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The Devon Historian

October 1979

19



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A REPORT ON A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF FARMHOUSE CIDER-MAKING EQUIPMENT IN THE COUNTY OF DEVONSHIRE

Stanley F. Baldock

Vinetum Britannicum, or the British Wine made from apples, as John Worledge named it in 1690, has been made in Devonshire for several centuries. One of the earliest records of cider production can be found in the Bailiffe's accounts of the Earl of Devon's manor of Exminster 1285/86. Although the quantities made in the county at this time were in all probability only enough to meet the local needs, there is a clear indication that cider-making was nothing new. Apples, introduced by the Romans had by the time of the Norman conquest, become quite common throughout the Southern counties of England, but the type and variety of apple being grown would not have been much better than the best of the crab apples to be found in our hedgerows of the present day. It can be assumed that cider or 'verjuice' was being made prior to the coming of the Normans but it was they who taught the English rustics the skills of making a beverage that has become of such economic importance in the south-west of England. This economic factor has not only been important to the farming community but during the great peaks of production provided a great quantity of business through the ports of Devon; Exeter, Dartmouth and Salcombe being particularly well positioned to handle many thousands of hogsheads of cider each year.

There are three stages in the making of good quality cider. First, the crushing of the fruit in such a manner that every cell will yield its juice. Secondly to express the juice from the solid matter. Thirdly to ferment and improve the liquor to such a condition when it becomes a pleasant palatable drink.

Survey work on the equipment used in the first two stages of production was begun as a hobby in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in the late 1960s, during the limited period of annual holidays. It soon became apparent that my hobby was bringing to light a very important facet of farming life that had played its part in rural economy and was in danger of being completely lost. At this point the question was put forward, should this hobby be retained as such but in greater depth, within these counties, or, should a wider survey be commenced to cover the whole cider production area of England at a lower level of intensity. Eventually the latter choice was made and in the light of this extended research three points of paramount importance have been established.

- (a) The range and variation in the equipment used in different parts of the country at different periods should be recorded to illustrate how the limited engineering skills available kept pace with increased production.
- (b) Owing to the rapid decay of some of the older pieces of equipment and the lack of interest in it by the owners, detailed surveys should be completed as soon as possible.

- (c) The size of the task is so large that it can only be completed quickly, by small groups of people working under the direction of archaeological societies.

The limited amount of research work carried out in Devonshire has proved interesting and at the time puzzling. Interesting in that the majority of cider-making equipment on the farms is of a type unique to the county. Puzzling because there appears to be a number of gaps to be filled regarding the progressive development of the equipment.

The earliest known piece of equipment used to crush apples in large quantities is the circular, horse-operated, stone mill. This consists of a circular stone trough in which a heavy wheel-like runner stone is made to travel, by being pulled round by a horse or pony (see figure 1). These are common in the West Midlands where they were made of the acid-resisting stone, either conglomerate or millstone grit, quarried locally. Apple mills of similar design have been recorded in Devon and indeed a few have been located, but not in the situations where they were used. As expected they have been fashioned from granite, one of the hardest and most acid-resisting stones that can be found. In a pamphlet produced by Whiteways of Whimble in the early years of this century, there is a statement that these circular stone mills were introduced to Devonshire in 1250. No other statement to this effect has been found in the County Record Office and this date must be open to question. The puzzle in this connection is "What has happened to this type of mill?" They must have been used in considerable numbers, they don't just weather away and they are far too heavy to transport out of county. Farm-by-farm visits in the future may bring more of these to light and if so, it would be worthwhile relating the site position to the nearest quarry workings.

The greatest drawback of the stone mill was that it was heavy work for the horse and the output per day was very low, seldom more than two hogsheads being produced in a working day (one hogshead being 54 gallons).

As the market for cider improved toward the end of the seventeenth century, so larger orchards were planted to meet the demand. This in turn called for machinery that would process the fruit more rapidly yet at the same time make no greater demand on the available horse power. This challenge was met in Devon with the 'tumbler' mill and the 'horse engine' more generally referred to as the 'gin wheel' (see figure 2).

The tumbler mill consists of a pair of fluted iron rollers, 30 cm in length and 10 cm in diameter. These fluted rollers are mounted in a wooden chest in such a manner that the flutes of one roller enmeshed with those of the other in the same manner as two enmeshing cogwheels. The mill chest is open at the top and bottom and is mounted just below ceiling level of the ciderhouse. A hole cut in the ceiling, or floor of the room above, allows apples to be fed into the chest from the floor of the apple room where they were stored until mature enough for milling. The apples falling into the top of the mill chest are gripped by the rotating rollers, crushed and dropped out of the bottom into a tub or trough, from which the pulp is passed to the press for the extraction of the juice.

Fig. 1

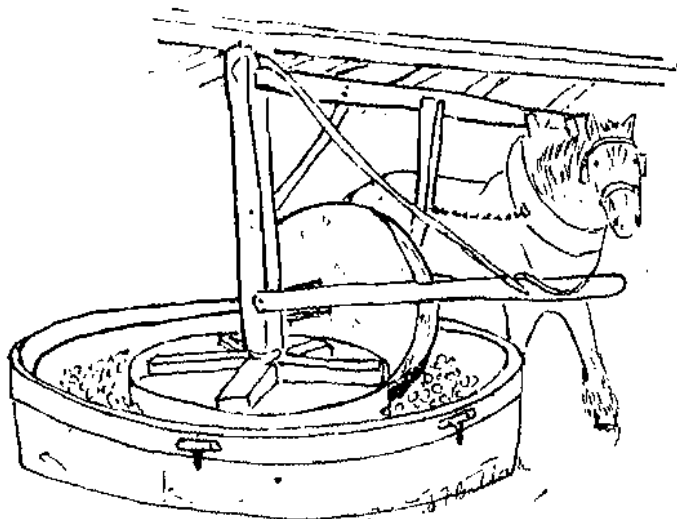
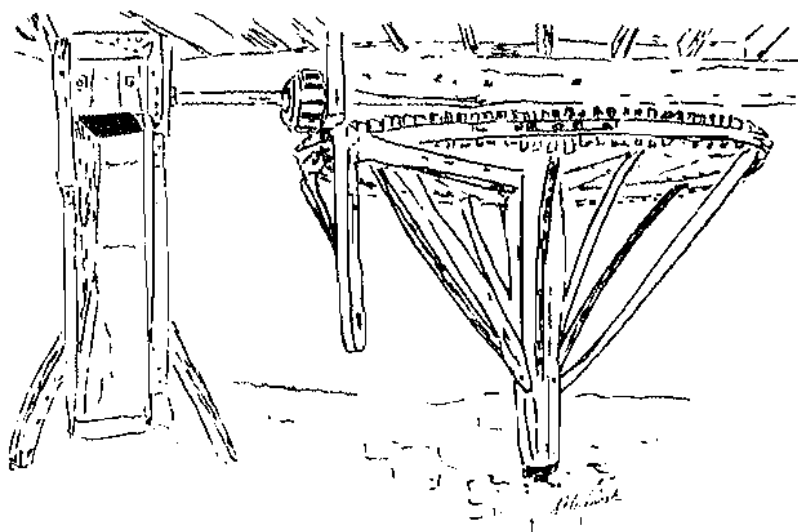


Fig. 2

'Gin wheel' drive to 'tumble mill'. Circa 1700



The rotation of the rollers is achieved in the following way. One of the rollers is extended at one end into a shaft which passes through the side of the mill chest. To the end of this shaft is fixed a cog-wheel of approximately 75 cm in diameter, but slight variations in size occur as most of the machinery of this kind was made by local craftsmen. This cog-wheel engaged with the teeth of the 'gin wheel' which was mounted to run horizontally just below the ceiling of the cider house. One of the oldest tumbler mills operated by a gin wheel is at Batworthy on the edge of Dartmoor (map ref. ST 715853). Apart from the metal rollers, the cog-wheel and gin wheel are made completely of timber. This particular cider mill house is one of the smallest of its kind, but apples must have been grown in large quantities to have warranted setting up such machinery, which would have no doubt been costly at the time. Incidentally, there are few apples being grown at Batworthy at the present time.

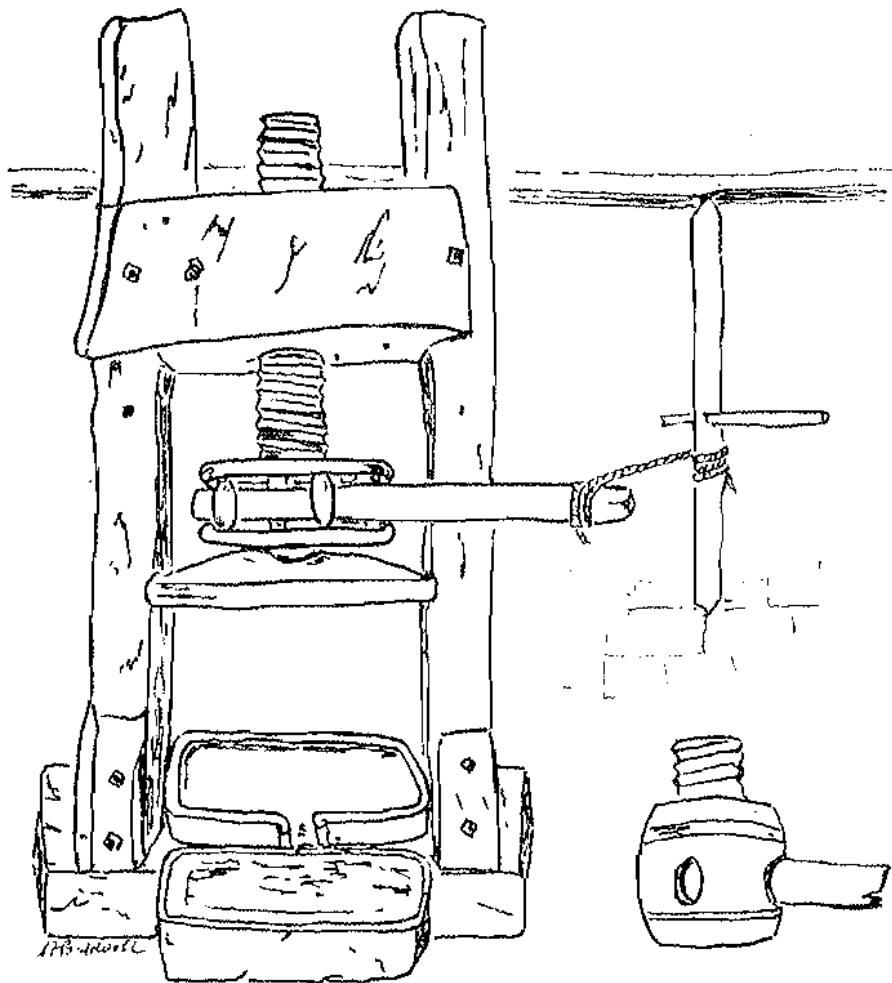
The term 'Pound house' is often used in Devonshire in place of the more widely used names of 'Cider house' or 'Drink house' for the place where the apples are processed. This name presents the second puzzle and may, if solved, fill in the gap which seems to exist between the stone mills and the tumbler mills. At one time various substances which required reducing to a fine state were processed in the pounding mill. This consisted of a number of baulks of timber, supported vertically over a large wooden trough, in such a way that they could slide up or down, or rise and fall. This rising and falling was achieved by a trip-hammer device usually driven by a waterwheel. In addition to the more usual materials such as pigments for dyes, flax and old rags being pulverised to make paper, these pounding mills could also be used to pulverise apples. Several authors in the past, writing the more chatty type of country book, have given curious explanations as to why the term 'Pound' is used in the processing of apples. One writer claimed that in the case of the circular stone mill, strips of iron were placed across the edge of the runner stone so that as it rotated it was made to rise and fall by about one inch, thus giving a pounding or bumpety action. These strips of iron were in fact just one of several attempts to prevent the skidding action of the runner stone which sometimes occurred if the fruit contained little juice. It would be interesting to know if any genuine 'Pound' mills exist or records of them being used.

