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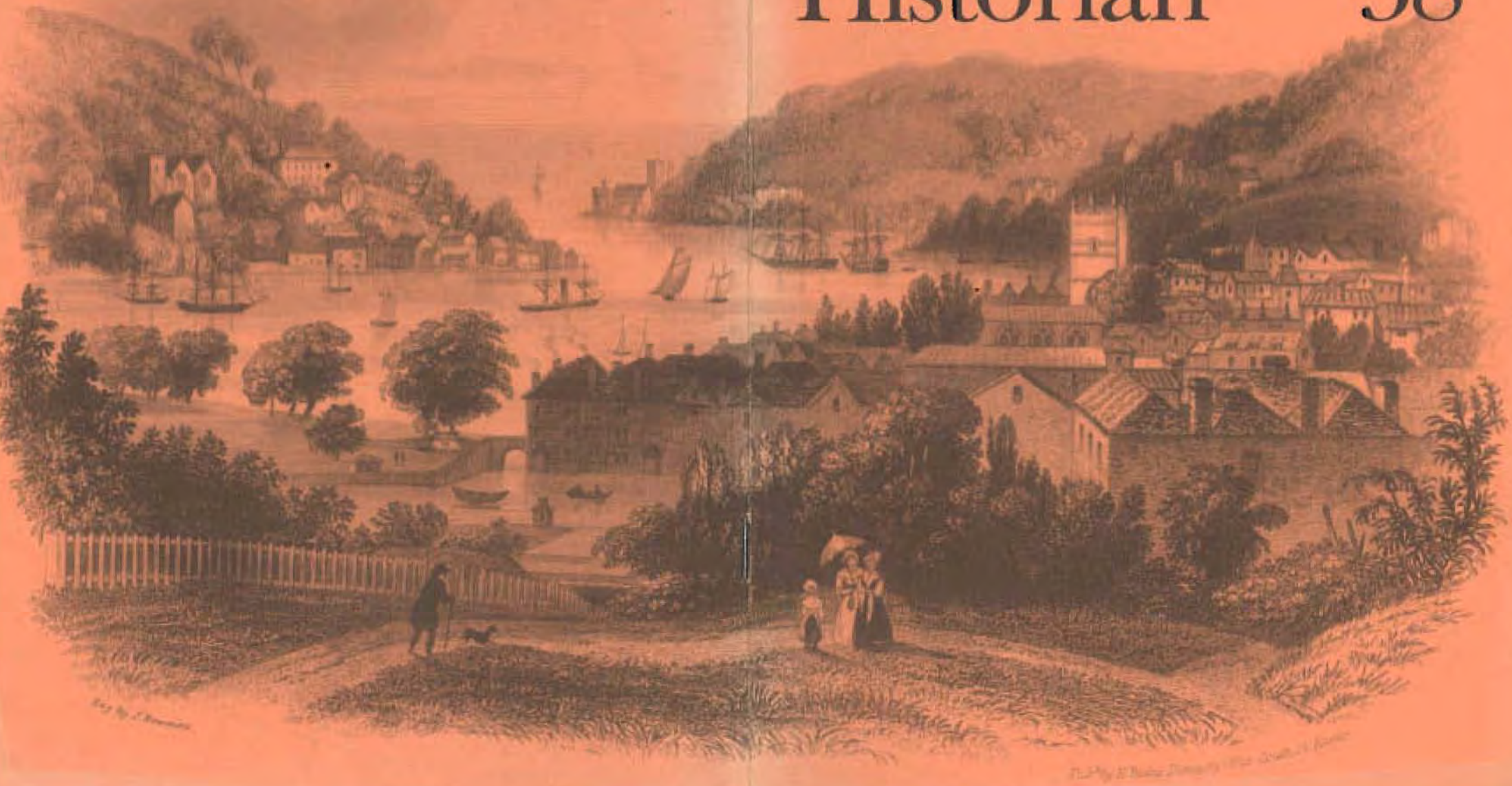

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

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.

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.: 1 July 1999, etc.

DEVON BOOK OF THE YEAR

Two awards were made at the Devon History Society's AGM on 7 November 1998, following the vote, one for a countywide volume, and the other for a local study. The countywide award was won by Todd Gray's edition of the manuscript diaries of John Swete, *Travels in Georgian Devon 1789-1800*, published by Devon Books. The local study award was gained by *The Uffculme wills and inventories*, compiled by Uffculme Archive Group under the editorship of Peter Wyatt, published by Devon and Cornwall Record Society. The winners were presented with certificates signed by DHS President Dr Harold Fox. The award is a joint initiation between the local studies section of Devon Library Services and the Devon History Society to encourage the production of good quality local history writing in Devon.

Edwin Scott Haydon, O.B.E. (1921-1998)

We sadly report the death of Edwin Haydon, who acted, and most efficiently, as the Society's Hon. Treasurer since 1993. His first academic career culminated in a 1st class honours degree in Classics from the University College of Reading in 1942. After the war, in which he saw active service, he joined the Provincial Administration of the Uganda Protectorate and while in that country he married, raising funds for this by selling three elephants which he had taken in the bush. He was called to the Bar in 1958 and between 1960 and 1971 served in the Hong Kong Judiciary, latterly as Registrar of the Supreme Court. He ended his legal career on the Western Circuit (1971-81). His academic turn of mind led him to publish *Law and Justice in Buganda* (1960) and several papers on customary law in Hong Kong.

Edwin Haydon's last home was a small east Devon farm and once settled there he applied his precise, investigative, legal mind to the study of the locality's history. A flood of papers followed and the research culminated in two books: *Secular and Divine* (1997), a comprehensive history of Widworthy and the widely praised *Widworthy Manorial Court Rolls 1453-1617* (also 1997, with John Harrop).

While Edwin Haydon's work on Widworthy was in its final stages he decided upon a second academic career and so began post-graduate studies in the Department of English Local History at Leicester University in order to investigate the medieval social and economic history of small towns in east Devon. Thus was the University's Higher Degrees Office slightly bemused when it received an application form in which a treatise on Bugandan law was submitted as a qualification by an intending student of English medieval urban history. Interpreting the sources came quite naturally to him: the Latin was no problem to the classical scholar of 1942 while the contents of his documents, court rolls for the most part, fascinated the expert in litigation. No cost was spared: when I told him that the microfilms which he needed from the P.R.O would come to several hundred pounds, he replied by saying that he would sell off a few steers (not elephants this time) from his farm.

Edwin had a natural, old-fashioned charm which delighted all who knew him and is said to have worked well with a certain archivist known for lack of co-operation. A widely educated man with a broad experience of life, many interests and, above all, an impish sense of humour, he was always excellent company. He will be sadly missed in the many circles in which he moved, by his wife Sue (daughter of the east Devon historian W.M. Wilkin) and by four daughters of whom he was very proud.

His service took place in the parish church of St Cuthbert, Widworthy, a tiny aisleless structure which could only just contain the large congregation. The committal, outside, was in a very private spot, in view of no habitation (for this is an isolated church, except for the barton), under the murmuring of the late summer trees, and surrounded by the farmland of the parish whose history he had made his own.

Harold Fox

COUNTY CORONERS AND COUNTY MAGISTRATES IN DEVON IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

G.H.H. Glasgow

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the conflict between the County Magistrates and the County Coroners in Devon in the nineteenth century. The conflict arose out of the payment of the latter's fees for holding inquests and their expenses including medical fees, witnesses' fees, and mileage as the same had to be authorised for payment by the County Magistrates. Attention will be paid only to the Devon County Coroners - there were six of them - and not to the Borough Coroners appointed by the Town Council under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835[1] or to Franchise Coroners appointed in the way prescribed by the charter which created the franchise, usually the Lord of the Manor because neither Borough Coroners nor Franchise Coroners were paid by the County Council unless their jurisdictions contributed to the County Rates. The conflict did therefore not apply to them.

The late Sir William Holdsworth referred to the Justices of the Peace as the 'rulers of the county'[2]. They were 'the most distinctively English part of all our governmental organisations'[3] and a modern American scholar has written of them that 'neither the central government nor parliament told them what to do, closely supervised their activity or even ensured that they acted at all.'[4] As a body they were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County rather than elected, in contrast to the County Coroners who were elected by the freeholders of the whole county or by the freeholders of the district in respect of which the Coroner was to have jurisdiction. The Justices of the Peace were therefore not subject to the caprices of an electorate. It was apparent that they wielded enormous power. According to Sydney and Beatrice Webb they were dominated by the Tory-Anglican landed gentry and their closely allied supporters, the Anglican clergy and this predominance of the landed gentry and the Anglican clergy prevailed until the 1880s[5] subject to the fact that industrialisation changed in a dramatic way the constituents of the County Magistrates in the north of England. It did not, however, affect the position in the county of Devon where the names of long-established landed families like the Careys, Courtenays, Grenvilles, Raleighs, Tremaines and Fortescues reoccurred time and time again. Following an Act of 1751 for giving proper rewards to coroners for the execution of their office[6] it was incumbent upon the magistrates to authorise payment out of the County Rates of the fees and expenses of the County Coroners for the holding of inquests. The fee was the sum of 20s. for every inquisition duly taken and for travelling expenses, the sum of 9d. per mile (one way only) to be paid out of the County Rates and in addition the coroners were to be paid where applicable the fee of 13s. 4d. laid down under the Act of 1487[7] being the fee 'upon the view of the body slain...of the goods and chattels of him that is the slayer and murderer if he have any goods.' The difficulty was however, that payment was to be dependent on the approval of the justices in Quarter Sessions and the Devon justices were among the first to cut down the burden on the County Rates by disputing as to whether or not the inquest was 'duly held'. The County Coroners had frequently to wait for payment or find their bills reduced or thrown out. On 16 February 1780 Thomas Reynolds, one of the County Coroners, wrote to the Clerk of the Peace that he 'was so much distressed not yet to have received my salary from government' and in the following year together with the

other two County Coroners, Samuel Bremridge and William Coffin, he petitioned: 'to represent the hardships they labour under to wait long for the settling of their accounts.'[8] An anomalous situation had therefore arisen as a non-elected body - the County Magistrates were appointed by that Tudor creation, the Lord Lieutenancy of the County combining great panache with utility and responsibility[9] - could exercise considerable control over the County Coroners who were elected by the freeholders and could in effect influence them as to whether or not an inquest should be held. In fact, they were seeking to exercise a measure of control not only over the County Coroners who represented two thirds of the total number of corners[10] but also over the jurors. The inquest was the people's court. Both the Coroner and the jurors, as a result of the Act of 1751 'were essentially placed under the direction of the local benches of justices'[11] although, in theory, the Coroner was to be the judge of the propriety of holding an inquest. He decided whether or not to hold an inquest and not the justices, but having said that the people's judge and the people's court were in danger of being influenced even if not controlled by a non-elected body, namely the County Magistrates.

The Devon County Coroners during the nineteenth century were almost entirely lawyers (as late as 1859 only four of the borough coroners were medical men)[12] and there were few contested elections - only one in the first quarter of the century, namely Joseph Gribble on 3 May 1816 with one hundred votes polled and lasting a few hours.[13] There was little interest shown in the election. The other ten elections were uncontested.[14] There were six districts in the county - Honiton, Crediton, Barnstaple, Okehampton, Stoke Damerel and Totnes. In 1837 the six coroners were Allan Belfield Bone, Joseph Gribble, H.Aden Vallack, R.H. Aberdeen, Thomas Copner and James Partridge. All had been elected by the freeholders at a special county court, but only Joseph Gribble had been the subject of a contested election.

