

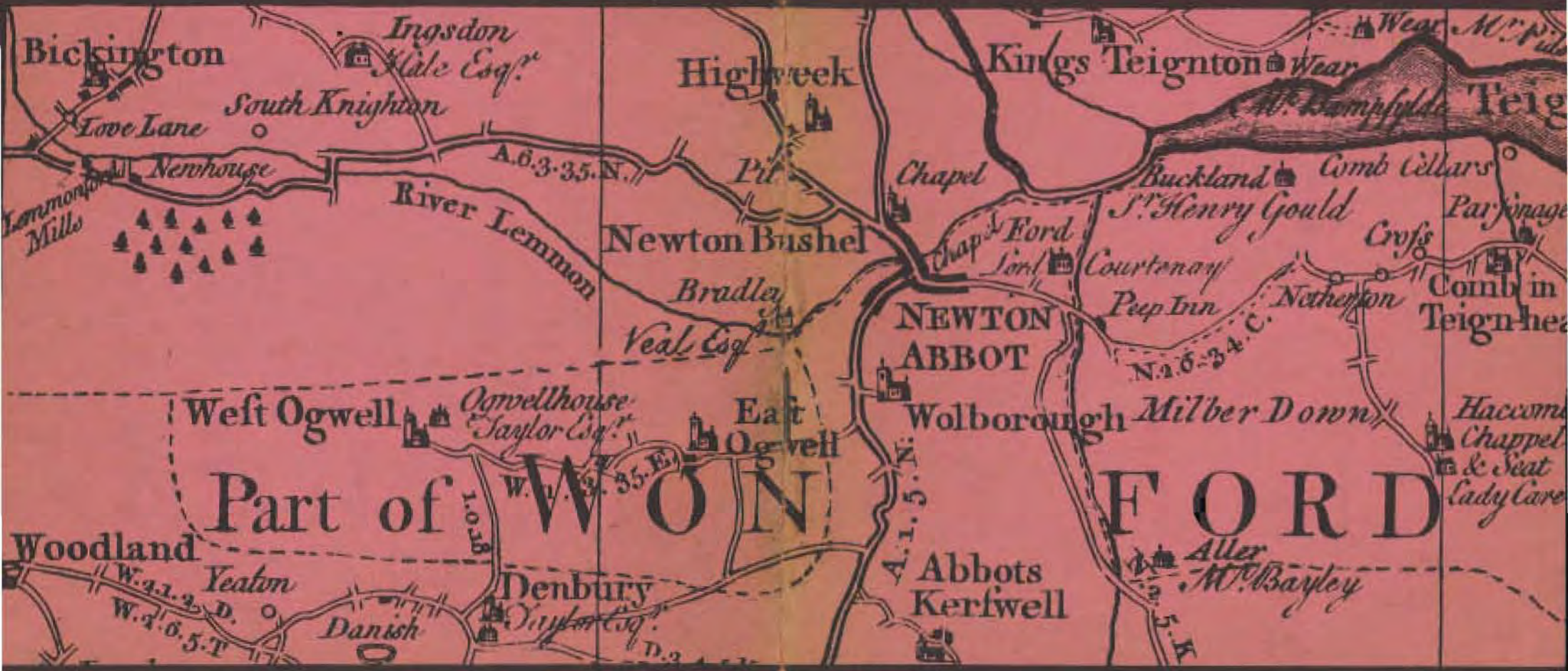
April 1978

The magazine is available free to all members of the Standing Conference for Devon History. Membership may be obtained on application to the Secretary, Central Library, Lymington Road, Torquay and costs £1 per annum for individuals. Members may obtain further single copies of the magazine for 50p and copies are available to non-members for 60p.

The Devon Historian

16

STAVINZON
50p



STANDING CONFERENCE FOR DEVON HISTORY

PRESIDENT	W. Best Harris	
CHAIRMAN	Professor W.E. Minchinton	
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Frank Booker	
HON. SECRETARY	J.R. Pike	
HON. TREASURER	J.W.V. Roberts	
HON. EDITOR	Sheila Stirling	
COUNCIL	O. Baker	J. Bosanko
	Miss T. Brown	K.S. Coutin
	M. Dickinson	Miss A.E. Grant
	Stanley Hiscock	B. Hughes
	Ian Maxted	G.J. Paley
	Miss L. Smith	Dr. R.L. Taverner
	Prof. J.A. Youings	

All correspondence relating to subscriptions, membership, personal local history interests and offers of work or assistance should be sent to The Secretary, Central Library, Lymington Road, Torquay. Correspondence relating to the Devon Historian or for possible publication therein or contributions for publication should be sent to The Editor, c/o Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter. Contributions for the next issue should be sent to the Editor by 1st August, 1978.

The map on the cover is part of Benjamin Donn's Map of the County of Devon first printed in 1765 and reprinted in 1965 jointly by the University of Exeter and The Devon and Cornwall Record Society. It is available from the Academic Registrar, University of Exeter, price £6.00 post free and from book-shops.

CONTENTS No. 16

SPRING, 1978

The Devon Historic Buildings Trust	JOHN MEJOR	3
The Papers of a North Devon Mariner	MICHAEL BOUQUET	7
Moretonhampstead and District Museum and Local History Society	R.O. HEATH and F.K. THEOBALD	14
Industrial Housing in Devon before 1770	STANLEY D. CHAPMAN	17
Staunton — A Deserted South Hams Village	CHRISTIAN MICHELL and MARGARET COMMON	21
Air Photographs for the Devon Historian	WALTER E. MINCHINTON	25
The University of Exeter and Devon History, a Second List	WALTER E. MINCHINTON	27
Book Reviews		31
Paper in Devon by Jean Chitty		
Industrial Archaeological Sites of Britain by Anthony Burton		
Sparrowhawk: The Story of Moretonhampstead by R.O. Heath		
Pilton, its Past and its People by M.A. Read		
Exeter — A City Saved? edited by R. Fortescue-Foulkes		
Parliament in Elizabethan England: John Hooker's Order and Usage edited by Vernon F. Snow		
Monmouth's Rebels: The Road to Sedgemoor 1685 by Peter Earle		
Tudor Exeter: Tax Assessments 1489-1595 including the Military Survey 1522 edited by Margery M. Rowe		
People Talking by Jenny Lloyd		
Editorial		2
Notes on New Contributors		6
Conferences		13
Garden Earthworks		26
Correspondence		40

With No. 17 of the Devon Historian Sheila Stirling will be the new Editor. After eight years and sixteen issues a change is appropriate. In Devon Historian No. 1 certain aims for the Standing Conference and the magazine were set out. The overriding one was 'to further the study of Local History in the County'. More specific aims were to bring together those interested in Local History from all over the County, to hold meetings regularly in different parts of the County, to indicate what Local History activities were going on and to relate what work was in progress and what had been written about the County. Some, at least, of these aims have been fulfilled. Successful meetings are regularly held and it is likely that Devon historians do meet more regularly and know each other better than they otherwise might. Lists of meetings and courses around the County are published. Books relating to the County have been printed in the Devon Union List and it is hoped that additions to this will be printed regularly in the Devon Historian. Lists of theses and other work on Devon history have been published and the only gaps in this sphere are articles about Devon in learned journals and material relating to Devon in Record Offices and the like outside the County. It is also possible to find out about members' interests by consulting the membership lists.

Less successful, perhaps, has been the aim to make the Devon Historian into a largely 'methodological' magazine. The emphasis was to be on how to write local history in Devon. There have been few articles of this nature largely because few have been submitted. The Devon Historian still exists on a rather 'hand to mouth' basis, there is no great backlog of unpublished material and most, but not all, material submitted has been published. There must be many members who have contributions to make and this magazine has always tried to avoid the distinction between the professional and the amateur historian so no-one need feel diffident. Despite this rather hazardous existence the Editor has always been conscious of being given a great deal of support by many people and is confident that this will be continued under the next Editor, hopefully in the best possible way, by providing her with as much material as the magazine can handle.

Lastly, this magazine could hardly have been produced without the active co-operation of the staff at Torbay Borough Council's Printing Department, to whom many thanks are due.

John Mejer

The joint initiative by the Devon Conservation Forum and the Devon County Council which led to the creation of the Devon Historic Buildings Trust was reported at length in the October, 1973 issue of the *Devon Historian*. Now that four years have elapsed, it is time to review progress and to judge whether the experiment merits a permanent place in our county-based organisational structure.

Public concern about the built environment has undoubtedly quickened in the recent past. Compared with most other counties, Devon's townscapes are still rich in lesser buildings because the effects of the indiscriminate bulldozer have not been quite so devastating here as elsewhere; the thrust for change is pitched at a lower level and local opinion is not slow to condemn destructive erosion. Aesthetics apart, the case for perpetuating the county's character on economic grounds as a major attraction to the tourist trade is unassailable and undoubtedly the lesser buildings contribute more in aggregate to the quality and appeal of our towns and villages than any other single factor. Nevertheless, attrition continues inexorably and there is no room for complacency.

The Devon Historic Buildings Trust's Council of Management, headed by the Lord Lieutenant, recognised this from the outset and decided therefore that the bulk of their as yet meagre resources should be devoted to saving the smaller buildings of merit. The principle of the revolving fund was adopted, whereby buildings threatened by demolition or neglect would be bought, restored and re-sold with appropriate safeguards. Thus the Trust's capital could be steadily turned over to repeat the process, ad infinitum, to maximum effect. Strong links were quickly established with the Civic Trust which carefully scrutinised the Articles of Association and examined the organisational structure and administrative arrangements; these were unreservedly approved. The links are even stronger now and the Civic Trust's highly esteemed moral support and practical advice is always freely available.

In any newly-formed body, structural changes are not unusual in response to the stimulus of accruing experience. But if substantial modifications are found to be necessary, this could be a signal that the basic concept is unsound and needs to be reviewed. However, no such signal is evident and although there have been some changes in the last four years, they were minor in scope and largely confined to procedural refinements. Mr. Phipps Turnbull, the County Planning Officer, did make one suggestion — to restrict membership of the Technical Panel to the technical officers handling drawings, planning and grant applications, etc. and re-forming the Trust's advisers from the various parts of the county into a separate Advisory Panel. The Council of Management agreed, with the result that the number of cumbersome meetings has been substantially reduced. Walter Minchinton was appointed chairman of both the Technical Panel and the Advisory Panel. Tight management control is exercised over the Trust's day to day affairs by a triumvirate which links the functions of the Trust's

three committees: it consists of Henry Ayre, the Trust's chairman and widely experienced in business and community work, including local government; Walter Minchinton, a positive academic with initiative and the knack of making swift decisions; and the Trust's secretary. Major policy decisions are, of course, in the hands of the Council of Management. Inevitably, this Council has suffered some turnover but, fortunately, continuity has not been impaired. The remaining founder members are Charles Ansell, Henry Ayre, Anthony Hollow, Walter Minchinton, Colonel J.E. Palmer, and Dr. Robinson Thomas, besides the President, Lord Roborough. They have been joined now by Walter Daw, Mrs. Langdon, Wing Commander Mortimer, William Thompson and William Treeby — all of whom are County or District Councillors. All members of the Council of Management are well-known county personalities and their support is indicative of the growing effectiveness of the Trust which is further underlined by the fact that all but one Members of Parliament for Devon's constituencies are Vice-Presidents. Vital to the Trust's operation are the services provided by Alan Bennett, the County Secretary, who is also the Trust's legal adviser, and Malcolm Thompson, the County Treasurer, who looks after the finances. Both have been most helpful.

The County Council provided the Trust with its initial starting capital of £25,000, thus honouring a promise made to the Devon Conservation Forum during the formulation stage. It came in the form of £19,500 cash and the gift of that ill-starred embarrassment, Ireland House in Ashburton, which the Trust soon discovered to need something approaching £60,000 to restore, with a maximum re-sale value of no more than £40,000. Well-intentioned citizens — who should have known better — proceeded to assail the Secretary with demands for the Trust to start work on Ireland House upon the instant. His patient arithmetical explanations were impatiently brushed aside: "Well, at least DO something", one woman said. "It is scandalous that owners of historic buildings let them rot like this", said another, "and don't try to confuse me with figures!" After exploring a number of avenues, the Secretary finally found a sympathetic ear in the Teignbridge District Council whose officers accepted the basic conversion plans and adapted them for local authority housing purposes. The building work has now started, after lengthy and delicate negotiations with the Department of the Environment.

