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Cover image: 'High Street, Exeter' (1830?) (Somers Cocks Catalogue 0966; reproduced with the kind permission of Devon Library and Information Services from the collections held in the Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter).

Looking back at the Bude Canal

Helen Harris

Editor's note
This article is a version of a talk presented by the author at the Summer Meeting of the Society at Holsworthy on 25 June 2005.

Introduction
Two centuries ago there had already been much talk in the parishes of north-east Cornwall and north-west Devon, and along the border of the two counties, about the prospects for a canal on which sea-sand and other goods could be brought from the coast to the interior, and possibly even to link with the tidal reach of the Tamar in the south to provide a complete coast-to-coast waterway. But the pressures of the Napoleonic War had intervened and it was to be another two decades before the eventually agreed route became a reality.

Today, apart from the notable surviving and adapted structures at Bude, remnants of the canal are not generally obvious, particularly on the Devon side. Questions may therefore be asked. How far did the canal succeed in its original intentions, and to what extent were advantages gained justified by all the problems of its construction and working life? What, if any, long-term benefits has it bestowed?

The Culm Measures land of this fairly remote area of farming country lies heavy, acidic, wet and cold, much given to the growth of plants such as rushes, meadow sweet and hemp agrimony. In its natural state it is hard to work and inhospitable to livestock, with the tendency for winter poaching of grassland necessitating curtailed grazing seasons. For centuries the value of applications of sea-sand was recognised, both for raising alkalinity and to improve the texture of the soil. William Marshall, writing in 1796, had observed its use as 'beyond memory or tradition', and Charles Vancouver, in 1808, also described the use of sand from Bude. The practice is recorded even from the fourteenth century, in the records of Tavistock Abbey, when quantities were fetched from the coast by teams of packhorses and carried to the abbey lands at Werrington.

The need for lime to improve acid soils was supplied in other districts of the South West through the use of burnt limestone. In north Devon this could be produced in kilns sited near limestone quarries, or along the coast where stone and culm (an inferior form of coal) was shipped in from south Wales. The Holsworthy district of Devon and parts of north Cornwall were in less convenient proximity. However, the deficiency could be overcome through use of the valuable coastal sand, composed here largely of the crushed shells of sea creatures and having a high content of calcium carbonate - approximately 50 per cent.

The latter half of the eighteenth century was a time of awakening in many areas of Britain, with certain places seeing new developments in agriculture, and canals already cutting their way through parts of the country. Not surprisingly, therefore, forward-looking landowners and others in lands of the South West were considering the prospects.

The building of the canal
The first proposal for a Bude Canal was put forward in 1774 by a Cornishman, John Edyvean, an Act was obtained in that year and an extensive line surveyed by Edmund Leach and John Box. With its hills and valleys this terrain is a challenge for any canal engineer, and five inclined planes, with re-loading of cargoes, were Leach and Box's suggestions for negotiating the changes of level. Nothing came of the scheme and in 1777 the engineer John Smeaton was consulted. He suggested just two or three inclined planes and making use of lengths of river, with locks and dams. Still no start was made and in 1784 the ten years of powers authorised by the Act had expired.

Nevertheless, further ideas were to be produced. In 1785 Edmund Leach revived his scheme, again including inclined planes but with boats carried in their entirety on special vehicles, with lifting power provided partly by counterbalance and partly by waterwheel. The 1790s saw renewed interest, strongly supported by local landowner the 3rd Earl Stanhope. In 1793 a report was received from engineers John and George Nuttall, who considered various suggested methods of lifting: steam engines and perpendicular lifts, horse-powered ropes and whimseys, and locks. All were considered unsuitable by the Nuttalls, who favoured the use of 'iron-road rails' to link stretches of the waterway. Lord Stanhope's plan was to use small boats, suspended on rail sections between pairs of wheels drawn by horses. Ideas were also put forward by the currently visiting young American artist and inspirational engineer Robert Fulton. His vision foresaw boats with wheels and use of waterwheels and counterbalance on inclined planes.

All such matters were pushed into abeyance, however, by the ensuing war with France. But in 1814 plans were revived and in 1817 Devon's then surveyor, James Green, was invited to survey a line. He advocated a small canal, 5-ton boats, and water-powered inclined planes. His scheme also concerned the harbour at Bude, for which he recommended a breakwater, with a sea lock and two subsequent locks for the canal. The total cost he estimated at £128,000.

In 1819 the Bude Harbour & Canal Company was formed, and a new Act of Parliament obtained in the same year. Powers were given for the raising of £95,000 in £50 shares, with a further £20,000 if needed. There had been some pruning of Green's plans. Work officially started on 23 July 1819 with the ceremonial laying of the breakwater's first stone and cutting of the first sod for the canal by Lord Stanhope, who had made the journey specially from his seat in Kent. As was customary, the event was marked by immense enthusiasm and celebration by all levels of society in the neighbourhood in what was a gala day at Bude.

The cutting and construction proceeded simultaneously on different sections with large numbers of men employed. By 1821 the work was well advanced but the company had become overstretched financially; purchases of land had proved more costly than expected and other expenses had arisen, as well as some

uncertainties about future prospects. Nevertheless, by 8 July 1823 the canal was declared ready for trade to Holsworthy, and south as far as North Tamerton (Fig. 1). On that day there was an official opening, with boats arriving at the Holsworthy wharves and a procession into the town where the band played, the church bells rang, and there was feasting.

Although future prospects now seemed bright, funds had run low, and in the same month the company applied to the Exchequer Loan Commissioners for a government loan of £20,000 (later reduced to £16,000) to enable completion of the work including the branch south towards Launceston. This southern branch became operable in 1825, by which time the total cost of the work amounted to just under £120,000.

The total length of the canal from the Bude shore to terminal points and to the reservoir - sited to the north of the main trunk, was 35½ miles. The rise from sea level to summit (on the Holsworthy line) was 433ft, with a drop on the Launceston stretch from an intermediate 375ft to 205ft. The changes of level were accomplished by three locks at the seaward end, and six inclined planes.

The system of inclined planes constituted the most remarkable aspect of the Bude Canal's construction. There were more than on any other British canal before or since, and the mechanics were extremely ingenious. All were worked by water power, five of them by waterwheels sited at the top of the plane, while the sixth - the great one at Hobbacott - was powered by the weight of two enormous buckets, each containing 15 tons of water, which descended alternately in wells 225ft deep (the water here being discharged into the lower level of canal). The boats, which were fitted with wheels, attached to chains, were raised out of the canal and travelled on double sets of rails along the incline (Figs 2 and 3).

After entering Bude Harbour, sheltered by the new breakwater, vessels passed through the sea lock, constructed 38yd in length and 11yd in breadth (Fig. 4). Ships of 300 tons could be accommodated in the basin with its two wharves, where cargoes could be transferred as required into barges and tub-boats. Tub-boats were also loaded here with sand, transferred from the beach by narrow-gauge railway. Beyond the basin the first 1¼ mile stretch of canal, to Helebridge, was of barge width, 4ft 6in deep, and included two locks which each raised the level by 5ft 6in. Only the 20ft by 5ft 6in tub-boats could continue beyond Helebridge, from where the canal narrowed to a width of 10ft at the bottom and 19ft at the top, with a depth of 3ft.

The first of the inclined planes was reached at Marhamchurch, where the boats were raised 120ft over a distance of 836ft. Two miles farther along came Hobbacott, with the boats travelling 935ft over the 225ft rise. 1¼ miles beyond this, at the Red Post junction, the main trunk continued eastwards, crossing the upper River Tamar by an arched aqueduct at Burmsdon, with a further plane at Vealand (58ft rise over 500ft). The canal then continued on a winding course to the terminal Blagdonmoor wharf, 2½ miles north-east of the town of Holsworthy. A little east of the top of Vealand plane the canal was joined by the feeder arm from the reservoir, now called Lower Tamar Lake (Fig. 5). Back at Red Post the Launceston branch led away southwards, with descending planes at Merrifield

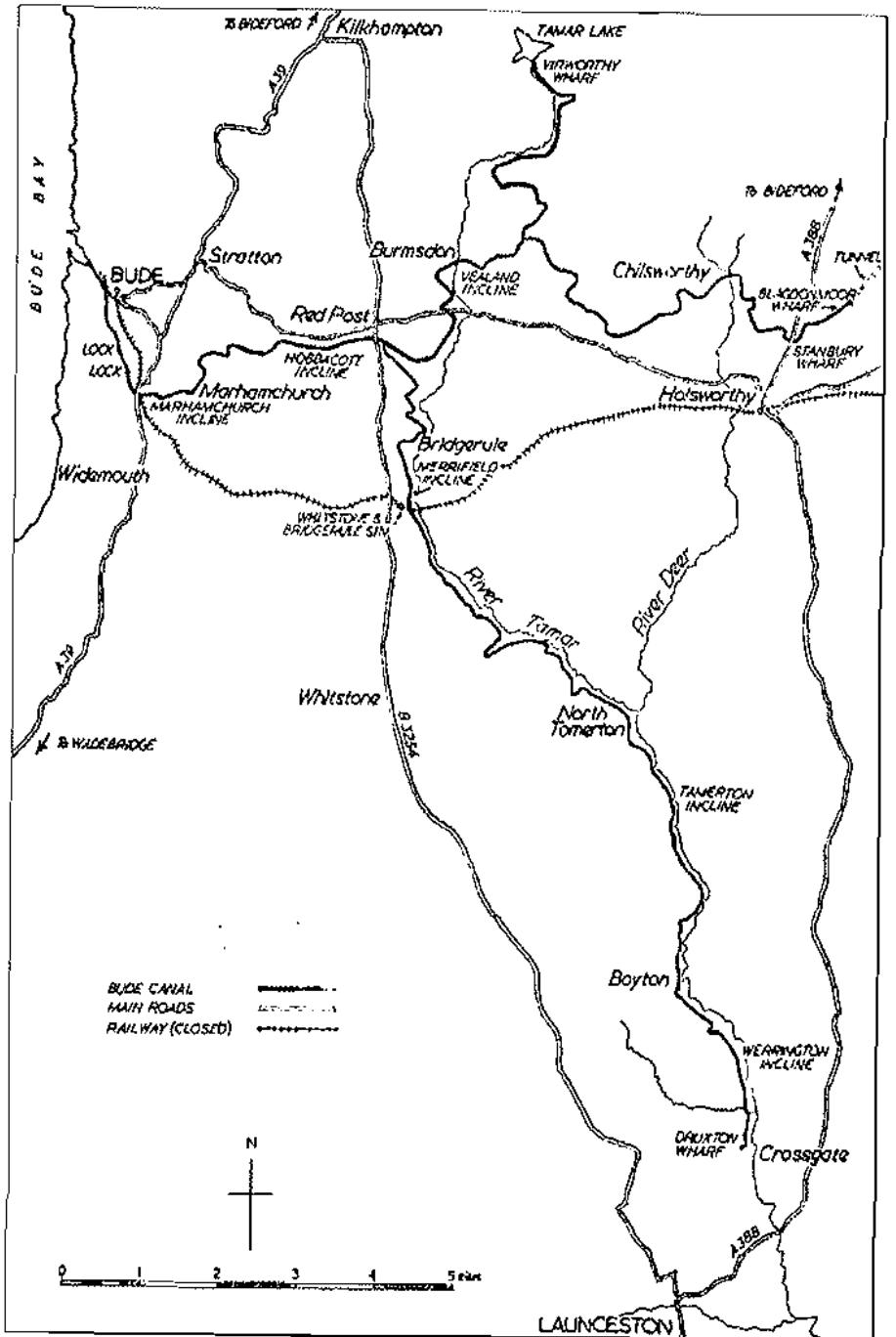

Figure 1: The Bude Canal as built.

