

Medieval English Roodcreens,
with special reference to Devon.

Submitted by Michael Aufrère Williams to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, June 2008.

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ABSTRACT

Roodscreens dividing church chancels and naves, topped with the image of Christ on the cross and often decorated with images of saints, were universal pieces of furnishing in English parish churches between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This thesis centres on such screens in Devon, while seeking to place them in the context of their history in England as a whole. It discusses their origins, the period of their flowering in the later middle ages, and their fate at the Reformation, which swept away their lofts and iconography but kept their basic structures. While the heart of the thesis lies in the period from 1300 to 1570, consideration is also given to their subsequent fate between about 1570 and about 1870, when many disappeared due to changing fashions in church layout and furnishing. It concludes by showing how modern conservation, since 1870, has preserved most of those that remained as well as studying and restoring them.

The thesis uses all the available primary and secondary sources for Devon, and major comparative ones for the rest of England. It discusses and criticises the evidence of churchwardens' accounts, wills, the writings of the Protestant reformers of the mid-sixteenth century, royal and episcopal visitation articles, injunctions and orders for the period during and after the Reformation, antiquarian researches of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Church faculty records, and conservation reports made on screens in recent decades, as well as the major modern secondary works on the subject beginning with that of A. W. N. Pugin in 1851. Attention has also been given to the screens that survive, and to how they were constructed and decorated.

The research shows that considerable sums were spent during the later middle ages on the construction, decoration, and maintenance of screens in all churches, from cathedrals and monasteries to parish churches. Parish communities in particular saw them as status symbols,

raised money for their manufacture, and tried to match the best examples in nearby churches. Screens throw light on church layout, since they emphasised the division of the church into two areas, and on the organisation and understanding of worship, which they were designed both to seclude from and to reveal to the congregation. The iconography of screens provides valuable information about the cults of saints in late-medieval parishes.

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

The thesis concludes with a gazetteer of all the screens in Devon churches that survive or are known to have existed on the basis of historical and antiquarian records.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Antiq. J</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arch. Hist.</i>	<i>Architectural History</i>
Bond and Camm	F. B. Bond and D. B. Camm, <i>Roodscreens and Roodlofts</i> , 2 vols (London, 1909)
B&GAS	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
CEAC, CCBD	The Library of the Church of England Archbishop's Council, Cathedral and Church Buildings Division
CRO	Cornwall Record Office, Truro
<i>DCNQ</i>	<i>Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries</i>
DCRS	Devon and Cornwall Record Society
<i>DNQ</i>	<i>Devon Notes and Queries</i>
DRO	Devon Record Office, Exeter
EDAC	Exeter Diocesan Advisory Committee
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i>
National Archives (K)	London, The National Archives, Kew
National Archives (I)	London, The National Archives, Family History Centre, Islington
NDRO	North Devon Record Office, Barnstaple
<i>NMS</i>	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), <i>The Oxford</i>

	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , (Oxford, 2004)
OED	J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn., 20 vols (Oxford, 1989)
P&P	<i>Past and Present</i>
PS	Parker Society
PSIAH	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History</i>
PSANHS	<i>Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society</i>
SDNQ	<i>Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries</i>
SRO	Somerset Record Office, Taunton
SRS	Somerset Record Society
TDA	<i>Transactions of the Devonshire Association</i>
WHS	Worcestershire Historical Society

GLOSSARY

Unless stated, the definitions are taken from *OED*.

Alure: A place to walk in, a gallery, especially a walk or passage behind the parapets of a castle, or round the roof of a church.

Amber: Obscure form of aumbry: a locker for safe keeping of vestments.

Arcade: A vaulted place, open at one or both sides; an arched opening or recess in a wall.

Beading: A bead moulding or edge line.

Bressummer: A 'summer' or beam extending horizontally over a large opening, e.g. the lower beam of the front of a gallery.

Chancel: The eastern part of a church, appropriated to the use of those who officiate in the performance of the services, and separated from the other parts by a screen, or archway.

Copal: A hard translucent odiferous resin obtained from various tropical trees, and from which a fine transparent varnish is prepared.

Cornice: A horizontal moulded projection which crowns or finishes a building.

Coving: An arched or vaulted piece of building, as the curved soffit of a projecting upper part of a building.

Cresting: An ornamental edging.

Dammar: The name of various resins obtained from different trees growing in the East Indies, New Guinea, and New Zealand, especially cat's eye resin and Kauri gum; both of these are used for making varnish.

Dado: The finishing of wood running along the lower part of the walls of a room made to represent a continuous pedestal.

Entablature: That part of the order which is above the column.

Enterclose: A partition, a screen, or a space partitioned off.

Iconostasis: The screen which separates the sanctuary or 'bema' from the main body of an orthodox church, and on which icons or sacred pictures are painted.

Mortice: A cavity, hole, or recess into which the end of some other part of a framework or structure is fitted so as to form a joint.

Mullion: A (usually vertical) bar dividing the lights in a window, especially in Gothic architecture; also: a similar bar forming divisions in screenwork or panelling.

Muntin: An upright post or bar; such as a central vertical piece between two pieces of glass or two panels of a door.

Pageant: A scene represented on a tapestry, or the like; a stage or platform on which scenes were acted or tableaux represented; or a tableau, representation, allegorical device, or the like, erected on a fixed stage.

Pale: A fence, palisade, or paling.

Panel: A distinct, typically rectangular section or compartment of a wainscot, door, or shutter, usually of wood or glass and generally thinner than the surround.

Parclose: A partition, screen, or railing, serving to enclose or shut off a space in a building, especially a screen or railing in a church enclosing an altar, or a tomb, or separating a chapel from the main body of the church.

Pinnacle: An architectural construction surmounting a building; especially a small ornamental turret, usually terminating in a pyramid or cone, crowning a buttress, roof, or coping.

Polychromy: The art of painting or decorating in several colours.

Presbytery: The eastern part of the chancel beyond the choir.

Pulpit: A raised, enclosed platform in a church or chapel, sometimes with a canopy and usually with a desk or seat from which the preacher prays or preaches.

Putto: A representation of a child, nude or in swaddling clothes used in art, especially in Italy between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Racking: The action of stretching, extending, straining.

Roodloft: A loft or gallery forming the upper part of a roodscreen.

Roodscreen: A screen usually of richly carved wood or stone and properly surmounted by a rood separating the nave from the choir.

Silour: A canopy or ceiling.

Size: A semi-solid glutinous substance, prepared from minerals similar to those which furnish glue, and used to mix with colours.

Soffit: The under horizontal face of an architrave or overhanging cornice; the under surface of a lintel, vault, or arch.

Sollar, soler: An upper room or loft.

Spandrel: The triangular space between the outer curve of an arch and the rectangle formed by the moulding enclosing it, frequently filled in with ornamental work; also, the space between the shoulders of two contiguous arches and the moulding or string-course above them.

Substrate: An underlying bulk phase or layer on which something is deposited.

Vault: An arched surface covering some space or area in the interior of a building.

Vice: A winding or spiral staircase.

Tenon: A projection fashioned on the end or side of a piece of wood or other material, to fit into a corresponding cavity or mortice in another piece, so as to form a close and secure joint.

Tracery: Intersecting rib-work in the upper part of a Gothic window, formed by the elaboration of the mullions; also similar work on a vault, walls, panels, or screens.

Trendle: A suspended hoop or wheel in which tapers were fixed, forming a chandelier.

Turriform: Possessing a tower.

Wainscot: Panel-work of oak or other wood, used to line the internal walls of a building.

MAPS

Substantially complete

- 1 Aboliskerswell
- 2 Alphington
- 3 Ashton
- 4 Atherington
- 5 Aysford
- 6 Awilscombe
- 7 Bampton
- 8 Berry Pomeroy
- 9 Bishop's Tawton
- 10 Blackawton
- 11 Bovey Tracey
- 12 Bradninch
- 13 Braunton
- 14 Bridford
- 15 Broachampton
- 16 Broadwoodwidge
- 17 Brushford
- 18 Buckrell
- 19 Buckland-in-the-Moor
- 20 Burlescombe
- 21 Burrington
- 22 Calverleigh
- 23 Chawleigh
- 24 Chivelstone
- 25 Christow
- 26 Chudleigh
- 27 Chulmleigh
- 28 Clyst St Lawrence
- 29 Cockington
- 30 Coldridge
- 31 Colebrooke
- 32 Combeinteighhead
- 33 Combe Martin
- 34 Cornworthy
- 35 Cullompton
- 36 Dartington
- 37 Dartmouth
- 38 Dittisham
- 39 Dodbrooke
- 40 Down St Mary
- 41 Dunchideock
- 42 East Allington
- 43 East Budleigh
- 44 East Down
- 45 East Ogwell
- 46 East Porlemouth
- 47 Exbourne
- 48 Exeter [St Mary Steps]
- 49 Exminster
- 50 Feniton
- 51 Gidleigh
- 52 Halberton
- 53 Harberton
- 54 Hartland

Incomplete

- 55 Heanton Punchardon
- 56 Hennock
- 57 Holbeton
- 58 Holne
- 59 Huxham
- 60 Isington
- 61 Ipplepen
- 62 Kenn
- 63 Kentisbeare
- 64 Kenton
- 65 King's Nympton
- 66 Lapford
- 67 Littleham
- 68 Littlehempston
- 69 Lustleigh
- 70 Manaton
- 71 Marwood
- 72 Membury
- 73 Monkleigh
- 74 Morchard Bishop
- 75 North Bovey
- 76 Northleigh
- 77 North Molton
- 78 Nymet Tracey
- 79 Parracombe
- 80 Payhembury
- 81 Pitton
- 82 Pinhoe
- 83 Plymstock
- 84 Plymtree
- 85 Poltimore
- 86 Rattery
- 87 Rewe
- 88 Rose Ash
- 89 Sherford
- 90 Slapton
- 91 South Milton
- 92 South Pool
- 93 Staverton
- 94 Stoke Gabriel
- 95 Stokeinteighhead
- 96 Stokenham
- 97 Swimbridge
- 98 Talaton
- 99 Tavstock
- 100 Torbryan
- 101 Tolnes
- 102 Trusham
- 103 Uffculme
- 104 Ugborough
- 105 Welcombe
- 106 West Worlington
- 107 Whitchurch
- 108 Willand