As soon as the apples have been reduced to pulp in the mill, the pulp is placed between layers of straw and pressed to separate the juice from the solid matter. Using straw to filter the juice from the solid matter was common to Devon and Somerset and is the method still used when good, straight, clean straw can be obtained. In the absence of this, hessian or nylon cloths are used, but are not looked upon with favour by those who claim to make the highest quality cider.

The oldest known presses are the giant wooden structures which employ a lever operated wooden screw to exert the necessary pressure to squeeze out the juice (see figure 3). The framework of these presses are made of oak and will last indefinitely, many of them are in the 400 year age group, but only a few are complete with the wooden screw. Screws were usually made of apple or pear wood as both kinds are more easily-worked than oak. They are of course less

Fig. 3

One of the earliest wood screw presses with lantern head for fitting the lever, the alternative capstan head, inset in lower corner.

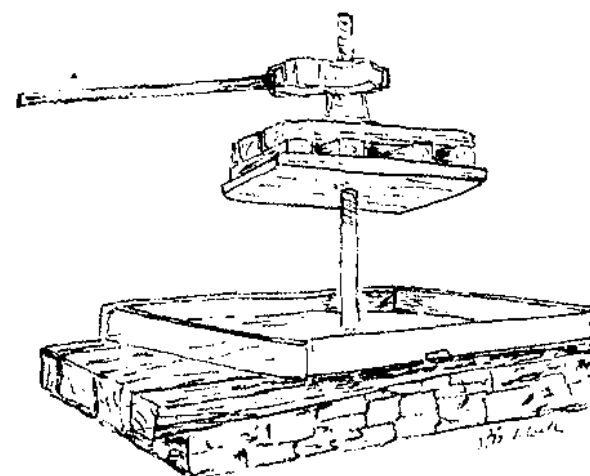


durable and with the terrific pressures exerted upon them, plus the ravages of wood-boring insects did not last as long as the framework of the press. A fine example of this type of press can be seen in the rural museum at Bicton but it is unusual to find one in its original position on a farm these days.

Simple iron screws, which replaced the wooden screws, made their first appearance about the year 1800. These were much smaller in diameter and the replacement from wood to iron was fairly simple. A section of the old wood screw was locked into position in the headstock of the press so that it was immovable. This was then drilled centrally with a hole just large enough to take the new screw-and-nut assembly. In all other counties but Devon, it is possible to date the presses made post-1800 by the various improvements made over the years. Single rotating screws, twin rotation, twin fixed screws, studded capstans, ramshorns, simple geared presses, geared twin screws and several others all help to show how local craftsmen helped to meet the challenge of the industry. Not so in Devon! There is nothing to show a gradual change in development from the wood screw press to the late nineteenth century steel screw press. The Devon press is the largest of them all, able to take up to two tons of fruit at one pressing. This alone is an indication of the size of the cider industry in the county from approximately 1870 until 1910.

Its operational efficiency is achieved by using a ratchet type mechanism working on a large single screw, which is fixed to the centre of the bed of the press. The bed is raised approximately 2 feet 6 inches (75 cm) above the floor of the cider house, on a substructure of brick or rock, the screw is firmly cemented into this substructure so that it is immovable. The screw, 10 feet long, (3.7 m) and 4 inches (10 cm) in diameter, indicated a high degree of engineering skill.

Fig. 4



The thread is of square section $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. x $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and is lathe-turned. The heavy pressure board which compresses the layers of apple pulp and straw (the mock) is pierced centrally so that the screw can pass through it. It is attached to the ratchet-operated nut in such a manner that the assembly moves as one unit (see figure 4).

All the presses of this type are obviously from the same engineering works and made about the same time, which presents yet another puzzle. Did the Devonshire fruit growers take greater care of their wood screw presses? Was there a lull in production for a number of years between the time that wood screws began to go out of use, about 1800? Was the Devon press introduced at a much earlier date than I have estimated? Or are there types of presses, yet undiscovered which filled the gap between the very old and a piece of very sophisticated machinery?

Further visits to Devonshire farms will no doubt help to solve these puzzles meantime, anyone who can supply information on this subject can pass it to the writer of this article, via the editor. It will be received with grateful thanks.

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MISS LYDIA SELLON AND THE DEVONPORT SISTERS — A CONTROVERSIAL ANGLICAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

David J. Hawkins

Religion was taken very seriously in Plymouth in the mid 19th century, and the tendency of both clergy and congregations was strictly evangelical. Dr. Carne, the Calvinistic vicar of Charles from 1827 to 1832, and the Rev. John Hatchard, vicar of St. Andrew's in the 1840's epitomised this view, and it can be imagined with what horror they beheld the increasing support which Pusey Newman and Froude were winning for their Tractarian movement, which sought to emphasise the Catholicity of the Anglican church, and to bring its liturgical practices, albeit cautiously at first, into line with those of the Church of Rome.

One of the foremost evangelists of the time was Mr. John Hawker, a former curate of Stoke Damerel who left the Church over the issue of Catholic emancipation, and set up an unlicensed conventicle known as the Eldad Chapel in No Place Lane. On the death of Mr. Hawker in 1845, the living fell to the patronage of the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts. The Bishop had considerable sympathy for the aims and ideas of the Oxford Movement (as the Tractarians' cause had become known) and in 1848 appointed Father G.R. Prynne to the living. Under Fr. Prynne's guidance the foundations of Catholic worship were laid; the chapel was soon consecrated as St. Peter's, and the building in Wyndham Square destined to become one of the foremost Anglo-Catholic churches in the city.

Fr. Prynne was installed on August 16 1848, and on the same day Bishop Phillpotts laid the foundation stone of an Orphans' Home in North Road, described at the time as a 'house of religion and charity for the Sisters of Mercy'. The Sisters were one of the earliest of the many Anglican sisterhoods; originally established in Milne Place, Morice Town, it was called the Devonport Society.

The Mother Superior of the Orphans' Home — later to become St. Dunstan's Abbey — was Miss Lydia Sellon; the Community's aim was not only to provide a home for parentless children but to worship God in a spirit of holy chastity and obedience. The Devonport Society had been formed under the Patronage of Dr. Pusey, one of the founding fathers of the Oxford Movement, and the protestant sensibilities of many Plymothians were soon to be offended by tales of the mysterious rites allegedly performed by Miss Sellon's community.

To those who now accept as a matter of course the Catholicity of the English Church, the case against the Sisters seems petty, if not absurd. It was that they indulged in 'Romish' ceremonies, that the children were required to attend the office of Lauds, that crosses were in general use, that a picture of Our Lady was placed in the oratory, and that the Sisters bowed to a cross on the altar there.

These outward symbols of Christian devotion were regarded with

outraged fury by the protestants, and the outcry was so loud that in 1849 Bishop Phillpotts felt it necessary to hold a public inquiry into the character and operations of the Sisterhood. There were no actual accusers at the meeting but no shortage of witnesses who spoke against Miss Sellon in the most venomous and bigoted terms. The Mother Superior remained calm and restrained in the face of these insinuations which she described "as painful and insulting as they are unjust". She concluded her evidence impressively with the words "There is One who knoweth the secrets of hearts and He, He alone is my Judge".

In summing up, the Bishop said that he had travelled to Plymouth with an impartial mind; after hearing the evidence however, he found the allegations against the Sisters to be without foundation, and added that "I shall never cease to express my regard for that wise and virtuous and angelic woman".

During the cholera epidemic which swept through the crowded and insanitary houses of the town in 1850, Miss Sellon offered the services of her community to nurse the sick and dying and to comfort the bereaved. A hutted hospital was erected on the site of the present St. Dunstan's Abbey, and Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy moved about the patients 'like ministering angels'. After a time, as the risk of death both to patients and those caring for them increased, Miss Sellon asked the vicar, Fr. Prynne, if he would celebrate the Eucharist every morning in the hospital. This was done, and St. Peter's thus has the distinction of being the first parish since the Reformation where the Mass was said daily.

Although the daily Mass is now an accepted feature of many Anglican churches, at that time it served to foster prejudice against the Orphans' Home, and in 1852, two 'seceding Sisters' added fuel to the protestant fire by making what the newspapers described as 'sensational disclosures' about certain activities within the community. They alleged that the Sisters were subjected to degrading penances; the more troublesome were compelled to lie on the floor with their arms in the form of a cross; after submitting to this for 20 minutes a day they were undressed like infants and put to bed with their arms crossed on their breasts. Miss Cusack, formerly Sister Jane of the community, described life there as 'a hell on earth', a view which seems to have stemmed from the Mother Superior's over zealous interpretation of the rule of holy obedience. The Bishop felt that Miss Sellon's rigorous application of the rule was detrimental both to her own spiritual condition and that of the Sisters, and reluctantly withdrew his support from the Orphans' Home. Miss Sellon thanked him 'with deep and earnest gratitude' for all his past kindnesses.

At this time, Fr. Prynne was in the habit of visiting the Home for the purpose of hearing the Sisters' confessions, and the evangelical clergy, scandalised by yet another example of 'Romish' practices, asked the Bishop to institute a further inquiry. The case rested on the testimony of a Sister who had been expelled from the community for misconduct. She claimed that the privacy of the confessional was not respected by Fr. Prynne, whom she said, divulged all he had heard to Miss Sellon. It seems very likely however that she had concocted her allegations out of revenge for her expulsion. After weighing

the evidence, the Bishop ruled that there had been no irregularities, and that auricular confession and absolution were not excluded from the practices of the Anglican church; Fr. Prynne was totally exonerated.

This further roused the evangelicals' anger and a spate of public meetings and pamphleteering followed with all the protestant clergy joining to vilify Fr. Prynne. The controversy slowly waned however, and wider issues like the Russian war diverted attention elsewhere.

