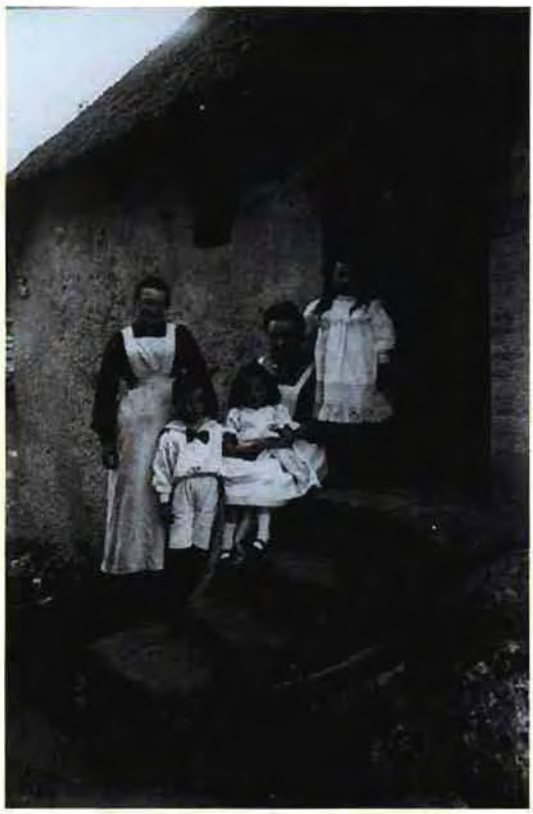
The Devon Historian

Journal of the Devon History Society

VOLUME 83

2014



The Devon History Society is a registered charity which promotes the study of all aspects of the history of Devon. Membership is open to anyone interested in the history of the county.

In addition to membership for individuals, the Society provides an affiliation scheme for local groups with an interest in Devon's history. Corporate membership is also available.
Further information is available on the Devon History Society website, www.devonhistorysociety.org.uk/.

Membership subscriptions run annually from 1 May to 30 April, and are currently:

Individual membership, £15.

Young member (aged between 15 and 25), £5.

Household membership (two adults plus under 18s at the same address), £22.50.

Corporate and associate membership (libraries and institutions), £22.50.

Affiliated societies, £22.50.

Life membership (individuals only), £150.

Please send subscriptions to the membership Secretary:
2 St Olaves, Murchington, Chagford, Newton Abbott, Devon, TQ13 8HJ.
email: membership@devonhistorysociety.org.uk.

The Devon Historian is published annually by the Devon History Society and is available free of charge to all members of the Society. The editor welcomes the submission of articles from both the amateur and the professional (members and non-members of the Society) on any aspect of the history of Devon, to be considered for possible publication in the journal. All articles will be reviewed by an anonymous referee.

Front cover: Image reproduced courtesy of the Devon Heritage Centre.

Back Copies. Current and back copies of *The Devon Historian* are available from the membership secretary (contact details above) at £6.50 per copy. Please state the issue number(s) or publication date(s) of the journal(s) required. The index for the current issue of the journal, as well as for back copies, is available on the Devon History Society website.

The Devon Historian is typeset and printed by Short Run Press, Exeter.

The Devon Historian

VOLUME 83
2014

Contents

THE DEVON HISTORY SOCIETY

PAST PRESIDENTS

Professor W. G. Hoskins, 1969–1973
Lady Aileen Fox, 1973–1975
Dr C. A. Ralegh Radford, 1975–1977
W. Best Harris, 1977–1981
Frank Booker 1981–1982
Professor Joyce Youings, 1982–1986
Crispin Gill, 1986–1989
Professor Ivan Roots, 1989–1993
Dr Basil Greenhill, 1993–1996
Professor Harold Fox, 1996–1999
Dr W. B. Stephens, 1999–2003
Professor Nicholas Orme, 2003–2006
Professor Malcom Todd, 2006–2009
Professor Christopher Holdsworth, 2009–2013

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL MEMBERS

President, Dr Bruce Coleman
Chairman, Philippe Planel
Secretary (acting), Julia Neville
Treasurer, Ann Bond
Editor of *The Devon Historian*, Jane Bliss

Council members: Paul Auchterlonie, Professor James Daybell, Dr Claire Donovan, Professor Henry French, Dr Todd Gray, Judy Moss, Gerald Quinn, Martin Smith (co-opted), Christopher Wakefield, Jan Wood

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
DAT	*Devonshire Association Transactions*
DCNQ	*Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*
DCRS	Devon and Cornwall Record Society
DEI	Devon and Exeter Institution
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
DHC	Devon Heritage Centre
ECA	Exeter Cathedral Archive
EUL	Exeter University Library
NDRO	North Devon Record Office
PWDRO	Plymouth and West Devon Record Office
TDH	*The Devon Historian*
TNA	The National Archives

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Medieval Devon Roodscreens from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day

MICHAEL AUFRÈRE WILLIAMS

Roodscreens dividing church chancels and naves, above which was the image of Christ on the cross usually accompanied by the Virgin and St John and often decorated with images of saints, were universal pieces of furnishing in English parish churches from at least the fourteenth century. Considerable sums were spent during the later middle ages on the construction, decoration, and maintenance of screens in all churches, from cathedrals and monasteries to parish churches. Parish communities in particular saw them as status symbols, raised money for their manufacture, and tried to match the best examples in nearby churches. The iconography of screens provides valuable information about the cults of saints in late-medieval parishes.

Screens became an issue during the Reformation, which did away with the iconography of screens but usually tolerated their survival, thereby retaining a visual object important to parishioners and the traditional division of the church that the screens embodied. Although some screens may have been removed in the sixteenth century, the greatest period of destruction was probably in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, when screens clashed with the wish of Church leaders and people to have open church interiors with uninterrupted vistas, and in the mid to late nineteenth century, the period of church restoration when ecclesiological principles were at their most influential.

This article will consider the original function of screens, their liturgical significance, and the importance of the painted images of saints on the dados of the screens, giving examples which include the presence of some West

Figure 1. Kentisbeare. A typical Devon roodscreen today. Prior to the reformation most (if not all) roodscreens would have possessed a loft. The only pre-Reformation roodloft in existence in Devon today is at Atherington (see Figure 2) which gives a clear indication of how most Devon screens would have looked.

Country saints. Finally, their destruction and survival, and the reasons why some have survived will be discussed.

The earliest surviving Devon screens date from about the 1380s. Nationally, screens probably became common in parish churches during the thirteenth century. Earlier, many parish churches consisted of a nave and chancel divided by a wall reaching to the roof and pierced by a comparatively small and narrow arch. This meant a restricted view of the worship for the laity. However, during the thirteenth century church building and rebuilding tended to make interiors larger and more complex. Chancels were often extended to provide more liturgical space and naves to accommodate more parishioners (there was a considerable increase in population up to *c.*1300). These early screens were themselves replaced during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. For example, in nearby Somerset, the churchwardens at

Tintinhull paid 18d to various men for the 'laying aside' of the old roodloft[1] and at Yatton the accounts of 1455 include a payment for the 'taking down of the old loft'.[2] It should be emphasised that the term 'roodloft' as used up until the Reformation meant the entire structure of screen and carved gallery (Figure 2). The term 'screen' or 'roodscreen' as used today applies only to the lower half of the medieval structure.

The original function of screening, which is very ancient, was to seclude the high altar, clergy, and worship in the chancel from lay intrusion. In Western Europe and England the boundary between the chancel and the nave was the principal place where demarcation was necessary. This demarcation has sometimes been linked with theological and liturgical developments of the twelfth century. For example, it was this period that saw the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, distancing them further from the laity. This period also saw the rise of the doctrine of transubstantiation which attributed greater

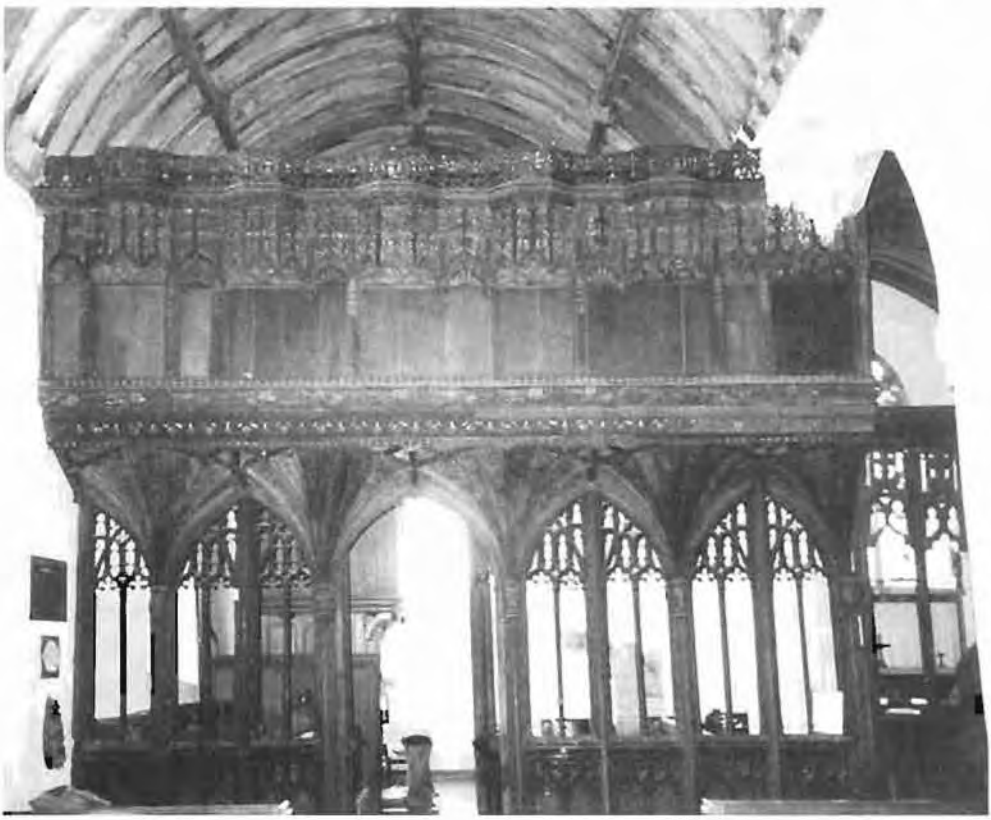


Figure 2. Atherington. Screen and loft. This is the only remaining example of a pre-reformation roodloft in Devon.

holiness to the celebration of masses at altars by asserting that the consecrated bread and wine of the mass became, in a physical sense, the body and blood of Christ. Also at about this time it became common to reserve a consecrated wafer in a 'pyx' or box suspended above the high altar of churches.[3] All this made the chancel a place of particular sanctity, requiring seclusion and the performance of careful ceremonies by authorised clergy. The belief that Christ became physically present in the mass was accompanied by the notion that his presence had medicinal effects on those who witnessed it: forgiving sins, answering prayers, and promoting healing and peace.[4] Parishioners therefore needed to see the moment of consecration, and parish screens, at least in their late-medieval developed form (Figures 1 and 2), were not opaque but provided with windows giving at least a partial view of worship in the chancel.

Thus screens helped to inculcate the idea that worship, the place where it happened, and the clergy who conducted it were especially holy. They enhanced the dignity and mystery of worship, especially of the mass, by acting as a symbolic veil. They should not, though, be regarded as barriers. They provided a bridge between the laity and the liturgy and were also centres of worship in their own right: iconography (mainly upon the dado), singing and speaking (from the loft gallery), preaching, and the celebration of masses in front of the screen in the north and south aisles. There was a further, and very important, reason for the involvement of the laity. There was, from 1215 onwards, a division of responsibility for the parish church between its clergy and its laity. Simply, the chancels of parish churches were the responsibility of the rectors whereas the laity was responsible for the naves.[5] A major consequence of this was that since the screen was the responsibility of the parishioners and was the principal object in front of them when they were in church, it became 'their' property, reflecting especially their tastes in decoration and iconography. Individual people might (and did) contribute large sums to build screens or maintain them, for example in 1524 William Sellick of Tiverton bequeathed £36 'to the making of the roodloft'[6] while in 1528 William Coxhead gave £20 to the church in Chulmleigh 'to make there a roodloft'.[7] There is also plenty of evidence from churchwardens' accounts to indicate that the poorer parishioners also contributed. Parish church screens were often embodiments of local pride and ambition, and were seen as a way of keeping up or getting ahead of neighbouring parishes. In short screens were a high-profile element of the structure, worship, and activity of churches of all kinds.

From the 1530s to the 1560s dramatic changes occurred to all churches. In parish churches most screens lost their lofts, the rood images on the lofts, sometimes the images painted on the panels, and much of their original

Figure 3. Extant roodscreens (substantially complete and incomplete) in Devon.

Source: Michael A. Williams, *Medieval English Roodscreens with Special Reference to Devon*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2008, 201.

purpose. These changes reflected two ideas: hostility to images and criticism of the traditional form of mass. Both affected screens – the former because they were decorated with images and the latter because screens contributed to the separation of clergy and laity which the Reformers disliked. So effective were the Reformers' efforts nationally that no pre-Reformation rood (the carved figure of Christ crucified) survives, while in Devon only the roodloft at Atherington remains. Nevertheless Devon retains a relatively large number of pre-Reformation screens. Before considering the reasons for their survival it is useful to discuss their iconography.

Most roodscreens, roodlofts, and roodloft galleries prior to the Reformation were likely to have had painted figures or designs on their dados. The percentage of these that still possess such paintings is relatively small. Out of 120 roodscreens surviving in whole or in part in Devon today, only 41 (thirty-four per cent) still retain dado paintings or designs and even these are not necessarily still attached to the roodscreen (Figure 3).[8]

By the fifteenth century in Devon most churches would have had elaborate sequences of saints painted on their dados as well as apostles, prophets, the four Latin Doctors, and martyrs. Sometimes scenes covering more than one panel were depicted. The Annunciation (on eight or possibly nine screens), the Adoration of the Magi (three screens), the Coronation of the Virgin (three screens) and, each in one case, the Holy Trinity, the Assumption of the Virgin, the beheading of John the Baptist, the Temptation and Fall of Man, the Expulsion from Eden and the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian.[9]

The choice of figures may reflect the choice of the donor (as at Ashton, Torbryan, and Wolborough); the needs of the time (St Roche, patron of plague victims, after the Black Death of 1348–9) and the ubiquitous St Apollonia, invoked by toothache sufferers. They might be a reflection of local rivalry and imitation or they might even have been left to the painter of the screen (although this would imply a fairly sophisticated iconographic knowledge on his part). The most notable groups of figures, other than individual saints, are the Sibyls (at Bradninch, Heavitree, Ugborough and one only at Ipplepen). Including Sibyls, there are about 151 different saintly figures on Devon roodscreen dados. Unfortunately there is not space in this article for a full list, however apart from the apostles, the Evangelists and the four Latin Doctors the most common are those of 'helper' saints like Apollonia who appears fourteen times.[10] Unusual saints appear at Wolborough (for example, St William of York), at Torbryan (for example, St. Armel), at Alphington (St Dunstan) and at Holne (St Jeron).

Devon screen saints also reflect changes in the religious devotion of people in England between *c.*1350 and *c.*1530. One of the most distinctive is Sir John

Schorne (patron saint of gout sufferers) whose image appears at Alphington, Hennock, and Wolborough. He is also found on several Norfolk screens. The presence on Devon screens of representatives of late cults such as St Roche and St Syth suggest the county was up-to-date with the religious movements of the day and part of international trends. St Roche is particularly interesting because he lived in the mid to late fourteenth century, which makes him late indeed in terms of screen dado saints compared with the majority which appear on the painted panels. This may account for the fact that he has only five representations on screen dados in Devon: at Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, and Whimple. There may have been many more, of course, for nowhere in Devon would have escaped the recurrent waves of plague which began in 1348. Although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that the five parishes which display St Roche on their roodscreen dados were particularly hard hit by the recurrent visitations of the pestilence although so might many others whose dado painted panels and roodscreens have vanished.

Cults of older and local saints were common in Cornwall and to a lesser extent in Devon. Four interesting examples in the latter county are Saints Winwaloe, Petroc, Urith, and Sidwell. Sidwell was the most popular local saint in Devon screen iconography, appearing on dado panels at Ashton, Bere Ferrers, Exeter (St Mary Steps), Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, Whimple and Wolborough; her local quality no doubt made it easy for Devon people to identify with. Winwalloe appears only once in Devon, at East Portlemouth, where the church is dedicated to him. He was more popular in Cornwall where he was the patron saint of eight parish churches and parochial chapels.[11] There were at least eighteen churches in medieval Devon dedicated to Petroc, yet he does not appear once on painted panels in Devon.[12] This non-appearance, given his popularity, is odd, but may just reflect the anomalies of image survival.

Thus saints both common and rare, distant and local, old and new occur on Devon roodscreen dados. The introduction of newer saints may very well reflect changing anxieties and aspirations. But dado panels, while attesting a desire to emulate a neighbouring parish, might also have wished to express conformity. In constructing a screen, a parish might want theirs to be better artistically than their neighbours', but might not want it to be very different religiously. The presence of certain unusual saints on screens remains unexplained, perhaps the result of the influence of a local, educated, well-travelled and well-read landowner, or the appearance in the diocese of a cleric with wider national and international knowledge.

Although screens and lofts were being constructed as late as the 1540s the relatively rapid progress of the Reformation meant immediate danger for

the thousands which existed in England and Wales. The Reformers despised the lack of participation by and (alleged) ignorance of the laity. According to this view, any educational purpose of the mass, through hearing the Bible or joining in prayers had been lost or hidden beneath the language, imagery, symbols, and furnishings (at least some of them) of the medieval church. By getting rid of these things and by – at least symbolically – breaking down the division between nave and chancel, priest and layman, the failings of the medieval liturgy (as the reformers saw it) could be overcome. The reformers wanted worship to be more educational with emphasis upon vernacular liturgy, Bible reading, and preaching. Such aims had serious implications for screens and lofts, which had so long reflected the values of late-medieval religion.

Central to the unremitting desire of the reformers to rid the English church of 'superstition' was the rood. The rood was the most conspicuous object in the church as far as the laity in the nave was concerned and it provided a visual reminder of the purpose of the mass: the re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice to enable human salvation.[13] There was a battle for the mind as well as for the interior of the church. According to the 'Articles to be followed and observed according to the King's majesty's Injunctions and proceedings' of 1549 '. . . no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints . . . images, lights . . . or any other such abuses and superstitions . . .'[14] This article sounded the death-knell for the medieval church interior. By 1553 the destruction of church furnishings had been immense: shrines, statues, wall-paintings, holy-water stoups, stained-glass windows, and many roodlofts had been stripped from churches.

The roodloft, especially, was anathema to the reformers. Its purpose was to support the rood and provide a place for organ and choir. The rood itself had to be removed, for it could not be assimilated into Protestantism. However, the loft could also perform the function of an iconostasis, in that the western front (see Figure 2) was often divided into a series of narrow panels, each containing a painting or carving of a saint, sheltered by open-work tabernacling. These images were, in part, the cause of the destruction of the lofts, although panel paintings could simply be painted out. But if this is the case, why did many screens (i.e. the lower part of the structure) survive? With the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, the destruction of church furnishings continued apace, after the five-year break of Mary's reign. But Elizabeth adopted a more cautious attitude towards too extreme a change. Though the reformers continued to press for more and more change (and destruction), Elizabeth realised that it would be wiser to tread more carefully. Thus she issued on 10 October 1561 a royal order 'for the avoiding of much

strife and contention that hath heretofore risen among the Queen's subjects in divers parts of the realm.' This royal order is, perhaps, the key document in understanding the fate of lofts and screens in the late sixteenth century. Basically, the loft was to go but the screen should stay, a decision that marks the beginning of the distinction between what we know today as the screen and the loft:

> It is thus decreed and ordained; that the rood-lofts [*i.e. the entire structure*] as yet being at this day aforesaid untransposed [*i.e. removed*], should be so altered that the upper parts of the same [*i.e. the loft*] be quite taken down to the upper parts of the vaults and beam running in length over the said vault, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam toward the church [*i.e. the cornice on today's screens*] . . . there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church [*i.e. the nave*] that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet . . .[15]

Thus the screens, at least, were saved, although by this time (1561) many had already been destroyed. Visitation articles and injunctions from various bishops in England up until *c.*1575 make it clear that the elimination of lofts was not done hurriedly or enthusiastically in the parishes. But after *c.*1575 references to them in visitation articles and injunctions began to die out, indicating that the subject was becoming less and less important and by *c.*1585 such references disappear completely. Indeed new screens appeared (as at Washfield in Devon in 1624) in the 1620s. However, the outbreak of the civil war seems to have encouraged vandalism and iconoclasm; an ordinance issued on 9 May 1644 'for the further demolishing of monuments of idolatry and superstition' specifically mentioned roodlofts.[16] In Devon, however, there is evidence for the disappearance of only two screens (Cornwood and Silverton) during the Commonwealth.

Changes in fashion more than any other reason were the causes for the removal of many of the remaining screens from *c.*1650 onwards. 'Auditory' churches had begun to appear in England; these were constructed as a single rectangular room, with no screen to divide it into chancel and nave. This taste continued into the eighteenth century when the emphasis was on preaching, so there was need for good vision and audibility. New Georgian town churches were wholly open in plan, with little or no chancel. Screens were redundant in such churches, and this began to impact on medieval churches and how they were furnished and used.

Nationally there is evidence for the removal of many screens in the

eighteenth century (71 in Yorkshire alone between 1720-37).[17] This was the case in Devon, but on a much smaller scale. Between 1758 and 1822 there is evidence for the removal of twelve Devon screens (South Molton 1758, Sidmouth 1776, Kingsteignton 1801, Colebrooke 1805, Kingston 1807, Shebbear 1815, Merton 1822 and Coffinswell, Fremington, Langtree, North Lew and Uplowman (all before 1822).[18] Some screens may have been in a ruinous condition, even so an antipathy to screens can also be detected. Incumbents and parishioners at Sidmouth and Kingston complained that their presence impeded sight and hearing.

Nevertheless new screens continued to be built towards the end of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, such as that at Cruwys Morchard in 1689, Crowcombe (West Somerset) in 1729 and as late as 1820 at Haccombe. On the other hand, when the church at Teigngrace was rebuilt in 1786 there was no screen; instead the interior had an open cruciform plan with arms of equal length. There was also, by the late-eighteenth century, a growing interest in antiquarianism from some sections of the nobility and gentry. Antiquarianism, being conservative in nature, tended to help the retention of existing screens. This was to influence the Oxford Movement of the 1830s in which antiquarianism was reinforced by a revival of interest in medieval worship and theology. By the 1840s the aims and principles of 'ecclesiology', that is, the study of church building and decoration, became the dominant force in transforming the liturgy and architecture of the Church of England. The ecclesiologists believed that every present-day church should have a distinct and spacious chancel at least one third the length of the nave. The chancel should be separated by a chancel arch or screen. However, although it may seem that these ideas were conducive to the retention of pre-Reformation screens, in reality the effects were disastrous. This was the century when more medieval screens disappeared than at any other time, in so far as records exist. The 'Gothic revival' of the ecclesiologists demanded that the interior of churches reflected 'authenticity' (i.e. that of the fourteenth century), and many surviving Perpendicular screens were perceived to be non-authentic. In the restorations which took place all over the country, much early screenwork was removed.

The Victorians also inherited the Georgian liking for open churches. They wanted to emphasise the altar and it was necessary that the congregation should see the activities in the chancel, so chancels were raised up by three or so steps (uncommon in parish churches previously). Screens got in the way of the congregation's view of the enhanced chancel, and the raising of the chancel floors made them even more redundant than they had been for the last three hundred years. Twenty-six screens were removed in Devon after 1850. In

Figure 4. Vanished Devon roodscreens.

Source: Michael A. Williams, *Medieval English Roodscreens with Special Reference to Devon*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2008, 201.

Devon's 479 parish churches 120 screens remain, whole or in part (Figure 3), 145 have been destroyed (Figure 4), but 214 are unaccounted for.[19]

Their demise could have taken place at any time between the Reformation and the nineteenth century. However, this brief history of Devon screens ends on a happier note. It may well have been a reaction to the destruction inherent in the all-pervasive ideas of ecclesiology which led to the growing demand for restoration of screens in Devon under the guidance of Harry Hems and Herbert Read from the late-nineteenth century onwards. Bradninch screen, one of the county's most glorious, was restored as early as 1853, while Ashton and Dunchideock (Read), Rattery (the Misses Pinwell), Harberton and Manaton (Sedding) and Bovey Tracey, Buckerell, Combeinteignhead, Feniton and Pinhoe (Hems) were all restored in the period 1877–1911. Wonderful to relate, new lofts were built at Lew Trenchard, Littleham (near Bideford), Kenton and Staverton and as late as 1922 at Northlew a faculty was approved for the purpose to restore the ancient screen. Allied with this reaction was the growth of the principle of conservation. There has been a considerable tightening up of the faculty process and both Diocesan Advisory Committees and the Council for the Care of Churches have responsibilities which include the existing pre-Reformation roodscreens. Thus at present at least, the future of the remaining pre-Reformation roodscreens seems secure.

A reader, perhaps not being familiar with pre-Reformation Devon roodscreens but having his or her interest stimulated by this article, might like to find his or her way to Atherington, Plymtree, Bradninch or Berry Pomeroy (to name just four). Their journeys will be amply rewarded.

NOTES

1. Edmund Hobhouse, ed., 'Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath, and St Michael's Bath', *Somerset Record Society*, 4 (1890), 173, 185.
2. A. C. Edwards, 'The Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary's Church, Yatton', *SDNQ*, 32 (1986), 537–547, 538–40.
3. Gregory Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries; With Other Notes on the History of Reservation* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1942), 25, 27, 38–9.
4. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 95–102.
5. This division was regulated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), on principles elaborated in England by the Lambeth synod of 1281 under Archbishop Pecham and, in the diocese of Exeter by Bishop Quinil's synodal statutes of 1287. Quinil required parishioners to pay ten per cent of their parish store to the rector per annum, to help pay for the upkeep of the chancel – though this seems to have fallen into disuse by the later Middle Ages.

6. TNA, PROB/11/21/435.
7. TNA, PROB/11/23/61.
8. Michael A. Williams, *Medieval English Roodscreens with Special Reference to Devon*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2008, 201.
9. Ibid., 217.
10. Ibid., 222.
11. Nicholas Orme, ed., *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*, DCRS, new series, 35 (Exeter: DCRS, 1992), 178–9.
12. Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 214–9.
13. Geoffrey J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 20–1. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 110–112.
14. David Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Brittaniae et Hibernae*, 4 vols (London, 1737), iv, 27.
15. Walter H. Frere and William M. Kennedy, eds, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols (London, 1910), iii, 108–9.
16. 'House of Lords Journal, Vol. 6, 9 May 1644', *Journal of the House of Lords: vol. 6: 1643* (1767–1830), 545–547. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=37515>, accessed 22 March 2014.
17. Aymer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London: Batsford, 1936), 91–2.
18. Williams, *English Medieval Roodscreens*, 245.
19. Williams, *English Medieval Roodscreens*, 240.

Dr Michael Aufrère Williams has degrees from the Universities of Kent, Exeter, Cambridge (Corpus Christi College) and York. His PhD thesis, *Medieval English Roodscreens with Special Reference to Devon* (Exeter, 2008) was supervised by Professor Nicholas Orme.

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Coping with Tribulation: A Sequence of Prayers in a Late-Medieval Medical Compendium in Exeter Cathedral Library

CHARITY SCOTT-STOKES

The changing shape, language and framework of two petitionary prayers and a hymn, as they move between various types of manuscript, can be traced backwards and forwards from a little sequence of texts in an early fifteenth-century medical compendium now housed in Exeter Cathedral Library.[1] In various ways the users of such petitionary prayers adapted them, translated them, or provided them with an accompanying framework, which could be modified in order to cater for users in all kinds of need.

The provenance of the Exeter compendium is unknown. It is unlikely to have been in the Cathedral Library in late medieval or early modern times. Most of the library's medieval holdings passed to the Bodleian Library in Oxford at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and further damage to such books and manuscripts as remained was done by mid-century iconoclasm, during and after the Civil War. Then, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Exeter physician Dr Robert Vilvaine made a new library in the dismantled Lady Chapel at his own expense.[2] Perhaps Dr Vilvaine acquired and donated this manuscript?

