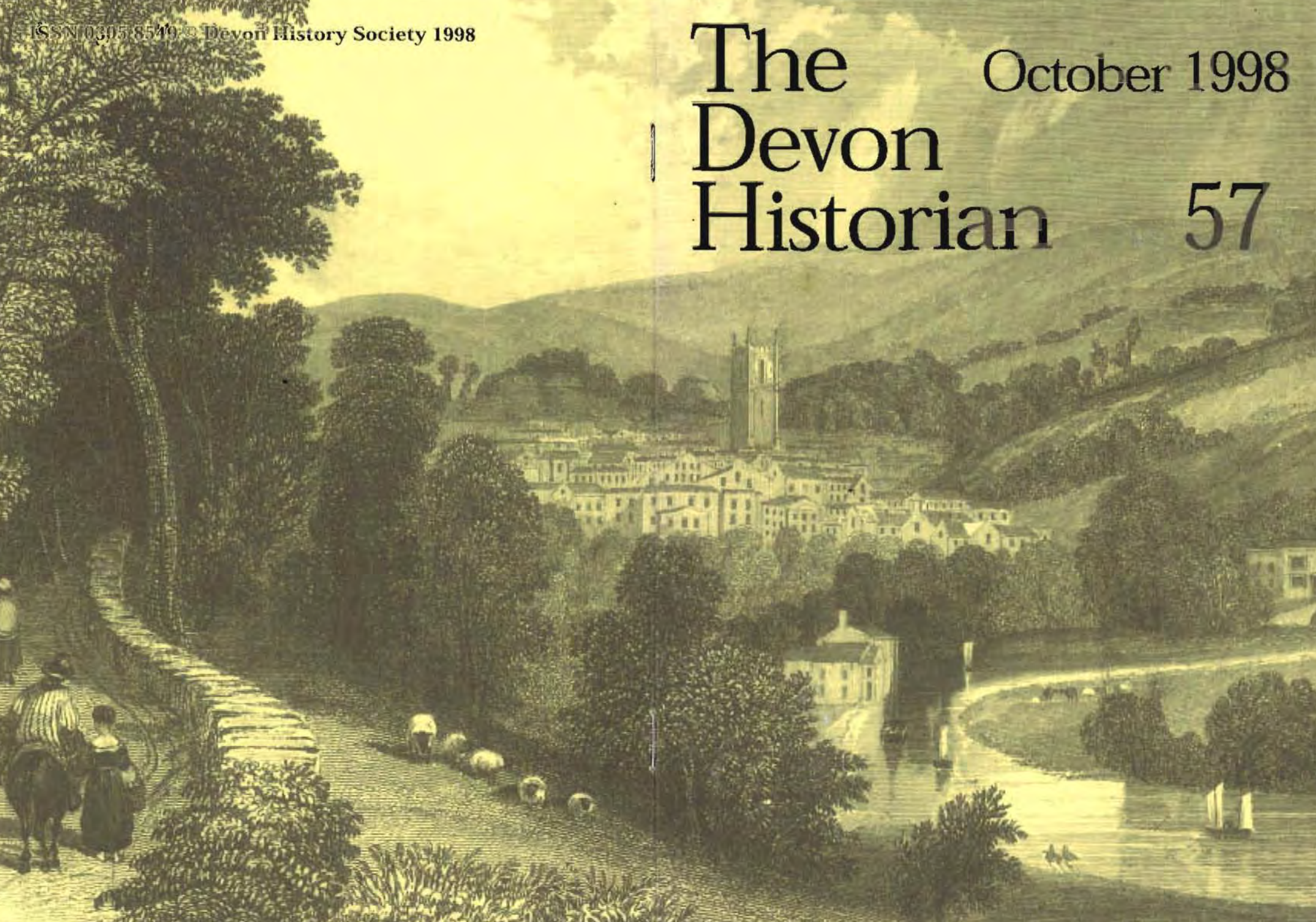


# The Devon Historian

October 1998

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*The Devon Historian* is available free to all members of The Devon History Society. Membership subscriptions run annually from 1 May to 30 April and for the coming year will be as follows: Individual: £10.00; Family (that is two or more individuals in one family): £15.00; Corporate (libraries, institutions): £15.00; Affiliated societies: £10; Life Membership (open to individuals only): £100.00. Please send subscriptions to the Treasurer, Mr Edwin Haydon, Ford Farm, Wilmington, Honiton EX14 9JU.

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Correspondence relating to *The Devon Historian* and contributions for publication should be sent to Mrs Helen Harris, Hon. Editor, *The Devon Historian*, Hironelles, 22 Churchill Road, Whitchurch, Tavistock PL19 9BU. The deadline for the next issue is 30 November 1998. 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.

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The AGM of the Society will take place in the Queen's Building, University of Exeter, on Saturday 7 November.

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## 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 £2, post free, and from No 37 onwards £3. Also available post free are *Index to The Devon Historian* (for issues 1-15, 16-30 and 31-45), and *Devon Bibliography* (1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984) all £1 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.

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## 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 2,000 - 2,500 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.: 30 November 1998, etc.

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## THE TREASURER

By the end of our present financial year, that is on 30 April 1999, our Honorary Treasurer, Edwin Haydon, will have kept the Society's accounts for five years. He would like a rest from this task and a volunteer is sought to take over the job from 1 May 1999. The only qualification which would assist is an ability to keep a computerised account. If any member can offer to take over the accounts he or she is requested to get in touch with our General Secretary or the Honorary Treasurer.

## GENERAL SIMCOE OF WOLFORD, EAST DEVON

William L. 2008

The name, John Graves Simcoe, 1752-1806, is familiar to countless pedestrians who know the cobbles of Exeter's Cathedral Close. A plaque<sup>1</sup> at the site of a house in Cathedral Close where Simcoe died tells us that this Old Boy of the former Exeter Free Grammar School (now Exeter School)<sup>2</sup> 'Laid The Foundation' for the 'Orderly Growth And Development' of present-day Ontario, Canada. For Simcoe, we read, was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (now Ontario) and the plaque refers to his 'Active Administration' there between the years, 1791-1796. In fact his career in Canada, which was 'generally commended'<sup>3</sup>, is well documented and references to it abound in secondary sources, old and new. The plaque further informs us that he had previously served in the army, from 1770, and was a regimental commander in the American colonies at the time of the American Revolution. One can add that Colonel Simcoe had returned to Britain in 1782 as a prisoner-of-war on parole, had married,<sup>4</sup> and then lived 'at his old home, enjoying a life of tranquillity'<sup>5</sup> and serving, prior to going to Canada, as a west country MP, for St. Mawes in Cornwall. His family home was Wolford Lodge, an estate of about five thousand acres near Honiton.<sup>6</sup>

On the south wall of Exeter Cathedral a monument, erected in 1812, records Simcoe's 'Virtues' as those of 'The Hero, The Patriot, And the Christian' and adds 'He Served His King And His Country With A Zeal Exceeded Only By His Piety Toward God'. Below this grand memorial to a local worthy an inscription placed in more recent times by the Ontario Heritage Foundation reminds us that he was the founder of Toronto and declares that his grave in the old family chapel at Wolford will be maintained in perpetuity by the Foundation 'as a place of pilgrimage'.

Neither the monument in Exeter Cathedral nor the plaque in Cathedral Close mentions that Simcoe, who had distinguished himself in the American war and later in Canada, also served king and country in the West Indies. The year after he stepped down as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Lieutenant-General Simcoe (he was promoted in 1796) was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the captured French colony of Saint Domingue (now Haiti), the western end of the original Spanish Colony, Hispaniola. He succeeded Major-General Sir Adam Williamson, who had been knighted for his services there. Simcoe arrived in the colony towards the end of February 1797. A little over four months later, however, he sailed home, without permission, without carrying out his instructions, and he never returned. It was the end of Simcoe's career in colonial administration and he took up his life again on his Wolford estate. Not only had he left his post but his truncated governorship, though 'active', had resulted in costly failure. There can be no talk of his laying foundations for orderly growth and development in Saint Domingue.<sup>7</sup>

The situation in the 1790s was full of danger.<sup>8</sup> The colony had been France's wealthiest, producing more of the cash crop, sugar, than all the British tropical colonies put together; coffee was also an important export. But it was to suffer violent repercussions from the French Revolution, which served to exacerbate divisions in local society. The forty thousand or so whites, mostly French, were fractious - those from France despised white creoles; planters vied with merchants; planters and merchants alike looked down on lower-class whites; some supported the revolution; the plantocracy generally did not. Indeed British annexation had followed representations from mainly planter interests.

and landings of troops went unopposed. A similar number of 'affranchis', free persons of colour, mostly mulattoes, was divided by wide variations in socio-economic position (they could be planters or merchants, and own slaves) and they too were divided in their support for the revolution, the well-to-do frequently royalist. Then there were slaves, about half a million. Those born in Saint Domingue, creoles, looked upon arrivals from Africa 'with scorn'<sup>9</sup>, though, when news of the revolution reached the colony, creoles as well as Africans in considerable numbers deserted 'owners', white or black, and joined marauding bands of republicans which ravaged the countryside. Within a year or two rebellious republicans, black and white, were being led by Toussaint L'Ouverture', a wealthy free black, and during a decade of bloodshed Toussaint and his followers systematically held their own against all-comers - royalists (whether whites, free coloureds or loyal slaves, thousands of whom joined the colonial corps), Spanish incursions from Santo Domingo (the eastern part of the island), and British annexation. Into this bloody confusion stepped John Graves Simcoe. From, it could be said, the 'tranquillity' of his family seat in Devon to a hot seat in Saint Domingue.

In his laudatory account of Simcoe's life and times, which touched only fleetingly upon Saint Domingue, D.B. Read wrote that he was 'as successful as the condition of the island and its affairs would admit'.<sup>10</sup> But the reality was very different. The crux of the matter is that Simcoe did not in the eyes of London responsibly carry out his remit. He thought there was another, better, way forward; he gambled, but lost. Any governor of any colony may have needed from time to time to interpret flexibly the minutiae of his instructions in order to take account of local circumstances, especially as in those days communication with London was slow and not always reliable. Besides, even the best instructions could in places be ambiguous. And by their very nature they could be less than adequate on certain matters as not enough would be known about the colonial situation when they were drafted. However, provided governors acted pragmatically, and successfully, furthering the mother country's interests, all was well; failure, particularly if costly, as in Simcoe's case, was another matter.

Following the heavy expenditure in annexing Saint Domingue London's interest was in belt tightening. Simcoe was therefore to cut costs in administration - 'regulate and restrain within certain and fixed limits' - and pursue an essentially defensive military strategy (always cheaper than offensives). London's military thinking hinged upon consolidation of British forces - they 'should be concentrated' - in the strategic north of the colony, at Mole Saint Nicholas - or 'Cape Nicholas Mole' - the former French naval base commanding the windward passage, between Saint Domingue and Cuba, which was the route home for all Britain's possessions in the region, in particular Jamaica. As a rider to this thinking, the major share of military involvement, and thus expenditure, for internal security operations against the likes of Toussaint must be shouldered by colonists themselves - this meant 'the full application of all the Revenue and Resources which can be derived from the Colony' and the 'employ to the best advantage' of the locally financed militia of whites and free coloureds and the colonial corps of blacks. London wished 'to avoid the necessity of sending further reinforcements of European Troops'.<sup>11</sup>

Although Simcoe at least initiated economies in administration and measures against graft and corruption, he nonetheless became preoccupied with military matters. And for him the offensive was an article of faith. Writing upon arrival to a patron and friend, Henry Addington (the Addingtons were later Viscounts Sidmouth), he explained it was not in his 'military character' to think defensively and he was 'embarrassed' that he had 'acquiesced' in instructions regarding 'defensive operations'.<sup>12</sup> So, flexing his military

muscle, he embarked upon a four month long offensive campaign, deploying British as well as colonial troops against revolutionary republicans, most notably Toussaint. He even obtained reinforcements from Jamaica.

The governor's analysis was that the whole island, including the Spanish half, would be subdued in a month's offensive though he did presuppose reinforcements, 'six to ten Thousand British troops'.<sup>13</sup> This was high-risk thinking. On paper he may have had a sizeable force; but there were fewer colonial soldiers on parade than on the muster rolls, there were divisions in the ranks reflecting socio-economic differences, and some disquiet over even his limited cost-cutting measures. His instructions of course had made it clear that he could not bank upon reinforcements from Britain. Toussaint, meanwhile, had a much larger force, less well equipped but he was receiving supplies from the Americans; he commanded devotion; he knew the terrain. Simcoe also had a second enemy. Disease, in particular yellow fever, could and did decimate especially unseasoned troops from Britain or even Jamaica. His third enemy was time, for he was a man in a hurry; the rainy season would call a halt to operations.

