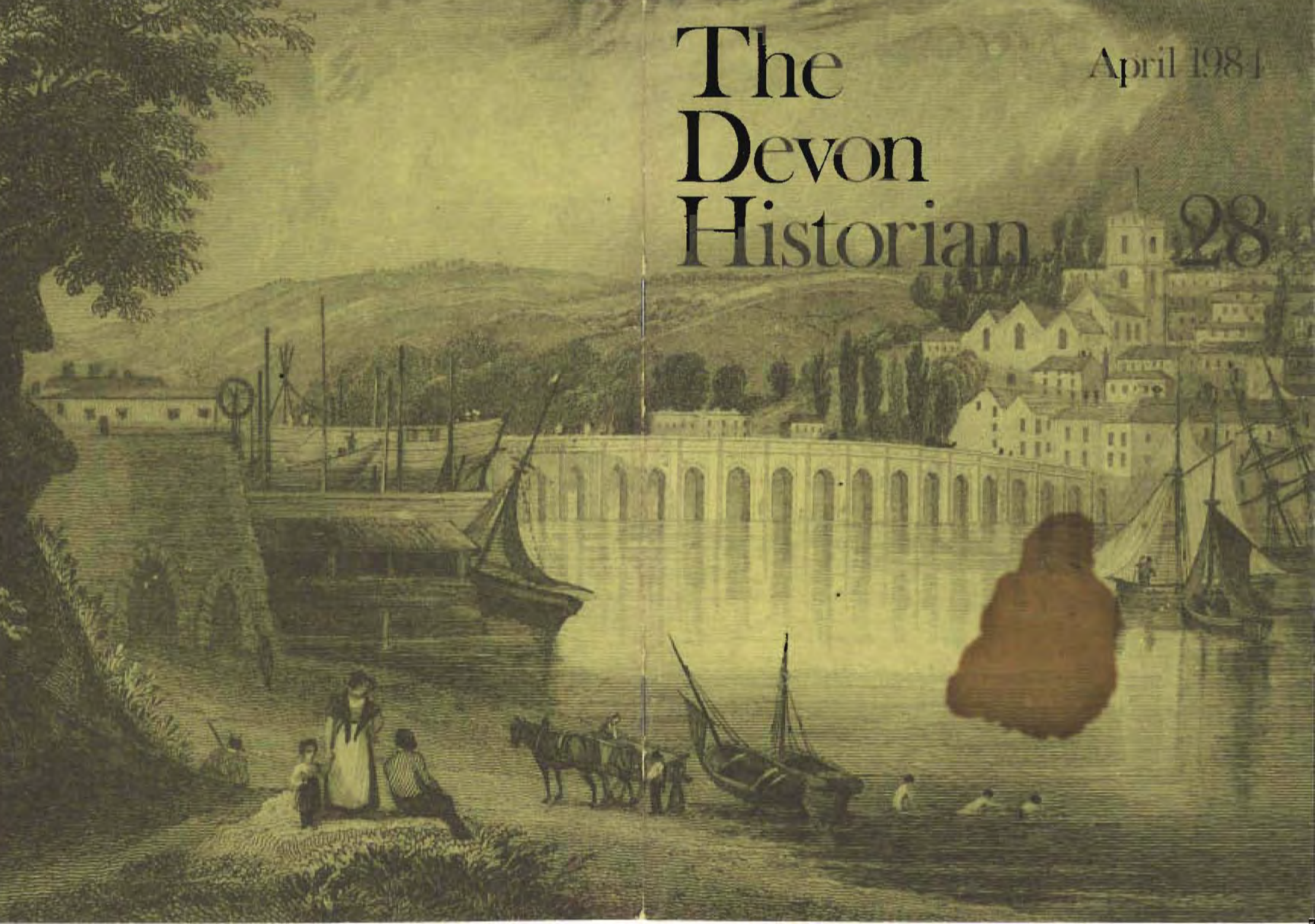


The Devon Historian

April 1984

28



DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT	Professor Joyce Youings
CHAIRMAN	Professor Walter Minchinton
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Robin Stanes
HON. SECRETARY	John Pike
HON. TREASURER	David Edmund
HON. EDITOR	Mrs Sheila Stirling
HON. PUBLICITY OFFICER	David Edmund
COUNCIL	Owen Baker, Miss Joy Beer, John Bosanko, Dr Alison Grant, Charles Hulland, Ian Maxted, Geoffrey Paley, Dr Lynden Taverner.

MEMBERSHIP

All correspondence relating to membership, personal local history interests and offers of work or assistance should be sent to the Secretary, John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The *Devon Historian* is available free to all members of the Devon History Society. Membership subscriptions for the current year are as follows: Individual: £5.00; Family: £6.00; Libraries, Museums, Schools and Record Offices: £5.00; Institutions and societies: £7.00. Please send subscriptions to the Treasurer, David Edmund, 16 King Street, Silverton, Exeter EX5 4JG.

THE DEVON HISTORIAN

Correspondence relating to the *Devon Historian* and contributions for publication should be sent to the Editor, The Devon Historian, c/o Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter. The deadline for the next issue is 1 July 1984.

DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY: CONFERENCES

One-day conferences will take place at Appledore on 3 March 1984 and at Moretonhampstead 23 June 1984. The AGM will be in Exeter on 13 October 1984.

The print on the front cover is *Bideford, Devon*, steel line engraving by J. Bingley after G. B. Campion, published by Jennings & Chaplin, London, 1831. (Somers-Cocks, No. 201).

CONTENTS No. 28

APRIL, 1984

Migration and the social geography of mid-nineteenth century Plymouth	MARK BRAYSHAY & VIVIEN POINTON	3
Devon History Society Publications		14
George Brooke of Whimble, 1785 - c.1850	GREG FINCH	15
New contributors		19
The making of a myth: the origin of Honiton lace	H. J. YALLOP	20
A snub for Polwhele		24
Jeffcott v. Hennis	GEOFFREY J. PALEY	25
Anniversaries - note		27
The MSC Green Lanes project	VALERIE BELSEY & J. M. PARR	28
Allhallows Museum, Honiton		32
An Exhibition of Devon History in 1985?	JOHN PIKE	33
Books received		34
Reviews:		
Fire!: an account of the Great Fire of Chudleigh, 1807, by Anthony Crockett		35
The siege of Lyme Regis, by Geoffrey Chapman		36
Dalwood: a short history of an East Devon village, by G. M. Chapman		36
Three generations in the Honiton lace trade, by Margaret Tomlinson		37
A system of discipline: Exeter Borough Prison, 1819-1863, by W. J. Forsythe		37
North Devon pottery: the seventeenth century, by Alison Grant		38
A fortunate place: the history of Slapton in South Devon, by Robin Stanes		39
Devon tavern tokens, by Yolanda Stanton and Neil Todd		40

MIGRATION AND THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY PLYMOUTH

Mark Brayshay & Vivien Pointon

Mid-nineteenth century Plymouth was indisputably Devon's most cosmopolitan town. (1) Birthplaces recorded in the censuses from 1851 onwards reveal a remarkable diversity of origins and, although the evidence does not directly include information about the routes by which these in-migrants made their way to Plymouth (2), there can be little doubt that the rich mixture of their various backgrounds and experience added considerably to the prosperity and development of the town in Victorian times.

Migration to Plymouth of course contributed to the prodigious growth in total population. In 1801 the census recorded 19,447 people in Plymouth and Stonehouse; by 1851 the population was 64,200, and by the close of the century it stood at 122,747. Thus, in the course of only a hundred years there had been a six-fold increase and Plymouth had become a city in all but name. (3) But migration boosted demographic growth not simply in absolute terms, but also by enhancing the town's potential for natural increase, since young adults between the ages of 20-35 years tend always to be the most mobile group in any society, and they certainly dominated the ranks of in-migrants to Plymouth during the last century. (4)

Although the town grew physically, its rate of areal expansion, and the increase in the urban housing stock, failed to keep pace with the demands of a growing population. The inevitable consequence was a level of overcrowding and a degree of environmental blight in certain parts of Plymouth which were amongst the worst to be found anywhere in Britain. (5) Ineffective urban management was partly to blame and corrective measures were slow to take effect, but despite these serious defects in Plymouth's physical fabric, nothing seemed to have seriously impaired the economic success of the town. Industries based upon imports were particularly prosperous. (6) Chemicals, for example, supported local fertiliser-, soap-, and starch-making factories; while timber, grain and hides were used in furniture- and boat-building, biscuit-baking, brewing, distilling and tanning. (7) Plymouth was also a key retail centre and served as a major livestock market for West Devon and East Cornwall. The proximity of the Royal Dockyard and the presence of the armed forces in the town created a constant need for a wide range of goods and services, bringing considerable benefits to the local economy. Even Plymouth's preponderance of 'navy wives' made a significant economic contribution. Their skills as dressmakers and shirt-makers were not only well-known locally but had been recognised further afield. London businesses sent work down to Plymouth because they could depend on the quality of 'garments made up in the town'. (8)

Job opportunities in Plymouth must therefore have acted as a powerful magnet, attracting migrants in large numbers from the rest of Devon, from Cornwall and a host of other origins. In 1842 the government established an emigration depot in Plymouth and this brought welcome extra trade to local ship brokers, victuallers and retailers. (9) Moreover, in the aftermath of the potato famine, the depot was used to accommodate thousands of Irish people on their way to the colonies; though many seem to have progressed no further than Plymouth. Steamers provided

a regular link with the Irish ports of Belfast, Dublin and Cork and by 1851 a permanent Irish-born community was well-established in a small area to the north of Millbay Docks.

The Origins of Plymouth's Migrants

While the patterns of migration to many other provincial towns in Victorian Britain has been carefully studied, (10) very little detailed work has been carried out on Plymouth. For instance, almost nothing has been written so far about where in the town the in-migrants lived. Still less has been said about the kind of employment they found in Plymouth, and there has been no real exploration of whether a pattern of residential and social segregation similar to that observed elsewhere in mid-nineteenth century Britain had emerged in this West Devon town. (11) Few historians would deny that answers to these questions are crucial to a better understanding of the evolution of Plymouth's social and physical structure, but to secure them demands a detailed and painstaking study of sources like the mid-Victorian manuscript census returns. (12)

To these ends a sample of data has been extracted from the 1851 (and 1871) census enumerators books for Plymouth and Stonehouse as the basis of a much larger study of the social geography of the towns, but part of that computerised data file is used here in this article about migration. (13) Of course the census only records an individual's birthplace and not his personal migration history. Some people enumerated in Plymouth on census night would have arrived in the town only after numerous moves to other places. The data we have are therefore only an imperfect surrogate. Nevertheless, even though we must focus on 'life-time' migration, the partial picture this yields is still immensely valuable. (14)

A cursory perusal of the published census data shows that the principal birthplaces of the inhabitants of Plymouth and Stonehouse were, in rank order of numerical importance, Devon, Cornwall, Ireland, London, Somerset, Overseas origins, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucester, Wales, and 'Islands in the British Seas'. (Table 1). Although it is not possible from *published tables* to distinguish how many of the Devon-born people were actually natives of Plymouth, the 'ten-per-cent' sample drawn from the manuscript census return for 1851 suggests that 42.5% of the inhabitants of the town were in fact Plymothians by birth. Table 1 indicates therefore that of the combined 1851 population of Plymouth and Stonehouse of 64,200, approximately 36,908 people were not natives of the town: in effect, well over half of her population consisted of 'in-migrants'.

Inevitably, the most numerous group of migrants was drawn from origins closest to Plymouth. Thus Devon and Cornwall parishes alone accounted for 40.0% of the town's 1851 population. Indeed, distance may be cited as a key factor explaining the overall pattern of migration to Plymouth: not simply from relatively local sources, but from more distant origins as well. However, as the distance increases, the simplicity of the pattern tends to be distorted. The influence of 'intervening opportunities' such as the attractions of a rival town and the varying availability of some convenient means of transport are both factors which help to explain why some sources appear to have contributed more migrants to Plymouth by 1851 than other places situated the same distance away. Of course, the population size of the 'sending area' also had an effect on the numbers of people from that area eventually making their way to Plymouth. Thus the presence in Plymouth of more than 1,200 people born in London was probably as much a reflection of

Table 1 — Ranked Birthplaces of Plymouth Inhabitants 1851

	Plymouth	East Stonehouse	Total	Combined Rank	Percentage of Total Population
Natives of Plymouth & Stonehouse	---	---	27,292*	(1)	42.5
Rest of Devon	---	---	19,123*	(2)	29.8
(Devon total	38,415	8,000	46,415)		
Cornwall	5,180	1,599	6,779	(2)	10.6
Ireland	1,792	424	2,216	(4)	3.5
London	1,215	228	1,443	(5)	2.2
Somerset	747	384	1,131	(6)	1.8
Foreign	752	134	886	(7)	1.4
Hampshire	560	160	720	(8)	1.1
Kent	360	96	456	(9)	0.7
Gloucester	320	95	415	(10)	0.6
Wales	283	121	404	(11)	0.6
Islands†	276	54	330	(12)	0.5
(Remainder	2,321	684	3,005)		
Totals	≈ 52,221	11,979	64,200		

Source: Published Volumes of 1851 Census: 10 per cent sample.

