The Devon Historian

October 2000

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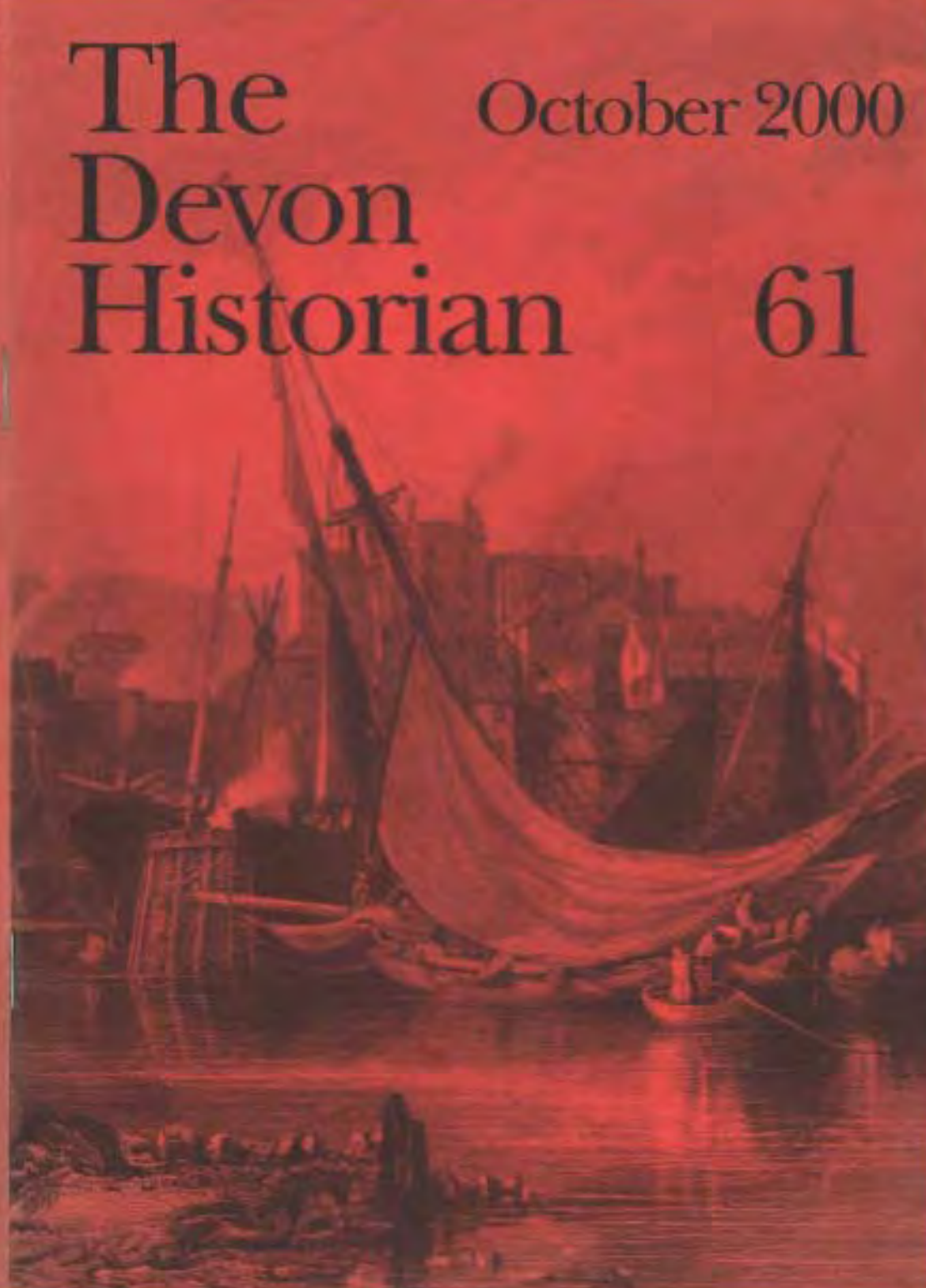

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Current and back issues of *The Devon Historian* (except for numbers 7, 11 and 16) can be obtained from the Hon Secretary, Mr David Thomas, 112 Topsham Road, Exeter, EX2 4RW. All issues are priced at £3 post free to members. Also available post free are: *Index to The Devon Historian* (for issues 1-15, 16-30, and 31-45), and *Devon Bibliography* 1980 (i.e. No 22 of *DH*, which was entirely devoted to our first *Bibliography*), 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984, all at £1 each. Bibliographies for subsequent years are available from Devon Library Services.

The Vice-Chairman, Mr John Pike, 82 Hawkins Avenue, Chelston, Torquay TQ22 6EF, would be glad to acquire copies of out of stock numbers of the DH.

NOTE FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Articles are welcomed by the Hon. Editor to be considered for publication in *The Devon Historian*. Generally the length should not exceed 2,000 - 2,500 words (plus notes and possible illustrations), although much shorter pieces of suitable substance may also be acceptable, as are items of information concerning museums, local societies and particular projects being undertaken.

To assist the work of the Editor and the printers please ensure that contributions are clearly typewritten, on one side of the paper only, with **double spacing** and adequate margins, and also, as far as possible, that the journal's style is followed on such matters as the restrained use of capital letters, initial single rather than double inverted commas, the writing of the date thus e.g.: 30 September 2000, etc.

WIN A BOOK TOKEN

The Council of the Society invites every member and his or her family to submit a design for a logo to be incorporated in the Society's letterhead. The letterhead is normally enclosed in a header six inches (150mm) wide and one inch (25mm) deep and includes the words: 'THE DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY' and below, 'Registered charity number 262485'. The size of the logo is not necessarily restricted to these dimensions but should not compete in scale. Ideally use should be made of symbolism so that the logo is suggestive of Devon's history.

Designs should be submitted on an A4 sheet and, if larger than the intended final size, must be capable of being reduced without loss of definition to fit near the Society's title. The entries should be sent with the entrant's name, address and telephone number on a sheet separate from the entry to D L B Thomas, Honorary Secretary, Devon History Society, 112 Topsham Road, Exeter EX2 4RW so as to arrive not later than 30 September 2000.

Entries will be displayed at the Annual General Meeting to be held on 28 October 2000 and members present will have an opportunity to cast a vote for their favourite design.

The entrant gaining the maximum number of votes will be presented with a book token.

'AN AWFUL PLACE FOR CHILDREN'?: CHILD LABOUR IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY DEVON, CORNWALL, SOMERSET AND DORSET[1]

W.B. Stephens

Giving evidence to the Children's Employment Commission of the 1860s, David Hounsell, a foreman rope-maker, admitted that the lot of children in his trade made Bridport 'an awful place for children'.[2] How extensive was child labour in the Westcountry and to what extent might it be considered awful?

The compilers of the 1851 Census of Education estimated that of children aged 3-14 in England and Wales only 16 per cent of boys and 9 of girls were in employment, and that the vast majority of these were over 11 or 12; even by 13 over half the boys and nearly three-quarters of the girls in the country were not employed.[3] These figures should not, however, be allowed to give the impression that child labour was by then hardly a problem. First, since better-off parents were universally schooling their children the 'employed' census category must embrace higher proportions of working-class children than of all children. Secondly, national figures disguise local variations: Table 1, showing figures for older child workers in four Westcountry counties, together with those for Bedfordshire (the county with the highest proportion), Middlesex (that with the lowest) and the factory counties of Lancashire and the West Riding, illustrates this at county level. Cornwall had nearly as high a proportion of boy workers aged 10-14 as the West Riding and a higher proportion than Lancashire, and the proportion of such boys in Dorset was not much lower.

Table 1: PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN EMPLOYED, 1851

	AGES 5 to 9			AGES 10 to 14		
	Boys	Girls	All	Boys	Girls	All
Devon	0.9	1.1	1.0	36.0	19.5	27.9
Cornwall	2.6	0.5	1.6	46.7	16.3	31.7
Dorset	3.3	1.3	2.3	42.5	16.0	29.5
Somerset	2.2	1.4	1.8	36.4	20.5	28.5
England & Wales	2.0	1.4	1.7	36.6	19.9	28.3
Bedfordshire	11.9	21.4	16.6	49.6	50.6	50.1
Lancashire	2.8	1.6	2.2	43.7	33.7	38.7
Middlesex*	0.3	0.1	0.2	18.0	7.6	13.0
Yorkshire WR	5.1	3.7	4.4	51.6	35.9	43.8

Source: Population census, 1851. * extra metropolitan

Westcountry children were found in many jobs. But the occupations claiming the largest proportions were, for boys, farm work and (in Cornwall) mining, and for girls indoor farm work and domestic service together with (in Cornwall) mine work and

(in Devon, Dorset and Somerset) cottage and factory industry.[4] Again, however, county totals conflate internal variations and in districts where mining and factory, cottage and workshop industry and small family farms were concentrated, proportions of child workers were considerably higher than county percentages.

Thirdly, children returned as 'employed' in the census did not include all children who worked.[5] Comparisons of totals of school attenders (aged 5-14) in the 1851 population census (that is according to parents) with numbers (below and above 14) returned by schools in the education census of that year (Table 2) suggest that some parents wrongly reported as 'scholars' children who did not meet the census criteria (aged 5-14; 'daily attending school'). Even assuming that the actual number of regular school pupils was half way between those on school rolls and those present on census day, parents in the four western counties probably exaggerated the numbers of regular school pupils by over 40,000 (in Devon by at least 17,000). Such children probably included some who attended only Sunday school and worked the rest of the week, and some who went to so-called glove and lace schools (common in east and north Devon, parts of Somerset and around Yeovil and devoted to craft training) who were in fact child workers.[6] School pupil figures were probably also inflated by the inclusion of many who attended very irregularly over the year or for very short periods in a week - some of whom worked for their parents or others for days, weeks or months at a time. Then there were children who did attend school daily but might work outside school hours: some Somerset schoolgirls in the 1860s, for instance, made gloves at home for four hours each evening.

Table 2: PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN AT SCHOOL, 1851

	Population census Children up to 14		**Education census Children up to and above 14**			
			On the books		On census day	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Devon	39	38	35	30	30	25
Cornwall	34	35	30	27	25	23
Dorset	37	39	39	37	33	31
Somerset	36	36	35	32	29	26

Source: Population census, 1851; Education census, 1851.

As well as recording numbers of children at work and at school the 1851 Census totals those 'at home'. Even for the older Westcountry children (10-14), proportions of these were substantial (Table 3) - roughly one-quarter of boys were 'at home' and for girls, around double those returned as employed, while in Cornwall and Dorset more girls were 'at home' than at school. It is likely that these included some who worked full-time at home in cottage industries and on family farms. But some contemporaries (including the Dean and the Mayor of Exeter in 1869) complained of hordes of school-age idlers roaming the streets.[7] Most, if not all, such children were certainly not in regular employment - but whether all of them were perpetually idle or appeared in the census as 'at home' is difficult to say. It is probable, however, that some, perhaps many, of the 'at home' children did not spend all day idling. Historians using diverse evidence over the country have revealed that many children commonly experienced a period of

socialization between school and full-time paid work. At some age between 8 and 11 there was a shift from regular or irregular school attendance into a half-way house in which they progressed gradually from unpaid casual work based on the home to paid work outside it - or for many girls into full-time housework until marriage. Girls might care for younger siblings, releasing mothers for work; boys might help craftsmen or farmers at busy times or accompany fathers to work, learning job skills and earning a few coppers as they moved gradually into full employment. By 13 or 14 probably few 'at home' children - especially boys - had never undertaken any paid work.[8]

Table 3: PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN AGED 10-14 AT SCHOOL, EMPLOYED AND AT HOME, 1851

	BOYS			**GIRLS**		
	Scholars	Employed	At home	Scholars	Employed	At home
Devon	41	36	23	46	19	35
Cornwall	30	47	23	41	16	43
Dorset	36	42	22	36	16	48
Somerset	38	36	27	43	20	37

Source: Population census, 1851.

All in all it seems certain that the census underestimated the number of children who worked and overestimated the numbers at school and idle at home. And, though for many of the children noted in the last paragraph as undertaking intermittent and casual work life cannot have been awful, for some others conditions were less enviable. Government investigations from the 1830s through the 1860s, pinpoint the districts and trades in which child labour was concentrated and provide data on its nature and on working conditions, treatment and health.[9] Not all child occupations can be covered here, but some of the more important ones are considered.

