

Articles:

Professor Harold Fox (d. 2007): Devon and Leicester - landscape and locality	Andrew Jackson, Robin Stanes and Bob Higham	2
The Devonshire (1 st) Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) No. 2 Company (Brixham) 1859-1908	Philip L. Armitage	6
The early years of the Kenton and Powderham Women's Institute: inclusiveness and local Interpretation	Ann Bond	16
Raleigh's ghost: some factors influencing Devon's involvement in the English civil war	Kevin Dixon	25

Reviews

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The Spring Meeting will be held at Babbacombe on Saturday 5 April 2008. A day in honour of Professor Harold Fox will be held in Exeter on Saturday 21 June 2008, co-hosted with other societies.

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Contents, Volume no. 76

Spring 2008

Articles:

Professor Harold Fox (d. 2007): Devon and Leicester - landscape and locality	Andrew Jackson, Robin Stanes and Bob Higham	2
The Devonshire (1 st) Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) No. 2 Company (Brixham) 1859-1908	Philip L. Armitage	6
The early years of the Kenton and Powderham Women's Institute: inclusiveness and local interpretation	Ann Bond	16
Raleigh's ghost: some factors influencing Devon's involvement in the English civil war	Kevin Dixon	25
Reviews:		
Todd Gray (2006) <i>Exeter maps</i>	S. Bhanji	33
Mike Sampson (2004) <i>A history of Tiverton</i>	Helen Harris	33
Robin Stanes (2005) <i>Old farming days - life on the land in Devon and Cornwall</i>	J.F. Shepherd	35
Correspondence from members and other information		37
Society reports and notices		37
Report and minutes of the 2007 AGM		37

Cover illustrations: unidentified photographs (slightly cropped); see correspondence page 37 (reproduced with kind permission of Devon Library and Information Services from the collections held in the Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter).

Professor Harold Fox (1948-2007): Devon and Leicester; landscape and locality

Andrew Jackson, Robin Stanes and Bob Higham

'Look Andrew, over there, that farmer has kept his small fields!' I glanced momentarily to the south, towards the Raddon Hills, and indeed one minor flank still bore a pattern of small irregular enclosures. Harold then fell silent, reflective, his gaze still fixed south. I meanwhile was his student once more, as I had been a decade and a half ago. Within a short while I had delivered him to Tiverton Parkway station, and I said goodbye to Harold Fox, Leicester bound, for what would be a final time.

Three months later I was at Leicester myself, where the University's Centre of English Local History was hosting a reception. It was the day of Harold's funeral. I was introduced to the Head of the Centre: 'ah, another Devon historian who finds himself in the East Midlands', he observed (I was on route that day to a new academic post in Lincoln). These few paragraphs reflect on Harold at Leicester and as teacher. For Harold had come to be based - as the Devonian W.G. Hoskins had as well - in the same East Midlands city. Here, like Hoskins also, he helped in cultivating that special environment of local historical learning that has attracted the title the 'Leicester School'.

Some have suggested that the 'School' has perpetuated a leaning in local history towards the pre-modern and the rural in its pre-occupations. Certainly Harold himself focussed in his teaching on the medieval and the early modern, and on rural contexts. However, to question the School's leanings is to miss the point. The Centre of English Local History that Hoskins co-founded, and in which Harold came to be embedded, did something that ran parallel with, was above even, objective academic pursuit. Its teaching filtered - and no doubt still does - into the mentality of its students. It fostered an urge to engage enthusiastically, sensitively and empathetically with the landscape and the local past, alongside that necessary coming to terms with the demands of rigorous empirical research.

My encounter with Harold in June was a rewarding reminder of the Leicester experience and his tutorship, and what motivates many local historians more broadly, academic and popular. Harold Fox was ever gazing out, evidently touched when a patch of the landscape or a corner of a locality would offer up a tangible, if fleeting, glimpse into our local past.

Andrew Jackson

I first got to know Harold when he was a student at Cambridge, working under the supervision of H.C. Darby, Professor of Geography, and the authority on the history of the Fenland. I don't know how we came to make contact, but he came to the farm in Slapton before 1965; he must have known somehow that I was then a farmer with historical interests. I don't remember what we discussed, but I remember his enthusiasm then (before 1965) for 'fields' and 'field systems', and I

had by then visited and wondered about Braunton Great Field, and other places where 'unenclosed arable' of some sort survived, or had survived once, on Berry Head and at East Portlemouth. He had just completed, or was completing, some work I think for a Cambridge prize on the remarkable Clifford map and particulars of the manor of Ringmore (1753) near Shaldon on the Teign, still then a relic of ancient field arrangements. He was also on his way to his masterly DPhil on the field systems of Devon and Cornwall. He lent me a copy of this for some years.

He was a mine of information and a delight to talk to, always willing to listen to my untutored ideas and never dismissive, and perhaps interested a little in what a working farmer thought of some of his. He became immensely learned. I remember he told me that he had read every Devon mediaeval charter and every Inquisition Post Mortem, and he related with delight when, in the Public Record Office (now The National Archives), after many fruitless hours with dusty parchments, he found exciting revelatory material from Stoke Fleming that proved a point exactly that he had long thought likely.

When we moved to Payhembury he continued to visit occasionally, and once he and I spent a pleasant day investigating the charter boundaries of Uplyme. He regularly brought parties of students from Leicester on field trips to the Hartland area, where there were good documents. Documents were always the key for him.

I mourn him as a person and, selfishly, will miss him immensely. I looked forward to some good talk as he had more time. His two books on the 'Fishing village' and the yet to appear book on Dartmoor are unlikely, sadly, to do justice to his immense knowledge and love of Devon and of history. I hoped he would write a great book on 'mediaeval Devon'.

Robin Stanes

I do not recall exactly when I first met Harold. It was in the 1970s, at some Devonian academic gathering or perhaps in a record office or library. But, whenever it was, it led to many years of fruitful sharing of thoughts about the south west, especially during Harold's extended summer trips to Devon when he would beaver away on sources which he knew better than anyone and find out so many things which those of us who lived here permanently did not know. Relationships between archaeologists and historians have had a mixed history: sometimes at loggerheads about priorities and method, sometimes happily united in common aims. One reason Harold and I got on well together was our sharing of a non-compartmentalised view of the past. He was an historian, but one who appreciated archaeology. Though employed in archaeology, I always kept up with my historical interests. We never actually wrote or taught together, but we were sometimes involved in the same conferences and we once (a very happy experience) examined a higher degree. In 2006-2007, I was writing a book about Devon in the Anglo-Saxon period: he showed much interest in this project and several of his own publications were very helpful to me.

Harold's appreciation of the archaeological dimension of mediaeval issues made him a valued and contributive member of archaeological circles and discussions in the south west. The latter will miss him as much as will the wider

world of historical study. Archaeologists in the south west would have welcomed his return to his 'own' county of Devon, had he ever chosen to make this move. In retirement. An acknowledged master of archival historical sources, he sometimes felt, I suspect, a bit frustrated by the lengthy and complex nature of archaeological enquiry and its publication: the equivalent processes are often more rapid in the world of history. He was not, it hardly needs to be said, a desk-bound historian; though his own sources were in record offices and libraries, his subject-matter was the landscape itself and what it contained. And he knew it all at first hand. This, too, made him fully at home in an archaeological discussion. The subjects of his key research topics – fields and agriculture, rural settlement forms, small towns, fishing villages, Dartmoor and so on – are fundamental also to archaeologists. He followed his research in these matters with an interest which was more than 'academic'. I have always felt that whereas some practitioners are doing a job, others are following more of a personal path. Harold certainly fell into the latter category.

Though we spent many fruitful hours chewing over Devonian problems – the mediaeval hinterland of some castle, or the likely form of some village or hamlet in the middle ages – I will also treasure memories of more wide-ranging (often slightly whacky) discussions in which we put the world to right. Many years ago, our paths crossed unexpectedly early one summer evening in Exeter. 'It's my birthday', he said, 'let's have a drink'. We had been sitting at a pub table for perhaps half an hour when we were joined, without invitation, by another customer. At first, the conversation was superficial but at least normal. Gradually, however, it dawned on us that we had been cornered by a total obsessive (to understate the point). He was convinced he had invented something which would make him millions if only his bank would lend him funds to start his business (which it would not). Two members of successful universities, such as ourselves, he argued, surely had enough cash to fund his great venture (the nature of which was a closely-guarded secret in case someone stole it). We squirmed and dodged, in a polite and English manner, until the pressure was unbearable. Harold saved the day. He looked at his watch and announced that he and I had now to leave to speak at an important seminar. We fled the premises. The subject of this imaginary seminar (I forget precisely what Harold invented) was so preposterous that our assailant must have concluded that we were just as mad as we thought he was.

Bob Higham

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Robin Stanes is a founder member of the Devon History Society, and has also served as its Hon. Editor. He is the author of the Phillimore county history of

Devon, and other books on county's past. He was a farmer in Devon for 15 years, and his particular interest is Devonshire farming practice in the past.

Dr Robert Higham was formerly Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at Exeter University and founder-secretary of its (now defunct) Centre for South-Western Historical Studies.

The Devonshire (1st) Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) No. 2 Company (Brixham) 1859-1908

Philip L. Armitage

Introduction

Research into the Brixham Artillery Volunteers was prompted by archaeological work carried out by Brixham Heritage Museum's Field Research Team (directed by Armitage) at Berry Head. During two seasons of archaeological fieldwork, in 2005 and 2006, the target site of the (abandoned) Victorian rifle range was located on the slope just to the northeast of the entrance to the Napoleonic-era Fort No. 1, and in addition to uncovering and recording the masonry-lined target trench, over 1,000 bullets were recovered.¹

It was already known that the Admiralty had established this practice rifle range sometime after 1865 for the use of the Brixham Royal Naval Reservists.² A desktop study conducted at the time of the archaeological investigations however also revealed the range had been used on a regular basis by the Brixham Artillery Volunteers up to the time of their disbanding in 1908. Given the apparent close association between this other organisation and the Berry Head rifle range, the author decided to investigate its origin and history, based on accounts published in contemporary newspapers and other documentary sources.³ The results of this historical research are summarised in this article.

