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The Devon Historian

VOLUME 85
2016

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

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Medieval Tenurial Geography and the Open Fields in Ottery St Mary

CHRISTOPHER WAKEFIELD

Introduction

Questions about the agrarian landscape of the early Middle Ages are not easily answered. Contemporary maps are nonexistent and other documents are few. The earliest Devon charters take us no further back than the middle of the eighth century. Even then, only a single estate (Crediton) has a boundary clause to offer clues to the appearance of the countryside. A key feature of modern landscape history is the debate about the open field system – how, where, why and when it came about, and what relationships exist between the character of the strips and their environmental and social context over time. The idea of the open field as the outcome of co-operative ploughing and resource management by entire village communities came to us from Frederic Seebohm in the late nineteenth century, and his analysis is still the starting point of discourse on the issue.[1] The scope of this article does not allow for a detailed argument to support the contention that the fields referred to as 'strip fields' or 'open fields' are, in the case of Ottery St Mary, properly so described. However, their form and ownership patterns are persuasive and they fit many of the qualifying criteria proposed by Frederic Seebohm, Joan Thirsk, Harold Fox and others.[2] There will inevitably be different landscape histories for different places, and individual manors or parishes may show unique landscape features; a coherent unifying analysis of landscape may therefore elude us. Detailed local studies are potentially a productive way forward, and this article offers a case study of Ottery St Mary, examining the

spatial distribution of historic tenure arrangements within the parish. Set in the context of other sources, it sketches a route back into the middle or early Saxon period of Ottery's landscape and social history.

Ottery St Mary – a historical summary

Ottery St Mary, or Ottery as it is usually called locally, is a small market town in a large civil parish of 10,000 acres in East Devon, which includes several hamlets and a host of scattered farms. The parish, which is coterminous with the manor and hundred of the same name, is divided into two halves by the river Otter which runs through it north to south. There are also internal administrative boundaries that divide the hundred into eight tithings.[3] The town of Ottery St Mary is the geographical and administrative centre of the parish. The most productive land is on the east of the river on the lower, flatter reaches of East Hill. On the west side, the East Devon Pebble Beds, which begin a few hundred yards west of the river, mean that the land is less favoured and was, for most of its recorded life, common pasture.[4] Ottery belonged to the church for almost five hundred years (1061–1545), becoming the administrative centre and proto-urban focus of the hundred,[5] although it never achieved borough status. The tenantry, which included in the later medieval period, wealthy peasant farmers with considerable land holdings, alongside craftsmen, smallholders and landless labourers, were by no means invisible or silent in the parish's affairs.[6] When Edward the Confessor gave Ottery to the Dean and Chapter of Rouen cathedral in 1061 he made it clear it was 'for their sustenance' and free of the usual requirements for bridge building, general maintenance and military support.[7] Ottery was clearly a considerable productive entity. It was leased again in 1267 for ten years,[8] and finally passed out of French control when it was bought by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369). Although there are a wide range of medieval documents for Ottery, the information required by landscape historians identifying locations only appear in later documents. Place names often occur as general descriptions – consistent with the medieval view of the local landscape as a collection of locations in common understanding, but often without fixed or delineated boundaries.[9] A number of fields on the periphery of the enclosed resources of the parish with Germanic names suggest extensive early development or redevelopment of the fieldscape towards the margins that we see today. The earliest Ordnance Survey maps show a concentration of strip fields close to the town of Ottery St Mary (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Topographical plan of Ottery St Mary parish including the places mentioned in the text, tithing boundaries and the boundary clause marker points recorded in the Charter of 1061.

Sources: OS One-inch England and Wales, New Popular Edition, 1946, sheet 176; Ottery St Mary Tithe Map courtesy of East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project 2007–2010 (tithing boundaries); Canterbury Cathedral Archive CCA/DCc/ ChAnt R51.

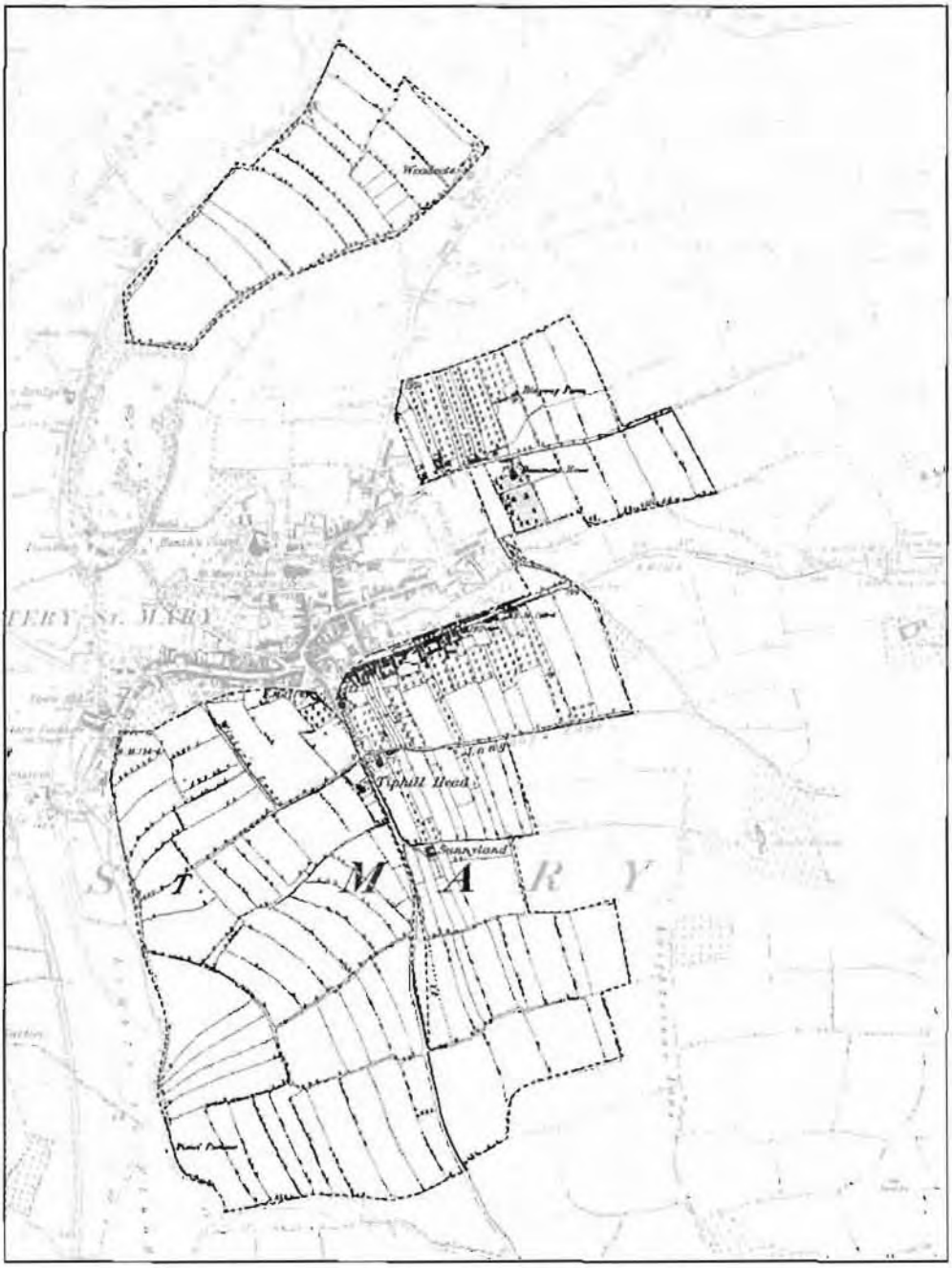

Figure 2. Ottery St Mary town (1897) and surroundings, with principal strip field area highlighted. The fields on the east are more regularly planned using 4 x 40 short perches each (20 yards x 200 yards) and have straight sides. Those on the west have more sinuous boundaries.

Source: 1887 Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inch map (1:10,560).

Medieval tenures in Ottery St Mary

Later medieval property relations in Ottery (1335–1545) are largely governed by Bishop Grandison's review of his new acquisition. His scheme had echoes of pre-Norman arrangements, but the great length of Rouen's tenure had removed all but the faintest reference to them in the documents that survive. These survivals include the several documents referred to in Frances Rose-Troup's essay on Ottery's medieval customs which are re-examined here.[10] The basic distinctions between the tenures are important, and there are subtle changes between the customs as recorded in 1380 and in those of 1680. The reader is referred to this essay for a more detailed description of the terms of the tenures, pending a more comprehensive exploration of the social aspects of Ottery's tenurial history.[11] In spite of increases in the number of tenants and holdings, the fieldscape and total tenanted area in 1680 looked much the same as it did in 1382. Table 1 shows the total areas for each period and the swaps between tenures, which affected an area of about 1120 acres. The overall change in agricultural resources of the parish amounts to a mere 105 acres in the 300 year period.

Table 1. Acreages and holdings in Ottery St Mary in 1382 and 1680

Type of tenancy in order of status: higher to lower, with obligations summarised	Extent in acres 1382	Number of holdings	Extent in acres 1680	Change in area (1680-1382)	Number of holdings
Socage (attendance at manor court every three weeks)	1184	7	1522	338	13
Customary (attendance at court every three weeks; heriot; suit of mill; provide tythingmen.)	4960	127	3941	-1019	155
Five Acre (attendance at court twice a year; heriot; suit of mill; provide ale taster.)	229	41	200	-29	77
Old Barton (attendance at court twice a year; heriot; suit of mill).	1045	101	1169	124	211
New Barton (as for Old Barton)	224	50*	915	691	84
Totals	**7642**	**326**	**7747**	**105**	**540**

*There is no indication of how many tenants of New Barton there were in 1382. This figure has been calculated by apportioning an average from the other tenures.

Sources: C. Wakefield, *Ottery St Mary in 1382* (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); C. Whetham, ed., *A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary* (London, 1913).[12]

Mapping the tenurial geography

The maps at Figures 3a–3e show how the distribution of various tenures appears from medieval and later documents. The 1680 data has been used most often because the location evidence is much richer than the earlier data. Two other data sets from bailiffs' accounts of 1448 and 1453 confirm the distributions,[11] but there are a number of caveats. First, the area under agricultural management is shown to be largely unchanged between 1382 and 1680 with increases in numbers of holdings and tenants representing subdivision and redistribution of existing tenanted lands between the two dates. Second, and more importantly, not all the holdings, even in the 1680 data, can be located on the maps with certainty. Place names in the descriptions of the holding can pinpoint a considerable number with confidence, but others are assigned to the most closely identifiable location. However, because the parish is so large, and the proportion of entries with location data is sufficient, those errors do not defeat the purpose of the maps in pointing usefully towards the general distribution of the various types of holdings. Finally, except in the case of the socage tenancies, the size of the spots is not to the scale of the background, but relative to each other as shown in the legend.

The maps

A number of issues are immediately apparent. The principal socage holdings are in coherent blocks in single ownership in 1382 and remain much the same when they are recorded in 1680 and on the tithe map in 1845 (Figure 3a). There are no socage holdings in the principal settlement areas. The customary holdings occupy both halves of the parish on the fertile areas between the soclands, mostly on the east side below the steeper scarp slopes of East Hill. Those along the west of the river are in two concentrations – southwards from Salston, in the Metcombe area and along the northern parish boundary at Straitgate, Pitt, Taleford and Ash. There are very few customary tenancies in the town area, or on the strip field zones surrounding it, and none at all on the principal strip field zone south of the town (Figure 3b). The Old Barton holdings are much in evidence in the town area of Ottery, in the surrounding strip field zones and on the higher slopes of East Hill. They are almost absent from the west of the river and the Tipton/Combe area, and totally absent from Gosford, Taleford and Ash areas (Figure 3c). New Barton holdings offer almost a mirror image of the Old Bartons, with most of the larger holdings on the west of the river, complemented by a notable concentration of small

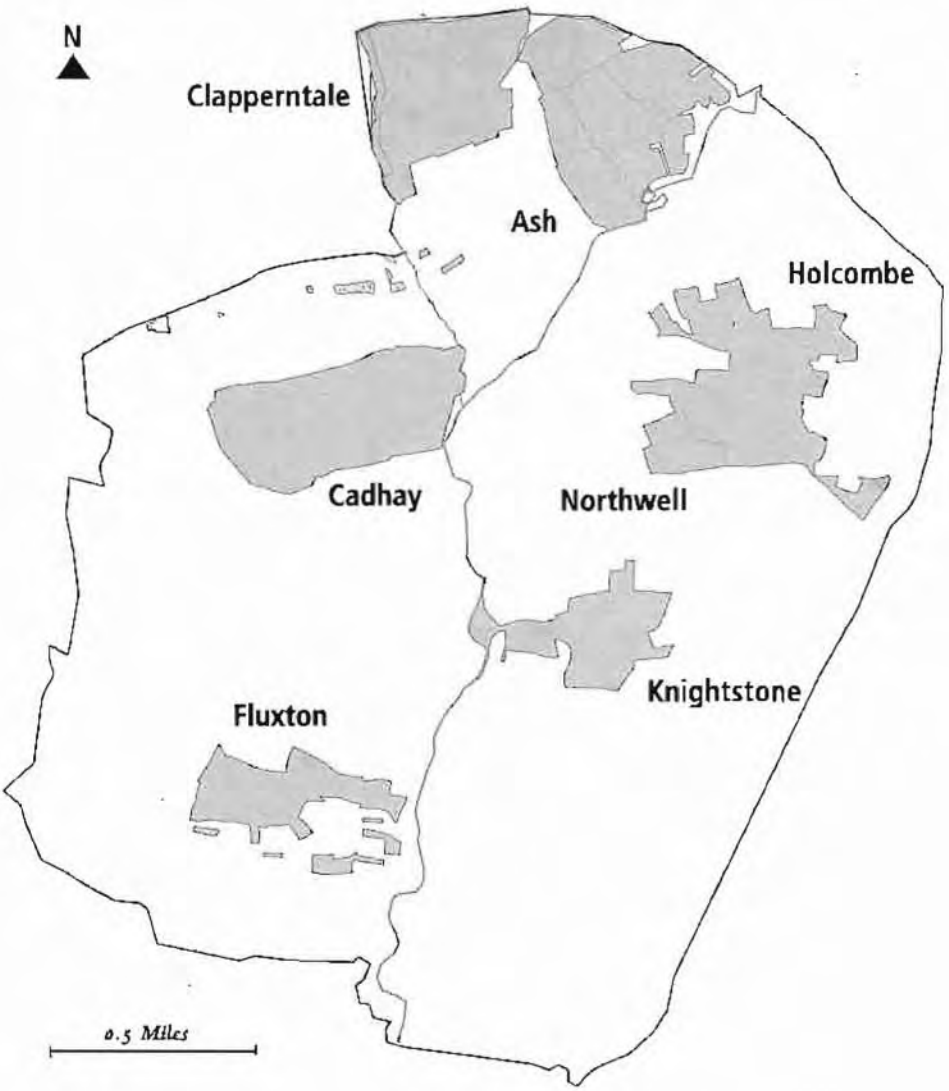

Figure 3a. The seven ancient socage tenancies of Ottery St Mary recorded in 1382 as they appear on the 1845 tithe map. The size of the holdings in 1382 was rated at a hide or parts of a hide and would most probably have been single blocks of land. Most of them had acquired additional land by 1845, although they remained as largely coherent blocks. Northwell (Littlewell) and Holcombe appear together a single block by 1845.

Sources: C. Wakefield, Ottery St Mary in 1382 (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); Ottery St Mary Tithe Map (East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project, 2007–2010).

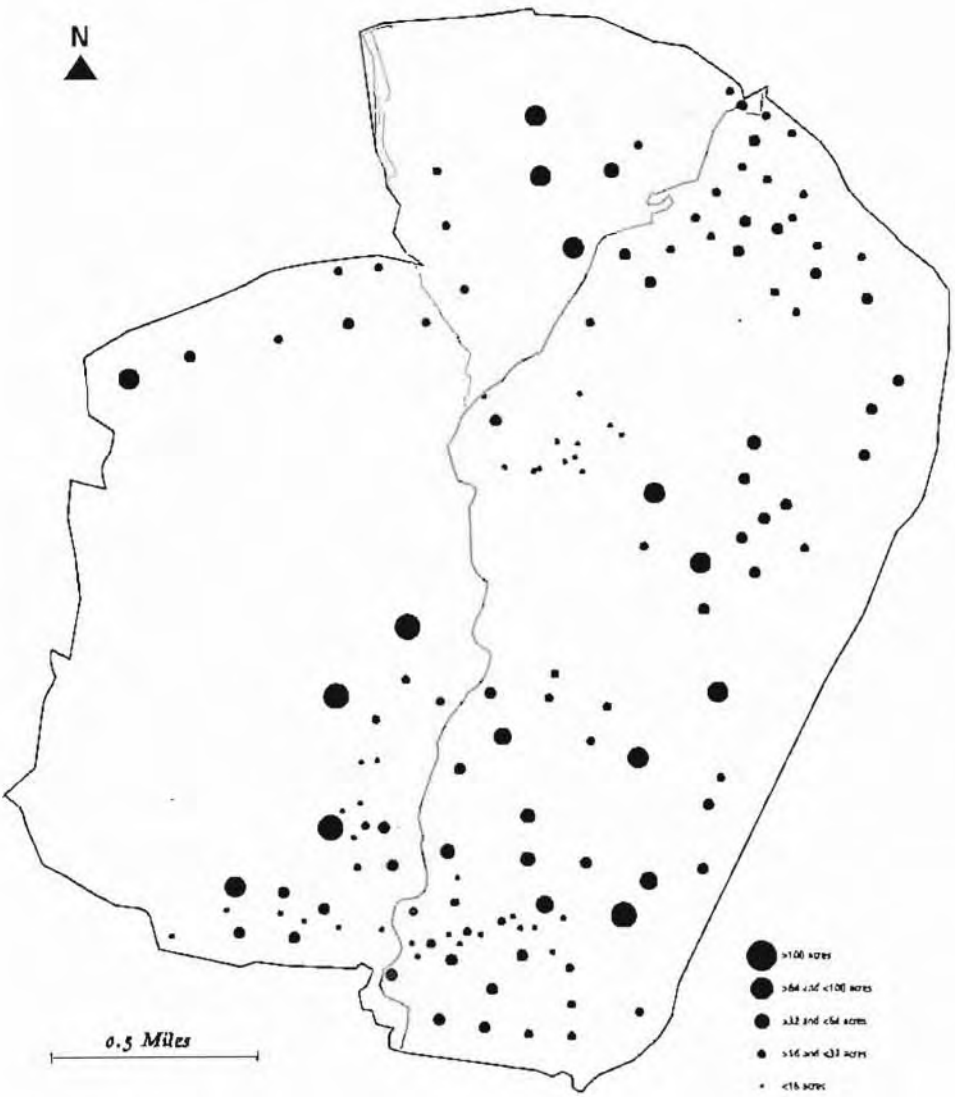

Figure 3b. Ottery St Mary soclands overlaid by Customary tenancies as recorded in 1680.

Sources: C. Wakefield, Ottery St Mary in 1382 (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); Ottery St Mary Tithe Map (East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project, 2007–2010); C. Whetham, ed., *A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary* (London, 1913).

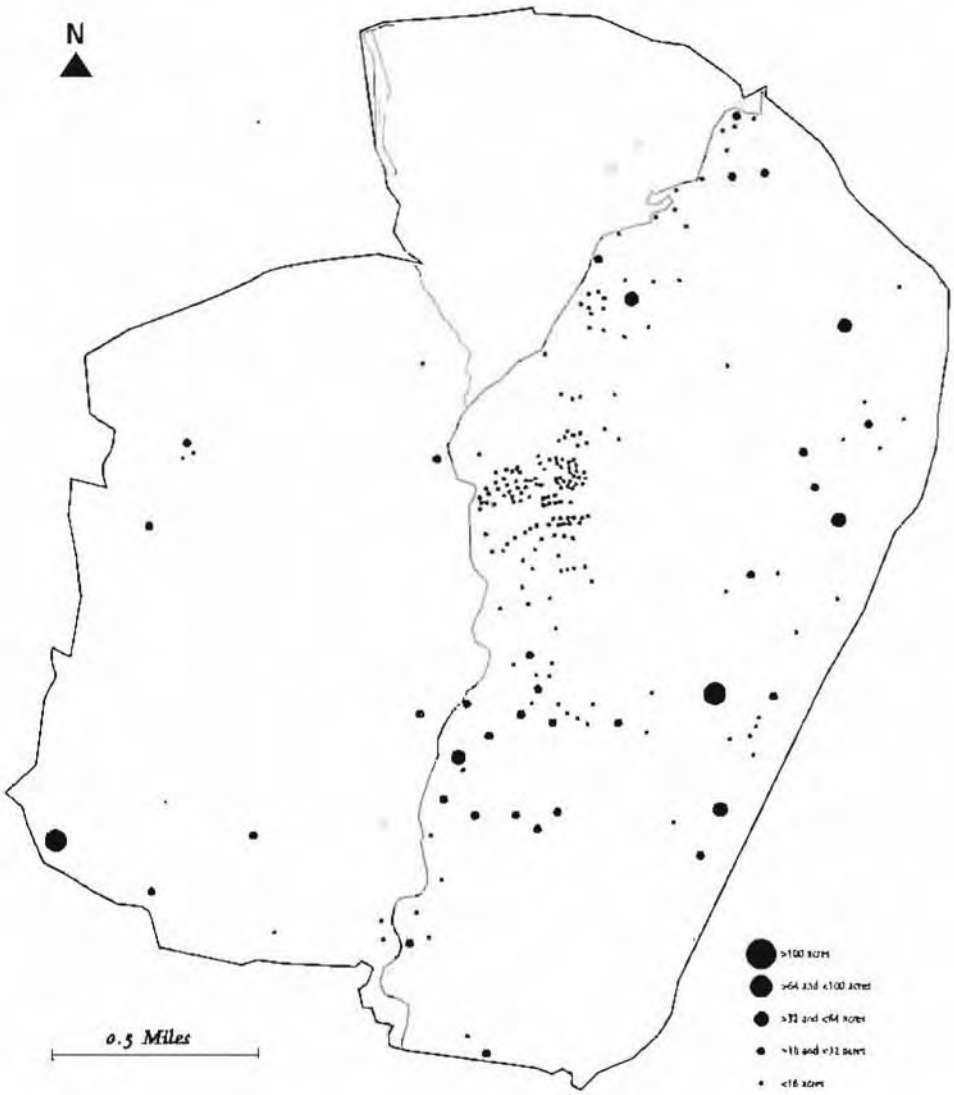

Figure 3c. Ottery St Mary: Old Barton tenancies from 1680 shown above Socage and Customary tenancies (Figs. 3a and 3b).

Sources: C. Wakefield, Ottery St Mary in 1382 (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); Ottery St Mary Tithe Map (East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project, 2007–2010); C. Whetham, ed., *A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary* (London, 1913).

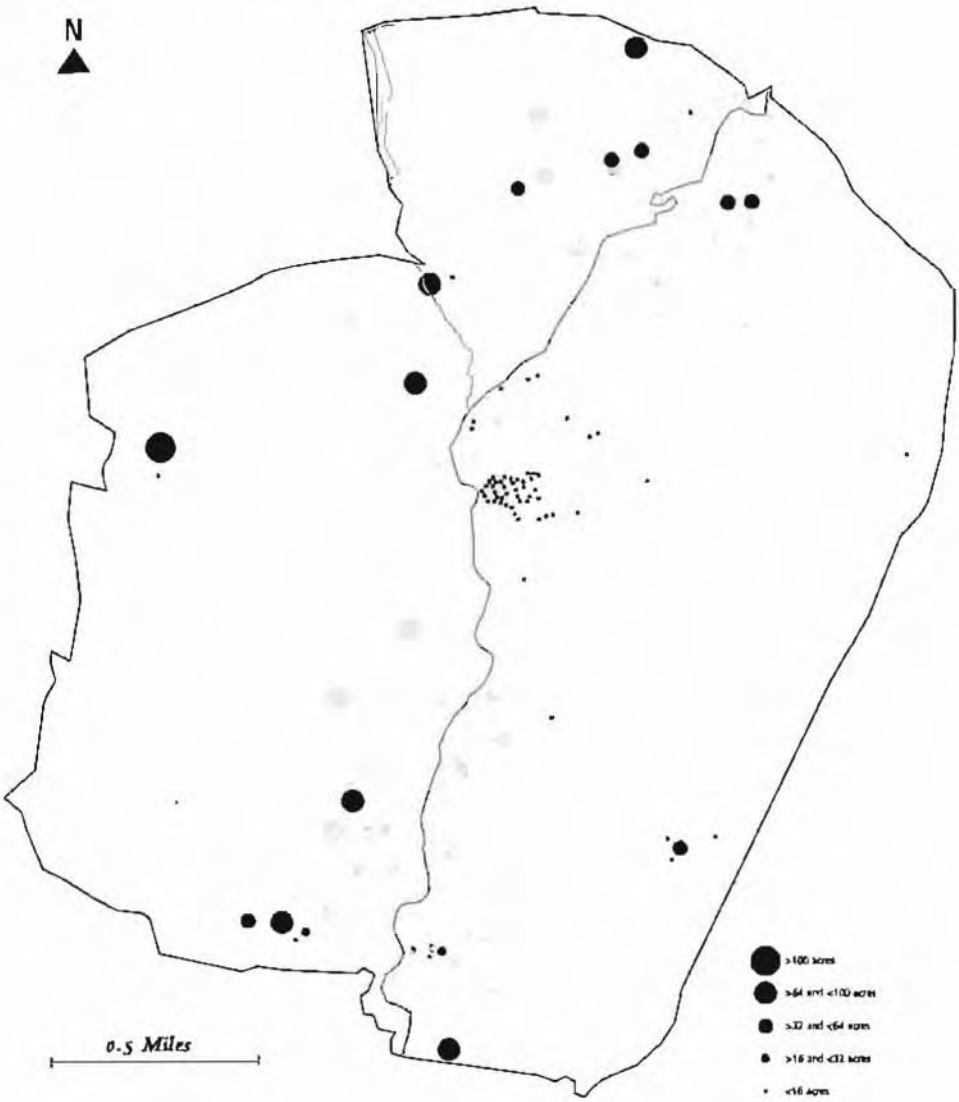

Figure 3d. Ottery St Mary – New Barton tenancies from 1680 above Socage, Customary and Old Barton tenancies.

Sources: C. Wakefield, Ottery St Mary in 1382 (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); Ottery St Mary Tithe Map (East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project, 2007–2010); C. Whetham, ed., *A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary* (London, 1913); TNA, Bailiff's Accounts for Ottery St Mary, Add Charters 13,974 (1448) and 13,975 (1453).

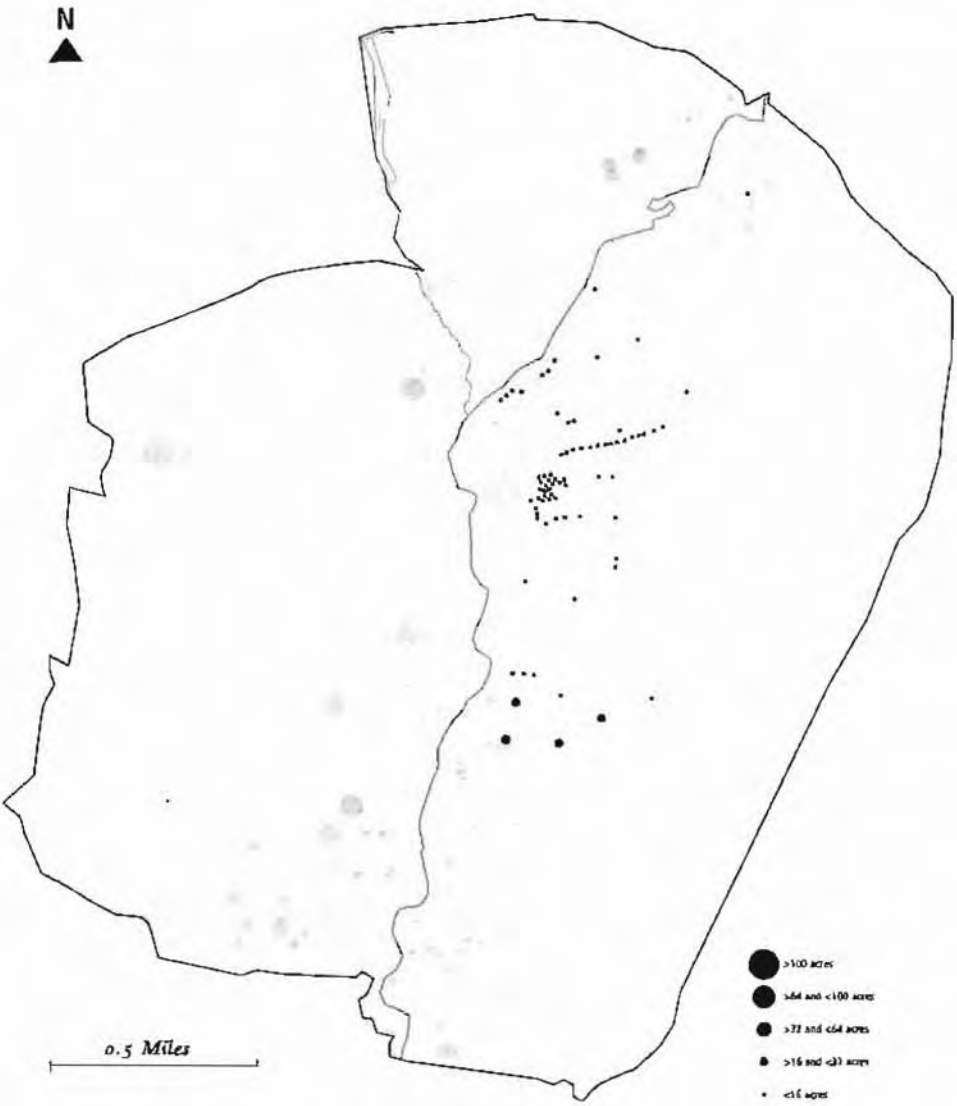

Figure 3e. Ottery St Mary – Five Acre tenancies from 1680 over other tenures.