The second half of the Exeter compendium contains a medley of recipes in no particular order. There are numerous remedies for common ailments, randomly listed, with multiple repetitions. There is also 'a prayer against

all ills, "Duce dame seint marie pucele pure reigne des angeles . . ." with directions for reciting it . . .', which is the focus of interest in this article.[3]

The prayer against all ills turns out to consist of a sequence of three items, although there is no obvious division or new beginning in the manuscript. They appeal directly or indirectly to Mary, and ascribe power to her in the process of healing and deliverance from tribulation.[4] They are written partly in French and partly in Latin, and are shaped into panaceas for all ills.

The first item is a composite one, consisting of the French prayer to Mary 'Duce dame seint marie pucele pure reigne des angeles', preceded and followed by French rubrics concerning its recitation, and completed by Ave Maria. The second item is the well-known Latin hymn Omnis virtus te ador[n]at (usually Omnis virtus te decorat).[5] The third is a version of the so-called 'Devotion of the One Thousand Aves', with a French translation of the Latin prayer Adonay domine deus as its centre-piece, preceded and followed by French rubrics – instructions written in red – regarding its recitation. The texts are reproduced, and translated below (Appendix).

The combination of French (in the first and third items) and Latin (in the hymn and Ave Maria) suggests that the clerical compiler of the Exeter compendium worked easily in both languages, whereas some of those for whom the panaceas were intended might require the vernacular for instructions and less familiar prayers, even if they had enough understanding of liturgical Latin to recite Ave Maria and the hymn Omnis virtus te ador[n] at in the more authoritative ecclesiastical language. That the vernacular is French suggests that the compilation was made not much later than 1400; as the fifteenth century progressed, English was used more and more widely.[6]

The rubric preceding the first French prayer envisages four kinds of tribulation which may afflict the individual: imprisonment, mortal sin, sickness and poverty. The rubric then directs the person in trouble to go to the minster on seven Saturdays,[7] to stay there during all the Hours of the Virgin,[8] and to recite the prayer that follows. The prayer itself appeals to Mary as the one who can make good the ill counsel given by Eve to Adam, when she urged him to eat the apple and they fell into original sin.[9] It asks for deliverance from present distress, and the concluding rubric directs the suppliant to name that distress, but to make sure that the request does not run counter to faith.

The Latin hymn Omnis virtus te ador[n]at appeals to Mary by the sorrow that she experienced in witnessing Christ's suffering, then asks for sight of her, and for the joys of heaven. The sight of Mary at the end of this life was thought to presage well for life in the hereafter, and the traditional Ave Maria salutation was extended to ask for her prayers now and at the moment of death.[10]

The 'Devotion of the One Thousand Aves', with the French version of Adonay domine deus as its centre-piece, has a rubric which requires the suppliant to recite 1000 Aves over a period of ten days, with alms held in the right hand, in honour of the Joy of the Annunciation.[11] This should take place in front of the altar of the Virgin if possible.[12] The prayer appeals to Christ as the Lord who placed salvation in Mary's hands. The suppliant asks to be delivered from suffering and also from the evil intentions of others, and backbiting. The final rubric directs the suppliant to kiss the alms held in the right hand and then give the offering to a poor person, with the assurance that the recommended procedure and prayer cannot fail.

The Latin hymn Omnis virtus te decorat / Omnis virtus te ador[n]at occurs in numerous manuscripts. The Exeter compendium's 'Duce dame seint marie pucele pure reigne des angeles' and Adonay domine deus sometimes occur in devotional miscellanies and books of hours,[13] where they are often later, personal additions to an earlier compilation. Several of the miscellanies or books of hours were originally owned by women, or passed into women's hands. Several show evidence of associations with the piety of the Birgittine Order founded by St Bridget of Sweden in the latter part of the fourteenth century, especially with the Birgittine Syon Abbey, a double monastery of nuns and brothers founded in 1415 by Henry V.[14] Three of the books of hours belong to the very large group of such books produced in the Low Countries for the English market – typically for the gentry or merchant class.[15]

'Duce dame seint marie pucele pure reigne des angeles' occurs twice in a long sequence of penitential devotions compiled in the first quarter of the fifteenth century for a woman, Alisoun.[16] Although it has no rubrics or accompanying reassurance in Alisoun's book, the repetition suggests trust in its power to relieve the penitent's distress. Similar prayers, clearly based on the same original but with slight personal modifications, were added to two books of hours compiled originally in the fourteenth century for women owners. They were added in the fifteenth century to Alice de Reydon's Hours;[17] and in the sixteenth century and, not surprisingly at this late date, in English, to the Carew-Poyntz Hours.[18]

One of the numerous manuscripts containing the Latin hymn Omnis virtus te decorat is the early fifteenth-century Burnet Psalter, comprising Psalms and Hours. The book is one of those made in the Low Countries and was compiled for a Yorkshire merchant with a particular devotion to St Bridget of Sweden.[19] The hymn forms part of an extended sequence of Marian devotions in this manuscript.[20] The Burnet Psalter also contains a copy of Adonay domine deus, in Latin, without rubrics, but incorporating an additional request for protection against sudden death.[21]

Adonay domine deus occurs in Latin, without rubrics, in a book of hours which was probably made for the brothers of Syon Abbey in the 1420s. The prayer follows Compline of the Office of the Virgin Mary (the last Hour of the day) and is in turn followed by the seven Penitential Psalms.[22]

With preceding and following rubrics in English, Adonay domine deus was added to two further books of hours originally produced in Bruges for the English market around 1400. One of these books was first owned by a gentry family in Suffolk.[23] By the early sixteenth century it had passed to the prosperous Roberts family, merchants in Middlesex. It includes a note added in 1553 by the then owner, Edmund Roberts, that he had used this prayer well for ten days.[24] Eamon Duffy points out that the framework given to Adonay domine deus runs counter to ecclesiastical authority:

> The success of the prayer is said to depend on its being accompanied by the relief of the poor, in honour of the Annunciation. But this edifying link is made in a quasi-magical way, which the church authorities would certainly have condemned – holding money in the hand while the thousand Aves are recited, then kissing it before giving it to the poor recipient . . . Characteristically, the English instructions attached to the prayer display some awareness of the precarious line being trod between 'legitimate' prayer and forbidden 'magic': success is guaranteed if the prayer is rightly used (a guarantee theologians rejected as magical) but that guarantee is softened by the reference to praying 'lawfully, with God's grace'.[25]

The second of these books produced in Bruges belonged first to Elizabeth Elyngham of Norfolk, who bequeathed it to Margaret Burgh.[26] Adonay domine deus was added in the late fifteenth century.[27] Further additions include a prayer with rubric 'If you be in dedely syn or in tribulacion or in ony deses' – like the Exeter rubric to 'Duce dame seint marie pucele pure reigne des angeles' – and prayers in Latin with directions in English, complete with an indulgence offered by Pope Sixtus IV. This enabled the user to 'purchase' a specific number of years remission of the pains of hell in return for a specific number of recitations of prayers.

Adonay domine deus also occurs, with text in Latin and rubric in English, in a book of private devotions compiled for Anne Bulkeley in the early sixteenth century.[28] Anne Bulkeley, who came from a Wiltshire family, had links to the royal court and to Syon Abbey. Her book was compiled, possibly by brother Richard Whitford, a noted writer, not long before the dissolution

of the abbey in 1539.[29] Brothers of Syon acted as spiritual guides to a number of aristocratic and well-connected ladies.[30]

Anne Bulkeley's book, and the latest additions to the books of hours, are close in time to the Reformation. Like the seventeenth-century iconoclasts, the Reformers would have rejected indulgences and the 'purchasing' framework to the prayers for deliverance from tribulation. It is a pity that no information is available regarding the response of Exeter's ecclesiastical authorities to their medical compendium. If it did not enter the Cathedral Library before the late seventeenth century it may well have been regarded, when it did arrive, merely as a notable antiquarian repository of ancient superstition. Yet when it was compiled it was surely a working compendium for practical use.

Acknowledgement. The texts are reproduced by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral.

APPENDIX

Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3519, f. 160^{v}

The rubrics – directions written in red or underlined in red – are given in italics; contractions have been expanded; punctuation, word division, capitalisation and distribution of u/v, i/j, e/é have been modernised. Editorial additions are given in square brackets.

En quele anguysse qe homme seit, ou en prison ou en mortel pecché ou en maladie ou en poverte, face ceo qe issi est escrit si en avera hastif remedie. Auge a mouster par set samadys si seit ylouces a totes les houres de nostre dame si la requerse par ces motz:

Duce dame seint Marie, pucele pure, reigne des angeles, mere a le sauveour seignur de conseil, mercy vous cri, qe auxi verement cum le munde par Eve fust desconseilé e par vous reconseilé requerez vostre fitz qui est seignur de conseil qe pur la voutre amour me consaut e delivre de cest anguisse.

Si només vostre anguisse. Mes gardez qe vus ne requerez chose qe seit encountre le fey. Pus fetes un vou a tener tot un an enter soloine coe qe voz es deserront. Ave Maria.

Omnis virtus te ador[n]at,
Omnis sanctus te honorat,
In celesti patria. //
Atque omnes benedicunt
Et laudantes tibi dicunt
Ave plena gracia.

Propter plagas Ihesu Christi
Quas cruentas flens vidisti
Pro nostra miseria
Fac me digne[m te] videre
Et videndo te gaudere
In perhenni gloria.

Dites myl Ave Maria dedens .x. jurs, ceo est chescun jour un cent, e en chescun des .x. jurs taunt come vous les dirrez si devez estre en estreant ou enclinant ou enjunelant e si devez aver un audmone en voustre mayn destre taunt com vus fetes voz prieris en l'onour de cele seint joye qe Gabriel ly nuncia e devant son auter si vous poez le devez dire e dites:

Adonay sire Deu graunt e mervellous qe donas salu en les mains de la seint virgine Marie, e par le ventre qe les entrailles de ta tresduce mere e par icel tresduce seint corps qe de ly preistes oiez ma priere e emplez moun desir en bon e me deliverez de totes tribulacions e anguisus e des langes de touz iceux qe nous coveitent ennuier e des maleveys leures e langes tricheriuzes e de touz maus. Amen

Ore devez dire cent Ave Maria e quaunt vus averez dit vostre oreson issitz hors de mostre si beisés vostre audnoygne si la donez a un povere el honour de nostre seignur qe sei mesmes pur noz e[n] la croyz se mist. Ceo face si cum eist destineté e sachez en seint verité qe pur quele chose qe vous le facez .x. jours ensemble e[n] nul manere ne poez failler de vostre requeste.

TRANSLATION

In whatever anguish a person may be, whether in prison or in mortal sin or in sickness or in poverty, let him/her do what is written here and he/she will soon find a remedy. Let him/her go to the minster on seven

Saturdays and be there for all the Hours of Our Lady and let him/her implore her with these words:

Sweet lady saint Mary, pure maiden, queen of angels, mother of the saviour lord of good counsel, I implore your mercy, that just as truly as the world received ill counsel from Eve and then good counsel from you that you request your son who is lord of good counsel that for your love he may counsel me and deliver me from this anguish.

And name your anguish. But make sure that you do not ask for anything that is against the faith. Then make a vow to be upheld for a whole year depending on what your desire is. Ave Maria.

Every virtue adorns you,
Every saint honours you,
In the celestial home,
And they all praise you
And praising say to you
Hail, full of grace.

By the wounds of Jesus Christ
Which, weeping, you saw bleed,
For our wretchedness
Make me worthy to see you
And, seeing, to rejoice
In eternal glory.

Say one thousand times Ave Maria within ten days, that is, one hundred each day, and on each of the ten days while you are saying them you are to be standing or bowing forward or kneeling and you are to hold alms in your right hand as you say your prayers in honour of the holy joy of Gabriel's annunciation and you should say them in front of her altar if you can, and say:

Adonay lord God great and marvellous who placed salvation in the hands of the holy virgin Mary, and by the womb and viscera of your most sweet mother and by the most sweet holy body that you took from her, hear my prayer and turn my desire to good things and deliver me from all tribulations and sufferings and from the tongues of all those who seek to harm us and from wicked felons and treacherous tongues and all evils. Amen

You must say one hundred times Ave Maria and when you have said your prayer in this manner outside the minster then kiss your alms and give them to a poor man in honour of our lord who placed himself on the cross for us. Let this be done as is laid down and know in holy truth that for whatever cause you do this for ten days together, in no way can you fail to receive what you request.

NOTES

1. ECL, MS 3519, catalogued as 'Medica, etc.'. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), ii, 828–830, art. 9; Leonard J. Lloyd and Audrey M. Erskine, *The Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral*, 3rd edn, with additions and amendments by Peter W. Thomas and Angela Doughty (Exeter: The Library and Archives of Exeter Cathedral, 2004), 15–19.
2. Lloyd and Erskine, 17.
3. Ker, 829; not listed in Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications 3, 1999).
4. For medieval medicine, and attitudes to sickness and healing, see Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), esp. 'Hospitals and the attitudes towards physical healing', 148–153; Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006).
5. Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols (Louvain/Brussels: various imprints, 1892–1920), iii, 461. A reading Omnis virtus te adorat is not impossible: virtus could denote the second order of the angelic hierarchy in the second sphere, and there would be a stylistic parallel between the first two lines of the hymn focusing on the denizens of heaven, between angels adoring the Virgin and saints honouring her. Yet it seems far more likely that adornat was substituted as a synonym for decorat in the process of transmission, and then corrupted by scribal error to adorat. Hence the form ador[n]at adopted in this paper.
6. For the use of Latin, French and English in medieval England, see David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, MI; Cistercian Studies Series 158; 1995), 57–58.
7. The term 'minster' is used for a large church staffed by secular clergy who have contacts with the local community; see Nicholas Orme, *The Church in Devon 400–1560* (Exeter: Impress, 2013), 201. Saturday was a day of especial veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary in medieval times; she was regarded as the one who kept faith on Holy Saturday, while others despaired.

8. The Hours were Matins, Lauds and Prime (recited early in the morning), the short day-time Hours of Terce, Sext, and None, then Vespers and Compline (recited in the afternoon and evening). See Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 5; and Orme, 100.
9. For "the reversal of evils brought by our first parents – specifically here disease", see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1600* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 257; for the reversal of EVA to AVE, see also Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 311–312.
10. On preparation for the end of life, and the sight of the Blessed Virgin Mary before death, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 310–313.
11. For comparison, the minimum number of daily recitations of Ave prescribed in the Rosary is fifty. For the Rosary, see Rubin, *Mother of God*, 332–338; and Orme, *The Church in Devon* 136.
12. Many churches had a Lady Chapel with an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, usually on the north side of the chancel (Orme, *The Church in Devon* 113).
13. For the typical textual contents of the book of hours, see Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 5–10.
14. After the dissolution, Syon Abbey preserved its existence in unbroken continuity on the continent until the return to England, to the diocese of Plymouth, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For the current situation, see Ann M. Hutchison, 'Syon Abbey Today', Syon Abbey Society Newsletter, issue 2, 2012 (online).
15. See Nicholas Rogers, 'Patrons and Purchasers: Evidence for the Original Owners of Books of Hours Produced in the Low Countries for the English Market', in Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, eds. *'Als ich can': Liber Amicorum* (Louvain: Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 11–12, 2002), ii, 1165–1181.
16. BL, Royal MS 16 E II, ff. 34^{v}–35^{r} and f. 40^{v}; mention of Alisoun on f. 35^{r}. Further research on this manuscript, and its owner, is required.
17. Cambridge University Library (CUL). Dd.4.17, f. 77^{v}. For this manuscript, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), ii, 75–76.
18. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48, f. 1^{v}. See Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, ii, 143–145.
19. Aberdeen University Library, MS 25. See Rogers, 'Patrons and Purchasers', 1173–1176; Alexandra Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and Her Book: Fashioning Female Piety in Early Tudor England: A Study of London, British Library, MS Harley 494* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 116–118.
20. Aberdeen University Library, MS 25, f. 105^{r}. For digital reproduction and transcription, see <http://www.abdn.a.uk/diss/historic/collects/bps/text/52v.htm and 105r.htm>.

21. Ff. 52^{v}–53^{r}. For digital reproduction and transcription, see <http://www.abdn.a.uk/diss/historic/collects/bps/text/52v.htm and 53r.htm>.
22. Syon Abbey MS 4, pp. 110–111. Syon Abbey's medieval manuscripts have been transferred to EUL, Special Collections.
23. Facsimile of CUL li.6.2, ff. 108^{v}–109^{r}, in Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 89; translation and discussion, *Marking the Hours*, 92–93; text from the Cambridge MS in Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and Her Book*, 243–244.
24. Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 89. A further note on f. 109^{r} records Edmund's death in 1588.
25. Ibid., 95.
26. See Rogers, 'Patrons and Purchasers', 1169; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 46–47.
27. Ushaw, St. Cuthbert's College, MS 10, f. 11^{r}.
28. BL, Harley MS 494, f. 89^{v}. Text from the Harley MS and translation in Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and Her Book*, 242–243.
29. See, for example, Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and Her Book*, 32, 42.
30. Ibid., 33.

Charity Scott-Stokes taught medieval English at the University of Munich for twenty years. She has published editions and translations of medieval English, French and Latin texts, and has also worked as a freelance translator into English of German scholarly works. She was born and educated in South-West England, and returned to Devon in retirement.

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Evidence for Eighteenth-Century Rebuilding at Poltimore House: Interpreting Edmund Prideaux's Drawings of 1716 and 1727

CLAIRE DONOVAN AND JOCELYN HEMMING

Rebuilding at Poltimore House in 1726–8 transformed the Elizabethan building of *c.*1560 into an up-to-date grand mansion fit for its eighteenth-century owner, Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde, his wife Gertrude (née Carew, of Antony in Cornwall) and their young children, Mary and Richard.[1] This paper uses three sources of evidence to investigate this most significant of remodellings in Poltimore's history: the surviving fabric; visual evidence drawn from detailed analysis of Edmund Prideaux's drawings;[2] and a recently-discovered document of 1728.[3]

Poltimore House is an important Devon country mansion, situated about four miles north-east of the city of Exeter. Although now in a damaged state, protected by an overarching steel roof and awaiting renovation and restoration, it provides evidence of the lives of the Bampfylde family and their household over more than four centuries, and of its subsequent institutional roles.[4] The fundamental rebuilding undertaken in 1726–8 provides just one example among many of an upgraded family mansion in eighteenth-century Devon.[5]

Elizabethan Poltimore, built by Richard Bampfylde in *c.*1560, was a fine modern manor house of its period. Surviving fabric shows that his first house had three storeys, a gabled roof on the north and east ranges and a Great Hall

in the east range. The first Prideaux drawing (Figure 1) shows that in 1716 the house externally had changed little from its appearance when first built. But, when Prideaux visited again in September 1727, he was greeted with a new eleven-bay south-facing façade (Figure 2), the characteristic view of Poltimore House ever since.

Figure 1. Edmund Prideaux's drawing of the canal front (north-facing) in 1716, inscribed 'Poltimore in Devon Sr Copleston Bampfyld'. Reproduced by kind permission of P. J. N. Prideaux-Brune Esq. from the collection at Prideaux Place.

A plan to show the historical development of the house (2003) draws mainly on the surviving fabric to show the supposed dates of construction of each of the phases of the building, from the sixteenth to the twentieth century (Figure 3).[6] This identifies the earliest building as L-shaped, north and east, with a half-octagonal stair tower. The north range includes an arched carriageway entrance dividing the 'Kitchen' (north-west) from the Parlour (north-east).[7] The east range is dominated by the former Great Hall, with the Parlour to the north, and a similar-sized space to the south, shown on the plan to include both sixteenth- and eighteenth-century fabric. The assumed location of the Kitchen in the north range is unusual, a problem identified in the Keystone Report of 1999:

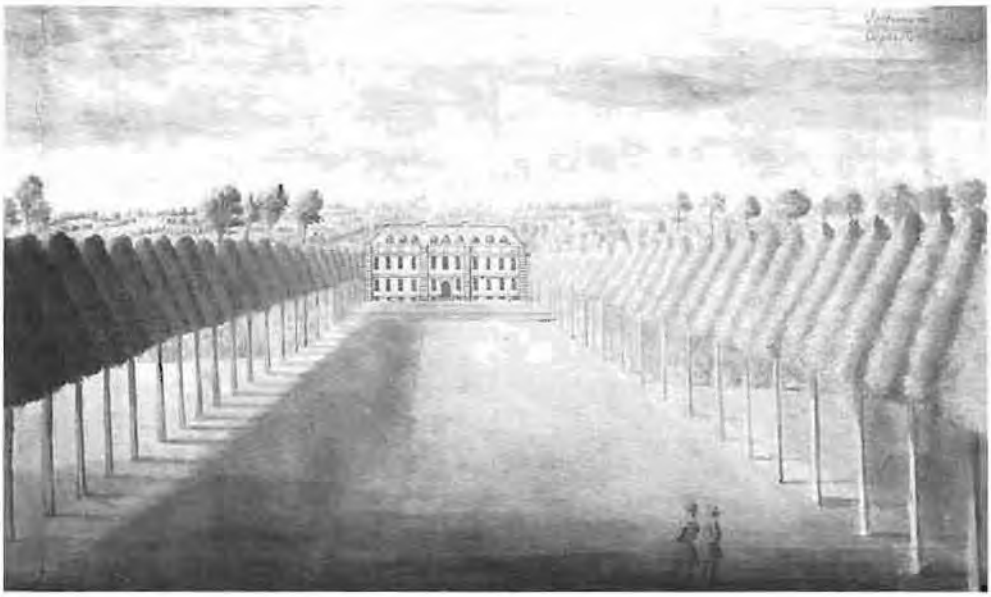


Figure 2. Edmund Prideaux's drawing of the south range in September 1727, inscribed 'Poltimore Sr Copleston Bampfyld'. Reproduced by kind permission of P. J. N. Prideaux-Brune Esq. from the collection at Prideaux Place.

> . . . one would expect a cross passage at the lower status (south) end of the hall . . . with a service room or rooms beyond, possibly in a wing turning westwards . . . The form of the south end remains a matter of speculation since it seems that that end was entirely rebuilt in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. What is unusual for the late sixteenth century is to have the kitchen (referring to the so-called kitchen in the north range) situated so close to the hall or the parlour. Usually it was at the service end beyond the cross passage . . .[8]

This alternative interpretation, with the Kitchen at the south end of the hall, makes sense: tree-ring dating identified the main floor timbers to the south as late sixteenth century, and the measure of the east range fits the four-gable roof structure.[9]

Despite little evidence in the 1716 Prideaux drawing of external change from the house's original Elizabethan form, internal modernisation and major work in the grounds had taken place in the seventeenth century, including the establishment of formal gardens, with a pond or canal.[10] Following the death in 1692 of Sir Coplestone Bampfylde 2nd Baronet, it is clear from the

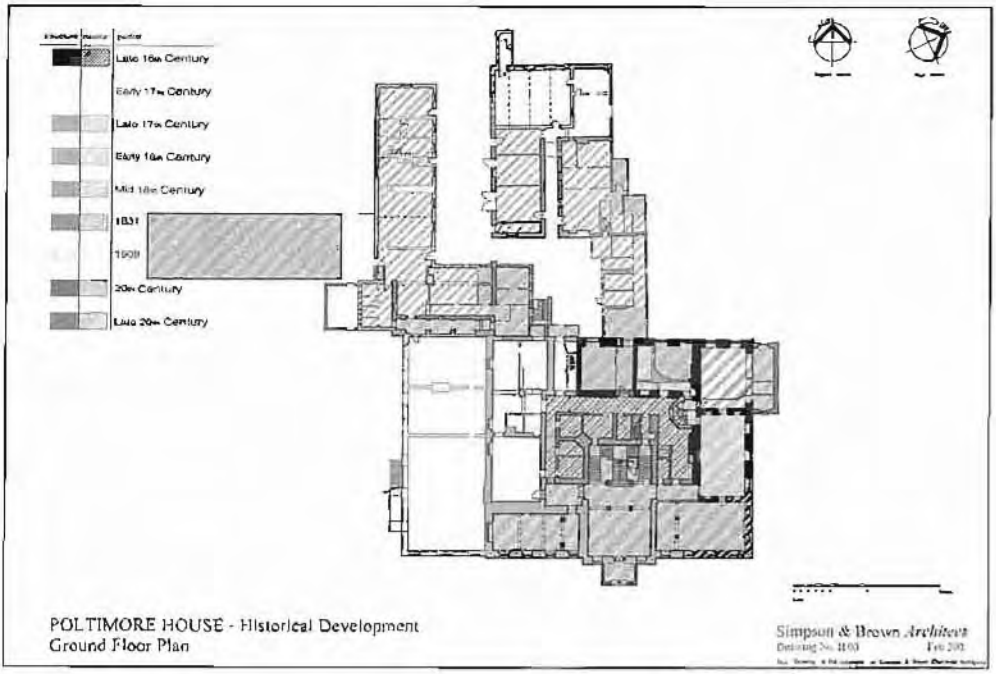


Figure 3. Historical Development: Ground Floor Plan of Poltimore House, Simpson and Brown, architects (2003). With permission from Simpson and Brown, architects, Edinburgh.

will and other documents that he left a finely-appointed and updated house and grounds.[11] His grandson and heir, Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde (1689–1727) inherited the baronetcy and the estates aged only two, and there is little evidence of any major new work on the house during his childhood.[12] In 1716, he married Gertrude Carew, whose brother, Sir William Carew, was in the process of building his own modern Georgian mansion, Antony House in Cornwall. In contrast, as Prideaux's drawing shows, it would have been clear to them both that the house that Coplestone offered his new bride was thoroughly old fashioned for the time.

Edmund Prideaux (1693–1745) was a topographical artist of the early eighteenth century, born in East Anglia in 1693 where his father, an amateur antiquarian and author, was Dean of Norwich. The Prideaux family had (and has) a major branch in Cornwall, with an estate including a manor in west Cornwall.[13] Prideaux was educated at Clare College, Cambridge where, in 1714, he had created a panoramic view of the college's main court and gardens. Prideaux's two journeys to the West Country, in 1716 and 1727, resulted in many drawings of country houses, sometimes panoramas. His three drawings

of Poltimore House illustrate this important phase of the development of the building, during which it changed its appearance from a high-quality Tudor manor house facing north, to an up-to-the-minute Georgian mansion, its symmetrical ashlar-lined façade facing southwards to its ancient deer park, at the end of an avenue of trees.

Prideaux's first tour began with Stonehenge in June 1716, proceeding westward, taking in Poltimore House before turning north. At Poltimore his drawing of the north range of the Elizabethan house, included the inscription: 'Poltimore in Devon, Sr Copleston Bampfyld' (Figure 1). The main entrance front of the largely unchanged Elizabethan house faced towards the village of Poltimore and its church, as would have been expected in a sixteenth-century manor house. The house is centrally placed and shown from a high viewpoint at the end of a body of water, a canal or pond of the kind fashionable in the seventeenth century.[14] The canal is as wide as the house itself, flanked by banks and terraces and fringed on either side with clipped trees. Two foreground figures are shown fishing on the north bank of the canal, which divides close to the house, forming a semi-circular moat, part-enclosing the building. The house has a roof with three gables with mullioned windows below, the gables topped with finials. Three chimneys rise behind the roof ridge. Seven large windows (probably seventeenth-century replacement small-paned sash windows) are shown at first floor level, with four more at ground floor, below a continuous drip-moulding, a doorway and an asymmetrically-placed carriage arch. This drawing accurately shows the still-visible features on the north façade of the building, although the archway has since been blocked. A high wall extends to either side of the house, on the west partly enclosing a garden. No trace of this wall survives today. Behind the wall are two low buildings: service buildings or stables, but there is no recent evidence of these buildings.

This 1716 drawing shows only the façade, and it is impossible to discern the nature of the structure behind: with no evidence of depth of rooms, or of whether this façade (as seems likely) fronted a courtyard. The prominence of the canal suggests this may be one of the major works of Sir Coplestone Bampfylde in 1681.[15] Edmund Prideaux has always been credited with accurate depictions – not a man to indulge in artistic licence. So it seems that this was the way Poltimore House presented itself to a visitor in the year of Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde's marriage to Gertrude Carew. It was certainly somewhat old fashioned, with its north-facing front and gabled roof. Maybe, in 1716, the newly-weds decided to update the old house to create a fashionable mansion, to reflect their family wealth and status. Within a few years the Bampfyldes did come up with an ambitious plan which was

to transform Poltimore House, following the lead of Gertrude's brother, Sir William Carew and his extensive rebuilding of Antony House, in Cornwall.

