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THE BARNSTAPLE ELECTION OF JULY, 1852

Robert Newton

"One cannot deal with the political history of Barnstaple with anything approaching pleasure" remarked a local historian of that ancient borough¹. Barnstaple, the Commons were informed, "for many years had been as corrupt a borough as could possibly be imagined". Indeed in 1818 the electors were sufficiently broad-minded to elect Sir Manasseh Lopez, for a consideration of £3,000, while Lopez was awaiting trial and conviction at Exeter for bribery at Grampound. Some reformers believed that the Reform Act of 1832 would inaugurate the reign of electoral purity; in an editorial of 1833 in Exeter's *Western Times* Thomas Latimer had announced that corruption had received its final doom². Twenty years later, however, Barnstaple and other boroughs were demonstrating that in such matters man was incorrigibly a little lower than the angels.

The general election of 1847, it is true, was remembered at Barnstaple with evident regret as the pure or tectotal election. No "third man" appeared in the contest for the two seats. The electors, some 500 householders and 254 freemen, returned a Conservative, Richard Bremridge, a local attorney, and the Hon. John Fortescue (1819-1859), Liberal, member of the distinguished Whig family of Castle Hill, Filleigh. Bremridge (1803-1878), also known as Roaring Dick, was senior partner in the local firm of Bremridge, Toller and Saville. A political attorney, such as flourished after the Reform Act, twice mayor of Barnstaple, he was a contemporary of Exeter's John Daw (1803-1884), the latter a skilled, but more self-effacing, Conservative political agent. The two men handled the practical politics of much of Devon.

The Hon. John Fortescue retired in 1851. He was succeeded in the candidature for Barnstaple by his elder brother, Lord Ebrington (1818-1905, 3rd Earl Fortescue 1861) who had been private secretary to Lord Melbourne and had been returned for Plymouth in 1841. In February, 1852, the government of Lord John Russell resigned. At Barnstaple it seemed that there would be only two candidates, Ebrington and Bremridge, for the ensuing general election. This suggested another pure election: accordingly a group of public-spirited electors, including the landlord of the Bee Hive public house, advertised for a third candidate without being particular about his politics.

A third candidate in fact did come forward. Sir William Fraser (1826-1898), officer in the Life Guards, author, book-collector and well-known in the London clubs, decided to stand for Barnstaple; to acquire a footing in the borough he began negotiations for the purchase of Pilton House through the firm of Bremridge, Toller and Saville. Before the purchase was completed Fraser had a discussion on electoral prospects with Bremridge in London. Fraser was informed that, while much depended on the circumstances, an election could cost him as much as £1,500. Bremridge later told the commissioners of inquiry that he was aware that an election costing the candidate £1,500 must involve illegal practices though he himself had never

contemplated irregularities. "Improper practices", he said, firmly but unconvincingly, "never crossed my mind." He had merely given an estimate of the maximum cost. He admitted however that expenditure on this scale would necessarily involve "other than legal practices"³.

The election preliminaries in July, 1852, were subdued, though a stir was caused by an offer by William Rock, later the donor of Rock Park, to pay £100 for evidence of bribery. This offer was denounced by Bremridge as a disgraceful slur on the electors of Barnstaple. On the 7th July the three candidates appeared in The Square heralded by the Bidford Brass Band. Liberal banners proclaimed "Free Trade" and "Civil, Commercial and Religious Freedom". Fraser arrived under the slogan "The Friend of the Working Classes"; Bremridge as "The Defender of our Rights". The town clerk read the latest act dealing with corrupt practices at elections⁴. The mayor discerned in the noisy crowd "the omnipotence of the national will". On the demand of the Rev. Henry Wrey, who had seconded Bremridge's nomination, the poll was fixed for the following day.

So far the election had been pure though not wholly tectotal. Ebrington who, as he was to inform the commissioners, "knew a good deal about the politics of the borough", had given strict instructions against bribery and had not opened "quilling houses" to provide free food and drink for his supporters. During the course of his canvas he had realised that he had no hope of election if bribery and treating were employed. He had been told in plain terms that the preferred candidate was "Mr. Most"⁵.

In the meantime Bremridge's agent and business partner, Edward Saville, had already opened a number of public houses in the Conservative interest. Bremridge himself claimed that he had expressed disapproval. Nevertheless he had given Saville £600, mostly in sovereigns, for "general purposes", while at the same time warning Saville against bribery. He informed the commissioners that he had heard nothing to suggest any expectation of bribery.

Towards midnight on the 7th July, according to the evidence of Bremridge and Saville, the situation changed. Two alarmed Conservatives called on Bremridge at Saville's house with news that the Liberals had begun to bribe. Saville asserted that he had heard nothing of the conversation being asleep on a sofa and waking only in time to light candles for the departing visitors. The commissioners listened to the story with incredulity: "You, as agent, could hardly have gone to sleep on such an occasion." Saville replied that he did, and explained that dozing was a family failing⁶.

At noon on the following day, 8th July, Ebrington had a small lead. Saville was then informed, he said, that an elector who had promised to vote Conservative had voted Liberal. In fact he had split his vote. Saville accordingly handed over £200 in sovereigns, not to bribe but, as he explained subsequently, "to let the men see that they might know that we had the money, that they might know that we could fulfil our engagements"⁷. This action was decisive. Sir William Fraser topped the poll with 406 votes. Bremridge was second with 393. The defeated Ebrington received 332. Saville, however, was in

deep trouble. On the evening following the poll he was informed that the £200 he had already handed over had been spent. On the next day he was virtually mobbed in the streets by voters who informed him that they knew that their friends had received money and threatened to disclose the bribery if they did not share in it. Saville drew £1,100 from the bank — the manager being a friend of the cause — for immediate distribution. Later he drew £500. According to Saville it was only after £1,800 had been spent that Bremridge was informed. Bremridge flew into a passion but agreed to meet the expenditure. Sir William Fraser handed over a cheque for £1,500 without demur.

When the new Parliament met in November there were numerous election petitions, including one from Barnstaple. The usual committees of the House were appointed. The Barnstaple Election Committee had no difficulty in deciding that the election was void and that Bremridge and Fraser by their agents were guilty of bribery and corruption⁸. A writ to fill the vacant seats in the borough was, however, suspended pending a commission of inquiry. In July, 1853, Lord Aberdeen moved in the Lords the required address to the Queen and was supported by Lord Brougham, who declared that not only was there reason to believe that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed at Barnstaple but in all parts of the country.

The commission appointed in July sat at Barnstaple between the 30th August and the 19th September. From its eighteen thousand questions and answers emerges a story of politics at the grass roots, a story rendered in standard English but still retaining an echo of the vernacular of North Devon.

Evidence of Conservative bribery rapidly accumulated. Richard Fowler, householder, had voted for Bremridge and Fraser. When in due course his wife informed him that a mysterious hand had left money on the kitchen table Fowler replied "If you are satisfied I don't want to know what it is." Richard Hoskins, returning from church with a Conservative friend, found £7 on the table when the friend had left. "I thought it was better in my pocket than to bide there" said Hoskins. Edward Lewis, butcher, found £6 in a house which, he explained, he could not identify because he was drunk at the time; while John Ellis, freeman, on being told to go by a certain hayrick and pick up a stone, did as he was told and found £6. There were the usual voters hanging back from the poll until they were satisfied with the price of a vote. A group from Appledore arrived with a firm resolve to be paid for their trouble; as one of them, very drunk at the time, was reported to have dictated "I never voted once without being paid. If anybody pays me I do not care who it is." Men such as these receiving £6 for votes for both Conservative candidates, or £3 for one, could earn the equivalent of three months' wages of a labourer fortunate enough to be fully employed for that period; this was the experience of Henry Smith, railway labourer.

The commission reported that of 696 voters polled, 255 had been bribed, one by both sides. Corrupt practices had been unquestionably prevalent. Moreover, attempts to elicit the truth had "met with great evasion, prefabrication, and even perjury, rendered still more deplorable by the shameless bearing of those who had recourse to them". The commissioners

generously accepted Bremridge's explanation that by his estimate of £1,500 as the cost of a severe contest he did not contemplate bribery, but they had no doubt that between £1,650 and £1,700 had been spent corruptly, in addition to £130 spent by Saville at public houses where each man drank and no man paid.

The Liberals did not escape quite scathless. They had rejected an offer from the landlord of the Angel Inn of 26 votes for £100. But an over-enthusiastic Liberal tailor had paid £13 from his own pocket to obtain two votes for Lord Ebrington. Another supporter had promised a voter a sovereign. There were also three other cases involving sums of 10s. and 5s. No blame, however, was attached to Lord Ebrington, his agents or committee, though it was necessary for the game book of Castle Hill to be produced to prove that customary gifts of venison had been distributed without regard to party affiliations; a bill for harness repairs was examined in vain for a concealed bribe.

Barnstaple did not stand alone in the dock. In consequence of blatant corruption in the general election of 1852 the attorney general introduced bills relating to Canterbury, Cambridge, Kingston-upon-Hull and Maldon, in addition to Barnstaple, in order to disfranchise electors proved to have been bribed. The government also introduced the Corrupt Practices Bill of 1854⁹ which restrained parliamentary candidates from paying their expenses other than through their authorised agents. The bills affecting the five constituencies experienced difficulties. Colonel Sibthorpe, recently a staunch opponent of the Great Exhibition of 1851, told the House that, while not in favour of bribery, he thought that the government's procedure was "low, dirty, mean and nasty", and suggested purification of the Treasury bench¹⁰. The bills in fact were abandoned on the grounds that there was a general impression that witnesses before the various commissions of inquiry expected an indemnity.

So a new writ was issued for Barnstaple in the hope that the Act of 1854 would be a discouragement to bribery, and at the subsequent election the mayor reminded the crowd that the former members had been unseated for bribery and corruption. According to the **North Devon Journal** there were shouts from the crowd: "No bribery at all"; "We've had the money and spent it". No reputations were ruined by the events of 1852. Sir William Fraser was subsequently elected for Barnstaple in 1857, later for Ludlow and then Kidderminster. Bremridge represented Barnstaple again in 1863, after the successful Liberal candidate had been unseated on petition. He is commemorated by a window in St. Peter's Barnstaple.

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This paper is based primarily on the report of the commission of inquiry of 1854, **Parliamentary Papers, Reports from Commissioners 1854 (1704) xxi**, "Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the existence of corrupt practices in the borough of Barnstaple". I also acknowledge with

gratitude the facilities given some years ago to consult the files of the *North Devon Journal* at Barnstaple.

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For the statement below *Hansard* 3rd ser., cxxxi, 1020, 20.3.1854.
2. *Western Times*, 5.1.1833.
3. *Report of Commission*, Q. 9529 - 9575.
4. 15 & 16 Vic. cap. lvii.
5. *Report of Commission*, Q. 347, 376.
6. *Ibid.* Q. 10,832, 10,815-10, 839.
7. *Ibid.* Q. 10,924.
8. *Hansard*, cxxvi, 157, 21.4.1853.
9. 17 & 18 Vic. cap. cii.
10. *Hansard*, cxxxi, 1372, 27.5.1854; and for the withdrawal of the bills below, cxxxiii, 1064-1068, 29.5.1854.