By the time the rains came in June Simcoe's campaign, though having achieved some early successes, could show no real gains. In fact his troops were back roughly where they had started, and considerably weakened by casualties and disease. The grim facts were that it was wasteful, even reckless, military effort and expenditure, and during these months Simcoe had delayed strengthening the garrison at the Mole and delayed pursuing administrative economies.<sup>14</sup> Toussaint, meanwhile remained a thorn in his side. Naturally enough Simcoe tried to defend his efforts but added in his dispatch to the Duke of Portland in June that it was 'with regret' that he found himself 'at variance' with 'the letter of my Instructions'.<sup>15</sup> The day after writing to Portland he told his wife, Elizabeth, who was at the family home in Devon, that the situation in Saint Domingue was 'very precarious', and it is clear that he was giving up - he wrote that he was already 'winding up of my business', hoping to sail home 'The beginning of next month in the Jamaica fleet'.<sup>16</sup> He assured her of his good health which is significant because he had been granted permission to leave the colony early only 'in the event of the loss of your health'; making the 'impossibility of you remaining in the Island'.<sup>17</sup> Poor health, then, was not the reason for his departure. Rather, Simcoe recognised he had failed.

London was not pleased. When, in early June, the Secretary of State, Henry Dundas, got wind of Simcoe's actions in Saint Domingue he had ordered him to carry out his original instructions for 'concentrating the British Force at Cape Nicholas Mole' and 'the Reduction of the Expenditure within the limits therein prescribed' - but that dispatch would have arrived too late to make any difference.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of 1798 the Marquis of Buckingham, another of Simcoe's patrons, told Addington that the Prime Minister, William Pitt, had been reported as saying 'that Gen. Simcoe's return from St. Domingo required an explanation' and Buckingham commented further that 'this assertion added to intelligence of a similar nature'. He added: 'I fear that he will require a Court Martial'.<sup>19</sup> But Buckingham and Addington spoke to Pitt on Simcoe's behalf; they were powerful friends and Simcoe was to be left in peace at Wolford.

John Graves Simcoe is buried in the Devon countryside, at Wolford Lodge. It had been his dream of founding another English countryside that had become so intertwined with his administration in Canada, and his ideal, it has been said, was the 'old squire-and-parson countryside' which he would have known here in Devon - that is, 'a squirearchy to give a lead' and 'a clergy inculcating from the pulpit sound doctrine.' His 'reactionary convictions' seemed to act as an inner driving force.<sup>20</sup> This desire to establish an 'English' type of society in Canada served him well enough at a time of loyalist

reaction to the recent republican revolution south of the border and fears from republicanism at work in Quebec. Upper Canada was loyal, which paved the way for his successful governorship. Arguably, annexation of Saint Domingue, which placed Simcoe *in extremis*, was always a lost cause. Yet his personality, of the active military man, and his convictions, which would have prompted his policy of 'no truce for us, or Peace'<sup>21</sup> until republicanism was stamped out in the colony, were not suited for the very fine diplomacy actually needed to handle, within his terms of reference, the complex colonial situation there. His successor, Brigadier-General Thomas Maitland (he was later knighted), taking a more pragmatic approach and showing consummate skill, entered into negotiations with Toussaint, who became generally inclined to be friendly towards the British. True, Maitland eventually withdrew his forces to Jamaica carrying out new government wishes, and Saint Domingue was abandoned, but in return gaining from Toussaint an amnesty for royalists, a promise of security for Jamaica and a commercial treaty.

While Simcoe's failure in Saint Domingue signalled, dramatically, the end to his career as a colonial administrator, his military services were called upon again though only when resources were fully stretched. Thus he commanded troops in Plymouth in 1801 when a French invasion was expected; these troops were not of course needed. He was in fact to have been the junior of three naval and military commissioners sent to Lisbon five years later to bolster resistance there to threatened French invasion, but he may have owed this appointment to the fact that his father, a naval captain based in Plymouth, had rendered assistance, still remembered in Lisbon, to victims of the great earthquake in 1755. In any case he could not be tested in the Lisbon job as he died in his town house in Exeter, prior to taking up appointment.<sup>22</sup> Where he had been tested, in Saint Domingue, he was found wanting. So there was censure for Simcoe, no knighthood, the usual reward for a successful public career. As to the psychological effect of failure, one can only guess, though Buckingham did remark that Simcoe had 'a mind...much stung'.<sup>23</sup> However, returning home at that particular time to his Wolford seat in the quintessential English countryside of Devon, and to his family (he had three children by then), must have provided at least some welcome respite. At any rate four more children were born at Wolford in the following years and one glimpses something of life at home from a letter written by a daughter, Caroline, in January 1800: 'Last Wednesday,' she began, 'there was a very fine masquerade. Everybody was dressed in some character of Shakespeare, Papa was Prospero and introduced all the company.'<sup>24</sup> Simcoe was Prospero, who, remember, told Alonso:

'Let us not burden our remembrances with  
A heaviness that's gone.'<sup>25</sup>

For Simcoe, therefore, the 'heaviness' of the year 1797 may not have proved a lasting 'burden'.

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. This plaque was sponsored by the Ontario Heritage Foundation.
2. 'While a schoolboy at the Free Grammar School in Exeter his acquisitions in some departments of knowledge were of a superior kind...and (he) eagerly devoured every tale of war.' See Read, D.B., *The Life and Times of Gen. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1890), 10.
3. *Dictionary of National Biography*, 253.
4. Elizabeth Gwillim, she was sixteen, he was thirty.
5. Read, *op.cit.*, 115.
6. The Simcoe Papers are deposited in the Devon Record Office in Exeter and include private correspondence as well as official relating to his career.
7. For Simcoe in Saint Domingue see Simcoe Papers and Addington Papers in the Devon Record Office. Simcoe Papers, Public Office, 1038M/011-013, 017-019, 021; Private, F1/7A. Addington Papers, 152M/1797/OM1; 152M/1798/OM9.
8. There are a number of readable histories of the Caribbean islands; the best general history of former British colonies is still Parry, J. H., Sherlock, P. M., and Maingot, A. P., *A Short History of the West Indies* (Revised edn. London 1987).
9. Rainsford, M., *The Black Empire in Haiti* (London, 1805), 103.
10. Read, *op.cit.*, 294.
11. For Simcoe's instructions see Duke of Portland and Henry Dundas to Simcoe, 25 November 1796, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/013/1.
12. Simcoe to Henry Addington, 23 February 1797, Addington Papers, 152M/1797/OM1.
13. *Ibid.*
14. For Simcoe's reports on his activities, civil and military, see Simcoe to Portland, 16 June 1797, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/013/1.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Simcoe to Elizabeth, 17 June 1797, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/F1/7A.
17. Portland to Simcoe, 11 December 1796, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/011/1.
18. Dundas to Simcoe, 9 June 1787, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/013/1.
19. Marquis of Buckingham to Addington, 14 January 1798, Addington Papers, 152M/1798/OM9.
20. See Lower, Professor A. R. M., *Colony to Nation* (Toronto, 1969), 162.
21. Simcoe to Addington, 23 February 1797, *op.cit.*
22. See *DNB*, *op.cit.*, 253 and Read, *op.cit.*, 301.
23. Buckingham to Addington, 14 January 1798, *op.cit.*
24. Caroline to Mrs Hunt, Park Street, Bath, 9 January 1800, Simcoe Papers, 1038M/F1/390. Mrs Hunt had looked after the children when their parents were in Canada.
25. *The Tempest* (Act V Scene 1).

William Laws BA (Hons); M.Litt; F.R.Hist.Soc., was educated at Plymouth College and at the Universities of Edinburgh and Exeter. He worked as a lecturer, and lately as a teacher of history, in Canada, New Zealand and Devon, before retiring to Exeter in 1997.

## HAYTOR IRON MINE

Bill Ransom

The great mass of Dartmoor is composed chiefly of granite but at the eastern fringe, including ground just to the east of Haytor, lies an area of metamorphosed rocks of the Carboniferous age. In Devon the area has been designated as the Culm Measures because at a few places there occurs a soft coal known in Devon as culm.<sup>1</sup> The upper Culm Measures consist principally of shales and sandstones metamorphosed by the action of granite upon them and it was in these that both magnetite and haematite, two different forms of ferric oxide were found to be interbedded.

Hamilton Jenkin<sup>2</sup> conjectured that the development of the ore beds in the Haytor area had started by the sixteenth century but the first factual account appears to be that by Cornelius Tripe<sup>3</sup> in a letter to the *Philosophical Magazine* written from Devonport and dated 25 November 1826. The letter was mainly concerned with reporting, and attempting to identify, a mineral for which the name Haytorite was suggested. This was found accompanied by small masses of chalcedony, garnet, actynolite, talc and iron. This letter aroused much learned discussion of the nature of Haytorite, which is of only peripheral interest to this article, but the consensus opinion seemed to favour a pseudomorphous form of chalcedony. A specimen may be seen in the County Museum, Truro. Tripe refers to the iron mine as being adjacent to the Haytor granite quarries.

Phillips,<sup>4</sup> again concerned mainly with the nature of Haytorite, relates, in 1827, his inspection of a vein of ironstone about 6 feet wide running nearly east to west and underlying to the north about 45°. The ironstone appears to have been obtained by surface working and shipped at Teignmouth. A year later comes the first known report of the Haytor Iron Mine this being the publication of a letter from Kingston on 9 April 1828 by Kingston.<sup>5</sup> He refers to the mine as being near the base of the Haytor rocks with the lode containing the iron ore cropping out near the centre and on the brow of a hill and situated in two distinct estates intersected near the centre by a road. The direction of the lode was nearly north-west and south-east with a dip, (the angle of inclination from the horizontal), of about 22½° for the first few feet from the surface but increasing below this level to a regular 45°. The direction of dip was north-east to south-west. The lode referred to by Kingston was of beds seen in open work and would have been worked by open-cast mining methods. Eight beds of iron ore were identified with seven of schist, the total width of ore being 16 feet with the principal bed of ore being 8 feet wide. Kingston states that the mine was being explored by a level driven at a depth of 20 feet from the surface in a south-westerly direction which, some 30 feet from its beginning, intersected another small bed of ore about 3½ feet wide with the same dip as the main lode. The length of the beds which contained ore of a suitable quality for smelting did not, at that time, exceed 150 yards. Near the central part of the open lode an old sinking was discovered to the depth of 42 feet on one single bed of the ore. Kingston found no records in the neighbourhood as to the purpose of this and believed it was related probably to the search for tin. Spoil heaps covered some 2 to 3 acres in the vicinity. The chief part of the ore contained between 40% and 70% of iron, actively magnetic, which was used to enhance the quality of Welsh iron. The superintendent of the Haytor mine was stated to be a Mr Petherick.

In 1829 the *Exeter Flying Post*<sup>6</sup> reported the death of J. Hatherley joint proprietor of the Haytor Mines'. The use of the plural may be related to a report the previous year<sup>7</sup> that 'a new iron mine has been lately opened in a field contiguous to the former mine, belonging to another proprietor, affording ores of the highest quality. The estate which produces the treasure has heretofore been let for about £50 a year but it is now estimated to be worth £20,000. In working this mine some minerals of extraordinary lustre were a few days since explored, especially a few topaz quartz crystals equal in colour and brilliance to Brazil topaz and are now in the splendid collection of the newly discovered Haytor minerals in the possession of Mr Shirley Woolmer of Exeter.'

The description of the position of the Haytor iron mine by Tripe and by Kingston are both general and, indeed, confusing and must be taken as referring more to the locality rather than a specific position. The first 1-inch to the mile map produced by the Ordnance Survey in 1809 was not in the detail necessary to show individual mines but the 25-inch to the mile Ordnance Survey map issued in 1886 from surveys conducted in 1884/5 shows a shaft and spoil heaps south of the Rock Inn at what would now be designated as SX 7715 7705. The 1886 map also showed a spoil heap north of the inn at SX 7710 7735 and the words 'Haytor Iron Mine (disused)' covering a general area around SX 7730 7710. The shaft and spoil heaps south of the inn lay both just to the north and south of the road which runs past the current hut of the Women's Institute and the field in which they are shown was designated in the Tithe Apportionment Map of 1838 as 'Iron Mine Field' (Schedule Number 1532).

A description of the mine by Foster<sup>8</sup> predates the 1886 map by eleven years. Foster states that while Kingston's article dealt with beds seen in an open work, by 1875 a new adit level had intersected the ore beds to expose a new section with beds dipping northwards at an angle of 30°. The thicknesses of three beds of ore were measured by Captain William Crose, the agent of the mine. The uppermost was 10 feet thick including partings of rock giving about 2 feet of waste, the next one down was 14 feet thick with 1 foot of waste and the lowest 6 feet thick also with 1 foot of waste. The adit intersected the ore beds some 120 feet below the old open work seen by Kingston. A fourth bed of magnetite about 3 feet thick was seen cropping out about 300 yards north-east from the others and running parallel to them. The outcrop of the beds of magnetite could be traced to the east for a distance of some ¼ mile and at the surface had been converted by atmospheric agencies into ochre which had also been extracted.

On 20 September 1884 a map of Haytor Iron Mine was deposited at the Home Office under the Metalliferous Mines Act as AM 1667. The Act required that, where a mine, in which more than 12 persons have 'ordinarily been employed below ground is abandoned the owner of such mine at the time of the abandonment shall, within three months of such abandonment, send to the Secretary of State an accurate plan etc'. The plan is dated 1880 and shows old surface workings, old pits and three lodes being intercepted by an adit. The lodes shown tally well with those described by Foster.