Formation in 1859

The Volunteer Force in England came into existence in March 1859 in response to a call to arms issued by the then Secretary of State for War, General Peel, at a time when it seemed war with France was imminent.⁴ In retrospect the threat of a renewed French war was probably unfounded, but in 1859 the possibility of an invasion by the French military was nevertheless perceived as very real,⁵ and patriotic young (and not-so-young) men, in large numbers, throughout Britain joined locally raised companies of rifle or artillery volunteers, or yeoman cavalry. In Brixham, a local physician, Dr Charles Brooking, answered the national call to arms by raising a company of 60 volunteer artillerymen, acting as their commanding officer with the rank of Captain.⁶ From contemporary newspaper accounts it is possible to chart the strength of the company from 1859 to its disbandment in 1908. These data reveal a slight decline in the numbers of enlisted men during the late 1860s - early 1880s,⁷ but then an increased muster to 88 from 1902 onwards. These same sources supplemented by information from the Trade Directories also reveal the changes in title (military designation) of the company and the names of its commanding officers during the same period - as tabulated below (Tab. 1).

Table 1: Changes in the company's name and commanding officers

1859	11 th Devonshire Artillery Volunteers
1861	11 th Brixham & Churston Fencers Corps of the First Battalion of the Devon Artillery Volunteers
1868	Brixham Battery of the First Brigade Devon Volunteer Artillery
1883	Devon (1 st) Artillery Volunteers (2 nd Battery)
1893	Devonshire (1 st) Volunteer Artillery Western Division Royal Artillery 2 nd Company
1906	Devonshire (1 st) Royal Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) (No. 2 Company)
1859	Captain Charles Brooking MD
1868	Captain William Pollard Murehe
1884	Captain Lord Churston (Sir John Yarde-Buller)
1893	Major Lord Churston (Sir John Yarde-Buller)
1897	Lieutenant Richard K. Blair
1902	Captain Brock
1902	Lieutenant William B. Maddock
1904	Captain William B. Maddock
1907	Captain Alan Goodridge

In a stirring patriotic speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1864 declared the 'Volunteer force in England is the most important addition to the defensive power of the country' and had also added a new 'social bond' uniting 'every class from the highest aristocracy of the land [to] the honest, laborious, industrious ingenious mechanic'.⁸ In Brixham this 'social mix' in the local volunteer artillery company included (among others) a member of the landed gentry, Lord Churston, a proprietor of a 'middle-class school in town', Mr Roger Steere Wakeham, who served for over 24 years as the quartermaster-sergeant,⁹ a local physician (also the town's Medical Officer of Health), Dr George Clement Searle, who served as the company's Surgeon-Lieutenant for over 20 years,¹⁰ and the manager of the local Co-Operative Society Store, Mr H. Silley, who held the rank of Bombardier in the artillery company. Others who joined were local tradesmen and apprentices. In passing, it is worth noting that the sailing trawler owners and fishermen of Brixham (perhaps not surprisingly) elected to join the local Royal Naval Reserve rather than the artillery volunteers.

Uniforms, weapons & training

Brixham Heritage Museum is extremely fortunate in having in its collections the uniform worn by Lord Churston from the time (c. 1893) when he served as Hon. Major in the Brixham Artillery Company (Fig. 1).¹¹ The jacket and trousers are Navy blue with red piping, with silver decoration. Officers and other ranks of Brixham No. 2 Company continued to wear the distinctive dark blue coloured uniform up to the introduction of the Khaki uniform issued to all British troops (Regulars as well as Volunteers), in 1907.¹²



Figure 1: Jacket worn by the second Lord Churston (Sir John Yarde-Buller), Hon. Major, Brixham Artillery Volunteers c. 1893.

Brixham Artillery Volunteers in 1859 were issued with two 24-pounder cannons that 'had seen service in the Napoleonic wars'.¹³ In the early years the company carried out gun-practice and firing at their out-door drill ground at Berry

Head. By the late 1860s however the Volunteers were routinely training at the Gun Battery established across town from Berry Head, at Fishcombe. This permanent battery at Fishcombe, by the early 1880s, possessed two 'big guns': a 32-pounder smoothbore cannon and a 64-pounder rifled muzzle-loaded gun. A typical firing practice expended up to 20 rounds at floating targets in the Bay (Torbay) at ranges of 2,500 and 2,350 yards.¹⁴ With the establishment of the New Territorial Force in 1908, the old Garrison Artillery Volunteer companies (including Brixham No. 2 Co.) were expected to work on a new gun, the 15-pounder field gun,¹⁵ but as discussed below its introduction was one of the principal factors behind the demise of the Brixham Company.

Members of Brixham No. 2 Company were expected to have practiced rifle shooting in addition to being proficient in firing the big guns. The earliest rifle issued to the Company would have been the Enfield 1853 Pattern muzzle-loading percussion rifle .577 calibre, substituted in 1870 by the breech loading Snider rifle (also .577 calibre) with which they continued to be armed into the 1880s. By 1871 the Regular Army units had already been issued with the superior Martini-Henry .450 calibre rifle, and there was growing dissatisfaction among the Volunteers that they had been equipped with a less accurate weapon.¹⁶ but it was not until between 1879 and 1885 that this rifle was finally in the hands of the volunteers. In 1895 the Volunteers were then issued with the Lee-Metford .303 calibre carbine, and shortly thereafter the Lee-Enfield .303 calibre carbine. Rifle and carbine-shooting practices took place on a regular basis throughout the summer and autumn months at the Berry Head Range. By the early 1900s the annual carbine shooting competitions at Berry Head organised for members of Brixham No. 2 Company were proving highly popular and well attended, especially so from 1902 when a special prize cup was presented to the Company by Mr H.W. Nelson J.P. of Hendon, London.¹⁷ Known as 'The Brixham Coronation Artillery (Volunteer) Nelson Challenge Cup', this was awarded to the overall winner of the Efficiency Class. A second prize cup was awarded to the winner of the recruits' section of the competition. Both of these prize cups are now in the collections of the Brixham Heritage Museum (Fig. 2).¹⁸ The awards presentation ceremony was usually held in December each year at the Drill Hall in Brixham.



Figure 2: Two of the Brixham Artillery Volunteers' carbine-shooting match cups: 'The Brixham Coronation Artillery (Volunteer) Nelson Challenge Cup' (left) and 'The Brixham Artillery Volunteer Recruit's Cup' (right).

In addition to the regular gun-drills and rifle target practice, members of the Company each year, in the summer, travelled by rail to attend a week's-training camp under canvas at Staddon Heights, near Plymouth. During the winter months there was instruction given once a week at the Drill Hall in semaphore signalling and Morse code.¹⁹

The Territorial Force 1908

In 1908 there was a great upheaval among the existing Volunteer Force throughout Britain as the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act came into effect, which was aimed at greatly improving the military efficiency of the volunteers, preparing them for active service and fully incorporating them into the regular regimental system. From the local newspaper accounts of this transition period, there initially was full support for this transformation, and it appeared that all of the members of Brixham No. 2 Company who were eligible to transfer to the new Territorial Force intended to do so.²⁰ However, their reassignment from a battery unit of the Garrison Artillery to that of the Field Artillery equipped with the 15-pounder proved to be a serious disincentive as the majority of the Brixham volunteers were inexperienced in horsemanship. Furthermore, the reduced upper age limit of 35 years, instead of 49 years, and the clause prohibiting apprentices

from joining up, prevented many of the Brixham volunteers from enlisting in the new force.

At the official disbandment in April 1908 no one from the old No. 2 Company had transferred to the Territorial Force and recruitment in town had resulted in a single enlistment! As a consequence, recruiting for the Royal Field Artillery 2nd Battery 3rd Wessex Brigade (the title of the new unit) was suspended for Brixham and the local battery headquarters relocated to Paignton, which meant that Brixham was 'struck off the rolls of permanent batteries'. It was suggested that had the transformation been that to a rifle corps, Brixham would have supplied the full quota for the creation of a new company.²¹ Indeed the disbanded volunteers were determined to continue their keen interest in rifle shooting, and although 1908 was to mark the final annual carbine shooting competition carried out at the Berry Head Range, by May the following year they had formed a civilian rifle club in the town (Brixham Rifle Club), with an outdoor range at Castor Road and a winter indoor range - for Morris Tube and Miniature Rifle shooting - in the old Drill Hall.²² The Brixham Artillery Volunteer Band was also destined to survive the passing of Brixham No. 2 Company, and from June 1908 was continued as 'The Brixham Military Subscription Band' (Fig. 3).²³



Figure 3: Brixham Military Subscription Band photographed in 1914. W. Fletcher (Bandmaster) is pictured in the centre behind the drum (Brixham Heritage Museum photographic archive).

Conclusion

In the opinion of certain contemporary observers, the military 'worth' of the Volunteers was questionable, with some corps infamous for lacking discipline, and others for exhibiting gross incompetence. There was also the accusation made that too much emphasis was placed on the social activities organised by the Volunteer corps, which seemed to be the real incentive for many joining their local units.