Sources: C. Wakefield, Ottery St Mary in 1382 (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013); Ottery St Mary Tithe Map (East Devon AONB Parishscapes Project, 2007–2010); C. Whetham, ed., *A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary* (London, 1913); TNA, Bailiff's Accounts for Ottery St Mary, Add Charters 13,974 (1448) and 13,975 (1453).

holdings in the west end of the town, principally in the Mill Street/St Saviours Bridge area. They also appear infrequently in the strip-field furlongs north, east and south of the town (Figure 3d). The five-acre holdings are restricted to the Ottery and Wiggaton tithings with a distinct concentration in the east end of Ottery town. They are also represented in some numbers in certain strip field zones on the north and east of Ottery, and in the equivalent fields in Wiggaton too, although precise location data is missing here (Figure 3e).

Distribution of the types of tenure

The sharp division of the town area into a western, 'industrial' zone centred on Mill Street, where the holdings are frequently by New Barton, and an eastern residential/administrative zone where Five Acre tenancies predominate, points to a development in the economic profile of the town as a sub-regional centre for the woollen industry (Figure 4).

The precise point at which New Barton tenancies arise is not clear – they are not mentioned in the 1382 rental. Whatever the case, they were the tenure of choice for expansion into more modern, business accommodation in the town areas. The Five Acre tenancies seem to serve a different purpose – as the town residences of better heeled tenants – offering a convenient location near the economic focus of the parish (and sub regional) centre that Ottery had become by the late fourteenth century. The standard allotment of a messuage and Five Acre were in the possession in 1382 of the minor gentry and wealthier peasants, among them Thomas Bittelesgate, owner of Knightstone, who also had three virgates of land (90 acres) at Salston in customary tenure, as well as property elsewhere in Devon. Likewise, two thirds of the five acre tenants either individually or as family members, held other lands in Ottery, some of them quite substantial amounts.[14] Between 1382 and 1680 a gradual extension of the built-up area of the town had taken place westward from town centre. Clearly the strip fields surrounding the town in 1382, which were once a significant managed agricultural resource, were at this time no such thing. Ownership remained fragmented, as did the type of tenure – split between Old Barton, New Barton and Five Acre, but much of the land was held by those with urban and mercantile interests, rather than by peasant farmers. The town showed a distinct eastern 'old town' and western 'new town' complexion by 1680, and we are looking, to all intents and purposes, at Ottery as it appeared on the tithe map, a century and a half later.

In the hinterland around the town fewer changes took place during the same period. Most of the countryside beyond the town tithing is dominated by socage and customary tenancies. The only significant change to note in

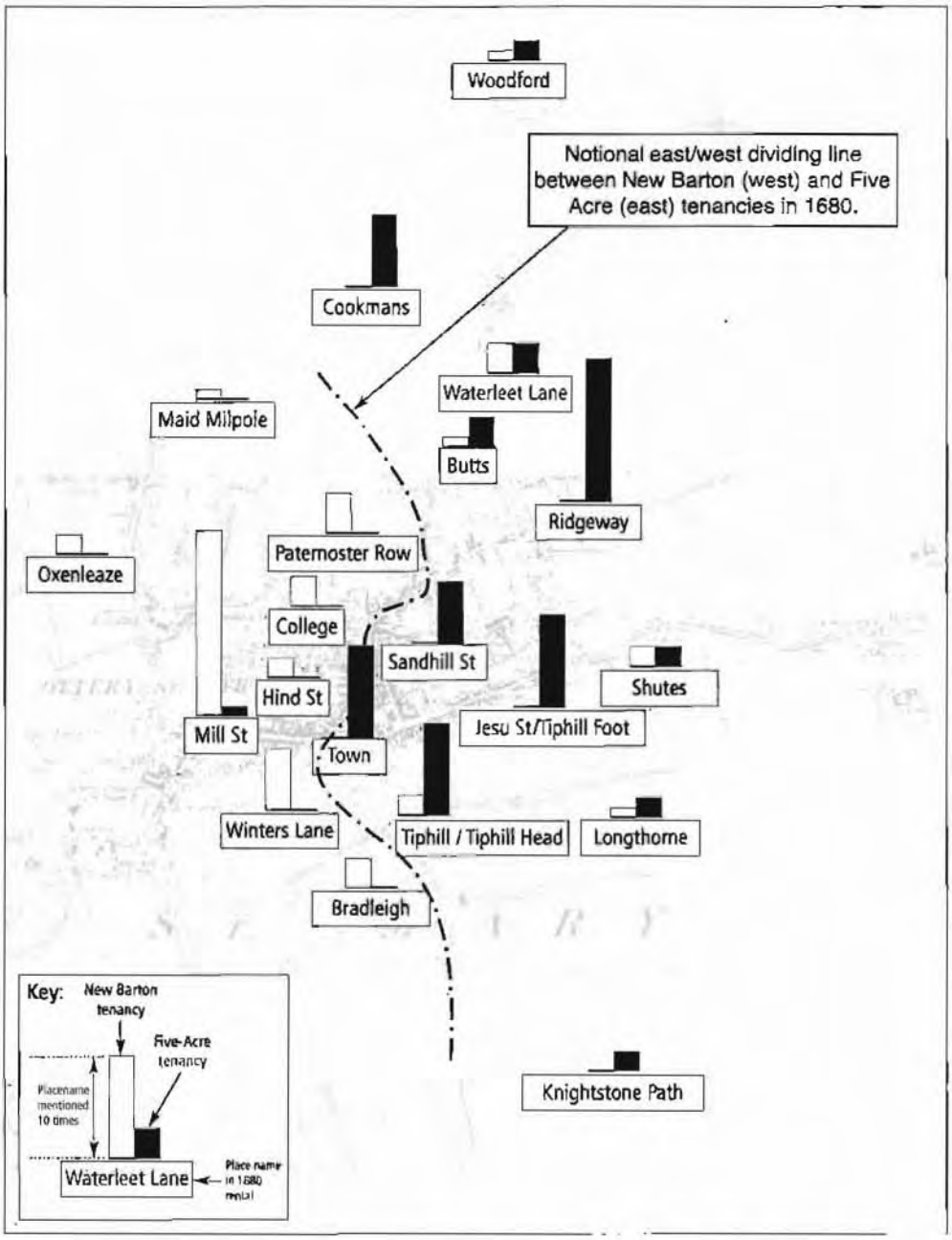

Figure 4. East/West split of New Barton and five acre tenancies in the town area of Ottery St Mary plotted on 1887 OS background. The bars represent the count of comparable identifiable locations within the town area of the two types of holding as found in the 1680 data.

Source: C. Whetham, ed., A Manor Book of Ottery St Mary (London, 1913).

these holdings is the increase in the number of customary tenancies from 127 in 1382 to 155 in 1680, this increase concentrated mainly in the hilly Tipton tithing, and to a lesser extent in Fluxton and Alfington tithings. It is important to recall that the land resource base for these tenancies did not change appreciably between the two dates. The increase in numbers of tenants appears to be the result of subdivision of larger holdings rather than enclosure of waste or common. The Old Barton tenancies that are found outside the town tithing are rare in the areas where the customary tenancies expanded in number and, as noted, are entirely absent from Gosford tithing.

How old are these tenancies?

There is no Norman French antecedent for the term socage, formerly associated with low status Anglo-Saxon peasant tenure, often on the monarch's Ancient Demesne lands (sokemen). But because it was an ancient form of tenure free of military duties, it became popular among gentry lords and well to do peasants as a means of extricating themselves from these obligations, and to this end they were 'full willing to sink somewhat of dignity'.[15] Certainly the Socage tenancies emerge from pre-Grandison records as relatively free of dues – labelled 'libe-tenencia in socagio'.[16] The same document lists Bartoners and Villeins together as a single group next in status, followed by hydars, and lastly cottars, but concerning their duties and obligation we have no information. The innate conservatism of rural manorial affairs meant that revolutionary changes were unlikely. David Hall, for example, has demonstrated a remarkable conservatism in landscape management from Domesday through to the eighteenth century in his study area of open fields in Northamptonshire.[17]

Echoes of Domesday?

When the Domesday commissioners visited in 1086, Ottery St Mary was already twenty-five years in Norman ownership, the transfer to Rouen having taken place five years before the Norman accession. The resources recorded in Domesday were 25 hides of land, 17 slaves, 55 villeins, 24 bordars, 5 swineherds, 8 hides of pasture, 20 acres of woodland, and a garden and salthouse in Sidmouth. The hide was a taxation unit which varied in size from place to place, dependent on its potential for economic return. In Ottery's case, the hide of 256 statute acres, used in both the 1382 and 1680 rentals, may be somewhere near to a realistic areal measure for the Domesday hides. It is twice the usual 'standard' hide of 120 acres, and its derivatives – a virgate

of 64 acres and a ferling of 16 acres[18] make up the language in which the later customary and socage tenures are defined, and which can still be tracked to the modern landscape. The Domesday 25 hides may therefore point to about 6400 acres of productive resource. When the details emerge more reliably three hundred years later, there are about 7400 acres. The difference of 1000 acres might be attributable to generally larger (so fewer) hides as assessed for Domesday, or some piecemeal enclosure of the waste, or a little of both.[19] It has been suggested that the free tenants of the middle Anglo-Saxon period, being originally sokemen, would probably have been counted as villani in Domesday.[20] However the changes are accounted, the 101 Ottery Domesday tenant families would have been the progenitors of many of the 129 families in occupation of the same landscape in 1295.[21]

Landscape and tenure – connections

In broad terms, Ottery's landscape as it was at the turn of the nineteenth century, consisted of a core of urban related strip fields, surrounded by small irregular fields divided between individual farms and tiny hamlets, extending as far as unenclosed commons on the east and west of the parish. Socage tenancies are a characteristic later development of what Rosamond Faith has called 'warland' populations – anciently free cultivators with personal and tributary, rather than feudal, land-based responsibilities to an overlord.[22] She identifies the Anglo Saxon rural economy as a landscape of 'extensive lordship' where such rents and tribute were gathered from distributed lands and communities in a 'warland' zone, into a central, servile administrative/domestic area called the 'inland', usually found at the principal settlement of the conglomerate estate, and designed especially to provide sustenance for a local magnate.[23] Whereas Ottery is a rather odd example of an extended estate, in Domesday it is a single estate, except for a small annex in Sidmouth, and still a worthy candidate. The socage and customary tenants stand apart from the rest in the landscape, occupying the most productive parts of the hinterland of the parish. The area around Ottery itself is held in a large number of very small holdings – almost all of Barton and Five Acre tenancies. These merit closer examination.

Open fields

The area that covers the town and the fields immediately surrounding it represent a large zone of 'planned' landscape in Ottery. Although this is at the centre of the estate, there are no socage and very few customary tenancies,

and these few are small and located, judging by their place names, east of the town on the rising ground towards East Hill, rather than in the urban area or the strip field zones. The holdings in this area are exclusively a mix of Old Barton, New Barton and Five Acre. The last two of these are new styles of tenancy adapted to suit a changing economy in the fourteenth century. Frances Rose-Troup relates the Five Acre tenancies to the earlier cottar holdings, suggesting that these bondmen were based in the town and worked the strips. New Barton seems to be an adaptation of Old Barton to suit the expansion and industrialisation of Ottery in the late medieval to the early modern period. Old Barton itself is probably much older, maybe representing an adaptation of the Domesday bordar or slave holdings. Old Barton is also well represented in small holdings in the town area. Whatever turns out to be the precise pattern and chronology of tenure changes, the special character of Ottery town area as one in which the holdings were clearly originally designed for low status occupancy, sets it apart from the rest of the estate. We might therefore make a reasonable presumption that the strip fields around the town – a landscape planned for regulated production – and held by low status tenures – were in essence a factory in which the servile classes survived and produced a surplus for the local magnate.

There is no reliable method to date precisely the origins of the field systems in Ottery (or elsewhere), but palaeobotanical studies carried out at Pomeroy Wood and Hellings Park – both within a few miles of Ottery and sharing a very similar landscape character, show arable activity increasing markedly in the eighth century AD.[24] The transition to greater cereal production may well have had a correlative effect on the fieldscape. East Devon was picked out by Harold Fox as an exemplar of a transitional agrarian tradition found on the edges of the Midland zone:

> These borderline areas for the most part had never adopted the Midland system: their sixteenth and seventeenth century evidence reveals not a 'two field' or 'three field' system in decay, but the transformations of a type of field system which had never been moulded after the Midland fashion. As an example we may take a tract of East Devon countryside (between the Devon Dorset border and the Exe valley). In the early Middle Ages the villages of the lowlands (hereabouts) had field systems with some similarities to those of the Midland System. Many of them were surrounded by extensive tracts of arable land: the arable lay in strips within units designated as fields and furlongs. But the diagnostic attribute of the Midland System were missing, the compact fallow field was absent, and so too was the practise of village wide common pasturing on the uncropped arable.[25]

Figure 5. Grass baulk field boundary within the strip field zone south of the town of Ottery, OS SY099948, looking south.

The Otter Valley in particular, is a noted hotspot in East Devon for strip field landscapes.[26] The form of the strips south of the town may point to a two stage development of the resources in this area. On the west of the Sidmouth road the fields are long and thin with gently curving boundaries marked by thin, scrubby hedges or occasionally by a grass baulk (Figure 5), many without any hedge at all.

Plot number 1028 on the tithe apportionment is called 'Landscore', often a feature associated with open field topography. The average size of these plots is 2.38 acres – considerably larger than a typical selion in a 'Midland' open field. On the east of the same road are a set of more regular, straight-sided strips set out to contain a statute acre apiece. They are all about 200–220 yards in length and 18–22 yards wide. Those surviving in this unaggregated form on the tithe map have an average area of 0.995 acres. Other proximate fields usually have areas that are multiples of an acre. These more regularly planned fields are probably later in origin than those west of the main road, and may be associated with Bishop Grandison's revisions in the 1330s and allocated as the original Five Acre tenures.

Conclusion

Ambiguity in the evidence for so much of what is sought in landscape history has a tendency towards 'assumption hardening into fact'.[27] One such assumption is that the 'open fields' under discussion here are Anglo-Saxon in origin. That assumption is based solely on their similarity in form to other fields elsewhere, which have slender source evidence of early origins. This article has therefore sought to identify fresh evidence that points to mid or late Saxon origins for these fields in Ottery St Mary. Descriptions of Ottery as coextensively manor, parish and hundred, with a boundary heavily dependent on topographical features, points towards ancient provenance, certainly Saxon, possibly with elements adapted from Roman or Iron Age antecedents. The situation of the hundred as almost an island in the much more extensive Budleigh hundred suggests it survived incorporation into a more rational administrative entity at the time hundreds were devised in the tenth century. Its division into tithings has also survived and many of these trace around field boundaries, which suggests that the fieldscape was much in evidence at the time the boundaries were drafted. Likewise the appearance of several 'landscore' names for significant boundary elements on the periphery and internally, and the widespread occurrence of Germanic field and place names more generally.

The tenurial spatial patterns that emerge reflect the functions of the landscape zones within the estate, and suggest that the open fields were, by association, in use originally by servile or low status tenants. Tenants succeeding to these tenancies in the late fourteenth century were anything but low status however – they included wealthy residents of the parish, and the fields themselves had been converted on occasion to industrial rather than agricultural use. Around this strip-field core stood the Socage and Customary holdings. The distinction between the two fundamental types of holding, with heavy obligations or with few, servile or free, is matched in the landscape by the distribution of regular strip fields immediately around the town and irregular but still smallish fields that fill the hinterland below the common pasture and heath which stretches to the manor boundary. The evidence suggests an extreme social conservatism, and fits well with a claim for the origins for Ottery's fieldscape to be set well back in the Saxon period, or before, with the possibility of small scale adaptations coincident with changes in Lordship.

More precise proposals for the history of our landscapes can only arise from detailed research in localities like Ottery St Mary. Information on a map is important, but it is only a starting point, the details on the ground are

much richer in information. Surveys of all aspects of the landscape – field walking, recording hedges, tracks and paths, watercourses and boundaries – will gradually build a clearer picture of early landscapes.[28] The task is formidable, but offers an opportunity for breaking new ground in landscape history simply by travelling a few hundred yards into the countryside with a map, a notebook, a pencil and a camera.

NOTES

1. Frederic Seebohm, *The English Village Community, Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of Husbandry, An Essay* (London: Longman, 1883).
2. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*; Joan Thirsk, 'The Common Field', and 'The Origin of the Common Field', both in R. H. Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); H. S. A. Fox, 'Field Systems of East and South Devon', *DAT*, 81-136, at 104; 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System', in Trevor Rowley, ed., *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).
3. These are Alfington, Rill, Town, Cadhay, Fluxton, Gosford, Tipton and Wiggaton. See location map at Figure 1.
4. Although there was no Act of Enclosure for Ottery St Mary, much of the common land on the west of the parish was enclosed by Sir John Kennaway between 1800 and 1826 (see the estate book in DHC, B961M/Add/E2, Kennaway papers).
5. Wiggaton was the other possible choice, but it was less conveniently situated and probably already smaller in size than Ottery St Mary.
6. R. Faith, 'The Great Rumour of 1377 and Peasant Ideology', in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (eds), *The English Rising of 1381* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 43-73.
7. The charter exists as a 1227 inspeximus copy in Canterbury Cathedral Archive, CCA, DCc, ChAnt R51. The prologue includes the phrase 'in illo loco prebuerint victus sui alimentis alimenta augeant' which translates (approximately) as 'to enhance the supply of food to sustain those in that place'.
8. Charte, G4056, Archive of Seine Inferieure 1267. This document has not been noted in any previous work on Ottery and is missing from Horace Round's list of French documents.
9. The term *apud* frequently signifies a location with nonspecific boundaries, as in the phrase 'Johio tenet una acrum terrae *apud* Cliff Furlong', where Cliff Furlong is a furlong or other location which contains smaller elements, sometimes with their own names. When a single specific item is indicated the term *vocat* is generally preferred.
10. Frances Rose-Troup, *Medieval Customs and Tenures in the Manor of Ottery St Mary*, *DAT*, vol 66, 1934, 211-233. The rental of 1382 is transcribed in

C. Wakefield, *Ottery St Mary in 1382* (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013). The other principal source of rentals data is in C. D. Whetham, *A Manor Book of Ottery Saint Mary* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1913), part 2 is a survey of the manor of Ottery St Mary.

11. C. Wakefield, *Social Historical Insights from the Tenurial History of Ottery St Mary*, forthcoming.
12. There is a curious footnote in F. Rose-Troup (1934), page 214 which refers to an account for Ottery manor from 1324/5, 'The character and value of the different lands are entered' she tells us, and the footnote sets out the entry: '140a of arable worth 2d per acre = 23s 4d; 15a of moor, pasture on which [sic] is worth 3s 9d; 40a heath worth 1s 3d; 60a mountain land common to all tenants; 18a meadow worth 1s per acre = 18s; total 273a, besides a house and a dovecot belonging to the Lords, and three watermills'. These tiny acreages cannot possibly refer to the manor as a whole, and seem to relate to the town on its own, or to some other subdivision of the manor.
13. TNA, Bailiffs' Accounts for Ottery St Mary, Add Charters 13,974 (1448) and 13,975 (1453). Both of these documents were transcribed by Mrs Rose-Troup in preparation for her 1934 essay in the *DAT* and remain among her papers in DHC, G3/10/11/5/8134 and 8135. They have not been published.
14. C. Wakefield, *Ottery St Mary in 1382* (Ottery St Mary Heritage Society, 2013).
15. F. Maitland and F. Pollock, *History of English Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 2 vols, i, 275.
16. TNA, Alien Priories Account SC6/1125/5/001.
17. D. Hall, *The Open Fields of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
18. The equivalent of a half yardland that was a common measure on customary tenancies traceable to earlier Domesday villani, see R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 204.
19. Hides in Ottery were assessed for its Anglo Saxon estate, and as Paul Vinogradoff asserts 'As for pastoral pursuits, they were still prevalent in the west and in districts covered with fens and marshes in the east; and as the hide included both arable and pasture, its centre of gravity shifted, as it were, in the case of such regions as Devon, Cornwall, and the fens; so that the holdings came to be very large in their surface, and small in the number of acres of arable assigned to them', Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, 3rd edn (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1920), 162. So when Ottery's eventual statute acre equivalents to the hides were made, such was the disparity between total area and arable, they worked out at a large amount – 256 acres per hide – very much bigger than a 'regular' statute hide.
20. R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 215
21. Frances Rose-Troup, *Medieval Customs and Tenures in the Manor of Ottery St Mary*, *DAT*, vol. 66, 1934, Table on page 233.

22. R. Faith, *The English Peasantry*, 137, 'The tenure which represented in Anglo Norman England the way in which the warland tenant had once held his land was socage'.
23. Ibid., 266. The epilogue to this book suggests that Ottery exhibits Inland/ Warland characteristics.
24. S. Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 133.
25. H. S. A. Fox, 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System', in Trevor Rowley, ed., *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 92.
26. A. H. Shorter, W. L. D. Ravenhill and K. J. Gregory, *Southwest England* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1969), 107.
27. Tom Williamson, *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 165.

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The Meaning and History of Indio in Bovey Tracey, and the Legend of its Nunnery

FRANCES BILLINGE

Introduction

Indio is a Grade II listed, Tudor-style, Victorian house built on a woodland site in the parish of Bovey Tracey, South Devon, just over a mile from the centre of the ancient borough (Figure 1). Local guide books state that there was probably a medieval nunnery situated here, although a detailed examination of sources relating to the history of Indio tells us something different as this article will show.[1] From 1216 there was an outlying grange farm on the site, owned by St John's Hospital, Bridgwater. Connection with the distant religious house in Somerset ended at the dissolution of the monasteries, and in 1536 Indio was granted to John Southcott and John Tregonwell. John Southcott built his family seat there and became Lord of the Manor of Bovey Tracey. A pottery business was developed on the site between 1750 and 1836. In the twentieth century some of the land was developed for housing and holiday lodges.

The meaning of 'Indio'

The name Indio, which is sometimes written as Indeo or In Deo, is intriguing. The assertion by local historians since the late nineteenth century that Indio derives from Latin, and meant 'House of God' has persisted, although this

Figure 1. Indio House.
Reproduced courtesy of David Lewis, Bovey Tracey, from his private collection.

is not an accurate translation.[2] The land was not listed separately in the Domesday survey as it was then part of Adenobovi, now called Little Bovey. A medieval house was sited at Little Bovey, but there were only insubstantial farm buildings at Indio. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton in their comprehensive study of place names in Devon showed that in Patent Rolls and other documents Indio was variously referred to as Yondeyeo, Judeyeo, Indiho, Yonyeo, Yondyeo, Yenyeo or Judyeo, and it was not until the early nineteenth century that the name Indeo, with a possible Latin religious inference, was cited. Gover found the earliest references to Yondeyeo in the Letters Patent of 1544, and as Judeyo in 1547. The Letters Domestic of 1765 referred to Indeho, and Benjamin Donne's map of Devon (also 1765) used Indiho, which on Christopher and John Greenwood's 1827 map of Devon became Indeo.[3]

Gover described Indio as meaning '[place] beyond the water'. He presented examples of numerous Devon place names which are formed with a prefixed prepositional phrase and in which the first element is the Old English 'begeondan, begeonde', as in 'Indio', from 'begeondam ea' meaning 'on the far side of the river'. The 'yeo' element is a common stream name through-

Figure 2. View from the River Bovey Bridge uphill to the woods surrounding Indio House. F. Billinge 2015.

out Devon. Gover suggested that in all cases the place would be named by people in the nearest village or large settlement. The site of Indio fits with such a description as it is about a mile from the historic borough of Bovey Tracey on the slope of a hill above the river valley (Figure 2), and the naming is consistent with that made by people in similar places.[4] More recent authors studying English place names support 'begeondon' as meaning beyond, and in many modern forms becoming 'Indi' for 'on the other side of the valley' – hence Indio. The Bovey Tracey example would have started as the description begeondan [y]eo, contracting to Yondyeo, and finally becoming the modern form Indio.[5]

The history of Indio

The thirteenth century was a period of expanding trade and development in Bovey (Tracey), and borough status was granted during this period. Although the Tracy family were lords of the manor the name Tracy, or Tracey, was not recorded as part of the place name until 1337. In 1219 Eva de Tracy, was granted permission by Henry III to hold a weekly market at the manor, and a charter allowing an annual fair was awarded fifty years later.[6] In 1219 Henry de Tracy, Lord of the Manor of Bovey (Tracey), granted its parish church and some lands, including Indio, to St John's Hospital Bridgwater.

This endowment was re-confirmed in 1227 and maintained until the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.[7] Granting a parish church and lands to a religious house in another county was not unusual in the late twelfth century. Such grants were one of the ways for the donor to ensure that prayers were offered up for his soul after death, which in the religious culture of the time was believed to lessen the time spent in Purgatory for purification from sin, thereby hastening the entry into heaven. By the later 1100s a quarter of all parish churches were owned by religious houses, and grange farms were developed in the later medieval period to provide them with an additional source of income. While some grange farms were acquired by endowment, others were purchased as an investment, so they were not necessarily situated near the mother house and were leased out for rent when they became burdensome for the mother house to run.[8]

What was a grange farm?

Granges were not founded to house a religious community, but rather to house labourers and supervisors farming the estate, and they were required to be self-sufficient. Indio was land on which no buildings were referred to, and was granted to St John's Hospital Bridgwater in 1219. The hospital had been established to help care for the needy and to provide hospitality to poor travellers. It was run by an abbot and twelve religious brothers. Indio's farm land was rented out to supplement the funding of this religious house. The only other farm land owned by St John's outside Somerset was in Fleet Street, London.[9] It was not unusual for religious foundations elsewhere in the country to have property and grange farms in Devon. Joyce Youings has shown that twenty-seven religious foundations from thirteen other counties, some as far away as Pembrokeshire and Warwickshire, held farm lands in Devon.[10] Colin Platt, Joan Greatrex and Graham Brown have also published studies which examine such scattered monastic estates and granges.[11] Devon religious foundations, however, generally held lands within their own county as Nicholas Orme and John Jenkins have shown.[12] Grange farms were not true monastic communities, as they were founded and directed by lay brothers. As such there was no need for a cloister or a chapel. Many early granges were poor and failed to survive, as the bulk of their money was required to support the main religious house. There were also problems managing the brothers who visited to oversee the estate. Finding labour for the grange farm later known as Indio would not have been easy as it did not come under the feudal ownership of the Lord of the Manor of Bovey Tracey.

