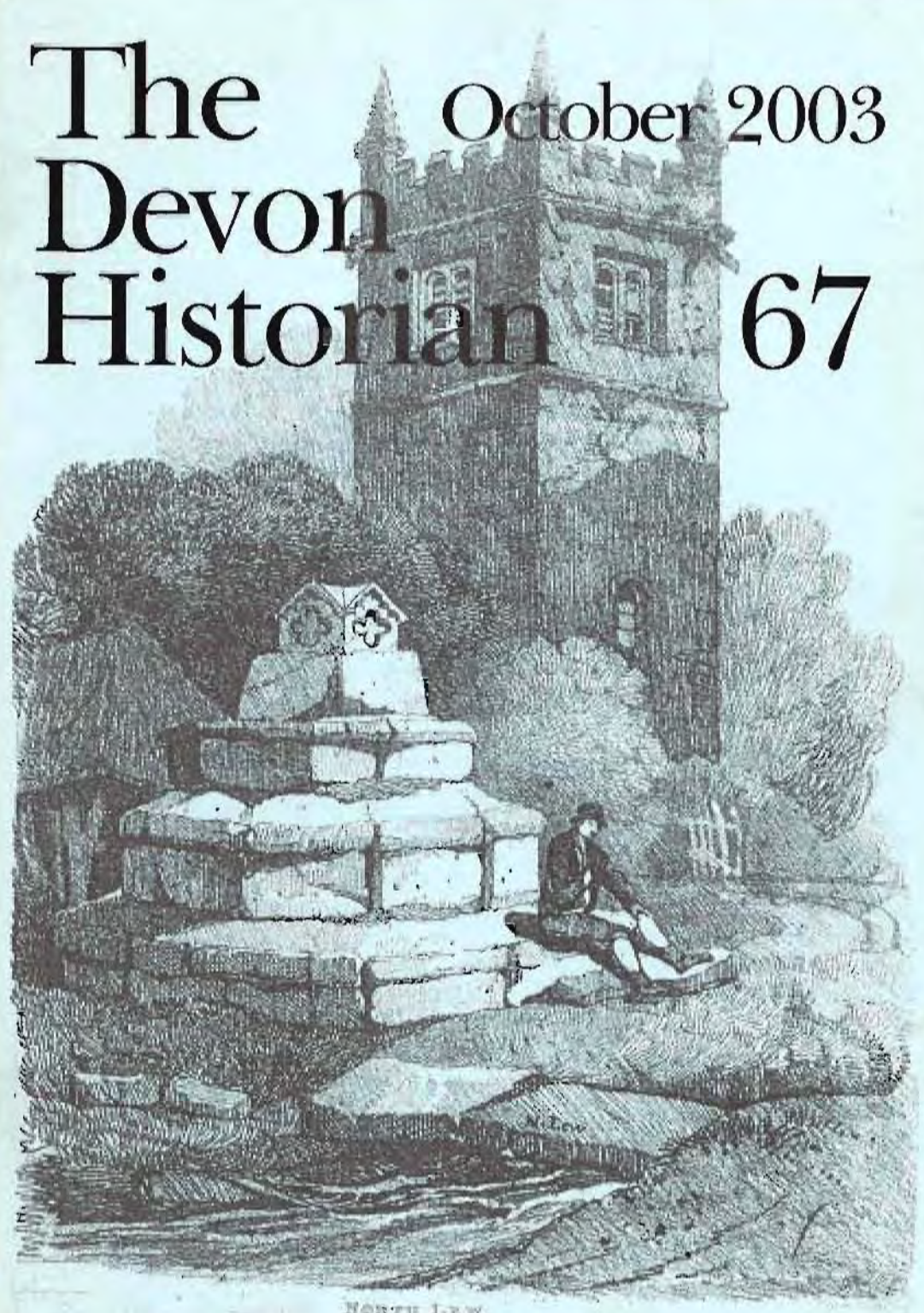




The Devon Historian

October 2003

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St. Mary's Well

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Correspondence relating to *The Devon Historian* and contributions for publication should be sent to Mrs Helen Harris, Hon. Editor, *The Devon Historian*, Hirondeilles, 22 Churchill Road, Whitechurch, Tavistock PL19 9BU. The deadline for the next issue is 30 November 2003. Books for review should be sent to Mr David Thomas, 112 Topsham Road, Exeter EX2 4RW, who will invite the services of a reviewer. It is not the policy of the Society to receive unsolicited reviews.

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The AGM of the Society will take place on Saturday 18 October at St Luke's College, Exeter.

The print on the front cover is *North Lew*, drawing by S. Prout, pub. 1811, Somers Cocks 1794. The illustration on the back cover is a detail (enlarged) from the Greenwood Map of the County of Devon 1827 showing Ottery St Mary and the silk mill.

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DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Current and back issues of *The Devon Historian* are available from the Honorary Secretary (D.L.B. Thomas) at 112 Topsham Road, Exeter, EX2 4RW. Members may purchase available back issues at £3 each including postage and, when ordering, should state the issue number(s) or publication date(s) of the journal(s) required. The Secretary is always glad to receive copies of earlier numbers of *The Devon Historian* in good condition.

NOTE FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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

To assist the work of the Editor and the printers please ensure that contributions are clearly typewritten, on one side of the paper only, with **double spacing** and adequate margins, and also, as far as possible, that the journal's style is followed on such matters as the restrained use of capital letters, initial single rather than double inverted commas, the writing of the date thus e.g.: 30 November 2003, etc.

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EDWARD I AND THE CHURCHES OF DEVON, 1297

Jonathan Good and Nicholas Orme

In the spring of 1297 King Edward I spent six weeks in Devon, chiefly at Plympton, arranging help for his lands in south-western France which were being attacked by the French king. Royal visits to Devon were unusual in this period: the county was off the king's usual routes and rarely called for his personal attention. Edward had been to Exeter once before, to deal with a serious crime in 1285, but he appears to have been the sole reigning monarch who made a journey to the South West during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though Richard II did so as a boy.¹ Recently one of us, Jonathan Good, while completing a study of the cult of St George in medieval England, encountered a 'Wardrobe Book' in the British Library, giving detailed accounts of the king's personal expenditure during the year in question, including his visit to Devon.² One of the sections of the book is concerned with the king's alms: the money that he gave for religious and charitable purposes, day by day. This information is valuable. It enables us to reconstruct his itinerary, to get a sense of the part that religion played in his everyday life, and to observe how he interacted with the religious houses and parish churches of Devon during his visit. It also throws light on church dedications and saint cults in the county, at a time when information about these matters is not easy to come by.

Edward entered Devon on about 3 April and travelled via Ottery St Mary to Exeter. He stayed there for a night or two, before proceeding to Chudleigh where he probably lodged in the manor house of the bishop of Exeter, and thence to Hsington, Buckfast Abbey, Ermington, and finally Plympton Priory, which he adopted as his base. Plympton was close to Plymouth, or Sutton as it was then often known, and Plymouth was well placed for the sending of messages, men, and supplies to the king's French lands around Bordeaux and Bayonne. Edward lived in the priory from about 11 to 26 April, at which point he made an expedition lasting about a week via Brixton to Newton Ferrers and back again. He left Plympton on about 8 or 9 May and retraced his steps through Exeter, Ottery, and Honiton. The king's household travelled with him, including a number of priests and clerks who formed the staff of the king's chapel, or chapel royal, performing daily services which the king attended if he so desired. Wherever the king was staying, a suitable chapel or room was annexed for this purpose, and this constituted 'his chapel', of which we hear so often in the Wardrobe Book. Every Sunday, and on some weekdays, the king offered a sum of money in the chapel – almost always 7s. On the missing days he may have had private worship in his rooms rather than attending the chapel royal. Twice we hear that he offered money to 'the cross of Gneyth' and 'two thorns of the crown of Christ'. The cross was the *Croes Naid*, which had been possessed by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Wales, and had been handed over to Edward by the Welsh in 1284. It was believed to contain part of Christ's cross, and Edward had spent a large sum of money on embellishing its casing with jewels.³ We are not told what happened to any of the money after it had been offered.

The arrival of the king and his household in Devon must have excited much interest. It was expected that he would visit local churches and give his alms to them and to their clergy. He did not apparently stop at every small church on his route, but he visited the major ones and those at the recognised places for travellers to halt and rest. So we find him, or his staff, making offerings to Ottery St Mary Church, Exeter Cathedral, and St Nicholas Priory in Exeter, and he probably visited both the latter in state: being con-

ducted to the high altar, viewing the relics, and offering his usual 7s. He also went to Buckfast Abbey, Plympton Priory, and the parish churches of Brixton and Ermington. Some other churches are mentioned in the Wardrobe Book as having received his offerings, but in some or all of these cases it appears that his household servants made them on his behalf. These places included the parish churches of Ashcombe and Sutton, the parochial chapels of St Mary and St Maurice at Plympton, and the priory of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall. The king also gave alms to some of the local friaries: religious houses that had no endowments and depended on people's voluntary contributions. These places included the Carmelite friary of Sutton, the Franciscan friary of Bodmin, and the Franciscan and Dominican friaries of Exeter. The reference to Bodmin in the accounts is an amusing one. Bodmin was often spelt *Bomine* in medieval records, but the writer of the Wardrobe Book rendered it in Latin as *Abhomine*, meaning 'inhuman'!

Edward was interested in saints as well as in churches. The Wardrobe Book reports him offering money to Mary, Maurice, and Michael, and, on their festival days, to Eutropius, John of Beverley, and Nicholas. Eutropius was honoured at Saintes, a town in the king's dominions in south-western France. Edward also had a particular devotion to St George, whose day on 23 April fell during his visit to Devon. Earlier in his reign the king had ordered arm-bands decorated with St. George's cross for his soldiers to wear while on campaign in Wales, and he was to hoist St. George's banner over Caerlaverock Castle (Scotland) after capturing it in 1300.¹ He commissioned a ship called the St. George of Dartmouth, and in 1285 offered gold figures of Saints George and Edward the Confessor, costing a full £374, to the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury.² His devotion to George was not professed by his son Edward II, but it was one of the many things that Edward III sought to re-establish after the disaster of that king's reign. The foundation of the Order of the Garter under the saint's patronage in 1348 was the most prominent example of this, and an important reason why George later became the patron saint of England. In 1297, on St George's Day, the king sent one of his servants to offer money at the altar of St George in the parish chapel of St Maurice of Plympton (perhaps this was the nearest local place where St George was honoured), while another was sent to the parish church of Ashcombe near Exeter, which was dedicated to St George.

A feature of the Wardrobe Book worth attention is the light that it throws on church dedications in Devon. Sometimes the book mentions churches as being dedicated to particular saints, including Ashcombe (George), Plympton (two churches: Mary and Maurice), and Sutton (Andrew). In a few other cases the statement is made that the king gave an offering to a particular saint in a particular church. This is not necessarily a reference to the patron saint, because the saint concerned could have had a statute or altar within a church dedicated to somebody else. At Honiton and Ottery, however, we are told that the images were those of St Michael and St Mary respectively, the patron saints of the churches concerned, so the images must have been the statues of those saints that Church law required to be placed beside the high altar. The mention that the king made an offering 'at the high altar in the parish church at Brixton in honour of Blessed Mary' looks as though it too is a reference to the church patron saint. We have no other medieval reference to Brixton's dedication with which to check this one, but pending further discoveries, we might provisionally say that the dedication was to Mary – as it has been regarded as being since about 1889.³

Two of the pieces of information about dedications in the Wardrobe Book are particularly important. The first relates to one of the parish churches of Plympton: the one that served that part of the parish known historically as Plympton Earl and later as Plympton St Maurice. The patron saint of this church is usually said to have been

Thomas Becket in the middle ages, and there are at least three references to him in this respect between 1335 and about 1539.⁷ It has generally been thought that the church dedication was changed to Maurice in 1538, when Henry VIII declared it illegal to venerate Becket. John Leland, the Tudor traveller and antiquary, who visited Devon in about 1540, actually noted that Plympton Earl had formerly been called Plympton Thomas after Thomas Becket, but now the church there is of St Mauricius, knight and martyr.⁸ There would have been an oddness, however, in choosing Maurice as an alternative to Becket in the mid sixteenth century, as he was a relatively little-known martyr of the third century with few English dedications. Moreover most churches of Becket changed their patron to Thomas the Apostle. The 1297 evidence shows that the church had long been dedicated to Maurice as well as to Becket. Indeed Maurice may have been the original patron saint when the church was established, in about the twelfth century, and may have been joined by Becket at some point after the latter's martyrdom in 1170.

