

**Devon's Antiquarians:
Identifying what has been lost from the archaeological
record. Volume 1 of 3**

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G. P. Cobley

Abstract

This thesis explores the richness of Devon's antiquarians' records covering the period from the 15th century through to the early 20th century, and reveals the wealth of information that these archives contain about archaeological sites and medieval buildings that have since been lost. The lives of the Devon antiquarians themselves, how they carried out their research, and the unpublished and published material they have left us, are all reviewed. Of particular importance are unpublished questionnaires, journals, diaries, notebooks and commonplace books which together provide an untapped resource of information on lost and damaged archaeological sites. When assessing the antiquarians' pictorial evidence it was important to undertake field visits in order to ascertain their accuracy and the amount of damage sites have incurred since.

The earliest antiquarians were those who visited Devon during the 16th century in order to collect material for the histories of England they were writing. These were followed by Devonian antiquarians, who from the 16th century onwards wrote histories of Devon, and a later group who visited, and in some cases excavated, archaeological sites. Antiquarians are discussed in depth where they have left us documentary evidence, and in some cases illustrations, from their research. The thesis explores six areas of research pursued by these antiquarians: barrows, hillforts, Roman sites, castles, religious houses and churches. Within the discussion of these types of sites, particular case studies are used to show the progression of archaeological techniques within antiquarian research, it was found that the majority of the sites described by antiquarians have not undergone any further archaeological investigation.

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One CD

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Abbreviations

BC	Barrow Committee
BAA	British Archaeological Association
DA	Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art
DAES	Devon Archaeological Exploration Society
DAS	Devon Archaeological Society
DHC	Devon Heritage Centre
RAMM	Royal Albert Memorial Museum (Exeter)
RCHM	Royal Commission of the Historic Monuments England
RTDA	Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art
VCH:	Victoria County History

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

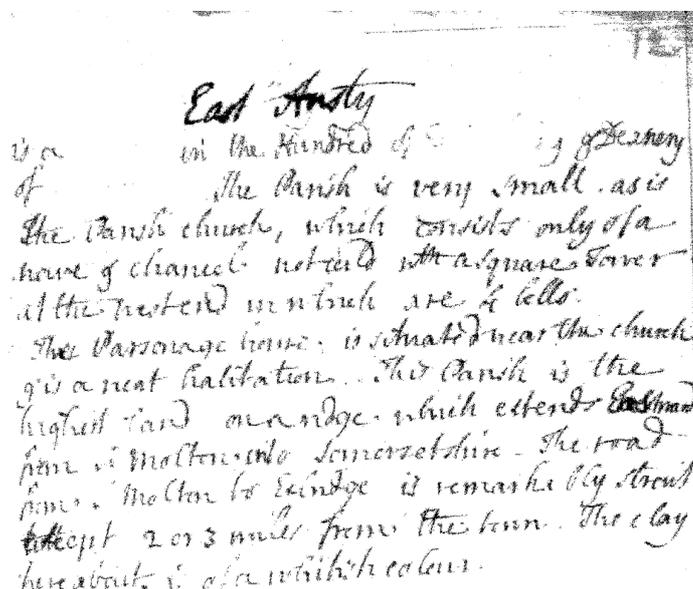


Fig.1.1: An 18th century record of East Anstey by Milles (1762, 12).

1.1 Introduction

One always imagines that the earthworks, castles, religious houses and churches that we see today are the same as the Devon antiquarians saw. This thesis sets out to show this is a misapprehension, and that substantial changes have been an ongoing phenomenon since William Worcestre (1415-1482) the first antiquarian to visit Devon in the 15th century, that we have documentary evidence for. This statement needs qualifying, because we need to know who the antiquarians were, and determine how they made a contribution to our understanding of Devon's archaeological past, in terms of what has been lost. An example of this is Milles' recording which identifies what has been lost from East Anstey parish (Fig.1.1). This study of a county is an example of the history of its archaeology and the antiquarians' contribution to its recording.

The early antiquarians, such as John Leland (1503-1552) and William Camden (1551-1623), were historians, who researched documentary material undertaking tours around Britain to write a national history. Devon's 16th and 17th century antiquarians collected documentary evidence to write a history of

Devon, and although they mentioned travelling in Devon, we have no actual proof of this. Since Leland recorded church monuments and their inscriptions their importance has been recognised. The Devon antiquarians were following both Leland and Camden's example of listing church monuments and descriptions of the landscape (Schnapp 1993, 154). By the 18th century Devon antiquarians were using documentary-based evidence, which they augmented with field visits, to write a history. The 19th century antiquarians were not collecting material to write a history, they were carrying out excavations and in some cases augmenting their findings with the research of the day. Antiquarians moved within similar circles and belonged to the same culture of enquiry, and the most numerous occupational grouping consisted of the clergy (Sweet 2004, 13; 49). There was the perception that there was a disproportionate number of clergy collecting information about antiquities. In Devon, this equalled 50% of the antiquarians over a 400 year period that is discussed; of the six 16th and 17th century antiquarians, three were ordained, in the 18th century, out of the six antiquarians, four were ordained, and in the 19th century, two were ordained out of the six. The other antiquarians all had independent means to follow their interests. Whether this reflects the national average is difficult to answer, as many antiquarians collected material that was never published and remains hidden away in Devon Heritage Centre, or private collections.

The clergy, and in particular the parish priests, were indispensable to the collecting of local information, and answering questionnaires for archaeological organisations and individuals. These questionnaires preceded topographical surveys, from, it is suggested, the 1670s (Sweet 2004, 13), but in Devon the earliest example is dated 1740. The questionnaires were based on the parish as a unit, and asked questions about its natural history, antiquities, agriculture and the inhabitants. In Devon, antiquarians also collected information by visiting sites and corresponding with fellow clergy.

In the beginning, mankind's interest in the past was satisfied by myths and legends, with the early antiquarians collecting stone artefacts which were considered to be imbued with supernatural powers, such as thunderbolts, which were in fact stone axes (Trigger 1989, 28-9). Antiquarians sought to change this

and tried to discover the origins of ancient civilisations, and write their history. This growing preoccupation with the past amongst the literate classes gradually developed, from the study of written records that were to be found in the monastic libraries, to field observations, which provided tangible links to the past (Trigger 1889, 46). Although artefacts were plundered from barrows, they were not originally used to test the speculations on human origins and their history. From the late 18th century we see the excavation of barrows to find answers to the question of their date and who built them. These excavations were recorded and published, which subsequent Devon antiquarians quoted.

The dating of sites was resolved by a combination of factors, such as the discovery of extinct animal and human bones and worked flints together in a sealed context. In Devon this remarkable discovery was made by William Pengelly (1812-1894) at Kent's Cavern (Torquay), which changed the whole concept of time. Linked to this was the study of geological sequences which provided to be one of the key to dispelling the myths surrounding the date of ancient man, which Bishop Ussher had calculated was 4004BC (Daniel 1952, 64-7). This is the background to antiquarians' research, and in Devon we are fortunate in having a richness of antiquarians' records, that identifies what has been lost from their documentation of the past. Whether the 19th century antiquarians would have called themselves archaeologists is difficult to answer, but we need to briefly address this question.

Devon's 19th century antiquarians used a logical deduction formed from the excavation of evidence, backed by reading fellow antiquarians' excavation reports and European reports, although they were often afraid to give a firm date to a site. Even so, Devon's antiquarians quoted C.J. Thomsen's concept of the Three-Age system, and acknowledged the existence of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Age, and that the ancient Britons had built the barrows and hillforts. This is surely the basis of archaeological investigation to discover evidence of past cultures.

1.2 The aims

The two main themes of this thesis are:

- To review Devon's antiquarians' lives and the origins and development of archaeological research in the county
- To provide documentary proof from both the antiquarians unpublished and published literature to show evidence of the loss and destruction of antiquities and sites

These two aims are the central themes to this thesis, one is the antiquarians' lives and their research, and secondly the use of their records to establish the extent of the partial or total loss of certain archaeological sites in Devon. These themes will be explored in this thesis by combining the antiquarians' evidence from earthworks to standing buildings, and undertaking field visits in the form of case studies. The intention is that the progression from antiquarians' ideals to archaeologists' methods can be shown, and to demonstrate that in some cases the antiquarians' records are all that remains. Throughout this thesis illustrations have been used that are appropriate to the various antiquarians. There is possibly the perception that their contribution to our study of the past is not important or significant, but this thesis sets out to show that it is, and shows how much can be traced through the study of antiquarians' observations.

1.3 How these aims will be achieved with regards to this thesis structure

1.3.1 Introduction

The rationale for the sequence of this thesis is that there is a wide range of factors that have been identified by the Devon antiquarians from the 1500s through to the 20th century. The logical progression is to review the antiquarians' lives and their areas of research chronologically, then to make comparisons through field visits with their findings which will be analysed in a series of case studies. Within the chapters on the antiquarians' investigations into Devon's antiquities are a set of questions to be answered. The study area is Devon and the timeframe of the thesis is from the 15th century to the early 20th century, during which time we see the progression of antiquarians' ideas and methods of working, to the birth of archaeological exploration and recording.

In Chapter Two we define the methodology and sources used. We start by examining the antiquarians' archival materials that consisted of unpublished manuscripts, often illustrated, which were used to make comparisons with the sites in the 21st century. Also assessed is the progress of the antiquarians' endeavour in relationship to their development of recording methods. The fieldwork consisted of visiting the sites of earthworks, castles, religious houses and churches. The visiting of churches was a particularly large area of investigation to assess the losses that had occurred.

1.3.2 Archaeological organisations

The discussion on antiquarians also draws our attention to the fact that they belonged to archaeological organisations. In Chapter Three we briefly outline the national picture of archaeological societies, because we need to set the Devonshire Association in context as five of the antiquarians belonged to the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Devonshire Association and three published in both proceedings. From the late 1500s there was a London-based antiquary's society, to which Devon antiquarians belonged, with the same number in the 18th century, whereas in the 19th century four antiquarians belonged to it and submitted material for publication. The formation of archaeological organisations was very much part of the Victorian ethos, as we shall discover. We chart the formation of the Devonshire Association from 1862, which whilst not being solely an archaeological organisation, did introduce to its members the concept of archaeological exploration. The Devonshire Association also produced transactions which provided a vehicle for antiquarians to publish their findings, and discuss archaeological matters of the day. A Devon archaeological organisation was formed in 1928, and is briefly discussed as it is outside the timeframe of the thesis.

1.3.3 The antiquarians

The discussion has so far focused on the introduction to the thesis and the Devonshire Association; we now need to return to one of the central concepts of this thesis, namely the lives of the antiquarians. The criteria for including particular antiquarians in this thesis were because their research showed a common theme of collecting material to publish a history of Devon or to look at specific areas of exploration. There were other people carrying out research in

Devon during the period under discussion (the 16th to the 17th century), but they did not reference archaeological sites, and a full list of their manuscripts relating to Devon up to 1882 can be found in the *RTDA* (Brooking Rowe 1882, 33-91).

In Chapter Four we consider the lives and research of the antiquarians who visited Devon, such as William Worcestre, who was undertaking a pilgrimage and provided archaeological information, John Leland and William Camden, who were collecting material to write a national history of England, lastly William Stukeley, who was collecting archaeological facts. Although we have evidence of Daniel Defoe's and Celia Fiennes' visits to Devon, these are more social histories and have been included in Appendices 4.1 and 4.2. In Chapter Five we detail the lives of the 16th and 17th century antiquarians and their documentary research. We start with John Hooker (1527-1601), Thomas Moore (1560-1603), William Pole (1561-1635), Thomas Westcote (1567-1640), Tristram Risdon (1580-1640) and John Prince (1643-1723), all who were collecting material to write a history of Devon.

One theme that became apparent in this chapter is the copying of material by the antiquarians from Hooker onwards and although they write about travelling through Devon whether they did is questionable and cannot be answered. Moore, Pole, Westcote and Risdon were all born within 20 years of each other, mixed in similar social circles and used each other's and Hooker's material. Prince writes about accessing all the above five antiquarians, material.

The overall aim of Chapter Six is to assess the research of the 18th century antiquarians, Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784), John Swete (1751-1821) (Fig. 1.2), Richard Polwhele (1760-1838), George Oliver (1781-1861) and James Davidson (1793-1864), who again were collecting material to write a history, but the difference was they were carrying out field visits to gather their information, and in the case of Milles, sending out a questionnaire. In this group only Polwhele published a *History of Devon* (1793-1806), although both Oliver and Davidson published books on archaeological subjects.

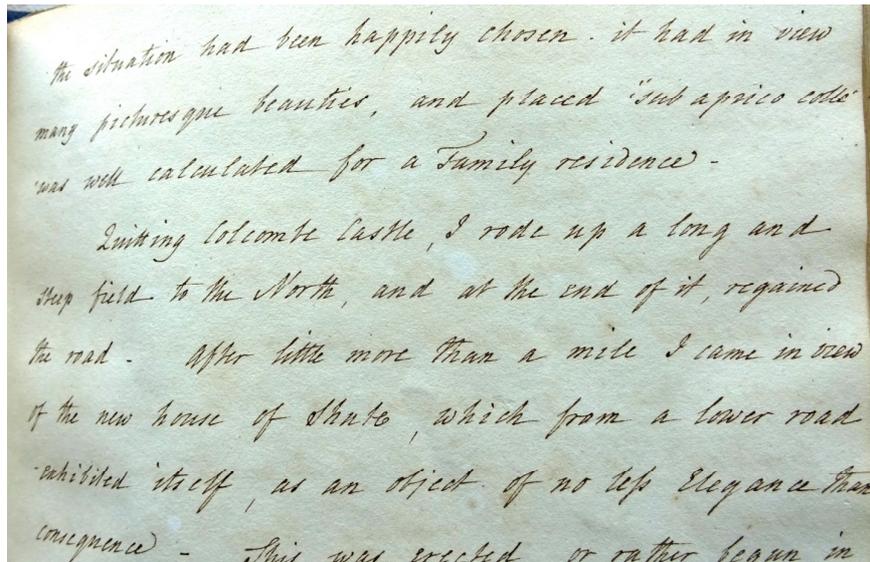


Fig.1.2: A page from Swete's 1797, Journal (vol.9, 79) describing the ruins of Colcombe Castle.

In Chapter Seven we start to see the beginning of archaeological exploration by the Victorian antiquarians or possibly archaeologists, who were carrying out excavations and publishing their findings on specific Devon sites; they were the first antiquarians to publish their findings in national archaeological journals and the *RTDA*. They were William Shortt (1800-1888), Peter Hutchinson (1810-1897) (Fig.1.3), William Pengelly (1812-1894), Richard Kirwan (1830-1872) and John Chanter (1854-1939); there was also William Spreat (1816-1873) who produced engravings of Devon's churches intended as a guide book for visiting them, and proved invaluable in identifying what has been lost or moved within a church, especially when compared with Davidson's 'Church Notes'.

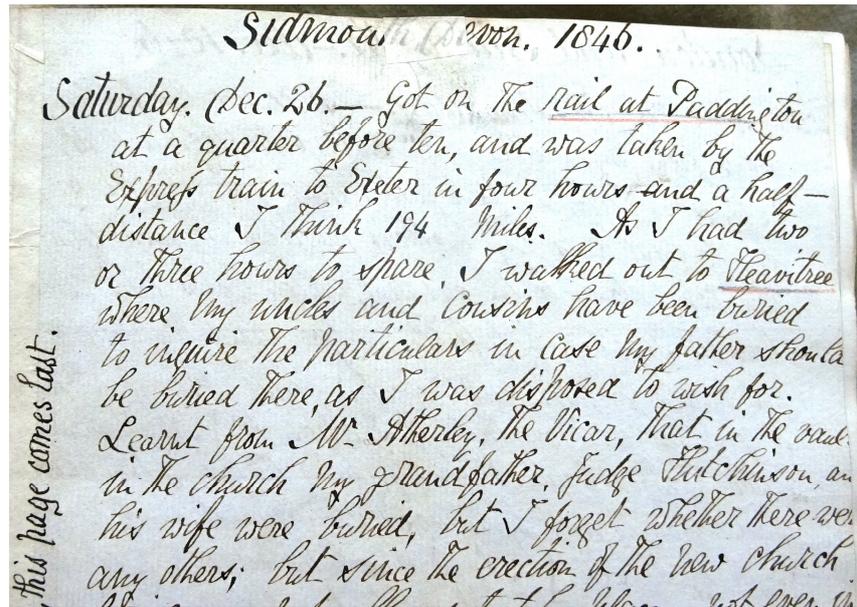


Fig.1.3: Hutchinson's Diary entry for 1846 (vol.1, December) about Heavitree Church

By looking at the lives of the antiquarians and their dates, what emerges is that in Devon there were groupings of antiquarians, as shown in Fig.1.4. Hooker could possibly have known Moore and Pole, but this is questionable. The next group of Moore, Pole, Westcote and Risdon all knew each other, and then Prince who worked in isolation as he was born later, and copied their research. The next grouping is Milles, Swete and Polwhele, followed by Oliver, Davidson, Shortt, Hutchinson and Spreat, the next grouping is Oliver, Davidson and Hutchinson, who variously worked with Shortt, and Spreat, and later Kirwan, and the last group to know each other were Hutchinson, Pengelly, Kirwan and Chanter all through the Devonshire Association.

Fig. 1.4: This shows the time span of all the antiquarians discussed.

1.4 The documentation of antiquarians' observations

Whereas in the preceding four chapters we examined the lives of the antiquarians, and the conclusion emerged that there was an evolution from using documentary evidence to carrying out excavations. The second aim of the thesis was to use antiquarians' evidence to discover what has been lost from the archaeological record, which will be done in the next six chapters through case studies, all chosen because we have antiquarians' accounts of the sites and often illustrations with which to make comparisons. The sites are discussed but there is a focus on the development of antiquarian techniques. In Chapter Eight we start to trace the origins of barrow exploration. Here we see the progression of archaeological techniques from just recording the site to fully illustrated documented accounts. There was a widespread view that barrows were plundered for treasure, but in Devon this has not been the case, as in the six sites the antiquarians explored have been recorded, with in some case their latitude and longitude along with maps, section drawings, and drawings of the artefacts found and where they were deposited. These reports were published in national and local transactions.

Another area of antiquarians' research was hillforts, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine; all the antiquarians recognised hillforts, but it was not until the Victorians did they start to date them correctly. We see the development of archaeological deduction through site plans and antiquarians' reasoning. The antiquarians documented nineteen hillforts, although four examples are to be found in Appendix Nine, as they reiterate the same facts that had already been discussed, but are worth including because they show how antiquarians observed them over a period of time. In this chapter we discover the destruction of two hillforts, and the discovery of a hillfort, which was not known about but for the antiquarians' accounts. We now turn to look at Roman sites.

In Chapter Ten we see the antiquarians present their argument about the location of *Moridunum*, which changed between Seaton and Hembury Fort, but both as we shall discover were incorrect. In contrast to this we look at one antiquarian's unique account of the discovery of coins and pottery from Roman Exeter, but he was unable to correctly suggest the location of buildings within

the city. There follows an account of the excavation of a Roman coffin at Branscombe and a Roman villa at Seaton, with site maps and illustrations of the artefacts found. The last section of the chapter provides antiquarian evidence of the Battle of Bremeldown and although they discuss the location no archaeological evidence has been found to prove their theory. We now turn our attention to the antiquarians' documentation of castles and religious houses.

In marked contrast to the last three chapters we now concentrate our attention on castles and religious houses, in Chapters Eleven and Twelve, and in particular the observations of one antiquarian, Swete, although there are examples by other antiquarians. Swete provided detailed illustrated accounts of castle and religious houses and this is the reason why these locations were chosen. With regards to the castles, by carrying out field visits it was possible to make comparisons with Swete's 18th century illustrations, and discover the amount of decay that has occurred over the last hundred years. With regard to the religious houses discussed in Chapter Twelve, the most extensive studied evidence by the antiquarians was of the founders, who are not discussed as the thesis focus on the buildings. It is again Swete's illustrations which show evidence of destruction and alterations when compared to the sites today.

Finally, in Chapter Thirteen we consider the distinctive documented evidence we have of 499 Devon churches, collected between 1825 and 1850, by Davidson. Figure 1.5 shows an example of the thumbnail sketches he included in his 'Church Notes'. In this chapter we carry out a detailed analysis of 194 churches using not only Davidson's accounts, but Spreat's 1842 engravings, and in some cases Stabb's early 1900 photographs and Swete's illustrations. All these documented sources made it possible to trace the complete rebuilding of churches and the loss of external and internal fixtures and fittings. Field visits provided information about the changes to Devon's churches, which as will be seen are significant; all the alterations and losses to the churches visited are included on the attached CD.

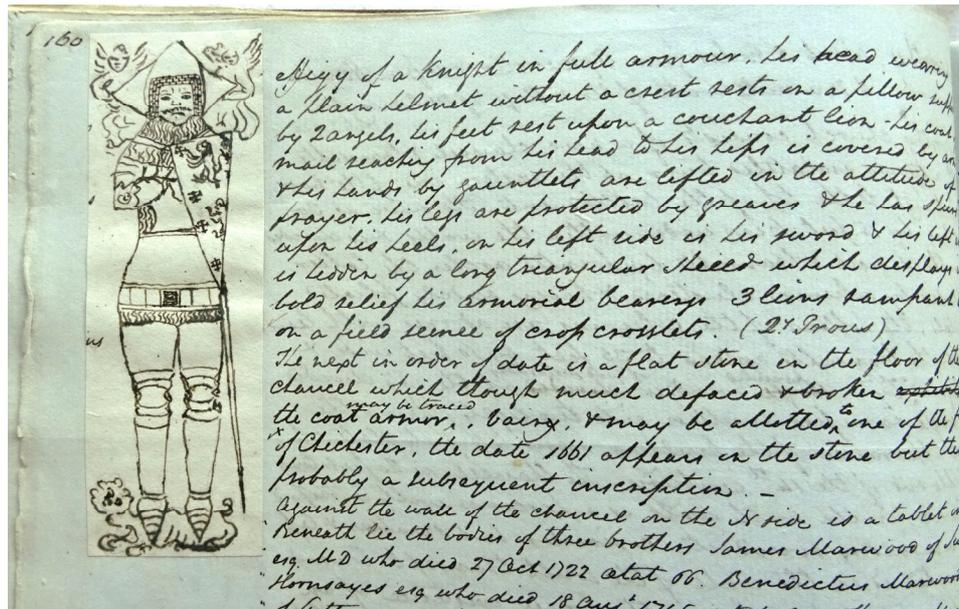


Fig.1.5: An illustrated page from Davidson's Church Notes vol.1, 159-162 about Widworthy Church.

1.5 Areas of research not covered in the thesis

Dartmoor has not been included in this thesis because it has seen far more historiography than the rest of Devon. But there is a brief mention of the Devonshire Association's Dartmoor Exploration Committee, as this was so much part of the DA's committee structure. Also there are few comments by the antiquarians, with the exception of Swete, who travelled across the moor and who mentioned, along with Polwhele, the Druids as being possibly once using the area. The other area not covered is Exeter Cathedral, as a whole thesis could have been written about its loss of monuments and destruction in WWII,

1.6 Conclusions

The thesis has two aims and they are:

- To review Devon's antiquarians' lives and the origins and development of archaeological research in the county
- To provide proof from both unpublished and published illustrated documentary evidence of the loss of antiquities in the landscape using antiquarians' evidence

In summary, Chapter Two describes the methodology adopted; while in Chapter Three we begin by looking at the antiquarian organisations that the

antiquarians discussed in Chapters Four to Seven could have belonged to. Then in Chapters Eight to Thirteen we moved on to look at Devon's antiquities in the form of barrows, hillforts, Roman sites, followed by castles and religious houses, with the last chapter reviewing the evidence of loss and destruction of Devon's churches. A wide range of evidence has been provided to fulfil the aims, which shows the development of archaeological documentation by Devon's antiquarians from the 1500s to the mid 1900s. The thesis then discusses the findings of the thesis, and ends with a final conclusion. We now start by looking at the methodology and resources used in the thesis, from unpublished manuscripts to published sources and field visits undertaken.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES



Fig.2.1 The location of Devon (www.google.co.uk).

2.1 Introduction

In this thesis, the aim is to recognise the lives of the Devon antiquarians, and their research into the county's archaeological history (Fig.2.1). In Chapter One we gave a brief overview of the method used to review the antiquarians' lives and their research processes, but this chapter provides a detailed methodology of the investigations undertaken. The two aims of this thesis are:

- To review Devon's antiquarians lives and the origins and development of archaeological research in the county
- To provide documentary proof from both the antiquarians' unpublished and published literature to show evidence of the loss and destruction of antiquities and sites

The first step in this chapter is to establish the methods to be used to fulfil these aims; within this thesis my investigations identify three specific objectives.

Firstly to look at how the past was perceived by the antiquarians, secondly, to understand the origins and development of archaeological research in Devon, and lastly, to illustrate and discuss the research carried out by the antiquarians

in order to discover the extent of archaeological loss. This will be achieved by consulting a number of sources to identify the full extent of the antiquarians' study. These research areas comprised:

- Accessing primary and secondary sources of material relating to Devon antiquarians (Sections 2.4.2; 2.5).
- Carrying out fieldwork to determine how the sites recorded by antiquarians differ today (Section 2.6).
- Looking at recent excavations and evaluation reports to see if antiquarians' observations had been taken into account when the conclusions were made about a site (Section 2.6.2).

2.2 Parameters

The first step was to establish the methods to be pursued in this thesis, then determine which Devon antiquarians to study and their areas of research. This thesis is based on Devon and covers the period between 1478 and 1939. The reasoning behind this time period is to include the first and last known antiquarian to have investigated Devon's archaeological sites, as well as other antiquarians in the intervening period (Fig.14.2). Therefore, it extends from William Worcestre (1415-1485) (see Chapter Four) who visited Devon in 1478, to John Chanter (1854-1939) the last Devon antiquarian, or possibly archaeologist, who died in 1939 (see Chapter Seven). Before we look at the lives of the Devon antiquarians, in Chapter Four the lives of four antiquarians, who travelled through Devon to carry out research, and working towards writing a history of England, are discussed. They are frequently quoted both directly and indirectly. The research of eighteen Devon antiquarians is then discussed, along with their lives, except Henry Woolcombe (1778-1847), of whom little is known (to date). These antiquarians were chosen because of their rich resource of both unpublished and published material covering over 400 years of investigations in Devon: Table 2.1 makes the distinction between antiquarians whose material was unpublished and published. A list of all the antiquarians' publications can be found in Appendix 2.1. This thesis sees the change from antiquarians who undertook documentary research into genealogy, then through those who embarked on peregrinations collecting topographical information in the field, to antiquarians who carried out scientific excavations to answer specific questions. The methodology used in this thesis is both

documentary and field-based. Having established the methods and parameters we now need to explain the choice of sites (Section 2.3).

Antiquarians' information has not been included on Dartmoor, with the exception to mention the Devonshire Association formation of a Dartmoor Exploration Bay Committee (see Chapter Three). The first reason for this is that it has already seen far more historiography than the rest of Devon. Secondly there is a wealth of publications on Dartmoor, such as Fleming's *The Dartmoor Reaves* (1988), which details the prehistoric land boundaries, Butler's *Dartmoor Atlas of Antiquities* (1991-1997), and Worth's *Dartmoor* (1953), to name but a very few.

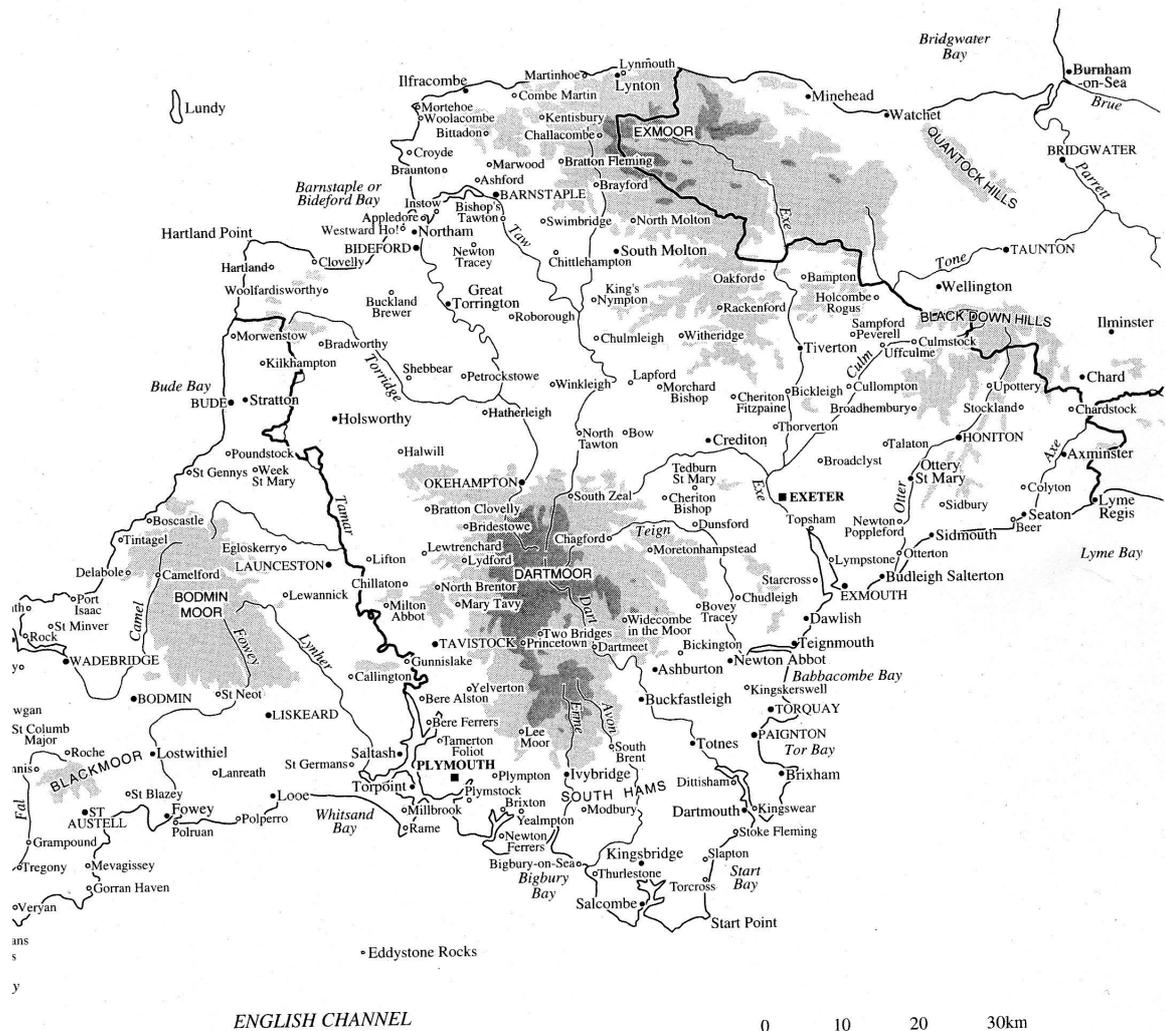


Fig.14.2: Detailed map of Devon (Kain and Ravenhill 1999, frontispiece).