Some time later the issues were revived in a church magazine; but Miss Sellon had the last word, and explained, "I began working for the poor, without imagining that my name would ever become public — the last penalty a woman would ever willingly incur. For the rest, I can only say that the abhorrence I feel at such un-Christian conduct, and contemptible exercise of power as is imputed in these extracts is only equalled by my astonishment at their invention".

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THE POPULATION OF HARTLAND
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Greg Finch

The study of population is becoming increasingly popular and rightly so for population history is a major constituent of economic and social history. This simple demographic study intends to show what changes took place in the population of one North Devon parish, Hartland (Ordnance Survey 1:50000 series Sheet 190), between 1560 and 1710 and to outline some of the possible reasons why these changes took place.

Hartland is well suited for a study such as this: firstly it has a full set of parish registers from 1558 onwards that have been printed and published by the Devon and Cornwall Record Society making the actual task of aggregation fairly easy; also, being a large parish, it had a fair sized population during the period under study which means that the annual totals of baptisms, burials and marriages are too high to be regarded as statistically insignificant. It is even today a remote and agricultural parish, and was even more so in the seventeenth century — thus it was a true 'pre-industrial' parish in an isolated pre-industrial area.

Reliability of the Registers

It has been said many times before that parish registers are dangerous to use demographically because their original purpose was different to what we now seek to use them for. It is a valid point but there are no comparable records that give us an opportunity to study population to such a great depth from the sixteenth century onwards so it is well worth trying to evaluate the potential shortcomings (such as under-registration of births) and then to make allowances. The 1676 Compton Census¹ tells us that there were no nonconformists in Hartland at that date, which is a help. Parish registers can be checked for possible inaccuracies by comparing an independent estimate of the population with a projection of population from the registers based on a certain birth rate. I will go into more detail later but it is sufficient to say here that the evidence of the 1641 Protestation Returns and the 1674 Hearth Tax supports the suggestion from the parish registers of a stable population, although it seems that the baptism registers decline in quality in the later seventeenth century.

The Population of Hartland

The Domesday manor of Hertitone had 136 tenants, over half of them slaves or virtually landless cottagers, which can be tentatively converted to a population of about 650 using the 4.5 multiplier². The population more or less doubled to a pre-Black Death peak of around 1300³ before undoubtedly falling substantially in the late middle ages. By the mid-sixteenth century renewed growth had meant that the population was then up to 1200 again. Thereafter however the population ceased to grow again until the eighteenth century, remaining around 1200 for much of the 1600s. By the first census the

population had reached 1546, and it continued to rise to a maximum of over 2200 in the 1840s before falling into the all too familiar trap of rural depopulation. In 1971 there were just 1325 people in the parish. Within this general framework the present concern is with the period of stagnation from about 1560 to 1700.

Graph 1 shows the moving annual totals of baptisms, burials, and marriages throughout the period with short-term fluctuations eliminated by the use of 7 year rolling averages. I have constructed decennial population estimates using the baptism registers. The danger of this lies in the potential inaccuracies of the registers and the variability of the birth rate. The birth rate probably fluctuated between limits of 30 and 40 per 1000 which implies that a multiplier of between 25 and 33 is called for. I have used a multiplier of 30 and consequently have not expected that the actual population would have been precisely the same as the 'baptism estimated population'. As previously mentioned independent checks are necessary to ensure the accuracy of the registers. Baptism estimates (see Table 2) suggests that the population was falling from about 1200 to 1100 between 1560 and 1640. In 1569 the Minister Roll listed 98 able bodied men for Hartland but it is very difficult to convert 'able bodied men' into a population estimate. The next source for a population total comes in the form of the 1641 Protestation Returns⁴ which gave a total of 453 males over the age of 18, which can be cautiously converted to a total of 1177 using a 2.6 multiplier⁵. Given the degree of inaccuracy involved with the baptism estimated population this figure agrees with the baptism registers as to population at that date.

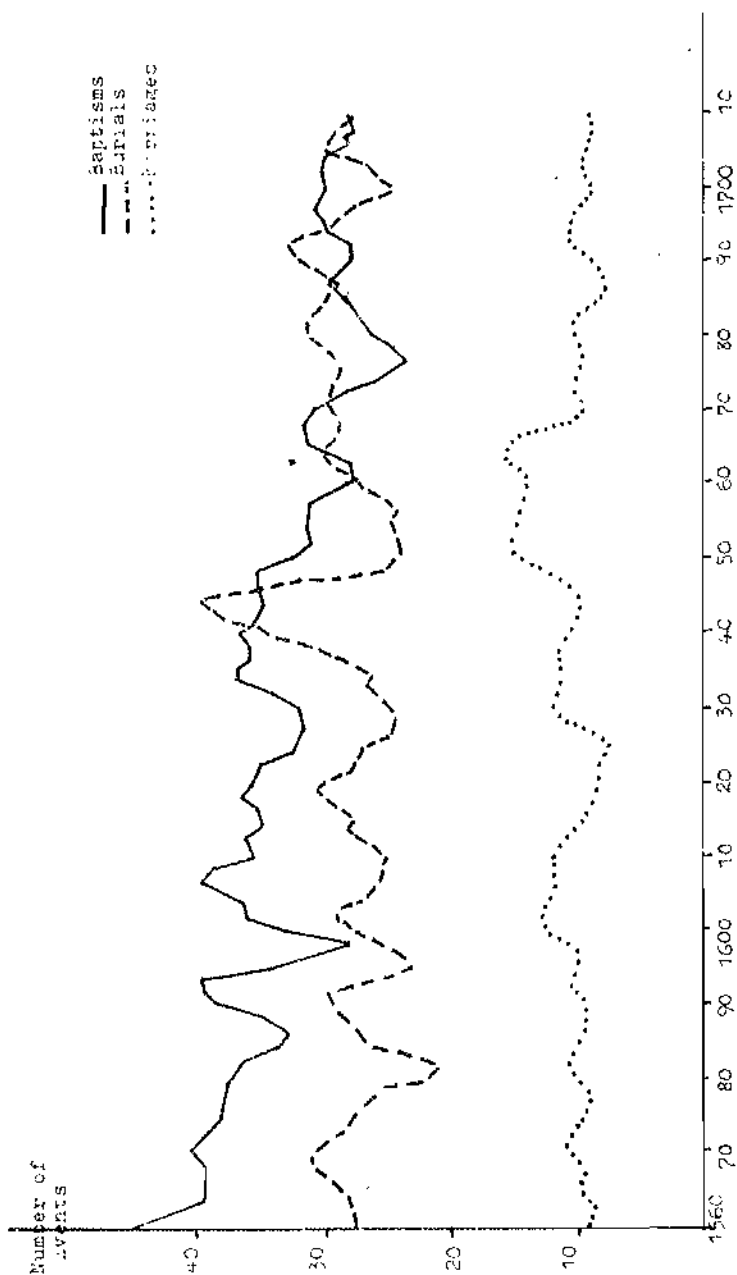
Into the second half of the seventeenth century the fall in baptisms would indicate that population fell from about 1200 to around 900 by 1700. However there are two pieces of evidence which suggest that population did not fall by that much. The Hearth Tax returns for 1674⁶ point towards a total of about 250 households in the parish which converts to a population estimate of 1125 using the 4.5 multiplier for household size⁷, which is well above what the baptism records suggest the population to be.

Table 1: Marital Fertility⁸

Years	M.F.	Years	M.F.
1560-79	4.57	1660-79	2.63
1620-39	3.59	1690-1709	3.42

As the above figures show, if the baptism records are accepted at their face value they point to a massive fall in marital fertility from over 4½ in the mid sixteenth century to just over 2½ a hundred years later. This is really too big a fall to be likely under the circumstances of the period. It thus seems possible that the baptism registers decline in quality in the second half of the seventeenth century and that the fall in population was not as drastic as the parish registers make out.

Graph 1



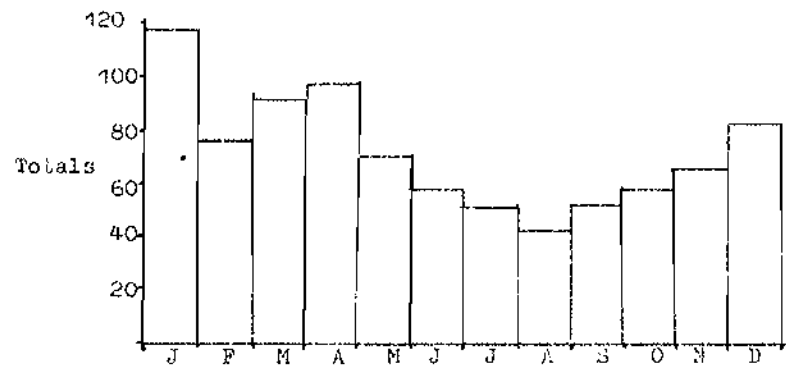
Before looking chronologically at the population developments over the period it is worth looking at the shape and characteristics of the time series' rates on Graph 1, particularly the burials rate.

The most important feature is that of remarkable stability, when compared with say, Breteuil and other parishes in the Beauvaisis in France, which Goubert studied⁹. In Breteuil in 1693-94 burials were ten times higher than usual, truly a major case of crisis mortality.

Despite Hartland's relative stability there were substantial mortality peaks from time to time, and there are none to compare with 1643, when there were 69 burials — over twice the annual average for the 1640s. Most of the deaths occurred in the summer months in that year, which indicates with some certainty that plague was behind the large outbreak of deaths. Bideford was also struck by plague in 1643, and further afield so were Ashburton, Plympton, Plymouth, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Tiverton and Exeter¹⁰. The location of these outbreaks underlines the vulnerability of urban areas to epidemics, but the evidence of Hartland shows that the isolated rural areas were in no way immune to the vicious effects of plague in the pre-industrial world.

Plague years apart, the seasonal distribution of deaths usually followed a set pattern, with most deaths occurring in the winter, tailing off rapidly from May onwards, until the late autumn.

Graph 2: Monthly distribution of deaths 1680-1709



This is a pattern similar to that observed in the Cornish parishes of St. Mabyn, St. Neots and Wendron for example¹¹. The winter orientated pattern of deaths is consequent of a poor agrarian society and may well be closely related to the social and occupational structure of the parish, which I shall come to later.

Marriages have a detectable inverse relationship with burials though this does not always hold. Nevertheless after a sharp rise in deaths has occurred a rise in marriages often follows, which is clear from Graph 1 for the years around 1600, 1629-32, and particularly after the epidemic of 1643. This is a tendency that has been observed also at Orwell and Willingham in Cambridgeshire¹² and North Molton¹³ and Colyton¹⁴ in Devon for example. A possible reason for this relationship is that after a spate of deaths in a community where usually little economic growth takes place, more opportunities are available to some of the survivors — in a practical sense, a village cottage may become empty enabling a couple to get married, as suggested by Peter Laslett in 'The World We Have Lost'.