Figure 2: The line of the Hobbacott inclined plane, on which boats were raised 225ft; now much obscured by tree growth, seen from across the valley.

Figure 3: Site of the former upper canal basin at Hobbacott, with some original buildings.

Figure 4: View of the breakwater showing Bude harbour, sands, and distant entry to the sea lock and canal.

Figure 5: Looking along the dam of Lower Tamar Lake, showing part of the former reservoir of the canal.

(fall of 60ft, length 360ft), at Tamerton (fall of 59ft, length also 360ft) and Werrington (fall of 51ft, length 259ft). The southern terminus was at Druxton, 3 miles north of Launceston.

Ideas and designs for inclined planes developed by Robert Fulton (who died before the canal's construction) were used in the work by James Green. Planes and water power had advantages in being cheaper and more economical of water than locks, and, where most of the traffic was in-bound, more practical than counterbalance. But on the Bude Canal they were the subject of frequent troubles. Ingenuity was not fully matched by the actual construction, and available materials were often unsuitable for the strain. Mishaps such as breaking chains were frequent, causing delays and consequent loss of trade, leading to financial difficulties. These and repairs necessary to the breakwater caused problems in repayment of the loan.

A crisis came in 1838, when in a violent storm the breakwater was washed away. The necessity for its rebuilding demanded further negotiations over the loan. With the Commissioners agreeing to certain conditions, rebuilding of the breakwater proceeded over the next year. From this time receipts on the canal steadily improved. In 1841 income from tolls reached its highest level, and the reducing debt was paid off in 1870. Not before 1876, however, was the first dividend of 10 shillings per £100 share paid out.

By this time, however, the canal was feeling the effects of railways. In 1864 Launceston was connected by rail with Tavistock and Plymouth, which caused loss of trade on the Launceston line. Then, in 1879, the London & South Western Railway reached Holsworthy from Okehampton; and after an initial boost this caused a further continuous steady decline.

Maintenance of the canal was still continued into the 1880s, but with reductions of expenses wherever possible. Proposals to extend the railway from Holsworthy to Bude added to the gloom. The company felt that the time had come to wind up and realise assets. There was much wavering amongst the company's members, but it was eventually decided to abandon the canal and to try and sell it, possibly for its water supply.

After a protracted period of deliberations, in 1891 an Act was obtained for the abandonment of the inland length, with continued maintenance of other sections and of the harbour and reservoir - the water was to be used for supplying Bude. The branches were subsequently closed and property sold off. Discussions regarding the remainder dragged on. The company was anxious to sell, but there were negotiations to resolve over the water supply, and other considerations; eventually agreement was reached for sale of the essential parts to the local council at Stratton and Bude for £8,000. An Act for this was obtained in 1901 and the canal handed over in 1902. £4 per share was finally paid to shareholders.

Soon afterwards Stratton and Bude Urban District Council constructed its waterworks near Vealand, using the reservoir and feeder arm in a system that survived until the 1970s. Most of the remaining trunk became derelict and was largely sold off to farmers. The lower two miles, including the sea lock, have been maintained, the other two locks stopped and concreted.

And so, what can be our assessment of the Bude Canal's success and legacy? While not producing any financial success for its promoters, certainly during its heyday the canal brought some advantages to the farming hinterland. Although early estimates for sand were never attained, figures show that appreciable tonnages of commodities were carried on the canal between 1837 and 1890. These included culm in the early years (maximum 1,796 tons in 1838), coal throughout the period (maximum 5,561 tons in 1878), sand (maximum 54,016 tons in 1838) and other goods (2,764 tons in 1890). An agricultural expert noted in the mid twentieth century that it was still possible to identify locations where the benefits brought by earlier applications of sand on farmland were apparent.

In the twenty-first century remaining features of the Bude Harbour and Canal construction bequeath other advantages. At Bude, the existence of the breakwater, former wharf areas, and towpath along the lower length have great amenity value and interest for both the resident population and visitors. Boats can be brought into the basin, and the initial stretch of canal used for water activities. Farther inland, there are some stretches of the former canal where footpaths give access, but much of the route is owned privately and absorbed back into farmland. The sites and slopes of inclined planes can be discerned to a certain extent, and several of the former company's buildings still exist, although now usually adapted and altered. Lower Tamar Lake is conserved as a nature reserve and for coarse fishing. The canal's working days are, however, but a memory.[1]

Notes and references

1. *The Bude Canal* by Helen Harris and Monica Ellis was first published in 1972. A facsimile edition was produced in 2004. As noted in their book, sources included: the *Journal of the House of Lords*, 1774; engineers' reports in the British Museum and in Devon and Cornwall Record Offices; newspaper reports in the *Exeter Flying Post* and *West Briton*; papers of the canal company (minutes, reports, letter books, cash books); the *Report of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners*, 1838; a journal of the canal company's inspector compiled during construction; the diary of James Sleeman, on the staff of the company at Hobbacott, during the canal's later working years; and various other publications.

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Helen Harris, who has qualifications in agriculture and dairying, is a Devonian. She knows north and west Devon particularly well from her eight years as a Ministry of Agriculture dairy adviser up to 1956. Her numerous books written since then, mostly on Devon, include three canal histories. From 1985 to 2005 she was Honorary Editor of *The Devon Historian*.

Archaeology above ground level: the archaeologist's contribution to the study of historic buildings

Stuart Blaylock

Editor's note

This article is a version of a lecture delivered at the Annual Conference and General Meeting of the Devon History Society on 30 October 2004. The paper has been modified by the speaker for reproduction in *The Devon Historian*. The aims of the lecture, the author notes, were to define what is involved in the archaeological study of buildings, and to illustrate the practice by means of recent examples of such work in Devon.

Introduction

Archaeology is invariably associated in the popular mind with excavation, and with remote periods. Most people will picture archaeology as Ancient Egypt, a classical temple, or a Roman mosaic, or at the very best as a prehistoric earthwork site such as a barrow or hillfort. If they have seen archaeologists at work, or have (as is increasingly the case) followed one of the popular television archaeology series, they may even expect to see people working on what appears to be a building site, or even worse in cramped conditions at the bottom of a muddy hole. All these environments are acknowledged as the natural habitat of the archaeologist. What people generally do not expect to see is an archaeologist high up on scaffolding, with no trowel or shovel in sight. This is the realm of the so-called 'buildings archaeologist'.

The belief that archaeology stops at ground level is well entrenched, with the associated implication that anything above ground level has no archaeological dimension to its material fabric and is not the proper concern of archaeologists. This point was well expressed in a lecture given by Richard Morris at a conference on 'Buildings Archaeology' held at Chester in 1993:

> I often reflect that 'standing buildings' is tautological. Why not simply 'buildings'? We know the answer, of course: 'standing' is an antidote to the mindset of the mid-later twentieth century, when archaeology was unnaturally narrowed to mean 'digging'. Even today there are some who talk as if buildings are an add-on to archaeology rather than comprised by it. There are reasons for that, not the least of them the schizophrenia within our conservation legislation.[1]

The last point is something that now appears to be being addressed, and members heard more of this in Peter Beacham's talk in the afternoon of the Annual Conference last October.

There is also, I am sorry to say, a problem about standing buildings within the archaeological profession. Many archaeologists somehow think that the study of standing buildings is peripheral to their interests and beyond their competence. I would argue that (as in the passage just quoted) excavators are dealing, by and large, with the remains of standing buildings, and should automatically think in terms of the

standing dimension. Equally I would argue that an ability to analyse standing fabric is integral to the archaeologist's armoury of methods and techniques.

The definition of 'archaeological' analysis of historic buildings

What do we mean by an archaeological approach to the study of a building as opposed to, say, an architectural or structural analysis? Naturally there is bound to be some overlap between these categories. I would suggest that archaeological analysis is more a matter of the approach than necessarily a difference in result. Thus it would include systematic observation of the fabric, sometimes preceded by some physical investigation or stripping of the fabric; systematic recording, usually based on elevation as well as plan drawings, and probably including a systematic written element. The stage of analysis would include an 'unpicking' of the building, consisting of the removal (if only on paper) of the latest features first and the analysis of the fabric 'layer by layer' and phase by phase, even though one might be dealing with material all in one physical plane. A variety of sophisticated surveying techniques is now often drawn on for the recording of historic buildings, but at its simplest this can take place without any elaborate equipment.[2] Simple drawings and a concise written account can be achieved quickly and economically. But it does require the distinctive archaeological approach: to consider a building as a composite 'artefact' and analyse, or unpick, it.

Origins of the methods

There is much to be said for the view that the archaeological study of buildings goes back to the very earliest antiquarian researches, and especially the drawings and records of men such as John Aubrey (1626-97), and Wenceslas Hollar (1607-77). The pioneers of accurate observation and recording of buildings were all early exponents of what we would now call 'buildings archaeology': men such as John Carter (1748-1817), whose magnificent folio engravings of ecclesiastical architecture for the Society of Antiquaries have still not been bettered, the prolific John Buckler (1770-1851) and his son John Chessell Buckler (1793-1894), John Britton (1771-1857), John Kendall of Exeter (1768/9-1829), the author of a treatise on gothic architecture with beautifully engraved plates of details drawn from Exeter Cathedral, Robert Willis (1800-75), and John Henry Parker (1806-84). Locally several of the prominent local architects of the later nineteenth century were careful observers of ancient architecture, notably Edward Ashworth (1814-96) and John Hayward (1808-91), as can be seen in their surviving drawings and in the published papers of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, in which both were active participants.

