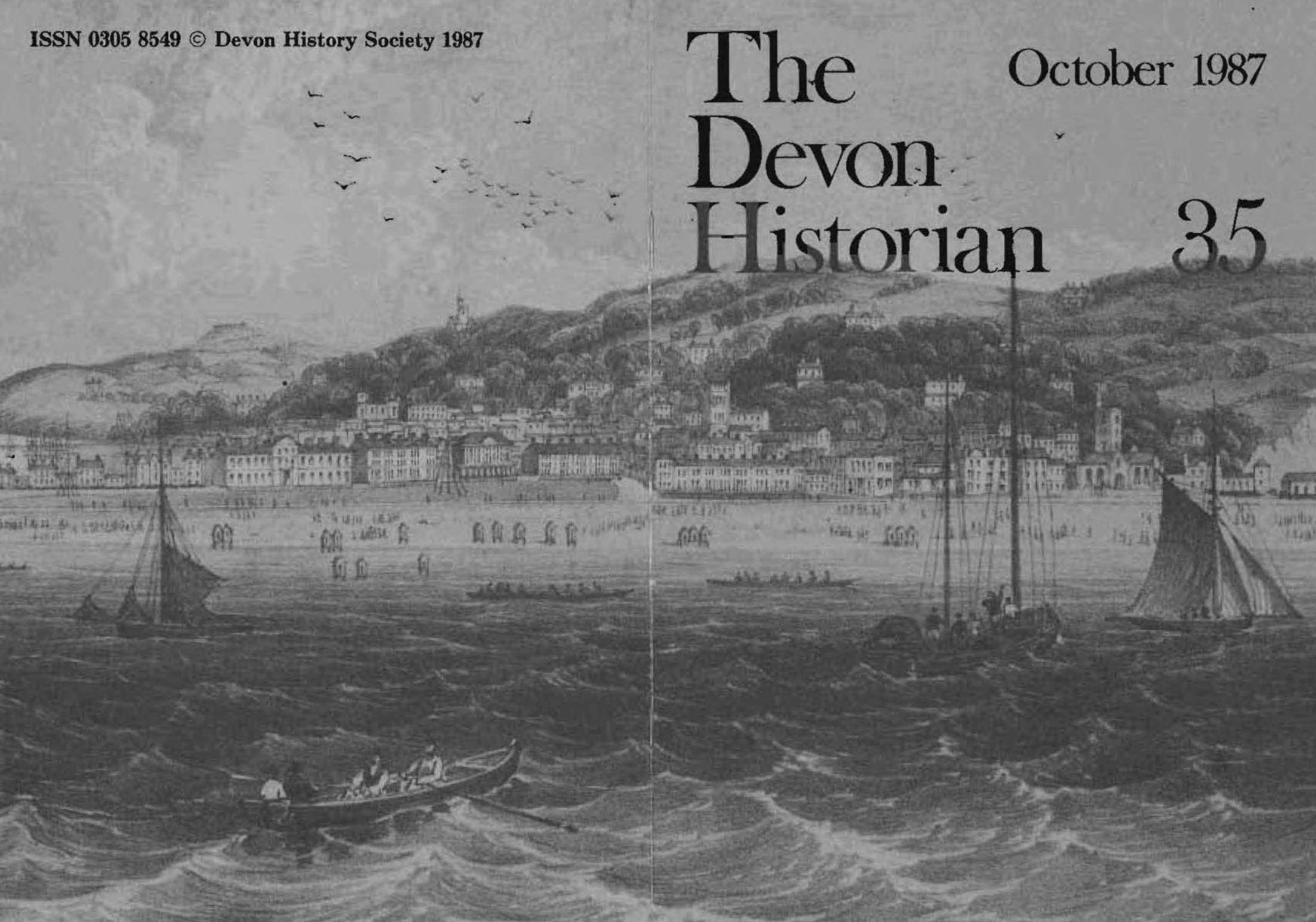


The Devon Historian 35



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Correspondence relating to *The Devon Historian* and contributions for publication should be sent to Mrs Helen Harris, Hon. Editor, *The Devon Historian*, Hironelles, 22 Churchill Road, Whitchurch, Tavistock PL19 9BU. The deadline for the next issue is 30 November 1987. Books for review should be sent to Mrs S. Stirling, c/o Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter.

DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY AGM

The AGM of the Society will take place in the Seminar Room of the Library, University of Exeter, on Saturday 24 October 1987 from 10.30am to 4.00pm.

The print on the cover is *Teignmouth from the sea*, lithograph by (?) Newman & Co. publ. E. Croydon, Teignmouth, c.1850. (S.C. 1850)

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Current and back issues of the *Devon Historian* (except for numbers 7, 11, 15, 16, 22 and 23) can be obtained, price £1.50 post free, from Mrs S. Stirling, Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter. Also available post free are *Devon Newspapers* (£1.00, *Index to Devon Historian* (for issues 1-15 50p and 16-30 £1), and *Devon Bibliography* (1980 50p, 1981 and 1982 60p each, 1983 and 1984 75p each).

The Vice-Chairman, Mr John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay, would be glad to acquire copies of the unobtainable numbers of the *Devon Historian* listed above.

PROFESSOR WALTER MINCHINTON

The Council of the Devon History Society is pleased to announce the acceptance of Life Membership of the Society by its Founder Chairman for sixteen years, Professor Walter Minchinton.

From the inception of the then Standing Conference for Devon History in 1970, Walter Minchinton had the interests of the Society very much at heart. Many of the distinguished scholars who addressed meetings were his friends and colleagues or acquaintances; some coming considerable distances to speak to us at his urging. He was also very active in obtaining contributions for the *Devon Historian*—and contributing himself—so that it was recognised in due course as one of the best county magazines.

Later, with John Pike, Walter Minchinton piloted the Society through some difficult financial times and was instrumental in obtaining a grant which enabled publication of the first *Devon Bibliography*, itself largely his idea and a turning point in helping to stabilize the Society.

It seems particularly fortunate, therefore, that this Society is able to recognise the services of Professor Minchinton in the furtherance of Devon history studies by this token of Life Membership.

R.S/D.E

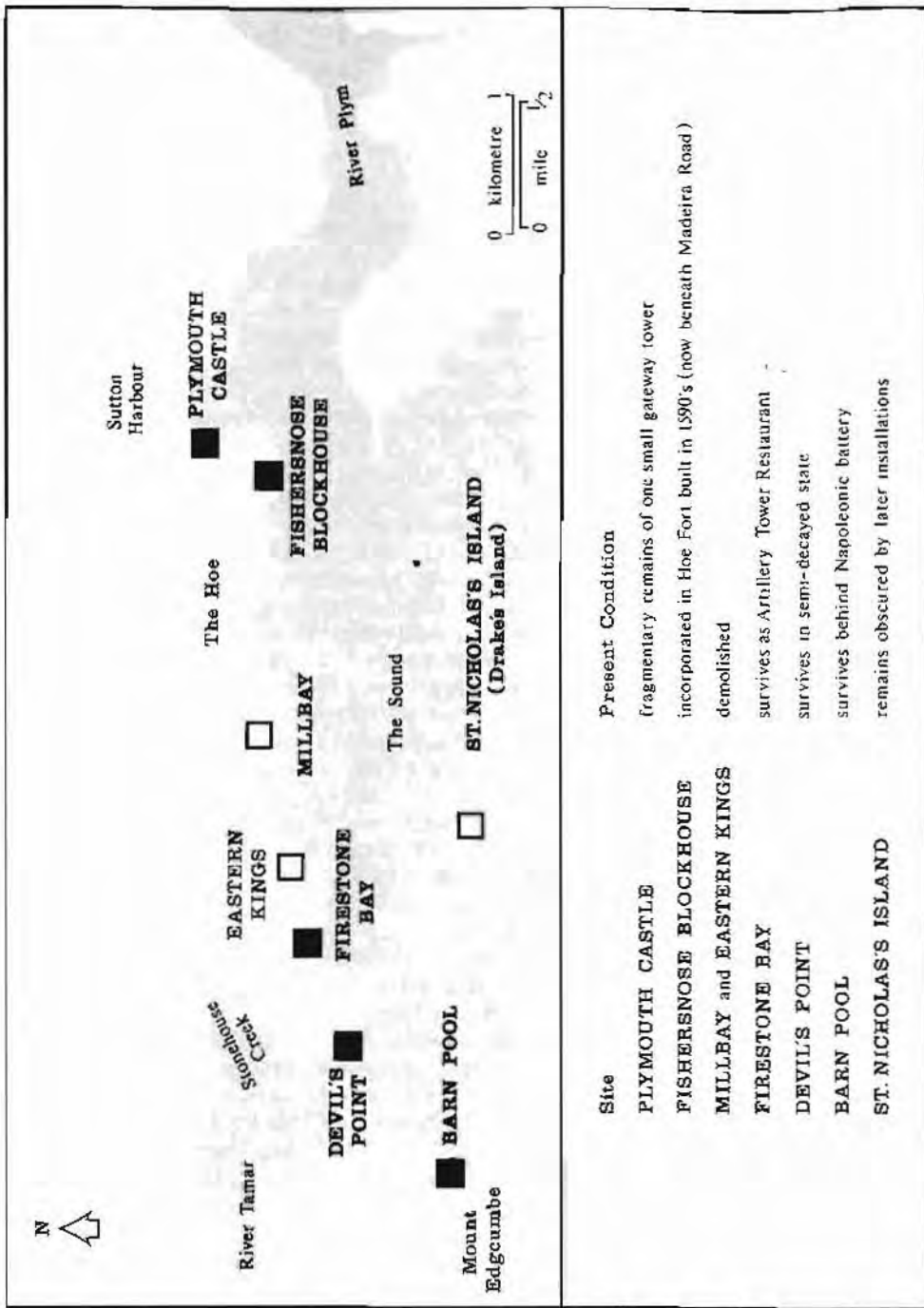
TUDOR ARTILLERY TOWERS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE DEFENCE OF PLYMOUTH IN 1588

Mark Brayshay

The remains of Tudor fortifications in Plymouth are undeniably less impressive than those which survive either at St Mawes and Pendennis in Cornwall, or at Dartmouth in Devon, but they do perhaps deserve rather more attention than they seem so far to have received.¹ Of course the old truism which says that 'we do not see the stars when the sun is out' is especially appropriate in the case of Plymouth's coastal defences where the local scene is dominated by the spectacular edifice of the seventeenth century Citadel which commands the eastern end of the Hoe.² Dazzled by the imposing scale and grandeur of this great Stuart fortress, the casual observer may be forgiven for not noticing the modest and relatively inconspicuous remains of the earlier Tudor defences comprising a series of sixteenth century blockhouses and a tiny portion of the walls of the medieval castle which was still in use in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Apart from the gun platforms and the artillery tower located on St Nicholas's Island (Drake's Island), the blockhouse and the castle seem to have represented Plymouth's only permanent masonry fortifications at the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588.³ Given that they must therefore have played an important role in the defence preparations undertaken in Plymouth exactly four centuries ago, at the time of the Spanish invasion threat, it now seems appropriate to make a new assessment of their form, function and effectiveness.