Understandably marriages bear quite a close relation to baptisms, until about 1650. With the upsurge of marriages after the 1643 epidemic, the number of baptisms should have followed suit, but instead of rising substantially the recorded baptisms actually continued to fall. It is around this date that the accuracy of the baptism registers should start to be questioned.

Turning to the period as a whole, on the basis of the baptism estimates population fell dramatically in the second half of the seventeenth century. The various evidence assembled so far can be plotted on a graph to show visually what was probably happening (Graph 3). The population appears to have been quite stable for most of the 150 year period. What growth there had been since the post-Black Death depression was at an end by the mid-sixteenth century and was not to be renewed until into the eighteenth century.

What were the demographic components of this situation? If we assume that the burial and marriage registers are more or less accurate (there being nothing in their inter-relationships described above to suggest that there may

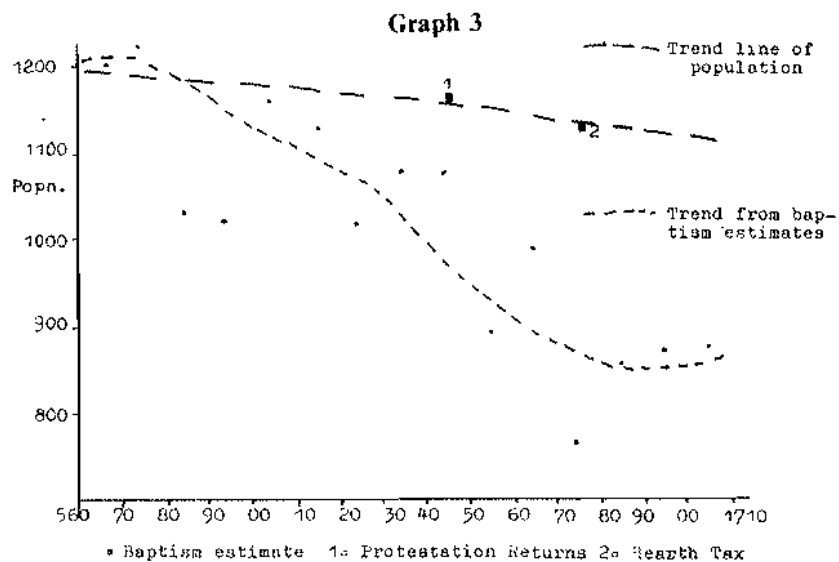


Table 2: Decennial population estimates

Decade	Baptisms	Burials	Inferred Population
1560-9	400	283	1200
1570-9	409	262	1227
1580-9	341	219	1083
1590-9	339	250	1017
1600-9	384	266	1152
1610-9	371	269	1113
1620-9	337	250	1011
1630-9	361	286	1083
1640-9	361	319	1083
1650-9	297	240	891
1660-9	326	301	987
1670-9	256	280	768
1680-9	286	272	858
1690-9	291	321	873
1700-9	292	273	876

be serious defects) the burial and marriage rates were fluctuating about a stable trend over the whole period. We cannot be certain about what the true birth rate was for the period from 1650 but judging from the number of marriages and the probable total population it too must have been quite stable and at a higher level than burials. Thus it is very likely that there was a natural increase in population throughout the period. A constant natural increase can only be reconciled with an unchanging level of total population if emigration takes place.

It therefore seems that the population stayed level not because births were in balance with deaths but because a proportion of the population left the parish. Inaccuracy in the burial register would only mean that the amount of migration either increased or decreased. The fact of emigration from Hartland for all or part of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century seems inescapable, but why did it take place?

The Migration

In attempting to explain a social and demographic phenomenon such as migration it helps to know something about the people involved and their background. We are lucky that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the incumbent at Hartland took the trouble of recording the occupation of everyone dying, marrying or having a child, which makes possible the construction of a sample occupational distribution for the parish. There are difficulties involved with this, firstly that the people mentioned in the registers may not be representative of the whole community and that there may be a

marked difference between an occupational structure from burial registers and one drawn from the other two registers. However some recent work has indicated that this is unlikely¹⁵. Secondly there is the problem of terminology — especially for landholders. The vicar lumped together all those who derived their income mainly from holding land (except gentry) into the one blanket term 'yeomen'. It is well to remember that this category will include everything from the small tenant family employing farmers up to those who produce almost completely for the market using hired wage labour. Thirdly it is only a sample, probably about 18% of total population (193 out of about 1100-1200) although it would be a substantially larger proportion of the adult male working population. Fourthly it takes no account of what paid employment women found. Despite all this it is an invaluable opportunity to see how the population of a rural parish was employed a century before the first census.

Table 3: Occupational distribution 1698-1719

Job	Numbers	Percentage
Labourers	101	52.3
Yeoman	41	21.2
Paupers	16	8.2
Seamen	9	4.6
Tailors	5	2.5
Gentlemen	4	2.07
Blacksmiths	3	1.5
Weavers, Worsted combers, Millers, Cordwainers	2	1.0
Carpenter, Butcher, Cooper, Barber, Tanner, Excise Officer	1	0.5
	193	100.0

The table reflects the solid agricultural nature of the Hartland economy — about three-quarters of the population was engaged directly in agriculture at this time and most of the others would thus be dependent on the custom of the farming sector: the blacksmiths, millers, shoemakers, carpenter, butcher, cooper, barber and tanner, the craftsmen and traders of the parish. Apart from these there were weavers and worsted combers — even remote Hartland had people attached to the Devon cloth industry. It is perhaps curious to see at this stage a barber (John Nicholls) maintaining a livelihood. Only 5% of the sample were seamen, which does not seem surprising when the hostile nature of Hartland's coast is considered.

Over half of the working population were probably landless wage labourers uncertain in their employment from one day to the next. In 1524 in

Devon the proportion of labourers is reckoned to have been about one-third, with local variations of up to two-thirds. In Leicestershire at the same time probably only 20% were labourers, there being a lot more small peasant farmers still there at that date¹⁶.

Of all the occupation groups in a rural parish such as Hartland it was probably the labourers who were least secure in their employment and consequently most prone to migrate. None of them could be certain of being in employment 6 days a week for most of their lives and many must have sought to maximise their chances of work by tramping around the farms within say a ten mile radius of home. A constant under-current of migration of labourers from parish to parish is an accepted fact of rural society in the past¹⁷.

This alone indicates that a place with an occupation structure such as Hartland's cannot have been a very prosperous place to live in, as the distribution of hearths in 1674 shows :-

Table 4: Distribution of Hearths 1674

Number of hearths per house	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	over 9
Frequency:	143	32	16	7	5	4	3	1	2	3

As many as two-thirds of all households had only 1 hearth while the top 6 houses had 73 hearths between them, an average of 12 per house. As a rule of thumb, hearths are a good guide to the distribution of wealth although Margaret Spufford has shown that it is unwise to expect a strict relation between hearths and wealth¹⁸.

Clearly Hartland was very stratified economically, with the majority of people at the bottom. To some extent the seasonal distribution of deaths in Graph 2 also highlights the degree of poverty in the parish in the late seventeenth century; being a pre-industrial community many did not have the resources, physical or economic, to survive the winter.

The constant inter-migration of rural society in itself does not explain a net emigration from Hartland during the seventeenth century. However the vulnerability of labourers to unemployment and the fact that half the male workforce were labourers shows who in all probability the migrants were.

Hartland had probably reached the limit of its economic (i.e. mainly agricultural) resources by the seventeenth century and was consequently unable to support any further rise in population. It is unlikely that there was any further expansion in farming perhaps in part because of the stagnation of agricultural produce prices during this period. The presence of a substantial 8% pauper element in the parish shows that by the late 1600s a certain proportion of the labouring workforce was always unemployed although individuals flowed in and out of employment — many came onto relief and then left it later: men like William Bagghill, Thomas Down, William Burman, and Josias

Lann, showing that those on relief were not just the old and incapable, but also able-bodied people unable to find work. There were simply more men than jobs, a kind of structural unemployment. The general poverty of the parish also stands as evidence of the fact that there was general stagnation. The most plausible explanation of the migration is that there were no more opportunities in the parish so people had to leave for good to try to find them. Probably many of those who left were young men and women just old enough to start work, although this is just speculation.

Population stagnation in seventeenth century Colyton has been attributed by Dr. Wrigley to family limitation — an older age at marriage and consequently fewer children. Only reconstitution of Hartland's families could show anywhere near conclusively what the exact process was there, but in both cases the population had reached its economic limit, with any further increases incurring drastic cuts in living standards. If Colyton maintained a population balance by family limitation, ultimately a fall in the birth rate, Hartland seems to have done it by migration, which eliminated the natural increase in population. Instead of couples marrying later and having fewer children, they still had the children but as a result some of them had to leave to find livelihoods, a kind of Malthusian 'positive check' on population.

The picture of stagnation is supplemented by parish register evidence from elsewhere.

Table 5: Baptisms in 3 nearby parishes²⁰

Parish	1560-9	1630-9	1700-9
Kilkhampton	220	175	130
Bradworthy	—	121	92
Stratton	260	—	250

Table 5 shows that other parishes in the neighbourhood of Hartland were probably suffering from falling population during this period as were East Budleigh²¹ and Colyton²² in East Devon and Bruton and Pitcombe in Somerset²³ for example. Countless other parishes must have been in the same situation for it is likely that the whole population of Britain was stable in the seventeenth century.

Where did the migrants from Hartland go to? Many must have found agricultural employment elsewhere, although in the light of Table 5 they may have had to go some distance to find it. Quite a few must have gone to the towns, some maybe as far as Exeter and beyond. Bideford and Appledore on the Torridge estuary grew as a result of the shipbuilding industry and the Atlantic merchant trade. In the 1500s the upsurge of interest in America had led to a demand for ships bound for Maryland and Virginia. In the seventeenth century the orders were for armed merchant ships for the thriving Newfoundland trade. A Custom House was set up in Bideford early in the

century, evidence of the growing trade in exporting finished woollen cloth and linen and importing raw wool, cod and wine²⁴. The constituents of the exports and imports make it very possible that Bideford had its own export-orientated cloth industry. A look at Bideford's parish register shows the effect of all this on its population :-

Table 6: Bideford's population

Years	Baptisms	Inferred Population
1564-74	242	700
1630-9	551	1650
1700-9	638	1900

Shipbuilding requires a lot of manual labour and it does not seem preposterous to assume that some of the migrants from Hartland went to Bideford to make ships among other things. The register of Bideford shows for example that some of the Trick family moved there from Hartland. Some people may even have subsequently migrated to the Americas to start a whole new life. This all implies that there was something of a migrational 'pull' factor, supplementing the 'push' factor of a dearth of new jobs back home.