Table 2.1: Devon Antiquarians

The 16th and 17th century antiquarians		
John Hooker	1527-1601	Unpublished manuscripts
Thomas Moore	1560-1603	Edited and published after his death
William Pole	1561-1635	Edited and published after his death
Thomas Westcote	1567-1640	Edited and published after his death
Tristram Risdon	1580-1640	Edited and published after his death
John Prince	1643-1723	Published whilst living
The Georgian antiquarians		
Jeremiah Milles	1714-1784	Unpublished manuscripts
John Swete	1751-1821	Unpublished manuscripts
Henry Woollcombe	1778-1847	Unpublished manuscripts. Now missing
Richard Polwhele	1760-1838	Published in his life time
George Oliver	1781-1861	Both unpublished and published whilst living
James Davidson	1793-1864	Both unpublished and published whilst living
The Victorian antiquarians		
William Shortt	1800-1881	Published whilst living
Peter Hutchinson	1810-1897	Both unpublished and published whilst living
William Pengelly	1812-1894	Published whilst living
William Spreat	1816-1873	Published whilst living
Richard Kirwan	1830-1872	Published whilst living
John Chanter	1854-1939	Published whilst living

2.3 Choice of sites

As stated, the above antiquarians were chosen because of their untapped resource of unpublished manuscripts, and published materials. The next criterion was to establish what antiquities they recorded and to ascertain if there were any common themes. It was discovered that the eighteen antiquarians could be divided into three groups. Firstly, the 16th and 17th century antiquarians who recorded documentary evidence and included some information on archaeological sites. The second group, the Georgians, undertook visitations to record archaeological sites first-hand, and lastly, the Victorians who carried out site specific excavations.

The case studies have been selected to investigate a range of sites documented by the antiquarians. Therefore the starting point for our discussion has to be the selection of sites recorded by the antiquarians now outlined chronologically. All three groups of antiquarians (Table 2.1) noted barrows throughout Devon, although as we shall see in Chapter Eight, they concentrated

their research in five areas. Although they made reference to other locations their referencing was too vague to have been included. The five areas were Haldon by Swete and Polwhele, Shapwick Common (Uplyme) by Davidson, Broad Down (Farway, Southleigh) by Hutchinson, Kirwan and Worth, Upton Pyne by Kirwan, and North Devon by Chanter, where they observed a total of 182 barrows, although as at Broad Down these were clusters of barrows (cemeteries). From the Georgian period the antiquarians did begin to provide illustrations of barrows and their artefacts, and by the Victorian period included section drawings, site and location maps, all of which are discussed in relation to the growth of archaeological research. Because of the transient nature of excavated barrows, and many sites having been destroyed through agriculture practises, selected field visits were carried out.

All the antiquarians mentioned hillforts to varying degrees, with the Georgian antiquarians being the first to provide site plans. Nineteen sites were chosen from the antiquarians' accounts (Table 2.2), because the antiquarians provided illustrated documented information that showed a progression of archaeological ideals. The illustrations included site and location maps, contour profiles and hachured plans. Field visits were undertaken to ascertain if the features mentioned by the antiquarians could still be identified. The *Victoria County History Devon* (1906) was used to show the progression of archaeological thought, and their site plans. There are, though, 75 hillforts recorded on the HER (see Appendix 9.1), but antiquarians made few references to sites other than the nineteen sites listed in Table 2.2. Hutchinson was the exception and provided details for example on Seaton Down (above Seaton).

Table 2.2: Devon's hillforts documented by antiquarians

Cadbury Castle
Countisbury
Belbury Camp
Blackbury Castle
Bury Camp
Dumpton
Farway Castle
Hawkesdown
High Peak
Hembury Fort
Membury Castle
Milber Camp
Musbury Castle
Roborough
Sidbury Castle
Shoulsbury
Stockland Great Castle
Stockland Little Castle
Woodbury Castle

The antiquarians speculated about the Roman site of *Moridunum*, from John Leland (1503-1552) onwards, and their theories were analysed, along with their explorations of Honeyditches (Seaton). The next site to be discussed was Exeter, and the only antiquarian to undertake any kind of research was Shortt. His collection of Roman coins and pottery played a part in establishing the Roman occupation of Exeter. In Devon we have an exceptional account of an excavation of a Roman coffin, by Hutchinson, which is discussed in Chapter Ten.

In Chapter Eleven we analyse the illustrated evidence provided by the antiquarians of twelve Devon castles (Table 2.3), although there are actually 30 castles and 24 fortified houses (see Appendix 11.3). We have looked at the illustrated evidence provided by the antiquarians to assess the amount of decay they have incurred since they were visited by the antiquarians. The history of the castles is not discussed, as this was not mentioned by the antiquarians.

The same methods were used in regards to the twelve Devon religious houses (Table 2.4) chosen to make comparison, although there were 25 religious houses (see Appendix 12.1). The site of Cornworthy Priory is not mentioned by any antiquarians, which is strange when there were standing

ruins, which seemed to be the criterion of an antiquarian for a discussion about a site. There is no discussion on the foundation and destruction of religious houses, because the antiquarians all quoted the same facts, evidence of their copying each other's material, and they did not provide any evidence of the buildings. It has to be stated that the antiquarians did not mention any other castles or religious houses, except the ones discussed.

Table 2.3: Devon's castles recorded by antiquarians

Axminster
Bampton
Barnstaple
Berry Pomeroy
Bickleigh
Colecombe
Compton
Hemyock
Lydford
Okehampton
Plympton
Rougemont
Totnes

Table 2.4: Devon's religious houses documented by the antiquarians

Barlinch
Buckfast
Buckland
Canonsleigh
Dunkeswell
Forde Abbey
Frithelstock
Hartland
Newenham Abbey
Polsloe
Tavistock Abbey
Torre Abbey

Another important aspect of the antiquarian's research was their recording of churches and their memorials which is analysed in Chapter Thirteen. Here a wealth of unpublished information was discovered that helped to ascertain what had been lost or moved from the churches. The criteria used for visiting the churches were:

- To visit the churches for which Spreat provided 74 engravings, to determine how much was missing or altered (see Appendix 13.4 for a photographic record)
- To visit a selection of the 499 churches that Davidson recorded throughout Devon to ascertain what had been lost, altered or moved (see Appendix 13.1)
- To fulfil the above requirements 194 churches were visited, which included Spreat's 74 churches

This detailed analysis of churches is discussed below. Having looked at the choice of antiquarians and antiquities we need to move on and look at the resources used.

2.4 Desktop study

2.4.1 Introduction

The aim was to initially identify and access both unpublished and published material appertaining to Devon's antiquarians' lives and research, to answer the aims established at the beginning of the chapter. Although it should be remembered that the antiquarians' written work could be biased towards their interests, or possibly reflect the fashion of the day.

2.4.2 Unpublished material

The primary source of information was unpublished material, written by the antiquarians, and included manuscripts, questionnaires, journals, diaries, letters and commonplace books, all detailed in Appendix 2.1, and referenced in the Bibliography. All the material discussed below was accessed to analyse the antiquarians' lives and research. The majority of the information about the 16th and 17th century antiquarians came from articles in the *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* supplemented by information from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and some by the Georgian antiquarians. Details of the Georgians lives came from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and Gray the editor of Swete's Journals, and the *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*. For the Victorians the information came from the above sources, Hutchinson's Diaries, and bibliographies about the antiquarians.

The first Devon antiquarian's unpublished material used was from Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784), who visited 318 Devon parishes between 1747 and 1762, recording information about the church and parish. This information was bound together into five volumes known as the *Parochial Collections* (1762), and contains a few illustrations. Milles sent a questionnaire out to all the Devon parishes, and the answers are bound into two volumes, known as *Dean Milles Questionnaire* (1766). Both were accessed at the Bodleian Library, although there are copies on two damaged rolls of microfilm kept in the Devon Heritage Centre (DHC) (see Chapter Six).

The next two antiquarians, as far as we know, were the first and possibly the only in Devon to keep illustrated journals or diaries that contained archaeological information: these were used in this thesis and both can be accessed in the DHC. John Swete (1751-1821) wrote 20 illustrated journals based upon his travels around Devon, although they have since been transcribed by Todd Gray and edited by Margery Rowe into four volumes entitled *Travels in Georgian Devon*, published between 1997 and 2000. Peter Hutchinson (1810-1897) wrote five volumes of illustrated Diaries dating from 1848 to 1894. His Diaries have been translated by Jeremy Butler and published as *Victorian Devon 1846-1870* (Butler 2000) and *Diary of a Devon Antiquarian 1871-1894* (Butler 2010). Hutchinson also wrote an illustrated *History of Sidmouth* (1880), which remains unpublished. Hutchinson's correspondence concerning his appointment as local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries was accessed at the Society of Antiquaries of London Library. Henry Woolcombe's (1778-1847) unpublished *Hillforts, some accounts of the Fortified Hills, in the County of Devon* (1839), and William Pole's (1561-1635) published *Collections towards a description of the County of Devon* have both gone missing from the Devon and Exeter Institute since this thesis was originally written. George Oliver's (1781-1861) manuscripts were accessed at the North Devon Heritage Centre.

In the DHC are James Davidson's five volumes of illustrated Church Notes relating to the 499 Devon churches he visited between 1825 and 1850. Also housed there are Davidson's eight Commonplace Books, again with some illustrations which contain information about Devon's archaeological sites. The

books are paginated and dated on the inside cover, but there are discrepancies as frequently there are earlier or later dated entries, which are the dates that have been used in this thesis. The term Commonplace book needs to be explained. In the later medieval period 'Commonplace books' or *loci communes* were universally understood to be a mechanism for generating dialogue, both written and oral. They were employed to record material that was to be used to develop or investigate a composition. Medieval thinkers used the Bible as a resource for quotations, as it had more authority than any other book. Erasmus (1466-1536) established a formula for creating a Commonplace book:

- It should have subject headings
- An index
- Contain Latin quotations which could be recycled into essays and discussions.

At the end of the 16th century printed Commonplace books were published as reference books, however, by the end of the 17th century their original format and use was in decline. They were never diaries or travelogues (Moss 1999, 1; Sloane 2001, 120-4), although Davidson collected material into what he called Commonplace books and used them as *aides-memoire*. Into his nine titled volumes, Davidson pasted newspaper cuttings, copied out numerous Latin quotations, chapters from various publications, such as Hutchinson's *Sidmouth Guide Book* (1857), and places he had visited. All the books were paginated, indexed and contained information that he recycled in his published material. Not only do they contain archaeological facts, but they could be used to write a social history of Devon because they contain information detailing everyday life, such as auctions, sale of estates and information about the railways. All this information collected by Davidson between 1830 and 1843 portrays life in mid-18th century Devon, a rich under-used resource.

Beatrice Creswell (1862-1940) wrote 25 illustrated volumes of *Notes on Devon Churches between 1912 and 1925*, which remain unpublished. This provided further evidence of what has been lost from the churches since the antiquarians, but Davidson in particular had visited them. Her aim in producing the notes was to collate old material appertaining to each deanery at the beginning of the 20th century (Cresswell 1912, 1). Creswell's manuscripts were accessed in the DHC.

2.4.3 Issues raised using archival material

No problems were encountered accessing archival material, as all material was pre-booked. Using primary sources highlighted the complexity of referencing archival material. The following format has been followed:

- Milles' *Parochial Collections* are referenced as Milles 1762 and page number.
- *Dean Milles Questionnaire*. The questionnaire replies were bound together and collectively dated as 1766, which is the date used, except when a dated questionnaire reply has been quoted.
- Swete's Journals were dated and paginated, and have been referenced as Swete, year, Journal number, page number. For example: Swete 1793, Journal vol.3, 39.
- Woollcombe's manuscript *Hillforts, some accounts of the Fortified Hills, in the County of Devon* (1839), paginated.
- Hutchinson's Diaries are dated but not paginated and have been referenced as Hutchinson, year, Diary volume number and month. For example: Hutchinson 1855, Diary vol.2, March.
- Hutchinson's *History of Sidmouth*, is referenced as Hutchinson, 1880, *History of Sidmouth*, volume number, page number. For example: Hutchinson 1880, *History of Sidmouth*, vol.1, 27.
- Oliver's letters now form part of the Harding and Oliver Collection: a few are dated and they are stored in un-catalogued numbered box-files. These are referenced by the box-file number.
- Davidson's Church Notes are paginated, although dated to when the books were rebound in 1843 by Brooking Rowe on Davidson's son's death; these comprise East Devon (vol.1), South Devon (vol.2), Exeter (vol.3), West Devon (vol.4) and North Devon (vol.5). In the thesis the churches are referenced by the year Davidson visited the church, for example Davidson 1830, vol.1, 695.
- Creswell's 25 volumes of *Notes on Devon Churches between 1912 and 1925* are paginated and are referenced Creswell 1922c, 4.
- The reproduction of good illustrations from faded and damaged manuscripts which have writing on the back has caused a few difficulties. One solution was to place white paper behind the illustration, which occasionally worked.

What did become apparent was the enormous amount of illustrated archival material available for use, to answer the question as to what has been lost from the archaeological records.

2.5 Published material

All the published material relating to the Devon antiquarians was accessed from the University of Exeter Library, the Penryn Campus Library, The Devon and Exeter Institution, and the Heritage Centres of Devon and North Devon.

2.6 Fieldwork

2.6.1 Introduction

Having identified the resources of both unpublished and published material with which to make comparisons, the next step was to carry out field visits. The fieldwork consisted of visits to earthworks, castles, religious houses and parish churches to determine what remained, and make comparisons with the antiquarians' illustrations to ascertain the amount of artistic licence taken, obvious changes, or destruction. An example is Swete's illustration of Tiverton Castle (Figs.2.3-2.4) as compared to the picture we see in 2015 (see Chapter Eleven). An example of total destruction, where an antiquarian's illustration is all that remains, can be seen with the east window of Newenham Abbey (Fig.2.5) (see Chapter Twelve).

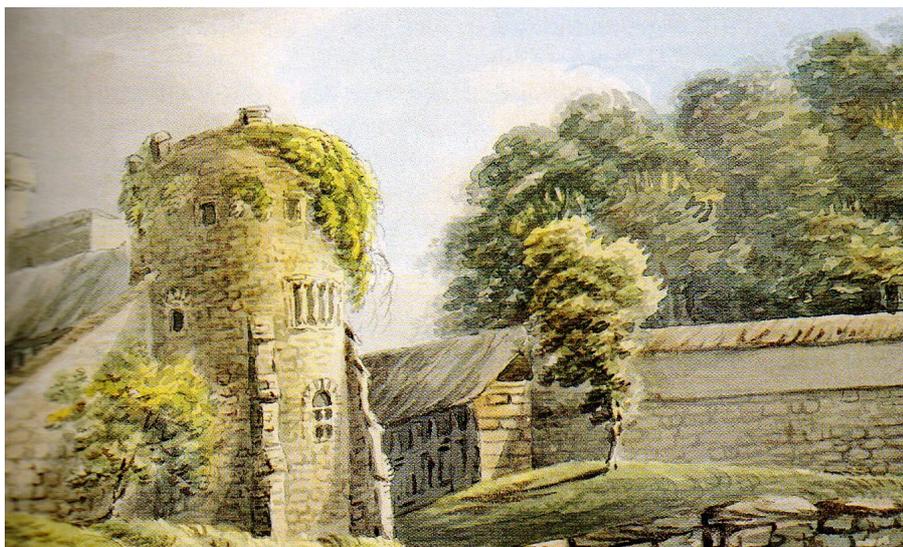


Fig.2.3: The round south tower of Tiverton Castle (Swete 1781, Journal vol.1, opp.188).



Fig.2.4: The south tower of Tiverton Castle with a pointed roof and new buildings to the west (Source: author).



Fig.2.5: The destroyed east window of Newenham Abbey (Davidson 1843, frontispiece).

2.6.2 Barrows and hillforts

Field visits were made to the barrows located on Shapwick Common, Upton Pyne and Broad Down, all of which have suffered agricultural damage. On Broad Down vegetation coverage made it difficult to correctly identify some of the sites mentioned by Hutchinson. Grinsell's classifications were used to provide a definite reference for Devon's barrows (see Chapter Eight). With regards to hillforts, the same applies about the loss of sites due to agricultural practises; here the *VCH* and Fox were used for reference. The field visits were undertaken to ascertain how much of the antiquarians' information shown in site plans could still be identified. Permission was obtained to visit Belbury Castle

and Sidbury Castle (see Chapter Nine). Where relevant mention has been made of present day excavation reports and findings.

2.6.3. Castles

An issue central to Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen is the combination of the antiquarians' illustrated documentary research linked to fieldwork to determine how much of a site remains. Photographic evidence shows the changes that have occurred over the last 200 years. Both Swete in the 18th century and Hutchinson in the 19th century provided illustrations of Devon's castles, from this we can establish how much of the buildings remain, and how correct their illustrations were. There were no access issues, and at several sites the custodians were very helpful, especially at Berry Pomeroy Castle. A definitive list of all Devon's castles can be found in *Norman Castles in Britain* (Renn 1973) (see Chapter Eleven).

2.6.4 Religious houses

Again the aims of the field visits were the same as above, to discover how much of the religious houses remained and could be matched to Swete's illustrations, when compared with photographic evidence obtained from field visits. No problems were encountered with access to the religious houses, and the owners of Canonsleigh Priory and Frithelstock Priory were most helpful. An authoritative list of all Devon's religious houses is contained in *Medieval Religious Houses* (Knowles 1953) (see Chapter Twelve).

2.7 Maps

Throughout this thesis maps have been included wherever possible. The antiquarians' maps are included and Donn's, which Swete and Hutchinson are quoted as using, and are analysed in Chapter 14. Alongside this are maps from the *Victorian County History Devon* (1906) and maps from the *South West Regional Atlas* (1999) to present a picture of the sites today.

2.8 Parish Churches

2.8.1 Introduction

The most extensive study within this thesis was the study of Devon's churches; this involved both field visits and documentary research. Devon has a richly textual ecclesiastical history which lends itself to this detailed study (see Chapter Thirteen). In this case the field visits established which fixtures and fittings were missing, moved or retained, when compared to the antiquarian's accounts. An initial pilot study consisted of visiting 12 churches to ascertain if it was possible using antiquarians' manuscripts to determine this loss. Section 2.8.3 this was followed by a larger study (Section 2.9) with a total of 194 churches eventually visited.

The focus of the fieldwork was undertaken with two aims:

- To visit the 62 churches that William Spret (1816-1873) depicted in his *Picturesque Sketches of the Churches of Devon* (1842), and make comparisons with today's elevation and interior, to ascertain what has been lost or altered
- To visit 194 churches as a representative sample of the 499 churches in all parts of Devon documented by Davidson in his *Church Notes* (1843), to ascertain what has been removed and changed

2.8.2 Resources used to identify artefacts missing from churches

The unpublished material of Milles, Swete, Davidson, Hutchinson and Creswell, and the published material of Richard Polwhele's (1760-1838) *The History of Devonshire* (1793-1806) and Spret's *Some Old Devon Churches* (1842) were employed. Other sources included John Stabb's (1865-1917) *Some Old Devon Churches and Devon Church Antiquities* (1908-1916), which provided further evidence of alterations to the churches. Cherry and Pevsner's *The Buildings of England: Devon* (2006) provided a definitive source for dates of when a church was built, restored or rebuilt. Pevsner's map in Chapter 13 (Fig.13.8) was used to show the location of the 194 churches visited. Churches which were open are underlined in green, and 30 churches visited but locked in red. Access to some churches caused difficulties, where there was no address for the key holder, or the church closed early as the volunteers were afraid of theft. Enquiries as to when a church was open caused concern, and involved lengthy phone calls to

explain the reason why. It was decided the best method was to plan a route and hope the churches were open.

2.8.3 Pilot study

The aims of the pilot study of 12 churches (Table 2.5) which had been documented by Davidson were as follows:

- To identify elements of change and establish their chronology from antiquarians' pre-Victorianisation recording.
- Categorise the surviving features, both external and internal to establish what has been lost and what survived.
- Record the mobility of art and artefacts, with the removal of memorial tablets to new locations or if destroyed.
- Compare antiquarians' illustrations of a church and what remains today.
- Establish a database of Devon's churches, recording when built, restored and visited by antiquarians.

Table 2.5: Churches visited in the pilot study

Axminster
Barnstaple
Dawlish
Gittisham
Honiton
Kenn
Kenton
Powderham
Tiverton
Upton Pyne
Warkleigh
Woodbury

Several important observations became apparent whilst undertaking the pilot study, the first being at least 200 memorials were found to be missing or had been moved. Secondly, a wide range of missing fixtures and fittings from the 12 churches became apparent when comparing evidence collected from the churches with the antiquarians' documented evidence. The practicalities of collecting this information were considered. There was the option of collating all the antiquarians' information before visiting the church, or visit the church and note all the monuments up until 1850 (the date Davidson finished collecting information about churches), and the fixtures and fittings along with

photographs then research the antiquarians documentation of the church. It became apparent that the straightforward method was to visit the church, and document the information on a *pro forma* sheet (see Appendix 2.2); this also allowed for flexibility of deviating from the planned route, if another church was found to be open. It was found that the antiquarians' descriptions of a church and its interior are often the only evidence we have of their former state.

2.9 The study of churches

2.9.1 Forms and database

The completion of the pilot study showed the value of undertaking such a study, because besides the loss of memorials, galleries, and screens, alterations to the internal layout were identified. The same methodology was used to record the larger sample, although refinements were made to the original form, so a natural progression could be made through the church starting at the west end, recording the fixtures and fittings then the monuments (see Appendix 2.3 for amended form). Linked to the recording of lost or moved fixtures and fittings a record was made of all 194 churches visited to collate the changes, both pictorial and text-based, for each church visited (see Appendix 13.6) and included on a disc. Appendix 13 has six databases: the first details all the churches visited by the antiquarians (see Appendix 13.1), the second provides the references for all the items removed from churches (see Appendix 13.2), the third lists all the rood screens that have been removed from the churches (see Appendix 13.3), Appendix 13.4 is a pictorial reference showing the comparisons with Spreat's engravings and the church's appearance today, with observations on the differences seen, Appendix 13.5 is information on churches that have been rebuilt and Appendix 13.6 list all the churches on the CD.

2.9.2 Terminology

The terminology used in the text regarding the churches is shown on two plans in Chapter 13. The first plan (Fig. 13.6) shows the layout of the church, identifying the nave, aisles and chancel. The second plan (Fig.13.7) identifies the features and fittings within the church that are discussed.

2.9.3 Illustrations

Due to the age of some of the pictures in the churches, a few of the photographs do not reproduce to the highest standards. Photographing some church interiors and memorials was difficult because of fittings in the line of sight, poor visibility due to stained glass windows and no electric light.

2.10 Observations of methodology used

The study areas consisted of the sites that the antiquarians visited, and within each of the following chapter are case studies, which showed not only the loss of antiquities but the progression of antiquarians' ideas, documentary recoding and illustrative methods, all of which will be used to answer the aims established at the beginning of the chapter. Databases were created to store the information discovered by the antiquarians, which will be discussed in Chapter 14.

2.11 Summary

In this chapter we have introduced the study area and how the antiquarians perceived the past, starting with Worcester in the 15th century, and continued through to the early 20th century with Chanter. The aim of this thesis was to expand our understanding of the origins and advancement of Devon's archaeological history by reviewing the antiquarians' research into the recording and exploration of earthworks and castles and religious houses and churches. Having established the methodology used, we now need to start reviewing the antiquarians' lives in chapters Five through to Seven, before we look at their research methods of documenting earthworks and standing and ruined buildings and churches.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ORGANISATIONS



Fig.3.1: The perceived view of antiquarians in the early 19th century, with President Jeremiah Milles in the foreground (see Chapter Six) (Evans 1956, opp.161).

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will turn to one of the central themes of this thesis is to look at the research of Devon antiquarians, and linked to this is the archaeological organisations they belong to. Therefore the aim of this chapter is to briefly look at the formation of national archaeological organisations (Fig.3.1) in order to set the establishment of the Devonshire Association in context, and to show how Devon antiquarians influenced national organisations' research. The early 1800s saw a proliferation of learned societies and printing clubs which radically altered the study of the past. Printing clubs flourished because they made available copies of antiquarian manuscripts relatively cheaply (Wetherall 1998, 21-4). The Victorians, such as Peter Hutchinson (1810-1897) (see Chapter Seven) had a desire to use their leisure time profitably and antiquarian societies provided an opportunity for like-minded individuals not only to pursue an intellectual pastime but to be useful in maintaining the fabric of society (Wetherall 1998, 32-3).

The formation of archaeological societies was the result of a growing interest in antiquities, which included landscape features and ecclesiastical buildings. Firstly, we will look at the Society of Antiquaries of London that can be traced back to the 1500s. Secondly, at the British Archaeological Association founded in 1843; lastly, we will look at the Devonshire Association which was formed in 1862.

3.2. The Society of Antiquaries of London and the British Archaeological Association in relation to the Devon antiquarians

The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries was established in 1586 and was an academy of heralds and scholars whose aim was to 'establish a cultural longevity' (Wright 1958, 182). James I 'took a little Mislike to their Society', because he feared that the Society might undermine his royal authority and the prerogatives of the Crown, and as a result he put a stop to the antiquarian meetings (Broadway 2006, 75-6). Amongst its members were William Camden (1551-1623) (see Chapter Four), and the Devon antiquarian John Hooker (1527-1601) (see Chapter Five). The Society of Antiquaries of London was reformed in 1717, with Stukeley becoming the secretary (Evans 1956, 50) (see Chapter Four).

The Society of Antiquaries of London issued a questionnaire in 1745, to ascertain the number of antiquities in a parish. The only return was from Sherborne (Dorset) (Sweet 2004, 90). The reason for including this fact is because possibly this influenced The Dean of Exeter, Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784) to send a questionnaire to all Devon's clergy in 1753 asking for information on the church, parish and sites of antiquities (see Chapter Six); for a list of the questions he asked see Appendix 6.1. The Society of Antiquaries of London suggested that local secretaries should be appointed in all cathedral cities to report on the antiquities in their locality (Evans 1956, 271), with Hutchinson becoming the local secretary for Devon in 1865. They were issued with a set of questions to answer in relation to archaeological matters (see Appendix 7.1) Hutchinson's appointment was only known about through his diary entries, and he resigned in 1889, after serving for 24 years (Hutchinson 1889, Diary vol.5, April).

The British Archaeological Association (BAA) was founded in 1843 in response to the rising popularity of archaeology. In 1865 the BAA tried to establish a network of local correspondents, in a scheme similar to that established by the Society of Antiquaries of London, but there is no record of anyone in Devon undertaking this role (Westhral 1998, 23). Possibly this failed because counties were forming their own archaeological societies, and by the end of the 19th century the provincial antiquarians and historical societies acquired a cultural force which stimulated a local pride in their counties (Sweet 2004, 118). In 1862 (the year the Devonshire Association was formed) the BAA held their Congress in Exeter. Sir Stafford H. Northcote in his Presidential Address hoped that the Devonshire Association would establish a county museum (this did not happen until 1868 and then not by the DA). At the Congress Hutchinson (1862, 53-65) spoke on the hillforts of Blackbury Castle, Sidbury Castle, Bury Camp, High Peak and Milber Down Camp and the Lovehayne barrows (see Chapters Eight; Nine).

3.3 The formation of the Devonshire Association

3.3.1 Introduction

A preliminary meeting was held in 1862 to form the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art. There was already in Devon the Plymouth Institution (later the Athenaeum), formed in 1812, and the Torquay Natural History Society, founded in 1844. The primary instigators were William Pengelly (1812-1894), Charles Spence Bate (1819-1889) and William Harpley (1830-1914), who thought that Devon should have an association run along the lines of the BAA established in 1843 (Walker 1962, 42-4). The aims of the DA were to:

- Give a systematic direction to scientific enquiry
- Promote discussion on science, literature and art in Devon
- That the AGMs should be peripatetic around Devon (Fig.3.6) (Walker 1962, 46)

The membership of the Devonshire Association reflected the membership of both the Society of Antiquaries of London and the BAA, with the gentry and clergy initially forming the largest proportion of the membership at its foundation.

3.3.2 The early years (1862-1876) of the Devonshire Association

The early papers published in the *RTDA* did not always have a Devon focus, and by 1876 it was decided that all papers and the Presidential Addresses must be relevant to the county (Wootton 2012, 25). A brief mention needs to be made of the authors during the first 50 years of the DA. Two of the founding members Pengelly and Spence Bates wrote papers, Harpley did not, but he was the secretary and editor of the *RTDA* from 1862 to 1900. Pengelly in the first edition of the *RTDA* (1863-1864) published an article on *The Introduction of Cavern Accumulations* (1864, 31-59) relating to Kent's Cavern, and then proceeded to write at least two or more papers per edition up until his death in 1894, publishing over 65 articles. The subjects ranged from his work in Kent's Cavern, to geological observations on the formation of Devon's rocks. Spence Bate contributed articles on geological and archaeological subjects, such as 'An Attempt to Approximate Date Flint Flakes' (1866, 128-36). Hutchinson and Richard Kirwan (1830-1872) published various articles, for example, Hutchinson on 'Hill Fortress' (1868, 372-382) and Kirwan on the 'Pre-Historic Archaeology of East Devon' (1869, 495-500) to name but a few. Joshua Brooking Rowe (1837-1908) wrote about the foundation of Devon's religious houses, John Chanter (1854-1939) on excavations and the recording of church plate, and Richard Worth (1868-1950) on barrow excavations.

Another issue to consider is the relationship between the antiquarians, as the above mentioned antiquarians had to read their papers at the DA's AGM they must have known each other, although there is no record of this, and to date none of their correspondence with each other has come to light.

Hutchinson did record in his diary that he corresponded with George Oliver 1781-1861, (see Chapter Seven). Although Hutchinson worked with Kirwan there is no reference of him socialising with Kirwan, and in his Diaries he only, makes comments about Kirwan's unsatisfactory methods of excavating. There is no record of the antiquarians socialising except at the DA annual meetings or at the Council meetings and this is only an assumption. Also it has to be remembered that the Devonshire Association was not solely an archaeological organisation.

The Devonshire Association AGMs in the 1800s were by today's standards a marathon, lasting four days with the reading of papers by members, excursions, which included visits to Kent's Cavern (1863), Buckfast Abbey (1878), Lidwell Chapel and its Well, where Hutchinson gave a lecture on its history (1882), in 1886 members visited and had tea at Colecombe Castle (see Chapter Eleven), Exeter Cathedral (1889), boat trips on the Yealm (1893), Berry Pomeroy Castle (1901) and Dartmouth Royal Naval Collage (1911). Dinners with after-dinner speeches were held in different locations, and at 8pm visits were undertaken to the homes of Devon's gentry for entertainment (Fig.3.6). Exhibitions were held at the meetings, and Hutchinson recorded in his Diary the exhibits he had taken such as his draft copies of his *History of Sidmouth* (1880). Travel to the meetings was by train with the railway companies giving concessionary fares to members, and there are frequent references to this in the Council minutes (Walker 1962, 47). At the 1868 AGM, 100 members visited the barrow excavations on Broad Down (Farway) being overseen by Kirwan (1868, 619-49), for which he wrote the first excavation report to be published in *RTDA* (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

As Walker (1962, 101) wrote there is the suggestion that the annual meetings were an excuse for excursions and social events, but they offered the chance to visit sites of archaeological interest that would not be available to the individual. Visits to houses and churches also were included, because they contained items particularly of local interest, which could not be found elsewhere. As for the picnics, they offered the opportunity for the exchanging of ideas.