Finally there is the unequivocal reference to Ashcombe as 'the church of St George'. This confirms the opinion expressed in 1996 by the other of us, Nicholas Orme, that Nectan, although nowadays believed to be the patron saint of Ashcombe, was not the original one.⁹ Ashcombe's dedication was not known when historians first began to gather evidence about church saints in the eighteenth century, and it is first given as Nectan, with a query, in the work of the Victorian scholar George Oliver in 1846. The basis of Oliver's statement was apparently a documentary reference, which he had found to Nectan as the patron of a church that he thought was probably Ashton but possibly Ashcombe.¹⁰ The document concerned is likely to have been the will of John Comin, dated 1544, which was seen by a later writer, Beatrix Cresswell, in about 1912, who believed that the church concerned was Ashcombe.¹¹ The church name was presumably hard to read, and the will is not now available to be checked. In recent times the Nectan dedication has become ascribed to Ashcombe rather than Ashton, no doubt in part because Ashton is thought to have a different dedication whereas Ashcombe's has been unknown. But against that must be set the facts that Oliver seems to have preferred Ashton to Ashcombe, and that records survive of a man or men named Robert Comyn or Comyng in Ashton parish between 1544 and 1570, whereas no one so named is mentioned in Ashcombe in the period around 1544.¹²

The new evidence shows clearly that Ashcombe was dedicated to George by 1297, and we can assume that this was the case up to the Reformation since the study of church dedications makes it clear that they were not normally changed during the middle ages. It follows that the Comin will is more likely to have referred to Ashton – a church that is nowadays regarded as dedicated to John the Baptist. The evidence that John was patron saint of Ashton is not altogether without support in early records. There was a 'store' or cult of him in the church in 1539; in 1742 the parish feast was said to be held on the Sunday after the festival of his beheading (29 August); and he appears on the central doors of the chancel screen.¹³ Unfortunately none of this evidence is conclusive. Churches often had several stores, associated with images at side altars, and the presence of a store of John the Baptist in the building does not mean that the church was dedicated to him. Eighteenth-century parish feast days tended to be held on major saints' days during the summer, irrespective of the church's own patron saint's day, and we cannot be sure that John's representation on the chancel screen has any special significance. The only doubt about assigning Nectan to Ashton arises from the lack of any supporting context to do so. Nectan was the patron saint of Hartland Abbey in north Devon, where he was thought to be buried, and of Hartland parish church. The nearby church of Welcombe, originally a chapelry of Hartland, was dedicated to him, as were

two or three chapels in Cornwall, but he is not known to have been the patron saint of any other parish church in England.¹⁴ Indeed his cult was chiefly confined to Hartland in the era when most Devon parish churches were built and assigned to saints. It may be safer at present to say of Ashton: 'possibly Nectan, possibly John the Baptist'.

The wardrobe book of 1297 has, at any rate, given us two new medieval dedications of Devon churches (three if we can include Briston). Ashcombe brings to seventeen the number of parishes in Devon known to have been dedicated to George, the others being Beaford, Clyst St George, Cockington, Dean Prior, Dittisham, St George in Exeter, Georgeham, George Nympton, Harford, Manaton, Modbury, Monkleigh, Morebath, Seaton, Shillingford St George, and Witheridge. A few more examples may come to light in the future. George had been popular in England since before the Norman Conquest and the Crusades, and he was the sixth most frequent choice in Devon when dedicating churches. This popularity was to make it easier for Edward I and especially Edward III to develop his cult until he became the nation's patron saint.

A Translation of British Library, Add. MS 7965, ff. 7(1)r-7(2)r

[f. 7(1)r]

3 April [1297]. For the offering of the king to the image of Blessed Mary in the church of Ottery St Mary, 7s.

[f. 7(1)v]

4 April. For the offering of the king to the relics on the high altar in the cathedral church of Exeter, 7s.

5 April. For the offering of the king to the relics on the high altar in the church of the priory of St Nicholas, Exeter, 7s.

6 April. For the offering of the king to the altar in his chapel at Chudleigh [*Chuddeleye*], 7s.

7 April, viz. Palm Sunday. For the offering of the king at the cross of Gonyth, 5s., and to two thorns of the crown of Christ, 3s., total 8s.

9 April. For the offering of the king to the high altar in the church of the abbey of Buckfast, 7s. On the same day for the offering of the king at the altar in the church of Ermington, 7s.

11 April. For the offering of the king at the image of Blessed Mary in the church of the priory of Plympton, 7s. On the same day for wax for the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel, for good tidings, 7s.

14 April. For a shared offering at the high mass celebrated before the king in the church at the priory of Plympton, viz. at the feast of Easter, 2s. 7d. On the same day for the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel there, 7s.

15 April. For the offering of the king made by John de Langele in the name of the king by order of the same king at the altar of the priory of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, 7s., and for money offered by him by order of the said king at a mass celebrated there in honour of St Michael for the price of one large penny of the king, 7d., total 7s. 7d.

16 April. For the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel there, 7s.

19 April. For the offering of the king at the altar in his own chapel there, 7s.

23 April. For the offering of the king made by Sir William le Bruyn in the name of the

same king at the altar of St George in the church of St Maurice of Plympton [and] at the altar of St Maurice in the same church, at each place 7s., and at two masses celebrated at the same altar for the king in the presence of the same Sir William, at each mass 7d., total 15s. 2d. On the same day for the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel in the priory of Plympton, by the hands of Sir Henry, almoner of the king, 7s.

24 April. Delivered to John the candlemaker of the king to offer in the name of the same king at a certain mass which the same John made to be celebrated for the same king at the high altar in the church of St George of Ashcombe [*Ashcombe*] near Exeter, together with one large candle, 7d. Also to the same on the same day to offer in the name of the same king at the said altar of St George at Ashcombe by the hands of Ranulf Lescot, carrying the money to the same John, 7s.

25 April. For the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel within the priory of Plympton, 7s.

To John Whyting, the king's cook, sick at Milton behind the king, as a grant for his food at the time of his sickness, by his own hands there on the same day, 2s.

26 April. For the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel within the priory of Plympton, 7s.

28 April. For the offering of the king at the high altar in the parish church of Brixton, 7s.

29 April. For the offering of the king at the high altar in the parish church of Newton Ferrers, 7s.

30 April. For the offering of the king made there by Sir Henry the almoner in honour of St Eutrop[ius], 7s.

1 May. For the offerings of the king at the high altar in the parish church at Newton Ferrers, 7s.

2 May. For the offerings of the king at the high altar in the parish church at Brixton in honour of Blessed Mary, 7s. On the same day for the offerings of the king made by John Champnent in the name of the same king at the high altar of the church of St Mary at Plympton in honour of the same saint, 3s.

3 May. For the offerings of the king at the cross of Gonyth in his chapel within the priory of Plympton, 5s., and to the thorns of the crown of Christ in the same chapel, 3s., total 8s. On the same day for wax for the oblations of the king at the body of Christ in the same chapel by the hands of [Henry] the almoner, 5s.

5 May. For the offerings of the king at the altar in the same chapel by the hands of the same, 7s.

6 May. For the offerings of the king at the same altar in the same chapel by the hands of the same, 7s.

[A series of offerings are omitted here that were to be sent to churches in France.]

[f. 7(2)r]

7 May. For the offering of the king at the altar in his chapel at Sutton in honour of St John of Beverley, confessor, 7s. On the same day for the offering of the king at the high altar in the church of St Andrew of Sutton, by the hands of Sir Philip de Euerdon, by order of the king, 7s. On the same day for the offering of the king at the high altar in the parish church of St Mary, Plympton, made by the hands of Sir J. de Benstede in the name of the same king, 7s.

To Friar Peter Calculus and Friar Raymond de Burdegal, of the Order of Minors of

Bayonne, by gift and alms of the king on their return towards their own parts, by their own hands at Sutton in the port of Plymouth, 7 May, 10 marks [£6 13s. 4d.].

To Friar Peter de Pinibus and his fellow friar of the Order of Preachers of Bayonne, by gift and alms of the king in the same manner on their return towards their own parts, by their own hands in the same place on the same day, 10 marks.

To the Carmelite Friars of Sutton, for their food [*putura*] for three days on the arrival of the king there in the month of May, by the hands of Sir Henry the almoner there on the same day, 8s.

To the Friars Minor of Bedmin [*Abhomine*] in Cornwall by gift and alms of the king designated for their food for three days by the hand of Sir Henry the almoner of the king there, 8 May, 40s.

9 May. For the offering of the king in his chapel at Ermington in honour of St Nicholas, 7s.

10 May. For the offering of the king in his chapel at Ashburton, 7s. To the Friars Minor of Dorchester for their food for three days during the transit of the king there in the month of May, by the hands of Friar Nicholas of Exeter, 32s.

For the offering of the king in his chapel at Chudleigh, 10 May, 7s., at the image of Blessed Nicholas at Exeter by the hands of J. de Langele made as an offering in the name of the king, 7s., at the image of Blessed Mary in the church of Ottery by the hands of J. de Benstede on the same day, 7s., at the image of Blessed Michael in the church of Honiton, 13 May, 7s.

To the Friars Preachers of Exeter for their food for four days, viz. three days at the advent of the king there in the middle of April and one day, viz. Palm Sunday, while the king was at Ilington [*Ilstinton*], by the hands of Friar Nicholas of Wrotham at Clyst, 48s.

To the Friars Minor of the same town by the hands of Friar John de Fulham there, 45s. 4d.

- 12 Stoate, T.L., (ed.) *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1543-5*, Almondsbury, 1986, p.175; Exeter, Devon Record Office, Ashton PR 1/2 (burial, 8 March 1570).
- 13 Orme, *English Church Dedications*, p.128.
- 14 Orme, Nicholas, *The Saints of Cornwall*, Oxford, 2000, pp.197-200.

Jonathan Good has recently completed a PhD thesis on the Cult of St George in medieval England at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Nicholas Orme is Professor of History at Exeter University.

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- 1 On medieval royal visits to Devon, see N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral As It Was: 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986), pp.47-53.
- 2 Add. MS 7965.
- 3 Prestwich, M. *Edward I* (London, 1988), p.204.
- 4 London, Public Record Office, E 101 3/15; Nicolas, N.H. (ed.), *The Siege of Carlisle* (London, 1828), p.87.
- 5 *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae anno regni regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo*, London: Society of Antiquaries, 1787, pp.70, 274; Brown, R. Allen, Colvin, H.M., and Taylor, A.-J., *The History of the King's Works: vol. i, The Middle Ages*, London, 1963, p.481.
- 6 Orme, N. *English Church Dedications* (Exeter, 1996), p.138.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p.193.
- 8 Leland, John, *Itinerary*, ed. Smith, Lucy Toulmin, 5 vols, London, 1907-10, i, 216.
- 9 Orme, *English Church Dedications*, pp.127-8.
- 10 Oliver, George, *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846, pp.444-5.
- 11 Cresswell, Batrix F., *Notes on the Churches of the Deanery of Kenn, Devon*, Exeter, 1912, p.18.

OTTERY ST MARY'S WORSTED FACTORY

Ronald F. Homer

Ottery St Mary was for long a centre of the flourishing Devon woollen trade but by the end of the eighteenth century this had become depressed through loss of export markets due to European wars and by the competition from cotton. The late eighteenth century factory building which still stands adjacent to St Saviour's Bridge at Ottery St Mary was built by the joint lords of the manor, Sir George Yonge and Sir John Duntze, in an effort to stimulate this declining woollen industry. Yonge, who lived at Escot House, was MP for Honiton, Secretary for War, and later became governor of the Cape of Good Hope. Duntze, a Rockbeare resident, was a scion of a wealthy Exeter banking family with considerable merchant interests in the wool trade and was MP for Tiverton. Brief notes on the factory's history were published by M.C. Phillips¹ and more recently Martin Bodman has published some enlightening information taken from archival sources such as contemporary newspapers.² The aim of this article is to fill out the history of Ottery's monument to the industrial revolution and to correct some of the errors which have appeared and been repeated in previous published accounts. In particular the factory was never, as has been frequently said, a serge mill, but produced worsted thread for the weaving trade.

The site on which the factory was built was not a virgin site. A leat and flour mill had been there since Domesday times and by the middle of the eighteenth century fulling and leather mills and a dyehouse had been built on the leat below the mill.³ Work on the factory site, which included within it the ancient flour mill, is generally accepted to have begun in 1788 and the factory building together with a newly built flour mill was in operation by late 1792 or early 1793. A Mr Thomas Warren of Tiverton was appointed agent with power to transact business on behalf of the proprietors in October 1792⁴ and on 6 May 1793 the factory and the flour mill were insured as going concerns with the Sun whose policy No. 614734 describes the premises as,

A dwelling house called Ottery Mills, and offices adjoining and communicating used as a Woollen Manufactory situate in the parish of Ottery St Mary in Devon, brick and slated £6000. Machinery and utensils therein £2500. Stock therein £500. House and Water Corn Mill adjoining and communicating, with the going gears and machinery belonging, separate brick and slated £1000 Utensils and stock in a separate Warehouse near, stone, brick and slated and tyled £1000. Warranted no kiln or steam engine in the above mills.⁵

A Christopher Flood is named in the policy as mortgager from Sir George Yonge as



A pre-war aerial view of the factory. Reproduced by courtesy of Peter Harris.

mortgager.