Before an Act of 1842 prohibited underground work for females and boys under 10, some very young boys (though no girls) worked underground in the Devon and Cornish copper and tin mines and in Somerset coals mines, usually for the same hours as men, at tasks some of which were very arduous. Before and after the Act many boy and girl surface workers from 7 upwards toiled for 9 to 10 hours daily often in the open at wet and dirty jobs some of which were very fatiguing. However, though conditions were bad, especially in Somerset, and mine children were said to lose their full vigour quickly, wages were considerably higher than in other jobs so that child workers tended to be well fed and clothed and generally satisfied with their lot.[10]

Westcountry woollen, silk, glove and lace factories all employed children and though the youngest were banned from woollen factories from 1833 the others remained unregulated for decades after that. Children accounted for a high proportion of Somerset silk mill workers and the Devon and Somerset lace factories employed many children from an early age. The Children's Employment Commissioners considered Westcountry factory children's hours of work excessive and pay often paltry with tasks not heavy but tedious and with some parents (though not most) complaining of exhausted offspring. Many mills (especially the smaller lace factories in Chard and Barnstaple) had frequent accidents and were dirty and unwholesome with ragged, unhealthy children, brutally treated. The glove factories around Yeovil continued to

engage young children into the 1860s in heavy unwholesome work for long hours, allegedly to the detriment of health.[11]

The picture is not, however, one of total misery. Some factories (including Heathcoat's in Tiverton and silk mills in Taunton and Wellington) were clean and airy with child workers kindly treated, well fed and healthy, generally satisfied with their lot and reportedly able to enjoy themselves on Sundays and after work. Young Yeovil glove factory workers were said to spend freely on dress and amusements. And while physical punishment was widespread in factories and mines (though not in the Cornish mines), employers and parents viewed chastisement with canes and leather straps for laziness, inattention and misbehaviour as normal (as indeed it was in contemporary schools and homes). Most boy and girl workers made light of such punishment, agreeing that it was usually deserved and preferable to loss of wages. The Commissioners, too, did not find this kind of correction overly harsh. On the other hand they condemned as 'unwarrantable ill treatment' the clouts on the head, kicking, punching and beating with pieces of wood and iron rods which they discovered were common in some mills in Devon, Dorset and Somerset and they remarked especially on the brutality found in lace mills in Chard and Barnstaple.[12]

The lot of child workers in Westcountry cottage and workshop industries varied but was probably by modern standards often worse than that of those in the best run factories. David Hounsell's evidence (cited above) regarding child labour in the rope, twine and sail industry centred on Bridport and Yeovil was confirmed by a local poor-law officer who described it as 'a kind of modern slavery'.[13] Children from 7 upwards worked for some 12 hours a day often in the open for little pay or just for their keep. They were stunted in growth, unhealthy and suffered badly from the cold.

Children (mainly girls) who worked as outworkers for the mills and in the unregulated cottage industries making pillow lace (concentrated in east Devon, west Dorset and parts of Somerset), gloves (Torrington, Bude, Yeovil, Chard, Langport, Wincanton) and buttons (Blandford, Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Bere Regis) did so from age 5 or younger often for exceptionally long hours for paltry financial reward. Sedentary work in unnatural positions and unwholesome stuffy rooms reportedly caused tuberculosis, twisted spines and general debility.[14] The youngest often attended so-called lace and button schools, where they were kept hard at work learning their craft, encouraged by what the Employment Commissioners euphemistically called 'gentle inflictions' of the cane and strap.[15] Nevertheless, there was no evidence of the brutality of the lace factories and children regarded the corporal punishment they received as light and deserved and seemed proud of their skills and contented with their work, preferring it to farm work or domestic service.

The work was, anyway, accepted as a necessity by wives and daughters in districts of poorly paid and insecure agricultural labour. The state of Westcountry farm labourers generally was exceedingly miserable with agricultural wages in Devon, Dorset and Somerset in the 1860s only three-quarters of the national average. In addition large parts of the rural Westcountry were dominated by small farms and smallholdings whose occupants lived hand-to-mouth existences.[16] Consequently farm work was the commonest single occupation for children aged 10-14 in the Westcountry - and one in which in some places younger children were also employed. Proportions of farm children and the ages at which they began work, however, varied geographically. There was greater demand for child labour in arable areas and areas of small farms and a greater supply where adult labourers were most poorly paid and full-time work seasonal.

Girls from 10 upwards were employed full-time in indoor farmwork and in the fields

at times of harvest but few worked regularly out of doors. As to boys, farmers at meetings of Chambers of Agriculture held in the late 1860s in Exeter, Kingsbridge, Newton Abbot and Plymouth said they did not need the labour of boys under 10 - and indeed it seems that by the 1840s comparatively few boys below 9 or 10 worked regularly on the land in most parts of Cornwall and Devon.[17] But in Dorset a high proportion of cheap boy labour was employed: 'boy labour has partly displaced that of men' it was reported in the 1860s. Boys worked full-time as young as 6 often with horses and at 7 or 8 were put to ploughing - sometimes for 14 hours a day for a fraction of men's wages. And the custom of hiring whole families - still practised in parts of Dorset in the 1860s - meant that wives and children of all ages were at the beck and call of the farmer.[18] Again in areas of the smallest farms - particularly family farms in north Devon, Cornwall, west Somerset and parts of Dorset which could not afford to hire labour - farmers' own children were frequently used from an early age. In market gardens in Cornwall and around Axminster and Yeovil children were extensively employed. At gardens at Gulval (near Penzance) children as young as 7 worked 12-hour days alongside adults in gangs. But though there was also some evidence of gangs in Somerset, the pernicious agricultural gang system found in East Anglia, so vicious in its use of children,[19] seems to have been generally absent from the Westcountry.

Then, in all rural districts, parents of large families were often forced by poverty to send their young children to work. Some in Devon, Dorset and Somerset (especially those whose families were on poor relief) were apprenticed to farmers at 9 or younger.[20] Their treatment varied greatly. Some were well looked after as members of the family, but some were certainly not. In the 1840s Bridport-born Charles Medway of Doddiscombsleigh, apprenticed at 7 or 8, reported that he was well clothed and fed, shared a bedroom with the farmer's sons, was taught his catechism and to read, taken to church and confirmed, was only chastised when he deserved it and lived 'much better than I might be at home'. At the other extreme farmer Edwin Troode of Exminster regularly horsewhipped his apprentices, had one boy put on a treadmill for a week and was fined by the magistrates for excessively whipping a girl apprentice.[21]

Much farm work was arduous. For young children it must have been exhausting. The Commissioners noted that boys were put on as hard work as possible to avoid employing men. Many were healthy but heavy farm work could cause stunted growth and exposure to the elements led to consumption, glandular trouble and other diseases, while being too long on the feet caused inflammation of farm boys' legs. The effects a Blandford surgeon reported were 'the same as overworking a young horse'.[22]

In sum, for those children who went full-time to school and for many who did casual work at home, life cannot have been 'awful' by the standards of the day. Nor was that probably so for many children aged 10-14 who worked in a variety of trades. But for many, though not all, who worked in mining, agriculture, factories and cottage industries - especially those under the age of 10 or so, it is probably not an exaggeration to say their lot was unenviable even by contemporary standards - and in many cases the Victorians came to that conclusion too, gradually extending restrictions on child labour and, when that did not have as great an effect as expected, introducing compulsory schooling.

REFERENCES

1. This is a shortened version of a talk given to the Devon History Society at its meeting in Exeter, October 1999.
2. PP 1866 XXIV (see note 9 below), pp. 106-7.
3. Deduced from graph in *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Education (England and Wales)*, PP 1852-3 XC, between pp.cxx and cxxi.
4. See Stephens, W.B., *Education, Literacy and Society, 1830-70* (Manchester, 1987), pp.215-19.
5. Cf. Higgs, E., *A Clear Sense of the Census: The Victorian census and historical research*, (Public Record Office, Handbook 28, London, 1996), pp. 99-103 (q.v. also for some Devon parishes in 1871).
6. Cf. Bythell, D., *The Sweated Trades* (London, 1978), p.263 n.152. Some claimed to teach a little reading.
7. Newton, R., *Victorian Exeter* (Leicester, 1968), p.183. Cf. Stephens, W.B., *Education in Britain, 1750-1914* (London, 1998), p.88; PP 1868-9 XIII (b) (see note 9 below), p.497.
8. See, e.g. Hair, P.E.H., 'Children in society, 1850-1980', in Barker, T. and Drake, M., (eds), *Population and Society in Britain, 1850-1980* (London, 1982); Davin, A., 'Working or helping?', in Smith, J., Wallerstein, I. And Evers, H., (eds), *Households and the World Economy* (London, 1984).
9. Except where otherwise stated the following is based on relevant sections of the following Parliamentary Papers (PP):
   1st Rep. R. Comm. Employment of Children in Factories, PP 1833 XX and *Supplementary Rep.* PP 1834 XX;
   1st Rep. R. Comm. on Employment of Children in Mines and Manufactories PP 1842 XV, and Appendices, Pt. I PP 1842 XVI, Pt. II PP 1842 XVII;
   2nd Rep. R. Comm. on Employment of Children in Trades and Manufactures PP 1843 XIII, and Appendices, Pt. I PP 1843 XIV, Pt. II PP 1843 XV;
   Rep. Special Assistant Poor Law Commrs. on Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, PP 1843 XII;
   1st Rep. R. Comm on Employment of Children in Trades and Manufactures PP 1863 XVIII;
   2nd, 4th and *5th Reps.* Ditto, PP 1864 XXII, PP 1865 XX, PP 1866 XXIV;
   2nd Rep. R. Comm. on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Pt. I PP 1868-9 XIII (a), Pt. II PP 1868-9 XIII (b);
   Rep. R. Comm. on Factory and Workshops Acts, vol.i, PP 1876 XXIX (pp.172-5);
   Rep. on Honiton Lace Industry PP 1888 LXXX.
10. Cf. Jenkin, A.H., *The Cornish Miner* (London, 1927), p.241.
11. *Rep. R. Comm. on Popular Education* PP, 1861 XXI (pt. II), p.26.
12. For harsher treatment of children, however, see Nardinelli, C., 'Corporal punishment and children's wages in 19th century Britain', *Explorations in Economic History* 19 (3) (1982).
13. PP 1866 XXIV (see note 9 above), pp. 106-7.
14. Yallop, H.J., 'The lacemaker's globe', *Trans. Devonshire Assoc. 123* (1991), p.189.
15. For craft schools, see Bythell, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-5; *Victoria History of Somerset*, vol. ii, pp. 426-7. Several of the Reports cited in note 9 above and some of the many monographs on cottage industries provide data on the schools.
16. Finch, G., 'Devon's farm labourers in the Victorian period', *Transactions Devonshire Assoc. 119* (1987), p.85; Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social change and agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985) pp. 130, 394; Bowley, A.L., 'Rural population in England and Wales', *Jnl. Royal Agricultural Society* lxxvii (1914), p.605; Hunt, E.H., *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 14-15, 62-3.
17. PP 1868-9 XIII (a) (see note 9 above), p.36. Cf. Rowe, J., 'The high farming era in Cornish agriculture', in Minchinton, W.E., (ed.), *Farming and Transport in the South West* (Exeter, 1972), p. 28.
18. Stephens, *Education, Literacy..., op.cit.*, pp. 222-3; Snell, *op.cit.*, p.406.
19. Stephens, *Education, Literacy..., op.cit.*, p.74.
20. Snell, *op.cit.*, p.283.
21. PP 1843 XII (see note 9 above), quoted in Hoskins, W.G., *Old Devon* (Newton Abbot, 1966), 194-202.
22. PP 1843 XII (see note 9 above), p.82.

