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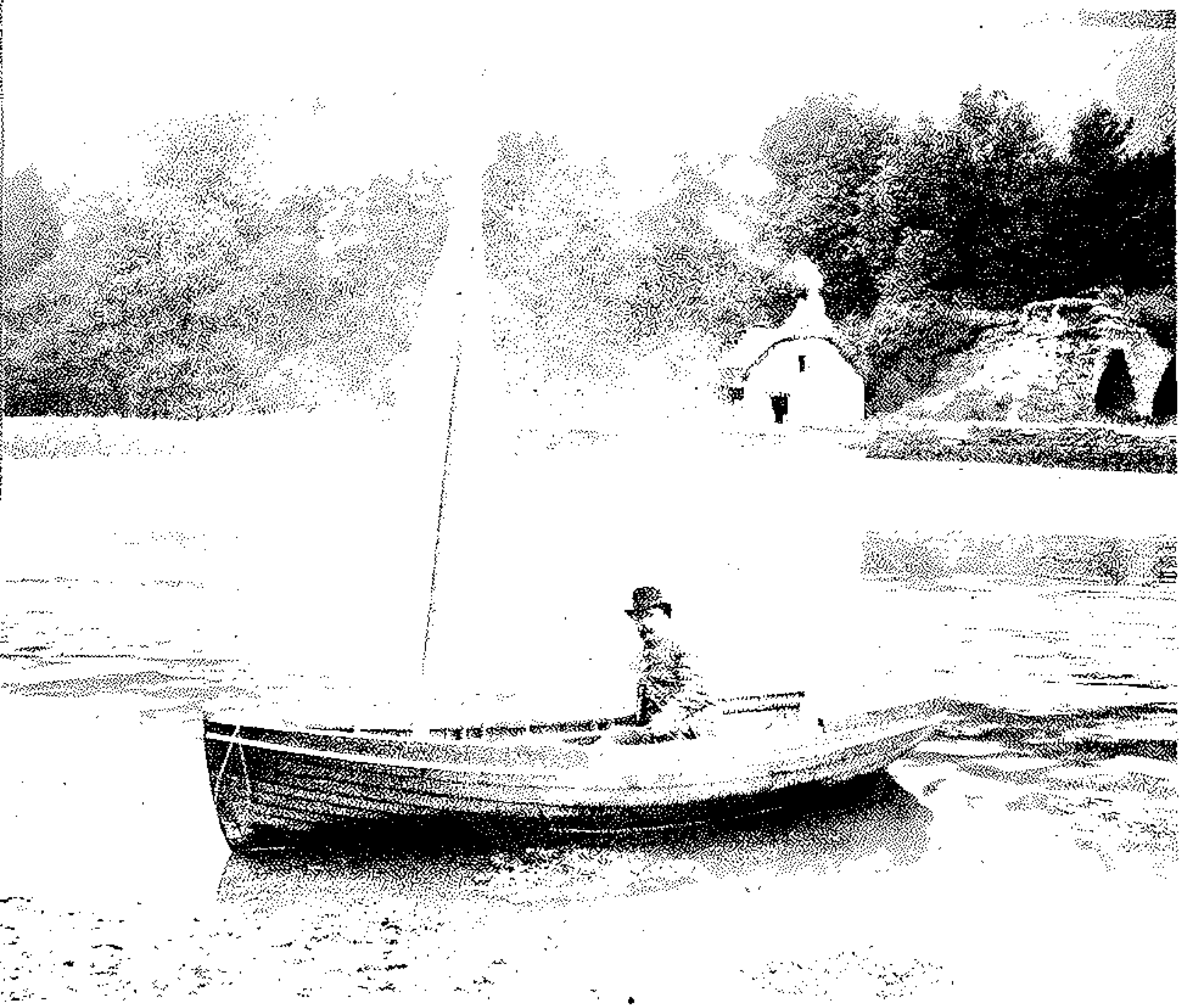

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An A.G.M. and conference is held annually in October. Meetings and conferences of the Society take place at other times of the year. For details see the Society's newsletter, *Devon History News*, or the Society's website at: www.devonhistorysociety.org.uk.

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The origins of the Devon History Society

Robin Stanes

The Devon History Society was started in 1969 because there was no county history society in Devon. The Devonshire Association was 'and is' the county 'learned' society and publishes its *Transactions* yearly: but is in no way only historical, publishing scientific material as well. The Parochial History Section of the Devonshire Association was and is solely historical, but it meets in Exeter only, on a Monday in the afternoon, and is thus inaccessible to those with jobs, and difficult for those who live any distance from Exeter.

I have now to be personal. I came to Devon, to Slapton, in 1951, and was fascinated by my new village with its two 'church' towers, its large fresh water lake by the sea, its three water mills, its Iron Age 'castle', and its delectable landscape. I felt compelled to find out about it; there was little written about it that I could easily find. I sought advice and became a member of the Devonshire Association and read the *Transactions*. I read W.G. Hoskins with great enthusiasm. I also met Bob Pym who was the South Hams tutor for the Extra Mural Department of Exeter University, and after a time he asked me to speak about local history to local groups, which I nervously and diffidently did.

I needed much more help I thought, so I attempted to attend the Parochial History Section in Exeter some forty miles away, but initially there were cows to be milked so the visits were rushed and the cows occasionally had to wait, which they did not like. Eventually I found a little help and was able to attend regularly, and listened to Hoskins and Finberg, two ground-breaking names, and Alan Everett and Joyce Youings, and Peggy Cruwys, the Rev. Fulford Williams, Clare Fox, and many other luminaries with delight. I was a convert, a fan for my own parish's history. I felt I must do a bit about its history myself and share the good news, and started to find out much more about Slapton in the Devon Record Office and elsewhere.

I was also employed pretty regularly in the winter by the Extra Mural Department of the university to do termly or two termly courses around the county. I discovered that there were many enthusiasts for local history from various walks of life and with varied education and background in all parts of the county, who were seeking both guidance and to have their interests satisfied and fostered. I spoke on local history at more than forty places in the county, sometimes to large audiences. I learnt a great deal of local history from these meetings.

About 1960 I was asked by the Parochial History Section to represent them once a year in London at the Standing Conference for Local History at the offices of the National Council for Social Service. This I did with enthusiasm and met people from many counties. It became apparent that almost every other county had a county-wide, county-supported history society, which had regular conferences and meetings around their counties.

Devon did not; the Chairman of the Conference told me that I should try to get one started in the county. I set about doing this as there was such an obvious gap, and I felt that the Parochial History Section and a county history society could co-exist happily, as has proved to be so.

I made a formal proposal to start a county history society to the Council of the Devonshire Association, who resolved to 'let it lie on the table'. The response of the Secretary of the University Extra Mural Department to the same suggestion was 'Oh no! Not another society!'.

The Community Council of Devon in the person of John Usmar of Witheridge was much more helpful. Two large enthusiastic public meetings were held at County Hall. At the first it was agreed that a working party should be set up under the chairmanship of Joyce Youings to make proposals for a county history society. At the next meeting the Conference was formally set up with Prof. Minchinton as Chairman and Prof. Youings as Vice-Chairman, Roger Sellman as Secretary, and myself as Editor of the new *The Devon Historian*, which was to appear twice a year.

The Standing Conference for Devon History, as it was then called, was to be open and accessible to all and speakers were sought amongst its members. It was to meet on two Saturdays a year around the county and hold its AGM in Exeter. All local history societies in Devon were asked to send in their programmes regularly for publication. Contributions were asked for and promised for *The Devon Historian* from members. It was hoped that there would be an embracing county-wide focus to both the Society and the journal. Articles were particularly asked for on 'how to do local history'; there were educational overtones. This may be important in the future, as Exeter University has closed its Department of Continuing Education, which took the place of the old Extra-Mural Department; and thus the University has lost one of its original functions, taking University learning 'outside the walls'. Devon is the less for it.

The Society and *The Devon Historian* are now thirty eight years old.

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. His most recent publication, with Andrew Jewell and Richard Bass, is *The husbandry of Devon and Cornwall*, available from Robin at Deep End, Deepdene Park, Exeter, EX2 4PH (£8.50 inc. p&p).

The Devon Historian, vol. 77, 2008, pp. 5-14.

Migration in Torquay during the nineteenth century

Jackie Bryon

Migration is a complex subject, which has exercised the minds of economic and social historians, historical geographers and population specialists. It has been defined as a residential change of a permanent or semi- permanent nature. This definition, although limited, provides ample scope for a variety of interpretations.[1] Individuals usually relocate for economic, cultural or family reasons. The aim of this study is to examine the reasons for the remarkable growth in the population of Torquay in the mid-nineteenth century, by making particular use of data in the 1851 census and the local trade directories.

In order to set the scene for the study it is necessary to consider briefly the economic and social changes taking place in Devon in the nineteenth century which could have had an impact on migration patterns. The old industries of cloth making and mining had past their peak. Farming was still a major source of employment in the county. The lace industry was affected by competition from the machine made product. Other industries, such as silk and ribbons, glove making, rope making and pottery all existed, but on the fairly small scale. Ship building was present in both north and south Devon. However, W.E. Minchinton appears to have a point when he argues in his introduction to *White's history of Devonshire* that by 1850 Devon had missed the full flood of the industrialisation process.[2]

Nevertheless, one cannot underestimate the effects of industrialisation on the county of Devon. The coming of the railway was one such example. By providing an improved transport service to the rest of England it did eventually open wider markets for agricultural produce as well as other goods. It also brought visitors in increasing numbers to developing seaside resorts in north and south Devon. Its negative effect was that many of the market towns in the county began to decline from the 1840s, as people began to leave the poorer and more isolated parts of the county. W.G. Hoskins has remarked in a similar vein that 'between 1841 and 1851 especially, hundreds of rural parishes lost people to the towns, above all to Plymouth, Exeter and the seaside towns'.[3]

The growth of population in Torquay will now be considered. According to John Travis, Torquay continued to develop fast as a resort when its neighbours along the south Devon coast grew much more slowly.[4] The population of Torquay almost doubled in one decade, from 5,982 in 1841 to 11,474 in 1851. Such an increase in population is remarkable by any standards, particularly if one considers the population of Torquay between 1801 and 1851.

Table 1: Population of Torquay, males to females with percentage totals, 1801-1851 (source: census reports, 1801-1851)

Year	Males	Females	Total	% Females
1801	376	462	838	55.1
1811	639	711	1350	52.7
1821	830	1095	1925	56.9
1831	1583	1999	3582	55.8
1841	2611	3371	5982	56.4
1851	4809	6665	11474	58.1

The dramatic rise in population and is not easily explained. We do know that there were many large villas with extensive gardens. However, the population was especially dense in some other areas, including streets and courts with tenements and no house numbers. Furthermore, Margherita Rendel has pointed out that 'there was a decrease in the area of Tormoham (Torquay) by nearly one quarter (22.8%) from 2,020 acres in 1841 to 1,560 acres in 1851.'[5]

In order to find out more about the increase in population between 1841 and 1851, it was decided to analyse a sample of entries from the enumerators' books for the 1851 census, as well as *White's history, gazetteer and directory of Devonshire* and *Billing's directory and gazetteer of the County of Devon.* Two contiguous districts were chosen including an area of dense population as well as a more fashionable area. A further three streets were taken from another district chosen at random. Together this provided a sample of 1,896 persons, 784 males and 1,112 females, 16.5 % of the population. The percentage of 58.6% females is not vastly different from the population of Torquay as a whole shown in Table 1.

The 1851 census gives name, sex, age, relationship to head of household, marital status, place of birth and occupation for each person. There are some difficulties in using the enumerators' books for the 1851 census. However, the difficulties are not as great as those for the 1841 census, which was much less reliable. As Eve McLaughlin has pointed out even in 1851 some individuals tried to avoid being included in the census return, others were illiterate and therefore gave their answers orally to the enumerators. Further, some individuals did not know how old they were, or where they were born.[6] Further, recent writing on the use of nineteenth century census data as a tool to investigate local migration, has criticised the use of data on place of birth. The reason cited relates to the fact that it is difficult to measure when moves occurred, or even how many took place. This is a valid criticism which will be taken into account when data is presented. Hinde makes further suggestions about recording in aggregative form when concentrating on more than one study area, which appeared not to have relevance for this particular study.[7]

Data has already been collected at national level in relation to the age and sex structure of the seaside resorts, including Torquay. It was decided to make use of this information and compare it with a sample taken for Torquay. This should allow any obvious discrepancies to explained and commented on. The discrepancy in the sample for the 15-39 age group (see Tables 2 and 3) is probably accounted for by the fact that enumeration district 5c has a number of hotels within it, including the prestigious Royal Hotel, which attracted wealthy visitors and employed a number of staff, including servants. Further, there are several villa residences where the occupants employed a significant number of servants.

Table 2: Age-sex structure in seaside resorts: percentages of whole population (source: Walton 1983, p. 99).

1851	Under 15		15-39		40-59		60 and over	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
England and Wales	17.8	17.6	19.6	20.9	8.2	8.6	3.4	4.0
Brighton	16.4	16.0	17.4	26.2	7.5	10.0	2.7	3.8
Great Yarmouth	16.3	16.7	16.5	24.0	7.8	10.0	3.5	5.2
Scarborough	17.3	16.4	16.4	22.9	7.8	10.1	3.8	5.2
Southport	18.4	19.1	16.9	22.2	7.3	9.1	2.8	4.2
Torquay	15.7	16.3	17.5	26.5	7.5	9.9	2.7	4.0

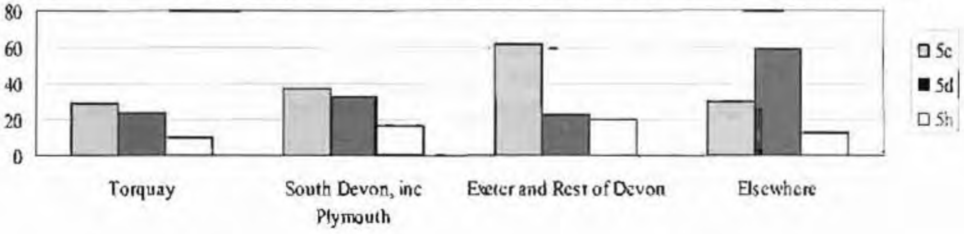
Table 3: Age-sex structure in Torquay: of sample (source: 1851 census, enumeration districts 5c, 5d and 5h

Under 15		15-39		40-59		60 and over	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
11.4	13.0	19.2	33.1	7.8	8.8	3.0	3.9

The sample provided full details of some 356 households, of which three appear unoccupied. 38.4% were headed by women. This was an unexpected finding, which could partly be explained by the number of wealthy women living in the fashionable areas close to the quay. In contrast, the district including Swan Street and George Street, only 24% of households were headed by women.

Figures 1-3 provide information about the place of birth of heads of households, wives and children from the three enumeration districts sampled. As expected, the majority of heads of household were born in Devon, within a 30 mile radius of Torquay.

Figure 1: 1851 census, parish of Tormoham; heads of household, place of birth



It is noticeable that only in enumeration district 5d was there a majority born outside the county of Devon. This is not surprising as the more well-to-do and professional people tended to be born outside Devon. However, important figures in Torquay such as William Kitson and George Hearder were all born in Torquay. The surgeon, William Jolley was born in Devonport.

One established theory of migration is that more females migrate within the county of their birth. This theory originates in work undertaken in the nineteenth century by E.G. Ravenstein. He formulated laws of migration, and also considered the major cause of migration was economic. It is possible to take this argument one stage further and say as Ian Whyte has done when he said:

> the tendency for women to migrate more than men probably reflected the lack of employment opportunities in rural areas in the late nineteenth century and the high demand for female domestic servants in the towns.[8]

This statement is relevant in terms of employment opportunities for women migrating to Torquay.

Figure 2: 1851 Census, parish of Tormoham; wives place of birth

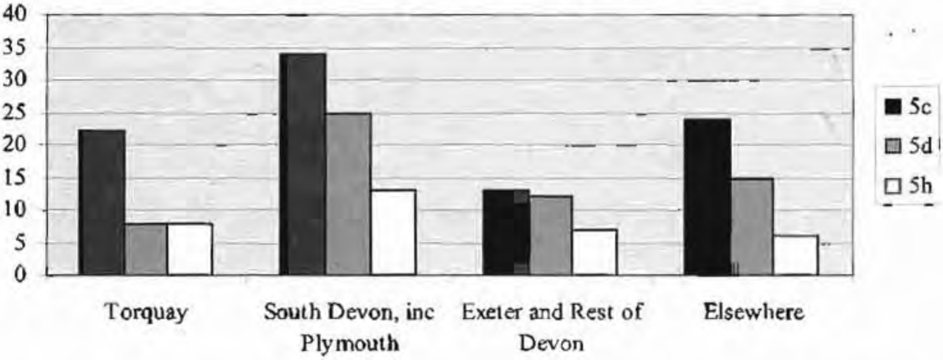
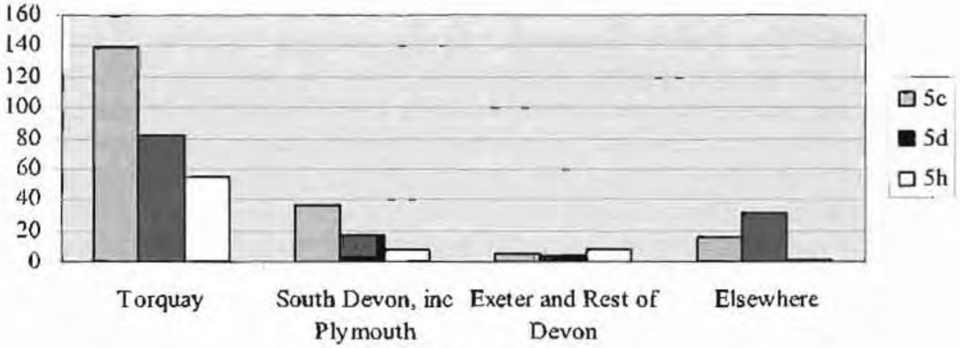


Figure 2 has been included as it shows the place of birth of wives in the sample, however one cannot deduce too much from the findings as a much larger sample of women overall would be necessary in order to substantiate Whyte's findings. However, it does demonstrate the fact that the majority of wives came to Torquay from South Devon. The more interesting finding can be seen in Figure 3 which shows that the majority of children in the sample were born in Torquay.

This finding correlates with Rendell's finding that two thirds of the households headed by men had children born in Torquay. In contrast, in the households headed by women only one third of children were born in Torquay.[9]

Figure 3: 1851 Census, parish of Tormoham; children under 15, place of birth



In terms of migration, the enumerators books for the 1851 census provide sufficient detail to trace generations in some families and, taking into account the place of birth of the mother, to surmise when they might have come to Torquay. Thus, one can have a reasonable idea when the family migrated to Torquay. The age and year of birth of the eldest child born in Torquay suggest a date when they might have arrived in Torquay. Further, the date of birth of the youngest child not born in Torquay, suggests a date before migration.

In order to test this hypothesis, it was decided to select five families at random who probably came to Torquay after 1841. These families will be analysed closely. From the findings, it should be possible to surmise when and why they might have come to Torquay. Families already established in Torquay by 1841 have been excluded from the sample. Henry Mallett, a porter, aged 39, was born in Hatherleigh North Devon, is the first person to be taken from enumeration district 5c to be selected. His wife Elizabeth, aged 27, was born in Totnes. Their daughter Charlotte, aged six, was born in Torquay. He lived in George Street, which is situated in a poor area with unnumbered houses and tenements, with many of the properties were in multiple occupation. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that he moved to Torquay for employment reasons around 1844.

The next family to be analysed consists of James Pratt, aged 30, and his wife who was listed by the initials M.A. Pratt and his family also lived in George Street. He was born in Selsoe, Bedfordshire. His occupation is given as a police officer. His wife, aged 31, is described as a straw bonnet maker, and was born in Harberton, Devon. They had two sons, Charles, aged three, and William, aged one. It seems reasonable to surmise that the family moved to Torquay around 1847. One can argue that Pratt was strategically placed in George Street in order to police an area of the town which had the potential for trouble. Weight is added to this argument by the fact that there was a George White also police man, who lived in George Street.

We have more information about a James Pratt from other sources. It is possible that the same James Pratt was a police officer before he came to Torquay. According to Quarter Session gaol calendars, a James Pratt was involved in a case in Teignmouth during the General Sessions on the 28th of February 1843.[10] One cannot assume that he was one and the same person, however, it is just possible. Further investigation, using the 1861 census, shows that by this time James Pratt was a member of the Devon County police force, living in Hennock, a village in the Teign valley close to Chudleigh. He also has two daughters aged nine and three, who were also born in Torquay. The case of James Pratt provides a good example of migration for economic reasons, that of employment. From the evidence we can assume that Pratt and his family moved to Hennock, when the county police force was created around 1857, and Torquay lost its battle to retain its own police force.

Enumeration district 5d is considered next in order to assess migration patterns of four further families. Harry Highton (name unclear), a baronet, aged 50, lived with his family at Marine Villa in Park Hill, a fashionable area of Torquay. His wife Hannah, aged 35, was born in Norfolk. The seven children ranged in age from eight down to 20 months. The four oldest children were born in London, William and Eric were both born in Surrey, and Jane was born in Torquay. The family employed a governess, Ann Cullace (name unclear), aged 45, born in Hackney, Middlesex. The butler, John (name unclear) was born in Torrington. The footman, George B (name unclear) was born in Norfolk. William Beer, a helper, was born in South Tawton. The housekeeper, Harriet Cave, was born in Barnstaple. The nurse was born in Ellesmere, Salop.

In terms of migration this family is very different from those analysed so far. As a well off family the husband and wife were typical in that they were not born in Devon. They had obviously moved around, as can be seen by the places of birth of their children. For our purposes it is interesting to note that one of their children was born in Torquay. Jane was not the youngest, so it is difficult to surmise if and when the family migrated to Devon. One possibility being that the family had a villa residence in Torquay for part of the year. The servants, with the exception of the butler and nurse, were born in Devon, and may have been recruited locally. Further, it is possible to argue that this family together with their servants came to Torquay to sample the benefits of a fashionable watering place, rather than employment.

William Roberts, aged 29, was a garden labourer, born in Harberton. His wife Elizabeth, aged 24, was also born in Devon. Their first son John, aged six, was born in Devon (the actual place is difficult to read). Their son William, aged three, was born in Torquay, as was their daughter Charlotte aged one. From the information one can surmise that the family moved to Torquay around 1847. The family probably moved for reasons of employment. A gardener's labourer would be able to find employment in the villa residences that were being built in Torquay in the 1840s. Thus here there is a further example of people migrating Torquay for economic reasons.

The last household to be analysed is one headed by George Turner, aged 38. He was a jeweller, employing one man and three apprentices. He was born in Exeter. His wife Mary, aged 36, was born in Horrabridge, South Devon. They had three children who were born in Exeter and three born in Torquay. From this information one can surmise that George Turner worked as a jeweller in Exeter before he moved to Torquay, possibly to expand his business. His younger son George, aged nine, was born in Torquay; therefore one can assume that he moved to Torquay around 1842. His business was in Lower Union Street, where he employed one man and three apprentices. His oldest son Thomas, aged 19, was one of the apprentices, and Robert Wilcocks, aged 17, born in Teignmouth, was another. It is probable that Robert was recruited locally. One can argue that this family also moved to Torquay for economic reasons.

