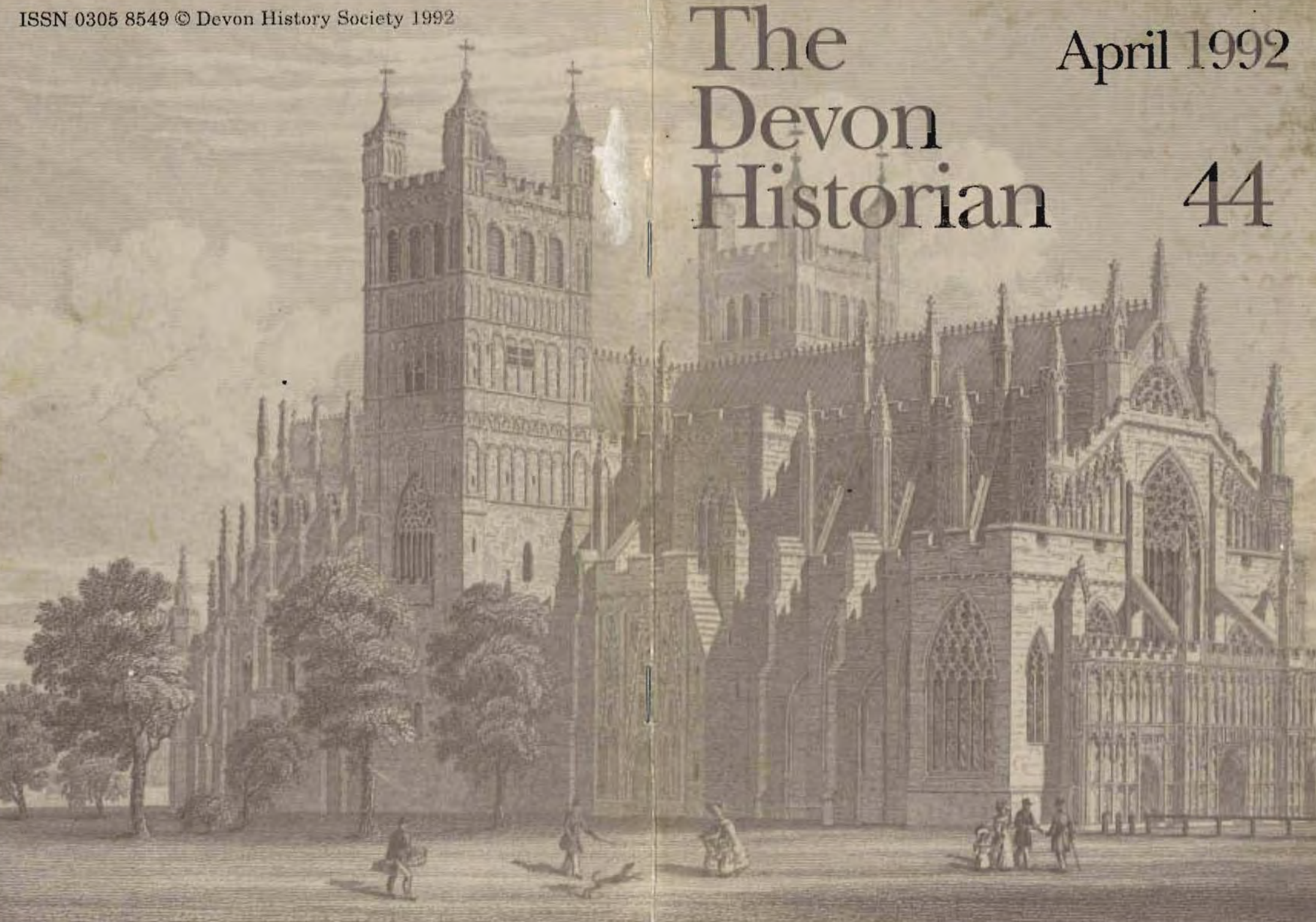


The Devon Historian

April 1992

44



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THE DEVON HISTORIAN

Correspondence relating to *The Devon Historian* and contributions for publication should be sent to Mrs Helen Harris, Hon. Editor, *The Devon Historian*, Hirondelles, 22 Churchill Road, Whitchurch, Tavistock PL19 9BU. The deadline for the next issue is 1 July 1992. Books for review should be sent to Mrs S. Stirling, c/o Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter. EX1 1EZ, who will invite the services of a reviewer. It is not the policy of the Society to receive unsolicited reviews.

DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY CONFERENCES

These will be at Membury on 21 March, and Tavistock on 13 June.

The print on the cover is *N.W. View of Exeter Cathedral*, steel engraving by W. Deeble after R. Browne. Published R. Jennings, London 1830. (Somers-Cocks no. 821)

CONTENTS No. 44

April 1992

Notices	2	
The church militant but not always triumphant	JOHN TYERMAN WILLIAMS ..3	
New contributors	10	
Characteristics of Devon agriculture in the early modern period	ANN SHERIDAN	11
Nasmyth's steam hammer at Devonport	KEITH S. PERKINS	14
Devon worthies – time for a recount?	ADRIAN REED	20
An interesting trade mark on a building in Exeter	CHRISTOPHER G. SCOTT.....	22
Planning and the historic environment: an update	SIMONS TIMMS.....	24
Publicans and sinners?	M.G. DICKINSON.....	28
Reviews:		
Whiteway's cyder: a company history, by E.V.M. Whiteway (Walter Minchinton) ...	30	
Follett, our great lawyer, by David Pugsley (J.H. Porter)	31	
Unity and variety, the Church in Devon and Cornwall, ed. Nicholas Orme (Simon Timms)	31	
Yesterday's Exmoor, by Hazel Eardley-Wilmot (Simon Timms)	33	
The transition from tradition to technology, a history of the dairy industry in Devon by Peter Sainsbury (Helen Harris)	34	
Tavistock's Yesterdays 7, by G. Woodcock (Helen Harris)	35	
Other publications received	35	
News from local societies	36	
Devon History Society 21st AGM	38	
Obituary:		
Professor W.G. Hoskins, CBE, FBA (Joyce Youings)	40	

DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Current and back issues of *The Devon Historian* (except for numbers 7, 11, 15, 16 and 23) can be obtained from Mrs S. Stirling, Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter EX1 1EZ. (Number 22, which is available, was not a 'normal' issue, but was totally devoted to being our first Bibliography). Copies up to and including No 36 are priced at £1.70, post free, and from No 37 onwards £2.25. Also available post free are *Index to The Devon Historian* (for issues 1-15 70p and 16-30 £1.20), and *Devon Bibliography* (1980 70p, 1981 and 1982 80p each, 1983 and 1984 95p each). Bibliographies for more recent years are available from Devon Library Services.

The Vice-Chairman, Mr John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay TQ2 6ES, would be glad to acquire copies of the out-of-stock numbers of *The Devon Historian* listed above.

NOTE FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Articles are welcomed by the Hon. Editor to be considered for publication in *The Devon Historian*. Generally the length should not exceed 3,000 words (plus notes and possible illustrations), although much shorter pieces of suitable substance may also be acceptable, as are items of information concerning museums, local societies and particular projects being undertaken.

To assist the work of the Editor and the printers please ensure that contributions are clearly typewritten, on one side of the paper only, with double spacing and adequate margins, and also, as far as possible, that the journal's style is followed on such matters as the restrained use of capital letters, initial single rather than double inverted commas, the writing of the date thus e.g.: 21 March 1992, etc.

THE CHURCH MILITANT BUT NOT ALWAYS TRIUMPHANT: A RECONSIDERATION OF HENRY PHILLPOTTS, BISHOP OF EXETER, 1830-1869

John Tyerman Williams

An Anglican bishop who, by clear implication, excommunicates the Archbishop of Canterbury is a remarkable phenomenon. Yet this is what Bishop Phillpotts did at the end of the celebrated Gorham case when he wrote, 'In the name of the Holy Trinity. Amen. We Henry, by Divine permission Bishop of Exeter . . . do hereby renounce and repudiate all communion with anyone, be he who he may, who shall . . . institute the said George Cornelius Gorham as aforesaid.'¹

This excommunication referred directly to the clergyman the Archbishop Sumner sent to institute Gorham after Phillpotts had refused to do so. But the excommunication of the agent could hardly fail to refer back to his principal. As we shall see, Phillpotts's attitude here was typical of his combative approach and his refusal to accept any infringement of what he considered his legitimate authority as bishop in his own diocese.² The importance of the Gorham case of course extended far beyond the bounds of any one diocese. It was a test case for all the evangelical clergy in the Church of England and was the immediate cause of a small but distinguished exodus from that church to Rome.

The conflict began in 1847, when Mr Gorham was offered the living of Bramford Speke.³ The living was in the gift of the Crown but it lay in the Diocese of Exeter. Phillpotts was already suspicious of Gorham's orthodoxy and refused to sign the necessary testimonial until he had examined him. In fact Gorham had to take two examinations and answer 149 questions. Three were vital to the ensuing controversy. Numbers 5, 6 and 7, on baptismal regeneration, elicited Gorham's belief that baptism conveyed grace only when worthily received. That is, it was a conditional sign needing to be validated by future regeneration. To high churchmen, baptism conveyed grace unconditionally. This was one of the chief points at issue between the evangelicals and their Anglican opponents, especially their high church opponents. Phillpotts judged that Gorham's position was heretical; that is, contrary to the teachings of the Church of England. He therefore refused to institute him to his living. Gorham appealed to the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, the Court of Arches. On 2 August 1849, the Dean of Arches decided in favour of Phillpotts. Gorham appealed again; this time to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

By now the case had roused national interest. The Evangelical movement strongly supported Gorham, for his doctrine of baptismal regeneration was theirs, and if he were condemned, their position inside the Church of England would be untenable. Thoroughgoing Evangelicals were a minority, but they were now supported by all those who disliked clerical authority, feared Tractarians, or disliked the militant Phillpotts, not to mention those who could not understand what the controversy was all about.

Finally, on 8 March 1850, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council published its decision. Its judgment stressed that it was in no way deciding on the theological question of whether Gorham's views were orthodox, but only and exclusively on the legal question of whether they were clearly incompatible with the formularies of the Church of England. The committee decided that Gorham's position was not clearly incompati-

ble in this way. It therefore reversed the decision of the Court of Arches. This decision secured the position of the Evangelicals within the Church of England, but it presented a painful problem to Tractarians and indeed to all the high church party. In the first place, it licenced Anglican clergy to teach a doctrine that Tractarians and their allies abhorred. Even worse, whatever disclaimers the judicial committee had made, it seemed clear that the ultimate practical authority in doctrinal matters belonged to a lay body whose members might not be Anglicans, and in the future might not even be Christians of any sort.