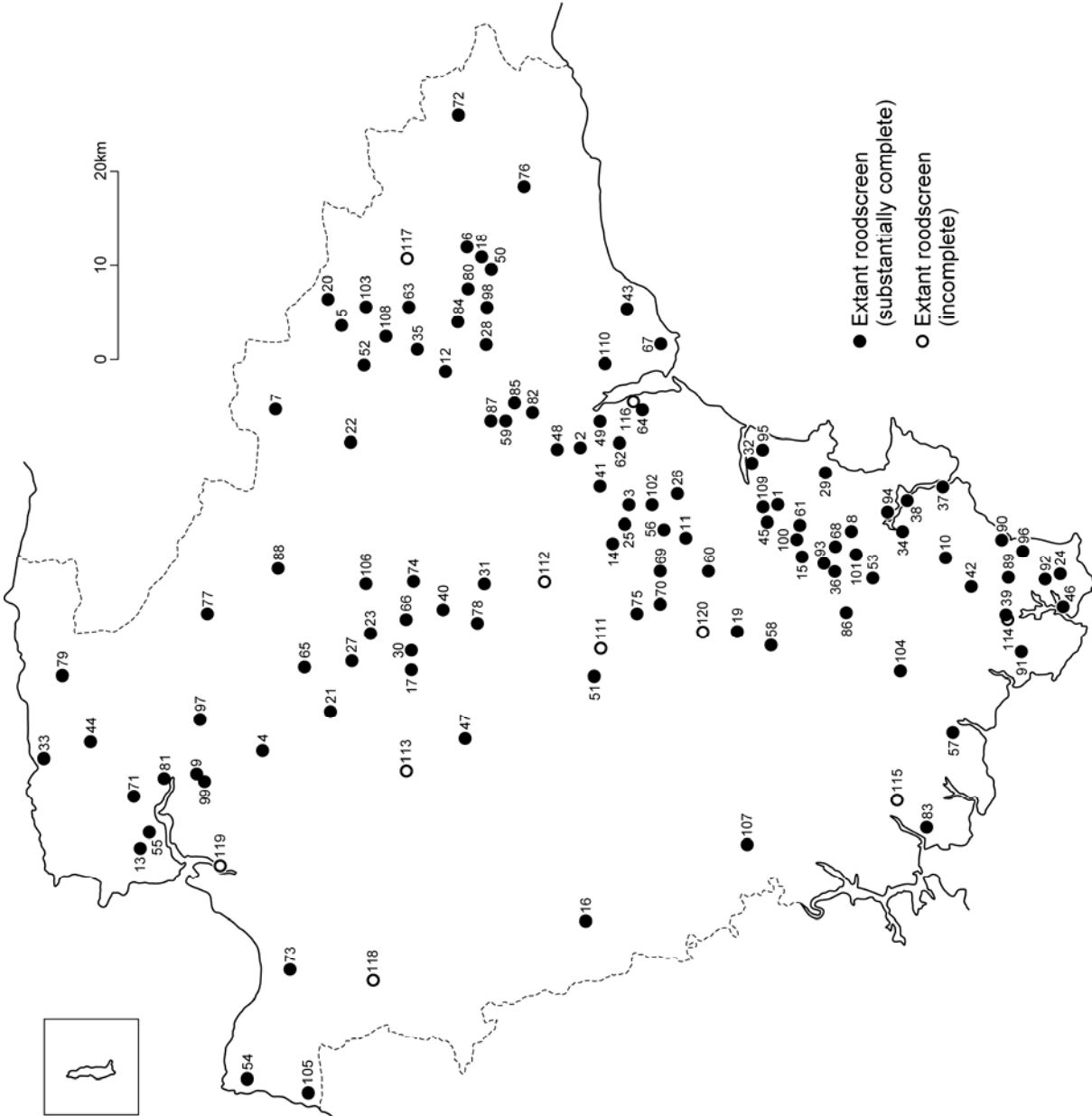


Figure 1: Extant medieval roodscreens in Devon

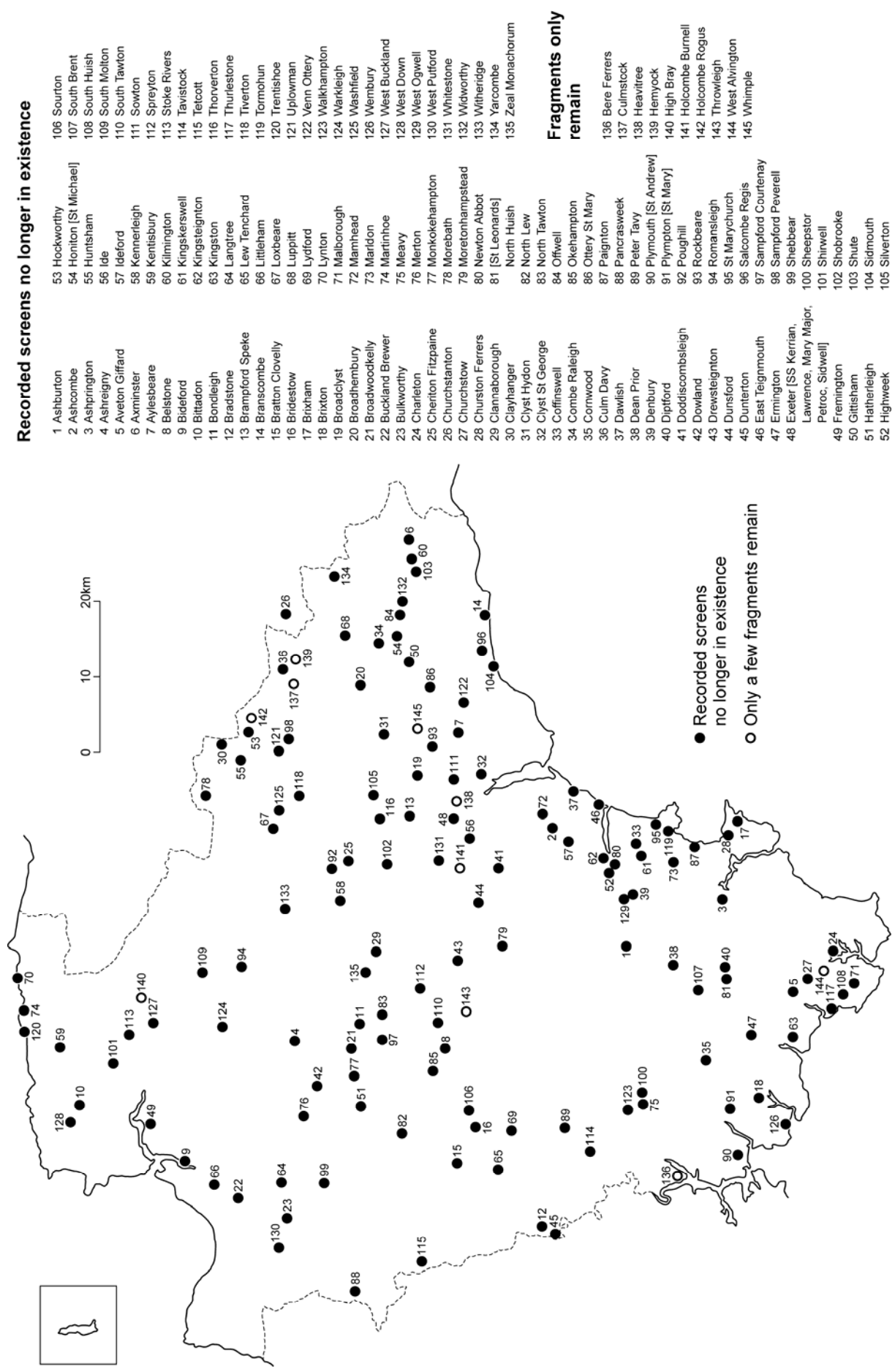


Figure 2: Recorded medieval roodscreens in Devon which no longer exist

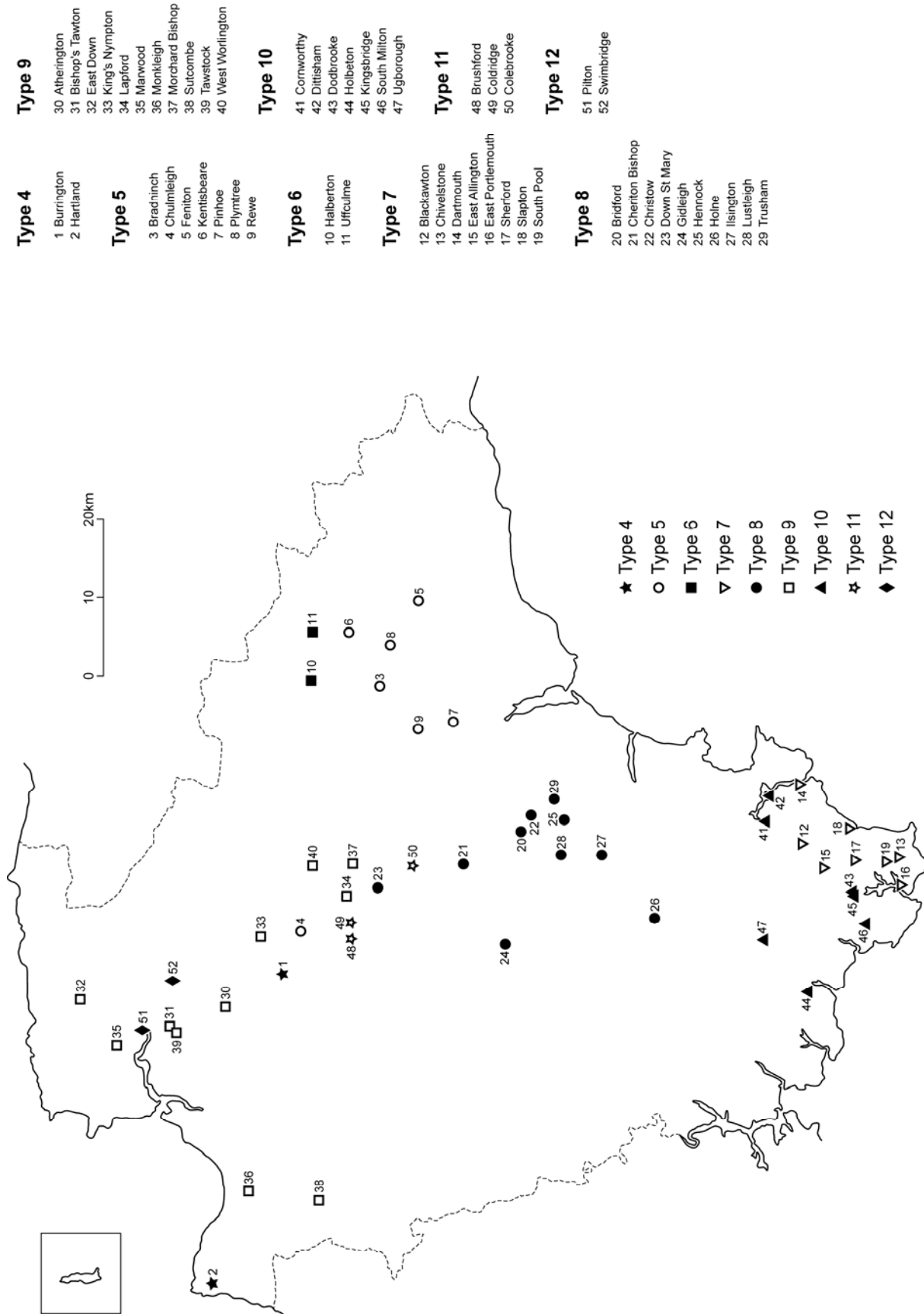


Figure 3: Devon roodscreens according to type: types 4 - 12

Chapter One

SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Original sources

This thesis centres on pre-Reformation screens in Devon, although attention has also been given to Somerset and to a lesser extent Cornwall. Today, 120 pre-Reformation screens exist in Devon churches. Many are substantially complete, in that their original medieval parts remain, either entirely with only minimal restoration or integrated into a restored construction. Others only survive in incomplete form or as elements integrated into a restored structure.¹ Part of the research for this thesis has involved visiting them, measuring their dimensions, and photographing them in considerable detail. Not all photographs of screens visited have been included, for reasons of space; however a number of such photographs have been inserted to illustrate points made in the various chapters. Dimensions, where available, are recorded in the Gazetteer. There is evidence for an additional 135 screens which have vanished since the Reformation and for a further ten which contain only fragmentary medieval remains not integrated into restored structures, like Culmstock (Devon) where part of the original screen has been incorporated into the reredos.²

The sources for the history of medieval roodscreens are of two kinds: written and material. The principal written sources begin chronologically with wills and churchwardens' accounts, of which the former are the less useful. The probate records of the Prerogative Court of the archbishop of Canterbury exist from 1383, but these are concerned with people (mainly men) who held property in more than one diocese and thus are largely

¹ See p. 18, Figure 1 (Extant medieval roodscreens in Devon).

² See p. 19, Figure 2 (Recorded medieval roodscreens in Devon which no longer exist).

limited to the wealthy. Devon wills registered in the Prerogative Court number 626, but references in them to roodscreens are thin on the ground.³ A sample investigation of 97 such wills discovered only six bequests concerning roodscreens, of which one is for a Somerset church. The sample was mainly chosen from wills dated soon after 1480, although a number from the early decades of the fifteenth century were also consulted.⁴ Evidence from pre-Reformation wills proved in the bishop's or archdeacons' courts in Devon is almost non-existent. Hardly any such wills had survived from before the 1530s, when the destruction of the Probate Registry in Exeter during the Baedeker bombing raids of 23 and 24 April and 3 May 1942 accounted for those that remained. Some extracts were made from those local wills before their destruction, but these do not furnish evidence about screens.⁵ In Cornwall, of 122 wills of personal property that are known to exist up to the year 1540 (i.e. 1342-1540), only two specifically mention roodlofts.⁶ There is also some very limited information in F. W. Weaver's *Somerset Medieval Wills*,⁷ which are calendars of Somerset wills registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Churchwardens' accounts are more informative. Since J. C. Cox's early-twentieth-century work,⁸ historians have been aware of the rich information provided by such records for parish life and church fabric,

³ J. C. C. Smith, *Index of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1558*, The British Record Society (London, 1893).

⁴ The five Devon churches are: Bampton (1509), Plymouth (St. Andrew) (1509), Chulmleigh (1528), Honiton (St. Michael) (1529), and Tiverton (1524). The Somerset church is Wellington (1495).

⁵ These are two pre-World War II compilations of extracts. Olive Moger's typed abstract of selected Devon wills, held in the Devon Record Office, and Oswyn Murray's abstract of selected wills, held in the West Country Studies Library, Exeter, but these are largely genealogical.

⁶ N. I. Orme (ed.), *Cornish Wills*, DCRS, new series 50 (Exeter, 2007), pp. 128, 165.

⁷ F. W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, SRS, 16 (1901); idem (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501-30*, SRS, 19 (1903); idem (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531-58*, SRS, 21 (1905).

⁸ J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913).