Conclusion

Hartland displays many of the characteristics of a pre-industrial society: it was an agriculturally based economy, vulnerable to plague, had a 'winter' pattern of death seasonality, and was a poor and markedly hierarchical society with a related distribution of wealth. The stable, perhaps stagnant, population of late sixteenth and seventeenth century Hartland portrays to some extent a community at the limit of its immediate economic resources; any further growth in population had to be drawn off elsewhere to find livelihoods. In the absence of preventive checks on the birth-rate migration came into play.

In the eighteenth century population growth restarted, so that by the first census, in 1801, there were 1546 people in Hartland. It would seem that the social and economic conditions that brought about stagnation in the seventeenth century were changing at some time after 1700. However it was probably a change of degree rather than a change in structure: an occupational distribution from the 1841 Census Enumerator's Schedules indicates that as much as 49% of the male workforce were still labourers at that date. Hartland remained an agricultural parish based on wage labour.

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GROWING UP IN SHAMWICK*

E.D. Parsons
(as told to Norah Gregory)

(Mrs. Parsons, who is turned 84, is a native of Combe Martin and can trace back her father's family several generations. They were mostly seafarers. She lives in a cottage which has been in their possession since 1820 and has a number of interesting souvenirs of her family. As a child, Mrs. Parsons attended the village school, leaving at fourteen to serve an apprenticeship as a dressmaker. Her lively interest in local happenings and a clear memory brings to life Combe Martin as it was at the turn of the century. N.G.)

"Out of the world and into Combe Martin" was a common saying, and appropriate when it could be reached by public transport only twice daily from Ilfracombe and twice weekly from Barnstaple.

A two horse char-a-banc left at 8 a.m. and again at 1 p.m. for the journey into Ilfracombe and its return. On Tuesdays and Fridays a covered brake carrying about twelve people conveyed passengers to Barnstaple. It left Combe Martin at 8 a.m. arriving at Barnstaple at 10.30 a.m. and left for home again at 4.30. All passengers walked up Whitefield Hill to relieve the horses on their steep climb.

During the summer months two smart stage coaches travelled between Ilfracombe and Lynton. One owned by Copps of Ilfracombe was drawn by four bays, while the rival firm of Colwills had their coach drawn by four grey horses. The two leading horses were always higher than the following pair. The coachmen and guards were in livery. Copps' men wore scarlet with gold braid and Colwills' royal blue with gold braid. The guards carried horns which were blown frequently when passing through Combe Martin. The coaches stopped at the King's Arms (now the Pack o' Cards Hotel) and local young ladies waited there with baskets covered with freshly laundered, snow-white cloths, which they removed to display small saucers of tempting ripe fruit for sale to passengers. The horses were changed on the outskirts of the village, Colwills' greys at Waytown Farm while Copps had their fresh horses waiting at Coulsworthy.

The original village street from the present shop of Warren's, butchers, to the seaside, was the "Old Road", re-named Cross Street. It passed what is now Redwood Cafe, went up Seaside Hill and kept to the right down Newberry Road. As the road to Ilfracombe it continued over the bridge, up the steep hill past Salt Dean, and from the camping ground to Berrynarbor Corner the road was as it is today. It continued through Berrynarbor village and went via Haggington Hill to Hele and on into Ilfracombe. A more direct road, following the coast from Berrynarbor Corner to the Saw Mills and then on past

*Editor's note: Shamwickshire = Bideford — East-the-Water.
See D.C.N.O., 13, 1925, p.266.

Pack of Cards (King's Arms)
Coombe Martin, 1906



Watermouth into Ilfracombe was made in 1866/67 and was known as the "New Road" right up to the end of the first world war. It then became dangerous through landslides and what is now called the "New Road" was cut farther inland.

A new street, Burrough Road, was made between the site of the present Seaside Stores to the bottom of Seaside Hill, and another from the beginning of Newberry Road through the Woodlands to join the old road by the camping ground. A small cottage at the top of Seaside Hill was the Turnpike House. I have a hazy recollection of being taken to see my Aunt Lizzie Lovering who lived there. There were three Turnpike roads in Coombe Martin, Higher Leigh Turnpike, Church Turnpike and Seaside Turnpike. The late Mr. Frank Rook told me that his mother was the last to live in the cottage at the seaside as toll-keeper.

The village street was not tarred until after the Great War. Before that it was unmade except for hardening by stones, rolled in periodically by the steam roller. After heavy rain it was thick with mud and this was scraped into heaps beside the gutter by the roadman. It was a common occurrence in the dark for people to step into one of these piles and find themselves up to the ankles in the slimy mess.

The street lights at first burned paraffin, but these were later replaced by gas lamps. They were only lit when there was no moon and were tended by the lamplighter with his ladder going from one end of the village to the other. He made his first round as it was getting dimpsy, and then at 10 p.m. a second round to put them out.

Combe Martin was a charming village in those days. Its people were not well-off but it was a common thing to keep a pig or two and some hens at the bottom of the garden. With these and garden produce many of the inhabitants were almost self-supporting. There was also a plentiful supply of locally caught fish with herrings galore in their season. A catch of several mease (630 herrings) would be brought ashore and often sold at 24 a shilling. 'Shop' food was cheap as these items will show — sugar 2 lbs. for 4½d., ham ¼ lb. for 6d. and tea a ¼ lb. for 4d. Milk was delivered daily by horse and cart. Two large galvanised churns held the 'raw' milk and the 'scald', the first selling at 1d. a pint and the second at ½d. Coal was brought direct from South Wales, unloaded on the beach and afterwards sold at £1 a ton at the coal stores.

Early on Saturday mornings one heard the clatter of horses through the village drawing the carts of market gardeners going to Ilfracombe with their flowers and vegetables. The weekly market was held in the lower part of the Alexandra Theatre (Top of the Town, nowadays) with Coombe Martin folk doing a brisk trade with the fresh produce which had been taken from their fields only a few hours earlier. This reminds me of a little lady, Betsy Bushen, who lived in a cottage in Newberry Road, now Beach Cottage. She walked to Ilfracombe twice every Saturday carrying one basket on her back and one in front filled with fruit and vegetables, which she sold there before returning home. It's not much wonder she was bent nearly double.

During my childhood some of the amenities we take for granted now were lacking. There was no gas, electricity or mains water supply. Wash day, generally Monday, took all day and was real drudgery. First of all water had to be pumped and carried to fill the copper, which was heated by either coal or sticks. Then the white things were washed in a large galvanised bath, rung out and boiled in the copper. They were then lifted out and put into a bath of clean water. Sheets full of water are tremendously heavy and it was a real back-aching job. The clothes were washed again, rinsed in fresh water and then in blue water. A cube of Reckitts blue tied in a small piece of flannel was kept for wash-days and also used against wasp stings. The clothes were rung out by hand put through a mangle if one was fortunate enough to possess one, before hanging out to dry. After this time the 'coloureds' were washed, the process being modified to suit the various materials.

There were two banks in the village. The National Provincial had an agency open once weekly at Mr. Soley's little shop, and Fox & Fowler had a room with a bay window at Mrs. Adams' house, which was also a greengrocery shop, and they too opened once a week, the cashier making the journey from and back to Ilfracombe in a dog cart. Fox & Fowlers got into difficulties and were acquired by Lloyds Bank who later developed the property as it is today.

All mail arriving at the Post Office, which was an RSO — Royal Sub Office — was franked on the reverse with the date and time of receipt before delivery. Telegrams were delivered on pony back by Mr. George Dendle, father of Mrs. Caroline Andrew, the sub-postmistress. At the time he was the oldest telegraph boy in the United Kingdom.

Although a number of lime kilns had previously been worked in Combe Martin, I can only remember one at the top end of the village, Berries Lime Kiln owned by Mr. H. Jewell.

I well recall the corn mill in use. Water was ponded on the site of Loverings Coach Park and fed the mill leat which ran along the embankment down the "Old Road". Mr. Wm. Somerville was its owner.

Combe Martin had many good craftsmen, sailors and master mariners. My father remembered boat building on Newberry beach.

The average weekly wage for a skilled workman was £1. Work started at 7 a.m. and continued until 8.30 when there was a half hour break for breakfast. Work again from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., an hour for dinner and then work went on until 5.30 p.m. The Saturday half day working time was from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. with half an hour for breakfast.

My father often spoke of the silver mines being worked and how the miners had to flee for their lives when a sudden inrush of water flooded the mine.

My father told me that Grove House in High Street was formerly a public house and that it was known as "The Jolly Sailor".

The first Police Station I remember was at Home Place in High Street. Later it was moved to 3 Springfield Terrace.

The dentist was Mr. Shapcott, who was also a chemist and lived at Lonsdale. My milk teeth were extracted by my father who used fine brass wire and just pulled. Often the wire broke, my teeth were so strong, and then he had another go. Mr. Shapcott used pliers but his treatment was just as crude compared with dentistry today. There were no injections given — one just had to grin and bear it.

The medical practitioner for Combe Martin and the surrounding district was Dr. N.S. Manning, physician and surgeon. When visiting patients where he could tether his horse he used that means of transport, otherwise he rode a solid tyre bicycle.

The first public motor transport in the village was "Jumbo", an ex-army lorry run by Mr. Shapcott between Combe Martin and Ilfracombe after the first world war.

My first day at school was before my third birthday. The Infants School was held in the Baptist Chapel Sunday School Room. There was a "Babies" class separated from the two older classes by a large maroon coloured curtain drawn across the room. The teacher was Miss Robins, daughter of the Registrar. Miss Land was the Headmistress and a very severe one too.

The Boys' School and the Girls' School were in the building now used for the Community Centre, the Girls' entrance being in Castle Street and the Boys' entrance in Church Street, known as "Figgy" Street.

When I left school at 14 I was very keen to train as a nurse, but although I hated it my mother, a dressmaker, decided instead that I should "learn the

trade". I was apprenticed for two years with G.H. Creek & Son at London House in Combe Martin. My working day was from 8.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. with a ten minute lunch break, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. when we stopped for tea, and we then continued from 5.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. On Wednesday half day we worked from 8.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. Time was accurately kept and an extra ten minutes off had to be made up during the day.

With the privilege of being taught the trade, we were allowed 2d. in the shilling discount on any goods bought in the shop, but since as apprentices we received no payment at all this benefit was almost nil.

Until the Shop Act came into force, closing time was decided by the shop keeper and all shops remained open until 10 or 10.30 p.m. on Saturday nights. Then the blinds were pulled down until Monday morning. There was no Sunday trading at all, other than the delivery of milk.

It was also unheard of to go on the beach on a Sunday.

All places of worship attracted large congregations, and on special occasions chairs were needed in the aisles to seat people. For the benefit of those living at the seaside end of the village a hall made of corrugated iron was erected where 'Monica's' car park is now. This was known as the "Iron Church" and was later removed to a site opposite the Council houses and finally demolished when the present Church Hall was acquired.