In the meantime, three derelict cottages in South Molton's conservation area were acquired and converted into a single dwelling, during the course of which the Trust applied for and obtained a re-classification of the area to 'outstanding'. The Trust's architect was Frank Eldridge. He closely supervised the execution of his plans, with eminently satisfactory results. The project was not without its difficulties and disappointments, chief of which was the Local Authority's steadfast refusal to make an improvement grant, notwithstanding that all the official criteria were met. It is noteworthy that the authority concerned has never contributed a single penny to the Trust's funds, although hope springs eternal!

Next on the list was a seventeenth-century water conduit in East Street, Ashburton. It is an interesting historic street feature which was in danger of collapse. With welcome financial contributions from the active and well-run

Ashburton and District Amenity Society — a founder-member of the Devon Conservation Forum — and the County Council's Dartmoor National Park Committee, the Trust dismantled the conduit, re-dressing the granite and replacing where necessary, and rebuilt it as it was. This was followed by financial help towards a lovely little lime-kiln at Studdicombe Creek which the local residents, led by Pippa Woods and Dr. Mary Dixon, were determined to save.

The historically important long house known as 'Sanders' in the Dartmoor hamlet of Lettaford was the Trust's greatest disappointment to date. Before buying it, the Trust consulted the Dartmoor National Park Authority, who encouraged the Trust to proceed, with the intention of acquiring it for use as a countryside interpretation centre in the National Park. The Dartmoor National Park Authority expected the purchase money to come from their 1975/76 fund allocation. Consequently, detailed planning of the restoration started, in close collaboration with the D.N.P.A. at all stages, and the Trust successfully applied for 'Sanders' to be classified as a national monument. Much work went into the project but unhappily the Dartmoor National Park Committee had to withdraw for lack of funds and the Trust's only alternative was to pass 'Sanders' on to the Landmark Trust, who at that time were in the market. An internal post-mortem showed that the Trust's co-ordination and progressive management decisions, far from being at fault, had indeed ensured the avoidance of a capital loss. While it was true that effort and money could have been employed more usefully elsewhere, all indications at the time had been favourable and the Trust, being no more blessed with foresight than anyone else, had been right to try.

The Trust is frequently consulted about buildings it does not own. Altogether, it has been involved in about one hundred threatened listed buildings to date. A number of these required close investigation; some called for a vigorous defence; whereas others merely needed an objective and authoritative analysis of their environmental worth to save them. Direct requests have been received from local authorities for help in solving problems and the Trust's two current projects fall into this category. The first is a pair of Grade II town houses with early nineteenth-century shop fronts in the centre of the Ottery St. Mary conservation area, where building work is now in progress. They had deteriorated to the point of dereliction over the past twelve years and two years ago the County Planning Officer asked the Trust to take them on. Negotiations to purchase started soon afterwards but the legal situation was surprisingly complicated and they were only recently concluded. The second is the Old Police Station at Tiverton, also Grade II, where Tiverton District Council asked for ideas. After doing a feasibility study, the Trust is preparing the detailed drawings for a scheme and if all goes according to plan, work should start on the site towards the end of this year.

This review would be incomplete without a word about finance. We have seen that the starting assets were £19,500 and a building worth £5,500. The Council of Management, knowing this to be pitifully inadequate for the task ahead, set about appealing to the private sector for donations whereupon the financial crisis developed. Regrettably, very few people responded. The County Council had set the scene for further support from the local authorities but they,

too, were feeling the pinch. The Trust's interim target of £100,000 would have been reached by now but for the unfortunate financial down-turn. As it is, the latest audit shows net assets of £54,800, every penny of which will be needed for the two current jobs in hand.

In the circumstances, things could be very much worse. The Trust knows that it is **needed** in Devon and that it has helped whenever possible. Many private citizens have asked for advice and have not gone away unaided. The Trust has already earned much goodwill in Devon but, as Henry Ayre said at the AGM last June, the capital fund must be further increased to expand the practical work. If any reader has a pound or two to spare, Walter Minchinton will gladly pay it in; alternatively, send it direct to the Devon Historic Buildings Trust, Bradninch Hall, Castle Street, Exeter. Every donation will be acknowledged and it will go towards a building, not administration.

The path of the restorer of buildings is difficult. What at first sight appears to be straightforward, more often than not turns out to be the reverse. Disappointments and set-backs are part of the scene, no matter how carefully one tries to pre-plan. But one thing is certain: the Trust would have foundered at an early stage if it were not served by well-motivated optimists who know how to apply the principles of management in a good cause which deserves the widest support throughout the county.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Bouquet is a retired teacher and author of three books on maritime history. He collects old 'ship' photographs.

Stanley G. Chapman is Pasold Reader in Textile History in the University of Nottingham and has just edited "The Devon Cloth Industry in the Eighteenth Century", the latest volume published by the Devon and Cornwall Record Society.

R.O. Heath and F.K. Theobald are respectively Chairman and Vice-President of the Moretonhampstead and District Museum and Local History Society.

John Mejer is Secretary to the Devon Conservation Forum and to the Devon Historic Building Trust.

THE PAPERS OF A NORTH DEVON MARINER

Michael Bouquet

After the death at Braunton in North Devon in the summer of 1970 of Thomas Arthur Slee, aged 80, his nephew gave me a bundle of his uncle's papers. Sorted out and arranged in order these documents are presented to give the story of Slee's progress from Ordinary Seaman to Master Mariner and eventually to Owner. The name of each document or series of documents is italicised.

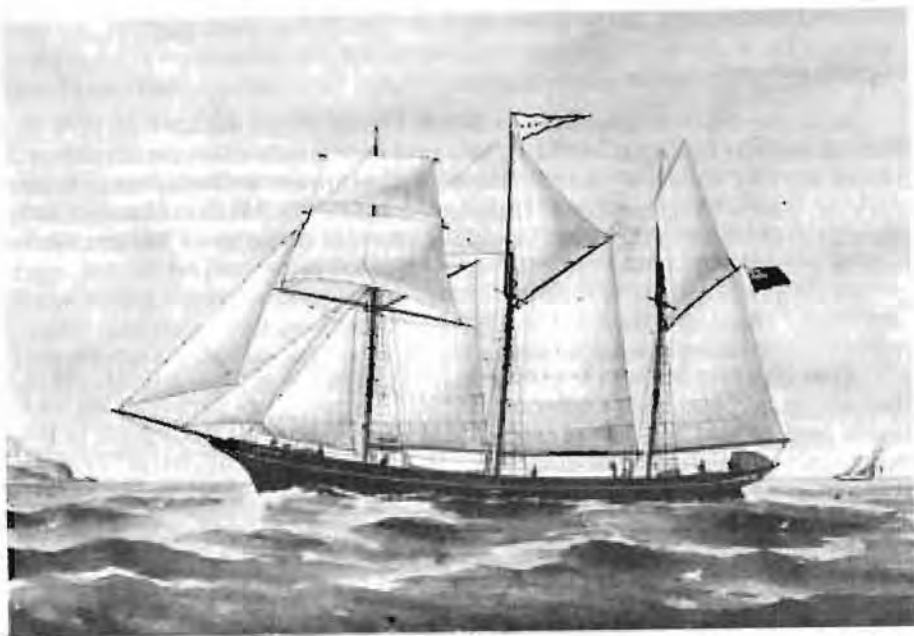
* * *

Tom Slee was born at Braunton in 1890 when the general atmosphere of that village was one of small shipowning and operation. In particular his own family background was one of seafaring. In fact, the oldest documents in the bundle refer to relatives. One dated August, 1891 is a "paper discharge" or more correctly a *Certificate of Discharge for Seamen discharged before the Superintendent of a Mercantile Marine Office in the United Kingdom....* This was the type of Discharge Certificate given to foreign-going seamen before the introduction of the Discharge Book, or Continuous Certificate of Discharge, in 1894. This particular Discharge relates to a relation of Slee, one Thomas Butler, an A.B. in the s.s. *Celyn* of Newport, where he was discharged after a month's foreign-going voyage. Also relating to Butler is a *Certificate of Discharge from the Royal Naval Reserve Force* in 1904, when he was rated as Trained Man First Class in R.N.R. Butler had served in the R.N.R. from 1892 to 1904 which would have qualified him for a gratuity of at least £50, in addition to the small retaining fee paid every quarter. Many merchant seamen from Bideford, Braunton and Appledore were R.N.R. men and the money they earned serving with it was a welcome supplement to their low wages in the coasting trade. (see W.J. Slade, *Out of Appledore*, 1959, page 21, for the importance of the R.N.R. to the local economy.)

There are five more *Certificates of Discharge for Seamen not discharged before a Superintendent*, i.e. seamen on Home Trade articles. They all relate to another relation of Slee's and cover his service in the local wooden ketches **Amazon**, **Maggie Annie**, **Bonita**, **Acacia** and **Olive Branch**.

The first evidence of Tom Slee's own seagoing career comes not from a "paper discharge" but from a picture postcard, postmarked June 25, 1910 on a halfpenny stamp. Posted at Bude this card shows a ketch rounding the breakwater of that port. Tom Slee was aboard the ketch **Clara May**, and he once told me that he could not get on with the Old Man. The postcard was addressed to his mother and really tells its own story — "Dear Mother, We are bound in over the Bar (i.e. Bideford Bar) so I shall not come home by train. I don't know why you telegraphed. I have got money. I am supposed to give 24 hours notice, and as I have begun another voyage I have got to finish. We are not likely to get out for a couple of days. Send paper next post after you get this. Tom"

He must have left the **Clara May** very quickly for on June 28 he signed on as O.S. aboard the schooner **Result** (S.J. Inledon, Master). His *Certificate of*



The Barnstaple schooner **Result** in which Tom Slee sailed to Antwerp in 1911, is today preserved by the Ulster Folk Museum in Belfast. From a watercolour by the Cornish marine painter Reuben Chapple.



The ketch **Bessie Ellen** of Barnstaple was among the vessels in which Tom Slee served. The **Bessie Ellen** here seen leaving Douglas I.O.M. was built by W.S. Kelly at Mount Batten, Plymouth in 1907. She still survives in Denmark, where she is being restored to her original condition.

Discharge shows that he remained there for 12 months. Another *picture postcard* of a ketch leaving Solva harbour, Pembrokeshire, is addressed to his sister in Braunton dated February 11, 1911 — "Schooner **Result**, Solva, Pem. Dear Min, We are ready to sail, I don't think we shall go yet. It's turning very dirty. Hope you are well, Tom"

After leaving the **Result** Tom Slee joined the ketch **Amazon** (James Watts, Master) for a trip from Fremington with clay for the pottery at Truro. A *picture postcard* of Falmouth Harbour with shipping, dated July 9, 1911, was addressed to another sister — "Ketch **Amazon**, Falmouth Harbour. Dear Sue, We are towing up to Truro this afternoon. Did you begin to wonder where we were to so long? Did have hardly an air of wind all the time."

In December, 1911 Slee signed on as A.B. aboard the local ketch **Sultan** (C. Chugg, Master), remaining there until February, 1913 (*Certificate of Discharge*). In April, 1913 he was serving in the ketch **Bessie Ellen** at Poole where the usual *picture postcard* home took up the story — "Ketch **Bessie Ellen**, Poole, 24 April, 1913. Dear Sue. We have finished discharging today and will tow down tomorrow morning to load clay. We are going to London to load manure for Barnstaple. It has turned in a very wet evening. If it is fine Saturday we shall sail right away. We have to be in London by the 1st of May to put the clay in a steamboat, else wait for 20 days for another boat if we are not in time." His *Certificate of Discharge* shows that Slee had joined the **Bessie Ellen** (J. Chugg, Master) as A.B. on March 10, 1913 and was discharged at Maldon on August 9, 1913. His next move was fairly typical among these small-ship sailors. After a few weeks at home Slee went to Newport and with his handful of paper discharges from what at that time was called "a good class of vessel", he went deepwater in a steamboat, signing on the s.s. **Elstree Grange** of London as A.B. on a voyage to the River Plate, signing off at Poplar on April 20, 1914. After a few days at home Slee went to Newport again, where on May 12 he signed on the s.s. **Lorca** of London as sailor, on a voyage to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, paying off at South Shields on September 20 (*Continuous Certificate of Discharge* No. 773082, usually referred to as a Discharge Book).