The work on the site involved reducing the fall of the leat and raising the level of the millpond to provide a sufficient head of water to drive not only the 12 foot overshot wheel in the flour mill but also the new 18 foot waterwheel in the factory. The water for the latter was conveyed from the millpond across a sunken road to the factory through an overhead launder raised on trestles. This was demolished as recently as 1945. At the same time the well-known 'tumbling weir' was built to return surplus water from the millpond to the river. The weir is a circular cast iron structure and is some 15 feet in diameter. Although it has long been claimed to be unique there are several similar, though smaller, weirs (known locally as 'plug weirs') on the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal which was constructed by James Brindley and finished in 1772.⁶ These most probably provided the idea for Ottery's tumbling weir and it is at least possible that the massive iron castings which form it were fabricated in the foundries of the industrialised Midlands and shipped by canal to the river Severn at Stourport and thence by water to Exeter. During the course of the work the old established fulling and leather mill known as Pulman's Mills, situated down the leat from the flour mill, was purchased by Sir George Yonge to clear the way for his development.⁷

It would appear that the factory did not flourish as had been hoped. In March 1794 Sir George Yonge appointed Mr Sam Major as a new manager to replace Mr Warren⁸ and in May of that year a notice to Sir George Yonge's creditors asking them to submit their claims appeared in the *Exeter Flying Post* suggesting that he had become financially embarrassed.⁹ As will be seen later it was reported that building the factory had cost him £40,000. Sir John Duntze died in 1795 and in July 1796 the factory was put up for sale when the following notice appeared in the *Sherborne Mercury*:

Capital Worsted Factory, Water Mills and Estates, Devonshire, To be Sold by Auction... Comprising Ottery Worsted Mills and Factory. ... Together with forges, turners and joinery shops, in a spacious yard, inclosed with walling, a capital water wheel 18 feet in diameter, constantly supplied by the river Otter and works 47 spinning frames containing 2256 spindles, roving frames and drawing frames. A capital fire engine [steam engine] which, with the whole of the Machinery and Apparatus are the best of the kind, and completed at the expense of many thousand pounds.

Also Ottery Grist and Flour Mills newly erected on improved principles, with spacious granary, malting frames and working three pairs of stones, and capable of working four, with a newly erected Brick Dwelling House and Stables adjoining.¹⁰

It is interesting to note that a steam engine had been installed despite the warranty in the Sun insurance policy. In view of the available water power its purpose seems uncertain.

It appears that there was no buyer as the factory and flour mill were again advertised for sale by auction in *The Times* on 18 November 1796. The outcome of that sale is not clear, and the next few years of the factory's history is obscure. Phillips notes that it was idle from 1796 to 1801 and that it was sold to a Mr Windeatt in 1803 for £20,000. A surviving document of 1815 is a lease from John Lavers of Kingsbridge to Thomas Windeatt of Bridgetown, sergemaker, now in occupation, of the factory at Ottery together with the woollen mill at Harbertonford for 30 years at £1100 per annum.¹¹ The Ottery factory was then equipped with 2 combing engines, 8 sliver drawing and roving frames, 59 spinning frames, 34 warping bars, 1 twisting frame, 1 fluting engine, 6 reels or skaines and a 'fire engine'. The assumption must be that Windeatt either sold or mortgaged the premises to Laver in return for the lease.

Phillips notes that the factory was sold in 1819 to Ball and Fowell and they are shown

there as wool manufacturers in Pigot's 1823 directory. Lysons, writing in 1822, records that there was a large manufactory for spinning wool in the town and that wool was sent to Exeter market.¹² In the same year Richard Franklen, a visitor to Ottery, wrote that the woollen manufactory of Ball and Fowell employed between 200 and 300 persons, principally women and children, and that the greater part of the output went to Kidderminster to the carpet weavers.¹³

In 1823 the factory was advertised for sale by auction in the *Birmingham Gazette*. It is described as having been constructed by the late Sir George Yonge at a cost of £40,000 and to be in use as a spinning mill for the carpet and lace trades.¹⁴ Also on offer was the flour mill. In 1824 the new proprietor, J. Newberry, converted the factory to silk spinning and weaving and he and his successor, T.C. Newberry, are shown as proprietors of an apparently successful silk mill in trades directories up to the 1870s. However, the tithe apportionment of 1843 shows the owner of both the factory and the flour mill to be Mrs Fowell, the Newberrys appear therefore to have been lessees. In a Parliamentary Report of 1839 the factory is stated to have employed 325 persons of whom 87 were aged between 13 and 18, six between 9 and 13 and two were children under 9.¹⁵

On 16 June 1882, Newberry having retired or died, the freehold of the factory was put up for auction at the New London Hotel, Exeter, being described as a silk mill equipped with cleaning, winding, doubling, throwing, spinning and weaving machinery which is listed in detail and indicates a sizeable enterprise. Over 13 acres of land adjacent to the factory and along the leat, including land at the head weir, were included, as was the flour mill.¹⁶ The schedule describes the layout of the factory. The fifth floor housed cleaning machines, the fourth floor winding and cleaning machines, the third and second floors were weaving rooms, the first floor was a cleaning and store room and the ground floor housed a spinning room and the wheelwright's shop. On the roof was a large lead cistern and a bell tower and bell. Every floor had a balcony leading to a W.C. In addition there was a boiler house, a dye house and various ancillary buildings. Gas and hot water were laid on throughout. The wheel was then a breast wheel though the original eighteenth century wheel may have been overshot as there is mention of an 18 foot fall of water in the 1823 sale particulars.

What happened during the subsequent 16 years is not clear. The 1889 ordnance map labels the building as 'Silk Mill, Disused' and not until 1898 does the story become clear when the factory was leased to E.R.F.(Edward) Coleberd, proprietor of many entrepreneurial ventures in the Westcountry.¹⁷ He established in the factory a diversity of businesses. These included agricultural and medicinal chemicals manufacture, mineral water production and bottling, paper and paper bag manufacture, printing, and electrical engineering. The factory under Coleberd provided Ottery's first electric power in 1912. This was generated by turbines - the old wheel pit having been removed to accommodate them - and the Ottery St Mary Electric Light and Power Company came into being.¹⁸ The owner of the factory at this time was Lord Coleridge.

The various Coleberd enterprises located in the factory appear in trades directories until about 1920. However in 1917 E.S. & A. Robinson acquired the lease and made paper bags and gramophone record sleeves there. In the 1930s Rice of Exeter, shirt makers, and Bidwell of Axminster who made toothbrushes occupied part of the building.¹⁹ Robinson's lease expired in 1938 and the empty building was requisitioned during the war for the billeting of troops. After the war, in 1947, the factory was acquired from Lord Coleridge, the then owner, by GM Engineering (Acton) Ltd. and was much extended with new workshops which were built over the land which originally formed the gardens and tennis courts belonging to the factory. Later the Company became Ottermill

Switchgear Ltd. Until very recently the building has been occupied by Cutler-Hammer Ltd. who are also manufacturers of electrical switchgear. However, at the time of writing Cutler-Hammer has announced that it is shutting down its manufacturing in Ottery and vacating the factory. This, in addition to its serious effect on local employment, makes the future of this historic building very uncertain and efforts are being made to find an alternative use for it.

The author is indebted to Peter Harris, Robert Neal and Chris Saunders of the Ottery St Mary Heritage Society and to Tim Caulfield for generously providing information.

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GOthic REVIVAL IN NORTH-WEST DEVON – SOME EXAMPLES OF VICTORIAN CHURCH RESTORATION

Part Two

Michael Weller

This article seeks to look at the nature of the Victorian vogue for church restoration and both clerical and lay reactions to it in the area north of Dartmoor. In Part One the parishes of Highampton and Bridestowe were examined, the former having an early (1834) (and seemingly unopposed by parishioners) restoration and extension which nevertheless, in the interest of increasing the seating capacity, destroyed completely the medieval north wall of the church. In the case of Bridestowe (1859), local opposition was so great that subsequent restoration was both delayed and limited in scope. In this part a quarter of a century of ill-feeling between the reforming rector of Northlew and some sections of the congregation is considered and the article concludes with a relatively straightforward restoration, that at Germansweck.

The sometime chaplain of Parkhurst prison, thirty-nine year old Thomas England, accepted the living of Northlew in the spring of 1847. This was a parish that had experienced no clergyman in permanent residence within living memory, indeed not since the middle of the previous century. The church and the running of it therefore had been left largely in the hands of the churchwardens, and the performance of the services in the hands of a series of curates employed by absentee rectors who held plural livings and resided too far distant to conduct any service.¹ The hopeful new clergyman found that the font, which he excitedly recognised as being of Norman origin, was ‘...in a mutilated state; one of the four pillars broken and placed leaning against a pillar of the nave.’² The exterior of the tower and the north-west corner of the church were it seems ‘half-buried’ by soil which must have resulted in damp walls.³ St. Thomas Day⁴, the patronal festival, was, he found (to his consternation in 1848) still celebrated in the village but the church was ‘deserted’ the population being given over to ‘sports, wrestling and swearing’ otherwise known as the ‘Northlew Revel’. In general the congregation were ‘unpunctual’ at services as was arrival at the Vestry meetings, also the choir had been ‘utterly broken up’. Understandably therefore the rector wished for the patronage of ‘...a Gentleman in the Parish...without one the rector feels powerless, being quite without aid. The laity have no head.’ As if to pour salt in the wound the curate then told the rector that he feared that the vestry would refuse to grant the next church rate that was requested.

Thomas England tried hard to reform the habits of the villagers; he arranged for a bell to be rung to remind parishioners when to come to church, he attended the Vestry meetings and opened them with prayer. In the church he placed some ‘...ribbons for book markers.’ but these were soon ‘...cut off and carried away.’ ‘The same lack of reverence... (he wrote)... is shown in God’s Acre, the parish Graveyard.’ ‘Church feeling... (he noted in July 1851)... would appear to be almost past recovery.’ At least by the summer of the next year the font had been repaired but the schoolmaster had gone and the potentially large Bible Class had ‘fell off’. Despairingly he wrote ‘There would appear to be prejudice abroad as to any efficient real education amongst the parishioners.’ Writing in July 1856 Thomas England could still lament ‘...education being sadly backward, both in religion and secular matters – there seems to be ...a prejudice against matters of useful instruction such as the history and geography of Devonshire... the young schoolmaster reports

that many parents decline having their children taught such “unnecessary items”... and use this it seems as an excuse to refuse to pay the school fees’⁵ But the greatest cause of his irritation remained the annual ‘revel’. In 1852 this included ‘...Booths, shows & a travelling theatre.’ ‘...no chance for any Church service, or recognition of the venerable &... beautiful Place of Worship memorial of the loving piety of our ancestors.’ During Sunday services the congregation refused to join in the responses leaving this to the Parish Clerk who was frail and of advancing age. However by the next year the church was opened on ‘Thomas Day’, at least for a school service which was followed by ‘...a festival in the Rectory grounds, a Public tea given to them, with games afterwards.’ So the children at least were to be weaned from the sin of the Northlew Revel! In 1854 the rector noted with pleasure that there was ‘...not much noise of violent sports.’ on that day and felt ‘...encouraged to preach the more against all “revelling”’. Nevertheless the church fabric was suffering ‘...the roof and windows... increasingly frail: wet increases, draft so great as to tempt an increasing number to go to chapel with the plea that their comfort is considered, while those responsible for the safety of the Church neglect their duty.’ Indeed it had proved impossible ‘...to obtain even a quarter.’ of the Church rates!

The rector had already privately envisaged restoration of Northlew Church and by Easter of 1858 plans were in hand to construct a new east wall to the chancel with a window and a reredos complimented with new tablets of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer⁶ It was completed the next year and the rector wrote proudly of the work ‘...it is considered all round the neighbourhood as a tasty & beautiful reredos and window. Friends have proposed a plan for having tinted glass; indeed a painted window. Now the rector started to dream of further improvements; not only ‘Choir seats, Prayer Desk and Lectern’ but ‘...what is desirable to be done, to restore the fabric to early ...arrangements for Divine Service...’ In other words he now looked to the Gothic idyl.⁷ Another development which proceeded hand in hand with this kind of restoration programme was the introduction of a harmonium to accompany the singing. Such an instrument was produced in the spring of 1862 and played by the rector’s eldest daughter Emily Jane who was also the choir mistress until her untimely demise at the age of twenty-four in November the same year. The death was in some part attributed (by the rector) to her efforts (which were probably in addition to running the household of a widowed father) on behalf of the choir. Her health he recalled ‘...previously much taxed by double work... began rapidly to fail, after the Harmonium class instruction.’

Although the chancel had been restored in part, the Holloway Chapel which lay parallel to it on the south side was by 1861 ‘...unsightly from damp & decay.’ But as a private chapel this was technically neither the responsibility nor the prerogative of rector, churchwardens or Ecclesiastical Commissioners and thus had to rely on the descendants of those who had originally built it for repairs! Countrywide, incumbents were powerless to force ‘owners’ of such chapels to repair them; which often inhibited their own restoration success. Sadly the much venerated chancel restoration had not been entirely successful. In July 1863 the rector noted that ‘...the new Chancel walls, & reredos have not dried as expected – even the tablets which were sent for all the way from Bath, have not become fit for lettering. The beautifully fine close grained stone seems to imbibe the damps of the climate, & the paint is peeling off – the lower part of the neat & tasty diaper⁸ work already obliterated...’ By the following year it became obvious that the illuminated lettering intended for the tablets could never be applied and it was decided to affix zinc tablets over the top. To make matters worse the damp from the Holloway chapel had now ‘injured’ the south chancel wall.

