



The
Devon
Historian

April 1983

26

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THE DEVON HISTORIAN

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY: CONFERENCES

The AGM will take place at the University of Exeter on 21 May 1983 (details enclosed). A one-day conference will be held at Dawlish (Rockstone Hotel, Exeter Road) on 5 November 1983.

The print on the front cover is *Exeter from Exwick Hill*, steel line engraving by Le Petit after W. H. Bartlett, published Fisher, 1829/32. (Somers-Cocks, No. 942).

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RADICAL SHOEMAKERS

Jeffrey H. Porter

Shoemakers have for centuries had a reputation for independent thought, for radicalism, militancy in trade matters and for providing a stimulus to and leadership of wider movements of social protest. In Britain, for example, Thomas Holcroft the Jacobin playwright and novelist who was prosecuted unsuccessfully for treason was an ex-shoemaker. Northampton shoemakers were early supporters of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union and were later to elect the atheist Charles Bradlaugh as their M.P. In the 1870s one of the most notorious poachers in Northamptonshire was a Kettering shoemaker and this is not surprising for, as D. J. V. Jones has shown, poaching was an important form of social protest.

During the third quarter and later decades of the nineteenth century, the shoemaking trades underwent considerable organisational and technological change. At the same time the rural villages and small market towns were facing economic decline. The questions which might then be asked are whether any evidence of the shoemakers' traditional radicalism remained and in particular if there is any evidence for Devon, even though it is not a county customarily regarded as radical. To answer these questions with sufficient authority is likely to be difficult for the examples are scattered, episodic and local. However, the purpose of this note is to consider two areas of dissent in which shoemakers were involved; industrial conflict and poaching, two areas which may provide some illustrations of the shoemakers' attitudes to authority.

The county of Devon has not been noted for major industrial conflicts; this is partly a reflection of its industrial structure and partly because many disputes were both local and short-lived and being only recorded in local newspapers generally have escaped the attention of the economic historian. The disputes in the shoemaking trade of Crediton provide an illustration of this. In October 1866 a meeting of shoemakers at the Plymouth Inn decided to demand an increase in wages and after one employer had conceded it seems likely that they were successful. Following the dispute the shoemakers formed a branch of the Cordwainers Union based at the Kings Arms. Some 60 men joined and the new branch linked itself to the existing one in Exeter.

The Crediton employers were unhappy at this disturbing of traditional relationships and in August 1872 co-ordinated their response to the men's claim for another wage increase. The men first struck at the works of Samuel Squire Gimblett and after three weeks the two other principal manufacturers, William Adams & Co. and John Elston, decided to impose a general lockout. In retaliation the men picketed the factories and the homes of the employers and demonstrated by marching down the High Street four abreast.

An open air protest meeting was called to meet on The Green. One hundred and thirty two locked out men marched to the meeting and the Devon Weekly Times estimated that over 600 people attended. A delegation attended from Exeter and brought with it cash as well as moral support. The Chairman, H. Boldy and John Harvey, the secretary, attacked the employers' claim that the men earned between £1 and £1/5/- per week and said that none earned more than 14/- which was totally insufficient as the costs of provisions soared. Boldy claimed the employers were threatening to bring men in from Bristol and to introduce the sewing

SAMUEL SQUIRE GIMBLETT,
WHOLESALE AND EXPORT SHOE MANUFACTURER,
Agent for the celebrated "SINGER" SEWING MACHINE, and the
BRITISH EQUITABLE ASSURANCE COMPANY,
HIGH STREET, CREDITON, DEVON.

machine (Gimblett's were agents for the Singer company). Despite these threats the meeting voted in favour of a 15 per cent increase.

The lockout was to last a further three weeks making the length of the strike and lockout six weeks and suggesting a strong degree of cohesion among the shoemakers and with it the implication of a strength of independent thought and organisation. The deadlock was broken by the intervention of a conciliator, the Rev. John Robert Nankivell, Chaplain of the Holy Cross. After meeting each side separately he persuaded the rivetters to accept 10 per cent and the stitch hands 12 per cent. The masters also agreed to withdraw the 'document' which they had threatened to impose to bar union men from employment.

Nevertheless the employers were still reluctant to accept trade unionism when a further strike occurred in 1890. Again discontent centred on Gimblett's and strikers from that firm left to get jobs as far away as Bristol and Croydon; the others were supported by donations from sympathisers. The men offered to accept arbitration but Gimblett refused and avoided meeting the local union branch secretary. The dispute probably ended unsatisfactorily to the men as there were complaints in July 1893 about sweating in the Crediton boot trade.

In a small way these examples illustrate, particularly in 1872, the independence of mind of the shoemakers. Whether this was greater than in the other craftsmen of Devon, the building trade workers and engineers for instance, remains to be proven but it suggests that in at least one community the shoemakers were still showing signs of radicalism.

Shoemakers were also in evidence amongst poachers between 1860-1900. There are instances of their being prosecuted at Ashburton, Backway, Blackborough, Bow, Cockington, Crediton, Cullompton, East Budleigh, Hemyock, Kingsteignton, Instow, Luppitt, Membury, Otterton, Peamore, Shute, Sidford, South Brent and South Molton. This list, whilst not exhaustive, is sufficiently long to demonstrate that shoemakers were willing to break the law. Whether they broke it disproportionately compared to their occupational numbers has yet to be demonstrated.

Two types of shoemakers may be distinguished in considering the prosecutions for poaching, the individual shoemaker working on his own in the village and those based on workshops such as the Crediton factories. Examples of the former are James Pring of Hemyock who was twice fined by the Cullompton bench, James Adams who was charged before the South Molton justices for taking a salmon in the close season and George Clark who paid £1 and costs to the Axminster bench for trying the hedges with his lurcher. Similarly James Fater of Otterton who was found near a warm dead pheasant with his gun. Samuel Langmead, a shoemaker of East Budleigh was a regular attender at the Woodbury sessions. In December 1877 he paid £2 and costs for poaching and in 1882 was given a fine of £4 or the

alternative of one month's hard labour for fishing in Sir George Stucky's waters at Otterton. Langmead had put up a defence of customary right and claimed to have fished there for 38 years, in this he was supported by another man watching the case who said he had fished in the same spot for 30 years. The bench would not permit Langmead to appeal so in protest he took the one month's hard labour.

Crediton itself provides some notable poaching cases involving shoemakers who were more likely to be workshop employees. Poaching on a Sunday was a popular pastime for labourers but particularly offensive to justices of strong christian principles. John Gillard and Henry Wollacott, Crediton shoemakers, were fined for such behaviour in 1890 by the Crediton bench. Samuel Davie and John Sweetland had each been fined £2 in 1869 after they had not even bothered to turn up when called before the magistrates.

Another Crediton shoemaker named Stephen Cross paid heavily for his appearances before the Crediton bench over 1865-66. In April 1865 he paid a £1 for pursuing conies with his greyhound on Sunday; in October he was caught on Sir H. R. F. Davie's land and paid £2 and costs and in November 1866 was seized for shooting game without a licence which cost him a further £10. More notorious was George Howard who was in 1870 described as an Exeter shoemaker and in 1878 as a Crediton shoemaker. In 1870 he was convicted of night poaching on Sir S. T. Kekewich's land at Peamore. Howard had threatened the police sergeant and keepers who tried to arrest him and had escaped to his home only to be identified later. The bench was unconvinced by his protestations of innocence and the swearing by his son and daughter that he was at home all night. No doubt the bench at the Castle recalled his recent appearance before them after he had been stopped on the Exe Bridge with a cart full of rabbits. He got three months hard labour with the obligation to find sureties for a further twelve months. Eight years later he was found on Sir H. R. F. Davie's land and when chased by the keeper abandoned his nets and 31 rabbits. Davie's fellow magistrate John Quicke was unimpressed by Howard's claim to have been in London at the time and gave him another three months hard labour.

A study of poaching prosecutions has the limitation that only those who are caught enter the record and for the case for their radicalism to be absolutely convincing shoemakers would have to take up a disproportionately large share of those prosecuted. It is suggestive, however, that in the two limited areas examined here shoemakers did demonstrate a degree of dissent. Did they play a role in other forms of dissent in villages and market towns? A casual glance at Crediton, for example, suggests that nonconformity is well represented in its religious buildings. It is possible that political dissent in the villages might be encouraged by shoemakers, just as innkeepers were suspected of doing by the respectable. It would be interesting if local researchers into village history were to find shoemakers like J. Harris of Exeter who in 1867 attacked the upper classes as enemies of the workers and "repudiated the idea that working men were going to give up their unions".