The County Coroners were paid by way of fees and in addition mileage and expenses. They submitted bills at each Quarter Session and the bills had to be passed for payment by the County Magistrates. Such bills were occasionally inaccurate arithmetically. For example, the bill of Alfred Drake[15], Coroner for Barnstaple district, covered the inquests on James May, 24 February 1844, William Hussell, 20 April 1844, Henry Gibbs, 7 June 1844 and Susan Craag, 15 July 1844. The total of £10.1s.8d. being £1.6s.8d. per inquest plus 8s. paid to Constable and jury is shown as £7.1s.2d. It is signed: 'settled' Alfred Drake, 5th August 1844. It may be significant that the word is 'settled' not 'paid'. Other coroners bills are marked 'paid' or 'received'.

Devon magistrates sought to exercise control over the County Coroners, first as to the payment of fees, secondly forbidding constables to report deaths to the County Coroners or to serve his summonses[16] and thirdly as to the payment of expenses. The latter had increased as a result of the Attendance and Remuneration of Medical Witnesses Act of 1836 which gave the Coroner power to order a medical practitioner to attend an inquest and to perform an autopsy. This added fuel to the conflict between the County Magistrates and the County Coroners in nineteenth century Devon. For example, payments made to the Devon County Coroners had increased from £428.8s.2d. in 1830 to £1688.15s.2d. in 1844. In consequence, in that year the Court of Quarter Sessions for the County of Devon passed a resolution that no expenses would be allowed for any inquests where a verdict of death from natural causes was recorded. The Court used the word 'expenses' and not 'fees'. They communicated their determination to the parish officers and constables of the county. In one instance, Richard Bremridge (1803-1878), (a relative of the Samuel Bremridge who was one of the petitioners to the Clerk of the Peace on 11 January 1781) held an inquest on a man found dead in a barn who had not

been seen since the previous day. The verdict was natural causes. The magistrates refused to pay the Coroner's fee. Application was made by the Coroner to the Queen's Bench Division and a mandamus was issued to the justices to show why they disallowed the fee. The case was argued by Sir Fitzroy Kelly on the part of the Coroner. The Court made the rule absolute and ordered the justices to make a return to the mandamus on the basis that the matter would be considered further on that return. The Devon justices did not make a return although they paid the fees.[17] Unfortunately there is no proper report of the case known as *R. v Devon J.J.* as it is believed to be the only successful application by a coroner against the refusal of the County Magistrates to allow the expenses at an inquest[18] (the notes on the case 10. JP 371 and 7 L.T. (O.S) 228 are not comprehensive enough to be construed as a correct transcript). Lord Campbell C J in *R. v J.J. of Gloucestershire* 7. E. C & B. 805 1 June 1857 said in effect that the justices were the judge of whether or not an inquest was 'duly taken'. The coroner in the case of *R. v Devon J.J.*, Richard Bremridge, who was a member of the Coroners' Society of England and Wales (which had only that year been founded) and who was a practising solicitor, was in the same year elected MP for Barnstaple, becoming the second coroner to become an MP holding the position from 1847-52 and again from 1863-65 his re-election on 8 July 1852 having been declared void.[19] The other coroner was Thomas Wakley who had been elected Coroner for West Middlesex by the freeholders on 25 February 1839 whilst MP for Finsbury (1832-52). Both MPs were concerned as to the payment of coroners and the attitude of the County Magistrates to the same. They were not alone in such concern. In 1846 Sir James Graham, the Secretary of State for the Home Department had in the House of Commons referred, *inter alia*, to 'the magistrates of the County of Devon [having] even gone to the length of coming to a resolution not to pay the cost of any Coroner's inquest where the verdict was 'died by visitation of God.' This resolution has had a most injurious effect in preventing inquests in many cases where they ought to have been held'.[20] With the above no doubt in mind, Richard Bremridge and Thomas Wakley, at a meeting of the Coroners' Society of England and Wales in March 1850, agreed to use their influence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a Bill to be introduced into Parliament providing for the payment of coroners by way of a salary as in other judicial positions - the Bill to be entitled: 'A Bill for abolishing the fees paid to coroners and providing payment of coroners by salaries'.[21] It did not pass the House of Commons. It had to wait until the Act to amend the law relating to the 'Election Duties and Payment of Coroners' of 28 August 1860. In this connection some County Coroners lamented the inactivity of, and lack of support from, the Coroners' Society of England and Wales - one wrote that he was convinced that it was 'no longer a working machine' and sent a letter of complaint to every coroner.[22] The society had been formed to safeguard the interests of the coroners in particular with regard to the County Magistrates but it did not achieve universal support.

In fairness to the Devon magistrates there was another side to the dispute. The report at the Devon Easter Sessions 1845 said that in the previous year the sums paid to the County Coroners amounted to £1688.15s2d. and 522 inquests had been held. Reference was made to the judgement of Lord Denman in *R. v Great Western Railway Company* (1842) 53. Q. B 333. The report went on to say that it was not possible to ascertain how many inquests held during the year had been illegal as only three of the six County Coroners specified a verdict or cause of death. In 222 cases specified by these three coroners, there were 67 cases in which the verdict was natural death or by the visitation of God. The report further stated that it would seem that where the jury returned such a verdict the expenses ought not to be allowed and that it would seem

from the judgement of Lord Denman that it was the duty of the coroner to make some inquiries before he summoned a jury. The justices were 'not to pass the expense of any inquest where the verdict is natural death or visitation of God unless reasons are shown them that suspicions fairly arose that such deaths were not natural. The justices concluded that it was important not to allow the expense of an inquest unless the verdict was attached to it. A study of the Coroner's Accounts of Mr Whiteford in respect of 69 inquests for the County of Devon for the period from Easter Sessions 1815 to the following Michaelmas Sessions shows only three inquests where verdicts were attached. The remainder would be construed by present day coroners to come within the category of a narrative verdict.[23]

The Devon justices exercised rigorous control and concurred with the opinion of the Middlesex justices 'that the discontinuance of the system of supervision would speedily be followed by a rise in the charges for inquests'. The sums paid to the Devon County Coroners in the period 1845 to 1850 were as follows: 1845, £1444.3s.11d., 1846, £877.8s.4d., 1847, £1055.8s., 1848, £1107.1s.10d., 1849, £1063.7s.10d. and 1850, £1033.10s.5d. With regard to concurrent criminal jurisdiction[24] the committee stated that when justices have jurisdiction an investigation by the coroner was unnecessary. Indeed, they went further. They stated: 'Your committee would observe that Justices have jurisdiction to inquire into the cause of death when some person is accused; but there seems no reason why their authority should not be extended to all cases cognisant by a Coroner; and they therefore think that, if such authority were given the office of Coroner might be abolished.'[25] It was to this end that prominent coroners like Richard Bremridge were seeking to promote private Bills in Parliament to make the position of Coroner a salaried one independent of any control by the County Magistrates.[26]

An examination of the Return from the Clerks of the Peace for the counties in respect of inquests held between 29 September 1849 and 28 September 1859 does show that so far as the County of Devon was concerned the number of cases where fees were disallowed was greatest in 1850 on the smallest number of inquests held. In the ensuing 10 years the justices were not severe - the number of inquests varied only slightly but the number of cases where the fees were disallowed decreased.[27]

Year Ended 29 September.	No of Inquests Held	No. where fees disallowed	Amount Paid
1850	175	22	£605. 9s. 11d.
1851	242	7	£950. 2s. 2d.
1852	241	11	£967. 7s. 2d.
1853	310	3	£1248. 17s. 9d.
1854	238	2	£985. 15s. 9d.
1855	241	1	£996. 12s. 11d.
1856	228	1	£927. 3s. 5d.
1857	265	8	£1066. 19s. 4d
1858	230	-	£904. 13s. 10d.
1859	228	2	£1284. 2s. 10d.

The Devon magistrates were zealous in their duties so far as the County Coroners' accounts were concerned, albeit when dealing with the coroners' expenses they appear to have had no rigid basis for calculations of travelling expenses. The return made by

the Clerk of the Peace for Devon in respect of the years 1840, 1841 and 1842 gives miles travelled by all the County Coroners as 10,034 miles, 10,920 miles and 11,488 miles, but three of the coroners charged the mileage from their residence to where the inquest was held and three charged the mileage only from inquest to inquest. There was therefore no consistency in the way in which the travelling expense were calculated. In the adjoining county of Cornwall the practice was to charge from inquest to inquest. It is surprising that there was no uniformity bearing in mind the decision of the Queen's Bench in *R. v. the Justices of Warwick* in 1826.5 B & C 430.

It is however apparent that there was a genuine concern by the Devon magistracy to exercise control over the County Coroners with a view to protecting the County Rates by limiting the number of inquests - they could not dictate to the County Coroners as to whether or not to hold an inquest but they could influence such a decision - by checking coroners' bills and expenses both in terms of expenses of medical witnesses and travelling expenses. It is significant that the Middlesex Justice of the Peace: Report of the Select Committee appointed at the Michaelmas Sessions 1850, which was sent to the Clerk of the Peace for each county in England and Wales, was only acknowledged with thanks by the County of Devon.[28] It is very interesting that Resolution 1 in the Report of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the County, presented to the Midsummer Sessions 1851, resolved that ' the thanks of this court be given to the Middlesex justices for the copy of the report sent to them and that a copy of this report be sent to them in return.' It would therefore appear that there was marked affinity between the two County magistracies although it should perhaps be mentioned that the magistrates of the counties of Durham, Gloucester, Kent, the West Riding of Yorkshire and Glamorgan all disallowed fees on numerous coroners' inquests in the 1850s and in some instances more frequently than those of Devon and Middlesex.[29]

It was the County Coroners Act 1860 that largely ended the conflict between the County Magistrates and the County Coroners in Devon. The intention was to make the position of the Coroner a salaried one completely independent of the County Magistrates. The Act provided that the Coroner should be paid by salary and not by fees and that thereby the independence of the Coroner would be secured.[30] But it was a degree of independence only. The problem was that the County Coroner still had to agree his salary with the County Magistrates. If it could not be agreed there was a right of appeal to the Home Secretary. Further the County Magistrates still retained control over the County Coroners' expenses. Complete independence was not to be achieved until the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888.[31] Even then, complaints were made that 'the gathering looked much like Quarter Sessions....landlordism and squirearchy were in conspicuous force'.[32] In fact many County Magistrates transferred to the new local authorities and it was to be expected that they would do so as they had the required expertise. It was felt desirable that they should retain influence on the county bodies and both the Liberal and Conservative bills of the 1870s had provided for the ex officio representation of magistrates. Nevertheless, the Local Government Act did break the link between the County Coroners and the justices, as it provided for their appointment by the County Council as opposed to election by the freeholders and further the County Council was to agree with the coroners the amount of the salaries and the payment of their fees, allowances and disbursements.[33,34]

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Gordon H.H. Glasgow recently retired as a solicitor, having worked for the same firm for 47 years, also as H.M. Coroner for the Metropolitan Districts of Sefton, Knowsley and St Helens. In retirement he is working on the election of County Coroners in the early nineteenth century with particular reference to Lancashire and Cheshire.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LYMPSTONE AND NUTWELL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Rosemary Smith

It is a commonly held assumption that Lympstone and Nutwell, two small estuarine hamlets mentioned in the Domesday Book, both former Saxon manors with Saxon thegns, made their living from fishing and farming from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.

For instance, Stephen Fisher[1] says in his article in *The New Maritime History of Devon*: 'As has been the case for centuries, Exeter Customs Port also included a number of lesser havens such as Lympstone and Exmouth....These places though, carried on relatively little trade and were mostly local fishing places...' Similarly, E.A.G. Clark[2] says: 'Lympstone has been both fishing village and agricultural settlement', while Eric R. Delderfield[3] says: 'The little old-world fishing village has had a fascinating history...'

However, small as it may be - and it was described as a 'manarellum' or 'manarettum' in the Middle Ages - Lympstone has played a large part in the economy of the River Exe, (apart from fishing), in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This applies also to its neighbour, Nutwell.