THE DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY

The Standing Conference for Devon History, founded in 1970, will henceforth be known as the **Devon History Society**. The decision to change to a less cumbersome name was taken, not without some heart-searching, at the last AGM (report on page 19). But the aims and objects of the Standing Conference remain unaltered. We are not just another local history society. Like our parent body, the Standing Conference for Local History, the national organisation which exists to further local studies in Great Britain, we are first and foremost a liaison group. We seek to provide a forum where all those interested in the history of Devon can exchange information and advice. We also hope to co-ordinate the activities of local history groups throughout the county, providing a means for their representatives to unite in promoting the study of Devon history.

TITHE APPORTIONMENTS FOR CREDITON AND EXMINSTER

Christopher T and Michael J. Watts

with explanatory notes by Michael G. Dickinson, Senior Archivist, Devon Record Office

Occasionally whilst searching amongst records, one comes across items of apparent importance in the most unusual places. Where however these are of no immediate interest to the researcher, it is very tempting just to turn over the page and continue with one's own searching. It is a pity to do so, since then one's discovery remains lost until another researcher turns it up again, probably by chance.

Such a situation faced us recently whilst searching amongst the Chancery Masters' Reports at the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. Whilst looking in the volume for Hilary 1833 for details of a case of *Beasant v Clare*, we noticed that nearly 250 pages were taken up with a report containing lists of the owners and occupiers of land together with details of their holdings.

Further examination revealed that this was a report in a case concerning a dispute over the tithes for the parishes of Crediton, Exminster and the chapelry of Sandford in Devon. Although we did not examine the report in any detail, we can say that it contained a very extensive list of the owners and occupiers of land in Crediton and Exminster. This was set out in a fashion similar to that found in the tithe apportionments themselves (class IR 29 for the Tithe Commissioners' copy at the P.R.O., Kew); there was no map, though it is possible that this might be found amongst the other court records of the case, which we made no attempt to examine.

The report struck us as important since, being dated 1833, it surely predates the actual tithe apportionment which was presumably made in the early 1840s. For historians interested in these parishes, the information is contained in a Chancery Master's Report filed 19th December 1833 in the case of *Attorney General v Trustees of the Church of Crediton* — P.R.O. reference C 38/1551.

Explanation and commentary by M. Dickinson

This short note seeks to explain the apparently random collection of parishes included in the P.R.O. document C 38/1551, and the legal and local historical significance of that document.

Crediton with Sandford (a "parochial chapelry" in 1833 but now regarded as a full parish) and Exminster together formed an extremely ancient ecclesiastical estate, associated with Devon's first, pre-Conquest, episcopal see. Other such estates were centred on Bishop's Tawton and on Padstow in Cornwall. Following the Dissolution of the chantries, the goods and estates of the Collegiate Church of Crediton were vested in twelve "Governors" by charter of King Edward VI, 1547, and the grant was subsequently confirmed by Elizabeth I with the addition of the great tithes (corn, hay and wool) of Crediton, Sandford and Exminster, as well as the small tithes contained in Edward's grant.

The charters of Edward VI and Elizabeth I had the effect of making the Governors trustees with a privileged legal standing. At the same time their actions were subject to the jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor by virtue of the operation of the judicial precedents known as equity. As a body of trustees acting as the lay Rector of a group of parishes they were placed in a position which would not normally arise when the Rectory was in the hands of ecclesiastics or even of an individual family.

As early as 1624 the influence of Endymion Porter at the Court of James I caused a lawsuit to be pursued in the Court of Chancery, as a result of which the Lord Chancellor made a decree defining the trust as being responsible for the fabrics of Crediton and Exminster churches, for the support of Crediton Grammar School and certain exhibitioners at University, the relief of the poor at Crediton, and maintenance of the clergy at Crediton, Sandford and Exminster.

We must now turn from the local scene to the general issue of the commutation of tithe from payment in kind or from those local and temporary rates called "Moduses" to a permanent rent charge on land which could fluctuate within known limits to allow for the success or failure of the main crops.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the growing population of the British Isles, the great famine of 1801, and Napoleon's siege tactics made agriculturalists aware of the need for increased foodstuff production, while agitation against the clergy's tithe-based income grew. Thus the Inclosure of Land and Abolition or at least Commutation of Tithes became twin aims of those who sought to improve agricultural production in these islands.

In individual special cases Acts of Parliament were obtained inclosing the old open fields in a single parish. As part of this operation it became usual to apportion and commute the tithes on each newly created field. The first General Inclosure Act, passed in 1801 was designed to make this procedure easier. Thus, by 1833 tithes in a number of parishes had already been commuted, and the idea of Commutation and machinery to achieve it had already evolved. It was the idea of general commutation throughout England and Wales that was still being resisted by the Established Church.

Dr. and Mr. Watts rightly stress the importance to local historians of these 1833 assessments which antedate the assessments under the 1836 Act by ten years, for these only became fully operative in law in 1843.

I respectfully suggest to them that there is a further, wider interest to these documents. In 1833 Parliament rejected (not for the first time) a general bill to Commute Tithes, while the Lord Chancellor was able to give a judgement ordering Tithe Commutation in a particular case. We are used to accepting that the Judicature is less "liberal" than Parliament in its interpretation of the law; but in this case a climate existed which enabled the Judicature to be more "liberal" than Parliament.

Finally, both as an acknowledgement and as a pointer to further reading, I

would draw attention to E.J. Evans' excellent exposition **Tithes and the Tithe Commutation Act, 1836** published by the Standing Conference for Local History in their National Statutes and the Local Community series (London 1978). An older classic exposition may be found in W.E. Tate's **The Parish Chest** on pages 133-142 of the 1951 edition (Cambridge). On both of these I have relied for my paragraphs on Tithe Commutation.

Records of the Crediton Governors, other than the two Chancery decrees mentioned, are at the Devon Record Office, Castle Street, Exeter (Ref. No. 1660).

Plymouth A New History **Crispin Gill**

This scholarly work, published in two volumes, charts the history of Plymouth from the Ice Age to the present day. Volume 1 describes the basic political, social and economic changes which turned a 'mean habitation of fishers' into the port from which the Elizabethans opened up the Atlantic and the world. Volume 2 describes the advent of road, rail and steamship links, and the city's participation in a series of wars from the Civil War to World War II and the complete re-building of the city following the devastation of 1940.

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TORY EXETER?

Geoffrey J. Paley

"A Tory... may be defined in a few words, to be a lover of monarchy, though without abandoning liberty; and a partizan of the family of Stuart." wrote the youthful David Hume¹. The "Ever Faithful" city showed a somewhat ambivalent face to the House of Stuart. If we may quote Dr. Miller²: "Though most of the gentry ultimately supported Charles I, Devon was never as wholeheartedly royalist as... Cornwall". "The chief towns and boroughs... originally adhered to Parliament and a major part of the county was controlled by the Roundheads during the first year of the conflict." "The King raised his standard on the 22nd August and the Chamber agreed to engage an "ingineer" for the better defence of the City on the 8th September³. Preparations were made to withstand a siege and gifts totalling £300 made to the Governor, the Earl of Stamford. A year later when the City capitulated to the Royal forces, a present of £500 was made to the new Governor (to be shared with Prince Maurice).

The following Spring, Exeter provided a brief refuge for Henrietta Maria. Her physician, Sir John Hinton⁴, related: "The Queen being great with child and weak, having fits of the mother and a violent consumptive cough, I attended her Majesty till she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta and as a cruelty which ought not to be forgotten, being in a weak condition, she was forced within a week of her delivery to go to Cornwall, in which journey I waited upon Her Majesty, the greatest part of the journey on foot by the side of the litter: from thence she went into France and then I was commanded to return and take care of the Princess at Exeter..." Two years later, Exeter had surrendered to Fairfax and the following year 1647 the Corporation resolved that the date of the surrender (April 13th) should be commemorated each year. Not all of the citizens can have been so pliant, for following Penruddock's rising in 1655 and his execution with Hugh Grove in the Castle Yard, Izacke⁵ tells us that some thousand mourners followed Grove's body to St. Sidwell's Church. This lends a little substance to Miss Cresswell's story of Nicholas Monck⁶.

"As Cromwell's life drew near its close Royalist plots thickened. A house just outside Exeter served as a rendezvous for those intriguing for the restoration of the King. They mentioned Charles II under the name of the Black Boy, a jesting title Henrietta Maria had bestowed upon her swarthy son. The house was known in later times as the Black Boy Inn and the road to it was Black Boy road. Not long ago the inn displayed the sign of a negro's head. Now it is called Mount Pleasant and a link is lost in the chain of Exeter's history. Here it is said that Nicholas Monck might occasionally be seen amongst the loyal enthusiasts..." It is known⁷ that George Monck's brother Nicholas, rector of Plymtree and Kilkhampton, was used by Sir John Grenville to open the negotiations which led to the Restoration but if indeed Nicholas visited the Black Boy is another matter, as is the date of the name. The Charity Commissioners⁸ reported a 99 year lease in 1762 of a cottage between St. Ann's

Chapel and the Black Boy turnpike gate. In London⁹, the Black Boy as a sign dates from 1541. In the 17th century, it was popular with tavern and coffee house keepers, and as a tobacconists' sign in 1614. That Charles was known as the Black Boy appears from Hinton's letter to the King: "The day before General Monck went into Scotland he dined with me... and after dinner, he called me into the next room and after some general discourse, taking a lusty glass of wine, he drank a health to his Black Boy (as he called your Majesty) and whispered to me that if ever he had power he would serve your Majesty to the utmost of his life. At which I was astonished, he being in so great a station..." In 1866, the Improvement Commissioners¹⁰ resolved to change the name to Bath Road. A Mr. Linscott moved that it be renamed King Charles' Road and gave as his reason "the tradition that when the Merry Monarch dwelt in Exeter in disguise as a black boy, he was fond of taking his pleasant airings in that quarter". Doubtless he then danced a minuet with Good Queen Bess.

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LIME BURNING IN EAST DEVON

Ronald E. Wilson

Before agriculture had the benefit of manufactured and imported fertilisers, farmers made use of natural materials available locally. There were manures, animal, green or produced from seaweed, and conditioners, lime to lighten heavy ground and marl to mix with the lighter soils. Marling was a general term which covered the spreading of a 'variety of rocks and soils of a considerable range of compositions' including lime. The origin of this practice goes into antiquity. 'Although we do not hear of it before Pliny (c.A.D.70) it is highly probable that what he says about the use of chalk for marling or fertilising fields applies to the period B.C.². The custom is attested in East Devon in Bishop Quinil's time: 'By 1281 Bishop Quinil had restored the ancient rent system and Canon Nolan erected fences and limed and marled the new intakes³. Landowners compelled their tenants to carry out marling. For instance, Sir Anthony Harvy, who obtained a 99 years lease of the Manor of Salcombe Regis after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, required his tenants 'to draw a ton of marl onto his fields every year⁴.