Now comes a minor mystery. From September 20, 1914 to August 8, 1918 there is a complete absence of documentation. On the second date he was issued with a *Carte d'Identite* by the Police de la Navigation at Cherbourg. On this document complete with photograph and finger prints, Slee is described as *ze capitaine* (mate) of the **Bessie Clark** -voilier anglais. The **Bessie Clark** was registered at Barnstaple, and an enquiry to the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen elicited the information that Tom Slee had signed on aboard the **Bessie Clark** on January 1, 1918, being discharged on February 18 of that year with the rank of mate. He was in the **Bessie Clark** on July 6, 1918, and finally left her on December 31, 1918. When he first joined the **Bessie Clark** in January, 1918 he gave the ketch **Bonita** as his previous ship. The Registrar General informed me that Slee served in her as mate from January 1 to June 30, 1917. When he joined her he gave the **Bonita** as his last ship, but a search of the **Bonita's** Crew Lists for 1914, 1915 and 1916 failed to discover his name. Where was he between September, 1914 and January, 1917? And for that matter during the second half of 1917? It may or may not be significant that when he joined the **Bessie Clark** in



Discharging gravel — Redcliff Wharf, Bristol, 1926. 70 tons in 6 hours. T. Slee filling mawn baskets. Claude Chugg at winch.



The Crowd at Vellator Quay led by Tom Slee demolishing the buildings.

1918 he gave his age as 30 instead of 28 as he was in fact.

A slight clue exists among his papers. Like many coastwise mariners and fishermen at that date, Slee belonged to the Shipwrecked Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society. He kept his yearly *Member's Tickets* over the whole period he was at sea from 1910 to 1929, paying his subscription regularly every year. Only once does he ever appear to have made a claim against the Society. The Claim form is missing from his Member's Ticket for 1916, which indicates that he probably made a claim sometime in 1916 for loss of clothes and gear. It is reasonable to assume that he had in that year been in a vessel either wrecked or sunk by enemy action. Slee had been a member of the Society since 1910 and could have claimed £2 relief plus £2 Supplementary Fund Grant. This still does not tell us the name of any vessel he was in between September, 1914 and January, 1917.

From February, 1919 to March, 1922 Slee was mate of the Braunton ketch *Kitty Ann* (Ernest Chugg, Master). She was an ancient craft built at Appledore in 1856 as a polacca brigantine. By 1922 she was fitted with a 25 h.p. engine (*Certificate of Discharge*).

At the end of 1922 Tom Slee took his first steps into ownership. There are three *Bills of Sale*. By the first James Lamey of Newport sold 16/64ths in the s.v. *Ann* of Salcombe to Thomas Arthur Slee, mariner, for £112 10s. By the second, Amelia Lamey, widow, of Appledore, sold 16/64ths in the same vessel to Thomas Arthur Slee for a similar sum. Thus Slee owned a half of the shares in the *Ann*, the other 32/64ths being owned by Claude Chugg of Braunton. Slee worked the *Ann* along the North Devon Coast with cargoes of Welsh coal. He accumulated enough capital to buy out Chugg in 1929 for £200. By the time that Tom became sole owner of the *Ann* she was an auxiliary vessel with a 15 b.h.p. engine.

In 1929 things were becoming bad for small coasting vessels, and no doubt Claude Chugg congratulated himself on getting rid of his share in an elderly and increasingly expensive vessel. Tom Slee however was only following the instinctive ploy of the countryman to buy at the bottom of the market, in the expectation that things could only improve.

An *Insurance Policy* with the Braunton Shipowners' Mutual Insurance Association has the *Ann*, Capt. T. Slee, insured for £250 from June, 1930 to June, 1931. There are a few other documents relating to the Association — a receipt from the Secretary, June, 1931 for a Quarterly Contribution on £250 at 3% per annum, £1 7s. 6d.; a Yearly Call — as per call sheet £2 7s. 0d. and Quarterly Call in arrears £3 10s. 6d. Total £5 17s. 6d. The Quarterly Call for the *Ann* was calculated as one shilling per ton on 47 tons, totalling £3 10s. 6d.

There are various *bills* of the type a small shipowner might be expected to have to deal with. £3 1s. 1d. for paint and oil, £14 2s. 8d. to William Braund, the local sailmaker, £39 6s. 0d. to the New Quay Drydock at Appledore. There is also a very detailed account for £19 10s. 1d. to W.H. Bray of the Vellator Saw Mills, Braunton, who described himself on his billhead as "wheelright, joiner and undertaker, ship repairer and boat builder".

In October, 1930 Tom Slee gave up sailing the *Ann* and set up as a Coal, Coke and Firewood Merchant. He put R. Parkhouse in as master, followed by George Coates in 1932. From October, 1930 to August, 1933 Tom Slee kept a careful *Cargo List*, which gives a detailed view of her work at that time. During the period covered by the list the *Ann* made 126 passages, on 76 of which cargo was carried, the remainder being light. With the exception of a few sand or gravel cargoes from Braunton to Gloucester, all the cargoes were of coal from Lydney, Burry Port, Sharpness or Swansea. These cargoes were unloaded at Braunton, Ilfracombe, Porlock or Minehead. There is no evidence as to the profitability of the *Ann*, but the early 1930s were bad years for small coasters and many of the Braunton vessels were laid up in Braunton Pill. On August 5, 1933 the *Ann* took a cargo from Sharpness to Porlock. She left Porlock on August 14 and arrived in Braunton Pill on August 16. Tom Slee wrote the words "Layed up" at the end of the cargo list. The *Ann* joined the other local vessels moored in the Pill. Slee's career as a shipmaster was ended.

There is a postscript covered by two *newspaper cuttings* and two *picture postcards*. A cutting from the *North Devon Herald*, dated November 22, 1931 reported "Unprecedented Scenes at Braunton" and described the happenings at Vellator Quay the previous Sunday afternoon. A crowd of some 500 people assembled at the quay as the *Ann*, Capt. R. Parkhouse, arrived with a coal cargo from South Wales. As she approached the quay some half a dozen men including Tom Slee, removed a recently built galvanised iron shed, wire fences and posts, all of which they alleged obstructed the proper mooring of the *Ann* or any other vessels. The newspaper account makes it plain that this was an orderly, pre-arranged demonstration by men who felt that their immemorial rights of mooring were threatened. The sequel is described in a cutting from the *North Devon Herald* of July 2, 1932 which reported the case in the Barnstaple County



Court when Wm. Isaacs and Son of Braunton sued R. Parkhouse, T.A. Slee, Wm. Mullen, Stanley Rogers and W.H. Mitchell, all mariners of Braunton, for damages resulting from the above actions. It was stated that the costs of the defence were paid for by the Braunton Shipowners' Mutual Insurance Association. The third cutting dated August 25 stated that a verdict was given in favour of the defendants.

Tom Slee renamed the thatched cottage in South Street in which he had been born and where he was to die 'The Mooring Post', I have no doubt from my conversations with him that he thoroughly enjoyed his part in the Braunton Quay Dispute, as it was called, just as in the last decade of his life he enjoyed his successful fight to prevent the closure of the road across Braunton Burrows. There remain the two picture postcards. One shows the crowd at Vellator Quay on that November day in 1931 with the *Ann* arriving and the crowd attacking the obstructions. The second card is a close-up of the *Ann*. Along the outside of her port side from the bows to the mizzen rigging is painted in neat letters, 18 inches high the Latin tag — *Dulce est desipere in loco* — Sweet it is to play the fool on the right occasion. Not a bad note on which to close this summary of a North Devon mariner's papers.

CONFERENCES

The 1977 Autumn conference was held at Queen Elizabeth Community College, Crediton, on Saturday, 5th October. The morning speaker was Michael Aston who gave an interesting illustrated talk on "Fieldwork parish surveys and the landscape". The article on aerial photography in the present number was partly written as a result of this talk. In the afternoon there was a panel meeting largely concerned with the history of Crediton and the forthcoming celebration of St. Boniface born in Crediton thirteen hundred years ago or so. This will be an 'international' event. Some seventy members attended the conference.

The Spring Conference of 1978 was held at Newton Abbot on Saturday, 11th March. David St. John Thomas, Director of David and Charles, spoke on "Railways in Devon" in the morning and there was a panel on the "Fight for Monuments in Devon" in the afternoon. In all about eighty people attended.

The A.G.M. of the S.C.D.H. will be held at Exeter on 13th May. The morning speaker will be Crispin Gill, Editor of the *Countryman* and for a long time associated with the *Western Morning News*, and author of books on Devonshire subjects. He will speak on "Devon Turnpikes". Our next President, W. Best Harris, will take the Chair. Mrs. Sheila Stirling is to be the new Editor of the *Devon Historian* as from the A.G.M. She is Librarian at the Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter.

The Autumn Conference will take place at Torrington on 11th November, and the Spring Conference at Cullompton on 3rd March.

MORETONHAMPSTEAD AND DISTRICT MUSEUM AND LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

R.O. Heath and F.K. Theobald

On 26th February, 1965 nine people met in the house of a Mrs. Johnson, a local Estate Agent and formally inaugurated the Moretonhampstead and District Local History Group. Only one further meeting was held that year when five of the original nine were present with two new recruits. From small beginnings

Mrs. Johnson was the Chairman and meetings were soon big enough to justify a move to the local library. Since these early days the programme has settled down to regular monthly meetings with eight local or guest speakers. The Annual General Meeting, at least two summer walkabouts and other visits. Meetings in the earlier years seldom exceeded 18 but in 1969 there was a considerable upsurge in membership and the small room then available in the Library became too small and necessitated a move to the local Freemasons Hall. Most lectures now attract 40 or more members with over 50 on special occasions. Annual dinners are held and the 1977 dinner was so popular that no hostelry in the town could accommodate the numbers and the venue was moved to Steps Bridge Hotel. Out of a membership of 77 (over 5% of the population) 60 'historians' and 5 guests sat down to dinner. The Guests included Ian Mercer, the Dartmoor National Park Officer, and Robin Stanes, the Editor of this journal.

So much for statistics — but what of the Society's achievements? In 1967 the word 'Museum' was incorporated in the title. The Society does not have a museum, as such, but it was decided that it would be better to make a special effort once a year (during, say, the Village Carnival Week) and hold an exhibition of historic interest. This ambition was helped considerably by Devon County Council offering the Society the sole use of a large former billiard room over the Moretonhampstead Library. This room is just large enough for meetings provided members do not increase much beyond the present level but not for a permanent museum as well. Two of the exhibitions have now been held with considerable success. Items displayed have been flints to photographs, butter pats, uniforms, dresses, paperweights, spinning, weaving, Honiton lace-making, deeds and documents, a very gruesome collection of surgical instruments and many other items connected with the past of the village. In this current year the exhibition will concentrate on dresses and uniforms together with connected items such as shoes, handbags, lace, etc.

What about our achievements regarding our own local history? Lectures are not solely concerned with Moreton's past history. Guest speakers cover a wide range of subjects — The County Archives, Exeter Cathedral, Railways of Devon, Barometers, Dartmoor Prison, Folklore, Roman Excavations in Exeter and so forth. Expeditions have been made to various sites on Dartmoor, to historic buildings in Exeter and elsewhere including Powderham Castle, the home of our Manorial Lords for half a millenium. Apart from their entertain-

ment value, this wider range of lectures and expeditions provides an indispensable background knowledge which is so essential to a proper understanding of Moreton's place in the history of this part of Devonshire. Moreton DID have a place in that history, a fact which is being brought out more and more by our own indigenous lecturers. The Society does not lack local talent!

First and foremost there is Mrs. E.R. Leadbetter a founder member and Chairman from 1968 to 1976, and now Life President. Apart from her wide knowledge of local affairs, she can claim to be an authority on the murder of Jonathan May in 1835, a local 'cause célèbre' which ultimately became a matter of national concern. George Friend, our Parish Clerk, who joined the Society in 1966, Vice-Chairman for 8 years and an acknowledged authority on matters Moretonian, has a vast store of information and an historic collection of early photographs including one depicting the devastation in Cross Street after the disastrous fire of 1845. Mr. Friend can always command a full house, and one day we hope he will find time to complete the book which has occupied his few spare moments for many past years. Virginia Sandon has been a member since 1965. She is an authority on prehistory, who includes among her many talents an ability to translate the abbreviated Latin of ancient documents. Nick Sandon, who reads those documents as fluently as a child's story book, is also a member.

