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The map on the cover is part of Benjamin Dow's Map of the County of Devon Drawn printed in 1745 and reprinted in 1862 under the authority of Hants and The Devon and Cornwall Record Society. It is available from the Academic Registrar, University of Exeter, price £4.00 post free and from book shops.

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## THE PRE-CONQUEST CHURCH AND THE OLD MINSTERS IN DEVON

C.A. Raleigh Radford

The parochial system has been for so long a basic element in English ecclesiastical life that it is difficult to imagine an earlier stage in the organisation of the English church. For seven hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical parish with its church and an incumbent, usually resident, has formed the normal unit of church and, indeed of local life. But one thousand years ago the parish, as we have for so long known it, had barely begun to take shape. I am concerned here with this earlier period of church organisation in Devon and, more particularly, with the minsters, on which it was based.

Christianity first took root in the Mediterranean world against the background of the Roman Empire, Roman law and urban life. Its adaption to the barbarian world of the early Middle Ages, with its tribal and predominantly rural society, entailed many changes, both in outlook and organisation. As far as England is concerned, the origins were well illustrated in a seminal article, by Professor Margaret Deansely, which demonstrated the affinity between the older Church in Gaul and the minsters of seventh-century Kent.<sup>1</sup> But the main framework of early English church organisation seems to have been the work of Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus who held the metropolitan see of Canterbury between 669 and 690. Many of the minsters, which figure so largely in the history of the pre-Conquest church in England, go back to his day.

The word 'minster' is an Anglo-Saxon translation of the Latin 'monasterium', which at this date implies a community of Christians following a rule of life and living according to the canons of ecclesiastical authority. It was the churches, on which these communities were based, that served as the parish churches of the early period. It was these churches which administered baptism and undertook the pastoral care of the laity and it was these churches to which the laity resorted to receive the communion at the great feasts like Christmas and Easter. Their function is well brought out in the foundation charter of the minster at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, a grant of land dating from the last quarter of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> The grant was made 'in view of the growing and multiplying of the number of Christians in the island of Britain .... so that a minster (monasterium) and oratory of monks serving God should be founded .... and also a priest of honest life and good reputation instituted, who should bring the grace of baptism and the teaching of the Gospel doctrine to the people committed to his care'. In Devon the minster at Exeter, in which St. Boniface received his education, was already in existence in the last quarter of the seventh century<sup>3</sup> and the foundation charter of that at Crediton bears the date 739.<sup>4</sup>

But for a more complete picture we must turn to a later age, in which it becomes possible to provide fuller details on a local basis. Edgar's Ordinance of Tithe, promulgated between 959 and 963, serves as a

convenient starting point.<sup>5</sup> Tithe as a legal obligation was an innovation which gradually replaced the old tax called church scot. The relevant paragraphs of the Ordinance are:

- 1.1 And all payment of tithe is to be made to the old minster, to which the parish (parochia) belongs, and it is to be rendered both from the thegn's demesne land and from the land of his tenants, according as it is brought under the plough.
- 1.2 If however there is any thegn, who has on his bookland a church with which there is a graveyard, he is to pay the third part of his tithe into his church.
- 2.1 If anyone has a church with which there is no graveyard, he is then to pay to his priest, from the (remaining) nine parts, what he chooses.
- 2.2 And all church scot is to go to the old minister from every free hearth.

It is clear, as Stenton pointed out,<sup>6</sup> that the king assumed that 'most tithe payers will be parishoners of "old minster" .... But he recognises that lords have been building churches on their estates and he provides that where a graveyard is annexed to such a private church, its owner may give a third of his own tithe for its support. The Ordinance and related laws of the late tenth and eleventh centuries already foreshadow the basic elements of the later parochial system — parish boundaries, which incorporate older estate boundaries, and private patronage.

It is against this background that I turn to the position in Devon. Can we list the 'old minsters' in the county? Can we draw any conclusions concerning the area which each served? The terminology must first be clarified. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries ecclesiastical reformers and canon lawyers defined the terms 'monk' and 'monastery' as applying only to the Benedictines and the newly-founded Orders such as the Cistercians.<sup>7</sup> Following pre-Conquest observances, the older minsters were no longer considered monasteries. Some became houses of Augustinian Canons Regular — Plympton is an example. Exeter became a Cathedral with a Chapter of secular canons; Crediton became a collegiate church. Concurrently the term 'parish' (parochia) ceased to mean the district dependent on an 'old minster' and came to denote the smaller area cut out from its territory and served by a single priest, who gradually asserted his independence of the minster.

I have already mentioned Exeter and Crediton, the later and earlier cathedrals. It is only necessary to add that Exeter was a borough (burh), included in the early tenth-century list now as the Burghal Hidage,<sup>8</sup> and that Crediton (D xxi)<sup>9</sup> figures in the Geld Inquest that lies behind the Domesday Survey as the centre of a hundred.

Two places in Devon — Axminster and Exminster — still retain the element 'minister' in the place-name. Both are royal manors and the centres of hundreds. A third place — Braunton, also a royal manor and the centre of a hundred — is referred to as Brannocminster in a ninth-century charter



which survives only in a late text.<sup>10</sup>

Axminster (D xxxii and 14) was a royal manor, forming the centre of a hundred; it had a church possessing half a hide of land in 1086. The church, termed a minster in the royal writ, had been given before the Conquest to the deacon Ealdred, as a benefaction for the Cathedral of St. Peter at York. The Chartulary of Newenham Abbey, a Cistercian house lying within the parish, claimed possession of the church in the thirteenth century; the statement of claim records that the church of Axminster had been granted by King Athelstan to seven priests.<sup>11</sup>

At Exminster (D xxxvi) the Geld Inquest records that the priests (presbiteri) of Exminster held half a hide.

Braunton was a wealthy church which later formed part of the endowment of the Deanery of Exeter. In the Geld Inquest the priests (presbiteri) of Braunton and Molton are stated to hold one hide and three ferlings in the Hundred of Braunton and Sherwell (D xix), while the priests of Molton hold a further virgate in the Hundred of South Molton (D xx). The Exeter Domesday states that four priests (sacerdotes) hold a virgate of land in alms in the king's manor of South Molton. But at Braunton it records that a hide of land in the king's manor was held in alms of the king by Algar the priest (presbiter) (D 284). It can hardly be doubted that Algar was the head or provost of the community, perhaps a non-resident pluralist, to whom the property had been given, as Axminster was given to Ealdred, the deacon.

Plympton is another instance of a royal manor, also the centre of a hundred, at which a minster was situated. In the Geld Inquest (the church of) St. Peter of Plympton is stated to hold two hides while St. Mary of Alenton holds one hide (D xlii and 24). The minster at Plympton was acquired by King Edward the Elder (899–909) from Bishop Asser in exchange for land in Somerset.<sup>12</sup> It later became a Priory of Canons Regular, founded early in the twelfth century by Bishop William Warelwast.<sup>13</sup>

That communities of clergy serving old minsters existed or had recently existed at these five wealthy royal manors forming the centres of hundreds is clear from the Domesday records. The Exeter Domesday also records the existence of churches at the royal manors which formed the centres of the Hundreds of Colyton and Kerswell (later Haytor) (D 18). There is no record of the nature of these churches and their endowments are not noteworthy. But at Colyton a close examination of the existing plan and structure indicates that the present church originated as a cruciform building with the four arms narrower than the crossing, a type that is found in a number of later pre-Conquest minsters. The church also retains a fine cross of this period.<sup>14</sup>

Cullompton (D 270) approximates to the pattern described above. The church with its five prebendal holdings was given by William the Conqueror to his new foundation, Battle Abbey; it later passed to St. Nicholas Priory in Exeter, founded as a cell of Battle.<sup>15</sup> Cullompton was a wealthy church, holding one hide of land in 1086; in 1066 the property had been held by

Torbert, of whom nothing more is known. Cullompton lay in the Domesday Hundred of Silvertou, a royal manor which included much of the modern parish of Cullompton, and it is perhaps significant that the hundred later took its name from Hairidge or Whorridge, a farm in the parish of Cullompton, one and a half miles west of the town. The existence of five prebendal holdings – one of which was called Hineland, a place-name with the element "higna" signifying community, normally an ecclesiastical community – and the wealth of the church are clear indications that it was an old minster; Torbert was probably the provost, like Algar of Braunton and Girold of Hartland.

A rather different pattern emerges in north-west Devon. The British church, as delineated in the old Welsh laws, had evolved a similar, but variant, type of organisation; the differences seem to be due to the fact that Britain and Ireland were converted to Christianity two centuries before the mission to Saxon England and that the isolation of the churches in those regions preserved some features that were already archaic or obsolete at the time of the Augustinian mission. The Easter controversy is only the most spectacular of these differences and that which has attracted the attention of contemporary and later historians. It is here necessary to note only those customs that are relevant to early conditions in Devon.

The 'clas' – more formally the monastic community (Classis monastica) – was the dominant element in the church in Wales as pictured in the early laws. The Welsh 'clasiau', to quote the late Sir John Lloyd's commentary on the tenth-century Welsh law code ascribed to Hywel Dda, were 'the principal churches, those having ancient traditions and a position of honour and prestige. They were presided over by an abbot with a community or clas of canons, including at least one priest'.<sup>16</sup> The analogy with the Saxon minster, as I have described it, is plain. But Wales was a land of hamlets with a weak central authority and a large number of local lords or arglwyddi who wielded effective power. The seat of the arglwydd, even when he was the head of one of the greater dynasties, was in most cases geographically separate from the church of the clas, though the two were associated. Moreover the monasteries in Wales, and even more in Ireland, developed a wide-spread system of affiliation, with a number of geographically separate houses adopting the Rule and acknowledging the headship of the coarb – to use the Irish term – or successor of some particularly venerated founder. As his biographer records, St. Comgall of Bangor, in County Down, built many monasteries, not only in Ulster but in the other provinces of Ireland, and 'in those monasteries three thousand monks lived under care of Abbot Comgall'.<sup>17</sup>

The Domesday Survey of west Cornwall reveals the Celtic system still in full vigour. Entries like the 'Canons of St. Achebran have a manor which is called Lannachebran (St. Keverne) ...' show a series of small ecclesiastical communities – it would not be an anachronism to use the Welsh term 'clasiau' – covering the countryside.<sup>18</sup> In each Cornwall the situation is more complex, with estates granted by Saxon Kings to their own ecclesiastical rulers – first St. Germans and then Exeter – obscuring the picture. But there

is evidence of estates, some of which had certainly or probably been separate monasteries, held by the great church of St. Petrock of Bodmin, <sup>19</sup> the seat of the earlier Cornish bishopric.

In north-west Devon the Exeter Domesday (D 1094) records that Giroid (the Chaplain) holds the manor of Stoke St. Nectan, which the canons (canonici) of that place held in 1066, and that the twelve canons of that place who previously held it now hold it of Giroid. Giroid, who held other estates in Devon, was probably a non-resident pluralist, who had been appointed head of the community in order that he might share in the revenues. Stoke St. Nectan lies 1½ miles west of the royal vill of Hartland, the centre of the hundred of that name (D xiii). The later house of Augustinian Canons Regular, who replaced the older community in the twelfth century, built their house on the property at Stoke St. Nectan. <sup>20</sup> These canons regular also held the wealthy church of Hartland. It remains uncertain whether the dwellings and other buildings of the older community were on the plateau near the church in the royal vill or in the deep valley below Stoke St. Nectan, where the Augustinians established their home.

In Black Torrington, the adjacent hundred to the south, the Geld Inquest records that the king received no geld for one virgate held by the priests of Hollacombe. In the Exeter Domesday the record states that the priests of Bodmin hold the virgate at Hollacombe and had held it in 1066 (D xiv and 1148). Hollacombe lies about two miles east of Holsworthy, the principal royal manor in the hundred. The place-name Headon, now borne by two farms in the Parish of Hollacombe, provides further evidence of the former existence of an ecclesiastical community. It contains the element Higna, already noted at Cullompton, implying possession by some community or household. The English Place-Name Survey <sup>21</sup> comments 'not necessarily religious' and suggests the possibility of the household of the neighbouring royal manor of Holsworthy. But the more usual connotation is a religious community and, in view of the Domesday evidence, there is no reason to reject that explanation at Hollacombe.

In the neighbouring hundred of Merton the manor of Newton St. Petrock or Petrockstow stands in the same relation to the main royal holding at Merton. Again there is the ambiguity between the Geld Inquest, which speaks of the priests of Newton St. Petrock and the Exeter Domesday, which names the priests of Bodmin (D xvii and 1148).

The eleventh century manumissions in the Leofric Missal provide further evidence of the existence of ecclesiastical communities in this part of Devon. <sup>22</sup> They are connected with the household of Ordgar the Earl, who attests charters from 1018 to 1050. The largest group of manumissions took place at Bradstone in the Hundred of Lifton, when the Earl lay sick. They were witnessed by two named mass priests 'and all the minster priests there'. Further manumissions, recorded with the same formula, took place at Coryton and at the four cross roads at Okehampton, both in the Hundred of Lifton, and at the cross roads at Bridgerule in the Hundred of Black Torrington. The manumissions, where

details are given, took place after Mass in the summer season, probably in the course of a solemn procession, similar to the Rogationtide processions later recorded in the Use of Sarum. The only clue to the situation of a minster in the Hundred of Lifton is the two place-names, Bridestowe and Marystow. The manumissions at Bridgerule are likely to be connected with a community at Marhamchurch in Cornwall, two miles to the west of the Tamar, where an important church was in existence before 1086. <sup>23</sup>

The Celtic pattern and the Cornish connections of the ministers in north-west Devon suggest that the church organisation of this part of the county goes back to a period before the Saxon conquest. In particular, association of Hollacombe and Petrockstowe with Bodmin can hardly have arisen after the establishment of the Cornish bishopric at St. Germans in the tenth century.