From this distance in time it is difficult to assess how the Volunteers would have 'performed' had the French or another enemy invaded. It may be suggested their most senior officer, Colonel M'Murdo C.B. (Inspector-General of Volunteers), in 1863, did not inspire the right sort of attitude towards basic training for that period (given the advances in weapons, firepower and tactics) -- at a review of Volunteers he declared 'He would rather take into action a regiment which had never been trained in the use of the rifle at all, but which had practised long marches and had become habituated to drill'.²⁴ Fortunately it seems the Brixham Volunteer Company paid no heed to this misguided viewpoint but continued to carry out regular big gun practice and rifle shooting. In both areas, the Brixham Company appear to have excelled, as evidenced by their winning first place in the 1st Devon Brigade of Artillery inter-company 64-pounder shooting competitions for 1902, 1903 and 1904,²⁵ and in rifle shooting matches against such opponents as the combined team of the Brixham Royal Navy Reservists and the Brixham Coastguards, in 1904.²⁶

On the evidence of their demonstrated skill at working the big guns, the Brixham Artillery Volunteers, it may be suggested, would have competently fulfilled the role intended for them in a time of crisis when an enemy invaded these shores. It was never expected that such units would be directly responsible for local defence. Their open earthwork batteries -- such as that at Fishcombe -- lacked protecting casements and in consequence were highly vulnerable to shelling, and would have had no chance against armour-clad enemy ships. But as fully trained garrison gunners the Volunteers would have been assigned to coastal fortifications (such as those around Plymouth) thereby releasing the regular Royal Artillery gunners stationed there for service in the field.²⁷

By 1908 this defensive strategy of Britain had changed dramatically, with greater emphasis placed on the strength of the Royal Navy as the principal means of ensuring the country's security against invasion the importance of coastal fortifications declined. The days of the garrison artillerymen were therefore effectively over and volunteer units such as Brixham No. 2 Company were no longer required. Given the vibrancy of the Brixham Artillery Volunteer Company and enthusiasm shown by its members during its history, there was somewhat of an anticlimax at their disbanding, which was not marked by any noteworthy ceremony organised by the town. Instead the attendance at the Company's very last Church Parade was reported in the local newspaper as being 'meagre'.²⁸ In striking contrast, the 'send off' organised by the town of Totnes for its Rifle Volunteer Company was a much more fitting and honourable occasion. Held on 30th March 1908, the final parade in Totnes for the Rifle Volunteer Company was

attended by the Mayor, Corporation officials and magistrates, as well as a large number of townspeople. Addressing the volunteers the Mayor reviewed their history and declared the town had been proud to have possessed such an excellent Rifle Company.²⁹ Members of Brixham No. 2 Company equally deserved such an accolade, and it is to the town's discredit no proper recognition was made of their patriotic service.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Lesley Byers (Torquay Reference Library), Sue King (Totnes Museum Study Centre), and David Harding and Bill Flentje (both of the Rifle Range Research Group). Grateful acknowledgement is also made to John Maule (Hon. Photo Archivist, Brixham Heritage Museum) and Mike Miller (Hon. Maritime Researcher, Brixham Heritage Museum) for the photographs.

Notes and references

1. Armitage 2006a and 2006b.
2. See Pye and Slater 1990, p. 7.
3. The principal sources for this study were the series of *Brixham Western Guardian* Newspapers 1902-1968 and Trade Directories 1873-1906 held by Brixham Heritage Museum, with additional information obtained from the *Totnes Times* 1861-1869 accessed in the Totnes Museum Study Centre, and the *Torquay Directory & South Devon Journal* available on microfilm at Torquay Reference Library. More general matters relating to Britain's Volunteer Force came from editions of *The Times* 1859-1885 in the author's collections.
4. *The Times*, 19 April 1880, p.10.
5. *The Times*, 15 November 1859, p.6 reported 'That without, so far as we are aware, the slightest provocation on the part of England, there exists in France at this moment a very strong and very wide-spread hostility to the Government and people of this country.... The talk of the [French] Army and Navy is for revenge for victories 45 and 55 years old.... and their ardent wish is for invasion of this country'.
6. Charles Brooking was born 3 April 1822 and died 16 July 1922. Dr Brooking's obituary appeared in the *Brixham Western Guardian*, 20 July 1922, p. 6, which acknowledges his raising of the artillery company.
7. 47 in 1868; 57 in 1884.
8. *The Times*, 11 November 1864, p. 5.
9. *The Devon County Standard*, 8 November 1884.
10. Little 2003, p. 8.
11. Brixham Heritage Museum collections Accession Number 3701.1.
12. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 20 June 1907, p. 8.
13. *Totnes Times*, 4 May 1861, p. 2; *Brixham Western Guardian*, 20 July 1922, p. 6.
14. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 28 May 1903, p. 8.
15. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 27 February 1908, p. 5.

16. *The Times*, 19 April 1880, p. 10.
17. Mr Nelson's association with Brixham was initiated through his marriage to the daughter of the late Mr Samuel Dewdney, founder of the Brixham ship-building firm, Messrs Samuel Dewdney & Sons. See *Brixham Western Guardian*, 25 December 1902, p. 5; *ibid.*, 17 September 1903, p. 8; *ibid.*, 22 September 1904, p. 8.
18. Brixham Heritage Museum Collections Accession Numbers 1720 and 1721.
19. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 20 June 1907, p. 8.
20. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 6 February 1908, p. 8.
21. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 2 April 1908, p. 8; *ibid.*, 30 April 1908, p. 8; *ibid.*, 14 May 1908, p. 8; *ibid.*, 28 May 1908, p. 8.
22. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 1909 and 1910.
23. Established in 1859 as an integral part of the Brixham Volunteer Artillery corps, this band had entertained the townsfolk in performances at Bolton Cross, and played at special occasions such as the opening of the Brixham railway branch line, in 1868 (see *Torquay Directory & South Devon Journal*, 8 January 1868, supplement), and the Annual Fete of the Fundraisers for Brixham Cottage Hospital and Nursing Association held at Berry Head on Bank Holiday August 1904 (*Brixham Western Guardian*, 4 August 1904, p. 8). Volunteer bands promoted good relations between their corps and the local communities. It was probably this established goodwill that ensured the successful continuation of the Brixham Artillery band (albeit under a slightly different name) after No. 2 Company had officially been disbanded.
24. *The Times*, 21 January 1863, p. 5.
25. In recognition of their achievements in the 6-lb-pounder shooting competitions, each member of Brixham No. 2 Company was eligible to wear the silver Cross Guns and Crown badge on their left arm. See *Brixham Western Guardian*, 2 October 1902, p. 8.
26. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 6 October 1904, p. 8.
27. This role for artillery volunteers is explained in a letter by 'An Honorary Member, 4th Devon Artillery Volunteers' published in *The Torquay Directory & South Devon Journal*, 22 January 1868, p. 3.
28. *Brixham Western Guardian*, 2 April 1908, p. 8.
29. Peach 1987, pp. 51-4.

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The early years of the Kenton and Powderham Women's Institute: inclusiveness and local interpretation

Ann Bond

At the end of the 1914-18 war, men and women started to return to the countryside, men mostly from the army and women from war work in the towns and cities, often in munitions factories. The experiences they had gained resulted in a reluctance to accept the pre-war assumption of a rigid and deferential society. Men who had fought alongside recruits from urban areas had been influenced by the typically less deferential attitudes of urban workers, and had experienced a degree of camaraderie previously unknown. They had also experienced new forms of leisure and entertainment and were now better educated than when they had left the countryside. For women workers, especially those returning from factory work in urban areas where recreational activities were plentiful and affordable, the contrast with the constraints of rural domestic life or employment in service was, perhaps, even greater. The result was that 'the mood of the young men and women returning to their villages in 1918 and 1919 was one of discontent'.¹

Leisure opportunities available in their villages were limited and often controlled by the church or the local gentry. A survey of one village in 1913 had highlighted the paucity of provision typical in rural areas, especially where there was no local elite willing to sponsor leisure activities. In this village, in rural Leicestershire, the lack of reading room, young men's class, mother's meeting or sports clubs was revealed. The only activity available for young men was to 'go to the public and play cards'.² Even this activity would have been denied to the young women of the village.

There were concerns that the discontent amongst returning workers was leading to a resumption of the rural depopulation that had been taking place since the 1860s. Although there were many reasons for migration from the countryside, one factor was the relative attractiveness of living and working in urban areas where it was possible to secure better paid employment and take advantage of the better housing, education, health provision and leisure that were available. After the war the drift away from agricultural employment resumed. The total number of agricultural workers declined by more than 25 per cent between 1921 and 1938, and the decline was especially marked amongst the younger generation.³ At the end of the war and throughout the next two decades it was felt to be important to maintain agricultural employment levels, partly so as not to contribute to a further increase in industrial unemployment, but also in order to improve national self-sufficiency in food production.

A concept of rural reconstruction had developed in the late nineteenth century as a response to depopulation and re-emerged as an answer to these post war concerns. A key strand of rural reconstruction was agricultural education. There was a belief that the urban bias of the educational system was an important factor in driving young people away from the countryside, as rural and agricultural skills

were felt to have been devalued by the emphasis on literacy and mathematics. However, a further focus developed post-war – that of the promotion of social organizations with a remit of improving life in the countryside and re-engendering social cohesion between all sections of rural society. Several new organizations with some or all of these aims came into being either in the latter stages of the war or in the years immediately following. Significant amongst these was the Women's Institute Movement (WI); but other important organizations also emerged, including Young Farmers' Clubs, the Village Clubs Association, and the rural section of the National Council of Social Service. Other organizations that had their origins before the war also began to grow in significance in rural areas, including the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Workers' Educational Association and the Young Men's Christian Association. All endeavoured to make living in the countryside more interesting and rewarding by providing opportunities for social and educational activities, and, although important, educational topics were not restricted to agricultural or horticultural subjects. Another important topic was training in citizenship.

The importance of many of these organizations was not just in the increase in the availability of leisure and educational facilities that they represented, but also in both how they were organized and for whom the activities were provided. In the main these were nationally constituted organizations unlike the parish-based provision previously available, and they were intended for social groups that, until then, had been excluded from most of the leisure available – groups such as young people, non-church goers, and women.

From the very beginning, the Women's Institute movement aimed to be inclusive of all sections of society, except for the obvious exclusion of men. The movement had developed during the First World War, principally because it was seen as a mechanism for involving rural women in the war effort, especially in contributing to the food production campaign. Membership was open to women of all social classes and backgrounds, and from its inception the model rules defined the non-sectarian, non-political and democratic nature of the movement. In order to attract members from as wide a cross section of women as possible, the membership fee was set at two shillings per year. In what was considered a significant principle for the democratic nature of the organization, wealthier women were prohibited from paying more and thereby gaining greater influence. Individual institutes, however, were often instigated by a member of the village elite, and the democratic principle was not always welcome.⁴ Although a secret ballot was required for the election of all officers and committee members to avoid domination by the views of the local elite, WI leaders were often those 'moving in "County circles"'.⁵ This was also true for at least some of the County Federations, as is seen in an analysis of the Lancashire Federation of WIs, where Executive Committee members during the interwar period were predominantly wives or relatives of local elites, such as Conservative county politicians, landowners and senior churchmen.⁶ Nationally also, it was not until 1961 that the NFWI elected its first non-titled chairman. At individual institute level, the committees would have a high predominance of middle class and gentry women,

and without their support and involvement as officers and committee members it was difficult to sustain an institute. In some areas any lack of willingness by the gentry and middle classes was considered to be 'shirking their duty'.⁷ Working class women, whilst valuing the meetings and activities, were apparently reluctant to take on a leadership role.