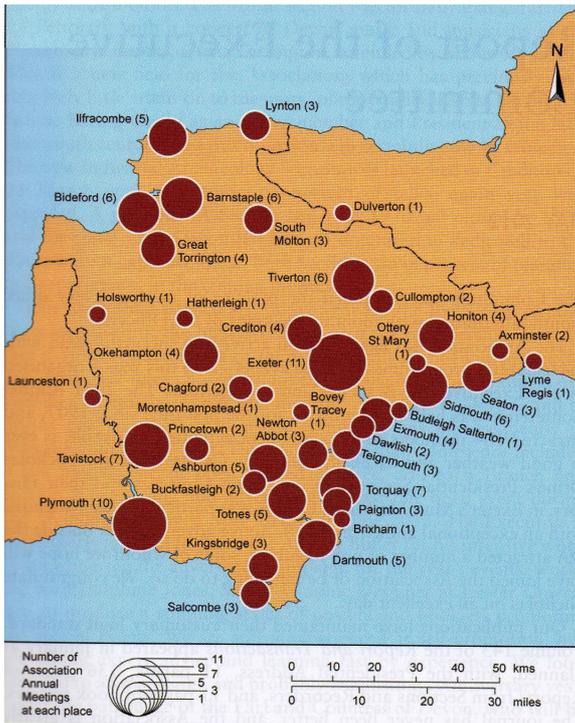


Fig.3.2: The location of the DA Meetings from 1862-2012 (Wootton 2012, xxi).

3.3.3 The Committee period of 1876-1928

By 1876 the DA was instigating the formation of Committees to examine specific aspects of Devon. In total 21 Committees were formed (Table 3.1), 1950 was taken as the cut-off date, because by then the format of the committee's had changed and goes beyond the time frame of the thesis. As can be seen in Table 3.1 not all the committees produce yearly reports, and often did not have a final report, the committee just ceased to exist; one possible explanation could be that the chairman died and nobody else was appointed to continue the research. One such committee was the Dartmoor Exploration Committee (DEC), formed in 1877 (although Dartmoor is not discussed in this thesis, it has to be briefly mentioned here in context of Devonshire Association Committees). The original committee faded away and was reformed in 1894 (Butler 1997, 118). They produced 11 reports between 1895 and 1935, and conducted 13 seasons of excavation on roughly 60 prehistoric sites (Butler 1991, 143). The committee ceased to exist in 1935 with no final report, and no reason was given.

Table 3.1: The Devonshire Association's committees from 1876 to 1950

Name of Committee	Date formed	Dated closed	No. of reports
Devonshire Folk Lore	1876	1950 continued	46
Devonshire Meteorology	1876	1884	5
Scientific Memoranda	1876	1950 continued	55
Devonshire Works of Art	1877	1889	8
Devonshire Celebrities	1887	1884	8
Devonshire Verbal	1887	1950 continued	66
Exploration of Dartmoor	1887	1937	13
Barrow	1889	1958	69
Land Tenures	1880	1883	3
Domesday	1880	1886	3
Devonshire Climate	1882	1950 continued	77
Devonshire Records	1889	1901	10
Photographic	1897	1900	1
Devonshire Manuscripts	1900	1927	12
Church Plate	1901	1904	16
Botany	1912	1950 continued	42
Bibliography Devon Writers	1916	1941	26
Early History	1921	1950 continued	17
Place Names	1926	1929	2
Devon Archaeology	1929	1940	11
Devon MPs	1930	1944	9

William Harpley in his Presidential Address of 1902 complained about the increasing number of archaeological papers in the *RTDA*, and the 'over vigorous' growth of this subject in the previous 15 years. He did not think it was healthy. He asked what archaeology had to do with finding employment, although he did concede that it 'provided mental culture'. He requested the archaeological committees to 'relax your efforts otherwise the Association will become known as the Devonshire Archaeological Association' (Harpley 1902, 44).

This comment by Harpley is in fact a false impression about archaeological papers dominating the Transactions, because for the period he highlighted, 1907 to 1912, there were 65 articles relating to archaeological matters out of 372 papers, which is just 17.5% of the total (Table 3.2). The first decade of the Transactions did have 50% archaeological papers, but this amount was never reached again, because in the 1880s it dropped to just 6% and then in the last decade it was still only 25%. If we look at the decades through to the foundation of the branches in 1928, which did include WWI, the

total numbers of papers were 216 and archaeological related papers 37, equalling just 17%. These figures do not take into account committee reports, such as the Barrow Committee, it is only specific articles. The evidence contained in the Transactions bears out the fact that the Devonshire Association as not an archaeological organisation, and the formation of a separate archaeological organisation was, as we shall see a logical progression, considering all the archaeological sites contained in Devon, which will become clear as we look at the antiquarians' recording of sites.

Table 3.2: The percentage of archaeological papers during the period from 1862 to 1902

Year	Total number of papers	Archaeological
1862-1869	65	34 or 52%
1870-1879	275	78 or 28%
1880-1889	235	14 or 6%
1890-1899	220	40 or 18%
1900-1012	316	81 or 25%

3.3.4 The period of branches and recorders: 1928 to the present day

During the 1920s the Association saw a decline in membership, and to halt these downturn local branches were established, with sections for members to specialise in particular subjects, such as archaeology. An Archaeological Committee was formed in 1928, as members were keen to excavate the western section of Exeter that was due for redevelopment, and to carry out excavation on High Peak (Sidmouth, see Chapter Nine). At the same time E. Montgomerie-Neilson and G. Dowie founded in 1929 an independent archaeological society, known as the Devon Archaeological Exploration Society. A successful joint programme of field meetings, excavations and lectures was established, and it was suggested that amalgamation of the two societies was the way forward. It was found that a merger between the two societies was not possible and they both operated independently, and Devonshire Association's Archaeological Committee was dissolved in 1931 (Walker 1962, 78).

3.4 The Devon Archaeological Exploration Society (DAES)

3.4.1 Introduction

The Devon Archaeological Exploration Society was formed in 1928. Its aims were to:

- Promote archaeological research
- Conserve archaeological and historical sites
- Publish material relevant to Devon's archaeology

The Ancient Monuments Board of H.M. Office of Works expressed concern at the formation of a county archaeological society, and questioned their ability to protect ancient monuments, and, unless they could, no excavations should be undertaken (Woods 1929, 15). The name of the Society was originally the Devon Archaeological Exploration Society but by 1967 it dropped 'Exploration' and became Devon Archaeological Society.

3.4.2 Review of the DAES

The 1929 *Proceedings* contained an illustrated report on the excavation at what was called a 'flint implement factory site' at Beer (MacAlpine Woods 1929, 10) (Fig.3.11). DAES' first excavation was of Hembury Fort by Dorothy Liddell, which continued for five years. Although a joint event with the Devonshire Association archaeological committee, it established the new Society as a serious archaeological body (Bosanko 1980, 1). During the 1930s and 1940s the DAES undertook the preservation of Frithelstock Priory and the Bishop's Palace (Bishopsteignton). These projects reflected the concerns of the Society that these ruins should be rescued, and dismissed the idea that DAES was only concerned with prehistoric and Roman sites. This arose because all the excavations to date had been of that period (Bosanko 1980, 3).

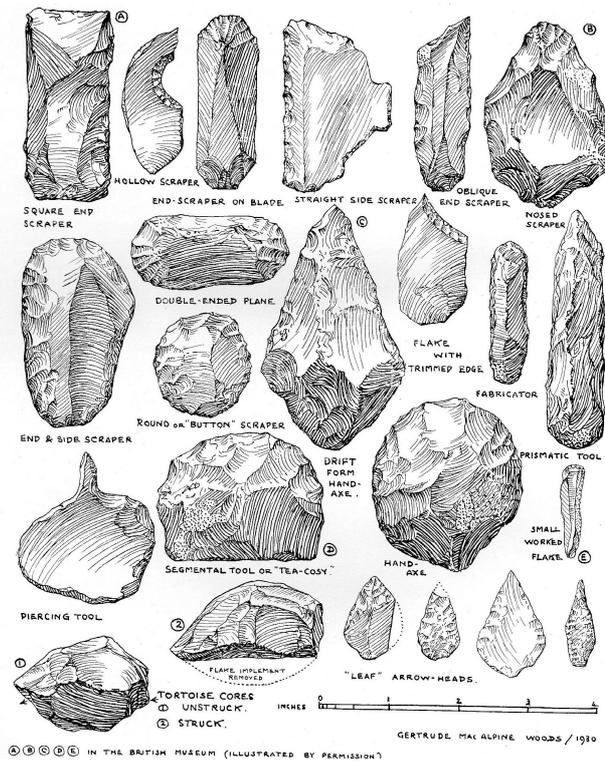


Fig.3.3: Flint implements from the surface of the factory site at Beer (MacAlpine Wood 1929, opp. 12).

Before WWII the DAES carried out a number of projects, including the excavation at East Putford barrows, now identified as part of a Bronze Age cemetery and Stoke Hill hillfort (Iron Age). After the war the Society regrouped and carried out excavations, for example at Blackbury Castle. Although the *Proceedings* carried excavation and evaluation reports these activities were no longer undertaken just by volunteers. One seminal article has been the publication of L.V. Grinsell's survey of Devon's barrows (see Chapter Eight) and the re-assessment of previously- excavated sites in light of current archaeological thinking.

3.5 Overview of the Devonshire Association

It was never the aim of the Devonshire Association to establish a museum or collect artefacts, which Northcote had suggested they do in 1862, but Hutchinson campaigned for the establishment of a museum in Exeter (Hutchinson 1870, *Diary* vol.3, April) (see Chapter Seven), which happened in 1868. The DA could on one hand have been seen as being at the forefront of archaeological discoveries with Pengelly's discoveries at Kent's Cavern. On the

other hand it was on the periphery of formulating policy at a national level. What they did identify was archaeological sites being destroyed, both through excavations and agricultural practices.

3.6 Similarities between the archaeological organisations

The BAA was formed in 1843, and the DA in 1862 therefore within 20 years of each other, an indication of the popularity during the Victorian period of belonging to an educational society (Levine 1986, 182-3). The DA was not an archaeological organisation it was autonomous. Its Transactions listed reports, and illustrations reflected the fashion of the day as there were no conventions for archaeological illustrations until the 1900s. The Proceedings hold records of lost archaeological sites, destroyed since the antiquarians documented them.

The BAA reflected national archaeological trends and tried to bring county societies together by holding Congresses for the exchange of ideas. The Society of Antiquaries of London did not concern itself with local archaeological societies, and Hutchinson's role in recording archaeological sites was undertaken as a private individual, not connected to the DA; whilst it had members who also belonged to a county society this is not reflected in *Archaeologia*. The Devon members who belonged were Dean Milles, but before the establishment of the DA, Kirwan and Chanter, and Hutchinson who acted as a local secretary, but records of their correspondence are missing. It can only be suggested that the county society recording of local archaeological discoveries must have indirectly impacted on national archaeological thinking.

The discussion so far has concentrated on the foundation of the DA, and the relationship between the antiquarians which is unfortunately something we know relatively little about. Against this background of observations we now need to review the lives of the antiquarians, starting with the antiquarians who travelled to Devon to collect material to write its history. We then turn to the 16th and 17th century Devon antiquarians who were also collecting material to write a history (see Chapter Five), the same as the Georgians were (see Chapter Six), the last group of antiquarians were the Victorians who were carrying out excavations and publishing their findings (see Chapter Seven).

Of the early travellers who visited Devon and recorded their observations, the first was probably William Worcestre (1415-1482) (Fig.4.1), followed by John Leland (1503-1552), William Camden (1551-1623), and lastly William Stukeley (1687-1765). They all present a slightly different perspective on Devon, influenced by the period in which they lived, and later on, possibly, by the accounts of previous travellers. Although both Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) and Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) visited Devon and wrote about their experiences, theirs are more of a social history than recording what has been lost from the archaeological record; full details of their accounts can be found in Appendices 4.1 and 4.3.

4.2 Major dates in the life of William Worcestre 1415-1482

1415 Born in Bristol

1432 Studied at Oxford

1478 Journeyed from Norwich to St Michael's Mount

1482 Died in London (Harvey 1969, iv)

4.2.1 Introduction

William Worcestre was born in Bristol, and studied medicine and astrology at Oxford. Although not a great traveller, Worcestre is known for his *Itinerary*. His principal journey, in 1478, was from Norwich to St Michael's Mount (Cornwall) published by James Nasmith in 1778 (Kendrick 1950, 29-31; Harvey 1969, iv).

4.2.2 Worcestre's Westcountry journey

Worcestre left Norwich in 1478 for St Michael's Mount' and his *Itinerary* details the route he took from Bristol; via Glastonbury to visit Okehampton Castle (Harvey 1969, 39). On leaving St Michael's Mount he crossed Dartmoor and stayed at Tavistock Abbey, and from here he travelled to Newenham Abbey (Axminster) (Harvey 1969, 39).

4.2.3 Conclusions

Within the *Itinerary* there are listed the distances between towns and the number of bridges along the course of the rivers. He surveyed buildings he saw on his journey in a way not undertaken before. His measurements were simple: he used 'paces', although these varied between 1½ ft [0.4m] and 2ft [0.6m]; he

used a 'bracchium' of 2yds [2m] to measure heights, and for small measurements the span of his hand. Although his measurements may possibly not be accurate enough to recreate a building, along with his written description they do provide an idea of a building's size and internal layout, such as in the case of the vanished church of Holm St Benet (Norfolk) (Kendrick 1950, 32).

Possibly Worcestre undertook the journey to St Michael's Mount as a pilgrimage, staying at abbeys *en route*, at a time when such pilgrimages were commonplace. As we know from Gough's map of 1355, the route he followed was already mapped, and probably well-established (Harvey 1969, xiii). Searching for information about England's early history, Worcestre's real contribution to Devon's history was his first-hand observations of Okehampton Castle which had been abandoned by 1539 (see Chapter Eleven) and the Devon abbeys of Tavistock and Newenham, all of which were destroyed by 1539 (see Chapter Twelve).

4.3 Major dates in the life of John Leland 1503–1552

- 1503 Born in London
- 1521 Attended Oxford and Cambridge
- 1530 Took Holy Orders, and was appointed librarian in Henry VIII's Royal Library
- 1533 Commissioned by Henry VIII to search all ecclesiastical libraries and collected material for the Royal Library
- 1539 Undertook a series of journeys throughout England and Wales collecting material for publication on the history of England
- 1552 Died in London (Chandler 1993, xi-xvi)

4.3.1 Introduction

John Leland was born in London, and during the course of his education he developed an interest in medieval history (Chandler 1993, xii). After taking Holy Orders in 1530 he was appointed sub-librarian in Henry VIII's Royal Libraries. By 1533 Henry had commissioned Leland during a period of political unrest, to 'make a search after England's Antiquities, and peruse the Libraries of all Monastic establishments, where 'secrets of antiquity and resources' were

stored' (Chandler 1993, xiii). Leland did not undertake his commission until after the Dissolution of the Monasteries (Toulmin Smith 1909, ix).

From 1539 Leland undertook a series of journeys throughout England and Wales, collecting material which was to form the basis of his *Itineraries*. He visited Devon in 1542 (Fig.4.2). He aimed to publish a history of England, a biographical dictionary of British writers, a book about the British nobility, and a map of the 'kingdom'. In 1547 Henry VIII died and Leland suffered a mental breakdown, which resulted in his *Itineraries* remaining in manuscript form (Chandler 1993, xvi). These manuscripts were passed between the antiquarians of the day, who copied his findings. William Harrison saw the manuscripts in 1576, commenting that the books were 'utterly mangled, and unperfected through want of sundry volumes'. Eventually, in 1632, Leland's manuscripts were given to the Bodleian Library, and Thomas Hearne published sections between 1710 and 1712 (Chandler 1996, xxiii).

Leland died in 1552 and was buried in the church of St Michael-le-Querne, near St Paul's, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666. In John Stow's (1525-1605) *Survey of London* (1598) he recorded Leland's monument, but when John Weever (1576-1632) surveyed the church in the mid 1600s for his *Ancient Fvnerall Monuments* (1631, 372) no inscriptions remained (Chandler, 1993, xvi). An early example of what has been lost from the archaeological record.

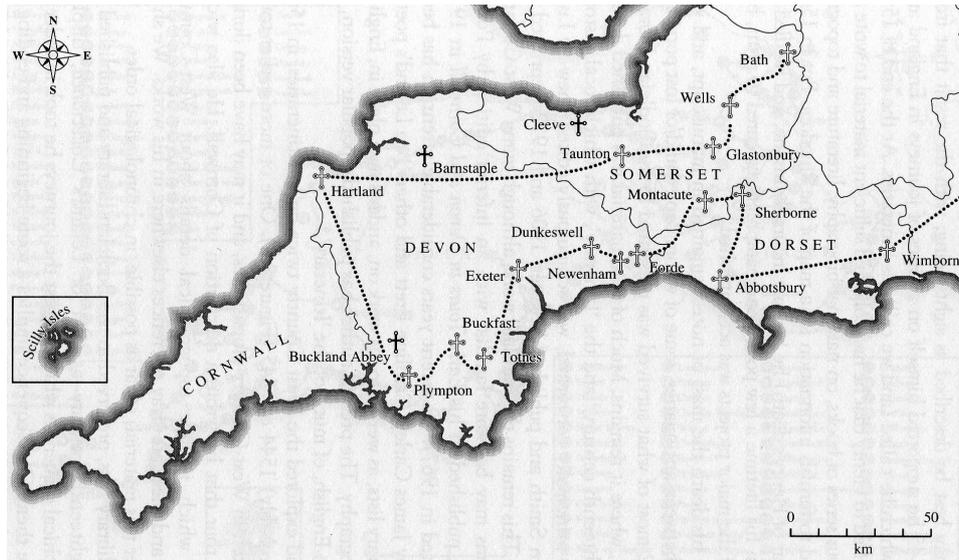


Fig.4.2: The suggested route of Leland's visit to the Westcountry's monastic libraries (Chandler 1996, 34).

Before moving on to look at Leland's journeys through Devon we need to make an observation on the material used appertaining to Leland. Chandler (1993, ix) stated that his aim was to present Leland's Itinerary 'in modern English', and detailing topographical and local historical facts, whereas Toulmin Smith's translation of Leland's *Itineraries* was the first reliable complete translation to be published, and she included all Leland's material, whilst Chandler admits to being selective. Chandler's maps and illustrations are though a useful addition to his text.

4.3.2 Leland's Itineraries

Leland described the landscape, stating whether or not the land was enclosed, noting the crops, and the presence or absence of woodland, the towns and churches (Toulmin Smith 1909, xxxiv). Leland mentioned manor houses, for example those at Shute and Winscombe near Axminster (Devon) (Toulmin Smith 1909, 242). Leland was interested in archaeological sites and asked about new discoveries, calling hillforts 'camps of the men of war' (Kendrick 1950, 55). He also documented castles (see Chapter Eleven) and religious houses (see Chapter Twelve). There follows a few examples from his Devon *Itinerary*.

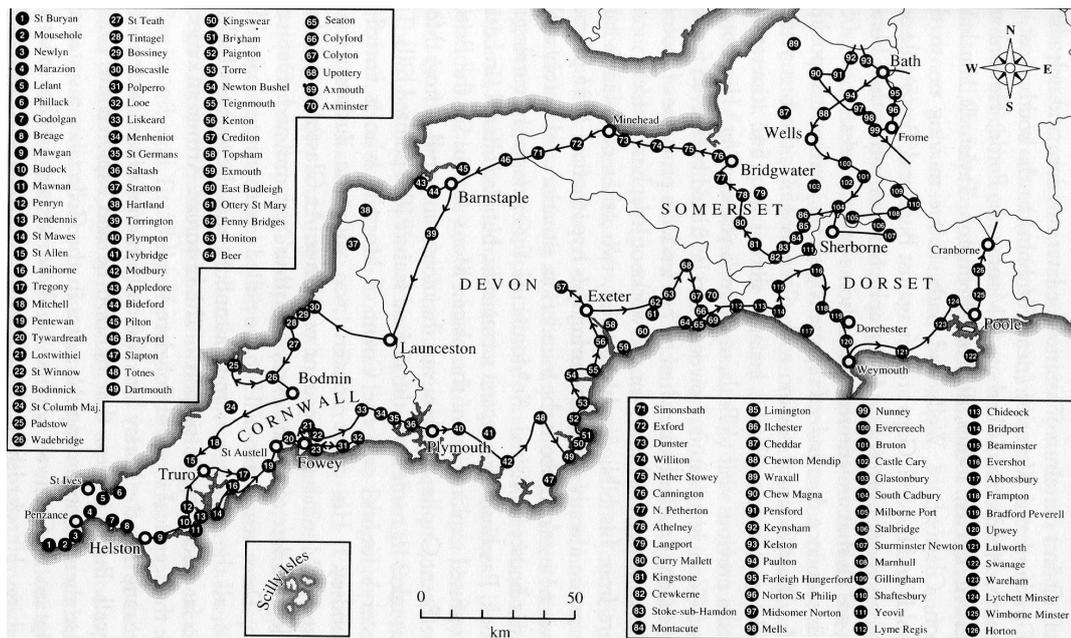


Fig.4.3: Leland's tour of the Southwest of England between 1542 and 1545 (Chandler 1996, 37).

4.3.3 Leland's observations on Devon

Leland visited Devon in 1542 (Figs.4.3; 4.4), and at Barnstaple recorded that the town walls had fallen down, although the gates remained and that there were four chapels of ease (Fig.4.5) (Toulmin Smith 1907, 169). He saw Torrington as an important town, with four stone bridges across the River Torridge (Toulmin Smith 1907, 173). He recorded that Torbay fishermen frequently caught deer antlers in their nets, which he suggested could imply that the bay was formerly the site of a forest (Toulmin Smith 1907, 224). At Exeter he noted the newly-made city walls, listed 15 parish churches, the number of bridges across the Exe, and the shipping at Topsham (Toulmin Smith 1907, 227). He saw the old haven of Seaton blocked by a ridge of stones and the salt marshes (Toulmin Smith 1907, 243), still there today.

Leland was an accurate observer of the Tudor landscape and a collector of facts, which were quoted by later antiquarians and possibly influenced their thinking. One aspect of Leland's research that is often overlooked is the genealogy of families and their connection, and the fact that many of these families are no longer in existence.

4.4 Major dates in the life of William Camden 1551-1623

1551 Born in London

1572 Travelled throughout England collecting material for the history of England

1586 Published the first edition of *Britannia* in Latin

1610 Published the first edition of *Britannia* in English

1623 Died at Chislehurst (Kent) (Piggott 1971, 5-13)



*Fig.4.6: William Camden
(Schnapp 1999, 13).*

4.4.1 Introduction

William Camden was born in London, (Fig.4.6). In 1593 he became headmaster of Westminster School; in 1597 he was appointed Clarenceux King-of-Arms, which relieved him of his schoolmaster's duties and allowed him to concentrate on his antiquarian studies. He was encouraged by the map maker Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), to undertake a topographical and historical study of Great Britain. In return Camden would contribute to Ortelius' *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (1573). Camden describes the country in detail, showing it 'as it was', and

illustrating how traces of the past could be found in the existing landscape (Piggott 1971, 5-8). Camden it is suggested used a three-part structure for *Britannia*, which enabled him to integrate history and topography. The first part identified the early Britons, and the second and third detail the territorial districts of the pre-Roman tribes and a range of material, detailing monasteries, genealogical proof and Roman archaeological evidence (Lindley 2007, 69). All of which shows why his work was used by later antiquarians.

4.4.2 Camden's Britannia

Camden published the first Latin edition of *Britannia* in 1586. His aim was to elucidate the topography of Roman Britain, to enable Britain to take its place within the world of antiquity (Piggott, 1971, 6). The seventh edition, published in 1607, included engraved county maps based on the surveys of Christopher Saxton and John Norden. The first English edition of *Britannia* was published in 1610, having been translated by Philemon Holland (1552-1637).

In the revising of *Britannia*, Camden had used Leland's notes, and Ralph Brooke (1553-1625), a fellow herald, accused him of inaccuracies and plagiarism. Camden claimed he did not know of Leland's manuscripts, and wrote in the introduction to *Britannia* that he had been 'reproached for plagiarism of Leland's work'. However, he turned this to his credit, arguing that he had filled out Leland's outline with 'superior qualifications of judgement and style'. The question could be asked how much is Camden's observations and how much is Leland's? It has been suggested that John Stow made Camden aware of Leland's manuscripts, and that in return Camden helped Stow with his *Survey of London* (1598) (Kendrick 1950, 158). Camden described each English county individually in *Britannia*, and we now look at his observations on Devon.

4.4.3 Camden's observations on Devon

Camden (1695, 26-42) toured Devon in 1575 (Fig.4.7), where he described a landscape of hills, roads and rivers with fine woods and meadows; on occasions he noted the soil was poor in some areas whilst in others, the land made good returns due to the good husbandry of manuring. He (1695, 41) documented Braunton, where a tree had been dug out of the sands, some 30ft [9m] deep,

possibly this is where Risdon learnt of this event (see Chapter Five) Camden documented Exeter as having strong city walls 1½ miles in circumference [which is correct] with many towers and a surrounding ditch, along with Rougemont Castle and the Cathedral. Camden recounted a legend about the battle of Bremeldown (near Axminster) (see Chapter ten). Camden (1695, 33) suggested the site of *Moridunum* as being at Seaton, which Stukeley quotes in 1724 (see Chapter Ten).



Fig.4.7: Map contemporary with Camden's visit to Devon (Camden 1695, opp.23).

4.4.4 Conclusions

Camden provided references to churches, in some cases with lists of inscriptions or details of who was buried there. There are records of the mileages between towns, and the whereabouts of safe harbours. All these details Camden interspersed with natural history facts as he observed them. In a few places he recorded the genealogy of the families, which would have been important for heraldic studies. Camden possibly corresponded with his fellow heraldists from his central location at the College of Arms to obtain material for

Britannia, in a period when it was acknowledged that heraldists were the masters of surveys with regards to church monuments and genealogy.

4.5 Major dates in the life of William Stukeley 1687-1765

1687 Born in Holbeach (Lincolnshire)

1717 Became a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London

1718 Became a Fellow of the Royal Society

1724 Published *Itinerarium Curiosum*

1729 Ordained into the Church of England

1765 Died Queen's Square, London (Mortimer 2003, 1-7)



Fig.4.8: William Stukeley (Piggott 1985, opp.32).

4.5.1 Introduction

William Stukeley (Fig.4.8), was educated at Cambridge and studied medicine at St Thomas' Hospital (London), and joined the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1717 (Piggott 1985, 41). He carried out extensive field studies concerning Stonehenge and Avebury and wrote many papers on the subject. These studies are not discussed in this chapter, as we are looking at his tour of Devon (Haycock 2002, xi; Mortimer 2003, 1-7).

4.5.2 Stukeley's 1723 tour of Devon

Stukeley was influenced by John Aubrey's (1626-1697) unpublished *Monumenta Britannica* which set out Aubrey's observations on ancient sites

(Mortimer 2003, 3-4). Possibly this was the reason Stukeley undertook a series of tours of Britain between 1710 and 1725, the equivalent of a domestic Grand Tour, initially he looked at churches, cathedrals, follies and natural landmarks. Later he carried out the preliminary fieldwork for his *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), recording prehistoric sites (Mortimer 2003, 3). Stukeley came to Devon, in 1723, where he visited Exeter and Seaton (Piggott 1985, 163).

Stukeley crossed the 'barren downs' of the Blackdown Hills, and observed that the view was like a survey map set out before him, beset with villages and gentlemen's seats, a pattern continually repeated wherever he looked. He saw the view across to Lyme Bay, and the long broad hills divided by valleys, and pasture divided by hedges (Stukeley 1724, 156). Stukeley gives a description of Exeter's city walls, Rougemont Castle and the Cathedral, including some of its memorials. He mentioned the trade carried out in the city along with an account of the manufacture of serge; he also noted that Exeter had a good centre of learning (Fig.4.9) (Stukeley 1724, 156-8). Stukeley returned along the East Devon coast, visiting Seaton, where he quoted Camden's theory of Seaton being the site of *Moridunum* (see Chapter Ten). He wrote about the port and that there had possibly been a garrison here, along with what he suggested were the remains of ruins of a former castle [he was not correct as it was a Roman villa]

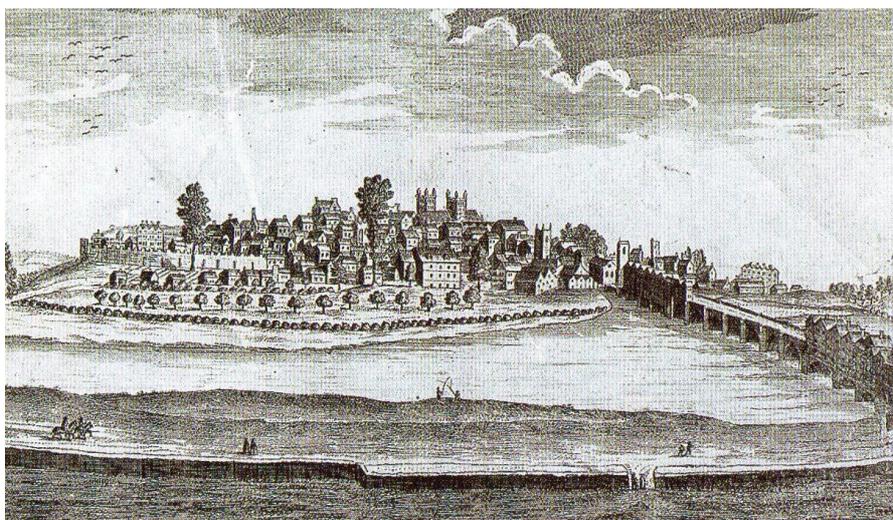


Fig.4.9: Stukeley's engraving of Exeter dated 1723 (Worthington 2000, 31).

4.5.3 Conclusions

Stukeley had an acute eye for detailed observation and recorded accurately his findings for publication. In the early decades of the 18th century it was deemed part of a gentleman's education to undertake the Grand Tour, with the principal destinations being Paris or Rome: owing to the death of his father and the ensuing family responsibilities Stukeley was unable to undertake the Tour, but he did undertake annual trips around Britain. He left a legacy in the form of illustrated information about Devon, and was the first traveller to suggest the basic archaeological principles of a long pre-Roman period from which field antiquities could be identified (Piggott 1985, 68). Stukeley drew a map of the Roman roads in Britain in 1723 which recorded his itinerary (Fig.4.10) (Mortimer 2003, 96). Although Stukeley was heavily involved in 'Druid mania' his observations are not discussed in this thesis.



Fig.4.10: Stukeley's engraved map of Britain showing the Roman roads and his route (Mortimer 2003, 96).

4.6. What do we learn from the early travellers who visited Devon?

In this chapter we have looked at travellers to Devon from 1478 onwards, covering some 250 years. Within this time-frame the travellers changed from having a medieval attitude to history, based on recording information found in ecclesiastical libraries, to a new kind of research based on experiencing the landscape at first-hand and undertaking fieldwork. Starting with Worcestre these travellers observed and recorded everything, from earthworks to towns, architecture to agriculture, manufacturing processes to the distances between venues; they were innovators, not hidebound by convention.

If we look at the travellers collectively a pattern emerges of them quoting the research of previous travellers and at times perpetuating their myths. The 15th century antiquarian Worcestre undertook his journey possibly as a pilgrim, and as a result recorded the monasteries. Worcestre was in fact the first recorded traveller to have created an itinerary, some 50 years earlier than Leland although it is Leland and Camden who are regarded as pioneers (Kendrick 1950, 32). Leland undertook his first journey on behalf of Henry VIII, collecting information about the books in the ecclesiastical libraries. His second journey was undertaken in order to produce an Itinerary for publication: this contained vast amounts of information about Tudor England, although there is no reference to Worcestre's Itinerary.