There are rather more than thirty hundreds in Devon. <sup>24</sup> The evidence already cited indicates the existence of a minster church either at or in close relationship with the main royal manor in thirteen of these hundreds. There is some evidence that after the reconquest of Danish Mercia in the tenth century there was a conscious plan to re-establish Christianity on the basis of a minster in each hundred and in each borough. Devon, like the rest of southern and western England, had never suffered the cataclysmic experience of a period of pagan rule, covering two generations and largely obliterating all memory of the older state of affairs. It is unlikely that the pattern in the south-west, with its Celtic inheritance, was ever so regular. But it is worth considering whether there is inferential evidence of the existence of other minsters. To examine each case in detail would require more space than I have here; I can do no more than indicate the bases for such an investigation.

The Benedictines were from an early date discouraged from undertaking the cure of souls. <sup>25</sup> This was the norm at which the Benedictine communities, founded in England in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, aimed. But the survival of parochial rights in the naves of many Abbey churches showed that the ideal was not always achieved in full and points to the possibility that the monasteries long retained some direct responsibility for the laity among whom they were settled. Tavistock, which inherited a Celtic patron – St. Rumon – may also have inherited, at the time of the tenth century foundation, the older pastoral duties of the Celtic clas and the Saxon minster. <sup>26</sup> The establishment of a separate parish church, served by secular priests, may well have had to await added endowments. There is some evidence – not from Devon – that this process had hardly begun at the time of the Norman Conquest.

In Wales we know that the Norman conquerors of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries gave many of the old clasiau, which were foci of Welsh influence, to English monasteries, of which they became dependent cells or priories. <sup>27</sup> Ewenny, which survived as a Priory down to the Reformation, and Llanbadarnfawr, which again became a clas after the Welsh advance of the 1160's, were both priories dependent on the Abbey of St. Peter at

Gloucester. We may suspect that the Norman conquerors of England had done the same fifty years earlier. The minster was a wealthy and desirable possession for a Norman or other Continental monastery which could retain a share of the revenues in return for providing an ecclesiastical and political influence more to the taste of the new rulers. In the Dorset borough of Wareham, the old minster church, now Lady St. Mary, with a history reaching back to the beginnings of Christianity in Wessex was given after 1066 to the Norman Abbey of Lyre.<sup>28</sup> We may suspect that a similar reasoning lies behind the Priors of St. Mary at Totnes<sup>29</sup> and St. Mary Magdalene at Barnstaple,<sup>30</sup> 'founded' shortly after the Conquest as dependent cells of St. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers and St. Martin of Paris. Both Totnes and Barnstaple were boroughs and by analogy we should expect a pre-Conquest minster church in each town; in each case the endowment of the new 'foundation' included an existing and therefore a pre-Conquest church.

Finally there must be considered those anomalies which distort the symmetry of the parochial pattern of medieval Devon. There are priories like Modbury, collegiate churches like Slapton and the archpresbytery of Haccombe, none of which have much relevance to the post-Conquest picture. Some are doubtless late foundations but some are old. The Alien Priory of Modbury, dependent on the Norman Abbey of St. Pierre sur Dive, is attested in the Episcopal Registers and other documents from 1270 until the fifteenth century when the endowments were given to Eton College. It was in the patronage of the Champenownes.<sup>31</sup> The Geld Inquest records that the Church of St. Mary of Modbury held one hide in the Hundred of Alleriga or Ermington (D xiv). Modbury lies one mile south-east of the royal manor of Ermington, a relationship similar to that found in the north-west of the county, and a church with so substantial an endowment can hardly be other than an 'old minster' at this date. Modbury is only an example of the kind of evidence that is available. Not every case is likely to provide evidence so cogent and each must be examined in detail. In the end there are likely to remain substantial areas of doubt and it is unlikely that a full and detailed picture of the minsters, which dominated the pre-Conquest church in Devon, will ever be attainable.<sup>33</sup>

I have attempted here to sketch the pattern of ecclesiastical organisation of Devon in the pre-Conquest age. Its basis was the minster or church served by a community of clergy who were responsible for a 'parish'. The smaller parishes, which have survived till our own time, had hardly begun to take shape. I have adduced evidence of a connection between the minster and the hundred in a number of areas and I have suggested that this forms the Saxon norm. I have further given reasons for suggesting that in north-west Devon – and perhaps elsewhere – there was a survival of Celtic elements reaching back before the Saxon conquest and following a rather different pattern. The minsters were comparatively wealthy churches and so those most likely to have been rebuilt during the later Middle Ages or later. It is more often the newer and later parish churches which retain pre-Conquest features. The rise of these churches began in the south and east of England and spread

gradually north and west. The virtual absence of Anglo-Saxon architecture in Devon is only another argument in favour of the thesis that the change had hardly begun in the county before 1066.

## NOTES

- 1 Margaret Deansely, 'Early English and Gallic minsters', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XXIII (1941) 25–69.
- 2 Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history* (London, 1883–99) no. 841; Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943) pp. 148–9.
- 3 For a summary of the life of St. Boniface, see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 168–9.
- 4 Arthur S. Napier and William H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Collection of early charters and documents, now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) pp. 1–5; translated in 'The early charters of Crediton', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, VII (1912–13) 185–7.
- 5 Dorothy Whitelock, ed. *English historical documents, I. 500–1042* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955) p. 395.
- 6 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 152–6.
- 7 Cf David Knowles, *The monastic order in England: a history of its development from the time of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943–1216* (Cambridge University Press, 1940) pp. 139–42.
- 8 For a convenient text, see David Hill, 'The burghal hidage: the establishment of a text', *Medieval Archaeology*, XIII (1969) 84–92.
- 9 All references to the Domesday texts are indicated by D followed by the page reference to Devonshire Association, *The Devonshire Domesday and geld inquest* (Plymouth, 1884–92).
- 10 Herbert P.R. Finberg, *The early charters of Devon and Cornwall* (University College of Leicester, 1963) no. 12.
- 11 Florence E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon writs* (Manchester University Press, 1952) no. 120; George Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis, being a collection of records and instruments illustrating the ancient conventual, collegiate and eleemosynary foundations in the counties of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter, 1856) pp. 317–18.
- 12 Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 610.
- 13 Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 129.

- 14 Courtenay A. Raleigh Radford, 'Pre-conquest minster churches', *Archaeological Journal*, CXXX (1973) 130-7; Thomas D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (Methuen, 1949) p. 40, plate xxxiv.
- 15 William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum, or the history of the ancient abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedrals and collegiate churches in England and Wales* (new ed. 6 vols. London, 1693) III, 243.
- 16 John E. Lloyd, *A history of Wales from earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest* (2 vols. Longmans, 1911) I, 205-11.
- 17 Charles Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae partim haetenus ineditae* (2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910) II, 7.
- 18 *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, VIII, 72-3.
- 19 *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, VIII, 69-72.
- 20 Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 203.
- 21 John E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and Frank M. Stenton, *The place-names of Devon* (Cambridge University Press for the English Place-Name Society, 1931) p. 146.
- 22 Frederick E. Warren, ed. *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the episcopate of its first bishop, AD 1050-1072* (Oxford, 1883) p. 6; for dating, see Herbert P.R. Finberg, 'Childe's tomb', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, LXXVIII (1946) 271-2.
- 23 *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, VIII, 80 (Maronacirca).
- 24 For a collation of the Domesday, later medieval and modern lists see Devonshire Association, *The Devonshire Domesday*, preface.
- 25 Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 595-606.
- 26 Aethelred's charter of confirmation with its allusions to the installation of 'monks, not secular but regular, following in every way the holy Rule (of St. Benedict)' and to the canonical election by the community of an abbot after the death of the then holder of the office is good evidence of the existence of an earlier minster at Tavistock (Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 94).
- 27 Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 457; for Ewenny, see p. 593 and for Llanbadarnfawr, see p. 432.
- 28 *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dorset*, II, 304-17.
- 29 Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 241.
- 30 Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 198. Judhel speaks of the church of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene as 'outside my castle'; it was later transferred to another site in the town. A similar transfer of the Priory of St. James of Taunton took place in 1158 (Arthur W. Goodman, ed. *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester: Warren & Son, 1927) p. 198, no. 459). In each case the proximity to the castle and the consequent constriction of the site was probably the overriding reason.

- 31 Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 297.
- 32 Percy Russell, *Dartmouth: a history of the port and town* (Batsford, 1950) pp. 38-9, quoting Hugh R. Watkin, *Dartmouth* (Parochial Histories of Devonshire no. 5, Exeter, 1935) I, 3.
- 33 It was pointed out in discussion that in a document of 1192 land at Little Dartmouth is described as lying between the monastery or minster of St. Peter and the land of Stoke.<sup>32</sup> The monastery in question must be represented by the church of St. Petrox, now lying within Dartmouth Castle. The name is Celtic and the church is far removed from the main hundred manor at Caedlington, later Colridge (D xli) in Stokenham parish. The document is too late to establish the existence of a pre-Conquest minster of the type that has been considered, though this cannot be excluded.

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#### NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

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## PRINTED MAPS OF DEVON, 1575-1900

### A SURVEY OF RESOURCES WITHIN THE COUNTY

Susanna Guy and J.B. Harley

This paper is designed to encourage those local groups and individuals who are interested to take part in a survey of the printed county maps of Devon.

Among the thousands of maps which relate to Devon as a whole or to its hundreds, towns, parishes, estates, roads, canals, rivers and coastal waters, the printed maps of the county hold a particular interest for both collectors and local historians. Indeed, among all 'old' maps, they are possibly the best known, decorating the walls of our homes and public houses, forming part of the regular currency of antiquarian booksellers, and being crammed into a drawer or two in most local libraries. The shape of Devon, its relative size among English counties, and the nature of its physical and cultural topography, must have first become familiar to generations of Devon folk through one of the hundreds of printed maps which had attempted to portray its landscape from Tudor to Victorian times. Such maps helped to fashion a sense of space. They also helped to develop the county as an area of social interaction as well as of regional administration. In its printed maps Devon reflected and shared fully in a national heritage: all the English counties were regularly mapped from the days of Christopher Saxton - the so-called father of English cartography whose map of Devon was published in 1575 - down to the time of the first large-scale Ordnance Survey plans in the mid-nineteenth century.

Printed county maps, in providing a topographical dimension for social and economic change, are an important resource for the study of local history. Civil War tactics, for example, can presumably be better understood through an appreciation of contemporary maps available to commanders, just as a study of how Brunel selected the route of the first railway through Devon would take account of the fact that he did his planning with the help of the early Ordnance Survey maps. Equally, as evidence of single features in the landscape, and of their birth, development and disappearance, printed maps hardly require justification. At different times, and with varying degrees of reliability, changing shorelines and estuaries, woods and parks, villages and farmhouses, roads and boundaries, watermills and other rural industries, have all been mapped by the county cartographers. Given the constraint of scale and purpose, the reliability of a map is a key question confronting the local historian. Although the information it embodies may sometimes be 'unique', in the sense that it occurs in no other contemporary source, it must always be viewed with circumspection. A basic problem with interpreting any printed map is a tendency towards obsolescence: map-makers of the past no less than those of today tended to copy each other in an uncritical fashion. The local historian needs to be aware, therefore, not

only of what maps are available for a particular date, but also of the particular balance they achieved between what was original and contemporary, and what was plagiarised and anachronistic.

Against the background of this requirement - for both a list and an evaluation - a major deficiency among the research tools available to the Devon historian is a proper listing or cartobibliography of its printed county maps. This is essential to be able to identify and to assess single maps, whether the objective is to build up a simple collection or to use maps in topographical detective work. In Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, Vol. 20, 1938-39, pp. 21-27 a short article on 'Old Maps of Devon' was published, but no enthusiast came forward to build on this foundation, nor to attempt what has been accomplished through painstaking research for a number of other counties such as Hertfordshire or Warwickshire. At a guess (and until a cartobibliography is complete it must remain a guess) over 500 printed maps of Devon were published between 1575 and 1900. They are all 'different', in the sense that each had been printed from a separate copper-plate (and after the 1820s from a lithographic stone or by other processes), although the extent of the differences in the printed maps, geographical or otherwise, can be quite small. Indeed, many of the county maps of Devon will appear to be remarkably similar at first sight, inasmuch as one engraver often copied another, or made only minor changes to a copper-plate leaving the basic topographical matrix unaltered. To give a simple example, the copper-plate of Saxton's Devon, first engraved by the Fleming Remigius Hogenberg in the 1570s, was still being printed from in the mid-eighteenth century: at least seven 'editions' of the map have been identified for 1575, c. 1645, 1665, 1683-c.1693, c.1720, c.1749 and c.1770. Many of the printed maps of Devon ran into such multiple editions. Only a few maps, such as that of Christopher Saxton when it first appeared, the pioneer survey of Benjamin Donn in the 1760s, and the first 1-inch maps of the Ordnance Survey (1809), were based on a completely original survey. The tasks of cartobibliography include the placing of printed maps in a correct chronological sequence, the reconstruction of the context of their original publication, and their grouping into related 'families', rather in the manner that a genealogist brings the scattered incidents of family history into a coherent relationship.