By the time Prideaux visited Poltimore for the second time, in 1727, his new drawing shows that this transformation had taken place. The historical plan (Figure 3) shows the new south-facing façade, all eighteenth-century work and symmetrical, with four bays to left and right of a three-bay entrance hall, with the only evidence of sixteenth-century work marked in the fabric of the easternmost section. Prideaux depicted this new façade as the main entrance to the building, shifting the front of the house from north to south, showing the eleven-bay frontage divided into three vertical sections with heavy, rusticated, attached pilasters from ground to attic with a plain cornice. The nine attic dormer windows can be seen, alternately triangular and semi-circular, behind the cornice of the single east-west pitch of the new Georgian-style roof. Eleven large sash windows are shown on the first floor with, beneath a horizontal moulding, ten ground floor windows and a central broad stone doorway, with eleven semi-buried cellar windows below. There is no evidence here of the two buildings shown on the 1716 drawing, which would have been to either side of this southern view. The drawing shows a paling fence close to the house with heavy shrubbery behind the trees on either side of the avenue. The inscription, 'Poltimore Sr Copleston Bampfylde' provides a probable date of September 1727, the date of this journey given on a number of Prideaux's drawings of other Devon houses.

Edmund Prideaux visited Poltimore a second time in 1727, probably in October. He had journeyed on to Launceston after that September day at Poltimore, and made a tour of Cornish houses, ending at Antony House, Torpoint, the home of the Carew family. While there Prideaux would have heard of Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde's sudden death on 7 October at only 38 years old, leaving his young son Richard (nearly five) to inherit his father's extensive estates and the incomplete re-building of his main manor house at Poltimore. Prideaux stopped at one more Devon house, Fallapit in the South Hams, before returning to Poltimore, presumably to pay his respects to the new owner, now Sir Richard Warwick Bampfylde, and to offer condolences to his widowed mother.

During this visit Prideaux made a further drawing of the north elevation of the building, inscribed 'Poltimore Sr R Bampfyld', confirming its date in or after October when the young boy inherited (Figure 4). This drawing is much more delicate and sophisticated in contrast to the 1716 north view of the house, and this time his viewpoint is much closer and angled to show the east elevation, with four gables, matching the three north-facing gables. The north garden is shown now laid out to an elaborate parterre in three sections

with serpentine pathways, clipped trees and topiary, together with a statue on a plinth. These gardens extend far beyond both sides of the building, backed by high walls as shown in the 1716 drawing. The two buildings to the south of this substantial house are shown as before, though now surrounded by shrubberies, and the canal is not shown. However it may be that it is the low viewpoint of this drawing which reveals the parterre garden in front of the house, and it is possible that the high viewpoint of the 1716 drawing compressed this same garden, behind the canal. The fringe of foliage in the foreground of the later drawing is shown above a solid bank: the southern bank of the canal: that closest to the house.[16]

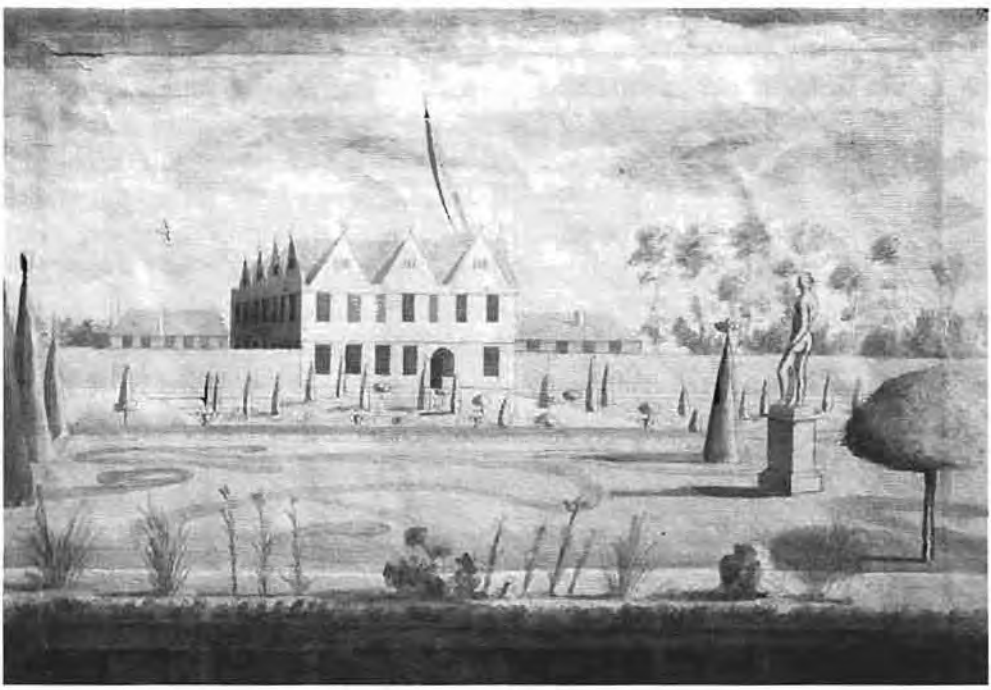


Figure 4. Edmund Prideaux's drawing of the north range in October 1727, inscribed 'Poltimore Sr R Bampfyld'. Reproduced by kind permission of P. J. N. Prideaux-Brune Esq from the collection at Prideaux Place.

So: the September 1727 drawing shows the new façade, admired by the young men at the end of the well-grown avenue, but showing nothing of the structure behind it. The October 1727 drawing shows that the Elizabethan building was still in place, as it still is today. The projecting edge of the cornice on the south-east corner of the east range can be seen, although no other

evidence of the much wider, eleven-bay south front which projected a further four bays to the west, beyond the three-gabled original house, is visible. The angle of Prideaux's October drawing avoided this new south façade. The evidence from these two drawings is apparently contradictory: seen from the south, the new up-to-date Georgian building is in place; seen from the north, the Elizabethan building, with the enlarged windows of the 1680s, together with the parterre garden tucked behind the garden wall, is still there. The fabric visible today shows that at some time after the October 1727 drawing an addition to the north range of the Elizabethan house was made. This was equivalent to four bays on the south façade, and a new western range was built to connect north to south range, creating a full four-range courtyard building.

The recent discovery of a document in The National Archives provides an explanation of the work undertaken during 1726–28, and records the court proceedings arising from a dispute over the completion of this major rebuilding which, since October 1727, was in the charge of Sir Richard's guardians.[17] The court record reveals three crucial new facts: the name of the builder, John Moyle of Exeter – who not long before had completed Antony House for Sir William Carew;[18] the original contract date – 'the 25th day of March, 1726'; and the agreed timescales and costs for completing the building. The executors of Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde's will went to court to authorise expenditure on his son's behalf: payments beyond the scope of the original contract. And the court demanded a detailed answer from John Moyle which provided invaluable details of the original contract, specifying 'the pulling down and rebuilding of part of the . . . dwelling house at Poltimore . . . according to a design or plan agreed upon'. John Moyle was to be paid £500 in two instalments, with materials for new building to be provided by Sir Coplestone, who would also pay for the removal of rubbish and waste materials. In the event Sir Coplestone died before the work was completed, leaving Gertrude and the fatherless Richard at the mercy of both the executors of the will and of Moyle the builder. The complaint included accounts of 'many errors & defects, and the items & particulars of the said additional work are excessive & extravagant . . . and ought not to be paid for'.

John Moyle's defence was comprehensive. He, the defendant, made it clear that he was contracted to:

> take down all the front of the mansion house of the said Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde . . . dike and make new cellars under all the new building in the intended front and the cellars that were to be under the hall, kitchen and larder should and would arch with brick and those to be made and diked

> under the new parlour and staircase should and would lay over with beams and piggons [joists] . . . lay the floor of the hall with polished Purbeck stone and small pieces of marble to be let into the corners, lay the floor of the kitchen, passages, scullery and larder with such stones as should come out of the old floors and buildings . . . set up one and twenty windows in the front and set up three new sash windows more in the front that is next to the stable [the east range] . . . make the staircase near the Old Hall according to the design and draught for that purpose . . . make handsome pyramids over all the Checkett [dormer] windows, both compass and square, make and set up a handsome door case in the front as designed in the draught with Portland stone . . .

Moyle's description demonstrates the scale of the rebuilding of the southern parts of the Elizabethan house in accordance with 'a design or plan agreed upon and settled for that purpose'. Locating the staircase near the 'Old Hall' provides vital information about the house at this time – as that stair has since been removed, without trace. The 'new kitchen, larder, scullery and passages' supports the view that the original Kitchen was south of the Great Hall, and the description of the brick-arched cellars beneath these new kitchens locates them in the west range, where these cellars remain today. Moyle added that he did: 'make a chimney, put in three windows and make the floor in the room designed for the Servants' Hall' as well as 'make a chimney and put in two windows in the room intended for the Steward's Parlour', all apparently new ground floor rooms.

John Moyle's answer shows how ambitious was the 1726-7 rebuilding of Poltimore House. The new south range that he describes with its 'one and twenty new sash windows in the front' together with the cornice, and the 'handsome pyramids of all the Checkett windows, both compass and square' is just what Edmund Prideaux depicted in his September 1727 drawing. John Moyle's reply to the court identifies the timing set out in the contract of 25 March 1726 when he agreed that he would: 'erect, set up and cover the same before the 29th day of September next ensuing and the same and every part thereof (except plastering the front) finish before the 25th day of December next and plaster finish the said front before the 24th day of June 1727', with external plastering to the new façade to 'make it look like freestone'.

Although the Prideaux drawing of September 1727 shows the south façade just as described in the contract, the dispute in 1728 shows that the work was not yet complete. With the building work now under the supervision of Sir William Carew Bart, the young heir's uncle and guardian, Sir Coplestone's

arrangements with Moyle seem to have broken down. Sir William even claims that he needs the authority of the court to proceed, asking what should be done 'about the said building during the minority of the said Sir Richard Warwick Bampfylde'. He maintained that he and his co-trustees were 'advised that they had not any authority to dispose of or lay out any of the income or produce of the infant's estate in finishing any of the new buildings or ornaments during his minority but under the direction of this honourable court.' He goes on to describe the need for the building to be finished, as 'the finishing of the said building will be for the advantage of the said infant . . . [as] several parts of the work now begin receiving damage from the rain and weather'. So, although in September 1727, Prideaux drew what he saw, the evidence reveals that behind this tidy façade the building outlined in the contract was evidently not finished.

When he returned only a month later, after the 3rd Baronet's death, Prideaux did a simple drawing, of the old north range for the young Sir Richard. In this drawing Prideaux possibly showed some nostalgia for the way the old house looked, now overshadowed by that grand south front. The north-facing gardens were protected from the building site behind, and his angle of view and the breadth of the wall obscured the new Georgian mansion that was to be Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde's legacy to his infant son.

This detailed look at Edmund Prideaux's three drawings of Poltimore House, together with the evidence provided by the case against John Moyle concerning the great rebuilding of 1726–7, and supported by new analysis of the fabric of the building as it exists today, have collectively provided a new reading of this phase of the building history of Poltimore House. The evidence suggests that the south range of the Elizabethan house was in the same place as the 1727 south range, and running towards the west. The Elizabethan kitchen and service rooms would have been provided there at the lower (south) end of the Great Hall, probably separated by a cross (or screens) passage, as suggested in the Keystone Report.[19] This is the expected location for a kitchen in a late sixteenth-century manor. These kitchens would have had access to the north, facing into the courtyard, which was itself accessed through a broad carriageway through the north range, clearly shown on both north-view drawings. The in-fill of the carriageway is still visible from inside the courtyard. This southern kitchen range was, in accordance with the contract, 'taken down' and rebuilt in accordance with the design agreed, creating a new Parlour in the south-east corner and a new staircase built near the Old Hall.[20] A cellar was dug beneath this new room and stair, under a beamed ceiling. A new entrance hall at the centre of the new-built south range was also set over a new cellar, roofed with brick arches, and this cellar also

ran beneath the new kitchen, larder, scullery and passages. These offices must have been in a new west range, which would also have included rooms for servants: the Servant's Hall and the Steward's Parlour. In accordance with the contract, the builder would have reused stone from the building he had pulled down, including stone for the flooring of the new kitchen. It is unknown as yet whether the completion of the building included the extension of the north range of the building to match the width of the 11-bay south range, as still exists. This would have completed the fourth range of the courtyard.

This was not the end of the story. Sir Richard Warwick Bampfylde remodelled the east range later in the eighteenth century, removing the old-fashioned gables as they were depicted in Prideaux's October 1727 drawing (Figure 4), remodelling the roof to continue the cornice and parapet along the east range. Furthermore, it is likely that Sir Richard (or his rich and demanding wife, Jane Codrington) initiated the redecoration of the Old Hall into the light and airy Rococo Saloon sometime in the 1750s. And looking further ahead, a major rebuilding took place in the 1830s to create a house fit for a Lord – the first Baron Poltimore – work which continued into the twentieth century.[51] Successive generations of Bampfyldes, from the initial building of the current Poltimore House in 1560, continued to build and rebuild in accordance with the current style and fashions of fine country living: a process which can be followed in some detail in 1726–8 as a result of this new interpretation of the evidence.

NOTES

1. For a full account of the history of Poltimore House and the Bampfylde family, see Jocelyn Hemming, *The House that Richard Built: Six centuries at Poltimore House* (Poltimore: Poltimore House Press, 2013), and Jocelyn Hemming, *A Devon House: The story of Poltimore House* (Plymouth: University of Plymouth Press, 2005). Also see an earlier study, R. Fortescue-Foulkes, *From Celtic Settlement to Twentieth Century Hospital: The story of Poltimore House* (Devon: Friends of Poltimore Hospital, 1971). Also see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *History of the Buildings of England Series: Devon* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004) 688–90. A project, 'Landscape and Community: Transforming Access to the Poltimore Estate', funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council 2010–12, continues to provide new information through its legacy research group, Poltimore Estate Research Society. See the project website, <http://elac.ex.ac.uk/poltimore-landscapes/index.php>. A publication from this project focuses mainly on the landscape history at Poltimore, but provides comprehensive references relevant to the development of the estate: Oliver Creighton, Penny Cunningham and Henry

French, 'Peopling Polite Landscapes: Community and Heritage at Poltimore, Devon', *Landscape History*, 34:2 (2013), 61–86.

2. John Harris, 'The Prideaux Collection of Topographical Drawings', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 7 (1964), 35, figures 81, 82, 83. Todd Gray, *The Art of the Devon Garden: The Depiction of Plants and Ornamental Landscapes from the Year 1200* (Exeter: The Mint Press and Devon Gardens Trust, 2013) 91–2.
3. TNA, C11/322/10 Bampfylde v. Bampfylde, 1728. Many thanks to Professor Henry French for discovering and transcribing this document, and for discussions on its significance and interpretation.
4. For information on Poltimore House today, and the Poltimore House Trust, see <http://www.poltimore.org/>.
5. Poltimore House, as this paper shows, was remodelled in 1726, with a rebuilt south-facing range. Other examples of new built or newly remodelled eighteenth-century country houses are shown in Prideaux's drawings (Harris, 'The Prideaux collection of Topographical Drawings'; Gray, *The Art of the Devon Garden*). Other Devon country houses, including Killerton House, home of the Aclands, the neighbouring estate to Poltimore, and Bicton House, then in the hands of the Rolle family, were rebuilt in the later eighteenth century.
6. Historical Development: Ground Floor Plan of Poltimore House, Simpson and Brown, architects (2003), created for the conservation plan, with evidence drawn from examination of the building. This plan faces page xviii in Hemming, *The House that Richard Built*. (Note that compass points are not precise, but provide useful reference for the four main ranges of the building. These direction references are used throughout this paper.) The new evidence presented in this paper is not reflected in this plan.
7. The room in the north-west of the north range – beyond the carriage entrance – was identified as the kitchen by Richard Fortescue-Foulkes who converted this room with its substantial fireplace into the operating theatre of Poltimore Hospital in 1945. Fortescue-Foulkes, *From Celtic Settlement to Twentieth Century Hospital*, 12. Its unusual position for an Elizabethan house has often been noted.
8. Jo Cox and John Thorpe, *Keystone Report K608, Poltimore House, Poltimore, Devon* (Unpublished: 1999). This report provided the historical background to a major application for funding, and has provided the basis for understanding this building in its context.
9. The four gables are shown in Prideaux's second drawing of the north front, October 1727 (Figure 4).
10. Evidence of modernisation within the building can be seen in the surviving fabric (floors, fireplaces, the staircase), and corresponds with the date 1681, inscribed on one of the new gateposts, also indicating upgrading of the grounds at this time. See Hemming, *The House that Richard Built*, 24–28. For further

information about this phase of the development of the landscape, Creighton, Cunningham and French, 'Peopling Polite Landscapes', 61–86.

11. Evidence from the will of Sir Coplestone Bampfylde (d.1692) and a related document suggests new redecoration of a number of rooms, including a room identified as the 'Indian Room' (TNA, C5/285/14).
12. His father, Hugh, had died as a result of a fall from his horse, shortly before the death of his grandfather, Hemming, *The House that Richard Built*, 29.
13. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *History of the Buildings of England Series: Cornwall* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951), 128. A new building on a nearby site replaced the early manor house in 1808, known as Prideaux Place.
14. Canals feature in the formal garden topography of Hampton Court, also fringed with avenues of trees, and examples of similar features were to be found in seventeenth-century Devon. See for example, the Prideaux drawing of Cascade and Wilderness at Ford, 1727, in Gray, *The Art of the Devon Garden*, 88.
15. Attempts to locate this feature, through soil core analysis have been unsuccessful so far, but the evidence of this drawing is clear.
16. A document of the early 1730s (TNA, C11/138) identifies payments of more than £10 towards 'carrying of earth to fill the pond' (Creighton, Cunningham and French, 'Peopling Polite Landscapes: Community and Heritage at Poltimore, Devon', 78).
17. TNA, C11/322/10 Bampfylde v. Bampfylde, 1728. The document records in detail the dispute between the builder, John Moyle, and the guardians of the infant heir, Sir Richard Bampfylde, chiefly his uncle Sir William Carew. Note: all the quotations relating to the dispute in this part of the paper are taken from this document.
18. Antony House, home of the Carew family, is variously described as completed in 1721 or 1724, built for Sir William Carew, Gertrude Bampfylde's brother. This building is attributed to James Gibbs (Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cornwall*, 128) its north front of nine-bays and two storeys with a central three-bay pedimented section. The builder employed to do the work has been identified as John Moyle, now shown to have worked to work at Poltimore in 1726–8. For Moyle, see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (London: John Murray, 1978), 565.
19. Cox and Thorpe, *Keystone Report K608, Poltimore House*.
20. The east wall and the roof gable was retained at this stage in 1727, but by *c.*1740–50 the east range roof structure had been modernised to a single pitch with a cornice, matching up to the structure of the new south range. The detail of the modification of the east-range roof should be further investigated once repair work provides access to the roof structure in the east range.
21. A full account of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century rebuildings at Poltimore House is told in Hemming, *The House that Richard Built*.

Claire Donovan was a Trustee of the Poltimore House Trust from 2007–13, after six years as Deputy Principal of Dartington College of Arts and a career in higher education. With the University of Exeter History and Archaeology departments she was closely involved with the project, 'Community and Landscape: Transforming Access to the Poltimore Estate', funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council 2010–12.

Jocelyn Hemming's long association with Poltimore House began in 1945 when her doctor parents bought the house and its 112 acres, and set up the first Poltimore hospital. She is a founder member of the Poltimore House Trust, established in 2000, and is the author of *A Devon House: The Story of Poltimore* (Plymouth, 2005) and *The House that Richard Built: Six Centuries at Poltimore House* (Poltimore, 2013).

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Charles Lanyon, Merchant of Penzance: Victim of Cruelty and Corruption in the County Debtors Prison in Exeter

GILLIAN SELLEY

To be in debt in the early modern period was to be at the mercy of one's creditor who could have the wretched debtor, however honest and hard-working a man he might be, thrown into prison until he received satisfaction for those debts. As a consequence of inability to repay their creditors many debtors spent years confined in appalling conditions whilst their families languished, dependent on kinsfolk, friends or the parish overseers to feed and clothe them. The futility of a system which detained debtors for many years until they could satisfy their creditors, and thereby prevent them from earning any money by which they could repay their debts, was finally addressed in the reign of George I. In 1719/20 a bill was passed in Parliament by which a prisoner was permitted to deliver a schedule of his estate, and the names of his creditors. The schedule was to remain with the clerk of the peace, in whom the estate was to be vested, and the monies raised from the sale of the assets to be assigned to the creditors. Justices were to order the sheriff to discharge the prisoner without any other fee.[1] In Exeter the County Debtors' Prison was known as the Sheriff's Ward at St Thomas. The published correspondence of a Cornish merchant incarcerated at this institution during the early eighteenth century reveal it to be a notoriously unpleasant place of confinement as this article will highlight.

In 1729 a group of debtors, presented their accounts to the magistrates at the Devon Quarter Sessions, and agreement was made with the creditors for

the sale of all the properties and estates of the debtors (excluding furniture and tools of trade) in order to repay as many of their debts as possible.[2] Amongst these debtors was a merchant from Newlyn, near Penzance, called Charles Lanyon. Lanyon was a Falmouth man whose business affairs appeared to have been centred on Penzance. There was nothing, evidently, to distinguish Lanyon from the hundreds of other debtors (of all ages, social positions and occupations) who had passed through or remained in the hands of the prison gaolers, apart from some extraordinary and revelatory correspondence sent to the Exeter printer and publisher, Andrew Brice, in 1727.[3]

Brice's Weekly Journal of September 1727 commenced with an explanation regarding letters that Brice had received from a Mr Lanyon (who was a stranger to him, as were the circumstances of his imprisonment), which he was publishing in the hope of thereby obtaining some relief for the writer. He refers to 'that unfortunate person and his wretched colleague's circumstances' as deplorable, and states that he would not consider himself a Christian if he did not highlight the terrible conditions of Lanyon's incarceration as revealed in his published letter: [4]

> At my entrance into this ward under the confinement of Mr. George Glanville 22 Jun 1726, some of the rablers were pleased to advise me, as friends, to board along with them.[5] But taking one night for deliberation I was put into a room on the Common Side of the Keys. By the morning, having considered that being far distant from friends and having a family besides, the charge of rabling would be too great, I thought best to find myself . . . About three months after Mr. Holwell, Mr. Roger Edgecombe and Captain Oliver after supper, came into my room and asked me to go with them into the cellar to take a glass.[6] I readily found with so good a company, and we sat until we had spent a groat or 5d each. The reckoning being called, I gave the drawer's wife, Mrs. Pointz, 2s. 6d to change – not being able to do it she gave it to her husband, who gave me mine, and change all round. Mr. Edgecombe having not less than a guinea, Mr. Pointz changed it, and just as we were about to rise, the Drawer being eight or ten feet distance put his hand in his pocket, and taking one 2s. 6d directly charged me with having put a brass one on him. I told him mine was good, and that it was a fair bright one of King William's coin, against the face of whose image without the letters there was a brim more than was common, which I chanced to take note of, the candle being near me, before I delivered it to his wife. I desiring to see his, he delivered it to me, being an old brass piece, which he still charged me with. The company being surprised parted and being gone into the Clock Hall I desired Mr. Edgecombe to look upon his change: the which he did and found

> the very piece exactly as I had described it. The Drawer, not withstanding, made a great noise, and told Mr. Glanville I had put brass money upon him, and would have me secured for a cheat . . .[7]

Mr Pointz threatened Charles Lanyon that he would take out an affidavit against him and have him removed to the High Gaol. Unpleasant as life was in the Debtors' Prison the appalling conditions of incarceration in the High Gaol awaiting trial for a penal offence was a horrifying prospect, of which fortunately he was spared when Pointz dropped the charge. In fact two months later Pointz confessed to having made up the story. Despite being thwarted in his first attempt, he went on to accuse Lanyon of a further series of offences, alleging that he had been selling brandy to the prisoners, drawing up petitions on behalf of many of the debtors setting out the abuses they received, and lastly that he would not pay for the lodgings in the prison. Of these charges, Lanyon admitted to only one, that of drawing up petitions. But Pointz convinced the keeper that he was guilty and on 4 February 1727, Lanyon was confined in the Dark House with John Maddick, 'double gieved with the largest irons that could be got in Bridewell'.[8]

Lanyon sent for his business papers from Penzance in order to lay out a schedule of his monetary affairs, but when he was eventually given them he found that the papers were in confusion, with some missing. His letter continued with a description of the awful circumstances in which he and his comrades were kept.

> At our first commitment to this dark hole underground, we lay 14 days in our clothes on the floor, neither could prayers and entreaties obtain one bundle of straw to lie on in that bitter season, when the cold took such fast on us that seems now to be shortening our days, we having long time being in a very ill state of health. And though we afterwards had beds allowed us, yet a bedstead has not been admitted, but we were obliged to lay our beds on the cold damp ground, whereby they are become rotten and unwholesome. Neither for some time were we suffered to send a letter to our families or friends, but the under-keeper would break them open to see if he liked the contents, saying he had orders so to do.[9]

Lanyon then related how he attempted to send a letter to Mr Glanvill, the keeper of the gaol, but the gaoler (unnamed) refused to take any letters and threw them back into the room. The following is the undelivered letter from which Lanyon quoted in his letter to Brice

To Mr. George Glanvill, from the Dark-house, 3 Aug
Worthy Sir,
After our many letters finding no relief during our long confinement, but having the irons off one leg, we hope your severity will cease, and that you will cast an eye of compassion on us, considering we are Christians and not infidels, and release us from those intolerable burdens you have been pleased to lay on us. Mr. Langley, in High Gaol, does not wear irons, as you are pleased to make us do, but has the benefit of open air, and though a condemned criminal by far more of the Christian part in all his treatments than we receive.[10] Had we been guilty of any fact we would not open our mouths for any favour at your hands, but as we neither broke prison, nor attempted it in any wise, nor had any tools, weapons, materials or ammunition found on us to cause any suspicion, how have we merited this cruel punishment? Had either of us abused you or family or agents or done anything to disoblige you, we should readily beg pardon for it. In our last [letter] we entreated the small favour of having the board before the hole in the door taken away, which the prisoners formerly in this place had the advantage of by taking in any small matter they wanted, as a pint of ale or milk, though you are sensible a larger thing than a pint will not come in, yet you pleased to take no notice of it. And if at any time we have any ale or cider we are sure to have the very worst tap in House, often times not fit for the use of man, although we pay 4d per quart. We are almost crippled with violent pains in our limbs and bones by laying on the floor, our beds quite rotten, and no bedstead permitted us at our own cost. If you are not pleased to release us out of this misery but are resolved we shall fall a sacrifice to your resentment, we beseech you to give us a more generous and quick dispatch, and not let us lie gasping and suffering a lingering death in our own filth and nastiness. Which is the defence of your poor miserable prisoners, Charles Lanyon and John Maddick. We have desired Mr. Brice, in pure commiseration to insert this account in his Journal, that the world may be made sensible of our sufferings; and that as winter is coming on, such a confinement must put a period to our lives, our bodies being so weak that it's impossible we can bear much more. If we die in this condition, we lay our deaths on Mr. Glanville, and desire the gentlemen of the Jury who shall sit on our bodies to take note of it.