* These figures are estimates derived from the 10% sample drawn from the manuscript census data. This suggested that 41.2% of the Devon-born group were born outside Plymouth and Stonehouse.

† Dominated by the Channel Islands.

the capital's massive population as any particular attraction which this West Devon town may have held for such people. Nevertheless, Plymouth's accessibility by coastal steamer does seem to have been a key influence in encouraging substantial migration from other ports and seaboard counties of the British Isles. (Figure 1).

A clear picture of the effects of all these factors (distance, population size of the 'sending area', intervening opportunities, and means of travel) emerges when

the rate of migration to Plymouth from each parish in Devon and Cornwall is mapped for the census year 1851. (Figure 2). The dominance of origins situated very close to Plymouth was clearly very little affected either by their relative size or by any slight variation in distance. Intervening opportunities for migrants from Kingsbridge, Modbury or Saltash for instance were very few and the means of travel to Plymouth was readily available. Further afield, however, those parishes well-served by a regular road transport connection (Figure 3) or with a relatively large population tended to contribute proportionately more migrants than neighbouring parishes situated at a similar distance from Plymouth.

Although the precise motives of individual migrants can rarely be recovered from surviving evidence, we may speculate on the importance of the lines of communication which must have helped the would-be migrant to make a decision to move. The carters and van drivers who regularly plied the routes between Plymouth and other parts of the South West not only provided a kind of *ad hoc* removal service for ordinary people, but would also have been a valued source of gossip and information about life in the town, the job opportunities and the accommodation possibilities that Plymouth could offer. The same must also have been true of the crews of the steamboats operating in and out of Plymouth. Thus, especially in the pre-railway age, the horse-drawn wagon, coach or van played a social role almost equal in importance to their acknowledged economic role in shaping the emerging geography of provincial towns like Plymouth.

Plymouth's Irish Community

The contribution of Irish immigrants to the building of Britain's infrastructure has become a commonplace of history and in Plymouth the labourers who recorded, for example, County Cork or County Kildare as their place of birth in the census almost certainly found work on the great civil engineering projects of the day. An almost unbroken series of developments created a constant demand for labour: the building of the Breakwater across Plymouth Sound, the development of Millbay Docks and the construction of the South Devon Railway not only profoundly changed the face of the town, but also attracted migrant workers in their hundreds. Other, more modest building activities also flourished as much-needed housing was erected on the periphery of the town, new roads were installed, new sewers laid and civic buildings were extended and developed. (15)

Although the 2,216 Irish people in Plymouth only represented 3.5% of the town's 1851 population, they were a highly segregated group. Figure 4 shows that the bulk of the Irish were concentrated in just two census enumeration districts. Their homes in places like Victory Court were amongst the least salubrious in Plymouth and, as a group, the Irish were more overcrowded than any other. Moreover, the manuscript census returns recorded a disproportionately large number of Irish households headed by a widow – perhaps reflecting the short life-span of manual labourers in Victorian times. Certainly, Plymouth's Irish quarter was dealt repeated heavy blows by epidemic disease in the 1840s and early 1850s. (16) One blackspot in the cholera epidemic of 1849 was Quarry Court. Two years later the census enumerators found 16 separate households comprising 95 individuals crowded into only six houses. But this was by no means the worst example. In Stonehouse Lane there was a single house containing 9 families totalling 65 people, of whom some 49 were Irish born.

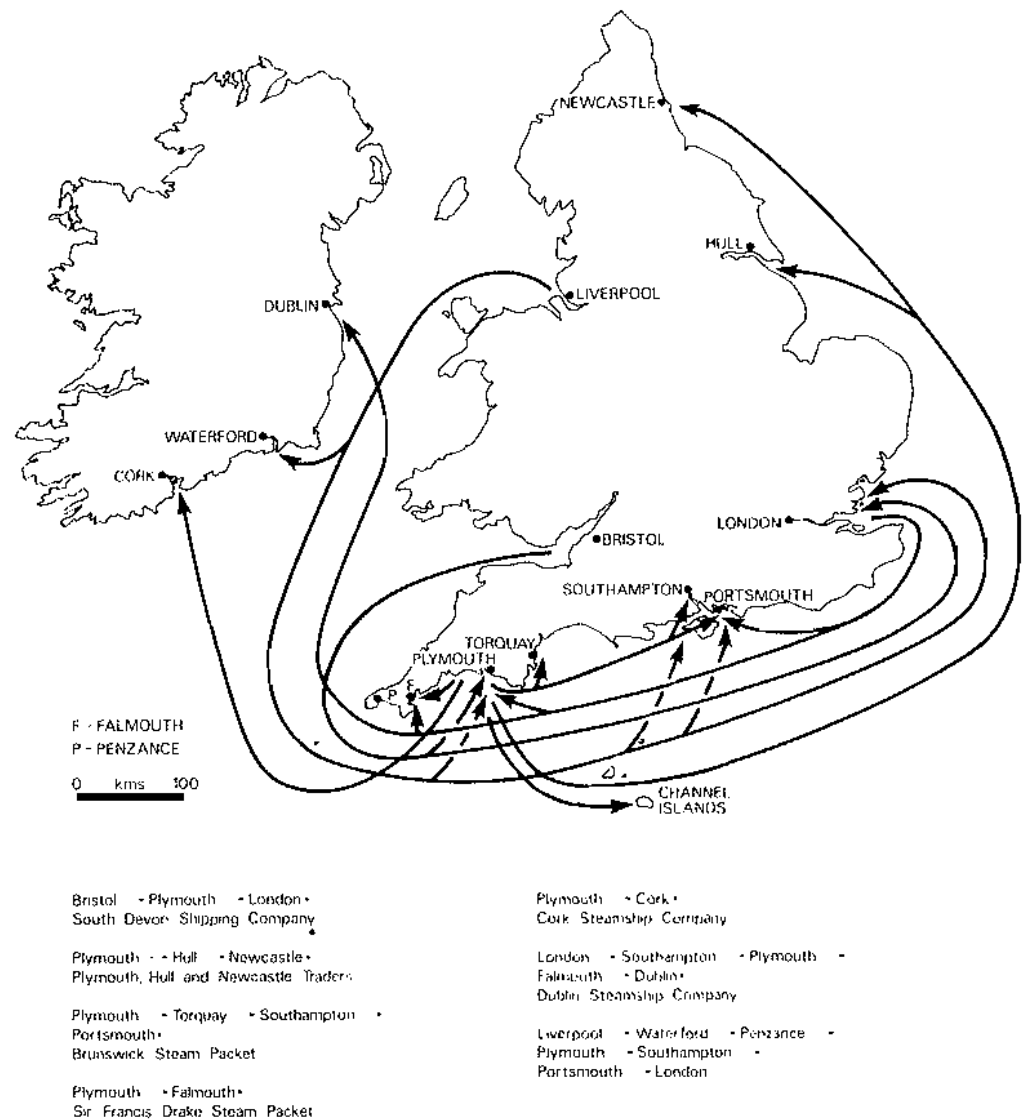


Figure 1 - Coastal links between Plymouth and other ports. Compiled from the 1856 Post Office Directory.

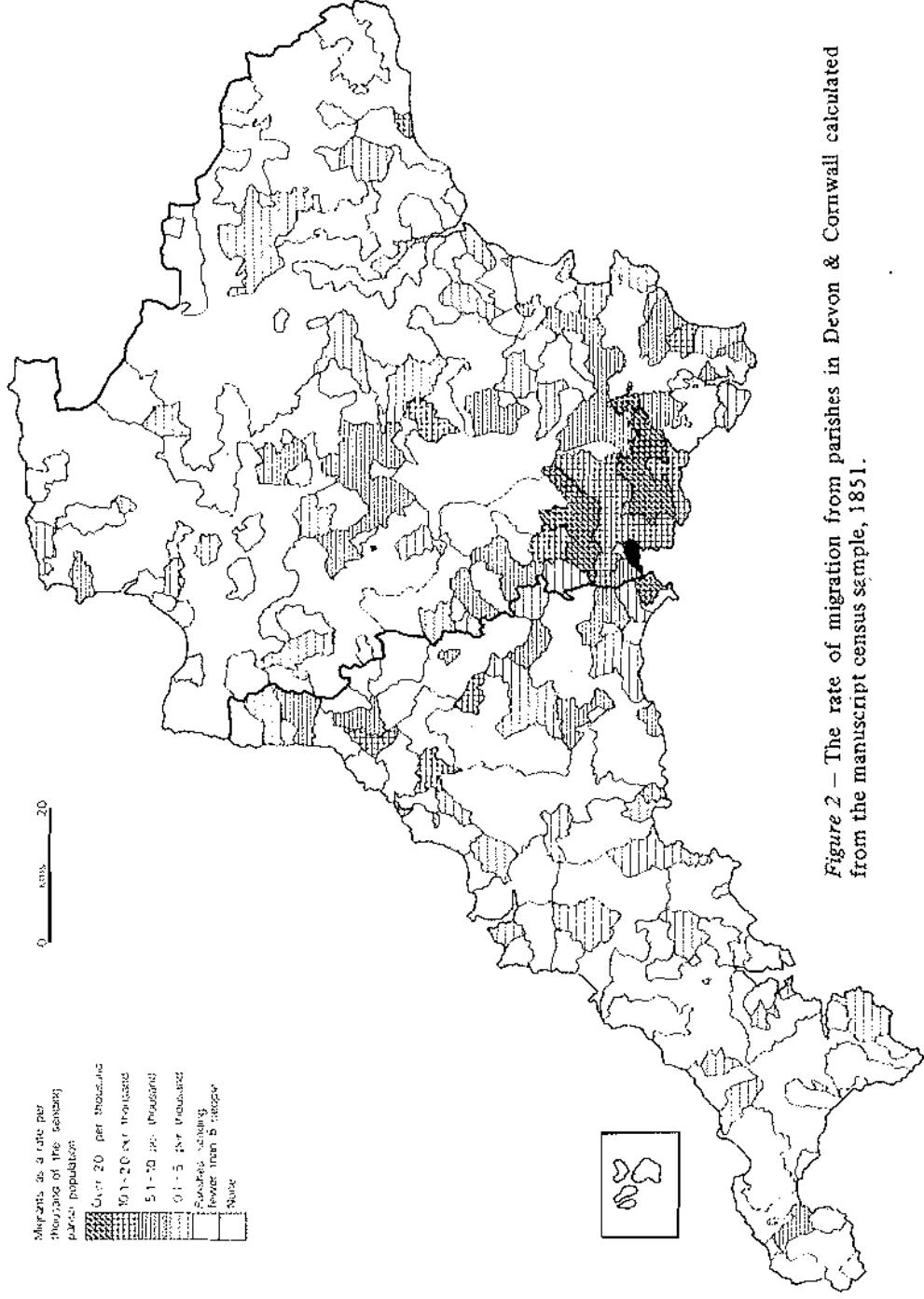


Figure 2 – The rate of migration from parishes in Devon & Cornwall calculated from the manuscript census sample, 1851.