The observations of the 16th century antiquarian Camden, who collected material for publication, were based on the notion that the past was interesting for its own sake. He was criticised for not including the pedigrees and family histories of all the county gentry, unlike Leland who provided this information. Tracing the genealogy of a family was considered very much part of a county's history. When Camden published *Britannia* (1586) he realised Leland's dream of publishing a description of England with details of its history, geography, antiquities of each county. He referenced Leland's work in places, but in other instances gave no credit to Leland (Chandler 1993, xxiv). There is the possibility that Camden relied on other heraldists to supply information, but to a degree all that matters is that this material was collected and recorded. Camden's *Itinerary* is a unique observation of the county, and is one of the early published histories of Britain.

Stukeley is the last traveller in this chapter who briefly visited Devon. He was an educated man, who due to circumstances beyond his control undertook the domestic equivalent of a Grand Tour and turned it to his advantage. He worked in the field, observing at first-hand the antiquities in the landscape; he provided illustrations of the sites under discussion and noted the relationship between monuments and the landscape, and Stukeley's aim was to publish his research.

All the travellers must have been influenced by the society and cultural milieu in which they lived, and their accounts possibly reflect their personal prejudices and biases. During this period of 250 years there were enormous changes: medieval attitudes towards the gathering of information were replaced by the use of firsthand field observations, and meanwhile the country underwent religious changes and civil wars. With regards to what has been lost, this becomes clearer in later chapters, when antiquarians record the changes that have occurred. The foundation of Devon's history has been established from the travellers' accounts. In the next chapter we will look at the lives of the 16th and 17th century Devon antiquarians.

CHAPTER 5

DEVON'S 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY ANTIQUARIANS



Fig.5.1: John Hooker (Harte 1935, opp. frontispiece).

5.1 Introduction

Having reviewed the findings of the travellers who visited Devon we now need in this chapter to look at Devon's early antiquarians, who were collecting material towards publishing a history of Devon. Six in particular influenced their contemporaries, with their findings frequently being quoted. They are John Hooker (1527-1601) (Fig.5.1), Thomas Moore (1560-1603), William Pole (1561-1635), Thomas Westcote (1567-1640), Tristram Risdon (1580-1640) and John Prince (1643-1723). Possibly there were others, whose manuscripts have been lost, and we have no records.

These 16th and early 17th century antiquarians were chosen because their research shows a common theme of writing the history of Devon, and their work has at sometime been published. The antiquarians recorded evidence of barrows (see Chapter Eight), hillforts (see Chapter Nine), the Romans (see Chapter Ten), castles (see Chapter Eleven), and religious houses (see Chapter Twelve), and is discussed in the relevant chapters. This chapter is about the antiquarians' lives and how they collected material to write a history of Devon.

5.2 Major dates in the life of John Vowell (alias Hooker) 1527-1601

- 1527 Born at Bourbridge Hall, Exeter
- 1549 Witnessed the Prayer Book Rebellion in Exeter
- 1551 Bishop of Exeter
- 1555 Became the first Chamberlain of Exeter
- 1583 Exeter's coroner
- 1587 Edited the second edition of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1587)
- 1590 Recorder for Exeter
- 1601 Died in Exeter (Blake 1915, 334-6)

5.2.1 Introduction

John Vowell used the alias Hooker, becoming the Bishop of Exeter, the Chamberlain of Exeter, Exeter's coroner and the recorder for Exeter (Blake 1915, 334-6). Hooker was a contemporary of William Camden (1551-1623), and became a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries founded in 1586 (Mathew and Harrison 2004, 961) (see Chapter Three).

It has been suggested that Hooker was one of the editors of the second edition of the *Revision of Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577). The original idea for the *Chronicles* came from Reginald Wolf, Queen Elizabeth's printer, as he had inherited Leland's manuscripts (Broadway 2006, 28). The chronicle was a comprehensive description of British history (Blake 1915, 334), which was described as 'a continuous register of events in order of time', a historical record of facts from 1066 to 1576 'narrated without philosophic treatment' and 'more or less innocent of plagiaristic' (Archer *et al.* 2013, xxix-xxxvii). On Wolf's death William Harrison (1534-1593) became the editor, and he included Leland's accounts of England's coasts and rivers, which he admitted to not having seen with his own eyes (Clarey 2012, 187-9). John Stow (1526-1605), the crypto-Catholic, confirmed he had lent Harrison Leland's notebooks from his library, and Harrison called this 'acknowledged borrowing' as he referenced Leland's manuscripts (Summerson 2012, 84). Hooker, having worked in Ireland was recruited to write the section on Ireland, where he showed his Protestant contempt for the inhabitants (Heal *et al.* 2012, 15). He also listed Henry VI's visits to Exeter and his eyewitness account of the siege of Exeter during the Prayer Book Rebellion (Summerson 2012, 86) (Fig.5.2). Hooker used parts of

the chronicle for his topographical description of Devon, therefore, when later antiquarians were copying Hooker's work they were in fact copying Leland's unreferenced notes.

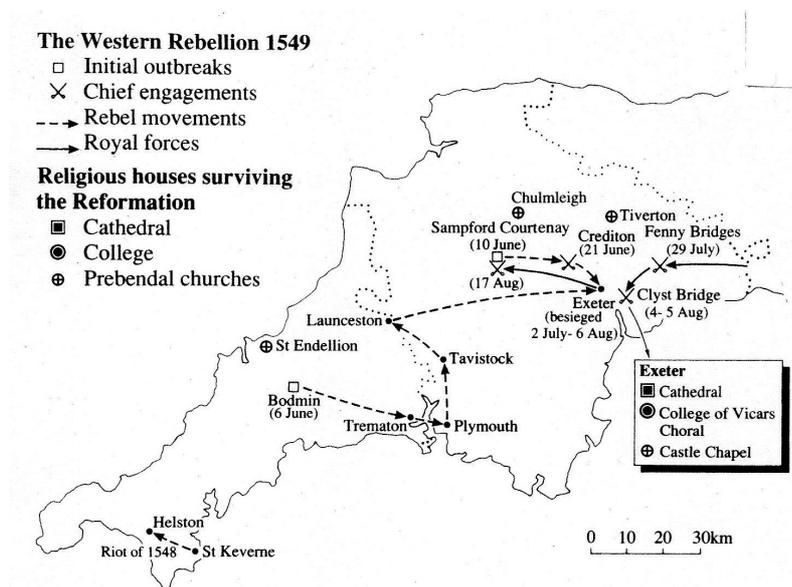


Fig.5.2: The Western rebellion of 1549 that Hooker witnessed (Orme 1999, 217).

5.2.2 Hooker's antiquarian research

Hooker's *The Antique Description and Account of the City of Exeter* was eventually published in 1765 by private subscription. It contains lists of Exeter's municipal and ecclesiastic officials and details about the city. His *Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire* (1599) is the earliest topographical account of Devon. It was revised many times, but never completed, and Hooker must still have been carrying out revisions in 1600, as he altered the date of his personal entry under Devonshire Worthies from 1599 to 1600 (Blake 1915, 334). The pages of the *Synopsis* manuscript became separated, and it was not until 1861 that they were reunited and bound (Levien 1862, 138). John Prince (1643-1723) stated that the manuscripts were passed round the country until Hooker's death, and were then given to Judge Doddridge (1555-1628) to prepare for publication, but the manuscripts were never printed (Levien 1862, 138-40).

Hooker's manuscript listed Devon's towns, and occupation and trade of their inhabitants, with the recognition that Dartmoor was not included in any hundred or parish. There are lists of Exeter's principal inhabitants, with their pedigree, livery companies, holders of arms, and the names of the owners of

deer parks, along with an ecclesiastical survey which lists the cathedral and former religious houses (Levien 1862, 140-3).

Hooker commissioned Remigius Hogenberg to produce a map of Exeter, one of the earliest town maps in England, which provided a bird's eye view of the city (Fig.5.3) (Mathew and Harrison 2004, 962). This is the only example of a map being commissioned by a Devon antiquarian. Hooker's map shows the economic life of Exeter, with the mills, shipping, and fishing on the River Exe. It was drawn to show historians the wealth and power of the City, and its place in Tudor England (Delano-Smith and Kain, 1999, 178 -179).

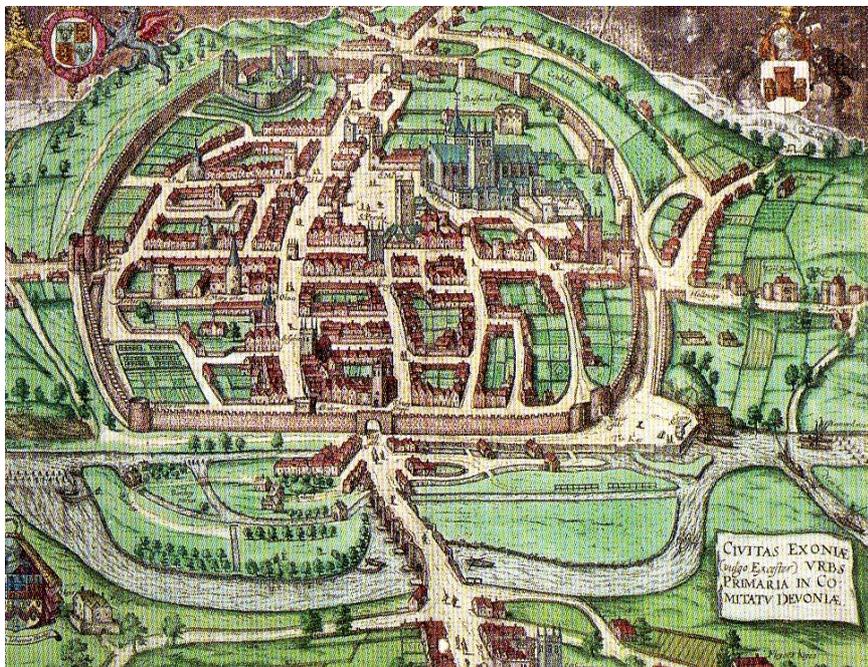


Fig.5.3: Remigius Hogenberg's map of Exeter commissioned by Hooker, surveyed in 1583 and first published in 1618 (Worthington 2000, 31).

5.3. Major dates in the life of Thomas Moore 1560-1630

1560 Born

Ordained date unknown

1630 Died (Cooper 2000, 419-20)

5.3.1 Introduction

Thomas Moore was born in Devon, and details of his personal life are unknown. He wrote *The History of Devonshire from the Earliest Period to the Present*

(c.1630). It was edited by William Deeble under the new title of *The History of Devonshire from the Earliest Period to the Present, Illustrated by and under William Deeble*. Then Edward William Brayley (1773-1854), topographer and archaeologist, edited parts of Moore's publication (Cooper 2000, 419-20).

5.3.2 Background to Moore's publication

When reading the 1829 edition there is an illusion that it is all Moore's original material, as there are descriptions of Devon's rivers, roads, the Blackdowns, and the Forest of Dartmoor, although these descriptions were in fact copied from Richard Polwhele's (1760-1838) *History of Devonshire* (1793) (Moore 1829, 10-23) (Fig.5.4). Material was also copied from Risdon's *Survey of Devon* (c.1632), without credit; also Risdon's survey was not edited and published until 1811. There is also a reference to Daniel Lysons' (1762-1834) *Magna Britannia* (1806), and John Leland's (1503-1552) *Itinerary*.

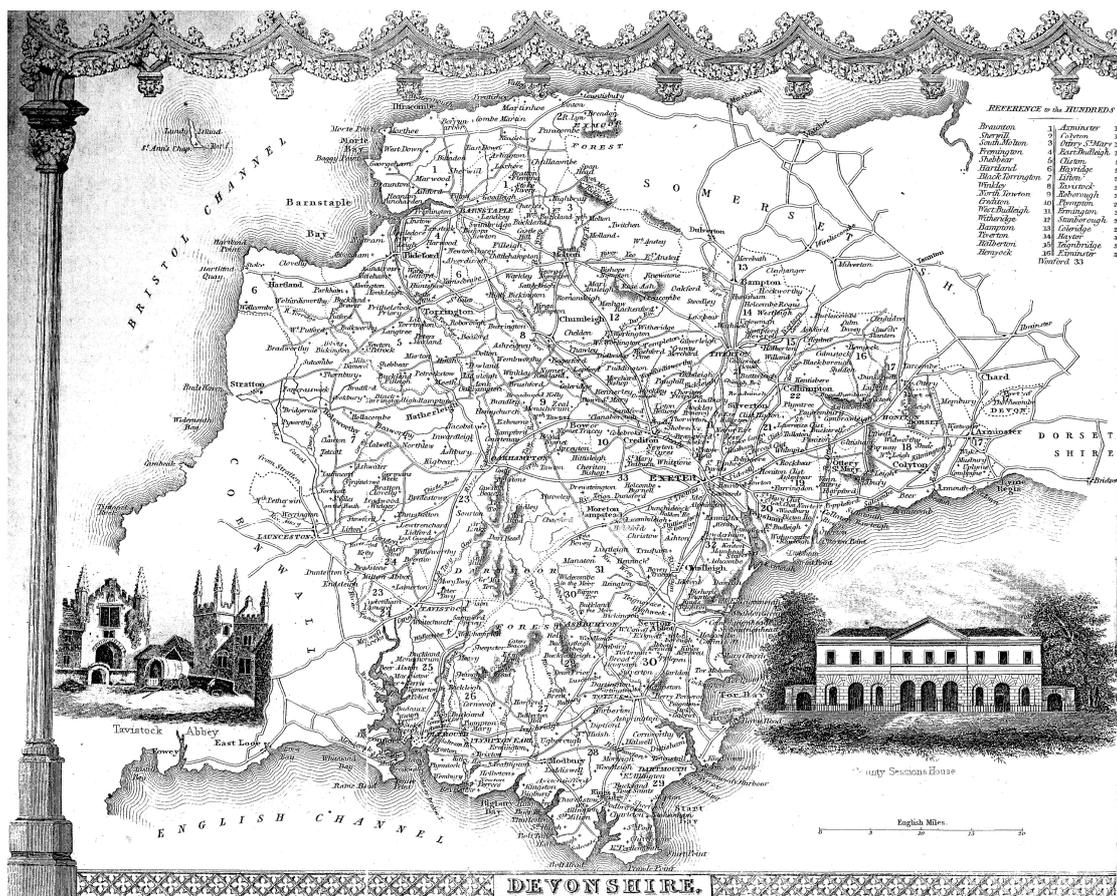


Fig.5.4: The hundreds of Devon (Moore 1829, frontispiece).

Moore described the origins of Devon, but when this section was published it was amalgamated with John Taylor's geological observations of

Devon (Moore 1829, 355-65). There are details of the British tribes and their trading with the Phoenicians, with quotes from Strabo's (64BC-AD24) *Geographica*, Pliny's (AD23-AD79) *Naturalis Historia*, William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (1586), and John Hooker's (1527-1601) manuscripts. There are a few references to sites of antiquity, such as the location of the prehistoric burial mound at Drewsteignton (see Chapter Eight), but no other details (Moore 1829, 106). With all the suggestions made by different editors it is difficult to discern which sections of the work to ascribe to Moore and which to later writers.

5.4 Major dates in the life of William Pole 1561-1636

1561 Born at Shute House (Devon)

1579 Entered the Inner Temple

1636 Died (Worth 1895, 68; Maxted 2000, 727-8)

5.4.1 Introduction

William Pole was knighted in 1606. He retired from Shute House to Colecombe Castle (Colyton) (see Chapter Eleven), a castellated mansion, which he rebuilt after a disastrous fire during the Civil War that destroyed many of his manuscripts (Worth 1895, 68; Maxted 2000, 727-8).

5.4.2 Background to Pole's Collections Towards a Description of the County of Devon

Pole must have been collecting material for his *Collections Towards a Description of the County of Devon* before 1608, because heraldist Ralph Brooke (1553-1625), (who accused Camden of plagiarism, see Chapter Four), copied extracts from Pole's manuscripts (Maxted 2000, 727). Pole completed two folios in 1617, from which Prince copied sections for his *Worthies of Devon* (1701) detailing deeds and grants of land. John Anstis translated and published Pole's *Collection Towards a Description of the County of Devon* (1791); and a small section was printed privately by Sir Thomas Phillips in c.1840, as *Sir William Pole's Copies Extracts from Old Evidence*, and bears witness to Pole's research into historical documents that were scattered throughout the West of England (Maxted 2000, 727).

5.4.3 Highlights from Pole's survey

Pole used Devon's government divisions to undertake his survey. The first section records the land holders' pedigree, and the arms of the gentry. The second section lists settlements, beginning with Exeter. Pole (1617, 109) saw Exeter as having a circular form, some one and half miles in circumference [which is correct], and with 16 parish churches [in 1842 there were 24 parish churches, and in 2015 nine parish churches]. Pole (1617, 114) documented the towns and villages in 13 of Devon's hundreds [there were 32] along with topographical descriptions, and noted, for example that in 1617 Uplyme was valued at £19.11s.8d.

Pole (1617, 116) stated that he had used Hooker's manuscripts. He documented the battle at Bremeldown (Axminster) (see Chapter Ten), and evidence of castles and religious houses in Devon. The introduction to Pole's published *Collections* quoted a reference by Prince from his *Worthies of Devon* (1701) about the fact that Pole's work had been 'often quoted' by Tristram Risdon (1580-1640).

5.5 Major dates in the life of Thomas Westcote 1567-1640

1567 Born at Raddon (Shobrooke)

1640 Died at Raddon (Prince 1701, 583-7; Maxted 2000, 257)

5.5.1 Introduction

Thomas Westcote was a soldier who fought with Drake on his Portuguese expedition, as well as a traveller and courtier. He retired from public life in 1600 to study the antiquities of Devon (Prince 1701, 583-7; Maxted 2000, 257).

5.5.2 Background to Westcote's View of Devonshire MDCXXX

Edward Burchier, the 4th Earl of Bath, persuaded Westcote to undertake a survey of Devon. Westcote wrote that he was indebted to Hooker's manuscripts, which he copied verbatim (Bushfield 1893, 106). He was also acquainted with Pole's manuscripts and with Risdon's (Maxted 2000, 257). George Oliver (1781-1861) (see Chapter Six) and Pitman Jones (1786-1860) edited and published Westcote's *View of Devonshire MDCXXX* (1845). They noted that Westcote had made mistakes regarding the genealogy of some

Devon families, which Prince had compounded in his *Worthies of Devon* (1701) (Westcote c.1630, iv-v).

The edited publication included an epilogue in the form of an apology from Westcote, answering questions about what he had and had not included, which indicated that the original manuscript had been read and these questions raised (Bushfield 1893, 106). Westcote wrote that he was sorry not to have included all the ancient Devon families, famous people and houses, and if he had said false things. He stated that some epithets on monuments were difficult to read, but they all showed us our mortality, therefore he concluded there were errors mixed with truth in his work, and he wrote 'I did what I could' (Westcote c.1630, 446-7).

5.5.3 Highlights from Westcote's View of Devonshire MDCXXX

Westcote's survey started with the origins of Devon then described in general terms its boundaries, geology, vegetation, commercial and ecclesiastical aspects. He surveyed Devon using the rivers, similar to Camden, who used the rivers to describe Devon in his *Britannia* (1586). The second section contained engravings of Devon's views and country houses, and dated 1830 so could not have been included in the original publication. The last section is devoted to the pedigrees and arms of Devon's gentry.

Westcote (c.1630, 127) noted that the circumference of Exeter's city wall was 1600 paces, and that counting each pace as 5ft [1.52m] the wall measured one and half miles [he was correct]. He made the suggestion that it had been occupied by the Romans because of all the Roman coins found. This remark is suggestive of Oliver's editing of Westcote's work, as William Shortt (1800-1881, see Chapter Six), an acquaintance of Oliver, recorded numerous discoveries of Roman coins in the early 1800s. Westcote (c.1630, 127) recorded Coplestone Cross, the square standing stone at Coplestone, although he made no suggestions as to its origin.

5.6 Major dates in the life of Tristram Risdon 1580-1640

1580 Born at Winscott, near St Giles in the Wood (Torrington, Devon)

1640 Died at Winscott (Wolffe 2000, 3-4)

5.6.1 Introduction

Tristram Risdon inherited the family estate of Winscott, and spent the rest of his life studying and writing about the antiquities of Devon (Wolffe 2000, 3-4).

5.6.2 Background to Risdon's Survey of Devon

Risdon started work on his *Survey of Devon* in 1605 and possibly finished in c.1632; we know this because he altered the date of the entry for Northcote from 1630 to 1632. He relied heavily on Pole's and his son Sir John's manuscripts, which he acknowledged (Wolffe 2000, 3-4). It is suggested that Risdon's survey was not entirely original, as the introductory chapter was copied almost verbatim from Hooker's manuscripts. Hawker (1875, 79-83) expressed the opinion that Risdon's survey was comprehensive and authentic, and he mentioned Devon's geological strata of schist, granite and limestone, which formed the divisions of Devon, a correction description. Although Risdon knew Westcote there is no reference to his work.

Risdon's survey does not follow Pole's, who surveyed Devon by using the governmental divisions of the county, or that of Westcote, who used Devon's rivers and their catchment areas. Risdon (c.1632, 14) wrote 'I purpose my beginning in the east part of the county, and with the sun, to make my gradation into the south'. He aimed to look at 'particular places' and to make comments on ancient families, using the hundreds, archdeaconries and rivers to cover the county. He stated that 'the subject must be worthy of leaving to posterity' (Risdon c.1632, 14). The survey is written in a conversational style, as if Risdon is travelling from place to place, with references such as a 'poor house' in the suburbs or, 'now, leaving Trinity Chapel I will travel to Dartington'; it is difficult, therefore, to ascertain how much is his original work from visiting the places, and how much he copied from his fellow antiquarians. The survey could be seen as an early travel guide.

5.6.3 The publication of Risdon's Survey

The reason why Risdon did not publish his survey is unclear. Possibly he wrote it for himself, out of interest, or else the cost of printing was prohibitive, or perhaps the survey was still unfinished at his death. Several copies of Risdon's manuscripts were in the possession of different family members and were copied, for instance by John Prince (1643-1723) and James Davidson (1793-1864) (see Chapter Six). A copy was obtained by Thomas Curll (1675-1747), a noted unscrupulous London bookseller, who extracted the parts he thought would sell. Prince (to whom we shall return) had consulted Risdon's original manuscripts whilst researching his *Worthies of Devon* (1701), and persuaded Curll to publish a complete edition which would do justice to Risdon's research (Hawker 1875, 81). Davidson recorded in his *Bibliotheca Devoniensis* (1852) that three editions of the *Devon Survey* were published by Curll, in 1723, 1725 and 1733 (Bushfield 1893, 105).

William Chapple (1718-1781) tried in 1770 to correct Curll's mistakes, but instead wrote a new survey, *A Review of Risdon's Survey, with Corrections, Annotations and Additions*, into which Risdon's work was incorporated. Chapple removed pages from Risdon's Note-Book and pasted the cuttings onto foolscap paper, adding his own annotations and listing the places Curll had left out. Chapple died in 1785 before completing the update (Risdon c.1632, viii preface). John Taylor edited the 1811 edition, using one of Risdon's original manuscripts. He updated entries on the ownerships of estates from 1632 to 1811, noting that there were very few estates that had remained in the same family uninterrupted, since the majority had been sold. He added an index, and complained about the printers losing pages of the manuscripts; he did not include any new archaeological facts (Risdon c.1632, x preface).

5.6.4 Highlights from Risdon's survey

The introduction of Risdon's survey sets out a general description of Devon interspersed with comments relating to 1811, such as the poor state of the roads both in 1630 and in 1811, and the introduction of the Turnpike roads in 1753 (Taylor 1811, iii). Taylor (the editor) described the effect Devon's canals had on the economy and how it was cheaper to send goods by canal than by

road; manure, for example, cost 15 shillings [75p] a load to transport by carriage, and by canal 5 shillings [25p] (Taylor 1811, xxxi).

Risdon described some of the villages and towns with a general description of their location and seats of the gentry, and their family history. Such as at Ottery St Mary, where Risdon describes the town, the church on the hill, who owned the manors, and the markets and different fairs held (Risdon c.1632, 45). The occupations of the inhabitants were described and an account given of the fires that destroyed the town centres such as at Honiton (Taylor 1811, 371) and at Tiverton in 1598 where 600 houses were destroyed (Taylor 1811, 370). From the updates we learn that Sidmouth was recognised as a 'much frequented watering place' (Taylor 1811, 367) and Exmouth as a 'bathing place' (Taylor 1811, 675). The city of Exeter, Risdon stated, was surrounded by a wall measuring one and a half miles long, with battlements and turrets, built by King Athelstan, but formerly had been surrounded by a ditch and stakes (Risdon c.1632, 104) [he was correct], the same as Westcote stated. Risdon (c.1632, 104) documented six city gates, although it is not clear whether or not these were still standing. Risdon also recorded the site of hillforts, castles and religious houses.

Risdon (c.1632, 338-9) told a story of the inhabitants of Braunton, who removed so much sand from a hill near the town for their grounds that they caused a landslide, which uncovered an upright tree some 30ft [9.14m] in height. This proved, Risdon thought, that the marshland had formerly been a forest, before the sand had blown in and covered the trees on what is now called Braunton Burrows. The storms of 1863-1866 eroded away more of Braunton Burrows and exposed the stumps of 70-80 large trees *in situ*, mostly oak and a few firs: a layer of peat was also exposed, containing worked flints, cores and hazelnuts and a kitchen midden containing oyster, limpet and mussel shells (Fig.5.5). The erosion of the beach in 1930 uncovered a stone row and Mesolithic flints (Rogers 1946, 110-14). No further work has been carried out on this site. Examples of submerged forests have been found at Bulverhythe, Hastings (East Sussex) and on the Thames at Purfleet (Essex), and these are dated to the Neolithic or earlier (Murphy 2014, 8; 23). Returning to Risdon's

account, possibly he had learnt of Braunton Burrows from reading Camden's *Britannia*, something which cannot be proved.

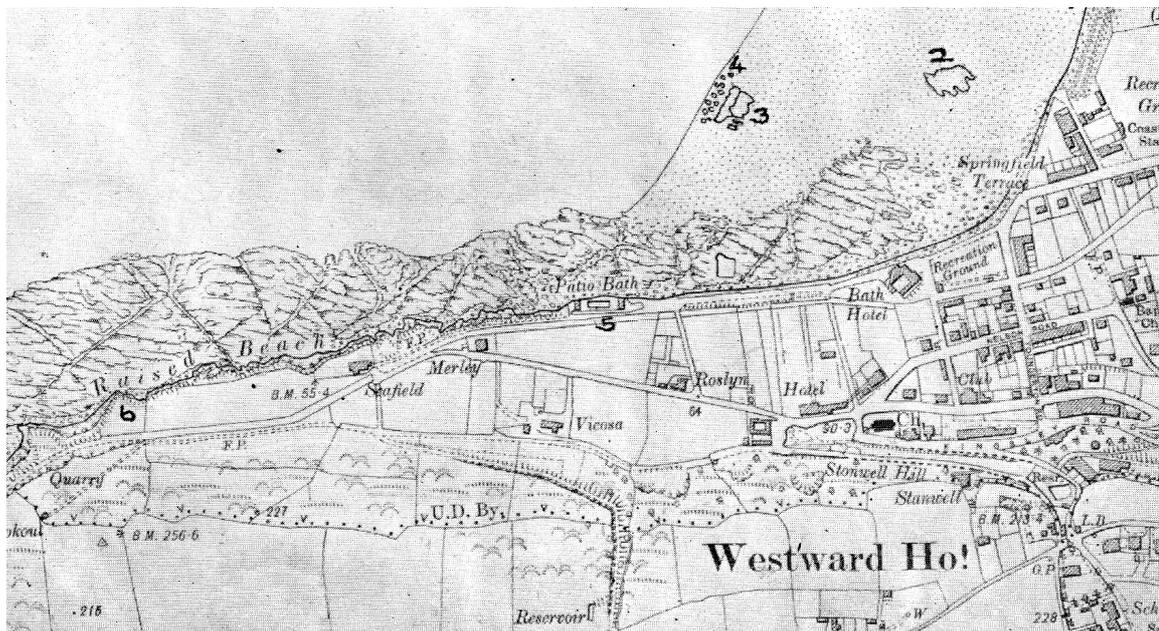


Fig.5.5: The site of the submerged forest, peat layer and kitchen midden at '3' on Braunton Burrows (Rogers 1946, opp.112).

5.7 Major dates in the life of John Prince 1643-1723

- 1643 John Prince was born at Newenham Abbey (Axminster)
- 1681 Vicar of Berry Pomeroy
- 1701 Published *Worthies of Devon*
- 1723 Died at Berry Pomeroy (Davidson 1843, 220-2)

5.7.1 Introduction

John Prince was born at Newenham Abbey (Axminster) (a farmhouse built on the site of the abbey) (see Chapter Twelve). In 1681 he was granted the living of Berry Pomeroy, where he remained until he died in 1723 (Davidson 1843, 220).

5.7.2 Background to Prince's *Worthies of Devon*

Prince (1710, xx-xxi) thought the study of a county's history was a useful exercise for a gentleman. He wrote that history 'recalls past ages' and 'opens up a way to converse with the dead' without the danger of being confronted with 'spectres' and without disturbing their ashes, as they 'have long since laid to

sleep in their bed of dust'. His most telling statement was 'without the trouble or fatigue of going out of our closets or stepping beyond our parlour'. Prince (1701, iii) in his introduction apologised for not including all Devon's worthies, but some families histories could not be traced backwards, he stated.

The *Worthies of Devon* (1701), reprinted in 1810 is a collection of biographies of the eminent families of Devon from before the Norman Conquest, compiled from historical and genealogical information. It is not clear how much Prince copied from other manuscripts that were passed around. He admitted using the manuscripts of the 16th century antiquarians Leland, Camden, Hooker, Pole and Westcote. He wrote 'I used nothing I did not have authority for and have only borrowed not stolen what I have used', and he continued that if anyone should charge him with 'the sin of plagiarisms in the true sense of the word, it should not be regarded as a crime to borrow material' (Prince 1701, vi-viii). Possibly Prince was referring to plagiarism as a 'literary thief' or 'kidnapper'.

5.7.3 Prince's Worthies of Devon

Prince (1701, 505) gave an overview of Devon, starting in the east and then proceeding north. He documented the eminent manors and each owner's family history in a way reminiscent of Risdon's survey. He gave the life history of Hooker and Pole (Prince 1701, 636), and described Risdon as a Devon antiquary who had studied its history, but never published his findings. Prince (1701, 546) assumed that Risdon had received help from Pole and added his own findings, inferring that Risdon had made mistakes in copying the manuscripts. Of Westcote he wrote 'his survey was a mix of wit and fancy' (Prince 1701, 583). Prince also consulted Thomas Fuller's (1608-1661) *Worthies of England* (1662), where there is a very brief description of Devon and a detailed section on the lives of Devon's worthies (Fuller 1662, 270-307). Possibly Prince (1701, 170-1) copied Westcote regarding Copplestone Cross, although he recorded it was 12ft [3.6m] high and 20inches [0.508m] wide, with illegible engravings.

5.8 What do we learn from the antiquarians?

5.8.1 Introduction

Having looked at the evidence from the antiquarians three distinct themes are evident: firstly, the copying of evidence from their contemporaries; secondly, the writing of a history of Devon; and thirdly, the genealogy of Devon families. Although the antiquarians mentioned sites of antiquity, there is the complication of recognising what the 16th and 17th century antiquarians identified, and what was added by later editors to the published material. The sites they documented are discussed in the various chapters as identified in the introduction to this chapter.

5.8.2 The copying of evidence

From the 16th century onwards there is evidence of antiquarians copying each other's research, and of plagiarism, which Camden had been accused of in 1596. This group of antiquarians, whose work we have reviewed, were born within 80 years of each other; and all admitted they used each other's manuscripts (Table 5.1).

