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VOLUME 84
2015

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

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Abbreviations

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

Foreword

The otherwise successful activities of the Devon History Society remain overshadowed by the recent deaths of much respected members. Last year we suffered the loss of our committed Secretary, Chris Jago; in 2015 we have lost a former President, Professor Ivan Roots, sometime Professor of Modern History in the University of Exeter and a leading authority on the Civil War and Interregnum periods. More recently we have had to record the death of Ray Girvan, who served with efficiency and enthusiasm as the Society's webmaster. Chris Jago was remembered and honoured by an occasion in the Guildhall in November when Professor Mark Stoyle lectured on the Prayer Book Rebellion in the South West. In June this year a memorial lecture for Ivan Roots was delivered in the University of Exeter by Dr Stephen Roberts on the subject of Devon Cromwellians. One feels both lectures would have been much appreciated by those they commemorated. The Ivan Roots lecture is reproduced in this volume of *The Devon Historian*, which also carries an article by Dr Andrew Jackson, a former editor of the journal, in tribute to both Robin Stanes, another notable figure who died not long ago, and Chris Jago.

Over the last year or two the Society has welcomed new faces to various Committee responsibilities – as Secretary, Treasurer and as webmaster among others. Our Chairman, Philippe Panel, has decided to stand down later this year and the Committee will need to bring a new name to the autumn's AGM. These changes are a reminder of the Society's status as an amateur and voluntary organisation which relies so much on the abilities and efforts of those who give willingly of their time and commitment. We have been very fortunate in having so many contributors – 'volunteers' in the modern jargon. In time others will be needed and they will be welcome.

We also rely on our wider membership for participatory numbers, for membership income and for much else. Apart from the number of more local activities in which the Society is involved, the AGM and annual conference give an opportunity for many of us to meet. Last autumn's conference on Devon in the Great War was a hugely successful occasion which, through a topic with

great popular appeal, emphasised not only the raison d'etre of the Society but also the vigour and enthusiasm of local societies and groups within Devon. As most of the 'Devon history' we see is not focussed on the county as a whole but on particular places and communities within it, the importance of such local groups and their association with DHS can hardly be exaggerated.

The 2014 Devon History book of the year, chosen by the Committee, was, happily for the Conference at which the prize was awarded, on the subject of the Great War in Devon (*The People of Devon in the First World War*, by Dr David Parker). The prize for the Devon History dissertation of the year was not awarded in 2014, but both prizes (the former now renamed the W. G. Hoskins Prize) show the commitment of the Society to encourage and foster research and publication on the history of our county. From 2016 the dissertation prize will be opened to competition from all higher education institutions in the country.

The Society's annual journal, *The Devon Historian*, remains a central feature and concern of the Society. In recent years it has made immense strides in terms of both standard of content and quality of production. As a refereed journal it stands as one of the most impressive publications from a local or county historical society. Devon, a large, diverse and regionalised entity, is not the easiest county to study as a historian. That the Society in its activities and publications does it so well is a tribute to the efforts of our members and office-holders. That success shows every sign of continuing.

Bruce Coleman

The Devon Historian, vol. 84, 2015

The Devon Cromwellians

STEPHEN K. ROBERTS

In January 1969 Ivan Roots gave his inaugural lecture at the University of Exeter. The day happened to be the 320th anniversary of the execution of Charles I, a fact which the professor conveyed to his audience with some mischievous pleasure, I imagine. It was a witty, learned and very literary *tour de force*, as one might have expected.[1] The essence of his address was an exposition of the efforts made by recent historians to encapsulate the experiences of the 1640s and 50s in this country. The 1950s and 60s seem to have been a period when historians were bolder than they are now in looking for big explanations, overarching theories of why three civil wars were fought, why a king was tried and executed and why a commonwealth and then a protectorate were inaugurated, all in a little under 20 years. Ivan alluded to the rise of the gentry, the decline of the gentry, the Marxist theory of the English Revolution, the Puritan Revolution, finding all of them unsatisfying in explaining or explaining away the 'late troubles', and showed how those who lived through the turmoil were just as given as their descendant historians to bestowing labels: Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, Puritans, Royalists, Roundheads, Seekers, Quakers, Ranters, Diggers. The lecture was a characteristic plea to consider individuals, not types. 'Cromwellians' were not on his list, probably with good reason. It had no currency in Cromwell's own day, and historians have found it a vague descriptor.

There was a time when the default Cromwell in discourse was Oliver, but since *Wolf Hall* and *Bring up the Bodies*, members of the Cromwell Association would do well to be explicit that it is Oliver they are commemorating, not Thomas, his great-great-great-uncle. Although Oliver Cromwell was head of state of a forcibly united British Isles for nearly five years, and his son Richard

succeeded him for a brief reign of another seven months, we don't speak of 'the Cromwellians' as a recognisable and coherent generation of subjects, as we might the Elizabethans, the Victorians, the Edwardians. This is not attributable merely to the brevity of Oliver's rule, I would suggest, but to the questions of legitimacy and acceptance that surrounded the Cromwellian regime. It is possible to see the period between December 1653 and April 1659, when Oliver and Richard ruled successively as lord protector, as merely the residue of an ever diminishing body politic, in terms of public consent. The royalists who had supported Charles I in arms, or with money, or merely with moral allegiance, had been driven out of public discourse. Those conservative Puritans, clergy and lay people, labelled Presbyterians, who had supported attempts to recover the throne for Charles Stuart in 1650–1, had been silenced or cowed. The very few who genuinely welcomed the republic of 1648–9, after the death of the king and the abolition of the House of Lords, had seen their hopes comprehensively crushed by Cromwell's ejection of the sovereign Commonwealth Parliament in April 1653, and those who hoped for a godly rule of the so-called Saints soon afterwards experienced the same defeat. Oliver himself shared these disappointments and also, on some occasions anyway, shared the perception that his own protectorate was an unambitious backstop in 'the hour when earth's foundations fled'. The Cromwellians were no army of mercenaries, but Oliver's description of himself as 'a good constable', in authority 'not so much out of the hope of doing any good' but 'out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil', reveals the diminished ambitions of the last years of the interregnum.[2]

Nothing more supports this negative reading of the significance of the Cromwellian protectorate than a study of the records of government. I myself spent many gloriously happy hours in what was then the Devon Record Office, cataloguing the miseries not only of the poor and the criminal, but also of the apparently joyless magistrates sitting in judgment on them. The records of seventeenth-century assizes and quarter sessions are not only the records of criminal and civil courts, but are also the records of local government at county level. The order books, recognizances and indictments throw up plenty of examples of refuseniks, like the Awliscombe alehouse card-player for whom more than just his game ended badly when he shouted that 'Parliament should kiss his arse'; or the Crediton man reported for denouncing Cromwell as 'a rogue and a blood-sucking rogue'.[3] Individuals like these found themselves before the Devon magistrates, meeting in session at Exeter castle, as victims of a campaign, concerted in formulation but fitful in execution, in pursuit of what was called the 'reformation of manners'. Substitute 'behaviour' for 'manners', and you have it: a crackdown on undisciplined social conduct, in

the alehouse or the street, or the race-course.[4] In Exeter, the regulation of the behaviour of the common people had won a redoubtable champion in an earlier period: Ignatius Jurdain, the Exeter merchant who in his capacity as a magistrate in the 1620s personally stalked the city pubs so that instead of the call for last orders would come 'It is time to be gone; Mr Jurdain will come by and by'.[5] (At least he gave drinkers time to clear the pubs; even less liberally, Jurdain was a consistent advocate of the death penalty for adultery.)[6] In the 1650s race-meetings were banned as opportunities for persons disaffected towards the government to foregather, and bear-baiting and cock-fighting were suppressed. It was Thomas Babington Macaulay who as long ago as the 1840s suggested that 'the puritan hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear'.[7] Spectators of bear-baiting and frequenters of alehouses were reluctant Cromwellians, we can probably conclude. But this afternoon, following Ivan's injunction to consider the persons rather than the type, I would like to move beyond the generalising verdicts on the issue of consent, to consider those who might have considered themselves supporters or even devotees of the lord protector, and why they might have done so.

'And did those feet in ancient time?' Did Oliver come to Devon? He did indeed, in late October 1645, in command of 1,000 cavalrymen, and was here for four months before moving on to Cornwall, spending a further three weeks or so mostly around Exeter early in April 1646 before leaving for London, so far as we know, never to return to the South West. On his first arrival in Exeter, he would have passed relatively close to where the university estate now is, as the New Model army had marched down the Exe valley from Tiverton. His only remark about the county with which I am familiar is his praise of Devon farming as the best in England: an interesting remark from an East Anglian fenlander who had seen much of the British Isles during his campaigning.[8] The extent of Cromwell's familiarity with Devon is of more than antiquarian interest, because kinship and clientage were all-important in the creation of a political interest, and Cromwell's kin happen to have been rooted mostly in eastern and south eastern England. It was the Parliamentarian army that stood in for family in shaping Oliver's most loyal servants in Devon, and later I will say a little about some of those who were personally familiar with him. But for those within the political ruling class in Devon, with no record of serving in the military, but with experience of local office and having observed the successive crises of the state since 1642, how should or could they respond to the inauguration of Oliver's rule as lord protector in December 1653?

Responses were more nuanced than we might expect. Take, for example, the case of Thomas Reynell, of East Ogwell, near Newton Abbot.[9] From a gentry family with a distinguished record of service in county government, Reynell spent the civil war years at one of the London inns of court, studying law, but from 1651 became a stalwart of the Devon bench of magistrates. He was unusual among his colleagues in that he enforced with gusto the commonwealth legislation against fornication. He profited from the sales of crown property in Devon after the execution of the king, and when commonwealth gave way to protectorate seemed to transfer his allegiance readily enough. But a year into the Cromwellian regime, he was recorded by the government as having been in contact with a disaffected army officer active on behalf of the good old cause of the republic. Reynell apparently told him that he was 'ready to act in the country as a justice of the peace, though he could not as a Parliament-man', that is, as an MP.[10] Reynell believed that the best way to achieve security against 'the common enemies', by which he meant plotters on behalf of the exiled monarchy, was to submit to the prevailing government of the protectorate, without becoming too active on its behalf: a case of holding one's nose, for want of anything better. There may have been many like Reynell among the Devon magistrates. They were trained in the law, and well-educated in learned, puritan casuistical literature: reading almost calculated to induce a capacity for making fine judgments about loyal behaviour.

When the second protectorate Parliament met in 1656, six MPs for Devon constituencies were prevented by the government from taking their seats, so great were doubts about their loyalty, even though all were active JPs in the county. Among the Devon county leaders who probably shared Reynell's outlook on qualified commitment was Thomas Boone, a Dartmouth merchant whose house, Mount Boone, overlooked the borough from the steep hill to the west. Boone had profited from confiscated property sales during the commonwealth, and while conforming to the protectorate and was active in local public service, kept a low profile politically. These men were disappointed republicans who had done well out of the sovereign Parliament. By contrast, William Morice of Churston in the upper Torridge valley of west Devon, son of a chancellor of the see of Exeter, represented another kind of disappointment. Like Thomas Reynell, Morice had entered local government after the civil war, but unlike Reynell and Boone, had been repelled enough by the regicide to withdraw from public life during the first years of the republic. For Morice the Cromwellian regime was an improvement, but his continuing contacts with royalists were monitored by the government, which kept him out of his seat in 1656 as one of Devon's MPs. He directed his energy towards

puritan scholarship instead, producing a massive tome on the question of who, and who should not, be admitted to the Eucharist or Lord's Supper.

One is struck by the prominence of lawyers among the Devon Cromwellians. Perhaps the very model here of the 'gentlemen of the long robe' was Thomas Bampfylde, one of the family from Poltimore, just four miles north east of Exeter. He entered public life as deputy recorder of Exeter in 1652, promoted probably at the behest of John Maynard, a prominent national politician and barrister, born in Tavistock. For Bampfylde personally, the protectorate was a golden age of opportunity. He became recorder of Exeter in 1654, and from that year represented the city in four successive Parliaments, becoming Speaker in 1659. It is interesting how a similar reading diet of conservative puritan literature led people to different conclusions about the protectorate. Bampfylde's was a different response to that of his more diffident colleagues. He went to Whitehall in September 1654 and was bold enough to argue personally with Oliver about the constitution, being evidently of the same critical mind as Morice. But within two years, he had reconciled himself to the regime, and became a very active member of the second of Cromwell's Parliaments, and was able to exploit his prominence in what he took to be the interests of his constituents, as we shall see later. An ally and subordinate of Bampfylde's was Thomas Westlake, the Exeter town clerk (that was his title, not city clerk): originally from Newton Abbot. Not for him an education like Bampfylde's, at a London inn of court. Westlake did law the hard way, as a local attorney. As his memorial in All Hallows Goldsmith St in Exeter put it, 'he was born and died in the struggle and tumult of the courts'.[11] A hardworking yeoman's son like Westlake may well in those times have considered political principle an unaffordable luxury, and the apogee of his career was his election to Parliament – 'by very few persons', his enemies sourly noted – to represent Exeter. At Westminster, the gilt must have been rubbed off his gingerbread when he suffered the humiliation of having his Latin corrected by a more senior Parliamentarian, and on another occasion he was 'hooted' down by his fellow-members.

All of these Cromwellians hedged about their loyalty with varying degrees of reservation, whether by limiting the extent of their participation, or by arguing about the constitution. One of them exemplified the punctilious cavilling of their puritan outlook by inventing a new word to describe their sort of loyalty to Oliver's government: 'dissinfulness'.[12] Were these begrudging, reluctant Cromwellians the best the lord protector could find among the Devon ruling class? In fact there were indeed greater enthusiasts for the protectorate, and they were to be found in the military. 'The military presence' cannot be overlooked in any discussion of society in the 1650s, and

was a topic of study in the history department at Exeter in Ivan's time as head of department; a former tutor in the department, Henry Reece, wrote a thesis with that as its title over 30 years ago, and a revised version has recently been published as a book; while one of Ivan's undergraduate students, Derek Massarella, has written about army politics.[13] However many phases and shifts historians can detect in Cromwell's thinking, his loyalty to the army and to fellow-soldiers, generally reciprocated, was consistent from the time he first took up arms against the king in 1642. A number of Devon-born soldiers were known to Cromwell personally. The most famous, or perhaps notorious, was George Monck, of Potheridge, near Torrington, a career soldier who by 1649 at the latest had become a protégé of Cromwell in the high command of what by that time should be called not the New Model, but the army of the state. At Cromwell's behest, Monck was promoted to head a number of regiments in the early 1650s, and during the protectorate became a hammer of the Scots as commander-in-chief north of the border. The background to all this, incidentally, was described by Ivan in his essay, 'Union and Disunion in the British Isles'.[14] But apart from his appointment as a member for Devon in the so-called Barebones Parliament of 1653, which he attended once, and then only to receive thanks for his military exploits, Monck played no part in this county's public life in the 1650s. A more locally engaged military man was John Blackmore: born in Exeter, probably the son of a glover, in 1645 commissioned as a captain in a foot regiment of the New Model. In 1648 Cromwell recommended him as 'a good man and a good soldier'.[15] To be a good soldier in Cromwell's book meant what anyone might expect it to mean; to be a 'good man' suggests something more complicated than the simplicity of the epithet; it probably meant that Blackmore was in tune with Oliver's brand of intense but tolerant protestant godliness called Independency. In the early 1650s, he came back to Devon as a senior embodiment of the military presence, and his personal loyalty to Cromwell ensured that he was a stalwart of the brief supervision of local government by the major-generals in 1655-7. He was knighted by Oliver in 1657, and did a stint as sheriff of Devon in 1658. He was one of at least half a dozen Devonians to be given an official role at Cromwell's elaborate funeral. In a rise from obscurity to local authority by way of the military, Blackmore's career finds a local parallel in that of John Copleston, of Pynes, near Upton Pyne, of whom it could be said that he rose without trace. In his case, he was serving as sheriff and colonel of the Devon militia at the time of the Penruddock rising in 1655. His reward for his services in suppressing what were called the 'eruptors' was a knighthood, and as part of a strategy of keeping royalist-inclined North Devon in check, he was made recorder of Barnstaple.

The navy needs to be considered as a sub-set of the military, and in Devon there was no more dependable Cromwellian than Henry Hatsell, who lived for a time at Saltram, before the house was redeveloped a century later. Hatsell was a naval man through-and-through, hailing originally from Minehead, working in the export cloth trade and probably serving aboard long-distance shipping. He came to Plymouth on the eve of the civil war and remained there throughout the long siege, becoming a captain in the garrison. His abilities were recognised by the commonwealth, which made him the commissioner or agent of the navy at Plymouth, in effect the most senior shore-based naval post in the South West. He consolidated his position during the protectorate, and it is hard to exaggerate Hatsell's significance in naval matters in the peninsula. It fell to his lot not only to supervise naval security, to press-gang sailors and deal with every matter of naval procurement, from ropes and clothing through to food and drink; but also, in a fashion typical of the reformation of manners he sat as a magistrate and an MP and – probably his greatest challenge – he tackled the powerful brewing interests in Plymouth. A measure of his frustration was his wish that the defiant brewers should be sent off to Barbados or Hispaniola (Haiti), 'if it were not against the law'.[16]

So in general, unequivocal support for the protectorate was more likely to come from military officers than from the lawyers and gentry who staffed the courts and local government commissions of Devon. Another generalisation with some purchase – and this is particularly noticeable among Devon's MPs – is that the more socially obscure the origins of the Member, the more likely he was to have participated with some degree of enthusiasm in the Cromwellian regime. But they seem a dour and unattractive lot, don't they? The lawyers and gentry sitting in judgment in the courts, and the army officers acting as their enforcers. It's little wonder that the Cromwellians often have a bad press, and there is plenty to feed the prejudices of their detractors. Cromwellian Devon at its most repressive was evident in the aftermath of the 1655 rising. After the Salisbury assizes had acquitted some of the royalists involved, the government had plans for those remaining in custody in Exeter. After being paraded through the streets of the city, and without trial, they were taken by the military to Plymouth. From there a group of 70 people was shipped to Barbados, where regardless of rank or profession they were put to 'grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces' of the sugar plantations on this 'scorching island'.[17] Technically they were indentured servants, but the distinction between slavery and indentured servitude seems to have been a fine one. Four years later, the episode blew up in the faces of the Devonians responsible, in the dying days of Richard Cromwell's Parliament, when a number of returning transportees petitioned about what had happened. In a

vivid description of their conditions, the value of each indentured servant was said to have been 1,550 pounds weight of sugar apiece. John Copleston had been responsible for taking the prisoners from Exeter to Plymouth, and put in the classic plea of superior orders: 'I sent them thither, but to what purpose they came there I know not'. Henry Hatsell had arranged the transportation to Barbados, and personally profited from the sugar imports, but things really hadn't been so bad: 'I never saw any go with more cheerfulness', he told sceptical MPs.[18]

We know this story because of the airing it received in the 1659 Parliament, recorded in the diary of one of the members, Thomas Burton. In 1974, Ivan was responsible for a new reprint of that source, another of his many services to scholarship. Transportation as a punishment was only an option available to the government because of a large and powerful navy. Under first the commonwealth and then the Cromwellian protectorate, the English navy began to rival and challenge the existing European naval powers. This had implications for the English domestic economy, particularly the sea ports. I am quite sure that the jargon phrase 'state formation' would never have passed Ivan's lips, but the growth and development of the English state would have been perfectly visible in Dartmouth and glaringly so in Plymouth, evidenced in busy repairs and refitting of ships, incessant procurement of supplies from the hinterland, particularly the South Hams, and recruitment of personnel, including by press-gang. But the development of the Cromwellian state is also measurable in political terms. Contemporaries spoke of 'interests' in politics: the republican interest, the cavalier interest, and the interest anyone who aspired to sit in Parliament had to muster to secure votes, for example. And in the elections of the protectorate, in boroughs like Dartmouth and Plymouth, we can detect the emergence of a naval interest, which returned men like Harsell, the most powerful naval agent Plymouth would have seen up to that point, to the House of Commons. Despite his crusade against the Plymouth brewers, there were plenty of business beneficiaries of the navy's patronage at Hatsell's disposal.

The growth of the state, with this repressive or coercive colouring to it, is certainly one of the distinctive features of Cromwellian Britain. But as the history of twentieth-century Britain shows, the expansion of the state can bring with it improvements in the lives of individuals, including in the lives of the populace at large. In many towns and cities during the 1650s, civic pride and independence were enhanced. As with the expansion of the navy, this was something we notice first in the aftermath of the regicide, as towns and cities availed themselves of opportunities to buy lands and ancient rents that once been the property of the crown or of the church. The city

of Exeter, for example, began to buy up cathedral or episcopal properties, such as the bishop's palace, and started to petition government not only for money to address its genuine post civil war social problems, but also to improve its position vis-à-vis the county of Devon, securing for itself a better charter. After 1653, these initiatives began to bear fruit, starting in a small way. The traditional mayor's dinner was cancelled, and instead, moves were made to reinstate the water supply between Southernhay and Southgate St Improvements at St John's hospital were mooted, and as an expression of a new civic self-confidence, new rules were drawn up on the conduct of cases in the mayor's court, and on the importance of wearing gowns at council meetings.[19] More expansively, in 1654 the corporation acquired over 4,000 acres of lands in Tipperary, thus becoming a party to the Cromwellian 'plantation' of Ireland.

The Irish lands were an investment, intended to become a revenue stream. But it's a long way to Tipperary, and at the heart of these developments and improvements in Exeter were the very visible changes at the cathedral, in the very heart of the city. The most striking and memorable fact in this period in Exeter's history, I suspect, is the wall. The role of walls in history has not generally been a happy one: the Berlin wall, the Belfast peace wall, the Cutteslowe wall, which when Ivan was at Oxford screened suburban private homeowners from the council estate on the other side. The Exeter wall, mooted in 1656 and begun the following year, divided the cathedral into East Peter's (note the puritan dropping of the 'Saint' in the name) and West Peter's, for separate Presbyterian and Independent congregations. Because of the cultural associations of walls, and because of the Christian divisions implied in the physical barrier dividing the cathedral interior, this masonry has come to symbolise sectarian rivalry and conflict. Where did the idea come from? There were precedents. For their part anyway, the Presbyterians cast sidelong admiring glances at their co-religionists north of the border, home of John Knox; and the example of Glasgow cathedral, divided from 1647 by walls into three congregations, gave them a a model to follow. The zealously Presbyterian Thomas Bampfylde gave £100 towards the building costs. Since 1660, the erection of the wall has been interpreted as a symbol of the destruction of the episcopal anglican church, but as well as reconfiguring the internal space of the cathedral, the city fathers voted in October 1657 to consider ways of 'righting' and enlarging it, suggesting that like their counterparts in Gloucester they considered the building an ornament to the city not an encumbrance or an object of plunder.[20]

In a local context, the wall has to be seen as one facet of a sweeping programme of municipalisation of Exeter's public space. An act of Parliament,

promoted by Thomas Bampfylde, for amalgamations and closures of Exeter churches attempted to rationalise the provision of the public ministry in the city.[21] Some churches were declared redundant and sold: St Stephen's, in the High Street, for example, was put on the market for £230. The impact on everyday life was significant. In one of a series of migrations of city markets, the serge market, for heavy cloth, was moved to the cloisters. A public library, with perhaps the cathedral library at its core, was established first at St John's hospital in Eastgate, then above the chapter house. Moves such as this and the pursuit of a new charter for the maids' hospital may seem enlightened; not the word I suspect most of us would use to describe the transformation of the treasurer's house into a workhouse, still less the erection of a 'cage' in the cathedral close to house boys who upset the city ministers at sermon time. This was the most bizarre manifestation of a thoroughly erastian experiment, in which the local church was protected by, but subordinated to, the local state.

A well-known historian specialising in the medieval period, Sir Rees Davies, once said that he would have hated to live in England of the 1650s: it combined the show trials of Stalinist Russia with the brutal state land seizures of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe. Cromwellian Devon and Exeter seem to exemplify much of what Sir Rees found unpalatable. But on closer inspection, something more interesting is detectable. In the midst of the clampdown on the 1655 rebels, with its scant regard for due process of law and its harsh treatment of prisoners by an application of force majeure, one of the enforcers broke off from enforcing to convey a message of support to the Exeter Baptist congregation, which in turn produced a gracious reply. A year later, the council of state at Whitehall instructed the major-general in charge of the south west to ensure that the Exeter Baptists had the best available redundant church in the city in which to meet.[22] There is no doubt that the patron of the Exeter Baptists, the author of the message of support, who shared none of the Presbyterians' zeal for disciplining the populace and for repression, was Oliver Cromwell himself. It was Cromwell himself, too, who was behind the release of Quakers from gaols in Exeter and Bristol. When James Naylor was released from prison in Exeter he travelled north to Bristol, where in October 1656 he and his followers notoriously entered the city in a fashion that seemed blasphemous mimicry of Jesus's entry into Jerusalem. This episode has been studied from nearly every angle: constitutional, social, political, theological. There seems little doubt that it was virtually a trap set by the civic authorities in Exeter and Bristol, and men like Thomas Bampfylde knew exactly what they wanted out of the resulting furore in Parliament: Naylor's execution for blasphemy. 'Discontents in Devon' was the title of a poem by the royalist

poet, Robert Herrick, exiled (as he saw it) on Dartmoor; unhappiness at the continuing free expression in religion after the abolition of church courts and the inauguration of a tolerant protectorate was one of the 'discontents in Devon' worrying away at these magistrates. But once again it was Cromwell who intervened to dampen their ardour, by asking a simple question: on what authority were they subjecting Naylor to trial?

It is easy to misunderstand Cromwell's tolerant spirit and interventions. A great Devon Cromwellian of over 200 years after these events, Isaac Foot, born in Plymouth in 1880, saw the lord protector as a forerunner of Victorian liberalism and nonconformity. Few of us would now characterise the Cromwellian spirit as 'liberal' in any modern sense. There was no room in it, for example, for atheism, or for what was called 'libertinism', or for Islam, or for Catholicism except in the sense that individual Catholics might if they were lucky find the state chose to ignore them. Judaism was given a special place, but only insofar as the conversion of the Jews was considered a legitimate, biblically-sanctioned object of missionary zeal. Cromwellian toleration was, however, extended to a wider variety of Protestant Christian groups than had been the case under any English government since the Reformation. In Oliver's vision, held consistently during the 1640s and 50s, the apparatus of the increasingly powerful state should be used to protect religious freedom, not to persecute minorities or to enforce conformity. But this was not modern social democracy, in which the beleaguered protective state professes itself blind to competing ideologies and holds the ring for the competition. Cromwellian religious freedom had a purpose and worked towards an explicit goal: that of protestant Christian unity: a unity in diversity. We now know the limitations and failures of that project; but in promoting it, Cromwell, as head of state, was much more humane and perceptive than most of the Devon Cromwellians I have been describing, sincerely-held though the views of a Thomas Bampfylde or a Thomas Westlake no doubt were. And how often can heads of state be said to be more enlightened than the citizens they rule? The vision at the centre of Cromwellian England makes comparisons between Cromwell and Stalin or Mugabe well wide of the mark, as another great Devon Cromwellian, Ivan Roots, was always keen to emphasise. He once had published in the national press a letter repudiating Margaret Thatcher's preposterous comparison between Cromwell and the Pakistani military dictator, General Zia-ul-Haq.[23]

After Oliver's death, and the short, unsuccessful rule of his son, Richard, both protectorate and briefly revived commonwealth unravelled pretty rapidly, with inevitable consequences for the Devon Cromwellians when the king came back. As one unsympathetic observer wrote to another, 'I suppose your

friende Hatsell that threatned to make you stinke smells ugly himself now..'[24] Hatsell lost all state offices, suffered persistent minor harassment, and had to surrender ownership of Saltram, but stayed there as tenant. Others suffered varying fates. The worst was that of Gregory Clement, originally of Plymouth and during the 1650s proprietor of Membury manor: hanged, drawn and quartered for his part in the regicide. The other military men, Copleston and Blackmore, were stripped of their knighthoods, Blackmore slipping away into complete obscurity, Copleston after a decent interval re-inventing himself as a minor figure on the fringes of the court of Charles II. The Presbyterians generally did better, mostly retaining their places in Devon local government. Thomas Westlake was even entrusted by the restored monarchy with the task of interrogating his former colleagues about their interregnum careers. The man who rejoiced at Hatsell's downfall qualified his glee by acknowledging that 'such knaves commonly have better fortune than honest men'. He would not have included George Monck in that category, but we might. Oliver's one-time protégé became more than anyone the architect of the restoration. Once again the citizens of Exeter would have observed the vivid outward signs of political and religious change. Bishop, dean and chapter returned to see and cathedral, and the serge market was moved out of the cloisters to South St. But as Ivan wrote somewhere, there are never any restorations in history.[25] In December 1660, the wall was demolished, but within a couple of years a new and more sinister ideological wall was erected: enforced conformity to the episcopal Church of England on one side of it, what we now know as nonconformity on the other. The more radical, and more desperate elements of this nonconformity created by the Stuart monarchy were persuaded to gamble and lose during Monmouth's rebellion, with a terrible outcome for themselves.[26] That episode created a radical west country identity, with lasting consequences in politics and religion, but it owed more to the maladroit policies of Charles II's government than to anything the Devon Cromwellians did in the 1650s.

Isaac Foot was himself a product of that west country liberal and radical tradition. His son, Michael Foot, a Devon Cromwellian in his own right, wrote: 'Men of power have not time to read; yet men who do not read are unfit for power'.[27] It's been claimed that there's no evidence that Oliver ever read anything other than the Bible. His power was immense during the 1650s. Yet in Cromwellian Exeter, the Baptists worshipped within virtually a stone's throw of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, because of the personal interest taken by Oliver himself in this very Cromwellian scheme of toleration. Many were grateful, and acknowledged his role in establishing 'free use of the holy ordinances of God'.[28] During the protectorate, Devon

and Exeter were saved from becoming the repressive theocracy of an Ignatius Jurdain or a Thomas Bampfylde, through the humanity of Oliver Cromwell and through the agency of those whose commitment to his ideals was unqualified. The humanity of Cromwell himself is a silver filament running through the iron of Cromwellian Devon; it was the humanity of Cromwell that inspired Ivan Roots to be such an enthusiast and ambassador for Oliver, and it was humanity, wherever it was to be found, that inspired his teaching in the University of Exeter and outside it.[29] It was Ivan's unfailing capacity for insights into the complexity, not only of historical problems, but of people, that helped make him such a successful and much-loved historian. He made sure that humanity was put into the humanities. And that is why we should nurture his memory.

Acknowledgements. This paper is the text of a lecture held in the Queen's Building at the University of Exeter, 20 June 2015, in memory of Professor Ivan Roots. I should like to thank Todd Gray and Keith Stevens for making the occasion such a fitting and memorable one, and I should like also to acknowledge the kindness of Gerrard Roots, Catherine Bon and their families.

NOTES

1. Later published by the University of Exeter in 1969 as *The Late Troubles in England*.
2. Ivan Roots, *Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Dent, 1989), 132–3.
3. Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration, 1646-70* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1985), 34–5.
4. For the most recent treatment of this subject, see Bernard S. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
5. F. Nicolls, *The Life and Death of Mr Ignatius Jurdain* (London, 1655), epistle to reader, sig. A2ii.
6. Nicolls, *Life and Death of Mr Ignatius Jurdain*, 18. For a recent biography of Jurdain (or Jourdain), see the article by George Yerby and Paul Hunneyball in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629*, A. Thrush and J. P. Ferris, (eds), 6 vols (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press for the History of Parliament Trust, 2010), iv. 929–33.
7. Thomas B. Macaulay, *History of England*, ed. T. F. Henderson, 5 vols (London: Routledge, 1907), i, 141–2.
8. John Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire* (London: Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1847), 103.
9. The biographical details which follow of Thomas Reynell, Thomas Boone,

William Morice, Thomas Bampfylde, John Maynard, Thomas Westlake, John Copleston and Henry Hatsell are taken from draft biographies I have written of them, to appear in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1640–1660* (ed.), Stephen K. Roberts; the draft biographies of John Blackmore and George Monck have been prepared by my colleague, Patrick Little. In addition, lives of William Morice (by Paul Seaward), George Monck (by Ronald Hutton), John Maynard (by Paul D. Halliday) Henry Hatsell and Thomas Bampfylde (*sub* Bampfield), by Stephen K. Roberts, may be found in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

10. *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, ed. T. Birch 7 vols (London, 1742), iii, 140.
11. Beatrix F. Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* (Exeter: J. G. Commin, 1908), 10–11.
12. 'Letter from Henry Ellis, Esq.', *Archaeologia*, 24 (1832), 139–40.
13. Henry Reece, *The Army in Cromwellian England, 1649–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Derek Massarella, 'The Politics of the Army and the Quest for Settlement', in Ivan Roots (ed.), *Into Another Mould: Aspects of the Interregnum*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1981).
14. 'Union and Disunion in the British Isles' appeared originally in Ivan Roots (ed.), *Into Another Mould: Aspects of the Interregnum* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1981). An expanded and revised edition of *Into Another Mould: Aspects of the Interregnum* was published in 1998, also by the University of Exeter Press.
15. Wilbur C. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 4 vols (Cambridge, Mass.: Yale University Press, 1938), i, 607.
16. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1653–4*, 2; *1655*, 135, 145; Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: the Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 249.
17. *Diary of Thomas Burton*, ed. J. T. Rutt, 4 vols (1828; reprinted with new introduction by Ivan Roots, London, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1974), iv, 256.
18. *Diary of Thomas Burton*, iv. 258, 262.
19. DHC, Exeter city archives, Act Book 10, ff. 34, 49v-50, 60, 73v-74; Izacke MS book, f. 54.
20. Exeter City Act Book 10, f. 93. For a wider west of England perspective on municipal developments, see Stephen K. Roberts, 'Cromwellian Towns in the Severn Basin: A Contribution to Cis-Atlantic History?', in Patrick Little (ed.), *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 165–87.
21. A brief overview of the religious changes in Exeter during the 1650s may be found in Alan A. Brockett, *Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650–1875* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1962), chapter 1.
22. *State Papers of John Thurloe*, iii, 144; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1655–6*, 224.
23. I have been unable to trace this, and it may in fact have been a response to

remarks in print by Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend, in 1983: *The Guardian*, 19 Sept. 1983.

24. British Library, Add. 11314, f. 27.
25. Ivan Roots, *Cromwellian and Restoration Devon* (Exeter: Mint Press, 2003), 51.
26. Ivan Roots (ed.), *The Monmouth Rising: Aspects of the 1685 Rebellion in the West Country* (Exeter: Devon Books, 1986).
27. Michael Foot, *Debts of Honour* (London: Pan, 1981), 21.
28. *Original Letters and Papers of State*, ed. J. Nickolls (London, 1743), 150.
29. 'The Humanity of Oliver Cromwell' was the title of Ivan's address to the Cromwell Association on Cromwell's Green, Westminster, on 2 Sept. 1978.

Stephen K. Roberts worked on central-local government relations in mid-seventeenth-century Devon as a postgraduate student of Ivan Roots at the University of Exeter, and was a tutor in the Department of History and Archaeology, 1979–80. He has since published extensively on aspects of seventeenth-century England and Wales, and is editor of the forthcoming *History of Parliament, House of Commons 1640–1660* volumes.

