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# The Devon Historian

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The map on the cover is part of Benjamin Donn's Map of the County of Devon first printed in 1766 and reprinted in 1966 jointly by the University of Exeter and The Devon and Cornwall Record Society. It is available from the Academic Registrar, University of Exeter, price £3.00 post free and from book shops.

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#### NEW CONTRIBUTORS

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#### CONFERENCES

The Annual General Meeting of the Standing Conference for Devon History took place at the Queens Building Exeter University on May 4th. Professor Jack Simmons of Leicester University spoke on 'Local History, some problems and possibilities' in the morning. His talk is reproduced in this number. The business meeting was held in the afternoon. Dr. Taverner has resigned as Treasurer, his place being taken by Mr. J. W. V. Roberts. In the absence of Lady Fox, Professor Minchinton took the chair. About eighty people were present.

The next meeting of the Standing Conference will take place at Honiton on November 2nd.

#### LOCAL HISTORY: SOME PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

Jack Simmons.

The purpose of this talk was to indicate some of the fields in which it would perhaps be profitable for local historians to work, and a few of the problems and difficulties that seem to arise in them.

First, retail trade. It is extraordinary to find how many scholarly and detailed histories of towns -- headed by the Victoria County History -- ignore it altogether or consider it only in relation to markets and fairs; whilst in the history of rural communities the village shop is an almost forgotten quality. Some good work has been undertaken on the history of markets; and Prof. Alan Everitt has lately extended this to an examination of the carriers' services that fed them from the whole neighbourhood. He has suggested that these provide one useful criterion for distinguishing between ancient towns and market centres that were alive in the late nineteenth century and those that were dead. In Leicestershire, for instance, only seven towns enjoyed carriers' services by that time; the rest, whatever may have been their history, had ceased to be important enough to justify them. Country carriers (depicted carefully by Thomas Hardy, but by almost no professional historian) were figures of real importance in the economic life of rural England; some survived until the second World War.

As for the markets themselves, one recent general study has made profitable use of the municipal records relating to them, showing with what care and good sense -- in most towns, though by no means in all -- the markets were regulated. This book is a useful pioneer, indicating lines of research that can profitably be pursued for the history of individual communities.

Another pioneer work of the same kind opens up a whole commercial world that is of the utmost importance to nearly all towns and to most villages too: Mrs. Davis's history of shopping. We may be "a nation of shopkeepers", but we have resolutely ignored the whole of this subject as if it were something unsavoury, or beneath our dignity, to notice. It must be admitted that there are difficulties in the way of investigating it. The records of shops have not often been preserved -- though it seems likely that a good many more collections of papers accumulated in this way may still lie in solicitors' strong-rooms or in the attics of the shopkeepers' descendants. Shops changed hands frequently, and when they were taken over, either by private purchase or as in our own time to become part of a chain owned by a public company, their records were subject to wholesale destruction.

(In the discussion Prof. Hoskins underlined the shortness of life in most shops, arising from an investigation he had made into the tenure of those in the High Street of Exeter; and Mr. W. P. Authers mentioned that an energetic attempt was being made at Tiverton to collect a wide range of literature relating to the shops in the town -- bill and letter heads, for example, as well as accounts).

One important source of knowledge of the activities of shops comes from advertisements in newspapers. Though all advertising is suspect, by its nature, it may generally be assumed that the prices stated are truthful, for a shopkeeper who advertised his goods at one price and sold them, in the ordinary way of trade across the counter, at another, would soon be in grave trouble. What the advertisement claims to be the peculiar merits of the commodities he is purveying is of course pure assertion, and to be looked at very warily indeed.

The practice of advertising on the part of shops changes markedly in the nineteenth century. It seems to increase steadily after about 1870. Before that time it is meagre and always discreet, though ever since newspapers began early in the eighteenth century they had contained advertisements of drugs and patent medicines, and chemists became some of the most persistent of advertisers. From 1870 onwards, however, more and more firms adopted the practice, until by 1900 only those with the most affluent and exclusive clientele -- e.g. the very best wine merchants -- could afford to do without it. In those thirty years many modern practices make their regular appearance: hire-purchase, for example, and the bargain sale of cheap goods to mark the opening of a new shop.

In our own time it is important to note down -- if only for the record in the future -- the stages by which the supermarkets extend and the older purveyors, especially of provisions, disappear. Here is a commercial revolution in the urban society of England in the twentieth century, occurring under our own eyes.

The interests of the commercial community as a whole were watched over in most towns by Chambers of Commerce. (Prof. Minchinton drew attention in the discussion to the Chambers of Trade, which usually represented the smaller shopkeepers, as against the Chambers of Commerce whose concern was with larger firms and with industry. He mentioned that in the changing conditions of our own time it had recently been found desirable to amalgamate the two Chambers in Exeter). The annual reports of the Chambers of Commerce are in some measure a barometer of the town's economy, and they, with the Chambers' minutes (where they are available) show that these bodies might embrace a wide range of interests, from the town's train service to the development of technical education.

Then the Post Office, another important centre of the economic life of the community. The Post Office records are now in good order and readily available for research at the Headquarters building in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London. The development of the general business of a community is accurately reflected in the growth of its postal service during the nineteenth century. There might be collaboration here between the Post Office and the municipality: so that, for example, the Corporation of Leicester took powers to erect a New Post Office under an Improvement Act of 1846. The history of the Office of Postmaster (when did it become a full-time one, and what, at successive periods, was he paid?) and the expansion of his staff, the extension of services to different parts of the town, can all be followed out in the records, as well as the provision of services along trunk roads and to outlying communities. The Post Office records also reveal to us a good deal about the early development of the telephone, an interesting subject on which not much has been written.

The remainder of the talk was concerned with railways, starting with a plea to local historians to realise the great potential use, for many of them, of the large archive repository established by the British Transport Commission in 1951 at 66 Porchester Road, London, W. 2 and since 1973 under the control of the Public Records Office. Here are concentrated all the surviving official records of the railway and waterway companies of England and Wales. They have been used substantially -- though very far from exhaustively -- to illustrate the history of the private railway companies that provided the services in this country until the nationalisation of 1947. That, however, is no more than the study of what the railway was, in itself. The local historian must be interested in a wider question -- the question of what the railway did: of its effects on the community he is concerned with. Here the records will help him, though difficulties will lie in his way in securing some of the information he is likely to want.

About 120 railway companies, large and small, were merged in 1923 to form four very big ones. For only three of these 120, it appears, are detailed sets of statistics available to show the volume and value of business transacted at individual stations, and the expense of maintaining them. (None of these companies touched Devon or Cornwall: they are the Midland, the North Eastern, and the Glasgow and South Western).

It seems incredible that records of this kind were not kept, and carefully scrutinised, by all companies; though if they were, they have totally disappeared. It is plain that really detailed information concerning the cost of operating individual lines was not available to the Great Western Company, for in 1912, worried by the liability of rural branch lines, it undertook a special study of the problem based on a minute investigation of four lines as samples -- the Aberayron, Cirencester, Faringdon and Lambourn branches. The inquiry was not carried through to any conclusion, or to action. However, some information of this kind has found its way into local record offices. A number of detailed returns of the traffic on the Minehead Railway (worked, but not owned, by the Great Western) are among the Luttrell MSS. in the Somerset Record Office.

It should also be noted that the arrival of the railway did not necessarily bring economic growth to a community; indeed, that it is extremely difficult to establish any precise connection between the two, for all the assertions that have been freely (and understandably) made. They are usually assertions, and no more. Many country towns, and far more villages, remained stationary or declined after they had got railway services. Faringdon reached the peak of its population in the nineteenth century in 1851, without a railway; the railway arrived two years later, and from 1871 onwards the population steadily declined. It may be answered that in coaching days Faringdon prospered through lying on a main route, whereas the railway reached it only by a branch. But then how is one to account for the case of Wellington in Somerset, which got a station on a main line in 1843 and yet declined in size after 1851; or Moreton-in-Marsh, similarly placed in 1853 but smaller at the end of the century than it had been fifty years before? There are connections that can be established here, in the location of industries or large commercial firms, sometimes with sidings running off the main railway line; but the easier assumptions need to be looked at critically.

There is no doubt at all of the anxiety felt by many communities that lay at a distance from a railway, once a national network had come to be established. Petitions were frequently sent to railway companies, asking for the opening of a station and the provision of a passenger service. Ilfracombe had a stiff struggle to secure a railway from Barnstaple, from 1860 onwards. The opposition of a single landowner (Sir W. Williams, with estates at Braunton and Meanton Punchardon) was largely responsible for the delay in securing it, and feeling ran so high in the town that the houses of two of William's principal supporters were assaulted with bricks and stones, gallows were prepared for hanging them in effigy, and the Riot Act had to be read there in a Saturday night disorder. The railway got to Ilfracombe only in 1874. It is

worth noting, however, that it did not by any means create the place as a seaside resort; it is stated to have received 40,000 visitors in 1869 well before the railway arrived.

In Devon it may perhaps be accepted that Tiverton is a town disadvantaged by the development of the railway system, which passed it by and served it only by branch lines; and in Cornwall St. Ives seems to be a clear case of a town that was in decline but was revived by the railway, on its rather late appearance there in 1877. Both these cases were understood at the time and sensibly commented on by contemporary historians.

In all communities served by the railway the station-master's office was one of consequence in the nineteenth century. He and the staff employed under him formed a distinct and sometimes quite substantial element in the society of the place as a whole. It is usually possible to discover in the British Transport Records the names of the men concerned and what they were paid, and to follow their individual careers as long as they remained in the service of the railway.

Finally, one more suggestion, and one more curious problem to be examined. We all know that during our lives the railway in rural communities has been damaged, largely destroyed, by the competition of the motor vehicle. Yet the railway companies themselves were among the pioneers in developing rural bus services. The first ever operated in conjunction with a railway ran briefly in the spring of 1903 between Ilfracombe and Blackmoor station on the Lynton and Barnstaple Railway; the first under the auspices of a main-line company that can be said to have established itself, was that started by the Great Western between Helston and the Lizard in the following August. The Great Western developed its motor buses steadily, and further than any other company. But even the Great Western failed to realise the full advantage of having been so early in the field; and as for some of the others -- the Great Eastern sold off the whole of its large bus fleet in 1911, which then became a corner-stone of the later Eastern National bus company, rivalling the railway successfully all over East Anglia in the 1920s. Why should this disastrous mistake have been made? Here is one of the critical turning-points in the decline of the railway in English society. These early bus services -- and the others operated independently of railway companies -- would repay close investigation, though it will not be easy to find all the material for it that one could desire. Even the timetables of the services have generally disappeared or can be found only by pertinacious search in newspapers. We are looking here at a public service that is vitally important to many people today. Its birth and infancy deserve a closer investigation than they have yet received.