5.1 Table: Manuscripts used by antiquarians

Hooker	<i>Holinshed's Chronicles</i> (1577)	Did not reference
Moore	Leland	Referenced
	Risdon	Did not reference
Pole	Hooker	Did not reference
	Camden	Referenced
Risdon	Hooker	Did not reference
	Pole	Referenced
Westcote	Hooker	Referenced
	Risdon	Did not reference
Prince	Leland, Camden, Hooker and Pole	Did not reference

At the annual meeting of the Devonshire Association in 1875, J.M. Hawker inferred that one 'could draw lessons' about antiquarians copying material, and ideas (Hawker 1875, 81). Bushfield (1893, 103-4) detailed the growth of Devon's histories and its authors. He listed Leland's and Camden's manuscripts and Hooker's *Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire*, which he considered to be the earliest record of Devon's history. He thought it was difficult to assign a proper succession between Pole, Risdon and Westcote as they were all contemporaries, and used the research by Hooker and each other.

Bushfield saw Pole as the father of county histories, as his work described Devon's historical, antiquarian and heraldic information; and again he noted how much Pole's manuscripts had been quoted by Risdon and Prince. Brooking Rowe (1882, 48) suggested that Risdon, Westcote and Pole were, at the beginning of the 17th century, the fathers of Devonshire topography.

5.8.3 The writing of a history of Devon

'Each new generation of historians is heir to the work of those that went before' (Brayshay 1996, 1). The Elizabethan antiquarians were in a privileged position, because of their status, of having access to primary sources, and they placed an emphasis on genealogy to establish their continuity with the past (Broadway 2006, 241). The antiquarians of the late 16th century were influenced by external forces, such as changes to the education system. There was a move away from ecclesiastical dominated education to one influenced by the state, and as such the gentry actively became involved in engaging with the past (Broadway 2006, 58-9). Possibly the experience of university education helped to develop their antiquarianism (Broadway 2006, 60).

The characteristic of Devon's early histories was that the past and the present were only vaguely distinguished, and there existed a sense of responsibility to pass on for posterity how the contemporary world managed its affairs. This was true of Hooker who administered Elizabethan Exeter and had access to many original manuscripts, and laid the foundations for the work of Westcott and Risdon (Youings 1994, 115-16). Westcott lifted sections from Hooker's *Synopsis*, and his aim was to establish Devon's superiority over other counties, the same as Hooker's had been (Youings 1994, 118). Risdon used Hooker's material for a topographical peregrination from East to North Devon, whereas Pole did use Hooker's manuscripts, but he had access to other sources, such as from fellow magistrates (Youings 1994, 117).

Therefore, after reviewing the evidence of who actually published a history of Devon in the Tudor period, the answer has to be only Prince, and this was a bibliography of Devon's gentry. Some of Hooker's manuscripts were published in 1765, others remain unpublished, and Pole's not until the 1791. Moore's, after many alterations, was published in 1829, as was Westcote's in

1845, and Risdon's in 1811. The absence of a county history from a published source belies the extent to which the local gentry continued to ensure their county should be recognised (Broadway 2006, 38). In a county as remote as Devon this ambition was acute.

5.8.4 Genealogy of Devon families

All the antiquarians, and particularly Prince, provided biographical details of Devon's eminent families, and of their heraldic blazoning (a verbal description of arms); therefore, the importance of heraldry needs to be explained. Heraldry is the study of the symbolic and decorative heraldic devices which originated as a utilitarian language understood by all on the battlefield. Its use was firmly established by the 12th century, and by the 13th century it had acquired its own terminology and rules. However, by the 16th century heraldic devices had declined as a means of battlefield recognition, and the arms became more elaborate. Now the devices acted as an identification of a family tree, which could be found on ancestral monuments in parish churches. The heraldists of the 16th century carried out church visitations for the purpose of recording arms, to make sure they were correct, and for compiling correct genealogical records (Scott Giles 1954, 2-10). In the 1873 introduction to *Boutell's Heraldry*, Aveling suggested that 'great assistance' could be found in the study of heraldry 'by those engaged in archaeological pursuits' (Aveling 1873, 5). Prince certainly used heraldry in his *Worthies of Devon* (1701), and both John Swete (1751-1821) and Peter Hutchinson (1810-1897) made reference to the arms found on church memorials, bearing out what Aveling advocated. What all these early antiquarian writers show is that the genealogy of the gentry of Devon, with their heraldic coats of arms and the ownership of lands, was the main area of antiquarian research, with little if any reference to archaeology.

In this chapter we have studied the lives of the early Devon antiquarians, and how they carried out their research to write a history of Devon. In Chapter Six we will examine the lives of the Georgian antiquarians, and how they collected material first hand by touring Devon to collect facts towards writing a history of Devon.

CHAPTER 6

DEVON'S GEORGIAN ANTIQUARIANS



Fig.6.1: Possibly John Swete crossing Austin Bridge with Buckfastleigh Church in the background (Swete 1792, Journal vol.2, opp.214).

6.1 Introduction

Having looked at the lives of the Devon's 16th and early 17th century antiquarians' and how they undertook their research, it is now time to look at the Georgian antiquarians, who were collecting material to publish a history of Devon, starting with Dean Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784), followed by Reverend John Swete (1751-1821) (Fig.6.1), Reverend Richard Polwhele (1760-1838), Reverend George Oliver (1781-1861), and James Davidson (1793-1864). Milles collected material for publication, but he never published his findings. Swete also collected material, but it is uncertain if he ever intended to publish; whereas Polwhele, Oliver and Davidson collected material and published.

Within this chapter we look at the lives of the antiquarians in general terms and highlight the various chapters where the archaeological information they recorded can be found. They documented information on barrows (see Chapter Eight), hillforts (see Chapter Nine), castles (see Chapter Eleven) and

religious houses (see Chapter Twelve) and churches (see Chapter Thirteen). Often they documented sites which have since been destroyed. We are beginning to see a move away from documentary research, to one of travelling around Devon to collect material. Milles and Swete travelled extensively throughout Devon, Milles collected facts, whereas Swete wrote in a flowing romantic style: whether he would have altered this if he had written a history of Devon is difficult to decide. Polwhele relied heavily on documentary sources and did not travel extensively in Devon, as did Oliver to a degree, and whilst Davidson did use others' material, which he fully referenced, he did travel extensively to visit all of Devon's churches (see Chapter Thirteen).

6.2 Major dates in the life of Jeremiah Milles 1714-1784

1714 Born at Highclere (Hampshire)

1741 Elected as Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London

1762 Dean of Exeter Cathedral

1769 President of the Society of Antiquaries of London

1784 Died at Harley Street, St Marylebone (Middlesex) (Thomas 2004, 239-40)



Fig.6.2: Dean Jeremiah Milles (Thomas 2004, 240).

6.2.1 Introduction

Jeremiah Milles (Fig.6.2) undertook two Grand Tours: in 1733 he visited France and Italy, and in 1736 he visited the Low Countries, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Germany. He became the Dean of Exeter, where he continued the Cathedral renovations started by Dr Charles Lyttelton (1714-1768) (Thomas 2004, 239-240).

Milles pursued an extensive programme of interior restoration at the Cathedral between 1762 and 1777. The ledger stones of former bishops were removed from the choir floor and replaced; the old ledger stones were then 'scattered' throughout the cathedral to replace worn paving. Milles had the west window re-glazed with armorial glass between 1764 and 1767 [removed in 1904], and in 1777 he had new pews installed in the nave, [since removed]. He melted down and remodelled all the Cathedral plate in 1772, with the exception of a pair of 1693 flagons and 1629 candlesticks (Thomas 2004, 239-40). When John Chanter (1854-1939) (see Chapter Seven) carried out an inventory of the Cathedral's silver in 1910 he made no mention of Milles melting down the silver. He noted that there were no examples of Elizabethan or Exeter silversmiths' work, and just a few modern reproductions of medieval silver (Chanter 1912, 86-94).

Milles was elected to the Society of Antiquaries of London and became President in 1768, following the death of Lyttelton. Together with Richard Gough (1735-1809) they set out to modernise the Society by extending its public activities and founding *Archaeologia* in 1770 (Thomas 2004, 239-41). Milles' library was sold at auction in 1843, and the Bodleian Library purchased two folio volumes of *Milles Questionnaire* and six volumes of *Parochial Collections* for £90 (Brooking Rowe 1891, 153-70).

6.2.2 Background to Milles' Questionnaire

Thomas (2004, 239-41) suggested that Milles was collecting information about Devon from 1753, this cannot be correct as Milles sent out a questionnaire to all the parishes in the Exeter diocese, referred to as '*Milles Questionnaires*', and some returns are dated 1742. The questionnaire was to form the basis of his intended '*Parochial History of Devon*', which remained unpublished; and it is the first record of a Devon antiquarian requesting information in this format. Possibly Milles was influenced by the Society of Antiquaries of London, who sent out a questionnaire in 1745 (Sweet 2004, 12).

6.2.3 The Questionnaires

If we assume Milles sent a questionnaire to all 441 parishes, he received a 59% return of 263 replies. The questionnaire asked for a range of information relating to the parish. This was followed by questions relating to the church. There were questions about geological and archaeological features, the flora and fauna, the landscape and manufacturing processes. There follows a selection of the questionnaire answers; the questions asked can be found in Appendix 6.1.

The majority of the questionnaires were completed by the clergy. At West Parkford, Peter Harris wrote 'I think I have completed the 'subsegment Directs' as near as it is within the power or capacity of a humble rector' (Milles 1766, 318). Mr Chapelle of Exeter (printer) answered the questionnaire for Witheridge, and included a sketch of the church (Fig.6.3) (Milles 1766, 424); Cornworthy's form was completed by 'a gentleman farmer' (Milles 1766, 170). The earliest returned questionnaires were dated 1742 from Stoke Fleming (Milles 1766, 356), East Allington (Milles 1766, 39), Brixton (Milles 1766, 104), and Loddiswell (Milles 1766, 24). Thurlestone's form was returned in 1756 (Milles 1766, 378), Virgin Stoke in 1759 (Milles 1766, 396), and Lawrence Clyst in 1766 (Milles 1766, 142), the rest are undated.



Fig.6.3: The sketch of Witheridge Church that Chapelle included in his return (Milles 1766, 424).

Aylesbeare's return detailed its parish boundary, the number of houses, distance from surrounding villages, that there were two stone bridges, and a chapel of ease. All the land was enclosed, the black soil was limed for growing wheat and barley, and the orchards produced about 1200 gallons of cider. The

trade of the village was lace-making, but there was nothing remarkable in the parish. There were 13 baptisms and nine burials; although the number of marriages was not asked for (Milles 1766, 2-4). Today there are still two bridges, but the orchards have gone, although wheat and barley is still grown. On the return for Colaton Raleigh it was described as a 'town' because there were three separate hamlets within the parish, at Kingston, Hawkerland and around the church (Milles 1766, 163), but today is defined as one village. In the late 1800s and early 1900s there was a bakery, two butchers, two shops and two chapels, now all gone, and at least four farms which have been absorbed into the Clinton Devon estate.

6.2.4 Milles' Parochial Collections

Milles visited 318 churches between 1747 and 1762 and this accounts for the comments on the questionnaires, such as 'I have told you this before about the church', written on the Chagford return (Milles 1766, 122). Milles recorded the Hundred where the church was situated, the distance from the nearest town and named the adjoining parishes. The reports detailed the exterior and interior of the church, listed the memorials, and the painted glass. Here we need to mention Davidson (who's work will be discussed later in this chapter), who visited and collected information about Devon's churches between 1824 and 1850, almost a hundred years after Milles. An example of change between Milles' visit and Davidson's was at Bradninch, where Milles recorded a painted wooden pulpit (Milles 1762, 37) whereas Davidson (1843, vol.1, 441) documented a stone pulpit.

6.2.5 Geological information collected by Milles

When Milles visited Kentisbeare he recorded details of the whetstone mines in the Blackdown Hills above the village. He documented that the fossilised shells found in the mines were the same as those found on the Haldon Hills, which were 10 miles apart, and both at the same height. He surmised that the two hills had been joined and had become separated by the deluge, which washed away the land and formed the valley he could see (Milles, 1766, 45). This is the same wording that Polwhele used in his *History of Devonshire* (1797, 76), with no reference to Milles' manuscripts.

Little archaeological evidence is given in the questionnaire returns; the majority was collected by Milles during his visits to the parishes. We are seeing for the first time, in Milles' accounts, illustrations of a Neolithic burial site, a hillfort and castles. The questionnaire returns and Milles' parochial records provide a wealth of information about early 18th century Devon. There is a strong possibility that the white paper used for the questionnaires was produced at Mount Weir in Exeter, which Swete visited, and also recorded the manufacturing process (Fig.6.4) (Swete 1799, Journal vol.18, 53). The other alternative is the paper mill at Countess Weir, which was known to be there between 1704 and 1884, and both mills produced white paper (Shorter 1950, 209). Although there were mills at Head Weir and Trews Mill, and other mills in the area, they only produced brown or blue paper (Shorter 1950, 209). With regards to who printed the questionnaire, there is the strong possibility it was Andrew Brice (1690-1773), a well-known Exeter printer in the 1770s who published the weekly Exeter newspaper (Plomer 1922, 3).



Fig.6.4: The paper mill at Mount Weir (Swete 1799, Journal vol.18, opp. 172).

6.3 Major dates in the life of John Swete (formerly Tripe) 1752-1821

- 1752 Born Ashburton (Devon)
- 1780 John Tripe changed his name to Swete (by an Act of Parliament)
- 1781 Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral
- 1788 Undertook his first tour of Devon
- 1821 Died at Oxton (Devon) (Gray 1997, viii)

6.3.1 Introduction

John Tripe in 1780 changed his name, because Mrs Swete (his godmother) looked upon John as her son. On the condition that John took the family name of Swete. She bequeathed him Oxton House and sugar plantations in Antigua and Jamaica (Swete 1793, Journal vol.8, 7). Swete (1792, Journal vol.2, 5) demolished Oxton House in 1781 (Figs.6.5-6.6) and rebuilt a simple Georgian house. He also removed the garden walls and terraces with clipped yew hedges, and created a parkland vista with groves of trees.

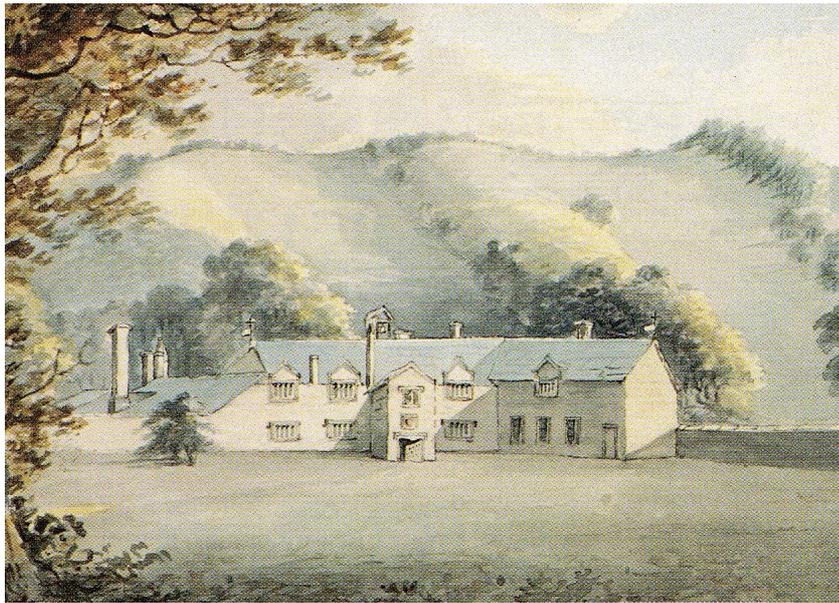


Fig.6.5: The original Oxton House that Swete demolished (Swete 1792, Journal vol. 2, opp.2).



Fig.6.6: Oxton House which Swete rebuilt in 1781 (Swete 1792, Journal vol.2, 6).

6.3.2 Swete's travel journals

Swete undertook 15 tours throughout Devon from 1789 to 1800, which he recorded in 20 illustrated journals. The journals were written up later, as they contained references to Tristram Risdon's (1580 -1640) *Survey of Devon* (c.1632), and Richard Gough's (1735 -1809) translation of *Camden's Britannia* (1789). The journal's illustrations were sketched on the spot and completed later in the winter, as the majority are dated November, December and January. Swete (1793, Journal vol.5,103) did admit in his journals to altering the views he painted, by leaving out hills, or framing a picture with trees and altering the shape of rocks to make them appear more dramatic. For an example of this see the discussion below of Old Wall (Bishopsteignton). Details of Swete's rationale about illustrations are detailed below and in Chapter Fourteen.

After a visit by the landscape painter William Payne (1760-1830) Swete altered his style of painting, changing from using dark grey shapes and dramatic use of shade and light to scenes bathed in sunlight, using yellows and lighter green tones (Swete 1797, Journal vol.18, 120-2). He suggested that the 'language of the landscape master' should be observed, and objects [houses, churches and bridges] must harmonise with the things [trees, hills and rivers] around it, and they must be 'picturesque' (Swete, 1800, Journal vol.18, 120-2). Swete's first pictures were representational, whereas later versions were highly stylised and he started to remove the formality of buildings, as we will see at Torre Abbey later in the chapter, and in Chapter Eight with regards to the dolman at Drewsteignton; although Swete did demonstrate accuracy in his pictures (Gray 1997, xxi). Gray (1997, xxi) suggested there are glimpses of Swete [the man] in his drawings, but it is difficult to know which ones depicted him, as he often put figures in his pictures to highlight a scene, such as people crossing bridges, or fishing in a river.

Swete's travel journals highlight his opinions about the landscape, which he frequently described as romantic, picturesque and the 'best view ever'. The archaeology of Devon's barrows, hillforts, castles, and religious houses is described in illustrated flowing prose. Possibly Swete was collecting material for publication, but Polwhele, to whom we shall return, published his *History of Devonshire* in 1793 and so perhaps Swete did not pursue the matter. He held

exhibitions of his paintings and lectured on his archaeological discoveries (Gray 1997, xix). There is, however, no mention in the journals of Swete's sugar plantations or carrying out any clerical duties.

Returning to Swete's illustrations and how he altered a view, east of Bishopsteignton Church were the ruins of Old Walls [the Bishop's Palace] which Swete (1795, Journal vol.10, 141-7) thought had been built as a hospital for retired clergy. All that remained was the eastern end of the chapel (Figs.6.7-6.8) and the southern walls (Figs.6.9-6.10). Swete's illustration differs from the actual remains, because the east end of the chapel gable is turned at right-angles from its correct position, possibly because it looked more picturesque (Laithwaite *et al* 1989, 55). George Oliver (1781-1861) identified the ruins as being a chapel because of a small recess for a holy water stoup on the south wall, and its east-west orientation (Oliver 1840, 116-7). There is the suggestion that Bishop Grandisson (1292-1369) built Old Walls as his Palace in 1369, which by 1550 had been destroyed (Laithwaite *et al* 1989, 53-5), but there is nothing in the ruins to suggest a pre-14th century date (Blaylock and Westcott 1989, 68).



Fig.6.7: Swete's interpretation of Old Walls (Swete 1795, Journal vol.10, opp.138).



Fig.6.8: The walls of Old Walls now forming part of the cattle shed (2015).

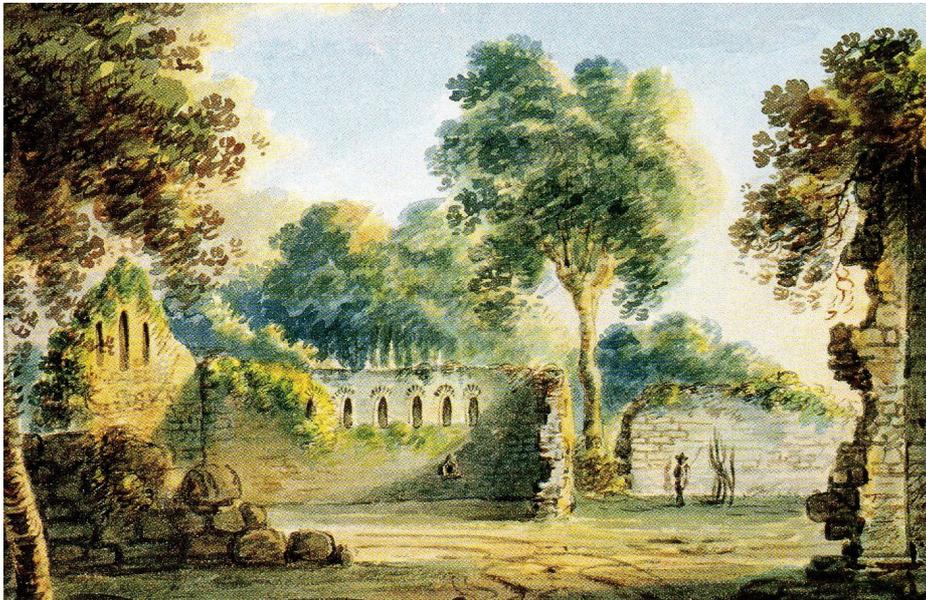


Fig.6.9: The interior of Old Walls (Swete 1795, Journal vol.10, opp.141).



Fig.6.10: The south wall that Swete inferred was the interior. The windows are correct, but the door was not depicted by Swete (2015).

6.3.3 The background to Swete's tours of Devon

We will now look at Swete's fifteen tours. Originally there were twenty bound volumes of his travel journals, which remained intact until the WWII bombing of Newton Abbot in April 1942, when the house of a descendant of John Swete was bombed and three volumes were destroyed (Gray 1997, xviii). In his journals Swete described an eclectic mix of facts, such as the county boundaries, landscapes, marble quarries at Petit Torre Cove (Torquay). Swete (1793, Journal vol.7, 11) mentioned Donn's map of Devon (Fig.6.11) and included a sketch of the Yealm. The suggestion could be made that Swete planned his tours after consulting Donn's map (Figs.6.12; 6.13), as the majority of places he visited are identified on the map, there are exceptions to this and this is discussed in the relevant chapters. Details of the routes Swete took on his tours and from the destroyed three volumes can be found in Appendix 6.2. What needs to be remembered is at the time Swete was undertaking his journeys, that Devon was relatively inaccessible, and he had to rely at times on directions from the clergy he visited or labourers working in the fields..

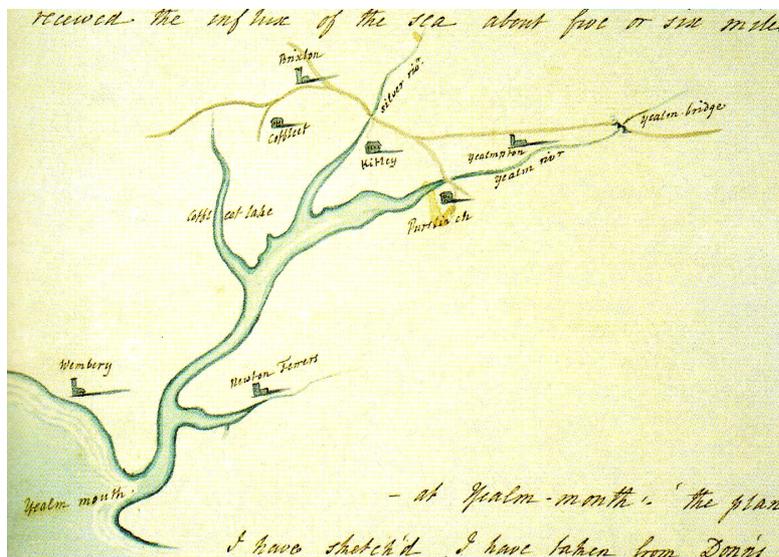


Fig.6.11: Swete's interpretation of Donn's map (1793, Journal vol.7, 11).

Fig.6.12 Donn's map of Devon marked with the places Swete visited (Donn 1765, opp. sheet 12).

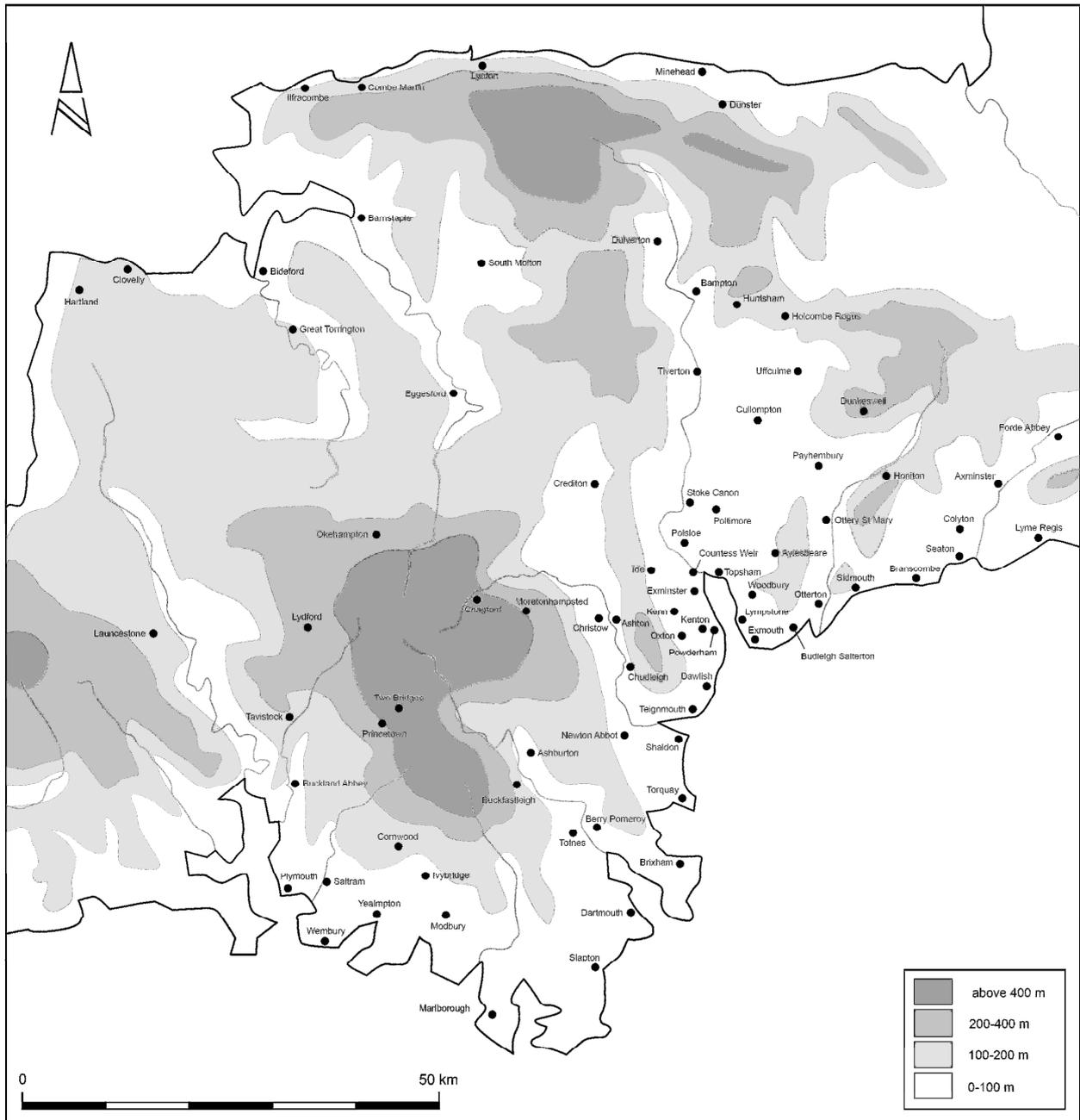


Fig.6.13: Map of Devon showing places Swete visited (Source: drawn by Chris Smart)

6.3.4 Observations recorded by Swete in his travel journals

Swete (1792, Journal vol.1, 2-4) discussed how Devon and Cornwall was once a Roman province, called Dumnonia. He thought the place name reflected Devon’s landscape of hills, rivers and tin mines (the stream-workings of the tin mines), as the old names for hill is ‘dun’ and mines ‘moina’ becoming ‘Dumnonia’. Swete was wrong with his suggestion as it is thought to mean a British tribe who worshipped the ‘god’ Dumnônos (Rivet and Smith 1979, 343).

Swete (1794, Journal vol.9, 49-54) frequently visited the churches he encountered on his travels; and sometimes recorded the effigies, but more often than not the monuments were dismissed as being of little consequence. He had a 'curiosity' to visit the Beaumont's monument as they were distant relations of Mrs Swete in Gittisham Church, and observe what changes had occurred 'through so long a period in their arms'. An echo back to when John Prince (1643-1723) traced Devon's families' arms (see Chapter Five).

6.3.5 Swete's reflections on Devon's Gardens

Swete (1795, Journal vol.10, 20-3) recorded the gardens of the large estates he passed through, although usually to note that they could be improved or had been spoilt by the removal of trees. In Otterton Park he observed that there were 150 head of deer, carp ponds and ponds for sea fish, but it was separated from the mansion house and had no compact appearance, unlike Bicton House (two miles to the east) which was surrounded by fine trees, terraces, ponds in a dell and a church which Swete thought was the 'churchyard of Gray' (Thomas Gray (1716-1771) *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1751)).

Swete (1793, Journal vol.7,15) observed at Kitley (Brixton) that the grounds were laid out in the natural style, and at The Retreat (Topsham) the gardens had beautiful shrubberies and greenhouses (Swete 1794, Journal vol.8, 150). Whereas at Combe House (Gittisham) he described the elms, oaks, verdant and luxuriant streams as 'a field for a Brown to display his taste on', although he conceded that there was little Brown could have done here to improve on the 'perfection of an already perfect scene' (Fig.6.14) (Swete 1794, Journal vol.9, 57). At Trehill (Kenn), the walls had been removed and the road moved to below the ridge to enhance the view of the house, and the elms planted along the approach to the house creating a picturesque scene (Swete 1795, Journal vol.11, 116). The removal of hedges allowed the imagination to play unrestrained over the sweeping lawns, with the vista through the trees ending at Kenn beacon (Swete 1795, Journal vol.11, 99).



Fig.6.14: Combe House (Gittisham) as depicted by Swete and showing his reflection that Brown could not have improved on the view (Swete 1795, Journal vol.10, 65). Which is virtually the same in 2016.

At Little Fulford, Swete (1796, Journal vol.13, 132) crossed the River Creedy but was unable to enter the grounds as his way was barred by a canal, although he noted there were 'nicely shaved' lawns, shrubs, flowers and dry terrace walks, with shaded seats in the arbours. He saw Powderham Castle reflected in an expanse of water with a backdrop of trees and hills, but he thought the clumps of trees detracted from its beauty (Swete 1798, Journal vol.17, 36).

6.3.6 Torre Abbey gardens

At Torre Abbey (Torquay) the walls had been removed to create a vista looking seawards, but it wanted the 'smoothing touches of a Brown' [Capability], to remove the hedges and lanes, Swete (1793, Journal vol.6,120) thought. The gardens at the Abbey had collections of flowers planted in open parterres, and greenhouses with exotic plants. Swete (1793, Journal vol.6, 90) wrote about drawing the ruins of Torre Abbey and said 'I have taken the slight liberty of removing the formality of the unbroken horizontal line and harmonising the antique appearance of the arches' (Figs.6.15-6.16).



Fig.6.15: Swete's drawing of Torre Abbey gardens (Swete 1793, Journal vol.6, 88).



Fig.6.16: The horizontal top of the wall that Swete left out and he made the windows into arches (2015 Source: author).