Broadly speaking, before the later seventeenth century and after the 1830s, Lympstone lived up to its title as a fishing village. However, the study of the intervening years shows that Lympstone and Nutwell's connection with the sea was altogether broader and more important. These years also show the tenacity, the adaptability and the entrepreneurial spirit of their seamen and merchants.

Lympstone in the Middle Ages had had trading and fishing interests as well as farming. It was noted in the Port Books of Exeter, 1266-1321,[4] and again in a document of 1310 from the commonalty of Exeter, on which a royal scribe had written the names of the ports of the Exe: 'Toppesham...veneston (i.e. Lympston)...Pratteshide, Kenton, Powderham...'[5]. According to Maryanne Kowaleski[6], Lympstone was a landing place for fish, particularly herring, and in 1370-90 there was one Lympstone fish dealer at Exeter market. It is perhaps because of this trading interest that in 1288, William de Aumarle, Lord of the Manor of Lympstone (and of Woodbury) is recorded as receiving 9s. from Lympstone 'burgesses', which means that he had tried to make Lympstone a town or borough. This would have been very lucrative. For Woodbury he did gain a charter from King Edward I for a fair and market (1286), but for Lympstone no charter has so far been found. Lympstone was perhaps one of the seventy or so boroughs in Devon held in free burgage by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Such boroughs without charters 'generally possessed their own market and court', declares Peter Hunt, *This is Devon*.[7]

In the sixteenth century, Lympstone was still trading, and fishing as well. A Rental and Survey of Lympstone has survived, taken in 1525 by the agent to the Marchioness of Dorset, Harington and Bonville, which gives a great amount of information together with the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1525 for Lympston Parish. These documents show that while Lympstone was still largely dependent on agriculture and subsistence farming, there were at that time mariners and traders in the village.[8]

Thomas Dyppeford 'was cessed at the prest in goods and chattels at £4. He askyth allowens upon his oth for that he was taken and imprisoned at Depe in Franse by the

Frenshemen whereby he hath lost his goods to the valu of £3 and so remayneth at the subsedy £1.' Could this small trader have been trading in salt, in return for wool or cloth? There were also, extraordinarily, two 'frenchmen' noted living in the village, who were charged double the usual Subsidy rate! (Worse still, the Subsidy was imposed by Wolsey, to finance an abortive war with France) From these figures it seems firstly that there was trade with France and secondly that there were about fifty rateable men in the village then.

So far, we have no information about tithes of the Rectorial Manor (instituted in 1251) on fishing, only that the clergy had certain rights to the foreshore. In the absence of mention of dues to the lord for fishing, and of tithe to the clergy, it is difficult to estimate the amount of fishing of the early sixteenth century. However, both in the Survey and Subsidy already mentioned, and in a Survey of Woodbury and Lympstone in 1554 (the first year of Mary) in the Duke of Suffolk's papers; in a Survey of Nutwell in 1566 in Queen Elizabeth's reign; in a Survey of Lympstone in 1605 in the third year of James I's reign; and in a Manor Court Book of Woodbury and Lympstone of 1626, there is mention of certain buildings, or parts of buildings, which must be significant.

These are first mentioned in 1525 as 'Netherhouses': under the 'Rentals', John Haydon, Robert Dypford, John Adams and Thomas Elyett separately have tenure of 'one house called the Netherhouse' for which they pay 4d yearly. This makes four, plus one 'totally in decay', in 1525. Furthermore, fishing is definitely confirmed by the fact that John Symme jun. 'pays yearly for drying of nets on the Grene beside the sea bank 6d'.

Netherhouses would appear to be some kind of storage space, or according to Dr. Sellman, a barn or outbuilding. But from two of the names above, these were identical to the 'nett houses' in the Survey of 1554. These must have been storage spaces for fishing equipment, nets, salt perhaps, bait, and perhaps the fish themselves.[9] However, at this date it would seem that only a few Lympstone families supplemented their income by fishing, as there were so few Nether- or nett houses in these two documents.

By 1566, fishing was perhaps becoming more of a living, as Dr. Gray talks of the evidence from an Admiralty Court that Woodbury and Lympstone were sharing two seine nets between them.[10] Seine nets were very expensive; but the salmon and often herring in the river would no doubt repay two manors sharing the expense. Woodbury, an inland manor, would seem a curious partner for Lympstone in this, but already in 1525 one John Roundell of Woodbury appears to have been a well-off fish merchant - with a sorry tale! 'He askyth allowance upon his oth that my Lord Henry Stafford Erle of Wylshere owyd him fir freshe and salt fish the whych will never be payde £9 and so remayneth at the subsedy £51'.

By 1605, a third existing Survey of Lympstone, when Nutwell and Lympstone (and Woodbury) had come under the Prideaux, shows that there were more 'cellars' as they were now called, and that they were getting bigger than in previous surveys. One is mentioned as 32 feet in length 'and in breadth sixteen feet', a large cellar indeed. In the 1626 Woodbury and Lympstone Manor Court Book,[11] the cellars of fishing houses are now called 'Sellarium', on Lympstone Strand, some rented by well-known families, such as the Nutts (pirate Nutt's family) and the family of Bass (village residents since 1332).

But there was another trade pursued by the seamen of Lympstone besides the inshore fishing. This was the Newfoundland trade in cod, which began some time in the sixteenth century. Briefly, this triangular voyage involved sailing to Newfoundland in small vessels, with a cargo of cloth, sailcloth and salt. The mariners then caught the cod, dried and salted them and returned to Mediterranean Catholic countries, Spain, France, Portugal and Italy, to sell them for fast days. The ships were re-loaded with

wines, brandy, silks and lace. Then, often passing to pick up salt in France, they returned home. There were alterations in the pattern as time passed and mariners settled in Newfoundland. There is a record in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of Newfoundland, which lists, among others, Lympstone men from 1660 who visited Newfoundland and gives information on whether they owned their own ships.[12] For instance, it notes one Brice, artisan and sea-captain who owned his own ship. We shall hear more of him later.

This Newfoundland fishing trade began in Lympstone before 1573 at least, for there is a record of the *John of Lympstone* in that year, sinking at the mouth of the Exe on her return voyage from Newfoundland.[13] This trade must have called for all the skills the inshore fishermen and sailors had learnt. It is significant that Leland in 1540 talks of Lympstone as 'a pretty townlet with a great tradition in shippes'.

Lympstone also had first-rate mariners in trading ships, mostly exporting the wool and cloth which was the staple trade of Devon in the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In 1582, an Exmouth cargo ship, the *Whitt Beare*, is recorded in the Port Books of Exeter leaving with one Andreas Rule of Lympstone as master. Lympstone provided many master mariners, and as the scribes mostly listed 'Exmue' or 'Exeter' as the home-port of all estuarine vessels, there is lack of distinction as to whose ship it really was. For instance, many Lympstone ships with Lympstone masters were confused with Exmouth ships of the same name, as happened in 1302-03 with the *Johannete* of Lympstone and Exmouth. This practice continues until the nineteenth century.

With many ships in foreign trade, this no doubt led to another one - that of ship repairing. Already in 1525, the Survey mentions a carpenter. In 1588, there is an entry in the Port Books of Exeter that ships' carpenters from Lympstone were working on the pinnace *Gyfte* which Exeter fitted out for use against the Spanish Armada.

Early in the seventeenth century, as discovered by Dr. Todd Gray[14], a Survey of South Devon was made for the Duke of Buckingham. Dated 1619, this was more complete, and more reliable than Sir James Bagg's of 1626. No shipwrights appear in Lympstone in the Survey, which seems strange when just over thirty years before they were well-known. According to the 1619 assessment, there were 38 'mariners and sailors' in Lympstone at the time, and five overseas trading vessels of 18 to 60 tons, from home, at the Atlantic Islands, or in Newfoundland. Also there were five boats each of ten tons. This is probably by no means all. The five overseas boats were, interestingly, mostly owned by one Lympstone mariner with two other men, several from Exmouth. This seems to confirm to a practice prevalent on the Exe of share-holding in trading ships.

Piracy - and smuggling - were rife on the south coast from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Apart from fishing, these were two possible occupations for Lympstonians. One of the best-known pirates was John Nutt of Lympstone, who at one time terrorised Torbay, and was supported by one Secretary of State, but arrested by another.[15] Smuggling has been going on in Lympstone from the sixteenth century; and even in the nineteenth century. 'A halycon time' says Oppenheim of the eighteenth century.[16] 'Much of Devon's seamanship was exercised in the practice of smuggling which turned out first-class seamen'. Jamieson [17] says: 'The 1733 Parliamentary Committee's figures of seizures in Devon are incomplete, but most of those noted took place at Exeter and at places in or near the Exe estuary.' Miss Howard, a nineteenth century resident, says of 1792: 'They were stormy days when Mr. Gidoin was Rector; smuggling was at its height'.[18] There is more than great probability that Lympstone was involved.

However, the focus of employment in the Exe was changing. In the eighteenth century the export of wool and cloth from Exeter and the hinterland had been on the decline

for some time and while trade from Topsham to Holland continued, the rising ports of Bristol, London and others captured more trade and the cloth trade went north. Then came the wars - the Dutch, the French, the American War of Independence, the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars. All created difficulties for commerce, with closure of European markets, and decline and great difficulties to the fishery (the Newfoundland trade), 'because of enemy naval and privateering operations, market closures and the depletion of the labour force which rendered transatlantic commerce both dangerous and costly.'[19]

Thus with one of Devon's most important trades, that with Newfoundland, falling off, with the serge trade in Exeter declining overall, and with the press gang for the Navy abounding, what line of enterprise could Devon and Lympstone men take? There was an increase in the coastal trade as overseas trade was restricted; some mariners no doubt joined privateers, or went in for smuggling; some Lympstone men went to join in the local fishing, which then included a thriving oyster industry.[20] Otherwise, Lympstone and the Exe needed a new enterprise.

At the end of the seventeenth century Topsham had started such an enterprise; it was shipbuilding. Alison Grant believes there is evidence that this also occurred at Lympstone at the same date: 'there were shipwrights at places like Lympstone, but the busiest shipyards in the port of Exeter in the seventeenth century were those along Topsham Strand'.[21] Lympstone certainly carried on a trade in repair and fitting of Newfoundland ships in this century, and used to those, the shipwrights and owners turned easily to building ships. All this occurred at a time when there emerged in Lympstone, early in the eighteenth century, merchants, entrepreneurs, and shipowners whose money had mainly been made in the Newfoundland trade. There was also a gathering of big Exeter and other merchants at the Unitarian Chapel or Meeting at Gulliford, on the borders of Lympstone and Woodbury, which often received three hundred people and more in the early eighteenth century. Merchants such as the Barings and the Lees were present with Worthington Brice, who married a rich Miss Manston, and here, surely, ideas were circulated and plans made. At all events, the time and the people conspired to produce a new climate, and so shipbuilding, an economic venture unknown in Lympstone after the Middle Ages, emerged. This was so significant that E.A.G. Clark has stated[22]: 'In the eighteenth century, Lympstone was one of the principal shipbuilding localities in the port of Exeter. The industry developed as a natural corollary to the task of fitting out vessels for overseas ventures.' Lympstone was the only port in the Exe estuary apart from Topsham to have developed this new trend in maritime interests: and shipbuilding must have absorbed much of the labour and population at the time.