## Notes

1. Perspectives in English Urban History, ed. A. Everitt (1973) 212-40.
2. D. Alexander, Retailing in England during the Nineteenth Century (1970).
3. Dorothy Davis, A History of Shopping (1966)
4. British Transport Historical Records GW4/458.
5. DD/L 2/14/101.
6. For an interesting example, and the disingenuous replies that might be given by a railway company, see J. Marshall, The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway i. (1969) 199.
7. Cf. R. A. Williams The London and South Western Railway, ii (1973) 229-36.
8. F. J. Snell, Chronicles of Twyford (? 1893) 289-92  
J. H. Matthews, History of St. Ives (1892) 268
9. Illustrated in H. A. Simmons, Memoirs of a Stationmaster, ed. J. Simmons (1974).

## THE NONCONFORMISTS

Allan Brockett.

Judging by hindsight - the appraisal of one age by the standards of another - is unwarranted and unprofitable. In the 1970s, when possibly fewer than 10 per cent of the population is directly involved in the activities of any branch of the Church, it is difficult to realise how different things were in the past. Around 1700, for example, although legal compulsion had been dropped, there existed powerful social and moral sanctions to ensure that church attendance was the norm rather than the exception. It would be wrong to assume that this religious activity was confined to the established Church of England. In the seventeenth century the powerful Puritan reforming upsurge was one of the dominant factors in the Civil Wars: it is arguable that we might still have a Presbyterian Church of England today but for the excesses of the Puritan party while in power under the Commonwealth, which provoked a reaction after 1660. One hundred years later the Methodist revival of the Wesleys and Whitefield reinvigorated all branches of Nonconformity, until by 1851 the unique Census of Religious Observance, carried out in the year showed that on Census Sunday attendances at Nonconformists chapels were almost equal to those in Church of England buildings.

When studying local history a full picture of any locality cannot be obtained without including the Nonconformists. I have made a special study of Exeter, which led to the publication of my Nonconformity in Exeter 1650-1875 (Manchester UP, 1962) I found that in 1715 between one-third and one-quarter of the whole population of the city were Nonconformists, mostly Presbyterians. The situation cannot have been much different in towns like Tiverton and Bideford, where the Independents were very strong. Before the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 Nonconformists were excluded from the official government of their towns and regions: but it can hardly be doubted that the wishes of so large a section of the community had to be taken into account by the powers that were.

In the course of studying these peculiar people (and one branch of the Nonconformists, mainly centred in Essex, called itself just that) information emerges on other subjects. I found it possible to make a list of 1034 names of individuals known to be Nonconformists in Exeter between 1660 and 1700, which I have included in Appendix B of my Exeter University MA thesis 'Nonconformity in Exeter, 1658-1875'. Most of them are mentioned as having been fined for offences against the Clarendon Code between 1662 and 1687 or as having applied for licences under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672. Often the occupations of these



people are given and this reflects very well the dominance in Exeter of the cloth industry at that time. Records of the Huguenots show how foreign immigrants were absorbed into the community. It is extremely interesting to see how the various branches of the Nonconformists reacted to the French Revolution in the 1790s. The Nonconformists, or Protestant Dissenters as they liked to call themselves, have from 1600 onwards formed an essential strand in the fabric of the country. Devon is a rich field for their study, for not only were relatively large numbers of Puritan clergy evicted from their livings in the years 1660-62 at the Restoration and obtained licences under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 but between 1691 and 1753, free from former penal laws against them, the Dissenters organised themselves on a country basis, in an organisation known as the United Brethren. Later in the nineteenth century Devon was the birthplace of three new nonconformist causes: the Bible Christians in the Shebbear district; the Southcottians around Exeter; and the Free Church of England at Totnes.

Where, however, may the local historian turn to find out about them? It is the purpose of this paper to indicate possible directions in which to pursue this quest.

#### Before 1689

Turn first to Edmund Calamy, An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his life and times: with an account of many others of those worthy ministers who were ejected after the Restoration of King Charles the Second (London 1702; 2nd ed. 2 vols, 1713) and later brought up to date by Arnold G. Matthews as Calamy revised: being a revision of Edmund Calamy's Account on the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934). A reply to this on behalf of the Church of England came in 1714 from John Walker (of St. Mary Major Church, Exeter) in his An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England (London 1714) also modernised by Arnold G. Matthews as Walker revised: being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948). A useful compendium of records on the 1660-67 period of persecution may be found in the three volumes of George Lyon Turner, Original records of early Nonconformity under persecution and indulgence (T. Fisher Unwin, 1911-14). This account was amplified by Geoffrey F. Nuttall in 'Lyon Turner's Original records: notes and identifications', Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society XIV (1940-44), 14-24, 112-22, 181-7, XV (1945-48) 41-7. Very revealing is a series of letters to Archbishop Sheldon, reporting on the operation of the acts against Dissenters, printed in J. Simmons, ed. 'Some letters from

Bishop Ward of Exeter, 1663-1667', Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, XXI (1940-41) 222-7, 282-8, 329-36, 359-68 and J. Simmons ed. 'Some letters from the Bishops of Exeter, 1668-1686', DCNQ, XXII (1941-46) 43-8, 72-8, 108-112, 143-4, 153-5, 166-8. Even more informative are the manuscript records of 'Fines levied against Nonconformists under the Clarendon Code between 1662 and 1687'. These are kept either in the County or the nearest borough Record Office. There is an exceptionally good set for Exeter in the City Records Office. They are in Latin, but for Exeter there is an accompanying translation provided.

#### After 1689

With the passing of the Toleration Act, of 1689, Dissenters could emerge into the open and build their meeting houses and organise themselves. The Presbyterians and Independents (by far the largest groups) came together in an organisation known as the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall. This met bi-monthly in Exeter and was known as the Exeter Assembly. Its minutes from 1691-1753 are available on microfilm at both Exeter City and University libraries. Those for the period when the Assembly was most influential, have been printed in Allan Brockett, ed. The Exeter Assembly: minutes of the assemblies of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall, 1691-1717, as transcribed by the Reverend Isaac Gilling (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 6, 1963). Under the 1689 Act each group of Dissenters had to be licensed and these Meeting House Licences may be seen at the Diocesan Record Office (now part of the Devon County Record Office, at Concord House, South Street, Exeter). They are by no means comprehensive, however, and the fact that a particular chapel is not licensed does not prove that it did not exist at that time.

Useful figures for the early eighteenth century may be found in 'Evans' List, a manuscript survey of Nonconformity in 1715. Through correspondents in each country, the Rev. John Evans gathered figures of 'Hearers' of the various churches, names of ministers and often the number of people who had the vote in either city or county elections. The manuscript is in Dr. Williams's Library, in London, but there is a microfilm available for loan. A similar survey, though not as complete, was made in 1773 by Josiah Thompson and this is also in Dr Williams's Library, which is by far the best library specialising in Nonconformist history and records as well as general theology.

It is in the eighteenth century that 'Episcopal Visitations' become useful to the researcher. Amongst the questions asked by the Bishops at their primary visitations were two questions

designed to find out whether there were any Dissenters in each parish, of what kind and how many. Not all Visitation Returns are complete but they can be exceedingly revealing, especially when the incumbents add notes of their own volition. A particularly complete set of Returns is that for the Visitation of Bishop Nicholas Clagett in 1744. These are kept in the County Record Office in Exeter. The Visitation Returns for 1821 have been printed in Michael Cook, ed. The diocese of Exeter in 1821: Bishop Carey's replies to queries before visitation vol II. Devon (Devon and Cornwall record Society new series 4, 1960)

For the whole period from 1687 onwards, statistical information may be gathered from the Non-Parochial Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths. In 1837 these had to be deposited in Somerset House. Recently microfilm copies of these registers for Devon and Cornwall have been obtained and may be consulted in the Exeter City Record Office. Most do not begin until well on in the eighteenth century but some (Bow Meeting Presbyterians in Exeter, for example), start as early as 1687.

In 1851, for the first and only time, the national census included a report on 'Religious Observances' (House of Commons Sessional Papers 1853, LXXXIX). The number of people actually attending services on Census Sunday (30th March) was recorded, together with the seats actually available. From this may be seen the strength of the denominations relative to each other, to the Church of England and to the population as a whole. The printed tables go no further than each town or parish but the returns for particular churches may be consulted in the Public Record Office (Home Office 129).

In dealing with particular causes, Church Minute Books must be consulted where they have been preserved. It is wise to go to them for details, as it will be found that most accounts of local churches are biased since they are usually written by an author chosen more for his devotion to his church than for his historical sense or literary ability.

Local Guide Books and Directories, mainly available for the nineteenth century, help to identify sites which may have completely changed and often give unexpected items of information not recorded elsewhere. White's Directory of Devonshire, 1850 (reprinted Newton Abbot: David and Charles 1968) is a good one of this type.

The Denominational Historical Societies have all published quite long series of Transactions or Journals which contain useful papers on Devon and Cornwall. There are Baptist, Methodist, Friends, Unitarians, Congregational and Presbyterian Societies: the last two have now merged to become the United Reformed Church Historical Society.

Finally there are several published biographical or autobiographical accounts which supply the background to their times. One of the best of the early ones is the autobiography of the leading Presbyterian minister in Exeter at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, George Tross, The life of the Reverend Mr. George Trosse (Exeter, 1714) Others worth noting are James Manning, A sketch of the life and writings of the Rev. Micaiah Twogood (Exeter, 1792) (Twogood operated successively in Moretonhampstead, Crediton and Exeter); Lois Deacon, 'So I went my way' William Mason and his wife, Mary, 1790-1873 (Epworth Press, 1951) about the Bible Christian pioneer and his wife; John Griffin, Memoirs and remains of the Rev. John Griffin Junior, late minister of Castle Street, Exeter (Portsea, 1822) which provides an interesting view of religious life in Exeter at that time; while Lewis H. Court, The romance of a country circuit: sketches of village Methodism (Henry Hooks, 1921) is an admirable picture of country Methodism in the early twentieth century.

SUMMARY OF RECORDS IN OFFICE OF M. B. C. SUMNER,  
CHARTERED SURVEYORS, 8 COOPER STREET, BIDEFORD.

<u>Town or Village</u>	<u>Description</u>
Bideford	Property reports and Surveys.
Northam	Property reports and Surveys, some Lloyd family records (Northam House) 1838 Tithe Surveys.
Bideford and Westward Ho!	Railway land acquisitions.
Abbotsham	Property reports and some Heywood family records.
Hatherleigh	Some Smyth Osbourne and Oldham family records.
Okchampton Park Estate	Some Luxmore family records.
Coombe Estate, Colebrooke	Some Sillifant family records.
Bude	Some Granville Estate (Thynne) records.

Mr. Sumner is willing to allow anyone to consult these documents. They should of course get in touch with him first, at the above address.



Robin Stanes.

In 1676 a census was taken in all the parishes of the provinces of Canterbury and York. It was an ecclesiastical Census since it was taken by parish priests or by their immediate superiors and its main purpose was not to enumerate the people but to discover the number of Nonconformists and Papists in the country. It was the result of considerable political controversy. The Archbishop of Canterbury Gilbert Sheldon was a convinced opponent of toleration and had opposed fiercely Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 and the granting of licenses for Dissenting Ministers. Public opinion was moving slowly towards the idea of toleration, for Dissent at least, in contrast to the Clarendon Code introduced shortly after the Restoration. Sheldon was determined to show that the extent of Dissent had been exaggerated and that there were fewer Dissenters than had been thought and that therefore toleration was unnecessary as well as being undesirable. The whole background to the Census has been discussed in detail by Thomas Richards in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Cymmrodorion in 1927.