Considered next is the situation relating to visitors. Webb's Royal Hotel featured in the sample. Visitors appear to have come to this prestigious hotel from all parts of the country and abroad. There are people whose place of birth is given as Sussex, London, Portsmouth, Edinburgh and Ireland. There is no indication of how long they had been staying. However, the fact that the census was taken on the 30th of March could mean that visitors had been staying for the winter season. Further, a brief trawl of the sample indicates that it was usually wealthy residents who had visitors. Samuel Stich (name unclear) a merchant living in Victoria Parade, had a visitor called Rebecca Allsop, who described herself as a commercial teacher of dancing and came from Middlesex. Visitors cannot be described as migrants because they do not fit the definition. However, visitors were an essential part of the economy of the Torquay.

In terms of population movement *White's directory of Devon, 1850* and *Billing's directory and gazetteer of the County of Devon, 1857* provide an indication of travel possibilities. There were trains from Torquay to Exeter, London and Plymouth five times a day, and an omnibus service on a daily basis to Dartmouth and Brixham. Carriers also operated to Ashburton, Dartmouth, Brixham, Teignmouth and Newton Abbot. There were also steam packets to Guernsey and Jersey every Monday; to Plymouth on Wednesday and Saturday, and to Portsmouth and Southampton on a Thursday.[11] Therefore, in terms of travel and migration reaching Torquay was a reasonable option.

This article has explored migration in Torquay between 1841 and 1851 by analysing a sample from enumeration districts for the parish of Tormoham in order to establish when families moved to Torquay. Most male heads of household migrated from within a 30 mile radius of Torquay. From the analysis of the makeup of a limited number of households there appears to be wide class differences. The better off tended to come from outside Devon. This analysis of a small number of households has been a useful exercise and appears to confirm that the majority of households headed by men had a large proportion of children born in Torquay. The age and sex structure in Table 3, especially the 15-39 age group, indicates that servants were probably an important part of the occupational makeup.

Any further study of migration in Torquay will need to take note of the fact that using data on the place of birth in census enumerators' books is not the most appropriate for studying the impact of migration on local population. Further, one would need to find some method of producing data in aggregate form.

Finally, although this has been a useful exercise, the complex nature of migration and the lack of background knowledge proved a challenge. It is not certain how the data and findings can be incorporated in a study of crime. Data is still being collected from Quarter Session records. The dramatic rise in the population of Torquay must have been a challenge for the authorities, particularly in their attitude to crime and how this could be minimised. There is no evidence that the railway navies who caused the authorities many problems were still in Torquay in 1851. It was surprising to find two policemen living in George Street. One can only speculate why this was so. Were they placed there for strategic reasons? If so were the authorities contributing towards their accommodation costs?

Notes and references

1. Whyte 2000, p. 1.
2. William White (1850) *White's Devon 1850: a reprint of history, gazetteer and directory of Devonshire*. 1968 reprinted edn, Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
3. Hoskins 2003, p. 175.
4. Travis 1993.
5. Rendel 1999, p. 200.
6. McLaughlin 1990.
7. Hinde 2004, p. 10.
8. Whyte *op. cit.*, p. 9.
9. Rendel *op. cit.*, p. 217
10. Devon Record Office QS 32/144-157.
11. White *op. cit.*, p. 453.

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Jackie Bryon was born in Lancashire, but has lived in the South west since 1996. Jackie is 3 years in to a part time Ph.D. at the University of Plymouth. The title is 'Authority and crime 1840-1900: a comparison between Torquay and Exmouth'. This article on migration was written in response to her question about factors which could have influenced crime in Torquay.

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The Tavistock Propylaeum, 1822–1831

Mary Freeman

The Subscription Library in Tavistock was founded in 1799 and still exists. For a short period in the nineteenth century it was housed in a classical building, put up by the subscribers, near the old guildhall and the gatehouse of the former abbey. Mrs Bray[1] described it as 'on the model of the Propylaeum', much admired 'by architects and many persons of cultivated taste'. Others, however, had apparently criticised the juxtaposition of a classical building and the Gothic of the abbey gatehouse:

> The Library was not Gothic; and as all the world began to find that, whether they did so or not, they ought to admire the Gothic, the noble Propylaeum was voted down at a general meeting, and down it came accordingly.

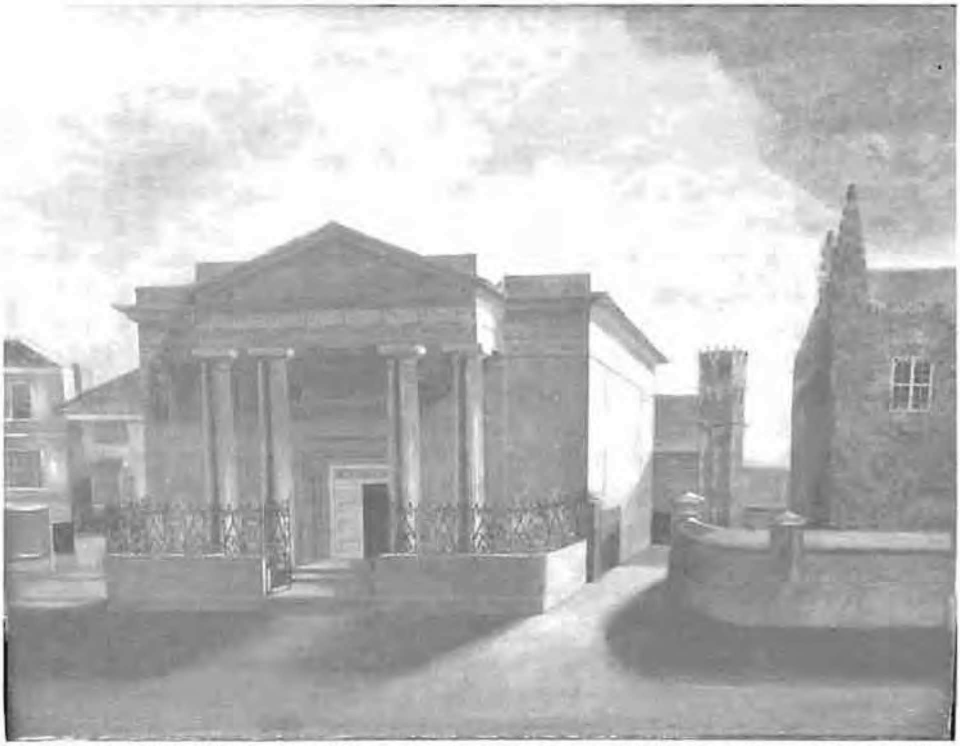

Figure 1: The library building, as it was from 1822 to 1831. Oil painting, reproduced in monochrome by kind permission of the Trustees of the Tavistock Subscription Library.

This was not quite fair; the circumstances of the erection and demolition of the building can be followed in detail in surviving minutes of the library[2] and in letters and documents[3] and allow some corrections to previous printed accounts[4].

Interest in the subject has recently been revived when an oil painting (Figure 1) of the building was cleaned and restored; much of the detail, previously obscured by dark varnish, was revealed but, disappointingly, this did not include a signature. A drawing copied from the painting has been published[5] and there are distant views in two contemporary engravings, published in 1830[6].

At the time, most of Tavistock was owned by John, 6th Duke of Bedford. Analysis of the minutes shows that by 1818 the library needed new premises: it was first suggested that a room over the arch of the gatehouse might be used. The response from the Bedford Estate was so slow that, instead, permission to build anew on a site behind the guildhall, then part of the garden of the Bedford Arms Inn, was asked. This was obtained on 31 January 1821. Ann Skinner, landlady of the inn, died in March 1821.[7] On 9 July it was resolved that John Rundle the banker, as treasurer of the library, was to ask the Duke of Bedford's steward, William Bray, to pull down the now redundant inn and another house in the vicinity, and to sell the materials to the Library for use in the new building. This was of rubble-stone finished in stucco, and was erected by James Colling, a builder. In September, iron railings set in granite were ordered from the local foundry. The library committee met on 11 June 1822, for the first time in their new quarters, which only needed some final adjustments and furniture. On 1 July 1822, at noon, there was a formal opening, followed by a meeting. Later that day members attended a celebratory dinner at the relocated Bedford Arms, then recently converted from the Abbey House as a hotel.

The external appearance of the library is shown in the figure; there are no visible windows because it was lit from above. The internal arrangements are not exactly known, but entries in the minutes show that there was space for lectures, a president's chair flanked by bookcases, an apartment for the librarian, and a store. The library continued to operate in these premises through the following years. During this time the architect John Foulston of Plymouth had been engaged by the Duke to oversee various improvements in the town,[8] and to renovate the guildhall and gatehouse which had been damaged by the removal of the inn building. It is sometimes supposed that Foulston designed the 1822 library building; the minutes record that the plan was drawn up by Colling, although it is quite likely that he was influenced by Foulston's work, especially the Plymouth Athenaeum.

A special meeting of the Library was called for 26 February 1829, because John Rundle had been told that the Duke wished it to move to another situation, and had offered to convert the gatehouse for its use. In a letter of 16 March, Rundle reported to Andrew Wilson, then the Tavistock steward, that the subscribers were ready to consent provided that sufficient space for the Tavistock Institution (which had been founded in 1827) and for a residence for the librarian was provided. Foulston made a plan, seen by a meeting of the Library on 14 June, and on 14 December 1829 Rundle was shown a formal undertaking by the Duke to provide accommodation in the archway and on a plot of ground adjoining. The Duke would bear the whole expense and grant a new lease. The materials of the existing building would become the property of the Library and could be sold for the purchase of books.

Foulston had already repaired the gatehouse building and the room over the arch was now redesigned to house books, with an extension on two floors as far as the mill for reading and lecture rooms and a house for the librarian. The Library took possession on Ladyday 1831, at an annual rent of one shilling for fifteen years to compensate for the expense of the former building,[9] which was soon demolished. No trace of it remained in Bedford Square, although some fragments of stucco were dug up in 1979.[10]

Although the subscribers had agreed to the demolition, not all were happy about it. On 15 January 1830 the vicar, Edward Atkyns Bray, one of the original founders of the library, wrote to the Duke stating that he had, only that morning, seen a letter confirming rumours:

> that the Library was proposed to be taken down; & (considering that it was from a principle of taste merely, without knowing from what quarter it might emanate) that I certainly had intended to oppose it.

Having now learnt that the suggestion had come from the Duke, he meant to remain neutral.

> At the same time, I cannot but hope that the following reasons may at least operate in inclining your Grace to pause, before you consent to the destruction of a building that, in itself, is certainly deserving of the greatest commendation as a true & chaste specimen of Classic architecture.

The building was:

> sufficiently distinct & even detached from the Abbey to be of a different form of architecture. It cannot possibly be identified with it; which would certainly be a violation of propriety, fitness, or harmony; as when we see modern sashed windows in a Gothic building.

Examples are cited from England and Italy where such a mixture of styles added to the picturesque effect. The vicar continues:

> At any rate I hope that it may not be pulled down till a good drawing of it be made, to show what once it was. If the site of it is now wanted for a useful purpose, this would be a better ground for the alteration than that of taste.

The vicar's protest was in vain, the decision to replace the library was already taken. The run of library minutes cited ends on 14 June 1830, when the subscribers were still suggesting minor alterations to Foulston's design. There was correspondence within the Bedford estate through that year on details such as the windows, which incidentally were sashed although the restoration was gothic. It appears that by the autumn the new structures were largely complete.

It is intriguing to speculate as to the genesis of the painting of the classical building. Most of the literate townspeople subscribed to the library, the names of many contemporary members are known; could one of them have been the artist? Considering motivation, probably Mrs Bray may have been responsible. From her account of the affair, written on 8 June 1833, she fully agreed with her husband about the merit of the classical building, and regretted its destruction; she would therefore wish to record it. She had, when a girl, been fond of drawing and had had a few lessons from such masters as Thomas Stothard and George Stubbs; she later assisted her first husband, C.A. Stothard, with architectural sketches.[11] She copied some antique paintings in Tavistock parish church for her brother,[12] in an amateurish fashion. The Brays had many artist friends, but the quality of the Subscription Library painting is scarcely professional. It might have been done by the vicar but, realistically, it is more probable that it was Mrs Bray who sketched the view one summer morning in 1830, probably from the corner of the churchyard.

The representation of the library building in the painting appears to be accurate. Some of the large granite stones carrying the railings of the forecourt were moved to border the garden of the librarian's house, and can still be seen. The iron railings were taken away during the second world war, but an earlier photograph showed the elaborate design as it is in the painting.[13] The glimpse of the guildhall in the background shows the turrets that had been added by Foulston to repair the damage caused when the former inn was pulled down. These are also seen in a well-known engraving of the gatehouse in 1830,[14] which confirms the position of the guildhall north-west of the archway, as in the eighteenth century map[15]. The houses to the left must be those on the far side of Bedford Street, although the perspective is not convincing. To the right is the west side of the restored gatehouse. Here is a major fault of drawing, because it is shown as if the library was placed opposite the archway, whereas it and the guildhall were in fact away to the north west. This anomaly has long puzzled many members of the Subscription Library; some have supposed that it indicates that the painting was executed after the building had disappeared.[16] It is also possible that it was a deliberate joke.

The nickname Propylaeum, meaning 'before the gate' was used by Mrs Bray in print, but does not appear in the contemporary library minutes. If it was a name private to the Bray family, the topographical dislocation could be taken as an indirect acknowledgement of the artist. There is no direct evidence; the sequence of library minutes is broken after June 1830, until 1910, and no record of the acquisition of the painting, who gave it or when, has been found. Kingdon (1947) does not mention the painting among the possessions of the Library, although it must have been there, because he reproduced the drawing copied from it by V.A. Gregory. Whether Mrs Bray was the original artist must remain a matter for speculation.

Acknowledgement
Much of the research on the events concerning the Propylaeum was done in collaboration with the late Jean Wans during the 1990s.

Notes and references

1. Bray 1838, vol. 3, pp. 146-8; originally published in 1836.
2. Minutes of the Tavistock Subscription Library. 1815-1830. Bound ms.
3. Devon Record Office (D.R.O.) L1258M/SSC/DL/91, letters distinguished by date.
4. Alford 1897, pp. v-vi; Kingdon 1946, pp. 231-2; Wans 1999, pp. 6-9; Gray 2003, p. 111; Freeman 2007, Tavistock museum leaflet.
5. Kingdon 1946, plate 25; Wans 1999, p. 6.
6. Somers Cocks 1977, Nos 2777 and 2779, p. 185.
7. Mettler 1986, p. 8.
8. D.R.O. L1258M/SSC/Letters/87, Foulston's bills etc.
9. Lease document in Subscription Library archive; and D.R.O. T1258M/L1, Lease book 1, no. 41, public library. 1832.
10. Stead (Blaylock) 1999, pp. 174-7.
11. D. Kempe 2006, pp. 33-36.
12. A.J. Kempe 1830, p. 11 in reprint, facing p. 113 in *The Gentlemans Magazine*, panels in Tavistock church, signed: Drawn by Mrs Bray.
13. G. Kirkpatrick, pers. comm., 2005.
14. Somers Cocks 1977, No. 2764, p. 184.
15. Wynne 1752, D.R.O. TD273, plan of the borough of Tavistock.
16. Discussions with Jean Wans.

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Weston Barton Farm diaries

Anthony Greenstreet

Devon historians, particularly those interested in agriculture, may like to know of an archive deposited at the Surrey History Centre, Woking.[1] Among miscellaneous papers, it mainly comprises farm diaries kept by Tom Pearcy relating to Weston Barton Farm, just to the west of Honiton in Buckerell parish. The reason for their being deposited in Surrey is that the Pearcy family moved from Devon in about 1910 to farm in Surrey, and the Devon papers form part of the deposited papers relating to the family's Surrey farm.

The diaries span the period 1868-1904 and are catalogued as 'Farm diaries, kept by Tom Pearcy, re Weston Barton, Devon. Mainly record of payments to farm workers and their work, rents received, mating of livestock'. An indication of some of the recorded activities and economy of the farm appears from the following extracted sample items for the year 1868 ('the hottest summer that has been known for the last 42 years': a quote from the entry for 5 August).[2]

Table 1: Typical livestock prices 1868, Weston Barton Farm diary

Fat bullock	£20
Cow and calf	£15 2s 6d
Calf	£1 3s
Sheep	£2 12s
Lamb	£1 10s
Sow	£2 10s
Horse	£20
Mare going to horse	15s
Two heifers to bull	15s
Dog licence	10s

Table 2: Farm activities 1868, Weston Barton Farm diary

Piecework cutting wheat	2s 3d per acre
Piecework cutting beans	5s per acre
Piecework cutting oats and barley	2s per acre
Piecework cutting grass	2s 3d per acre
Cutting 460 faggots	11s 2d
Thrashing 260 bushels of barley	Penny halfpenny per bushel
Ripping 1100 of bark	2s 6d per 100
Trimming 522 rope of hedges	Halfpenny per rope
Cleaning 280 rope of ditches	Halfpenny per rope

Table 3: Commodity prices 1868, Weston Barton Farm diary

500 quarters of thatching reed	£8 12s 6d
Hogshead of cider	£1 10s

Table 3: Commodity prices (continued)

Hogshead of lime	2s 6d
Bushel of wheat	6s 9d
Scythe	4s
Whetstone	6d

Notes and references

1. Surrey History Centre (SHC) 3587/Box 1/1-12. The box contains twelve diaries for the years 1868-1883, excepting for 1869, 1878, 1880 and 1882.
2. SHC 3587/Box 1/1-12: 18680101. 'Rope' is possibly a local lineal measure of 20 feet.

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The site of Broadclyst Church House (or Church Ale House) and the present Red Lion public house

G. M. Hogben

The first and most important evidence for the site of Broadclyst Church House is in a *c.* 1496 Deed of Gift, written in Latin, for land given by James Chudleigh to the 'Eight Men of Broadclyst' on which to construct a Church House. The Eight Men were a governing 'body' for Broadclyst in the fifteenth century and probably earlier. The exciting re-discovery of the deed together with a copy of the Burroughs Almshouses Deed threw light on the origins of the Eight Men, hitherto only thought to have dated to their Act Book of 1605. The deeds were in the possession of a Colonel Dean, a descendant of the Revd Montague Barton, Vicar of Broadclyst 1753-1819. Colonel Dean lived in Hassocks in Sussex, and the documents were returned to Broadclyst after his death. The original deeds and translations are in the Devon Record Office.[1]

The Chudleigh family had been the lords of the manor of Broadclyst since 1350 upon the death of Roger de Nonant, the last Norman manorial lord. James Chudleigh, living in the late fifteenth century, was obviously interested in building, as he remodelled and embellished the church, and probably oversaw the building of his manor house known as 'The Woode', which *still* stands in disguise today, as Broadclyst House.[2] James Chudleigh would have recognised the importance of the 'Eight Men' to Broadclyst, and therefore decided to award them and the villagers a plot of land measuring 42 ft x 24 ft on which to build the Church House. The Church House deed states that James Chudleigh assigned the land for the building of the '*Church Housse*' in the eleventh year of the reign of Henry VII. This links the building of the Church House with the completion of the church tower; as the coats of arms on the top of the south and north faces of the tower are those of the Chudleigh family (quartered with de Nonants – with whom the Chudleigh family intermarried, and inherited the Manor of Broadclyst (Clyston) by so doing), whilst those on the east and west faces of the tower are those of King Henry VII.

A letter - explaining the discovery of the almshouses and church house deeds, written by the Revd Thomas Eaton McCormick (Vicar 1924-1933) in 1932, from the Vicarage, 'Prior Court', to one of the last of the Chudleigh family living in Bude, Cornwall - tells of Revd McCormick's thoughts on the siting of the Church House. He was convinced that it was, in fact, on the site of the Red Lion garage. His theory was based on the existence of two very old large east and west fireplaces, which may still be seen within the garage. One fireplace has been demolished, and the stones were used to construct the fireplace in the public bar, the large heavy lintel is still over the pub fireplace today. The stones bear builder's marks, and the outline of the fireplace on the wall of the garage may still be noted. The second east fireplace is still in situ, in the garage, but underneath a modern brick built boiler housing. The Revd McCormick no doubt noted the outline of the removed west fireplace when he visited the western end of the Red Lion garage, as it used to house the funeral bier belonging to the church. In 1930 the re-discovery of the Church House deed and its fairly clear description of the exact location of the land for the Church House, plus the noted fireplaces gave Revd McCormick much food for thought. However, he did not discover that the front of the Red Lion today was once the back, this building had once faced in the opposite direction; he was actually looking at the Church House chamber. The Eight Men Act Book of 1605 mentions the Church House,[3] but up to that time no-one knew where it was, and presumed it had been demolished.

The deed of 1496 gives the names of the Eight Men of that day: John Crockehay, Alan Pomerey, Henry Northeley, Henry Raddeford, John Iveley, John Reynold, William Wyll, and John Martyn. The parcel of land contained in length 46 ft and in breadth 24 ft:

> Llying between the land of the Vicar of Clyston on the south [Glebe] and the Highway on the north which leads from the Cemetery of Clyston [Churchyard] to Le Markett Place on the east, of which one end abuts upon the hedge of the Cemetery aforesaid on the West and the other end towards Le Markett Place on the east.

Looking at the area today the above siting may be puzzling, but evidence exists of a former entrance to the 'Cemetery of Cliston' (or the churchyard) being in the west corner of Queen's Square. This early entrance into the churchyard may be seen on an eighteenth century Killerton Estate map,[4] and the edging stones of the churchyard paths direct the paths past the present day lych gates (erected 1836) to the entrance formerly behind the Red Lion garage, and from thence to Queen's Square. Queen's Square was once an important entrance to Broadclyst village from the old North Road locally known as 'Scratch Arse Lane', which led out of the village towards Killerton and The Crab Tree Inn, and eventually to Bristol. This road led people into 'Le Markett Place' an important meeting place that may have held Broadclyst cattle fairs, which took place (according to *Lysons*)[5] on the first Mondays in April, and September. As mentioned above, the Red Lion skittle alley/Church House once faced Queen's Square, and is obviously much older than the building which is the front of the Red Lion public house today. The exact location of 'Le Markett Place' is not known, but it is supposed to have been in the vicinity of the present day Red Lion car park extending from Queen's Square. To the south is the 'land of the Vicar of Clyston', the field known as Churchyard Close or the Red Lion Field, sometime Glebe land.

At the Queen's Square (old front) side of the Red Lion are some old stone steps leading to a small old door – which may have lead to the 'Upper Chamber' containing the 'Littol Chamber' designated for the meetings of the Eight Men. The under-rooms were used as a schoolroom and later as a place where 'the poor people may be sett to work'. Also there was a frame for hanging artillery and armoury. This information is gleaned from the Act Book of the Eight Men, which was always to remain in the 'Littol Chamber' locked in a great chest for which there were three keys. These keys were kept by the vicar, one by the churchwardens and one by the body of the Eight Men. A very large old key still exists in the church vestry safe, at the time of writing (1999). Another key was found up in the 'apple store room' (which could have been an upper room of the Church House) by the present Red Lion landlord and his wife, Mr and Mrs Stephen Smith: they still possess this key. Ruth Whitaker,[6] daughter of a subsequent Vicar (Revd Charles Probart Whitaker, incumbent 1896-1924) records (in her 1919 book on Broadclyst) that there was such a chest in the vicarage, the present day Broadclyst House. This chest was recorded as existing until the time of the erection of the modern vicarage in the grounds of Prior Court. It was last seen in a stable, which was subsequently demolished.