The shipowners turned shipbuilders were as follows: the Withalls, first, were a large family of mariners. A Stephen Withall was one of the first to buy land along the Strand from Sir Thomas Putt on his death.[23] A John Withall in 1726 was the first to pay for a family pew in the church, denoting a man of some substance. A Richard Withall appears to have taken over as agent to the Drake estate and Nutwell manor[24] and to have had the money to purchase from Nutwell land in Underhill and Sowden. He must have been quite a wealthy man. He left this inheritance to his nephew, John Richard Withall, in his will of 1793. John Richard was later styled 'gentlemen' in a deed of 1797. It appears the Withall inheritance, which came from shipbuilding and Newfoundland trading, went into land. (The name still exists in the village as 'Withall's Orchard').

The Staffords were intermarried with the Withalls, and also originally came from Littleham. In 1730 a John Stafford of Littleham was recorded as a merchant in his will.[25] Could there be a possibility that some of the merchant John Stafford's wealth

went into a joint ship-owning and Newfoundland trade venture with the Withalls? Mary Insull[26] states 'The Lympstone shipowners, notably the Withalls and the Staffords, sailed their own ships and even had members of their own family in Newfoundland and Spain to act as their agents. In 1743, one of the Withall ships, the *Elizabeth*, was valued at £350 and her cargo at £858, which represent enormous wealth.' Elizabeth Scott[27] adds that when Henry Withall died on the Newfoundland voyage, he had with him four brothers, Richard, Benedict, John and Philip. It looks very much as though shipowning and investment in the Newfoundland trade was a family affair. Lympstone thus followed a regional and local custom here.[28] The shipowners also took their part with the ship-owners of Topsham and Exmouth in the constant, very large local and short sea trade. It seems that in the case of the Staffords, their fortune may have been lost. There is a tradition in the village that they fell upon hard times, and there is no further mention of them in documents. They left behind property, however for there still remain, on Lympstone Strand, Stafford House and Stafford Cottages.

The next, and largest shipbuilders, the Basses, appear in the 1750s, when in 1755 Thomas Bass, shipwright, bought 'that messuage, Tenement, Appurtenances, houses and cellars in the Strand wherein Stephen Withall, (now deceased) formerly lived.' The Basses had been prominent in Lympstone since at least the 1332 Lay Subsidy. They were great shipbuilders, also great buyers of property. There are today cottages and houses called 'Bass's' in Lympstone. Part of their shipbuilding yard was formed by the Wotton Brook. This was at the time quite different and indeed was diverted after the 1839 Tithe Map and before the coming of the railway (1861). It was also much broader and deeper. Flat boats were said to have been floated down from the Mill laden with goods.[29]

The Basses made all kinds of ships and would appear to have had a vigorous trade. Besides ships for the overseas trade[30], the Basses also built merchantmen for the coastal trade and the local trade in lime and coal to the lime-kilns. Also by 1804 the Basses were building ships for the Navy in the Napoleonic wars. Oppenheim said[31]: 'The number of (private) builders existing in 1804 shows that there must have been a thriving local trade....Lympstone: - Bass.' Bass's yards built two ships-of-war, the *Urgent*, a gunbrig of 178 tons and twelve guns by 1804, and the *Cyane* of 539 tons and 22 guns in 1806. E.A.G. Clark furnishes us with the only statistic we have for this period, that between 1785 and 1813, 'twenty-five vessels were built at Lympstone and registered in the port of Exeter.'[32] (The figures may need revising, and also research made). What is certain is that the Withalls' and Bass's yards must have furnished employment to a great amount of the population in the village then.[33] It is, however, possible that carpenters and shipwrights came into the village from elsewhere.

However, the most interesting shipbuilding development on the Exe in the eighteenth century was at Parsonage Stile Bay. Worthington Brice married a rich wife, a Manston of Lympstone, and became a member of the nonconformist congregation at Gulliford. He became a part-owner of the Withall shipyard, and then, with his wealth from his Newfoundland venture,[34] he bought a portion of the impoverished Sir Francis Henry Drake's land at Nutwell. There he owned Parsonage Stile House and garden, orchards and land fronting on to Parsonage Stile Bay.[35] The house burnt down about 1933. We first hear of Worthington Brice, shipwright, in Mr. Rowe's letters to Sir Francis Henry Drake (Mr. Rowe, friend of the family, acted as agent for the Drake estates). Evidently, Mr. Rowe intermittently took advantage of Mr. Brice's carpenters to repair Nutwell Court, then in a sorry state, in preparation for the Drakes' move from Buckland.

In March 1755 Mr. Rowe wrote: 'The pressing has frightened away all the workmen, so Nicholas has not been here for some time', showing the effect of the dreaded press-

gang, and the difficulties of an eighteenth century shipbuilder. In May 1756 Mr. Rowe talks of 'Mr. Brice fitting out a ship for a privateer' (which incidentally was commandeered for the Navy and lost, but Mr. Brice was insured!) and in July he was still 'busy about a privateer'. Later, in a letter of February 1757 to the Drakes, Mr. Rowe writes that Mr. Brice's smith was 'too busy about the Greenland ship to make the iron gate for the garden'. Later, Mr. Rowe talks about 'the Newfoundlander being made by Mr. Brice'. In 1751, the Wharfinger's clerk recorded 'a new vessel just off the stocks built by Worthington Brice at Lympstone'[36] This was the *Mary and Sarah*. So merchantmen, Newfoundlanders, privateers and Greenlanders were all built by Worthington Brice in his yard, and others fitted out and repaired. Worthington Brice, shipwright, and Newfoundland merchant, had become also a shipbuilder.

It is notable that Dean Milles says in his Parochial Collections of the 1750s 'there is some business in shipbuilding, several merchantmen having been built and repaired on the bank there'. It is likely that he was talking about the other yards in Lympstone, and there were at least two more shipbuilders besides the Basses, mainly building on the mud. Worthington Brice seems to have been the only shipbuilder to have built a quay and shipbuilding yards, and later, with the whaling trade, a tryworks. If only the other shipbuilders had done so, Lympstone might have continued with profitable trade as long as Topsham.

Worthington Brice is perhaps best remembered, however, for his part in the new economic venture of whaling, aimed at supplanting the Newfoundland fishing venture. The Exeter Whale Fishery Company lasted from 1754 to 1787. It was formed by Matthew Lee and other merchants, most of whom were to be found in the Gulliford Meeting. Among the most active of these was Worthington Brice, of Nutwell in Woodbury Parish. He was a shareholder in the company, and as a shipbuilder, dealt with the whaling ships for it. In 1754 he went to London and bought a ship of 346 tons, there being no ship suitable for whaling in the south-west. The ship cost £2,150 and was brought back to Brice's yard at Parsonage Stile to be fitted out and victualled. The *Exeter*'s first voyage to Greenland commenced on 18 April 1755 and she returned on 9 August, four months later. There were soon two more ships which went to Greenland for whales, the *Worthy Shepherd* and the *Lympstone*, both built by Worthington Brice.

These voyages to the Arctic were very hazardous for the sailing ships of those days, not only from the weather in the northern seas, but also from the very real danger of becoming trapped and crushed in the ice. This was indeed the fate of the Exeter Company's ship, *The Worthy Shepherd*, crushed in the ice in 1789. Another danger was that in the small whalers harpooning whales, one slash of the whale's massive tail would mean sailors and boat would be smashed to pieces. The *Exeter* continued on the annual voyage until 1780, and the *Lympstone* until 1787.[37] As the whalers could only remain in the Arctic in the summer months, the Lympstone boats had to bring home the blubber to boil into oil. The smell with the horrible mass of putridity landed from the tanks of the whalers must have been nauseous. When the boats returned to the Exe, some of the blubber was boiled on Dawlish Warren, but Worthington Brice had his own tryworks for boiling the blubber at Parsonage Stile.

Worthington Brice must have thought of the new economic enterprise as perhaps supplementing the dying Newfoundland trade, and together with the company must have expected profit from the government subsidy, or bounty, put on whaling.[38] Worthington Brice did not live to see the end of the venture in 1787, when, that subsidy having been practically removed, the Exeter Whaling Company ceased trading. Worthington Brice died in 1781 'in the eightieth year of his age' as the inscription on

his tomb in the Unitarian Burial Ground puts it. He was buried among another merchants of note, for instance the Barings of Exeter, the Lees of Ebford and sea captains of Lympstone. The decease of this entrepreneur meant the end of Brice's shipyard too, for Sir Francis Henry Drake and then Lord Heathfield, his nephew and heir, were anxious to recover the land at Nutwell and to demolish the quay.

Why should shipbuilding cease in Lympstone in about 1830, shipwrights migrate to Plymouth Dockyard and major families like the Basses disappear from the records?

First, the need now was for bigger ships, and ships made of steel. Secondly, while there were merchants in plenty in Lympstone to take on the funding, the conditions in the River Exe, as outlined by E.A.G. Clark[39], defeated first Lympstone and then Topsham, with silting and tidal restrictions. Unable to compete, the quays on the Exe became quiet.

The final blow to Lympstone shipbuilding must have been the advent of the railway, opened in 1861. Cutting off the shipbuilding yards from the shore, it finished shipbuilding. Lympstone men were forced after this to return to their old employment, fishing. Farming had continued in Upper Lympstone throughout this time, and Lympstone became once again a fishing and farming hamlet. White's Devon Gazeteer and Directory of 1850 sums up the situation. Lympstone 'was a fishing station having about sixty small fishing boats and large beds of oysters in the estuary, 999 inhabitants, and 1866 acres of land in 1850.'

So it is apparent that Lympstone and Nutwell were not mere fishing and farming villages in the eighteenth century. Their new economic ventures then, and the length of time shipbuilding continued, should lead to a re-assessment of previously held opinions on their economic importance in the eighteenth century.

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PLYMOUTH UNDER FIRE

Anthony Greenstreet

'These were the tests to which our forebears were not unequal' - so wrote Winston Churchill after describing the ordeal of close-quarter combat in the Continental wars of his ancestor, Marlborough. Any Devonian wanting to know how his forebears withstood the county's greatest ordeal - the bombing of Plymouth - could do no better than read Audrey Deacon's (nee Hawkins) "The Diary of a Wren', which lies undeservedly unpublished in the Imperial War Museum archives.

In 1939 Audrey Hawkins, a free-lance journalist of 22, lived with her parents in Milehouse. She was their only child: her father, a headmaster-lieutenant, Royal Marines was stationed at the Royal Marine Barracks, Stonehouse. On outbreak of war she joined the Women's Royal Naval Service. When she began her diary in September 1940 she was a personal assistant at Commander-in-Chief's HQ, Mount Wise. Shortly after, she undertook cypher training and was commissioned. From then on she was employed on shift cypher work in underground bunkers at Egg Buckland Fort and Mount Wise HQ: however, she continued to live at home. In 1942 she was promoted Second Officer and was for a time acting First Officer.

Although Plymouth had suffered minor raids since June, when the diary begins preoccupation was with invasion:-

'Sunday 8th September 1940

> During the night...I was woken by a voice saying "members of the Home Guard - report for duty immediately". It was a loudspeaker van going through the streets; I heard it alternately louder and softer as it went, until at last it passed out of hearing and I went to sleep again. I was quite prepared to hear on the eight o'clock news that we had been invaded... Mrs S. next door told us, laughing, that according to the newspaperman "They've landed everywhere but in this here road"... When we went out, however, we were somewhat perturbed to see a good many tin-hatted soldiers, and barricades on the main roads - till we saw that the soldiers were pulling them down and not building them.'