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The Iconography of Medieval Devon Roodscreens

MICHAEL AUFRÈRE WILLIAMS

The study of screen iconography

Roodscreens, roodlofts, and roodloft galleries were not decorated merely in sculptural terms. Most, prior to the Reformation, were likely to have painted figures or designs on their dados. The percentage of these that still possess such paintings, however, is relatively small.[1] There is not a large historiography of the description – and more importantly, identification – of the painted dado figures on Devon screens. The mid-nineteenth-century historian George Oliver sought to explain the names of some of the saints on the screens in churches he visited, and later in the century Charles Worthy tried to set out the full series of figure identities in five churches which had painted panels in Devon parishes.[2] Neither author was in any way comprehensive and, if anything, they emphasised the difficulties of such research.

The first serious attempt at description and identification from a careful study of iconographical attributes was made by Charles E. Keyser in 1898. He identified 33 Devon screens having painted dado panels. His was a very important work in that it provided the basis for many attempts at identification of figures that followed.[3] The work of Francis Bond and Dom B. Camm on screens and lofts, especially in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset in the early twentieth century, is arguably even more important.[4] They dealt in considerable detail with description, identification, dating, and the artistic value of dado paintings, but they disagreed with Keyser on identifications in eight Devon churches even though they acknowledged him as an important

authority.[5] They, while lamenting (perhaps too much) the activities of the Victorian restorers, dedicated 63 pages (including lists) of volume two of their work on roodscreens and roodlofts to the painted panels of Devonshire screens.[6] A considerable amount of this space was given over to a very full analysis of the Plymtree dado figures. They also identified certain schemes which may appear on the dados: apostles put alternatively with prophets; on pairs of doors the four evangelists painted on one, on another the four doctors; on the central doors of the screen the Coronation or the Assumption of the Virgin. Bond and Camm tended not to stray far from description but they did acknowledge that re-painting over the centuries had not aided identification.[7]

The question of identification from the saints' attributes or emblems is central to iconography. Francis Bond's work of 1914 included lists of attributes and saints,[8] and is still used today for reference.[9] Beatrix Cresswell's work attempted a complete description and identification of painted figures, although upon occasion she quoted directly from Bond and Camm,[10] despite not always agreeing with them or Keyser. Aymer Vallance devoted a short chapter to the decoration of Devon and East Anglian screens in his 1936 text, although mainly dealing with the latter region.[11] Two recent articles are also worth noting. Eamon Duffy's 1997 study of East Anglian roodscreens contains a useful discussion of the iconographic schemes of East Anglian screens as a whole[12] while in 2004 an important study of sibyls on Devon roodscreens was published by Audrey Baker.[13]

The iconography of screens: problems of identification

In Devon, at Ipplepen and Wolborough, the figures have their names written upon their panels but on most of the screens in the county the clues to the identity of the figures lie in their attributes and dress. Unfortunately, some of the figures on Devon dado panels have been either mutilated or badly re-painted with the result that it is hard to be sure what they really represent. It is clear, then, that screen figures as seen today are not always what they seem. They may have been altered, re-painted, or even misunderstood by the original painter. Identification of the figures is therefore a central problem, and, occasionally, a problem that is difficult to solve. The problem of identification is further complicated by restoration, especially in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, however, a church where twentieth-century professional restoration has helped reveal iconography is Hennock, where some of the figures had been covered by box-pews; these had not been overpainted and consequently were in the best condition. One of the figures

revealed by the late-twentieth-century cleaning of the chancel screen doors is that of St Gertrude with her attributes – mice.[14] Bond and Camm in their list of saints portrayed on Devon screens recognise St Gertrude only once – at Wolborough.[15] Francis Bond excluded her from his book completely.

Decoration of screen dados before the Reformation

Screen decoration encompassed ornament, symbols, texts and human figures, the last of which might represent the Trinity, Christ, angels, Old and New Testament figures, saints, prophets, the four Latin Doctors of the Church, sibyls and, more rarely, donors. In the first category, there are three screens in Devon which have arabesque patterns on their dados which leads us on to the problem of dating which is another complex issue in the study of panel painting. These screens are at Blackawton (Figure1), Chivelstone (north aisle), and South Pool (Figure 2).

Their survival may be due to their non-representational nature; they may have been painted before the Reformation or they may have been painted during the reign of Mary I over figures vandalised during the period 1547-53. Alternatively they may have been put on the screens after the accession of Elizabeth. The first possibility is perhaps the likeliest, as at Blackawton

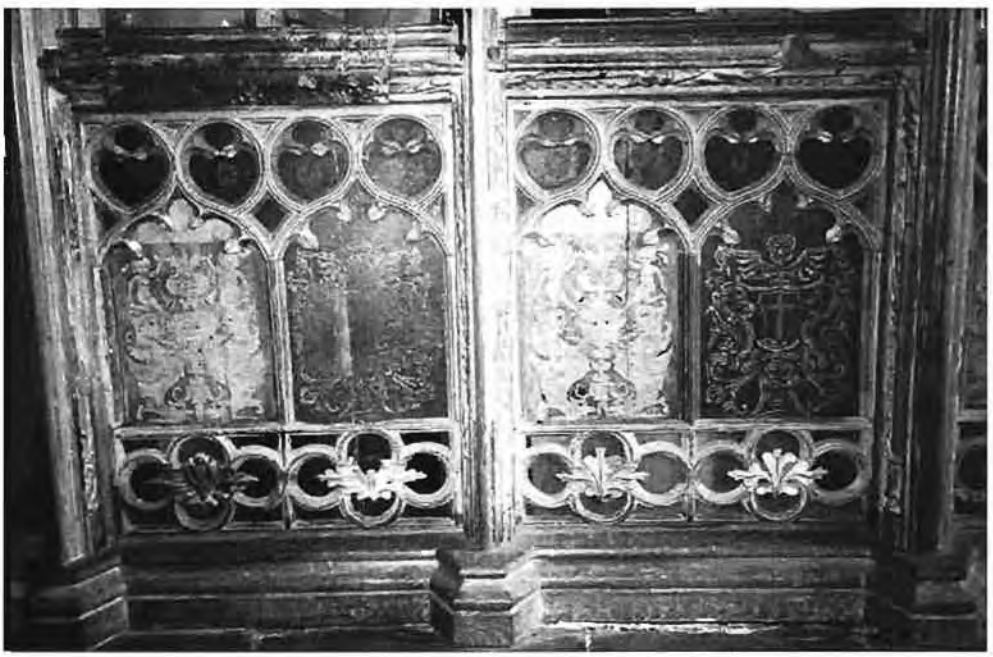

Figure 1. Dado motifs (Blackawton).

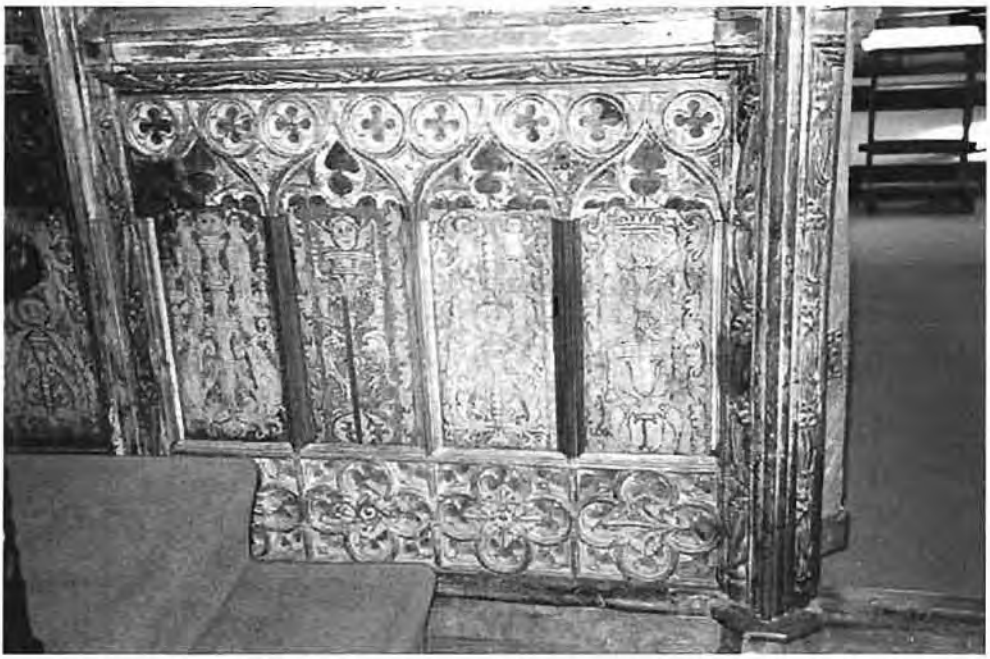

Figure 2. Dado motifs (South Pool).

painted shields are apparent with the instruments of Passion within the shields and, on the north side of the screen, the initials K (for Katherine of Aragon) and H (for King Henry VIII), which indicate that the screen was constructed between 1509 and 1533.

In East Anglia some screens were decorated only with geometric or floral patterns and perhaps the names of donors. As in Devon, these tended to be in poorer parishes whose resources could not afford an image painter. However, by the fifteenth century, most churches would have had elaborate sequences of saints painted on the dado as well as apostles, prophets, the four Latin Doctors and martyrs. There were conventions governing the choice of images.[16] In 1898 C. E. Keyser noted that, apart from individual saints, there were, in Devon, a number of fairly common groupings.[17] As in East Anglia, among the most popular were the four Latin Doctors of the Church (Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome), Ambrose being shown as a bishop, Augustine wearing doctor's robes, Gregory as a pope and Jerome as a cardinal. The apostles were frequently shown, not uncommonly displayed alternately with prophets (Figure 3) and, rarely, exhibiting sentences from the Apostles' Creed, as at Chudleigh and Kenton, reflecting the belief that the apostles each contributed one phrase to that Creed. The Chudleigh dado

Figure 3. Dado figures of apostles and prophets. (Bovey Tracey).

attempts to combine twelve prophets and twelve apostles which is typical of medieval schemes, combining Old Testament prophecy and New Testament fulfilment (Figure 4).

At Kenton 40 medieval figure panels remain, of which 24 form a set of apostles and prophets, with the Creed and prophecies related to it. This set appears unique in its choice of some of the prophets and inscriptions.[18] A more unusual arrangement at Ashton displays prophets, the Annunciation and the Visitation with scrolls containing unusual inscriptions. Most refer to the Incarnation and are taken from the services for Advent, the feast of the Annunciation and the feast of the Transfiguration.[19] It has been argued that the inscriptions present a theologically coherent scheme and that they point to the influence of educated patronage.[20] The idea of a local educated patronage might very well help to explain the presence of unusual saints on screens such

Figure 4. Dado figures of apostles and prophets (Chudleigh).

as Torbryan and Wolborough.

Sometimes, as at Ashton, scenes covering more than one panel are depicted instead of single figures. In Devon such scenes include the Annunciation (on eight or nine screens), the Salutation of Mary by Elizabeth (five screens), the Adoration of the Magi (three screens), the Coronation of the Virgin (three screens), and, shown once in each 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. Bond and Camm identify nine representations of the Annunciation; otherwise they are in agreement with Keyser.[21] There is also a representation of the Annunciation on two panels on the doors of the screen of St Gabriel's chapel in Exeter Cathedral. Representations of donors, not uncommon in East Anglia, are extremely rare in Devon.[22] Indeed, only one is known: at East Portlemouth. Here were two such figures on either side of the Coronation of the Virgin, husband and wife, of which only the latter remains.[23] There is no obvious reason for this lack, because donors were common in art, for example on diptychs, triptychs, and stained-glass windows.

The choice of figures for a screen may have reflected several factors. Prominence in Church veneration also helped, such as inclusion in the

Ordinale Exoniense issued by Bishop John Grandisson in 1337 for the use of his cathedral church and diocese. The saints commemorated in the *Ordinale* to some extent parallel those portrayed on Devon roodscreen dados. Some of the most common dado figures: apostles, evangelists, the four Latin doctors and other saints named in the preceding paragraph appear in the *Ordinale*, but by no means all. Apollonia is not mentioned in the *Ordinale*, although her representation occurs on the dado panels of the doors of the chapel of St Gabriel within the cathedral. However Saints Katherine of Alexandria, John the Baptist, Lawrence, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, and Stephen are commemorated in the *Ordinale*.[24] The local saint, Sidwell (Latin: Sativola), is also commemorated and, as noted above, was quite popular on painted dado panels in Devon, but two other west-country saints commemorated in the *Ordinale*, Kerrian and Petroc, do not appear on any painted panels in the county.[25]

The choice of figures may have been left to the painter of the screen (this would imply a fairly sophisticated iconographic knowledge on his part); they might reflect the choice of the donor (which could help to explain the appearance of unusual saints); they might be selected from a pattern book; they might reflect the needs of the time (for example St Roche, especially after the advent of bubonic plague in 1348); or they might – as with the screen and loft as a whole – be a reflection of local rivalry and imitation. Schemes, for example representations of the apostles, might be chosen for the simple reason that they filled the space on the dado and therefore patrons or painters would choose such groups of figures.

Perhaps the most notable of the groups of figures on Devon screen dados, other than individual saints, are the sibyls, found at Bradninch, Heavitree, Ipplepen (a single figure) and Ugborough. The sibyls were twelve pre-Christian prophetesses, known in classical Greece and Rome, who were later supposed to have foretold the coming of Christ and his Passion.[26] Identification of the sibyls has always proved difficult, as exemplified by those at Ugborough. Bond and Camm made no attempt to name them, merely noting them as 'sibyls'. Beatrix Cresswell admitted the difficulty, noting that there are several lists of sibyls and their attributes, with no two alike. The recent study by Baker, however, both names the sibyls and indentifies their relevant attribute, basing these identifications on a fifteenth-century Book of Hours, *The Hours of Louis de Laval*, which shows the sibyls carrying their emblems, and W. Marsh's Appendix to Jessop's edition of *Frederic Charles Husenbeth's Emblems of the Saints*.[27]

Dado paintings between the Reformation and the present day

The destruction of free-standing imagery in English churches was almost total by 1553, with only a few fragments of medieval religious wooden sculpture surviving in modern times. Panel paintings fared only a little better. Often they were quite literally defaced. This was done (with particular ferocity towards saintly popes and cardinals) by scratching or gouging out the surface of the wood, a process particularly evident at Manaton. During the reign of Mary I certain re-instatements of church furniture were undertaken but, once again, a major factor seems to have been cost, with parishioners being uncertain about the permanence of any benefactions in a rapidly changing religious scene.

Following the Reformation re-painting of dado figures could occur (this was the case at Ipplepen) or new paintings might be placed over the previous figures. That medieval panel paintings have survived is due more to good luck than good fortune. Evidence from Devon after 1755 points to the increasing removal of medieval screens.[28] Further screens and many painted panels were removed or obliterated during the nineteenth century. For example, those at Abbotskerswell, Broadclyst, Malborough, North Bovey, Stokeinteignhead, Tavistock (St Eustace), Throwleigh, Trusham, West Alvington and Woodleigh have gone, while those at Bampton, Feniton and Payhembury were painted over. At Kingsteignton all that was left of the screen after its removal in the very early years of the nineteenth century were some overpainted and then poorly renovated panels. Oliver recorded that the painted panels at Kingsteignton included Saints Barbara, Catherine, Denys, Genevieve, and Helen. Cresswell records the existing 14 panels as representing 11 figures (three are almost obliterated).[29] At Ipplepen during the restoration of 1898 (by Herbert Read) a covering of brown paint was removed and many fine painted panels were found beneath.

Even those Devon screens that remained and which retained dado figures did not necessarily remain unchanged, since restoration and renovation was beginning to take the place of destruction. In the nineteenth century such intervention, while no doubt laudable, was not necessarily successful. Only in the twentieth century did techniques of restoration improve.

The iconography of screens: analysis

Which figures appear most frequently and which are the most unusual? Excluding the cathedral at Exeter, Bond and Camm identified 137 different figures on Devon roodscreen dados. If the sibyls are included, the list would

reach 151. The commonest figures are the apostles (Andrew, Bartholomew, James the Greater, James the Less, John, Jude, Matthew, Matthias, Paul, Peter, Philip, Simon and Thomas), the Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), and the four Latin Doctors of the Church. Examples of other popular saints include Apollonia (who appears 14 times), Barbara (9), Catherine of Alexandria (10), Dorothy (11), John the Baptist (14), Lawrence (10), Margaret (10), Mary Magdalene (11), Sebastian (10), Sidwell (9, or possibly 11), and Stephen (12). A further 51 figures appear only once.[30]

The most obvious feature of the 51 rare saints is their concentration in a few churches. Wolborough, Torbryan and perhaps Ashton and East Portlemouth possess more unusual figures than all other Devon screens. In this respect Wolborough church is by far the most eclectic for, of 66 panels, 14 figures (21 per cent) are unique to Wolborough, seven appear only on one other screen, and four appear only on two other screens. Thus 34 per cent of Wolborough's dado saints may be regarded as both unusual and untypical within Devon.[31] Those who appear here but appear nowhere else in Devon are Aubert, Benedict, Cosmas, Damian, Etheldreda, Gertrude (but see p. 19 above), Julian the Hospitaller, Maurus, Paul the hermit, Petronilla, and Paul of Constantinople. Abraham and Isaac also appear, their only representation in Devon.[32] Hardly less unusual is William of York, represented at Wolborough and possibly Kingsteignton. Not canonised until 1227, his career encompassed both the political and religious spheres of influence. David Farmer has argued that 'the strong local cult at York filled a void caused by the early absence of any local saints' relics in contrast to the flourishing shrines at Durham and Beverley, but it had little support elsewhere'.[33] If so, this makes his appearance on the Wolborough roodscreen dado unexpected. An explanation might be found in the influence of a cleric or landowner with northern connections, such as Bishop Brantingham (1370–94), a Yorkshireman who brought other northern clergy into his service.[34] But it would be wrong to underestimate the hagiographical knowledge of gentry, clergy, and merchants who were the main instigators and patrons of screens and, consequently, would have had an influence on choices of saints. These choices could, and in all likelihood did, have strange and eccentric results. In East Anglia 'donor power' seems to have resulted in a mixture of the conventional and the unusual.[35] Collectively the local educated class are as likely to have had a wide knowledge of saintly figures. The paintings on the dado of the Chudleigh chapel in Ashton, belonging to a gentry family, are evidence of this sophistication.

At Torbryan, unusual saints are Alexis (found only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough), Armel (only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough), Catherine of Siena (only elsewhere in Devon at East Portlemouth and Wolborough), the

Coronation of the Virgin (a group known only elsewhere in Devon at East Portlemouth and Holne), possibly Elizabeth of Hungary (nowhere else in Devon), and Victor of Marseilles (only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough).[36] The most unusual saint at Torbryan is, arguably, Armel (d.556), although he was also a saint honoured at the parish church of Stratton, Cornwall. Armel's influence was strongest in Brittany, Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine and King Henry VII believed that he was saved from shipwreck off the coast of Brittany through this saint's intervention. Interestingly, like Sir John Schorne, who is also occasionally represented on Devon screens, Armel was invoked to cure gout.[37]

Another unusual saint in Devon is Denis, only found at Alphington and Cheriton Bishop and probably by the same hand, (which may possibly

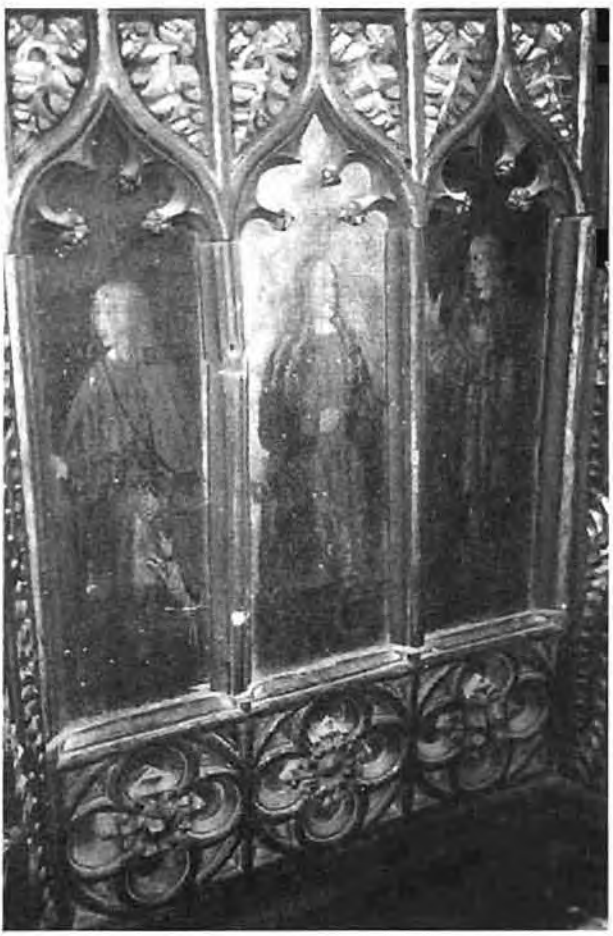

Figure 5. Dado figures (Holne). (Left to right).
St Roche, St Margaret, St Jeron.

indicate that the image-painter had some say in which saints were represented on these dado panels). Denis' attribute was his head in his hands, having been decapitated for his faith in Christ.[38] He was the patron saint of one, or possibly three, medieval churches in Cornwall and at least two in Devon (Bradninch and Walkhampton).[39] A third rare saint in Devon, represented only at Alphington, is Dunstan. He is shown as seizing the Devil by his nose with red-hot pincers, a representation also seen in painted glass in a window of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[40]

An unusual saint is portrayed on the Holne roodscreen. Bond and Camm are unsure whether or not the figure represents Bavon or Jeron. Bavon of Ghent has a number of attributes; not all, of course, would be displayed on the same panel. He can be associated with a falcon, a church, a horse and cart or a stone, or portrayed as a hermit in a hollow tree.[41] It is not difficult to confuse Bavon with Jeron, an Irish monk who was martyred in Holland in 885 and whose attribute is a hawk.[42] At Trimingham, Norfolk, he is portrayed on the dado of the roodscreen holding a hawk (a small falcon), while at North Tuddenham, Norfolk, he is portrayed on the dado of the roodscreen with a falcon on his wrist. He is also portrayed with a falcon on his wrist at Litcham (Norfolk) and Suffield (Norfolk).[43] The figure at Holne is holding a bird in his left hand, while the right hand is raised, perhaps in blessing (Figure 5).

As the Holne attribute is similar to those of East Anglia, it is possible that this is a representation of Saint Jeron. Two further unusual saints appear on the dado at Whimple. These are King Henry VI and St Clement of Rome, accompanied by St Roche, St Sebastian, St Apollonia, St Barbara, St John the Baptist and St Sidwell. Kings of uncertain identity appear at Berry Pomeroy, Bradninch and South Milton, but only at Whimple is Henry VI positively identified,[44] although he was never canonised (and therefore has no halo) he was popularly acclaimed a saint for his devout life. The screen saints also reflect changes in the religious devotion of people in England between *c.*1350 and *c.*1530. One of the most unusual, whose image appears at Alphington, Hennock, and Wolborough, is that of Sir John Schorne (Figure 6).

That he appears on Devon screens at all may seem surprising, as he was rector of North Marston, Buckinghamshire, and died in *c.*1308, but his cult was a popular one in the late middle ages, he is found on several Norfolk screens, for example at Cawston, Gately, and Suffield, and his body was moved to Windsor Chapel in the late fifteenth century.[45] His attribute was the Devil, whom he had apparently conjured into a boot and thence imprisoned. Sir John Schorne is the patron saint of ague (though apparently mainly gout)

Figure 6. Sir John Schorne (on the left) (Hennock). The other figure is St Gertrude (identified by her attribute, mice).

sufferers, so perhaps the idea of the Devil caught and imprisoned in a boot is one which offers a transference of the pain of gout (usually occurring in the foot) from the sufferer to the Devil. Another possibility is that the iconography became misunderstood over the years, and that Sir John Schorne was in fact conjuring the Devil *out* of the boot and thus relieving the pain in the foot. At Cawston he is depicted with the cap, cloak, and hood of a doctor of divinity.[46] The captured (or released) devils also have different appearances on the three Devon screens.

The presence on Devon screens of representatives of late cults, such as those of St Roche and St Syth, suggest that the county was up-to-date with the religious movements of the day and part of international trends. The cult of Roche (*c.*1350–80) spread across Europe from Italy to France, Germany, and England after the arrival of bubonic plague in southern Europe in 1347. According to his legend, he caught the plague in Piacenza and was fed in the woods outside the town by a dog that brought him bread daily. He was also reputed to have miraculously cured sufferers from the plague. Screen dado paintings depict him as a pilgrim with a plague sore or bubo on his leg, accompanied by the dog carrying bread, sometimes in the form of a bun, in its mouth. An angel pointing to the bubo may also be present. There are

Figure 7. Dado figures (Whimple): St Roche.

five representations on screen dados in Devon: at Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, and Whimple (Figure 7). There is evidence that a representation of Roche occurred, probably on the screen dado, at Ashburton where, in 1522-23, the accounts record a payment of 8s.9d. 'for painting St Roche'.[47]

Another saint popular in the later middle ages was Syth, portrayed on four roodscreen dados in Devon: Ashton, Hennock, Plymtree, and Torbryan. Syth (1218–72) was an Italian serving-maid who served one family, the Fatinelli, for her entire life. It was her unswerving devotion which is the basis of her cult and it spread to other European countries, including England (where perhaps it had been introduced by merchants from Lucca in Italy). She was invoked by housewives and domestic servants and had a flourishing cult in late-medieval England.[48] Indeed, there survive in the parish churches of England more than 50 pieces of fifteenth-century art depicting Syth in glass, stone, brass,

alabaster, wood, and plaster.[49] She is usually shown as a well-dressed woman of mature years, no doubt appealing to wives, widows, and daughters as well as servants. Her attributes, keys, associated her with both housekeeping and the finding of lost property.[50]

While the existence and spread of the cults of exogenous, international saints such as Roche and Syth occurred in the later medieval period, their figures being represented on dado panels in Devon (perhaps, as noted, because they satisfied certain needs of the time), the cults of older, far more obscure (in national and international terms), and sometimes home-grown saints were common in Devon and Cornwall. Yet the representation of most of these local saints on the surviving dado painted panels is patchy. However, the scarcity of their appearance on the dado panels does not necessarily reflect a lack of importance. Four interesting examples are Winwaloe, Petroc, Urith, and Sidwell. Of these Sidwell and Urith were from Devon, Winwaloe Brittany, and Petroc Cornwall. Winwaloe appears only once in Devon, at East Portlemouth, where the church is dedicated to him. Far better known was Petroc, another saint who had a thriving local cult prior to the Reformation; indeed at least 18 churches in medieval Devon were dedicated to him and a church in each of Somerset and Hampshire came under his patronage.[51] Like Winwaloe, his cult is known to have existed by the tenth century, yet he does not appear once on painted dado panels in Devon. Again, Petroc's name appears, as does Winwaloe's, in an eleventh-century litany from the cathedral, and in the *Ordinale Exoniense* of 1337. His non-appearance on Devon dado panels, given his popularity, is odd, but may just reflect the anomalies of image survival. Urith, whose cult was centred at Chittlehampton in North Devon, does not appear with certainty anywhere in the county. The earliest source for her cult is a Latin hymn or sequence copied into the commonplace book of a fifteenth-century monk of Glastonbury. She is portrayed as a devout young virgin who was killed with scythes, perhaps by harvesters, at the instigation of her stepmother. A fountain sprang out of the ground where she fell. This story is similar to those of Juthwara of Sherborne and Sidwell of Exeter. Evidence from the mid-sixteenth-century asserts that her shrine at Chittlehampton was a popular focus of pilgrimage.

The most popular local saint in Devon screen iconography is Sidwell. Her cult first appears to have existed in late Anglo-Saxon Exeter. She was then believed to be English although it is not impossible that she was an earlier indigenous Brittonic saint.[52] She was commemorated by Exeter Cathedral in the twelfth century and there are three liturgical readings about her in Grandisson's *Legenda Sanctorum* of 1337. She is represented 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. Her popularity locally may, perhaps, be judged by the altar to her which existed in Morebath church and that her name was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not uncommonly given to girls in Devon and Cornwall. The fifteenth-century Exeter cleric Roger Keys carried her cult as far away as Oxford where her image was placed in a window at All Souls College.[53]

The major problems in appreciating the figures on the painted dado panels on Devon screens are those of identification and dating. Their mutilation, re-painting and attempts at restoration over the centuries, which have sometimes led to confusion, misunderstanding and uncertainty, present difficulties of interpretation which are sometimes too great to overcome. Nevertheless some conclusions may be attempted. Saints both common and obscure, distant and local, old and new (in fifteenth and sixteenth-century terms) 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, may 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. Thus the painted dado panels could very well reflect, as they do at Chudleigh and Bovey Tracey for example, similarities of content, and even perhaps style, with those of their neighbours. The presence of certain unusual saints on screens remains unexplained, perhaps the result of the influence of a local well-travelled and well-read landowner, or of the appearance in the diocese of a cleric with wider national and international knowledge.

NOTES

1. Those which remain are at Alphington, Ashton, Bere Ferrers, Berry Pomeroy, Blackawton, Bovey Tracey, Bradninch, Bridford, Buckland-in-the-Moor, Cheriton Bishop, Chivelstone, Chudleigh, Combe Martin, Dartmouth (St Saviour), Dittisham, East Portlemouth, Exeter (Heavitree), Exeter (St Mary Steps), Gidleigh, Hennock, Holcombe Burnel, Holne, Ipplepen, Kenn, Kenton, Kingsteignton, Lustleigh (these are carved, not painted), Mamhead, Manaton, Peter Tavy, Plymtree, Powderham, Sherford, South Milton, South Pool, Stoke Gabriel, Stokenham, Torbryan, Ugborough, Whimple, Widecombe, and Wolborough. Thus 41 out of 120 (34%) of Devon churches with medieval roodscreen retain their dado paintings
2. George Oliver, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, 3 vols (Exeter, 1839–42); Charles Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, 2 vols (Exeter: W. Pollard & Co., 1889).

3. Charles E. Keyser, *On the Panel Paintings of Saints on the Devonshire Screens* (Westminster, 1898).
4. R. A. Gilbert, 'Bond, Frederick Bligh (1864–1945)', *ODNB*, online edn, May 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53875>, accessed 5 May 2006.
5. Francis Bond and Dom Bede Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, 2 vols (London: Sir Isaac Pitman, 1909).
6. Ibid., ii, 209–72.
7. Ibid., 250: 'Unfortunately, many of them have been so abominably daubed and repainted that it is quite impossible to be sure what they really represent, or what they once were like'.
8. Francis Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches* (London, 1914).
9. Dr John Allan, personal communication.
10. Beatrix F. Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1908); idem, *Notes on the Churches of the Deanery of Kenn* (Exeter, 1912); idem, *Notes on Devon Churches* (unpublished; they are distinguished by Deanery and are held at the Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter. They are typed and bound).
11. Aymer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936) idem, *Greater English Church Screens*, (London: Batsford, 1947).
12. Eamon Duffy, 'The Parish, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: the Evidence of Rood Screens', in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400–1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
13. Audrey M. Baker, 'Representations of Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon', *DAT*, 136 (2004), 71–97.
14. See Figure 6 above.
15. Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, ii, 255–7.
16. Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage', 147–151. 'Theologically, the screen and tympanum as a whole was a complex eschatological image. Its theme was mercy and judgment. The saints and angels on it would accompany Christ when he came to judge the living and the dead'.
17. Keyser, *Panel Paintings* (Westminster: Archaeologia, 1898), 9.
18. Apart from Chudleigh and Bovey Tracey, other screens containing this iconography survive at Marston Moretaine (Bedforshire), North Crawley (Buckinghamshire), and Thornham (Norfolk).
19. Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn (London: Yale University Press, 1989), 137.
20. Marion Glasscoe, 'Late Medieval Paintings in Ashton Church, Devon', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 140 (1987), 182–90.
21. Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, ii, 256–7. Keyser, *Panel Paintings*, 6–7, 10–11.
22. Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage', 144–6.
23. Bond and Camm, 2, 216.

24. John N. Dalton and Gilbert H. Doble (eds), *Ordinale Exon.*, 4 vols., (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1909–41), i, 37–8, 63, 70–2, 79, 82–5, 230–2, 240, 241–2, 245–6, 247–8, 254, 255–6, 279.
25. Ibid., 216, 227, 245.
26. Baker, 'Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon', 71, 95.
27. Ibid., 72.
28. Michael A. Williams, 'Medieval Devon Roodscreens from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day', *TDH*, 83, 2014, 1–13.
29. DHC, (MS notes), B. F. Cresswell, 'Notes on Devon Churches, the Fabric and Features of Interest of the Deanery of Moretonhampstead' (1921), 2 vols, i, 229–31.
30. Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, ii, 255–72.
31. The mains source here is Bond and Camm, ii, 363–4, who acknowledge their list, with necessary corrections, embodies that of Keyser.
32. Details concerning these saints may be found in Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, on the following pages: St Aubert, 35; St Benedict, 49–50; SS Cosmas and Damian, 122; St Etheldreda, 179-80; St Julian Hospitaller, 293–4; St Maurus, 360; St Paul the Hermit, 416, St Petronilla, 430; St William of York, 541–2.
33. Ibid., 542.
34. Richard G. Davies, 'Brantingham, Thomas (d. 1394)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://wwwoxforddnb.com/view/article/3278>, accessed 5 May 2014.
35. Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage', 150–2.
36. The panel depicting St Victor of Marseilles was one of two stolen from Torbryan in August 2013, indicating that the possibility of it being 'stolen to order' is likely. This theft of dado panels at Torbryan was the third in recent years.
37. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 32. For Sir John Schorne see 12–13 below.
38. Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, ii, 238.
39. Nicholas I. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 165.
40. Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, 27; Bond and Camm, ii, 231.
41. Ibid., 311. Bond does not mention St Jeron.
42. Irish Catholic Church (www.mail-archivecom/irishcatholicchurch@yahoogroups.com/msg00513html).
43. W. W. Williamson, 'Saints on Norfolk Roodscreens and Pulpits', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 31 (1955–7), 299-346, at 315, 333, 339, 341.
44. Also by Bond and Camm, 2, 263.
45. E. H. Marshall, 'Sir John Schorne', *Oxford Journals, Notes and Queries*, vol. 8, Series 6, 151 (1894), 89–90.
46. Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, 196–8.
47. Alison Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479–1580*, DCRS, 15 (1970), 70.

48. J. Frankis, 'St Zita, St Sythe and St Osyth', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), 148–50; S. Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha in England: an Introduction', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), 83–9.
49. Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St Sitha', 86.
50. Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 103–5.
51. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, 214–19.
52. Nicholas I. Orme, *English Church Dedications* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 24.
53. Nicholas Roscarrock, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Devon and Cornwall*, edited by Nicholas Orme, DCRS new series 15 (1992), 137–9.

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Where is Hederland?