In marked contrast to sustained direct royal involvement in strengthening the defences of other key ports such as Portsmouth, there appears to be no evidence of any Elizabethan initiatives in providing Plymouth with adequate modern defences before the Spanish emergency reached its height.⁴ While small allocations of funds had been made in the reign of Henry VIII towards the building of bulwarks, and monies from the Court of Wards and Liveries were made available in 1548 by Edward VI to offset the cost of fortifying St Nicholas's Island,⁵ until permission was given in 1590 for a small allowance to be made from the Devon and Cornwall customs, and for the levying of a duty on pilchards landed in Plymouth—in order to raise funds for the construction of the first proper fort on the Hoe⁶—the crown appears to have remained content to rely on locally-sponsored schemes for defending the Sound.⁷ By implication it has therefore been assumed that the medieval castle and the blockhouses were built largely as a result of local initiative, and although the evidence is somewhat scarce and fragmentary it is possible to determine their approximate date of construction, as well as their original form.⁸

Sixteenth century maps yield amongst the clearest indications we possess of the existence of five blockhouses, located at Fishersnose, Millbay, Eastern Kings, Firestone Bay and Devils's Point. (Figure 1.) Map evidence also reveals the form of the medieval castle 'quadrate' as well as the existence of a further blockhouse overlooking Barn Pool in Mount Edgecumbe Park and the fortifications on St Nicholas's Island. But the Tudor cartographers who drew maps of Plymouth and the Sound employed a variety of symbols to depict local fortifications. Some provide no more than a mere hint that a blockhouse existed, while others include carefully drafted elevations of castellated artillery towers with their embrasured gun ports.



loopholes and ordnance in place. It is hard to determine whether such drawings were intended to be representational, or merely underline the fact that art and cartography were frequently combined by sixteenth century map-makers. Yet despite certain inconsistencies of presentation, taken together the clues contained in a group of five maps dating between c.1540 and c.1594 do enable the reconstruction of a fairly detailed appraisal of the modest range of permanent fortifications which Plymouth and her neighbours would have employed in defending themselves against any attempt by the Spanish Armada to land its forces in 1588.⁹

Map Evidence

1. The 'Henry VIII' Map, c. 1540

Forty years before the Duke of Medina Sidonia brought the great battle fleet of King Philip of Spain on its mission to invade England and topple Queen Elizabeth from her throne, the Queen's father, Henry VIII, had faced a similar threat of foreign aggression following his sweeping rejection of the authority of Rome. In meeting this challenge, King Henry had appointed a council of commissioners to survey the defences of the south coast.¹⁰ One outcome of the work of the 'Council of the West', as it came to be known, was the production in c. 1540 of a magnificent pictorial map showing coastal defences in Devon and Cornwall.¹¹ Installations around Plymouth South appear to have been drafted with particular care and this in itself may be taken as a recognition of both the geographical vulnerability and the strategic importance of the haven. The map shows not only the castle and fortifications located at the entrance to Sutton Harbour, but also the entire foreshore of Plymouth Hoe and Stonehouse can be seen lined with barricades linking five blockhouses. Heavy ordnance is depicted peeping through gunports set low in the walls of the defences, close to the waterline. Hoe defences are labelled 'the fortress of Plymouth' while those west of Millbay are referred to as 'the fortress of Stonehouse'. But while the clarity and attractiveness of the 'Henry VIII' map make it an impressive document, it nevertheless remains important to avoid accepting its evidence without a certain degree of caution.

In this context two points of interest related to the information contained in the 'Henry VIII' map may be noted. First, the line of barricades linking the blockhouses does not appear on any extant subsequent map. This could indicate either that they were temporary features which were soon removed, or had simply decayed by the later sixteenth century, or that while they were planned, they were never completed. Thus although some bulwarks are known to have been erected by 1540 to protect the approaches to Sutton Pool, and part of the cost was met by the Treasury,¹² when a further invasion threat occurred in 1545 the Privy Council was informed that Plymouth still remained amongst the 'weakest places' in the west.¹³ The mayor was urged to make new fortifications to 'impeche the passage' past St Nicholas's Island towards Stonehouse.¹⁴ This evidence would seem to imply that the continuous line of defences appearing on the 'Henry VIII' map may therefore have had more to do with cartographic flamboyance than with military reality.

Whatever the uncertainties concerning the 'barricades' there is much less doubt about the existence of the blockhouses. Royal ordnance was apparently sent down to the 'blockhouses at Plymouth' as early as 1539.¹⁵ However, a second point of

◁ Figure 1. Artillery Towers (blockhouses) and Plymouth Castle, 1588.

interest concerns the precise positioning of these buildings and the variations in their size and form which the 'Henry VIII' map seems to suggest. The Fishersnose tower appears as the largest of the blockhouses with two 'gun decks' and an embrasured parapet. It is depicted however as a rectangular building located on the extremity of Fishersnose. But this paper will show that later maps dispute both the shape and the position of this structure as it is indicated on the 'Henry VIII' map. The blockhouses at Millbay and Eastern Kings are also shown on the map. Both are depicted as single storey buildings, the former being rectangular, while the latter appears to be octagonal or possibly 'D' shaped. The structure in Firestone Bay is shown rather more definitely as seven or eight sided in plan, arranged on two floors, with parapet embrasures. By contrast the tower at Devil's Point is shown as a more modest structure with no embrasures and only a single floor. Inevitably, since the map pre-dates both the construction of the blockhouse in Mount Edgcumbe Park in 1545 and the fortifications installed on St Nicholas's Island in 1548-49, it can provide us with no information about their defensive structures.

Notwithstanding the somewhat peculiar appearance and position of the blockhouse at Fishersnose on the 'Henry VIII' map, other cartographic details do corroborate both the evidence of later sixteenth century maps as well as fragmentary remains which survive in today's landscape. Thus the remnants of the Fishersnose blockhouse do indicate that it probably was, at that time, the largest defensive structure on the shores of the Hoe, while the towers situated in Firestone Bay and at Devil's Point also appear very similar to those shown on the map. Unfortunately neither the Millbay nor the Eastern Kings blockhouses have survived to offer any further physical clues.

2. 'Spry's Plot', 1585

In 1585, some three years before the arrival of the Armada, a local cartographer called Robert Spry was commissioned to draw a map showing the proposed course of a new leat bringing a water supply from the River Meavy on Dartmoor to the town of Plymouth.¹⁶ Although 'Spry's Plot' depicts the Hoe at a relatively small scale, some details of local defence installations are nonetheless included. Thus the Fishersnose blockhouse is shown—this time a little further west than that depicted on the 'Henry VIII' map but with a short stretch of wall linking its eastern side with Fishersnose Point. Although in general the coasts of Plymouth Sound are carelessly drawn by Spry, (this was not, after all, the main object of his map) he nevertheless shows the Millbay, Firestone Bay and the Devil's Point blockhouses, as well as the fortifications on St Nicholas's Island. The latter were begun soon after an indenture between Edward VI and the town of Plymouth was drawn up in February 1548.¹⁷ This specified not only the manner in which the construction work was to be financed, but also the size and character of the garrison to be appointed to the Island. In addition to adequate supplies of ordnance, shot and munitions, the mayor of Plymouth was made responsible for the appointment of four 'Sufficient and hable governors' who were to 'make their continual abode at the said castell'. In an emergency the garrison was to be increased by a further sixteen 'hable' men. The mayor of Plymouth and a nominated burgess were expected to visit the garrison each week 'to see the store and furniture thereof and that the men within the same do their duties'.¹⁸ Construction work was supervised by Sir Francis Flemming



Plate 1.

Top right—Detail from the 'Henry VIII' map showing the Fishersnose blockhouse and Hoe barricades.

Top left—Detail from the 'Grenville' map showing Plymouth Hoe, ordnance and militia.

Bottom right—Remains of the Fishersnose blockhouse today.

Bottom left—Detail from the Gorges Plan of the Hoe Fort showing the blockhouse incorporated in the south walls.

whose presence and activities in Plymouth are mentioned in a number of entries in the borough accounts.¹⁹ In March 1549, when the job was completed, the Privy Council authorised payment of the King's contribution of £100 plus £23 11s 8d for 'five fotheres of lead' for the roof. Nothing of the mid-sixteenth century 'castle' on the Island survives today although there is plentiful evidence of Tudor walls lining the cliffs of its north coast. But these probably date to the early 1580s when borough accounts clearly indicate a renewed spate of spending on both ordnance and gun emplacements on St Nicholas's Island.²⁰

'Spry's Plot' of 1585 provides the clearest visual image we have of the continued existence of the Sutton Harbour Castle Quadrangle and the fortified pier or 'causey' south of the Barbican itself. They appear therefore to have remained virtually the same as they were when the 'Henry VIII' map was drawn more than four decades earlier. It has been established however that the castle was constructed during the

reign of Henry IV as protection against Breton raids. And, in 1539, when Leland visited Plymouth, he described a 'strong castel quadrate, having at eche corner a great round tower'. By the 1580s responsibility for the castle rested with the mayor and three aldermen and, in times of threat, each was expected to be on station in his allotted corner tower. The mayor himself took charge of the north east tower, overlooking the entrance to the harbour. Remains of the south gateway tower survive in Lambhay Street, but these appear to be part of further extensions and strengthening of the castle undertaken in the Tudor period, and may not therefore belong to the original Henry IV 'quadrate'.

A further point worth noting in regard to 'Spry's Plot' is that none of the linear 'barricades' of Henry VIII's time—if indeed they ever existed—appear to have survived. Indeed Spry's map indicates how exceptionally inadequate local defences were in the 1580s. The town of Plymouth lay open with scarcely any permanent defences: it apparently possessed no perimeter wall either at the time of the 'Henry VIII' map, or in 1585 when Spry drew his so-called Leat map.²¹

3. The 'Grenville' Map, 1587

Both the Elizabethan State Papers and Plymouth's Borough records indicate that renewed defence preparations had been undertaken in the town since at least 1585, but the execution in February 1587 of Mary Queen of Scots marked a distinct quickening in the tempo of events. The mobilisation of the Armada turned a vague threat into an immediate emergency and the Privy Council demonstrated its mounting concern about the state of the defences of the coasts of South West England by speedily appointing Sir Richard Grenville to make a survey and to report back to Westminster. A coloured manuscript map of Plymouth Sound is thought to be associated with Sir Richard's work.²² Although the map was drawn to indicate where extra ordnance, new bulwarks and bands of militia ought to be deployed, it also shows all the blockhouses (Fishernose, Millbay, Eastern Kings, Firestone Bay, Devil's Point and Barn Pool). No great care was exercised in drawing detailed elevations although all six structures are shown with castellated parapets. The Edward VI artillery tower, or 'castle', on St Nicholas's Island is also shown, its immediate approaches protected by two small field guns, while the Island's beaches appear to be defended by a further eight heavy pieces of ordnance which probably represent the result of expenditure in the 1580s.

Paradoxically, however, in spite of the substantial programme of repair work known to have been carried out between 1587-1588, Grenville's map does not depict the Sutton Harbour castle. Moreover, only the Devil's Point and the Eastern Kings blockhouses appear to have had any ordnance placed in them, but the map was clearly intended to demonstrate the need for field ordnance rather than to indicate any guns permanently mounted in artillery towers, so the apparent impotence of the other blockhouses may not be an accurate statement about their real level of armament in 1588. In any case the importance of the map lies much more in the simple fact that it shows all the sixteenth century blockhouses on a document linked closely to preparations made in the face of the Armada emergency.



Plate 2

Top right—Detail from the 'Henry VIII' map showing the blockhouses at Eastern Kings, Firestone Bay and Devil's Point.

Top left— Devil's Point blockhouse today.

Bottom right— Firestone Bay blockhouse today.

Bottom left— Detail from the 'Grenville' map showing the Edward VI 'castle' and gun positions.

4. The 'Adams' Map, c.1592

A further important map drawn within a mere four years of the first Armada threat, and usually associated with the proposals submitted by the military engineer Robert Adams for the building of a fortress on the Hoe at Plymouth, provides clear evidence of the continued existence of both the Fishernose blockhouse (which is labelled) and the smaller structure at Millbay, into the 1590s.²³ The 'Adams' map—principally concerned with the immediate environs of the town of Plymouth—pays very little attention either to the foreshore of Stonehouse, or to Mount Edgcumbe Park. But the military structures on St Nicholas's Island are shown as well as the medieval castle at Sutton Harbour. A rather fanciful town wall is shown—complete with angled-bastions, fortified gatehouses and ordnance—but this was certainly never constructed. However, the Hoe Fort depicted on the map was erected in the 1590s, though not to the cartographer's rather elaborate design. Interestingly the 'Adams' map shows the Fishernose blockhouse as a rectangular,

embrasured tower located a short distance from Fishersnose Point (in the same position therefore as that shown on both the 'Grenville' map and on 'Spry's Plot'). Gun ports virtually at water level have been drawn, while the eastern end of the beach, below the Hoe cliffs, appears lined with cannon apparently mounted on a level, though sinuous platform.

5. Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Plan of the Hoe Fort, 1595

When the first proper Hoe Fort had at last been completed in 1595, a plan of the building was submitted to Westminster by its first governor, Sir Ferdinando Gorges.²⁴ This clearly shows how the Fishersnose blockhouse has been incorporated into the walls of the new structure, but it also appears to indicate that the building was rather more sub-angular, or circular, than rectangular. The remains of this blockhouse can still be seen incorporated in the surviving stretch of walls of the Tudor Fort located below the cliffs on Plymouth Hoe today. Its angular shape and its rough-hewn limestone and granite construction may be easily picked out.

SURVIVING REMAINS

Although the remains of the blockhouse at Fishersnose are now no longer easily accessible, except by boat, the structure had survived virtually intact until the construction of the seaside drive towards the end of the nineteenth century. Thus when F.J. Webb inspected the building in 1887, he was able to provide a description of both its internal and external features. He reported that access to the tower from the Hoe above was by means of 33 very worn slate steps. Small 'sentry' recesses flanked the entrance at the rear of a chamber measuring 17 feet by 14 feet, with walls some 3½ feet thick. Webb concluded that the crudely-built appearance and the use of Roborough Down stone in addition to Plymouth limestone in its construction suggested an earlier date than that of the other blockhouses around the Sound.²⁵ Sadly the towers at Millbay and Eastern Kings have been demolished but the structures in Firestone Bay, at Devil's Point and in Barn Pool still survive. From today's remains it is not easy to determine whether these towers do in fact post-date the building at Fishersnose. The large artillery tower in Firestone Bay has now been converted into a restaurant commanding exceptionally fine views across to Drake's Island and the Sound, but modern alterations have obscured much of the original detail. By contrast, the Barn Pool blockhouse has not suffered a similar fate although it was enlarged and partly rebuilt by the Edgcumbe family in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless the building still retains its original rebated granite gun casements and door frames. Moreover, the loopholes set in the landward-facing walls may well date to 1545 when the tower was first erected.

More neglected and rather smaller, the blockhouse at Devil's Point offers an opportunity to see an Armada artillery tower in a much more authentic state. Describing the building in 1884, R.N. Worth was persuaded that it was the work of the 'same hand' as that responsible for the tower in Firestone Bay (then known as the Winter Villa and used as a police house).²⁶ Constructed mainly in limestone rubble—doubtless quarried nearby—the walls of the Devil's Point blockhouse are

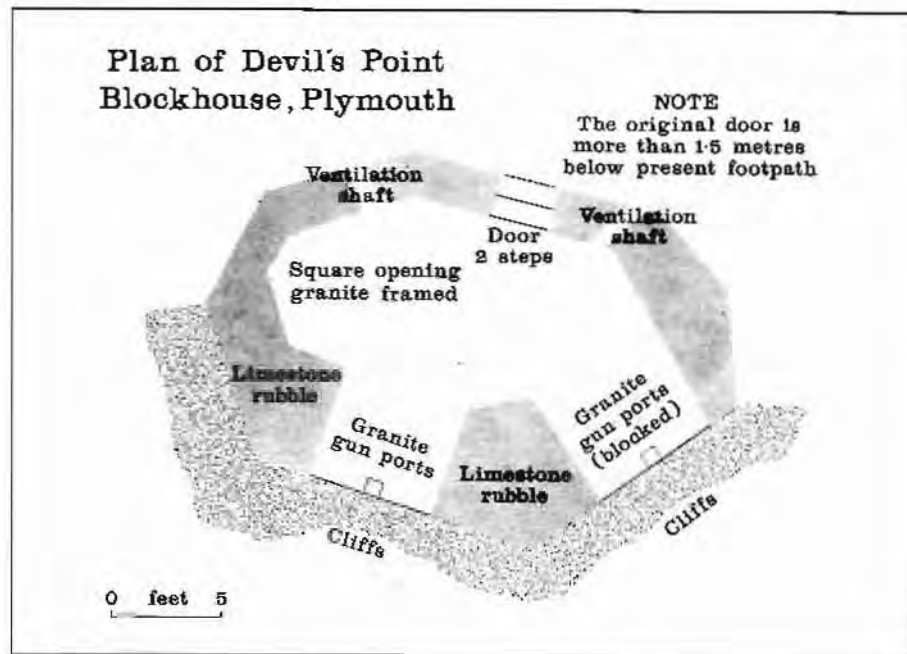


Figure 2. Plan of the surviving blockhouse at Devil's Point.

more than six feet thick in places. Four dressed-granite gunports, arranged in pairs, pierce its two seaward facing sides. These are rebated presumably to take shutters. In general, however, it is a crudely-built structure, its shape dictated by the irregular configuration of the cliffs upon which it stands. But it is nonetheless contrived in such a way as to allow its cannon to be fired almost at water level where they would have had a greater chance of inflicting significant damage on enemy shipping as it passed by. In plan the blockhouse is an irregular octagon. (Figure 2). A narrow, pointed-arch doorway originally gave access at the rear although this is now well below the level of the modern footpath and is therefore blocked. Small, sloping ventilation shafts flank the doorway in the rear walls. The gun have been mounted on slightly sloping floors. Any evidence of a parapet—castellated or otherwise—surmounting the blockhouse has now disappeared and one pair of gunports is blocked. Yet while there may have been some repair work in the early nineteenth century, the blockhouse nonetheless retains its essential sixteenth century features. It is rather a pity to find that the building is now in a forlorn state of neglect—particularly as the anniversary of the Armada defeat approaches. Inaccessible and unexplained, it appears a rather wasted asset in a city where so little remains of its Tudor townscape.

Although modest in size the Devil's Point blockhouse was certainly well placed to protect the narrow channel which gives access to the Hamoaze and the Tamar and Tavy Rivers beyond. Even large warships could have been caused some damage as they ran the gauntlet between the cannon of Devil's Point and that placed at Barn Pool on the Cornwall side of the Sound. The larger artillery tower in Firestone Bay probably housed a bigger arsenal to deter enemy vessels from venturing into the vital deep channel between St Nicholas's Island and the foreshore of Stonehouse. Millbay and Eastern Kings blockhouses would have commanded the entrance to Millbay itself, while the Fishersnose tower was doubtless designed to ward off any ships attempting to force their way into Sutton Harbour. Such installations may have amounted to a reasonable level of defence in the 1540s when they were erected, but by the 1580s they were already obsolete. It seems very unlikely that they would have been sufficiently strong to have coped with a concerted bombardment by the great warships of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

It is therefore an extraordinary, though often overlooked, fact that if the Duke of Medina Sidonia had been successful in evading Drake and Howard, and had chosen to force a landing somewhere close to Plymouth in late July 1588, there can be no doubt that the modest collection of blockhouses arranged thinly along the north coast of the Sound would have been hopelessly out-gunned. It is hardly surprising therefore to find that in the months before the arrival of the Armada in the summer of 1588, enormous efforts were made in the neighbourhood of Plymouth to erect temporary fortifications and to acquire a more adequate arsenal of field guns. Years of complacency seem to have given way to last-minute panic as the risks and dangers facing the town became daily more real. Considerable numbers of local workmen were employed in making gun carriages, building bulwarks, erecting a new watch-house, repairing the beacon, casting shot, making weapons and hauling newly purchased, or borrowed, ordnance to strategic locations.²⁷ In the event, of course, Plymouth's defences were not put to the test. With the help of the weather, and not a little good fortune, England's warships managed to defeat the Armada. And the townspeople of Plymouth breathed a collective sigh of relief.²⁸ Just how close to disaster Plymouth had actually come in July 1588 may perhaps be gauged by the speed with which demands were subsequently made for the erection of a more adequate fort on the Hoe. The piecemeal security system which hitherto had protected Plymouth was clearly seen to be out-of-date and the old blockhouses were thereafter superseded by increasingly extensive and sophisticated military structures. But the remnants of Tudor coastal defences which survive in today's landscape are a particularly important reminder of the small-scale character of permanent fortifications which were pressed into service to defend Plymouth in the year of the Spanish Armada. There can indeed be few places in modern Plymouth where the military realities of the Spanish threat can be more readily appreciated than at the site of the town's sixteenth century blockhouses. Despite the elapse of four centuries, it is still possible to sense the chill of fear which undoubtedly swept through the town as King Philip's great fleet made its inexorable way towards the English coasts and ultimately came within 'playne viewe' of the borough where the first naval engagement of the campaign was fought.

- 1 See for example Oppenheim, M.M. *The Maritime History of Devon* University of Exeter, Exeter, 1968. pp24-44. Worth, R.N. 'Notes on the early history of Stonehouse'. *Journal of the Plymouth Institution*, 1884-7, vol 9: 366-9. Webb, F.J. 'Plymouth Citadel and its outworks', *The Western Antiquary*, 1888, vol 7, Nos. 9 & 10: 201-5 & 225-8. Colvin, HM *The History of the King's Works* Volume IV 1485-1660 Part 2, HMSO, 1982: 484-8.
- 2 See Woodward, F.W. *Citadel: A history of the Royal Citadel Plymouth*. Devon Books, 1987.
- 3 Brayshay, M. 'Plymouth's coastal defences in the year of the Spanish Armada', *Rep. Trans. Devon Ass. Advmt. Sci.*, 1987, vol 119; *in press*.
- 4 *History of the King's Works* for a description of Royal spending in Portsmouth (pp 488-527). Also see Gairdner, J & Brodie, R.H. Eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Vol XX. HMSO, 1896. 1159 John, Lord Russell to the Council, July 10, 1545.
- 5 PRO SP10/6/24 ff.62-5. A copy of the Indenture between the King (Edward VI) and the town of Plymouth touching the keeping of the fort on St Nicholas's Island. February, 1548. See also Roche-Dasant, J. Ed. *Acts of the Privy Council in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, 1547-1550*. HMSO, 1890, Warrants for Payment July 2, 1548; July 25, 1548; February 11, 1549; March 3, 1549.
- 6 PRO SP12/12/242 ff.65-6 'Copie of hir majesties graunt for the fortifying of the towne of Plimmouthe', May 30, 1592. See also *Acts of the Privy Council New Series* vol XXII, 1591-2: 121, 344. vol XXV, 1595-6: 277, 441.
- 7 *Acts of the Privy Council New Series* vol I, 1542-47: 172 Greenwich May 28, 1545. See also *History of the King's Works*: 484.
- 8 Evidence may be gleaned not only from the State Papers, but also from the local Borough Accounts such as the 'Old Audit Book' WDRO W/130 and the 'Receivers Accounts' WDRO W/132. Other useful records include the 'Black Book' WDRO W/46 and the 'White Book' WDRO W/15.
- 9 'Henry VIII' map: B.M. Cotton MS. Augustus I.i. 35-36, 38-39. 'Spry's Plot': B.M. Cotton MS Augustus I.i. 41 (There is another version in the collection at Hatfield House). 'Grenville' map: PRO MPF/6. 'Adams' map: Hatfield House Archives, CPM I/35. Gorges Plan of the Hoe Fort: PRO MPF/262. .
- 10 See *Letters and Papers*. Vol XIV. 1539: 151 'Device of the King'. Also Youings, J.A. 'The Council of the West', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 5th Series vol 10: 41-59. Also *History of the King's Works*. 482-4. *Acts of the Privy Council New Series* vol I: 172. Letters from the Council to the mayor of Plymouth.
11. B.M. Cotton MS. Augustus I.i. 35-36, 38-39.
12. *Letters and Papers*. 1540, vol XX: 221 'Recapitulation of the charges the King has lately been put to . . . naval preparations last year against the pretended invasion'.
- 13 *Letters and Papers*. 1545. vol XX: 1254 'John, Lord Russell to the Council' July 23, 1545.
- 14 *Acts of the Privy Council*. New Series vol I: 172. The mayor was also requested 't'advertise' what had already been done and what further work was intended.
- 15 See note 12.