Nevertheless thorough preparations were made by the Hawkins family against air attack, as Audrey described on 14 September,

> 'When there is an air raid at night we go downstairs into the passage between the dining room and the wall adjoining the next house. There was a door' (leading to the garden) 'but we have had it walled in with concrete blocks, with a lighter section in the middle to let us get out if the other end were blocked. We keep a hammer and chisel ready. There are mattresses and cushions on the floor, and an extension light lead from the hall. Each of us had a suitcase packed with a general selection of clothes, and we keep some more that are not in constant use, with at least one shirt and a small bag with money and oddments. By day we cover the cases with rugs and cushions so that they can be used as seats; and at night we try to sleep. If the raid is a long one we generally succeed, and several times we have

missed the all-clear siren. ...At first we used to expect to see the town very much knocked about after a raid, especially if we had actually heard any bombs: but after a time everyone got used to it... The whole business is so cold: you hear a whistling and an explosion, and anti-aircraft gunfire, and then you come out and go on where you left off. And somewhere you see a pile of rubbish where there was a house or shop, and you're told that people were killed there. And you hear, and carry on - deciding whether you will plant turnips or parsnips for next Spring'.

Early in 1941 the raids intensified; and on 22 January Audrey saw four shot-down German planes displayed on RAF lorries in Guildhall Square. On 15 February the Hawkins family had 'our nearest bomb yet...I heard an even louder rushing sound, almost like a propeller of an aeroplane rotating with the engine off and lay down on the floor. There was a really heavy explosion and my curtains billowed out into the room'.

There was a severe raid on the night of 20 March, the day before the family was due to take a week's holiday in Buckinghamshire. The diary for 21 March describes the journey's start.

'On reaching North Road Station we found it in a bit of a mess. One platform had been hit, and a train burnt out. There was a dead man on the station roof. After we had waited some time I asked if the train was ever coming and was told there was a time bomb on the line which prevented up and down traffic from passing through. Our train was due at 08.32, but we had to wait two hours in frost and fog, getting very cold. Men were working to clear up the mess, and after a little while they were joined by an RN working party. There were hundreds of people waiting, mostly Service. Eventually the down train came in and as it could not go any further they took off a bit of it and by some miracle got everybody in. We left at 10.30 at a snail's pace and stopping at literally every station. It took two hours to get to Newton Abbot.'

Returning from holiday the family found the raid had devastated the city centre; 'Our own house is untouched. The chief question is how we shall get food, Dingle's where we are registered is gone...and so of course is the original Food Office'.

On 31 March, being off-duty, Audrey saw the damage at first hand:

'This afternoon I went out with the Women's Volunteer Service mobile canteen (a converted single-deck bus). Starting from Greenbank Police Station we went down North Hill into (I think) Looe Street, where we stopped to hand out tea and sandwiches to the soldiers working in the ruins - and anybody else who asked. While we were there a gang of soldiers hauled down a section of dangerous wall. It fell about twenty yards away with a heavy crash. Civilians were carrying cases and bundles of salvaged things away from their damaged homes. An old man asked if he might have a cup of tea and "anything to bite", and said he was "so grateful". Our next stop was in Woolster Street, which had suffered a good deal of damage, and then we went on to what I afterwards discovered was Treville Street - at first I though it was St Andrew's Street... It was quite unrecognisable. The shops were piles of broken stone and steel girders inside were twisted and bent.

The air was full of dust, swirling by now and then in thick grey clouds. The soldiers were covered in it and were working in their anti-gas eyeshades. For about half an hour we were handing out tea as fast as we could, to officers and soldiers of every description, plus sailors RAF and police. We finished up in Old Town Street by Spooners. It is an extraordinary sight. The building has ceased to exist, except for a segment where some other shops jutted into it. There is literally nothing but a very low pile of rubble, and the supporting girders, which are twisted and contorted. Some, still perpendicular, have drooped at the top like dead flowers. An alert sounded while we were there, but nobody took any notice or even hurried.

The people are wonderful. On the lorries helping people to move are written tags "RN and RAF Co Ltd. Estimates free. Anything, anywhere. We move like Beechams": and the bonnets are decorated with Union Jacks, artificial flowers and paper festoons and bells. Some servicemen gave us a huge bunch of daffodils, produced from inside their lorry, and another gave us a little cheap vase from somewhere as a souvenir. ...Most of the area where we went was closed to the public and under military control. There were a few stray boys whom the soldiers shooed off. A girl, not too intelligent by her looks, came up pushing an old pram and asked for some tea. She said she had been given a pass to go and fetch four chairs and a tea-set from her bombed home. She was delighted. In another place we saw some women standing by a house while soldiers passed them out some of their belongings. One woman was holding a frying pan and a hot-water bottle.'

On 1 April the family walked into central Plymouth:

'The Hoe proper is still closed; and while we were walking along Madeira Road a police car came along announcing "An unexploded bomb will pass along here in a few minutes. Take cover". We went into a concrete gallery above the bathing pool.... George Street is just a heap of rubble and Westwell Street little better. One of the most amazing things is to look across what was a block of buildings, and see something about a quarter of a mile away. One can see from St Andrew's Cross, and Princess Square, along George Street, where the only shops standing are Dunns and Page Keen & Page. Many of the shops have re-opened in premises disused, or given up to them by other firms. Buses are running fairly normally though of course they have to make a detour round the centre of the city.'

Heavy night raids resumed for a week from Monday 21 April, killing at least 590 civilians and injuring 1144. Just before the onslaught the family

'went to Torquay for the day and had a marvellous time, the shops and town are undamaged; it would be hard to know there is a war... the town is full of people and of money, judging by the prices charged in the shops - 5/ - a pound for tomatoes for instance. So many people had gone over from Plymouth for the day that two special buses were needed to get them back.'

That night the raid lasted from 9.30pm to 4am: although bombs fell close, the house lost only a few tiles. The following night was worse,

'A house in the road was hit, and one that had a bomb behind it on Monday

had one in front. The whole side of Ford Workhouse facing us across the valley went up in flames. It was an amazing sight - a mass of flames. After a little while one could see molten lead dripping down, and could hear the rush of flames and crash of beams falling in....'.

Wednesday night's raid did not seem as heavy as the previous two:

'perhaps that was because being on duty I felt better and we weren't relieved until about 0230, when we had to come by a devious route owing to unexploded bombs and blocked roads. A big fire was burning in the direction of Torpoint: every now and then the flames leapt up and illuminated the whole sky. It went on burning till at least the third day after the raid, showing a dense column of black smoke by day and a glow of fire by night. There were two or three unexploded bombs in the road, or just off it, so it was closed to traffic, and some houses were evacuated...We had our front windows broken but otherwise no damage'.

On 28 April

'one of our bombs was dug up and its fuse removed, so the road was reopened in the afternoon. We saw the bomb after it had been operated on. It was a small one, about three or four feet long. One in Mannamead exploded and killed three Bomb Disposal Squad soldiers...We are very lucky, having water and electricity, though no gas, and have done some cooking for neighbours'.

During the day Audrey collected spare clothing from her home and her neighbours, and helped to distribute it at the Women's Voluntary Service clothing depot -

'some of the people are so apologetic and grateful. Others are quite fussy. In any case it is awful to see them dressed in odd bits and pieces - all they have been able to save... Some very attractive gifts were sent by American children, containing things for children of various ages, all classified and done up in gay print bags.'

The climax of the week-long blitz came for the family on the night of 28/29 April. Audrey was off-duty and at home with her mother while her father was fire-watching at the Royal Marine Barracks. The raid was expected:

'I spent a little while consciously screwing up my courage (if any). I haven't felt particularly brave since we had bombs so near: when I hear them whistling down I find myself shaking, and it is very hard to control. We were listening to the news when at about 9.15pm it faded out - a sign that enemy aircraft are about - so we got our things together and changed into air raid clothes. Nothing happened for half an hour; and we had just decided it was a false alarm when the siren went. As usual the family next door came in for shelter.

I thought we had had heavy raids, but I have never heard anything like this. The A/A barrage was very loud and all the bombs seemed to be within hearing distance. We could hear first the planes, then the guns, bombs falling and then exploding... This went on for what seemed a very long time, with one or two bombs coming especially near. Then there was one explosion far

greater than any of the others. The house shook and seemed to move forward, the doors opened and the remaining windows fell out. Lying on the floor I confidently expected the house to fall in on us - but nothing came, in spite of crashes which we found later were made by wardrobes and so on falling down on the floor. I got up and saw that it was light, with a yellow glare. From the dining room door I could see a spout of flame come from one of the gasholders and a house in the terrace immediately behind us burning fiercely... We had to turn the light off in the refuge because the doors were gone and sit in the dark. The little girl from next door was very brave, but I had to get whisky for the others and lime juice. I was worried lest sparks from the burning house at the back might blow into the open dining room; but the Auxiliary Fire Service were working on it, for we saw the reflected glow on the dining room wall fade and die out in about ten minutes. The gasholder soon stopped burning.. The neighbours from the other side looked in to see if we were safe and then went to shelter at Milehouse - but I thought it was much better to stay put.

Towards the end of the raid they began to drop landmines. We knew this because there was no whistling, but a flash, followed by a heavy explosion...

We found the house was standing, but badly damaged... The floors were sound and it was possible to get about. Water and electricity remained, so we made tea for our party and the other neighbours, and I took the surplus to the firemen who were finishing off the burning house. We cleared up a bit and then lay down to rest in the refuge. None of us slept, and about 5.30 I got up and dressed. We had breakfast and then I walked to the Royal Marine Barracks to tell my father we were still alive... we were able to get a lorry in the afternoon, and friends offered to put us up for a day or two in their flat in Plympton. In the afternoon the service lorry took us and a lot of our more portable belongings out there'.

In the following week Audrey noted,

'Thousands of people have transferred themselves to Plympton, travelling to and fro by bus, car, lorry, cattle truck or anything on wheels, and some walking. It was pathetic to see them struggling out in the evening. Some slept in door-to-door containers'.

On 5 May the family moved to a house in Mannamead, and later to a permanent home in Compton Park Villas. meantime the damage to their old home at Milehouse was assessed at £380 at 1938 prices under the War Damage Scheme and was well repaired by the Corporation. The worst raids were now over, but on 11 August 1943 a mainly incendiary-bomb night attack took place,

'I put out three - two with sand, one with a dustbin lid. There were dozens in the road and gardens, and the houses each side of us had one through their roofs'.

Audrey's war-time service in Plymouth ended after the tragic death of her husband in June 1944. In April 1943 she had married a childhood friend, Terry Deacon, from a nearby Plymouth family. He was commissioned into the 2nd Oxfordshire and

Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, part of the 6th Airborne Division. He was wounded by a shell-splinter during training and, appearing to be recovering, came down to Plymouth where he suffered a relapse and died. She then took a posting to Liverpool.

Footnote

After leaving the WRNS, Audrey Deacon made a career in voluntary organisations linked with the National Council of Social Service (now the National Council of Voluntary Organisations) in Plymouth, the South-West region and the Eastern region. She was General Secretary of the Hertfordshire Council of Social Service (now Hertfordshire Community Development Agency) when she retired in 1980. She was appointed MBE in 1978.

The co-operation of Mrs Audrey Deacon MBE for agreeing to the publication of these extracts from her Diary, and of the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum for allowing access to her papers are gratefully acknowledged.

FROM FOLKLORE TO HISTORY: SOME NOTES ON THE EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE DOONES.

S. Bhanji

Civilisation is not to everyone's taste. Many choose to eschew it by seeking isolation, rejecting social convention, or both. Hermits and religious communities usually maintain peaceful intercourse with the more worldly, but in others the relationship may be parasitic rather than symbiotic.