Although the Kenton and Powderham Women's Institute (KPWI) was formed later than many, in 1933, it is evident that the formation of an institute in the villages required the sponsorship of the ruling elite before it could be considered. At the inaugural meeting in April 1933, the chair was taken by Lady Caroline Courtenay, the sister of the Earl of Devon. She is recorded as saying in her introductory comments that she had been asked to support the commencement of an institute in the village.⁸ As a member of the local aristocracy, Lady Caroline Courtenay supported and was involved in many local philanthropic and social organizations, including St Olave's Home for Girls in Exeter as well as the Mothers' Union and the Girls Friendly Society. She was active in the life of the Church both in Kenton and Exeter Cathedral, and also prominent in Conservative politics, as vice-president of the Divisional Association, chairman of the Kenton branch and dame president of the Courtenay Habitation of the Primrose League.⁹ Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, she was elected first President of the local WI, a position to which she was re-elected twice.

With Lady Caroline's sudden death in 1935, the Acting Presidency was taken by the Vice-President, Mrs Meade, and her position was later confirmed at the next round of elections. In October 1939 however, after the outbreak of war, Mrs Meade informed members of her intention to resign as President and proposed that the Secretary write to the Countess of Devon asking her to become President.¹⁰ The Earl and Countess of Devon had only recently married, in July 1939, and Lady Devon was not at that time a committee member and nor had she been elected to any position. Lady Devon remained President throughout the war, with Mrs Meade acting as Vice President.

The other members of the KPWI elected to the committee included the wife of the agent to the Earl of Devon, the vicar's wife, wives and relatives of substantial farmers and an army officer, as well as the local postmistress.¹¹

For the WI movement to fulfil its aims of enhancing life for rural women and improving social cohesion, it needed to be popular across class boundaries. For some middle class women this was best achieved by providing them with a leadership role. At a time when employment opportunities were restricted, the movement may have given such women 'something akin to an educationalist or social worker's role'.¹² It also, by insisting on organizational and business like methods at monthly institute meetings, 'enhanced the confidence of those officiating'¹³ and allowed women to develop new skills that could prepare them for the roles in public life that were opening up. The National Federation was, in fact, keen to encourage all its members to be involved in the electoral process, both as voters and as candidates, and passed a resolution to the effect that it was the duty of individual institutes to educate their members in the powers of Parish, Rural District and County Councils, 'with a view to getting local women on all

these bodies'.¹⁴ Educating women about the electoral process took a variety of forms, as is clear from an early meeting in Kenton where the subject of the entertainment half hour was a sketch entitled 'Mrs Hamblett records her vote'.¹⁵

For working class women the WI's attraction was likely to be in the recreational and educational activities, and the movement was important in allowing working class women to articulate their 'right to leisure'. Every monthly meeting included competitions, an entertainment and tea, as well as a lecture or demonstration.

The social activities of local institutes were a major contribution towards the NFWI aims of furthering 'goodwill and good humour...bringing all the women of the village together', which in turn 'sought to diminish class and sectarian divisions in rural society'.¹⁶ Institutes organized garden parties, dances, whist drives, outings and other events for members. Such events were very popular, and when organized as village events could also attract large numbers of the village population. This extended the local WI's ability to improve social cohesion from its own members to the wider village community. Institutes also formed music, drama and dancing groups, usually performing the entertainment at their own monthly meetings and those of neighbouring villages, as well as at other village events. One of the first actions of the KPWI, at its first meeting, was to form a dramatic society.¹⁷

One aspect of the organization that appealed to women of all classes was the focus on craftwork. Crafts were often the subject of the lectures and demonstrations at the monthly meetings, and also formed the basis of many of the competitions held as part of the entertainment half hour. However, women of different classes used craftwork to fulfil different purposes. For working class women craft skills were seen in practical terms, as a means of saving money through self-sufficiency and improving the quality of their home life, or as an acceptable way of earning additional income for the family without engaging in paid employment outside the home. Craftwork could be sold at WI markets and at members' stalls at meetings. Some WIs also organized specialized craft industries on behalf of their members, selling on a larger scale. Examples include smocks that were sold through large London stores and rush and sedge making.

Indeed the WI's interest in handicrafts had developed in response to a perceived need to revive rural industries in order to provide village based employment for women. In 1918, in applying for financial help from the Government to assist in this aim, the National Federation had stated:

that the exodus from the country will not be checked until the village industries are sufficiently well established to give employment to those women who are not able actively to devote themselves to agriculture proper but whose home duties do not take their whole time; in this category may be included the girls now growing up who under ordinary conditions are bound to leave their homes as there is no demand for their labour in the villages.¹⁸

However, craftwork for display would be more attractive to middle class women, who would see it as an outlet for creative and artistic energies. Working class women had neither the time nor the money for craftwork intended for exhibition only, and were further discouraged from exhibiting because their work was judged alongside that of the 'leisured classes'. There were calls for separate categories for the 'cottage and leisured classes', as working women, whose hands were roughened by manual work, were felt to be unable to submit finer needlework. By the 1930s, exhibits at the London exhibitions came almost exclusively from Guild of Learners' members, rather than from ordinary WI members.

Nevertheless there is evidence to suggest that at local level some care was taken to ensure that members could compete in competitions on an equal basis. The minutes of the KPWI carry numerous examples of competitions where the maximum value of materials was specified, and the subject of the competitions was always something that would be of subsequent practical use. Subjects included the 'best Christmas present not to cost more than 1/6', the 'best fitted work basket for 1/-', and 'something new from something old'.

Middle class women were also able to utilize craftwork by becoming demonstrators and instructresses in their particular craft, demonstrating and lecturing both to members of their own institute and as guests invited to neighbouring institutes. This was one way of enabling them to take on a role as educationalists, which was not associated with paid employment.

Educational activities were also of great importance, both to the organization itself and to its members. One of the first published aims of the movement was to provide 'a centre for educational and social intercourse and for all local activities'.¹⁹ During the early years of the movement education was very much concerned with food production as part of the war effort, with members organizing bottling of fruit and vegetables, maximizing garden production, rabbit breeding, rearing poultry and even goat keeping.²⁰ However, the extent to which WI educational activities focused on agricultural education for women in the interwar years has been the subject of some debate, with Andrews suggesting that agriculture did not retain a significant role in the WI beyond the early 1920s, although there was a renewed interest during World War Two.²¹ Thompson, however, argues that 'in some areas at least, WI members maintained more than a passing interest in agriculture *per se*', including through classes in a wide range of educational activities as well as through demonstrations at agricultural and horticultural shows and as members of agricultural committees.²² The Devon County Agricultural Committee certainly used the WI as a mechanism for distributing information on topics such as the Ministry of Agricultural Scholarships.²³

Educational activities, as well as those related to craft and agriculture, also included other topics related to the home and garden. Popular subjects included first aid and other health related subjects, and were promoted by a Ministry of Health that was keen to use the influence of the WI movement for the dissemination of information and propaganda.²⁴ At a time when there was no

National Health Service, these were important topics for rural working class women and were always well attended. At Kenton the first programme of lectures, voted for by members, included talks on first aid and 'herbs, their use as a medicine'. Later talks and demonstrations included home nursing, how to bandage, everyday ailments and accidents, maternal welfare and a lecture by the Medical Officer of Health on health services. Many institutes, including Kenton, also engaged in activities to support local health services such as collecting eggs for local hospitals, running infant welfare clinics or funding a district nurse, and fundraising for health related charities such as the British Empire Cancer Campaign and the National Institute for the Blind.

Other popular topics for lectures and demonstrations included various aspects of cookery and nutrition as well as subjects such as local history and topography, and foreign travel.

Although the movement was originally defined as non-political, by 1918 this had already been redefined as non party-political. The National Federation, institutes and their members were already keen to press for political, as opposed to party-political, action on issues affecting the lives of rural women.

The movement attracted members from all sides of the political spectrum, including at a national level the wife and daughter of Lloyd George, the daughter of William Morris and the sister of Neville Chamberlain. Lady Denman herself had strong Liberal Party connections. At a local level this was equally so. One new member was reported to have commented that 'This is the first organization I have been able to join in the village... everything else is got up by the Church and the Conservatives and I'm a Catholic and a Liberal'.²⁵

In 1919, the National Federation had given a ruling that no parliamentary candidate should be invited to speak at an institute meeting. This ruling was later extended to include election agents and later again to party political organizers. At the AGM of 1921, these rulings were endorsed as having been justified by the circumstances of the ending of the coalition government. However, the meeting refused to support a reaffirmation of these rulings for the future, and each County Federation was left to maintain its non party-political character. What was defined as party-political could become a bone of contention. Thompson argues that although a 'broad church' of opinion existed within the WI movement, 'it depended particularly on county federations to determine what was "political" and what was not...' and she highlights the overwhelming Conservative membership of the Lancashire Federation.²⁶ What was considered party political remained an unresolved issue for some time, and the movement's support for the League of Nations Union was considered unsuitable by many members.

The non-sectarian nature of the movement was also a cause of concern in some quarters. Opposition to institutes could come from the church as a result of this stance. Some considered its non-sectarian character necessarily implied hostility to religious belief. There was also a concern that institutes would compete with church and chapel groups, such as the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society and Bands of Hope. In some areas, the Mothers' Union in particular perceived WIs as a threat to recruitment. At the inaugural meeting of the

KPWI, Lady Caroline Courtenay expressed concerns that a Women's Institute might 'overlap with or injure the many other good causes being run in the village'. She mentioned the Mother's Union in particular saying that 'she saw several members present and was sure they felt the same as she did'.²⁷ It would seem that Lady Caroline wished to ensure that a church sponsored group such as the Mother's Union would not be challenged by a secular organization. It was only after she received assurances from the County Organizer Miss Pratt that the meeting continued.