- 16 B.M. Cotton MS. Augustus I.i. 41.
- 17 Note 5. March 3, 1549 the Receiver of the Court of Wards and Liveries authorised the payment of £123 11s 8d to William Hawkins, mayor of Plymouth.
- 18 *ibid.* Although the charge of the Island was bestowed upon the mayor, the Crown retained the right to appoint commissioners to survey and inspect the fort if this was deemed necessary.
- 19 *Acts of the Privy Council Second Series 1547-1550 vol 2: f. 373 'Warrants for Payment' July 15 1548.* The Receiver paid £43 6s 8d to Sir Francis Flemming for his 'diettes' at 6s 8d per day 'for 130 days ryding in post with two servants and one guide from London to Cornwall . . . about fortifications at Sylla and the town paid the wages of labourers, sums were spent on the hire of boats to carry Sir Francis to and from the Island, craftsmen employed by Sir Piers Edgumbe were engaged and post horse riders were paid to carry letters.
- 20 See note 3.
- 21 See Barber, J. 'New light on old Plymouth', *Proceedings of the Plymouth Athenaeum*. 1973-9 vol IV: 55-66.
- 22 PRO SP12/199 f. 19, March 8 1587; see also PRO MPF/6.
- 23 Hatfield House Archives, CPM I/35. The map is discussed in Skelton, R.A. & Summerson, J. *A Description of the Maps and Architectural Drawings in the Collection made by William Cecil, First Baron Burghley, now at Hatfield House*. OUP for the Roxburghe Club, 1971. The authors date the map to April 1591. They also consider it to be mostly the work of a local cartographer—probably Robert Spry—although some of the additional notes appear to be in Robert Adams' hand.
- 24 PRO MPF/262.
- 25 See note 1. 'Plymouth Citadel and its outworks'.
- 26 See note 1. 'Notes on the early history of Stonehouse'.
- 27 See note 3. 'Plymouth's coastal defences in the year of the Spanish Armada'.
- 28 There is a large corpus of literature on the history of the Spanish Armada but one of the best known is: Mattingly, G. *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*. Jonathan Cape, Second Edition, 1983: 246-61.

ROBERT GAUL I AND II; EXETER'S LAST PEWTERERS

Ronald F. Homer

The first recorded Exeter pewterer, Richard Peuterer, plied his trade as early as 1370. From then, for nearly five centuries, numerous pewterers are to be found among the city's freemen.¹ The craft reached its zenith in the 17th century and then waned in the face of competition from tinplate and cheap pottery. However, pewter beer mugs and beer engines, together with hospital utensils and export goods for the colonies, continued to provide a limited market well into the 19th century. Much of this was supplied from Birmingham and London, but many provincial towns and cities boasted at least one self-styled pewterer at this time.² Most were general metalmen, combining braziers, coppersmithing, plumbing and ironmongery with pewtering. Some only factored pewter supplied by the large manufacturers, sometimes adding their own mark to it. A few continued to make at least some of the commoner items, which they cast in massive bronze moulds by the traditional process used from at least the early 15th century. Robert Gaul and his son Robert jnr, ran such a business which flourished in Exeter for some fifty years.

Robert Gaul senior, 'tinplate worker, pewterer, etc.', of Southgate Street, first advertised in the *Exeter Flying Post* on 9 May 1805, proclaiming that he had supplied the Chamber of Exeter with 134 lamps, at 24 shillings per year per lamp, and offering to contract similarly with others. In 1810 he took over the business of Richard Bale, another Exeter brazier,³ and a much more informative advertisement appeared on 4 March 1819:

R. GAUL
Brazier, Coppersmith, Iron and Tin
Plate Worker
42 SOUTH STREET, EXETER

With grateful acknowledgements to his numerous Friends and the Public, for the very liberal support he has received in the above Branches, for more than 20 years past, respectfully informs them, he has ADDED the PEWTER BUSINESS to his Concern, having imported from London, at a great expense, the NEWEST PATTERN MOULDS, and hopes by strict attention to moderate charges, to merit the favours which it will ever be his study to deserve. BREWING and STEAM FURNACES to any dimensions. COOPER ROOFS laid on the most approved plan.

Two good steady WORKMEN WANTED in the Pewter and Tin business—none need apply but such as will answer the above description.

From this it appears that he had started his business in the late 1790s and that he was actively engaged in casting pewterware of his own on some scale, employing staff for that purpose. In addition he was a brazier, coppersmith and tinplate and iron worker.

The *Flying Post* for 14 November 1822 records that his 'Copper, Iron, Pewter and Tin-Plate Manufactory' had been taken over by his son, Robert. Robert junior was clearly something of an innovator as well as a tradesman, as witness the following advertisement of 20 May 1824:

CHEAP PUMPS, BEER ENGINES, WATER
CLOSETS Etc.
ROBERT GAUL JNR.
PLUMBER, COPPERSMITH, PEWTERER Etc.
42, FORE STREET, EXETER

Begs most respectfully to inform his Friends and the Public in general, that he manufactures every article in the Plumbing Line at prices considerably under those generally charged, and hopes that by keeping good Workmen, and using the best Materials, to merit their support. He also informs them that he has invented a WATER CLOSET, which for convenience he trusts will be found of great utility; invalids will find them particularly desirable, as they are made portable, and prevent the unwholesome air which too generally arises from the common receptacle.

BREWING and STEAM FURNACES always on SALE

The introduction of the Imperial Standard measure of liquid capacity in 1826 necessitated the replacement of thousands of pewter measures and beer mugs in inns and ale houses. This provided a temporary stimulus to the waning pewter trade. Robert Gaul 'respectfully informed the public' on 15 December 1825 that he would have a large quantity of the new standard measures available in a few days time.

In 1831 the nationwide cholera epidemic gave him an opportunity to extol the merits of certain 'portable and warm air vapour baths' which he then manufactured 'which are particularly recommended by the most eminent of the Faculty as being a very good auxiliary in the case of that most dreadful disorder the Cholera Morbus'.⁴

In 1839 his ingenuity had extended 'at considerable trouble and expense' to devising a novel self-heating portable bath, a stock of which was available for sale and for hire.⁵ In this same advertisement he goes on to claim that he was then the 'only manufacturer of pewter goods in the West of England', indicating that the traditional business founded by his father (who had died in 1822⁶) still continued, despite the diversification into sanitary hardware. However, by the 1840s, pewtering appears to have played little part in his activities and his advertisements are then largely concerned with a variety of baths 'of every description' and general braziers and ironmongery.⁷

The 1841 Census⁸ records the occupants of 42 West Street as:

Robert Gaul, 40, Plumber
Mary Gaul, 40
Robert Gaul jnr, 12
Helen Gaul, 10
Sarah Wright, 20, Female Servant

In 1851⁹ we find:

Robert Gaul, 51, Plumber and Copper-smith employing 1 man and 3 apprentices
Mary Gaul, wife, 50
Robert Gaul, son, 21, Assistant

The *International Genealogical Index* records the baptism of Robert Gaul, son of Robert and Mary, on 13 April 1800 at Holy Trinity Church, Exeter. Of the baptism

of Robert senior there appears to be no record.

Robert Gaul junior died in April 1851.¹⁰ For a short period the business was run by his widow, Mary. It is listed under her name as a plumbing and tinplate concern in Pigot's 1852 Directory, but had disappeared by 1856.

The mark used on his pewterware c.1810 by Robert Gaul (erroneously listed as Gauls) is recorded in H.H. Cotterell's standard work on pewter marks.¹¹ It comprises the words 'GAUL EXETER', in an oval, surrounding a device of a bird flying over a quadruped which is perhaps a paschal lamb—an emblem used commonly by West Country pewterers. It appears that this is the mark of Robert senior. A later unrecorded mark with the same legend surrounding an Imperial crown, all in a small dotted circle, is probably that of his son. A few tavern measures and beer mugs bearing one or other of these marks have survived the ravages of time and others, as yet unrecognised, must remain to be found.

References

- 1 For a list of Exeter pewterers, extracted from *Exeter Freeman, 1266-1967* (Devon and Cornwall Record Soc., 1973), see D.W. Hall and R.F. Homer, *Journal of the Pewter Society*, Vol 5, 76-79 (1986)
- 2 A general account of the rise and decline of provincial pewtering is given in R.F. Homer and D.W. Hall, *Provincial Pewterers, a Study of the Craft in the West Midlands and Wales*, (1985).
- 3 *Exeter Flying Post*, 25 October 1810.
- 4 *Ibid*, 17 November 1831.
- 5 *Ibid*, 16 May 1839.
- 6 *Ibid*, 4 October 1822.
- 7 See for example *Ibid*, 5 June 1845; 13 September 1849.
- 8 HO 107, 268, 1 (Microfilm at Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter).
- 9 HO 107, 1868, 413 (Microfilm at Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter.)
- 10 *Exeter Flying Post*, 24 April 1851.
- 11 H.H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter, its Makers and Marks*, (1929, reprint 1963), No. 1824.

THE 'TORBAY CYCLONE' OF 1866—A PERSONAL MEMORY

Stephen Coffey

'The series of destructive gales which marked the latter end of the year 1865 culminated on the night of January 10th and morning of January 11th, 1866, in a disaster unprecedented in Torbay, for not less than fifty vessels were wrecked and nearly a hundred lives lost'. These are the stark facts which begin the account of the Torbay Cyclone in J.T. White's *History of Torquay*. In the present article we offer a previously unpublished personal memory of the 'Cyclone'. It is provided by Richard Hayman, Master and joint owner of the Cambria, one of the vessels destroyed in the storm. The account forms part of the memoirs of Richard Hayman (this writer's great-great-great grandfather), written about forty years after the storm.

Richard Hayman was born in Beer, South Devon, in 1828. At the age of fourteen he began a seafaring life which was to take him all around the world. At the time of the 'Cyclone' he and his family were living in Exmouth.

'We left Exmouth with several others on January 7th or 9th, I don't remember which. We were bound around the Land to one of the ports in the Bristol Channel. After we were out at sea the wind sprang up from the westward strong; we all turned to Torbay and anchored.

'I remember the names of several that left Exmouth: the Jessie, Captain Mitchell; the Alma; the Scythian, Captain Soloman; the Devonshire, Captain Wicks, beside others I don't mind. Well, it continued blowing from SW and WSW until the night of the 11th January* in the evening; the wind backed around to the south and then to the S East, and by midnight ESE, a gale with snow. I ought to say here in the afternoon before the wind shifted I got out the boat and went alongside a Brixham trawler and bought some fish; not being far from Soloman and Captain Mitchell, also Captain Wicks, they each called to me and asked me to get some for them; so I got 1/- worth for myself and put them in one heap, and for each Captain I did the same. I then paid the skipper of the trawler and went alongside of each ship that I had bought the fish for; the Jessie, Captain Mitchell was the first one; we were old friends; he tried to get me to come onboard, but I would not stay—something told me we were going to have a wild night, but no-one thought of the wind backing around the way it did. Then Captain Wicks, he paid me 1/-, also Mitchell 1/-, and then after saying goodnight, went to the Scythian, she being near. Then as soon as we got alongside we hoisted the boat in. I remember waving our hats to each other, my friend Mitchell especially; he stood and watched me until it was dark. I never saw him or any of his crew again, except one little boy, his first voyage to sea. Before dark I counted 73 vessels at anchor.

'Well now began a fearful night; by 9.00pm it was blowing and snowing from SSE, then SE, then ESE. One could see all were beginning to pitch and plunge; one could see by each other's lights. Well, by midnight many were parting from their cables and driving ashore, some on the rocky shore and some on the sands at Goodrington and Paignton. I think as near as I can remember we parted just before 1.00am. I mind old Collins, the Mate, said, try for Brixham Harbour, Captain. I said, hoist the fore-topmast staysail, which they did; and I tried to steer her when she got before the wind. But being so dark and getting foul of several trawlers laying at their moorings, it stopped all our way so that we just got to the Brixham pierhead by the

red light, and if there had been anyone to have caught a rope from us we should have got inside, but the drawback and heady winds from the highland caused us to drive about halfway along the pier towards or just where they have got a sort of stage for landing passengers now. Well, in a very short time I think there were seven vessels breaking to pieces longside the pier. Half of my crew were in the fore-rigging and half in the main. I asked God to help us and He did. I said, make sure of your jump, my lads, when she reels towards the top of the pier; so, everyone got safe. I was the last, and after I dropped on the top, I fell over inside on another part not so high. After I found I was not hurt and all were saved I felt quite overcome with gratitude to the same kind Providence that have always been my guide and friend.