There are others who have made a special study of various aspects of local history, industries, the 1840 Tithe Map, deeds of local properties, and such; and 1977 has seen the writings of two of our members appear in print. The first to be published was 'Walks in the Dartmoor National Park — No. 1 — from Moretonhampstead, Manaton, and Lustleigh', produced in the Dartmoor National Park Department by Elizabeth Prince who is one of our younger members and our Booking Secretary. The style and content of this booklet surely heralds much more to come from the same pen. More directly concerned with our town is 'Sparrowhawk. The Story of Moretonhampstead' by R.O. Heath, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

With all the foregoing activities, enthusiasm and effort has anything really been achieved? Has anything been discovered that was previously unknown? Do local history societies like this still have a part to play in this last quarter of the 20th century?

As far as Moreton is concerned the answer to all three questions is a resounding 'yes'. Our success as a Society is self-evident, and is a clear indication that we are adding something to the quality of life in our community. Discoveries in the strict sense of the word have not been made, little has been uncovered that had not previously been recorded in standard reference books or scattered in odd sentences throughout numerous publications and manuscripts; but in the wider sense we have certainly 'discovered' that Moreton does have a history, a fact which has so far not been recognised. And much still remains to be uncovered about this 'factious place called Moreton', which in itself is a sufficient reason for the existence of any 'amateur' local history society. Success and long life to all such Societies!

The future? A full programme has been planned for over a year ahead. The first lecture this year was on the Geology of Dartmoor by Ian Mercer of the Dartmoor National Park Committee. Other well known lecturers have been booked and a Spring visit has been arranged to the newly opened National Trust house at Killerton.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING IN DEVON BEFORE 1770

Stanley D. Chapman

The characteristics of industrial housing before 1770 can be discerned from the work of students of vernacular architecture, urban history, capital formation and other specialisms. Part of the growing population was accommodated by dividing and overcrowding existing houses, part by the infilling of burgage plots with a variety of workshops, tenements and a clutter of other small buildings. Studies of particular towns have shown that the street frontages of the main thoroughfares were occupied by the late middle ages. Urban houses occupied narrow frontages but the plots were deep so that extensions to the rear were not only the most obvious growth point but in most cases the only direction in which new development could take place. The process of accretion of small buildings might begin with a separate kitchen and proceed by additions of a washhouse, coalhouse, brewhouse, stable, workshops and sometimes tenements, the whole forming a yard or court in which domestic, farm and industrial buildings were mingled together as tradition and need dictated¹.

In these situations it was a common practice to change and adapt buildings to different uses as the occupation of the owner (or tenant) changed or trade prospered or declined. The practice was especially common through the eighteenth century because multiple occupations were common, especially where the local market was restricted or where (as in the case of the textile industries) the market for the product was volatile because of sudden shifts in fashion or overseas demand. Consequently, a small tradesman would very frequently be a clothier and maltster, or sergemaker and shopkeeper, or an innkeeper and woolman, shifting the emphasis of his interests and the use of his property from one employment to another as trade dictated. The use of inns and inn yards for a variety of trading activities also led to the building of more or less permanent lodgings and storerooms whose use also shifted with the winds of trade. The earliest, and for long the most extensive industrial housing, was to be found in these busy yards and clutter of industrial and commercial building².

Local variations will no doubt appear in profusion as the historians' reconstruction of the pattern of urban growth takes its patient and plodding course. For the present purpose it is probably sufficient to acknowledge the inevitable existence of local variations and mention two that are particularly relevant to the present study. The width of street frontages does not appear to have been standardised anywhere but surviving buildings suggest that they were typically wider in some towns than others. Considerable differences can be found within one county; for instance in Devon the frontages in Exeter, Crediton and Cullompton are wider than those in Totnes. The consequence was that burgage plot development could be not only L-shaped but also U-shaped and so grow into an enclosed court. There is ample evidence of this development in the Devon serge making towns in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Another interesting local variation is the conversion of out-buildings (including workers' tenements and agricultural buildings) from one use to

another, as owners shifted the emphasis of their interests or the property changed hands. In Devon, the open-fronted cattle stalls known as linhays (or linneys) were sometimes used as spinning 'galleries' or (as 'chain linneys') for 'warping the chains' -- that is, preparing the yarn for the looms³. In Scotland, at the same period, a flax mill converted from a square of tenements is recorded and other conversions from domestic to industrial use and vice versa can be found scattered through the records⁴.

Taking Britain as a whole, the most complete record of the development of these innumerable 'back yard' industrial communities is to be found among the voluminous records of the early insurance companies⁵. The insurance policies of the larger urban property owners give a vivid picture of the tangle of industrial, domestic and retail property that was spreading rapidly in some of the industrial towns at the period. A more detailed analysis of early industrial housing demands that the policies of one region be brought into closer focus. Devon has been chosen for this purpose for two distinct reasons. Its eighteenth-century importance as an industrial county is beyond question; Defoe described it as a county 'so full of great towns, and those towns so full of people, and those people so universally employed in trade and manufactures, that not only it cannot be equalled in England, but perhaps not in Europe'. The Devon serge industry was more or less static through the eighteenth century but was not extinguished until the rapid rise of the cotton industry in the 1790s. The other reason for the choice of Devon is the purely practical one that the early appearance of the practice of fire insurance in the county has resulted in a long series of inventories of industrial property for which there is no equal in any other county or other set of archives. For the period 1750-70 there are policies for more than 400 firms situated in over sixty towns and villages in the Devon textile industry and these have been combed for information on workers' housing⁶.

The impression gained from the large number of insurance policies available for Devon is that, before 1770, when there were still plenty of open spaces to be filled up, most of the accommodation for workers was being provided in the growing number of yards and courts. The policies do not always state the number of tenements and sometimes the valuations group a number of domestic and industrial buildings together. However, the majority give more precise information and an analysis of the average valuations of tenements listed in textile entrepreneurs' policies is set out in Table 1. The data must be interpreted by reference to valuations of other kinds of property. A stable was usually valued at £10 at the period and a small barn of the kind that would stand in a yard, the same sum. A tenement valued in the first category (up to £9) implies something inferior to a stable, in the second category (£10-£19) suggests a one-roomed dwelling slightly more comfortable than a stable, perhaps with a loft for sleeping, while the third category (£20-£29) would suggest a rudimentary two-roomed dwelling. Nearly 80 per cent of the houses in the table fall into these descriptions.

These inferences are consistent with what we know of working-class housing in other parts of England at the time. Thus Rimmer writes of the earliest courts of Leeds that :

The smallest, cheapest accommodation consisted of 'one low room' ranging from three to six yards square, built over stables or tucked away at the back of a yard. These single rooms were rented for 4d. a week, mostly to impoverished widows and spinsters.... Cottages occupied by working class families with four or five people usually had two rooms, a living room with a sleeping chamber above. On the whole these rooms measured 14 feet each way, and their rent was 6d. a week. For 9d. a week an artisan could rent a slightly larger cottage with rooms 20 feet square. These variations in size and rent meant a great deal in terms of physical comfort and status to those who passed their lives inside their walls. But taking one place with another, working men rented houses of one or two rooms with a floor space between the extremes of nine and thirty-six square yards⁷.

TABLE 1. Insurance Valuation of Tenements attached to Devon Textile Entrepreneurs' Property, 1750-1770

Average value of tenements	No. of tenements	
Up to £9	14	} 373
£10-19	226	
£20-29	133	
£30-39	56	
£40-49	7	
£50-59	20	
£60-69	14	
£70-79	2	
£80-89	1	
£90-99	0	
£100+	10	
	<u>483</u>	

Source : Sun Fire Office Registers, Guildhall Library, London.

Moving to the other side of the Pennines, it is not difficult to find evidence for a similar kind of property at the period. At Oldham, it was said that 'The cottages of the working population were mostly formed of mis-shapen stone and rude pieces of timber plastered over with clay and thatched with straw -- they were generally one storey, the sleeping apartment being mostly a separate room on the ground floor. Both compartments were open to the roof (i.e. lacked ceilings), and but ill-supplied with light or air....'⁸ In the industrial Midlands at the middle of the eighteenth century the same primitive standard is evident. Reinhold Angerstein, a Swede who was visiting Wolverhampton in 1753, noted in his journal :

Toward evening I took a walk in the town, which has a diameter of about one English mile as is provided with a goodly number of well-built houses of brick. On the outskirts of the town, where most of the artisans live, there are also many wretched hovels, which clearly show that also in this place the worker is left with the bones while the merchant takes the meat for himself⁹.

The plates included in Deering's *Nottingham Vetus et Nova* (1751) convey a very similar impression of the centre of the framework knitting industry. They illustrate a kind of dwelling that must have been all too familiar at the time -- a one-roomed shanty that was dark, damp, draughty and desperately overcrowded.

These fragments of evidence are too few to constitute a total picture, but they are at least consistent. The Devon data serves to caution us about sweeping generalisations but it seems safe to conclude that, before 1770, industrial

housing in England was much like that of artisans and the 'labouring poor' generally and that in most cases it was no better than much of that found on the margins of towns in underdeveloped countries of the world today.

REFERENCES

- 1 There is at present no general study of the history of urban housing before c.1750 but a number of well-researched local studies suggest the main lines of development, e.g. Vanessa Parker, *The making of Kings Lynn* (1971); Derek Portman, *Exeter houses 1400-1700* (1966); Alan Everitt, ed. *Perspectives in English urban history* (1973) Chapter 3, and Maurice W. Beresford, 'The back-to-back house in Leeds' in Stanley D. Chapman, ed. *History of working class housing* (1971).
- 2 Stanley D. Chapman, 'Industrial capital before the Industrial Revolution' in Negley B. Harte and Kenneth G. Ponting, ed. *Textile history and economic history* (Manchester, 1973).
- 3 Stanley D. Chapman, ed. *The Devon cloth industry in the 18th century* (Devon & Cornwall Record Society, new series, XXIII, 1978).
- 4 Sun Fire Office registers, 221/322912 (1773), John Wemyss of Dundee, Guildhall Library, London.
- 5 Christopher W. Chalklin, *The provincial towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process 1740-1820* (1974) demonstrates the value of title-deeds but for the period before C.1780 fire office registers appear to be a more prolific and easily accessible source of information. The main series available are those of the Sun Fire Office, Hand-in-Hand, and Royal Exchange companies: see Hugh A.L. Cockerell and Edwin Green, *The British insurance business, 1547-1970: an introduction.... to historical records* (1976).
- 6 Chapman, *Devon cloth industry*, esp. the introduction.
- 7 William G. Rimmer, 'Working men's cottages in Leeds, 1770-1840', *Thoresby Society*, XLVI (1963) 179-80.
- 8 Edwin Butterworth, *Historical sketches of Oldham* (1849) p.107.
- 9 *Journals of Reinhold Angerstein*, trans. and ed. by Torsten Berg (Camden Society, forthcoming).

[This article forms part of a larger article 'Workers' housing in the cotton factory colonies, 1770-1850' and is reprinted from *Textile History*, VII (1976) by kind permission of the author and editor.]

STAUNTON — A DESERTED SOUTH HAMS VILLAGE

Christian Michell and Margaret Common

Staunton or Stanton lies about two miles north east of the village of Loddiswell in the South Hams. Early topographical writers spoke of the parish of Loddiswell as being composed of two villages, Staunton and Loddiswell. Today apart from a fairly recent bungalow and a cottage all that remains of Staunton are broken pieces of walling almost lost in the undergrowth, occasional garden plants are a poignant reminder of the inhabitants of the past.

