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THE DEVON HISTORIAN

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY: CONFERENCES

One-day conferences will take place at Appledore on 3 March 1984 and at Moretonhampstead in June 1984 (date to be fixed). The AGM will be in Exeter on 13 October 1984.

The print on the front cover is *Dawlish*, lithograph drawn and published by W. Spreat, c. 1848. (Somers-Cocks, No. 583).

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ELECTIONS AT EXETER 1689-1760 1 Robert Newton

On the 5th November, 1688, by the Old Calendar, the governing class of Exeter expressed their joy that "the city sword had been rescued from a Conventicle and carried once more after the ancient manner to the Cathedral Church."2 The Prince of Orange was disembarking his army in Tor Bay. The "Glorious Revolution" had begun, and with it a new phase of strife between Whig and Tory, Excter, "the Everfaithful City", had experienced in 1687-1688 the mortification of seeing its governing corporation, the Chamber, purged of Tory merchants and packed with Dissenters during the "regulations" enforced by the agents of James II. The royal policy had been precipitately reversed. In future the city would remain defiantly Tory opposing Whig administrations on principle, especially concessions to Dissenters. The Revolution settlement which, inter alia, conferred virtual home rule on parliamentary boroughs, became the ark of the covenant for Exeter's rulers, lay and clerical. In 1741, Thomas Balle of Mamhead, one of the few Whigs elected for the City, would be informed that he would no longer receive the support of the Chamber because he had failed to demonstrate "a just regard for the present most happy constitution in Church and State," indeed he had shown himself "a zealous promoter of the destruction of either". Balle had voted for Walpole's administration, then under strong attack by dissident Whigs and all good Tories.

The Triennial Act of 1696, replaced by the Septennial Act in 1716, had ensured no intermission in party zeal. From the Convention Parliament of 1689 to the first parliament of George III, there were nineteen general elections, twelve of which were contested, and seven by-elections of which one was contested. Exeter, a two-member constituency, returned thirty-seven Tories and eight Whigs. Twice only, in 1695 and 1741, did the Whigs capture both seats.

In the days when Exeter's reputation was based on trade rather than gentility wealthy merchants shared the representation of the city with the landed gentry. The former were usually predictable specimens of grass-roots Toryism: Alderman John Snell (M.P. 1702, 1705, 1710) who voted against "the tack", the Whig attempt to secure concessions to Dissenters by "tacking" the Occasional Conformity Bill to supply measures; Alderman Nicholas Wood (M.P. 1708) who voted against the impeachment of the clurical firebrand Dr. Sacheverell, It is interesting that while Snell's qualifications as a Tory candidate appear to have been unimpeachable, nevertheless the Chamber took care to record in the Act Book of the 20th December 1701 that approval of his candidature for the ensuing by-election was a majority decision. Though arguments about policies and personalities must have often raged behind the closed doors of the Chamber, the minute is unique. Snell was returned unopposed. The Tory businessmen elected to parliament at this time were all men of substance. John Snell, grocer, thrice accepted the expensive office of mayor. Christopher Bale (M.P. 1689, 1690) was twice mayor. Nicholas Wood, cutler, mayor in 1706, was commended by a lord lieutenant for his "mighty sway in the city" derived from his "great trade and generous living." 4

Sir Edward Seymour, five times returned for Exeter between 1689 and 1702, was preeminent among the city's M.P.s as a national political leader and a holder of great offices of state; among the local Tory squires were men who suggest that Squire Western was neither a creation of Fielding's imagination nor a solitary

vestigial survivor in the fastnesses of the West Country, Sir Copplestone Bampfylde of Poltimore (M.P. 1710)⁵ was a member of the High Tory citadel, the October Club; he was in trouble for Jacobitism in 1715 and was described as "a drunken country gentleman". Sir Copplestone's brother John (M.P. 1715) and John Rolle of Stevenstone (M.P. 1722) were also members of the October Club and both dabbled in Jacobitism. Sir Henry Northcote of Pynes (M.P. 1735, 1741) was a more sedate member of the landed gentry. A sound Tory, he was thanked by the Chamber "for his utmost application" in supporting measures designed to reduce the influence of Walpole's administration in the Commons.⁶ Northcote's Tory colleague, Humphrey Sydenham, (M.P. 1741, 1747) was as idiosyncratic as any who proclaimed the famed independence of the country gentleman. He took umbrage over the instructions of the Chamber and was unpopular in Exeter on account of his support of the very modest provisions of the Jewish Naturalisation Bill of 1753.

Alexander Jenkins, a contemporary observer, described the rough election of 1761 as a contest between the Chamber and High Churchmen on the one side and "the Merchants in general, the Dissenters and the Low Church" on the other: 7 a description fitting party politics at Exeter at any time between 1688 and 1835. The Dissenters in 1688 retained bitter memories of persecution at the hands of Tory magistrates. Primarily Presbyterian they were at their peak, at the end of the seventeenth century, numbering some five hundred voters⁸ and forming the core of the local Whig party. In due course, as Unitarians, they became prominent in the cause of parliamentary and municipal reform.

The local Whigs whom the Chamber at times found it politic to support, or to refrain from opposing, were nonentities, but two Whigs among the city merchants, John Elwill and Edward Seaward, received recognition for political work. Elwill, a grocer's son, and Receiver of Taxes, was a wealthy man with Dissenting sympathies, though his first wife was a Bamfylde of Poltimore. One of the members of the Chamber dismissed in 1688 "for reasons best known to this house", he never recovered the favour of Exeter's establishment, but he became a leading member of the Corporation of the Poor whose members included Dissenters elected by vote of the ratepayers. He was rejected by Exeter in the general election of 1696 and fell a victim of Sir Edward Seymour's purge of Whig magistrates in 1704. Elwill was knighted under the Whig administration of 1696 and became a baronet in 1709 when the Whigs were again dominant at Westminster.

Seaward, married to the daughter of a former Presbyterian mayor, Nicholas Brooking, mayor in 1655, remained an influential member of the Chamber and became mayor in 1691. It was his distinction to head the poll in 1695, 10 when Sir Edward Seymour was defeated, and he was knighted in the Whig victory honours that followed. Prominent in charitable affairs Seaward was also a moving spirit in the institution of the Corporation of the Poor in 1698.

The electorate comprised some 1500 freemen and freeholders, and the enrolment figures of freemen are a guide to the political temperature, the approach, or prospect, of an election. Thus in 1691, after the unopposed return of Seymour and Alderman Snell, 265 freemen were enrolled. In 1695, when the Whigs took both Exeter's seats, enrolments numbered 314, contrasted with 26, 19 and 22 respectively in the three preceding years. There were 244 enrolments in 1708, after Sir Edward Seymour's death.

In the general election of 1722 two Tories were returned but the Whig cause

was gathering strength. In 1727 the Tory Francis Drewe, of Broadhembury, shared the representation with the Whig Samuel Molyneux, astronomer and mathematician, privy councillor and also, more significant politically, an adherent of Frederick, Prince of Wales and therefore a dissident Whig. Molyneux died soon after his election and was replaced by a Tory, but in 1734 the Whigs took both seats for the first time since 1695. Admissions to the freedom in that year numbered 598.

In 1734 the successful Whigs were John King, son of Lord Chancellor King who had been brought up as a Dissenter and was himself the son of one of Exeter's leading Dissenters, the grocer Jerome King. John King, however, succeeded to the peerage in 1735 on the death of his father and was replaced by the Tory squire Sir Henry Stafford Northcote. Henceforward, in three subsequent general elections, the Tories held both seats and admissions to the freedom fell – there were only seven in 1745 and five in 1750. The election of 1761 however, was, literally, hard fought by rival gangs of clubmen. In that year enrolments rose from eleven in 1760 to 265.

The right to the freedom could be conferred by succession, apprenticeship, marriage to the daughter of an alderman, and by order of the mayor and Chamber. The freedom by order had long been conferred on persons of distinction and during the eighteenth century was received by a galaxy of statesmen, admirals and generals. In the 1740s the freedom "by order" was bestowed lavishly for electoral purposes. The Whig government managers were informed in 1741 by Sir Henry Drake, who had done business for the Chamber, that 240 honorary freedoms had been conferred on "the most zealous gentlemen, clergy and attornies of the Tory party." ** The report was accurate. In 1740 139 freemen out of 161 were admitted by order and in 1741 eighty-two out of 196.

The grant of the freedom "by order" on this scale was a transitory practice. In 1695, for instance, when 314 freemen were enrolled only eight were "by order"; in 1734 when both the Whig candidates were returned, there were no admissions "by order", though 539 freemen were enrolled. In the year of the rough election of 1761 only six freemen were enrolled "by order", four being captains of militia, out of a total of 265.

The Chamber had ample means of influencing votes. Andrew Brice, a staunch Whig, after explaining that the practice of fighting elections under party colours, yellow for the Whigs and Blue for the Tories, began in 1734, added that all the constables were of the Blue Party. 12 It would seem that in the 1740s, which saw the successful climax of the campaign to overthrow Walpole, the Chamber was determined to secure the return of sound Tories to assist in pulling down the minister.