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THE EAST WORLINGTON HOARD

Norman Shiel

Although it had, at various times, up to four mints in operation, Devon is singular in its total lack of coin hoards from the post Roman period down to the mid seventeenth century. The Civil War was a period of high intensity hoarding in England, particularly in those parts of the country through which moved the armies of one or other party. Of all these hoards, by far the largest is that which was found in 1895 at East Worlington near Chumleigh. Numerically it far exceeds any other contemporary hoard, and only that of 420 unites from Lewisham, had a higher monetary value.

The hoard was found by a labourer who was banking up a hedge which enclosed an orchard on Thornham Farm, in the parish of East Worlington. It consisted of 5,188 silver coins concealed in three earthenware vessels, each with a stone placed over its mouth. A summary of the contents shows that it is a typical hoard of the period, though on a much larger scale.

Summary by Reigns

<i>Edward VI</i>	shillings	11
	sixpences	7
<i>Elizabeth I</i>	shillings	578
	sixpences	1,649
<i>James I</i>	shillings	320
	sixpences	184
	Scottish half merks	2
	Irish shillings	3
<i>Charles I</i>	crowns	1
	halfcrowns	1,652
	shillings	485
	sixpences	295
<i>Other</i>	Spanish 8 real piece (c1630)	1
		<u>5,188</u>

This provides an excellent cross-section of the coinage in circulation and available for hoarding in the 1640s. It follows the usual pattern, starting with a few worn pieces from the fine-silver issue of Edward VI followed by great numbers from the long reign of Elizabeth, fewer from that of James, and most of all from the coinage of Charles himself. These last include two shillings from the Aberystwyth mint which closed in 1642, and a good selection of Exeter mint pieces. The absence from so great a hoard, of coins from other provincial mints which had begun to strike by the time of its deposition, confirms the impression that such pieces did not circulate widely beyond their centres of production.

Exeter Mint Coins (all m.m. Rose)

Crown	1
Halfcrowns (four varieties)	43

Shillings (five varieties)	7
Sixpence	1
	52 = £6 0s. 0d.

To this may be compared the hoard from an uncertain site in Yorkshire, concealed about the time of Marston Moor when York itself was under siege. That included a considerable number of York mint halfcrowns and the rather vague suggestion has been made that, 'the owner was a Royalist official who had business with the mint'. The East Worlington hoard is very much larger and the Exeter element in it consisted of uncirculated pieces from the first issue only, such as to suggest that these were the latest Exeter coins to leave the city before the enemy laid siege to it.

Civil War hoards range in value from a few shillings to over a hundred pounds, thirty pounds being a rough average. With this as a good year's wages in many trades, and soldiers on eight pence a day, £242 6s. 0d. has seemed to some too great a sum to be other than part of a military pay chest, concealed in haste by a paymaster of the Royalist forces. Local tradition, as documented at the time of discovery, was that the owner of the estate during the Civil War, a man named Copley, did fight for the Royalist cause. This tradition goes further to preserve his supposed last words as, 'in the orchard', a more or less apocryphal reference to the coins! The nature of the burial and the containers suggests more strongly that this was a hoard of private wealth, albeit considerable private wealth, in a recognisable spot away from buildings which might be burned by the enemy. The proximity of a 'friendly' as well as a hostile army could equally motivate hoarding of private wealth as the one might expect as a contribution what the other would regard as booty. A man might choose to fight for a cause, but, at the same time, see fit to bury his wealth against the outcome of the struggle. In this case the owner was never to enjoy his money again.


That many of the coins of Charles in this Royalist hoard are defaced by scratch marks on the obverses, is an interesting reflection of the divided loyalties of Devonians. None of the coins that were fresh from the Exeter mint had been so abused. They had gone direct from Royalist mint to loyal subject. Quite a number of the earlier coins of Charles, which had seen considerable circulation, suffered disrespectful defacement at the hands of parliamentarians in north Devon before coming into the possession of Copley. Such a means of expressing one's feeling is well enough attested from ancient times but in the case of Charles the most suitable parallel is rather more recent, consisting of coins of Louis XVI on which the neck of the portrait has been cut through!

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NEW CONTRIBUTORS

- Stanley Baldock is Horticultural Lecturer at West Sussex College of Agriculture and has been researching into cider-making equipment since 1968. He was runner-up in the BBC Chronicle Award for 1978.
- David Hawkings is a Plymothian working for the Ministry of Defence in London. He has nearly completed a history of the water supply leats of Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport, and plans a study of the rise of the Anglo-Catholic movement in Plymouth.
- Greg Finch, now studying Economic History at Bristol University, was still a pupil of Robin Stanes at Exmouth School when he wrote the article which appears in this issue.
- Norman Shiel teaches Classics at Exeter School and wrote the section on coins in the recently published Exeter Archaeological Report on **The Legionary Bath-house and Basilica and Forum at Exeter**.
- Pat Sampson teaches history at Uffculme School and is a member of the Culmstock Local History Society.

CONFERENCE AT CULMSTOCK, 10 March 1979

The introductory papers prepared for this very successful meeting were of such interest that we reproduce them here for the benefit of members unable to attend.

NOTES ON THE CULM VALLEY

Robin Stanes

Coldharbour Mill, Uffculme

Owned by Fox Bros. of Wellington for at least 180 years, this is a spinning mill employing about 40 men and women. Its output includes khaki yarn for making Fox's puttees. It is one of the few survivors of Devon's earlier once extensive spinning industry although some new firms have opened in recent years. Its most notable features are the waterwheel and steam engine which still provide most of its power. Fox Bros, a Quaker family, own other mills at Wellington and Bridgwater. (See Hubert Fox, **Quaker homespun**).

Hemyock Castle

Most people say 'what castle?', as well they might. It is in fact a late mediaeval 'bastard feudalism' castle built in or at least begun in 1381. Its builder was William de Asthorp who married one of the Dynham family who owned Hemyock. He and his wife got a license to crenellate in 1380. From here, having built himself a stronghold, he proceeded to take the law into his own hands and bully his immediate neighbours. He had a violent quarrel with the Abbot of Dunkewell's men and broke open his pound. He also attacked the Countess of Devon's steward at 'Mersh', laid wait to kill him and broke open his house. He had a number of more respectable jobs in the county as well but his castle was essentially a private stronghold where he could assemble his men. It had no strategic significance. Later the castle was besieged during the Civil War and there was some sort of engagement here involving the garrison of Lyme Regis; it was also used as a prison by the Royalists. The house in the middle may well post-date the Civil War when the castle was probably 'sighted'.

Unigate Factory, Hemyock

Begun by four farmers in 1886 to make and market their local butter. It seems to have been initially a sort of co-operative, collecting the cream by horse and cart from all around. It was successful and was eventually bought up by a bigger organisation in 1918. It closed for a year about two years ago but now makes 'Gold'. Once it was a cloth mill — there are many Rackhayes fields in Hemyock. Hemyock's present size, character and prosperity probably largely depend on it.

Iron smelting site at Hemyock

There seems to have been a primitive iron industry quite widely spread on the Blackdowns. Slag, once molten, is fairly commonly picked up and there are surface 'bell' pits at Blackborough. The site at Hemyock is an enormous grass-covered pile of slag with a small enclosure at one end where presumably the blast furnace stood. Its date is unknown but it must be pre-1840 since on the Tithe map the site is referred to as 'linhay and garden'. The slag was probably sufficiently molten to indicate a blast of some sort rather than a 'bloomery' but where did the power come from?

Culmstock Mills

A corn mill and a cloth mill were worked by Fox Bros until fairly recently. When the previous owner went bankrupt, it was taken over by them in response to an appeal from the people of Culmstock where in 1841 there were still 115 people in the cloth trade. Both Hemyock and Culmstock were and are populous villages, largely due to the cloth trade.

The Bridge

An indulgence was given for helping the building of this bridge in mediaeval times. The present shape of the bridge is comparatively recent.

The Church

Famous for its 'Bonsai'ed' yew tree on the church tower; at least 150 years old. It had to be watered in the drought. The church also possesses a famous fifteenth century cope now under repair. This was R. D. Blackmore's church; he was curate here and lived in the Rectory and his book *Pertycross* is about this area. Near the church are a row of what were probably weavers' cottages.

The Beacon

On the top of Culmstock Beacon can be seen the Beacon hut. It was designed to house a fire but how it was done seems uncertain.

The Culm Valley Railway

Opened in 1876, it joined the three villages of Hemyock, Culmstock and Uffculme to Cullompton and Tiverton junction and was a light railway. It was still carrying milk until recently but when the Hemyock factory closed temporarily, the railway was closed permanently by the construction of the motorway. It seems to have been entirely locally financed originally.

CULMSTOCK AS AN INDUSTRIAL TOWN

Pat Sampson

The present appearance of Culmstock as a rural and dormitory village is completely different to the picture that would have been seen 150-200 years ago. Culmstock was then a thriving industrial town producing goods for sale but needing to import very little. The 1801 census clearly showed the industrial nature of the community for whilst only 183 people were connected with agriculture, 769 were employed in either trade or industry.

The most important industry was the making of woollen cloth. This had a very long history in the area. In the sixteenth century Exeter was one of the most important cloth exporting towns in England and the areas round Exeter produced cloth for this trade. The Culm valley was one of these areas.

Much earlier, in 1394, the fourth largest wool merchant in Devon lived in Culmstock and for years after that it retained its importance. In the seventeenth century one lady, Hellen Manning, employed 400 people in the cloth manufacturing trade. In 1669 another lady, Elizabeth Hellings, died leaving £1,275 5s. 6d. She was a clothier sending goods by packhorse over atrocious roads to trading houses in Blackwell Hall, London.

This cloth-making trade was responsible for an increase in the size of the population and for a lot of building on the waste where poor people could live only paying £1 a year rent and where dye houses could be placed without offending the rest of the people. All the hamlets within the parish would have been involved in this trade and many areas have 'Rack Fields' nearby where the cloth was stretched on tenters after it was woven.

The cloth that was made in the area was mainly serge. This was fine cloth needing both long stapled fibres that were 'combed' and short stapled fibres that were 'carded' to make them lie straight. This cloth had to be 'fulled' by pounding in water with fullers earth to make it matted. This was done in a tulling mill which was powered by a waterwheel. There are a number of records mentioning these mills.

Gradually the Yorkshire woollen industry became more important and the west country industry declined. This was however only the case in relative terms. As late as 1841 24 per cent of the population of Culmstock was still employed in this industry but there were no longer rich merchant clothiers left in the village and many of the people employed in the industry were quite poor.

By this time there was a factory at Millmoor employing many people. This factory did both spinning and weaving. It was powered by a waterwheel as the early fulling mills had been and a number of the newer inventions were used in it including a carding machine, mules and a 'Slubbing Billy' which gave a final twist to the yarn. Many of the operators were children. The factory was owned by William Upcott but was managed by James Hardy. Neither of these men were members of local families.