Dines<sup>9</sup> gives similar information but, additionally, states that the middle bed was separated from the uppermost by 6 feet of siliceous slates and from the lower by 4 feet. He notes that the outcrop of the iron ore beds continues for over ½ mile south-eastwards towards Smallacombe Mine which mine, too, was partly worked for magnetite though chiefly for haematite, ochre and amber.

The continuation of the iron lodes from the Haytor Mine to the Smallacombe Mine, (known as the Smallacombe Cutting), and further sporadic exploration and mining in the Haytor Vale-Smallacombe area of a less established nature will have led,

inevitably, to some confusion and probable overlap in recorded output and staffing levels for Haytor Mine and its neighbours. This cannot now be unravelled. Thus Lyon<sup>10</sup> of Middlecott, Ilington, a prominent local landowner writes in his diary for 1859 'Haytor Iron Mine developed as an open quarry known as the Smallacombe Cutting'. On 1 October 1864 'Inspected a very valuable Iron Ore Quarry in a field near Haytor Village called the Shotts. It was worked by a London man 3 or 4 years ago named Weeks an adventurer who it seems never paid for carting away the ore or the men for raising it'. (Shotts was the field just to the north of the adit exit from the Haytor Mine).

The fields and their owners adjacent to the Haytor Mine were shown in the Schedule to the Tithe Apportionment Map of 1838 as Iron Mine Field, Little Plot, Long Close, (George Templer); Great Mowing Close, Little Mowing Close, Broom Hills, Shotts Bottom Wood, (William Drake White) and Shotts, (Joseph Wills). Atkinson, Waite and Burt<sup>11</sup> list the ownership, (which should be interpreted as being of the mining rights leased by the landowner), of Devon iron ore mines between 1858 and 1913 and show William Browne as the major owner. Burt<sup>12</sup> lists Browne as the owner of Haytor Iron Mine from 1864-68, 1872-76 and again in 1877 but then as William Browne & Sons. From 1878-83 ownership was held by the Haytor Magnetic Iron Company. William Grose was the chief agent of the mine from 1864-68, from 1872-77 and from 1879-83. No details are available as to the ownership in other years but one may speculate that in the earliest years it may have been George Templer. Thus on 8 December 1837 the Court Leet and Court Baron of the most noble Edward Adolphus, Duke of Somerset, K.G. was held at the Rock Inn, Haytor Vale.<sup>13</sup> The Court presented 'Mr George Templer for leaving the Iron Pit open to the highway in a dangerous state and require it to be fenced off forthwith.' Furthermore a letter from John Bigg, the Secretary of the Devon Quarries Company to George Templer, who formed the company in 1825, dated 13 March 1834, suggested a possible contract between the quarries company and the iron ore company to carry the ore down the granite quarry railroad to Ventiford<sup>14</sup> though this seems not to have progressed. In addition it has already been shown that Templer owned land on which the mine operated. (Further Courts Leet and Baron were held in 1844, 1847, 1850, 1853 and 1857 all at the Rock Inn which made reference to the dangerous state of mining pits on Haytor Down but these were not necessarily specifically aimed at the Haytor Mine).

A lease dated 24 June 1858 and granted by Joseph Wills of Smallacombe to Charles Wickes of London gave the right to search for and mine minerals in part of the Smallacombe Estate which included, *inter alia*, (Higher Shotts Bottom, Great Shotts, Middle Shotts and Kith Shotts all of which land was in the general area of the Haytor Mine.<sup>15</sup> Other leases were given by Alfred Lyon to William Browne of St. Austell and to Faithful Cookson of London in 1865 and 1872 respectively to enable exploration for, and the mining of, iron. These covered land more likely to be related to the Smallacombe Cutting than the Haytor Mine but included land in the Shotts area as far as the present site of Ludgate and behind Haytor Vale to include Shotts Bottom.

Burt<sup>16</sup> published figures for the production of iron ore from the Haytor Mine and the associated labour force based on the mineral statistics of the United Kingdom. Returns for the production of different minerals appeared in the official statistics from different dates with those for iron not appearing until 1858. Production data and employment cannot be taken as always exclusive to a particular mine even when so shown. Thus from 1858 to 1861 the type of iron ore produced at the Haytor Mine was shown as brown haematite which was the predominant ore from the Smallacombe

Cutting. However, from 1865 onwards the ore production shown was of magnetite and probably was exclusively that of the Haytor Mine. The most productive years were 1880, (3395 tons), 1881, (3300 tons) and 1882, (3340 tons). Burt includes production figures for 1908, (1400 tons) and 1910, (2000 tons) clearly following a re-opening of the mine and, indeed, Harris<sup>17</sup> writes of sporadic production up to 1921. Total employment reached a peak of 92 in 1880.

Atkinson, Waite and Burt<sup>18</sup> show total output of iron ore from Devon mines from 1855 to 1913 as just under 35,000 tons of which the Haytor Mine produced some 10%. To give this a national perspective they show that the whole Devon production for the 58 years was less than the yearly output of one Cumbrian mine.

No details have been found of the development of the mine during its productive years, the search for which included enquiries at the Public Record Office and the Guildhall Library in London which organisations hold, respectively, registered papers of dissolved companies and certain defunct companies. Harris<sup>19</sup> gives anecdotal evidence of the ore being brought to the Bovey Tracey road by a tramway and thence by traction engines. Local knowledge is strong that the traction engines were loaded at the junction of the field known as Great Shotts and Great Blue Barn, (now SX 7750 7745). It is also known that the dangerous state of the iron ore pits for which George Templer was admonished continued to a much later time. Thus Lyon<sup>20</sup> in 1880 in his diary entries for 6, 8 and 17 November relates the collapse of old workings and part of the road into the mine leaving a large, deep hole which promotes the entry of 6 December 'Capt. Grose said it would take 3,000 tons of earth to fill it up and fortunately the earth is close at hand being debris of the old workings.' This collapse was near the present position of Minehayes, (which name means mine enclosure) and it is believed that the eventual repair resulted in the new piece of road taking the form of an 'S' bend there. From a perusal of O.S. maps published as a result of surveys made in 1884 and 1904 the construction would seem to have been made between those dates.

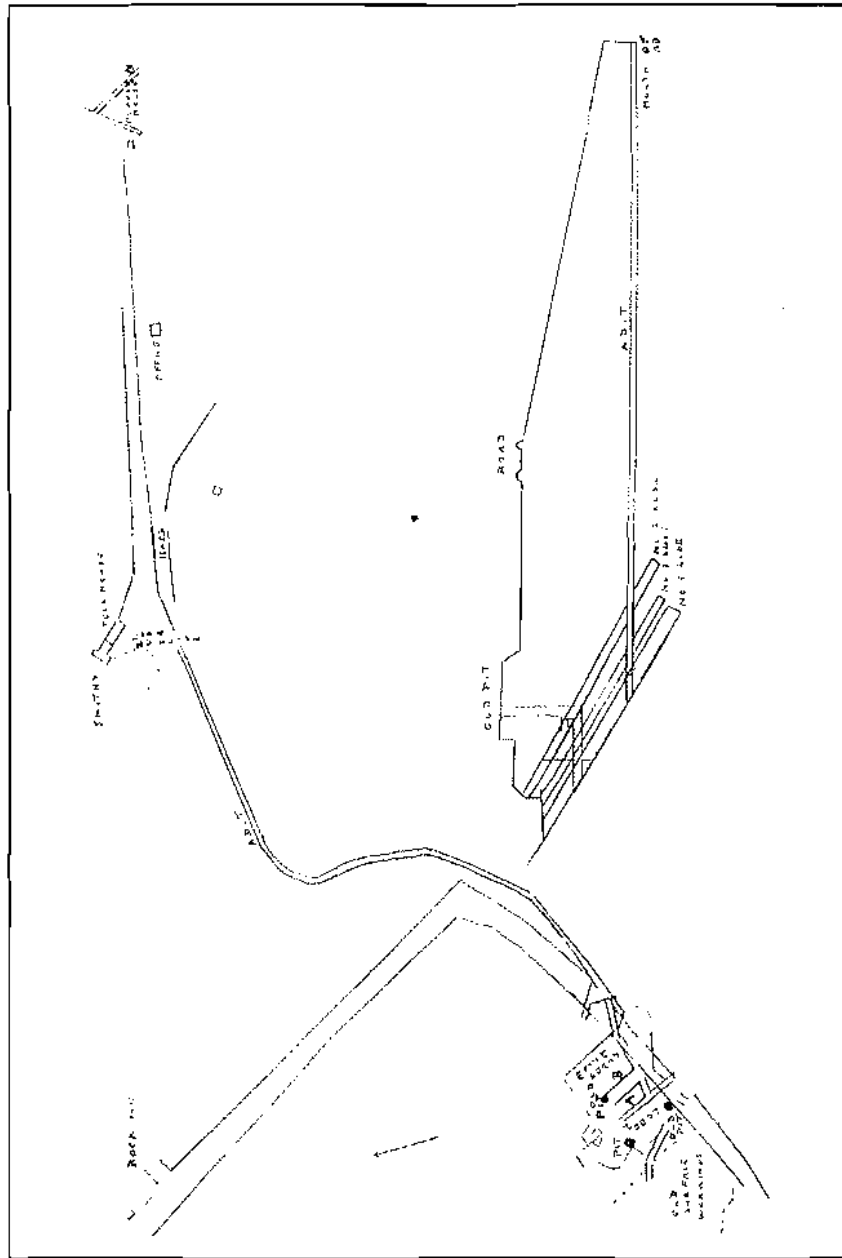
Some remains of the mine are still discernible in particular the adit exit now closed by an iron door at about SX 772773. Spoil heaps and entrances to old shafts, now filled in, are situated in private grounds both sides of the road through Haytor Vale at about SX 772770. Some remains of a structure lie opposite the adit exit and the deep tree-lined valley running from the adit exit towards Smallacombe shows rubble possibly from the mine.

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## THE REVD JAMES SHORE OF BRIDGETOWN, TOTNES

John Leach

In the mid-1840s the actions of an obscure Devon curate challenged ecclesiastical legislation, causing his imprisonment by the Bishop of Exeter and the formation of a new Christian denomination. Loved by his faithful congregation he became a successful hotel proprietor who died after falling from his horse on a lonely Derbyshire moor.

James Shore was born on 31 July 1805 at Haselbury Pluckett, Somerset, the third son of a Dorset merchant. Educated at Norton-sub-Hamdon and Dorchester he matriculated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he received a Master's degree in 1831. In 1827, in Plymouth, he married Susannah Gream of Godstone, Sussex, with whom he had three daughters. His remarkable career as a minister of 'serious religion' or evangelicalism began with his ordination by William Carey, Bishop of Exeter, as a deacon on 19 October 1828. He was appointed curate to the parish of Berry Pomeroy in October 1829.<sup>1</sup>



*Rev. James Shore. Courtesy Elizabethan House Museum, Totnes.*

In the year 1821, Bridgetown, a large district of Totnes, was also a hamlet within the parish of Berry Pomeroy which had some 200 families conforming to the Established Church.<sup>2</sup> It was expanding and being developed by Edward Adolphus Seymour, the 11th Duke of Somerset (1775-1855). Within thirty years the duke had built Devon Place, Seymour Terrace, Seymour Place, some villas near the river and by 1832 a chapel



*Church of St. John, Bridgetown. Courtesy Elizabethan House Museum, Totnes.*

of ease to minister to the burgeoning community. St John's church was built in a Gothic style at a cost of £7,000 and was designed to seat 700 worshippers. As patron of the living of Berry Pomeroy, Somerset entered into discussions with Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter (1778-1869), about the consecration and dedication of the building. Concerned about the future endowment of the church Phillpotts declined to licence it without suitable provision being made. Somerset did not anticipate the cost of endowment but, after a breakdown of relations, a compromise was agreed upon and St John's was licensed as a chapel of ease on 9 November 1832.<sup>3</sup>

Following this agreement, the vicar of Berry Pomeroy, the Revd John Edwards, appointed Shore as curate in charge. He received a stipend of £200pa and lived at No.1 Seymour Place. Edwards died in 1834 and was replaced by the Revd Edward Brown. Nine years later Brown successfully applied to the Duke of Somerset to exchange his living for that of Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire, held by the Revd William Burrough

Cosens. The latter was a tractarian like the Bishop who, after an incident at Chudleigh in 1841,<sup>7</sup> had shown his dislike for the theologically-opposite Shore. An oversight during the appointment of Brown came to light indicating that Shore had been officiating without a licence for nine years. In the midst of the legal confusion Phillpotts sought to have Shore replaced and ordered him, in October 1843, not to take further services. Shore obeyed and closed the church for five months. When his character became called into question he declined preferment elsewhere and consulted his patron. As Shore's evangelical ministry had been so successful Somerset proposed to withdraw the chapel of ease from the jurisdiction of the Church of England. After much consideration Shore reluctantly agreed and advised Phillpotts that he intended to recommence his ministry at Bridgetown even if it meant him seceding from the Established Church. Upon receipt of a petition from the congregation, Somerset registered the building as a 'Dissenting meeting house' in February 1844. After swearing oaths and signing a declaration under the Toleration Act, Shore opened Bridgetown as the first congregation of the 'Free Church of England' on 14 April 1844.