Many of the present-day methods of observation and recording go back to the distinguished archaeologists, architects and architectural historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century: W.H. St John Hope (1854-1919), W.R. Lethaby (1857-1931) and John Bilson (1856-1943) being notable examples. The mid-twentieth century looks in retrospect a distinctively lean patch in the development of the subject, perhaps partly because the growth of 'below-ground'

archaeology in response to wartime damage and later twentieth century development, and the expansion of the subject into areas such as medieval archaeology, eclipsed the more traditional areas of interest in standing buildings and ecclesiastical architecture. Notable exceptions to this include Bryan O'Neil (1905-54) and Martyn Jope (1915-96). Locally, Arthur Everett (1889-1979) has a strong claim to be considered one of the founders of the study of standing buildings in Devon, beginning in the 1930s, when his 'Save the Priory' campaign with Ethel Lega-Weekes resulted in the preservation, study and partial restoration of St Katherine's Priory at Polsloe.[3] After the war, and through the 1950s Everett virtually single-handedly, and in his spare time, studied and recorded in meticulous drawings, notes and photographs, many buildings threatened by demolition and refurbishment. But the subject as it now stands also owes much to developments in archaeological recording in the 1960s and 70s. The combined excavation and fabric recording between 1971 and 1984 of St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, by a team led by Philip Rahtz, ranks as one of the most successful and influential projects of this kind,[4] especially in its (for the time) innovative deployment of below- and above-ground evidence in combination, and of the presentation of recording and analysis in a very full sequence of drawings. Similarly the presentation of the standing elevation of the north wall of the nave of St Oswald's Priory, Gloucester was very influential on my own developing ideas of the presentation of standing fabric analysis.[5] Other luminaries at this time include Maurice Barley, John Hurst, Richard Morris, and Harold Taylor, continuing today with inspired work by, *inter alia*, Warwick Rodwell and Paul Drury. A conference on building recording held at Chester in 1993 represents a snapshot view of the discipline at that time. The published proceedings provide a useful overview of the ways in which archaeologists engage with buildings, as well as several fascinating general essays.[6] The claim that 'Buildings Archaeology' was invented at this conference[7] is, however, over-ambitious.

Background to the local study and recording of buildings

Devon is fortunate in having many extremely knowledgeable and eminent scholars of vernacular buildings: Nat Alcock, Michael Laithwaite, Peter Beacham and Peter Child have all played distinguished parts in the development of this subject.[8] Locally the archaeological study of buildings was pioneered by Chris Henderson, who played a crucial formative role in the development of building recording in Exeter in the 1970s by seeing its value at a time when few did, by committing the Archaeological Field Unit to the recording of threatened buildings, and by including recording of standing fabric as an integral aspect of the Unit's excavation work. The now famous example of the recording of 38 North Street by John Thorp prior to and during its demolition was a significant early example of this commitment to a new and evolving subject, and my own first venture in Exeter at Polsloe Priory took place as a result of

this commitment. Significant contributions were also made by Bob Higham and John Allan at Okehampton Castle, and by others elsewhere.[9]

The importance of drawing

In trying to think through the implications of what is crucial and individual to the *archaeological* study of buildings to compile the list given earlier, I came to the conclusion that drawing as an integral part of the analysis was one of the most critical factors. Many people have said to me in the past 'I could never do that, I cannot draw', or 'I have no talent'. Rather than requiring a particular talent, I would argue that an ability to draw requires some basic (and very simple) training, but above all application, self discipline, and an understanding of what is required of a record drawing. The very process of drawing helps in observation and interpretation, as I hope will become clear in one or two of my case studies later on.[10]

Richard Harris aptly expressed *the importance of drawing* in the context of recording buildings in a section of his essay entitled 'Drawing and Understanding' in the proceedings of the Chester conference:

> I have to draw in order to see. Of course I can take a look round a building and suggest an interpretation without making drawings, but I never see the building clearly until my observations have been tempered with the discipline of making a drawing on paper. I used to think that this was a personal failing but as I have repeatedly found that interpretations published by people who do not draw tend to become inaccurate as soon as the building becomes tricky, I have come to the conclusion that it is reasonable to assert that, as a general rule, drawing a building carefully is a discipline that assists interpretation.[11]

Harris is also interesting on the subject of the use of drawing as a part of the process of observation; his 'parsing' of a building, in the way that old fashioned schoolboys parsed sentences (and we will shortly 'parse' Dymock church and Exeter city wall), is also instructive.[12]

The church of St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire provides a wonderfully clear specimen illustration as an example of how the fabric of a building can be analysed. A number of discrete phases in the masonry of the south elevation of the chancel will be easily visible to most observers (Fig. 1). These comprise an early Norman phase of masonry of large blocks with pilaster buttresses, decorated string course, blank arcading to the east (right) with tympana filled with diagonally-set blocks, and the beginning of an eastern apse that does not survive. A twelfth century phase (dated *c.*1120-1140),[13] here represented by rebuilding above the string course in the centre-left section, includes round-headed windows (now blocked); the chancel was altered in the early fourteenth century, with the insertion of a two-light window with cusped Y-tracery and the demolition of the apse and rebuilding of the east end (extreme right). A late medieval window (left) is cut into by a larger modern window (centre left), and associated brick blocking. Most buildings will not display their different phases quite so readily as this, however, and a more subtle example is provided by a section of Roman fabric in Exeter city wall, at Quay Lane (Fig. 2).

Figure 1: The south elevation of the chancel at the church of St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire, showing complex phases of masonry.

Figure 2: Section of the Exeter city wall at Quay Lane, showing Roman facework (reproduced with kind permission of Exeter Archaeology).

Here building breaks are harder to see, but there are two phases of Roman work, with the break in the masonry about two-thirds of the way up, where a course of larger blocks and subtle changes in the colour and texture of the stone (local volcanic trap) mark the transition. Traces of repairs can also be seen, plus later underpinning in Permian breccia at the base and a complete rebuild at the left edge.

Contexts for the archaeological study of buildings

The contexts in which buildings archaeology can take place are many and vary widely in scale from observations in standing buildings without any disturbance of or intervention in the fabric through to full record prior to *demolition* of a building. Such a case took place at 38 North Street, Exeter, which was recorded by John Thorp in advance of its demolition in 1972.[14] *Disaster* provides another 'catastrophic' context;[15] a local example would be the spire at St John the Baptist, Hatherleigh, which was blown off the tower in the great storm of January 1990, resulting in extensive damage to the roofs of the church. The painstaking archaeological record by Keith Westcott of smashed timbers (transferred to a nearby barn, carefully sorted, labelled and drawn) informed the repair of the spire and contributed to a published study of the church.[16] *Alterations and repairs* have traditionally provided opportunities for investigation of buildings, mainly because they often offer access to parts of a building that are normally concealed. An example of this through a long programme would be West Challacombe, Combe Martin, where some observation and recording work for the National Trust in 1993, was followed by much routine recording in the course of the repair of the building and to a small research project to investigate the wonderful roof of this building and its affinities (Fig. 3).[17] *Maintenance* can offer similar opportunities: rendering of the west wall of St Olave's church, Exeter, in 1999 was preceded by a survey by Richard Parker to produce a record drawing of the masonry to be concealed, including a quoin of late-Saxon long and short work.[18] The incremental value of individually small sightings can mount up to a considerable whole, and unknown buildings (even a listed building will often be described in no more than a single paragraph) can become familiar through the amassing of small-scale observations.

Assessment as a part of the planning process, is increasingly an important factor in the study of historic buildings. This is essentially the product of the government's advice, currently embodied in planning policy guidance notes (PPG) 15 and 16. This requires that sufficient information to enable an application to be determined is provided by an individual wishing to alter a building. PPG 15 also provides for local authorities to require recording of features and fabric that would be destroyed in the course of works and of hidden features that are revealed by them.[19] Assessments can take various forms: they are normally confined to the so-called 'desk-top' category of work, that is, the assembly of readily available documentary cartographic and pictorial information, and superficial, non-invasive, examination of a building. Occasionally planning authorities can request some investigative work in order properly to assess the impact of proposed work. Although most assessments consist

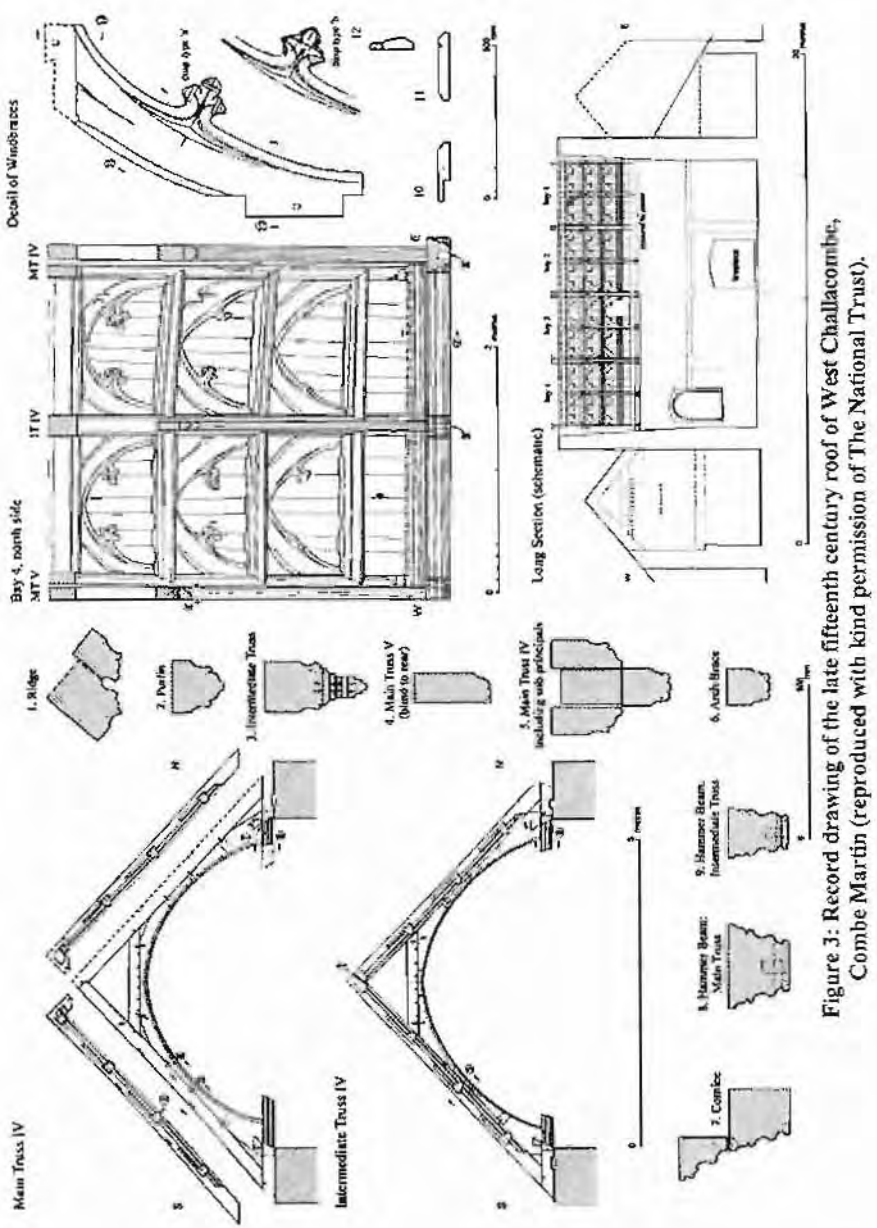

Figure 3: Record drawing of the late fifteenth century roof of West Challacombe, Combe Martin (reproduced with kind permission of The National Trust).

of the former type of activity, the act of drawing such information together can often be very productive. Most assessments, however, are hard to track down, remaining buried in local authority planning files and Historic Environment Records.