The skulduggery of politics in a borough such as eighteenth-century Exeter is undeniable. Nevertheless, the freemen's list is evidence that, in terms of occupations at least, the Exeter electorate represented a full range of the city's social and economic life. The overwhelming majority of enrolments were recorded on the grounds of apprenticeship: 263 out of 314 in 1695, 210 out of 284 in 1722, 341 out of 578 in 1734. Among them were apprentices of magnates of the Chamber, and many themselves became members of that select body; and others served leading Dissenters who, it may be assumed, voted Whig. There was a host of artisans and craftsmen, carpenters and joiners, barbers, periwig makers, smiths and masons, helliers, staymakers, Some were relatively well-off, others were poor men, labourers, porters, chimney sweepers and the like. Some handed on the freedom by succession

to heirs described as labourers rather than by their father's craft and so contributed to the class of penarious voter for whom the vote was valuable property when from inn or public house largesse was distributed in a contested election.

Exeter's society was deferential. Its ethos was conservative and Anglican. High spirits and exasperation were expressed by the occasional riot or the rough horseplay of elections, when even aldermen condescended to the hoi polloi. But it was not till the next century that the old order of Exeter became intolerable to the prosperous, educated citizens excluded from its governing circle, especially to the Unitarian heirs of the Old Dissent and to the "Low Church."

Notes:

- This paper is almost entirely based upon Romney Sedgwick (Ed), The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1715-1754, 2 vols 1970; Marjorie M. Rowe and Andrew M. Jackson, Exeter Freemen 1266-1967, Exeter, 1973; J. J. Alexander, "Exeter Members of Parliament," Transactions Devonshire Association, LXIII, 1930.
- 2. British Library, ADD, MSS, 41805, Bath to Preston 5.12.1688.
- Act Book, 31,3,1740/41
- Hist. Mss. Com. 15th Report, Portland Mss. Poulett, Lord Lieutenant of Devon, to Robert Harley, 22.5.1705.
- 5. History of Parliament op. cit. i. pp 430-431, ii p. 391.
- Act Book 25.10.1740; for Sydenham below Hist, of Parl, op eit ii, pp 459-60, and Alexander Jenkins, History of Exeter, Exeter, 1806, p. 207.
- 7. Jenkins, op. cit. pp. 208-209.
- A. Brockett, "The Political and Social Influence of the Exeter Dissenters", Transactions Devonshire Association CXIII, 1926; Nonconformity in Exeter 1650-1875, Manchester, 1962, pp. 71, 73.
- 9. Act Book 22.11.1685.
- 10. Macaulay described the Exeter election of 1695 in terms of high drama. He has been faulted on matters of detail but his treatment was justified. Whig control of parliament as a result of the general election meant that the country would support William III's commitments to his continental allies in the War of the League of Augsberg (1688-1697) against France. The war was unpopular with Tories, especially the country squires of whom Sit Edward Seymour was the influential leader. Whig-Presbyterian opinion was expressed by Sir Thomas Rokeby, who had visited Exeter while on the Western Circuit. Rokeby commented that the war against France was "the cause of God and Christ against Satan and Anti-Christ; See "A Brief Memoir of Sir Thomas Rokeby", Surtees Society xxxvii, 1866.
- 11. History of Parliament op. cit. i. p. 227 quoting Sir Henry Drake to Henry Pelham 16,9,1753. Drake had contacts with Exeter and was helpful to the Chamber over the imports of Irish wool, see Act Book 25,2,1753, and 26 Geo II Cap. 8.
- 12. Andrew Brice, *The Mobiad*, London, 1770, p. 75, note (g). Brice explains that the electoral scenes described were those of about 1730-40.

J. C. HELE: NEWTON NATURALIST

J. H. Porter

The development of ornithology during the decades of Victoria's reign had close links with field sports and with shooting in particular. People who combined the two interests and developed a sympathetic understanding of bird life had to reach beyond the blood lust of the systematic slaughter of the 'battue' and above the instincts of, for example, the Marquess of Ripon who was reputed to roll around in the game cart at the end of the day. The grossness of the battue was eventually to fall into disrepute even amongst the aristocracy but even sportsmen who decried it could on occasion be carried away by the desire to kill. Thus, the renowned Colonel Peter Hawker of Norfolk on one occasion shot his dog rather than have to record a blank day.

A cursory glance at that classic book on late nineteenth century Devon bird life, the Birds of Devon by D'Urban and Mathew, shows that the majority of their records came not from sightings as would be modern scientific practice but from the shooting of their subjects and then their subsequent stuffing and addition to the collections of local naturalists. One such sportsman and naturalist was John Carroll Hele of Newton Abbot.

During the early 1870s J. C. Hele lived at Halcyon Villas, Highweek. By 1878, according to White's Directory, he had moved to The Knowle, Knowles Hill, Newton Abbot where he probably remained until 1886 for that is the last year he is recorded as having shot a bird, a pied flycatcher, in Devon. Soon afterwards he removed to Horkstow in Lincolnshire and in 1887 he died during a visit to Canada. Hele was not the only prominent naturalist in Newton Abbot, there was also Mr Thomas Jacobs who was noted in 1874 as adding an Egyptian goose to his 'already very attractive museum' after the bird had been shot near Teignmouth. One of the hazards of being a naturalist must have been the hostility of some landlords for in 1888 Jacobs appeared before F H Plumtre at the Teignbridge bench accused of game trespass at Abbotskerswell. Fortunately for him the evidence was insufficient to secure a conviction.

J C Hele established a considerable collection of stuffed and cased exhibits and by 1872 had over 400 birds and animals the majority of which he had shot in England, Scotland and north America, (his wife had friends in Ontario). His collection became sufficiently well-known for it to be visited by members of the Devonshire Association on the occasion of their twenty-third meeting at Newton Abbot, in 1884 and for him to receive the dignity of a brief obituary in the *Transactions* upon his death aged 53 in May 1887 after a period of ill health.

A consideration of the whole of Hele's collection is beyond the scope of this note; here it is proposed to deal with those birds shot and collected by himself or others in Devon which are contained in a list of this collection in the Western Times in 1872. Not surprisingly the most important sources of his acquisitions were the Teign and Torhay. From the River Teign came a black swan, a red breasted merganser, a bittern, a spotted crake, a common sandpiper and a gannet. The gannet may have been shot but a possible alternative was the method used by Torquay fishermen; a herring was tied to a deal plank and when the gannet dived upon it the beak became impaled in the soft wood, there it remained till released. Also from the Teign came an Egyptian goose. This bird is contemptuously referred to by D'Urban and Mathew as 'a wandering pond ornament' for Egyptian goese



WHAT WE ARE COMING TO.

South Kerper, "Theree, My Lords! I have any Number of Birds for you, and you he take gette Take!"

originally had been introduced to Bicton by Lady Rolle and subsequently escaped. Torbay provided Hele with a range of residents and visitors to add to his collection. Thus he collected a pomarine skua, a common and a surf scoter, the latter shot in 1860, a great crested and a Slavonian grebe, a red throated diver, a cormorant and a shag, a manx shearwater and a 'cinerous' shearwater. I am uncertain as to the correct description of the latter, is it meant to be the sooty shearwater which would have been a rare accidental visitor? Also taken from Torbay were a storm petrel, an oyster catcher and a whimbrel (curlew).

Newton marshes provided a corn crake while a peregrine came from Watcombe cliffs, a number of crossbills from Torwood and a buzzard from Western Farm. A marsh harrier, the scarcest of Devon's three harriers at that time, was shot near Bovey where it would have been 'a casual visitor of rare occurence' and there too fell a winter visiting hawfinch. From the Ilsham area came a pied flycatcher (and another was shot by Hele on 23 April 1886), a hoopoe (another shot there was at one time in Torquay Museum), a tawny and a white owl. This is unlikely to have been a snowy owl and is more likely the old description of a barn owl. Closer to Hele's home, Highweek saw the taking of a cuckoo, a dipper and a number of unspecified woodpeckers. Distant north Devon provided a garganey or summer teal.

While it can only be regretted that the advance of ornithology and public education was dependent upon the shooting of the objects of study, the work of men like J C Hele was at least discriminating compared to the activities of many

After John Carroll Hele's death in 1887 his collection was dispersed.

shooters. D'Urban and Mathew make frequent complaints of holidaying 'sportsmen' shooting out whole colonies of nesting sea-birds on the Devon coasts. In that, however, these plebeian visitors were only aping the aristocratic practitioners of the battue.

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Western Times, 12 Nov. 1872, 6 Feb. 1874
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W S M D'Urban & M A Mathew, Birds of Devon, 1892, and supplement, 1895
'Report of Council', T.D.A., 17, 1885, p.27
'Obituary, J C Hele', T.D.A., 19, 1887, p.44
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BALH and the Devon History Society

Mr David Hayns, the newly appointed Field Officer for The British Association for Local History, visited Devon earlier this year and commented favourably on the Devon History Society in his report on the current state of county history organisation in England and Wales. The Council of the Devon History Society feels, however, that in addition to our publications and day-conferences, we should do more to coordinate local history activity in the county. Accordingly, by the time you read this, a meeting of local history representatives from all over Devon will have taken place as a first step towards a combined effort in promoting a major county history 'event'. We shall report on the meeting and its recommendations in the next issue of the Devon Historian.

