup> same time owning it to be their feet & never once attempting to withdraw their feet or to disown it, at last I observ'd twice a sudden motion or popping up of the bed cloaths quite different from the motion of their feet, & also below their feet, on which I apply'd my hands & felt a gentle stroke (as of a finger) on the palm of my hand. But on clapping down my hand as quick as possible, I felt nothing under it but y<sup>e</sup> bed, neither saw the least motion of any thing, withdrawing under the cloaths, & am very certain it could not be done by the children. During all this time the youngest of the 3 children was not molested, it was therefore thought proper to take her out of that bed & put her in another which was done. I several times put my hand in y<sup>e</sup> bed, & scratch'd the cloaths & was answerd by some thing in the bed with such sort of scratches, tho' the childrens hands were out of the bed & their feet quite still & no other motion appear'd on the surface of y<sup>e</sup> bed. Mr Giles' scratches in y<sup>e</sup> bed were also answerd in the same manner. The bed whereon y<sup>e</sup> children lay was then propos'd by some of the bystanders to be shook

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<sup>1</sup> According to Dyer's epitomised diary Eaton\* had been at the Lamb on 10 December as well. Eaton's is our only account of events on the 14<sup>th</sup>. Eaton never names the children, merely giving their ages.

<sup>2</sup> See above for his attendance with Dyer on 10 December.

with some violence, on doing w<sup>ch</sup> the scratching in y<sup>e</sup> bed was increased to great degree & a squeaking heard several times, something like that of a rat. After this I went on the left side of the bed where the youngest child had lain & kneeling down put my hand in the bed betwixt the sheets first & feeling up and down in y<sup>e</sup> bed for some time (expecting a pinch) was disappointed. I then withdrew my hand, & put it under the blanket betwixt that & the bed-tick & feeling up & down the bed a little while with my right hand I suddenly felt the weight of a large hand (as of a grown p[er]son) resting on ye back of my hand (the nails towards my wrist) & clinching, or as it were attempting to clench as suddenly withdrew. At that time I neither felt its approach<sup>s</sup> nor withdrawing, nor saw the least motion in the bed-cloaths. The childs back was also towards me. The sensation appeared as a human hand would have done upon mine with y<sup>e</sup> blanket betwixt. Besides the childrens being pinch'd, they were frequently slapp'd on y<sup>e</sup> breast loud enough to be heard into ye next room. As often as they receiv'd y<sup>e</sup> slaps, they always seem'd to be 3 at a time, but by reason of y<sup>e</sup> quickness of y<sup>e</sup> strokes, it was difficult to count them, for they were given quicker (in y<sup>e</sup> opinion of all that heard them) than could be done by any human hand. The children were now set on another bed, while their own was remaking & I being at a little distance heard the eldest girl had 3 slaps on her breast; I then went close up to her, to see the hand that did it (if possible) but could see nothing, immediately after she complained that her feet were pinch'd. Another thing very unaccountable was this, that while the childrens hands were out of bed, the forepart of their shifts, was gradually drawn down so low as to strain on each shoulder & leave their breasts this was repeated 4 or 5 times & tho' the motion of their shifts was gradual while drawing down yet it requir'd a considerable force to draw up their shifts again till ye w<sup>ch</sup> quitted her hold<sup>1</sup>; as my wife & Mr Giles both experienced. The younger of y<sup>e</sup> 2 children reced 3 slaps on her pooter<sup>s</sup> when sitting on the pot, to make water, while my wife was holding it for her upon y<sup>e</sup> bed, the childs hands being on her knees at same time; on hearing y<sup>e</sup> slaps I turn'd round & saw the child sitting as before mentioned. Thus scratching in y<sup>e</sup> bed, pinching the children &c was continued this evening with very little intermission for the space of 3 hours.

15 Being inform'd next day that the eldest child had been struck down as she was passing along y<sup>e</sup> room I waited on Mrs Giles a little past 3 o'clock in the afternoon & desired she would suffer y<sup>e</sup> 2 children to go along with me into my own house (viz y<sup>e</sup> very next door to Mr Giles) to see whether the W<sup>ch</sup> would follow them. I bro<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> children into my own house where they remained for the space of 3 hours (except a few minutes while they slept home and ret<sup>d</sup> immediately) quite unmolested; after this the eldest daughter was sent for home y<sup>e</sup> younger went along with her. They had no sooner enter'd their own house but the witch began pinching them both; the younger came back to my house presently whither the witch also followed her, & began pinching her chiefly her arms. On lifting up her arm quickly after the pinch, it appeared exactly as if done by y<sup>e</sup> tip of a human finger, press'd hard on the flesh, the blood being driven away, & a visible indenture of a nail left behind & some of those indent<sup>s</sup> were deep as if done by a long nail. There seldom appeared more than y<sup>e</sup> impression of 1 nail at a time. The elder sister staid at home near an hour, & then return'd to my house. She said she had been pinchd frequently during all that time & the marks of