Indio at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries

We learn more about Indio from state papers at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. Joyce Youings listed the grants given for each dissolved religious institution. In 1544 property at Indio and Ullacombe in the parish of Bovey Tracey, late of St John's Hospital, Bridgwater, Somerset was granted to John Southcott of Bodmin and John Tregonwell of Middleton. She provided further details about this property:

> Rent of a messuage in Yondyeo leased on 15 July 1531 to John Southcote, his wife Joan and Johns's heirs for ever, 26s 8d; rent of a cottage on Owlecombe held by Thomas Underhay, 5s, property in Dorset 8s. Certified with declarations including a note that all these are 'quyllettes and parcell of no manors' and, 'I can fynde by no recorde that the rent (at Indio) was at any time more than ys aboveseyd', by Ralph Lamb.[13]

So what was Indio? The word 'messuage' does not imply a farm or a chapel or any substantial building. This description confirms it as farmland and a grange farm – clearly not a manor, or associated with a manor. The messuage would have consisted of buildings for farm workers, their tools and stores. Joyce Youings highlighted that John Southcott and John Tregonwill's total income from the Bovey Tracey grant, which included Indio woods and the advowson of the parsonage, was £41 10s 4d a year. The money Indio contributed to this was very small indeed, being £1 6s 8d a year. St John's did not make much money out of Indio. Its income was nothing like the annual incomes of the Devon nunneries which were valued as £912 for Plympton, £197 for Canonsleigh, and £164 for Polsloe at the time of the dissolution.[14] Interestingly John Tregonwell, joint purchaser of Indio with his relation John Southcott, acted as Thomas Cromwell's agent in visiting St John's Bridgwater to assess its wealth prior to the dissolution.

Indio after 1544

After purchasing Indio, John Southcott built his family seat there and became Lord of the Manor of Bovey Tracey. His son Thomas inherited Indio and the lordship in 1556. Information on subsequent owners of the estate is inconsistent, but it is recorded that Indio and the lordship were held by the heirs of Nicholas Everleigh until 1658, when they were bought by Sir John Stawell. Following Stawell's death in 1689 Indio was owned by the Inglett family who were related to the Southcotts, but the Ingletts did not purchase

the lordship.[15] Joseph Steer (1776–1856) became the owner in the eighteenth century and with his brother Thomas developed a successful pottery business on the estate, until its closure in 1836.[16] An 1844 sketch by local artist Elizabeth Croker shows the house in Steer's time. Her sketch was titled 'Indio Chapel' (Figure 3), thus perpetuating the legend of a religious connection, which will be considered below. Peter Weddell analysed this sketch as part of his archaeological investigation in 1986, and reported that it looked like a two storey domestic building with a porch chimney rather than a chapel.[17]

Figure 3. Indio Chapel, Elizabeth Croker.
Reproduced with the kind permission of Devon Archives and Local Studies Service.

The property passed to Charles Aldenburgh Bentinck in the mid-nineteenth century, who also purchased the lordship of the manor of Bovey Tracey from William Courtenay, Earl of Devon. Bentinck demolished the sixteenth-century house in 1850, and replaced it with the current house built in a Gothic style, designed by David Mackintosh, an ecclesiastical architect from Exeter (Indio was designated as a grade II listed building in 1986). The Bentincks retained the house until it was sold in 1939. After use as a refugee centre in WWII it became Indio Horticultural Training Gardens offering one or two year courses. Since then, Indio has had various owners, and part of the estate was developed for housing and luxury holiday lodges in the late twentieth-century.[18]

Evidence for early medieval settlement

An archaeological excavation in 2009 undertaken by Alex Farnell for Exeter Archaeology revealed one hundred and twenty-five sherds of post-medieval pottery, and thirty-six sherds of local coarse-ware from the 1500s to the early 1800s, but none were early enough to suggest a medieval monastic settlement. Alex Farnell, and Peter Weddell before him, concluded from their archaeological findings and written sources that with the lack of both early medieval pottery and other remains, Indio had been a grange farm of St John's, as also confirmed by local historians in Somerset. Alex Farnell considered that the reset granite columns in the grounds possibly came from John Southcott's earlier building.[19] So far no evidence has been found of any water works, such as would have been have required to service a nunnery or a priory at Indio, either topographically or archaeologically. Neither is there any recorded evidence of granting of a state licence in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, which James Bond tells us would have been a requirement. The only evidence relating to the topography of Indio is one 'ancient' leat and a well for the house. A further leat was dug in the eighteenth century for the pottery works.[20]

The bishops' registers

The bishops' registers are silent regarding a religious house in Bovey Tracey. There were no bishops' visitations, and no representatives are recorded as travelling to London *c.*1291 to take the oath in connection with Pope Nicholas IV's taxation on religious houses.[21] In 1334 Bishop Grandison reported that Bovey Tracey and Morwenstow, both churches within the grants to St John's Hospital, were ruinous and that the hospital was misusing the rectorial tithes of these parishes.[22] No specific mention is made of Indio, and its income was not being used to help Bovey Tracey parish church. Furthermore, no reference was made to any monks or nuns in Bovey Tracey, nor to any pensions being paid following the dissolution of the monasteries. Neither was there any record of an endowment from a patron, all of which suggests that that no religious house existed at Indio.

The Legend of the nunnery

Visitors to Bovey Tracey can walk along Priory, Abbey Road, and Monks Way. These however are all twentieth-century appellations, and not based on historical evidence.[23] There are no field names to suggest any religious

occupation in Bovey Tracey on the Land Tax Assessment of 1770, or on the Tithe Map of 1841, except Friar's field on Whitstone Farm, which was named after a local family who owned it.[24] The only evidence cited in support of the previous existence of a religious house are two medieval archways in Abbey Road, one called Cromwell's Arch, and the other being part of a gateway into the Baptist church precinct. The English Heritage Listed Building entry and the Historic Environment Record describe them as medieval granite arches, 'Believed locally to be the remains of a monastery but no such institution is known to have existed in the town'.[25] Furthermore, English Heritage states that, 'Tradition has linked Indio to a medieval priory or nunnery, but this would seem not to be based on precise historical information', concluding that there are no visible remains of any monastic buildings on the site.[26] This is in contrast to the three recorded nunneries in Devon – Canonsleigh, Cornworthy and Polsloe – all of which have some parts of their buildings extant.[27] Despite a lack of evidence local guide books and the town council web-site perpetuate the myth that there was a monastery or priory in the centre of Bovey Tracey, and the books also refer to a nunnery at Indio.[28]

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 which valued religious holdings at the time of the dissolution made no mention of a priory or nunnery in Bovey Tracey.[29] John Leland, the first topographer of Devon, writing between 1538 and 1547 also did not refer to a religious house in Bovey Tracey.[30] Thomas Westcote in 1630 referred only to the Southcott family seat at Indio.[31] Tristram Risdon, writing between 1605 and 1632 was the first to suggest that, 'Indio was once a priory now the seat of Southcott, Knight, where is built a fair house'.[32]

With so many possibilities for evidence in patent rolls, bishops' registers, wills and land leases, it is suspicious that the first, and unsubstantiated reference we have to there being a religious house at Indio is as late as the 1600s. William Dugdale in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, written between 1655 and 1673, referred to Risdon's description but thought it 'doubtful as no particulars are known of them'.[33] William Jones in 1779 provided a complete list of all the religious houses in Devon before the dissolution, yet he made no mention of any in Bovey Tracey.[34] Tristram Risdon's tradition was repeated by his near contemporary William Pole (1561–1635). William Pole's work was built on and published by his descendant in 1791, stating '*Indehoe lieth in Bovi Tracy, sometime a priory*'.[35] Tristram Risdon and William Pole's assertions were repeated by Richard Polwhele in his 1797 History of Devonshire, although he raised doubts about the evidence, stating 'Monastic House of Indio Priory, South Bovey, seat of the Southcotts, says Risdon, there are still a few remains; though not a distinct tradition in the neighbourhood.'[36]

These 'remains' are possibly those referred to in Alex Farnell's archaeological report. The reference to the lack of a distinct local tradition indicates that evidence of a religious house was not strong.

Nineteenth-century historians questioned the truth of earlier assertions regarding the location of a priory at Indio. Daniel and Samuel Lysons referred to Risdon's description of Indio but stated that the existence of a priory was doubtful.[37] George Oliver in his 1840 study of church antiquities in Devon noted that the parish church in Bovey Tracey had been presented to St John's Bridgwater and that establishment also owned the land at Indio. He refuted Pole and Risdon's claims about any priory at Indio and stated,

> After diligent enquiry we believe this to be a complete error, from confusing the property with the priory or hospital itself at Bridgwater. If it had been a religious establishment, no doubt it would have been noted in the Registers of the See of Exeter.[38]

Later, in his 'Monasticon Dioceses Exoniensis', George Oliver presented a comprehensive list of the records on all convents and monasteries in Devon and unsurprisingly did not present evidence for a priory or nunnery in Bovey Tracey.[39] The Somerset historian, Thomas Holmes, writing in the 1911 *Victoria County History of Somerset*, supported the conclusion made by both Daniel and Samuel Lyson and George Oliver, that Tristram Risdon and Richard Polwhele had been confused about the evidence, or rather the lack it.[40]

We now turn to an American newspaper column of 1885 written by the Bovey Tracey born emigrant, William Ellis. His romantic articles spun an interesting picture of his native town in the style of gothic novels popular at the time. They included legends of a priory at Hind Street and a nunnery at Indio based on Risdon's erroneous speculations, and repeated by various antiquarian authors since the 1630s. These legends obtained a wider circulation as a member of the local Hole family had Ellis's articles reprinted in England in 1930. Unfortunately some later local authors assumed the legends to be based on fact.[41]

What about the nuns' walk?

One of the legends disseminated by William Ellis was of a double-hedged walk being planted by the lord of the manor so that nuns from Indio could walk to the parish church in privacy.[42] The lord apparently did this to recompense the nuns when he married one of their orphaned needle-workers, another gothic

style tale. This is the first published reference to such a path. Local historians have repeated this legend. We know from the history of religious houses that nuns would not have worshipped in the parish church unless their convent was next to the church, and their section for worship was partitioned from the rest of the congregation. It is inconceivable that cloistered nuns would walk a considerable distance over marshy land to attend church several times a day as required for their religious duties. They would have needed a dispensation from the bishop to do this, as well as requiring a visiting or resident chaplain, both of which would have generated recorded evidence.[43] Joint use of a church would also have given rise to disputes over rights to offerings, which saints to celebrate and so on, and no such disputes are recorded.[44] The legend of nuns walking to and from the parish church is implausible.

Lance Tregonning was the first author to print a map of the 'nuns' walk' in his 1983 drawing of such a path from Indio to Drake's Lane. From there the nuns would have had to progress along the main highway to reach the church.[45] Maps from 1641 are extant for Bovey Tracey and show various tracks between the fields, but not from Indio towards the parish church.[46] Both S. D. Turton's archaeological assessment of Bovey Tracey and the Heritage Gateway entry, conclude that a track may once have extended northward from Indio across the river which met up with Drake lane, at a right hand turn.[47] A short portion of track, hedged either side, still exists and was part of Buck's Lane but this did not extend to the river.[48] Some local residents refer to this hedge as proof of the nuns' walk.

So why did Lance Tregonning draw a 'nuns' walk'? Possibly he based his assumption on a sketch plan in the Hole papers *c.*1770 showing a track south from the church called 'Church Path from Indio House to the Bovey Tracey Church'. This was drawn to support Steer's litigation in connection with disputed access to Tracey's Pool.[49] Leases for this land from 1701 make no mention of such a path and only refer to owners having full access. This suggests that it was an insignificant land access path which would not have been double hedged as it would have split the field and prevented animal and worker access to the various sections.[50] Also the names of fields between Indio and the parish church – Deer Park, Allers, Flay Pit, Oaks, and Second Moorhayes – do not suggest a significant path or any religious usage.

Conclusion

Indio is an example of a medieval grange farm held by a distant religious house. The small income it provided for St John's Hospital indicates that in its early history it was not a financial success. No evidence has yet been found

to support the legend of an early monastic house at Indio. Local historians had not checked their sources and so a long running myth was perpetuated, which was widely appropriated to aggrandise the history of Bovey Tracey. Medieval ownership of the land by St John's Hospital Bridgwater could have led to the erroneous tradition that it was also a priory or nunnery. We know that John Southcott, who built the first known house at Indio, had realised a fortune from being the steward of Thomas Cromwell and that he obtained several monastic holdings in Devonshire, so perhaps an assumption was made that one of his holdings in Bovey Tracey was similarly religious.[3] After the dissolution of the monasteries Indio became the seat of a government administrator. Later, in the eighteenth century it became part of the industrial revolution when its entrepreneurial owner established a pottery business on the site. Part of the Indio estate was later developed for housing and holiday lodges, and the main house has now returned to its earlier, peaceful life as a family residence. The legend of Indio's early history as a nunnery, runs on despite the overwhelming evidence against it.

NOTES

1. Armitage Hargreaves, *Bovey Tracey History and Legend* (Mid-Devon Newspaper Co. Ltd, 1968), 26-27; Lance Tregonning, *Bovey Tracey An Ancient Town* (Bovey Tracey: Cottage Publishing, 1993), 17, 88-9; Veronica Kennedy, *The Bovey Book* (Bovey Tracey: Cottage Publishing, 2004), 106; Elizabeth Westwood, *Bovey Tracey Rediscovered* (Bovey Tracey: Combe Meadow Publishing, 2012), 36, 69. The above are all local guide books describing Indio as a nunnery.
2. DHC, Bovey Tracey: 2160A/PZ3. Newspaper article cuttings 'Sketches of Bovey Tracey' by William Ellis published in the weekly 'Saturday American' 1885 (days and months unknown); Hargreaves, *Bovey Tracey History and Legend*, and Kennedy, *The Bovey Book*, all interpret Indio as having a religious meaning.
3. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon Part One and Part Two, English Place Name Society Volume 8* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), 467; the following are the supporting evidence cited by Gover-Benjamin Donne *Map of the County of Devon 1765*, no 44 in *The Printed Maps of Devon* (Kit Batten and Francis Bennett, Tiverton: Devon Books, 1996), <http://www.devon.gov.uk/sx87don-3.jpg>, accessed 12 December 2014; C. and J. Greenwood, *Map of Devon 1827*, no. 96, in *The Printed Maps of Devon*; James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, (eds), *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, vol. 19, part 2*, (London: HMSO, 1905) grants in October 1544 p. 527 para. 36 refers to

Yondeyeo; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward VI, vol. I 1547–1548* (London: HMSO 1970), 158. 20 June 1547, refers to Judeyeo.

4. Gover, Mawer and Stenton, The Place-Names of Devon, xxxiii; xxxvii.
5. Margaret Gelling, *Signposts To The Past*, 2nd edn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1998); A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
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Four Neglected Pixy-Led Sources from Devon

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To be pixy-led was to be tricked by the pixies into getting lost: a form of fairy magic that can be paralleled elsewhere in Britain and, indeed, abroad, but that is particularly associated with the south west of England. There are dozens of sources describing this experience for Devon and, to a lesser extent, for Cornwall and Somerset, the vast majority of these dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[1] The author offers the following four notes to deal with neglected and, in some cases, difficult texts for pixy-led folklore: namely, a seventeenth-century survey, two seventeenth-century poems, and a now lost eighteenth-century manuscript. All deserve a wider public.

I. Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire c.*1630

Thomas Westcote was a native of Shobrooke and an important early south-western antiquarian. His works on Devon and the noble lines of the county were not published in his lifetime. But in 1845, at Exeter (under the Roberts imprint), the Reverend George Oliver published Westcote's manuscript (with numerous annotations) as *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX with a Pedigree of Most of its Gentry*. Westcote is to the best of my knowledge (and that of the *Oxford English Dictionary*), the first author to be recorded using the word 'pixy' as a free-standing word.[2] He also, in a passage on the West Devon parish of Gidleigh, makes an unmistakable reference to being pixy-led: though the locution 'to lead you in a pixy-path' is without parallel in later writing.

> Passing from Chagford we are travelling to The [sic] moor to find Gidlegh [sic], where, if we take not great heed, we may soon wander and stray, and so make longer stay in this coarse place than we willingly would; and, peradventure, I shall by some be thought to lead you in a pixy-path by telling an old tale, and yet perchance new to you, of one Martine, Duke and Earl of Cornwall, &c.[3]

Gidleigh is located deep in Dartmoor, an area traditionally associated with pixy-led travellers.[4] However, Westcote here is not stating that the area had a reputation for being pixy-led, but, rather, that his 'tall tale' may be read as an attempt to pixy-lead the reader. Of course, the jump from describing the wandering traveller and Westcote's pixy-led metaphor might have depended on or been suggested by a local reputation for 'mazed' travelers, but this is beyond proof. As *A View* has largely been passed over by folklorists it would be interesting to note here a second pixy, or at least fairy reference in Westcote's work.[5] This is, to the best of my knowledge, the first reference to a fairy tradition (as opposed to fairy imagery for Gidleigh) from Devon. We might wonder whether the locals called these 'fairies' pixies.

> We are now come to the Fee of Winkley, of which many hold land; now called the Fee of Gloucester, being sometime in the possession of the Earls of Gloucester. It is a large parish but a very little hundred, being so of itself. It might sometimes vaunt of two castles, whose ruins yet show, but overgrown with tall trees: of which there is yet, by tradition, many a pretty tale remembered of dragons and fairies: but you have heard of some such elsewhere and therefore we will pass them.[6]

This 'we will pass them' is frustrating. Westcote at no other point refers to 'fairies' and so we might suppose that it is an earlier mention of dragons that he is remembering here ('you have heard of some such elsewhere').[7] It would be foolish to overthink this brief extract, but Devon dragons were often associated with treasure, which was often associated with mounds or ruins: might it be that the dragons and perhaps the fairies were connected to the two castles, perhaps even one to each?[8]

II. Robert Herrick, *Hesperides*, 1648

The Caroline poet, Robert Herrick was not born in Devon, he was a Londoner. But, from 1639 (aged 38) to 1647, and again from 1660 until his death in 1674, he was the vicar of Dean Prior on the edge of Dartmoor. His time out

of office was the result of Royalist affiliations in the Civil War.[9] Herrick's major work of poetry *Hesperides* was published in 1648 and includes poems describing the supernatural, spells, rural calendar customs and one verse about being 'pixy-led'.

> If ye feare to be affrighted
> When ye are (by chance) benighted:
> In your Pocket for a trust,
> Carrie nothing but a Crust:
> For that holy piece of Bread,
> Charmes the danger, and the dread.[10]

Bread, as we shall also see in our next note, was apparently an antidote to being pixy-led in early modern Devon;[11] and 'benighted' is a word commonly applied, in the nineteenth century, to those who have been misled by the pixies.[12] The difficulty is that we cannot be sure that Herrick is referring to Devon here or, indeed, in other folklore poems such as his verses on 'the hag' or the taking down of Christmas decorations.[13] The problem in assigning folklore customs in Herrick's poetry to Devon is essentially two-fold. First, *Hesperides* includes almost twelve hundred poems, only a tiny minority of which can be dated with any degree of certainty; assigning a poem to his time in London or Devon is not, then, typically possible. Even if a poem can be dated to the Devon years this does not mean that the material in the poem was inspired by Dean Prior. Second, we have simply too little folklore material from Britain at that date to match Herrick's material with a given locale or, for that matter, to give anything more than the crudest regional profiles.

Some authors have gone further and have suggested that there are positive reasons for rejecting a south-western connection between Herrick's folk poems and Devon. It has been claimed, for example, that Herrick's fairies bear scarce resemblance to the pixies or fairies of the South West. This must be dismissed. When Herrick writes about fairies he does so in two very different keys: first, in three mannered, whimsical 'dainty' poems about fairy courts, concentrating on the minuteness of the fairy world; then, second, in a series of earthy, folklore poems that describe human relations with fairies.[14] No reader of Herrick's poems could fail to notice the difference between these two styles. The first has its origins in the miniaturising of fairies that began (at least in literature) with *Midsummer Night's Dream* and that has transcended folklore; the second is grounded squarely in popular tradition.[15]

A Victorian writer may give us an important (if vague) clue that folk material from Dean Prior did find its way into the *Hesperides*. The Reverend

M. Howlett, in 1853, described a visit to Dean Prior: 'It is worth mentioning, too,' wrote Howlett, 'that many of the spells, charms and bits of folk-lore that are scattered through [Herrick's] volumes, are still to be found in the parish, and in a flourishing condition.'[16] What were these spells, charms and bits of folklore? There are several charm poems in *Hesperides* including: bread being placed beneath a child's pillow as a form of protection; a knife protecting a child in bed; a witch-catching charm; a form of protection for stablers against the hag; a toad being placed in a woollen jacket to end love; a charm for crossing buns; and one for morning ablutions.[17] There is only a single poem entitled 'a spell' describing baking against 'the evil sprite', which includes bell-ringing as a form of holy protection, something that can certainly be found in West Country sources.[18] Thinking again of 'If ye feare to be affrighted' Dartmoor is the part of Britain most associated with being pixy-led. We know, too, that Dean Prior had a lively oral culture, not least because of the details about Herrick that survived there in folk memory among a largely illiterate population: he, it was claimed in the nineteenth century, had taught a pig to drink from a tankard and once threw sermon notes at his inattentive congregation.[19] This is all admittedly a long way from proof. But it would be foolish for scholars to disregard the possibility that Herrick is one of our earliest witnesses to Devon's folklore.

III. Christopher Clobery: 'The forraign Anchorite', 1659

Christopher Clobery was a Devon author who wrote *Divine Glimpses of a Maiden Muse: Being Various Meditations and Epigrams on Several Subjects. With a Probable Future Cure of Our Present Epidemical Malady; If the Means Be Not Too Long Neglected*, a series of religious poems published in London in 1659. Clobery was resident in Devon when he wrote the book, probably at Bradstone in West Devon, the family seat of the Cloberys,[20] (an old Devon family with three bats on their coat of arms).[21] Christopher may have been the elder brother of John Clobery, a favourite of Charles II and an associate of General Monck, that is the John Clobery who became an MP for Launceston and was buried at Winchester.[22] We have few other biographical details about this author, but he was apparently born *c.*1611 to another John Clobery at Bradstone. He went to school at Marystow and was admitted to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge in 1626 and went on to work at the Inner Temple in 1628.[23] The Cloberys were Royalists: but Christopher was, on the evidence of his poetry, something of a Puritan. Nor was this mere posturing at the end of the Commonwealth. His volume is dedicated to the Puritan poet George Wither, with whom Clobery had had a passing acquaintance

and it is difficult to believe that the poems are insincere.[24] His death date is uncertain but a will is recorded for one Christopher Cloberry [sic] in 1677 at Bradstone.[25]

In his *Divine Glimpses* Christopher Clobery included a pair of linked poems, one entitled *The forraign Anchorite* and the other entitled *The domestick Anchorite*.[26] The first describes a visit by the poet to what was once an anchorite's cave. It is unclear whether this cave was in Britain or abroad: a foreign anchorite (perhaps early medieval Irish) could have lived in Britain, of course. But Clobery is critical of the 'popery' behind the anchorite's beliefs. The second poem includes, instead, the conceit that a modern Englishman is an anchorite trapped within his own body. For present purposes the second poem can be disregarded. The first poem, though, is of paramount importance for south-western fairy belief, because it has the earliest reference in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for 'pixy-led' (as opposed to a locution suggesting the same as is found in Westcote, 'to lead you in a pixy-path'). It offers more, though, than terminology and includes a rich and convincing cache of pixy-lore. The relevant two verses are included here for context. The original has been followed exactly in terms of capitalisation, italics, orthography and punctuation. Note that *ignes fatui* (plural) are will o' the wisps.

> 7) Thy life retir'd augments but their vain-glories,
> VVho laught at thee (in secret), all the while ;
> Thy *fairie Elves*, who thee misled with stories
> Into the mire, then at thy folly smile,
> Yea, *clap their hands* for joy. Were I us'd so,
> I would *shake hands* with them, and turn their *foe*.
> 8) Old countrey folk, who *pixie-leading* fear,
> Bear *bread* about them, to prevent that harm :
> Do thou the *bread of life* about thee bear,
> *God's purest word*, and that those *fiends* will charm;
> That splendid *light* will chase false lights away,
> As *ignes fatui* flie from *Sol*'s bright day.

Verse seven and eight have pixy content. Reaching behind the extended anti-papal metaphor here: (i) the 'fairie elves' (a common early modern coupling) decide to mislead the traveller;[27] (ii) they lead the traveller into the mire; (iii) after having done so they smile and clap; (iv) bread is a protection against being misled; (v) the *ignis fatui* is often associated with being pixy-led; and (vi) the pixies are described in Puritan style as 'fiends'. What is remarkable

about the first five points is how closely they correspond to the idea of being pixy-led as it emerges in the far more numerous sources of two hundred years later. Again and again, pixy-leading ends with the mire.[28] The pixies are said to clap and laugh (rather than smile).[29] Very often the *ignis fatui* is either at the centre of the pixy-led experience or tacked on at the end.[30] In fact, the only surprising detail here is the bread. Nineteenth-century travellers had various precautions against pixy-charms including: turning clothes, shouting a name, and sitting down and undressing. Only one nineteenth-century south-western account gives any hint of bread being employed as a protection against the pixies and that is against children being changed.[31] However, the detail is credible given that bread is used against fairies elsewhere in Britain and, indeed, further afield. Not least it is used, as we have seen above, by another near contemporary writer, with links to Devon, Robert Herrick.

It might not be out of place to note another pixy reference in Puritan poetry, this time from Gilbert Thomas' *Threnode*: or, *Englands Passing-Bell, a Poem* (London, 1679), a jeremiad demanding repentance, in a section entitled 'Romanzi'. Thomas had no West Country connection. He was born and spent much of his life in Shropshire.[32] One of the mysteries of pixy-lore is the geographical spread of early modern pixy belief.

> *The other whom by his discourse I take*
> *To be a Country-man, reply did make:*
> It is observ'd, *said he*, though but by few,
> We never thriv'd since that *Black Bartholomew*;[33]
> Then pluckt we out our *Eyes*, and thought to see
> By a *Canonical Ophthalmistry*.
> But now we'r into Ditch, who ever't were
> That led us thus: but hark methink I hear
> The *Pixie* laugh; but we shall cry (I doubt,
> Or something worse) before we scramble out.[34]

IV. A Devon Gloss, *c.*1750

In 1846 James Orchard Halliwell in his *Dictionary of Provincial and Archaic Words* set himself the task of explaining the word 'pixy'. His entry is unremarkable save for a quotation with which Halliwell finishes his exposition.

> Pyxie-led, to be in a maze, to be bewilder'd, as if led out of the way by hobgoblin, or puck, or one of the fairies; the cure is to turn one of your

> garments the inside outward, which gives a person time to recollect himself: the way to prevent it, some say, is for a woman to turn her cap inside outward, that the pixies may have no power over her, and for a man to do the same with some of his clothes, MS Devon Gl[osses].[35]

The mysterious source for this quotation is explained at some length in Halliwell's introductory section for Devon:

> My principal guide, however, for the dialectical words of this county [i.e. Devon] is a large MS. Collection stated in Mr. Thomas Rodd's Catalogue of MSS: for 1845 (No. 276) to have been written by Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and quoted in this work as Dean Milles' MS. I have been since informed that it was compiled by the late Rev. Richard Hole, but in either case its integrity and value are undoubted.[36]

In Rodd's *Catalogue of Manuscripts & Ancient Deeds* for 1845 we read, in fact, that the folios were entitled *Horae Subsecivæ, sive Additamenta quædam Vocum plerumque Topicarum ad Franc. Junii Etymologicum Anglicanum editum ab Edvardo Lye*, by 'Miller (Jer., Dean of Exeter)' and that Rodd was selling them for £4 14s 6d. Rodd goes on to write: 'This is a very curious and valuable work, particularly rich in words peculiar to the western counties, and illustrating local customs, usages, popular superstitions, sports, &c.'[37]

We have, then, a now missing Devonian dialect list in manuscript. The manuscript was written either by Jeremiah Milles (ob. 1784) or by Richard Hole.[38] If Richard Hole was the rector of Faringdon and Inwardleigh who was born in 1746 and died in 1803,[39] and if we can trust Halliwell that either Milles or Hole were the authors, then we can be confident in ascribing a mid to late eighteenth-century or very early nineteenth-century date to this text. It was written, then, some thirty to eighty years before the first substantial nineteenth-century reference to being pixy-led in Croker.[40] It is certainly the same as the *Horæ subsecivae* quoted by Wright in his *English Dialect Dictionary* for Devon words, and dated to 1777: under Pixy, the sentence 'the cure is to turn one of your garments' is ascribed to this text with the same wording as in Halliwell's collection.[41]

As to the contents of this gloss, there are two noteworthy points. We see the first reference here to turning clothes from the South West. The gender differentiation is unusual. Presumably it was seen as unseemly for a woman to remove her clothing; or was it simply more difficult to take off female attire?[42] Also there is the interesting aside that the ritual turning 'gives a person time

to recollect himself', an astute explanation for the efficacy of later attempts to resist the pixies with turned pockets, sitting, undressing and other strategies. Not a single nineteenth-century author discussing being pixy-led, at least none known to me, makes this useful point.

