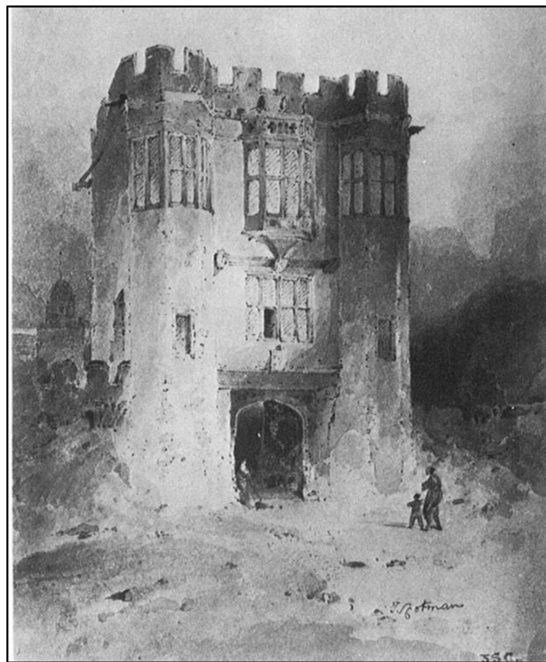
The Landmark Trust

SHUTE GATEHOUSE

History Album



The gatehouse, Shute by John Sell Cotman, 1802

Researched and written by Charlotte Haslam, 1981 and 1994

Re-presented in 2015

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BASIC DETAILS

Listing	**Grade I**
Built	**late 1500s**
Leasehold acquired by Landmark	**1979**
Architect during restoration:	**Paul Pearn of Pearn & Procter Partnership**
Builders & plasterwork	**J. Trivett & Co.**
Foreman:	**Philip Ford**
Work completed	**1981**

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Shute Gatehouse

Summary

Gatehouses have an ancestry going back to the Middle Ages. The spur for their development came with the change in the 12th and 13th centuries from castles with a single impregnable keep, to the more familiar type, which had its strength concentrated in an outer curtain wall. The weakest point in the defences was the entrance, which therefore needed the strongest fortification; and so appeared a new type of building - the gatehouse. Most domestic gatehouses date from the late 14th and 15th centuries. When life became more peaceful from the late 15th century, gatehouses gradually came to be regarded as status symbols to impress rather than as a means of protection.

Shute was originally a medieval house behind, much enlarged and remodelled around 1500 by Cicely Bonville who married Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. In 1554 the Grey's house was forfeited to the Crown, eventually being sold to William Pole of Colyton, who made it his home. It was probably his son, Sir William Pole, a writer and Antiquary who built the gatehouse after succeeding in 1587. With its battlements and possibly genuine medieval gargoyles, the style is consciously antiquarian. During the restoration by the Landmark Trust, evidence was discovered that the window on the top floor had once formed a nearly continuous band with the windows in the turrets, in keeping with the 'more glass than wall' fashion of the time.

With windows of this kind allowing a 'fair prospect' it is likely that the upper room was used as a belvedere or outlook, probably to watch the hunt taking place in the old deer park on the hill opposite. On its other side, the gatehouse would have opened into a forecourt or courtyard, and there is evidence that the gatehouse was at least roughly aligned on the porch in the main front of the old house.

After the building activity at Shute in the 15th and 16th centuries, little more was done for two hundred years, and it is likely that for most of the 18th century the house saw only the minimum of maintenance. With Shute by this time probably dilapidated, John William Pole, who had inherited Shute as a three-year old orphan, set about building a new Shute House, on an entirely new site, in the light and restrained style of Robert Adam. He preserved the old gatehouse as an interesting entrance to his newly landscaped park, with the drive passing through it and on up to his modern mansion on the hill. Unfortunately, the greater part of the old Bonville house blocked the intended route, and so this was demolished, leaving only what might have been the medieval high end, as adapted in the Tudor period. Round the gatehouse itself, the ground was made to run up to parapet height on refashioned screen walls.

What is not known is whether the gatehouse was lived in as well as the side lodges. Census returns from 1841 show the buildings to be occupied by a variety of families, probably employed on the farm or estate.

The final stages
During the 1870s the two side lodges were taken down and replaced by the existing pavilions, which echo the Elizabethan architecture of the gatehouse itself. In 1926, the Shute estate was inherited by Sir John Carew-Pole. He lived at Antony in Cornwall, and so not requiring Shute House, it became a girls' school in 1933. Shute Barton continued as a tenant farm until, after being empty for some time, Sir John repaired it and gave it to the National Trust in 1959.

The last people to live in the gatehouse were the Newbys. Mr Newby was a caretaker to the school, and his wife, Mary, the daughter of a former agent for the Shute estate, continued to live on in the gatehouse after her husband's death, without running water or electricity until about 1958, when ill-health forced her to move out. It remained empty from then until 1981, with the arrival of the first Landmark clients.

The repair of the Gatehouse

When The Landmark Trust first saw Shute gatehouse in 1978, it was decaying rapidly. The Trustees agreed to a lease from the National Trust and appointed Paul Pearn as the architect, responsible for the restoration of several Landmarks. The builders were J. Trivett & Co. whose foreman Philip Ford went on to work directly for Landmark for a number of years.

Much of the work consisted of redoing what had been not very well done in the 19th century. The badly constructed roof was replaced with a more sensible one reusing the existing slates. Problems of damp were largely caused by cement render on the back and side walls. Once hacked off, the underlying stonework was worse than expected. The parapet and north east wall next to the stair were found to be in danger of collapse, necessitating a concrete ring beam to hold it all together.

The parapet itself was rebuilt, using where necessary, the original Beer limestone from the same quarry a few miles away. The back and side walls were given a new coat of lime-based render so allowing the walls to breathe. On the front, the local flint-like stone, Chert, was lightly cleaned, and new Beer stone let in to the window surrounds and mullions. The walls of the gatehouse and the screen walls were repointed with lime mortar, and the crenellations patched with new stone. The upper pavilion, being in better condition and nearer to the front door, was chosen as an extra bedroom.

The interior had suffered badly from the damp and most of the joinery was beyond repair. Sadly, this included the 17th-century overmantel of a fireplace that had been inserted in the lower room where the bathroom now is. Several of the joists of the upper floor had rotted, and these had to be jacked up and supported with steel angle irons.

The plan was to reverse the 19th-century layout, and have the upper room, with its original fireplace and better views, as a single room again, with the lower floor containing the bedrooms. New joinery - floorboards, skirtings, doors and the stairs - was needed throughout, and old well-seasoned pine was used, the stair being a near copy of the original. The doors were based on a design that was common around 1600. The lead in the casement windows needed renewing, but where possible the old glass was re-used.

There has been one addition - the fish ceiling. It dates from about 1620, and came from No. 7 Cross Street, Barnstaple, a house demolished in the 1930s. North Devon District Council had kept it in store, but had finally come to the conclusion that they must dispose of it, for lack of space. When they heard of the restoration of Shute Gatehouse, however, they very generously offered it to us. It arrived at Shute in pieces which had to be assembled with great care, the missing areas filled in, and a new pendant formed. All this was done by Trivett's craftsmen.

Undergrowth was cleared from the building, and as some very fine elms in front of the gatehouse had died of Dutch elm disease, they were cut down and the ground was levelled and laid out as a green.

Introduction

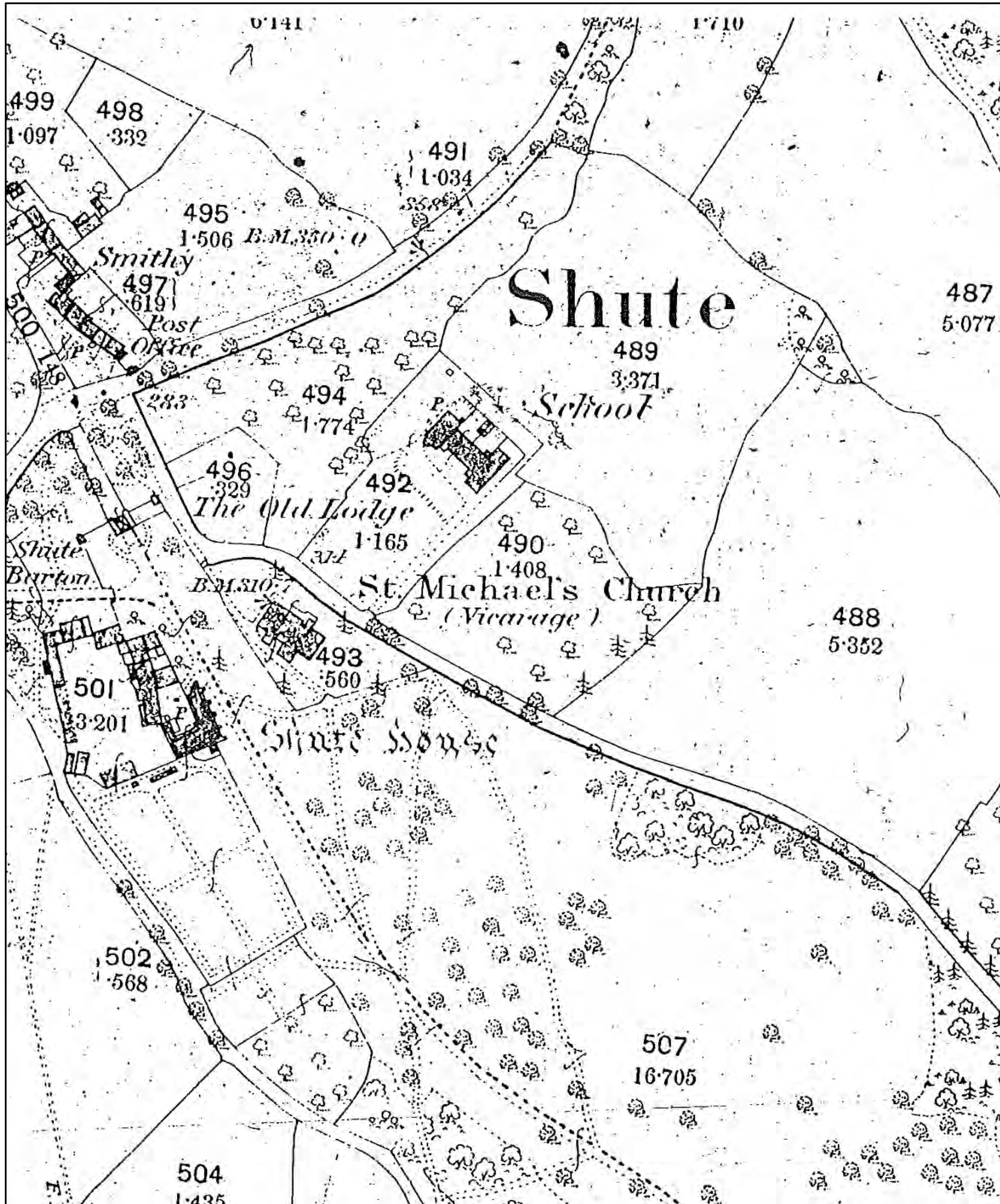
The surroundings of Shute Gatehouse have changed greatly since it was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but because of its own venerable appearance, writers until recently tended to assume the gatehouse itself to be a complete survival. However, it too has seen a number of changes, both in the 1780s and later, as we shall see. Remarkably, these were all carried out in a way that blended in well with its original appearance and character.

The main change in the building's setting has been the demolition of much of the house behind it, on the porch of which it was aligned. This house was built by the Bonvilles, one of the leading families in the South West, who owned Shute from 1295. It had been remodelled and enlarged around 1500 by the heiress Cicely Bonville, who married Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. In 1554, it was forfeited to the Crown on the execution of her grandson, the Duke of Suffolk, over-ambitious father of Lady Jane Grey, the tragic Nine Days' Queen.

Shute was given to the Secretary of State, Sir William Petre, who in 1561 sold the house to William Pole of Colyton, who made it his home. Either he or his son Sir William, a writer and Antiquary who succeeded in 1587, added the gatehouse. The next Pole was made a Baronet. It was his descendant, John William, 6th Baronet, who demolished half of old Shute House about 1787, and replaced it with a new house on higher ground. The surviving part of the old house was subsequently repaired and became a farmhouse, called Shute Barton.

Christopher Hussey in two articles in *Country Life* in February 1951 interpreted what was left as the entire medieval house, as described by Sir William Bonville in his will of 1408, and added to by Cicely Bonville. However, the revised *Devon* volume of *The Buildings of England* (1989), is more cautious. Much of what

survives is medieval, but much that was also medieval - rather than Tudor, as Hussey supposed - has clearly been lost. Most significantly, there is no sign of a great ground floor hall, possibly because this was always in the vanished range



The first edition of the Ordnance Survey 25" to 1 mile map, of 1888.

opposite the gatehouse. The National Trust guidebook follows Hussey, but suggests that the early hall ran the full height of the south-east range, was later divided horizontally and a kitchen inserted below it. It is safe to say that Shute Barton is a much altered, and intriguing, medieval building.

In 1959, Shute Barton, with the gatehouse, passed to the National Trust. In 1979, the Landmark Trust took a lease of the gatehouse and, with Paul Pearn as architect and Trivetts as builders, set about its repair, aided by a legacy from Miss Gladys Calthrop and a grant from the Historic Buildings Council.

Gatehouses in general

The gatehouse as we see it at Shute has an ancestry that goes back to the early Middle Ages. By the time of Elizabeth, the purpose of such buildings was largely decorative, but their beginnings were entirely functional, and defensive. The spur came with the development of castles during the 12th and 13th centuries. From the Norman model of a single impregnable keep surrounded by only a semi-defensible bailey, they evolved into the more familiar type which had its strength concentrated in an outer curtain wall, punctuated by towers, with the whole space inside left free for permanent buildings.

The weakest point in the defences was the entrance to this enclosure, which therefore needed the strongest fortification; and so there appeared a new type of building, the gatehouse. One or more mighty flanking towers would stand on either side of the arched gateway, linked by a battlemented wall concealing a wall walk. This pattern of gatehouse remained an important ingredient of castle design until the end of the Middle Ages, still being built at Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, around 1440.

The gatehouse at Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire dates from 1310.

Lower Brockhampton Gatehouse, is late 15th-century.
(National Trust).

Religious institutions were quick to take up the idea, especially during times of unrest in the 14th century when they were frequently raided because of their actual, and supposed, wealth. Before long most cathedral closes and monasteries - Battle Abbey for example - and bishop's palaces such as those at Wells and Chichester, were all equipped with a stout encircling wall and a solidly built gatehouse, whose heavy doors could be closed at will against intruders. A more humble example is the 14th-century stone gateway which protected the entrance to St Mary's Priory at Bromfield in Shropshire, now part of another Landmark.

The secular manor house also had need of protection in times of unrest, sometimes provided by a moat and a palisade, sometimes by a stone wall and a gatehouse, sometimes by a combination of both. Most of these domestic gatehouses date from the late 14th and 15th centuries, as life outside the castle became possible, even if still safest in a fortified manor house. Earlier examples are Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire, of about 1310, and North-borough Manor, Northamptonshire, of about 1340; from the 15th century come Tretower Court in Breconshire, Cothay Manor in Somerset and Lower Brockhampton in Herefordshire.

In the more peaceful period at the end of the 15th century and in the early 16th century, the gatehouse began to change its character. It gradually came to be regarded as more of a status symbol than a means of protection; to impress your visitor with the wealth and magnificence he would discover when he had entered in, more than your ability to keep him out. This effect was achieved in a number of ways: by heraldry at Thornbury Castle, which has ranks of carved coats of arms to show off the powerful connections of the over-mighty Duke of Buckingham; and similarly at another Landmark, Cawood Castle, palace of Archbishop Kempe of York; or by a show of architectural high fashion in an ornate oriel window at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk; or most extravagantly by the

lavish use of terracotta moulded into Classical forms, the latest arrival from Italy, at Layer Marney in Essex.

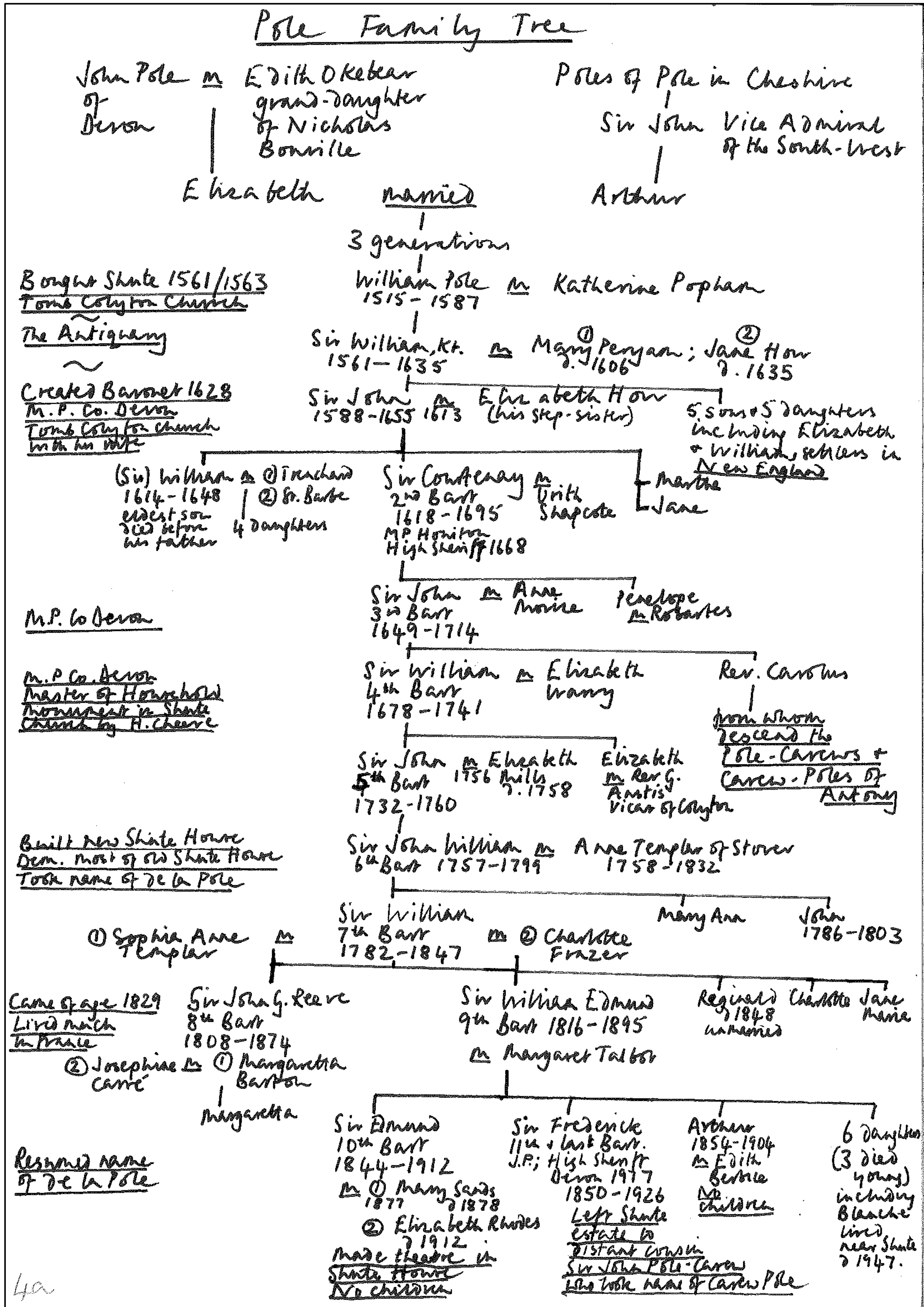
Layer Marney Tower, Colchester

The gatehouse at Charlecote Park, Warwickshire in the early 1900s.

Another method was to build your gatehouse taller than anyone else's. Layer Marney is again the most extreme example of this, but it was preceded by Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, and Cardinal Wolsey's Hampton Court, as well as by Eton College. Brick was found to be the most suitable material, but stone was occasionally used, at Cowdray House in Sussex for example.

The ornamental gatehouse continued to be very popular throughout the 16th century, either as an integral part of an entirely new house, as at Charlecote Park, Warwickshire, begun in 1558, or to update an existing one, as at Landmark's Tixall Gatehouse of 1580, with its confident display of Classical carving in stone.

All gatehouses, besides a porter's lodge, had at least one room over the gate arch. What this was used for varied from place to place. Most often it was a lodging or apartment, either for a guest or for a permanent household official - or for several of each if the building was on the grand scale, containing 39 rooms as at Layer Marney. Occasionally it seems to have served as an oratory (as possibly in the old gatehouse of Shute Barton); or more often as a courtroom, as at Morpeth Castle in Northumberland (yet another Landmark). In the Elizabethan examples, with their oriels, large windows and fireplaces, the whole building was occasionally treated as a garden pavilion or belvedere, to which the family and their guests could go for entertainment.


Pole Family Tree
John Pole of Devon m Edith Okebear grand-daughter of Nicholas Bonville
Poles of Pole in Cheshire
Sir John Vice Admiral of the South-West
Elizabeth married Arthur
3 generations
Bought Shute 1561/1563
Tomb Colyton Church
The Antiquary
William Pole 1515 - 1587 m Katherine Popham
Sir William, Kt. 1561 – 1635 m ① Mary Peryam d. 1606 ; ② Jane How d. 1635
Created Baronet 1628
M.P. Co. Devon
Tomb Colyton church with his wife
Sir John 1588-1655 m 1613 Elizabeth How (his step-sister)
5 sons & 5 daughters including Elizabeth & William, settlers in New England
(Sir) William 1614-1648 eldest son died before his father m ① Treachard ② St. Barbe
4 daughters
Sir Courtenay 2nd Bart 1618-1695 MP Honiton High Sheriff 1668 m Urith Shapcote
Martha
Jane
M.P. Co Devon
Sir John 3rd Bart 1649-1714 m Anne Morice
Penelope m Robartes
M.P. Co. Devon
Master of Household
Monument in Shute Church by H. Cheere
Sir William 4th Bart 1678-1741 m Elizabeth Warry
Rev. Carolus
from whom descend the Pole-Carews & Carew-Poles of Antony
Sir John 5th Bart 1732-1760 m 1756 Elizabeth Mills d. 1758
Elizabeth m Rev G. Anstis Vicar of Colyton
Built New Shute House
Dem. most of old Shute House
Took name of de la Pole
Sir John William 6th Bart 1757-1799 m Anne Templer of Stover 1758-1832
Sir William 7th Bart 1782-1847
① Sophia Anne Templar m
m ② Charlotte Frazer
Mary Ann
John 1786-1803
Came of age 1829
Lived much in France
Sir John G. Reeve 8th Bart 1808-1874
② Josephine Carré m ① Margaretta Barton
Margaretta
Sir William Edmund 9th Bart 1816-1895 m Margaret Talbot
Reginald d 1848 unmarried
Charlotte
Jane
Marie
Resumed name of de la Pole
Sir Edmund 10th Bart 1844-1912 m ① Mary Sands 1877 d 1878 ② Elizabeth Rhodes d 1912
Made theatre in Shute House
No children
Sir Frederick 11th & last Bart. J.P.; High Sheriff Devon 1917 1850-1926
Left Shute estate to distant cousin Sir John Pole-Carew who took name of Carew Pole
Arthur 1854-1904 m Edith Bertice No children
6 daughters (3 died young) including Blanche lived near Shute d 1947.
4a

Shute Gatehouse in particular

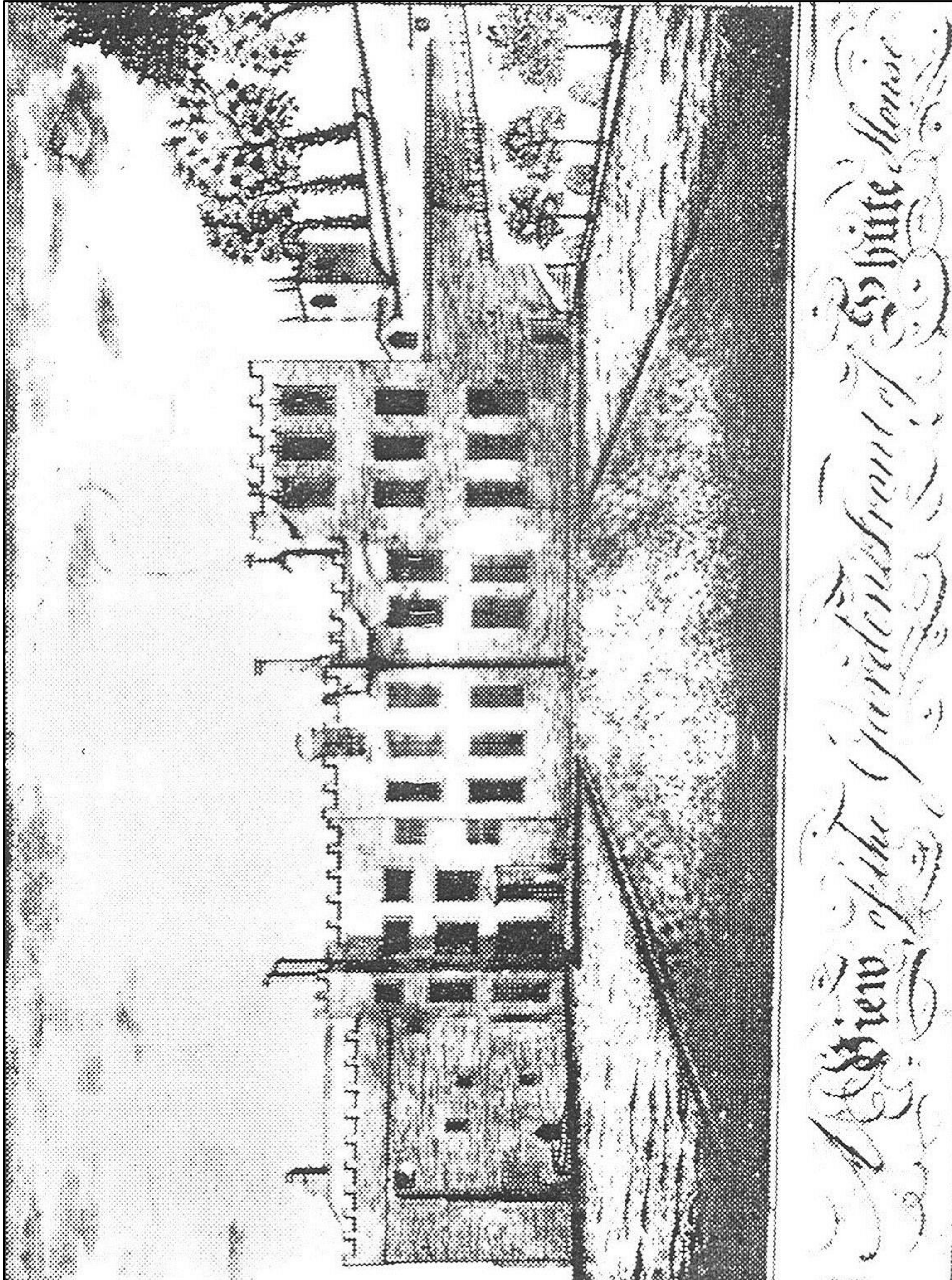
Shute Gatehouse fits into the category of ornamental gatehouse, displaying its builder's importance as a landowner and local magnate. In its style it also alludes to the medieval ancestry both of his house, and of his own family, which derived from Cheshire but had also been settled in Devon for many generations and was able to trace descent through the female line from the Bonvilles. That they were doing their best to establish themselves as a considerable family is born out by the senior William Pole's grandiose tomb in Colyton church, with its shield bearing fourteen quarterings. At the same time, it may have been as a pleasure building that the new gatehouse was actually to be used.

The date given for its building is variously about 1570, and by the first William Pole therefore, soon after he had bought the house from Sir William Petre in 1561and the estate in 1563; or late Elizabethan, say after 1585, and so more probably the work of his son, Sir William the Antiquary. The Pole arms on its front would fit with either (as would the panel on the back, in which the arms of the Poles of Cheshire are quartered with those of the Poles of Devon, if it did not look more 17th-century in style, as if put there later).

Although he is often said to have been ‘of Colcombe', nearby, Sir William in fact lived equally at Shute for nearly thirty years after succeeding to the estate in 1587. Although he handed the house on to his own son on the latter’s marriage in 1613, it was not until after 1618 that he moved to Colcombe, where he had remodelled the Courtenay family's `castle'. Taking all this into account, the balance tilts slightly in his favour as the builder of the castellated gatehouse at Shute.

With its battlements and possibly genuine medieval gargoyles, the style of the gatehouse is consciously antiquarian. It thus fits in well with the romantic

medieval revival of the late Elizabethans in general, and Sir William in particular. Whether it was meant to echo the style of the house itself, or whether the house



Published in M Bridie's ***Story of Shute*** **and said to come from an old map, this is the only known view of Old Shute House before all the right hand part of it was demolished c.1787. The surviving part lies to the left of the door shown left of centre.**

went through a similar antiquarian phase, we don't know - though the north east stair turret has similar gargoyles and the initials WP on a door surround.

The gatehouse was once typically late Elizabethan in another way. Evidence found during the Landmark's building work showed that in its front the window on the top floor formed a nearly continuous band with the windows in the turrets. The window below also looks as if it was once wider. This would definitely be in keeping with the ‘more glass than wall' fashion of the later years of Elizabeth's reign.

With windows of this kind, the upper room must have enjoyed wide views, a ‘fair prospect' in the language of the day. With its fireplace, it could of course have been the main room of a two room apartment or lodging. Equally it could have been intended precisely for the purpose to which it is best suited, as a belvedere or outlook. The Elizabethans, and the Jacobeans after them, were not particularly interested in looking at the countryside for its own sake, however. They liked something to look at, an intricately laid out garden or sporting activity of some kind. At Shute, as at a number of other houses, it would most probably have been the hunt that they watched, taking place in the old deer park on the hill opposite.

On its other side, the gatehouse would have opened into a forecourt or large courtyard. As already mentioned, there is evidence that the gatehouse was at least roughly aligned on the porch in the main front of the old house: in the 17th century, Sir Courtenay Pole, 2nd Baronet, recorded planting fourteen sycamores ‘between the gatehouse and the porch on either side of the causey' - a raised path or drive running across the possibly muddy yard.

Around the forecourt there are likely to have been other buildings, stables and suchlike. Within it, the ground was almost certainly at one, lower, level, both at the sides of the drive and around the gatehouse. An old view of the south east

or garden front of old Shute House shows the ground on that side running back to what seems to be a retaining wall, with steps leading up to the level of the church. The same probably happened on the north west. The moulding of a building into the landscape as we see it now is more characteristic of the romanticism of the late Georgians than the Elizabethans.

The present high screen walls on either side of the gatehouse are no doubt largely the product of the same landscaping phase. Like it they are built of the local flint-like stone, called Chert, with dressed Beer limestone. They probably replace, and even incorporate, earlier and lower walls, visible front and back and enclosing the forecourt in the normal way. The entrance to the rooms over the gate arch would have been by outside steps.

More problematical are the buildings or gazebos at the ends of the walls. It is by no means certain, indeed, that there were buildings there at all when the gatehouse was built. No illustration has been found which shows their appearance before the mid-19th century. All we know is that they only took on their present appearance in the 1870s.

The Gatehouse as scenery

After the building activity at Shute in the 15th and 16th centuries, little more was done for two hundred years. Sir Courtenay, the 2nd Baronet, who lived until 1695, made some alterations inside the house but was more interested in the park and garden. He planted trees in large numbers all over the estate. Sir William, the 4th Baronet, who succeeded in 1708 and lived until 1741, was Master of the Household to Queen Anne, and spent much of his time at Court. His son, Sir John, died young in 1760, leaving an infant son who only attained his majority in 1778, so it is likely that for most of the 18th century, the house saw only the bare minimum of maintenance.