In the 1496 deed proof exists of the Church House being also the church ale house, 'excepting the brewing and selling of two 'brasure' of ale in the said parcel of Lane to the use of the said Church of Cliston.' This ties in neatly with the fact that some Devon church houses became public houses, an example is the church house at Mortehoe, North Devon, which evolved into the Chichester Arms.

After the Almshouses had been constructed and Henry Burroughs had died, Elizabeth Burroughs, his wife, expressed a desire to build a Parish House and another New House, for the further relief of the poor. She died in 1636, before these were constructed, but the Eight Men decided to carry out her wishes, and built two extra houses each to be 'one up one down'. The Parish House was erected in front of the Red Lion pub (Church House), on a plot measuring 176 ft x 72 ft. This partially blocked the present day entrance to the churchyard. The subsequent disappearance of the Parish House left an over-large entrance to the churchyard, giving a reason for the erection of the two very unusual double lych-gates (1836).

Two of the Eight Men, Anthony Ratcliffe the Elder and Robert Lake, by the use of the Church House and the benefit of selling 'drinke there with gifts of other well disposed persons on 6th April, 1636, laid out money towards the building of the Parish House'. The Parish House was completed in 1650 at a cost of £19 18s 8d, some of which came from the preaching of 'Almshouse Sermons', for which Henry Burroughs left 5s per sermon for eight sermons to be preached in the church to the 'Almspeople'. The Parish House is shown on the eighteenth century Killerton Estate map[5] of the village of Broadclyst mentioned above.

When the Parish House was being built the Church House already existed, having been constructed shortly after 1496. However, it is easy to see how confusion may arise between these two buildings, especially as they were both concerned with the poor of the parish.

To add to this confusion, in 1795, the vestry of the Eight Men[7] agreed to build a convenient house at the western end of the Church House (according to a Glebe Terrier of 1657 'one garden plot was adjoining to Church House'). This was for the 'better relief of the Poor and the better carrying on of Parish Business and all vestries were to be held there instead of in Church House'. Probably by this time the church ale house had become too noisy for serious meetings! This 'Church House Chamber' would account for the large east and west fireplaces in the Red Lion garage, making the garage area the Church House western chamber: and not the Church House proper as surmised by the Revd. McCormick. Again this was financed by money from brewing ale in the Church House, and the Vestry Book of 1821-1855 states:

> 1826 - John Havill to have the Church House Chamber to keep a school there but not to sleep there, until Christmas (4 months) and no longer, and to have no pay.
> 1829 – John Havill to have notice to quite Church House Chamber in 2 months.[8]

John Havill married in 1830 and had children in 1831, '32, '34 and '36. Apparently he did occupy the Church House chamber shortly before this time. At this time the tax records show that John Hewitt (or maybe Havill) had possession of half of the Red Lion Inn.

On the Broadclyst village section of the Tithe Map of 1844, the apportionment states that the Church House chamber was now listed as two cottages, and eventually it was converted into a bier house, coach house and stables.[9] The Great Fire of Broadclyst on 27 April 1870 destroyed the Red Lion stables and outhouses that stood in the present day car-park area.

On the churchyard side of the Red Lion garage/Church House chamber stone walls, still in existence, is the carved face of a man reckoned to be eighteenth century. His face is echoed in the carving of the stone arch in the vestry of the church. By the Church House carving is a small stone entrance from which a door (now blocked) once let into the Church House hamber from the churchyard.

Further evidence came to light on the discovery of a large important 'Deed for the Sale of the Manor of Broadclyst' from John Chudleigh to Sir Thomas Arundell and others.[10] This deed enabled John Chudleigh to finance his privateering voyages, during which he was missing, presumed drowned, in the Magellan Straits. This effectively ended the Chudleigh family connection with Broadclyst, which commenced in 1344 when the first John Chudleigh took up residence with his wife Jane, who was the grand-daughter of the last of the Norman De Nonant, earlier lords of the manor or Broadclyst.

This deed is very lengthy and extremely interesting. It states that Henry Burroughs bought some Broadclyst manorial lands and leased other parts; one part being known as 'The Shambles', a name that is usually connected with the sale of meat and butchery, such as the well-known 'Shambles' area of York. On pondering the wording of the deed the Broadclyst Shambles appears to have been in the upper part of Queen's Square, by the 'new-built house of Thomas Hawkyns'. This gentleman was the keeper of the 'Poors' books and was paid £1 for so doing. His house is likely to be the present day partially thatched house standing to the west of Queen's Square. This house is now divided into two but once was one large house. The deed states that Thomas Hawkyns' house is 'near the Churchyard' and 'under the house [nearby] of the said Thomas Hawkyns shall be kepte by the said Henry Burroughs or his assigns as a Fitt place for the keeping of the Lordes Courte as now ytt is'. The expression 'Lordes Courte' would probably refer to the Church House upper room or 'littol Chamber', as Henry Burroughs - one of the Eight Men - may also have used this room as a manorial court room to administer his part of Broadclyst manor. The 'lower parte of the Shambles towards the said Gate [aforementioned in the deed a gate led from the town area – or main village area by the water pump into the Courte Greene] shall likewise be kepte fitte for sellinge of victualles and other wares as now it is'. This statement would tie up with the lower part of Church House towards 'Town' (the present-day back bar entrance), which certainly would have sold victuals – food and drink!

Further, it was required that the Shambles (Queen's Square) should be kept 'preserved as spacious, large and Comodyous for a Market as nowe they are!' It is documented that 'Le Markett Place' was to the east of the Church House plot, so it would marry up with the top part of Queen's Square, being the Shambles or butchery selling dead meat, and leading through the gate (to keep live cattle out) towards the larger livestock market. The area of 'Le Markett Place' would have stretched across the present day 'Kennecotts' land (this house was not built until the eighteenth century) and the Red Lion car park area towards the village pump, which was near the conduit of today. The old centre of the village would have been near the village pump, a well-known local meeting place for villagers. One has to use imagination to 'see' the village as it was before the Cullompton road ran right through it in a straight line, effectively bisecting it.

The Red Lion public house at the timing of writing (1999) is a composite of many different periods of re-construction and alteration, each landlord having played his part in changing the original building. It becomes quite difficult to see where one building ends and another begins, but this only adds to its fascination, and its importance as a 'Lord's Courte' or Church House in the past. Today the Red Lion public house is a very comfortable and convivial hostelry and place of social gatherings, as it has been though the years.

Notes and references

1. The translations are in Devon Record Office (D.R.O.): D.R.O. 131OF/Z5-6, for the Church House deed; and D.R.O. 131OF/Z7-8 for the Almshouses deed.
2. See Hogben 1999, pp. 43-4.
3. Christine Hall 1998, *Transcript of the Act Book of the Eight Men of Broadclyst 1605*, unpublished; original Act Book, D.R.O. 131OF/A16V.
4. D.R.O. 1148M add. 10/5/3.
5. Daniel and Samuel Lysons 1822, *Magna Brittanica, vol. 6, Devon*, London: Thomas Cadell, pp. 102-29.
6. Whitaker 1919.
7. Minutes of the Vestry Meeting 2 August 1795, and account books of the Eight Men of Broadclyst, 1732-1746 (D.R.O. A20(B)); and Summary List of the documents of the Eight Men (D.R.O. Z14(B)).
8. Vestry Book of the Eight Men 1821-1855 (D.R.O. 3594 add. 99/PV6).
9. Tithe Map of 1843/4 (D.R.O. Diocesan Records).
10. Deed for Sale of Manor of Broadclyst 1586 - 25 November 1599 (D.R.O. 51/23/1).

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Population trends in late nineteenth century Otterton: a work in progress

Christopher Jago

The census returns of 1841 and 1901 for the east Devon parish of Otterton reveal that between these years its population was reduced by nearly half. This article sets this change in its national and regional contexts, before using the census returns for 1841, 1871 and 1901 to quantify some of the underlying trends within that change through analyses of age and sex profiles. These analyses form the basis of a wider area of further study into occupational and physical changes within the community. Digitised census material published on CD-ROM has been used as the basic research medium. This format has several advantages; it makes for immediate and continuous access; it avoids handling the original material which may not be in sound condition; and finally, the CD-ROM zoom-in facility helps in deciphering words or phrases which, on the original documents, would be impossible to read. Secondary source references are also used, although, as might be expected, Otterton itself has only a modest bibliography, much of which is aimed at the general reader and passing tourists. All sources consulted for the purpose of this article are listed in the bibliography.

Bounded on its eastern border by the river Otter, the village lay within the lower Otter valley some two miles from its village neighbours of East Budleigh to the west, and of Colaton Raleigh and Newton Poppleford to the north. To the south, near the mouth of the river Otter, lay the coastal village of Salterton. The immediate context of late nineteenth century Otterton was that of a deeply rural area heavily dependent upon agriculture and its ancillary trades. With just a few outlying hamlets and farms dotted around the only significant community of Otterton village, the bulk of the population of the parish lived within the village itself.

Four features of the nineteenth century can set Otterton's experience within a national context. First, from the century's mid point on, the population in England became one which lived predominantly in towns and cities rather than in the countryside; by the first decade of the twentieth century, four fifths of the population were living in towns or cities.[1] Secondly, the share of agriculture within total national income fell from more than a fifth in 1850 to one sixteenth by the end of the century.[2] Thirdly, at the century's midpoint, there existed in the countryside a relatively small but significant level of manufacturing. However, by 1914 it had shrunk to negligible importance.[3] Lastly, some writers identify a period of farming prosperity lasting from approximately 1850 to the mid 1870s, followed by a prolonged period of a deep agricultural depression.[4] Whilst the extent of both of these features is still being debated, the loss of political and economic importance of the countryside came to affect the prosperity and future prospects of many rural communities such as Otterton. It is estimated, for example, that in the 1880's alone, 1.8 million people emigrated from England and Wales, largely from rural areas.[5]

However, it seems that these national trends towards greater urbanisation occurred slowly in Devon. Alexander and Shaw note that between the years 1811 and 1881 the rise in Devon's population fell behind those of other counties, and that by the end of the century Devon had declined from being the fourth to the ninth most populous county in England. Initially, these losses were replaced by a high birth rate. But since those of child bearing age were the most likely to migrate away, the fertility of rural populations fell, establishing a trend of long term falling population levels.[6] Hoskins, too, points to the 'steady depopulation of Devon's rural parishes which had been going on since the 1820's'.[7]

Whilst population decline was a feature common to the communities of the lower Otter valley, Otterton's demographic experience seems to have been rather more extreme than some of its neighbours. Changes in population totals are set out in Table 1 below for the villages of Otterton, Colaton Raleigh, Newton Poppleford and East Budleigh.

Table 1: Comparison of percentage population reductions in Otterton, Colaton Raleigh, Newton Poppleford and East Budleigh 1841–1901 (source: Devon County Council 2007)

	1841	1871	1901	Change (%)
Otterton	1245	1114	625	-49.8
Colaton Raleigh	841	812	474	-43.7
Newton Poppleford	988	1035	765	-22.6
East Budleigh[8]	829	n/a	777	-6.3

This suggests that whilst the decline in population was felt across the lower Otter valley, it was felt most strongly in Otterton. However, even in Newton Poppleford, where the population had risen between 1841 and 1871 by 4.75%, there was still an eventual decline over the period by some 22.6%. There seem to be no obvious reasons for the apparent milder effect of these processes in East Budleigh, whose percentage population fall of just 6.3% is well below that of any of its neighbours. Located within sight of Otterton, its dependence upon agriculture and essentially rural character suggest that it was likely to suffer a rate of decline of similar proportions. So here is a feature that may need further investigation.

The general decline outlined above is consistent with a process of national change referred to by Alexander and Shaw and discussed above. Within this context, the decadal census figures for Otterton parish during the nineteenth century are set out in Table 2 below, and shown graphically in Figure 1.

Table 2: Population of Otterton parish, 1801-1901 (source: Devon County Council 2007).

Year	Population
1801	920
1811	966
1821	1071
1831	1178
1841	1245
1851	1231
1861	1140
1871	1114
1881	969
1891	725
1901	625

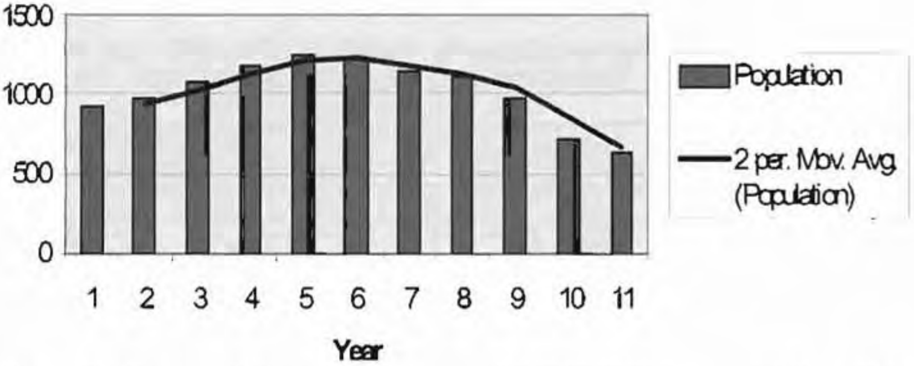

Figure 1: The population of Otterton parish 1801-1901 generated from Table 1 above

Thus, in 1801 Otterton's population had stood at 920. During the following forty years it rose to a peak of 1,245 in 1841, falling by 1871 by some 10.5%, to 1,114. However, there then followed something of a slump during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, for by the 1901 census Otterton's population had dropped to 625, just about half what it had been sixty years earlier.[9] The moving average curve shown in Figure 1 confirms that the fall in the later years reflected a rate of decline well above the trend set during the previous years.

In what ways, then, was the population of Otterton changing during the last sixty years of the nineteenth century? Tables 3 to 5 below analyse the population in terms of sex and age in the years 1841, 1871 and 1901.

Across the period 1841 to 1901, there seems to have been a fall in the percentage of males in the population, compared with females. Thus in 1841, 48.9% of the then population of 1,245 were male and 51.08% were female, a difference of about 2%. By 1901, however, the number of males was 288 (45.9%) of the then population of 625, and 337 (54.1%) were female, a difference of about 8%. This change through the period is likely to have had significance for the economy of the community, since men are thought generally to have earned more than women throughout the period. Therefore, unless additional compensating factors can be identified, any relative fall in the number of males of working age may suggest a fall in aggregate income levels and, therefore, point towards a general weakening of the Otterton economy.

Table 3: Total male and female populations in 1841, 1871 and 1901 (source: derived from P.R.O HO107/205–211, P.R.O. RG10/2046–2069, P.R.O. RG13/2015–2030).

	1841	%	1871	%	1901	%
Total males	609	48.9	515	46.2	288	45.9
Total females	636	51.08	599	53.7	337	54.08
Total population	1245		1114		625	

Changes were also occurring in the community's age structures. Table 4 below sets out decadal age range figures for the years 1841, 1871 and 1901.

Table 4: Ages of Otterton total population by decade in 1841, 1871 and 1901 (source: derived from P.R.O HO107/205–211, P.R.O. RG10/2046–2069, P.R.O. RG13/2015–2030

Age range of total population	1841	1871	1901	Percentage change 1841-1901
Age not given	0	0	3	-
1 to 10	351	316	131	-62.7
11 to 20	291	245	123	-57.8
21 to 30	221	181	79	-64.3
31 to 40	128	91	83	-35.2
41 to 50	94	109	59	-63.3
51 to 60	89	85	67	-24.8
61 to 70	50	54	40	-20.0
71 to 80	17	26	33	94.1
81 to 90	3	7	6	200.0
90 to 100	1	0	1	100.0
Totals	1245	1114	625	

This points to steep declines between 1841 and 1901 in the percentage change rates for people up to the age of 50. The decline is particularly steep in the case of those aged between 21 and 30, an age group likely to be of critical importance to the community's long term economic and social well-being. Furthermore, the figures for 1 to 10 year olds (351 and 316 for the years 1841 and 1871 respectively) represent broadly the same proportions of these total populations, around 28%. However, by 1901 the proportion of 1 to 10 year olds of the total population had fallen to 21%. This decline in the numbers of children suggests that Otterton's population was by then already well into a period of longer term ageing. These trends are illustrated even more dramatically in Figure 2 below.

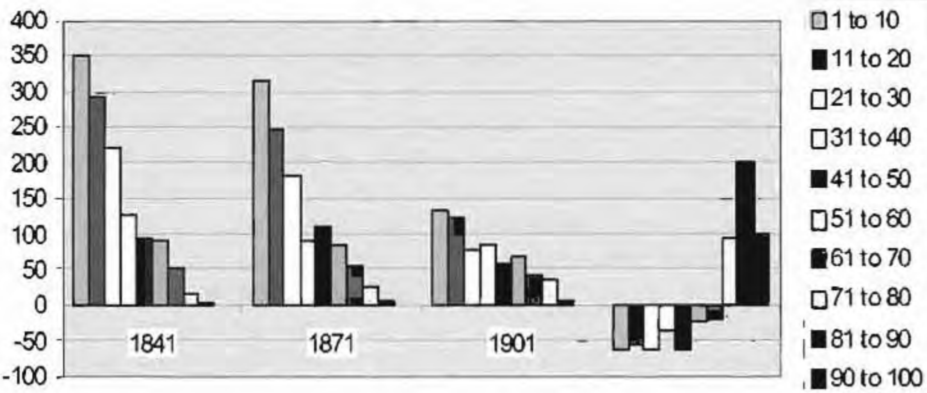

Figure 2: Ages of Otterton total population by decade in 1841, 1871 and 1901 (source: derived from Table 4 above)

Here the declining figures for each year are shown preceding the percentage changes for each age decade over the period 1841-1901. These are shown towards the right of the chart, where most of the age decades are, of course, shown as negatives. Only the later decades, indicating increases in the small numbers of very elderly inhabitants, show any increase, thereby indicating quite clearly the extent of ageing within the community.

This ageing trend is further confirmed by the figures for 1 to 30 year olds, which are summarised in Table 5 below. Here, the figures indicate an absolute decline in the numbers of 1 to 30 year olds from 863 (69.3%) in 1841 to 333 (53.3%) by 1901. Again, this decline in the proportion of 1-30 year olds suggests that the ageing trend in Otterton had become well established during a period in which the total population was itself undergoing steep decline.

Table 5: Proportion of 1 to 30 year olds of total population (source: derived from P.R.O HO107/205–211, P.R.O. RG10/2046– 2069, P.R.O. RG13/2015–2030).

Year	Population	No of 1-30 year olds	%
1841	1,245	863	69.3
1871	1,114	742	66.6
1901	625	333	53.3

So, the evidence from the census returns for the period 1841 to 1901 presents Otterton as a community that saw its population over the period decline by 49.8%, a decline that was significantly greater than in any its near neighbours. Furthermore, the composition of that population was shifting towards greater numbers and proportions of females. This might be pointing towards the possibility of falling income levels and a general weakening of its economy. At the same time, the remaining population was ageing, suggesting that significant numbers of its younger population were moving away. These conclusions seem to be broadly consistent with the national and regional trends already discussed: those of generally declining rural populations, a consequential loss of their social and economic importance and status and, toward the end of the century, communities that were beset by a prolonged period of agricultural depression.

There is, of course, nothing very surprising about any of this. Indeed, the experience of Otterton is likely to have been repeated in the experiences of many other similar small rural communities across Devon; all facing the same systemic economic and social pressures of their times, and consequently, undergoing similar sorts of demographic change. Nevertheless, the findings do raise some interesting further questions on both local and county-wide levels that invite further investigation. For example, to what extent was the scale of decline in Otterton's population during the last quarter of the nineteenth century mirrored elsewhere in Devon's rural communities and what exactly happens to a community whose numbers halve within the span of little more than a generation? More locally, what effects did this change have upon Otterton's occupational structure and what was the effect of this change upon its level of economic and social self-sufficiency? How was its physical structure changed in the face of such population decline? Did it merely reduce the pressure on existing housing or did it promote radical demolition of old buildings and their replacement with new? If it did promote new building, how were the new building projects funded and what role did the social attitudes of the principal local landowners have in changing the general welfare of the community? And, crucially, to what extent can the answers to these questions be quantified?

Notes and references

1. Collins 2000, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. See Collins *op. cit.*, pp. 138-207.
5. Alexander and Shaw 1999, p. 119.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Hoskins 2003, p. 175.
8. Until 1894, the census figures for East Budleigh included those for the village of Salterton. In the case of the 1841 census, the figures relating to East Budleigh village could be readily distinguished from those relating to Salterton. This was not the case for the 1871 census where no population figure is offered. The figure of 777 for 1901 derives from the Otter Valley Association (1993) publication, p. 92.
9. The population figures for Otterton parish all derive from the parish census returns for 1841, 1871 and 1901 in: Public Record Office (P.R.O) HO107/205 – 211, *Devon Census 1841, 2004: The Census of England and Wales*. Cinderford, Gloucestershire: Archive CD Books; P.R.O. RG10/2046 – 2069, *Devon Census 1871, 2004: The Census of England and Wales*:

Cinderford, Gloucestershire: Archive CD Books: P.R.O. RG13/2015 – 2030: *Devon 1901*: 2006: Census Registration Districts: Axminster, Honiton and St Thomas. S&N British Data Archive. However, two of these figures, those for 1871 (1,114) and 1901 (625), reflect adjustments made to correct errors lying within the census returns. In the case of the 1871 census, the two summary sheets report total numbers of 407 and 707, making a total of 1,114. In the case of the 1901 census, separate errors can be seen where the enumerator has brought forward two incorrect figures from pages 6 and 8 of the lists, to the summary sheets. The effect is to increase the 1901 total by 3 to 625.

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Issues relating to the planning of First World War memorials: a South Devon case study

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By the time the First world war finally ended 700,000 British men had died and it is estimated that, out of a population of forty-two million, some three million Britons had lost a close relative. This figure includes only the primary bereaved and it is clear, therefore, that there must have been few if any families in Britain who were not touched in some way, and certainly no community remained unscathed.[1] A search of South Devon cemeteries confirms the fact that only a tiny proportion of those killed were returned to their families for burial, it being a decision of the British government in 1916 not to repatriate bodies, but to bury them where they fell. Most families therefore had no grave at which to mourn. In addition to the bereaved, of the five million men who served and survived, it is thought that at least three million experienced 'quintessential horror'. In Gregory's words, 'No event since the Black Death had touched Europe in such a far reaching way'.[2] It is not surprising therefore that the need for some sort of focus of memory and grief arose.