THE CONSERVATION OF THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT – CHANGES SINCE 1980

Simon Timms

These personal notes are intended to describe changes which have occurred since 1980 to legislation and policies for the conservation of archaeological and historic sites, buildings and areas. The 1980 position was outlined in my article. 'The Conservation of the Historic Environment: Legislation and Grant Procedure', which appeared in *Devon Historian 20* (April 1980), 18-22. There have been a number of important changes including new legislation over the past three and a half years. This suggests that historic conservation remains a live political issue and some may think that several of the changes have been made more for political reasons than out of a desire to further the conservation of the heritage. Overall there has been a move towards greater selectivity in the criteria used for the identification of sites, buildings and areas for conservation. This has come at a time when the volume of recorded features has increased sharply with more survey work and a broader understanding of what our heritage consists of. A smaller proportion of known data is therefore being officially earmarked for conservation for the future.

It is now widely recognised that "conservation makes good economic sense" (Para. 47 of DoE Circular 12/81). However, official policy may appear to some to have moved towards the philosophy which recognises that owners of land and buildings, which form important elements in the common heritage, should be compensated or rewarded from the public purse in return for not destroying our heritage. The implications of such a philosophy for public expenditure are obvious.

The main aspects of recent changes are set out below, and should be read against the background of the 1980 article. It should be noted that the grant-aid procedures for repair to historic buildings have grown more complex and no attempt to describe the current grant situation has been made in this article. In general, inquiries on all aspects of historic conservation should be directed in the first instance to the District Councils (or the National Park Authorities for land on Dartmoor or Exmoor). Addresses are given at the end of this article. Some District Councils publish free information (e.g. Teignbridge District Planning Department, Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas – A Guide to the Legislation (1983)). For useful up-to-date information on conservation and planning, David Baker's Living with the Past – The Historic Environment (1983) is recommended. This book is published privately by the author and may be obtained from him, post free, at 3 Oldway. Bletsoe, Bedford MK44 1QC (hardback £12,50, paperback £8.95).

NEW LEGISLATION AND OTHER STATUTORY CHANGES SINCE 1980

The principal changes since January 1980 are:

Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979

Most of this act, which was described in the 1980 article, was not brought into force by the government until October 1981 and April 1982. It affects scheduled ancient monuments of national importance, designated areas of archaeological importance and rescue archaeology.

Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980

The effects of this act are described in DoE Circular 12/81, Historic Buildings and

Conservation Areas. It introduces changes relating to listed buildings and conservation areas including:

- listed building consent (in addition to any necessary planning permission)
 is required for any proposal to alter, extend or demolish a listed building.
 Although fees are payable for planning applications, listed building consent applications are still free.
- if listed building consent to demolish a historic building has been obtained, demolition cannot actually take place until a contract for carrying out the redevelopment of the site has been made (i.e. redevelopment is actually going to take place).
- Building Preservation Notices can only be served by District Councils. The County Councils no longer have this power.
- District Councils no longer have to consult County Councils before designating a Conservation Area.
- the category of "outstanding" conservation areas for the purposes of Section 10 grants is abolished. Priority for Section 10 grants will be given to work on buildings rather than to enhancement schemes in conservation areas.

National Heritage Act 1980

This act sets up a national fund for preserving, among other things, "any land, building or structure... of outstanding scenie, historic, aesthetic, architectural or scientific interest". The Exmoor National Park Authority has already benefited from this fund for the purchase of private moorland.

MAFF Agriculture and Horticulture Grant Scheme 1980

Under new procedures of October 1980 farmers of land in National Parks are obliged to consult with the Park Authorities in advance of proposed agricultural improvements if they are applying for a MAFF grant. This consultation allows for the archaeological and other conservation aspects of such proposals to be taken into consideration with the opportunity for the Park Authorities and the farmer to come to agreement (with or without financial implication) to conserve heritage features. For most of the farmland outside National Parks however, a farmer can now apply for a MAFF grant after improvements have been carried out and without any consultation on possible conservation implications.

Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981

Amongst other provisions, this act affects Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs), notified by the Nature Conservancy Council, and land in National Parks. SSSIs and moorland often have considerable archaeological significance and this legislation, whilst aimed at wildlife and nature conservation, can have important implications for archaeological conservation.

Devon County Structure Plan

This plan was prepared by the County Council and approved by the Secretary of State in 1981. It forms the strategic planning policy for development in Devon until 1991. It contains a number of conservation policies. Against this Structure Plan background District Councils are preparing Local Plans which identify in detail where new development should be sited. Local Plans contain specific conservation policies and proposals. They may cover a single city or town or extend over a wide area of countryside.

National Heritage Act 1983

This act received the Royal Assent in May 1983 and has not yet come into force. When it does, most of the responsibilities for archaeology, historic buildings and conservation areas which at present lie with DoE, the Historic Buildings Council and the Ancient Monuments Board will be transferred to a new independent Commission for Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings. This new body, which may take control in 1984/5, is not to be confused with the existing independent Royal Commission on Historical Monuments which will continue to exist and has recently extended its role by taking over the archaeological duties of the Ordnance Survey. Detailed arrangements for the implementation of the National Heritage Act are still to be announced.

POLICY CHANGES SINCE 1980

The National Heritage Act gives scope for fundamental changes but it may be some time before future new policies are brought into effect. It may be useful therefore to comment on changes in policy for listed historic buildings and archaeological sites since 1980.

Historic buildings

The Department of the Environment has continued to prepare lists of buildings of special architectural and historic interest and revised new lists for the towns of Buckfastleigh, Newton Abbot and Tavistock were published in the first half of 1983. Churches are now graded I, II*, or II in the same way as other historic buildings, although they are not subject to the same listed building consent controls.

The first historic buildings lists were published in the late 1940s and, although lists for many of Devon's towns have been revised under the national resurvey programme which commenced in 1970, the lists for most rural areas are still badly out-of-date. For example only two historic buildings in the parish of Okehampton Hamlets are included on the current list which dates to 1967. These are Okehampton Castle and a medieval chapel. Not one historic farmhouse in this parish of more than 12,000 acres is at present protected by listing.

The present situation is shortly to change. In 1981/82, Mr Heseltine, the then Secretary of State for the Environment, announced that the resurvey programme begun in 1970 was to be accelerated with the aim of revising all old lists by the end of 1985 rather than by some time after the year 2000, as previously proposed. To achieve this rapid resurvey, more than 80 extra survey staff are being taken on in England by DoE, County Councils and firms of private architects. For Devon it has been decided that the County Council will not participate directly in the resurvey, which is to be carried out largely by private architects with some work also by DoE staff. The selected firm of architects is expected to start work in October 1983 and, with a three-year contract, complete the resurvey of Devon by the end of 1986. The DoE staff have already started resurvey work in the remaining towns, which have not been revised already, and in the rural parishes of the South Hams.

Such a rapid programme for the resurvey of Devon raises several issues, Devon contains a wealth of historic buildings spread throughout its more than 450 historic parishes. The prospect of covering all the rural areas in three years is a daunting one, particularly as the county's rural building tradition consists of solid cob or stone farmhouses and outbuildings with plain external elevations. To understand

the history of such farms it is necessary to study their interiors — their room plans, roof structures and other internal features. The speed of the new survey will mean however that most listing decisions will be made on external evidence only and there will be little time for background research (on tithe maps for example). Doubtless a substantial number of farmhouses will be added to the lists but whether these will reflect the county's real building heritage remains open to question.

A second problem may arise with the listing of the large number of good eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings in Devon. The official DoE listing criteria call for the listing of (i) all buildings built before 1700 which survive in anything like their original condition, (ii) most buildings of the period 1700-1840, and (iii) buildings of definite quality from the period 1840-1914. A start has also been made on the listing of buildings of high quality from the period 1914-39. Particular attention is said to be given to buildings which illustrate social and economic history (e.g. stations, industrial buildings, hospitals etc.). The sheer number of buildings in Devon which would fit into these listing categories is likely to lead to political pressure for much greater selectivity in the listing of eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings.

The trend towards greater selectivity may already be discerned if the revised lists published in 1983 are compared with revised lists published in the 1970s. It will be seen then that a significant number of historic buildings are now being placed in the "Local Interest" category (which gives them no statutory protection) rather than being listed Grade II. For example, the 1983 list for Buckfastleigh (and Buckfast) contains over 60 Grade I, H*, and II buildings, compared with only 16 on the old list of 1951. However, less than half of the buildings on the new list lie within the historic town of Buckfastleigh, and Market Street (the main street in the medieval Higher Town) contains only two listed buildings, with many other buildings on the street being identified as being only of "Local Interest". None of the back courts of mill workers' cottages, so typical of this wool town, are listed and little of the nineteenth century industrial building in the town has been included. The fine mill buildings which have been preserved in the redevelopment of the town mill site are also shown as only of "Local Interest," as is the station, now used by the Dart Valley Railway.

If the trend at Buckfastleigh is repeated elsewhere it may not be too long before the new lists to be prepared over the next three years begin to show their age just as the pre-1970 lists do today. Some people however will take satisfaction in the belief that, once the resurvey programme has been completed, the conservation issues currently raised by large number of unlisted historic buildings will have been resolved.

Archaeological sites

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 retains the definition of an ancient monument as being a site of "national importance". There is no grading of scheduled sites in the way that historic buildings are listed. Only the archaeological equivalent of Grade I and Grade II* buildings are protected by scheduling. The conservation of the county's archaeological heritage will depend therefore very much on the safeguarding of the great majority of unscheduled sites through planning and other land use policies. Already such sites are being preserved in National Parks through the MAFF grant consultation procedure described above and, for National Parks at least, non-archaeological legislation, such as the Wildlife

and Countryside Act, may do more for archaeological conservation than the 1979 act.