Throughout the whole of the period since the Reformation and particularly in 1662 many Anglican priests had left the Church of England to become non-conformist ministers. Whilst this was frowned upon by the Established Church and, in the early period, illegal, little action was taken. The Toleration Act seemed to provide the means for clergymen to secede but subsequent case law confounded it. Acts of 1779 and 1812 also appeared to aid seceders but were again modified. By the 1840s, whilst secession was arguably illegal, no one person had been seriously punished. The case of James Shore changed this and caused him to become a *cause celebre*. It was a most complex case and has been described in detail by Grayson Carter.<sup>8</sup> A brief appraisal is given below.

Soon after Shore commenced preaching without licence at Bridgetown, Phillpotts summoned him to appear at a Preliminary Commission of Inquiry at the Seven Stars, Totnes, on 6 August 1844. He was accused of disobedience and being in contravention of canon 76 of 1604<sup>9</sup> which was designed to bind the clergy for life and prevent the establishment of other religious bodies. Shore, believing he was exempted under the Toleration Act, appealed to the Court of Arches, the Queen's Bench and finally the Privy Council in 1848. The Bishop's reputation as a martinet and intemperate tractarian ensured that the case became well publicised with Shore being perceived as a man of conscience downtrodden by the Establishment. Lord Brougham raised the matter in the House of Lords and Thomas Latimer, the editor of the *Western Times* accused the Bishop of being a 'careless perverter of facts'.<sup>7</sup> Phillpotts sued for libel but the jury found for Latimer. The country was in uproar and on 13 April 1848 a crowd of over 5,000 met in London to register their support for Shore.<sup>8</sup> In Totnes, the Bridgetown congregation stood firmly behind him, and a committee under J. Derry (chairman) and Mayor E. Luscombe (treasurer) raised funds for his defence. A petition was presented to Parliament by local MP Mr Bouverie.

The Privy Council rejected Shore's appeal on four counts, the most notable being that secession did not shield him from censure and that the Bridgetown chapel could not be admitted as a non-conformist meeting house. He was prohibited not to preach in the Canterbury Province and ordered to pay Phillpotts costs in both the Court of Arches and the Privy Council. Further he was advised that to continue to preach as a dissenting minister would be considered as a contempt of court leading to imprisonment.

Shore returned to preach at Bridgetown. In early 1849 a warrant was issued for his arrest for non-payment of Phillpotts' costs, but he ignored it. Fearing a violent confrontation, the authorities left him alone at Bridgetown, but after preaching at the

Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in Spa Fields, London, on 9 March 1849, he was arrested and placed in Exeter Gaol. Public opinion was firmly behind Shore and *The Times* rebuked Phillpotts.<sup>9</sup> While he still declined to pay, Shore's health deteriorated and the press urged a public subscription. Shore refused to accept this, but by May his health was so bad that his London friends paid his debts (£310.16s.0d) and he was released. Despite his clear contempt of court, no action was taken against his preaching. After undertaking a speaking tour he returned to Bridgetown and continued his ministry unmolested.

Information in the *Totnes Times* indicated that his work involved him in united prayer meetings and the regular round of baptisms, funerals and harvest thanksgivings. In this he was assisted by the Revds Fuller, Huber and Newman. Their role became more important after 1862 when Shore left Totnes because of his health. He continued as minister in name until 1869 and returned for occasional services. Failing health caused his resignation in April 1869,<sup>10</sup> after which the chapel was again licensed within the Church of England.

At the time of Shore's departure in 1862, hydrotherapy had become the fashionable 'cure'. The leading advocate for this was the wealthy hosier, John Smedley of Matlock, whose 'Hydro' was one of the most luxurious hotels in England.<sup>11</sup> Smedley (1803-74) had also left the Church of England and formed his own 'Free Methodist' denomination in the Derbyshire hills. There was much to attract Shore, a man with chronic rheumatism, to Matlock and soon he became involved in homeopathic and hydropathic treatments. These were practised both at Smedley's 'Hydro' and at his own 'beautiful and extensive'<sup>12</sup> Matlock House Hydropathic.

Just north of Matlock was one of the oldest and warmest spas in Britain. Known by the Roman appellation of *Aquae Arnemetiae*, the mineral springs at Buxton arise continually at 27.5°C. Mineral water treatment depended upon consuming large quantities of the mineral-rich waters, but hydrotherapy rejected this notion in favour of a variety of methods of applying water (not necessarily mineral water) to the body. This was a new 'cure' and was brought to Buxton by the Revd James Shore in 1866.<sup>13</sup> He opened the Malvern House Hotel and by 1872 had converted the Royal Hotel into a 'hydro'.<sup>14</sup> Divine worship in the 'Free Church of England' was held every Sunday at Malvern

S. nd nc- of as est ing nd nd ced to ies'	with a view to the comfort of visitors and residents."	C S
	THOMAS WOODRUFF, Proprietor.	
	MALVERN HOUSE, HYDROPATHIC & HOMEOPATHIC ESTABLISHMENT & INVALIDS' HOUSE, HARTINGTON ROAD, In connection with THE ROYAL, Spring Gardens, SUPERIOR PRIVATE APARTMENTS. Apply to Miss Atkins, Matron.	I B
	Divine Service on Sundays; Morning at Half-past Ten o'clock; Evening at Half-past Six o'clock. Open to the public.	
	HOUSE OF REST AND CONVALESCENCE	I n

Advertisement for Shore's 'Malvern House Hydropathic' hotel, Buxton. Note the reference to the 'Divine Services' which were to have been conducted by him. *Buxton Advertiser* 15 August 1874.



Memorial stone to James Shore. The stone reads 'J.S. AUGst 12TH 1874' and is situated south of Buxton, Derbyshire at SK11366760. Originally set up on the roadside where Shore fell and died it was moved over the field wall by the neighbouring farmer after a lorry struck it in the 1970s. J.T. Leach.

House and soon Shore became a well known member of the Buxton community. To supply fresh meat and vegetables he acquired Street House Farm some six miles south of the town. Reminiscent of his former parish, the hamlet became known as Pomeroy (SK118.675).

On 12 August 1874 whilst riding out across a lonely Derbyshire moor to Street House with his family, Shore fell from his horse. Carried to the nearby Duke of York Inn he was pronounced dead by Doctors Flint and Turner of Buxton. The inquest, held at Malvern House, heard that the horse has only been purchased the day previously and that the coachman had cautioned Shore that it had a stiff knee. It was also recorded that Shore habitually rode with a 'loose rein'. The verdict was 'accidental death'.<sup>15</sup> *The Buxton Advertiser* recorded that:-

'Mr Shore has been in Buxton about twelve years and has conducted his large business with considerable administrative ability; but, while displaying all the shrewdness and care necessary to a man of business, he had been most remarkably liberal and charitable as a citizen. His career has been a very remarkable one, and, in early days, he was subjected to much persecution by the late Bishop of Exeter'.<sup>16</sup>

The following Saturday morning the body of the Revd James Shore was removed from Malvern House and put on the 10.20am train for Totnes. A special sermon was preached on the Sunday morning in the Malvern House Church by the Revd W. Bailey. Shore was interred at Bridgetown the next day at 1.30pm, '...and all along the route...a large number of tradesmen of the town, many of whom had been attendants at Bridgetown Church under the deceased's ministry, added to the procession'.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the proposal of a Clergy Relief Bill by E. P. Bouverie in 1849 Parliament did not support the rights of seceders until the passing of the Clerical Disabilities Act in 1870.<sup>18</sup> Shore brought the thorny issue of secession to a head and highlighted the increasing theological divide between Evangelical churchmen such as Shore, and the Tractarians represented by the dogmatic and illogical Phillpotts. The legacy of Shore's position was clearly a secondary issue, and this view was reinforced as Phillpotts took no action against seceders to the Church of Rome within his own diocese, including his own chaplain, William Maskell, in 1850. James Shore was therefore a remarkable man of principle whose legacy can still be seen in the continuance of his 'Free Church of England'

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## A SOLDIER'S YEAR IN WAR-TIME DEVON

Anthony Greenstreet

How strange that a way of life familiar to hundreds of thousands of young men less than sixty years ago should now seem so utterly remote! Few diaries recount in detail how it was to be an ordinary soldier under training in the Second World War. For most such young men who might have kept a diary the experience of those days must have seemed too monotonous, sordid and uncomfortable to merit careful recording. But the unpublished diary of Hugh Temple Bone in the Imperial War Museum Archive tells us exactly what it was like to be a new recruit in Exeter and Honiton from November 1939 to December 1940. As an additional bonus the diary reveals Bone as an intelligent, literate, studious, questioning, religious, shy and friendly young man; and shows him developing into a confident, conscientious and well-liked instructor of his fellow soldiers.

Aged 21, Bone, living with his family at Upminster, was a junior executive civil servant in the Probate and Divorce Registry on £180 a year. In October 1939 he enlisted under a scheme offering the opportunity of an army commission. (In fact, it was not until January 1941, and after several disappointments that Bone became an officer cadet. The 'phoney war' meant that fewer officers were needed: half the potential officers' platoon were chosen as cadets - all those from South West schools like Blundells - the rest being offered the choice of return to civilian life or a chance to become a non-commissioned officer, which Bone chose). In November, with 200 other recruits, he arrived at the Devon Infantry Training Centre at Higher Barracks, Exeter. Their training regime does not seem (at least to one subsequent National Serviceman) to have been rigorous. Reveille at 6.30am, breakfast 7.15, parade 8 - followed by eight three-quarter hour periods of drill, instruction in rifle, Bren gun and anti-tank rifle; visional training; PT; and 'internal economy'. These were supplemented after eight weeks by training in digging, wiring, tactical exercise, route marches and firing courses on the Honiton range. Much of the training took place on the muddy Exeter Town football pitch, and PT was a 40-minute run around Exeter after changing clothes in the freezing grandstand. In April 1940, with Bone now an acting lance-corporal, training was transferred to the County Ground at St Thomas's. This comprised 'a rugby pitch, encircled by a greyhound track and asphalt cycling track...During breaks and the dinner time amplifiers blare forth popular songs on records - and a training company marches round the asphalt to the tune of military marches that can be heard several roads away. Discipline is extremely lax. The food is slightly better than barracks. Every Wednesday and Saturday the dogs still run'.

After four weeks of barrack-living Bone was billeted-out in a series of private houses. The best was the home of a retired bank employee and his wife: 'I have a really comfortable bed to myself with clean sheets, a maid to waken me if I oversleep and to get me a cup of delicious tea and a couple of biscuits before I go out each morning, and a drawing room with cosy armchairs and an electric fire where I may spend any leisure I may have'. Another billet was also comfortable but had drawbacks: 'The landlord is a married man named Bath and works in a firm of funeral furnishers and joiners. My first sight of him was in the mournful weeds of the more lugubrious side of his trade...He is very insistent that the house be completely sealed up before it is left unoccupied and neither of them will give me a key or let me stay inside when they are not in' (this was because Bath was secretary of his union's local branch and had about £100 in the house).

During the 'phoney war' up to May 1940 soldiers had plenty of free time. With his army pay being made up to his full civil pay, Bone could afford to go to four cinema shows a week, and often to Deller's or The Bude, both of which restaurants had orchestras and were of similar standard to the Lyons Corner Houses in London'. Although he was socially-inexperienced, tea-dances at The Bude were a great lure, 'After watching others dance for about half an hour we, three of us, worked up courage to secure partners. A dance-hostess aided us and our fears were at least equalled by our pleasure in an hour's dancing'. Bone was also sexually inexperienced and in his year in Devon only twice took out a girl: she was a sixth-former and he found her 'acceptable and companionable', but 'too young for really intelligent discourse and I have no place or right in my life to encourage physical passions'. At the barracks he enjoyed the regimental dances and seeing Priestly's 'Mystery at Greenfingers' acted quite well by some ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service) girls and NCOs 'despite the rather noisy audience'. He enjoyed roller-skating at the Exmouth rink, and trips on to the fringes of Dartmoor on a second-hand sports Raleigh bought for £2.10 shillings. However, a trip to Sidmouth with the depot rugby team was a mixed experience for the sensitive and non-drinking Bone: 'I was able to get a seat in their coach and spent the afternoon there, not to support them, but walking along the seashore and up Salcombe Cliff. It was a beautiful sun-lit day...As I sat on the breakwater beneath the red sandstone cliff and gazed over the seaweed and rocks...a sense of nature's eternity threw me into a turmoil, then numbed me and finally re-orientated my soul into a quiet peacefulness. So far my trip had fulfilled my eager expectations. But then followed what I had rather feared...a pub-crawl. The journey soon became an opportunity for ribald songs, obscene jokes and what can only be described as animal mouthings'.