It follows that the Census figures may be affected by Sheldon's ideas since he threatened persecution if he had his way and no-one would wish to be counted as a Dissenter with that threat over their head. Many 'occasional conformists' may have conformed for the occasion of the Census and there is evidence that this was in fact taken in Church on a Sunday (Lincoln Notes and Queries Vol. 16, No. 126 April 1920). The number of practising Dissenters is therefore probably underestimated and where the Census has been studied in detail as by C. W. Chalklin for Kent (Kent Records Vol. 17 1960) other records show that congregations existed where few or no Dissenters are mentioned in the Census. Chalklin concludes that because of Sheldon's threats and aims the figures for Dissenters are likely to be too low. He also concludes however that the whereabouts of Dissenters and Papists are accurate enough though possibly not complete. Where Dissenters and Papists are mentioned, they surely existed.

The Census required the enumeration of Conformists Papists and Nonconformists. What is not absolutely clear from the wording of the instructions is whether children are included in the Census or whether only those over 16 are included. It is known that children were excluded from the figures for the Diocese of Canterbury and probably from that of Bath and Wells. It is also possible from the wording of the instructions to assume that only families are recorded and not individuals. This seems to have been the case in Wales in some places but does not seem to have been done in

Exeter Diocese, from a brief look at the figures and a comparison to the 1801 Census. If children are excluded then the given figure should be added to in the proportion of 4 children for every 6 adults. (Chalklin, op. cit). This has been approximately done in Column 5 as Total B (the given figures being multiplied by 1.66 on a calculator)

Total C in Column 6 is the population figure for the parish from the 1801 Census, the earliest accurate figure. It should be remembered that between 1676 and 1801 the population of England and Wales probably doubled. Figures taken from parish registers seem to indicate that the same thing was happening in Devon though there may have been some movement from the country to the towns to mask this increase everywhere.

Clearly some of the figures are not to be trusted at all. They are 'round' numbers only, and some are patently absurd, those for Tiverton for instance.

Any figure showing round hundreds is probably suspect, though not necessarily grossly inaccurate. In many other cases a genuine attempt seems to have been made to count with some accuracy. Most resident parsons or curates would have been able to make a reasonable calculation of the numbers in their parish, quite apart from attendance at Church, just as would be possible today in a rural area. Towns would be more difficult. Dissenters and Papists would be well known too unless they were very discreet. Their presence would be a standing rebuke to the parson. Many no doubt conformed enough to satisfy the parson and he, surely, would be aware of the Archbishop's wishes.

Despite all these inaccuracies the Compton Census (so called from the Bishop of London) is the only County wide or province wide census that exists pre 1801. The Protestation returns\* and the Hearth Taxes give some sort of assistance but the former only lists a proportion of the population and the latter lists hearths or by implication families.

The Census does provide some interesting facts. There were in 1676 only 341 Papists apparently in the whole diocese and this in an area that had risen fiercely in defence of Catholicism only three or four generations previously. 145 of these are recorded in the Archdeaconry of Barnstaple, 104 in Sherwill Deanery and 39 in Hartland. 34 are recorded at Arlington where the Chichesters, still Catholic, had a great house. A further 34 are recorded at Countisbury though the MS is overwritten at this point and the figure

\* Recently published for Devon and reviewed in this number.

may be a copying error. The Catholics at Berrynarbor, Newton St. Cyres, Paignton and Tormohun may in each case centre on a great house. The figures for Tormohun reflect the influence of the Carys of Cockington for which unfortunately no figures are available. There are 23 parishes in the Diocese where single Papists are recorded. Were these perhaps old folk whose faith derived from the previous century but whose children had conformed?

Nonconformity as might be expected seems largely urban. One fifth of the population of Axminster and Plymouth were nonconformist. Dartmouth and Mortonhamstead had one sixth, the former inspired perhaps by the eminent divine John Flavel. These must be minimum figures and the minute figures for Exeter seem to confirm this. The highest figures for rural parishes is for Thorncombe now in Dorset where nearly a quarter were Nonconformists. Brixton Bigbury Northam and Iluish had high proportions of Nonconformists as did Morvat in Cornwall.

At the end of the Census, figures are given to show the proportion of Conformists to Nonconformists and to Papists. The Diocese of Exeter had 38 Conformists to 1 Nonconformist and 696 Conformists to 1 Papist. The averages for all the dioceses of the province of Canterbury were 22 Conformists to each Nonconformist and 178 Conformists to each Papist. Exeter seems more solidly Anglican than most dioceses. (For comparison Canterbury had 9 Conformists to one Nonconformist and Hereford had 92 Conformists to one Papist).

The Census as it is copied here comes from the Salt Collection at the Salt Library Stafford by whose kind permission it is printed here. The first three columns are as they appear in the MS. Column 4 is the addition of the three. Column 5 is an estimate assuming that those under 16 are not included. Column 6 is the parish figure from the 1801 Census as it appears in 'Devon' by Professor W. G. Hoskins.

Certain obvious calculations can be made. The recorded population of Devon - with twenty five parishes missing - is approximately 180000. The estimated population would then be as in column 5 - 300000. The 1801 Census figure was 353,948, while the latest estimate of the Devon population for 1751 is 306,524\*

\* (British Economic Growth, Dean and Cole, p 101-3)

This increase of 18% in 125 years from the estimated 300000 seems too low for an age when population was going up fast. Professor Hoskins, using the hearth tax figures and the Census of 1801, has shown that the number of hearths/families increased in the same period by 85% (Devon p 172). If the total figure for 1676 is in fact that actually recorded then the increase to 1801 is 96%. On the other hand the figures for Cornwall seem to point in a different direction. The recorded figure is 66,712 giving an estimate of 111,090. The Census figure for 1801 is 192,281. Here it would seem right to allow for unrecorded children, otherwise the increase to 1801 would be nearly 300%. Clearly caution is needed before coming to any conclusions at all.

Of the towns Exeter had a recorded population of 8836 (including Heavitree and St. Thomas). This would give an estimated population of 14,726 (20,543 by 1801). Plymouth had a recorded population of 5760 including Stoke Damerel giving 9600 estimated. This was before the development of the Naval Base and Dockyard, (43,532 in 1801).

The following parishes do not appear in the Census at all. Bow, Braunton, Buckland Tout Saints, Charleton, Cheldon, Cockington, Compton Giffard, Diptford, Eggesford, Goodleigh, Ideford, Morchard Bishop, Rose Ash, Shobrooke, East Stonehouse, Templeton, Uffculme, Woodland. Bow is probably included under Nymet Tracy, and Buckland Tout Saints under Loddiswell. Compton Giffard, Eggesford, East Stonehouse, Templeton probably are included under neighbouring parishes. Uffculme was a peculiar of the Bishop of Salisbury. Other parishes now in being, are not mentioned in the Census but these were either in other counties e.g. Stockland in Dorset or are new parishes either formed by the splitting or amalgamation of older ones, e.g. Beer from Seaton and Teignmouth from East and West Teignmouth and Budleigh Salterton Chittlehamholt etc. St. Giles in the Heath, North Petherwin, Werrington appears under the Archdeaconry of Cornwall. Northcott appears under Boyton in Cornwall. Bicton does not appear in the 1801 Census. Thorncombe and Churchstanton then in Devon, are so no longer. Six parishes appear in the Compton Census without figures. Figures are not available, for one reason, or another, for 25 of the parishes that appear in the 1801 Census though some may be concealed within other parishes.

Part Two of the Compton Census will be published in the next number of the Devon Historian. This will include the Peculiars of the Dean and Chapter and of the Bishop in Devon and Cornwall, and the Archdeaconries of Cornwall and Barnstaple.

(Spellings have been modernised dubious entries are in brackets)

**K E Y**

Column A	Conformists
Column B	Papists
Column C	Nonconformists

**DIOCESE OF EXETER**

Archdeaconry of Exeter

Honiton Deanery

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Thorncombe	723	-	162	885	1475	In Dorset
Offwell	170	-	-	170	282	302
Honiton	1400	-	36	1436	2383	2377
Southleigh	128	-	-	128	212	237
Gittisham	190	-	-	190	315	459
Kilminster	260	-	5	265	440	444
Musbury	253	-	1	254	422	280
Membury	440	1	13	454	754	709
Axminster	889	1	175	1065	1768	2154
Combyne	69	-	-	69	115	141
Axmouth	240	-	3	243	403	375
Northleigh	72	-	2	74	123	180
Seaton	260	-	3	263	437	1497
Widworthy	187	-	-	187	310	245
Uplyme	240	-	2	242	402	549
Farway	216	-	-	216	359	287
Cotley	218	-	6	224	362	214

Dunkeswell Deanery

Awliscombe	348	-	1	349	579	426
Dunkeswell	314	-	-	314	521	393
Upottery	524	-	13	537	891	795
Sheldon	237	-	-	237	393	138
Yarcombe	350	2	5	357	593	740
Clayhidon	340	-	1	341	566	690
Hemyack	413	-	-	413	686	1020
Combe Raleigh	153	-	1	154	256	237
Luppitt	417	-	6	423	702	675
Chur chstanton	360	-	10	370	614	In

Somerset

Tiverton Deanery

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Halberton	977	-	68	1045	1735	1436
Tiverton	10000	-	500	10500	17430	6505
Bickleigh	170	-	2	172	286	297
Willand	126	-	5	131	217	255
Sampford						
Peyerell	443	-	9	452	750	763
Uplowman	164	-	6	170	282	360
Huntsham	101	-	-	101	168	158
Loxbere	50	-	2	52	86	132
Morebath	120	-	1	121	201	420
Hockworthy	145	-	-	145	241	283
Washfield	250	-	10	260	432	422
Calverleigh	60	-	3	63	105	70
Bampton	718	-	74	792	1315	1361
Holcombe						
Rogus	363	-	13	376	624	662
Burlescombe	490	-	13	503	835	853
Clayhanger	150	-	-	150	250	213

Plimtree Deanery

Bradninch	750	-	15	765	1270	1187
Buckerell	311	-	25	326	542	280
Plimtree	200	-	1	201	334	375
Clysthydon	200	-	-	200	332	257
Payhembury	600	-	3	603	1001	416
Kentisbeare	339	-	6	345	573	1042
Broadhembury	504	-	25	529	878	780
Talaton	400	-	7	407	676	393
Peniton	300	-	2	302	501	252
Silverton	800	-	13	813	1350	1236
Rewe	124	1	2	127	211	195
Cullompton	3000	1	60	3061	5081	3138
Butterleigh	60	-	1	61	101	125
Clyst St.						
Lawrence	70	-	1	71	118	156