The DoE's current policy towards the scheduling of monuments is diametrically opposite to its policy towards the listing of buildings. Rather than undertaking a rapid resurvey with the intention of identifying all "schedulable" sites, the DoE has decided to give priority to a national review of already scheduled monuments. Additional sites will only be added to the schedule if pressing needs arise. There is no indication of when this current DoE review of scheduled sites will be completed, but the present rate of progress in Devon and Cornwall suggests that it may take at least ten years. If this is so, the present rate of one Devon site being scheduled per year (as against 57 sites in 1972) is unlikely to change significantly in the present decade.

Part II of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act allows for the designation of areas of archaeological importance within which statutory procedures for rescue investigations are laid down. The DoE has decided that, for the time being, such areas will only be designated in eight major historic towns in England, of which Exeter is one. Rescue archaeology in Exeter is well served by the City Museums Archaeological Field Unit, but, elsewhere in the county, there is no established archaeological field unit. The independent Devon Committee for Rescue Archaeology was closed down in 1981/82 and now most rescue investigations outside Exeter have to be organised on an ad hoc basis. Also in accordance with the 1979 act, an archaeological Code of Practice for Mineral Operators has been agreed by the DoE and the Confederation of British Industry. This informal code was brought into force in April 1982 and, for Devon, the County Planning Officer has been designated as the Archaeological Body for operating it.

ADDRESSES:

Devon County Council, County Planning Department, County Hall, Topsham Road, Exeter EX2 4QH. Tel. Exeter 77977.

District Council Planning Departments - addresses available from DCC Planning Department,

National Park Authorities:

Dartmoor NPA, Parke, Haytor Road, Bovey Tracey TQ13 9JQ. Tel. Bovey Tracey 832093.

Eximoor NPA, Eximoor House, Dulverton, Somerset TA22 9HL. Tel. Dulverton 23665.

WATERMILLS OF PILTON

Stella F. Harley

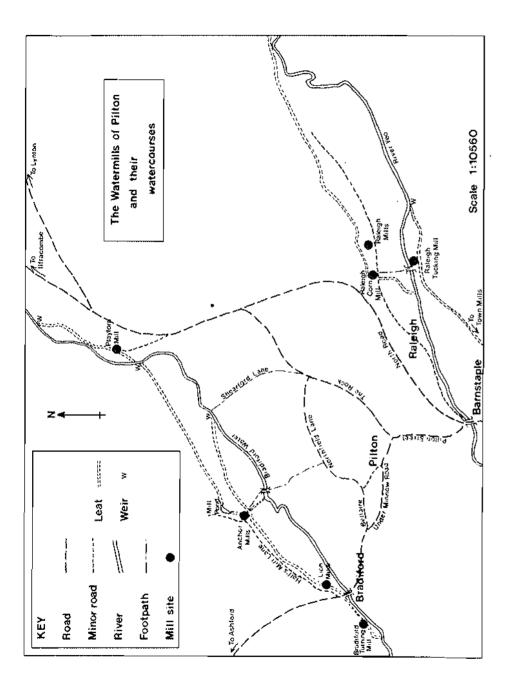
The parish of Pilton, situated on the outskirts of the town of Barnstaple, has been an insular community, quite separate from the rest of the town for centuries, despite its proximity. Pilton was at one time a thriving industrial community with numerous watermills, which created a base for further industries. Pilton had an ideal site, with plentiful supplies of fresh, fast-running water, unlike Barnstaple itself, which is situated on the flat flood plain of the River Taw. The community of Pilton was separated from Barnstaple for many centuries by a tidal marshy area, and even when the Pilton Causeway was built, crossing it was still a treacherous exercise for many years. Despite this, a thriving clothmaking trade developed, relying on the port of Barnstaple for the export of goods.

Pilton continued to have an important industrial community until the end of the nincteenth century, when first steam-power started to take over, and then oil, making the watermills redundant. The valleys of Bradiford Water and the River Yeo are littered with the legacies of their industrial past; weirs, leats and sluice gates can be found easily. The mills included in this study are all within the parish of Pilton, with the exception of Raleigh Tucking Mill, which is just a few yards outside the boundary, in Barnstaple.

In the Pilton area three main eras can be recognised in the economy. Frequent changes were made possible by the remarkable adaptability of the watermills—they were able to change with relative ease from one type of production to another. The three phases were: corngrinding—this went on from the medieval period until nearly the end of the 19th century, when steam power took over; woollen cloth manufacture—an important industry from the fourteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century; woodturning, papermaking and lacemaking—all later uses of the mills during the 19th and early 20th century.

The first use of water power was for grinding grain, replacing man or animal power. The first corn mill recorded in Barnstaple was mentioned in the Domesday Book, and was probably on the site of the old Town Mills, which were still operational in the 19th century. Raleigh Corn Mill was mentioned in a deed of 1699 which granted a company the right to take water from the leat at that point. It was situated very close to the Raleigh factory site, and used the same leat. George Mogridge was running the mill when the census was taken in 1851, and his father was recorded there previously, as far back as 1830. The mill continued to be used until 1906 when the miller, (Mr Cudmore), who had been there for 17 years, died. The buildings were destroyed in the early 1950s.

Anchor Mills, also known as Halse or Hall's Mills, consisted originally of two milling concerns. The two establishments were often confused, making the occupants difficult to trace. In 1830 Pigot's Directory records a John Frost at the mills and the 1841 census records a Joseph Prout here. From 1851 until at least 1871, the Headon family were in occupation and the mill was run by William Headon and later by his wife Sarah. There then followed a rapid succession of owners; John Cutcliffe was in occupation in 1871, but by 1872 William Goss owned the premises. In 1877 he rebuilt the mills and renamed them Anchor Mills, as a plaque on the wall shows. In 1887, after a fire, the property was bought by



George Davey of Lion Mills and only one mill was being used. In 1892 it was for sale again, but back in the hands of William Goss, This was the only mill in Pilton to have had a millpond, which was situated behind the mill.

When the mill was rebuilt by William Goss, it was refitted by Garnish and Lemon, the millwrights, who had premises in Pilton Street. The track leading to the mill is still known as Hall's Mill Lane, despite the fact that the name of the mill changed over 100 years ago, and a footpath now marks the way of an ancient track from the mills to Northfield Lane, which was used for transporting grain and flour long before the road network became important.

Lion Mills, in Bradiford, which has been in existence at least since the four-teenth century, was also used for corn milling. The premises began as two mills, and in 1841 a Joseph Pearce is recorded here. In the following three censuses the Herneman family were milling flour here. In 1876 George Davey took over the mills and named his business Lion Flour Mills. A datestone on the wall is marked 1877. In 1893 there was a serious fire, and the mills were subsequently offered for sale; they have not been used for flour milling since. George Davey worked five pairs of stones—one for barley and four for wheat. In 1888 the sale advertisement stated that the mills could turn out 400 sacks of flour per week. Playford Mill was the site of two grist mills in 1665 and it is believed that the use of the mill was changed sometime during the 18th century.

The woollen trade was very important in the development of Barnstaple at an early stage. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it established itself firmly as a seaport and woollen manufacturing town. By the 16th century the population was growing considerably and Pilton was beginning to make a name for itself. John Leland describes it in his Itinerary thus: "Plymtun (Pilton) is but one fair long streate, and is mainteyned by clothe making." This was in the late 1530s. The 'New Draperies', light worsted fabrics such as serge, were brought across from the continent in the late 1500s. In the west of England 'bays' (baize) was made from coarse wool, and production soon began in Barnstaple. At the time Pilton was only producing rough lining cloths, according to Westcote, a contemporary writer. He wrote: "Barnstaple and Torrington furnish us with bays, single and double; and Pilton adjoining vents (sells) cottons for lining." (Cottons were made at least partly from wool, unlike the modern equivalent.) Barnstaple was the main receiving port for Irish wool at this time and Holland was the main export market.

By the 1720s serges were losing their popularity, because of Norwich cloths, which were much finer, and cheaper. The Dutch trade was dwindling by the 1740s and large scale unemployment was the result. Flannels were the industry's temporary answer to the problem, but in the 1780s competition from Yorkshire was growing. However, in the 1790s over a thousand people were employed in the industry in Pilton. Unfortunately, the American War of Independence and the war with France dealt severe blows to the industry and the days of real prosperity were over.

Two types of mill were associated with the woollen industry — fulling, or tucking, mills and cloth manufacturing mills. All but one of the Pilton mills was involved with the industry at some time in the past, the only exception being Raleigh Corn Mill.

The process of fulling, or tucking (the Devon term) involved washing the wool in fuller's earth and then beating the cloth repeatedly. This rinses out the grease and shrinks the fabric making it dense and often hiding the weave, rather like felt. Originally the job was carried out by hand or by foot, so the introduction of the

fulling mill was a great boost to production. The invention of the fulling mill was indeed a small industrial revolution in itself—a very important step in the development of the woollen industry. This was what brought the industry out of the towns and into the countryside, where there were plentiful supplies of fresh water, a necessity for the industry. Pilton had an ideal site for the industry; it was quite easy to change the use of existing mills from corngrinding to fulling and vice versa. This fact does make the history of the mills difficult to trace.

The mills were usually on a fairly small scale in Devon, and despite mention of a fulling mill in Barnstaple as early as 1327, this type of mill can only be dated back to the 18th century with any certainty in Pilton. Playford Mill is believed to have been a fulling mill during the 17th century, but the first definite mention is of Black wills Fulling Mill (later known as Hall's Mills) at Bradiford, which is mentioned in a will of 1748. William Besley, clothier was here in 1801.