The Exmoor family of outlaws, the Doones, are widely familiar through Blackmore's novel, *Lorna Doone*. This appeared in 1869; but did not become popular until 1871, when Princess Louise married the Marquis of Lorne. Overwhelmed by romanticism and the similarity in names, the public made the book a best-seller.[1] Since then many have accepted it as an historical fact that renegades known as the Doones operated from Badgeworthy during the seventeenth century.[2]

Blackmore made no attempt at an accurate depiction of Exmoor,[3] and many present place-names were applied in response to *Lorna Doone*. The prime example, Doone Valley, was so-named by J. F. Chanter and his cousins, the nieces of Charles Kingsley.[4] On the other hand, Ward stated that the ruins at Badgeworthy were known already as 'Doone House', and described meeting old men who in their younger days had dug there for 'Doone treasure'.[5] In contrast to his loose description of their setting, Blackmore claimed that some incidents in his novel actually took place.[6] A reviewer of 1869 had little doubt as to the Doones being historical personages, but this did not prevent at least one plea for assistance in disentangling fact from fiction.[7] This matter was not fully addressed until some thirty years later, when Rawle, Healey and Bradley each concluded that no-one living on Exmoor heard of the Doones until Blackmore wrote of them.[8] Nevertheless, Ward reported in 1905 that many Exmoor residents spoke of a band of despoilers who once lived in the Badgeworthy region. Some prompting was necessary, and it was not certain that they were called Doone.[9] By contrast, those whom Cox questioned at around the same time had little difficulty in so-naming the culprits.[10] Some of those interviewed may have succumbed to a tendency to please, and it appears that responses did differ according to the questioner. Another influence could have been an interest in encouraging tourism. Finally, Bradley doubted the reliability of the interviewees as many were elderly and some were women.[11]

It would be easy to disregard these retrospective investigations were it not for one fact - tales of the Doones were written down well before Lorna Doone was published. J. F. Chanter's father owned a book containing three Exmoor legends told by one Ursula Johnson (1738-1826). The work was compiled by Matthew Mundy, Perpetual Curate of Lynton, who first heard them in 1833. He and two friends supplemented Johnson's stories with information obtained from two other elderly Exmoor ladies, Ursula Fry (d. 1856 aged 90) and Aggie Norman (d. 1860 aged 83). Their notes were edited by Mundy to form the basis of a manuscript book prepared by girls of the National School. As well as his father's copy, Chanter knew of one dated 1842 and believed others existed. The first legend concerned the Doones, the second the de Wichehalse family and the third a highwayman, Tom Faggus.[12] All were woven into *Lorna Doone*, and it was suggested that Blackmore was familiar with Mundy's work.[13] However, there were other sources of inspiration.

According to Chanter, stories of the Doones were rife at his boarding school during the eighteen-sixties;[14] and Cox, who lived on Exmoor as a child, regaled his schoolmates

with Doone tales.[15] It is not unlikely that Blackmore was familiar with these: the most probable source being his grandfather, the rector of Oare.[16] In 1863, Cox's stories were published by an enterprising friend, Sweet-Escott, in the *Leisure Hour*.[17] Some years later, Blackmore acknowledged the influence of this work.[18] It was not, however, the earliest printed reference to the Doones. During the eighteen-fifties the tradition that Badgeworthy was the home of robbers, the Doones, at around the time of Charles I and the Commonwealth was mentioned in at least four Devon guidebooks. The first of these, Murray's *Handbook* of 1851, reported their existence as a matter of history and was soon quoted elsewhere.[19] As to the source of their information, there is no obvious alternative to the Johnson/Mundy legends. In particular, the precursors of the Victorian guidebooks made no mention of the Doones in their accounts of north Devon and Exmoor.[20]

The first of the Doone tales noted by Mundy described the murder of a house-holder at The Warren, and was probably the basis of Blackmore's account of a Doone being fatally wounded while ransacking a wealthy man's home near Minehead. In retribution, his fellows returned and left only a child alive. Although Blackmore stated that this took place, Ward met no-one who knew of his version before *Lorna Doone* was published. However, he did hear of an attack by unnamed robbers on a rich man's house near The Warren. The trail of blood left by a wounded raider enabled the culprits to be tracked down.[21] The wounding of a Doone featured also in the second of Mundy's tales. One night while they were attacking Yenworthy Farm, the Doones were fired at by an old woman wielding a duck-gun. The raiders retreated, leaving a trail of blood which could be followed for several miles towards Badgeworthy. Thornton first heard this legend in 1848 and was shown the gun. The Yenworthy gun, said to have been fired by Widow Fisher, has been photographed on a number of occasions and has been seen by the writer. The lock is missing, but the general appearance suggests the weapon dates from the eighteenth century.[22] The third legend concerned a murder at a farmhouse in Exford. All the occupants were out, apart from a young child and a maidservant. The latter hid in an oven and heard the Doones kill the child while they sang: 'If anyone asks who killed thee; Tell 'em 'twas the Doones of Badgeworthy.' The local population then rose against the Doones, who were taken, tried and executed. This tale was to appear in two Devon guide-books, in *Household Words* and in *Fraser's Magazine*. In the last two versions, the child was eaten. The writer for *Household Words*, James Payn, described the crime as committed by the Doones of Badgerley in around 1786 near Barnstaple. The maid remembering the rhyme led to their arrest and execution by hanging in chains.[23] The incident was mentioned also in the *Leisure Hour* but without the couplet and with the maid hiding in an outhouse.[24] The child-murder may have been the savage act which Murray stated encouraged the local peasantry to put an end to the Doones.[25] Ward could not find any older inhabitants of Exmoor familiar with this story, but many knew of another in which a child was killed. The fullest was obtained from a Mrs Tucker, who heard it first in or before 1857. While raiding a farm at Badgery the intruders stabbed at the bullocks to make them roar. The farm foreman, a farmworker, and then the farmer came out to investigate; and were all killed. Hearing people enter the house, the farmer's son hid in a chimney, and the wife in a cask of feathers. All that could be found was a baby. A woman suggested that they 'kill the calf, then the cow will moooe.' This advice was taken, and the mother showed herself. The next day a large dog appeared. It ran off after being wounded, and the blood trail was followed to the robbers' lair. Mrs. Tucker believed that there was snow about, which made the tracking easier; but was not told the name or fate of the murderers. In another version told to Ward, it was stated that the incident took place at Parsonage Farm,

Oare and that the child was killed slowly by repeated pricking. The mother never emerged, and the intruders left empty-handed.[26] A different rendering, reported by Cox, named the Doones as the culprits. On seeing them stab her daughter, the mother agreed to hand over the family valuables, but was then herself killed.[27]

Many of those questioned by Cox believed that the Doones reached Exmoor during the middle years of the seventeenth century. Mundy mentioned their settling in eleven ruined buildings at Badgeworthy, but a different tradition stated that they struggled through snow to reach a farmhouse. They then turned out the occupants, an elderly man and his maidservant, to perish.[28] This legend was not apparently reported until 1904: and may have been confused with one concerning the deaths of the last inhabitants of Badgeworthy, an old man and his granddaughter, in a December snowstorm of around 1800.[29] A popular view held that the original Doones were men of rank displaced from their homes by the Civil War. Thornton was of similar opinion, but with the modification that they were supporters of the Duke of Monmouth in hiding after the battle of Sedgemoor.[30] Other suggested that the original Doones came from further afield. According to Rawle, they represented vague and distorted folk-memories of marauding Danes hiding from King Alfred. It had its supporters, but this opinion was generally dismissed.[31] Another proposition receiving scant support was that the Doones were members of the Dwn clan from Carmarthenshire.[32] In view of the extensive commerce between South Wales and north Devon, not too much significance should be attached to the burial of 'The Welch Henry' in 1629 at Brendon, the parish in which Badgeworthy lies.[33] Finally, the suggestion was made, but apparently ignored, that the Doone legends derived from the doings of the Downe family who inhabited Exmoor in Plantagenet times.[34]

Some of Cox's informants held that the Doones were Scots.[35] In 1901, 'Audrie Doon' (Ida Marie Browne) claimed that while staying in the westcountry with her uncle she discovered heirlooms and family papers linking her Scottish ancestors, the Doons, with the Doones of Exmoor. Among them was a pistol inscribed *C. Doone, 1681* and *Porlok*. There was also a portrait said to be of Sir Ensor Doone in 1679. The documents included an annotated genealogy by Charles Doone of Braemuir dated 1804, Rupert Doone's journal of 1748 , and the family Bible. It was Browne's conclusion that the arrival of the Doones on Exmoor stemmed from enmity between James Stuart, first Earl of Moray, and his twin brother, Ensor, over the ownership of Doune Castle. After the earl's murder by the Earl of Huntly, probably instigated by Ensor Stuart, the feud intensified and was further heightened in 1618 when Ensor Stuart's son, Ensor James, assumed the name Doune. Ensor Doune, who was knighted during the journey of James I to London, and his wife were given the alternatives of exile or imprisonment in Doune Castle. They opted for the former, and after failing to plead their case before the king settled in Somerset. There, four sons and a number of grandchildren were raised. Browne acknowledged her ancestors' lawlessness, but according to her it was not this which caused them to leave Exmoor. In 1699, fifteen years after the death of Sir Ensor, the fourth Earl of Moray invited the family back to Scotland.[36]

Browne's documents were seen by Chanter who regarded them as of extreme interest. Some years later he heard from a one-time tutor to a Northumberland family who saw Rupert Doone's journal in 1882.[37] This, the family Bible, and a number of papers yet to be examined were destroyed by fire in December 1902. The surviving articles were photographed by Ward. He was prepared to accept them as genuine, but largely on the basis of not wishing to accuse Browne and her uncle of a particularly impudent fraud.[38] Thornycroft noted a discrepancy between Browne's relationship to Sir Ensor

Doone according to the family Bible and as deduced from Charles Doone's account, but was inclined to an open mind.[39] By contrast, Rawle dismissed Browne's account out of hand, drawing attention to the absence of archival evidence of Sir James Stuart having a twin and of an Ensor Doone being knighted by James I.[40] Later, Blakiston stated that the wording of Rupert Doone's journal was more appropriate to the nineteenth or twentieth centuries than to the eighteenth.[41] The reservations concerning Browne's documentary evidence have yet to be dismissed.[42] As regards the artefacts, Rawle doubted their authenticity and noted that others had appeared in connection with a stage-show.[43] The portrait of Sir Ensor Doone was reproduced by Ward and in *The King*, which published also a photograph of the pistol and considered it to be genuine.[44] To some, the gun and portrait provided irrefutable proof that the Doones were on Exmoor during the seventeenth century.[45] The gun, nevertheless, appears to the present writer to be an early nineteenth century box-lock percussion-fire pistol with the hammer crudely modified to hold a flint. A more recent addition to the Doone-related artefacts is a portrait of Lorna Doone, said to date from eighteen years before the appearance of the eponymous novel.[46] However, it is attributed to William Charles Wonter R.A., who was not born until 1857.[47]

In 1931 Eeles reported hearing of an alternative theory involving Scotland. In 1642 Adam Bellenden, a distinguished Scottish cleric who fell foul of his compatriots, became rector of St. Dubricius' Church, Porlock. Bellenden had connections with Dumblane, and could have brought a servant from the nearby village of Doune. After the death of his master in 1647, the man possibly wandered onto Exmoor to make his home in the ruins at Badgeworthy and live by theft.[48] Burton dismissed this proposal as 'wild', but nonetheless gave qualified support to the general view of the Doones originating in Scotland.[49]

The most telling obstacle to linking the various Doone legends to historical fact is the lack of convincing documentary corroboration. If the popular view of them is correct, the Doones were active when James Boevey was Warden of Exmoor (1653-1696). Boevey frequently engaged in litigation, and is unlikely to have tolerated an organised band of thieves without making some official protest. Rawle, Healey and MacDermott all failed to find any archival record of the Doones in their extensive researches into the history of Exmoor.[50] All that can be stated with any certainty is that it is probable that at some time a child was killed during the course of a house-breaking on Exmoor. The wounding of one of the culprits enabled his fellows to be captured. There remains considerable doubt as to where, when and by whom the outrage was committed.