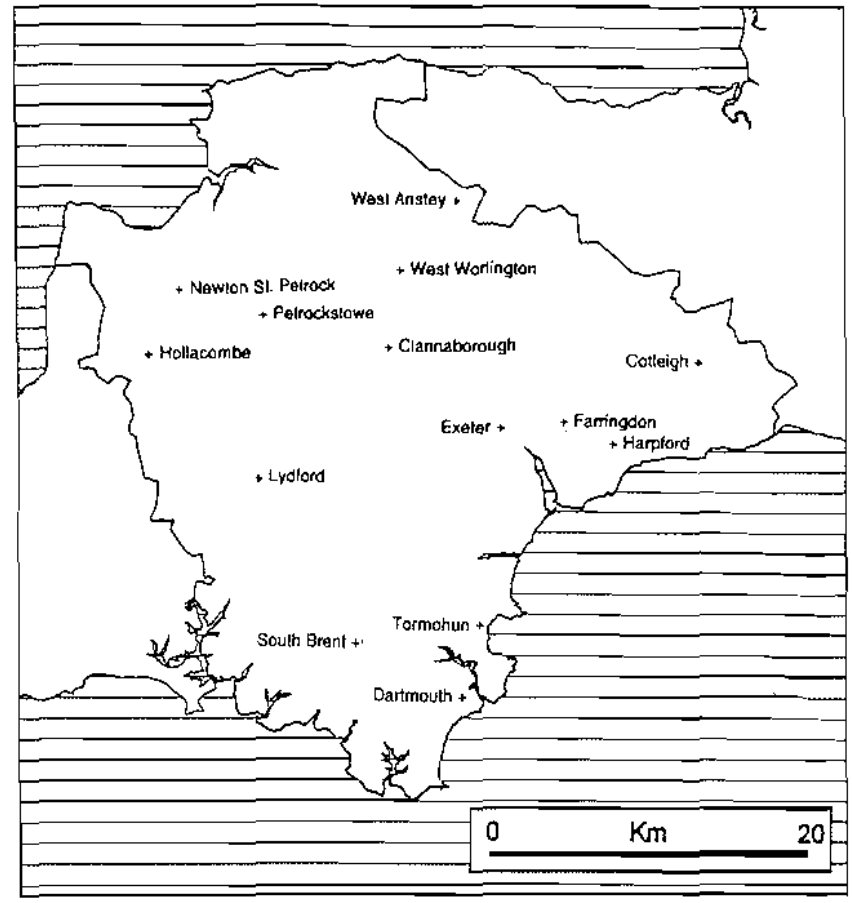
SAINT PETROC IN DEVON

Nicholas Grant

The Celtic saint Petroc was called the 'Apostle of Devonshire' by the Rev J. F. Chanter,[1] who imagined Petroc as responsible for the sixth century evangelisation of Devon. He believed that Petroc had moved from Cornwall through Devon, founding a string of churches *en-route*. In this, he was developing the ideas of the Rev Sabine Baring-Gould, who suggested that Petroc had been the original founder of Buckfast Abbey and other churches in south Devon.[2] Why did they think this? The chief evidence is that of Petroc's spiritual dedications. In addition to dedications in Cornwall, Wales and Brittany, Petroc has a remarkable fourteen parish church dedications of at least medieval date in Devon. The next most popular local Celtic or even British saint is Nectan, with three dedications; Petroc's total is surpassed only by biblical or evangelical saints such as Mary, Peter, Paul, Michael and Andrew.[3] In short, Baring-Gould and Chanter believed that these dedications originated in the missionary work of Petroc and his followers during the Early Christian period. The idea that a Celtic dedication may indicate a Celtic foundation date for a church can also be found, in the context of Devon, in works by W.G. Hoskins,[4] L.V. Grinsell,[5] and H.M. Porter,[6] and has also been developed in a much wider context in the works of Prof E.G. Bowen.[7] More recently, Susan Pearce[8] and Nicholas Orme[9] have argued that Celtic church dedications need to be studied closely on an individual basis, since many may well originate at a much later period than the fifth to seventh centuries. After Britain ceased to be a Roman province Devon was ruled by native Celtic kings and chiefs, before the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Devon in the seventh and eighth centuries. The whole period is very poorly documented, thus the evidence of later dedications might offer a precious insight to the ecclesiastical history of the post-Roman centuries. Who then was St. Petroc, and what are his connections with Devon?

Firstly, we must consider the biographical information for Petroc. As is the case with nearly all of the Celtic saints, the sources for Petroc's life are late and unhistorical. The earliest mention of Petroc is in the late eleventh century *Vita* of St. Cadoc by Lifris of Llancarfan. In this, Petroc was the uncle of Cadoc, was originally from south-east Wales, and subsequently founded a monastery at Bodmin in Cornwall.[10] Two early medieval *Vitae* exist for St. Petroc himself. The first is from the Breton abbey of Saint-Meen; its original provenance is unclear, but the life is probably of Cornish origin and of eleventh or twelfth century date. The second life dates from the later twelfth century and is apparently from Bodmin. This expands the Saint-Meen life.[11] According to these lives Petroc was originally a Welshman, son of Glywys, king of Glywysing in south-east Wales. After studying in Ireland, Petroc comes to Cornwall, taking over a monastic establishment at Padstow, originally founded by a bishop Wethinoc. From here Petroc journeys to Rome (twice) and Jerusalem. On his return from the first visit to Rome he visits New Town (Newton St. Petrock, Devon). Petroc also founds monasteries at Little Petherick and Bodmin, leads a monster from a lake into the sea, converts a rich man named Constantine to Christianity, performs a number of other miracles, and has dealings with a hermit Samson, who may be St. Samson of Dol. Eventually Petroc retires to live as a hermit before his death and burial at his original foundation at Padstow.[12]

Regrettably most of the material in these lives is probably fiction. Petroc may well



Distribution map: Parish churches dedicated to St Petroc in the pre-reformation period.

originally have been from Wales, and if the associations with Cadoc and Samson could be trusted, he would have flourished around the middle part of the sixth century. However, what cannot be doubted is that Petroc founded and was buried at a Celtic establishment at Padstow. A document known as 'The Resting Places of the Saints' is an Anglo-Saxon list of the locations in England of the relics of various notable saints, and this refers to Petroc's body as lying at Padstow. The list was compiled between 1013 and 1031. It was designed to emphasise the saintly wealth of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, but could also form a practical guide to sites worthy of pilgrimage. The list shows that Petroc was considered a significant saint in the Anglo-Saxon canon by the beginning of the eleventh century.[13] By the later part of the eleventh century, however, Petroc's body had been transferred to Bodmin, possibly as a result of Viking raids in the area. The exact date of this transfer, and the question of whether Petroc had any

connection with Bodmin, as the lives state, prior to the translation, are difficult issues.[13] Fortunately they need not affect the discussion of Petroc's links with Devon.

By the tenth century the Celtic kingdom of Cornwall had been fully annexed to the English kingdom, and an Anglo-Saxon bishopric was established at St. Germans in Cornwall by King Athelstan c.930. In 994 the 'place and governance' of St. Petroc (Padstow or Bodmin) was annexed to the bishopric of St. Germans. At this time Devon was subject to a separate bishopric at Crediton, but in 1050 Crediton and St. Germans were merged by Bishop Leofric to create a new bishopric at Exeter. The two bishoprics had already been held in plurality by Bishop Lyfing and his successor Leofric since c.1027. The tenth century minster building of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter became the cathedral church. As well as acquiring the diocesan rights over Cornwall, Exeter also took over what had once been some of the bishopric's land.[15]

Already, however, a strong cult of Petroc had developed at Exeter. Relics from 'bones of St. Petroc, and from his hair and from his clothes' are amongst those listed in the eleventh century Exeter relic list known as the Athelstan Donation. This list purports to be a list of relics donated by King Athelstan (924-939) to the monastery of St.Mary and St. Peter at Exeter.[16] This cannot be entirely the case, since the list includes relics of saints who did not die until later in the tenth century. But there is no reason to doubt that the list accurately represents the relics held by the monastery in the eleventh century, and that some, perhaps most, of these were the result of a donation by Athelstan, who was a noted collector of relics. If so, and if the relics of Petroc were part of the original donation, they must have been acquired by Athelstan from Padstow (or Bodmin). This is made virtually certain by the presence in the list of relics of St. Wethinoc, an obscure saint associated with Petroc at Padstow, as we have seen from the *Vitae* referred to above. Athelstan is most likely to have acquired these relics at the time he created an Anglo-Saxon bishopric in Cornwall, after a visit to that region, c.930. Petroc remained popular at Exeter; his name is also found in two eleventh century litanies from Exeter[17] and in an Exeter martyrology of the twelfth century.[18]

We can now consider the potential origins of the dedications to Petroc, beginning with the one place in Devon specifically associated with Petroc in his first *Vita*: Newton St. Petrock. The dedication is first recorded in 1317,[19] but the fact that the life regards Newton as a Petroc foundation suggests that the church was dedicated to Petroc by at least the twelfth century, the date of the life's composition. Newton was held by the priests of Bodmin at the time of Domesday, and a reference in the contemporary Geld Inquest to the 'priests of Newton' suggests that Newton was already a minster church by 1066.[20] When did Bodmin acquire the manor? There exists a charter ascribed to Athelstan (924-39) giving one *cassatun* at *Nymantune* to St. Petroc's, but this is an eleventh century forgery. A record also exists of a lost charter of Eadred (946-55) giving the manor of *Niweton* to St. Petroc's, Bodmin (which may be an error for Padstow).[21] Finberg suggested that this was an authentic grant, and that the Athelstan charter was a blundered attempt to reconstruct the lost charter of Eadred.[22] The reference to Newton in the life is probably a further attempt to underline Bodmin's right to hold the manor, rather than a reflection of any personal connection of Petroc with Newton. It is likely therefore that the dedication post-dates Bodmin's acquisition of Newton, making it of late tenth to eleventh century date.

The priests of Bodmin held a second church at Domesday which is later recorded as a Petroc dedication; Hollacombe. As at Newton, the Geld Inquest refers to the 'priests of Hollacombe' suggesting a pre-Conquest minster church existed at Hollacombe, near Holsworthy.[23] Two farms in Hollacombe contain the place-name element *higna* (com-

munity) which supports this.[24] The dedication presumably results from Bodmin's ownership of the manor, although it is not known when the manor was acquired. According to the tax list *Testa de Nevill* (1234-1242), the Prior of Bodmin held the manor 'by gift of some ancient King'.[25] It is tempting to suggest that Bodmin may have acquired Hollacombe at about the same time as it did the nearby manor of Newton. If so, the dedication may also be of late Anglo-Saxon date, although it is only first recorded in 1456.[26]

With Exeter the centre of the bishopric for Devon and Cornwall, we should not be surprised to find there a parish church dedication to Petroc. The church and its dedication is recorded in 1194 and 1204.[27] However, a thirteenth century source records that Exeter had twenty-nine chapels by the reign of William I (1066-87). Although not specifically named, St. Petroc's, as one of the later medieval parishes, is almost certain to have been one of these churches.[28] Exeter had been refounded as part of the burh system of fortified towns in Wessex by Alfred in the late ninth century. St. Petroc's church occupies a plot on the late Saxon street grid laid out over the Roman grid. The church is likely therefore to have been founded in the tenth or eleventh century.[29] By this time, as we have seen above, relics of Petroc had been given to Exeter and this fact would naturally inspire a church dedication within the city.[30]

A second Anglo-Saxon burh in Devon possessed a church dedicated to Petroc: Lydford. The dedication is first recorded in 1237,[31] but is probably considerably older. Lydford was newly-founded as part of the burh system in the late ninth century.[32] A church must have been an essential element in this foundation, and may even predate the burh foundation. The churchyard has been identified as a 'lan' type enclosure, that is, an oval built-up enclosure commonly of Celtic origin.[33] A single sherd of fifth to sixth century imported pottery from the nearby castle site constitutes slight evidence for contemporary site occupation. Whilst it is not out of the question that the dedication may go right back to a Celtic foundation, the likelihood is that the church acquired its dedication at or in the period after the foundation and organisation of the burh, again the tenth to eleventh century.

One dedication, that of Petrockstowe, is certainly of pre-Conquest date. Although the dedication is first recorded in 1345,[34] the place-name is *Petrocestowa* in the Domesday Book. *Petroc* + *stow*, that is, 'the holy place of Petroc'.[35] The place name element *stow*, found also in nine other Devon place-names, as well as Padstow, is an interesting one. Although the place-name element is Anglo-Saxon, it appears to have been used in border areas between the Saxons and Britons to refer to a British church, and replace an earlier British place-name containing the British *llan*, that is, 'church'. This is clearly evidenced in the case of the Welsh border area, but less so in south-west England.[36] Petrockstowe has therefore been identified as a British graveyard taken over by the Anglo-Saxons and the site of a possible 'lan'-type enclosure.[37] This need not provide an early association of the site specifically with Petroc, however. Gelling goes on to suggest that the *stow* place-names fall into two groups.[38] The earlier group, it is argued, was current up to the end of the ninth century, and involved a specific reference to a place where the holy person worked, died, or was buried. Padstow falls into this group. The second group, it is argued, are a later development, no earlier than 950 onwards, and involve a more general, mechanical use of stow with a dedicatory name meaning simply 'church' or 'monastic house'. Gelling places Petrockstowe in this second group, and this would certainly fit into a pattern of Petroc becoming increasingly popular and venerated from the eleventh century onwards.

Nine other churches were dedicated to Petroc, but there is no evidence to shed any

light on how much earlier these dedications could be. These dedications are: Clannaborough, recorded c.1266;[39] Cotleigh, recorded 1293;[40] West Anstey, recorded 1304;[41] Dartmouth, recorded 1332;[42] Farringdon, recorded 1401;[43] South Brent, recorded 1436;[44] Tormohun, recorded 1485;[45] West Worlington (probable only), recorded 1534;[46] and Harpford, recorded 1537.[47] Nevertheless, all of these places except Dartmouth are recorded in the Domesday Book[48] (and there is even some later documentary evidence to suggest that Dartmouth may have been a pre-Conquest minster site).[49] Whilst it is still uncertain how many settlements recorded in the Domesday Book possessed churches,[50] many of the larger settlements which became the centres of medieval parishes may well have already been church-sites by 1066. Furthermore, Orme's work on church dedications in Devon and Cornwall established two important points. Firstly, church dedications remained remarkably consistent throughout the medieval period, with changes in dedication occurring later, often only because the medieval dedications had been forgotten.[51] Secondly, whilst in most cases the earliest dedicatory evidence dates to the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, some churches can be shown to have already been associated with their dedicatory saints by the tenth to eleventh centuries.[52] This latter conclusion is certainly supported by the examination of the dedications at Newton St. Petrock, Hollacombe, Exeter, Lydford and Petrockstowe set out above.