At the end of the 18th century three large fulling mills existed at Raleigh, one of which also belonged to William Besley. At the start of the 19th century Bradiford Turning Mill was a fulling mill and Lion Mills was also used for this purpose at some time.

The fulling mills at Raleigh would have been involved in the production of 'bays' but very little is known about them. The only remaining building is Raleigh Tucking Mill which stands just south of the River Yeo. It is over 150 years since it has been used for its original purpose, but it is still easily recognisable as a water mill, with the wheel spindle and the leat still clearly visible.

Woollen manufacture was originally carried out as a cottage industry by craftsmen and women in their own homes. The Industrial Revolution led to the dawn of the great mills, and Pilton was no exception. Raleigh Mills was set up in 1774 — on a smaller scale than its northern counterparts, but nonetheless a vast source of employment in the small community. 'Rawleigh Flannels' were made there at this time, which were made with a woollen weft and a cotton warp (it was not possible to make all-cotton goods until the introduction of Arkwright's water frame). The flannels were popular enough to employ a thousand people in their manufacture, 90 of whom were skilled woolcombers. In 1793 the war with France caused the blockade of cotton imports, which led to the closure of the factory in 1795 and it was reopened as a lace making concern. Shortly after this Frederick Maunder, former Mayor of Barnstaple started a woolcombing business there, in partnership with a Mr. May. In the Exeter Flying Post he is reported as 'resuming production' in April 1852. In 1857 The North Devon Journal reported a fire at the factory, still in the hands of Mr Maunder, which caused £200 worth of damage.

Part of Lion Mills in Bradiford, was used for woolcombing and manufacture by Thomas Milton, who was recorded there in 1821. William Rennels took over the business; he is mentioned in Pigot's directory in 1830. The premises were apparently not used for that purpose again.

Paper manufacture became important after the decline of the woollen industry in the 19th century. The fulling mills left behind were ideal for use as paper mills—this was another industry requiring plenty of fresh water. Most production went on in South Devon, on a rather larger scale than in Pilton but the paper produced in the area provided a much-needed local supply. Previously paper had been imported from France—the nearest mills were in Somerset and Wiltshire.

The valley of Bradiford Water was an ideal site for paper mills. Three mills were set up here; Blakewell and Blatchford Mills were upstream of Pilton, and

employed a dozen hands each during the 19th century. It is known that there was a papermill operating in the area from 1746-1790, but its whereabouts is not certain. Abraham Bryant was making paper in Pilton in 1776—he is recorded in the Barnstaple Borough Records. The Land Tax Returns of 1780 show a Mr Murch making paper in Pilton; it is likely that both these were carrying out their businesses at Playford Mill. The mill was certainly used for this purpose almost continuously from 1816 to 1906 but the history of the mill before this time is incomplete. Jabez Penny took over the premises in 1889. He employed a few helpers and made various wrapping papers, which were sent as far afield as Yorkshire as well as Exeter, Taunton and Bristol. The mill closed in 1906 when new machinery was required and the lease ran out. Raw materials consisted of waste paper, often given in part-exchange for new paper by local shops, and rags which were collected locally. The garden of the mill still yields hundreds of buttons, removed from old clothes by the rag sorters.

The industry declined gradually when bigger mills were built closer to the great market centres, in Lancashire and Kent. As waterpower was superceded access to coal became important—there is none in Devon. In addition the raw materials changed from waste-paper and rags to pulp and esparto grass, and this together with increased transport costs led to the closure of the mills around the turn of the century.

Woodturning was a relatively recent activity in the mills, the first occurences being in the second quarter of the 19th century when Bradiford Turning Mill and part of Lion Mills, then known as Round Mill or Bark Mill, were used for this purpose. At the Round Mill, eighteen men were employed by John Lee in the Bradiford Toy Factory. Very little is known about his activities here.

Bradiford Turning Mill, further downstream and using the same leat, was being used by George Hearson who was making rocking horses and chairs. In 1830 he met with financial difficulties and was eventually forced to give up the business. One of his employees, John Manley, took over, in partnership with a Mr Hayle. He continued the business for 30 years and lived in Cedar Cottage on the road by Bradiford Bridge. The firm made spokes and felloes for coaches, and brush heads. The firm became Manley and Son and the first circular saw in North Devon was introduced there. In 1867 there was a fire on the premises and after the death of John Manley in 1868, Britton & Dickson took over. Their enterprise did not last long, however, and the mill was advertised for sale in the North Devon Journal in 1869. Mountjoy and Hancock took over, introducing new and more efficient machinery. They were able to turn nearly 10,000 brush and broom heads in a week and sent their products all over the country, and abroad. The mill was then run by Radford Brothers, followed by a Mr Coleridge and it was burnt down in 1930. Houses have now been built on the site, although the leat remains.

Playford Mill was where Mr Cody ran his 'Devon Rustic Oak Manufacturing and Woodturning Company' which began in 1912. He made garden furniture and trellis work and his son made skittles and broom heads.

Raleigh Mills was taken over by Shapland and Petters when the woollen industry finally left. They used the two big waterwheels there for turning wood until the factory was burnt down in 1888 and the company moved to its present premises on the Seven Brethren Bank in Barnstaple, next to the River Taw.

Lace Manufacture was carried out in the Raleigh factory for a short time by Boden and Heathcote, who started a hobbin net factory there in 1821, In 1830

R W Grace and Company were making lace there, and presumably continued until Maunder took over in 1849.

In order to assess the importance of the watermills in the economy of Pilton, it is necessary to determine their employment and production levels, the part they played in the industrial activity of the region as a whole, and the nature and durability of the industry that went on in them. It is hard to build a complete picture, as sources are incomplete and often unreliable. Trades directories, newspapers and, most importantly, the census returns, yield information concerning the activities in the mills, who was in occupation and how many were employed. The data collected from these sources can be put together to draw certain conclusions, although speculative in nature, about the significance of the mills.

A corn mill was a necessity in a community until steam power took over the job at the beginning of the twentieth century. These mills were not a great source of employment, usually having only two or three extra men to help the miller himself. Many of the mills seem to have been run as family businesses — Hall's Mills (later Anchor Mills) was run by the Headons for at least 20 years — after the death of her husband Sarah Headon continued the business with the help of her son and two employees. James Herneman, at Hope Mills (later part of Lion Mills) also ran a business for more than 20 years again, it seems, as a family concern. After about 1870 the mills seem to have changed hands rapidly — presumably reflecting economic difficulties. Serious fires also enused problems, and eventually both Lion Mills and Anchor Mills ceased to operate as flour mills altogether, towards the end of the 19th century, in the face of competition from the steam mill in the town.

The woollen mill at Raleigh was undoubtedly the greatest provider of employment of all the mills. Over a thousand people worked there, many of them skilled, albeit for a relatively short time, 15 to 20 years. The concern was large enough for industrial unrest to be stirred up when new machinery threatened the jobs of the woolcombers there. Thirty workers' cottages were built near the factory, which still exist, although now converted to only twenty. The paper industry was quite small-scale, but did provide some work for both men and women, but traditionally the hours were long and the wages low. Thirteen people were employed at Playford, plus one rag-collector. The business was quite successful, providing paper both locally and further afield.

Woodturning employed a few more people than the papermill did — John Lee, at the Bradiford Toy Factory employed 18 men; a considerable number for such small premises. Bradiford Turning Mill is said to have employed 6 men when it was a brush-making firm. This was another industry where the hours were long and the pay very low. Shapland and Petters cabinet-making firm was a much larger employer—about four hundred people worked at the factory. The firm was very productive until the fire in 1888, so much so, in fact that they were able to set up again at their new site within a year.

The mills provided varying amounts of work for the people of the community, ranging from two or three in the commills to over a thousand in the woollen mill. In addition associated industries existed, for example the millwrights Garnish and Lemon, who had premises in Pilton Street. Their name can be seen on the sluice-gates at Playford and Raleigh Mills. The Barnstaple Foundry also found work at the mills — they made the iron support pillars at Anchor Mills when it was refurbished. The watermills were part of a network of industrial activity. It was essential that the mills were situated out of the towns in order to make use of the

supply of water, but these were not the only industries here. Pilton also had a fell-mongers and a glove factory in addition to the millwrights mentioned above. As the locational emphasis switched, moving towards the town centre, the role of the mills changed, and Pilton began to lose its importance as an industrial centre.

At the start of this century Victoria Flour Mills and Rolles Quay Steam Saw Mills were pushing the waterpowered mills out of production. They were also suffering from the disadvantages of being on the outskirts of the town. Some continued, such as Playford Mill and Bradiford Turning Mills, well into the present century.

Industrial inertia caused the mills to remain as industrial sites, although water-power was no longer used. Raleigh Mills was used as a steam laundry and the site is still being used by a number of small firms. Raleigh Tucking Mill is still being used for making sausage casing. Lion Mills was used as a stables, then as an ice factory and was opened as Bradiford Engineering Works in 1920. It is now owned by Hobarts Manufacturing Co. Ltd., who have larger premises nearer Barnstaple.