Conclusion

The four pixy-led sources examined in this article lead to two important conclusions. First, folklorists, in their enthusiasm to record and explain traditions, beliefs and customs have sometimes been guilty of not doing sufficient work in the archives. Only one of these four sources, the poem by Herrick, has appeared in writing on Devon folklore; ironically enough the one source that is not certainly from the county. It is probable that further sources await discovery and that the history of pixy-leading can be further enriched by a thorough scrutiny of early modern texts. Second, anyone familiar with nineteenth-century pixy-led literature will be struck, reading these four sources, with the remarkable continuity of tradition over the two hundred years. The description, for example, that Clobery gives is in a tortured poetic diction, but he details the same sequence of events (being mazed, falling into the ditch, pixy laughing and clapping, the appearance of will-o'-the-wisp) that appear again and again in Victorian accounts. The only evident discontinuity that we find in these sources are the two references (only one of which certainly refers to Devon) to bread acting as protection against pixies, something for which there is no nineteenth-century evidence from the South West.

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NOTES

1. A limited bibliography for Devon would include: Anna Eliza Bray, *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire on the Borders of the Tamar and the Tavy, Illustrative of its Manners, Customs, History, Antiquities, Scenery, and Natural History* (London: J. Murray, 1838), 3 vols, i, 182-183, ii, 254; William Crossing, *Tales of the Dartmoor Pixies* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Frank Castle, 1968), 8, 29-30, 43-45, 48-50, 58-59; Ralph Whitlock, *The Folklore of Devon* (London: B. Batsford, 1977), 33-35; Theo Brown, *Devon Ghosts* (Norwich: Jarrold, 1982), 132-133; and Ruth St Leger-Gordon,

Witchcraft and Folklore of Dartmoor (Newton Abbot: Peninsula Press 1994), 18-20. See now, also, Simon Young, 'Pixy-Led in Devon and the South West', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, forthcoming.

2. *OED* on CD Rom 4.0, based on second Edition (1989) with additions: *vox* 'pixie'. Note that under 'Colt-pixie' the same edition of the *OED* has a reference from 1542 (Nicholas Udall, the Hampshire author, 'I shall be ready at thine elbow to plaie the part of Hobgoglin or Collepixie', in Udall's translation of Erasmus's *Apophthegmes*) and from 1581 (James Bell, the Somerset reformer, 'Ye cannot choose but mervayle also, what collpixie [L. quis malus genius] had so bewitched hym', in Bell's translation of *Against Jerome Osorius*). These references have been included under 'pixie' in the *Online OED* (accessed June 2016). Is the Coll(e)pixie a monster that appears in the shape of a horse, or a pixy that rides a horse, what Enys Tregarthen, *North Cornwall Fairies and Legends* (London: Wells Gardner, 1906), xi-xii and 34-43, called 'night-riders'?
3. *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX with a Pedigree of Most of its Gentry* (Exeter: Roberts, 1845), 433.
4. Sabine Baring-Gould, *A Book of the West Being an Introduction to Devon and Cornwall* (London: Methuen, 1899), 184-187.
5. There are mentions (though no fairies or pixies) in Whitlock, *Folklore*, 71, 95 and 99, Theo Brown 'Folklore of Devon', *Folklore* 75 (1964), 145-160, at 149 and Jennifer Westwood and Jacqueline Simpson, *The Lore of the Land: A Guide to England's Legends from Spring-Heeled Jack to the Witches of Warboys* (London: Penguin, 2005), 186, 188.
6. Westcote, *A View*, 325.
7. Ibid., 300.
8. L. V. Grinsell, 'Barrow Treasure, in Fact, Tradition, and Legislation', *Folklore* 78 (1967), 1-38 and Brown 'Folklore of Devon', 147-148.
9. Tom Cain, 'Herrick, Robert (*bap.* 1591, *d.* 1674)', *ODNB* (Oxford 2004); online edn, Jan 2008, (accessed July 2014).
10. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (eds), *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2 vols. i, 307 (§1065).
11. On bread used against fairies in Britain generally, Minor White Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies: The Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 161-162 and 247-248.
12. e.g. Charles Selby, *Maximums and Specimens of William Muggins, Natural Philosopher and Citizen of the World* (London: Routledge, 1859), 282-283.
13. Cain and Connolly, *Poetry*, i, 213 (§643), i, 271 (§893).
14. Ibid., i, 86 (§223); i, 113 (§293); i, 156 (§443). Note also the additional Oberon poems, ii, 82-96; see Norman K. Farmer Jr., 'Robert Herrick and "King Oberon's Clothing": New Evidence for Attribution', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 1 (1971), 68-77.
15. Katharine Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck* (London: Routledge, 1959), 56-70, and

Marjorie Swann, 'The Politics of Fairylore in Early Modern English Literature', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000), 449-473, at 465-469

16. M. Howlett, 'Robert Herrick and His Vicarage', *Frazer's Magazine* 47 (1843), 103-109, at 105.
17. Cain and Connolly, *Poetry*, i, 270 (§888); i, 270 (§889); i, 270 (§890); i, 270 (§891); i, 198 (§587); i, 306 (§1063); i, 307, (§1064).
18. Cain and Connolly, *Poetry*, i, 245 (§769); Katharine Briggs, 'Some Late Accounts of the Fairies', *Folklore* 72 (1961), 509-19, at 510-11.
19. Anon, 'Art 11', *Quarterly Review* 4 (1810), 165-176, at 172-173.
20. J. Milton French, 'Thorn-Drury's Notes on George Wither', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23 (1960), 379-388, at 387 and *Divine Glimpses*, iii, where the author states he lived two hundred miles from London.
21. William Betham, *The Baronetage of England: Or The History of the English Baronets* (Ipswich: Burrell, 1801–1805), 5 vols, i, 465-466.
22. John Vaughan, *Winchester Cathedral: its Monuments and Memorials* (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1919), 187-188.
23. John Venn and John Archibald Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses; A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–1953), 10 vols, i, 356: 'CLOBERY, CHRISTOPHER. Adm. pens. (age 15) at Sidney, May 6, 1626. S. of John, Esq. B. at Bradstone, Devon.School, Maristow.Matric i62&-7-Adm. at the Inner Temple, 1628. (Vis. of Devon, 1620.)'
24. *Divine Glimpses*, iii.
25. E. A. Fry, *Devonshire Wills and Administrations* (London: Clarke, 1908), 39.
26. *Divine Glimpses*, 72-73, for 'the forraign Anchorite' and, 74-77, for 'the domestick Anchorite'.
27. Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 19.
28. I give here a nineteenth-century selection: A Lady, *A Dialogue in the Devonshire Dialect in Three Parts to which is Added a Glossary by J.F. Palmer* (London: Longman, Reese 1837), 71-72; Archibald Ballantyne, 'The West-Country Pixies', *The Argosy* 64 (1897), 410-422; and Anon, 'Wayside Notes', *Western Times*, 30 May 1873, 7.
29. Again a selection: Bray, *Traditions*, I, 182; Alfred Greenhill, 'Pixey-Led: A Devonshire Ditty', *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 23 Mar 1877, 3; and John Thoms, 'The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare. V. The Names of Shakespeare's Fairies,' *The Athenaeum* 1040 (October 2, 1847), 1030-1031, at 1031.
30. For an example, Simon Young, 'Four Further South-Western Fairy Notes', *DCNQ*, 41 (2013), 69-78, at 74-75.
31. W. G. Willis Watson, 'Pixylated', *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser*, 30 July 1919, 6.
32. John Spurr, 'Gilbert, Thomas (*bap.* 1613, *d.* 1694)', *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 (accessed July 2014). Note that the earliest reference in Britain to fairy disorientation (fifteenth century?) comes from

this region: G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 113: 'alle such [that] been led at nyght with gobelyn and erreth hider and thider', reported as fol. 10 of MS. Add. 41321. This manuscript seems to have originated in the Welsh marches: Gloria Cigman (ed.), *Lollard Sermons* (London: Early English Text Society, 1989), xviii.

33. Black Bartholomew refers to the ejection of hundreds of non-conforming clergy from the Church of England in 1662.
34. Gilbert Thomas, *Threnode: or, Englands Passing-Bell, a Poem* (London: *s.n.*, 1679), 20-23, at 22.
35. James Orchard Halliwell, *Dictionary of Provincial and Archaic Words* (London: J.R. Smith, 1846), 2 vols, ii, 628. Note that Halliwell also refers to the manuscript as 'MS. Devonshire Glossary' (e.g. ii, 713), 'Devonshire Glossary' (e.g. II, 710), 'MS Devonshire Gloss.' (e.g. ii, 798) and 'MS Devon Gloss' (ii, 762). Sometimes he refers to 'Dr. Milles' MS. Glossary', e.g. i, 321.
36. Ibid., i, xiv.
37. Thomas Rodd, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Ancient Deeds* (London: Compton and Ritchie, 1845), 26.
38. Peter W. Thomas, 'Milles, Jeremiah (1714–1784)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008 (accessed July 2014).
39. W. H. K. Wright, *West-Country Poets* (London: Elliot Stock, 1896), 257-58 and Anon, 'Memoir of the Late Rev. Richard Hole', *Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine* (1819) 65-71. We learn in the 'Memoir', 71, that Hole did experiment with dialect including 'a translation into Exmoor of the first eclogue of Virgil'! There was also 'a collateral paraphrase in plain English, for explaining barbarous words and phrases', which may be significant given the present subject matter. The anonymous author claimed to be in possession of Hole's manuscripts.
40. Thomas Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1825–1828), 3 vols, iii, v-viii; see Young, 'Fairy Notes', 69-70.
41. Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary, Being the Complete Vocabulary of all Dialect Words Still in Use, or Known to Have Been in Use During the Last Two Hundred Years* (London: Henry Frowde, 1898–1905), 6 vols, iv, 531. I owe Robert Labanti for this reference.
42. I owe Chris Woodyard for this point.

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George Montagu of Kingsbridge and Lackham: Georgian Soldier, Naturalist and Libertine

TONY PRATT

This paper seeks to re-examine the life and work of George Montagu (1753–1815), a Wiltshire-born man who spent much of his life in Devon.[1] He is best remembered as an eminent naturalist, and early Fellow of the Linnean Society, but there was far more to him than that. Montagu was a fascinating figure who was actively involved in the momentous events of the later eighteenth century, and his military career was no less controversial than his private life.

George Montagu was born in 1753 at his family's ancestral estate of Lackham, situated between the small Wiltshire market towns of Lacock and Chippenham.[2] He was the ninth of the 13 children of James and Elizabeth Montagu, and descended from Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester.[3] Little is known of Montagu's early life, although personal records reveal that he attended Urchfont school, near Devizes.[4] In 1773, aged 20, he married Ann Courtenay,[5] the niece of the third earl of Bute, Prime Minister during the reign of George III.[6] It is possible that they eloped to Gretna Green.[7] Prior to his marriage, Montagu had joined the 15th Regiment of Foot,[8] and in December 1775 he was promoted, by purchase, to Captain on the same day that the regiment was ordered to America during the American War of Independence (1775–1783).[9] The 15th arrived in North Carolina on 5 May 1776.[10] Ann stayed with the Montagu's at Lackham during this separation and it was here that she gave birth to their first child, George Conway Courtenay Montagu.[11]

At this time four members of the Lackham Montagu's were stationed in North America: George Montagu with the 15th Regiment of Foot; his uncle, Admiral John Montagu, who was commanding the British Navy in the Colonies (he was an eye-witness to the Boston Tea Party);[12] and George's cousins, Captains John and James Montagu, the sons of Admiral John Montagu. During 1776 the 15th Regiment of Foot was involved in a number of battles, including those at Fort Washington,[13] Brandywine, Rhode Island, Charleston, and Germantown.[14] George Montagu retired from the regiment on 11 November 1777.[15] It was while he was in America that he first started his work as a naturalist – initially 'by shooting any of the more interesting American birds'.[16] This was not necessarily from a desire to slaughter the wildlife – before the invention of binoculars or effective telescopes, shooting birds and animals was the only way to observe them closely.

After he returned to England George Montagu and Ann lived at Rowde in Wiltshire, where, in 1780, their daughter Eleanora Anne was born,[17] followed by Frederick Conway Courtenay in 1783.[18] In 1786, the family moved to Surrendell, part of an estate near Chippenham owned by George's maternal family, moving two years later to Easton Grey,[19] where their second daughter Louisa was baptised.[20] Following his return from the American colonies George joined the Wiltshire Militia as a Major[21] and in 1791 was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and command of the regiment.[22] The following year he published his first book, *The Sportsman's Directory*,[23] followed by several ornithological publications. He was elected a Fellow of the prestigious Linnaean Society of London in 1795, only seven years after it was formed, which would suggest that that he was already much respected as a naturalist.[24]

George Montagu then fell in love with another woman, Mrs Elizabeth Dorville, and subsequently left his wife and their six children to live with her. They met at a family wedding in 1794.[25] He 'formed a deep and lasting attachment to [her], the wife of a city merchant, a woman of talent and education, who made beautiful drawings for his books'.[26] Forming attachments with other women was one thing, but a husband was expected 'to keep his indecorous activities (...) separate from his marriage'.[27] Living openly with a (married) mistress was considered to be scandalous and inevitably had repercussions. Their first child, Henry Dorville,[28] was born in about 1796. He was baptised, with his sister Anna Elizabeth,[29] in 1798.[30] Elizabeth's husband, John Dorville, was a business partner of her father, and they had three children before she separated from him to live with Montagu.[31] It was certainly her idea, and John Dorville referred to it as an 'unhappy separation'.[32]

James Montagu, George's elder brother, died in 1797. He had never

married and in his will,[33] dated 6 September 1792, he set up trustees to run the estate and handle bequests.

> The capital messuage or mansion house at Lackham aforesaid [...] upon trust to and for the use and on behalf of my dear brother George Montagu Esq Lt Colonel in His Majesties Wiltshire regiment of Militia during his natural life.[34]

However, this was changed in a codicil made on 4 July 1797, only two weeks before his burial, which stated that 'My brother George Montagu shall not live or reside in my Mansion House at Lackham unless he shall so live with his wife', which she refused to do.[35] Only a few months later three of the officers in the Wiltshire Militia (Captains Awdry, Houlton and Phayre) brought Colonel George Montagu before a court martial on six counts of abusing his position as Commanding Officer. The Court Martial was held in Plymouth, where the regiment was stationed, between 28 September and 15 October 1797. Montagu was found guilty and dismissed from the regiment 'For conduct derogatory to his situation as Field Commanding Officer of the Regiment' and that his actions were 'not consistent with the need for good order and harmony within the Regiment'.[36] It is possible that the opprobrium over his association with Elizabeth Dorville was at the root of this action, although the court charges dealt with actions that were apparently intended to 'split the Mess of the Regiment and sow discord amongst its officers'. The Court dismissed one of the charges.[37] Evidence presented in court revealed that Montagu had threatened to resign from the regiment following changes to Militia organisation, an issue he remained bitter about. In a later letter to Lord Fortescue, the Lord Lieutenant of Devon, he stated 'most certainly I was strongly against the reduction of the Militia adopted by Ministers as leading to the destruction of that constitutional body'.[38] Clearly, he believed that his opposition to these changes were to blame for his lost command, maintaining that his 'great zeal for the constitution of my country was the cause of my being displaced from a situation I held under a Royal Master I revered and served with enthusiastic fidelity'.[39]

Following his dismissal from the Wiltshire Militia, George Montagu moved to Knowle House, near Kingsbridge, Devon,[40] where Elizabeth Dorville had been resident for three years.[41] Their youngest daughter, Arabella, was born at Kingsbridge in 1801.[42] During that year rioting broke out all around Montagu's Devon home and in much of the rest of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset – events in which he became involved in his capacity as a magistrate. Food shortages, and the rioting occasioned by them, were not

uncommon but the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a period of particular unrest, due to crop failures and food shortages exacerbated by the Napoleonic Wars.[43] Lord Fortescue, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, instructed magistrates to swear in local people as additional constables to preserve law and order.[44] Montagu's response highlighted the problems he faced personally. He stated that even if he paid the exorbitant price of 'a guinea a bushel' he could not get his own family supplied with grain. He was 'subject to have recourse to a baker under no regulation of a price and with difficulty can procure a sufficiency [of bread only] by favors'.[45]

Montagu was resistant to local people such as farmers or merchants being given positions of power. Not only were they 'in a great measure . . . the cause of the existing distress of the poor', but, more importantly in his view, 'only those whose education has produced reason and reflection' should be given the power to act. He suggested that the Magistracy and 'people of property' should appoint suitable others from the 'middling classes to aid in the preservation of peace' as 'only a mutual support of men of property can avert the storm'. Montagu went on to describe the sequence of events which had led to public disorder in his own locality, and although he was adamant that the scenario he described did offer a solution, he considered the remedy to be 'worse than the disease':

> The lower order of people had publicly declared their intention to arrange themselves and compel the farmers to bring their grain to market at a very reduced price, if they did not of their own accord supply the markets at a price within the reach of their circumstances. The farmers did not attend to this threat and the people, aided by the Volunteers, put their threat so far into execution as to assemble and visit the farm houses in a body & compel them to sign a paper on the communion table of their local parish church to bring their grain to market and sell it at half the original price and on the following market day a considerable quantity was brought and sold at the price of compulsion.[46] Mark the consequence- a complete drain of the county must follow as the farmers are getting rid of their grain as fast as possible by wholesale to corn dealers etc. for exportation and probably a top price than before rather than expose it to the mercy of the dissatisfied mob and I would venture to believe that before the next harvest the greatest distress will prevail throughout these parts.[47]

Montagu formed a dim view of the local Volunteer force and warned that they needed to be watched:

> I do not mean to insinuate that all the Volunteers are equally dangerous to the constitution but the greatest part of them are not only not to be depended on under the present circumstances but appear to be dangerous where they are chosen from the lower class . . . we have seen these people have from a knowledge of their power have been the promoters and instigators of riot.[48]

He was not entirely unsympathetic to the plight of the poor, and he saw the removal of grain by the merchants as being a major problem, referring to their warehouses, known to be full of grain, as 'the nefarious stores of the factors'.[49]

Montagu's plan to recruit additional recruits drawn from 'the middling sorts' was not taken up, but the situation was eventually brought under control, partly by moving large numbers of regular troops into the Southwest – 'the total force in the western district, south of Bridgwater and west of Sherborne numbered 8,000 men, of whom 2,000 were cavalry or artillery'.[50] Some of Montagu's old comrades were deployed locally during a riot at Plymouth Dock (Exmouth) on 31 March 1801. After an appeal by the magistrates for military assistance 'detachments of the picquets from the Wiltshire and First Devon Militia, along with a squadron of the Queen's Bays, were immediately sent into the town'.[51] As it turned out the only action they had to take was to form a cordon preventing the rioters from reaching their goal, but serious force was almost used: 'several field pieces loaded with grape and cannister were brought, unknown to [the rioters], to bear upon them'.[52] Montagu's poor opinion of the Volunteers seems to have been justified; at Kingsbridge the privates considered themselves sworn only to serve the King and not to assist magistrates. Thirty-two of the fifty were dismissed on the parade ground,[53] and these men were required to parade again the following day in order to 'deliver up their Clothes, Arms and Accoutrements' and were dismissed from the Corps.[54]

Despite his problems with the Wiltshire Militia George Montagu was still useful to the government later on when his military skills were in demand to resist a foreign, rather than a domestic threat:

> Napoleon's Grand Army, massing on the cliffs of Boulogne in 1803, waited only a fair wind to cross the channel to invade England. The Royal Navy, too, waited. And Col. Montagu raised a regiment of Yeomanry at Kingsbridge to repel invaders.[55]

George was in command of the Devon Guides for Napoleonic Defence.[56] He told his friend and correspondent, James Sowerby,[57] that 'Armaments and

thoughts of invasion engross the mind in these turbulent times (...) I have been overpowered in persuasion to agree to the extensive command of the Corps of Guides of South Devon'.[58]

Although George Montagu had a lifelong interest in the natural world, it was only after he retired from the military and settled in Devon that he started serious work as a naturalist, 'preferring to live a secluded life spending his days beating through thin brushwood to identify the song of a woodwren or digging up worms from the mud of the estuary at Kingsbridge or dredging in Tor Bay'.[59] He was active in many fields, and his first book on Natural History, the *Ornithological Dictionary* (1802), was respected both in Britain and internationally.[60] His work on birds was a life-long interest. In 1808 Montagu was proposed for Fellowship of the Royal Society, but his proposal was balloted, 'and rejected'.[61] It seems likely that his association with Elizabeth Dorville was once again the reason for his disappointment. In the same year he described *Falco cineraceus* and *F. pagargus*, and, in another paper, showed conclusively that they were one and the same species. He did this, not by considering the views of previous naturalists as was usual at the time, but by raising chicks of both species from a few days old until they were mature, when it was clear they were the same species.[62] It is noteworthy that the same edition of the Linnean Society *Transactions* included another paper by Montagu on bats, proving two species to be distinct from one another that had previously been thought to be just one.[63] He noted that he had seen some of the bats at a cow byre at Lackham and more in Devonshire, which he had been able to take home and study in detail, as he preferred to do, rather than rely on other authorities. Montagu published a *Supplement* to the *Ornithological Dictionary* in 1813, which included many new observations. His scientific and observational approach to natural history, whilst not completely new, was rare at the time and hugely important. After Montagu's death, the French ornithologist Louise Jean Paul Viellot named a migratory bird of prey 'Montagu's Harrier' in his honour.

Montagu's second natural history book, *Testacea Brittanica* was published, only a year after the *Dictionary*, in 1803. He named many new species, for example the very rare *Helicella cantiana* and *Hygromia fusca*, and he discovered *Clausili laminata biplicata* at Easton Grey. Much of his shell collection is now held by the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter. Montagu was also passionately interested in British marine life, alongside terrestrial shells he also investigated marine molluscs and he named *Myrtea spinifera*, *Caecum glabrum* and *Chrysallida dessucata*, among many others.[64] He sometimes found his marine specimens in unexpected locations, for example 'he was surprised to discover that one of the easiest ways of

obtaining northern lucine (*Lucinoma borealis*) specimens was in the fields near Falmouth, onto which farmers routinely dumped seaweed as fertiliser'.[65]

George Montagu died of lockjaw on 12 June 1815 after stepping on a rusty nail. A harrowing account of what happened was written by Elizabeth Dorville.[66] In his will, addressed as both 'Lackham, Wilts and Knowle, Devon', he bequeathed the Wiltshire property to his wife Ann and all remaining property and possessions 'to my beloved friend Elizabeth Dorville as an acknowledgement for the very great assistance she has given me in my pursuits of natural history'.[67] The will was probated 27 July 1815 to Elizabeth Dorville.

Clearly, George Montagu was a trailblazer in the study of natural history. He was one of the earliest members of the Linnean Society and corresponded with the eminent naturalists of his day.[68] His pioneering studies and diverse interests were highlighted in his obituary in *The Naturalist*.[69] David Elliston Allen suggests that:

> His great contribution was to establish scrupulous standards in the acceptance of evidence which for many years were not to be surpassed. This was precisely what [natural history] needed at that particular stage in its history: a man without blinkers, prepared to charge about the country making certain of his facts by looking at them with his own eyes.[70]

George Montagu made observations not only in Devon, but all over the United Kingdom.[71] Charles Darwin said that 'few more careful observers ever lived than Montagu',[72] and he quoted from Montagu's works in several places in *The Descent of Man*. A fitting tribute to a versatile and colourful character, who 'played a not insignificant role in the development of modern biology'.[73]

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NOTES

1. Ronald J. Cleevely, 'George Montagu, (1753–1815), Naturalist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101019017/George-Montagu>, accessed 11 March 2015; Ronald J. Cleevely 'Some Background to the Life and Publications of Colonel George Montagu (1753–1815)', *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, 1978, 8 (4), 445-48. An excellent body of largely manuscript notes written by Cleevely is available at the Natural History Museum (NHM); William Cunnington, 'Memoir of George Montagu', *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* III, (1852), 87–94, June Badeni, *Past People in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire* (Malmesbury: Norton Manor, 1992), 66-71, see chapter seven, 'Lackham'; Peter S. Dance, ed., *Letters on Ornithology 1804–1815 between George Montagu and Robert Anstice* (Wigtown: GC Book Publishers, 2003), 18-25.
2. Both the DNB, x, 693, and ODNB give 1751 as George Montagu's year of birth, and William Cunnington states 1755 ('Memoir of George Montagu', 87). However Ronald J. Cleevely notes the year correctly as 1753 (NHM, GL Mon. B, no date, 'An attempt at a timeline of events in the life of George Montagu'), as does Dance, *Letters on Ornithology*, 15. This is corroborated in Lacock parish records, held at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (WSHC) in fiche form, also in *Lacock Baptisms 1559–1837* (Devizes: Wiltshire Family History Society, 2012), 93, which show that George Montagu was baptised 9 July 1753.
3. But the second son to survive to adulthood
4. Linnean Society, London, '*Natural History of Wiltshire*', no date, manuscript notes by George Montagu.
5. John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Henry Colburne, 1835), 2 vols, i, 52-54. Ann was the eldest daughter of William Courtenay and Lady Jane Stuart
6. John Stuart (1713–1792) 3rd earl of Bute, prime minister to George III, 1762–1763, was the son of James Stuart 2nd earl of Bute and his wife Anne, daughter of John Campbell duke of Argyll. He was brother to Lady Jane Stuart, and therefore Anne's uncle. The third earl of Bute married a Montagu (Mary Wortley Montagu), the daughter of the more famous Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1761) the bluestocking and pioneer of smallpox vaccination in England.
7. R Cleevely, 'Montagu, George (1753–1815)', 'ODNB, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19017>. This may be supported by a letter to the earl of Ailesbury written by George's uncle Edward, Master in Chancery (WSHC 9/205/13 Letter dated London July 25 1774); in which he wrote 'I know nothing of the young couple in Scotland, but thro' my unhappy brother. I understand the young man is taking the advantage of his mother's weakness and by her means working his way to Lackham. I am afraid my brother must yield to all her wishes.'

8. *The Army List* for 1770 records that George Montagu was appointed an ensign of the Fifteenth Regiment of Foot, 22 June 1770, <http://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/units/4693/east-yorkshire-regiment/>, accessed 6 March 2015. The regiment was first raised at Nottingham in June 1685 by Col. Sir William Clifton and known initially as Col. Sir William Clifton's Regiment of Foot. It was subsequently named after the Colonels of the Regiment until 1751 when it became the 15th Regiment of Foot. In 1782 it was renamed the 15th (The Yorkshire East Riding) Regiment of Foot.
9. Cleevely, 'An Attempt at a Timeline of Events'.
10. Ibid.
11. *Lacock Baptisms*, 24 July 1776.
12. Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels: The war for America 1770–1781* (London, Penguin Books, 1990), 21.
13. Cleevely, 'Some background to the life and publications', 460.
14. Anon, 'The 15th Regiment of Foot 1685–1881' in 'The Prince of Wale's Own Regiment of Yorkshire Part 1: 1685–1881, *The Regiment* (Swanley: Nexus Special Interests, 2000), 44, 50. In his 'An attempt at a timeline of events in the life of George Montagu', Cleevely also lists the actions at Brooklyn, White Plains, Fort Lee, Peekshill, Danbury, Ridgefield and Whitemark.
15. Robert John Jones, *A History of the 15th (East Yorkshire) Regiment, the Duke of York's Own, 1685–1914* (Beverley, The East Yorkshire Regiment, 1958), 212.
16. Louisa Crawford, 'Autobiographical Sketches of Lackham House and Laycock [sic]' *Metropolitan Magazine*, September 1858, 191.
17. WSHC, fiche Rowde 3 505/6, Rowde Parish Registers, 7 November 1780.
18. Ibid, 11 March 1783.
19. Cleevely, 'Some background to the life and publications', dated 10 September 1788.
20. Louisa was baptised 16 October 1788 (WSHC, Easton Grey Parish Registers, microfiche Easton Grey 1 1811/1). She married Matthew Crawford, barrister, of the Middle Temple in 1822 at Hampton (*London Morning Post*, Monday 30 Sept 1822, 4). Louisa died on Tuesday 28 December, 1857.
21. WSHC, Easton Grey Parish Registers, microfiche Easton Grey 1 1811/1. The entry for the baptism of Louisa Matilda gives her parents as 'Maj. George Montagu and Ann'
22. Cleevely, 'An Attempt at a Timeline of Events'.
23. A treatise on arms and duelling.
24. Gina Douglas (Archivist and Librarian Linnean Society) 2014, Personal communication 2015. George was nominated by Thomas Lamb, John Latham and William Peete, and was elected a Fellow on 21 July 1795.
25. It is likely that this was the marriage of George's sister Arabella Montagu, who married Ralph Dorville-Woodford, of Devon at Chipping Sodbury, Gloucestershire on 10 October 1794 (Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's*

Magazine (London: John Nichols, 1794) vol LXIV, part 2, 957). The link between the Dorville-Woodfords and John Dorville remains unclear.