including, *inter alia*, bells, church ales, fabric, images, plate, receipts and payments, and roods, and they are also of considerable relevance to the construction, maintenance, and destruction of screens and lofts in the period c.1450-c.1585. Published churchwardens' accounts have, on the whole, been used in this thesis only for parts of England other than Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The original accounts have been consulted for these three counties from the Cornwall Record Office (Truro), the Barnstaple and Exeter branches of the Devon Record Office, and the Somerset Record Office (Taunton). A full list is given in the bibliography. Thirty such accounts, ten from Devon, eight from Cornwall, and twelve from Somerset have been utilised; their dates ranging from 1439 to 1577.

Professor Ronald Hutton has estimated that 1003 parishes possess churchwardens' accounts before 1690, of which 410 begin before 1600, and 199 before 1547.⁹ Figures for Devon are 61 parishes possessing churchwardens' accounts which start before 1692, of which 33 begin before 1600 and 16 before 1547.¹⁰ Nationally the earliest surviving accounts date from the middle of the fourteenth century, the oldest being those of St. Michael, Bath (Somerset), which begin in 1349, and St. James, Hedon (East Yorks.) which begin in 1350.¹¹ By no means all pre-Reformation accounts mention roodscreens and lofts. Those that do, however, shed considerable light on the provision of screens, payments to the craftsmen and workers who constructed and painted them, and gifts and bequests from parishioners for screens and their imagery. The most common entries deal with their repair and maintenance, their beautification and lighting and - a not unimportant point in the minds of

⁹ R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 263-93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-9. Cornwall has 10 churchwardens' accounts between 1405 and 1570, while Somerset has 18, between 1318 and 1570.

¹¹ Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 15-16. An account from St. Mary's, Bridgwater (Somerset), exists for 1318/19. It concerns receipts, expenses, and allowances concerning only the making of a new bell for the parish church. The account contains no other information. See T. B. Dilks (ed.), *Bridgwater Borough Archives 1200-1377*, SRS, 48 (1933), pp. 65-7.

the parishioners - the imitation (and betterment) of a nearby screen or screens. From about 1547 the accounts tell us of the destruction of screens and lofts (usually called 'pulling down'), the rather desultory attempts at rebuilding them during the reign of Mary I, and renewed destruction from about 1559 onwards.

In the three south-western counties, the churchwardens' accounts of the greatest relevance for roodscreens are those of Ashburton,¹² Chagford,¹³ Exeter (St. Petroc),¹⁴ Morebath,¹⁵ and South Tawton (Devon),¹⁶ Stratton (Cornwall),¹⁷ and Bath (St. Michael), Croscombe, Pilton, Tintinhull and Yatton (Somerset).¹⁸ The evidence of the Devon accounts can be supplemented, for purposes of comparison, with accounts from other counties that are available in print. These include Boxford (Cams.),¹⁹ Cambridge (St. Mary the Great),²⁰ London (St. Mary at Hill),²¹ Louth (Lincs.),²² and St. Michael in Bedwardine, Worcester.²³ The information

¹² A. Hanham (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*, DCRS, new series 15 (1970).

¹³ F. M. Osborne (ed.), *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's Church, Chagford, 1480-1600* (Chagford, 1979).

¹⁴ R. Dymond, *The History of the Parish of St. Petrock, Exeter, as shown by its Churchwardens' Accounts and other Records* (Exeter, 1882).

¹⁵ J. E. Binney (ed.), *The Accounts of the Wardens of the Parish of Morebath, Devon, 1520-1573*, DNQ, supplementary volume, 1903-4 (Exeter, 1904). Also see E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven, 2001), p.x: 'The 1904 edition of the Morebath accounts by J. Erskine Binney, while not quite complete and sometimes inconsistent in capitalisation and division of the text, is basically reliable.'

¹⁶ E. Lega-Weekes, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of South Tawton', *TDA*, 40 (1908), pp. 306-12.

¹⁷ R. W. Goulding, *Records of the Charity known as Blanchminster's Charity in the Parish of Stratton, County of Cornwall until the year 1832* (Stratton and Bude, 1890); E. Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton, in the county of Cornwall', *Archaeologia*, 46 (1881), pp. 195-236.

¹⁸ Selectively edited by E. Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath, and St. Michael's, Bath*, SRS, 4 (1890).

¹⁹ P. Northeast (ed.), *Boxford Churchwardens' Accounts 1530-1561*, Suffolk Records Society, 33 (Woodbridge, 1982).