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Introduction

In a 'Historical Footnote: Where is Hederland?', the editor of Devon History News drew attention to Peter Orlando Hutchinson's search for Hederland, first recorded in a charter dated 1205 and subsequently 'lost'.[1] Having examined the Cartulary of Otterton Priory, Hutchinson placed Hederland first at Holcombe Barton near Ottery St Mary and, later, near Washfield above Tiverton. J. Horace Round suggested that Hederland was in Ladram Bay in Otterton. Round edited and partially translated *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (1899), which included a grant dated 1205 to the Abbey of Mont St Michel (in Normandy) of '*Otri* with its chapel of *Labedreland*'.[2] F. C. Hingeston-Randolph proposed Hetherland in Washfield, dismissed by O. J. Reichel since, in Bishop Stafford's register (edited by Hingeston-Randolph) Hetherland chapel was dependent on Washfield and in the same private patronage, so can hardly have belonged to Mont St Michel. Reichel suggested a location north of Sidmouth.[3] Bringing proposed locations to six, Richard Polwhele, in about 1800, suggested Hawkerland in Colaton Raleigh and J. Y. A. Morshead, in 1903, added Mutter's Moor near Pinn Farm in Otterton (Figure 1).

In the quest for Hederland, the grant of 1205 and place-names are addressed before the first and largest group of primary sources: charters, Domesday, records of Otterton Priory, surveys of church and monastic property, bishops' registers, manorial records, Inquisitions Post Mortem, Somerset Records and sources concerning the dissolution of monasteries;

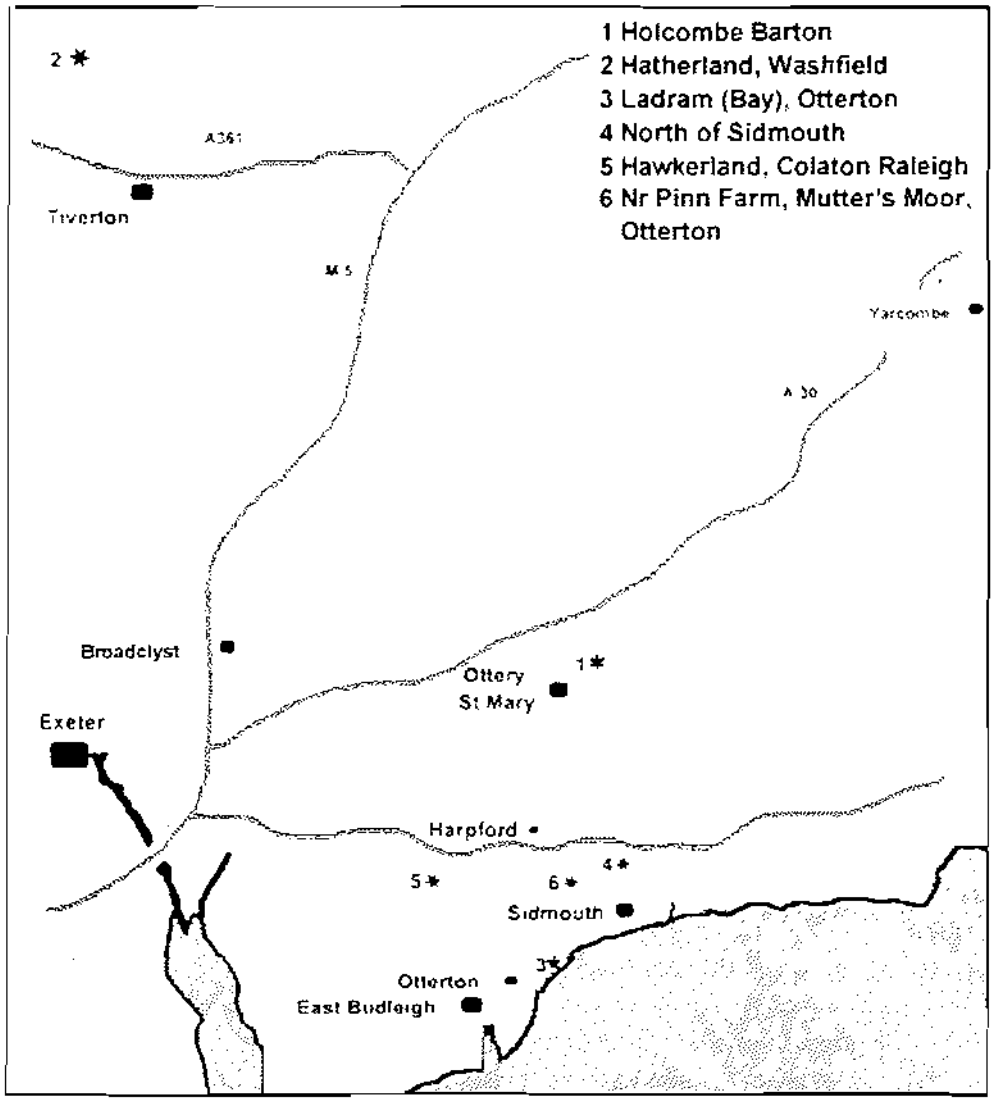

Figure 1. Map showing parts of East and Mid Devon indicating six suggested locations of Hederland and naming other places mentioned in the sources.

negative findings and background history are noted. The second group is the writings of antiquarian and modern historians; and the third, maps.

Primary sources reveal Hederland as an independent manor with tenants, relatively small rents, and a chapel; a Seyntlo, of Somerset, held *Hetherlond* in 1487.

With the expectation of finding Hederland in Otterton, a systematic search was made of that parish. Neighbouring parishes have been considered

and also Washfield. Five of the six proposed locations are discounted. Despite reservations, in agreement with Hutchinson and Hingeston-Randolph, circumstantial, documentary and map evidence indicates that Hatherland in Washfield, at OS SS934170, is the Hederland of this quest.[4]

Sources up to the dissolution of the monasteries

The earliest reference to Hederland, in *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, is a grant dated 31 August 1205 by Henry Marshal, Bishop of Exeter, to the abbey of Mont St. Michel:

> He grants, out of charity, to the abbey of Mont St. Michel, and the monks there serving God, for (defraying) the reception of pilgrims and guests, the following churches in his diocese at their first vacancy, [to be devoted] to their own uses, in alms for ever: the churches of Otri with its chapel of Lahedreland, of Sichemug, of Harticumbe, of Hapeford, and in Cornwall, of Morres and of St Hilary, saving an honourable provision for the chaplains serving those churches, who shall be responsible to him and his successors for the bishop's rights, and saving in all things the rights of himself and his successors.[5] (Brackets as in translation.)

Lahedreland appears to be in the parish of *Otri*, but could have been appropriated there before 1205. *Otri* might name Ottery St Mary or Otterton.[6] In *The Place-Names of Devon*, Ottery St Mary was *Otri* in 1086, *Oteri* in 1190, *Otry* in 1241.[7] Otterton was *Otritona* in 1086, *Otrinton* in 1157, *Otteritune c.*1200 and *Oterytone* in 1261.[8] Thus far, Ottery St Mary appears more likely, yet Hederland is placed in Otterton parish, where *Hetherland* (lost) is *Lahedreland* in 1205, *Hetherland* in 1242, *Hederlonde* in 1260, *Hedderlond* in 1303 and *Hetherlond* in 1487.[9] Hatherland in Washfield, near Tiverton, is *Hederlond(e)* in references between 1286 and 1356.[10] The variable spelling of Hederland is used according to the sources and shown in italics. The name might stem from Old English for 'hawthorn' or denote heath-land generally.[11] *Sichemug, Harticumbe* and *Hapeford* are Sidmouth, Yarcombe and Harpford.[12]

Early charters and Domesday do not identify Hederland's location. In the earliest general source, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Hederland, Otterton and Washfield are absent, but there is record that in 1061 King Edward, usually called 'the Confessor', granted Ottery St Mary to St Mary's Rouen.[13] Frances-Rose-Troup in a transcript and translation of the earliest known form of this charter, dated 1227, identified parish bounds that might have included

Hederland, but they do not.[14] Since Ottery St Mary belonged to St Mary's Rouen, not Mont St Michel, it is discounted as Hederland's location.

Turning to Otterton, George Oliver recorded that Edward 'the Confessor' also made a grant to the abbey of Mont St Michel.[15] Between 1066 and 1087, King William I founded the Benedictine Priory of Otterton as a daughter-house of the Abbey of Mont St Michel.[16] The Thorns in their edition and translation of *Domesday* suggested that the extensive holdings of Mont Saint Michel would have had 'a number of subordinate members', among which they included *Hetherland*. Sidmouth was then part of the manor of Otterton and thus a possible location of Hederland.[17] Henry I gave to the abbey land in his manor of Budleigh, in 1125x1129;[18] Pope Adrian IV, in a Bull of 1156, 'confirmed on the Abbey' Otterton and Sidmouth;[19] and King John (reigned 1199x1216) re-founded Otterton Priory.[20] None of these sources adds information about Hederland.

Although, in the charter of 1205, alms of the named churches and chapel were given to the abbey, the bishop's rights were protected. The founding of Hederland chapel is not recorded in the bishops' registers of Exeter. In 1102 a council of Westminster decreed that there should be no new chapel without the agreement of the bishop and later a bishop's licence was required, thereby protecting dues to mother-churches and making chapels 'dependent'.[21] Many escaped record. Of 34 chapels documented in Devon before 1200, the earliest were domestic chapels in castles or bishops' palaces; 22 of the 34 were granted to monasteries by lay-people between about 1136 and 1199, many of these apparently chapels of ease on manorial land, like those of Petton, Dipford and Zeal Farm in Bampton, Devon, granted to the monks of Bath in 1107x1137 by Robert of Bampton.[22] There is no record that Hederland was granted to a monastery before 1205. However, Bishop Marshal's grant implies his approval of what was probably a chapel of ease like others granted to monasteries, not a domestic one.

The Otterton Custumal refers to *Hederlonde* and *lahedreland*.[23] Oliver translated an abstract of the Cartulary, a collection of evidence written by the prior in 1260. A grant from the abbot and convent of St Michael's to William Blondell concerning *Hedlonde* gives place-names, addressed in later map searches, and reveals Hederland as a manor with a bailiff.[24] Surveys of Church and monastic property add that the manor paid low rents and had tenants. Hederland stands distinct from Otterton, and other places noted, between 1288 and 1325. The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, 1288–1291, levied a tax of ten percent on the incomes of English clergy to enable Edward I to organise a crusade. There are two main sections: the taxation of Church property and the taxation of all temporal property pertaining to the Church (revenues from

landed estates). In that on Church property, neither Otterton nor Washfield are linked with a chapel of Hederland. In the taxation of temporal goods the manor of Otterton owed fifteen pounds, two shillings and eight pence whereas *Hederlonde's* tax was one shilling.[25] Washfield does not feature in the taxation of temporal property. *Feudal Aids, 1284–1431*, records that, in 1303, the abbot of Mont St Michel held the (separate) manors of Otterton, Sidmouth and *Hedderlond*.[26] Hutchinson's quotation from the Otterton Cartulary referred to '*Hederlonde*, with its tenants'.[27] Tenancy is implied by Hederland's rent in *c.*1325 when 'Possessions of Otterton Priory, a cell of the Abbey of Mont St Michel' included Otterton manor and church, *Hederlond* (rent) and '*Cliston* [Broadclyst] (portions of tithes which are appropriate to the priory and hamlet of Budleigh)'.[28]

Soon after, Otterton Priory experienced upheaval then decline. In 1332 the priory was temporarily alienated.[29] The Hundred Years War with France waged, with intermissions, between 1337 and 1453.[30] This impacted greatly on priories such as Otterton that were daughter-houses of French abbeys, and on their property including chapels. The king and Parliament in England objected to revenues going from what became known as 'alien priories' to their motherhouses, where French kings might tax money and use it to finance their armies. English kings gradually took more control of these priories. It became difficult for French abbeys, like Mont St Michel, to appoint monks to staff the priories and, in 1378, Parliament ordered foreign monks to leave the country unless they were priors in charge of a house.[31] Oliver supposed that the last prior was instituted to Otterton Priory from Mont St Michel in September 1403.[32] An act of Parliament in 1414 dissolved alien priories and gave their properties to the Crown. Otterton Priory ceased to function and its properties passed to Henry V's foundation of Syon Abbey in Middlesex, founded in 1415.[33] Otterton priory church is believed to have stood east of the present church of St Michael at OS SY 08008516, the late-eleventh-century church tower being part of the priory and the monks using a chancel thought to have stood on its east side. After 1415, the church and monastic buildings fell into disuse and the west-end nave was left as the village church.[34]

Not long before Hederland's transfer to Syon Abbey, Hingeston-Randolph's partial-translation of Bishop Stafford's Register, names the rector of Washfield, in 1411, as 'curate of the dependent chapel of *Hederlond*'. No references to Hederlond chapel have been found in other registers of the bishops of Exeter and there is no direct reference to the chapel between 1411 and 1416, when lay people disputed the patronage of Washfield.[35] The manuscript version of this register has not been checked on account of discrepancy in folio numbers given by Hingeston-Randolph.[36] Yet Hingeston-Randolph, a clergyman,

would surely not have suggested Washfield's Hederland as that granted to Mont St Michel if he considered its being a dependent chapel and in the same private patronage an obstacle, the substance of Reichel's argument against this? The rector of Washfield was also curate of *Hederlond*, but the grant of 1205 allowed 'honourable provision for the chaplains serving those [appropriated] churches'.[37] *Hederlond*'s dependency is therefore not necessarily a problem. Perhaps its patronage differed from that of Washfield church, but since reference to any monastic connection is absent from this source, reservations remain.

The quest returns, fruitlessly, to Otterton and Sidmouth. Three sets of documents, totalling 21 of which some are damaged, record properties and deeds for lands in Otterton between 1443 and 1656.[38] Reference to Hederland is absent, although documented up to the mid-sixteenth century in other sources. *Pynne* (near Mutter's Moor), but not Hederland, is identified separately from Otterton in a document of *c.*1444 (22 Henry VI).[39] Hederland's absence implies that it was not in Otterton parish. Similarly, of seventeen 'lands in deeds' relating to Sidmouth, the earliest dated 1429, there is no mention of Hederland, although most concern Sidbury (north of Sidmouth).[40]

The first personal name connected with Hederland leads to Somerset. The *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* records that, in 1487, Nicholas Seyntlo (St Loe), knight, was seised jointly with Agnes his wife, and in her right, of the manor of *Hetherlond*. Agnes had predeceased Nicholas and, on his death, her son and heir was John Seyntlo. The manor, then worth 100 shillings, was held of the abbess of St Brigitt, Syon, 'as of the manor of Otterton', by fealty only.[41] The name is absent from numerous Devon sources.[42] Catherine Nall and Malcolm Mercer respectively added that a Nicholas Seyntlo was 'sheriff of Somerset and Devon' in 1456 (in fact, of Somerset only), and from 'another prominent West Country family [mid-1400s]'.[43] The *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-77* refers three times to a Nicholas Seyntlo of Somerset.[44] Despite Nicholas Seyntlo being a knight in 1487, the name occurs neither in Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* nor in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Peerage*.[45]

Indications are that the St Loe family held land in Somerset. J. R. Powell noted that in 1448 a St Loe held Chew Magna; his son Nicholas married Agnes, cousin of Sir William Paulton, and held lands in Timsbury in 1445 and in Churchill *c.*1460.[46] Jane de Gruchy, archivist at Somerset Heritage Centre, sourced information about fifteen manors in Somerset linked to St Loe. Of these, Camerton, Paulton and Timsbury were passed by Sir William de Paulton, who died without issue *c.*1450, to his cousin Agnes, the wife of Nicholas St Loe; the former two passed also to Joan Kelly.[47] The names and

dates coincide with Nicholas and Agnes of *Hetherlond* but, despite a thorough search by de Gruchy, no record of the Paulton will has been found.[48] The Kelly moiety of Camerton, through marriage, passed to the Carew family. Papers of the Carew, Trollope-Bellew and associated families of Crowcombe Court in West Somerset, dated 1403–1407, 1430–1442 and 1512, record grants and transfers of manors, mostly near Tiverton, by lay people. *Hetherlond* is included and, in 1512, as 'in the parish of Washfield', but without acknowledgement of a monastic connection.[49] In three of these documents, between 1403 and 1442 (before Agnes' inheritance of *Hetherlond*), the names occur of Nicholas *Sayntlo* and Agnes, Joan Kelly and, in one, William Paulton.[50] Of 25 documents held in the Devon Heritage Centre concerning Washfield, the earliest is dated 1662; none refers to Hatherland.[51] The Seyntlo family held *Hetherlond* of the Abbess of Syon by fealty. Would a manor held by abbeys have been transferred amongst lay people without monastic acknowledgement? Maybe, provided rent was paid. Circumstances indicate Washfield as Hederland's location: Hederland and the St Loe family had Somerset connections; Hederland in Washfield and the names of Sayntlo, Kelly and Paulton occur in papers of the Carew family of Somerset. There are reservations, however, since there is no reference to an abbey.

Returning to Syon Abbey, initial searches for Hederland proved unfruitful.[52] Sources concerning the dissolution of monasteries record Hederland's rent. When in 1534 Henry VIII became supreme head of the Church by an act of Parliament, Thomas Cromwell organised the compilation of a detailed assessment of all clerical incomes, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The manor of Hederland in 1534 still paid relatively low rent. A history of Syon 'Monastery' lists Hederland's valuation in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, with reference to the rents of assise. Otterton was valued at forty-seven pounds, nineteen shillings and two pence three-farthings, whereas rents and farms in *Hetherlond* together with *Cliston* (see note 28) were five pounds, fourteen shillings and fourpence.[53] Following the dissolution of Syon Abbey in 1539, Richard Duke, clerk of the council of court augmentations, purchased Priory land at Otterton and Budleigh.[54] The deed refers to *Pynne* but no Hederland in Otterton, bringing the quest back to Washfield.

Joyce Youings, in *Devon Monastic Lands*, between 1536 and 1558, recorded 'Property at Hatherland, Washfield – late of Syon Abbey, *Cf Lahedreland*'.[55] Unless the assessors were mistaken, *Lahedreland* of 1205 is placed in Washfield parish. Oliver recorded the last reference to the chapel at *Hetherland*, Washfield, in 1553-4 (Gregorian calendar):

> Articles of agreement between the parson of Washfield and the tenants of Hetherland, were sanctioned by Anthony Worth Esq., patr. And John Veysey, Bp of Exeter, on 3 January 1553–4, concerning services to be performed within St Michael's chapel in Hetherlond – The Inhabitants certified to the Bishop that the said Chapel with the fruits of the same, are better than £10 by the year to the Parson of Washfield.[56]

This new agreement perhaps indicates that the parson had not taken services since the Dissolution. The 'tenants of Hetherland' sound familiar and, perhaps coincidentally, the abbey of Mont St Michel, Otterton Priory, and the chapel at *Hetherlond,* were all dedicated to St Michael.[57] No chapel remains at Hatherland Farm in Washfield.[58] Oliver also noted that 'in the manor of Otterton was the chapel of *La Hederland'*.[59]

The writings of antiquarian and modern historians

Richard Polwhele, in about, 1800 made the first suggestion that the Hederland linked with Otterton Priory was Hawkerland in Colaton Raleigh.[60] This is

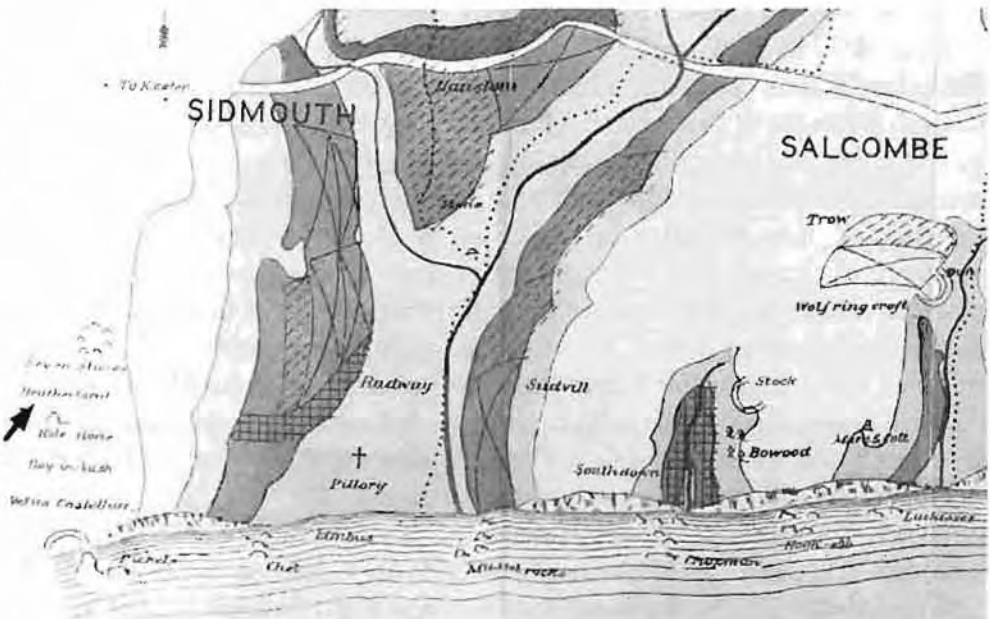

Figure 2. Map by J. Y. A. Morshead, showing his suggested location of Hederland.
Source: J. Y. A. Morshead, 'Our Four Parishes: Sidbury, Sidmouth, Salcombe Regis and Branscombe', *DAT*, 35 (1903), map preceding page 151.

discounted since Joyce Youings recorded Hawkerland as 'late of Dunkeswell Abbey'.[61] The Lysons brothers in 1822 referred to a chapel at Hederland, but gave no location.[62]

As discussed in the introduction, Hutchinson in 1851 believed Hederland to have been at Holcombe Barton near Ottery St Mary, now discounted, and later 'near Washfield above Tiverton'. Hingeston-Randolph considered the latter a possibility but Reichel argued that, since *Hetherland* was a chapel dependent on Washfield and in the same private patronage, it could hardly have been Mont St Michel's; Reichel suggested the north of Sidmouth.[63] Round, in 1899, proposed Ladram (Bay) in Otterton.[64] Acknowledging the location to be much disputed, J. Y. A. Morshead, in 1903, suggested Mutter's Moor near Pinn Farm in Otterton where there is 'Bishops land', placing '*Heatherland*' on a hand-drawn map south of the Seven Stones, near footpaths, at approximately OS SY107877 (Figure 2).[65]

Following Round, A. L. Browne in 1943 and H. R. Evans in 1969 identified Hederland with Ladram.[66] However, in the 'Otterton Custumal', Ladram is documented independently, so is discounted as Hederland's location.[67] Depending on evidence from maps, possible locations remaining are at Washfield, Mutter's Moor in Otterton parish and north of Sidmouth.

Maps

Map evidence again favours Washfield as Hederland's location. Neither a sketch map of Otterton dated 1795 nor an Ordnance Survey map of 1809 shows Hederland.[68] The Tithe apportionments and maps of *c.*1840 have been searched for Otterton, Colaton Raleigh, East Budleigh and Sidmouth; the apportionments only have been checked for the neighbouring parishes of Bicton, Broadclyst, Harpford with Newton Poppleford and Venn Ottery. There are no field names resembling Hederland or unidentified 'Chapel' field names in these parishes.[69] That of Otterton has at Lower Pinn field number 684, 'Bishops Mead', at OS SY 096862.[70] Because the 1205 charter expressed concern to safeguard episcopal rights, 'Bishop's Mead' could be connected with Hederland, although it now has no footpaths and is not close to the site suggested by Morshead. Thus there is no firm evidence of a Hederland on Mutter's Moor. At the boundary of Colaton Raleigh, on the Otterton side of the river, field number 1177 on the Tithe map, 'Monks Mead' at OS SY 087874, is near a farm named 'Burnt House'. Was Hederland destroyed by fire? If so, not here because 'a meadow called Monkemeade' in 1578 belonged to the free chapel of Dotton, belonging in turn to the 'late dissolved monastery of Dunkeswell'.[71]

The Otterton Cartulary, recording a grant by the abbey, gives place names and landmark features concerning Hederland:

> The former grants to Blondel Prestelond [Priestland?] and Pilemore with the wood bordering the two brooks of Grandecumbe [Great valley?] and Nieucumbe [New valley?] for the yearly payment of 5s 6d. Blondel is to be entitled to the pasnage [pannage, i.e. payment for right of pasturage for pigs] for 6 hogs 'in majore bosco' [the main wood]. Should the bailiff of that manor or the monks have pigs, they shall have commons in Blondel's woods. Walter Blondel shall further have "sex quadrigatas de mortuo bosco [dead wood] and focum" [fire] and as many for hurdles and timber for plows."[72]

On the Tithe apportionments and OS maps for Otterton and its neighbouring parishes, the abovementioned names are not recorded. The Washfield Tithe apportionment lists Pilemore, Pilemore Hill and Lower Pilemore Hill at 562 and 563, and a Great Brook Copse at 560.[73] There is also a large wood (431) and waste (460). On the current OS map of Washfield, Pylemore Manor Farm near Hatherland, is at OS SS 927172; a brook borders Great Brook Copse near Pylemore, and another borders Hatherland Wood; wasteland is also identified (Figure 3).

The Otterton Cartulary records a grant of 1282 'to John Ash and his heirs . . . [land in Otterton] . . . and two acres of waste in Hederland'.[74] Would the same man have been granted land in two parishes, or did he perhaps receive income from one?

The 1905 Ordnance Survey six inches to the mile map of Otterton shows neither 'Hederland' or Pilemoor and, on the current OS map, the only brook named is 'Otterton Brook'. The OS map of 1905 for Washfield names 'Hederland' and Pilemoor.[75] No map evidence has presented supporting Otterton or north of Sidmouth as Hederland's location and no other possibilities have emerged from documents or maps. On the current OS map of Sidmouth, Syon House in East Budleigh is a Georgian Hotel and Monks Wall in Otterton, at SY 092849, was built from remains of Otterton Priory. No evidence has presented supporting Otterton or north of Sidmouth as Hederland's location and no other possibilities have emerged from documents or maps, so they and neighbouring parishes are discounted.

Conclusion

The sources point to Hatherland in Washfield, at OS SS 934170 as the *Lahedreland* granted to Mont St Michel. The grant of 1205 names the 'church

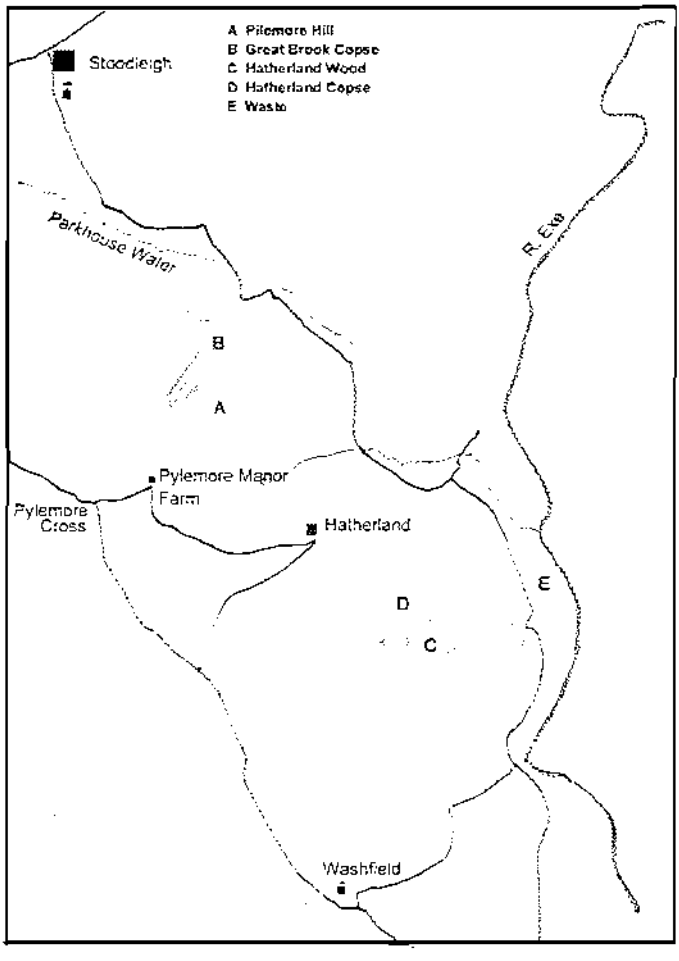

Figure 3. Map showing Hatherland in Washfield indicating places and landscape features described in a grant recorded in the Otterton Cartulary.

An abstract of Otterton Cartulary is translated by George Oliver, in his *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis* (Exeter: P. A. Hannaford, London: Brown, Green and Longmans, 1846), 257.

of *Otri* with its chapel of *Lahedreland*' implying that *Lahedreland* was in the parish of *Otri*, but it could have been appropriated previously from another parish. *The Place-Names of Devon* gives two 'Hederlands', Hatherland in Washfield and *Lahedreland* (lost) in Otterton; the spelling of both between 1260 and 1356 was *Hed(d)erlond(e)*. There was probably only one. The Otterton Cartulary and surveys of Church and monastic property reveal that Hederland was a manor, distinct from Otterton, with tenants, paying small rents.

Questions arose about the rector of Washfield being curate of the 'dependent' chapel of Hederland, and Washfield's lay patronage. But, in the grant of 1205, provision was made for clergy serving appropriated churches or chapels; lay patronage perhaps applied to Washfield church alone. Hingeston-Randolph, editor of Bishop Stafford's Register, himself suggested Washfield as *Labedreland*'s location. Land at Hederland manor in Washfield was transferred by lay people, perhaps not a problem provided payment of rent continued. The St Loe family had connections in Somerset and, indirectly, with the Carews, while *Hetherlond* in Washfield and also Nicholas *Sayntlo* and Agnes are mentioned in papers of the Carew family of Somerset. In *Devon Monastic Lands*, property at Hatherland, Washfield was 'late of Syon Abbey'; unless this is an error, it is thus confirmed as *Labedreland* of the 1205 grant. Furthermore, the abbey of Mont St Michel, Otterton Priory and the chapel at *Hetherlond* in Washfield were all dedicated to St Michael.[76] Neither primary sources nor maps have reference to Hederland in Otterton, indicating it was not there.

Proposed locations of Hederland have been discounted at Ottery St Mary, Hawkerland in Colaton Raleigh, Ladram (Bay) in Otterton, north of Sidmouth, and Mutter's Moor, in Otterton parish. Washfield remains, despite reservations about dependency, lay patronage, transference of land and a grant to one man of land in both Otterton and Hederland. On account of a conjunction of circumstances: the Somerset connections of the Seyntlo family and Washfield; property at Hatherland, Washfield having belonged to Syon Abbey; the dedication to St Michael; and the presence of places and landscape features named in the Otterton Cartulary on the Tithe and OS maps of Washfield, the conclusion is that the 'lost' *Labedreland* of the 1205 grant was indeed Hatherland in the parish of Washfield.

Acknowledgements. Thanks to Professor Christopher Holdsworth for his constructive criticism of an earlier draft of this article and for his advice on sources; to Dr Matthew James for drawing maps, reproducing an illustration and for his searching the 1905 OS maps; and to helpful staff at the Devon Heritage Centre and Somerset Heritage Centre, particularly to Jane de Gruchy at the latter.

NOTES

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10. Ibid., 420.
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12. Ibid., ii, 598, 651, 590; Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in: F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (ed.), *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (1257–1280) and Peter Quinel (1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter* (London: Bell, Exeter: Pollard, Eland, 1889), 474.
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22. W. H. Hunt (ed.), *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, Somerset Record Society, 7 (1893), 39–40, 60–1, 81; James, 'Medieval Chapels in Devon', 17–18.
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25. Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in Hingeston-Randolph, *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (1257–1280) and Peter Quinel (1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter*, 453, 456, 474.
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31. Nicholas Orme, *The Church in Devon, 400–1560*, 76–7.
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36. DHC, Chanter 1 and 2, The Register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter; folio i, 121b and ii, 356b given by Hingeston-Randolph do not match the manuscript numbers; Chanter 2 ends on folio 244.

37. Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, 279, no. 772.
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39. DHC, Otterton: 96M/46/19, 22 Henry VI.
40. DHC, Sidmouth: 2530M/T/1/24/5.
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69. Internet search, 'Tithe Apportionment for Sidmouth': <www.devon.gov.uk/tithemaps.htm>, accessed 13 and 14 February 2014; Tithe apportionments and maps of Colaton Raleigh and East Budleigh have been researched earlier in the DHC (then Devon Record Office), and those of Otterton checked there more recently; apportionments for Bicton, Broadclyst, Colaton Raleigh, East Budleigh, Harpford with Newton Poppleford, Otterton, Sidmouth and Venn Ottery accessed at <www.devon.gov.uk/tithemaps.htm>, 15 February 2015.
70. DHC, Tithe Apportionment and Map, for Otterton; OS, SY 08/18, number 1330: Sidmouth.
71. DHC: Tithe Apportionment and Map of Colaton Raleigh: 96M/Box 81/1, Letters patent 1543, and 103M/T21, Monkmeade deeds 1578.
72. Oliver, *Monasticon*, 256–59, 257, no. 33.
73. DHC, Tithe apportionment and map of Washfield.
74. Oliver, *Monasticon*, 258, no. 45.
75. Ordnance Survey, 6" Devonshire Sheets, Otterton (Southampton: Printed and Published by the Director General at the Ordnance Survey Office, 1905), Otterton, XCIV: 1, 2, 5, 9, 13; Washfield, XXXIV. 10.
76. Oliver, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, i, 133.

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Disorder and Rebellion: Perkin Warbeck and South West England

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There are few individuals in the course of English history whose character and pretensions have occasioned more discussion, or been enveloped in greater mystery, than Perkin Warbeck (*c.*1474–1499).[1] The eldest son of Tournai artisan, Jehan Warbeck, Perkin's decade-long imposture as Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, the detained nephew of Richard III, stirred the imaginations and ambitions of a host of English noblemen and European potentates and constituted the gravest challenge to continuation of early Tudor rule.[2] Many believed he was a prince; others did not, or merely pretended to. Many, perhaps, neither knew nor cared. Such was the appeal of his conspiracy. Arriving, first, in Ireland in 1491, he experienced an itinerant life around Europe throughout the 1490s, residing, for varying periods of time in France, Portugal, Scotland and the Low Countries, where he used his social abilities to ingratiate himself with new masters and ally them to his quest. This was naturally the cause of considerable anxiety to the King of England, Henry VII, who since winning the crown, at Bosworth in 1485, had been troubled consistently by remnant factions of the House of York. The intention of this article is to survey the final chapter of Perkin Warbeck's remarkable and tumultuous career and, in particular, the actions and movements that brought him into contact with the counties of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset in the autumn of 1497.

South West England largely escaped the ravages of civil war and political intrigue that prevailed in the later medieval period. Save supplying foot soldiers and assisting with the apprehension of rebels, its counties rarely frequent our

history books during the period of conflict between the Houses of Lancaster and York. This is curious, given the region's general remoteness from central government and the large number of resident Lancastrians. Docility appears to have been the norm, and, perhaps simplistically, the area only warranted note of national importance when action, or persons coordinating action, crossed its borders. One such person was Prince Richard, Duke of York, the son of Edward IV – really Perkin Warbeck – whose plot to unseat Henry VII, both directly and indirectly, aroused mass protest in the West Country on two occasions in 1497.