George Glanvill took exception to the publication of Lanyon's letters and took Brice before the Justices.

whereas Andrew Brice, of the City of Exon, printer, hath in several of his Weekly Journals, reflected on and abused Mr. George Glanvill, Keeper of the

> Sheriff's Ward for the County of Devon, in a very vile and notorious manner, and as the said reflections consist of nothing but lies and forgeries highly prejudicial to his character, Mr. Glanvill has already prosecuted him for the same at Common Law, and designs to proceed in all other courts that will admit of any prosecution.[11]

Brice answered the charges by pointing out that the name of Glanvill was printed in the letters themselves, and that he himself did not name the gaoler, neither did he specifically name St Thomas as being in Exeter. He stated that Glanvill was cringed to and worshipped by poor captives through fear. He questioned whether 'any man should be tortured and racked and not be allowed to groan, or shall the dagger penetrate his breast and he not cry out murder!' He also asked whether it was a criminal act to relate true facts (however unpopular). With regard to the accusation that he had printed lies and forgeries Brice asks whether men were truly incarcerated in 'the hellish cavern' and had anyone seen them 'in open salubrious air' for the last nine months. He suggested that the gaoler treated his dogs far better than 'these men, these Christians'. Brice then proceeded to describe how he proved all Lanyon's claims to be true through the means of disguise and by greasing a few palms. With some trusty friends he had gained admission

> into the dismal confines, and by light of candle, which we by stratagem procured, viewed as melancholy a scene as ever my eyes were grieved with, where every object they encountered bore the image of desolation and despair. Horrible! Most horrible! We touched their wretched woven litter, for I can give the mat no better name, and it broke off short and crumbled and mouldered in our hands; which not one, among the numbers which essayed it, could afterwards suffer within one yard of their noses.

Brice and his companions remained until the noxious fumes gave them headaches, and all agreed that all that he had printed on behalf of Lanyon was 'strict and sacred truth'. Brice contended that if the keeper acted towards his prisoners in an unnecessary way, the consequence of which could lead to disease and death, then that man was no better than a murderer. His final reply to Glanvill's charges was to ask if it was not every person's duty to prevent actions which could lead to murder.[12]

A week later Brice wrote in his newspaper that the magistrates and legal officers claimed that Lanyon had endeavoured to escape from custody, therefore his fetters were justified. To which assertion he replied that Lanyon had complained of his fetters as 'an unjust grievance' and surely it was as easy to

fetter him above ground in a light and airy room rather than burying him alive to rot and die from disease.[13]

Four weeks later Brice continued his criticism of debtors' conditions at St Thomas, declaring that the law treated the prisoners worse than felons and murderers. Charles Lanyon was described as a man who until recently had been prosperous, well-bred, of good sense, respected and loved, and careful in business. The unfortunate prisoner was suddenly reduced by 'loss and avoidless accidents', and far away from his friends. However he did not drown his sorrows in drink, but lived in the prison as frugally as possible to ease his conscience, to regain his liberty and repay his creditors. Was this brutality the reward for virtue, Brice asked his readers? Relying on their 'Christian generosity', he suggested that £100 would be enough money to give Lanyon his liberty.[14] There is no evidence that this money was forthcoming.

Two years after Charles Lanyon had first been incarcerated in the Sheriff's Ward at St Thomas, and seventeen months since he was confined in the Dark-house, the following letter (dated 1 July 1728) was received by Andrew Brice, which he printed and distributed over a large part of Devon.

> Dear Sir, – this comes to advise you that I have my liberty and the irons off last Saturday; but yesterday I came forth into the room next the Dark-house, having the liberty of that room and the cellar, but no farther as yet. But hope in a little while to obtain the liberty the rest of my brother sufferers enjoy. I wrote Mr. Glanvill a letter last Friday advising him, I had received a message from madam . . . of Exon (who had some talk with him when the Sheriff was in town) and that he was pleased to tell her I might come out if I would; I wrote him likewise, I never received his order for so doing, if I had I should readily have returned him a letter of thanks. But if he was so pleased as to grant me such liberty as he should think most proper, and take off the irons, I should take it as a favour; which he readily granted, and I returned him a letter of thanks, which Mr. Glanvill and wife said, when they had received it, was very handsome of me. And I am sure, let them speak the generous part of me, they never found nor saw to the contrary by me. I hope they will remember for that time to come not to serve others as I have been served. I find myself very weak and faint, but I hope in God, I shall recover strength by degrees. I remain, with my hearty service to your good self and spouse, Charles Lanyon.[15]

Apart from the disclosure of the brutal treatment handed out to debtors, these letters reveal something of the regime the prisoners experienced. Lanyon's obsequious address to his gaoler highlights the fact that his survival depended

upon demeaning himself to a lesser man. The appalling system ensured that gaolers and their staff received no salary or wages, but were dependent on extracting as much money as possible out of the prisoners in order to earn their own living. They ruled supreme in a brutal institution which those in authority were either ignorant of, or disinterested in. Lanyon repeatedly highlighted the fact that debtors were treated with far more cruelty than convicted felons, and not only the debtors themselves, but also their wives and children.

There are several instances of corruption amongst the staff of the prison, apart from that reported by Lanyon. In 1727 a petition was sent to the Justices from the poor prisoners of the Ward humbly begging

> that the charity of well-disposed persons sent to them for the future be seen distributed by the party who brings it (to whom there will be delivered a list of names of the most miserable objects). Some of the Gaol agents entrusted with that office having very frequently defrauded them.[16]

This corruption continued until the 1770s when a system of appointing gaolers with a salary was instituted and, through various Acts of Parliament, attempts were made to improve the conditions within the Sheriff's Ward.[17] An Act of Parliament in 1773 attempted to improve the conditions in debtors' prisons with the following rules:

> Persons acquitted or discharged upon Proclamation for want of Prosecution shall be discharged immediately, in open Court, and without fee; the walls and ceilings of cells in Gaols shall be scraped and white-washed once in the year at least; the cells shall be kept clean; the cells shall be provided with fresh air by ventilators or otherwise; there shall be two rooms set aside for the sick; a warm and cold bath or bathing tubs shall be provided; this Act shall be hung up in the Gaol; a surgeon or apothecary shall be appointed with a salary.[18]

A return sent by the Keeper to the Justices of the Peace in Exeter in 1789 shows that only a few of the recommendations were being imposed.[19]

Even sixty years after Lanyon's experiences the inhumane treatment of prisoners continued, as was demonstrated in 1786 when John Jutsum, Keeper of the Sheriff's Ward was brought before the Justices, together with the Turnkey and five late prisoners for debt, charged with 'unlawful riotous assembly and assault' on Benjamin Shaw, a prisoner. They were accused of 'putting and throwing great quantities of human excrement and other filth

over his face and other parts of him, and putting him into a tub filled with urine to the depth of three feet, forcibly holding him in for five minutes'. It is not disclosed what Shaw had done to merit such treatment, but at least the assault was brought before the Justices and the public could judge the brutal behaviour of the prison keepers.[20]

Although details of Charles Lanyon's family can be traced in parish registers, the nature of his business, or to whom he was indebted, have yet to be revealed.[21] Since he was imprisoned in Devon County Debtors' Prison one must assume that his debt had been incurred in the County of Devon. It seems probable that his business was concerned with the sea, possibly with the fishing industry, as he states that his business was in Newlyn. If this is the case his enterprises must have had a connection with one of the Devon ports where he incurred his debt. Andrew Brice's support of Charles Lanyon through the publication of his letters was important in that he drew the attention of his readers to the injustice of the laws against debtors, revealing the ease and impunity with which the gaol keepers were able to abuse their positions. However, penal reform was slow and conditions at the Sheriff's Ward did not improve significantly during the eighteenth century, as this article has demonstrated.

NOTES

1. Act of Parliament 1719/20 (Geo I).
2. *London Gazette*, 7 June 1729.
3. Andrew Brice was the apprentice of Joseph Bliss, the printer and publisher of the *Exeter Post Boy*. He ran away from his master in 1715 and by 1720 had set up his own newspaper, first known as *The Postmaster*, later *Brice's Weekly Journal*.
4. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 8 September 1727.
5. DHC, Z7 Box 4. On 24 January 1724 Adrian Swete, Esq., the Sheriff of Devon, appointed George Glanvill keeper of the Sheriff's Ward at St Thomas for the payment to him of £20. Glanvill was granted the right to all the fees, rewards, gratuities and advantages of the prisoners' ward as was customary.
6. Edward Holwell, gentleman of Woodbury; Roger Edgecombe, mercer of Holsworthy.
7. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 8 September 1727.
8. John Maddick, yeoman of Brixham.
9. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 10 July 1727.
10. Nathaniel Langley had been convicted of murder in 1727, but since Judge Hale was unconvinced by the prosecutor's evidence, he refused to sanction

the execution. Langley languished in the High Gaol until April 1728, when he received a pardon.

11. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 8 September 1727.
12. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 17 November 1727.
13. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 24 November 1727.
14. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 22 December 1727.
15. *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 19 July 1728.
16. DHC, QS bundles 1727 – petition to the Justices of the Peace.
17. Act of Parliament, 1784 (24 Geo III c54).
18. Act of Parliament, 1772/73 (13 Geo III) for the improvement of the conditions in debtors' prisons
19. At the Quarter Sessions of 7 October 1789 John Jursum, as Keeper of the Sheriff's Ward was obliged to swear before the Justices how the Debtors' Gaol conformed to the provisions in the various Acts of Parliament. The Gaol did conform to the clauses of the early Acts but the answers given to the later laws are interesting. Jursum stated that there was no clergyman appointed for the Sheriff's Ward. With regard to cleanliness he confessed that though the inside of the prison was washed once a year, the outside walls had not been white-washed for a great number of years; each room had window casements for fresh air. Though the Act required that there should be bathing facilities for prisoners there were none prepared in the Sheriff's Ward. With regard to the sick, he informed the Justices that if debtors were ill they were placed in the best manner they could arrange as there were no spare rooms for the purpose; nor was there a surgeon or apothecary appointed for the Gaol.
20. DHC, QS bundles 308, 1 June 1786. The eighteenth-century philanthropist John Howard reported on the distressing conditions in eighteenth-century prisons during this period, see John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales: With Preliminary Observations, and An Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals*, vol.1 (London, Warrington: T. Cadell, 1784), Section 1, <http://books.google.co.uk/> accessed 18 July 2014; Randall McGowan, 'The Well-Ordered Prison: England 1780–1865', in Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, eds, *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
21. DHC, printed Parish Registers of Falmouth and Penzance. In 1709 Charles married Grace Berteau who died in 1714 having produced two children (one born in Falmouth and the second in Penzance). He remarried a woman called Elizabeth, and they had three children, the first two baptised at Paul and the last at Falmouth. Charles Lanyon died intestate in 1748 back in Falmouth, where Elizabeth died five years later. Their last child was born in 1723, before his incarceration.

Gillian Selley moved to Woodbury in 1991, and attended the two-year Local and Regional History Course at the University of Exeter in 1994. During the same year she founded the Woodbury Local History Society. Her main interest and research has been the history of the parish of Woodbury, but she has also written several articles on a variety of subjects unrelated to her own parish.

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Napoleon in Plymouth Sound

QUENTIN BOND SPEAR

Plymouth at the start of 1815 would have been busy servicing the Navy on a war footing with France, but would face a downturn in this trade later in the year when the Napoleonic Wars came to an end. The arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte in Plymouth Sound as a prisoner on board the third rate ship HMS *Bellerophon* (74 gun) was the high point of the year and long remembered.

In 1814 Napoleon escaped his exile in Elba and attempted to rebuild his Republican ambitions in what has been named the '100 days' that ended in the French defeat at the battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. He escaped the battle and returned to Paris where he abdicated his position as Emperor and headed west, arriving in Rochefort on 2 July 1815. Six days later he sailed from Fouras across to Île d'Aix, in an attempt to escape by sea to the United States of America. However, the Royal Navy was blockading the coast and had a squadron of ships patrolling the Basque Roads, off the entrances to Rochefort. When Napoleon was denied permission to leave on a French frigate which was anchored off Île d'Aix, he agreed to surrender to Captain Frederick Maitland, captain of the *Bellerophon*, on 15 July 1815 and so departed from France.[1] Napoleon had hopes of being allowed to settle in England following his abdication and wrote a letter to the Prince Regent requesting this.

The *Bellerophon* sailed for England and anchored in Torbay, Devon, at 8 a.m. on Monday 24 July 1815, where First Lieutenant of the *Superb* went by post chaise to the Admiralty in London with despatches from the blockading fleet's Admiral Hotham. Captain Maitland received orders to stay anchored but not allow any visitors on board until further notice.[2] At this stage the locals were unaware that the ship housed an illustrious prisoner, although they observed that the normal purchasing of fresh bread did not occur and

that all boats were warned to keep away. However, a sailor passed a message in a bottle to the baker's boat and the secret was out.[3] The Navy's warnings did not stop boats being hired between Dartmouth to Exmouth to go and view Napoleon.[4] During the initial period of him being a tourist attraction the sailors enjoyed the attention, putting out boards with chalked messages regarding Napoleon's various movements, such as 'He's gone to dine' or that he had just come up from dinner.[5]

The *Bellerophon* was subsequently ordered to the more sheltered anchorage of Plymouth, arriving in the Sound at 4 p.m. on Wednesday 26 July. Lord Keith, Admiral of the Channel Fleet, whose flagship *Ville de Paris* (110 guns) was anchored in the Hamoaze (the sheltered section of River Tamar opposite the Dockyard), ordered Captain Maitland to keep all boats at a cable's length away from the ship.[6] Two frigates, *Liffey* and *Eurotas* were also anchored to mount guard in the immediate vicinity of *Bellerophon*. The arrival marked a further rush of residents and visitors attempting to hire boats to sail out and catch a glimpse of Napoleon, who was not allowed to land on British soil. The painting by John James Chalon, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816 illustrates the scene and (Figure 1).[7]

The government decreed that Napoleon should be treated as a General and not as Emperor, but on board the ship he was accorded due deference,

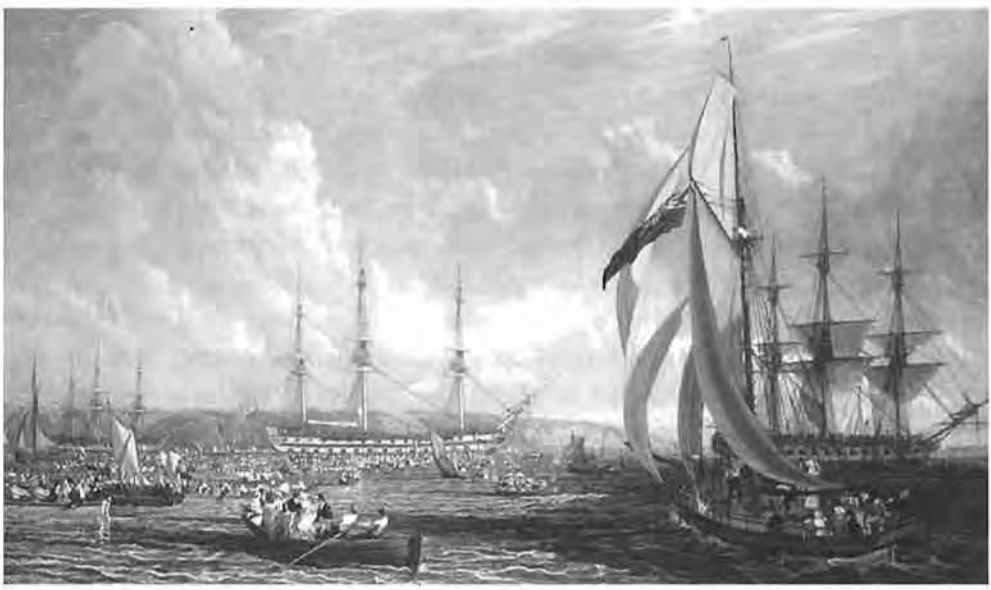


Figure 1. The *Bellerophon* in Plymouth Sound in August 1815 by John James Chalon (1778–1854). © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Greenwich Hospital Collection.

Figure 2. Napoleon in Plymouth Sound by Jules Girardet. © Plymouth City Council (Arts & Heritage)

which indicates how completely he had ingratiated himself with all hearts on board.[8] Napoleon certainly viewed himself 'as a Royal personage', while on board the Bellerophon, as Captain Maitland recorded.[9] Henry Woollcombe, mayor of Plymouth in 1813–14 and a leading lawyer in the town, commented in his diary for Saturday 29 July 1815 that he thought it wrong that the ships officers should keep their heads uncovered whilst Napoleon was on deck.[10] In this he may have been influenced by a correspondent in *The Times* on that day who expressed similar sentiments.[11] For just over a week Napoleon appeared routinely at the gangway at 6 p.m., where he surveyed the scene for ten to fifteen minutes before retreating to his cabin. He was occasionally spotted at the window. On one occasion Captain Maitland calculated 1000 boats jostling for position in Plymouth Sound,[12] a scene reflected in a painting by Jules Girardet, although this was painted sometime after the event (Figure 2).

However, one painting was made based on sketches taken at the time, by the Plymouth painter Charles Eastlake. He was fortunate to receive an invitation to join a party of visitors on the Captains Barge of *Menelaus*, which was allowed to approach closer to the *Bellerophon* than the Plymouth

boatmen.[13] Napoleon noticed that an artist was sketching him and held his pose for some time, later allowing some of his clothing to be taken ashore so that Eastlake could get the dress and colours correct. This painting shows Napoleon at the head of the gangway with a distant view and his officers behind him. A marine stands guard to his right and a sailor is placed down the gangway. He painted two portraits, the larger of which was purchased by five Plymouth businessmen for 1000 guineas.[14] It was initially exhibited at the Picture Gallery, Frankfort Place, Plymouth from 23 December 1815 at one shilling admission and later at 236 Piccadilly, London, to great acclaim.[15] It is currently part of the National Maritime Museum Collection.[16]

Eyewitness accounts are remarkably consistent in their description of Napoleon. A Royal Marine officer, Major Dyer recorded his outing on Monday 31 July in his diary:

> We went off in ye Myrmidon Boats with Lieut Jenkins to see Bounaparte and fortunately got a very good view of him. He came to the gangway and stood with his hat off for a considerable time, and afterwards at the Stern windows, this was about six o'clock in the evening, the sea was beautifully smooth, which was covered with boats & so crowded near the ship, that ye people appeared as tho' standing on the shore. He wore a Blue, or as some thought a very dark bottle green coat with red collar & cuffs, buttoned close up to the throat, the coat was cut off very much from the front, in ye French fashion, showing a great deal of the waistcoat. He had on white pantaloons or trousers – he looked frequently through an opera glass at ye people. He has a high and wide forehead, the hair thin at the top and back part of the head, and of a dark colour, there appeared to be a fullness about the eyebrows and the eyes sunk in ye head & small, and appeared to be grey, his neck is short, he has a wide chest & had the appearance of a strong man, with an upright Military Air. He had small buttons on his coat with two Gold Epaulets and a Silver Star on his left breast, his whole appearance was of a man in full flesh- inclining to fat. His countenance of a sallow tinge and a fixed steady look. His face round, chin projecting & thin lips.[17]

The news of Napoleon's surrender on 15 July 1815 had been reported in the Sunday papers on 23 July, so the news his arrival in Plymouth spread rapidly through the Country.[18] It was noted in Plymouth that excitement increased daily and visitors arrived from North Devon, Cornwall and Dorset, with all possible speed.[19] Visitors also travelled down from London expressly to catch a glimpse of him.[20] This sense of a special occasion was remembered in my family's oral history – my mother's grandfather told her that his grandmother

Figure 3. Elizabeth Wilmot Adams in later life.

had travelled to Plymouth and seen Napoleon. She was Elizabeth Wilmot Adams, who married James Hawkins in 1809 at Milton Abbot, Devon and at the time had a five year old daughter Mary.[21]

They lived at Chipshop, a hamlet one mile south of Lamerton and two miles from Milton Abbot, where he was a carpenter and wheelwright. She was 32 years old at the time and it would have been a lengthy journey to get to Plymouth, either overland via Tavistock or more probably a two mile walk to Gunnislake and a boat down the River Tamar. It is noteworthy that her journey to Plymouth was not thought worthy of remembering or commenting on. Neither was the cost of hiring a boat to get out to *Bellerophon* mentioned.

Having obtained a boat to get out into the Sound, the trip was not without its own hazards. With the order to keep boats a cable length away from *Bellerophon*, cutters were used to circle the ship to try and keep this clearance. A report in *The Examiner* dated 2 August 1815, notes that on the Sunday 30 July a cutter ran down a boat and capsized the occupants and one man was drowned, leaving a widow and four children.[22] Another accident is recorded on a memorial headstone in Stoke Damerel Church graveyard, inscribed with

'To the memory of John Boynes late Stone Mason of His Majesty's Dock Yard who was unfortunately drowned between the Island and Point returning from seeing Bonaparte in the Sound, (date indecipherable) July 1815, Aged 35 years'.[23] Some people even landed on the partly built breakwater at low tide to enjoy the view.[24]

Lord Keith had two interviews with Napoleon, the first was on Friday 28 July 1815 when he was able to thank Napoleon for arranging a surgeon to attend to his nephew Captain James Elphinstone of 7th Hussars, who had been wounded and taken prisoner by the French at Waterloo. The second was to inform him of his proposed exile in St Helena. Lord Keith's instructions had been received from the Admiralty on Sunday 30 July with the arrival of Major-General Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary of State for War. A Council of War was held at Belair House, two miles from Plymouth Dock and the home of another kinsman of Lord Keith, Captain Thomas Elphinstone, RN. Also present were Keith's nephew, Mr Alexander Elphinstone, who guarded the door with a drawn sword,[25] and Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, commander-in-chief of Plymouth naval base (Figure 4).[26]

Figure 4. Portrait of Admiral Duckworth.
Artist unknown.

The following day Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury informed Napoleon of their governments decision to send him to St Helena. Napoleon's protests concerning the legality of the decision fell on deaf ears, despite an emotive plea being delivered in writing to Admiral Hotham in which he stated:

> I appeal to History: it will say that an enemy, who for twenty years waged war against the English people, came voluntarily, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so much magnanimity? They feigned to stretch forth a friendly hand to that enemy; and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him.[27]

A convoy was organised to take Napoleon to St Helena. The government was apprehensive about the crowd's interest in Napoleon, fuelled by the extensive press coverage, and they were concerned that he might try to escape. Although Plymouth had supported the government in the past, putting on an elaborate procession in 1810 to celebrate George III's Jubilee[28] and had previously had burnt an effigy of Napoleon on the Hoe,[29] Napoleon was now an object of excitement and curiosity. Not surprisingly the government was concerned that this could result in a rise in support for republicanism. It was recorded that whilst on Napoleon's arrival the crowds were silent but waving their hats in the air when watching him, but by the end of the week they were cheering him to show support for his position against the government view.[30]

The government had been caught out by Napoleon surrendering to a naval captain without terms of surrender being dictated by government negotiation. Was he a 'prisoner of war'? His rank as general was recognised but not his former title of emperor, as after the 1814 peace treaty Louis XVIII was restored as king of France and his government recognised. Having been detained, who should be responsible for holding him – Britain, France, Russia, Prussia or Austria and what were his legal rights? This question still resonates down to us today in the legality of 'extraordinary rendition'.[31] One aspect of the case that did help the government was that by being confined to *Bellerophon* and not allowed to set foot on land, he was under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Court, which was coequal with other branches of judiciary. They were able to obstruct a High Court Constable from serving a writ of habeas corpus on Lord Keith, as the responsible person in charge of Napoleon, by warning Lord Keith of the situation. He then had three days being chased by the Constable from house to ship to shore, before sailing out to sea on *Prometheus* and eventually ordering *Bellerophon* to follow. If Napoleon had been allowed to

land and state his case, there were fears that he would be granted asylum and that if he had the chance to speak to the Prince Regent, a country estate might be offered as well.[32]

To prevent problems arising before Napoleon was safely transferred, orders were issued in London on August 3 for *Bellerophon* to sail outside the Sound and she left on Friday 4 August 1815 at 9.30 a.m. Sighting the convoy on Sunday evening, she returned to Torbay. On Monday 7 August Napoleon was transferred to *Northumberland* and the following day set off in a convoy for St Helena. The convoy was joined by *Havannah* from Plymouth, the boat Major Dyer's son George had requested to serve on as a Lieutenant, and he was no doubt pleased to be on a commissioned ship as the return to peace would see ships being paid off.

Many thousands of people tried to catch a glimpse of Napoleon following his arrival at Plymouth on the *Bellerophon*, and the memory of Napoleon's brief sojourn in Plymouth lived on in popular legend to become an important aspect of the city's history. Indeed, the enigma of Napoleon is a subject which continues to generate much interest. In 1851, Mr Walter Prideaux, a London based businessman, was in Paris at a business dinner when talk turned to Napoleon. He was pleased to record that the only man present who had set eyes on Napoleon was an Englishman, even though his hosts had served with several notable Generals.[33] Prideaux had lived in Plymouth at the time of Napoleons visit, although he was only ten years old at the time. A window recording the legendary event was placed in the Plymouth Guildhall (opened in 1874),[34] but later destroyed in the Blitz of 1941. However Burrow Lodge in Plymstock, built in 1835 by Dr George Bellamy (Mayor of Plymouth 1811-2), remains an existing link to the Napoleonic era.[35] Bellamy, who had been surgeon on *Bellerophon* in 1798 at the Battle of the Nile, obtained timber from the *Bellerophon* to build his house just before the ship was towed to Rotherhithe to be broken up.[36] The ship was being returned to the Navy after eight years anchored in the Hamoaze, functioning as the prison hulk *Captivity*.

NOTES

1. Details of the dates taken from David Cordingly, *Billy Ruffian – The Bellerophon and the Downfall of Napoleon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).
2. *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, 77 (August 1815), 623.
3. Cordingly, *Billy Ruffian*, 259.
4. *The Times*, 28 July 1815 (extract from a 'Letter from Exmouth' written 25 July 1815); *The Times*, 29 July 1815 (Report from Dartmouth, 26 July 1815).

5. *The Times*, 1 August 1815 ('Letter from Torbay').
6. *The Times*, 1 August 1815, 3, Extract from 'Letter from Plymouth' (written 28 July 1815); *The Morning Chronicle*, 26 July 1815.
7. The painting by John James Chalon illustrates the scene and was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816; Ernest Radford, 'Chalon, John James (1778–1854)', rev. Raymond Lister, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5037> accessed 17 July 2014.
8. *The Scots Magazine* (September 1815), 623, (Plymouth, 29 July 1815).
9. Frederick Lewis Maitland, *The Surrender of Napoleon Being the Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte, and of his Residence on Board H.M.S. Bellerophon, with a Detail of the Principal Events that Occurred in that Ship between the 24th of May and the 8th of August 1815*, ed. William Kirk Dickson, [Online] Available at: <https://archive.org/stream/thesurrenderofna28934gut/pg28934.txt> accessed 25 July 2014.
10. PWDRO, 710/395. Diary of Henry Woollcombe, 41.
11. *The Times*, 29 July 1815, 3. Extract from 'Letter from Dartmouth' (written 26 July 1815).
12. *Trewmans Exeter Flying Post*, 3 August 1815; *The Scots Magazine*, 77 (August 1815), 623 (Report from Plymouth dated July 29, 1815); W. H. K. Wright, ed. *The Western Antiquary*, vol. 7 (1887–8) (Plymouth: W. H. Luke, 1888), 194.
13. W. H. K. Wright, ed. *The Western* Antiquary, vol. 6 (1886-7) (Plymouth: W. H. Luke, 1888), 302. Captains boats from naval ships were allowed to come to the bottom of the gangway whilst the sightseers' boats were kept at a distance.
14. David Robertson, 'Eastlake, Sir Charles Lock (1793–1865)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, May 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8414> accessed 17 July 2014.
15. Llewellynn Jewitt, *A History of Plymouth* (Plymouth: WH Luke, 1873), 389–391.
16. Image on web page <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/napoleon-bonapart-on-board-the-bellerophon-in plymouth-s173477> accessed 13 July 2013.
17. PWDRO, 560/3. Notebook for 1815. Deposition 560 is 'General George Dyer, R.M. of Plymouth. Diaries, notebooks and receipts 1781–1817'.
18. PWDRO, 710/395. Diary of Henry Woollcombe, 39.
19. *Trewmans Exeter Flying Post*, 3 August 1815; *The Scots Magazine*, 77, August 1815, 624 (Report from Plymouth July 29 1815).
20. W. H. K. Wright, ed. *The Western Antiquary*, vol. 8 (1888-9) (Plymouth: W. H. Luke, 1889), 151.
21. Elizabeth Wilmot Adams was baptised at Lamerton Church on 3 November 1783, married at Milton Abbot Church on 16 May 1809 and died on 2 June 1852, being buried with her husband in Milton Abbot churchyard. My parents recorded the grave while researching the family ancestors in 1981, but details

are now lost. It was not recorded on the 1990 Churchyard Headstone Survey plan kept in the church.