The heir to Shute in 1760 was an orphan three years old named John William. He was brought up there by an aunt, Elizabeth Anstis, his father's sister. The affection he felt for her is conveyed by the memorial tablet he had put up in Shute church after her death in 1780, on which with touching simplicity he describes her as ‘Amitarum optimae' - the best of aunts. This affection does not seem to have extended itself to the old house, however, which in his own epitaph he was to describe as dilapidated. As soon as he could he moved out of Shute, to rent Ash House, three miles away.

Soon after that, in 1787, he set about building a new Shute House, on an entirely new site, in the light and restrained style of Robert Adam. It was set on a hill, in the middle of a newly-planted park, with splendid views to, and from, the sea. In 1788 he completed the purchase of the Shute lands which had all this time been held on a very long lease from the Petre heirs.

John William was clearly a man of progress; besides building a new house he was, for example, a champion of prison reform; but he also had a streak of the antiquarian, and the Romantic, which gave him a respect for things of the past - or for those which related to his own family at least. So, he changed his name to

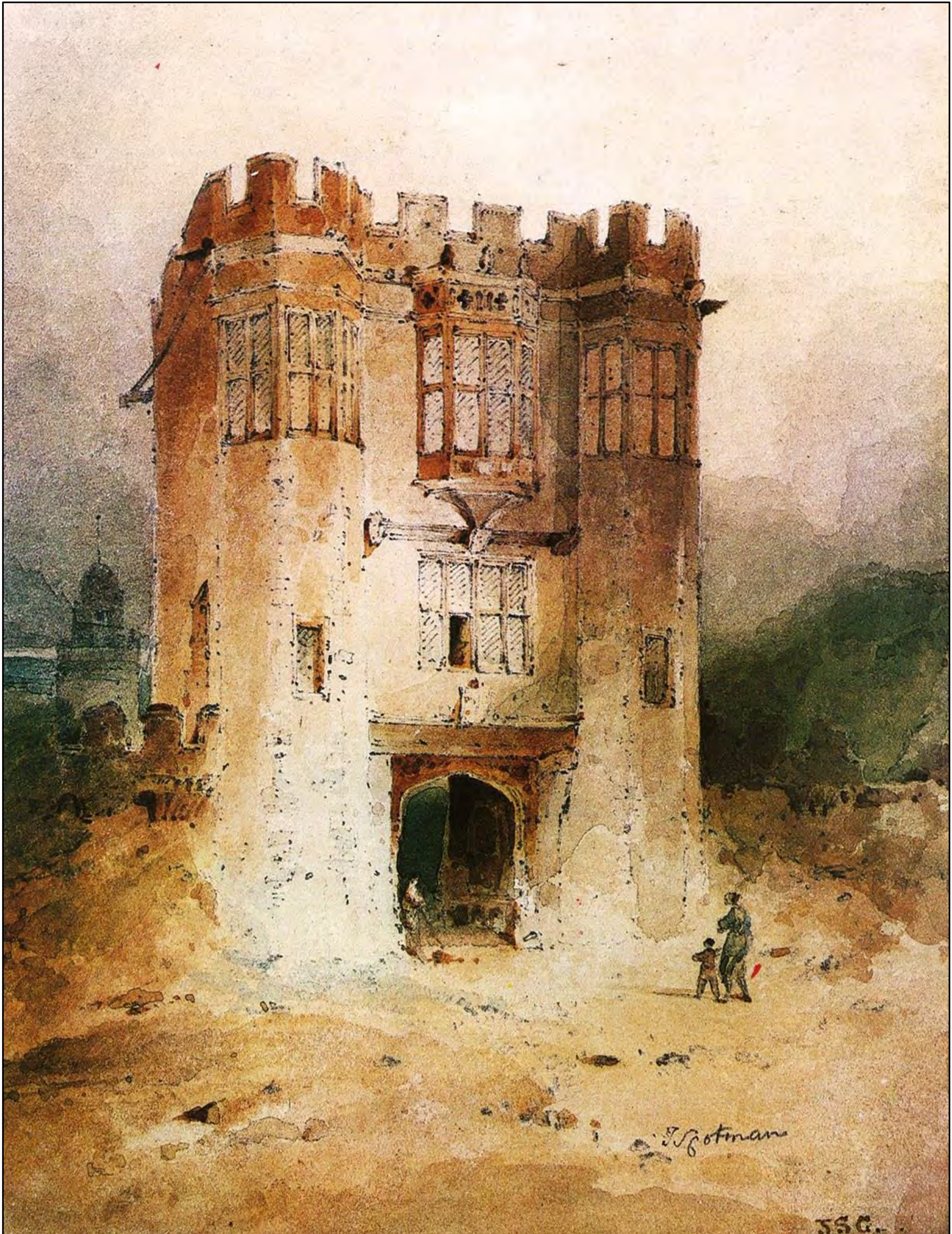
William, Mary Ann and John de la Pole, children of John William, 6th Baronet, painted by Thomas Beach 1793

de la Pole, and saw to the publication of *A Collection towards a Description of Devon,* the writings of his ancestor, Sir William the Antiquary.

These rather contradictory aspects of his character were reflected in the treatment of old Shute House. In his role as antiquarian, he preserved the Pole gatehouse as an interesting entrance to his newly landscaped park, with the drive passing through it and on up to his modern mansion. There was an impediment to this scheme, however, in that across the projected drive lay the greater part of the Bonville house. In his role as the man of progress, therefore, he had this demolished, leaving only what might have been the medieval high end, as adapted in the Tudor period to form a service courtyard.

The Romantic then stepped in: the ‘ancient' appearance of both the gatehouse and the old house, with its north east wall left towering and buttressed, was enhanced by landscaping. By building up banks on either side of the drive - largely from the rubble of the demolished building, no doubt - and planting trees to overhang, an effect of Gothic gloom was achieved, to contrast with the sunlight and distant views to be met with when you emerged into the open space beyond. Round the gatehouse itself, the ground was made to run up to parapet height on refashioned screen walls, which permitted a glimpse of a different view over their top, and increased the sense of illusion.

This landscaping might, of course, have been carried out earlier, or later, as part further changes in the 1870s for example. However, a likely moment for it would be in the middle of John William's wide-ranging transformation. The Pole papers certainly contain a contract and accounts for making new drives and tree-planting at Shute between 1790-4. Moreover, people are shown peering over the right hand wall in an engraving of 1854, suggesting that the ground level was at its present height by then at least.



The gatehouse, Shute, by John Sell Cotman, 1802.

It looks as if John William sought to improve the appearance of the gatehouse in other ways as well. At about this time, we know from paintings that the upper room had an oriel window on the front, projecting to form a little bay. The mark where its pointed base was fixed to the wall can still be seen. Since we also know that this was not the original window, there is a good chance that it formed part of John William's remodelling of the entrance to the park. He very probably introduced the reused medieval timbers which frame the gate as well.

He was proud enough of the result to have his three children posed in front of the gatehouse in the portrait painted by Thomas Beach in 1793, which now hangs at Antony House in Cornwall, seat of the Carew-Poles. Interestingly, this shows a screen of young trees planted in front of the walls which, if they ever existed, must have been removed later.

The spirit of John William's work, if not the reality, was fully captured in the watercolour by John Sell Cotman, painted in about 1802, which was published in engraved form in Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* in 1803. Here the gatehouse looks powerfully Romantic and decayed, emerging from the mists of time.

Shute gatehouse by W. Spreat, published in *The Book of the Axe* by George Pulman 1854, with the side lodges.

The lodges

What, meanwhile, had been happening at the ends of the screen walls? Our first clear view comes from the engraving by W. Spreat, and was first published in the second edition of *The Book of the Axe,* by George Pulman of 1854. This shows the screen walls as slightly shorter than now (though this could be artistic licence), with two storey cottages or lodges with pitched roofs at either end, projecting some feet in front as well as behind. On the Tithe Map of 1844, too, these side lodges could be seen, nearly the same size as the central tower.

It is difficult to tell from the engraving whether these lodges were genuinely old, or whether they were *cottages ornés* of the kind temptingly illustrated in late Georgian and Regency pattern books, culminating in J.C.Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, published in 1833. If, as is most likely there were the latter, they could have been built either by John William or by his son and successor William Templar Pole. It is even possible that they were only built in 1840, when Shute Barton, as it came to be called, was substantially repaired and fitted out as a farmhouse.

That some work was carried out to the gatehouse at about this period is confirmed by the fact that Spreat's engraving shows the front as no longer having its oriel window. Instead, it shows the same window that exists today. Perhaps the oriel had been more decorative than soundly made, and had leaked.

At the same time, maybe, the lower part of the north west turret (now the bathroom) was blocked by an inserted 17th- century fireplace with a moulded timber surround and panelled overmantel. This was still there when Landmark took on the gatehouse. It looked as if it came from the house, but could have been moved at any time from the 1780s, if not before. In 1979, the lower room was the main one, undivided, whereas the upper floor had three rooms on it.

This begs the question as to whether the gatehouse was lived in at the time of Spreat's engraving. Unfortunately, as regards the gatehouse proper, the evidence is unclear. While it could have provided a lodging for servants from at least the 17th century, records come only with the first full census return of 1841. In this and the three succeeding returns, two households were listed. Did these occupy the two side lodges while the central building stood ornamentally empty? Or did one household live in the gatehouse and one lodge, while the second lived in the other? Various combinations are possible, but there are no definite answers as to which is the right one.

In 1841 the households were listed under Lodge and Lodge Wing. Lodge housed a man of 30 named John Isaacs and his 3 year old daughter Mary. He was described as indigent, presumably meaning that he was supported by the parish.

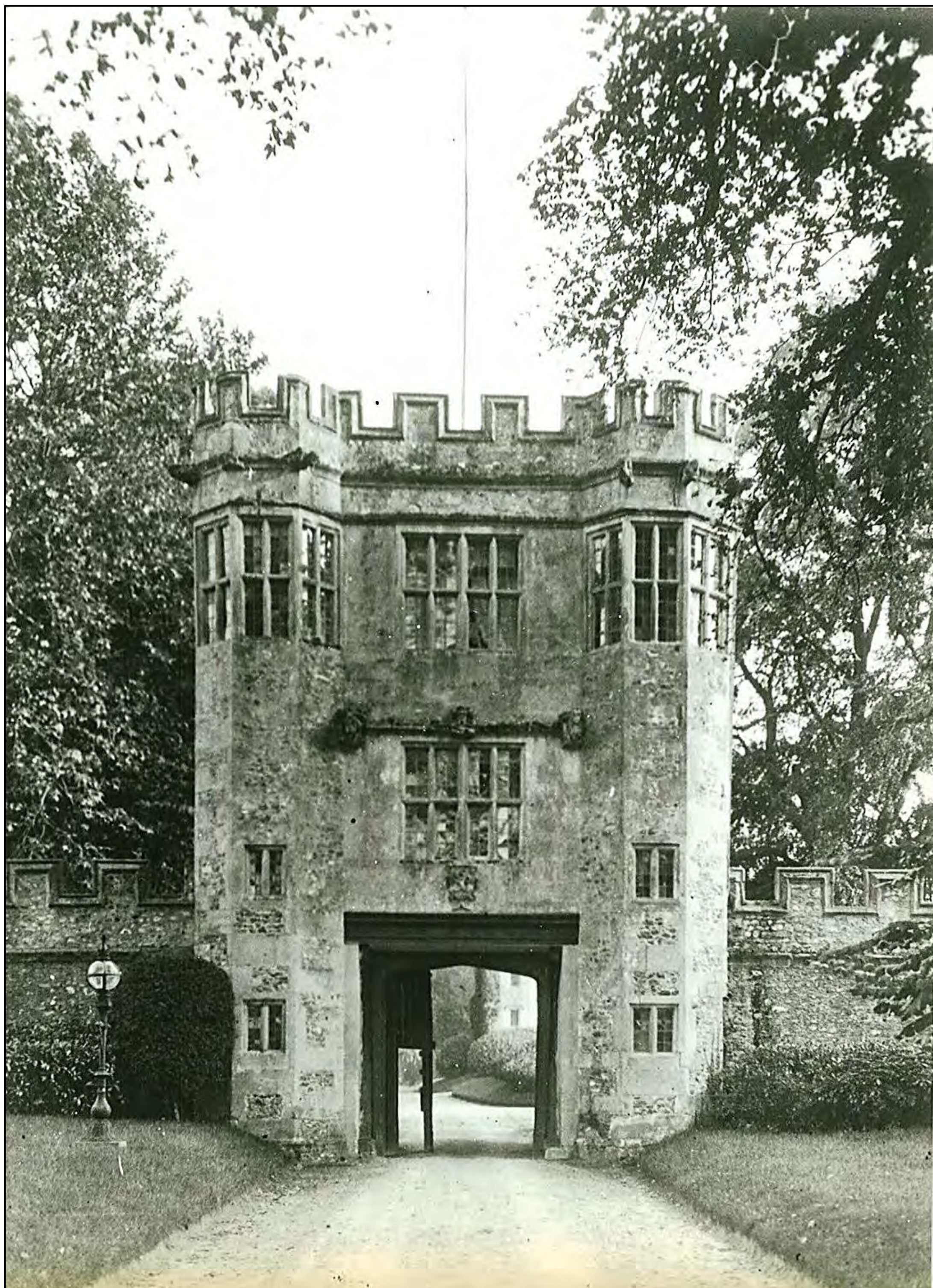
In Lodge Wing was a larger family, John and Mary Rust, both aged 20, with two small daughters, Jane and Sarah. With them lived Sirous Marwood, aged 65. Both John Rust and Sirous Marwood were agricultural labourers who probably worked for the tenant of Shute Barton, or Old Shute House as it was still called. This was John Dommett, a farmer of around 200 acres who was later recorded as employing five labourers, three of them living in his own house.

The 1851 census had the buildings down as Lodge and West Lodge (there was an East Lodge on the far side of the park), both lived in by carpenters. In Lodge was Samuel Sampson, still a carpenter at 77, (possibly the same Samuel Sampson who had rented a smallholding on the east side of the village street in the Tithe Survey of 1844), with his wife Susanna. In West Lodge, as in Lodge Wing ten years earlier, was a larger family: William Noris, aged 59, a journeyman carpenter, with his wife Mary, daughter Elizabeth Rapely, a lacemaker, her husband Charles, an agricultural labourer, and their daughter Charlotte. Interestingly, the Tithe Survey of 1844 had described the plot of land

in front of the gatehouse as `The Grove [marked as a plantation] and Carpenter's Shop'. This presumably referred to a building running south west from the western cottage which must still have been used for the same purpose in 1851.

In 1861, the census reverted to the names of Shute Lodge and Lodge Wing. The Lodge as usual had the smaller household: John Mingo, a bachelor gardener of 29. In the wing were Samuel and Mary Solway, with their son Francis. Both father and son were agricultural labourers, again probably working for John Dommett, still tenant of Shute Barton. He had been joined there by a second family, that of Robert Sandford, dairyman, predictably living in the Dairy House.

Ten years later, the Solways were still in one Western Lodge, though their son had left and instead they had a lodger called John Brown, another labourer. In a second Western Lodge was Job Adams, with his wife, a cabinet-maker son (using the carpenter's shop perhaps?), a dress-maker daughter and a grandson. Job Adams was listed as being a bailiff, presumably a farm manager rather than a debt collector, but whether he worked for the Shute estate or for the new tenant of Shute Barton, William Newbery, is not recorded.



The gatehouse in 1920, from the National Monument Record. In the foreground you can see the trees which once framed the approach.

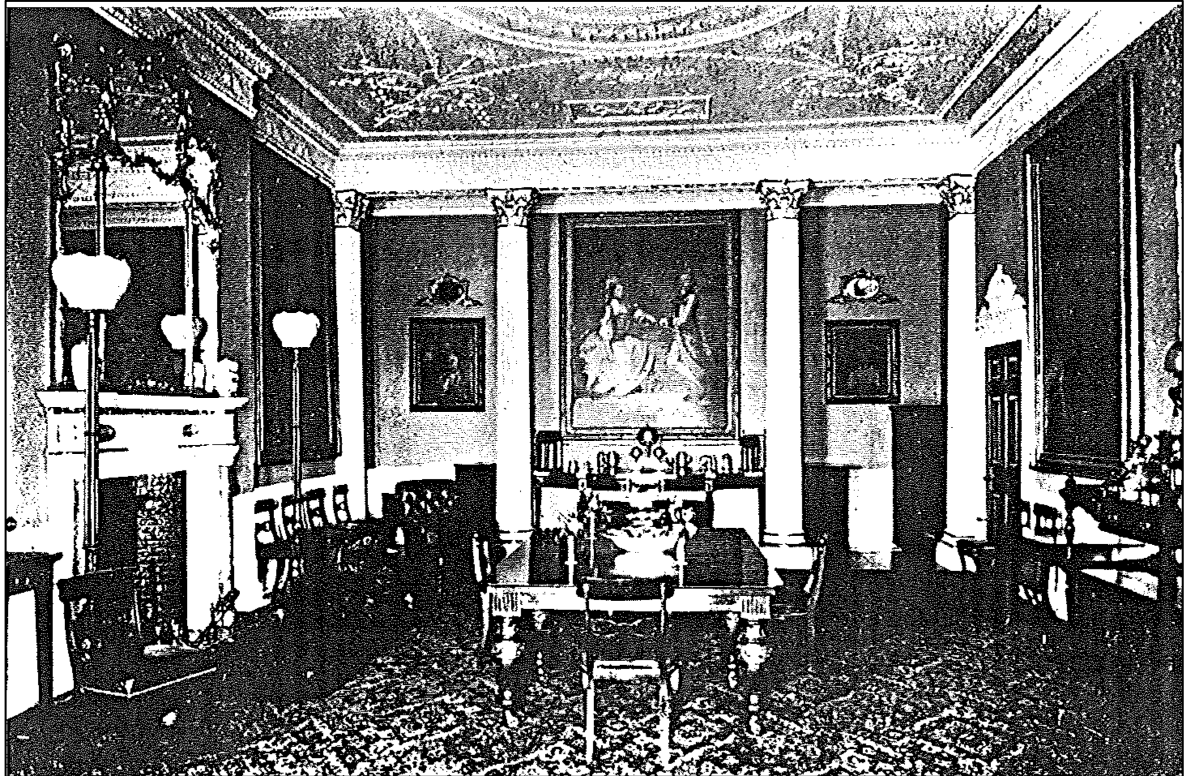
The final stages

The 1870s saw the final set of changes to the gatehouse. During this decade, the two side lodges were taken down and replaced by the existing pavilions, which echo the Elizabethan architecture of the gatehouse itself. The carpenter's shop also disappeared in a general tidying up. The gatehouse was now quite certainly habitable: the 1881 census records just one West Lodge, lived in by an old Shute inhabitant, the sexton Jonah Type, aged 79, with his wife Anne, also 79. The new arrangement is clearly shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey 25ins to 1 mile map, surveyed in 1888.

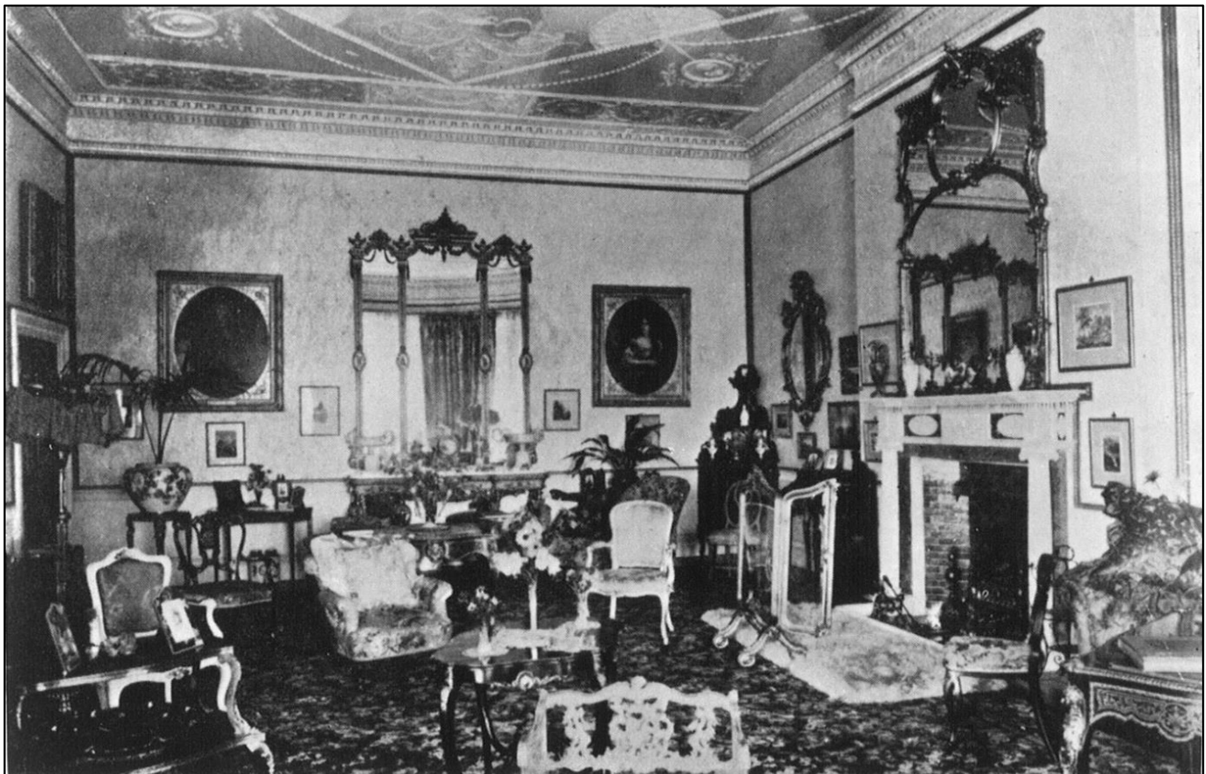
Evidence was found in 1979 that the gatehouse was thoroughly repaired at the same time. This included a new roof, the reinforcement of the main arch, the rebuilding of part of the north east wall and new render on back and sides.

Changes lay in store for the Pole family, too, which were inevitably to have their effect on the Shute estate. Tradition lays responsibility with John William de la Pole, for offending rural law by building his new house in a field of standing corn, thus making it impossible for an eldest son ever to inherit. Reality has not entirely gone along with this. A greater misfortune lay in the fact that, since the 18th century, the Poles had only had small families. When the 11th Baronet, Sir Frederick, died in 1926, a bachelor younger brother without nephews, his closest cousin was Sir John Carew-Pole of Antony in Cornwall, who descended from the Rev. Carolus Pole, younger son of the third baronet, who had died in 1714.

There was no possibility of Sir John living at Shute, so the house was made ready for tenants, and in 1933 became a girl's school. In 1955, the headmistress, Dr. M.F. Bridie, wrote *The Story of Shute*. In 1975 the school closed, having only recently bought the freehold. The house had to be sold, and was afterwards converted, with much care, into flats and small houses.



Late Victorian photographs of the drawing room and dining room in Shute House.

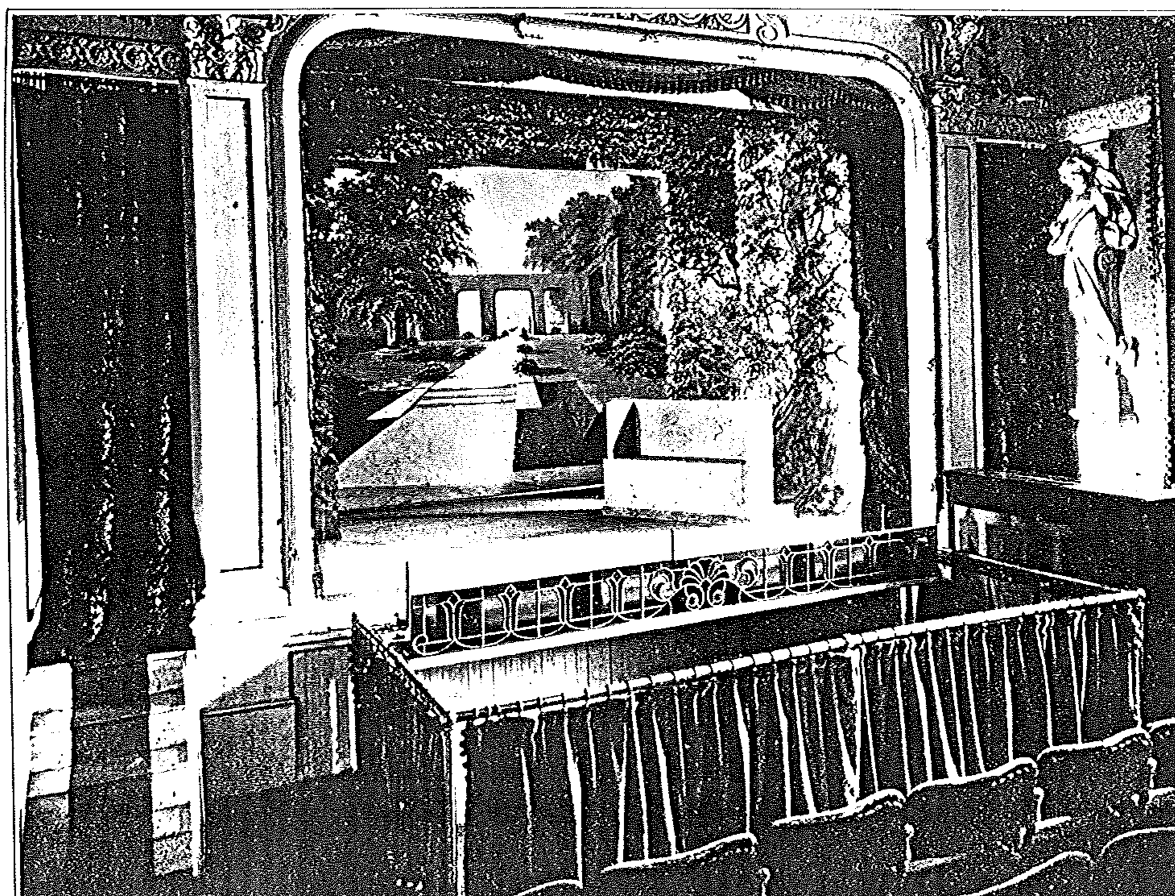


Meanwhile Shute Barton went on as a tenant farm until it fell empty in 1949. Ten years later Sir John had it repaired and gave it to the National Trust. Successive tenants have cared for it since, notably Mr and Mrs Patrick Rice from 1960-1978 (their daughter Elizabeth Rice, a wildlife artist, was Landmark's local secretary for some years afterwards); and from 1988 Mr and Mrs Christopher Pole-Carew, who also descend from Carolus Pole.

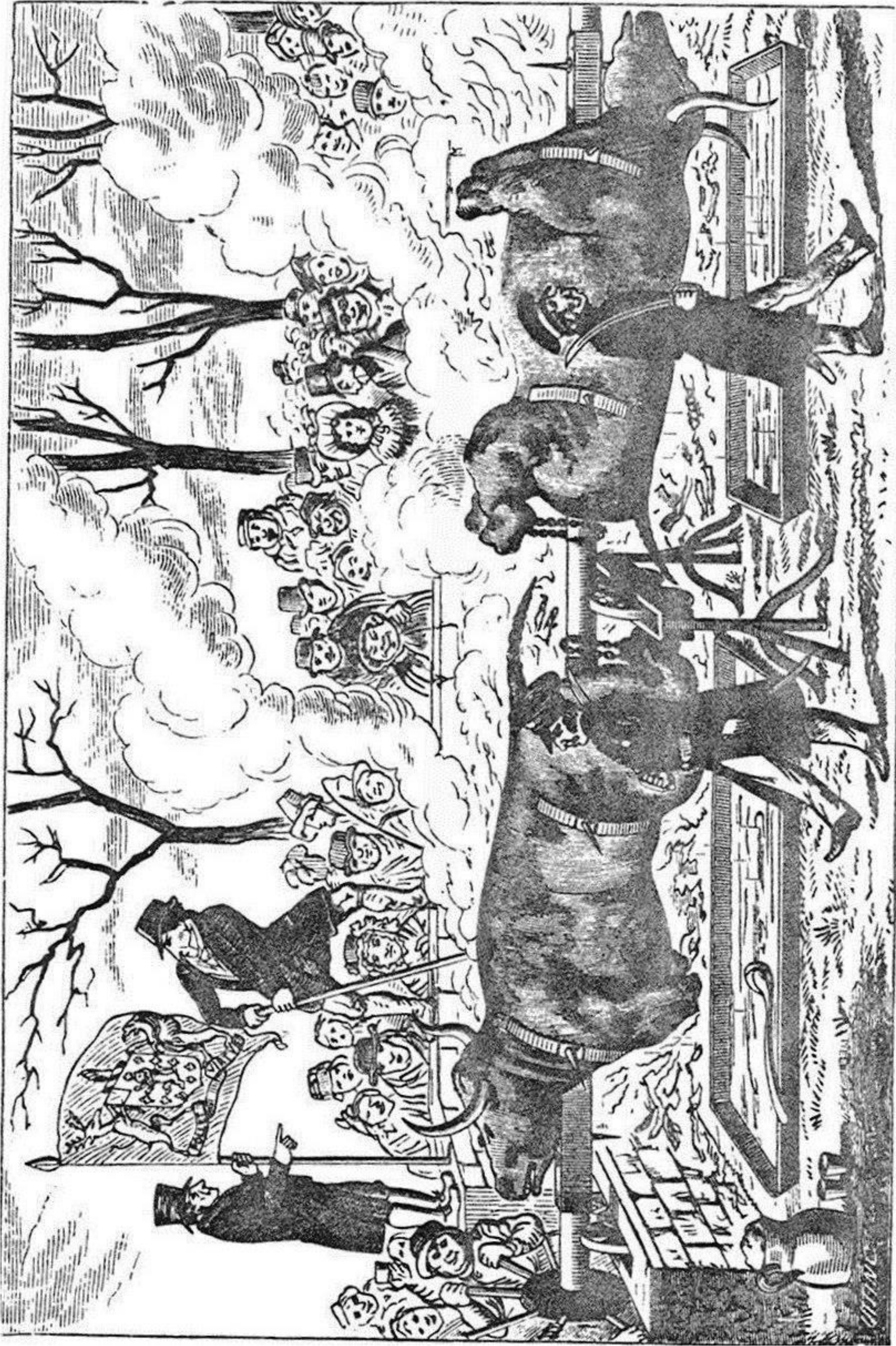
The last people to live in the gatehouse were the Newbys. Mr Newby was caretaker to the school. His wife Mary was the daughter of a former agent for the Shute estate. She lived on there after his death, without running water or electricity until about 1958, when age and ill-health made it difficult for her to get up and down the narrow stairs, and she moved out. From then, until the arrival of the first Landmark tenants in 1981, the gatehouse stood empty.

The Shute House theatre

The old kitchen of Shute House was converted into a miniature theatre for Sir Edmund, 10th and penultimate baronet, and Lady de la Pole. They lived at Shute from 1895-1912, when amateur theatricals and `conversation pieces' were popular as a way of entertaining large house parties. Dr Bridie recorded that its designer was an artist from Norwich, who also painted several drop-scenes. The brown velvet tip up seats came from a sale in Brighton.



The Shute House theatre.