The present project is designed as a first co-operative step, with the blessing of the Standing Conference for Devon History, to produce a proper cartobibliography of the printed maps of the county before 1900. Its aim is to survey and record the printed maps of Devon at present located in public and private collections **within the county**. It will be obvious that there are several large collections in the institutions and libraries of centres such as Barnstaple, Exeter, and Plymouth, but it is particularly hoped to encompass many of the smaller, but nonetheless potentially interesting groups of maps in other places. It would, at the same time, be misleading to suggest that all, or even the majority of the printed maps of Devon have now, or at any other time, formed part of collections in the county. The majority of Devon maps were once sheets in atlases or books published in London and other



major cities, and they have accordingly found their way into national rather than local collections in Britain and overseas. The map collections within Devon are nevertheless an essential part of any cartobibliographical project; and it must not be forgotten that it is these maps which can most conveniently be used in local research once a listing is complete.

In summary, groups or individuals will be trying to answer two main questions:

- (i) Where was the map originally published? The majority, as already noted, especially smaller-scale maps, were published in books and atlases and inasmuch as these have been broken up some of the original means of identification will inevitably have been destroyed.
- (ii) Where in a sequence of editions, such as that described for Saxton, does a particular map belong? Here the work of identification involves a combination of detective work on the map itself (for example the inclusion of a railway could give a clue to the date of publication as long as one is aware of the tendency of cartographers to insert railways on maps before they were actually built or even approved by Parliament!), and of working by analogy to maps of other counties where cartobibliographies have been published.

The difficulty of identifying some maps should not be underestimated. A particular problem is that editions of maps will not necessarily coincide with editions of the atlases in which they are found. On the one hand, an atlas may go through several editions (with changes of title page, date, etc.) but with the maps unaltered: on the other hand, the maps sometimes vary in different copies of the **same** edition of an atlas. For this reason, as well as to ensure uniformity of data gathering by groups working in different parts of the county, a standard approach is advocated. To assist in standardisation some notes for recorders are provided below. These take the form of a checklist of decisions which will have to be taken by the recorder as well as specific categories of information to be derived from each map. For the actual recording of the information a standard recording form has been designed. This is printed below, but for individuals or groups who require them, copies can be obtained on request from:

Susanna Guy,  
University of Exeter Library,  
Prince of Wales Road,  
EXETER, EX4 4PT.

In addition to the checklist and a standard form, the notes contain a basic bibliography for working on the project, and a glossary of terms which either occur on, or are used in the description of county maps.

## 1. WHAT TO INCLUDE: THE SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

### (a) area

A county map of Devon is defined as a printed map in which detail outside the county boundary is shown only incidentally or to supplement information given for the county itself. If such a map is divided into sheets it is included, but maps of specific areas of the county, such as town maps and maps of parishes or groups of parishes, are not to be listed. Under this definition the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey at 1-inch, 6-inches, and 25-inches to 1 mile, which were issued in regular sheets on a county basis, will be included.

### (b) exclusions

Any new maps made after 1900; any post-1900 reprints.

### (c) form of map

Any map of Devon printed on paper, parchment or vellum; silk, linen, cotton; china; any map in the form of tapestry, playing cards, jigsaw puzzles; road maps (itinerary maps such as those of Ogilby and Cary).

## 2. METHOD OF RECORDING

### (a) vital statistics

- (i) title transcribed exactly from the map.
- (ii) persons associated with the map as recorded in its title or imprint, including:
  1. surveyor
  2. map-maker (cartographer)
  3. engraver
  4. publisher **and** place of publication
  5. map-seller (if this is recorded as a label stuck on a folded map this fact could be distinguished)
- (iii) date as recorded on the map.
- (iv) dimensions: to the nearest millimetre between the inmost frame lines of the map, horizontal followed by vertical. Scale if given, expressed in miles to the inch measured along the scale bar.
- (v) coloured or not.
- (vi) what the map shows:
  1. within the county boundary: natural features (woods, hills, rivers, etc.); towns, roads, parish boundaries. A particular note should be made of a feature on the

map which would assist in its dating, e.g. the inclusion of a turnpike road, canal, railway, or an industrial building; the **actual** date of this feature should be independently verified and supplied.

2. extra features:

- A. key or legend to symbols
- B. grid
- C. latitude and longitude
- D. cartouches, vignettes
- E. dedications
- F. heraldry
- G. town plans
- H. additional letter press or engraved notes on the map.

3. watermark: you should try to identify it from one of the standard works (see bibliography).

- (vii) If the map is part of an atlas or book, give a full description of that work: author, title, publisher, place of publication, date.
- (viii) Is it a sheet map, mounted on rollers, or a folding map?
- (ix) Does it have any other form: jigsaw, playing cards, etc.?
- (x) Are there any special feature connected with your copy?  
E.g. original signatures, manuscript annotations, coats of arms inserted on the map or its case.

(b) **collation and verification**

Use the following standard works on maps and their making:

1. To confirm your description.
2. For detective work if the map is anonymous or undated.

Give a Chubb or Skelton number where appropriate when describing your own map.

**CHUBB, Thomas.** The printed maps in the atlases of Great Britain and Ireland: a bibliography 1579-1870. London, Burrow, 1927. Reprinted Dawson, 1966.

**HARVEY, P.D.A.** and **THORPE, Harry.** The printed maps of Warwickshire, 1576-1900. Warwick, Records and Museums Committee of the Warwickshire County Council, 1959. **Excellent introduction.**

**HEAWOOD, Edward.** Watermarks (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia D. Hilversum, Paper Publications Society, 1950. Addenda and corrigenda 1970.

**HODSON, D.** The printed maps of Hertfordshire 1577-1900. London, Dawson, 1974. **Interesting introduction on the printing of maps.**

**HODGKISS, Alan G.** Discovering antique maps. Tring, Shire publications, 1971. **Paperback - cheap; suggested for purchase.**

**LISTER, Raymond.** How to identify old maps and globes. London, Bell, 1965.

**SKELTON, R.A.** County atlases of the British Isles 1579-1850, Vol. 1: 1579-1703 (no more published). London, Carta Press, 1970.

**TOOLEY, R.V.** Maps and map-makers. London, Batsford, 1972 (5th edn.)

**VERNER, C.** The identification and designation of variants in the study of early printed maps. Article in *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 19, 1965, pp. 100-105.

**WHITAKER, Harold.** The Harold Whitaker collection of county atlases, road-books and maps presented to the University of Leeds: a catalogue. Leeds, Brotherton Library, 1947.

**WHITAKER, Harold.** A descriptive list of the maps of Northumberland. Newcastle upon Tyne, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1949.

(c) **Interpretation**

If the map you are describing does not appear to fit one of the standard categories described in the authorities (Chubb, Skelton, etc.) what sources do you think were used in its compilation? Keep an eye open for specialist pieces of information, which were sometimes added to otherwise unoriginal maps. Put any such conjectures on the back of the form.

3. **COMPLETING THE FORM**

- (a) do not enter guesses inspired or otherwise without an explanatory note.
- (b) please give the owner's name and address in full, and details of the provenance of the map if known, e.g. "brought from Francis Edwards Ltd. in 1958".
- (c) always use a separate form for each map described.
- (d) if you need extra space use the back of the form.

4. **THE GLOSSARY**

<b>Atlas</b>	Collection of maps either bound together in one or more volumes or in loose-leaf format in a portfolio. Many 16th-, 17th-, 18th-century maps of the counties of England were compiled for such atlases.
<b>Auctore</b>	See <b>Del.</b> or <b>Delt.</b>
<b>Caelavit</b>	Indicates the engraver.

<b>Cartobibliography</b>	An annotated bibliography of maps.
<b>Cartographer</b>	The person who compiled the map. He may also be the surveyor, but not always.
<b>Cartouche</b>	Ornamental panel used on maps to contain title and linear scale.
<b>Del. or Delt.</b>	'Delineavit' meaning 'drawn by'. Indicates the person responsible for preparing the map for the engraver: the draughtsman.
<b>Desc. or Descripsit</b>	See <b>Del.</b> or <b>Delt.</b>
<b>Edition</b>	A single edition of a map comprises all the impressions printed from a distinct state of the copper-plate although such printings may have taken place over many years. As soon as any alteration is carried out to the copper-plate this constitutes a new state of that plate, and the maps printed from that state form a new edition.
<b>Engraver</b>	The person who engraved the metal plate from which the copies of the map were printed.
<b>Excudit, Exc.</b>	Indicates the printer or publisher.
<b>Fecit</b>	Indicates the printer or publisher.
<b>Grid</b>	Horizontal and vertical lines laid over a map enabling reference to be made by means of co-ordinates to specific areas on it.
<b>Imprint</b>	Indicates those responsible for production and publication of a book or map.
<b>Incidit, Incidente</b>	Indicates the engraver.
<b>Itinerary</b>	Form of guidebook which concentrates on routes or mileages between places, often produced in strip form.
<b>Legend</b>	Explanation or key to the symbols used on a map; on early maps it also applies to textual inscriptions on the map.
<b>Plate Mark</b>	Depression round the edge of an early map or print caused by the edge of the metal plate during printing. Also termed 'edge mark' or 'impression mark'.
<b>Sc., Sculp., Sculpsit</b>	Indicates the engraver.
<b>Slipcase</b>	Container, usually of card, for a book or map.
<b>Sumptibus</b>	Indicates printer or publisher.

<b>Surveyor</b>	The person who made the original survey in the field. Often the same person as the cartographer (see entry under <b>Cartographer</b> above) but not always.
<b>Tipped-in</b>	Single leaf attached to a page of a book by means of a narrow strip of adhesive. Used to add illustrations printed separately from the main body of the book.
<b>Vignette</b>	Form of illustration commonly used on early maps, in which the detail at the edge fades away gradually.
<b>Watermark</b>	Design or pattern impressed into the paper during the paper-making process.

#### NOTE TO INTENDING RECORDERS

If there are sufficient collaborators the authors hope that they will be able to encourage individuals or groups to edit their lists into a form suitable for publication in future issues of the *Devon Historian*. In this way, information about the basic map resources within the county can be more widely disseminated as a prelude to a full cartobibliography. In the initial stages of recording it is likely that there will be unresolved questions on some maps. Both authors will be happy to try and answer any queries which should be sent to Susanna Gay in the first instance. In any case they would like to be informed of local history class tutors, groups, or individuals who are interested in participating.

DEVON COUNTY MAPS: RECORDING FORM

The numbers in brackets refer to the 'Notes for Recorders'. Use the back of the form for extra notes.

TITLE (2.a.i)		Chubb or Skelton number (2.b)	
FORM OF MAP (1.c; 2.a.viii)		IF PART OF A BOOK OR ATLAS, GIVE DETAILS: (2.a.vii)	
		AUTHOR:	
		TITLE:	
		PUBLISHER:	
		PLACE:	
		DATE:	
SURVEYOR	CARTOGRAPHER	ENGRAVER	PUBLISHER
			MAP-SELLER
DATE (2.a.iii)	DIMENSIONS (2.a.iv)	SCALE (2.a.iv)	COLOURED OR NOT
DESCRIPTION OF FEATURES WITHIN THE COUNTY BOUNDARY (2.a.vi.1)			IS THERE A KEY OR LEGEND?
DESCRIPTION OF OTHER FEATURES (2.a.vi.2; 2.a.vi.3)			
ANY OTHER SPECIAL FEATURES (2.a.x)		PROVENANCE (3.b; Glossary)	
OWNER'S NAME AND ADDRESS.			

MALE ILLITERACY IN DEVON ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

W.B. Stephens

Historians of education and social historians generally have in recent years made increasing use of signatures as an index of basic literacy. From 1754 virtually all brides and grooms were required by Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 to sign their name in the marriage register on their wedding day, or, if they could not do so, to make their mark. There are obvious dangers in placing too great a reliance on such evidence. The mere ability to sign one's name, it may be argued, is no indication of ability to write anything else, or of reading capabilities. Nor can statistics based on such material easily, if at all, differentiate between the confident signature of the well educated and the tortuous scrawl of the groom or bride making a supreme effort to impress, on the most significant day of their life, or between all the signatures falling in different degrees between those extreme categories. In fairly recent times it is known, too, that some literate spouses refrained from signing their names to avoid embarrassing their partners who were unable to do so.<sup>1</sup>

The great advantage of marriage register marks and signatures to the historical researcher, however, is that they are available for all classes of society, annually, for all parishes where the registers are extant, from 1754. From 1838-39, moreover, the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages in his annual reports, published as parliamentary papers, provided local statistics of all marriage signatures and marks. It is significant that Victorian administrators and reformers felt it worthwhile to collect this information. They were convinced that over a period of years such statistics would indicate valid trends in basic educational levels.<sup>2</sup> Moreover it was felt that changes in the percentages of spouses unable to sign their name would indicate, perhaps not in constant proportions, changes in general levels of the elementary education of the people. The Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages, indeed, in 1860 disclosed that 'if a man can write his own name, it may be presumed that he can read it when written by another; still more that he will recognise that and other familiar words when he sees them in print; and it is even probable that he will spell his way through a paragraph in a newspaper'.<sup>3</sup> We may feel that this is somewhat sanguine, and it may be more acceptable to regard marriage register signatures and marks as a measure not of changing degrees of literacy, but of variations in the extent of complete illiteracy - that is as a means of tracing over the years the changing proportions of brides and grooms so lacking in educational attainment that they could not even sign their names. In all counties throughout the period for which the Registrar General provides these statistics (that is from 1838-9 into the twentieth century) there was a gradual upward trend. In the 1841 census 33 per cent of grooms and 49 per cent of brides in England and Wales made a mark; in 1870 20 and 27 per cent; and in 1900 only 3 per cent for each sex.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, for variations between counties, and within counties for individual



places, which for much of the later nineteenth century remained significant, other evidence usually suggests plausible explanations.<sup>5</sup> Everything points to the acceptability of the marriage statistics as a crude measure of diminishing illiteracy. Particularly if averaged over groups of 5 or 10 years they give a reasonable guideline to variations in time and topographical area. They are certainly superior to the evidence of signatures called from other sources, for they provide comparable evidence for different localities over a long period of time: they embrace all ranks of society and both sexes; on the whole they represent for each year the basic attainments of young people of a comparable age group: and they exclude the feeble-minded and the lunatic who did not normally marry. As the Registrar General pointed out in his report for 1864: 'It should be recollected that the marriageable women of a country are a select class and include very few of the infirm, deformed, idiotic or others incapable of learning'.<sup>6</sup>