6.3.7 A review of gardens during this period

After reviewing Swete's thought on gardens, mention must be made of the social changes in gardening that took place during this period. The gardens of the 18th century were seen as natural spaces, adapted by man to meet his own aesthetic demands. It was a cultural shift against the political views sweeping across Europe, from the formal planted gardens to idealistic vistas of the

landscape inspired by nature, art and literature. It was instigated by Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) who changed the formal landscape by borrowing views from the surrounding countryside of open spaces, and arranged informal serpentine paths to overlay the formal avenues to create 'Elysian Fields'. He was followed by William Kent (1685-1748), then by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783), who transformed rough pasture into parkland by moving villages, altering contours, creating vistas and settings for county houses (Stroud 1962, 12). Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) introduced further innovations into Brown's schemes, such as terraces and gravel walks; his aim was to create an effective amalgamation of the extremes of the landscape by removing the artificiality of fences and thinning trees to create a landscaped garden (Stroud 1962, 12).

Swete also mentioned Richard Knight (1750-1824), who thought that the ideal landscape was one which presented both a wild and rugged aspect to contrast with the natural landscape. This, he thought, would appeal more to the artist, making it desirable, and the style became known as the 'picturesque'. This term was adopted by Gilpin in 1789 in his book entitled *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1772), which Swete mentioned at Dunkeswell Abbey (see Chapter Twelve), when he saw the ragged children and likened the picture to Gilpin's of Tintern Abbey (Hunt 1984, 38). These picturesque landscaped gardens were designed as scenes that could be incorporated into paintings (Mosser and Teyssot 1991, 233). Swete (1799, Journal vol.18, 83) wrote about landscape gardening, and that the criteria which brought about change were governed by the fashion of the day. He quoted Knight, who denounced the loss of wild unrestrained woodland, and the effects of using art to create a false picture.

Swete was the only antiquarian to describe the landscape of gardens. Today the majority of gardens Swete described are total ephemeral art forms, and modes of architecture link to the devastating work of Bridgeman, Brown and Repton. This destruction took place from the 1720s onwards and was unmatched in any other European country. These 17th century gardens were integral to the overall *mise-en-scène* (Strong 1979, 11-12) now only recorded in Swete's journals.

6.3.8 Observations on Swete's journals

Swete's illustrated travel journals recorded how he saw Devon from 1789 to 1800. Swete lived at the height of Georgian period, which saw many cultural changes, but it did not stop people trying to recreate a romantic past that enhanced the mystique of the historic past associated with prehistoric monuments (Bahn 1996, 53-4). Missing from Swete's journals are any references about Exeter, they were thought to be found in Volume 19, which was destroyed (Gray 2000, xxiv)

6.4 Major dates in the life of Richard Polwhele 1760-1838

1760 Born St Clement, Truro (Cornwall)

1789 Ordained and became curate of Kenton

1838 Died at Polwhele (Cornwall) (Courtney 2004, 786)



Fig.6.17: Richard Polwhele (Gray 1997, ix).

6.4.1 Introduction

Richard Polwhele (Fig.6.17) was the curate of Kenton and then became curate of Kenwyn (Cornwall), later retiring to his estate Polwhele (Cornwall) (Courtney 2004, 787). Polwhele published *The History of Devonshire* (1797-1806). For information about Devon's history he had access to the manuscripts of the 16th century antiquarians John Leland (see Chapter Four), John Hooker, Sir William Pole, Thomas Westcote, Tristram Risdon (see Chapters Five), and the 17th and 18th century antiquarians John Prince and Jeremiah Milles, and correspondence

from people who sent him material. Others, like Sir John Acland, told Polwhele he did not care for the county's history and refused to lend him his papers (Rowse 1977, ii).

6.4.2 Background to Polwhele's History of Devonshire

In Polwhele's (1797, 2) postscript to his *History of Devonshire* he recorded his thanks to the people who had helped him, and the length of time it had taken him to complete the research. He acknowledged that most of the work on the Totnes Deanery was carried out by Mr Cornish. Although he wrote that whilst many of his subscribers (who had paid to have the book printed) had seen his manuscripts, they were now questioning why the book had not been published when he had given so much time and effort to carry out the research and write it up ready for publication. This was due to a quarrel between Polwhele and Swete, who had given a lecture on the Drewsteignton dolman (see Chapter Eight) before Polwhele had published his observations.

6.4.3 Polwhele's History of Devonshire (1793-1806)

Polwhele published the *History of Devonshire* in three volumes, publishing the second volume first, in 1793. Although Polwhele suggested Volume One contained the 'most interesting antiquities in Devon'. Polwhele (1797, 138) used Claudius Ptolemy (c.AD90-c.AD168) and William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (1610) descriptions of Britain to determine Dumnonia's boundaries, which were very similar to today's, suggesting that it was already a defined area before the arrival of the Romans. He saw the southwest peninsula as divided by the rivers not a land division (Polwhele 1797, 137). Polwhele (1797, 142) thought Dumnonia consisted of fortified hillside mansions [hillslope enclosures] overlooking inferior valley settlements, which were observed from a fortress [hillfort], with a road running along the valley and a hilltop beacon overseeing the whole area. Polwhele was imposing his 18th century landscape interpretation, suggestive of a mansion set in a parkland setting, out of sight of the poor's housing. Polwhele also made observations about barrows, hillforts, and castles.

Polwhele (1897, 180) recognised that the Romans conquered Britain for its mineral wealth, but he suggested that we know very little of Roman activity in

Devon, only that they occupied Exeter. He argued that the population had known the Romans before the conquest, as they already traded in the Mediterranean, using established trading networks that benefited both the natives and the Romans. He concluded by stating that Tacitus was vague on the subject of Roman activity in Devon, and we should accept the account of the 14th century monk Richard of Cirencester (1335-1401) as being authentic, as he tells us more than all the other works we have.

In Volume One, Polwhele (1797, 81-100) documented *A Sketch of the Natural History of Devonshire*, which is divided into a general description of the climate, geology, flora and fauna. Within the flora section he listed (possibly) all the known plants in Devon during the late 1700s, with their Latin and common names, and their medicinal and culinary usage. Polwhele referenced the people who had provided him with 'botanical observations' across Devon, and he quoted the plants listed in *Britannia* (1610). In contrast, the Botanical section of the *VCH Devon* (1906) only lists the interesting species [their words], not the total inventory of indigenous plants and trees that Polwhele listed. Therefore, Polwhele's information is a unique record of the flora in 18th century Devon. Polwhele gave his definition of the different historical periods of Devon, from the first settlements of Dumnonia, to the present day. For all of the different periods he detailed the civil and military history, religion, architecture, agriculture, mining, manufacture and commerce, and Devon's literature.

6.4.4 Background to Polwhele's History of Devon

Polwhele (1793, i) introduced the second volume by saying that previous writers [he did not specify who] of county histories had paid little attention to how they arranged their material; too often they detailed the same facts repeatedly for each parish, such as the genealogy of families living in the parish. This, he suggested, set the facts within narrow parochial boundaries, and although readers will usually find something to occupy their attention, it will become 'tiresome with the repetition of the same facts', and there had to be another way of presenting them.

Polwhele used the Exeter Diocese to define Devon, which is divided into eight archdeaconries, subdivided into parishes; for the peripheral

archdeaconries of Honiton, Plymtree, Dunkerswell, Tiverton and Chulmleigh there is little information, possibly because Polwhele lacked contacts in these areas. The detailed information about the archdeaconries of Aylesbeare, Totnes and Exeter covered all aspects of the parish, depicting the landscape, the gentry and their genealogy, the church and things we would take for granted today, such as a supply of fresh water.

In Volumes Two (1793) and Three (1806), Polwhele (1793, ii) reviewed the ecclesiastic parishes which he thought would please those living in the parish, and was a 'perfect plan'. He described these volumes as a 'chorographical' survey of Devon, with material obtained from registers, records and his observations, and he asked the reader to see the mistakes as being caused by estate owners and their papers being unavailable for inclusions. Not all parishes have the same amount of detail.

Polwhele (1793, 1) recorded Exeter as a compact city within partially-destroyed city walls, although the south and west gates were still standing, as were the gates into Cathedral Close. The following examples provide a snapshot of Polwhele's observations about the parishes; sometimes he wrote 'there is no account of this parish worthy of being recorded' (Polwhele 1806, 393).

6.4.5 Devon's Parishes

The almshouses at Tiverton were described as being near the turnpike road, and the 'four principal commodious streets enclosed a garden', which contained a bowling-green, possibly the best in the west of England (Polwhele 1793, 339), now gone. Sidmouth was described as a 'watering place' frequented by as many as 300 fashionable people a year, and the air was good for people suffering from consumption. It had an elegant ballroom, tearooms and a new livery stable opposite the London Inn (Polwhele 1793, 232-3). Another example was seen at Dawlish, where residents rented out their houses along the Strand to genteel families, such as Swete. The houses had slate or tiled roofs and some had neat bow windows and there were beautiful and romantic walks around the area (Polwhele 1793, 151); these houses can still be seen along the Strand in Dawlish. Signs of poverty were seen at Coplestone (Colebrook),

where there was once a manor house with a lodge, chapel, mint and prison; now [1790] all that was left were several small farms (Polwhele 1793, 35).

Polwhele started his description of a parish with the etymology of its name; for example Otterton was spelt Otrit (as in Domesday *terra Baldwini Vicecomitis Otrit*). He suggested the name meant 'a town upon the Otter' (Polwhele 1793, 227), but it is now considered to mean 'farm by the Otter' (Mawer and Stenton 1932, 593). The size of the parish is given, along with a description of the landscape and where it is situated in the Devon Hundreds and the surrounding parishes. For example, he noted that the parish of Bishop's Morchard [Morchard Bishop] was nearly circular, with a circumference of 4½ miles, with the church in the middle (Polwhele 1793, 40). How the parishes were enclosed is frequently recorded: Paignton parish, for example, had hedges banked up to 5ft to 6ft [1.52m to 1.82m], planted with trees (Polwhele 1806, 490). The combining of parishes was recorded, as at Raddon, which was combined with Shobrooke because although Raddon had a chapel it did not have the means to support a minister and an Act of Parliament combined the two parishes, which Risdon (c.1632, 94) intimates occurred during Henry III's reign (Polwhele 1793, 48).

The 60 paupers of Plympton-St-Mary were housed in a building built 16 years earlier by the parish on the site of a former Lazars' hospital, and received the stipulated food allowance of beef, pork, pease, oatmeal, milk and wheaten bread (Polwhele 1806, 452). At Widworthy the women spent their time spinning (Polwhele 1793, 318), and at Bishop Morchard [Morchard Bishop] making serge (Polwhele 1793, 41). At Bicton several cottages for poor families were built on newly-enclosed common land, and every cottage was allotted four acres of ground (Polwhele 1793, 221).

Polwhele (1793, 367) detailed the genealogy of the families who lived in the parish, and if manor houses had been converted into farm houses, as at Burlescombe. At Castle Hill (formally Filleigh House), Polwhele (1806, 406) thought its grounds offered scope for displaying its picturesque landscape with the extensive woodlands and tracts of water. Some improvements had been carried out by Lord Clinton, but the terrace and straight lines of trees on the skyline did not add to the beauty of the landscape. However, he was pleased

with the woodland setting of the hermitage, and the rock bridge, which echoes Swete's thoughts on gardens. Polwhele's parish reports are very reminiscent of the information that Milles (see above) collected when he visited the parishes.

6.4.6 Polwhele's description of Devon's agriculture practises

Polwhele (1806, 481) commented on the agriculture practises of an area. He stated that the ground at Dartington was fertile, well-cultivated and used for both pasture and agriculture, and the orchards produced remarkably good cider, while the gardens at Goodleigh were famous for black and red mazard cherries (Polwhele 1806, 402). Clayhanger had timber woods containing oak, beech and ash, was a healthy parish for cattle, and produced good crops, and its claylands offered good summer pasture for young cattle (Polwhele 1793, 373). At Columbstock [Culmstock] the enclosed fields went high up the sides of the hills (Polwhele 1793, 363), and at Tiverton the farmers had diversified into various arable crops alongside woodlands, orchards and rich meadow pasture, all of which were well-cultivated and showed a knowledge of good husbandry that was in turn highly productive (Polwhele 1793, 368).

6.4.7 Overview of Polwhele's research

Polwhele (1806, 433) implies he did visit some of the places he wrote about: for example, during May 1789 he visited Holsworthy and described the dreary landscape and the deep puddles on either side of the road because of the continual rain. There are two ways of looking at Polwhele's observations, firstly, from a somewhat limited archaeological standpoint, as many of the monuments Polwhele recorded are only identified in a general manner, or secondly, as a general history of Devon with details of its social and economic aspects. He is the first person to have published, within his lifetime, a general history of Devon that is not entirely based on the genealogy of families, unlike Prince's *Worthies of Devon* (1710).

Rowse (1977, i-v) reassessed Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* when the facsimile was published in 1977, and the contribution it made to the history of Devon. Rowse thought that the geographical, historical, agricultural, parish history and religious buildings provided sources of information not assembled anywhere else. This information from the late Georgian era gives a picture of

what has disappeared from Devon's landscape. The information about Devon families from parish registers is unique, as much of this was lost during the WWII air raids on Exeter.

What we need to remember is that Polwhele was writing in the late 18th century, before many of the things he questioned had, to a degree, started to be clarified, such as the dating of sites, other than in very broad terms. Polwhele was a social historian, who detailed a résumé of parishes' activities. He noted antiquities worthy of recording and, if not, said they were 'not worth doing'. His record is unique evidence of what was remaining at the end of the 18th century. There is, as Rowse (1977, vii) said, an 'extraordinary amount of miscellaneous information' that will appeal to various readers.

6.5 Major dates in the life of George Oliver 1781-1861

- 1781 Born at Newington (Surrey)
- 1807 Priest at St Nicholas Exeter
- 1843 Elected Honorary Member of the Historical Society of Boston (America)
- 1844 Made a Doctor of Divinity by Pope Gregory XVI
- 1861 Died (Holt 1987, 53)



Fig.6.18: George Oliver (Bushfield 1885, opp.266).

6.5.1 Introduction

George Oliver (Fig.6, 18) met Bishop John Milner (1752-1826), a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Stonyhurst College, who encouraged his

interest in antiquities, and together they examined Whalley Abbey (Lancashire) (Holt 1987, 53).

6.5.2 Background to Oliver's material

Oliver's research produced innumerable manuscripts and notebooks, which consisted of his surveys of Devon's monastic houses and parish churches, with materials collected from public records, medieval Episcopal registers and private papers (Holt 1989, 61). Possibly Oliver's work is of a more historical interest than archaeological, although there are the few archaeological facts.

On Oliver's death his library and manuscripts were sold. The British Library bought his copy of Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* (1797). Davidson bought 24 books, which included Oliver's copies of John Hooker's (1527-1601) *The Antique Description and Account of the City of Exeter* (1765), Thomas Moore's (1560-1603) *History of Devonshire* (c.1630), Tristan Risdon's (1580-1640) *A View of Devonshire* (c.1632), Richard Izacke's *Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter* (1724), Samuel Lysons' (1763-1819) *Magna Britannia* (1806), and William Shortt's (1800-1881) *Sylva Antiqua Iscana* (1841) (Davidson 1850, 1-32).

Lieutenant-Colonel Harding (of Barnstaple) also bought a large collection of Oliver's papers (Holt 1987, 63). On Harding's death his papers were found to be in total confusion, with Oliver's papers mixed in amongst his own. John Chanter (1854-1839) (1888, 49-68) visited Harding and was aware of the muddled stated of the papers, and sorted them into 100 parish files, and published a resumé in *RTDA* (1888, 49-68).

Within Oliver's papers there is a letter with information about Kent's Cavern (Torquay), describing the organic remains of diluvium (if not ante-diluvium) animal remains of tiger bones, and ante-diluvium remains of the ichthyosaur at Lyme Regis on the Undercliff similar to the ones on the Isle of Wight (Oliver 1827, 25); the only mention of this discovery by any Devon antiquarian.

6.5.3 Oliver's published material

Oliver and Pitman Jones (1786-1817) worked together to rearrange the Exeter City muniments [legal documents indicating ownership], which had not been touched since Hooker reorganised them in the late 1500s (Hoskins 1961, 337). They edited Thomas Westcote's (1567-1640) manuscripts (c.1630) and published *A View of Devonshire and the Pedigree of Most of its Gentry* in 1845. Oliver translated Hooker's Commonplace books relating to the City of Exeter, which described the restoration and rebuilding of Exeter, the plagues of 1503 and 1507, and the high price of wheat which caused the 1566 famine and the Perkin Rebellion. This was published as *Gleanings from the Common Place Book of John Hooker relating to the City of Exeter 1485-1590* (1911).

Oliver's, *The History and Description of the City of Exeter* (1821), preface stated 'the historian is not there to invent facts, but to relate them' (Oliver 1821, i). In reality the publication is the history of the Bishops of Exeter, while the history of the city from 1688 to 1820 is compressed into five pages, which Hoskins (1961, 341-2) thought was unsatisfactory, especially as Oliver had access to Exeter archival material. It is almost entirely based on medieval chroniclers and is ecclesiastically biased, and contains no archaeological information. A second edition was completed (1861) after Oliver's death and included Oliver's description of Rougemont Castle (Hoskins 1961, 347) (see Chapter Eleven).

In *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon* (1828), Oliver wrote about the state of repair of Devon's churches and the need to maintain them. Harding was editing a new edition of Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, but a dispute with the printers meant that the project failed (Chanter 1888, 52). Chanter (1888, 61) suggested that as much of this valuable material had never seen the light of day it could be a valuable resource for historians and archaeologists alike. Joshua Brooking Rowe (1837-1908) thought Oliver's newspaper articles on parishes and churches should be brought together and published because of their content (Brooking Rowe 1882, 55) [they are still pasted into notebooks 2015]. Oliver was the first antiquarian to carry out documentary research on Devon's religious houses, although he does not mention the buildings (see Chapter Twelve). Hoskins (1961, 348) considered

Oliver to be a leading antiquarian of the day, even if his interpretations were wrong, but that was due to changing archaeological ideas.

6.6 Major dates in the life of James Davidson 1793-1864

1793 Born in London (Middlesex)

1820 Bought Secktor Lodge, Axminster (Devon)

1864 Died in Secktor, Axminster (Devon) (Chapman 1998, 20)

6.6.1 Introduction

James Davidson bought Secktor House (Axminster) (Figs.6.19-6.20) in 1820, and carried out extensive restoration to the property, enlarging the surrounding parkland to some 64 acres (Chapman 1998, 20). Davidson's research found that the Secktor estate formerly belonged to Newenham Abbey (Axminster) and is mentioned in their cartulary as the property of Thomas Stede, which in 1279 was valued at 100 shillings (Davidson 1832, 369).

In Davidson's obituary he is described as having an intimate knowledge of all matters relating to Devon, ranging from architectural to heraldic, to antiquities, to which he devoted 40 years of study (Anon 1886, 58-9). Davidson's library was sold to the Plymouth Institution on the death of his son, however it was destroyed in the WWII bombing of Plymouth, and therefore much of his original research has been lost (Courtney and Maxted 2004, 306).



Fig.6.19: Davidson's watercolour of Secktor estate (Davidson 1832, 369).



Fig.6.20: Sector Hall in 2015 (Knight Frank).

6.6.2 Davidson's Commonplace books

Davidson was writing his Commonplace books from the 1820s, and his observations are a record of how he, and others, saw archaeological sites. Reading Davidson's Commonplace books it is possible to trace the people he corresponded with asking their opinion of a site, with Oliver (see above) being a frequent correspondent and Hutchinson. Oliver lent Davidson books, and Davidson copied books in Lord Courtenay's library (Davidson 1830, 671), and

so he must have mixed with fellow interested people and was more than aware of the writings of past antiquarians and their work, which showed his education and reasoning.

Davidson's Commonplace books contain descriptions of barrows and hillforts. Davidson's (1832, 1) introduction to *A History of the Town and Parish of Axminster in the County of Devon* stated, 'the following has been the agreeable occupation of many an interval of leisure amidst the duties and enjoyments of domestic and rural life. It makes few pretentious [pretentions] beyond that of a faithful compilation of facts gleaned [gleaned] from local informants, and labours of previous writers, and therefore lays but little claim of originality, but wit [with] reference to the topographical inquires [inquiries]'.

6.6.3 Background to Davidson's church survey

The Devon and Exeter Institute sent out a questionnaire asking forty-three questions ranging from who built the church, the ground plan, was it pewed or modern, to whether the church had a screen or library to the churches.

Davidson pasted the Axminster questionnaire in his Commonplace book (1830, 12); however, Davidson was ahead of the Institute in that he started his survey of Devon's churches in 1825. Davidson visited 499 churches in Devon, and their descriptions are recorded in five unpublished volumes of *Church Notes* (see Chapter Thirteen).

6.6.4 Published material

Davidson's *The British and Roman Remains in the Vicinity of Axminster* (1833) introduction stated that 'the following pages are an attempt to rescue from undeserved oblivion some vestige of ancient times in its [Axminster] neighbourhood, which are gradually disappearing from observation, or are sinking beyond the reach of memory. The discoveries of earlier writers have been brought forward, but their conjectures have not always been implicitly adopted: nothing has been taken for granted which could be submitted to the test of actual investigation' (Davidson 1833, iii).

Davidson's *Notes on the Antiquities of Devonshire which Dates before the Norman Conquest* (1861) is worthy of further comment. This first appeared

as newspaper articles for Trewman's *Exeter Flying Post*. It is a collection of facts describing the antiquities of Devon, compiled from other writers including Davidson. The intention of the compilation is 'that of an epitome, to bring together the traces of early Britons under the rule of the Druids, and the effects of the Romans, and the Anglo-Saxons, as can be found in both the records of earlier writers and monuments' (Davidson 1861, 5). Davidson was the only antiquarian to compile and publish such a book.

Before listing each places where the antiquities could be found, Davidson defined the antiquities, such as stone circles being places of 'idolatrous worship', camps as 'military positions fortified by earthworks which are scattered over the summits of the loftiest hills', built by the ancient Britons and sometimes reused by the Romans (Davidson 1861, 8-9). There is a section dedicated to Exeter, using Shortt's investigations (Davidson 1861, 40-6).

6.7 The Druids

Swete and Polwhele frequently referred to places being connected to the Druids. The Druids in the Middle Ages were virtually unknown, and yet three centuries later this had changed, with the Druids being regarded as important ancestors. This awareness of the Druids was seen as being part of the national identity. The Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) and William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (16010) both made the Druids into major figures in the early histories of England (Hutton 2007, 6-11).

In the 1660s John Aubrey (1626-1697), began to associated megaliths monuments with the Druids, who he thought were prehistoric British priests and had designed the temple at Stonehenge. By the 1620s Camden's *Britannia* had become a standard work of reference and contained the hypothesis that the legacy of the Druids was rooted in the landscape (Hutton 2007, 53). William Stukeley (1687-1765), was influenced by reading Aubrey's manuscripts and his beliefs helped to formally establish the credibility of the Druids, because Stukeley was part of the establishment (Hutton 2007, 14; 54). It was not until John Lubbock (1834-1913) wrote *Pre-Historic Times* (1865) that the Druids were dismissed as irrelevant in regards to megalithic monuments and by the

1870s in William Boyd Dawkins (1837-1929) *Cave Hunting* (1874) there is no mention of Druids (Hutton 2007, 66).

Both Swete and Polwhele made observations on the Druids' religious practises and their use of remote places. Swete (1795, Journal vol.16, 98) observed that evidence of the Druids was not to be found on the exposed parts of Dartmoor, but in the surrounding areas. Although he thought it was regrettable that no antiquary had recorded any Druidical Reliquiae, possibly he thought they had been removed by builders requiring stone. Swete (1794, Journal vol.8, 44) saw many of Dartmoor's natural rock formations as having been adapted by the Druids, such as the Dartmoor rock basins. At Blackistone he found four rock basins emptying into each other; which may have been thought of as the work of Druids, but he realised it was a natural phenomenon. Swete thought that he did not know enough about the Druids to reach a conclusion. The rock basins that Swete recognised and associated with the Druids were a natural phenomenon caused by weathering of the granite (Thurlow 2001, 68).

Charles Lyttelton (1714-1768) imagined a variety of Druidical monuments across Dartmoor and in the Valley of Rocks (Somerset) (Polwhele 1797, 145). Polwhele (1797, 140) agreed that it was not an improbable suggestion made by Lyttelton that the Druid Courts of Justice were held within the stone circles at Grimspound. He was certain that rock 'idols' (piles of large rocks) were natural, but they suited the Druids, who created superstitions connected to them. The same, Polwhele thought, applied to the Logan Stone (a rocking stone on the River Teign) that could be moved with a finger but not by a person. This, he indicated was used by the Druids to evoke the spirits to have control over the population (Polwhele 1797, 147). The impression Polwhele created was that whilst he thought places could be connected to the Druids he was open-minded to other suggestions.

6.8 What do we learn from the Georgian antiquarians?

6.8.1 Introduction

Having looked at the evidence from the Georgian antiquarians two distinct themes are evident: firstly, they were collecting material for publication,

although there is some doubt about Swete; and secondly they recorded archaeological evidence. They were no longer collecting information about the genealogy of Devon's families, with the exception of Polwhele, who recorded the gentry of some parishes.

6.8.2 The method of collecting material for publication

Milles was the first Devon antiquarian who we have evidence of sending out a questionnaire to all Devon's parishes, so not only do we have the questions but we have the answers. We know he was collecting material for publication of the planned *Parochial History of Devon*, and we could possibly assume he was going to supplement the questionnaire answers with his own findings from visiting the parishes. Why he did not publish his research is not known. Milles was also the first antiquarian to visit 318 Devon parish churches and record details about the church and the parish. Milles was the only Devon antiquarian of this period to be a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Swete, as far as we know, was not collecting material for publication, although visitors to Oxton House could read his journals and view his illustrations. The question has to be asked, why did Swete undertake these 15 tours of Devon and collect all that material if he did not intend to publish, because he did publish articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*? Was it because Polwhele was working on a publication or Swete lacked the commitment to publish? Not a question that we can answer. We know Swete only quoted the Tudor antiquarian Risdon (see Chapter Five) and used Latin and Greek quotations. Swete was the first Devon antiquarian to give lectures on archaeological matters and to record details of the Devon gentry's estates and their gardens, a subject not mentioned by any other antiquarian, although Polwhele briefly mentioned Castle Hill..

Polwhele was collecting material for publication, and published the *History of Devonshire* in three parts, between 1793 and 1806. He gave the impression that he relied heavily on the 16th century antiquarians' manuscripts, and the private papers of Devon's gentry. There are few references to Polwhele actually visiting places, so how much is Polwhele's actual research is difficult to ascertain. Polwhele did reference some of his sources, but others like Milles'

research, he copied almost verbatim. He was, however, the first and only antiquarian to publish a history of Devon.

To make any kind of comparison with Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* is difficult, because although other accounts claim to be histories they are limited in their scope and coverage of the subject. The only history that could possibly be compared is *The VHC: Devonshire (1906)*. This was produced by a large number of professional people, and the introduction stated, 'former county histories are imperfect out of date', and one person could not 'deal adequately with all the varied subjects which constituted a history'; 'the work must be treated scientifically to produce completeness, and be a reference work that can be consulted' (Page 1906, vii). It is suggested that Polwhele's work did not 'realise his more ambitious attempt' as his 'chorographical descriptions of parishes' are 'meagre' (Page 1906, xxi). A.L. Rowse argued that Polwhele's work was a collection of facts not assembled anywhere else, such as the record of Devon's flora (Rowse 1977, ii).

There is one person who can be considered a recorder of the social and economic history of Devon, linking the past and the present together: W.G. Hoskins (1908-1992) (Beacham 2003, xxx). Hoskins wrote that no comprehensive history of Devon had been written since Lysons published *Magna Britannia* (1822). Hoskins set out to rectify this and to produce a book that was 'a history' of Devon, and not 'the history' (Hoskins 2003, xxxi). Hoskins consulted widely and visited all the parishes in Devon, and produced a picture of Devon as he saw it in the 1950s. Therefore, Hoskins name can be added to a long list of people who have written and provided the modern researcher with information.

Returning to the antiquarians, Oliver collected material for publication, and wrote 200 letters over nine years in the Exeter Flying Post, concerning ecclesiastical and parochial antiquities. Whilst Oliver quoted manuscripts his research is original and was not reliant on early antiquarians. He is the first to publish letters in the press on antiquities and to collate material relating to Devon's monasteries and publish his findings.

The last antiquarian in this group is Davidson, who was collecting material for publication and for his own personal satisfaction in his commonplace books. Davidson's *Notes on the Antiquities of Devonshire which Dates before the Norman Conquest* (1861) is a collection of material from 78 different sources ranging from the Devon's early antiquarians, a transcript of Leland's *Itinerary*, Donne's maps, Camden's *Britannia* (1610) and Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* (1797). Davidson's documentation of Devon churches is in away following in the footsteps of Milles, who he does not quote. This information was not published, so whether it was for his pleasure or he had hoped to publish it at some time we do not know.

All five antiquarians collected archaeological information and made assumptions about their origin, which is dealt with in the relevant chapters below. Milles was the first to provide a measured site drawing. Swete was the first to provide an illustration of an artefact and to record using Donne's map and provide site illustrations, even though they might have been altered to provide a more picturesque scene. Polwhele is rather vague about the exact location of antiquities and there are no illustrations; whereas Davidson's publications are illustrated and he makes comparisons with other sites and other writers' work.

6.8.3 Conclusions

In this chapter we are seeing a move away from writing a history of Devon through the genealogy of families to one of collecting fact in the field linked to documentary evidence. In the next chapter we will look at the Victorian antiquarians who were on the cusp of archaeology and carried out excavations.

CHAPTER 7

DEVON'S VICTORIAN ANTIQUARIANS

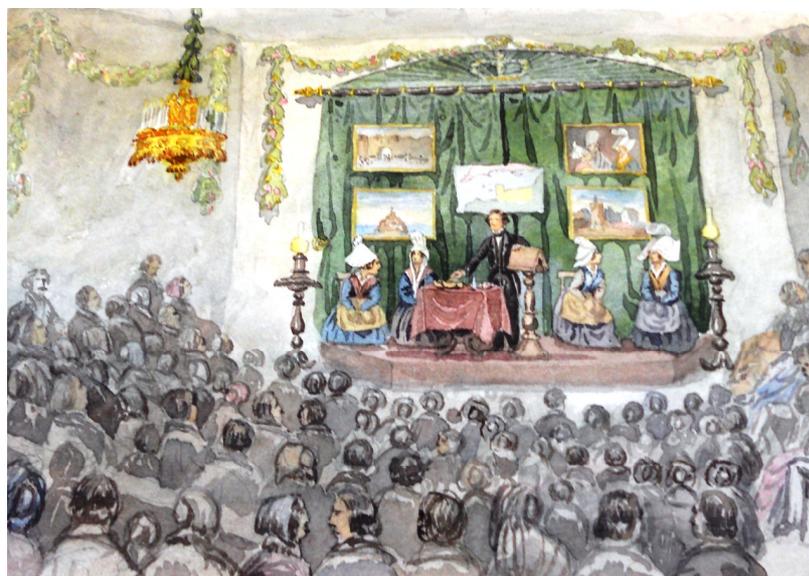


Fig 7.1: A lecture by the Victorian antiquarian Hutchinson (Hutchinson 1856, Diary vol.2, January).