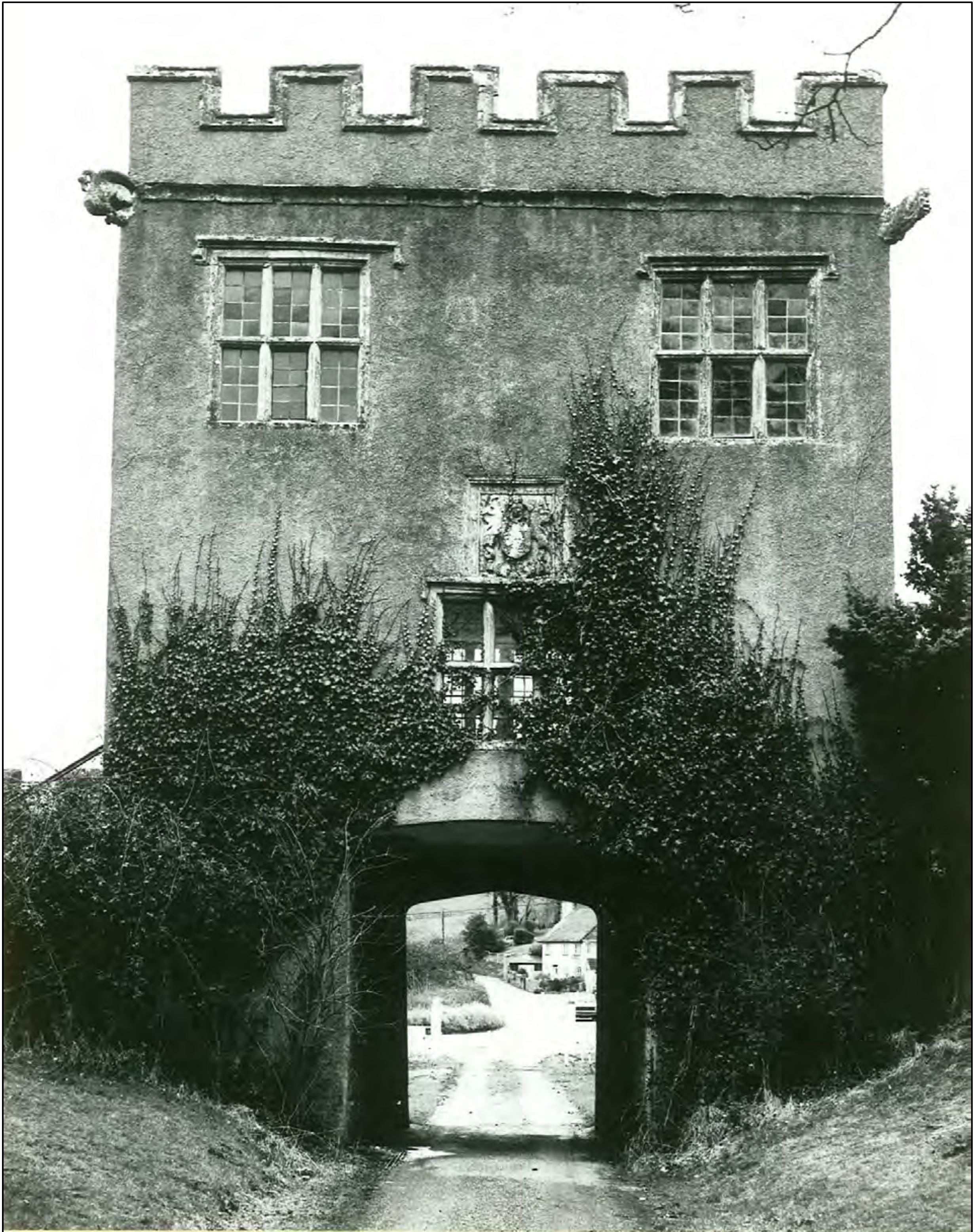
The Coming of Age of the Heir, by George Cruikshank

His [John George Reeve de la Pole's] coming of age in 1829 was celebrated in a manner which will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. It was almost a revival of mediaeval festivity, and is not likely to find imitation in the superfine and kid-glove age which pretends to regard all heartiness as mere "vulgarity". The scene of the festivity was Oxen Hill (so called from the event) in the parish of Colyton, not far from Shute. Two fat oxen of fifty score each were roasted whole in the open air upon a spit which measured twenty-five feet long and is still preserved in Old Shute House. The process occupied nearly three days and nights, and at one o'clock on the eventful birthday the meat was cut up and distributed among the assembled crowd - supposed to be composed of twenty thousand people. The great culinary feat was immortalised in an etching by the famous George Cruikshank from an excellent sketch by W.H. de Merle Esq.

The solids were in no degree disproportionate to the fluids, although a thousand wheaten cakes accompanied the beef. For the whole was washed down with six hogsheads of strong October and six of the delicious cider for which the neighbourhood is celebrated. The amusements were of all kinds, from an equestrian circus to a race after a greased-tail pig. Both Shute and Colyton were in a state of high decoration, and bands and bells made the frosty atmosphere quiver with their harmony. Sir William and his son arrived upon the hill attended by a long procession of tenantry, tradespeople, Colyton Club, and numerous equipages, and almost the first act of the generous-hearted baronet was to hold up a splendid goblet and to thus address the enthusiastic multitude: "I hold in my hand my Family Cup. I drink to the health of our Lord the King, and may God bless you all, my good friends, your children and your children's children, to the latest generations". Mr Pole, too, drank, and thanked the people for their reception of his father and himself. Everything was in keeping. Shute House, with its overflowing larders and cellars, was thrown open for days. The poor were regaled to their heart's content, Colyton never experienced such jollification, and the whole countryside was in a state of rejoicing as demonstrative as is was undoubtedly sincere.

G. Pulman *The Book of the Axe*, 1854

The photographs on the following pages were taken for Landmark by Robert Chapman Ltd in 1979, to record the gatehouse before repairs began.



The door on the right was turned into a window by Landmark in 1980.

The repair of the gatehouse

Exterior

By 1978, when the Landmark Trust first visited Shute, the gatehouse had been empty for 20 years and the rate of decay was accelerating. It was clear that repairs should be carried out immediately, so the trustees at once agreed to take on a lease from the National Trust. The late Paul Pearn (of Pearn and Procter in Plymouth), who repaired many Landmarks, was appointed architect. Work was under way by the end of 1979 and completed in 1981. The builders were the local firm of Trivetts of Axminster. Their foreman was Philip Ford, who now works directly for Landmark and whose mother once worked in Shute Barton.

Much of the work at Shute in fact consisted of redoing what had been done, not very well, in the 19th century. The first and most obvious problem was damp. One reason for this was a badly constructed roof, which has now been replaced by a more sensible one. The existing slates were reused.

Largely, however, the fault lay with decayed cement render on the back and side walls, which prevented any moisture which got into the walls from escaping. When it had all been hacked off, the condition of the stonework beneath was worse than expected. The main brick arch supporting the back wall was insecure, and had to be replaced in concrete. More seriously, the parapet and the north east wall next to the stair turret were found to be in danger of collapse. A concrete ring beam was formed around the front of the building at parapet level, and running some way along either side, to hold it all together, with another smaller one lower down to secure just the stair turret.

The parapet itself was then rebuilt, mainly with the original stone. Where this was too worn, on the crenellations for example, it was replaced with stone obtained from the same quarry as the original, a few miles away at Beer. Next, the back and side walls were given a new coat of render, but this time composed

lime and sand, which has the quality of allowing the wall beneath to breathe, letting any wet that does get in to evaporate into the atmosphere.

On the front of the gatehouse the stonework was lightly cleaned, and new Beer stone let in where necessary to the window surrounds and mullions. The pointing was renewed at the same time, using lime mortar. Areas of the screen walls and pavilions were also repointed, and the crenellations patched with new stone. The upper pavilion was in better condition than the other, and closer to main door of the central block, so was chosen as an extra bedroom.

Only very minor alterations were made to the external appearance of the building, such as moving the downpipes to the corners, and turning an inserted door in the south west wall into a window. The small window that lights the stair was uncovered when the old render was removed.

A fireplace with a late 17th-century surround and overmantel had been inserted into the first floor turret in what was then the main room. It looked as if it might have come from old Shute House, perhaps in the 1780s or in the course of the 19th century. Sadly it had become so rotten that it was beyond repair.

Interior

The interior had suffered badly from damp: plaster was coming off the walls, and most of the joinery was beyond repair. This included, sadly, the inserted 17th- century overmantel in the lower room. The ends of some of the beams and joists supporting the upper floor had also rotted, making it slope badly. It had to be jacked up and the beams supported with steel angle irons.

The plan was to reverse the 19th-century layout and have the upper floor, with its original fireplace and better views, as a single room again. The lower floor would be divided into bedrooms and bathroom. The one original chamfered ceiling beam was left visible. The turret in which the fireplace had been fitted was unblocked, the small window serving to light the bathroom, while that on the floor above provided a setting for the kitchen sink.

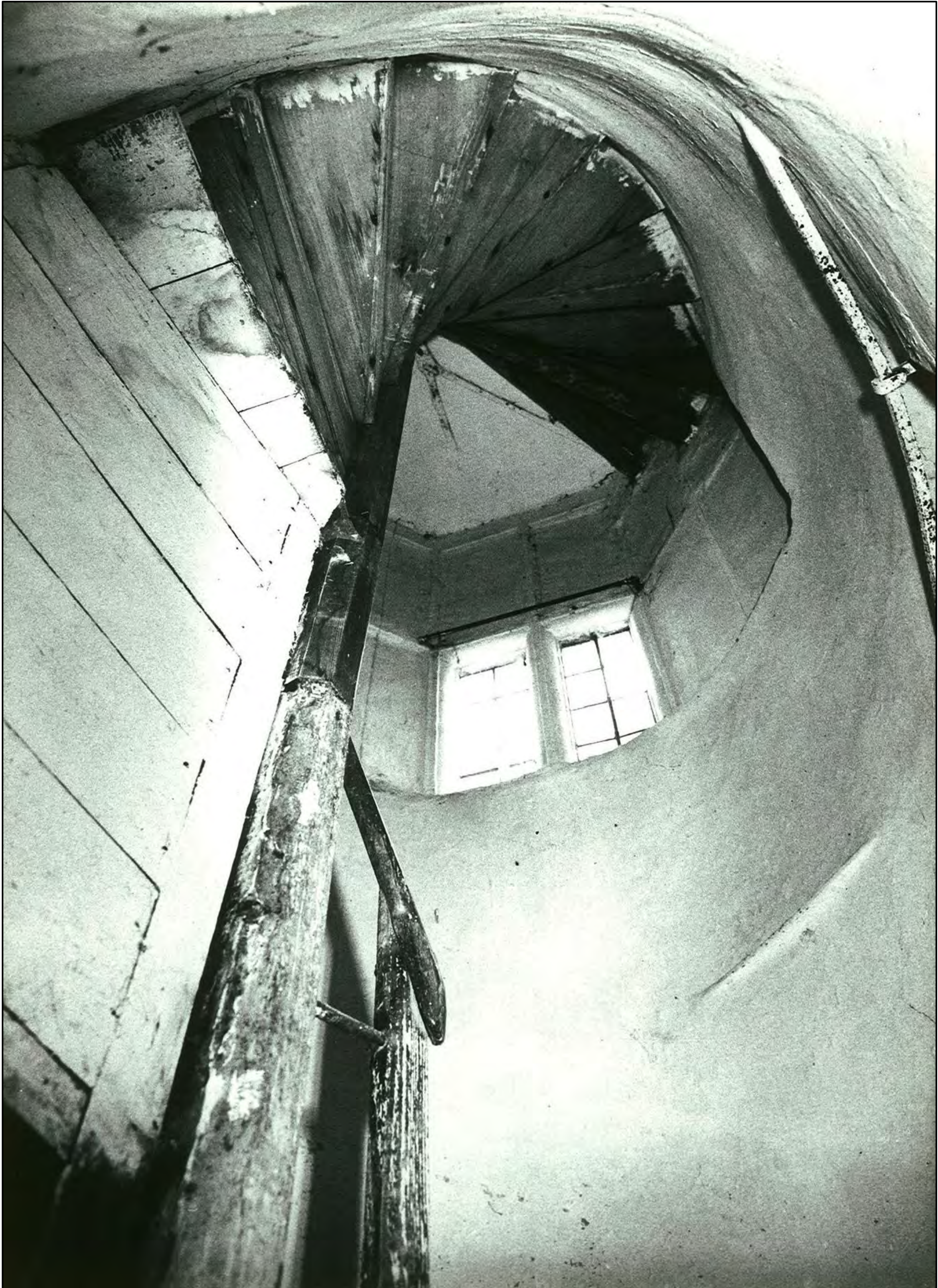
For the new joinery, which included floorboards for the sitting room, skirtings and doors throughout, and the new stair, old well-seasoned pine was used. The doors were based on a design that was common around 1600. The stair is a near copy of the original. All the sound floorboards that survived were assembled on the lower floor. The lead in most of the window casements needed renewing, but where possible the old glass was re-used. The new window on the south-west is made of oak, as are all the new window boards.

Although care was taken not to alter the original structure, there has been one addition, which could almost be said to outshine its new surroundings. This is, of course, the fish ceiling. It dates from about 1620, and came from No. 7 Cross Street, Barnstaple, a house demolished in the 1930s. North Devon District Council had kept it in store but had finally came to the conclusion that they must dispose of it, for lack of space. When they heard of the restoration of Shute Gatehouse, however, they very generously offered to give the ceiling to Landmark to use if we could. It arrived at Shute in pieces which had to be

reassembled with great care, the missing areas filled in, and a new central pendant formed. All this was done by Trivetts' craftsmen.

The second floor had been divided into two larger bedrooms and one small closet in the 19th century. The twigs had been dropped down the chimney by jackdaws.

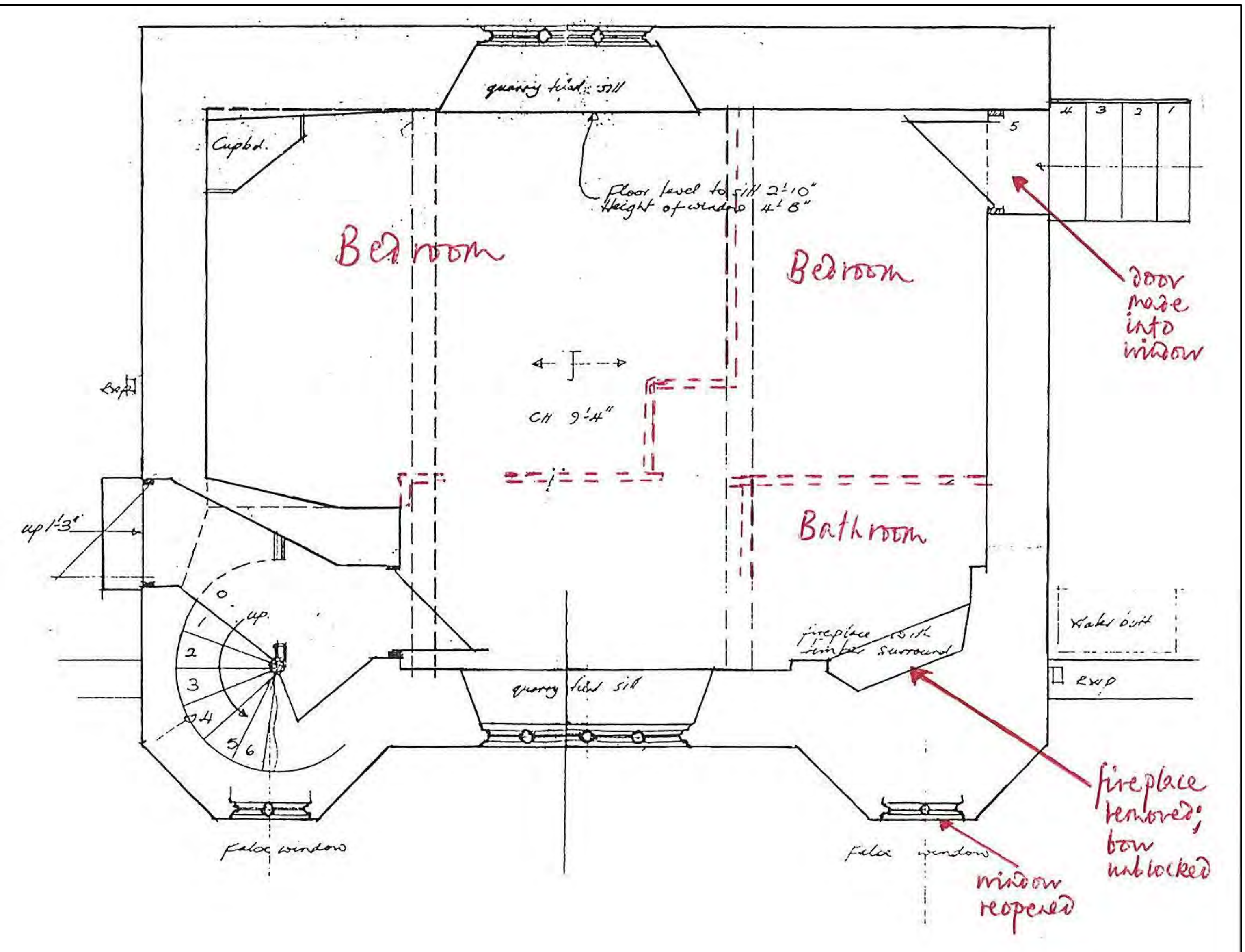
The back window on the first floor. The building was suffering badly from damp, mainly caused by decayed cement render on the walls.



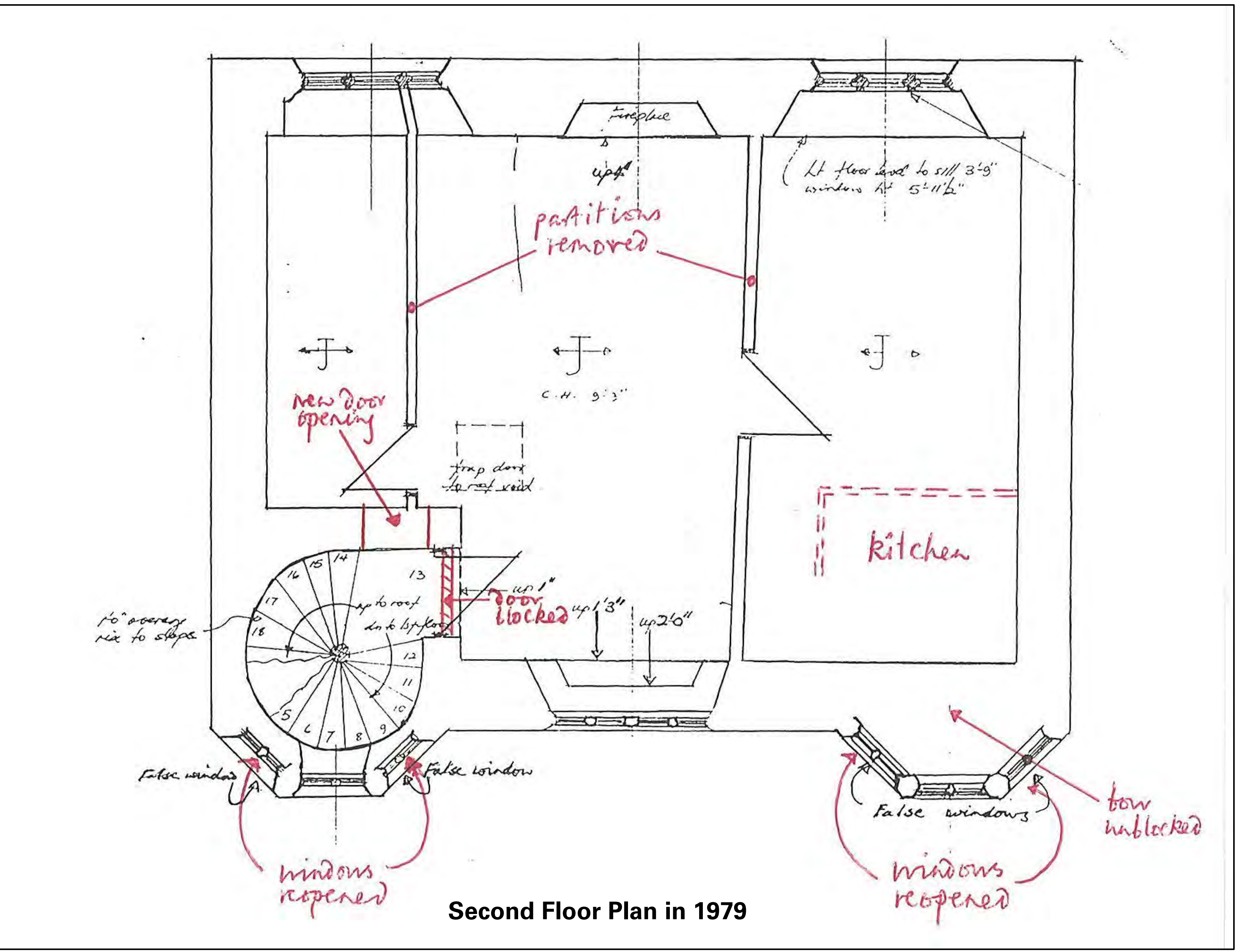
The stair had been repaired many times, and had reached the end of its life. The new stair copied the old one as closely as possible.

Meanwhile, landscape works were underway, beginning with clearance of undergrowth around the building itself. There were some very fine elms in front of the gatehouse, but these had died of Dutch Elm disease and had be cut down. The ground all round was then smoothed out, the level in front being taken down to the plinths of the walls, which had become hidden over the years.

More work had to be done to bring Shute Gatehouse back into good repair than anyone at first envisaged. In such cases it is inevitably the new work that dominates for a while. At the same time, we hope that by maintaining the standard of craftsmanship that went into making the building in the beginning, such a distinction between new and old becomes irrelevant, as both serve equally to illustrate the quality of a single, continuing, tradition.



First Floor Plan in 1979, before restoration. Landmark alterations are show in red.



Second Floor Plan in 1979

Window

Fireplace

Window

Plan of 'fish' ceiling, as in actual at Shute, 'mirrored' onto the floor. Drawn by Pearn + Procter.

Kitchen

Surviving areas indicated by red lines – remainder conjectural or as proposed for re-use.

Furnishing day, 1981.

Landmark and the Culture Recovery Fund 2020-21

Landmarks that benefitted from the Cultural Recovery Fund 2020-21

2020-21 was the year when the COVID-19 pandemic hit the UK, and for nine months out of twelve, Landmark had to close all its buildings, with a resulting cessation of the holiday income that funds our buildings' maintenance. Vital projects across Britain were put on hold because of the pandemic, because of uncertainty about when contracts could be agreed or when specialist builders and craftspeople would be allowed to work onsite again. The closure of Landmarks for holiday bookings from March to October 2020 and again from December to April 2021 was a devastating blow to our finances and directly impacted Landmark's maintenance budget.

However, in autumn 2020 we were delighted to receive a grant of £1.2million from the government's Culture Recovery Fund, allowing us to reignite our planned maintenance programme and ensure that none of our buildings fell into disrepair.

Under the auspices of the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the Culture Recovery Fund was designed to secure the future of Britain's museums, galleries, theatres, independent cinemas, heritage sites and music venues with emergency grants and loans. One strand of the Fund was the Heritage Stimulus Fund administered by Historic England, which included the Major Works Programme, source of the grant to Landmark. This transformative grant allowed a group of 15 critical maintenance projects at 17 Landmarks across England to go ahead.

The projects directly provided employment and training for more than 130 craftspeople, including many multi-generation family-run businesses local to our buildings. Masons, carpenters, architects, engineers and many more skilled specialists were involved across these sites, fuelling the recovery of the heritage sector and contributing to local economies on a national scale. Several sites hosted students and apprentices, providing vital opportunities at a time of great uncertainty.

When the first Covid-19 lockdown was imposed in spring 2020, work was just about to start on much-needed external masonry repairs at Shute Gatehouse in Devon. Thanks to the CRF, this much-needed maintenance was soon able to continue as planned. Local firm Orchard Stonemasons completed work to repoint stretches of the main structure, turret rooms and connecting walls in traditional lime mortar. This preventative maintenance work will ensure the structure remains weather tight.

Extract from *Greater Medieval Houses of England & Wales*, A. Emery, 2006

 -A Emery (2006)

left. The hall, 18½ feet by 15 feet, retains its original moulded ceiling beams, for it was always a ground-floor room, long before this became the standard practice in larger houses. It is generously lit by the two facing transomed windows, with a low window close to the upper end and facing an inner doorway which probably led to a garderobe. The present fireplace has a contemporary square-headed lintel decorated with three quatrefoils enclosing shields and a rosette. Yet this hearth's markedly awkward position suggests that it replaced one in the end wall, served by the chimney breast and blocked after the lintel had been removed for reuse.[14] Apart from the incorporation of the cross passage in the kitchen, this room is little altered. The stair within the hall is a replacement in the approximate position of the original one which ascended between two narrow partition walls. The north bedchamber above the hall seems to have been the more important of the two upper rooms, with an end-wall fireplace as well as two transomed windows. The low window probably served a small study unit over the stair. The slightly smaller south bedchamber has a similar light near the corner for a study, but in neither case do the partitions survive. Both rooms were formerly open to a roof spanned by arch-braced collar trusses, but they were ceiled in *c.*1600 when the attics were added.

The group of fifteenth-century stone houses in Trent reflect this village's late medieval prosperity. There were two manor houses, but they changed hands with a frequency that meant there was never an outstanding manorial lord. Both have been substantially modified[15] whereas The Chantry has been little altered, externally or internally, and is markedly luxurious for its occupant. John Franks, a native of Trent and Master of the Rolls in 1428, established a chantry in Trent church before his death in about 1438. It was to be combined with the creation of four fellowships at Oriel College, Oxford, to be held by students from Devon, Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire respectively. The chantry was confirmed by royal licence in January 1441, and the college paid £8 a year to the patron or rector for the support of the priest, who received £7 6s. 8d. for his salary, the upkeep of the house, and the ornaments of the chapel, and 13s. 4d. for the support of an annual obit for John Franks.[16] The construction of The Chantry may therefore be attributed to the 1440s. As there are two bedrooms, one may have been for visitors or for a curate. The upper floor, in particular, is very similar to contemporary lodging accommodation in academic foundations such as New College and All Souls, Oxford, with their large chamber windows and small study lights.

Miss Wood Legh's *A Small Household of the Fifteenth Century* (1955) is based on the household accounts kept by two chantry priests at Bridport between 1453 and 1460. They reveal, for instance, that workmen were frequently fed at their table and they took in lodgers to help cover their costs. Their stone-built house on the south side of the town began life as a late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century municipal building associated with the harbour. It was taken over and converted into a house in the later fourteenth century, divided at the rear to create a heated parlour and kitchen to the frontal hall, with the principal first-floor room given an extension over the porch, a fireplace, and a corner garderobe. The two chantry priests occupied it with little change.[17]

NOTES

1 Capably surveyed by W. A. Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 1 (1957) 118–46.
2 M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother* (1992) 104.
3 Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 1 (1957) 139–40. The house does not look its age externally, for the upper floor of the hall range was rebuilt in *c.*1850 when all the windows with their four-centred heads were given wooden frames.
4 R. Haslam, *Country Life* (September 1994).
5 A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (1947); W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (1955); N. J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish* (2000).
6 *Med. Arch.* 1 (1957) 120.
7 For the houses in Somerset and Devon, Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 1 (1957) 118–46, and *Med. Arch.* 17 (1973) 172–4. For those in Dorset, the RCHM volumes, and for Gloucestershire, D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire* I (1999) 67–9; II (2002) 64.
8 W. A. Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959) 216–58, where he draws attention to analogous types of lodgings, including those at educational foundations, vicars choral, and secular household lodgings.
9 G. H. Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (1947) and *English Collegiate Churches* (1959). Such collegiate foundations were not new, but permanent residence and a communal life in a purpose-built establishment was. Some were the consequence of an extremely wealthy patron such as Edward III at St George's Chapel, Windsor, Henry, duke of Lancaster at New College, Leicester, and Richard, duke of York at Fotheringhay. For less outlay, the practice developed of building a special chapel within a church solely intended for such masses, and they are among the glories of late medieval ecclesiastical architecture.
10 Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959) 224–31.
11 *Ibid* 231–4.
12 A. Emery, *Greater Med. Houses*, II (2000) 134–6.
13 RCHM, *Dorset*, I (1952) 258; Pantin, *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959) 237–40. The RCHM considers the front stack original. However, the upper window of *c.*1600 next to this stack suggests its probable date, added at the same time as the cross-passage wall and attic storey.
14 If there had been no hearth in this position, the stack serving the hearth above would have been corbel-supported at that level.
15 The south-east front of the Manor House north of the church incorporates part of a fifteenth-century hall with seventeenth-century windows and an inserted floor. The north-east wing is dated 1706 while the later south-west wing has reset fifteenth-century features. The smaller manor house, now called Church Farm, retains three fifteenth-century service doorways, one with an original door. Dairy Farm opposite The Chantry retains a four-light window with one of two cinquefoil lights above under a deep label. Even the Rectory retains a fifteenth-century doorway with foliated spandrels. RCHM, *Dorset*, I (1952); A. Sandison, *Trent* (1969).
16 *The Survey and Rentals of the Chantries . . . in the county of Somerset . . . 1548*, ed. E. Green, II (1888) 146, 326.
17 K. A. Rodwell, *Med. Arch.* 34 (1990) 122–43, replacing RCHM, *Dorset*, I (1952) 48. In the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the hall and parlour were decorated with geometric and floral wall paintings, a wooden screen was erected between the kitchen and rear parlour, and an attic storey was added with a columbarium. The stair and casement frames (in earlier stone window frames) date from 1870.

SHUTE, Devon

The approach to Shute is heralded by a pair of late eighteenth-century gate piers each side of the public road, followed a little further by a spectacular Elizabethan gatehouse with flanking walls and end turrets astride a green. The central entry leads onwards to a late medieval house in a parkland setting. These are the three key periods in the architectural history of Shute – a mid fifteenth-century mansion, substantially modified and extended in the 1560s,

and replaced by a Palladian residence in 1787 using some of the materials from the earlier mansion.

Shute stands 4 miles from the sea in the lower valley of the River Axe, though the earlier house faces its tributary, the River Coly. With the marriage of Hawyse des Schetes to Sir Nicholas Bonville in about 1292, the manor of Shute passed into the hands of the Bonvilles. During the fourteenth century, they were one of the respectable but not among the pre-eminent families of Devon, though several members were knighted and Sir Nicholas' grandson, Sir William Bonville (d.1408), 'enlarged his estate . . . and made his principal dwelling in this place'. A frequent member of parliament for Devon and Somerset (1366–1402), sheriff of Somerset in 1380 and of Devon in 1389, and a property holder in Devon, Cornwall, Wiltshire, and Somerset, Sir William's will of 1408 lists a 'hall, chamber, pantry, buttery, kitchen, and pastry house within his manor of Shute'.[1]

Sir William was succeeded by his fifteen-year-old grandson, also William, who served in France under Henry V and Clarence, was knighted there in 1417, and served under Bedford in 1424. He attended several parliaments during the 1420s and married prestigiously – initially to the daughter of Lord Grey of Ruthin, and by 1427 to the widow of Lord Harington and the aunt of the 13th earl of Devon. Bonville was favoured with several local government posts, including sheriff of Devon in 1423, justice of the peace in Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall in the 1430s, and steward of the duchy of Cornwall in 1437. It is not unlikely that the fierce antagonism between Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon (d.1458) and Lord Bonville that marked the region's politics during the 1440s and early 1450s arose over disagreement about his wife's property, personal antipathy, and particularly Bonville's considerable influence in local administration and court circles which culminated in his elevation to the peerage in 1449.[2] The long-simmering dispute broke asunder in an armed rebellion against Bonville in 1451 at Taunton, and in the earl's alliance with the duke of York in a failed military demonstration against Henry VI's government at Blackheath in 1452 (hindered by Bonville at Sampford Peverell), with Courtenay's subsequent loss of control and influence over West Country society. His isolation and antagonism towards his neighbour vented itself in a searing attack against Bonville and his supporters over a two-month period in 1455, initiated by the murder of Bonville's lawyer at his home at Upcott Barton,[3] even though he had been godfather to one of the earl of Devon's sons. Within five days, the news had travelled to East Anglia and was being discussed in the Paston letters, until it was succeeded by the report that the earl had attacked and commandeered Exeter, and was besieging his kinsman and Bonville supporter at Powderham Castle. The earl's success against Bonville in the armed conflict at Clyst Bridge, 4 miles from Exeter, was followed by the thorough pillaging of Shute by the earl's men, who seized a great booty of household furnishings, food, and cattle.