One important ancillary point about current practice in both below-ground and standing archaeology concerns the concept of *preservation by record*. This originates in the idea formalized in PPG 16,[20] that, if physical preservation of an archaeological site is not possible, then a full record formed during excavation (that is, the plans, sections, photographs, written record, publication) constitutes an acceptable substitute. In buildings 'preservation by record' is very much a second-best option and should rarely, if ever, be considered for listed buildings, which are by definition the cream of the historic buildings stock. The recent suggestion by the Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell that some historic buildings could as well be replicated in 'virtual' form and the originals destroyed possibly reflects this thinking (although it overlooks the key point that standing buildings possess a structural and historic integrity that is lost on demolition).[21]

Some aspects of the study of buildings illustrated with recent case studies

A number of case studies effectively illustrate the range of building recording work that has been undertaken in Exeter, and some of the issues and problems that can arise.[22]

Exeter Cathedral

Exeter Cathedral, as befits its status, must rank as one of the most studied buildings in the county, from the earliest engravings by Daniel King in the 1660s, *via* John Carter's magisterial study for the Society of Antiquaries in the 1790s, through to Stewart Brown's state-of-the-art CAD surveys of the nave fabric during the recent repair programme. Two major phases of work took place in the 1980s: a repair programme to the masonry of the south tower and the conservation of the west front image screen. Both projects contributed to the formulation of techniques for recording masonry in detail at a time when photogrammetric recording was in its infancy, and the work on the west front required the production of detailed and relatively large-scale drawings of architectural ornament and figure sculpture.[23] The recording on the tower included a programme of taking latex rubber moulds to produce casts of well-preserved details (capitals, bases, corbels, and the like), culminating in the casting of a complete arch. This first arose in response to a realisation that what was accessible in detail to us in the 1980s might well not survive until the next time the tower was scaffolded, so casting provided the means to obtain 1:1 three-dimensional records. The result is that details of the best of the Norman ornament of the south tower can today be seen close-up in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum (RAMM) displays. In retrospect we regretted that we did not do more routine casting of all well-preserved details. On the west front the recording of large-scale figure sculpture and architectural ornament presented a different set of challenges. Although much of what was done by hand measurement and drawing in the 1980s

would now be done by photogrammetry and computer-aided graphics, the principles of the techniques pioneered twenty years or more ago are largely still valid. Once drawings had been produced, block-by-block records of stone types, repairs, mortars and paint traces were compiled to feed into phased and interpretative drawings.[24]

43-45 High Street, Exeter

This group of three houses in the middle of Exeter High Street (formerly Pinder & Tuckwell, now the premises of Portman Building Society) offers an interesting example of the developing understanding of domestic architecture in the city. A medieval roof in one building (No. 44) was known from a photograph taken in the 1930s, although it was not known to survive, and in his classic study of Exeter houses Portman appears to have thought that Nos 43-44 were entirely modern.[25] Recording of this building by Keith Westcott in 1993 during alterations revealed that five trusses of this roof did survive, although cut away and supported by a variety of modern structures. Most recently, in 2004, a thoroughgoing conversion of all three houses provided the opportunity for detailed recording of the buildings by John Allan and Richard Parker. This confirmed details of earlier observations and revealed that Nos 43-44 were built as a pair of late medieval houses with stone outer walls and a timber-framed party wall, very much in the way of the much better-preserved (and rather later) Nos 41-42 to the north east (now Laura Ashley). No. 44 preserved a series of phases of the fifteenth/early sixteenth century when an open hall with an open hearth occupied the space set back from the street, with a shop with chamber above on the frontage. This discovery is of great importance for the development of housing in Exeter, as very few smoke-blackened roofs are known in the historic city. Several phases in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, when the hall was enclosed and floored and the roof trusses painted, were also documented. The south-westernmost house, No. 45, occupied a narrow plot representing the north-east end of a street connecting High Street to Cathedral Close (Lamb Alley) until it was filled in in stages during the sixteenth century. The highly ornamented side elevation of the house to the south-west (No. 46, an early sixteenth century house originally open onto Lamb Alley) was seen and recorded in detail.

Two related points about this sequence of work deserve emphasis: one is the fragility of surviving evidence, small and individually insignificant opportunities can yield important information, and no opportunity to make observations should be neglected. The second concerns the incremental value of such observations: the significance of something observed during work at one stage can suddenly be realised with further observations, sometimes years later. This point will be developed in the next case study.

Exeter City Wall

The Roman and medieval city wall of Exeter has been widely investigated by both excavation and survey. A case study of the development of understanding of one

section of wall through a number of stages of study and recording will illustrate how the process of observation and analysis can itself contribute to the understanding of a building, as well as emphasising the importance of drawing (above). The section in question is in Northernhay Gardens, to one side and the other of Athelstan's Tower (Fig. 4). This section contains well-preserved Roman facework and fabric and earthworks associated with Rougemont Castle, founded by William I in 1068. Three main stages of work have taken place. The section was first described, and illustrated in a sketch elevation, by Ian Burrow in his pioneering study of the wall.[26] Then, in 1988 and 1991 I described this section in detail, although still without any drawing, while producing a fabric survey of the city wall.[27] This led to the realisation that the Roman facework survived to almost the full height of the wall to the southwest of Athelstan's Tower, and that this was capped off by the remains of a crenellated parapet in white Triassic sandstone. There was no way of dating this at the time, and it was suggested that it might belong to the Civil War period. Nevertheless the interest of this area was identified and the section was proposed for more detailed recording. The opportunity arose in 1993-4, when a study of the wall was funded by English Heritage, and full stone for stone drawings of the stretch of wall between the rear of the castle and the archway between Northernhay Gardens and Rougemont Gardens were prepared by Richard Parker and Aidan Matthews. These led to the recognition of a further stage of sandstone parapet buried by early Norman masonry associated with the castle, and thus providing a stratigraphic means of dating the whole length of parapet to the late Saxon period. The discovery that Exeter retains some late-Saxon defensive masonry in its wall is exceptionally important, and has considerable implications for the dating of similar masonry in other sections of the circuit. Other observations concerned the survival of the Roman wall in this area, the stages by which the castle was constructed in the early Norman period (particularly the survival of earthworks from the earliest castle outside the wall, to be seen today as the scarps surrounding the wall in Northernhay Gardens), and the extent of repairs of Civil War date.

Understanding of the significance of the many phases of work represented in this section has come gradually as more observations have been made, more detailed drawings compiled, and more thought gone into the interpretation of findings. The close scrutiny that comes with the making of detailed drawings pays dividends in terms of the quality of observation. This again illustrates the incremental value of individual observations.

Bowhill, Dunsford Road, Exeter

Bowhill is a comprehensively studied building comprising a combination of below-ground excavation and above-ground fabric recording carried out in the context of a repair programme by English Heritage between 1977 and 1995. One of the key messages of Bowhill is that the understanding gained by the study of the building governed its repair and presentation. This was applied history, used to inform planning and decision-making. As such it forms something of an

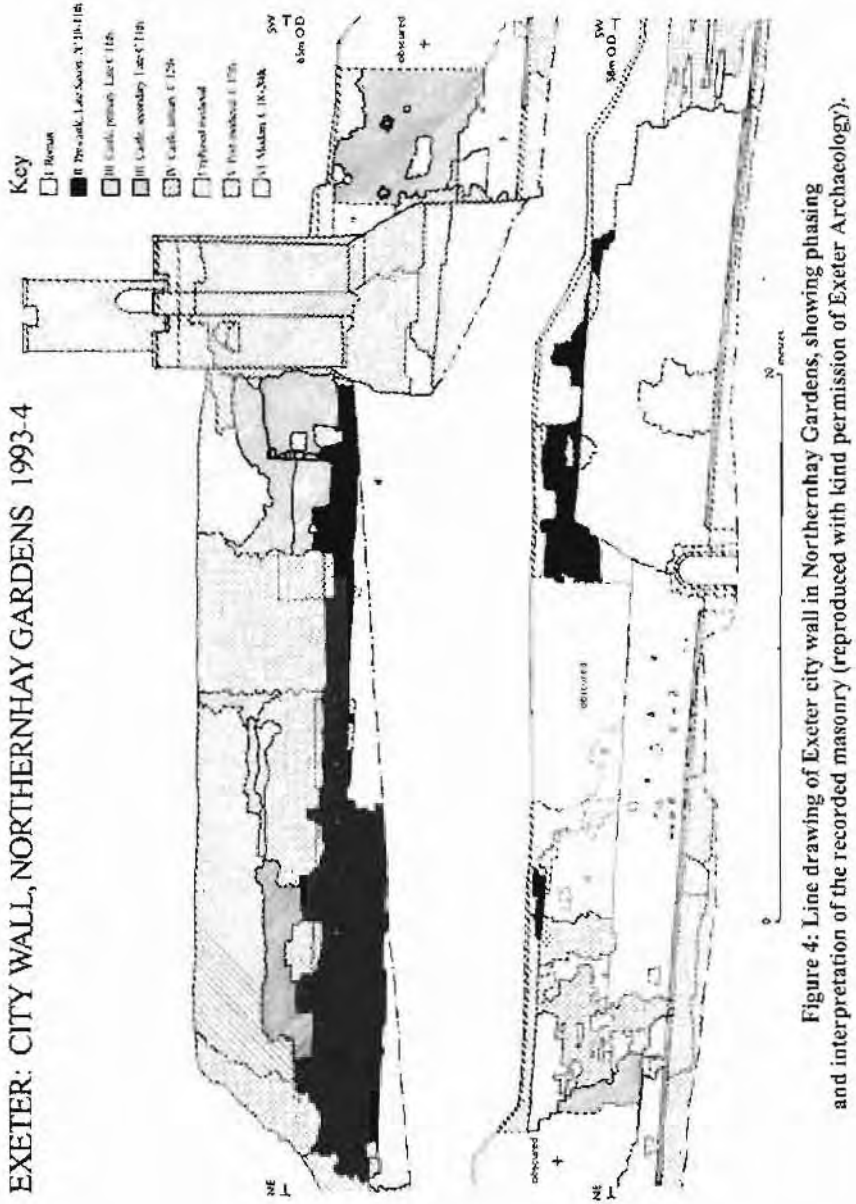

Figure 4: Line drawing of Exeter city wall in Northernhay Gardens, showing phasing and interpretation of the recorded masonry (reproduced with kind permission of Exeter Archaeology).