Memorials to war dead were not a totally new phenomenon in Britain. In some places monuments were erected in honour of all ranks of the fallen of the Boer war. A Boer war cannon stood in Ashburton for many years, although it is not clear whether this was a memorial or merely a 'curiosity'. Throughout the First world war private memorials were common for those away at war and informal crosses and focal points for the laying of flowers existed in many towns and villages all over the country, including Devon. It was, however, after the unexpected reaction to the temporary Cenotaph, placed in Whitehall for the Peace Celebrations in July 1919, that a wave of war memorial activity swept the country, including South Devon, where each community, however close to the next, opted for its own personal memorial. The Cenotaph and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, dedicated shortly afterwards, also became places of pilgrimage on an unprecedented scale.

The planning and building of a suitable memorial was often, although not always, a contentious issue. Before a memorial could be dedicated it had to be planned, agreed upon by the community, financed and physically built. Decisions had to be made as to the type of memorial to be built, whether it should be a monument in the form of a cross or statue or whether it should take a more utilitarian form, such as a village hall or recreation ground. If a stone monument was decided upon, the site for such a monument, mainly whether or not it should be on consecrated ground, had to be agreed. Historians, such as Gaffney, Grieves and Inglis, who have done detailed research in specific areas, have identified many other issues that arose during this post war period of memorial planning. These include the anxiety of the church to be involved, the strength and coercion of the old order on planning committees, and the extent to which the bereaved and ex-servicemen were or were not involved.[3]

By comparing and contrasting findings within Devon to earlier studies, it is the intention of this article to assess the relevant significance of the above issues to the area studied. Using a part of South Devon as a case study it is also hoped to determine whether evidence shows that in fact the old order still prevailed unchallenged or whether attitudes to deference had been changed by the war.

The author is aware that there are many other issues, such as the existence of local pride and identity and sometimes apathy, which it will not be possible to discuss in any great detail. It is also not the intention of this study to assess the style and iconography of South Devon memorials unless the point is specifically relevant to the issues being discussed. Neither is it the intention to address in any great detail the complicated question of what exactly memorials were intended to commemorate and why they were felt to be so important. All of these subjects are worthy of another article in their own right.

This study is based on site visits and investigation in approximately twenty communities within a radius of twenty miles of Ashburton, the home base of the author. Where available, primary sources and original documents have been researched and studied. Special attention has been paid to the communities where evidence and original documentation is particularly well preserved, as in the cases of Ashburton, Exminster and Lustleigh, although reference will be made to the planning of memorials in several other communities.

In order to understand the context in which memorials were planned it is necessary to consider briefly the circumstances prevailing in the countryside during and after the war. The programme of rural regeneration, which had commenced before the war, continued in the interwar years, the Carnegie Trust liasing with the National Council of Social Service particularly in connection with the provision of village halls. Burchardt has noted that a 'mood of discontent' was much reported at the time and that returning soldiers often found it difficult to reintegrate into village life.[4] During the war agricultural trade unions were active, experiencing 'astonishing post war growth'.[5] A perusal of South Devon newspapers of the period confirms the existence of union activity as well as unemployment and general discontent, and it can, therefore, be assumed that conditions in Devon were the same as reported elsewhere in the countryside.

The role of the church in the commemoration process is one that has been much discussed. Lloyd, for instance, suggests that there was 'horror' in some church circles at the popularity of the Cenotaph, being as it was a 'pagan' memorial. Lloyd points to Inglis' suggestion that the motive for the decision to bury an 'unknown soldier' at Westminster was an attempt by the established church to create a 'rival' memorial.[6] The Cenotaph was a place that was totally secular where pilgrims from all denominations could gather. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, on the other hand, whilst it was claimed to represent all those who did not return, of all denominations, did focus commemoration purely on establishment grounds. Certainly, especially within the countryside, the established church was beginning to lose its influence in village life in the wake of social changes and the rise of dissent. Burchardt points to the rise of rural organisations as a factor in this diminishing predominance of local religion.[7] The church, therefore, saw the commemoration process as a way to re-establish itself at the heart of village community. Certainly evidence in South Devon suggests that the Anglican church was very quick to act, even where other non-conformist religious influences existed. The plaque in Ashburton church, for instance, was unveiled in August 1919, whereas the town memorial was not dedicated until over a year later, in October, 1920. The side chapel in Chagford church was unveiled even earlier in January 1919. There would, however, appear to be special circumstances surrounding this dedication, 'the money being speedily given by parishioners and friends on the return from France of the rector in May last'.[8] The early dating of these church memorials often meant that the list of war dead was incomplete at the time of unveiling, as in the case of Lustleigh, where the church memorial records twelve names, and the later secular monument, seventeen. The early dedication of church memorials in Devon would appear to contradict Gregory's findings that not many memorials had been organised before November 1919.[9]

Of the South Devon communities studied, all had some form of memorial either within the local parish church itself, within church property, or just outside the churchyard, as in the case of Moretonhampstead. This applies even if, as in the case of many communities including Ashburton, Bovey Tracey and Lustleigh, other memorials were built elsewhere. As Grieves points out, in small communities a memorial on consecrated ground would have been the obvious and unquestioned choice. Bartlett and Ellis point to the importance of 'permanence', which would have been secured by a memorial in the church.[10] In the case of villages such as Holne, Rattery and Widecombe, that have monuments either in the church itself or in the churchyard, no written evidence has been found regarding any consultation process. As these would have been small and fairly insular communities in 1919, it seems that Grieves' findings of an uncontested decision could well apply here.

In Wales Gaffney found that the clergy often participated in war memorial committees and that unveiling ceremonies were carried out under the 'watchful supervision' of the church.[11] Similarly Grieves found that in numerous parishes in Sussex the incumbent was more often than not central to the decision making process.[12] It does seem to be generally accepted that this was the case and there is certainly overwhelming evidence that South Devon was no exception. Where records exist they show that the local vicar was always included on the war memorial committee and often as chairman.

There is also evidence of local clergy attempting to use their established position to influence decisions. In Lustleigh the vicar went to the trouble of issuing a circular letter, dated January 1919, asking for 'ideas', but also putting forward his suggestion for a Memorial chapel within the church. He stated that any memorial 'Should show that is has been raised in Christian faith and hope', and went on to declare that he 'was not interested' if this was not evident. Likewise, in Northop, Wales, an editorial in the parish magazine declared that it was 'only natural' that any monument should be placed in the parish church. The rector of Lustleigh went on to observe that 'Alas, all in Lustleigh do not call themselves Church people', but argued that the church as the 'ancient heart of the community' was the only suitable place for a monument.[13] The tone of his words would indicate that there was some controversy and hints at dissent, although no other written evidence of this has been found. There is, however, only a memorial plaque in the church at Lustleigh, and not the entire chapel that the vicar favoured. This may have been because of insufficient financial support. What this case shows, however, is that in spite of obvious objections, the dissenters were not powerful enough to overcome the Anglican church's wishes to have the village memorial on church property.

Lustleigh was perhaps untypical of rural communities in that by 1919 it had the railway and a non-conformist presence. Gaffney's study in Wales where the chapel culture was well developed, showed that generally the denominations co-operated with each other for the purpose of commemoration and this would also seem to be the case in South Devon. In Ashburton, for example, which had at least three alternative places of worship, the committee set up to organise the town memorial included ministers from two churches other than the main Anglican parish church, even though the Wesleyan Chapel did subsequently erect its own memorial. In South Brent, however, where there were four non-conformist chapels, no such separate memorials exist. Mansfield notes that in some places the church actually encouraged separate chapel memorials, for instance in Selattyn, Shropshire.[14] Whilst no direct evidence has been found in Devon to corroborate this finding, neither has there been found any evidence of the established church objecting to such memorials.

Grieves has pointed to the confidence with which the 'residual leaders took over the planning process'.[15] Where records exist it is obvious that in Devon not only was the presence of the vicar on war memorial committees automatic, but so was that of prominent members of the community, often an army officer. From records studied it is obvious that this group was an influential force, both in decision-making and in the practical aspects of commemoration, as found in other parts of the country. Inglis, for example, cites the case of Cambridge where discussion showed a clear preference for a utilitarian memorial, but where the Lord Lieutenant intervened in favour of a stone memorial.[16] In Abbotskerswell Captain Hughes largely organised the erection of a memorial tablet in the church and 'was thanked for his efforts'. In Ashburton Mr. Firth, the Lord of the Manor, spoke in favour of a stone monument over and above all other suggestions, the scheme that was eventually initiated.[17]

Public meetings organised initially to elect a war memorial committee probably involved many different interest parties including the bereaved and ex-servicemen, as in Ashburton, where there was a 'large representative gathering'.[18] However, there is little direct evidence that either of these groups actually served on committees in Devon, although, as not all committee members are named or indeed classified in the records that do exist, this cannot be proved one way or the other. The exception is South Brent where the committee comprised those who had 'done their bit' and 'worn the King's uniform during the war', as well as thirty-one 'other worthies'.[19] There is also evidence of an awareness that the views of these groups should be sought, as in the case of Abbotskerswell. The committee for this community decided that servicemen still away on duty should be written to by their families in an endeavour to gauge opinion. The only case discovered of direct action by an ex-servicemen's organisation is in Lustleigh where the British Legion started its appeal for funds for a secular memorial in December 1923, and where a stone monument was eventually erected on land presented by Major General W.J. Fawcett. This backs up the findings of Mansfield that, although many working people and ex-servicemen wanted 'useful' memorials after the 'waste of Flanders', this was not always the case.[20] The question of how ex-servicemen wished to commemorate their fallen comrades is a complex one and which warrants a separate study.

Suggestions for the type of memorial to be undertaken were many and varied, and committees in Devon, as in communities all over the country, considered many options. Ashburton's list of possibilities included a public hall, a recreation ground, a library, a bed in the cottage hospital to be reserved for ex-servicemen, and a swimming baths, as well as the stone monument, which was the scheme finally adopted. South Brent considered a children's playing field, and although such a playing field was opened in the inter-war period, it was never dedicated as a memorial and is not remembered as such. It has not been possible to ascertain the reason for this. Within the communities studied there is evidence that decisions were sometimes contentious. The report of a meeting of the Ashburton committee in February 1919 reveals that 'Mr. Mann a returned soldier questioned the policy of spending nearly £200 on the monument', indicating that if the fallen could speak they would not approve of the 'useless expenditure'. At the same meeting a Mr Forden questioned the need for a second monument as there was already one in the church, asking if they had two 'why not a dozen?'[21] Hints of controversy can also be gleaned from the wording of speeches delivered at unveiling ceremonies. At Ashburton the chairman of the war memorial committee alluded to suggestions that the monument had been a 'waste of money', going on to justify it as 'worthy'. A similar justification of the town memorial was made by Sir Charles Widecombe when he unveiled the Newton Abbot memorial in 1923.[22]

Gaffney points out that in Wales, as well as in many other areas of Britain where the village hall movement was active, the first choice of communities was, indeed, a village hall, but that the cost of such an enterprise deterred many.[23] In Ashburton, even though the Portreeve, as well as many others, favoured a village hall, stating that 'cost should not be an issue', cost was undoubtedly the deciding factor. In February 1919 the sub-committee reported that the Memorial Hall had 'fallen through due to lack of funding'.[24] It would seem that Devon communities were no different from any other, and for many communities the choice of the single expenditure of a stone memorial was preferable to the ongoing financial burden on the rates of a 'useful' memorial, although, of course, the reasons could have been much more complex.

There are several examples of schemes having to be scaled down. In Abbotskerswell, for example, it was decided to omit the place of death on the memorial tablet because of cost, mirroring Grieves' report that in East Chillington, Sussex, plans for recording the names of all who served had to be cancelled for the same reason. In Newton Abbot it was decided that the column of the memorial would have to be changed from the planned marble to Portland stone, which would be one hundred pounds cheaper. Newspaper articles leading up to the unveiling of the Newton Abbot memorial report great difficulty in raising sufficient funds. Gaffney found in Wales that lack of support for town schemes was often blamed on the fact that people had already contributed to their own church or other memorial. This could certainly have been the case in Newton Abbot where there were undoubtedly other schemes competing for funds.[25]

The minutes of the Exminster War Memorial Committee record an ongoing concern with the cost of providing a parish hall, the approved decision of the community. The records of Exminster are particularly interesting in that they appear to record a remarkable level of community co-operation, as noted by Gaffney in Wales. Several craftsmen are recorded as offering their services free of charge, with Mr Aggett explaining 'certain ways and means by which we might obtain materials for the asking, and thereby reduce the cost of the building considerably'. The minutes also record the contribution of £200 from the governors of the board of the local mental hospital, home to mentally disturbed ex-servicemen. The hospital was also involved in the community project in that fund raising events were held in the grounds and Major Davies, a member of the board, laid one of the foundation stones to the hall in October 1920.[26] Unusually the hall at Exminster is called 'The Victory Hall', the vicar wishing it to be something completely separate from the plaque in the church. Exminster would make an excellent subject for a further in depth case study, looking further into the issues of class and community co-operation and the possible influence on the choice of memorial of the presence of injured ex-servicemen in the vicinity. It is possible that the presence of this group made it essential for the right thing to be seen to be done and for the wishes of returned soldiers to be considered. In other areas where returned soldiers were not so prominent it would have been easier for the residual leaders to work without consultation of this group.[27]

It would seem that in Devon, as in other areas of Britain, public subscription was an essential part of the funding process. In Lustleigh the call went out to everyone 'not just the well to do' to take part. In South Brent the contentious suggestion was made that 'those who escaped the army' may well be expected to pay £25 each, a direct reference to the exemption of farmers and their sons from service, and evidence of resentment and class tension. Where subscription lists survive for South Devon, as elsewhere, it is clear that although there were many subscribers, large contributors were important. In North Bovey, Viscount

Hambledon contributed £50, having previously pledged to pay the shortfall between cost and subscriptions collected. The vicar donated £25, whilst the remaining one hundred and eight names are listed as donating less than ten shillings each. Often it seems the main subscriber influenced choice of memorial. In Bovey Tracey the Vicar, although personally of the opinion that the 'plan for the lychgate' should be adhered to, reported that 'certain contributions' had been given for the express purpose of providing a wall tablet in the church and this is the scheme that was adopted. This is a clear example of those who could afford to pay most being able to influence decisions. [28]

Whatever the final choice of memorial, another issue to face committees all over the country was the site for such a memorial, one that Gaffney identifies as causing 'major controversy'.[29] As has been stated, in many smaller communities in Devon church ground was the obvious place. Where a church site was not chosen, however, the choosing of a suitable site was indeed often as difficult and contentious as the form of memorial itself. Of the cases studied, even if the monument were intended to be secular, a site close to the church was often preferred. In Ashburton land adjoining the church was the first choice, but it could not be acquired. After experiencing difficulty in acquiring a site Mr Barnes said that he 'never thought he would have to go begging for a little piece of land' on which to put the memorial. After much discussion in which the council was accused of being 'wibbly wobbly' in their decision, the Newton Abbot memorial was sited near 'three places of worship'.[30] Even the village hall at Exminster was built on land purchased from the glebe. It would seem, therefore, that even if the memorial were intended to be secular, the church was still an influence. Where the church was not a factor, as in Lustleigh, a site was chosen that was conspicuous and where children would see the memorial daily. Recently Grieves has discussed the importance of high places as memorial sites, and it was indeed suggested at South Brent that a monument be placed at the top of Brent Tor, although this was never built.[31] Of all the sites visited the memorial at Bovey Tracey is the only one that is blatantly municipal, situated as it is on the pavement outside the town hall.

During the course of this research it has been noted that it is the communities that had a strong non-conformist presence where secular memorials are most common, as shown in other parts of the country. These same communities more often than not also had a railway connection. Although, in the cases of Ashburton, Bovey Tracey and Lustleigh, stone crosses away from the church were the eventual outcome of discussion, there is certainly evidence in Ashburton that other schemes were considered. In Exminster a village hall was chosen,, and South Brent, where there were at least four churches other than the parish church, favoured a playing field.

It is also notable how many communities studied have a single memorial on church property, especially in view of the programme of rural regeneration that would appear to have been evident in other parts of the country. Evidence points overwhelmingly to the continued strength and predominance of the church and the established order being beyond doubt and apparently largely unquestioned.

This can probably be explained by the extreme rural nature and closeness of many of the communities studied. Some evidence of contention throughout the planning process has been uncovered however. Yet in the communities studied any opposition would appear not to have been strong enough to overcome the wishes of those influential members of the community who largely made up war memorial committees. On the surface this study could be seen confirm the findings of Grieves that the commemoration process was largely undertaken in a spirit of mutual experience throughout the classes. However, closer research reveals some evidence of social tension being highlighted by the commemoration process, as suggested by historians such as Waites and Mansfield.[32]

The way the dead were listed on memorials varies, in that some parishes chose to note the place and date of death, and some the rank and regiment in addition to names. However, no case was found where the names were listed in any other order than alphabetical, all ranks appearing to be equal. This would seem to indicate that either those who planned memorials had genuinely changed their attitude to class, or that the officer class had been forced to put on a front of equality in death, because of strengthening working class pressure. There is, though, a case at Whitchurch on Dartmoor, not far outside the range of this study, where officers are listed separately and first. This would indicate the possibility that perhaps the communities chosen for the purpose of this study are not reliably representative, and that in fact the old order was still as powerful as it had been before the war and had no intention of giving way on its social elitism. It is certainly quite possible that a more detailed study of the planning process in Newton Abbot, where the railway and other unions were strong and unemployment was high, could well produce a different story, and show social issues present that were not evident in more rural communities where traditional hierarchies still survived.

The conclusion of this article is, therefore, that the issues identified in other areas of the country were to a large extent equally relevant to South Devon, where communities were just as eager as anywhere else to have their own memorial to their own dead. There is evidence that all the problems arising out of the choice of memorial, such as its form, cost and position, were equally significant. The study reveals that in Devon the old order was as strong and influential as before the war, and that the views of the bereaved and ex-servicemen were either not considered or ignored. However, because of the small size and rural nature of many of the communities studied, not too much significance should be placed on the fact that decisions often seem to have gone unchallenged. Absence of written evidence could indeed indicate co-operation between the church and different social classes, but much more work would need to be done before any final conclusions can be reached.

Notes and references

1. Gregory 1994, p. 19; and Lloyd 1998, p. 64.
2. Gregory *ibid.*, p. 1.
3. Gaffney (1998), Grieves (2000a, 2000b) and Inglis (1992) have undertaken detailed studies within Wales, Sussex and Cambridge respectively.
4. See Burchardt (2002, pp. 114-49) for a detailed account of rural reconstruction in the interwar years. Burchardt also discusses attitudes to deference that may well have been maintained by the elites through their involvement in the provision of rural activities and improvements. See also Mansfield (2001) who also refers to this continuation of paternalism after the war.
5. Mansfield *ibid.*, p. 74.
6. Lloyd 1998, p. 87.
7. Burchardt *op. cit.*, p. 143.
8. *Express and Echo*, 28 January 1919.
9. Gregory *op. cit.*, p. 161.
10. Grieves 2000b, p. 327; and Bartlett and Ellis 1999, p. 232.
11. Gaffney *op. cit.*, p. 116.
12. Grieves 2000b, p. 327.
13. Printed leaflet dated January 1919 composed by Herbert Johnson, Rector of Lustleigh Church; and Bartlett and Ellis *op. cit.*, p. 232.
14. Mansfield 1995, p. 73.
15. Grieves 2000a, p. 40.
16. Inglis 1992, p. 590.
17. Minutes of Abbotskerswell War Memorial Committee (AWMC) December 1919 held at the Devon Records Office (D.R.O.) 2954A PP2; and in the case of Ashburton information from a newspaper cutting dated 29 January 1919 found in a collection held at Ashburton Museum. Although the cuttings are dated, the newspaper from which they are taken is not recorded. It is highly likely that the cuttings are from either the *Mid-Devon Advertiser* or the *Herald Express*.
18. Unidentified newspaper cutting, 29 February 1919, housed in Ashburton Museum – probably *Mid-Devon Advertiser* or *Herald Express*.
19. Thanks to G. Wall for permission to use information from *The Book of South Brent*, p. 7, prior to publication. The book was subsequently published by Halsgrove in the Autumn of 2005.
20. AWMC Minutes held at the D.R.O. 294A PP2; leaflet circulated by Lustleigh branch of the British Legion dated 15 December 1923 in the D.R.O. 1987A PW9 and PW30; and Mansfield 1995, p. 77.
21. *Mid-Devon Advertiser* or *Herald Express*, 29 January 1919.
22. Portreeves Diary held at Ashburton Town Hall, 30 October 1920; and reported in either the *Mid-Devon Advertiser or Herald Express* on the same date. For Newton Abbot, the *Mid-Devon Advertiser*, 20 July 1922.

23. Gaffney *op. cit.*, p. 87.
24. Meeting on 2 February 1919 reported in the *Mid-Devon Advertiser*.
25. AWMC Minutes in D.R.O. as above: for Newton Abbot the *Mid-Devon Advertiser* throughout 1922; mirroring Grieves 2000b. p. 335.
26. The second foundation stone was laid by Trehawke Kekewich. The Kekewich family lost five sons in the war and also chose to erect a separate memorial to them at Peamore, the family home, as well as their names being included on the church memorial.
27. Exminster War Memorial Committee Minutes held at D.R.O. 5902A PX10, and thanks to the people of Exminster for their enthusiastic help.
28. For Lustleigh, British Legion leaflet dated 15 December 1923 D.R.O. *op. cit.* For South Brent see Wall *op. cit.* For Bovey Tracey, Letter to the Vicar from Viscount Hambledon, 31 October 1919; list of subscribers in Bovey Tracey and Minutes of the Parish Council October 1920 in D.R.O. PW25, PP2 and PP3.
29. Gaffney *op. cit.*, p. 173.
30. For Ashburton, report of meeting held 2 February 1919 and reported in unidentified local paper, either *Mid Devon Advertiser* or *Herald Express*. For Newton Abbot, *Mid-Devon Advertiser*, 11 March 1922.
31. Grieves 2005; and Wall 2005.
32. Grieves 2000b. p. 327. See also Mansfield *op. cit.* and Waites (1987) who had both studied the class structure and how war affected attitudes.

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A Devon poem of the Great War

Malcolm Todd

Not a great deal of literature emerged from Devon in 1914 to 1918. This understandably patriotic piece appeared in *Punch* on July 7, 1915 from an anonymous versifier.[1]

> From Bideford to Appledore the meadows lie aglow
> With kincup and buttercup that flout the summer snow;
> And crooked-back and silver-head shall now the grass today,
> And lasses turn and toss it till it ripen into hay;
> For gone are all the careless youth did reap the land of yore,
>
> The lithe and long men,
> The brown and strong men,
>
> The men that hie from Bideford and ruddy Appledore.
>
> From Bideford and Appledore they swept the sea of old
> With cross-bow and falconet to tap the Spaniard's gold;
> They sped away with dauntless DRAKE to traffic on the Main,
> To trick the drowsy galleon and loot the treasure train;
> For fearless were the gallant hands that pulled the sweeping oar,
>
> The strong men, the free men,
> The bold men, the seamen,
>
> The men that sailed from Bideford and ruddy Appledore.
>
> From Bideford and Appledore in craft and subtle grey
> Are strong hearts and steady hearts to keep the sea today;
> So well may fare the garden where the cider-apples bloom
> And Summer weaves her colour-threads upon a golden loom:
> For ready are the tawny hands that guard the Devon shore,
>
> The cool men, the bluff men,
> The keen men, the tough men,
>
> The men that hie from Bideford and ruddy Appledore.