The final chapter of Bonville's highly successful life was a depressing one. His son and grandson were killed at the battle of Wakefield supporting the duke of York (December 1460). Despite Henry VI's promise of safety, Bonville was executed on the orders of Queen Margaret and the new earl of Devon after a Lancastrian victory at the second battle of St Albans (February 1461). Within weeks, in a total reversal of fortune, the crushing Yorkist victory at Towton resulted in the earl of Devon's death and the restoration of the Bonville estates by the newly crowned Edward IV to the one-year-old Cicely Bonville.

When she was scarcely fourteen years old, Cicely became the second wife of the twenty-four-year-old Thomas Grey, 1st marquess of Dorset (d.1501), and she lived until 1530. The manor of Shute was held for six months by the 2nd marquess (d.1530) and forfeited to the crown in 1554 when the 3rd marquess was executed for attempting to put his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. The property was held for a short time by Sir William Petre, who sold it to Sir William Pole in 1560, a family who had held land at Colyton since about 1300 and owned Colcombe 'Castle' nearby. A successor, Sir John William Pole, built the Palladian house on the south-facing slopes of the park, now divided into apartments.

The L-shaped medieval fragment that still stands at Shute, built of flint rubble with ashlar dressings, is crowned with a boldly embattled parapet supported on a continuous string course terminating in gargoyles at the corners. Now three-storeyed, it served as a farm or barton for 160 years, before its rehabilitation as a residence in the 1950s initiated an extended discussion as to its original function which centred on its incorporating the hall and solar of the early house.[4] Nicholas Cooper's discovery in 1996 of a detailed survey of the mansion in 1559 revealed that the structure fulfilled entirely different functions.[5] It was a two-storeyed kitchen and service building with staff rooms above, built round two sides of the kitchen court, with the kitchen gate from the outer court on the third side.[6]

Figure 161, drawn from the information provided in the survey of 1559, reflects the layout and condition of the mansion at the point when it was sold to Sir William Pole for £300. The outer gate accessed the Outer or Base Court, surrounded by several stables with staff lodgings above and a great barn. Two opposing entries led to the Inner Court and Kitchen Court respectively, the former with the hall and residential apartments beyond it, and the latter to the kitchen and services with chambers above. Shute, like many of the greater houses of the fifteenth century, followed a multiple courtyard layout, and one which extended uphill from west to east. The upper end of the hall and the great chamber block were sited at the higher level, enabling the ground floor of the latter (used in 1559 as a wine cellar) to be built partially below ground level. Furthermore, the residential tower projecting from the corner of this block, possibly an addition to the initial layout, was the height of fashion between *c.*1445 and 1500.[7] The residential ranges built in the early sixteenth century by Cicely Bonville's second husband brought the house closer to the parish church, clearly viewed at that time as a manorial chapel, but it was not until the 1560s that an entirely new northern approach was created with the construction of the still-imposing gatehouse and flanking turrets (fig. 162). This survey is supplemented by a drawing of 1781 held by the Carew-Pole family of Antony, Cornwall, showing that the late medieval embattled south front from the present kitchen to the lost east tower was totally refenestrated by Sir William Pole (d.1587).[8]

The house known today as Shute Barton was a tall, formerly two-storeyed building of the mid-fifteenth century, with a lower kitchen gateway added on the west side in about 1500, not long before some minor modifications were made to the adjacent block. The house was altered more drastically in the 1560s when the middle storey was inserted, considerable refenestration was undertaken, and a

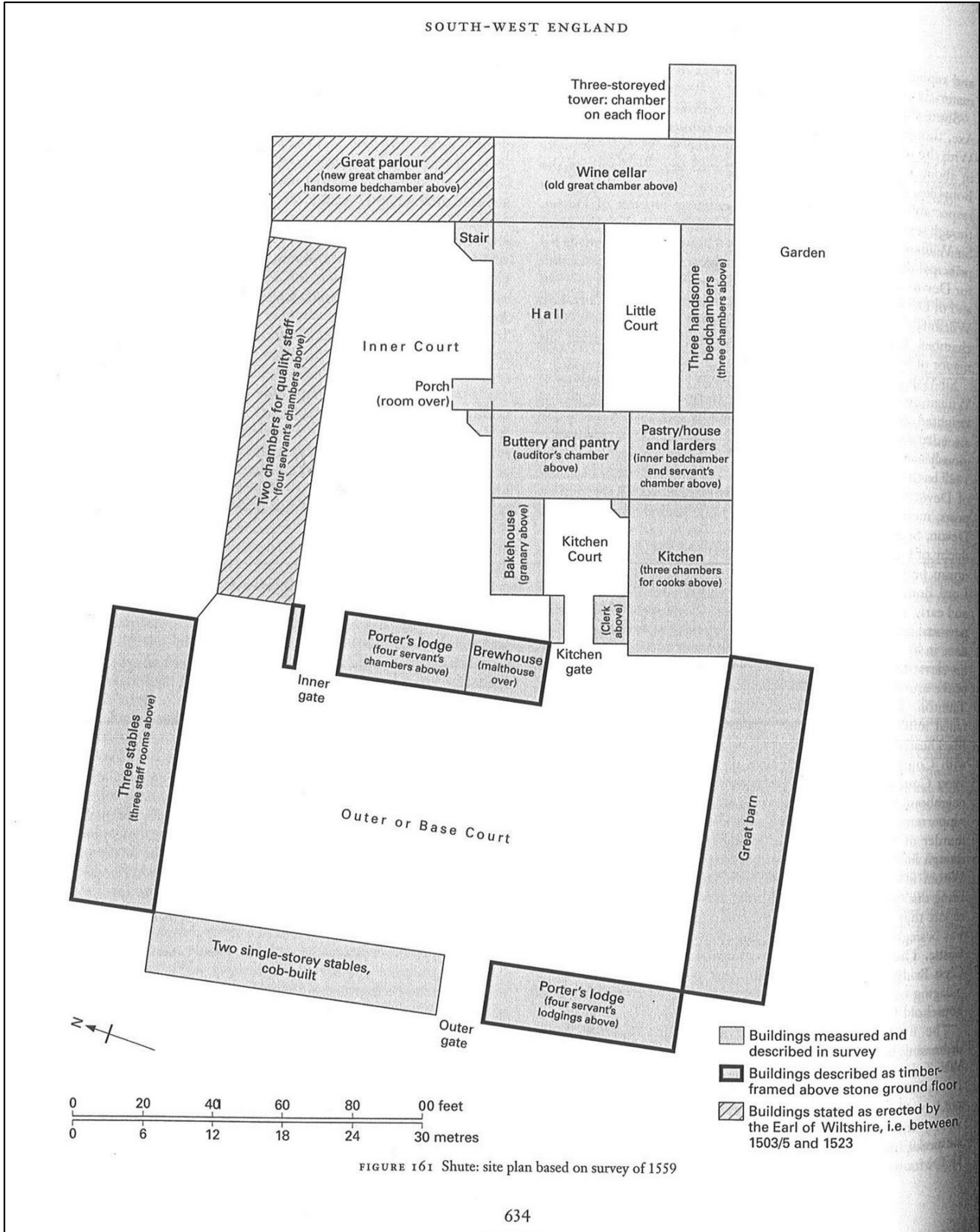


FIGURE 161 Shute: site plan based on survey of 1559

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PLATE 275 Shute: Kitchen Court from the north with pastry house kitchen with chamber above, and Kitchen Court gateway

short three-storeyed extension was added on the south or garden side with decorated battlements. The house immediately displays the distinctive window form of these three primary periods – twin trefoiled lights set in square frames under a pointed relieving arch, twin uncusped lights, and flat-headed windows with bolection mouldings under square hoods with short end stops.

The present approach is from the north, in line with the showy gatehouse of about 1565 with its nineteenth-century replacement end turrets (fig. 162). Entry lies across the site of a bakehouse with granary above which made the Kitchen Court no wider than the kitchen gateway. This original approach was from the west (on the site of the present farmyard) and through the utilitarian entry passage with its flattened segmental entry arch with diamond stops and small side room. External steps lead to a single room above, with a two-light window overlooking the Outer Court, a single cinquefoil light to the Kitchen Court, a square-headed lintel to the fireplace (with quatrefoil light to the side) and arch-braced collar trusses. This 'ys a handsom chamber with a chimney leading upp by a vyce from the sayde lytle court. This chamber hath a closet adioyning unto yt And sved for the stuard or clerke of the kychens chamber.'[9]

Turning now to the main structure, this consists of two blocks, the kitchen on the south side of the court, and the services at a right angle on the east side. The 1559 survey reveals that the buttery and pantry lay to the north with the 'fayer' auditor's chamber over, and that the bakehouse and larder were in line with 'an ynner chaber or bed chaber [above] and another bed chaber for srvantes, and house of Offyce'. Thus the ground-floor services opened from the lower end of the hall, which was porch-approached. The octagonal turret opening from it with 'the vyce or stayer going to the sayd lodings' still stands at the north-east corner, next to the almost blank end wall of the hall supported by a line of late eighteenth-century buttresses. Beyond the hall lay a Little Court, from which the bakehouse and larder opened, marked today by the remainder of the buttressed blank wall. The three-storeyed residential projection in extension of this block is not noted in the survey and therefore post-dates it (pl. 189).

The kitchen doorway with continuous-moulded jamb and two-centred head is flanked by two much-altered windows. Originally taller under a relieving arch, they were replaced in the mid-sixteenth century by lower windows (internal splays hacked back), square-headed frames and hollow chamfers, subsequently changed for casements similar to the present mid-twentieth-century replacements. An unaltered early window survives opposite, with two trefoil lights. The west wall of the kitchen is spanned by a spectacular hearth, 22 feet wide and 8 feet deep under a four-centred head. Buttress-supported externally, it is possibly the largest medieval hearth to survive in England and is a massive feat of masonry construction. The kitchen was originally much larger and taller, but a mid floor was inserted in the 1560s and the area was shortened with a post and panel screen to create an east-facing room at a slightly higher level, now a parlour.

The juxtaposition of kitchen and pastry house had occurred at Woodsford 'Castle' nearly a century earlier, and at Shute the hearth is 11½ feet wide with a plain low head. Yet there are some features here which suggest that the pastry house block was a secondary build, including the construction of the hearth against rather than within the kitchen wall, the different direction of the beams between the two service blocks, and the lower roof over the pastry house and larders.[10] The area now extends into the ground floor of the Elizabethan extension and is used as a dining room.

The jambs and relieving arch of the entry from the Kitchen Court to the former buttery and pantry survived a mid-sixteenth-century blocking and window conversion,[11] while the rooms have been remodelled for current occupation as a staircase hall, kitchen, and utility area. Just as the stair turret at the courtyard angle of the two blocks gave direct access (now filled) to the room above the kitchen, so the octagonal turret at the north-east corner was the approach to the chamber over the buttery and pantry. This last room is notable for the two-light trefoil transomed window facing north with shutter rebates. Though used by the auditor in the mid-sixteenth century, it would have been occupied initially by a higher member of the Bonville family, and open to the roof. This and the remainder of the block, subject to the inserted floor, is used for the deal stair, panelled withdrawing room, and featureless bedrooms, with further bedrooms immediately above the kitchen.

The original chamber high above the kitchen has been restored to its early condition. This four-bay room is lit by two pairs of trefoil-headed windows under a four-centred rear arch towards the Kitchen Court, and three twin-light windows with uncusped heads towards the garden. These were inserted shortly after 1500, and probably did not replace earlier ones as two of them undercut the ends of the roof trusses. Their insertion may have been in response to the creation of 'three chambers for the Cookes' mentioned in the 1559 survey. The head of the kitchen stack is so large that it not only fills the end wall but is of sufficient depth to allow a small closet to be inserted on each side – that to the south-east was a garderobe with its discharge slot some feet above the base of the stack. There seems to have been a fireplace in the middle of the opposite end wall, now marked by a diminutive hearth to one side. The wall plates and vertical timbers that carried the roof trusses were replaced by concrete ties in the 1950s, but the arch-braced collar

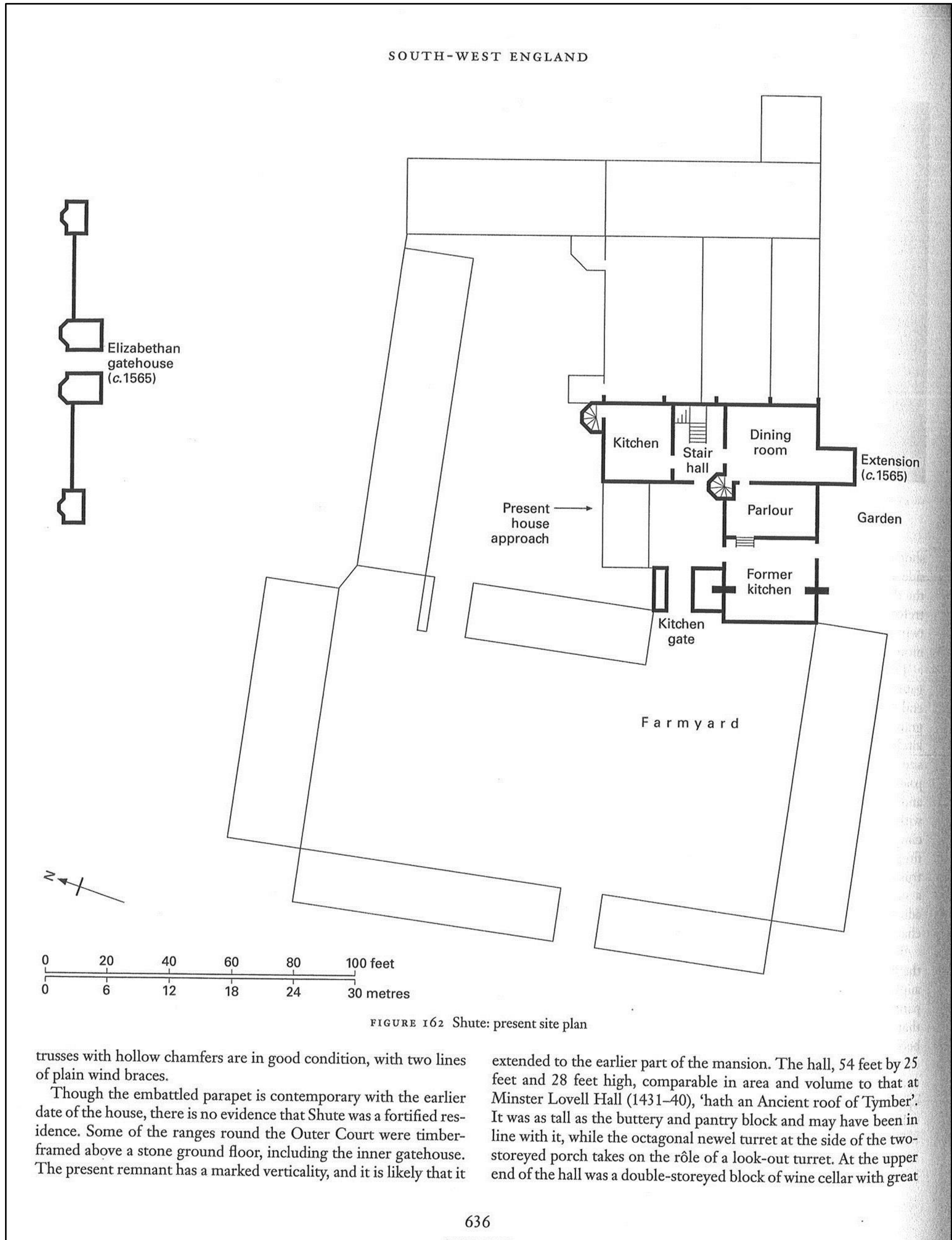


FIGURE 162 Shute: present site plan

trusses with hollow chamfers are in good condition, with two lines of plain wind braces.

Though the embattled parapet is contemporary with the earlier date of the house, there is no evidence that Shute was a fortified residence. Some of the ranges round the Outer Court were timber-framed above a stone ground floor, including the inner gatehouse. The present remnant has a marked verticality, and it is likely that it extended to the earlier part of the mansion. The hall, 54 feet by 25 feet and 28 feet high, comparable in area and volume to that at Minster Lovell Hall (1431–40), 'hath an Ancient roof of Tymber'. It was as tall as the buttery and pantry block and may have been in line with it, while the octagonal newel turret at the side of the two-storeyed porch takes on the rôle of a look-out turret. At the upper end of the hall was a double-storeyed block of wine cellar with great

chamber above, with 'a fayer tymber roofe seeled and painted wit dyvrs armes'. Higher still was a 'handsom lodging of one roome for a gentleman', 12 feet square, surmounted by a 'turreyy covred with leade'. Excavation of the site has never taken place though it would be likely to offer a valuable return.

Although it was formerly considered to be of the late fourteenth century, a date of *c.*1460 has been suggested for Shute, based on the ascriptions given in the survey of 1559.[12] The well-formed trefoil lights and two-centred arches suggest the former rather than the latter period, and this is not at variance with the associated four-centred forms. However, the survey states that 'the auntient house' was by Lord Bonville (d.1461), with additions by Cicely Bonville under her second husband and therefore between *c.*1505 and 1523. Bonville was one of the 'new men' of Henry VI's reign. Though of modest background, two financially rewarding marriages, personal energy, and political opportunism brought him rank and influence. He was a career soldier who fought in France in his youth and again in middle age, when he spent several years helping with the relief of Gascony as its seneschal and with a modest-sized army (1443–7). He was an extremely capable and energetic official in local government. In the 1430s and early 1440s,[13] he built up a power-base to challenge the long-held regional leadership of the earls of Devon, and forged political associations at court in the early 1450s that helped to topple the earls as the dominant power-centre in south-west England.[14]

Though Bonville's grandfather seems to have remodelled Shute during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, it was inadequate for Sir William's standing and his growing political position in the west of England. With the financial resources that marriage and offices brought, Bonville rebuilt Shute on a more expansive scale. The standing structure can be attributed to him, and probably the destroyed hall, chamber block, and associated lodgings for his family, friends, and staff. A date between his second marriage (1427) and his elevation to the peerage (1449) is most likely, with a weighting towards the 1430s when he was a thrusting young Turk making a statement about his political standing to his neighbours via an up-to-date house. It would have been before his extended absence abroad and the violent clashes thereafter with the earl of Devon. By the late 1450s, he was in his sixties and an old man, essentially retired from the tensions and polarisation of court politics, but the three-storeyed residential tower opening from the south-east angle of the great chamber may well have been a late addition.

Shute is a trophy house, one of a number built during the second quarter of the fifteenth century to reflect the spoils of war, success on the battlefield, or achievements as an officer of state or at court. A substantial number of such houses were initiated in the 1430s, including Minster Lovell Hall (1431–40), Caister Castle (1432–45), Hampton Court, Leominster (*c.*1434–*c.*1440), Wingfield Manor (1439–*c.*1450), Herstmonceux Castle (*c.*1438–*c.*1449), and Sudeley Castle (*c.*1441–58). Each one of these was built entirely anew on a site cleared of all previous buildings. They were essentially domestic in character, developed around two or more courtyards to provide adequate household as well as family and guest accommodation, were completed in the builder's lifetime, and reflected his achievements in war or at court. Though this may have applied to Shute, the irregular layout of the inner court could well have been determined by the position, if not the existence, of key structures of Sir William Bonville's late fourteenth-century residence.[15] The seal was set on Bonville's local supremacy and crown support when Shute was visited by Henry VI on 14 July 1452, 'with a great train of noble gentlemen and others', during his extended progress to the west of England and the Welsh border.[16] It is reasonable to assume that Bonville, one of the fifteen lords accompanying the king, would want to show off his newly developed mansion that reflected his considerable standing in the region. A date for the construction of the surviving remnant in the 1430s/early 1440s mirroring Bonville's rising sphere of political influence and patronage, particularly with the upper ranks of local society, would not be at variance with the historical and architectural evidence, though dendrochronology would bring greater precision.

NOTES

1 *Exeter Register of Bishop Stafford: 1395–1419*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (1906) 390.
2 R. L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (1966) 85–6 and subsequently where he discusses Bonville's career at some length. This antagonism was exacerbated by two factors. Bonville had formed a warm friendship with Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham Castle, a close kinsman but leading critic of the earl, while Henry VI made a serious blunder in 1440 when he bestowed the stewardship of the duchy of Cornwall estates on the earl as well as Bonville. R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (1981) 574–6; J. R. Lander, 'Henry VI and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate 1455–6', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 43 (1960–1) 44–69.
3 Most of this medieval house was rebuilt in the early seventeenth century.
4 Hussey (1951); National Trust (1996).
5 Devon Record Office 123/M/E99.
6 N. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry: 1480–1680* (1999) 57.
7 A. Emery, *Greater Med. Houses* II (2000) 350–5.
8 Copy held in the house at Shute.
9 This and subsequent quotations are from the 1559 survey, see note 5.
10 I owe this suggestion to John McCormack.
11 It may have been the exit of a central passage between the services with a pentice to the kitchen, though an entry from the end of the hall cross passage into the Little Court, and thence along the south wall of the buttery and pantry to the fifteenth-century doorway opening from the staircase hall into the parlour (formerly the eastern half of the kitchen), is just as possible. The secondary addition of the pastry house and larders would not invalidate this approach.
12 Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry* 57.
13 During these years, Bonville was appointed constable of Lydford Castle and subsequently of Exeter Castle, and keeper of the western seas. While he subsequently undertook military service in Gascony, the earl of Devon refused to serve abroad in the hope that he might rebuild his position in the south-west during Bonville's absence. He failed, and briefly served abroad himself to try and influence government affairs, again unsuccessfully.
14 M. Cherry, 'The struggle for power in mid fifteenth century Devonshire', in *Patronage, the Crown, and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. R. A. Griffiths (1981) 123–44. The failure of the crown to resolve the long-standing quarrels between Devon and Bonville and equally those between Berkeley and Talbot, Neville and Percy, Norfolk and the Pastons during the mid-fifteenth century was symptomatic of the fundamental weakness of Henry VI's government and the collapsing authority of the crown.
15 This would still apply, even though two of the inner court ranges were rebuilt in the early sixteenth century.
16 B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (1981) 259–61.

C. Hussey, *Country Life* (February 1951)
The National Trust, *Shute Barton: Leaflet* (1996)

1.—THE GATEHOUSE AND ELIZABETHAN GAZEBOS

SHUTE BARTON, DEVON–I

A PROPERTY OF SIR JOHN CAREW-POLE, Bt. By CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY

Built before the end of the 14th century by Sir William Bonville. Large additions were made by his great-grand-daughter, Lady Cicely, Marchioness of Dorset, circa 1500, *but were mostly demolished in* 1785. *In the time of Queen Elizabeth Shute was acquired by Sir William Pole and the gatehouse built.*

2.—THE GATEWAY. The Pole arms over the gateway indicate a date about 1570 despite the lively late-Gothic sculpture

IT is uncommon nowadays to discover an important 14th-century house unrecorded. The omission of this remarkable building may be due to the slipping up of the usually indefatigable Hudson Turner who, in *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages* (1859) states that it no longer exists. Possibly he had been misled by Richard Polwhele's record (*History of Devonshire,* 1806), that "Sir John William de la Pole Bt. lately destroyed a great part of a very old seat called Shute House; he has now finished another upon a large scale, begun in 1787, two furlongs distant." These intimations are true; the present Shute House, a considerable mansion containing fine Adam-style rooms, stands higher up in the ancestral park; and little remains of the great Tudor house of the Greys, Marquesses of Dorset, which had been added to the old house of the mediæval Bonvilles. But when Sir John William de la Pole pulled down the "great part," he left the Bonville building apparently intact, and this, occupied till 1949 as a farm-house, remains essentially unchanged.

Shute, anciently Le Shete (Ekwall: "Old English *Sceat,* perhaps in the sense 'park'"), stands on the isolated and wooded hill of that name overlooking the lower valley of the Axe, between Axminster and Colyton, near Seaton Junction. If "park" is the meaning of its name, the picturesque scenery of its hilly setting may be little changed through a thousand years, since its earliest recorded possessors called themselves Shete from the place, which must therefore have been "parklike" before their arrival. The de Shetes lived there till the time of Henry III, when the place passed to Sir Thomas de Pyne, of that ancient Devon family. He died in 1295 when Shute went by marriage to Nicolas Bonville.

The Bonvilles became great people in the West Country in the late Middle Ages, partly through inheriting lead mines in Mendip. This valuable possession came to them when John, the son of Sir William Bonville (grandson of the Nicolas who married Hawise Pyne), married Elizabeth, heiress of John (Rodney) Fitz-Roger, of Chewton Mendip. John, however, died in 1395 during the lifetime of his father, who lived till 1408. Sir William Bonville, to whom we can ascribe the building of Shute, was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset 1381-82, and of Devon in 1390. His will shows him

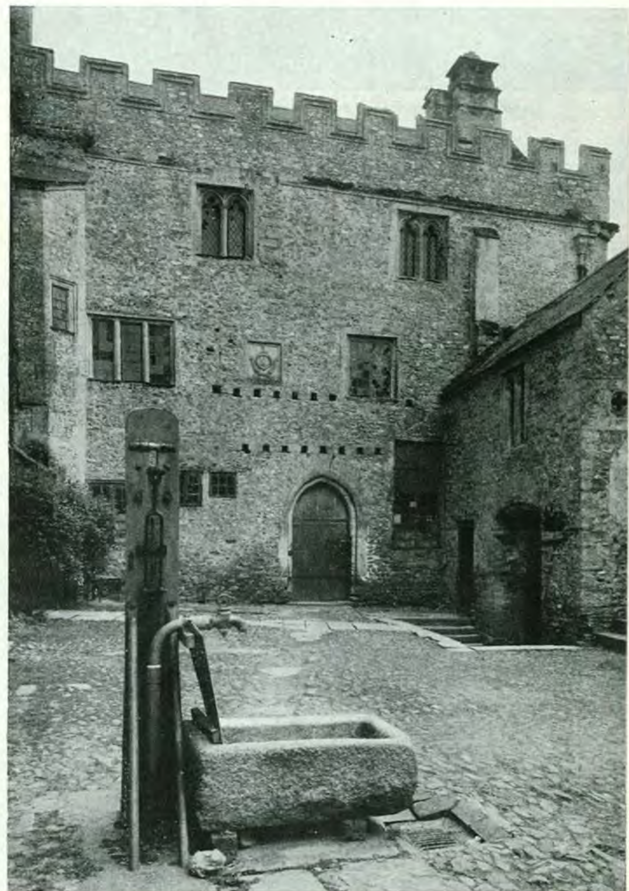
3.—THE EAST ELEVATION OF HOUSE AND GATEWAY. The portion to the left is Sir William Bonville's manor house, c. 1380; the dark buttressed side marks the position of the additions pulled down c. 1785

to have been a man of wealth, public spirit and piety and refers to his house at "Shete" in some detail. It will be worth quoting from this document next week, when we shall investigate the building more closely. Here a cursory inspection of it must suffice.

The present approach is through the great 16th-century gateway (Fig. 1), to which we shall return, and which was presumably aligned on the later buildings demolished in 1785. The relationship of gateway and house is seen in Fig. 3: the drive runs north-west and south-east, but for simplicity will be regarded as east and west, so that the blank side of the house, supported by 18th-century buttresses where the demolition took place, is termed the north side. Incidentally, the ground begins to rise fairly steeply north of the drive towards the church, so that the later buildings (possibly forming three or four sides of a court) cannot have extended far northwards. The remaining east elevation, built of flint with ashlar dressings, is divided by a projecting tower. This has inset 17th-century windows, but battlements with quatrefoil ornament and gargoyles (resembling those on the gatehouse) at string-course level. To the right (N) of this bay are late 16th-century windows, but nearly all to the left is 14th century.

The original approach is from the south (Fig. 8), where the early plan begins to reveal itself. A gate in a massive wall, in which there are traces of defences, gives from a lane into what has long been a farm-yard, from which opens the gateway (apparently mid-15th century) seen in Fig. 8. The gateway contains steps rising to the courtyard, and above it is a room with a braced roof possibly an oratory. The view of the courtyard (Fig. 4) shows the back of the range seen in Fig. 3. This has a 14th-century doorway between partly blocked tall Gothic windows, and two pairs of trefoil-headed windows at the top. At right angles to it is the range of which the other side is the blank face in Fig. 3; it is of two-storey height with flat-headed mullioned windows and a doorway, set in the pointed relieving arches of 14th- or 15th-century apertures. In the angle formed by the two ranges is a turret containing a newel staircase from the lower to upper floor. The other two sides of the court consist in farm buildings of uncertain date. The west end of the north range (Fig. 9) has an octagonal turret *c.* 1500 with elaborate gargoyles, and is similar to those of the gatehouse. In its base is a door to a newel stair which leads up to the roof. A brick buttress and a set-off probably show that this tower was at one corner of a Tudor façade extending north across the drive.