Watermills played an indispensable role in the industrial history of Pilton, and of Barnstaple. They reflected trends in the economy of the country as a whole, changing readily to meet local and national needs. By 1900 the heyday of the watermills was over. New machinery and technology took over the original processes carried out in the mills, at factories in the town. The move from waterpower to steam marked the end for Pilton as an industrial site for Barnstaple. Pilton village has had a rich and varied industrial past, and it is just one example of the many areas which show how important and diverse rural industry was in the past.

This article is a much shortened version of the prize-winning essay in last year's B.W. Oliver Memorial Essay Competition, organised by the North Devon Athenaeum. Information received from Mrs M.A. Reed of Pilton is gratefully acknowledged.

Church Guide Book Archive

The University of Exeter has financed a small project to collect church guide books in the Diocese of Exeter. The Archive now has over 400 items, and is housed in the University Library. Items include current and older guides, one or two manuscript histories, and transcripts of handboard guides. The information contained in them is always interesting and sometimes unique. The Archive is open to all enquirers, and although items will not be lent, photo copies can be supplied. A list of the churches covered is available and will be sent on receipt of a large stamped addressed envelope. Occasional items are still being added to the Archive and we would welcome any further additions.

Please address all enquiries to: Miss Sue Guy, Sub-Librarian, University Library, Stocker Road, Exeter.

GALMPTON RAILWAY BYGONES

E. R. Westlake

A few notes of interesting relics of Victorian railway construction in and around the village of Galmpton, given here for no other reason than that some of the relics are disappearing. Around 1840 the old track of a so-called road was modernised from Windy Corner (1) to Brixham. The surface of the road at Churston Bridge (2) was at that time the same level as the ground at the nearby Weary Ploughman Inn. The bridge arch over the railway was built between 1860 and 1862. Until about a couple of years ago it was possible to stand at the bus shelter opposite the Golf Club House and to see the top of the original stone wall (against the Golf Club) and to observe how it descended towards the Inn. The top few feet of the wall had been built above the older structure in 1860 when the level of the road was raised for the purpose of crossing over the railway. The recent work at Churston Bridge has entailed the demolition of most of the old wall that was visible; a short length can however be seen just above the new road surface. Churston Station was opened in 1862 being named "Brixham Road". From the Bridge, the road into Galmpton was then called Station Road and this remained until it was renamed Greenway Road. At the western end of Galmpton and near the Bird Farm is another bridge (3) over the railway, built to take road traffic from the Dartmouth Lane and Combe Lane. The former came across the site now occupied by the railway and by way of what is now a field, directly to Greenway Road; Combe Lane did likewise joining the Greenway Road at Goose Pool (4) on the opposite side of the road to the present chalets; both of these roads were diverted to the new bridge over the railway cutting. The diversions were parallel with the railway. In the Spring and the Autumn the rays of the rising sun shoot straight over the site of the road across the field and it becomes very well defined as a slight depression in the surface. Similarly, in the Winter, the setting sun is at right angles to the site, and the settled ground is shown up by a shadow. Beyond Galmpton is a skew bridge (5). A stone on the Greenway end of one of the parapets carries the date 1864. Each of the bridges mentioned have traces of 'broad gauge' days and these take the form of fences which are partly composed of old boiler tubes from the broad gauge locomotives, and of fence-straining posts fabricated from broad gauge rails. Goose Pool has medieval associations and until recent years was full of water. Now unfortunately, it is being filled with farm debris. The Saxon hamlet of Galmpton, mentioned in the Domesday book, has grown considerably since the 1939/45 war, but still has the air of bygone days; particularly is this noticeable after dark, with lamps glowing in the windows of the older cottages.

References in text to OS 2½ inch map SX 85/95:

- (1) SX 889570
- (2) SX 895564
- (3) SX 888558
- (4) SX 887557
- (S) SX 885555

GREEN LANES IN DEVON – a preliminary report

A Manpower Services Commission Project, based at Dartington, began work in March 1983 researching and recording information on green lanes in Devon. A green lane, as defined in the Report of the Countryside Commission (1977) is 'an unmetalled track which may or may not be a right of way for the public either on foot, horse, bicycle or motor vehicle, including a motor bicycle, and which is usually bounded by hedges, walls or ditches'! This description, though somewhat confusing, seems to be the most workable one at present. The operation for gathering information on green lanes is two-fold.

Firstly surveyors are working in pairs to map all rights of way which fall into the Countryside Commission definition, i.e. unclassified (county) roads, footpaths, bridleways and in some cases private roads. Records of this survey which includes information on the condition, ecology and historical value of the lane will be collated in zone by zone units. It is then proposed that this information will be used as a basis for short, long and circular recreational routes. Publications giving historical and ecological information on the rights of way which have been surveyed will be made available to the public through general publications and educational material. All historical information, recorded in detail, will be passed on to the Register of Sites and Monuments and other interested parties.

The second stage of the operation involves the physical works which a workforce (of seventeen at present) will undertake on footpaths and bridleways. This will include stone-walling, hedging, some drainage, clearance of dumped waste, signposting and the repair or erection of stiles and gates. The workforce has been recruited from the long-term unemployed register at all levels.

The programme will eventually cover the whole of the county but is at present working in the South Hams. An article describing in detail the methods used by the project leaders Mrs V. R. Belsey and Mr J. M. Parr will appear in the next issue of the *Devon Historian*. In the meantime suggestions from readers would be welcomed at the following address: The Green Lanes Project, Dartington Central Offices, Shinners Bridge, Totnes (Tel. 865906). The organisers would particularly welcome any illustration of an early sledge in Devon or any maps of local regions in the South Hams area excluding early O.S. material and Donn's Map of Devon.

Foot-note on Radical Shoemakers

The Torquay Directory dated 10 November 1858 tells of a radical shoemaker (Devon Historian No. 26) named Mark Roberts described as a very prominent member of the Trade Society "which in common with those in other towns, is maintained by the journeymen shoemakers for the protection of their rights in their dealings with their employers". The local Magistrates were told that the Society "did not consist of more than a dozen persons and was formed merely for the relief of the craft on the tramp... The general tenour of the evidence showed that he was much mixed up with a system of intimidation which had prevailed to such an extent as to materially interfere with the business of employers..." The case was reported at some length and the feelings of the writer are clear: it was with some relish that he reported the verdict of the Court, one month's imprisonment with hard labour.

John Like

THE DEVON BISTORY SOCIETY

Minutes of the 13th Annual General Meeting at Exeter on Saturday, 21st May 1983

- The Chairman summarised the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting which were printed in the October 1982 Devon Historian.
- Arising therefrom it was reported that the projected meeting of local history societies would be held at Exeter Guildhall on a date still to be arranged.
- 3. The Hon, Secretary submitted his Report and expressed his concern at the fall in membership over the past year or two. Following a question it was reported that there were now only 231 personal members but that a new leaflet inviting membership was now available. It was agreed that efforts would be made to obtain a wide distribution through the University's Extra-Mural Department and similar bodies.
- 4. The Hon. Treasurer submitted his Statement of Account for the year. A vote-of-thanks was passed with acclamation to the Hon. Treasurer for the manner in which he had stabilised the finances of the Society in the past two years.
- 5. The Hon. Editor submitted her Report. She thanked Devon Library Services (per Mr Ian Maxted) for their help in connection with the compilation of the Annual Bibliography. She paid a special tribute to Mr Geoffrey Paley the compiler of the work. She appealed once again for more articles particularly on sources which would assist other local historians working on related subjects. She also appealed for members of local societies in the County to submit retrospective reports of their meetings. The Chairman also referred briefly to the progress made on the publication which it is hoped will fill the gap between the Devon Union List and the Annual Bibliography.

6. Election of Council

The retiring members of the Council, Mr Michael Dickinson, Dr Alison Grant and Mr Charles Hulland were re-elected for a further three-year period commencing 1 May 1983.

7. One-day conferences

It was reported that these had been arranged as follows:

Dawlish = 5 November 1983 at the Rockstone Hotel. The morning speaker will be Mr John Yallop and Dr Stephen Fisher on "Maritime Devon" in the afternoon.

Appledore - end February/beginning March. The morning speaker will be Barry Hughes.

8. Devon Historic Buildings Trust

The Chairman reported that the Trust had now restored the old Brewery opposite Paignton Church and urged members to see what had been done there.

9. Monmouth Tercentenary 1985

The Chairman reported that the Vice-Chairman felt that the above should be celebrated perhaps in association with societies in Dorset and Somerset. The Meeting agreed that the matter should be investigated further.

10. Oral history

There was a short discussion on the possibility of making tape-recordings of old peoples' memories. It was agreed that a note on the subject would be included in the next issue of the Devon Historian.

il Devon and Exeter Institution

The President issued an invitation to all members of the Society to visit the Institution by prior arrangement to see the scope of collections there and to meet members of that body.

12. Times of Meetings

The Chairman read the Minutes of the Annual General Meeting and of Council Meetings held on 19 June 1982 and 23 April 1983 and then asked Mr Charles Hulland to speak on the matter. After discussion it was resolved that the Annual General Meeting be brought forward to mid-October from 1984 and that one-day conferences be held in early March and in early June and that the Annual General Meeting be normally held in Exeter. It was further resolved that a formal motion be placed before a special Meeting to be convened at the Dawlish Conference.

New contributors:

Stella Harley, now working in Manchester, is a recent graduate in Geography from Plymouth Polytechnic and a former pupil of Pilton School.