In 1868 the Reverend Mr England turned his thoughts to the removal of the west

gallery, the presence of which he saw as a '...great impediment indeed to the maintenance of a proper control over the parishioners congregating at that part, especially in the chiming chamber of the Tower.' One of the rector's goals had always been the opening of the tower arch into the church. It seems likely that this had been blocked up with some form of wooden panelling when the gallery had been erected for the singers presumably during the eighteenth century. The root of almost all trouble relating to the parish church was, in Thomas England's view, the fact that no clergyman had actually resided in the parish since at least the death of Mr Holland Coham in 1777 coupled with the fact that there was no lay person '...of position...' to assist the clergy either by moral or financial leadership. To these two issues he unerringly related all problems throughout his long incumbency.

England often refers to the Rural Dean having visited the church and having made numerous recommendations in writing in the early 1820s. At the time the curate '...made complaint of the unsafe condition of the lofty Rood Screen; not being attended to by the ...Ratepayers, he appealed to the rural dean, who gave notice to the churchwardens that it was either to be solidly repaired, or altogether removed.' In fact it seems that this medieval treasure which would (prior to their probable destruction at the Reformation or during the Civil War) have carried large images of the Crucifixion flanked by figures of the Virgin Mary and St John was actually 'patched up' using wood taken from old reading desks which Thomas England (doubtless rightly) describes as having disfigured '...the elaborate carving of the screens.' However although the rector complained a great deal, little if any further restoration seems to have been carried out at this time. Being the rector of Northlew was ever an uphill task. In common with his contemporaries at other churches the incumbent was trying to encourage greater attendance at (as well as a fit setting for) the Holy Communion service. The importance and centrality of this service had been largely diminished by the contempt for the Mass engendered by the Reformation, thus local enthusiasm for Communion was still sorely lacking. When Thomas England came to Northlew celebrations took place only three times a year⁹ but persuading the Northlew folks to actually receive the elements proved difficult since even as late as 1872 Thomas bewailed that, 'A fixed & deeply rooted idea seems to prevail in the parish that reciprocity is intended only '...for "gentlefolks" & old persons - exhortations both public & private appear to have no power...'

The winter and spring following were 'severe & tempestuous', but by the following May the rector had, it seems paid for a new roof covering himself whilst also appealing to local landowners for aid and proposing a Tea Feast to raise funds. The extra expense on the chancel roof proved to little avail as damp was still coming through from the Holloway Chapel. This neglect of the side chapel must have seemed all the more irritating since the nearby Ashbury Church had been completely restored during 1872 by Archdeacon Woolcombe who was a great friend of the rector. Sadly three years later in 1875 the rector could still (if a little shakily) write, 'Another winter is committing increased damage to the South wall & S.E. angle of the Chancel thro' the damp proceeding from the dilapidation of that aisle - it is very hard upon a rector long engaged in restoring his chancel to be stopt in his work...' In fact Thomas England never saw the full restoration of the chancel completed in a satisfactory manner nor did he see the removal of the panelling and gallery at the back of the church and the installation of new bench pews, although all these things as well as structural works at the north-west angle of the tower including the construction of a vestry, took place under his successor between 1883-1884. The much lamented medieval screen was it seems removed (in part) at this time, surviving only to transom rail height as is shown in a photograph dated

circa 1886 at present hung in the church.¹⁰

At about the time of Thomas England's greatest frustrations the Reverend Samuel Andrew who was both Rector of Halwill and curate of Germansweek¹¹ took on the task of restoring both of his churches. Whilst his parishioners do not seem to have thwarted him at every turn some extracts from his correspondence with regard to Germansweek Church will serve to indicate perhaps a 'typical' restoration procedure. Having completed Halwill ('...and made a pretty little church of it...') by December 1870 the curate wrote to the ICBS¹² '...proceeding with Germansweek, and although the times are not very propitious, owing to the extra demands for new schools throughout the county¹³, must try to accomplish it... (in hoping that the ICBS would allow a grant, he continued)... The parish is very poor and have responded very freely to my appeal... (making it clear that he will bear some of the cost himself)... the fabric of the church as well as the seats are in a most lamentable condition - everything in fact rapidly hastening to decay! Indeed the church can scarcely be said to be fit for the performance of divine service, so much so that the congregation will not much longer be held together unless active and energetic steps are taken to restore it.'

Germansweek church like Northlew also possessed a west gallery which was eight feet deep with (it seems) eight benches, each of which was six feet in length accommodating three persons. Unlike those at Northlew and Bridestowe the nave seats at Germansweek were like the gallery ones, uniform in size and arranged in rows rather than randomly placed and irregular sized box-pews. By the re-arrangement of the nave, south transept and aisle seating the accommodation at Germansweek was, notwithstanding the removal of the gallery, increased in capacity although it must be noted that in a full church a seat width of 20in for adults and a mere 14in for children (the minimum dimensions favoured by the ICBS) are less than halcyon!

There were stipulations made as a condition of the grant by the ICBS in January 1871, both in respect of the aisle passages which had to be a minimum of 2ft 9in wide and in regard to the space 'under the roof slating' which they stated must be 2in '...left for ventilation... (also) ...the common rafters should be 4" by 3" instead of 2½" x 3½"', the dimensions favoured by the builder. It seems that some sort of amended plan was subsequently sent to the society since in February they replied to prevent a piece of architectural vandalism; '...the opening occupied by the stairs to the rood loft be left open with a view from the transept into the chancel if the stairs do not exist and on no account to be bricked up as shown.' It is possible to infer from this that the stairs and conceivably part of the rood screen itself was still in place, although it may be that as at Northlew the condition of the wood was so poor that the screen was for aesthetic, if not structural, reasons then removed as part of the restoration.

It had also been proposed that 'The South Window against the tower was made larger...' although this suggestion, which would have altered both the interior and exterior appearance of the church was queried by the ICBS. Samuel Hooper (who seems to have acted as both architect and builder) responded on 17 February 1871 that the reason was '...to admit of more light... (since it was)... dark at that end.' Hooper insisted in the same letter that the ventilation gap between the slates and the plaster 'would be adequate'. The restoration of Germansweek Church was probably completed in the spring of 1873. On 25 July Samuel Andrew wrote to the ICBS thanking them for the grant of £25. His letter tells us much about how Victorian clergy viewed these projects: 'The work has caused me much labour, anxiety and I hardly need add, expense to bring it to completion, but as it has had the effect of trebling the congregation and also enabled me to secure the services of a Resident Clergyman after a lapse of centuries of non residence...'

Samuel Andrew was, it seems, very satisfied with the outcome.

In summing up restoration work in the area it is worth remarking that the notion of preserving exactly and restoring with traditional materials all parts of the ancient *at any cost* is a modern concept, although the seemingly wanton destruction of some portions of church fabric nationally, because they did not fit in with the architect¹¹ or clergyman's taste and would increase accommodation, or seem more aesthetically pleasing, began to wain later in the Victorian era under the influence of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings. This is not to say that major projects did not continue into the early twentieth century. At the tiny moorland church of Sourton the general restoration was only completed in 1901 and at Inwardleigh the church building was extended by the construction of a new vestry in 1913. Indeed the addition of a vestry had been one of the most common innovations either next to the chancel as at Bridestowe (1866) and at Exbourne (1884) or at the back of the church in the angle between tower and side aisles as at Northlew (1884). Rood screens or their remains were often the subjects of restoration. That at Northlew, largely a new structure but incorporating some original wood, was completed in 1923 including a rood loft which can still be accessed from the original spiral stone staircase. It includes the figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. John, and would no doubt have greatly heartened the Reverend Thomas England returning as it does a medieval atmosphere to the church.

Notes

- 1 James Silke A.M. who was instituted to the rectory of Northlew in 1735 (but resided at Buckland Filleigh) did employ a residing curate, one William Millman, a deacon who could not therefore initially celebrate Holy Communion, thus forcing the congregation to walk to Ashbury Church on Communion days. William Moore, the rector from 1777 lived at South Tawton but took services at his other living, the church at Spreyton.
- 2 This and subsequent quotations by the Rector of Northlew are all taken from a kind of diary which he kept somewhat mixed up in one of the Vestry Books.
- 3 This was probably due to successive centuries of burials raising the ground level many feet and the proximity of the soil to the stonework causing much damp.
- 4 It is more usual to celebrate St. Thomas Becket on the day of his martyrdom, 29 December. However since this is so close to Christmas, 7 July when the weather is likely to be fine remains to *this day* the choice at Northlew. 7 July is the date of Thomas Becket's translation.
- 5 Often known as the school pence (although a relatively small sum) paid by parents. Free and compulsory education had not yet arrived. Rural schools were chiefly provided by the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. In addition to government grants the Church of England spent much time and effort in establishing and financing such schools with the help of subscriptions from local people and often by large donations from local worthies. It was the goal of most Victorian clergy both to restore their church and to open a school where one did not exist.
- 6 These items were commonplace in the mid-Victorian period and survive in large numbers, either painted on boards or in some cases made up as an altar piece. However those introduced by Thomas England were never completed it seems. (see text).

- 7 By the 1870s (when he was perhaps the most deeply disappointed by decades of frustration at the hands of the Northlew parishioners, often writing of how 'alone' he felt in trying to gain funds and moral support for church restoration projects) the rector wrote almost poetically of past medieval and even Saxon idyls. For him medieval congregations were saintly in their observances and the Reformation was seen as a cultural and moreover spiritual disaster. There is no doubt that whilst it seems unlikely that he was in any real way an Anglo-Catholic he very much favoured the centrality of the Sacraments and a return to religious imagery which many non-conformists would have regarded as *popery*. Torquay was the centre of Anglo-Catholic Ritualism as far as Devon was concerned.
- 8 Diaper work may be defined as 'surface decoration of diamond shaped patterns'.
- 9 Christmas, Easter and Whitsun being the national 'norms' although Trinity might be substituted for the latter and Michaelmas was sometimes an additional celebration.
- 10 This photograph also shows an impressive array of candlesticks (two multi-branched) on the altar which is highly suggestive of ritualism, although whether these were the work of the new incumbent or introduced by Thomas England one cannot say.
- 11 Samuel Andrew M.A. (Oxon 1841) Rector of Halwill from 1852. Curate of Germansweek from 1869, Rural Dean of Holsworthy 1869-1873. Headmaster of Truro Gr. School 1852-1855.
- 12 The Incorporated Church Building Society established in 1818 which made grants to churches for new buildings and also very widely to churches wishing to increase their accommodation for poor parishioners.
- 13 See the second half of note 5 above.
- 14 Ewan Christian for many years the Architect for The Ecclesiastical Commissioners and thus responsible for the restorations of a great many chancels (they often being the responsibility of the Commissioners, whereas the rest of the church was the responsibility of the parish) and whole churches, completely altered the appearance of the west end of Canterbury Cathedral during the 1860s to suit his own taste. Luckily perhaps he appears to have had little effect in Devon, although he did work on the re-seating and repair of All Saints' at South Milton (1883) and similar at St. Paul's Staverton (1880).

Sources

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Northlew ICBS 8840

Germansweek ICBS 7209

Information about other parishes mentioned in the text comes principally from the ICBS data base accessed from a computer in the search room at Lambeth.

Devon Record Office (Exeter)

The notes of Thomas England are found at catalogue number 2895A/PSI (Vestry minute Book) written in between the minutes of vestry meetings in a rather random manner.

EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA FROM TORQUAY

R. A. PERKINS

Passage in Newfoundland vessels:

The numbers who emigrated by direct sailings from Torquay were small compared to Plymouth or the north Devon ports. Many must have taken passage to Newfoundland and later in the timber ships to the Miramichi or St. Andrews. Those who took up the advertisements for 'freight and passage' in merchant ships in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries largely went unrecorded. Typical of these sailings was the brig *Sedulous*, Nicholas Mudge, master, owned by Whiteway Mudge & Co. of Torquay; she was advertised as departing from Torquay about 25 March 1820 and arrived at Newfoundland via Lisbon on 20 June¹. In the following year the fast sailing schooner *Feronia*, W.C. Henly, master, was advertised as sailing direct for St. John's with excellent accommodation for passengers; the agents were Richard Henley and John Alsop of Newton Abbot. She arrived in Newfoundland on 22 October 1821². Some called at other south Devon ports: the schooner *Gleaner*, Thos. Harris, master, also owned by Whiteway Mudge & Co., sailed from Torquay on 10 February and from Dartmouth on 15 February 1829³.

Connections with Exeter:

In the early 1830s the pressure for emigration created an opportunity for a joint enterprise by Exeter and Torquay merchants. R.R. Sanders of Exeter, prominent in public life and a partner with Thomas Snow in a firm of wine merchants in Gandy St., took Samuel Cockings of Torquay into co-partnership. They purchased the *Aurora*, an old vessel, in 1831 and the *Oscar* in 1832. Their usual agreement was for each man to take a third share in the vessel⁴. They were behind more than half a dozen sailings from Torquay to Quebec between 1832 and 1835. Both the *Aurora*, R. Banks, master, and the *Oscar*, which was said to have 'superior accommodation for passengers', sailed from Torquay about 1 April 1832⁵. Inferior accommodation was certainly available: that same year early conveyance to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, for the United States of America, was offered by W. & H. Ash in what they described as 'the fine fast sailing brig *Susannah*', but evidently an old vessel known to them through their business as coal factors at Starcross⁶. The *Oscar* sailed again from Torquay to Quebec in April 1833⁷.