This north range has some features which resemble those of the 14th century in the east block, but it must probably be ascribed in its existing form to the Grey ownership in the late 15th. We can, however, compare Shute, a high building



4.—THE WEST SIDE OF THE BONVILLE HOUSE OF c. 1380, FROM THE COURTYARD. The original entrance gatehouse is seen on the right

3.—THE EAST ELEVATION OF HOUSE AND GATEWAY. The portion to the left is Sir William Bonville's manor house, c. 1380; the dark buttressed side marks the position of the additions pulled down c. 1785

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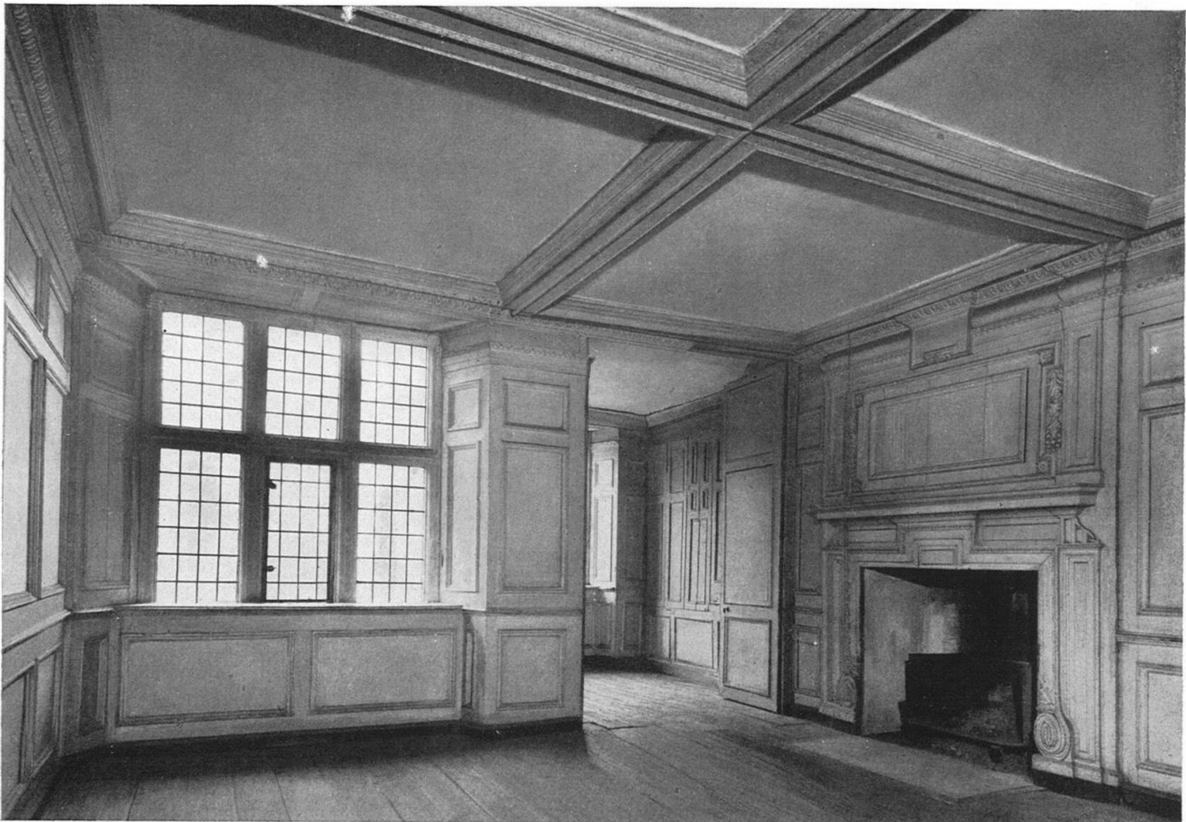
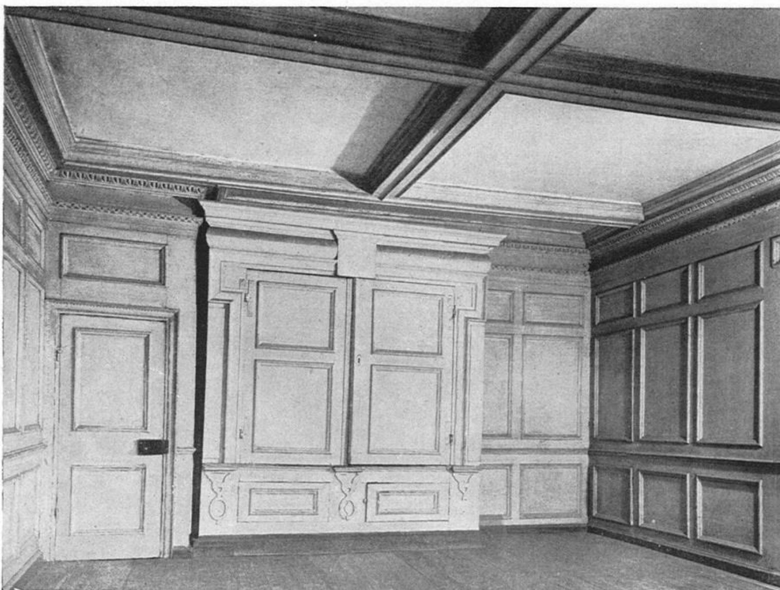


5.—THE FIRST-FLOOR ROOM IN THE NORTH-EAST CORNER, c. 1660. The closet is contained in the square tower seen in Fig. 3

consisting of two ranges at right angles approached through an enclosed court-yard, to the 14th-century Markenfield Hall near Ripon. Anticipating the argument of the second article, it must be said here that the east range contains the kitchen on the ground floor, above which was the hall, while the upper part of the north range contained a solar. The small gate-house and chapel appears to have been added or to have been subsequently altered, but to be essentially part of the mediæval plan.

On his death in 1408, Sir William Bonville was succeeded by his grandson William, born at Shete in 1392, who also inherited his mother's estate at Chewton near Wells. He was Sheriff of Devon in 1422, in France and Seneschal of Aquitaine, 1442, and was summoned to Parliament 1449-60 as Lord Bonville and Chewton. In 1455 he espoused the Yorkist cause, but in 1461 was beheaded, under treacherous circumstances, when he fell into Lancastrian hands after the Battle of St. Albans. His second wife was the widow of the 4th Lord Harington, beside whom her effigy lies in Porlock Church (1471), and had no children by either husband. William, Lord Bonville's son, married the heiress of the 5th Lord Harington, step-nephew of his step-mother, and was killed at the Battle of Wakefield, in 1450, together with his son.



6.—THE INNER END OF THE SAME ROOM, WITH A LARGE CONTEMPORARY CUPBOARD

This youth, styled Lord Harington, left an infant daughter, Cicely, by Katherine Nevill, daughter of Richard Earl of Salisbury, whose mother was Jane Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. The Earl was also killed at Wakefield. So Cicely inherited as a child not only the Bonville domains but considerable other estates. She married first Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, whose mother had married secondly King Edward IV, who thus became her step-father-in-law. Dorset died in 1501, when Lady Cicely married Henry Lord Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire (died 1523). In her later years this great lady, who had lost virtually all her male relations in the Wars of the Roses, added to and adorned most of the churches on her wide estates, very notably that of Ottery St. Mary. After her death in 1530, Shute was merged in the estates of her son and grandson Marquesses of Dorset, till the latter, created Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded in 1553 after the failure of his attempt to set his daughter Lady Jane Grey upon the throne.

So when Leland had passed through Devon he had noted :

About a mile or I came to Colington I saw from an hill Shoute, a right goodly manor house of the Lord Marquise of Dorsete, and by it a goodly large parke.

It is not known when exactly the great additions to Shute were made. The presumption, in view of Lady Cicely's long life and passion for building, would be that it was between 1476, when she married Thomas Grey, and 1501 when he died, or 1530. The north wing in its surviving form is probably her work. But the gatehouse, although rich in late Gothic sculpture, has throughout flat mullioned windows of Elizabethan type, and heraldry denoting the Pole family. Moreover, should the gatehouse itself be accepted as of the first quarter 16th-century, the symmetrical extensions of ragstone in the form of walls supporting terraces and ending in what can only be called gazebos are Renaissance in feeling. Leland's words, and such surviving features of the house as the cresting of the turret on the east front, and the octagonal west tower, leave little doubt that the main building had been enlarged before 1500. But as to the gatehouse, one is

8.—THE SOUTH END OF THE 14th-CENTURY HOUSE, WITH THE GATEHOUSE TO THE COURTYARD

7.—MONUMENT TO SIR WILLIAM POLE, 1741, BY SIR H. CHEERE. In Shute Church

9.—A STAIRCASE TURRET AND THE WEST END OF THE NORTH RANGE. Early 16th-century. The buttresses c. 1785

driven to the conclusion that Sir William Pole, in Elizabethan times, had a great deal to do with its present appearance, if he did not build it entirely. The closest analogy is perhaps to the gatehouse of Place House, Titchfield, built by Lord Southampton after 1540. The vigorous late Gothic sculpture here could still have been carved by an old mason about 1575, unless it was re-used. Just conceivably Pole moved the gatehouse bodily from the end of the west wing (Fig. 9)—where the existing turret could have originally flanked a gateway—and re-erected it, with his own windows and heraldry, on its present site as entrance to a typically large Elizabethan forecourt.

Some support is given to this speculation by the character of Sir William Pole II. After the execution of the Duke of Suffolk, his vast estates were seized by Queen Mary's government, Shute being given to her Secretary of State, Sir William Petre. He parted with the property to a lawyer, Sir William Pole, of a family connected by marriage with Devon, who took up residence at Shute and died 1587. His son, knighted in 1606, was one of the early antiquaries and divided his time between an active interest in the colonisation of Virginia (whither several of his children emigrated) and collecting a great quantity of MSS. on the history and antiquities of Devon. Most of these perished in the Civil War, but surviving fragments were subsequently published. Unfortunately his notes on Shute are vague concerning the building. He says "my father had the house and park from Sir W. Petre, and dwelled there during his life and left it to me. My eldest son John Pole holdeth it from me." But the nature and heraldry of the gatehouse, the occurrence of the initials W.P., and the Motto *Pollet Virtus*, taken in conjunction with Sir William II's antiquarian tastes, support the conclusion that the gatehouse range is an example, like Lulworth Castle, of Elizabethan romanticism. The antiquary is known to have rebuilt, in a castellated form, Colecombe "Castle" near-by, whither he retired on making over Shute to his son and where he died in 1635.

John Pole, his son, was created a baronet in 1628, dying in 1658. Either he or his son Sir Courtenay evidently carried out some alterations in the classical style, inserting the sash-window in the turret of the east front (Fig. 3) and forming the delightful room which it lights (Figs. 5 and 6). It is the only one in which any trace of the Pole occupation survives, and the massively correct treatment of the mouldings suggests the Commonwealth period or very soon after the Restoration. The immense cupboard set against the inner wall (Fig. 6), though evidently contemporary, is not fitted into the wainscot, but stands separate. The survival of Jacobean strapwork ornament round the drawers in the base suggests its early date in spite of the bolection mould of the cornice.

Sir John, 3rd baronet, was active in Whig politics under William III and Queen Anne, whom his son Sir William served as Master of the Household. When the latter died in 1741 his lifelike effigy by Cheere, holding his wand of office and set upon an exquisite plinth, was erected by his executor Sir John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe at the cost of £300. From his third son, who married a grand-daughter of Sir John Carew, 1st baronet of Antony, Cornwall, descends the present owner of Shute, who inherited the estate in 1926 on the death of Sir Frederick Arundell de la Pole, 11th baronet, his distant kinsman.

(*To be concluded*)

SACRED RELICS

A Golf Commentary by BERNARD DARWIN

In a corner of the big room in the Club House at Rye there is a sort of little alcove which the club has kindly given over to the Oxford and Cambridge Golfing Society to house various photographs and other relics, and the President's Putter itself. To these relics I lately had the satisfaction of adding two, one merely as the agent of another's kindness and one on my own account.

They represent the two famous golfers who played together for Oxford in the first University match in 1878, Mr. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Horace Hutchinson. Mr. Stuart's son has been good enough to give us an old wooden putter of his father's, a most engaging club that has the indefinable quality of "sitting down" perfectly on the turf that belongs to really good putters. It is a delightful possession and I imagine that someone may be tempted to take it out quietly and putt with it. There may not be quite the same temptation in the case of my contribution, which is Horace's famous driver, 46 ins. long. To hit a ball with it would seem at once too profane and too difficult a task. I have parted from it with terrible reluctance, but dreadful things can happen to old clubs in private houses; too swiftly the tide of oblivion can overwhelm them and it is right that they should be given permanent homes where they will be securely cherished and never forgotten.

* * *

This colossal driver is of historic interest, at any rate for those who are fond of everything that is old. In 1903 Horace came up to Muirfield to play in the Amateur Championship, rather out of practice and, as I remember vividly, walked straight on to the course for his first match without having played as much as a single hole, to say nothing of a round, beforehand. However, he worried his way through, as a really good player can, improving as he went along until he reached the final against Bobby Maxwell. That at Muirfield was a grim task and Horace lost by 7 and 6. He found that his younger and stronger opponent had too much the better of him from the tee and determined on drastic measures. When he got home to Forest Row he made John Rowe build this driver for him, six whole inches longer in the shaft than his old one. And it gave him new life and length and interest in the game. In the next year's Championship at Sandwich he revenged himself on Maxwell, winning a great match at the 19th hole, and that after having lost the first three holes. I remember the dramatic finish of it very well: Bobby lofting a stymie to save his neck at the 18th and Horace getting down in two out of the cross-bunker guarding the first hole to win the match. Alas! the effort had been too much for him and when he came to play the American invader, Travis, in the afternoon, his strength had ebbed away. "Yon's your murderer," said Andrew Kirkaldy to him, pointing at Maxwell and it was all too true.

The interesting thing about the club, or at any rate one interesting thing, is the extreme smallness of the head. Rowe never did, as I remember, make big heads and the one at the end of this vast shaft looks tiny. This was carefully thought out by Horace. "Of course," he wrote in *Fifty Years of Golf*, "the longer the club the lighter you must have the head. That has to be understood, for otherwise you get a weavers' beam that is quite unlike the club of the balance that is familiar to your hand. But if you reduce the head-weight judiciously you can lengthen the shaft unbelievably without making accurate hitting any harder. And with the longer shaft it seems, according to my experience, that you get a longer ball." Certainly he did get a perceptibly longer ball than he had done for some years past, a ball with a high, floating carry, and he swung the club with perfect, almost flamboyant ease; nor, in fact, does the club feel heavy or clumsy to the hand, though strange it does feel.

I am glad that these two relics of the past will be at Rye this spring, so that the young gentlemen from Oxford and Cambridge, who play their match there in March, will be able to examine them with curious and, I hope, reverent eyes.

* * *

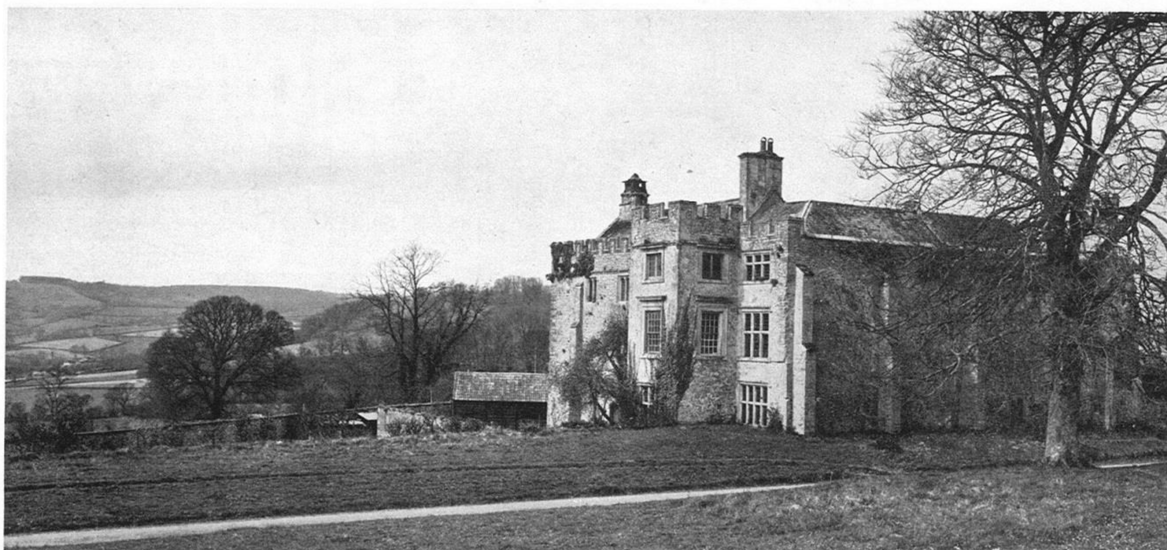
To a good many people Rye always seems the ideal home for the University match, and I entirely concur in this view, though it has been a course of ill omen for my own Cambridge. The match was first played at Rye in 1911 and this year will be the sixth time that it has been played there; yet Cambridge's score, if not exactly "as blank as their faces," consists so far of one single victory, in 1929 when they won handsomely by four matches. The matches have grown sadly dim and confused in my head by this time, though I saw them all, but there is one stroke that will always be remembered from the 1911 match, alike for its dramatic quality and the strongly differing views held as to it by the respective partisans of the two sides.

There will always be these differences; doubts have even been thrown on the precise quality of at least one of the balls in Cobden's famous hat-trick for Cambridge in 1870. All that is beyond question is that the second ball shattered the wicket of Belcher and the third that of Stewart. So all that is certain about this shot of 1911 is this: that H. R. Wakefield, of Oxford, who played it, had pushed out his second to the 18th hole and lay on that nasty, sandy country below, faced by a steep bank leading up to the green; that he hit the ball hard against the bank, and that it rose in an elegant curve, bounded once upon the green and lay near enough to the flag for him to hole his putt. Oxford naturally and properly declared that this was a fine shot, finely thought out and played, and that to bang the ball into the bank was the only way to play it. Cambridge, without denying the last part of the proposition, had the hardihood to assert that he had meant to loft the shot and had topped it instead. A good deal must be allowed for the momentary bitterness of defeat, but now after forty years I am prepared to give the player unstinted credit for the shot, and yet I still sometimes do wonder.

* * *

As to this year I am beginning more and more strongly to hope that I shall see Cambridge break this spell of Rye ill fortune. I am ashamed to say I have not watched them play yet, but I hope to be soon doing so at Addington and later at Worlington. Meanwhile if one compares the results of the two sides' matches against much the same opponents, then so far Cambridge have it beyond doubt; but this comparative method is not always conclusive and can be extremely dangerous. I am full of hope, but from what I have seen of them I cannot get it out of my head that Oxford are a better side than they have yet shown themselves.

University sides can show great and sudden improvement in the last few weeks of a term. I remember two years ago, a little while before Cambridge's unexpected victory at Hoylake, saying to Fred Robson that one or two of them seemed to have come on very fast. "They're young, sir," he replied, "they're young."



1.—THE HOUSE FROM THE NORTH-EAST, SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE DEMOLISHED TUDOR ADDITIONS ON THE RIGHT

SHUTE BARTON, DEVON—II

A PROPERTY OF SIR JOHN CAREW-POLE, Bt. By CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY

Built towards the end of the 14th century by Sir William Bonville, the house is a remarkable example of the "tower type" of mediæval manor house

2.—THE OLD GATEWAY TO THE COURTYARD FROM THE SOUTH

THE situation of this remarkable mediæval house is well shown in Fig. 1 where we are looking south-westward in the direction of Colyton. The wooded hill partly hidden by the building is the old deer park, lying beyond the valley which the house overlooks, while the home park stretches away behind the observer over the high ground known as Shute Hill, and contains the late Georgian house built by Sir John William de la Pole. It was he who about 1785 pulled down the early Tudor additions to the old house made by the Greys, Marquesses of Dorset, and erected the row of buttresses along the northern side where it had adjoined. The original approach from the valley side is still practicable and brings us through a forecourt, used as a farmyard, to the windowless end (seen on the left of Fig. 3) which contains the gateway to the courtyard (Fig. 11). The flat segmental arch with diamond stops to the drip-mould show that this porch or gatehouse (seen from within in Fig. 4) was built or much altered in the 15th century. A pair of cinquefoil-headed lights above the inner archway light a room with trussed and braced roof, approached by the external steps, which has the appearance of having been an oratory, though it contains a fireplace, a quatrefoil aperture beside it. This gate-porch narrowly misses a lofty, partly blocked window where it joins the main building.

The original arrangement of this massive structure (Fig. 4) presents a complicated problem, the solution of which will now be attempted. First, the exterior must be examined. One notes that the plain pointed doorway (Fig. 8) is flanked by a pair of partly blocked windows which originally must have had upper and lower lights; that the first-storey windows are of *c.* 1600; and the coupled windows of the second storey are trefoil headed of late 14th-century type. The string-course above them is plainly

3.—THE 14th-CENTURY HOUSE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

chamfered but has grotesque gargoyles at the angles. Coming round to the east front (Fig. 3) the same fenestration scheme is repeated, with unduplicated lower windows, and here the top series have plain four-centred heads, as has the low doorway. On both fronts is a shallow buttress. This supports the wide fireplaces within, which, with their flues, fill the south end of the building. The square turret on the right is more richly detailed than the remainder in the style of *c.* 1500, having quatrefoil tracery on the battlements and a flower ornament in the string-course—both at a higher level. It appears to be unrelated to the 14th-century plan and to be part of the Grey additions. It shows no trace of having been a porch, as one might expect it to have been, but, since all its windows are 16th and 17th century, has evidently been much altered. Behind it is a 16th- or 17th-century stack of chimneys. At the south end the ridge roof ends in a gable, set back to afford gangway inside the battlements, and surmounted by squat coupled chimneys with Gothic capping, set not abreast but along the ridge.

Returning to the courtyard we see (Fig. 2) that when the gatehouse was added steps were inserted, as in the lower courtyard at Haddon Hall (*c.* 1500), showing that, if horses were admitted, they must have entered elsewhere. The same view shows the base of the staircase turret in the angle of the east and north ranges, and that it has a blocked pointed doorway; the windows of the turret seem early 16th or late 15th century. The doorway to the left of it is later, but there is another, visible on the left of Fig. 4, which, though partly blocked, was originally pointed. All the windows in this north range are flat-headed, though surmounted by pointed relieving arches like those in the east range, and have mullions of 16th- or 17th-century section. Above the doorway in the east side of the court a tablet bears the date 1840. Inspection of the battlements shows that many have been repaired in brick, probably at that date.

The door in the east range (Fig. 8) gives into a low room with a vast hearth filling the whole south end (Fig. 6). The north end, next the door, is formed of a timbered screen.

4.—THE COURTYARD, LOOKING EAST. On the right, the gatehouse abutting on to the high range containing hall and kitchen

5.—THE 14th-CENTURY HALL, LOOKING SOUTH. THE FLOOR HAS BEEN RAISED SOME 4 FT.

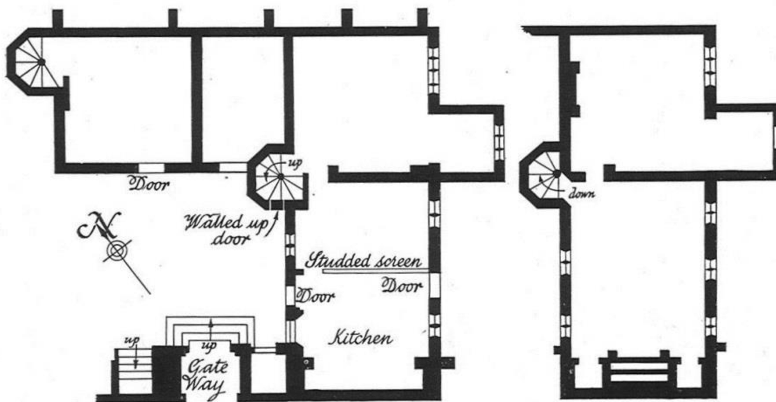
The windows are of Jacobean type to both east and west, suggesting *c.* 1600 as an alternative date for the alteration of the floor-levels. But the reasons adduced above for dating that *c.* 1450-1500 seem to me convincing. If the intermediate floor was formed then as accommodation for domestic servants, but with no more light than afforded by the upper half of the west kitchen windows, it may be admissible to think that these conditions were found intolerable at the later date, so that Sir William Pole undertook the task (shirked by the Greys) of piercing the thick walls with new windows for the intermediate storey.

The newel stair leads direct (Fig. 10) from ground level to the second-floor room (Fig. 5), which occupies the whole area of the range south of the square east tower, and has a splendid trussed and braced roof (strengthened with pine tie-beams later). This is now close above one's head, which it is unlikely was the original intention. The late fireplace has been added in front of a partition wall (built of clunch for lightness), in the end of which doorways open into deep spaces running back to the south wall, flanking the main kitchen flue and possibly another from the intermediate level. The curious arrangement of all this end is connected with the question of the original floor level.

The ceiling, carried on very massive beams, cuts across the heads of the windows to the court; but the windows on the east side (where there is also the low segmental doorway) all come beneath the ceiling-level, suggesting that they were inserted when defensive considerations were less important, to supplement the west windows truncated by the lowering of the ceiling. Thus the kitchen (if such it was—and the huge hearth seems to confirm it) was originally higher; and it was originally lit only from the court, with no windows or door in the lower half of the external walls. The timber screen forming the north end of the kitchen and curtailing its full extent seems to have been inserted at the same time as the lowered ceiling, which the cinquefoil east windows suggest was in the second half of the 15th century.

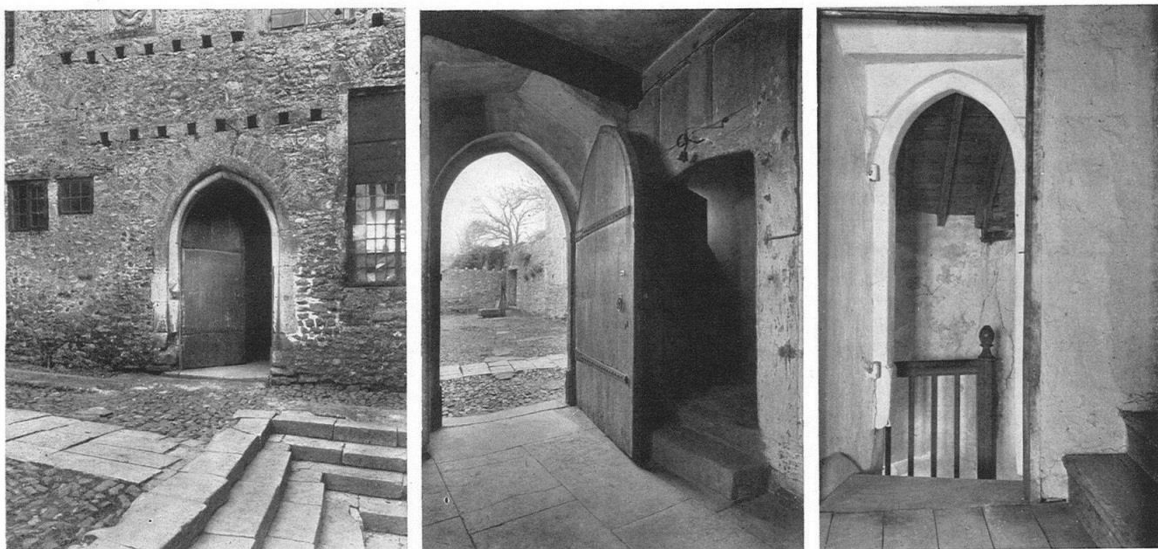
Several small rooms with no original features occupy the remainder of the ground floor. The plan suggests the possibility that the hall may originally have occupied this position, with the projecting tower serving as oriel window. But the evidence that the tower is a later addition, and the absence of any other confirmatory features, discourages this hypothesis. The existing first floor, which is reached by an independent late deal staircase, contains the bedrooms used by the tenant, which have no features of interest.

6.—THE GREAT HEARTH, SPANNING THE SOUTH END OF THE KITCHEN



7.—PLANS: GROUND FLOOR; (*right*) UPPER FLOOR OF EAST WING

We have seen that the ceiling of the kitchen has been lowered some 4 feet. This was clearly done to form the intermediate storey, and for the same reason it would have been necessary to raise the floor of the upper room by about the same amount. In that case the original floor-level would be roughly that indicated in Fig. 4 by the upper row of putlog holes (the existing kitchen ceiling being at that of the lower), and we should get an upper room with walls some 15 feet high, above a kitchen 12 feet high. This upper room, it is contended on the analogy of the 14th-century Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire, where the same arrangement exists, was the original hall. The small original doorway by which it is now entered, and which this hypothesis leaves in the air, may have given on to some kind of gallery above the entrance end of the hall for access to the upper rooms northward of it (to the right in Fig. 10). At Markenfield and elsewhere the



8.—THE ENTRANCE DOORWAY, FLANKED BY BLOCKED GOTHIC WINDOWS. (*Middle*) 9.—THE SAME DOORWAY, FROM THE KITCHEN. (*Right*) 10.—DOORWAY TO THE HALL AT THE HEAD OF NEWEL STAIRS

raised hall was approached by an external stair, probably of wood. That may have originally been the case here, and have been connected with the putlog holes. The angle stair-turret does not appear to have communicated with the original floor level, and would have provided very cramped access for a hall.

The original arrangement of the fireplace end must be hypothetical, since the hearth at the lower floor-level has disappeared. It probably extended much of the width of the hall, above the kitchen hearth, but slightly in front of it so as to enable the kitchen flue to pass behind its own flue. This left deep recesses on either side of the flue at the upper level, and after the floor was raised the square headed entrances to these were made (or the chimney wall extended to enclose them).

The windows of *c.* 1380 on the west (Fig. 4) and apparently *c.* 1450-1500 on the east (Fig. 3) would have been some 8 ft. above the hall floor in their present position; also their difference in date is suspicious. The exterior walling immediately below them shows signs of disturbance in places. I suggest that, as at Markenfield, they were originally much larger, possibly traceried, and that the present windows were inserted when the floor levels were altered: early Tudor windows on the east, and old 14th-century lights re-used on the west.

The rooms north of the hall were transformed in the 17th century; that on the first floor was depicted last week, and that over it, at the present upper floor-level, has a fireplace of that date in its west side. We therefore cannot know the original arrangement, though, on the analogy of Markenfield, the oratory may originally have opened out of the hall, before it was removed to the gatehouse (if it was); or the solar have occupied this position. The north wing at present shows small evidence of being earlier than the mid-15th century. The upper room has the appearance of having been a solar of that period, possibly connected with other rooms now demolished. Its present ridge roof is of no great age; possibly it replaces a flattish lead roof, since blocked Tudor lights in the peak of its east wall (lighting the top north-east room) would have been serviceable only if this roof was of low pitch. The mullioned windows are all of Tudor type, though contained in late Gothic embrasures. At the north-west corner is the octagonal stair-turret illustrated in the first article.

The builder of the eastern block was Sir William Bonville, Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset 1381-2 and of Devon in 1390, died 1408, whose grandfather had become possessed of Shete (as it was called). Sir William's will (printed in Hingeston-Randolph *Exeter Register of Bishop Stafford*, p. 390), among very numerous bequests chiefly for masses to be said in, and benefactions to, churches of the West Country, makes specific reference to his house at Shete. After directing £300 for founding *un meison Dieu a excestre en Combestrete pour xij pourez hommes et femmes* ("an almshouse in Combe Street, Exeter, for 12 poor men and women"), and 100 marks for the repair of *lez pontez et voyes que sont feblez et per-*

11.—THE SOUTH GATEWAY TO THE COURTYARD

fondes deinx mes Seigneuries en les countez de Devens' et Somerset, he devised to his wife

> *C marcz de money, la moite* (half) *de tout moun Vesselles dargent . . . Ensement ieo deuise a dite compaigne* (wife) *toutz mes librez vestimentz avec aultre apparaill a ma chapell regardantz, forpris un missall le pluys petit quelle ieo deuise a lesglise de Socke Denys. Ensement ieo deuise a ma dite compaigne toutz maners necessairiez appourteignauntz a ma sale, chambre, Panetrie, Botellie, Cusyne, et pestrine deinz moun maner de Shete. Ensement tout mon estor* (store cattle) *viff et mort en mes ditz manoirs de Shete, Whiscombe, Douylesheies, Uppeheis, Southleigh, Tateworth, et Pokyngtoun a temp de ma mort. . . .*

From which we learn that Shute House in 1408 contained a hall, chamber, pantry, buttery, kitchen, and pastry, and possibly the chapel alluded to. The hall, chamber, and kitchen have been accounted for; the other rooms can no longer be identified but would fit comfortably into the remaining, altered, parts of the plan.

The old French of this worthy knight's testament is a little difficult to read, but I have quoted this excerpt verbatim because there we have the very words and speech of the man who built and lived in this house nearly 500 years ago. As a house it is as puzzling and out of date as Sir William's syntax—though a farmer and his family have till lately contrived to make sense of its accommodation. The owner, whose forbears have always lived at the other end of the county, is naturally in much perplexity what to do with this precious historical relic. A considerable sum of money needs urgently to be spent on repairs, and much more should be spent on the careful restoration of a building that is among the most important surviving non-castellated dwelling-houses of the Middle Ages. With Markenfield Hall and Little Wenham Hall it represents a West Country version of the uncommon "tower" type of Plantagenet manor house, as contrasted to the normal "hall" type. Being, in addition, structurally intact, it is of greater historical value than a ruin. The happiest solution would be that the Ancient Monuments Department of the Ministry of Works should take Shute Barton under their expert care.

Extract from *Transactions of Devonshire Association*, Vol 49 (1917)

THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PLASTER CEILINGS OF BARNSTAPLE.