Both liming and marling were practised in East Devon until comparatively recent times. Referring to Salcombe Regis the Rev. James G. Cornish, who lived from 1860-1938, wrote⁵ 'marling of land had ceased before my time and the burning of rock for lime was not then much practised... my grandfather (died 1879) still had a lime kiln working on South Combe Farm so as to be able to dress his grass land with it'. William Ford in his Diary⁶ recorded that further east the last kiln used was near Beer Stone Quarries about two miles from Branscombe. 'After having been "hot" for 150 years the kiln through lack of business was "doubled", i.e. allowed to burn out about 1890'. Lime kilns in Sidmouth Manor were on top of the sandstone cliff to the west of the promenade. Materials were carried up from the shore on a track rising diagonally up the face of the cliffs from the western bay. Coastal erosion removed this in 1853 and lime burning ceased during the following year. Half the plant had fallen into the sea by 1871⁷.

Man-made pits and mounds from Dunscombe Cliffs and Rempstone Rocks northward and above Lincombe cover an extensive area. This suggests that limestone outcrops and chalk deposits have been exploited for very many years. The area is easily approachable by walking to the coast on the contour caravan track from 'Dunscombe Manor' (SY 158886). Some kilns in which the lime or chalk were burnt are plotted on the 25" O.S.; of these and doubtless others involved no trace is now apparent. Ruins of two can be seen, one near the cliff edge above Rempstone Rocks, lower Dunscombe Cliff on the former land of the Leigh's at above SY 161661, and another in the Salcombe Church valley installed by Charles Cornish at about SY 144880.

One agreement between landlord and tenant in this area is a lease dated 1795 between Mrs. Sarah Leigh of Slade Farm, Salcombe Regis and Anthony Hooke who rented Hills Farm. It stipulated that the lessee was to apply to every

acre of corn or grass 'one hundred seams of good rotten dung or ten hogsheads of well burnt stone, lime and the same to be well mixed with earth well driven out and spread thereon in a good husbandlike manner'. Mrs. Leigh, a copyhold owner in her own right, was the second wife of William Leigh, inheritor of Slade House Farm and builder of the present house in 1771. He also had other farms including one beyond the Salcombe Manor boundary in Branscombe now known as Leigh's Weston. Altogether he held more than 300 acres upon and under which were substantial quantities of limestone and some deposits of chalk, the basic materials for burning to lime. Old quarries at Lincombe and Dunscombe were within his estate. Close to the former stood a lime kiln. (The latter has recently been reopened for a supply of stone for the repairs to the south tower of Exeter Cathedral.)

Limestone was plentiful, not so fuel to burn it. A low grade of coal known as Culm, was brought from South Wales by sea, thrown ashore at suitable points packed in panniers on the backs of donkeys and carried up to the kilns. The expense to be saved by owning a ship appealed to William Leigh so he had one built. It brought down the wrath of the lords of Salcombe Manor and he was arraigned before a Manor Court for having felled 30 oaks growing on Slade Farm and three crooked trees on Chilson Farm with which to build his ship. His judges found him guilty and he was fined £40.


Lime burning had its hazards. Perhaps it was the warmth of the kiln which attracted men to recline on them and the escape of toxic fumes from the hot limestone and the burning culm were the causes of fatalities. Three local incidents are in the records. R. Sanders, an old fisherman, told the story of one at a Salcombe lime kiln. 'A ship used to bring culm to the mouth and we took it up the quarry kiln by the church. A Sidbury lime man fell asleep and was burned there. He looked like a gray mommet. My young woman went to be touched for the King's Evil by the dead man's hand, but it was too far gone to dust for that.'⁸ W. Hutchinson, a well sinker born in 1821, said that 'at Dunscombe lime kiln a traveller went to sleep on the pile. I went to get him next day and saw a gray shadow like a man stretched on top. I stirred him with a poker and he crumbled away. My prentices said they never knew mortar bind like that did⁹. A reminder that lime was essential for building and whitewashing and that all Mrs. Leigh's customers were not necessarily farmers. Another instance was the death of William Stedham, aged 18 of Colaton Raleigh he 'came early in the morning to Mr. Ford's lime kiln for a load of lime. It being very cold, it is supposed he sat down at the kiln's mouth, and that being overcome with sleep fell forward upon the burning lime, where he was found by Robert Perryman, one of the kiln men, burnt to death⁹.

William Leigh died in 1802 leaving the management of his estate in the capable hands of his widow, Sarah. A surviving homemade note book gives details of her business. The title is 'Mrs. Leigh's Book of Salcombe, Devon, for the year 1809'. On its forty pages the names of 95 customers are recorded alphabetically with the quantities of lime and ashes they purchased and the money value. Lime was charged at three shillings and ashes at two shillings and

sixpence a unit. The following table arranged by locations shows that there were 1,037 transactions, including only three of ashes, that the quantity sold was 5,296 units, including 204 booked to herself but not included in the money value - £754 0s. 9d.

Location	Customers	Sales	Quantity	£ s. d.	
Branscombe	4	28	150. 0. 0.	22. 10. 0.	
Bowd	1	1	6 0. 0.	18. 0.	
Budleigh	1	7	49. 0. 0.	7. 7. 0.	
Aylesbeare	1	5	36. 0. 0.	5. 8. 0.	
Colaton (Raleigh)	11	135	619. 0. 0.	92. 16. 6.	
Normastown (Northmostown)	3	24	99. 1. 1.	14. 18. 6.	
Newton (Poppleford)	3	38	118. 0. 0.	17. 14. 0.	
Otterton	22	332	1352. 0. 0.	202. 16. 0.	
Ottery	9	162	950. 1. 1.	142. 11. 6.	
Pacombe	1	7	42. 0. 0.	6. 6. 0.	
Rockbeare	1	3	18. 0. 0.	2. 14. 0.	
Salcombe	13	126	655. 0. 0.	67. 10. 6.	Includes Ashes and 204. 0. 0. not valued.
Sidbury	7	18	435. 0. 0.	65. 5. 0.	
Sidmouth	11	87	361. 1. 1.	54. 3. 0.	
Sidford	3	26	114. 0. 0.	17. 2. 0.	Includes 3. 0. 0. Ashes.
Venottery	4	38	296. 1. 1.	44. 8. 3.	Includes 2. 2. 0. Ashes.
	95	1037	5296. 0. 0.	754. 0. 9.	

/continued on next page



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A. Hooke, as mentioned above, was required to dress his fields with ten hogsheads of well burnt stone lime per acre. The units may thus be taken as hogsheads and fractions. Hooke's account is given as typical of the entries.

		(a)	(b)	(c)	
Nov.	23	7	0	0	
	24	3	1	1	
	27	3	1	1	
	29	3	0	0	
Dec.	2	7	0	0	
	5	3	1	1	
	6	7	0	0	
	7	3	1	1	
	9	3	1	1	
	12	3	1	1	
	13	7	0	0	
	14	3	1	1	
	15	3	1	1	
	19	6	0	0	
	22	7	0	0	
	26	5	1	1	
	Lime	88	0	0	at 3s. 0d. £13 4s. 0d.
	Ashes	5	0	0	at 2s. 6d. 12s. 6d.
					£13 16s. 6d.

The significance of the figures in columns (b) and (c) is not clear and I would be glad to hear from any reader who can provide the explanation. The only simple fractions to fit are that one in column (b) equals 1/3rd and one in column (c) equals 1/6th of a hogshead, making together half a hogshead. This does not explain why there were three columns; perhaps the fractional quantities had local names, and that column (a) was hogsheads of six bushels, column (b) seams of two bushels and column (c) bushels. On this assumption some comparison can be made with neighbouring lime-burners.

In Branscombe Manor John Stuckey was the principal lessee under the Dean and Chapter and no love was lost between him and the Leighs. Stuckey sold in many parishes to north and west where there was no chalk or limestone, and Leigh in sixteen, served the same though to different farmers. William Ford, Stuckey's factotum, kept a record of sales from 1782 to 1788⁶ and although the dates are earlier than 1809 there is comparable data. These accounts summarise the annual quantities and money values for each customer. Quantity figures in three columns are headed hhd. b. and bus.

Lord Rolle had a kiln at Budleigh Salterton. M. Havinden¹⁰ in discussing its operations showed that in 1806 there were sales of 2,731 hogsheads of lime at 6s. and 263 of ashes at 3s. to 84 customers, producing £858. For comparison

prices per hogshead were :-

Branscombe		Salcombe		Budleigh	
1782	3s. 0d.				
1783	2s. 8d.	1809	3s. 0d.	1806	6s. 0d.
1786-88	2s. 3d.				

Although the dates vary considerably it is not clear why Lord Rolle's prices were so high. Cufm had to be conveyed by sea and in this he had some advantage, his kilns being close to the shore, whereas the others were up the cliffs. On the other hand he had further to go to for the limestone or chalk which outcropped near the kilns in Branscombe and Salcombe. Difficulty in reconciling quantities is partly due to variations in the number of bushels to a hogshead. Vancouver¹¹ cited five, and Havinden¹² assumed from Lord Rolle's accounts that in Budleigh and Branscombe there were six 'not the customary eight' and that four hogsheads weighed a ton.

Comparing Lord Rolle's figure of 2,994 hogsheads of lime and ashes with Mrs. Leigh's 5,296, her enterprise was the more important, 1,324 tons as against his lordship's 748½. Hers was a commercial enterprise, whereas his may have been for the benefit of his own extensive estate.

For helpful suggestions and advice appreciation is expressed to the Department of Economic History, Exeter University.

NOTES

1. *Encl. Brit.* 11th ed. v.17, p.736c.
2. Winbolt, S.E. *Britain B.C.* p.132.
3. Anderson-Morshead, J.Y. 'A history of Salcombe Regis' *T.D.A.*, v.30, 1898.
4. *Ibid.* p.12.
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6. Diary and Accounts of William Ford, transcribed by Elija Chick. Devon Record Office MS/26.
7. Hutchinson, P.O. MS historical notes on Sidmouth, vol. 1
8. Anderson-Morshead, J.Y. Parish traditions. Unpublished MS.
9. Branscombe Church Registers. Note in published ed.
10. Havinden, M.A. 'Lime as a means of agricultural improvement', in Chalklin, C.W., and Havinden, M.A. *Rural changes in urban growth*, 1974.
11. Vancouver, C. *General view of the agriculture of the County of Devon*, 1808 (David & Charles reprint, p.153).
12. Havinden, M.A. *op cit.* Note 63. p.134.