They protested. They held meetings. Phillpotts, with his love of litigation, searched for legal loopholes. All in vain. Most, with varying degrees of discomfort, resigned themselves to the situation. A few found it intolerable and submitted to the Roman Church. Strikingly, these included two sons, Robert and Henry, of the most famous of earlier Evangelicals, William Wilberforce. It is also noteworthy that it was Mrs Robert Wilberforce who showed her husband the way. But the greatest of those whom the Gorham judgment drove to Rome was Archdeacon Manning. On 6 April 1851, he was received into the Church of Rome, thus taking the first step that eventually led him to be Archbishop of Westminster and a Cardinal.⁴

For 'Henry of Exeter' himself there was never any question of 'Popping', though his chaplain, William Maskell, was an early seceder. As we have seen, Phillpotts remained intransigent. Seven years later, he published a pastoral letter where he quoted the condemnation by the third council of Ephesus of those who denied 'the spiritual regeneration of baptized infants in and by Baptism.' The bishop added that the 'Law of England, both ecclesiastical and temporal, adjudged to be heresy' whatever was condemned as heretical by that council.⁵ Unsurprisingly, relations between the eventually instituted Mr Gorham and his bishop were decidedly prickly. Happily there was a final reconciliation, at Gorham's initiative, when he was dying.⁶

Although Phillpotts lost his battle against Gorham, he remained obdurate in refusing to institute other clergymen whose baptismal doctrines he disapproved. And nobody else dared to risk a long and costly legal battle with a man who, according to his son, spent between £20,000 and £30,000 in lawsuits. As a standard of comparison, when Phillpotts was appointed Bishop of Exeter, the episcopal income was only £2,700 a year.⁷

The militant churchman

Five years after the Gorham case, Anthony Trollope published *The Warden*. At the beginning of chapter viii, he gives a description of Archdeacon Grantley's three sons. These are generally accepted as pictures of three contemporary bishops: the eldest, Charles, of Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London, the great administrative reformer; the youngest, Samuel, 'dear little Soapy', of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, then of Winchester, also known as 'Soapy' or 'Slippery' Sam. In the middle came Henry. 'He was a most courageous lad . . . other boys would fight when they had a leg to stand on, but he would fight with no leg at all . . . Henry never gave in, was never weary of the battle . . . His relations could not but admire his pluck, but they sometimes were forced to regret that he was inclined to be a bully.' His pugnacity shows in his portraits as well as in his actions. A portrait in early manhood looks strikingly handsome, though clearly dominant and even domineering. A photograph taken in his old age shows a bulge beneath his lower lip that suggests years of vigorously projected polemic.

The militant Tory

Long before the Gorham case, Phillpotts was one of the most controversial figures in the Church of England. An uncompromising high Tory, he had written in defence of the government in its most unpopular measures: the poor law of 1819, the continuation of the Test act, Peterloo, the case of Queen Caroline.⁸ Even when he did accept change he was equally controversial. The more extreme opponents of Catholic emancipation attacked him as a traitor when he continued to support Peel – also considered a traitor to the protestant cause – as Tory candidate for Oxford. He reached the height of his unpopularity after the Lords defeated Grey's Reform Bill, which had passed the Commons. An Exeter mob attacked his palace, which was garrisoned by men of the 7th Yeomanry.⁹

How fair was this hostility? Of his defence of unpopular government measures, no more can be said than that he gave vigorous expression to the accepted views of his party. The charge of deserting his principles on Catholic emancipation was certainly unjust. His correspondence with Wellington, then Prime Minister, shows that he had not opposed emancipation absolutely. He accepted it reluctantly, though he did urge safeguards and continued to criticise the government for failing to provide them.¹⁰ This was adequate justification for his support of Peel, though he also argued that Peel was a good member for Oxford and that it was foolish to discard him because of disagreement on one issue, however important. His unpopularity over the Reform Bill was understandable, but it was shared by the bishops as a body. The Lords had defeated Grey's bill by forty-one votes. It was known that twenty-one bishops had voted against it. Radicals were quick to point out that the Bill would have passed had these bishops voted the other way. At a meeting in Regent's Park, the chairman, Joseph Hume, received a large placard saying, 'Englishmen – remember it was the bishops, and the bishops only, whose vote decided the fate of the Reform Bill.'¹¹

For a time, the bishops were the most hated group in England. Many were mobbed or insulted. On Guy Fawkes day 1831, an effigy of the local bishop often replaced the traditional Guy Fawkes or Pope. At Clerkenwell all twenty-one were burnt. A topical version of the old song went –

Remember, remember
That God is the sender
Of every gift unto man;
But the devil, to spite us
Sent fellows with mitres
Who rob us of all that they can.¹²

The reforming bishop

Reactionary though Phillpotts was in politics, his reign as a bishop has been described as 'an ecclesiastical reform of the most drastic kind.'¹³ His principal aims were to enforce clerical residence, to improve clerical training, to suppress clerical hunting, and to reduce his unwieldy diocese by the establishment of a separate diocese for Cornwall. In all his efforts, he had the disadvantage of being a high churchman in a low church diocese, and a disciplinarian in a lax one. Given the situation, he achieved remarkable success. Most obviously successful was his war against clerical absenteeism. When he first came to his diocese in 1830, 92 incumbents were non-resident; at his death in 1869, there were only twelve.¹⁴ His *reside or resign* motto was clearly more than a mere slogan.

Clerical training

His campaign for a more rigorous and professional clerical education was rather less successful, though equally prolonged. As early as 1833, his Primary Charge urged the setting up of 'an institution in the nature of a school of Theology'. This was to be attached to the Cathedral Chapter. In it, candidates for Holy Orders might be required to reside for one or two years after they had left university and immediately before their ordination, thus acquiring the knowledge necessary for their holy vocation and giving testimony of their fitness for it by their previous conduct under the immediate eye of the bishop.¹⁵ In his charge of 1839, he wrote, 'it has been gratifying to observe, particularly in the younger portion of the clergy, a manifest and great increase in zeal in the prosecution of theological studies.'¹⁶

In 1861 he actually started a theological college in Exeter, funding it out of his own income. Lacking residential accommodation and with too few students, it ended in 1867. He bequeathed £11,204 for 'Phillpotts Studentships': postgraduate scholarships of £50 p.a. to be held for one or two years at Oxford or Cambridge.¹⁷

Although his zeal for clerical excellence was admirable, he sometimes expressed in a highly abrasive manner. The Revd W.H. Thornton recorded how Phillpotts advised him after his own ordination. 'Young man, I suppose you will be wanting to preach. I wish for one year I could silence you altogether, but I cannot, as there are two churches to be served. You would like also, I davesay, to preach your own sermons, and this, no doubt, would be excellent practice for you; but think, sir, of the inconceivable sufferings you would inflict on your unfortunate hearers. No, for the first year I command you never to preach if you can help so doing, and when you cannot, select one of Bishop Andrewes' sermons, it would take an hour to deliver, translate it into modern English, cut it down to twenty minutes, and however much you may bungle over it, you cannot do much harm by your clumsiness.' Unsurprisingly, Thornton disregarded this advice. Indeed he said that though Phillpotts was the only man he had ever feared, he did not entirely respect him because he had warned deacons not to dance, while his own clerical son was giving a ball.¹⁸

The diocese of Truro

As early as 1842, Phillpotts urged that Cornwall should have a separate diocese, and offered to surrender £1000 of his own income to endow Kenwyn Rectory as the future bishop's residence. Later he agreed to hand over his Cornish patronage to the new diocese when it should be formed, and he retained a fifth canonry for Exeter to be transferred in due time to Truro. As a final gesture, he left his valuable library to the clergy of Cornwall. This collection, the Phillpotts Library, is now kept in Truro.¹⁹ To appreciate how radical was Phillpotts's proposal for a Cornish bishopric, we must realise that in his time only one new English diocese had been created since Henry VIII. Even this solitary exception (Ripon, 1836) was less revolutionary than Phillpotts' since it did not increase the number of sees, as the hitherto separate bishoprics of Bristol and Gloucester were united at the same time.

The war against hunting parsons

Phillpotts was less successful, though equally persistent, in his campaign against clerical foxhunting. There were of course many hunting clergy all over England, but the Diocese of Exeter had a particularly large number. In 1830, there were twenty who kept their own hounds, apart from the much greater number who followed them.²⁰ Just

after Phillpotts' arrival, when he was touring his diocese together with his chaplain, he passed a hunt and noticed the large number of black coats among the riders. He exclaimed in horror that there must have been some terrible epidemic to explain so many mourners. His chaplain was too discreet to tell him that these men were wearing black coats, instead of the usual hunting scarlet, not because they were in mourning but because they were clergymen.²¹

Among the many hunting parsons with whom Phillpotts waged unrelenting but unsuccessful war was the most famous of them all: the Revd John Russell, whose name still lives in the breed of Jack Russell terriers. The bishop's first impression of Russell was favourable. His diary entry for 10 July 1831 calls Russell, 'a fine young man, said to be active and useful as a Clergyman, a good preacher.'²² Phillpotts continued to admire Russell as a preacher, even when he condemned his hunting. Indeed, he criticised Russell's hunting partly because he feared it would weaken the effect of his preaching. On one occasion, after hearing Russell preach, he praised the sermon warmly at luncheon. A lady 'nearly connected with the preacher and very well known as a rider in the hunting field, said, "Yes, my lord, yes, Mr Russell is very good in the wood (the pulpit), but I should like your lordship to see him in the pigskin (the saddle)." If, as one suspects, the lady was Penelope Russell, she was clearly as daring at the luncheon table as in the hunting field.²³

Jack Froude: vicar extraordinary

Another hunting parson in the diocese was the notorious Jack Froude, of whom his successor as vicar of Knowstone said he appeared to have committed every crime in the calendar. Fact and fiction are hard to disentangle in accounts of Froude, all the more because he figured, as the almost literally satanic Parson Chowne, in R.D. Blackmore's romance, *The Maid of Sker*. Among more serious villainies, he is here described as digging a kind of elephant trap for the coach of the visiting bishop.²⁴ Other stories, supposedly more factual, show Froude turning back an attempted visit from Phillpotts by getting his housekeeper to say her master had typhus fever. Another version has Froude merely shamming a bad cold, which, he said, made him 'deaf as a haddock'. Froude's unwavering pretence of deafness, accompanied by repeated offers of brandy and water, 'hot and strong', eventually forced the baffled Phillpotts to retire.²⁵ Yet Phillpotts's own account of a visit is quite unsensational. True, Froude was ill in bed, but there is no suggestion that Phillpotts was either suspicious or displeased. 'Church good – house fair,' he wrote. Though he did exclaim at the fox-brush bell-pulls. Of course, this entry was in 1831, while the other stories may refer to later visits, after Phillpotts had learned more of Froude's reputation.²⁶

Froude was exceptional, even if his reputation was unfairly blackened, but Phillpotts found many of his clergy unsatisfactory. When he was getting to know them, his diary is full of highly critical remarks. Non-residence, weakness and incapacity are the most common complaints, and there is one admitted case of incontinence. Inadequate testimonials (character references needed by ordinands) and too meagre salaries also caused difficulties. It is also noteworthy that though Phillpotts was a strong high-churchman, he praised several Evangelical clergy for their zeal.²⁷ The slovenly attitude of some of his clergy shows up in their letters to him. These are often badly written and untidily laid out, on what are hardly more than scraps of paper. This is all the more striking as many of them are requests for preferment or some kind of favour. Phillpotts would have been quite justified in dropping them, unanswered, in his wastepaper bas-

ket. Instead, he usually answered promptly and politely.²⁸

Phillpotts and high church doctrine

Doctrinally, Phillpotts was primarily a highchurchman of the pre-Tractarian school. Though often classed as an Anglo-Catholic, he never adopted this label himself. He accepted some of the specifically Anglo-Catholic doctrines while rejecting others. Thus he condemned the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints on the grounds that there was no adequate reason to believe they took cognizance of earthly affairs, and that invocation encouraged idolatry. He also, by clear implication, rejected 'the Romish doctrine of Purgatory'. As he also condemned Newman's *Tract XC*, which distinguished the Romish from the truly Catholic Doctrine, this implied rejection of purgatory as such.

On the other hand, he defended and supported Miss Sellon's sisterhood in Plymouth, which its opponents attacked as a crypto-Popish nunnery. On auricular confession, he judged that the Church of England discouraged but did not forbid it.²⁹ On the central matter of the Eucharist, Phillpotts's position seems to have varied considerably. In many of his official pronouncements, he asserts the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, yet in others he states what his biographer, the Revd Dr G.C.B. Davies, calls an almost 'receptionist' position, writing that 'the real presence is in the soul of the communicant'.³⁰ This may have been because this statement was made in controversy with the Roman Catholic Charles Butler, and a controversialist generally stresses differences rather than similarities; especially when he is Phillpotts. Yet thirty-two years later, in his pastoral letter of 1857, he seems to revert to receptionism, though he qualifies this by adding that Christ is present in the Eucharist but that how is a mystery.