In fact Bone was a committed Christian from a strongly Methodist family. At the barracks he was the only one in his platoon room to read his bible daily and say his prayers - initially under the bedclothes, but later openly and was only mildly chaffed for it. He attended evensong at the Cathedral and found it 'a study in aesthetics, and not a very good one either. The choir sang, or rather intoned quite sweetly two psalms, an anthem and two hymns, but the congregation scattered up and down the great nave simply rose and sat as convention demanded. Spiritually I was both shocked and numbed'. He also attended church parades when the Cathedral's nave was entirely filled with soldiers from the two Exeter barracks, with 'a typical useless address from the garrison chaplain. I was so infuriated that I refused to put anything in the collection bag'. By contrast, the services, the ministers and the hospitality of the two Methodist churches - The Mint and the new church in St Thomas - provided the greatest support to Bone while in Exeter. He regularly and enthusiastically attended two services on Sundays as well as other Methodist gatherings, 'Evening service at The Mint was most inspiring. Good number there. Minister Whitehead preached a good sermon on fidelity; hymns and anthems most stimulating...Went to supper with wealthy local Methodist family; very charming people and made me and another Methodist soldier most welcome. Next Sunday I am to give witness at YMCA - have already addressed one fellowship and taken chair at another there'. He apparently approved a sermon the minister preached against the garrison chaplain's plea that cinemas should be opened on Sunday as a means of reducing immorality: the minister argued 'That this would be at all reduced, or in any way affected other than encouraged by Hollywood sex-appeal, by allowing troops to go to Exeter cinemas on Sundays, he said, was a preposterous suggestion: one, moreover which insulted soldiers, Exeter womenfolk and the Exeter police force's control of affairs here'.

By early June the effects of the disaster in France were apparent. Bone noted 'Exeter is full of BEF (British Expeditionary Force) men in various states of appearance and equipment. Even French men and officers are to be seen in the High St. Some of the forces have no equipment at all, some only tin hats and gasmasks, a few no tunics or blouses and none fully equipped. They are representative of all branches of the army and are being put up here in Barracks and tents pending reorganisation and despatch to their proper units. The hospitals have their quota of wounded and people crowd to see the trainloads arrive...All have gruelling tales to tell of the beaches of Boulogne and Dunkirk. There is no apparent depression. On the contrary a dance arranged at the Civic Hall especially for them saw a number carrying round a placard asking for dancing partners. The people of Exeter are showing them even greater hospitality than those training here have known and generosity is widespread and deep'. Soldiers at the Infantry Training Centre were immediately formed into a 'home defence battalion', and were assigned to guarding bridges and inspecting the identity cards of all who crossed them.

Towards mid-September 'suddenly a General Alarm was given, by mistake, very early on Sunday morning last. My host an officer in the Home Guard was duly summoned forth from his bed, but our own organisation collapsed entirely. No one succeeded in finding my billet and several others either, and where over 200 men and NCOs at least should have mustered, only about 40 or 50 turned up on time. The rest trickled in during the succeeding ten hours...Eventually at about 10am I found myself about seven miles out in the country guarding a bridge over a minute stream...After about 36 hours of guards, digging, eating and blackberrying we were marched back to the County Ground. A few days later Bone's platoon (he was now their corporal - his due promotion to sergeant having been blocked by the return of sergeants from Dunkirk) was lodged in tents at Poltimore House gates: 'All of us are very happy here...and a new sort of comradeship is already in being...There are shower baths at Dover College evacuated to a large house nearby (Poltimore) and now we have quite a library of magazines and a store of apples.'

In late September Bone's company moved from the County Ground to the nearly-completed hatted Heathfield camp just to the west of Honiton. 'Life here is very pleasant...There is no call to make friends since friendship is a condition of the day...Thus in my bunk I soon found cheerful companions in a London corporal, one (a bus conductor) from Plymouth and one, a reservist, from North Devon'. A new training programme began: the YMCA offered billiards, snooker and table tennis; the cinema changed programmes every three days: there were dances, price 1/-, at the Naafi every Monday (later increased to three a week), and 'the girls here are as beautiful as anywhere in Exeter'. There was also "The Highland Fling" 'a sort of superior cafe and guest house with a staff of semi domestic science girls...with accents that smack of Roodean and forms that rival Hollywood's'. Large numbers of men hitch-hiked into Exeter at nights and weekends 'and those in authority have so far winked an eye at it'. The only drawbacks were lack of beds, failure of the water supply, and a harmless machine-gunning of the camp by a German plane.

In December Bone learned that he would be leaving Devon after Christmas for an officer cadet training unit. Meantime, 'Christmas Day was begun with early morning Communion at the C of E church. Dinner was a ripe repast served by the officers and sergeants. In the afternoon I played billiards and table tennis in the corporals' room. The evening saw an impromptu concert of our own numbers...On Christmas Eve a first-rate Devon Regt dance from 7-12 in the Gym and nearly everyone was there, including

nearly all the attractive feminine population of Honiton. Boxing Day a very good ENSA concert by some seven artists from Drury Lane. It was not a little smutty, but irresistibly funny just the same'.

So ended Bone's relatively undramatic year as a soldier in Devon. But it was a year in which he acquired the skills and determination which would lead to his landing on D-Day in Normandy as an officer in the East Yorks Regiment and to fighting in the subsequent European campaign. It was also a year in which he recorded in his diary a life-determining decision taken after long consideration, 'I truly believe a call to me to become a Methodist minister. However I want to see this war through first, or at least to bear something more of my share of its burdens and miseries'.

#### Footnote

In the last months of the war Bone was accepted as a candidate for the Methodist ministry. After demobilisation in 1946 he went to Cambridge University where he gained a theological degree in 1948. In 1949 he began his ministry in the Isle of Man and subsequently worked in eight circuits across the country. In 1995 he retired to Margate, and is due to complete a half-time ministry at Rye in August 1998 when he will be eighty.

The co-operation of The Trustees of the Imperial War Museum for allowing access to the papers of Lt. H. T. Bone, and that of the copyright holder and diarist, the Reverend H. Temple Bone, in agreeing to the publication of these extracts are gratefully acknowledged.

## THE ROADS FROM EXETER TO CULLOMPTON

A B George

Ogilby's map of the Bristol to Exeter road of 1698 showed only one way from Exeter to Cullompton. It began at St Agnes Chapel in Exeter, where close by is the now more familiar Sidwell Street roundabout, and proceeded via Tiverton Road and Stoke Hill to a place called Stoke Post (SX 941 962) where it left the Tiverton road before that route dropped to Stoke Canon. From Stoke Post the road descended towards Killerton, with only a short rise to pass Danes Wood before a level stretch across the fields fronting Killerton House. There was a steep rise to the east of Killerton House and at the summit was the Crabtree Ale House, opposite from where the Killerton chapel would be built in 1841. The road then descended to Ellechayes bridge to cross the River Culm, where it turned sharply to the right, to leave the road to Silverton, and rose quickly over a hillock, and yet another to reach a height of 300 feet before dropping into Bradninch. Here it had fallen 60 feet before a steep long rise took it to a summit at over 460 feet before it descended to 170 feet at Padbrooke bridge, a culvert at the entrance to Cullompton.

On this route there were six inclines at over 1 in 7 gradient. The first was descending to Minchinlake bridge, followed by two on the ascent to the top of Stoke Hill, a rise of 260 feet in 2000 feet distance giving an average gradient of 1 in 7.6. Next there was an ascending incline steeper than 1 in 7 at the hillock beyond Ellechayes and another just before the summit preceding the drop to Bradninch, with the last in the ascent out of Bradninch which averages 1 in 11 over 2130 feet distance. Bearing in mind that these steep and long gradients caused as much difficulty to coach drivers whether managing the horses on the steep ascents or braking on the descents, there was obviously a great need for finding a more acceptable route.

Benjamin Donn's map of 1765<sup>1</sup> showed that the traveller could reach Killerton from Exeter by going via Pinhoe and Broadclyst. Mudge's Ordnance Survey map of 1808 confirmed this showing the Exeter Turnpike's route from Exeter through Pinhoe to the Black Dog, south of Broadclyst Church, now extended through the village towards Killerton, joining the former turnpike 200 yards below the Crabtree Ale House then called Crabtree. This was confirmed in the Exeter Turnpike's advertised lengths of road for tender of 10 June 1816.

In April 1808 Sir Thomas Acland had moved from his mother's home at Holnicote to Killerton and married Lydia<sup>2</sup> so that once more Killerton House was occupied, repaired and refurbished after thirty years of neglect. No doubt he wished to use a route to Exeter that was easier for travel, whether by coach or horse, and the route through Broadclyst had a summit height lower by 295 feet and a difference in total ascents of 159 feet, with no steep hills.

A few years later Sir Thomas arranged for the direct lane from Columbjohn to Crabtree which ran south of the wall of the garden of Killerton to be diverted away from the house. Two magistrates, John B Cholwick and Thomas H Lee, authorised a route at an adjourned Quarter Sessions 8 May 1812 that was 'more commodious'.<sup>3,4</sup> It ran from Columbjohn to skirt Danes Wood to join the Stoke Post to Crabtree length of the original turnpike at the north east corner of Danes Wood. This was, of course, much more circuitous, but it improved the privacy of Killerton immensely. The western part of the old road remains for farming purposes. The width of the new road was specified to be 22

feet against an existing 15 feet.

No doubt, therefore, Sir Thomas welcomed the proposal for a new turnpike road from Hazelstone, (SX 985 990) near Hay House, to Cullompton at Padbrooke bridge (ST 018 065). The advantage for Sir Thomas would be that the turnpike could be removed over half a mile from his house if the proposal were successful and the existing route disturnpiked. A Bill presented to Parliament resulted in the Act of 1813,<sup>5</sup> and a first meeting of fourteen trustees was held at the White Hart Inn at Cullompton on Monday 24 March 1813. The surveyor was Mr John Easton and the scheme was detailed on a deposited plan now in the Devon Record Office.<sup>6</sup> The first chairman of the trustees was Mr James White.

The route of this proposed road ran north from Hazelstone through Budlake and curved north-east through Beare to follow the side of the hill, and well to the east of the River Culm. After crossing the River Weaver it passed through Westcott to cross the Culm to reach Padbrooke bridge. Closure of various roads following construction of the turnpike took effect after a ruling by two magistrates on 16 July 1824.<sup>7</sup>

In November 1813 the clerk of the trustees was instructed to make an application to the surveyor of the County Bridges to widen the approaches on each side of Withy bridge, which was in the length of road administered by the Exeter Turnpike Trust, the crossing of the Clyst south of Broadclyst.<sup>8</sup> In March 1814 John Easton was authorised to proceed with the works at a salary of £50 and in June the trustees requested him to value the lands not already agreed in concert with the person(s) appointed by the landowners. Easton reported that the cost of completion would be £2,000, to be spent at up to £70 per week. There were difficulties in progressing the works for in December Easton was instructed to direct the parishes to repair the old road from Westcott around by Two Oaks to Wayford bridge (the River Weaver) and avoid Winham estate until further orders.

In May 1815 it was ordered that Mr John Easton should complete the road on both sides as far as Winham Farm - and survey the Exeter Turnpike Trust from Hazelstone to Exeter to report on such parts as appeared to be indistinct. By September it was reported that the trust was in difficulties with Mr Hole of Winham who had been offered £80 per acre. In December Mr Hole was offered £90 per acre and in May 1816 Easton was ordered to complete the road through Winham and then erect a turnpike gate at Ash near the village of Beer and agree with an honest person to collect tolls.

In June 1817 Mr Easton attended the trustees meeting and requested payment of his account. He agreed to accept deeds poll for £200 and to receive the balance of £80.5s.6d in cash at the end of two years. Finance must have been difficult for by February 1822 the clerk was instructed to give notice to the surveyors of the highways of the different parishes through which the road passed that the trustees would not in future incur any expenditure in the repair of the road, but that the parishes would be required to keep the road in repair.

In 1825 notice was given to incorporate the new road into the Exeter Turnpike trust, but nothing came of this. In 1828 two trustees inspected the road from Westcott to the road leading to Bradninch from Two Oaks and decided that the road should be widened to 30 feet and strongly recommended the trustees to make their order for widening. In 1831 the trustees were again considering a proposal from the Exeter Trustees for incorporating the new road into the Exeter Trust. The Exeter Trust had disturnpiked the St Agnes to Crabtree alehouse length by 7 Geo IV 1826, and this proposal would have been included in 2 Wm IV 1831 if agreement could have been reached but it was not to be so.

By 1833 the Cullompton trustees were considering trying to indict the county to take

## THE FIRST IRON FOUNDRY IN TAVISTOCK

Mary Freeman

over the responsibility for Weaver bridge but the Clerk of the Peace persuaded them not to follow this route but to apply to Mr Green, the County Bridge Surveyor, to agree that the bridge had been built in a substantial manner, even though not under his supervision. When Mr Green was approached to recommend that the bridge over the River Culm, and Weaver bridge, were satisfactory he would not accept Weaver as satisfactory and was doubtful about the Culm bridge 'as from its great length it would be a heavy burden to the county'.

On 8 October 1840 the Cullompton trustees met the Exeter Trustees in the Sessions house at Cullompton regarding the consolidation of the two trusts but terms could not be agreed. At that time the debt of the trust was £9,774. In October 1843 details of an agreement with the Bristol and Exeter Railway for the bridges and the road between them were noted.