26. WSHC, Monumental Inscriptions fiche, Lacock inscriptions.
27. Jennifer Kloester, 'Georgette Heyer's Regency World' (London: Heinemann, 2005), 102.
28. The child had the Dorville surname because Elizabeth was still married to John Dorville; none of George and Elizabeth's children were named Montagu.
29. Henry appears in George Montagu's will as one of the three named children 'born since the separation of the aforesaid Elizabeth Dorville from her husband', whereas Anna Elizabeth is simply mentioned as 'daughter of Elizabeth Dorville' and only received a bequest if the three others died before her, 'Dorville v Wolff, 16 February 1847' (London: The Law Times, 1847), vol. viii, 492.
30. Hampshire Record Office (HRO), Parish Registers for Millbrook, Hampshire, microfiche 11, 24, January 1798, 'Anna Elizabeth and Henry son and daughter of John and Elizabeth Douville [sic] about two Years old'. (This record located by the staff of Hampshire Record Office, Winchester). None of George and Elizabeth's children were baptised as Montagu as Elizabeth was still married to John Dorville, but separated
31. John William, Elizabeth and George Phillip were named in John Dorville's 'Last Will and Testament', NHM, London, GL Mon. B. folio 14, (L. Mss Mon/14), dated 8 August 1825, a codicil was dated 3 April 1826. (whether Elizabeth is the Anna Elizabeth mentioned in the previous endnote is uncertain).
32. Ibid.
33. WSHC, 137/39/6, 11 onwards.
34. WSHC, 137/39/6, 13.
35. NHM, GL Mon. B folio 10, 13.
36. Cleevely, 'An attempt at a Timeline of Events', 448.
37. 'Court Martial', in 'Sporting Magazine, or, Monthly Calendar of the Transactions of the Turf, the Chase and Every Other Diversion Interesting to the Man of Pleasure, Enterprize, and Spirit', (15) October 1799, 78.
38. Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter (DHC), 1262M/0/O/L53/20, Letter from Colonel Montagu to earl Fortescue, 4 May 1801.
39. Ibid.
40. June Badeni, *Past People in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire* (Malmesbury: Norton Manor 1992), 7.
41. Cleevely, *An attempt at a timeline of events*.
42. Kingsbridge Parish Registers, St Edmund's Church, 'Arabella, daughter of Mrs Elizabeth Dorville'. (held at DHC).
43. John Rule and Roger Wells, 'Crime, Protest and Radicalism', in John Rule and Roger Wells, *Crime, Politics and Popular Protest in Southern England 1740–1850* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 3.
44. Hugh, 1st Earl Fortescue, Lord Lieutenant of Devon 1788–1839, http://www.lordlieutenantofdevon.org.uk/history-and-duties/ , accessed 10 September 2014

45. DHC, 1262M/0/O/L53/20.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Roger Wells, 'The Revolt of the South West, 1800-1: A study in English Popular Protest', in Rule and Wells, *Crime, Politics and Popular Protest*, 35.
51. *The Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, Thursday April 21 1801, 4.
52. Ibid.
53. Wells, 'The Revolt of the South West, 1800-1, 37.
54. *The Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, Thursday May 21 1801. Declaration by the Kingsbridge Corps of Volunteers 'To the Right Hon. Hugh Earl Fortescue, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Devon, to the Magistrates of the said County, and to Lieut. General Simcoe, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the Western District of this Kingdom' (at <http://genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/DEV/DevonMisc/MilitiaLists/Volunteers1801c.html>, transcribed by Brian Randell), accessed 11 September 2014.
55. Edmund Moroney 'Col Montagu and his Harrier', *Country Life*, Vol CXXXVIII, No 3573, 26 Aug 1965, 516-7.
56. *London Gazette*, 7 January 1804, 34, 'Devon Guides. George Montagu Esq to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant'.
57. Richard Woollard, 'James Sowerby 1757–1822', The Vauxhall Society, at <http://www.vauxhallcivicsociety.org.uk/history/james-sowerby-1757-1822/>, accessed 7 March 2015. Sowerby was a botanical artist from London, producer of *Sowerby's English Botany*.
58. Letter to James Sowerby dated 12 December 1809, quoted in Ronald J. Cleevely, 'Some background to the life and publications of Colonel George Montagu (1753–1815)', *Journal of the Bibliography of Natural History*, 8 (1976–8), 475, footnote 28.
59. Bruce Frederick Cummings, writing as Wilhelm Nero Pilate Barbellion, 'Colonel Montagu' in *Enjoying Life and other Literary Remains* (London, Charto and Windus, 1915), 175, <https://archive.org/stream/enjoyinglifeothe00barb#page/174/mode/2up>, accessed 21 March 2014.
60. For example, in an 1803 review of the Dictionary in the French Journal Général de Littérature Étranégere (Paris: Truetell et Würtz, 1803), Prairial*, 385. The reviewer stated, that '*C'était une bonne idée de rendre l'ornithologie plus populaire pour ainsi dire, en la présentant sous une forme agréable et commode, pour que tout lecteur puisse s'instruire, selon l'occasion et en peu de tems, de ce qu'il importe de savoir. M Montagu a rempli cette tâche d'une manière claire et satisfaissante*' (It is a good idea to make ornithology more popular, as it were, by presenting it in an agreeable and convenient form so that every reader can learn according to the occasion and in a short time, what is important to know.

M Montagu has completed this task in a clear and satisfying manner). *In 1803 the French Republic was still using the French Revolutionary Calendar. *Prairial* ran from 20 May to 19 June.

61. The Royal Society, EC/1807/15. <https://collections.royalsociety.org/DServe.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsq Search=%28RefNo%3D%27ec%2F1807%2F15%27%29>, accessed 6 July 2015. Montagu's proposal for The Royal Society reads:

    George Montagu Esqe of Kings Bridge in the County of Devon a Gentleman well versed in many Branches of Natural knowlege & known by His publications particularly by his Ornithological Dictionary & the Testacea Britanica being desirous of being Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society we the undersigned from our personal knowlege recomend [sic] him as deserving that Honor & likely to be a valuable & useful Member.

62. George Montagu, 'Some interesting Additions to the Natural History of Falco Cynareus and Pygargus Together with Remarks on Some Other British Birds', *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*, vol. ix, section 13, 1808, 182-200.
63. George Montagu 'An Account of the Large and Lesser Species of the Horseshoe Bats Proving them to be Distinct Together with a Description of Vesperlilio Barbastellus, taken in the South of Devonshire', *Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*, vol. ix, section 13, 1808, 162-176.
64. Paul Chambers and George Sowerby, *Collecting British Seashells: A Guide for Collectors and Beachcombers* (Harpenden: Remember When, 2009), 146, 63, and 102 respectively.
65. Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London 1871), vol. ii, 368
66. Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Society Ms 593
67. NHM, GL Mon B. folio 10, 13.
68. John Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire* vol. 3 (London: Longman and Co, 1812), 352.
69. 'Notice of the late Col Montagu', *The Naturalist*, vol. 4, Oct 1828 – June 1839, 282.
70. David Elliston Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 84.
71. For example, he 'once saw a herony on a small island, in a lake, in the north of Scotland, on which there was but a single scrubby oak, which not being sufficient to contain all the nests, many were placed on the ground', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 4th edn, 1810, vol. XV, 519.
72. Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 52.
73. Cleevely, 'Some Background to the Life and Publications', 448.

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Saint George's Chapel, Windsor, and South Molton Parsonage in The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

JEREMY SIMS

For three centuries the Dean and Canons of St George's Chapel Windsor had a proprietary interest in the rectory or parsonage of South Molton, North Devon, and the extensive lands with which it was endowed. It was one of a number of properties which passed into the hands of the Dean and Canons during the reign of Edward VI. Although the Dean and Canons' title to this particular property did not go unchallenged in the sixteenth century, the parties involved finally came to a mutually acceptable arrangement late in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, which was enshrined in an Act of Parliament passed early in 1598. By this Act a long lease of the parsonage was granted to Arthur Hacche, with the reversion being confirmed to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, and Hacche and his successors would have sublet the tithes at a profit.[1] Indeed, a memorandum of 1700, preserved in the muniments of St George's Chapel, indicates that a successor, Thomas Hacche, had sublet the tithes to one Hannah Clotworthy for the previous twenty years at fifty pounds per annum. That lease was surrendered in 1700 and a new twenty-one year lease granted to the original lessee's successor, another Arthur Hacche. This was the first of a succession of twenty-one year leases of the property which would be effected during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.[2]

In the new lease the Dean and Canons reserved from the property demised, all timber 'and timber-like trees', all fees which might be payable to the parish priest for baptisms, marriages and churching of women, and the right of presentation to the living of the parish on any vacancy occurring after Michaelmas 1717.[3] The lessee was to be responsible for keeping all buildings within the demised land and the chancel of the church of South Molton in repair, to pay thirty pounds a year towards the stipend of the curate of South Molton and to provide board and lodging for the Dean or other officer of St George's Chapel, with his servant and horses, for three days and three nights every year, upon visiting the parish.[4] The terms of this lease were to be followed in virtually every respect in all the leases of the parsonage which were to be granted over the next century and a half.

The assets of the South Molton rectory consisted of the glebe, the area of land which belonged to the parish church, and which the incumbent was allowed to cultivate, and also the right to receive the tithes of the parish. In 1624, relatively early into the term granted by the statute of 1598, the value of the parsonage – that is, of the glebe, the buildings and the right to the tithes – was in the region of four hundred pounds per annum.[5] Perhaps this was an over-estimate or perhaps the value of the lands declined somewhat over the following century or so, because in 1713, soon after the surrender of the statutory lease, there had been a great reduction in the value. A survey of the glebe lands of South Molton was made and sworn to by a jury of local men, which declared the gross value of the glebe at only £135 12s 6d and the tithe was stated to be worth no more than one hundred and fifty pounds.[6] From the total of some two hundred and eighty-five pounds deductions had to be made for the rent payable to the Dean and Canons, poor rates and highway rates, constables' rate, militia rate, repairs to buildings and fences, the stipend to the curate, and other outgoings. Even allowing for all these, the glebe land was still an important component of the parsonage property, but its actual size was the subject of some quite varied assessments. In 1700 it was said to be 168¾ acres in area,[7] but by the time of a survey in 1713 John Hacche, the then lessee, at first agreed with the Dean and Canons that it was, according to his records, in excess of two hundred acres, but afterwards claimed it was only 155 acres.[8] Valuations of the parsonage later in the eighteenth century differed again in the assessments of the glebe. Not only were the measurements probably not taken with the accuracy which would be demanded today, but they were all made by men with a vested interest in enlarging or diminishing the true value of the lands. Some of the estimates were indeed wildly inaccurate. The survey carried out by the Tithe Commission in 1839, which would no doubt have been undertaken more impartially and probably with the use of more accurate

methods of survey, put the area of the glebe at over 232 acres.[9] However, surveyors acting for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1868, calculated the glebe to be somewhat larger, at just over 242 acres.[10]

Leaving aside the discrepancies over the actual area of the glebe and the apparent drop in the annual value of the property during the century or so of the statutory lease, there can be no doubt that the parsonage was a valuable asset for the Dean and Canons of Windsor. Although the yearly worth to St George's Chapel was ostensibly just the amount of the fixed annual rent of £55 3s 4d, the real value was considerably more. The Dean and Canons were able to command a fine, or premium, on every grant or renewal of the lease, which amounted to between one hundred and two hundred pounds every four years or so during the first decades of the eighteenth century.[11] The leases were invariably granted for terms of twenty-one years, the maximum permitted for ecclesiastical corporations under the Elizabethan legislation, but it was general practice for every lease to be surrendered after periods of either four or seven to eight years, when a renewal of the lease would be granted. It was in the lessee's interest to effect such a surrender in return for a new lease, as the shorter the time that had elapsed on the existing lease, the lower the fine which would be payable on its renewal.

As the eighteenth century wore on the value of the parsonage to the Dean and Canons increased considerably. While a premium, or fine, of just one hundred pounds was agreed by the parties for a lease renewal in 1704, when four years of the first twenty-one year lease had expired, by 1749 a sum of £180 was paid for a similar renewal. The fine for the renewal of the lease in 1777, when a period of seven years of the existing lease had expired, cost the lessee £763 16s 5½d. It is not always clear from surviving documents exactly how fines were assessed on renewal of leases, but fortunately the calculations which led to the fine paid in 1777 are extant, which gives some idea of how this particular figure was arrived at. The tithe which was due to the parsonage and the glebe lands were surveyed in that year by William Chapman, who calculated the fine (Table 1).

The same fine was paid on lease renewals in 1784 and 1791, but seven years later the amount paid had increased to £1311 on the basis of a valuation made by a Mr Bond of Axminster.[13] The increased value was attributable partly to the fact that barley and oats appear to have replaced the low-value clover which had previously been grown quite extensively throughout the parish; partly because of the increase in the value of the wheat-sown land, at 8s an acre; partly because of the inclusion of the tithes of fleeces, lambs and milk cows, which had not be taken into account in the 1777 calculation; and partly because the resulting figure was increased by half instead of by

Table 1: Value of South Molton Parsonage in 1777

		£	s	d
Value of tithe:				
Wheat	90 acres at 5s per acre	22	10	–
	203 acres at 6s per acre	60	18	–
Lent corn[12]	180 acres at 3s per acre	27	–	–
	406 acres at 4s per acre	81	4	–
Clover	551 acres at 1s 3d per acre	34	18	9
	1163 acres at 1s 6d per acre	87	2	6
Fallow	293 acres	–	–	–
Meadow	188 acres at 1s 6d per acre	14	2	–
	319 acres at 2s per acre	31	18	–
	615½ acres at 3s per acre	92	5	–
		451	4	6
Glebe		244	16	3
		696	4	6
Deduct	Rent 55 3 4			
	Vicar's stipend 30 – –	85	3	4
		611	1	2
	To this amount one quarter was added	152	15	3½
		£ 763	16	5½

Source: SGC, CC 120349.

only a quarter as in 1777. So, although the rent payable to the Dean and Canons under the lease remained constant, and at a fairly nominal level, far greater sums were now being received for renewal fines. While it is clear from the calculations that the fine payable reflected current market prices for the produce of the land, the large increase achieved at the lease renewal in 1791 was in line with the great increase in rents for agricultural land which

occurred at the end of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries.[14] Although at this time rents did outpace prices, the latter did rise quite dramatically, so that a quarter of wheat which, during the years 1786 to 1794, fluctuated nationally between 40s and 52s 3d, rose during the war years to averages of 69s in 1799 and to £5 13s 10d in 1800.[15]

Some decades before this great increase in the value of the parsonage, the Hacche family's long association with its properties from the sixteenth century came to an end with the death of Thomas Hacche in 1750. South Molton Corporation, which had had a lease from the Dean and Canons of the nearby parsonage of Northam since 1711, then acquired the lease of the rectory of South Molton by way of an assignment from Hacche's personal representatives, for which the Corporation paid a sum of £2,640.[16] To raise this purchase money they had to borrow from Sir Thomas Dyke Acland,[17] from the Overseers of the Poor of the town and from a number of local residents.[18] Soon afterwards the Corporation took a new lease from the Dean and Canons, the first of a long succession of such leases whereby the Corporation remained the lessee of the parsonage throughout the period that the parsonage remained in the ownership of St George's Chapel.

Included in the lease to South Molton Corporation was a house which had formerly been the parsonage house, but had then been sub-let for some while to the Guardians of the Poor as a temporary workhouse. On Sunday 20 May 1837 the house burned down in what was suspected as an act of arson. The Corporation had insured the building for three hundred pounds and a petition was presented, signed by several hundred people of the town, requesting that the insurance money be used to build a new house for the vicar. This proposal received the support of the bishop of Exeter and, not unnaturally, was actively supported by the vicar, Reverend J. H. Maitland. At the same time the vicar lobbied the Dean and Canons for financial assistance towards employment of a curate in the parish to counter what he believed was a drift away from the established Church. The Dean and Canons ultimately agreed to provide fifty pounds in addition to the insurance money towards the cost of building a new house, and a further twenty pounds a year towards the salary of a new curate. Building works were, however, delayed due to prolonged negotiations between the Corporation and the Dean and Canons over the surrender from the then current lease of part of the glebe land for the site of the intended new house and its curtilage,[19] which the vicar considered should extend to some four acres. Most members of the Council seem to have been sympathetic to the proposal, but were advised that the Corporation could only release the land upon receiving adequate consideration. It was only in August 1840 that the required resolution was passed by the Council, upon receiving an assurance

from the Dean and Canons that due allowance would be made for the loss of this land when the fine should be set for the next renewal of the lease of the parsonage to the Corporation. Additional funding for the new house – which it was estimated would cost the not inconsiderable sum of £850 – was raised by way of a loan from Queen Anne's Bounty and construction works began in the spring of 1841, some four years after the fire which had destroyed the original building.[20]

It was also at around this same period, in the late 1830s, that great changes were brought about which affected all who were either payers or owners of tithes in England and Wales. This followed the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act in 1836, which was enacted following considerable pressure from farmers and landowners for the abolition of tithe. The Act was a compromise solution which attempted to accommodate the interests of both tithe payers and tithe owners: it provided machinery for commuting the tithe which was then payable in each tithe district (usually a parish) into a rentcharge and, to this end, encouraged the parties to make agreements voluntarily. In the event that such a voluntary agreement had not been concluded in a tithe district by 1 October 1838, the Act gave the Tithe Commissioners power to impose an award. In South Molton a voluntary agreement was entered into following a meeting held in the town in December 1837. The composition for the tithe was made at the rate of half a crown in the pound (one-eighth) on the rental of the land, as set forth in a report made to the Tithe Commission's head office by Frederick Leigh, an Assistant Tithe Commissioner, on 19 November 1839.[21] He concluded that the value of the tithes was £851 17s 6d, being one-eighth of the assumed rentals of the titheable acreage of the parish, which at the time was made up as follows:

Table 2. Assumed Rental Value of Titheable Lands of South Molton in 1839

Acres	*Roods*	*Perches*	*Cultivation*	£	*s*	*d*
3,131	0	0	Arable at 20s	3,131	–	–
2,270	0	0	Meadow and pasture at 30s	3,405	–	–
33	0	0	Orchard and gardens at £3	99	–	–
298	0	0	Woodland (the Coppice Wood) about	180	–	–
232	3	33	Glebe	–	–	–
				£ 6,815	–	–

Source: TNA, TITH 2/52.

The assistant Tithe Commissioner thought the commutation might be considered low, but he believed that much of the land was of poor quality and was either covered with furze or was suitable for grazing young animals only, and he also made the point that 'the Patrons are a Corporate Body capable of understanding and protecting their rights and have the means of managing by land Agents, and no doubt do so manage, this property.'[22]

Throughout the period of just over three hundred years that South Molton parsonage was in the ownership of St George's Chapel it provided, along with other properties dispersed throughout England and Wales, a fairly steady income. The principal sources of this income consisted of the renewal fines, which increased along with agricultural prices and the rent of agricultural land during the period. By leasing the parsonage as they did, the Dean and Canons were spared much of the trouble and obloquy which so often accompanied the collection of tithe. Although much of the money collected found its way indirectly to Windsor, the balance remained in the locality, in the hands of South Molton Corporation, at least from the middle of the eighteenth century. This may have helped in some small way to alleviate the general resentment felt about the payment of tithe, especially among those payers who were not members of the established Church.

In 1867, however, the Dean and Canons' interest in the lands of South Molton came to an end. By virtue of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act 1840 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to prepare schemes respecting the revenues of bishoprics and collegiate churches in England and Wales. Such a scheme was prepared for St George's Chapel in June 1867 'for substituting a money payment for certain property belonging to the dean and canons of your Majesty's free chapel of Saint George, within your Majesty's Castle of Windsor.'[23] This was laid before, and confirmed by, the Queen in Council on 26 June 1867. One of the principal provisions of the scheme was that:

> all the manors, lands tithes, tenements, and hereditaments which now belong either in possession or reversion to the said dean and canons (excepting any right of Ecclesiastical patronage [and certain properties in and around Windsor Castle]) . . . shall upon and from the day on which any Order of your Majesty in Council ratifying this scheme, shall be duly published in the London Gazette, . . . become and be transferred to and vested in [the Ecclesiastical Commissioners].[24]

It had been enacted that the transfer of ownership was to be effected without any further conveyance being executed, and the scheme stated that the Commissioners would become entitled to all the rents and profits of the

properties from the following Michaelmas, 29 September, 1867. This scheme was duly published in the *London Gazette* two days after its confirmation by the Privy Council, on 28 June.

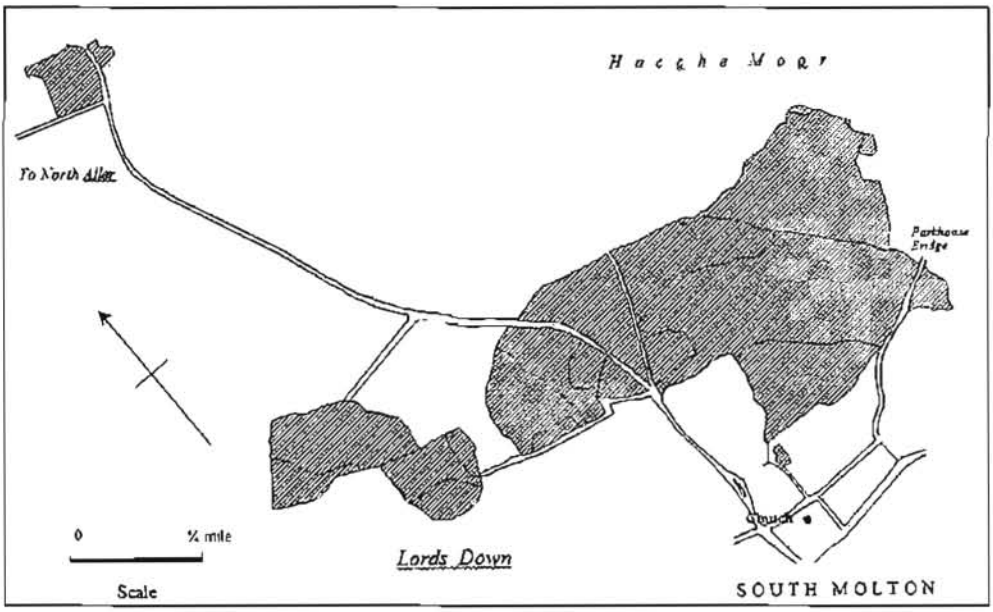

Figure 1. South Molton Glebe Lands in *c.*1867.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners did not keep the property for long. On 11 January 1872, they conveyed the reversion to the then current lease, together with the Tithe Rentcharge, to South Molton Corporation for the sum of £8,250. The Commissioners reserved to themselves, however, any metallic ores which might lie beneath the lands, with the right to enter and extract such minerals. Although such reservations were quite customary upon dispositions by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, they may in this particular instance have been influenced by the fact that copper ore had been found shortly before at North Molton, and lead ore near the rectory lands, although, in neither case, was it thought that there was any likelihood that there would be sufficient to make extraction commercially viable. When the transfer of the land to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was effected in 1867, the advowson or right of presentation of the minister to the parish church of South Molton was retained in the hands of the Dean and Canons. However, the benefice was later united with that of Nymet St George, otherwise known as George Nympton, and

in 1975 the advowson of the united parishes was conveyed to the Bishop of Exeter. Thereupon the centuries-old association of South Molton rectory and St George's Chapel, Windsor, was finally brought to a close.

NOTES

1. The course of the dispute and the vesting of the parsonage in the Dean and Canons of Windsor was the subject of an earlier article: Jeremy Sims, 'St George's Chapel, Windsor, and South Molton Parsonage in the Sixteenth Century', *TDH* 81 (2012), 61-65.
2. By virtue of the statute 13 Eliz. I, c. 10, lands of ecclesiastical corporations, such as St George's Chapel, could be granted for no more than three lives or for a term of twenty-one years. This follows a similar restriction which had been imposed upon lands of archbishops and bishops by 1 Eliz. I, c. 19, but this in turn followed similar restrictions which had been imposed in earlier private Acts of Parliament dealing with charitable properties.
3. By the common law oak, ash and elm were timber trees.
4. St George's Chapel Archives (SGC), XV.5.2.
5. SGC, CC 120349, although a survey instigated by Parliament in 1650 put its value at only £308 4s 4d a year.
6. SGC, CC 118847. They were John Thorne and William Pyncombe (both described in the survey as gentlemen), William Kerslake and Christopher Blackmore (yeomen), all of South Molton, and Henry Smith (also a yeoman) of North Molton.
7. SGC, CC 118847. Terrier of 1700.
8. SGC, CC 118847. In the terrier sworn by local men in 1713, the total area of the glebe lands was shown at only 148¾ acres.
9. TNA, TITH 2/52.
10. Church of England Record Office, ECE/6/1/122.
11. A fine of £250 was paid in 1721 when four and a half years of the old lease had expired.
12. This term means any corn sown during Lent, but probably refers to barley or oats as they are not specifically mentioned in this survey, while barley and oats, but not 'lent corn', are mentioned in the survey made in 1791.
13. SGC, CC 120349.
14. Martin Daunton, *Poverty and Progress: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 55.
15. *Ibid.*, 578.
16. SGC, CC 120349.
17. The 7th baronet (1722–85), of Killerton, Broadclyst, Devon.
18. John Cock, *Records of ye Ancient Borough of South Molton in ye County of Devon* (South Molton: John Cock, 1893), 54.

19. A curtilage has been defined as including 'a garden, yard, field, or peece of voide grounde, laying neare and belonging to the messuage.' *Termes de la Ley*, London, 1641, quoted in *Stroud's Judicial Dictionary of Words and Phrases*, 8th edn (London, 2012), vol. I, 664, *s.v.* 'curtilage.'
20. SGC, XVI.5.3. Under the Clergy Residence Repair Act 1776, known as 'Gilbert's Act' after its promoter Thomas Gilbert, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty could lend money for the repair or rebuilding of parsonage houses on the security of the revenues of the benefice concerned.
21. TNA, TITH 2/52.
22. TNA, IR 18/1407. Tithe rentcharge remained payable until 2 October 1936, when it was abolished by the Tithe Act 1936. The tithe owners then received 3 per cent stock redeemable in sixty years and the owners of the lands which had previously been chargeable had to pay an annuity during that period, although a lump sum could be paid to extinguish the annuity. In fact, from 1962, redemption of these tithe redemption annuities became obligatory on the occasion of most sales of the lands affected.
23. *London Gazette*, 28 June 1867, 3631.
24. Ibid.

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Orchards in Northern Devon *c.*1840: An Analysis of the Tithe Survey

JOHN BRADBEER

Introduction

Devon has long been famous for its orchards, although East Devon and the South Hams have been regarded as the heart of cider apple country. Indeed, in 1953 a trades directory listed 64 cider makers in England, with twelve in Devon, but all of these were in East Devon and the South Hams.[1] Northern Devon (the modern local government districts of North Devon and Torridge) still has a few small artisanal cider makers but orchards, as in the rest of much of the county, have much declined in area. Northern Devon does have one historic speciality, the mazzard, a small sweet black cherry. The aim of this paper is to examine patterns of orchards and mazzard gardens (or mazzard greens, but never called mazzard orchards) in northern Devon before the considerable changes that took place in agriculture and rural life in the second half of the nineteenth century and continued apace into the twentieth century.

The data

A sample of 53 parishes across Northern Devon was drawn for analysis of land-tenure, farm size and land use and the specific plots identified as orchards and mazzard gardens are the focus of this paper.[2] In transcribing the Tithe Apportionments, a convention was adopted that tenements which were solely residential and had only gardens and orchards but no other agricultural land were excluded. This also largely overcomes an inconsistency among the surveyors and valuers, who often, but not always, excluded properties that

were exempt from tithes. So the areas of orchards and mazzard gardens in this paper are underestimates of the total, but probably not particularly inaccurate. In the Apportionments areas are given in acres, roods and perches, which have been converted to decimal parts of acres for analysis in this paper. The Tithe Apportionments name parcels and give their land-use and in most instances the name orchard appears for the parcel and for the land-use. No instance has come to light of orchards being distinguished by the fruit grown and it is quite likely that some included pears and cherries as well as apples.