Despite these vacillations, Phillpotts, on the whole, moved nearer to the Tractarian position on the Real Presence. His long friendship with Pusey may have influenced him here, as his strongest statements of support for the Tractarian position come in comments on Pusey. In 1844, he said he 'saw nothing to censure' in Pusey's University Sermon on the Eucharist, for which Pusey was suspended from preaching for two years. In 1855, he 'cordially approved' Pusey's *Doctrine of the Real Presence: as contained in the Fathers*. Perhaps the nearest we can come to his settled belief was his statement in 1856: 'That the Body and Blood of Christ are really and specially present in the Holy Eucharist, I must entirely believe . . . What that real presence . . . is . . . whether it be not a presence altogether *sui generis* . . . a presence which no tongue of man can describe, no intellect comprehend . . . are questions, which I submit to the sober minded, I will not say to be determined, but to be pondered with awe and reverence and humble thankfulness.'³¹

Phillpotts made one more important confession of his Eucharistic beliefs. An undated statement in Exeter Cathedral archives begins dramatically, 'If this address shall ever reach you, it will not be until (sic) the pen which writes – and the mind which dictates it shall be arrested by death.' The handwriting at the beginning of this document is extremely shaky, giving visual confirmation to the words. It gets noticeably firmer as the document goes on. After six pages, it ends abruptly. Most of it deals with his Eucharistic beliefs. He reaffirms his belief in the real presence but emphasizes that 'real' does not mean 'physical'. 'Nothing so gross can be conceived' as to suppose 'we may tear his flesh with our teeth, and take his blood into our mouths, and submit both one and the other to our instruments of digestion . . . The words (of Christ at the Last

Supper) must be understood in a sense accommodated to the ignorance and infirmity of our nature.'³²

Summing up

Looking back at the end of his episcopacy, Phillpotts rejoiced in the great improvement in clerical standards that had taken place during his lifetime. As 'a remodder of the episcopacy', he deserves considerable credit for this improvement. Five years before his death, *The Churchman's Family Magazine* published an article on Phillpotts, which said he 'exhibited a greater degree of fiery churchmanship than has, perhaps, been manifested since Hildebrand.' On the next page, it added, 'he most probably looks to a distant generation for a calm and exact measure of justice.'³³

Well over a century after his death, our generation should be sufficiently distant to give him that measure.

NOTES

1. Quoted in G.C.B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869*, (London, S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 257. Henceforth 'Davies'.
2. Phillpotts' 'unalterable conviction that a bishop should be the ruler of his own diocese.' E.K. Francis Brown, *History of the English Clergy, 1800-1900*, (London, 1953), p. 115.
3. For the Gorham case, see Davies, ch VII and Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Part 1, 3rd edn, (London, A. & C. Black, 1971), pp. 250-271. Henceforth 'Chadwick'.
4. Chadwick, pp. 262-271 and 298-301.
5. Davies, *loc cit.*
6. Chadwick, p. 269, note 1.
7. Boggis, R.J.E., *A History of the Diocese of Exeter*, (Exeter, 1922), pp. 501-2.
8. D.N.B. and Shutte, *The Life, Times and Writings of the Right Reverend Dr. Henry Phillpotts, Lord Bishop of Exeter*, vol. I [only volume published] (1863), chs II-IV and VI.
9. Chadwick, pp. 28-9.
10. Shutte, *op cit.*, ch. xviii and G.I.T. Machin, 'The Duke of Wellington and Catholic Emancipation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 14, 1963, p. 190 ff.
11. Chadwick, p. 26.
12. Chadwick, p. 29.
13. A.B. Donaldson, *The Bishopric of Tyra. The First Twenty-five Years, 1877-1902*, London, 1902.
14. Boggis, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-2.
15. Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, *Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, at his Primary Visitation*, (1833).
16. Phillpotts, *Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter*, (1839).
17. Boggis, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
18. W.H. Thornton, *Reflections and Reminiscences of an Old West-Country Clergyman*, 1st series, (Torquay, Andrew Iredale, (1897), p. 106.
19. Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
20. E.W.L. Davies, *John Russell*, p. 206.

21. E.W.L. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
22. Phillpotts, MS diary, 1831, entry for June 10th. Exeter Cathedral Library, ED 11.
23. E.W.L. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
24. R.D. Blackmore, *The Maid of Sker*, (Edinburgh & London, William Blackwood & Sons, 1872; edn consulted, 1887), pp. 360-1.
25. E.W.L. Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-6.
26. MS diary, 1831.
27. MS diary, 1831.
28. Exeter Cathedral Library, ED 11 (Correspondence and papers of Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter.)
29. G.C.B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts*, p. 260.
30. Phillpotts, *Twelth Letter to Charles Butler*, qu. in Davies, pp. 48-9.
31. For Phillpotts' beliefs about the Eucharist at different dates, see Davies, pp. 25 (1819), 48 (1825), 388 (1836), 164-5 (1839), 268 (1851), 370-7 (1856).
32. ED 11
33. *The Churchman's Family Magazine*, vol. IV, (July-December 1864), pp. 410 & 411.

NEW CONTRIBUTORS

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Ann Sheridan's particular interest is the seventeenth century. She has studied with the Open University and continues with other relevant courses. Currently she is researching the effects of the period's upheavals on one individual.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVON AGRICULTURE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Ann Sheridan

'I have been in all the counties of England, and I think the husbandry of Devonshire the best.'¹ This praise from Oliver Cromwell must have been echoed by many prospering seventeenth-century Devon farmers, though few may have had opportunity or wish to travel far enough to confirm it. Hoskins points out, no doubt without wishing to denigrate the claim, that the countryside around Crediton and Exeter was probably as much of Devon as Cromwell would have seen.² On the moors and in the uplands, farmers would have fared little better than their counterparts in other regions.

In the lush parts of Devon, through the judicious exchange of strips, the medieval pattern of open fields and communal farming was gradually giving way to the consolidation of manorial holdings into closes. By the seventeenth century, there were only scattered survivals of the open-field landscape. Yeoman farmers who had acquired groups of strips around their farmsteads were able to work them more profitably than their previously scattered portions. Banking and hedging the newly created fields provided shelter for stock as well as containing them, and allowed for controlled movement from field to field as grazing was depleted. Today, few pockets remain to illustrate those field patterns. 'Enclosures' have been opened up to make way for the broader acreages demanded by increasingly large agricultural machinery. The Great Field at Braunton is the only notable survival in Devon of medieval pre-enclosure farming practice.

Work on the demesne lands had continued well into the sixteenth century. The granting of leases developed as landlords sought less labour-intensive ways of running their estates, finding it preferable to set an annual rent plus a quite considerable entry fine for a three-lives' term. On reversion of any of those named, a further fine would be charged. This changing pattern from vast demesne lands, with open fields communally worked, to enclosed and enlarged individual farms enabled prospering yeomen to begin improving their dwelling houses and buildings. Where, traditionally, one end of a Devon longhouse had been used for over-wintering cattle, the wealthy now built separate byres and the shippens were converted into additional living space for the family.

As well as denying rights of common grazing, concentrated 'enclosures' meant fewer labourers need be employed. Christopher Hill considers this a possible factor in the 'catastrophic' fall in the living standards of the rural poor during the sixteenth century.³ Population growth also contributed to the surplus of labourers, and the effect of inevitable lowering of wage levels was compounded by rising food prices.

The climate and geology dictated land use as predominantly pastoral, though the poorer subsistence farmers worked both pastoral and arable in order to provide a minimum for their own needs and to pay their tithes in kind. The more fortunate yeomen improved their holdings, incorporating waste and reclaiming marshy land. Where rushes grew, the wet land was drained and treated with soap ashes and lime. On higher land, the meadows were 'floated' (flooded temporarily) by a channelled terracing system and, on the lower slopes, by damming streams and diverting rivulets across the pastures to link up with and renew the streams' flow. By these carefully judged practices, farmers could ensure an earlier, better and greater grass yield. This richer feed was said to produce sheep with 'coarser and longer wool, though more of it'.⁴ Devon sheep, however, remained short-woolled, their fleeces well suited to the local kersey trade. When serges, or 'perpet-

caaos', were introduced in the early seventeenth century, the short-stapled Devon wool was used for the weft with longer-staple being brought in for the warp. It was the eighteenth century before long-woolled fleeces were produced in Devon and, by then, the cloth trade in the region was negligible. One of its assets had been the provision of additional income to 'out-workers', cottagers and poorer farmers who spun, carded and weaved for the cloth trade in their own homes.

Where the effects of the plagues had decimated the land in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the population explosion of the seventeenth century caused a great upsurge in farming production and wealth, though such benefits continued to by-pass the labouring poor. More food was needed for the developing towns and suburbs, and Devon farmers sought to increase their cultivation of wheat, barley and rye to meet this growing demand. Where suitable, pasture was switched to arable. Beat-burning, also known as 'denshiring', was a practical method of converting grass to crop-growing. The turf was skimmed off with a plough, paring shovel or beat-axe, the grass burned and the resultant ash used to fertilise the uncovered soil. The Devon plough was a 'one-way' implement which could turn the furrow to left or to right.⁵ This was particularly suited to small field cultivation and on steep hills. Oxen were still used for ploughing, and this continued in some parts well into the eighteenth century. Although horses were said to do 'four times as much work as oxen',⁶ they were more costly to feed and seem to have been used mostly as pack-animals, carrying farmer and goods to market.

In addition to fertiliser from beat-burning, several forms of manuring were employed. Calcareous marl was dug to lighten clay soils. Where sandy soil was the problem, a more clayey version was used. Marl pits Lane at Honiton is one reminder of these diggings. Liming was also an important factor. Hoskins writes: 'Wherever there were standing pools, they threw in dung and lime, stirred it with a staff, and carried the rich mixture through their fields and meadows'.⁷ Stanes indicates that sledges were used on very steep land, and soil scooped up to the tops of hilly fields after cultivation.⁸ Besides animal dung, the household's 'night-soil' was not wasted, and this was also obtained from the towns. Little was pronounced useless in that near self-sufficient age. Farmland within reasonable carrying distance of the coast was treated with seaweed, and sea-sanding was another method of lightening heavy soil.

Apple orchards had always formed a part of land use, each farmer making his own cider and often using it as payment in kind for casual labour. Timber was in relatively short supply in Devon and was therefore considered a valuable commodity. Woods were coppiced, stakes and palings made, and hedge trimmings, gorse and peat used for fuel. In the latter part of the period, market gardening was developed and peas and beans became less of a luxury. Grass-seed was sold at Exeter, notably rye-grass, and clover and lucerne were introduced for pasture.

Contemporary accounts give some idea of the farming landscape, and of the importance attached to certain aspects of it. Writing in the early sixteenth century, John Leland found 'Al the Ground betwixt Modbury and Totenes plentiful of good Gresse, Corn and Woodde'⁹ and "betwixt Excester and Crideton exceeding fair Corn, Gresse and Wood".¹⁰ Other writers, such as Hooker, praised the shire in its entirety:

... I know that all or most part of other provinces be rich and profitable and stored, some with corn and cattle, some with fruits, and some with sheep and wool, and some with one commodity or another. But yet generally they cannot compare so many as this little corner yieldeth in sundry respects, both for the public wealth and private profit, and specially for corn and cattle, for cloth and wool, for tin and metals, and for

fish and sea commodities, all of which out of this county have passaged into all nations, and be very beneficial to the wide commonwealth.¹¹

In 1695, Celia Fiennes 'entered into Devonshire 5 mile off from Wellington' and saw 'a vast prospect . . . large tracks of grounds full of enclosures, good grass and corn beset with quicksetts and hedge rows'.¹² Quicksetts were saplings planted to form a living 'fence', annually layered to strengthen it.

Evidence to complement such impressions of the agricultural scene can be gleaned from surviving documents, from manorial and hundreds court rolls, from calendars of inquisitions post mortem, and from probate inventories. Listings of live- and dead-stock and the appurtenances of the household indicate the wealth of the deceased as well as something of his farming capacity. It can also be judged whether out-work had been taken in as necessity or the spinning and weaving confined to the household's own requirements.