These were a remarkable series of events, for the ignominy of Warbeck's aborted landing at Deal, in Kent, on 3 July 1495, looked to have brought his quest to an anticlimactic end. However, in November 1495, Henry VII's northern neighbour, James IV, King of Scots, revived the plot, granting Warbeck not only unconditioned sanctuary in his kingdom, but a remarkable level of financial assistance.[3] This was of little interest to the citizens of the South West – they regarded the Anglo-Scottish border as no concern of theirs – however, the weight of taxation subsequently extracted for the northern campaign did affect them. The Parliament of January 1497 had granted the King two fifteenths and tenths, with a further subsidy, if required, for the defence of the realm against the 'cruell mayice of the Scottis'.[4] The latter subsidy was a heavy one, at almost £60,000, and did not have the usual abatements.[5] Furthermore, the fact that collectors were nominees of the government, and not of Parliament, rendered it even more obnoxious. In Cornwall, where the actions of one collector, the provost of Penryn, were especially aggressive, thousands rose in resistance under Thomas Flammock, 'a gentleman learned in the laws of the realm', and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith.[6]

The rebel party's movements were rapid and left many of the king's officers wrong-footed – in particular, the Sheriff of Cornwall, John Bassett. No interception or effected containment was attempted, and, from Bodmin, the protestors, growing in number by the day, quickly proceeded to Exeter, where, contrary to reports, the citizens had been apprised of their intentions and put themselves at arms at the main entry points to the city.[7] This dissuaded Flammock, Joseph and the rebels from taking further action, and, upon finding their request for assistance opposed, they instead determined to march onwards, via Tiverton, to Taunton.

Their actions until this point had, on the whole, been peaceful. However, upon reaching Taunton, a small band of men, under the lead of 'James *a* Rover', broke away from the main party and captured and 'slewe' the aforementioned provost, who had taken refuge in a nearby village.[8] Buoyed by this, the dissident faction began to take hold and, now totalling eight to ten

thousand men, the group moved onwards to Wells – where they were joined by James, Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, with whom they had maintained a secret correspondence[9] – and thence to Salisbury, Winchester and across Surrey to the borders of Kent. Their progress was swift, and save a brief skirmish in Hampshire, they were not actively interfered with until they reached the outskirts of London. Here, if we are to believe the royal accounts, they were lulled into Henry VII's trap and forced into pitch battle on some common moor near Blackheath, on 16 June 1497. Two thousand rebels were slain, Lord Audley was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Thomas Flammock and Michael Joseph were put to death at Tyburn; the rest were pardoned.[10] Polydore Vergil noted that the king spared a large number 'in consideration of their rustic simple mindedness'.[11]

Still, this could not temper the problem. For, instead of reducing the region to submission, events at Blackheath aroused a bitter feeling of resentment and encouraged some to fresh acts of rebellion. In August 1497, shortly after Perkin Warbeck's departure from Scotland, about fifty survivors of the rout, including several servants late of Lord Audley, congregated at Padstow, in north Cornwall to 'continue their most malicious and traitorous purpose . . . to levy war against the realm's most noble persons'.[12] Encouraged by this, Warbeck, who had taken temporary refuge in Ireland, sailed for

Figure 1. Whitesand Bay, Cornwall. Photograph by David M. Yorath, 2014.

Cornwall with two ships and a Breton pinnace, and landed at Whitesand Bay, near Lands End, on 7 September 1497.[13] He was received warmly – his specious promises resonated with many – and, after a few days gauging the mood, he, and a thousand-strong force, moved eastwards, to Bodmin.

Here, the rebel group proclaimed Warbeck as Richard IV – the rightful heir to the English throne. Henry VII's reaction to this is not known, but we may assume that he was taken aback. Further, he would have been concerned that, as in June 1497, the county's justices of the peace had failed to intercede and had, effectively, allowed the rebels free passage.[14] Things got worse before they got better, too, for, on 15 September, the rebels marched on Exeter, where, contrary to their communications, they found the city's gates closed.[15] This reputedly riled Warbeck, and caused him to make the rash decision to launch an immediate attack upon the city's North and East Gate. These were 'mannefully resisted', with almost no loss of life to the defenders.[16] The rebels then tried a different approach, and focused their energies on the former entrance, where they believed conditions were less unfavourable. This yielded greater success, and by three o'clock they had surrounded Rougemont castle, cut the royal line of communication and penetrated the city, via a breach at North Gate, as far as Castle Lane. At this point, however, they met with Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his retinue, and, as the sixteenth century chronicler, Richard Hooker recalls, after some 'hot and fiery' and 'touch and go' action, were driven back and 'compelled out of the gate'.[17]

Undeterred, the rebels renewed their attack the following morning – focusing their energies, first, at the North Gate, which had been weakened badly the previous day, and, when this failed, upon the East Gate.[18] By noon, however, guns had been brought into the city, and Warbeck, seeing the hopelessness of the situation and wishing no further molestation, gave notice of his intention to leave. The Earl of Devon, in correspondence with the King, remarked: 'when Perkin and his company had well assaied and felt our guns, they were faine to . . . geder theire company togeder, and soe to depart'.[19] The casualties for the defenders were few – the Earl reporting 'not one in twenty of those of the enemy'[20] and looks to have owed, in great measure, to the citizens being better armed.[21]

Warbeck and his supporters then moved, as the rebels of June 1497 had done, to Taunton, which they entered, unopposed, on 19 September.[22] Here, posing as Prince Richard, he published several apostolic bulls affirming his true identity as 'the son of King Edward' and began to prepare his men for battle with the King. His optimism was soon dashed, though, for though he had 8,000 men in his company, they were a motley collection and so ill-equipped that the futility of his enterprise must have at last become apparent;

how could peasants, 'harnessed on the right arm and naked all the body and never experienced in war', hope to withstand the trained forces of the King'? The latter had followed Warbeck - their *idolum aut simulacrum* – in the hope that gentry and noblemen would join him, and though, as 'Richard IV', he had encouraged them by declaring 'that he had a close understanding with some lords of the realm', the subsequent lack of support prompted some to flee.[23] Whether there was any truth in the statement is not clear. Warbeck and his chief adherents – John Skelton, Roland Robinson *et al* – certainly received encouragement from prominent men of the region, such as Sir John Speke of Whitelackington, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster, Sir John Sydenham of Brampton, commons from coastal towns, such as Dartmouth and Totnes,[24] and broader persons of note, including the Abbot of St Peter, John Islip, and the Dean of St Paul's, William Worseley, for they were later fined in connection.[25]

The King's Household, meanwhile, had not been idle, despite pre-occupations in the North. They had monitored the situation closely and devised a comprehensive strategy to draw the rebels into annihilation. On 10 September 1497, Henry, himself, ordered Richard Empson to carry £666 13s 4d to Exeter 'for the busyness there'. The following day, he gave notice that he would visit the city 'if the case soo requir'.[26] And, not long after this, according to the Milanese ambassador, Friar Giovanni Antonio de Carbonariis, he took the step of assembling a force of 30,000 men at Woodstock.[27] Of this number, 4,000 were put under the command of Giles, Lord Daubeney, to raise the country against Warbeck. Meanwhile, instructions were given to Robert Willoughby to place pockets of men in the region's coastal towns, in case Warbeck surprised everyone by moving or fleeing south-eastwards, and not back into Cornwall, and to Sir George Talbot to cow the west with guns and gunners.[28] Five hundred pounds was also sent to Sir John Cheney for the pay of soldiers under him and in order to appoint four men to outposts to convey news – the details of which survive in a letter to Oliver King, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, of 20 September 1497:

> If they come forward (Perkin and his company), they shall find before them our Chamberlayn, our Steward of Household, the Lord Saint Mourice, Sir John Cheney, and the Noblemen of South Wales and of our Counties of Gloster, Wiltshire, Hamshire, Somersett, and Dorset; and, at their backe, the garison of our said City of Excester. And wee, with our hoast royall shall not be farre . . . for the final conclusion of the matter.[29]

Next came a proclamation with the offer of a pardon to all who laid down their arms – a move that must have chipped away at the size of the rebel force still further – and made it known that 1,000 marks awaited the person who brought Warbeck to him. Most of those who had given their support to the Pretender before the siege of Exeter, remained loyal, and promised to follow their leader into the field. However, Warbeck was soon to show that he lacked, in an even greater degree than did Monmouth some two hundred years later, the nobler qualities of the office to which he aspired. All day Thursday, 21 September, he put on a brave face and continued arrangements, as per the plan, to advance eastward from Taunton.[30]

This, however, looks to have been mere subterfuge, for when news of Lord Daubeney, Lord Willoughby and Sir John Cheney's approach reached the town, Warbeck, and three followers – John Heron, Edward Skelton and Nicholas Astley – made up their minds to flee, 'departing from Taunton in post to a sanctuarie toune besides Southampton, called Beaudlie'.[31] It is likely that this move was not only influenced by their learning of Daubeney's movements, but also by news that James IV, King of Scots was suing for peace, and the immediate vulnerability of their own position at Taunton, for, not only had the town, itself, no walls, but the castle was also under repair; the gateway to its inner baily had only recently been built, and alternations to the East Gate were still at a rudimentary stage.[32] There were concerns too, among the local populace that, if Warbeck continued to hold the town it would become the scene of bloody action, like at Exeter. Desperation was manifest, and some Cornishmen were reputedly pleading with Warbeck to take decisive action and move to counter the royal approach.

Whatever the truth, their hopes were dashed, for upon their hearing of Warbeck's flight the following morning, on 21 September, many dropped arms and fled, with one source reporting that by ten o'clock, 'none remained'.[33] This is clearly an exaggeration, for further reports reveal, 'moste of them were oppressed with common fear and common perell, and, casting away their armure, submitted themselves to the kyng' – although it is reasonable to assume that many, wanting no further issue, made passage westwards, back in to Cornwall. Many submissions took place at Exeter, for, during his stay, Henry remarked that 'the commons ... come daily before us in great multitude in their shirts, the foremost of them having halters about their necks, and fall humbly with lamentable cries for our grace and remission, submit themselves to us'.[34]

As for Warbeck, a royal party, under the leadership of Lord Daubeney, was dispatched to negotiate his surrender. Among its members was Roger Machado, the Richmond Herald, who later recounted events at Beaulieu to

the Milanese ambassador.[35] Having held out for around ten days, Warbeck, seeing his chance of escape diminishing, on 3 October negotiated a pardon for his four accomplices and formally surrendered to the king's forces, which were surrounding the Abbey – the details of which are disclosed in a letter, written by Henry VII, three days later:[36]

> The said Perkin, Heron, Skelton and Ashely, seeing our servants there [at Beaulieu], and remembering that all the country was warned to make watch and give attendance, that they should not avoid or escape by sea, made instances unto our said servants to sue unto us for them. The said Perkin desiring to be sure of his life, and he would come unto us and show what he is; and over that do unto us such service as should content us . . .[37]

The town accounts of Southampton show that Willoughby had been in the vicinity for a while. On 22 September payments were made to one of his servants 'for riding to spy on Perkin's ill demeanour', and, prior to this, a grant was given to a man of Lymington for news of 'masts by the stream' – perhaps for the sighting of strange ships nearby, approaching to spirit the boy away.[38] The mayor of Southampton personally received £40 from the 'kynges grace', too, and, on 8 October 1497, Taunton's own Richard Arnet also received a reward for information concerning the Pretender's flight or for contributing to his capture.[39]

Henry VII's movements, meanwhile, can be traced from extant Privy Purse accounts. We know that he was in Circencester on 27 September and, subsequently, reached Wells on 29 or 30 September. Here, it seems, he and the royal party lost their way, for a guide was hired at the cost of 1s 8d to convey them to Bath.[40] On 1 October, the King, learning of Warbeck's capture, left the city and proceeded, by way of Glastonbury and Bridgwater, to Taunton, arriving on 4 October. Where he stayed in the town is matter of conjecture. With the castle not at that time being habitable, he may have lodged with John Prowse, the head of the town's Augustinian Priory. Prowse's standing or wealth procured him, from Pope Alexander VI, the dignity of conferring orders and the privilege of giving his blessing with two fingers; although the charges of the butler in the Wardrobe Accounts rise to a large sum and seem to indicate that the prior's resources were not equal to keeping up the state and open house which the royal presence required. Alternatively, he may have stayed at Bishop Waynflete's guest accommodation, next to the castle, which been completed during Richard III's reign. Although information regarding the king's activity at the town is lost, we can pick up threads here and there. We know that he surveyed building works – and, indeed, commissioned

repairs to the gatehouse and St Mary's Tower – at the castle and kept himself entertained,[41] for his wardrobe accounts indicate that he lost £9 in a game of cards on the evening of 4 October.[42] This was quite a loss, but, perhaps, he felt that he could afford to be a cheerful loser that night – after all, he had just won a greater prize.

Details of Warbeck's arrival, a day later, are found in a report filed by the Richmond Herald. It suggests that the Pretender was immediately ushered into a room filled with noblemen, councillors and the king, and submitted a formal surrender.[43] This is interesting, but was probably not the first thing he did; it is likely that other, less public, conversations took place first, and, indeed, Henry VII's own phrase, 'immediately after his first coming', hints at a two-stage proceeding. Nevertheless, Henry bade him rise, kindly and magnanimously, and asked him if he recognised any of the noblemen of the royal party. Warbeck, in his finery, replied that he did not, and that he was not Richard, the son of Edward IV. At this point, the performance seems to have ended. Warbeck had been taken from Beaulieu in trust of the king's pardon, but had not, publically, received one. A request for a pardon required some sort of answer. However, Henry merely showed him mercy by not killing him and by courteously allowing him to stand. As a foreigner, he could not be pardoned for his offences, since he did not owe this king a subject's spontaneous respect, but he was 'pardoned of his life', like a prisoner of war. Henry, meanwhile, had what he needed – a full confession – and circulated several copies of Warbeck's letter to his 'friends and well-wishers' across the Channel.[44]

With the feigned Yorkist Prince now in his possession, Henry VII and the royal party moved southwards, via Tiverton, to Exeter, where they stayed for almost a month – it was the king's intention, according to the mayor of Waterford, not just to clear up the remains of the rebellion, but to also to restore order to the area, so that its people 'may live in due obeisance unto us, and in good restfulness for themselves in time to come'.[45] The Receiver's Accounts of the city bear witness to charges incurred during this spell; the king received a cask of wine, four oxen and forty sheep, at a cost of £7 13s 4d, while Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was given money for 'divers good offices, and the sundry expenses incurred by numerous horsemen employed for the personal service of the king'.[46] There was no let up in enquiries, either. Daily he had men brought before him who begged for, and received absolution from their insurrection – and, indeed, it appears very much as though a great number responded to a royal commission, led by John Sapcote, to treat with 'those who had levied war in Devon and Cornwall'.[47] Perkin's inner circle was weeded out, too. Heron's claim that he, like the rest, had believed Warbeck to

be Edward IV's son was revealed as a lie and he was imprisoned, while Astley and Skelton were questioned and detained, before receiving formal pardons in December 1497.[48]

Interestingly, Warbeck wrote to his mother while at Exeter. He explained that he had submitted himself to the king and begged for a pardon, laying stress on the fact that he was not, by birth, an English subject. The gravity of his predicament runs throughout: 'It may please you to know that by fortune under the colour of contrivance certain English made me believe that I was the son of King Edward of England . . . Richard, Duke of York'. He additionally stated that he was 'en tele perplexite', and that if she would not assist him in his hour of need, he would find himself in great danger.[49] This may be a general statement; but it may also refer to the barbarous intent of the Cornish, who felt themselves cheated by his actions at Taunton. In the postscript he also begs his mother to send him money – 'so that my guard be more amiable if I give them something' – and, additionally, recalled other, private, details, including his leaving Tournai, the state of his family upon his departure, the deaths of his brother and sister, 'and how my father and you and I went to live in Lannoy outside of the town; and you remember the beautiful Porcquiere . . .'.[50] And last, gave the names of his grandparents and some other connections. One had married Peter Flamme, the receiver of Tournai and dean of the boatmen on the Scheldt, and his maternal grandfather had kept the keys of St John's in the same town. But the point of the letter was to plead for salvation: 'The King of England has me in his hands. I have declared the truth of the matter to him, making humble supplication to him to pardon me for the offence I have committed . . . but have not, as yet, received any good reply from him, nor hope to have any so my heart is very sorrowful'.[51]

Judgment would not be made here, though, and on 2 November the royal party left Exeter and travelled, by way of Dorchester, Salisbury and Andover, to Richmond, arriving on 18 November. Here they rested for three days, before making entry to Westminster, by barge, the following week.[52] Warbeck was to suffer the humiliation of a spell in the stocks at Cheapside, before being confined to the Tower of London. At the end of November, his former benefactor, Maximilian, King of Romans, sent several high-ranking ambassadors to England to discuss trade matters, with the veiled intention of secretly transporting him back to the Low Countries – it was reported that he was prepared to offer 10,000 gold florins to anyone who could obtain his release.[53] They ultimately left empty-handed, and Warbeck, after a stint in solitary confinement, was subsequently released and settled down to a steady life at court and even accompanied the royal family on their progress of spring 1498 – a time when Henry VII was in negotiations with the French king,

Louis XII, to renew the Etaples agreement of 1492.[54] His movements were monitored by Robert Jones and William Smyth, two of the king's household officials – and it is likely the relationship he formed with these persons which allowed him to effect a further plot with the imprisoned Edward, Earl of Warwick, some months later.

For all the trouble Warbeck had caused him, Henry VII's response was remarkable. One envoy noted that 'he is most clement, and pardons everybody'.[55] Warbeck's wife, Katherine Gordon, for example, was treated astonishingly well, and frequented the royal court through to her death in 1537.[56] For others, however, the reckoning still remained to be paid. Henry had certainly been merciful, perhaps even to the point of rashness in dealing with the persons of his enemies, but, with characteristic astuteness, he ensured that, while their bodies were spared, their purses paid. Those who had aided Warbeck were to 'taste some part of due punishments for their crimes', and, indeed, of the lists of those fined in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, which comprises over 4,000 names, we find fifty-one inhabitants of Taunton, paying £441 6s 8d from the county total of £7,677 13s 4d, twenty-six of Exeter, paying £384 4s 6d of £2,878 and, fifteen of Bodmin paying £185 6s 8d of £1,265 – with the largest fine being imposed upon John Toose.[57]

As for the feigned Prince Richard, Duke of York, his career was now over; European leaders had ceased to push his cause and Henry VII, at last, had respite from the canker that had poisoned so many years of his reign. Though he would live to cause the king anxiety once more, by escaping his locked chambers, he would never again be the centre of diplomacy or the chief danger in his path.[58] And, after a further plot to effect his and Edward, Earl of Warwick's, release from the Tower of London was compromised in November 1499 –[59] some two years after his adventures in the West Country – Warbeck was put to death. 'The winding ivy of a Plantagenet', to quote Bacon's picturesque phrase, 'thus killing the tree itself'.[60]

Acknowledgements. I would like to express thanks to my father, Michael Yorath, for providing feedback on an early draft.

NOTES

1. Remarkably, only two detailed biographies have been produced, of which Ian Arthurson's *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991) is the standout text. Of the other, minor works see: John Edwin Cussans, 'Notes on the Perkin Warbeck Insurrection', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 1 (1872), 57–71; Thomas Gainsford, *True and Wonderful History of Perkin*

Warbeck (London: N. Butter, 1618); James Gairdner, *Richard III: to which is added the story of Perkin* Warbeck (London: Longman Green, 1898); S.W., *The History of the Two Imposters, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck* (London, 1688); Ann Wroe, *Perkin: A Story of Deception* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003).

2. Prince Richard, Duke of York, was the sixth child and second son of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. He and his older brother, who briefly reigned as King Edward V, mysteriously disappeared after their uncle, Richard (subsequently Richard III), seized the throne in 1483.
3. Henry Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, Including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, and One or Two Other Collections; with Notes and Illustrations*, Volume I (London: Camden Society, 1969), 19–25.
4. These pronouncements did not put a figure on the total cost of the military action. Letters seeking loans, sent in December 1496, explained how Henry was seeking to raise £40,000 on top of what had already been promised. J Caley (ed.), *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of his Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain: from Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, Vol. 2, 1377–1503 (London, 1812), 644–647. For details of the Scottish war effort, see: Ian Arthurson, 'The King's Voyage into Scotland: The War that Never Was', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 1–21.
5. Some attempt was made to exclude the poor, but this was likely to fail where the collectors of the tax were exacting.
6. William Blake, 'The Cornish Rebellion of 1497', *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, Vol. 20 (1915), 74–75.
7. Mark Stoyle, *Circled with Stone: Exeter's City Walls, 1485–1660* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003), 70.
8. A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941), 132.
9. Why Audley joined the rebellion is still not clear. He was not poor – his estates gave him an income of £1,500 per annum – and there is no evidence that his position was, in any way, hindered or curtailed by the Tudor regime. It may be that he was seeking revenge for his father, the Treasurer of England under Richard III, who had lost his post and lands to John Cheyne, one of Henry VII's most loyal knights, in 1485.
10. Todd Gray (ed.), *The Chronicle of Exeter, 1205–1722* (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2005), 63; Samuel Bentley (ed.), *Excerpta Historica* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1831), 112; Blake, 'Cornish Rebellion', 74.
11. The number of men from Taunton who joined the cause is not known, but it is certain that some were present, for besides the three principal leaders, a Somerset landholder, Thomas Trowe of Playresfeld, was executed, Denis Hay (ed.), *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950),

97; Joseph Toulmin, *The History of Taunton* (Taunton: J. Poole and J. Savage, 1822), 404.

12. *Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et petitiones et placita in Parliamento: tempore Edwardi R. I. (Edwardi II., Edwardi III., Ricardi II., Henrici IV., V., VI., Edwardi IV., Ricardi III., Henrici VII., 1278–1503)*, Vol. VI, ed. J. Strachey (London, 1777), 545.
13. Arthur Hermann Thomas and Isobel Dorothy Thornley (eds), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London: Alan Sutton, 1983), 281; James Gairdner (ed.), *Letters & Papers, illustrative of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, Vol. I (London,: Longman Green, 1861), 112.
14. *Calendar State Papers Milan* (*CSP Milan*), Vol. I, 545; *The Chronicle of Exeter*, 63.
15. Fragmentary evidence suggests that a royal party, under the leadership of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, tried to stop the rebel advance from Cornwall, but, unable to achieve this, retreated to Okehampton, and then Exeter. A letter to the king, dated 13 October, gave detail of the situation and in his response, three days later, Henry VII advised that it would be 'bettre and moore sure . . . to drawe into our Citie of Excestre for the defens and sauf keeping therof to our vse than by way of bataill' (*CSP Milan*, I, 327).
16. *The Chronicle of Exeter*, 63.
17. DHC, Exeter Chamber Accounts, Book 51, f.328; Thomas Brice, *The History and Description, Ancient and Modern, of the City of Exeter* (London: T. Brice, 1802), 22–23.
18. William Cotton and Henry Woollcombe (eds), *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records Relative to the History of the City of Exeter* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1877), 31; Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy*, 185.
19. A description of events is found in: DHC, Z19/18/5.
20. DHC, ECR Book 55, fol. 66; *Original Letters*, I, 36–37.
21. We know Henry VII, early in his reign, ordered every able-bodied man in Exeter should be found in arms and armour, *Gleanings*, 31.
22. Cunningham, *Henry VII*, 92; Toulmin, *History of Taunton*, 404.
23. *CSP Milan*, 327; Hay (ed.), *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, 107.
24. We know that John Rede and other unnamed persons from Dartmouth joined the rebels before their arrival at Taunton, Henry R. Watkin, *Dartmouth: Vol. I* (Exeter, 1935), 204.
25. *Letters & Papers*, II, App. B, No. 17; Arthur John Howard (ed.), *Fines Imposed on Persons who Assisted the Rebels during the Cornish Rebellion and the Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck in 1497* (Pinner: A. Howard, 1986), 1.
26. *Gleanings*, 33.
27. On word being brought of the size and ill-equipped condition of his enemies, Henry chose to retain just 10,000 of the force, feeling this sufficient to suppress the insurrection, *CSP Milan*, I, 328.

28. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (eds), *The Great Chronicle of London*, 282; *Original Letters*, I, 32.
29. At the same time he sent £500 to Sir John Cheney for the pay of the soldiers under him, and appointed four men to be set at posts to pass the news. And, on 22 September he sent Lord Daubeney another £666 13s 4d for his costs. *Original Letters*, I, 35.
30. Warbeck's scouts brought word that the bridges of the Langport road had been destroyed, and he accordingly gave out that he would take a more southerly route, probably through Ilminster.
31. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, I, 757; *Gleanings*, 29. From Beaulieu, Perkin made overtures to the King, promising that if his life was spared, he could 'come unto him and shew him what he is, and over that do such service as should content him' (Bodleian Library, Dodsworth MS, I, fols. 80, 81).
32. This may account for the ease with which they captured the town. Lorraine C. Attreed, 'A New Source for Perkin Warbeck's Invasion of 1497', *Mediaeval Studies*, 48 (1986), 514–521.
33. Toulmin, *The History of Taunton*, 405–406.
34. *Letters of the Kings of England: now first collected from royal archives, and other authentic sources, private as well as public*, Vol. I, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London: 1848), 175.
35. *CSP Milan*, I, 548; Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London: Routledge, 2007), 92.
36. Even guarded, Warbeck and his associates could not have gone very far, for, when their belongings were searched, they had only 10 crowns between them. *Excerpta Historica*, 114.
37. Wroe, *Perkin*, 314.
38. *Excerpta Historica*, 118.
39. TNA, E36/126, fol. 22; TNA, E101/414/6, fols. 88, 89, 90, 91.
40. *Excerpta Historica*, 114.
41. If you look at the gatehouse today, you will see the carved shield of Henry VII and the arms of Bishop Langton. Henry may have commissioned this, but was more likely placed there by the relevant bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox, after 1501.
42. *Excerpta Historica*, 114.
43. Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy*, 190.
44. The accompanying letter, in this case, was more informative than the confession, for it gave a full account of Warbeck's surrender (Courtrai Codex III, fol.187).
45. The gaol at Exeter was said to be 'bursting' with men. We also learn from a deposition, made in 1554, by Richard Beale that six of the twelve trees that stood in St Peter's Close between the north door of the cathedral and the treasury were taken down, so the king, standing in the new window of the treasurer's house, might see the rebels, who came bareheaded with halters round their necks before him, and that they cried out for mercy and pardon (Thomas Oliver, *History of Exeter*, (Exeter: Pitman Jones, 1845), 86).

46. *Gleanings*, 34.
47. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1494–1509*, 115.
48. Ibid., 122, 123. Skelton, it seems, could not keep clear of conspiracy, and within three years he was back at Beaulieu Abbey plotting against the king in favour of Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. Recidivism of this sort is evident in the case of many of Perkin's associates of 1497 (Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy*, 191).
49. Ibid., 192.
50. *The Great Chronicle of London*, 284–285.
51. Gairdner, *Richard III*, 384–385.
52. *The Great Chronicle of London*, 283; *Excerpta Historica*, 115.
53. *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, 115.
54. Records of Warbeck at court are rare, but there do survive a number of payments in Henry's private accounts. Two grooms of the privy chamber, Hugh Denis and James Braybroke, were paid £2 'for Perkin's costs' on 18 December and 10 March respectively. Jones, one of his minders, was paid 13s 4d on 23 May, TNA, E101/414/16, fol. 91; Cunningham, *Henry VII*, 93; *Excerpta Historica*, 115, 116, 117.
55. *CSP Milan*, 331.
56. One extant Scottish manuscript hints that Henry VII was greatly enamoured of Katherine. In 1497 she was granted a position in the Queen's Household and was also given an annuity of 100 marks. Even after Henry's death, she was treated well. In May 1510, she became a denizen, and on 2 August received some property in Berkshire on the proviso that she would not to leave the realm without a royal licence. She married three more times, before dying in 1537 (Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, Vol. II (Edinburgh, 1882), no.1729 and App. no.36.
57. SHC, DD/HP/44. The process of financial extortion continued for several years, though naturally the amounts became smaller. A roll of the year 1500 shows that fines were being collected deanery by deanery, and in three lots to make payment easier. The chief collectors were Robert Sherborne and Sir Amyas Paulet. TNA, E 101/516/24; Howard, *Fines*, iii; *Letters & Papers*, II, App. B.
58. A Spanish envoy in London recalled the condition of the English kingdom after Warbeck's death: 'This kingdom is at present so situated as has not been for the past 500 years til now . . . because there was always brambles and thorns of quality that gave the English a reason nor to remain peacefully in obedience to their king, because there were various heirs of the kingdom and of such quality that the matter could not be disputed between the two sides. Now it has pleased God that all should be thoroughly and duly purged and cleansed . . .' (*Letters & Papers*, I, 113–114).
59. Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy*, 194–195.
60. Joseph Rawson Lumby (ed.), *Bacon's History of the reign of King Henry VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 176.

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Nonconformist Singing in Devon

STEPHEN BANFIELD

'All human societies use music in the course of religious worship', states Nicholas Temperley in *Music and the Wesleys*, and even Quakers may sing in Meeting if the spirit moves.[1] From Luther onwards, lay congregational singing, which had not hitherto been part of Roman Catholic liturgical practice, was one of the key 'spiritual triumphs' of the Reformation, and while extreme Puritanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might exclude even the canonical psalms and canticles from being sung in public worship, in the eighteenth century the Methodist movement 'recovered the emotional fervour of the first singing of vernacular psalms by the Huguenots'.[2] Since then, singing has always been at a premium in what in Britain are called the nonconformist denominations, whose practice has moved outwards from the basic premise of congregational participation in metrical psalmody, established in Geneva by Calvin in the mid-sixteenth century, to encompass the congregational singing of other texts in other ways, choral singing, and the use of instruments, especially the organ. At the same time, the Puritan and nonconformist conscience has been perennially suspicious of the seductiveness and indulgence of musical beauty and has repeatedly sought to rein them in, in a spiritual conflict which dates back at least to St Augustine's *Confessions* of AD 397–8. True, this is something that the established churches have also wrestled with; but the issue is more acute within nonconformity, firstly because of the dissenters' insistence on (self-)righteousness and purity, on the doing away with ritual accretions – in a word, *fundamentalism* – and secondly because of the element of evangelism: music is a powerful tool for *attracting* people, but equally for leading them astray.

Six phases in the historical development of nonconformist singing may be

enumerated, and the aim of this article is to affirm and illustrate them with Devon as our case study. The phases, very roughly chronological though with a great deal of overlap, take place in the following historical sequence: the congregational singing of metrical psalms; the effects of Wesleyan evangelism; the rise of church bands and choirs (west gallery music); the development of Sunday schools; the admission of organs; and the gentrification that turned nonconformist singing into cultural capital. Once again the question of whether Anglican singing developed differently needs to be asked, and the provisional answer is that although the dynamic was not the same there was cross-fertilisation: 'most nonconformists gradually adopted Anglican forms and practices', as Temperley states, with a marked convergence in the later nineteenth century.[3] However, this musical overlap between both phases and practical adherences (Anglican *vs.* nonconformist) may at any one time have been almost as much a matter of cultural calibration between rich and poor, urban and rural, large and small congregation, as between one faith and another, as Jonathan Barry points out while making a slightly different point.[4]

First, psalm singing. Encouraged in private in the home, in the Calvinist tradition it was endorsed in public worship with a number of provisos. It should be monophonic, that is, just a tune sung in unison by everyone, with no harmony added; there should be no accompanying instruments, for these were associated with the Old, not the New Testament; it should be in the vernacular, i.e. the singers' own language, so that they can understand what they are singing; and the texts sung should be those of the Biblical psalms and canticles only. Dating right back to Calvin's time, the tradition was established of presenting the translation of the Hebrew texts as regularly metred verse in alternating upbeat lines of eight and six syllables, the second and fourth of these rhyming (sometimes the first and third too), which made them singable to any 'common metre' or 'ballad metre' tune. These are the metrical psalms, and 'All people that on Earth do dwell' is a good example of them, though it is in 'long' rather than 'common' metre, each line having eight syllables. Its still well-known tune, the 'Old 100th', is simpy the old tune to the 100th Psalm. 'While shepherds watched their flocks by night' exemplifies an extract from elsewhere in the Bible turned into common metre once it became permissible to sing a wider range of texts. It is important to understand that composing one's own tune or newly enlisting one from the secular world was not normally an option until well into the eighteenth century, when additional texts such as Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs* (1715) had begun to be admitted. Rather, the tunes sung were those also used by Church of England congregations in parish worship, presented pre-eminently in *The*

Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English Meter by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, first published in 1562.

Two early nonconformist clergymen from south Devon, which was something of a centre for 'old dissent', were Thomas Ford, Presbyterian minister of St Lawrence, Exeter, and Abraham Cheare, called in 1648 to be minister of the Plymouth Baptists, a congregation founded in 1637.[5] Both published books with references to music, though only Ford's might be taken as evidence of the use of it by his congregation in public worship. Cheare's pamphlet *Sighs for Sion* (London, 1656), dedicated 'To the several Congregations respectively, to which we stand especially related; viz: In *Plymouth*, *Abingdon*, *Totness*, *Bovhey-Tracy*, and *Dartmouth*' describes itself on its title page as 'In way of Essay, *To blow the Trumpet in Sion*', but the usage in this exhortatory epistle to the faithful is clearly metaphorical. *A Looking-Glass for Children* (London, 1673) was a posthumous collection of his verses, for he died in prison on St Nicholas Island in 1668.[6] 'Song' is referred to on the title page, quoting once more from the Old Testament, but as so often, it is impossible to know whether he envisaged the ensuing poems being sung or simply spoken, and if sung, whether in the home or in church too. The possibility of singing in church would have depended on whether Cheare's congregation was Calvinist ('particular') or Arminian ('general'). The particular Baptists sang in accordance with the practice of psalmody described above, but the general Baptists did not allow singing in public worship until the later eighteenth century.[7]

Ford's relevant publication is *Singing of Psalmes the Duty of Christians* (London, 1653), a series of five sermons in which his advocacy of congregational singing is unambiguous. Ford was a fine writer and demonstrates perfectly the nonconformists' concerns about the use of music. He weighs up the arguments for singing or speaking the psalms, concluding that 'there must be audible singing with the voyce', countering the view that singing with the heart is sufficient (pp. 3, 13–15). He defines the different types of song that are admissible, remaining cautious about new composition while keen to endorse musicality (pp. 17–18, 23, 67). He makes that distinction between true congregational participation and the artifice of cultivated cathedral music that the subsequent centuries of nonconformist singing would steadily erode, borrowing for the purpose an image from Nathanial Holmes's *Gospel Musick* of 1644 when he condemns 'empty tautologies or chaunting over and over the same things, tossing of the Word of God like a tennis-ball from one to the other' (p. 68).[8] He avows that singing renders the heart less 'apt to wander' than 'if you do not use your voyce' (pp. 82, 86), that it helps the psalms to befit all occasions (p. 127), and that it lifts depression (pp. 130,

132–3). Finally, he confirms the manner in which the metrical psalms were executed in both Anglican and dissenting churches in his day, with each separate line spoken by the parish clerk or minister prior to being sung by the congregation, who were not expected to have hymn books and many of whom would not have been able to read. This practice was called 'lining out', which Ford considers a necessary evil (pp. 151, 168).[9]

The strictures of the general Baptists make it clear that the issues finessed so carefully by Ford were still exercising worshippers long after his day; but as with the Salvation Army and its contested use of music on the Sabbath in the late nineteenth century, the approach of the real radical was to ride roughshod through them. This is what the Wesley brothers did when their evangelical campaigns simply assumed the use of music. No stronger indication of its adoption as a means to an end could be found than the anecdote about Charles Wesley's open-air preaching having been interrupted by a mob singing the popular song 'Nancy Dawson'.[10] The story usually identifies the offenders as the 'whole army of soldiers and sailors stood behind me shouting and blaspheming' referred to by Charles in his journal entry for 17 June 1746, when he was preaching in Plymouth on an extensive west country tour, and states that Charles retaliated by composing his own hymn, 'Listed into the cause of sin', that same night and singing it back at them to their tune the following day. However, the verity of this pointed demonstration of not letting the Devil have all the best tunes remains problematic.[11] Nor do we know how common it was for the Wesleys to sing while preaching to the unconverted; it seems logical that hymn-singing was effective only in Methodist communities already established.[12] Those same communities began to buy the hymn books compiled by John and Charles, and in the long run it was the sale of these that financed their lifelong mission.[13]

Methodism broke with the Church of England shortly after John Wesley's death in 1791. This was the point at which nonconformist singing became a force to be reckoned with, as the Exeter canon and music theorist Reverend Richard Eastcott recognised when he wrote in 1793, 'many of the converts among the Methodists have declared that the singing was their primary attraction'.[14] The nonconformists simply gave their congregations more to do – more services to participate in, as well as a more active part in them – and the Anglican church had to catch up, an example being Holy Cross, Crediton, when it acquired an organ 'of sorts' in 1816, 'the year evening services were commenced to vie with the congregational singing of the Wesleyans'.[15]

But by this time, singing in both nonconformist and Anglican churches had also developed a striking manifestation of the tendency to which perhaps all church music is cyclically prone and from which it periodically has to be

rescued: over-specialisation. Unique to this particular movement, known as west gallery music or country psalmody, was the extent to which it was amateur and demotic. Here nonconformist denominations may not have led the trend, but they certainly copied and developed it in particular ways.