The first reference to Staunton is in the thirteenth century. From then on until the end of the last century there is documentary evidence to show that there was a settlement of some size at Staunton. In 1262 the Lordship of Loddiswell was in the hands of Eva de Cantilupe. She gave, in her widowhood, 100 shillings of land in her Manor of Loddiswell to the Church of St. Mary Studley, in Warwickshire, and to the Canons there, for the soul of her husband William. Amongst other names mentioned were Edith de Staunton and Martin de Staunton who held a furling of land each. The moor of Staunton is also mentioned. (This is probably the Blackwell and Blackpool of the Sorley Charter of 992 whose bounds as determined by Professor Finberg run close to Staunton.) The Devonshire Lay Subsidy of 1332 adds something to this, since it states that Joan de Staunton was a taxpayer at that date.

Nothing more can be discovered about Staunton until after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when in 1557, Katherine Champernowne, widow, late the wife of Philip Champernowne, and Arthur Champernowne together received a grant of lands in Webbeton in Loddiswell. These lands are named as 'late of Studley Priory, Co. Warwick.' A list of lands includes "Staunton Moor and all other places belonging to the same, with a messuage, a furlong and a parcel of moor in the lordship of Loddiswell in the tenure of John Scoos the younger, and a yearly rent of 14s. paid for the commons called Staunton Moor".

Further details are provided by a survey of Loddiswell of 1602/3 done for the Arundells of Lanherne, who were then Lords of the Manor of Loddiswell. This included parts of Staunton. Amongst the freeholders was "Helen Carswell widow, who holdeth certain lands in free socage and payeth to the Lord 1s. and two suits of court" for her lands in Staunton. The customary tenants included John Cawker who "holdeth, by copy, a tenement and one furlong of land there by rent of 18s. 6d." In addition, he occupied part of the moor called Stonlands. Symon Dery had "a tenement at Staunton containing one furling by rent of 26s. 11d. and pasture for one beast in Stonland". Stonland may be another name for Staunton moor, the name Staunton or Stanton probably meaning the "farm built of stone" or the "farm in a stony place". The map clearly shows Stonland Moor.

Staunton appears to have passed next to the Carews, since a survey made for them of "Staunton moores" in 1676 speaks of eight people paying rent. In 1683 a survey of Webbeton manor speaks of it as "now in the hands of Sir John Carew".

By the middle of the eighteenth century Staunton had apparently no less than 26 houses. This is recorded in Dean Milles enquiry of about 1754. Loddiswell was only twice the size with 50 houses.

Staunton seems to have begun its decline from that time onwards. The census returns of 1841, 1851 and 1861 reveal that there were then only 12 houses there in which 66 people lived in 1841, but only 54 in 1861. The Tithe Map of 1839 reveals Staunton as it was then. What may be 12 houses are clearly identifiable, though only eight are stated to be houses. It is possible to see where other houses may once have been; possibly in 742, 737, 797, 796 and less clearly in 778 and 759. No. 764 was a farm house belonging to Servington Penney and in it lived 5 people. That house has quite disappeared but on its site is a new bungalow. Benjamin Bond, who farmed 100 acres, lived at 766 and 767 and his household consisted of twelve people. All this has gone except the southern wall and a barn was made on this site in 1870. The Keepers cottage at 783 has gone completely, as have 784 and 779 and what was a house at 794 is now another barn. The only remaining old cottage is 768 which is still occupied. There are remains of walls 4 to 7 feet high and under the present surface of 760 and 761 are foundations.

However, despite its decline in size from the time of the Milles survey, it seems that Staunton was still a thriving community. In 1846 a Bible Christian Chapel was built at Staunton. This stood in the north east corner of 743. It was built by the Peek family of Hazelwood in Loddiswell and it had seating for 117. There were already two places of worship in Loddiswell village and another Bible Christian Chapel had been built at Hazelwood a year earlier, also presumably at the expense of the Peeks. The Ecclesiastical census of 1851 gave the average afternoon attendance at Staunton Chapel as 50 adults and 60 in the evening. The Sunday attendance averaged 34. No doubt most of these people did not live at Staunton, but the figures are impressive. However as the century went on the attendance dwindled and in 1897 Kelly's Directory recorded that the Chapel "was very irregularly used". It was pulled down before 1914 and the stones reused. At the time of the building of the Chapel there was a mine being worked at Blackdown, close to where the old "motte and bailey" of Loddiswell Rings is. This was partly financed by local people. In 1847 it was raising lead ore but it closed down before 1850. White's Directory of 1851 refers to a copper mine opened in 1826. This closure may have made some small contribution to the depopulating of Staunton but the village at other times seems to have been agricultural. At any rate by 1906 there was just one house standing, inhabited by a gamekeeper but he too departed in 1918. Now, as has been described, there are two houses, where once there was a flourishing village of 26 or more.

It is not easy to explain what caused this decline and eventual disappearance. Traditionally Staunton was not healthy. It was surrounded by boggy ground. The late Mrs. Florence Rundle of Loddiswell said that when she was a girl, nearly a hundred years ago, she was warned not to go to Staunton Moor for there was disease there.

During the time which is described in the Parish registers as the "Plague time, anno 1590" about one in eight of the population died of the plague between

March and September. Amongst those who died were members of the Wyet, Pytt and Cooke family, some of whom are known to have lived at some time at Staunton. About one third of those who died came from these families. Thirty years later the Phillips family of Staunton suffered very regular losses. In 1621 William the son and Marie the daughter of John Phillips died. In April 1628 John Phillips and his daughter Margaret both died and another son in July and yet another member of the family a little later. It has been suggested that these deaths were caused by typhus originally brought back by soldiers from Buckingham's expeditions who landed at Plymouth and Dartmouth. Loddiswell register records the deaths of two soldiers in 1625, who do not seem to have been local men. But the gap between 1625 and 1628 seems rather long for that*.

There is another possible reason for the decline of Staunton. Until 1893 it was much less isolated than it is. Three times a day a coach passed Blackdown from Kingsbridge for Wrangaton, where trains could be boarded. Alternatively, in the same way Kingsbridge could be visited. It was one mile from Staunton to the coach road and Staunton was better served by public transport than Loddiswell is today. However, in 1893 the Kingsbridge-Brent railway was opened, the coaches stopped and Staunton's communications were cut. By this time the Chapel was little used, the school (now compulsory) was two miles away and farm work demanded fewer men perhaps. By the beginning of this century Staunton had virtually gone. Devon has apparently few deserted villages, in comparison to other counties. Here is one whose history may very well be matched by other similar sites in the county, so far unrecognised.

* **Editors Note.** If Staunton was boggy, this sickliness may have been caused by some form of malaria. The Milles enquiry records that health improved very largely at Seaton and Powderham after the draining of the marshes there. The "Ague" disappeared. Tertiary and quartan ague which frequently occurred in seventeenth century England, seem to have been some form of malaria. Those suffering from endemic malaria may have offered less resistance to other diseases.

Walter E. Minchinton

Air photographs can help the local historian in a number of ways — in identifying sites, in investigating crop patterns, in analysing town developments and in other ways.

There are three types of sources on which historians in Devon can draw to obtain aerial photographs which can be of two types : (a) vertical, taken at right angles to the ground, and (b) oblique so that shadows can be used to aid identification of sites.

(a) **Vertical air photographs** (available in public repositories)

1. The West Country Studies Library, Exeter Library, Castle Street. Has oblique photographs covering east Devon area taken mostly by Aerofilms Ltd. during the past fifteen years; also 8 in. square black and white oblique photographs of Exeter and other major Devon towns. They can be consulted during office hours.
2. County Planning Office, County Hall, Topsham Road, Exeter. Has a complete set (stereo cover) for Devon of black and white RAF vertical photographs taken mainly in 1947 (scale 1:10560). Viewing by application during office hours.
3. Dartmoor National Park, County Hall, Topsham Road, Exeter. Telephone Exeter 77977, extension 714 (Mrs. Christine White). The Dartmoor National Park Authority has colour air photographs made in 1969 of the open moor only, not fringes (scale 1:10,000); colour air photographs made in 1975 of the whole moor (not stereo cover, scale 1:10,000); black and white air photographs made in 1975 of the whole moor (stereo cover, scale 1:24,000). They may be consulted by members of the public during office hours; it may save inconvenience to telephone first.
4. Air Photographs Unit, Department of the Environment, Thames House South, Millbank, London, S.W.1. Telephone 01-211 6216. Has a set of black and white RAF verticals taken 1945 onwards for the whole country; various scales. They will need grid reference and/or parish and area.

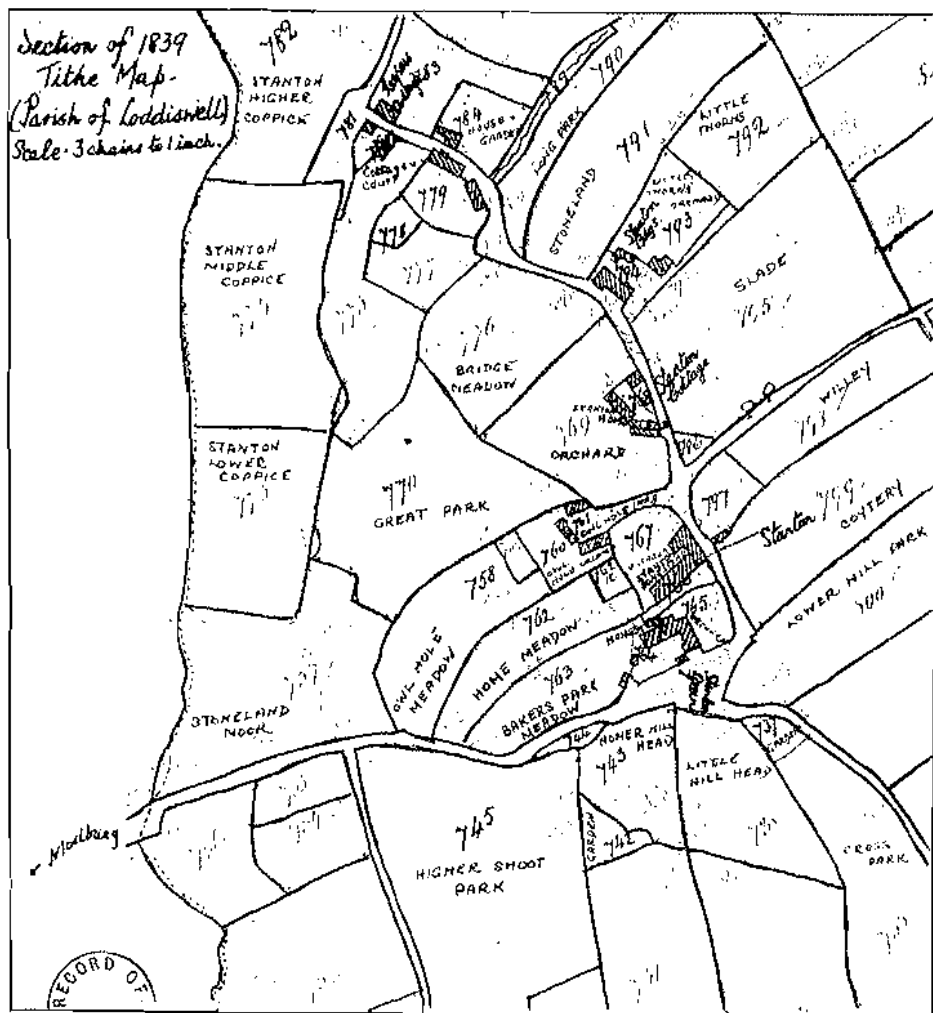
(b) **Vertical** (Plan/air photographs/commercial)

The three firms listed below stock a wide variety of air photographs. They generally need to be given the grid reference, approximate area and scale of photograph required. They tend to be expensive. The firms are :-

5. Fairey Surveys Ltd., Reform Road, Maidenhead, Berkshire.
6. Hunting Surveys Ltd., 6 Elstree Road, Boreham Wood, Herts.
7. Meridan Air Maps Ltd., Commerce Way, Lancing, Sussex.

(c) **Other photograph depositories :-**

Here there are three sources :-



8. Department of History, Archaeology Section, University of Exeter. The Section has a miscellaneous collection of air photographs built up largely for teaching purposes.

(i) Vertical photographs :-

RAF cover of areas of Dartmoor, particularly Horridge Common: taken in 1951, 1967, 1968.

Fairey Surveys Ltd; photographs of reservoir sites on Dartmoor: taken 1968.