7.1 Introduction

In the discussion so far we have looked at the early travellers to Devon and Devon's 16th and early 17th century and Georgian antiquarians, we now look at the Victorian antiquarians, although they could be called archaeologists because of their methods of working. We start with William Shortt (1800-1881), followed by Peter Orlando Hutchinson (1810-1897) (Fig.7.1), William Spreat (1816-1873), Richard Kirwan (1830-1872), and John Chanter (1854-1939). There is also a brief mention of William Pengelly (1812-1894). Shortt and Spreat did not undertake any excavations. Pengelly, Hutchinson, Kirwan and Chanter did in South and East and North Devon, and they all wrote reports and published their illustrated findings. They were not collecting material to write a history of Devon, but concentrating on specific aspects of Devon's archaeology.

In this chapter we are looking at the lives of these antiquarians and highlighting the various chapters where their archaeological research can be found. They documented information on barrows (see Chapter Eight), hillforts (see Chapter Nine), Romans (see Chapter Ten), castles (see Chapter Eleven), religious houses (see Chapter Twelve) and churches (see Chapter Thirteen).

These antiquarians were making comparisons in their writing with a wide range of fellow antiquarians' work and quoting European writers, although Chanter in the early 20th century was still only quoting Devon's 15th and 16th century antiquarians. Spreat, on the other hand, was an artist who published engravings of Devon's churches, many of which have since been 'restored' or totally rebuilt, and his illustrations are a unique record of what has been lost from Devon's archaeological record (see Chapter Thirteen).

7.2 Major dates in the life of William Taylor Peter Shortt 1800-1881

1800 Born in St Marylebone, London

1821 Undertook the Grand Tour

1832 Moved to Exeter

1881 Died in Heidelberg (Goodchild 1947, 230-54)

7.2.1 Introduction

William Taylor Peter Shortt undertook the Grand Tour in 1821, when he visited France, Switzerland, Rome, Florence and sites around the Bay of Naples. He was only the second Devon antiquarian to undertake a Grand Tour, the first being Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784) in the 1730s (see Chapter Six). By the 1830s he had retired from the army and become a 'gentleman of leisure', living in Exeter (Goodchild 1947, 231-2).

Shortt arrived in Exeter at the time of a large modernisation programme, with the rebuilding of private residences which changed medieval Exeter into a 'modern' [1840s] city. This allowed him to record aspects of Roman Exeter, and salvage coins and pottery from the building sites, in a period when the public, the city's authorities and builders were indifferent to their value as a historical record (Goodchild 1947, 232). Shortt left Exeter for personal reasons in 1855 and went to live in Germany, where he died in 1881 (Goodchild 1947, 254).

Shortt's aim was to publish his findings, not to establish a collection; this, he reasoned, would help scientific research. Shortt published material in the *Flying Post*, *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*. The *Western Luminary* published Shortt's material up until 1846 and the *Exeter Flying Post* until 1851 (Goodchild 1947, 234). He realised he had to make the articles appealing to the general

reader, as there was a lack of interest in Exeter's Roman history (Goodchild 1947, 232). Eventually he decided to publish the amended newspaper articles collectively, and published *Sylva Antiqua Iscana* (1841) and *Collectanea, Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia* (1842).

A consequence of Shortt's writing was that he was asked by the recently-formed British Archaeological Association (1843) to give a lecture in London on Roman Exeter, in 1849, and he illustrated his talk with examples of the coins and pottery (Goodchild 1947, 236); the first Devon antiquarian to be asked to lecture to a national society.

7.2.2 Shortt's recording methods

In *Sylva Antiqua Iscana* (1841) Shortt documented the coins and trade tokens found year by year on the Exeter building sites. He also listed the location of where hoards of Roman coins were found in Devon. Shortt (1841, 112) collected fragments of what he called 'Roman pottery' (coarse ware) and Samian ware found on Exeter building sites (see Chapter Ten). In Shortt's (1842, iv) introduction to *Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia* (1842), he wrote that the book will touch on a subject 'much neglected: the ancient camps [hillforts] of Devon' which he thought were of British origin (see Chapter Nine).

7.2.3 Review of Shortt's work

Shortt was the only antiquarian in Exeter between 1832 and 1855 to catalogue the finds from the city's rebuilding, and leaves a unique collection of Roman artefacts. There were faults in Shortt's recording methods, as he did not detail the structural remains in the City. It is difficult to decide what motivated Shortt to collect the coins and pottery, although both are held at the RAMM the only record of Shortt's observations are in his publications, as the whereabouts of his original field notebooks are unknown.

7.3 Major dates in the life of Peter Orlando Hutchinson 1810-1897

- 1810 Born in Winchester (Hampshire)
- 1865 Secretary for the Society of Antiquaries of London for Devon
- 1868 Appointed to the Devonshire Association (DA) Council
- 1880 Served on the Barrow Committee of the DA
- 1880 Served on the Domesday Committee of the DA
- 1897 Died in the Old Chancel Sidmouth (Hutchinson 1881, Diary vol. 5, November)



Fig.7.2: Peter Orlando Hutchinson (Butler 2010, frontispiece).

7.3.1 Introduction

Peter Orlando Hutchinson (Fig.7.2) was a gentleman of leisure with enough income to avoid having to follow a profession (Hutchinson 1881, Diary vol.5, November).

7.3.2 Hutchinson's Diaries

Hutchinson started his Diaries in 1848, having destroyed earlier editions, but then in 1868 (Hutchinson's Diary vol.3, November) he considered destroying them, as 'I may never refer to them as long as I live', yet he recorded the excavation of the barrows on Broad Down (Farway) in 1868. In 1871 he destroyed selected volumes, stating 'I might have retained a few entries but burnt the lot' (Hutchinson 1871, Diary vol.3, March). His last entry was on the 29 September 1894 (vol.5), when he wrote 'I have decided not to continue my

Diary any further'. The diaries are not daily diaries; they detailed the minutiae of not only life in Sidmouth, but of his travels, observations on world affairs and archaeological discoveries. They record material he copied from books and newspaper cuttings; in a way they could be described as Commonplace Books, similar to the ones kept by Davidson (see Chapter Six).

7.3.3 Diary Entries about the Devonshire Association and the Society of Antiquaries of London

Hutchinson (1872, Diary vol.3, August) joined the Devonshire Association (DA) in 1868 and his Diaries are a personal reflection on the annual meetings, the papers he read, the excursions the Association undertook, how he travelled to the meetings and where he stayed. He became a Council member of the DA and served on the Barrow Committee, and was asked to record the barrows and earthworks within a six-mile radius of Sidmouth (see Chapter Eight), and served on the Devonshire Association Domesday Committee.

In 1865 Hutchinson (1865, Diary vol.3, June) was asked by the Society of Antiquaries of London to become the Local Secretary for Devonshire, which he did for 24 years and there are references in his Diary of him writing reports, although only four printed articles survive. The background to Hutchinson's appointment was that Earl Stanhope, Chairman of the Society of Antiquaries of London, decided in 1865 to appoint a new group of local secretaries. Their duties were to regularly communicate with the Executive Committee, giving early intimation of any discoveries in their locality and answer a set of questions which was hoped would form the basis of effective archaeological research. The list of questions can be found in Appendix 7.1.

In the *Antiquaries Journal* there are four reports from Hutchinson. The first is about the opening of the barrows on Broad Down. The second is about the incense vase found on Broad Down (see Chapter 8) (Hutchinson 1867-1870, 159-61). The fourth report is a general discussion on a number of unrelated archaeological topics. The third report is detailed below.

7.3.4 The Xitherixon (Zitherixon) wooden figurine

Hutchinson's third report documented the discovery of a wooden figure (Fig.7.3) near Newton Abbot in 1867 by Pengelly (1883, 368-95), which he recorded as unique in Devon when he published his findings. Hutchinson visited the Zitherixon clay pits (named after the field name on the Kingsteignton tithe map where the wooden figure had been found) twice to make an accurate drawing (Fig.7.4); Hutchinson suggested it had been carved with flint tools because of the cut marks. The figure was 13¼ inches [0.30m] tall, with a flat face, and the suggestion of hair drawn back to a blunt point, and a long square neck with a ¼ inch [0.063cm] hole drilled through the shoulders, possibly used to attach the arms, which were missing; the body was flat, with a hollow back and short legs with knob feet and carved toes.

The figure was found 23ft [7m] below ground, resting against a blackened oak tree, and on removal had been preserved in a barrel of oil. Other items found in the vicinity were a bronze spearhead, a human humerus, the facial bones of a skull, and bones of *Bos longifrons*, ox, deer, elk and dog, a pottery pitcher handle and a greensand stone celt from the nearby River Lemon. The site plan Hutchinson sent to the Society of Antiquaries of London has been lost (pers. comm Jones 2010). Hutchinson's suggestion was an analogy in its use to that of an idol as used by savages (Hutchinson 1875, 37-41). The figure is now in the RAMM.

The anthropomorphic wooden figure that Hutchinson recorded is one of eight found in Britain. The majority lack context and association and their properties are consonant with the rituals and beliefs of a prehistoric society. There is the suggestion that their disposal in a watery context was deliberate (Coles 1998, 163). The Kingsteignton figure was carved from symbolic oak, which is said to be associated with the god Thor (Coles 1998, 168).



Fig.7.3: The wooden figure, bronze spearhead and stone celt (Hutchinson Diary 1875, vol.4, December).

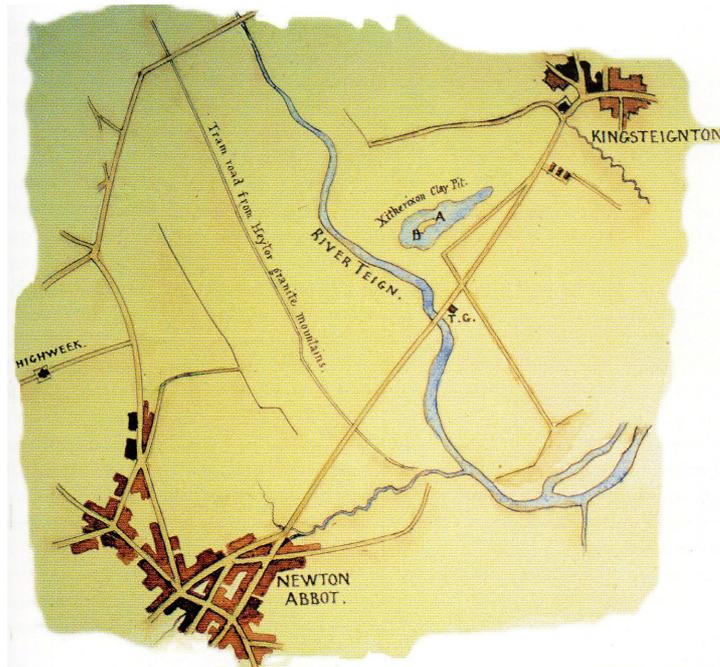


Fig.7.4: The map of the Xitherixen clay pits (Hutchinson, 1875, Diary vol. 4, December).

7.3.5 Hutchinson's lectures, maps and support for the establishment of an Exeter museum

Hutchinson (1856, Diaries vol.1, December) was a typical philanthropic Victorian giving lectures in Sidmouth about his travels to Normandy to research the Otterton cartulary (which he researched for his *History of Sidmouth* 1880). He made a map of the area, painted pictures to illustrate his talk and made costumes for the girls to wear. He also gave geological lectures (Fig.7.5) (Hutchinson 1892, Diary vol.5, August). Hutchinson (1857, Diary vol.2, June) also made his own engravings for the lithographs to produce maps such as for his Sidmouth guidebook, and archaeological plans for the hillforts surrounding Sidmouth (Fig.7.6) (see Chapter Fourteen).

Linked to Hutchinson's production of maps was his interest in the ordnance surveys which took place over the years around Sidmouth, and the bench marks (a horizontal bar cut into a stone surface with a broad arrow cut immediately below the centre of the horizontal bar) (Hutchinson 1888, Diary vol.5, March). He recorded such a mark on Newton Poppleford Church as being a broad arrow besides a copper bolt, and noted that it was 132 feet [40m] above the level of the mean tide (Hutchinson 1861, Diary vol. 2, May). Hutchinson

(1870, Diary vol.3, March) also documented the enclosure of the heaths around Sidmouth; Hutchinson was the first antiquarian to mention the enclosure of land, and to record details of Sidmouth's estates and their sale, illustrated with maps.

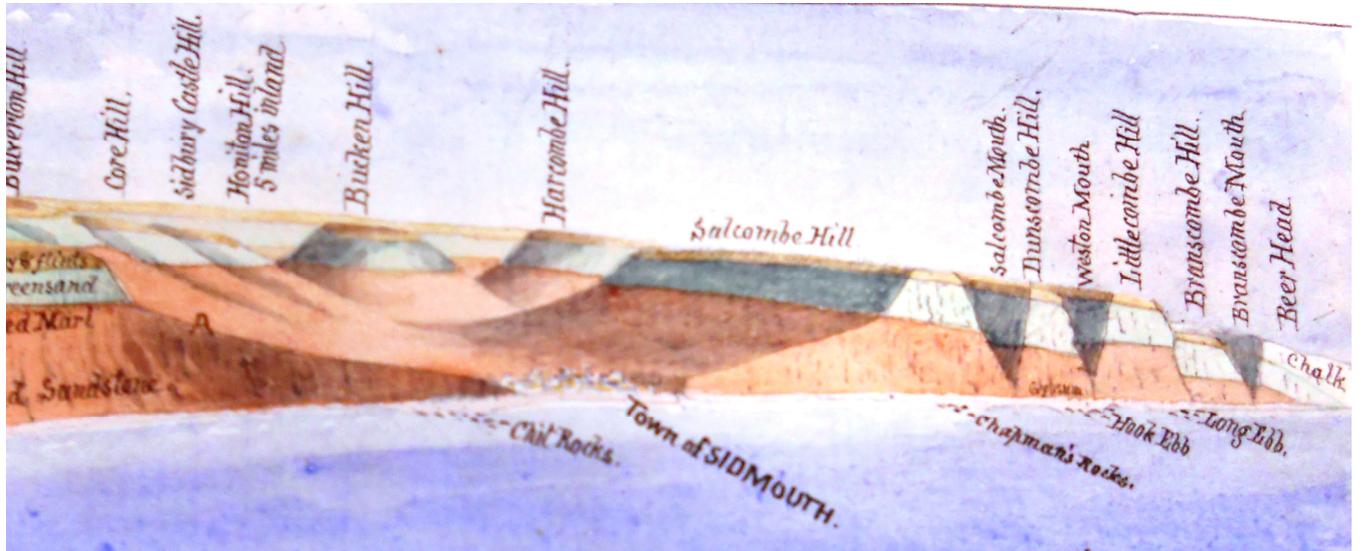


Fig.7.5: Geological sketch of the Sidmouth coast (History of Sidmouth 1880, vol. 1, 7).

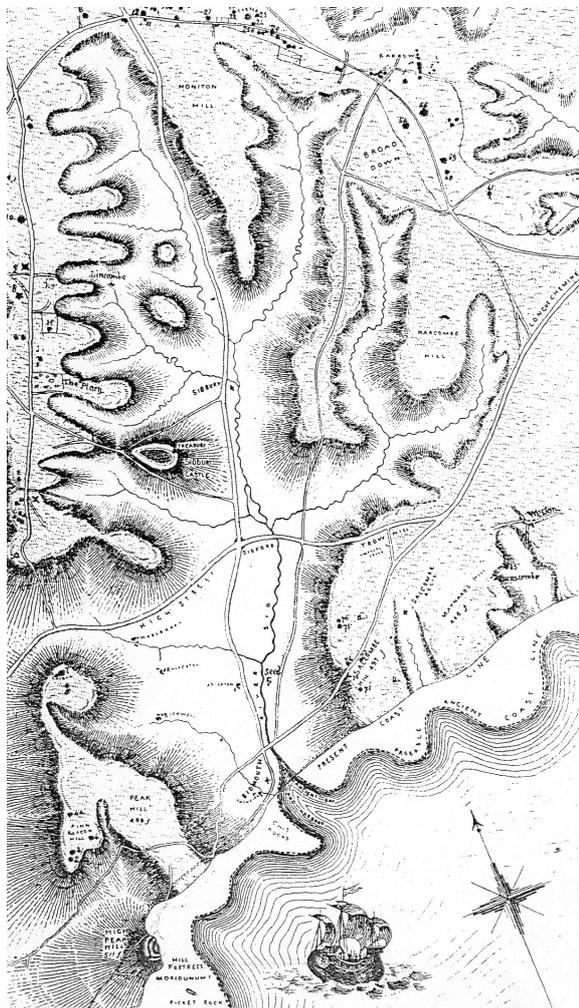


Fig.7.6: Hutchinson's engraved map of Sidmouth (History of Sidmouth 1880, opp.68).

Hutchinson's Diary (1849, vol.1, December) records the support he gave to the Exeter museum, starting with a letter in the *Worthies* [an Exeter newspaper] in 1849 about there being no museum in Exeter for the preservation of the local antiquities. The background to this is that in 1813 the Devon and Exeter Institute was opened, with the aim of promoting science, literature and art, and to establish a library and museum, although the former flourished and the later failed. In 1861 on the death of Prince Albert, Sir Stafford Northcote, a Devon MP proposed the establishment of a memorial to Prince Albert in the form of a Museum; it was opened in 1868 and was granted royal status in 1899 (www.rammuseum.org.uk).

By 1870 the Exeter papers reported that the custody of the Exeter Museum had been transferred to the Exeter Town Council and there would now be free admission; formerly it had been one penny (Hutchinson 1870, Diary vol.3, April). Hutchinson visited the museum to enquire about the safety of manuscripts and books in their possession, as he had visited the British Museum for over 40 years in the course of research and seen 'much mischief done', with pages cut out of books by people too lazy to copy them, but if manuscripts' and books' safety was guaranteed he thought he would leave his papers to the museum (Hutchinson 1872, Diary vol.4, March).

He commented that he hoped the people of Exeter and strangers would appreciate the museum, as Exeter citizens were complaining about the penny in the pound rate for its upkeep (Hutchinson 1881, Diary vol.5, February). He noted in his Diary the collection of Palaeolithic flint and chert 'implements' [axes] collected from the gravel pits at Broom (Axminster) in the museum. Later, railway navvies collected the axes from the gravel used on the railways and sold them for a £1 each (Hutchinson 1882, Diary vol.5, May).

Over the years Hutchinson (1877, Diary vol.4, July) donated assemblages to the museum which formed the basis of their collections, beginning with 100 worked flints found on the hills around Sidmouth, which were all catalogued, fragments of tesserae, and Roman material from Honeyditches and the Uplyme Villa. He also gave a collection of fossil ichthyosaur vertebrae collected by his cousin and Dr Buckland from the

Chudleigh Cavern, and his own collection (Hutchinson 1848, Diaries vol.1, December; Hutchinson 1881, Diary vol.5, June).

7.3.6 The building of the Old Chancel

Sidmouth Parish Church underwent a programme of restoration from 1858, and Hutchinson (1859, Diary vol.2, December) bought the disused chancel at a cost of £45, which he rebuilt and enlarged on his land (Fig.7.7). The recording of this engaged Hutchinson, as seen in his Diary entries from 1859 onwards, and was originally built to house his collection of artefacts and library, but later became his home. He bought a window from Awliscombe Church when they were carrying out 'modernisation' (Hutchinson 1863, Diary vol.3, December) and tesserae from Musbury church (Hutchinson's Diary vol.2, July).



Fig.7.7: *The Old Chancel Sidmouth (1851 Sketch Book).*

7.3.7 Hutchinson's published and unpublished material

Hutchinson (1857, Diary vol.2, May) was asked by Lethaby, the Sidmouth publishers, to produce a guidebook about Sidmouth, the first antiquarian to do this. Although Hutchinson did not want to include the same information as he had written for his *History of Sidmouth* (1880).

7.3.8 A History of Sidmouth

At the 1877 Annual Meeting of the DA Hutchinson (1877, 292-5) read his paper entitled *A Scheme for a History of Devonshire* in which he explained how this

could be achieved. He quoted past writers' research, such as Daniel Lysons' (1762-1834) *Magna Britannia* (1822) as being a 'stupendous monument of industry' but lacking in detailed research, and praised Richard Polwhele's (1760-1838) *History of Devonshire* (1793-1806). He noted the contributions made by Devon's writers, Sir William Pole's *Survey of Devonshire* (1617), Thomas Westcote's *The View of Devonshire* (c.1630), Tristram Risdon's *Survey of Devon* (c.1632), Richard Izacke's *Memorials* (1677) and George Oliver's (1781-1861) *Monasticon Exoniensis* (1846), towards the collection of information about Devon's history. Hutchinson's proposal was for an illustrated history of each parish to be written, with a map (Fig.7.8).

Brooking Rowe (1882, 41-43) thought that no history of the 'Hundred, the Deanery, the Parish' in Devon had yet been written and published. By this he meant not just adding a few new facts to old material. He wanted someone to 'write the history of Devon who would trace its origins, whilst preserving its individuality', as a 'part of the Empire'. Sidmouth, Brooking Rowe thought, was fortunate in having Hutchinson, who had produced an outline for *A Scheme for a History of Devonshire* (1877). If every parish could find such a man as Hutchinson to write their history then Devon really would have a 'real county history'.

Fig.7.8: Map of the environs of Sidmouth (Hutchinson History of Sidmouth 1880, vol.1, 1).

Hutchinson (*History of Sidmouth* 1880, vol.1, 10) wrote 'history is a record of facts, historians need to weigh well what they set down, lest carelessness or inadvertent he should make a statement which will not be afford the test of a close scrutiny'. Volume One contained a descriptions of the barrows, hillforts, the Roman sites and castles around East Devon. It listed all the coins found in the Sidmouth area, which Hutchinson argued could indicate where there had been historic activity, especially in the case of the Roman coins (*History of Sidmouth* 1880, vol.1, 110). The definition of the different historic periods, about which Hutchinson (*History of Sidmouth* 1880, vol.1, 25) wrote:

'On approaching the Historic Period we come nearer to authentic records conveyed by writing. No doubt hill fortress, tumuli, flint flakes, and bronze celts are records; but as they preceded literature, they have been regulated to the pre-historic period. And even whilst I write, this indefinite period has been extended in time, and subdivided into more numerous compartments. What was once the Stone Age became the Rough Stone and the Polished Stone or the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic; which more recently have ramified into the Palaeolithic or drift; 2, the cave period; 3, the tumuli period; and the Neolithic. The more we look back through these periods into geology, the more infinite does space of time appear which has preceded us, until its vastness at last becomes too great for the mind to take in'.

Although this is a long quotation it does show Hutchinson's awareness of the thinking of the time, and his willingness to accept it. He is the only antiquarian to make these observations. Hutchinson (1849, *Diary* vol.1, January) read the Bible and wrote that the Bible was not there to teach us chronology, geology or astronomy with modern scientific reasoning. He continued his argument by writing 'who are we to dispute James Ussher's (1581-1656) chronology, but the Bible does not say how long ago the earth was created; geology has taught us that it happened before Adam was on earth, and there is nothing in the Bible to dispute this'. This suggested that Hutchinson knew the reasoning behind Ussher's dating of the Creation and had possibly read Ussher's *Annalium pars posterior* (1654).

Volume Two documented the history of the Otterton Cartulary, the estates of the Sidmouth Manor, and the pedigree and estates of local families still living in Sidmouth [1880]. Volume Three detailed the 1839 landslip between Axmouth and Lyme Regis [for which Hutchinson wrote *A Guide to the Land-slip near Axmouth* 1840], and parish affairs. Volume Four discussed the architecture of Sidmouth Church, and listed various chapels in the parish which had been destroyed or were still standing. Volume Five described the history of Sidmouth's old maps, and had pictures of all Sidmouth's principal houses of the late 1800s, many now destroyed.

The volumes are indexed, with quotations from John Leland's (1503-1552) *Itinerary*, William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (1695), Nicholas Tindal's (1687-1774) translation of Rapin's *History of England* (1737), William Blackstone's (1723-1780) *An Analysis of the Laws of England* Thomas Rymer's *Foedera* (1756), Richard Gough's (1735-1809) *Alien Priories* (1779), George Oliver's (1781-1861) *Historic collections relating to the Monasteries of Devon* (1820), James Davidson's (1793-1864) observations, George Pulman's (1819-1880) *Book of the Axe* (1875) and articles in *Antiquaries Journal* and *Archæologia*. He used Colonel Madge's maps stating they were an 'admirable specimen of surveying and engraving for the period', and of Donn's maps (1765), 'credible, but only for the principal roads' and Greenwood's maps (1827) of '1" to the mile scale' (*History of Sidmouth* 1880, vol.3, 91). The only antiquarian to record using maps, except for a brief reference by Swete (see Chapter Seven).

Although Hutchinson (1881, Diary vol.5, October) did not publish his *History of Sidmouth*, sections were printed in *The Sid Vale Monthly and Shopper Guide* between January 1934 and December 1940, however, they did not name Hutchinson as the editor (Anon 1934-1940).

7.3.9 Hutchinson's obituary

Hutchinson's obituary was written by the Rev. Clements (1903, 341) and read at the Devonshire Association Annual Meeting held at Sidmouth in 1903.

Clements is rather dismissive of Hutchinson's archaeological research by writing 'he had dabbled in geology, natural history and antiquities', but on the

other hand he praised him for his publications, the *Sidmouth Guide Book* (1879), and *A Guide to the Landslip near Axmouth* (1840). As for Hutchinson's *History of Sidmouth* (1880), Clements (1903, 349) wrote he would not refer to it because sections had been published. He could not furnish the meeting with 'any sort of bibliography' of Hutchinson's published work, but he did not think 'they would be numerous' [in fact he wrote 15 articles for the Devonshire Association alone]. Hutchinson's contribution to the Devonshire Association was recognised, and that he had produced the index for the Transactions for 20 years (Clements 1903, 350).

Lineham (1982, 36), on the other hand, presented a positive picture of Hutchinson's life, detailing his writing and archaeological interests. She thought this notable Sidmouthian deserved to be recognised because few small towns can have such a scholarly account of their past (Lineham 1982, 36). Although his *History of Sidmouth* was always known about in Sidmouth, his Diaries and sketchbooks were not located until 1980 (Lineham 1982, 4-6).

7.3.10 Hutchinson's contribution to East Devon's archaeology

Hutchinson's interest in archaeology came from a curiosity about the geology of Sidmouth. His Diaries document the date of the first 'archaeological expedition' he undertook each year, and he listed the equipment he took (Hutchinson 1869, Diary vol.3, April). This included maps, books, memorandum books, measuring rod, tapes, compass, pickaxe, spade and prodding iron, telescope, quadrant, micrometer, photozincography (method of producing, by photographic methods, a design on a zinc plate from which prints could be taken), camera (yet he made no comments about the pictures he took except to say the results were of poor quality), an apomecometer (object for measuring distances); he also made a sympiesometer (a form of barometer) and a water level from two bottles connected by a thin tube placed on a pole. The fluid used was water and indigo ink, and by looking along the edges of the bottles at distant objects their relative levels could be assessed (Hutchinson 1869, Diary vol. 3, April).

Hutchinson recorded in his Diaries clear and concise archaeological information, of when he visited a site, returned to check on his facts and gather

more information. He was critical of people digging too many barrows in a day, because that meant they were not examined systematically and recorded. When publishing material Hutchinson (*History of Sidmouth* 1880, vol. 5, 26) usually included a map of the area, the first antiquarian to do so, a site plan, section drawings, descriptions and as he wrote, 'I am a great advocate for sketches and plans, as at a glance a picture will give a clear idea of a thing or place better than a verbal description'. Hutchinson documented 33 sites, consisting of hillforts and earthworks (see Appendix 7.2)

7.3.11 A reflection on Hutchinson's life

When we look at Hutchinson's life through his Diaries we are presented with a polymath and a picture of Victorian life between 1848 and 1894. How he developed his Diary entries into letters to the press, articles in the *RTDA*, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London and *History of Sidmouth*; and his gifts to the RAMM and the Exeter Institute. However, all these examples only provide a brief snapshot of the true depth of his knowledge. During his lifetime there was a move away from antiquarians using documentary sources to a combination of both documents and fieldwork; and not 'attacking' barrows for treasure but recording and noting the position of grave goods, which he did.

Possibly, because Hutchinson had no family distractions he researched the *History of Sidmouth* so completely. Hutchinson was recognised amongst his contemporaries in archaeological research. In his lifetime he was quoted by Davidson, who copied large sections of Hutchinson's *Guide to Sidmouth* into his 1852 Commonplace Book. Pulman, the author of *The Book of the Axe* (1875) wrote 'Hutchinson was the local authority on antiquarian matters' (Pulman 1875, 61). Besides this, Pulman quoted from Hutchinson's *The Geology of Sidmouth and of South-East Devon* (1843) with regard to the effect of rivers and their ability to carry material downstream, especially the teeth of the '*Elephas primigenius*' found in the River Sid (Pulman 1875, 6-8).

Hutchinson mixed with influential Devon archaeologists, notably Pengelly, who excavated the Torquay caverns, and Buckland, who collected fossils. Hutchinson did collect objects of antiquarian interest, all of which he gave to the RAMM. With regards to archaeology, Hutchinson observed and

recorded the stratification of objects and only carried out excavations to answer specific questions. His reputation came to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of London for his work and his contribution to the DA. Some of the sites he recorded have been lost, such as Belbury Castle (Ottery St Mary) (see Chapter Nine).

7.4 William Pengelly 1812-1894

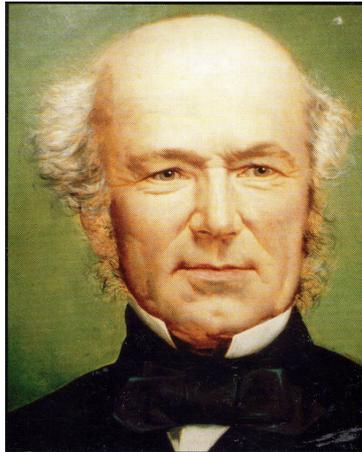


Fig.7.9: William Pengelly (Warren and Rose 1994, front-cover).

7.4.1 Introduction

The rationale for not including the work of William Pengelly (Fig.7.9) is because a whole thesis could be devoted to his archaeological discoveries and his contribution to the formation of the Devonshire Association (see Chapter Three). Hester Forbes Julian (Pengelly's daughter) published in the *RTDA* three detailed reports of his excavations and discoveries at Brixham and Kent's Caverns and his scientific work (1912, 157-91; 1913, 423-44 and 1915, 257-84).

There follows a brief résumé of his contribution to Devon's archaeological history. Pengelly's principal interests were geology, palaeontology and later archaeology. He moved to Torquay in the 1830s, and in 1844 founded the Torquay Natural History Society. He was a member of the Geological Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Wootton 2012, 18). Pengelly mixed with all the influential people of the period, including Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Charles Lyell (1797-1875).

7.4.2 Pengelly's contribution to Devon's archaeological history

Pengelly carried out the excavation of Windmill Hill (Brixham Caves) between 1858 and 1859, to study the possibilities of stratification of extinct faunal remains. His notebooks document the location of bones and stone tools within each stratum. Pengelly's excavation methods were both vertical (by stratum at a measured depth) and horizontal (by distance from the entrance) (Warren and Rose 1994, 9-11). The excavations broke through the stalagmite floor allowing the examination of the beds beneath, always being careful to avoid mixing the different layers. This method ensured the removal of all the fossils (bones) and cross-contamination, and could be seen as a three-dimensional approach, linked to section drawings and plans (Figs 7.10-7.11). It ensured the correct identification of human and animal bones in the different beds (Warren and Rose 1994, 13-4).