exemplar for 'buildings archaeology'. The detailed access to the fabric that was available during repairs is also an all-too-rare opportunity, and Bowhill therefore provides a 'control' over less-thorough recording opportunities, as well as yielding many insights in its own right. The building exhibits a combination of vernacular and higher-status characteristics, including earth plasters and renders throughout and a mixture of stone and cob as walling materials. As a result the walls of the building are rendered, and one of the aims of the publication of Bowhill was to enable observers in the future to 'see through' the plastered and rendered finishes to the structural skeleton of the building revealed during repairs, but now concealed again.[28]

The simultaneous examination of standing fabric and below-ground archaeological deposits presents a rare opportunity to assess the relative contributions of excavation and fabric recording to interpretation of the building, and this represents another important aspect of the Bowhill project.[29] Aspects of the story revealed by excavation but not apparent in the standing fabric included: two early building phases predating the construction of the standing building; a phase of fortification in the Civil War, known from contemporary broadsheets, but unrepresented in the standing fabric; and glimpses of the decorative ornament of the building in the form of exotic finds and excavated architectural fragments. Conversely, the examination of the standing building provided insights into the structural history that would be wholly absent from an account drawn only from excavated observations: the complexity of phases and alterations; the scale and quality of the construction; the rich carpentry; and aspects of the ornament and finishes of the building, including the presence in the original building of at least one glazed tile pavement, attested by numerous individual tiles built into repairs. A much fuller account of the development and status of the standing building comes from detailed scrutiny of the fabric than would be available from the excavated plan; excavation in cavities of the standing building led to the recovery of building materials and slates that provide much information on the past treatment of the roofs; dendrochronological dating provided precision dating of structural timbers and provided a felling date range for planks from a primary ceiling of 1491-1510 (as it happened some waterlogged and charred timbers were recovered by excavation, although these failed to date). In short Bowhill provides many lessons for the interpretation of buildings where only one side of the evidence is available, and serves as a warning against (*inter alia*) underestimating the sophistication of buildings seen from the perspective of excavated footings, or of the potential complexity and longevity of standing buildings, which may prove to have earlier antecedents.

Conclusion

In attempting a rapid overview of the subject of archaeologists' engagement with standing buildings I am conscious of many lacunae. Aspects hardly mentioned include the rapid assessment of buildings, documentary research as an integral aspect of buildings archaeology, issues of recording churches (another paper could be written on this subject alone), and I certainly could have talked more of smaller

and simpler recording projects. I have tried to identify the distinctive aspects of an archaeological approach to building recording, and to illustrate what archaeologists actually do in relation to historic buildings that singles them out from other disciplines with similar or overlapping interests, such as documentary historians, architectural historians and conservationists.

Acknowledgements

I have drawn examples from my own work and that of colleagues at Exeter Archaeology. This is perhaps more to do with expediency and availability of illustrations and other material, than any claim that these offer especially appropriate examples. I am grateful to John Allan, Francis Kelly and Richard Parker for reading and commenting on a draft of this article.

Notes and references

1. Morris 1994, 14.
2. See, for example, Morriss 2000, 119-32.
3. Everett 1934, 110-11.
4. Rahtz and Watts 1997.
5. Heighway 1980, fig. 3.
6. See, for instance, those by Richard Harris, Bob Meeson and Richard Morris: Wood *et al.* 1994.
7. For example, Morriss 2000, 10.
8. Alcock and Laithwaite 1973; the contributions by these authors to Beacham 1990.
9. Higham 1977; Higham *et al.* 1982.
10. This has been observed in a series of papers in *Antiquity* on the subject of archaeological draughtsmanship: Piggott 1965; Hope-Taylor 1966.
11. Harris 1994, 248.
12. *Ibid.*, 242.
13. Verey 1970, 175.
14. Laithwaite 1990, 104-9.
15. Brodie 1994.
16. Westcott 1992.
17. Richardson 1993; Blaylock 1996; Blaylock 2004b; it is eventually intended to draw together all the material on the building in a published report.
18. Parker 1999.
19. Department of the Environment/Department of National Heritage 1994, paras 3.23-4.
20. Department of the Environment 1990, paras 13.24-5.
21. Jowell 2005, 22-3.
22. The lecture continued from this point with a number of case studies of building-recording work in Exeter, selected to illustrate the range of work and some of the problems that arise. For this format I cannot hope to present the same material (through lack of illustrative capacity), but have chosen to summarise some of the issues raised by four of the case studies.

23. Allan and Blaylock 1991, fig. 1.
24. *Ibid.*, colour plates A-B.
25. Portman 1966.
26. Burrow 1977, 20-1 and fig. 5.
27. Blaylock 1995, 46-51.
28. Blaylock 2004a.
29. *Ibid.*, 70.

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The 'Great Sir Thomas' Acland and his Norwegian namesake; Part 1: the establishment of the Acland-Tellefsen connection

Keith G. Orrell

Introduction

The Acland family is probably the oldest family in Devon to claim a direct descent through the male line.[1] The family settled in this part of England in the twelfth century with Hugh de Accaten being recorded as owning land. Acland, meaning 'Acca's lane', refers to a Saxon Acca who owned a sizeable estate at Landkey near Barnstaple in North Devon. Killerton House, in the parish of Broadclyst near Exeter, was bought in the early seventeenth century by John Acland, the owner of the adjoining manor of Columb John, and the amalgamation of these two properties formed the nucleus of the future Killerton estate.

The family earned the hereditary title of baronet in 1644 by their loyalty to King Charles I during the Civil War, when Columb John was offered as a safe garrison for the King. The first baronet, Sir John Acland (*c.* 1591-1647), had three sons who formed the foundation of the strong male line of the Aclands. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the family flourish steadily from the first through to the ninth baronetcies. The ninth baronet, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1752-1794), married Henrietta Hoare, the only daughter of Sir Richard Hoare, a wealthy banker from Mitcham in Surrey. They had five children, Thomas (Tom) (1787-1871) being the eldest of the brothers and sisters who all grew up together in Holnicote in North Devon.

Tom Acland: the early years (1787-1806)

Tom was born in 1787,[2] but his father, the ninth baronet, died tragically only seven years later, leaving his mother with the heavy responsibility of bringing up both him and his brothers and sisters in the best possible way. Whilst having a devoted wife in Henrietta, the ninth baronet had had a somewhat reckless style of living that had left the family estates with many debts. Coming from a banking family Henrietta was much more careful over financial matters, and Tom's money was placed in the hands of trustees until he came of age. To economise on expenditure Henrietta continued to live in Holnicote, leaving Killerton House empty. However, within a year of widowhood she became happily remarried to Captain Matthew Forteseue, R.N., and soon presented him with two sons to add to her already large family.

Henrietta had a very dominant personality and was determined that Tom should grow up well fitted to take his proper place in the world. She was determined he would have sound religious principles, be punctual and diligent, avoid debt and drink, and cultivate an outward manner fit for any society. When he was eight years old he was sent away to a private school in North London, and

at the age of fourteen he went on to Harrow School. He was a high-spirited boy who, whilst aware that he would inherit a large fortune, was also conscious of his wider responsibilities. His mother, despite being busy with the welfare of her seven children and looking after the Holnicote estate, became a keen landscape painter, an enthusiasm she passed on to Tom and to his brothers.

Tom Acland: university and early political life (1806-7)

Tom went up to Oxford in March 1806, entering Christ Church as a gentleman-commoner. His mother kept a close eye on him through her twice-weekly letters, instructing him about his friends, advising that those of higher rank and ability should be sought, Evangelicals should be avoided, and reminding him that his state of health must always be a prime consideration (he had previously promised to drink no wine!).

Tom's moods fluctuated between states of exhilaration and depression. He had already met Lydia Hoare (a third cousin) who was to become his future wife, so his period at Oxford prevented him from seeing as much of her as he would have liked. Tom appreciated his mother's consideration for his welfare, but mostly ignored her advice! He was developing his own strong character, which led to his active involvement in the Christ Church Debating Society or 'The Brotherhood' as they called themselves, discussing and debating topics of the day. Most of the society members subsequently became members of parliament, and in due course (1812) formed the nucleus of the Grillion's Club (after the hotel in Albermarle Street where they met on alternate Wednesdays). This was a cross-party political and dining club that is still active to the present day, and whose stated aim was to bring together men of differing political opinions. It was at this time that Tom met Robert Inglis,[3] who became a life-long friend and confidant, and a co-founder with Tom of the Grillion's Club. Tom commissioned portrait drawings of every member of the club and many of these drawings are now exhibited in the Study and the Long Corridor at Killerton House.

At Oxford Tom is remembered as a young man full of energy and adventure, but also very caring about the welfare of others. He sat his final examinations in June 1807 and gained a B.A. Degree in March 1808.

Norwegian experience (1807-1808)

Tom, like many of his friends, was intent on completing his education by travelling abroad. However, the Napoleonic Wars had closed most of the continent, but Scandinavia was still neutral. With sketching as one of the prime motives for the trip, he chose to travel to Norway on account of it having the finest scenery outside Switzerland. Despite protestations from his mother, his future wife Lydia, and Lydia's father about the foolhardiness of the trip at that very sensitive political time, he set off on 1 July 1807 with two companions and a servant. One of his companions was an Oxford friend, Charles Clement Adderley, son of Lord Norton, and a graduate of St John's College. His other companion was a Frenchman, a Monsieur Lamotte, who, it is thought, had letters of invitation to

noble societies in Trondheim, the old capital of Norway. The party sailed from Harwich arriving in Goteborg in Sweden five days later, from where they travelled into Norway via Trollhatten, finally arriving in Christiana (Oslo) on 21 July. They then moved north, presumably by carriage, along the Gudbrandsdal valley to Trondheim. Throughout this trip Tom made many sketches, which were subsequently included in the book of their travels written by Lamotte.[3] Tom's sketch of Trondheim is reproduced as Figure 1.