(ii) Oblique photographs :-

Photographs of archaeological sites from the following sources : Cambridge University Collection, Aerofilms Ltd., Harold Wingham, Cheltenham Aero Club.

Though not normally available for use by the public, any person requiring access to the collection should apply in writing to Archaeology Section, Department of History, University of Exeter, Queen's Building, Exeter, EX4 4QH.

9. Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography --- Professor J.K.S. St. Joseph, Mond Building, Free School Lane, Cambridge, CB2 3RF.

Professor St. Joseph has a wide selection of air photographs mainly of earthworks and cropworks. He needs to be told parish and/or grid reference and/or site for which the photograph is required.

10. Air Photographs Unit, National Monuments Record --- Mr. J. Hampton, Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London, W1X 2AA. Mr. Hampton has a smaller collection, mainly of cropworks. He needs to be told the grid reference of kilometre grid square.

GARDEN EARTHWORKS

During landscaping in the 16th and 17th centuries garden earthworks were often erected, as at Low Ham and Hardington in Somerset. In some cases later landscaping may have removed them. Michael Aston who talked to the Standing Conference for Devon History at Crediton in November would welcome information --- including documentary evidence --- for gardens or ornamental parks with earthworks created between 1500 and 1700. Please write to him at the County Planning Department, County Hall, Somerset, TA1 4DY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF EXETER AND DEVON HISTORY, A SECOND LIST

Walter E. Minchinton

In *Devon Historian* 8 (April, 1974) a list of the various contributions made by members of the University of Exeter was published. Four years later it seems sensible to publish a second list bringing the position up-to-date. In order to make reference easy, this list follows the pattern of the previous one.

A. Publications of the History of Exeter Research Group

No further volumes were issued and the Group has now been dissolved.

B. Other publications of the University of Exeter on Devon History

Nicholas I. Orme, *Education in the west of England, 1066-1548* (1976)

Basil G. Skinner, *Henry Francis Lyte: Brixham's Poet and Priest* (1974)

C. Exeter Papers in Economic History

9. Walter Minchinton, ed. *Capital formation in the south-west* (1978)

10. Jeffrey Porter, ed. *Education and labour in the south-west* (1976)

11. Walter Minchinton, ed. *Population and marketing: two studies in the history of the south-west* (1976)

D. University of Exeter theses

(a) Geography

Graham J.N. Hawkins, *The origin and growth of the towns of Topsham and Tiverton*. MA, 1971

(b) History

Mrs. Mary P.D. Collison, *The Courtenay Cartulary from Powderham Castle, Devon*. Vols. I and II. MA, 1972

David J. Robotham, *Population change in Britain, 1600-1841, the example of Topsham*. Devon. MA, 1972

Roger R. Sellman, *Public elementary education in rural Devon, 1833-1903: the locality and the State*. PhD, 1973

(c) Sociology

Peter H.N. D'Abbs, *Rural depopulation and rural industrialisation: a case study of north Devon*. MA, 1976

Geoffrey S. Duncan, *Church and society in early-Victorian Torquay*. MA, 1972

E. **Local History Essays, Department of Economic History**

(i) **Various topics**

- Gillian M. Babb, Mount Gould: the building of a twentieth century church. 1975
- William Bakstad, New Tiverton turnpike. 1976
- Michael L.J. Beck and Michael C. Henman, A farm survey: a statistical analysis of groups of farms and farm incomes in the south west. 1975
- Michael J. Berthoud, The development of dairy farming in east Devon since the war. 1975
- Graham R. Blackburn, The coastal coal trade of Devon in the latter half of the nineteenth century. 1974
- Alex Blues, The Dartmoor blowing houses. 1974
- David J. Brindle, Brixham fishing trawlers — a statistical analysis of the crew lists 1880-1899. 1975
- John W. Brown, Disorder and discontent in Devon c.1830-1850. 1974
- Peter Butler, Silverton parish school to 1870. 1976
- Christopher C. Coughlin, Exeter hospital. 1976
- Timothy Cullen, The cinematograph halls of Devon. 1974
- Robert E. Day, The history of Mont-le-Grand. 1974
- Conrad H. Dixon, The Exeter whale fishery company. 1976
- Elizabeth A. Dufton, Judy A. Kynnersley, Robert M. McMillan and Elizabeth F. Ruse, Industrial housing in Devon. 1974
- Christine Edginton, A guide to industrial archaeology in Tiverton. 1974
- David Edwards, The bread riots in Exeter, 1854. 1974
- Richard W. Farr, The Trinitarian Controversy in Exeter and its economic and social aspects. 1976.
- Allen P. Gear, The pattern of land holdings in South Huish, south Devon, 1776-1842. 1976
- John M. Hailey, Devonshire landowners and industrial development 1780-1914. 1974
- Philip J. Hawkins, The history of Silverton since 1840. 1976
- Sean F. Holden, The poor law in Devon. 1976
- Christopher T. Hughes, An examination of provincial newspapers in Devon. 1975
- Diana James, The agricultural depression of Devon 1868-1895. 1974
- David Mark Jones, Exmouth water works. 1976
- Stephen M. Jones, The Devon brick industry in the twentieth century. 1975

- Michael Laizans, Devonshire marble: a look into the rise and decline of a small industry in south Devon. 1974
- Ian M. Lawrence, Devon population trends and developments, 1921-71. 1975
- Richard C.W. Lister, Woodland use in the Teign valley. 1974
- Mary McLeod, Exeter and Crediton navigation. 1974
- Nicholas Monteith, The 1871 census in Devon. 1974
- Stephen Mulberry, Shipwrecks around the Devonshire coast, 1850-99: a study. 1974
- Denzil P.J.W. Murray-Lee, The history of Lustleigh. 1976
- Ian A. Neil, The declining port: a study of Exeter as a port from 1860 to present day. 1975
- Timothy G. Norman, Mining at Mary Tavy — Wheal Friendship and Wheal Betsy. 1976
- Seamus D. O'Hea, The history of Bridford, 1801-1851. 1976
- David R. Oliver, Building and civil engineering disputes of August 1963 (with special reference to Devon). 1975
- Geraldine Paddon, Arsenic mining. 1976
- Michael Pardoe, Holiday trade in the south west (Torbay). 1975
- Deborah Potter, Tuberculosis in Exeter 1914-1955: a study. 1974
- Angela Randall, The role of Devon charities in the age of the welfare state. 1975
- Nicholas Revell, Holiday facilities Teignmouth — Sidmouth 1850-1914. 1975
- Susan J. Roberts, The Exeter Turnpike Trust. 1974
- Cheryl Rogers, The trade of Teignmouth port with specific reference to the periods 1880-1890 and 1900-1910. 1974
- Jonathan P. Sanderson, Airfields and air services in Devon and Cornwall. 1975.
- Paul J. Shevlin, Westcountry fishermen and the Barbary pirates in the later seventeenth century. 1976
- Simon Standish, Topsham and its shipbuilding industry 1700-1870. 1974
- Rhoda H. Stanford, Industrial history of east Devon. 1974
- Christine Taylor, Port of Exeter 1890-1914. 1976
- Jeremy Walford, A study of the Barnstaple gas works 1832-1920. 1976
- Caroline J. White, Banking in Exeter 1820-1835. 1974
- Anthony J. Williams, The cattle plague of 1865-1867 in Great Britain with specific reference to Devon. 1975

(ii) **Watermill Surveys**

Janet M. Mills, *Devon watermills, 1086-1850*, 1976

Judith P. Reed, *Devon watermills, 1850-1950*, 1976

F. **Exeter Papers in Industrial Archaeology**

5. Christine Edginton, *Fiverton's industrial archaeology: a guide* (1976)

6. John Kanefsky, *Devon Tollhouses* (1976)

7. Walter Minchinton, *Windmills of Devon* (1977)

PAPER IN DEVON by Jean Chitty. Exeter: the author, 1976, 72 pp., £1.00 (obtainable c/o Exeter Medical Library, Postgraduate Medical Centre, Barrack Road, Exeter, postage 19p).

During his lifetime, Dr. Alfred Shorter published a number of articles on papermaking in Devon. Building on his work, Miss Chitty, who is librarian of the Exeter Medical Library, now tells the story in greater detail. She begins by setting the history of the Devon paper industry in perspective, discussing first the origins of papermaking, the raw materials used (animal, mineral, plant and synthetic fibres), the papermakers themselves, including some consideration of the role of the trade societies and their wages, though not specifically related to Devon, and the processes involved in the manufacture. She then has two chronological chapters on the mills themselves. The earliest recorded paper mill in England was established in Hertfordshire in 1490 and the first Devon mill was not recorded until 1683 in Plymouth although paper may have been made at Countess Wear in 1638. In the eighteenth century a number of technological improvements were introduced and the industry expanded; by 1800 there were 79 paper mills in Devon and the peak figure of 41 mills was reached in 1820. From then on the number of mills in Devon fell for a variety of reasons: many were very small and became absorbed into others; the change from water-power to steam and the invention of the Fourdrinier machine increased capital requirements; while poor communications added to the cost of obtaining coal for the new machines and distributing the finished product. Some of the hazards of the industry are illustrated by three case studies: Kensham and Huxham Mills were destroyed by fire and the working life of Tuckenhay Mill was terminated by bankruptcy. Miss Chitty concludes her study with an account of the six mills which still operate in the county: Sheepstor Handmade Papers Ltd., Trews Weir Mill, Reed & Smith's mills at Cullompton and Silverton and Wiggins Teape's mills at Hele and Ivybridge. There are three appendices: a translation of the seventeenth-century Latin poem 'Papyrus', describing the process of papermaking; advice from Mr. J.S. Mill, manager of Wookey Hole Papermill 1870-96, to his son Frank who succeeded him as manager; and a diary of 'Events in 1875 at the Ivybridge' mill.

Celia King

INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF BRITAIN by Anthony Burton. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977. 160 pp., £5.50. ISBN 0 297 77373 9.

Spurred on by the success of his volume on *Remains of a revolution* (Andre Deutsch, 1975), Anthony Burton has now compiled a personal selection of sites which, to quote the blurb, he finds particularly exciting, which demonstrate some important point in the history of technology or which are simply beautiful. And in so doing, Mr. Burton takes the view that industrial archaeology covers the whole period of industrial activity and is not confined to an interest in the developments of the industrial revolution and since. After making this point, the rest of the book consists of a gazeteer by area — the South West, the South and East, the Midlands, the North, Scotland and Wales. Although OS map references are given, there are no maps and while some attempt is made to

describe the sites and to place them in the developing story of industrial history, the range of sites is limited and largely predictable. To Devon is allocated under three pages — Brunel's Saltash Bridge, Morwellham (which apparently is situated further down the Tamar!), the Tavistock Canal, Haytor granite tramway, the clapper bridge at Postbridge, Cleve Mill and the Finch Foundry at Sticklepath, the Newcomen engine at Dartmouth and the Exeter Canal — nine sites in total is all that there is space for! And none of the 58 black and white photographs by Clive Coote, which are not listed, deal with Devon. There seems little point in the appendix on transport systems and the kindest word to describe the bibliography is 'pathetic'. While it contains a number of attractive photographs, this is a book which neither advances discussion of the subject nor adequately serves as a guide to industrial archaeological sites in Britain.

Walter E. Minchinton

SPARROWHAWK: THE STORY OF MORETONHAMPSTEAD by R.O. Heath. 94 pp., photographs and plans, obtainable from Chairman of History Society, 19 Fore Street, Moretonhampstead.

The author's expressed intention is to 'put Moreton back on the map as a town of some historic interest', particularly since successive disastrous fires have left so little of visible antiquity besides the church and the famous almshouse. His interest, and the great majority of his text, is in the mediaeval period, drawing on charters, close rolls, and court records for a surprisingly full account of manorial and legal (and illegal) business of the Middle Ages as a background to the development of the market town, 'borough', and woollen centre. Later records are unfortunately neglected, though the parish registers, at least, are of considerable interest (and a separate Presbyterian register survives from the 1670s), and diocesan records show striking evidence for local Dissent and licensed schoolmasters — including a grammar school c.1700. The episode of Napoleonic officer-prisoners on parole, which has left traces in the registers and in the church, is not mentioned; and the 19th century, apart from fires, is left almost without comment.