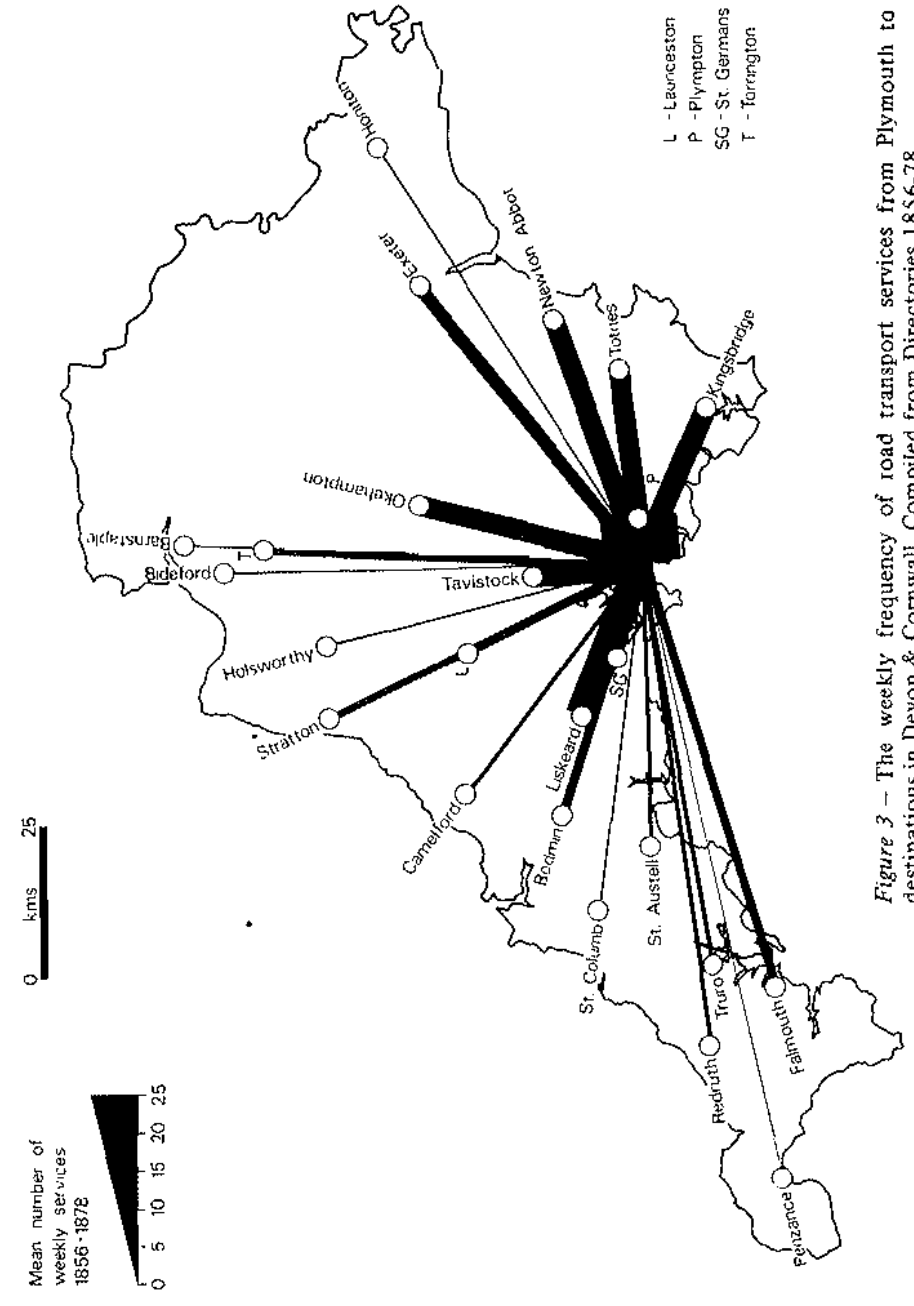


Figure 3 – The weekly frequency of road transport services from Plymouth to destinations in Devon & Cornwall. Compiled from Directories 1856-78.

Other Groups of Migrants

While no other group matched the Irish in their residential segregation, an analysis of the distribution of migrants from Cornwall, and from origins including other ports and 'seaboard counties' (17) did reveal important variations. (Figure 4). The map showing the pattern of Cornish-born residents in Plymouth indicates relatively large concentrations in enumeration districts of high social status. The census evidence clearly shows that the prosperous, well-to-do people of Plymouth—defined by measures such as 'servant-owning', occupation, and the rateable value of their housing (18)—tended to cluster in particular areas of the town. Since there were almost twice as many female migrants from Cornwall as there were male, the vast majority of these women being aged between 20-35 years, their residential pattern in Plymouth almost certainly reflects their occupations. Table 2 shows that of those Cornish migrants stating a occupation in the census, 28.7% were employed in domestic service. It appears therefore that Cornish girls came to Plymouth to find work as servants in the middle-class homes of the town and many would have secured their posts through the network of servants' registries which were well-established by the middle of the century. (19)

Table 2 – Occupational Classification of Plymouth's Migrants, 1851

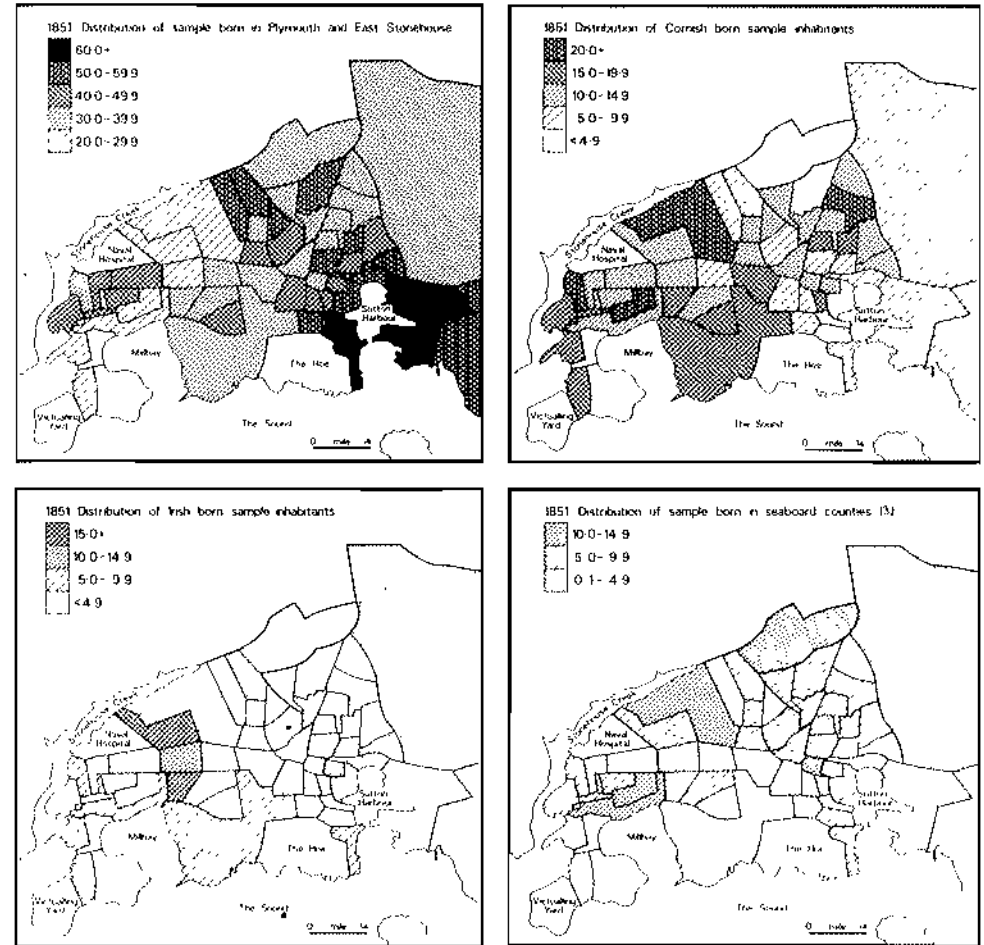
Birthplace:	Occupation Group:						Total Sample n = 2,292
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Devon	121 7.0%	309 17.9%	176 10.2%	31 1.8%	934 54.2%	152 8.8%	1723 (100%)
Cornwall	26 7.5%	100 28.7%	23 8.0%	11 3.2%	149 42.8%	34 9.8%	348 (100%)
'Seaboard Counties'	30 21.0%	17 11.9%	30 21.0%	—	53 37.1%	13 9.0%	143 (100%)
Ireland	14 17.9%	15 19.2%	2 2.6%	—	17 21.8%	30 38.5%	78 (100%)

Key:

1. Professions, Army and Navy, Government Service.
2. Domestic Service.
3. Commerce and Transport.
4. Agriculture.
5. Industry and Manufacturing.
6. General Labourers.

Based on the Census Classification of Occupations.

Source: 10% sample from 1851 Census.



The shading refers to the percentages in each Enumeration District born in the places identified on the map.

Figure 4 – The residential distribution of migrant groups in Plymouth, 1851.

But an excess of females over males was not only a feature of the Cornish-born residents of Plymouth in 1851. In keeping with ports in general, all groups in the town tended to contain more women than men. (20) The wives and families of men serving onboard ships of the Royal and Merchant Navy account for much of this imbalance, but the census also reveals an unusually large number of single,

unattached women as well. Prostitution was common in Plymouth as it was in Portsmouth and Southampton and although neither the 'notes for guidance' nor the propriety of the Victorian census enumerators allow us any clear picture of the true number of women so employed, the occasional use of a euphemism in the 'occupations' column of the record does confirm their presence in the town. (21)

Predictably the map showing the distribution of migrants from so-called 'seaboard counties' (which includes Anglesey and the other offshore British Islands) is less well defined. (Figure 4). However, the hint of a concentration in the area around Millbay Dock does reflect the origins of many migrants in other dockyard towns and ports. Moreover, while many would have been unskilled labourers at the daily beck-and-call of the wharfingers, others possessed skills which afforded them greater prosperity and enabled them to meet the higher rents of newer housing on the northern edge of the town. Thus a secondary concentration can be picked out in those areas. There were people from Chatham, Portsmouth, Sheerness, Pembroke and the Channel Islands in these areas of Plymouth and the census of 1871 showed not only a substantial increase in the number of migrants from these sources but also a higher level of residential segregation.

Occupations

So far the relationship between the birthplaces and the occupations of Plymouth's in-migrants has only been touched upon where it seemed to explain their residential distribution. The detailed pattern of employment revealed in the analysis of the 1851 manuscript census is too complex to enable a satisfactory description to be attempted here, but the much-simplified breakdown of occupations shown in Table 2 does make one important point very clear. People from different origins displayed markedly different occupational compositions. As referred to earlier, the Irish were dominated by general labourers, while the Cornish contained the largest percentage of domestic servants. As might be expected, those migrants born in 'seaboard counties' tended to be employed either in the 'professions, army, navy, or government service' or in industries (especially those connected with the docks). Plymouth's Devon-born inhabitants were well-represented in all the major occupation groups, but dominated the town's manufacturing industry. Thus, in seeking to explain the pattern of migration to mid-nineteenth century Plymouth shown by the manuscript census returns, it is important to add to the list of factors already considered earlier in this article the demand in the town for particular skills. Migrants tended to be drawn from areas where such skills were in abundance and so added to the growing prosperity and development of the town.

Conclusion

Migration clearly played a key role in shaping the social geography of Plymouth during the last century. This article has argued that inhabitants of the town from different origins not only exhibited different occupational structures, but also different residential distributions. The social and demographic composition of the various migrant groups also differed, and while these patterns did not remain static from one census to the next, analysis of later enumerations has tended to confirm that the broad contrasts described in this short article tended to persist. Nineteenth-century cities generally were rapidly becoming 'multi-cellular' in social

character; the divisions between rich and poor became more sharply focussed. The process of social sifting and sorting which produced such divisions owes much to the arrival of migrants. The tendency of some groups to cleave together in tight-knit communities produced in Plymouth a new social mosaic which exerted a profoundly important effect on the evolution of the town in Victorian times.

Footnotes:

- (1) Modern Plymouth is a union of three towns: Plymouth, East Stonehouse and Devonport. This study refers to Plymouth and East Stonehouse, but not to Devonport which was administratively separate from Plymouth until 1914.
- (2) It is possible in many cases to fill in some details about the movements of an in-migrant from the various birthplaces of children born to the family and recorded in the manuscript census. At best, however, such information is likely to be only an erratic guide to any intervening moves.
- (3) Even when the Three Towns were legally joined in 1914, Plymouth was still only a County Borough. City status was not achieved until 1928.
- (4) For example 41% of the Cornish-born, 36% of the Irish-born and 33% of the 'Seaboard Counties' migrants were in this age group in the 1851 census of Plymouth.
- (5) See: Brayshay, M. and V. Pointon 'Local politics and public health in mid-nineteenth-century Plymouth', *Medical History*, 1983, vol 27: 162-78.
- (6) William White. *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Devonshire*, Sheffield, 1850. pp 652-3.
- (7) See also: *Post Office Directory of Devonshire*, London, 1956, p. 22.
- (8) By 1889 *Kelly's Directory of Devonshire* (p.367) comments 'it may be noted as a matter of interest that a considerable part of the costumes displayed in the great London warehouses of Peter Robinson, Whiteley and others, are made in Plymouth'.
- (9) Brayshay, M. 'Government assisted emigration from Plymouth in the nineteenth century', *Rep. Trans. Devon Ass. Advmt. Sci.*, vol 112: 185-213.
- (10) Other researchers have published studies of towns including York, Preston, Nottingham, Chorley, St. Helens, Wigan, Wakefield, Swansea, Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil and Liverpool, to name but a few.
- (11) A good recent summary of work in this field is: Johnson, J. H. and C. G. Pooley, *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, Croom Helm, 1982.
- (12) Of course a range of other sources need to be consulted as well. Directories, rate books, newspapers, contemporary maps and many other documents yield information which can be integrated with census evidence to reconstruct the structure of a town.
- (13) This larger study is the subject of Vivien Pointon's PhD thesis which is in preparation.
- (14) The term 'life-time' migration is commonly used by urban historians to mean a count of people whose place of enumeration on census night was different from their stated place of birth.
- (15) The larger projects are well documented. See for example: Gill, C. *Plymouth: A new history* vol 2. David & Charles, 1979. Plymouth's Local Board of Health was responsible for installing a new sewerage system and for numerous street improvement projects after 1854. See note 5.
- (16) See note 5. The General Board of Health correspondence in the Public Record Office contains further information about Plymouth's unhealthy districts and the squalor of the Irish quarter.
- (17) Seaboard Counties comprise 27 counties of England and Wales which have a sea coast, plus Anglesey and the offshore islands, inevitably some origins (e.g. Kent, Hampshire, Somerset, Dorset and Pembroke) occurred much more frequently than others, but for the purposes of this article the whole group is considered as a single source.
- (18) Only the Plymouth (Watch) Rate Book for 1869-70 survives but this is nevertheless adequate to yield comparative indices for the various districts of the town.