In March 1834 they purchased the *Usk* from Bristol owners⁸. She was advertised as having two large airy cabins and excellent accommodation for passengers, with an intended departure date of 10 May, Nicholas Prowse, master⁹. But she did not sail for Quebec until 5/6 June 1834, arriving about the end of July with either 23 or 28 settlers. The *Oscar* is said to have sailed on 27 July and to have arrived at Quebec on 28 August with five settlers, although the passage usually took about 39 days¹⁰. Perhaps trade overall seemed encouraging, for the *Usk* was lengthened and registered 'de novo' at Dartmouth in March 1835¹¹. But there do not appear to have been any passengers aboard the *Oscar*, W. Field, master, when she sailed for Quebec on 5 April 1835, arriving on 14 May; and the *Usk*, Prowse, sailing the same day and arriving a day later, had only ten settlers¹². The *Usk* was lost in 1838¹³. The ship-owning co-partnership of Sanders and Snow with Cockings continued into the 1840s but evidence of their involvement in any emigrant sailings from Torquay after 1835 has yet to come to light.

Regulation and Official Returns:

Regulation of emigrant ships began with the Act of 1828¹⁴. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was established in 1840 and the Fifth Report of the Commissioners, for 1845, is the first to include a return of the number of emigrants from the port of Dartmouth, which then included Torquay, for the year ending 31 December 1844. These figures are best regarded as showing the extent to which the Commissioners were able to inform themselves within their limited responsibilities and for some years underestimate the numbers involved; outside the main emigration ports they relied on quarterly returns made by local customs officials¹⁵.

The Timber Ships:

The Torquay timber merchant John Crossman began importing timber direct from the Miramichi in 1841. In 1844 he became joint owner with Thomas Steel of Torquay of the *Margaret* in which Captain Hansen took 'a number of souls' to New Brunswick in September 1846. They anchored at Newcastle on 30 September and sailed for Torquay on 25 October with a cargo of white pine, two pieces of red pine, lathwood and deals¹⁶. The Miramichi timber trade was then in decline. In 1847 the *Mersey*, W. Bulley, master, owned by Wilkings of Teignmouth and Liverpool, made two voyages to Quebec; she sailed on 3 April to arrive on 22 May with a general cargo and five steerage passengers, and again on 4 August, arriving on 12 September with eight steerage passengers¹⁷. But the level of demand for direct sailings evidently proved uneconomic for all but the timber ships for whom it provided a useful outward trade. Although the arrival of the railway now made it easier to travel to other ports, the Torquay timber ships were evidently seen as a convenient means of emigration to Quebec for some from a wide area of south and mid Devon. On 2 April 1848 the *Margaret*, W. Field, master, sailed with 3 adult males, two adult females and three children aged 1-14 years, a total of eight steerage passengers, to arrive at Quebec on 10 May¹⁸. This established a pattern which was to last for the next ten years.

The Exodus of 1849

Early in 1849 a vision of land, wealth and freedom from social control was portrayed in the local press which encouraged emigration, particularly to the United States¹⁹. Torquay shipping enterprise seized the opportunity to profit. The *Elizabeth*, Coysh, owned by J. Stabb & Co of Torquay, sailed for New York on 21 March with ten or twelve families of emigrants²⁰. The *Escort*, Jerret, a clipper-schooner launched from Shaw's yard at Torquay on 10 April and owned by Keeling and Hunt of London for the fruit trade, is said to have made her maiden voyage to New York with passengers²¹. The *Isabella*, Faremouth, owned by Thomas Steel of Torquay, sailed for Quebec with 40 passengers²². The *Margaret*, W. Field, sailed for Quebec in April; her passenger list has 53 names, entered between 15 and 23 March²³. The American ship *Isabella*, Isaac Preble commander, left for Galveston, Texas on 7 March with between 135 and 145 persons on board, depending on sources. There were two births before she had left Torbay. The agents were Charles Gumm of London and John Elms of Newton Abbot. It appears that local people were encouraged to emigrate to Galveston by the reports of others who had gone out with survivors of the Antwerp emigrant ship *Nahant* some time after she was wrecked near Berry Head in March 1846²⁴.

The Final Years:

An advertisement for emigration to Quebec and the United States in the *Margaret*

appeared in February 1850, the agents being Thomas Steel of Edgeley House, Torquay, and Thomas Biden, jun., of St Martin's Lane, Exeter²⁷. The complaint at Exeter was that nothing was done to assist the poor to emigrate despite tales of the fabulous prospects across the sea²⁸. Emigration officials were concerned at the delay in ascertaining the efficiency of the *Margaret* under the new Passenger Act and worried that her repair at Torquay might not be properly supervised. Shortly before her departure local customs officials found they were required to supply the master with two copies of the passenger Act and six copies of the Commissioners' abstract, but had none²⁹. She sailed for Quebec on 1 April and again on 26 July, taking perhaps 27 emigrants in total³⁰.

In 1850, John Crossman purchased the *Sarah Fleming*, she arrived at Torquay in company of the *Emma Zoller* with timber from Miramichi in late July under the command of Thomas Crossman, son of the owner, on his first voyage as captain³¹. The *Emma Zoller* was owned by another Torquay timber merchant, John Baker; one of his vessels, the *Duke of Manchester*, P. Madge, master, was advertised as carrying passengers to Quebec in 1851 and 1852³². On 28 April 1851 the timber ship *Isabella* belonging to Thomas Steel left Torbay for Quebec with 14 emigrants, chiefly people of Torquay and neighbourhood³³. The *Sarah Fleming* advertised as departing on or about 10 April, finally left on 10 May with 50 emigrants³⁴. The *Margaret* went out with 51 passengers³⁵. This was the peak year for the timber ships in which they took at least 115 emigrants to Quebec.

In 1852 43 are recorded as leaving for Canada, 20 of them in the *Margaret*, Codner master, which sailed for Quebec in March. She again sailed from Torquay on 15 July 1852. On 10 September she was examined by the Quarantine Master and allowed to anchor off the Market Wharf at Quebec where she was cleared by the doctor. The crew disobeyed orders and went ashore, returned drunk, greatly abused both officers of the ship and passengers and delayed their landing until 5pm the next day, when they had to be taken aboard the steamer for Montreal in a hired boat³⁶. In 1853 she sailed on 11 April with 30 emigrants, arriving on 13 June after a very difficult passage of 63 days, passengers and crew all well, but '...coals all out, provisions all short'³⁷. On 12 April 1854 she left with 10 passengers out of the total of 24 officially recorded for the year. On 12 September 1856 the *Margaret*, returning from Canada with timber, was driven ashore on Torre Abbey Sands and had to be rebuilt at Teignmouth³⁸. In 1857 22 emigrated, probably in the *Sarah Fleming*, Captain Lamzed. The *Margaret* returned to service by April 1858 when she sailed for Quebec under the command of Captain John Goldsworthy with 13 emigrants. Emigration in the timber ships from Torquay appears to have ceased in the following year.

The Number of Emigrants:

The information collected in this study cannot represent the complete picture; but it shows that between 1820 and 1859 there were considerably more than 30 voyages from Torquay to North America with passengers. In total they carried perhaps more than 750 emigrants. At least a third of these left in 1849 and as many again in the next five years. In the earlier years, merchant vessels might each carry a handful of emigrants. Three were more than 40 in the two years 1834-35 and more than 30 in the five years 1844-48.

Emigration from the Main Ports:

In the 1850s as many as four or more timber ships made spring and autumn voyages from Torquay to Quebec for timber, but thereafter it was largely shipped to Plymouth and brought round by rail. After 1859 those seeking to emigrate under one scheme or

another had little alternative but to use the main emigration ports. A typical scheme was proposed by the Torquay Emigration Committee which met weekly in the early part of 1870. The Colonial Emigration Society offered a loan of £2 to each statute adult, to be repaid within three years of arrival in Canada, but the cost to the Torquay Committee was £6 per adult and about £3 for a child.

A large number of applications had been received and they hoped to send about 23 families, or about 120 persons, and 10 or 12 single men, most of whom were unemployed. Miss Burdett-Coutts gave £200, sufficient for 11 families, another £200 was subscribed, and the Committee made a public appeal for the balance, pointing out the benefits to be gained by all in avoiding the workhouse. The emigrants would be shipped from London about 28 April and forwarded free to any part of Canada where their labour was most required³⁷. In May 1883 news was received of the arrival of *Parisian* at her destination with 64 emigrants from Torquay to Canada; on 14 June a second party of emigrants from Torquay sailed from Liverpool on the *Oregon*³⁸.

Notes:

- 1 *Exeter Flying Post*, 16 March, 1820 3d; Lloyd's List No. 5613, Fri 27 July 1821.
- 2 *EFP* 16 August 1821 1e; LL 5648, Tues 27 November 1821.
- 3 *EFP* 22 January 1829 3e (indexed at WSL as *Eleanor*).
- 4 Exeter Shipping Register: *Aurora*, No. 4, 3 February 1831; *Oscar*, No 7, 27 March 1832.
- 5 *EFP* 23 February 1832 1e, 1 March 1832 1d.
- 6 *EFP* 1 March 1832 1d.
- 7 *EFP* 31 January 1833 1e.
- 8 Dartmouth Shipping Register, No. 17, 24 March 1834.
- 9 *EFP* 3 April 1834 1e.
- 10 *Montreal Gazette* 1834, cited at www.tlshipslist.com.
- 11 Dartmouth Shipping Register, No. 16, 17 March 1835.
- 12 *Montreal Gazette* 1835, cited as above.
- 13 Dartmouth Shipping Register, No. 16, 17 March 1835.
- 14 'An Act to Regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels from the United Kingdom to the Continent and Islands of North America'. Geo IV., CXXI, 23 May 1828. This provided for not more than 3 persons for every 4 tons of registered burthen, including the master and crew; 2 children under 14 years of age, or 3 under 7, or 1 under the age of 12 months together with its mother, were to be computed as one person. 5½ ft. was required between decks.
- 15 PP, HoC 'Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners', 5th and 6th Reports 1845-1846, and 10th to 20th Reports 1850-1860. 'Papers Relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America', 1847-1849. These returns give a total of 639 emigrants to North America from ports between Exeter and Dartmouth 1844-1859; other sources suggest at least 750.
- 16 Bouquet, M., 'Passengers from Torquay: Emigration to North America, 1849-1859', in *Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 4 Ports & Shipping in the South West*, ed. H. E. Fisher, Exeter 1971. Some of the figures have been revised for this article. Ownership of the *Margaret* from Dartmouth Shipping Register, No. 37, 23 September 1844. Surviving fragment of the 'Log of the Ship *Margaret*, Peter Hansen Master', from 22 April to 21 November 1846, DRO 4826ZZ4.
- 17 PP HoC 1847-48, Vol XLVII *Papers Relative to Emigration to the British Provinces*

- in *North America*, Appendix 8, 'Return of Passenger Ships arrived at the Port of Quebec in the Season of 1847. Torquay Shipping Intelligence: 22-29 July 1847, arrived... Mersey, Bulley, from Quebec (Torquay Directory No. 217 Fri 30 July 1847 p.5), ditto, 29 July-5 August, sailed... Mersey, Bulley, for Quebec (Torquay Directory No. 218 Fri 6 August 1847 p.8).
- 18 PP HoC 1847-48, as above, 'Return of Emigrants arrived at the Ports of Quebec and Montreal, 1 May to 27 May 1848'.
 - 19 Newton, R., *Victorian Exeter*, p.90, citing *EFP* 11 January 1849.
 - 20 Torquay Directory, 28 March 1849 4c.
 - 21 Lloyd's Register of British & Foreign Shipping, 1848 (Supplement), 1849, 1850; Torquay Directory 11 April 1849; Born, A., *The Torbay Towns*, 1989, p.52.
 - 22 Bouquet, M., as above, Appendix II: Dartmouth Shipping Register No. 9, 18 March 1846.
 - 23 Pocket Book of John Crossman, 'Passengers in the *Margaret* of Torquay for Quebec, March 1849', Crossman family papers.
 - 24 *EFP* 1 March 1849 4f; Torquay Directory, 14 and 21 March 1849; Ellis, A.C. *An Historical Survey of Torquay*, 1930, p.413; For the wreck of the *Nahant* see Brixey, A., *Story of Torbay*, 1889, pp. 118-19; a transcript of the passenger list of the *Issabella* is at www.istg.rootsweb.com.
 - 25 Reproduced as fig. 240, p.226 of *The Adventure of Sail, 1520-1914*, by Capt. Donald Macintyre, Ferndale Editions, 1979, source not identified, but possibly from the *Western Times*.
 - 26 Newton, R., as above, p.100, citing *EFP* 17 January 1850.
 - 27 Collector to Board, Dartmouth, 1845 June 4 to 1851 June 6, PRO CUST 65/34, Nos 12, 43 and 49.
 - 28 Pocket Book of John Crossman, as above; *EFP* 1 August 1850 8d.
 - 29 *EFP* 1 August 1850 8d.
 - 30 Bouquet, M., as above; John Spiers Baker, emigration agent, 2 Market Street, Torquay, is listed in Kelly's P.O. Directory of Devonshire.
 - 31 *EFP* 13 March 1851 4f, 20 March 1d, 27 March 4e, 3 April 1c and 10 April 1c.
 - 32 Advertisement reproduced in Bouquet, M., as above.
 - 33 Pocket Book of John Crossman, as above.
 - 34 Surviving fragment of the 'Log of the Ship *Margaret*', from 13 July to 2 November 1852. DRO 4826Z/Z5.
 - 35 Bouquet, M., as above.
 - 36 Dymond & White, as above, p.42.
 - 37 *EFP* 30 March 1870 3f
 - 38 Ellis, A.C., as above, p.413.