Those employed in the cloth industry in 1841 were as follows :-

72 weavers
 6 woolcombers
 18 spinners
 5 warpers
 4 carder feeders — 1 carder with 3 young girl helpers
 2 slubbers
 2 reelers
 3 joiners
 3 factory labourers

These people were mentioned on the census return for that year. It is, however, probable that there were many more spinners supplying yarn to the weavers but in that census this sort of family labour would not have been recorded as normally only the heads of families were specifically mentioned.

By 1873 the factory had stopped operating, so creating a pool of unemployment. In 1874 these poor people asked Fox Bros of Wellington to re-open the factory for the production of yarn. This factory had been made of lath and plaster but Fox's, in agreeing to start production, decided to pull this factory down and rebuild it with the stone and brick building that still stands. This was erected between the years 1877 and 1878. Until the 1930s this mill was also powered by a waterwheel fed by an artificial leat and in 1906 it employed 30 men combing and spinning wool for the Wellington factory.

Gradually fewer people worked at the mill and in the late 1960s it was closed by Fox's and the mill was sold to the Council. It has been recently taken over again for the production of cloth so once again it will provide some limited employment in the industry that has always been the mainstay of the village.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

Back Numbers of DEVON HISTORIAN. Copies of Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10 of **Devon Historian** are available, price 30p from the Hon. Secretary, Central Library, Lyminster Road, Torquay.

Please send any spare copy of Nos. 7, 11, 16 to the Hon. Secretary — stocks are non-existent and urgently needed to make up complete sets.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

held at Exeter University, Saturday, 12 May, 1979

The presidential address by Mr. William Best-Harris was on "Some curiosities of Devon literature". It was resolved that a summary of the minutes of the business meeting which followed should be included in the **Devon Historian**.

Matters arising from minutes of AGM 1978.

The Chairman reported on the work of the Devon Historic Buildings Trust in Ottery St. Mary and Tiverton.

Mr. Owen Baker reported on the Devon Library Services' projected annual bibliography of additions to the **Devon Union List**. The likely number of new titles (250-300) might require a separate list rather than inclusion in the **Devon Historian**. The Chairman stressed the need to develop the index to the **V.C.H. Devon**, perhaps using voluntary help.

Membership. 18 new personal and 3 corporate members had been enrolled.

Treasurer's report. The credit balance was only £107.81 due to the greatly increased costs of producing the **Devon Historian**. Income from advertisements had partly offset these increases, but it was necessary to raise all subscriptions as follows :-

Individual members	£2.00
Family membership	£2.50
Libraries, Museums, Schools and Record Offices	£2.00
Societies and organisations with over 100 members	£8.00
Other corporate members	£4.00

The increases were formally approved.

Publicity. It was decided to produce a leaflet/poster outlining the work of the Conference. Members were also asked to contact their local newspapers with relevant items.

Editor's report. All contributors were thanked and in particular Miss Lorna Smith who had compiled the **Index to Devon Historian, 1-15**. The printer, David Robinson, was thanked for his help in preparing the journal and the Hon. Secretary and his wife for their time and trouble in despatching it.

Election of Officers. All officers and Council members were re-elected. (Details inside front cover)

Change of name. After discussion and an inconclusive vote, it was decided not to proceed in this matter.

Local history societies. The Chairman emphasised the value of bringing together representatives of local history societies within the county. The Council would consider what action to take.

Conferences. One-day conferences had been arranged as follows :-

Holworthy, 3 November, 1979; and
Modbury, 23 February, 1980.

Professor Eric Jones, Visiting Professor from La Trobe University, Australia, would address the Holworthy Conference.

Tenth Anniversary of the Standing Conference, 1980. Members felt that a Lunch at Dartington Hall would be a suitable way to mark the occasion.

ADVANCE NOTICE

AGM 1980 and Tenth Anniversary of the Standing Conference. The Annual General Meeting for 1980, which marks the Tenth Anniversary of the SCDH, will be held at Dartington Hall on Saturday, 10 May. The distinguished scholar, Professor A.G. Dickens, Foreign Secretary of the British Academy and until his recent retirement Director of the Institute of Historical Research, will speak on **The Early English Protestants.**

Full details will be sent to members with the next issue of **Devon Historian.**

QUERY

Kay Coutin, now living in Sussex and sadly missed by her friends in Devon, sends the following query:

"In S. Devon, nr. Dartington, there is a house with the mysterious name of Knoddy (see **Dartington Houses**). I thought this might be derived from Nodden, which occurs near Bigbury and maybe elsewhere. But there are several Noddies in Sussex, e.g. Mount Noddy and this name is said to mean 'slag heap' and is associated not surprisingly with iron working. Perhaps the archaeologists, industrial and otherwise might investigate the matter in Devon."

If anyone can help, please write to Mrs. Coutin, Courtlands Cottage, Sharpthorne, East Grinstead, Sussex.

THE KINGDOM OF DUMNONIA by Susan M. Pearce. Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1978. vi + 222pp with 12 figs., 16 maps and 32 plates. £7.95. ISBN 0 902899 686.

The scope of this book is indicated by the sub-title: 'Studies in History and Tradition in South Western Britain, A.D. 350-1150'. It is not, as the author makes clear, a history of south west Britain in the early Christian period, many facets of which cannot now be usefully considered, owing to the dearth of material. Nor is it confined to the Celtic kingdom, to which the term Dumnonia rightly applies; it covers Saxon developments and carries on into the aftermath of the Norman Conquest. Geographically the study extends over the historic counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset, an area probably greater than that of the Kingdom of Dumnonia at its widest. But in a work which is greatly concerned with continuity, this choice is convenient, in that it allows the survey to cover an adequate part of both those elements which make up the Romano-British background — the civilised classical landscape of the towns and villas and the less romanised countryside west of Exeter.

The archaeological survey, which forms one of the bases of the study is both thorough and up-to-date. It includes summaries of research not yet fully published or analysed, such as the excavation of the area immediately west of Exeter Cathedral and the suburban Christian cemetery of Poundbury, outside Dorchester. It is safe to say that nothing of importance in this field has been overlooked, though the full evaluation of work in progress may lead to some changes in emphasis and require some reinterpretation of the sites. In addition to the archaeological material the author provides adequate surveys of subjects so diverse as the early Christian inscriptions on stone, the written record of the local saints and the king-list of Dumnonia, to name but a selection.

Inevitably so wide-ranging a survey will have errors and omissions; those noted are not serious and hardly affect the general picture. The statement that entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle recording the victories of Dyrham (577) and Beandune (614: tentatively identified as Bindon in East Devon) are normally interpreted as suggesting Germanic settlement in Dorset in the sixth century (p. 57) is neither correct nor likely and the accompanying survey illustrates the lack of evidence. The first name on the Castle Dore stone is not indecipherable (p. 154); DRUSTANUS, with ANU ligatured is legible on the photograph by O.G.S. Crawford, published in 1951. It is needless to multiply instances like these. The same holds good of minor omissions that might have strengthened, but would not have affected, the argument. An instance occurs on p. 91, where reference to monastic land grants in 'recognisable charter form' found in the Book of Llandaff would have been strengthened by citing similar evidence in respect of Glastonbury and Sherborne.

The author has not confined herself to a survey, but has rightly attempted to draw conclusions. These cover some of the more controversial issues and will not always command general assent. The section entitled 'the character of the British Church in the South west' affords a typical example of the approach and illustrates the careful balance of these conclusions. It ends with the

following short paragraph (p. 92). 'The blending of Roman and monastic elements had created the Christianity of the south west as the sixth century progressed. There is every reason to suppose that the mixture of monastic communities and secular graveyards remained in good working order as Saxon settlers began to penetrate the peninsula.' No one will deny that this provides one possible interpretation of the evidence here set out in regard to the earlier part of the period. But it is not the only possible solution and this evidence is susceptible of other interpretations. 'Secular graveyards' implies the continuance of cemeteries that had their being in the social and political organisations of fourth century Britain and these were very different in the eastern and western parts of the peninsula. At Exeter and further east it would go beyond the evidence to assume that the causes which brought about intra-mural burial in Gaul and Italy were also operative in fifth century Britain. The only well-explored suburban cemetery in the region, at Poundbury outside Dorchester, admittedly came to an end at an early date (p. 61) and the differences between Poundbury and the great suburban cemeteries of the sub-Roman Rhineland are as great as the similarities. The intra-mural cemeteries at Exeter and Wareham, when they emerge into the light of history after the Saxon conquest, are associated with monastical churches (minsters), the organisation of which can have differed but little from that of the *clasiau* which preceded them. And at Wareham it is difficult to see to whom the memorial with British names can have been erected if not to the British nobles or to their successors, those enjoying a *wergild* of 600 shillings in the Laws of Ine. It is difficult to point to a single cemetery that can be classed as a 'secular graveyard' and survived beyond 600, the date when churchyard burial had become normal in Wales and also, probably, in the south west. That these churches were, in any sense 'secular', i.e. non-monastic, is a proposition for which no sound evidence has yet been adduced. A case could be made for interpreting the evidence cited in the section on the lines suggested by William Frend, whose conclusion may be summarised in the sentence quoted on p. 85: 'church organisation failed to survive the crisis.... the age of the Celtic saints opens an entirely new chapter'.

Such divergences of interpretation are bound to exist in a field like the 'Kingdom of Dumnonia', which has only recently become a subject for serious academic study embracing all the relevant disciplines. All that can be asked of a study like this is that it shall take account of all the available material, not disguising those areas where the data are still insufficient. That has been successfully achieved in the present book. The author's conclusions, if occasionally open to criticism, are always balanced and reasonable and the reader must be left to form his own judgment in those cases where more than one solution is possible. The author is to be congratulated on the completion of a task which has long been overdue.

C.A. Raleigh Radford

SHADES & SPECTRES: A GUIDE TO DEVON HAUNTINGS. Compiled by the Devon Folklife Register. Published by the Exeter City Museums Service, 1978. 55pp + 7 distribution maps.

Of all the 'job creation' projects financed by the Government, perhaps that which launched the Devon Folklife Register may be accounted among the more imaginative. A small team of young graduates trained in history and archaeology are creating an archive of Devon folklife and lore, an aid that has long been needed by both scholars and journalists. One only hopes that these enthusiastic young people will receive the continuing support required for such a long-term project.

Meanwhile we may welcome the first-fruits of their labours in this modest hand-list of ghost stories extracted from local transactions and a limited number of topographical books. The stories are listed under place-names and given numbers which are carefully located on the maps for easy reference. This should save future workers weeks of drudgery and makes the list a most useful starting point. There is no attempt to classify or evaluate the material in any way, which is wise, since the team do not pretend to any specialised knowledge of psychical research or of folklore. There is not even any differentiation between those phenomena which people have claimed to experience, and those which are purely traditional and legendary. There remain two causes for adverse criticism: too much reliance has been placed on books which themselves are derived from secondary sources; also the compilers have a dangerously small stock of local knowledge. Hence errors creep in and are liable to be repeated, but in fact there are remarkably few mistakes, all things considered. 'Barton Hall' instead of Barton, Kingskerswell (p.20) is probably a misprint, but in Baring Gould's odd story about Fontelautus Dennis we are left with the impression that Fontelautus is the family name which it is not.