BY BRUCE W. OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

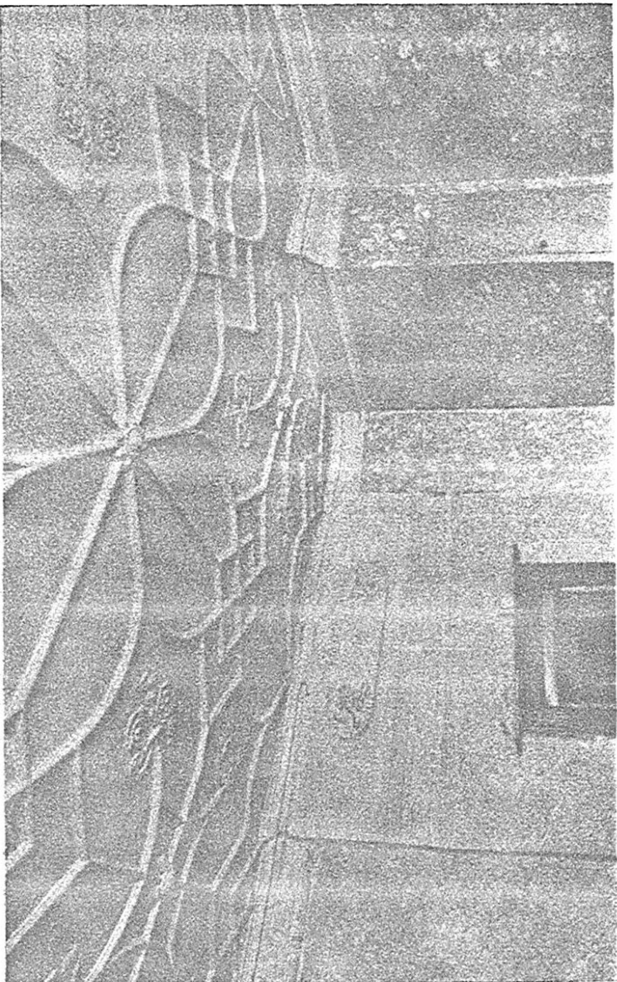
(Read at Barnstaple, 25th July, 1917.)

BARNSTAPLE, occupying a dominant position in the northern half of the County of Devon, had its full share in those heroic days which won for the county the proud title of "The Shire of the Sea Kings." This is well expressed by Cotton in his *Barnstaple during the Civil War*, where he says that Barnstaple is "perhaps best known as one of the seaport towns of Devon, figuring not inconspicuously in maritime annals, from whose harbours proceeded most of those enterprises—legitimate or illegitimate, half mercantile, half piratical—which characterize more particularly the Elizabethan period."

In any town possessing such a past as this, good examples of the art of the period are to be expected. The visitor to Barnstaple will not be disappointed. Much has disappeared, but also much remains, and Cotton's description of the town, written in 1889, still holds good. "The fronts show but few traces of domestic Architecture of the first half of the seventeenth century, but in secluded back parlours of some old houses, are to be seen the somewhat coarse, but highly decorated plaster ceilings and the carved oak of that period."

One by one these examples are disappearing, many have gone and no record or description has been preserved. Fearing the destruction of others I set myself the fascinating task of preparing a photographic record of such examples of the plasterers' art as now remain, in some cases measured drawings are also being made so that proportion and design may be studied and compared.

Directly accurate measurements are taken it is discovered



8. No. 8 CASTLE STREET.

PLASTER CEILINGS OF BARNSTAPLE.—To face page 191.

that exactness of angle and line is not to be found; some allowance must no doubt be made for age and shrinkage, but the modern mechanical preciseness was evidently neither attempted nor desired.

There is considerable variety in the designs employed in the Barnstaple ceilings, but they may be broadly classified into three groups, each distinguished by the type of rib used.

These are:—

The SINGLE RIB,
The DOUBLE RIB, and
The ENRICHED RIB.

By the Single Rib is meant that in which the mouldings composing it project from, and return to, the ceiling without break. When the face is sunk or broken between the mouldings on either side the rib is that known as Double. The Enriched Rib is similar to the latter, but the sunk space on the face is filled with enrichment.

The single-rib ceilings are undoubtedly the earliest of the three types, and are well represented in Barnstaple by no less than nine examples, mostly in excellent preservation. I have selected three examples of this type for comparison. They are respectively situated at—

No. 36 Pilton Street (1)[1]
No. 8 Castle Street (3)
No. 8 Cross Street (4)

In each case the ribs are similar in appearance, the mouldings being composed of simple rounds and hollows and varying but slightly.

In the Pilton ceiling (1) the form of design is based on the square set anglewise, all the ribs are straight with the exception of those carried through the small squares, these being bent into ogee form to fill the space in each angle of the room.

The design of the ceiling in Castle Street (3) is also set out on a square basis, but instead of the design being in one unit it is repeated until the whole ceiling space is occupied. Many more curved members are employed than at Pilton, forming lozenge-shaped panels radiating from a cone-shaped boss placed over each centre crossing of the ribs.

[1] The numbers given refer to the list at the end of the paper.

The type of design in Cross Street (4) is completely different, the whole of the ribs being curved, forming panels of kidney shape arranged round a central panel in which are the Town Arms on a Flemish escutcheon.

Each of these three ceilings is enriched with cast ornament.

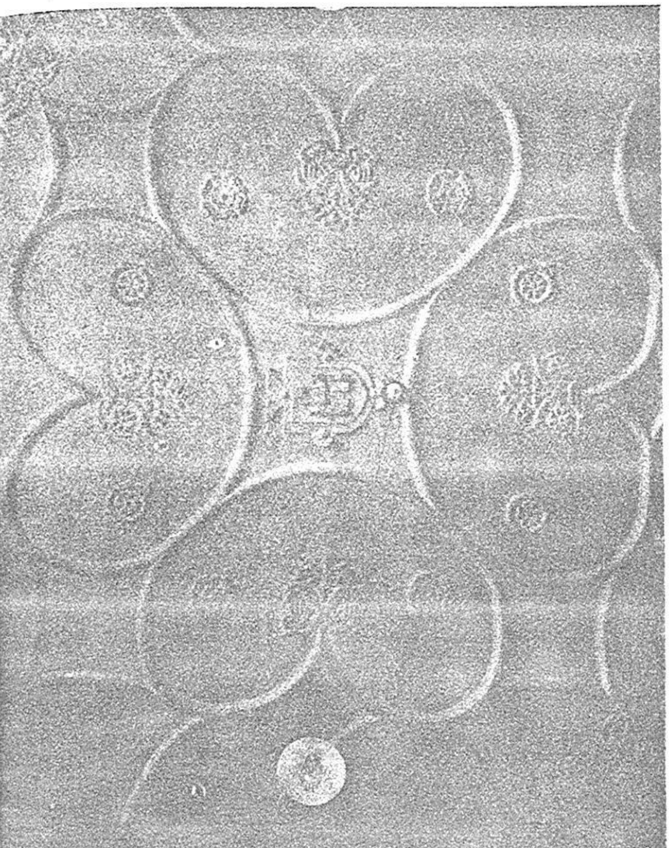
At Castle Street (3), sprays of one type only are employed, but at Pilton (1) there are two and at Cross Street (4) three varieties.

These sprays are variously composed of cones, fruit, foliage, and flowers, such as the marigold, pink, rose, forget-me-not, etc. They are placed as terminatives to ribs forming external angles and are a most effective finish.

The Pilton and Cross Street ceilings (1 and 4) are also enriched with isolated pateræ of two kinds, one a conventional Tudor rose and the other a daisy in a ring, outside which is foliage forming a square. In both ceilings these pateræ are precisely similar and are evidently from the same mould or press.

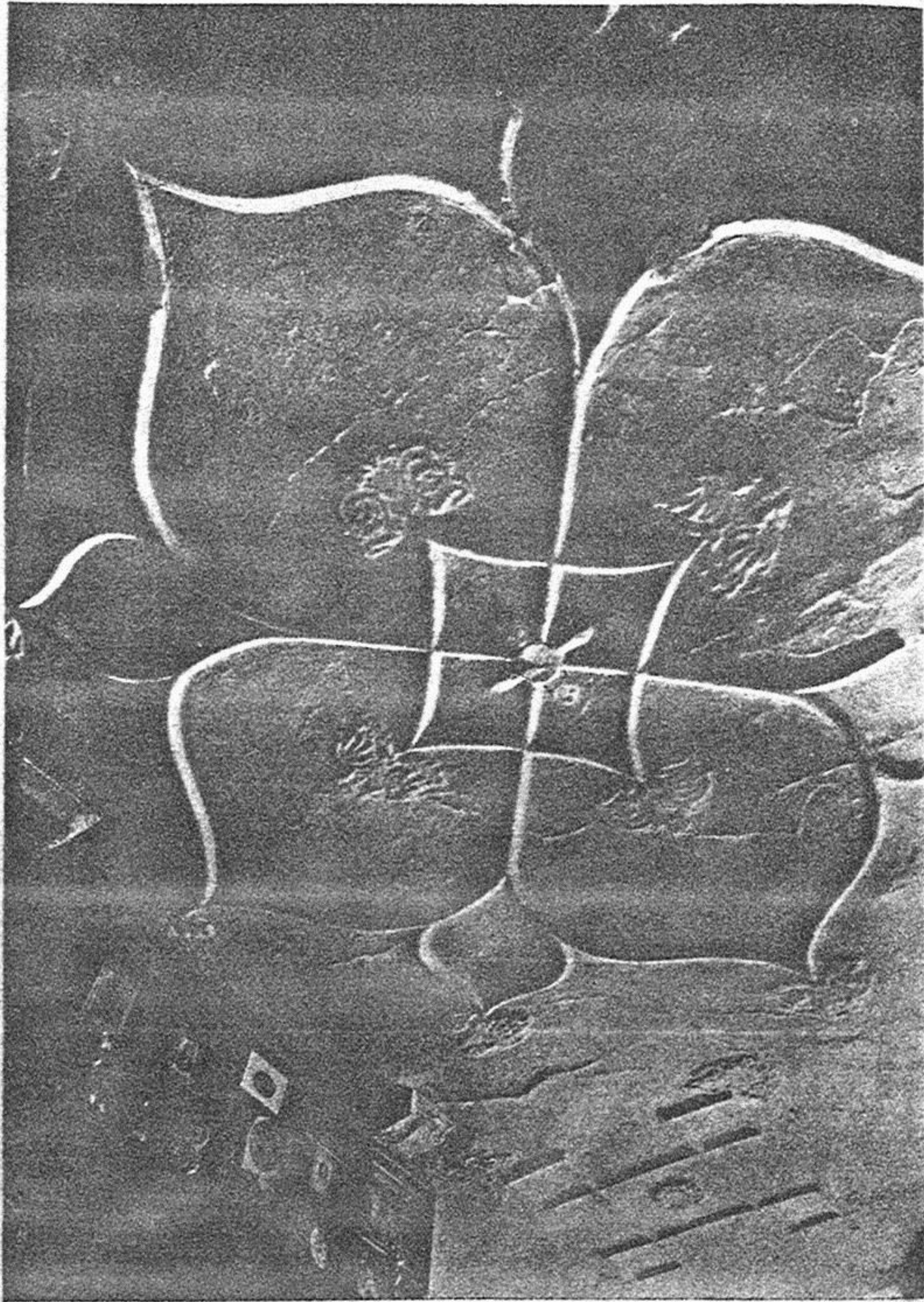
Another interesting device found in the Pilton and Castle Street ceilings (1 and 5), but missing in the Cross Street example, are small cone-shaped bosses, set over the principal crossings of the ribs, with little mouse-eared leaves, creeping back to the face of the ceiling between each rib. Originally a device to cover the mitring of the moulds, a joint always difficult to the inexpert, we here find them retained for their value as an enrichment when the plasterers had surmounted the difficulty. It was no doubt these small bosses which gave the suggestion for the pendant, which steadily grew in importance till it dominated the complete design, and finally drew the whole ceiling ornament to the space immediately surrounding itself, leaving the rest an unadorned surface: this is well exampled in the ceiling of the Chapel in the Penrose Almshouses (18) and also in a ceiling in the "New Works" (7) on the Strand, where the design, radiating from a large central pendant, is composed of single ribs similar to those in the ceilings described.

A most interesting single-ribbed ceiling was unfortunately destroyed at the building of the Wilts and Dorset Bank in High Street (8). It consisted of single ribs radiating from heavy plaster pendants and forming fan and diamond shaped panels, the whole design being linked up



1. No. 8 Cross Street (Ground Floor).

Plaster Ceilings of Barnstaple.—*To face page 192.*



2. No. 37 PILTON STREET.

PLASTER CEILINGS OF BARNSTAPLE.—*To face page* 193.

9. THE GOLDEN LION HOTEL (GROUND FLOOR).

PLASTER CEILINGS OF BARNSTAPLE.—To face page 193.

by connecting ribs. The panels were enriched with floral sprays, but these were modelled and not cast as in the examples just described. To the student of plaster-work this was without doubt the most attractive ceiling in the district, and its destruction is much to be deplored. The only remnant is the pendant preserved at the Art School.

In the room immediately over the example given in Cross Street (4) is a very similar ceiling (5) to the one described, but the panels are in this case heart-shaped, radiating from a centre pendant. Here, there are no pateræ, but only sprays, of which there are two kinds. One, composed of pinks, roses, and marigolds, is, I believe, from the same mould as the similar sprays in the Pilton ceiling.

The other ceilings of the single-moulded type are all uniform to those already described. There is another in a house at Pilton (2) of the same character as the Cross Street examples (4 and 5). At the Golden Lion Hotel, on the ground floor, is an elaborate design (9) carried out in single rib. Here again, the Arms of the Town occur, and flying horses enrich the plain surface, together with the usual sprays.

The double-ribbed ceilings are poorly represented in Barnstaple. Only two examples are left, and these are to be found at the Trevelyan Hotel (10) and the Dodderidge Library (11), but in each case we find but a small portion remaining.

The Trevelyan ceiling (10) is identical in design with the single-ribbed ceiling of the Golden Lion Hotel (9), with only slight variation as regards enrichment. The pattern is built up from squares set apart and linked by ribs arranged in octagonal foliation, from each cusp of which springs a cast spray. Cast ornament occupies the centre of each panel.

Very little remains of the original ceiling in the Dodderidge Library (11), which building was erected by the Mayor and Corporation in 1667. Here there is a graceful pendant, with four radiating heart-shaped panels, enriched with two kinds of sprays, one of cones and the other floral, both of which are to be seen in the No. 36 Pilton ceiling (1), and the floral spray is to be found in many others of the town.

The enriched rib type is represented by six examples, all tolerably perfect, and include the extraordinarily rich

ceilings, typified by that in the famous Golden Lion Hotel.

The three examples selected for comparison are :—

No. 98 High Street	(12)
The Golden Lion Hotel, Boutport Street	(13)
The Trevelyan Hotel, High Street	(17)

Of these, the first is of simple design, composed entirely of straight lines and without enrichment in the panels. The ribs have very slight projection, and their running enrichment is composed of two distinct designs, one of flowers, the other of pomegranates. This is the only enriched rib ceiling now remaining in Barnstaple in which curved ribs are not used.

The simplicity of the first illustration is in complete contrast to the wild exuberance of design found in the "Golden Lion" ceiling (13), where not only the ribs, but the panels of every size and form are crammed with cast and modelled ornament. The design is built up with radiating ribs, forming kite-shaped panels, four of each to the complete unit, which is linked to the next by circular panels, the spaces left between being enriched with strap-work forming octagonal or circular frames to Biblical subjects—the Temptation, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, the Annunciation, and the Adoration. Rose sprays occupy the radiating panels, those which are fan-shaped having the addition of a bird. In the circles are birds of heraldic character, and the remaining spaces are occupied by various animals.

The ceiling is of "coved" type, and in the centre or flat portion, the radiating ribs curve downward at their centre, from which spring three important pendants of skeleton form, composed of iron clothed with plaster. A quaint feature to the two end, or lesser pendants, is a small plaster figure seated within, one bearing the date "July 9th," and the other the year "1620," no doubt informing us of the day when the ceiling was completed, and these figures set in place.

Particularly suitable is the form of ceiling to the type of design, for the sloping sides give an excellent point of view for the figure subjects. This is evident in comparing this ceiling with that on the first floor at No. 7 Cross Street (15), where, with the exception of the pendants being omitted, the design is precisely similar. In Cross Street,

13. THE GOLDEN LION HOTEL (FIRST FLOOR).

PLASTER CEILINGS OF BARNSTAPLE.—*To face page 194.*

15. No. 7 CROSS STREET (FIRST FLOOR).

however, the ceiling is flat, and the height of the room but little over eight feet, hence the beauty of the decoration is almost completely lost, although the modelling is better than that at the Lion Hotel (13).

These ceilings not only illustrate the favourite sacred subjects of the time, but are also a veritable Natural History Book. At the "Lion" may be seen the hawk, heron, peacock, swan, and a cockerel, and the elephant, hog, sheep, goat, donkey, hare, and hound. It is interesting to observe that the modeller was a little uncertain about the joints of the elephant's hind leg, and has reversed the ordinary articulation of that member. This has been corrected in the Cross Street example (15), which contains even a wider range of beasts, a monkey, lion, unicorn, bear, horse, and griffin being included. In the same house on the ground floor is another old ceiling (16) of enriched rib type, in which various fish are modelled.

The Trevelyan ceiling (17), unhappily somewhat mutilated, is of much more simple design than the foregoing. It is coved in elliptical form, and has a central pendant from which radiate ribs forming four lozenge-shaped panels, part of a repeating pattern. Curved ribs making hollow-sided or cushion-shaped panels intersect, and from their points spring large sprays which are probably partly modelled and partly cast; they are composed of pinks, roses, daffodils, and foliage, and are much lighter and less formal in character than the earlier sprays. The escalop shell occurs in the small panels.

There is another enriched rib ceiling (14) at the Golden Lion Hotel besides that already described. It is equally interesting but much less ornate in design, having a pleasing pendant, also an "Atlantes" figure and corbel cleverly clothing the constructional roof truss. Very graceful too, are the Lunette ends of the room, decorated with sprays, with a squirrel or a bird upon them. The ceiling sprays are similar to those used on the single-ribbed ceiling at Pilton (1), which would have been finished at least some fifteen years before. The frieze is identical in design with several still to be seen in the town, and they are all no doubt from the same mould.

It is disappointing that amongst all the records and papers relating to the town, no mention is to be found of the plasterers or their work. Judging from the quantity of plaster-work still remaining, not only in the town itself,

but in many old Manor Houses and Bartons, every house of importance of this date must have been thus ornamented. Of the men who carried out this work and their methods, no mention is to be found—not even in the diary of Philip Wyot, the Pepys of North Devon, who chronicled many interesting local events between the years 1586 and 1608, at the zenith of the plasterers' day.

A few points may be gathered by examining and comparing the examples of their work that remain. They were undoubtedly all Englishmen, as is evidenced by their detail, which possessing great beauty, does not attain to the grace or perfection of Italian workmanship; on the other hand their detail is but little tainted by German influence, the strapwork and similar detail when employed being used with restraint. In one or two instances we find a design re-used, practically unaltered, as in the "Lion" (13) and Cross Street (15) ceilings, or again in the single-ribbed ceiling at the Trevelyan Hotel, which is identical with that formerly to be seen at the Plough Inn, Torrington. Throughout the whole of the Barnstaple and North Devon plaster work, however, there are touches which indicate the same or allied handiwork. The same pattern frieze is to be seen at Weare Gifford, at Bideford, and at Barnstaple; a similar type of design is to be observed between ceilings at Barnstaple and North Molton; cast sprays are to be found re-used in totally different designs, the same moulds being made use of again and again.

The best examples date from between about 1590 and 1630, with some minor work as late as 1660. These fragments of evidence tempt one to surmise that most, at any rate, of the North Devon plaster-work was the work of one family, or of a guild of plasterers.

For information as to the material they used, and the method of preparation, we must turn to Mr. George Bankhart, whose book splendidly illustrates so many examples of North Devon plasterwork. He tells us that the lime, after being carefully boiled, was run into "putty," not for a few weeks as is the present practice, but for as long as five, seven, or even ten years. After that length of time it was most carefully mixed and prepared, being constantly turned over, chopped, and mixed with sand, road scrapings, cow dung, etc. Undoubtedly each family of plasterers had their own methods and quantities to work by, which were carefully guarded as trade secrets.

I have had many opportunities for discussion with old plasterers, who learned their trade under traditional conditions, before plaster of Paris and patent plasters were commonly used. They all expressed much doubt of the efficiency of "putty" lime without plaster of Paris.

They told me that in their younger days, not only ordinary plain work, but also cast ornament was carried out in ordinary lime mortar, very, if not precisely, similar in character to that used in Jacobean work.

Sixty years ago the use of plaster of Paris by the North Devon plasterer was the exception. he used but ordinary fat lime and prepared it in the following manner:—

Selecting the white lumps, he slacked the lime with water, piling it in a large heap. As the lime slacked more water was added, and the face of the heap smoothed over. As the heat increased this face cracked, but was again and again smoothed over, keeping the heat in, until the slacking process was completed. This slacked lime was kept at least twelve or eighteen months before use, it was then thoroughly mixed in accordance with the description given by Mr. Bankhart, silver or a light coloured sand being added and plenty of white hair, which was specially picked out for the purpose.

This method of preparation gives results so precisely similar to the old ceilings, that I am of the opinion this was the mode of preparation employed by the seventeenth-century plasterer, at any rate in North Devon.

It is only the ornament and the face of the ceiling that is finished with this material. The undercoating is of totally different character, usually containing a vast amount of cob or clay, so poor, that but for the considerable quantity of brown hair employed, would long ago have caused the collapse of the ceiling.

Cob is a compound of mud, clay, gravel, or small gritty stone, and is the material composing the mud walls of old Devonshire cottages.

That such fine workmen, who were able to finish their work with so hard a face that it will turn the edge of a knife, should fix their handiwork to such a poor ground, causes the student much astonishment. Even to-day the country plasterer loves to use cob with his mortar, and the Architect who forbids its use is promptly told he "doesn't understand his business," and that cob makes the toughest mortar that can be obtained. This is quite true, but

unfortunately the clay neutralizes the lime, and in course of time it is impossible to tell that lime has been used at all. The country plasterer does not realize this, but carrying on the traditions handed down to him by his father or grandfather, continues to use cob with his lime, because it works with greater facility, is tougher when first put up, and dries more slowly, allowing greater latitude in applying the finishing coat. I am of the opinion that the Jacobean plasterer mixed his under coating in a similar manner for the same reason; it adhered better to the laths, was easier and more "suant" in working, and retaining its moisture for a considerable length of time, was eminently suitable where the process of striking out the pattern and modelling and casting up the ornament was necessarily work of a slow and painstaking description. After all, these ceilings have lasted for three centuries and more, and are a tribute to the thoroughness of the craftsmen. How many of our modern ceilings, I wonder, will be in existence three hundred years hence? Very few I am inclined to say, and fewer still will merit the interest of the Devonshire Association of that day.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE BARNSTAPLE CEILINGS.

SINGLE-RIB CEILINGS.

No.	Address.	Floor.	Date if known.
1.	No. 36 Pilton Street	Ground floor	–
2.	No. 37 Pilton Street	"	–
3.	No. 8 Castle Street	First floor	1602
4.	No. 8 Cross Street	Ground floor	–
5.	No. 8 Cross Street	First floor	–
6.	The Trevelyan Hotel (room on right)	"	–
7.	"The New Works," The Strand	"	–
8.	No. 103 High Street. The "Prince Charles' Room," now destroyed. Fragments at the Art School	"	–
9.	The Golden Lion Hotel, Boutport Street	"	–

DOUBLE-RIB CEILINGS.

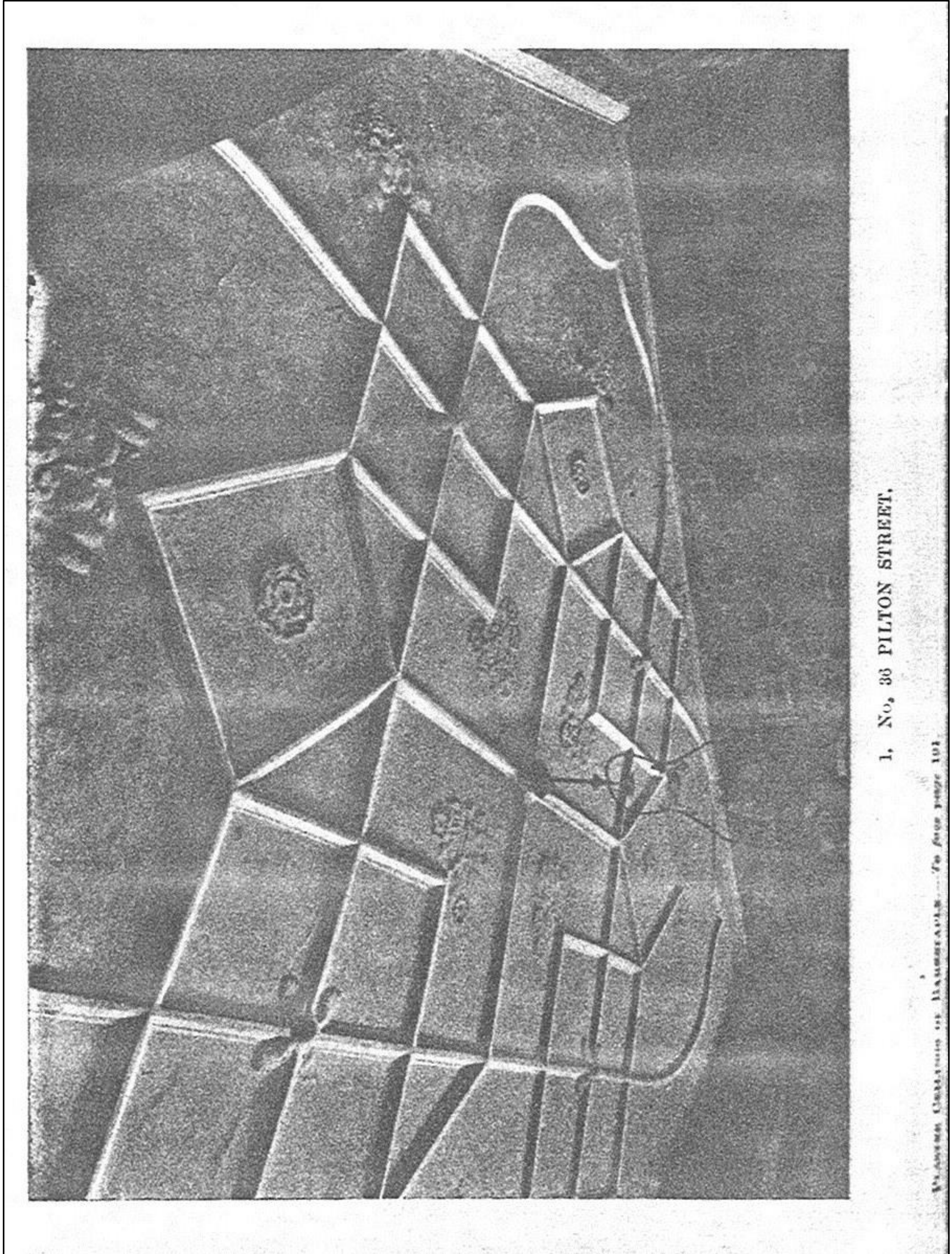
No.	Address.	Floor.	Date if known.
10.	The Trevelyan Hotel, High Street	Ground floor	–
11.	The Dodderidge Library	First floor	1667

ENRICHED RIB CEILINGS.

No.	Address.	Floor.	Date if known.
12.	No. 98 High Street	Ground floor	-
13.	The Golden Lion Hotel, Boutport Street	First floor	July 9th, 1620
14.	The Golden Lion Hotel, The Bedroom	"	–
15.	No. 7 Cross Street	"	–
16.	No. 7 Cross Street	Ground floor	–
17.	The Trevelyan Hotel, High Street. Room on left of stairs	First floor	–

UNCLASSIFIED.

No.	Address.	Floor.	Date if known.
18.	The Penrose Alms Houses	The Chapel	1627



1, No. 36 PILTON STREET.

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Extract from *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art,* 1957

DEVONSHIRE PLASTERWORK

BY KATHLEEN AND CECIL FRENCH

(*Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 1957, Vol. 89, pp. 124 to 144.)

IT seems surprising that with such a wealth of literature devoted to the interior decoration of houses, large and small, that so little attention has been given to the ceiling. Books fail to do justice to this very interesting topic. The three standard works on the subject, Bankart " The art of the plasterer ", Jourdain " English decorative plasterwork " and Turner " Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain ", excellent though they are in giving concise surveys of plasterwork in Great Britain as a whole, are not sufficiently regionalised to give anything like a complete picture of the wealth of fine plasterwork which, in Devonshire alone, still exists. Moreover these three books were all published many years ago, before the changes wrought by bombing and by modernisation, so that they are not only out of print but somewhat out of date today.

Only two papers on Devonshire plasterwork have so far appeared in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association. These are " Ornamental lime-plaster ceilings and the plasterer's craft in Devon " by J. T. Fouracre (1909) and "Early seventeenth century plaster ceilings of Barnstaple " by Mr. Bruce Oliver (1917). The special value of the former lies in its description and illustrations of Bampfylde House, Exeter, since destroyed in the war of 1939/45. Numerous changes have taken place in Barnstaple since Mr. Oliver's book was written, showing how fast time is taking toll of a form of craftmanship which has already survived more than three centuries. A fresh record, as comprehensive as possible, of the plasterwork still existing in Devon, would therefore seem to be desirable.

A brief history of the origins of this art is perhaps not out of place. As long ago as 3500 B.C. a type of plasterwork, known as " stucco duro ", was practised by the dwellers of Mesopotamia. It was copied by the inhabitants of Knossos in Crete some 2,000 years later. Thereafter the art passed via the Greeks to the Romans, who, by the first century B.C., had become adept at low relief in coloured stucco. This,

with the fresco, provided a complete design for the wall and ceiling.

Although the presence of the plasterer in England is recorded from very early times, moulded plasterwork was essentially a product of the Renaissance, imported from the Continent. Italians introduced by King Henry VIII for his palace at Nonesuch (built about 1538 and long since demolished) have been given the credit for executing most of the ornate plaster ceilings in the country mansions which were remodelled in King Henry's reign. Some time after 1547 we find mention of Italian plasterers working for Sir John Thynne at Longleat in Wiltshire. This is not far from Devon, and yet it appears to have taken another thirty years for the new fashion to have spread this far; as, for example, at Holcombe Rogus Court.

Flemings who fled their native land during the violent religious persecutions under the Duke of Alva (1567-1573) are said to have been responsible for ceilings in the town houses of wealthy merchants, such as those of Totnes and Dartmouth. When, however, the amount of work in every English shire is borne in mind, it becomes apparent that a mere handful of foreigners could not possibly have been the only executants.

The immigrants did, however, inspire native craftsmen to emulate them and to use Italian and Flemish pattern-books, which were being made available through the new medium of printing. There is a tradition that Italian plasterers were employed by the Bishop of Exeter to decorate his palace—of which work, unfortunately, no trace now remains. This tradition is noted by Iris Brooke in her book *Four walls adorned*, and in support of it she has detected the Italian hand in certain plaster figures at the Grange, Broadhembury, and at Widworthy Barton, the figures being attired after the foreign fashion rather than the local fashion of the day. Be that as it may, it is to native genius rather than to Italians or Flemings that the majority of designs of this period must be attributed. Ample proof of this is afforded by the sketches still extant of the Abbott family of plasterers, of which more anon.