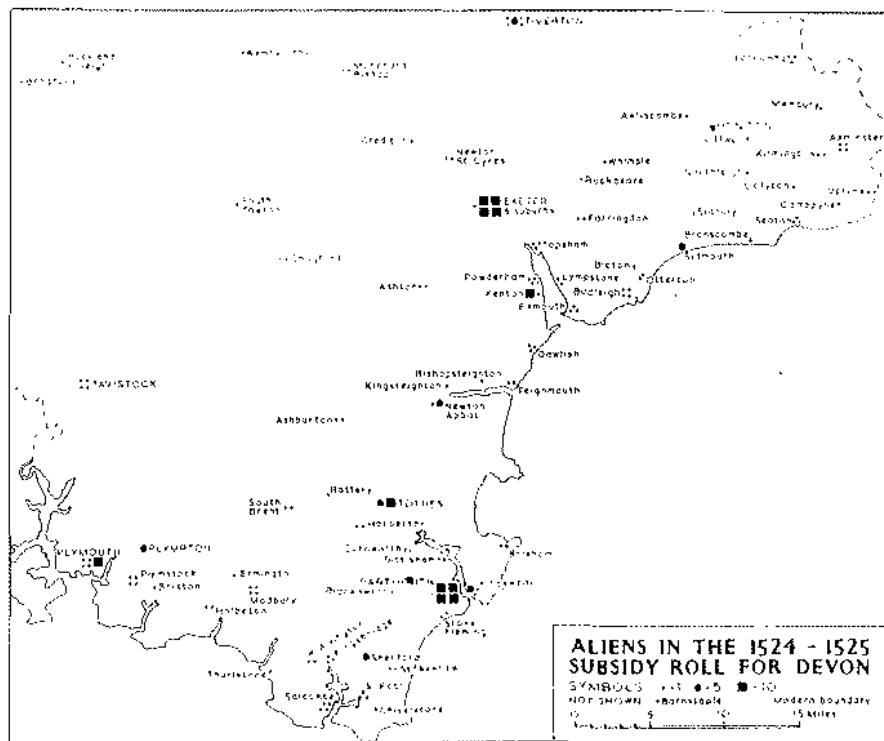
ALIENS IN TUDOR DEVON

R.R. Sellman

The transcript of the 1524-25 Subsidy Rolls for Devon, recently published by T.L. Stoate and supplementing Mrs. Rowe's invaluable work on Tudor Exeter, provides a mine of information for local historians. One aspect of interest among many is the extent and distribution of Aliens in contemporary Devon, of whom some 290 are identifiable. Of this number, 55 were assessed at 'nil' (and therefore paid poll-tax), and a further 170 at under £2 — nearly all on wages — leaving only 39 assessed on goods at £2 and 26 on (mostly marginally) larger amounts. Two unfortunate Frenchmen, previously modestly prosperous, had had all or most of their goods recently seized by the sheriff's officers under writ; but five survived with assessments ranging from £10 to £20.

The great majority were evidently poor men, earning a meagre wage as servants or labouring employees, and one wonders how they came to be here. As the map shows, the great majority lived on or near the south coast, while the north coast provided only one solitary example at Barnstaple. Where distinguished, by far the most were from France — in all 71, including 22 Bretons, three Normans, and a Gascon. Eight were named as Dutch or Flemish, and the rest described simply as 'alien'. Three of the Flemings were in Dartmouth (one a servant, and one a tailor); and three of the Dutchmen, probably connected with woollens, lived in Tavistock. Dartmouth showed as many as Exeter, but 26 of its 41 were assessed at 'nil', in contrast with the latter where there were apparently none so poor. It also showed three times as many as Plymouth (including East Stonehouse, but with no 'nils'), which may suggest its more developed cross-Channel connections at this period. Inland cloth-towns generally had a few, and Tiverton as many as nine; but their appearance in remote villages like Bradford and Buckland Filleigh was probably as servants in the local 'big house'. A few alien women servants are specifically mentioned, as at Chivelstone and South Pool.

Later Tudor Subsidy Rolls are at present available in printed transcript only for the City parishes of Exeter, and show assessment on a rather different basis: wages drop out, but the majority of aliens named were still plainly wage-earners. In 1544, of the 36 in the City, seven had nil assessments and 15 more were assessed on goods at £1-2. In the 1557/8 Roll 42 appear, but 25 of these (of whom 11 were described as servants) paid poll-tax, and the rest were charged on comparatively modest amounts. Top assessments for aliens were respectively £20 (1) and £15 (2) — for what these figures may be worth; and the general picture remains one of a large majority of poor wage-earners against a very few comparatively prosperous individuals. What induced so many, before the age of religious persecution, to cross the Channel and settle in Devon?



THE DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY

(Standing Conference for Devon History)

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting
 held at Dartington on Saturday 10th May, 1980

1. The minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 12th May, 1979 were read and approved.
2. Arising therefrom:-
 - (i) **Devon Historic Buildings Trust**
 The Chairman reported that Larkbeare House, Holloway Street, Exeter had now been completed but had not yet been sold. Current proposals include the restoration of a barn near Dawlish and the conversion of the base of a windmill into a residence; this is owned by Torbay Borough Council. Members were reminded that the Trust was always looking for new projects and welcomed suggestions.
 - (ii) **Supplements to the Devon Union List**
 There was a short discussion on the above following reports by Mr. I. Maxted and Mrs. S. Stirling. While no substantial progress had been made it was noted that a slip catalogue was being built up at the Devon and Exeter Institution. The Chairman undertook to approach the appropriate authorities on the matter.
 - (iii) **Index to the Victoria County History of Devon**
 The Chairman reminded members that no volunteers were yet forthcoming for the indexing project.
 - (iv) **Change of name**
 The Chairman reminded members of the current position concerning the Standing Conference for Local History and the Standing Conference for Devon History. After discussion it was proposed by the Chairman that the name be changed to **The Devon History Society** forthwith. This was declared carried.
 - (v) **Meeting of Devon local history societies**
 It was pointed out by a member that there seemed to be a lack of knowledge elsewhere concerning the Standing Conference (now Devon History Society). The Hon. Secretary pointed out that conversely he had difficulty finding what other societies existed in the County. It was resolved that the proposed publicity leaflet/poster be put in hand and that copies be circulated to all known groups together with an invitation to a meeting which would be arranged on a date to be decided.
3. The Hon. Secretary submitted a brief report and referred members to the ten-year history which appeared in the current **Devon Historian**.

At this juncture the Chairman thanked the writer, Mr. Robin Stanes for his efforts over the ten years the Conference has existed.

4. The Hon. Treasurer submitted his report which showed a balance of £114.15. He explained that the problem of inflation was a continuing worry. Improved subscriptions income was essential and he urged members to seek new subscribers which would greatly help financial planning. The statement of accounts was approved. The Hon. Secretary was asked to approach the printer concerning the cost of producing the current issue.

5. The new scale of subscriptions was approved:-

Individual members	£3.00
Family membership	£3.50
Libraries, Museums, Schools and Record Offices	£3.00
Societies and organisations with over 100 members	£10.00
Other corporate members	£5.00

It was also resolved that the cost of the **Devon Historian** be £1.50 for non-members and £1.25 for members. It was further resolved that the question of covenanted subscriptions be investigated by the Hon. Treasurer.

6. The Hon. Editor submitted her report. She asked members for names of possible future advertisers and also for more detailed information on local society activities. She would also be pleased to print comments on the Blake Report. The Hon. Editor's report was approved.

7. Mr. F.L. Booker was elected President for the years 1981 to 1983. Mr. Booker responded.

8. **Election of Officers.**

(The officers elected are listed on the inside front cover.)

It was resolved that the possibility of term membership be investigated.

9. **One-day conferences**

These had been arranged as follows:-

- (a) at Chulmleigh in the Autumn. If possible transport will be arranged from South Devon.
- (b) at Lydford in the Spring. A speaker on tin-mining was suggested and this will be investigated.

10. **Tenth Anniversary**

At the conclusion of the meeting Mrs. S. Stirling, on behalf of the members, expressed sincere thanks to the Chairman for his efforts and enthusiasm over the past ten years.

LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETIES IN DEVON

Note: The following list was compiled in April, 1980 by local history librarians in Devon Library Services. Please let the Editor know of any omissions or errors. We shall keep the list up-to-date with amendments in future issues.

Archaeology and Local History Workshop	The Hon. Secretary, Mr. John Longhurst, Ilfracombe Museum, Wilder Road, ILFRACOMBE.
Ashburton Museum	The Curator, 1 West Street, ASHBURTON, TQ13 7DT.
Avonwick and North Huish Local History Group	Mrs. J. Hall, Pastoral, North Huish, SOUTH BRENT, TQ10 9NQ.
Barnstaple, North Devon Athenaeum	The Curator, The Square, BARNSTAPLE.
Barnstaple Excavation Committee	The Hon. Secretary, Mrs. E. Thompson, 1 Rose Cottages, Anstey Way, Instow, BIDEFORD, EX39 4JQ.
Beaford Local History Group	Mrs. D. Walker, Beaford Stores, Beaford, WINKLEIGH, FX19 8LN.
Bradworthy Local History Society	The Secretary, Mr. P. Sutton, The Vicarage, BRADWORTHY, North Devon.
Brixham Museum and History Society	Old Police Station, Bolton Cross, BRIXHAM.
Broadclyst History Society	The Hon. Secretary, Mr. S. Fouracre, Broadclyst School, BROADCLYST.
Fairlynch Arts Centre and Museum, Budleigh Salterton	The Hon. Treasurer, 8 Granary, BUDLEIGH SALTERTON, EX9 6ER.
Chulmleigh Local History Society	The Hon. Secretary, Mr. A.F. Scannell, Moor View, Spekes Cross, Wembworthy, CHULMLEIGH, EX18 7QP.
Friends of Dartmouth Museum	The Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. Grindley, Aleyone, Warfleet Road, DARTMOUTH, TQ6 9BZ.
Dawlish Museum Society	The Hon. Secretary, The Knowle, Barton Terrace, DAWLISH, EX7 9QH.
Devon Committee for Rescue Archaeology	Contact: c/o Extra-Mural Department, Exeter University, Gandy Street, EXETER, EX4 3LS.
Devon and Cornwall Record Society	7 The Close, EXETER, EX1 1EZ.
Devon and Exeter Institution	7 The Close, EXETER, EX1 1EZ.

Devon History Society The Hon. Secretary, Mr. J.R. Pike,
82 Hawkins Avenue, TORQUAY, TQ2 6ES.

Devon Family History Society Mrs. S.C. Blott, 127 Langley Crescent,
Southway, PLYMOUTH, PL6 6ES.

Devon Library Services West Country Studies Library, Castle Street,
EXETER, EX4 3PQ.

WEST Area Central Library, Drake Circus,
PLYMOUTH, PL4 8AL.

SOUTH Area Central Library, Lymington Road,
TORQUAY, TQ1 3DT.

NORTH Area Barnstaple Central Library, The Square,
BARNSTAPLE, EX32 8LN.

Devonshire Association
HISTORY SECTION The Secretary, Mrs. W. Woodham,
2 Blackmore View, SIDMOUTH, EX10 8EP.

Exmouth Historical and Archaeological
Society The Hon. Secretary, Mr. J.G. Wheeldon,
8 Heathdale Road, EXMOUTH, EX8 2HZ.

Hartland Society The Hon. Secretary, Mr. T. Manley,
1 Shamrock Cottages, Hartland, BIDEFORD.

Heavitree Community Association
Local History Group Mr. M.J. Smith, 14 Whitechurch Avenue,
Heavitree, EXETER, EX2 5NU.

Hemyock Local History Group For further details contact through:
Extra-Mural Department, Exeter University,
Gandy Street, EXETER, EX4 3LS.

Holsworthy Local History Society The Hon. Secretary, Miss I. Fallon,
10 Pines Park, HOLSWORTHY, EX22 6HX.

Honiton Museum The Hon. Curator, Mr. Jellicoe,
High Street, HONITON.

Honiton Local History Research Group Contact:
Mr. J. Yalop or Mr. R.G. Stanes

Ilfracombe Museum The Curator, Mr. John Longhurst,
14 Belvedere Road, ILFRACOMBE,
EX34 9JH.

Ilfracombe Natural History and Field Society
(including Local History) The Hon. Secretary, Miss Andrews
2 Bath Place, ILFRACOMBE, EX34 9JH.