Kenn Deanery

Kenton	796	-	2	798	1325	1639
Ashcombe	155	-	-	155	257	280
St. Thomas	600	-	17	617	1024	2189
Exminster	324	1	3	328	544	795
Dunchideok	114	-	-	114	189	183
Trusham	86	-	-	86	143	135
Alphington	500	-	3	503	835	845

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Kenn Deanery (continued)

<u>Parish</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Total A</u>	<u>Total B</u>	<u>Total C</u>
Shillingford	50	-	-	50	83	71
Kenn	440	-	2	442	734	818
St. Nicholas (Shaldon)	200	-	-	200	332	585
East Ogwell	150	-	-	150	250	256
West Ogwell	37	-	-	37	61	53
Stoke in Teignhead	400	-	-	400	664	574
Combe in Teignhead	373	-	-	373	498	505
Powderham	160	1	-	161	267	175
Mamhead	125	-	-	125	208	230
<u>Aylesbeare Deanery</u>						
Lympstone	250	-	5	255	423	883
Sowton	200	-	-	200	332	318
Aylesbeare	302	-	2	304	505	687
Clyst St. George	150	-	-	150	250	249
Broadclyst	3000	-	2	3002	4983	1540
Pinhoe	274	10	3	287	476	353
Rockbeare	366	-	3	369	613	419
Whimble	368	-	-	368	611	483
Huxham	67	-	-	67	111	135
Farringdon	220	-	11	231	383	293
Poltimore	220	-	-	220	365	250
Clyst St. Mary	90	-	-	90	150	97
Withycombe Raleigh	450	-	-	450	750	692
Sidmouth	1016	-	14	1030	1710	1252
Ottery St. Mary	1894	4	16	2014	3343	2415
Venn Ottery	62	-	1	63	104	127
Harpford	96	-	-	96	159	190
Colaton Raleigh	520	-	6	526	873	627
Bieton	105	-	-	105	174	-
East Budleigh	516	-	-	516	857	1014
Otterton	589	-	2	591	981	920
Woodbury	785	1	10	796	1321	1286

Cadbury Deanery

<u>Parish</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Total A</u>	<u>Total B</u>	<u>Total C</u>
Poughill	163	-	-	163	271	274
Cadbury	154	-	1	155	257	238
Newton St. Cyres	345	16	1	362	610	867
Cadeleigh	195	-	1	196	325	226
Down St. Mary	150	-	-	150	250	313
Upton Hellions	75	-	-	75	125	136
Shobrooke	360	-	5	365	606	686
Netherexe	64	-	5	69	114	86
Thorverton	900	1	9	910	1516	1168
Upton Pyne	204	1	-	205	340	409
Cheriton Fitzpaine	400	-	1	401	666	884
Bramford Speke	120	-	-	120	200	273
Stockleigh English	95	-	2	97	161	116
Stockleigh Pomeroy	151	-	2	153	254	196
<u>Dunsford Deanery</u>						
Drewsteignton	543	1	6	550	913	959
Christow	300	-	8	308	511	422
Holcombe Burnell	96	-	-	96	159	176
Tedburn St. Mary	308	-	3	311	516	527
South Tawton	700	-	1	701	1164	1538
Hittisleigh	66	-	-	66	108	124
Spreyton	193	-	-	193	320	333
Ashton	155	-	-	155	257	176
Cheriton Bishop	339	-	4	343	569	504
Gidleigh	122	-	-	122	203	125
Bridford	219	-	5	224	372	444
Throwleigh	200	-	-	200	332	331
Chagford	680	-	-	680	1129	1115
Doddiscomb- leigh	185	2	-	187	310	317
Dunsford	360	-	-	360	598	661
Whitestone	262	-	-	262	435	471

Deanery of Christianity, Exon.

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
St. Sidwells	1423	2	34	1459	2422	-
St. Olaf's	220	-	-	220	365	-
St Mary Steps	300	-	2	302	501	-
St Stephens	191	1	-	192	319	-
St. John's	200	-	-	200	332	-
St. George's	242	-	12	254	421	-
Holy Trinity	848	-	18	866	1438	-
St Mary Major	900	2	8	910	1511	-
St Edmunds	400	-	-	400	666	-
St Pancras'	95	-	-	95	158	-
St Martin's	198	-	3	201	334	-
St Petrocks	190	-	6	196	325	-
St Lawrence	526	-	-	526	873	-
St Paul	507	-	8	515	855	-
All Hallows on the Wall	229	-	-	229	365	-
St David's	635	-	21	656	1089	-
All Hallows in Goldsmith St	220	-	2	224	372	-
St Mary Arches	220	-	-	220	365	-
St. Leonard's	35	-	4	39	65	133
St Kerrian's	140	-	4	144	239	-
Exeter	-	-	-	8836	13015	17398
Total of Deanery		Conformists		64980		
		Papists		50		
		Nonconformists		1584		

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ARCHDEACONRY OF TOTNES.

Holsworthy Deanery

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Holsworthy	670	-	59	729	1210	1045
Milton	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Damerel)	198	-	-	198	329	469
Cookbury	123	-	-	123	204	261
Bradworthy	299	5	-	304	505	634
Pyworthy	315	-	10	325	540	499
Pancrasweek	200	-	-	200	332	330
Bridgerule	178	-	-	178	295	332
West Putford	147	-	-	147	244	274
Thornbury	50	-	-	50	83	330
Clawton	160	-	-	160	256	383
Hollacombe	33	-	2	35	58	74
Halwill	85	-	-	85	141	156
Ashwater	400	-	-	400	666	643
Black Torrington	301	-	-	301	500	706
Bradford	137	-	1	138	229	352
Luffincott	43	-	-	43	71	76
Tetcott	70	-	4	74	123	166
Subcombe	155	-	-	155	257	330
Abbots Bickington	43	-	-	43	71	68

Okehampton Deanery

Okehampton	800	1	7	808	1341	1500
Bratton (Cloveley)	-	-	-	-	-	548
Beaworthy	196	-	-	196	325	218
Northlew	300	-	-	300	500	638
Highampton	240	-	1	241	400	204
Hatherleigh	600	-	1	601	1000	1218
Monk Okehampton	89	-	-	89	148	182
Broadwood Kelly	174	-	-	174	289	311
Exbourne	150	4	2	156	259	421
Belstone	97	-	-	97	161	137
Ashbury	49	-	-	49	81	41
Honeychurch	28	-	-	28	46	66
Jacobstow	132	-	6	138	220	193

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Okehampton Deanery (continued)

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Sampford						
Courtenay	489	-	4	493	818	960
Inwardleigh	220	-	-	222	369	384
Germansweek	106	-	-	106	176	133

Tavistock Deanery

Broadwood	-	-	-	-	-	-
Widger	314	-	-	314	521	586
Tavistock	1788	-	67	1855	3079	3420
Brentor	85	-	-	85	141	108
Milton Abbot	521	-	-	521	865	862
Coryton	97	-	-	97	161	154
Sydenham	139	-	-	139	231	199
Lewtrenchard	85	-	-	85	141	154
Bradstone	88	-	-	88	146	105
Lifton	500	-	-	500	830	843
Stowford	191	-	-	191	317	235
Thrushelton	168	-	-	168	279	417
Kelly	118	-	-	118	188	201
Marystowe	124	-	2	126	209	297
Lydford	75	-	-	75	125	422
Virginstow	42	-	-	42	70	101
Bridestow	237	-	-	237	393	581
Sourton	356	-	-	356	590	450
Lamerton	473	-	4	477	792	722
Dunterton	80	-	-	80	133	129

Tamerton Deanery

Tamerton	200	-	6	206	342	747
Meavy	122	-	-	122	203	239
Buckland						
Monachorum	423	-	12	435	722	918
Walkhampton	240	-	-	240	398	336
Bickleigh	120	-	-	120	200	264
Sheepstor	68	-	-	68	113	99
Sampford						
Spiney	-	-	-	-	-	205
Bere Ferrers	547	5	-	552	916	1110
Marytavy	174	-	-	174	289	376
Petertavy	128	-	-	128	212	291
Whitchurch	300	-	-	300	500	478

Tamerton Deanery (continued)

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Egg Buckland	250	-	1	251	417	711
Stoke Damerel	60	-	-	60	100	23747

Plympton Deanery

St. Charles						
Plymouth	1800	-	300	2100	3486	16378
Plymouth	3000	-	600	3600	5976	
St Budeaux	260	-	-	260	432	544
Cornwood	437	-	-	437	725	745
Modbury	1400	1	100	1501	2492	1813
Ugborough	700	-	1	701	1164	956
Kingston	200	-	5	205	340	354
Harford	100	-	-	100	166	142
Holbeton	615	-	23	638	1059	869
Newton						
Ferrers	324	-	-	324	538	590
North Huish	200	-	1	201	334	380
Yealinton	291	-	8	299	498	993
Revelstoke	160	-	1	161	267	417
Plympton St						
Mary	500	-	-	500	830	1562
Plympton St						
Maurice	510	-	12	522	867	604
Plymstock	805	-	19	824	1368	1633
Wembury	236	-	-	236	392	390
Brixton	400	-	45	445	666	635
Shaugh Prior	201	-	-	201	334	480
Ermington	570	-	22	592	983	917

Woodleigh Deanery

Stokenham	745	-	3	748	1242	1301
Chivelstone	246	-	2	248	412	562
Churchstow	250	-	-	250	415	219
Sherford	211	2	-	213	354	380
Kingsbridge	500	-	-	500	830	1117
Loddiswell	360	-	18	378	627	608
Slapton	400	-	-	400	666	558
Woodleigh	156	-	-	156	259	240
Aveton						
Gifford	480	-	25	505	838	746
South Pool	234	-	5	239	397	412



Woodleigh Deanery

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
East						
Portlemouth	-	-	-	-	-	298
East						
Allington	300	-	-	300	500	468
Dodbrooke	297	-	5	302	501	608
West						
Alvington	-	-	-	-	-	655
South Huish	35	-	5	40	66	286
South Milton	176	-	-	176	292	302
Malborough	-	-	-	-	-	1056
Moreleigh	104	-	-	104	173	127
Bigbury	289	-	31	320	531	430
Thurlestone	353	-	1	354	588	356
Ringmore	220	-	1	221	367	309

Totnes Deanery

Totnes	1950	1	150	2101	3488	2503
Blackawton	407	-	8	415	689	1019
Townstall	540	-	-	540	896	1014
St Petrock	400	-	-	400	666	2398
Dartmouth	2500	-	400	2900	4814	
Stoke Fleming	427	-	-	427	708	578
Ashprington	300	-	18	318	528	509
Cornworthy	264	-	-	264	438	468
Harberton	655	-	43	698	1159	1138
Halwell	-	-	-	-	-	358
Holne	206	-	1	207	344	359
Dittisham	375	-	6	381	632	639
Buckfastleigh	1170	-	3	1173	1947	1525
Rattery	370	-	12	382	633	451
Dean Prior	274	-	-	274	455	495
South Brent	714	-	12	726	1205	1032
Dartington	374	-	7	381	632	486

Ipplepen Deanery

Berry Pomeroy	449	-	4	453	752	1124
Brixham	850	-	34	884	1467	3671
Kingswear	333	-	1	334	554	300
Churston	312	-	4	316	525	663
Abbotskerswell	198	-	-	198	328	389

Ipplepen Deanery (continued)

Parish	A	B	C	Total A	Total B	Total C
Denbury	220	-	-	220	365	330
Ipplepen	368	-	-	368	611	821
Littlehempston	186	-	-	186	309	266
Broadhempston	455	5	3	463	769	667
Wolborough	600	-	10	610	1013	1623
Tormohun	140	11	-	151	251	838
Torbryan	200	-	-	200	333	258

Morton Deanery (Moretonhampstead)

Bovey Tracey	1600	-	23	1623	2694	1491
Highweek	296	-	-	296	491	777
Hsington	350	-	1	351	583	866
Widcombe in the Moor	450	-	-	450	750	843
Manaton	300	-	6	306	508	348
North Bovey	294	-	-	294	488	519
Moretonhampstead	200	-	37	237	393	1768
Lusleigh	185	2	3	190	315	246
Henock	220	-	-	220	365	537
Teigngrace	41	-	-	41	68	133
Kings Teignton	355	-	-	355	589	856
Inhabitants in all					53523	
Papists					39	
Nonconformists					2213	

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## THESES ON DEVON HISTORY

Linda M. Thomas.