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to John Pike for numerous notes and references: to Peter Hutchings for providing a photocopy of the Pocket Book of John Crossman from his family papers and for other information; and to Barbara B. Aitken of Kingston Branch OGS for consulting the index to early Kingston newspapers and finding that my old Cridiford relatives had emigrated from St. Marychurch to Kingston, Ontario, by Christmas 1847, and so stimulating much further research. Through the kindness of John Draisey the passenger lists from John Crossman's pocket book are to be published in the Autumn 2003 issue of *Devon & Cornwall Notes and Queries*.

THE CHANGING PURPOSE OF PARISH HISTORIES: POLTIMORE, REWE AND STOKE CANON

Andrew J.H. Jackson

The compilation of a parish history still remains a rewarding endeavour and perhaps the ultimate pursuit for many local historians. A considerable number of parish histories were produced through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the recent centenary of the establishment of the parish councils together with the turning of the millennium stimulated a flurry of research activity. This article presents some of the preliminary issues and findings relating to a wider piece of research examining the evolution of the parish history, the historiographical significance of recent community history projects, and the use of the parish history as a secondary historical source. Considered here is the changing purpose of parish histories, as reflected in a basic exploratory study of three parishes in Devon.

Parish histories first appeared in the seventeenth century. They were the product of a politically and culturally inspired antiquarian movement. While the county histories, which had started to emerge in the sixteenth century, were generally the work of the gentry, the parish histories tended to be compiled by the clergy, who enjoyed ready access to parochial archives. The two forms of history writing share similar pre-occupations: the ancient origins of places, the lives of notable individuals and families, the structure of local government and administration, the significance of church buildings and their contents, and the value of other historic buildings and antiquities. In the nineteenth century the publication of parish histories would abound. This was the product of an upsurge in interest in local history inspired by, *inter alia*: considerable archaeological activity, local government reform, the expansion of an educated middle-class, and a wider cultural appreciation of senses of local identity. Despite the major changes in local rural life occurring through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, parish histories tended to perpetuate the established antiquarian formula of emphasising the place of history prior to the Reformation, and articulating 'elite' or 'high' cultural perspectives.¹ As W.G. Hoskins once remarked of parish history writing: 'the dead hand of the seventeenth-century squire still guided, until recently, the hand of the living antiquary'.²

In the second half of the twentieth century the writing of parish histories started to undergo some degree of mutation, with shifts in interest towards, most noticeably: relatively neglected aspects of social and economic life, the local history of the modern period, and new sources and methods. These movements were influenced by a series of changes in the nature of local history as a whole. The academic discipline of local history was being transformed through the pioneering work of the Leicester School, and scholars like H.P.R. Finberg and W.G. Hoskins. These and other leading practitioners in academic local history called for a movement away from the 'top-down' and pre-Reformation biases in existing research and writing; argued for the placing of local studies in a thematic and explanatory historical context; and promoted the adoption of new modes of investigation, such as landscape history and oral history. Academic local history has been influenced in turn by historical research more broadly, which has led to an ever more detailed and conceptually-informed understanding of the past, but also a tendency towards more fragmented and specialist analysis. In the meantime, local history as a popular pursuit has evolved. It has benefited, in part, from the new agenda

and greater knowledge being created and imparted by academic local history. In addition, there has been a 'democratisation' of the nature of authorship, with the writing of 'amateur' local history transferring from the clergy and squirearchy to the professional middle-classes and community history groups. The expansion of extra-mural education has played an important role in this process. Moreover, this new authorship has been attracted to, and put into practice, many of the alternative approaches associated with post-war local history. At the close of the twentieth century, and at both academic and popular levels, there has also emerged a heightened appreciation of the local as sphere of historical enquiry, as an entity embodying heritage value and cultural distinctiveness, and as a basis for senses of personal and group identity.³

In Devon a substantial body of parish history writing has been produced, much of which has been inspired by general initiatives. The Devonshire Association sought to promote good practice in parish history writing through the work of its parochial history section. The Devon History Society has helped in encouraging the formation of local history groups, publicising local history projects, and disseminating the findings of local historical research. The extra-mural teaching programmes that have been offered by the University of Exeter's Department of Continuing and Adult Education, and now Department of Lifelong Learning, have also played a part in nurturing individual and group research work. The Devonshire Association, the Devon History Society, together with the local authorities have also co-ordinated more recent attempts to promote parish history activity, most evidently to coincide with the centenary celebration of the formation of the parish councils in 1994 and the turning of the millennium.⁴

Post-war parish history writing, therefore, reflects the degree to which local history has shifted away from the antiquarian tradition towards new agenda and approaches, as represented in the nature of its authorship and historical interests. In a pilot study of some of the more recent publications produced for three Devon parishes, Poltimore, Rewe and Stoke Canon, many of the key changes in local historical writing are evident.⁵ Of the histories examined, the closest to the traditional antiquarian 'model' is the publication for Rewe by 'R.A.B.', dated 1982.⁶ It is a small document, limited to four A5-sized sides. Two sections dominate: the first, the 'historical', is concerned with the origins of the parish, landownership, and patronage; the second describes the church. A few brief and closing sections refer to two stone crosses, the Rectory and the village hall. This history, one that is very limited in length, is noticeably and necessarily concise and factual in style. It might be assumed that the choice of format was governed, at least in part, by its practical purpose as a leaflet designed for sale in the church.

The history of Poltimore by Dr Fortescue Foulkes (1954) is similar to the one for Rewe, in that there is much content relating to patronage, pedigree and the church. A great deal of the work is in fact a celebration of the Bampfyld family, recording the notoriety gained elsewhere by some of its members, as well as the family's role in the local community. The publication is a longer document, 16 pages, which allows for a far fuller content. The greater length also permits a markedly different style from that adopted for the history of Rewe. Rather than the formal and objective expression associated with much antiquarian history writing, the author adopts a relatively more reflective and subjective language. The first few pages, for example, appear to guide the reader on an imaginary journey through the village. This section of text also seems to sound a melancholic note; modern times, marked by the building of a motorway and the loss of a long established landed family, have brought upheaval and uncertainty.⁷ The central and greater part of the history returns to the antiquarian formula: the historical beginnings of the parish, local patronage, and the significance of the church

building.⁸ Towards the end of the work, however, a series of brief sections reflect on aspects of social life, many of which have now passed away: the former role of the 'big house' in the church, and in the provision of education and employment; the place of the one pub, now gone, which staged an annual 'revel'; the custom that used to exist of an Ascension Day party for the village at the Rectory; and a once active cricket club in the grounds of Poltimore House.⁹

The history of Stoke Canon published in 1985, like the histories for Rewe and Poltimore, takes for its front cover an image of the church. There follows, however, a work that is evidently less antiquarian in its leanings, and closer in type to what might be termed a 'modern' parish history, or even 'community' history. Its content and style could be ascribed to a number of factors: the history is written relatively more recently than the other two histories; it is the product of joint authorship and wider consultation; and it reflects the local historical culture of an 'open' village, rather than that of a 'closed' estate village like Poltimore. This history comprises 29 pages. Its basic format suggests observance of some of the traditional conventions, with a number of typical sections: the 'History', the 'Parish Church', and 'Other buildings'. The content, though, makes various departures from the antiquarian approach. The place of historical origins, the church, leading families, and patronage do not dominate the text.¹⁰ They are equalled, and to some extent surpassed by, coverage of twentieth century history and descriptions of local social and economic life, as reflected in significant sections on 'Towards today', 'Stoke Canon School' and 'Business and industry'.¹¹ Two other notes are also telling. On the final page is the statement that the proceeds from the sale of the booklet are in aid of the Stoke Canon Church Restoration Fund. This suggests that the history might well have been written mindful of a community purpose and readership. In addition, contained in an editor's note is an acknowledgement of collaborative work, and the challenge of adequately accommodating the range of historical knowledge held within the community.¹²

A second history of Stoke Canon published in 1997 is the clearest departure from the antiquarian tradition of parish history writing.¹³ Most striking is perhaps the absence of an image of the parish church on the front cover. The document was produced in order to mark the centenary of the parish council, and was written by the Parish Clerk, Dennis Davey. It is based largely on the council's minute books, and accordingly covers just one hundred years of local life. There is also acknowledgement of some supplementary sources: oral, photographic, as well as the existing parish histories written for Stoke Canon. The net result constitutes both a local history of the modern period as well as a community history, for it discusses a broad cross-section of the inhabitants, various issues and disputes, significant village events, local planning and development matters, and the attitudes and responses to national events, emergencies and government legislation. Even more so than the village's other history, this account of life in Stoke Canon reads as a popular celebration rather than an authoritative work of historical reference. This is echoed further in the inclusion of 14 photographs for the centre of the work, largely of group portraits taken to record local events.

This article indicates how parish histories embody multiple and changing meanings. They are perhaps first and foremost collections of local historical information – and valuable as such. In addition, they are constructions, even artefacts, of a shifting rural social structure; and, to some extent related, they are the products of the evolving pursuit of local history, both academic and popular. Such meanings in parish histories are determined by, and conveyed through, the nature of their authorship, the manner of their content, and the interrelationship between the two. It is suggested here that the

recent proliferation in parish history writing in Devon and more generally invites further historiographical investigation.

Notes and references

- 1 The antiquarian and parish history writing traditions are discussed in a number of general works, for example: Hoskins, W.G., *Local history in England*, Third edition, London, Longman, 1984, pp. 18-30; Riden, P., *Local history: a handbook for beginners*, London, Batsford, 1983, pp. 13-20; and Tiller, K., *English local history: an introduction*, Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1991, pp. 12-8.
- 2 Hoskins, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 3 Examinations of recent developments in local history include those by Dymond, D., *Researching and writing history: a practical guide for local historians*, Salisbury, British Association for Local History, 1999, pp. 1-11; and Tiller, K., *English Local history: the state of the art*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge Board of Education, 1998, pp. 1-13.
- 4 A recent appraisal of the progress made in parish history writing can be found in Timms, S., 'Hoping for entire completeness': the pursuit of Devon's past', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 132, (2000), 125-7 and 137.
- 5 The histories examined in this article relate to a sample of parishes that currently comprise a united benefice to the north of Exeter: Huxham, Netherexce, Poltimore, Rewe and Stoke Canon. The four histories selected for discussion were chosen because they represent a usefully contrasting set of examples. There are a number of other parochial historical surveys investigating these particular parishes, some of which are listed in Maxted, I, ed., *Abbots Bickington to Zeal Monachorum: a handlist of Devon parish histories compiled on the occasion of the centenary of parish councils*, Exeter: Devon County Council Libraries, pp. 35, 54 and 61.
- 6 R.A.B., *Rewe: a short history*, Privately printed, 1982.
- 7 Fortescue Foulkes, R., *A short history of Poltimore*, Privately printed, 1954, pp. 1-3.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 3-10.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-4.
- 10 Piper, G., and Piper, J., *Stoke Canon: a short history*, Privately printed, 1985, reprinted edition 1995, pp. 1-8 and 12-20.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11 and 24-9.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. i and 29. This pilot study acknowledges to the appropriateness of interview work with authors, at least where possible, in any further and far-reaching analysis of the purpose of these and other parish histories.
- 13 Davey, D., *100 years of the events and people of Stoke Canon*, Privately printed, 1994.

Andrew Jackson offers a course on parish history - 'Village and parish history: reconstructing the local past' - through the Department of Lifelong Learning, University of Exeter.

A HALF-TRUTH IN A LEGEND

R.J. Glanvill and Mary Freeman

In No. 66 of *The Devon Historian*¹, we enquired into a story that Judge John Glanvill of Kilworthy, Tavistock, had disinherited his eldest son, Francis, in favour of his second son, John, who magnanimously restored the estate to Francis. This legend is not true, in that the judge died intestate in 1600, Francis inherited a few years later, and John never possessed the estate. The elements of the tale were that Francis was dissolute, and that John inherited but gave the estate back to his elder brother, by presenting the deeds in a covered dish at a feast. We speculated that the story had been transmitted by gossip at Lincoln's Inn until it reached print in 1681, in Burnet's *Life of Hale*. There was however no evidence that Francis had actually misbehaved.

In the very week that our article was printed, one of us (RJC) came across a PRO catalogue reference² under the name John g. Canoye, which from the content obviously applied to Judge Glanvill. The document in question was dated 1 February, 42 Elizabeth, that is, seven months before the judge met his sudden death on 27 July, 1600. It explains the origin of the story that Francis was disinherited, even though that event never happened.