Cookworthy Museum Trust, Kingsbridge Mrs. K. Tanner, Cookworthy Museum,
KINGSBRIDGE.

Kingston History Society The Hon. Secretary, Miss Petter,
2 Wheel Row, BIGBURY-ON-SEA.

Lustleigh Society The Hon. Secretary, Mrs. F.E. Johnson,
Little Trapstile, LUSTLEIGH.

Membury and Stockland Local History
and Archaeological Society Mr. J. Pearse, Chapel Croft, Mill Hayes,
Stockland, HONITON, EX14 9DD.
Tel. Stockland 265

Modbury Local History Society The Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Davidson,
Oriana, Brownston Street,
Modbury, IVYBRIDGE.

Moretonhampstead and District Museum
and Local History Society The Chairman, Mr. F.K. Theobald,
19 Fore Street, MORETONHAMPSTEAD,
TQ13 8LL.

North Devon Museum Trust The Hon. Secretary, Miss A.E. Grant, B.A.,
7 Pill Lane, Newport, BARNSTAPLE,
EX32 9EQ.

Okehampton Local History Society Mr. P. Adams, 85 Crediton Road,
OKEHAMPTON, EX20 1NU.

Plymouth Athenaeum The Hon. General Secretary, Mr. J.W. Dawe,
c/o Plymouth Athenaeum, Derry's Cross,
PLYMOUTH.

Plymouth and District
Archaeological Society c/o City Museum and Art Gallery,
Drake Circus, PLYMOUTH.

Plymstock Civic Society The Hon. Secretary, Mr. D.C. Featherstone,
77 Church Road, Plymstock, PLYMOUTH.

Sidmouth Local History Group Mr. R.J. Westley, Adviser for Geography,
East Devon Education Office, Morwenstow,
7 Barnfield Crescent, EXETER, EX1 1QT.

Sid Vale Association, Sidmouth The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Murray Laver,
Dormers, Knowles Gardens, SIDMOUTH,
EX10 8HN. Tel. Sidmouth 5005

South Molton Borough Museum The Curator, Guildhall, SOUTH MOLTON.

South Molton and District Archive Mr. W.H. Pearce, Havering, 3 Deans Park,
SOUTH MOLTON, EX36 3DY.

Teignmouth Museum and Historical Society The Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. Weare,
31 Lower Brimley Road, TEIGNMOUTH,
TQ14 8LH.

Tiverton Museum The Curator, St. Andrew's Street,
TIVERTON.

Topsham Local History Society The Secretary, Mrs. Entwistle,
5 Elm Grove Road, Topsham, EXETER,
EX3 0EQ.

Torquay Natural History Society The Curator, The Museum,
Babbacombe Road, TORQUAY.

Torrington and District Society

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. L.R. Jackson,
'Cat Bells', Hatchmoor Road,
TORRINGTON, EX38 7BU.

Totnes Museum Society

The Hon. Secretary, Mrs. T. Joans,
Hillside, Bridgetown, TOTNES, TQ9 5BH.

Witheridge Local History Group

Mr. G.J. Bidgood, 23 West Street,
Witheridge, TIVERTON, EX16 8AA.

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DARTMOOR: THE EVOLUTION OF A PREHISTORIC LANDSCAPE

Andrew Fleming

Dartmoor has long been noted for its wealth of prehistoric ceremonial monuments and settlement sites. Yet it is only comparatively recently that we have come to appreciate that Dartmoor is more than just a giant open-air museum, full of nice examples of stone rows and Bronze Age houses. The recognition of the ancient land boundaries known to generations of moormen as reaves has allowed us to understand the basic elements of the territorial organisation of Dartmoor's Bronze Age inhabitants — and hence something of their social and economic organisation too. The landscape patterns revealed by the layout of the reaves are every bit as complicated and intriguing as those of historic periods.

Curiously enough, antiquaries of the early nineteenth century had speculated that Dartmoor's ancient-looking long walls were prehistoric land boundaries, and as late as Edwardian times, men like Sabine Baring-Gould and William Crossing believed this to be the case. But by the mid-20th century this idea had somehow become discounted, and it took two local historians, whose interest was primarily in medieval Dartmoor, and two prehistorians from Sheffield University engaged in leading a run-of-the-mill student field course, to re-establish the chronological position of the reaves (see Fleming 1978a for an account of the history of ideas on the subject). The proof is simple enough, reaves quite often have typical prehistoric enclosures, and sometimes houses, attached to them, so that we find, for example, D-shaped enclosures with the straight side of the D continuing into the distance as a reave.

Fieldwork on southern Dartmoor between 1974 and 1978 has established that the reaves in this area form a coherent pattern (Fleming 1978b). The main river valleys are clearly separated by long reaves running along the watersheds between them. Good examples may be seen running south from Pupers Hill and from the Three Barrows on Ugborough Moor, though the reader who enjoys a challenge may prefer to follow the seven-kilometre Eylesbarrow Reave, which runs from Eylesbarrow to Cadworthy Wood beside the Plym.

There are also 'contour reaves' which separate the upper moorland (above about 1200 feet) from the lower moorland where most of the settlements are concentrated; the best example is on Lee Moor, just below Shell Top and Pen Beacon, but the most impressive one is the Great Western Reave, which may be followed (not without difficulty!) from White Tor, over Roos Tor, past the Merrivale stone rows and into enclosed land just west of Peek Hill, a minimum length of ten kilometres. It can be argued that in Bronze Age times the upper moorland was a large open common, used mainly for summer grazing, very much as it has been in historic times. In the Bronze Age the climate would have been better and the blanket peat less extensive; with properly managed grazing the upper moorland would have been a more valuable resource than it is today. It is most economical to see it as common land, shared by several communities each based in one of the southern river valleys where the settlements are

concentrated. It can be argued that no one community would have needed such a large reserve of grazing land; nor would it have been able to defend its perimeter successfully against competitors. The people of each valley, then, were separated from their neighbours by a watershed reave, and the land near their homes was separated from the upland commons by a contour reave. It seems that the relatively low-lying land in the Postbridge-Two Bridges-Hexworthy area also formed one of these valley zones. Each valley also has a large block of more intricately allotted land, known as a parallel reave system. Here long reaves run roughly parallel to one another, sometimes over considerable distances, forming a framework within which may be found many smaller parcels of land, mostly roughly rectangular in shape. Most of these parallel systems are found below about 900 feet, so that their lower portions are engulfed in medieval or modern fields, but there are two good examples which are located almost entirely on present-day moorland. One is the Rippon Tor system, on the eastern side of the moor; the other is the Dartmeet system, laid out on an axis over four kilometres long, its fields running from the plateau of Holne Moor, across the gorge of the Dart, which interrupts them, over Yar Tor and Corndon, and across the Webburn almost up to the south end of the Hameldon ridge. This was almost certainly the parallel system used by the people of the Postbridge basin.

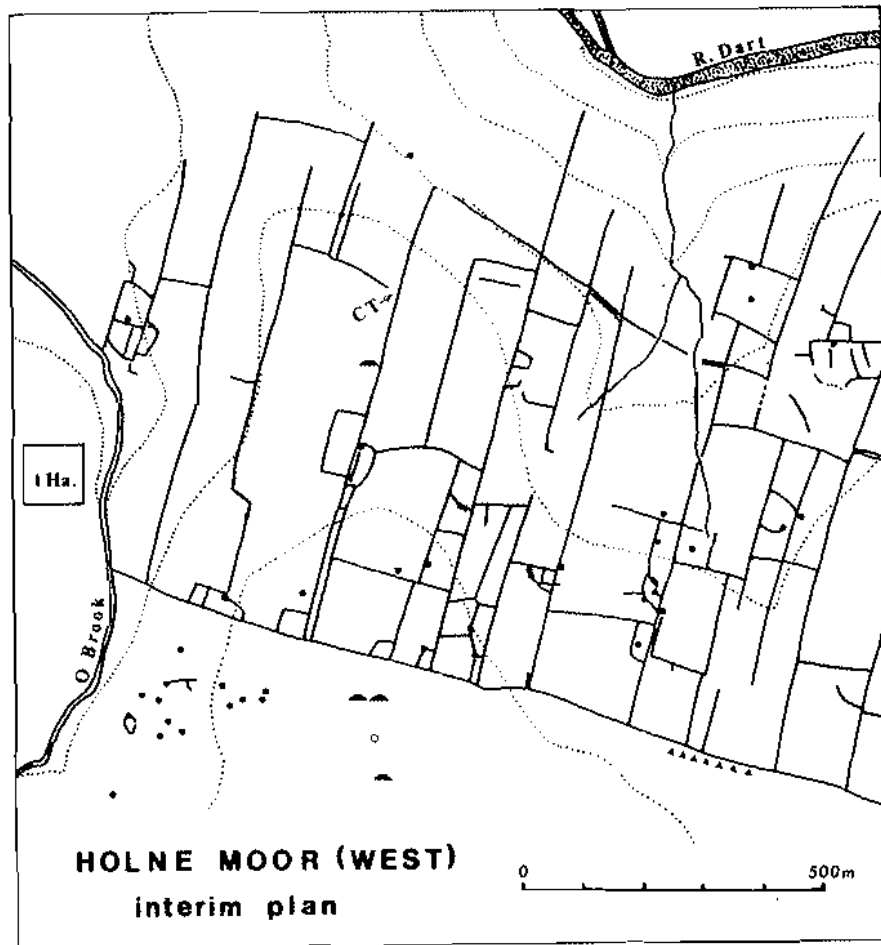


Venford Reave, a long-distance boundary on Holne Moor, excavated to its foundation course. On the right is a prehistoric building tucked into the angle between the Venford Reave and a parallel reave which incorporated the three large stones at the back of the building and ran out of the excavation trench at top right.
Photo: A Fleming.

The Dartmeet system is a remarkable example of an organised prehistoric landscape, dramatic in the field but perhaps even more exciting when its reaves are translated, after careful survey, into lines on a map. The Dartmoor parallel systems are quite like some of the 'Celtic field systems' of the Wessex area — except that much more detail is preserved, and that here we have the houses preserved as well as the boundaries. So far we have surveyed most of the Holne Moor area, that is the southern part of the Dartmeet parallel system, and have carried out excavations here. At site F we can show that there was first a circular wattle and daub house, beside which an earthen bank, later to be surmounted by one of the parallel reaves, was built, curving to go around the back of the house. The inhabitants of the house threw some sherds of Bronze Age pottery into the bank while it was being built, an episode which has been radiocarbon dated to around 1600 B.C. Later, probably not very much later, the house was replaced by a more permanent structure with stone and earth foundations, and a reave was built upon the bank behind it. These events show that the initial settlers or their immediate descendants were confident that their economy was essentially viable, and indeed, confronted by the self-assurance of the system in which these buildings stand, one hesitates to use words like 'marginal land' when trying to envisage the economic basis of the society.