Lady Denman, in addition to her role as Chairman of the NFWI, was also chairperson of the Birth Control Council and later the Family Planning Association. Others were also members of both groups. Despite these links, the NFWI never directly promoted birth control, in order to avoid any possibility that Catholic women would feel excluded from the organization.

It could be difficult to maintain the non-sectarian standpoint within some individual institutes when a particular minority view, which was not represented within the village, was at stake. The minutes of the KPWI record a number of occasions when the Rev. Alexander was present at meetings and on one occasion, when the monthly meeting had taken the form of a garden party at Powderham Castle, the minutes record that 'Rev. Alexander conducted a Service in the Castle Chapel, at which all the Institute members attended'.²⁸

The non-sectarian principle caused particular difficulties as war approached. For Quaker members of the movement any activities that could be interpreted as preparation for war, or in the event of war in assisting towards armed combat, would have been contrary to their religious belief. The National Federation therefore imposed restrictions on institutes' participation in war work. This attitude elicited much criticism within the movement itself and from outside. In Jenkins' view, this 'strict adherence...was without doubt primarily responsible for the heavy fall in membership that was suffered during the first years of war',²⁹ although Andrews agrees that more significant in the reduction in the membership was the loss of young women to the armed forces and town based war work.³⁰ During the course of 1940, membership fell by over 12 per cent. Membership of the Kenton WI does not appear to have suffered in this way, and although there was a later reduction in membership, the number of members in 1941 was identical to the number in 1939. Although it is not possible to assume a direct correlation, it is clear from the annual reports that the institute felt that it was making an active contribution to the war effort, even to the extent of assisting the armed combat. The annual report for 1940 for example contains a section on salvage work:

Helped by a few non-members and the children the Salvage Work has been done in Kenton & Powderham by the W.I. & the local Red Cross Working Party has received £12-11-4 from the sale of our collection. Carry on Kenton & help to win this war in Your Little Way!!! The Film Show we had illustrated clearly how WE - here in this village, helped to make fodder for our guns!³¹

It does seem likely, however, that had there been any Quaker women within the villages they would have felt excluded from institute membership by such sentiments.

As can be seen, the Women's Institute movement nationally aimed to be a democratic organization, attracting a membership across class, sectarian and political boundaries. Members, however, used the organization in different ways to fulfil their particular needs. Further, as a federal organization, it is clear that in some cases the ideals set by the National Federation could be adapted by local interpretation.

However, only one small institute has been analysed. Further insights could be gained from a comparative study with neighbouring institutes, where the ties of the village to the local aristocracy were not so rigid, as well as by comparison to institutes in other areas, and also from an examination of how the Kenton and Powderham Women's Institute related to the County Federation.

Notes and references

1. Burchardt 2002, p. 114.
2. Cunningham 1990, p. 304.
3. Horn 1984, pp. 226-7.
4. Andrews 1997, p. 19.
5. Thompson 1996, p. 44.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
7. Andrews 1997, p. 61.
8. KPWI Archive/Record Book 1/1933-38/Inaugural Meeting.
9. Information included in Lady Caroline Courtenay's obituary in *Western Morning News*, 10 June 1935.
10. KPWI Archive/Record Book 2/1938-46/26 October 1939.
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13. Thompson 1999, p. 219.
14. Andrews 1997, p. 29.
15. KPWI Archive/Record Book 1/1933-38/5 October 1933.
16. Thompson 1996, p. 43.
17. KPWI Archive/Committee Minute Book 1/1933-49/26 April 1933.
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19. Andrews 1997, p. 20.
20. Horn 1984, p. 138.
21. Andrews 1997, p. 33.
22. Thompson 1999, p. 217.
23. KPWI Archive/Record Book 1/1933-38/6 April 1937.
24. Jenkins 1953, pp. 69-70.
25. Andrews 1997, p. 26.
26. Thompson 1999, pp. 229-30.
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Raleigh's ghost: some factors influencing Devon's involvement in the English civil war

Kevin Dixon

Among the many theories on the causes of the English civil wars of the seventeenth century, the historian Trevelyan's statement that 'the ghost of Raleigh pursued the House of Stuart to the scaffold' is intriguing in its simplicity.¹ It has an element of truth in that the execution of the popular hero in 1618 caused outrage and was arguably one of the factors that influenced Devon's involvement in the conflict that erupted in 1642. Yet, the causes of war are one of the great historical controversies, generating a debate that opened with the contemporary narratives of Harrington, Hobbes, Baxter and Clarendon, and which continue today. Relating these theories specifically to our county - and how Devon moved from being one of the English shires most loyal to the monarch to open 'rebellion' - has, however, received only limited attention.²

Most historians do agree on the importance of religion and specifically the role of puritanism. During the 1580s and '90s puritans had relocated to Devon in increasing numbers, and by the early seventeenth century the county had acquired a reputation as one of the most godly in England, congregations being found in almost every town and in many villages. Though still a minority - possibly only 5% of the population by the start of the war - of particular importance was the countywide influence of an evangelical gentry, with a suggested 30 out of 64 Justices of the Peace exhibiting puritan values by 1630. The tradition flourished amongst the laity in areas of independent local government and in the manufacturing sector with clothiers often taking a leading role, and conspicuously puritans would emerge as some of the fiercest critics of Charles' regime - with Ignatius Jourdain, the scourge of Exeter's alehouses in the 1620s, being a notable example. Though the term puritan is imprecise, covering the quietly pious to the near fanatic, the godly did have common beliefs founded on a deep and personal religious experience, dissatisfaction with the Anglican view of the Reformation and a loathing of anything that appeared to resemble Catholicism. Importantly, preaching, bible-reading and sermon-focussed church services played a far more central role than in Anglicanism, meaning that an educated and often militant clergy formed an integral part of their faith.

Puritans could be expected to react with intense hostility if they perceived the integrity of Protestantism under threat. Consequently, William Laud - appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 - outraged even mainstream opinion by referring to the Catholic church as one of the true churches of Christendom. Further, the Archbishop imposed liturgical conformity, a modestly baroque ritual, church decoration and a high view of clerical vocation, so provoking the godly.³ He also suppressed lecturers and irregular preachers, making the dissidents Prynne, Burton and Bastwick celebrities by the end of their trials in June 1637. At county level the clergy began to take positions in local government as J.P.s, so

challenging the hard-won authority of village elites and raising the threat of rule by priests - the Devon diarist Walter Yonge hearing a rumour that Laud would become Lord Chancellor. Indeed, many puritans saw these moves as the culmination of an attack on the gains of the Reformation: the king was married to the French Catholic Henrietta Maria; for the first time since the death of Mary in 1558 there was an official papal representative in London; and Capuchin friars sang mass in a purpose-built chapel in Somerset House. Hence, though it was not inevitable that the godly would oppose the monarchy, misunderstandings of the strength of popular belief would alienate and unite many Protestants against Laud and, by association, the king who was consequently caricatured as a quasi-Catholic. Yet, Charles clearly saw himself as the defender of a church beginning to be called Anglican: 'We do hereby profess to maintain the true religion and doctrine established in the Church of England, without admitting or conniving either to popery or schism'. Nevertheless, this fear of Catholicism would continue throughout the period with an alarmed Parliament eventually insisting on a state-administered expression of loyalty to the Protestant establishment, Devon's Protestation Oath of 1641-2 finding only 44 openly Catholic recusants out of the 63,000 who signed 'against all popery'.

This anxiety could also be seen as part of the population's concerns over the advance of the counter-Reformation in Europe and the retreats suffered by Protestants since the beginning of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Under James and Charles a strategy of European neutrality and reconciliation with Spain had emerged that included the possibility of a Catholic heir to the throne, a policy which ran counter to most Devonians' identification with their fellow Protestants. Such concerns had inspired material support for the propagation of the gospel in New England and for their Irish and French co-religionists - John Delbridge MP for Barnstaple calling for 'prayers and fasting for La Rochelle' in the Parliament of 1621. However, it was Charles' attempt to impose uniformity on the distinct political cultures of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland that gave rise to conflict in the 1630s and 40s. In Devon dissension would be seen in the resistance to the war against the Calvinist Scots, the attempt to raise 2,000 troops causing mutiny to break out among 600 north Devon conscripts. Fearful of further disturbances, Devon's ruling class then effectively suspended its support for the regime, the Deputies and J.P.s writing a letter to the council refusing to send any more troops to the north. Nevertheless, English pride suffered from being ejected from Scotland and near panic was caused by the rebellion in Ireland, with Protestant refugees arriving in the county in 1640-41. When published accounts giving wildly inflated figures of 200,000 Protestant dead reached Devon, this promoted an almost hysterical fear of foreign invasion motivating local merchants to provide funding for the suppression of the revolt.