Various ingredients and phases of country psalmody need to be distinguished. First, from the early eighteenth century, came singing societies, which young men and women of the parish were encouraged to join so as to lead the congregational singing on a Sunday. There was a subscription, levied to pay for an itinerant singing master, who would do the rounds of various towns and villages on weekday evenings. Singing societies were associated with the nonconformists as well as parish churches.[16] Whatever their musical repertoire – perhaps nothing more than the traditional psalm tunes, decorously harmonised, with a nonconformist preference for three rather than four parts[17] – it was soon overtaken by the new 'Enlightenment' cheerfulness of the latest Methodist hymn tunes, which in a frankly astounding alliance drew directly on the musical fashions of the West End theatre, because John Wesley had made a number of converts there.[18] The tune 'Sagina' ('And can it be that I should gain') is typical of this florid style, and indulges in precisely the 'tennis-ball' tossing of words between voices, bass and tune, that Ford disapproved of. The enormous influence of Handel on English musical culture, popular and elite, is enough to account for this fondness for rudimentary but robust counterpoint in what were known as 'fuging tunes', soon exploited by provincial composers and some of the itinerant singing teachers in their own publications. Those composers were not all Anglican, but only one writing for nonconformist usage has so far come to light in Devon,[19] this was Nicholas Samuel Heineken (1800–83), who was a highly educated Unitarian clergyman related to the German baroque composer Johann David Heinichen. As such, his claim to being a 'west gallery' composer becomes tenuous. Moreover, his eight psalm tunes were published in London in 1821, before he went to reside in Devon as minister of Sidmouth's Old Dissenting Meeting House. A later edition of them was published in Exeter, however, probably around 1830, and he did also compose some chants and an introit.[20]

Most people associate country psalmody with the use of orchestral instruments in church, but this was a late development. The well-known Loughwood Meeting House near Axminster, built in the mid-seventeenth century, has a typical west gallery which must however have been added later, probably in the early nineteenth century.[21] Chulmleigh Congregational Church contains an exquisite small minstrels' gallery over the side door, complete with an upturning bench seat to keep a cellist's instrument lifted. (Spikes came later.) My early music group performed there in the 1980s, and

it could just accommodate six people. The acoustic is wonderful, thanks to the flat plaster ceiling.

There is plentiful evidence for band instruments in Anglican churches across England from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onwards,[22] but the earliest one I have found in a nonconformist church in the West Country was the Methodist cello just over the border from Devon in Launceston, which caused indignation in 1829 when it was loaned out for a theatrical production.[23] Where Devon is concerned, I can only cite the following: Sidmouth Congregational Church, its new building opened with singing supported by a cello in 1846; Tavistock Wesleyan and Bible Christian chapels, which had an 'orchestra' until 1865 and 1872 respectively; Lydford, where some time before 1872, when the gallery was demolished, a band that had been ousted from the parish church simply decamped to the Bible Christian chapel; and Crediton Congregational Church, which had 'got rid of "fiddles" and clerks' at some point between 1860 and 1880.[24] As for the instruments themselves, references to bass ones predominate in this conservative musical world of 'Georgian survival' values: cello ('bass viol'), serpent and ophicleide. Flute and clarinet are the most common treble instruments.

In the longer term, country psalmody endured only in the regional carol traditions, still perpetuating the choral style of Handel nearly a century and a half after his death. This tradition was above all Methodist and is stewarded to this day not only in Cornwall but on Exmoor.[25] If Exford and Porlock seem the epicentres of Exmoor carolling, Devon villages with carols include Chittlehampton, Lynton and Bratton Fleming.[26] It is however important to understand what may be meant by a local carol tradition. From Paul Wilson's account of Exmoor practice, it is clear that it can mean manuscript or oral transmission of repertoires from elsewhere (e.g. Sheffield, another strong centre); the special popularity or local function of a particular carol, whatever or wherever its origin; or a carol composed locally.[27]

If west gallery music became too much of a closed shop for the clergy to tolerate, music in the Sunday school movement proved quite the opposite, and the statistics are staggering. Nowhere can the nineteenth-century programme of mass 'decency' be more keenly appreciated, for it seems to have affected nearly everybody through this particular channel. In 1774, six years before Robert Raikes opened his Sunday school in Gloucester, the Reverend John Follett had already instituted a Congregational Sunday school in Tiverton, 'almost certainly the very first in Devon'.[28] His fifteen initial scholars soon dwindled away, but a new approach stuck: he engaged 'a poor man', William Bryant, the leader of the choir – so Tiverton Congregational Church clearly had one – to teach the children in his cottage and then lead them to the church

on Sunday mornings and evenings to sit in the back row of the gallery. In other words, the visual and probably also aural appeal (if they were singing – why else involve the choirmaster?) of the Church of England's charity children was being replicated. When numbers went up to 60, the children moved to the side gallery, and such a display of moral solidarity must have been among the chief reasons that such galleries were built throughout the nineteenth century in nonconformist churches.[29] Indeed, the Sunday school procession has never quite died out, and it is still possible in nonconformist churches today to see the children sit at the front and leave for their lessons before the sermon.

A survey in 1845 showed 53 per cent of Tiverton's youth between the ages of two and fifteen on the registers of the local Sunday schools, and about 11 per cent actually attending the Congregational one.[30] A calculation done by the author for Falmouth in 1861 – if a Cornish case study may be forgiven – suggests that by then virtually all of the town's children must have been involved. Of these, as many as 83 per cent would appear to have been attending the nonconformist churches. And they were all singing.[31] It is no wonder that after the function of primary education was taken over wholesale by the State with the Education Act nine years later, financial provision was eventually made for class singing.[32] Other mass movements associated as much with nonconformism as with Anglicanism, if not more, included the Band of Hope and temperance associations, the Boys' Brigade, and the Girls' Brigade. The Salvation Army, in the same vein, was effectively a new nonconformist denomination. Again, all these had children singing or, more ambitiously as time went on, playing band instruments, which rose in disciplinary force as the perceived indiscipline of country psalmody fell.

But what about organs? Destroyed throughout the nation by the Puritans, they had soon begun to return in cathedrals and some town parish churches after the Restoration, though in the latter not without residual opposition. They dominated their buildings and the liturgy as embodiments of splendour, ritual and authority in ways that continued to alienate nonconformists – not that any but rich urban congregations could afford them until well into the nineteenth century. John Wesley thoroughly disapproved of organs.[33] However, the forces of gentrification were in the end irresistible throughout Protestant England, and we must presume that if the parish church had an organ, then sooner or later the nonconformists would want one too. The Exeter nonconformists had three by 1833. George's Meeting House, a Unitarian chapel, acquired a fine new instrument by George Pike England in 1813, though its use was severely restricted to promoting 'the simplicity and solemnity of the singing'.[34] In the coming decades, Exeter's leading organ builder Henry Crabb supplied two more. He himself had been born

nonconformist, though later in life he exhibited 'a puzzling vacillation between Presbyterian, Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist congregations'. His organ for the Castle Street Independent Meeting House, now in Heavitree United Reformed Church, dates from 1828. Five years later he erected a fine new instrument in the Mint Methodist Chapel. This last was largely paid for by the local (Anglican) baronet Sir John Kennaway: money, then as now, will have had a propensity to muzzle opposition, which in Methodist churches could still be strong.[35] One senses that, thanks to Crabb, Exeter must have been in the vanguard in the provision of organs in nonconformist places of worship.

Nonconformists in most Devon towns, and certainly in all villages, had to wait a good deal longer before they could hope to afford an organ. The harmonium first eased the situation. Invented (as the seraphine) in the 1830s, it became more affordable in the 1850s and began supplementing or replacing the band in many nonconformist churches. Of the two Tavistock chapels mentioned above, the Wesleyan one could afford to jettison the harmonium when it acquired a pipe organ in 1865, whereas the Bible Christian chapel did not even have a harmonium until 1872. Chagford Bible Christian chapel's harmonium was acquired in 1865 for £16 17s 3d.[36]

Figure 1. Bideford Methodist Church.
Photograph © Christians Together in Bideford and District. Reproduced by kind permission of Bideford Methodist Church and Christians Together in Bideford and District.

Despite fears in some quarters, the introduction of organs into nonconformist churches never meant succumbing to the Anglican liturgy, and their purpose remained above all the accompaniment of the congregational singing which, in its evangelical context and the relative intimacy of the denominations' courtroom-style building interiors, has often reached impressive levels of fervour and expert harmonisation. How quickly organs became not only accepted but an intrinsic part of the ministry, by being placed in a 'reredos' position as one of the four units in an ensemble consisting of communion table, raised pulpit, choir pews and organ – something utterly different from any Anglican layout – has never been traced. Churches quite possibly copied the town hall layout inaugurated by Birmingham in 1834 (see Figure 1).

Be that as it may, the fact that in 1864 Sherwell Congregational Church in Plymouth, by then the eighth largest town in England, could see fit to commission a fine three-manual instrument from the nation's leading builder, Henry 'Father' Willis of London, demonstrates the normalisation of nonconformist worship with organ by that date.[37] In the second half of the nineteenth century, and throughout most of the twentieth, a 'show' church for each denomination in the largest towns was a *sine qua non*. Nonconformist visitors to these churches would report back to friends in their own congregation on the quality of the preaching and the music. The organs in such churches were built increasingly big and beefy, in order to support the sheer mass of congregational singing, so it is an interesting question as to whether nonconformity was ultimately responsible for the poverty of 'upperwork' (brilliant sound combinations) in British design. Sizable instruments such as those in the Abbey Road Congregational Church, Torquay and Dartmouth Road United Reformed Church, Paignton contain not a single mixture register.[38]

At its height, which was probably in the two decades prior to the First World War and the decade or so after it, the cultural capital represented by nonconformist singing in Devon was considerable. By this I mean that the number of people involved, its prominence in their lives, its newsworthiness, its community networks, and its competitiveness would all be substantial. These things could be measured in a number of ways: through the size and ubiquity of choirs (for many people wanted to sing not only in the congregation but in anthems and cantatas increasingly indistinguishable from those of Anglican churches); through the size, style, placing and layout of churches and their organs; through the reporting of anniversary and festival services; and (though it is now almost too late) through the memories of those involved. By this period (say 1895 to 1930 or later), provisions for the

sound of nonconformity represented a bourgeois mass market just like most other areas of musical production in Britain. And at the peak of the pyramid were those who made their living by it. Acme of the nonconformist musical livelihood would be the late metropolitan examples of William Lloyd Webber and Eric Thiman, with a forgotten but important exemplar closer to home in Frederick Charles Maker of Clifton. These men published large amounts of sheet music in London, and it went around the world, or at least the English-speaking world. Devon nonconformity cannot, it seems, boast of an equivalent example, but the cultural capital attached to being organist and choirmaster of one of those flagship nonconformist churches in Devon was still considerable, and a living could be constructed around it. An advertisement placed in the *Western Morning News* on 7 September 1921 speaks for itself (it is the only item under 'Musicians'): 'Mr. Percy E. Butchers (organist and choirmaster, Mutley Baptist Church, Hon. Conductor Plymouth Ladies' Choir) receives PUPILS for Pianoforte, Organ, Singing, Theory – Prospectus on application to 5, Beechwood-terrace, Mutley.'[39] No doubt the teaching included drudgery and freelance solvency remained a struggle, and he may even have had a day job. But being one of the *doyens* of nonconformist singing in Devon gave him status. The spiritual and civic empowerment that the nonconformist conscience for centuries had to struggle to achieve had now, finally, become social empowerment.

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NOTES

1. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield (eds), *Music and the Wesleys* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 3.
2. Louis Benson, *The English Hymn, Its Development and Use in Worship* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, repr. 1962), 220.
3. Nicholas Temperley, 'The Music of Dissent', in Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (eds), *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 197–228 (197).
4. Jonathan Barry, 'The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Nicholas Orme (ed.), *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1991), 88.
5. On 'old dissent' and south Devon, see Barry, 'The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 81–3, 86. For Ford's Presbyterianism, see Mary Wolffe, 'Ford, Thomas (1598–1674)', *ODNB*, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004), xx, 344–5.

6. W. H. K. Wright, *West-Country Poets: Their Lives and Works* (London: Elliot Stock, 1896), 90.
7. David W. Music, 'Baptist Church Music', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), ii, 672–80 (673).
8. See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), i, 79.
9. The concomitant to 'lining out' was the increasingly slow and unco-ordinated congregational response in each sung line of the psalm tune. For the definitive historical account of this 'old way of singing', which survives to this day in remote rural communities in the Hebrides and southeastern parts of the United States, see Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 511–44, reprinted in Nicholas Temperley, *Studies in English Church Music, 1550–1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 69–102.
10. Timothy Dudley-Smith, 'Why Wesley Still Dominates Our Hymnbook', *Christian History Institute Magazine* no. 31 (https://www.christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/issue/golden-age-of-hymns/).
11. Charles Wesley's journal makes no mention of music on these two occasions, and although the melody of 'Nancy Dawson' would have worked well enough, being a variant of 'Here we go round the mulberry bush', it cannot have been sung to words about Dawson in 1746, since she became a star actress in London only in 1759. See S. T. Kimbrough Jr and Kenneth G. C. Newport, *The Manuscript Journal of the Reverend Charles Wesley, M.A.* (Nashville TN: Kingswood Books, 2007), ii, 462–3; William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Chappell and Co., 1859, repr. 1965), ii, 718–20; Alsager Vian, rev. K. D. Reynolds, 'Dawson, Nancy [*real name* Ann Newton] (*bap.* 1728, *d.* 1767)', *ODNB*, xv, 568–9.
12. There are, however, a number of references to followers of Charles Wesley accompanying him to or from an engagement, singing with him while doing so in order to keep their spirits up. See Kimbrough and Newport, *The Manuscript Journal*, ii, 400, 416.
13. Samuel J. Rogal, *The Financial Aspects of John Wesley's British Methodism (1720–1791)* (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, Ont., and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 24–5 and throughout.
14. Richard Eastcott, *Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music* (Bath: S. Hazard, 1793), 182.
15. Major T. W. Venn, MBE, *Crediton als Critton, als Kirton, and Thereabouts* (typescript, 1955, copy in Crediton Library), 340.
16. In 1736 John Cannon, diarist and clerk of Glastonbury, asked for a grant for singing lessons from parish funds for his choir, which 'they made no haste to perform, but also branded me (upon my requesting to copy a tune or two for my son at Lidford) with carrying their tunes to the Presbiterian meeting, whereas it

was well known that I never adhered to that communion'. Source, John Money (ed.), *The Chronicles of John Cannon, Excise Officer and Writing Master*, 2 vols (London: British Academy, Oxford: Oxford Univerity Press, 2010), ii, 281. See also the reference by Aaron Williams (1763) to 'those little country societies' promoting good singing in dissenting churches cited in Temperley, 'The Music of Dissent', 207.

17. Temperley, 'The Music of Dissent', 205.
18. See Martin V. Clarke, 'John Frederick Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions*', in Temperley and Banfield, *Music and the Wesleys*, 52–62 (56–60).
19. The author is grateful to Tamaris Mucklow of the West Gallery Quire for pointing out that two published psalmody composers from Devon, Samuel Chapple, the blind organist of Ashburton parish church, and William Howell of Chumleigh, were nonconformist in origin or adherence. It is not yet possible to ascertain whether they wrote music specifically for nonconformist usage, but it is known that dissenting and Anglican choirs in the neighbourhood sang together at joint Christmas services in the early nineteenth century.
20. Copies of Heineken's obituary and of his music can be found in the Sidmouth Old Meeting archive, Devon Heritage Centre, 4404D add/95 and /112–13.
21. W. T. Whitley, 'Loughwood and Honiton', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 4 (1914), 129–44; Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Devon* (The Buildings of England, 2nd edn) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 308.
22. See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, i, 149–50, 196–201. Band instruments in Devon parish churches include those of Upton Hellions around 1769 and Harpford two years later. (We can assume the former from the fact that as an infant the composer John Davy heard his blacksmith uncle playing the cello; for the latter, see Rev H. R. Evans, MC, MA (ed. Thomas Paynter), 'Harpford', *DAT*, 101 (1969), 69–70.
23. Hubert Julian, 'Music in Cornish Methodism, the First 250 Years', in Sarah Foot (ed.), *Methodist Celebration: A Cornish Contribution* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1988), 65.
24. R. E. Wilson, *A History of the Independent Chapel Now Known as Sidmouth Congregational Church* (Sidmouth, n.d. [1965]), 22; C. E. Hicks, AIB, 'Nineteenth-Century Nonconformity in Tavistock', *DAT*, 110 (1978), 16; John Payne, *The West Country: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Signal, 2009), 183; 'Crediton: Congregational Sunday School', *Western Times*, 3 May 1880, 4.
25. Personal knowledge: my parents retired to Porlock and were involved in the Methodist carol singing in the 1990s.
26. Lynne French, 'Exmoor Christmas Carols Revived by Charity', BBC News Devon, 26 December 2013 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-25091305).
27. Paul Wilson, 'Come Sing for the Season', *English Dance and Song*, 74 no. 4 (Winter 2012), 12–13.

28. See, however, 'Crediton: Congregational Sunday School', which claims precedence for Tavistock, though without giving a date.
29. W. P. Authers, *The Tiverton Congregational Church, 1660–1960: A History* (Tiverton [1960]), 25–7.
30. W. P. Authers, MBE, 'Notes from the Nineteenth Century Records of the Tiverton Congregational Church', *DAT*, 106 (1974), 37.
31. The calculation, allowing for exaggeration of numbers and multiple attendance, was done on the basis of detailed reporting of the annual Sunday school treats in the local newspaper. See the *Falmouth and Penryn Weekly Times*, 29 June 1861, 1, 13 July 1861, 1, 20 July 1861, 1, 27 July 1861, 1 and 24 August 1861, 1.
32. Julie Evans, 'How Did We Get Here? The Historical and Social Context of Whole Class Instrumental and Vocal Teaching', in Nick Beach, Julie Evans and Gary Spruce (eds), *Making Music in the Primary School*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 6.
33. Temperley and Banfield, *Music and the Wesleys*, 7.
34. Nigel Browne, *Organs, Organ Builders and Organists in Nineteenth Century Devon* (PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 2005), 221.
35. Browne, *Organs, Organ Builders and Organists*, 105–110; Western *Times*, 26 October 1833, 2; Brendan Carnduff, 'Kennaway, Sir John, first baronet (1758–1836)', *ODNB*, 31, 228–9.
36. Roger F S Thorne: '"Holy Enterprises": Victorian Folk Religion at Chagford', in Todd Gray (ed.), *Devon Documents* (Tiverton: *DCNQ* special issue, 1996), 183–90 (188–9)
37. This organ survives but is now in Great Torrington parish church. See Laurence Elvin, *Pipes and Actions: Some Organ Builders in the Midlands and Beyond* (Lincoln: privately printed, 1995), 381.
38. National Pipe Organ Register (http://www.npor.org.uk/NPORView.html?RI=N10577 and N10610). Thistlethwaite states that it was the nonconformists who purchased the most ambitious organs in the Victorian period, especially in the industrial north. See Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69–70, cited in Temperley, 'The Music of Dissent', 222.
39. *Western Morning News*, 7 September 1921, 8.

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The Impact of the Bible Christians in Rural North-West Devon: A Force for Unity or Division?

JANET FEW

> The North of Devon at that period [the late eighteenth century] was in a state of great spiritual darkness. Evangelical religion was very little known, even in name; the teaching from the pulpits of the established church consisting, almost exclusively, of a very lax morality, as all that was necessary as a preparation for heaven. In most of the parishes there was a service but once on the Sabbath; in Bulkworthy but once a month. While the clergy of that day were many of them among the foremost in the chase, and other popular diversions. Dissent was scarcely known, except to a very limited extent in some of the towns. Immorality fearfully abounded.[1]

So reads the obituary or memoir of William Newcombe, written in 1854, describing the religious climate of North Devon at the time of his birth in the 1790s. William Newcombe was a Bible Christian, so this account was written from a nonconformist point of view. The impression is given of a religious backwater, as regards dissent, with echoes of the 'hunting parsons' of the, largely absent, Anglican clergy.

Compton's Religious Census of 1676 recorded very few Protestant dissenters in the North Devon towns of Bideford, Torrington and Holsworthy and none in rural North Devon. The position in the south of the county was very different. As Bruce Coleman pointed out, 'The most significant frontier for religious practice in the South West ran not along the Tamar but down

through mid-Devon'.[2] Old dissent was found in south and east Devon, prosperous areas that had benefited economically from wool trade. The religious landscape of north-west Devon however was more akin to that of Cornwall.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, into an atmosphere of declining nonconformity, came Wesleyan Methodism. Even though, initially, this was conceived as a revival movement that sought to remain within the Church of England, its advent was not welcomed. The experience of seventeenth-century Puritanism meant that Protestant nonconformity aroused suspicions and fears, 'The zeal of early Methodism could seem disturbingly reminiscent of the 'enthusiasm' of the seventeenth century'.[3] This is illustrated by the view of the vicar of St Ives, who, in 1744, described Methodists as 'the new sect . . . enemies of the Church, Jacobites, Papists and what not.'[4] By the nineteenth century the hub of industry in the South West had shifted from the wool producing areas of south Devon to the mining areas of Cornwall and with it went the epicentre of nonconformity.

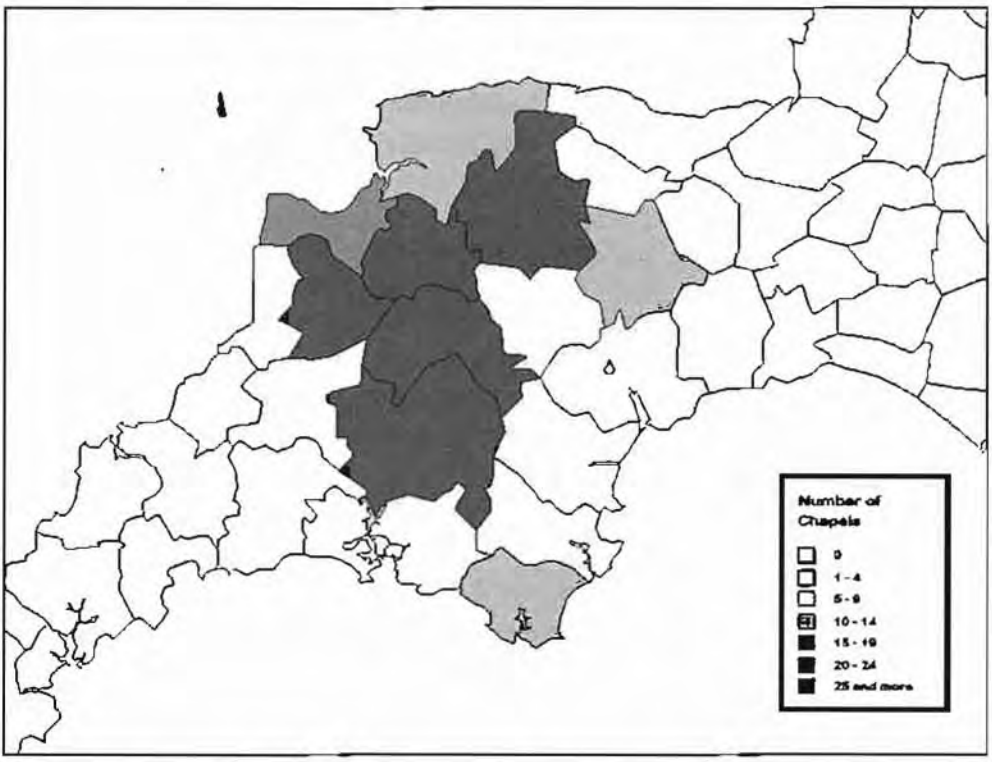


Figure 1. The Number of Bible Christian Chapels according to the 1851 Census of Religious Worship.

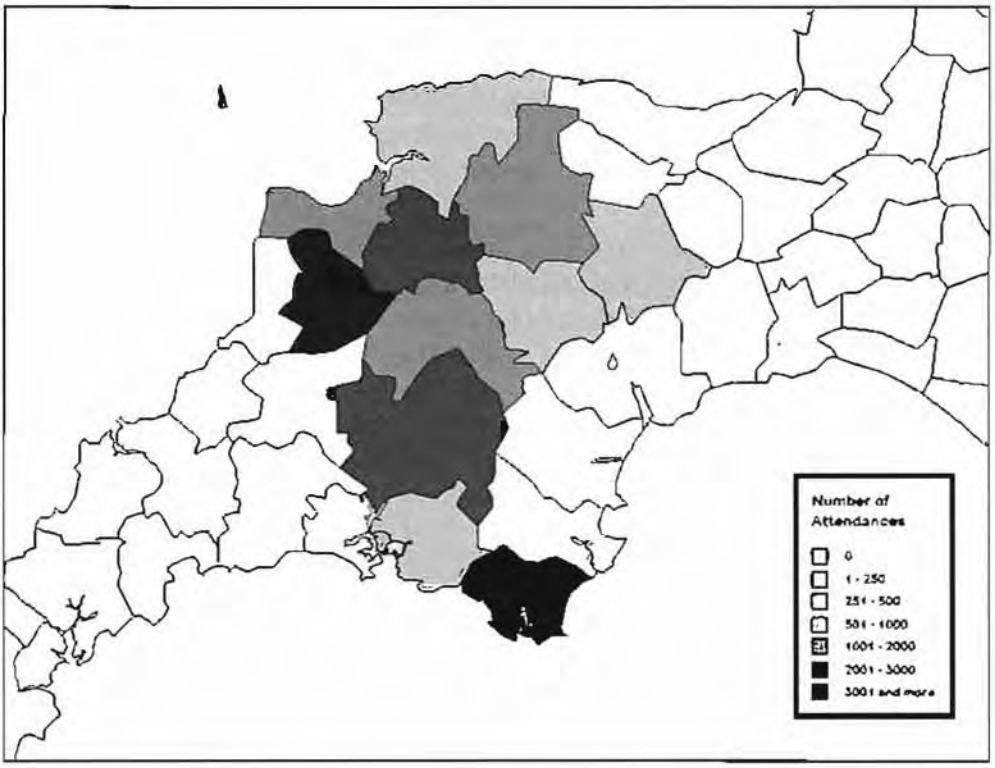


Figure 2. The number of Bible Christian Attendances according to the 1851 Census of Religious Worship.

The phase of Anglican church building of the first half of the nineteenth century was largely an urban phenomenon. Two new Anglican churches were established in Barnstaple in the 1840s, otherwise this passed north-west Devon by. This was a time when the established church was under a two-pronged attack, from nonconformity on the one hand and 'Papal Aggression' on the other, as the Catholic Church became less marginalised and the Pope introduced English Catholic Bishoprics. In addition, the Anglican Church was divided within itself due to the largely unpopular doctrines advocated by the Oxford Movement, led by Edward Pusey, together with John Keble and John Henry Newman. Isaac Lang, filling in the 1851 census of religious worship return for St Olave's, Exeter wrote, 'This church used to be crowded previous to the introduction of Puseyite Doctrines, since then it has fallen off to the present number and still decreasing.'[5]

In 1851, total church attendance[6] in Devon and Cornwall was very similar to that of other southern rural counties. Nonconformity had a firm hold in Cornwall whereas, in Devon as a whole, nonconformist attendances were

slightly below the national average. The picture was not uniform across Devon. In the east Anglicanism predominated; there was lingering evidence of old dissent and an unremarkable level of Methodism. On the western borders however, in the registration districts of Holsworthy, Tavistock and Bideford, various branches of Methodism accounted for a much larger proportion of attendances.

As Michael Wickes pointed out, unlike Cornwall, 'Methodism in Devon was never able to compete with Anglicanism, *except* (my italics) in the north and west where the Bible Christians had made such an impact upon the rural areas.'[7] In the registration districts of north-west Devon between thirty-nine per cent and fifty-five per cent of all church attendances were attributable to one or more of Methodism's branches. Here nonconformity in general and Methodism in particular, approached the levels experienced further west.

The Bible Christians

The Bible Christians are often described as an offshoot of the Methodist Church. Certainly their founder, a man who called himself William O'Bryan, had been a Methodist preacher and he transferred many Methodist tenets and procedures to the denomination that he created in 1815. The Bryanites, or Bible Christians, initially established two circuits, one in Shebbear, Devon and another just over the Cornish border, in Kilkhampton. Within two years each circuit had over 500 members. Those who attended services, had children baptised as Bible Christians and considered themselves Bible Christians, certainly exceeded the numbers who had parted with a membership fee. It may be therefore that, by 1817, as many as 5,000 people were affiliated to Bible Christianity. Concentrations of Bible Christian chapels and attendance at services in 1851, show a marked contrast between parts of south Devon, where there were none, and the north and west, where in some places their numbers rivalled Anglicanism. This research focuses on communities in north-west Devon, where Bible Christians formed a significant part of the religious landscape.

The impact on social order

Kilkhampton Bible Christians were described in the Anglican Visitation of 1821 as being 'very fanatical' and consisting 'almost without exception of the lowest classes of society'.[8] This is clearly not an impartial view and the class bias indicated here is not borne out by investigations into the Bible Christians of the Shebbear circuit, where the fathers' occupations, as given in the

baptism register, suggest that many of the families were of higher social status than that of labourer.[9] In 1832, the annual Bible Christian conference urged those members who formed part of the extended franchise under the terms of the Reform Act, to use their newly acquired vote in support of sympathetic candidates; the suggestion being that there were a substantial number of church members of sufficient social status to have been given the vote by this legislation.[10]

It seems that it was the 'lowest classes' outside the Bible Christian community who were having the greatest impact on social order. Like other branches of Methodism, the Bible Christians advocated outdoor preaching and exploited occasions when the villagers might be gathering for some form of celebration, such as the village revels. In addition, their use of female preachers was a novelty and Bible Christian evangelism became a target for anti-social behaviour.

John Gould Hayman writing in 1898 of the earlier days of Methodism, in all its branches, was of the opinion that, in North Devon, 'persecution was rife . . . Its followers had not only to endure the scorn and derision of the populace, but not infrequently were subjected to personal violence for conscience sake.'[11] Extracts from the diary of Bible Christian leader, James Thorne show this to be the case:

> [26 March 1817] In walking through Hatherleigh I was hissed and hooted at as though I had been a monster'. [2 April] Passing through Holsworthy I was hooted at . . . Among other cries I heard "Bring here thy brother Bryan and we'll hang him up here".' [4 April in Dolton] It had been reported the band was coming and a quantity of rockets, eggs etc. were provided and the first preacher who attempted to speak was to be slain.[12]

In May 1818, James Thorne's diary records that he was bespattered with rotten eggs when speaking at Black Torrington revels. There was another disturbance at the revels in Buckland Brewer the following year, when Thorne's brother Samuel and William Reed preached on the village green. Reed and Thorne were arrested and Reed was fined £2.[13]

Initially it seems that the Anglican elite adopted the principle that, if ignored, this irritating faction would disappear from whence it came. After several years, when it become clear that this was far from being the case, there is evidence of a more concerted persecution from the landowning classes. In 1858, after decades of compliance, Sir James Hamlyn Williams of Clovelly Court forced the Bible Christians to cease using a barn at Dyke Farm as their chapel. A heated exchange ensued in the North Devon Journal, begun by

Figure 3. The Village Green in Buckland Brewer.

James Thorne in the issue of 2 December, in which he stated, 'We shall be anxious to see what explanation or extenuation Sir James Williams can offer. The case as it now stands, appears to be one of unmitigating intolerance, wholly unworthy of his antecedents.'[14] Sir James replied:

> I had hoped that my long and unswerving political consistency, and, above all, my well-known attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, would have saved me from the garbled and incorrect description of what took place some time ago at Dyke . . . I make it a rule in general, never to answer anonymous letters in newspapers . . . [it was clearly attributed to James Thorne]. On my return to this place last summer (after an absence of more than twelve months), I was informed by many of the most respectable and influential persons in the parish and neighbourhood, that this chapel was becoming a perfect nuisance; that their servants and apprentices made it the

Figure 4. The Inhabitants of Bucks Mills.

> excuse for remaining out till two or three o'clock in the morning; and that the proceedings of some of these Bible Christians were so uproarious and disorderly as to make it necessary for a policeman to be sent to this chapel for several Sundays in succession.[15]

The congregation was compelled to close and a replacement chapel was built at Hartland.

Hamlyn Williams' neighbour, Lady Elwes, owned the fishing village of Bucks Mills, a hamlet that was divided between the Anglican parishes of Woolfardisworthy West and Parkham. Its inhabitants were described, in 1852, as possessing 'very little mental culture, and no moral instruction.'[16] Lady Elwes was so incensed at the villagers' flirtation with Methodism, in all its forms, that, in 1862, she provided land for the building of an Anglican Church in the village of Bucks Mills.

The impact on population statistics

Devon's population was in relative decline in the nineteenth century. In 1831 Devon had the fourth largest population of all counties in England and Wales; its ranking was to drop steadily between then and 1901.[17] This

was, Hoskins believes, accompanied by 'the steady depopulation of the rural parishes'.[18] In Buckland Brewer, the population fell from 1,108 in 1841 to 977 ten years later and by 1901 the population was 645, little more than half that of sixty years before. Hoskins comments that, 'From 1841 onwards, each census showed large tracts of deep country losing people to the towns, especially the relatively poor and isolated west Devon parishes.'[19] Analysis of the populations of Buckland Brewer, Bulkworthy, Bucks Mills and other areas in North Devon suggests that those leaving the villages were not part of a mass exodus to towns and cities but they were, in the main, travelling short distances to other rural areas or emigrating; primarily to Canada.