For the period before 1751, however, we lack such comparable evidence. Conclusions drawn from the evidence of wills, for example, are of partial value only. Not all classes in society made wills; those that did, made them at different times in their life; and one is never sure whether a cross is an indication of illiteracy or of death-bed feebleness, or a signature perhaps guided by another hand. Signatures of juries in manorial court rolls may not represent a cross-section of dwellers on the manor. Signatures from marriage licenses, too, are on the whole an indication of the educational state of better-off folk who could afford the fee for such a process.<sup>7</sup> We do not normally have any records which contain the signatures of all ranks and conditions in society. For the years 1641-2, however, there are the so-called Protestation Returns.<sup>8</sup> On the surface these provide, for a large number of places,<sup>9</sup> the signature or marks of all males of 18 (or sometimes perhaps 16) years and over (with the exception of those - usually few - who for political or religious reasons or dire illness refused to so indicate their loyalty to Parliament or omitted to do so). Thus while no females were required to subscribe, we are provided parish by parish (where the returns are extant) with the names of all adult males, regardless of social class. These are valuable for purposes of calculating population<sup>10</sup> and clearly have potential value for literacy studies. Unfortunately although the original Protestation documents no doubt always bore the signatures or marks of the men, the vast majority of the returns now extant appear to be fair copies transcribed at the time probably by the parish priest with all names appearing in the same handwriting and with no indication as to who had originally signed or who had made a mark. Professor Stone in a pioneer study of these records felt that returns for only 103 parishes (in 14 counties covering some 9,000 men) were reliable enough to use for literacy purposes.<sup>11</sup> From these he drew the tentative conclusion that illiteracy was greater in the highland zone of England and Wales than in lowland areas, and in rural districts as opposed to towns. An average male illiteracy rate of 70 per cent embraced variations from 80-85 per cent in the rural north and west down to 60 per cent in the home counties, and maybe as low as 40 per cent in some towns.

Returns exist for 412 of the 468 Devon parishes but Stone in his scrutiny felt that only those for seven rural parishes (in the Diptford area) could provide reliably original marks and signatures. In these an average of 74 per cent of the men made marks. More recently, however, a printed edition of all the Devon returns<sup>12</sup> shows that Stone was perhaps over-cautious. This meticulously careful transcript indicates for each of the 412 parishes whether the names on the return were all written in one hand, and where this was not so, notes which person signed and which made a mark. Of these parishes 42 appear to be of use for our purposes, rather than merely the seven used by Stone.

From these I have calculated the number of marks as a percentage of the total males listed.<sup>13</sup> These are set out, arranged by hundreds, in Table 1.

**TABLE 1**

**Devon Males unable to sign their Names, 1641 (as percentage of all adult males)**

HUNDRED	PARISH	%
Bampton	Bampton	67
	Holcombe Rogus	63
	Merebath	78
Tiverton	Huntsham	59
	Loxbearc	62
West Budleigh	Shobrooke	67
	Upton Hellions	55
Crediton	Kennerleigh	79
	Morchard Bishop	82
Clerridge	Ashprington	75
	Blackawton	77
	Cornworthy	70
	Halwell	53
	Harberton	65
Stanborough	Totnes	59
	South Brent	73
	Dartington	83
	Diptford	65
	Holne	75
Plympton	North Huish	65
	Rattery	84
	Wembury	87
Exminster	Ashton	61
	Shillingford	66
Fremington	Alverdiscott	62
	Fremington	74

HUNDRED	PARISH	%
Haytor	Churston Ferrers	81
	(with Galmpton)	
Wonford	Stoke Gabriel	73
	Bridford	66
	Cheriton Bishop	81
	Christow	71
	Dunsford	81
	Hittisleigh	80
	Holcome Burnell	72
	South Tawton	77
	Spreyton	74
	Throwleigh	61
Whitestone	82	
Roborough	Bere Ferrers	84
	Bickleigh	63
Shirwell	Loxhore	81
Tavistock	Brentor	86
Average		69.5

The average percentage of illiteracy, measured as an inability to sign, for the 42 parishes is between 69 and 70, some 5 per cent lower than percentage of Stone's more restricted sample. Geographically the parishes may be arranged in five or six groups:

- (1) for North Devon we have in the Barnstaple region 3 parishes (Fremington, Loxhore and Alverdiscott) with an average illiteracy rate of 72.3 per cent;
- (2) for the Bampton area, north of Tiverton, we have Bampton itself, Morebath, Huntsham, Holcome Rogus and Loxbeare – 5 parishes averaging 65.8 per cent;
- (3) South of that, to the north and east of Crediton, 5 parishes (Morchard Bishop, Kennerleigh, Upton Hellions, Shobrooke and Bickleigh) averaged 69.2 per cent;
- (4) to the west of Exeter, between there and Okehampton, and also to the south-west of the city, 12 parishes, (Spreyton, South Tawton, Hittisleigh, Throwleigh, Cheriton Bishop, Whitestone, Holcombe Burnell, Dunsford, Bridford, Christow and Ashton, all bordering or near the Moor, and Shillingford) averaged 74.6 per cent;
- (5) to the west of Totnes and between that town and Dartmouth, together with Totnes itself, 11 parishes (Totnes, Holne, South Brent, North Huish, Dartington, Rattery, Harberton, Diptford, Ashprington, Halwell, Cornworthy, Stoke Gabriel, Churston Ferrers, and Blackawton) averaged 70.8 per cent;

(6) along the west of the county Brentor, Bere Ferrers, and Wembury, three dispersed parishes, had the high average of 82.1 per cent.

The difference between the average rates in each of the groups is, if we exclude the three parishes in group (6), less than 10 per cent, and no very obvious pattern emerges. Only two towns of any size are represented – Bampton and Totnes. Bampton's rate of 67 per cent is not particularly impressive, though that for Totnes is one of the lowest of all those for which evidence exists, being equalled or bettered by only three rural parishes: Huntsham (59 per cent), Upton Hellions (55) (a parish within walking distance of the largish town of Crediton) and Halwell (53).

It does seem, however, that some parishes which fringe the Moor or are near to it – like Brentor (86 per cent), Holne (75), South Tawton (77), Hittisleigh (80), Spreyton (74), South Brent (81), Whitestone (82), and Dunsford (81) – are among the worst. Likewise two of the three north Devon parishes – Fremington (74) and Loxhore (81) have high illiteracy rates. This suggests some connection with remoteness and poorer farming land. The two areas with the best rates, (2) and (3) above, were situated in the Exe valley, the most significant cloth producing area. Such conclusions as can be drawn from this fragmentary evidence, therefore, tends to bear out Stone's conclusions of better rates in towns, and of worse ones in remote and hilly areas.

Apart from the statistics for each parish noted above the returns can yield some scraps of complementary evidence. For example, at Totnes all the 15 parish officers were able to sign their name, whereas in many of the rural parishes some or all the officers made marks. Indeed at 21 of the other 41 parishes at least one of the officers (churchwardens, overseers of the poor, constables) made a mark. Even at Bampton both overseers were unable to sign their names. Since such officers were likely, especially in the more populous parishes, to have been drawn from the more substantial parishioners it is clear that in mid-seventeenth-century Devon, except probably in the larger towns, complete illiteracy was by no means confined entirely to the labouring classes. Even in Exeter itself (in those parishes where personal signatures or marks appear on the return for officers even though all other names are in the same hand) one churchwarden made a mark in St. David's parish, in St. Edmund's a churchwarden and a constable, in St. George's one overseer, and in St. Mary Major one unstated officer. All four of these parishes were, however, among the poorer areas of the city, with large labouring populations.<sup>15</sup>

What is now needed is for more detailed local research to investigate, for example, the possibility of any correlation between illiteracy rates and such factors as size of population, availability of village schools, local industries, types of farming, and so on. There is considerable scope here for local historians.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. W.P. Baker, **Parish Registers and Illiteracy in East Yorkshire** (E. Yorks. Local Hist. Soc., 1961), 7-8; Flora Thompson, **Lark Rise O.U.P.**, 1939 edn., 69.  
Lawrence Stone, however, believes that the investigations of nine-teenth-century statistical societies show that the picture given by the marriage statistics is basically correct: L. Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England', **Past and Present** xlii (1969), 118-9.
- 2 Cf., e.g., G.R. Porter, **Progress of the Nation** (1851 edn.); J. Fletcher, 'The Moral and Educational Statistics of England and Wales', **Journal Statistical Soc. of London** x, xi, xii (1846-9); J. Fletcher, **Education, National, Voluntary and Free** (1851).
- 3 **Rep. Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England for 1860, (1861)** xviii, p. vii.
- 4 **Registrar General's Annual Reports**. For full figures for every year, 1841-1900, see C.M. Cipolla, **Literacy and Development in the West** (1969), App. III.
- 5 Cf. W.B. Stephens, **Regional Variations in Education During the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1870: The Task of the Local Historian** (Museum of the History of Education, University of Leeds, 1973).
- 6 **Rep. Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages for 1864** (1866) xix, p. xvii.
- 7 Stone, *op. cit.*, 103 ff.
- 8 See W.B. Stephens, **Sources for English Local History** (Manchester U.P., 1973), 38.
- 9 They are to be found in the House of Lords Record Office. For a list of the places for which they exist, see **5th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission** (1876).
- 10 Cf. W.B. Stephens, **Sources for the History of Population and their Uses**, (University of Leeds, 1971), 11, 22-24.
- 11 Stone, *op. cit.*, 100 ff.
- 12 A.J. Howard (ed.), **The Devon Protestation Returns, 1641** (privately printed, 1973); copies from T.L. Stoute, Lower Court, Almondsbury, Bristol.
- 13 Where returns indicate some original signatures and the remainder all in the same hand, I have counted the latter as marks.
- 14 W.B. Stephens, **Seventeenth Century Exeter** (1958), 3; W.G. Hoskins, **Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800** (1935), 27ff.
- 15 Hoskins, *op. cit.*, 115 ff; Stephens, **Seventeenth Century Exeter**, 155.

KELLY IRON MINE, NEAR BOVEY TRACEY

Michael Atkinson and Christopher Schmitz

There has recently been an upsurge of interest in the history of Devon mining, illustrated not only by a spate of publications on the subject but also by the increasing number of visitors to the mine sites themselves. However knowledgeable the visitor may be, it is nevertheless difficult to reconstruct mentally how the mine looked when it was working. All that remains today of most of the mines are ruined buildings, perhaps a few levels and shafts (usually filled in) and a good deal of broken ground. So the fact that at one mine site in Devon a fair proportion of the original surface equipment has survived intact in its original situation is of some significance. This short note is intended to indicate that significance and to serve as a plea for this unique site to be preserved as a monument to a now-dead industry that once flourished on the edge of Dartmoor.

Located 2½ miles north-west of Bovey Tracey (SX 795818), Kelly mine was worked intermittently through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for a rare form of iron oxide, micaceous haematite, known locally as 'shining ore'. Soft and grey in colour and somewhat resembling graphite or 'black lead', this mineral occurs in thin, lacing veins in the granite of eastern Dartmoor. During the past two centuries, at least nine small mines exploited these lodes - Bowden Hill, Great Rock, Hawkmoor, Kelly, Moorwood, Plumley, Shaptor, Shuttamoore and Wray.<sup>1</sup> The ore produced was used principally in the manufacture of rust-resisting paints. The largest of these mines, Great Rock at Hennock, ceased work as recently as the summer of 1969.

The first known reference to workings at Kelly dates from 1797, when George Wills leased to John Pinsent for 21 years 'a certain mine of black lead or some other mineral substance' located about a quarter of a mile to the east of Kelly Cross.<sup>2</sup> It is known that the ore was used as a 'writing sand' for blotting ink in the eighteenth century and, according to Lysons, it was exported to London as 'Devonshire sand'.<sup>3</sup> A mine for a substance resembling pulverised plumbago but identifiable as micaceous haematite is mentioned in the travel diary of Svedenstierna in 1802 but the exact location was not given.<sup>4</sup> The next definite evidence of working is contained in the official **Mineral Statistics** which record the re-opening of the mine at 'Kelley' in 1879 by W.H. Hosking.<sup>5</sup> At this time, Hosking was actively engaged in iron mining in other areas of Devon - he was manager of the mines at Salcombe, Brixham and South Devon for the Van Iron Ore Company and was also prospecting Hennock mine to assess the worth of the iron carbonate to be found there in association with lead. Kelly was worked by Hosking until 1891 but the activity was on a very small scale for the total production of ore amounted to a mere 324 tons. According to the **Reports of the Inspectors of Mines**, only two or three men were employed there between 1879 and 1882.