22. Report dated 2 August 1815, *The Examiner*, no. 397, Sunday 6 August 1815, in *The Examiner*, Issues 366–418 (London: John Hunt), 501, <http://books.google.co.uk/books> accessed 13 July 2013.
23. Brian Moseley's Plymouth Data – Bonaparte and Plymouth, <http://www.plymouthdata.info/Bonaparte%20and%20Plymouth.htm> accessed 13 July 2013. This website was withdrawn from the Internet on 16 June 2014.
24. *The Monthly Magazine*, 273 (1 September 1815), 173; Wright, *The Western Antiquary*, vol. 6 (1886–7), 224 and *The Western Antiquary*, vol. 7 (1887–8), 66.
25. Henry Francis Whitfeld, *Plymouth in Times of War and Peace* (Plymouth: E. Chapple, 1900), 248; C. W. Bracken, *A History of Plymouth* (Plymouth: Underhill (Plymouth) Ltd., 1931), 221; R. A. J. Walling, *The Story of Plymouth* (London: Westaway Books, 1950), 190. Details of the house are noted in Janet Cambridge, *The Historic Landscapes of Greater Plymouth* (Plymouth: Old Plymouth Society Publication 12, 2012), 19.
26. A. B. Sainsbury, 'Duckworth, Sir John Thomas, first baronet (1748–1817)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn, Jan 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8137> accessed 17 July 2014.
27. Frederick Lewis Maitland, *The Surrender of Napoleon Being the Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte*, accessed 25 July 2014.
28. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1709–1837* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992), 229.
29. Whitfeld, *Plymouth in Times of War and Peace*, 239; Walling, *The Story of Plymouth*, 191.
30. *The Monthly Magazine*, 20 (September 1815), 172; *The Scots Magazine*, 77 (September 1815), 624. (Report from Plymouth dated 31 July 1815).
31. Norman MacKenzie, 'Napoleon: An Extraordinary Rendition', *History Today*, 60, issue 5 (2010).
32. David Hamilton-Williams, *The Fall of Napoleon – The Final Betrayal*, (London: Brockhampton Press, 1999), 266–271.
33. Wright, *The Western Antiquary*, vol. 8 (1888–9), 179, quoting from a letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* of 26 December 1888.
34. Bracken, *A History of Plymouth*, 221.
35. Ivy M. Langdon, *The Plymstock Connection* (Tiverton: Westcountry Books, 1995), 39; Bracken, *A History of Plymouth*, 221.
36. Admiral Maitland, when Admiral Superintendant of Portsmouth Dockyard 1833–37, also salvaged the figurehead and stern carvings from Bellerophon when it was about to be broken up. These are at the National Museum of the Royal Navy, [online] Available at: <http://figureheads.ukmcs.org.uk/> accessed 9 April 14. Reference F0200 (figurehead) and F0318 (stern carving).

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

Early Victorian Farming on the Culm: Using the Tithe Survey to Examine Patterns of Land-Holding and Tenure

JOHN BRADBEER

Introduction

The origins of this project lie in an interest in the past land-use of fields in culm grassland nature reserves now owned by the Devon Wildlife Trust. An obvious source was the Tithe Survey of *c.*1837–1841. This interest has widened into a more comparative study including specific fields on nature reserves but also of farm-holdings and the wider landscape across selected parishes on the Culm Measures, principally in north-west Devon.

The Culm Measures, are of Carboniferous age and comprise a series of sandstones, siltstones and shales with occasional lenses of limestone and culm – a powdery form of anthracite. They lie across northern central Devon from Marsland Mouth on the Cornish border to just east and north of Hatherleigh and form the basal geology of about a quarter of the county. While writers like William Marshall and Charles Vancouver recognised culm country as a distinct region, in practice both tended to regard it as very akin in agricultural terms to that part of north Devon underlain by rocks of Devonian age.[1] In more recent times, Truman while recognising the distinctiveness of the culm, felt that it was probably the least attractive part of the county, although partly redeemed by the splendour of the Atlantic coast from Marsland Mouth to Hartland Point and the more intimate beauty of the area around Clovelly.[2] Use of terms like culm country were legitimated with the adoption of name for one of the National Character Areas, originally developed by the Countryside

Commission and now promoted by Natural England.[3] Among ecologists the term culm grassland has become popular since the 1980s to describe the wet grassland dominated by purple moor-grass (*Molinia caerulea*) and with gorse (*Ulex* spp) and soft rush (*Juncus effusus*) as prominent companion species. Many other species have a particular liking for the culm and thus the National Vegetation Classification indicates that culm grassland is really a series of vegetation types. However, the fact that about eighty per cent of culm grassland has been lost since *c.*1950 has made it a prime target for acquisition and management as nature reserves since the late 1980s.

Culm country is characterised by a gently undulating plateau, usually between 150 and 200 metres above sea level, with numerous small valleys and two major rivers, the Taw in the east and the Torridge in the west, both more deeply incised into the plateau. Where the gentlest slopes and plateau tops coincide with outcrops of shale and siltstones, soils are often very heavy and poorly drained and have given rise to the classic culm grassland. On moderate slopes, soils can often be well drained and suitable for most forms of agriculture. In the valley bottoms there are thicker soils of alluvial origin and these may be exploited for agriculture where drainage is good, but where drainage is poor they become low-grade, rush infested pasture. Both Marshal and Vancouver commented upon the potential and the poverty of agriculture on the culm.

In the twentieth century culm country was usually regarded as an agricultural problem area. In a classic of English rural sociology, William Morgan Williams described his composite, anonymous parish 'Ashworthy' as having both well-established farms in local families for many generations and difficult farms which were rarely held by farmers for more than a few years and which had a succession of owners or tenants, often from outside Devon.[4] The problems of culm farms also attracted much attention in the 1950s from the Department of Agricultural Economics of what was then the University College of the South-West in Exeter and perhaps the best of the many previously unpublished reports was finally published in 2011.[5]

This study has the principal aim of examining farming, land-use and landscape at the start of the Victorian period by using the Tithe Survey. An opportunistic sample of seventeen parishes has been drawn from across the Culm Measures in the modern District Council Areas of North Devon and Torridge. These are shown in Figure 1. The sample comprises most, but not all, of the parishes where the Devon Wildlife Trust has culm grassland reserves, along with some neighbouring parishes and a few others of interest. There is no reason to assume that these seventeen parishes are atypical of culm country, although, as will become apparent, each has a certain distinctive

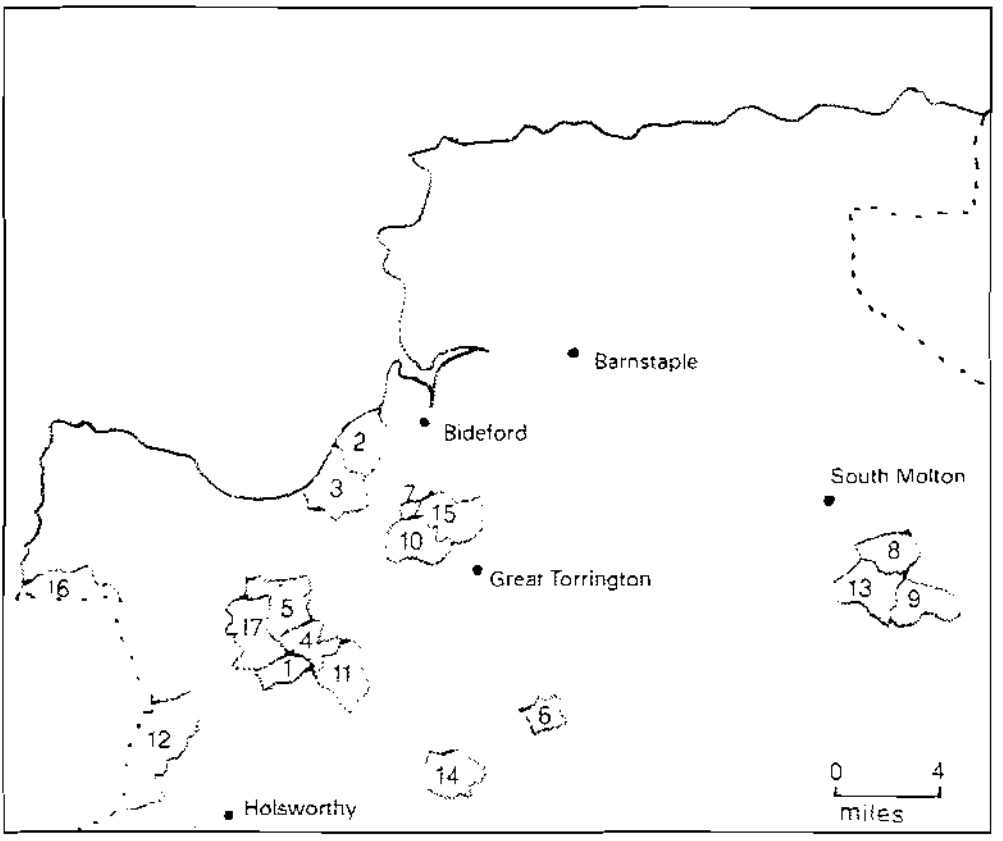


Figure 1. The Location of the Sample Parishes.

character of its own. This paper deals with the data source used and discusses the patterns of land-ownership and occupancy in the sample parishes.

The Tithe Survey as a data source

In 1836 the Tithe Commutation Act was passed and render of tithe in kind was to be replaced by monetary payments. To this end, surveys were made of most parishes to determine land ownership and land-use so that the tithe payment could be calculated. In Devon, virtually all the parishes were surveyed, principally between 1837 and 1841. Historians and historical geographers have long made use of the Tithe Surveys. Hugh Prince discussed the potential that lay in the Tithe Survey and before him, H. C. Darby, in a disquisition on the methodology of historical geography, noted that Domesday Book and the Tithe Survey were two fixed points in what would now be called a synchronous approach to historical geography.[6] Most of the surveyors were

local men, although not from the parishes to be surveyed.[7] Parliament had laid down the conventions to be employed but some surveyors took it upon themselves to refine the land-use categories and to imply sub-divisions by the descriptions they used. However, not all did this and, in any case, there is no record of the criteria they may have used to distinguish, say ordinary pasture from coarse pasture, so analysis has to proceed at the aggregate level.

The Tithe Survey comprised two elements, a large scale plan of the parish with each parcel of land marked and numbered, the Tithe Map, and a listing of all parcels, their land-owner, present occupier, field name, current land-use and area (in acres, rods and perches), the Tithe Apportionment. The usual ordering in the Apportionment is alphabetically by land-owner. The land-uses required to be recorded were arable, meadow, pasture, gardens, orchards, woodland, buildings and waste.

Devon Heritage Centre has made most of the Tithe Apportionments accessible as pdf documents available for down-loading. These are digital copies of originals held in The National Archives.[8] These have been used in compiling the basic data set for this study. A few Tithe Maps have also been scanned but most are only accessible either as originals or as micro-fiche copies in the North Devon Record Office. Many of these micro-fiche copies are indistinct and transcription to base-maps of the Six Inch to the Mile Series of *c.*1890 has not been possible. As this study is focused more at the landscape scale than that of the individual farm, this is not a significant problem. For all of the sample parishes, except Pancrasweek, the pdf files consulted have been scanned copies of the original manuscript Apportionment. The pdf file for Pancrasweek is a scanned copy of a later printed version, produced in 1901 for the Board of Agriculture.

The transcribed Apportionments were used to form the data base. First, all areas in the original in acres, rods and perches, were converted to decimal acres, so a small amount of rounding will have taken place. Secondly, all properties which were exclusively house, garden and orchard were excluded but all properties with any farmland or woodland were included. Thus, the final agricultural area of parishes does not tally exactly with the total parish area in recorded in the Apportionment, nor that of the modern parish. Of the seventeen parishes in the sample, just Bulkworthy and Abbotsham have experienced boundary changes since the 1840s. Six categories of land-use were employed. Arable and meadow were generally self-apparent. Because of the inconsistency with sub-divisions of pasture, pasture has been treated as a single category. Gardens and orchards have been aggregated and it appears that 'gardens' growing vegetables were sometimes recorded as arable. Houses, farm and other buildings (such as mills) and farm roads were combined with

waste for a fifth category. The final category is woodland, which includes parcels variously described as copse, coppice, plantation and woodland as well as a few withy beds. Some parcels were given two land-uses, such as 'arable with furze'. In these cases, the first named land-use is employed for the whole parcel.

Holdings

This term has been given to blocks of land recorded in the Tithe Apportionment as a distinct entity. By the time of the Tithe Surveys, some farms had been divided and the Apportionment sometimes records farms as, for instance, 'Lower Narracott' and 'Lower Narracott, part' in East Puford, or as in Welcombe where four holdings have the name 'Upcott' and the fields of these four clearly form a coherent block. In some instances, the same landowner and occupier are recorded for two or more parts and the implication must be that the tenancies are distinct. In a few parishes, common land survived and each common is treated as a holding. The holding is perhaps not a crucial feature and should be seen as a component in the patterns of landownership and occupancy. The small size of a holding matters less per se than the total amount of land either owned or occupied. Nonetheless, the numbers of holdings per parish do show considerable variation (see Table 1).

Table 1. Number of holdings and average size.

Parish	Number of holdings	Average size (acres)
Abbots Bickington	10	104.27
Abbotsham	58	29.73
Alwington	43	58.73
Bulkworthy	14	78.05
East Putford	24	97.88
Huish	6	163.62
Landcross	8	40.44
Mariansleigh	36	53.97
Meshaw	20	85.97
Monkleigh	43	45.67
Newton St Petrock	26	59.58
Pancrasweek	74	49.67
Romansleigh	27	91.63
Sheepwash	37	49.65
Weare Giffard	32	41.90
Welcombe	53	32.09
West Putford	43	58.44
TOTAL	554	55.52

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

In the sample parishes there are some 554 holdings recorded with an average size of 55.52 acres. Most parishes do have an average holding size within the range of 40 to 75 acres. Huish is clearly a special case, being both a small parish of some 980 acres of agricultural land and the seat of Lord Clinton at Heanton Satchville, with its extensive park included within the holding of Huish Barton. The coastal parishes of Abbotsham and Welcombe stand out as having the smallest average holding size and clearly the processes of farm division and fragmentation appear to have gone further in these parishes than in others. Why this should be so is unclear and the contrast with Alwington, the other coastal parish in the sample, is evident.

Land-owners

Table 2 shows that there were a total of 211 land-owners in the sample parishes. This figure actually overstates the number of individual ownerships, as some owned land in more than one parish and for the whole sample, there were 165 land-ownerships, of which 13 were joint-ownerships. Most of the land-owners are fairly readily identified, especially those with 'great estates' and a little more will be said about them later. Only twelve people held land in more than one parish and all but one held land over 100 acres in total.

Table 2. Number of land-owners by parish.

Parish	Number of land-owners	Total agricultural area (whole acres)
Abbots Bickington	3	1,043
Abbotsham	23	1,724
Alwington	12	2,525
Bulkworthy	10	1,093
East Putford	9	2,349
Huish	3	982
Landcross	2	324
Mariansleigh	12	1,943
Meshaw	15	1,719
Monkleigh	5	1,964
Newton St Petrock	13	1,549
Pancrasweek	21	3,676
Romansleigh	12	2,474
Sheepwash	14	1,837
Weare Giffard	5	1,341
Welcombe	29	1,701
West Putford	23	2,513
TOTAL	211	30,757

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

The broad pattern of land-ownership is shown in Figure 2 with land-ownership displayed by size classes. The size classes 10<20 and 20<30 had the most owners but there was a fairly even spread of owners among the other size categories.

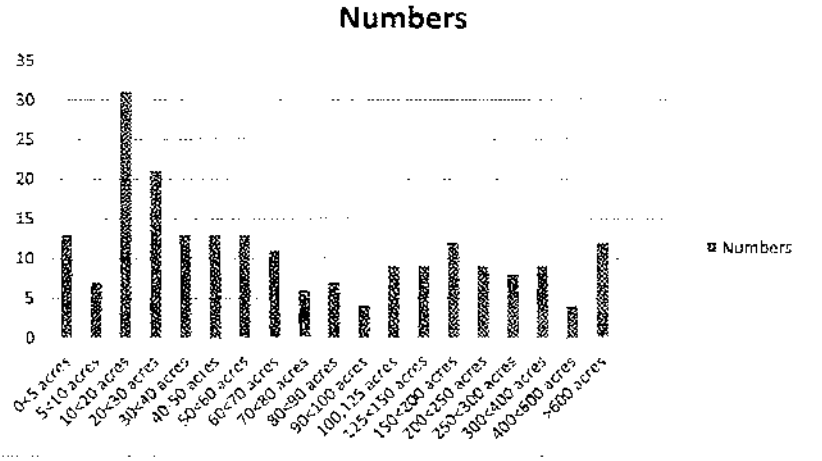


Figure 2. Land-ownership by size classes: all parishes.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

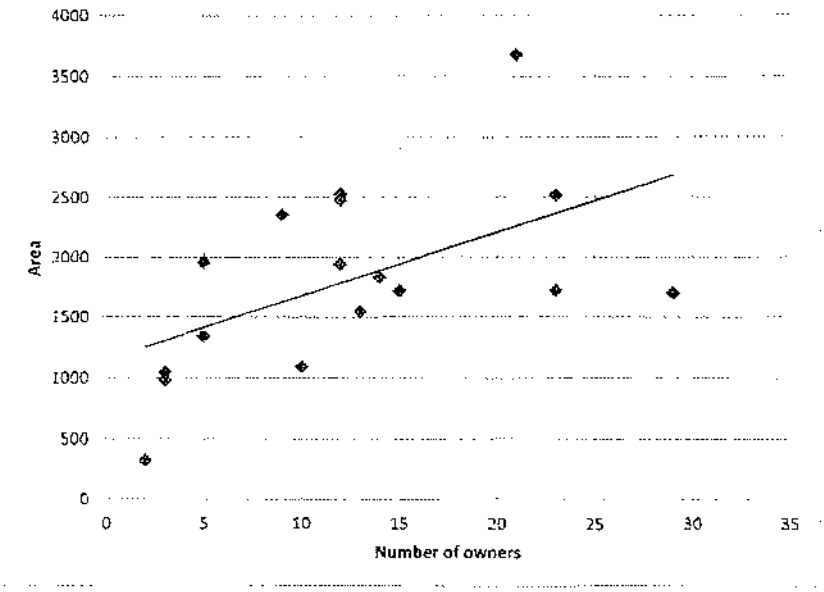


Figure 3. Land-ownership and total agricultural area by parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Figure 3 uses the same data as in Table 2 and shows the general correlation between the number of land-owners and the total agricultural area of each parish. Some parishes stand out as exceptions to this general trend, in particular the coastal parishes of Abbotsham and Welcombe. In both parishes the average size of land owned by individuals was well below that in all other parishes. For the sample parishes as a whole, the average land-owner had some 146 acres. Welcombe is also distinct in that almost a third of its land owners had land less than 5 acres in area.

Figure 2 shows that in the sample parishes there are twelve land-ownerships with more than 600 acres and a further four with between 400 and 600 acres. These owners are listed in Table 3. There are eleven major land-owners, with six of them having land in more than one parish. The largest single land-owner was Lord Rolle with 3,355.46 acres in seven parishes. Lord Rolle's seat was at Stevenstone in St Giles-in-the-Wood, near Great Torrington, which is generally reflected in the parishes where he was a major land-owner. The next largest land-owner was the Reverend John Pine-Coffin, of Portledge in Alwington parish. His total holding was only some 180 acres less than that of Lord Rolle, but it lay in the two adjoining parishes of Alwington and Monkleigh. The third large land-owner was Lewis William Buck (1784–1858) whose seat was at Daddon in Bideford and who served as Tory MP for Exeter 1826–1832 and for North Devon 1839–1857. He was Lord of the Manor of Pancrasweek, which was reflected in his very considerable ownership in the parish. Much of the Buck land subsequently passed into the hands of the Stucleys of Hartland Abbey. Lord Clinton of Heanton Satchville in Huish parish was another major land-owner and his Lordship of the Manor of Sheepwash was also reflected in a major land-ownership there as it was for Richard Preston as Lord of the Manor of Meshaw. Reverend John Moore Stevens was archdeacon of Exeter 1820–1865 and was the major land-owner in Bulkworthy parish. Given the fragmentation of land-ownership in Abbotsham parish, it is perhaps noteworthy that Robert Studley Vidal with some 448 acres in that parish was also one of the larger land-owners in the sample parishes.

A problem with a geographically non-contiguous sample of parishes is that it can obscure the extent of 'great estates'. Of the 51 ownerships of land in excess of 150 acres in the sample, 10 were recorded as land-owners in neighbouring parishes in 1850.[9] Of the land-owners with a thousand acres, Lord Rolle had land in three neighbouring parishes, Lord Clinton land in four, and the Reverend John Pine-Coffin and Lewis William Buck in one. Earl Stanhope, with just over 282 acres was listed as a major land-owner in three neighbouring parishes. The sample probably significantly underestimates

the total land-holding of Reverend John Moore Stevens, as he held land in a further four neighbouring parishes and his wife, a small land-owner in the sample, with 34.92 acres, also had land in three neighbouring parishes, two of which also contained her husband's land.

Table 3. Major land-owners.

Land owner	Parish	Total land-holding (acres)
Sir Thomas Acland	Romansleigh	609.94
Lewis William Buck	Abbotsham	60.99
	Newton St Petrock	374.08
	Pancrasweek	1704.87
	Welcombe	283.19
		Total: 2423.13
Lord Clinton	Huish	678.50
	Sheepwash	857.34
	Welcombe	50.27
		Total:1.586.11
Sir Humphrey Davie	Mariansleigh	1,330.02
John Dayman	East Putford	404.49
	West Putford	37.28
		Total: 441.77
Earl Fortescue	Weare Giffard	896.18
Lord Rolle	Abbots Bickington	793.88
	Bulkworthy	60.37
	East Putford	847.08
	Landcross	315.32
	Romansleigh	626.83
	Weare Giffard	277.96
	West Putford	434.02
		Total: 3,355.46
Rev John Pine-Coffin	Alwington	1,605.23
	Monkleigh	1,560.85
		Total: 3166.08
Richard Preston	Meshaw	649.08
Rev John Moore Stevens	Bulkworthy	448.52
	Newton St Petrock	163.71
	West Putford	10.01
		Total:622.24
Robert Studley Vidal	Abbotsham	488.45

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments

Only fourteen of the land-owners (6.6 per cent) in the sample parishes were women and they held just 2.8 per cent of the agricultural land. The average size of their land-ownership was 59.08 acres, which compares fairly well with that overall. What is significant, however, is the fact that the largest

land-ownership by a woman was 191.05 acres held by Charlotte Hodgson in Romansleigh parish. Just two other women owned more than one hundred acres of land, Mrs Barry[10] with some 130 acres in East Putford, and Mary Ann Saltren, with some 105 acres in Monkleigh. The smallest land-ownership by a woman, and one of the smallest overall was the 0.53 acres of part of Claws in Abbotsham owned by Rachel Stone. Higher Thorndown in Romansleigh parish, a farm of 67.70 acres was owned by Agnes Carter as trustee for Ann Cheldon and nearby in Meshaw parish, the 20.85 acres of Peek's Tenement was owned by Sarah Torrington. Harriet Eastmond, Ann Loosemore and Maria Pyncombe. Without biographical study it is impossible to establish the relationships, if any, among these four women.

Occupiers

These are the people who held tenancies or leases and actually worked the land. As will become apparent, many occupiers had more than one holding and several were also tenants of more than one land-lord, or combined tenancies with holdings they owned. Table 4 shows the number of occupiers per parish and the average size of occupancy in each parish. There are more occupiers than land-owners and in consequence, the average occupancy at some 87 acres is lower than that for the land-owners. The fragmentation in land-holding already noted for Abbotsham and Welcombe is also seen here in the small average area of land occupied. Landcross is perhaps a special case in that it is the smallest of the parishes in the sample and a little over a half of the agricultural acreage falls in one holding, Pillmouth, held by John Ford from Mary Ann Saltren, herself holding a lease on the land from Lord Rolle. The very large size of the average occupancy in Abbots Bickington reflects the lands of Thomas Reed, who was in occupancy of more than three quarters of the parish. Thomas Reed had 820.97 acres, 182.31 acres in his own right and a further 638.56 acres held from Lord Rolle.[11] Lord Rolle's other tenant in Abbots Bickington was Daniel Petherick with 155.32 acres and the third occupier in the parish was John Lewis with 66.52 acres.

The area of land held by each occupier is show in Figure 4. It can be seen that the distribution is bimodal, with peaks in the 10<20 acres and 150<200 acres classes and a fairly even distribution among the other classes up to 250 acres. The two peaks in the distribution were also found in most of the individual parishes, although Abbots Bickington has already been identified as a somewhat anomalous case. Welcombe had twelve of its thirty-three occupiers with less than 5 acres. Many occupiers have more than one holding and often they were tenants of more than one land-owner. Other occupiers are

Table 4. Number of occupiers by parish.

Parish	Number of occupiers	Average area of land occupied
Abbots Bickington	4	260.68
Abbotsham	29	59.46
Alwington	29	87.08
Bulkworthy	10	109.27
East Putford	17	138.18
Huish	5	196.35
Landcross	8	40.44
Mariansleigh	25	77.71
Meshaw	18	95.52
Monkleigh	29	67.72
Newton St Petrock	18	86.06
Pancrasweek	38	96.72
Romansleigh	22	112.45
Sheepwash	21	87.47
Weare Giffard	20	67.04
Welcombe	33	51.54
West Putford	27	93.07
TOTAL	353	87.13

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

simultaneously owner-occupiers and tenants. A good example is John Serjeant in Alwington parish, who with some 200.80 acres, was one of the larger occupiers in the sample parishes. He owned Rollstone (84.61 acres) and held Ford Moors (46.23) on lease from Lord Rolle and rented two smaller holdings from Lord Rolle (Cross Parks, 12.41 acres and Wormsworthy 18.07 acres). Serjeant also rented Gratton (19.28 acres) from William Bruton and Horse Parks (23.20 acres) from Anna Morrison and James Hammett, who held this on lease from Samuel Kekewich. William Fry in East Putford owned the 13.43 acres of Northcott's Tenement but then rented a further four holdings from Lord Rolle, which took the total of the lands he occupied to 154.06 acres. It would be wrong to assume that only the larger occupiers assembled their land from several owners. For instance, in Welcombe, William Saunders had 27.82 acres. He owned just a single field, North Meadow at 1.55 acres, and rented from three different land-owners, the 23.22 acres of Mead 1[12] from John Ashton and single fields of 4.21 acres and 0.39 acres from John Gay and John Walter respectively.

Eleven men occupied more than 250 acres of land. They are shown in Table 5. It can be seen that Lord Clinton, Reverend John Pine-Coffin, William and George Toms and Thomas Reed were owner-occupiers and in the case of

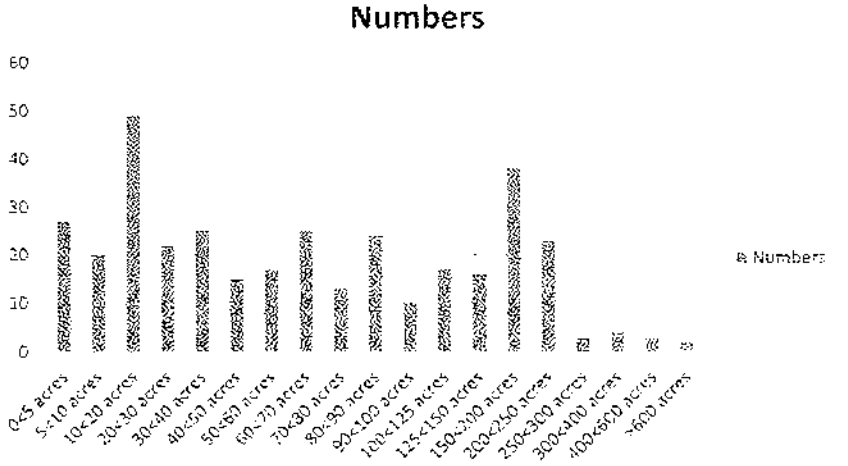


Figure 4. Land-occupancy by size classes: all parishes.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Thomas Reed, his own lands were less than a quarter of the total he occupied. Table 5 confirms the complex patterns of land-holding that prevailed, with five men having two land-lords and John Adams in Romansleigh having three land-lords.