This apparent lack of balance detracts somewhat from the work's value as 'the story of Moretonhampstead'. But the writing is lively, and factual errors, despite the author's professed amateur status, are rare (though a knight's fee was not a cash payment, and a bordar did not 'work full time on the Barton farm in return for his hut and food'). The text as it stands undoubtedly demonstrates Moreton's claim to a historic past, and one wishes that the writer had gone further to give a similar detailed attention to a later period and so provide some continuity between remoter and more recent times.

R.R.S.

PILTON, ITS PAST AND ITS PEOPLE by M.A. Read. 258 pp., plans and illustrations; obtainable from the author, 3 Bradiford, Barnstaple. £5.95 inc. postage.

In these days of excessive printing costs, it is quite exceptional to find such a lengthy and comprehensive local history as Mrs. Reed's work (though this is inevitably reflected in the price). Almost every significant aspect of the past of the parish is covered with a wealth of detail, and extensive transcripts of record evidence are a marked feature. The record is continuous to the present century and well balanced, topics dealt with at length being the Domesday manors and their later development; mediaeval foundations including the Priory, the church, and the many chantries; charities and poor relief; housing, occupations, and local industry; and communications and services.

Representative wills and inventories are quoted from late mediaeval times onwards, and a detailed description is given of all houses of significance (including the remarkable Bull House which originated as the Prior's residence). Masses of interesting and useful material have been drawn from manorial, parish, and PRO sources, and one can well believe that the research took ten years.

This is the work of an 'amateur' in the best sense of that term, and in places the general historical comments would have benefitted from proof-reading by a professional. This would have removed some infelicities such as 'mesolithic' for 'megalithic', the idea that manorial feudalism and the liability of freemen to military service were entirely Norman innovations, that bordars 'fed at the lord's table', and that the appropriation of tithes was a post-Reformation phenomenon instead of originating in the grant of rectories to monastic houses. But for a work of this length such misunderstandings are few, and in general the historical background is well-taken and well-illustrated by the quoted material. This is in fact a remarkable production, of outstanding value as a mine of local historical information, and reflects great credit both on Mrs. Reed and on Mr. Reed who financed its publication.

R.R.S.

EXETER — A CITY SAVED? Edited by R. Fortescue-Foulkes for Exeter Civic Society, 1977.

This is a book to make you weep.

It tells a grim story of the destruction of so much that was fine and which could so easily have been enhancing the quality of life in Exeter today. The causes of this destruction have been various. The greatest single one was, of course, the air raid of 1942 and perhaps there is nothing more to be said about this than to deplore it as part of the barbarities of war. What seems so dreadful is that as much destruction again has resulted from acts of commission and omission all carried out for ostensibly defensible purposes.

To take but one example, the exigencies of traffic have taken their toll down the years. The turn of the 18th/19th centuries saw the destruction of some fine city gates and adjacent houses for the reason that they impeded the traffic flow. The influence of the motor car was exerted early and readers may be surprised to learn that it was as early as 1921-24 that the charming area of Paul Street was demolished to make way for a car park. One draws a veil over what is there now. Why, one wonders, do the designers of shopping precincts seldom seem to think of the view from outside as well as the interior?

The deterioration has by no means stopped. Of the nine subjects in the 'What is at risk' section two remain derelict, one has visibly deteriorated and one has disappeared completely. All this among the few illustrative examples possible in a book of this size.

Fortunately all is not gloom. The Exeter Civic Society, who are responsible for this book, are doing sterling work through their vigilante members and council. It is very clear that every citizen who has a regard for his city should buy this book and then support the Society. But is this enough? The book brings out a significant difference between the post-bombing history of St. Luke's College and Bedford Circus. In the case of the former there was, in the Principal, someone in a position of authority determined to preserve what was good and did so. In the case of the latter this condition apparently did not obtain, to Exeter's eternal loss. The moral is plain.

H.J.Y.

PARLIAMENT IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND: John Hooker's ORDER AND USAGE. Edited by Vernon F. Snow. New Haven and London, Yale U.P., 1977 pp. xiv and 221 pp. frontispiece. £10.80. ISBN 0 300 02093 7.

John Hooker is one of Exeter's favourite sons. His work in city affairs and his numerous antiquarian and topographical writings, published and unpublished, are highly regarded. His first-hand account of the Western Rising and the siege of Exeter in 1549, tipped into the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, a life of his patron, Sir Peter Carew (first printed in 1840), the description of Exeter (printed 1914), all mark him out as a zealous local patriot. His assiduous attention to his duties as city chamberlain, which involved him gratefully in the organisation and preservation of municipal records and his service variously as coroner, president of the orphans' court, and recorder confirm him as 'a dedicated and public-spirited Exonian'. But Hooker was more than that. As an M.P. (including a spell in the 1569 Irish parliament, of which he kept a diary, the first of its kind) and through energy, intelligence and patronage he became involved in national politics. This in turn led him to make major, though if hitherto somewhat under-valued contributions to our knowledge of the parliaments of Elizabeth I.

Interest in parliament as a working institution — its structure, procedure, privileges, officials, its legislative achievements as distinct from its part in constitutional conflict — has grown in recent years. Hooker in a variety of ways provides us — in the words of Professor Vernon F. Snow who has edited his 1572 tractate, *The Order and usage of the keeping of a Parlement in England* — 'with an intelligent insider's picture of parliament in mid-Elizabethan England', an up-to-date one, whose injunctions were for a few decades adopted as the more or less official basis for the conduct of Irish Houses of Commons. Dr. Snow's meticulous edition offers detailed accounts of Hooker's life and writings (the best I have read), an exact bibliographical essay, an analysis of the tractate's content and an assessment of its influence and significance that will put Hooker in his rightful place alongside Henry Elsyng and William Hakewill as a formative reporter of parliamentary working and ways.

The Order and Usage does not only describe but points out deficiencies, notably corrupt electoral practices and the return as M.P.s of 'punie and rash hedders', often the immature scions and clients of magnates who treated constituencies as private property. As an Exeter M.P. Hooker drew throughout not on mere prejudice but experience. (Sir John Neale has confirmed in his classic *Elizabethan House of Commons* a dislike of 'carpet-baggers' as a common west-country attitude.) But Hooker's estimate of parliament was fundamentally a laudatory one, reinforced by his view, much shared by sixteenth and seventeenth century parliamentarians, that the institution ante-dated the Conquest and that it was quite unique among European nations. Besides his own tractate Hooker brought out in 1572 a translation of that 'olde and ancient Lattin Record', the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*. Professor Snow notes in regard to Hooker's commentary, which elevates myth into history, that contemporary Devonians were 'particularly susceptible to ancient legends', believing that Brute, 'founder' of Britain, landed not in the South-East but somewhere in Devon, not far from Totnes, and that Athelstan promulgated his laws not at Westminster but at Exeter.

Hooker contributed to the concept of parliament as a court, in his own words 'the hiest, cheefest and greatest court that is or can be within the realm', and equally to the notion of parliament as a representative institution based on three estates. Out of all this would emerge the theory of mixed monarchy. Thus concludes Professor Snow, 'thus did the political tenets of the Elizabethan antiquary remain a living part of the English constitution long after he was laid to rest in his beloved Exeter'. Not a bad epitaph, and once again students of Tudor-Stuart England, in both its national and its local dimensions, have cause to be grateful to an American historian and an American university press.

Ivan Roots

MONMOUTH'S REBELS: THE ROAD TO SEDGEMOOR 1685 by Peter Earle. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977. pp. x + 1 and 236. Maps and illustrations. ISBN 0 297 77884 4.

Monmouth's Rebellion is a popular theme. A new study appears every dozen years or so, the last, by Charles Chevenix Trench, *The Western Rising*, in 1969. Dr. Peter Earle, who has previously written well on Defoe and James II, sets out not to celebrate or denigrate the Bastard King himself, who in his view was 'chosen as a leader because he was available...and not because he was the Duke of Monmouth', but to find out more about the sort of men who followed him — the rebels. 'A rebellion is nothing without rebels — you cannot have an army solely of commanders — but since most rebellions fail and their story is related mainly by the victors, it is hard to find out much that is positive about revolting rank and file. Little documentary evidence in their own hands survives, a decided deficiency, but one Dr. Earle turns almost into an asset. Instead of merely mulling over the same old stuff, asking the same old questions and getting much the same old answers — though to be reasonably comprehensive he has had to do some of that — he struggles with the sort of material used by demographic historians to draw what he calls 'a profile of the rebels of 1685'. His sources include the so-called Monmouth Roll, compiled from lists of rebels, suspected or actual, drawn up by parish constables to present to the Grand Juries of Devon, Dorset and Somerset; the Compton ecclesiastical census of 1676 and the Protestation returns of 1641 — which help to establish the relative size of population in various places. He also uses parish registers including almost inevitably those of Colyton, which must by now be regarded as Devon's greatest gift to demographers. Looking at once critically and imaginatively at these materials among others Dr. Earle concludes that 'the Monmouth episode' (in Bryan Little's disparaging phrase of 1956) was basically not a peasant but an urban rising, its adherents mostly shopkeepers and artisans, notably cloth-workers, with very few from 'the class of general labourers'. This helps to explain why the government with the approval of the governing classes were scared into the violent revenge of Jeffrey's 'campaign in the west'. Their victims were not bumpkins, not a mindless mob, but men of some self-confidence, spurred by religious enthusiasm, capable of articulating socio-political ideas and ideals. Here was a genuine threat to the existing order, a danger symbolised in the sea-green colours of the never — quite — forgotten levellers reputed to be worn by some rebels. The Whigs showed a wily appreciation of that by holding aloof in 1685 from both the feckless Duke and from his alarming army. In 1699 the case was altered. James II was got rid of by the right kind of people with the right sort of programme, one that ran no risks of social change and spoke not of liberty but liberties — or privileges. Revolution in 1688 was 'glorious' precisely because it was conservative, respectable and successful.

Dr. Earle has written his scholarly and persuasive survey of 'this last purely English rebellion' very properly in the perspective of national history. But the reader whose interest is bounded by the horizons of the south west will certainly find plenty here to stimulate and satisfy his provincial ardour.

Ivan Roots

TUDOR EXETER: TAX ASSESSMENTS 1489-1595 INCLUDING THE MILITARY SURVEY 1522 edited by Margery M. Rowe. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, vol. 22, 1977, xix + 106 pp. (annual subscription £2).

In 1957 the Devon and Cornwall Record Society published a volume entitled *Exeter in the seventeenth century: tax and rate assessments 1602-1699*, edited by Professor W.G. Hoskins. At that time he also selected eight documents from the surviving taxation records relating to Tudor Exeter — the tenth of 1489, the military survey of 1522 and the subsidies of 1524/5, 1544, 1557/8, 1577, 1586 and 1593/5 — for a companion volume. The subsidies of the 1524/5 and 1544 are in the Public Record Office; the others are in the Devon Record Office, Castle Street, Exeter. To these records, which she has impeccably transcribed, Margery Rowe, the Devon archivist, has ably contributed an introduction which draws attention both to their usefulness and limitations. These taxation returns, to quote her own words, 'are of use to the economic historian for a comparative study of different towns and regions, and also to the genealogist, for the fullest of these returns, the Military Survey or Muster of 1522, antedates the earliest parish registers by at least sixteen years. All except the first document in this volume, the "Tenth" of 1489, are arranged by parish, and therefore give information on the mobility of population into and within the City during the sixteenth century, a time of economic expansion for Exeter. The Exeter roll of the tenth of 1489, a combination of the medieval fifteenth and tenth, was an extra tax on land and income and provides information about a fair proportion of the city's wealthier inhabitants. Of the military survey of 1522, only two returns survive, that for Coventry and that for Exeter (which is the most substantial document printed in this volume). Recorded by parish, 'the names are usually divided into bowmen, billmen, aliens, those not fit to serve in a war, those living outside the parish but having lands within it and those living in the parish who presumably did not fall within the first four categories. A few women are listed, a special section in St. Kerrien's parish being reserved for "Widows and their substance" and the name of any servant usually follows that of the householder. In all there are 1363 entries in this survey and this must represent a large proportion of Exeter's population in 1522, the only obvious exclusions being children under sixteen years of age and the wives of householders or widowed mothers living with them. The Military Survey of 1522 is thus an extremely valuable record, not least because it includes a great many people (thirty-six per cent) assessed at "nil", for this poor element of the population was for the most part ignored by other sixteenth century tax assessments.... The document also throws light on the pattern of land ownership in the City and the relative size of population and wealth in the parishes listed'. The other subsidy lists are less full but they suggest that the taxable population was on the move and that merchants were beginning to shift to the suburbs. Together, these lists also provide information about the number of aliens living in Exeter and they suggest that the wealth of Exeter was concentrated in the hands of about six per cent of the population while grinding poverty was the lot of the poorer fifty per cent. The volume contains two appendices: an abstract of appeals against assessment endorsed on the 1524 subsidy and a note on the starting dates of Exeter parish registers by Hugh Peskett. All in all, therefore, Mrs. Rowe has produced a valuable collection of source material for the study of the history of Exeter in the sixteenth century.