Estate papers yield further clues. The Aclands are said to have built their estates from beginnings as medieval 'freeholders', holding land on socage tenure which involved certain obligations to the Bishop of Exeter, then lord of the manor, as well as the ten shillings annual rent. Some freeholders paid as little as one penny or a half-penny a year. These 'freehold' lands were often then sub-let for higher payments than the original charter terms entailed. The practice continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Extant leases show the entry fines and annual rents paid. Restrictions were often imposed on the utilisation of the rented land. Landlords sought guarantee that it would be preserved in good heart throughout the term of each lease, no matter whether it was for three lives with right of reversion or for ninety-nine years.

It would seem that the 'agricultural revolution'¹³ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which Eric Kerridge argues took place throughout England, was reflected only lightly in Devon's farming development. Indeed, whilst quoting Kerridge, Joan Thirsk warns of 'the impossibility of measuring agricultural change in the past in a totally satisfactory way . . . every region proceeded at its own pace . . . determined by the natural agricultural attributes of each area . . . Most of all . . . to the economic opportunities afforded by the markets, and by the transport facilities then available to reach these markets'.¹⁴

It is certain that Devon's 'early modern' farmers took advantage where they could of local and national phenomena such as the important Exeter cloth trade and the country's population boom. When these declined, Devon agriculture was left to find its natural economic level until tilted, for better or for worse, by events in ensuing centuries.

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NASMYTH'S STEAM HAMMER AT DEVONPORT

Keith S. Perkins

'... I did not like the 'breest o' the laft' principle.¹ No doubt the love of distinction, within reasonable limits, is a great social prime mover; but at Devonport, with the splitting up into ranks and dignities even amongst the workmen, I found it simply amusing'.

(James Nasmyth, *An autobiography*: ed Samuel Smiles 1885)

James Hall Nasmyth, engineer (1808-1890),² was born in Edinburgh and first came to the Westcountry from Patricroft, his Bridgewater (near Manchester) factory, during the late 1830s. Here the Great Western Railway Company – with Isambard Kingdom Brunel³ as its Chief Engineer – had ordered from him 20 steam locomotives for service on the main line between London and Bristol. The locomotives were duly made, delivered and tested to the complete satisfaction of the Board of Directors who were greatly impressed by the excellence of the workmanship.

Such praise – not surprisingly – led to other work, in particular for the Great Western Steamship Company and for another Brunel project: the construction of the iron-hulled steamship SS. *Great Britain*.⁴ For this, there was an urgent need for machine tools of 'unusual size and power', and Nasmyth was able to fulfil such orders. But in November 1839 a problem of considerable proportion arose! Nowhere in the British Isles was it possible to forge the massive paddle shaft for the new ship. Nasmyth was approached on the matter and after some 'deliberation', he conceived his steam forging hammer. He produced – in the space of little more than 30 minutes – the famous drawing for which he is now celebrated. The steam hammer would prove more successful, even, than SS. *Great Britain* herself, to become an important part of the metallurgical arsenal of the Industrial Revolution. As fate would have it, Brunel discarded the idea of propelling his new ship by paddle wheel, and instead turned to 'Archimedes'⁵ for a solution, and adopted screw propulsion. James Nasmyth recalls that: 'The paddle shaft of the *Great Britain* was never forged'.⁶

Nasmyth's brilliant idea suffered, not only because he had no money with which to finance its development, but also because of the current, widespread depression in the iron trade. Industry as a whole could not afford the new power of the steam hammer. Three years passed by without – it seems – further progress, although in 1840 Nasmyth advocated that his steam hammer should be adopted for use in Royal Navy

dockyards. He was unsuccessful. But in 1842 he got the shock of his life when, having been invited to France to visit the French dockyards, he toured the ironworks of M. Schneider at Creuzot.⁷ Here M. Bourdon, the manager, conducted him to the forge department '... that I might' as he said 'see my own brain child... and there it was in truth – a thumping child of my brain'. Indeed, Nasmyth was confronted with the real thing. A steam hammer in full action. The first ever built!

In short, M. Schneider and M. Bourdon had visited Patricroft in 1841 without Nasmyth's knowledge. They had been given access to his Scheme Book and other mechanical ideas which were made freely available to foreign visitors! Expressing pleasure at what he saw at Creuzot, nevertheless, Nasmyth returned home fearing that he might lose the benefit of his invention. He secured a patent for it (No. 9382) on 9 June 1842.

With a recovery from depression in the iron trade, at last, and a loan from his brother-in-law, James Nasmyth was able to construct a steam hammer of his own. Soon the world would learn about it, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty would begin to take notice of him! In 1843, they dispatched 'a deputation of intelligent officers' to Patricroft – Captain Burgman, resident engineer at Devonport amongst them. They soon recognised the 'powerful agency of the steam hammer for marine forge work' and, to Nasmyth's great delight and pleasure, he received his first-ever Government order – to produce for Devonport,⁸ a steam hammer and all requisite accessories.

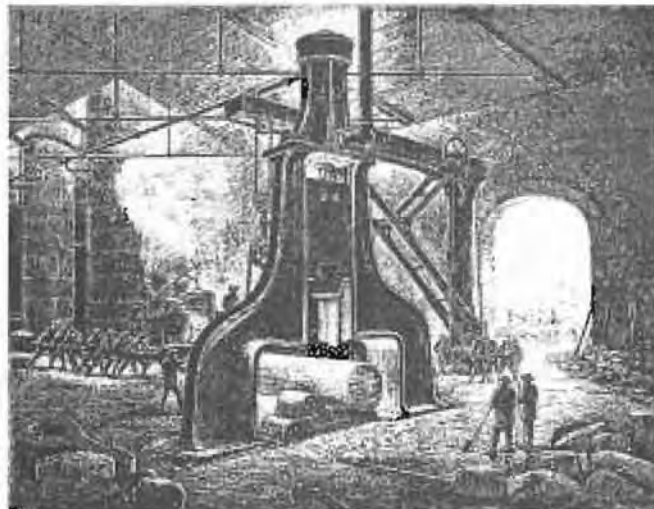
When all was ready, James Nasmyth set out for Devonport with two mechanics to erect his machine. It was an occasion when the Lords of the Admiralty were carrying out their annual inspection. Nasmyth records:

'I proceeded to show them the hammer. I passed it through its paces. I made it break an eggshell in a wineglass without injury to the glass. It was neatly effected by the two and a half ton hammer as if it had been done by an eggspoon. Then I had a great mass of white hot iron swung out of the furnace by a crane and placed on the anvil block. Down came the hammer on it with ponderous blows. My Lords scattered, and flew to the extremities of the workshop, for splashes and sparks of hot metal flew about. I went on with the hurtling blows of the hammer, and kneaded the mass of iron as if it had been clay.'

There now followed new orders 'to supply all the Royal Dockyards' forge departments



James Nasmyth (1808-1890)



Steam Hammer at work: From a painting by James Nasmyth.

with a complete equipment of steam hammers . . .

Devonport now became the venue for Nasmyth's subsequent development of the steam hammer, for it was here that the steam hammer pile driver became practical reality for the first time!

During the visit to Devonport in 1843 by the Lords of the Admiralty, they concluded a contract for constructing the great dock at

Keyham where it was necessary to carry out a 'vast amount of pile driving'. Messrs Baker and Sons, the contractors, approached Nasmyth to enquire as to the applicability of the steam hammer to the role of pile driver. Nasmyth did not hesitate for, it just so happened, he had with him drawings of such a machine, having already patented it!⁹

Captain Brandreth, Director of Naval Works, in due course received Nasmyth's drawings for inspection and evaluation and, with his consent, two steam hammer pile drivers, capable of driving 18 inch square piles 70 feet long into the silt of the Hamoaze, were ordered. Nasmyth recalls: 'This first order for my pile driver was a source of great pleasure to me.' However, it was some time before theory was turned into reality. As soon as he returned to Patricroft, Nasmyth set about preparing new working drawings. Eventually the pile drivers were completed and delivered in Devonport. They were erected on the spot where they were to be used, but this appears to have been as late as 3 July 1845. Nasmyth describes the scene:

'There was a great deal of curiosity in the dockyard as to the action of the new machine. The pile-driving machine-men gave me a good-natured challenge to vie with them in driving down a pile. They adopted the old method, while I adopted the new one. The resident managers sought out two great pile logs of equal size and length - 70 feet long and 18 inches square. At the given signal we started together. I let in the steam, and the hammer at once began to work. The four-ton block showered down blows at the rate of eighty a minute; and in the course of four and a half minutes my pile was driven down to its required depth. The men working on the ordinary machine had only begun to drive. It took upwards of twelve hours to complete the driving of their pile. Such a saving of time in the performance of similar work - by steam versus manual labour - had never before been witnessed . . . My new pile driver was thus acknowledged as another triumphant proof of the power of steam'.¹⁰

There is little doubt that Nasmyth's residency in Devonport had given him much

pleasure; not least the advancement of his Steam Hammer and the historic initiation of the Pile Driver. However, there was one aspect of Devonport that did not appeal to him at all:

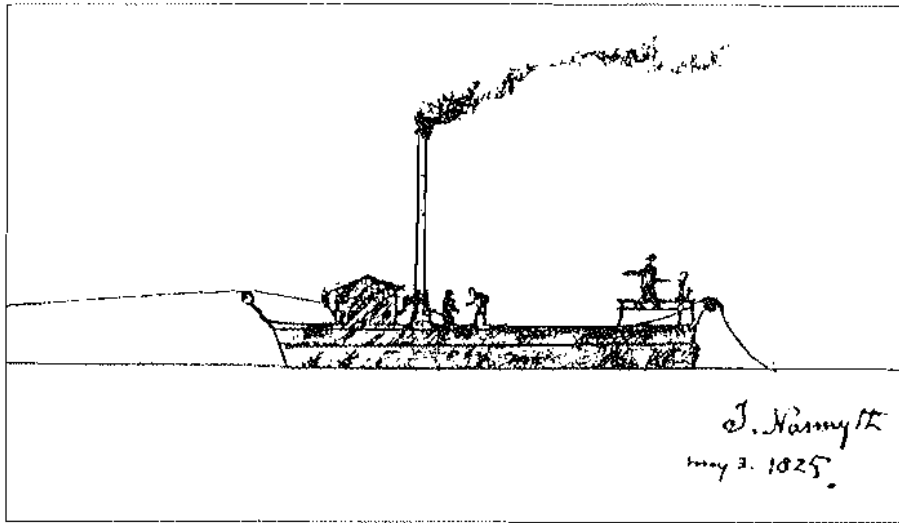
'I was much amused, when I first went to Devonport dockyard, to notice the punctilious observance of forms and ceremonies with respect to the various positions of officials - from the Admiral Superintendent down the official grades of dignity, to the foreman of departments, and so on. I did not care for all this panjandrum of punctiliousness, but was, I hope, civil and chatty with everybody. I had a good word for the man as well as for the foreman. I received some kind and good natured hints as to the relative official superiority that prevailed in the departments, and made a scale or list of the various strata accordingly. This gamut of eminence was of use to me in my dealings with dockyard officials. I was enabled to mind my p's and q's in communicating with them.

The first Sunday that I spent at Devonport I went to the dockyard church - the church appointed for officials and men employed by the Government. The seats were appointed in the order of rank, employments and rate of pay. The rows of seats were all marked with the class of employers that were expected to sit in them. Labourers were near the door. The others were in successive rows forward, until the pew of the Admiral Superintendent, next the Altar rails, was reached. I took my seat among the artificers, being of that order. On coming out of church the Master-Attendant, next in dignity to the Admiral Superintendent, came up to me to say how distressed he was to see me among the artificers, and begged me in future to use his seat.

No doubt this was kindly intended, and I thanked him for his courtesy. Nevertheless I kept to my class of artificers. I did not like the 'breest o' the laft' principle. No doubt the love of distinction, within reasonable limits, is a great social prime mover; but at Devonport, with the splitting up into ranks and dig-



Pile driving at Devonport.