This was penned and published during or after the battle of Loos, a bloody but inconclusive engagement which did little more than stabilise the British Expeditionary Force line. Those who read this poem in the summer of 1915 will have known little or nothing of the battle and will not have foreseen the appalling slaughter on the Somme and in Flanders in 1916 and 1917.

Notes and references

1. *Punch* (1915), 7 July.

Professor Malcolm Todd became the President of the Devon History Society in 2006. He was the first holder of the Chair of Archaeology at Exeter University, and was later Professor of Archaeology at Durham University and Principal of Trevelyan College. He has written widely on the archaeology of the Roman empire and its external relations.

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Raddis Lane: what's in a name?

John Torrance

Introduction

Taking cues from reports and sketch-maps by the nineteenth-century Sidmouth antiquary Orlando Hutchinson, this article revisits two archaeological sites near The Three Horseshoes Inn on the A3052 north of Branscombe in East Devon. One is an Iron Age cross-dyke, the other some foundations which may have belonged to a medieval chapel. Before the Lyme Regis-Exeter turnpike was built in 1758 this stretch of road was called 'Raddis Lane', probably meaning 'red ditch' or 'reed ditch', and the hypothesis is advanced that this was a Saxon name for the cross-dyke. Historical evidence to support this is presented, and a thirteenth-century reference to a chapel in Branscombe parish, identified by a similar name but not previously located, is cited as confirmation that a chapel existed here.

Orlando Hutchinson at the Three Horseshoes

Peter Orlando Hutchinson (1810-1897), the energetic Sidmouth antiquary and water-colourist, would often urge his carriage-horses up Trow Hill from Sidford to take himself and his friend Mr Heineken to The Three Horseshoes Inn. Built in the early nineteenth century, the inn was almost the only habitation on the two-and-three-quarter mile stretch of the Lyme Regis-Exeter turnpike, now the A3052, between Kingsdown Tail in the west (the old name is preserved by a caravan park) and Hangman Stone crossroads in the east, near Beer. The inn stands at its central and highest point. The landlord William Webber was a son of Hutchinson's housekeeper, but the excursionists were in search of antiquities, not refreshment.

Sometimes they would take the Honiton turnpike branching off northward near the inn to visit the Bronze Age cemeteries on Broad Down and Farway Common, which were being brutally excavated by the Rev. R. Kirwan, Rector of Gittisham in 1868-70.[1] They turned off this road to survey Blackbury Camp, the Iron Age enclosure north of the inn, and they witnessed the destruction of a barrow on Lovehayne Farm, close by, in October 1861. At other times they continued past the inn to examine barrows and embankments near the Hangman Stone, which Hutchinson drew in 1857, or burials and other finds around Branscombe. But antiquities in the vicinity of the inn, and their relationship to the surrounding landscape, were of particular interest, and Hutchinson drew a sketch-map of the area to illustrate this in 1872 (Figure 1).[2]

In September 1859, and again in July 1861, Hutchinson examined the long bank running north from behind the Three Horseshoes, which at first he thought looked 'very like the west side of a square Roman camp'. He noted a report that 'the ditch of this entrenchment was on the inside...though I scarcely know whether to believe it or not'.[3] In June 1862 Samuel Chick, a Branscombe farmer, drove them there again, and on the other side of the road they 'traced a low bank running south through [one] field and the next, which looks like a continuation of the great work on the north side of the Inn'. Hutchinson soon realised his mistake, and decided these were the remains of a massive pre-Roman cross-dyke set at a right angle to the ancient trackway on the ridge. In 1872 an old man told him that he remembered the bank as '12 to 15 feet high' before it was ploughed down.[4]

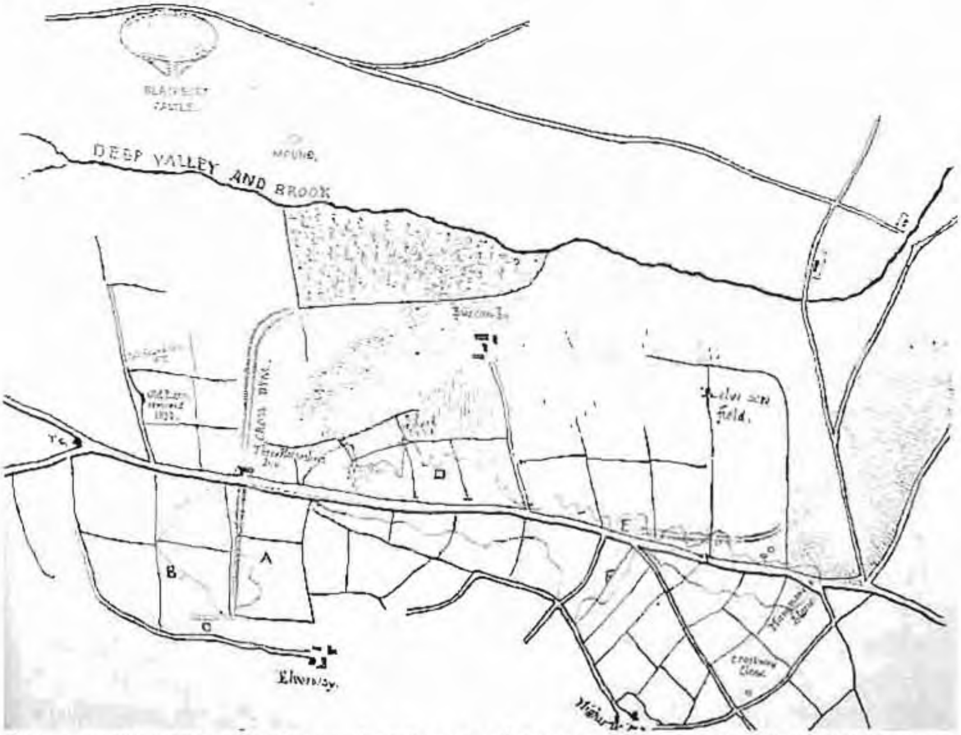


Figure 1: Hutchinson's diary, sketch map of the area around the Three Horseshoes Inn (reproduced by kind permission of the Devon Record Office).

Samuel Chick had actually driven him and Mr Heineken to the Three Horseshoes to examine some stonework which had obstructed ploughing in the same field as the southern part of the cross-dyke. They found a corner wall, 'being as if the south-west angle of a building. As it was three feet thick, perhaps it was part of some chapel or cell once attached to a religious house'.[5] His plan (Figure 2) actually shows two sets of foundations in different fields, and his interpretation was obviously influenced by the field-names, Chapel Meadow and Chapel Close.

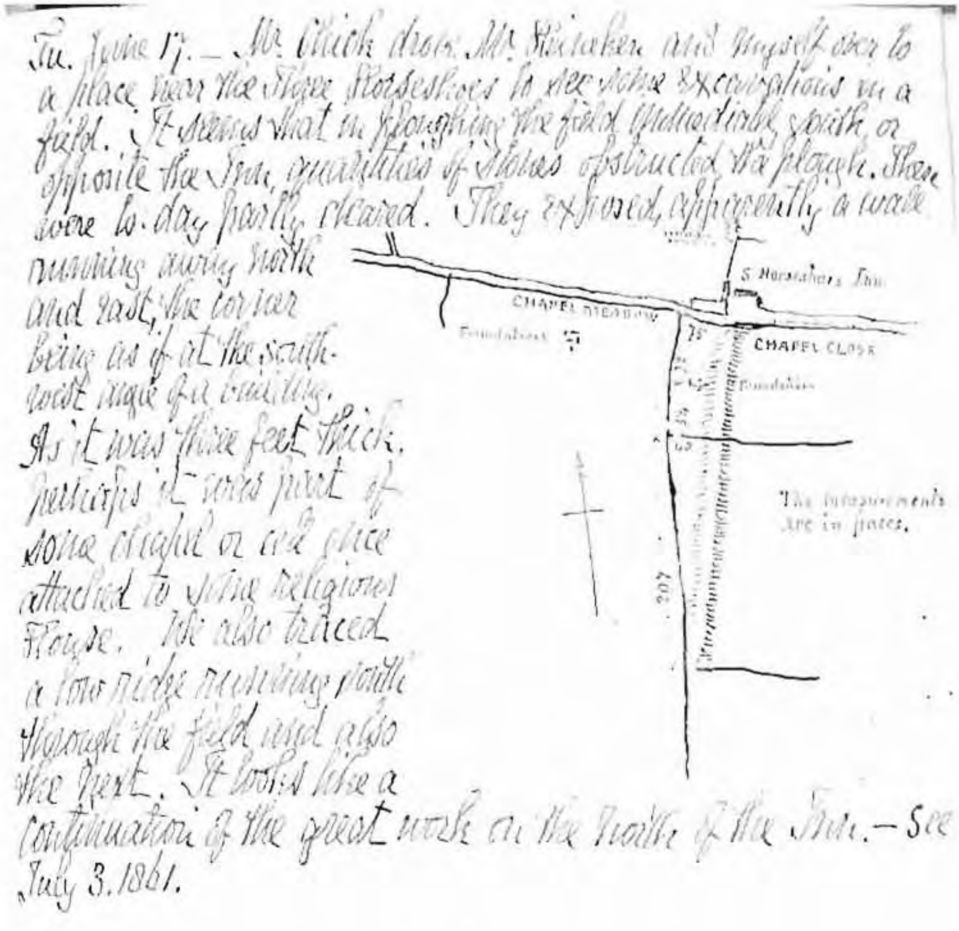
The Cross-dyke

The cross-dyke stretched through fields on either side of the road, north and south, between Borcombe Wood and Youngcombe Wood, both of which probably reached further up the valley-slopes than now. It has been ploughed out south of the road, but can still just be traced in adjoining fields to the north. The Three Horseshoes Inn was built over it by the road in the early nineteenth century, and outbuildings behind the inn were built over the bank more recently. The ditch was found by excavation in 1993 to have been 5.5 m. wide, 1.7 m. deep, and V-shaped.[6] It was on the east side as reported to Hutchinson, indicating a defensive stance towards that quarter.

There is no decisive dating evidence. Neolithic tools were found in the soil of the dyke in 1993, but not in the primary fill. Hutchinson, whose map traced his zigzag trawl across fields which were ploughed and not, as today, put down to pasture, collected numerous worked flints and pebble slingstones; Mr Heineken also bought a bronze axe found near a field-gate in the lane west of the inn. However the cross-dyke is generally thought to date from the late Iron Age, probably built by the inhabitants of Blackbury Camp to the north, to control or defend the east-west trackway which ran along the ridge.[7] The trackway itself was probably in use from the Neolithic, since all prehistoric travellers would have kept to the high ground between the boggy valleys to the north and the Branscombe valleys to the south, and the Hangman Stone is regarded as an ancient waymark. Beer and Branscombe were sources of high-quality flint - found, for example, in the Neolithic level at Hembury - and flint-scatters and burial mounds on the surrounding uplands suggest they were already busy settlements by the early Bronze Age.

Blackbury Camp is a D-shaped univallate enclosure of some 4.3 acres, occupying most of the width of a narrow ridge parallel to that which carries the A3052, and separated from it by the wooded marshy valley of Rakeway brook. A track from Rakeway Head Bridge probably ran along the ridge past the Camp, as a lane does today, and another probably crossed a ford southward to the site of the Three Horseshoes. Though the camp lacks the strategic advantages of a hilltop fort it is defensible on the north and south sides, and the main rampart was found to be all of one period by archaeologists who excavated there in 1953. It may have begun as a gathering-place for communal purposes and a refuge for the local population and their livestock in emergencies. But a rectilinear hut with hearth and clay oven was excavated there, and finds of pottery, spindle whorls, whetstones and iron slag indicate a degree of permanent occupation. Since most of the interior is unexcavated, we cannot tell if it ever held a village settlement or the residence of a chief. The presence of 'Glastonbury ware' suggests the site was in use during the last three centuries B.C.[8]

The influence of Blackbury Camp may well have extended to the coast at Branscombe, for Branscombe beach was the nearest source of the sling-stones found there in abundance.[9] The probability that Blackbury people built the cross-dyke suggests they took a particular interest in their southern borderland and in



Tu. June 17. — Mr Chick drove Mr Whitaker and myself over to a place near the Three Horseshoes to see some excavations in a field. It seems that in ploughing the field immediately south, or opposite the Inn, quantities of stones obstructed the plough. These were to-day partly cleared. They exposed, apparently, a wall running away north and east, the corner being as if at the south-west angle of a building. As it was three feet thick, perhaps it was part of some chapel or other place attached to some religious House. We also traced a low ridge running north through the field and also the next. It looks like a continuation of the great work on the north of the Inn. — See July 3. 1861.

Figure 2: Hutchinson's diary, diary entry for June 17 1862 with plan, near the Three Horseshoes Inn (reproduced by kind permission of the Devon Record Office).

This was an early recording of the remains of two structures, cross-dyke and chapel, that were once as conspicuous on this stretch of road as the Three Horseshoes is today. The northern section of the cross-dyke had been shown on the OS surveyor's 3" map of 1807, and the whole feature first appeared on the 25" OS map of 1890. It is now a scheduled monument, including the ground beneath the inn, but nothing is known about the chapel. This article examines how far place-names and other documentary evidence can illuminate their history. First, though, what is known about the cross-dyke is summarised.

the trackway running through it. Possibly it acted as a tollgate where wayfarers had to pay tribute to pass, though such a big investment of labour suggests a more urgent need. If the trackway were undefended, an enemy from the east could have made a detour and attacked the camp on its most vulnerable side, along the ridge from the west. The most striking feature of Blackbury Camp is an elaborate but unfinished triangular earthwork covering more than 2 acres, with a palisaded revetment, which screens the southern entrance. An impassable cross-dyke would have forced an enemy to attack on this side, up a steep slope. So conceivably both the triangular earthwork and the cross-dyke were thrown up against a major threat from the east, from either a British enemy or a Roman army. The main Roman thrust into Devon went further north, on the line of the military road past Axminster and Honiton, but it seems that Blackbury's defences succumbed to its attackers, whoever they were, for the palisade was destroyed by fire.

Raddis Lane

Hutchinson probably did not know that before the Lyme Regis-Exeter turnpike was built in 1758 the stretch of road north of Branscombe, between Kingsdown Tail and Hangman Stone, was known as 'Raddis Lane'. It formed the ancient boundary between the parishes of Colyton, to the north, and Branscombe to the south, and the name Raddis or Radice Lane has come to light in sketch-maps used in a road-mending dispute between the parishes in 1728.[10] Another sketch-map, thought to date from the late seventeenth century, also shows 'The Road to Exeter call'd Raddis Lane' departing eastward from the Hangman Stone, and 'Radice Lane' was cited in a petition to Parliament in 1757, calling for a turnpike.[11]

By Hutchinson's time the name Radish Lane, no longer used for the road, was applied to a track which leaves the road just west of the Three Horseshoes. It is now the drive of the modern Three Horseshoes Farm, set back from the road north-west of the inn; its old name is still known there, and a public bridleway runs along it towards Blackbury Camp.[12] Where the track meets the road was a smithy where Hutchinson stopped to have a horse shod in 1872, and which may have inspired the name of the inn; it appears in the 1841 census as a cottage called 'Raddish'.[13] So the highway had originally been named Raddis Lane after this midway area around the cross-dyke.

This is confirmed by field-names. North of the road, the field where Hutchinson notes the finding of the celt (bronze axe) in 1872 in Figure 1 was called Raddiss Close on the 1840 tithe map of Colyton. South of the road, a field called Raddish appears in a survey of Branscombe made in 1793 for the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, who owned the manor, and again in the 1840 Branscombe tithe apportionments. It borders the road opposite the stretch between Radish Lane and the Honiton turning marked T.G. (toll gate) in Figure 1. It belonged to a farm called Elverway, shown in the valley to the south-east, with the farm track, called Nine Acre Lane, running up beside Raddish field to join the road near the Honiton turning. This older Elverway Farm, which was in ruins by 1906, is not to be confused with its modern namesake on current O.S. maps.[14]

Raddis means 'red ditch', 'reed ditch' or possibly 'road-ditch', and this concentration of Raddis-type names, straddling the road as the cross-dyke does, invites the idea that they preserve an early name for the dyke itself.[15] A partial parallel would be 'Grim's Ditch', the Saxon name applied to Iron Age linear earthworks in Wessex. Raddis Lane was named as the lane that led through the dyke.

Field-names also provide local evidence for a chapel here. The 1840 tithe map of Branscombe places Chapel Meadow where Hutchinson put 'Chapel Close', and calls the adjacent field Higher Chapel Pass with Lower Chapel Pass to the south (these are called Higher and Lower Chapel Hays in the 1793 survey of Branscombe); all three fields belonged to Elverway Farm. Hutchinson probably did not know that according to the Colyton tithe map the field behind the Three Horseshoes, east of the surviving length of cross-dyke north of the road, was also named Chapple Close. So chapel names, like Raddis names, span the road in the same neighbourhood, and cross the line of the dyke on the south.

If 'Raddis' preserves a Saxon name for the cross-dyke, one would expect the name to be more conspicuous the further back one looks, when the dyke itself was more prominent. So the antiquity of the name is examined next.

The Riddle of Redix and Raddych

Encouragingly, 'Redix' appears in the 1086 Exeter Domesday ('Redic' in the Exchequer Domesday) as one of many Devon manors held from the king by Ralph de la Pomeray after the Norman conquest, and it is normally identified with the Radish of Radish Lane. Twenty years before, in Edward the Confessor's time, Redix had paid geld for half a hide and was held by two thegns. A hide was a fiscal term rather than a measure of area, but Domesday also reported land for 2 ploughs and 15 acres of coppice or scrubland. There was no dependent labour, its value was 3 shillings, as before the conquest, and it was held from Ralph by a Norman called Gosfrid or Geoffrey.

The two thegns, possibly brothers, must surely have run the estate as two family farms. There is no agreed or uniform key for translating the fiscal measures of Domesday into modern areal units, but half a hide could be as much as 170 acres and one ploughland could be anything from 50 to 80 acres.[16] Taking the scrubland into account this could allow about 60 acres for each thegn, quite a lot for one peasant family to farm without dependent labour. At all events, Redix named a fair-sized tract of land near the cross-dyke. Since none of the surrounding farms except Gatcombe is listed in Domesday (no doubt they were included in the royal manor of Colyton) it is lucky for this inquiry that a Saxon king awarded this holding to two of his thegns.[17]

Domesday informs us that Ralph de la Pomeray obtained Redix, along with Bruckland in Axmouth, by exchanging them for another estate. Gosfrid held both Redix and Bruckland from Ralph, and Gosfrid's successor in title to both of them was John de Tryl, according to Dr Reichel.[18] This introduces a complication, for in 1241 the Tryls held only two estates in the Pomerays' Honour of Berry (the name then given to the Pomerays' portfolio of manors, Berry Pomeroy castle having become the family seat), and the only estate in Colyton hundred in that Honour was Borcombe. This is now the name of a farm which extends east of the cross-dyke on the north side of the road, towards the Hangman Stone. Therefore, Reichel argued, Redix in Domesday 'stands for' Borcombe, which Domesday does not list. One cannot fault his logic, but early Borcombe deeds in the Petre archive in the Devon Record Office do not quite support his conclusion.

Reichel has traced the early history of Borcombe and shown that the Tryl family held it under the Pomerays through into the fourteenth century. On his view, that should be all there is to say about Redix in the Middle Ages. However Petre deeds show that in 1238, when Richard de la Hole of Branscombe held Borcombe from John de Tryl, he transferred 'half a hide' of Borcombe land to Richard de Langford and his heirs in exchange for land in Branscombe. But in 1285 this same half-hide was described as one ploughland (perhaps 65 acres) in Borcombe; it was then held by Hugh Peverel, as his wife's dowry, from Richard de Langford, who held it from the Tryls (the Tryls still held from Henry de la Pomeray).[19] Then in 1300 there is a deed which assigned to John de Breuton clerk and Richard de Brankescomb, with Cecilia his wife, the same land in Borcombe, now described as 'in the hundred of Colyton next to *(apud)* Raddych'. It was to be held from Sir Roger de Langford on terms previously agreed for John de Breuton and his wife, with rent to be paid to Roger de Langford and Vivian de Tril.[20] This land, now said to be next to Raddych, must have been the ploughland originally transferred to Richard de Langford by Richard de la Hole. So part of Borcombe, at least, *bordered* Raddych, which casts doubt on Reichel's identification of Redix (that is Raddych) with Borcombe.

The solution to this riddle seems to be as follows. It can be accepted that Gosfrid's Redix in Domesday, Richard de la Hole's Borcombe in 1238, and John de Tryl's Borcombe in the Honour of Berry in 1241 were one and the same estate; that the names were interchangeable, although 'Borcombe' emphasised the eastern half and 'Raddych' the western half. The Domesday half-hide probably lay on both sides of the cross-dyke north of the road, one ploughland to the west and one to the east of it, each having scrubland in the valley beyond. If it was halved near the dyke in 1238, the eastern ploughland, the 'land in Borcombe' to which the Petre deeds relate, must have become Borcombe Farm, where it is today, but the western ploughland must have kept the name Raddych. So the land in Borcombe held by the Langfords could be described as 'next to Raddych' in 1300. Raddych Farm, lying west of, and including, the dyke, must have been held from Tryl by some person unknown in succession to Richard de la Hole, and both farms together no doubt remained listed as Tryl's holding in Pomeray's Honour of Berry under the name Borcombe, without mention of Redix or Raddych.

It is appropriate that the names Redix and Borcombe should have been interchangeable, for they both refer to the two connected and conspicuous Iron Age features in the landscape. Redix took its name from the cross-dyke and Borcombe meant 'valley marked by a *burh*' or fortified place, that is to say, Blackbury Camp on the far side of the valley. Borcombe Farm eventually became much larger (200 acres by 1590) but it probably expanded partly by clearance of waste to the east, where the farm of Little Borcombe was established later.[21]

The later medieval history of Raddych is far from clear. Richard de Brankescomb's son, another Richard, in 1368 enfeoffed the Dean of Wells with various 'lands and tenements', including 'waste land called Kyngesdon' (Kingsdown) in the parish of Colyton, and a close near Borcombe, being a parcel of Kingsdown which he acquired from Hugh de Courtenay.[22] These are near Raddych, but Raddych is not mentioned as a Brankescomb holding. Despite this, at the younger Richard's death in 1376 his widow Margaret Beauchamp relinquished her rights in the 'towns and hamlets' (*villi et hamletti*) of 'Borcomb, Wykeshayes, Raddich and Kyngesdon' which the Dean of Wells had now bought from her husband.[23] Borcombe subsequently belonged to the Bonvilles, then Petres, and Raddych is not mentioned again in the Petre archive. But whatever its exact history after 1376, it seems there was a medieval farm called Raddych west of the present Borcombe Farm and north of the road, where Raddish names persist.