E. R. Westlake lives in Galmpton. He is a retired civil engineer interested in both family and local history.

Anniversaries

The Editor would welcome your suggestions for a list of Devon-related anniversaries (people and events) coming up in the next few years — for example, the Monmouth Tercentenary in 1985, 900 years of the Domesday Book in 1986. The Devon History Society might then arrange meetings, exhibitions, etc., to focus public attention on these events and also set out to produce relevant publications. Please send names and dates to Mrs S. Stirling, Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter.

Note: Mr Ian Maxted, Librarian of the West Country Studies Library, Castle Street, Exeter, is collecting information on Huguenots in Devon for the Huguenot Society's tercentenary commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Please send Mr Maxted details of any Huguenot-Devon connections.

DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

The following numbers of *The Devon Historian* can be obtained for £1.00 (plus postage) from Mrs S. Stirling, Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter: Nos. 1-6, 8-10, 12-14, 17-21, 24-26. Also available (all prices plus postage): *Devon Newspapers*, 60p; *Index to Devon Historian 1-15*, 20p; *Devon Bibliography* 1980 (=DH No. 22), 50p; *Devon Bibliography* 1981, 60p.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay, would be glad to acquire copies of *The Devon Historian* Nos. 7, 11, 15, 16, 23 which are now out of stock.

Information wanted

A new member Dr C K Langley is anxious to obtain additional information on the Widgery family who painted many Dartmoor scenes. He may be contacted at 46 Kings Road, Hitchin, Herts SG5 1RD.

Local Japanese Connections Please!

The first guide of its type including historical, cultural, and economic sites, archives, objects d'art, associations, personal links. To be brought out under the auspices of the British Tourist Authority. We are particularly interested in connections not previously published or co-ordinated. Please send brief details or leads to Bowen Aylmer-Pearse, 20 Brookland Rise, London, NW11 6DP; or telephone 01-455 5767 after 4 p.m.

Members' Research Interests

The Hon. Secretary intends to produce a revised list of members for general distribution. He would be glad to hear of any research interests pursued by members so that the new list may contain the fullest possible information. Please send details to Mr John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay.

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REVIEWS

The Redlake Tramway and China Clay Works, by E. A. Wade, Truro, Twelveheads Press, 1982, 84 pp. Paperback, £3,75, ISBN 0 906294 09 6.

Narrow gauge tramways fascinate the enthusiast and the Redlake Tramway of southern Dartmoor has clearly east its spell upon Mr Wade; witness the photograph of a fractured slurry conduit. Within this story of Redlake there are, however, more serious matters of business history which are dealt with in a workmanlike manner and a professional perspective. The Redlake line was created by the grandiosely named China Clay Corporation which was in turn the promotion of C. E. Cottier, then a Plymouth solicitor, who secured the backing of C. A. Hanson of Yorkshire woollen and Cornish connexions and the Fifty Shilling Tailor, Henry Mallaby Deeley.

From the start the works and tramway were ill-fortuned. First mooted in 1906 it took four years to overcome local opposition to the possible pollution of the salmon sporting Avon, legal battles over pipeline defects were later to be fought and lost, and by the time the works were finally completed the first world war fell upon them and destroyed demand. Low demand and high labour costs because of labour searcity were to be exacerbated by adverse gearing caused by borrowing by 6% debentures and in 1919 a Receiver was appointed and the assets auctioned to Decley, the principal shareholder. He reformed the company as the private and unquoted Ivybridge China Clay Co. which enjoyed a brief prosperity in the midtwenties before it too was destroyed by the slump and asset stripped in 1932.

A generous selection of photographs and excellent maps and line drawings accompany the history of the track, its locos and stock. The index is helpful, but the concluding note on sources is less so, having no PRO or DRO accession numbers.

J. H. Porter

Dartmouth: a new history of the port and the people; by Ray Freeman, Harbour Books, 1983, 152pp. £3.75, ISBN 0-907906-01-X.

Dartmouth has been fortunate in its historians. Hugh Watkin examined and catalogued and published many of the Pre-Reformation Borough Records. Percy Russell wrote a very-readable and well-illustrated book that was published in 1950 and now a generation later Ray Freeman has added another excellent volume to the list. Three such books are not too many for such a fascinating town and since Percy Russell wrote much new material has come to light and there has perhaps been a change of emphasis in the writing of history. The life and circumstances of ordinary folk must now figure more largely than they did and Mrs Freeman is able to describe the living conditions of the 'working class' in Dartmouth in the last century in graphic and alarming detail. Many of Dartmouth's fine Tudor houses, some of which still survive, were appalling slums and a good many belonged to the Borough Council. The problem was only solved after much pressure and often by the demolition of what today would be carefully preserved.

Mrs Freeman does not differ from Mr Russell in her interpretation of the main history of the town. The links with France in the Middle Ages, the Newfoundland fishery and the consequent triangular trade to Spain and Portugal, the coal-bunkering business of the nineteenth century figure in both books but Mrs Freeman is

able to add considerably to the story of the struggle for control of the Borough in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between the Seales and the Holdsworths from which the Seales emerged victorious. The Seymour papers also add something to the story of the town during the Civil War and the Royalist control of the South Hams. Best of all, the physical growth of the town over several centuries is made meticulously clear with the aid of two, so far unpublished, fascinating maps and perhaps the most startling thing in the book is the map inside the front cover which shows just how much of present-day Dartmouth — it must be nearly a half — has been reclaimed from mud and water.

Since Percy Russell's book was written Dartmouth has ceased to govern itself. Although Mrs Freemans' book shows that the power to do this was often abused and the story of the town is full of unedifying disputes and lawsuits, nevertheless the interests of the people who ran Dartmouth more often than not coincided with the interests of the town as a whole and Dartmouth prospered, on the whole. With power lying elsewhere, in fact now in Totnes, the same may no longer be true. There was utility as well as sentiment in local loyalty and local government reorganisation seems to have ignored that.

One question so far remains unanswered in any history of Dartmouth. What was the nature of Dartmouth's trade and hence its wealth? It had no hinter land that could not be better served by Exeter or Plymouth, its land communications were atrocious for the most part. Most goods that came into Dartmouth must presumably have been re-exported and Dartmouth's trade was of an entrepôt nature presumably. This, if true, is not examined nor is the relationship between Totnes and Dartmouth. Was their prosperity linked? How much of Dartmouths' trade was ultimately Totnes'? But these rather academic matters perhaps do not fit into the whole history of a colourful and vigorous town with many families and personalities of note. The story is told clearly and deftly and with obvious enthusiasm and the book is attractively produced with many illustrations, some quite new to publication.

Robin Stanes

Archaeological Sites of Devon and Cornwall; by T. Clare. Moorland Publications, 1982, 160 pp. (illustrated), £7.50 (hardback), ISBN 0-86190-057-X; £4.95 (paperback), ISBN 0-86190-058-8.

This is certainly a guide book with a difference and admirably suited for use by anyone wishing to explore the range of archaeological sites in Devon and Cornwall without undertaking a great deal of background reading first. The plan of the book is explained in the preface: 'Each site has a ground plan marked with one or more viewpoints. These refer to the corresponding illustrations and show the features of special interest which may be seen from that spot, and their significance is explained in the accompanying notes'. Thus the salient features of the sites included may be readily picked out by anyone hitherto quite unfamiliar with the particular site.

The sites are arranged geographically rather than by type. This will enable the uninitiated readily to sample the archaeological potential of the two counties according to where he finds himself and how far he is ready to travel. At first sight the lay-out looks as if it might have been intended primarily for use by children,

but this is clearly not the case and we can all benefit occasionally from the ease of what is essentially a visual approach.

The Introduction opens with some observations regarding the need to consider any archaeological landscape in toto and to avoid regarding any site as belonging exclusively to the period of its most conspicuous visible feature. This is followed by a review of the types of sites to be encountered in the book. As for the individual entries, Mr. Clare has included a remarkable amount of general information within a very limited space. Inevitably there is some over-simplification, but then the book does not set out to resolve the problems of the archaeology of the South West. Indeed it might be considered as serving a useful purpose if it makes the casual visitor look at statements concerning such a complex structure as Exeter Cathedral with a critical eye. Minor inconsistencies such as in the spelling of machicolations do not significantly detract from the usefulness of the book.

If one approached the volume as a book to read one might well become mesmerised by the cross references to letters and numbers both on the site under consideration and to analogous sites, Nevertheless I can well imagine a family group or a small party of enthusiasts deriving much fun, as well as genuine additional information, from using it to indulge in a kind of 'I Spy' exercise on a hitherto unknown site. This book is a novel and useful addition to the material currently available for those wishing to explore the archaeology of Devon and Cornwall.

John Bosanko

Berry Pomeroy Castle, by Deryck Seymour with illustrations by Jack Hazzard, 175pp. Published by the author (1982) and available from him at Arlesey Dene, Mill Lane, Torquay, £1.99p (paperback).

Past and future visitors to Berry Pomeroy Castle will welcome this book which has been published privately at a very attractive price. It provides a concise account of the history of this castle which has been in the care of the Department of the Environment since 1977. Apart from the author's own "Torre Abbey", the most recent book cited in the Bibliography is Edward Powley's official guide which first appeared in 1947. With his detailed knowledge and feeling for the site, Mr Seymour is in a position to present considerable new information and, although his book is not intended to be a guide book, it will serve as an informative companion for a visit to Berry Pomeroy.