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49. Burton, *op.cit.*, 1969.
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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)

James Green, Canal Builder and County Surveyor (1781-1849) by Brian George. Devon Books 1997. 189pp, illustrated. £12.95 from Halsgrove, Lower Moor Way, Tiverton, Devon. EX16 6SS. ISBN 0 86114 914 9.

The publication of this book represents a carefully edited and valuable record of over twenty years' work of one of Devon's least known civil engineers. His work deserves wider recognition and Brian George's new biography of James Green (1781-1849) is to be warmly welcomed. Green was born in Birmingham, the son of a civil engineer. He worked as assistant to that great engineer, John Rennie, from 1801 to 1807, and later became Devon's first County Bridge Surveyor, a position he held for thirty-three years, during which time he designed and built over a hundred bridges. He also designed and constructed canal systems for Bude, Torrington, the Grand Western Canal in Somerset, and constructed the extension to the Exeter Canal. He also undertook major roadbuilding projects in Devon which still remain part of the county's highway network.

Green's achievements were many and various; the book describes in detail other activities that he pursued in his roles as both a consultant and contractor encompassing such works as land reclamation, architecture, dock construction and maintenance requirements. All in all, he was the complete civil engineer.

The book contains over 180 pages of information and many black and white photographs, drawings and prints of engineering projects which were undertaken by Green in Devon, all painstakingly gathered together by the author who, himself, followed in the footsteps of Green. As a former Chief Bridge Engineer with Devon County Council, Brian George was responsible for the overall supervision of the design and construction of bridges in the county during his twenty-eight years with the authority. He is a member of the institution of Civil Engineers' Panel for Historic Engineering Works in Devon and Cornwall and is well qualified to comment on the achievements of James Green.

The book contains excellent appendices of bridge design and construction ascribed to Green with the year, span and location of work, together with his canal and dock works. There is a useful index of sites which helps the reader to locate pages of particular interest to them. The book, as a whole, is indispensable to those who wish to have a better knowledge of some engineering monuments in the county and is highly recommended as a thoroughly worthwhile read.

Neil Macaulay

Hawley's Fortalice. Dartmouth's First Castle by Terry Edwards. Dartmouth History Research Group Paper no.24. Illustrated. 32pp. Paperback. Available from Dartmouth Museum, The Butterwalk, TQ6 9PZ and Harbour Bookshop, 12 Fairfax Place, TQ6 9AE. £2.00 or by post from the Museum £2.75. ISBN 1 899011 14 5.

In 1374 the Crown instructed John Hawley and others of Dartmouth to examine and rectify the shortcomings in the defences of the town and port and to build the necessary

fortifications. In spite of periodic reminders no work seems to have been undertaken until 1388 when it was recorded that a fortalice was being constructed at the mouth of the Dart for the defence of town and shipping. Evidence suggests that this was probably completed by 1400. It is the aim of the author, the present English Heritage custodian of Dartmouth Castle, in co-operation with the Dartmouth History Research Group, to discover the extent of the original castle, much of which has either been built over or replaced by later development. Cartographic evidence is provided by the Great Plan of the South West of 1540, by a more detailed contemporary drawing and by sixteenth century plans. This has made possible the identification of certain parts of wall and tower as belonging to the older structure.

For part of the sixteenth century the Carew family had a manor house in the fortalice whose grounds were bounded on one side by the northern stretch of curtain wall, much of which, together with the remains of a tower, still exists. These are the major survivors of the original works. Minor ones include blocked arches, short lengths of parts of wall and traces of the original watergate. While it is clearly not possible to define accurately the plan of Hawley's works the reconstruction offered seems a likely one. Armed with it the visitor can follow the route suggested by the author and form his own conclusions. He can also speculate on where the guns and/or catapults were sited.

The author includes short notes on John Hawley, on the Carews who claimed that the castle was on their land, took it by force and kept it for two years and on St Petrock's Church. The plans are clear and the photographs good. It is a fruitful example of co-operation with an official body which other local history groups might find well worth copying.

Adrian Reed

Mines of Cornwall and Devon. An Historic Photographic Record by Peter Stanier. Twelveheads Press. 108pp, illustrated £15.00. ISBN 0 906294 40 0.

This book is based on a series of excellent photographs taken by three members of the Geological Survey between 1903 and 1907 and by a fourth in 1945. The dates are significant. The earlier photos show an industry beginning to climb out of the depression of the 1890s while the latest record one on the threshold of technological change. Tin is the predominant mineral throughout the period with wolfram often found with it. Two types of iron ore, magnetite and micaceous haematite were also mined commercially as were barytes and ball clay.

After a short historical introduction the author describes the techniques employed in underground and open-cast mining, stream working, tin ore dressing and the effect on the Cornish landscape of the concentration of mines in comparatively small areas. Understandably, the mining industry in Devon was far less significant at this time than that in Cornwall. Tin extraction had long since ceased and the county's richest mine, Devon Great Consols, with its copper and arsenic, had closed only a couple of years before the earliest photograph.

The principal Devon mining area was the Teign Valley. The chapter devoted to it records a variety of undertakings. At Bridford barytes was mined from 1875 to 1958, at first mostly by open-cast workings and then from progressively deeper shafts. Nearby at Great Rock micaceous haematite was extracted by adits and shafts until closure in 1969. There are particularly good photographs of both these undertakings. But the major and lasting worked deposits are the ball clays of the Bovey Basin. Useful diagrams explain the changes in extractive techniques in the present century. Outside the Teign Valley the only other Devon mine recorded is at Hemerdon Ball to the NE of Plymouth. This was opened in 1917 to produce wolfram, but low post war prices forced its closure. Reopened in 1940 it again had a short life. A final attempt to revive it by extensive opencast mining got planning permission in 1985 but falling prices led to the abandonment of the project.

The photographs are well reproduced and, as would be expected, well chosen. The diagrams and maps are helpful accessories to the author's clear explanations. It is not his fault that Devon plays so small a part in the book. In fact I suspect that few of its inhabitants, outside the Teign Valley, knew that anything except china clay was being extracted. As a child I watched with awe the ascending and descending cages of a Cornish tin mine but no one ever thought of going to look at the pit head at Bridford. This book is an excellent substitute for such a missed experience!

Adrian Reed

A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Devon, by Mike Bone and Peter Stanier. Association for Industrial Archaeology, 1998. Illustrated. 56 pp. £4.95 in local bookshops, or £5.40 incl. p & p from Roger Ford, Barn Cottage, Bridge Street, Bridgnorth, Shropshire. WV15 6AF. ISBN 0 9528930 10.

Publication of this booklet coincided with the week-long annual conference of the Association for Industrial Archaeology, which in 1998 was held in Devon. It is a successor to the guides compiled by Walter Minchinton: *Industrial Archaeology in Devon* (1968, revised 1970, 1973 and 1976), and *Devon's Industrial Past* (1986).

In this new issue there is an historical introduction and then the contents, instead of being grouped under the various types of industry, are listed as a gazetteer in ten areas, corresponding to those of the District, Borough and City authorities of the county. A symbol given with each site entry indicates the case of viewing, such as if open, or not, to the public. Well over 70 photographs are included in the text, all of which, although often quite small, are clear and distinct. There are also numerous maps, and an index of entries under categories of industry.

With the large number and wide range of industrial sites existing in a county such as Devon, a work of this limited length, in order to be as comprehensive as possible, has also to observe needs for brevity. However, a convenient list of suggestions for further reading is provided.

Catching the eye are a few small errors which could be corrected in the event of a further print run, such as place-names given as Stonecombe for Stonycombe and South Zeals for South Zeal. The Merrivale tinners' mill noted was not solely for blowing and smelting but apparently also had stamps for crushing the ore. And concerning the Grand Western Canal, the length from the basin at Tiverton to Lowdwells is 11 miles (not 7¾), and the canal's aqueduct was relined with sprayed concrete (not butyl rubber), in 1992 and 1993. (It was on a stretch farther along the route that leaks in the canal's bed were combated by butyl lining, in 1973, and by a more durable membrane in 1990).

Generally, however, the well written booklet is suitably informative and pleasant to read. It should be of useful interest to Devon residents as well as to visitors with a taste for industrial archaeology, and is attractively produced.

Helen Harris

South West Family Histories by Stuart A. Raymond. FFHS (Publications) Ltd, 2-4 Killer Street, Ramsbottom, Bury, Lancs BL0 9HZ. 128 pp. Paperback. £7.50 + p&p 60p. ISBN 1 86006 073 0

This is an alphabetical listing of some 1600 families in the six south-western counties about whom histories and pedigrees have been published. It draws together, with some additions, material previously included in the booklets for separate counties in the author's *British Genealogical Bibliographies* series. Collections of pedigrees and biographies are deliberately excluded, so the existence of Vivian's *Visitations of the County of Devonshire*, for instance, with its scores of lengthy ancient pedigrees is not mentioned, and detailed information gathered by biographers about their subjects' forbears is unrecorded. The criteria for inclusion, on the other hand, are not stated and remain unclear. Many of the references are to substantial volumes or to carefully researched articles, but many more are to what turn out to be genealogical trivia, such as half-page notes of the baptismal and burial dates of the children of an eighteenth century Plymouth ropemaker and his wife, of the inscriptions on two memorials to Devon men in a Midlands cathedral, and of seventeen names written in a family bible saved from a rubbish heap by a dustman. It would probably be a disappointment to find no more than this after managing to track the references down. Nor would that necessarily be easy, since their whereabouts are not specified. Readers with local knowledge can doubtless find their way unaided to collections of the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* and *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, but even they, let alone others less well informed, would surely benefit from an indication of at least one westcountry library holding all or some of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* or a book produced by the Methodist Publishing House in Singapore in 1918. *South West Family Histories* would be very much more useful than it already is, if the introduction were considerably extended to give such information about availability, to describe the nature and years of publication of the now defunct or still current journals that are cited, and to make clear which issues have been scrutinised and which remain to be searched. The greatest need is for explicit working definitions of 'family history' and 'pedigree' that sift out items naming fewer than ten members of the family concerned or covering as few as three generations.

Ian Stoyle

Topsham Houses, Warehouses and Trades 1700s and earlier by Ann Musson, published by F.A. Musson, 1998. Paperback, iv + 20 pp. £4.50. ISBN 0 9534218 0 5

When the reviewer moved to Topsham some twenty years ago, he was told, not unkindly, that it was 'the Chelsea of the Southwest'. In fact, Topsham is far more complex than even the more pretentious London suburbs. The over-riding impression of the new arrival was that he was in a town which did not know what to do with itself. Having lost its autonomy, should it settle for being one of the more attractive middle-class Exeter suburbs? Should it concentrate on catering for the more discriminating tourist or yachtsman? Should it accommodate the upcountry widow's wish for warmish winters in a region where she had spent a happy summer fortnight? Should it rest content with being a community looking after its own? The list could go on. Whatever the outcome, Dr Musson provides a record and a warning of what may be lost in the process.

Whether this is due to indiscriminate granny-flat conversions, mass starter home building or something else, time will tell.

The book consists in the main of a series of colour photographs showing a variety of internal and external architectural and decorative features. Their captions are concise, and where not offering full explanation are sufficient to sharpen curiosity. Those encouraged to look further will find the provided town plan invaluable. Some may wonder at the inclusion of what at first sight seem no more than tatty brick walls or dirty old beams. To do so is to miss a vital point - as with people, it is the seemingly little things that are the most instructive and make a place memorable.

Considering the high quality of the illustrations, this book is reasonably priced and deserves a readership beyond the confines of its subject. It reminds us that there is more to popular local history publishing than providing compilations of quaint postcards, and that conserving our heritage involves more than carping about satellite aerials and doors painted in the wrong colour. Dr Musson's work should be emulated elsewhere.