Nasmyth's system for working a steam vessel along a submerged chain cable.

nities even amongst the workmen, I found simply amusing'.¹¹

Retrospectively we cannot ignore one other important influence which James Nasmyth had in South Devon; even before the Steam Hammer episode. In 1825, whilst attending the Edinburgh School of Arts, he had conceived a system for moving steam vessels along a submerged chain cable. In July 1845, whilst at Devonport, he noticed the Torpoint Floating Bridge crossing over the River Tamar, and later commented that:

'I had the pleasure to see this simple mode of moving vessels along a definite course in most successful action at the ferry across the Hamoaze at Devonport, in which my system of a steam engine on board the ferry boat, to warp its way along a submerged chain lying along the bottom of the channel from side to side of the ferry, was most ably carried out by my late excellent friend James Rendell (sic) Esq, C.E. . .'¹²

In October 1851, Nasmyth received what must have been the supreme accolade of his life when he was summoned to appear in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to describe his Steam Hammer and other inventions. The Queen in her diary described him for his charm and manner in which simplicity, modesty and enthusiasm of genius are all strikingly combined. . .¹³

James Nasmyth died in South Kensington on 7 May 1890.

* * * * *

James Hall Nasmyth was named after Sir James Hall of Dunglass, a family friend. Captain Basil Hall R.N., F.R.S., son of Sir James, in 1825, produced for the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, an account of the steam ferries then operating across the Firth of Tay between Dundee and Newport. In 1826, the Rt. Hon. Reginald Pole Carew of Antony,¹⁴ who, having read Hall's description of the Tay Steam Ferries, took up the

idea and established a similar craft across the River Tamar at Torpoint. Strong tides and weak engines ensured that the Torpoint Steam Ferry in 1831 ~ was a complete failure!¹⁵

Appendix

Notes, Sources and Acknowledgements:

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DEVON WORTHIES – TIME FOR A RECOUNT?

Adrian Reed

The first biographical collection is that assembled by the Rev. John Prince in 1697. It is most generally available in the revised edition of 1810 which corrects and expands Prince's original entries but does not add to them. It contains 192 names. A second volume with a further 115, completed in 1716, remains unpublished.¹ After Prince's the next significant attempt was that made by the Devonshire Association which set up a Committee on Devonshire Celebrities which made seven reports between 1877 and 1883. Its work seems to have been overtaken by the publication of the first volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. These were carefully sifted for Devonians whose biographies were examined critically and supplemented where thought necessary. A total of 141 names was extracted in 1885-1887 but the task was abandoned halfway through 'C'. By 1910 all the initial volumes of the *Dictionary* had been published and in that year the *London Devonian Year Book* listed all those appearing in them who might be considered Devonians. Out of the 664 held to qualify 144 were divines, 143 authors, 54 politicians, 54 lawyers, 52 artists, 41 scientists, 37 soldiers, 33 sailors, 29 doctors, 16 musicians and 61 miscellaneous. The total was roughly double that of Prince 200 years before. In 1912 the *Devonian Year Book* took over and supplemented the London list with a further 205 names drawn from a variety of sources including Prince and the Devonshire Association reports. London had selected 40 names as being 'Immortals' on the strength of the length of their entries and noted that 140 on their list had died or were buried in the capital.

From time to time particular classes of Worthies were studied. W.H.K. Wright published in 1896 his *West Country Poets* in which 400 names were shared between Devon and Cornwall. Most have since returned to a modest obscurity. Painters and other artists have occasionally been the subjects of collective if incomplete studies while writers like Baring-Gould in his *Characters* have assembled biographies of the curious and local historians those of their own worthies.

Qualifications for being a Devon Worthy or Celebrity have varied. Prince had no doubts. He was commemorating the 'glorious ancestors' of the current nobility, gentry and clergy of the county and when he introduces a man 'of obscure and mean parentage', William Adams, who made a daring escape from captivity in Barbary, he hopes that his inclusion will be considered as no disparagement 'to our famous Worthies.' The Devonshire Association committee while being less socially exclusive than Prince wholeheartedly shared his belief that birth in the county was an essential condition. Indeed, in its seventh and final report it stated that 'it would be obviously unwise and embarrassing to insert the names of those who may have been closely identified, from choice or force of circumstances, with the county, without having had the good fortune to be born in it.' The compilers of the *London Devonian Year Book* 27 years later had no such qualms. They included those born outside the County but of Devon parents, inside it of non-Devon parents, and those with a ten year residential qualification. In the present century, with most Devonians earning their distinctions outside the county, birth might be the sole qualification and naturalisation ignored but no criterion will be completely satisfactory.

It would be possible to bring up to date, roughly, the 1910 and 1912 lists by means of the supplements to the *Dictionary of National Biography* but that would not seem to be

a profitable task. Local patriotism no longer demands that Devon should 'out-Worthy' other counties, or claim, for example, more poets, in number rather than in quality, than anywhere else. Our attitudes to Worthies have also changed. Prince in the 'Epistle to the Reader' in his second volume defends limiting his subjects to Devonians with the argument that 'examples of worth and virtue' should be a pattern for general emulation 'to what County soever in the Kingdome they may belong'. Today hero worshiping is out of fashion and few of Prince's characters would appear suitable candidates for its successor, role-modelling. We are more interested in individuals for the light they throw on their times than in themselves as patterns to be copied. To that extent the original idea of the Devonshire Association committee that localities should study their own worthies and that a county list should be constructed from them still has force. A romantic – and tourist oriented – preoccupation with Devon as predominantly maritime has tended to obscure the efforts of Devonians in other fields. This is a pity. The county's seafarers were national figures mainly in the short Tudor period while her lawyers were prominent both before and after that time. A start has now been made with monographs of individuals but the law has a long way to go to redress the maritime balance.² Professor Hoskins recognised these sectional needs and had indeed made a start with painters.³

This article is not intended to offer conclusions but to provoke discussion. My impression after some years of searching for Devon 'centenarians' is that there are a number of forgotten worthies who do not deserve their present oblivion. They are people who made significant contributions in their time to national or local affairs and could be suitable subjects for study by historians of their districts or of their professions. Many of the entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are a hundred years old and could well be reassessed. The scope is wide but a selective approach could bring satisfactory and often entertaining rewards.

NOTES

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AN INTERESTING TRADE MARK ON A BUILDING IN EXETER

Christopher G. Scott

An article in *The Devon Historian* 41 showed a figure of a sphinx above the doorway of 35 New North Road,¹ a building then being used as a furniture centre under the name of 'Dickens', but due for demolition prior to re-development. The sphinx figure, possibly as large as 2 x 3 feet, has been mentioned by local authors, but its origins are obscure.² However, some advertisements in the *Exeter Flying Post* suggest it was a trade mark for a firm of Bristol brewers called Chas. Garton, Russell & Co., apparently known simply as 'Garton'.

During December 1868 Garton's opened offices at the County Chambers, Queen Street, Exeter.³ The actual brewery was at Lawrence Hill, Bristol.⁴ By February 1869 the company had taken a 'store' at New North Road, apparently what became 35 New North Road, although no address was given.⁵ They moved their offices to the store temporarily, before again splitting their organisation into two parts: the offices were advertised as at 13 Queen Street while the 'store' remained at New North Road.⁶ The arrangement seems a good one. The 'store' was very close to Queen Street railway station so ale from the Bristol brewery could be easily transported to New North Road. From there it could be moved locally by horse and cart, or back on to the rail system. This seems to be what happened as shown by an advertisement of new customers which included addresses at Barnstaple, Crediton, Colyton, Chulmleigh, Exeter, Okehampton, Ottery St Mary, Seaton, Tiverton, Torre, Thorverton.⁷

Garton's ales and stouts were sold in casks of nine gallons and upwards.⁸ The products were warranted to keep good 'in draught' for three months or more, although the 'golden age' brewed specially for private families came with a claimed six months warranty if kept 'in draught'. It worked out at one shilling and twopence per gallon.⁹ Garton and Co had won 'prize medals for beer' at the International Exhibition, London in 1862, and at the Dijon International Exhibition 1866.¹⁰ The Exeter directories show 'Garton Chas. & Co brewers' still at New North Road in 1895.¹¹ A directory of 1906 suggests Garton & Co had been replaced at New North Road by the Anglo Bavarian Brewery probably using the premises for their own stores.¹² Garton & Co had been in Exeter for over twenty-five years.

Latterly, all that seems to have remained of Garton's is the figure of a sphinx on a building, if, however, it was the company's. For the sphinx that adorned the building, despite being a good copy of the trade mark with the same motto of *puritas viresque*, had a dissimilarity: it faced the opposite way. Trade marks have been subject to attempted appropriation by slight alterations, but whether this was the case is unclear, and it may have been done by the Anglo Bavarian Brewery. Alternatively, the actual figure of a sphinx may have been one of a pair, or an earlier Garton trademark. Whatever the case may be, there seems a clear link to the figure of a sphinx on the front of 35 New North Road, and the Bristol brewing company of Chas. Garton, Russell, circa 1868.

Demolition commenced around 7 November 1991, but Exeter's *Express & Echo* (5 Sept, 8 Nov 1991) reports that the sphinx may be re-mounted on the Inland Revenue offices being erected on the site of Dickens' secondhand furniture store, over whose doorway it had been affixed. The demolition includes the adjacent 'Rockfield' building,



Sphinx figure on the front of 35 New North Road, Exeter, compared to Sphinx figure in advertisement of Chas. Garton, Russell, & Co in the Exeter Flying Post 2 December 1868 (By permission West-country Studies Library Exeter).



formerly Exeter's first electricity company's, and Edwards' Rockfield felt hat manufactory. The retention of the sphinx figure on the site keeps a link with the trades of the past. The history of the buildings being demolished has not been researched thoroughly and there is a hint on old maps that the site may repay further investigation.

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7. *Exeter Flying Post*. 21 July 1869 p. 4d.
8. *Ibid*.
9. *Exeter Flying Post*. 2 December 1868 p. 4e.
10. *Ibid*.
11. Besley's Directory of Exeter 1895 p. 70.
12. Besley's Directory of Exeter 1906 p. 35.

PLANNING AND THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT: AN UPDATE

Simon Timms

Over the last ten years there has been a marked rise in public interest in, and concern for Environmental Issues in Devon. Still, however, much of the debate centres on Devon's significance as a county of outstanding *natural* beauty. The fact that the present-day appearance of our countryside is in essence *man-made* just like our townscapes are, comes as a surprise to many people. Members of the Devon History Society and of other local history and archaeological groups are well placed to use their knowledge to ensure that decisions about Devon's future are taken only after proper consideration and understanding of Devon's past. This paper seeks to show how the historic environment is covered in the planning process by providing a checklist of the main conservation measures.

Structure Plans and Local Plans

The third Alteration of the Devon Structure Plan, which is to be the subject of a public inquiry this year, sets out the strategic policies for the county, including measures to protect historic buildings, sites and landscapes. It is prepared by the County Council. The National Park Authorities also publish National Park Plans. The revised Dartmoor Plan published in 1991 features the 'Built Landscape' and the 'Archaeological Heritage' as two of its five primary objectives.

Against the Structure Plan background, District Councils prepare a wide range of Local Plans setting out in map-based detail future policies and proposals for everything from housing development and roads to community facilities and recreation. The public is always consulted on Local Plans, which may cover an individual town or a large rural area. In general, all planning applications must be considered in the light of Structure and Local Plan policies.

Historic Buildings

Historic buildings are identified and protected under the Planning (Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act. This recent act consolidates previous planning legislation. The Department of the Environment issues *Lists of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest* on a parish basis with individual buildings (including minor structures such as milestones) graded I, II* or II. In the 1980s, the *Lists* for most rural areas in Devon were revised by teams of expert architectural historians with the result that some parishes now have several hundred listed buildings each. The *Lists*, which may be seen in council planning departments, in some reference libraries and in the Devon and Exeter Institution Library at Exeter, contain detailed architectural descriptions which are invaluable to the historian. Listed Building Consent is required for alterations and new works affecting the character and appearance (internal as well as external) of a listed structure.