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SOME ASPECTS OF DEVON'S ROLE IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Harold J. Trump

Devon escaped the ravages of the Industrial Revolution but it was a close-run thing. A visitor in the early 19th century, the Reverend Thomas Moore, was shocked by quarrying at Babbacombe, lamenting that

the ruthless hand of commerce is permitted, with provoking unconcern, to demolish by piecemeal the grand and magnificent ornaments of the coast and that the owners of these splendid scenes, with sordid love of gain absorbing all other considerations, are literally retailing the picturesque and beautiful by weight and measure.

Another visitor condemned the brickworks around Bovey Tracey which polluted the air with acrid smoke from Bovey 'coal', local lignite which was used as a substitute for the genuine article.

Devon's contribution to Britain's industrial prosperity in the second half of the 19th century was indirect. The mines of Dartmoor and the Teign valley and the clay beds of the Bovey basin played a crucial role in industrial expansion, but the raw materials were carried to the coalfields and not *vice versa*. How important these materials were can be seen from the records of the Port of Teignmouth which was the main export centre for ball clay and one of the outlets for the variety of minerals in demand by the manufacturers: iron, lead, zinc, copper and the numerous by-products such as ochre, umber and 'shining ore'.

The ores were worked from mines at or near Ashburton, Christow, Hennock and Ilington, some of which were worked intermittently and passed from one speculator to another. Charles Wescomb, for example, was a highly successful entrepreneur who exported from Teignmouth; he raised himself from rags to riches and became Sheriff of Exeter, but when he died suddenly in 1869 it was found that he was bankrupt for many thousands of pounds and that his mining enterprises had been kept going on borrowed money.

One of the first mines to export through Teignmouth was the Dannamore iron mine close to Templer's granite tramway. A newspaper correspondent reported in 1827 that the Hay Tor iron 'turns out to be of superior quality and is already become an article of export from Teignmouth for Wales, for the purpose of being smelted'. This mine appears not to have been very successful, but other iron ore mines sent away large quantities during the boom of the mid-century. The most productive were probably those worked by the Ilington Mining Company which exported the last iron ore cargo from Teignmouth in 1908; it went not to a United Kingdom port but to the Continent, a danger signal for Britain's industrial decline.

The ores, of which iron and lead were the most important, were consigned to Cornwall, Bristol, the North-east coast and, above all, to South Wales. Cargoes went to small ports in Wales, such as Pembry and Penclawdd, which have long since disappeared along with the blast furnaces which they served, and to Llanely, Swansea, Port Talbot and Newport where demand exceeded supply until resources were opened up world wide. The largest cargo exported from Teignmouth during the boom was 252 tons of iron ore to Newport in 1860. Examples of other large cargoes were 192 tons of zinc ore to Swansea in 1857, 156 tons of copper ore to Port Talbot in 1862 and 200 tons of lead ore to Llanely in 1869.

In the 1850s and 60s regular shipments of lead ore also went from Teignmouth to Truro and Par. They were sometimes sent direct to a smelter such as Michell and

Industrial Devon...

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Some of the barges which brought mineral ores and clay down the estuary for export from Teignmouth. The rail link to the Old Quay extension, shown in the photograph, did not destroy this trade.

Acknowledgement to E. M. Whitaker

Son whose works were on a creek of the Fal at Penpol; they received 60 tons in 1856 which probably came from Wheal Frank Mills near Christow. These cargoes of lead ore to Cornwall were much smaller than those of lead and other minerals which were sent to South Wales and the major industrial centres of the North-east.

South Devon supplied many other products which contributed to Britain's industrial growth. The records of the Teignmouth Harbour Commission show the wide variety: pitwood for the coal mines; hay for pit ponies; ochre and umber as industrial pigments; 'shining ore' as an ink drier probably for both private and commercial use; scrap iron, including old rails from the South Devon Railway, to help feed the blast furnaces. To Glasgow went many pipes and hogsheads of cider — perhaps a cheap alternative to whisky as a means of escape from industrial squalor.

The tonnage of clay which was exported from Teignmouth exceeded all these materials put together. Some of it went abroad but most was carried coastwise to Runcorn, Newcastle, Glasgow and many other large and small ports in the United Kingdom.

Runcorn Docks were greatly extended between 1850 and 1870 to cope with growing imports of ball clay from Teignmouth and china clay from Cornwall. Despite its expansion this trade continued in a traditional way: it was always almost entirely a sailing ship and not a steamer trade because of the slow discharge into

barges which were towed by canal to the Staffordshire Potteries. By chance one or two pages of the Runcorn port records have survived. They show the gratuities paid to ships' masters (an old custom) and they distinguish Teignmouth vessels from those arriving from Charlestown, Par and other ports in Cornwall. Some of the ship names illustrate the affection which seamen in sail had for their craft: *Fairy Flower*, *June Rose*, *Island Maid*. The records tabulate the different kinds of clay at a time when refining methods were much less sophisticated than they are to-day: potters' clay, blue clay, and black clay which was so called because streaks of lignite ran through it.

Most vessels sailing from Teignmouth were 'tramps' in that they sought cargo wherever it offered, but some were regular traders loading outwards with clay and bringing coal home. The brigantine *Prothesa*, for example, regularly carried clay to Newcastle and brought back coal for the Teignmouth and Newton Abbot Gas Works. The clay was delivered to the Newcastle Pottery of Maling and Company, established in 1817 and a good customer for Devon clay throughout its history. The fact that Maling's trade catalogue advertised jugs marked 'Devonshire Clotted Cream' suggests that some at least of its products came back to the Westcountry.

One of the regular traders to Glasgow was the *Jehu*, a schooner owned and managed by the Teignmouth Harbour Master, T. W. Hutchings, from 1873 to 1914. Her cargoes of clay were consigned to the Barrowfield Pottery of Kennedy and Company. Kennedys was a leading firm in the British pottery industry and had an extensive home market as well as an export trade to North America, the West Indies, Argentina and Brazil. A reporter investigating the firm on behalf of a trade journal, *The Mercantile Age*, wrote in 1880:

Continental manufacturers... have been sending their productions into this country at prices which have filled the minds of many of our home producers with alarm (but)... Mr Kennedy has completed several improvements in his works, whereby he is now enabled to produce his manufactures with such economy of working that will allow him to be a most potent rival to foreign manufacturers.

Mr. Kennedy, the report went on, was helped by the fact that 'the clay used is received from Devonshire, where it is found in great perfection and well adapted for working'.

The investigator remarked that on his visit 1,000 tons of clay was stored ready for use. This reserve was necessary because sailing ships were subject to long delays. Fred Drew, a member of a Teignmouth seafaring family, remembered how on a voyage in the *Jehu* shortly before the First World War he left Teignmouth with a fair wind and then the *Jehu* had to put into Falmouth, Milford Haven and Dublin to take shelter and carry out repairs.

Kennedy and Company was unable to survive the double blows of the First World War and the Great Depression and closed down in 1933; no more clay went from Teignmouth to Glasgow. The coastwise trade from Devon, as from Cornwall, had mirrored Britain's industrial achievement and then reflected her relative decline. In Devon itself there was no industry apart from small scale operations such as brickworks and paper-making and a few textile factories. So, unlike in South Wales, the green valleys suffered neither desecration nor dereliction and survived unscathed into the second half of the 20th century.

To this story of Devon's good fortune one footnote needs to be added. The industrial workers of South Wales and the North of England enjoyed a higher

standard of living and could look forward to better material prospects for their children than their Westcountry counterparts living and working in a rural or maritime community. Three examples from mid-19th century Teignmouth illustrate the point.

Isaac Sanders and John Chanter were indentured apprentices in John Temple's brigantine *Aratus*. They jumped ship at the end of their first voyage from Teignmouth and their escape into the slums of Glasgow says much for conditions on board and at home. John Palmer was a young seaman in the ketch *Reformation*; when he appeared in court to claim arrears of wages the Teignmouth magistrates were so shocked by his shabby and emaciated appearance that they immediately awarded him £2 despite the protests of the master, Thomas Godfrey. David Davidson is a shadowy figure who appears in the records from time to time; when trade was brisk he did odd jobs around the harbour and on one occasion earned a few pence by 'assisting the *Endeavour* in the night' but when shipping was quiet he stole cats for their skins. Poverty of this kind was the price paid for the preservation of the Devon coast and countryside until our own day.