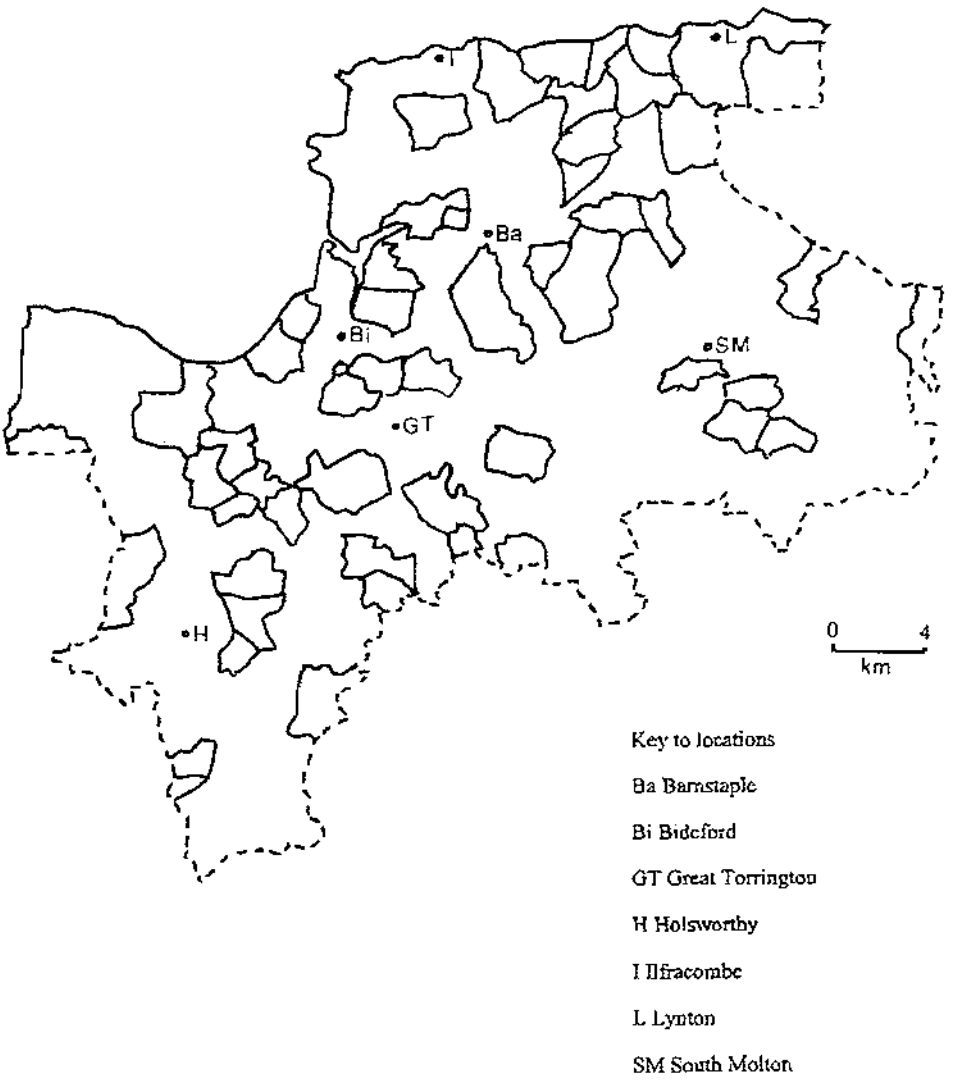

Figure 1. The sample parishes.

The mazzard gardens (and most are termed gardens rather than greens) are separately named. The parishes in the sample are shown in Figure 1. There is one unfortunate omission from the sample, namely Goodleigh. As will be shown, earlier commentators had identified Goodleigh as the heartland of the North Devon mazzard garden area. The Tithe Apportionment for Goodleigh unusually does not give land use for parcels. It does name several parcels as mazzard gardens but in surrounding parishes a handful of named parcels as mazzard gardens are actually recorded as pasture or even arable, implying that the mazzard garden itself was experiencing decline. As it is impossible to identify mazzard gardens still functioning as such in the 1840s, Goodleigh is omitted.

Orchards

In the sample parishes orchards occupied 1612 acres, or approximately 1.2 per cent of the total agricultural area. No parish was entirely without orchards, although there was very considerable variation among them. Figure 2 shows the percentage of agricultural land occupied by orchards in the sample parishes. The general pattern suggests that orchards were rather more frequently found on the Culm Measures rocks of Carboniferous age which lie to the south and west of Barnstaple than on the Devonian rocks to the north of Barnstaple. This in part reflects soil and climatic conditions, for as Robin Stanes concluded from the Milles's Enquiry returns from the mid-eighteenth century, cider was produced wherever apples could be grown and several of Milles's respondents from North Devon reported that the soils were too poor and cold for orchards.[3] Table 1 lists the five parishes with the lowest share of agricultural land in orchards and the five parishes with the largest share in orchards.

Table 1. Parishes with the highest and lowest share of agricultural land in orchards.

Lowest share of orchards		Highest share of orchards	
Parish	% agricultural area in orchards	Parish	% agricultural land in orchards
Challacombe	0.01	Landkey	5.10
Brendon	0.05	Ashford	3.78
Arlington	0.11	Tawstock	3.40
Woolfardisworthy	0.23	Weare Giffard	2.92
West Putford	0.30	Swimbridge	2.84

Table 1 shows the degree of variation and reflects the Devonian-Culm contrast mentioned, with three of the lowest share parishes lying on the Devonian but is perhaps complicated by some other factors. Parishes, like Arlington that contain a mansion and its associated park, tend to have a lower share of land in orchards than their neighbours. Landkey and Swimbridge parishes both straddle the geological boundary, and most of the orchard

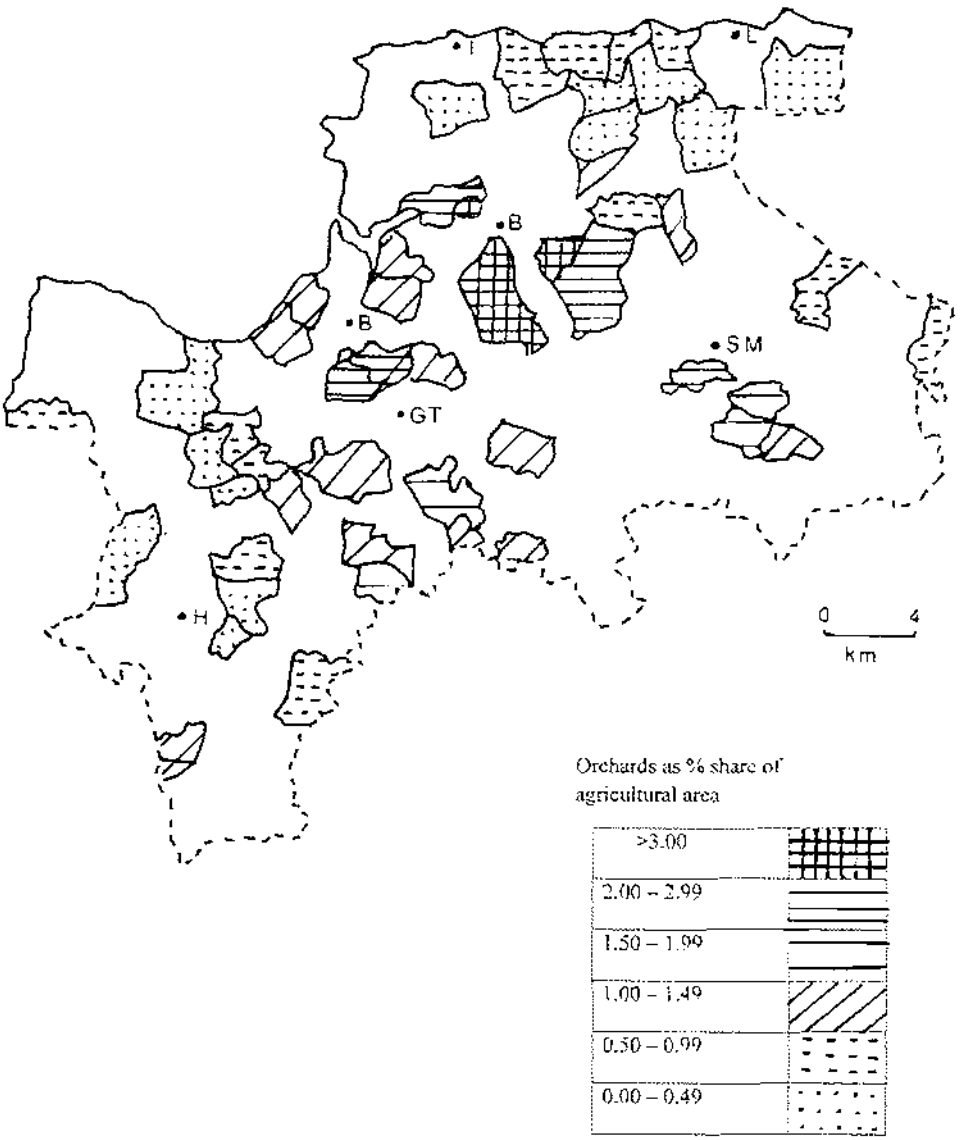

Figure 2. Orchards as percentage share of agricultural land.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

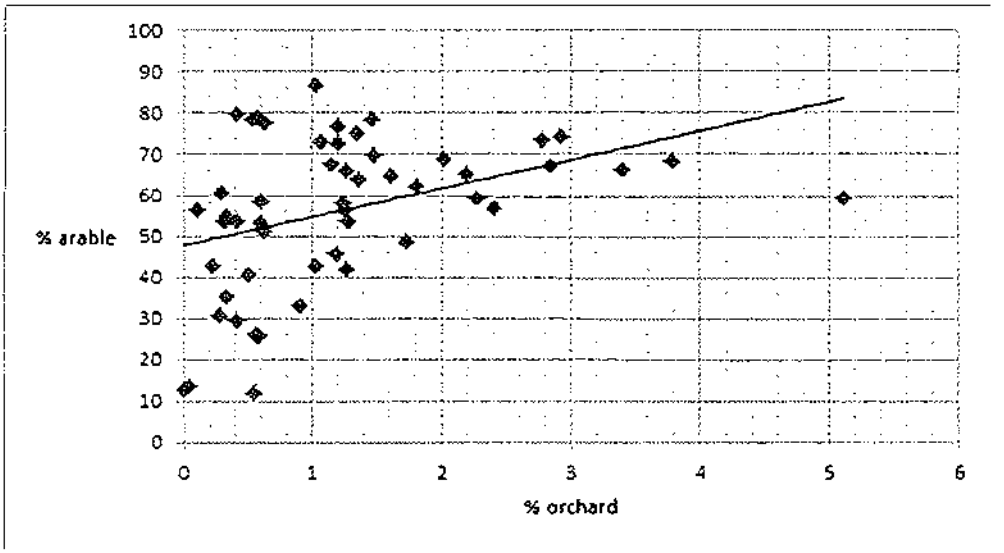

Figure 3 Relationship between share of orchard and share of arable land.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

area of both lies on the Culm Measures which underlie their southern parts. There is also a strong suggestion of the influence of Barnstaple as a market for apples with Ashford, Landkey, Swimbridge and Tawstock all within an easy half day's journey of Barnstaple market. The Exmoor fringe parishes of Brendon and Challacombe have but 14 orchards totalling some 4.06 acres between them. Here it would be easy to invoke adverse climatic conditions as reasons for the paucity of orchards. Weare Giffard represents a parish where climatic conditions might be regarded as more favourable, with its location on the sunny south facing slopes of the Torridge valley.

The Devonian-Culm Measures contrast is also evident in the share of arable land, with Devonian parishes typically having half as much land under arable (*c.*37 per cent) as the Culm Measures parishes (*c.*63 per cent).[4] The labour requirements of arable farming were greater than those for livestock and it was customary for labourers, especially at harvest time, to be supplied with cider. Thus the contrast in share of land given over to orchards between the Culm Measures and Devonian also reflects this fundamental contrast in farming practice. Figure 3 shows the positive relationship between share of orchard and share of arable land.

Figure 4 shows the distribution by size classes of orchards in the sample. It can be seen that the overwhelming majority (*c.*85 per cent) of the orchards were less than one acre in size. Only 0.7 per cent of orchards were larger than

3 acres. Just six parishes contained only orchards of under one acre and they comprise the five with the lowest share of orchards shown in Table 1, and the very small parish of Landcross, which nonetheless managed to have 2.25 per cent of its agricultural area devoted to orchards.

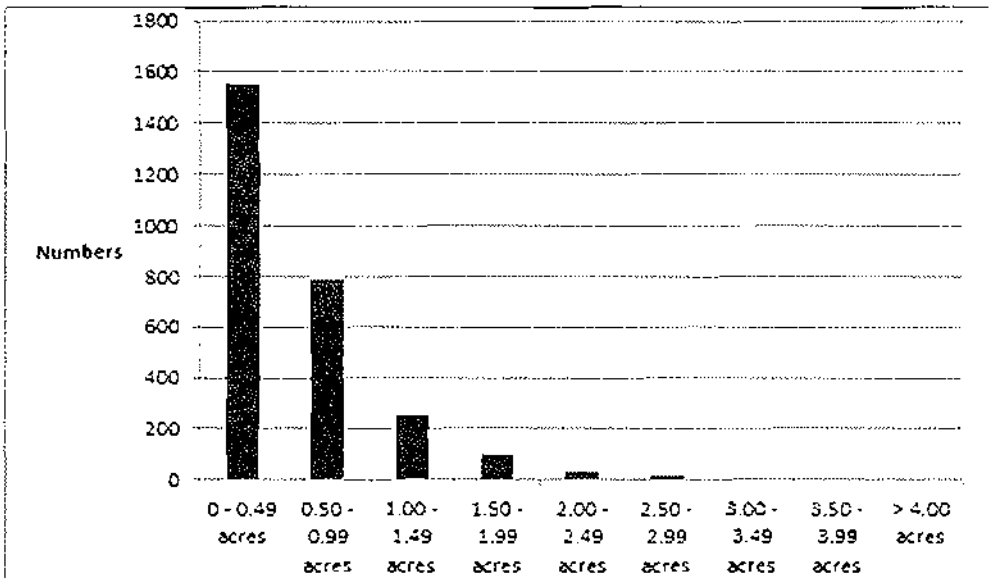

Figure 4. Orchard distribution by size class.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

The orchards were usually situated close to the farmstead and comprised part of a complex of small parcels, rarely more than 1.5 acres in area, which surrounded the farmstead. These other small plots typically have names like Calves' Plot or merely 'Plot' and were used for pasture and it is likely that orchards too were similarly used by livestock. One change that is often observed when comparing the Tithe Maps of *c.*1840 with the Ordnance Survey First Edition Six Inch to the Mile maps of *c.*1890 is that these small parcels and indeed some of the orchards, had been amalgamated to form rather larger fields. The major shift from mixed farming to livestock farming which took place in North Devon progressively from the 1870s led to a decline in employment in agriculture and serious rural depopulation and also to a much reduced need for each farm to produce cider for its workers. However, the major decline in orchards did not occur until the twentieth century and especially after the 1947 Agriculture Act which started the system of grant-aid for agricultural improvements, including the grubbing up of neglected

orchards. H. W. B. Luxton noted that the area under orchards for the whole of Devon fell from 21,440 acres in 1939 to only 8,000 acres in 1967.[5]

Mazzards

Mazzards, or small black cherries, were a famous speciality of a handful of parishes in North Devon and also found in a few other places around Crediton and in the Tamar Valley.[6] As Michael Gee notes, no-one is sure where the

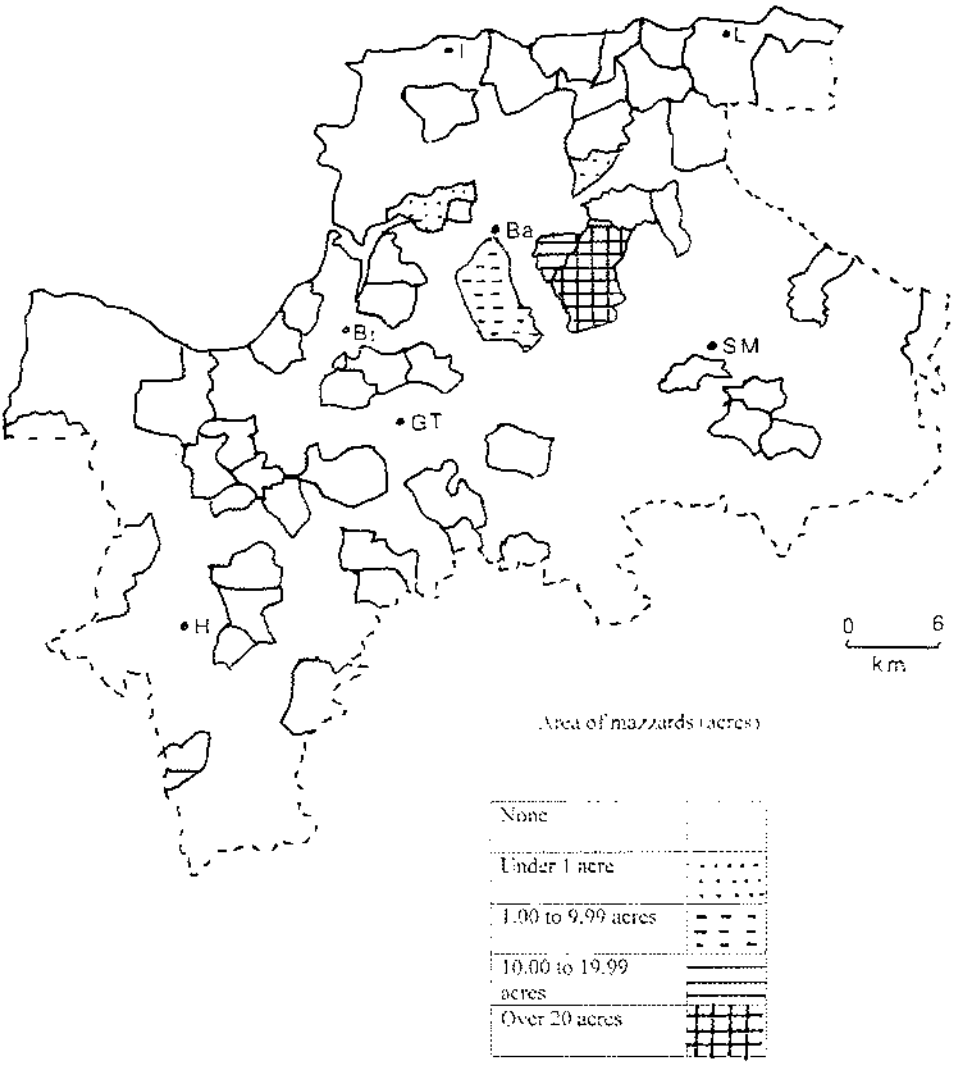

Figure 5 Location of parishes with mazzards and total area.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

mazzard came from nor when it became established in North Devon.[7] He cites mention of mazzards by Tristram Risdon and Thomas Westcote in the early seventeenth century and that some of the returns to the Milles Enquiry of the mid-eighteenth century give mazzard greens in Atherington, Bishops Tawton, Chittlehampton, Goodleigh, Landkey, Swimbridge, and Tawstock.[8] Daniel and Samuel Lysons make specific mention of Goodleigh and its association with mazzards and comment on how these were greatly prized and taken to market in Barnstaple and South Molton in July and August.[9]

Figure 5 shows the distribution of parishes with mazzard gardens and the total area in each given over to the fruit. Landkey, Swimbridge and Tawstock were all parishes mentioned by commentators in the eighteenth century and earlier but single mazzard gardens were also found in Heanton Punchardon and Loxhore. The Heanton Punchardon Apportionment also lists a couple of parcels with the name 'mazzard garden' but some other land use. It is again notable that all five parishes with mazzard gardens lie within a half day's journey of Barnstaple and its market. In the 1840s Barnstaple was the largest town in North Devon, although not so much larger than Bideford, so it is curious that mazzard production was concentrated in Barnstaple's hinterland and entirely absent from that of Bideford. Michael Gee notes that the climate and soil requirements for mazzards did not significantly differ from those for apples, which were grown in significant quantities around Bideford.[9]

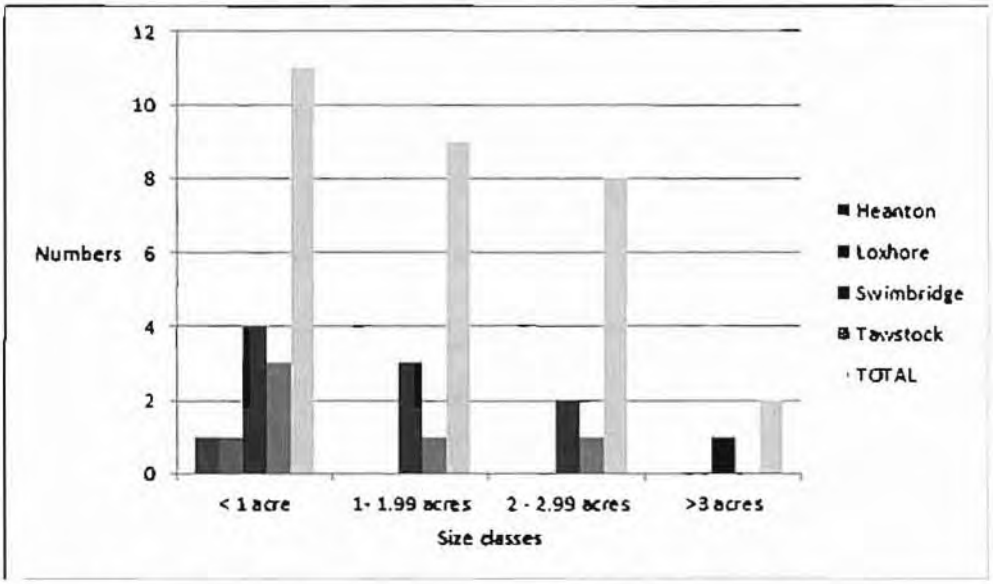

Figure 6. Distribution by size classes of mazzard gardens.

Source: Calculated from Tithe Apportionments.

Table 2. Holdings by size with orchards and mazzard gardens in Landkey and Swimbridge.

Holding size (acres)	Landkey			Swimbridge			Both parishes	
	All holdings	With mazzard gardens	With orchards	All holdings	With mazzard gardens	With orchards	All holdings	With mazzard gardens
0 – 9.99	37	2	13	51	3	15	88	5
10.00 – 24.99	14	2	10	20	1	11	34	2
25.00 – 49.99	17	3	15	42	4	32	59	8
50.00 – 99.99	14	1	13	33	1	32	47	2
100 and more	8	3	9	15	0	14	23	3
Total	90	11	60	161	9	104	251	20

Figure 6 shows the distribution by size of the 30 mazzard gardens in the sample parishes. It can be seen that most mazzard gardens were up to three acres in size, but that mazzard gardens of one to three acres were more numerous than those of smaller size. Indeed, the average size of a mazzard garden was 1.59 acres, compared to the 0.58 acres for orchards. Quite why mazzard gardens should be so much larger than orchards is not evident. In the sample parishes 27 holdings had mazzard gardens but no holding had more than two. In Landkey and Swimbridge parishes all but three mazzard gardens were found on holdings which also had orchards. Two of these holdings were located in Swimbridge and the other in Landkey.

Table 2 shows the distribution of mazzard gardens and orchards in the parishes of Landkey and Swimbridge by the size of the holding of which they were a part. By holding, it is meant that this was a legal entity but could well have been held by someone with other holdings and these perhaps farmed as a single unit. It can be seen that mazzard gardens were found across a wide range of holding sizes, although Bableigh in Landkey, the largest holding with a mazzard garden was, at 142.84 acres not especially large. For the whole sample the majority of holdings had a total agricultural land area in the 50 to 100 acres range. It is perhaps curious that in Swimbridge there was just one holding of this size range with mazzard gardens. The distribution of those holdings with mazzard gardens and those with orchards appears to be broadly similar in both parishes, although in Swimbridge no mazzard gardens were found on holdings over 100 acres but only one of these larger holdings was without any orchards.

Mazzard gardens experienced a similar decline to orchards during the twentieth century. They had perhaps greater labour requirements than orchards, as it was customary in the nineteenth century to employ children to act as bird-scarers, and the fruits themselves had to be picked with their stalks to avoid damage. The trees therefore needed to be harvested several times in order to collect fruit in prime condition. The trees themselves were not systematically replanted and by the mid-twentieth century many were well past their prime. Mazzards in season were still sold in Barnstaple market in the 1950s but the whole tradition of farmers' wives and daughters selling produce in the Pannier Market fell sharply away in the 1960s and mazzards also faced competition from other more exotic fruits in supermarkets from this time. As Michael Gee notes, Landkey made an especial effort at the Millennium and planted a new mazzard green.[10]

Conclusion

The Tithe Survey of *c.*1840 offers an opportunity to see North Devon agriculture before its major transformations in the century from *c.*1870 to *c.*1970. Two of the more significant of these were the demise of the orchard and the virtual extinction of the mazzard garden. The Tithe Survey also shows that whilst most farms had some orchards, orchards were far from evenly distributed across North Devon, with significantly more on the Culm Measures rocks to the south and west of Barnstaple than on the Devonian rocks of Exmoor and its foothills north and east of Barnstaple. Climatic and soil conditions played a part in the distribution of orchards with areas of the Culm Measures with cold soils and high rainfall having fewer orchards than other areas of Culm Measures but with better drained soils. A general relationship of orchard area and total arable area can be seen, which ties in with the assumption that much of the apple harvest was turned into cider for payment in kind to agricultural labourers, who were more numerous in arable than in more pastoral districts. Mazzard gardens were a distinctive local speciality and found in just five of the 53 parishes in this sample. The parishes of Landkey and Swimbridge could be regarded as the heart of this activity and it is curious that around Bideford there was no comparable concentration of mazzard gardens.

NOTES

1. Bottlers' Yearbook entries listed at: <www.archiveofciderpomology.co.uk/FactoryCider.htm>, accessed, 6 November 2015.
2. Details of previous analyses of some of this sample are found in John Bradbeer, 'Early Victorian Farming on the Culm: Using the Tithe Survey to Examine Patterns of Land Holding and Tenure', *TDH*, 83 (2014), 59-76 and John Bradbeer, 'Early Victorian Farming on the Culm: Using the Tithe Survey to Examine Patterns of Land Use and Landscape', *TDH*, 84 (2015), 101-116.
3. Robin Stanes, 'Devon Agriculture in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Milles Enquiry', in Robin Stanes, Andrew Jewell and Richard Bass, *The Husbandry of Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter: privately published 2008), 78.
4. John Bradbeer, 'Vancouver's Agricultural Regions in Northern Devon and the Tithe Survey', forthcoming.
5. H. W. B. Luxton, 'Agriculture', in Frank Barlow, (ed.), *Exeter and Its Region* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1969), 223.
6. Michael Gee, *Mazzards: the Revival of the Curious North Devon Cherry* (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2004), 8.
7. Gee, *Mazzards*, 16.

8. Ibid., 19.
9. Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia: Volume 6 Devonshire* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1822), 249.
10. Gee, *Mazzards*, 36-38.

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Book Reviews

Elly Babbedge, *Cheriton Fitzpaine: A Sense of Community* (Exeter: 2016) 358 pages. Softback. ISBN 978099353570. £9.99.

When you read a book as a reviewer that you wish you had written yourself, you know that you have found a gem. This portrait of the community of Cheriton Fitzpaine impressed from the first page. When I read that it was a product of only a year's research, my heart sank but this was no superficial gathering together of easy to obtain secondary material. The author's admission that her book is not a complete story is refreshingly realistic. She admits the impossibility of finding everything and wisely, makes no attempt to do so. What Babbedge achieves is nonetheless a rounded portrait of a parish in the past. Her detailed research has uncovered an enormous amount of material in a short time. The author is a self-confessed genealogist and as such, focuses on people; doing an excellent job of setting the inhabitants of Cheriton Fitzpaine in their local and national framework. Although most readers will be aware of the geographical context, a map enabling the audience to see how the parish relates to surrounding villages, towns and routeways would have been a valuable addition.