The outstanding contribution of Tudor England in the field of decorative art was the formulation of a native idiom in what had, hitherto, been an alien craft, and its execution—not in foreign ' plaster of paris '—but with native lime, sand and cowhair. Plastering in relief had come to stay, to

become the crowning glory of the rooms which it decorated.

The quality of the workmanship varies a great deal, from intricate and refined geometrical patternwork to crude imitations of a master hand.

Broadly speaking the craft moves away from Gothic "apron-strings" towards the classical ideals of ancient Rome. At first, wooden beams, carved or plain, were coated with plaster and enclosed simple panels filled with some unsophisticated pattern like the fleur-de-lys or the Tudor Rose, showing little or no trace of the Renaissance spirit. For a final development of the art there are the intricate designs of the brothers Adam, derived from a first-hand knowledge of ancient Pompeii. So, within the comparatively short span of two hundred years (1560 to 1760) occurred a metamorphosis which well illustrates the versatility of our native plasterers. Eventually, the art became mechanical and so lost its peculiar appeal.

Devonshire plasterwork may be divided into six periods, each having its own distinctive features, yet merging imperceptibly into the next. The dates for the periods are therefore purely arbitrary pegs given for the sake of convenience.

Period One (1550 to 1600)

The features to be noticed are simple geometric patterns with, at first, a complete absence of Renaissance motifs such as strapwork or arabesques. The ribs, rather coarse at the beginning, gradually become more slender and refined, and more divorced from their timber prototypes (many of which are still to be seen, sometimes plastered over or revealing by adze marks the former presence of plaster). Ornament at this stage consists of badges (fig. 1) and floral sprays (figs. 1 and 4), of fleur-de-lys (fig. 2 and plate 11d) or of the Tudor Rose (fig. 3) and many simple paterae impressed by means of moulds.

Examples from Period One

Lewis Hill, Dunsford.
Little Hackworthy and Windout, Tedburn St. Mary.
Holcombe Court, Holcombe Rogus (long gallery), *c.* 1540.
Bowringsleigh, Kingsbridge (plate 11d).
West Kerscott, Swymbridge (plate 11b).
Biddacott, Chittlehampton.
Colyton, at the post office (plate 8a).

The above are examples of very early work, characterised by hand-run single ribs, mainly 1560 to 1570.

No. 7, The Close, Exeter (fig. 5).
Clysthayes, Silverton (plate 11a).
Treasbeare, Honiton Clyst (plate 11c).

These three show small groups of panels defined by single ribs, based on a square or quatrefoil, with central boss or pendant (round about 1580).

Buckland Abbey, Buckland Monachorum, 1576.
Cottles Barton, North Tawton 1599. (plate 9a).
Westacott, North Tawton (plate 8b).
Colleton Barton, Chumleigh, 1612 (plate 8c).
Collacombe Manor, Lamerton, 1574 (plate 13b).

The above have intersecting kite-shaped panels converging into elegant pendants.

Bradfield, near Cullompton.
Creely Barton, Farringdon.
Great Fulford, Dunsford (plate 8d).
St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter, c. 1580.
Holcombe Court, Holcombe Rogus, Drawing room 1591 (plate 8e).
Walronds, Cullompton, 1605.
Wear Giffard Hall, Wear Giffard, 1599.
Totnes, No. 10 High St., also Barclay's Bank 1585.

The foregoing examples show a variety of geometrical patterns formed by slender curved and straight ribs, a mode developed by the end of the century. Angle sprays are increasing in complexity and refinement. The dissolved priory of St. Nicholas, Exeter, became the town house of William Hurste, Mayor of Exeter. The ceilings he commissioned closely resemble work done at the same time (*c.* 1580) at Great Fulford Manor, indicating the hand of the same skilled plasterer of the Exeter "school" in each case. The same Tudor Rose and wreath occur in both places, and also at the premises now occupied by Messrs. Hodges, Outfitters, High Street, Totnes.

Period Two (1600-1650)

This period is noteworthy for the great development in rib technique and for the introduction of lavish panel ornament. The Stuarts added flowers, fruits, birds, beasts, fishes and insects to the Elizabethan motifs mentioned above. Much originality was shown in the layout of the floral angle sprays, derived from nature or from contemporary books

of designs, such as H. Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* (1612). Such sprays are not ordinarily a feature of Italian or Flemish work of this period, but a curious predilection for the *fleur-de-lys* has been observed throughout. A silver brooch in the author's possession, bought in Florence and depicting the Florentine lily, bears a striking resemblance to the form in which these sixteenth and seventeenth century angle sprays are portrayed. The craftsmen responsible were probably not Florentines, but were undoubtedly familiar with their favourite motif. Tapestries and brocades imported from Italy and Persia were another source of inspiration. Then, too, the strapwork cartouche (fig. 6) and arabesques (figs. 7 and 7a), motifs essentially foreign, were used—at first in friezes and overmantels—not being introduced into ceiling designs until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The simple rib, with moulding reminiscent of the oak beam, gave way in many cases to the more elaborate double-moulded (fig. 8) or enriched (fig. 9) varieties.

In Devon there are three different versions of the double-moulded ribs, based on local schools at Barnstaple, Exeter and at Totnes—Dartmouth. The enriched ribs consist often of a running vine pattern: honeysuckle, pomegranate, marigolds and other conventional flowers are also featured. Various types of pendants derived from stone prototypes (figs. 10 to 10k) and elaborate friezes complete these ceiling designs.

It seems evident that each school possessed pattern books and moulds which were jealously guarded and handed down from father to son. This would account for the recurrence of similar motifs in the same area, and for the persistence of traditional designs much longer in the south-west than elsewhere. A bedroom ceiling in Yarner Cottage, Netherton, near Newton Abbot, which bears the date 1726, is the latest example known to me of the use of single ribs—long after the rest of the country had pronounced in favour of classical ovals, swags and festoons.

The use of moulds and the recurrence of the same design in different houses is itself a study of absorbing interest. A pomegranate angle spray appears in identical form at Alphington Rectory (1629), at Bradninch Manor, at Bradfield House, at Grange, Broadhembury, at Hams Barton near Chudleigh and at Ford House, Newton Abbot (plate 13a)—all of them within a fifteen mile radius of Exeter. On overmantels in Cox's Antique Shop, Barnstaple, and at

Dean Head Farm, Goodleigh (plate 19), appears an identical jester's head. Examples of similarities such as these could be multiplied indefinitely.

Of all the fine ceilings adorned with enriched ribs to be found in Devon, perhaps the most elaborate are three in the Barnstaple area, namely Rashleigh Barton, Chulmleigh (plate 14a); Stafford Barton, Dolton (plate 15a)—removed from Barnstaple *c.* 1911—and the Westminster Bank, Barnstaple. Another fine example is at Fairlinch, Braunton. The layout of the panels is the same in each case and is included in John Abbott's book of designs. The pendant at Rashleigh (plate 14a) of intersecting, plastered, wooden hoops is distinctive, and is repeated in the chapel of the Penrose Almshouses in Barnstaple. The fact that the same master might have been responsible for work at Herringstone in Dorset and at Nettlecombe in Somerset reveals how widely craftsmen of those days spread the gems of their art.

The work of another craftsman of this period, William Arnold, may have impinged upon that of John Abbot, since documentary evidence assigns to Arnold work at Montacute in Somerset which closely resembles overmantels at Wear Giffard Hall, Holcombe Rogus Court (plate 17) and the Walronds, Cullompton. Designs which may have been the inspiration for these certainly occur in Abbott's sketchbook.

Examples from period two (ceilings, single moulded ribs)

AYSHFORD BARTON, Burlescombe, 1631 (plate 8f).
FORD HOUSE, Newton Abbot—King Charles' bedroom and the Great Hall, 1610.
BUCKLAND BARTON, Newton Abbot, *c.* 1610.
DUNSMOOR, Silverton (plate 10a and 12a).
NEWCOMEN COTTAGE, Dartmouth, *c.* 1635.
5 HIGHER ST., Dartmouth, *c.* 1635.
GREAT COMBE, Stoke Fleming, 1640 (plate 12b).
MANSFIELD'S ANTIQUE SHOP, North St., Exeter.
THE BARTON, Holcombe Burnell (plate 12c).
COURT FARM, Kentisbeare.
BERRY BARTON, Dunsford (fragmentary).
GRANGE, Broadhembury.

Examples from period two (ceilings, double-moulded ribs)

DOWNTON BARTON, Dittisham, *c.* 1630 (plate 12d)
BUTTERWALK, Dartmouth, *c.* 1640 (plate 12e).
HIGHER RIXDALE, Dawlish, 1669.

DEAN HEAD, Goodleigh, *c.* 1620.
PEAMOOR CHAPEL, Exminster Church, 1633 (plate 14b).
UPCOTT BARTON, Cheriton Fitzpaine, and DUNSMOOR, Silverton, *c.* 1650—have much in common, together with 144 Fore St., Exeter, e.g. the same peapod motif.

Examples from period two (ceilings with enriched ribs)

RASHLEIGH BARTON, CHULMLEIGH (plate 14a).
STAFFORD BARTON, Dolton (plate 15a).
WESTMINSTER BANK, Barnstaple, 1620.
ALPHINGTON RECTORY, 1629.
BRADFIELD MANOR, near Cullompton.
MANOR HOUSE, BRADNINCH (plate 12f).
FORD HOUSE, Newton Abbot, 1610 (plate 16a).
GRANGE, Broadhembury.
HAMS BARTON, near Chudleigh, 1621.
POLTIMORE HOUSE, Poltimore.
LUSCOMBE'S (butchers), High St., Totnes.
HIGHER RIXDALE, Dawlish, 1669.
SOUTHCOTT BARTON, Westleigh, near Bideford.
BROMLEY'S CAFE, High St., Bideford.
DUNSLAND, Bradford, 1630.
WEST KERSCOTT, Swymbridge.
COX'S ANTIQUE SHOP, High St., Barnstaple.

Examples from period two (miscellaneous ceilings)

144, FORE ST., Exeter.
RASHLEIGH, Chulmleigh, Summer Parlour.

The surfaces of the above ceilings—both *c.* 1640—are covered with naturalistic portrayals of coiling branches, strawberry leaves and fruit, peapods and tendrils, etc. A vast variety of birds, beasts and fishes disposed amongst the vegetation, include a mouse, a wren, a dove with olive branch, hedgehog, butterfly, snail—in size as large as a nearby elephant's head—reindeer, monkey, trout and plaice. BUTTERWALK, Dartmouth, 1635 and EXMINSTER CHURCH (plate 14b). The Jesse ceiling, with over thirty human figures, resembles Rashleigh in the coiling foliage displayed. The physiognomy of St. John at Dartmouth bears a striking resemblance to that of St. Luke on the ceiling at Exminster Church. The moulds of winged cherub heads appear to be identical on both ceilings. This purely classical motif made its appearance on ceilings rather late in this period.

FRIEZES IN PERIODS ONE AND TWO (1550-1650)

Elizabethan style friezes have running, scrolled stems with leaves, flowers and fruit. Later, animals and cornucopiae are introduced. Of animals the 'pegasus' is very frequently found in Devon. The Jacobean period is characterised by strapwork, particularly in the form of recurring panels and cartouches in which human and animal figures appear.

Examples of friezes from periods one and two

BIDDACOTT, Chittlehampton. Scrolled foliage.
COX'S ANTIQUE SHOP, Barnstaple.
FORD HOUSE, Newton Abbot.
BUCKLAND BARTON, Newton Abbot.
(The above three have recurring pegasi.)

SOUTHCOTT, Westleigh near Bideford.
EAST STOWFORD, Chittlehampton (plate 16b).
(These two show scrolled stems with unusually large rosettes—*cf.* ceiling at Great Combe, Bowden, Stoke Fleming, plate 12b).

DUNSMOOR, Silverton, FORD HOUSE, Newton Abbot (plate 16a), RASHLEIGH BARTON, Chulmleigh (plate 14a), KNIGHTSTONE, Ottery St. Mary, and BUCKLAND BARTON, near Newton Abbot have Jacobean strapwork, arabesques and shields flanked by figures and heads in cartouches.
DARCH'S MILL, Landkey, 1659 and DEAN HEAD, Goodleigh have essentially Elizabethan patterns, which persisted throughout period two.

TUDOR AND STUART OVERMANTELS

A special feature of the overmantels of this period was the Biblical or allegorical scene. Another was the coat of arms within a frame either of foliage or of strapwork. Favourite embellishments were human and animal heads, swags of fruit and paterae of flowers. The supporters vary from Italianate female caryatids, naked sashed figures either seated or standing, to representations of Moses and David found on two overmantels at Dartmouth. The overmantels are not necessarily contemporary with the ceiling in the same room.

Examples of Overmantels (Biblical scenes)

COX'S ANTIQUE SHOP, Barnstaple.—The Annunciation.
BUTTERWALK AND NEWCOMEN COTTAGE, Dartmouth—Pentecost, Moses, David, Elijah in fiery chariot, Elijah raising the widow's son, Baptism of Christ, Resurrection of Christ.

HOLCOMBE COURT, Holcombe Rogus (plate 17)—Moses and the brazen serpent.
STAFFORD BARTON, Dolton—Adam and Eve and the Tree of Life; the Judgment of Solomon.
EAST STOWFORD, Chittlehampton—The sacrifice of Isaac.
EXMINSTER CHURCH—The Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion and Ascension.

Examples of Overmantels displaying armorial bearings.

COLLACOMBE MANOR, Lamerton, 1574 (plate 9b), BUCKLAND ABBEY, Buckland Monachorum, 1576; HOLCOMBE COURT, Holcombe Rogus, 1591; COTTLES BARTON, North Tawton, 1599; WEAR GIFFARD HALL, 1599; WALRONDS, Cullompton, 1605; HAWKRIDGE, Chittlehampton, *c.* 1615; GAS SHOWROOMS, Bideford (plate 18c); GRANGE, Broadhembury; SOUTHCOTT, Westleigh, Bideford; MOWLISH, Kenton, 1620 (plate 18a); HAMS BARTON, near Chudleigh, 1621; BLEGBERRY, Hartland, 1627 (fig. 11); DUNSLAND, Bradford, 1630; AYSHFORD, Burlescombe, 1631 (plate 8f); COOMBE BARTON, Roborough, *c.* 1650; HIGHER RIXDALE, Dawlish, 1669; BLAGDON BARTON, Paignton, 1708.

Examples of Overmantels displaying Royal Arms

ELIZABETH I, MOORHAYES, Cullompton, WALREDDON, Tavistock, WEAR GIFFARD, 1599; MATFORD, Heavitree.
JAMES I, HAMS BARTON, Chudleigh, 1621.
CHARLES I, GREAT COMBE, Stoke Fleming, 1640 (plate 12b).
CHARLES II, LANGTREE CHURCH, *c.* 1662; FRITHELSTOCK CHURCH, 1677.

Examples of Overmantels displaying allegorical scenes

DEAN HEAD, Goodleigh, The Four Seasons (plate 19).
THE BARTON, Holcombe Burnell, God and Mammon (plate 15b).

PERIOD THREE (1650-1700)

In the Arts, as in every other department of life, there was an abysmal gulf between the period before and that following the Civil War. Plasterwork is no exception to this rule. Circles and ovals take the place of the earlier intricate, interlacing, geometrical patterns. Ribs were broader than ever and details attained very high relief. To the native fruit and flower swag was added the classical acanthus, the laurel from Portugal (Charles II married a Portuguese princess), as well as other purely Renaissance motifs.

Inigo Jones was the leading English exponent of this new style, derived from a first-hand knowledge of Italy, with its lavish profusion of ornament on both the exterior and interior of churches and palaces. His work for Charles I, in designing the principal buildings of that reign, show how deeply he had imbibed the classical idiom during his two visits to Italy. Although he died in 1653, before our third period really begins, his influence on design was felt until the end of the century and beyond. Others, such as the renowned Grinling Gibbons, followed in the master's footsteps. Versatility was the keynote of these men. They were able to work in more mediums than one, in plaster as well as in wood and stone. So it is not surprising if Gibbons' device, the split peapod, is to be found in the plaster ceiling at Shell House, Topsham. Another feature of the work of this period is the painted central panel or oval, a style imported from Holland. Great Potheridge, the birthplace of General Monk in 1608, provides the only example of the painted ceiling of this period known in Devon. Only the central portion of the great house, rebuilt by Monk to commemorate the Restoration, now remains. The painted panels symbolise the Peace and Plenty following the Civil War.

At Forde Abbey, formerly in Devon and now in Dorset, the new style can be seen in its infancy; whilst at Bovey House near Beer (plate 20a) and at Sydenham House near Marystow, are other interesting early examples.

Finally, the reign of William and Mary saw the introduction of Dutch craftsmen, who were traditionally responsible for the work at Bowringsleigh, near Kingsbridge. Their work was evidently imitated by lesser local craftsmen, as, for example at Smallacombe, near Lifton.

Examples from period three

BOVEY HOUSE, Beer, *c.* 1663 (plate 20a).
SYDENHAM HOUSE, Marystow, *c.* 1660.
GREAT POTHERIDGE, Merton, *c.* 1670.
LINDRIDGE, Bishops Teignton, Ballroom, *c.* 1673.
CUSTOMS HOUSE, Exeter, 1681—Accounts show £35 paid to John Abbot, the plasterer of Frithelstock.
BELLAIR, Topsham Road, Exeter (plate 16c).
HOLLAND HOUSE, Barnstaple (plate 16d).
LINDRIDGE, Bishops Teignton, Dining Room, 1690.
BOWRINGSLEIGH, Kingsbridge, 1697.

I

SMALLACOMBE, Lifton.
TETCOTT HOUSE.
(Central amorini feature in the last six examples).
ROYAL HOTEL, Bideford, 1688 (fig.12).
DUNSLAND HOUSE, Bradford, *c.* 1690 (plate 21a).
SHELL HOUSE, Topsham, 1695.
(These three have flowers and fruit in high relief).
EX-SERVICEMAN'S CLUB, Great Torrington, 1701.
FORD, Dunsford (plate 20b). Applied oval of thistle and oak leaves, identical with one at the Custom House, Exeter.
MANOR HOUSE, Lew Trenchard, similar to FORD.
GREAT WOOD, Merton. Egg and dart and acanthus friezes typical of the period.
COCKINGTON HOUSE, Torquay, WESTACOMBE, Dunsford (fig. 13), UPCOTT, Cheriton Fitzpaine. The layout of these three examples is similar, but skill varies.
WESTACOTT, Petrockstowe.
PALMER HOUSE, Great Torrington, 1752.
MANOR HOUSE, Lew Trenchard, MANOR HOUSE HOTEL, Cullompton, 1718; NORTH WYKE, South Tawton, UPCOTT BARTON, Cheriton Fitzpaine, WESTACOMBE, Dunsford (fig. 13); POLTIMORE HOUSE. All these have simple designs of oval mouldings within a square or rectangle.

PERIOD FOUR (1700-1760)

During these years the influence of France, then the leading country in Europe, especially in culture and the arts, was paramount. Fanciful letter 'C' acanthus scrollwork, as well as the prevalence of the shell in designs, has caused this style to be given the name *rococo*. A distinctive feature of this period was the application of *stucco* to walls in place of the earlier wood panelling. Both on walls and ceilings pattern relief became less pronounced. Classical figures, e.g. Mercury, and emblems of the Arts and Sciences were extremely popular.

Examples from period four

THE PRIORY, Totnes, *c.* 1710.
BOWDEN HOUSE, near Totnes, *c.* 1710 (fig. 15).
THE MANSION HOUSE, (Messrs. Battarbee's) Dartmouth, *c.* 1720—Signs of the Zodiac and the Labours, of Hercules.
POLTIMORE HOUSE, near Exeter, *c.* 1735.
GRANGE, Broadhembury.
COOMBE, Gittisham.

HANNAFORD HOUSE, near Swymbridge.
SALTRAM HOUSE, near Plymouth, *c.* 1750 (fig. 16).
POWDERHAM CASTLE, 1755 (plate 21b).

PERIOD FIVE (1760-1800)

The ancient art of *stuccoing* has fully come back into its own again, with all the attributes of neo-classical design—both walls and ceilings being entirely covered with it. The Adam brothers received first-hand inspiration for their designs from the newly discovered ruins of the ancient city of Pompeii, until that time hidden beneath an accumulation of lava from the fearful eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. These designs were introduced with variations and modifications into stately homes throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles, both by the Adam brothers themselves and by numerous copyists. Dropped swags and festoons, as well as a minutiae of panels and patterns, are characteristic features of this work.

Examples from period five

SALTRAM HOUSE, near Plymouth, 1768 (plate 16e)—Adam's signed designs are extant. Classical panels painted by Zucchi.
GRANGE, Broadhembury.
POLTIMORE HOUSE, near Exeter, *c.* 1770.
POWDERHAM CASTLE.
ROCKBEARE MANOR, *c.* 1780—Adam 'school'.

PERIOD SIX (1800-1914)

Between 1800 and 1870 plasterwork in Devon was largely inanimate, although occasionally good work was done, as at Mamhead House, 1832 (plate 16f). Work consisted almost entirely of moulded cornices. After 1870 designs were made in the workshop and screwed into place afterwards, instead of being moulded *in situ.* No contemporary idiom was evolved. The period is a hotch-potch of Georgian design and imitations of earlier styles.

Examples from period six

CHURCH HOUSE, Sidmouth, *c.* 1812.
SIDHOLME, Sidmouth—bedroom (fig. 17). Other similar friezes exist in the Royal Glen Hotel and in Beach House, Sidmouth.
MAMHEAD HOUSE, *c.* 1832 (plate 16f) Neo-Tudor plasterwork by John Willement.

SIDHOLME, Sidmouth—hall, *c.* 1880—Neo-Tudor single rib pattern, c.f. Bradfield, near Cullompton and Bowringsleigh near Kingsbridge.

MANOR HOTEL, Lew Trenchard, *c.* 1885—Traditional Italian designs by local craftsmen.

COTLANDS, Sidmouth, music room, 1899 (fig. 18). Coat of arms in acanthus foliage by the late Mr. Sampson.

STAFFORD BARTON, Dolton, *c.* 1911—Extension of seventeenth century enriched rib ceiling by local plasterer. This is the most interesting modern work yet seen, in its wealth of faithful representations of birds and beasts, e.g. pigeon, Siamese cat, lizard, etc.

THE ABBOTT PATTERN BOOK

While Devon boasts of examples of plasterwork from all these periods second to none, the county's distinctive contribution to the art of moulded plasterwork lies in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the wealth and variety of work done if truly amazing. Whilst dates and documentary proofs are usually lacking, stylistic evidence and the sketch-book of the Abbott family of plasterers goes to prove that most of the designs were executed by local men, albeit influenced by some master who happened to be working in the neighbourhood at the time.

The Abbott drawings can, almost without exception, be linked with plaster ceilings or overmantels which still exist today. This priceless little book, which has been in the family for three centuries at least, shows at first hand how the finished designs took shape in the artist's mind, as well as the manner in which clients chose their patterns, in much the same way as wallpaper designs, with their friezes, are chosen today.

The first flyleaf of this leather bound book of 318 pages (5½in. by 3½in.) is inscribed "John Abbott his Booke 1665". From the same hand on the end flyleaf we learn that a branch of the Abbott family was living in the neighbouring parish of Langtree in the mid-seventeenth century, including possibly the renowned plasterer. From the entries in the registers of Langtree and of Frithelstock it would appear likely that it was John Abbott's father, Richard, the younger son of a large family, who was the first to move away from the family house of Culleigh to a new home a few miles distant.

The Abbotts cannot be numbered amongst the most ancient of Devonshire families. They originally came to Devon

from London in the mid-sixteenth century, by reason of the grant by Henry VIII of the dissolved Abbey of Hartland to William Abbott, his knight of the Cellar (or keeper of the royal wines). The Priory of Frithelstock was an appurtenance of Hartland, so it is not surprising that a younger son of William Abbott settled at Culleigh in Frithelstock parish later in the sixteenth century. Frithelstock, therefore, is the ancestral home of the Abbott family. Their memorials can be found in the church and churchyard from *circa* 1580, and from the Registers we can trace their descent.

John Abbott, the plasterer, was of the fourth generation of Abbotts to be found at Culleigh. In 1556, when the Register commences, was baptised on May 24th 'John, son of Thomas Abbott'. He married twice, firstly Wilmott Martin in 1579, and then possibly her cousin, Christian Martyn, in 1590. John was the father of a very large family. His son, Richard, was the seventh child by his second wife. This Richard, born in 1612, was in turn the father of John Abbott, the plasterer, born in 1639/40, the mother being Anne Heaman, whom Richard had married in the previous year.

John Abbott II does not appear to have married until fairly late in life. There is no relevant entry until 1677, when the Langtree register tells us that 'John Abbott of Frithelstock and Dorothy Elson' were married in the church on October 22nd. It would seem that he had returned to Culleigh as heir to the estate after the death of his father in 1663. This would explain the entries in the book "John Abbott of Langtree" at the back, and "John Abbott his booke 1665" at the front. He was certainly living at Culleigh when he died on April 28, 1727. His son, James, was born at Frithelstock on February 12th, 1688.

The names Thomas, James and John are not only inscribed in the book, but they occur over and over again in the annals of the family. The fact that the name John appears no less than six times on the front flyleaf, and at least in three styles of handwriting, suggests that the book was handed down to the succeeding sons named John. Both the signatures as well as the designs in the book cover a period of at least 150 years, so, possibly, it was started by John the elder (in 1575), whose name appears first on the flyleaf, through Richard to John the younger in 1663, who made in it the design for the Frithelstock Royal Arms as well as for the fine ceilings in the Exeter Custom House, known to have been executed

by him in 1677 and 1681 respectively. His portrait in oils, painted in middle life, and showing him wearing his white linen shirt (still extant) hangs in the hall of his descendant's house at Westward Ho ! today.

The stylistic evidence in the designs is sufficient to make it abundantly clear how much more we owe to this gifted North Devon family of craftsmen than existing documents would have us believe. Whether it be ceiling layout, over-mantel pattern or decorative motif, it is obvious that each Abbott in turn, father, son and grandson, would make his contribution to the book in the prevailing stylistic idiom. The following are some examples with marked affinities between the drawing and what was afterwards executed:—

Hand-run single rib type ceilings

BOWRINGSLEIGH (plate 11d); 7 THE CLOSE, Exeter (plate 10b); CLYST HAYES, Silverton (plate 11a); TREASBEARE, Honiton Clyst (plate 11c): to be compared with drawings reproduced at plate 11 and fig. 19b.

Intersecting kite shaped panels with elegant pendant

WESTACOTT BARTON, North Tawton (plate 8b).
COTTLES BARTON, North Tawton (plate 9a).
COLLETON BARTON, Chulmleigh (plate 8c).

Overmantels

MOWLISH (plate 18a).
GAS SHOWROOMS, Bideford (plate 18c).
DEAN HEAD, Goodleigh (plate 19).
HOLCOMBE ROGUS—Brazen Serpent (plate 17)—Compare Abbott drawing (fig. 19c).
TREASBEARE, Honiton Clyst—details as Abbott drawings (fig. 19e, f,g.).
UNIDENTIFIED, Abbott drawing (fig. 19d)—overmantel panel 1662.

These are amongst the many similarities which appear, either in whole or in part, in this unique little book. In addition there must be much carved woodwork and many sculptured monuments and painted texts of the seventeenth century in churches and houses in the county whose designs owe their inspiration to the plasterwork of the Abbotts of Frithelstock.

The Frithelstock Churchwardens' accounts for 1676 have the following entry " Pd. John Abbott for making of the King's Arms and writing in the Church and playsteringe of the Church and porch . . . £13.06.08 ". Again, the Exeter

Custom House Accounts for 1680/1, now in the City Record Office, record payments in instalments to this same John Abbott for making the ceilings there. The total amount was £35. It is unfortunate that documentary evidence such as this is so infrequent, although there is always the chance that some more material may be unearthed for the benefit of future social historians.

Just as intersecting moulded ribs with angle sprays preceded circles and ovals in high relief, and as arabesques in strap-work cartouches came before rococo scrollwork, swags and festoons, so does the sequence of the Abbott book follow an evolutionary pattern, each generation in turn making its own specific contribution. The book begins with a wide variety of geometrical ceiling patterns of the single and enriched rib varieties, such as are to be found constantly in Devonshire mansions and farmhouses today. These designs gradually become more elaborate until a lovely enriched one appears, with strapwork cartouches and flowers filling the panels formed by the intersections of the ribs.

There follows a section devoted to overmantels, armorial, biblical and allegorical. Here we can see the designs of the 'Seasons' panel at Dean Head, the 'Sacrifice of Isaac' at Stowford and of 'Adam and Eve' at Stafford. In the surrounding ornament appear fruit and flower swags, rosettes and beribboned supporters of the types which have been executed at Weare Giffard, the Walronds and Holcombe Rogus. It seems likely that many of these designs were conceived by John Abbott II, and drawn out in his book, but other drawings may have been copied from work already existing, so as to enrich the collection of patterns.

The versatility of the Abbotts is truly amazing, showing that they must have been fully conversant with current books of engravings. It is evident, too, that clients modified the designs to suit their own tastes, or chose partly from one pattern and partly from another. Their wishes were duly executed with such modelling tools as the set of six—including a chisel and a moulding knife inscribed 'Alexandre Irvine' —which have also been preserved.

Apart from the main outline there is again a change in design of the detailed ornament, as we pass from the early to the later part of the seventeenth century. This is especially marked by the emphasis on winged cherubs' heads, a motif very popular at the time when the Exeter Custom House

ceilings and the one in an upstairs room at Upcott Barton (fig. 14) were being executed.

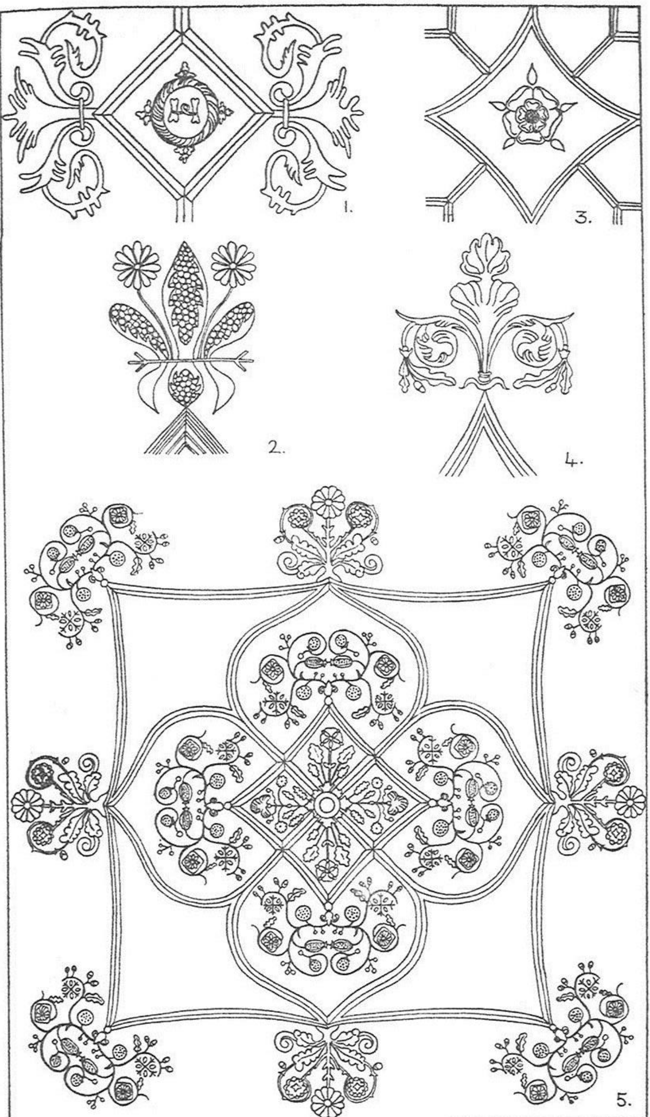
There is also a wide variety of ornamental details of birds, beasts and fishes, both real and allegorical, which remained popular throughout the seventeenth century. Amongst these sketches can be found the mermaid, roebuck, baboon, pelican, larma (sic), giraffe, bison, antelope, gorgon, mantichora, as well as a host of others, named and unnamed.