Archaeological Sites

Some 40,000 items are recorded in the Devon County Sites and Monuments Register, which is maintained by the County Engineering and Planning Department at County Hall, Exeter. Some one thousand sites deemed to be of 'national importance' in the

Four Views of Devon's Historic Environment Can you recognise them? (See page 29 for answers)



A. Mentioned in Domesday Book, this castle is one of about one thousand sites in Devon scheduled as Ancient Monuments of National Importance. This castle is surrounded by a large medieval deer park – a fine example of an historic landscape.



B. This waterfront lies within one of Devon's 250 or more Conservation Areas. A new scheme by the National Rivers Authority for the quay recognises this.



C. To many, this is Devon's finest historic town. A Town Scheme for grant-aiding the repair of historic buildings operates here, and the County Council has undertaken an Enhancement Scheme.



D. Devon has some 25,000 'listed historic buildings'. This listed chapel, dating to 1958, is the 'youngest' one.

county have been Scheduled as Ancient Monuments by the Department of the Environment. This number is due to rise sharply in the 1990s as the national Schedule is revised. Non-scheduled sites are identified and conserved through Local and Structure Plan policies, and through the measures set out in the Department of the Environment's Planning Policy Guidance note on *Archaeology and Planning* (PPG 16, issued November 1990). This DoE note for the first time sets out government advice as to the developer's responsibility for protecting and recording the archaeological heritage.

Conservation Areas

Conservation Areas are designated by District Councils and the National Park Authorities under the Planning (Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act and through Local Plan policies. Several hundred village and town centres in Devon are so designated. Conservation Area Consent from the local planning authority is required for demolition of buildings, which are not listed but lie in Conservation Areas. Enhancement Schemes are often carried out in Conservation Areas, and the history of a town or village is now being given greater consideration when defining the boundaries of new Areas.

Historic Parks and Gardens

In the late 1980s, English Heritage published a new *Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest*. There are over 30 entries in the Devon part of the Register, ranging from private, little known properties to major National Trust parklands. Special consideration is given to any development proposals affecting a registered Park or Garden and grant-aid may be available from English Heritage.

Historic Landscapes

Under the recommendations of a recent government White Paper, English Heritage is proposing to establish a *Register of Landscapes of Historic Importance* to stand alongside the Parks and Gardens Register. The Landscapes Register is likely to contain extensive areas of relict, historic and even pre-historic landscape (eg on Dartmoor or Lundy), and such areas will then need to be given special consideration when new development proposals are being drawn up.

Other Initiatives

In addition to the above planning measures, the County and District Councils, along with national conservation bodies, are promoting a growing range of positive management schemes to protect and interpret Devon's man-made heritage. For example, the prehistoric hillfort and medieval castle at Blackdown Rings, near Loddiswell, have been conserved and opened to the public under the Environmental Land Management Scheme operated by the County Council in conjunction with the Country Landowners Association. Further details of this and other schemes are contained in the 1992 issue of *Discovering Devon's Past* magazine which is available at £1.50 (cheques payable to 'Devon County Council') from the County Engineer and Planning Officer, Devon County Council, County Hall, Exeter EX2 4QW.

PUBLICANS AND SINNERS? – THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SACRAMENT AND THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY

M.G. Dickinson

Sacrament certificates were a part of the process for ensuring that the Uniformity Acts were enforced. In effect these barred official appointments of every kind to those who did not belong to the Church of England. At first sight they appear to be most unpromising material for the local historian. They do, however, survive in very large numbers between the years 1673 and 1828. There are over 2,800 among the Exeter City Archives,¹ and an estimated 4,000 or even 5,000 for the County of Devon,² besides other groups.

Each document has two sections: a certificate by the minister and one churchwarden of the parish 'x' that 'y' has received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England on a certain Lord's Day, is supported by the oaths of two witnesses, sworn at a subsequent Court of Quarter Sessions, that they know 'y' and actually saw him receive the Sacrament. The recipient of the Sacrament does not sign, but witnesses do, so that when a number of people received it together we have complementary sets of signatures. A names index has long been available to the Exeter City series; a list by year of the Devon County series is in the course of preparation. Neither finding aid includes witness names. Despite the fact that office-holders may be recorded in each successive year for which they held their appointment, in the mass these documents preserve a most impressive 'bank' of names, from those of High Sheriffs down to the meanest Customs Officers.

There are in fact a variety of possible research applications for this source. Not necessarily the most obvious is a study of the times³ and places at which the Sacrament (if only for this ultimately political purpose) was available. A brief check makes it clear that this was not confined to the Church's great festivals⁴ or to the communicant's own parish. There are clear indications that for a Militia regiment,⁵ and Excise 'Out-Ride', or customs officers within a port,⁶ church parades would be held. A clergyman could not administer the Sacrament to himself. On admission to a benefice, a clergyman was obliged to take the Sacrament, occasionally at the hands of another in his own parish, but normally in another parish, sometimes at a surprising distance from his own.⁷

The certificates provide a locally available source (although with rather uneven coverage) for some of those classes of special people who figure in *Tracing Your Ancestors in the Public Record Office*,⁸ members of the armed forces and of the Customs and Excise in particular. Officers of H.M. Dockyard, variously described as 'on Hamoze,' 'near Plymouth' and the like, are another group, in a category of their own. Most striking is the large group of certificates for non-commissioned officers (down to ship's cook in one case) on H.M. Ships lying in the Hamoze in 1714.⁹

Mayors and Portreeves (a mayor *manqué*) are another group who are conspicuous. Their documentation may help to construct lists of the holders of such offices. It also throws light on the actual existence of the Portreeves of such places as Chudleigh and Silverton, and highlights the unusual status of Crediton, whose West Town had a Portreeve, while the East Town or Canon Fee, had a Bailiff.¹⁰

It is unfortunate that the constraints of listing and indexing do not permit the inclusion of witnesses. Useful information about trades¹¹ may be gleaned from these, as may the rare cases in which women figure in the record. The lady sexton of St. Martins,

Exeter is a notable example of the latter.¹²

A special class of certificate is that relating to the naturalisation laws of the late seventeenth century. Foreign Protestants were allowed to submit certificates that they had received the Sacrament according to their own rites. There is a small but useful group of these relating to Huguenots and to the Congregations to which they belonged. Here the signatures are of special interest, as they enable us to assess the English approximations to the actual French names (in one example, "Elias Ossie" for Elie Bosis).¹³

Notes

1. A numbered series under the reference 'E.C.A. Sacrament Certificates;' they cover the years 1673-1826.
2. Reference 'Devon Q/S 21' followed by the modern style year and subnumbers within each year. As at present stored they cover the years 1684-1828. Listing is in progress.
3. The writer is entirely indebted to the Rev. M.G. Smith for pointing out this application.
4. For example, on fifteen Sundays at various scattered parishes throughout Devon, between mid April and December in the year 1694.
5. At Shute in 1690.
6. Customs men at the Port of Exeter regularly received the Sacrament either at Exeter, Holy Trinity, or at Clyst St. George.
7. An exceptional case of the latter being that of Dr. Daniel Newcombe, Dean of Gloucester, who received the Sacrament at Harford (Devon Q/S 21/1730-13).
8. By Jane Cox and Timothy Padfield; Fourth Edition by Amanda Bevan and Andrea Duncan; PRO Handbooks no. 19; H.M.S.O., 1990; ISBN 0-11-410222-1.
9. The purpose of this exercise was undoubtedly to secure the loyalty of the Navy to George I. From the record we can identify eighteen named vessels.
10. See Devon Q/S 21/1730/46 and 48 for example.
11. We have the names of apothecaries at Totnes and Dartmouth in 1690 (Devon Q/S 21/1690/55 and 61, to give a random example).
12. Her name was Martha Ayuge (Devon Q/S 21/1765/30).
13. Devon Q/S 21/1710/8, 11, 13.

Answers to questions on pages 25 and 26

- A. Okobampan Castle
- B. Bideford Quay
- C. Totnes
- D. Mary Harris Memorial Chapel, Exeter University

REVIEWS

(Readers are advised that opinions expressed by reviewers are their own, and not necessarily those of the Editor or of the Devon History Society as a whole).

Whiteway's cyder: a company history, by E.V.M. Whiteway. Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1990. 176 pp. £14.95. ISBN 0 7153 9819 9.

Traditionally cyder (though our author prefers to spell the word as 'cyder') had been made on the farm in the apple-growing counties in England for local consumption. But a major change took place in the late nineteenth century with the development of factory production. Taking advantage of the existence of a railway network, a much wider market could be reached. The first of these new firms, Bulmers, was established in 1887 and Gaymers followed in Norfolk in 1891. Shortly afterwards, probably in 1894, though the date is not clear, Henry Whiteway, who came from a line of Devon farmers, founded the firm which bore his name at Whimble near Exeter in east Devon. This company history of the firm has been written by Eric Whiteway, virtually the last chairman of Whiteway's. He tells the story of development and decline in considerable detail concentrating on the nuts and bolts in a detached largely impersonal way. From small beginnings the company expanded with sales both at home and abroad, production reaching a peak of 3.68 million gallons in 1934, the year in which Whiteway's became a public company. After the war which had checked output, production recovered to reach a postwar peak of 3.12 million gallons in 1952. Thereafter with cyder sales growing nationally, Whiteway's production did not increase and its share of the English cyder market fell. This may have been linked with further changes in the organisation of the industry. In the early 1960s Whiteway's merged with Showerings to join two other cyder producers, Coates, a largely Somerset firm, and Gaymers, the Norfolk producer. Later in the decade Showerings were taken over by Allied Breweries, as a result of which in time cyder making ceased at Whimble. But Whiteway's had never been entirely a cyder firm. It had also marketed British wines – its most recent effort in this direction being the Rougemont Castle brand, launched in the 1980s – sberries, Samatogen tonic wine, Cydrax and other soft drinks. An attempt to challenge Showering's Babycham, a runaway market success in 1956, with a rival product called Baby Pom met with only a limited degree of success and was withdrawn in 1961. To recognise the smaller part that cyder played in the firm's activities, in 1972 the name of the company was changed from Whiteway's Cyder Company to Whiteway's of Whimble. Further organisational changes took place in the following years which led to the run down of production in Devon. In 1986 Eric Whiteway retired as chairman and the direct family connection with the firm ended. By 1989 activities at Whimble had virtually ceased.

It is useful to have in this volume details of a number of aspects of the firm's activities. The building blocks are there. What is absent is any explanation of the course of events, of how decisions were made, the entrepreneurial dimension. Although the book jacket claims that Whiteway's is one of the success stories of Britain's small industries, reflection might suggest a more restrained judgement, rather similar to that which might be passed on the publishers of this book. What enlivens this volume is a selection of photographs, advertising material and other illustrations from the author's own collection which will bring back nostalgic memories for older readers.

Walter Minchinton

Follett, Our Great Lawyer by David Pugsley. Exeter 1991. pp. 40. £5. Available from the author, Department of Law, University of Exeter and Devon and Exeter Institution.

William Follett had a short life, he was only 48 when he died, but it was one which was action packed and culminated in his being Attorney-General. In background the Folletts were an ordinary Topsham family and into that family was born William in 1796. He was educated at Exeter Grammar School and graduated from Trinity Cambridge with a pass degree in 1818. To the Bar he was called in 1824 and joined the Western Circuit. His first reported case was at the Cornwall Assizes in 1827 in a case concerning a dispute between two Preventive Officers. The same year he had a case before Kings Bench and at Salisbury an important case of a death caused by the reckless driving of two stage coaches in a speed competition. Not all cases were won, however, for in 1828 he lost a smuggling case at Launceston Assizes. This was more than compensated by a juicy murder case at Bath in which he was involved at the Taunton Assizes. That year too he was briefed in the Cornish mining case of *Rowe v. Brenton*.