The indenture was between the judge and William Holman gentleman his servant, who was probably his clerk, with the stated intention of providing a jointure for the judge's wife Alice. The purport was to put all the Glanvill property in trust to William Holman and two other named colleagues at Lincoln's Inn, for the use of the judge and his wife for their lives. After their decease the property was to pass to John, their second son and his heirs male, with the exception of Sortridge which was the jointure for Alice and after to go to the third son, Thomas. In default of male heirs to son John, the inheritance would pass to Thomas, and only if Thomas had no male heirs, to Francis the judge's eldest son. If the male line from Francis failed, certain properties were to pass to two nephews of the judge, sons of his brothers, both also named John, and to the judge's daughters. The locations of the judge's properties were given but most of them were not named individually.

After this detailed future disposition of the Glanvill estates was spelled out, the judge allowed himself a get-out clause: 'Provided always that if the said John Glanvyle the elder shall be at any time hereafter minded and determined to make void this present deed. . . by word or writing. . . that it shall be lawful for the said John Glanvyle the elder into all and every part of the premises to re-enter and the same to retain again as in his former estate.'

This rediscovered document is clearly not a will. It gives the impression of being drawn up in a hurry. What happened to it after 1 February is not known. It is apparent that the judge was extremely angry with Francis, reasons not stated. The intention was presumably to frighten Francis, who was a student at Lincoln's Inn at the time, into better behaviour and obedience. Brother John was then fourteen, and Thomas only a small boy, whether the judge relented and voided the Deed, or whether it was lost or concealed, we do not know. It is not mentioned in the *Inquisition post-mortem*³ that listed the judge's properties and named Francis as heir. It does however provide a basis for the disinheritance story. John the son must have seen it, if not at the time then later when he went to Lincoln's Inn, and we suppose that he added an account of it to the story of the silver dish and the property deeds, in conversation with his lawyer friends. At least

it shows that the restitution story was not entirely a figment of Burnet's or Matthew Hale's, imagination, even if they did get it wrong.

References

- 1 *The Devon Historian* 66, 8-12 2003.
- 2 PRO ref. E41/2. *Indenture of John Glanvyle the Elder*. 42 Elizabeth (1599 o.s.).
- 3 PRO ref. C142/271 item 58. John Glanvyle, *Inquisition post-mortem*. 44 Elizabeth (1602).

A PLAQUE FOR W.G. HOSKINS (1908-1994) CBE, FBA, D.LITT

Robin Stanes

The Council of the Devon History Society has given me permission to arrange the setting up, on their behalf, of a Blue Plaque to W. G. Hoskins, in Exeter. It can't be needful to explain to readers of this magazine his claims to fame but, as a reminder, his book *The making of the English Landscape* (1955) was seminal to the serious study of the English Landscape and his *Local History in England* helped to make that subject respectable academically. It should be said that he was not alone in this pioneering work, Herbert Finberg, Maurice Beresford and Joan Thirsk are just some names of his contemporaries who excelled in the same sort of work. They were academics first and foremost, he was a true scholar too, but succeeded in making the study of the landscape and of local history accessible to all.

He was a Devonian, his forbears were bakers in Exeter and before that yeomen farmers in east Devon and west Dorset. He was born in Exeter and died at Cullompton but lived a good deal of his working life in Oxfordshire and Leicestershire. He took great delight in his native county and had visited every parish and every parish church in it.

He published his *Devonshire Studies* (with H. P. R. Finberg) in 1952 and his *Devon* in 1954. There were many other books; among them, notably *Industry Trade and People in Exeter* and *Provincial England* (1965) and two TV series on the landscape with the BBC.

He became Reader in Economic History at the University of Oxford and was able happily to combine this job with living in Exeter for ten years. He later became Professor of English Local History at the University of Leicester. In 1968 he retired to Devon and lived in Exeter. In 1994 the *Sunday Times* included him in their list of 'A thousand makers of the twentieth century'. His inclusion in that international list was

based on the belief the he 'brought the historical study of the English Landscape to a wide public' and transformed the way people thought about the English landscape.

There is no memorial of any kind to him in Devon. The Devon History Society, supported by his family, agreed that a plaque would be appropriate and that it should be set up on the house where he was born, once bakers premises, at 26/28 St Davids Hill, Exeter. The owner of the two houses at St Davids Hill is agreeable, the wording of the plaque has been agreed.

Present plans are that the plaque should be put in place this autumn to coincide with the republication by Phillimore of his major book on Devon.

The location of the house makes it impossible to hold a public meeting there, so it has been decided to hold, on Saturday 11 October, a celebratory tea party at the Devon and Exeter Institution, where he often spoke himself. At this there will be two or three speakers who knew him well to talk about his work and achievement.

Attendance at this will sadly have to be by invitation only as space at the Institution is restricted. We are bound to extend invitations to members of the Hoskins family and to some of his colleagues, as well as to the universities, local learned societies and councils from whom we have asked help in this project.

Basil Greenhill, who died on 8 April, was a Westcountryman whose interests in matters maritime went back to his childhood. After war service with the Navy he joined the Dominions, later Commonwealth Relations Office serving both at home and abroad until he was appointed in 1967 Director of the National Maritime Museum, an office he held until 1983. On his retirement he settled across the Tamar from Plymouth and continued to publish works on nautical subjects, often jointly with his wife Ann. He was associated with the development of maritime history as an academic discipline at Exeter and later at Hull Universities with their centres for postgraduate studies. He was conscious of the danger of treating a nation's maritime history as an independent subject and in his presidential address to the society he emphasised the importance of considering it together with the political and economic sides of its history.

He was one of the editors of *The New Maritime History of Devon* promoted by Exeter University. His many publications starting with the *Merchant Schooners* in 1951 have included numerous works of direct interest to historians in the South West. This is not the place to consider his important influence on the changing direction of modern maritime museums or on the fresh approach to the archaeology of the ship and boat. As President he took a continuous interest in the society's activities and many older members will remember Ann and his hospitable reception of a number of us at his Cornish home and the visit to the restored ketch at the quay below.

Adrian Reed

APOLOGY

In the April edition of *The Devon Historian* we published an article by Philip Carter entitled 'Devon's place in the development of tourism'. In his list of bibliographical references the author acknowledged the fact that certain pieces of information originated from John Travis's book *The Rise of the Devon seaside 1750-1900*. (University of Exeter Press).

John Travis writes: 'However, the article failed to properly acknowledge the extent to which the thrust of the argument relied on points made by John Travis in the book nor did it properly give credit for a number of quotations and other pieces of information that had previously appeared in this book.'

Philip Carter apologises to Dr Travis and replies: 'The article was certainly written with the honest intention of giving full credit where it was due. There was no intention to infringe copyright or to take any credit for myself, as surely three references in the text, eleven footnotes, and the entry in the bibliography prove.'

(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)

Dartmoor's War Prison & Church 1805 - 1817 by Elisabeth Stanbrook, Quay Publications (Brixham), Tavistock 2002. 112 pages. 48 illustrations. £6.50. ISBN 1-870083-45-8

Dartmoor prison, known first as The Depot on Dartmoor, was built during the Napoleonic Wars to accommodate French prisoners-of-war. Later, it was to house also Americans taken during the Anglo-American war of 1812-14. This book does more than set out the stories of the building of the prison and of the setting up of the church at Princetown. Carefully researched attention is paid also to the people involved. These range from Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the prison's instigator, and Captain Isaac Cotgrave, its first Officer in Command, down to the two prisoners who slew and started to eat two earthenware.

The chapters concerning the prison are set out in chronological order, each, apart from the first (1805-1807), being devoted to an individual year. The building of Princetown Church is then dealt with. Four appendices follow. The first concerns the watercourses needed to bring fresh water into the prison and carry foul material from it. The second deals with an enquiry into the poor quality of flour supplied to the prison. The third elaborates on an incident which involved seven American prisoners being killed by their guards. The final appendix is a list of the names of persons, other than prisoners and militiamen, known to be connected with the prison.

Although the building was not yet finished, the first contingent of French prisoners arrived in May 1809. They were a far from homogenous group, and soon organised themselves into a rigid social hierarchy. At the top were Les Lords, men who could rely on funding from their bankers or families. They were followed by Les Labourers who earned money by selling goods, such as models made of bone and other scavenged materials. Of the remaining groups, Les Romains were the most despised. Thanks to their addiction to gambling, some lost their clothes and walked about naked. Those who exchanged food for tobacco lived off refuse. The two prisoners who killed the earthenware were Romains. Each group appointed a leader and meted out its own justice. The housing of the Americans with Les Romains led to much conflict, and they had to be kept apart by a wall across their yard. These and many other aspects of the prisoners' lives are graphically described, but in a thought-provoking rather than sensationalist style.

Scholars have long been criticised for the way in which certain of them disseminate their findings and opinions to the non-expert. Some appear unable to communicate other than in a fashion virtually unintelligible to all except close colleagues. Others when addressing what was once, perhaps rather patronisingly, called the 'intelligent layman' adopt a style more appropriate to a conversation with a not very bright child. Elisabeth Stanbrook avoids both pitfalls. The book under review is lucidly and engagingly written. The author's judicious use of humour to emphasise certain points adds to rather than detracts from an authoritative presentation of her research. A number of texts of comparable length are published without an index. There is no such omission

here. The work is well-referenced; again a rarity in a relatively short publication. The works cited, many of them primary sources, are set out clearly, and there is also a comprehensive bibliography. Those wishing to delve further into specific aspects should have no difficulty in finding useful starting points. Finally, the illustrations are both apt and clear.

This book deserves a readership well beyond the 'Dartmoor buff'. It should be of interest also to military, social and family historians as well as the general reader. It can be thoroughly recommended.

Sadru Bhanji

Uffculme: a Culm valley parish. Uffculme Local History Group. 2nd ed. 2002. pp132; col. illus. ISBN 0951311 07. £7.95 post free

When I was asked to review this new edition I was expecting an early call by the post-man with the delivery of a large Halsgrove-type volume. However what did drop on the mat was an elegant well-produced pocket-sized book, the quality of production of which was quite outstanding.

Dr. Porter's review in 1988 explained that it had been gathered together by twenty-one contributions from eighteen enthusiasts. In essence these must presumably remain unchanged but as Mr. Adrian Reed, the chairman of the Group tells us, 'the opportunity has been taken to update some of the contents in view of research done' since the 1980s. The information about the Society of Friends and the name of 'Cadbury' in this context was of great interest. A descendant now resides in Devon; he does not however tell his audiences that 'the lone tree logo of Cadbury's is said to represent the tree, which was once prominent, on Blakeborough Beacon' (page 96).

A visit to Coldharbour mill was the highlight of an earlier visit. It took a look into Ekwall's *Concise English Place Names Dictionary* to explain that the name 'cold harbour' has wider origins and that it was the common name for 'a place of shelter for wayfarers constructed by the wayside', the name dating back many centuries.

The explosion of the fireworks factory and the damage done around it put 'Uffculme' on the lips of many Devonians. It was therefore of particular interest to read of the restoration of St. Mary's Church which, at the time of the visit, seemed to be close by.

The inclusion of Peter Orlando Hutchinson's pictures in full colour as a centre-spread brings eight of his rarely-seen drawings to a new audience. He was critical of the place saying 'Uffculme seems to stand still; there is a lack of public spirit there and even of morality among the lower orders' but as 'a middle-aged bachelor', looking after 'five, later six of the local vicar's children, and four maids, when the parents were away', a little criticism is not unexpected! 'Uffculme' is a model in both format and content which other local parish history groups could follow in their future productions.

John Pike

Devon Maps and Map-makers: Manuscript Maps Before 1840.

Two volumes in slip case. Edited with an Introduction by Mary R. Ravenhill and Margery M. Rowe. 2002. Illustrated. xii + 433 pages. Volume I – Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Volume 43 New Series – ISBN 0 901853 43 7, issued to members of the society for the year 2000 and Volume II - DCRS, Volume 45, New Series - ISBN 901853 45 3 Issued 2002.

The volumes consist of an Introduction forming a history of Devon maps and biographical details of the surveyors accompanied by a carto-bibliography of all Devon maps known to exist in manuscript form, over 1,500 in number and dated from 1574 to and including 1840. There are a few exceptions listed in the Introduction. Printed maps, that is such as Saxton, Donn and the 1809 Ordnance Survey map, are excluded as existing in printed form, encompassing the whole county and the work of national surveyors. Appendices list surveyors mentioned in the text and an index of personal names. Other cartographical books edited by Mrs Ravenhill and Mrs Rowe are *Early Devon Maps*, 2000 (reviewed in *The Devon Historian* 61, pp33-4) and *Maps of Georgian Devon*, 2002, Friends of Devon's Archives Occasional Publications No1 and 3 respectively.

An interesting history of one aspect of map making is described by the editors under the title 'The development of the maps from the terrier' (pp.3-5). From the eleventh century onward the description of land holdings was generally in the form of written documents. By the sixteenth century simple diagrams, or maps, supplemented the written word. Eventually the map took precedence over the written word, as, of course, it does today. This contrasts with mapping for construction purposes, not referred to by the editors and which developed by a different route. The written word was of little initial value for this purpose: the map was needed before the architect or engineer could decide where to site his construction.