In conclusion, therefore, it is possible to make a number of statements. Certainly in one case, and probably in four others, parish churches in Devon had acquired dedications to St. Petroc prior to the Norman Conquest in 1066. The cult of St. Petroc, whilst originally centred on Padstow and Bodmin in Cornwall, had spread throughout Devon following the acquisition of relics from Padstow (or Bodmin) by the minster of SS. Mary and Peter in Exeter, founded by Athelstan c.930. In 1050 Exeter became the centre of the bishopric of Devon and Cornwall, and further able to promote the cults of saints it held in particular regard throughout the diocese. At the same time, Bodmin was also promoting the cult of Petroc through its holdings in Devon. Proof of Petroc's popularity amongst the Anglo-Saxons can be found in his citation in the early eleventh century 'The Resting Places Of The Saints' and in eleventh century liturgical material from Exeter. It is suggested here that this popularity is further reflected in the number of dedications to Petroc first recorded in the medieval period, and that most, if not all of these, originally date from the late Anglo-Saxon period. I hope therefore, that in this study, I have shed light on the religious history of Devon, if not of the sixth century, then of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Acknowledgement

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SHIPBUILDING AT TORQUAY

Robert Perkins

Vessels of modest description must have been built on the Strand for centuries.[1] The records of ship registration and classification which begin in the eighteenth century identify more than forty merchant vessels built at Torquay between 1785 and 1858.[2]

The late eighteenth century:

Prominent shipowners engaged in coastal and overseas trade lived between the Teign and Torbay, including the Blackallers at Maidencombe and the Bartletts at St. Marychurch. Tor Quay was in the port of Dartmouth but had close connections with Teignmouth. The brigantine *Priscilla*, 65 tons, built at 'Torkey' in 1785, was owned in 1794 by William Fox and her master, Richard Morish, both of the parish of St. Nicholas.[3] The 93 ton brig *Industry* was built in 1787-88 and owned by T. Row and J. Stiggings of St. Nicholas and later by Row & Co in the Newfoundland trade.[4] The *John*, built in 1788, was lengthened to a brig of 116 tons in 1798 and registered at Dartmouth 21 January 1799. Owned by Henley of Teignmouth by 1800, she was employed as a coaster and in voyages to Halifax. In May 1806 she was owned by John & Samuel Whiteway of Kingsteignton. Run down and sunk off Yarmouth on 29 August 1807, she was weighed, repaired and remained with them until 1813.[5]

The Cowells of Tormoham:

In 1789 Edward Cowell built a second *Industry*, a brig of 91 tons, which he owned jointly with Aaron Neck, mariner, of Coffinswell. Her registration was transferred to Glasgow in 1794.[6] The Cowells were an old Tormoham family with shipping interests and family connections to local builders and merchants for several generations: John Cowell snr. (c.1747-?) and jnr.(c.1788-1860) had property near the Church House at Torre and at Tor Quay.[7] The brigantine *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, launched in 1790, was in the hands of John Cowell when put up for auction at the *Bird in Hand* at Torquay in February 1793 together with her cargo of Figuera salt[8]. In December 1802 a vessel of about 130 tons, just launched, was advertised for sale by private contract, particulars to be obtained from John Cowell.[9]

The Revolutionary & Napoleonic Wars:

The ill-fated privateer *Dover*, Captain Matthews, prepared for sea at Torquay in the spring of 1793.[10] In 1794 two brigs were built. The *Enterprize*, 97 tons, was owned by Knox & Co by 1799 and employed in trade with Portugal until 1804.[11] The brig *Elizabeth & Sarah*, 78 tons, was surveyed by Lloyds at Waterford on her maiden voyage to Newfoundland; owned by Searle, a name associated with early speculative building development at Torquay, she was sold to J. Rowe & Co of Teignmouth within a year. It was reported that she had arrived at Teignmouth from Figuera in January 1799. In 1802, on a voyage from Lisbon to England, she was taken by the enemy and sent into Cherbourg.[12]

Two 49 ton sloops were built for the coasting trade in 1797: the *Feronia* was the first of three vessels of this name owned by the local Godfrey family[13]; the *Friends* was to be owned by Captain G. Webber of East Teignmouth in the coasting trade with Bristol.[14]

Also in that or the subsequent year the 115 ton brig *Orphans* was built. Owned by Codners and armed with two 3-pounders, she was employed as a transport in voyages from London to Lisbon and Oporto until 1803 and then in the Newfoundland trade until sold about 1810.[15]

In 1800 two brigs were built for Codner & Co. The *Agenoria*, 70 tons, was surveyed by Lloyds in November; she was sold to Warren and Co and employed in the Newfoundland trade from 1804 until about 1815.[16] The *William*, 70 tons, was employed in trade with Newfoundland and Quebec, then sold to Capt. S. Bryant and lost in 1806.[17]

The local histories record the memory of a vessel of 120 tons built and launched from a spot near the elm tree at the western end of the Strand and another of 112 tons built there at the beginning of the century.[18] The snow *Testimony*, 116 tons, was built in 1801 and surveyed at Teignmouth in March; first owned by William & Henry Blackaller of Stokeintcignhead (Maidencombe) she was employed between Liverpool and Naples. She sailed from Liverpool, Capt. J. Searle, on 9 December 1803, bound for Teignmouth, and was never heard of again.[19]

The wars fostered the growth of the town but caused difficulties for local shipping: timber was lost to naval yards; shipwrights required protection from impressment; vessels were seized by the enemy. In 1799 the 77 ton brigantine *Mary* was examined by the customs at Torquay, having been retaken from the enemy. Only an old main topmast staysail valued at 20 shillings was found to be foreign.[20] Another *Mary*, a schooner of 58 tons, was built in 1802 and later owned by Codner for the Newfoundland trade.[21] The *Torabby*, Mudge, from Torbay for London, was taken on 21 December 1800 and carried into Dieppe.[22]

On 17 June 1803 the 64 ton sloop *Speedwell* was launched, one of the few Torquay built vessels known to have had a figurehead; she was owned by Godfreys for the coasting trade.[23] The schooner *Hazard*, 63 tons, was launched in 1804; she was surveyed at Teignmouth in April 1805 and employed as a coaster by Webber & Co. [24] The brig *Union*, 80 tons, was also built in 1804; soon rigged as a snow and eventually as a schooner, she had a long working life, making her last voyage, from the north-east of England to France, around 1857.[25]

Harbour improvements:

In 1803 Sir Lawrence Palk obtained a private Act of Parliament for 'repairing, enlarging, and improving the pier and quay within the port or harbour of Torquay'.[26] John Rennie's scheme included a new pier and construction of quays, warehouses and other works 'from Torquay Bridge over the Flete, along the beach and around to Beacon Point'. In that year Richard Brooks established a new quarry at Torquay; barrels of gunpowder were ordered from Mount Edgcumbe Powder Mills at Plymouth and the stone rippers set to work. By 1805 it was apparent that progress was limited by the number of men that could work Brooks' quarry. Purbeck stone was ordered to cap the work, 6,000 ft. to be shipped by 1 July 1806; the vessel shipping the first load was lost. But the work was largely completed by 1806; the contractor was William Peeke.[27]

The building cove and Beacon Yard:

It seems that the building of vessels of any size on Palk estate land on the Strand ceased with the building of the quays. The plan of 1807 shows the pier and quay lately erected and the small exposed 'Cove for Building Ships & Timber Yard' beyond the pier, by Beacon Point.[28] In 1809 it was noted that the cove was not well adapted to the purpose, particularly in bad weather; it was restricted to one shipwright or partnership of shipwrights and timber wanted in it had to be laid on the hill above. The need for a second yard at Meadfoot was suggested.[29] The construction of a slipway and other works in the cove was apparently begun by William Peeke before the death of Sir Lawrence Palk in June 1813, but not completed and a road built to it until later.[30]

Despite these difficulties, two vessels were launched in 1806: a 41 ton smack to be renamed *Feronia* by Godfreys two years later[31]; and an 82 ton brig *Good Statesman*, first employed by east Devon owners between Liverpool and Lisbon, Teignmouth and Malta until 1813, and by several subsequent owners in the coasting trade until she foundered off St. Ives Head on 6 March 1833.[32]

A secure six acre basin was created with the completion of the new or north pier by 1813. The basin was convenient for refitting and enabled vessels to be laid up, encouraging the residence of wintering owners. The *Robert & Mary*, a 48 ton sloop, was built in 1811 and owned by S. Slade, blockmaker, of Tormoham and R.J. Slade of Topsham, who later moved to Torquay; the sloop was employed in the coasting trade but sank off Whitstable in 1824, was weighed by two smacks, and finally lost in 1833.[33] The *Orange Branch* was launched in 1812 as a 41 ton sloop but lengthened to a 67 ton brig at Topsham in 1816. Employed in the Newfoundland trade by Rowe, she was lost on Drake's Island, Plymouth 30 November 1824.[34] The *Fox*, a 38 ton sloop, was built in 1813.[35]

Bickford & Sullock:

George Bickford was established as a shipbuilder at Torquay by 1817. In that year he built the 26 ton sloop *Lady Palk*, owned by her master John May of Brixham.[36] In the following year he appears to have entered into a partnership which lasted some five years. In 1818 Bickford & Sullock built the third *Feronia*, a sloop of 69 tons, probably for the Godfreys.[37] She was certainly later owned by Carter Godfrey (1778-1840) a local merchant.[38] In 1820 occurs the name Gilbert Francis Bickford, shipbuilder.[39] Sullock & Bickford built the 43 ton yawl *Friends* for William Neck and William Hunt, mariners of Kingskerswell, in April 1822.[40] Their largest vessel, launched a month later, was the *Meridian*, a 116 ton brig for John Coaker, victualler, of Dartmouth. She provided long and useful service under many owners, to Figuera, Newfoundland, Cadiz, Naples, Smyrna and in coastal trade until wrecked on Saunton Sands on 15 November 1864.[41]

Their enterprise appears to have come to an end shortly after 1822, for in 1824 Stephen Richardson, a Brixham shipbuilder, completed the 57 ton schooner *Bellona* for the Torquay victualler Joseph Turner. Employed for two years in the coasting trade, she was lost off Newfoundland in 1827.[42] In 1826 William Peeke jnr. built and was master of a 17 ton cutter, the *Lady Louisa*; she was lost in 1836.[43]

Developments in trade and shipping:

By 1830 trade with Newfoundland had declined. Many of the twenty vessels connected with Torquay were engaged in importing timber, but the greatest number were in the coal trade; more than 400 houses had been built between 1801 and 1831, with 45 building, and the population of Tormoham had increased from 143 to 3582. There were five regular coasters to London.[44] Passengers sailed for Newfoundland and Quebec in the 1820s and early 1830s.[45] In the 1840s, although the Newfoundland trade was still kept up, local owners developed a trade with North America in emigrants and timber using ships built elsewhere.[46] Torquay built smacks, sloops and schooners; and

fast 'clipper-schooners' suitable for the fruit trade, but often otherwise employed.

William Shaw:

Shaw was baptized at Stoke Damerel in 1794 and was a shipwright in the yards at Ringmore on the Teign between at least 1818 and 1823.[47] In 1826 he built the 66 ton schooner *Faith* at Torquay for R.J. Slade as sole owner, but soon sold to Archer of Brixham.[48] In the 1830s he was one of eight owners of pleasure boats for hire from the steps of the pier, and a ship builder 'Southern Quay', by 1838, when there was another shipbuilder, Williams Eales, on the Quay.[49] Shaw built at least fourteen merchant ships at Beacon Yard between 1840 and 1858, as well as fishing smacks and other vessels; he was also a shipowner and manager.[50]

The *Beacon*, a schooner of 130 tons, was launched in May 1840. She was owned at first by five Torquay and Paignton shareholders and largely employed in trade with Newfoundland and the Mediterranean. Shaw bought out a remaining share in 1852 and sold her to William Langley, a Plymouth merchant with whom he did other business. Charles Shaw became her master in 1857 but she was apparently lost soon after.[51]

Three sloops followed. The *Ann*, 29 tons, was built in September 1840 and owned by her master, John Stooks of Brixham, until lost, stranded off Dartmouth, 26 May 1863.[52] The *Zebedee*, 27 tons, was built in March 1841 for Samuel Fox, sailmaker, and John Smallridge, master mariner, of Brixham.[53] The *Arbitrator*, 26 tons, was completed in February 1842; she was lengthened in 1855 and employed as a Dartmouth coaster until lost by April 1869.[54] Two sloops were built in 1843. The *Petrel*, 29 tons, completed in September, was owned by T & C Jay of Dartmouth & Liverpool and employed as a coaster from Teignmouth until 1849.[55] The *Hero*, 26 tons, was completed in December and first owned by John Brown, a Brixham shipwright.[56] Shaw shared Beacon yard with John Eales, described as a ship and boat builder, about 1844.[57] In that year he purchased the sloop *Rhin*, built at Brixham in 1828, and lengthened her for service as a collier for a couple of years.[58]

The *Harriett*, a 56 ton schooner, was completed in August 1846; Shaw had a share in this vessel until 1851 and employed her in the Mediterranean trade with William Sullock as master.[59] The *Jenny Lind*, 91 tons, the first of the 'clipper-schooners', was launched on 27 September 1847.[60] Another, the *Escort*, 105 tons, was launched on 10 April 1849 at 8 a.m. before a crowd of 2,000 persons. She was purchased by Messrs. Hunt for the fruit trade for which she was considered to be admirably adapted 'her model being more that of a yacht than an ordinary merchant vessel'. However, she made her maiden voyage to New York with passengers. She was lengthened in 1853.[61] A 32 ton sloop, *Valentine*, was launched in February 1850. She was sold to William Simpson of Liverpool in 1851 but Shaw retained a share; she was a Torquay coaster until about 1856.[62]

The schooner *Christopher*, 112 tons, was launched by Miss Shaw on 17 June 1852 'amidst the hurrahs of a large number of persons assembled on the occasion'. Owned by Holmwood, Stabb, Row & Co, her maiden voyage was intended to be to Newfoundland and then to the Mediterranean.[63] A 50 ton cutter called either *Charlotte* or *Charles* was launched on 16 June 1855. She is said by White to have been the last vessel built by Shaw, an error followed by subsequent authors.[64] The *Wave*, schooner, 50 tons, was also built in 1855. Owned by Vallance & Co of Shoreham she was a Torquay coaster until 1861.[65] Shaw owned a brig, *Palmyra*, which was lost off the east coast in October 1856 when laden with coals and iron pipe for the Torquay Gas

Company.[66]

The *Contest*, a clipper-schooner of 133 tons and built to special survey was launched on the morning of 31 March 1858, witnessed by the usual large crowd despite heavy rain. Owned by William Shaw, with her master Charles Shaw having 8/64ths., and mortgaged to William Langley of Plymouth, she was employed in the Mediterranean and Newfoundland trades in 1859-60. She cleared New York for Queenstown with a cargo of grain on 23 November 1860 and was never heard of again.[67] Shaw appears to have given up the yard by 1866; it was buried beneath new harbour works when Beacon Quay and Haldon Pier were begun in 1867.