This is not an easy matter. Dartmoor's acid soils have destroyed the animal bones, so that arguments about the livestock component have to be circumstantial ones, to do with artefacts and the nature of structures. Thus, for example, we argue for the presence of sheep, since there are spindle whorls and at least one hurdle fence. It does seem that there was some cereal cultivation in the parallel systems; pollen analysis, the presence of querns in the houses, the build-up and erosion of soil to create positive and negative lynchets respectively, and the presence of clearance stones all point in the same direction; indeed cultivation may have been one source of the stone from which the reaves were built. Probably, long fallow systems of some kind were employed in many of the fields, although soil analysis by Nicholas Ralph suggests that some fields were more intensively used than others. It may be that the parallel systems were more important as winter grazing areas for livestock; certainly the care taken with insulation and drainage for the site F house, and the regular orientation of the Holne Moor houses within the SE quadrant of the compass tend to suggest that the houses were occupied during the winter months, with the north-westerlies being the most fearsome winds in the area.

The complexity of a well-preserved parallel system is illustrated on page 28, where a plan of Holne Moor is presented (the plan is provisional, parts of it being slightly incomplete and inaccurate). The possibilities for obtaining insights into prehistoric social organisation are considerable, even when one has acknowledged that there is unlikely to be a direct and simple correlation between ancient social structure and ancient land layout. For example, the sheer size and apparent coherence of the system suggest that this is essentially land owned by the community as a whole, and this is confirmed by our preliminary analyses of the system in detail, where an attempt to look for 'individual farms' surrounding one or more house has been notably unsuccessful.



A provisional map, incomplete and not fully precise in detail, of a small part of the Dartmoor parallel reave system. The general character of the layout is well illustrated, however. Black dots represent houses, the mound symbols indicate barrows, the open circle is a ring-cairn and the line of triangles marks a stone row. C.T. — Combstone Tor.

ful. Indeed if one uses the major parallels in order to split the system up into component blocks, on the assumption that these blocks may be sub-units under individual ownership, and then expects similar densities of houses within each block, one is disappointed. Indeed it looks as if there are very loose clusters of around 6-10 large houses associated with one or two lesser buildings; the houses are usually dispersed within their clusters, perhaps a couple of hundred yards separating a house or pair of houses from its neighbours. The house clusters do not correlate at all well with the blocks marked out by the main parallel reaves, which seem like a crude overprint worked out on different principles. Yet we know that the houses and the reaves are largely contemporary. The effect of all this is to suggest that there were cross-cutting loyalties, with residence preferences based perhaps on kinship and affinity being expressed by the house locations, and community land-sharing obligations being expressed by the parallel system as a whole.

In the neighbourhood of the individual houses the boundary arrangements are remarkably varied. Usually there are smaller fields or paddocks located in the vicinity of the buildings, and the rigidity of the parallel system is relaxed somewhat by curvilinear reaves. It seems that there was no agreement within the system upon any one type of 'farmyard' layout; the diversity is striking, and is mirrored to some extent by the character of the excavated reaves within the system, where we see several different building styles surrounding one particular field. One gains the strong impression that, within the conformity expressed by the parallel reave system, there was something of the strong individuality and independence exhibited by some countrymen in the area even today.

It looks then as if there are four levels of spatial organisation. First comes the household, represented by individual or paired houses ('hut-circles') with their farmyard arrangements. Then there is the house cluster, perhaps representing a kin-related group of some 25-50 people living in dispersed households. Third comes what I have called the community, the group which was responsible for the parallel system as a whole; I have argued above that the community also held an area of valley grazing and had access to common land on the upper moor. The fourth level of spatial organisation is represented by boundary agreements **between** these communities, an agreement which resulted in a remarkably logical system on southern Dartmoor. It is hard to believe that this system developed in a piecemeal fashion. It is possible that when the major boundaries were agreed upon, the communities were politically unified, although this does not seem to have resulted in an archaeologically identifiable 'central place', the equivalent of Stonehenge or Avebury. Possibly the sharing of common land promoted some simple kind of socioeconomic or political organisation.

It is easy to become carried away by the quality of the data, to forget what puzzles remain to be solved. We still do not know what role tin played during the Dartmoor Bronze Age, for instance. We do not know to what extent people from outside the immediate moorland fringe were involved in the

socioeconomic system, for example, by bringing livestock into the hills in summer — or, for that matter, to what extent the moorland people were dependent on economic relationships with those living, for example, in the South Hams. The boundaries of the archaeological data are not necessarily the same as those of the cultural system under investigation. Furthermore, the relationship between the parallel systems and the valley grazing zones with their enclosed settlements is by no means clear; ideally we would like to know which segments of the population lived in which location at which season of the year, but the absence of bones makes these questions hard to approach. Analysis by Susan O'Neill of the settlements in the Plym Valley is beginning to suggest that the valley zones, like the parallel systems, may have had social sub-units of some kind, and in places this is already suggested by the presence of subsidiary reaves.

The events leading up to reave-building also need closer definition. At present it seems that the first archaeologically visible settlements on the moor are those where the houses are small, with internal diameters of three or four metres at most, with relatively slight, low walls; they are often free-standing without enclosures, but typically one or two houses in the group are incorporated in thin-walled enclosures which sometimes look incomplete, as if they are unfinished or were partially walled with turf. It has not yet been definitely established that these settlements are early, but some indicators point in that direction. They look very like the shielings of highland Britain in the last few centuries; that is to say, the buildings are the 'bachelor huts' of young and unmarried members of the population, moving up into the hills in summer with the livestock. There are some good examples on Holne Moor; on the plan the cluster of houses on the east bank of the O Brook, to the south of the terminal reave up to which the parallels run, is a typical group, and there are at least a dozen others, mostly associated with rather small enclosures, around the head of the stream which flows into the Venford reservoir and in the area immediately south of the reservoir fence. These houses are ideally situated for shielings, in sheltered locations very near water and yet with easy access to the South Moor.

We do not yet know how early the exploitation of Dartmoor's summer grazing occurred, and to what extent competition increased with the passage of time. It does seem that the large Bronze Age cairns, located so prominently on hill-tops and ridges, preceded the reaves, and it may be that their location represents, among other things, a statement of claim to grazing resources, an initial expression of territoriality which was later partially resolved by the building of land boundaries. The replacement of prestige cairns by reaves, and of small houses with rudimentary enclosures by larger houses with thick-walled enclosures, surely indicates that more important elements than bachelor shepherds were at large on the moors — presumably adult males with families and a substantial stake in the moorland component of the economy. At the same time, the parallel reave systems were laid out, often in areas previously used for constructing cairns and stone rows; they contained substantial houses almost certainly occupied all the year round. There are several possible reasons

for the establishment of a more substantial presence in the hills. There may have been population pressure in lowland areas, and it is sometimes tempting to see the parallel systems as rather insensitive attempts to transfer lowland field systems into the hills without a thought for the different ecological circumstances. There may have been positive attractions in the hills — for example, the tin resources may have been seriously exploited for the first time, which would certainly be a good enough reason for people of political importance to assert themselves on the moor. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about contemporary tin-working, and for a long time may have to content ourselves with the appetite-whetting remarks of Richard Carew, writing in the 16th century about Cornish tin-miners:

'They maintain these workes, to have been verie auncient, and first wrought by the Iewes with Pickaxes of Holme, Boxe and Harts horne: they prove this.....by those tooles daily found amongst the rubble of such workes..... There are also taken up in such workes, certain little tooles heads of Brasse, which some term Thunder-axes'.

It is impossible that Cornish miners could have had the archaeological knowledge, at this early date, to have invented these stories for a credulous antiquary, and this passage must rank among the most interesting pieces of evidence for early tin-working in the south-west.

Another possible reason for the move into the hills may have been the importance of livestock and livestock products in trade and exchange networks, so that the competition for grazing resources was really a competition between groups or individuals who were operating an economy which was functioning well above subsistence level. At any rate, further work may indicate which of these hypotheses is more likely. The questions raised by the development of the reaves are of more than local interest, because the later prehistoric period sees the construction of fixed land boundaries in many parts of Britain — walls now beneath the peat in western Ireland, hedges and ditches beside the fens of eastern England, blocks of Celtic fields and dykes in Wessex. If we can interpret the meaning of the Dartmoor boundaries, and identify the social context in which they were constructed, we may be able to gain a significant increase in our understanding of early sociopolitical developments in these islands.

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A GLIMPSE OF MEDIAEVAL DALWOOD

G.M. Chapman

Dalwood is a village with a population of about 400 situated in east Devon near Axminster. It lies astride the Corry, a tributary of the Yarty, between two out-living ridges of the Blackdown Hills. For several centuries after the Norman Conquest it was a detached portion of the manor or liberty of Fordington, now a suburb of Dorchester. For this reason information about the village in mediaeval times is difficult to find. There is no record of Dalwood in Domesday Book for instance. Later it formed a tithing of Stockland, a larger village which lies to the north of it. One valuable source of information about Dalwood is found in the rolls of the manorial courts of Fordington. Some of these are quoted in a history of Fordington written by the Rev. R.G.B. Bartelot published in 1915. One of these extracts is of particular interest and enables us to lift for a moment a corner of the dark curtain which overhangs mediaeval Dalwood. This is an inquisition into the estates of William de Chantemerle, Lord of the Manor of Dalwood, who had died, possibly of the Black Death, in 1349. The Chantemerles held the manor from the earls of Cornwall, Henry I having given the lordship of Fordington to his uncle, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1156. On 7th May, 1349 William's death was presented to the Manor Court at Fordington, when it was reported that he held two carucates of land in Dalwood.

William died without issue. His heirs were three nephews who appear to have shared his estates equally amongst them. One of them, William de Ramesham, was a minor and it is to this fact that we owe our brief glimpse of mediaeval Dalwood. Under the customary laws of the time when a minor inherited property this remained in the possession of the overlord from whom the estate was held until he, or she, became of age. To avoid any future dispute the property involved was carefully itemised and put on record by the Manor Court. The Lord of the Manor of Fordington at this time was Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II. Previously it had belonged to her grandson, the Black Prince, who held it as Earl of Cornwall but he had sold it to his grandmother to raise money for the war with France. Thus William de Ramesham became the ward of Queen Isabella and the inquisition into his property was done in her name. It is given in full as quoted by Bartelot:

"3 March 1350. Inquisition taken at Dalewode before John Gerard, deputy of John Brunyng, Steward of the Manor of Fordington, as to one-third of William de Chantemerle's lands which Queen Isabella ought to have during the minority by William de Ramesham from the day he died, by the oath of Nicholas Nevyle, John Webbeare, Richard Dalwode, Roger Taillyour, Richard Dalewode, Richard Whyte, John atte Wode, Laurence atte Doune, William Bremelcombe and Roger de Bremelcombe, namely 12d. for the issues of one-third of the mill, one dovecote in bad state and one garden, 20d. for one-third of 60 acres of land worth a penny an acre, 2 shillings for one-third of 18 acres of meadow at 4d. per acre, 10d. for one-third of 60 acres of pasture at ½d.

per acre, 22s. 11½d. for one-third of the rents of assize of divers tenants, 5½d. for the wood sold, 4d. for one-third of the pasture sold on the hill, 3s. 2¾d. for one-third of the farms of the tenements of John Janne, John atte Wode, William de Bremelcombe and John Dolfyn, 2d. for one-third of the pasture sold to Laurence atte Doune, 8d. for one-third of the heriot of Richard atte Doune, 6s. 9d. for one-third of three courts, 8d. for one-third of the apples sold to the tenant of le Bray. Total 40s. 8¼d."