The aim of this bibliography is to list those theses presented for higher degrees whose subjects relate wholly or predominantly to Devon. The list has been compiled from printed sources\* and does not claim to be complete. It does not include theses in progress or general theses which may well include reference to Devon. Details of these may be obtained from the sources already cited.

Some attempts has been made to show the availability of theses within Devon. All Exeter theses can be consulted in Exeter University Library; where copies of theses from other universities are available in Devon this information has been included. Most theses from other British universities are available through the Inter-Library Loan service, except for Cambridge University theses which can only be consulted in the Cambridge University Library. American theses not available in Devon can often be borrowed through Inter-Library Loan; if not, xeroxes or microfilms may be purchased. Reproductions of British theses can also be obtained, subject to the Copyright Act. The permission of the author or university may sometimes have to be obtained before a thesis can be continued; due acknowledgment should of course always be made for quotations and for information gained.

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## LOCAL HISTORY AT ROLLE COLLEGE.

Barbara Currie.

Local history at Rolle College is studied at two equally important levels: as part of the work in history which about 70-80 students do to Certificate and B. Ed standards and as part of the professional courses at 'teacher level' in which all students look at the ways in which various subjects or groups of subjects are taught.

In their first term, all history students make a study of Exmouth and its surrounding area, partly for interest and partly as an introduction in the use of primary sources for those who have not used them and as a reinforcement for those who have. This begins with a study of the landscape, which we find few students have previously considered as a source of history, and continues with the use of maps, for example tithe maps, Ordnance Survey maps and estate maps and photographs. Together with field work this enables them to work out a development map of Exmouth. This is followed by a study of topics like occupations, education, religion and the care of the poor where all available sources, primary and secondary, are used but with an emphasis on the primary. We concentrate on the last two hundred years, partly because this period covers the most rapid development of Exmouth and partly because we do not reckon to teach palaeography or Latin in this introductory course.

During this term we make a visit to the Devon Records Office where the staff give the students a tour of the building with helpful introduction to Record Office materials and advice on tackling them. This introduction is reinforced by the College staff in order that the students have some idea of the range of record repositories and the way to approach them.

Local history is used later, where relevant, in the study of national topics and there are two further blocked weeks of intensive fieldwork, one in another area, usually Coventry, for contrast, and one in Devon, for example the Teign Valley or Dartmoor, where the techniques of observation and recording are further reinforced.

All students write a special study of about 10,000 to 12,000 words on a subject of their own choice for which primary sources (not necessarily in their original form) must be used and many choose local history for this. Examples of local topics from the last three years of studies for the Certificate and B. Ed degree are :-

The formation and early years of the Devon constabulary.  
The effect of the paper industry on Bradinch.  
The Exeter-Exmouth railway.  
Riots and riot control in Exeter 1830-50.  
Exmouth National Schools 1863-1902.  
Topsham as a port in the nineteenth century.  
Nineteenth-century Tuckenhay.

These are concerned with the study of a question or a problem over a moderately short period of time. They are not general accounts over a long period which may encourage antiquarianism, rather than history. Many of them include the use of material not previously studied though some are obviously following a well-worn path. As one would expect, some are better than others but we do require that they should be original to the student, though not necessarily original work in the usual meaning of the word.

For the second type of work, professional work, all history students take a course in the teaching of history, which includes local history, and all students take a course in Environmental Studies for one year and some continue it for a further two years. In this work we are concerned with the use of local studies with children in many areas of the curriculum including history. This has many attractions as a form of work with children because many of the sources they can use, including the landscape, are available nearby, and because there is the interest of exploring one's own locality and finding out more about familiar landmarks and people. It involves activity and a starting point in the concrete and familiar, which can make it valuable even with quite young children who have not yet much grasp of the concepts involved in history.

A considerable amount of the Environmental Studies course is based on field-work and since all areas have a past, this leads quite naturally into local history. This involves the study of chosen areas of Exmouth and in the more intensive second and third year course, work in a village, for example East Budleigh or Woodbury. Here the whole village is explored and the students plan field-work for children based on it. This is not necessarily historical - it may involve the study of a stream or plants but it may also include noting the lay-out of the streets and houses, the styles and materials of buildings and a more detailed study of a particular area like the church and churchyard, a farm or the mill. Follow-up work is planned, using as much primary material as possible, including especially old photographs, maps and oral interviews which may be especially suitable for children but other documentary material is used where it is accessible, readable and comprehensible whether in the original, in photo-copies or printed form. School log-books are a 'natural' for this, but material from registers, church

warden's records, directories, and so on can also be used and the students are given help in where to find this and secondary material and how to use it. The work is not limited to villages; unpromising looking areas like housing estates are also studied since it is very likely that students, when qualified, may be teaching in a school in the middle of one.

Later in the second year, students work with children from local schools, carrying out with them the study of a topic or area. Many of them either help or initiate local studies on teaching practice. Similar work forms a part of the teaching course for history students from whom more is expected as they have a base in the work described earlier in this article.

We hope that at the end of this professional work, the students have a fair idea of what history is, the value of local history as part of a history course or as part of integrated work and sufficient 'know how' to look for sources wherever they teach.

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#### DARTINGTON SEMINARS

Exeter University Economic History Department is to hold two Seminars on West Country Economic and Social History at the Devon Centre Dartington Hall. The first on the 'Marketing and distribution of food' will be held on the 8th-9th March, 1975. Papers will be read by Professor Norman Pounds, Professor John Burnett, Miss Janet Blackman and Doctor John Rule.

The second Seminar will concern the 'Agricultural Worker' and will be held on the 3rd-4th May, 1975.

Anyone wishing to take part of these Seminars should get in touch with Professor Walter Minchinton, Streatham Court, Rennes Drive, University of Exeter.

#### SEEKING HISTORY'S HIDDEN PAGES.

Mary Collier.

"When you're writing about the distant past you're in much the same position as the writer of space-fiction, there are a few hard facts that you know, and that's all. For the rest you must use your imagination, writing what you think happened based on those facts that you do know. The chances are that you won't go far wrong!" Thoroughly bogged down with something I was trying to write because of a gap, a real blank, in recorded history, I had sought aid and comfort from a far more experienced writer of such matters than myself. He went on to amplify. "It's very difficult to be positive about anything in the distant past, unless it's something about which contemporary records exist, and even they can be contradictory, even with dates. The furthest one can usually go is what probably happened, what seems to oneself the most likely thing that somebody did or said, based on whatever may be known about that particular person, and the general swing of events."

Well, I followed that advice in my dilemma. Months later, researching for something quite different, I found my 'missing link' finding also that what I had written was substantially correct.

That lack of absolute certainty, that compulsion to make one's own appraisals, can be one of the most fascinating aspects of historical research. So, too, can finding 'missing links'. Sometimes some writer of generations past will leave a question about some point, simply because he has no answer. Not infrequently that answer may be provided by somebody else writing about something entirely different.

The origin of the name Kilmington may be such an example. "Kilmington is said to be a corruption from Kil-maen-ton, the town of the stoney burial place bearing in mind the memory of the great slaughter made in Kingsfield," declared the Reverend Richard Polwhele in 1797 in his "History of Devonshire". Sir William Pole, the sixteenth century historian, says "Kilmenton albeit in reputation a parish of itself is a member of Axminster, where, in ancient time, their dead corpses were buried, and where they pay for their tythes." But Polwhele also says "Or Kilmington may signify "the town near the common meadows for cattle" from 'Kilme' a common for cattle . . . . There is a very extensive common in the parish of Kilmington".

A former vicar of Kilminster thought the name might refer to its stone-quarries, for "ming" is Welsh for mine. All very confusing!

A pointer, however, to its having been Axminster's burial-place, whatever else it may have been in addition, comes from quite a different source. Axminster is recorded as having had two bridges, the main one presumed on the way to Kilminster and the secondary one somewhere about the site of the present one past the level crossing. Chronicler William of Worcester says "Axminster villa distat ab Exeter 20 miliaria. Ax water currit per villam ubi est pons magna."

John Leland, King's Chronicler to Henry VIII, gives rather more details. "Ax then rennith to Axminstre a pratie quik market town ... this town is in Devonshire. Ax then rennith thorough Axminstre bridge of stone, about a quarter of mile lower than Axminstre toun. Sumwhat lower than this bridge enterith Artey ryver being sumtyme a raging torrent with Ax ryver".

Back to Polwhele who states tersely that the bridge fell in 1334, and he adds that it probably predated the Conquest. An ancient account of this disaster exists. "A. D. 1334 cecedit pons principalis de Axminster et per longum tempus nemo interposuit ad reparandum, quo tempore tante tempestates inundavere, quod mortuarum corpora non poterant ad sepulchra portare."

At first glance this would seem little to do with Kilminster. But is it? Granted the mediaeval mind was much more preoccupied with the rites and ceremonials of burial than we are today, and the part these played in everyday life much greater, one is still left with a question as to why so much emphasis on this particular effect of a tumbled-down bridge. Is the reason that this emphasis is not so much on the burials themselves, as such, but on the inconvenience of the interruption of a normal local procedure, which the writer took for granted that everybody knew and therefore didn't mention, that of Axminster's funerals taking place in Kilminster. It could be.

Incidentally, one is left with the feeling that "pons principalis" was down a mighty long time! It may well have been, particularly when one considers that there was neither road fund nor rates on to which such undue bridge outlays could be lumped. In mediaeval times they usually came out of the pocket of some private donor,

ns often, too, did bridge upkeep. Not infrequently that donor was well-known for his sins in addition to his wealth, and the church would ~~put~~ it to him fairly plainly that his hereafter sojourn in the nether regions might, perhaps, be shortened somewhat if he stumped up in the here and now. As, in those days, it didn't take much strength of imagination to see oneself pursued by Satan plus pitchfork at the double, this method was often quite effective. But whether or not it was used at Axminster goes unrecorded.