The ambitions of the Stuart state would also impact on the county as the English Court attempted to imitate its Catholic Habsburg, Bourbon, Gonzaga and Medici rivals. The European trend towards absolutism demanded a costly standing army and a strong and efficient state but, as the Caroline financial system was essentially the same as that operating in the fourteenth century, this required a

shift in relations between central and local government, the shires being antagonised by what was perceived as being the extravagance of an increasingly interventionist centre. Accordingly, the crown's attempts to raise money caused localised ill-feeling, as in the case of the award of Exmoor tithes to Cottington, an ally of the king. Also, the granting of industrial and commercial patents of monopoly - a major source of contention in every parliament from 1597 to 1640 - were seen as barriers to ambition, causing Barnstaple's Delbridge, then a merchant, to announce to the parliament of 1628 that Devon's trade had been stifled by the government's exactions. The primary form of income generation, however, continued to be the Forced Loan. This was initially not strongly opposed, but in 1628 Devon's J.P.s refused to cooperate with marked resistance emerging in Exeter and the cloth districts of northeast Devon. Notably puritans such as Jourdain and Delbridge were prominent objectors and here we see the first outbreaks of large-scale disobedience to royal government. As with the Forced Loan, the state's initial proposals for payments to counter piracy in the form of Ship Money were well received with Exeter's merchants willingly contributing in 1617. Though the Ship Money writ of 1634 required £11,236 from the county and was grudgingly paid, opposition escalated with Hartland producing a group of intransigent objectors, and five J.P.s were summoned before the Council having sent a mission to London with a list of grievances. The 1636 charge of £9,000 was then met with passive resistance and goods were distrained and sold, the situation further deteriorating in 1637 with Barnstaple's citizens being recorded as particularly resistant by the Privy Council:

Delbridge refuses to pay, and will make answer the same; Peard says she will pay none; and Blake (the vicar) says he will appear, according to order, before the Bishop of Exeter and render the reasons of his refusal.⁵

Yet obstruction was not widespread or overt until Charles' religious policies brought England and Scotland to the verge of war in 1638, with 1639 seeing a far more organised opposition' and distrained goods seized back from the sheriff's officers or being impossible to sell. Significantly, bearing in mind their association with puritanism and the cloth trade, Exeter, Bideford, Colyton, Tiverton, Totnes and Barnstaple showed most resistance - with the latter being called the most recalcitrant in all England by the Council. We also see links between non-payment and later political opposition - the counsel for the noted resister John Hampden being Oliver St John, the future MP for Totnes in the Long parliament.

Both early Stuart monarchs aggravated difficulties inherited from the Tudors relating to parliamentary privilege, finance and religion. However, while James displayed a degree of political astuteness, Charles abandoned his father's conciliatory approach, his inability to communicate and belief in his Divine right causing misunderstandings between court and country. The parliament of 1628-9 consequently seethed with grievances and refused Charles' demands unless its complaints were dealt with, though, in the culture of deference, the King was often portrayed as being merely badly advised - Devon's Francis Buller lamenting that

'Though our King be gracious and just; others after him may not'. Tiring of complaints and obstructions the king dismissed parliament and brought in the Personal rule depriving the English of their traditional form of discussion of public affairs, and causing in Polwhele's opinion 'an aspect unfavourable to majesty' in Devon.⁶

As the Lord Lieutenant selected Deputy Lieutenants from the leading gentry' families and the prominent citizens of the town, the county's local government was conducted by a fairly closely-knit elite who for the most part acted conscientiously. However, the Personal rule saw an attempt by the state to establish a hierarchical structure that subjected the provinces to an unprecedented level of supervision. As letters, petitions and appeals to the king and council were usually rejected or ignored, there is evidence that, when rebuffed, Devon's leaders came to identify with the representatives of the dismissed parliament. We may even see the Deputy Lieutenants and J.P.s assuming a progressively autonomous role as they abandoned hopes that central government could resolve issues.

It should be noted that some historians believe that the historical record overstates the interest that ordinary people had in national events, the county being almost an independent shire-state, with local issues being the focus of most people's interests - or even that they had no political views at all. Supporting this view is the statement by Westcote in 1630 who writes of the labouring poor 'having sufficient to supply nature's demand, they are satisfied'⁷. However, Stoyles work in Exeter relates how the city's corporation found it increasingly difficult to cope with the demands of an unpopular central government and he describes the formation of embryonic political parties, the governors acting to subdue the large minority of royalists and so to eventually secure the city for parliament. A similar situation is seen in Plymouth where national and local events acted to undermine a tradition of loyalty.⁸ Specifically, Plymouth's historic role as an embarkation point for continental adventures had put its citizens in the front line in the military failures of the early seventeenth century, with the ill-fated expedition to the Isle of Rhe and under funding of the navy leading to resistance to naval impressments and eventual mutiny in 1628. Particularly affected by Stuart interventions in Europe were the 400 Devon men impressed for the attack on Cadiz in 1625, the Commissioners complaining of the near anarchy caused by the billeting of troops in south west Devon:

The poor countryman is no longer able to entertain the souldier, and in places has thrust him out of doors, whilst the souldier has taken away the countryman's goods, robbed him on the highway, carried away sheep before the owner's face, and dressed them in the open view of the world."

Charles' failed attempt in 1639-40 to suppress the Scottish risings compelled a recall of parliament after 11 years to request financial aid, and in the resulting election most of those associated with royal policies were defeated. Almost all of Devon's representation in the Commons and many in the Lords were from then on seen to be critical of the king and his administration regardless of class or

occupation. Both the Long and the Short parliaments were subsequently beset with petitions about trade, religion and taxation, culminating in the Great Remonstrance. Specifically, Devon's Pym condemned religious reforms and the monarch's exercise of his feudal rights, including the use of the Star Chamber and the High Commission to prosecute the king's opponents, among whom were John Rolle of Stevenstone and William Strode of Newenham. Between 1640-42 Devon Members combined to become a large and powerful grouping fairly closely united in terms of background, family connections and friendships. They also took a leading role, counting among their number Strode, Pym and John Maynard of Totnes - who led the campaigns for the impeachment of the King's favourites Strafford and Laud. However, not until 1641 did divisions between future royalists and parliamentarians become recognisable, with an individual's pre-war political opinions, their class or occupation having little effect on which side they fought on.

One theory that has in the past attracted support saw the war as the result of long-term economic change, with Tawney specifically citing the emergence of a belligerent commercially-minded class contrasting with a declining feudal aristocracy. This gentry class, whose increase in wealth created an independent economic base, then demanded constitutional reforms and the right to represent its interests, so assaulting any obstacles to the formation of a democratic capitalism. Indeed, some historians see puritanism as the ideology of this new rising commercial class as it offered a way to organise in the face of major economic change. Yet, when we examine the 400 gentry families and the further 1,500 minor gentry with parochial influence, we do not see a united social force as the term embraces a wide range of incomes and customs - four fifths of tenants often being little better off than the farm labourers that made up one-third of the county's population. Also, numerous gentry' families were in decline, and while some evidence does suggest that while overall the numbers and wealth of the gentry increased they lacked any political focus, their ambition being not to overthrow their social superiors but to transform themselves. Even the mercantile class - described by Risdon as those who 'for the most part dwell in towns and cities' and presented as aggressive promoters of capitalist values and agents of change - established personal and business links with the rural gentry and aristocracy and acquired a higher social status through marriage or the acquisition of country estates.¹⁰ Similarly, though Sir William Pole's Survey of Devon identified six aristocratic - though largely absentee - landowning dynasties and a further 50 families with close connections, again it is not easy to differentiate the aristocracy as a closed social grouping, and they seem not to have experienced any general decline. Further, those identified as representative of a new and rising gentry class were often the younger sons of older established families, many of whom having been compelled to look elsewhere for subsistence, whether it be the law, the church, commerce or marriage. The conflict between king and parliament therefore appears not to be rooted purely in social and economic contradictions, with peers and gentry being prominent on both sides in the war and even some Devon families - such as the Fortescues and Carews - being divided. On the other

hand, it would be reasonable to describe England as an increasingly divided society with the numbers of the poor and dispossessed rising. The 1630 Quarter sessions recorded the concerns of J.P.s who identified 296 vagrants in Devon and Cornwall, not a great number though still alarming to a society that believed in a natural balance. The suggestion here is that relations were becoming more resentful and that sections of society were growing fearful of each other, building two constituencies that would rally in the event of crises and social breakdown.

At the commencement of war the majority of the county rallied for parliament, but it is misleading to see the conflict purely in terms of the royalist aristocracy and their rural dependents against the largely urban middle class supporters of parliament. Nevertheless, ideological, social and geographical influences do appear to have influenced definite political preferences: for example, during the war agricultural Chagford maintained its allegiance to the king while cloth-making Moretonhampstead - a mere 3 miles away - supported parliament. Noticeably, seamen were known for their radicalism and they rallied almost unanimously for parliament, it being proposed that they were more exposed to new ideas, being quite literate, and also alienated by the state's neglect - James, as part of royal strategy, having abandoned the Elizabethan seafaring tradition so generating deep resentment among those mariners and merchants who maintained a hatred of Catholicism¹¹. Also parliamentarian were the cloth-making towns of Tiverton, Cullampton, South Molton, Plymouth, Dartmouth and Barnstaple, and their contiguous areas of North Devon and the South Hams - Stoyle suggesting that loyalty was to a market town, the county being a loose confederation of around 40 rural territories. Again there may be a connection here between parliamentarianism and openness to outside influences, such as puritanism, and with communities who had shaken off the control of local secular and church elites. On the other hand, although patterns of allegiance were associated with occupation they could be overridden by other factors. Hence, while many merchants would become parliamentarian, others such as Roger Mallock of Exeter and the Trelawneys of Plymouth, as the younger sons of the landed gentry, allied with the royalist cause. Meanwhile, in the remote parishes around the edge of Dartmoor and the rich arable villages of the Exe Valley, puritanism had failed to take root and people retained their conservative views. Accordingly, the king had amongst his most loyal supporters the tanners, members of a declining industry exempt from ordinary taxation and dependent on royal privileges, with the stannary town of Tavistock being staunchly royalist. The insularity of the tinner's culture and their resentment of 'foreigners' was apocryphal, as was their poverty: 'His apparel is coarse, his diet slender, his lodging hard, his drink water, and for lack of a cup, he commonly drinks out of a spade or shovel'.¹² Royalists were then were able to recruit from those areas that rallied to defend deeply held concepts of honour and service to the monarchy, and from communities that feared social chaos.

In August 1642 the Grand Jury of the Exeter Assizes demanded a suppression of the Irish rebellion and the reinstatement of dismissed magistrates, effectively demonstrating that royal policy had welded together a coherent opposition.

Charles' attempt to arrest prominent parliamentarians - including the Devon M.P.s Pym for Tavistock and Strode of Bere Alston - and his raising of the standard in Oxford then led to a total breakdown between monarch and parliament. In contrast with other counties at the outbreak of war there were no great territorial magnates to rally the county behind a particular cause, yet there was already a firm disposition towards parliament - the Earl of Bath's attempt to carry out the order to array for the king being met with hostility. The suddenness at which bodies of armed men then sprang up was made possible by an existing military infrastructure, having been semi-professionalized by the general musters of 1613 and the 1626 attempt to put the 8,000-strong county militia on an efficient footing. Such a rapid mobilization by a determined civic leadership would subsequently throw up earthwork defences around Plymouth, Barnstaple, Exeter and Dartmouth, while forts were constructed at Bideford and Appledore.