²⁰ J. E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635* (Cambridge, 1905).

²¹ H. Littlehales (ed.), *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill) A. D. 1420-1559*, 2 vols, EETS, original series 125 and 128 (1904-5).

²² R. C. Dudding (ed.), *The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth* (Oxford, 1941).

given by such accounts can, by their nature, only be spasmodic on any subject but it has nevertheless been possible for recent historians to extract a considerable amount of information from them about late-medieval life and worship, notably in the work of Eamon Duffy, K. L. French, and B. A. Kumin.²⁴ The limitations of the accounts can, however, be supplemented by our knowledge of the liturgical and ritual activities of the pre-Reformation church in England, which allow a clearer picture to emerge of the context in which the screens and lofts were an integral part. The sources of information for these activities will be discussed in the historiography section of this chapter.

For the impact of the Reformation on screens, the writings of Reformation Church leaders are invaluable. The chief of these writings were edited by the Parker Society and are now available in their original printed form via the EEBO (Early English Books Online) website.²⁵ In the middle of the sixteenth century roodscreens and lofts became controversial, as the ideas of the Reformation began to impact on parish churches. Protestant reformers turned their attention to church furnishings, including screens and lofts. Their writings, which are considered in detail later in this thesis,²⁶ are polemical and controversial. Among the most relevant texts are the editions of Becon, Bullinger, Cranmer, Hooper, Jewel, Latimer, Ridley, and the 'Zurich Letters'.²⁷ All

²³ J. Amphlett (ed.), *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester from 1539 to 1603*, WHS (1896).

²⁴ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1992); idem, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven and London, 2001); K. L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia, 2001); B. A. Kumin, *The Shaping of a Community. The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996).

²⁵ For a full list of Parker Society texts used see Chapter 3. Reformation authors and their works are listed in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds), *A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books printed abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd edn, (London, 1976-91). Tudor books are now available electronically on EEBO, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>. In this thesis, the editions of the Parker Society have been used.

²⁶ See Chapter 3, 'The Reformation and Screens'.

²⁷ J. Ayre (ed.), *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, S. T. P., PS (Cambridge, 1843); idem, *Prayers and other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, S. T. P., PS (Cambridge 1844); idem, *The Works of*

prove valuable for throwing light on how the reformers viewed screens in terms of their demands for the destruction of imagery, and for placing the importance of screens within the whole picture of reformist ideas. A further post-Reformation source of relevance is *The Description of England* by W. Harrison (published in 1587); this on the other hand is descriptive of screens rather than polemical.²⁸

Of considerable interest and value are the editions of legal and administrative documents which help to illustrate how the policies of the sixteenth-century reformers were put into effect, for screens and lofts also became the subject of Church legislation. These include the editions of D. Wilkins (1685-1745),²⁹ W. H. Frere (1863-1938) and W. M. Kennedy,³⁰ and P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin.³¹ Wilkins' four-volume *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* is an edition of documents relating to British Church Councils from 446 to 1717. It includes several texts relating to the removal of images and therefore relevant to screens, including the *King's Letter for the taking away of Shrines and Images* (1543), the *Mandatum ad amovendas et delendas imagines* (1547), and *An Address made by some Bishops and Divines to Queen Elizabeth against the use of Images* (1559). Inevitably Wilkins's editions, however,

John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, 2 vols, PS (Cambridge, 1847); S. Carr (ed.), *Early Writings of John Hooper, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1849); H. Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1841); G. E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, 2 vols, PS (Cambridge, 1844-5); J. E. Cox (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, PS (Cambridge, 1846). T. Harding, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, 3 vols, PS (Cambridge, 1849-52); H. Robinson (ed.), *The Zurich Letters: Comprising the Correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 1st and 2nd series, PS (Cambridge, 1842); idem, *Original letters relative to the English Reformation: written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary, chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, PS (Cambridge, 1846-7).

²⁸ W. Harrison, *The Description of England* (ed. G. Edelen) (Ithaca, 1968).

²⁹ D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols (London, 1737). Also Alastair Hamilton, 'Wilkins, David (1685-1745)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29417>, accessed 5 May 2006].

³⁰ W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions for the period of the Reformation*, 3 vols (London, 1910).

³¹ P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols (New York, 1964-9).

are limited by the sources available to him and the conventions of his day.

Frere and Kennedy's edition of *Visitation Articles and Injunctions for the Period of the Reformation* is a major documentary collection of royal injunctions addressed to the clergy between 1536 and 1575 and many of the articles and injunctions drawn up by bishops before carrying out visitations of their dioceses. These documents are particularly informative about the progress of the destruction of England's roodscreens and lofts. Finally, the edition of *Tudor Royal Proclamations* by Hughes and Larkin includes royal pronouncements illustrative of the progress of the Reformation and especially of the disappearance of imagery from churches. Like the Visitation Articles they are prescriptive texts, which state what was intended to happen, not necessarily what did. A sequel to Frere's and Kennedy's work for the first half of the seventeenth century is provided by the edition of *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church* by Kenneth Fincham.³² The documents in the latter edition mention roodscreens and lofts less frequently, but this in itself is significant as showing the decline of screens as a point of controversy.

A new category of written evidence begins to survive in the eighteenth century in the form of antiquarian descriptions of screens. They may be considered as primary sources since they preserve relevant material, or as secondary ones because they also comment on it. Such writings include R. Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* (1793-1806), D. and S. Lysons' *Magna Britannia: Devonshire* (1822), and G. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon* (1839-42).³³ The work of all four authors has been useful in compiling the Gazetteer of this thesis, especially when they mention screens which have vanished or been

³² K. Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1994 and 1998).

³³ R. Polwhele, *The History of Devonshire*, 3 vols (London, 1793-1806); D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia: Devonshire*, 2 vols (London, 1822); G. Oliver, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, 3 vols (Exeter, 1839-42).

transformed by restoration. Equally, none of the works is wholly comprehensive, because no author was exhaustive in terms of his travels and researches. For the nineteenth century, the topographical works of C. E. Keyser, W. Spreat, J. Stabb, and C. Worthy also provide, *inter alia*, useful illustrative accounts and material.³⁴

Four unpublished antiquarian sources are also informative about Devon screens, and have provided further relevant information for the Gazetteer. These are, in chronological order, Dean Jeremiah Milles' 'Parochial Questionnaire' and 'Parochial History of Devon' (c.1755), James Davidson's five-volume 'Notes on Devon Churches' (1826-49), and Beatrix Cresswell's 'Notes on Devon Churches' (1908-25). Milles compiled a questionnaire, sent to the incumbents of Devon parishes, in which he posed 104 questions, of which 15 dealt with parish churches, although none was specifically directed towards the existence and description of a roodscreen. Nevertheless 37 of the 250 completed replies refer to such screens.³⁵ From these questionnaires Milles produced a digested 'Parochial History' although this has less material about screens. Davidson compiled five manuscript volumes of notes on almost every church in Devon based on his travels in the county between 1826 and 1849. These notes relate primarily to the architectural features and memorials of the churches visited, but do not contain drawings.³⁶ B. Cresswell's 'Notes on Devon Churches' are in 26 volumes, of which two, those of the deaneries of Kenn and Christianity (Exeter) have been

³⁴ C. E. Keyser, *On the Panel Paintings of Saints on the Devonshire Screens* (Westminster, 1898); W. Spreat, *Picturesque Sketches of the Churches of Devon* (Exeter, 1842); J. Stabb, *Some old Devon Churches*, 3 vols (London, 1908-16); C. Worthy, *Devonshire Parishes*, 2 vols (Exeter, 1887).

³⁵ The originals are held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and microfilm copies at the West Country Studies Library, Exeter. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top. Devon b 1-2 (Questions sent by Jeremiah Milles, precentor of Exeter Cathedral, to incumbents of Devon parishes in c.1755, 2 vols); MS Top. Devon 8-12 (Parochial returns [MS Top. Devon b. 1-2] collated by Dr. Milles, 5 vols). Also Peter W. Thomas, 'Milles, Jeremiah (1714-1784)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18752>, accessed 5 May 2006].

³⁶ They are held at the West Country Studies Library, Exeter, and are titled East, West, South, and North Devon, and Exeter.

published. Cresswell's work relates mainly to the architectural and interior features of the churches she visited.³⁷

A further group of unpublished primary sources include the records of faculty causes and petitions for Devon. These relate to the Church of England's jurisdiction over parish churches. By the eighteenth century major changes to the structures and furnishings of parish churches required the permission of a Church official, usually an archdeacon, a permission known as a faculty. Such faculties could be, and were, used as the authority to demolish screens, but surviving documents that mention roodscreens are relatively sparse. Of 12 causes and 44 petitions, covering the years 1758 to 1939 and held in the Devon Record Office, only 13 concern the removal of screens - chiefly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁸

Turning to material evidence, surviving screens can tell us of the materials used (almost exclusively wood, rarely stone); how the screen might have been constructed, painted and gilded, given the experience and expertise of present-day conservators and restorers; the decoration, in particular the carving of the cornice, spandrels, bay tracery and parclose screens which may give indications as to the dating and cost of the screen and, finally, the painted dado figures, which, where they exist, may indicate the interests and needs of the donors and the parishioners. There are two current inventories of screens. The Historical Environment Record (formerly the Sites and Monuments Register) for Devon is held at the Devon County Council offices in Exeter. Its coverage of roodscreens and lofts is sometimes out of date and inaccurate. Some of its material was gained from site visits, but most has been taken from published

³⁷ B. F. Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* (Exeter, 1908); idem, *Notes on the Churches of the Deanery of Kenn* (Exeter, 1912). The unpublished volumes are distinguished by Deanery and are held at the West Country Studies Library, Exeter. They are typed and bound.