Between 1840 and 1900 434,806 people left Britain via a Devon port.[20] Of course many non-Devonians left from ports in Devon; notably large numbers of Cornish who departed from Plymouth. Equally however emigrants from Devon might sail from places that were further afield, such as Bristol or Liverpool. Three-quarters of Victorian British emigrants chose the United States as their destination; those leaving Devon followed a very different pattern, with only 1·1 per cent of Devon's expatriates going to America.[21] Instead, the gold rushes of the 1850s and the government promotions of the 1870s, led many Devonians to head for Australia. Of the emigrants who left from Plymouth 86·8 per cent were departing for Australasian destinations and these included a significant number of North Devonians as, from 1842, Plymouth was an official port of departure for assisted emigrants. Although the figures for Bideford only cover the more restricted period of 1840 to 1856, the destinations of those embarking from this North Devon port appear vastly different from those who left from Plymouth. The railway came to Bideford in 1855 and from this date, North Devonians might get on a train and leave from a more distant port.

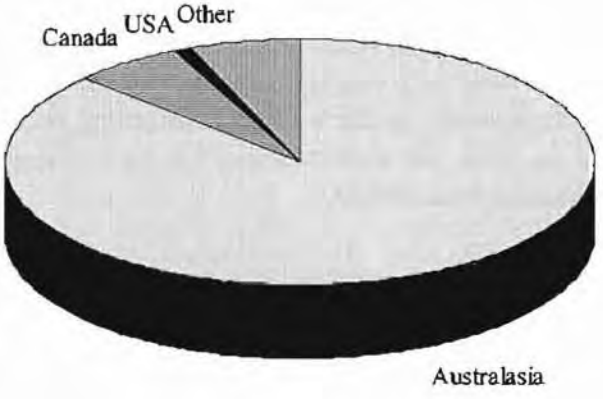


Figure 5. The Destinations of Emigrants from Plymouth 1840-1900.[22]

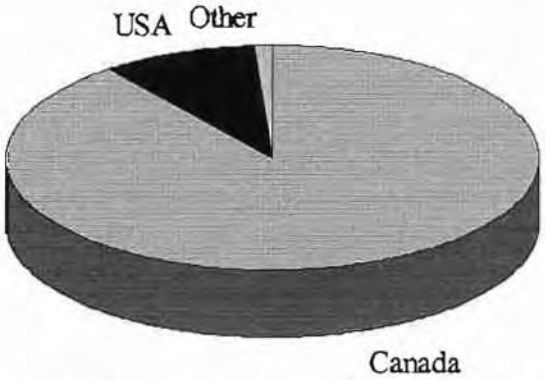


Figure 6. The Destinations of Emigrants from Bideford 1840-1856.[23]

The hostility that Bible Christians were experiencing at home was accompanied by encouragement to emigrate. Emigration formed a significant part of the Bible Christian way of life; their missionary society was formed as early as 1821. In 1832 1·1 per cent of their total membership left Britain. Members of church were attracted by the prospect of helping to establish circuits abroad. By the 1860s, such high levels of emigration were having a detrimental effect on the strength of their following at home and the pressure to emigrate eased. The 1830s saw a concerted effort on the part of various strands of the English Methodist Church to evangelise Upper Canada.[24]

The Napoleonic wars saw a revival of trans-Atlantic journeys from Bideford. The River Torridge shipyards, such as those at Appledore, were encouraged to increase production in order to supply the navy in time of war. Traditionally, timber for wooden shipbuilding came from Prussia, Norway and Russia. The Berlin Decree of 1806, prevented British ships entering the ports of the Napoleonic Empire and the following year the Treaty of Tilsit saw Prussian, Danish and Russian ports joining the blockade, leaving only Sweden as a European source of timber for British shipbuilding. Those importing on behalf of the North Devon shipyards looked west and revived the tradition of trans-Atlantic travel, in the hope of obtaining timber from the St Lawrence shores. Between 1807 and 1809 timber imports from Prince Edward Island increased tenfold. The shipbuilding connections between Bideford and Prince Edward Island had an impact on emigration from North Devon in the 1820s and 1830s. Group of researchers in Prince Edward Island have used newspaper reports of arrivals and other sources to discover 106 known sailings of ships from Bideford to Canada between 1818 and 1855. At least 57 of these ships carried immigrants, many of them Bible Christians.

Bideford shipbuilder and timber merchant Thomas Burnard and his

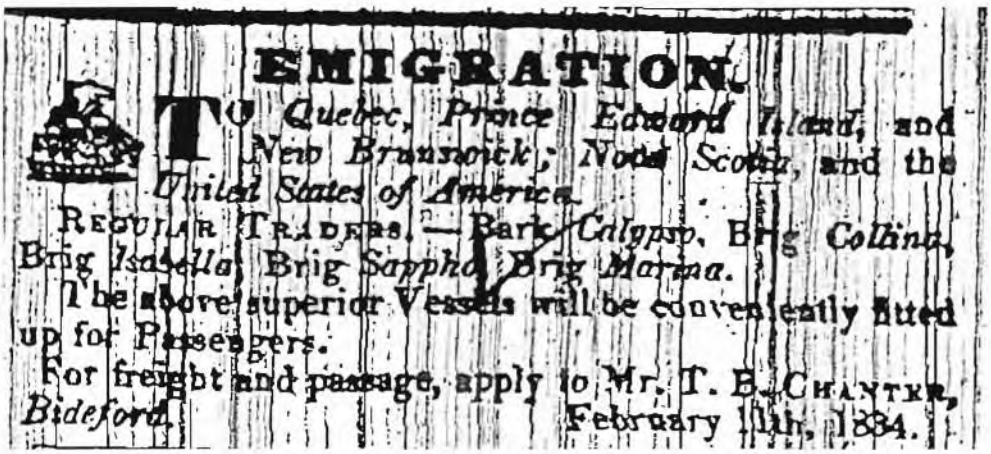
brother-in-law, Moses Chanter, acquired property on Prince Edward Island and many ships were built at the yard they established there in 1818. Burnard and his nephew, Thomas Burnard Chanter, made frequent trips between Bideford and Prince Edward Island. By 1829 the company was advertising for passengers. From then until the early 1840s, when his interest in passenger carrying waned, 2,250 emigrants left on Chanter's ships. Emigration from Bideford to Prince Edward Island continued from 1842 until the 1860s under the auspices of James Yeo. Yeo was born in Kilkhampton, Cornwall and established carrier's business between there and Bideford. Later he worked for Burnard and he eventually emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1819, where he set up his own shipbuilding concern. James' son, William, returned to Appledore and ran the Devon branch of Yeo's business. Many of their passengers were Bible Christians from the area between Kilkhampton and Bideford. The introduction of steam navigation on Lake Ontario in 1817 and the opening of the canal system,[25] made travel easier and gradually the emigrants began to settle further west.

Members of the Bible Christian church were attracted by the prospect of helping to establish circuits abroad. These emigrants sought support and the Bible Christian conference of August 1831 sanctioned the dispatching of two missionaries to Canada. This set the pattern for rapidly expanding Bible Christian circuits in these areas. Later emigrants were encouraged to settle in places where they could reinforce existing Bible Christian communities.

Waves of emigration had a dramatic effect on the populations of many North Devon parishes. Bulkworthy, for example, saw a steady and notable decline in its number of inhabitants during the Victorian era; the 1901 population being less than half that of 1841. The majority of this decline took place between 1851 and 1861 when the village lost twenty-nine per cent of its inhabitants. The notes accompanying the 1861 Census Report for Bulkworthy reveal that, 'the decreases of population in the parishes of West Putford and Bulkworthy are attributable to emigration'.

The impact on community composition

Communities where inhabitants answered adverts to take passage on 'superior vessels . . . conveniently fitted up for passengers'[26] were not just deprived of numbers. It is important to consider who these emigrants were. Baines wrote of 'the tendency of many writers to regard the bulk of English emigrants in the period 1815–50 as extremely poor.'[27] Traditionally, moves to 'New World' were made by the landless classes and those who lacked occupational prospects at home. Rural Britons were encouraged to emigrate


EMIGRATION.

TO *Quebec, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick; Nova Scotia, and the United States of America.*

REGULAR TRADERS.—Bark *Calypso*, Brig *Collina*, Brig *Isabella*, Brig *Sapphire*, Brig *Marina*.

The above superior Vessels will be conveniently fitted up for Passengers.

For freight and passage, apply to Mr. T. B. CHANTER, *Bideford*.

February 11th, 1834.

Figure 7. Advertisement from the *North Devon Journal*, 27 February, 1834.[32]

and it was the abundance of land that was the lure. This theory was countered by contemporary writers who stated, 'though of all classes . . . agricultural labourers are under the greatest necessity to leave their birthplaces, and have the greatest inducement to do so, no class is so hard to move away'.[28] As early as 1972, Charlotte Erickson[29] undermined the previously held belief that migrants were motivated by privation and that they were primarily impoverished agricultural workers seeking opportunities in urban areas. Pooley and Turnbull's findings suggested that 'longer distance movement was mostly undertaken by those in higher socio-economic groups.'[30] In North Devon it was not a lack of work for labourers that was prompting emigration. In 1853 the *North Devon Journal* reported that 'In the parishes of Holsworthy, Buckland Brewer, Yarnscombe, and throughout all those districts where emigration has thinned the agricultural population labourers are not to be had for money. Everywhere in fact we hear of wages being advanced and the labour market never before looked up so well.'[31]

It has been suggested that migrants and in particular emigrants, were not a random sample of the population.[33] John Saville propounded a selectivity theory in 1957, putting forward the idea that those who abandoned rural areas were the brightest and best.[34] Baines too considers emigration to be a 'selective process'.[35] In 1834, His Majesty's Commission for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws asked local clergy what they felt 'would be the effect of an enactment enabling parishes to tax themselves, in order to facilitate emigration?' [36] The respondents for Awliscombe, Devon replied that 'it is most probable that the idle and burdensome would stay at home, the able and industrious emigrate.'[37] The

idea that strength of character and physical fitness had an influence on the propensity to migrate was put forward by the compilers of the 1881 Census Report, 'it may be that the industrial centres attract from rural districts those who are comparatively strong in mind and body; and that children born to these stronger parents are less liable to congenital deficiencies than the offspring of the comparatively feeble parents, mentally and physically, who are left behind'.[38] Thus those who were not hindered by genetic defects were more likely to become the migrant population. This does seem to ignore both the necessity for an agricultural labourer to be fit and the greater likelihood of genetic defects in a rural area, where there is liable to be a much higher degree of intermarriage.[39]

The age range of the migrants also has an impact. In areas where large numbers of emigrants were of working age, as was often the case, an unsupported elderly population was left behind. This resulted in demographic profiles that lacked a vital segment of the population, impinging on that community's ability to function efficiently.

So where do the Bible Christians fit into this debate? Detailed analysis of all known emigrants for four areas of north-west Devon, show that significant numbers of Bible Christians were amongst those who were leaving.

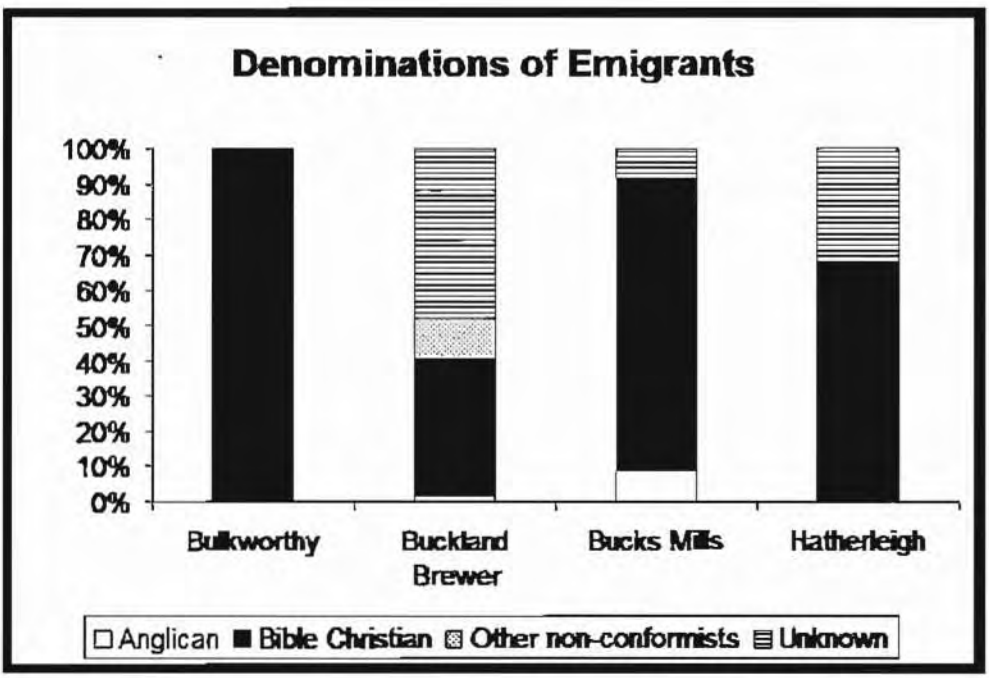


Figure 8. Denominations of emigrants from four areas of north-west Devon.[40]

Shepperson commented that dissenters 'were especially susceptible to the blandishments of agents who outlined the remarkable wealth yet the social equality, the religious enthusiasm yet the theological freedom, to be found in America.'[41] Were those who were willing to stand against the crowd and adhere to nonconformity more likely to have the enterprise to emigrate? Did therefore the emigration of significant numbers from North Devon communities, such as Buckland Brewer and Bulkworthy, effect not just the quantity of the population that remained but also in some way, the quality? Undoubtedly 'population movement had a fundamental impact on individuals, families, places and the wider societal structures within which such change took place.'[42]

The impact on community cohesion

It might be argued that, until the mid-eighteenth century, in rural north-west Devon, parish and community were synonymous. This is not to say that there were not divisions within those communities, ones based on class for example, but there was little to inspire extra-parochial allegiances. The rise of Nonconformity created new loyalties; ones that might cross and supersede geographical boundaries. At the same time, there is the suggestion that the traditional elements that had helped to bind communities together were under threat from the upsurge in religious dissent. Snape wrote that 'Methodism's tendency to undermine community solidarity by setting its followers apart from other members of the community was most pronounced with respect to its stand on many of the recreational aspects of popular culture.'[43] The celebrations of which Methodists and the Bible Christians disapproved: parish wakes, revels, and sports, were the very events that were crucial to community identity.

The coming of Bible Christianity, with its evangelising zeal and concomitant advocacy of emigration, deprived North Devon villages of many of their skilled artisans. For those who remained, the upsurge of nonconformity did not necessarily bring uproar and disorder, as the Anglicans claimed but it was to have a divisive effect on their communities. There were isolated attempts at a more ecumenical approach, notably that of Parson Ingle Dredge in Buckland Brewer in the 1890s, but these were exceptional. The documented hostility from the established church must have impacted on nonconformists and Anglicans alike. The 'us and them' rift between adherents of church and chapel lingered well into the twentieth century. Writing his memories of Buckland Brewer of the 1920s, a resident said, 'The church and chapel folk never mixed. The church people said the chapel people told lies and the

chapel people said the church folk swore.' No doubt this was not the legacy that O'Bryan intended when he broke away from mainstream Methodism and formed the Bible Christian Church in 1815.

Conclusion

It was the ideological community of the Bible Christian church that provided security and a sense of belonging for many of its adherents. Whilst religious groups created unified communities of their own, at the same time they served to fragment the wider, geographical neighbourhood in which they were found. Snape believed that this threat was perceived by those within the established church who 'were concerned to protect their Church, their king, their families, their livelihoods and the integrity of their communities.'[44] In this way, nonconformity was seen, by those outside its embrace, as being responsible for dividing communities and was associated with disloyalty and insurgency. Beacham sums this up in his comment concerning West Country Methodism: 'It was an alternative society, whose membership risked social exclusion and even legal sanction from the establishment, but in which the humblest could rise to become leaders, teachers and pastors.'[45] The existence of these ideological, trans-parochial communities and the extended kinship networks, common within Bible Christian society, that also crossed parish boundaries, call into question the dominant role of the parish in English local history.

The lives of those in North Devon were shaped by the factionalism that arose from the rise of nonconformity and also by the demographic dislocations that resulted from the high levels of emigration that were part of belonging to the Bible Christian community. Researchers have still not confronted the issue of the effect that this rural exodus had on people's sense of place.[46] The large-scale removal of one section of the population, from some parishes had an impact on the inhabitants and structures that they left behind. Brayshay, referring to the work of Lawton and others on rural depopulation, wrote that 'the gradual creaming-off of the younger and more enterprising elements in the population inevitably led, in the longer term, to important social and demographic changes in the countryside.'[47]

Faith, in particular the Bible Christian faith, became, for many residents of nineteenth-century north-west Devon and indeed north-eastern Cornwall, the community with which they identified. As Obelkevich states, 'in creating an ethical community within the community and an extensive social network beyond it, Methodism gave its followers a distinct social as well as religious identity.'[48] Bible Christianity however brought a double-edged threat to the

areas where it held sway. Those who emigrated, impacted upon the quantity, and perhaps the quality, of the inhabitants, which was in itself destabilising. Whereas those who remained became a focus for social disorder and fragmented the pre-existing village community that had been previously centred around the activities of the parish church.

NOTES

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3. Michael Francis Snape, 'Anti-Methodism in Eighteenth Century England: The Pendle Forest Riots of 1748', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 49, 2 April 1998, 258.
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7. Wickes, *Devon in the Religious Census*, 7.
8. The Anglican Visitation Returns of 1821, quoted in Michael J. L. Wickes, *The Westcountry Preachers: A History of the Bible Christians 1815–1907* (Hartland: Michael Wickes, 1987), 38.
9. Wickes, *The Westcountry Preachers*, 73. A comparison between the fathers' occupations given in the baptism register for Parkham and that for Shebbear Bible Christian circuit, for the period 1813-1825, reveals that 58·3% of the Anglican fathers were labourers, compared to 42·3% of the Bible Christians.
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13. Thorne, *Memoir of James Thorne*.
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15. *North Devon Journal*, 9 December 1858, 8 col. e.
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18. Hoskins, *Devon*, 175.
19. Hoskins, *Devon*, 67.
20. Mark Brayshay, 'The Emigration Trade in Nineteenth-Century Devon' in Michael Duffy, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David J. Starkey and Joyce Youings (eds), *The New Maritime History of Devon Volume II: From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1994), 108.
21. Ibid., 108.
22. Based on Figures from Brayshay, 'The Emigration Trade in Nineteenth-Century Devon', 108.
23. Ibid., 108.
24. In 1841 Upper and Lower Canada were united by the Act of Union (1840) to form the Province of Canada and Upper Canada became known as Canada West. Ontario was created in 1867.
25. Three hundred and sixty-three miles of the Erie Canal opened in 1825, the Rideau Canal from Ottawa to Kingston opened in 1834 and the St. Lawrence canals were completed in 1855.
26. *North Devon Journal*, 27 February 1834, 4 col. c.
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44. Ibid., 281.
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Early Victorian Farming on the Culm: Using the Tithe Survey to Examine Patterns of Land-Use and Landscape

JOHN BRADBEER

Introduction

This is the second of two papers published in *The Devon Historian* on the culm country of northern Devon as represented in the Tithe Surveys of *c.*1837–1841. An opportunistic sample of seventeen parishes has been drawn from the two modern District Council Areas of North Devon and Torridge.[1] In this paper attention is focused on broader patterns of land-use and on the distinctive ways in which the farming contributed to the landscape. The Tithe Survey is particularly interesting as it give glimpses of what might be termed traditional farming practices which did not outlast the nineteenth century. It also raises some interesting questions about the age of culm grasslands and the impact of different farming practices on the surviving pieces of culm grassland.

Land-use

As explained in the earlier paper, the men employed as surveyors for the Tithe Survey were given principal land-uses to record but some went on to draw further distinctions within these categories. As not all did so and as the criteria they used cannot be identified, six broad classes of land-use are used for this analysis. Some of the issues concerning potential sub-divisions among these classes will be discussed later in the paper.

Table 1. Land-Use by Parish.

Parish	Land uses % of agricultural area						Total agricultural area (acres)
	Arable	Meadow	Pasture	Gardens & Orchards	Houses & Waste	Wood-land	
Abbots Bickington	53.7	6.6	34.4	0.7	0.5	4.1	1,043
Abbotsham	86.9	0.1	8.6	1.6	1.4	1.4	1,724
Alwington	67.7	1.2	20.9	1.7	0.8	7.7	2,525
Bulkworthy	78.8	4.8	12.0	0.8	1.3	2.3	1,093
East Putford	77.5	3.4	15.0	0.9	1.6	1.6	2,349
Huish	42.0	3.3	34.4	1.4	2.2	16.7	982
Landcross	59.5	0.5	19.4	3.5	1.1	16.0	324
Mariansleigh	56.9	9.0	24.1	2.5	0.8	6.7	1,943
Meshaw	53.4	5.1	32.1	1.6	1.2	5.6	1,719
Monkleigh	65.3	6.7	5.8	3.3	3.0	15.9	1,964
Newton St Petrock	77.0	6.3	12.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1,549
Pancrasweek	79.9	5.9	11.2	0.8	1.3	0.9	3,676
Romansleigh	48.6	6.2	35.7	1.9	0.8	6.8	2,474
Sheepwash	62.4	8.0	15.7	2.4	0.9	10.6	1,837
Weare Giffard	74.4	4.8	9.1	4.6	0.9	6.2	1,341
Welcombe	78.5	0.1	13.9	0.8	0.9	5.8	1,701
West Putford	60.5	5.1	32.0	0.7	0.9	0.9	2513
TOTAL All parishes	67.3	4.8	19.5	1.7	1.2	5.5	30,760

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

What is striking about Table 1 is the large proportion of the agricultural area given over to arable use with just over two-thirds of the total. There is some variation among the parishes, some of which is explicable by special circumstances. Huish, as was noted in the earlier paper, was the seat of Lord Clinton and Huish Barton, the principal holding, included Heanton Satchville House and its extensive landscaped park, which the Tithe Surveyor recorded as pasture. There was considerable variation among the parishes in regards to meadow. Overall, 4.8 per cent of the land was recorded as meadow, with three parishes, Abbotsham, Landcross and Welcombe, being effectively without any meadow land at all. Meadow land was of considerably greater importance in Mariansleigh and Sheepwash parishes, and there is a suggestion that meadow land was more extensive in parishes with a frontage on the River Torridge. The division between meadow and pasture may not have been as clear-cut as the Tithe Survey suggests and fodder may have been cut intermittently from some of the pasture. In the sample parishes, pasture occupied almost a fifth of the agricultural area. There was very little pasture in Abbotsham, Monkleigh and Weare Giffard parishes but in five parishes, pasture was around a third of the agricultural area. Gardens and orchards were a small part of the agricultural area, but a small cluster of parishes in the lower Torridge valley, Landcross, Monkleigh and Weare Giffard had twice the average share of gardens and orchards. Woodland occupied 5.5 per cent of the agricultural area, a figure remarkably similar to estimates of the woodland area recorded in Domesday Book.[2] Three parishes, Huish, Landcross and Monkleigh had nearly three times as much woodland as the sample overall. In Landcross this probably reflects both the very small area of the parish and the fact that the River Torridge and the River Yeo, its tributary, are both deeply incised into the Culm plateau and the steep slopes down to the river were never brought into cultivation. Monkleigh is a larger parish but it too has steep slopes to the Torridge and the Yeo system. The contrast with East and West Putford parishes is striking and here the Torridge valley slopes were rather less steep and these two parishes have a very low proportion of woodland.

Arable

Figure 1 shows the amount of arable land by parish and that the larger areas of arable land fell in the larger parishes. Only Abbotsham had significantly more arable land than might be expected from its share of the total agricultural area. The large proportion of arable land in the sample parishes, especially compared to the present day, reflects both significantly lower yields of cereal, very different tillage practices and above all the totally different

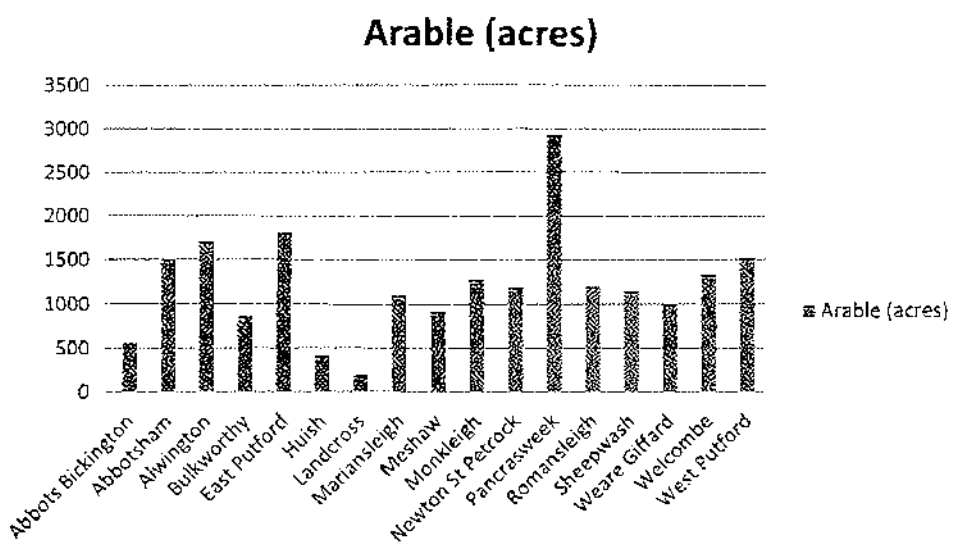

Figure 1. Distribution of Arable Land by Parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

agricultural context of *c.*1837–1841. The Repeal of the Corn Laws lay about a decade away, so cereal production in the United Kingdom was protected from foreign competition. Once import restrictions were lifted, cereals started to arrive from Europe and then from the prairies of North America, the pampas of South America and the wheat lands of Australia. By *c.*1860, the development of the railway network in the United Kingdom was such that regional specialisation in agriculture became possible. Eastern England came increasingly to specialise in cereal production, whilst Devon's farmers started to focus far more on livestock farming, with beef production and dairying to the fore. Railways made it possible for fresh milk to be delivered to urban markets a great distance away. So the regionally self-sufficient farm economy of the 1830s, in which cereal production was a prominent part, came to an end.

The surveyors generally had few problems in recording arable land use. In a few instances they must have found fields which were not ploughed in their entirety, and they recorded land use such as 'arable with furze' or 'arable with coarse pasture'. As there is no way of knowing how much of any parcel so described was in one land-use or the other, for analytical purposes, they have been treated as wholly arable. Some surveyors, but not all, also recorded 'arable occasionally' as well as arable land unqualified in any way. This may

be taken as evidence of the 'outfield' in the traditional convertible husbandry of Devon. Convertible husbandry was the practice of alternating arable and pasture in any single field and largely avoided fallow, especially bare earth fallow. On fields around the farmstead, 'the infield', the practice of convertible husbandry was supported by regular applications of farmyard manure and in any one year, usually only one field in seven would be tilled, with the others being in grass.[3] On the 'outfield', fields more remote from the farmstead, convertible husbandry was still practised but without the regular applications of farmyard manure. Here the practice of beat-burning or Devonshiring was frequent. Both William Marshall[4] and Charles Vancouver[5] describe the practice. A field to be so treated, as preparation for tilling, would have the top inch or so of vegetation pared off. Marshall states that three methods were used, two of which were very labour intensive. The vegetation could be cut off using a beating axe or an adze with a blade about four to five inches wide and about ten to twelve inches long or it could be pared off by pushing a breast plough through the turf. This was a form of spade with a mould board. Marshall notes that ploughing with draught animals was becoming the norm. Here a special veiling plough was used to cut the turf. Turves were left to weather and were often harrowed to shake off the last of the soil. Turves were then gathered into heaps, 'beat barrows' for burning with straw, furze, heather and hedge trimmings – hedges were usually laid at the time a field would be tilled as it would not be livestock proof for two or three years. The ashes, together with whatever farmyard manure could be procured and by this time also lime, were spread on the field and a crop of wheat grown. After harvest, the stubble was left and a second crop of cereals would be grown the following year, and possibly a final crop of oats in a third year, before the field would be allowed to revert to pasture. This is almost certainly what the surveyors saw when they recorded fields as 'arable occasionally'. In some instances, such as at Stowford, in Bulkworthy parish, the location of such fields at a distance from the farmstead seems to confirm this supposition and two of the fields are part of Devon Wildlife Trust's Stowford Moor reserve and now exhibit classic culm grassland vegetation. Both Marshall and Vancouver were ambivalent about the practice of Devonshiring, Marshall allowing that when well done and managed, it was beneficial, but Vancouver was more forthright:

> However, the practice of paring and burning may be admitted under certain circumstances of restraint and limitation, and may even be recommended as a safe and effectual means of bringing coarse, moory land, when effectually drained, into a state of cultivation, still its pernicious consequences on the

> sound dry stapled lands in this county are such as can never be repaired but by the total abandonment of a system so generally practised in this county, and which is fraught with the means of producing such incalculable mischief.[6]

Meadow

For the Tithe Survey, meadow land was regarded as grassland cut for hay and only grazed, if at all, after the hay had been made. The distinction with pasture, permanent grassland not cut for hay but available for grazing, was probably not always as clear cut and parishes such as Abbotsham and Welcombe, which had very little meadow recorded by the Tithe Survey, presumably met some if not all of their hay requirements either from permanent pasture or from grass in arable rotation. Figure 2 shows the distribution of meadow land by parish. Eight of the parishes had significantly more meadow than would be expected from their share of the total agricultural area. The three parishes of Mariansleigh, Meshaw and Romansleigh, to the south of South Molton, all had more meadow than would be expected. Parishes with frontages on the river Torridge show contrasting patterns. In Abbots Bickington, Monkleigh, Newton St Petrock and Sheepwash there was more meadow than would be expected but in East Putford there was less than would be expected and the

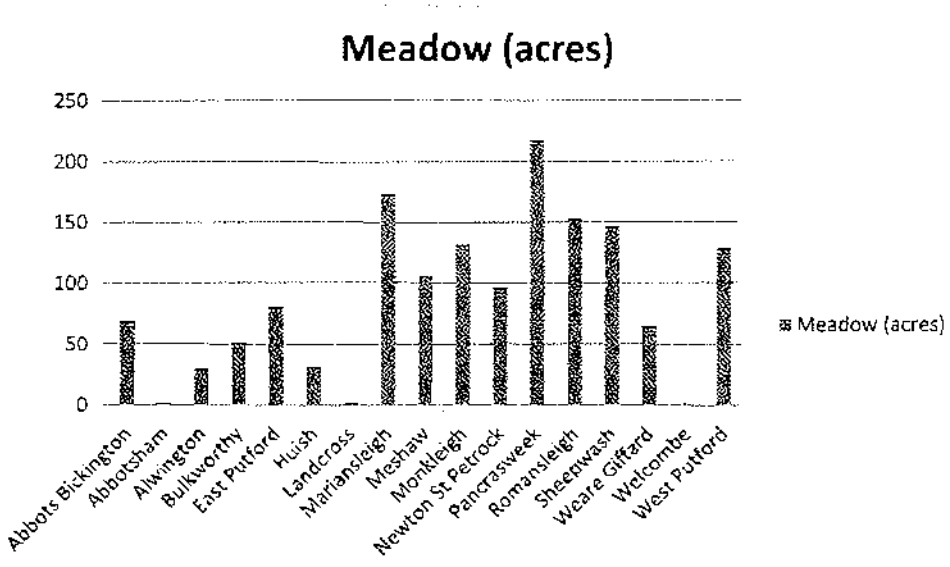

Figure 2. Distribution of Meadow by Parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

other parishes of Bulworthy, Pancrasweek, Weare Giffard and West Putford had roughly the amount of meadow that would be expected. All three coastal parishes, Abbotsham, Alwington and Welcombe had very low quantities of meadow, in both absolute and relative terms.

One highly specialised form of meadow was the float meadow (as it is always called in the Tithe Apportionments), also known a catch meadow or field gutter. While the principal function of a float meadow was precisely the same as the classic water meadow of Central Southern England, namely to irrigate grassland in early spring to encourage the growth of grass, there were several distinct differences. Float meadows usually lay on slopes, unlike water meadows, which occupied the floodplains of rivers. Float meadows had gutters running across the slope and water was then allowed to overflow and run down slope. Many float meadows also had subsidiary gutters to ensure that water was evenly spread as it moved down the slope. The gutter feeding the system was supplied from a stream or spring but the water was also often enriched by flowing through the farm yard prior to floating the meadow. Most float meadows were thus close to farmsteads, unlike the flood-plain water meadow. The origins and development of various forms of water meadow are described by Hadrian Cook and Tom Williamson,[7] whilst Christopher

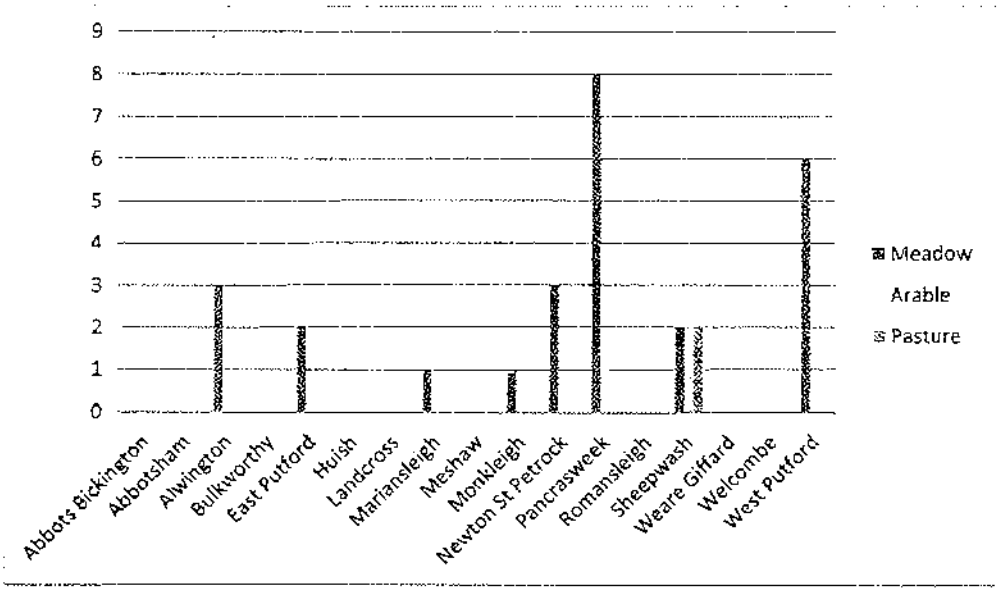

Figure 3. Float Meadows by Parish.
Float meadows recorded in the Tithe Apportionment and their land-use.
Source: Tithe Apportionments.