The rising young star was soon practising mainly before Kings Bench and after 1833 before the Privy Council, all while still on the Western Circuit. In 1832 he received the Freedom of The City of Exeter and was to become its M.P. In 1834-35 he was Solicitor-General and, naturally, in the Honours game became a KC and gained a knighthood. In 1844 by which time his practice was mainly before Queen's Bench, he was appointed Attorney-General. His health however was deteriorating and, during a speech in the Lords, blood poured from his mouth. Under the pressures of so much work it is not surprising that his health deteriorated. On 28 June 1845 he died.

The second half of Mr Pugsley's book consists of reproductions of some of the principal sources used in the text and they are handsomely reproduced.

J.H. Porter

Unity and Variety – A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall, ed. Nicholas Orme. Exeter Studies in History No. 29. University of Exeter Press, 1991. 242 pp. Paperback £7.95p ISBN 0-85989-355-3.

The recent news that the Diocese of Exeter is selling off the last of its old thatched vicarages comes as but another outward and visible sign of the way the Church is being transformed. And, as the National Curriculum is now showing every schoolchild, we need to understand the past to make good sense of the present (and the future). This carefully edited collection of papers – the first attempt at a history of the Church in Devon and Cornwall since the Reverend Boggis's *History* published in 1922 – brings us right up to date and should serve as the foundation stone for anyone wishing to build up a reliable understanding of the ways of church and chapel, ancient and modern.

The book contains eight contributions set out in chronological order, starting with the introduction of Christianity in Roman times and concluding with the rise of house churches over the last twenty odd years. Throughout, the authors seek to cover the wide range of Christian beliefs – established or not – and the reader is continually reminded of how the twin themes of 'unity' and 'variety' have played alongside each other over the centuries. A photo of South Street in Exeter makes the point with Catholic and Baptist churches standing as neighbours under the towers of the Cathedral and just a stone's throw from where a fragment of Roman pottery bearing the 'chi-rho' mark was found

during excavations after World War II.

In the first chapter, Nicholas Orme sets out from these Roman beginnings and takes us through Celtic cults and Saxon minster churches to the arrival of Leofric as Bishop of Crediton and Cornwall, and then the radical move of the see to Exeter in 1050. Christopher Holdsworth continues the story by charting the changes of the next 300 years. By 1300 the framework of the parish system, still such a motivating force for lives today, was largely in place. Devon had more than 400 churches, Cornwall under 200.

Nicholas Orme's account of the Later Middle Ages and Reformation begins with a 'snapshot' of Bishop Stapledon arriving at Crediton in 1308 to admit no less than 1,005 men to holy orders, 'probably the biggest ordination ever held in the South West'. As readers of his fine *Exeter Cathedral: As It Was 1050-1550* (Devon Books 1986) will know, Professor Orme has a remarkable ability for using historical evidence to bring the past alive for the reader, and his contribution here demonstrates this to the full.

Jonathan Barry takes us through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the rise in Dissent leading to tensions between not just church and chapel, but also people and pastors. We can almost still hear the sighs of the Mayor of Tiverton as he complained in 1742: 'What little room is there for another new religion in Tiverton?' And new religion there certainly was in the nineteenth century, for which John Thurmer tells the story of the Church of England through the eyes of the Victorian Bishops of Exeter, and Bruce Coleman explains how Nonconformity spread and established itself (with good use of statistics contained in the 1851 Census of Religious Worship).

With the creation of the see of Truro in 1877, Devon and Cornwall can be seen as separate entities. Michael Winter looks at twentieth century Cornwall right up to a survey of church services taken in 1988 – up-to-the-minute history indeed! Finally, Nicholas Orme expands on views given first in a paper by the present Bishop of Crediton under the title 'Devon and General'. This shows how the various branches of the Christian community have grown closer together to face the pressures of a modern – and for many people more secular – society.

This book is a delight to handle and read. The illustrations have been chosen with clear purpose. Sean Goddard has provided some fine photographs, whilst Mike Rouillard's maps are models of how skilled cartography can interest and inform the reader. *Unity and Variety* grew out of the 1989 annual symposium of the Centre for South-Western Historical Studies and is essential reading for researchers in regional and local history, who will be able to follow up the many lines of inquiry the book opens up. For example, was Cornwall fertile ground for Methodism because there 'pre-Christian religion survived at its strongest?' (page 135).

Churchmen are also encouraged to take up this volume, for from its pages they will find that many of the concerns of the Christian community today have deep roots. Sunday trading (even in churchyards – page 58), the form of church services (supporters of the Prayer Book Rebellion in 1549 objected to the new worship 'because it is but like a Christmas game' – page 73) and even the debate over what should be taught in schools (page 78) were all issues alive and kicking over 400 years ago! As for the place of Women in the Church, individuals such as Cunaide (page 2), Henna (page 47), Agnes Prest (page 70) and Joanna Southcott (page 103) briefly shine through the shadows, but what really lies behind the sixteenth century 'Wives' at Ashburton, the Mother's Union and the countless ministers' wives scattered over the years throughout the hills and valleys of the Westcountry? How long before we have a feminist history of the regional Church?

Simon Timms

Yesterday's Exmoor, by Hazel Eardley-Wilmot. Exmoor Books, 1990. 259 pp. Hardback £14.95p. ISBN 0-86183-173-X.

With the last issue of *The Devon Historian*, readers received a publicity leaflet for the new *Dartmoor Bibliography*, which contains some 6,000 references. This indicates the enormous attention Dartmoor has received in print – in sharp contrast to its nearest National Park neighbour. From the Devon view-point Exmoor has been too long forgotten, or at best marginalised as belonging rather to Somerset. The fact that the Devon side of Exmoor contains a fine group of parishes stretching along the coast to Combe Martin should not be ignored. How many readers of *The Devon Historian*, I wonder, have ever set foot in Molland with its marvellous parish church?

Hazel Eardley-Wilmot's new book is to be welcomed on three counts. First it speaks up for Exmoor. Secondly, it marks the launch of Exmoor Books, a new publishing venture linked to the National Park Authority. And then, it gives us a skilful, lively and well written picture of Exmoor from the Saxons to the mid-twentieth century. The author has known the area for over 60 years and has lived the last 20 at North Molton. Thus she is ideally placed to weave together the various strands of evidence. Everything from literary and documentary sources to the testament of buildings and the landscape itself are brought into the picture. Much new information is presented, and of particular interest is the way the knowledge and lore of local people have been listened to and then presented as a priceless and disappearing proof of past ways and events. The title is taken from the observation that 'a Yesterday many centuries old had ended somewhere about 1950'. Must it really be that the modern generation has to cut its links with history?

Exmoor presents problems to the historian. 'To Daniel Defoe in the 1700s it was 'a vast tract of barren and desolate lands'. This book frequently dwells on its isolation: 'looking back, it seems an anonymous time on the moor', 'few voices speak from the moorland parishes' and 'the moor itself was still remote, and little visited'. This is all the more reason for congratulating Miss Eardley-Wilmot on rising to the challenge and not shirking from difficult areas. For example, nearly 40 years on from W.G. Hoskins highlighting the antiquity of roads and trackways on Exmoor, she presents a detailed account of six or seven prehistoric routes and a similar number of medieval roads that can still be traced on the map and on the ground today.

Occasionally a national figure steps onto the Exmoor scene. Few readers will expect to find a picture of Chaucer in a book on Exmoor, and from modern times there is a marvellous photo of Ernie Bevin and a reminder of his Exmoor lineage. His rise to Foreign Secretary led to the local crack: 'Nobody never got the better of his Dad and the Russians won't get the better of he!' Indeed the way the local Exmoor perspective is carefully set against the wider national background is a striking achievement of this book.

For local readers the second half of the book will perhaps carry the most interest. Here we learn just what life was like in the area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and we see the great boost oral history can give to the story. For readers who have had to look back for so long to MacDermot's *History of the Forest of Exmoor*, the publication of *Yesterday's Exmoor* is a case of the right book, written by the right person at the right time. The decision to publish in hardback will mean that it will serve its years as a valuable friend and reference source. Some would have liked to see better quality paper and more generous margins, but that perhaps reflects the common perception of what Exmoor (compared to Dartmoor) is worth. This book will do much to change such views.

Simon Timms

The Transition from Tradition to Technology, a history of the dairy industry in Devon, by Peter Sainsbury. Published by the author, 1991. 112 pages, many illustrations. £7.50 + £1 postage and packing from: The Sales Officer, Tiverton Museum Society, St Andrew Street, Tiverton, Devon EX16 6PH. (Profits from postal sales go to Tiverton Museum Society).

This well-written book outlines the development of Devon's dairy industry, from farm-house production to the establishment of small dairy factories, and then, with the increasing size of dairy herds, to dairy factories equipped with automated manufacturing facilities capable of handling many thousands of gallons of milk daily.

Since qualifying in dairying at Reading University, the author was for over 40 years closely involved with the dairy industry, the last 33 years of them as a dairy adviser with the Ministry of Agriculture in Devon. He has, therefore, been able to draw on much information from his own experience, and has also consulted many people with knowledge of earlier days. There is plenty that is colourful and entertaining – particularly the excellent photographs and illustrations of old dairy equipment (some of them vividly reminiscent to this reviewer). From an introduction and description of milk production in the early tradition, the chapters take us through the expanding industry to the war and years up to 1950, followed by post-war consolidation, commercial and political revolution and developments in dairy technology. Also included are brief histories of some of the dairies in the county, past and present.

The book is, however, more than a mere portrait of scenes of the past. It is a scholarly piece of work, carefully researched and documented. Relevant legislation and regulations are outlined and appropriate statistics included, giving an authoritative explanation of the considerable changes that have come about in Devon's dairying in a comparatively short span of years. A major change has been the vast reduction in the number of registered milk producers. Today the figure is under 3,000, but in the late 1940s Devon had around 11,000 milk-selling farms, due largely to the enlistment of numerous small producers by the large dairy factories during the war to augment food production. Many of the farms involved, inadequately equipped and with poor water supplies, were quite unsuited to milk production. Here, perhaps, Peter Sainsbury might have written more graphically of the troubles that could occur in hot summers (specially if hay-harvesting was given priority) when poor test results and churns of milk rejected and returned to the farms with red labels threatened the vital monthly milk cheque. A point not made clear on page 32 is that, after the establishment of the National Agricultural Advisory Service in 1946, it was members of this service – Miss Coleman and her small staff of qualified 'dairy instructresses' – who visited the farms to try and sort out the problems. These dairy advisers became 'Milk Production Officers' under the milk regulations of 1949, which brought in much change. These, however, are but personal views, and minor ones. Obviously there is a limit to the amount of detail such a work can include. Altogether, this is a most informed study – certainly a book which anyone with an interest in the agriculture and dairy industry of Devon will want to keep at hand, for useful and interesting reference.

Helen Harris

Tavistock's Yesterdays, Episodes from her history, 7 by G. Woodcock, 1991. Published by the author. 88 pp. Numerous illustrations. £3.95.

The appearance on booksellers' shelves of the latest volume in Gerry Woodcock's well-known series has become almost as much a part of Tavistock's autumn scene as the shortening days and the coming and going of Goose Fair. With the latest publication he has now given us seven issues, all of them packed with interest and atmosphere – ideal reading, in fact, for dark winter evenings. Born in Leicestershire, Gerry Woodcock graduated in history at Cambridge, and taught in Yorkshire before coming south in 1966 as Head of the History Department at Tavistock School, where he is currently Head of Sixth Form. Over these past 25 years he has become recognised as an authority on the town's local history.

The recent production contains eight chapters, dealing with: Tavistock's Coat of Arms; What is a stannary town?; the Fitzford story; 'Evils of our crowded rooms' (relating to the time of Tavistock's mid-nineteenth century mining boom); Tavistock Hospital; the (mining) tragedy at East Crebor; Queen Victoria's golden jubilee; and the great blizzard of 1891. Of these, by far the longest is the chapter on Tavistock Hospital, which covers care of the local sick from the time of the Benedictine abbey through to the present hospital and its development over nearly a century, from voluntary support to NHS. Such background material is of particular interest in view of recent further changes in hospitals' organisation and funding.