The enquiry took place in Dalwood itself. The jury who testified to the lands and other property of William de Chantemerle were therefore almost certainly men who lived in that manor. It is interesting that two of them had the surname Dalwood. There are now no people of that name in the village nor anywhere else in the locality so far as I know. The name does occur elsewhere however, two instances being known to me, one in Cornwall, the other in New Zealand. There is no other Dalwood in England so the ancestors of anyone of that name must have lived here originally. The fact that both the Dalwoods who were members of the jury were called Richard is not surprising. Mediaeval people used far fewer christian names than we do and repetitions of the same name occur constantly, even in the same family. The two Dalwoods may have been related, as may the two Bremelcombes. There is a place called Bramblecombe in Dalwood and also a farm of that name today. The tenant of le Bray who bought the apples presumably lived at Brays Farm, which still exists, near Beckford Bridge on the edge of the parish. The purchase of what must have been a big quantity of apples, two shillings, which he paid for them, being a large sum in 1350, suggests that cider was being made in Dalwood over 600 years ago. One would like to know whereabouts was the wood at which John might be found and where was the down where the dwellings of Laurence and Richard were situated. It may have been the Dalwood Downs listed in the Enclosure Award for Dalwood, situated to the west of the village.

Dalwood Corn Mill, burnt down in 1909, stood beside the Corry below the village, where the ruins may still be seen. It is unlikely that the mill noted in the inquisition stood elsewhere as the course of the leet which brought water to the mill wheel can still be traced and is unlikely to have been altered. But where did the dovecote which was in a bad state stand? According to Davidson, under ancient law only the lord of the manor could erect a dovecote and there were severe penalties for killing his pigeons. The presence of a dovecote therefore presupposes the presence of a manor house in Dalwood in 1350, presumably the property of William de Chantemerle. The garden also possibly belonged to the manor house. There is no trace of such a building nor any record of one known to the writer, in Dalwood. It is intriguing to speculate why the dovecote should have been in a bad state. One possibility is that the Black Death had so reduced the number of farm-workers in the village that there was no-one left to keep the dovecote in repair. Bartelot states that a new steward had been appointed to the Manor of Fordington in 1346. This would presumably have been the John Brunyng named in the inquisition. Possibly things had got neglected in the time of the previous steward.

It is possible, from the figures given in the inquisition, to form a tentative estimate of the amount of land William de Chantemerle had held in Dalwood. The 60 acres worth one penny an acre were presumably arable. To these must be added the 18 acres of meadow and 60 of pasture, giving a total of 138 acres. From the presentment of William's death to the Manor Court we know that he held two carucates of land in Dalwood. A carucate was likely to be about 60 acres where the land was good, which it is in Dalwood. Two carucates amount to some 120 acres, a figure not too far removed from the total of 138 of the inquisition, bearing in mind that a carucate was a somewhat elastic term. There was also "the pasture on the hill" one-third of which had been sold, and one-third of the pasture sold to Laurence atte Doune. No indication of the amount of this pasture is given. The 60 acres of pasture sold were valued at ½d. an acre. If the other two parcels of pasture sold are assumed to have been of the same value this would give another 36 acres but this is a large assumption as the pasture may have been of poorer quality.

This total refers of course to the demesne farm, the land which William de Chantemerle himself used. It was not the total amount of farmland, arable, meadow and pasture, in Dalwood. This would have comprised the remainder of the manor, occupied and worked by the men of the village. Some of these were undoubtedly free-holders. Another entry in the Court Rolls, quoted by Bartelot, dated April 1350, refers to a certain John de Combe who was allowed relief from suit of court until Michaelmas on payment of 6 pence. He is described in the entry as "one of the free-holders of Dalewood", so there were more than one of them. At the same court John Combe, Robert Caysor and Henry Mayhu were presented for default of suit. Whether they were all Dalwood men is not apparent but the presumption is that they were. It is some forty miles from Dalwood to Fordington and the duty of paying suit regularly at the manor court must have been an irksome one, to be avoided if possible. Whether John Combe and John de Combe were the same man or not is a matter of conjecture. They may not have been as John de Combe was one of William de Chantemerle's three nephews who were heirs to his estates. The third was William Tatham. John de Combe, according to another of the entries in the Court Rolls, appears to have tried to cheat William Tatham out of his inheritance but the court had its doubts about his claim and refused to allow it.

The ten men who constituted the jury at the inquisition would presumably have been prominent members of the village, some of them perhaps free-holders. One of them, Laurence atte Doune, was sufficiently well-off to buy some of William de Chantemerle's pasture. The tenant of le Bray, who could afford the large sum of two shillings for apples, must also have been a man of substance. If we add to the ten men of the jury John de Combe, the two, or perhaps three men presented with him and the tenant of le Bray, we have a total of 13 or 14 men in Dalwood in 1350 all of whom were probably quite prosperous. Some at least of them could have been free-holders.

The inquisition also tells us that land in Dalwood in 1350 was being bought and sold, leased and rented. The term "rent of assize" may indicate a commutation of ancient labour service into money rent. The Local Historian's

Encyclopedia states "decisions reached by an assembly were sometimes said to be assized, most commonly in the case of assized rents". Could the "rents of assize of divers tenants" in Dalwood represent a decision arrived at in the Manor Court? If so it would provide an interesting local example of the substitution of money payments for labour service or payment in kind which was then taking place in England, a process hastened by the Black Death. The entry referring to the farms of four tenements may be another example of the same process. Again referring to the Local Historian's Encyclopedia we find that the term 'farm' denoted land let on lease. Finally there is the 6s. 9d. for one-third of three courts. Court is a term still found in use in the West Country. There used to be in Dalwood until a few years ago, when it was regrettably demolished, a farm called Town Court. Thus, if it is permissible to generalise, property, both land and buildings, in Dalwood in 1350, was acquired by purchase, rented or leased. In the entire inquisition there is no indication of feudal services of the traditional kind. Even the heriot of Richard atte Doune was paid in cash. This is not to imply of course that some land was not held in common. In the Enclosure Act of 1834 for Dalwood 436 acres were enclosed. Some of this was waste but some, including Dalwood Green and Dalwood Downs (the pasture on the hill?) was common land.

The total value of William de Chantemerle's estates in Dalwood at the time of the inquisition would have been three times the 40s. 8¼d. at which the third William de Ramesham inherited was valued, that is 122s. 0¼d. The translation of mediaeval money values into modern terms is notoriously difficult, the rapid inflation of recent years making it still more so. Rowland Parker in "The Common Stream" (1976) suggests multiplying by a figure of 200. This gives a value of £1,200 for William de Chantemerle's estates which one feels is on the low side.

The inquisition refers to four tenements and three courts. Two of the tenements were occupied by members of the jury. The other eight men would have had dwellings of some sort. There was also le Bray, which was presumably a farm, and the mill. Leaving aside the possibility of there having been a manor house this gives a total of 17 occupied dwellings in Dalwood in 1350. There must also have been a considerable number of habitations of some sort where the "divers tenants" who paid rents of assize lived. This could have been a fairly large number as the 22s. 11¼d. which represented William de Ramesham's share accounted for only one-third of them. Mediaeval Dalwood was large enough to have an annual fair. This had been granted to William de Chantemerle himself by Edward III in 1345, only five years before the inquisition. There must have been other courts and tenements plus out-lying farms. Some of these may have been standing empty, their occupants having been victims of the Black Death. The pestilence affected the Axminster area severely judging from the toll it took at Newenham Abbey which stood just outside the town. Here, according to Davidson, 20 monks, 3 lay brethren and 88 secular persons who lived in the Abbey precincts, died of it. The people of Dalwood could hardly have escaped. There were probably other buildings "in bad state" in the village as well as the dovecote.

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NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

G.M. Chapman lives at High Grange, Dalwood Hill, near Axminster. Since he retired from teaching he has spent much time delving into the history of Dalwood. He is a founder member of the SCDH.

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Future Plans

Last year, the Blake Committee to review local history recommended the setting up of a strong independent national organisation for local history in England and Wales. The Standing Conference for Local History may serve as the foundation on which to build such an organisation "with sufficient resources to provide a wide range of services and to champion the needs of local history and its practitioners". As this journal goes to the printer, the SCLH will be holding its AGM, when suggestions for the constitution and membership of the new body will be discussed. It is probable that the organisation will seek charitable status and membership will be open to all. To qualify as a charity, the new organisation will have to convince the Charity Commissioners that its work is educational and of social and recreational benefit not just to its members but to the community in general. Meanwhile the new independent body needs a new name and proposals have been invited from the public. It may not be too late to send in your own views on the name by which it should be known. Write to The Secretary, SCLH, 26 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3HU.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A LUNDY ALBUM. Privately printed, 1980. The Heaven family on Lundy, 1838-1917. Photographs from Miss Eileen Heaven's collection, text based on Heaven family diaries, letters, etc. £3.75, post free, from Mrs. M. Langham, 17 Furzefield Road, Reigate, Surrey, RH2 7HG.

KINGSTON — A SOUTH HAMS VILLAGE. Compiled by Kingston History Society. Photographs, diaries, press cuttings, illustrating one hundred years in the life of the village. £1.60, plus 30p postage, from 2 Wheel Row, Kingston, Kingsbridge, Devon, TQ7 4PN.

MORE TIVERTON MEMORIES by Kenneth Barcham. Everyday scenes in Tiverton sixty years ago. 60p, plus 16p postage, from Tiverton Museum, or from booksellers.

OLD TIVERTON AND MID-DEVON IN PHOTOGRAPHS Part 2. 1980. A further selection from Tiverton Museum's collection by W.P. Authers and C.N. Ponsford. From booksellers, the Museum and from Alderman Authers, Horsdon House, Tiverton, Devon, EX16 4DL. £1.95, plus 35p postage.

PLYMOUTH SOUND: THE HARBOUR AND ITS STORY (25p); **FRANCIS DRAKE** (40p); **A TAMAR CRUISE** (20p); three booklets written by Joan Doyle and published by the local radio station Plymouth Sound. Available from Plymouth Sound Ltd., Earl's Acre, Plymouth, PL3 4HX.

PLYMOUTH EXCAVATIONS: ST. ANDREWS STREET, 1976, by G.J. Fairclough. Plymouth Museum Archaeological Series, No. 2., 1979. £4.50. ISBN 0904788032.

In 1976 excavations took place at St. Andrews Street, Plymouth. With admirable speed, the report on this work has now been published. The area is a particularly interesting one; the street had a distinguished post-medieval history and once contained much fine vernacular architecture, as Mr. Barber's most interesting introductory survey of architectural and documentary evidence shows. Unfortunately, although a large area was to be redeveloped, the archaeological deposits over much of the site had been destroyed, and it was not considered feasible to excavate any of the St. Andrews Street frontages, so no house plans were recovered. Excavation concentrated on an area to their rear, occupied largely by gardens. This produced a mass of finds but was inevitably rather disappointing in structural evidence.

The description and discussion of the results is laid out with clarity by Mr. Fairclough. The principal points to emerge are that intensive evidence of occupation begins only in the late 13th century; that the initial division of the area by property boundaries probably dates from the late 13th or early 14th centuries, subsequently retained in differing structural forms until modern times; and the use of external garderobes in gardens throughout the post-medieval occupation.