- (19) A recent useful study of domestic service in nineteenth-century Exeter by Jane Emerson appeared in *Devon Historian*, vol 25, 1982, pp 10-14.
- (20) There were only 57 males to every 100 females amongst the Cornish born, this compares with 74 amongst the Devon-born in-migrants and 83 amongst the native population of Plymouth.
- (21) In the 1871 census a group of women in Newport Street were specifically recorded as prostitutes but this was not a usual practice amongst the enumerators. Under the terms of the Contagious Diseases Act local police forces were required to return the number of brothels in urban areas and figures for Plymouth in the 1880s disclose that there were 500 women in 'Greater Plymouth' resident in brothels at that time. See: Walkowitz, J. 'The making of an outcast group: Prostitutes and working women in nineteenth century Plymouth and Southampton' in *A Widening Sphere: Changing roles of Victorian Women* ed by Martha Vicinus, Indiana UP, 1977 pp 72-93.

GEORGE BROOKE OF WHIMPLE, 1785--c.1850

Greg Finch

'The state of agricultural distress, which now prevails throughout England, has induced me to offer for the perusal of persons of my immediate neighbourhood the following pages. Not from the smallest idea that the mode of composition or the incidents contained therein will afford the enlightened reader the slightest amusement, but from the hope that the unvarnished and, I fear, imperfect narrative may render at least some assistance to the unfortunate and speculating agriculturist; as well as to persons of circumscribed incomes, who may from necessity or otherwise entertain intentions of emigrating to Upper Canada.'

So begins an account, written in 1823, of the topography and colonial economic life of what is now part of the Canadian State of Ontario, together with hints to potential emigrants. The 15,000 word draft was never published but remains an interesting description of early colonial Canada at a time when emigration schemes to the Dominions were being much discussed.(1)

Of more direct interest to us is that its author was a Devonian farmer and landowner by the name of George Brooke, and that the second half of the recently discovered small leather-bound notebook in which he described his Canadian travels, made between August 1822 and January 1823, contains drafts of business and other letters written over the ensuing four or five years which convey some idea of the activities and attitudes of a member of the lesser Devon gentry in the difficult post-Napoleonic Wars period.(2) In many ways George's background makes it surprising that he should have undertaken such a dangerous and ambitious journey, for his family had been deeply rooted in their own small estate just outside Whimple village in East Devon for at least a century. On Benjamin Donn's Map of Devon, made in 1765, his grandfather Elijah Brook is described as 'Esq.'(3) and when the Land Tax records begin in 1780 Elijah appears as master of Slewton and Perriton estate, paying £19 10s. 8d., which suggests a modest nominal annual value of just under £100.(4)

George was born at Slewton in 1785(5) and came into possession of that farm in 1809, the year of his marriage to Susan, the daughter of William Guppy Esq. of Farway. It was a match that no doubt consolidated his position as a landowner of modest means. With the acquisition of a few small tenements during the War years, the Brooke estate covered 318 acres in Whimple by 1842, in which year much of the parish was divided between owner-occupiers except for the larger 870 acre estate owned by Captain Thomas Wentworth Buller.(6) George was, therefore, not without some standing among his neighbours (with whom he haggled over shooting rights, hedge maintenance, field buying and so on), but had neither the material resources or armigerous family heritage to be able to class himself alongside the leading landowners and nobility of the district.

The deferential tone of his many letters to the latter show his awareness of his social position while at the same time demonstrating his obvious belief that it was their responsibility faithfully to represent the views and interests of the Devon yeomanry in Parliament. His determination to promote his own strong opinions comes across clearly from his notebook, and the same energy undoubtedly had a great deal to do with his journey to Canada. In 1820 he had written to Sir Thomas

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.

Dyke Acland, M.P. having been 'requested by the agriculturists of this neighbourhood to return you their sincere thanks for the very able support you have lately given their cause in Parliament' (7) which suggests that he was the informal spokesman of his fellow farmers — perhaps they had decided that he was the most lucid protagonist of their interests.

The proposed experimental easing of Corn Law restrictions in 1825 stirred him to an impassioned plea for the continuation of protection for the English arable farmer in a letter to an un-named peer in April of that year:

'However specious the appearance may be of doing justice to our colonies by allowing importation of their produce to the Mother Country it cannot be held to be a sound policy to give the offspring such a footing and in so doing endanger the parent. . . . If such an attack was made on the mercantile interests the Tables of both Houses of Parliament would groan with petitions, as your Lordship must have found from those classes of society in aid of the most trifling motion. But the English farmer carries on mending his plough more than his pen and being worn out by bodily exertion during the day, instead of employing himself in literary pursuits or being the host house of the day, he is obliged to rest and prepare himself for the fatigues that await him.'

Within a month, in a letter to the 'Hon. y Members of the East Devon (? Division)', he had turned his attention to tithes, which he referred to as:—

'that nursery of dissenters, that bane to agricultural improvements, that bone of contention between the clergyman and his parishioners, that absentee of the minds of the clergy from their religious duties, the system by which tythes are at present exacted. Can it be wondered at that agricultural improvements proceed so slowly in a county such as ours where in most parts the owners and occupiers of lands are obliged to be at so great an expence in draining, and clergymen have the unjust opportunity of taking a tenth of the very first produce of the land so brought into cultivation, which of course includes a tenth of the capital employed and a tenth of the sweat of the poor farmer's brow? Can there be a greater barrier to the labourer receiving sufficient wages than this abuse?'

Brooke's enterprising spirit appears to have had a practical, as well as a literary, form for he was prepared to experiment with hop-growing, which although well suited to the rich soil and kind climate of lowland East Devon was both far removed from the main centres of its culture, in Kent and the Severn Valley, and always something of 'a gambler's crop in mixed farming, encouraging a gambler's attitude' (8) because of the heavy financial outlays involved and the extreme fluctuations in both harvest and price. It was no doubt partly with this in mind that he wrote to Lord Fortescue in December 1823 hoping for his patronage:

'Thinking that your Lordship is willing to promote the growth of your own County I take the liberty of forwarding by the bearer for the inspection of your Lordship's Butler a sample of the hops grown by me in Whimble hoping that your Lordship will order

some for the consumption of your house, and that they may please your Lordship so well as to supersede the necessity of purchasing them from other Counties.'

The gamble, if such as it was, paid off, as a newspaper correspondent reported in September of the following year that Brooke had saved 'in excellent order . . . a fine crop of hops, valued at £500' (9). By 1828 it was reported that the hop produce being picked at Whimble was large and fair: 'the Devonshire hop is making its way in the market, and already takes its station by the side of the best Kents' (10)

Yet there had been financially difficult times for George Brooke, partly connected with the general problems facing English agriculture in the post-1815 depression and, more directly, through a bankruptcy he suffered as a partner in the East Devon Bank of Honiton, which closed its doors in December 1821. Coming within two years of the death of his first wife, Susan, it suggests that he had less than altruistic motives for travelling to Upper Canada in the following year, and was maybe hoping to start a new life abroad. His father, Elijah, had obviously turned his attention to banking as well as building up the Slewton estate during the War, but by the time of his death in 1821 appears to have been in financial straits, which led to some acrimony between George and the other surviving partner, James Townsend. The latter inserted a notice in the *Exeter Flying Post* just before they were declared bankrupt to the effect that

'a sudden and heavy pressure on their Bank having occurred, Mr. Townsend, deprived of the immediate co-operation of his partner, feels it incumbent on him respectfully to solicit the indulgence of the Public for a short time, and to request that all claimants on the firm will have the goodness to wait. . . ' (11)

and within a couple of years George was writing to a creditor accusing Townsend of being the cause of all his troubles. Townsend was in fact the more heavily involved of the pair, for when the Commissioners finally declared a dividend on the Bankrupts' property this was set at 3d. in the pound on Brooke, and at 3s. 4d. in the pound on Townsend. (12)

George obviously saw a connection between this misfortune and the Treasury's decision not to grant him the same relief from Hop Duty that was given to other hop planters in the difficult 1823 season:

'And why is it not granted me? Is it because I have always been a strenuous supporter of the Church, King, and Constitution and in readiness to spend the last drop of my blood for its support? Is it because I have spent hundreds, nay I may say thousands for what I considered to be the well being of the state? Or am I to be branded with the approbaceous epitaph of 'uncertificated Bankrupt' (the meaning of which is worthy less to me than a person that has become so by dishonest practices. . .)'

With creditors at the door the family's setbacks were compounded by the house and farm of Slewton being taken away. The Whimble Land Tax Assessments show that in 1823 they were in the possession of William Guppy who, according to George, had acted with malice towards himself and his sister, despite being his father-in-law.

However, from this low point in his fortunes – to be measured in a relative sense, of course, for his continued ability to go shooting, and travel to London, indeed to Canada just a year before, shows that he was in no way reduced to the level of miserable deprivation experienced by farm labourers at the time – matters slowly improved. His bumper harvest of hops in 1824 undoubtedly helped, but so too did the willingness of friends to lend him the necessary resources to re-obtain Slewtton and get the estate in order. The large number of business letters drafted in his notebook point to the existence of a well developed but scarcely formalised network of credit and obligation between circles of friends and acquaintances of Brooke's class of landowners and professional men in East Devon in the 1820s. Moreover the amount of correspondence he had with Exeter and Honiton solicitors suggests that they played a central role in this network, thus supporting the view that they were of great importance to the development of rural banking in the early 19th century. (13) Forced to rely in one year on the support of others to get out of trouble, six months later he is revealed as the trustee of someone else's estate, later still he is called upon to mediate in a financial dispute between two others. All of this demanded constant contact with various firms of solicitors. Even his own second marriage, to a widow named Sophia Brown, in 1827, was the occasion for much negotiation over the settlement. 'Mrs. Brown will I am sure own to you' he wrote to her solicitors, Messrs. Mortimer and Bishop, 'that I was quite explicit in the first instance to her respecting any future children of ours sharing any part of the property I now possess' and he complained to her about her nominee as a trustee to the estate.

A year later, in December 1827, the deal had evidently been hammered out, the marriage contracted, and George Brooke made his will in which he made provision for all his children and left the Slewtton and Perriton estate to his eldest son, who was also called George. (14) For all his previous intentions to emigrate, first to Canada and then to the West Indies (as he owned to Lord Rolle in a number of letters in 1823), it seems that in the end he could not escape from his family's deep roots in the East Devon countryside. In 1841, described as 'Independent' in the Census, he was still living at Perriton with his two younger children by his first marriage, and George junior was already master of Slewtton, just up the lane. (15) The Brooke family estate remained intact down to the late 19th century, and George junior was owner of it all by 1851. (16) His father was listed as late as 1849 in the Voting Register (17) but it is curious that he is not commemorated on the plain white marble Brooke family monument to be found on the south wall of St. Mary's church at Whimple. Could it be that, even in his declining years, George Brooke had, with his firebrand energy, incurred the displeasure of his own family?

- (1) W. S. Shepperson: *British Emigration to North America* (1957), ch.2
- (2) in the possession of Miss V. J. Finch. Unless stated otherwise all quotes in this article are taken from letters in this notebook.
- (3) *Benjamin Donn's Map of the County of Devon, 1765* (1965) Sheet 7a.
- (4) D.R.O. Whimple Land Tax Assessments. Tax levied at 4s. in the pound.
- (5) D.R.O. Whimple parish register.
- (6) D.R.O. Whimple parish Tithe Map and Apportionment, 1842.
- (7) D.R.O. 1148M /add 36 /355.
- (8) P. Mathias: *The Brewing Industry in England, 1700-1830* (1959), p.486.

- (9) *Exeter Flying Post* 30 Sept. 1824. p.4
- (10) *Exeter Flying Post* 18 Sept. 1828, p.2
- (11) *Exeter Flying Post* 29 Nov. 1821, p.4
- (12) *Exeter Flying Post* 18 Oct. 1827, p.2
- (13) W. Minchinton: 'Introduction' to *Capital Formation in South West England*, Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 9, (1978), pp. 7-8
- (14) D.R.O. 282M /wills B18
- (15) 1841 Census Enumerators Schedules P.R.O. HO107/210/11
- (16) 1851 Census Enumerators Schedules P.R.O. HO107/1866/1
- (17) D.R.O. Devon Voters Book, 1849.

NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Mark Brayshay is a lecturer in Geography at Plymouth Polytechnic.

Vivien Pointon is preparing a Ph.D thesis under the supervision of Dr. Brayshay on the subject of Migration and the Growth of Mid-Nineteenth Century Plymouth.

Valerie Belsey, an extra-mural lecturer, has been leading the Green Lanes project since March, 1983. Her future aim is to establish a Museum of Roads.

John Parr, whose M.A. is in War Studies, became interested in local history through involvement in the Green Lanes project.

Greg Finch is at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, preparing a Ph.D. thesis on Devon's 19th century development in the context of national industrialisation.

John Yallop, honorary curator of Honiton Museum, is preparing a Ph.D. thesis in the Department of Economic History, University of Exeter, on the history of the Honiton lace industry.

THE MAKING OF A MYTH — THE ORIGIN OF HONITON LACE

H. J. Yallop

At least twenty-five authors of books have claimed, either tentatively or unconditionally, that the Honiton lace industry originated with an influx of refugees in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. These are usually described as Flemings who had fled from the Alva persecutions around 1570. The story has been repeated in a large number of newspaper and magazine articles. At first sight this is an impressive body of testimony which most people accept without question. However, I have found that on investigation it is a great deal less impressive than it appears and that there is good reason to believe that the story has no foundation in fact. In short, that it is a modern myth. (1)

None of the authors offers any primary evidence in support of the contention and, despite diligent search, I have been unable to find any. I am not alone in this failure for in 1953 (2) R. Pearse made a public appeal for evidence and received none. Nor has any been forthcoming in the subsequent thirty years.

In the absence of primary evidence several attempts have been made to support the story by deductions. The best known of these is that put forward by Mrs Palliser, (3) "Towards the latter end of the sixteenth century various, and, indeed, numerous patronymics of Flemish origin appear among the entries in the church registers still preserved in Honiton". She specified the names as Burd, Genest, Raymunds, Brock, Couch, Gerard, Murck, Stocker, Maynard, Trump and Groot. However, she quoted no authority for her assertion that the names are Flemish. Most of them are considered by Reaney (4) and in no instance does he suggest a Flemish origin. In some cases he gives the earliest known date of the use of the name in England and these are, Burd (1275), Raymunds (1086), Brock (1119), Couch (1279), Gerard (1086), Murch (1327), Stocker (1275), Maynard (1086) and Trump (1235). It is apparent, therefore, that even if these names could be regarded as of Flemish origin their use in England long before the invention of lace making vitiates any argument based on them for an influx of Flemings in the later 16th Century.

Quite apart from these considerations Mrs Palliser's statement is, in any case, not true. I appear to be the only person in the last 120 years sceptical enough to have examined the Honiton church registers in this connection and I have found that none of these names appears in the latter part of the 16th Century. The earliest entries for the names before the 19th Century are as follows:— Burd (1615), Genest (1753), Raymunds (no entries), Brock (isolated entry for 1565, then 1727), Couch (1607), Gerard (no entries), Murck (no entries, but Murch appears in 1773), Stocker (no entries), Maynard (1753), Trump (1717) and Groot (no entries, but Croot appears in 1790). Since the industry is known to have been well established by 1617 (5) it is evident that virtually none of the people with these names can in any way have been involved in its origin, and none at all if this is, as claimed, in the 16th Century.

Another argument sometimes put forward in support of the Flemish refugee hypothesis is that there is a resemblance in design between Honiton and Brussels laces. This argument cannot be applied to the earlier period since no piece of lace is at present known which can be shown unequivocally to have been made in Devon

in the 16th, 17th and much of the 18th Centuries. There is a resemblance in the 19th Century, but this was a period when much copying went on and imitations of foreign laces were made in Devon. In any case a 19th Century comparison of a material which followed the ever changing dictates of fashion is valueless as evidence for an event said to have occurred some 300 years previously.

There are a number of arguments against the hypothesis, the simplest of which is the commonsense one of geographical improbability. Flanders lies to the east of England and the direct route for refugees would be into the mouth of the Thames, Essex and East Kent. There are records (6) which show that refugees arrived and settled in those areas. In contrast a voyage to East Devon would involve sailing through the Straits of Dover and down channel for some 250 miles, passing many ports on the way, in order to land on an open beach. No propounder of the hypothesis has offered any explanation for such a bizarre undertaking, or has even considered the point. It might be argued that the refugees were following the trade route of the Devon cloth industry, but then, surely, they would have put into Exeter, the maritime centre of the trade.

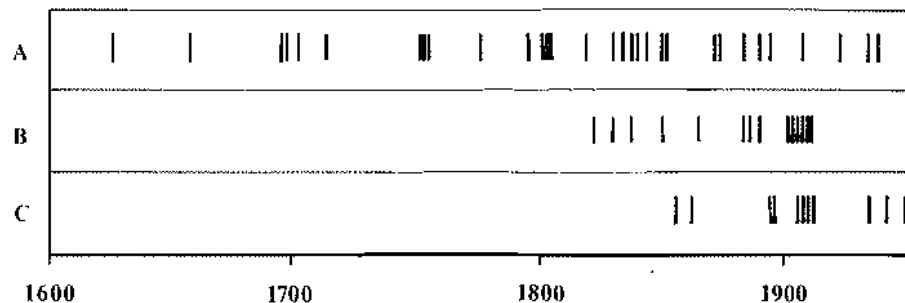
Although there are records of landings on the east coast of England there are none of refugees arriving in East Devon. Supporters of the hypothesis are therefore faced with the dilemma that there is a lace industry in an area where there is no record of the arrival of refugees, but no lace industry in the area where they are known to have arrived and settled. The obvious inference is that there is no connection between Flemish refugees and the origin of the lace industry in East Devon.

A revised version of Mrs Palliser's book was published in 1910. The revisers were clearly doubtful of the validity of the Flemish refugee story and inserted the following into the text. "On the other hand, if there had been any considerable number of Flemings in Devonshire, they would surely have founded a company of their Reformed Church, and no reference is found in the published books of the archives of the London Dutch Church of any such company in Devonshire, whereas references abound to places in the Eastern Counties and Midlands where Flemings were settled."

It will be seen that the idea that the Honiton lace industry was founded by Flemish refugees is unsupported by primary evidence, that the arguments put forward to support it do not stand up to critical examination and that there are some positive reasons to suggest that the hypothesis is without foundation. It is of interest, therefore, to consider how the idea arose.

I have been able to locate 55 authors (7) who make some mention of the Honiton lace industry. They may be divided into three categories. These are:— A — those who make no reference to the origin of the industry; B — those who refer to the refugee hypothesis conditionally, using some such expression as "it is thought that"; C — those who state definitely that it was introduced by refugees. The three categories are represented chronologically in the diagram. This covers the period from 1600 to 1950 and each of the authors is depicted by a mark at the appropriate date in the line A, B or C.

A study of the diagram reveals the very significant fact that no references to the refugee hypothesis occurs until 1822, some two and a half centuries after the supposed event. This is a conditional reference; the first categorical statement does not appear until 1857, and then only by an anonymous writer in Billings Directory of Devon. The reference of 1822 appears in the classic work of Devon history, Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume VI. A detailed study of the actual wording used



by the writers in categories B and C leaves little room for doubt that all the subsequent ones are derivative from Lysons. In many cases the wording has a close similarity and none of the writers offers any authority for what they state. It appears, therefore, that Lysons' text is fundamental to the whole hypothesis and the question then arises as to where Lysons obtained his information. Owing to a piece of good fortune in document survival I have been able to identify his source.

Daniel Lysons collected information by correspondence and the letters he received have survived. One of these contains information about the Honiton lace industry (8) and was written by Mr Courtenay Gidley from Honiton on 24 April 1820. Mr Gidley was a solicitor in practice in the town, was the Steward of the Honiton Charities and, judging by a surviving manuscript book, was conversant with the history of the town. He was, therefore, a suitable person to provide information on the lace industry. The part of his letter relating to the origin of the industry is as follows:—

As to the Honiton lace manufactory there is no record or tradition when it was first established — But we have certain data whereby we are induced to believe that it flourished in the 16th Century — As we have it on record that James Rodge a lace manufacturer of Honiton was a Benefactor of £100 to the Public Charities of Honiton in 1633 — and that Thomas Humphrey an^{or} lace manufacturer of Honiton was a Benefactor of £20 to those charities in 1658 — But the opinion of the manufacturers here is that it was bro^t into England by the Lollards who took refuge here in the 14th Century from the religious persecutions in Germany and that many of them settled on the East Coast of Devon and in confirmation of their opinion as to their settlement it is a well known fact that the lacemakers of Devonsh. are only to be found between the Rivers Ax and Exe and in all the villages & hamlets throughout that line of coast hence to the first market towns inland Those emigrants are said to have come from Michlin Brussels Ghent Antwerp and Bruges and to have also bro^t into Devonshire the manufacture of woollens

There does not appear to be any good reason why the lace manufacturers of Honiton in 1820 should be a reliable source for an opinion on an historical topic. Such doubt is fully justified for it would seem difficult to include more historical

misinformation into such a small compass as that given by Gidley. The 14th Century is much too late for the introduction of the woollen industry and it is known that there was a fulling mill in Honiton in 1244 (9). It is far too early for the lace trade, since lace is essentially a development of the 16th Century. The Lollards were English followers of John Wycliffe (10) and, although they were persecuted for their religious beliefs, this took place in England. The towns listed are all in Flanders and Brabant and have never formed part of Germany.

Gidley himself appears to be in error over his centuries. He suggests that the industry flourished in the 16th Century but supports this with two 17th Century dates. It may be that he made the not uncommon error of confusing the name of the century with the dates in it, i.e. he referred to the 1600's as the 16th Century.

In Lysons' hands the information supplied by Gidley was transformed into:—

The manufacture of bone or thread lace at Honiton... was introduced probably in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (p cccv). This is said to have been the first town in the county in which serges were made; both this manufacture and that of lace, for which Honiton has long been celebrated, are supposed to have been introduced by the Lollards, who came to England during the religious persecutions in Flanders (p 280)

It will be seen that he totally ignored Gidley's clear statement that there is no record or tradition, preferring to use the opinion of the lace manufacturers. However he transferred the whole process forward by two centuries but retained the Lollards, who by that time had died out, and transferred them from Germany to Flanders. Sources of historical information were less readily available in 1820 than they are today. We may, therefore, find some excuse for Gidley failing to recognise the nonsensical nature of the lace manufacturers' opinion. There is much less excuse to be found for Lysons who was in Holy Orders, a Master of Arts and a Fellow of the Royal Society: at the very least he should have had a correct knowledge of the Lollards.

It will be seen that the whole structure of the hypothesis that lacemaking was brought to East Devon by Flemish refugees is founded on a passage in Gidley's letter, in itself nonsense, as altered by Lysons. In view of the totally erroneous nature of the views expressed by the lace manufacturers it is apparent that the story is a great structure built on a non-existent foundation. The failure to find any primary evidence is, therefore, entirely explicable.

In *The Devon Historian* No. 4, April 1972, Hugh Peskett published a paper on the problems of writing local history. He wrote "... the greatest danger is from past historians" and "The moral of this is to accept nothing without a contemporary source being quoted, and that nothing acquires reliability by being printed". The story of the Flemish refugee hypothesis for the origin of the Honiton lace industry serves as An Awful Warning to historians of the truth of Peskett's observations. In view of the tenacity with which entirely baseless opinions are held it will probably be a very long time before this myth is generally discredited.

References

- (1) H. C. Wylde. *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*. Myth. 2. Generally a. An imaginary, fictitious, person, event, or thing. b. a fictitious story.
- (2) R. Pearce. *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*. Vol. XXV p106.

- (3) Mrs. B. Palliser. *History of Lace*. 1865 and subsequent editions.
- (4) P. H. Reaney. *A Dictionary of British Surnames*. 1958. Similar information is given in other like sources.
- (5) Inscription on the tomb of James Rodge in Honiton churchyard.
- (6) Calendars of the State Papers, Domestic, for the second half of the 16th Century.
- (7) The list is too cumbersome for inclusion here. It will be published in due course in a full discussion of the history of the industry.
- (8) B. M. Add. MS. 9427, Item 255; available on microfilm in the West Country Studies Library.
- (9) W. G. Hoskins. *Devon*. 1972.
- (10) See e.g. K. B. McFarlane. *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity*. 1952.

A SNUB FOR POLWHELE

The following letter, reproduced in *The Devon Churchman*, vol.1, no.10, 1883, was submitted by Mr G. J. Paley.