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<sup>1</sup> In these extracts, Eaton is much quicker to identify the role of a 'witch' than Dyer or Durbin were; whether this reflects what he wrote on that day, or a retrospective view, is not certain. Eaton and his wife also appear to have witnessed (or at least thought fit to describe) much more intimate details of the girls' activities than Dyer or Durbin ever did – there are no references to shifts pulled below the breasts or children's 'pooters' (presumably buttocks) slapped as they sit 'on the pot, to make water' in Dyer or Durbin. As the couple living next door, the Eatons seem closer to the family experience of the Giles' household than the others.

those pinches or rather indent<sup>s</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> nails were then visible. These indent<sup>s</sup> were so frequently repeated that (in pity to the children) I try'd what I could to prevent 'em, by making the children put their arms across their breast one arm upon the other & cover'd their arms & hands with mine as well as I could. They were then pinch'd underneath in those parts of their arms which I could not possibly cover. I then cover'd or clasp'd their arms from the elbow to the wrist with both my hands, then their fingers were pinch'd. I then made one of my children cover their hands & fingers while I cover'd her arms: the w<sup>ch</sup> then pinch'd their legs. I then order'd one of the children to put on a pair of gloves but that was no security, her arms were still pinch'd. Her arms were then wrapp'd up close in her apron but that also was of no use. My eldest daughter (between 14 & 15 y<sup>rs</sup> old) holding the younger of Mr Giles daug<sup>rs</sup> on her lap with her arms around the child & having hold of each of the child's arms near the wrist, reced a pinch on the back of her & saw a little hand withdraw at y<sup>e</sup> same time, tho' at that time there was no body else near them & she was positive the child on her lap could not do it, she herself holding her arms as before describ'd. The same evening I went to see y<sup>e</sup> children after they were in bed, but nothing happened that evening, save a little scratching in ye bed & that not near so violent as y<sup>e</sup> night before.

29: A little past 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was call'd in to Mr Giles's, some chairs having been thrown down by an invisible hand, as well as a large oval table (nobody then near it) thrown down with such violence as to be turn'd topsy-turvy, the feet uppermost & y<sup>e</sup> carpet that lay on it spread smooth under it. Mrs Giles had just finish'd this relation & I had seated myself on one side of the fire, & her eldest daughter almost opposite me on the other, when a chair that stood a small distance behind her was struck with such violence against the chair on which she was sat, as very much frighted the child; I rose up immediately, bid her not be afraid, took another chair & sat down by her, putting my hand on the back of that chair she sat on. I had not sat long, before the chair on which the child sat, reced a sudden shake as if done by a hand, laying hold of y<sup>e</sup> frame. Not long after I heard several pretty loud knocks in one corner of the room. Mrs Giles rose up, went, & open'd the door, to see if there was any body in a cole-house that lay behind that part of the room, whence the knocks were heard but there was nobody there. As she was re-entering the room immediately the chair from which she had risen up but a few moments before & w<sup>ch</sup> stood on y<sup>e</sup> opposite side of y<sup>e</sup> Fire to w<sup>ch</sup> I sat, was suddenly thrown down with great violence before my face. Mr Giles's other daughter (between 8 & 9 years old) sat at some distance from the chair, but not near enough to do it, was so terrified that she jump'd out of her chair with the fright. There was no other person in the room (except those already mentioned & the w<sup>ch</sup>). There was nothing else material happen'd at that time, save, that both the children declar'd they saw part of a hand move about to different parts of the room, but neither Mr Giles nor myself could see anything.

30: About 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was sent for again to Mr Giles where y<sup>e</sup> same table that had been thrown down the day before was then lying in y<sup>e</sup> middle of the room in the same posture as beforement<sup>d</sup> which had been thrown down as Mr Giles assur'd me by the same invisible hand but a little before I came into the room. It had been thrown down twice in about a ¼ hours time the first time only on its side. I had not been long in the room but a chair that stood behind a neighbour, with whom I was talking by the fire side & from which he had arose just before, reced a sudden shake, much like that I had describ'd the evening before, we were both a little startled, being very certain it could be done only by some supernatural power.

1762 Jan<sup>y</sup> 2 Ab<sup>t</sup> 1 o'clock this day I was at Mr Giles with a few friends waiting to see y<sup>e</sup> issue of an experim<sup>t</sup> that was trying in order to afflict ye w-ch.<sup>1</sup> During the operation y<sup>e</sup> eldest daughter said she saw a hand at a little distance from her: Not long after she rose up from ye chair she sat in & was observ'd by all y<sup>e</sup> company to be black in y<sup>e</sup> face. One of y<sup>e</sup> company immediately went up to her whereupon she recoverd soon & said that she felt a hand seize her by y<sup>e</sup> throat, & strangle so as to produce that effect. Between 4 & 5 o'clock the same evening I went in again to enquire after the children & was inform'd that the same child had been serv'd in y<sup>e</sup> same manner twice that afternoon since y<sup>e</sup> first time.