Sources and Acknowledgements *

Much of the evidence for this article comes from local newspapers and the records of the Teignmouth Harbour Commission which have recently been deposited in the County Record Office. (It is no fault of the helpful staff that each consultation now costs £1 instead of nothing). Information has been generously supplied by the Teignmouth Quay Company and the Bridgwater Canal Trust as well as by the Librarians of the Royal Cornwall Institution, Truro, and of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. A monograph on 'The Teign Valley Silver-lead Mines' by Christopher Schmitz, out of print but available in Devon Libraries, describes, from original sources, mining activities in this area.

SOME READILY AVAILABLE SOURCES FOR LOCAL HISTORIANS IN DEVON

Séamus D. O'Hea

<i>Abbreviations:</i>	DRO	Devon Record Office, Exeter
	WSL	Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter
	D & EI	Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter
	UML	Main Library, University of Exeter
	RL	Reference Library, Exeter City Library

This paper is designed to perform three functions: firstly, to provide the aspiring local historian with the names of the main historical sources held in local libraries and archives; secondly, to describe briefly the nature of their contents; and finally to mention their location in Exeter. It is aimed primarily at those embarking on local history research projects for the first time, whether they are post-graduate research students working for a higher degree in social or economic history, or those undertaking research purely for pleasure. Hopefully, it will prove useful to those second-year students at the University who are required to submit a local history undergraduate thesis as part of the BA degree in Economic History. Above all, what is contained here should save some time in identifying the main sources, and may serve to illuminate some which might otherwise have gone unnoticed. It is not an exhaustive survey: it covers mainly the material which I have used. I am most grateful to Mr Geoffrey Paley at the Devon & Exeter Institution Library for a number of helpful suggestions, and for drawing some useful material to my attention.

My method in this paper is to name each type of source data in turn, followed by its location(s) in brackets.

SECONDARY PUBLISHED WORKS A wise starting point for any local study is to comb the published works for the region, which will provide the broad historical background. As a prudent short-cut to the location of printed material, refer to Allan Brockett's *Devon Union List* (UML, WSL, D & EI), published by Exeter University in 1977. Books on Devon are listed alphabetically by authors, and subject-indexed; locations in Devon libraries are given, and these include the University Library, The Cathedral, the Devon & Exeter Institution, and the main branches of the Devon Library Services. The Westcountry Studies Library has a formidable collection of locally-relevant books, arranged by parish and town. A handful of these might be regarded as essential preliminary reading for the local historian. Three excellent studies come from one of the country's most readable social historians, Prof. W. G. Hoskins: *Devon* (note the subject bibliography at the rear of this work), *Devon and its People, Local History in England* (all at WSL, UML, D & EI).

What may be described as the standard local work on elementary rural education is R. R. Sellman, *Devon Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (DRO, WSL, D & EI), and on epidemic disease, T. Shapter, *A History of the Cholera in Exeter in 1832* (DRO, D & EI, WSL).

Useful works written around the turn of the 18/19th century include:

- C. Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon* (WSL, DRO, UML, D & EI).
W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of the West of England* (WSL, DRO, UML, D & EI).
W. Marshall, *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*, Vol. 5 (WSL, UML, D & EI).
R. Fraser, *General View of the County of Devon* (WSL, UML, D & EI).
R. Polwhele, *History of Devonshire* (WSL, UML, D & EI).
D. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. 6 (DRO, WSL, UML, D & EI).

Any local work involving the calculation of social/demographic statistical trends will require comparisons to be made with county and national data. Two essential volumes to this end are:

- B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (UML, D & EI).
P. Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959. Trends and Structure* (UML).

POSTGRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE THESES (Mainly UML; a few in DRO and WSL) A detailed examination of the subject matter of these should be made before defining the scope of one's own work. It is vital to be aware of work completed by others if it touches on your own field of interest, for three reasons: firstly, duplication is academically pointless. There is little profit in mining a lode which has already been worked. Secondly, it is often illuminating to compare and contrast one's own findings and conclusions with those arrived at by another historian working at a similar level in a different geographical area. Indeed, most supervisors and examiners will insist that this is done. Thirdly, careful perusal of the bibliographies contained in the work of others can save vast amounts of time in tracking down sources equally useful to oneself. The University Main Library holds a large number of completed postgraduate theses, and these will be found listed in their thesis catalogue. The Department of Economic History holds the undergraduate theses of former students. Two essays by Prof. Walter Minchinton will prove useful as a guide to existing undergraduate and postgraduate theses in history:

- 'The University of Exeter and Devon History', *Devon Historian*, No. 8, April 1974, and 'The University of Exeter and Devon History: a Second List', *Devon Historian*, No. 16, April, 1978 (UML, D & EI, WSL).

(Permission should be sought by non-members wishing to use the Devon & Exeter Institution library in the Cathedral Close, and by extra-mural researchers wishing to examine any sources held by the University.) See also the ASLIB Index of Theses (UML, RL) and the London Institute of Historical Research list of writings on British history and History Theses 1901-1970 (UML).

POPULATION CENSUS RETURNS (WSL, UML) The Census of 1801 provides social historians with the first reasonably reliable estimate of population numbers. Until 1831 only aggregative Abstracts are available (i.e. it is not possible to identify individuals), giving details of total numbers, sex, occupations and housing, down to parish level. The Parliamentary Papers (UML) contain many of these, and the WSL

also has several volumes of local relevance. From 1841 onwards, however, a far greater wealth of detailed information is available since copies of the Census Enumerators' books are preserved. These show and name the individuals occupying each household, together with their ages, sex, occupations, addresses, and even notice unoccupied houses. From 1851 places of origin are shown for each individual (invaluable when studying migration), and paupers and scholars are identified. The WSL holds microfilm copies of the Enumerators' books for local parishes dating from 1841 to 1881.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS These are held at UML in the form of bound volumes and also on micro-cards in the microfilm room. They contain a vast body of historical data including Bills, Reports from Select Committees, Enquiries, and Surveys; everything that occupied the attention of Parliament in the nineteenth century. There are many statistical tables and Abstracts, frequently sufficiently detailed to show the figures for individual parishes. A tiny sample of the subjects covered includes Poor Relief, (invaluable for assessing levels of local distress), Education, Religious Worship, - note especially the findings of the 1851 local Surveys on the latter two subjects - Agricultural Distress, Crime, Medical Matters, and International Trade. There are also useful Abstracts derived from successive decennial censuses. There is little point in ploughing haphazardly through this vast bulk of information: it is quite well indexed. See: M. F. Bond, *Guide to the Records of Parliament* (UML, D & EI), S. Lambert (ed.) *The House of Commons Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (UML), and the indices periodically provided in the volumes themselves. There is also a most useful 3-volume index published by the Irish University Press (UML).

LOCAL PRESS (D & EI, WSL) One fact of considerable import for the local historian using nineteenth century newspapers as sources is that they recorded the newsworthy topics of their day as they were happening, and their reports were frequently embellished with contemporary prejudices and viewpoints. They thus tend to be free of the almost inevitable interpretive bias of the backward-looking historian of our own times.

As well as finding here a vast body of local, national, and international news, views, and commentary, the local historian will find an even more valuable range of advertisements by local firms and organisations, which give an unrivalled insight into local prices of many of the goods entering into ordinary consumption. These include clothing, food, furniture, and - frequently amusing - patent medicines, in the days before there were statutory controls on the sale of often dangerous drugs such as belladonna and opium. There are also advertisements covering auctions and sales, markets, runaway apprentices and travel by sea and road - ship and coach. The important local newspapers for which good runs are held locally are the *Exeter Flying Post*, the *Western Luminary*, *Woolmer's Exeter & Plymouth Gazette* and the *Western Times*. Most of them are in the Devon & Exeter Institution, (permission should be sought) and the West Country Studies Library also has a small number. The *Exeter Flying Post* has recently been painstakingly indexed, and the index is held at the WSL, arranged by subject and place, from 1763 to 1885.

THE PARISH REGISTERS OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND BURIALS (DRO and various parish chests). While these are an invaluable primary source for the local historian and particularly the demographer, it is worth offering a word of caution to the effect that burials, baptisms and marriages are not synonyms for deaths, births and marriages, especially if the parish under review shows evidence of having contained a substantial Dissenting community. The baptisms, marriages and burials of Dissenters were not routinely recorded in the Anglican registers. For this reason it is important to check, at the outset, whether any 'non-parochial' parish registers exist in the DRO for the parish. If an immigrant 'colony' existed in the parish (like the Cornish miners in the Teign Valley) there is an even chance that they brought their faith with them, and may well have worshipped at their own Chapel.