J. Acland to Richard Polwhele.

Broadclyst, Jan. 17, 1791

Sir, — When a man of your parts and abilities submits to a laborious compilation of such uninteresting matters and events as the History of a County can afford, merely to gratify a little provincial vanity, I think he is justly entitled to every assistance that individuals can supply him with. I should therefore most readily comply with your requisitions, were I at all capable of furnishing you with materials. But the truth is, that the subject of your enquiries is altogether out of my walk. I concern myself as little about the memorabilia of Devon, as I do about those of the Cape of Good Hope. Exclusive of your two personal enquiries (the answer of which alone would argue great vanity, and but little sense), there is scarce a single article upon which I could give you any information. I cannot so much as tell you to what Saint the church is dedicated at all. But though I cannot, Mr. Hugh Acland, of Exmouth, can supply you with as much information respecting families, change of property, &c., as most men. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

J. Acland.

JEFFCOTT v. HENNIS

Geoffrey J. Paley

Judicial combat is said to have been a Teutonic institution — an appeal from human justice to the God of battles. The Council of Trent banned “the detestable use of duels, an invention of the devil to compass the destruction of souls together with a bloody death of the body”. Parliament prohibited the practice in 1819. The last duel to be associated with Exeter was fought on Haldon Racecourse on the 10th May 1833.



Sir John Jeffcott

John Jeffcott, a Kerryman from Tralee, gained his M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin in 1825 and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple the following year. Two years later he commenced to bombard the Colonial Office with applications for a legal appointment in the colonies. He was offered the position, in January 1830, of Chief Justice of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, where he devoted his

energies to the suppression of dealing in slaves. He served there for two years and returned to the U.K. in May 1832 and soon applied to the Colonial Office for a transfer to a more healthy colony and for the conferment of a knighthood.

In Exeter, he had become engaged to one of the daughters of Lt. Col. John Macdonald, the youngest son of the celebrated Flora Macdonald. John, a military engineer, had settled in Southernhay Place, Exeter, after a long and distinguished service with the East India Company. His home is now covered by Broadwalk House in Southernhay West and his memorial on the wall of the north aisle of Exeter Cathedral shows that he had died on the 16th August 1831. He had married twice. His second wife was the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of Bengal, and it was Sir Robert's widow and his fiancée's grandmother, whom Jeffcott approached in his search for assistance in obtaining a post in a more healthy colony.

Meanwhile Jeffcott's extended home leave had come to an end and the Colonial Office required him to return to Sierra Leone. He was knighted by the King on the 1st May 1833 and ordered to sail from Plymouth on HMS Britomart. At Plymouth, he found that the date of departure had been postponed and he returned to Taunton for a Masonic dinner. The following day, he dined with friends at the Clarence in Exeter. Here he was told that Dr. Hennis had made injurious statements about him to the Macdonalds.

Peter Hennis had been born in Co. Cork and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He had studied medicine in London, Paris and Edinburgh, where he took his M.D. He had practised in Exeter as a physician for about four years (which included the cholera visitation of 1832).

Jeffcott wrote an indignant letter to the Doctor, who on finding that he had left the Clarence, met him by chance in Paris Street. Peter Hennis denied having made the remarks which had been attributed to him, whereupon Jeffcott called him a "calumniating scoundrel". Despite attempts at mediation the Judge would not accept Dr. Hennis's explanation nor would he withdraw his own remarks.

That afternoon, Jeffcott accompanied by his seconds Charles Milford and Robert Holland hired a post-chaise to Haldon Racecourse. They were followed in another chaise by Hennis and his second Capt. George Halstead, R.N. The Doctor had told his second before the duel, that it was not his intention to fire his pistol, but when the combatants had been placed Sir John unintentionally fired on the command "prepare". The shot wounded the Doctor and Sir John walked over and asked his forgiveness. Although in considerable pain the Doctor forgave him, but repeated his denial of the offensive remarks attributed to him. The wounded man was carried to a post-chaise and in half an hour was back in Exeter, where he lingered in great pain until his death on the 18th. The post mortem found a piece of Haldon flint as well as a bullet in the wound. Public opinion was outraged for Dr. Hennis had been very popular. Dr. Shapter described him as a "tall, comely, courteous gentleman", who had greatly distinguished himself by his devotion to the sick and the dying during the terrible visitation of the cholera in 1832. Dr. Shapter had good reason to know him for he was appointed physician to the Exeter Dispensary (1) on 29th May 1833 in succession to Dr. Hennis. The "Exeter Flying Post" of the 24th May estimated that between two and three hundred gentlemen "all on terms of intimacy and friendship with the deceased", followed the coffin, which was carried by sixteen of his friends, from his lodgings opposite the Half Moon Hotel to St. Sidwell's church. The inscription on the damaged tomb, (2) on

the right hand side of the entrance to the churchyard reads: "Sacred to the memory of Peter Hennis M.D./who died 18th May 1833/in the 31st year of his age".

Jeffcott and his seconds posted on to Chudleigh. They returned to Exeter and he to Plymouth and HMS Britomart. The Inquest jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Jeffcott and the three seconds. The seconds were tried at the Exeter Assizes, but despite a clear direction from the Judge, they were found not guilty. A warrant could not be served on Jeffcott in Sierra Leone as he had left for France. He surrendered to the Exeter Assize Court in March 1834 – as no evidence was offered by the prosecution he was acquitted. After two years in limbo, he was selected for the office of Judge in South Australia. He did not live long for the "Gentleman's Magazine" of October 1838 carried his obituary – drowned with Capt. Blenkinsop and two others by the swamping of a boat in the River Murray. The news of his death is said to have reached Exeter on the 18th May – the anniversary of the duel.

Lt. Col. Macdonald's widow Frances Maria moved to Cheltenham where she died in 1860 aged 85. Her elder daughter Flora Frances married E. R. Wyld in December 1845. The two pistols came into the possession of Dr. Arscott and were offered for sale by auction, with some pictures and curiosities when Arscott's home, 5 Southernhay, was sold after his death.

References

- (1) The Exeter Dispensary was established in 1818 and stood in Friernhay Street. It had an important function in offering medicine and advice to the inhabitants of Exeter and St. Thomas, who were suffering from "fevers and contagious disorders". These cases could not be admitted to the Devon & Exeter Hospital.
- (2) The tomb survived the air raid which destroyed St. Sidwell's Church, but has since been damaged, according to a former Rector, by children.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Editor thanks those members who sent in lists of local events and people who might be commemorated in the next few years. The Committee will be considering these suggestions (and any others you may send in) at its next meeting.

THE MSC GREEN LANES PROJECT:
a trial system for recording and researching information

Valerie Belsey and J. M. Parr

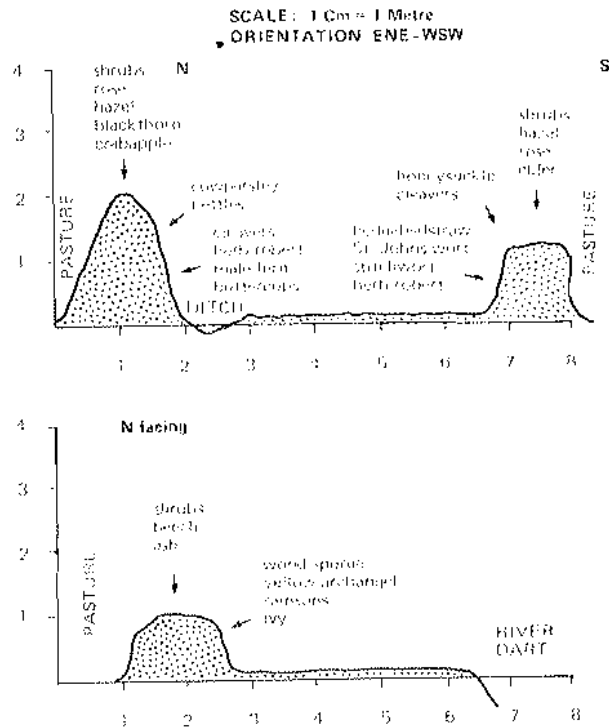
This Manpower Services Commission project, sponsored by Dartington Institute, began in March 1983 with an experimental identify/survey/research stage in the Torbay area (SX 86/96 2½ in. OS map). Following identification of a possible green lane, our work force surveyors record its present condition and ecology, noting any available historical information.

Recording the data

The method of recording has been initially based on the following categories:—

(1) *Physical Evidence.* e.g. Width; Height; Surface; Stone-walling; Ditching; Hedge-banks; Hedges (Hooper's theory — 30 pace count of different species of shrubs and trees).

One or more lane profiles are then prepared as illustrated.



Lane profiles: SX66/76 743694—734692

Clearly there is a wealth of information here: width can suggest the mode of common transport — sledge, cart, waggon, pack-horse, mail or stage coaches, etc. Once the Ashburton and Dartmouth areas have been added to our survey records, it will be possible to produce some tables relating the width of lanes in coastal, lowland and highland zones. Height or depth of a holloway can indicate age, but, as with Hooper's hedge-dating theory, all kinds of variables are present. For instance, the depth may be dependent on the fact that some farmers used lane routes for transferring cattle regularly from one part of their property to another and the accrued dung was subsequently dug out along with some topsoil and used as manure, so deepening the lane over a period of years. Once again, evidence from different areas will go a long way in clarifying these queries. The surface and the profile help us to date the lane in relation to the use of metalled surfaces, for not all green lanes are unmetalled despite the Countryside Commission's definition of a green lane as 'an unmetalled track which may or may not be a right of way'. The drainage of the surface (still a problem today) may show evidence of Phillip's (1) concave road with water running down the middle, Procter's (2) convex road form with prepared foundations or Scott's (3) Ploughman's Road — flat above the adjacent land level with deep ditches either side. Road chippings, gravel and tar-macadaming all belong to a later date.

Set stones have been found at SX 896637-896634 on the old Paignton road, Doney's Lane, and it has been suggested that they were there to prevent hooves slipping on the surface. At SX 810652-803653 Broadhempston, Slipperstone Lane was so called because the presence of cobbles along this old parish road made it slippery.

In the future we intend to make some cross-sections of road surfaces and to take some trial holes to help with dating. Stone-walling varies greatly from region to region and although as yet it is not clear just how this might help in dating a lane it seems worthwhile to record the varieties for future consideration. Some stone and earth banks with a ledge suggest that pack-horses once used the way and the ledges gave clearance for the packs as at Rattery's Luscombe Lane (SX 66176, 738635-747647). Ditches are recorded within and without the lanes and we live in hope of discovering evidence of wooden drainage systems or Victorian drainage tiles.

(2) *Geographical position of the lane.* The early route makers would not have gone against the lie of the land through which they were travelling. We consider its relation to other lanes in a similar condition in the area. The categories are as follows: Lowland; Highland; Ridgeway; Valley; Course of stream; Through/round wood; Across water; Coastal area.

Then follows a series of categories concerned with the course of the lane:—

(3) *Leading to or adjacent to place for agricultural purposes.* Use of adjacent land; Enclosing farm land; Field barn or other building; Woodlands; Timber; Charcoal burning; Site of other farming activity.

(4) *Leading to or adjacent to gathering place.* Annual/Seasonal event; Hunt meeting; Gathering herbs, fruit, vegetables; Wrestling; Recreational area; Bear baiting/cock fighting; Open air meeting; Sport.

(5) *Leading to or adjacent to industrial site.* Quarry; Lime kiln; Fishing; Osier beds; Other.

(6) *Leading to or adjacent to* Monument; Earthwork; Site of battle; Religious site; Church; Chapel; Other dwelling; Other village; Other town; Other port; Creek; Well; Over bridge.

We also consider routes which were not followed or connected to others:—

(7) *Leading from main route:* For illegal purposes; Poaching; Dissenters; Short cut; Avoidance of turnpike route.

(8) We consider the *users:* Walkers for access to any in 1-6 and 9; Horses; Farmers; Gamekeepers; Drovers; Trailers; To place of work; Army route; Hucksters. (This is a very dubious category as we could include anything down to Mavis going for tea at Auntie Maud's!)

(9) *Trade* is another complicated category requiring much research. Non-perishables: Stone and minerals; Wicker; Leather; Wood; Cloth; Candles; Oil; Iron; Paper. Perishables: Seaweed; Vegetables; Fruit; Fish; Wine; Cider; Flour; Cattle; Milk; Grain; Bread.

Lane names are obtained from OS maps and local inhabitants. Evidence recorded so far suggests that lane names fall into categories such as:—

- (a) Place names related either to village, e.g. Marldon Lane or orientation to village e.g. West Lane.
- (b) The activity to which the lane leads, e.g. Windmill Lane, or what it is associated with as a route, e.g. Tanyard Lane.
- (c) The condition of the lane, e.g. Stoney Lane.
- (d) Incident related to lane, e.g. Washpole Lane (Dartmouth area), Saturday's Lane (Lane in Paignton associated with work at weekends perhaps?)