'Well, I went directly onboard a vessel in the harbour and called the Captain and crew to lend us a handy rope to try and save life as there was several vessels driving onshore. To show my readers the difference of being inside a harbour and outside, the Captain and the crew I called out of their beds was surprised to find it blowing and snowing and told me they knew nothing about it. I will say here there was not anyone that I could see after we had jumped onshore would go along them cliffs and try and save life. They went, and I suppose made the alarm of what was happening as the people began to wake up. I am sorry to say in the reports of the Torbay gale there was some great untruths printed, such as women setting fire to mattresses and other things to lighten the poor fellows; but enough.

'There was six or seven vessels broken all to matchwood in that corner, the back of Brixham pier; one must have had a quantity of sacks of flour, another a quantity of barrels of currants, for after the gale by 9.00am in the morning and the water got smooth, one could almost walk about on the wreckage. Of course I with the rest lost everything, clothes and charts, also a fine cat and dog I valued, in fact lost everything except my life for the Shipping Club broke, through so many ships being lost, so that everyone had to stand their own loss; and we had to pay for the repairs done at Middlesbrough. So with my own effects and part of ship I had lost all that my poor wife and myself had been saving from our being married.

'In the morning after the damage and loss of life was done, it came almost a calm; I met a boy, the only one saved from the Jessie; my friend Captain Mitchell and all his crew were lost except the boy—he is still living at Exmouth. Of the 73 vessels that was at anchor in the evening of the 11th January,* on the 12th* there was only three left that had held on through the gale. Well, I went up to Brixham Post Office at 8.00am and sent a telegram to Exmouth, but I heard after, many of the posts and wires were down so that they knew nothing of the losses until some of us got home in the evening. Then there was a great cry, who was lost and who saved; some thoughtless person had heard that me and my crew were lost as well as Mitchell and his crew; and it got to my poor wife's ears—she went into hysterics and brought on sickness, nearly her death. So ends my ship owning.'

It is interesting to note that Richard Hayman claims that . . . 'in the reports of the Torbay gale there was some great untruths printed . . .'. Two contemporary reports may here be quoted. Firstly, an account of the storm which appeared in the *Torquay Directory* of 17 January 1866. The following extract paints a very different picture from that offered by Hayman:

'It was an exciting scene as the vessels drove onwards to the pier; and hundreds of spectators watched their movements with suspense. On, on, they came to inevitable destruction. The brave seamen of Brixham clambered on the parapet wall, and with

lights directed the vessels to the harbour entrance. The harbour master . . . with several pilots took the post of danger on the pier head, and shouted to the masters of the advancing ships to port or starboard their helms, as circumstances needed. Two ships passed the terrible ordeal in safety, and a great shout of joy was set up by the anxious spectators as they sped past the pier heads into smoother water. But, alas, the others that came crashing on, were not so fortunate. They missed the entrance, and ran against the solid pier; other vessels came on after, and in a few minutes, seven or eight vessels, were inextricably commingled together, grinding against the pier and each other. The parapet was instantly swarming with adventurous sailors and fishermen of Brixham, who regardless of all danger to themselves, sought to rescue the crews from a watery grave . . . The crews . . . had to watch for the favourable moment to drop on the pier or to seize one of the hundred of hands out stretched to help them.' A similar description is later found in Charles Gregory's *Brixham in Devonia*.

The second report is to be found in the *Torquay Directory* of 7 March 1866. It is the 'Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to make enquiries respecting those who rendered essential service in saving life . . .'. Here we read that one Christopher Bartlett 'deserves special mention; he . . . saved the lives of the crew of the *Cambria* unassisted . . .'; that is, Richard Hayman's vessel. This fact is later mentioned in J.T. White's *History of Torquay*.

As ever, the same historical reality will be experienced, remembered and reported in different ways by different people.

*In view of dates in this article's opening quotation it appears likely that Richard Hayman was a day in advance in his account of the storm.

POOR RELIEF IN EARLY VICTORIAN PLYMOUTH

W.N. Bryant

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 forbade the provision of outdoor relief. The needy had to enter the workhouse in order to obtain assistance. In the words of the Act:

'all relief whatever to able-bodied persons or to their families, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses . . . shall be declared unlawful, and shall cease . . .'¹

I have found evidence that this Act was not strictly enforced in early Victorian Plymouth. The evidence is contained in Robert Rawlinson's *Report* on public health in Plymouth published in 1853.² The detailed information which is provided in this document suggests two things: first, that the poor received hand-outs in cash and in kind, and medical assistance in ill-health, without having to suffer incarceration in the workhouse; second, that there was a considerable transfer of wealth from those with money to the poor through the mechanism of the poor rates. Not all the poor in Plymouth were left to starve whilst the rich turned a blind eye.

In the course of compiling his *Report* for the Board of Health, Rawlinson took statements at a public meeting from a variety of witnesses. These included Thomas Edwards, relieving officer for Charles parish, who had been involved in the organisation of poor relief for twenty-four years.³ He stated⁴ that about £25 per week was being spent on poor relief, with paupers in receipt in nearly every street in the district of Higher Street, Lower Street, Howe Street, New Street, Stillman Street, Jury Street, Salem Street and Whitecross Street. Some of the families had been receiving relief for three years, and this in many cases enabled the poor to pay the weekly rent. If there was sickness in a family then it could receive maximum relief of 5 shillings per week, 3 quartern loaves, 'and perhaps some meat, tea, and sugar' totalling in all 5 shillings or 9 shillings. Edwards cited a case known to him personally: a family of six children with mother and a disabled father. They received 7 shillings in money and 36 lb of potatoes. This had been going on for two and a half years.

Although some paupers wisely used their relief to pay the rent, Others, sadly, dissipated it in the beershops. Mr Edwards regarded the beershops as a bad thing: 'If there were fewer beershops there would be fewer applications for poor relief'.⁵ He believed that 'poverty had increased with the increase of beershops', and that men who received poor relief would rather spend it in the beerhouse than on their family's needs.

Further evidence relating to the distribution of poor relief in Plymouth was submitted to Rawlinson by Frederick Augustus Pardon.⁶ Pardon offered some introductory figures. The total amount of poor relief (in cash and in kind) distributed in St Andrew's parish was £5,564; in Charles parish the total was £4,316. So the total poor relief for the two parishes approached £10,000. This was a large sum for early Victorian times.

Mr Pardon then proceeded to make some general observations about the living conditions of the poor. He said that it was common for corpses to be kept by the family in single-room tenements until the Sunday after the death because Sunday

was the most popular day for burial. He also informed Rawlinson's committee of enquiry that widows and their families were a particularly worrying problem. 'I don't know a widow and children that belong to Plymouth who don't get relief'. In many cases this situation had arisen because the husband had been carried off by the cholera epidemic of 1849. 'If the head of a family dies by fever, those dependent upon him became chargeable to the parish'.

Mr Pardon further submitted some precise details of considerable historical interest. He said that 'rents paid by the labouring classes ranged from 6d/10d to 1s 6d'. There are very few statements relating to urban rentals at this time.

Finally, Mr Pardon gave an example of overcrowded accommodation. 'In Clearly Court, in a small room about nine feet square, I have known as many as fourteen or fifteen persons living.'⁷

The Rawlinson *Report* contains many pages of detailed statistical evidence. This evidence includes tables showing local rates and assessments for poor relief. These tables are of great historical value because there are no other statistical records from this period of Plymouth's history relating to poor relief. The tables indicate the annual amount levied on the rates in Plymouth in successive years for poor relief.⁸ 1845 £10,499; 1846 £10,000; 1847 £10,500; 1848 £16,931; 1849 £16,999; 1850 £16,000; 1851 £20,000. These figures would indicate the regular transfer of resources from those with money to those who had little or none. It is hardly surprising therefore that those who contributed to this poor relief should have asked if there was 'any mode by which the poor could be so employed as to render their labour productive and so relieve the rate payers?' To this Mr W.T. Harris, Governor of the Poor, replied that he 'had often turned his attention to the subject of productive labour, but could not at present suggest any mode by which it could be carried out.'⁹

Notes

- 1 *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the Administration and Practical operation of the Poor Laws* (1834), pp 261/2. Printed in *English Historical Documents XII (I) 1833-1874*, edited by G.M. Young and W.D. Handcock p.702, No 206F.
- 2 R. Rawlinson, *Report to the General Board of Health on . . . The Borough of Plymouth* (1853).
- 3 Rawlinson *Report* p.90.
- 4 Rawlinson *Report* p.89.
- 5 Rawlinson *Report* p.90.
- 6 Rawlinson *Report* pp.90-92.
- 7 The Report contains detailed material in Appendices to illustrate overcrowding in small rooms.
- 8 In each case for the year ending Lady Day (25 March). Each figure excludes shillings and pence. Rawlinson *Report* p.121.
- 9 Rawlinson *Report* p.92.

MESSAGES FROM THE PAST

Ian Stoye

David J. Hawkings' article in the April 1987 issue of the *Devon Historian* makes the point well that postcards and their messages carry quite different images of Plymouth from those in conventional written histories. Equally interesting are the glimpses of life in towns and villages that have no written history.

I have a collection of cards of Thorverton, which lies about a mile off the main road between Exeter and Tiverton. In combination they form no cohesive picture, yet singly they contribute tiny brushstrokes to a vast potential parish canvas.

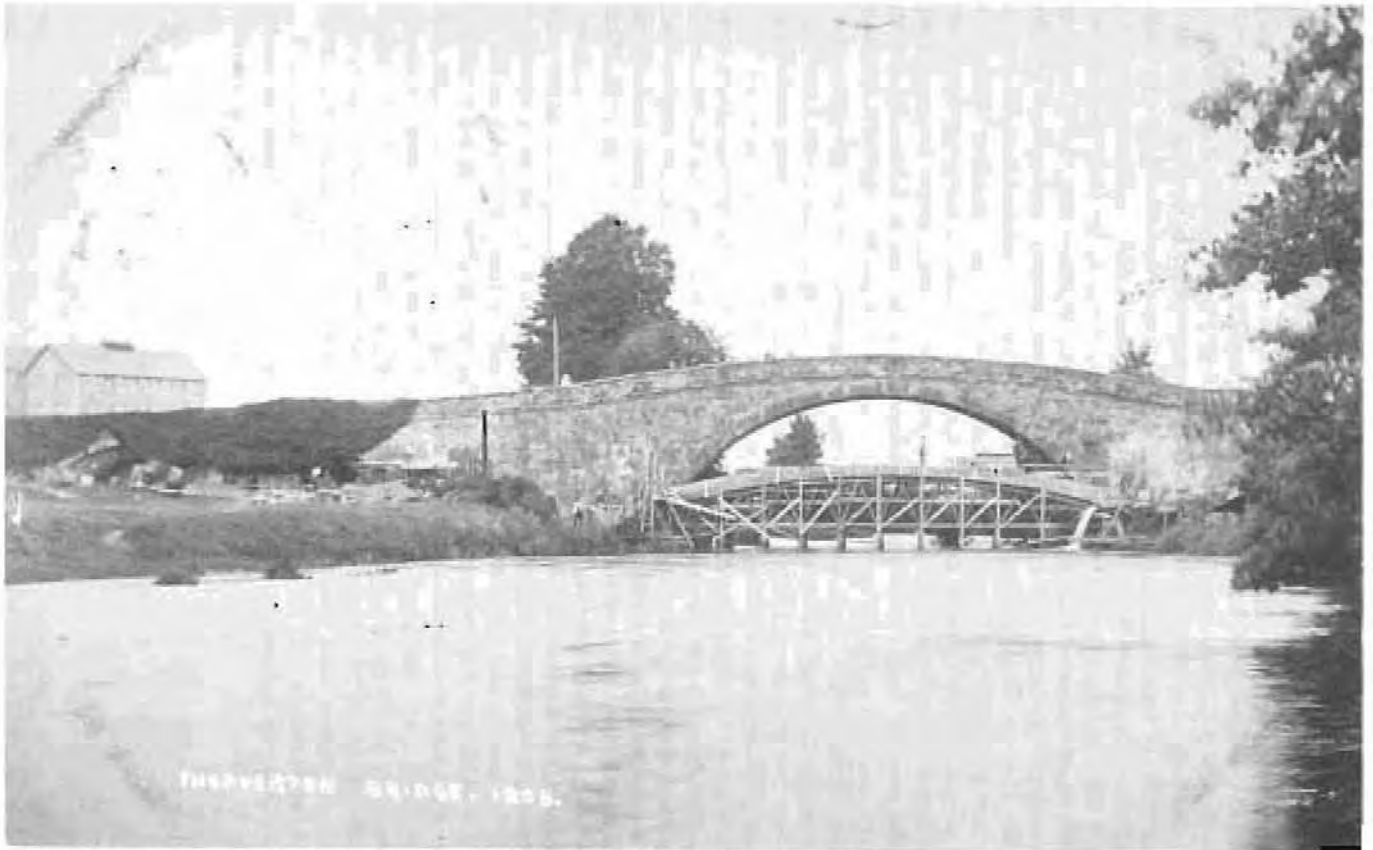
From the first two decades of the century there are messages about safe arrivals by train, the health of relatives, arrangements for meetings, and events at home. In the summer of 1907 the wife of one of the publicans sent three cards—and there must have been more—to her daughter in service at Aylesbury: there was news of Dad, of the harvest and of getting a new horse before she signed off with a jovial 'Time Gentlemen Please'. I feel it was a rather shy young man who wrote to the blacksmith's daughter: 'Would you come to tea tomorrow afternoon and go to the lantern lecture with us. I should be so pleased if you would. Yours sincerely . . .'. That sounds a polished, rehearsed effort. More spontaneous, and unmistakably Edwardian, is the tone of two visitors to the Steeplechases in 1905: 'We have arrived at the races alright and we are getting on a bit of alright /well goodbye/ with love from George and Lil'.