Only seventeen of the occupiers (4.8 per cent) were women and one woman occupied land jointly with a man with a different second name to hers. Even if this jointly held piece of land is included with that held only by women, then women occupiers are less significant than women land-owners. The average area of land occupied by women is 44.72 acres and thus little over a half of the figure for all occupiers. Figure 5 shows the distribution of land occupied by women and while this also display a peak in the class 10<20 acres, there is no corresponding peak in the 150<200 acre class. The largest area occupied by a woman is the 248.11 acres of Jane Clement in Alwington parish who occupied Gilscott 1 (175.02 acres) and Hole (73.09 acres) both quite substantial holdings. Mary Andrews had Lower Narracott in East Putford at 130.16 acres but no other woman occupied more than one hundred acres of land. There were no women occupiers in 7 of the sample parishes but in three parishes, Alwington, Mariansleigh and Romansleigh, women accounted for at least 10 per cent of the occupiers. In Mariansleigh the four women occupiers had only 1.6 per cent of the land and in Romansleigh, the three women occupiers had 4 per cent of the land.

Table 5. Occupiers with more than 250 acres of land.

Occupier	Parish	Holding	Land-owner	Area (acres)
John Adams	Romansleigh	Whitehouse	Sir Thomas Acland	129.02
		Odam	Lord Rolle (lease)	458.92
		Higher Thorndown	Agnes Carter (trustee for Ann Cheldon	67.70
			TOTAL	655.64
John Andrews	East Putford	Nutton	Lord Rolle	148.40
		Winslade	William Walter	309.18
			TOTAL	457.58
William Burnard	Pancrasweek	Pancraswike Barton	Lewis William Buck	375.70
		Kingford Part 3	John Henry Hoare	73.64
		Kingford Part 5		17.06
			Sub-total	*90.70*
			TOTAL	466.40
Lord Clinton	Huish	Huish Barton	Lord Clinton	457.79
		Glebe	Reverend John Knight	66.40
			TOTAL	524.19
John Ford	Alwington	Knotty Corner Tenement	William & Charles Bruton	24.46
		Winscott Barton		345.26
			TOTAL	369.72
Richard Lane *et al*	West Putford	Copplestones	Charles Rowe	47.28
		Holmans		5.94
		Middle Down		19.97
		New Park		5.13
		Oxenhams		29.10
		Risdons		11.37
		Stephens		8.60
		Trenchers		39.82
		Wedfield		110.02
			TOTAL	2772.23
William Newcombe	Bulkworthy	Hankford	Reverend John Moore Stevens	246.56
		Randalls & Vallets		40.49
			TOTAL	287.06
Reverend John Pine-Coffin	Alwington	Portledge Barton 1	Reverend John Pine-Coffin	355.33
		'Sundries'		30.80
			TOTAL	386.13

Occupier	Parish	Holding	Land-owner	Area (acres)
Thomas Reed	Abbots Bickington	Culsworthy	Thomas Reed	109.35
		Youldon		72.96
			Sub total	*182.31*
		Bickington Barton	Lord Rolle	400.06
		North Place		80.45
		West Culsworthy		119.61
		Yeallands		38.44
			Sub-total	*638.56*
			TOTAL	820.97
Charles Snell	Sheepwash	Lord Clinton	Newcourt	270.47
William and George Toms	Mariansleigh	Eastacott	William and George Toms	82.84
		Yeo & Oxen Moor		214.94
			TOTAL	297.78
Thomas Warmington	Welcombe	Henaford 2	Lewis William Buck	105.66
		South Down	Charles Carter	28.62
		Upcott 1		167.81
			Sub-total	*196.43*
			TOTAL	302.09

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

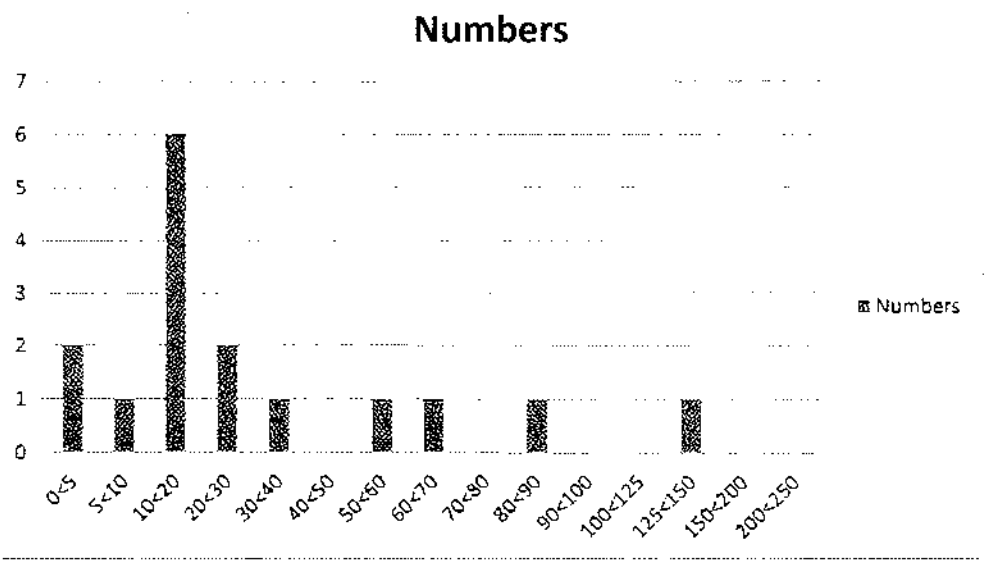


Figure 5. Women as land-occupiers.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Table 6 shows the number of owner-occupiers in the sample parishes. It can be seen that there were 80 owner-occupiers, or roughly a third of the number of owners. Only Weare Giffard did not have any owner-occupiers, and the lone owner-occupier of Landcross was the Reverend Philip Kelland who held the glebe lands and had a mere 2.5 per cent of the land of the parish. Huish is again exceptional in that its owner-occupier was Lord Clinton and his seat, Heanton Satchville House, and Huish Barton, the home farm of the estate, dominate this small parish. Welcombe and Abbotsham had the most owner-occupiers, with eleven and ten respectively and where the owner-occupiers were 37.9 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively of the number of land-owners. However, six of Welcombe's owner-occupiers held less than five acres. In Abbotsham, the owner-occupiers held an average of 53.98 acres and the smallest holding any held was 12.52 acres. Just three women were owner-occupiers and none held more than 25 acres.

Table 6. Owner-occupiers by parish.

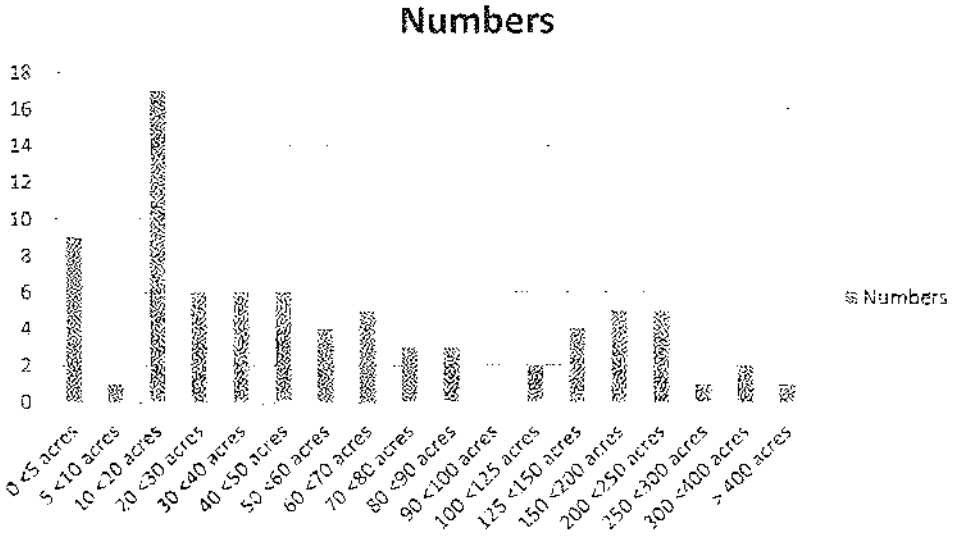
Parish	Number of owner-occupiers	Area owner-occupied (acres)	% Parish farmland owner-occupied
Abbots Bickington	1	182.31	17.5
Abbotsham	10	539.78	31.3
Alwington	3	483.07	19.2
Bulkworthy	2	232.44	21.3
East Putford	4	429.35	18.3
Huish	1	457.79	46.6
Landcross	1	8.23	2.5
Mariansleigh	5	667.22	34.3
Meshaw	7	515.17	30.0
Monkleigh	1	158.03	8.1
Newton St Petrock	6	322.59	20.8
Pancrasweek	5	86.58	2.4
Romansleigh	8	636.62	25.7
Sheepwash	7	227.25	12.4
Weare Giffard	0	0	0
Welcombe	11	296.43	17.4
West Putford	8	826.13	32.9
Total	80	6,068.99	19.7

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of owner-occupier holdings by size. As is seen in the distributions of occupiers and land-owners, there was a peak in the size class 10 <20 acres. However, the secondary peak in the occupiers

in the size classes 150 <200 and 200<250 acres was not found for owner-occupiers but there was a relative gap in the distribution among what might be termed the medium-large holdings of 70 to 100 acres. It must be remembered that some of the owner-occupiers were also tenants and in many cases had as much, if not more land held in this way as they owned.

Figure 6. Owner-occupiers by size of holding



Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Discussion

Among many issues discussed by agricultural historians about nineteenth-century farming are those concerning the fate of smaller farms and the degree to which this reflected a more general shift towards capitalist agriculture, employing hired labour, and away from the family farm.[13] It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore employment patterns but it is clear that the sample parishes, with an average farm size (area occupied by an individual) of 87 acres were very much part of what Shaw-Taylor[14] recognised as a discontinuous zone of medium-sized farms from Devon and Somerset and the Welsh Borders to Lincolnshire, the North Riding of Yorkshire and Durham. Although the accuracy of the 1851 Census regarding farming is in some doubt, the geographical patterns displayed seem to be based in actual fact as Grigg's analysis of farm data from the 1851 Census and subsequent Agricultural

Returns shows.[15] In 1851, the average size of farm in England and Wales was 114 acres.[16] Thus the sample parishes can be seen as fairly typical of Devon as a whole but with marked variations, as figure 4 shows. With roughly three-quarters of farms under 20 acres in size, the sample parishes are more typical of Shaw-Taylor's small farm zone, while almost a fifth of farms were over 150 acres in size and typical of Shaw-Taylor's large farm zone. The 1851 Census figures for farm size show a range at the county scale from 41 acres in Lancashire to 251 acres in Northumberland.

Conclusions

The sample parishes show that most farming on the culm was undertaken by men who were tenant-farmers. The typical farmer had what by modern standards would be regarded as little more than a small-holding and the majority of farm enterprises at the time of the Tithe Survey were under 80 acres. Nonetheless, there were many farm enterprises of more than 150 acres, which would be regarded as small, but viable holdings in modern times and a few at more than 300 acres. Although this is only a sample, the role of great estates is apparent, with four individuals owning more than 1,000 acres and actually controlling a little over a third of the total agricultural area. Women were not all prominent as land-owners and held a mere 2.5 per cent of the land and their combined landholding would have ranked only seventh overall. They were hardly more significant as occupiers. Some eighty farmers were owner-occupiers, having a little under a fifth of the total agricultural area. Just three of the owner-occupiers were women and their combined land-holding was only 0.2 per cent of the total agricultural land area.

NOTES

1. William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of the West of England* (London: Board of Agriculture, 1796), Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon* (London: Board of Agriculture, 1808).
2. Arthur E. Trueman, *Geology and Scenery in England and Wales* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1949)
3. Natural England, *National Character Area: Profile 149 The Culm* (Peterborough: Natural England, 2012). The Countryside Commission developed Landscape Character Areas and English Nature produced a similar classification called Natural Areas. Following the merger of these two bodies, their successor, Natural England, produced the National Character Areas, with 159 such units and the last profiles were published in 2014.

4. William Morgan Williams, *A West Country Village, Ashworthy: Family, Kinship and Land* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).
5. S. T. Morris, G. D. D. Davies and W. J Dunford (edited by G. Morris) *The Culm Measures Problem Area (The 'Holsworthy Study'): A Report from the 1950s.* (Exeter: Centre for Rural Policy Research, University of Exeter, 2011), Research Paper 31.
6. Hugh C. Prince, 'The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 7 (1) (1959), 14–26; H. C. Darby, 'On the Relations of Geography and History', *Transactions Institute of British Geographers*, 19 (1953), 1–11.
7. For the 17 sample parishes, 11 surveyors were employed, with 6 working on 2 parishes. Two surveyors were from Cornwall (Kilkhampton and St Stephens-by-Launceston), the rest from Devon, with John Coldridge from Exeter the only one not from northern Devon.
8. Available at <http://www.devon.gov.uk/tithemaps>, (IR 29/6, 9, 10 and 30). These were digital copies of original documents held in The National Archives.
9. *White's Directory of Devonshire, 1850* gives names of chief land-owners in the parish and names of land-owners in parishes with a boundary with the sample parishes have been compiled.
10. The East Putford Tithe Apportionment gives no first name.
11. Thomas Reed's gravestone in Abbots Bickington churchyard proudly describes him as 'yeoman'.
12. The convention of numbering holdings has been adopted when the Tithe Apportionment gives two or more holdings the same name. Some divided holdings are distinguished in the Apportionment as farm and farm part but sometimes there are even several 'parts'.
13. Among papers reviewing this discussion are David Grigg, 'Farm size in England and Wales from Early Victorian Times to the Present', *Agricultural History Review*, 35 (1987), 179–189 and Leigh Shaw-Taylor, 'Family Farms and Capitalist Farms in Mid Nineteenth-Century England', *Agricultural History Review*, 53 (2) (2005), 158–191.
14. Shaw-Taylor, 160 ff.
15. Both Grigg and Shaw-Taylor evaluate the 1851 Census, especially in the light of the subsequent Agricultural Returns from 1866.
16. Calculated from D. Grigg, Table 3, 186.

John Bradbeer is a retired lecturer in Geography at Portsmouth University, originally from Barnstaple and now living in Westward Ho! He is secretary of North Devon Archaeological Society and a volunteer warden with Devon Wildlife Trust.

The Devon Historian, vol. 83, 2014

The Bideford Rope-Maker's Posts

PETER CHRISTIE

The history of industry is one of constant change. As new technology develops so the old gives way and becomes the industrial archaeology of the future. The Bideford rope-making industry provides a good example. This article will examine the events which occurred when changes relating to the perceived rights of the old established industry provoked a significant dispute in the town in the 1880s, with emotions running high amongst the many local people who became involved. The local council became involved in the emerging issues, which led to changes both within the council and also in the rope making industry.

For many hundreds of years the town had been a major port with important links to the fledgling colonies in North America as well as closer ties to South Wales and Southern Ireland.[1] As in most ports, ancillary industries based around shipping developed and Bideford was no exception, with one of the largest being rope-making. From at least the mid eighteenth century a rope walk where ropes were laid and twisted had been established along an arm of the Torridge estuary known as the Pill (Figure 1). Run for many years by the Wren family it passed around 1876 to Henry Morgan Restarick a prominent local shipbuilder, temperance champion and town councillor, who ran it as an ancillary to his main site by the side of Bideford Bridge at East-the-Water.[2] The site is shown in detail in figures 2 and 3 from an 1888 map by the Ordnance Survey as well as in a late nineteenth-century photograph (Figure 4).

By this period longer ropes were being required as ships had rapidly increased in size and complexity and Mr Restarick therefore decided to lengthen his rope walk. Rope-making was still a labour intensive industry in the late nineteenth century, and the sequence of operations by which men in

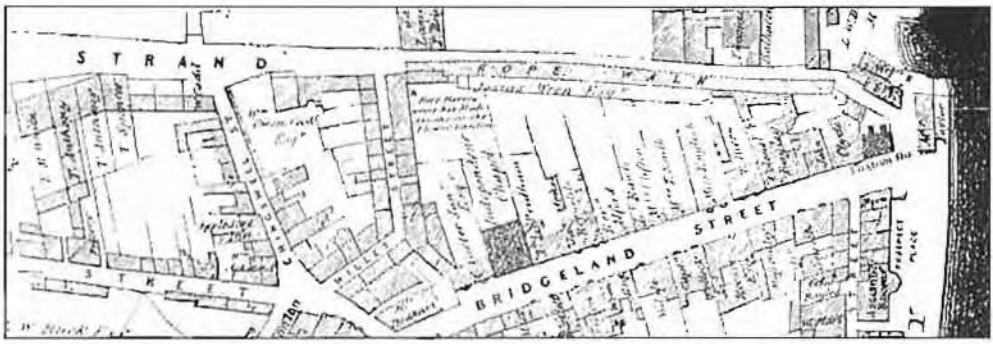
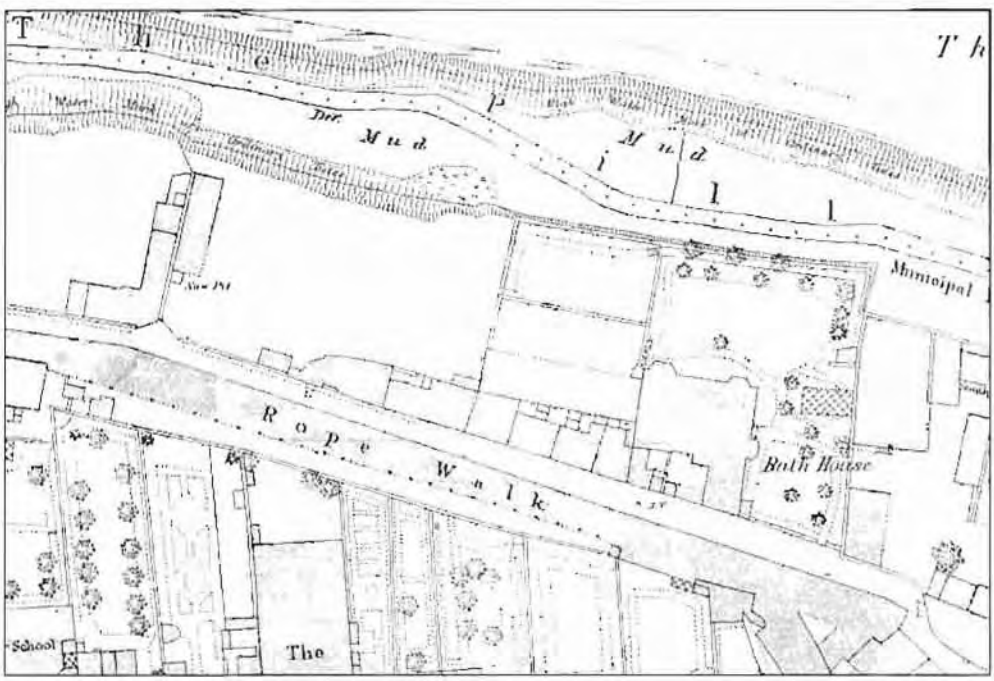


Figure 1. The Rope Walk in 1842 with the Strand at the top of the extract.



Figures 2. The Rope Walk in 1888. Detail from the Ordnance Survey map of Bideford, 1888.

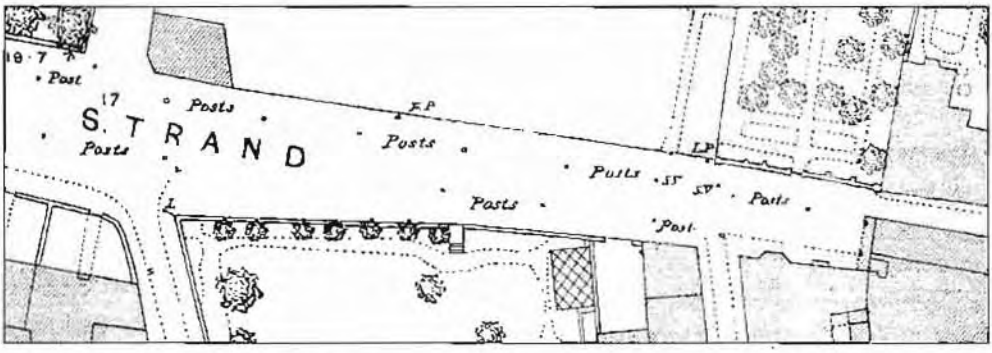


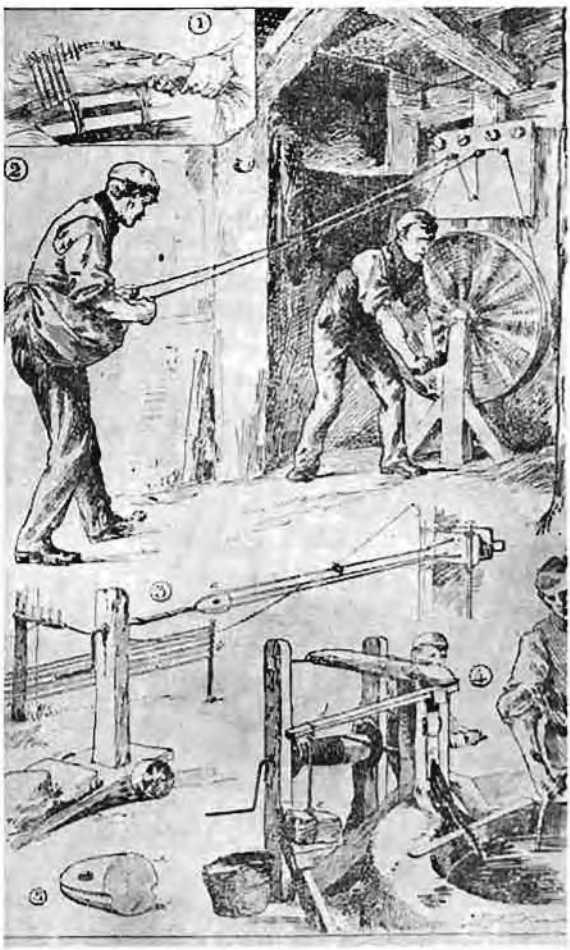
Figure 3. The Strand in 1888 showing the disputed posts in the roadway. Detail from the Ordnance Survey map of Bideford, 1888.

Figure 4. The Ropewalk building is on the left in a contemporary photograph.

Bideford created rope during this period is described by Inkerman Rogers and illustrated in Figure 5:

> The foreman roper, R. Squire, wrapped a quantity of hemp around his waist and attached a few fibres to hooks on a spinning wheel, and as the hooks were revolved by a large wheel turned by hand, walked backwards away from the wheel, which by its revolving motion twisted them while feeding the fibre from the supply around his waist. On emerging from holes in a metal disc the strands were fastened to the hook of a forming machine on a travelling sledge

heavily weighted with large pebbles, which was drawn along the walk, giving at the same time the proper twist to the strands.[3]



Rope-making by hand

1. Combing the hemp. 2. Spinning two yarns.
3. Making a rope of three strands.
4. Tarring a rope. 5. Top.

Figure 5. The process of rope making. Stage 3 shows how posts were used. (*Source*: see note 3).

Restarick, in order to spin longer ropes, simply provided more posts to lengthen the rope walk. Unfortunately he placed these across an area called the Strand on what was viewed as the public highway (Figure 6). Clearly this was unacceptable to many and the first evidence came in a meeting of the Local Government Board (a sub-committee of the town council) in September

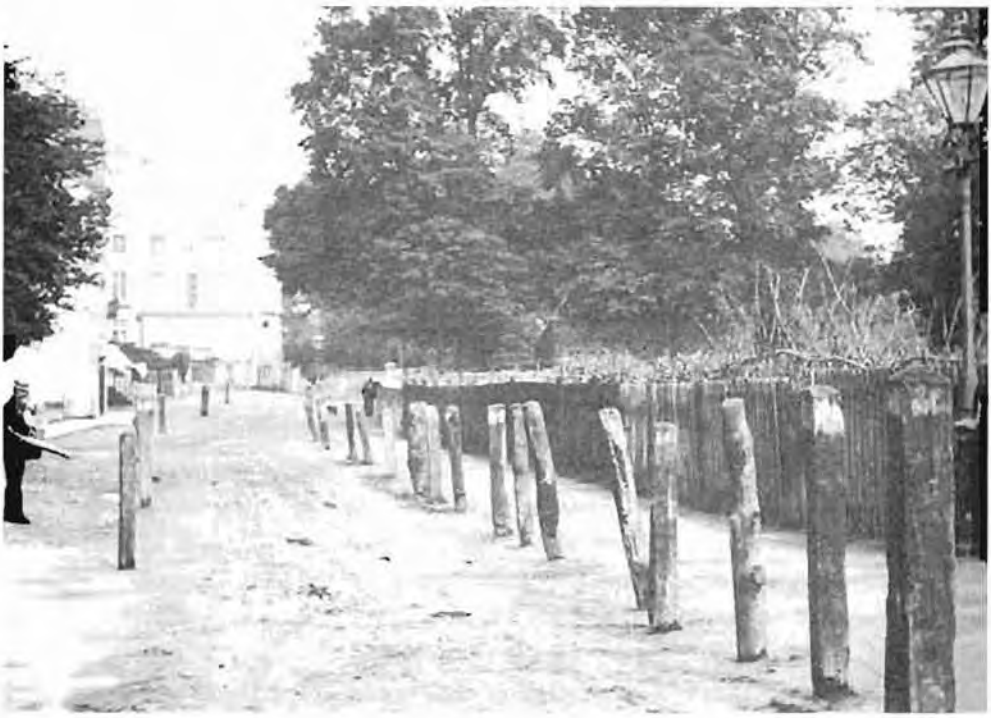


Figure 6. The posts in the roadway at the bottom of Chingswell Street, Bideford, looking towards the Strand.

1886, when it was decided that 'Mr Restarick be requested to remove such additional posts without delay.' Restarick, being a town councillor, was present at the meeting and gave his response immediately, citing 'rights' set out in the deeds to the rope walk. Simply put, 'Horses, carts, carriages, pedestrians etc could only pass subject to the convenience of the rope manufacturers.'[4] He went on to claim that the situation on the Strand was as it had always been and he couldn't see why his fellow councillors were becoming so agitated.

This emphatic denial of any wrongdoing saw his fellow councillor Mr Vellacott pointing out that he had lived on the Strand immediately next to the rope walk for five years. Whilst there he had been 'in the frequent habit of driving to his house in the omnibus' but if he still lived there he wouldn't be able to do so any longer as 'the 'bus could not turn now that Mr Restarick had put down these extra posts.' His fellow councillor Mr Ascott then moved that Restarick be given three days to remove the posts otherwise the Local Government Board's surveyor would do it. The clerk to the Board pointed out that 'the Act of Parliament required that fourteen days' notice be given in such cases.' Ascott immediately asked that 'if anybody stuck a post in the

middle of High Street' would the same fourteen days' notice be given? Other Bideford members counselled caution hoping that an amicable settlement could be reached. The clerk then admitted that 'it had been rumoured that he was in league with Mr Restarick' – a rumour he 'utterly denied'.[5] The meeting ended with a vote to allow two weeks for the posts to be removed.