Historical Research on Green Lanes

Dating green lanes is a particularly difficult process; the time gap between existence and first documentation varies considerably, especially with pre-nineteenth century lanes. There is no ready-made solution to overcome such time-gaps. Hedge-dating will give a rough idea of the historical period of the lane, although it is by no means necessarily true that lane and hedge appeared at the same time—or even in the same century. Where there is no documentary evidence for the origin of a green lane, the historian must become surveyor and analyse in detail the lane's position and structure; for instance: a 'V' shaped lane which seems to 'go nowhere' with high earthen banks on both sides probably represents the boundary between two ancient estates. Depth of lane can also give clues to the age of a lane, although, as already stated, the practice of digging up the rich top soil and the debris of lanes by Devon farmers to use as manure on their fields makes such dating uncertain. Depth and width of rutting along a lane can provide information on the type, amount and duration of traffic using the lane. Rutting three feet apart and two inches in width is probable evidence of medieval traffic.

The site and situation of a lane can also help the local historian. A lane that follows an old parish boundary usually indicates antiquity, as does a lane which tends to keep to higher, more open ground, following the crest of hills and from spur to spur if the lane has to cross a valley. Old routes, like water, follow lines of least resistance.

It is important, also, not to neglect the surrounding area: careful note must be made of sites of historic interest which, even if not connected, are near to the lane.



An unusual building in a Green Lane running through Lincombe Quarry, Harberton

And it is not only ancient remains such as barrow and tumulus which are useful in dating a lane; equally helpful are the more contemporary remains of quarry and lime-kiin.

The lane names themselves can be useful signposts to their past: Harper's Hill in Totnes, for instance, has been derived from the Saxon Harepath — an important, possibly military route. Fishchowters Lane, again in Totnes, points to a part of the lane's history when fish pedlars used the lane to gain access to Totnes. Similarly, adjoining field names may provide an important connection between a lane and surviving documentary evidence, especially in charters, deeds and leases.

The historical 'tool kit' currently being used for surveying green lanes is composed mainly of a mixture of old and new maps. Benjamin Donn's map of Devon in 1765 and, to a lesser extent, John Ogilby's map of 1674 provide useful, if general bases. For greater detail we rely on eighteenth and nineteenth century tithe maps and the 2½ inch Ordnance Survey map is invaluable as a 'master map', using the 25 inch version for more detail. We have found that a useful method when starting a historical survey of green lanes is to take a 2½ inch map of the area to be covered and colour each settlement according to the date of establishment, using a different colour for each century. The two volumes of *The Place Names of Devon* by the English Place Name Society are quite invaluable in this respect. The completed map will allow the researcher at a glance to assess the historical importance of individual

and groups of lanes while providing a convenient historical guide for the overall area.

We have found the following sources particularly useful:

The Domesday entry; Place Names of Devon; Manorial Records; Parish Records; Enrolled Deeds; Inclosure Awards; Quarter Sessions relating to Highways; Tithe Maps; Census Returns; Turnpike Trust Records; Highways Boards Returns; Estate Papers; Directories; Newspapers.

Before the coming of the Turnpike Trusts, roads were not maintained by the parishes through which they passed. Much searching of parish records is required to find individual records of lanes. The Quarter Session Order Books contain records of enclosures, stoppings-up, diversions and new roads between 1770 and 1880. Trade patterns must be studied along with demographic changes and occupational changes. Finally, one must never forget the impact of the Turnpike Trusts and the coming of the railways upon existing road systems.

This is an exciting project, still very much in its infancy. Thankfully, the project team has recently been doubled to help with the recording of all this information and ensuring its availability to the public in the form of general and specialised publications. The project also employs a work force engaged in basic lane clearance and the 'tidying up' of any interesting historical evidence we might find such as disused lime kilns or blocked dry bridges.

References:

- (1) Phillips, R. A. A dissertation concerning the Present State of the High Roads of England. (London, 1736/7).
- (2) Procter, Thomas A Profitable Worke to this Whole Kingdom, concerning the mending of all highways. (London, 1607).
- (3) Scott, John Digests of the General Highway and Turnpike Laws. (London, 1778).

ALLHALLOWS MUSEUM, HONITON

A recent reorganisation of some storage cupboards has brought to light a pile of old newspapers given by some past, unrecorded, benefactor. These include numbers 1, 3, 6, 10, 15, 22, 23 and 28 of the newspaper *The Western News*. No. 1 was published on 3.9.1869 and No. 28 on 8.1.1870. This paper, which is not recorded in the Devon Newspapers finding list, was published in Honiton as the local paper and contains news and advertisements from the town and its immediate area, as well as some national and foreign news and miscellaneous anecdotes. The copies are now properly housed and can be made available to Devon historians for consultation by appointment with H. J. Yallop, Hon. Curator.

AN EXHIBITION OF DEVON HISTORY IN 1985 ?

The ways and means discussed: report by John Pike

Representatives of Devon local history societies and officers of the Devon History Society met together at the University of Exeter on 15 October 1983. The President of the Society (Professor Joyce Youings) who presided explained that it was one of the original aims of the Standing Conference when it was founded in 1970 to bring together all groups and individuals interested in or working on the history of Devon; the proposed exhibition was therefore a furtherance of it. She introduced the Vice-Chairman, Mr Robin Stanes, who had first raised the subject. He explained that a very successful joint effort by local history societies in Oxfordshire had taken place recently and proposed that something similar be held in the late-Summer of 1985 possibly in Exeter. He also explained that there were two alternatives; either to have a series of linked displays by the various societies in a public building hired for a week or more, or to have the exhibition on one or more themes made up of items contributed by them.

The year 1985 had been chosen as arrangements were already in hand by the Devonshire Association and the University of Exeter for a Walter Raleigh celebration while in September the Devonshire Association is hoping to cooperate with a Huguenot Society project and with the County of Somerset in commemorating the three-hundredth anniversary of the Monmouth Rebellion.

The Hon. Secretary pointed out that exhibition displays with county-wide themes could be sent around Devon with the help of Devon Library Services and the Area Museums Council of the South West. It was also thought that the County Council might provide some material help. The representative from the South Molton Society said that her group were considering a project involving a detailed survey of the land around South Molton being taken for the North Devon link-road and asked if this was useful if a "theme" approach was adopted. The Hon. Treasurer suggested that if outline plans were prepared and sent out, this and other projects could be recorded and an overall map produced. Mr Yallop of Honiton Museum emphasised the need to make an early decision as display panels were in short supply and that in his view the appointment of an Exhibition Co-ordinator was essential. The Hon. Editor reminded the meeting that the City of Exeter had recently appointed an exhibitions organiser who might be approached. It was agreed that the Society would make formal approaches to Devon Library Services and the Area Museums Council.

There was a discussion as to which would be the best time of year for the exhibition to be mounted. During school-term time was one suggestion but it was finally agreed that a date in mid-July should be aimed for and that it might be opened from mid-week to mid-week or might cover two weekends.

The representative from the Ivybridge Local History Society stressed the need for the chosen themes to be adequately co-ordinated. The Hon. Editor suggested that a list of possible subjects should be sent by the Society to all those interested in taking part so that a decision could be reached at an early stage as to which were likely to be viable. The representative from the Silvertown Local History Society said that he considered that two types of visitor should be catered for, the casual browser

and the committed local historian who would want to spend some time there. A pre-view day was offered as one solution.

The meeting concluded with a request for a general expression of support or otherwise from those present. The response was in favour. It was also noted that other societies had indicated interest also.

On behalf of the Society the President thanked those present for attending and for taking part in the discussions.

Books received:

Bishop Blackall School, Exeter (1877-1983), by M. L. E. Hadden. Published by the Author, 1983. 152pp. £4.80.

Archaeology in Devon: annual report, no.6, 1982-1983. Devon County Council, 1983. 54pp. 40p. ISBN 0 86114 406 6.

Methodism in the South-West: an historical bibliography, by Roger Thorne. Published by the Author, 1983. 56pp. £1.30 from R. F. S. Thorne, 11 Station Road, Topsham.

REVIEWS

Fire!: an account of the Great Fire of Chudleigh, Devon, 22nd May 1807, by Anthony Crockett. Chudleigh, The Author, 1983. 36pp. £1. ISBN 0 9508765 0X.

The research of Jones, Turner and Porter has shown that well over 500 urban fires occurred in England from 1500-1899. (1) They created huge economic problems for almost 50 of the fires destroyed 100 or more houses. The fires also provided an opportunity to 'improve' the town. Reconstruction usually resulted in the replacement of an assemblage of buildings of all ages and styles with a more or less contemporary housing stock of durable and fashionable materials such as brick and slate. This created relatively uniform facades which were pleasing to contemporaries. In addition, selective planning alterations could be undertaken, although the obstinacy of individual landowners tended to militate against this.

The use of combustible building materials led to continued town fires in the south west even into the nineteenth century. This phenomenon was perceived by contemporaries such as Polwhele and some insurance companies charged higher premiums here than in other parts of the country. Much of the published information on rebuilding after fires is antiquated and obscure, and it is therefore particularly welcome to find a modern, well-designed, local study on the effects of Chudleigh's fire, the largest in nineteenth-century Devon.

Colonel Crockett begins by outlining the physical and social structure of this small Devon market town. A table of over 400 individuals losing property or goods in the fire was prepared for the local relief committee in 1808. Most of the sufferers were Chudleigh residents and data from the list was abstracted to provide a unique census of almost 70 different occupations. The community was dominated by its rural hinterland and many of the large class of labourers were undoubtedly connected with agriculture. Unfortunately the trades are not arranged in any particular order, but by adopting Clarkson's (2) occupation classification for pre-industrial towns, the continuing importance of Chudleigh's textile industry is immediately apparent: related trades supported over 17 per cent of the sufferers.

Fanned by a strong wind and fed by thatched roofs the fire burnt virtually unchecked by a society unprepared and ill-equipped to counter it. The only fire-engine was soon burnt and well over two-thirds of the houses destroyed. The Chudleigh Rebuilding Act (3) was passed in 1808 to help overcome some of the difficulties of reconstruction. Why Chudleigh obtained an act is something of a mystery but it is a question which ought to be asked for it was the last of only seven provincial rebuilding acts throughout the country. The legislation provided for settling property disputes, widening the principal street, banning thatch and advocating other changes which reflect current urban taste also found in local improvement acts elsewhere.

This is a study which is strongly influenced by locally available sources. The scant treatment of the mechanisms of rebuilding is partly a reflection of the poor survival of material. But one important source was inexplicably overlooked: the "Judgements, Orders and Decrees of the Commissioners under the Chudleigh Fire Act" (4) in the Devon Record Office which records disputes occasioned by the fire. Thirteen out of the seventeen commissioners who attended also served as members of the earlier relief committee whose stormy meetings Crockett describes. These local characters were certainly colourful, and the rebuilding itself was not without its bizarre aspects. Readers might like to follow the respective fortunes of two inns:

the Cliffords Arms and the Kings Arms (pp. 27-29) which appear to have moved six or seven times during a ten year period. The inns exchanged names, landowners and even sites on occasion, no doubt to the utter confusion of over-indulgent tipplers.

Michael Turner

References

- (1) E. L. Jones, S. Porter & M. Turner, *A Gazetteer of English Urban Fire Disasters, 1500-1900*, (Historical Geography Research Series: Geo. Abstracts, Norwich, forthcoming). E. L. Jones, "Fire disasters: the special case of East Devon", *Devon Historian* no. 20 (1980), pp. 11-17.
- (2) L. A. Clarkson, *The Pre-industrial Economy in England 1500-1750*, (London, 1971).
- (3) Chudleigh Rebuilding Act, 1808 (48 Geo. III c. lxxxix [local & personal]).
- (4) "Judgements Orders and Decrees of the Commissioners under the Chudleigh Fire Act", Q/S B 1814 (Epiphany), Devon CRO.

The Siege of Lyme Regis, by Geoffrey Chapman. Serendip Fine Books, Lyme Regis. 1982. 67pp. £2.95. ISBN 0 9504143 9 5.

Dalwood: A short history of an East Devon village, by G. M. Chapman, the Author. 1983. 52pp. ISBN 0 9508568 0 0. Available at local bookshops, £1.00, or from the author, High Grange, Dalwood, Axminster EX13 7ES, £1.25.

Geoffrey Chapman's account of Lyme Regis during the 1640s radiates a warm attraction on first sight. How refreshing it is to find a book printed on quality paper and cream-tinted at that! None of your eye-straining, penny-pinching, near tissue stuff here. And even a fold-out map and facsimile letter: unaccustomed luxuries at this modest price.