The mine was inactive between 1892 and 1901 but in the latter year it was re-opened by the Scottish Silvoid Company,<sup>6</sup> who operated the mine until it was taken over by the Ferrubron Manufacturing Company in the 1920s. Ferrubron had been operating the mines at Shapton, Shuttamoor, Hawkmoor and Plumley before the first world war and their acquisition of Kelly gave them complete control of the supply of micaceous haematite. Kelly was mined intermittently by Ferrubron until its final closure in the mid-1950s. The following table gives the yearly production of ore from Kelly between 1879 and 1913, further output figures not being readily available:

Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons
1879	20	1888	25	1906	160
1880	22	1889	30	1907	202
1881	25	1890	30	1908	70
1882	30	1891	30	1909	197
1883	20			1910	185
1884	20	1902	80	1911	88
1885	20	1903	50	1912	165
1886	22	1904	122	1913	170
1887	30	1905	180		

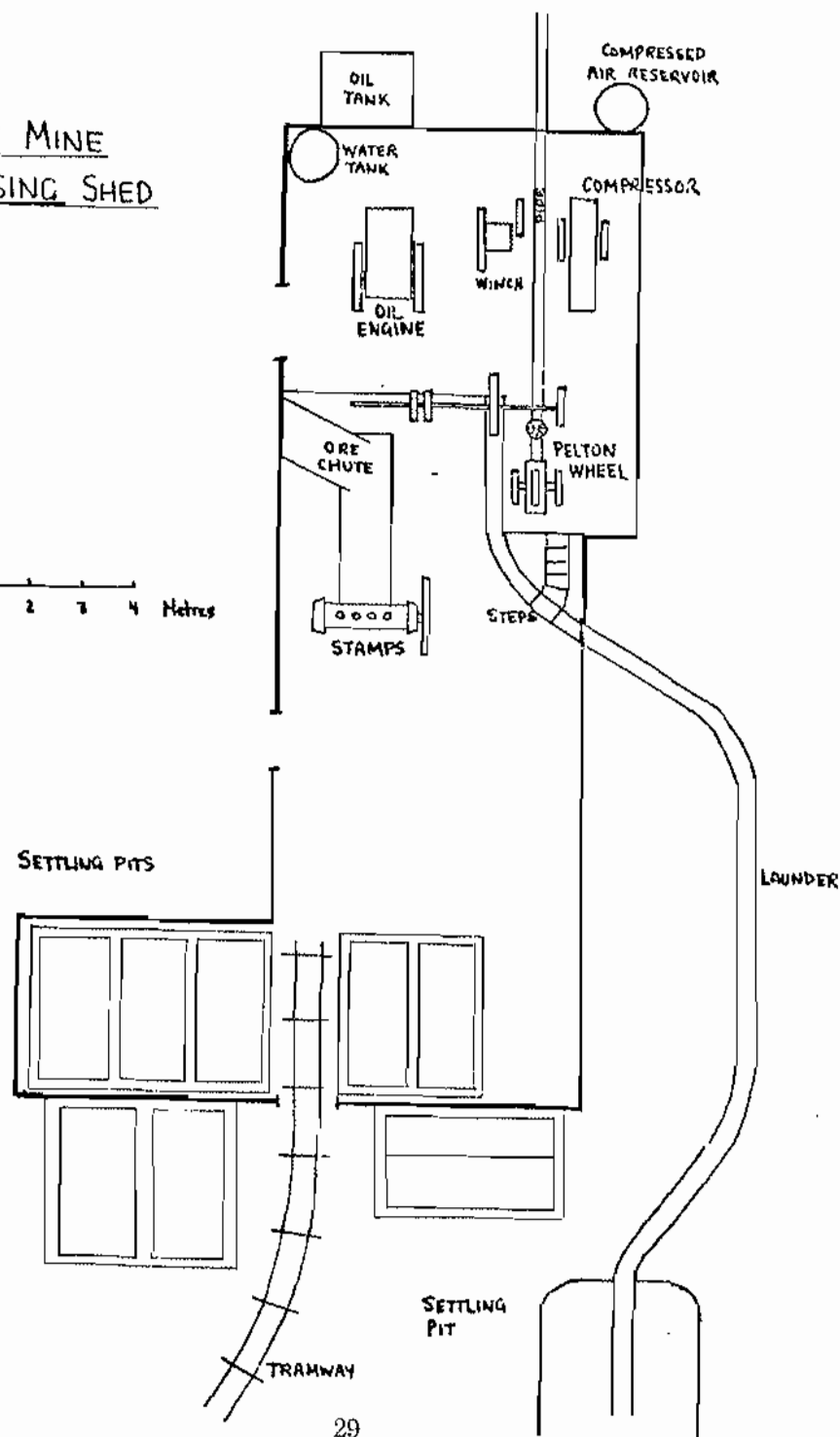
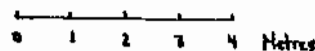
Source: Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom

Situated in a heavily wooded hillside just above and to the east of the A382 Moretonhampstead to Bovey Tracey road, the Kelly mine site covers an area of about ten acres in all. In this area there are seven open adits (levels) and an open shaft connecting underground with the workings on the two or three iron lodes worked here.<sup>7</sup> At surface the only substantial remains are in the vicinity of the mill building, in a clearing on the southern part of the site. On a small section of tramway outside the shed is a mine truck; another formerly on the site disappeared during 1974. To the side of the shed is a square settling pit fed by a narrow wooden launder running from the dressing shed. Behind the shed and running up to a reservoir about 70 metres above is a 198 mm diameter pipe which supplied water to a Pelton wheel inside the mill which powered all the dressing machinery by an overhead belt transmission system.

Inside the shed, constructed of corrugated iron, there is a typical split-level floor, which facilitated the flow of material through the dressing or concentrating process. On the upper floor are an oil engine and an air compressor, with a small winch between the two. The oil engine, manufactured by Blackstone of Stamford, would have served as a standby source of power in periods when there was insufficient water to operate the Pelton wheel. Technologically an interim development between the water-wheel and the modern turbine, the Pelton wheel is to be found under a substantial iron cover on the southern side of the upper platform. It is of 460 mm diameter with characteristic spoon blades on one side of the wheel. On either

## KELLY MINE DRESSING SHED

SCALE





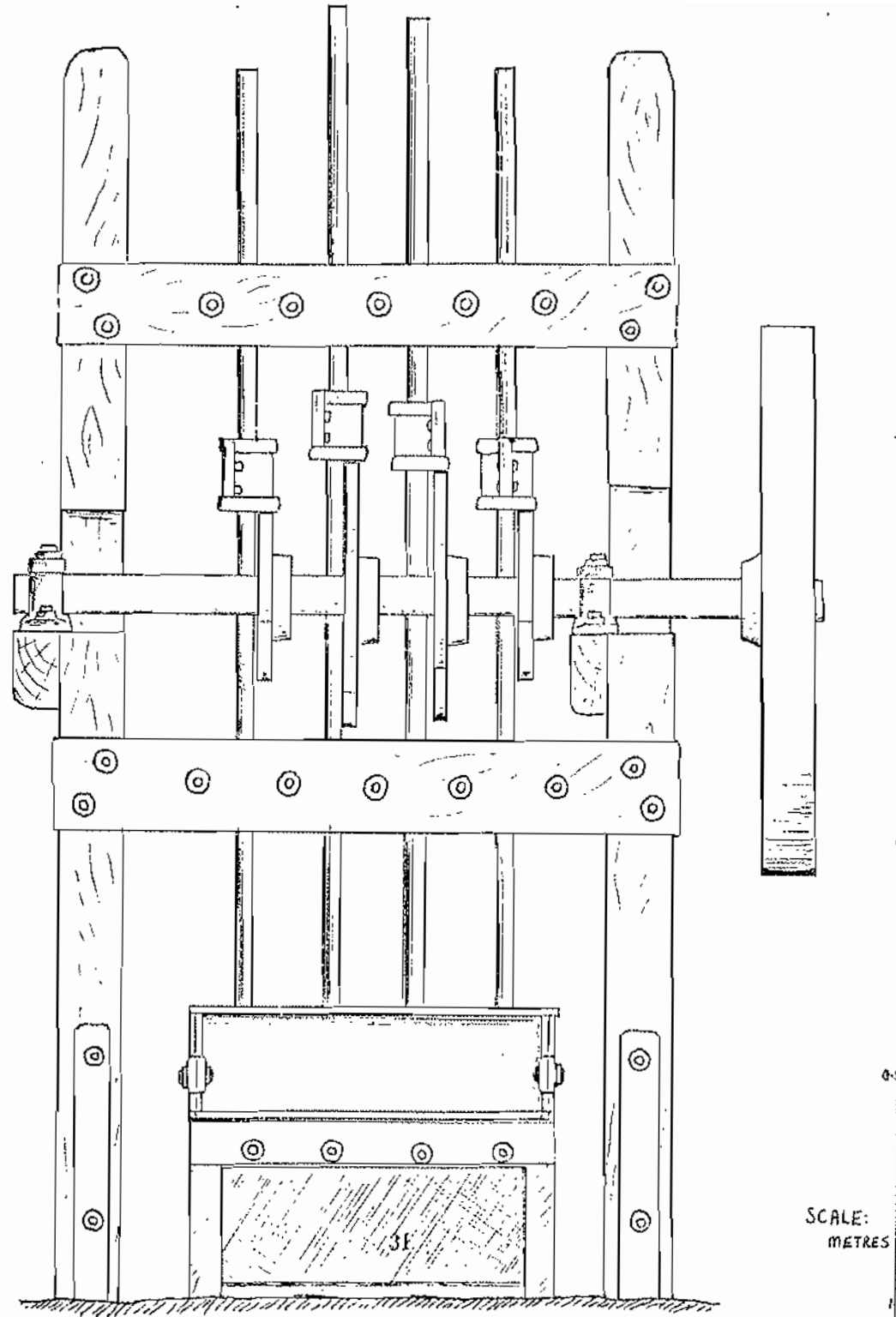
side of the Pelton housing are drive wheels which, via belts, powered the air compressor, the winch and the four-head Californian stamps situated on the lower floor. The compressor provided, via a reservoir behind the shed, air for drilling, pumping and hoisting within the mine.

The ore, having been trammed out of the levels behind the shed, was fed to the mill by a wooden ore-chute situated to the rear of the stamps. It was assisted by a stream of water to a trough at the base of the stamps where it was crushed to a size appropriate for the remainder of the dressing process, which consisted of hydraulic and gravity separation.

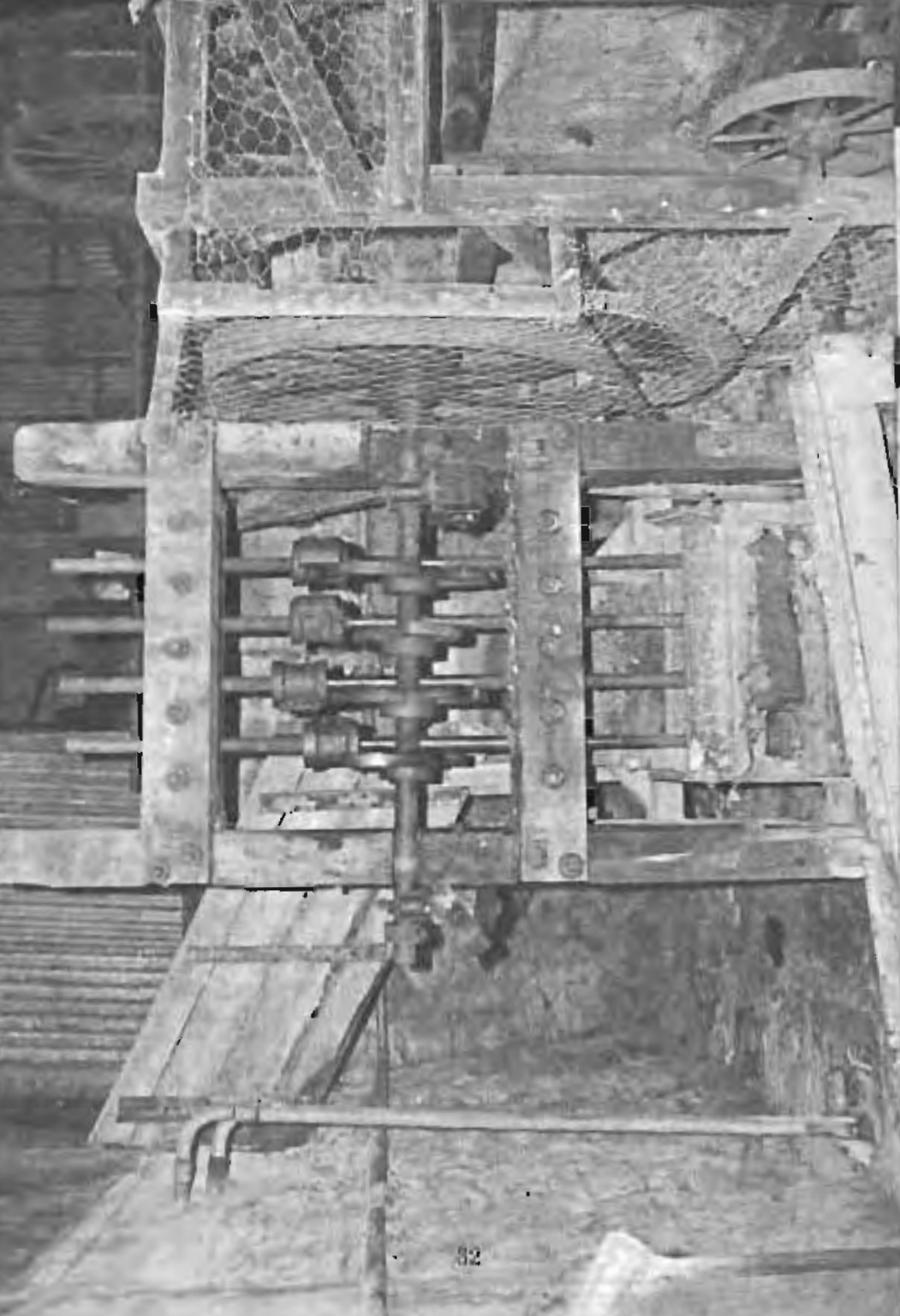
The stamps at Kelly are certainly unique in Devon and perhaps in the whole of Britain, being the only such equipment still in existence at their original location. Californian stamps differ from the traditional design of Cornish stamps mainly in the design and action of the stamping poles. In the case of Cornish stamps square wooden poles or 'lifters' fall straight into the trough rather like miniature pile-drivers. In Californian stamps, a design dating from the second half of the nineteenth century and used originally in the Californian gold-prospecting fields, these lifters are replaced by circular iron poles which rotate as they fall, being lifted by offset cams rather than peg cams. This rotation resulted in more even wear on the iron heads at the base of the stamp poles, more even crushing and enabled a faster rate of operation, making Californian stamps more efficient than the centuries-old Cornish design.