S. Bhanji

Churston Story, 1088-1998 by Jean H Tregaskis. [The author, Singleton, 21 Manor Road, Galmpton, Brixham TQ5 0PB]. 2nd ed. 1998. 56p. illus. £3.00+50p postage. [No ISBN]

It is always a pleasure to review a work by a Society member and perhaps even more so when the book involved is clearly 'a labour of love' by its author. When the original was already owned, it was easy to see why a second edition was needed - a further ten years has been added to the village's (but mainly to the church's) history; previously the title read 1088-1988. A new cover has been printed and it now includes a coloured photograph of the window given by its most famous recent worshipper, Mrs Mallowan (better known to us as Dame Agatha Christie, who was a resident in the parish for many years).

The church has a long history. The list of vicars (added in this edition) starts in the thirteenth century when it was 'Brixham with Churston' and continues to include the present incumbent. Perhaps more important are the links between the village and the Yarde, now Yarde-Buller, family (a genealogical table of these families, including the Fownes and Lotterells, has also been added). The church had been without a burial ground for centuries. Bodies were taken to Brixham for burial over the centuries: after some controversy and delay a plot of land adjacent to the church was consecrated early in 1998. The story of its creation is told here for the first time.

John Pike

Caring for Cockington, the conservation & environment guide, prepared by the Cockington Management Board. [Country Park Office c/o Torbay Council, Civic Offices, Torquay] 32p illus. 1998. £2.50. [No ISBN]

This booklet tells briefly the story of Cockington over the past 200 years, its buildings (including the famous Drum Inn designed by Sir Edwin Luytens) and the attempts being made by all those in the village (including the Prudential which owns part of it and the Council which bought over 130 acres in the 1930s) to conserve it for the future.

The conservation criteria are of particular interest and anyone involved in similar projects would find the list helpful.

John Pike

Devon's Century of Change by Helen Harris, Peninsula Press, 1998, 144p. illus. £6.99 ISBN 0 872640 47 8

When starting to research the history of the borough of Torquay over the last hundred years, it became only too clear that most of the events over almost three-quarters of it could be remembered from 'being there'. This is of course equally true of Helen Harris's work which, although the canvas is wider, tells of landmarks and events which can be recalled from one's own memory. Going through its ten chapters, which cover all aspects of daily life, therefore make it fascinating reading.

It is somewhat unexpected to read (in chapter 1) a detailed account of the development of the internal combustion engine and to be reminded that in 1922 an Austin 7 cost £165. This is just one of the many instances described as to how great inflation has been since 1900. Another example of price inflation is the rise in the cost of sending a letter. The 'threeha'penny' letter (one and a half old pence) charge was unchanged for nearly 20 years.

The comprehensiveness of the coverage can be gauged from the inclusion of a section on 'aviation'. It all started with the Wright Brothers says Mrs Harris. There was however a little known event in Devon a decade earlier; a Swiss named Liwentaal working in Dartmouth 'got off the ground' in nearby Dittisham.

All the landmarks in the development of children's education are documented. After the Balfour Act of 1902, schools were recommended to ensure that 'infants (up to the age of seven) [would be] expected to count to 100, and to achieve certain standards in addition and subtraction, multiplication and division, to say the alphabet, have read the prescribed reader and to transcribe simple words'. A century later, much is still to be done.

The last chapter concerns the 'People of Devon themselves'; it ends: 'Devon still has its glorious and varied countryside of hills and valleys...and architectural heritage. Moreover, qualities of concern and friendliness that are known to have existed in the people of Devon's early-century generations are still to be found in its descendants. Long may they flourish and prevail'. A fitting conclusion to what is a comprehensive and very readable supplement to W. G. Hoskins' memorable work. The thirty-odd illustrations provide an adequate but unexceptional accompaniment to an outstanding text. It deserves to become a standard textbook in school libraries and should be on every bookshelf at home as a 'home reference' on the county. There is also a good index. For less than seven pounds it is exceptional value.

John Pike

Guide to Orders & Certificates &c in Parish Archives, Vol I by Mike Brown. 36pp A5. £2.50, obtainable p & p free from Dartmoor Press, PO Box 132, Plymouth PL4 7YL

Texts of numerous documents related to the laws on settlement and removal are transcribed in this booklet, with purposes explained and relevant Acts outlined. In this case archives of Ugborough parish - one particularly rich in a wide range of documents - are

taken as examples, but the same exercise could be applied elsewhere. Earliest of the archives quoted are churchwardens' accounts dating from 1662, while the majority relate to the eighteenth century and later. The result of painstaking attention, the work will be of useful interest to researchers in family and local histories.

Helen Harris

TOPSHAM MUSEUM

Topsham Museum is staging an exhibition for the 1999 season entitled 'Artists in Topsham', which will include a changing section for living artists both professional and amateur representing a wide range of styles and techniques.

The museum is contained in a William and Mary house, with contemporary furnishings. The building's sail loft is devoted to the history of Topsham, with information also on the wildlife of the Exe estuary. Memorabilia includes a collection related to the actress Vivien Leigh. There is also a small shop.

Group visits are particularly welcome and catered for, at special rates. (Cream teas can be arranged). The Museum is open from the Saturday of the Easter weekend until the end of October: 2-5 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, while group visits may also be arranged at other times. Standard admission charge is £1.50, concessions are available, and children free.

Further details from: Mary Lambert, Topsham Museum, 25 The Strand, Topsham EX3 0AX. Tel: 01392 873244.

Histories for the Millennium

This project to produce parish histories is led by the Open University and you may already have received details. Our member Simon Timms is hoping that a network of people can be set up in Devon which could be approached for advice by local history groups who are planning to write millennium histories. Devon Books already has about 25 parishes who are interested in such an undertaking and no doubt more will declare an interest as the millennium approaches. There were no volunteers for the post of coordinator at the annual meeting of the Devon History Society on 7 November, but I am prepared to maintain a list of contacts to whom groups could be directed. While I am prepared to give the occasional talk on the resources of the Westcountry Studies Library in Exeter, I cannot undertake to travel around to give guidance to groups so, please, can any volunteers who are prepared to give advice send me the following details:

- Name, address, phone, fax, e-mail (where available)
- Areas of specific expertise (historical period, sources used etc)
- Geographical area they are prepared to tackle (it would help if a wide area of the county could be specified rather than one or two specific communities)
- Type of help they are prepared to offer (e.g. talks, distribution of research aids, workshops, telephone advice).

You can obtain a copy of the Open University's leaflet from OSFACH (MMleaflets), Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA or you find further information on their website at http//sovsi.open.ac.uk/SocSci/osfach/intro.html.

Ian Maxted
County Local Studies Librarian

Letter to the Editor

It was good to read, in the October edition, the detailed study of General Simcoe's work in Saint Domingue. It may of interest to know that the General, while waiting to take up his new position as Commander-in-Chief, India, actually set sail with Earl St. Vincent for Lisbon in 1806 on HMS Illustrious. However, the ship was ordered home again by the Admiral when Simcoe fell ill; the ship and its quarters had all been newly painted and the toxic smell affected the General, who was then brought as a very sick man to Exeter via Torbay

Richard Broad
Dunkeswell

Minutes of the 28th Annual General Meeting held in the Queen's Building, University of Exeter, 7 November 1998.

Present: the President, Dr Harold Fox, in the Chair; 52 members of the Society (names listed in attendance register).

The President paid tribute to the late Mr Edwin Haydon OBE, the Society's Hon. Treasurer, and the meeting stood in his memory.

1. Apologies: Mr & Mrs A. Gore, Dr A. Grant, Dr T & Mrs E. Greeves.

2. Minutes of the 27th AGM 1997, printed in *DH* 56, were approved and signed. There were no matters arising.

3. Hon. Secretary's report: 47 Members attended the Spring meeting, held jointly with the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society at Coldharbour Working Wool Mill, with a talk by Dr Flower-Smith on "The Walronds of Bradfield". Publications of the Uffculme Archive Group and Local History Group were on display. The Summer meeting at Totnes was hosted by Totnes Museum Society; those attending were appreciative of Mr Bob Mann's expert guiding and Mrs Kristin Saunder's hospitality. 105 individual members and 17 societies had so far taken up the offer of a free copy of the booklet *In pursuit of Devon's history*. Royalties up to May 1998 amounted to £594 and a further £113 had come in since. More publicity would be sought to increase commercial sales. As well as contributing to the cost of printing the handbook, the Society had made a £50 grant to a series of local history workshops at the Devon & Exeter Institution and pledged £500 a year for five years to the Victoria County History of Devon, if plans for its revival with Heritage Lottery money were successful. [The President confirmed that a preliminary decision was expected in February 1999] The number of societies affiliating to the Society stood at 34. Mr Draisey, the County Archivist, had kindly agreed not to raise the £275 annual fee paid by the Society, allowing attested members of affiliated societies to use the DRO without charge. The Society had joined the Friends of Devon's Archives as a group member. Our Vice-President, Mr John Pike, had written to the Minister for Culture, Media & Sport to protest at the scant regard paid to archives in the Department's recently issued 'Comprehensive spending review'. In relation to Devon County's plans for the Millennium, the Council of the Society had been asked by Mr Simon Timms to identify those members prepared to offer advice to local groups embarking on new local history projects. A Volunteer would be needed to act as contact person and a general invitation would be included in *The Devon Historian*.
Mr Tony Collings was thanked for his help in minute-taking and for the improved look of the current programme. Mr John Stirling was thanked for help with packing and mailing.
The Hon. Secretary gave notice that she did not wish to continue in office after October 1999 and asked for volunteers to come forward.

4. Hon. Membership Secretary's report. Numbers for categories of current membership: Individual 259, Family 32, Life 12, Honorary 3, Corporate 29, Affiliated 34.

5. Hon. Treasurer's report. The statement of accounts with explanatory notes, prepared by Mr Haydon was formally accepted and Mr A.W. Gore, the Independent examiner, was reappointed for the coming year.

6. Hon. Editor's report. Mrs Harris reported that issues 56 and 57 of *The Devon Historian* had been published in April and October and thanked both the contributors and those who helped in other ways. Mrs Harris spoke of the fascination of perusing previous issues, spanning 28 years, and suggested that this could lead to ideas for related studies or updating in the light of new knowledge. The deadline for issue no.58 being 30 November, Mrs Harris expressed the hope that further reviews and short pieces would materialise.

7. Nomination of future President. It was stated that Dr W.B. Stephens had been nominated by Council to succeed Dr Fox for the years 1999/2001. He had replied that he was honoured to accept.

8. Election of Officers: The existing Officers being prepared to stand again, their re-election was proposed by Mr A. Sayers and seconded by Mr J. Dilley.
Dr S. Bhanji had agreed to succeed Mr Haydon as Hon. Treasurer and was declared elected.
Election of Council:
The three Council members retiring under the three-year rule, (Mr R. Bass, Mr K. Stoneman and Mr S. Timms), had intimated that they did not wish to seek re-election. Dr Alison Grant, a founder member, also wished to stand down. In their places were nominated:
Mr Brian Clist, proposed by Mr Adrian Reed, seconded by Mr Robin Stanes
Mr James Coulter, proposed by Dr Todd Gray, seconded by Mrs Sheila Stirling
Mr John Leach, proposed by Mr Robin Stanes, seconded by Mr Tony Collings
All three were duly elected. No further nominations were received.
Professors Joyce Youings and Ivan Roots were again co-opted.

9. Future programme: 1999. Spring meeting on 6 March in Lympstone by kind invitation of the Lympstone Society. Summer meeting in Dartmouth on 17 July. Barnstaple was suggested as a possibility for 2000 and a joint meeting with the newly-formed Dartmoor Society for 2001.

9. Under Any Other Business members of the Devon Gardens Trust were thanked for their co-operation in the programme for the day's joint meeting. The President drew members' attention to the Devon Book of the Year Award, on which they were invited to vote.