Obviously the product of much careful research, this book, like others in the series, would have been enhanced if, where appropriate, sources of reference had been acknowledged and suitably documented. As it stands, however, the book should command considerable popular appeal, and at a reasonable price.

Helen Harris

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Tavistock-Ashburton Packhorse Track and its Guide Stones by Dave Brewer. Available only from the author, 95 Barton Hill Road, Torquay, TQ2 8JF. £3.95 post paid. This is the second print of an earlier issue, with slight amendments and additions. 48 pp. A4, numerous maps and illustrations. Dave Brewer's keen observations and careful recording of features, in particular guide and other marker stones, have provided a notable contribution to the store of Dartmoor knowledge. They are the result of many years 'on the ground' experience of the moor, of walks and investigations shared by his wife Kath, and of duly acknowledged co-operation from friends. A useful source of information.

Lamerton Church Fire 1877 by Helen Harris, with an account of the bells by Geoffrey C. Hill. Published by friends of Lamerton Parish Church, 1991, 22 pp., includes several illustrations from old pictures. ISBN 0 9518700 0 9. Available in local bookshops (£2.00) or by post (£2.28) from Mrs Frances Moore, Hillside, Lamerton, Tavistock, proceeds for maintenance of the church. Drawn from copious newspaper reports contained in a bulky cuttings-book recently found in a chest in the church belfry, this is a story of a disastrous

fire over a century ago, a calamity heightened because a costly restoration had been completed in just the previous year. The fact that no time was wasted in the further raising of money for the rebuilding, which was completed in little more than two years, is an indication of the positive spirit and the remarkable degree of determination and faith that prevailed. The key figure was clearly that of the Vicar, the Rev Henry John Phillpotts. It is of interest to note here that he was the grandson of Bishop Henry Phillpotts featured elsewhere in this issue of *The Devon Historian*, his father having been the Ven William Henry John Phillpotts, Archdeacon of Cornwall.

Vanished Landmarks of North Devon, by Rosemary Lauder. North Devon Books 1991. ISBN 0946 290237 (Price not given). Soft-back 132 pp. Many illustrations from old photographs. A fascinating book that recalls some of the many once-familiar sights of north Devon that have disappeared over the past century, destroyed by fire or – for various reasons – by man. The book is the result of much research in old newspapers, and includes photographs from private sources. Included are coastal and railway features, hotels, a church, a racecourse, and other parts of scenery that are now gone. Nostalgic for lovers of north Devon.

NEWS FROM LOCAL SOCIETIES

Bradninch Local History Society was founded by Mr Anthony Taylor, who is currently the society's president. He is also the author of two local books: *Portrait of Bradninch, a Duchy town*, and one on the River Culm. The Duchy of Cornwall features in Bradninch's history. Bradninch LHS's 1992 programme includes a walk around the parish boundaries on 4 April. Details from Mrs E. Newbury, 31 Fore Street, Bradninch, near Exeter.

Yelverton & District Local History Society embraces the west Devon parishes of Horrabridge, Sampford Spiney, Walkhampton, Meavy, Sheepstor and Buckland Monachorum. The society publishes an outstanding annual newsletter which is both informative and entertaining. (The 1991 edition, Number 9, price 60p plus 18p postage, is obtainable from the editor, Peter Hamilton-Leggett, The Old Sunday School, Walkhampton, Yelverton, PL19 6JN). Six indoor meetings are scheduled for 1992, their locations varying between halls of the constituent parishes. Three outdoor meetings include two devoted to a current project of recording monumental inscriptions at Buckland Monachorum.

Chulmleigh & District Local History Society is a particularly enthusiastic group, holding two meetings a month with attendances of 40 members or more. 'A very appreciative membership' says Hon Sec Mrs A. Adams (Hayne, Zeal Monachorum, Crediton, EX17 6DE). No major current projects are in hand, but several members are carrying out individual studies, and a small group, led by Mr George Matthews, is considering vernacular buildings, in particular looking at local houses and medieval carpentry.

Bere Local History Group has just recently come into being. We wish it well. The Bere 'peninsula', bounded on the east by the River Tavy and on the west by the meandering Tamar, is rich in history, ecclesiastical, mining, and market gardening. For information contact Lorna Spencer, Yelverton 840185.

Princetown & District Local History Club concentrates mainly on matters pertaining to Dartmoor. Begun only a few years ago this is a flourishing, friendly society with a large, far-flung membership and very reasonable subscription. Chairman is David German, Princetown 424.

Crediton Area History and Museum Society (Chairman Mrs B. Stutchbury) holds nine main meetings a year, also, in 1992, three coffee mornings with small exhibitions at the Crediton Club, from 9.30 until 12 noon on Saturdays 16 May, 20 June and 18 July. The society will also be joining the Methodist Church in celebrating its centenary by taking part in an exhibition at the Methodist Church from Saturday 25 April to Wednesday 29 April. Enquiries from Mrs Mary Blamey (Treasurer) Crediton 772270, or Crediton 772045.

Tavistock & District Local History Society, formed in 1984, now has around 80 enthusiastic members. Eight indoor and four outdoor meetings are held annually. The 1991 Members Projects evening featured: local oral history; research into Tavistock burial records, following recording of memorial inscriptions, in order to gain information on population movements, the effects of epidemics, and religious and social divisions; and slides shown by Alan Rowe (member also of the DHS) of banks and other features on Buckland Down, which he has been investigating as possible evidence of earlier cultivations and enclosures associated with Buckland Abbey. The society looks forward to welcoming the Devon History Society for its summer conference on 13 June. Current Chairman is *The Devon Historian's* Hon Editor (address inside DH front cover), Hon Sec is Geoff Thompson, Tavistock 614635.

The Dartmoor Tinworking Research Group was established in 1991 for the study of the history and archaeology of the Dartmoor tin industry, by Dr Tom Greeves, Mr Philip Newman and Dr Sandy Gerrard. The group's aims are: to provide a stimulus for research, a forum for discussion, a medium for publication, and a focus for celebration. An interesting research project was commenced in September 1991 in the excavation of a tin blowing mill in the Walkham valley. Membership (including two newsletters annually) is £3.00. Apply to: Philip Newman, DTRG, 2 Kiln Orchard, Bradley Barton, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ12 1PJ.

To all local societies – Why not send in news about your organisation, special historical interests, research for which link-ups would be welcome, etc. for inclusion in *The Devon Historian*? It is hoped to make this a regular feature. The Hon Editor will be delighted to receive your contributions.

Minutes of the 22nd Annual General Meeting held at Exeter on Saturday 19 October 1991.

In the Chair, the President, Professor Ivan Roots.

Present c. 35 members; apologies received from Profs. W. Minchinton and N. Orme, Mr and Mrs Sedgewick, Miss S. Scrutton, and Messrs J. Bosanko and G. Tatham.

1 Minutes

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting (printed in *The Devon Historian*, April 1991) were read and approved. There were no matters arising.

2 Hon. Secretary's Report

Mrs S. Stirling reported on the Day Conferences held since the last AGM, and extended thanks to organisers and speakers, notably Messrs D. Pugsley and D. Edmund for Cullompton, together with Mr and Mrs Glynn who not only opened Hillersdon House, but also provided tea for members. Thanks were due to the Beaford Centre for organising the conference there, particularly to Mrs B. Yates who also gave a talk, and to Mr J. Ravilious. Mr Edmund was warmly thanked for an entertaining talk on old local postcards, given at short notice because of the illness of the speaker previously booked. Council had met regularly to plan meetings and discuss the Society's potential role as a forum for local historians and societies. Mrs Stirling thanked the secretaries of these societies for supplying details of their programmes for circulation with the *Devon Historian*. She thanked Mr D. Edmund and all those who had helped ensure the smooth running of the Society over the year. Mr J. Pike, membership secretary, asked members to be sure to let him have postcodes for the mailing list.

The President congratulated Mrs Stirling on her report and work, and also thanked Mr Pike, and the minutes secretary, Dr A. Grant.

3 Hon. Treasurer's Report

Mr Edmund presented the income and expenditure account, and pointed out that, as the balance was again much the same as last year's, there was no need to raise subscriptions – yet. Printing costs were down a little, thanks to new technology.

and postage had been covered by *Past Times* in return for circulating their catalogue. Mr Edmund thanked Mrs Stirling and the Devon and Exeter Institution for help with distribution. There were now over 300 paid up members of the Society, as well as 40 corporate members, including 11 local history societies. Fifteen schools had also joined. The accounts were adopted, and it was agreed to continue to bank with National Westminster. The President warmly thanked Mr Edmund.

4 Hon. Editor's Report

Mrs H. Harris thanked contributors to issues 42 and 43 of *The Devon Historian*, and said that material for number 44 was already coming in. She asked contributors to refer to the notes on presentation published on p2 of each edition, and to be sure to use double-spacing as required by the printers, otherwise she would have to return articles for retyping. She thanked Mrs Stirling and Mr Edmund for so ably dealing with the distribution of the journal. She drew attention to a new section to be entitled 'News from local history societies', and asked to be sent information and copies of societies' newsletters.

The President thanked Mrs Harris for her work in producing an admirable publication.

5 Election of Officers and Council

Officers were re-elected *en bloc*, together with those Council members standing down under the three-year rule, all of whom had offered themselves for re-election.

6 Devon History Society – the way ahead?

Mr Edmund, in introducing this item, referred to a paper produced by Mrs Harris at a Council meeting, which had started discussion on the future of the Society. Mrs Harris and Mr R. Stanes were keen to revive and strengthen links with local history societies in Devon. One result was that Mr S. Timms and Mr C. Taylor had been co-opted onto Council to help generate new ideas. Mr Edmund suggested that next year's AGM should be opened to other societies, who might like also to contribute to an exhibition. The Society should also increase its involvement with schools, which now had to study aspects of local history as part of the National Curriculum. A discussion followed, in which it was agreed that greater publicity should be sought whenever practicable – BBC Radio Devon and several newspapers were mentioned in this connection; that the Devon Federation of Women's Institutes be asked to mention the Society's activities in its newsletter; and that more membership forms should be distributed. It was also stressed that members would be very welcome to visit schools and offer to help with some aspect of local history. A proposal that a panel of speakers should be set up was greeted more cautiously, as the Society could not be expected to guarantee their quality. Mr I. Maxted proposed some kind of local history 'directory' for the county, and Mr

Timms suggested the Society should reconsider what it has to offer potential new members. The President thanked everyone for their contributions, which he referred to the next meeting of Council.

7 Conference Programme 1992

Membury, 21 March: Mr G. Tatham to co-ordinate.
Tavistock, 13 June: Mrs H. Harris to co-ordinate.

8 Any Other Business

Anniversaries in 1992 will include the Civil War (350 years) and the birth of Sir John Bowring (200 years). These will be marked by a series of lunchtime lectures at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in June, and a conference at Crossmead on 17 October, respectively.

There being no further business, the Chairman thanked Officers, Council, and all present, and closed the meeting at 2.45 p.m.

Professor W.G. Hoskins, CBE, FBA

The death on 14 January 1992 at the age of 83 of Professor W.G. Hoskins marks the end of an age spanning nearly sixty years during which, very largely under his leadership, the study of Local History has progressed from being mainly a leisurely pastime to a pursuit with its own rigorous discipline, engaged in by young and old alike. 'W.G.' invited his fellow historians to study surviving landscapes and townscapes with imagination and intelligence, always linking them with written records. His was the history of people rather than of institutions, and there were few periods of English History he did not illumine.

Devon, his native county, and Exeter, his birthplace, both loomed large in his studies. His first book was about 18th-century Exeter but he will be best remembered in Devon for his masterly history of the county, first published in 1954. It was in fact Professor Hoskins who in 1969 used his not-inconsiderable weight to encourage the idea of founding the Standing Conference for Devon History, which later became the Devon History Society, and he was elected its first President.

Joyce Youngs

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