Parish registers were required by Thomas Cromwell's injunction of September 1538. Registration was irregularly maintained until Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1754 more strictly regulated the registration of marriages, and George Rose's 1812 Act brought uniformity to the system of registration. This Act -- fortunately for the local historian -- also required dry and secure storage for these invaluable registers.

The Baptismal Register: In early registers, only the date, name of child and father's name are often shown, but from the early nineteenth century a standard printed form also shows the abode and occupation of the father, as well as the mother's name. The month of baptism enables seasonality to be established; e.g. in rural areas it is often possible, by plotting baptisms by month, to see, for example a trough in conceptions (9 months before birth) during busy periods such as harvest and lambing. Crude birth rates are calculated by expressing numbers of births per 1,000 of population. But 'baptisms', as has been suggested, is not the same thing, necessarily, as 'births', from a chronological point of view. Baptismal ceremonies of healthy children were sometimes 'saved up' for religious festivals, or bad weather could delay baptism (or burial too). The stigma of illegitimacy was often entered in the register by the notation 'Base child' or 'Bastard child'.

The Marriage Register: From the early nineteenth century these show, as well as the date and names of those marrying, the occupation of the husband and the parish of residence of both partners. Ages are too seldom given -- usually only 'full age'. The Marriage Register also provides a valuable insight into the partners' state of literacy, in the space where they signed their names if they could write, or made a cross if they could not. However, contrary to the view of many writers, the ability to sign one's name is proof only of ability to do just that; it does not necessarily indicate a broad state of literacy. The converse is probably true, however: those only able to make a cross were truly illiterate.

For a revealing insight into special licences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see J. L. Vivian, *The marriage licences of the diocese of Exeter, 1523-1631*, Exeter, Pollard, 1887 (WSL, D & E), (continued in typescript in Devon & Cornwall Record Society library).

The Burial Register: Apart from the name, date and sometimes the cause of death, the most useful information from the local historian's point of view provided here is the age at death, which is usually given. This permits ages at death of a number of subjects to be plotted over a period of time for different age-groups, giving 'age-specific' death trends. Crude death rates may be calculated by expressing the

annual number of deaths 'per thousand of population' permitting comparison with the national or county death rates. Infant mortality rates show the number of child deaths under one year old per 1,000 live births, and are a useful indicator of living standards in the community. Seasonality of death may be calculated -- more will probably die during the winter months -- and a most illuminating exercise is to plot crude birth and death rates on the same graph. Does the gap between them suggest an excess of births over deaths in the period, or vice versa? This may point to a cause of rising or falling population. The Parish Registers are preserved at the DRO -- at least until about the mid-nineteenth century. The more recent volume may still be in use in the parish, especially if the parish is small (and until the DRO's project to gather in all parish registers is completed by 1984, there may still be a number of early registers with incumbents).

THE PARISH OFFICERS' ACCOUNT AND MINUTE BOOKS (DRO) These include the Churchwardens', Overseers' and Vestry account and minute books, and date from the times when the parish vestry performed all the functions of what today would be recognised as a 'Local Authority'. They contain invaluable detail ranging from the costs and administration of the Workhouse, its rules and names of inmates, to the payments of out-relief and the reimbursement of part-time parish officers: Overseer, Constable, Surveyor of Highways and Churchwardens. There will also frequently be details relating to settlement and removal, attendance at Quarter Sessions, indenture of apprentices and bastardy questions, together with bounties paid for vermin, searches for vagrants (a common carrier of disease) and the costs of road repairs.

WORKHOUSE AND POOR-LAW UNION ACCOUNT AND MINUTE BOOKS (DRO) These date from the late 1830s and early '40s when most parishes were absorbed into the new Poor Law Unions, following the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834, and the Unions took over the function of administering poor relief from the parish vestries. They contain data relating to the cost of poor relief, workhouse rules and administration, schooling and discipline. The Unions were also responsible for providing medical care at parish level, and the St. Thomas Union books contain such fascinating detail as whether Medical Officers serving rural communities may indent for the cost of keeping a horse and buying their own leeches.

TRADE AND OTHER LOCAL DIRECTORIES (DRO, WSL, D & E) e.g. White's, Kelly's, Billings. These deal with individual parishes at various dates, and contain a wealth of detailed data. This usually covers schools, clergy, prominent farmers and traders, church, gentry, charities, topographical information and antiquarian history, amongst much else. The main weakness of Directories is that they appeared to be infrequently up-dated and tended to copy and crib from one another. The last county directory was Kelly, 1939, for Devon. Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of England and Wales* (DRO, RL, D & E) is also an important reference work providing much local detail.

LOCAL INDICES AND PLACE/SUBJECT/AUTHOR CATALOGUES (DRO, WSL) The index to the *Flying Post* at WSL has already been noted. The WSL also has the comprehensive Burnet-Morris Index to local sources. This takes the form of an analytical bibliography of Devon up to 1940. Perusal of these can save much time and unearth unexpected items of information.

LOCAL COLLECTIONS. The Stockdale Collection, a body of local material, indexed in Burnet-Morris, is at the D & EI. See also:

'Local history collections in Devon', by D. Wyn Evans, *Devon Historian*, No. 25, October 1982.

'Devon Parish Libraries at Exeter University', same author, *Devon Historian*, No. 24, April 1982.

'Devon Bibliography, 1980', edited by G. J. Paley, *Devon Historian*, No. 22, April 1981 (and continuing annual compilations published by the Devon History Society).

JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS (WSL, D & EI, UML) These contain essays, learned papers and on-going debate on particular topics. Those concerned with Devon history are: *Devon Historian*, *Exeter Papers in Economic History*, *The Transactions of the Devonshire Association* and *Devon & Cornwall Notes and Queries*.

The University Library contains the national journals, which include *The Economic History Review*, *The English Historical Review*, *The Journal of Economic History*, *History*, *Explorations in Economic History*, *Population Studies*, *Local Population Studies*, and *Local Historian*, inter alia.

REPLIES TO BISHOP'S QUERIES (DRO) These are the bound volumes of the replies made by local incumbents to a series of questions on parish matters which were requested by the Bishop prior to his periodical visitations to the parishes in his care. They cover dates at least as far back as the first half of the eighteenth century and contain detailed local information relating to ecclesiastical matters, Dissent, schooling, poor and population. Comments by incumbents are often illuminating, sometimes witty. M. Cook (ed), *The Diocese of Exeter in 1821*, Devon & Cornwall Record Society (WSL, D & EI, UML) illustrates this type of material.

THE MILLES MANUSCRIPTS (WSL) These were compiled in the third quarter of the eighteenth century by Dean Jeremiah Milles, D.D., who was Dean of Exeter, 1762-1784, in preparation for a book on Devon history. The material takes the form of a printed questionnaire which was sent to the incumbents of Devon parishes, and which also contains their replies. There are over 100 questions (listed in *Trans. Devon Assoc.* v.23, pp.154-157), dealing not just with ecclesiastical matters in the parish, but with the local economy, farming, geology, antiquarian history, markets, woodlands, animals and fish - even asking about the quality of the local cider. Not all parishes replied, but for those that did, a unique source of local detail exists. The original manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library, but the WSL holds a microfilm copy and an index of the parishes covered. There is also a second microfilm entitled 'Parochial Collections'.

TITHE APPORTIONMENT AND MAP (DRO) These were drawn up c.1840 in connection with the commutation of tithes. The Apportionment provides an invaluable list of farms and premises, with acreages and names of owners and occupiers. Sometimes the 'Land Use' column may also be completed, and the value assessed to the Tithe will usually be found entered at the beginning of the record.

The Tithe Map shows the parish in considerable detail at the period of commutation, with all titheable farms and premises, together with fields, roads and rivers. From this source alone a most illuminating picture of the distribution of land-holding and the relative importance of individual landlords may be built up and conclusions drawn about the local social hierarchy.

In addition to the Tithe Map, the early Ordnance Survey maps for the local area will also be found informative. The Tithe Map and Apportionment will probably be found at DRO (or, alternatively, at the Kew branch of the Public Record Office), and other maps at WSL, DRO, D & EI, the Map Room of the UML and the University's Department of Geography. (Ordnance Survey maps, 6" date from c.1840; 25" from c.1853).