The stamps at Kelly are housed in an upright timber frame, 2.7 metres high and 1.32 metres wide, held together by iron bolts. Within the frame is an axle with four cams in the form of involute curves with offset lifting planes. This camshaft is rotated by a 1.2 metre diameter flywheel on the right, driven by a belt from the communal belt-drive axle on the upper floor. The offset nature of the cams' lifting planes results in the slight rotation as each of the circular iron lifters rises. Numbering the individual lifters from left to right, the order of lifts and drops is a characteristic 2-3-1-4 and the length of drop appears to be about 140 mm. Each lifter rises twice with each revolution of the camshaft and it appears that the operating speed of the stamps would have been about 20-30 revolutions per minute.

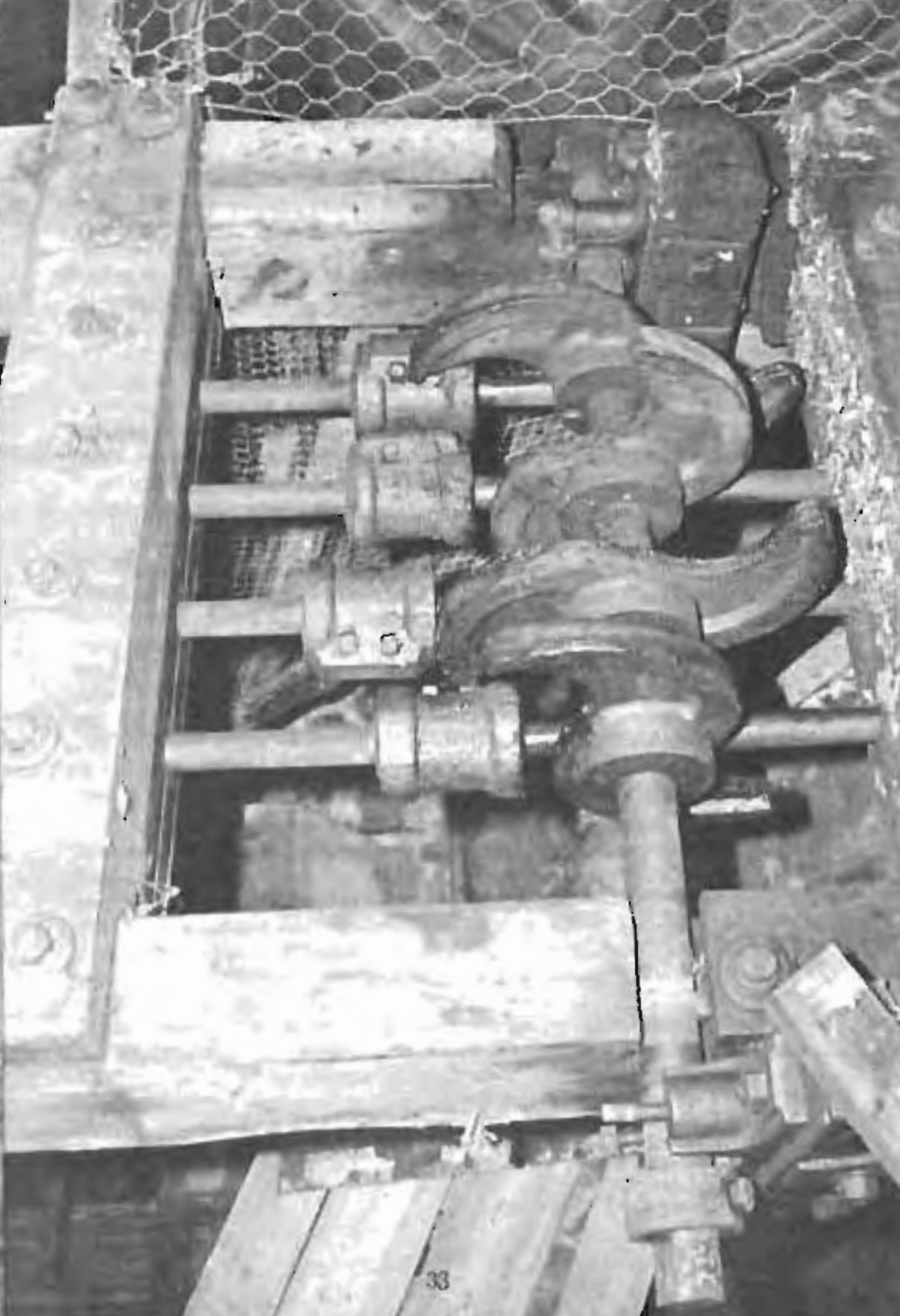
When the ore was broken to the requisite size, about the consistency of coarse sand, it would then be washed through a mesh in the front of the trough, or 'coffer', and carried a short distance through launders to the next stage of dressing. This consisted of hydraulic and gravity separation, based on the principle that in suspension in water, heavy particles sink faster than lighter particles and move less when subject to vibration. In the lower portion of the mill can be seen five settling pits and the concrete base of what was probably a gravity concentrating table. Outside the shed is a further series of settling pits, probably used for the re-treatment of lower grade ores. At the end of the process the dressed ore would be transferred by tramway to the drying shed, situated by the side of the main road. This building now seems to be in intermittent use as a feedstuff store but



SCALE:  
METRES



32



33

has two notable features: a small chimney at the rear which probably relates to the furnace providing hot air for the drying process and a small water-wheel at the side of the shed, half hidden in the undergrowth. This may have powered bellows or fans to circulate the hot air.

The state of preservation of the mill equipment is on the whole better than the building which houses it. Sadley, the original bronze bearings of the stamps and of the oil engine and compressor have disappeared. However, considering the unique nature of the site, replacement of the bearings would be a small price to pay to restore the equipment to working order. It is only to be hoped that efforts will be made to safeguard the site for future generations.

#### NOTES

- 1 See Henry G. Dines, *The metalliferous mining region of south-west England* (2 vols. HMSO, 1956) II, 725-7.
- 2 Cecil Torr, *Wreyland documents* (Cambridge University Press, 1910) p. xxxiv.
- 3 Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia, being a concise topographical account of the several counties of Great Britain, vol. VI. Derby and Devon* (London, 1822) p. cxcxi.
- 4 Eric T. Svedenstierna, *Svedenstierna's tour of Great Britain 1802-3* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973) p. 29. The only clue to the location is that the mine lay on a hill near Moretonhampstead.
- 5 Robert Hunt, ed. *Mineral statistics of the United Kingdom for 1879* (HMSO, 1880).
- 6 **General reports and statistics of mines and quarries.**
- 7 It should be stressed that these underground workings are very dangerous and should on no account be entered by the casual visitor.

## THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF DAIRYING IN DEVON SINCE THE 1930s

Victor H. Beynon

In 1794 a *General view of the agriculture of the county of Devon* was compiled for the Board of Agriculture by Robert Fraser. At that time North and South Devon cattle predominated in the county with the latter breed extolled for its milk and beef qualities in addition to its considerable capacity for work. Around centres of population such as Exeter and Honiton farmers 'produce a good deal of butter for sale, which is made in a way entirely peculiar to the people in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and nowhere else practised, I believe, in England' he reported. Some changes have obviously occurred since this report was prepared but soil, climate and topography have ensured the retention of remarkably similar cropping and stocking systems in the county. Grass remains the dominant crop, cattle for milking and fattening occupy the better land and sheep have maintained their position, particularly in the poorer areas. The most significant development has been concerned not with systems of farming but rather with changes in intensity and milk production is a perfect illustration of this.

The setting up of the Milk Marketing Boards in the early 1930s was a notable landmark in the history of milk production in the United Kingdom. Prior to this, information on dairying was not recorded in the detail which has been a feature ever since. The canvas therefore develops from a small somewhat generalised record into a cornucopia of statistics designed to meet the requirements of planners with even the most voracious appetites. In the first years difficulties were experienced in obtaining estimates of the dairy cow population but this information has been available in precise terms since the early 1950s. Although the data used in this brief review of structural changes in dairying covers wherever possible the early 1930s to the present time, the most comprehensive information relates to the early 1950s onwards.

Table 1 shows that in the space of 74 years between 1881 and 1955 the dairy cow population increased by 38 per cent in Devon and by 28 per cent in England and Wales as a whole, giving an annual percentage change of around half per cent. Throughout this period, Devon's share of the total for England and Wales remained remarkably stable varying between 4.3 and 4.7 per cent. It must be stressed that before about 1955 all cows were listed together so that estimates of dairy cows numbers must be treated with considerable caution. Since then dairy cows have been recorded separately in the annual 4 June returns. These reveal quite large changes with Devon increasing its share of the total of dairy cows from 4.7 per cent to 7.2 per cent between 1955 and 1974, an increase of 80 per cent in less than twenty years. By comparison, the increases in England and Wales are not so dramatic. The picture which emerges is one of a rapidly rising dairy cow population with the expansion tending to slow up over the last year or two.

Table 1 Numbers of dairy cows 1881-1974

Year	Number ('000s) Devon	Devon as percentage of England and Wales	Index (1955 = 100)	
			Devon	England and Wales
1881	82	4.4	73	78
1901	99	4.6	88	90
1921	115	4.4	102	108
1927	125	4.3	111	120
1951	111	na	98	na
1954	112	4.4	99	100
1955	113	4.7	100	100
1960	141	5.4	125	107
1965	160	6.0	142	110
1973	202	7.0	179	119
1974	203	7.2	180	117

Source: Dairy facts and figures (Thames Ditton: Milk Marketing Board, 1957-74); 4 June agricultural census returns (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food); John R. Currie and William H. Long, *An agricultural survey in south Devon* (Newton Abbot: Seale Hayne Agricultural College, 1929).

The trends in numbers of registered milk producers are set out in Table 2. These reveal a consistent downward trend both in England and Wales and in Devon. However, the exodus from milk production has been much more rapid in England and Wales and consequently Devon now has a bigger proportion of the total (8.2 per cent) than in 1955 (6.6 per cent). Indices of numbers of registered producers also show that Devon currently has just over half the 1955 total and England and Wales less than half. There are a number of reasons for the dwindling band of producers. The enterprise is a particularly exacting and tedious one and is more suited to the energy and disposition of younger men. Consequently as farmers grow older they seek alternative ways of making a living in farming. Furthermore, the standards of hygiene required in dairying necessitates the use of modern buildings and equipment involving heavy capital investment. Some farmers, particularly those with small areas of land, often decide against heavy capital commitments and relinquish their licenses to produce milk.

Table 2 Numbers of registered milk producers 1934-1974

Year (March)	Number Devon	Devon as percentage of England and Wales	Index (1955 = 100)	
			Devon	England and Wales
1934	-	-	-	70
1940	-	-	-	100
1945	-	-	-	111
1950	10,700	6.6	108	113
1955	9,910	6.9	100	100
1960	8,910	7.2	90	86
1965	7,665	7.6	77	70
1973	5,657	8.2	57	49
1974	5,383	8.2	54	46

Source: Dairy facts and figures

Table 3 shows that the combination of increasing dairy cow populations and decreasing numbers of milk producers has resulted in a marked increase in the average size of dairy herds in both Devon and England and Wales. In 1952 the average Devon milking herd had about 11 cows and probably the figure for England and Wales was not very much greater. Since then there has been a remarkable increase both locally and nationally. In 1974 the average herd in Devon was nearly 38 cows, well over three times the figure

Table 3 Average numbers of cows per dairy herd 1952-1974

Year	Number		Index 1955 = 100)	
	Devon	England and Wales	Devon	England and Wales
1952	10.8	-	95	-
1953	-	16.6	-	98
1955	-	16.9	100	100
1960	15.8	21.1	139	125
1965	20.9	26.4	183	156
1970	28.9	33.8	254	200
1973	34.5	41.5	303	246
1974	37.7	43.4	331	257

Source: Dairy facts and figures; 4 June agricultural census returns

recorded in the 1950s. For England and Wales it was over 43 - two and a



half times as large as in the earlier year. Narrowing margins, the quest for higher incomes and increased labour productivity have all had an impact in this direction.

The increasing herd size is emphasised still further in Table 4. This depicts the distribution of herds and cows for 1955 and 1970. In the earlier year 38 per cent of herds had less than 10 cows whereas in the latter year the proportion was down to 10 per cent. Also in 1955 only 1 per cent of

Table 4 The size distribution of the Devon dairy herd 1955-1970

	Herd size group					
	10	10-29	30-49	50-69	70-99	100
<b>1955</b>						
% herds	38	57	4		1	
% cows	17	67	12		4	
<b>1970</b>						
% herds	10	53	23	9	4	1
% cows	2	34	30	19	10	5

Source: The national dairy herd census (Thames Ditton: Milk Marketing Board, 1955 and 1970).

the Devon herds had more than 50 cows whereas by 1970 there was 14 per cent in this category. In terms of dairy cow numbers, the data reveal that 4 per cent were in herds of more than 50 cows in 1955 compared with 34 per cent in 1970. It seems then that a tremendous change has taken place in the structure of the dairy herd in Devon over the 15 year period.