By 1859 the debt had risen to £11,534 and the Cullompton Trust was still in debt when the road was taken over by the newly formed County Council, whereas the Exeter Trust had cleared the debt on its 150 miles of road. Nevertheless the Hazelstone to Cullompton length of road was now part of the main road from Exeter to Cullompton and in 1946 it became part of the Exeter to Leeds Trunk Road No 16 of the Ministry of Transport. The vision of the original trustees of the Cullompton Turnpike in producing a road of reasonable gradients and alignment was therefore rewarded, and this remained the trunk road until the M5 motorway was completed in the 1970s. Since then the Exeter to Cullompton road has been a county road, classified B3181.

Comparison of the two routes from St Agnes Chapel to Crabtree shows that both routes started at a level of 164 feet and finished at a level of 200 feet. The original 1698 route had three gradients greater than 1 in 7, a maximum height of 510 feet, total ascents of 570 feet and a length of 5.5 miles. The 1765 route had easier gradients but many undulations, a maximum height of 215 feet, total ascents of 411 feet and a length of 6.5 miles.

Comparison of the two routes from Hazelstone to Padbrooke bridge show that both routes started at a level of 120 feet and finished at a level of 170 feet. The 1765 route also had three gradients greater than 1 in 7, a maximum height of 461 feet, total ascents of 630 feet and a length of 5.6 miles. The 1815 route had easier gradients and much less undulations, a maximum height of 194 feet, total ascents of 184 feet and a length of 5.4 miles.

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In 1805 an advertisement for a new iron works in Tavistock appeared in the press<sup>1</sup>; the Mount Foundry, later usually known as the Tavistock Iron Works, was operated by John Gill, William Bray and Saunders Hornbrook, on land leased from the Duke of Bedford.<sup>2</sup> The lease document contains a plan of the works which were situated at the eastern edge of the town; two foundry buildings are marked. The 'Higher Foundry' was a complex of workshops between John Gill's house, Fecum Hill, on the valley slope to the north, and the medieval leat (the Millbrook or Drake's Pool). Power was supplied from a leat, constructed by Gill & Co., taken off the Millbrook not far from its source at Headwear (the remains of the sluices are still beside the modern road) and led across what was later to be the grounds of Kelly College. The Millbrook also ran through the foundry premises and continued down Lower Brook Street to the corn mills near the town centre.<sup>3</sup> Between the Millbrook and the River Tavy, south and west of the higher foundry and bordering on a tanyard near Vigo Bridge, was the 'Lower Foundry', less extensive premises supplied by another leat. This stream was taken off the Tavy at a weir, which can still be seen just above the new Stannary Bridge. The leat flowed out to the north, where the electricity company's yard is now, then west through the present Kaminski's builder's yard, where an old-established shear grinding mill had been. Here it crossed, with appropriate sluices, an overflow from the Millbrook. The leat continued west towards the tanyard and turned south to overspill to the river. The course of this leat underwent later changes which need not concern us, and today a dry ditch between Stannary Bridge and the back of the Parkwood Cottages marks part of its original position.

The lower foundry contained various workshops and cottages, including stables and (in 1815<sup>4,5</sup>) a tin smelting shed, but there is no indication which of the several buildings shown on the plan served what function.

It has generally been assumed, up to recent times,<sup>6</sup> that the Mount Foundry was the earliest industrial-scale metal works in Tavistock. However, it seemed strange that Gill & Co. should have built two sets of workshops, supplied by two separate leats. Further, although most of the advertisements in directories (for instance Kelly's of 1862<sup>7</sup>) state that the Tavistock Iron Works were established in 1804, in Harrod's Directory of 1878,<sup>8</sup> after the foundry had changed hands, this date is given as 1800. The leat near the river, and its weir, are not shown in the maps of 1753<sup>9</sup> and 1765<sup>9</sup>. An explanation of the double provision of workshops and waterpower is that Gill & Co. took over an existing foundry, but whose?

The name Hawkins, attached to the weir that was the source of the leat to the lower foundry, in various Bedford estate papers, proved misleading in the search for an earlier proprietor. The Hawkins Weir name persists in the documents of the Bedford Estate sale in 1911.<sup>10</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, Hawkins Shop was the name used for the cluster of buildings on the road above, in the census documents.<sup>11</sup> The origin of the Hawkins name refers to the south side of the Tavy valley, where a triangle of land enclosed by Green Hill and what are now Mount Tavy Road and Violet Lane is marked in the 1765 map<sup>9</sup> as Hawkins Land; it had already been subdivided twice. The corresponding parish survey<sup>12</sup> records that Hawkins Ground was in 'own occupation' of Henry Manaton Esq.; there is a note that it was purchased by the Bedford Estate in 1771. In the Hurdwick survey of 1726<sup>13</sup> the list of chief rents belonging to the duke

includes Hawkins Ley, at an annual rent of 6d with Mr Manaton (probably Francis) bracketed with William Spry; a Patience Hawkins held one of the Taviston leases from 1701. The earlier history has not been traced; there were plenty of Hawkinses around Tavistock from early times, but it is not known who gave his name to the ground. No Hawkins was concerned in the lower foundry.

A Survey of the Bedford properties in Tavistock and elsewhere was made in 1803; it occupies several calf-bound manuscript books. On page 121 of the first of these<sup>11</sup> is an entry: 'Isaac & Co. An Iron Foundry, being a very eligible Improvement, and the Rent given for the same is an ample and liberal consideration. 42 years from Lady Day 1800'. The rent was £15, valuation £30. This survey was arranged according to the type of tenure, and the location of premises is not always stated. The foundry entry comes shortly after that for Carter and Abbott's tanner's office near Vigo Bridge, so it is probable that it refers to iron works on the site of Gill & Co.'s lower foundry. The Tavistock Iron Works gave up the land south of Parkwood Road in the second half of the nineteenth century,<sup>15</sup> when houses were built on the site.<sup>16</sup> The position of the lower foundry would be behind No. 2 Parkwood Road (land formerly of Lord Portescue) and the three sets of semi-detached houses immediately to the east.

The directory of the 1790s<sup>17</sup> does not mention a foundry in Tavistock, so Isaac's may have been the earliest cast-iron manufactory in the town. No documentation for a take-over by Gill & Co. has been found. A possible clue to the identity of Isaac is a note mentioning Richard Isaac of Truro, smith and iron founder, whose wife Mary was a 'life' for a lease of a property in Dolvin.<sup>18</sup> She was aged 78 in 1817. The name Isaac was however not uncommon in Tavistock in the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

It may be asked why the existence of Isaac's works was not mentioned in the 1808 foundry lease.<sup>2</sup> However, the lawyers drafting the foundry lease, between 1804 and 1808, may have been careless in referring to previous occupants. The tucking mill straddling the Millbrook is said to be 'late Dyer', although in the 1803 Survey<sup>11</sup> the lessee is Edgecombe Parson; conceivably it might have changed hands recently. Also the 1808 lease refers to the shear grinding mill as 'late Newcombe's', but this had changed to a shammy mill (for treating leather) before 1765 when Richard White had it,<sup>12</sup> and was still a shammy mill in 1803. Again it might have reverted to shear grinding but no other documentary evidence has been found.

There is a possible objection to the supposition that Isaac & Co. built the foundry near the river and dug the leat to it. In the 1808 lease<sup>2</sup> Gill & Co. are given 'the liberty privilege and free use of the new stream or leat of water lately taken out and diverted from the river Tavy by a dam or wear made across the said river' but were to permit water to run on to the 'Bark Mill or machine lately erected by Messrs Richard Abbott and Samuel Carter'. Could it be that the leat was dug by Abbott and Carter for their own purposes? The 1803 Survey<sup>11</sup> lists only a tanner's 'office' here (they had a tannery also in Bannawell Street). The lease for the tanyard near Vigo Bridge was renewed in 1817, when a drying house and sheds were mentioned. Attached to the counterpart lease in the Bedford papers<sup>20</sup> is a seven-page letter, dated 24 February 1844, from Christopher Haedy, the London Agent-in-Chief, to Mr Benson the steward in Tavistock. It records a dispute between a Mr Martin (perhaps the John Martin who as a boy was a 'life' in the 1817 lease) and the proprietors of the adjacent foundry. Evidently the tanners had paid £10 per annum, for years, either for use of the water or for rent for the wheel of the bark mill, which may or may not have been on foundry ground. Mr Haedy commented: 'There is abundance of room for legal argument upon it'. The tanners would never have paid dues on the bark mill if they had prior claim to the use of the leat, so it can be assumed

that they took advantage of this source of power, provided by Isaac, to erect the bark mill between 1803 and 1808.

Further on in the 1803 Survey, on p.342<sup>21</sup>, is an entry for Greenland, which was a strip of land with an orchard, between the south bank of the Tavy and the road, above the weir supplying the lower foundry. A leat ran through Greenland, derived from the Taviston brook just below the confluence with the stream from Kingford; its origin can still be found. In the early eighteenth century there had been an oat-mill at Greenland,<sup>15</sup> later the vicar Dr Thomas Salmon had a summer cottage.<sup>22</sup> The leat in Greenland ran on to work a woollen mill in Dr Salmon's time, but from 1852 these premises below Greenland belonged to the Pearce brothers' Tavy Iron Works.<sup>23</sup> In 1803, Henry Beaufort rented a small house at Greenland, with garden and orchard, but there was also an iron foundry.<sup>21</sup> It must have been a small one; the date of the lease is not mentioned, so it could have preceded Isaac's foundry. Which was in truth the first foundry in Tavistock is still uncertain, but it was not Gill & Co.'s 1804 manufactory.

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## 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).

**The Uffculme Wills and Inventories 16th to 18th Centuries** edited by Peter Wyatt, with introduction by Robin Stanes 311pp, illustrated, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, £15. ISBN 0901855 40 2.

For the 40th publication of their New Series, the Devon and Cornwall Record Society has returned its attention to inventories, a very popular source amongst academic and amateur historians alike and the subject of Volume 11 of their New Series. In this earlier publication the editor, Mary Cash identified two further groups not included in the volume. One of these is the subject of this latest edition, based on the large number that exist for the parish of Uffculme in Devon. Very few inventories survive for the county giving this volume an added importance, neighbouring Dorset has also a disappointing survival rate of inventories. Most of Devon's probate records were destroyed in 1942. However, Uffculme was a peculiar court belonging to the Diocese of Salisbury, the records first being held in Salisbury and later transferred to the Wiltshire Record Office in Trowbridge. Uffculme lay at the heart of the agricultural and cloth making area and is representative of many Devon parishes as well as other South West counties.

This edition begins with an excellent introduction by Robin Stanes who explores the ways in which the inventories could be used to understand town and rural economies, concentrating on the impact of the weaving trade on the town and parish and yeoman and husbandmen in the rural area. Other urban related trades are well represented including brewers, bakers, millers, glaziers, masons; carpenters, butchers, saddlers, tallow chandlers, cordwainers, vicars, a school master and a surgeon. There are also a number of inventories of shopkeepers that give an indication of what products were being sold in the town. Specialist trades were being developed during the 18th century such as a gunsmith and clockmaker. Stanes suggests other important themes that can be explored by using this source: detailed information is given for those studying vernacular buildings, with over 100 listing rooms; clothing and jewellery; charitable bequests to the church; debt and investment; and education.

The main text consists of 249 inventories from between 1576 to 1754, held under the jurisdiction of the Dean of Sarum and Peculiar of Uffculme. Additional genealogical information has been supplied in many cases, giving the reader a fuller understanding of many Uffculme families. In addition 17 inventories under the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury have been included. It is a pity though that the Wiltshire Record Office and PCC reference numbers have been omitted from the text. The third section contains abstracts of the 322 wills and administrations that do not contain inventories ranging from 1545 to 1845, again the original reference numbers have not been included. The PCC wills and administrations have already been extracted and published in *Uffculme: a Peculiar Parish*.

The volume also includes a detailed glossary; anyone who has already used inventories will know the difficulties of dialect spelling. This glossary is based on a number of previously published glossaries and is a very useful addition to our understanding of the early modern period dialect in the South West. The volume contains a personal and place name

index; the personal index is invaluable for reconstructing kinship and occupational networks. It also refers to the already published PCC wills and administrations saving much time for the researcher. With such a large amount of information on occupations, emphasised in the introduction, it is unfortunate that there is no occupational index included.

There are a number of illustrations provided in the text to give an impression of the inventories layout and changing style of handwriting. It also gives the opportunity to compare the transcripts with the originals. The transcribing appears to be accurate, but with over 570 documents dealt with, one or two errors may occur. An example is in the inventory of Attowill Wheddon (no. 139). The second item in the inventory should read 'Item in the parlour one feather bed & teaster bedsteed performed' and not 'feather bedsteed'. However it should be stressed that this does not detract from the overall skills of the transcribers.

The book is a very well researched publication and does credit to the Uffculme Archives Group. It is hoped that this might act as a stimulus to other local history groups to look at similar ventures. This publication is invaluable not only for those studying Uffculme but for those researching the early modern period in Devon and the South West.