Connections with Paignton:

William Eales, born at Cockington c.1795, was at Greenhithe, Kent c.1830-32. As already noted, he was described as a shipbuilder at Torquay by 1838, and was at Paignton in 1851.[68] William Lear, born at St. Marychurch c.1800, worked in the shipyards at St. Nicholas c.1828-37. He was at Paignton by 1847 when he built the 30 ton sloop *Hannah* for R.J. Slade of Torquay.[69] The *Dynamene*, owned by John Crossman of Torquay, was lengthened at Paignton in 1853.[70] Lears launched an 85 ton schooner, the *Three Brothers*, in 1864 which they employed as a Torquay coaster.[71]

Note: Tonnage is given in 'old measurement' for vessels built before 1836; in 'new measurement' from 1836 to 1854; and according to the 1854 Act thereafter. Different figures for 'tons burthen' may be found in some contemporary reports of launches.

References:

1. A painting of the Strand c.1780 showing a fishing smack being built [Torre Abbey Cat. No. 194] is the subject of a lithograph of c.1830 [SC 3184]; see also White, J.T., *History of Torquay*, 1878, facing p.121 (redrawn), Ellis, A.C., *Historical Survey of Torquay* plate 210 p.338, or Russell, P., *History of Torquay* plate 22 (where the title refers to 1760). Blewitt, O., *Panorama of Torquay* second edition, 1832, p.35, notes that half a century before 'on this beach vessels and fishing boats were built and the hills above it were rocky and uncultivated.'
2. The principal sources used are: Lloyd's Register of Shipping, in which vessels built at Torquay may be found between 1795 and 1888 (LR); the rival *Shipowners' Register* published from 1800 to 1833 (LR/S); the Mercantile Navy List, first issued in 1857 and with relevant details until 1901 (MNL); Shipping Registers for the Port of Exeter (ESR), 1786-1878, and for Dartmouth (DSR), 1824-1871 [DRO 3289S/1-10, 3308S/1-10]; Transcripts and Transactions, which survive from 1814 and have been examined for the ports of Exeter and Dartmouth to 1830 [PRO BT 107/152-202] apart from the volume for 1823 which is missing. Some details of movements and the fate of vessels have been found in Lloyd's List (LL), aided by Lloyd's List Index after 1838. Local newspapers consulted were the *Exeter Flying Post (EFP)* and the *Torquay Directory (TD)*. Eight vessels listed as built at Torbay between 1781 and 1830 have been omitted from this article, including *Chance*, a 108 ton brig listed in LR 1806-13 as built Torquay 1797, and in LR/S 1807-13 as 112 tons, built Torbay 1797 and lengthened 1804.

3. ESR, No.3, 17 February 1794.
4. ESR, No.14, 12 March 1788; LR 1798-1806; LR/S 1800-1806.
5. ESR, No.19, 9 May 1806; LL 15 September 1807; LR/S 1800-1813.
6. ESR, No.10, 27 April 1790.
7. Register of Leases, Tormoham & Coombepafford 1798-1888 [DRO 4950/B/A95]; 'An Act for establishing certain leases granted by Sir L. Palk...', 6 Geo. IV (1825) c.29, first schedule; 1822 Rate Assessment List, in Torquay Museum, courtesy of J.R. Pike.
8. *EFP* 24 January 1793; ESR, No.6, 27 February 1794.
9. *EFP* 16 December 1802 1e.
10. Rattenbury, J., *Memoirs of a Smuggler*, 1837.
11. LR 1799-1804.
12. LR 1795-1902; LR/S 1800-1801; LL 22 January 1799, 7 April 1801.
13. LR 1800-1807; LR/S 1801-1807.
14. ESR, No.16, 14 April 1812; LR 1799-1803; LR/S 1800-1833.
15. Variously *Orphan*, *Orphans* or *Orphants*; LR 1799-1818; LR/S 1800-1810,. 1813-1816.
16. LR/S 1801-1815
17. LR/S 1801-1806
18. White, J.T., *History of Torquay*, 1878, p.124; Ellis, A.C., *Historical Survey of Torquay*, 2nd ed., 1933 pp.338-339.
19. ESR, No.15, 14 April 1801; LR/S 1802-1804; LL 17 January 1804.
20. Dartmouth, Collector to Board, 2 October 1799 [PRO CUST 65/7]
21. LR 1816-1836; LR/S 1830-1833.
22. LL 6 January 1801.
23. ESR, No.53, 31 October 1825; LR 1807-1866; LR/S 1807-1833.
24. LR/S 1806-1807.
25. LR 1810, 1815-1823, 1834-1864; LR/S 1809-1833.
26. 43 Geo. III, c.88, 24 June 1803.
27. Additional Papers, Torquay Harbour Works, 1805-7 [DRO Z 10/43].
28. 'Plan of the Improvements in the Harbour of Torquay...with the new Pier & Quay lately erected...', Plate XII p.323, in Vancouver, C., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon*, 1808. (The notations for ownership on this plan should be transposed).
29. Report on the Improvements of the Harbour at Torquay, [initialled] H.B. [Dr. Henry Beeke], 10 May 1809 [DRO Z 10/43].
30. Affidavit of Mr. Abraham, solicitor, made May 1830, of payments from the estate of Sir Lawrence Palk for Torquay harbour works [DRO Z 10/43].
31. LR 1800-1810, 1815-1833; LR/S 1818.
32. ESR, No.18, 11 April 1806; LR 1806-1833; LR/S 1807-1833; Larn, R. & B., *Shipwreck Index of the Br. Isles* Vol.I, 1995, citing LL 1833.
33. LR 1811-1823 (gives 'built Brixham' in error); LR/S 1811-1824; ESR, No.21, 13 July 1811; DSR, No.93, 13 March 1824; LL 18 June 1824, 2 July 1824; PRO BT 107/190.
34. ESR, No.7, 6 March 1815, etc; PRO BT 107/154, 156; LR/S 1815-1825; LL 3 December 1824.
35. Registered Dartmouth 7 November 1822, PRO BT 107/168.
36. Or Way? Registered Dartmouth 1 July 1817, PRO BT 107/158.
37. J.R. Pike suggests the alternatives 'Sellick' or 'Sullick', based on the 1822 Rate Assessment List. BT 107 gives 'Sullock'.

38. LR/S 1818-1833; LR 1834-1844, 1846-1852; DSR, No.154, 24 October 1836.
39. St. Saviour, Torre, parish registers, baptisms 1813-1820 [DRO]; this source identified two shipwrights, John Hutchings in 1814 and Christopher Gidley in 1819, as well as rope and sail makers.
40. Registered Dartmouth 13 April 1822, PRO BT 107/168.
41. Registered Dartmouth 21 May 1822, PRO BT 107/168; LR 1823-1852, 1858-1864; LR/S 1825-1833; Larn, op.cit.
42. Registered Dartmouth 17 May 1824, PRO BT 107/173.
43. Registered Dartmouth 6 October 1826, PRO BT 107/183; DSR No.13, 9 May 1828.
44. Blewitt, O., op.cit., pp.61,69, 288.
45. Advertisements for Newfoundland, *EFP* 16 March 1820, 16 August 1821, 22 January 1829; for Quebec 23 February 1832, 1 March 1832, 31 January 1833.
46. See 'Passengers from Torquay: Emigration to North America 1849-1859' by M. Bouquet, in *Exeter Papers in Economic History, No.4, Ports & Shipping in the South West*, ed. By H.E.S. Fisher, University of Exeter 1971, pp.131-145.
47. IGI, baptized Stoke Dameral 11 May 1794; St. Nicholas, Shaldon, Parish Register, baptisms 1818, 1823; 1851 Census, Beacon Yard, Tormoham, HO 107/1872/237.
48. DSR, No.9, 21 January 1826; PRO BT 107/183; LR 1827-1851; foundered off Eddystone 6 September 1851 [Larn, R., *Devon Shipwrecks*, 1974, p.44].
49. Blewitt, O., op.cit., p.288.
50. For views of Beacon Yard see photographs reproduced in Bouquet, M., *Westcountry Sail, Merchant Shipping 1840-1960*, 1971, pp.22,79; and Ellis, op.cit., fig. 209 p.337. A photograph of Beacon Hill from Beacon Terrace, 1858, in Torquay Library, shows details of the yard buildings. Numerous prints of Torquay from Beacon Hill give glimpses of the yard and its approaches with varying degrees of artistic licence, as is appropriate to the conflict between port and resort; see for instance the cover to *Devon Historian 60*, April 2000 [SC S. 196]. The vignette 'Torquay from the Sea' by William Willis forming the frontispiece to Croydon's 1853 *Handbook for Torquay and its Neighbourhood...* shows vessels in frame. The layout of the yard is shown on the 1/500 Ordnance Survey map of 1861, sheets CXVI.14.23 and CXXII.2.3.
51. DSR, No.20, 26 May 1840; LR 1840-1859; MNL 1857-60; but last reported 'arrived Hull 5 April from Gallipoli' in LL 7 April 1857.
52. DSR, No.38, 3 October 1840.
53. DSR, No.9, 27 March 1841.
54. DSR, No.6, 7 March 1842, 'lost, register closed 14 April 1869'; LR 1860-1868; MNL 1857-1869.
55. DSR, No.40, 24 September 1843; LR 1843-49.
56. DSR, No.1, 17 January 1844, endorsed 'Registered Ramsgate 1865'.
57. Pigot/Slater's National & Commercial Directory, June 1844, p.153.
58. LR 1844-1846, 'built Brixham 1828'.
59. DSR, No.26, 17 May 1846, 'cancelled, registered London 5 April 1847'; LR 1846-1851.
60. DSR, No.43, 11 November 1847, 'cancelled and registered Whitehaven 1855'; LR 1848-1887/8; MNL 1857-1901.
61. LR 1848 (supplement) - 1867/8; MNL 1857-1895 (Melbourne 1868-1875, Sydney NSW 1876-1895); Ellis, op.cit., p.338; *TD* 11 April 1849.
62. DSR, No.3, 21 February 1850; LR 1850-1857; MNL 1857-1901; *TD* 13 February 1850.

63. DSR, No.16, 21 July 1852; LR 1853-1877; MNL 1857-1873 (registered at Newfoundland); *EFP* 24 June 1852; *TD* 30 June 1852; Ellis, p.338; Stabb was of Torquay, Row of St. John's, and Holmwood of Middlesex.
64. White, *op.cit.*, p.196; name given as *Charles* in *TD* 20 June 1855 and *EFP* 28 June 1855.
65. LR 1856-1868; MNL 1857-1874.
66. *EFP* 16 October 1856.
67. DSR, No.18, 8 April 1858, 'lost in 1860'; LR 1858-1863; MNL 1859-1863; *TD* 31 March and 7 April 1858; *EFP* 8 April 1858; LL 19 November 1860 col.11 and 25 March 1861 col.14.
68. Robson's *London & Western Counties Directory*, 1838, p.240; 1851 Census, Fisher St., Paignton [PRO, HO 107/1873/93/23].
69. DSR, No.36, 19 October 1847, laid up on the Dart by 1885; 1851 Census, Paignton Pier [PRO HO 107/1873/91/18].
70. Bouquet, M., *Westcountry Sail...*, 1971, p.22; LR 1860, etc.
71. LR 1865/66-1867/68.