Raddych Farm in Branscombe

Raddych and Borcombe were in the western part of Woodland Tything, an outlier of Colyton parish which ran along the north side of Raddis Lane. But in 1392 the Dean and Chapter of Exeter leased to John Lacy 'messuages, tenements and lands in Raddych in their demesne of Branscombe', formerly held by Thomas Godwyn, for a term of forty years.[24] A new house and farm buildings were to be put up at cost of the lessee, using timber belonging to the manor. There is no clue to its location, but it must have been south of Raddis Lane, in Branscombe parish, although Raddych did not survive as a farm name in Branscombe. A predecessor of Thomas Godwyn might have been Richard de Radich, one of the lay jurors who reported on the dues of the church in the Bishop's visitation of Branscombe in 1280.[25]

So the name Raddych was used both north and south of the road in the Middle Ages. Indeed the Dean and Chapter's phrase 'in Raddych' might seem to designate a tract of land which included the leased farm, rather than just the farm itself. It would be a tidy solution if the Domesday manor of Redix had spanned the parish boundary, especially as it had previously been held by *two* thegns, and had been divided between north and south. But as discussed above, it seems the Redix hide was split east-west, in Colyton. Besides, the manors of Redix and Branscombe appear separately in Domesday; Branscombe was held by the Bishop of Exeter, and the manor and parish were coterminous. The *name*

Raddych, however, was evidently used on both sides of the parish boundary for land around the cross-dyke.

The eclipse of this fourteenth-century Raddych farm in Branscombe remains a mystery. Raddish survived as a field-name in Elverway Farm, and John Lacy's farm may have been absorbed by Elverway, or it might have been renamed Elverway to avoid confusion with its namesake in Colyton. Lacy would have preferred the valley situation of Elverway to the flat land above, which lacks a water-supply. Whatever its fate, finding the name Raddych on both sides of the road strengthens the case for its having been an old name for the dyke.

From Raddych to Radeche

Raddych in Colyton eventually passed into the hands of the Courtenays, probably in the fourteenth century. It is unclear from the deeds mentioned above whether it was included in the lands acquired in 1376 by the Dean of Wells; if not, a likely date for its acquisition would be 1346, when Hugh Courtenay III, Earl of Devon, bought its sister estate of Bruckland from the Tryls.[26] In any event, it reappears two hundred years later in 1546 amongst estates forfeited by the executed Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter, which Henry VIII sold for 1,000 marks to about 100 named Colyton merchants and farmers. A Chamber of Feoffees, drawn from among them, was henceforth to act as trustees for the manor. Among the parishioners who subscribed was William Hooke, who received 'our Messuage and Tenement and all our Lands Tenements Marshes and Pastures whatsoever called Radeche containing by estimation Sixty acres of Land and Marsh with their appurtenances in the Tything of Woodlande'. William Hooke was already the tenant at Radeche, and wanted to secure his holding.[27] He and the grantees of Lovehayne and Buddleshayes, two other farms in the western part of Woodland tything, also enjoyed rights of pasture, turbary, etc. on Lovehayne Common nearby. But unlike Lovehayne and Buddleshayes, which remained with the Feoffees, Radeche seems to have been one of the former Courtenay properties that were either restored to the family or granted to others by Queen Mary I.

Can we tell where Radeche farm lay? The current O.S. map shows a line of Borcombe field boundaries which looks like an early boundary with Radeche. It leaves the road one field east of the Three Horseshoes' car-park, accompanied by a public footpath, and continues northward past two fields to become the western boundary of Borcombe Wood. Medieval Raddych may have been the parallelogram of land bounded by this line to the east, by the highway to the south, by Radish Lane to the west, and by Rakeway stream to the north. Thus it would have included the crossdyke north of the road. This area adds up to 63 acres on the tithe map, which compares with the 60 acres held by William Hooke in 1546 and also with the half of Domesday Redix which became Raddych, if it is supposed that it contained about 50 acres of ploughland with some of the original 15 acres of scrub. The siting of the farmhouse would have depended on water-supply. The 1:10,000 O.S. map shows a spring apparently issuing from where the ditch of the cross-dyke ran towards the road, behind the

Three Horseshoes Inn, with a watercourse running down towards Borcombe, and the farmhouse probably stood somewhere near here, close to the road. The spring is now choked up and feeble, but may have flowed more plentifully in the past: possibly its drying-up contributed to the farm's decline.

The fate of Radeche after 1546 is uncertain, but it was dismembered by the early eighteenth century. A map of Borcombe Farm drawn for Lord Petre in 1720 shows that he had bought most of it. The Borcombe boundary appears to have moved west along the road to the line of the cross-dyke, and from there turned north, then west across the dyke to take in the whole northern part of Radeche as far as Radish Lane and Rakeway stream, including Raddiss Close.[28] By 1840 two fields on either side of the cross-dyke had been amalgamated, indicating that it was no longer an obstacle to the plough.

In the early nineteenth century a plot next to the road - perhaps the original site of Radeche farmhouse - was acquired by the builder of the Three Horseshoes, and in the 1840 tithe apportionment John Brown, owner and landlord of the inn, possessed all that was left of the farm: a square 10-acre field between the inn and Radish Lane, no doubt used as a paddock for coach-horses. It was called Barn Close: the barn from which it was named was along Radish Lane on the site of the present Three Horseshoes Farm, and may have been the last of the Radeche buildings. Hutchinson noted its removal in 1872 (Figure 1).[29]

What do we learn from this history? The name (red, reed or road ditch, Redix in Domesday) was of Saxon origin, and since it was used in both Colyton and Branscombe for land near the cross-dyke, and apparently named after it, it is likely to be older than the parish boundary between them. In 1086 it named an estate on the north side, probably lying each side of the cross-dyke, an estate which came to be called Borcombe in the thirteenth century. In 1300 Borcombe was divided in half, and the western half kept the name Raddych. The fact that Raddis-type field-names are only found west of the cross-dyke is explained by this division. In the sixteenth century Radeche became part of the lands originally entrusted to the Colyton Feoffees, although it did not remain in their possession, and later most of it was sold to Borcombe. The farm-name survived only in Radish Lane and Raddiss field. South of the road the name of fourteenth-century Raddych Farm in Branscombe survived only in Raddish field.

We do not know when this stretch of the 'king's highway' (so described already in a Borcombe covenant of 1394[30]) began to be called Raddis Lane, but it is remarkable that when Radeche farm disappeared its name still stuck to the road. The original meaning, still audible in 'Raddych', was lost in the eighteenth century 'Raddis', as if the prominence of the name had diminished along with that of the feature it named.

The Chapel at Ridic

The enclosures around the Three Horseshoes which bear chapel names may well date back to the Reformation: if there was a chapel here it would have been a medieval one. Medieval chapels were of several kinds: oratories in large houses, licensed for household masses; chantries endowed for intercessions for the dead;

chapels of ease provided for outlying communities in a parish, and parochial chapels attached to a parish by custom. In Branscombe, oratories were licensed for the Wadham family at Edge and the Walronds at Bovey, but no other Branscombe chapel is recorded as having been licensed or supplied with a priest, or suppressed at the Reformation.[31]

Identification of the foundations noted by Hutchinson on the Branscombe side of the road, therefore, hangs by a slender thread, but it is strong enough. The Bishop's Visitation of Branscombe in 1280 noted that 'At Ridic is one small chalice and one set of vestments'.[32] Both Morshead and James, who have noticed this reference, take it to indicate the presence of a chapel at Radish, though neither identifies it further.[33] But now that the location of Radish or Ridic is clear, there seems no room for doubt that this is what Hutchinson found.

It seems the chapel stood in the corner of Chapel Close between the cross-dyke and the hedge, but field-names suggest the whole field was attached to it, as perhaps were Higher and Lower Chapel Hays and possibly Chapple Close across the road. The foundations in Higher Chapel Hays may belong to an ancillary building. The dedication and function of the chapel are unknown. It may have been a chapel of ease for the local population. Possibly, as sometimes happened, a recluse was given a hermitage here in return for repairing the road.[34] It may also have been a stopover for pilgrims travelling to local shrines at Salcombe Regis, Sidbury or Exeter, or hoping to embark at Topsham for Santiago de Compostela.[35] After decades of the ploughing which occasioned Hutchinson's visit a geophysical survey might help to ascertain how much could now be retrieved by excavation.

Conclusion

In 1868 Orlando Hutchinson, thoroughly depressed, wrote: 'What is the good of jotting down memorandums which I may never require to refer to as long as I live and which nobody may care to refer to after I am dead?'[36] This article is written with gratitude that he did not 'throw the whole into the fire', as he threatened, for he left accurate notes of ancient monuments which have vanished, and his sketch-maps can still stimulate and illustrate a modern discussion.

The pleasant, dull stretch of the A3052 once called Raddis Lane flashes past the motorist unremarked, for it contains nothing remarkable. Yet by following up Hutchinson's cues with the aid of contemporary research facilities it has been possible to rescue important aspects of its past from oblivion. An almost-vanished place-name may contain the lost Saxon name of a monument which itself is almost lost, supplying a link with a time when Iron Age earthworks still loomed large in the landscape, and a lost medieval chapel has been located.

Acknowledgements

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John Cochrane for helpful contributions, comments and corrections. Mistakes and shortcomings are my own.

Notes and references

1. Kirwan 1868 and 1870. Relevant extracts from Hutchinson's diary, in Butler 2000, pp. 194 and 209.
2. D.R.O. Z19/36/16d (Hutchinson's diary) 23 August 1872.
3. Butler 2000, p. 139.
4. D.R.O. Z19/36/16d (Hutchinson's diary) 10 April 1872.
5. Butler *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 155 and 158. D.R.O. Z19/36/16d (Hutchinson's diary) 17 June 1862.
6. Unusual. (Archaeological information here is from Devon County Council's Historic Environment Record.) The commoner U-shaped ditch presumably offered defenders a better killing-ground. Might a V-shaped ditch have been intended to foil the Roman 'tortoise'?
7. Frances Griffith, County Archaeologist, Devon County Council, pers. comm., 2007.
8. Young and Richardson 1954.
9. Over 1200 sling-stones were found, mostly near the entrance. Young and Richardson *op. cit.*, pp. 48-9 and 53.
10. D.R.O. 1585f/19/1, drawn to my attention by Philippe Planel. See Torrance 2009. This outlying part of Colyton parish was transferred to Southleigh in the 1880s. Until then the northern boundary between this part of Colyton and Southleigh ran along the lane from Rakeway Head bridge towards Southleigh to just west of Blackbury Camp (where what looks like an old boundary stone lies at the entrance to Wiscombe Park), then downhill and east along the Rakeway brook.
11. D.R.O. 96M/Box 35/15. Ravenhill and Rowe 2002, p. 141. *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 28, 6 December 1757.
12. It passes through a wood called Radish Plantation, the only surviving trace of the name on the current O.S. map. Since this was called Riley's Hill Plantation in the 1840s tithe apportionment, the name Radish here must be a recent borrowing from the lane.
13. The Three Horseshoes inn-sign depicted the coat of arms of the Guild of Farriers.
14. Chick 1906, p. 47.
15. 'Red' in Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931-32) vol. 9, p. 631; 'road' in Morshead 1903, p. 151. The early forms Redix, Redic and Ridic favour 'red' from OE *rēad*, rather than 'road' from OE *rād*. The geological formation here is a variable deposit of brownish-red clay-with-flints, redder in some places than others, so exposed subsoil might have appeared red. Edwards and Gallois 2004, pp. 1-2 and 14-15. But OE *hrēod*, 'reed' is also probable. Ekwall 1960, *sub* OE *rēad* (p. 382) says *hrēod* ought never to give ME *Rad-*

(as in Raddych here) but admits there are exceptions. In the twentieth century there was still a roadside pond opposite the Three Horseshoes, possibly a remnant of the ditch (J. Moore, proprietor of the inn, pers. comm. 2007) and, as noted in the text, a spring issued from the ditch close to the inn, so 'reedy' might fit.

16. Page 1906, p. 385.
17. Reichel 1904, pp. 365-6. Reichel wrongly identified Redix with Rayrish in Southleigh, whose name probably comes from 'rye arrish'; 'arrish' = '(stubble) field'. Cf. 'Ryerish tenement' in D.R.O. 123m/L1247 and *sub* Ryarsh in Ekwall 1960. Hoskins' comments on the 'empty spaces around nearly all the large villages on the Domesday map of Devon' are relevant to the point made in the text (1978, p. 54).
18. Reichel 1928-1936, p. 356. Reichel estimated 175 acres for Redix, p. 361. Tryl may have held it under Henry de Pomeray of Buckerel, who held Borcombe in succession to Gosfrid according to Page *op. cit.*, p. 562, citing *Feudal Aids*, p. 331.
19. Reichel, *ibid.*
20. D.R.O. 123M/TB 257.
21. D.R.O. 123M/TB 264. Borcombe contained 219 acres in 1840, when it included Little Borcombe, to the east, but was smaller in 1720, when it did not.
22. D.R.O. 123M/TB 259.
23. D.R.O. 123M/TB 261. Margaret's quitclaim was witnessed by Sir John de la Pomeray.
24. Exeter Cathedral Archives (E.C.A.), 6017/1.
25. *Devon and Cornwall Notes & Queries*, vol. 3, p. 48.
26. Reichel 1928-1936, p. 181.
27. Forrester-Adie 2003, p. 67. (A seventeenth-century summary of Henry VIII's letters patent containing these grants is in D.R.O. 123M/E 78). Woodland tything was a division of Colyton parish that had two parts, of which the western part was an outlier. It was probably already an outlier before the feoffees acquired this land, for Borcombe and Kingsdown were said to be in Colyton parish in the deed of 1368 referred to in note 20. The name Kingsdown is repeated in Kingsdon Hill, east of Colyton and these two places became known as Kingsdown West and East Kingsdon; the names may date to the period when Colyton was a Saxon royal manor and these were western and eastern hunting-grounds. Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1931-32, vol. 9, p. 624. Perhaps the manor and parish were always coterminous.
28. D.R.O. 123M/E 80.
29. Building the Three Horseshoes may have had to wait for the availability of the hydraulic ram, invented by the French balloonist Montgolfier in 1796

but only developed in England from 1822 by James Easton of Taunton. The inn relied on this to bring water from Rakeway brook to the rear until water mains were laid in the twentieth century (pers. comm., Sue Diamond 2007.)

30. D.R.O. 123M/TB 263.
31. Hingeston-Randolph (1901-6) vol. 1, pp. 356 and 373; vol. 2, p. 583 (Wadham); Dunstan (1963-72) vol. 2, p. 109 (Walrond). Orme 1979.
32. E.C.A., 3672a.
33. Morshead 1903, p. 151; James 1979, gazetteer.
34. James 1979, p. 69.
35. Orme 1988, pp. 17 and 24. For indulgences granted to pilgrims to Salcombe Regis in the fifteenth century, see Dunstan (1963-72) vol. 3, p. 210.
36. Butler *op. cit.*, p. 195.

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The Spanish armada: Drake and the five hulks.

Richard Whidborne

Of all England's sea-heroes, Sir Francis Drake - along with Nelson - is one of the best known and best loved. His exploits in circumnavigating the globe, his many profitable encounters with the Spaniards, and his charismatic and swashbuckling image have passed into legend. He epitomizes the first Elizabethan Age in a way that none other could emulate. Many millions of words, in prose, verse and song, have been written ever since, to keep fresh his memory.

Yet during his life he was far from being uniformly admired – or even liked. An upstart and a braggart, prickly when criticized, his success and the favour he found with the Queen engendered envy and hostility, especially among the high-born.

Many writers with differing expertise have found in him character faults stemming from two incidents. While still a young man he was in command of the *Judith*, one of three ships in John Hawkins' fleet trading slaves to the Spanish colonies in 1568. While at anchor in the harbour of San Juan de Ulua, on the Gulf of Mexico, they were treacherously attacked by the Spaniards. Hawkins lost his flagship. He and his crew crowded onto the *Minion*, which then got into difficulties trying to escape from the harbour. Drake offered no help, sailing off in the *Judith*. 'He forsook us in our greatest peril'[1] reported Hawkins when he eventually limped home.

In 1578, during the voyage round the world, a group of gentlemen passengers, headed by Thomas Doughty, was accused by Drake of plotting against the success of the voyage. A makeshift court found Doughty guilty on the flimsiest of evidence, and he was summarily executed. Due to the success and profit of the three-year epic circumnavigation, Drake's action was never properly scrutinized, and many people since then have been left seriously questioning the reality underlying this affair.[2]

During the early stages of the fight against the Spanish armada, another incident occurred that cast a shadow on Drake's integrity, and raised speculation about the possible consequences of his behaviour. As will been seen, Lord High Admiral Howard came close to being captured by the Spaniards.

Lord Charles Howard of Effingham took over command of the English fleet from Drake at Plymouth in June 1588. Drake could have resented coming under a man with little experience of the sea and none of naval warfare. According to Howard this was not so. A month later in a letter to Walshingham Howard wrote:

> I must not omit to let you know how lovingly and kindly Sir Francis Drake beareth himself: and how dutifully to Her Majesty's service and to me....which I pray you he may receive thanks for, by some private letter from you.[3]

After the event that concerns us here. Howard neither admonished nor criticized Drake in any way – despite Drake's action having put him in mortal danger.

The battle is joined

News that the Spanish fleet was lying off the Isles of Scilly reached Plymouth in the evening of Friday 29 July (New Style)[4], 1588. With the wind-off the sea and the tide on the make, it was several hours before the laboursome task of warping the English fleet out of Plymouth could begin. By Monday morning the armada was some twenty miles to the south of Plymouth. Its commander, Medina Sidonia, ordered his fleet to take up their battle formation - a crescent shape, over two miles wide, whose trailing horns held the main fighting ships.

During the night, the English fleet, divided in two, had sailed round the armada, and were now reunited to windward. A completely different type of sea battle was about to commence, and nobody was quite sure what to do. Previously, it had been a matter of grappling with the enemy, boarding her and fighting hand to hand. Now the idea was to use gunfire to cripple the opposing ships.

Much powder and shot were expended that day, but little damage done by either side. The outcome was indecisive. The Spaniards, however, suffered two major casualties. At four in the afternoon an explosion aboard the important *San Salvador* left her helpless.

Then Don Pedro de Valdés' Andalusian flagship, the *Nuestra Senora del Rosario*, was in a collision. Her foremast snapped at the hatches and fell on her mainsail boom. She was effectively immobilised. Due to the rising wind and sea, all attempts to pass her a towing hawser failed. As night approached and Don Pedro refused the order to abandon ship, Medina Sidonia decided that the armada must move on. Eventually, after further attempts to take her in tow had failed, the *Rosario* was deserted by her escorts.

That evening Howard summoned all his captains to a conference aboard his flagship, the *Ark Royal*. After reviewing the day's events a battle plan was agreed. For the approaching night Drake was to lead the fleet and close track the armada. The fleet was to follow, guided by the *Revenge's* great stern lantern.

Drake douses his stern lantern

According to Drake's version of the night's happenings, it was not long after midnight that his look-out espied 'five great hulks' to starboard, moving down channel. They could only be Spanish ships attempting a surprise by sneaking round to windward. His instant decision was to give chase and hope that the rest of the fleet would not follow. He ordered the stern lantern extinguished and the

Revenge to go-about. Her close escort the *Roebuck*, under Captain Joseph Whidden, and two pinnaces followed the *Revenge*.

By the time Drake was set on his new course, the hulks had vanished into the night. Perhaps he should have sent one of the pinnaces to advise Howard of his intentions, but that would waste precious time and he might never catch up with the hulks. He set all available sails and was rewarded when the gibbous moon arose soon after midnight and the hulks were again sighted. With the help of the *Roebuck* he cut out the last of them, only to discover that they were not Spanish after all, but Easterlings – German merchantmen making for Hamburg that had inadvertently sailed into the armada.

Drake set sail to rejoin the fleet. Then, about three or four o'clock in the morning, he was surprised to find the disabled *Rosario* looming out of the impending dawn. She appeared to be deserted, so he stood off while one of the pinnaces went to investigate. When it was discovered that Don Pedro de Valdés was still aboard, Drake called on him to surrender. As was seemly for a Spanish Grandee, Don Pedro initially refused. Drake would have none of it, declaring that he was not now at leisure to make any long parley, but if Don Pedro would yield himself, he would find Drake friendly and tractable. However, if he was resolved to die in a fight, he would prove Drake to be no dastard. De Valdés agreed to go aboard the *Revenge* and surrender, but only to Drake in person.

In other circumstances he would have fought to the death, but he was, understandably, bitter for having been deserted by Medina Sidonia and the rest of the armada. As he explained to King Philip of Spain many years later, he thought it: 'no dishonour to surrender to a foe as formidable as Drake, who was endowed with valour and felicity so great that Mars and Neptune seemed to attend him'.

Drake immediately ordered that the *Rosario* be searched. This resulted in much treasure, including 55,000 gold ducats and much plate, being transferred to the *Revenge*, along with some forty Spanish officers. Four hundred lesser Spaniards remained aboard the prize that was towed into Tor Bay by the *Roebuck*, while one of the pinnaces, under Captain Cely, was dispatched to report to Howard with all haste. Drake must have been well satisfied with the night's work, but he had lost precious time. He, too, lost no further time in rejoining the fleet.

Aboard the Ark Royal

When dawn came on the first of August, the *Ark Royal* found herself uncomfortably close to the armada. She was supported, none too closely by the *White Bear* and the *Mary Rose*. The rest of the fleet lay far to stern, some could be seen hull down, but most hidden below the horizon. Luckily the Spanish ships were slow to react to the chance of capturing the Lord High Admiral, who managed to extricate himself from a most perilous situation.[5]

By now the wind had died down again and it took all day for the fleet to catch up. Drake only arrived as night was falling. A whole day appeared to have been wasted due entirely to his failure to obey orders.

There is no record of what transpired when they met, but surely Drake would have had a hard task explaining to Howard how five German merchantmen appeared to have sailed right through the Spanish fleet at dusk without being spotted? His was such an unlikely story that it is hard to imagine that Drake would have used it to cover up a subterfuge for abandoning his post in order to search in the dark for the crippled *Rosario*? Would he not have done better to stick to his original idea that he thought they were Spanish ships but that he had failed to find them before they had time to slip back into the body of the armada?

Nonetheless, Howard appears to have accepted Drake's word without question. Written evidence that this was the truth has been available for the past eighty years, but no one, to my knowledge, seems to have realised its significance.

The Fugger newsletters

1988 was the four hundredth anniversary of the armada battle. It was commemorated with a spate of new books on Drake. At the time, research was being conducted by this present author into the life of his ancestor and namesake, who had served in his own ship with the English fleet, and had three other ships put under his command. They were unarmed auxiliaries, thought by Devon naval historian Michael Oppenheim to have been more trouble than they were worth. Nevertheless Richard Whitbourne was recognised as having rendered the Lord High Admiral, 'some especial service.'

In Guernsey's literary 'Aladdin's Cave' –The Priaulx Library - *The Fugger newsletters* were chanced upon, a book published in 1926. It was a selection from many thousand of reports, translated into English, and written between 1568 and 1604.[6]

In the sixteenth century the Fugger family was one of the richest in Europe. Hans Fugger, a weaver, moved to Augsburg, an unremarkable land-locked town in present day Austria in 1357. Jacob Fugger the 'Rich' (1459-1520) was largely responsible for creating the family fortune by acquiring a monopoly in the royalties from mining and trading in minerals, such as silver, copper and mercury.