Already, however, a letter writer to the *Bideford Gazette* suggested that Restarick's 'sympathisers and all lovers of justice and fair play, should open a subscription list towards Mr Restarick's law expenses in the event of the matter really coming before the law courts.'[6] The same anonymous writer also attacked 'the bunkum [printed in] a contemporary' publication – possibly the *Western Express*, which was also printed in Bideford.[7]

Two weeks after their last meeting the Local Government Board met again to hear that Restarick had declined to remove the contentious posts. At 7 a.m. on the morning after the deadline passed the surveyor and his men went to the Strand to remove them but on arrival he 'found all the posts with numerous ropes around them and guarded by Mr Restarick and all his men in his employ, nearly fifty altogether', with an additional audience of several hundred people. Restarick then 'dared the Surveyor to touch the posts.' The surveyor, trying to carry his instructions, ordered one of his men to start digging them up but as soon as he used his pick 'Mr Restarick jumped forward and placed his foot on the spot, declaring that if another blow was struck it would have to be at him.' Realising that discretion was called for the Surveyor withdrew with his men and reported his repulse back to the Board.[8]

In a satirical editorial headed 'Battle of the Posts' the editor of the Barnstaple-based *North Devon Journal* thought the events would make a good subject for a novelist or even a writer of musical farce pointing out that 'Bideford must be prepared to find a good deal of fun poked at her on account of this dispute'.[9] A report of the subsequent meeting of the Local Government Board was also included. This explained that when the surveyor tried to dig up the posts Restarick had said 'if force was brought he should bring three men to the Board's one.' Mr Ascott reckoned it was a simple case but they had been reduced to 'a laughing stock for the whole neighbourhood'. He was all for removing the posts and indeed he wanted to 'knock down the doors at either end of the Rope Walk' so convinced was he of the wrongness of Restarick's claim to 'rights'. A Mr Braund moved that they do nothing until proper legal advice had been obtained. Restarick then put his side of the argument claiming there had never been 'a carriage way over the Strand at any point'.[10] This didn't convince the Board whose members voted overwhelmingly to order the surveyor to carry out their orders to remove the offending posts.

A Mr Hole then stated that 'The Strand had been used for rope-making

for over 200 years, and had been kept in repair by the private owners of the property. It had also been the custom from time to time to lay down posts as thought necessary, and the public convenience was often curtailed by the operation of rope making.' It is not difficult to see how a dispute could originate considering the vagueness of this statement. Given the way in which party politics crept into every aspect of Victorian life it is not surprising to read a letter from 'Spectator' in a subsequent issue of the *North Devon Journal* which reckoned that as Restarick was 'a temperance man and a Liberal' the posts were only a pretext for 'the liquor interest and the fire eating Tories' to attack him.[11] The writer noted that elections were due in two months and the public in Bideford could then openly demonstrate their views.

In the same issue as this letter appeared was an article headed 'The Battle of the posts at Bideford – Another fiasco. The Local Board again defeated' referring to the second attempt by the Surveyor to remove the posts.[12] Four men led by 'a big strong fellow by the name of Passmore, who lives East-the-Water' (the eastern portion of Bideford) who had been drinking to get his 'nerve' up arrived at the Strand at midnight armed with a bar, chain and some blocks. This odd time for their operation was to avoid confrontation but

Figure 7. One of Restarick's 'triumphal arches'.

even so there was a crowd of around 100 plus interested onlookers along with Restarick, and 40 to 50 of his men waiting for them. As soon as Passmore began work he was seized by the rope-makers and his tools taken off him. He and his fellows 'were escorted off the scene by their wives or female attendants'. Apparently they were lucky to get away as the rope-makers 'had a bucket of tar and a bag of feathers near at hand and were very anxious to use them.' Following this debacle Restarick appears to have got his men to raise some 'triumphal arches' made of evergreens and topped with suitable mottoes – as shown in Figure 7.[13]

After this set-back the Local Board met again 'in a very different state of temper from the strong bellicose tone which had previously characterised many of the members.' Restarick took the floor and said it was 'low, brutish blackguardism' by the committee 'to send a drunken man to take down his posts in the middle of the night.' He was followed by various councillors claiming they had nothing to do with the case and rather blamed the surveyor. This hapless employee then told how Passmore had been employed by Mr Ascott and it was the former who had decided to turn up at midnight. After this exercise in 'buck passing' the Board decided to halt attempts to remove the posts for a month to see if any 'amicable arrangement by arbitration' could be arrived at.[14]

This was a political move as a council election was looming in November 1886 – and the question of the 'posts' became a major issue in the hustings. Three of the 'anti-posts' candidates were Messrs Ackland, Gloag and Pollard, all of whom were councillors who had voted to have the posts removed. Against them were Messrs Clements, Cock and Burrow (a draper, builder and accountant respectively); the Mayor who was also standing was seen as neutral as was J. J. Braddick 'an entirely independent candidate'. Rather unexpectedly only two of the candidates alluded to the posts in their election leaflets with Ackland seeing the issue as a test case for public rights against private interests. Mr Braddick on the other hand felt that 'the rights and wishes of the Working Classes on the Strand question have been entirely ignored by a majority of the Board' going on to characterise the actions of the Board as 'tyrannical in the extreme' in that 'working men would be compelled to seek employment elsewhere.' According to the editor of the *North Devon Journal*, all the other leaflets consisted of 'the usual vague generalities.'[15]

After some 'very hard' canvassing the result of the election was the victory of the 'pro-post' candidates in the heaviest poll ever recorded in the town. The figures were as follows; Duncan (the Mayor) 676, Cock 621, Burrow 499, Clements 486, Ackland 467, Pollard 380, Gloag 364, and Braddick 228.[16] An editorial in the *North Devon Journal* noted that 'Bideford has very plainly

manifested its disapproval of the indignity to which the town has been subjected in the absurd travesty of The Battle of the Posts.' The writer went on to suggest the best course now would be to submit the whole dispute 'to impartial arbitration.'[17]

At the first council meeting following the election the whole body went to the Strand to discuss with Mr Restarick 'if some amicable arrangement could not be arrived at.' Unfortunately the rope-maker dug his heels in and 'The only concession, however, which Mr Restarick was willing to make, was to alter the position of one of the posts at the bottom of Chingswell Street, so as to make it easier for anyone driving round the inside of the posts towards Mr Rouse's stables.' Two of the new councillors, Burrow and Clements, were in favour 'of at once letting the matter drop altogether' but this wasn't acceptable to the majority and so the meeting broke up with a vague suggestion as to taking counsel's opinion.[18]

Whatever happened after the dispute is unclear, and it isn't until January 1893 that further news of the rope-making industry emerged when the *North Devon Journal* printed a story under the heading 'Rope Works to possibly be revived'. A new company had been established to take over from Restarick with a significant capital outlay 'being subscribed for laying down modern plant etc and as many of the promoters are themselves large users of the manufactured article, there seems every prospect of the venture becoming a successful one.'[19] This appears to have occurred and Restarick was removed from the picture when he died five years later aged 67.

It is not surprising to read a newspaper report on a Bideford town council meeting held in August 1906 that rather prosaically notes that Mr Cooper, proprietor of the Strand Collar Works, had, as the result of a conference with the Mayor and Alderman Ascott, 'generously decided to forego his rights in respect to the posts on the Strand' and they had been removed under the direction of the acting surveyor.[20] Cooper had developed his new factory in 1898 and clearly one industry had replaced another – with an existing problem just fading away – a bathetic end to the great 'Battle of the Posts'.

NOTES

1. Peter Christie and Alison Grant, *The Book of Bideford – The Development of a Devonian Market Town* (Tiverton: Halsgrove, 2005); Michael Nix, 'The Maritime History of the Ports of Bideford and Barnstaple, 1786–1841', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 1991.
2. *North Devon Journal* (*NDJ*), 16 September 1886, 6d. Restarick notes that 'About ten years ago he bought the freehold of the Rope Walk from Mr.Wren.'

Background to Mr Restarick can be found in, Grahame Farr, *Shipbuilding in North Devon*, Maritime Monographs and Reports, No. 22 (Greenwich: The National Maritime Museum, 1976).

3. Inkerman Rogers, *Ships and Shipyards of Bideford, Devon 1568 to 1938: A Record of Wooden Sailing Ships and Warships Built in the Port of Bideford from the Year 1568 to 1938: With a Brief Account of the Shipbuilding Industry in the Town* (Bideford: Gazette Printing Service, 1947).
4. *NDJ*, 16 September 1886, 6d-e.
5. Ibid.
6. *Bideford Gazette* (*BG*), 18 September 1886, 5d.
7. *The Western Express* was published in Bideford 1877–90 by Thomas Tedrake and was an outspoken newspaper. See *NDJ*, 12 November 1998, *The Lying Newspaperman* by Peter Christie.
8. *NDJ*, 30 September 1886, 3a.
9. *NDJ*, 30 September 1886, 5d-e.
10. *NDJ*, 30 September 1886, 8c.
11. *NDJ*, 14 October 1886, 2b. For the politicisation of everyday life see Sadru Bhanji, 'Jesuits and Humbugs: Religious Turmoil in Nineteenth-Century Exeter, *DAT*, 133, (2001), 139–174; Peter Christie, 'The painful birth of Torrington Cemetery', *DAT*, 139, (2007), 279–292; Peter Christie, 'How Bideford won its Free Library' in Peter Christie, *North Devon History* (Bideford: Edward Gaskell, 1995); Andrew Jones, *Victorian North Devon – A Social History* (Privately published: 2010).
12. *NDJ*, 14 October 1886, 8a.
13. That these arches were erected is clear from Figure 7 but there is no mention of them in contemporary newspaper reports.
14. *NDJ*, 21 October 1886, 3c-d.
15. *NDJ*, 28 October 1886, 8a-b.
16. *NDJ*, 4 November 1886, 8b-c.
17. *NDJ*, 4 November 1886, 5b.
18. *NDJ*, 18 November 1886, 6a.
19. *NDJ*, 2 February 1893, 8c.
20. *BG*, 23 August 1906, 8c.

Peter Christie taught at North Devon College for many years and for The Open University. His articles on Bideford life and local history appear weekly in *The North Devon Journal*, and he is and is chairman of the North Devon Athenaeum. He was Reviews Editor of *The Local Historian*, the journal of the British Association for Local History for twelve years, and is currently chairman of Torridge District Council.

Book Reviews

Helen Fry, *The Jews of Exeter. An Illustrated History* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2013) 160 pages. Approximately 200 photographs. Hardback. ISBN 9780857041982. £24.99.

This book was written to mark the 250th anniversary of the 'second oldest extant synagogue outside London' and is a very comprehensive history of Exeter's oldest minority community. Helen Fry has found evidence of a Jewish presence in the city in 1177 when permission was given to open a cemetery, implying the community was already well established. The author has consulted a wealth of early documents mainly relating to money lending, a trade not open to Christians. Consequent heavy taxation by the Crown led to the decline of the community which then suffered persecution nationally and locally, leading to the expulsion of Jews from England in 1290.

The Jewish community in the city has had a continuous presence since the 1720s though subject to decline and revival. The documents show a prosperous society of skilled craftsmen and professional people including the well known silversmiths Abraham and Benjamin Ezekiel. Abraham Ezekiel leased the land for the synagogue and burial ground. His son was Ezekiel Abraham Ezekiel, born 1757, who became a very prominent citizen as an artist, engraver, optician, clock and watch maker and dealer in spectacles, microscopes and magic lanterns. Obviously the documentary evidence is limited for this period and less prosperous Jews would have left fewer records, but by the 1840s census records become available and Helen Fry has used this evidence extensively.

It is difficult to determine why, but from the mid 1850s the community began to decline and people moved away – to other countries as well as other parts of Britain. From a community of about 135 in 1851 numbers declined to about 65 in 1871. Revival came with the persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia, many of whom moved to England. Many of these families obviously felt the need to anglicise their names, but relations with the host community and between new and settled Jewish communities

are not analysed in detail. The author has had access to family photographs and memories which help bring these people to life and show the role they played in the Jewish community and local and national life, in particular their service in the two World Wars. The Second World War meant that Jews came to Exeter as service personnel and evacuees and many community and Zionist groups were set up in the city at this time. But the war also brought massive bomb damage to the synagogue and the first floor was lost. In a very full account of the history of the building Helen Fry describes the difficulties of restoring it. Initial repairs did not take place until 1962, and more work was needed in the 1980s. In the mid-1990s, grant money was raised to restore it properly. After the War the community had declined rapidly and many of the prosperous families who had provided financial support moved away. The history of Exeter's Jewish community seems marked by restlessness which is not fully explained in this book. The arrival of Jewish students at Exeter University boosted numbers and again a few families took on leadership roles. The confidence of the community was marked by the *Jews of Devon and Cornwall* exhibition which was displayed at various venues in Devon and Cornwall, including the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, in 2000.

In 1977 the burial ground in Magdalen Road was acquired. Helen Fry devotes a full chapter to this cemetery which dates from 1757. The lease expired in 1951 without the Jewish community or Exeter City Council (which had inherited the land) noticing. In the 1970s the Council wanted to extend the inner bypass through Bull Meadow and there was a campaign to save the burial ground.

Helen Fry has used a very wide range of sources for this book which is well footnoted. The records of the synagogue survived two close escapes when Dr Bernard Susser, an earlier historian of the community, rescued them from a skip during repair work in the 1960s, and after Dr Susser's death when the caretaker of the flats where he lived found a large number of black bin bags outside the flat! He alerted Dr Susser's daughter who found her mother had had a full scale clear-out of old papers including the synagogue records. They are now safe in the Devon Heritage Centre.

This book is described as an illustrated history and it contains a wealth of images. It will be an invaluable source for family historians as Helen Fry has included so much information about the local families, used the marriage registers of the synagogue, provided complete lists of tombstones in the cemeteries and transcripts from the censuses and other documents. The book would perhaps benefit from more analysis of the background to the story, but is an important celebration of Exeter's multicultural past.

Alice Lock

Paul Garnsworthy, ed., ***Brunel's Atmospheric Railway: Featuring the Contemporary Watercolours of William Dawson*** (Exeter: The Broad Gauge Society in Association with The Friends of Devon Archives, 2013) 104 pages. Drawings, maps and photographs in colour and monochrome. Softback. ISBN 9781847850379. £20, plus £5 p & p. Available from <www.stevensbooks.co.uk>.

Brunel's Atmospheric Railway gives a comprehensive account of I. K. Brunel's bold but short lived experiment in atmospheric traction on the South Devon mainline in 1847/8. Accessible to the general reader but designed for those with a special interest in Devon's railway history, it is an expanded and upgraded edition of the Broad Gauge Society's 1998 booklet about the Atmospheric Railway. Beautifully illustrated and produced in association with The Friends of Devon Archives, it is a collector's item and measuring 12 by 14½ inches (297 by 363mm) literally a magnum opus. Its landscape format means that facing pages need to be opened together, so a spacious and uncluttered desktop is needed to study it, but anyone who does will be richly rewarded.

Editor Paul Garnsworthy explains how the atmospheric railway was designed to bring speed and efficiency to the hilly terrain west of Exeter by replacing locomotives with stationary steam pumping engines. These created a vacuum in a central pipe that ran between the rails and was joined to the train by a hinged piston, thus drawing it along by atmospheric pressure. It was a seductive concept but proved unworkable. Brunel invested large sums of the railway company's money in this quixotic project, which continues to fascinate historians and engineers.

Garnsworthy makes the workings of atmospheric traction clear with the aid of technical drawings and diagrams, whilst the system's brief history and the reasons for its failure are chronicled in detail. Other chapters are devoted to close studies of the Clegg and Samuda atmospheric system used in South Devon, the horizontal engine houses and the railway piston carriages. Garnsworthy has further sections detailing other atmospheric railways and a retrospect on this brief but intriguing chapter in railway history. He concludes with sketches of the key personalities involved in the atmospheric experiment and a bibliography, though there is no index.

The core of this beautifully produced book is a full set of twenty-five high resolution images of William Dawson's 1848 Atmospheric Railway water-colours. Each gives a plan section and views to each side of the line from Exeter to Totnes and occupies a full page. The opposite page consists of a commentary and two modern photographs for contrast. Purchased from the

Institution of Civil Engineers, Dawson's paintings give a marvellously vivid contemporary view. They are full of meticulously recorded and fascinating visual information of pumping houses, pipes, locomotives and rolling stock; of bridges, track, embankments and cuttings, all as they appeared to an acute observer as the railway was under construction.

Dawson's paintings have an almost photographic immediacy. There is a wealth of incidental detail besides showing the engineers, surveyors and navvies who built this remarkable railway with such skill and speed. Their tools and machinery are accurately recorded, as are their clothes. Watched by an engineer, a surveyor squints into his theodolite, while his assistant marches off with poles and flags. Navvies labour with pick and shovel, trundling heavy wooden wheelbarrows up planks supported on trestles. Towns and villages, fields and beaches beside the line are depicted with the same attention to detail. Children play on Dawlish beach, deer roam Powderham Park, a man fishes with a long pole and workers rake hay in the fields whilst a hay wain heads for the barn. Carts and carriages are shown with equal care, so too are many types of sailing and rowing boats on the Exe and Teign and along the coast.

Dawson's accompanying maps are models of the cartographer's art. They not only show the course of the railway, but field boundaries, lanes, buildings and watercourses besides. His artwork is accompanied by modern photographs of the line as it is now and detailed notes, giving a strong sense of continuity. However, it is Dawson's paintings that draw the reader back to the book with a feeling they could be in the crowd on the platform of Dawlish station or under the arches and wooden spans of Brunel's original Ivybridge viaduct.

Robert Hesketh

Todd Gray, ***The Art of the Devon Garden*** (Exeter: The Mint Press, in conjunction with the Devon Gardens Trust to celebrate their 25th anniversary, 2013). Numerous black and white and colour illustrations. 336 pages. Softback. ISBN 9781903356647. £24.
Available from <www.stevensbooks.co.uk>.

With the emphasis on Art, with a capital A, this book explores the portrayal in art forms of Devon's plants and ornamental landscapes from the year 1200. In total there are 677 historical images of artworks, some of which have been created in wood, stone, stained glass, pottery, fabric, paper and canvas. Such

a broad range of materials used by artists to portray Devon garden motifs and designs is remarkable.

The wide array of completed art forms includes ecclesiastical and late medieval illuminated manuscripts, late medieval vestments, painted panelling, bench end carvings and wooden panels, Plymouth porcelain, North Devon pottery, East Devon lace and an embroidered sampler of 1830. There is even mention of Thomas Whitty's Axminster carpet firm and three whole page illustrations of the intricate, floral carpet designs. The Axminster carpet at Brighton, in the Royal Pavilion Saloon, features large colourful flowers with several arranged in an abstract pattern above a sea monster.

Hence, the unusual and unexpected is mentioned alongside the more traditional art forms one might expect to come across. There is a stunning view of John Abbot's elaborate plaster ceiling in the Exeter Custom House and a detail of the flowers and fruit carved in high relief. The Citrusy, at Combe Royal, near Kingsbridge, is described as 'one of the great features of Devon's garden history' and is represented by a wood engraving dating from 1871. In the engraving the Citrus Walk is seen from a distance and looks somewhat like a viaduct. However, over the page a black and white photograph of the same garden feature, dated 1904, reveals a closer view of a row of walled recesses in which lime, citron, orange and lemon trees, all of eleven feet high, were planted.

Inevitably one learns much about social history and gardening trends in this book, as well as garden history. At the start of the chapter titled 'The Italian Garden at Lupton Park, near Brixham c.1840' the author writes that 'The *Italian Garden* came in the waning of interest in the natural, or green, landscape of the eighteenth century.' John White Abbott's views of Canonteign are reproduced; four delicate watercolours dating from 1801, 1803, 1804 and 1808. They are summed up as an expression of 'a growing interest amongst the public for the English landscape.'

The significance of art as a tool to help us understand garden history is succinctly expressed in the book's conclusion; 'Art preserves these gardens that change or are lost.' In this way the many differing art works illustrated in the book have become reminders or pieces of evidence of garden designs and plants that otherwise might have been forgotten.

Many of the book's historic images were previously only known to specialists. Thus, Todd Gray has opened up an appreciation of garden history to a much wider audience, through his exploration and illustration of a notable diversity of art forms, in a truly fascinating book.

Anne Jervoise

Robert Hesketh, *Devon's Railway Heritage* (Ilkley: Bossiney Books, 2014) 40 pages. Map and many colour photographs. Softback. ISBN 9781906474456. £3.99.

Thanks to the atrocious weather that will probably go down in history, at the time of commencing this review there are no railway connections between Devon and the rest of the country. Floods, land-slips and storm-driven tides have all taken their toll on the lines from Waterloo and Paddington. Although the present problems highlight the current importance of the national railway to Devon's economy, this pales into insignificance when compared with the state during Victorian times and the early twentieth-century when a large network of branch lines linked the mainline stations with the county's various holiday resorts. Although the mainlines are well-covered from an historical viewpoint, including comment on Brunel's ill-fated atmospheric railway, the bulk of this book is occupied by the branch lines that still survive, either in their original intended form or as reopened 'heritage lines'. The former consist of the colourfully named Avocet Line, Riviera Line, Tarka Line and the Tamar Valley Line. The latter range from the South Devon Railway (Buckfastleigh – Totnes) to a remnant of the Lynton and Barnstaple Railway in the north of the county. As well as steam- and diesel-operated lines, Hesketh describes the Seaton Tramway and the Lynton and Babbacombe cliff railways. The final section is devoted to former railway lines and tramways that may now be followed on foot or by bicycle. Of particular value to the visitor, the book provides helpful information on how to contact and reach the heritage lines and on any attractions over and above being able to enjoy travelling, usually by steam, through often stunning scenery.

This is a well-presented concise account that is a worthy addition to Robert Hesketh's other short books on various aspects of Devon's history and heritage. It is reasonably priced and slim enough to fit comfortably into a jacket or rucksack pocket.

Sadru Bhanji

Richard N. Longridge. The Devon and Exeter Institution, 1813–2013. Updated edition by S. Bhanji (Exeter: The Devon and Exeter Institution, 2013) vi, 36 pages. 9 illustrations. Paperback. No ISBN. £5 (£6.20 including p. and p. from the Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 Cathedral Close, Exeter, Devon, EX1 1EZ).

Shirley Paterson et al. The Plymouth Athenaeum, 1812-2012: Celebrating 200 Years. (Plymouth: The Plymouth Athenaeum, 2012) 92 pages. 28 illustrations. Paperback. No ISBN. £5. (£6.20 including p. and p. from the Plymouth Athenaeum, Derry's Cross, Plymouth, Devon, PL1 2SW).

Both the Plymouth Athenaeum (formerly the Plymouth Institution) and the Devon and Exeter Institution share many characteristics. Both were founded two hundred years ago as part of a much wider national movement to improve access to science and the arts in British cities outside London. Both institutions depended on subscriptions, both were housed in splendid buildings, both built up impressive libraries, collections of scientific material and even developed art galleries, while both were patronised by the most notable men of the city and surrounding area (women did not become full members until long after the societies' foundation). In addition, both suffered from declining fortunes in the twentieth century, with reduced revenues and a decaying (in Plymouth's case destroyed) building and later falling memberships, while after the Second World War both were forced to diversify their activities, and to refocus their aims and objectives.

There are, however, significant differences between the two institutions both as they were originally conceived and in the way they now operate. The Plymouth Institution was formed in 1812 to promote 'lectures on various branches of Natural Philosophy and other subjects' (p. 5) and the early lectures show a strong bias towards science and technology, with members expected to give lectures and to conduct experiments in front of a sceptical, indeed, even a hostile audience. Recalling in 1912 the atmosphere which greeted him as a new Lecturing Member in 1883, George Wightwick declared 'When I first joined the impression I derived was that it was quite the right and expected thing to slate the lecturer as violently as possible . . . the whole course of procedure at the lectures was in fact far more solemn and austere than at present and the applause which now greets the lecturer . . . would then have been regarded with astonishment and disapproval' (p. 23). That science and related lectures were taken very seriously can also be seen by two further facts, firstly, that, although members of the aristocracy such as the Earls of Morley and Mount Edgcumbe attended meetings, the officers of the Institution including the

President were always commoners, several being distinguished scientists such as Sir William Snow Harris, Henry George Hurrell, Gordon Monk, and Drs Alison and Douglas Wilson, and, secondly, by the fact that 'one of the chief assets of Plymouth Institution was the Scientific Library' (p. 25) which, together with the Davidson Collection of pamphlets on Devon, and Calendars of State Papers, ran to over 10,000 volumes. The Plymouth Institution also expanded beyond its original remit, by amalgamating with the Plymouth Mechanics Institute in 1899 and by creating a General Literature Lending Library which lent as many as 30,000 books in a single year. The membership held steady in the early twentieth century – there were 361 members in 1912 and 304 in 1934 (although by the latter date the Institution 'was not in a very strong position financially' – p. 31) – but all this changed in 1941, when the building housing the Institution was bombed and virtually all the contents lost – the Library, the Art Gallery, the Gatcombe-Pickthall china collection, and a considerable amount of other scientific and botanical material.

After a peripatetic existence for twenty years, the Plymouth Institution (now renamed the Plymouth Athenaeum) was able to open its new purpose-built headquarters in Derry's Cross in 1961, the first lecture being appropriately on 'The Amateur and the Scientist' delivered by Professor C. F. A. Pantin. During the sixties, the Athenaeum developed a wide range of partnerships, including collaborations with Westward Television, with amateur and professional theatre companies which used the newly constructed stage, and with the British Film Institute, while numerous special interest groups were also formed. Unfortunately, the collaboration with Westward and the BFI did not last long, the theatre suffered mounting losses and closed in 2009, and the Dinner Lectures, having been very successful in the 1970s and 1980s were finally discontinued in the 2000s. However, continuity has been maintained through the Thursday Athenaeum Lecture as well as the publication of the *Proceedings* (formerly the *Transactions*), while the Athenaeum has continued to build up a new library (now focussed on the West Country rather than science), and to promote its social and special interest sides, such as the photographic and art groups.

The impulse behind the founding of the Devon and Exeter Institution was rather different from Plymouth, firstly, in that the focus of the society was not only on science, literature and the arts but also 'on the Natural and Civil History of Exeter and the County of Devon' (p. 1) and, secondly, that it was a proprietary institution, with 126 original proprietors subscribing £25 each. Founded in 1813, and initially housed in Exeter High Street, the DEI moved to its current home in Cathedral Close in 1814, using as its base the former town house of the Earls of Devon and the connection between

the local aristocracy and the DEI can be seen by the fact that members of no fewer than twelve separate landed families filled the role of president during the first fifty years of the DEI's existence. The DEI originally housed both a museum and a library, with the library and the associated reading rooms being the principal focus (the DEI transferred its museum artefacts to the Royal Albert Memorial Museum when the latter opened in 1869, and did not promote lectures until the 1980s). Even in the mid-nineteenth century the DEI was considered 'an old-fashioned concern designed for days when exclusiveness was thought to be gentility' (p. 9) and Sir Thomas Dyke Acland complained that 'what was once intended to be a great West of England Museum [was] becoming just a general writing room' (p. 11). Even the dynamic Sir John Bowring was unable to effect any major reforms, although one innovation was the 70 volumes of modern literature purchased by Edward Parfitt, librarian from 1860 to 1892. By 1900 the DEI is described as 'no longer a semi-museum nor a select club for the aristocracy, though it appears there was an old guard who wanted it to remain so' (p. 16), but it remained 'more of a gentlemen's club than a literary establishment' (p. 28) with scientific activities now confined to weather recording. The inter-war years saw greater social activity (social events had been introduced in 1910), and various improvements were made to the building during this period. However, although the building and its contents suffered little damage during the Exeter Blitz, the Institution failed to profit from its relative good fortune either by expanding its membership or by developing new partnerships in the immediate post-war period. Indeed, in 1960, the eminent historian of Devon, W. G. Hoskins, was moved to ask why the DEI should 'gather dust silently and struggle to make ends meet' (p. 30). However, the sale of many books and a collection of Roman coins in the 1960s enabled the fabric of the building to be improved and a significant start made in expanding the local history collections to cover Devon's neighbouring counties. Even more significantly, in 1972, the Institution entered into an agreement with the University of Exeter whereby the University would administer the library (with volunteer help) and staff and postgraduates at the University would benefit from membership. In 1979, Associate Members of the DEI were allowed to vote, and in 1989, in a major constitutional change, it was ascertained that the ownership of the bulk of the original 250 Proprietors' shares resided with the Institution; as a consequence, the 39 remaining individuals who still held personal shares gave these back to the Institution which then became a Registered Charity for the promotion of History, Literature and the Arts (but no longer Science) not only for Devon but for the South-West in general. Membership increased to its current level of 700, attracted by the lunchtime and evening lectures which

had been instituted in the 1980s, a film club was begun in the 1990s and the Institution's collaboration with the University continued to be fruitful with visits from University members doubling between 2010 and 2012, while the Library is now approaching 50,000 volumes in size.