A 30-page description of the surviving ruins is followed by a chronological survey of the two families who owned the castle — the Pomeroys (until 1548) and the Seymours (from 1548 to the present day). Other chapters cover documentary evidence, literary references, folklore and "the Hauntings". The castle is placed in its local setting with descriptions of the parish church and deer parks whilst Ellaline Jerrard adds a final chapter on the botany of the site. The book is illustrated with some rather dull photographs and over thirty drawings by Mr Hazzard. These sometimes fanciful drawings are not often placed to support the text. They will delight many readers but leave others cold.

Such wide coverage in only 175 pages inevitably leaves loose ends and the more serious-minded reader will regret the lack of proper references. The absence of an adequate site plan showing the archaeological and structural detail is a disadvantage although the author explains his reason for including only an interim plan. Without a detailed plan it is more difficult to follow the important discussion

of the survival of parts of the medieval Pomeroy domestic ranges within the mansion rebuilt by the Seymours in the post-medieval period.

The book shows how much still awaits study at Berry Pomeroy. The origins of the castle remain obscure with its earliest documentary reference dating only to 1467. The reasons for its desertion by the Seymours in the seventeenth century so soon after their major rebuilding are also in doubt. We learn that the castle records are thought to have been lent by the 11th Duke of Somerset to a friend and never returned. In their absence, the key to our fuller understanding of this complex monument lies with the detailed analytical recording of the ruins which is doubtlessly being carried out by the Department of the Environment throughout its longterm programme of repair to the castle. Until the results of this detailed work are made available, much awaits the attention of the careful observer who visits this delightful site with Mr Seymour's book in hand.

Simon Timms

The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279-1353, part 2: 1328-1353, edited and translated with an Introduction by Audrey M. Erskine. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, vol. 26, 1983. Available from the Assistant Secretary, D & CRS, 7 The Close, Exeter. £8.00, including postage.

This second volume of the Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral contains those surviving from the episcopate of Bishop John Grandisson (1327-69). The period is unevenly covered. There are accounts for 1328-9, 1329-30 (lacking the receipts), 1330-1, 1331-2, 1333-4, 1340-1, 1341-2, 1347 (two short accounts covering the first and third quarters of the year according to the modern reckoning), 1348-9, 1349-50, 1350-1, 1351-2 and 1352-3; none are preserved for the last sixteen years of the bishop's life. The presentation and editorial conventions follow the model of the first volume (*Devon Historian*, 23, October 1981, 30-1). The present issue also includes a transcript of part of the Latin text of 1334, together with a facsimile which illustrates the setting out of the original accounts. In addition the texts and English summaries of seven related documents are given in an appendix.

The two volumes, which cover the period during which the Norman cathedral was extended and rebuilt to its existing architectural form, constitute a single publication with a common pagination and index. The index is very full and admirably set out; it enables the student to trace any subject in which he may be interested. Headings, such as 'materials' include a number of sub-headings, ranging from 'brass' through 'colours', 'ironwork' (sub-divided into separate objects, e.g. bars, bolts etc.), 'stone', including both the different forms, e.g. asselers (ashlar) and the sources, e.g. Barley and Beer, to 'wax' and 'withics'. There is a separate index of personal names.

The heading 'parts and architectural features of the cathedral building' forms a convenient guide to those areas in which work was carried out, in so far as they are covered by the surviving accounts; notable omissions are the minstrels gallery and the western image screen. We have noted one confusion. The sub-head 'treasury' covers two different buildings. The 'door leading to the court of the treasury' (p. 31: hostium versus curiam thesaurarii; cf. p. 55 where the last word is abbreviated thesaur') refers to the Treasurer's House on the north side of choir. It was formerly known as the Treasury (e.g. on Rocque's map of 1744), but the usage is now

obsolete. The reference to 'a certain mason making steps towards the treasury (p. 7: cuidam cementario facient' gradus versus thesaurum; cf. p. 6) occurs in juxtaposition to an entry concerning the vestry and refers to the strong room within the church, in which relics and other valuables were kept. The treasury would normally be associated with the vestry, sometimes, as at Old Sarum, (RCHM., Salisbury, vol. 1, 15-7) forming a vaulted undercroft. The rooms beneath the Chapel of St. James and the adjacent vestry were destroyed in 1942, but the entry suggests that Exeter followed the same model. This part of the index is illustrated with a clear plan.

The form of the accounts and the organization of the fabric fund were considered in the introduction to the first volume. The present introduction deals with more general subjects — the funding of the work, the materials used and the sources from which they were obtained, the work force and the building sequence. All these themes are lucidly set out in a few short pages, which illustrate not only the information provided by the accounts, but the limitations of this information arising from the imperfect sequence of the documents. A short review cannot discuss or even list the matters treated, but it is perhaps permissible to comment on two questions of interest to architectural historians.

The accounts open with a series of short memoranda of receipts and expenditure dating from between 1279 and 1285. The earliest of these records work on windows in the eastern transceptal chapels of St. James and St. Andrew in the year 1279-80; these lay opposite the fourth bay of the presbytery, counting from the east. Yet the two chapels flanking the western hav of the Lady Chapel are said to be under construction in 1289 (p. 318; inconstruction). In 1274 Bishop Bronescombe had excused himself to the archbishop from attending the consecration of Bishop Thomas of Hereford (Register, p. 16); among other reasons because he 'was to celebrate the commemoration of St. Gabriel on 2 September in our cathedral." It is difficult to dissociate this entry from some important stage in the construction of the Chapel of St. Gabriel on the south side of the Lady Chapel. Seeing the advanced stage which the chapels further west had reached in 1279, it would be logical to assume that this was the consecration of the alter and the celebration of mass in what was to become his burial place, at the altar of which he was to found a chantry. What does inconstruendo mean? Is the solution to be found in an entry in the accounts for 1301-2? In that year the large sum of 4s. 4½d, was spent on the preparation of 42 'great spikes' for the chapel of St. John and St. Gabriel (p. 22: In xlii magnis spikis ad capellam sancti Johannis et sancti Gabrielis). This implies some substantial work even if capellam is a mistake for capellas. Is this the insertion of the vaults in a chapel or chapels, which could well have been in use for a number of years? The question has a bearing on the evolution of the eastern arm. In 1305 Bishop Quinil is referred to as 'the first founder of the new work' and the date 1288 is provided in a late source. Mrs. Erskine now suggests that this is the date of the beginning of the building of the presbytery. But the Norman carved stones in the foundations of the chapel of St. James include parts of the main arcade and these must have been pulled down some time before 1279; it would be difficult to account for the long hiatus. The earlier suggestion (vol. I, p. xiii) that the significance of these records concerned accountancy rather than architectural development seems preferable.

The most important single record in the present volume is the memorandum at the end of the accounts for 1331-2. William Canon, who with his father had

supplied 'Corfe marble' for the columns of the nave arcade and the galleries above. had pledged himself to make good defects that appeared during the erection. The inspection was made and his account settled, with a bonus, in the Cathedral Exchequer on 9 September 1334, a record borne out by the entry of payments to his workmen for repairs. The nave must therefore have been built at least as high as the base of the clerestory by that year. In 1338 twelve oaks were acquired from Chudleigh (p. 320); this can reasonably be connected with the roofing of the nave. The next accounts for 1340-1 and 1341-2 note work on the west gable, including the painting of the figure in the apex. This would indicate that the nave vault was not carried out at that date and Mrs Erskine's argument that the work was completed in 'continuous and logical sequence' would point to the middle 1340s as the date of the vault, not ten years earlier as implied (vol. 2, p. xxxiii). Her argument is buttressed by citing the opinion of Pevsner that the bosses are stylistically earlier than 1350. It is doubtful whether so close a dating can be justified; it is certainly not acceptable to everyone. A recent publication may be cited attributing the plate armour of the knights on the Becket boss to about 1350 (Friends of Exeter Cathedral, 53rd Report to 31 March 1983). The accounts include nothing that would preclude the suggestion that 'the beginning of the new work of the blessed Peter before the great cross' on 20 May 1353 is a reference to the nave vault, as argued by Bishop and Prideaux.

C. A. Ralegh Radford

Devon Archaeology No. 1, edited by Chris Henderson (1983) 24 pp. Free to Devon Archaeological Society members, 75p to non-members.

This booklet launches a new series of small semi-annual publications by the Devon Archaeological Society. It contains six chapters which give concise accounts of different aspects of the county's archaeology. Allan Straw's contribution on Kent's Cavern is of particular interest as it is the only readily available modern assessment of this cave system. David Thackray describes the prehistoric and later archaeology of the National Trust's Exmoor properties. The results of recent recording of medieval sites are described by John Allan (on Exeter Cathedral) and Stewart Brown (Buckfast Abbey), whilst the more recent past is covered by Alison Grant's piece on the Seventeenth Century North Devon Pottery Industry and Cynthia Gaskell Brown's Exploring Old Plymouth. If future issues of Devon Archaeology are equally informative and attractive, this new well-illustrated series should bring the county's outstanding heritage to the attention of a wide audience of both Devonians and visitors alike.

Simon Timms

Books received:

Parish of the Sacred Heart, 1882-1982. 40pp. Available from Bideford R.C. Church, North Road, Bideford EX38 2NW. 50p plus postage.

Notes on prehistoric Tiverton, by A. E. Welsford. Tiverton Museum, 1983. 7pp. Available from Tiverton Museum and booksellers. 36p plus 15p postage.

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