Taylor[8] explains the workings of bed-work (the classic water meadow) and catchwork meadows.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the thirty-one float meadows recorded in the Tithe Apportionments for the sample parishes. It can be seen that two float meadows were being tilled and two more were in use as pasture but the rest presumably were still being floated. It can be seen that nine of the sample parishes were entirely without float meadows, not unexpectedly Abbotsham and Welcombe lacked float meadows as they were themselves almost devoid of meadow. There seems to be no obvious pattern to the parishes with and without float meadows. The average size of all parcels called float meadow was 2.60 acres, with a range of 0.19 to 8.76 acres. Curiously both the smallest and the largest were no longer used as meadows, with the smallest recorded as pasture and the largest as arable. Float meadows were typical of all meadows in size. All but four of the float meadows were the only float meadows on the holding. At Gilscott 1, in Alwington, itself one of the larger holdings in the sample at 175.02 acres, there were two float meadows and at East Hole in Newton St Petrock, a typical holding of 79.72 acres, there were also two float meadows. Float meadows were found on holdings from 13.89 acres to 223.37 acres, with most being found on small-medium sized holdings of 30 to 50 acres or on larger holdings of 150 to 200 acres. However, by far the large majority of holdings managed without float meadows at all. Just three float meadows were on holdings owner-occupied but one of these was no longer used as meadow. Nearly half the float meadows were found on holdings owned by major land-owners such as Lord Clinton, Lord Rolle or Lewis William Buck but most of their holdings were without float meadows. The field name 'Gutter Close' is also found, always where the field was recorded as arable, as at Milltown, Mariansleigh and Little Wear, Weare Giffard.

Pasture

Pasture was permanent grassland, *i.e.* grassland not in arable rotations and it was also the land-use where surveyors most often made qualification when recording the land use. Not all surveyors appear to have done this and in this paper no further attempt is made to sub-divide the category. Terms used by some surveyors include 'coarse pasture', usually the most frequent qualification, 'moor pasture' and 'rushy pasture'. 'Fuzzy pasture' is used occasionally and other parcels have 'furze' recorded as the land-use. In the case of furze, this refers to common gorse (*Ulex europaea*) and western gorse (*Ulex gallii*) both of which are now regarded as characteristic species of culm grassland. At the time of the Tithe Survey, gorse was an important crop. It

was used extensively for domestic fuel, especially in bread ovens, and also in the pottery industry in Barnstaple, Bideford and Fremington. In 1796, Marshall describes Bideford in uncomplimentary terms:

> The town is remarkably forbidding, meanly built houses (timber, brick or mud covered with bad slate or thatch), struck against a steep hill. The streets, of course, are awkward; and most of them are narrow. In vacant spaces between the streets, immense piles of furze faggots rise, in the shape of houses, and make the houses themselves appear more like hovels than they really are. These dangerous piles of fuel are for the use of the pottery, for which only, I believe, this town is celebrated: chiefly or wholly, the coarser kinds of earthen ware.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of pasture in the sample parishes. For all the parishes, pasture was roughly one-fifth of the agricultural area but there was considerable variation among them in pasture's share of the total agricultural area. Parishes where pasture's share was greater than would be expected are Abbots Bickington, Meshaw, Romansleigh and West Putford. Huish, too, has more pasture than might be expected but this reflects the classification of the lawns in the park of Heanton Satchville House as pasture. There is no

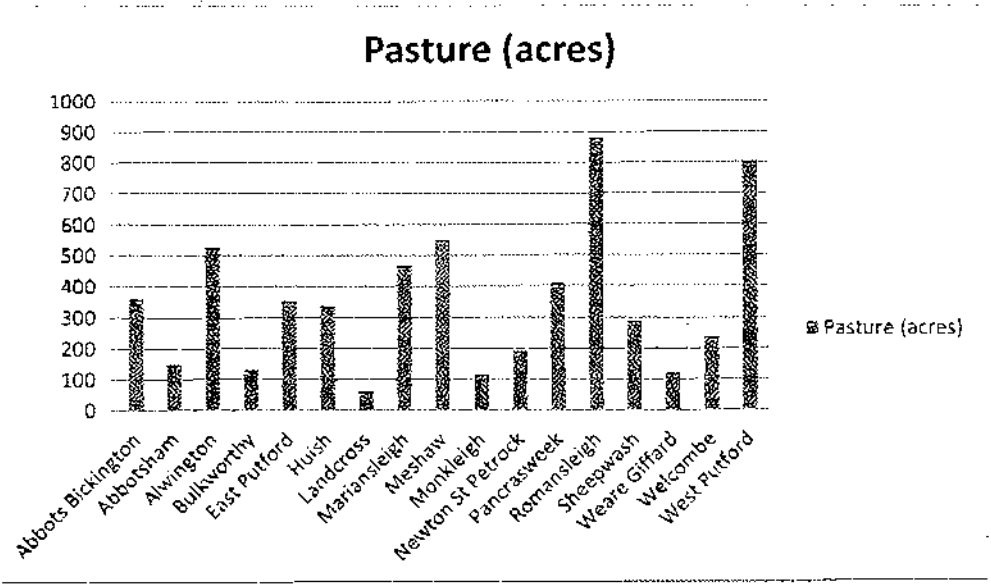

Figure 4. Distribution of Pasture by Parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

obvious common factor to account for the parishes with extensive areas of pasture. Common grazing survived at East Putford with the Common Moor of 140.25 acres and at West Putford, with Wedfield Out Moor (42.72 acres) and Thrivendon Moor (10.22 acres). East Putford has roughly the share of pasture to be expected whilst there was more than would be expected in West Purford.

Apart from the references to furze and fuzzy pasture, the Tithe Survey gives no indication as to the character and management of pasture. For the twentieth century, if not before, the coarser pasture with purple moor-grass (*Molinia caerulea*) and clumps of gorse (*Ulex* spp), ling (*Calluna vulgaris*) and heather (*Erica cinerea* and *Erica tetralix*) has been burned in early spring, so as to encourage fresh growth, particularly of purple moor-grass, so that stock can be turned out to graze from May until September. On some of Devon Wildlife Trust's culm grassland nature reserves, there are fields with this type of vegetation that were returned in the Tithe Survey as pasture (and a few as coarse or moor pasture), but as noted above, others were recorded as arable or arable occasionally.

Gardens and orchards

Gardens and orchards included here are those that were recorded on agricultural holdings. Gardens of houses and cottages within villages and hamlets that had no other agricultural land are excluded. The surveyors appear to have distinguished flower gardens around properties from vegetable gardens, with the former being included with houses in composite entries of 'house and garden'. Some of the larger vegetable gardens were recorded as 'potato plot' many of which were between 0.2 and 1 acre in size. Orchards were typically between 0.5 and 2 acres in size. Most holdings contained one or more orchards and so the distribution of gardens and orchards in the sample parishes shown in figure 5, is also a reflection of the number of holdings within a parish. This can be clearly seen in Abbots Bickington, where there were just 7.04 acres of gardens and orchards, considerably less than would have been expected if they were to occupy the average area of the sample. Abbots Bickington had just ten holdings and the largest size of average holding, after the exceptional case of Huish. However, Welcombe with 53 holdings and one of the smallest average size of holdings, is also characterised by a paucity of gardens and orchards.

It is a little easier to start to offer explanation for the larger share of gardens and orchards found in Landcross, Monkleigh and Weare Giffard parishes. Vancouver[10] had noted the local concentration of hop growing in

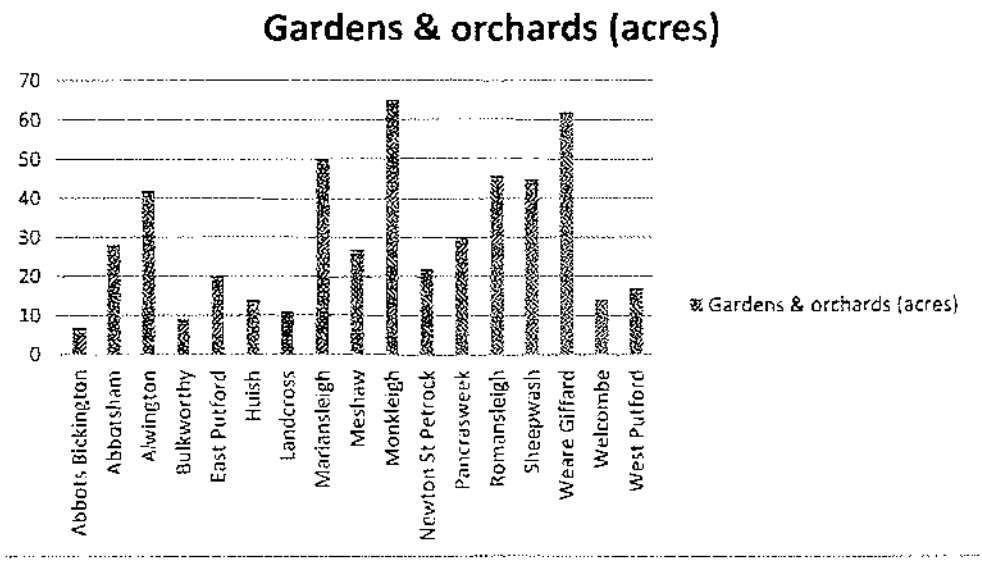

Figure 5. Distribution of Gardens and Orchards by Parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

the Yeo and Duntz valleys, particularly in the parishes of Littleham and Monkleigh. A generation later, there were still hop gardens recorded in the Tithe Apportionments for Landcross and Monkleigh parishes and the field name 'hop garden' appeared a few times in Weare Giffard parish. Within a regionally self-sufficient economy, brewers would seek to meet their hop requirements locally. The sunny slopes of these parishes would seem to have been ideal for hop growing but other parts of northern Devon within easy reach of the larger towns of Barnstaple and Bideford, also have similar environmental conditions, so the reason for this localisation remains unclear.

Woodland

Woodland here includes all land-use recorded variously as wood, timber (this distinction being made between the production of fuel and hurdle materials – wood – and construction material – timber), copse and coppice, plantation, and withy beds. The terms copse and coppice appear to have been interchangeable and sometimes just imply a small area of woodland and, perhaps more often when coppice is the term used, indicate the nature of woodland management. Vancouver[11] notes the importance of oak coppice and reports that it was cut at intervals of between fifteen and twenty years. Worth[12] commented that in the nineteenth century writers noted that around Holsworthy

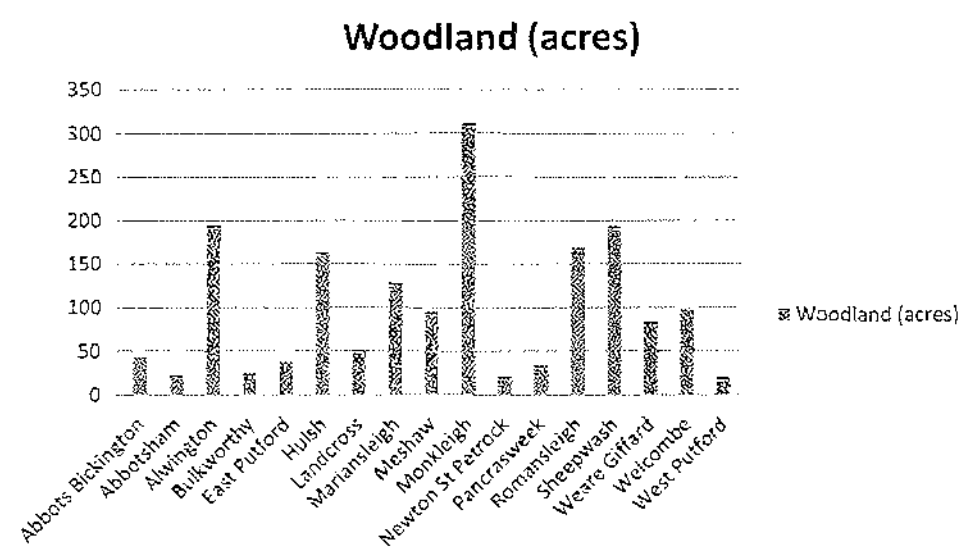

Figure 6. Distribution of Woodland by Parish.
Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

oak coppice was as profitable a land-use as any and that coppiced oak poles were valued not just for fencing, paling and hurdles but also for the oak bark which was in great demand in the local tanning industry. Another important use of woodland was as cover for game-birds, such as pheasant, although this was not recorded in the Tithe Apportionments.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of woodland in the sample parishes. It can be seen that five parishes had more than 150 acres of woodland and accounted for almost two-thirds of the total woodland. By contrast, four parishes had less than 30 acres of woodland. Woodland in all the sample parishes accounted for 5.52 per cent of the agricultural area. In the parishes of Huish, Landcross and Monkleigh, woodland was more than 15 per cent of the total agricultural area. The first two parishes are small but in Huish, the woodland area all lay within the holding of Huish Barton, the home farm of Heanton Satchville House, seat of Lord Clinton. In Landcross, the woodland was found on several holdings, partly reflecting the steep valley slopes of much of the parish, but almost half the woodland was owned by William Tardrew, of Annery in neighbouring Monkleigh. Perhaps more significantly, William Tardrew had a variety of business interests, including ship-building at Annery Sea Locks in Landcross. In Alwington and Monkleigh, the majority of the woodland was owned by Reverend John Pine-Coffin, himself a major land-owner in these parishes. In both instances, Reverend John Pine-

Coffin had retained personal ownership of many woodlands, even when the farm holdings of which they would have been a part were let to tenants. This may suggest that shooting was a primary reason for retaining control. However, in Weare Giffard, where Weare Giffard Hall had been a seat of the Fortescue family and where the Fortescue estate was still a significant landowner, woodland on farms was let with the holdings of which they were a part. In Sheepwash, most of the woodland was found in Upcott Wood but in Romansleigh, the woodland was found on no fewer than seventeen holdings but almost a half of this fell within just three holdings.

Field names

The Tithe Apportionments usually name the parcels, although in about 2.6 per cent of the cases, no name is recorded by the Surveyor. Almost all of these instances occur within the parishes of Abbotsham and Meshaw. The Apportionments also contain many entries of 'field', 'meadow' and 'plot' and rather fewer of 'moor'. Whether these are names supplied by the surveyor or were names used by the farmers themselves is not clear and in the following analysis of field names, they are included, along with the majority which are binomials (such as Lower Park or Wester Close) or have clear suffixes (such as Long-land).

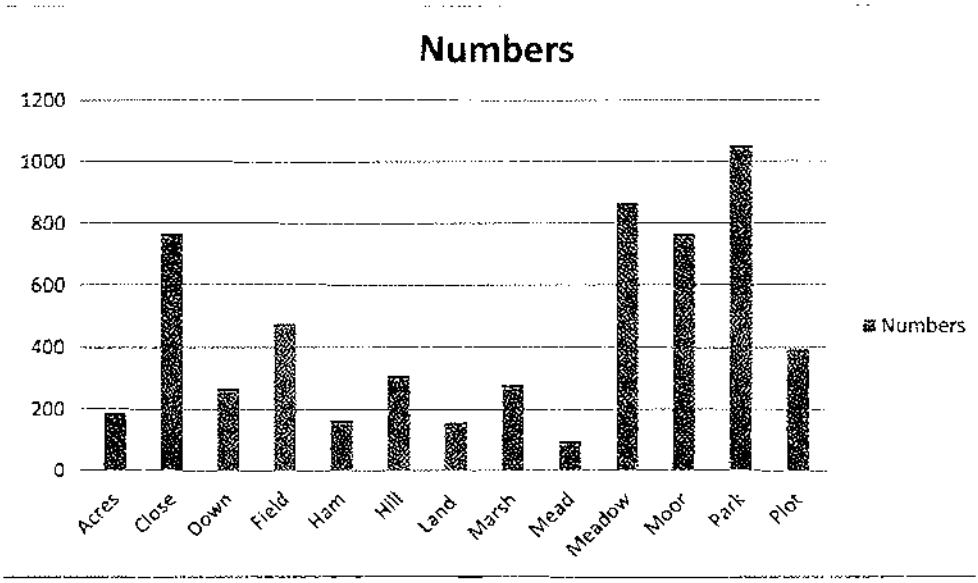

Figure 7. Principal Field Names (All parishes).
Source: Tithe Apportionments.

Figure 7 shows the principal field names in the sample parishes. Nineteen names account for roughly 85 per cent of the total and figure 7 shows all those accounting for more than 1.3 per cent of the total known names. Many of the 'other' category have what could be termed directional names, especially the forms 'Above Town' or 'Bove Town', referring to the field's relationship to the farmstead. Some of the other names will be discussed further. There is no clear pattern of association of field names with particular parishes and so it is appropriate to consider the sample parishes as a whole. The most popular name is 'park', which accounts for some 15 per cent of the names. This is similar to Ryder's 12 per cent from her Hartland area sample.[13] She notes that 'park' names are rarely found on hill tops and are far more frequent on slopes, a finding corroborated here for tracts of parishes where fields have been located on Tithe Maps. Given that the majority of fields were recorded as having arable land-use, it is hardly surprising that the majority of 'park' fields too were in arable use. The second most common field name is 'meadow', accounting for roughly 12.5 per cent of names. Most but not all parcels recorded as meadow had 'meadow' field names, but more 'meadow' fields were recorded as pasture or arable. 'Close' and 'moor' were numerically significant names, with each accounting for roughly 11 per cent of all names. This is very similar to Ryder's figure for 'moor' names in her Hartland study area.[14] 'Moor' field names occurred in all parishes and rather more land-use was arable than pasture.

Some of the field names recorded in the Tithe Apportionments suggest that not all names were of great antiquity. In Pancrasweek, the Bude Canal had been constructed 1819-1825[15] and some fields were named from it, such as Canal Moor in Lana 1 and Wharf Moor in Brendon 1. Robin Stanes noted that recent and perhaps not so recent owners and occupiers were commemorated in field names[16] and examples from the sample parishes include Amy Arnold's Moor at Lower Narracott, East Putford, Bill Bailey's Field at Reynolds Town, Monkleigh, and Granny Slee's Field at Bountis Thorn, East Putford. Names like Higher and Lower Abraham's Piece at Kitcott, Romansleigh and Israel's Ground at Henaford 2, Welcombe perhaps point to the strong appeal of Non-conformity in the area. Stanes[17] also notes the application of irony in some field names. The sample parishes afford many examples of unproductive land in field names such as a series of seven fields called Bad Park at Hankford, Bulkworthy, Hunger Hill at Ford, Alwington, Labour-in-Vain at Higher Thorndown, Romansleigh and Starve Acre at Odam, also in Romansleigh. By contrast, a field at Cartland in Alwington was called Profit. Fields lying at a distance from the farmstead were also often given ironic names and at Lower Westacott, Mariansleigh, there were fields called London, Sussex

and Westminster. Several fields contained 'Pixey' all as Pixey Mead or Pixey Meadow. Surprisingly few fields were named after wild animals and the sample includes Badger's Field at Dymsdale, Alwington, Bat Park Meadow at Smales, Monkleigh, Cony Park at Henaford 6, Welcombe and Weazel Ham at Bulkworthy Mill, Bulkworthy.

Conclusions

The culm country of northern Devon had a very different agricultural landscape in *c.*1840 from the present day. The quantity of land in some form of arable rotation seems such a far cry from the contemporary landscape, dominated as it is by permanent grass. It is also something of a shock to realise that much of what is now regarded as classic culm grassland was actually arable in *c.*1840. The Tithe Survey gives a glimpse of the older practices of convertible husbandry and beat burning or Devonshiring which were scarcely to survive another generation. The Tithe Survey also shows another element, largely forgotten, and certainly hard to find surviving evidence of in the contemporary landscape, the float meadow. Another feature of the Tithe Survey landscape, the orchard, has declined sharply and many of those recorded have not just been grubbed up but the ground on which they stood incorporated in new and larger fields about the farmstead. Many of the fields whose names were meticulously recorded by the surveyors have also vanished.

The Tithe Survey data do not show anything of animal husbandry and nor do they permit much detail in the way in which the farms were worked. Practices such as convertible husbandry and beat-burning may be inferred but the people who carried out these tasks are harder to identify. The 1841 census allows farm servants and farm labourers living on the farm itself to be identified and farm labourers living in the villages and hamlets can be recognised but the total farm labour force is hard to reconstruct. Fuller parish based studies using the census and parish registers to complement the Tithe Survey may allow this to be done but call upon skills that this historical geographer feels he lacks.

NOTES

1. The sample parishes are: Abbots Bickington; Abbotsham; Alwington; Bulkworthy; East Putford; Huish; Landcross; Mariansleigh (North Devon); Meshaw (North Devon); Monkleigh; Newton St Petrock; Pancrasweek; Romansleigh (North Devon); Sheepwash; Weare Giffard; We;combe; West Putford. All are in Torridge District Council area except those noted. The locations of the parishes are shown in Figure 1 of the earlier paper, 'Early

Victorian Farming on the Culm: Using the Tithe Survey to Examine Patterns of Land-Holding Tenure', published in *The Devon Historian*, 83, (2014), 59–76, at 61.

2. My calculations of woodland for the modern District Council Areas of North Devon and Torridge suggest that it occupied about 4.1% of the total area and another calculation for the Torridge basin, excluding the River Lew and River Okement tributaries, suggest that woodland was around 5.6%. Domesday Book data was obtained from C. and F. Thorn, *Domesday Book, 9; Devon*, 2 volumes. (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985).
3. Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon* (London: Board of Agriculture, 1808), 180 ff.
4. William Marshall, *Rural Economy of the West of England: Volume 1 West Devonshire* (London: Board of Agriculture, 1796), 145 ff.
5. Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon*, 139 ff.
6. Ibid., 310.
7. Hadrian Cook and Tom Williamson, 'The Later History of Water Meadows', in H. Cook and T. Williamson (eds), *Water Meadows: History, Ecology and Conservation* (Macclesfield: Windgather), 52–69.
8. Christopher Taylor, 'The Archaeology of Water Meadows', in H. Cook and T. Williamson (eds), *Water Meadows: History, Ecology and Conservation* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press), 22–34.
9. William Marshall, *Rural Economy of the West of England: Volume 2, The Mountains of Cornwall and Devonshire* (London: Board of Agriculture, 1796), 57.
10. Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon*, Chapter 7.
11. Ibid., Chapter 10
12. R. H. Worth 'Stray Notes on the Teign Valley: Oak Copse and Charcoal', *DAT*, 78, 167–169.
13. Lucy Ryder *The Historic Landscape of Devon: A Study in Change and Continuity*, (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2013), 143–147.
14. Ibid., 143–147.
15. Helen Harris and Monica Ellis, *The Bude Canal* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972).
16. Robin Stanes, *The Old Farm: A History of Farming Life in the West Country* (Exeter: Devon Books, 1990), 99.
17. Ibid., 98.

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Cultural Conflict in Ilfracombe: Fern-Collecting, and the Cottage Garden Society's Prize-Giving Controversy of 1860

ANDREW JACKSON, ARRAN HART, TRACEY JONES AND RACHEL MAXEY

Introduction

In Ilfracombe Museum copies are to be found of the town's oldest surviving newspaper, *Bright's Intelligencer and Arrival List for Ilfracombe, Lynton, and Lynmouth*. The publication appeared, generally weekly, through June to September of 1860, followed by one monthly edition only for November 1860 and subsequently for the months of January to May 1861. The newspaper was then replaced by the *Ilfracombe Chronicle*. The availability of the *Intelligencer* and the *Chronicle* can be found noted in local directories.[1] Their fortunes have also been acknowledged in other published historical research.[2]

The front pages of the *Intelligencer* are especially illuminating. Cover-page space is generally dominated by a lead editorial, in which the editor sets out what ought to be considered among the more pressing or prominent of current local issues. Most of the cover pages also incorporate a 'Local News' section, with brief summaries of notable events or concerns. A reading of those editions published between June and September 1860 can give readers today a sense of what was felt to be most newsworthy in the town through one summer season, and at a time of great change for Ilfracombe – at least in the view of the *Intelligencer's* editor. An indexing and analysis of the content

pointed towards those topics that attracted most front-page attention.[3] Not surprisingly, the editor devotes most coverage to the manner in which the town was developing and its prospects as an emerging resort. The editor's articles regularly highlight particular debates and issues arising in relation to the improvement of the town and aspirations for it, for example: the need to upgrade water supply, expanding provision for visitors, and making way for the arrival of the railway. This article considers a controversy that emerged in 1860 in relation to the 'cult' of natural history collecting, and how this clashed with established local attitudes and practices.

Narrative

On 6 July 1860, the 'Local News' column on the front page of the *Intelligencer* included a brief note on the forthcoming exhibition of the Cottage Garden Society.[4] It was to be the Society's first of the season, scheduled for the eleventh of the month in the town's Assembly Rooms, with non-members being admissible at one o'clock upon the payment of a shilling.

One week later, and two days following the show, the subsequent edition of the *Intelligencer* bore on its front page, in the local news column, a report on the event.[5] 'The show was pronounced to be good in quality', the newspaper records, 'the potatoes and fruit especially showing few symptoms of the late severe weather'. The Society's President, Thomas Stabb Esq., referring to the table of prizes (see Table 1), observed that the weather had diminished the quality of the produce entered under the category of flowers.

Table 1. 'Analytical Table of Prizes'.

Prizes	Ilfracombe	Berry.	Combemartin	Morthoe
		Vegetables		
78	19	24	27	8
		Fruit		
31	1	10	20	0
		Flowers		
9	7	2	0	0
		Straw-work		
6	3	0	3	0

The editor of the *Intelligencer* was clearly impressed by the work of the Society. The greater part of the front page of the edition of 13 July is also given over to an editorial on 'Cottage Gardens'.[6] The column commences grandly, quoting Lord Bacon:

> A garden . . . is the purest of human pleasures – and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner that to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection.

The cottage garden could not aspire to what was achieved in the 'princely' garden: the 'fairest flowers and greenest shrubs', 'stately arched hedges', 'verdant alleys', 'glittering fountains'; 'wherein art accumulates and arranges with more or less success that which nature has made beautiful'. Nonetheless, there are 'gardens and gardens', and the cottage garden, for the *Intelligencer's* editor, also possessed worth:

> gardens wherein flaunting holly-hock and sunflower grow side by side with scented herbs, and humble vegetables, and early ripening fruit, wherein art does but little and nature much for those who get their daily bread by daily toil within the narrow limits of their several 'landed properties'.

Though lacking in land and capital, the editor goes on to observe, the 'poor man' working his cottage garden could still 'garden "artistically", that is to say, in as perfect and knowledgeable way as possible', and in 'the most economical and productive manner'. To this end cottage garden societies had emerged across England, their objectives being fivefold. First, the cottage garden society brought the 'stimulus of competition'. Second, the 'Cottage-Garden-Show Market' provided exhibitors with a welcome opportunity to sell their produce. Third, the societies provide a means through which knowledge and possession of new and good varieties, seeds, cuttings, among other things, could be spread. Fourth, cottage gardening supported and encouraged a variety of important related activities, 'such as bee-keeping, straw-bonnet making, knitting, and so forth'. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the societies had secured a place for things artistic in cottage gardening:

> They promote and foster whatever talent for decorative art may be latent in the objects of their foresight, by holding out rewards for taste in the arrangement of nosegays, sample baskets of fruit and vegetables, and floral devices.

At the show, the *Intelligencer* adds, Thomas Stabb had called for greater support for the Society from local residents and visitors, given the benefit that they derived from the supply of produce from the Society's gatherings.[7] He also aimed to achieve an expansion of the committee, and, in order to increase both interest and the number of show competitors, announced to the gathering the committee's 'determination that native ferns should for the future be admitted for exhibition'.

On 7 September, the *Intelligencer* included a front-page announcement on the forthcoming Autumn show: 'In spite of the unfavourable season the exhibition of vegetables promises fairly.'[8] The note continues with the reminder that the Society was looking forward to the introduction of 'a novel feature of interest': 'prizes for the best collection and rarest specimens of ferns indigenous to the locality'.

One week later, on 14 September, Ilfracombe's *Intelligencer* reported on the Cottage Garden Society's autumnal exhibition.[9] The show of produce had not been 'large in quantity', but it 'was wonderfully good in quality, and especially so considering the wet and sunless weather which has prevailed of late', with the following being of possible interest 'to those who like to extract kernels out of the hard-shelled nut of statistics':

Table 2. 'Number of Prizes'.

Prizes	Ilfracombe	Berry.	Combemartin	Morthoe
		Vegetables		
91	23	32	27	9
		Fruit		
34	4	2	27	1
		Flowers		
17	14	3	0	0
		Straw-work		
7	7	0	0	0

The report continues, celebrating the success of the new feature of the show:

> The show of ferns, a commendable novelty, was remarkably good. The first prize for the best collection of N. Devon ferns was gained by John Dadds of

> Ilfracombe, who exhibited no less than 56 varieties, and the same exhibitor carried off the first prize for the rarest and best single specimen of an indigenous fern.

The record of the show concludes with a summary of the address of the Society's President, who 'commented on the excellent quality of the show in general and of the ferns in particular'. Thomas Stabb also reminded the gathering to put prize winnings to due and worthy purpose:

> Money hoarded was money lost, that they should gain to spend, and there were few ways of spending money so good as the providing a sound and extended education for their children, who would one day thank them for so great a benefit.

By 21 September, however, it is apparent that 'much gainsaying' at the 'novelty and apparent anomaly' of awarding prizes for ferns had come to the attention of the *Intelligencer's* editor.[10] The lead article, entitled 'Rewards', relates:

> 'What!' cried a large and largely indignant patron of the proceedings, 'give *seven* shillings for a quantity of green stuff out of the hedges, scraped together by men who neglect their usual work and their families' interest for the purpose, when a basket of sound potatoes is rewarded only with a shilling or two! I wonder which is best for dinner!'

The editor, though, was unsympathetic, with the article promptly retorting:

> Clearly all argument is thrown away upon an individual who looks at surrounding objects through the medium of his stomach. For such a person we have no reply; potatoes are best for him and other animals, ferns and pearls are thrown away on them.

The piece follows with an 'explanation (if such indeed be needed)' on the economic meaning and realities of 'rewards':

> Consider the money, labour, and time involved in gathering together the prize collection of Ferns on this occasion – a collection which was probably worth some £12 or £15 – and contrast it with the time and labour expended in

> producing one basket of potatoes: remember too that the potatoes are sold on the spot at the price which they are worth, and that a very small part of the Fern collection is disposed of; and then say whether the prize-money is unfairly distributed.

The editor, having articulated the economic case for awarding a prize for fern collecting, turns to the forceful cultural argument:

> It is something to have taught the cottagers that money's worth exists in our woods, way-sides, and combes; on our cliffs, downs, and sea-bord: it is something greater to have directed their attention to natural beauty of form, to the appreciation of minute distinctions of texture and construction, and to have brought them into contact with those minds who have learnt to value the beautiful as well as the useful, and to believe that man was intended for higher ends than to become a successful caterer of potatoes for dinner, or of apples for desert.

The article of 21 September 1860 concludes with a note of encouragement. The *Intelligencer* had little to say by way of criticism. The controversery surrounding awards for collections of rare indigenous ferns did not constitute grounds for calling this 'most useful and excellently-managed society' to account.

Discussion

Through the Victorian period the demand for provincial newspapers grew considerably, driven by population expansion and urbanisation, widening education provision, and broader engagement in local politics and government. Moreover, the costs of producing, transporting and supplying newspapers fell, while the consumer base expanded – keen to follow local and regional news as much as what was nationally or internationally of note.[11] In Devon, and elsewhere, the range of provincial newspapers titles widened significantly through the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The seaside resort towns, more specifically, were ideal market settings for some of the early provincial newspapers, with an established population together with a swelling seasonal one with leisure time to pass. The press in these centres made lists available of those taking up residence for 'the season'; promoted events, facilities and commodities; and had a hand in influencing local standards, behaviour and services.[12] The publication of newspapers was a commercial business, and it was in the interest of proprietors and editors to

enthusiastically promote local places and their cultural life, and be supportive or, where appropriate, highly critical, of developments that were felt to be counter to the interests of newspaper readerships.

The content of local newspapers in the resort towns also reflected and responded to change. *Bright's Intelligencer* was published at a time of transition for Ilfracombe. The town, like others in Devon and nationally, was at the point of opting for two courses, one being to remain relatively 'select', the other to open up to what railway-line connection and 'mass' leisure and tourism would bring.[13] Both the 'select' and 'popular' phases in the modern history of Devon's seaside resorts brought their tensions. Ilfracombe's fern-collecting controversy was born of the 'select' phase. Middle-class visitors were in search of both health and cultural 'improvement'. Philip Gosse's *A Naturalist's Rambles on the Devon Coast* of 1853 was widely read. Moreover, in 1861 there followed his *Sea-side Pleasure: Sketches in the Neighbourhood of Ilfracombe*, which further motivated the passion for natural-history collecting.[14] It seems that the taste for ferns imposed, for some certainly, a rather too 'unnatural' demand upon the customs and beliefs of the indigenous population.

It might be asked more specifically whether the prize for that best-in-show collection of rare indigenous ferns in Ilfracombe in 1860 was worth it? The conversion of historic values into their equivalence in the present is a challenging one, and not without its methodological problems. However, The National Archives offers a calculator that translates sums in the past into their relative worth, if not to that of today, that of a decade ago, in 2005. For the complainant cited by the *Intelligencer*, he or she may have been quite satisfied and content by a prize of 'a shilling or two' being secured by a basket of winning potatoes; the equivalent of £2.00-4.00 in 2005. However, that same complainant may have been understandably dissatisfied and very disturbed by 'a quantity of green stuff' – ferns – being awarded a prize of 7 shillings; a sum of £15.00 in value by 2005. The winner, John Dadds, was no doubt delighted, but his prize may equally have been deemed reasonable and fitting. If the newspaper editor's estimate, in September 1860, of the worth of Mr Dadds' display is a fair one, as much as £12.00 to £15.00, then the prize appears more than proportionate. Indeed, it is a measure of the passion, interest and market in ferns that the winning collection of 56 varieties may have attracted a sale price, in 2005 values, of around £518 to £647.[15]

Acknowledgements. The author is very grateful for the assistance of the second year history students of Bishop Grosseteste University in Lincoln (2013-14), who carried out an indexing and content analysis of *Bright's Intelligencer*

as a practical exercise; and in particular for the contribution of Arran Hart, Tracey Jones and Rachel Maxey, who carried out detailed follow-up work and careful readings of this article. Thanks are also expressed for the assistance of Sara Hodson and Ilfracombe Museum, and their ongoing interest in this research.

Dedication. This brief article has been written in memory of Robin Stanes (1922–2013), a founder member of the Devon History Society. In the closing years of the twentieth century, I co-taught with Robin my first and, I believe, his final course for the then Department of Continuing and Adult Education, University of Exeter. Robin's avuncular encouragement was most welcome at this early moment in my academic career.

The article is dedicated as well to the memory of Christopher Jago (1946–2014), former editor of the Society's newsletter. Chris was also an especially fine student of Exeter's Department of Lifelong Learning (the successor to the DCAE), who, I am fairly certain, would have been amused by the content of this article.

NOTES

1. Kelly, *Kelly's Directory of Devonshire* (London: Kelly and Co., 1889), 874; E.R. Kelly, *The Post Office Directory of Somerset and Devon, with Bristol* (London: Kelly and Co., 1866), 268; Morris, *Directory and Gazetteer: Devonshire* (Nottingham: Morris & Co., 1870), 106; W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Devon* (Sheffield: William White, 1878–9), 497.
2. Andrew Jackson, 'Provincial Newspapers and the Development of Local Communities: The Creation of a Seaside Resort Newspaper for Ilfracombe, Devon, 1860–1', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), 2, 101–13; Andrew Jackson et al., 'On the Weather, in Bright's Intelligencer, Ilfracombe's Newspaper for 1860-1', *DCNQ*, 61, 5 (2014), 131–4; Ian Maxted, 'Devon', in Jean Rowles and Ian Maxted (eds), *Bibliography of British Newspapers: Devon and Cornwall* (London: The British Library, 1991), 50–123.
3. The methodology employed made reference to: Virginia Berridge, 'Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers', in Michael Harris and Alan Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society from the 17th to the 19th Centuries* (London: Associated University Press, 1986), 201–7; W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (London: Longman, 1984), 250; Michael Murphy, *Local Newspapers and Local History* (Chichester: Phillimore/British Association for Local History, 1991), 16–9.
4. *Bright's Intelligencer and Arrival List for Ilfracombe, Lynton, and Lynmouth* (*BI*), 'Local news: Ilfracombe', 6 July 1860, 1.