Towards the end of the book there are a number of allegorical devices, some of which are coloured, with texts or mottoes, more suitable for painting on a flat plaster surface after the style of the ancient Romans (e.g. at Lullingstone in Kent) than for moulding in relief. These mottoes, with their accompanying pictures were obviously composed by John Abbott himself. He was inspired by the Emblem Books which were very popular at the time, and about which he would have heard through the port of Bideford. The frequent alterations in the wording, and the rough pencil marks beneath the inked-in sketches prove this beyond all doubt. The sentiments expressed show that John Abbott was as sincere in his religion as he was skilled in his trade.

This working manual ends with formulas for making different coloured paints and inks, with instructions for their application to different kinds of surfaces. There is also given a method for taking grease out of paper or parchment, as well as the time-honoured way of writing with invisible ink. "To make letters that cannot be read but at the fire, take the juice of lemons or onion, and write with all, and it cannot be read but at the fire."

One may be reasonably certain that John Abbot of Culley (or Culleigh), the plasterer, made the ink for the sketches in this little book. Although stained yellow with age, the pages are still legible, and they provide us with a mine of information on the methods used by a skilled family of Devonshire plasterers in the seventeenth century, which was the heyday of this craft. Only by linking this type of material with the finished results is it possible to see the infinite pains and patience of this bygone age, and to realise the value of moulded plasterwork in the scheme of interior decoration.

NOTE—We are indebted to Miss June Severn for the series of drawings and are grateful to the proprietors of *Country Life* and the *Countryman* for the permission to use six photographs.



FIRST PERIOD

FIG. 1.—BADGE AND ANGLE SPRAYS. 2.—FLEUR DE LYS. 3.—TUDOR ROSE. 4.—ANGLE SPRAY. 5.—BARREL VAULT CEILING DESIGN BASED ON A SQUARE.

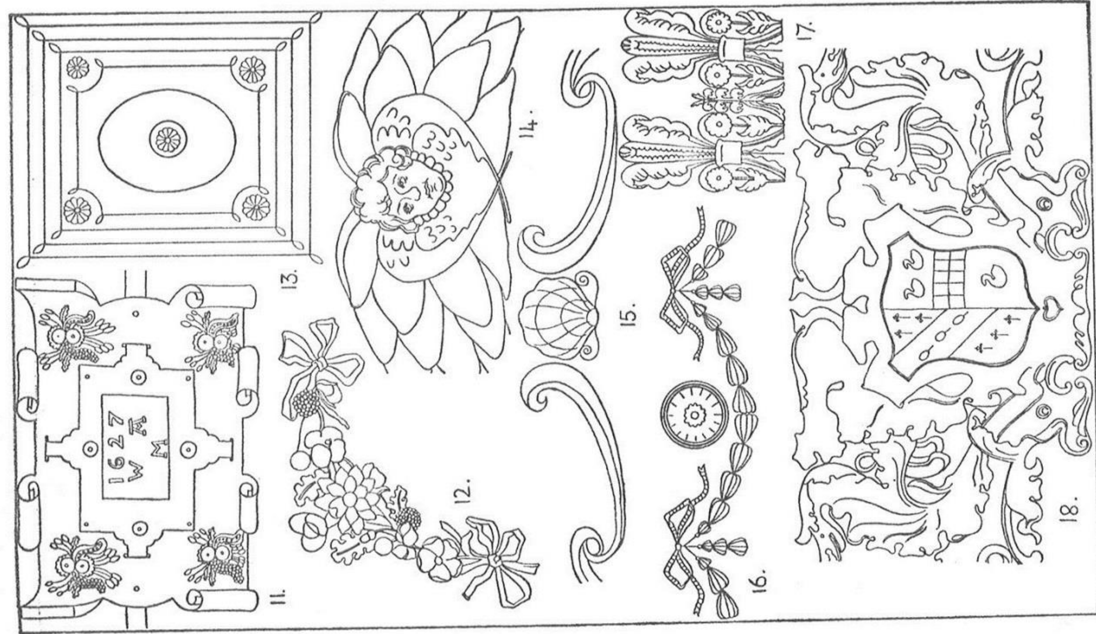
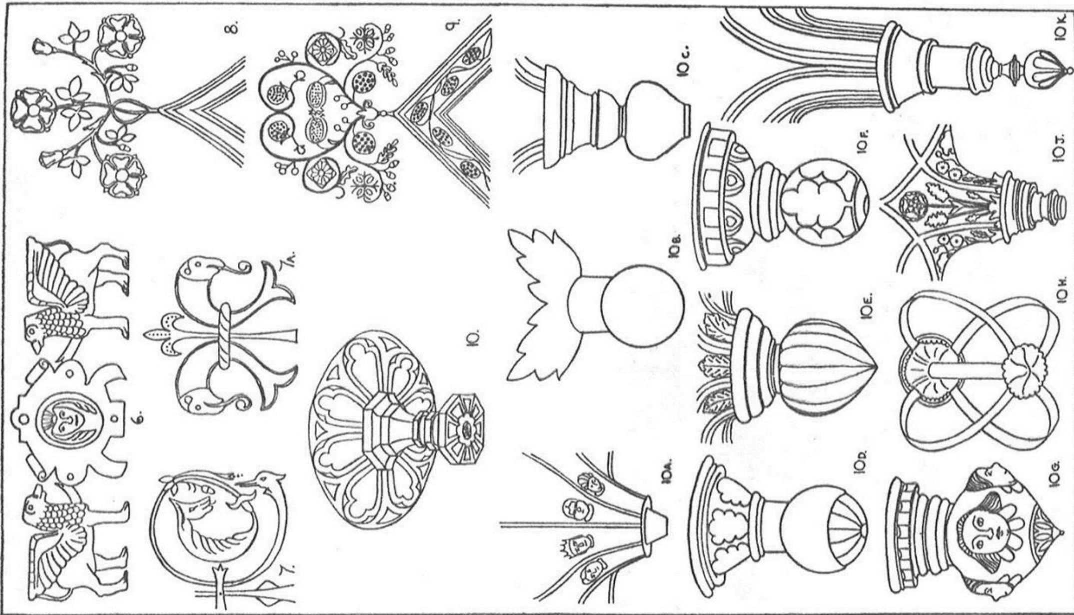


Fig. 11.—Overmantel at Blegberry, Hartland. 12.—Frieze at Royal Hotel, Bideford, 1688. 13.—Ceiling at Westacombe, Dunsford. 14.—Winged Cherub at Upcott Barton. 15.—Frieze at Bowden House, near Totnes, 1710. 16.—Frieze at Saltram House, c. 1750. 17.—Frieze at Sidholme, Sidmouth. 18.—Sixth Period Overmantel at Cotlands, Sidmouth.



Second Period

Fig. 6.—Strapwork Cartouche. 7 and 7a—Arabesque. 8.—Double-moulded Ribs. 9.—Enriched Ribs. 10.—Stone Pendant from Exeter Cathedral. 10.—A—K Plaster Pendants.

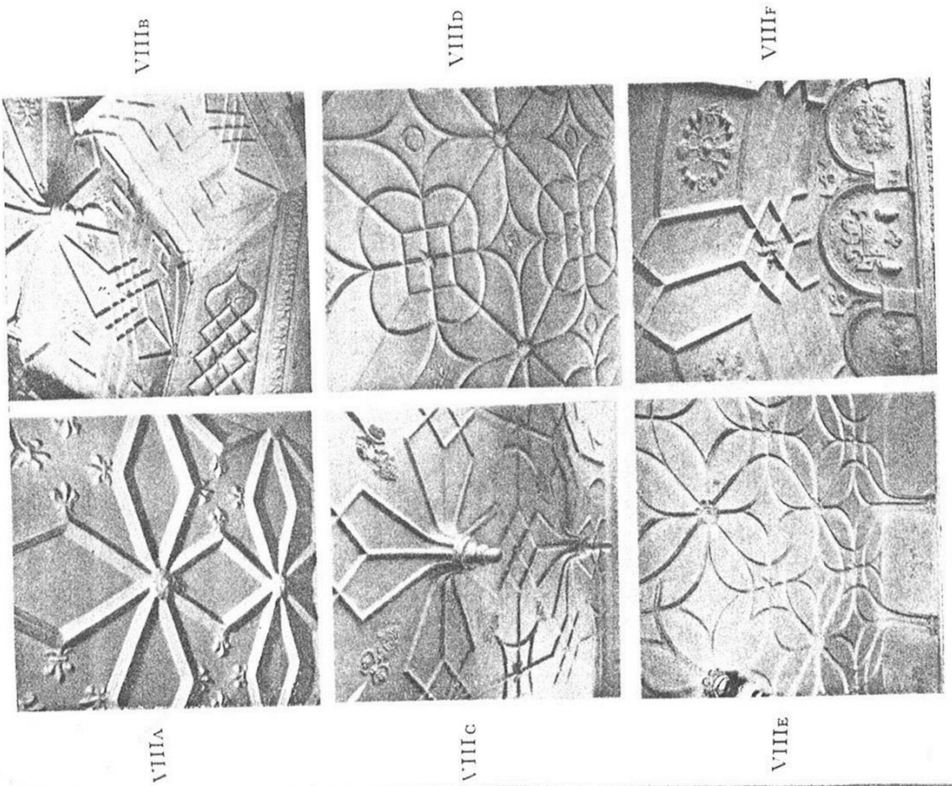


PLATE 8
VIIIA
VIIIB
VIIIC
VIIID
VIIIE
VIIIF
VIIIA Post Office, Colyton.
VIIIC Colleton Barton, Chulmleigh, 1612.
VIIIE Holcombe Rogus Court, 1591.
VIIIB Westacott Barton, North Tawton.
VIIID Great Fulford.
VIIIF Ayshford Barton, Burlescombe, 1631.

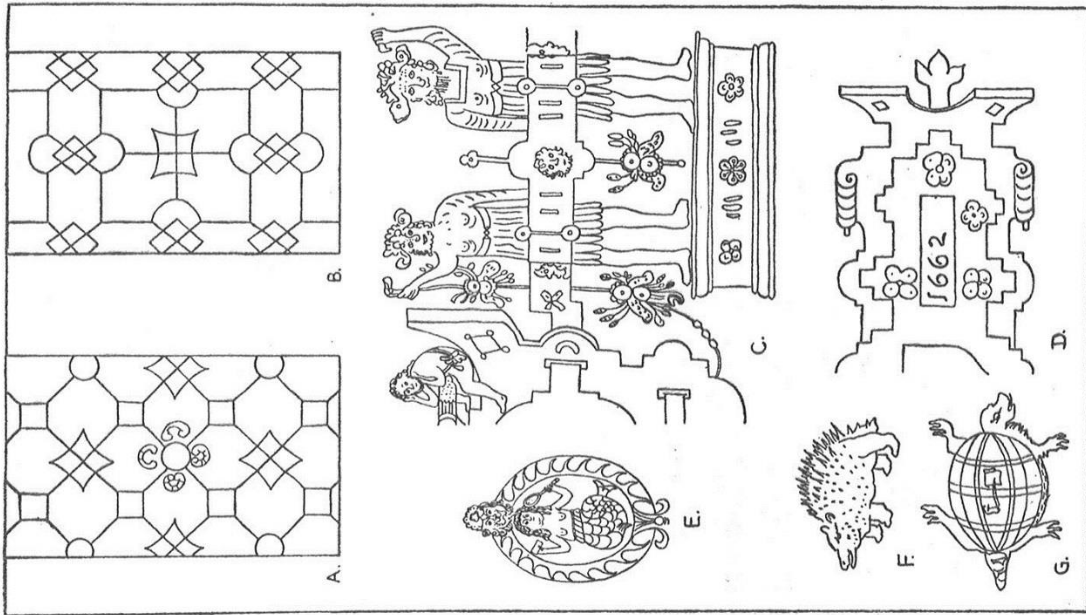
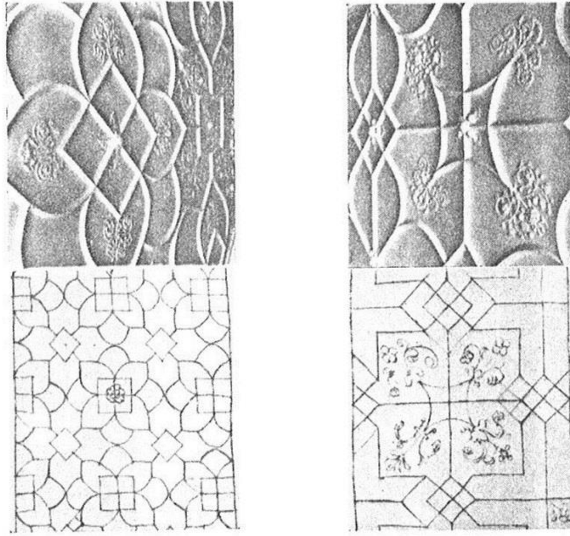

A.
B.
C.
D.
E.
F.
G.
1662
Fig. 19.—Drawings from the Abbott Book.
(A) Single rib type ceiling. (B) Single rib type ceiling. (C) Overmantel supporters (D) Overmantel design. (E, F, G) Details used at Treasbeare, Honiton Clyst.

PLATE 10



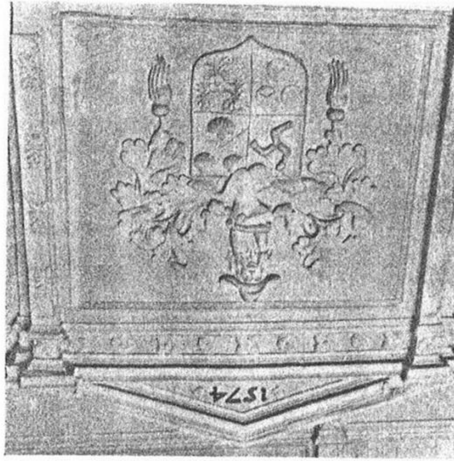
(a) A Design from the Abbott Book and the Ceiling at Dunsmoor Farm, Silverton.

(b) Ceiling at 7 The Close, Exeter, and a Design from the Abbott Book.

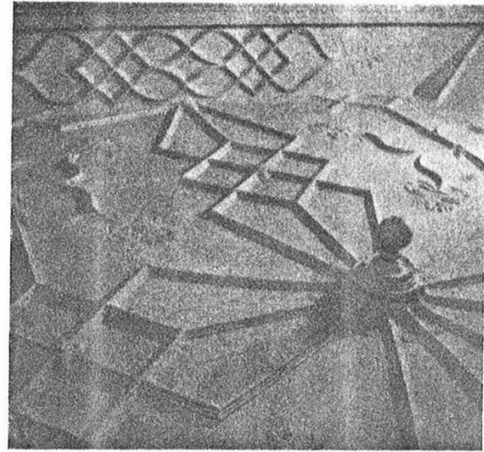
(From the *Countryman*)

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate*

PLATE 9

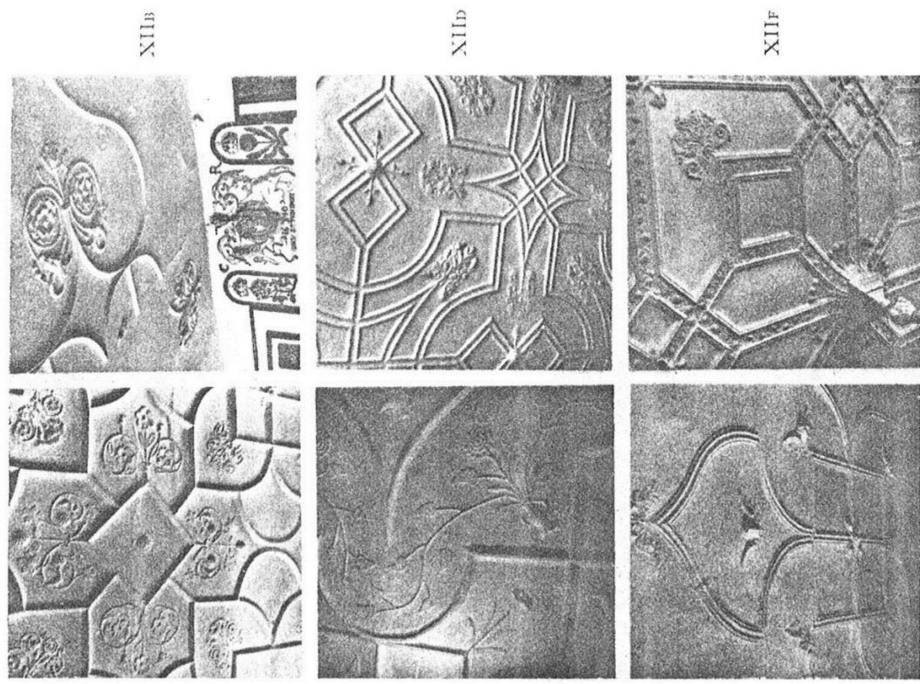


IXb Collacombe Manor, Lamerton, 1574.



IXa Cottles Barton, North Tawton, 1599.

PLATE 12

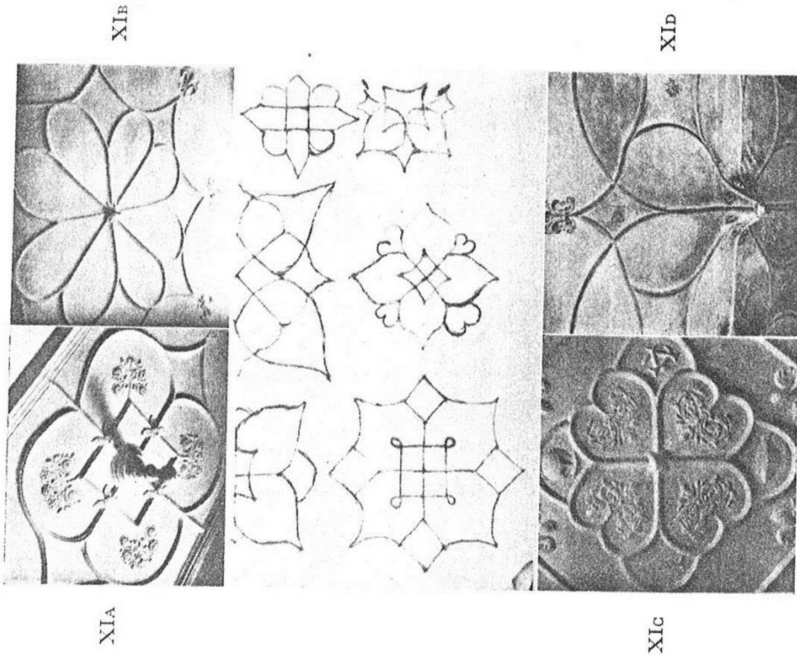


XIIa Dunsmoor, Silverton. XIIb Great Combe. Stoke Fleming, 1640.

XIIc Holcombe Burnell Barton. XIId Dowston Barton. Dittisham. c. 1630.

XIIe Butterwalk, Dartmouth. 1640. XIIf Job Room. Bradninch Manor.

PLATE 11



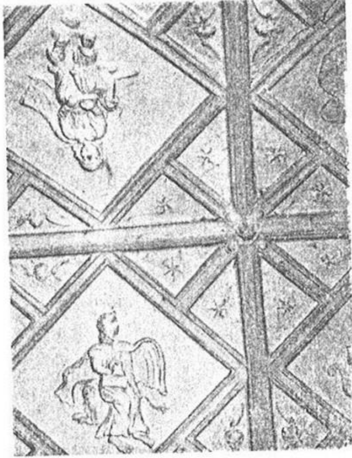
XIa Clysthayes, Silverton, c. 1620. XIb West Kerscott Farm, Swymbridge.

XIc Treasbeare, Honiton Clyst. XId Bowringsleigh, Kingsbridge.

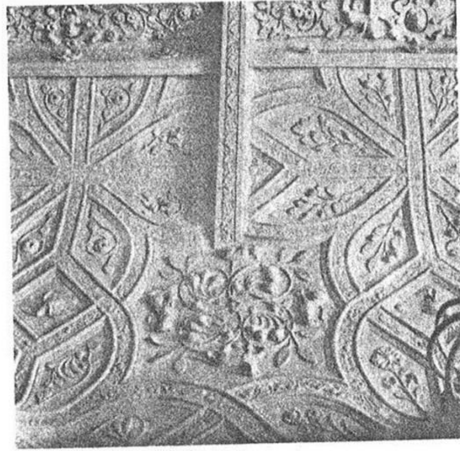
With Ceiling Designs from the Abbott Book.

(From the *Countryman*)

PLATE 14

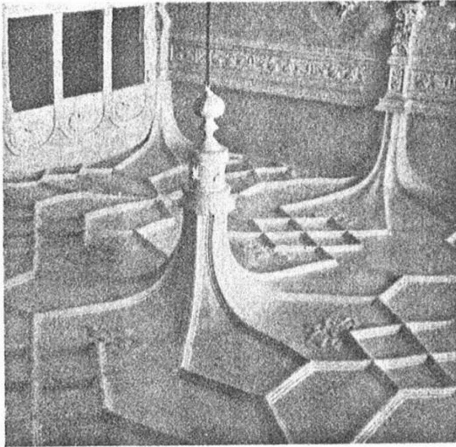


XIVB PEAMOOR CHAPEL, EXMINSTER CHURCH, c. 1633.



XIVA RASHLEIGH BARTON, CHULMLEIGH.

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 13*



XIIIB COLLACOMBE MANOR, LAMERTON, 1574.

XIIIA FORD HOUSE, NEWTON ABBOT, c. 1610.

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 12*

PLATE 13

PLATE 15

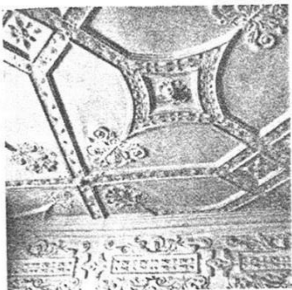
XVA STAFFORD BARTON, DOLTON.

XVB HOLCOMBE BURNELL BARTON.

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 14*

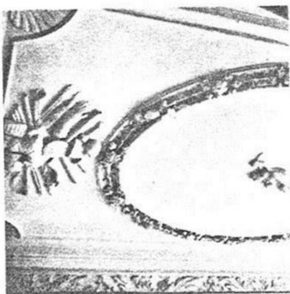
PLATE 16

XVIA

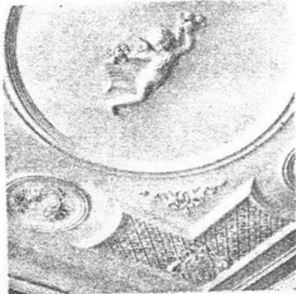


XVIB

XVIC



XVID



XVIE

XVIF

XVIA FORD HOUSE, NEWTON ABBOT, c. 1610.

XVIB EAST STOWFORD, CHITTLEHAMPTON.

XVIC BELLAIR, EXETER.

XVIB HOLLAND HOUSE, BARNSTAPLE.

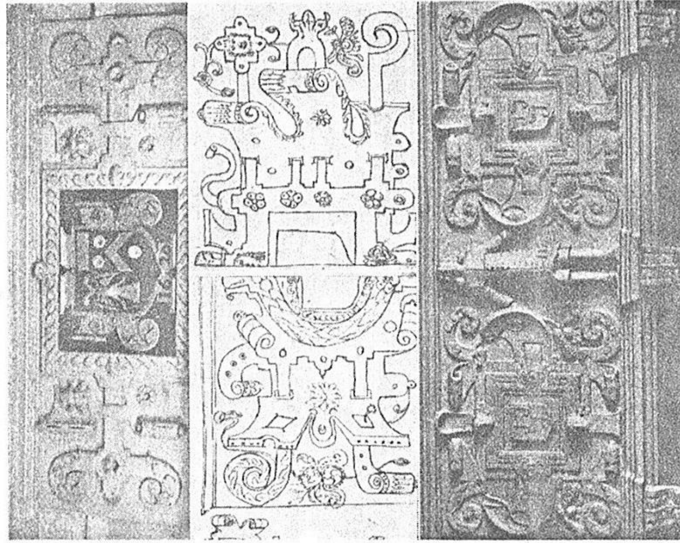
XVIE SALTRAM, DINING ROOM, 1768.

XVIF MAMHEAD HOUSE, c. 1832.

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 15*

PLATE 18

XVIIIA XVIIIB XVIIIC



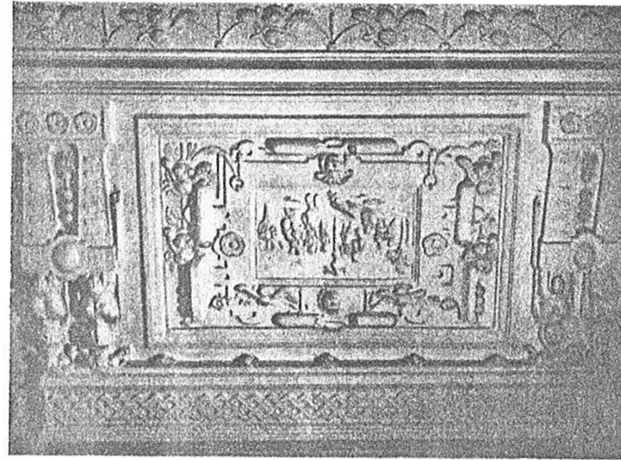
XVIIIA Overmantel at Mowlish, Kenton, 1620.

XVIIIB Drawings from the Abbott Book.

XVIIIC The Grenville Arms at the Gas Showrooms, Bideford.

(From the *Countryman*)

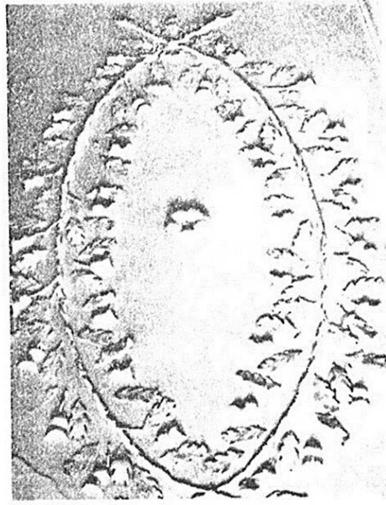
Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 17*



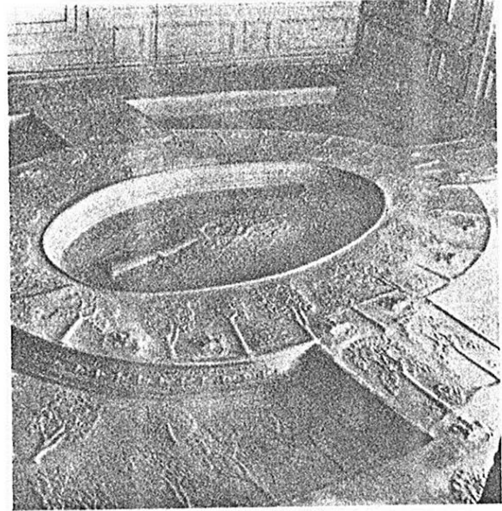
Brazen Serpent, Holcombe Rogus Court.

PLATE 17

PLATE 20

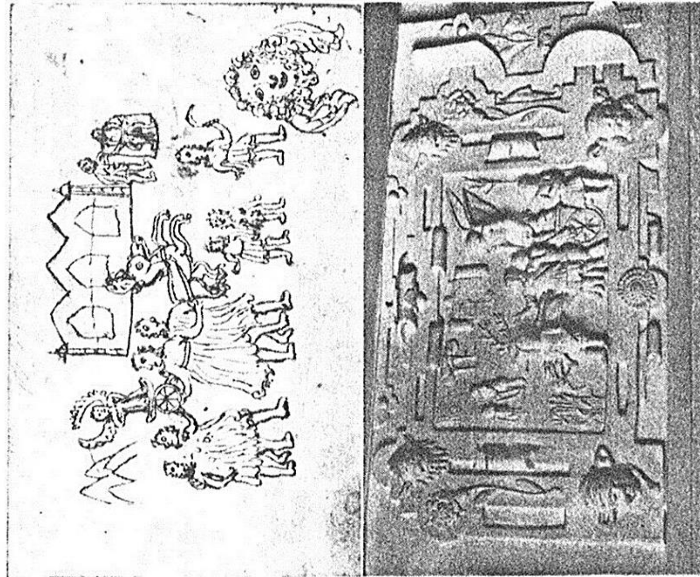


XXB FORD FARM, DUNSFORD.



XXA BOSCOBEL OAK, BOVEY HOUSE, BEER, c. 1663.

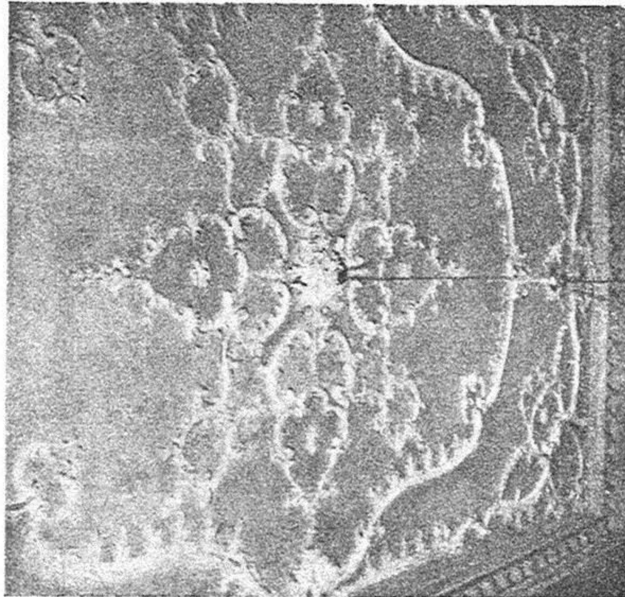
PLATE 19



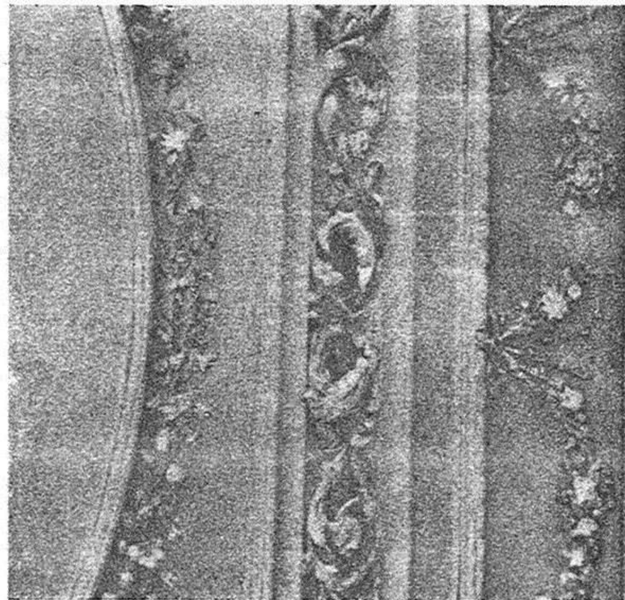
OVERMANTEL AT DEAN HEAD, GOODLEIGH, depicting "The Seasons," with a drawing from the Abbott Book.

(From the *Countryman*)

PLATE 21



XXIB POWDERHAM CASTLE, 1755.



XXIA DUNSLAND HOUSE, BRADFORD, *c.* 1690.

Devonshire Plasterwork—*To follow plate 2*