PEOPLE TALKING: 1 MISCELLANEOUS 10p; 2 CHARACTERS OF EXETER 10p; 3 CHRISTMAS MEMORIES AND NEWTOWN 10p; 4 THE WEST QUARTER 12p; 5 CARNIVALS 12p; 6 WORKING CHILDHOODS IN WATERBEEAR AND PRESTON STREETS 12p; 7 ST. SIDWELLS BEFORE 1945 25p; by Jenny Lloyd. (7 parts so far published, obtainable from Castle Bookshop, Gandy Street, Exeter).

What an eminently worthwhile historical effort Jenny Lloyd has become involved in. By recording the 'groundlings' who peopled Exeter in the first half of this century, she has given voice to a majority who are rarely if ever heard. They are rather like those pioneers who form the backcloth to Western films and who trundle across the screen in their covered wagons and poke-bonnetts, as mute historical cyphers. While Mrs. Lloyd would not claim for her transcribed recordings the value of the fifteenth-century Paston Letters, who would deny that in 500 years time they might not have a similar historical value. She can certainly claim to be Exeter's equivalent of London's Henry Mayhew.

Jenny Lloyd has said of her work that: 'it is oral history based on memory, not research' — but what history is not based on memory of some sort — even before historical interpretation gets to work on it. Tape-recorded material has an innate morality of its own, as Watergate has demonstrated. If, too, the editors of recorded tape material can be taken to task for wielding the razor blade to achieve their finished result, it compares not at all with the written work of serious intent, where revision can follow revision and rewrite follow rewrite to achieve the purpose of the writer. Its equivalent in the recording medium is the 'straight piece' where the presenter of the material has cleaned it up, rationalised it and packaged it as neatly as possible within the confines of a time limit. An original recording, whether it is actually — events as they are happening — or events as they are remembered, has a quality that the written word can never match. Not only is the question as posed usually present in the eliciting of recorded material but also the manner of asking and the manner of reply, an element that is not present in the written account. This is where I would suggest that Jenny Lloyd has perhaps devalued her work by using her tape recorder only as an amanuensis. It may be, of course, that Mrs. Lloyd has retained her source material on tape and this, I would suggest, is the most valuable part of her project. Not merely **what** the man or woman said but the manner of saying is surely of equal importance with content.

Jenny Lloyd has, no doubt for valid reasons, excised herself and her questions from her written transcriptions but by so doing she has made the procedure something of a one-legged exercise in which information seems to be the result of a *deus ex machina* rather than a fellow human. This treatment has meant, too, that her material has a rather telegraphic quality, certainly in the earlier volumes of reminiscences. Gobbets put together as a montage on tape can have an entity and interest when clothed with the cadences of speech — they can be too skeletal when expressed as single disjointed sentences in print. There needs to be some minimal unit of continuity if the material is not to degenerate into unrelated phrases and words. It is because the unit of reminiscence is of greater length in Volume 7 that I like it best of those that arrived for review.

Mrs. Clifton's remembrances of 'A St. Sidwell's childhood' convey not only the sights and sounds of her times but its ambience as well. The measure of the success of this and other pieces is such that I am motivated not only to hear the words clothed in speech but also to pose some questions of my own.

I have commended Jenny Lloyd for troubling with the 'groundlings' of Exeter, can I suggest that she extends her brief to record and transcribe the memories and impressions of ordinary people when involved with extraordinary people and events — though to give her her due she does record memories associated with the Blitz on Exeter. Virtually on the City's doorstep, and certainly closely associated with it, is the enigma of General Buller — perhaps the worst General the British Army has ever produced and yet also the most kindly remembered by all who served under him. A fairly extensive reading of Boer War material — including Byron Farwell's recent monumental and authoritative work *The Great Boer War* — gives no real clue as to why Buller was so affectionately regarded by his soldiers and his fellow Devonians. Only when I recorded an account of a soldier in the Devons who served under Buller at the battle of Colenso did I begin to understand the reason for that affection. Galloping up to where the Devons were under fire Buller ordered their Colonel to "Get thos men under cover" — that's why Buller didn't win battles — he looked after us too well. Buller a deal old soul. If these words illuminate even when there is no breath in them, how much more so do they when I play back the recording and there is breath in them. Those historians who claim that history at this level is of little importance and merely a collection of minutiae should be asked the questions whether history is what actually happened to the people who were directly involved or what the historians **said** happened — inevitably a process of rationalisation, compression and subjective judgement. Where then can anything approaching an absolute historical truth lie, especially if we bear in mind Macaulay's aphorism — to set historians raging — that 'The only true history of a country is to be found in its newspapers'. Surely the best that can be hoped for is a balanced historical judgement from the academic historian, leavened, where possible, by a conception of history as understood by the ordinary people involved at the time — because history is what people **thought** happened and not necessarily what did. The raw material for such history can best be gleaned and gathered in the way that Jenny Lloyd has demonstrated on the small scale. She should now enlarge the range of her historical operation. If anyone knows where there are survivors with first-hand information about Buller's charisma, then if Jenny Lloyd doesn't want to know, I certainly do.

Local historians in the future, especially social historians, will I am sure, have reason to be grateful to Jenny Lloyd for her foresight in getting **People Talking**. What she has done is to rescue material that is every day going to the grave and historians are in her debt.

To those who remain sceptical of the value of such recorded oral history I would ask them to remember the many theses that have stemmed from an interpretation of such historical mutes as a Roman coin or part of a mediaeval leather sandal. Just think of the feat that even the most narrow-minded conventional historian would make of a few recorded phrases of a Caesar or a mediaeval Exeter cordwainer. Jenny Lloyd has shown a way — all power to her elbow and her tape recorder.

To the Editor,
Devon Historian.

Dear Sir,

In spite of the Minutes kept by organisations and Parish Councils it is possible that much local history goes unrecorded and is forgotten. To give two examples, neither of great significance, yet of some importance to the village concerned: in the Baptismal Register for 1887 I recently found a note by the vicar of the time which ran "On Tuesday June 21st 1887 a young Oak tree was planted in the Churchyard on the North side about twenty paces from the back wall of the vestry. Weather and season both very unfavourable for planting. If it grows, however, it is to go by the name of the Jubilee Oak". That tree is flourishing, but no-one knows when or why it was planted. Outside the Church House stands a 1st World War shell. When it was repainted a few years ago no-one could remember the exact reason why it had been presented to the village; nor was any contemporary record to be found.

Some counties, notably Suffolk, have methods of maintaining a vigilant eye on matters of historical interest even in remote areas by "unskilled labour". Ideally each village has its own Recorder who is well acquainted with their own locality and well known in their own community. Their main objective is to be permanently on the watch for matters of interest — archaeological, documentary, architectural, industrial, pictorial and verbal. Not many parishes are likely to provide material in every one of these sections, yet it is by the systematic recording of small facts that a true and lively picture of a locality is built up. It must be emphasised that it is the hitherto un-recorded material, both past and present, which the Recorder is required to collect. The range of what may be worth preserving is almost limitless. To quote from the Suffolk Local History Council's Scheme under the heading of Architecture, "Village schools are being converted to houses....old farmhouses are being sold away from their land.... Restoration too may involve a good deal of change and replacement, old plaster stripped off, outhouses pulled down, thatch replaced by tiles....a dated before-and-after record by means of photographs, notes and sketches is well worth while. It is even more valuable in cases of unavoidable demolition". To take another example, documents such as diaries, newspaper cuttings, deeds, maps, catalogues of farm sales, even old bills may be worth saving.

This letter is written in the hope that members of the Standing Conference will feel moved to make it their business to start collecting relevant material, acting as individuals. It is evident that many details would need to be settled if a scheme to include a wider area were to be set up at any time: how and where records should be stored; how specialist help could be made available: whether a central record of material should be kept etc. But in the first instance it would be worth discovering how many members of the Standing Conference were willing to undertake this simple and valuable service for the preservation of our county's local history.

Yours etc.

EXETER UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

- Arthurian Sites in the West by C.A. Raleigh Radford and M.J. Swanton, 1975, paperback, A5, 62 pages, 4 plates, £1.00.
- Leofric of Exeter: four essays to commemorate the foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in AD 1072, 1972, paperback, A5, 55 pages, 8 plates, £1.00.
- Exeter Essays in Geography edited by K.J. Gregory and W.L.D. Ravenhill, 1971, cloth bound, 9½" x 7", xviii + 256 pages, 22 plates, £5.00.
- Exeter and its Region edited by Frank Barlow, 1969, cloth bound 9½" x 7", xxii + 343 pages, 36 plates, £5.00.
- The Maritime History of Devon by M. Oppenheim, 1968, cloth bound, octavo, xxii + 125 pages, 30 plates, £3.00.
- Turkers Hall Exeter by Joyce Youngs, 1968, cloth bound, 9" x 7", xiv + 258 pages, 12 plates, £3.00.
- The Ports of the Exe Estuary, 1660-1860 by E.A.G. Clark, 1968, cloth bound, octavo, 247 pages, 2 maps, 3 plates, £3.00.
- Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800 by W.G. Hoskins, 1968, cloth bound, 9¼" x 6½", 189 pages, 4 maps, £3.00.
- Exeter Houses, 1400-1700 by D. Portman, 1966, cloth bound, 9½" x 7", 133 pages, 40 plates and 20 plans, £3.00.
- Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650-1875 by Allan Brockett, 1962, cloth bound, 8½" x 5½", vi + 252 pages, 1 map, £3.00.
- Benjamin Donn's Map of Devon, 1765, 1965, cloth bound, 13" x 11", £6.00.
- John Norden's Manuscript Maps of Cornwall and its Nine Hundreds with an introduction by W.L.D. Ravenhill, mounted in book form £10.00, wallet £5.00, individual maps 50p each.
- Henry Francis Lyte: Brixham's Poet and Priest by B.G. Skinner, 1974, cloth bound, A5, 164 pages, £3.00.
- Some Disputes between the City and the Cathedral Authorities of Exeter by Mural E. Curtis, 1932, cloth bound, 9½" x 7½", 98 pages, £2.00.
- Education in the West of England, 1660-1548 by Nicholas Orme, 1976, cloth bound, 9½" x 7", xiii + 239 pages, £7.50.
- Leisure, Culture and Local Government by F.M.M. Lewis and S.J. Menzies, 1976, paperback, A4, 75 pages, £1.00.
- Exeter Papers in Economic History — No. 5 Farming and Transport in the South West edited No. 5 Farming and Transport in the South West edited by W.E. Minchinton, 1972, paperback, A4, 76 pages, £1.50.
- No. 6 Provincial Labour History edited by J.H. Porter, 1972, paperback, A4, 73 pages, £1.50.
- No. 7 Transport and Shipowning in the West Country edited by H.E.S. Fisher and W.E. Minchinton, 1973, paperback, 71 pages, £1.50.
- No. 8 Husbandry and Marketing in the South West, 1800-1800 edited by M.A. Havinden, 1973, paperback, A4, 74 pages, £1.50.
- No. 10 Education and Labour in the South West edited by J.H. Porter, 1976, paperback, A4, 77 pages, £1.50.
- No. 11 Population and Marketing: Two Studies in the History of the South West edited by W.E. Minchinton, paperback, A4, 139 pages, £1.75.

Obtainable from: Mrs. J. Mist, Publications Clerk, University of Exeter, Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, Exeter, EX4 4QJ.

Published by The Standing Conference for Devon History

Printed by Torbay Borough Council