Often one is inclined to put national and local history in separate compartments, only to find that they overlap and intertwine. This possible explanation of dilatory bridge repairs is an example of a local presentation of a national norm. Devon history has many overlaps and intertwinings, including one, which in its own way, is rather frustrating. It concerns Edward II.

From time to time national history has undergone periods of poor recording, leaving blanks forever remaining such. The earlier Plantagenet years are an example. That super piece of contemporary journalism, the Saxon Chronicle, was no more, and most of the great mediaeval chroniclers were yet to be. Hence a dramatic, tragic and fascinating segment of our history leaves queries whose certain answer, is impossible. But now for that element of frustration. Some of those forever unanswerable questions concern responsibility for the murder of Edward II. His queen, Isabella la Belle, lovely daughter of Philip le Bel of France? Dorset born Baron John Maltravers, Marlowe's "Matrevis"? Or does responsibility lie between many? One of the few people in the whole kingdom really knowing the truth about that tragedy may have been a bishop of Exeter. Bishop James de Berkeley, D. D., third son of Lord Thomas de Berkeley, and previously rector of Slymbridge, Gloucestershire, a few miles from Edwards's last prison, Berkeley Castle. Thomas, a principal disaffected baron, was also one of Edward's jailors, taking this duty turn and turn about with John Maltravers, and unlike John, reputedly treating him kindly. It is usually accepted that Thomas was inveigled away from his castle by John, who invented some emergency needing his presence elsewhere, and that during his absence Edward's murder took place. Maybe the true tale was often told within the ancient precincts of Exeter.

Another sidelight, too, on this mystery of responsibility, comes from Exeter. James de Berkeley's predecessor in office, Bishop Walter Stapledon had been murdered. Engaged in political intrigue, he, together with his brother, Sir Richard Stapledon, was murdered by a rioting mob, and according to a contemporary report 'buried in a sandhill in his own house without Temple Bar.' The same reports tells us that about six months after his death Isabella caused his corpse to be taken up and honourably interred.

some more fit place, brought to Exeter and buried in his own church with great solemnity".

Isabella's action seems extraordinarily well-behaved, for Walter was no friend of hers; he was, in fact one of the two sole bishops - the other was John Stratford of Winchester - supporting Edward II.

"Were diu werlt alle min  
von dem mere unze an de Rin  
des wolt ih min darben,  
daz diu chünegîn von Engellant  
lege an minen armen."

So wrote the 14th century German poet of Isabella, described in her day as the most beautiful woman in Europe. Certainly one of our saddest and most ill-used of queens, pacing her sombre path as inexorably as any heroine of Greek drama, is her beauty the real reason why she does seem to be one of history's gratuitously blackened characters? What did Bishop James de Berkeley, for that matter others, too, say of her at Exeter?

#### Correction

Devon Historian No. 8 p3. Lines 26-30 should read "While the first volumes were written by members of the staff such as Miss Easterling and Dr. Wilkinson or already established research workers, two later volumes were revised versions of their theses by two students at the College, Muriel E. Curtis and William G. Hoskins the one in history the other in economics".

EXETER FREEMEN, ed. Margery M. Rowe and Andrew M. Jackson, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Extra Series I, 1973 (in conjunction with the City and County of the City of Exeter) xxxv and 462 pp. £5 to non-members.

As Professor Hoskins points out in his short forward to this admirable volume, "The records of the city of Exeter are probably the finest collection of their kind outside London". Yet only a small proportion of the voluminous Exeter archives has yet found its way into print, a fact which makes the publication of this comprehensive list of surviving freemen's names from 1266 to the present day particularly welcome. The current boom in English urban history has already demonstrated that it is a good deal less arduous to generalise about the nature of civic freedom than to provide the basis source-material on which such generalisations must ultimately rest. In following up Professor Hoskin's proposal that the office list of Exeter freemen up to 1835 compiled by Mr. R. A. McKinley in the 1950s should be revised for publication, the editors of this volume were faced with a difficult task. Anyone with experience of collecting long lists of personal names will know how hard it can be to maintain satisfactory standards of scholarly accuracy. Mrs. Rowe and Mr. Jackson must be congratulated on producing a work which is not only reliable but certain to be absolutely indispensable to all future historians of the city of Exeter. The editors and printers of Exeter Freeman also deserve commendation for the way in which the names of twelve thousand or so individuals are set out both clearly and economically on the page. It is difficult to see how either the lay-out of the main text or of the (inevitably all-important) index could have been improved.

The city of Exeter has therefore now joined that select company of English provincial towns, most notably Colchester, Chester, King's Lynn, Leicester, Norwich and York, whose lists of freemen admissions over the centuries have been adequately published. In some ways the editors of Exeter Freeman have had a more complicated task than many of their predecessors in that their own lists have needed to be compiled from a variety of sources. What these sources are is a matter discussed, perhaps a little too cursorily, in the introduction to this volume. The Exeter City muniments do contain what might be termed a "Freemen's Book" (Book 55), but this is of much independent value only for the period from 1474 to 1700. Much more informative, and the indispensable source for the names of Exeter's freemen in the mediaeval period, is the magnificent and largely uninterrupted (from 1286) sequence of Mayor's Court Rolls. Remarkably detailed though these records are by the standards

of other English towns in the middle ages, Mrs. Rowe and Mr. Jackson are wise to remind us that "there is no complete list of the freemen at any one date before the eighteenth century". Particularly persuasive is their conclusion, one very much in line with the evidence for admissions to the city franchise at York, that in the fourteenth century it was only those who took up the city's freedom by purchase whose names were likely to be fairly meticulously noted. Until the very end of the middle ages it seems probable that Exeter freemen admitted by right of their birth or by apprenticeship (of which the first example specifically mentioned in these lists occurs as late as 1358) were quite seriously under-recorded. Despite the difficulty of estimating precisely how many Exeter freemen before the eighteenth century have failed to find their way into this volume, the problem of 'overall deficiency' deserves attention. It points to the dangers that lie in wait for modern economic historians who would wish to use the annual rise and fall of recorded admissions to civic franchises as a simple index of movements in urban population and prosperity. In particular the graph of annual entries to the Exeter freedom printed some years ago in A. R. Bridbury's Economic Growth: England in the later Middle Ages, p. 66 must now be discarded as both factually inaccurate and certainly quite incapable of supporting a thesis of 'urban growth' in late medieval Exeter.

The fact that Exeter Freemen cannot provide us with a complete list of all the city's enfranchised inhabitants since the late thirteenth century does not of course detract from its considerable value to the social and economic historian. Professor Hoskins has long maintained that the most exciting and profitable purpose to which freemen's lists can be applied is the illumination of the changing occupational structure within the late medieval and early modern town. Admittedly in this field the Exeter freemen lists are rather less informative than many others, for it is only after 1500 that the majority of the citizens have their trade or craft recorded against their names. Understandably enough, the editors of this volume have not thought it one of their functions to analyse this material themselves: it might be left to some future historian to make use of their labours and enlarge our understanding (at present based on Professor MacCaffrey's excellent Exeter, 1540-1640) of the social composition of Exeter's population during the Tudor and Stuart periods. As Mrs. Rowe and Mr. Jackson make clear in an exceptionally interesting section of their introduction, it was only with the appearance of bitterly contested parliamentary elections and of sophisticated political organisation in the city during the late seventeenth century 'that freedom became increasingly divorced from any political reality'. Before that period

and to some extent after it, the lists of Exeter freemen throw much incidental light on a wide variety of important issues, ranging from the prevalence of the seven-year apprenticeship term in late fourteenth-century Exeter to the appearance of a knight (Sir William Bonville) as freeman of the city at the remarkably early date of 1406. Some of the revelations here are indeed positively surprising - like a reference in 1333 to a pilgrimage to the far-off tomb of the uncanonised St. Thomas of Lancaster, and another the following year to a Roger of Critton or Crediton who proposed to go to York 'for the purpose of study'. The more general and often very complicated issues germane to the long and erratic development of the city's franchise at Exeter through the course of many centuries are discussed by the editors in their introduction. Despite the occasional minor slip (for example an apparent uncertainty as to whether mayoral elections at Exeter took place on the Monday before or after Michaelmas), a series of complex and sometimes intractable problems are handled in an eminently judicious if sometimes compressed manner. The Exeter City Council has, in other words, every reason to be gratified at the outcome of its decision to collaborate with the Devon and Cornwall Record Society in the financing of this important book. Historians everywhere and not just in the south-western England must hope that future volumes devoted to the records of the city of Exeter will soon appear in the same series and display the same high standards of editorship.

R. B. Dobson

WILLS AND WHERE TO FIND THEM, compiled by J. S. W. Gibson, Chichester, Phillimore, for the British Record Society, 1974. xxii + 210pp £3.50.

Readers of this journal will hardly need to be told of the importance of wills and associated documents to the local historian. They will also be familiar with A. J. Camp's Wills and Their Whereabouts (1963). Mr. Gibson's book, published in response to a growing interest in wills, replaces Camp's work as the standard guide to the whereabouts of probate records.

The basis arrangement is by county. After discussing the two central sources of probate material in the Public Record Office - the Estate Duty Office Abstracts, and the often under-used Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills - each county is taken in turn.



Every court having probate jurisdiction within the county before 1858 is listed together with the range of its jurisdiction and the whereabouts of its records. As these records are impossible to use without finding-aids, full details of lists and indexes are always given. The progress made in the last decade in providing such aids is the chief justification for publishing this new work; unlike its precursors it pays only minimal attention to the minutiae of probate jurisdiction - the practical convenience of the user is the paramount consideration throughout.

In view of the almost total loss of its probate records in 1942, Devon presents something of a special case, and, perhaps because of this, more pages are devoted to this county than to any other. Great care has been taken to track down all possible sources of original and copy wills, probate Act books, indexes to, and abstracts of the destroyed records in all the local repositories. Nothing seems to have escaped Mr. Gibson's net.

Two small criticisms might be made. The map showing the parishes outside the jurisdiction of the three archdeaconries is, as the editor disarmingly admits, on too small a scale to be of much assistance. Furthermore the accompanying list of these parishes contains a few slips: South Pool is listed twice; 'Buckland' should be identified as Buckland in the Moor, while an ancient Dean and Chapter peculiar to Exmouth seems to have been created, in addition to Littleham by Exmouth.

However it would be churlish to over-emphasise these points, for the book is a well-arranged, practical guide to the surviving probate records of Devon and the rest of the British Isles.

R. Gwyn Thomas.

PREHISTORIC DARTMOOR, by Paul Pettit, David and Charles 1974. £3.50 192 pp. 16 plates 14 figs.