In 1845 Sir Lawrence Palk granted Pengelly permission to explore Kent's Cavern to collect fossils for the proposed Torquay Natural History Museum (Born 1994, 48). Here Pengelly refined his excavation techniques to answer scientific questions by exploring the spatial and geological relationship of the different layers (Warren and Rose 1994, 31). These excavations were designed to test the validity of MacEnery's discoveries of extinct animal and human bones in the same layers, which they did. MacEnery explorations of Kent's Cavern in 1825 revealed evidence of flint implements and extinct animal bones together, which demonstrated to MacEnery the coexistence of animals and man at a remote period, and certainly before Ussher's suggested date (Daniel 1952, 35). His ideas were dismissed by Buckland who suggested they dated to the Romano-British period. Pengelly established that water had entered the cavern through the roof, and that man and now-extinct animals had entered the cavern through the entrance. He discovered human remains, bronze artefacts, pottery, spindle whorls and worked flints in the same deposits as animal bones and teeth of mammoth and cave bear (Pengelly 1884, 193-202). Over 20 mammalian species were found, along with worked tools. The significance of Pengelly's discoveries was fully recognised and the antiquity of man accepted (Julian 1913, 429-41). Pengelly documented his discoveries and published his findings along with over 65 articles for *RTDA* between 1863 and 1887.

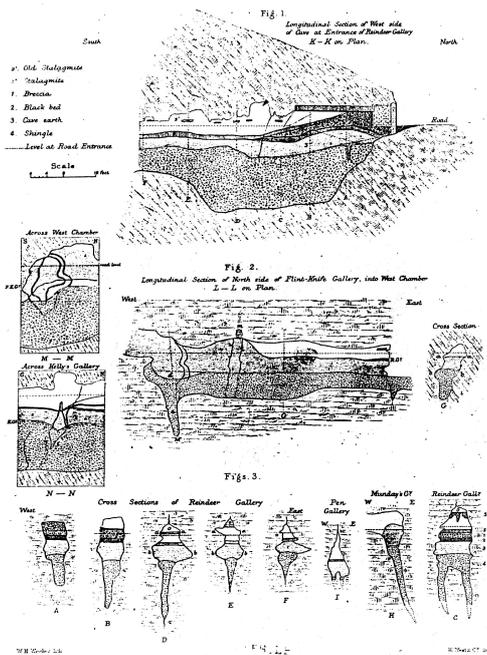


Fig.7.10: Section drawing from Brixham Cave (Warren and Rose 1994, 20).

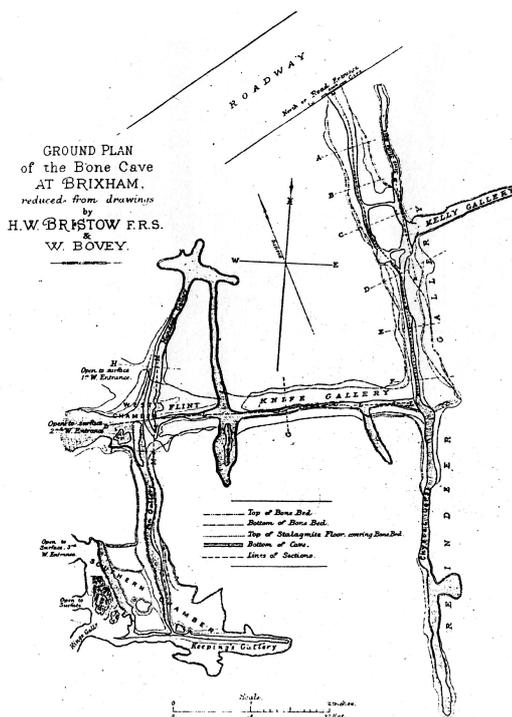


Fig.7.11: The ground plan of Brixham Cave (Warren and Rose 1993, 21).

7.5 Major dates in the life of William Spreat 1816-1873

1816 Born in Exeter

1873 Died

As far as it can be ascertained images and text about Spreat's life cannot be traced. William Spreat was the son of William Spreat, an Exeter bookseller and

publisher, which on his father's death he took over (Spreat 1842, i). Spreat's *Picturesque Sketches of the Churches of Devon* (1842) has 74 lithographs of the exterior and interior of Devon's churches (see Chapter Thirteen). In the introduction, Spreat wrote that the book was to fulfil the increased interest in 'Ecclesiastical Edifices' and Societies that had been formed to look at church architecture. It was not his intention to enter into architectural discussions, or 'recall the good and the great under the pavements' where nothing remains except a tablet (Spreat 1842, i). Spreat also produced the engravings for James Davidson's (1793-1864) publications.

7.6 Major dates in the life of Richard Kirwan 1830-1872

1830 Born in Boulogne (France)

1866 Member of the Devonshire Association (DA)

1870 Appointed to the Council of the DA

1871 Made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London

1872 Died off Sidmouth Beach by drowning (Anon 1873, 35-38)

7.6.1 Introduction

Richard Kirwan's obituary described him as keen to 'promote the growth of scientific and philosophical study' (Anon 1873, 35-36). Kirwan joined the DA, becoming the local secretary for East Devon, and was appointed a Council member. He was made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1871, the second Devon antiquarian to be elected, the first being Jeremiah Milles (1714-1784) in 1771. The Society has no record of Kirwan's papers (pers. comm. Jones, 2010). So what, or who, influenced Kirwan's research into archaeology is unclear because of the lack of personal papers. Did he carry out the exploration of antiquities because it was expected of the clergy at that time (Sweet 2004, 56), or because he was genuinely interested?

7.6.2 Kirwan's archaeological activities

Kirwan was a leading Devon antiquarian, because of his barrow excavations (see Chapter Eight). His work was recognised at a national level through his contributions to the *Archaeological Journal* and to the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Kirwan's writings show a deep understanding of

archaeologically-related literature, and how he sought to reconcile them with his findings and theories.

The influence of writers on antiquities both in England and abroad can be seen in Kirwan's writing, with references to Sven Nilsson's (1787-1883) *The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia* (1868), Sir Richard Colt Hoare's (1758-1838) *Ancient History of Wiltshire* (1812-19), Jens Worsaae's (1821-1885) *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark* (1834), Thomas Bateman's (1821-1861) *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* (1848-9), Sir John Lubbock's (1834-1913) *Prehistoric Times* (1865), Charles Warne's (1801-1887) *The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset* (1866), Canon Greenwell's (1820-1918) *British Barrows* (1877), Ferdinand Keller's (1800-1881) *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland* (1878), Llewellyn Jewitt's (1816-1886) *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (1878), James Davidson's personal advice and by articles in *British Archaeological Journal* to support his prehistoric ideas and theories. It is interesting to note there are no references to the 16th century writings of Leland and Hooker and to the 18th century Polwhele about Devon's antiquities. This copious use of references showed Kirwan's need to validate his theories.

7.6.3 Published articles

With the lack of manuscript material, it is necessary to rely on Kirwan's published articles, which recorded how he carried out his excavations and reached his conclusions about the dating of barrows and their grave goods. Between 1866 and 1872 he published seven articles in the *RTDA*, which he adapted for three articles in the *Archaeological Journal*, illustrated with drawings of barrows' sections and artefacts. His articles have the recurring theme of the excavations of the barrows at Broad Down (Farway), Thorverton and Upton Pyne (see Chapter Eight).

Grinsell (1983, 6) thought that Kirwan was abreast of archaeological thought and literature of the time, and his defects of lacking excavation techniques were to some extent offset by Hutchinson who recorded the barrows' structure, the artefacts, and searched the spoil heaps for anything that the workmen could have missed at Broad Down. Kirwan (1869, 278-81) presented a paper in March 1869 to the Society of Antiquaries of London about

the exploration of Broad Down, which was subsequently recorded in their journal; the second Devon antiquarian to present a paper, the first being Milles in the 18th century.

7.6.4 Excavation and exploration of barrows

As the local secretary for the DA, Kirwan (1868, 619-49) organised the summer excursion of 1868 to Broad Down for the excavations, of three barrows, which offered Kirwan his chance to be seen as a prominent player in the work of the DA. Sir John Duke Coleridge, the DA president, requested Kirwan to write an account of the barrows' excavations for the *RTDA*, because the 'disinterment of such remains in Devon is rare'. Kirwan (1868, 619) wrote that the barrows supplied a link in the prehistoric archaeology of this county.

7.6.5 A reflection on Kirwan's life

Kirwan's contribution to the archaeology of Devon needs to be recognised because of his description of barrows' construction, and the artefacts he found. His referencing of articles to prove his theories or make comparisons is noteworthy amongst his fellow antiquarians. Kirwan, like others of the day, was hesitant to make definite decisions about the date of the sites he excavated, although he did, with references to Bateman who used Christian Thompsen's Three-Age theory classification in his *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire* (1848). Kirwan made comparisons with the excavations carried out by Keller at the Swiss Lake Villages and the carbonised seed he found at the Upton Pyne barrows' excavations. However, there are shortcomings, with a lack of maps, plans and drawings of his excavation, as Hutchinson only produced illustrations for Kirwan's work on Broad Down.

7.7 Major dates in the life of John Frederick Chanter 1853-1939

- 1853 Born in Barnstaple
- 1901 Joined the Devonshire Association (DA)
- 1905 Served on the Church Plate Committee of the DA
- 1906 Served on the Barrow Committee of the DA
- 1913 Elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London
- 1917 Honorary Archivist of Exeter Cathedral
- 1925 Served on the Ancient Monuments committee, and acted as a local correspondent and Recorder for the DA
- 1929 Served on the Parish History section of the DA
- 1939 Died in Exmouth (Devon) (Anon 1939, 23-5)

7.7.1 Introduction

John Frederick Chanter was a member of the DA council for 35 years, becoming the President in 1925; he served on the Barrow Committee, Church Plate Committee, Ancient Monument Committee and Parochial History Committee. Chanter was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1919, the third person in Devon, the first being Milles and the second Kirwan, but the Society has no record of his papers (pers. comm. Jones, 2010). Although little is known of him outside North Devon, Chanter's contribution to Devon's archaeology needs to be recognised for the work he carried out with Robert Hansford Worth on the recording of the Exmoor stone monuments along the Devon-Somerset borders, and for excavating the barrows surrounding Parracombe (see Chapter Eight).

7.7.2 Chanter's recording of Devon's church plate

Chanter was a member of the DA's Church Plate Committee from 1907-1924, which was established to determine the amount of church plate held in Devon's churches. Chanter documented, weighed, recorded the hallmarks, and took photographs of all Devon's church silver; although he did not mention Milles melting down Exeter's Cathedral plate in 1772 (see Chapter Six). Chanter was the only antiquarian to carry out such a survey.

7.7.3 The recording of inscribed stones

Milles and Polwhele briefly documented the location of Devon's inscribed stones, which Chanter later detailed (Figs.7.12; 7.13). These brief descriptions do not warrant a chapter. Chanter (1913, 481-82) listed ten inscribed stones in Devon.

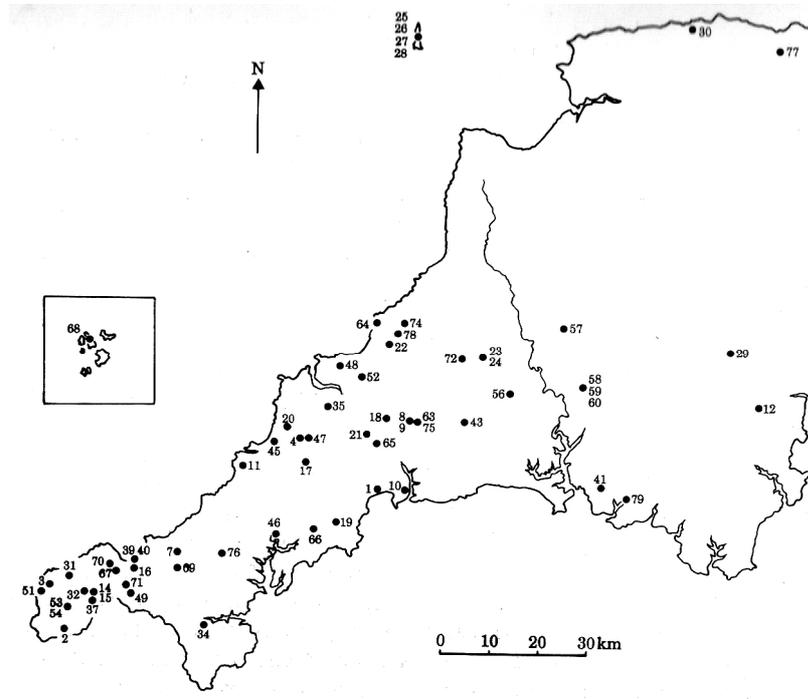


Fig.7.12: Distribution map of Devon's inscribed stones, numbers are in the text (Okasha 1993, 4).

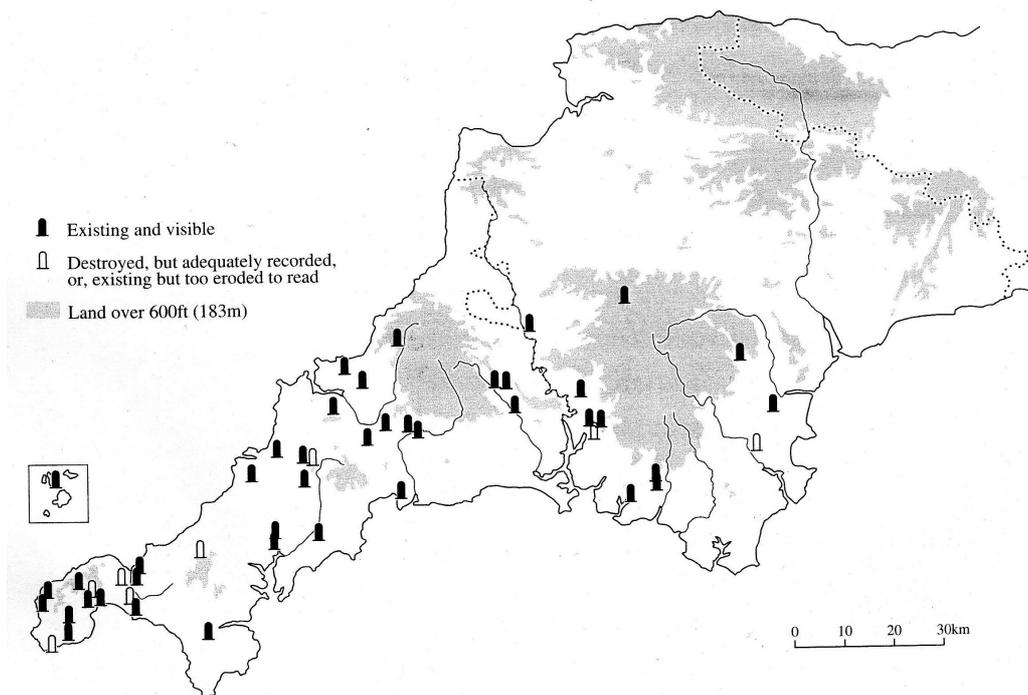


Fig.7.13: Existing and visible inscribed stones (Thomas 1999, 83).

Buckland Monachorum (6; 59)

Polwhele (1797, 152) recorded the upright inscribed pillar stone at Buckland Monachorum adjacent to the churchyard; the stone was removed to Tavistock vicarage garden (Okasha 1993, 274-6). The proximity to the churchyard suggests it could have been from the graveyard and probably dates to the 6th century (Pearce 1982, 4).

Fardel (Ivybridge) (61)

The Fardel Stone was found in 1861 lying across Fardel Brook; and later, in 1861, presented to the British Museum (Chanter 1910, 481; Okasha 1993, 103-6).

Lundy (1,2,3,4)

Chanter (1910, 482) recorded that an inscribed pillar-stone had been found on Lundy when workmen were digging St Anne's Oratory; dated to the 6th century. Okasha (1993, 154-66) recorded four stones on Lundy as being discovered in 1905 and between 1961 and 1962, which were moved to the enclosing bank of Beacon Hill Cemetery in 1981.

Lustleigh (29)

Milles (1747-1762, 83) recorded at Lustleigh Church a red sandstone inscribed threshold-stone, the same as Polwhele (1797, 152) recorded. The stone was removed to inside the church in 1979 (Okasha 1993, 167-8).

Lynton (30)

Chanter (1913, 275) found the inscribed pillar known as the Cavudus Stone in 1913, used as a gatepost, which he argued could only have been in the present position since 1861, when Lynton Common was enclosed (Fig.7.14). Chanter (1910, 480) saw it as a Christian symbol, and suggested it was situated on the very edge of the tradition that was part of the culture connecting Cornwall, Wales and Brittany, indicative of a wealthy aristocratic class in the process of converting to Christianity (Riley and Wilson-North 2001, 86-87). The stone was moved in 1913 to Six Acre Farm at Lynton (Chanter 1913, 275; Okasha 1993, 171-2).



Fig.7.14: The Cavudus Stone at Six Acre Farm (Source: author).

Tavistock (58; 60)

Chanter (1910, 481) recorded an inscribed stone at the site of Tavistock Abbey, that was lifted from the pavement outside the parish church and placed in the vicarage garden in 1780 (Okasha 1993, 271).

7.7.4 Conclusions on the inscribed stones

Chanter (1910, 481) saw the inscribed stones as a record of Christianity in Devon, whilst Okasha (1993, 3) thought they were the only evidence of literacy in the southwest before the 9th and 10th century. Twenty stones were originally recorded in Devon, of which ten are now lost, which Chanter did not list. Many of the pillar stones could have been commemorative and moved from their original site and became used as posts (Okasha 1993, 4). Pearce (1980) on the otherhand presented a different argument; she suggested they defined estate boundaries. Therefore we need to go back and review the evidence of individual stones that the antiquarians recorded. The Tavistock inscribed pavement stone's proximity to the church suggested it came originally from the graveyard. If this is the case then it can be argued that the minster church is on the site of an Early Christian graveyard. If this is correct the conclusion can be made that Tavistock's former minster estate of AD981 was set up by landholders who established the original graveyard around AD500 and set up the inscribed stone (Pearce 1982, 4).

It is suggested that the inscribed Buckland Monachorum stone originally came from the graveyard and was indicative of a Christian centre, probably dating to the 6th century (Pearce 1982, 4). Again we have a sequence of a post-Roman estate with a graveyard becoming a minster estate and a parish. The Lustleigh stone is associated with a round enclosed graveyard of the Early Christian form, and there is reason to suppose that Lustleigh was the estate referred to by King Alfred in his will of 880, again possibly indicative of an ancient estate (Pearce 1982, 7). These suggestions by Pearce present another dimension to the arguments about the origins of the inscribed stones, but, if it were not for Milles, Polwhele and Chanter, this information would have been lost (see Appendix 7.3).

7.7.5 Chanter's research

Chanter quoted from John Hooker's (1527-1601) manuscripts, William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (1586) and John Speed's (1552-1629) writings and maps, the 16th century antiquarians' writings of Westcote's *View of Devonshire* (c.1630), Risdon's *Survey of Devon* (c.1632), and the 18th century Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* (1797-1806). He did not use the 19th century writers that Kirwan quoted (see above). Chanter made no contributions to any national *Archaeological Journal*. His archaeological research was carried out at a very local area around Parracombe, although he travelled around Devon documenting the church silver, he made no observation of the antiquities he saw in the landscape.

7.8 What do we learn from the antiquarians?

7.8.1 Introduction

Having looked at this group of antiquarian's three distinct themes are evident: firstly, with the exception of Shortt and Spreat, they carried out excavations, secondly, they published their illustrated findings, and thirdly, Shortt, Hutchinson, and Kirwan were involved at a national level with archaeology, as well as locally, the same as Chanter. We are now seeing, for the first time, more secular than clerical antiquarians; neither Shortt or Hutchinson or Spreat had the clerical connections which Kirwan and Chanter did. They were not collecting material to publish a history of Devon, although Hutchinson suggested how this

could be achieved. We are seeing a move away from parochial archaeology to national archaeology.

7.8.2 Excavations

Pengelly was the first to carry out excavations in 1858 in Kent's Caverns followed by Hutchinson in 1868, both carried out methodical excavations recording the location and stratification of the site, method of excavation and the artefacts. Hutchinson wrote that he was careful not to disturb the different layers as later archaeologists would not be able to understand the sequences. Kirwan, on the other hand, used labourers to carry out his excavation on Broad Down and he relied on Hutchinson to sort through the spoil heaps to retrieve artefacts. Chanter provided detailed descriptions of the barrows, their latitude and longitude, the first antiquarian to give this information, measurements, and method of excavation, counter plans of the hillforts and the historic perspective of earlier writers.

7.8.3 Publication

Shortt published two illustrated books and articles in the Exeter newspapers, while Hutchinson was the first to produce illustrated guide books, giving examples of what has since been lost, such as the enclosure of Mutters Moor (Sidmouth). Spreat produced books for ecclesiastical tourists, depicting churches, which in many cases illustrates what has been lost from the archaeological record, such as at Bicton (see Chapter Thirteen).

Hutchinson published illustrated excavation reports, and site maps, and articles, such as the discovery of a 'Fossil Elephant Tooth', in *RTDA* from 1868 until 1885: in all he published 15 articles in the *RTDA*. He also published illustrated reports in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1849), *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1862) and in *Archaeologia* (1865). Hutchinson was unique in that he illustrated his unpublished *History of Sidmouth* (1880) with coloured illustrations of barrow sections, hillforts, artefacts and maps, the first antiquarian as far as we know to do this.

Kirwan relied on Hutchinson for the illustrations, except at Upton Pyne where he drew the artefacts. He published his illustrated reports in the

Archaeological Journal in 1867, 1869 and 1872, and six articles in the *RTDA* between 1868 and 1872. Chanter published his illustrated archaeological articles in the DA 'Barrow Committee Reports'; in all he published 19 articles and this does not include his committee reports, but he did not publish nationally.

7.8.4 Involvement at a national level

Milles was the first Devon antiquarian to be involved at a national level in 1741 with the Society of Antiquaries of London, and then over a hundred years later, in 1865, Hutchinson became the local Devon secretary for the Society of Antiquaries of London; while Kirwan was made a Fellow in 1871 and Chanter in 1919. Both Hutchinson and Kirwan published in *Archaeologia*, but other reports they sent to the Society have been lost, and there is no record of any papers by Chanter (pers comms 2010, Jones).

7.8.5 Involvement at a local level

With the formation of the DA in 1862 and the yearly *RTDA*, Hutchinson, Kirwan and Chanter had a vehicle for publication that was not available to earlier antiquarians. Hutchinson, Kirwan and Chanter must have influenced the Devonshire Association's policy as they were all members of the Council, which was discussed in Chapter Three.

7.9 Conclusions

In the discussion so far, the research has focused upon the lives of the Devon's antiquarians from the 16th century into the early 20th century, where we have seen a move away from solely documentary research to field observation and excavations. The early antiquarians relied on documentary evidence, frequently copying each others research, which to a degree was still occurring in the Georgian period; although now there was a move towards touring the county and observing firsthand the antiquities in the landscape. We see for the first time the collecting of information from questionnaires and correspondence. With the Victorian antiquarians we are provided with detailed excavation reports, especially from Kirwan, Hutchinson and Chanter, which are linked to documentary evidence sourced from writers outside the county and on the continent.

7.10 Summary of the antiquarians' research methods

Change was a phenomenon that all the antiquarians witnessed; and we have seen this when we reviewed the travellers who visited Devon and the lives of the Devon antiquarians. Whilst this thesis does not discuss the historical background of the antiquarians it is worth remembering they all lived through periods of turbulence. Worcestre (1415-1482) travelled through Devon during the War of the Roses (1455-85) and Leland (1503-1552) during the period of the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-1541), witnessing the effects this had on the population.

When we look at Devon's 16th and 17th century antiquarians, Hooker (1527-1601) lived through the Prayer Book Rebellion in Exeter, and Prince (1643-1723) through the Civil War. All the antiquarians lived through religious differences, with changes to the Church doctrine, new ways of worshipping and the layout of the church, the enclosure of the land, new agriculture practices, and social revolution. All this must have impacted on the antiquarians' lives, yet it is only Hutchinson (1810-1897) in the mid 1800s who recorded these details in his diary, such as the effect of war with France and the social minutiae of daily life. These external affairs must have influenced how the antiquarians carried out their research and influenced their thinking.

7.11 An overview of the antiquarians' ways of working

7.11.1 Introduction

Whereas in the previous chapters we looked at the lives of the antiquarians we now need to provide an overview of their achievements, and show the progression in their methods of working.

7.11.2 Methods of collecting information

We encountered the 'travellers' to Devon in Chapter 4, starting with Worcestre, Leland and Camden in the 15th century and Stukeley in the 17th century. They all collected information firsthand by visiting Devon and recording archaeological facts. Now whilst Worcestre and Leland did not rely on other antiquarians for information, Camden did, and used Leland's manuscripts which he justified as being acceptable, and this could be seen as the start of

plagiarism. There are no references to Worcestre's *Itinerary* by later antiquarians, possibly they did not know of its existence.

In Chapter 5 we considered the findings of Devon's 16th and 17th century antiquarians, who were collecting material to write a history of Devon. What becomes apparent is the amount of material 'borrowed' by the antiquarians from each other. We know that Hooker copied Leland's material from the *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577), and his manuscripts were copied by Pole (1561-1635), Westcote (1567-1640), Risdon (1580-1640) and Prince (1643-1723), what is not clear is whether Moore (1560-1603) copied material as well. There is also the question: did the above antiquarians actually travel around Devon collecting facts? Now whilst Pole wrote that he used Devon's governmental divisions, Westcote used the rivers, and Risdon wrote that he travelled across Devon from east to west, but did they actually physically do this, or used the descriptions as a hook to hang their arguments on of how they described the county? This possibly is not a question that can be answered as Pole's manuscripts were edited, the same as Moore's, Westcote's, Risdon's and Prince's. In a way this group of antiquarians' material could be seen as a reiteration of Leland's accounts with added facts. Another point to consider is the mistakes made by the antiquarians, which were then enlarged upon by later antiquarians. We know Oliver and Jones edited Westcote's manuscripts, and they stated that Westcote had made mistakes regarding the genealogy of some Devon families, which Prince had compounded in his *Worthies of Devon* (1710). There are most probably other examples that could be quoted if the original manuscripts could be traced.

So far we have seen that the 16th and 17th century antiquarians relied heavily on each other, but this is not the case with the Georgian antiquarians discussed in Chapter Six, namely Milles (1714-1784), Swete (1751-1821), Polwhele (1760-1838), Oliver (1781-1861) and Davidson (1793-1864); they all, to different degrees, carried out fieldwork. Milles was a revolutionary with his sending out of a questionnaire to all Devon's clergy, although this format was not copied by later antiquarians. Milles also visited the parishes and surveyed the churches and archaeological sites, and made drawings of some sites. Swete travelled extensively in Devon providing illustrated documenting

evidence of castles and religious houses. It is difficult to ascertain how much Polwhele travelled or relied on his fellow clergy to obtain information, but he did rely on Milles' unpublished manuscripts for information, often unreferenced. Oliver's research was largely documentary-based and although he wrote about churches it is not clear if he visited them or was sent the information by the incumbents. We know that Davidson travelled extensively throughout the county investigating all the churches, yet he did not mention any barrows or hillforts, which he must have seen.

We know that Milles was collecting material to write a history of Devon, although it is questionable if Swete was. Polwhele published a history, as did Oliver, about the history of Exeter. Davidson did not publish his survey of the county's churches, but he did publish material appertaining to Newenham Abbey, hillforts in the vicinity of Axmouth, and collated all the facts written about sites of antiquities in Devon. It is therefore clear that there was a crucial difference between the 16th and 17th century antiquarians, and the Georgians. They carried out fieldwork and did not rely on each other's research. Three of these antiquarians made an outstanding contribution to our understanding of Devon's archaeological past. Firstly, Milles and his surveys, secondly, Swete and his illustrations, and lastly, Davidson's evaluation of the churches. All these 18th century manuscripts are underused resources, containing details of Devon's, lost, archaeological past.

In Chapter Seven we discussed the Victorian antiquarians, Shortt (1800-1881), Hutchinson (1810-1897), Spreat (1816-1873), Kirwan (1830-1872) and Chanter (1854-1939), and briefly Pengelly (1812-1894), and here we are presented with a totally different picture. These men could be described as early archaeologists and yet it is only Hutchinson who uses this term in the context of when future archaeologists would excavate a site, so possibly he did not consider himself to be an archaeologist. Let us first look at Spreat's contribution to what is missing from the archaeological record. His 74 lithographs of Devon's churches is a unique record of the church in 1842, since then eight churches have been rebuilt¹, and others have seen changes. We then looked at Shortt's

¹ Bickton, Clyst St George, Dartington, Filleigh, Heavitree, Holcombe Burrell, Honiton and Otterton (see Chapter 13)

research, he was rare in that he was the only antiquarian to document the discovery of Roman coins and pottery in Exeter, and that his collection is available for further research in the RAMM.

We return to Hutchinson's investigations; he was a true Victorian antiquarian, recording all the archaeological sites in East Devon and beyond, ranging from earthworks, Roman sites, castles and churches. He was exceptional in that he kept a diary that has survived, where his attention to detail is shown. Hutchinson carried out excavations, provided detailed surveyed plans of barrows and hillforts that were well annotated, and site maps, something that is distinctive only to Hutchinson. Pengelly was another outstanding Devon antiquarian who carried out scientific investigations in Kent's Cavern, proving the existence of extinct animals and human bones, which contributed to the acceptance of humankind existing well before 4004BC. Kirwan carried out excavations and provided illustrations of the artefacts; what singles out Kirwan is the fact that he used such detailed explanations and references to explain a site and make comparisons with others, such as the discovery of the shale cup on Broad Down (Farway) and the Cornish Rillaton gold cup. The last antiquarian was Chanter who worked mainly in North Devon, undertaking excavations and recording Exmoor's stone rows.

With the Victorian antiquarians we see a change of focus away from documentary research to one of undertaking excavations and publishing their findings. The marked difference is that these antiquarians did not use past antiquarians' research, or travel extensively; they worked in defined areas of Devon. They provided published detailed information, which allowed present-day archaeologists to carry out reappraisals of sites. We also see Hutchinson, Pengelly and Kirwan being involved at a local and national level and Chanter at a local level with archaeological organisations, before this Milles had been the only antiquarian involved at a national level.

7.12 The overall findings from the antiquarians

In Devon, through four hundred years we see a change from visiting antiquarians who travelled to collect facts, to the Devon-based 16th and 17th

antiquarians whose work was documentary-based. The Georgian antiquarians returned to travelling to collect facts, whereas the Victorians carried out excavations. Possible the earlier antiquarians were more historians than the later ones, but they all contribute to the recording of Devon's lost past. The Victorians had the benefit of belonging to archaeological organisations, both locally and nationally, which must have influenced their methods of working. We no longer see a dependence on the work of Leland and the 16th and 17th antiquarians. The originality of the Victorians with their recording methods is outstanding when they had nothing to base their work on, as we shall see in later chapters, and discuss in Chapter Fourteen. Pengelly could be seen as being in a class of his own, as he used innovating excavating techniques, which were not copied by the other Devon antiquarians. There is the possibility that although Pengelly, Hutchinson, Kirwan and Chanter belonged to the Devonshire Association they carried out their fieldwork in isolation, although both Hutchinson and Kirwan made reference to Pengelly. Having presented this overview of the antiquarians we need to explore how the antiquarians recorded archaeological sites, and this will be discussed in the following chapters Eight through to Thirteen. Where we look at their recording of barrows, hillforts, the Romans, castles, religious houses and churches in Devon and assess their findings to discover what has been lost from the archaeological record.