RICHARD WOLSTON: BRIXHAM ENTREPRENEUR EXTRAORDINARY

Bridget Howard

Richard Walter Wolston (1799-1883) was a solicitor and notary public at Brixham, clerk to the Harbour and Market Commissioners, secretary of the Torbay and Brixham Harbour of Refuge and Dock Company, commissioner of the Dartmouth and Torquay Turnpike Trust, and Portuguese vice-consul. Enough for one man for one lifetime? No. Add: property developer, manufacturer of earthenware, quarry owner and limestone shipper, proprietor of an important iron mine, founder of the Torbay Paint Works, chairman and owner of the Torbay and Brixham Railway Company. Truly an extraordinary man but one who by over-extending himself brought about his own downfall. He was a solicitor who did not understand the law, an innovator who did not patent his process, a company director who did not understand finance.

Wolston was born in London in 1799, although his family's origins were at Staverton and Torbryan.[1] After qualifying as a solicitor at Furnival's Inn, he set up in practice at Brixham in 1829, built himself a large house in the centre of the town and began investing in property, including an acre of land and a windmill on Furzeham Common, overlooking Torbay. He installed tenants to work the mill, but discovered that the land was more valuable than the machinery. As well as clay and ochre, it contained iron ore of a particularly valuable composition. He therefore got rid of his tenants and began mining in about 1841. By 1847 he was selling appreciable quantities to the great Cyfarthfa ironworks in South Wales,[2] and had installed John Dennis, a Cornishman, to manage the mine which they named Wheal Prosper.

Wolston also found use for the other substances on the site. He manufactured earthenware jars and sewage pipes from the clay, and mixed it with sand to make firebricks and tiles. The ochre was at first sold to local fishermen to preserve their sails and give them the traditional red colour; boiled with tar, oak-bark and tallow, it was painted on to the canvas in special 'barking yards'. But by 1846, Wolston had found another, more lucrative product that could be made from the ochre. This was a paint, but no ordinary paint: it prevented iron from rusting and was unique.

During the eighteenth century had come the development of cast iron with its different physical properties from those of the traditional wrought iron, and in the French wars this new metal was made into guns and other armaments. When peace came in 1815 it began to be used to build bridges, railways, engines of all kinds, factories, aqueducts, and so forth, but it had a fatal flaw - it rusted, unlike wrought iron. Great men of the day, including Sir Humphrey Davy, tried in vain to prevent this, but the answer to the problem came from an unexpected source, Richard Wolston's son-in-law, John Murly Rendall.

Rendall was perhaps the earliest homeopathic chemist in the South West, having opened a dispensary in Carey Place, Torquay, in 1847 and others later at Exeter, Plymouth and also in London - in Fulham and The Strand. At the time of the invention of the paint, he was engaged to Wolston's daughter Catherine and anxious to be helpful to his prospective father-in-law. He discovered that a protective paint could be made by grinding ochre and mixing it with linseed oil to produce an oxide primer that prevented rust forming on cast iron.[3] Before this, there were of course other processes such as gal-

vanising, which involved iron sheets being dipped into chemicals and then heated, but such treatment could not be given to the enormous girders needed for major engineering projects, whereas the new primer could be applied to the components of bridges, etc, and also used to keep them free of corrosion once they were built.

This was a very profitable use for one of the waste products of the mine, and manufacture proceeded at the windmill site until demand out-stripped capacity. Wolston then obtained more land and built a special factory for making the paint at Bench Quarry beside the sea at Oxen Cove, Brixham. Large sales were made to the Royal Navy, and another important customer was Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806-59), whose Royal Albert Bridge at Saltash was given a coating of Wolston's 'Torbay Iron Paint' as its first protection against rust.

All seemed to be going very well until another local man decided that he too would make a rust preventative paint. Samuel Calley (1815-87) discovered what he thought was iron ore on his land off New Road in Brixham,[4] but on finding that it was merely ochre, planned to manufacture a similar coating to that of Wolston's. He took out a patent in 1856,[5] alleging that he was producing an anti-fouling composition for ship's keels, using coal tar, ochre and turpentine, but before long he was selling a rust inhibiting oxide. His marketing was good, and by 1864 the *Record of Modern Engineering* was warning its readers to insist on Calley's paint and avoid any other that might appear to resemble it but was inferior.[6]

There was nothing that Wolston could do. His rival had a patent, and Rendall had not bothered to apply for one. There were continual pin-pricks. Calley called his primer 'Torbay Iron Oxide Paint' as against Wolston's 'Torbay Iron Paint', and named his factory The Genuine Torbay Paint Works. Some local histories say that the men were partners.[7] Nothing could be less true. They were bitter enemies. Wolston had developed the original produce but through failure to register the formula he allowed Calley to profit. The two paints achieved world-wide renown and it is difficult at this remove to know which was used where. The years went by and, after the protagonists' deaths, the two companies were amalgamated in 1897. Wolston and Rendall were forgotten and Brixham was advertised in Kelly's Directories for many years as 'the home of Calley's paint. Well known and used throughout the world'.

In the midst of all this rivalry, Wolston continued mining iron ore at Wheal Prosper, but since he did not report his output to the government's Mining Record Office (and there was then no legal obligation to do so) we do not know how much he was producing. He was also quarrying limestone, selling it at Exeter and Topsham, and hoping to extend his trade to Barnstaple in competition with imports from South Wales.[8] In 1861, to his irritation, his workmen cut into a prehistoric cavern at Bench Quarry, near his paint factory, and experts like William Pengelly came to investigate. Wolston is said to have exhibited lively interest in the proceedings, but one can sense his impatience to continue digging out limestone to make the money he needed, rather than be held up by 'archaeological nonsense'.[9]

He was soon to spend all his finances in pursuit of his real enthusiasm, which was to bring a railway to Brixham, a project he had been promoting since 1845. Eventually he secured the necessary legislation, and the Brixham and Torbay Railway Act 1864 (27 & 28 Vic, cap ccxlvii) permitted the building of a very short branch line that came off Brunel's Dartmouth and Torbay Railway at Churston station. It was opened on 28 February 1868.[10]

Wolston passionately believed that the prosperity of Brixham depended on its having a railway that could connect with the large markets for fish at Bristol and London,

and, because the local people would not put their money into the project, he decided to pay all the costs himself. He was his own contractor for construction of the line, paid all the legal expenses, bought the one engine with which the service began, and financed everything to the tune of about £40,000. The caper bankrupted him.

A less committed man than Wolston would not have embarked on such a scheme, nor been so inept at managing the accounts, nor allowed himself to have so many fingers in so many pies at the same time. He had taken out loans to finance the line but the profits were insufficient to service them, particularly because he was penalised by his apparent ignorance of two aspects of railway management. These involved the so-called parliamentary trains, and the payment of terminals.

Train companies had to pay a tax of ¼ of a penny per mile per passenger carried, but could claim alleviation under the Railway Regulations Act 1844 (7 & 8 Vic, cap 85), provided that they ran at least one train a day each way on which the fare for third class passengers did not exceed 1d per mile. The length of the Brixham line was just over two miles and the fare was always 3d. This made Wolston liable for the tax. This amounted, for example, to £48 out of ticket sales of £971 in 1875: not a large proportion but enough to be significant when things were tight.

The other drain on his finances was 'the terminals'. He did not know that, where through rail traffic was carried by two or more companies, those at each end of the route received, out of the gross takings, an allowance for terminal services. The Brixham line joined that of the South Devon Railway Company at Churston, and the SDR were taking the terminals, as if the journey began with them, thus gaining significant, but unearned, money. They were eventually taken to court and obliged to repay £1,785 but by this time Wolston, who seemed oblivious of the dishonesty, had been declared bankrupt and had left Devon.

He was only able to pay his creditors 2s 3d in the pound. When he died, he left £62 10s in cash but many lasting memorials in Brixham. The paint works remained working until 1961, but on Calley's site, giving employment to hundreds of men and women. Torbay iron oxide was made until the outbreak of war in 1939, but not before many similar products were being made throughout the world, their manufacturers however being unaware of their debt to Rendall and Wolston. The railway was taken over by the GWR in 1883 and closed, as part of the Beeching cuts, in 1963, too early to be resurrected by enthusiasts, and now built over. The one remaining legacy of Wolston is the access route to the station that he cut through the cliffs,[11] connecting the old 'Overgang', used by William of Orange's soldiers when they landed in 1688, and the suburb of Furzeham that developed because of its nearness to his railway. Today this road is one of the main approaches to Brixham harbour, but does not carry his name.

Despite all this, Wolston has been almost forgotten, and this extraordinary man is only commemorated by a small close of new bungalows. Altruistic or money grabbing, enthusiastic or foolish, he was a benefactor without honour in his own town.

Notes

1. Family tree courtesy of the Society of Genealogists, London.

2. Atkinson, M. and Baber, C., *The Growth and Decline of the South Wales Iron Industry, 1760-1880*, Cardiff University Press, 1987, p.27.

3. *Torquay Directory*, 10 March 1852, p.4.

4. Ibid.

5. A.D. 1856. No. 2253.

6. p.162.

7. For example, Born, A., *The Torbay Towns*, Phillimore, 1989, p.71.

8. Parliamentary Committee on the 1847 South Devon Railway, Brixham Branch, Bill, Book of Reference. Proof of evidence of R. W. Wolston.

9. Pengelly, W., 'The Ash Hole and Bench Bone Caverns at Brixham, Devon' in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1870*, vol. 4, pp. 73-80 (pp.78-9).

10. Potts, C., *The Brixham line*, Oakwood press, 1986.

11. *Totnes Times*, 6 April 1867 (cited by Potts, supra, p.12).

Bridget Howard is a retired civil servant who worked for some years in the London headquarters of the Department of Trade and Industry. Now living in Devon, she is interested in the commercial history of mining in the South West.

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).

Parson Jack Russell: The Hunting Legend, 1795 - 1883 by Charles Noon. Halsgrove, Tiverton, 2000, 143 pp., illustrated, £16.95. ISBN 1 84114 050 3

From earliest times clerics have taken time off from the pursuit of souls to hunt selectively the beasts over whom the good Lord has granted man dominion. Among the monastic assets disposed of at the Dissolution were packs of hounds. The quarry then was deer. But by the late eighteenth century fox-hunting was taking over, to reach its apogee in public esteem - all those tinted prints of *The Chace* and *The Kill* - during the nineteenth and, at length, to meet criticism to the point of violence in the later twentieth and as we stand on the brink of the twenty-first. During the heyday among the most enthusiastic followers of the hounds were the incumbents of rural parishes, notably in the sprawling diocese of Exeter. There were some thirty there around 1830, to the chagrin of that irascible disciplinarian, Bishop Henry Phillpotts. The most notorious of these was John Froude (1777-1852), the unlikely vicar of Knowstone and Molland, a skilled hunter certainly, but a drunkard, a curser, malicious, quarrelsome and reputedly a consort of thieves. W.G. Hoskins has no time for 'this unspeakable oaf', while Charles Noon, this book's author, sees it as 'the glory of the man that he did not give a damn about anything'. Noon enjoys 'making fun of those whose hobby is political correctness'. (See S. Bhanji, 'Parson Froude - villain or victim?', *Devon Historian, 59*, Oct. 1999).

A much more acceptable character emerges from Noon's admiring biography of John Russell, who got into the *Dictionary of National Biography* within a few years of his lamented demise, not just because of his hunting achievements. Noon, head of history at Blundell's, carefully delineates Russell's family background and the tough regime he endured at the school, where he set the pattern of his life by running a pack of hounds. From Exeter College, Oxford, he acquired useful social relationships, which, with his meagre degree, an incumbency, and shortly a sensible marriage, provided him with the essential means to exercise the talents with which he seems to have been born - to manage horses, hounds and hunters, all for the chase from a view to a death of 'the dark denizen of the forest - the wild fox of Dartmoor' and beyond. Though he was ready at various times in his clerical black to have a go at otters, hares ('timids') and stags, too, it was cunning Reynard who gave him the long 'brilliant' runs that called him out several times a week, year after year, decade after decade, until at 75, now 'the revered elder statesman of Devon fox-hunting' and its most efficient public relations man, he had to let go his last small cry of hounds. (By then he had developed the breed of sparky little terriers which has 'immortalised' his name).

In his various livings Russell was certainly conscientious in meeting his pastoral obligations, regular in his Sunday services - 'Domi' he calls them in his informative diaries, which Noon draws upon copiously - and attentive to his parishioners across the social spectrum. It took unfailing energy and organisational skill to the point of genius to combine it all. But one senses spiritual shallowness in a clergyman untouched by the concerns of the evangelical, Puseyite and Oxford movements. Nor could he be called a 'muscular Christian'. He did get involved, somewhat reluctantly, in arcane north Devon

politics and a few court cases, but he was not of a quarrelsome or litigious disposition; indeed, he had a reputation for the common touch in keeping the peace of the parish. He showed genuine interest in moves for the improvement of Devon agriculture, was a freemason (as many of his brethren were then) and held various local offices. But first and last he was a hunter. It would not have occurred to him to come up with the high-minded arguments that present-day meets find it necessary to deploy in defence of their doings, nor would he have understood what it is that drives their opponents.

The man who emerges from Noon's affectionate portrait was by the standards of his times certainly a genuine Devon worthy. But Noon sees 'grounds for regarding Russell as one of the great parish clergy of the nineteenth century'. It is hard to follow him so far. Russell hovers between being a notable sporting parson and a remarkable clerical sportsman, with a leaning towards the latter. This book has been well-researched, is well-written, well-illustrated and well-produced. But, sadly, it lacks an index. Clearly Noon has taken some time in writing it, but publication suggests it will be taken as a timely contribution to the current controversy over 'hunting with dogs'. However, it seems unlikely to change the hearts and minds of readers on either side.