Many of the cards feature the church, the bridge, the square-like 'Bury', and the three principal streets. A rare one shows 'our Chapel'; views of the station are hard to come by since railway enthusiasts keep them; and I have yet to find one with the school on it, although sometimes groups of children were photographed in front of the Master's House with the renowned Schoolmaster Martin himself. Cards were produced to record the occurrence of serious fires. On one the writer and her brother are standing in front of their gutted house in 1911, an interesting point being that the house had burned down, Chandler the photographer had come out from Exeter, the postcards had been printed and delivered to Thorverton, and Ivy had sent off her account to Nellie, all in less than a week. Later cards show local masons and labourers rebuilding and posed in front of the shell; it was still possible quite recently for most of them to be identified, including a cheerful-looking young fellow perched on a pile of bricks, whose name is now inscribed permanently, just a few paces from that spot, on the Great War Memorial.

A new bridge was built over the Exe in 1908, several different stages of its construction being caught by the camera. It stood alongside its predecessor for some four years before that was blown up, and it is postcards showing them together which confirm the extraordinary height of Green's old bridge, for the crossing of which extra horses had to be hitched for the heavier loads. Peering through a magnifying-glass I believe I can make out a team of four hauling a large wagon on the old bridge while the new one was building, but that could be self-deception. It is a postcard, too, which provides the only hint of corroboration of another item of parish history. Kelly's Directory for 1906 declared that Thorverton was noted for its produce of apricots, a fact that has often been repeated since. But there is no independent evidence of their growing, unless one interprets generously a



Hullen Street, Thorverton, pre. 1911.



Green's massive arched bridge of 1813 stands behind its small successor, built by H. Berry of Crediton, under construction in 1908.

message about the village on a card of 1907: 'Have seen the peaches on the wall. Its a very pretty place and you will enjoy your visit if its fine.'

There are no comprehensive catalogues and printed lists of postcards. In consequence those who collect them, unlike collectors of coins or stamps, can only rejoice in what they find rather than covet what might be missing. How many cards there have been of Thorverton I cannot say. I know of about a hundred and fifty and guess there were at least fifty more, to judge from gaps in the numbered series by those leading Devon photographers, Keeping and Chapman, and in the set of twenty put out by Lilywhite in the 1920s and re-issued by Raphael Tuck a few years later. By this time messages had changed slightly in content: more were sent by people on holiday, often reporting with relief on safely completed journeys by road ('Car going OK except boiling badly'). Husbands and fathers gave news of angling trips, though I doubt that one little daughter really understood Daddy's regret that it was 'too bright to fish with any hope of success until evening'. In time, too, the streets became less animated, perhaps because the cars had made them more dangerous places, perhaps because a photographer no longer attracted crowds. The early cards showed so many people, adults and children, practically always in hats, the girls in bonnets and the boys in caps, who had clearly dashed out to see what was happening. One short set of 1907 turns out, on inspection, to have the same small girl and even smaller infant staring solemnly at the camera, hand in hand, from the centre of every picture. Did the photographer bring them with him or did they simply plant themselves before him wherever he went?

One thing is different. We do not see many animals in the village nowadays, apart from pet dogs, often of fine pedigree. The last farmer who sometimes used a horse for routine work died some time ago. But on the postcards there are geese outside the houses, many dogs of indeterminate breed, horses attached to carts and wagons of all descriptions, and even a donkey with a light delivery trap behind it. The mud in the dirty streets is furrowed by wooden wheels.

Yet they are the same streets as now, for the centre of Thorverton, unlike poor Plymouth, has changed very little. That is my house where I think I see a shape peer out from behind a curtain seventy years ago. Grubby though they are, those are the pubs in which we drink today. That is the bridge we cross morning and evening. I can stand on near enough the exact spot from which most of the photographs were taken and take similar photographs myself. Everything brings home the permanence of the parish and the transience of its inhabitants. Before long we ourselves shall be the strangely-clothed men and women who cast an air of mystery and slight unease about familiar places. We are no more than trustees of a locality that will outlast us.

Continuity as well as change. That is the collective message of these postcards from the past.

COLDHARBOUR WORKING WOOL MUSEUM, UFFCULME

Adrian Reed

In 1797 Thomas Fox bought an old grist mill and the adjoining farmland on the outskirts of Uffculme village, adding shortly afterwards the four storey stone and brick spinning mill which stands today. The story of the extensive woollen interests of the Fox family, of which Coldharbour was a part, is told by Hubert Fox in *Quaker Homespun*. Their establishments prospered down to the end of the second world war but the problems of competition and innovation that increased throughout the sixties and seventies proved insoluble and one after another the Fox mills closed down, Coldharbour shutting its gates in April 1981.

In 1982 a village initiative led to the formation of a trust to purchase the mill, using money advanced by the local authorities and the development commission, and to reopen it as a working wool museum. Today fleeces are carded and knitting wools in a small scale commercial operation while weaving is demonstrated to visitors although cloth is not produced for sale.

From the beginning the museum has attached great importance to its educational side and offers a wide range of printed material to both pupils and teachers. It has been the subject of many school history projects and in the twelve months to April 1987 was visited by 3,700 children. For the adult historian the mill, which is listed as an ancient monument, is of interest for its buildings, machinery and surviving documentation. The former include the main late eighteenth century building, the early Victorian beam engine house and the walls and roof of the factory gasworks which also lit the western part of Uffculme village. The spinning techniques and machinery are those of the turn of the century—or even earlier. The mule, for example, has not changed in theory and differs little in design since Crompton's day. The channels to and from the great water wheel are still in use and the rope race connecting the 1907 Pollit and Wigzell steam engine (itself a rarity) to the shafting to the spindles is plain to see. The bulk of the mill's records, as happened to those of so many Devonshire firms, have been lost or destroyed although some valuable information still exists in Messrs Fox's central archives in Wellington. Among the more interesting documents surviving at Coldharbour are wages books, registers of child employees, sick fund accounts and welfare committee minutes. All these are for short periods only but are available for study on application to the Museum Education Officer, Miss Jill Taylor. (Tel. 0884-40960).

The mill is open daily from Easter to October, from 11.00am to 5.00pm, and in winter usually from Monday to Friday, although in this season it is advisable for visitors to telephone in advance.



Coldharbour Mill, Uffculme.

DEVON DEATH ANNIVERSARIES

Compiled by Adrian Reed

WILLIAM ADAMS (1612-1687). Merchant seaman. Born at Paignton, he was taken prisoner by Algerian corsairs in 1639. With six companions he secretly made a canvas boat in parts which, when assembled and launched, proved able to carry only five of them. These, after considerable hardships, got to Majorca where the Spaniards treated them with kindness and sent them on to England which they reached in September 1644. Adams continued with the sea as master of various ships and is buried in Paignton Churchyard. His is one of the few recorded successful escapes from Algerian captivity.

GILBERT FOLIOT (?-1187). Statesman and cleric. Said to have been born at Tamerton Foliot, he was head of several abbeys in France and England before becoming Bishop of Hereford in 1147. On his translation to London in 1163 he refused to take a fresh oath of obedience to Beckett whose election to Canterbury he had opposed. Twice Beckett excommunicated him but Foliot maintained his position with the aid of the king, whom he consistently supported, and of the Papacy. Although leader of the anti-Beckett faction in the English Church he was cleared of any complicity in his death. He had a high reputation as a scholar.

THE OLD FIELD NAMES

Freda Wilkinson

They were names before our village was named, they're older than your town,
 These ghosts of ancient ploughlands on the flank of the furzey down.
 Allotted by Norman steward, turned by Saxon shares,
 Lynchet and ridge show in evening light on Sellions, Landscores and Wares.

Wimstraw up on the windy hill, where women winnowed the corn,
 Down in the lew lie Winterlears, and Homer and Yonder Lawn.
 Lawns where the deer crept out from the wood, that covered the land below
 Before it was tamed by sweat and blood, by axe and mattock and hoe.

Where the ploughshare breaks on the bones of the land,
 or the sullen cold clays seep,
 They named them as old men know them still, Begsbread,
 Costyloss, Look-and-Weep.
 Their shape or the time they took to work, might govern the names they chose,
 Brandis Park, Gore and Day's Mowth, and Two Journeys Close.

They stooked the corn in Grattons and saved the hay in Fraunce,
 And poached the pheasants in Nisiker whenever they had the chance.
 But who were the long-gone worthies who forever left their mark
 In Wat's Meadow, Quintin's Close and Helen's and Kitty's Park?

If you understand Deb'n the meaning is clear
 of Eaver Piece, Dashley and Blackaller Beare;
 But he still keeps his counsel, may God rest his soul,
 Who named Fightover, Magic and Nympkinhole!

A GRAVEYARD PROJECT AT TAVISTOCK

Reported by John Pike

Visiting the Community Education in Devon tent at the County Show a chance question to an enthusiastic master and some senior boys of Tavistock School, produced details of the Graveyard Project, which was carried out as a joint venture between the school and the Tavistock Local History Society. Using a commercially available program in one of the School's computers all the tombstone information found in the Dolvin Road cemetery has been entered in the file—some 637 in all as the printout told us. It is then possible to search the list with the usual speed possible with computers and obtain any details required. In about a minute a complete list of surnames was produced and a further enquiry revealed the details of each gravestone:

1. Reference number—this includes the whereabouts of the memorial (the cemetery has been divided into segments for recording purposes).
2. Surname—described as the *key-word*.
3. Christian names.
4. Age at death.
5. Year of death.
6. Year of birth.
7. Occupation.

Among the unexpected statistics produced by the list were: twenty-eight Gills and thirteen Mays. Other names with several burials were Minhinnick (9), Truscott (6), Straker (6) and Vosper (9).

While it is possible to show all sorts of statistics as graphs or pie-charts, its value to Devon people interested in their family history, is clearly great.

The availability of this software commercially means that the 'donkey work' of producing a working method has been done and, assuming the disks are put into the right computers there should be no problems setting others up!

NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Ronald F. Homer is a Ph.D in chemistry, now retired, a Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers and a past president of the Pewter Society. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on pewter and edits the *Journal of the Pewter Society*.

Stephen Coffey was educated at Torquay Boys' Grammar School and the University of London. He currently teaches English at the University of Pisa, Italy.

Ian Stoye is Vice-Chairman of Thorverton Parish Council.

Adrian Harbottle Reed returned to his native Devonshire on retirement from HM Diplomatic Service. He is a member of the Council of the Society.

Freda Wilkinson, a member of the Council of the Society, has a long and deep knowledge of Dartmoor farming, and has written on the subject.

REVIEWS

Raleigh's Country: The South West of England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I by Joyce Youngs. Publishers: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1986. pp.xiii + 74. 12 illustrations and maps. £5.00 p&p.

This is a fascinating book and both author and publishers are to be congratulated upon it; would that every commemorative product might be so useful and entertaining! The Anniversary Committee was charged with planning 'the observance of the quadricentennial of the first English attempts to explore and settle North America'; a celebration to cover all the expeditions between 1584-87 planned by Raleigh to the area around Roanoke, which we know as North Carolina. The publication programme has included a series of booklets dealing with the history of the events and peoples of the 1580s.

Professor Youngs' volume gives a splendid insight into the life and times of the South-West in the Elizabethan period. It abounds in intimate details, as we might expect from one who is moving through such familiar territory. She comments on innumerable personalities of those distant times, very much in the style of introducing old acquaintances, if not old friends. This often illuminates a subject. Above all, it makes an impact on scale. Our American cousins, living on one side of the largest and most prosperous land masses on our globe, are taken back 400 years to this thin little peninsula, stretching out into the Atlantic, where a scattered people made their living by farming and tin mining, and, above all, so far as this theme goes, by a continued battle with the sea. This is Professor Youngs' story and well she tells it, for she has travelled this way before, most notably in her *Sixteenth-Century England*.

The booklet has short sections on the people of the South-West, their life as farmers, tin miners, fishermen, privateers, landed proprietors, and how they organised the defence of the county, especially important at the time of possible Spanish invasion. There is a lively account of religious toleration in the South-West, with its fair share of Puritans and Catholics. It might so easily have been a hot bed of religious controversy but the queen's VIA MEDIA held, even though religious toleration was often a veil through which Church and State saw all too darkly. The comic side of this is brought out in the mistake of Sir Richard Grenville in appointing the Puritan clergyman, Eusebius Paget. This troublesome cleric led Grenville quite a dance before he was moved to Barnstaple, where, after discouraging hymn singing and organ playing he used to preach from half past ten to one o'clock.

The strength of this book is in its details of life in those days, in the way the great and famous, the Raleighs, Drakes and Grenvilles rub shoulders with the hitherto unknown and forgotten. It is rewarding reading for us in the South-West, whilst readers in Carolina, who may be less familiar with our location, will soon appreciate the scholarship of their guide and the insight she gives into the lives of the people who first voyaged to their continent.

Harry Kay

Crown Pleas of the Devon Eyre of 1238, Henry Summerson (ed.) iii + 163pp. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, vol. 28, 1985. ISBN 0 901853 28 3. £8 post free to non-subscribers from Assistant Secretary, DCRS, 7 The Close, Exeter EX1 1EZ.

This version of the pleas made before the royal justices on their eyre in Devon in 1238 makes an extremely interesting and valuable addition to the Devon and Cornwall Record Society's publications. Mr Summerson has not provided an edition of the original Latin, but rather a slightly abbreviated translation into English, furnished with full notes, an introduction of over forty pages, and an index of persons and places. The text itself reads well and one has confidence in its accuracy because the notes and introduction show real mastery of the way that the legal machinery of the day worked. The sections dealing with the incidence, distribution and causes of crime, appeals and plaints, for example, compare the Devon evidence with that from other periods and parts of the country in an impressive fashion. There is rich material here clearly deployed. My only regret is that the editor did not provide us with a subject index, although his notes enable one to follow some themes through the 776 entries on the plea roll.

So many sides of life are reflected in the entries that it is hard to know where to begin to indicate the riches of this evidence. Parts of Devon must have resembled the Hebridean island enjoying wrecked whiskey in Compton Mackenzie's story, to judge by the number of barrels of wine washed ashore (26, 41, 49, 52, 192, 483, 508, 559, 601, 656, 679, 700, 705, 735). There were many attempts too, to break the laws relating to the way wine was sold (32, 112, 138, 158, 272, 334, 396, 422, 554, 643, 685, 673). The county also had its share of ancient grave robbers, to judge from the regularity with which mounds were dug into (59, 106, 188, 241, 258, 458, 482, 501, 610, 621). The king himself, to judge from evidence cited from the Close Rolls, had a keen interest in such things, and the year before the eyre had instructed his brother to investigate barrows within Cornwall and the Isle of Wight 'to look for treasure in them'.

The editor notes that millers were often involved in homicide (xxx), but mills themselves, or rather their wheels seem to have killed quite a few people: out of many entries one may mention a case in Ermington (573), and one in Exeter (767). Death by scalding seems not to have been exceptional, either (e.g. 538, 541). Altogether the records bring a very full field of folk to our attention—often they remain little more than names, but the book leaves one with a much clearer impression of the multitude of ways in which men and women could suddenly die, or fall foul of one another and of the law. That the law took note of such things is itself significant, of course, for few other parts of western Europe can boast such extensive evidence of royal concern for the preservation of peace at the local level. The editor and the society should be congratulated upon the quality of this book, which is remarkably free of misprints, though Exonians may be surprised to find their St Sidwell beneath St Sidefulle (759).

Christopher Holdsworth

Drake of Crowndale by P.T. Keppel-Jones and J. Wans, 32pp, 1986.. £1.50. (£1.80 by post from 12 Westmoor Park, Tavistock, Devon, PL19 9AA)

If, as legend has it, Sir Francis Drake will return whenever danger threatens England, it was surely legitimate to invoke echoes of Drake's childhood haunts in aid of the restoration of the church of the parish of Whitchurch, with which the Drake family certainly had connections. Crowndale, his reputed birthplace, is only just outside the parish bounds. This is a serious, but imaginative, attempt to recapture a local scene of over four hundred years ago. The two authors have read as widely as possible and their footnotes enable the reader to pick up their tracks, though page references would have been helpful. They are careful to distinguish fact from legend and they steer a judicious course between rival authorities. Having taken the story up to the departure of Francis's family for points east they conclude with a description of life in a mid-Tudor household and with some contemporary recipes. If the booklet is reprinted the authors should note that clerical celibacy was reaffirmed not 'made obligatory' in 1539 (p4), that (p10) very few country women could themselves read or write and (p13) that by the early sixteenth century nearly all Devon farmland was enclosed.

Joyce Youings

Industrial archaeology of Dartmoor by Helen Harris. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1986, 239pp. £12.95. ISBN 0 7153 8865 7.

When it was first published in 1968 this volume was given a warm welcome as an addition to the David & Charles series on the 'Industrial archaeology of the British Isles'. The general editor, Rodney Green, is long since dead and, now in its third edition, Helen Harris' book is now the only survivor of a series which did not take off into sustained growth. More substantially revised than the 1972 edition, the changes are largely concentrated in the Gazetteer. Almost every page here shows revision, a tribute to the careful fieldwork which Helen Harris has carried out. More information is now available so there are additions and amendments. Further, some sites and structures have been altered or demolished. Mining and quarrying, which have made a great impact on the landscape, obviously predominate but the waterpower of the moor, which was harnessed to drive corn, paper, powder, saw and woollen mills and to produce electricity, also gets careful consideration. And Mrs Harris quite rightly treats agriculture as an industry, providing welcome support for my view about the matter which was challenged by Cynthia Gaskell-Brown's comment on my *Devon's industrial past* (price £1.85) in *Devon Historian*, 34, page 37. A valuable change is an improved and updated bibliography but the illustrations are virtually unaltered, though more poorly produced on matt rather than shiny paper. Obviously constrained by the existing layout—any additions had to be balanced by comparable deletions—Helen Harris has successfully revised her volume which should be an invaluable *vade mecum* for anyone who wishes to explore the industrial archaeology of Dartmoor for a decade or more. And a final comment, as an index of inflation in our times: the first edition cost 50s.

Walter Minchinton

Payne's Devon. ed. Peter Hunt. Devon Books.

The eminent watercolourist William Payne (1776-1830) was probably a Devonian, and certainly a substantial number of his paintings before c.1880 deal with subjects in the county. Devon Books are to be congratulated for publishing in this volume over eighty of these dating from the 1790s, reproducing them with enormous care and in magnificent fashion.

Payne's works are historically valuable, both as records of landscape (with reservations), and as memorials to the taste of his time—principally that of the picturesque. His pictures display the characteristic love of roughness, intricacy, irregularity and variety associated with that system of aesthetics, with craggy rockfaces, rustic buildings and moving water much in evidence; and—let it be said—a penchant for peasants, sailors, cattle and carthorses, held by some contemporaries to be more picturesque than the well-dressed gentleman and the well-bred hunter. Arising from that, a cautionary note should be entered: Payne was no mere topographer and could well have subordinated reality to what would make a good picture, although the depictions of country houses at any rate appear to possess a high degree of accuracy.

Artists and travellers of the 18th century were much given to the use of Claude Glass, a barely silvered convex mirror in which a perverted image of the landscape could be viewed as it might appear in a painting by Claude Lorraine, one of the idols of the picturesque movement. Whether or not Payne made use of such an instrument is not clear, but the editor of *Payne's Devon*, Peter Hunt, unfortunately uses a literary form of the device in his commentary. He rarely has anything less than interesting to say, and some of his tangential discussions are illuminating, if lengthy. However, too frequent mention of what has happened to the county since the early 19th century distorts the balance of the book, high-lighting the recent foreground at the expense of the historical distance. A particular example occurs on page 50, where an account of the naturist habits of guests at Coleton Fishacre (incidentally, designed by Oswald Milne not 'Roger' Milne as Mr Hunt has it) in the 1920s and '30s is amusing but hardly relevant to a description of Devon in the age of Payne. Nor does the information that 400 kV pylons now cross the Tamar and the Tavy assist greatly in creating an impression of the county at the turn of the 18th century.

Nevertheless, the text does provide a significant measure of support to the watercolours and they are, after all is said and done, the book's captivating *raison d'être*.

Stephen Pugsley

Tavistock's Yesterdays by G. Woodcock. Tavistock, the author, Part I 1985, 37pp, Part II, 1986, 88pp. Each £2.50.

This is an interesting miscellany of pieces previously written for the *Tavistock Gazette* and local magazines, the two parts are attractively produced and the style is pleasant to read. Broadly there are three principal fields of scholarship: things, events and people. In terms of chronology Mr Woodcock is clearly fascinated by the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Local buildings, ranging from bridges,

churches and the cinema receive their due, as do street names. Events range from the incorporation of the Borough in the seventeenth century via the general strike of 1926 to the arrival of evacuees in the second world war. The pervasive influence of the Bedford interest on the one hand and of non-conformity on the other is a continual refrain. In periods of retrenchment the Bedford office could be a serious brake on progress as was shown in the nineteenth century campaign against nuisances. In 1846 614 families in Tavistock had no privy.

Royal visits are chronicled, so too is the radical tradition embodied in the Chartist MP Samuel Carter who incurred great parliamentary unpopularity by speaking against the expense of Wellington's funeral. For this reviewer the article on Carter's political career was one of the most interesting in the booklets but as a whole there are pieces to interest all who have regard for Tavistock's history. One surprising thing to emerge is how long-lived were many of the characters in these stories; the radical chartist died at 89; Richard Brawn, Portreeve, at 92 years. Clearly Tavistock suited its citizens.

J.H. Porter

Sources for a New Maritime History of Devon. Edited by David Starkey. Devon County Council. 1987. 112pp. ISBN 0 86114 646 8. £3.50.