This is not a standard local history, beginning with pre-history and adopting a chronological approach until the twentieth century is reached. Throughout, the author uses events and individuals from the parish as a series of vignettes that illuminate national trends. This is a scholarly method and the book is worth reading as an example of a highly successful technique for writers of local history; an interest in Cheriton Fitzpaine is not necessary to enjoy and benefit from this book.

The first chapter does start rather abruptly but then narrates the story of Herman Taylor as an insight into early eighteenth century attitudes towards mental illness, moving on to other medical treatments of parishioners in need. Chapter two is a case study of Saunders Tenement, focussing on the Hewish family in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The inhabitants of this property include a convicted murderer.

The broader religious upheavals of the sixteenth century are brought to life through the lives of the Reynold family. The Reynolds also feature in the description of a dispute with another family of substance in the parish, the Scutts. The story of John Harris enables us to learn about the Civil War and the role of Cheriton Fitzpaine's Church House. The book is not however all about the socially prominent residents. A section on Cheriton's poor house makes reference to several named recipients of poor relief, as well as explaining the changing legislation that governed the treatment of the needy. A corollary of this was parish apprenticeship and a chapter is devoted to explaining the system through the case of Humphrey Winter.

Attitudes to and the treatment of illegitimate children are also explored, with many named examples and more detailed case studies. Babbedge returns to health in general and mental health in particular in a section that relates the need for poor relief to illness or incapacity. She covers unsanitary conditions, epidemics and accidents, bringing the ordinary people of the parish to life, or, in this context, death. Poverty and crime are inextricably linked and the chapter on crime names perpetrators and victims from the fifteenth century onwards.

Several chapters single out particular properties or tenements, in order to discuss the inhabitants and the buildings themselves and good use has been made of the tithe schedule and map. We meet the Scutt family again, the Luxtons, the Pridhams and many others. The properties that date back to Domesday are given particular consideration. Through the stories of the farmhouses, we gain an impression of agriculture in the parish. References to the world of work are scattered throughout the book but bakeries are singled out for especial mention. The Sharland family's tannery business at Upham is also given a chapter of its own.

There is almost nothing about more recent history, in fact little beyond the mid-nineteenth century; so no specific account of the impact of the world wars, for example but this does not matter. Anyone who has attempted to write a parish history will know that parameters have to be set. By writing in the format that she has Babbedge has left scope for volume two and I shall look forward to that.

The book is lavishly illustrated with facsimile documents and black and white photographs, both modern and historic. A list of these would have been useful and there appears to be no acknowledgement of the copyright holders or sources of some of documents used. There are however useful chapter endnotes, giving the references for documents mentioned in the text. My personal preference is for footnotes, as those who actually read them, like myself, are irritated by having to move back and forth to the end of the

chapter. In this book there were not so many that they would have been disproportionate to the text, had they been at the bottom of the appropriate page. The book is, thankfully, indexed as many Cheriton residents are mentioned by name.

In summary, this book is obviously of great interest to those who have connections to Cheriton Fitzpaine. It has the advantage of being better written and better researched than many local histories. Its greatest value however is in the broader context that is presented as the backdrop for the stories of local events and characters. Those who are, as I was, not familiar with Cheriton Fitzpaine, beyond a name in a list of Devon parishes, should still read this book, not just for that broader context but also as a potential blueprint for those considering writing a thematic, as opposed to chronological, parish history.

Janet Few

Daphne Barnes-Phillips, ***Exmouth's Rolle: Educating Students and Teachers from 1870 to 2008*** (Exmouth: Corridor Press, 2015) 232 pages. Softback. ISBN 9781897715031. £14.95.

Exmouth's Rolle explores the history of education on the Rolle site from the early 1870s to its closure in 2008. Written and privately published by a former student from the 1960s, Daphne Barnes. The book, in the first chapter, contains useful information, not readily available, about Southfield and Fairfield private schools which existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Exmouth. Rolle College throughout its history has been mainly concerned with the professional education of teachers. It opened in 1946 as an Emergency Training College, where students took an intensive one year course to train as teachers. The college used buildings vacated by the abovementioned private schools. Over the years, and with several developments and name changes along the way, Rolle College finally closed in 2008.

Daphne Barnes-Phillips has attempted to encapsulate all the changes on the site through some detailed historical research, together with the memories of thirty-eight people who were, in many different ways connected with the campus. This campus eventually became part of the University of Plymouth. The book provides useful insights into the training of students and some of the pressures forced on staff by changing attitudes towards education. However, this local study would have been enriched if the history could have been linked more to developments at national level, as can be seen in

Alston Kennerley's 2000 book, *The Making of the University of Plymouth*.[1] A national focus would also have placed some of the challenges concerning expansion and threatened closure over the years, within the correct historical context. A further criticism relates to the over use of individual memories in the text. Memories of individuals have a useful historical function, but should always be used to illustrate the points made, rather than for their own sake as was the case in chapter 8.

The book has a comprehensive bibliography of sources, particularly useful for anyone researching at a local level. One minor criticism is the lack of an index, together with the fact that the photographs lack captions underneath. Overall, the author has attempted to provide a popular detailed history about what is still traditionally known locally as 'Rolle College'. This valuable account of a much loved institution will appeal to former staff, students and those researching the history of teacher training in the twentieth century and require examples of local studies undertaken.

Jackie Bryon

John Bradbeer and Terry Green, *The Heritage Handbook: An A-Z guide to the Archaeology and Landscape History of Northern Devon* (Barnstaple: Museum of Barnstaple and North Devon, 2015) 186 pages. 79 illustrations. 6 maps. Softback. ISBN 9780993359606. £12.50.

This handbook, compiled for the North Devon Archaeological Society, is described with disarming modesty as a 'handy reference work for the curious'. It consists of 47 essays, 24 by Terry Green, 17 by John Bradbeer and six by other members of the North Devon Archaeological Society, followed by a brief guide to chronology, advice on reading National Grid references, a glossary of 'possibly unfamiliar terms', an index of places mentioned in the text and a list of sources and references. This lists some 90 works (including three accidental repeats) but excludes L. V. Grinsell's 1970 work *The archaeology of Exmoor*, although this is referred to in the introduction and in some of the 'Further reading' lists which follow most articles. Northern Devon is defined as the North Devon and Torridge district council areas, extending south to Holsworthy and Hatherleigh, and east to Lynton and South Molton but other parts of the South West are referred when required to complete

[1] Alston Kennerley, *The Making of the University of Plymouth* (Plymouth: University of Plymouth, 2000)

the picture. Grid references, beloved of archaeologists, are widely given throughout the book for publicly accessible sites but maybe in the days of in-car navigation and smart phones GPS co-ordinates should be given as an alternative.

The coverage is not just archaeological but also includes the historical and environmental heritage, the evidence of ten thousand years of human interaction on the landscape from the early Mesolithic period to World War Two. It is not a gazetteer but is arranged alphabetically by subject. The lack of a general index and the absence of running headings at the top of each pages make the book a little difficult to navigate, but the following attempt to categorise the essays should also give an indication of the wide coverage of this handbook:

1. **Periods**: Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Romans, Vikings, Medieval, World War II.
2. **Landscape**: catch meadows, enclosures, field systems, gardens, submerged forests and environmental change, weirs (fish).
3. **Settlement**: resorts, rural settlements, towns.
4. **Prehistoric monuments**: barrows, hillforts, inscribed stones, Norman castles, stones.
5. **Materials**: bricks, building stone and cob, flint and chert, ores and mines.
6. **Artefacts**: axes (stone and bronze), pipes (clay), pottery.
7. **Buildings**: factories, farms, farmhouses and farm buildings, limekilns, mansions, mills.
8. **Communications and trade**: canals, quays and maritime trade, railways, roads and routeways, underwater archaeology.
9. **Religion**: chapels (nonconformist), Christianity, holy wells, yews.
10. **Documents**: Domesday Book, tithe survey, place-names, Yeo and other river names.

This arrangement means that churches are hidden under Christianity, shipwrecks with underwater archaeology, lighthouses and piers under quays and maritime trade, bridges and tollhouses under roads and routeways. A few areas are neglected; there is no mention of schools, whose early buildings survive in towns and villages across North Devon or inns, possibly combined with church houses, which are only mentioned briefly under towns and rural settlements. The references to further reading are somewhat restricted. For example tollhouses are well served by John Kanefsky's *Devon Tollhouses* (Exeter Industrial Archaeological Group, 1976) and the key reference for resorts is *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts 1750–1900* by John F. Travis

(University of Exeter Press, 1993) which nicely contrasts the developments on the north and south coasts of Devon.

But it is easy to quibble when the compilers have sought to paint such a broad canvas. The illustrations are excellent and there is a wealth of fascinating material brought together in a small compass. For example, I was delighted to discover that the river-name Yeo can be traced back to the Indo-European word for water: akwa, probably current back in Neolithic times, and an unexpected example of the linguistic persistence of landscape features. The main features of the larger towns are well summarised and the pottery industry of North Devon, which was exported to North America, gets the attention it deserves. The archaeology of World War II merits an extended entry with National Grid references to locate surviving sites. This volume is indeed a 'handy reference work for the curious' and its perusal should accompany any expedition to explore this beautiful and fascinating part of our county.

Ian Maxted

Christopher Chesney, ed., ***The Schools of Sampford Peverell: Two Centuries of Education*** (Sampford Peverell Society, 2015) 112 pages. Numerous illustrations. Softback. ISBN 9780993317101. £5.50.

The latest book by the Society charts the establishment and development of the schools in the parish from the early nineteenth century onwards. The depth of detail which the team of writers has achieved is to be commended as they have drawn upon a considerable amount of source material. They give an excellent account of the initial schools which were fee paying, small and often associated with the Methodists, and later schools, all of which failed to survive into the modern era save for the National School.

The narrative on the National School for the children of the poor of the Church of England commences in the early 1840s. It was founded by the incumbent in the Old Rectory, chiefly at his own expense. From then onwards, gradual changes took place and the chapters cover accounts of funding, building construction, curriculum, attendance and wider activities such as trips and concerts. Contained among the pages is a glimpse of the social attitudes of the times. The nineteenth century log books reveal the condition of the poor and the hardships they endured. Despite a number of major Education Acts which shaped the future of the school, the Church of England clung on

to a measure of control and it remained a Church of England Primary School until 2000. With further government legislation, the school has evolved to become part of an Academy Trust.

Whereas Sampford Peverell could be described as a typical Devon village in relation to the history of its schools, there was one exception, an exciting innovation in the foundation of a County School. The aim of the school was to provide a public school education for sons of farmers and the middle classes. Like the English public schools, the curriculum included the classics but where this school differed was that it included subjects which were designed to prepare the pupils for their future occupations such as land surveying and book keeping. The setting up of the school was thanks to the endeavours of the Reverend C. S. Bere who had the backing of Lord Fortescue and Sir Thomas Acland.

The book will be of particular interest to past and present residents since it contains a number of illustrations of former school buildings and pupils. It records the progress of both the private and 'church' schools, including details of their founders, proprietors, benefactors, masters, teachers and pupils. The pages reveal a wealth of information on the subject of education. There is a clear explanation of the various government Education Acts and how these drove major change. Because there is a commonality between the foundation and evolution of the Sampford Peverell schools and other rural Devon schools, it is a useful source of reference to those researching the history of Devon schools. Dr Christopher Chesney and his team appear to have left no stone unturned.

Helen Turnbull

Derek Gore, ***The Vikings in the West Country*** (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2015) 190 pages. 4 maps. 55 black and white photographs and line illustrations. Colour frontispiece. Softback. ISBN 9781903356654. £16.

This is a most welcome addition both to the historical literature of south west England and to that of wider Viking period studies. It is a successor to the author's slim *Vikings in Devon* (2001) and covers a much wider area (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire) in greater detail. Chapters cover the source materials, raids and conquest, England and Scandinavian kings, stone sculpture, hoards and metalwork, place-names, personal names and settlement. Multi-disciplinary in its approach, the book adopts Peter Sawyer's 'First' and 'Second' Viking ages in its chronology.

The author writes: 'My purpose is not to write a history of the West Country in the Viking age, but rather to try to identify incursions by Scandinavians into the area and their consequences . . . to identify Scandinavian activities in and influences upon our area'. Some Vikings came from Scandinavia, but some came from other, more Scandinavianised parts of the British Isles. The author has read widely amongst primary and secondary sources and gives his readers a thorough and clear overview. He succeeds in meeting the needs of those already familiar with the material and period together with the needs of the novice. In some respects, there is actually more evidence for this period and theme than we might imagine. This emerges well from the chapters on sculpture and metalwork. While explanation of the overall picture is the aim, the author does not shy away from explaining also just how difficult the interpretation of some of the evidence is. This comes across well in the chapter on place-names and personal names and their settlement implications.

Standards of production are generally very high, with good quality paper and a font style that is easy on the eye. The cover design is first-class. The book ends with a single list of in-text references, a useful bibliography and an index of people and places (a thematic index would also have been helpful). Most of the photos are excellent but a few are a bit fuzzy, as is also one of the plans (fig. 9). The list of figures (p. xi) omits the second occurrence of the main map (p. 51).

The interest of the book has two complementary dimensions. First, for south-western readers it illuminates a period which does not automatically spring to mind when they think 'West Country'. It *should*, however, spring to mind since 'maritime history' is almost synonymous with the region and much of the Viking impact here was (ultimately) sea-borne. Second, for readers elsewhere the book is correspondingly a reminder that, although the region did not see much actual Viking settlement – in comparison, say, with northern and eastern England – the Viking Age(s) were nevertheless relevant to the West Country in other ways. In bringing this double message across in such an elegant way, the book is a fitting tribute to its author's many years of teaching in this field to undergraduate and adult education audiences.

R. A. Higham

Tom Greeves, *Dartmoor's Earliest Photographs: Landscape and Place 1860–1880* (Truro: Twelveheads, 2015) 124 pages. 1 map. 134 photographs. Hardback. ISBN 9780906294802. £18.

This book was inspired by a present of a stereoview given to the author by his wife in 1999. When Tom Greeves co-authored *A Dartmoor Century 1883–1983* in 1983, he was cautious of assigning dates earlier than 1880 to photographs. This book presents the most interesting and best quality landscape views of Dartmoor that Greeves has since unearthed which can be assigned earlier dates according to either the clothing of figures in the scenes, or the biographical dates of the photographers.

The book is arranged in three chapters. The first, consisting of thirteen images over twelve pages, concerns photographs of central Dartmoor and commences with a section on 'The Archaeology of Photography'. This explains how photographs can be placed in date sequence according to changes to landscape features which can be dated, for example by the year a bridge was known to have been repaired.

The third chapter contains seven pages giving an account of the commercial development of photography in Devon, beginning with Fox Talbot's 1845 image of Devonport from Mount Edgecumbe, and listing brief details about the nineteen photographers who either worked in or maintained premises in Devon and are represented by at least one photograph in this book.

The main body of the book is the second chapter which runs to eighty pages and one hundred and seventeen images. Entitled 'A Clockwise Circuit of Dartmoor from its North-Eastern Edge', there is a section on each location photographed with a heading in bold small capitals. It is this arrangement which generates the one criticism of this book, in that the list of contents does not give the page number at which each section commences, and, to understand where the section is located geographically, one has to flip back to the beginning of the book at page 6 to consult the map. This may make the book uncomfortable for readers unfamiliar with Dartmoor geography, and generally not easy to dip into to read about a specific location. However, within each section the information is immaculately set out with an historical commentary about the location and the photograph, stereoview or carte de visite shown in each figure: these image types are explained in the Introduction. The figures are thoroughly captioned with the name of the location, the date the image was taken, the grid reference of the location, the name of the photographer, and an abbreviation as to which type of image it is.

The book contains numbered references, a bibliography and an index. The dust jacket refers to the fifteen years of research that has gone into this book:

Tom Greeves is to be congratulated for his customary tenacity and attention to detail in bringing these images to public view. Though obviously of interest to those pursuing the history of photography, this book is also a valuable source for Devon historians.

Judy Moss

Mike Holgate, *Napoleon's Grand British Holiday: The Remarkable Story of Bonaparte and His Time on the South Devon Coast* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2015) 128 pages. 64 illustrations. Hardback. ISBN 9780857042606. £12.99.

News of the arrival of Napoleon in Torbay on board HMS *Bellerophon* on 24 July 1815, after his defeat at Waterloo, spread like wildfire and people flocked to catch a glimpse of Boney, travelling from near and far, first to Torbay, then to jostle dangerously in hundreds of boats around the *Bellerophon* at anchor in Plymouth Sound until shortly before his departure to Saint Helena on 8 August. The short period that Napoleon enjoyed what Mike Holgate calls his 'grand British holiday' was a period of extensive media coverage and the occasion lingered in many people's memory, giving rise to several folk-songs and being remembered on the occasion of its centenary in 1915 and again in 2015 when in Devon there was an exhibition at Plymouth Museum, an article by Quentin Bond Spear 'Napoleon in Plymouth Sound' in *The Devon Historian* (volume 83, 2014, pages 49-58) and the present volume.

Holgate's work is, of course, much longer than Spear's article, which concentrates much more on the events in Plymouth Sound. Holgate also provides a concise account of Napoleon's rise and fall and other background detail, documenting some of the official exchanges regarding what was to be done with this dangerous and unwelcome visitor, who was commanding an alarming level of interest and much respect and sympathy.

It is a sign of the extent of media coverage that there is little overlap in the contemporary sources used for 2015. Plymouth Museum includes documents from the Plymouth and West Devon Record Office. Some of these were also used by Spear, who also references *The Examiner*, *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle* as well as the local *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*. Holgate also uses the last three titles but in addition a dozen other newspapers of the time, including local titles such as *Flindell's Western Luminary* and *The Royal Cornwall Gazette* and London titles such as *The Morning Post* and particularly *The News*, which offered a more sympathetic view of Napoleon.

The book does not have footnotes but it is usually possible to identify

the sources of the frequently lengthy quotations from references in the text or through the short bibliography, nor is there an index, an omission probably due more to the publisher than the author. The wealth of quotations almost makes the volume into an anthology rather than a coherent account, with many interesting anecdotes, including an attempt to bring Napoleon to London under a writ of *habeas corpus*. The final section is actually entitled 'Napoleonana Bonaparteana', a way of scooping together further anecdotes, including some concerning his exile and death on Saint Helena. The book is profusely illustrated and contains portraits of many of those involved and some caricatures, but it would have been helpful to have more information on the sources. As the title might suggest, the book does not set out to be a dry academic tome but to provide a lively eye-witness account of this remarkable episode, an early example of celebrity frenzy. The author's musical interests ensure that popular literature is not overlooked and he includes poems on Napoleon and some folk songs; indeed the whole book is nearly structured around the shanty *Boney was a warrior*, with a different verse introducing each section. It is an enjoyable record of the bicentenary of Napoleon's only visit to the shores of Britain.

Ian Maxted

Denise Holton and Elizabeth J. Hammett, *Barnstaple and Around: The Postcard Collection* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2016). 96 pages. 160 mainly coloured illustrations. Softback. ISBN 9781445642895. £14.99.

For many years, particularly during the opening ones of the last century, the picture postcard was of far greater interest to the collector than to the historian. To the latter it was no more than trivial mass-produced 'tourist trash'. It is only recently that the postcard has come to be recognised as a potentially invaluable aid to recording changes in topography. Hence the plethora of recent publications (albeit aimed primarily at the general reader rather than the historian) such as *Your-Town in Picture Postcards*, *Postcards from Your-Town*, *Old Your-Town*, and Amberley Publishing's own *Through Time* series; the last juxtaposing early postcards and recent photographs of the same scene. Such publications stand or fall not just on the quality of the illustrations, but also on that of the accompanying text. The historian is not interested simply in visual records of changes in buildings, streets or landscapes, but wishes to know when and why these took place. A brief caption along the lines of 'This is how High Street looked in 1910; and this is how it is now' will not satisfy.

The book opens with a concise history of Barnstaple, in which a thousand years are compressed into just over 300 words, and an account of the development of the picture postcard, stressing the hazards of inferring a publication date from that on any postmark. The rest of the book consists of eight sections, the first four of which are devoted to Barnstaple. The next deals with nearby towns and villages to the north; and is followed by those devoted to Ilfracombe, the towns and villages south of Barnstaple, and finally to the town's rival port of Bideford. Two postcards, generally of the same subject but published at different times, appear on each page, along with explanatory text.

As one might expect from the publishers, the illustrations are of a high standard and features mentioned in the text can be easily identified. On the other hand, the economy of text demonstrated in the historical introduction continues throughout the book and posed some problems for the reviewer, as it might for others who are not native to Barnstaple. The Tome Stone, well-known to the Barumite, is mentioned on page 53, but without elaboration to aid the stranger. Similarly the mention of a swimming pool on page 25 may strike the outsider as somewhat abrupt. On the other hand – and to be fair to the authors – contributors to the publisher's *Through Time* series were faced with strict guidelines as to content and layout. This may well have applied here. Again on a more general note, the book would have benefited from a street plan of Barnstaple and a map showing the whereabouts of the other places mentioned. References are not necessary in a book of this type, but a brief guide to further reading could have encouraged the reader to learn more about one of North Devon's more notable towns. By contrast, the reviewer has little concern over the lack of an index in a relatively short book as well organised as this one.

Judging from the authors' backgrounds in local history and heritage, they could have said much more about their subject; and it is a pity if constraints imposed by the publishers impeded this. Nevertheless, the reviewer, an amateur historian and a postcard collector, enjoyed the book. Time will tell, however, if it achieves a wide readership beyond the geographical confines of its subject.

Incidentally, older readers and those aware of the development of the Devon History Society may be interested in the occasional mention of the Youings family.

Sadru Bhanji

E. A. Jones, *England's Last Medieval Monastery: Syon Abbey 1415–2015* (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2015) xii + 151 pages, 39 black and white illustrations. Softback. ISBN 9780852448724. £9.99.

E. A. Jones is Associate Professor of Medieval English Literature and Culture at the University of Exeter and director of the research project: 'The English monastic experience, 15th-21st centuries: Syon at 600'. His book's front cover has immediate appeal while the foreword by a former abbess of Syon introduces the sensitive portrayal of an inspiring history. Preceded by an outline chronology, Jones uses a wide range of sources, acknowledges previous research, uses relevant illustrations and suggests further reading. Set against the historical background, the text does not recount 600 years of Syon Abbey itself but of the English branch of the Bridgettine order. This could be a criticism, but the nuns maintained their identity throughout traumatic exile in Europe and return to England. The book is a scholarly work written in a style available to a wide readership, celebrating the faith and endurance of the Bridgettines over 600 years.

The author explains that St Bridget of Sweden founded the Order of the Most Holy Saviour in the fourteenth century. Bridget was a wife and mother but she and her husband committed themselves to lives of devout chastity. Bridget received revelations including political prophecies. In a devotional revelation, Christ appeared and instructed her to found a new religious order. With its own rule, the order was for both men and women. A priest, the confessor general, was responsible for spiritual direction of the monastery but final authority in all matters belonged to the abbess. The nuns were strictly enclosed, dedicated to meditation and contemplation; still separated, the brothers ministered to their spiritual needs and also preached weekly to the general public in the abbey church. English interest in St Bridget had already begun when, in 1406, Philippa daughter of King Henry IV of England and Erik of Pomerania (king of Sweden, Norway and Denmark) married in Sweden and, with Henry FitzHugh, visited the mother-house of the order. In 1415 (influenced by Henry FitzHugh), King Henry V founded a monastery on the south bank of the Thames west of London: the 'Monastery of St Saviour and St Bridget of Syon'.

Syon was endowed with a generous donation from the Exchequer together with estates across England, many of which had formerly belonged to alien priories subordinate to, most commonly, French abbeys. In view of their contribution to Syon's wealth, more about the circumstances of alien priories would have been appropriate here and also a list, if available. That is, that during the Hundred Years War with France (intermittently between 1337 and

1453), the king and parliament in England were concerned lest revenues from alien priories, daughter-houses of French abbeys, would be taxed by French kings and used to finance their armies. Endowments of land from some such priories were transferred to Syon Abbey. A fragmentary list of 'Lands comprised in the "Old endowment" of Syon Abbey' is held at the The National Archives: SC 6/1101/8; twenty place-names are listed online – though not all were necessarily locations of alien priories.

As one of the wealthiest of English monasteries, the Syon community moved in 1431 to the site of the present Syon House and collected an impressive library. Visitors to the abbey included leading scholars, theologians, politicians, aristocrats and royalty. Insight is given into the turmoil faced by clerics and scholars at the Reformation, especially when King Henry VIII declared himself head of the Church of England in 1534. Papal authority was acknowledged explicitly in the Bridgettine profession in the form of Pope Martin V's confirmation of the order's rule. In 1539, government agents dissolved the abbey, keeping the building for royal purposes, and most of the community left.

Small groups of Bridgettines gradually moved to the Low Countries. Pope Pius IV in 1564 gave official recognition of the continuity of Syon's existence since before Henry VIII's dissolution. The book should be read to appreciate the political and religious tensions, anti-Catholic violence, personal dangers, extreme poverty and hunger endured by the nuns, with a more settled time in Rouen followed by a siege in 1591. Troubles did not cease when they left for Spain, settling in Portugal in 1594, where they faced suspicion and were taken under papal protection by Pope Clement VIII. Thereafter, the confessor general held a more significant role than the abbess. The community was affected by political strife and suffered fires in 1651 and in 1755. After a major earthquake endowments enabled rebuilding. More political strife included the Napoleonic wars. Monasteries in Portugal were gradually suppressed. Settling in Devon, they flourished, but increased secularisation in the second-half of the twentieth century led to their decline. After six hundred years, two nuns remain to maintain the Bridgettine observance.

The author has produced an enthralling narrative of English Bridgettines from Syon Abbey, exile and their return to England. A review can give but a glimpse of the adversity they endured and their perseverance inspired by faith.

Jeanne James

Hugh Meller, *The Country Houses of Devon* (Black Dog, Crediton: Black Dog Press, 2015) 2 volumes. 1204 pages. Numerous black and white photographs. Hardback. ISBN 9780952434146. £80.

In recent years, the country house has spawned many varieties of publications, from scholarly studies by, among others, Mark Girouard, Clive Aslet, and Colin Platt, and glossy illustrated books, foremost among these being the collections of well-photographed articles from *Country Life* published by Aurum Press, to books devoted to selected country houses in a particular county (for example, by Simon Jenkins, who has contributed a short preface which emphasises the significance of this book), but rarely has a comprehensive gazetteer and history of country houses in a particular county been attempted on the scale of Hugh Meller's two volume *Country Houses in Devon*. Hugh Meller worked for the National Trust as their curator of historic buildings in Devon from 1980 to 1995 and for much of the twenty-first century has been conducting the research which has resulted in this impressive work, which far outdoes its predecessors on Devon in scale, and has almost no counterparts for the counties surrounding Devon (for example it is much more substantial than the books by Robert Cooke (1957), Eric Delderfield (1968–1973), Robert Dunning (1991) and Arthur Oswald (1994), although Michael Hill's recently-published *East Dorset Country Houses* (2013) and *West Dorset County Houses* (2014), describing in detail over 150 buildings, are honourable exceptions).

Meller's book consists in a historical introduction, then brief studies of particular features of a country house (building materials, gatehouses and lodges, stables and garages, chapels, gardens and garden buildings, etc.) followed by the central portion of the book, a gazetteer of over 400 country houses either still extant, or which have been demolished within the last hundred years; the book is completed by a short guide to bibliography and research materials, an index (very useful for tracking down which families owned what, and which architects built what) and maps of Devon which appear on the front and end-papers of both volumes and show the location of all the houses described in the gazetteer.

The author defines a country house in his preface (p. xi) as a house which 'was, and sometimes still is, the principal residence at the centre of an estate, usually of some architectural merit and antiquity . . . it is not a town or village house, a rectory, a dower house or suburban villa, although among the Devon houses described, some concessions have been made to include borderline cases of particular importance' (for instance, the Barn at Exmouth, see p. 13, 99-100, 273 – although Richard Ford's unique example of Islamic-style

architecture in Devon, Heavitree House, demolished in the early 1960s, is not included).