5. *BI*, 'Ilfracombe', 13 July 1860, 1.
6. *BI*, 'Cottage Gardens', 13 July 1860, 1.
7. *BI*, 'Ilfracombe', 13 July 1860, 1.
8. *BI*, 'Ilfracombe', 7 September 1860, 1.
9. *BI*, 'Ilfracombe', 14 September 1860, 1.
10. *BI*, 'Rewards', 21 September 1860, 1.
11. Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Odhams Press, 1963); Harris and Lee, *The Press in English Society*; Donald Read, *Press and People, 1790–1850: Opinion in Three English Cities* (London: Edward Arnold, 1961); John West, *Town Records* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983).
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13. James Bates, 'The Development of Ilfracombe as a Seaside Resort (public lecture)', *DAT*, 139 (2007), 17–40; F. B. May, 'Victorian and Edwardian Ilfracombe', in John K. Walton and James Walvin (eds), *Leisure in Britain 1780–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 187–206; John Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts, 1750–1900* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), 122–3, 154–5; James Walvin, *Beside the Seaside: A Social History of the Popular Seaside Holiday* (London: Allen Lane, 1978); James Walvin, *Leisure and Society 1830–1950* (London: Longman, 1978), 69–82.
14. Bates, 'The Development of Ilfracombe', 29; Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts*, 168; Walvin, *Beside the Seaside*, 73–4; Walvin, *Leisure and Society*, 74.
15. The National Archives, 'Currency converter', <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>, accessed 24 January 2015.

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Book Reviews

Peter Fung, *From Venus to Victoria: A History of Fortfield Terrace and Sidmouth 1790–1901* (Sidmouth: Fortfield Publishing, 2012) 134 pages. 60 illustrations, many in colour. ISBN 9780957063808. £11.99p.

Peter Fung's book is a tribute to his enthusiasm for the property in which he lives – and to his commitment in writing a history about it. This is a home-made book in almost every sense – researched, written, designed and published by the author and little doubt he would have manned the printing press too, given half a chance.

His subject is a distinguished terrace of houses at the western end of Sidmouth, with views southwards across open parkland to Sidmouth Promenade and the sea beyond. The book's enigmatic title is a device to set the limits of the period of study: at the 1790s end is 'Venus' – an Italian sculpture once in the possession of Thomas Jenkins, the owner of the estate on which Fortfield Terrace eventually stood, and the 'Victoria' end is exactly that – the end of Queen Victoria in 1901. There is plenty to enjoy among the colourfully illustrated contents, and I'll come back to those once I have disposed of a few minor irritations.

The home-made approach does rather commandeer the page layouts with an over indulgence in type styles and ornaments characteristic of book design in untutored hands. So it doesn't look so good, and the text is broken into endless sections, sub sections, block quotes, tables and diagrams, sometimes making it hard to keep abreast of what's going on. There are some numbered references to notes given at the end of the book (which also serves as a bibliography), and a list of the illustrations. There is no general index and probably no need of such, but as so much of the text is a historic who's who of Sidmouth, an index of personal and place names would have been helpful.

The book is in two halves – the early (and livelier) history in chapters one to seven, and the period 1837–1901 following. In this latter half, a change of tempo occurs and chapters nine to fifteen recount, decade by decade, the life

of the Terrace as it slips from celebrity status towards multiple occupation and less notable clientele. Inevitably there is less to say here, and the regular inclusion of long lists of census data in these chapters serves only to draw attention to the fact.

There seems little point in stopping at 1901, except perhaps that the structure of the eight 'second half' chapters and the sources employed (which the author details as it commences), may not have sustained our interest through another ten recursions. How fortunate we would have been if, instead, the Foreword, which in fact makes a start in the right direction, could have been expanded to cover at greater length the Terrace's journey through the twentieth century.

So, to return to the plus side, while the author may not have thought hard enough about whether his book would be more suited to the coffee table or the reference library, the boundless enthusiasm and endless detail evident in the result make that, and all my other criticisms, seem a bit churlish.

The early life of the Terrace, at least through the telescope of history, looks eventful and beguiling and is recounted with plenty of excellent profiles and illustrations of the movers and shakers of the times, all laced with details of their toings and froings at the Terrace. The later chapters too, although less dramatic, are enlivened by excellent, well reproduced illustrations, and the whole work is pleasantly seasoned with winsome humour. For example, (although it might appear to stray from the subject a little), the inclusion of an advertisement from a local newspaper for 'Dr. William's Pink Pills for Pale People' was, I would have to say, perfectly pitched.

Everything you might want to know about Fortfield Terrace is here, from the growing demand in the late 1700s for accommodation in beautiful coastal areas and the unusual individuals who were moved to respond to those demands as builders, owners or occupiers, to the beginning of wider communications network as the telephone system arrives in Sidmouth just prior to Victoria's death. By 1897, we learn, the system had twenty subscribers, but these lucky few were limited to talking only to each other.

Peter Fung's book will talk to other Sidmouthians too, in much the same way, but it will reach further than that I believe, in particular to those social historians researching the origins and progress of Devon resort towns, and indeed, anyone with Sidmouth in their blood.

Chris Wakefield

Alan Kittridge, *Sail and Steam in the Plymouth District* (Chacewater: Twelveheads Press, 2015) 156 pages. 146 illustrations. Softback. ISBN 97809062948192. £16.50.

This is a nicely produced tour of the coast of South Devon using old photographs and provides considerable detail for each picture. The title, as the author admits, is a little misleading as it covers more than just sail and steam and the definition of the Plymouth area is from Salcombe in the east along the coast to Mevagissey.

The structure of the book is geographic and leads the reader along the coastline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries showing busy ports and havens which were already attracting large numbers of tourists. The captions to each photograph give plenty of informative detail, including vessel ownership and dimensions and much additional material about the people and locations. It will please readers with a wide range of interests from those with a general interest, local historians or those specifically interested in sail and steam.

Not surprisingly, tourism is the dominant theme for most of the pictures and this was the motivation behind many of them, from Sunday school trips to steamboat excursions and trips on boating lakes. The steamboat pictures are numerous, reflecting the rapid growth of the local excursion sector. The concepts of leisure time and tourism grew in popularity across all sectors of society in the nineteenth century. Such excursions were an early use of the first river-based steamboats at the beginning of the century and by the end of the century were extremely popular as the crowded decks of the paddle steamers demonstrate. On page 48 there is a photograph of the paddle steamer *Princess Royal* at Plymouth with its decks crammed with well-dressed passengers and just two small lifeboats hanging optimistically on either side which are clearly wholly incapable of carrying much more than a small percentage of the people on board. It is a tribute to the skills of the crews that there were not innumerable marine disasters. Special interest clubs and societies abounded and excursions were popular with members as shown in the Royal Engineers NCOs, known as the Bovril Club.

Water transport was not just the preserve of the tourist as it provided essential links between the many isolated communities in inlets, up rivers and on the coast. A picture on page 29 of a motor launch highlights the interconnection between the fortunes of rail, steamer passenger services and road transport. Such services were however exposed to the loss of railway connections and new bus services.

Sail is represented from the fishing boat to the local essential river

transport, the barge, and the well-known tragic loss of the *Herzogin Cecilie* in 1936, one of the last of the great sailing ships belonging to Gustaf Erikson. Such deep sea ships were once prevalent along this coast being built in large numbers in places such as Salcombe and Fowey until the advent of steam and iron.

The advent of steam led to the regular liners that crossed the oceans. Many of these were heavily subsidised by their governments for handling the mail. For a while Plymouth had the benefit of mail for British Isles and Scandinavia being landed as it 'could be delivered faster than continental lines landing it at their home ports'. Page 69 refers to the significance of the mail subsidies to Cunard but the reference to Brunel not appreciating the importance of mail subsidies is misleading and out of context. Brunel was first and foremost an engineer and mail subsidies and other matters he left to the other owners of his ships. The photographs of the great Cunard liners and French liners such as the *Normandie* are testament to the busy commercial nature of Plymouth. The traditional naval strength of Plymouth is, of course, a feature with pictures of naval ships from 1850 to the twentieth century. These include the old sailing navy ships used as training ships and the dominance of the naval infrastructure from victualling to hospitals. Plymouth was a place of contrasts as shown on page 71 where the picture of the great Royal William victualling yard, which handled vast naval stores on an industrial scale, has in the foreground on the near shore a simple barge being unloaded into a horse drawn cart.

There is a very good and wide range of photographic material but the geographic emphasis rather than a thematic arrangement, while useful for the general reader, makes it harder for the specialist to find information for his/her subject matter. An index would have helped to resolve this and would indeed have helped to link up the detailed information provided. Overall this book provides a valuable pictorial insight into the changing nature of the coastal scene, from seaside houses to shipping.

Helen Doe

Hannes Kleineke, *The Chancery Case between Nicholas Radford and Thomas Tremayne: The Exeter Depositions of 1439* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2013) lxxxviii + 94 pages. 3 illustrations. Softback. ISBN 9780901853554. £20.00.

Recourse to the royal equity courts of Exchequer and Chancery was frequently used to seek redress for supposed wrongs, usually over property rights, through the medieval and early modern period. Whether motivated by genuine grievance, ambition, personal rivalry or sheer opportunism the common feature was the need for patience and a deep pocket on the part of the plaintiff. They did not offer swift and cheap justice to ordinary people. However, because many cases involved the taking of depositions from witnesses presented by both sides, the vast amount of papers that survive amongst the court records at The National Archives constitute one of the best mines of information left to us on aspects of the lives of ordinary people, even if only as snapshots taken during their short cameo roles. But it is a mine that is hard to excavate, although the cataloguing efforts of the staff of The National Archives are now creating deeper shafts into those rich veins.

This volume is the product of one such excavation, a very full one, and allows us to glimpse the street life of Exeter and the surrounding countryside during 1438. It draws upon the depositions taken in Exeter as the Court of Chancery sought clarity – vainly it seems – in the case brought by Thomas Tremayne of Collacombe near Tavistock against the mighty lawyer Nicholas Radford of Upcott Barton, north of Exeter. The case was ostensibly over the descent of the Manor of North Huish but as Dr Kleineke points out in his clear summary of the case in the Introduction, it was overlain by a number of grudges and rivalries, some of which ran deep and were to have repercussions in later years as chaos overtook Devon in the descent to the Wars of the Roses. Less obscure is the testimony of 86 individuals, from Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon to lowly artisans and servants. To give but one example, Exeter skinner John Pyper was aggrieved at the state his horse was returned in after being lent for three days to William Tremayn, much as a car hire firm today might wince at the return of a rental vehicle that has been hammered in the meantime. The transcribed text is given the usual level of support expected in scholarly editions of original material, with a full Introduction on the case, the manuscripts, contemporary Exeter and Devon, full biographies of the main protagonists and notes on all other deponents, a glossary, bibliography and an index.

It is an accomplished work in the venerable tradition of the Devon and Cornwall Record Society (DCRS), with only a few trivial drawbacks or

internal inconsistencies. The map is a particular disappointment. Since much of the testimony revolves around who was where on which Exeter streets (as named in the fifteenth century) it is unfortunate the map provided is a dark, illegible and unacknowledged reproduction of the much larger original map which accompanied the DCRS's 1957 publication *Exeter in the Seventeenth Century: Tax and Rate Assessments*, edited by W. G. Hoskins. A legible map of Exeter, adjusted if possible for any street name changes between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and perhaps another one of the county showing the other main locations referred to in the text would have been worthy additions to an otherwise thorough and fascinating contribution to the history of late medieval Devon.

Greg Finch

William D. Lethbridge, *Discover Prehistoric Dartmoor – A Walker's Guide to the Moorland's Ancient Monuments* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2015) 160 pages. Numerous colour photographs and sketch maps. Hardback. ISBN 9780857042491. £19.99.

With its rich suite of colour images this book entices the reader. Measuring 12 inches x 8½ inches and weighing not far short of two and a half pounds its curious subtitle would be better written as 'A Coffee Table Guide . . .' as it is clearly inappropriate for carrying on to the open moor.

It is the compilation of an enthusiast using mostly his own good photographs (some taken thirty years ago and showing very different vegetation to today, which is sometimes commented on). A handful of historic images are included.

The focus is on cists, stone rows and circles. Sites are presented more or less anti-clockwise by river valleys, though this is not immediately obvious as there is no List of Contents. However, an idiosyncratic 'index' of sorts (pp. 158-60) reveals this to be the case, covering Lyd – Tavy – Walkham – Meavy – Plym – Yealm – Erme – Avon – Dart – Teign – Bovey – Taw. Sites are not listed alphabetically and are mostly noted by type (e.g. Cairn & Cist) rather than name. Orientation is referred to as the 'lie' of a site, with often completely unintelligible compass bearings such as 53°WNW 21°SSW or 3°NNE 35°SSW (p. 30) and even 52°WWN (p. 117). No grid references are given though the sketch maps are attractive and useful.

For a person who obviously enjoys his Dartmoor excursions, Lethbridge is strangely downbeat about several sites, referring to them as a 'sad little

monument', a 'sad spectacle' or just 'sad'. He states that the stone circle at Merrivale 'rather lets the rest of the antiquities down' and inexplicably refers to the 'sad state of the circles' at Grey Wethers – one of the most impressive sites on Dartmoor.

There is no bibliography, but he acknowledges his debt to Crossing, Worth, Rowe, Page and Burnard – the youngest of whom died in old age in 1950! Jeremy Butler who, arguably, has done more than any other person to locate archaeological sites for the general reader, receives only a brief mention on p. 145, and Gerrard's and Newman's important published works are absent altogether. However, recent discoveries on Cut Hill and at Sittaford Tor are mentioned, as are sites discovered in the 1960s. The author is clearly not aware that the White Ridge stone row extends southwards for another 400m, and dismisses its rather interesting cairn at its north end (though vegetation probably obscured it at the time of his visit).

The author has been badly served by poor copy-editing from his publishers (e.g. it is the Drizzlecombe menhir shown on p. 8, not that at Beardown, and the sketch map top left on p. 88 is for the wrong area), and far too many typographic and other, mostly minor, errors in the text have not been picked up.

Despite all this, it remains an appealing book, which many people will enjoy browsing, wondering if they have visited a particular cist or other site. It also has value as one person's record of sites over three decades or so. But don't use this as a guide – much better is Jeremy Butler's five-volume *Atlas of Dartmoor Antiquities* or Bill Radcliffe's excellent website: <prehistoricmonumentsofdartmoor.weebly.com>.

Tom Greeves

Peter Wade, *Abbotskerswell During World War I: The Story of a Devon Village at War: The AbbPast Roll of Honour Project, 1914–1920* (Abbotskerswell: AbbPast, 2014). 80 pages. Numerous illustrations. Softback. No ISBN. No price given. (To obtain a copy of the book contact Peter Wade, 9 Corn Park Road, Abbotskerswell, Devon, TQ12 5QE, email: pjw52@live.co.uk. A small donation to cover postage costs would be appreciated.)

James Mussen, *Lest We Forget: The War Memorials and Men of Blackawton and Strete* (Blackawton: Blackawton & Strete History Group, 2015) 52 pages. Numerous illustrations. Softback. No ISBN. £3.50 + £1.00 post and packing. Available from Anne Harvey, email: clyston@waitrose.com

Abbotskerswell During World War I is the result of a three year project to record the military achievements and family history of all 18 men recorded on the Abbotskerswell war memorial (the 'Roll of Honour'), and to expand this to record as much basic information as was possible for all the other men who returned safely from active service in the Great War (the 'Roll of Duty'). Using war records, the censuses of 1901 and 1911, and local newspapers, especially the *Mid-Devon Advertiser*, Peter Wade, with the assistance of members of AbbPast, has compiled a comprehensive and detailed work which creates a picture of the village as is appeared before the war, describes the family background and war record of those villagers who died for King and Country as well as details of many of the other 78 men who returned safely from war service, and concludes by discussing the deliberations surrounding the creation of a war memorial in 1920.

Chapters one to three set the scene and show how Abbotskerswell was a typical village Devon village, in having a population of under 500 (468 in 1914), most of whom had been born in the village or in neighbouring parishes like Ipplepen, Staverton, or Torbryan (plus a few immigrants from surrounding towns like Newton Abbot and Torquay, with barely a handful born outside South Devon), and where the majority of jobs were manual and local, with farming, domestic service, labouring and various manual crafts like coopering and decorating making up the bulk of employment (p. 7). Many of the village families were linked by marriage (p. 13) and played cricket and football together, while three families were rich enough to have more than one servant, with Mrs Hare of Court Grange employing at least thirteen indoor servants (p. 8). The book describes briefly the effect of the outbreak of war in 1914 on the village in chapter three, but soon moves into a study of the family background and history of the eighteen Abbotskerswell men who died during the war arranged by date of death, along with details

of many of the other men who served. The volume also, in appendix four, describes the family history of three men who had resided in Abbotskerswell at some time during the war but whose deaths in service are not recorded on the war memorial and in appendix five tells the story of Frederick Lee of Abbotskerswell who served as a stoker throughout the war, but who did not die until 1920 but is still buried in a Commonwealth War Grave in the village. The book also includes a table of the percentage of war dead in relation to the population in 1901 for Abbotskerswell (3.9 per cent died) compared to five neighbouring villages and towns such as Kingskerswell (3.4 per cent died) and Ogwell (0.4 per cent died), a list of campaign and gallantry medals awarded to those who died, and an excellent map, which on one side shows the village as it was in 1918 with every building numbered, while on the reverse is the full roll of duty for all 78 Abbotskerswell men who survived the war, listing name, date of birth, rank, dates of service and unit, address in the village and occupation (and also any changes in name between 1918 and 2014 in the buildings marked on the map).

A great deal of work has gone into this book, and the compiler is to be commended for his success in unearthing so much detailed information, which brings to light both the sort of lives that Devon villagers lived a hundred years ago, and the harrowing events that so many of them were forced to endure between 1914 and 1918.

The work by James Mussen on Blackawton and Strete deals with the family and service history of the 25 men of Blackawton and Strete who died during the two world wars and whose names are recorded on the two war memorials Since both parishes were evacuated in 1943, the author notes that 'those who died have no close relatives or direct descendants living in Strete or Blackawton today' (p. 3), which is in marked contrast to the situation in Abbbotskerswell. Although there is a brief introduction to the two villages and a description of the two war memorials and how they came to be created, this is principally a biographical contribution to Devon's role of honour, and to Blackawton and Strete's place in it. It is a fitting tribute, as is the work by Peter Wade and AbbPast, to the sacrifice so many young men made in order to defend the freedom and liberty of their fellow countrymen.

Paul Auchterlonie

Nicholas Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral: Biographies, 1250–1548* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, 54, 2013) x + 332 pages. Softback. ISBN 9780901853547. £15.

This important scholarly contribution by Professor Orme to the medieval history of Exeter Cathedral builds on and supplements, though it does not supersede, his earlier works on the lower ranks of cathedral personnel, most notably *The minor clergy of Exeter Cathedral, 1300–1548* (1980). Whereas that compilation listed individuals in chronological order within categories, the present work comprises fuller biographies in alphabetical order (not a straightforward task in itself, given spelling variations). Although some individuals' names have not survived in the incomplete documentary record, over 1000 vicars choral, annuellars (chantry priests), secondaries (assistants to cathedral canons), choristers and minor officers are included here – all the names which could be derived from surviving records up to the time of the Reformation (including three men named John Major). The records themselves are found mainly within the cathedral archives, particularly the chapter-act books, the 'payments of ministers' and the accounts of the vicars choral. A wide range of material from other sources has also been exhaustively examined, however, including relevant holdings of the Devon Archives and Local Studies Service and of The National Archives. The length of the biographies depends upon the amount of data available, ranging from a single line to more than a page. The information is of interest not only to students of the day-to-day running of the medieval cathedral. The minor clergy originated from places throughout the diocese (Devon and Cornwall) and beyond, and traces of their careers can be found in areas well outside the South West. A career in and around the cathedral was on the whole a desirable one, offering training, organisation and a relatively secure and satisfying life, but in many cases personnel went on from the cathedral to become rectors and vicars in the parishes.

The informative introduction to the book outlines the history, duties and functions of the various categories of clergy and how these changed over time. The social origins, education, income and economic standing of these men are also analysed, together with the influences of external events, such as the Black Death, upon their lives. Although the bulk of the information within the biographies themselves relates to the biographees' careers within the Church, in some cases additional and startling facts emerge. The 1380s, for example, seem to have been a favourable time for those with murderous inclinations. William Bonok, annuellar and later vicar choral, found himself '[i]n trouble with the dean and chapter on more than one occasion'; he was suspended as

vicar, restored in 1388 and later that year 'purged himself of an accusation of homicide'; then 'having laid violent hands on Robert Kerdewylle, obtained an absolution from the papacy and was restored again as vicar'. He was later excommunicated. John Lucas, Master of the High School, was accused in 1389 of having invaded the grammar school with others by night with the intention of killing his successor as Master.

The book also contains a full bibliography (including 22 other items by the author himself), index and descriptive list of 25 medieval cathedral chantries (of use in tracing the careers of the annuellars). It will surely be the definitive reference source in its field.

Peter Thomas

David Parker, in association with the Devon and Exeter Institution, *Exeter: Remembering 1914–1918* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014) 144 pages. Illustrated. Softback. ISBN 9780750960267. £12.99.

Derek Tait, *Exeter in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2015) 156 pages. Illustrated. Softback. ISBN 9781473823099. £12.99.

The centenary of the First World War has, not surprisingly, prompted a rash of publications on its various aspects. One section of these deals with the experience of the Great War in particular localities. Derek Tait's book is part of a series called *Your Towns and Cities in the Great War*; David Parker, known of course to Devon History Society members as the author of last year's Devon History Society W. G. Hoskins Book of the Year award, *People of Devon in the Great War*, wrote about the county before he wrote about the city.

These books both aim to recreate for local readers the way in which Exeter and Exonians experienced the Great War. There the resemblance ends. Derek Tait has done a workmanlike job of going through local newspapers for the five years from the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in June 1914 to the Armistice on 11 November 1918 and built his book by linking extensive quotations. His illustrations come mainly from newspapers too, although David Cornforth of *Exeter Memories* (<http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/>) is also credited with having supplied material. With this format the reader experiences the war as Exonians did, with events in different spheres of activity following one another, blow by blow. The author's own views on the

significance of what he quotes are almost entirely absent; he confines himself to factual explanations, for example, of the term 'conscription'.

David Parker takes a different approach. His sources, insofar as they can be divined from a book without references (and, indeed without an index), are more varied, and demonstrate his mastery of the resources of Devon Heritage Centre. The picture of the war in Exeter that he seeks to convey is nuanced and thematic, although he manages to marshal his discussion within an overall chronology that leads from the preparations to the legacy, covering a longer overall period that Derek Tait does and giving us more of a sense of the background against which the momentous actions of the war took place.

Readers who choose *Exeter: Remembering 1914–18*, though they may be put off by the grey-edged paper on which it printed, which sometimes makes the captions hard to read, will reach the end with a greater understanding of the many parts the city and its citizens played. *Exeter in the Great War*, by contrast, is an excellent storehouse of story and anecdote, but leaves the historian rushing from page to page, trying to answer questions of a broader nature than just 'What happened next?'

Julia Neville

Alex Potter, *Torquay in the Great War* (Your Towns and Cities in the Great War) (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2015) 128 pages. 15 photographs. Softback. ISBN 9781473822702. £9.99.

Pen and Sword Military have published at least fifty titles in their *Your Towns and Cities in the Great War* series, and the remit of the books is, according to the publisher's website, to 'document the stories of how these cities and towns were affected by the conflict by researching the local newspapers of the day, along with letters ... etc. located in the local library archives.' Each volume is arranged in a minimum of five chapters, each chapter covering a year of the war, and most are full of photographs with long extracts from newspapers and quite naturally focus on the impact of the war on the town or city. Alex Potter, who is a recent graduate in history from Queen Mary University of London, has broken away from this template, by subordinating photographs and newspapers to narrative text, and by focussing as much, if not more, on the progress and even the conduct of the war as on Torquay's response to it (Torquay rather than Torbay is the subject of the book, and there are only passing references to Paignton and Brixham).

One of Potter's central themes is that of 'learning curve' theory of the war, which 'suggests that the BEF (British Expeditionary Force, i.e. the British Army on the Western Front) was ascending a learning curve, constantly learning from mistakes and developing new tactics and technologies that would ultimately peak in 1918' (p. 31). Potter uses the actions in which the Devonshire Regiment were engaged to test this theory and there are many detailed analyses of horrific battles in France and Belgium particularly Mons, Ypres, Passchendaele, the Somme, Messines and the German offensives of 1918. The author uses the career of one of the leading generals, Sir Herbert Plumer (1857–1932), who was born and died in London, but grew up in Torquay and received the freedom of the town in 1919 (p. 87), to exemplify the dilemmas of higher command. For descriptions of the battles in which the Devonshires fought, Potter uses letters published in local newspapers in 1914 and early 1915, for example from Gilbert Winget, and once censorship was imposed on servicemen's correspondence, the war memoirs of two Torquinians, Reginald A. Colwill and Norman C. Cliff (whose book *To Hell and Back with the Guards* (Braunton: Merlin Books, 1996) is surprisingly omitted from the bibliography). The result is a vivid series of snapshots of events between 1914 and 1918 which show not only the horror of the war, and the courage of the Devonshires but provide evidence for the gradual improvement in tactics, strategy and *matériel* which resulted in eventual victory.

This is not to say that the home front is neglected in the author's work. In chapter 1, '1914', Potter looks at the enthusiasm for the war both in the town and among young men; he provides a table for weekly volunteer enlistments in Torquay from August to December 1914, and shows that 'despite having only 5.15 per cent of Devon's population, Torquay contributes 18.3 per cent of its volunteers during the first two months' (p. 11), which he attributes to the 'prevalence of the leisure industry' (p. 16). The absence of agricultural employment in and around the borough probably also had an effect, since Devon farmers' hostility to the war is amply demonstrated in David Parker's *The People of Devon in the First World War* (Stroud: History Press, 2013), particularly in chapter two. The author also examines the problems of foreigners or people with foreign names, using the national as well as the local press to discuss the situation, the arrival of Belgian refugees, and the likely effect of the war on the tourist trade. Chapter 2 '1915' discusses conscription, submarine warfare and the Dardanelles as well as action on the Western Front and provides a useful chart of 'Torquay's War Hospitals Usage since 1914' (p. 38). Conscription plays an even larger role in chapter 3, '1916', where the author has tabulated figures of appeals against conscription taken from the local Military Service Tribunals (pp. 47-8 and 54). 1916 also saw

Torquay suffers its greatest loss of life in a single day at the Battle of Jutland (29 deaths).

The home front section of chapter 4, '1917', looks at the arrival of New Zealand soldiers in the town to replace the Scottish and later Irish soldiers who had been billeted there in 1914 and 1915 – eventually 30,000 New Zealanders passed through the town, 'close to one third of all the Kiwis who served in the war' (p. 88), although the author also hints that the rise in illegitimate births in Torquay in 1918 and 1919 may have been an unintended consequence of many troops in the town (p. 89). Chapter 5 '1918' mentions briefly both fundraising and food prices, but focusses as far as the home front is concerned on the armistice celebrations and the 1918 general election. By using the Absent Voters List, the author is able to show how many soldiers serving in mid-1918 came from individual wards of Torquay (p. 80), and also highlights the fact that the town council elections of 1918 saw the first woman standing for election in the borough (p. 85). The final chapter 'Aftermath' analyses the causes of death of the 505 Torquinians who died in the war, the regiments they served in, the average age of the servicemen, the erection of the war memorial, the later career of Plumer and some other prominent citizens of Torquay and concludes with a nuanced judgment on the conduct of the war. The final and very valuable section (pp. 93-122) lists every serviceman who fell in the war who was either Torquay-born or a Torquay resident in 1914. While the work ends with a good bibliography and an adequate index, it is a matter of regret that the author (perhaps at the request of the publisher) has omitted any notes, including references for all quotations from books, letters and newspapers.

The author has decided in his book to take a novel approach to Torquay in the Great War, by providing a coherent, and, despite its brevity, comprehensive survey of the conduct of the war, much of it seen through the eyes of Torquinians and through the actions of the Devonshire Regiment, intertwined with a survey of activities in the town itself. No doubt much more could have been made of the issues on the home front such as food shortages and the proposed solutions, fundraising, schooling, hospital conditions, price rises and employment in the town, but this still is an important and interesting, and, above all, well-structured and well written analysis of the interaction between an English town and the dreadful events taking place less than five hundred miles away in France and Belgium.

Paul Auchterlonie

R. J. Stewart, Devon Great Consols: A Mine of Mines (Camborne: The Trevithick Society, 2013) 435 pages. 73 maps and illustrations. ISBN 9780904040982. £24.99.

Devon Great Consols is the short title of a company that operated five adjacent mines (Wheal Maria, Wheal Fanny, Wheal Anna-Maria, Wheal Joseph and Wheal Emma) in the Tamar valley between 1844 and 1902. It was clear from the early days that the venture would be successful and the summary of the financial returns is remarkable; shareholders received dividends of £1,232,105 and the landlord's dues amounted to £286,372 on sales of £3,360,163 worth of copper ore and £662,285 of refined arsenic.

The history of the mine, now part of the Cornwall and West Devon World Mining Heritage Site, was first brought to the attention of a wider public in Frank Booker's popular *The Industrial Archaeology of the Tamar Valley* (1967) and by the opening of the mine's port at Morwellham as an open-air museum by the Dartington Amenity Research Trust some three years later. The mine site, which is in private ownership, has remained hidden in the forests above the old port until recently but can now be viewed from the Tamar Trails. The author of this book, the mine manager at the Morwellham Quay Museum, first ventured underground here in 1997 and subsequently decided to attempt a detailed history. The outcome is his large, attractive paperback which presents his findings in eleven chapters and four substantial appendices.

The early chapters provide a brief introduction on early exploration and mining before 1844, followed by a summary of negotiations with the Duke of Bedford, the granting of the initial lease and the early discovery of a massive deposit of copper ore. The following chapters, organised by decade or part-decade, provide a summary of progress in each year based largely upon accounts in the *Mining Journal*, the annual reports of the company, local press coverage and estate records deposited in the Devon Heritage Centre. The final chapter outlines the sporadic working and exploration of the twentieth century after the liquidation of the company in 1902. Each chapter is supported by a number of informative endnotes and meticulous source referencing – there are 263 of the latter for the chapter on the 1880s – together with numerous plans and illustrations.

The four useful appendices summarise i) management, workers, welfare and housing, ii) geology and lodes, iii) production figures 1845–1904 and iv) the mine today. These could well be read ahead of the text by those fairly new to mining history as they usefully explain such things as the subtle difference between 'tutworkers' and 'tributers', that are mentioned throughout the text.

Appendix iv) is a particularly valuable introduction to the industrial archaeology of the mine with a 'selected gazetteer' in tabular form which takes us so much further than Frank Booker's summary.

The mine saw spectacular success as a copper producer into the 1860s, underpinned by generous investment on exploration and plant to dress lower-grade ores, much of it powered by water from the Tamar. The high transport costs of taking ores to the river was tackled by the opening of a standard-gauge railway from the mines to the head of an incline above the Morwellham Quay in 1859. By the 1870s reserves of copper ore were diminishing and attention turned to the extraction and refining of arsenic from 'mundic' (arsenical iron pyrites) that was deposited with the copper ore. This ushered in a second boom as arsenic was in great demand as a pesticide and in many of the products developed by the new chemical industries of the time. A protracted search below the copper lode for tin continued to the end of the 1880s but was to yield little. The following decade saw a decline in the demand for arsenic, a reconstruction of the company and, eventually, the decision to wind up this great enterprise at the end of 1901. Work continued during the short period of liquidation, concluding with the sale of the plant, the demolition and the clearance of mining remains, as far as was possible, of the Duke of Bedford's former woodlands.

This is a book for the specialist rather than the 'general reader' who might well be daunted by the amount of detail and will certainly find it difficult to understand some of the technical terms and processes mentioned. Such readers might be advised to begin with Frank Booker and then go to Bryan Earl's introductory surveys *Cornish Mining* (1994) and *The Cornish Arsenic Industry* (1996) before starting on *Devon Great Consols*. If they persevere, they will learn much about mining, financing mines, industrial relations and the approach of a great estate to the exploitation of its mineral wealth. Rick Stewart and the Trevithick Society are to be congratulated on providing us with such detail.

Mike Bone

Gerald Wasley, *Prelude to D-Day: Devon's Role in the Storming of Hitler's Europe* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2014) 159 pages. Approximately 300 illustrations. Hardback. ISBN 9780857042453. £19.99.

This is a book which was well worth writing, and Gerald Wasley is the appropriate author. Having written *Devon in the 1930s* (Wellington:

Halsgrove, 1997) and subsequent books on Plymouth and Devon during the Second World War, he knows the sources and has an acute understanding of current scholarship during this epic period in our history.

This reviewer lived in Exeter during the period covered by the book, and found many resonances in his reading of it, but also a vast amount which was new. A glance at the Contents gives a good overview of the book. Gerald Wasley begins by setting the scene. Using his knowledge of the county he gives a good, rounded account of Devon in the 1930s, and this chapter includes a summary of the little-known amphibious exercise which took place on Slapton Sands in July 1938. This was the first such assault exercise since the infamous Gallipoli landings of the First World War, and the then Brigadier Bernard Montgomery was placed in charge.

This leads to an account of the Home Front before the arrival of the Americans which is what the book is really about; their impact on the county over a relatively short period. By April 1944 there were over 85,000 US troops in Devon.

A whole chapter is then devoted to the establishment of American bases in Devon, and this leads into the chapter on the Woolacombe Assault Training Centre set up in September 1943. The beaches hereabouts were similar to the intended invasion beaches in France, and obstacles similar to those installed by the Germans were introduced here, so that when the invasion took place the troops would be prepared, as far as possible. However, the planners decided that they needed a large area behind the beaches where live firing could take place, so that is why seven parishes in the South Hams were requisitioned, totally excluding all civilians and livestock. This evacuation is well described and illustrated.

This leads to the description of the various amphibious exercises, some of which resulted in friendly-fire incidents, but also an attack by German E-boats on a US convoy in Lyme Bay resulting in the deaths of 741 US servicemen in April 1944. But these unfortunate happenings were not going to put off the invasion of Europe by the Allies and in June 1944 the whole force set off across the Channel with the result that we now know.

The story is well told, with many sources and references listed, though the lack of an index is regrettable. The whole book is well illustrated by nearly 300 photographs and maps, many of them previously unpublished. Considering that when they were taken there was probably an information embargo, it is quite remarkable.

Brian Le Messurier

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 9LU, 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.

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Articles

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