³⁸ These are: Brampford Speke (1834), Colebrooke (1805), Combe Raleigh (1827), Kingsteignton (1801), Kingston (1807), Langtree (1815), Luppitt (1826), Merton (1822), Shebbear (1815), South Molton (1758), Sidmouth (1776), Tormohun (1812), and Zeal Monachorum (1853).

sources, some of considerable age. The second edition of the Devon volume in the Buildings of England series, by B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, published in 1989 and reprinted with corrections in 1991, provides an accessible list and description of roodscreens of the present day.³⁹ On the whole this is an excellent source, mentioning, often in considerable detail, all the extant screens, although a few of the descriptions are exiguous and a few inaccuracies have been noted during recent visits to the churches which contain screens.⁴⁰ Not only Cherry and Pevsner, but all the sources which provided the basis for the Gazetteer, have been used to guide the choice of churches to be visited.⁴¹

A further valuable recent source, and one hardly used at all by scholars, consists of reports made by the conservator Anna Hulbert between 1973 and 1994.⁴² The majority of these reports are typewritten, although a few are by hand, and they are all titled by the name of the church and parish to which they refer. These reports were made before, during and after work done on the polychromy of a number of Devon screens that she was asked to report on or to restore, with particular reference to painted dado figures. Most are condition reports, which research the history of the screen and give recommendations for treatment of the polychromy prior to any conservation work. Indeed, it is clear that many of the projects did not come to fruition, probably because of the expense involved. Nevertheless, they are an extremely valuable source, especially in the area of the problems involved in the identification of these figures.⁴³

³⁹ B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn (London, 1991).

⁴⁰ For example, the screens at Sutcombe and Whitchurch.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 28-9.

⁴² The only reference made to these reports elsewhere is in A. M. Baker, 'Representations of Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon', *TDA*, 136 (2004), pp. 71-97.

⁴³ These reports are held in the Exeter Diocesan Advisory Committee's offices in Exeter, and in the library of The Church of England Archbishops' Council (Cathedral and Church Buildings Division) in London. They are not catalogued and thus possess no reference numbers. See Appendix 6.

These later sources enable us to gain a substantial, though incomplete, view of the fortunes of Devon roodscreens from c.1755 to the present day. There are, of course, lacunae, but, nevertheless (and certainly in comparison with the very sparse pre c.1755 material) the evidence is enough to enable us to perceive the different ways in which the value and purposes of roodscreens have been viewed and treated at different times. Guided by the written sources mentioned above, all the 120 churches which contain medieval screens have been visited, measured, described, and photographed during the present research.

Historiography of screens

Although the roodscreen is often a dominant feature within a parish church and may be the oldest piece of furniture remaining within that church, it has had until recently a limited historiography. That historiography can be divided into four chronological periods: c.1830-90, c.1890-1920, c.1920-80, and from c.1980 to the present day. Within these periods it is sometimes possible to sub-divide what was written into studies of pre-Reformation, Reformation, and post-Reformation screens.

It may be argued that any historiographical survey of roodscreens should begin with the values of the Gothic revival of the mid and late nineteenth century, especially those espoused by A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52) and by the Cambridge Camden, later the Ecclesiological, Society, and its followers, the 'ecclesiologists'. The aim of the ecclesiologists was to define the correct principles of church architecture and decoration, ritual and music. Perhaps under the influence of the second (1841) edition of Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, that definition came to be equated with the fourteenth-century Decorated

period of architecture.⁴⁴ Pugin was also an influential writer on church furnishings. Indeed, his 'exclusive attachment to Gothic architecture and his devotion to roodscreens in particular' appear to have been the criteria which contemporaries and later writers wished to follow, if not emulate.⁴⁵

Pugin's *Treatise on Church Screens and Rood Lofts* (1851) was probably the first major work drawing attention to screens in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ It covers western Europe as a whole, has a section on England with some quotations from churchwardens' accounts, and finishes with lively attacks on opponents of screens. It was written late in his life, when he was well-informed about architectural history but was being harassed by critics about his work. Like other ecclesiological theorists of the day, Pugin was not only concerned with roodscreens in an historical sense. Their concern was to promote a medieval Catholic or Anglo-Catholic agenda. Their sources were archaeological, not documentary, and the conclusions they reached reflected their aim of reviving Roman Catholicism or an Anglo-Catholic revival within the Church of England.

Among the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society were J. M. Neale (1818-66)⁴⁷ and B. Webb (1819-85).⁴⁸ Both produced influential works which had a major influence. In 1841 Neale, working closely with Webb, published *A Few Words to Churchwardens* and *A Few Words to Church Builders*, both of which mention roodscreens, arguing that not only should they be retained but that new ones be made, while two years later Neale and Webb published *The Symbolism of Churches and Church*

⁴⁴ A. W. N. Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841).

⁴⁵ Alexandra Wedgwood, 'Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore (1812-1852)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22869>, accessed 8 May 2006].

⁴⁶ A. W. N. Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Signification* (London, 1851).

⁴⁷ Susan Drain, 'Neale, John Mason(1818-1866)', *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19824>, accessed 7 May 2006].

⁴⁸ Clement C. J. Webb, 'Webb, Benjamin (1819-1885)', rev. J. Mordaunt Crook, *ODNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28917>, accessed 7 May 2006].

Ornaments. Nevertheless, these works were not much concerned with pre-Reformation roodscreens; neither were they histories in an academic sense. Of the three dominant figures in church restoration of the later decades of the nineteenth century - William Butterfield,⁴⁹ G. G. Scott,⁵⁰ and G. E. Street⁵¹ - only Scott, who published three important texts, was concerned with serious writing on the subject of restoration.⁵² In respect of screens, he argues for preservation rather than removal. Of Ripon Cathedral he later wrote that 'the old roodscreen remaining, I acted on my principle of not disturbing it'.⁵³ At Exeter Cathedral he also defended the choir screen against pressure to remove it. 'My principle', wrote Scott 'is not to destroy an old close screen nor to erect a new one'.⁵⁴ In the end he yielded to the extent of piercing the backs of the altar recesses on either side of the Exeter screen.

It may be said, then, that prior to the late nineteenth century very little was written about roodscreens nationally, and nothing specifically about the roodscreens of Devon other than the antiquarian works already mentioned, although an article by H. Sirr, spread over two issues of the *Art Journal* in 1883 and 1885, was partly concerned with identifying and describing elements of screens.⁵⁵ Many useful articles on Devon churches, however, were published in the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society and, while these were not primarily concerned with roodscreens and lofts, there was sometimes

⁴⁹ Rosemary Hill, 'Butterfield, William (1814-1900)', *ODNB*, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4228, accessed 7 May 2006].

⁵⁰ Gavin Stamp, 'Scott, Sir George Gilbert (1811-1878)', *ODNB*, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24869, accessed 7 May 2006].

⁵¹ David B. Brownlee, 'Street, George Edmund (1824-1881)', *ODNB*, 2004; [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26659, accessed 7 May 2006].

⁵² G. G. Scott, *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches* (London, 1850); idem, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture* (London, 1857); idem, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (ed. G. G. Scott) (London, 1879).

⁵³ Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, p. 340.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁵⁵ H. Sirr, 'The Stallwork, Canopies and Rood Screens of the Fifteenth Century', *Art Journal* (1883), pp. 325-9; idem, *Art Journal* (1885), pp. 145-8.

relevant and informative material within them. The society was established in 1841 to report on the fabric of the churches of the diocese and to approve designs for new churches; it produced its first volume of transactions in 1843 and lasted until the 1930s.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the first period to see a significant interest in screens and their history, exemplified by the works of F. Bligh Bond (1864-1945), D. B. Camm (1864-1942), Francis Bond, and Aymer Vallance (1862-1943), which are still essential for an understanding of the subject. These writers were concerned with description and listing rather than historical analysis. Their concern was also inspired by an Anglo-Catholic agenda: to re-create medieval Catholic worship in the Church of England in an aesthetic and sometimes even a theological sense and as such may be seen as successors of the Ecclesiologists' tradition. Bligh Bond and Camm both published articles on Devon screens before embarking on their greatest work, mentioned below,⁵⁶ and they also drew on two contemporary local studies: H. Hems' text (little more than a pamphlet) published in 1896, and C. E. Keyser's 1898 work, which dealt with the painted figures on the screen dado panels, these being the first texts to deal specifically with certain aspects of Devon screens.⁵⁷ F. Bligh Bond was the most ambitious of the four writers. By 1900 he had a good reputation as both an ecclesiastical and domestic architect and had gained his FRIBA.⁵⁸ His reputation increased with the publication of his and Camm's substantial study of *Roodscreens and Roodlofts* in two volumes in 1909.⁵⁹ He was also instrumental in the

⁵⁶ F. B. Bond, 'Devonshire Screens and Rood Lofts', *TDA*, 35 (1903), pp. 434-96; F. B. Bond and A. L. Radford, 'Devonshire Screens and Rood Lofts', *TDA*, 34 (1902), pp. 531-50; Dom B. Camm, *Some Devonshire Screens* (Ampleforth, 1906).

⁵⁷ H. Hems, *Rood and other Screens in Devonshire Churches* (London, 1896); C. E. Keyser, *On the Panel Paintings of Saints on the Devonshire Screens* (Westminster, 1898).

⁵⁸ R. A. Gilbert, 'Bond, Frederick Bligh (1864-1945)', *ODNB*, online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53875>, accessed 5 May 2006].

⁵⁹ Bond and Camm.

design and setting up of some Devon lofts and screens in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁰

Francis Bond (no relation) published his equally useful and influential work a year earlier than his namesake.⁶¹ He was a prolific writer during the early years of the twentieth century, his work on screens and lofts being just one aspect of his many ecclesiological interests. Further extremely useful photographic material may be found in the three-volume work of John Stabb (1865-1917). These volumes, published between 1908 and 1916, are gazetteers, useful in that they provide a fairly comprehensive visual source for extant screens in Devon at the beginning of the twentieth century. Indeed, the many photographs of roodscreens in these volumes may be said to be an invaluable source as no other contemporary work, except perhaps that of Bond and Camm, contains such a wide spectrum.⁶² The works of Bond and Camm and Francis Bond, are still (along with the work of Aymer Vallance) the only large scale national studies of roodscreens and roodlofts, although much of Bond and Camm's work is limited to Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset.