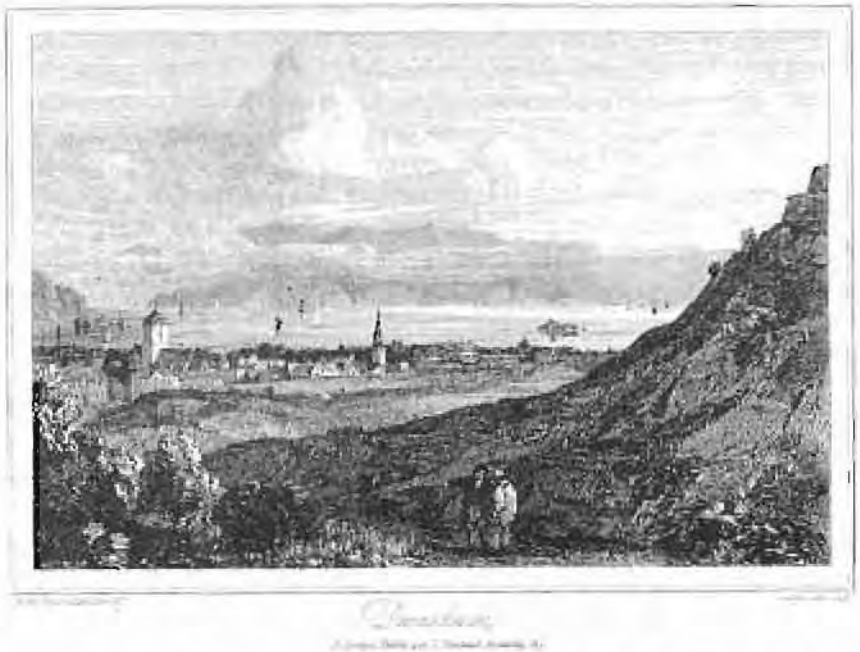

Figure 1: Engraving (by George Cole) of a sketch by Sir Thomas Acland of Drontheim (Trondheim) painted in 1807 on his first visit to Norway (reproduced with kind permission of the Devon and Exeter Institution Library).

After spending nine days in Trondheim and meeting various eminent people, the travellers then came south, this time via the Østerdal valley to Kongsvinger near the Swedish border. Meanwhile Napoleon was threatening to extend his empire. At that time Denmark had sovereignty over Norway, and so any invasion made by Napoleon of Denmark would directly affect Norway. The British government was determined to forestall Napoleon, and on 30 October 1807 the Foreign Affairs Minister, George Canning, ordered the bombardment of Copenhagen, which virtually wiped out the Danish fleet. Thus, Denmark and her reluctant subject-nation Norway found themselves at war with Britain, with the result that Tom and his companions found themselves detained near Kongsvinger from where they were transferred and imprisoned in the town of Kongsberg,

situated south-west of Christiana. It appears likely that, given his forthrightness of character, Tom would have protested against the existing sovereignty of Denmark over Norway, a state of affairs much resented by the Norwegians themselves, with the result that the Norwegian officials granted release of their sympathetic British prisoners after only two months, and allowed them safe passage home via Sweden!

Much to the relief of his family and friends Tom and his companions arrived back at Holnicote in January 1808 with much to relate and a portfolio of sketches, some of which were subsequently exhibited at the Royal Academy in London. He had made a number of friends in Norway with whom he continued to correspond, and had left a most generous gift of £500 for the relief of sufferers from the war.

This episode in his life reflected many aspects of Tom's personality, his impatient energy, a great love of adventure, a somewhat reckless attitude towards financial matters, scant regard for the feelings and advice of others, but, on the other hand, a very sincere concern for the underdog and those in need, and the courage to speak freely even when it put himself in danger.

Tom's marriage and further travelling (1808-1809)

On 7 April 1808 Tom and Lydia were married and so commenced forty-eight years of married partnership. Lydia, being a member of the Hoare banking family from Mitcham Grove in Surrey, had been brought up in close contact with the austere Evangelical circle, that, under William Wilberforce, fought for the abolition of the slave trade, a cause that was to feature prominently in her husband's later political life. She was a person of handsome presence, great physical and mental strength, and possessed a considerable musical talent. In anticipation of her marriage to Tom, a chamber organ had been installed the previous year (1807) in what became the Music Room of Killerton House.

On coming of age in 1808 Tom (now Sir Thomas) inherited an income of £10,000 per year and became responsible for all the Acland estates. It was decided that he and Lydia should live at Killerton even though, after thirty years of neglect, it was rather dilapidated. New furnishings were chosen by his mother and the agent, John Veitch. As the latter was also a respected landscape consultant and nurseryman he was given the additional responsibility of planning an imaginative scheme for the whole of the garden and park.

In the spring of 1809 their eldest child was born and named Thomas Dyke Acland after his father. This was the start of eighteen years of child-bearing for Lady Acland, during which time ten children were born. She was physically very robust and despite her numerous pregnancies was able to accompany her husband on their many 'peregrinations' over the next twenty years or so. As recreation from his management duties of the estate Sir Thomas relied on sketching and travel (by horseback, carriage or sailing boat).

By the summer of 1812 they had two sons, Tom (aged three) and Arthur (aged one), but this did not deter them from travelling and, taking young Tom with them, they visited Southern Ireland and thence to Scotland, reaching as far

north as St. Kilda, the remote island on the edge of the Outer Hebrides. Here Lydia was reputed to be the first 'lady' to land on the island! Their return journey through Scotland included an ascent of Ben Nevis, but it is not known whether young Tom accompanied them!

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Member of Parliament (1812-1820)

On his return to Killerton Sir Thomas was invited to stand as a Member of Parliament for Devon, and on 15 October 1812 was elected as such. Life now had to fit around the parliamentary sessions, but this was not too onerous as the House rarely sat between July and February! For six months of the year he and Lydia were able to spend time at Killerton or Holnicote or travel abroad, while during parliamentary sessions they moved to London taking a house or staying at a family hotel such as Grillion's in Albemarle Street, where the political dining club met.

Sir Thomas was very much a political reformer by nature, at times not following the Tory Party line. He was particularly outspoken on humanitarian issues such as Catholic emancipation, the state of London prisons and, drawing on his personal experience, easing the Norwegian blockade.

In 1813 Sir Thomas revisited Norway and travelled again to Trondheim where he met Johann Christian Tellefsen.[5] The latter was a central figure in the musical life of Trondheim, being the organist of Nidarosdomen (Trondheim Cathedral), and an organ builder and instrument dealer by profession. Sir Thomas met Tellefsen in The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters building in Trondheim, where the latter was the librarian. They became firm friends, sharing a common interest in humanitarian and religious matters.[6] This friendship was to have very significant consequences.

By the summer of 1814 Napoleon had been captured, the war seemed over and the continent was open again to travellers. This prompted the Aclands (Sir Thomas, Lady Lydia and five-year-old Tom) to resume their travels, this time to Vienna where an important Peace Congress was being held. Sir Thomas was actively engaged in the Congress, and both he and Lydia made many new friends including Archduke John of Austria. While there Lydia learnt Italian and took singing lessons, music being her main recreation.

When the family returned home in February 1815 they found England in the midst of a post-war depression. During the period 1815-18 Sir Thomas gained a reputation as an active parliamentarian and fluent speaker, but at the general election of 1818 he was defeated unexpectedly (Fig. 2).

However, in 1820, following another general election precipitated by the King's death, he was re-elected. The political climate had now changed to a more reformist mood that was more congenial to him, and he continued to strengthen his reputation as a moderate Tory.

Figure 2: Sir Thomas Acland after his election defeat in 1818, painted by William Owen (reproduced with kind permission of The National Trust).

Sir Thomas Acland: politician, traveller and estate manager (1820-1837)

During the 1820s Sir Thomas Acland increased his reputation for political independence, often causing dissent amongst his friends, but his views were

widely respected and some of his best speeches were made in support of liberalising measures.

Sir Thomas' travels around this time included another visit to Norway in 1822, when he again met up with Johann Christian Tellefsen to whom he agreed to send a copy of his portrait.[7] This portrait arrived the following year, shortly before Tellefsen's youngest son was to be baptised. Since his parents had not decided on a proper name for the boy they chose to name him Thomas Dyke Acland Tellefsen (1823-1874) in recognition of their close feelings towards Sir Thomas! Thus, the Acland-Tellefsen connection was established.

Young Thomas was born into a family of musicians and received a sound musical education, rooted in Bach and the baroque masters. He studied with his organist father and with Ole Andreas Lindeman,[8] the organist of Trondheim's Church of Our Lady, and who later produced the first chorale book compiled expressly for Norway.

During the 1830s, whilst young Thomas' musical talents were being nurtured in Norway, in England Sir Thomas' political thinking was being exercised. In 1831 the Whigs brought in an electoral Reform Bill, which Sir Thomas, despite being a Tory, was sympathetic towards and supported the second reading of the Bill. However, the Bill proved to be very divisive. It was defeated at the committee stage on an amendment that Sir Thomas supported, and it brought about the dissolution of Parliament. Sir Thomas' support of the Bill greatly displeased the Tories, his support for the amendment displeased the Whigs, and he himself felt extremely disillusioned and decided to resign his parliamentary seat.

Sir Thomas was to remain out of parliament for six years, during which time he was able to devote himself to his family and his Devon estates, particularly Killerton, as well as being able to further indulge in foreign travel. In June 1831 his son Tom obtained a double-first class degree in classics and mathematics at Oxford, and he himself received an honorary D.C.L. degree conferred on him by Christ Church.

Sir Thomas ruled his estates (Killerton, Holnicote, Trerice and Bude) with 'benevolent despotism'[9] and, in return, received unquestioning loyalty from his estate staff. However, his expenditure in maintaining these estates was greatly in excess of his resources, but through Lydia's banking connections he had no difficulty in borrowing money!