No review of structural changes in Devon milk production would be complete without reference to changes in individual cow performance and breed of animal. The average yield per cow for 1927-8 was estimated at just over 500 gallons but it should be stressed that this related to south Devon only. Indeed average yields prior to the mid 1950s were conjectural. However, at that date there is reliable evidence that in Devon 668 gallons per cow produced compared with 692 for England and Wales. But as Table 5 shows, in each year since there has been a consistent improvement and the estimates for Devon and England and Wales for 1973-4 were 877 and 860 gallons respectively, suggesting an improvement of 31 and 24 per cent over the period.

Table 5 Milk yields per cow 1927-1974

Year	Gallons		Index (1955-56 = 100)	
	Devon	England and Wales	Devon	England and Wales
1927-28	505*	—	76	—
1938-39	—	556	—	81
1942-43	—	491	—	72
1952-53	612	—	92	—
1953-54	—	657	—	95
1955-56	668	692	100	100
1960-61	741	752	111	109
1965-66	783	780	117	113
1970-71	834	832	125	120
1972-73	898	894	134	129
1973-74	877	860	131	124

\*South Devon only.

Sources: Dairy facts and figures; 4 June agricultural census returns; Currie and Long, Agricultural survey in south Devon.

The improvements in yield are attributable to a number of very important factors. Improved management, better feeds and feeding and reduction in disease incidence all contributed in this respect. But it is probably the dramatic change in breed of animal to which the biggest improvement is attributable. In the immediate post-war period milk producers relied mainly on the South Devon and Dairy Shorthorn breed but Table 6 reveals that since

Table 6 Breed distribution of cows milked in Devon 1955-1970

Breed	1955	1960	1965	1970
	%	%	%	%
Ayrshire	12	10	15	9
Friesian	27	43	57	74
Guernsey	7	7	9	6
Jersey	2	3	3	3
Shorthorn	20	14	4	1
Others	32	23	12	7
	100	100	100	100

Source: The national dairy herd census, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970.

then there has been a substantial increase in the numbers of the high-yielding Friesians which now account for nearly 75 per cent of dairy cows in Devon.

Briefly then, the main structural changes that have occurred in dairying in Devon are:

- (a) marked increases in the dairy cow population;
- (b) sustained decreases in the numbers of registered milk producers;
- (c) remarkable increases in the average herd size to about 38 cows at the moment, and
- (d) changes in breed to the more productive Friesian and consequently improvements in average milk yields.

The combined effect of these changes means that the county of Devon now contributes over 7 per cent of the total supply of milk in England and Wales. Furthermore, without the consistent improvements in productivity over the years, the consumer would have been forced to pay more for milk or suffered acute shortages. As it is, the real 'price' of milk has continued to fall over the years and is now a mere 87 per cent of its level in 1955 and 74 per cent of its pre-war price. Put another way, in 1938 the number of minutes taken by an adult male industrial worker to earn the price of a pint of milk was 11¼ (Dairy facts and figures 1974). Today the time has been whittled to a mere 3¼ minutes. This proud record would not have been possible without the skill and application of dairy farmers and the structural changes of various kinds which have been a feature of dairying in the post-war period.

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## NEW ADDRESSES

Devonshire Association Branch Secretaries :-

Tiverton Branch	Miss J. Birks, 10 Twyford Place, Tiverton.
Plymouth Branch	J.W. Dawe, 26 Compton Avenue, Mannamead, Plymouth.
Newton Abbot Branch	Mrs. M. Usherwood, East Wing, Whitstone House, Bovey Tracey.
Tavistock Branch	Miss C.M. Seymour, Rosemont, Sydenham Damerel, Tavistock.

## THE HONITON AND ALLHALLOWS MUSEUM

John Yallop

The Honiton and Allhallows Museum is not just a building housing a collection of interesting objects; the buildings are themselves museum pieces. The parish church of Honiton was situated out of the town half way up the hillside and it seems likely that the Allhallows chapel developed as a more convenient place of worship for townspeople and wayfarers alike. The Murch gallery in the Museum is all that remains of the chapel of Allhallows.

The earliest reference to the chapel so far located is in the cartulary of Newenham Abbey where there is an entry relating to a convocation held in the chapel on 6 August 1327. During its subsequent history the chapel seems to have been frequently in need of repair. We have therefore more references to it than might have been the case of a well maintained building. John Chapman by his will of 26 July 1406 left a sum of £10 for the roofing of the chapel provided the parishoners would cover it with lead; failing this the executors were to dispose of the money elsewhere. It seems likely that the parishoners failed to produce the lead since in 1418 it was described as being out of repair and an indulgence of 40 days was offered to all who would contribute towards its support.

Presumably something was then done for in 1429 the people of Honiton appealed to the Pope to have Mass celebrated daily in the chapel. They gave as their reasons the perils of the road and the floods of water which flowed from the parish church down the hill to the town.

By the year 1710 the chapel was once more in a ruinous condition and was not being used for services. In 1712 the nave and central tower were demolished. At the same time a new western end was added to the severed chancel so that this could be used as a schoolroom for Allhallows School. This work added about 6 ft. to the length and on the exterior south wall a line in the stone work still shows where the join was made.

For nearly 200 years the building served as a schoolroom, changing its use to a dining hall towards the end of the period. Then in 1903 a new dining hall was built and the old building was opened as a school chapel in memory of the old boys who had died in the South African war of 1899-1901. This use continued until 1938 when Allhallows School, having outgrown the available accommodation, moved out of Honiton to Rousdon. This was followed by a period of use as a wartime ARP first aid post.

After the war a group of public spirited people bought the old chapel and adjacent dining hall and on 13 November 1946 the buildings were officially opened as the Honiton and Allhallows Museum. Much hard work of money raising ensued to pay off the money lent to make the project a reality. As a result the museum is housed not only in historic buildings redolent of Honiton's history but in buildings which are its own unencumbered property.

The museum is now divided into three galleries. The old chapel forms a single unit called the Murch Gallery after one of the founders and benefactors. The old dining hall is divided into two called the Nicholl and Norman Galleries after the first curator and an indefatigable supporter, respectively. The latter gallery is equipped with picture rails and is used primarily for the display of documents and pictures. The Nicholl gallery is devoted primarily to prehistoric exhibits and the Murch gallery to the more recent centuries.

In some quarters it has been fashionable in recent years to regard small local organisations, whether museums, hospitals or other civic amenities as being outdated. In the name of efficiency it has been said all such activities should be centralised. I reject this view and am glad to see that enough awful examples of the inefficiency of centralisation have now accumulated so that I am not alone in this view. I am quite confident that the small local museums have an important role which supplements that of the larger organisations.

The idea that the small local museum has had its day stems in part from the spectacle of establishments which attempt to be general museums on a small scale. This usually results in producing a rather muddled collection of 'curiosities'. Such activities are almost certainly doomed to failure since this work can be done so much more effectively by the larger establishments which have the benefits of adequate holdings to mount meaningful displays on a wide range of subjects and of professional staff. The small museum can however be successful if it concentrates on the special role of local history or a selected topic therein. This means that sufficient material can be gathered together and used with the benefit of local knowledge which cannot be matched elsewhere.

The truth of this was realised by the founders of the Honiton and Allhallows Museum. In the minutes of an early meeting it is recorded that the role of the museum is to preserve for the present and future generations those things which relate to the historic heritage of Honiton.

When I took over the curatorship in the autumn of 1974 I devoted my first 6 months to a review of the material that had come into my charge. I found that many things had been collected, some of very considerable interest. When a museum is first started its acquisition policy can only be catholic. When however the collection becomes large enough there will be at least some things on most aspects of local history. It then becomes possible to define gaps in the holdings and to set out to search for things more specifically. My review of my charge led me to the conclusion that the museum had now reached this stage. I have therefore formulated a number of definite objectives.

One important matter underlying the attainment of any objective is money. The management committee of the museum have so far been successful in raising the funds needed to balance the books. In the last year however the finances have received two blows. The reorganisation of local government has resulted in the loss of the County Council grant. Furthermore that ill-

drafted piece of legislation the Water Act 1973 has resulted in a sewerage rate demand for £43 p.a. There is no provision under the Act to take into account that the single WC involved is in a building which is only in use from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. from May to September. Nevertheless I am confident that the committee will keep the roof over my head.

With money likely to be scarce I am aiming to involve the people of Honiton in supporting their museum by practical help. Whenever something is to be done I hope that a little time will be given by people with the appropriate skills and, where necessary, equipment. Another scheme which is under way is to recruit a "Flock of Tactful Vultures". The object is to have a body of persons who will keep their eyes and ears open for any item of museum interest and who, on locating anything, will tactfully try to acquire it.

An important maxim for museum curators is that today's rubbish is tomorrow's valued exhibit. A time of loss of much significant material is after a death. The relatives rightly keep family possessions. They equally rightly sell the remaining saleable goods. But what of that old theatre programme, bus time table, commercial handbill, receipted bill and printed ephemera generally? All too often their destination is the dustbin. Things of this kind are of the essence of primary historical material and I hope that my "Flock of Tactful Vultures" will reduce such losses in the future.

Honiton is probably best known for Honiton lace. The museum has a sizeable collection which forms an important feature of the displays. It is my aim to improve on this by adding a comparative display illustrating the influences which other lace centres have had on East Devon production. A further addition planned is a display showing how Honiton lace is made.

A not so venerable but nevertheless respectably ancient Honiton industry is its pottery. This is but poorly represented and an important and urgent task is to remedy this situation. Other aspects of Honiton industry must also be examined.

The museum possesses a number of miscellaneous documents. Among them is a quantity of election broadsheets. These will have added to them my own collection which was displayed at the autumn meeting of the Standing Conference last year. The combined collection, when supplemented with any modern material I can acquire from the party agents, should form a rich series from the late 18th century to the present. This collection should be of value to Devon historians. Other documents include 19th century agricultural sale notices, theatre announcements and various local government announcements, some not without acrimony. An important task is to classify these and then bring the collections forward through the 20th century.

The museum photographic collections are weak. This state of affairs must be remedied.

The foundation of Allhallows School is lost in the midst of time. It seems likely that it developed from a few pupils taught by a medieval chantry

priest. The old chapel has therefore been associated with the school for many centuries but the museum has little to show for it. Since I was a pupil at Allhallows and have done tours of duty as president of the old boys club and as a member of the board of governors I have many connections with the school. I hope that the lack of school exhibits will not be of long standing!

An important thing for any local museum is to obtain and retain the interest of the local people. To this end I have started a policy of having specially displayed "Exhibit of the Month". Each one is accompanied by a short write-up which is published in the Honiton News. In this way I hope to arouse local interest and hope that the readers may venture in to see the actual object. A further gain is that somebody has come forward and offered to be our publicity officer. Since he is a professional, this is splendid.

A further venture designed to arouse interest is the sponsored 'push' of a 19th century bier which has been given to the museum by a local Parochial Church Council. Thought is also being given to a dramatic presentation, perhaps in 'son et lumiere' form, to portray the story of Honiton lace on the 400th anniversary (more or less) of the arrival of the Flemish refugees. Another presentation which might be considered would be "A Very Rotten Borough".

Apart from obtaining the interest of local people it is important to gain that of others. With the filling of gaps in the holdings it will become increasingly easy to mount displays which will attract the interest of visitors to our county.

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## CONFERENCES

The Annual General Meeting of the Standing Conference took place at the Queens Building, Exeter University on May 10th. The new President of the Conference, Dr. C.A. Raleigh Radford, spoke most stimulatingly and with great learning on 'Saxon Minsters in Devon'. His talk is reprinted in this volume. About eighty people attended.

The next Conference will take place at Ilfracombe on November 8th. Dr. Keith Gardiner will speak on 'Lundy History'. This is the furthest afield that the Standing Conference for Devon History has gone for a meeting. Members of the Ilfracombe Society have been most faithful attenders at our meetings. It is to be hoped that the distance will not deter members from responding in the same way.

The Spring Conference will take place at Ashburton on February 28th, 1976.

The Annual General Meeting for 1976 will take place at Exeter on May 8th.

The speaker will be Professor Harold Perkin of the University of Lancaster.

## LOCAL HISTORY IN THE SOUTH HAMS 1975

### Kay Coutin

1. **J. Wilkins** has prepared a history of **Stokenham Parish**, an area which now includes Chillington and Sherford. Most of the material has come from the parish documents and printed sources. This aims to be a collection of available information for the benefit of the parishioners and local historians. Copies will be deposited at the Diocesan Library, The County Record Office and the Cookworthy Museum, Kingsbridge.
2. **Miss C. Michell** is assembling information about **turnpikes** and coach services in the Dartmouth and Kingsbridge areas, as well as additional notes on the families of Loddiswell.
3. **The Cookworthy Museum, Kingsbridge** has a group of volunteers who are working with the Curator, Miss Kathy Gee, towards an **index** of local records. Sites of archaeological, historical and local importance in the South Hams are listed, with references to further sources of information. This should prove useful to researchers beyond the immediate locality.
4. **Mr. & Mrs. Valentine** of Salcombe are helping to organise an **archaeological check list**, as suggested by Henrietta Miles of the Extra-Mural Department. A weekend study course, based on Kingsbridge, aroused a lot of interest, and an excellent field day was well attended. Sites at Loddiswell Rings, Stanborough, Halwell and Slapton were visited.
5. Some material on the **Cider industry** has been collected, but sheer quantity of the physical remains, and the difficulty of finding a pound house empty of straw, hay or bullocks, have proved discouraging. Prices and quantities have come from 18th century farm accounts, while dramatic tales of cider-making within living memory have flowed freely.
6. **During the winter, the Malborough and Salcombe Local History Group** continued its meetings under the auspices of the Extra-Mural Dept. **Graphs** have now been made to show population trends. A **Glossary** of local terms and those found in documents being studied is being compiled. Comparisons are made with other collections of Devonshire words and in particular those still in use in the village.