Ivan Roots.

Plymouth (Drake's) & Stonehouse Leats. By Ray Bush. The Old Plymouth Society. 2000, 54pp. 44 b&w photographs, 12 plans and maps. £6.50 (encl p&p) and free to members. ISBN 1 900457 05 9.

Mention of Drake's Leat immediately attracts the attention of the Devon public and of civil engineers generally. Raymond Bush has made a careful historical and geographical study of this leat and the lesser known Stonehouse leat and in Part One has described the real reasons for their construction over 400 years ago. Research into the historical circumstances reveal that the Acts of Parliament to obtain a water supply were not, as one might have imagined, for drinking purposes, but to maintain a supply for the various tidal mills that were becoming distressed because by the mid-sixteenth century sea levels were dropping and the mill pools were starting to dry out. There was therefore a need to convert tidal mills to stream driven mills. Bush describes how a committee of leading people was formed, including the town mills leaseholder, Sir Francis Drake, to frame a provisional Plymouth Water Bill for a watercourse that would be acceptable to Parliament while at the same time disguise the real reason.

The Plymouth leat would be 7 feet wide and was surveyed by Robert Lampen to extend from the River Meavy over 17.5 miles to Scourpool. From the intake at a height of 675 feet to sea level this was a gradient of 1 in 137, very reasonable for an earth bed, and showed great accomplishment of Lampen in setting out the route. The involvement of Robert's brother, James, as overseer of construction with two foremen and a gang of 35 men enabled construction to begin in December 1590 and be completed within five months.

Part One concludes by showing that a similar bill was rapidly proposed by the Stonehouse Council, using the same sham reasons that had been used for the Plymouth Bill, in order to improve the water supply for their Stonehouse mill.

Part Two describes the route of the Plymouth leat with the aid of its superimposition on extracts from Ordnance Survey large scale plans and with photographs of the still existing parts of the area through which it ran. Here one can find it passing through

Yelverton, from Beverston Way to Derriford roundabout, and thence around Crownhill fort to Manadon roundabout. It then meanders around the contours to Long Rowden and from there to Armada Way, and then to Millbay.

Part Three describes the source for the Stonehouse leat in the Tor estate area of Hartley and how this is riddled with underground springs. Again plans and photographs are used to describe the route. This therefore was a much shorter leat, starting as it did not far south of what is now the Manadon roundabout and skirting the eastern side of the Central Park, coming to the south of North Road station and running close to the onetime Royal Naval Hospital.

This is a valuable addition to the New Series Publications of the Old Plymouth Society 2000 and once one begins to read it, one is left wondering at the Parliamentary system of the day and the skill of the surveyor, Robert Lampen with his limited instruments of that time.

A. Brian George

Policing the peninsula (1850-2000), by Simon Dell - Newton Abbot: Forest Publishing, 2000 - 144p, ill, map; 27cm - ISBN 0-9527297-9-2: £8.99

Taking in turn the sixteen major forces which have preceded the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary, the author gives a brief historical introduction, including the dates of foundation and disbanding of each force. This is followed by a good collection of photographs, usually well documented, depicting officers and incidents such as road accidents and meetings, some as early as the 1850s. There is a wealth of pictorial information for those interested in uniforms and insignia. Many of the photographs have been taken from the collections of retired and serving officers as well as from the archives of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary. The author is to be congratulated in producing a properly stitched hardbook book at such a reasonable price, but unfortunately there is no index or indication of further reading. All profits from the sale of the book will benefit the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary Widows and Orphans Compassionate Fund Charity.

Ian Maxted

The Torbay Paint Company: its origins and history in Brixham and Dartmouth, by Bridget Howard. Dartmouth History Research Group, 2000. vi,34p: ill,maps;21cm. ISBN 1-899011-18-8. £3.00.

While parish histories proliferate, there are relatively few good studies of local industries and businesses that reach publication. Often those that do are anniversary or publicity ventures and the authors have access to the records of the firm and (often selective) memories of management. In the case of the Torbay Paint Company the main sites of their former activity are now a car park in Brixham on the most highly contaminated land, and a block of flats on the factory site in Dartmouth. Yet for much of its life, which extended from 1848 to 1961 in Brixham and from 1874 to 1927 in Dartmouth, the Company was of world-wide significance. The chemist John Rendall had discovered in the 1840s that ochre, the unwanted by-product of his father-in-law

Walter Wolston's iron mine at Brixham, could be used to manufacture a rust-inhibiting paint. Products developed from this came to be used across the world from Brunel's bridge at Saltash to the Zambesi and the Falklands. In the 1950s the Company's paint testing station was considered the best of its kind in the world. To trace the succession of firms involved in this important lost Devon industry the author has drawn on her experience of working in the Department of Trade and Industry to link specialised commercial and technical information sources to the more traditional ones used by the local historian. Thus she uses maps (tithe apportionments and Ordnance Survey), trade directories, newspapers, census returns, local authority records and photographs in local museum collections alongside patents, parliamentary reports, technical periodicals (*Mining Journal*, *Proceedings of the Institute of Chemical Engineers*) and early general studies of the iron and steel industry to set the undertaking in its broader scientific, commercial and social context. The result is a detailed but readable study which has been able to complement and at times correct more general histories, for example by revealing the rivalry between the two firms run by Wolston and Colley before their eventual merger. It forms an excellent 27th paper in the long-running series published by the Dartmouth History Research Group, even though the majority of its content relates to Brixham.

Ian Maxted

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Exeter: The Travellers' Tales. Volume One. Ed. Todd Gray. The Mint Press. 2000. Illustrated. xvi + 196 pages. 42 map extracts + frontispiece. £12.99. ISBN 1-903356-00-8.

Exeter is the first of a series of travellers' tales to be produced by Dr Todd Gray. Others to follow over the next two years are of Cornwall, East Devon, Dorset, Somerset and South Devon. The present volume consists of extracts from descriptions of the city by 45 visitors over the period from 1542 to 1937. The editor's introduction consists of a useful analysis of the visitors' fifty-two accounts and mentions that more than fifty others have been identified and will form a second volume. Each of the travellers' tales is contained in an unnumbered chapter headed by a clearly produced extract from a map of Exeter roughly contemporaneous with the tale, the source from which the tale is extracted with notes about other available sources and a brief biographical note by the editor on that particular traveller. Some of the sources are primary and held at libraries, including the British Library. Some at record offices, such as those of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, while others are printed works. Extracts from the familiar *Early Tours in Devon and Cornwall* edited by Richard Pearse Chope are used for some of the tales although Dr Gray refers to the version edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith for Leland's tale.

An extract from John Leland's Itinerary (1542) shows that he considered Exeter to be 'strongly walled and maintained' with 'divers fair Streets'. Elihu Burnet of Birmingham (1864), thought highly of the city, too. He wrote that 'Exeter, all in all - location, scenery and history - is hardly surpassed by any city in England'. Many others appeared less generous. Miss Caroline Girlie of London (1760) was 'greatly disappointed' with Exeter. Fanny Burney, also of London (1789), thought the 'town' was 'close and ugly' and, writing two years later, that it was 'too narrow, too populous, too dirty, & too ill paved to meet with my sublime applauses'. Martin Dunsford of Tiverton (1800)

referred to the 'filth...generally overspread' over the streets while Robert Southey (1802) considered that Exeter has 'the unsavoury odour of Lisbon'.

It seems to have rained a lot during this second half of the millennium. The Reverend John Skinner (1829) wrote gloomily that 'it has scarcely ceased raining since breakfast' and that '(I) shall esteem himself lucky if I escape Jail cold having sat with my wet things on in the church for nearly an hour'. Mrs Betsey White's (1859) exploration of Exeter seems to have been spoiled by 'heavy showers'.

The tales often say much about the authors. Justice Sir Thomas Rokeby of Yorkshire (1693-7) seems to have been unencumbered by judicial impartiality and praised 'Christoper Savory Esq, sheriff' as 'a good man & well affected to the government' but dismissing 'Tristam Boudage, under sheriff (as) a Jacobitish Tory'. Margaret Halsey's (1937) tale illustrates some misconceptions held by the Americans of the British and vice versa in the years before the war.

This professionally crafted and very readable book makes one impatient to obtain the succeeding volumes. Will Bill Bryson's experiences looking for a meal in Exeter one evening in 1973 feature in Volume 2 of *Exeter*, one wonders!

D L B Thomas

Early Devon Maps. Edited with an Introduction by Mary R Ravenhill & Margery M Rowe. Friends of the Devon Archives, Exeter. 2000. Illustrated. v + 58 pages. 48 coloured illustrations + frontispiece + 3 monochrome maps. £12.00 (£10 to Friends). ISBN 1 85522 728 2.

Early Devon Maps is the first of occasional publications to be published by Friends of Devon Archives. This volume consists of coloured reproductions of twenty-six maps produced from the middle of the sixteenth century to *circa* 1699/1700. The reproductions are preceded by a foreword by Tony Campbell, the Map Librarian of the British Library, and an introduction by the two editors. The editors mention in the introduction that the twenty-six maps chosen form a very small part of Devon's manuscript maps being studied to form a list and description of all the known large-scale Devon maps which will be published some time after 2001. The maps are reproduced in the colour of the original which, the editors point out, may not be the colour applied when the maps were prepared. Interestingly some of the colour conventions correspond with those used at least until the early part of the twentieth century. The map reproductions are to a reduced size but generally not so reduced as to prevent details such as script from being readable. Data such as the document reference, the date of the original map, national grid reference, etc, is stated for each of the map reproductions together with a description of the map and comment about the surveyor, where known, the scale, if stated, and so forth.

Two other authorities on Devon maps are *Maps and History in South-West England* edited by Katherine Barker and Roger Kain (1991) and *The Printed Maps of Devon County Maps 1575-1837* by Kit Batten and Francis Bennett (1996). *Early Devon Maps* in no way competes with these but acts as their companion. The editors clearly intend the book to be a taster for 2001 and in that respect they have succeeded.

The maps chosen are likely all to be original, that is, they were prepared, probably by the surveyor, from his measurements and observations on the site of his survey. This is in contrast to many of the well known county maps which were copied from earlier

original surveys. John Speed's beautiful map of the County of Devon, for example, is an updated version of Christopher Saxton's map published thirty-five years earlier. Map 5, the Newenham Abbey lands on page 12, is a particularly interesting sixteenth century example of what seems to be survey by triangulation. The 'map', which today would be referred to as a 'plot', appears to be a closed traverse, incomplete in itself but used as a base from which irregular detail could be located by right angle offsets. On the other hand, it might have been prepared solely to assess an approximate area of the Abbey lands. The length of each of the traverse lines is figured, the unit of measurement probably being the rod, pole or perch (standardised as 16.5 feet).

No map loving Devon historian should be without this book.

D L B Thomas

The Devon Almanac by Todd Gray. The Mint Press. 2000 210pp. £12.99 ISBN 1-903356-01-6

This unusual work gathers together historical items relating to Devon, collected from a wide variety of printed sources, arranged as a series of anniversaries for every day of the year. Numbers of items noted for each day vary from three to nine or ten, and mostly comprise a brief sentence. The majority of entries record events from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries although there are some earlier ones. We learn, for example, that on 1 March 1160 'The nuns of Polsloe were granted a burial ground'. Many record tragedies, or examples of the harshness of earlier days, such as: for 5 February 1677, 'A Barnstaple vessel, with coal from Swansea, sank off the Welsh coast and all the crew and passengers drowned', and for 18 February 1629 'Richard Lewis' punishment for fathering Joan Waterman's illegitimate baby was to pay fifteen pence weekly maintenance whereas she was publicly whipped'. More cheerful matters, however, also abound. On 2 September 1765 'There were Italian fireworks set off in Cathedral Close in Exeter' and on 2 May 1844 'Crowds watched trains arrive at Exeter St David's station and small boys went through the streets alarming locals by imitating trains' whistles'.

Significant historical dates are noted, as on 22 November 1558: 'Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen at Exeter in the morning.....' and for 3-13 September 1752 'Nothing happened in Devon except the date changed'. Imagination is stimulated by an entry for 3 October 1792: 'It was reported from Exeter that "the celebrated" Dr Graham had given a series of lectures "on his newly adapted systems of earth-bathing, in a garden on Southernhay where he exhibited to his numerous auditors himself buried up to the chin for several hours".' Modern references are by no means overlooked. On 25 February 1904 'The first woman to take out a driving licence in Exeter was Miss Katherine Rose Budd'. Outstanding events of recent history are also noted, such as the major Second World War air raids on Plymouth and Exeter, and the Lynmouth flood disaster of 1952.

Attractively produced, with marginal illustrations reproduced from engravings and lithographs, the book commands compulsive attention. It is one that might find an appreciated place on a guest room's bedside table - although perhaps not for the most squeamish visitor!