Maps in the introduction and/or the carto-bibliography include highway diversions prior to 1840, maps in various repositories and maps in private hands. These are listed alphabetically under parishes with, where known, the date and modern reference; the title; the surveyor; the scale; the material on which the map is drawn; the content (or detail as it would be referred to today); decoration; documents; etc. A similar list is printed under 'Plans of Major Statutory Undertakings in Devon deposited with the Clerk of the Peace, Devon Quarter Sessions, 1792-1840'. These were for the purpose of new roads, canals, railways, bridges etc and are listed in date order. The latter part of the Introduction is devoted to the surveyors, their training and education, professions with which they were connected, status, eighteenth century surveyors, estates surveyors and Exeter City surveyors. Volume II contains sixteen excellent reproductions of maps from 1590 to 1801 that are referred to in the text.

The carto-bibliography of manuscript maps together with the exceptions and exclusions mentioned above will slot into place alongside the two volumes of printed maps by Batten and Bennett and one might be tempted to think that all sources of cartography in Devon are now complete but, as the editors point out in the introduction, 'no list of this type can ever be complete'.

As well as being an invaluable source to historians of cartography and to the more modest of us just interested in maps, these volumes will also be of immense value to others involved in local and national historical studies. The volumes are thoughtfully put together. They are secure in a robust slip case and are a pleasure to possess and convenient to use.

D. L. B. Thomas

Tavistock's Yesterdays. Episodes from her History, 12. by G. Woodcock
Published by the author. 96 pages 14 illustrations. £4.95

This is the twelfth volume in a series that began in 1985. All the articles in it are new except for the first, which is a partial revision of the author's earlier study of Tavistock School. He follows it with an account of the town's charities beginning with Maynard's in 1602 and ending with the post-war Curtoys bequest used to broaden the scope of a District Nursing Association. While certain purposes of charities' founders, such as the provision of marriage dowries, are no longer applicable, the basic needs of housing and assistance to the sick and aged still obtain. In spite of periodic lapses it is encouraging that most of the resources seem to have survived.

Much of the pleasure of this book lies in the curious characters in the town's history that the author has discovered or revived. Thomas Larkham, a Puritan clergyman, began in Devon as the vicar of Northam, an appointment that seems to have ended in his fleeing to New England in 1640. Here he split the settlement by attempting to draw away worshippers from the existing church to one of his own, even coming to blows with its incumbent. After less than two years he returned to England, for reasons not satisfactorily explained, and after another four turned up in Tavistock as an army chaplain. He seems to have become vicar by squatter's right with the tacit approval of the Earl of Bedford. His vitriolic exchanges with a group of hostile parishioners, both verbally and by pamphlet, make fascinating reading. However, his enemies, the 'devils dish clouts', won and he lost his pulpit and almost his liberty, he was excommunicated in 1665 and spent the rest of his life as a chemist.

A rather different but equally divisive incident was the story of the Rev Bray and his curate. The former was a hypochondriac who claimed his health kept him away from his duties. His curate did the work and had the support of many of the parishioners. Their differences were set out in letters although they lived only a few hundred yards apart. These exchanges, varied with interventions by the Bishop of Exeter and other interested parties, as the editor suggests, are the stuff of a Trollapian novel and can be read with similar enjoyment. At the other end of the social scale, but no less interesting, are the difficulties of a part time pig and fowl breeder and his customers. There are plenty of other good things in this book, ranging from the sites of surviving Victorian post boxes, to the information that the former, controversial, Governor Eyre of Jamaica spent his last years at Walreddon Manor and is buried at Whitechurch. We must hope that the editor is now getting ready for his next dozen!

Adrian Reed

The Book of Peter Tavy with Cudlippdown by Peter Tavy Heritage Group.
Published by Halsgrove. 2002. 160pp. Profusely illustrated. £19.95, A4 hardback.
ISBN 1 84114 143 7.

This book brings Halsgrove's development of community histories of Devon to over thirty volumes and the work of this heritage group has been carefully co-ordinated and introduced by Roger Meyrick. In a 'Brief History' we learn that the parish is one of the largest in the county and of the ownership of the land from Saxon times. Also that the Dukes of Bedford were the owners from 1539 to 1911, and how the famine years of the 1270s and later the Black Death in 1348-50 killed about a third to a half of the population.

The roads, lanes and bridleways are described with the aid of a diagrammatic map and the older settlements and farms are individually described. In 'Two Coats Colder than Tavistock' we are made aware not only of the effects of the cold in winter but also of the effects of sudden flooding of the Tavy and Colley brook with a picture of Harford bridge in 1890 with a collapsed arch and an arch over the brook completely filled with floodwater. There are interesting descriptions of farming and the first tractor in 1943, mining and quarrying, mills and milling, the postal services, shops, the relationship of the inn to the church, the garage, public transport and the role of horses before mechanical transport.

In 'Memories of Life and Leisure' we read of the development of a water supply and then of the effects of two world wars on individuals, with six men lost in the first war and four in the second, and of the community's responsibilities for wartime agriculture. A note on sporting events follows, with the lighting of bonfires on Smeardon for Jubilee celebrations and the use of the Coombe for swimming until after the second war when health and safety regulations caused its use to be changed to a wildlife reserve. There is no definitive map of the parish but beating the bounds has been important, and in the year 2000 to celebrate the millennium the whole perimeter of 35 miles was beaten to include Cudlippdown and Willsworthy. The history of schooling in the village school and Hillsbridge school is described. The village school was the last to close in 1959 with its children going to Mary Tavy or to Tavistock, but it had always been central to village affairs and it became the village hall after the Bedford estate vested the property and land into a trust.

A Norman mask over the window of the south transept and the Norman priest door to the chancel suggest that in Norman times the church was in existence and the first reference to a priest is to 'Robert, chaplain of Tavi', c.1185. It is possible that at St Peter's Church the chancel was rebuilt and the north and south transept were added around 1330. In 1834 the Methodist 'Reading Room' was built and this was followed by the construction of the chapel in 1879 after receiving a loan from the central Wesleyan Committee to help the local funds.

Cudlippdown was not in the parish of Peter Tavy until 1884, when it was transferred from the parish of Tavistock; at the same time the manor of Sortridge transferred to Whitechurch. The text of this book is backed up by a wealth of photographs and concludes with a list of subscribers and a list of titles from Halsgrove's series. Although there is no bibliography, it remains a valuable record for the inhabitants and an interesting book for the general reader.

A.B. George

Whitchurch Parish: A Short History of a Devon Parish Ken Cook. Tavistock and District Local History Society, 2002. Illustrated. 76 pages. 42 illustrations + centre fold map. Price £5.

In a foreword on page 1 the author explains how the ecclesiastical parish of Whitchurch took its name from the village whose church is thought to be named after Saint White. The civil parish formed in 1894 and remained within the ecclesiastical boundary until 1935 when the village with some adjoining land was transferred to Tavistock UDC. Whitchurch and Sampford Spiney parishes were joined in 1974 to form the Plasterdown Grouped Parish.

The book is divided into six chapters with the various aspects under sub-headings. The pre-history of the land is described as are the uses to which it has been put, such as farming, quarrying, mining and military training. Ancient trackways are referred to and it is mentioned that there are about thirty crosses, two of which are on the monks' route across the moor often known as the Abbots' Way. Manors and houses of historic interest are described. It is interesting to read the short history of the Halfway House at Grenofen which was run for a hundred years by one family starting with the Bolts in the 1860s. The church of St Andrew is described and it is said that it probably has Saxon foundations and that it was substantially rebuilt in the fifteenth century in the perpendicular style. A chapter is devoted to Whitchurch village and another to Whitchurch Down. The road to Tavistock passed through Whitchurch village until 1822 when the present route was opened by the Tavistock and Plymouth Turnpike. In his final chapter the author speculates on the future of farming and land use in general.

The centre fold map is simple but adequate to identify places referred to by the author. The 42 illustrations are well chosen. The recent colour photographs are crisp and clear while the monochrome are as good as could be achieved with older originals.

The author refers to the first five chapters as a 'sketch of the past' and that is what it is. The style is relaxed, making the book a pleasant read that is in no way boring. The reviewer feels that he knows much more about Whitchurch than he did before and to draw attention to the omission of an index and an ISBN is, perhaps, a little ungracious.

D. L. B. Thomas

Moor Memories: produced by Dartmoor National Park Authority. Pack of 3 CDs that may be obtained for £13.50 (by post £14.50) from High Moorland Visitor Centre, Princetown, Yelverton, Devon PL20 6RF

These CDs are for Devonians and those who know and love Dartmoor, its people and its way of life. The oral history project *Moor Memories* is intended to record everyday life on the moor in the twentieth century. The interviews, conducted by Becky Newell, are never intrusive. Those interviewed are allowed to tell their stories in their own way with simplicity and considerable feeling for the places most of them have lived in all their days. Thus a rich and fascinating picture is unfolded of a unique landscape and community.

There are three CDs in the collection. The first covers housing, transport, growing up, World War II; the second farming; the third landscape, people, place and weather. There is a useful map giving the location of the places mentioned and short biographies of those whose memories are recorded. The dialogue on each track is continuous and I found it useful to have the accompanying booklet beside me so that I could easily follow the progression from one track to the next. Each track is timed and there is a synopsis of the content on each page of the booklet.

Access to the moor, its villages and farms is much easier now, and very few who live and work there are without cars but before the Second World War people either walked or bicycled to their destinations. There was little variation in education but the children seemed to be happy. How lovely it was to hear stories of their homespun adventures and the freedom and safety there was for them. If I could sum up the lives of these moor people in one word it would be 'contentment': they accepted their lot and adjusted their lives accordingly. Their disappointments and hardships are masked by a warm, unsophisticated humour, and I don't suppose they would have changed their status for all the peat on Dartmoor. Fairs and festivals were special occasions and times for great merriment, harvesting was hard work but those involved enjoyed it because it was a social event. We are also reminded that rabbits were farmed and formed the staple diet for many Dartmoor folk before the scourge of myxomatosis. The moor has changed: farming, wild life, buildings even the weather, but the people are the same, their reminiscences are unique and they are told with affection.

I think this is a CD set you will enjoy and then you will wish to pass it on to friends for them to share your enjoyment.

Alec Robertson

NOTICES

Broadclyst. Mrs Peggy Uren, tel. 01392 469226, is researching matters concerning Broadclyst and is trying to locate the Parish Church Vestry Minutes Book(s) dated 1855-1895. She has tried Exeter, Barnstaple, Plymouth, Truro and Taunton Record Offices and has ascertained that these particular minutes are missing from collections. She has also contacted Killerton, the University, and the Cathedral without success. Mrs Uren would be most grateful if anyone can help in this matter.

Ballad History. Roly Brown, of Chez Callois, Massignac, 16310 France. (Tel: 0033 (0)545672514) is researching ballad history in the south of England and is seeking further information on a 'rich beggar' referred to in a press report of 1841. The man was named Collicott and had died at the Union-house, Bideford the previous week. Apparently a native of Shebbear he was said to be known in all the neighbourhood as a travelling seller of songs, small books etc and was sometimes given to pilfering. Mr Brown would be grateful if anyone knowing anything about this character, or about an Exeter ballad singer called Tommy Osborne, would kindly contact him.

Devon Record Office. We have been asked by The County Archivist to remind members of the local history societies that the Devon Record Office will be moving to new purpose built premises at Sowton next year. As the members of the Record Office staff are busy with preparations for the move at present they will not be able to provide speakers to local history groups for a while from the end of July 2002. Secretaries or others should be aware of this when organising next year's programme. Once the staff is established in the new building sessions will be arranged from January 2005, either in the evenings or on Saturdays, to show for local history societies how the indexing and cataloguing systems work and what kind of records will be available. The Archivist suggests that members might like to bear in mind that these sessions will be available when planning events in the future.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER PRESS

New Title 2003

CIRCLED WITH STONE
Exeter's City Walls, 1485-1660

Mark Stoyle

0 85989 727 3 248 pages hardback illustrated in colour and black-&-white £45.00

The culmination of some twenty years of archaeological and documentary research, *Circled with Stone* provides a richly detailed portrait of the ancient system of walls, towers and gates which ringed the city of Exeter during the Tudor and early Stuart periods. The book traces the development of the fortifications over time, explores the many purposes which they served, and shows how they were defended against a series of major attacks: most notably during the Prayer Book rebellion of 1549 and the English Civil War.

The text is accompanied by a series of extensive transcripts from Exeter's matchless civic archives, including two newly-discovered documents relating to the Prayer Book rebellion. The book includes a wealth of illustrations and brings together, for the very first time, colour reproductions of all the early maps of Exeter, as well as a series of specially commissioned photographs of the city walls today. Designed to be accessible to the general reader, as well as to the specialist, *Circled with Stone* paints a uniquely vivid picture of the role which urban fortifications played in everyday life in one of early modern England's greatest cities.

Note to readers of The Devon Historian

Circled with Stone was published on 2 July 2003, but the special pre-publication offer price (£35 + £2.50 p&p) remains available to readers of **The Devon Historian**. Please order direct from University of Exeter Press, enclosing a cheque or your credit card details, by email or post, quoting this advertisement. NB. This offer is available only for orders placed direct with UEP, is subject to availability, and closes on 31 December 2003.



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