Screens were also an important element in the work of J. C. Cox (1843-1919).⁶³ Cox reflected the work of the Bonds, Camm, and Vallance in that he tended to concentrate on description and, although not so overtly, shared their preoccupations. His work, nevertheless, concerns itself with roodscreens and lofts only inasmuch they were part of a wider picture and, as such, though interesting, is of relatively limited value. The chapter dealing with roodscreens and lofts in his book on churchwardens' accounts, as noted above, is, however, useful. The third

⁶⁰ DRO, 872A/PX 1, 13-17 (F. Bligh Bond's original sketches for Staverton screen and loft).

⁶¹ F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908).

⁶² J. Stabb, *Some Old Devon Churches*, 3 vols (London 1908-16). Stabb published a further relevant work, *Devon Church Antiquities, being a description of many objects of interest in the old Parish Churches of Devonshire* (London, 1909). A second volume was projected, but never came to fruition owing to his early death.

⁶³ J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*; idem, *English Church Fittings, Furniture and Accessories* (London, 1923); idem, *The English Parish Church* (London, 1914); J. C. Cox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London, 1907).

major contributor to the study of roodscreens was Aymer Vallance, writing in the early to mid-twentieth century. His volume *English Church Screens* (1936) concerns itself mainly with descriptions of screenwork in parochial churches, while *Greater English Church Screens* (1947) describes both extant and lost screens in cathedrals and greater churches in England and Wales. There is also a detailed gazetteer on monastic and collegiate screens. Both volumes contain very useful photographic material.⁶⁴ The work and research undertaken in these first two chronological periods was mainly by architects and writers within the ecclesiological, Anglo-Catholic tradition, not historians.

The period c. 1940-80 was relatively limited in terms of research on screens with the exception of the work of G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, published in 1948.⁶⁵ This gave plenty of attention to roodscreens and covers all three periods, pre-Reformation, Reformation, and post-Reformation. The two authors studied roodscreens as part of the interiors of pre-Reformation English churches, traced how the ideas of certain Protestant reformers altered and diminished the importance of the screen, and finally described the history of screens after the Reformation, especially the effects of the ideas and movements of the nineteenth century. Their main interest lay in the general planning and arrangement of churches and, consequently, their emphasis is a spatial one. Even so, their broad historical sweep and their ability to perceive important periods relating to the history of screens have been influential and, arguably, have provided the framework for much work that has followed. Unlike the writers of the early twentieth century, Addleshaw and Etchells were not writing with a specifically religious motive. They had a more detached interest in how churches were used and how church furnishings help to explain the religious ideas and practices of different periods, a

⁶⁴ A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936); idem, *Greater English Church Screens* (London, 1947).

⁶⁵ G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948).

quite different emphasis to the Anglo-Catholic agenda of the generation of Bond and Camm.

G. H. Cook's 1956 history and development of the medieval English parish church was, like that of Addleshaw and Etchells, a more dispassionate study. The section on roodscreens and lofts contained mainly technical descriptions and types. However, the scope of the book enabled screens and lofts to be placed in the historical, architectural, and social context, since from giving a history of the parish from the sixth century, Cook was concerned with, *inter alia*, guilds, fraternities, chantry chapels, altars, pulpits, pews, benches and architectural details such as transepts and squints. Furthermore, he expanded the idea, introduced by the early twentieth-century writers, of the screen as a work of art.⁶⁶ C. A. Hewett's studies of church carpentry, dating from 1974, while useful in themselves, do not offer any insights into the construction of screens, as their content concerns almost exclusively that of the construction of roofs.⁶⁷

During the latest period of research, from about 1980 to the present, a major change has been the bringing to prominence of archaeological evidence concerning screens and lofts. That early medieval screens could very well have been of stone is a theme considered by P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell in their 1978 article on their archaeological investigations at the redundant early-fourteenth-century parish church of Asheldham (Essex). Considering six phases in its development, they argued that, in the fifth phase (from the early to the mid fourteenth century) the church possessed a stone screen to compensate for the lack of a chancel arch. They also drew attention to the stone screens at nearby Stebbing and Great Bardfield.⁶⁸ That there is a difference in the history of screens within

⁶⁶ G. H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London, 1956).

⁶⁷ C. A. Hewett, *Church Carpentry* (London, 1974); idem, *English Historic Carpentry* (London, 1980).

⁶⁸ P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell, 'Investigations at Asheldham, Essex', *Antiq. J.*, 58 (1978), pp. 133-51.

larger and smaller churches, which may shed some light on the problems of dating screens, was proposed by C. F. Davidson (later C. D. Cragoe) in 1998, although Devon does not play a prominent rôle in her research. She concluded that screens were usual in larger churches, chiefly religious houses, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but that they only became widespread in parish churches in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, concluding that screens probably did not exist before that date and that most of those extant today are, in fact, fifteenth or early sixteenth-century rebuilds.⁶⁹ Evidence to suggest that some West Country screens are rebuilds does exist, but is very limited.⁷⁰

Recent archaeologists and art historians have also turned their attention to the choir-screens or 'pulpita' of cathedrals and monasteries. There is a brief discussion of the Exeter Cathedral pulpitum (dated to the 1320s) in an article by V. Sekules, who argued that its construction was part of a deliberate policy to magnify the authority of the Church, its liturgy and its ministers by surrounding them with splendid furnishings.⁷¹ Two studies of pulpita in Cistercian abbeys have appeared in recent years. An article on the fragments of the Tintern Abbey pulpitum (dated to the early fourteenth century and contemporaneous with the Exeter pulpitum) by S. A. Harrison, R. K. Morris and D. M. Robinson (1998) is extremely detailed and informative, giving the context in which the screen was constructed, its history, its dating, its design and attribution, a discussion of the use of pulpita and screens within Cistercian churches and the liturgical arrangements within those churches.⁷² The pulpitum in

⁶⁹ C. F. Davidson, 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches c.1125-c.1250'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (Birkbeck College), 1998. See also her development of these arguments in C. D. Cragoe, 'Belief and Patronage in the English Parish before 1300: some Evidence from Roods', *Arch. Hist*, 48 (2005), pp. 21-48.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2, pp. 54-5.

⁷¹ V. Sekules, 'The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral', in F. Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, The British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions for the year 1985 (Leeds, 1991).

⁷² S. A. Harrison, R. K. Morris and D. M. Robinson, 'A Fourteenth Century *Pulpitum* screen at Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire', *Antiq.J*, 78 (1998), pp. 177-268.

Sawley Abbey (Lancs.) is discussed (relatively briefly) in an article in 2002 by G. Coppack, C. Hayfield and R. Williams.⁷³

There are few recent publications that deal explicitly with parish church screens; those which do have a local focus. An article by S. Cotton in 1987 was concerned mainly with the dating of Norfolk screens and their polychromy,⁷⁴ while M. Glasscoe in the same year considered the scheme of paintings on the screen dados at Ashton (Devon) and how these paintings reflected the theological ideas of a local landowning family.⁷⁵ Eamon Duffy in 1997 examined parishioners involvement of the construction of screens in East Anglia,⁷⁶ and A. M. Baker analysed in 2004 an unusual scheme of paintings on the screen at Bradninch (Devon).⁷⁷ These local studies, which dwell on detailed elements of screens or on a series of regional screens vividly illuminate those elements but lack a wider, overall analysis. A work of larger scale by R. Wheeler, again with a regional focus, deals descriptively and historically with the pre-Reformation screens and lofts of the southern Marches.⁷⁸ All these writers' approach to the evidence, mainly that of the screens themselves and in the cases of Cotton and Duffy, wills, has parallels with the approach of the present thesis, although the latter, concentrating on Devon, is unable to utilise from local wills. The construction and polychromy of screens (discussed by Cotton); the patronage of screens

⁷³ G. Coppack, C. Hayfield and R. Williams, 'Sawley Abbey: the Architecture and Archaeology of a Smaller Cistercian Abbey', *JBAA*, 155 (2002), pp. 22-114.

⁷⁴ S. Cotton, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk, their Construction and Painting Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 40 (1987), pp. 44-54.

⁷⁵ M. Glasscoe, 'Late Medieval Paintings in Ashton church, Devon', *JBAA*, 140 (1987), pp. 192-90.

⁷⁶ E. Duffy, 'The Parish, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood Screens', in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin (eds), *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997).

⁷⁷ A. M. Baker, 'Representations of Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon', *TDA*, 136 (2004), pp. 71-97.

⁷⁸ R. Wheeler, *The Medieval Church Screens of the Southern Marches* (Wootton Almeley, 2006).

(by Duffy), and the detailed discussion of the elements of screens (by Wheeler) reflect questions posed within this thesis.⁷⁹

The historiography of screens therefore exhibits changes of focus in the hundred and fifty years since the Cambridge Camden Society. Arguably the most comprehensive, and certainly most detailed, works were produced in the immediate decades following the turn of the century, under the influence of an Anglo-Catholic agenda. Since then research has been more dispassionate but has mostly treated screens more peripherally. Archaeological studies have assumed a greater importance in the latter decades of the twentieth century. The effect of the most recent work means that the early twentieth century writers, although still valuable, no longer represent the fullness of knowledge about screens or the variety of ways of approaching their study. No-one has recently looked at the South West of England, although it contains a good deal of evidence, hence the focus of this thesis.

Contextual works

As mentioned above, it is possible to supplement churchwardens' accounts with sources that show the wider setting in which screens existed. By the thirteenth century in England, there was a growing uniformity in liturgical practice whereby the customs of the cathedral of Salisbury (the Use of Sarum) became the most influential. By the fifteenth century, the use of Sarum had been adopted by most cathedral chapters in southern England and consequently many medieval parish churches built or rebuilt in the fifteenth century were designed to accommodate this particular liturgy.⁸⁰ Editions of the Salisbury liturgy include those by

⁷⁹ For the research questions posed within this thesis see below, pp. 45-7.