Helen Harris

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON DEVON YOU MAY HAVE MISSED

It has been a prolific period for historical publications in Devon of late and it is difficult even for the Westcountry Studies Library to keep up with the output of presses at a time when the book is supposed to be in its death-throes.

Surely the most impressive local history publication of 1999 was the heavyweight *Historical atlas of South-West England*, edited by Roger Kain and the late William Ravenhill, the culmination of many years of effort by the centre for South Western Historical Studies and published for the Centre by the University of Exeter Press. There are contributions on a wide range of topics relating to the history of Devon and Cornwall by sixty experts, with an interesting section at the end on the development of the two major urban centres in the area, Exeter and Plymouth. While there are 400 maps in the 600 large format pages, this is more than an atlas and will be a key reference work on the region for many years to come. The first printing was sold out and in May 2000 a second printing was called for. Its price is £65.00 (ISBN 0-85989-434-7). One drawback to this weighty tome: there is no index.

Halsgrove have been busy at a more local level in their series of community histories. Richly illustrated by photographs, these are usually a community effort and the extent of participation can be seen from the lengthy lists of subscribers in most volumes. Those received by the Devon History Society include: *Woodbury: the twentieth century revisited*, by Roger Stokes; *Widecombe-in-the-Moor: a pictorial history of the Dartmoor village*, by Stephen H. Woods; *The book of Torbay*, by Frank Pearce; *Postbridge: the heart of Dartmoor*, by Reg Bellamy; *The book of Lamerton*, by Anne Cole; *The book of Loddiswell*, by the Loddiswell Parish History Group; *The book of Manaton*, also a co-operative effort; *The book of Plymtree: the parish and its people*, edited by Tony Eames; *The book of Morchard Bishop*, by Jeff Kingaby; *The book of Meavy: Dartmoor parish, village and river*, by Pauline Hemery; *The book of Bampton*, by Caroline Seward and *The book of Cornwood and Lutton*, by the Cornwood Parish Map Project Group. These volumes normally retail at £19.95 and in many instances fill gaps in the historical and topographical coverage of smaller communities. Details of these and other Halsgrove and Devon Books titles are available from Halsgrove House, Chinon Court, Lower Moor Way, Tiverton Business Park, Tiverton, EX16 6SS or on their website: http://www.halsgrove.com/

One of the DHS Council members, Todd Gray, has set up the Mint Press in Exeter and has launched an ambitious series of publications with his delightful *Devon almanac*, a collection of historical snippets for each day of the year. His series *The traveller's tales*, extracts from writings, published and unpublished, by visitors to the region has been launched with volume 1 on Exeter. To follow are volumes on East Devon and Cornwall during 2000 and South Devon, Dorset and Somerset in 2001. A series on historical engravings is also planned, the first *Exeter engraved* is due to appear late in 2000. Details from The Mint Press, 18 The Mint, Exeter EX4 3BL.

Other local histories appeared across the county with the approach of the millennium. A few examples only: *Clayhidon: a parish on the Blackdowns*, by the Clayhidon Local History Group, *The millennium history of Instow*, by Alison Grant, the *Payhembury millennium book*, appropriately produced by the Payhembury Millennium Book Group, *The time of their lives: a personal history of Tawstock*, by Tawstock History Society and *Newton St. Cyres: a village history*, compiled by residents of the village. It is to be hoped that the groups who put these and other publications together will be able to continue their activities. Let the world know about your existence by informing

the Devon History Society and also by making sure that your details are up-to-date on the Library Service's organisations database by contacting in the first instance the Community Information Librarian, Exeter Central Library, Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ, e-mail sshort@devon-cc.gov.uk.

Many of you will know of the *Pictorial memories* series being produced by the Francis Frith photographic archive. Recently volumes have appeared on Torbay, Dartmoor, around Barnstaple, around Exeter, Ilfracombe and the South Devon coast. All in all, there is a wealth of material in print at present. Most of this ends up in the Westcountry Studies Library and is listed in the *Devon bibliography* and on the internet. Please make sure that you let the Westcountry Studies Library have a copy of anything you publish. We are prepared to pay for them - but donations are always welcome! Consider it as casting your bread upon the water, as we can then use details of the book to publicise it in our listings and as a basis for further orders.

Ian Maxted, County Local Studies Librarian

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

South Molton Heritage Trail. Edited by Shirley Bray. South Molton & District Archive Local History Society, 2000. Illustrated. 40 pages. Fold out map + 25 inset maps. No charge for booklet but, if it is wished to give a donation towards future research of the town's history, this should be sent to The Treasurer, South Molton & District Archive, 1 East Street, South Molton, EX36 3BU. ISBN 0-9514236-5-4. This booklet contains a short and informative introduction describing the town and its history. A diagrammatic plan of South Molton is printed on the inside of the cover of the booklet on which the route of the trail is identified by numbers corresponding to heritage trail plaques fixed to physical features. The route starts and finishes at the Square in South Molton. Points of historic interest near each of the numbered plaques are described in the book with inset maps showing the direction from one plaque to the next. Illustrations, particularly the black and white sketches of interesting buildings, are of a high quality. This is a well produced booklet which should enable a walker to spend a pleasant and interesting two hours.

Protecting Devon's Historic Environment. Devon County Council 2000. Illustrated. 10 pages. Obtainable from County Environment Director, County Hall, Topsham Road, Exeter EX2 4QW. ISBN 1-85522-738-X. This document sets out the strategy adopted by Devon County Council to protect the historic environment of the county since April 1998 when Plymouth and Torbay Councils became responsible for all aspects of the historic environment in their areas. The particular character of Devon is described and its value as an asset to the county. This character is subject to increasing modern development pressures, it is stated, and careful management of these pressures is necessary to avoid irreparable damage to the historic environment. The commitment of the Council to the principles of sustainability, which is defined, is stated together with four objectives to achieve the management of the environment in a sustainable manner. The Council proposes to implement a number of actions, which are described, in order to achieve these objectives. The document concludes with a statement that a report will be submitted annually to the County Council which will enable the Council's performance in delivering these actions over the preceding year to be monitored and judgements made for delivery over succeeding years.

St Andrew's Whitchurch. Guide to the Church. This is a new and attractively produced guide of 23 pages. It is very readable with brief but clear descriptions of parish history and church features. Research has been by DHS member Jean Wans, artwork for illustrations by Jacqui Humphries and Ben Sanham, and editing and layout by Jane Sanham. Price £1.00.

CONTRIBUTED INFORMATION

Proposed Milestone Society

A notice has been received from Mr Terry Keegan of The Oxleys, Tenbury Road, Claws Top, Kidderminster, Worcs, DY14 9HE (Tel 01299 832358) who is interested in forming a Milestone Society, devoted to the study of their history, present survival and future preservation. Most of such wayside markers have been by our roadsides for 150-200 years, placed as a result of the Turnpike Acts. Please contact Mr Keegan if you are interested.

DHS member Mr Anthony Greenstreet has contributed the following two items:

Church Monuments

Society members may like to know of an article 'Constructing the Dead: Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Effigy Sculpture in Devon' by Christine French in the 1999 Journal of the Church Monuments Society.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, English monumental sculpture underwent a rapid diversification resulting from, and responding to, current religious, political and economic upheavals. Devon's countryside was largely governed by landowning gentry and towns by local merchant oligarchies. Their members held it important to display their gentry status - not least by suitable commemorative monuments in their churches. Devon has a broad range of such monuments reflecting its high number of gentry and bureaucrats; and the 1620s and 30s were boom decades for memorial construction there.

Some of those decades' larger effigy memorials still displayed deliberately archaic medieval postures; but many were innovative in representing the deceased. Sixteen photographs illustrate how, while reflecting general current carving trends, the memorials revealed the characters in which those commemorated wished to be remembered - from the piety of the Copplestone family (1617) at Tamerton Foliot to the armoured authority of trained band captain Northcote (d.1632) at Newton St Cyres. A few memorials probably came from metropolitan workshops; but most of Devon's finest monuments were by local carvers in nearby materials.

Copies of the Journal may be obtained from Dr John Lord, 13 Wragby Road, Lincoln LN25 3H.

The Salcombe Bay treasure

Since April the British Museum has prominently displayed in the HSBC Money Gallery one of its most significant acquisitions of recent years - the Salcombe Bay Treasure.

The 'Salcombe Cannon Site', twelve miles off the coast, had been known since about 1980. But it was not until 1994 that the South-West Maritime Archaeological Group- a team of amateur maritime archaeologists and semi-professional divers - discovered and

began, with exemplary care and Government permission, to recover a treasure of unique importance.

It comprises over 400 gold coins struck in Morocco in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the latest being from a ruler (1631-6) named al-Wahid. There is also a quantity of fragmentary gold jewellery and ingots, suggesting that this may have been a bullion hoard exported for melting down. Clues to the possible origin of the ship are displayed with the treasure. They include sherds of high-quality seventeenth century Delft and German ware dating up to about 1640, and some Somerset pottery; one copper coin struck in Friesland in 1627 and another contemporary from Spain; a fine Moroccan fish-shaped lead sounding-weight; and a, probably Dutch, merchant's brass seal.

The treasure is being assessed by Dr Venetia Porter of the British Museum. In her paper 'Coins of the Sa'dian Sharifs of Morocco off the Coast of Devon: Preliminary Report' given to the 1997 Berlin Numismatic Congress, Dr Porter suggests (subject to the recovery of further items from the site) at least three possible identities for the ship - namely, that it was English or (perhaps more likely) Dutch and was sailing from Morocco to England; or it may have been one of the Barbary pirates active in English waters in the first half of the seventeenth century. (For accounts of the activities of these pirates, see Dr T. Gray 'Turkish Piracy and Early Stuart Devon', *Transactions of the Devon Association 121*, 1989; and Dr S. Bhanji *Barbary Pirates off the Devon Coast*, Orchard Publications, 1996).

NEWS FROM LOCAL SOCIETIES

Okehampton Local History Society has fifty-three members. They meet every month to hear a talk - generally illustrated with slides. In the past year these have included Dr. Todd Gray on the Revd. John Swete's Travels in Georgian Devon, John Allan on Exeter's Underground Passages, Tony Evans on Henry Williamson, and Caroline Worthington on Devon Painters. In January, instead of a talk, the OLHS holds an annual dinner, and in the summer usually makes two expeditions to places of local interest. This year they are visiting Buckfast Abbey, and the Revd. Sabine Baring-Gould's old Church and Rectory at Lewtrenchard.

(The Society's current chairman is DHS member Dr Jean Shields. For further information contact the Hon Sec, Mrs Margaret Bird of 2 Cleave Mill, Sticklepath, Okehampton, EX20 2NH - Tel. 01837 840543 - Ed)

Dawlish Local History Group. The group was formed in September 1993 and since then has grown to a membership of over 100. Dr R.W. Thompson, the Group's chairman, of Mount Hill House, West Cliff, Dawlish EX7 9EF (tel 01626 866190) - from whom further information may be obtained - writes:

The functions of the Group are:

- to encourage and conduct much needed research into the history of Dawlish and District. Currently members are undertaking a wide range of enquiries into local families and properties. A further project now completed was to record on tape the memories of a number of older local residents;
- to collect and preserve materials relevant to this history and make them available to researchers. Dawlish has an excellent museum with which we work closely but it is not well equipped for the preservation of and access to documentary material. Consequently we give high priority to this function;
- to disseminate information regarding this history through regular publication of books and of a newsletter and by giving talks to interested groups. Sadly earlier local historians generally failed to publish their work and much has been lost on their passing. Consequently published material of quality was seriously lacking and we place great emphasis on the remedying of this deficiency as the attached list of publications will show. We are currently considering the production of a video tape;
- to provide for members and friends a programme of talks every two months by visiting speakers and of four or five visits each summer to local places of historic interest. This function as an important social dimension but also serves to encourage members to make their own contributions to the more serious aspects of our work.
- to assist any individuals or groups making enquiries into local or family history whether a member or not; such enquiries are very frequent and often from a distance.

Publications:
Inns and Taverns of Old Dawlish, Henry Morgan edited by Tricia Whiteaway, pp.48.
How Dawlish Lost Its Independence, Local Administration in Dawlish in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, A. R. Thompson, 179 pp., £5.
Stonelands, a Regency Mansion, Betty M Roberts, 16 pp. £2
Bits 'n' Bob's, a collection of jottings on local history originally published in the Express and Echo, A R Thompson, 14 pp. £1
The History of the Manor House, Tricia Whiteaway, 14 pp. £2
Aspects of Dawlish History, ed. A R Thompson, 52 pp. £2.50
Notes on the History of the Vestry Hall, A R Thompson, 6 pp.
Down Smugglers Lane, a collection of memories of Holcombe Village, ed. Pamela Robins, 53 pp.
The Story of Dawlish Methodist Church, A R Thompson, 64 pp., currently out of print.
Dawlish Folk, a collection of studies of notable Dawlishians, ed. A R Thompson (in preparation)

All obtainable from our Publications Secretary, Mrs Jo de Lusignan, 4 Empsons Close, Dawlish EX7 9BG, tel. 01626-865844.

Heavitree Local History Society. Congratulations to this new Society which has truly 'taken off' and has attracted large numbers to its recent guided tours of Heavitree Fore Street and Higher Cemetery.