The report on the finds makes up about two-thirds of the volume; the bulk of this is the pottery report. As at Castle Street, there is a wealth of imported pottery; the post medieval assemblage here displays a similar pattern of ceramic importation, but with even larger numbers of the Merida-type wares from Southern Portugal. The St. Andrews Street collection extends the range of pottery published from Plymouth by presenting a sizeable body of medieval material. This also contains a high proportion of imports, nearly all of them from S.W. France. However, most of the collection comes from deposits containing wares of mixed dates. The dating of the local wares follows that of Coleman-Smith and Pearson at Castle Street and will require revision in the light of new evidence. Some of the attributions are also open to question; an examination of the wares ascribed to Laverstock, Exeter and Rouen, for example, suggests to the present author that these have not always been accurately identified. Whilst the volume presents a large and very helpful corpus of finds, one must hope that their dating and the attributions of some types can at some stage be re-assessed.

J.P. Allan
Exeter Archaeological Field Unit

RAMBLES AROUND NEWTON ABBOT by Roger Jones. 1980. 95p. £1.50. ISBN 0 9506563 1 3.

Roger Jones came to Newton Abbot in 1976 as an enthusiastic young librarian with some interest in local history. Finding that there was no recent book about the town he researched its history, wrote the text, searched out old photographs from local townspeople, found a printer and saw the whole thing through the press as a private venture, then went around the town selling his **Book of Newton Abbot**.

He has now published in the same way **Rambles around Newton Abbot** based on the earlier research but this time using his enthusiasm for walking as well. He visits most of the beauty spots and places of interest in the neighbourhood going as far afield as Little Haldon. Each walk has a map and the "going" in good weather is described in the opening paragraph of each walk. In this book however he has sought the help of another member of Newton Abbot Library staff, Len Dawkins proves to be a black-and-white illustrator of great talent — his vignette of Coombe Cellars and the half-page drawing of Bourchier's Almshouse at Coombeinteignhead are especially pleasing. This is a fascinating book indeed. Unfortunately Roger Jones has now left the Library and Newton Abbot having decided to seek a new career outside librarianship.

John Pike

A GUIDE TO THE INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF PLYMOUTH AND MILLBROOK (CORNWALL) edited by Cynthia Gaskell Brown. 2nd ed. Plymouth: Plymouth City Museum, 1980. 52 pp. 3 maps, illustrations. 95p.

When it first appeared, priced 20p, in 1973, this pamphlet was welcomed by our reviewer, John Perkins, with some reservations. Topics covered include particular subjects: the Eddystone lighthouse, the breakwater, the Royal Albert bridge, Sutton harbour, Millbay Docks and the Royal Naval Dockyard; particular districts, such as Plymstock, Oreston and Hooe, Stonehouse and Millbrook; and particular aspects: ironfounders and railways. To the old format have been added some fresh illustrations and an additional section by Mrs. Gaskell Brown on Plympton. Otherwise the revision is minimal. While it still continues to provide a useful pocket guide to various aspects of industrial archaeology in Plymouth, it is a pity that revision could not have been taken further and account taken of our reviewer's comments. The treatment remains variable and there are particular disappointments. The section on the railways of Plymouth by H. Liddle is reprinted in its 1973 form which is in no sense industrial archaeology. There are interesting aspects of railway industrial archaeology in Plymouth on which the author could have commented, as the West Country Tourist Board's leaflet **Discover the Brunel country** shows, and to give A.L. Clamp, **Let's explore old railways** as the sole source is ludicrous. Similar criticisms could be made of the bibliographies to the other sections. It is most disappointing that Plymouth Museum, which can lavish such care on an aspect of traditional archaeology — as shown by **Plymouth excavations: Castle Street: the pottery** (reviewed in the *Devon Historian*, 20), also edited by Mrs. Gaskell Brown — should treat an industrial archaeology publication with less care and scholarly attention. Industrial archaeology deserves to be taken more seriously than it currently is by publicly-funded museums in Devon.

Walter Minchinton

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EXERCISES TIGER AND FABIUS by Arthur L. Clamp. 1980. 16 pp. 75p. (available from Torcross Post Office and elsewhere)

This booklet is subtitled "The American assault exercise at Slapton Sands, Devon in 1944". Mr Clamp is a prolific writer of small booklets on the County but this one is different in that he has had access to American Government papers and to official U.S. photographs taken during the "occupation" and afterwards. The story told here is therefore fuller than has been possible before and the excellent illustrations, many published for the first time, give the run-up to Operation Overlord a new perspective. The text too contains important additional information. Most residents in the South Hams today are still unaware that more Americans died off Slapton Sands than were killed on Utah beach in Normandy on D-Day. About 700 men drowned when a flotilla of nine E-boats got among the vessels taking part in the first rehearsal and sank or damaged three of them.

John Pike

THE TRAGEDY OF HALLSANDS VILLAGE by John L. Harvey. 1980. 16 pp. 50p.

This booklet is another in the series printed by Caradon Printers, Callington and through text and photographs adds to our knowledge of the Devon countryside. The story of Hallsands is well-known. Photographs taken late in the 19th century show a prosperous little village not unlike Beesands nearby. There were over 120 inhabitants, a small chapel and a grocer's shop provided for their spiritual and daily needs, while on the hill-top nearby was the village pub. In 1897 dredgers offshore arrived to lift sand and gravel for the new dockyard extension: by 1901 nearly 70,000 tons had been taken away. Soon after in 1902, records show that parts of the village were falling into the sea, this process continued until finally in January 1917 most of the remaining houses fell into the sea one after the other. The story is well-told and the photographs graphically illustrate the village's demise over the decade.

John Pike

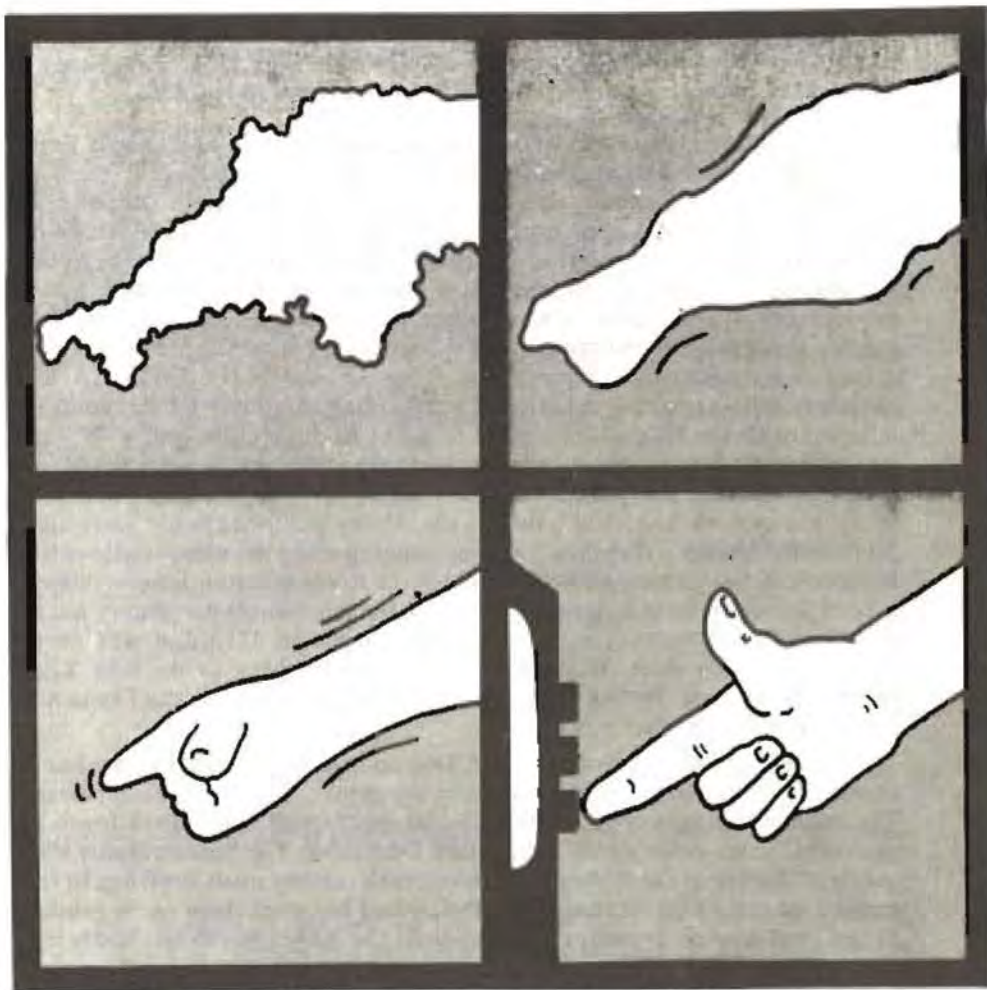
IN THE SHADOW OF THE BLACKDOWNS: Life at the Cistercian Abbey of Dunkeswell and on its manors and estates 1209-1531. J.A. Sparks. Moonraker Press. 133 pp. 16 illus. 1978. SBN 239.00278.8. £7.50.

Not much has been written about the Blackdown hills in East Devon. Even to the tourist these hills and valleys are little known though there is much of historical interest in the area, notably the two impressive monastic fishponds at Dunkeswell. This book is an attempt to reconstruct the life of the Abbey of Dunkeswell, in the very heart of the Blackdowns, from its foundation to the Dissolution. It is difficult to know how much is imaginary and how much drawn from original sources, since there is no systematic referencing. The graphic account of the building of the Abbey and of monastic life seems to be drawn from excavation reports and from knowledge of Cistercian life elsewhere, with a generous addition of purely imaginary material. Accounts of relations with the Hospitallers' small house at Bodmiscombe and with local landowners do derive from documents, as do the rather scanty accounts of the Dunkeswell estates and properties. Much has however appeared in Oliver and in the anonymous historical guide to the Abbey published some years ago. Some of the history is dubious. The road running along the eastern edge of the Blackdowns may or may not be Roman but the Romans certainly never named it Ford Street; Hemyock castle was begun in the late fourteenth century not at the Conquest; Bowerhayes Farm was Bureheghe in 1196 and was never Brewerhayes, nor does Wulford Church have anything to do with King Wulfhere of Mercia. By 743 the boundary of Dumnonia was on the Tamar not on the edge of the Blackdowns.

There are some points of interest. Dotton in Colaton Raleigh once had a church, dedicated to St. David, owned by the monks. It has quite disappeared. The estate documents cited do show the nature of much of the Blackdowns in mediaeval times, open waste, a miniature Dartmoor. The Simcoe family who acquired the site of the Abbey in the nineteenth century made drawings of the remains of the Abbey at that time. The author has used these never printed before, and Swete's drawings to reconstruct the Abbey buildings. Sadly it is almost impossible to tell what is Swete and what is Simcoe and what is reconstruction. The rest of the drawings, many of them copies, have a certain simplified school textbook-like charm.

Sadly this book adds nothing substantial to the history of the Abbey or of the Blackdown area. The material for writing a full history of Dunkeswell probably does not exist, but the recent book on Torre Abbey (reviewed in *Devon Historian* 17) with a similar archive background, probably was far better value. The Blackdowns deserve a better book than this.

Robin Stanes



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