At the time of the armada, the family owned a widespread shipping and merchandise business with factors and agents throughout Europe and as far away as Goa. These would send news reports to Augsburg much like today's special correspondents. The reports often contained gossip and hearsay but also first-hand and reliable reports from ships' captains. Many reports were incorporated into newsletters that were circulated to Fugger's main agents.

There were plenty of reports about the armada from all sorts of surprising places, often about the rumours then in circulation. The two quoted below, from ships' captains, are of particular interest and seem to be genuine. Firstly:

> 301. HANS LINBURGER SEES THE ARMADA AT SEA.
> Hamburg, June 23, 1588 (O.S.)

> I simply must tell you that the skipper, Hans Limberger, has arrived here with his vessel from Cadiz. He broke through the embargo, and has a cargo of salt, wine, raisins, cinnamon, and a little sugar. He put out from there on the 20th ultis., O.S., and passed Lisbon on the 24th. In the distance he saw the Armada and sailed abreast of it all day. The next day it was blowing rather hard and he could not see it. He is of opinion that the Armada put out on the 23rd of May Old Style (2nd June new Style) and was shaping a course for the Channel. The skipper met an England warship on his way and this brought him into Plymouth, to Drake's Armada. He was entertained by Drake for three days and the English were rejoicing that the Spanish Armada was at sea. Afterwards Captain Drake gave the skipper a permit, so that he might be allowed to pass, and quickly formed in order and put to sea in spite of a contrary wind. If the action is fought, there will be terrible loss of life. On two consecutive days here the sun and moon have been quite bloody. What this signifies the merciful God alone knows. May he defend the right.

On several occasions when Drake captured or detained foreign nationals, he would entertain their leaders in a personal and generous way, thereby hoping to gain valuable intelligence, including the well known case during his circumnavigating voyage. By happy chance, on 1st March 1579 off the coast of North America, he captured the *Nuestra Senora de la Conception* with little bloodshed and immense booty. He entertained the officers and gentlemen passengers with sumptuous banquets and music before releasing them. The second letter reads:

> 312. HANS BUTTBER'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARMADA.
> Hamburg, August 3 and 4, 1588.
> Hans Buttber has arrived off the town in a big ship. He comes through the Channel from San Lucar. He was with Captain Drake for four or five days and joined the Englishman on the 21st, O.S., of last month, just after the latter had had an engagement with the Spanish Armada. From the 21st to the 26th they had skirmished and fired heavily at each other, but they could not board, and the English with their little ships sailed so well and manœuvred so skilfully, firing meanwhile, that the galleasses could not get at them. Drake captured Don Pedro de Valdez, Admiral of fourteen vessels, and had him and ten other nobles brought on to his own ship. He gave them a banquet and treated them very handsomely and entertained them besides with trumpets and music. On this ship he took sixty guns and made four hundred and fifty men prisoners. Moreover, he got yet another ship which caught fire of itself. All this happened in the presence of the skipper. On the 26th he received a pass, but only on condition of carrying a letter to another English port. There 28 Queen's ships were lying. As soon as their Admiral read the document he got ready for sea to join Drake, but sent two yachts to Holland and Zealand to tell them to keep a sharp look-out there and prevent the Dunkirk people from coming out....."[7]

Aftermath

The epic sea battles off Portland Bill and the Isle of Wight, witnessed by Buttber, frustrated any attempt that Medina Sidonia may have had to make a landing. Driven by the wind, his only choice was to cross over the Channel and drop anchor in Calais harbour in the hope of joining forces with the Duke of

Palma. In the evening of 7 August the English sent in eight fire ships. Only two were intercepted. In panic, the Spanish captains cut their anchor and fled up the coast. Next day the English engaged at Graveline and Ostend doing extensive damage. By nightfall, shot and powder on both sides were exhausted. Next day, the remnants of the great armada fled up north, rounded the top of Scotland and limped back to Spain. Many ships were wrecked on the west coast of Ireland.

The English fleet also fared badly. The exchequer was empty, and the sailors starving. Disease soon took hold. With the heat of battle over, those who had commanded had time to reflect and criticise. Some of Drake's peers were not happy that he appeared to have done very well out of the spoils from the *Rosario* while they had missed out. Vice Admiral Martin Frobisher, a blunt-spoken northern rough diamond, accused Drake of deliberately deserting the fleet and spending all night hunting down the *Rosario* - when he should have been guiding the fleet. When Matthew Starke, a deck officer of the *Revenge*, had delivered a letter to Lord Sheffield at Harwich on 11 August, he had been questioned by Frobisher, Sir John Hawkins and Lord Sheffield. He swore on oath that no one on *the Revenge* had seen the stricken *Rosario* until they had come on her by chance the following dawn. Frobisher called Drake a 'cozening cheat' and would make him 'spend the best blood in his belly' unless he, Frobisher, got his fair share of the treasure from the *Rosario*. As there were four squadrons in the Navy, under four Admirals – Howard, Drake, Frobisher and Hawkins - he thought his share should be 10,000 ducats.[8]

In fact, the spoils were declared The Queen's ransom, and Frobisher was rewarded in due course. He had played his full part in the battles, but he and Drake were like Yorkshire pudding and Devonshire cream - very tasty in themselves, but not to be mixed together.

Conclusion

The above account by Hans Buttber fits in exceptionally well with other accounts. The conclusion must surely be that it is substantially true - or else is an elaborate hoax devised long after the events it describes. If possible the original should to be found and checked out and an independent translation made into English.

If it is shown to be genuine, then Drake's action in giving chase to the hulks was fully justified. He probably put a small boarding party on Buttber's ship with orders to keep close by him. It is also likely that they ran up the English colours, so it would be mistaken for just another English auxiliary.

Howard himself would have commended Drake for extinguishing his stern lantern: certainly would not have criticized him.

Notes and references

1. David 1981, p. 404. Another version quotes in our 'greatest peril' in place of 'great misery'

2. For a long and detailed account of this incident, see Sabrina L. Carne, 2008, 'Doubting Thomas', *Journal of History and Classics*, submitted for peer review, at http://academia.wiki.com/august.
3. Laughton 1895, vol. 1, p. 288.
4. New style or N.S. refers to the Gregorian calendar. Old style or O.S. refers to the Julian calendar, used by the English until 1752, and 10 days behind the Gregorian calendar in use by Spain. Thus, 29 July (N.S.) was the same day as 19th July (O.S.).
5. In narrating the course of events that night, I have followed closely the accounts by all the main armada authorities (see bibliography below), other than for my assumption that Drake could only have found out the identity of the 'hulks' by forcing one of them to heave-to.
6. See *Fugger newsletters*, p. 163. I have not been able to trace the source history of this book. Some of its reports on the armada can be found on the internet at www.boisestate.edu/courses/reformation, including that by Hans Buttber.
7. *Fugger newsletters*, p. 168. Hans Buttber's account is so consistent with the known events, that it is appears certain that he was a witness to them. It seems somewhat unusual for Drake to entrust his dispatch to Buttber, a neutral, rather than to an English vessel, but in the event Buttber delivered it safely to Vice Admiral Lord Henry Seymour, who lay off Deal with some fourteen of the Queen's ships and twenty-three auxiliary vessels. Seymour was guarding against a surprise landing by the Duke of Palma while the main fleets were engaged elsewhere.
8. See Laughton *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 104. Together with Mathew Starke's testimony, this is reproduced in McKee 1959, p.113ff.

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The Devon Historian, vol. 77, 2008, pp. 75-80.

Rev. Thomas Alcock: vicar and eccentric

David Wildman

Called a 'loved and respected eccentric', throughout much of the eighteenth century, Rev. Thomas Alcock (1709-1798) was a colossal figure in the small village of St. Budeaux.[1] An isolated parish, St. Budeaux was situated four miles to the north of Plymouth, later merging with the bigger town in the early twentieth century. Alcock's time was that before St. Budeaux became a substantial community of many thousands, when the village consisted of seventy-seven homes and eighty-two families.[2]

Noted as a priest, doctor and lawyer, Alcock spent sixty-five years as vicar of the parish. His involvement, as records show, knew no bounds. Yet he began life further a-field from Devon, in Aston, near Runcorn, Cheshire. He was the third son of David Alcock, a descendant of Bishop John Alcock – founder of Jesus College, Cambridge.[3] Young Alcock was educated at Warrington School, then Brasenose College, Oxford, gaining his B.A. in 1731, and his M.A. in 1741.[4] His first involvement in the West Country came as a curate of Stonehouse, Plymouth, in 1731, which lay some five miles south of St. Budeaux. In November 1732 he began acting as minister of the parish of St. Budeaux, becoming permanently appointed by the vicar of Plymouth's mother church, St. Andrew's, on 29 December 1733.[5]

An early twentieth century anonymous historian of the area (most likely a vicar of St Budeaux church) states that Alcock was 'much liked in spite of his eccentric habits'.[6] The historian was probably referring to such practices as the language of his sermons, which contained 'Latin and Greek quotations and passages from English poets',[7] while a portion of his popularity most certainly is explained in his omission to collect tithes from the locals.

In 1769 the clergyman caused a local controversy when he refused to preach every ninth sermon at St. Andrew's, as had been the custom since 1722. Alcock later stated that he 'refused to submit any longer to such a scandalous Simoniacal Imposition and observed the liberty of a Minister of St Budeaux'.[8] A later vicar, Rev. Hancock, writing in the 1930s, sheds light upon other reasons behind Alcock's decision to terminate his sermons at St. Andrews, most notably his failure to gain election to become vicar of St. Andrews itself earlier in the year. Alcock gained only 3 votes, and lost to Mr. John Candy.[9] He would never set foot inside St. Andrew's again.

Yet controversy and eccentricity was not the total sum of Thomas Alcock. A late twentieth century booklet on the history of St. Budeaux church comments on the 'much good work' Alcock directed 'towards the raising of money for the school and the appointment of teachers'.[10] The school in question was (and indeed remains today, although in different form) St. Budeaux Foundation

School, established in 1717. Helping poor children in the locality, the aim of the overseers, in the words of one of the endowments, was:

> to teach the children to read, write and cast an account, and for teaching them the catechism and instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion, making them to keep the church and Sabbath, and to check and punish them for all lying, cursing and swearing.[11]

Alcock dipped into his own pocket to help out with the school, as old registers show, while in 1771 he helped purchase land at Weston Peverel to provide a home for the master of the St. Budeaux charity school.[12] The before mentioned anonymous historian believed Alcock lived in the 'most simple way', adding that he 'always [gave] a pint of beer and a bun to every old woman in the parish'.[13]

Simplicity may have been Alcock's preference, yet he also took a great fancy to owning land in the area, ending his time there as one of the principle landowners. In 1784 he purchased, from Sir Harry Trelawney, the whole of the manor of Agaton and rights to the presentation of the church of St. Budeaux.[14] Included in this, believes local historian of the early twentieth century, H. Montagu Evans, was part of the barton of Budshead, the principle manor of the area.[15] The ability of obtaining such a mass of land was probably helped by Alcock's marriage to Mary Harwood of Ernesettle, an heiress to substantial local property. Their marriage was childless, and Mary died in 1777. Later in the century Alcock sold his stake in Budshead manor to Lord Graves.[16]

Alcock left St. Budeaux with many writings in which modern day citizens of the area can now look back upon. The earlier mentioned anonymous historian called him 'a brilliant scholar'. In the later half of the eighteenth century Alcock was to comment on the size of the village, which had increased despite various wars (notably the Seven years war), writing sorrowfully:

> These Wars must have taken many men and youths from St. Budeaux for ye Naval Service, and have deprived many Virgins of Lovers, and many Wives of Husbands, and also must have made many Widowed-Wives, and have much hindered Procreation by the Husbands being abroad for many years together'.[17]

His scholarly skills are found in the shape of the biography he wrote on his brother, Nathan, a doctor who practiced and 'gained a high reputation' in Oxford.[18] Titled *Memoirs of Dr. Nathan Alcock*, the reverend compiled the book shortly after his brother's death in 1779. In 1796 he would help edit the publication of Nathan's *The Rise of Mahomet, Accounted for on Natural and Civil Principles*.[19]

Alongside the above mentioned achievements, Alcock is chiefly remembered today with being associated with the cider rumpus of the 1760s. A self-styled 'cydermaker' himself upon his lands in Ernesettle, the vicar reacted negatively to a recently imposed hefty cider tax. Published in 1763, his pamphlet, *Observations on that part of a late Act of Parliament which lays an additional duty on the cyder and perry*, found its way to Exeter and London, becoming part of a 'vigorous campaign'.[20]

The tax was repealed three years later in 1766, to which there were 'celebrations with bell-ringing, public illuminations, dances and dinners'.[21] However, a second blow was to affect the cider makers of the country, coming in the form of a pamphlet of William Saunders who believed that notable cases of severe colic, peculiar to Devon, was the result of lead poisoning from storage vessels of cider. Such a belief was present as far back as 1738, in which a Mr Huxham noted that this disease made its appearance during the autumn months when new cider was consumed.[22]

Saunders' pamphlet, entitled *An answer to the observations of Mr Geach and to the cursory remarks of Mr Alcock*, 'drew attention to the fact that Alcock was a cider maker and so had a vested interest'.[23] Defenders of cider making, Alcock included, refuted such accusations, and carried out further tests, resulting in nil lead in the cider. Alcock himself replied to Saunders in 1769 with his essay, *The endemical colic of Devon, not caused by a solution of lead in the cyder*. Within it, Alcock defended his right to speak on such matters, dismissing Saunders' doubts as to his qualifications by stating that while at Oxford he learnt 'both of Physic and Chemistry from a professor in those sciences, perhaps not inferior to this great doctor Saunders'.[24] As to believed 'vested interests', Alcock stated that he would only consider selling 'a hogshead' of cider when he produced more cider than his family needed.[25]

In 1756, before the debates on the brewing of cider, Alcock was made vicar of his home-town, Runcorn. He spent the majority of his time in Devon, leaving the running of the Runcorn parish to numerous curates.[26] At the age of seventy-eight he married a second time and towards the end of his life returned to live in Runcorn, dying there in 1798 at the grand age of ninety. Rev. Hancock, who wrote of such colourful characters as Alcock, stated that 'though they have not left a name in local or national history, have left their memorial in the parish in which they lived and to which they were such benefactors'.[27]

Notes and references

1. Barnes and Bevington 1963.
2. Hancock 1934, pp. 305-18.
3. Wikipedia 2008.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. Evans 1913, pp. 290-306.
6. Anon. 1910. This history is a wonderfully handwritten book of 1910, with amendments added throughout the next couple of decades. Although the writer is unknown, it is stated in the introduction that much of the knowledge was taken from J. Brooking Rowe's *The ecclesiastical history of old Plymouth* (1908). The book can be viewed in the Local Studies section of the Plymouth Central Library.

7. White's *Directory of Devonshire*. 1878-9, at http://www.historicaldirectories.org/hd/pageviewer.asp?pnum=696&zoom=-r%2B 100 &dn=LUL19021tif&fn= (accessed August).
8. Hancock 1934, p. 308.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. Barnes and Bevington 1963.
11. loc.cit.
12. Wikipedia 2008.
13. Anon. 1910.
14. Hancock 1934, pp. 305-18.
15. Evans 1913, p. 296.
16. Ware 1983.
17. Hancock 1934, p. 307.
18. Devon County Council (D.C.C) 2008.
19. Wikipedia 2008.
20. D.C.C 2008.
21. *Loc. cit.*
22. *Loc. cit.*
23. *Loc. cit.*
24. *Loc. cit.*
25. *Loc. cit.*
26. Starkey 1980, p. 52, in Runcorn History Society (2008) at: http://www.runcornhistsoc.org.uk/hazlehurst/chap1.5_other_denom.html 2008
27. Hancock 1934, p. 308.

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Book reviews

Margaret DePiano and Stephen DiAddezio (2007) *Devon: Chester County, Pennsylvania,* Privately printed; softcover, 142 pp., 475+ b/w illustrations, ISBN 978 0 9556743 0 3; $25.00 through Barnes and Noble.

A joy in local history is finding oneself being able to reflect on a familiar theme from an entirely fresh and unexpected perspective. This came when I was asked to review a work on Devon. Devon in this case being a town near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the U.S.

The imminent publication of this work was first drawn to my attention by one of its authors, Margaret DePiano. Margaret was seeking information on an 'English-inspired' hotel that occupied a prominent place in the landscape and life of the town. A note was subsequently published in *The Devon Historian* (2007, vol. 75, pp. 38-9), which contained some historical information on the hotel and the town, and a photograph of the hotel itself.

A curious attraction to be found in reading about Devon, the U.S. town, is that its history mirrors in a few decades of the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century some of the essential social, economic and cultural trends apparent in the development of Devon, the English county. Devon, Pennsylvania, emerged as a resort town, serving nearby Philadelphia. The genesis of the place was the establishment of a substantial hotel, The Devon Inn, and its extensive landscaped grounds in a relatively rural area of dispersed settlement. Railway trade came to serve the hotel well, and in the environs sprung up many villa retreats. Names, or part of the names, of roads and buildings were inspired by various Devon, English, or leisure resort associations, for example: 'Devon' itself, 'South Devon', 'Exeter', 'Clovelly', 'Dorset', 'Llangollen', and 'Highland'.

Just as the resort economy of Devon, England, would experience relative decline in the twentieth century, so also would that of the American town – although decline would be exacerbated by the destruction by fire of The Devon Inn.

One of the subtitles of the book is 'A pictorial history showing over 475 images'. Indeed this places the book in the 'pictorial history' genre of local history publication – its production being an opportunity to place in the public domain an extensive and valuable collection of photographic images and other printed ephemera, with accompanying commentary. Moreover, the book has the feel of an exhibition catalogue, displaying those photographs and other memorabilia to their best effect.

Those inspired by the publication may like to track down a more substantive history elsewhere in the local historical literature. Here, though, is a rich and very satisfying visual impression: of the iconic hotel, ultimately ill-fated; of an appealing resort centre, fleetingly high fashion; and of a surrounding sub-region, adjusting to the demands of twentieth century economic change.

For this reviewer, in the history of Devon, in the U.S., are to be found unexpected resonances of the life course of Devon, the English county.
Andrew Jackson

Geoff Elliot (2007) *Colyton at war*, Colyton Parish History Society; 151 pp., softcover, ISBN 978 0 9556743 0 3, £8.99.

If ever history has the ability to touch us it is oral history, and this collection of Colyton wartime memories is no exception. Here is the fine grain of individual histories which collective histories and top down histories so often fail to capture. From the well treated German prisoner of war working on a local farm to the young servant who was the house's sole survivor of a German bombing raid, the war itself is ever-present. The testimonies contain information that would otherwise be lost: we know so little, for example, about how the Taunton Stopline pillboxes in the Axe valley were built or, in the case of Alan Board's experience, how pillboxes had to be built and then rebuilt when they were badly built. Some testimonies were nearly lost: sadly, Muriel Turl died only four days after her interview.

The book is easy to navigate. A map of the town helps reconstruct the busy centre of Colyton which at the time boasted 40 shops, whilst photographs help situate some of the testimonies. Short biographical notes close each account.

Reviewers have an irritating habit of expecting a book to be something other than what it sets out to be, and if this book sets out to do no more than bring a particular time and place to life it certainly succeeds. As a history book, and particularly as an oral history book, it does have a few shortcomings. It is not clear whether these interviews have been edited and, if so, following what criteria. Sean Day-Lewis, in his interview, quotes from his poet father's autobiography and poems, giving the date of the edition and publication dates - rather unusual for an interview transcript. However, the Colyton History Society website (http://www.colytonhistory.co.uk/) also offers for sale a set of 4 DVDs which may answer these points as well as adding the timbre of human voices to the mix. It would also be useful to know how the interviewees were selected and in what conditions the interviews were conducted. The present reviewer recalls that some at least of the interviews took place in an ante-chamber to the 2005 'Colyton at war' exhibition. The public were invited to come in and listen. This is a tough way for an older person to be interviewed and it is a testimony to the interviewees how much they were prepared to reveal about their hopes and fears in such a public interview.

None of the above points affect the pleasure of reading these personal stories, all rooted in the local landscape. Taking an oral history project from interviews to publication is no mean task and we are fortunate in Devon that these histories are emerging; see for example the excellent volume on the fruit and flower growers of the Tamar Valley: *Sovereigns, Madams and Double Whites* (Tamar Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (A.O.N.B. 2004). Several local history societies in Devon have also conducted interviews, but are perhaps too modest about their potential; not all of these interviews have been transcribed. The way forward lies perhaps with camcorded interviews, now ongoing in three East Devon projects (the Neroche Project, the Branscombe Project and the East Devon A.O.N.B. Parishscapes Project) and there are no doubt others elsewhere. Camcording confers many advantages: the camera lens can follow the pointing finger when interviewees are on site explaining a landscape or other features; the transcriber can watch the lips where a voice is indistinct and work out who is talking in group interviews; hand and eye movement lend emphasis to the speaker.

The Colyton volume serves as a reminder that, although many conventional archives detail the life and circumstances of ordinary people, with the inevitable bias towards the poor, the insane, the sick or the criminal, only oral history give ordinary people their own voice. The Colyton testimonies are by local people not just about them.

Philippe Planel

Helen Harris (2007) *Incomers to Devon*, Newton Abbot: Peninsula Press; 48 pp., 2 maps, 29 illustrations, softback, ISBN 978 1 872640 56 3, £3.99.

When the book review editor, Sadru Bhanji, told me he had a book by Helen Harris to review called *Incomers to Devon*, I facetiously asked, not knowing its content, 'Are we in it?'. But what I was thinking of isn't the subject at all.

The theme developed as a result of a seminar held by the History Section of the Devonshire Association with the title 'Raiders and invaders'. The author herself provided a postscript at the seminar on 'the modern, more friendly, phenomenon of incomers'.

She began by asking members of the 140-strong audience to raise their hands if they had been born in Devon, and pursued this with a question about grandparents. This gave her the idea of extending her thoughts to a study of four sample Devon places – Bradworthy, Tiverton, Buckfastleigh and Torbay. The result is a 48-page, staple-bound booklet, which might have been better presented as a paper in the annual *Transactions*. When the index, the maps and illustrations and statistical tables are taken away, the pages of text are reduced to about thirty.

Anything by Helen Harris is worth reading, and she does not disappoint us here, though one would perhaps have liked to hear the views of some of the incomers. Most of the chapters are about the background of the four Devon places which she has chosen as the basis of her study.

This whole topic is of the greatest interest to us all, and I was reminded of the mobility of labour when, during a recent visit to Connemara in the west of Ireland, I saw two bays of the large new supermarket filled with goods prominently labeled 'Polish Food'.

Brian Le Messurier

John Lane and Harland Walshaw (2007) *Devon's churches*, Totnes: Green Books; 256 pp., over 240 photographs, hardback, ISBN 978 1 903998 96 0, £20.00

This enjoyable work is described under the title as 'A Celebration'. It might equally well be regarded as 'an appreciation' for it is clear that both collaborators are in love with the subject.