THE LAND-TAX RETURNS (DRO) These papers, if preserved, will provide a listing of the owners and occupiers of farms and other taxable premises over a long period of time. (The writer found that the returns for his own parish covered the period 1781-1832). The amount of tax levied on each unit of property is also shown. This record is best studied in conjunction with the Tithe Apportionment. Changing agricultural economic fortunes in the area will frequently be mirrored in the pattern of change in land ownership and tenancy.

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS a well-chosen vertical shot can do much to depict the topographical pattern of an area, often leading to the discovery of evidence relating to features not visible from the ground, and archaeologists have made wide use of this method in their researches. The main sources of these photographs - some local - are given in W. E. Minchinton, 'Air Photographs for the Devon historian', *Devon Historian*, No. 16, April 1978.

This brief paper does not claim to list all the locally-available source material for studies on Devon in the nineteenth century, but it does note all those found useful by the writer, who expresses the hope that it will save some time for those treading a similar path, and illuminate one or two sources which would otherwise have gone unused. If, in closing, a single item of advice on the finding of sources may be offered, it would urge all newcomers to the craft to make the acquaintance of, and confide in, local librarians and archivists. These busy people carry a great mass of local information in their heads, and an even bigger volume ready to hand in index and catalogue. If told of one's field of interest, they will always - time allowing - offer suggestions on source material in their care and point to documents otherwise missed.

PAINTINGS OF FOUR DEVON WINDMILLS

Walter Minchinton

Of the nine windmill towers which still survive in Devon, there are comparatively few illustrations but information about paintings of four of them has recently become available. They were the work of Karl Wood who was born in Nottingham in 1888 and died almost exactly seventy years later in 1958 at Pluscarden Abbey, near Elgin, Morayshire. His earliest windmill painting dates from 1926 but it was not until the early 1930s that he decided that he would like to paint every windmill surviving in Britain. His most productive years were 1932 when he painted 364, 1933 when he painted 219 and 1937 when he painted 183. He continued painting windmills until 1956, by which time he had produced pictures of 1394 windmills. His best month was August 1933 when he painted 84 mills. Bearing in mind that his sole means of transport was a bicycle, with panniers on the back containing all his painting equipment, this was quite an achievement, as Catherine Wilson comments in her *A check list of windmill paintings by Karl Wood* (Lincolnshire Museums Occasional Paper No. 1, 1982). Even more amazing are his two highest daily totals – on 24 August 1936 he painted 15 mills in Suffolk and Norfolk; and on 8 September 1934 he visited 13 mills on Anglesey. For this latter excursion his route has been traced on a map and this shows that he must have cycled at least 30 miles between mills (not including the distance he covered travelling to the first mill or from the last) as well as completing the 13 paintings. These days were exceptional but six to nine mills up to 20 miles apart in a day were common. And on the way Wood often painted bridges, inns, churches and other topographical scenes as well as windmills. This output was achieved because of the speed at which he could work. It is said that he could complete a perfectly acceptable painting in 10 to 15 minutes. The collection of Karl Wood's windmill paintings were acquired by Lincolnshire Museum Service, in whose care they remain, in 1977 with the aid of a grant from the Science Museum.

To paint the four Devon windmills, all of which were used to grind corn, Karl Wood visited Devon twice. On 23 September 1932, he painted Clifton Manor Mill at Broadclyst. Built in 1786, it was disused by 1815 but in 1870, after a disastrous fire in the village, three floors and a chimney were inserted in order to provide accommodation for the homeless. The mill is well looked after by its present owners but when they reroofed it they removed the chimney added in 1870 which appears in Karl Wood's painting. Wood came to Devon on a second occasion on 17 April 1934 when he painted three mills in the Torbay area. The first was Galmpton Warborough which was built in 1810 and ceased operation after a fire, probably in the 1880s. It appears today very much as Wood painted it though the creeper has been removed and there are dwellings around. It is clearly visible from the A379 Paignton-Brixham road. The second mill painted on that day was Paignton Fernacombe (or Marldon) Built in the late eighteenth century, it operated until the 1830s. It can be seen in Windmill Lane off the Torbay ring road. The third mill is Long Burrow Windmill, North Whilborough, of whose history little is known but, like most of the other Devon windmills, it was probably built in the late eighteenth century and ceased production before 1850. It is clearly visible from the Torbay ring road. This windmill, as painted by Karl Wood, looks very like the photograph which illustrates my account of this mill in my *Windmills of Devon* (Exeter Industrial Archaeology Group, 1977) in which more details of the history of all four mills can be found.



Clifton Manor Mill at Broadclyst.



Galampton Warborough, Torbay.



Paignton Fernacombe, Torbay.



Long Burrow Windmill, North Whitborough, Kingskerswell.

We are grateful to Lincolnshire Museum Service for permission to reproduce photographs of the Devon Mill paintings.

PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON: his advice on barrow-digging
Leslie V. Grinsell

May I add to Catherine Linehan's excellent article on Hutchinson (*Devon Historian*, 25) a note on his enlightened attitude to barrow-digging, a diversion which added to the pleasure of so many summer meetings of antiquarian societies during the nineteenth century? The substance of his attitude is contained in his letter of 6 June 1871, published in the 'Exeter Daily Telegram' supplement to the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Wednesday 12 June 1871. The Letter is headed 'The Tumuli on Broad Down'. After commenting that much of this expanse of heath, containing around 80 barrows, was enclosed since the date of Benjamin Donn's *Map of Devon* 1765, he continues:

I hope I shall not offend anyone if I express my regret at seeing so many of these tumuli opened at the same time. If I owned land on which such objects abounded, and if application were made to me to have them examined, I would say, -

'My dear Sir, - I will grant you permission to open one barrow this year and no more, and that must be on the condition that you either open it with your own hands, or that you never leave the workmen whom you may employ'.

A stipulation of this sort would ensure a more careful examination, and would be in the interest of science. The results, moreover, would be more fruitful and more satisfactory . . . Tumuli which have been trenched and examined, and supposed to be exhausted, are by no means exhausted, but again and again yield their treasures to those who inspect them cautiously and deliberately.

He was prompted to write this letter chiefly by the explorations carried out on and around Broad Down by Rev. Richard Kirwan of Gittisham, who is known to have opened at least fourteen barrows in this area between 1867 and 1870. That his barrow-digging was distinguished by zest rather than skill is shown by the finding, by a visitor, of a Bronze Age incense-cup on a spoil-heap of a barrow which Kirwan was opening in 1868 in Seven Barrow Field (Kirwan's barrow B). Moreover, in his *Diary* (4th April 1871) Hutchinson observed, 'it is to be lamented that Mr. Kirwan has obtained unlimited permission to dig over as many barrows as zeal may invite. One barrow at a time, opened and examined carefully, and deliberately, would give far more satisfactory results than tumbling over a great many, and leaving the workmen too much to themselves.'

This is not to underestimate the value of the work of Kirwan, who was fully abreast of the barrow literature available in his day, and whose finds are all in the Rougemont House Museum at Exeter, including two shale cups of great importance.

Hutchinson's observations are the more remarkable for having been written nearly a decade before Major General Lane-Fox assumed the title and estates of Pitt-Rivers and embarked on his classic excavations on Cranborne Chase, which set vastly improved standards. Hutchinson's advice could well be followed to-day, with the added provisos that the finds be deposited in the appropriate Museum, an adequate report be prepared within a year of completion of the excavation, and arrangements made for its publication.

A YOUNG SCOTSMAN IN PLYMOUTH, 1824:

further pages from the Diary of Patrick Grant Beaton
selected and edited by Sir Edgar Vaughan

The following extracts continue Beaton's account of his pastimes and explorations in Plymouth while waiting for his storm-damaged ship to be repaired.

Breakfast over, I took my usual round. The first place that claimed my attention was the Post Office. Thither I went and made the everyday inquiries. From the Post Office to the Exchange News Room¹ where I remained an hour or two. From the News Room to the Barbican to see the "Idris" and Captain Lancaster, my salutation to him being invariably, "Good Morning Captain. How do you get on and when do you think we shall go to sea?" He generally answered, "I can't positively say, Sir, I shan't wait an hour after we are ready and have a fair wind. But Mr Collier can tell you more about it." To Mr Collier I next went and remained as long as decency would permit. My next visit was to a Bookseller's Shop where I had introduced myself. There I went to read the Play Bills. This done I next went to the Public Library, sat down before an excellent fire and read Periodicals for an hour or two.² Wearied here I bent my steps homewards, ate some bread and butter, which I washed down with a glass of Cider, and then wrote letters merely to fill up this idle hour. At last, half past 5 arrived, and we sat down to dinner. The Theatre was invitingly open on the opposite side of the street, and we had all of us four hours to dispose of. How could this be done otherwise than by going thither? And there we did go night after night, returning home, we drank our grog and went to bed.