⁸⁰ P. Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in J. Alexander and P. Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England*, exh. cat. Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987). Editions of the Salisbury liturgy include W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898); B. L. Manning, *The People's Faith in the time of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 1919); A. H. Pearson, *The Sarum Missal*

W. H. Frere, A. H. Pearson, and C. Wordsworth. It should be noted that screens and lofts are not mentioned specifically in the liturgical rites in the Use of Sarum. Studies which recreate the social and religious context in which the development of roodscreens is set begin with B. L. Manning's 1919 work, which makes effective use of literary sources.⁸¹ Later studies include those of G. H. Cuming, which concentrates on the post-Reformation period and J. T. Rosenthal, who argues in favour of the importance of the doctrine of purgatory in the internal development of parish churches and their screens.⁸²

The social and religious settings in which the roodscreens and lofts achieved a dominant position within the parish church have held considerable interest for historians in the last 25 years. Issues which have come under scrutiny include subjects such as purgatory,⁸³ guilds,⁸⁴ lights,⁸⁵ imagery,⁸⁶ iconoclasm,⁸⁷ and the use of space within the parish church,⁸⁸ but in these modern studies roodscreens are usually treated tangentially rather than as a topic in their own right. There are, too, a number of important works that, while not directly concerned with medieval roodscreens and lofts, are nevertheless extremely valuable in that they give a clear insight into pre-Reformation English society and, in doing so, add considerably to our understanding of contemporary

(London, 1868); C. M. Wordsworth (ed.), *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901).

⁸¹ B. L. Manning, *The People's Faith in the time of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 1919), pp. 12-16.

⁸² J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise* (London, 1972).

⁸³ C. Burgess, '“A Fond Thing Vainly Invented”: an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Late Medieval England', in S. J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and People* (London, 1988), pp. 56-84.

⁸⁴ B. A. Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the Lights: Late Medieval English Parish Gilds', *JMRS*, 14 (1984), pp. 21-37.

⁸⁵ D. Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk: “Popular” Devotion before the Black Death', *JMH*, 25 (1999), pp. 97-114.

⁸⁶ R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004).

⁸⁷ R. Whiting, 'Abominable Idols: Images and Image-breaking under Henry VIII', *JEH*, 33 (1982), pp. 30-47.

⁸⁸ C. P. Graves, 'The Form and Fabric of Belief. An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon', *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, 311 (Oxford, 2000).

religious thought, piety, and behaviour.⁸⁹ Mirroring the general shift in emphasis from political to social history since the 1950s, historians have given fresh attention to churches, their religious organisations, and their worship. Notable names include those of A. G. Dickens, J. J. Scarisbrick, Eamon Duffy, and R. M. Swanson in particular.⁹⁰

R. Whiting's 1982 article and 1989 book on the Reformation in Devon and Cornwall argued that while image-worship was a crucial element in popular religion and one which had not lost its appeal by c.1540, there was little resistance to Henrician and Edwardian iconoclasm. Although resented, conformity was the most common response, and, indeed, the defacement and destruction of images and image-bearing lofts was common.⁹¹ An article by J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution' in 1983 proposed a strong influence of the idea of purgatory on the parish and parishioners and the way in which they responded to such a concept⁹² likewise C. Burgess's 1988 article, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented": An Essay on Purgatory', argued that the lay response to the fear of purgatory was that of penance and merit, which was channelled through the parish, and which could well result in pious benefactions towards the upkeep of the church.⁹³ In 2001 K. L. French wrote on similar lines, using episcopal statutes, churchwardens' accounts, and wills, to

⁸⁹ Among these texts the following may be considered important: A. Clifton-Taylor, *English Parish Churches as Works of Art* (London, 1974); K. L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia, 2001); R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994); K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the late Middle Ages* (New York, 2002); B. A. Kumin, *The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c.1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996); N. I. Orme (ed.), *Unity and Variety; A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), and R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁹⁰ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and English People* (Oxford, 1984); R. M. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989). For E. Duffy see p. 43, n. 95.

⁹¹ Kumin, *Rise and Reformation of the English Parish*; Whiting, 'Abominable idols'; idem, *Blind Devotion of the People*.

⁹² J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a social institution', *P&P*, 100 (1983), pp. 29-61.

⁹³ Burgess, 'Purgatory'.

make the argument that the parish community was the central force in church development.⁹⁴

Perhaps the most influential of recent texts concerning popular religion in England prior to the Reformation and the effects of that Reformation upon the people, parishes, and churches of England are those of Eamon Duffy.⁹⁵ Using churchwardens' accounts, wills and evidence from the screens themselves, he argues that, prior to the Reformation, the Catholic religion and the English people's commitment to that religion through their involvement in their parish and especially in the affairs of their church, was deep and vibrant.⁹⁶ In his view roodscreens, being often the most expensive and prominent item of furniture within the church and thus representing a considerable investment by the parishioners, were an important part of their perception of the place of their church and parish within society and their sense of belonging. He sees the destruction of roodlofts and the vandalising of the carved and painted imagery on screens as emblematic of a Reformation imposed from above, with which the majority of the English people acquiesced obediently, but on the whole reluctantly. This argument is endorsed by B. A. Kümin who, although linking general trends in parish finance to the socio-economic climate rather than to religious development, concluded that there was little erosion of late-medieval Catholicism before about the third decade of the sixteenth century and that expenditure on ornamentation (roodscreens and lofts, among other things) ran at consistently impressive levels.⁹⁷

Protestantism as a destructive force, especially upon the festive culture of the old church, also figures largely in R. Hutton's *The Rise and*

⁹⁴ French, *People of the Parish*.

⁹⁵ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992); idem, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven, 2001).

⁹⁶ Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*, p. 141.

⁹⁷ Kumin, *Rise and Reformation of the English Parish*.

Fall of Merry England (1994).⁹⁸ Hutton's work anticipated Kumin's in showing that economic and social factors were as much forces for change as religious and political ones. While the fate of roodscreens and roodlofts was not by any means a principal factor in Hutton's argument, the wider settings in which that study was set throw light on why screens, and especially lofts, underwent such dramatic changes of fortune. The approaches used by French, Duffy, Hutton and Kumin are not dissimilar to those used in the present thesis. Primary sources such as churchwardens' accounts, royal proclamations and injunctions, visitations, and acts of parliament - and the screens themselves - are used in this thesis to answer the research questions posed, in particular that of placing screens in the context of social history and religious ideas and practices. It looks at material that has not been approached by scholars since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the elements of screens, their construction, their polychromy, without subscribing to the agenda that marked the work of those earlier scholars.

Writing on the use of space within the parish church has grown in volume in recent years. C. P. Graves' 2000 pamphlet, 'The Form and Fabric of Belief' gives more than the usual amount of space to roodscreens and lofts. Her novel interpretation views screens as 'a technology for the management of access to the sacred and the sacral' and as 'the most elaborate ways in which personal relations with Christ and the saints were maintained', arguing that the screen and loft 'represented a nodal point of spiritual power in a form acceptable to most of the laity, [which] explains the devotions they lavished on the rood complex'.⁹⁹ This work has proved useful in attempting to fulfil the second of the aims of the thesis, that of understanding the liturgical functions of screens. Finally, an article by N. Oakey in 2003 on what the surviving pre-Reformation fittings in a church can tell us of the attitudes of the time

⁹⁸ Hutton, *Rise and Fall of Merry England*.

⁹⁹ Graves, 'Form and Fabric of Belief'.

towards the Reformation, widens its scope to consider the fate of screens, not only in that period but in the mid to late nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰

The aim of the research

This thesis has chosen to focus on screens in the south-west, particularly Devon, because of their wide survival there and the absence of a significant study of them since the early twentieth century. Evidence from Somerset and Cornwall is also included on the grounds that the screens of those counties are accessible for research and have many of the same physical characteristics, such as bay tracery and the carving and decoration of cornices and spandrels.¹⁰¹ The research has involved the study of all the known medieval screens that survive in whole or in part within the county, as well as the written and graphic sources about them mentioned above. In addition to the south-western screens, attention has been given to their wider context, including relevant research on screens outside the region and work on the general religious history of England. In particular, while using the important and detailed research on screens carried out by scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as F. Bligh Bond, Francis Bond, Bede Camm, and Aymer Vallance, the intention has been to test and appraise their work through a fresh examination of the screens themselves along with a regard to the modern understanding of the religious and historical context in which the screens emerged and were used.

The thesis has four major objectives. The first is to establish the chronological history of medieval Devon screens: their time of origin, the period of their dominance in the later middle ages, their fortunes during

¹⁰⁰ N. Oakey, 'Fixture or Fittings? Can Surviving pre-Reformation Ecclesiastical Material be used as a Barometer of Contemporary Attitudes to the Reformation in England?' in D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 58-72.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 5, pp. 141-6, 146-9.

the Reformation, and their survival or removal between that period and the present day. The second is to understand their functions: architectural, liturgical, and iconographical. Why did parish churches need such structures and, once installed, how were they used? The third relates to the form of screens: their locations, dimensions, and carpentry, and their style and embellishment in terms of window tracery, carving, and painting. Here the aim is to compensate for the general lack of engagement by modern studies of pre-Reformation parish churches with the technical aspects of screen construction and polychromy. In terms of form, attention will be given to how far Devon screens exhibit a general conformity of design, and the extent to which distinctive types of screen can be identified. The questions of conformity and type will be approached through analysing the important elements of screens: the dado, the bay tracery, the vaulting, the spandrels, and the cornices. This evidence, alongside surviving documentary records, will be weighed to establish whether screens may be attributed to particular makers or workshops and what can be known of the identity, location, and influence of such makers and workshops.