Thereafter the conflict would assume its own dynamic, and much more has been written on the military conduct of the war than the reasons why Devonians took up arms in the first place. Although the controversy continues over the precise causes of war the debate often concerns a historian's emphasis on a particular factor. Accordingly, whether resentment over the execution of Raleigh exclusively led any mariner, merchant or villager to turn against the House of Stuart is debateable, though it remains a compelling proposition.

Notes and References

1. Trevelyan 1972, p. 388.
2. Stoyle 1994. Mark Stoyle's research on Devon and the civil war is indispensable for those interested in the period. As a good introduction, his *Devon and the civil war* (2001), one of the Concise Histories of Devon Series by the Mint Press, is recommended. See also Roberts (1995) 'War and Society in Devon 1642-46'.
3. Cherry and Pevsner (1997) allege that Devon's 'conservatism' allowed for the survival of some of the briefly revived chancels and screens of the period, notably in: Colyton; Washfield; Rose Ash; and Whitestone.
4. Charles I in Petrie 1968, p. 77.
5. Cotton 1889, p. 12.
6. Polwhele, 1977, p. 305.
7. Westcote 1983, pp. 170-1.
8. See Photion 2005.
9. Karkeek 1878, pp. 223-36.
10. Risdon 1811, p. 10.
11. Devonians were fairly literate and many of the gentry were familiar with classical and republican texts - one third of the population being able to read and with a similar proportion possessing books mainly in the form of bibles and prayer books.
12. Risdon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

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Dr Kevin Dixon is currently a Devon-based freelance trainer. He holds a PhD in Sociology having researched into poor peoples' organisations and is particularly interested in historical sociology.

Book reviews

Todd Gray (2006) *Exeter maps*, Exeter: The Mint Press; 48 pages, profusely illustrated, soft back, ISBN 1903356482, £6.99.

Publication of this book coincided with an exhibition of local maps held in the autumn of 2006 at Exeter's Guildhall. It consists in the main of chronologically arranged black and white reproductions either of whole maps, from the collection held by the Westcountry Studies Library, or details. The maps range from the classic and well-loved version produced by John Hooker in 1587 to one produced by the Germans in 1941 (but not for certain made use of in the devastating air raid of May 1942). The most informative pages are those which show both the map and a detail thereof, as for example with Warren's of 1850 and the Rapkin/Tallis map of two years later. Unfortunately, when the entire map is not shown, those unfamiliar with the topography of Exeter may find it difficult to work out the location of the various parts shown, for example, of the six inch to the mile 1888 Ordnance Survey map.

As the author states in his introduction, neither the exhibition nor the book represent all of the many maps of Exeter produced by generations of cartographers. On the other hand, it does provide a useful starting point for those wishing to study the matter in more detail. As with any good *hors d'oeuvre* it succeeds in whetting the appetite without satiating it.

S. Bhanji

Mike Sampson (2004) *A history of Tiverton*, Tiverton: Tiverton War Memorial Trust; 403 pages, 50 b&w illustrations and maps, hardcover, ISBN 0954878809; from Ottaker's Bookshop, 20-22 Fore Street, Tiverton, EX16 6LH £25; or direct from the author, 3 Caxton Row, Norwood Road, Tiverton EX16 6BE £26 to include p&p.

Winner of the Devon History Society's Book of the Year Award in 2005, this is an impressive work that covers a longer span of time than any previous book on Tiverton's history. It is the result of an immensity of research by Devonian Mike Sampson, who acknowledges particularly the help he received from Brian Jenkins, as well as that of several other people. As Sir Ian Amory Bt explains in a forward, it was the agreed need for an up-to-date and comprehensive book on the town's history that prompted its commission by the Trustees of the Tiverton War Memorial. The result is highly commendable.

The author notes the earliest evidence of a probably transient human presence from a Palaeolithic hand-axe found in 1920, possibly dating from 250,000 years ago. Further artefacts suggest settlements from c. 4000 BC to the Bronze Age. The Tiverton area was populated by Dumnonii, Romans, and eventually Saxons, and possibly had a minster church from the eighth century. The population of Tiverton parish at the time of Domesday is estimated at c. 850, when that of England was c. two million. In the thirteenth century this 'town of two fords' (on the rivers Exe and Lowman) was given its valued Town Leat, a fulling mill and farms were in

existence, with a weekly market and four annual fairs, and the Exe was bridged.

Always setting the Tiverton scene in the context of national events of the time, and with graphic descriptions of local personalities and contentious issues, Mike Sampson takes us from the eleventh century, with Tiverton a royal estate, through the influential times of the de Redvers family and the building of the Castle close to the already established St Peter's Church, to the succession (through marriage) of the Courtenays, and their influence and power which peaked in the mid fifteenth century. By the early sixteenth century the cloth trade had become Tiverton's main industry and the merchant John Greneway (*sic*) was making his mark, both industrially and philanthropically. The parish's other industry - farming - was also important but mainly for subsistence, while cloth making brought large profits. In 1565 Tiverton's population was just over 2,500, when no town outside London had more than 20,000, and other merchants' names - Waldron, Prowse and Blundell - were contributing to its prominence. Through all this time the townspeople had to contend with the adverse effects of wars, plague, and disastrous fires.

Tiverton was granted a Charter of Incorporation as a borough in 1615, its bounds being those of the parish, covering 17,650 acres and including the hamlets of Cove, Cheltiscombe, Chevithorne, Mere and Withleigh. This century brought divisive effects caused by the Civil War, and the rise of strong elements of religious dissention. Sampson describes the establishment of the various churches. The respective fortunes from the eighteenth century of the Whigs and Tories are discussed with some engaging local commentary, and the eventual decline and reduction of woollen mills, intensified by the war with France.

The arrival from Leicestershire of John Heathcoat *c.* 1816, brought new life and lasting effects to Tiverton. He bought a redundant mill and in it established his lace manufactory, providing increasing industrial work benefits for the town, which succeeding family members - the Heathcoat Amorys - have continued. The author ably describes the many developments of Victorian times, and those of the twentieth century with its two world wars and times of unemployment.

It is fascinating to see how the changes of recent years have been incorporated into the scene, and the many familiar buildings set in place. A few small errors concerning events have been noted. It was not Harold Shapland who was Mayor in 1932 but his father, W.E. Shapland. The occasions of prowess of women's golf champion Miss Joyce Wethered in the 1920s were before her marriage to Sir John Amory, which was in 1937, not 1927 (this reviewer watched their honeymoon plane take to the air over Knighthayes); and, sad to say by this past member, Withleigh Young Farmers' Club is not the oldest in Devon - that honour goes to Culm Valley (Hemyock) which started as a Calf Club in 1920 and was incorporated into the YFC movement in 1924.

Nevertheless, this book is a substantial collection of historical knowledge, which is also handsomely produced and a pleasure to read. It is fully documented and one cannot but acknowledge the convenience of references being provided as footnotes on each page - a practice now commonly replaced by end-of-book lists that necessitate much page finding that interrupts reading flow. Mike Sampson is

to be congratulated on his work that will be of lasting value.

Helen Harris

Robin Stanes (2005) *Old farming days - life on the land in Devon and Cornwall, Tiverton: Halsgrove; 160 pages profusely illustrated, hardback, ISBN 184114449, £19.99.*

Books on the *socioeconomic* history of English agriculture tend to be written by non-agrarian academics and, although worthy in themselves, are often rather arid. This book is different; it has been written by someone who has practised farming with all its highs and lows, and has an obvious empathy with rural dwellers. The result is a volume of social agrarian history combined with agricultural traditions that paints a fascinating picture of rural life in both Cornwall and Devon over the past few centuries.

The book opens with the necessary conditions essential for a good farm. Chief of these were a steady dependable water supply from spring or well and on the windier exposed higher land some shelter for the farmhouse. All the materials for the house construction, apart from a small amount of ironwork, were to be found on the farm, stone would be dug up for the foundations, clay for cob walls, and wood for roofing and other frames. The roof itself would be of rye or wheat straw thatch as thatching was a common skill performed by either farmer or worker to protect hay and cereal ricks.

Chapters on the constructional development and interiors of farmhouses are of particular interest being full of details, with many illustrations, of the improvements from the two or three cross-passage dwelling, then cruck construction and finally to the eighteenth-century enlarged four-square house. The earlier mixture of family and farm animals under the same roof gave way to an assortment of family, workers and young apprentices all sharing the living quarters. Cooking utensils used on the large open fire or the later cooking range in the kitchen, which became established as the most important room of the house, are both amply described and depicted. All the food for both humans and farm animals had to be obtained from the farm, although the consumption of fish was more common in the two counties than elsewhere in England. Food, of course, includes drink and the author devotes a whole chapter to the importance and production of beer and cider. His rough calculation of the mid-eighteenth-century annual production of cider in Devon of 170,000 hogsheads consumed by a population of 300,000 adults and children makes one's mind reel!

Part Two of the work is devoted to the mixed-farm practices, several of which were peculiar to Devon and Cornwall. The point brought out most clearly is that until the introduction of the tractor with its various implements in the 1940s, large amounts of labour were required, even on a medium-sized farm. Yoked oxen or horse-drawn ploughing was a slow task; weeding by hand even slower. Newer eighteenth and nineteenth-century machinery was slow to be adopted and the formerly admired state of agriculture in the two counties correspondingly declined. Hay or silage making and harvesting of cereal crops, both greatly weather-dependent, are still anxious times for the modern farmer. For the pre-

tractor farmer with his complete dependence on home production, the worries must have been huge. However, as the author explains, assistance was usually on hand in the shape of neighbouring farmers, their families and their labourers. This gang of extra help often turned the farming tasks into social occasions with the farmer's wife providing large meals and copious draughts of cider.