Christmas Day. I am now nearly a month in Plymouth, and what I last wrote is a true statement of the manner in which my time has been spent. Some little variation there necessarily is such as translating Gil Blas at home instead of reading in the Library, spending the Evenings (and I spent many there) at Collier's instead of the Theatre, going to a Ball or a Concert or writing up as I am now going to attempt, my Journal. All the others are at Church and I have a quiet hour for the purpose – so God speed the good work.

Accustomed as I have hitherto been to an active life, this which I am now leading is to me the most tiresome. I went to another ball, but nothing worthy of remark occurred there. The ladies appeared to me as on the former night. But I beg the dear Creatures' pardon of my being out of humour with myself, which has been the cause of my seeing them with eyes so unfavourable. This night we hired a coach to take us across the street to the ball room, and for fear of spoiling the economy of our finely dressed heads, we took no hats. We had cause to rue this, for on leaving the ballroom it rained very much, and we

could not get a coach. It was lucky that the Ballroom was adjoining the Royal Hotel, the landlord of which kindly accommodated us with Castors³, and so we got home I also attended the Concert⁴. The music was very good but the company – I wish, for the sake of the fair ones who graced it with their presence, that I could speak favourably – but recollecting my apostrophe to Truth, I must proceed to say that Ladies were there with winter walking Dresses and Beaver hats, and the Gentlemen with boots, and unbrushed boots too. Shameful! A Concert in the fashionable Town of Plymouth thus attended! At first I thought that none but matrons and grave old Seniors were thus habited, but on a closer inspection, I found these were young ladies.

The evenings that we were not otherwise engaged were spent in the Theatre. An old gentleman with whom we got acquainted at Collier's took us to a very fine Collection of Pictures belonging to a friend, but as I am no judge of Paintings, I can say nothing of them. There was also a very neat collection of natural Curiosities. An accident (the breaking of a leg) happened to one of the children of Mr Collier's partner, and the dinner party was put off. We therefore resolved to drink our friend's health in a bottle of Madeira at the Royal Hotel, and thither we went, dined, and did as we resolved, until a warning, in the shape of a stagger from Scaife reminded us that it was time to end the debauch. The evening was merrily spent, each one calling to mind, the last



Royal Theatre and Athenaeum, Plymouth. From T. Allom: Devonshire Illustrated. Fisher, 1832.

Christmas party at his Father's or his Friend's House, and all of us assured that we were not forgot at home this night.

New Year's Day 1825. Another week of the same routine has passed. The 4th is fixed for our departure from Plymouth, and we are all (at least I am) in high spirits.

4th Jan. 1825. After calling and bidding farewell to all my Plymouth Friends, I came in to write up my Journal. Tomorrow we are to sail foul or fair, and bid adieu to Plymouth and England. Plymouth is seated at the mouth of the river Plym which gives it its name, and is the most considerable harbour in England for men of war. There are three harbours – Catwater, Sutton Pool, and Hermoaze. The first is the mouth of the river, and a good harbour for merchant vessels, but not frequented by men of war. The second is almost surrounded by the Houses of the town, and appears like one of the Liverpool Docks. There is a Citadel for the defence of the town, near to which is the Victualling Office, forming an extensive range of buildings, in which are the bake-houses that can bake a sufficient quantity of bread for 16,000 men in one day. The lower part of the town, or the part of it about Sutton Pool, is very badly built, the streets so narrow that two carts can pass with much difficulty, often endangering the lives of the inhabitants. The buildings here are very ugly, and appear to have been thrown together without regard to order or regularity. To the N-west end the town is improved, Streets wide and houses neat and commodious. There are three Churches, one of them a very fine old building. By the way, talking of Churches, it is worthy of remark that the Corporation sometime ago built the house called the Royal Hotel. It is on a large scale, and their worships thinking that something was wanting to complete the appearance of this favourite building, resolved to build a Theatre attached to it. This was done and to pay the Expense they sold the Patronage of two parish Churches.⁵ The town of Plymouth has lost much of its former consequence by the establishment of the King's Docks at Plymouth Dock, or as it is now called Devonport. Here is the third Harbour (Hermoaze) at the mouth of the Tamar, exclusively for men of war. There are moorings for upwards of one hundred, and anchorage for a much greater number. To this harbour Devonport owes its origin and rapid increase, and to the establishment of the Dockyard and naval arsenals. The dockyard occupies upwards of 100 acres of land, and is said to be the finest in the world, having all the conveniences for building and fitting out ships of war. The Governor of Plymouth resides in a handsome house overlooking the harbour of Hermoaze from a rocky eminence. There are a number of squares of Barracks for soldiers, and twixt it and Plymouth naval and military Hospitals. Mount Wise where the Admiralty office is situated is a very pretty place, and defended by a strong battery. The three harbours form what is called Plymouth Sound, and here is placed the great

national undertaking, which suffered so much damage in the late storms, the Breakwater. Within it Vessels ride safely. The Sound is defended by the Plymouth Citadel, the battery on Mount Wise, and another on an island called St. Nicholas, and a number of minor ones. The entrance to Plymouth Sound is very pretty. Mount Edgecombe is seen to great advantage, and looks beautiful when compared to the bleak, barren hills on the opposite shore, and as we proceed for Catwater harbour, Mount Wise and the range of batteries along the shore from it to Plymouth Citadel, severally burst forth on the view raising our admiration at the wonderful works of Art.⁶ But, I hope, that tomorrow we shall take a long farewell of Devonshire and its beauties.

5th January. Three o'clock fixed for our sailing,⁷ and having got things ready I took a last saunter to my favourite lounging place the Library. I look up *Don Juan*, Lord Byron's last work.⁸ It is astonishing the prejudice there exists against this work, every Lady crying it down for an immoral Poem. For my part I can discover no immorality, but if people are determined to make it immoral, there are some passages I confess which, by perverting the sense, may bear the word, but such are the *immoral* [ones], and not the author.

(Jan. 5th 1825). I am now once again seated in the Cabin of the "Idris" and she sailing majestically by the Breakwater, and as



Devonport from Mount Edgecumbe. From Revd T. Moore: *The history of Devonshire. Jennings & Chaplin, 1829-33.*

each puff of wind swells our sails, the objects on shore become less and less visible, until at last we see but a speck on the horizon, where Plymouth is situated. A gentle breeze sweeps us along delightfully and the high Cornish hills become less distinct. . . . When we again came on deck we could barely see the highest land. The only visible object now was the Eddystone lighthouse, which shone bright and put the strange mariner in mind of the danger of this rock, before the lighthouse was erected, which now warns him of his Danger. The night was piercingly cold, and I went down exclaiming "My native land -- good-night".

Earlier extracts from Beaton's Diary appeared in Devon Historian 25.

Footnotes

1. The Post Office was at this time in Lower Broad Street in the private residence of the postmistress. (*Directory of Plymouth in the Tourists' Guide.*) The Exchange was on Woolster Street near the Customs House and was a meeting place of merchants and traders of neighbouring towns and districts. It had been erected in 1813, shares being issued to raise the money. It contained amongst other rooms, a great sales room, a reading room, the Chamber of Commerce and a Marine Insurance Room (Samuel Rowe, *The Panorama of Plymouth or Tourists' Guide to the Principal Objects of Interest in the Town and Vicinity of Plymouth Dock and Stonehouse*, Plymouth, 1821, pp. 61-62.)
2. A contemporary water colour painting of the interior of the Plymouth Public Library in the Plymouth Museum shows it as a large high room with round pillars supporting the entrance-arch and pilasters in the walls, between which the books are stacked on shelves, reaching to a barrel vaulted ceiling, the upper shelves being reached by a railed gallery. One of the walls is broken by a fireplace. See print reproduced in *Devon Historian*, 25.
3. "Castor" = a fur hat.
4. Subscription and benefit concerts were held in the Assembly Rooms from September to March, (Rowe, p.43).
5. Beaton is referring to the medieval church of St Andrew and the more recent Charles Church, but his statement is incorrect, if prophetic. St Andrew's had passed after the dissolution of the monasteries into the hands of the Mayor and Commonalty by a Charter of Queen Elizabeth and so remained until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act in 1835. Charles Church was built in 1657 after Plymouth had been divided into two parishes. The land was acquired from a William Warren and his wife and vested in the attorneys of the Mayor and Commonalty. (Jewitt, L., *A History of Plymouth*, 1873, p.502.) The reformed Corporation sold the advowsons of both St Andrew's and Charles Church in 1842 to pay off the debts on the Royal Hotel and Theatre, which had originally cost £60,000 (Gill, C. *Plymouth: a new history*, 1979.)
6. Beaton's description of Plymouth agrees with contemporary guide books and directories. The central area was destroyed in the "blitz" in World War II, but though he speaks of narrow and dirty streets, it contained some fine merchant houses in the Jacobean style as a water colour of North Street displayed in the Museum shows. The port area around the Barbican must still resemble what it

was when Beaton went to visit Captain Lancaster to find out how the repairs to the "Idris" were progressing.