The papers in this volume are the consequences of a symposium held at Exeter in March 1986. Glancing through them one is impressed by the range and geographical dispersion of the material described. An immediate reaction is to doubt whether the compilers of the history, limited in numbers and in the time at their disposal, will be able to do more than describe in outline the main features of the county's maritime growth. A definitive history, were it possible to write one, would surely need to be on the scale of a Victoria County History. Perhaps with this in mind both David Starkey in his introduction and Basil Greenhill in his 'Prologue: Some Thoughts on Maritime History' deny the claims of maritime history to exist as a discipline in its own right. Rather do they see it as a dimension of existing historical studies giving a vital perspective to the work of political, economic, social and other historians. The promotion of this awareness of the maritime factor would be through conferences, seminars etc and not from professorial chairs. If one accepts historical studies as a unity anyhow it seems hard that the maritime historian should be the odd man out. He needs a rallying point, a central clearing house, but perhaps the writers see the National Maritime Museum discharging this task. Coordination and interpretation become even more important as individual subjects develop their own languages as archaeology is doing.

Basic Greenhill goes on to remind us of the traditionally economically depressed conditions of the seafarer, living in the poorer parts of the coastal towns and socially isolated from the landsman. He makes the interesting suggestion that the romanticising of the sea was the latter's attempt to explain and rationalise an inward looking community which he did not understand. Whatever its origin, this romantic view, which was directed mainly towards the navy and which reached full expression in the 18th century, did have the effect both then and in the following century of attracting to the sea many youths who would not have been otherwise. In particular it brought in boys from land-locked middle class homes, at least serving to widen the view of the maritime dimension held by their families and friends. Its effect both on the Royal and Merchant Navies would repay study.

The six highly informative essays on source material begin with one by Margery Rowe describing what is available in the Devon Record Office. Next, Ian Maxted makes a gallant attempt not only to indicate the relevant printed sources but to say where in the county's libraries they can be found. His list is not meant to be comprehensive and it would be carping to note the omission of old friends. Perhaps the compilers of the history will include an expanded version as a bibliography. In 'Medieval Sources: A Preliminary Survey' Wendy Childs includes an excellent introduction to Devon's overseas trade in the period. She emphasises the large amount of work still to be done. Alison Grant considers port books and demonstrates that in spite of their limited scope and the fact that many are missing much of value can be got from them. She gives several cogent examples.

John Appleby and David Starkey assess the value of the records of the High Court of Admiralty in a study which can be read profitably by historians whose interests are not likely to take them to Chancery Lane. The authors warn that court witnesses are not the most truthful of people and that crimes that paid seldom left official traces. Alan Pearsall rehearses the material available in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, mainly naval. Part is complimentary to that at Kew, to the advantage of British Rail. The final paper by Robin Craig on sources for a history of Devon merchant shipping, 1750-1920, notes for exploration areas not normally traversed. He analyses Devon shipbuilding and ship ownership for certain periods and lists distinctive Devon sea-borne trades that merit further study. Again, a paper which can be read with profit by the non-maritime historian.

The volume contains a valuable collection of papers which should appeal to a readership wider than those interested solely in Devon's maritime past.

Adrian Reed

Ship's Crew Lists in the Devon Record Office. Devon County Council. 1987. 158pp. ISBN 0 86114 655 7. £3.00.

This volume is intended as a contribution to the source material for the Maritime History of Devon. In her introduction the county archivist explains that nearly twenty years ago it was decided to transfer some of the crew lists, official logs and running agreements from the Public Record Office to local record offices and other institutions. The Public Record Office retained all Devon records from 1835-57, samples from 1858-1913 and records of certain famous ships. The National Maritime Museum secured about 10% of the crew lists for 1861-1938 including Devon ships for years ending in "5". The Devon Record Office share was an incomplete coverage for Devon ports for 1863-1914 of about 5,000 returns. The present publication lists them alphabetically by ship's name and gives tonnage and the names of master and owner. (There are also some later returns and coverage for fishing vessels for 1884-1914 which are not included in this volume). The value of this carve-up seems debatable.

While the crew lists are for the specialist the general reader may find interest in the names of the vessels. *The Two Brothers* and linked family names like *John and Anne* go back to the middle ages in contrast to the Maori names used by the New Zealand Shipping Company for their vessels registered at Plymouth. Women's names predominate with the *Annes* and *Annies*, the *Bessies*, *Lizas* and *Elizabeths*

fighting for the lead with the *Marys* and *Marias*. Surprisingly there are few names of places or birds. Contemporary sentiment is no doubt reflected in the *Revivalist* of 1870 and the *Band of Hope* of 1863 and a successful West Coast voyage in the *Biafra* of Teignmouth of 1866. While my favourite must be *Neptune's Car* (Brixham 1871) my congratulations go to Messrs Westcott of Plymouth who in 1878 named a ship the *Telephone*, a year ahead of the first use of the word recorded by the Oxford Dictionary!

Adrian Reed

Sandford, Upton Hellions—Parish Patchwork by Daphne Munday, Devon Books, 1985, 294pp. £12.00.

Daphne Munday has produced a very readable and informative parish history, which should be of interest to those from the locality and other Devon historians. The book is lavishly illustrated with photographs and line drawings. Many of the documents used are quoted in full enabling comparisons to be made with other parishes. The chapters are arranged in such a way as to give a good sense of the locality before the reader is plunged into the minutiae. One disappointment is that the two page 'index' at the back is merely a list of contents. The use of subtitles only partly makes up for this deficiency.

The first chapters describe the settlements and the early history of the two parishes. Sandford's proximity to Crediton soon becomes apparent; their records were not always kept separately as in 1524-5 when Sandford was taxed with Crediton. The author then moves on to describe the two main houses in the parishes—Creedy and Dowrich and the families associated with them. The feudal influence of Creedy House is a recurrent theme in the book. The charming early twentieth century diary of Robert Bird Ford (see photograph page 195), land agent for Creedy, gives an employee's eye view. His master was Sir William Augustus Davie who regarded the new bathroom at Creedy House as unsanitary!

Other farms and families follow, accompanied in most cases with useful maps. A peculiar feature of Sandford was that eight of its farms including Creedy were originally prebendary farms held by canons of the college at Crediton, and its church was merely a chapelry of the same before its union with Upton Hellions in 1928. Notable vicars and parishioners are dealt with next, followed by the diary mentioned above. The roads—and their bicycle accidents, watercourses, mills, inns and even herb gardens are dealt with in turn. Agriculture, trade and industry, shops, apprentices, law and order, the arrival of modern conveniences, charities, sport, local societies, revels and fairs are among the subjects that make up the remainder of the book bringing the history right up to date. A whole section is devoted to fires, to which Sandford's thatched roofs were particularly prone, with some harrowing pictures of the fire of 1891.

In a book of this size it is not surprising to find some minor errors and omissions. The three lances shown on the Launcelles coat-of-arms (page 51) are probably a pun on the name, cf., the swallows or 'hirondelles' on the coat-of-arms of the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornwall. The old chestnut about reused ships' timbers occurs twice in connection with house roofs and bench ends (pages 52, 81). There was a real shortage

of suitable timber for ships in this period and no shortage of ruined buildings locally. Apart from this, would salt saturated wood really have been in demand, and so far inland? A tithing (tenth) is also a subdivision of the administrative area called a hundred (page 53). Usually only rood lofts were destroyed at the reformation and the rood screen may well have survived until the 1848 restoration. The pound house would be near the enclosure where stray animals were kept, similarly a stockhouse would probably have been for parish stores. A typing slip on page 171 gives Thomas Westcote's date as 1547 rather than 1630. Finally, a mark was not a medieval coin but a convenient unit of accounting, the value given on page 275 is however correct.

The scrapbook style cover gives little clue of the wealth of local detail and research that this book contains. To the amateur local historian it shows what can be achieved, for the professional it forms a useful reference work, while for the future historian it will be an invaluable source.

Joanna Mattingly

Scandal in the Workhouse by Laurie Manton; **The Land of Goschen** by Anne German. Totnes Community Archive, 1986. 53pp and 50pp.

These two pamphlets from the highly productive team of the Totnes community archive deal with life in the Totnes workhouse during 1869-70. They are based on reports culled from the *Totnes Times* for the period. Laurie Manton's work investigates the poor law inspector's inquiry into the virulent disagreements between porter Harris and his wife and the master and matron which led to the formers' dismissal and a resolve by the guardians never again to employ a husband and wife team. Harris reappears in Anne German's booklet as a Tory bigot but only amidst a more general description of the administration of, and life in the workhouse.

The Inspector recommended several improvements to the workhouse, such as a day room for the old men, and the authorities were further embarrassed by young children being malnourished and babies being conceived within the workhouse. However, since the two pamphlets concentrate one year only it is difficult to tell whether this year was exceptional or typical.

J.H. Porter

Kingston Remembered Kingston History Society. A5 32pp. Available from Kingston Post Office, £1.20, or by post (£1.45) from Mrs Darrah, Springfield, Kingston, Kingsbridge, Devon, TQ7 4PP. ISBN 0 9512277 0 X.

This little booklet comprises a series of personal reminiscences collected by the Kingston History Society. It provides glimpses of village life from the early years of the century through the wars and up to the 1953 coronation. The description of such activities as pig-killing day, harvesting and cider making reflect what was typical in many parishes in earlier days, while that of the annual arrival of a coal barge from Wales (pre 1914) at Wonwell beach, when local people came with horse-drawn wagons and carts to load up their year's supply, is more unusual. Charming illustrations, drawn from old photographs are provided by H.M. Petter. A simple map would have been an added enhancement.

Helen Harris

Parish Maps—celebrating and looking after your place 1. (10 plates, 2 figures) ISBN 1 870364007 and **The Parish Boundary—celebrating and looking after your place 2.** (5 plates, 3 figures) ISBN 1 870364015. Both by Tom Greeves, Local Initiatives Officer for Common Ground. Pub. Common Ground. Each 24 pages, illustrated, soft covers. £1.25 each, p&p £1.75 per copy. Obtainable from Common Ground, 45 Shelton Street, London, WC2H 9HJ (cheques with order).

These two booklets suggest ways in which those who care about the places in which they live can acquire and record more local knowledge, for their own interests and to benefit future generations. Such information can also be an advantage when cherished parishes are threatened by unwelcome developments. Attractively produced, the booklets are particularly recommended to DHS members, who consequently may feel inclined to form their own local groups for such parish projects.

Helen Harris

About Tavistock. Tavistock and District Local History Society has produced a 16-page booklet entitled *About Tavistock-six town walks*. The sections comprise: A town walk; industrial archaeology; a walk round the churches; the Abbey trail; town-centre pubs; and Tavistock and the dukes. Contributors are: Gerry Woodcock, Helen Harris, Joyce Metcalf and Alex Mettler. Illustrations are by students of Tavistock School. Price 60p the booklet is obtainable from Tavistock Museum, local bookshops and information centres.

NOTICES

Oral History Projects

Members of the Council would be interested to know if any oral history projects are being carried out in the county, with a view to co-ordination if this is thought to be necessary.

Colyton Parish History Society

Congratulations to the Colyton Parish History Society, which has come into being during the past year, and now has nearly 150 keen members. The group has joined the Devon History Society and the members are hoping to research all aspects of Colyton's history, and eventually to produce some printed results of their findings. We wish them well.

An Ashburton Collection

Members of the Society might like to know that there is a collection of an Ashburton solicitor's papers in the Ashburton Museum at 1 West Street, Ashburton. This collection includes bundles of documents about the local railway, the gas works, an election issue and local industries, farms and families.

These papers, known as the 'Tucker Papers', may be seen by appointment with the Hon. Curator, Ken Watson (Ashburton 53278) or with Mrs L. Hatch (Ashburton 52298).

Devon History—Copies for sale

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Request for information

Mr M.E. Coates, 123 Wathaman Terrace, Saskatoon, Sask, Canada, S7K 4P5, is researching the family of his paternal grandmother, Mary Jane LINTON. Her father (christian names unknown), who served in the British Navy, is believed to have been buried in a cemetery 'near Torquay'. Any information on names and dates would be greatly appreciated.

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