Indeed the farmer's wife was a key figure in the running of the farm. She often received no proper house-keeping money but was expected to run the farmstead, feed and clothe the family (plus servants), organize food and drink for the occasional extra helpers, in addition to catering for the extended family during the twelve days of Christmas. She would be responsible for tending the poultry and pigs, making butter and cream, and raising vegetables. The sale of all these at the local market would provide her income.

The original version of this book appeared in 1990 as *The Old Farm*. This new extended edition has many more photographs and deserves a place on the bookshelf of any rural or urban dweller whose heart is in either Devon or Cornwall.

J.F. Shepherd

Correspondence from members and other information

The Hon. Editor is pleased to receive correspondence on Devon history from members and non-members. Information relating to previous articles, research projects and other historical material is welcome. Other notes, queries and notices will be referred to the editor of the newsletter, *DHS News*, as appropriate.

Queries

Katherine Dunhill of the Westcountry Studies Library (WSL) in Exeter reports that the image on the back cover and p. 37 of volume 75 was identified by the Hon. Archivist at Teignmouth and Shaldon Museum as being taken in Shaldon on the occasion of the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in 1911. Katherine also writes for help in identifying the place or the event featured in the pictures, slightly cropped, reproduced on the covers of this journal. Please contact the WSL on 01392 384216, or by email via westcountry.library@devon.gov.uk.

Society reports and notices

The format of the Journal and new submissions

At the recent AGM of the Society it was decided that the forthcoming autumn 2008 and spring 2009 issues of *The Devon Historian* are to be replaced for a trial period by a substantially larger annual volume. This is in order to raise the profile of the journal and to accommodate the greater number of articles being submitted. Apart from greater freedom over length, the criteria by which articles are accepted will not change. These can be found on the website or at the back of a recent journal. Contributions - short and long - are still welcomed from the amateur and the professional, the member and the non-member. Some information normally published in the journal, such as notices on the work and programmes of local history societies or from record offices and other repositories, will be transferred to the more appropriate context of the new newsletter.

2007 Devon History Book of the Year Prize

The Devon History Society announced the winner of the 2007 Devon Book of the Year at the recent AGM. The award of winner in the professional category was made to Todd Gray for *Blackshirts in Devon*, The Mint Press; and in the non-professional category to John G.M. Scott, Frank D. Mack and James M. Clarke for *Towers and bells of Devon*, The Mint Press, 2 vols.

Report and minutes of the 2007 Annual General Meeting

Abridged Report and Minutes of the thirty-seventh Annual General Meeting held at Baring Court on the University of Exeter's St Luke's Campus on 13 October

2007. NB: the formal Report and Minutes containing transcripts of the officers' annual reports will be available for inspection at the 2008 AGM or may be inspected at reasonable hours by appointment with the Honorary Secretary.

Present: the President, Professor Malcolm Todd, was in the Chair and members as listed in the attendance register were present.

1. *Apologies for absence:* apologies for absence were reported from Margaret Lewis, A. Brian George, Julia Neville, John Trott, John Slate, Charles Scott Fox, Cllr David Morrish, Anne Adams, John Elliot, Derek Gore, Bruce Peake, David Thomas and Adrian Reed.

2. *Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting:* the Report and Minutes of the thirty-sixth Annual General Meeting, an abbreviated version of which had been printed in *The Devon Historian* No. 74, were approved by those present and signed by the President.

3. *Matters arising from the Minutes:* there were no matters arising from the Minutes.

4. *Chairman's Annual Report:* Mrs Purves reported that the Council had met on four occasions rather than the usual three. The extra meeting in July was to discuss the 'Way Ahead' a paper from the President. On March 21st a very successful seminar was held at the University. The theme of the day was 'From Fishing Villages to Leisure Resorts'. The Speakers included Todd Gray, John Travis, Gareth Shaw and Peter Howard. The successful and informative June visit to Widecombe was hosted by their Local History Society who gave a presentation of the parish history, an exhibition of documents and a comprehensive tour of the village.

After much discussion, the Council has endorsed the Editor's plan to produce one volume of the journal each year, backed up by two newsletters which will go out with the notifications of the Spring and Summer meetings.

The Chairman thanked the retiring members of Council - Adrian Reed and Arnold Sayers, with special thanks to David Thomas for his years as membership secretary, and to Elizabeth Maycock who is retiring as programme secretary but remaining on the Council as Vice Chair.

The Chairman paid tribute to Professor Harold Fox, our President from 2000-2003 who died in August. She reported that Council had started to look at ways in which the DHS could pay tribute to his memory, possibly a Conference in conjunction with one or two other Devon orientated history societies in 2009.

5. *Honorary Treasurer's Annual Report:* Dr Bhanji reported that the 2007 membership was as follows: individual ordinary membership up on 2006 by 2 to 221; family ordinary membership down 2 to 23; honorary life membership constant at 2; life membership constant at 20; affiliated societies down by 4 to 48; corporate membership down 1 to 25. These were not considered impressive figures for a county the size of Devon.

Regarding income, subscriptions and donations showed a slight fall, while that from the AGM and conferences was well down, with the symposium, which generated £1278, replacing the Spring conference.

Referring to the financial report:

	2007	2006
Gross income	£5660.62	£5212.72
Gross expenditure	£6007.12	£3077.74
Excess of income over expenditure	£346.50	-£2134.98
Building Society Account		
Transfers in	£240.00	£480.00
Interest	£106.27	£158.63
Transfer out	£7822.57	£0.00
COIF Deposit Account		
Transfers in	7822.57	£0.00
Interest	£175.07	£0.00

Carried forward to 2007-2008: £7312.13 (plus £7997.64 with COIF Deposit Account)

Regarding expenditure, the high figure for the year was because the delayed arrival of an invoice from the printers meant that three issues were covered compared with one in 2006. The dissertation prize was a variable figure while the symposium was considered to be worth the slight loss because of the interest it invoked. Overall there was a modest excess of income over expenditure and the Society remained in a healthy financial state. The Charity Commissioners' guidelines allow for between one-half and one-third of disposable assets to be spent each year, and so occasionally the Society could spend some £2,000 to £3,000 above the annual average of around £5,000.

The Treasurer announced that he was looking for a successor, a post for which internet access was essential. The Society's Honorary Auditor, Mr David Pike, was prepared to undertake the auditing (for another year) and it was proposed by Mr Gerald Quinn and seconded by Mr Tony Collings that he be appointed for a further year.

The President suggested that a productive way for the Society to spend its excess income would be to organise a major conference, perhaps in the Spring or early Summer of 2009, in conjunction with the Devon and Cornwall Record Society and the Devonshire Association. He suggested that a small working group of members of the three societies should first be formed.

6. *Honorary Editor's Annual Report:* Dr Jackson reported that he had now moved to Lincoln and the upheaval of relocation had meant that *The Devon Historian* No. 75 had not been finished in time to distribute to the membership prior to the Annual General Meeting. However, he regarded its contents as exciting. It would contain a short note recording the death of Professor Harold Fox of the University of Leicester, President of this Society from 1996 to 1999, whose death occurred in August, and whose funeral he had attended. A fuller obituary would appear in issue No. 76. Dr Jackson thanked all the contributors of the many articles he had received, sufficient to fill future issues Nos 76 and 77. This could mean that contributors may have to wait up to two years to see their work in print. Therefore Dr Jackson wished to see publications which would further promote the work of the Society, extended beyond the current volumes of some 40 pages and 40,000 words, perhaps a series of monographs or journals with a particular theme, such as

the church or agriculture. The volumes he envisaged would accommodate longer articles, of up to 8,000 words, and retain accessibility with a mix of popular and academic contributions. They would be accompanied by a more developed newsletter system, with two issues a year, making things easier for the Programme Secretary. His views had been endorsed by Council.

In the discussion that followed Mr Quinn thought it necessary to encourage a younger age group to come forward. This was accepted by Dr Jackson, who would like to involve schools and undergraduates.

7. *2007/2008 Programme*: Miss Maycock reported that the Spring seminar had been an enjoyable one in which non-members had been in the majority, and such seminars were to be continued as an occasional event. The Summer meeting at Widecombe-in-the-Moor had been held in appalling weather but the arrangements made by the Local History Society were first class.

Her successor, Mr Michael Brown, was introduced to the meeting. He is Chairman of the Babbacombe and St Marychurch Local History Society, who would be hosting the 2008 Spring meeting on 5 April.

The 2008 Annual General Meeting would be held on Saturday 11 October, again on the St Luke's Campus, but at the previous venue in the lecture theatre that was now part of the Peninsula Medical School.

Miss Maycock was thanked by the President for her sterling work over the years.

8. *Elections for the year 2008/2009*: The following members of Council had intimated their wish to resign: Mr Adrian Reed, Mr Arnold Sayers, Mr David Thomas and Mr Michael Weller, and Council accepted their departure with regret. In their stead Council proposed Professor Holdsworth, Mr Michael Brown, Mr Phillippe Planel and Mrs Rebecca Saunders. It was proposed by Mr Gerald Quinn and seconded by Mrs Mary Carter that they be elected and this was carried *nem. con.* Mr Gerald Quinn had agreed to take over Mr David Thomas' role as Membership Secretary.

9. *Any other business*:

a) The President referred to the 2007 Dissertation Prize in which there had been only one entry, relating to patients at Exeter's Digby Hospital in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth century. The Society's sub-committee had voted by four votes to two against an award being made this year.

b) Mr John Draisey drew the Society's attention to a project involving research into extreme weather events in which the Community Council of Devon would be the lead body. It was envisaged that eight to ten communities regarded as particularly vulnerable to extreme weather and in which there was interest from the local community and an active local history society would be selected to be involved. It was hoped that Devon History Society would take part in the work.

There being no further business the President declared the meeting closed.

The Devon Historian

Correspondence for the Hon. Editor and contributions for publication in the Society's journal should be sent to Dr Andrew Jackson, Bishop Grosseteste University College Lincoln, Lincoln, LN1 3DY; andrew.jackson@bishopg.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 printed in full.

It is preferred that articles are word-processed using single line spacing and page margins of 2cm, 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. For further information on conventions see www.devonhistorysociety.org.uk.

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

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