7. *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal* for Thursday January 6th, 1825, shows under "Shipping Intelligence" that the "Idris", Captain Lancaster, had sailed for La Guayra on the previous day.
8. Cantos 1 and 2 of "Don Juan" were published in 1819, 3 and 4 in 1821 and 6 to 24 in 1823.

A complete transcript of the Diary has been presented by Sir Edgar Vaughan to the West Devon Area Central Library, Drake Circus, Plymouth. Permission to reproduce the Diary in whole or in part should be obtained from the Librarian of the University of Western Ontario, London 72, Ontario, Canada.

QUERIES

From: Mr A. G. Collings, 25 Victor Street, Heavitree, Exeter.

Combe Martin Coal Mines

The entry for Combe Martin in Samuel Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of England (1831) refers to "a small cove . . . formed a convenient port for shipping the mineral produce, and still affords the inhabitants the means of conveying coal and lime to other towns". The census return for 1851 lists one coal miner, one culm miner, one, more versatile, coal or culm miner, together with three wives of culm miners, and, obscurely, a 53-year-old female culm beater. The nearest coal mine that I can trace was at Chittlehampton, fourteen miles away, and the nearest rocks of Carboniferous age at least six miles away.

Can anyone shed any light on this enigma?

LOCAL HISTORY COLLECTIONS IN DEVON

As a footnote to the list published in *DH 25*, Mr W. P. Authers writes that Tiverton Museum has many original documents and a growing reference library of books not available elsewhere including scrapbooks, albums and rare publications of county interest. The collection is for reference only.

NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Leslie Grinsell is unequalled as a field archaeologist and has personally visited nearly 6000 barrows. His numerous publications are listed in *Archaeology and the landscape* (ed. P. J. Fowler), a collection of essays published in his honour in 1972.

Seamus O'Hea comes from County Cork. After graduating as a mature student at Exeter University, he completed an MA thesis on the social history of a group of parishes in the Upper Teign Valley. He is currently preparing a history of Bridford where he now lives.

REVIEWS

A family business: the story of a pottery, by Peter Brannam, Loventor, Instow, the author, 1982. 137pp. £2.95. ISBN 09508 247 0 4.

Peter Brannam, with a mixture of historical research and personal reminiscence, tells of the development of the famous Barnstaple pottery of Brannams to the point in 1979 when the firm was sold to Candy & Co., of Newton Abbot. It contains material for the historian, the economist and the student of fashion, helped by over 60 illustrations (including one of some astoundingly ugly TV lamps).

Charles Hubert Brannam won a medal at the Great Exhibition, and by the 1880s was supplying highly decorated design pieces to the royal family and by the turn of the century had built up an export trade. He thriftily put his profits into houses and at his death had forty-five. On his retirement in 1914 his sons John Woolacott and Charles Brannam took over to face the war-time difficulties and the subsequent collapse of the post-war boom. In the inter-war years outdoor flower pots became the staple product and quality pottery for Heals. Labour costs put an end to small runs of quality pieces after 1945 and as the market for outdoor flower pots fell to the plastic invasion, indoor pots took their place, particularly the still popular 'doodle' pots.

Underinvestment and the brothers' mutual antipathy made change difficult, even driving Peter Brannam to Barbados to avoid the infighting. However, by the mid-nineteen sixties he was in full control and introduced new equipment, production flows and management. By the late seventies that management team was nearing retirement with the next generation uninterested in the business. Hence the change in ownership.

The book is a reflection of the author's own experience. Its strengths are the accounts of work processes, the struggles with new machinery and materials. The historical generalisations tend to be less certain and asides on railways, Britain's economic position, modern leftists and bolshie elements an irritant. At least they distracted this reviewer, those who share his dislikes will no doubt find they bring an entertaining personal style to this history.

J. H. Porter

The Elmhirsts of Dartington: the creation of an Utopian community, by Michael Young. Routledge and Kegan Paul (for Dartington Hall), 1982. 381 pp (illustrated). £15.00. ISBN 0-7100-9051-X.

The author of this handsome tribute -- Michael Young -- is himself an alumnus of that remarkable institution -- Dartington, set down, as he evocatively describes it, for a variety of purposes, all worthy, in the heart of the Devon countryside, by two strangers, a Yorkshire parson's son and an American heiress. Child of their unflinching imagination, energy, drive, intelligence, optimism and money, Dartington was an experiment (or rather a bundle of experiments). It has long become an institution, like most institutions, somewhat stiff in the joints, but unlike many others, still flexing its muscles. At least that is the impression of a rather casual

outside observer, reinforced by Lord Young's intimate, but by no means entirely subjective, account of and commentary upon the origins and progress of 'an Utopian community'.

As at the start Dartington remains, in Dorothy Elmhirst's own optimistic words (appropriately undated), 'a place where education could be continuously carried on and where the arts could become an integral part of the life of the whole place', of a community, indeed, which was also enterprising economically and socially. Dorothy wanted 'the human values of kindness and friendship' to be called upon, too. They were -- and in some measure they responded to the call. Yet there is something of these qualities lacking in any kind of Utopia, whether it is More's, Winstanley's, Morris's or the Elmhirsts's. 'Gentle grandees', but grandees none the less, in a somewhat 'feudal setting', enthusiastic, generous, but also 'wary' -- the terms are Lord Young's -- they were at once a little more and perhaps just a little less than human. What comes through most of all is their protean energy, the urge to get things done and the drive to do them. But as Michael Young frankly admits 'they would not, of course, have been able to manage the complexity of it, nor to maintain the multitude of their interests had they not been rich'. Even so, plenty of people have been richer, have done less, never intending to do a tithe of as much.

Dartington remains resilient, enduring in an environment, at hand or distant, that has not always been welcoming, but which with the help of the dedicated talents it has always managed to attract it has eased towards change, most of it genuinely an improvement in educations, arts, crafts and whatever. Writing in 1940, under the threat of a Nazi invasion, which if successful would have destroyed almost everything she valued, Dorothy wrote: 'As I look at these antique terraces and trees and buildings I know if they are spared, they will bring new life to birth, as they have done, for the last five hundred years and it matters little whether we are here or not.' But they were there -- and the recurrent new life to which Dartington contributes among those now even older trees is the Elmhirsts' abiding monument.

Ivan Roots

The Removal of Blundell's 1846-1882: Town and Gown in Tiverton, by J. B. Jenkins. Tiverton, Blundell's School, 1982. 92pp. £3.45. ISBN 095 08217 05.

In his will of 1599 Peter Blundell bequeathed a substantial portion of his estate for the foundation of a school for boys 'brought up in the Town or Parish of Tiverton' along with a limited number of 'foreigners' who were to be chosen 'without regarding the rich above or more than the poor' 'for my meaning is it shall be forever a Free School and not a School of Exaction'. (Inclodon, Donations of Peter Blundell, pp.36-8). Mr. Jenkins' book is a record of the erosion and destruction of that desire; for though his history is subtitled 'Town and Gown in Tiverton' it should more properly be entitled 'Aristocracy and Gentry v. Town. Tiverton Town lost.

But that is to anticipate. In common with other such schools in the first half of the nineteenth century the headmaster packed in boarding pupils because they were a lucrative source of private gain, he also exceeded the number stipulated in Blundell's will. In 1837 John Heathcoat and a town committee challenged the Earl of Devon and the trustees over this and from 1839-46 the case was in Chancery,

at desperate expense. Chancery found in terms of the will, determining that boys should be educated as free scholars. Legal costs and the loss of income from boarders caused a financial crisis and the number of pupils slumped to a mere 31 in 1847 and had only partially recovered to 89 by 1851. The school remained in the doldrums till the 1860s, uncertain of its role, short of cash and good teachers. In 1865 the trustees sought a revision of the regulations and a compromise was reached with the town (now that both sides saw the wisdom of avoiding lawyers). In this case the trustees gained most, the number of scholars permitted was raised, new subjects were added, but only classical education continued to be free.