Both these small volumes under review chart the changing fortunes of their respective institutions. The history of the Plymouth Athenaeum is described in clear, chronological fashion by Richard Wilcockson, with particular emphases on the foundation and the early scientific lecture series, the consolidation in the late Victorian period, the tragedy of the loss of buildings and contents in 1941, the efforts to rebuild, and the various partnerships between the Athenaeum and outside users from 1961 onwards. Much is made of some of the prominent personalities who gave so much of their time to the Athenaeum and the biographical supplement by Shirley Paterson is most welcome, as are the many references to fuller articles available elsewhere on particular subjects (*e.g.* the Library and the Art Collection) in the *Transactions* and the *Proceedings*, particularly as the minute books prior to 1941 were lost in the Blitz. Perhaps more statistical information for the modern period could have been introduced, but as a retrospective, this is a compact, well-illustrated guide to a famous, indeed unique, Plymouth institution.

The booklet on the Devon and Exeter Institution is more discursive, more repetitive, and less clearly structured than the booklet on Plymouth, but like its counterpart, it includes any number of judicious quotations and does give a sense of the way the institution changed over time (although there is very little analysis of the aims of the founding fathers particularly regarding the creation of the Library). Originally written by the Reverend Richard Longridge and published in 1988, the booklet is described by its 2013 editor, Sadru Bhanji, as 'engaging' but perhaps 'lacking the forensic touch of the modern historian' (p. v). This edition includes some minor amendments and abridgements to the text of 1988 and contains two additional sections, firstly the 'Postscriptum 1987–2000' by former Institution Chairman Adrian Reed which was appended to the reprint of the booklet published in 2002, and, secondly, a further update by Sadru Bhanji, taking the story up to 2013 and including details of the current major work now required to stabilise the roof.

The two booklets show how both the Athenaeum and the DEI have played major roles in the intellectual, cultural and social history of Devon – indeed in the early nineteenth century, outside the churches, they were almost the only organisations in Devon with first-rate libraries and intellectually engaged members. Both have clearly had to move with the times, with the Plymouth Athenaeum in particular being forced to find more radical and innovative solutions after the destructive impact of the war. The Devon and Exeter

Institution moved more slowly, rejecting major reform for much of the first 150 years of its existence, but from the late 1960s onwards, its partnership with the University of Exeter, and its reformulation as a charitable institution wholly responsible to its members, have enabled it to transform itself into a much more vibrant organisation that the one Professor Hoskins found gathering dust in 1960.

Paul Auchterlonie

Alex Mettler, *A Devon Gem: The Bedford Hotel, Tavistock* (Tavistock: Philip Davies, The Bedford Hotel, 2013) xiv + 202 pages. 174 illustrations, 2 appendices, extensive sources and index. Hardback. ISBN 9780957649309. £20, available from the hotel, Tavistock Museum and local bookshop, Bookstop.

For many years 'The Bedford' – as it is familiarly known – has been a prominent feature of the Tavistock scene. Situated close to the town's main square, and just across the road from the parish church, it is well-placed to cater for both the wide range of occasions generated by the life of a busy town and also for the needs of travellers from near and far. It is a structure of some antiquity, and in this book Alex Mettler has used his research and writing skills, and a fine collection of illustrations, to provide a detailed and entertaining account of the hotel's history.

The foreword given by Henrietta, the Dowager Duchess of Bedford, who was formerly the Marchioness of Tavistock for 42 years, marks the influence of the Russell family in the original construction and establishment of the hotel, although the connection has long ceased. In fact, much of the hotel's actual material and structure dates from earlier times, being largely composed of stone salvaged from the destruction of Tavistock's Benedictine abbey following the Dissolution of 1539. Several of the abbey's former features are incorporated in the present Grade II listed building. The abbey lands were granted by Henry VIII to John Russell under whose successors – earls and dukes of Bedford – they remained until the twentieth century.

Tavistock had a hostelry called the Duke's Arms from around 1719, located on the east side of today's Bedford Square. This gradually became dilapidated and in the early nineteenth century, general improvements and reshaping of the town were being considered. Replacement of the inn was necessary and eventually redevelopment of the site occupied by the deteriorating eighteenth century Abbey House was agreed on, just a short distance from the inn but

still within the former abbey precincts. The architect appointed was Jeffry Wyatt (later Sir Jeffry Wyatville) whose other works included transformation of Windsor Castle in 1824. Work proceeded, and the Bedford Hotel is believed to have been opened in 1822 or 1823. Clearance of the cramped town centre and the new layout as seen today proceeded in mid-century.

The running of the Bedford became the responsibility of a succession of tenants, with the hotel the hub of social life in the town. Great were the meals prepared and served on occasions which involved all strata of the population, and many people – some of great fame – from farther afield. There were at times links with some Plymouth hotels and those operating them, all of which are explained by the author. The Bedford Hotel escaped the great sale of the Bedford estate's Tavistock properties in 1911, but in 1953, following the death of the 12th duke and the need to fund death duties, it was sold. Modern day owners have comprised individuals and couples, and also for spells Trusthouse Forte, Granada, and Regal Hotels. As with the managers of previous days, these are all detailed in the book.

In 1999 the hotel was bought by Philip Davies, a former publisher, and its life continues, with the new owner introducing further enhancements and some new construction.

Alex Mettler has provided here an attractive and well-written account of the Bedford Hotel's history and developments, with the attention to detail an indication of the extent of research involved. One feels that for certain there can be nowhere in Tavistock – except for his own home – that is nearer to Alex Mettler's heart than The Bedford.

Helen Harris

Nicholas Orme, *The Church in Devon 400-1560* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2013) ix + 241 pages. 42 illustrations and maps. ISBN 9781907605413. £14.99.

Nicholas Orme has written prolifically on the medieval religious history of south-western England over the last 30 years, and there can surely be no one better placed to provide a broad-ranging survey of the Christian church in Devon from its origins in the post-Roman period up to and including the Reformation. In fact, given the breadth of Orme's writing, it is perhaps surprising to realise that he has not produced such a study before. We should welcome the fact he has now done so, because the result is every bit as good as we might expect.

Nicholas Orme takes a broadly chronological approach, successive chapters covering the periods prior to the Norman conquest in 1066, the early Middle Ages up to 1300, the later Middle Ages up to the Reformation, the Reformation itself between about 1530–1560, and a brief retrospect. The later Middle Ages period between 1300 and 1530 is however afforded an extended survey, divided into two chapters dealing with the clergy and the laity. This book is I think aimed at a popular rather than scholarly readership, and is written in a straightforward, accessible style that is easy to read. It is also generously illustrated, making good use of full page colour pictures of the medieval stained glass at Doddiscombsleigh, which depict many of the rituals of medieval Christian life.

However this is also an authoritative and learned work, extensively referenced with sixteen pages of notes and an eight page bibliography. Orme regularly draws on, and re-presents the conclusions of previous researches, published in more academic form elsewhere. So for example, the post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon period is closely based on the longer article on this subject ('Christianity in Devon Before 1086') in the *Devonshire Association Transactions* of 2011. Other works, such as his groundbreaking work on church dedications (*English Church Dedications with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon*, 1996) and West Country saints (*Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of The Saints: Cornwall And Devon*, 1992 and *The Saints Of Cornwall*, 2000) are referenced incidentally throughout the text. However Orme does make a point of avoiding too much overlap with his earlier book for Impress, *Exeter Cathedral: the First Thousand Years, 400–1550*, 2009.

In addition to making the fruits of Nicholas Orme's more academic studies accessible, what the reader gains from this approach is a strong sense of historical perspective, and the changing position of the church over time. National change is illuminated with vivid local detail throughout, which brings the narrative to life. The impact of the Black Death in 1349 is illustrated by reference to the bishop's registers recording the number of clergy instituted to rectories and vicarages. Between 1342 and 1348, the numbers ranged between 12 and 27; in 1349 the figure leapt to 238. At the end of the period, after hundreds of years of modestly-shifting tradition, the extraordinary pace and extent of change during the Reformation, is therefore startling. The monastic establishments of Devon, some of which originated in the late Anglo-Saxon period, were disbanded. Six smaller monasteries were closed in summer 1536, the four friaries were shut down in September 1538, and then the fourteen remaining monasteries were closed during a period of just over three weeks in March 1539 (pp. 165-7). The work is described as a social not architectural history; it concentrates on people not buildings. This is exemplified by the

chapter on the medieval laity, which is an enlightening and moving insight into what the medieval church meant to its parishioners. Take for example the subject of church seating. The provision of seating in a church reflected a basic human need for comfort, but the seating arrangements reflected the social hierarchy of the parish. The best seats were reserved for those of highest status; there could even be segregation of men and women. One medieval bishop tried to order that those who first entered the church should choose where they sat. That was never going to work in such a stratified society (pp. 61, 115–6).

The church changed Devon; it Christianised the landscape with church buildings and monuments; it changed beliefs; and it ordered communities into parishes. But Devon changed the church too, to harmonise the Christian life with that of the everyday lives of local people, to make Christianity Devonian. Nicholas Orme's book explains how this happened wonderfully well.

Nicholas Grant

David Parker, *The People of Devon in the First World War* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013) 272 pages. Numerous photographs and illustrations. Softback. ISBN 9780750952897. £16.99.

This year sees the publication of many books about the First World War to commemorate the centenary anniversary. All aspects of the years 1914–1918 will have been explored and covered and it is fitting that the part that Devon, and the people of Devon played, should have a book devoted to them. David Parker's *The People of Devon in the First World War*, is a fitting tribute to the county, its people and their important contribution. At the same time it provides a valuable resource for people interested in the social history of Devon immediately before World War I, during the war, and immediately afterwards.

In the introduction David Parker explains that the book has seven themes. They are: Summer 1914; Going to War; Aliens, Spies and Outsiders; Casualties, Charities and Causes; Perceptions of Childhood; Communities under Pressure, and Into the 1920s. Each one is treated in a logical, usually chronological, order. The text is interspersed with relevant illustrations taken from archival sources, each credited. At the end there is a detailed bibliography and index.

The build-up to war was marked by the establishment of extra Territorial

Battalions in the Devonshire Regiment and Voluntary Aid Detachments on the one hand, and strikes, suffragette outrages and the 'Irish Question' on the other. The very poorest in the community lived in urban slums or rural poverty: a startling figure from the NSPCC showed that 140,000 babies died in the first thirteen months of war compared with 109,000 servicemen. Nineteen fourteen saw the end of the belle époque for the wealthy and powerful, while at the other end of the social scale any improvement was extremely slow and then only in response to wartime demands and conditions.

While more and more men went away to fight for their country as the war progressed, increasing numbers of wounded returned, unfit for work. With a submarine blockade and increasing shipping losses, supplies from abroad began to become scarce. Something had to be done. That something was to scour the county for workers among the old, the women and the children, to grow more food locally, and to find more ways to become self-sufficient. In Devon the initiative was led by county families, with Earl Fortescue and Miss Georgiana Buller taking a lead. Opposition came from a small number of communists and a few recalcitrant farmers, some of whom had their farms confiscated. The quantities needed for the home population were great. In addition, requirements for the army took priority. By the end of the war this amounted to 30,000 tons of meat and 40,000 tons of bread, 14,000 tons of forage for the horses, and 13 million gallons of petrol, per month.

Everyone suffered, those whose loved ones departed for the front, those who returned as casualties having seen atrocities and suffered both physically and psychologically, those who were victimized because they were considered 'aliens' and a threat, and the children who were deprived of a father. They grew up with the wartime restrictions and had to undertake war work at a very young age. Although living within these conditions became the norm, just as for the men in the trenches the gruelling routine of living amid the mud, carnage and insanitary conditions while 'going to work' in the trenches was what life entailed, the long-term impact was bound to be lasting.

This book details the contradictory pressures, the tensions they caused, the solutions, the endless fund-raising and the improvements to living standards that had to be made to win the war. Once the euphoria of victory had passed the servicemen returned not to a 'land fit for heroes' but to the distinct possibility of joining the thousands of unemployed ex-servicemen, many of whom carried physical, mental and spiritual scars as a result of their service. They returned to a life where much had changed, particularly the role of women; to a life where no-one who had not experienced it could possibly understand what fighting for your country had meant; to a life in which their

experiences had to be buried or forgotten, yet for many it was never far from the surface.

Well researched and presented, this book is highly informative and readable. While many books about World War I will focus on strategic events, the battles and the politics, this focuses on the people of Devon, and the countryside and towns of the county. It is a must for anyone interested in the history of Devon in the twentieth century.

Bob and Jacqueline Patten

Lucy Ryder, ***The Historic Landscape of Devon: A Study in Change and Continuity*** (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2013) xi + 244 pages, 138 figures. Softback. ISBN 9781905119387. £38.

The ordnance survey map, famously championed by W. G. Hoskins as rich evidence for human development of the landscape over many centuries, has yielded much over recent decades to deepen our historical understanding. Within Devon, detailed 'tithe maps' survive from the 1830s for most parishes, and this study, based on the author's doctoral thesis, used them as the basis for her attempt to examine the field and settlement patterns and enclosure of open fields and commons since the medieval period. Within sample areas of the Blackdown Hills, the far north-west of the county at Hartland, and a few locations within the South Hams, the tithe maps and their accompanying apportionments giving details of land use, field names, ownership and occupations, have been digitised within a Geographic Information System (GIS). This allows other layers of mapped data to be digitised, potentially enabling more systematic analysis of historic landscape change.

However, it is difficult to understand why many of the additional sources incorporated were selected, and why others were not. A variety of printed primary sources have been used, including the Domesday survey, calendars of *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Feudal Aids, and Vancouver's summary of the 1801 census contained within his survey of the county's agriculture. These sources are not accompanied by any critical examination of their comparability and potential value to the elucidation of landscape development. The most alarming result of this is a table of 'population numbers' within the study parishes drawn directly from the very different raw counts given in Domesday, lay subsidies of 1332, 1544/5, Polwhele's *History of Devon* and the 1801 census. Even if adjustments could be made to allow comparisons to be drawn, the point of displaying the data is not made clear. Likewise, if early nineteenth century occupation structure is important, why not use the

greater detail in the 1841 census instead of the 1801 data, especially as it was contemporary with the tithe surveys? Another striking omission, given the potential of GIS based analysis and the purpose of the study, are older detailed maps where they exist. Ravenhill and Rowe's detailed catalogues of early Devon maps were published by the Devon and Cornwall Record Society as long ago as 2002, and mention several for parishes within the author's Blackdown Hills study area. These would have been helpful in peeling back 18th/19th century common enclosure to reveal the pattern of medieval and early-modern cultivation and settlement, and more reliable than showing the distribution of certain field name elements in an attempt to illustrate recent common enclosure at the time of the tithe surveys.

The author's use of GIS provides many maps showing tithe survey fields, colour coded by landowner, sometimes accompanied by a key. 'Fossilised' strips of prior open field farming are revealed in some, as have been observed in several previous studies of the Devon landscape. Beyond this, the bewildering kaleidoscopes portrayed are often subject to little more interpretation than to note that the pattern is 'varied.' The author discusses the notion of 'cultural *pays*' in relation to landscape variety but it remains unclear whether this is identified over a wide area, or distinctive at a parish or 'community' level, and still less how this relates to patterns and sequence of field enclosure, if at all.

The importance is stressed of using GIS as a tool to aid research rather than as a buzzword to legitimise a study, but it is difficult to see that the trap has been avoided here. It is compounded by a lack of editing, ranging from uncorrected typos, errors – from the irritating and trivial to the serious and substantive (see above) – and incomplete and inconsistent references. Above all, however, it is hard to see that the evidently large amount of effort which must have gone into data collection and loading has given rise to anything more than 'computer-aided antiquarianism' which adds nothing to our understanding of landscape study and history. Those seeking a recent summary of this important dimension of Devon's past should seek out the collection of essays on *Medieval Devon and Cornwall* edited by Sam Turner. Somewhat curiously, the only mention of this work in Lucy Ryder's bibliography is of her own chapter in it on folklore and the imagined landscape.

Greg Finch

Sam Smiles, ed., *West Country to World's End: The South West in the Tudor Age* (London: Paul Holberton, 2013) 116 pages. 26 Catalogue illustrations, 27 additional illustrations. Introduction, five specialist essays and a Who's Who drawn from the catalogue. ISBN 9781907372520. £20.00

This richly illustrated book was designed to complement the exhibition at Exeter's RAMM (Royal Albert Memorial Museum) between October 2013 and March 2014 at which a very wide range of items from the South-West were on show, including documents such as wills and contracts, important works of art and fine craftsmanship. Both beautifully designed, the exhibition and the book provided many delightful surprises.

Sam Smiles had the inspiration for *West Country to World's End* to place 'Tudor Devon and Cornwall in the spotlight . . .' (p. 11) and goes on to define its 'centre of attention' as 'between the 1540s and the 1610s . . .' because this 'corresponds with the life of Exeter's most important artist, Nicholas Hilliard (*c.*1547–1619)'. However, this time shift of the Tudor period (1485–1603) deprived the exhibition, and particularly the book, of that vital pre-Reformation period in the region, and the chapters on the arts unfortunately move with Hilliard to the capital and the court: territory which is already well known. Even so, the exhibition makes a strong argument for this period as a 'golden age of the South West', with plenty of 'sheen' to show (p. 21).

Smiles's introduction provides a compressed history of the region in the later Tudor period, with well-chosen snippets setting out the main events – the impact of the Reformation, the Armada with its focus on the South-West, the age of sea exploration and an interesting brief account of 'civic improvements' (p. 19), including the construction of the Exeter Canal, enabling the development of the Exeter quay. Changes to the built environment as abbeys and priories disappear and 'the most powerful names in the region developed their family seats' (p.16), show the way imported Renaissance motifs influenced building styles and crafts. However, the book's omission of those pre-Reformation Tudor days, means that the significance of late medieval church building and decoration is lost: the towers, rood screens, wagon roofs with bosses and elaborate carved bench ends of that early Tudor period are very particular glories of the South-West, and there are remarkably many intact survivors of that period still to be seen. The imported styles from the continent and elsewhere would at the time certainly have eclipsed the indigenous significance of Devon's golden age of church building, mostly paid for by the thriving wool industry. There is a further exhibition to be devised that celebrates pre-Reformation Tudor South-West. As Smiles says,

'the change in religious observance altered the very look of towns and villages as monasteries, priories and other religious buildings were put to other uses' (p.15). But the later Tudor landscapes of the South-West continued to be scattered with those same parish churches which, to their pastors, patrons and parishioners retained their original use, even if in the reformed rites of the Prayer Book. The five chapters which follow this interesting overview aim to provide more detail: 'The Decorative Arts' (Susan Flavin), 'Art in Britain' and 'Nicholas Hilliard' (Karen Hearn), 'Maritime Activity and Exploration' (Stephanie Pratt) and 'Education and Learning' (Sam Smiles).

The new research underpinning Susan Flavin's chapter really shows, providing a focus on some of the key decorative arts of the period, including wood, stone and plaster, goldsmithery and lace making. As she claims in the conclusion to the chapter, 'the limitations of the source material' meant that the craftsmen remain rather 'shadowy figures'. The contrast between the well-documented goldsmiths, and other craftsmen such as lace makers, known by name only rarely from court records or contracts, shows the distinction between different crafts, in their organisation and status. Flavin's research, wholly focused on the West Country and diligently footnoted, provides future researchers with a valuable entry to further investigation of these significant crafts in the region.

In contrast Karen Hearn's gaze wanders away from the South-West, as suggested even in the title of her first chapter, 'Art in Britain', and this chapter disappoints. While it provides an account of painting in sixteenth-century Britain her focus is on elite painting, almost exclusively elite court portraits. That the subjects of these portraits are selected for their South-West connections is incidental to the narrative provided. As she says, '. . . the leading painters to the English elite . . . seem to have been migrants, who had been born and trained overseas.' although the chapter ends, tantalisingly, with the claim that 'a number of practitioners from the West Country played significant roles in its (art's) production.' (p. 72): a claim which in fact seems to refer mainly to Nicholas Hilliard. Exhibits of portraits with undoubted South-West provenance, for example the fine portraits of Hooker (Cat. 24) and Carew (Cat. 25) – no less worthy of study because they are works of unknown painters – are not mentioned in this chapter.

Hearn's next chapter, 'Nicholas Hilliard', is equally London-centric, with the West Country focus drifting away once Nicholas leaves Exeter, city of his birth, in 1553 following John Bodley into exile to avoid Mary Tudor's Catholic practices. That he was the son of the prominent Exeter goldsmith, Richard Hilliard, was clearly significant in his career choice of miniature painting, betraying its role as a branch of the jeweller's art. The exquisite delicacy

of painting on a miniature scale dominates the illustration of the book, as visually it was in the exhibition itself, and Hilliard is himself undoubtedly a catch for Exeter. Although some of Hilliard's elite clientele were indeed from the West Country, the focus of this chapter again draws the spotlight away to Elizabeth's court.

Stephanie Pratt's chapter returns the focus to the West Country with Drake, Ralegh, Davis, Gilbert among others highlighting the extraordinary significance of the West Country in producing privateers, navigators, map makers and settlers, quite apart from their role in defeating the Spanish Armada. As Pratt says, they 'truly opened up the possibility for English settlement in North America.' (p. 86). Not only did they travel, but they provided charts and records of their pioneering explorations of distant oceans, enabling the next generation of explorers to go even further. The Gilberts, related to Walter Ralegh, led the way to founding the 'Virginia' plantations, and the inclusion of John White, a painter, in the crew led to the many watercolours of these distant lands and their people, which were such a highlight of the exhibition.

Smiles concludes the book with a brief chapter on 'Education and Learning' which demonstrates the significance of the provision of schools – not only for the rich – and the breadth of learning achieved in post-Reformation Devon and Cornwall. Town schools, such as the still-surviving King Edward VI School in Totnes (1553), and schools founded by philanthropists, such as Peter Blundell, influenced the way schooling was appreciated, and to this Smiles effectively links the spirit of enquiry that pervades his story of the South-West. Blundell's school, Gilbert's new curriculum, Ralegh's writing of poetry and history, and Carew's philosophy are all connected outcomes from this focus on learning.

This is a fine book and a valuable souvenir of a memorable exhibition at RAMM. Inevitably it has omissions and each reader will identify his/her own. For me the gaps that I most regret are the glories of the earlier Tudor achievements, the absence of books, and the (almost) invisibility of women. But the achievements of the volume outweigh any such absences, and this partnership of exhibition and book is certainly to be celebrated. Every West Country household should have a well-thumbed copy of this book!

Claire Donovan

W. B. Stephens, *The Seventeenth-Century Customs Service Surveyed* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 233 pages. Hardback. ISBN 9781409438373. £65.00.

Dr W. B. Stephens of Leeds University, well known as a social, economic, educational and local historian, was working on Treasury records for his book *Seventeenth-Century Exeter* when he noticed a 1684 report on the customs ports of the South-West and south Wales; now, fifty years on, he has made a detailed study of it. William Culliford, son of a Dorset royalist and Restoration MP, a loyal and experienced customs officer, was sent on a tour of inspection in 1682, empowered to replace incompetent and corrupt officers and to recommend improvements to the Commissioners of Customs. He also had to respond to royal pressure to root out religious and political dissenters from the service. His report is the basis of this book.

The result is an excellent account of the organisation of the customs service after the duties ceased to be farmed in 1671, and a colourful and detailed picture of the economic, political and criminal networks centred on the customs houses at the 'headports' of the South-West (Bristol, Cardiff, Bridgwater, Barnstaple, Poole, Weymouth, Exeter, Plymouth, Falmouth and Penzance) and around their 'member ports' and 'creeks', in the 1680s.

Exeter was the second biggest of these ports. Its trade with Europe, America and the West Indies increased after 1660, becoming one of the Treasury's main sources of customs revenue. Culliford found the Customs House newly built on the quay, where goods were brought by lighter up the recently renovated canal from Topsham. Uniquely among the ports he inspected, he found very little evidence at Exeter that officers took bribes or colluded with smugglers, and the 'collector' or chief officer was not apparently in cahoots with local merchants.

Negligence and poor supervision, however, were general. Officers would leave incoming ships unguarded for a three-hour lunch break, creating visible opportunities for evasion. Idleness and absenteeism were suspiciously rife, too, in the lesser ports under Exeter's jurisdiction, from Exmouth to Dartmouth. The Starcross officers would take the customs boat out mackerel-fishing all day while the vessels they should have boarded and searched sailed past. The riding officers who should have prevented contraband being landed along the coasts of east Devon and Torbay were not up to the task, in either numbers or discipline. Here, as elsewhere, Culliford's recommendations of more staff were mostly agreed by the Customs Board.

Barnstaple was nominally the headport of North Devon, though overtaken commercially by Bideford. Here Culliford had to compel the Collector to

remit large sums owed to the Treasury which he had kept for his own use. Barnstaple also illustrated the damaging effect of medieval survivals. The ancient offices of 'customer' and 'controller' had become sinecures for local notables, held by letters patent with the right to appoint a deputy. In this case the deputy controller was also a merchant, ship owner and smuggler, and Culliford, having caught him out, ordered the controller to dismiss him. But the political value of these sinecures for electoral patronage prevented their abolition for more than a century.

In Plymouth Culliford made powerful enemies. The collector, Hamlyn, and the leading merchants formed a smuggling ring, with a 'gang' of lesser officials in regular partnership with smugglers. Hamlyn was also an influential royalist who challenged Culliford's charges before the Commissioners of Customs; local merchants and town council rallied behind him, and he and others escaped dismissal.

Cases like this suggest a query about the author's presuppositions. Stephens endorses Culliford's standpoint, treating it as an early example of what became the Civil Service ethos of legality, probity and efficiency. He upholds Culliford's 'honesty' against his opponents' 'dishonesty', and applies Culliford's language of 'fraud', 'corruption' and 'negligence' without qualifying its moral force. But it seems that many of Culliford's battles took place at the intersection of *opposed* value-systems and of mutually uncomprehending subcultures – for instance, between the self-justifying claims of dynastic legitimacy and the self-evident goodness of free trade in an age of expanding markets; or between cultures of localism and maritime enterprise, on the one hand, and the metropolitan culture of legalistic officialdom on the other. Such perspectives might sometimes offer a fuller understanding than a moralistic and bureaucratic framework.

Still, the author has chosen to write a straightforward contribution to traditional administrative history, and succeeds admirably. For a start, Culliford's investigations make for a rattling good story, with a hero and plenty of villains. They are also a goldmine for local historians, and for those addicted to the history of smuggling. Beyond this, they demonstrate the emergence and consolidation, in this rather understudied period, of an important part of the fiscal state that was to underwrite Britain's wars in the eighteenth century. With useful maps and statistical appendices, as well as impeccable scholarship, the book definitively fills an important niche.

John Torrance

The Devon Historian

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The Devon Historian publishes researched articles which should not exceed 4,000 words in length, excluding references. Non-referenced material, notes and news items are not published in *The Devon Historian*. They may, however, be suitable for publication in the Society's biannual newsletter, *Devon History News*. Authors should not submit articles to *The Devon Historian* which are under consideration for publication elsewhere. All papers are read by the editor, and will also be sent to an anonymous referee for constructive comment. Articles usually require some revision before being accepted. The article must be accompanied by all the required print-quality illustrations. The final format is at the discretion of the editor, and the editor reserves the right to edit the text (submission of an article is not a guarantee of publication). The editor will be happy to discuss ideas in advance of submission.

Before submission please ensure that material is prepared according to the journal guidelines.
A house style guide is available online at devonhistorysociety.org.uk/ or from the editor. The style guidelines include full submission instructions.

Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Mrs Jane Bliss, BA, MRes, jbhistory@hotmail.co.uk Authors of articles containing copyright material, such as photographs, maps, documents, etc. must provide the editor with proof of the copyright holder's permission to reproduce the material.

Once the article has been accepted, it will be returned to the author with some initial editorial suggestions. When the author has undertaken revisions and incorporated any changes they wish to make, the paper should be re-submitted for copy-editing and review. The paper will then be sent back to the author with any final suggestions, and final copy should be sent to the editor by a mutually agreed date. All articles will be sent to the author at proof stage. No changes to the text can be made at proof stage, other than the correction of typographical errors. The editor will need up-to-date contact details for authors at proof stage.

Books for review should be sent to Dr Mitzi Auchterlonie, 41 Broadway, Exeter, EX2 9LG, 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 Devon Historian

VOLUME 83

2014

Articles

ISSN 0305 8549