Work continued on the **Waywardens' Accounts** and the **Tithe Maps**. One of these has been copied: land use and field names have been marked. Analysis of the accounts of running a **steam engine** has begun. A delightful description of the celebrations of Queen Victoria's **Diamond Jubilee** at Salcombe has been edited.

For a summer "outing" the Group went to **Hound Tor village**,



where Elizabeth Gawne showed them the deserted field systems and the excavations. Later in the day there was an opportunity to visit Sanders, Lettaford, by kind permission of the Devon Historic Buildings Trust. It was a great experience to see a longhouse, with shippon, cruck roof, and jetty, and to compare this with the later buildings which have been studied in the South Hams.

The Group arranged a medieval party at Christmas, where the food was prepared according to recipes of medieval times. (The view that the middle ages continued in these parts until the 18th century was widely held.) Dishes of frumenty, limpets, syllabub, hoarshead and the like were proffered. Historical costumes added to the festivities.

7. **At Sherford**, members of the Extra-Mural class visited several farms and cottages, one of which could be identified from a description in a survey of 1606. It is likely that the tenants of Sherford Manor were using common fields in the 17th century.
8. **Mr. Sid Hosking of Smallacombe has started a Vintage Farm Machinery Club.** The first rally will take place in September.
9. **The new Kingsbridge Library is a great asset.** The reference section now contains many useful books, including old journals, the Protestation Returns, etc. Previously long journeys to Plymouth or Exeter were necessary to consult these. The Museum also has a small but growing book collection.

## SUMMER MUSEUM EXHIBITION AT SALCOMBE

David Murch

Artifacts, photographs, diaries and other documents which record the maritime and local history of Salcombe/Kingsbridge estuary and the surrounding coast line, have been assembled in Cook's Boat Store on Custom House Quay, Salcombe. As the store will be needed for winter boat storage again in October, all the exhibits will be taken away, and during the winter months, reorganised for next season. Eventually it is hoped there will be a permanent home for all the exhibits.

In the photographic display, a large number record the people and the buildings, and harbour activities in Victorian and Edwardian days. A number of old buildings have been photographed and measured by the Malborough and Salcombe History Group, during their winter classes, and very attractive displays have been produced. The same group plotted details of ship movements, taken from log books, on maps which show voyages to the West Indies, Azores and Madeira, Newfoundland and the Mediterranean. Around a selection of photographs of Salcombe Castle are the details of its building, siege and surrender. Nearby more photographs record the evacuation and use of the Slapton Battle Training Area in World War II.

On a six inch ordnance survey map of the area from Borough Island south and east to Slapton are the names and dates of 120 wrecks. This has been a source of information to visiting skin divers. Some having found artifacts have brought them into the exhibition for identification. Frequently they leave their finds behind to join the ever growing variety of artifacts on display.

Five models of vessels, including a very fine replica of the RNLI "Baltic Exchange", the lifeboat on station at Salcombe, stands near part of the lifeboat "William and Emma" which was lost in 1916.

The exhibition would not have been possible without the enthusiastic support of the members of the Museum Society, and the help of numerous local people who have lent their "personal historic treasures" for all to see and appreciate.

**LANDSCAPES AND DOCUMENTS** edited by Alan Rogers and Trevor Rowley. Published by the Standing Conference for Local History. London 1974, 85 pp. with maps and illustrations. £1.50.

Since I published *The Making of the English Landscape* just twenty years ago, the first book on the subject which founded a new approach to local history, several books have appeared to refine some of my early generalisations and to bring in new aspects of an almost limitless field. Among the most assiduous and stimulating of the younger workers is my own Oxford pupil, Trevor Rowley, who with Michael Aston produced a notable book entitled *Landscape Archaeology*. Here, in collaboration with Alan Rogers, he has produced a shorter guide to landscape-history with specific reference to the use of documents. This book consists of seven essays by different experts: David Dymond writes on Archaeologists and historians, and Christopher Taylor on Total Archaeology or studies in the history of the landscape.

Max Hooper, whose work on hedge-dating alone opened up a magnificent field for local historians who work in the open, writes here on Historical Ecology; and then follow two urban essays – Tom Hassall on Urban Surveys: medieval Oxford, and Vanessa Doe (whose book on the Making of Kings Lynn brought vernacular building into the scene) writes on Later Urban Landscapes. Finally, Barrie Trinder writes on Industrial Archaeology. The notes to each essay constitute special bibliographies in themselves. This book is incredibly good value for nowadays and all workers in landscape-history, however experienced they may think themselves to be, would do well to purchase and read it carefully. Used in conjunction with *Landscape Archaeology* (David and Charles, £5.50) which is essentially concerned with the techniques of fieldwork as distinct from documents (in so far as the two sides can ever be clearly separated) the study of landscape-history will go ahead for generations to come. Already there is a healthy shelf-full of good books on the subject; but it is a field in which it is temptingly easy to plough in a shallow and profitless way. It is a wide discipline, not to be lightly trifled with.

W.G. Hoskins

**SHELL GUIDE TO DEVON** by Ann Jellicoe and Roger Mayne, £3.50.

Writing guide books can be a tricky business. Hazards and pitfalls await at every turn. Affection and feeling for an area is not enough; it must be backed up by sure background knowledge.

Playwright Ann Jellicoe and her photographer husband Roger Mayne in their Shell Guide for Devon have embarked on the job with immense enthusiasm, but do not always convince one that they know the county well. While something of the sweep and variety of Devon comes out in this book the foundations underpinning it are often shaky. There is a little matter of dates. If tied to events and things they ought to be accurate. Brunel's railway (or more strictly the South Devon Railway) did not reach Plymouth in 1846, but in 1849; nor did it do so as the text implies, over the atmospheric system which was abandoned at Newton Abbot in 1848. The Tavistock canal was not constructed in 1802, but begun in 1803 and finished in 1817. Holsworthy will be surprised to learn that the Bude canal which approaches it at Blagdonmoor Wharf was opened in 1870. The 7th Duke of Bedford if he were alive would be interested to know he built a church at Tavistock in the 1860s for his Catholic tenants, instead of the overflow mining population.

There are one or two other odd statements. There is no gorge where the railway from Bere Alston to Calstock crosses the Tamar. The Tamar's gorge-like scenery is some three miles higher up river. Ann Jellicoe is clearly more at home on the stage than with water mills. The small launder built to supply water to the reconstructed Finch Foundry appears strangely as a viaduct.

There is too much emphasis on details of church architecture, little of which is original. The author cites Pevsner with approval and has leaned heavily on him. We could well have been spared much Pevsneresque detail for a little more about the relationship of some of the churches with the immediate countryside.

Generally Shell guides have set a reasonably high standard; this one is too slapdash and breathless to be in the top flight. Some things are done well. The guide is good on Plymouth, if a little unkind to St. Andrew's church. Exeter does not seem to have inspired Miss Jellicoe, but one wants to revisit Sidmouth after reading her. The contrast between the bleaker more sparsely populated northern half of the county and the softer south is well suggested, but Mid Devon tends to languish between them.

The pictures are a mixed bag too. Some are very good, but too many look as if they have been taken at the height of a sharp thunderstorm. Devon has its share of wet weather, but is not as gloomily rain drenched and threatened as the pictures suggest. That on the front cover with its over-emphasis on an impending downpour is not typical of the county.

Not the most memorable or up-to-date of the Shell Guides although it does suggest that there is more to Devon than cream and cider. It would have been better still if the author had done more homework.

F.L. Booker

**NORTH DEVON BARGES** by Alison Grant and Barry Hughes. North Devon Museum Trust Publication No. 1, 1975, 48 pp. 45p. ISBN 0 950418 0 3.

Two years ago the North Devon Museum Trust was founded and, after some deliberation, was able to purchase, as the first item in its maritime collection, the gravel barge JJRP. Now the chairman and secretary of the Trust have provided an admirable brief history of the north Devon gravel barges. They begin their story with the rowing lighters of the seventeenth century, then deal with the nineteenth century sailing barges and then with the motor barges. They vividly describe the changes and difficulties associated with the extremely arduous occupation of collecting gravel from the ridges in the Taw and Torridge estuaries. No-one who has seen the heavily-laden barges, their gunwales awash, returning to Bideford quay could have any illusion about the perils of this trade. To accompany the text there are two useful maps, one of which shows the position of the gravel ridges, some line drawings and diagrams and a splendid collection of photographs, both historical and contemporary, but unfortunately no list of illustrations. This excellent pamphlet ought to be in the possession not only of those interested in Devon history but of those concerned with maritime history as well, both because it provides a good account of a highly specialised occupation and also because the proceeds from the sale will contribute to the wider aims of the North Devon Museum Trust.

**Celia M. King**

**EIGHT HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PEOPLE AND PARISH OF ST. DAVID, EXETER** by Joyce Greenaway, 54pp. (50p from Parish Church, 55p inc. postage from 26 West Avenue, Exeter)

The central theme of this account is the successive churches of St. Davids, from the 1194 chapel of ease to the present remarkable neo-Gothic structure completed in 1900, set in the development of the district (later parish) of St. Davids from its origins as an impoverished suburb of the mediaeval city to the massive expansion of the last hundred years. Much information has been collected from many sources, and two well-drawn maps compare the parish as it was in 1750 with the present day.

The text is written interestingly and with obvious enthusiasm. It contains one glaring error, in the statement that government grant contributed 'five to ten shillings weekly for each child' to the National School c.1870 – possibly a slip for annually, since the maximum obtainable under the original Revised Code was 12s., and the actual payment in the 1888/9 Returns (after

much Code liberalisation) was 18s., per year. Otherwise there is nothing to cavil at, and much to recommend.

**SALCOMBE REGIS SKETCHES** by R.E. Wilson, Sid Vale Association (28pp, price 25p).

As the title suggests, this mostly takes the form of a series of topical sections, and is based entirely on secondary sources. No mention is made of the normal parish records (if such survive), and the omission deserves an explanation. The general historical section contains many statements for which one would welcome a source, and some which not all will easily accept (e.g. Saxon invasion of Devon 'begun by 614', Domesday league three miles, and Domesday hides identifiable with particular arable fields). It is mostly concerned, until the 19th century, with changes of landownership, and subsequently with the change in character of the parish with the settlement of incomer 'villa people'. A useful, and indeed essential, map is provided.

The emphasis is on local houses, personalities, and anecdotes, and it will undoubtedly be of interest to those who know the locality.

**PORTRAIT OF TORBAY** by J.R. Pike, Torbay Borough Council (62pp, price 45p)

This is handsomely produced, with over 20 historical prints and nearly 40 (historical and modern) photographs, and a plan of Torre Abbey. The text outlines the maritime associations of Torbay, and the backgrounds of the towns and villages which, from disparate origins, have in recent times coalesced into the modern conurbation.

Mr. Pike knows the area as well as anyone, and writes with authority and a wealth of detailed information as well as with some humour; and the illustrations, in themselves excellent, are well-selected for 'then and now' contrast. The result is a real contribution, at a popular level, to the appreciation of local origins and development.

**R.R. Sellman**

# ORIGINAL PARISH REGISTERS

In Record Offices and Libraries

A new guide to deposited parish registers for the local historian, genealogist and historical demographer (128 pages).

First find your parish register! This is one of the more tiresome time-consuming chores with which all genealogists and historians who have used registers in the course of their research will be familiar. Many registers remain in the parish chest or with the incumbent, but each year the number deposited in diocesan record offices increases. For many areas of the country there is no list of these deposits and each register has to be sought by a process of elimination between the incumbent, the record office and sometimes other local institutions.

Now this new Local Population Studies publication provides an up to date list of all the original parish registers in England and Wales which have been deposited in record offices or libraries. The list includes rough books of register entries, duplicate books made simultaneously with the register and early replacement copies such as the sixteenth century transcriptions from paper to parchment, but not later copies whether printed or manuscript. It has been arranged alphabetically by county and by parish within each county, and includes for each parish the date of the earliest and latest entry for the collection of registers which has been deposited.

Clearly some enquiries will require more detailed information than this guide contains which must be sought from a local record office or library, and with this in mind the list includes the address and telephone number of all the record offices and libraries known to hold original registers.

This guide has been compiled and published by Local Population Studies in association with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

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Lymington Road, Torquay.

## OXFORD UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

*Journal of Genealogy*, first founded in 1826 and now published by Oxford University Press in 1974, 1975, 1976.

*Letters Concerning Geography*, edited by K.J. Condon and W.C.H. Kinnaird, 1974, 1975.

*Letters to Thomas James*, printed edition, 1974 by Oxford Univ. Press.

*Letters and the Nation*, edited by Frank Taylor, 1976, 1977.

*The Maritime History of Devon* by M. Cresswell, 1976, 1977.

*London Wall Journal* by Roger Young, 1974, 1975.

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*Industry, Trade and Wealth in London, 1800-1850* by F.S. Bateson, 1976, 1977.

*Industrial Revolution, 1780-1840* by H. Posthumus, 1976, 1977.

*Islington from a Map of London*, 1780, 1910, 1940.

*London's History*, edited by W.C. Dickinson, 1976, 1977.

*The Corporation and the University of London* by K.C. Little and K.C. Bunting, 1977, 1978.

*The South West and the World*, edited by W.C. Dickinson and G.H. Clapp, 1976, 1977.

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