The text is provided by former teacher, writer, and founder of the Beaford Arts Centre John Lane, while the illustrations are by the established architectural photographer Harland Walshaw. The lavish collection of photographs – many of which fill the 27cm x 20cm page – are all in high definition black-and-white. This medium has the effect of enhancing rather than detracting from the portrayal of the subject, especially since the writer gives graphic descriptions of colours where applicable.

As the writer explains, to cover all of Devon's 624 churches in this form would have been impracticable in matters of cost and volume size. Therefore, fifty churches have been selected for the 'full treatment', each comprising two pages – one providing around 300 words of text and the remaining space carrying photography. Subsequent sections deal with: other churches to visit (giving shorter descriptions of 117 further ones), a few notable other places of worship, explanations of some important features associated with church buildings – all with illustrations – and 'reflections' on visiting churches. Architects and artists who have worked in Devon are listed, and there is a useful glossary of architectural terms, plus an index.

Even in as fine a book as this, errors can occur. St Peter's church at Shaldon stands at the south (not north) end of the bridge across the Teign. The three creatures depicted on the wagon roofs of Sampford Courtenay and North Bovey churches (and in other places across the world) are now known to be hares (not rabbits). And on page 136 Colebrooke is said to be '1 mile SW of Cullompton', where there is indeed a farm so named, but the location and the church described clearly relate to Colebrooke parish, 5 ½ miles west of Crediton!

The quality of the photographs is matched by that of the text. The book is beautifully and feelingly written, and conveys the expectation felt as the visitor pushes open an ancient heavy church door, often to be surprised by the character of the interior. The writer appreciates stillness, and simplicity, and the serenity of country churches, but is thrilled too by the magnificence of rood screens and other architectural features and fittings. Often we are told the season of year in which the authors made their visits and the wild flowers adorning the hedges or church interiors, helping to create a pleasing sense of atmosphere.

This book was a pleasure to read and to review and will doubtless be enjoyed by many others who appreciate Devon's churches – the great treasures of our county.

Helen Harris

Diana Lawer (2007) *'Get your skates on': a history of Plymouth's roller skating rinks 1874-1989*, Plymouth: Three Towns Publishing; 218+ix pp., profusely illustrated, softback, ISBN 978 0 9557442 0 4, £10.99.
Some members may already know of Diana Lawer, either through her working at the Plymouth Local Studies Library or as Secretary of the largest picture postcard collectors' club in the United Kingdom – that based in Plymouth. She has a longstanding interest in social history, particularly as related to leisure activities, and puts this to good use in this well written book.

The book begins with an account of the invention of the roller skate and moves on to why roller-skating, or rinking as it was called in its prime, proved so successful in Plymouth. In particular, the town had a relatively young, relatively fit population who earned sufficient to travel in and out of the town to indulge in leisure activities. Lawer then describes Plymouth's response to the fashion for roller-skating as falling into three phases: late-Victorian enthusiasm which ended abruptly and mysteriously; sudden resurrection beginning in Edwardian times and lasting until the outbreak of the Second World War; and attempts to revive roller-skating during the 1960-80s. The various venues are lovingly described as are the activities which went on. The latter included 'Cinderellas', large ball-like occasions at which formal or fancy dress was *de rigueur*.

On the whole this is a well produced work. The one or two typographical errors are well compensated for by the quality of most of the illustrations, many of which are reproductions of postcards and other souvenir or publicity material. The book is well referenced, the author drawing on a number of sources, including the personal records of a particularly innovative and energetic rink owner during the early years of the 1909-1939 heyday. There is also a bibliography - and, joy of joys, an index!

This book covers a little explored aspect of Devon's social history and deserves a readership beyond the skating enthusiast and the postcard collector. It can be well recommended.
Sadru Bhanji

Alex Mettler and Gerry Woodcock (2007) *Lest we forget*, Tavistock and District Local History Society; 259 pp. (plus prelims), 217 illustrations, hardback, ISBN 978-0-9544284-3-9. £14.95 from local bookshops or, for UK and Europe, p. & p. free from A. E. Mettler, Landfall, Courtenay Road, Tavistock, PL19 0EE. (Also this, and the previous *We will remember them*, together, £20 and p. & p. free).
Lest we forget is the second of two books by Alex Mettler and Gerry Woodcock following their investigations of the service personnel whose names are inscribed on Tavistock's war memorial. The previous volume, *We will remember them* (2003), considers those who lost their lives due to the 1914-18 war; this latest work relates to those from the conflict of 1939-45.

Obviously the product of considerable dedicated research, the book expounds on relevant fields of information in three ways. The first, through pages 1-48, sets the scene with an interesting description of Tavistock during the Second world war. The forty individuals' histories are then dealt with in chronological rather than in alphabetical order, and this enables provision of an authoritative commentary on the historical aspects and progress of the war, thus giving background. Thirdly, the stories of the lives of the fallen – each told in a section of 1,500-2,000 words, appropriately illustrated – gives personal information including extensive details of forbears, which provides much interest for family historians.

The list of names from the Second world war numbers forty, including one woman – approximately a third of those from the First. As the writers point out, it has been possible to gather much more information at first hand from relations and close friends than previously. But, as before, many other sources have also been studied.

Through their investigations the authors have brought reality to those names on the town's granite memorial. The reader feels acquainted with the individuals and their families and it is just so sad that in each case the person of interest dies, at such a young age. The work is a moving account and a fine tribute to their valour.

Handsomely produced, the good clear type and the flowing style of writing make for smooth and informative reading. (It is slightly disappointing that the names of naval vessels are given in inverted commas in the text, instead of in italics as in the photo captions). The last few pages provide a lengthy list of sources of information – books, articles, directories, newspapers and periodicals, documents, organisations, museums, libraries and record offices, and memorial inscriptions - which shows just how busy and thorough the co-authors have been. There is also a surname index.
Helen Harris

Chris Potts and Derek Wilson (2006) ***Voyaging over life's sea: a history of the British Seamen's Home, Brixham (1859-1988)*****, Brixham: Brixham Heritage Museum; 77 pp., 17 illustrations, softcover, ISBN 0954545923, £5.95, plus £1.50 p. & p. if purchased from the publishers.**

No-one interested in old houses and history can have lived in the West Country during the past few years and been unaware of the National Trust's purchase of Tyntesfield, the Victorian high Gothic house near Bristol acquired from the Gibbs family at vast cost in 2002, having been built in its present form by William Gibbs.

But it came as a surprise to this reviewer, who has visited Tyntesfield, to find that this same William Gibbs, the successful business man who made his fortune in the marketing of Peruvian guano, the excrement of seabirds, was one of the founders of the British Seamen's Boys' Home in Brixham. He was well known as a generous philanthropist, who paid for a splendid new church in Exeter with a 220ft spire, St Michael and All Angels. But one wonders why he got involved in what was a boys' orphanage in a South Devon fishing port.

According to Potts and Wilson it appears that Gibbs came to Torquay to convalesce from an illness and met the Revd J. Hogg, a local vicar. They developed a friendship that lasted all their lives. Hogg invited Gibbs to stay with him at Brixham in the winter of 1859-60, and Gibbs became interested in the local seafaring community. They felt the need for a Christian mission ashore for the benefit of seafarers, and a large house was purchased and a chaplain appointed. His duties were not only land-based, as he visited ships anchored offshore and took services on board if permitted by the captains.

The Mission made steady progress, but Gibbs was concerned for the plight of those young boys orphaned when their fathers were lost at sea. A house was bought and became the Boys' Home in 1861.

The early 1860s were the years of consolidation, but in 1867 Hogg died suddenly, and the chaplain moved to Crediton. Gibbs was in his 70s, so he placed the management of the Mission and Home in the hands of a committee. He died at Tyntesfield in 1875 aged 84. In 1999 a plaque was placed near the main entrance of the Home in his memory and to the 1300 boys who passed through the Home.

The two institutions continued in parallel until the end of the nineteenth century when the Mission side was taken over by the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen.

And so the story carried on. The Boys' Home continued with buildings added and crises surmounted, and always about 30 to 50 boys on the roll. In later years the number of boys became fewer, and it was obvious that it could not continue in its present form, so it was decided to revamp the institution to become more fitting for the sort of activity that its position made it suitable for. It became the Grenville House Outdoor Centre, and it offers twenty water- and land-based activities throughout the year. Ten full-time staff are employed, and in 2005 6,400 young people stayed at the centre.

The account of the institution's history ends with the words: 'We would like to think that our current operations would have the wholehearted approval of William Gibbs'.

Fortunately the records of the Boys' Home were acquired by Brixham Heritage Museum, and these formed the backbone of this story that is well told by Chris Potts and Derek Wilson. This is a fine example of local people ensuring that a local institution is not forgotten when it ceases to exist.
Brian Le Messurier

Gary Tregidga (ed.) (2006) *Killerton, Camborne and Westminster: the political correspondence of Sir Francis and Lady Acland, 1910-29*, Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New series, Vol. 48; 180 pages, ISBN 0901853488.

The book is in two distinct parts. The second part is a reproduction of the political correspondence of Sir Francis and Lady Acland between 1910 and 1929, the majority of which is preserved in the Devon Record Office and headed with abbreviated D.R.O. reference numbers. The remainder is from various other sources such as, for example, the Bodleian Library. Dr Tregidga's 'Introduction' is the first part and provides a foundation for considering the correspondence. Notes and references in this case follow the particular subjects.

Tregidga opens his Introduction with a reference to the decline of the Liberal party from a claim to be the natural party of government in 1910 to a struggle to survive at the close of the First world war. He refers to the view that the Liberal party was already losing ground to the Labour party before 1914 and another view that the former remained a serious contender for government until its disintegration in 1924. These debates and the Acland family's change of political direction described by Tregidga on pages 6 and 7 contribute to the context for considering the correspondence of Sir Francis and Lady Acland.

According to W.G. Hoskins, the Aclands should be regarded as the oldest surviving landed family in Devon with a background dating back to their early origins as minor landowners in North Devon in the early Middle Ages. A baronetcy was granted to the Aclands in 1644 as a reward for loyalty to the Royalist cause in the Civil War, and in 1680 Killerton House became the family's principal residence. Francis Dyke Acland was born in Oxfordshire in 1874 as the eldest son of Arthur Dyke Acland (1847-1926) and Alice Cunningham daughter of a clergyman at Whitney. Arthur's elder brother, Charles (1842-1919), was heir to the baronetcy as well as Killerton but he did not have any children from his marriage to Gertrude Waldron, so that Arthur and Francis became his heirs. Francis was educated at Rugby and Balliol where he studied modern history. After graduating he studied education at the University of Jena in Germany. In 1900 he became a junior examiner to South Kensington Education Department and in 1903 the assistant director of education in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In 1905 he married Eleanor Cropper who came from a Westmorland family. During this period he became active in party politics and was adopted as Liberal candidate for Richmond, Yorkshire.

Royalist sympathies in the 1640's meant that the natural allegiance of the Aclands was to the Tories, but in 1867 Francis' grandfather, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1809-98), disenchanted with the official Conservative line in relation to certain issues, changed his allegiance to the Liberal party. Tregidga's comments on page 7 of his Introduction that 'Duty and responsibility were important factors in the attitude displayed towards parliamentary politics by the Acland family'; and Francis' statement of his own view of his personal philosophy and competence in his letter of 30 October 1917 to Eleanor could be said to give an important insight into the tone of the correspondence.

Tregidga mentions that much of the correspondence relates to the theme of the breakthrough of the Labour party. Other themes are the Suffragette movement, Asquith's and Lloyd George's premiership, the Irish question, and Lib-Lab alliance. Francis' relationship with his agent C.A. Millman, who later defected to the Labour party, is of interest. Francis addresses a letter of 18 February 1917 to Asquith as 'My dear Chief' but on 29 December 1918 it had become 'Dear Asquith'. The former letter was long and drawn out, as much of Francis' writings appear to be, and quite possibly Asquith did not read it. Francis received no acknowledgement and, in a letter to his wife, he describes Asquith as a 'pig' and he 'hasn't sent me a line of thanks'. Unfortunately only one letter from Lady Eleanor to her husband is reproduced: that dated '1918'. In it she gives Sir Francis sympathetic and thoughtful advice and says much about her character and the relationship between the two people.

Dr Tregidga's book will be invaluable source for students of Westminster and Devon and Cornwall politics. It also adds to the general historical knowledge of the local historian. Lastly, Dr Tregidga's pleasant style makes the book well worth reading.
D.L.B. Thomas

Myrtle Ternstrom (2007) *Light over Lundy*. Dunbeath: Whittles Publishing; 130 pp., 3 maps, 37 illustrations, softcover, ISBN 978 1904445 29 6, £14.99.
It is not often one sees an ancestor on a book cover, so I was elated to see a snap of my maternal great grandfather, John McCarthy, reproduced as part of a composite illustration on a recent book *Light over Lundy*.

Myrtle Ternstrom has performed a most useful service in compiling her book which takes the history of Lundy's lighthouses to the eighteenth century. Much of the early history is concerned with shipwrecks, and the author lists these in a lengthy appendix from 1610 to 1897. She has also consulted the Trinity House Guildhall Library Archive, and a list of 39 of these references is given at the back of the book together with figures culled from The National Archives giving returns of revenue from lighthouse dues.

The author has also assiduously sifted through the archives of the Heaven family who owned Lundy for much of the nineteenth century, and relates many interesting anecdotes.

I suppose my interest is concentrated into the McCarthy family's stay on Lundy from 1884 to 1893, when great grandfather was principal keeper of Lundy lighthouse – what we now call Lundy Old Light. But the details of the fog battery, halfway down the west facing cliff where two families lived are fascinating. Two elderly eighteen pounder cannon fired three pounds of gunpowder every ten minutes when fog was present, and this could sometimes last for days. The battery was manned by two men and their families.

Around 1960 one of John McCarthy's daughters gave me a scale model of the lighthouse made in 1893. It needed repair, but John Dyke, the late Lundy historian and artist did this. It seemed best that he should keep the model, but he kindly gave me a drawing of it in its restored state, which one of my sons has on his wall. It is the drawing which the author uses in her book, but its origin has not been revealed previously.

The model was an exhibit in the short-lived Lundy museum, but seems to have disappeared. John Dyke was always embarrassed when the subject of its loss came up; I never found out what really happened. It may yet turn up. I hope so.

One adverse comment. I wrote two articles about the McCarthy family on Lundy. Both are listed in the references, but whereas one is correctly ascribed to 'Le Messurier, B.' the other, referring to an article I wrote for the *Western*

Morning News in 1964 is given under 'Messurier, B.'.
Brian Le Messurier

Maureen E. Wood (2006) *From shambles to pannier: a history of Barnstaple markets,* Barnstaple, Barnstaple Heritage Centre, 287 pages, numerous illustrations, softcover, ISBN 0 9547832 2 0, £9.99.

Mrs Maureen Wood was an amazing woman. Her first book was *Us be goin' to Barnstaple Fair,* published in 2001. She followed this with *Thornby's: Confectioners of this town* which was about the firm that had once been connected to the fair as a supplier of fairing. This came out in 2002. Then, as 2004 marked the 150th anniversary of the railway coming to Barnstaple, she set about gathering information for what was to be a small book. The result was *Just a few lines*, which ran to 240 pages.

Last year, 2006, the Barnstaple Heritage Centre published her last book, the one under consideration here. She writes in the preliminaries of various market traders who died during her research, including her husband, but she became ill in the final stages of putting the book together, and passed away in October 2006. A short insert is tucked in to the beginning of the book giving its genesis, and showing the author dressed in Victorian costume at the celebrations in 2005 to mark the 150th anniversary of the opening of the pannier market.

Maureen Wood has researched her topic from early times, the first chapter dealing with a brief history of markets, followed by the origin of Barnstaple markets. There follow chapters on the market officers, weights and measures, tolls, the location of the markets, and then what for most people will be the main section - the chapters on the corn, fish, cattle, butchers' and pannier markets. The book ends with a chunky chapter of individuals' anecdotes about the markets, mostly collected by the author as recordings for the Barnstaple and North Devon Museum's Voice Archive. This is quite splendid and a most valuable resource.

The book is illustrated with dozens of well-reproduced photographs and prints, and the jacket illustration, wrapped around both covers, is a watercolour by Felicity Halfpenny of Barnstaple market in Tudor times. This was then held in High Street, and is reproduced by permission of the Barnstaple Heritage Centre, who have produced this very worthwhile book. One only wishes that the author could have lived to see it published.
Brian Le Messurier

Gerry Woodcock (2007) *Tavistock's yesterdays 16*, Tavistock: published by author, 96 pp., 30 illustrations, softback, no ISBN, £4.95.

Gerry Woodcock's latest offering to the fortunate people of Tavistock is the sixteenth in the series, which in its uniformity and varied colours, now occupies an increasing length of bookshelf.

The author, formerly head of history and of sixth form at Tavistock College, honoured burgess of Tavistock, and president of its local history society, covers a variety of subjects in his usual interesting style. In the sixteen chapters – most of them short – various episodes of Tavistock's history are considered, some from the seventeenth century, others more recent. One, on the Tavistock Institution, inaugurated in 1827 for the giving of papers on mainly scientific matters, but of uncertain duration, gives an indication that today's groups that meet in the town for lectures are not the first. Also considered are local venues of Devon County Show, which, before having its fixed site at Exeter rotated around the county and was held six times at Tavistock. Not mentioned is the fact that in 1948 - the last of these occasions and the first after the Second world war – the event took place on the last days of August instead of in the customary May.

One, longer, chapter completes the series' history of Tavistock Grammar School – a revised form of the author's book of 1978. (An unfortunate misprint on pages 74 and 75 describes anniversary celebrations of 1952 marking the school's origin in Tudor times, as 'Quartercentenary' when the more prestigious 'Quatercentenary' is clearly intended). One is left eagerly awaiting the next, as yet unwritten episode marking the school becoming comprehensive; a period in which Gerry Woodcock has himself played a worthy part.
Helen Harris

Books received

Noted below are books not subject to a full published review. These include publications sent to the Society for information, or ones containing some information on Devon but insufficient to receive a full review in this journal.

Stanley D.M. Carpenter (ed.) (2007) *The English civil war*, Aldershot: Ashgate; 552 pp., hardback, ISBN 978 0 7546 2480 6, $250 or £130

Rose-Marie Crossan (2007) *Guernsey, 1814-1914: migration and modernization*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 352 pages, illustrated, ISBN 978 1 84383 320 8, £35.

Brian W. Giles (2007) *Tavistock's Methodist chapels*, Tavistock and District Local History Society, 76 pp.

The Devon Historian, vol. 77, 2008, pp. 93-4.

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. Where appropriate notes, queries and notices received may be referred to the editor of the newsletter, *DHS News*.

Notes

I was very interested to read Robin Stanes' piece 'Oliver Cromwell and Devonshire farming' (*The Devon Historian*, vol. 75, pp. 26-7) and Cromwell's comment that of all the counties in England the husbandry of Devonshire was the best. In fact Cromwell had half a year of opportunity to assess Devon's farming. Peter Gaunt's *The Cromwellian Gazetteer* (Alan Sutton and The Cromwell Association, 1987) lists his Devonshire itinerary as follows:

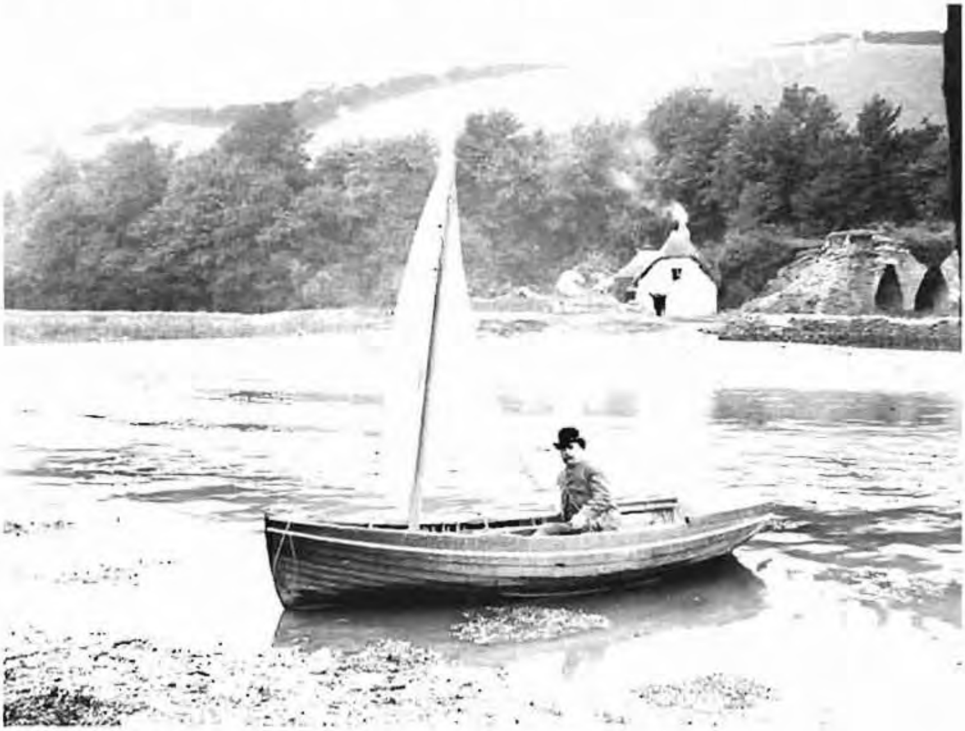
1645
23 Oct left Chard, Somerset;
24 Oct at Crediton;
Late Oct – 31 Dec with Fairfax and main army in quarters around Exeter, with bases at Crediton, Tiverton, Ottery St Mary, Topsham and elsewhere in Devon.

1646
8 Jan Crediton;
9 Jan Bovey Tracey;
24 Jan Totnes;
25 Jan - 9 Feb before Exeter;
10-13 Feb Crediton;
14 Feb Chulmleigh;
16-22 Feb Torrington;
23 Feb Holsworthy;
25 Feb - ?24 Mar in Cornwall;
25 Mar Plymouth;
27 Mar Tavistock and Okehampton;
29 Mar Crediton;
31Mar - 9 Apr before Exeter;
10 Apr in Exeter.
He was back in London on 22 April.

Anthony Greenstreet

Queries

Katherine Dunhill of the Westcountry Studies Library (W.S.L.) writes for help in identifying the image, slightly cropped, reproduced on the front cover of this journal, and uncropped below. Please contact the W.S.L. 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 2007 A.G.M. of the Society it was decided that the existing *The Devon Historian* would 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 the current 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, *Devon History News*.

The Devon Historian

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

Books for review should be sent to Dr Mitzi Auchterlonie (m.m.auchterlonie@exeter.ac.uk), 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 electronically in Word format by email or disk, 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. Endnote referencing should be used, 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.

Back issues

Current and back issues of *The Devon Historian* are available from Mr Gerald Quinn, 6 Old Paignton Road, Torquay, TQ2 6UY. Members may purchase available back issues at £3 each including postage and, when ordering, should state the issue number(s) or publication date(s) of the journal(s) required. Mr Quinn is always glad to receive copies of earlier numbers of *The Devon Historian* in good condition.

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