David River

**The Secret War from the River Dart** by Lloyd Bott CBE, DSC, Dartmouth History Research Group Paper No.23. Illustrated. 58 pp. Paperback. Available from Dartmouth Museum, The Butterwalk, TQ6 9PZ and Harbour Bookshop, 12 Fairfax Place, TQ6 9AE. £3.00 plus .75p. p. and p. ISBN 1 899011 13 7.

This is an account of the operations of the 15th Motor Gunboat Flotilla, based on Dartmouth from 1942 to late 1944 by an Australian officer who was First Lieutenant of MGB 502. The task of the flotilla, which was not large, five boats at most, was to run agents, including the future President Mitterand, and supplies into Brittany and to bring back others together with documents and secret material. A further role was that of repatriating British airmen who had been concealed by the Resistance after being shot down. Altogether 150 of these were returned safely. Operations were undertaken for different intelligence bodies: SOE, MI9 and SIS - and the boats co-operated happily with several French Resistance networks.

Clandestine radio communications with the Resistance groups enabled times and landing places to be fixed precisely. The latter was particularly important as the boats came in at night. One landing failed because the shore party was 300 yards further down the coast than was intended. Weather was another cause of operations having to be cancelled, sometimes when the gunboat already was on station offshore but could not send in the special designed surf boats. Then there was the constant risk of the German defences spotting the craft but the flotilla was lucky and although suffering casualties never lost a boat. Landings were made at a number of points along the north Breton coast and at uninhabited islands close to it. The description of these operations, and the difficulties under which they were carried out, is the central matter of this book and makes fascinating reading. Some of them had much in common with those of Westcountry smugglers 150 years before!

After the successful Normandy landings the flotilla moved north from Dartmouth and suffered its only loss when a few days after VE Day the author's old ship, the MGB 502, struck a floating mine in the Skagerrak and sank with only two badly injured survivors. This book is written to commemorate them and the others who served in the flotilla as

well as the agents it carried and the members of the Resistance organisations in France whose courage enabled its work to be done. So far as possible the author has kept in touch over the years with those involved on both sides of the Channel as some of his evocative illustrations show. He also inspired the erection of a plaque in Kingswear commemorating the flotilla. His book is a reminder that the history of Dartmouth as a base for naval operations is a continuous one and that the exploits of those who sailed out of it in modern times are no less interesting and dramatic than those of their Tudor predecessors. Mr Bott deserves our thanks for so ably recalling some of them for us.

*Adrian Reed*

**The Brimpts Tin Mines, Dartmeet** by Roger Bird and Peter Hirst. Dartmoor Tinworking Research Group, 64pp. Illustrated. Paperback £4.95. ISBN 0 9529442 0 0. Individual copies can be obtained for £5.20 post-paid from the DTRG at Badger's Holt Bungalow, Dartmeet Hill, Dartmeet, Princetown, Yelverton, Devon, PL20 6SG.

Prior to reading this book I knew of Brimpts only as one of Dartmoor's ancient tenements. The current Outdoor Leisure Map of Dartmoor shows no features of interest there, while a careful study of the first 6-inch map of 1889 shows only three ruined structures out on the moor. But as is so often the case in this most interesting of counties, those areas that seem without interest are where the features of interest have yet to find interpreters. Brimpts has now found interpreters of its tin-working remains.

The authors have skilfully surveyed and plotted the three areas of mine workings that were exploited at intervals over many centuries, and from around 1806 were served by a four mile long leat from the Cherry Brook. But the particular strength of the book is the linking of the fieldwork to considerable documentary research, beginning with scattered references in the later Middle Ages to become abundant in the files of the mid-nineteenth century *Mining Journal*, with its excessively optimistic reports from consultant engineers.

On first reading the book my main reservation concerned the system whereby access to the two sites on enclosed land was dependent on patronising the farm's catering or purchasing the guide, which in apparently excluding reviewers seemed somewhat restrictive, and could hardly have been what the founding fathers of the National Park movement had in mind. Having arrived at the farm I was very pleasantly surprised to find that not only was there now access for all under the provisions of the Environmentally Sensitive Areas scheme, but that there were free leaflets available for those wishing to walk around the farm, while a more modestly-priced summary of the mining remains is in active preparation.

For the geologically inclined, a brief section is devoted to the latest interpretation of mineralisation which I found to be heavy going, but I was relieved to find a glossary had been included as a concession to those of us who find mining terminology instantly forgettable. I would personally have welcomed more discussion of the tin-working in its setting. Where there are workings within 200 metres of a farm, who was doing the actual work back in the low-tech days? Was it specialist tinners or was it the occupier of the farm, diversifying when times were bad, in a somewhat similar manner to the present tenant?

There are places where the book would have benefited from the services of a professional editor (I don't think having the even-numbered pages on the right-hand side will catch on), but overall this first volume in what is intended to be a series has set a standard which the Group may find difficult to equal with its successors.

*Tony Collings*

**A Pioneer in Xanadu. Denys Rolle 1725-1797.** by Robert Legg. The Farrow Press, Whitechurch, Hamis. pp178. 1997. £12.50. ISBN 0 9531 270 0 1.

No one interested in Devonshire history can fail to have come across the Rolles. In Devon they were ubiquitous or nearly so. In 1873 the Hon Mark Rolle owned some 55,000 acres in Devon; 45 manors and two great houses at Bicton and Stevenstone and another lesser one at Hudscott. His gross rental was £47,000 a year. There were few parishes in Devon where there was no Rolle property or interest and the name survives as a street name in Exmouth, Barnstaple, and Torrington and in Rolle College, Exmouth. The Clinton estates around East Budleigh and at Merton in north Devon derive from this great accumulation of land in the nineteenth century and earlier. Stevenstone is now demolished, and Bicton is an agricultural college.

Despite their wealth and influence the Rolles are as individuals largely unknown, and this book seems to be the first account of any member of the family. Denys Rolle deserves such a book. He played the country gentleman's role for most of his life, improving his estates, planting woods, enclosing moorland and serving as MP for Barnstaple. Unlike many, he actively concerned himself in the problems of poverty amongst country people, helping to promote Friendly Societies in every parish. He also believed strongly in education as a means of alleviating poverty and established charity Sunday schools on his estates, took an active part in the running of Christ's Hospital and the Royal Hospital School at Greenwich, and was a member of the SPCK.

But perhaps what set him most apart from his fellow gentry was his active and personal involvement in establishing settlements and plantations in Florida acquired by Great Britain at the Peace of Paris (1763). He seems to have believed in personal leadership and example, and just as he is said to have enjoyed farm work with his labourers so he eschewed a cabin on his first voyage to Florida in 1764 and slept on deck, travelling steerage. From St Augustine in Florida on the St Johns river he founded the settlement of Rolletown. Much of the last half of the book is concerned with the problems of establishing settlements. Rolle fell out with the Governor of Florida over the boundaries of his grant and there were great difficulties in attracting settlers and keeping them, and much disagreement over the use of black slave labour. Rolle made at least five voyages to Florida between 1764 to 1779 spending some months there on each occasion. Despite this attention his settlements tended to fall apart when he was absent. Nevertheless by 1783 he had been granted some 80,000 acres and had built a mansion house, all to be lost when Florida was returned to Spain in 1783. He was compensated financially and offered land in the Bahamas, where Rolleville and Rolletown were established on Exuma Island and where the surname Rolle survives amongst the descendants of Rolle's slaves.

What were his motives in all this colonial activity? He is unlikely to have needed the money, though aristocratic families were often beset by mortgage settlements and entails. Perhaps it was the challenge to explore and develop new lands that attracted him; he is said to have made twenty sea voyages in his life time.

The book is well researched, much of it in American libraries and archives and pleasingly illustrated and written. The title is engaging but fanciful and far fetched. The author wishes to suggest that some of the imagery for Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' came in some way from Florida and from East Devon, but Xanadu's 'caves of ice', its 'sunless sea' and 'mighty fountain', its 'caverns measureless to man' are remote from Florida's Everglades and east Devon's gentle green hills. Neither the book nor Denys Rolle need this misleading and unlikely match.

*Robin Stanes*

**The Medieval Incorporation of Plymouth and a Survey of the Borough's Bounds** by Nicholas Casley, pub. Old Plymouth Society, 101pp, b & w plans and charts, ISBN 1 900 457 04 0, (no price given)

Nicholas Casley's walks of the borough boundaries are legendary, re-tracing in a traditional manner the route of the now largely irrelevant town margins. Half of this fifth volume of the Old Plymouth Society's series is dedicated to the recording of these boundaries. It is all too easy to miss the features of the built environment as one rushes about the daily routines. How many shoppers parking at the Mutley car park would be aware of the boundary stone at its entrance? The difficulties alluded to in the identification of the boundary between Houndiscombe and Thornhill are reflected in nineteenth century Ordnance Survey's description of the same line as undefined.

Mr Casley's essay on the Medieval Incorporation of Plymouth is a technical, even specialised work. The second section, the Survey of the Borough's Bounds is of such general interest that it ought to be read by all who claim an interest in Plymouth's past and even present.

Amongst the thought-provoking description of the development of Plymouth's corporate form, is intriguing analysis of the balance of concerns in the 1439 Act, with the essentials of incorporation a mere 10% of the whole. Elsewhere the author's comment on the tendency to re-use information is well made. Archivists share this concern at the failure of researchers to reach back to primary sources, though the continuing loss of records does not always make this possible. The plan of the Royal Naval Hospital, Stonehouse, to which the author alludes in a footnote on page 56, was missing by the time the hospital transferred its historic records to Plymouth City Archives in 1994.

The quality of the reproduction of maps and plans is sometimes disappointing, but the layout of the book is good and the arguments have been clearly made. This is one of the Old Plymouth Society's most ambitious volumes to date. They are to be congratulated on the quality of their publications programme.

*Anne Morgan*

**The Erratics: The Glory Decade to 1994**, edited by Stephen Fisher, University of Exeter Staff Cricket Club, 1997, 163pp, £9.95, ISBN 0 9512356 1 3.

This is not a book about Devon's history. It is a discursive and humorous chronicle of the performances of the Erratics (the Exeter University Staff Cricket Club) during their 'Glory Decade' (between 1984 and 1994), in which we are introduced to the deeds of a disparate band of amateur cricketers as they travel the villages of Devon and beyond during the late twentieth century. There are, however, a number of links between the Erratics and the academic study of history. The editor is Stephen Fisher, an estimably durable slow bowler and a senior member of the university's Economic History department, while Frank Barlow, distinguished Emeritus Professor of History, is another to have worn the 'rampant unicorn' with pride. And this writer has, since 1996, sought to combine the administration of the county's archives with rich personal enjoyment of the Erratic experience.

The book gives us the thoughts of a range of Erratic writers on a multiplicity of cricketing themes. Marvellously entertaining tales of three tours; a journey to the Irish Republic enlivened by perplexing road signs, tantalising declarations and gun-toting opponents, the 1991 expedition to the Scillies, bedevilled by rain and providing the book's most memorable photograph, and the annual pilgrimage to the villages of Frampton, Epney and Longney on the Severn south of Gloucester. There are match reports from 1994 - the club's sixtieth anniversary season - and accounts of important events in the life of the club. The

uncertain future of the club's wonderful ground, Gras Lawn. An end-of-season party. And a series of postscripts, including a 'View from Down-Under', the story of the inaugural President's Trophy match in July 1997, and this author's endeavour to recreate in fiction the unique flavour of Erratic cricket. Photographs and caricatures enhance the volume's visual appeal, while the only sections that grate slightly are those cataloguing the 'dramatic personae' of the first match of the Irish tour (though one freely concedes that this probably has much to do with this reviewer's lack of literary knowledge), certain aspects of the statistical section, and the invitation to the reader to consider the work 'a source book in the field of leisure'. One has one's doubts about this, and, in reality, the book is good enough to stand its ground as a cricket work alone, without the need for any additional academic justification.

Anyone who has associated with the Erratics will know how unpredictable and unreliable - how erratic - their collective behaviour can be. For his persistence in the face of such eccentricities as much as for the manifestly excellent job he has done, Stephen Fisher deserves our congratulations. The greatest tribute to his success must be that, whatever the fate of Gras Lawn, for the reader of this book it will always be late in the 'last twenty' with the shadows lengthening and Cook or Fisher or Berry to bowl.

*Brian Carpenter*

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## OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**The Cap and the Sword: Exeter and the Rebellions of 1497** by Nicholas Orme, 1997.

This 24-page booklet published by Exeter City Council is an account by the University of Exeter's Professor of History of events during a notable time in the history of Exeter, 500 years ago. Deeply researched, as is customary for its author, the short work, which includes four illustrations, is both interesting and readable. It is obtainable from Exeter Guildhall, price £1.

**Yelverton & District Local History Society Newsletter No 15, 1998**

Of 36 pages, with card cover, the content of the newsletter is well up to the standard one has come to expect from this source, and the Yelverton society must be commended on its 'trawl' of interesting items and information on current events. Edited by Jenny Sanders and Elisabeth Greeves, the booklet reflects the enthusiasm and active work of a society which has now been in existence for nearly sixteen years, during which it has done much to place on record the history of the area. Price: to members, £1.50; to non-members, £2. Enquiries to Y & D LHS, 118 Whitechurch Road, Tavistock PL19 9BQ.