In 1832 Sir Thomas and Lady Acland were introduced to the pleasures of yachting by Captain Fairfax Moresby R.N., and in 1834 Sir Thomas decided to purchase his own yacht. He chose a two-masted schooner of 186 tons and converted it into a yacht for accommodating the whole family and a paid crew. Its extensive equipment even included Lydia's piano! The yacht was named *The Lady of St. Kilda* and it set off on its maiden voyage on 2 August 1834 to circumnavigate England and Scotland. The voyage took six weeks, and included revisiting the island of St. Kilda. In the spring of 1835 they sailed to Lisbon and the Iberian Peninsula, and a month later were off again, this time to Rome. During

their three-month stay they became particularly friendly with Baron Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador. Lydia, having her music with her, often had the distinction of playing and singing before the great Danish neo-classical sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen, who worked in Rome. Two terracotta roundels by the sculptor entitled *Night* and *Morning* were subsequently brought back by Lydia as keepsakes, and now hang above two of the doors in the Library at Killerton House.

The Aclands returned home in July 1837, and Sir Thomas soon set about trying to achieve a long held aim to build a chapel near to Killerton House. The project was to take three years to reach fruition, but on 21 September 1841 the Killerton chapel, dedicated to the Holy Evangelists, was consecrated. The design reflected Sir Thomas' religious feelings, which tried to balance the rigid evangelical leanings of Lydia with the Tractarian influences of Keble, Pusey and Newman.

Sir Thomas' second political term (1837-1848)

In 1837 Sir Thomas reached the age of fifty and felt ready for parliament again. A general election was held following the death of William IV, and he was elected as Tory M.P. for North Devon, in which capacity he was to remain for the next twenty years. The same election brought his son, Tom, into the House as Member for West Somerset.

Lady Acland spent less time in London during her husband's second parliamentary stint. Tom kept company with his father and was soon elected to the Grillion's Club where his father was still a popular secretary. Sir Thomas continued his predilection to speak on subjects with which he was familiar and on which he had a strong social conscience. He was passionately against the slave trade, which had cost him the lives of a brother, Charles, and son, Charles Baldwin. Both were naval officers who died from fever caught in the rescue of slaves on the African coast. His missionary interests led him to join the African Civilisation Society, which aimed to teach farming skills to Africans so that they did not need to rely on the profits of selling slaves.

Thomas Tellefsen establishes himself in Paris (1842-1847)

During Sir Thomas' second political term in England, his Norwegian namesake's debut as a pianist took place in his home city of Trondheim in January 1842 when he was eighteen years of age. However, in May of the same year Thomas Tellefsen moved to Paris where he became the pupil of his compatriot Charlotte Thygeson. He was clearly most determined to establish himself as a prominent pianist, as instanced by the letter he wrote on 4 October 1842:

> I will tell you now how I spend my days: I must arise at 7.00 and work without pause until 11.00. From 7.00 to 8.00 I play the 5 notes and practise them, from 8.00 to 9.00 études, from 9.00 to 9.30 octaves, from 9.30 to 10.00 the C major scale, quite slowly and forcefully, from 10.00 to 10.30 études once again, and from 10.30 to 11.00 octaves once again.... At 2.00 I commence playing once more, and play without pause until 6.00. It is difficult, and most likely not good for my health and my weak chest, but one must make the best use of one's time, and if one is to get anywhere, one must work diligently and steadfastly.[10]

This great dedication to practice must have paid dividends, because a year later he attended some of the classes of the renowned French/German pianist, teacher and composer Friedrich Kalkbrenner. However, his health became seriously undermined, and in 1844 he had to spend several weeks in hospital recovering from pneumonia and rheumatic fever.[11]

In 1844 he was introduced to Frédéric Chopin through Henri de Latouche, a literary man friendly with George Sand,[12] and during the period 1844-1847 Thomas Tellefsen received three lessons per week from Chopin. He also appears to have become one of the composer's copyists.[13]

Acknowledgements

I have inevitably drawn heavily on Anne Acland's authoritative book of the Acland family, particularly chapters five and six. I am most indebted to Ms Sissell Guttormsen, Curator of the Ringve Museum of Music History, Trondheim, for providing me with valuable information on the early contacts between Sir Thomas Acland and Thomas Tellefsen's father, and on the later meeting with Thomas Tellefsen himself. I am also most grateful to Ingrid Dalaker of the Institute of Music, the Norwegian University of Science & Technology (N.T.N.U.), Trondheim for providing important details of Tellefsen's life and compositions, and to Ms Monica Aase of the N.T.N.U. Library, Trondheim, for drawing my attention to Lamotte's *Voyage dans le Nord de l'Europe*.

Notes and references

1. Acland 1981.
2. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004, 159.
3. He was later to become Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855), 2nd Baronet and high Tory politician.
4. Lamotte 1813. A copy of this book, signed by Sir Thomas Acland, is held in the Devon and Exeter Institution library in Cathedral Close, Exeter.
5. It is almost certain that he met Johann Christian Tellefsen on his first visit to Norway in 1807 when he visited Trondheim and sketched the city (Fig. 1), but there is no written record to that effect.
6. Curator of the Ringve Museum, Trondheim, Norway, *personal communication*, email 12 February 2004.
7. The portrait is likely to have been based on that painted by William Owen in 1818 after Sir Thomas' only election defeat in his parliamentary career. It shows him standing near the hustings at the castle grounds in Exeter with a speech in his hand (Fig. 2). The picture became known as 'Grandpapa in a thunderstorm' to later generations of Aclands! The original hangs over the main staircase at Killerton.
8. Michelsen 2001, 244-5.
9. See Acland, *op cit.*, 60.

10. I.L. Dalaker 2004; sleeve notes for the CD recording of Tellefsen's chamber music (Simax Classics PSC 1226).
11. Dalaker, *personal communication*, email 16 September 2004.
12. Eigeldinger 1986.
13. Part 2 of this article will appear in a later edition of *The Devon Historian*.

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Dr Keith Orrell is a retired Reader in Chemistry of the University of Exeter, where his specialisms were physical chemistry and spectroscopy. He has had a lifelong interest in classical music, with a particular recent interest in Scandinavian music. In connection with this article it is hoped to arrange a recital of some of Thomas Tellefsen's piano music in the Music Room of Killerton House in the near future. The author can be contacted at Rosemount, 6 Glebelands, Sidmouth, Devon, EX10 8UB (01395 519820), or at korrell@uk2.net.

Book reviews

John and Margaret Folkes (2005) *Exeter postcards*, Stroud: Tempus; 128 pages, numerous illustrations, softcover, ISBN 0752434748, £12.99.

This book is one of a series, *Images of England*, and is, in essence, a compilation of over two hundred black-and-white reproductions of postcards belonging to various members of the Exeter Postcard Society. However, it is no mere picture book. Each illustration is accompanied by a, so it often seems, well-researched caption. Some of these could stand on their own. Rather than follow a geographical or chronological classification, or one based on the publisher or photographer, a thematic approach is adopted. This brings the book beyond one of interest primarily to the postcard collector into one that should attract the local historian. The first section is devoted to those postcards of main appeal to the tourist, rather than commemorating events of local interest. The subjects range from the splendour of Exeter Cathedral to the apparently picturesque squalor of early twentieth-century Stepcote Hill. The second, 'Shops and shopping', contains many depictions of High Street before it succumbed to the ravages of the Second World War and its aftermath. This is followed by pictures concerning 'Events, entertainment and sport', and then by those of various Exeter educational establishments and their pupils. The next section is perhaps of more general interest and concerns not just personal tragedies, such as the death of a local woman in a tram accident, but also all the citizens' anguish over the carnage of two world wars. The penultimate part of the book, 'Outside the walls', at first sight gives the impression of a hotchpotch of postcards difficult to fit in elsewhere. On the other hand, it draws attention to once independent communities now 'gobbled up' by Exeter. The final section documents the events of 1905, a year which the authors regard as marking a long awaited resurrection of civic pride. The events depicted include the building of the iron Exe Bridge, the arrival of the electric tram, and the unveiling of the statue of a hero of the Boer War.

The reviewer approached this book from two standpoints. Firstly, as a postcard collector. Secondly, as an amateur historian more competent at data gathering and descriptive narrative than at the professional business of analysis and interpretation. Deriving from both of these, the reviewer has long-believed that the postcard can sometimes provide an archival record comparable to more usual sources. As a collector, mixed feelings were aroused. Envy over many postcards never before seen was balanced by the thought that the chase was still worth it. If only for the rarity of many of the postcards reproduced, this is a book for the collector. It has to be said the historian will find little, if anything, in the captions that could not be gleaned elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is inestimable value in matching print with picture. This book achieves this well. Above all, it demonstrates that the 'tourist trash' postcard has come of age as a pictorial historical record.

This book can be highly recommended to all interested in Exeter's history in particular and England's social history in general. Individuals and librarians

possessing earlier compilations of Exeter postcards need have no reservations over adding it to their bookshelves.
Sadru Bhanji

Helen Harris (2004) *A handbook of Devon parishes*, Tiverton: Halsgrove; 192 pages, 225 illustrations, hardcover, ISBN 1841143146, £19.95.
This book was written about fifty years after W.G. Hoskins published his encyclopaedic *Devon*, a seminal work that has remained as an unchallenged authoritative history of Devon. Hoskins' *Devon* consists of two parts: the first is a chronological essay on the county's history while the second is a gazetteer of the various parishes. Mrs Helen Harris' work is an updated version of part 2 of Hoskins, and she modestly acknowledges her debt to Hoskins, writing in her introduction that his book has been her constant and cherished work of reference for nearly half a century. In her book she seeks to follow a pattern similar to that set by Hoskins. Both books identify the various parishes on a simple map with squares based on the British National Grid. The text of the handbook is an updating of Hoskins' gazetteer to the situation in 2004, and Harris has drawn on Hoskins' basic historical knowledge - to which she has added her own and that of others. Details of road accessibility, topography and general information relating to the twenty-first century such as railways, towns, villages, contemporary local government areas and titles, are added as completely new data. Harris has included the population of parishes for 2001 as an addition to Hoskins' data for the period from 1801 to 1961, and perhaps a reprint of data for the years between 1961 and 2001 might have been useful. Hoskins noted that a complete bibliography of the sources of Devonshire history would 'by itself fill a substantial volume', and Harris has included some post-1950's literature in a form entitled 'Further reading'. She has also included local history societies and museums. Many of her parish notes are accompanied by small monochrome photographs of physical features; most of these are good but the reproduction of a few could be improved.