Between 10 & 11 o'clock the same evening Mr Giles 2 children being in bed by themselves myself with Mr W<sup>m</sup> Dyer stood by the bed side & twice observd the younger child move from her sister towards the bed-side, she crying out that something was pulling her out of bed, which quitted its hold on our going up to y<sup>e</sup> child. Her eldest sister was seizd by the throat 5 or 6 times & strangled in y<sup>e</sup> same manner as before mentioned but on going up to her & lifting her up in the bed the w-ch quitted her hold. We likewise heard several times those uncommon scratchings in the bed much like those before mentioned & on our striking the beds-post would frequently answer with a like number of scratches.

5: Between 8 & 9 o'clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning the eldest daug<sup>r</sup> whilst at breakf<sup>t</sup> said she heard a few words twice (at different times) whisper'd in her ear the first of which she s<sup>d</sup> she could not distinctly understand, but said she plainly heard the word stairs & answerd me the last time (sitting near her) I will not go up stairs alone, supposing that I spoke to her. Between 1 & 2 o'clock y<sup>e</sup> same day y<sup>e</sup> younger girl, when standing in the kitchen (there being at the same time several p[er]sons present) was taken away by some invisible being, whose hands only she saw under her arm holes & was carried up stairs (her mouth being stop'd to prevent her crying) into an inner chamber. The w-ch then became visible in the shape of an old woman in ragged cloaths, a ragged cap & her stockings full of holes, with staring eyes & shortish (the child's own words)<sup>2</sup> & told the child she would serve them both 10 times worse in 5 days time & then cry'd out a witch a witch & a casement being then open in the room s<sup>d</sup> she would throw her out of the window, but did not. The w-ch then threw her down, push'd her under y<sup>e</sup> bed & lay down by her, staring her full in the face & told her that if she & her sister would both come up stairs she would appear to them in the same manner, but not if any one else was there; the w-ch lay by her till such time she heard somebody coming up stairs, & then gave the child a pinch on the neck & left her. The child says it was the same woman she & her sister had seen some days before in their own yard, & at that time ask'd them some questions ab<sup>t</sup> their going into the country. The same child had been halled up stairs by the neck 3 days before this happened & thrust under y<sup>e</sup> same bed, & kept till after much search she was found by her father & with some difficulty pull'd from under the bed, but at that time the child saw nothing.

6: This day I was inform'd by Mrs Giles's mother that whilst they were boyling the childrens urine (there being only 1 other p[er]son in the room besides herself & y<sup>e</sup> 2 children) with y<sup>e</sup> door bolted & y<sup>e</sup> window shutter fast: both the children distinctly saw the appearance of a woman exactly like her they had seen in the yard as before ment<sup>d</sup> first in that part of the room next the window & from

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<sup>1</sup> Although Dyer sometimes notes that urine was boiling, he does not specify, as Eaton does here that it was 'an experiment that was trying in order to afflict the w-ch' (see 2/1 footnote for this practice). Dyer does not mention Polley saying she 'saw a hand'.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer only refers briefly to the witch's appearance, but Durbin (p. 14) gives a similar description of 'a woman in a ragged dress ... the woman had a brown chip hat on, a ragged cap and a brown gown ... great holes in her stockings'.

thence she walked across the room, & after a short stay suddenly disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The same evening between 10 & 11 o'clock whilst the 2 children were in bed, Mr Durbin & myself after waiting some time, heard one of the children complain that she was bit & on examining her arm saw not only the mark of y<sup>e</sup> teeth of a very wide mouth but also y<sup>e</sup> slaver or slimy spittle (as of a human mouth) accompanying the bite. This was follow'd by several other bites of y<sup>e</sup> like nature on both children while their arms were out of bed, & we were both standing by the bed side looking on but could not see the biter. We then bad the child put their hands in bed under the cloaths think<sup>g</sup> by that means to prevent it. But we soon saw that we were mistaken. The bites frequently repeated tho' their arms were kept under the bed cloths & (strange to relate) fresh marks of the w-ch's teeth, together w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> slaver left with every bite. We were so filld with astonishm<sup>t</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> strangeness of the thing that we did not count the bites that ev'ning, but we conclude that both y<sup>e</sup> children reced near thirty if not more.