By the 1860s, however, the national political and legal climate was changing. The Earl of Devon and Sir John Coleridge reflected this view that public schools ought to educate the gentry and middle classes as the 1865 scheme intended. Following the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 the way was open for the final gentry victory. During considerations of the proposed move to Horsdon educational radicals in the town would have liked to see the charity funds used to establish first, second and third grade schools, thus forming a ladder of educational opportunity with the old school becoming the second grade school. The trustees were hostile and secured the Charity Commissioners' approval to divert all charitable funds to the new Blundell's and to sell the old buildings. This was approved by Order in 1876 and all that was left for Tiverton boys was £150 in open scholarships and part scholarships. Peter Blundell's estate had been appropriated for the benefit of middle class education. Protests by the town had no influence with the Commissioners who preferred to listen to the Earl of Devon and the Bishop of Exeter and the proposed move to Horsdon was approved in 1879. The old school was sold to a brewer for £2,500; Tiverton lost its greatest educational asset and could establish only a middle school in inferior premises.

The final divorce came in 1882 with the opening of the new school and the transformation of Blundell's into a middle class boarding school which destroyed Peter Blundell's ideal of his school being 'a Free School and not a School of Exaction'.

J. H. Porter

Hartland Quay: The Story of a Vanished Port, by Michael Nix and Mark R. Myers. Hartland Quay Museum, 48pp. 1982. ISBN 0 95081 80 0 3. Available from the Curator, Hartland Quay Museum, St Wenn's, Cheristow, Hartland, North Devon. £1.75 plus 30p for post, etc.

Today Hartland is a small cluster of houses on the sea-swept coast of North Devon. However, thanks to a quay built or rebuilt about 1600 by William Abbott, the little port traded with its neighbours for nearly three hundred years until the last major part of it was washed away in 1896. Michael Nix and Mark Myers have used a range of primary and secondary sources to create a well-written and entertaining account of this little-known fragment of Devon's maritime history. Working conditions there during the nineteenth century were harsh and are underlined by such statements as "a small boy named John Colwill who went to work fetching coal before his eighth birthday" and "the employment of women for cargo work was not unusual at that time." It should be noted that their pay was only 8d per

day compared with 1/- for the men. Elsewhere the authors remind us that women were famous for their speed and skill in loading vessels with slate.

As might be expected there is a chapter on "Customs Men, Coastguards and Wrecks" which includes dramatic accounts of ships driven ashore in the last hundred years or so. In earlier times it appears that there were visitations from pirates too, most probably from Lundy, and during the 1914-1918 War villagers had the experience of watching a German U-boat board and blow up a merchantman only two miles offshore. The book can also be obtained from the Hartland Quay Museum, itself a tribute to the enthusiasm of a group of truly "amateur" local historians.

John Pike

Buildings of Britain, 1550-1750: South West England, by Patrick Brown. Moorland Publishing, 1981, 159pp. £8.95. ISBN 0-86190-030-8.

Sometimes one can only sympathise with authors for the task set them by editors. To tackle the architecture of the six counties of south-west England, together with parts of four others, in 40,000 words – albeit for two centuries – is obviously daunting. Inevitably Mr Brown has to be very selective. As a result, except in the case of churches, interiors are hardly considered and examples are selected widely, in the words of the author, 'to show the nature and cause of change in style and built form'. Unlike Pevsner who dealt with his buildings by parish, Mr Brown has arranged his material by category – streets and places, great houses, almshouses, schools, churches and chapels, town halls and market halls, and farmhouses and other buildings in the country. The Devon examples, like those for the other counties, are largely predictable: the Cathedral Close, Exeter; The Citadel, Devonport; The Strand, Topsham; the Guildhall, South Molton; and the Moretonhampstead almshouses, with Gittisham as perhaps a bit of a surprise. With 150 photographs, a select bibliography and a list of additional sites (unfortunately without precise locations: for example, Cadhay, Devon), this volume provides a pleasant if unremarkable introduction to two centuries of architecture in south-west England.

Walter Minchinton

Devonport built warships since 1860, by Kenneth V. Burns, Liskeard; Maritime Books, 1981. 112pp. £1.95. ISBN 0 9506323 7 6.

This book provides a welcome continuation of *Plymouth's ships of war: a history of naval vessels built in Plymouth between 1694 and 1860* (reviewed *Devon Historian*, No. 6, 1973) compiled by the author who was, until his retirement, Local and Naval Historian in Plymouth Central Library. In 1843 the Plymouth Yard was renamed Devonport Yard, hence the difference in the title of the two books. Between the *Royalist*, a Rosario class wooden single screw sloop of 913 tons launched 14 December 1861, and the *Scylla*, a Leander class general purpose frigate of 2450 tons launched 8 August 1968, over 130 vessels and submarines were built at Devonport. The largest of these was *Warspite*, the Queen Elizabeth class warship launched 26 November 1913, of 29,150 tons. Badly damaged at the Battle of

Jutland in 1916, she had distinguished service during the second world war, particularly at Narvik in 1940 and in the Mediterranean in 1943. On her voyage to the scrapyard in 1947 she was driven ashore in Prussia Cove where her breaking up was finally completed in 1956. Each of the entries contains details of the vessel (tonnage, dimensions, armament etc) and a biography of the vessel from the date of laying down to the end of her career. Included are also some incidental details. The launching ceremony of the *Perseverance*, a wooden paddle-wheel tug, on 19 January 1875 included for the first time, Lieutenant Commander Burns notes, the religious service compiled by the Archbishop of Canterbury which the Admiralty approved for all future launchings. When HMS *Exeter* was launched in 1930, the question was raised 'Will it be the last?'. With the launch of HMS *Scylla* in 1968 the question was once again raised. But naval construction on a small scale has continued and no one yet knows what further role there may be in the post-Falkland period for the Devonport Yard. So there may still be more naval shipbuilding at Devonport for Ken Burns to record. And it is also to be hoped that he will provide some account of the private ship construction and repair work which was carried out there in the late nineteenth century and after the first world war. In the meantime, this well-illustrated volume carries the story of the Devonport Yard to 1968. It is an invaluable addition to naval history.

Walter Minchinton

Books received:

Clocks and clockmakers of Tiverton, by C. N. Ponsford, J. G. M. Scott and W. P. Authers; 2nd ed. Tiverton, W. P. Authers, 1982. 67pp. £3.00. ISBN 0 9506087 6 9. First edition favourably reviewed in *DH* 17, 1978. This edition has supplementary list of makers.

Obtainable from booksellers, Tiverton Museum or Alderman W. P. Authers, MBE, Horsdon House, Tiverton EX16 4DL.

Battles Royal, by H. Miles Brown, Lostwithiel, Libra Books, 1982, 88pp. £1.99. (Illustrated, paperback). ISBN 950 8009-0-2.

Offers an enthusiast's account of 'Charles I and the Civil War in Cornwall and the West'. Making no claim to originality, it is a pleasant, generally royalist, account which will be of interest on this side as well as on *that* side of the Tamar.

EXETER UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

New books for 1983 include:

North Devon Pottery: The Seventeenth Century by Alison Grant, £9.50 (to be published 1 June). A history of the North Devon pottery industry in the seventeenth century which includes details of the potters, the pottery and its manufacture and marketing. North Devon pottery has been excavated not only in South-West England but also in Wales, Ireland and early colonial sites in the United States and the West Indies.

Cloth bound, c. 144 pages, 5 colour and 16 black and white plates

ISBN 0 85989 129 1

A System of Discipline - Exeter Borough Prison 1819-1863 by William Forsythe.

Paperback, c. 112 pages

Provisional price £3.50

Publication date: June - July

Outside the Law: Studies in Crime and Order 1650-1850 edited by John Rule. (Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 15; General Editor Walter Minchinton).

Paperback, c. 130 pages

Provisional price £2.50

Other recent publications:

The Geology of Devon edited by E. M. Durrance and D. J. C. Laming.

Published 1982, *Cased, xxii + 346 pages, 20 plates and 83 figures.*

ISBN 0 85989 153 4

Price £12.50

The University of Exeter: A History by B. W. Clapp.

Published 1982

Price £6.50

Cloth bound, xiv + 208 pages.