**Vanished Houses of South Devon** by Rosemary Lauder. This book, for which a review copy is not available, tells the story of seven once-important Devon houses. Published by North Devon Books, copies are available at the Devon & Exeter Institution, price £9.99.

## DEVON BOOK OF THE YEAR

Ian Maxted, County Local Studies Librarian

The Devon History Society and the Local Studies section of Devon Library Services are working together to encourage the production of good quality local history writing in Devon. This year on 7 November at the annual meeting of the Society in Exeter the Devon Book of the Year will be announced. The decision will be based on nominations received from across the county and the final choice will be made by a vote of members of the Society at the meeting. This is your chance to affect the final choice. Send your nomination, for up to three books on any aspect of Devon's history published in 1997, to the County Local Studies Librarian, Exeter Central Library, Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ.

To help in your choice the County Local Studies Librarian has drawn up his own personal top twenty which he presents in alphabetical order below.

1. BOOK OF CORWOOD AND LUTTON - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 160p; ill, maps, ports; 31cm. A well-illustrated community history by the local parish map project.
2. BUTLER, JEREMY. Dartmoor atlas of antiquities. Vol.5: the second millennium BC. - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 296p; col ill, maps; 24cm. ISBN 0861149106. The latest in the series of detailed studies of Dartmoor's prehistoric remains.
3. CHULMLEIGH: a journey of discovery/edited by Roger Barton - Beaford: Beaford Centre, 1997 - 176p; plates, ill, maps; 21 x 26cm. Limited edition of 600. ISBN 1898386285. A community survey resulting from the village appraisal with much on the natural setting.
4. DARKE, STELLA. The Lamers/Stella Darke - Exeter: S. Darke, [1997] - 93p; ill; 30cm. Unusual self-published social study of an Exeter housing estate.
5. DE LA MAHOTIERE, MARY. Hannah Cowley: Tiverton's playwright and pioneer feminist (1743-1809)/ Mary de la Mahotiere - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 96p; ill, ports; 21cm. First biography of this important literary figure of the eighteenth century.
6. GEORGE, BRIAN. James Green: canal builder and county surveyor (1791-1849) - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 189p; ill, maps; 21 x 21cm. ISBN 0861149149. Includes many photographs and listings of bridges and other works.
7. GILL, CRISPIN. Plymouth river: a history of the Laira and Cattewater/Crispin Gill - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 216p; col plates, ill, maps; 23cm. ISBN 0861149114. Demonstrates the importance of the waterfront for the development of the town.
8. HARRIS, HELEN. The church on the hill: an account of the church, people and parish of Buckfastleigh - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 96p; ill, maps, ports; 21 x 21cm. ISBN 0861149076. A well-researched history of the church and town.
9. HAYDON, EDWIN. Secular and divine: a history of Widworthy parish in East Devon - Wilmington: Marwood Publications, 1997 - [iv] 154p; ill, maps; 23cm. ISBN 0952914913. Two meticulous studies, of the village and the church.
10. LAUDER, ROSEMARY ANNE. Vanished houses of South Devon/ Rosemary Lauder - Bideford: North Devon Books, 1997 - 128p; ill, maps, plans; 24cm. ISBN 0952864592. Well-illustrated account of seven major houses that no longer survive.
11. LEGG, ROBERT. A pioneer of Xanadu: Denys Rolle 1725-1797/Robert Legg - Whitechurch: The Furrow Press, 1997 - [ix], 178p; ill, maps, port; 21cm. ISBN 0953127601. A well-researched study of this major north Devon landowner.

12. REED, MARGARET. Morteohoe & Woolacombe on the record/Margaret Reed - Friends of Morteohoe Cart Linnat, 1997 - viii, 196p; ill, map; 24cm. ISBN 0950602922. A detailed history of this north Devon parish.
13. SAYERS, ARNOLD. A history of Holbeton, South Devon/by Arnold Sayers - [Holbeton] - [A. Sayers], [1997] - [80p]; ill, maps; 21cm. A self-published pamphlet history of the parish.
14. SHEPHERD, DOREEN. South Pool: portrait of a South Devon village in the mid-twentieth century/ Doreen Shepherd - South Pool: Rosemary Publications, 1997 - 168p; ill, ports; 21cm. ISBN 0953023508. A study of social change based on personal observations.
15. SWETE, JOHN. Travels in Georgian Devon 1789-1800: the illustrated journeys .../edited by Todd Gray - Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997 - 160p; ill; 30cm. ISBN 0861149181. First volume of the newly edited manuscript journals of a leading exponent of the picturesque movement in Devon.
16. UFFCULME: a peculiar parish: a Devon town from Tudor times/Uffculme Archive Group, 1997 - xviii, 323p; plates, ill; 23cm - edited by Peter Wyatt and Robin Staines. ISBN 0952985004. A well-referenced series of historical studies about the parish.
17. The UFFCULME will and inventories: 16th to 18th centuries/edited by Peter Wyatt - Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1997 - x1, 311p; pl, ill, maps; 23cm. ISBN 0901853402. Full documentation for the only Devon village whose probate records survived World War 2 intact.
18. WIDWORTHY, MANOR. Widworthy manorial court rolls 1453-1617/edited by Edwin S. Haydon and John H. Harrop - Marwood Publications, 1997 - xii, 72p, xxixp; pl, ill; 30cm. ISBN 0952914905. Parallel Latin and English texts with facsimiles of an important type of historical source.
19. WINKLEIGH: a view of their parish by the people of Winkleigh - Beaford Arts Centre, 1997 - vii, 132p; ill; 30cm. ISBN 0953113019. A well-illustrated community history.
20. WOLFFE, MARY. Gentry leaders in peace and war: the gentry governors of Devon in the early seventeenth century/ Mary Wolffe - Exeter: University of Exeter, 1997 - xiv, 306p; ill, maps; 24cm. ISBN 0859895130. An important historical study of this influential social group.

In addition there are a couple of groups of publications that are worth a mention. The first is the series of transcripts of Dartmoor records issued by Mike Brown from the Dartmoor Press and the second is the excellent series of papers issued by the Dartmouth History Research Group. Several publications have come from both these sources during 1997.

A full listing of almost 500 works relating to Devon which appeared during the year will be published by Devon Library Services shortly in the *Devon bibliography 1997*.

## NEWS FROM LOCAL SOCIETIES

**The George Nympton History Project Group**, chaired by DHS recent new member Brigadier Antony Karlake, produced a most interesting booklet: *George Nympton, a Devon Parish and its People*, in 1995. The parish today comprises two parts: the ancient manor and parish of Nymet St George and an outlying part of South Molton parish, named Queen's Nympton in honour of Queen Victoria when it was joined to George Nympton in 1900. The group, comprising ten members, is working on a new edition of the publication, which it hopes to complete by the millennium.

**South Molton & District Archive and Local History Society** advises us of its active existence. Enquiries to the Information Centre, 1 East Street, South Molton, EX36 3BU. Tel 01769 572378.

**Civil War in East and Mid Devon Group.** This is an informal group encouraging interest and research into early and mid seventeenth century local life and happenings during the English Civil War and Interregnum - people, occupations, customs, habits, costume, houses, castles, churches, furniture, paintings, prints maps, books, documents and objects in everyday use. Exhibitions are produced in Devon libraries and other venues. Those who are interested are asked to contact Frank Pearse of Sidmouth, Tel 01395 579150.

**Chagford Local History Society** came into being in 1997, since when membership has risen to around 70. Five winter meetings with speakers are planned, at Endecott House, on the last Thursday in each month at 8p.m. Visitors are welcome. Other activities include the compiling of a photographic archive, and periodic local exhibitions. Enquiries to Secretary Mrs Christine Baker, 01647 433698.

**Widcombe-in-the-Moor & District Local History Group** meets on the first Wednesday of each month at the Church House, at 7.30 p.m., as a members' meeting or with a speaker. It also arranges guided walks which commence at midday. Information from the Hon Secretary, Anthony E. Beard, Tel 01364 621246.

**Crediton Area History & Museum Society.** This society is planning an Exhibition in 1999, entitled *Within Living Memory*, to be held 24-29 May. The aim is to celebrate the Millennium, covering the period from 1900 with relevant displays. An appeal is made for appropriate papers, photographs, memorabilia, etc. Contact: John Jones, Crediton 772866.

**Guild of St Lawrence, Ashburton.** Further to the notice in *DH* 56, the Guild reports that the ancient St Lawrence Chapel, which is a premier music venue for the area, used for concerts and other events, is open to the public, free, from May to September, Tues, Thurs, Fri, Sat afternoons 2 - 4.30 p.m., and on Mon and Tues during August, 10 a.m. - 12.30 p.m. The Chapel and adjoining buildings are also used for exhibitions and community and educational groups throughout the year.

## NOTICES

Copies of the last issue of *The Devon Historian* were in rather shorter supply than usual, with few spares. If anyone has an unwanted copy of the April 1998 edition, Number 56, please donate it back to the DHS, via the Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter, EX1 1EZ. Thank you.

### Cherish a local studies librarian

Each year the Local Studies Group of the Library Association presents the Dorothy McCulla Award to an individual who is felt to have made a special contribution to local studies work. This year the recipient is Martin Hayes of West Sussex Library Service who has been especially active in promoting the development of genealogical information sources on the Internet and overhauling historical map provision in West Sussex, among many other achievements. In the past reliance has largely been on nominations by chief librarians but the Group Committee feels that it would be appropriate if some of these nominations were at least initiated by appreciative library users and local history professionals. Have you, during your travels and researches (not necessarily in the South West of England) encountered a librarian who provides an exceptional local studies service, who is able to exploit effectively the full range of material in their collections, who is innovative in such matters as using information technology, who takes local studies into the community, or who simply struggles successfully to maintain an effective service in adverse circumstances?

I would be pleased to receive details of their names, the library service they work for and the circumstances which make you feel they deserve such recognition and I will be happy to forward your submission to other members of the Local Studies Group Committee. And, by the way, in case any of you think that flattery may get you special treatment, I am not eligible for the award!

Ian Maxted,  
County Local Studies Librarian  
Exeter Central Library  
Castle Street  
Exeter EX4 3PQ

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### A REMINDER!

Several DHS members have not yet claimed the **free copy** of the book entitled: *In Pursuit of Devon's History* to which each paid-up member is entitled. Compiled by Ian Maxted and sponsored by the Devon History Society, this guide for local historians carries a purchase price of £7.95. Members' free copies may be obtained at the Society's meetings, or on payment of £1 for postage and packing on application to Mrs Sheila Stirling, Devon & Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter EX1 1EZ.

**LOCAL HISTORY COURSE  
TWO DAYS AT POWDERHAM CASTLE  
SUNDAYS 18th and 25th OCTOBER 1998**

The course will be conducted by the Castle archives staff and the talks will be supported by documents from the archives.

A room will be reserved in the Castle tea rooms for the exclusive use of those attending the course. This will enable the course members to have the choice of obtaining lunch from the tea rooms, or, bringing a packed lunch.

The cost per person, exclusive of food:

full course (both days) £18.50, single day £9.80.

The fee is non-returnable unless the course is cancelled for lack of numbers.

Contacts: The organisers, Dorothy Presswell and Tony Rowland, c/o Powderham Castle Enterprises, The Estate Office, Powderham Castle, Kenton, Devon EX6 8JQ

**WRITING DEVON'S HISTORY**

A series of five workshops organised by the Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter, to be held in the Reading Room there in October and November 1998. The intention is to build on Ian Maxted's recent publication for the Devon History Society and on the local history workshops held at Exeter University in March to give further guidance to those wishing to write on local history topics. Some workshops are limited to 12 members so that practical work can be undertaken. The fee is £5 per workshop or £23 for the session. Tickets are obtainable from the Devon and Exeter Institution, to whom cheques should be made payable. All sessions will be held in the afternoon, from 2p.m. to 4p.m.

**DRAFT PROGRAMME**

Tuesday, 27 October 1998. Subject: Printed sources. Speakers: Ian Maxted and Peter Thomas

Tuesday, 3 November 1998, Subject: Manuscript sources held locally and how to read them. Speaker: Margery Rowe

Tuesday, 10 November 1998. Subject: 'Back to the Future'. Speaker: Simon Timms

Tuesday, 17 November 1998. Subject: 'Writing up family history'. Speaker: Sylvia Guthrig

Tuesday, 24 November 1998. Subject: Landscape history (including gardens). Speaker: Dr Todd Gray.

The Devon and Exeter Institution is grateful to Devon Gardens Trust, Devon History Society and to Halsgrove, publishers, for financial assistance.

**University of Exeter Press**

*New titles for Autumn 1998*

**The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh**

edited by Agnes Latham and Joyce Youngs

0 85989 527 0 £45.00 *illustrated hardback 464 pages*

**Power and Politics at the Seaside**

The Development of Devon's Seaside Resorts

in the Twentieth Century

Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard

*illustrated 250 pages*

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