7. Between 10 & 11 o'clock this morning while the childrens urine were boil<sup>g</sup> over the fire, both the 2 children said they saw a hand in one corner of the room. A little after they seemed greatly frighted on seeing a pen knife in the hand, which seemed moving towards them. I went near the place but could see nothing. But it immediately disappeared (as the children said) on my aiming a stroke at it with a hanger as near the place as I could by the childrens direction.<sup>2</sup> This ev'ning while y<sup>e</sup> 2 children were in bed Mr Roquete Mr Durbin, Mr Dyer & myself saw several of the same bites on y<sup>e</sup> childrens arms. Some of them were measur'd 2 inches in length. But y<sup>e</sup> w-ch not liking the company then present was not so mischievous as at other times, & was soon after driven away or silenc'd by the earnest & fervent prayers of Mr Roquette for the whole evening after.

8: This evening<sup>3</sup> between 7 & 8 o'clock while they were repeat<sup>g</sup> y<sup>e</sup> experim<sup>t</sup> of boiling their urine the eldest daughter sd y<sup>e</sup> w-ch whisper'd in her ear twice at different times To night's a coming & spit on her arm soon after a frothy kind of spittle, which felt cold on its touching her arm. After they were in bed there being a pretty many p[er]sons in the room, the w-ch seem'd backward in shewing her pranks It having been observ'd that this was the case & in order the more fully to convince a gentl<sup>m</sup> then present, who was very incredulous<sup>4</sup>, I desird him as he was sitting on one side of the bed to hold the hands of that child that lay next to him & Mr Roquette who sat on the other side to do the same. They both did so; I then took the candles out of the room & shut the door, but I had not stood long without y<sup>e</sup> room before I heard one of the children cry out that she was bit. I enter'd the room immediately w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> candle & there was the mark of y<sup>e</sup> bite visible on her arm as before ment<sup>d</sup>. After that withdraw<sup>g</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> candle as before the same child reced another bite on her cheek, & a little after another on the nose. After this all the company having left the room except my wife and one other woman, the witch seem'd to act as if at more liberty & began scratch<sup>g</sup> in or about y<sup>e</sup> bed with great violence as if with the claws of a lion, & once lift up y<sup>e</sup> bed cloaths as if done by a p[er]son gett<sup>g</sup> into bed. But when the company re-enterd the room, she was much quieter

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<sup>1</sup> Durbin (p. 6) was told 'Molly and Dobby had seen the woman that afternoon, and had been beat several times by her' but has none of Eaton's other information in this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> None of the morning details given here by Eaton appear in Dyer or Durbin. As on 9/1 below, Eaton seems particularly interested in knives.

<sup>3</sup> None of this day's details are given by either Dyer or Durbin.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified. Dyer and Durbin both record sceptical people attending, but do not make the same claim as Eaton below that the witch was 'much quieter' if male bystanders were present, though Dyer notes quite often that 'company' often led to a cessation of activity.



as if she was under some restraint or apprehension of danger from the presence of several bystanders especially men.

9: this morning before the children rose the w-ch was very troublesome as I was inform'd by Mrs Elmes (ye child's grandmother). The w-ch making several attempts to pull the child out of bed, it was with some difficulty the servant maid could hold her from being drawn out by the feet. After the maid rose the child stept into bed with her grandmother who assur'd me that y<sup>e</sup> w-ch again attempted several times to pull the child out of the bed & that with such violence as to oblige her (tho' a lusty woman) to exert all most all her strength to prevent it.

I have frequently been present when y<sup>e</sup> eldest child has been drink<sup>g</sup> & have seen the liquor she has been drinking suddenly thrown in her face exactly as if her elbow had been struck by a human hand, at which time she said she felt something strike her elbow. On my applying my hand to her elbow to prevent it she would then receive a stroke on the back part of her head. On applying one hand to her elbow & the other to her head, she then could drink without molestation.<sup>1</sup> I have seen her siez'd in the same manner while writing. In y<sup>e</sup> same manner at dinner, the witch has been so exceeding troublesome sometimes that y<sup>e</sup> child has scarce been able to get any victuals into her mouth with her own hands so that she has been oblig'd to be fed by others. This evening between 8 and 9 o'clock<sup>2</sup> I stood at the child's elbow with a large case knife, while she was drink<sup>g</sup> & kept striking all the time w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> knife near her elbow; her father at ye same time held another knife near the back part of her head. The child could then drink without y<sup>e</sup> least molestation. This seems to confirm the reced opinion that w-s are afraid of edge-tools & capable of being hurt by them.

10. This morning I was inform'd by Mr Giles that y<sup>e</sup> eldest child was push'd by y<sup>e</sup> witch with such violence ag<sup>st</sup> the serv<sup>t</sup> maid stand<sup>g</sup> before y<sup>e</sup> fire, as to throw down y<sup>e</sup> maid into the fire, so as to burn her hands.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dyer describes problems with drinking on 2/1 and 5/1 similar to this.

<sup>2</sup> Neither Durbin or Dyer report the knife episode, but Dyer only joined that evening at 9 p.m.

<sup>3</sup> Neither Dyer or Durbin report this.