However, only a very lazy and stupid scholar would expect this to be definitive authority; it is only intended as an indication of cases, and as such it should prove of great help. We can congratulate them on their first venture and wish them success with their further publications.

Theo Brown

100 YEARS OF A VILLAGE SCHOOL: BRANSCOMBE SCHOOL. 1878-1978. E. McWilliam, 32 pp., 65p post-free from the author, 33 Lingfield Road, Wimbledon, London, SW19 4PZ.

Enthusiastic support by villagers for their schools may be said to have varied in inverse ratio to their liability to pay for them. Branscombe, which took nearly 8 years after the 1870 Act to open a Voluntary School, is found in the 1889/9 Returns to be one of only two Devon village schools sharing the distinction of having no local financial support whatever by way of subscriptions or voluntary rate, to have then raised over a third of its costs from exceptionally high fees (on an average attendance of 106), and to have relief for the rest on government grant. It is not therefore surprising that when the original headmaster shortly left he was not replaced, his duties being transferred to the Infants' mistress, and that assistant staffing was thenceforth mainly by pupil-teachers.

Conversely, having made the school 'Controlled' and so passed over the last financial responsibility to the County ratepayers, the villagers of the 1970's have vociferously fought proposals for closure and the transfer of the remaining pupils to a new area-school at Beer.

Ms. McWilliam's account spans the intervening century, drawing on the Logbook and latterly on the Managers' Minutes, and also on local memory. The first source lacks the pungency sometimes found in such early records, but gives a fair explanation of changing curricula and additional practice, and the impact on the School of the two Wars. Local memory supplements this with anecdotes and character-sketches of teachers, and sidelights on village life earlier in this century. A particularly attractive feature is a series of group photographs from c.1900 onwards, illustrating the social changes evident in the children over the last 75 years.

While this will be primarily of local interest, it is a useful addition to the many 'school histories' which have appeared since the 1970 centenary, and is well worth the attention of anyone with a particular interest in this field.

R.R. Sellman

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SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE OF THE CIVIL WAR by Amos C. Miller. Phillimore 1979. 215pp. illustrated. £5.95. ISBN 0 85033 330X.

Family piety elevated the Cornish royalist Sir Richard Grenville (1600-59) into 'the King's General in the West'. There were in fact many competitors for that title, among them Lord George Goring, who vied, too, with Grenville in unpleasantness of character. If Charles I had appointed a single generalissimo in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, his forces there might have done better, though as Dr. Amos Miller asserts in this well-documented, thoughtful and pleasantly-written biography developments outside the area, notably the formation of the New Model Army, ensured that ultimate parliamentary victory would have been not denied but merely delayed. Grenville had many qualities for command — field experience on the continent and in Ireland, enterprise, courage, energy, assertiveness and a capacity to awaken enthusiasm among both troops and civilians, rather oddly, given his propensity for incontinent hangings. But he was better at imposing discipline than in accepting it. His insubordination threatened relationships among the king's military and civilian advisers in the south-west. Nor did his lack of political conviction, revealed in his abrupt and unembarrassed desertion of Parliament in 1643, which earned him the soubriquet 'Skellum' (scoundrel), help. His arrogance, harshness, self-righteousness mingled with maudlin self-pity made Clarendon, as a statesman and an historian, wince. Even his apologists, like the eighteenth century Lord Lansdowne, found it hard to warm to him. Dr. Miller's aim is understanding, without too much recourse to psycho-history. His Grenville, upon whom he has been working for many years, emerged pretty much as he was before — an unappealing individual, blameworthy but inclined to blame everybody but himself.

The bulk of the book is taken up with Grenville's military activity. Dr. Miller makes as much sense as possible of the incoherent tactics and strategy of both sides moving about in the south-west. But the task is difficult. What, for instance, was Grenville doing hanging around Ottery St. Mary in May 1645? Grenville seems to have had few convictions except perhaps a local patriotism demonstrated particularly in 1646 when he thought of cutting off the 'ruined county of Devon' and 'poor little Cornwall' from the rest of the tottering kingdom by a ditch dug from Barnstaple to the Channel. But that may have been so that he could hang on to his private gains during the war and continue from strength his struggle with his formidable wife, Mary Howard. Someone called the law of Stuart England 'a husband's law' — it was, even a third husband's — but as in every age, long before women's lib, it was possible for a strong-minded female — as Mary was — with good legal advice, faced by a crude and greedy adversary, to give him a good run for her money. Dr. Miller's account of their war of attrition is the best thing in as balanced a biography as Grenville is likely to get or to deserve.

Ivan Roots

WESTERN CIRCUIT ASSIZE ORDERS 1629-1648 ed. J.S. Cockburn (Royal Historical Society: Camden Fourth Series, Vol. 17). xiv + 352pp. 1976. n.p.

Dr. J.S. Cockburn has already edited the Somerset Assize Orders 1640-59 for the Somerset Record Society (1971), besides writing a history of the English Assizes from 1558 to 1714 (C.U.P. 1972). In editing the Western Assize Orders for 1629-1648 he draws upon these earlier works and a wealth of unpublished material in the Public Record Office and local archives. His Introduction is very brief, dealing chiefly with the nature and condition of the documents without any attempt to establish their historical significance. He shews that not all the business at assizes found its way into the order books, that some orders were entered much later, and some were actually excised, as in the case of those for the summer and winter assizes of 1633, presumably taken by William Prynne in the early 1640s for use in the impeachment of William Laud. The bulk of the remaining 1215 orders are, rather disappointingly, calendared, though with supporting notes and cross-references as appropriate. A score of particular interest are printed in extenso in the original spelling. Of these only two concern Devon, No. 17, dealing with the water-course at Fenniton (August 1629), and No. 635, responding to a petition from the church wardens and overseers of the poor at Honiton who complained about the great influx into Honiton of poor strangers 'brought into the trade of bond lace making, whereby the towne is like to come into great poverty' (March 1638).

The orders cover 1629-42 and 1646-48. The gap is the effect of the cessation of circuits during the civil war. Little impression is given by the first batch of orders of a society on the brink of rebellion, still less of revolution. The most frequent orders deal with the repair, or rather lack of it, of highways and bridges, those traditional sources of local friction. In the nature of things these join separate communities, each of which could, and usually did, claim that it was the others that benefitted from the maintenance of such expensive links. The funding of Cullompton's nine bridges, raised in July 1632 (No. 241) was still a matter of dispute as late as 1650 (note to No. 944). The Assizes of March 1647 observed that an order of August 1642 for the repair of the highway at St. Thomas near Exeter had never been implemented (Nos. 1009 and 1084. There is an incorrect cross-reference to No. 578). Other common orders, both pre- and post-civil war, concern the appointment of hundred (high) constables and the perennial unwillingness of individuals to have the job thrust upon them, disputes about the settlement of the poor, provocative language, apprenticeship, alehouses and bastardy. Only one or two orders post-1646 give any indication that the country was just emerging from civil strife and still in search of a settlement. Students of the period will draw their own conclusions.

Ivan Roots

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Tamar: journal of the Friends of Morwellham, No. 1, 1978. 75p. "planned not only as a journal devoted to the history of the Tamar Valley.... but also with the hope that by trying to interpret its past, the Tamar and its countryside can be linked firmly with the present and the future".

Kingston History Society. **The Church of St. James the Less, Kingston**, by H.M. Petter. 1979. 30p (on sale in the church).

CORRECTION

My Life on Lundy, by Felix Gade. 1978.

Unfortunately, Mr. Gade died on Lundy last October. The first limited edition of his memoirs has already sold out, but the editor, Mrs. Myrtle Langham, hopes to print a further 150 copies this year. Members wishing to order a copy are asked to inform Mrs. Langham, 17 Furzefield Road, Reigate, Surrey. Proceeds from the sale of the book will be used for the benefit of the islanders and as a memorial to Mr. Gade.

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Wilder Road, Ifracombe

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Standing Conference for Local History

Information for local historians:

1. Directory of national organisations. 1978. 40p
2. Recognisable qualifications in local history. 1977. 30p
3. Local history societies in England and Wales. 1978. 65p

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EXETER UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

New Books Autumn 1979

Walter Minchinton (editor) *Reactions to Social and Economic Change 1750-1939* (Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 12, General Editor Walter Minchinton).

The papers in this volume are 'Ceremony, Custom and Ritual: some observations on social conflict in the rural community 1750-1850' by Robert W. Bushaway; 'The Social Structure of Lostwithiel in the Early Nineteenth Century' by Norman J.G. Pounds; 'Secularisation and the Care of the Poor in Scotland' by David E. Gladstone; 'Unemployment Relief Works in Southampton between the Wars: a case study' by Adrian J. Vinson; and 'The Voluntary Response to Mass Unemployment in South Wales' by Peter Stead. This wide-ranging collection of papers deals with various aspects of the burgeoning field of social history.

A4, paperback, 117 pages, 7 figures and diagrams. ISBN 0 85989 043 0. Provisional price £2.

Anne Glyn-Jones *Rural Recovery: Has it Begun?* Published by the University of Exeter and Devon County Council.

At the request of Devon County Council, Exeter University Geography Department undertook a study of the small and deeply rural market town of Hatherleigh in West Devon, to assess changes there since it was designated a "key settlement" in 1964. The report examines the planning objectives of different statutory authorities, and the extent to which the objectives have been achieved. It records a saga of diminishing services and of impediments to development, and detects among local people a widespread disenchantment with government. Nevertheless, it appears that, after a hundred years of declining population, the parish is now attracting adults of working-age, there is little unemployment, a strong sense of community, and a busy programme of social activities for all ages — hence the title of the report.

Paperback, 130 pages, 5 illustrations, 5 maps. ISBN 0 85989 140 2. Price £2.50.

Other Recent Publications

Paul T. Bidwell *The Legionary Bath-House and Basilica and Forum at Exeter*, with a preface by Aileen Fox. Exeter Archaeological Reports, Volume 1.

A4, cloth bound, 262 pages, 78 maps and figures, 35 black and white plates.
ISBN 0 85989 094 5. Price £17.00. Jointly published by Exeter City Council and the University of Exeter.

Walter Minchinton (editor) *Capital Formation in South-West England*. Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 9.

A4, paperback, 61 pages. ISBN 0 85989 038 4. Price £1.75.

Books may be obtained (post free) from The Publications Office, University of Exeter, Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, Exeter, EX4 4QJ. Tel. Exeter 77911 Ext. 649.
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