This book is obviously the result of much research by Mrs Harris, and one cannot but envy her exploratory travels around the County in the 'glorious summer' of 2003. It will be a useful source of reference for future works on the county of Devon and its 422 parishes and other larger authorities.
D.L.B. Thomas

Jacqueline Sarsby (2004) *Sweetstones: life on a Devon farm*, Dartington: Green Books; 112 pages, numerous illustrations, hardcover, ISBN 1903998441, £14.95.
When I first saw this book, I was reminded of the timeless photographs of James Ravilious and Chris Chapman, and having now read the book, and absorbed also the evocative black and white images, my initial impression has been confirmed. This is a book of the highest quality. If Ravilious describes mid- and north-Devon, and Chapman evokes Dartmoor, then Jacqueline Sarsby documents the South Hams as its farming life changes from the traditional farm to -- who knows what?

Like Chris Chapman, Sarsby -- a social anthropologist -- immersed herself in her subject over a period of several years, twelve in fact, taking photographs of the passing seasons, the animals and poultry, and the crops. The farming family are the Rowdons, comprising the brothers John and Wilfred, their mother Mrs Eda Rowden, and sister Phyllis. During the time the author was observing the farm, both Mrs Rowdon and John Rowdon died - John suddenly while harvesting mangolds. The way neighbours helped at his time is described in detail, and the life of the local community as it went round this small farm of 153 acres is beatifically described.

This is a most handsomely described book, beautifully written and a useful record of farming life at the end of the twentieth century. As an example of the author's delightful prose style a few sentences from the opening chapter must suffice.

> Here there are no holiday cottages, no troughs filled with bedding plants to please the visitors, or barns garaging powerful cars just down for the weekend. Behind a wall, the orchard is busy with calves and starry with plum-blossom, for we are only a few miles from Dittisham, the home of plums. A thin nap of grass has slipped under the orchard gate, colonising the edge of the yard, and black hens flutter down to it, squawking as they go ... Several brown cows, the South Devons traditional to the area, look up from their pasture. Towards evening they will congregate at the bottom of the track until it is time to go in, eat a bit of bruised barley and hay, and suckle the young calves. This is a working farm, a tidy farm, and a farm where the new and the traditional exist side by side. The Rowdons have been here since 1955. Sometimes they have felt the need to go with the tide in farming, to mechanise or invest in a new breed; sometimes they have not, because in spite of all the pressures to conform, the carrot and stick of subsidy, premium and quota, and the unconquerable mountain of paperwork, they have retained a certain independence of spirit.

A lovely book, well worth immersing oneself in, written and illustrated by a true communicator.
Brian le Messurier

Keith S. Perkins

With regret we record the death on 18 June 2005, after protracted illness, of Keith Perkins, whose numerous articles, published in *The Devon Historian* from 1985-95, will be recalled by many members.

Although living in Coventry, Keith knew Devon well. He had a deep interest in industrial archaeology, particularly in relation to civil engineering, and his researches related notably to projects that involved provision of mechanical means of transport across river estuaries. These included plans for early steam power links between Devonport and Torpoint, and a fascinating account of Rendel's hydraulic drawbridge at Bowcombe Creek near Kingsbridge.

Keith was a painstaking writer whose work always carried a personal touch. We extend our condolences to his two sons.

Helen Harris

Correspondence from members and other information

The Hon. Editor is pleased to receive notices concerning museums, local societies and organisations, information about particular research projects, as well as notes, queries and correspondence from Society members. Such items can be reproduced in *The Devon Historian*, space permitting.

A murdered prince in Devon

The buildings of England: Devon (Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner 1989 second edition: 274-5) describes the East window of the north aisle of Coldridge church as containing an 'Early C16 figure of a king... and a few other tiny fragments.'

This information is enlarged upon in an article 'The Prince and the Parker: a speculative essay on the Evans chantry glass at Coldridge, Devon and Tudor propaganda' by Chris Brooks and Martin Cherry in *The Journal of Stained Glass*, Volume XXVI, 2002. The authors identify the king as Prince Edward (son of Edward IV), the elder of the two princes murdered in the Tower by Richard III, and point out that this brings up to only five the number of contemporary or near contemporary representations of Prince Edward. They also suggest that a fragment of glass in the window may depict Richard III 'uniquely and directly as usurper, holding before him the crown that he stole'. The article speculates interestingly on how these fragments of political and religious propaganda came to be installed in deepest rural Devon.

Anthony Greenstreet

Wembury Local History Society

The following speakers are scheduled to give talks to the Wembury Local History Society:

20 Oct. 2005 Mr R. Sampson, 'The village of Loddiswell'
17 Nov.2005 Dr Todd Gray, 'Lost Devon'

Meeting are normally held in the Knighton Room of the Wembury Memorial Hall, commencing 7.30pm. The Society's Hon. Secretary is Sue Johnston (01752 863252, laurenceclass@aol.com).

Widecombe and District Local History Group

The following events have been organised by the Widecombe and District Local History Group:

5 Oct. 2005 Cmdr Charles Crichton, 'The history of Devonport Dockyard'
8 Oct. 2005 A day's outing to Devonport Dockyard
2 Nov. 2005 Mike Wright, 'Selection of favourite slides of Dartmoor'
7 Dec. 2005 Dr Tom Greeves, 'From China to Widecombe: the extraordinary journey of the Three Hares'.

Meetings are held at The Church House, Widecombe at 7.30pm. For further information contact Tony Beard (01363 621246, tony@widecombe.fsnet.co.uk)

Dartington Rural Archive

The Dartington Rural Archive (www.dartingtonruralarchive.org.uk) has moved to the Tourist Information Centre, Town Mill, Totnes, TD9 5DF.

Society reports and notices

Membership and subscriptions

The Society is pleased to attract the membership of local history groups that are not yet affiliated members. The first year of membership for an affiliated society is £5.00. Existing affiliated societies are reminded to contact the Hon. Treasurer, whenever there is a change of contact and correspondence address: Dr Sadru Bhanji, 13 Elm Grove Road, Topsham, Devon. EX3 0EQ.

Please note also that there is no longer a charge for access to the Devon Record Office, so that the free access that used to be gained through membership of the Society no longer applies.

Programme organisation

The Committee of the Society is seeking a new Programme Secretary, or help from a couple of individuals who may like to share the work associated with this position. The main responsibilities of the Programme Secretary are the organisation of the Annual Conference and AGM, and the Spring and Summer meetings of the Society. The Committee would also welcome the help of any affiliated societies that are able to host and organise one of the Society's Spring or Summer meetings.

Those interested in contributing to programme organisation are asked to approach the Hon. Secretary (01404 42002, su3681@eclipse.co.uk).

Helen Harris
At its June meeting the Committee of the Society recorded its thanks and appreciation for the work of the former Hon. Editor of *The Devon Historian*, Helen Harris. The new editor is pleased to commence this edition of the journal with an article by Helen, 'Looking back at the Bude Canal'.

Spring Meeting of the Society at Bradninch on 19 March 2005
About forty members, affiliated members and guests arrived at the Guildhall for coffee, provided by the Hele Society, before hearing Mr Warwick Knowles speak about the current project of the Bradninch Local History Society: the conservation and cataloguing of the archives of a local firm of builders, dating from the 1850's, and still housed in the original offices. This was followed by Mr John Hitchings, whose subject was 'The Duchy and Bradninch'. These excellent talks were complemented by an impressive exhibition of local photographs and artefacts.

After a good lunch at the Castle Inn, we were shown around in groups to see some historic areas of the town in warm sunshine, before a final cup of tea and the opportunity to discuss a most interesting day.
Elizabeth Maycock

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Summer Meeting of the Society at Holsworthy on 25 June 2005
There was a good attendance of about fifty people who made the journey to Holsworthy, where the Museum Society were our hosts for the day. The morning was spent at the White Hart Hotel, where the first speaker was our recently retired editor of *The Devon Historian*, Mrs Helen Harris, who spoke with a great depth of knowledge on 'The Bude Canal'. Her book on the subject has recently been reprinted. Her talk was accompanied by slides of the route of this major undertaking.

Mr Peter Christie, Mayor of Bideford, and author of ten books on local history, spoke on 'Church, sex and slander in Elizabethan north Devon', based on accounts of consistory court proceedings held by Devon Record Office. These were both interesting and amusing, though quite a challenge for the inexperienced to read in the original hand.

Fortified by a good buffet lunch at the White Hart, the party set off *en bloc* on the town trail, guided by Mr Charles Cornish, who has a great deal of local knowledge. The afternoon finished with a visit to the church and to the museum. The rain just held off for what was accounted a very enjoyable day.
Elizabeth Maycock

Devon History Society website
The Society's website can be found at http://www.devonhistorysociety.org.uk. The website gives information on the following: the contents of the current and recent issues of *The Devon Historian*; programmes of forthcoming events; links to useful websites; and a message board for comments, queries and answers.

The Devon Historian

Correspondence for the Hon. Editor and contributions for publication in the Society's journal should be sent to Dr Andrew Jackson, Hon. Editor, The Devon Historian, School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of Exeter, St Luke's Campus, Heavitree Road, Exeter, EX1 2LU, or by email to A.J.H.Jackson@exeter.ac.uk.

Books for review should be sent to Dr Sadru Bhanji, 13 Elm Grove Road, Topsham, Devon EX3 0EQ, who will invite the services of a reviewer. It is not the policy of the Society to receive unsolicited reviews.

The contents of articles and reviews reflect the views of their authors and not those of the Society.

Notes for contributors
The Hon. Editor welcomes articles to be considered for publication in *The Devon Historian*. Normally, the length should be between 2,000 and 4,000 words (plus endnotes, references and bibliography), although much shorter pieces of suitable substance may also be acceptable. Pieces of more than 4,000 words can be reproduced in separate articles, or in exceptional circumstances printed in full.

It is preferred that articles are word-processed using double line spacing and page margins of 3cm, and submitted by email attachment in Word format. However, the editor will accept versions by post on disk, CDRom, as typed hardcopy, or in clear handwriting. Authors should ensure that the journal's style is adhered to on such matters as the restrained use of capital letters, initial single inverted commas, and the writing of the dates thus: 1 July 2005. Article layout conventions also need to be followed. Endnote numbers through the article and a corresponding list of notes and references at the end should give details of primary sources used, and indicate where books and other articles have been quoted, paraphrased or derived from. Bibliographies are required to list all books and journal articles that have been quoted, paraphrased, cited, or in some way have informed the content of the article. The format of references and bibliographies in this volume of the journal can be followed. Illustrative material can be submitted electronically in most formats, or as a good quality print or photocopy. Where relevant it is the responsibility of authors to ensure that copyright holders have granted formal permission for the reproduction of images.

The final format of articles is at the discretion of the Editor.

Back issues
Current and back issues of *The Devon Historian* are available from Mr David Thomas, 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. Mr Thomas is always glad to receive copies of earlier numbers of *The Devon Historian* in good condition.