Meller's introduction places the development of country houses in Devon in their historical context. Before the Restoration, Devon was 'apart from the southern coastal towns, one of the least densely populated in the country' (p. 1), and did not contain any great landowning families, apart from the Courtenays. John Hooker's survey written at the end of the sixteenth century 'counted nearly 400 landed families, among them the Cruwys of Cruwys Morchard, the Fulfords of Great Fulford and the Kellys of Kelly who had occupied their family seats since at least the twelfth century and continue to do so to this day' (p. 1). The dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s and the upturn in economic activity during the second half of the sixteenth century led to much new building and the embellishment of existing houses, which continued into the Jacobean and early Stuart period, and to the creation of many of the wonderful decorated plasterwork ceilings and fireplaces, 'a Devon speciality that no other county can match' (p. 4). For the later seventeenth century, Meller uses the surveys of Sir William Pole and Tristram Risdon, as well as the returns from the hearth tax assessment of 1674, to estimate the extent, size and architectural development of Devon's country houses. The eighteenth century saw not only the influence of architectural books and the Palladian style, but also the arrival of out-of-county architects (p. 7-8), and the rise of estates owned not by only those 'who could claim a respectable line of antecedents, but . . . [also] bankers, colonial administrators, lawyers, naval officers and politicians'. (Page 9, note 22 on p. 22 establishes that 'between 1750 and 1850, some 20 houses were built funded by fortunes made in India, and a further dozen from plantations in the West Indies'.) As well as changing patterns of ownership, Meller also traces that varied architectural styles of Devon houses, particularly from 1800 onwards, including the picturesque, the neo-classical, the gothick [sic], the Italianate, the Queen Anne revival, and the Arts and Crafts movement.

The late nineteenth century saw the dispersal of estates following a long agricultural depression and imposition of estate duty in 1894, and then the devastation of the First World War, which resulted in Devon in 'the sale between 1890 and 1940 of one-quarter of the larger estates which had been in the same family for at least a century and sometimes far longer' (p. 13). This period also saw the beginning of the modernisation of houses, by the installation of modern methods of heating, lighting and plumbing and the installation of labour-saving devices, though this was not always seen as desirable ('Mamhead remained without electricity until 1951' – p. 15). However, Meller uses the biographies of landowners contained in F. J. Snell's

Devonshire (1907) to show that at the beginning of the twentieth-century, the traditional social order was still intact, with almost half of the 232 names in the book having been educated at Oxbridge, well over half served as J.P.s, and 'where recreations were mentioned, the traditional country pursuits of hunting, shooting and fishing eclipse all other, distantly followed by travelling and yachting' (p. 14).

The twentieth century saw the most momentous changes in country-house ownership in Devon and these changes form the focus of that final part of the introduction rather than architectural developments (despite exceptions like Castle Drogo, and Coleton Fishacre. Meller states that 'the initiative has [in the twentieth century] shifted from new build to restoration in various guises' – p. 19). By the time of the book's publication, Meller found that 'some 200 houses remain in private single ownership, while the other 200 have been adapted to new use' (p. 20), varying from residential use (shared ownership, apartments to rent, hotels, retirement homes, even a monastery) to institutional use (education, heritage, administration, nursing homes, tourist attractions, and even a vehicle scrapyard). Despite the momentous changes of the past 150 years, Devon still contains over 400 country houses, 76 of which are of Grade One status (slightly above the national average), and around a hundred of which are in some way or for some periods open to the public.

The heart of the book is the alphabetical gazetteer which runs from A La Ronde on pages 59-61 to Youlston Park on pages 1160–1163. Meller traces (with appropriate references to printed and archival sources) the changes in ownership of each property, and describes its architectural development over the centuries (including the gardens where relevant). Each entry is accompanied by black-and-white photographs or reproductions of engravings (which are, unfortunately, not always particularly clear), and some architectural plans. Some of Meller's architectural description is less precise and detailed than that found in Pevsner's *Devon* (1989), for example Boringdon Hall, but where Pevsner can dismiss a building he finds of limited interest in a few lines, for example, Escot, Meller describes both the original seventeenth-century house at Escot and the nineteenth-century rebuilt house in considerable detail. Pevsner remains the 'go to' book for Devon town, village and farm houses, but Meller has produced the ultimate source book for Devon country houses. The author also eschews some of the more colourful anecdotes about family and servants found in books by Eric Delderfield (1968) and the two books on the vanished houses of North and South Devon by Rosemary Lauder (1981 and 1997), but always traces the changes in ownership with accuracy.

The entries of the houses (nearly all of which Meller has visited in person) run from two pages (many houses) to seven pages (Powderham), and for many

represent the first modern history, description and architectural assessment of the house. It should be made clear that the contents of each house are not described in the individual entries (there are not even references to paintings by Reynolds and Kauffman in the entry for Saltram). 'No attempt has been made in this survey to provide comprehensive descriptions of house contents . . .; private houses where the interior and furnishings have been relatively unaltered for a century of more are rare . . . and none are in the first rank, a place occupied only by Saltram' (p. 51), but as Meller goes on to remark, a detailed description of house contents is 'a separate subject which deserves a book of its own' (p. 51). This lack of information about house contents (most of which have changed regularly over the centuries in any case) does not detract in any way from what is a superb piece of work. Prior to the publication of Meller's book, information about most of Devon's country houses, particularly the smaller ones, was scattered over a wide range of publications and archives. The author's great achievement is to bring together, in one book, detailed and accurate, and, above all, well researched information about more than 400 of Devon's existing or recently demolished country houses. Historians will be in the author's debt for decades to come. Country house enthusiasts with plenty of time to spare will find Hugh Meller's book compulsive reading.

Mitzi Auchterlonie

Nicholas Orme, *The Churches of Medieval Exeter* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2014) 210 pages. Illustrated. Softback. £14.99.

This volume provides a detailed overview of the ecclesiastical and religious buildings that dominated the medieval urban landscape of Exeter. Its well-known author, Nicholas Orme, has drawn on his substantial expertise in the field to produce a significant new resource for local historians. The book consists of a gazetteer of Exeter's medieval churches, chapels and other charitable institutions, prefaced by a substantial introduction to the ecclesiastical history of the city. The work is based largely on documentary sources and, as might be expected, the depth of research is impressive. Yet, while the prose is of a high standard, the use of images is more questionable: illustrations are consistently placed at a frustrating distance from the entries they serve. Despite this criticism, however, Orme's volume is an essential and affordable reference work for those with an active interest in the city's past.

The volume opens with a sizeable but engaging summary of the religious

set-up in medieval Exeter, which takes up a third of the work. Orme uses his expertise as both a historian and a writer to introduce the main documentary evidence and to lead us through the city's ecclesiastical development between *c.*1000 and *c.*1550. Information is arranged largely chronologically, beginning with the origins of the Cathedral, the creation of the city's parish system in the early thirteenth century, and the arrival of various religious orders before their untimely extinction in the sixteenth century. The sections are clearly sub-divided and, despite the complexities of the evidence discussed, easily digestible. Various images and diagrams help to break up the text, with the table relating to the cult of saints in medieval Exeter (pp. 54-55) offering a particularly interesting insight into the variety of local worship that flourished in the city.

The final two thirds of the volume are devoted to a gazetteer of ecclesiastical and religious sites in Exeter. The entries are arranged in alphabetical order and include Heritage Environment Record (HER) and location references. Each entry typically opens with the earliest references to the site, followed by various snippets of information about its position, layout and use, before ending with a brief assessment of its later history – usually a question of survival or destruction. The geographical coverage of the work extends to Heavitree, Topsham, Cowick and the parish of St Mary Marsh at Marsh Barton. The subjects, likewise, range beyond what might be expected from the title: brief discussions of standing crosses and holy wells, among other topics, sit alongside summaries relating to parish churches and hospitals. As a historian, Orme's research is based primarily on documentary rather than archaeological or architectural evidence, which means that economic and social interpretations of the material predominate. He does, however, remain alert to written evidence concerning vanished buildings and lost interiors – and, in so doing, charts an ecclesiastical history in which decay and destruction have been surprisingly regular factors.

There is only one aspect in which this work can be found wanting – and this relates to the illustrations. Although richly illustrated with black and white images throughout and colour plates towards the back, the fact that almost all of the illustrations are offset from their relevant sections by a number of pages is deeply frustrating. Readers are forced to locate these images themselves by using either the page references noted in the entries or those highlighted in the index, or by returning to the list of illustrations and maps at the front. It is an unnecessary complication in what is, in other respects, a user-friendly guide to the topic – and raises some questions about the production process. This is a shame as, at first glance, this appears to be an attractive and well-conceived volume. Yet even with this flaw, this is

still an impressive achievement. Orme has provided a handy go-to manual for Exeter's medieval churches that is rich in detail and should find space on the bookshelves of amateur and professional historians alike.

Helen Birkett

Tony Rea, *South Devon in the Great War* (Your Towns and Cities in the Great War) (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2016) 133 pages. Illustrated. Softback. ISBN 9781473834255. £12.99.

Karen Stevenson and Others, *Lustleigh and the First World War* (Lustleigh: Lustleigh Society, 2015) 78 pages. Numerous illustrations. Softback. No ISBN. £9.50 + £2.50 post and packing. Available from the Chairman, the Lustleigh Society, email: peter@moormasons.plus.com.

Tony Rea's book is the third volume in the series *Your Towns and Cities in the Great War* to be reviewed in *The Devon Historian*, and although the publisher's website suggests books in the series will use both a regular format (by year) and tackle the same themes ('describing the impact of the war on local communities . . . [and] how each year of the war brought a change in the spirit of the populace'), it is interesting to see how each of the three authors reviewed has approached his task very differently. Derek Tait, looking at Exeter, went through local newspapers and 'built his book by linking extensive quotations . . . with events in different spheres of activity following one another, blow by blow';[2] Alex Potter, looking at Torquay,[3] linked the course of the war and the experiences of local men on the frontline with events and issues in the town (recruiting, refugees, hospitals, appeals against conscription, overseas troops, armistice celebrations and the 1918 election). Tony Rea, looking at South Devon (defined at the 'modern day administrative districts of Teignbridge, Torbay and the South Hams' – p. 8), takes yet another approach. Although his book discusses the Home Front in its opening and concluding chapters, the bulk of it focusses on men from the Devonshire Regiment and from South Devon, and their individual stories.

The opening chapter discusses recruiting, the use of horses, the railway network and the German monks of Buckfast Abbey and concludes with a four-page excursus on the Grey Smiths of Bovey Tracey and Australia. The

[2] From the review in *TDH*, 84 (2015), 137.
[3] Reviewed in *TDH*, 84 (2015), 138-40.

next chapter, entitled 'The Soldiers' War', which takes up the bulk of the book, uses arguments by military historian Richard Holmes that British forces were made up of four distinct armies, by similarly structuring his material into four sections – the Old Army, the Territorial Force, the Yeomanry and the New Army in Devon, with added sections on 'Local men in other regiments' and 'War in the air and at sea', which last chapter looks not only at the experiences of South Devon seamen and aircrew, but also at naval and air incidents affecting South Devon. In these chapters, Rea recounts the wartime experiences of men from all walks of life who fought with the Devonshire Regiment, although not all the people discussed hailed from South Devon (George Onions of the 1st Devons, who won the Victoria Cross in 1918, came from the Midlands – p. 40-2, 'Rupert Anderson-Morshead originated from the small seaside town of Sidmouth . . . although his home was in Lingfield, Surrey' – p. 45-8, while William Noel Hodgson was the son of the Bishop of Saint Edmundsbury and Ipswich – p. 63-5).

The succeeding chapter, entitled 'the People's War,' gives an interesting overview of military hospitals and convalescent units in South Devon (including the 'miracle treatments' pioneered by Major Arthur Hurst at Seale Hayne – p. 95), discusses the treatment of prisoners of war (p. 98-101), and looks at 'Volunteering to do our bit' (p. 101-6 – much of this section is on the collection of sphagnum moss), but has little to say about agriculture, schooling, employment, price rises or food shortages. The concluding chapter discusses the physical remains of the war in South Devon including war memorials (p. 121-6), and 'South Devon, the Great War and Literature' as exemplified in the works of Henry Williamson and R.C. Sherriff (p. 127-9).

Tony Rea's book is strongest on the impact of the war on the individual soldiers, seamen and aircrew who were on the front-line, and he gives a lucid explanation of army organisation, which helps the reader to understand how the Devonshire Regiment and other units were structured. The impact of the war on the Home Front, despite the use of contemporary photographs and newspaper accounts, is less comprehensive and many issues are barely touched on. For an analysis of the social impact of the Great War on South Devon, the reader is advised, in the 'Annotated Bibliography' (p. 130-1), to turn to David Parker's *The People of Devon in the First World War* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013),[4] a recommendation which this reviewer would heartily endorse.

As for the second book under review, according to information gleaned from the 1911 census and other sources, Lustleigh was a fairly typical Devon

[4] Devon History Society Book of the Year for 2013. Reviewed in *TDH*, 83 (2014), 100-2.

village at the outbreak of the First World War. It had a population of around 620, with the majority of people being employed in farming, gardening, domestic service or shop-keeping. Lustleigh was perhaps untypical in that 50 per cent of the population were born more than 10 miles from the village, with 23 per cent coming from outside Devon (p. 6-7), and more untypical still in having a Roll of Honour published as early as 1921. This booklet of persons with 'strong Lustleigh connections' who had served in the war (102 men and one woman) was put together by the local vicar, the Reverend Herbert Johnson, from information supplied by the men themselves or their relations, and the information in the booklet has been reproduced, as far as can be judged without any updating or additional information, as an appendix to *Lustleigh and the First World War.*

As a result of the Rev. Johnson's efforts, the members of Lustleigh Community Archive who have compiled and researched this book have concentrated on the impact the war had on their village. Although there are useful tables in chapter two about which units Lustleigh men joined and the dates of their enlistment, and chapter three recounts some of the stories of 'Those who went away to the war', activities on the home front dominate the text and are based on the collection of contemporary parish magazines held by the Community Archive, the reminiscences of some of those who experienced the war in Lustleigh (especially Florence Amer), the log books of the local school, and the well-known local publication *Small Talk at Wreyland*, by Cecil Torr, published in three volumes between 1918 and 1923.

The contrast between the continuation of normal activities (weddings, May Day celebrations) and the changes wrought by the war (fundraising, hospital work, Belgian refugees, prisoners of war and the food shortages of 1917 and 1918) are chronicled in a series of vignettes. The most substantial chapters discuss how education fared in the village during the war (p. 37-43), and how those who had died on active service were to be remembered (p. 47-55), with the war memorial of 1925 being the first to be 'erected entirely under the auspices of the local branch of the British Legion' (p. 54). The book concludes with a balanced analysis of how (or indeed whether) the war had changed life in the village, with Florence Amer being of the opinion that 'one good thing that emerged from the War was that new blood had come among the country folk' (p. 57). This is an interesting and well-researched addition to the growing collection of books which chronicle the effect of the First World War on Devon's towns and villages.

Paul Auchterlonie

Michael Rhodes, *Devon's Torre Abbey: Faith, Politics and Grand Designs* (Stroud: The History Press) 160 pages. Hardback. ISBN 9780750962674. £16.99.

This is a well-presented and beautifully-illustrated history of what was, by Devon's standards, an important medieval monastic house, together with its long aftermath. It is all the more interesting in that, for much of its existence since the Reformation, Torre Abbey was owned by a Roman Catholic family, the Carys. The book is also impressively researched: a good example of local history. And herein is its strength as well as its weakness; or perhaps its opportunity. There are two points here. One is the sheer time scale the author has to cover. Michael Rhodes is well aware that, to review eight hundred years in a short compass, he has to over-simplify the historical framework: decades and upheavals (the Black Death, the Reformation, the Glorious Revolution) all rush by. The second is the 'local'. For the most part, people who buy this will either be locals or visitors to Torre Abbey. What the rest of us lack is a chapter which sets Torre in a wider perspective: it would be helpful to know what happened to other monasteries in the county – which have survived (if only in part or as a ruin); which families owned them; which, if any, were Catholic, and so forth? As for the opportunity, I wonder if Michael Rhodes could be persuaded to think of a further volume, looking at Torre and the Carys in much more detail, and setting them in the national context? That would make a fitting follow-on. But, he and Torbay Council are to be congratulated on the restoration of Torre and on this book which is testimony to civic responsibility at its best.

Andrew Jones

Mark Stoyle, *Water in the City: The Aqueducts and Underground Passages of Exeter* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2014). xx+ 299 pages. 101 illustrations, 10 maps. Hardback. ISBN 9780859898775. £45.

Mark Stoyle, a professor at the University of Southampton who has been publishing on the history of Devon and Exeter for almost thirty years, has with *Water in the City* produced another major work, one which capitalises on the survival of a considerable amount of medieval and early modern hydraulic engineering in Exeter to provide 'the most detailed case study to date of the growth and development of gravity-flow water systems in a pre-modern English city' (p. 2). The work is divided into three parts: a narrative account of the growth of the aqueducts and underground passages which

brought water into the city of Exeter from well-heads situated in St Sidwell's parish from the twelfth century until around 1700, a survey of the many social roles the city conduits performed, and a transcription of records relating to water supply and technology available in the city's archives for the period 1420–1603. It also contains a glossary, a bibliography, excellent illustrations and clearly-drawn maps, and two indexes, one for persons and one for places and subjects.

Stoyle's historiographical survey suggests that regarding the underground passages 'it seems probable that, by the mid-Victorian period, the true purpose of these structures had already begun to be forgotten by most Exeter people' (p. 8). However, the twentieth century saw a growth of interest in the city's historical water supply, with archaeological digs being undertaken and work being done on the relevant city archives. The earliest research resulted in the report of the 'Exeter Excavation Committee' published in 1932, which concluded that the conduits dated from different periods, that the two main conduits supplied the city and the cathedral respectively, and that the water ran freely along the floors of the stone passages, though later excavations by Aileen Fox, published in 1951, suggested that lead pipes had been used to convey the water. Further work carried out by the Exeter Museums' Archaeological Field Unit in the 1980s and 1990s clarified the situation a great deal and one of the main aims of this book was to synthesise the results of the archaeological excavations with the documentary evidence, and to correct some of the misapprehensions which had arisen over the years.

Stoyle establishes that there was no continuity between the provision of water by the Romans and the medieval period, and that the first conduit was constructed independently of any previous work, by the cathedral canons in around 1180 to supply the cathedral and St Nicholas Priory, a system which was extended by 1226 to the lower part of the city for the benefit of the townspeople. By the late fourteenth century, Exeter's ecclesiastical authorities had built four gravity-flow systems, all using lead pipes, in which the citizens were permitted to share. However, the growth of Exeter's population (it doubled between 1377 and 1522, from 3,000 inhabitants to at least 7,000) persuaded the city fathers to construct their own conduit in the early fifteenth century. Further works were undertaken in 1441, when the city brought in a plumber from London to improve the flow of water and to work with some of the monastic houses who maintained their own supply, and from the 1450s the city 'retained the services of a professional water expert or "common plumber"' (p. 62), a post whose transmission can be traced for over a hundred years. The creation of above-ground conduit houses and public fountains meant that by the 1530s 'Exeter's civic aqueducts reach[ed]

a new peak of elegance and sophistication' (p. 84). The civic authorities soon gained even more control over the water supply by acquiring all three of the former monastic conduits which had been sold off during the dissolution of the monasteries, and despite numerous complaints by the citizenry, by 1603 'Exeter's system of public water supply was more sophisticated and complex than it had ever been; between them the city and the cathedral authorities now maintained five separate aqueducts, each of which was provided with an elegant public fountain' (p. 112).

During the early Stuart period, the medieval gravity-flow system reached its greatest physical extent, but extensive damage sustained during the civil war and developments in hydraulic technology meant that by 1700 the medieval system of aqueducts was in decline. Celia Fiennes, visiting Exeter in 1698, saw a 'water-engine' in use on the River Exe, while the town well in Fore Street was removed as a traffic hazard in 1675, and the lead pipes supplying the Little Conduit and the North Gate Conduit were sold off around 1700. The system continued to degrade until the cholera epidemic of 1832, which resulted in James Golsworthy being asked to undertake a complete overhaul of the city's remaining passages and the cathedral's main conduit as well. Shortly after Golsworthy's renovations, the city decided to go further and to construct a modern waterworks at Pynes, to the north of Exeter; This new supply and the destruction of the conduit-heads at St Sidwell's during the excavation of the railway cutting at St James's Halt in 1857-58 meant the end of the city aqueduct. The cathedral system survived a little longer by using a hydraulic ram to raise the water from St Sidwell's spring to a tank above the cutting, but 'shortly before the First World War, the supply line from St Sidwell's [to the Cathedral] was finally turned off – thus drawing down the curtain of a hydraulic system which had endured, in one guise or another, for more than 700 years' (p. 160).

Having completed the narrative part of the story of Exeter's water supply, Stoyle goes on to look at the social aspects of conduits and fountains. He suggests that civic authorities and the better-off individual citizens not only felt a duty to provide water for drinking and cooking, but also wished to be commemorated for their munificence in doing so. He also gives many examples of how public fountains played a social role in the community. People were proud of their local fountain, and enjoyed gathering there, but waiting three hours or more to fill up one's pitcher because of the very low water pressure led to inevitable quarrels and disputes. Stoyle also uncovers tales of illicit use, drunken revelries, fly-tipping and skimmingtons (a popular shaming ritual), but on a more positive note he also discusses the role of the fountains as a base for markets, and for the local watch.

The story of Exeter's water supply is a fascinating but complicated one, and Stoyle unravels the complex interactions between civic and ecclesiastical authorities in a lucid and entertaining fashion, often comparing the situation in Exeter with contemporary hydraulic work being undertaken in other English cities. His marshalling of both archaeological and historical sources is exemplary, and the book is unquestionably the definitive work on the subject and a major contribution to the development of water supplies in medieval and early modern England. There can be no surprise that *Water in the City* won the Devon History Society's prize for the best book on Devon history published in 2014.

Paul Auchterlonie

Andrew Swift and Kirsten Elliott, *Devon Pubs: A Pictorial Perspective* (Bath: Akeman Press, 2015) 372 pages. Period monochrome photographs. Press cuttings and line drawings. Softback. ISBN 9780956098986. £15 (postage free) from www.akemanpress.com.

This well researched study of Devon's pubs is of general as well as particular interest as it contains a wealth of social history, not least in its many fascinating period photographs and postcards. For centuries, pubs have stood at the heart of local communities, yet their study has been largely neglected by historians, perhaps –as the authors suggest – because of pubs' gritty, popular and none too sober associations. Thus *Devon Pubs* is largely based on extensive original research, especially in newspaper archives and interviews with landlords and landladies.

Among these, special mention goes to Roger and Carol Cudlip, licensees at the Tom Cobley Tavern, Spreyton – known as the White Hart until they took over in 2002. It is, of course, named after Uncle Tom Cobley of *Widecombe Fair* fame, who is buried at Spreyton. Cobley's exploits as a huntsman are recalled with gusto using contemporary newspaper extracts. Newspaper sources are also quoted in detailing the lives of past landlords and ladies. One was Mrs Sampson, who ran the White Hart on her own for over thirty years after her husband died in 1921. Entertainments catered for by Mrs Sampson's pub tell a lot about community life. They included clay pigeon shoots, hunt meets, auctions, darts and skittle matches, plus the Spreyton Revels.

Caroline Cheffers-Heard also gains special acknowledgement for her contribution to the book. Her family have owned the seventeenth-century Bridge Inn at Topsham for four generations with two younger generations in

line of succession – an increasingly rare continuity in these days of the frequent pub changes, make overs and closures. As might be expected, the Bridge is run on traditional lines without fruit machines, piped music and other modern abominations. There is much about previous owners of the Bridge; insights into the local salt trade and salt smuggling; robust entertainments at the Bridge such as prize wrestling and pigeon shooting; the inn's many historic artefacts and various customers, including HM Queen Elizabeth II.

Pubs are integral to community life. Two more Topsham examples from *Devon Pubs* make the point well. The aptly named Passage House Inn is right by the ferry which still plies the Exe and has a long association with fishing. Indeed, in 1873 the landlord successfully applied for a two hour extension of his licence 'during the fishing season, for the accommodation of fishermen'. Just downriver is the Lighter Inn, whose original owner also owned a 32 ton lighter and advertised both together in 1828.

Sources (*The Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* for the Passage House and the Lighter) are given in the text, which is helpful for further research. There is a bibliography, whilst the contents page includes a number of special sections: *Devon White Ale* and *Devon's Church Houses* are especially interesting. The general index makes finding particular places straightforward, though it would have been a bonus if pubs too were listed alphabetically.

Produced by husband and wife team Andrew Swift and Kirsten Elliott, *Devon Pubs* is characteristic of Akeman Press, which they run and founded. This small publisher specialises in local history titles, mainly of the Bath area. Similar Akeman titles include a trilogy on Bath pubs; *Wiltshire Inns* and *Somerset Pubs*.

Robert Hesketh

T. P. Wiseman, How Old is Exeter? Divining the Distant Past with W. G. Hoskins (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2016). Softback. 48 pages. 6 illustrations. ISBN 9781903356661. £5.

One suspects that Peter Wiseman very much enjoyed writing this 'little book' as he calls it. The idea was conceived as a result of his Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Exeter in 2014 and the book discusses, over the course of five chapters, the thought processes by which W.G. Hoskins came to arrive at his account of the origins of Exeter.[5] In doing so Professor

[5] In both *Two Thousand Years in Exeter* and *Devon and its People*.

Wiseman demonstrates how Hoskins rather abandoned conventional historical wisdom when delving into the history of his own home town and he explains, in a scholarly but entertaining way, the pitfalls of straying too far from what the surviving evidence can reliably tell us, suggesting that: 'there is always a temptation . . . to treat distant and unattended eras as if they were as intelligible as periods documented by written records'. It is assumed that they never met although they could have; Hoskins, the great doyen of landscape history, returned to Exeter from his Oxford University post in 1955 and remained in Devon until his death in 1992 whilst Peter Wiseman was appointed Professor of Classics at Exeter University in 1977. One can only imagine the twinkle in the old Exonian's eye during the lively conversation which would have ensued if the two did indeed come together.

The clues to the content of this book may be found on the cover; perhaps in this instance you really can judge a book this way. The sub-title is the first give-away. The dictionary definition of divining is 'to discover by guesswork or intuition'. Now, these two are anathema to the serious historian but was something very much akin to them employed by Hoskins when he looked at the early settlement history of Exeter? The second clue is far more subtle; it is a picture of a coin of Vespasian. The future Emperor Vespasian was the commander of the Second Legion Augusta at the time of the Roman invasion of Britain in AD43. Well, *Legio II Augusta* were certainly at Exeter but was Vespasian here with them when they built their fortress in around AD55 or had he by then departed back to Rome? Well, Hoskins believed that not only was Vespasian at Exeter but whilst there he stormed its pre-existing Iron Age hill-fort into the bargain. What led Hoskins to make this extraordinary claim? Wiseman shows conclusively that the body of evidence upon which Hoskins built his case – a number of early Greek coins said to have been found deep down in nineteenth-century sewer excavations – and what is termed 'ancient tradition' simply do not hold up. In Chapter 3 Wiseman explains how modern research on the coins presents an entirely different reason for their presence in the city whilst Chapter 4, deals with the 'ancient tradition' and the story of the city as presented by the medieval chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey is notorious for embroidering his general *History of Britain* and for Exeter he borrowed liberally from texts compiled much closer to his own time in order to create some semblance of a narrative.

Peter Wiseman calls Hoskins 'a conspicuously honest historian' who cared deeply about communicating a genuine understanding of the past. Why then was the great man persuaded to believe Geoffrey's account? Chapter 5 explores what Wiseman calls 'the will to believe'. Using examples as diverse as the fall of Troy, the foundation of Rome and the story of King Arthur he

shows how traditional stories passed down verbally become corrupted but then have a tendency to be fossilised at the time they are written down and subsequently accepted by those who have some vested interest in 'the will to believe'. Wiseman was fascinated by Hoskins attempt to think himself into the past, running up against a barrier beyond which it couldn't be done and as a consequence resorting to an unreliable source. Professor Wiseman is insightful in recognising that only in dealing with the origins of his native city would Hoskins have allowed himself this indulgence; Hoskins was too good an historian to have succumbed to that temptation on a regular basis.

Peter Wiseman may have written a 'little book' but it addresses a big theme. How far can the historian go before reasonable speculation based upon reliable evidence tips over into the realm of the historical novelist? This book guides us towards where the boundaries should lie but it is respectfully generous in this case of one who perhaps overstepped the mark.

John P. Salvatore

Reviewers note: some evidence of Middle Iron Age settlement has come to light at the new Crown Court development at Southernhay West but there is no evidence (certainly as yet) of any significant late pre-Roman Iron Age occupation site at Exeter of the kind envisaged by Hoskins.

The Devon Historian

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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Articles

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