Mr. Pettit's account of Prehistoric Dartmoor is written for the visitor, interested in archaeology but not necessarily expert. It presents in some detail the evidence for prehistoric activity in the area, covering the various types of settlement, burial and standing stone. In the first chapters Mr. Pettit gives a colourful introduction to the prehistory of Dartmoor, attributing most of the material to the Bronze Age. The descriptive chapters which follow present something of a contrast, and the layman may find

them somewhat tedious. However, used as a reference guide to particular sites visited, they should prove informative, (although the occasional description of an area as a whole, bringing together the information from different types of sites, would be an asset) One query on page 79, the distribution of farms should surely be 'east and north-east' not 'east and south-east'? In the later chapters, the author is more cautious than in the introduction, where he makes some rather bold statements when dealing with unresolved problems such as the dating of many sites, and the interpretation of stone rows and circles. It is to be hoped that the general reader will notice this. Mr. Pettitt concentrates almost exclusively on material from sites which he attributes to the Bronze Age, to the extent that his work might be more accurately titled 'Bronze Age Dartmoor'

The book contains a number of photographs which nicely illustrate the sites and artefacts discussed. There are also several maps and plans. These appear to have been drawn freehand with a felt-tip pen, and they do justice neither to the author, nor to the reader, nor to the publishers who normally maintain a high standard in such matters.

Bryony Orme.

#### RECENT LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

The History of Ashford, D. V. Cannon, Ashford, Barnstaple (36pp. £0.60p)

An Obscure Place, Louise Ryan, Stowford Court, Harford, Ivybridge, (94pp, illustrated, maps, £1.00 + 15 p+p)

The Story of Westward Ho! R. Mayo, Yelland, Barnstaple (43pp. illustrated)

Ashford is a very small parish of little over half a square mile; and had its surviving records been less limited in period coverage it might have provided an excellent opportunity for the study of a small community. Mr. Cannon has been careful to consult everything available, but with inevitably limited results. Much of his work is in fact devoted to what can be discovered of the history and ownership of individual properties, and as such is primarily of only local interest. Nevertheless this is a serious contribution to local history, though its value to those who do not know the parish would have been enhanced by the provision of a map.

Mrs. Ryan deals with an even more geographically limited subject; but her book is beautifully produced, and has photographs and well-drawn maps and plans. Its basis is the manor and House of Stowford, an erstwhile township of Harford parish, traceable in Domesday and now incorporated in Ivybridge. Though research

has gone into tracing the histories of families connected with the manor house and neighbouring major properties, and there is also interesting evidence on the emergence of Ivybridge as a settlement at a point where four parishes met. Genealogical tables of the local Williams, Prideaux Bouvil and Rivers families are given, and there is a useful index to help the genealogist.

Mr. Mayo has given us a full and well-written account of the fortunes of Westward Ho! from its origin in 1863 as a speculative scheme to create 'a second Torquay' for Victorian gentry, to the holiday camp developments of recent years. Without railway access (apart from the short-lived local line opened in 1901 which had no link with the main system), its history until the age of mass-motoring was at first one of modest success on a strictly one-class basis, typified by the Golf Club whose members, we are told, were apt to 'fling open the door to Northam School and . . . bawl 'Boy for golf' But stagnation and decline came, with, if not before, the end of the nineteenth century, and was not alleviated by District Council control dominated by the unsympathetic (and definitely non-U) ratepayers of Appledore. Only on the eve of the Second World War did efforts begin to develop the potentialities of what Mr. Mayo describes as a 'self-service resort' - a very different consummation from that envisaged by the original Victorian promoters.

R. R. S.

PLYMOUTH AND PLYMOTHANS: PHOTOGRAPHS AND MEMORIES.  
Compiled by Andrew Cluer. Plymouth 1974. Lantern Books (8)  
Rutger Place, Plymouth) 152pp. 395 illustrated £3.95  
ISBN 0 9502853 0 7.

This is a remarkable book. It is firstly a collection of delightful photographs of old Plymouth from every possible private and public source dating from the sixties of the last century up to the outbreak of World War Two. Most however comes from the late nineteenth century and many from the cameras of Friese Greene, who had a studio in Plymouth and of Rugg Monk a local jeweller, and historian and Louis Duprez a photographer cum 'Professor of Magic' who came to Plymouth in the 1860s. Plymouth at the turn of the century was something of a 'roaring town' if these pictures tell the truth. It was the port of call of many transatlantic shipping lines, its Dockyard was in its heyday, it was a thriving fishing port, a Naval Depot, and the virtual capital of West Devon and East Cornwall. Although it was expanding, the old Plymouth still survived mainly around the Barbican area in the form of innumerable (seemingly) seventeenth century and earlier houses, mostly slums at this time but still lived in, narrow alleys and decaying tenements and warehouses

and almshouses. It was all, as shown here, teeming with life and activity of every kind. Shop interiors and exteriors, circuses, elephants and camels parading the streets, regiments on recruiting marches, elections, royal visits, fish hawkers, hurdy gurdies, street performances, pageants are all shown here. Everywhere, as is appropriate, were ships from decaying three deckers to Tamar barges and ironclads and the serried masts of fishing smacks. Everywhere too were people in their hundreds at work and play, unobscured as yet by cars. Almost everywhere were horses ridden or driven. All this in the setting of old Plymouth now largely blitzed or carelessly demolished. To a non Plymouthian the town, as seen here, is both unrecognisable and at the same time far more attractive with all its bustle and variety to the rather shabby uniformity of Royal Parade today. Towns were exciting places then and this is made clear by this book. Also made clear as a contrast are the appalling housing and sanitary conditions in which the poor lived.

As well as looking at the pictures, it is important to read the text. This, without, sadly, stating its sources is full of gems. Where else could one learn that dogfish guts were good for asthma or that cows udder fried tasted like chicken or of the lady in 1841 who remembered seeing Dr. Johnson or of the massed march of the Stonehouse prostitutes or of the 'goings on' in the Shades Tavern or even that milk churns had sun hats? There is much more of this nature and the text reveals much about the pictures that might not be noticed otherwise. Here there are in fact difficulties, as it is sometimes hard to match caption to photo due to the odd arrangement and in some cases the caption makes little sense without much thought. Nor does there seem to be any plan to the book. But these are small things. To anyone interested in old Plymouth or indeed in the 'sights and sounds and smells' of a Victorian seaport, this is a must.

R. S.

THE TEIGN VALLEY LEAD MINES. by Christopher J. Schmitz.  
Sheffield: Northern Cavern and Mines Research Society, 1973.  
125 pp. 4 plates 95p. Copies available from the Publications  
Officer, NCMRS, 11 Neville Street, Skipton, BD23 2EU.

The published works on the history of non-ferrous metalliferous mining in Britain have without exception been regional rather than national studies. In the case of the lead-mining

industry, recently published works exist for Cornwall, Wales and the northern Pennines but the once thriving lead-mining industry of Devon has until now been completely neglected. But with a detailed account of the rise and decline of lead-mining in the Teign Valley, this book partially remedies this situation. Though traces of mining activity have now largely disappeared under the plough and a tourist can travel the length of the Teign Valley from Dunsford to Chudleigh without realising its industrial past, a nineteenth century traveller would have viewed the very different scene which is vividly here described.

The exploitation of the Teign Valley silver/lead resources was a nineteenth-century activity, with the peak of production occurring in the 1850s and 1860s. Under the stimulus of rapidly rising lead prices in the Napoleonic Wars, the initial exploration of the area was carried out in the 1800s by mine adventurers from the Newton St. Cyres manganese mines but large-scale exploitation of the ore did not take place until the 1850s. The centres of activity moved steadily southward down the valley as the earlier exploited deposits in the north, around Christow, became exhausted. As Schmitz shows, the mining companies worked the same lodes and were promoted by very much of the same people, though the actual firms were legally separate entities. By the 1880's the heyday of Teign Valley lead mining was over. In the north, the mines were becoming exhausted and, in the south, falling prices made exploitation increasingly unprofitable.

This is essentially a chronological and descriptive study. Schmitz is obviously well-versed in mining technology and organisation but he could have been more explicit in his explanation of terms and techniques, especially as the book is of interest beyond the mining enthusiasts. In fairness, however, one must add that this is a general fault with most publications in the field of non-ferrous metalliferous mining. As a case study in mining enterprise, the work demonstrates the hazardous and uncertain nature of metalliferous mining and the capacity for misplaced optimism that exemplified investors in the industry. The influence of individuals on the level of activity, especially in early days of development, is brought out in the study. Though over-anecdotal and insufficiently analytical, this is an interesting and rewarding book for the mining enthusiast, industrial archaeologist and those interested in Devon history.

Michael Atkinson

THE POTTERS' FIELD: A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH DEVON BALL CLAY INDUSTRY by L. T. C. Rolt, (David and Charles, Newton Abbot) 1974: pp159. 33 plates £3. 25.

The South Devon ball clay industry occupies both a prominent area of the countryside between Bovey Tracey and Newton Abbot and an important place in the economy of the county. The lack of any published work devoted to the history of this industry has now been remedied by the appearance of this book by the late Mr. Rolt, in which he tells in particular the story of Watts, Blake and Bearne, the largest company in the area and Britain's leading producer of ball clay. He describes the transformation over a period of two and a half centuries of small scale, locally-orientated operations into the concentrated technologically advanced industry of today, producing a range of clays for markets in Britain and overseas.

In the late seventeenth century these deposits yielded small quantities of clay used almost exclusively in the manufacture of tobacco pipes. By the 1740s, however, the clay was beginning to be used by a number of Staffordshire potters, impressed with its fine texture and relatively pure colour. During his constant search for new raw materials and new products, Josiah Wedgwood found in its peculiar plastic qualities the ideal medium for a completely new kind of pottery. In 1762 he introduced his famous 'Queen's Ware', a superior quality white-bodied porcelain containing ball clay as a prime ingredient. Thereafter, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as popular demand for this and other pottery containing ball clay surged ahead, the scale of operations in the Bovey Tracey area constantly increased.

As the nineteenth century progressed a number of firms, including the forerunners of the Watts, Blake and Bearne group, came to be firmly established in the trade, and as time passed, to form combinations among themselves. Production expanded rapidly as demand for the raw materials of the pottery industry increased and as new uses were found for the clay: as a filler in paper and later in rubber and as a component in fertilizers and drugs. Nevertheless, then, as today, the bulk of the clay went to Staffordshire or to pottery manufacturers abroad.

Until the twentieth century the clay was extracted from open pits often reaching eighty or ninety feet in depth. Underground mining of a type similar to that employed in the coal industry came into use by the first world war. Since then the technology of underground mining has kept pace with increasing output and five mines are now operated by Watts, Blake and Bearne, extracting clay to a depth of 400 feet. Even so, as Mr. Rolt points out, open-cast working still accounts for the majority of the ball clay produced by the company.

The main theme of the book is one of continuous technical change, from the days when the only test applied to their product by the company was to 'bite' it to see if it was too gritty, to the present when 'the customer ... demands from the clay producer a product of predictable behaviour which has been tailored to his particular need'. Nor is this the only theme. The book is also a contribution to transport history, examining in detail the canals, railways and ports upon which the clay companies depended.