Not that these sentiments are intended to detract from the success of the author whose words are so satisfyingly displayed. On the contrary, this is a very fine blend from two pairs of clearly perceiving eyes: those of Edward Drake whose contemporary diary of the events around Lyme Regis during those heroic eight weeks in 1644 is an inescapable source book and our modern-day author who enables his reader to realise these actions within the context of the modern town.

Besides much background information on the muskets and ordnance, the terrain, the historical prelude and the participants, Geoffrey Chapman has deduced a most interesting probable line for the town's defences. Yet he at once invites his readers to walk the modern town and decide for themselves where the defences may have been, a prospect made "more enjoyable by the knowledge that one's own guess is as likely to be right as that of anyone else".

Nevertheless, I doubt if many readers could hope to be so enthusiastically steeped in the atmosphere of Lyme's siege as this author. It is no mere academic who, recounting the arrival of a further 14 ships, adds "it must have been a splendid sight - someone should do a painting..." At least a splendid book now does exist.

The same author's *Dalwood: A short history of an East Devon village* continues in similar refreshing style, producing (in spite of his protests that it is intended for local consumption rather than the serious historian) a scholarly local history study. Yet one which does not forget to explain feudal terms and other specialist words as they occur.

This is essentially a book without chapters. Nor is it relentlessly governed by chronological sequence. Instead we find sixty or so sub-headings each with a few

paragraphs of facts and pertinent observations on topics such as A Notable Schoolmaster; Decay of the Field Paths; The Evening Pint; An Admiralty Signal Station; The Parish Hedge ("Dalwood parish boundaries, seen on the map, somewhat resemble a T-shirt"); A Tudor Dads' Army. Maybe it should have been titled 'Dalwood Notes & Queries'! It is certainly a fine record of research and includes considerably more information than the author's earlier, 1978, history. Just one small regret, that the reproduction of the Dalwood Enclosure map was not split between the two inside covers to avoid loss of detail along the spine.

David Edmund

Three generations in the Honiton lace trade, by Margaret Tomlinson. Exeter, Devon Print Group, 1983. 94pp. £3.95. ISBN 0 9508574 0 8.

An errant brother, brought up as a cannibal, wishing to have his way with all the girls in the village is only one of the many extraordinary characters to be met with in the three generations of the title.

Other members of the family were more staid - Abigail Chick the farmer's wife who became a lace dealer in the early 19th century and had many adventures as she travelled all over England and Scotland with her wares; her son Samuel opened a lace shop in Weymouth where in later days he was a noted sight as he was propelled along in his invalid chair by a large dog trotting behind him. John Tucker, Abigail's son-in-law was probably the largest employer in the area around Branscombe and an astute lace merchant. He had a shop in London and supplied fine quality lace for various members of the Royal family. Duplicates of some of these are illustrated in the book and the photographs do justice to the exquisite workmanship. Unfortunately there are not many pieces shown, and the reader will not discover where they may see the originals as they are not captioned - some, I believe, are at Buckland Abbey near Yelverton in Devon.

Other illustrations show some of the women who made the lace in Branscombe but are not mentioned in the text at all. Although the book is sub-titled "a family history", I would have been interested to learn something of the people who made the lace; their training, wages, conditions and more about the origins of the patterns they were using. This is obviously a field still to be explored.

However, I am sure that both local historians and people interested in the history of Honiton lace - if not the practical lace maker who is searching for new designs and stitches - will be fascinated by this well written and attractively presented family history.

Jeremy Pearson

A System of Discipline - Exeter Borough Prison 1819-1863, by W. J. Forsythe. University of Exeter, 1983, 104pp. £3.95. ISBN 0 85989 144 5.

His work on the Exeter Borough Prison has aroused in Mr. Forsythe a positive nostalgia for its regime which had permitted a degree of control by the prisoners over their own lives. The trends in Victorian society were, however, against a system which permitted a humane flexibility and just as the worker's discretion over his life at the workplace was being diminished by greater control by the employer so the prisoner's discretion was being diminished by the centralisation of policy making and the domination of distant authority. Just as the citizen was

regarded as a subject by those in authority so the prisoner was to be regarded as an object, as a number, in the large scale penitentiaries of Victorian Britain which displaced local gaols.

When the new borough prison had been opened in 1819 it had been a source of civic pride. The old Southgate gaol had fallen foul of Howard reformers and physical decay; it had neither sewers nor a chaplain, temporal and spiritual necessities were both neglected. Further, the County had opened a new prison in 1811 and unfavourable comparisons could be made. Under such pressures, articulated by S. F. Milford JP, Exeter Council decided to build a new prison at an eventual cost of £13,000. The new prison, however, acquired the old Southgate gaoler, John Gully, as Governor and in the best traditions of Tory Exeter he and his family ran the prison for the rest of its life; his daughter and wife were matrons, his son was successively schoolmaster, taskmaster and governor and the son's wife too became matron.

The twin aims of the prison of punishment and reform were never reconciled and prison laxity became a complaint of critics after the mid-eighteen thirties as national policy veered towards strict regimes and the 'separate system'. Continual criticism by inspectors favouring the penitential principle sapped local confidence which was finally undermined by governor John George Gully's freelance poultry breeding on the premises and a dispute with the prison doctor which led to accusations of Gully's drunkenness. Finally, an arrangement was made for the prisoners to be transferred to the County prison in 1863 and Gully was pensioned off.

It is clear that neither the Borough prison nor the County penitentiary secured the moral regeneration which advocates so confidently predicted. Mr. Forsythe clearly feels that the relative humanity of the Borough was preferable to the total social control of the County establishment; that the local was preferable to the huge impersonal institution. How, one wonders, will future prison historians view the current concept of the 'penal dustbin'? For Devon historians this is a valuable account of a local institution; in a wider context it should arouse scepticism towards those who have a single-minded confidence in their particular remedy for criminality.

J. H. Porter

North Devon pottery: the seventeenth century, by Alison Grant. University of Exeter, 1983. xvi. 156pp. £9.50. ISBN 0 85989 129 1.

The 'Arte, Misery or Occupation of a potter' in North Devon is comprehensively revealed in this pioneering work which will be of interest to both ceramic and local historians.

This is arguably the first major study of this important industry and Dr. Grant, who lives in North Devon is to be congratulated upon the thoroughness of her research on both sides of the Atlantic. She has examined many facets of the trade; the potters, their place in society, the organisation of the potteries, the range of wares that they produced and how they were marketed. She also discusses at some length the way in which these 'coarse' wares were distributed to the rest of Devon, to Wales, the North West, Ireland, France and to America. It is here particularly that Dr. Grant's undoubted knowledge of seventeenth century maritime affairs has broken new ground, and I feel sure that many readers will be surprised to learn how important the trans-Atlantic trade was during this pre-Industrial age. This was

greatly helped by the network of Devonian settlers along the Eastern seaboard who obviously wished to continue their trading links with Bideford and Barnstaple. The expansion of the potteries in this area was closely interwoven with the fortunes of the fishing and woollen industries of North Devon and I am sure that local historians will find a great deal of new information. Dr. Grant has disturbed the dust from a wide variety of documents and she has assembled a formidable array of facts and figures. Where even she has had to admit to a lack of evidence she has made careful and cautious comparisons, or logical conclusions, with which it is difficult to argue.

This painstaking work was originally compiled for the author's Ph.D. thesis at the University of Exeter and will, no doubt, become the standard work on the subject for many years to come. It is therefore particularly sad that the standard of some of the photographs is so abysmal. The University Press really should have been more careful. However, there are numerous clear maps and graphs which complement the text.

The seventeenth century was certainly the most important period for the North Devon pottery industry, but pots continued to be made there in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Grant may now turn her attention to this similarly neglected field.

Jeremy Pearson

A fortunate place: the history of Slapton in South Devon, by Robin Stanes. Field Studies Council, 1983. 114pp. £2.50. ISBN 0901517 02 X.

After his considerable success in encouraging groups of enthusiasts to study the history of their home area Robin Stanes has now turned his hand to his own former locale. He proves to be an unrepentant traditionalist, producing a survey from the bronze age to the present on the grounds that this is what local readers want. Whilst, on the evidence of other local histories in Devon, this is undoubtedly true it means that gaps in the primary sources mean that some sections are weaker and more dependent upon intelligent supposition than others.

It was Slapton's good fortune to have a splendid location and climate; the coast provided fish, coot and the occasional wreck, corn lands and rough grazing gave grains and livestock and fine cider added to the euphoria. In consequence Slapton was always a relatively wealthy village, being in 1086 the second richest in the Coleridge Hundred. The social organisation of the parish was also fortunate, it was an 'open' village with rarely a resident squire, dominated by small farmers and until 1792 its conflicts were settled by the traditional manor court.

A few farming families came to dominate; the Paiges, Pepperells, Tuckers, Hynes and Bastards but even in this more flexible society the gap between the social classes was widening and by the late nineteenth century gentrification had taken off the old inhabitants to Dartmouth and Totnes and only twenty per cent of the population was involved in farming.

Even an enthusiast like Robin Stanes presumably would admit that Slapton's good fortune was relative; its poor perpetual curates had little joy. From 1841 the population has followed other Devon villages in declining; and with modern communications and migration of the old families only the Pepperells remain. Still the author regards it as his good fortune to have lived in a 'face to face' community.

Historically, however, residing in such a community involved the close personal scrutiny observed in Quaipe's recent study of illicit sex among Somerset peasants and this urban reviewer prefers the decent privacy of urban living.

J. H. Porter

Devon tavern tokens, by Yolanda Stanton and Neil Todd. Exeter Industrial Archaeology Group, 1982. xxxvi, 181pp. £4.50. ISBN 0 9508127 0 6.

A book on the tavern tokens of Devon produced by a mesolithic archaeologist in conjunction with a geneticist is well in keeping with the tradition of non-specialist numismatists working on paranumismatica.

The first part of the book is an explanatory introduction. Part one of the catalogue covers Exeter and district in 64 pages, including eight plates of tokens and nine of public houses. Part two covers the rest of Devon alphabetically in 79 pages, including fifteen plates of tokens and one of a public house. There are five appendices (including one which lists the Exeter area coffee houses and refreshment checks), a bibliography and indices. It is a pity that the key to the tokens illustrated was omitted from the book and has been provided as an inserted separatum. Such is the material under scrutiny and given that this is the first study on such a scale, it is inevitable that numerous items have been missed. This is said, however, in praise rather than criticism, for what the authors have produced is indeed substantial and by publishing it they have greatly increased the rate at which new material will come to light.

The book is obviously relevant to local studies for it collates a wealth of fascinating background material concerning both the manufacturers of the tokens and the places in which they were used, but the authors see their primary purpose as contributing towards an overall view of tavern tokens as a post-industrial revolution development. Similar studies have appeared for other regions but Devon is well ahead in this fast-expanding field, with this present work following on from the treatment of Exeter tavern tokens in *Exeter Coinage*, by Andrews, Elston and Shiel (reviewed in *DH* no.23). There is no clearer indication of the neglect which such items as tavern tokens have suffered until recently than the fact that, even though they circulated until the early years of this century, the exact ways in which they were used are matters for speculation. Were they used as pre-paid checks for 'getting one (or more) in', or for gambling, as change for beer or even as handouts for voters?

The book is good value and should stimulate interest in various aspects of this growing subject. The British Museum is appealing for details of the somewhat similar, even more recently used Coop checks, but until someone produces the stimulus of a publication such as this the response will be slow.

Norman Shiel

EXETER UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

Eighteenth-Century Exeter by Robert Newton. This book will be published in July 1984, price £7.95. Copies ordered before 15 July may be purchased for the pre-publication price of £6.50. Please ask for details from the Publications Office.

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, viii + 132 pages, ISBN 0 85989 188 7 £2.50

Other recent University Publications:

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

Paperback, 112 pages, ISBN 0 85989 144 5 £3.95

North Devon Pottery, The Seventeenth Century by Alison Grant.

Cloth bound, xvi + 156 pages, 5 colour and 27 black and white plates, 41 maps and line illustrations. ISBN 0 85989 129 1 £9.50

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

Casebound, xvii + 346 pages, 20 plates, 83 figures and 14 tables. ISBN 0 85989 153 4 £12.50

Exeter Studies in History. The University also publishes a series devoted to the examination of major historical themes and problems. Volumes should prove valuable aids to teaching at undergraduate and sixth-form level: Recent titles include:

Into Another Mould - Aspects of the Interregnum, edited by Ivan Roots, *Britain and Revolutionary France*, edited by Colin Jones, *The Military Revolution and the State*, edited by Michael Duffy, all £1.75
Problems and Case Studies in Archaeological Dating, £3.00 and *Nazism 1919-1945, A Documentary Reader I: The Rise to Power 1919-1934* edited by J. Noakes and G. Pridham, £2.95.

The Publications Office, University of Exeter, Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, Exeter EX4 4QJ (Tel. Exeter 77911, ext. 649 afternoons).