Although containing defects if considered purely as a business history, for example in its lack of analysis of labour conditions, the individual sections of this book contain a fund of valuable detail concerning all aspects of this industry and its region. The whole is a worthwhile contribution to Devon industrial history only marred by the indifferent quality of the maps and some of the diagrams. Nevertheless, this is an interesting and thoroughly readable volume and, as his last book, stands as a fitting memorial to the author.

Christopher Schmitz.

THE CHATTAN ESTATE, AXMINSTER, DEVON. and the families associated with it. by Watson Dyson, Privately printed 52pp.

This is the history of a house: of no great age or architectural merit but representative perhaps of many built in the last century. There are no architectural problems to be solved as with many old smaller houses and the alterations and additions are easily understood. It is the social origins of the house and its subsequent social history that is interesting, it was built by a Scots soldier (its name is Scottish) and owned subsequently by wealthy publishers, bankers and South American merchants. It is now divided and provides what is clearly a pleasant home for three families without servants, where one, with many, lived before. A piece of social history indeed! All this is clearly revealed by Mr. Dyson who lives in part of the house and clearly delights in doing so. From this delight has grown perhaps the desire to know if possible all that there is to be known about the place. Mr. Dyson has gone far afield for his information but has also used local reminiscences to good effect. There are a number of pleasant photographs old and new and some maps and appendices of more or less relevance. Many people find out a lot about their houses, few get it down on paper for others to read when many locally, would be interested in doing so. This is an example that might well be followed.

(The book is not generally for sale but can be seen in the Devon and Dorset County Libraries).

R. S.

AMID DEVONIA'S ALPS by W. H. Crossing. Edited by Brian Le Mesurier. David and Charles, 137pp £3.75.

Sitting on a tor overlooking the tourist laden Moretonhampstead to Princetown road listening to the sound of the distant gunfire from those large areas of the moor used by the military, it is a pleasure to think of the tranquil Dartmoor of Crossing's time.

'Amid Devonias Alps' is a collection of accounts of rambles made in the 1870s throughout Dartmoor and conveys a very attractive picture of a truly wild moor, largely unaltered by conifers or reservoirs and untouched by military training. Nevertheless the isolation that Crossing sought in the large area of Dartmoor not served by the Railway brought hardship to the moormen and he faithfully records the difficulties of travel in the often romanticised days before the coming of the motorcar.

The accounts are studded with fascinating references to life on the moor a hundred years ago. We learn that few men from the South of Dartmoor had ever ventured to the northern wilds, peat cutting was still active and Dunnabridge pound was in use. It was the time of itinerant traders and Princetown housewives would eagerly await the arrival of the long striding packmen from Okehampton with their diverse wares. Perhaps even more surprising is the reference to new settlers at Nun's Cross in the heart of the moor, suggesting that pioneers were still shaping the Dartmoor landscape.

For the modern Dartmoor walker there is much of interest. Crossing was always interested in archaeology and made detailed notes and measurements of all the remains that he discovered both ancient and the more modern ones of the tinnerns. These can easily be revisited and changes observed.

His description of 'A long tramp' tells the story of a 28 hour marathon walk from Brent to Princetown and back, but the weariness induced by missing two nights sleep doesn't dull

Crossings power of observation or stem the flow of relevant anecdotes.

Perhaps the most interesting to the Dartmoor walker today are the accounts of Dartmoor weather at its worst. In one section we learn of Crossings experiences in deep snowdrifts with a horse, carriage and wife to bring to safety. The very experience of being lost in a Dartmoor mist will ring very true to modern ramblers.

Of much interest also to the modern walker are the changes that can easily be observed on the moor, brought about by the 'ravages of time' the number of visitors and the changes in land use resulting from more and more people in an increasingly accessible Devon.

Notwithstanding the Victorian style this is a very readable book. Despite the clarity of description a map showing the routes of the ramblers would have been welcome.

There is a brief but informative introduction by Brian Le Mesurier.

Geoffrey Mason.

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INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF EXETER by Michael Chitty.  
Exeter Industrial Archaeology Group, Department of Economic History,  
1974. 36 pp ISBN 0 9501778 4 9 price 30p.

This is a 2nd edition of the original published in 1971. The format and lay out has been quite altered and text amended where new information has come to light and the number of sites described has been slightly cut down. There are 7 pleasing drawings and 4 photographs and the tour of Exeter has now a map as guide. The whole makes a most attractive and, so far as is possible, up to date guide to the survivals of Exeter's industrial past, so much of which would remain quite obscure without the help of this guide.

R. S.

DEVON AT WORK - PAST AND PRESENT (David and Charles £3.50)  
W. E. Minchinton.

As the author reminds us, the conventional view of Devon in terms of cream teas and golden sands is a very one-sided one. It is also misleading. Hidden in valleys tucked away in market towns, and lining the seashore and river estuaries is a surprising and remarkable variety of industry some of it with a tradition of great age. Devon in the 12th century was Europe's main source of tin.

This book is a picture commentary of many of these industries with a brief text pin-pointing their importance and highlighting their function. The pictures not only add a dimension of their own to the written text, they also supply a commentary on many of the people who earned their livelihood in milling, mining, brewing and fishing. The group of solid Dartmouth brewery workers should be contrasted with the Newton wool sorters in their collarless shirt "uniform" of the twenties. The fishermen hauling in the seine net have an ageless dignity and stance which only the sea can confer. The effect of monotonous repetitive work shows clearly in the faces of the women sorting rags at Hele mill. Sometimes an old picture illuminates the present as in the view of the dressing floors of Bampfyld mine, North Molton an abandoned and half forgotten mining venture in an area which present-day prospectors are again investigating.

The lay-out and presentation of the book is clear and methodical and the overall standard of picture reproduction remarkably good. The pictures are arranged in sections dealing with each group of industries and a short introduction indicates their historical and geographical importance. The author very rightly makes the point that they are drawn from a variety of sources not easily available to the public.

Yet good as it is, this book poses in an acute form, along with others in the series, the riddle of just how old is old.

Devon in the last ten years has witnessed in the making of motorways, scenes very similar to those that our great-grandfathers looked at with awe, wonder and sometimes irritation when the railways were building, but with the difference that the machines and methods employed today age and are out-dated more rapidly than those of 100 years ago. Thus it is a pity that some space was not found for modern road making scenes in an area where the geological formation has often proved a roadmaker's nightmare. Many of the

machines and methods in use 20 years ago are as obsolete and out-dated now as the ubiquitous traction engines of the twenties. The hair-style and dress of the modern labourer would make an astounding contrast with those even of the thirties. We still await a record of the transformation of the Devon countryside by the successors of the canal and railway navigators.

Nevertheless "Devon at Work" would be high on my list of desirable Christmas gifts.

F. E.

THE DEVON PROTESTATION RETURNS. Transcribed and edited by A. J. Howard. Indexed and with an Introduction by T. L. Stoate. Privately Printed. Obtainable from T. L. Stoate, Lower Court, Almondsbury, Bristol. £4.30 post free.

The Protestation Returns (actually of the year 1641-2 - the title page here errs with 1641) were the ultimate effect of a bill introduced into the Commons on 6 May 1641, in an atmosphere of crisis, even of panic, over the failure of the impeachment of Strafford and amid rumours of army plots. It offered to extend to all Englishmen of eighteen years and upward an oath, previously taken by all MPs and the protestant peers, to 'maintain and defend . . . the true reformed protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish innovation'. All this was a part of John Pym's pragmatic campaign to harass Charles I and his advisors. One object was to get some idea of who and how many might be popists, who not. It was, indeed, 'a shibboleth to discover a true Israelite'. Those who refused it were to be incapacitated for office in church and state. Clearly popish peers would be denied their places in the Lords who, resenting this attempt to determine the composition of their House, threw the bill out on 29 July. The following day the Commons passed a radical resolution reaffirming the bill's intentions and ordering the Protestation to be printed. But it was only in January 1641-2 - again in crisis, this time the botched coup against the Five Members - that the Speaker sent out letters with printed copies of the Protestation to sheriffs, JPs and mayors instructing them to take the oath themselves and to have it administered to all inhabitants over eighteen at the parish level. ('Inhabitants' clearly meant males, but in a few instances, as at St. Mabyn in Cornwall, the oath-takers included women). Detailed returns were to be made. Action seems to have been fairly quickly taken - the extant returns, now, ironically, stored in the House of Lords Record Office and listed in an appendix to HMC 5th Report, Pt 1, are mostly for February and March 1641-2, but we cannot be sure that the Protestation was taken in every parish or if all the obligatory returns were in fact sent in. For some counties there is nothing, though a few are practically complete. The Devon return is substantial, with lists (about 63,000 names) for 412 out of 486 parishes. The omitted parishes are chiefly in the south east, including the whole of the hundreds of Axminster, East Budleigh and Ottery St. Mary. Mr. Howard prints a version of the return, not extant in the Lords, from Axmouth parish. More is known of the process of oath-taking in Cornwall - the county with the fullest set of returns - than in Devon, but no doubt it was much the same in most counties. There is a useful account in the Introduction to West Sussex Protestation Returns (Sussex Record Society, V 1906).



Mr. Howard prints the whole of the Devon returns. Mr. Stoate provided in a brief introduction a few comments on the significance of the material. Students of seventeenth century population have not made much of the Protestation. Mr. Stoate quotes Dr. Joan Thirsk's regret that there is 'so much doubtful arithmetic involved' in using them to assess parish populations that 'the task is hardly worth doing'. Dr. E. A. Wrigley agrees that estimates based on them must be 'subject to large margins of error'. But much the same may be said of muster rolls, settlement certificates and the other imperfect data we have to fall back upon. Mr. Stoate confines himself to considering the total population of Devon, and comes up with an estimate of about 290,000, which is perhaps not too alarming. When the whole of the extant returns are printed - Mr. Stoate promises Cornwall and there are others already in various local records society publications - it may be possible to think again about their demographic value from parish to national level. But as Dr. Wrigley has written if 'the strictly demographic data about communities in the past are significant in their own right' they are also of 'prime historical importance because a community's demography was sensitive to many influences in the economic, social and physical environment'. These returns (which at first glance look as arid reading as street or telephone directories) offer glimpses of many aspects of the seventeenth century - literacy, recusancy, occupation, office-holding, genealogy and whatever. (The West Sussex returns are in this respect richer than those from Devon.) It should not be assumed that all who did not take the oath were papists - some were 'in a journey', 'at sea', 'absent not out of contempt but through occasions', 'sick and aged', 'bedridden', 'impotent', even 'missing from the parish'. William Paddon of Bradford 'being deaf and not able to hear the minister pray did not make the protestation'. In Colyton John Carswell was returned as 'not obstinately refusing but scrupulously forbearing'. He may have been one of those protestants who abhorred any kind of corporeal oath.

Demographers work best with numbers, but most historians seek 'a local habitation and a name'. These returns provide them. Stick a name on a man and you have at once an individual. The lists of names in these volumes - surnames transcribed exactly but Christian names irritatingly rendered in 'the normally accepted modern form' - can set the historical imagination working. That is enough to justify their publication. Everything else - and there is much - potentially at least - is a bonus.

Ivan Roots.

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