The fourth and final objective is to place screens in the context of social history and religious ideas and practices. This will involve a consideration of the people who, in the later middle ages, commissioned, created, and maintained them; the sources of their financing; and the extent to which parish churches and their supporters sought to emulate each others' screens or to outdo them. The thesis also seeks to understand how, in the middle of the sixteenth century, screens were affected by the ideas of the Reformers about what was desirable in terms of the liturgy and furnishings of parish churches, and the extent to which these ideas were effective or ineffective within individual parishes. The narrative of social and religious context will continue in relation to medieval screens (but not to new ones built after the Reformation) so as to trace how far changing ideas about liturgy and church interiors

impacted upon medieval screens during the eighteenth century, the 'Gothic revival' of the early and mid nineteenth century, and the emergence of modern notions of conservation during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. An assessment will be made of how much screenwork perished in these periods, and how much survived and underwent restoration.

Chapter Two

THE EMERGENCE AND FUNCTIONS OF SCREENS

Origins

The practice of dividing a place of worship with screens is very ancient. This division reflected the nature of early church buildings, which consisted, in the Mediterranean world, of three parts: sanctuary, chancel (or choir) and nave. In western Christendom the principal division was between the chancel and the nave, whereas in the east the main separation was between sanctuary and chancel. The original function of screening was to seclude the clergy and worship in the chancel from lay onlookers.¹ Screens were in use in the east by the fourth century, and in the west by the fifth, centuries. Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) described the church of St. Felix at Nola (Italy) as divided by a wall or screen pierced by three doors.² This points to an arrangement similar to the pulpitum of a medieval religious house, to be discussed presently.

The earliest evidence of screens in England occurs in the Anglo-Saxon period. Reculver church (Kent), which can be dated to 669, possessed an arcade of three arches separating a rectangular body or nave from an eastern apse or chancel.³ Brixworth (Northants), an eighth-century structure, had a triple arcade dividing a nave from a square presbytery,⁴ beyond which was an apse reached by an archway from the presbytery.⁵ The surviving building at Bradwell-juxta-Mare (Essex) (St. Peter-on-the-Wall, c. 654) displays evidence of a triple arcade in its present east wall,

¹ A. Clifton-Taylor, *English Parish Churches as Works of Art* (London, 1974), p. 178.

² *Ibid.*

³ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2, (Cambridge, 1978), p. 506.

⁴ See Glossary.

⁵ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 1, (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 108-14.

leading to a former chancel beyond.⁶ St. Peter at Barton-upon-Humber (Lincs.), a late Anglo-Saxon building, had a different kind of division. Here research has indicated the presence of a north-south screen or railing halfway along the chancel, evidenced by a few surviving stake-holes and a change in the nature and colour of the mortar flooring.⁷

Setting aside the Barton evidence, the main tradition of church building in both western Europe and England chose the boundary between the chancel and nave as the principal place where demarcation was necessary, in the form of a wall, pulpitum, arcade, or screen. This demarcation has sometimes been linked with theological and liturgical developments of the twelfth century. It has been observed, for example, that this period saw the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, distancing them further from the laity. The period also witnessed the rise of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which attributed greater holiness to the celebration of masses at altars by asserting that the consecrated bread and wine of the mass became, in a physical sense, the body and blood of Christ. S. Cotton remarks that not only the growing importance of transubstantiation as central to the mass but also the decree *Sane* by Pope Innocent III in 1215 (which stated that the eucharist be kept under lock and key) were fundamental reasons for the existence of screens in Norfolk, and by implication elsewhere.⁸ At about this time it became common to reserve a consecrated wafer in a 'pyx' or box suspended above the high altar of churches.⁹ All this made the chancel or choir a place of particular sanctity, requiring seclusion and the performance of careful ceremonies by authorised clergy. Nevertheless the demarcation of chancels from naves was well established by this time, making it doubtful how far twelfth-

⁶ Ibid., pp. 91-3..

⁷ W. Rodwell and K. Rodwell, 'St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber: excavation and structural study, 1978-81', *AJ*, 62 (1982), pp. 281-315, as at pp. 196-9.

⁸ S. Cotton, 'Medieval Roodcreens in Norfolk; their Construction and Painting Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 40 (1987), part 1, p. 44.

⁹ G. Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries; with other notes on the History of Reservation* (Westminster, 1942), pp. 25, 27, 38-9.

century ideas contributed to the process. They may have reinforced it, but the tradition already existed.

Types of churches and screens

The presence of screens or similar structures between chancels and naves was virtually universal in the religious buildings of later-medieval England. Within this universality, there were four main kinds of buildings: monastic and cathedral churches which were solely religious houses without parishioners, similar churches where a monastic or college community shared the building with a parish community, parish churches pure and simple, and chapels both within churches and as freestanding buildings. Broadly speaking the first two categories of buildings, where there was a monastic, cathedral, or college community, tended to demarcate chancel and nave with a wall or a pulpitum. Parish churches, on the other hand, usually did so at first by a wall and later by a screen, while chapels (most of which dated from after 1200) generally employed screens as well. These kinds of divisions must now be explained.

Churches of the first two categories, which were religious houses, differed from parish churches in that the worship in their choirs or chancels was not intended for a congregation. On the contrary, monks, regular canons, nuns, friars, and secular canons carried out regularly daily services that were self-contained acts of worship directed to God. Lay people were not prohibited from being present in the church at the time, and they were often allowed into the church's nave or choir aisles, or even (if of high rank) to enter the chancel itself.¹⁰ But there was no need to make the service visible to them, and there was usually a wish to seclude the clergy or nuns of a religious community from the public – especially if

¹⁰ In 1327 Exeter Cathedral possessed a 'great breviary... which is in the choir in chains to serve the people', presumably important laity. (G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral* (Exeter, 1861), p. 309).

members of the opposite sex might be present. Accordingly the choirs or chancels of such churches were shut off by a solid division at the west end from the nave beyond.

The earliest of these divisions, in Anglo-Saxon churches, may have taken the form of a wall completely dividing the two parts of the church from floor to roof, pierced only by a fairly small opening for access. Later, from about the eleventh century when church choirs and naves began to be planned as a unity with an overall vault or roof, the wall was replaced by a screen, also wall-like in form, but only rising to about ten or fifteen feet in height with a considerable space between its top and the vault or roof. This screen usually took the form of a more or less solid mass of masonry of considerable depth, pierced by one central or two lateral doorways, and supporting a gallery to which access was gained by a staircase within the screen. In the customs and statutes of English monastic, cathedral, and collegiate churches the Latin name for a solid screen of this kind was 'pulpitum'.¹¹ Documentary evidence shows that a pulpitum was set up in Beverley Minster between 1060 and 1069, St. Albans (c.1077-93), Winchester (c.1090), and Ely (c.1133).¹² Ground plans of the cathedrals at Old Sarum (1092), Lincoln (1092), and Chichester (1120) reveal that each one possessed a short presbytery with the chancel extending westwards under the crossing beneath a central tower to a pulpitum under its western arch, or in the first bay of the nave.¹³ At Wells, after the major building of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the chancel extended under the tower and into the first bay of the nave, where the stalls abutted a pulpitum placed between the first pair of piers.¹⁴

¹¹ A. Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens* (London, 1947), p. 13: 'The pulpitum was distinguished from the rood screen of the ordinary parish church, inasmuch as the pulpitum presents a solid front to the nave, whereas the parochial screen from the middle-rail upward consists of fenestration or openwork'.

¹² W. St. J. Hope, 'Quire Screens in English Churches', *Archaeologia*, 68 (1916-17), pp. 85, 88-9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁴ L. S. Colchester (ed.), *Wells Cathedral, A History* (Shepton Mallet, 1982), p. 133.

The primary function of the pulpitum was that of a screen, shutting in the chancel and forming its western boundary.¹⁵ There was also a tendency for liturgical or iconographical activities to take place at this location. It became general practice to display a rood – a statue of Christ on the Cross, sometimes flanked with statues of Mary and John, towards the east end of the nave, as an object of devotion especially for lay worshippers. In some large monastic churches a second screen was erected for this purpose, west of the pulpitum. Double screens existed at the Benedictine houses of Canterbury, Durham, and St. Albans, among other places, so that the centre of the church formed a crossing between the pulpitum and the rood screen.¹⁶ Where the religious house was a secular foundation such as a cathedral, or where its nave formed a parish church, it was more usual to combine pulpitum and roodscreen together. This was the case at Exeter Cathedral (not parochial) and Crediton and Ottery St. Mary (both joint collegiate and parish churches). Here the pulpitum, though solid, acted as a roodscreen and had the rood on its top.

There were other religious uses for a pulpitum. Even in a church that was solely a religious house, one or two altars were sometimes placed against the west wall of the pulpitum where additional masses could be celebrated, and which the laity could watch as a substitute for observing the worship in the choir.¹⁷ Such altars would have been accompanied by statues of the saints to whom they were dedicated and perhaps by collecting boxes. Exeter Cathedral had two similar altars on the west side of its pulpitum, at one of which an early morning mass was celebrated for the benefit of devout local people before starting work.¹⁸ It also had a range of images of saints in front of or near the pulpitum including the

¹⁵ Hope, *Quire Screens*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Anon, 'Roodscreens and the Iconostasis', *The Ecclesiologist*, 14 (1853), pp. 8-13, at p. 13.

¹⁷ G. R. Dunstan (ed.), *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter*, vol. 3 (Torquay, 1968), pp. 278-80, 324-5. E.g. At Bodmin Priory, Cornwall.

¹⁸ N. I. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral as it was* (Exeter, 1986), p. 26.

cathedral's patrons, St Peter and Our Lady.¹⁹ Where the church served both a religious house and a parish, the altar or altars of the latter would also occupy the west side of the pulpitum. This was the case at cathedrals such as Chichester, Hereford, Lincoln (before 1300), and St. Paul's, as well as the collegiate church of Crediton.²⁰ Here parish clergy would minister, and the principal Sunday mass be celebrated, the pulpitum providing an imposing backdrop for the liturgy.

The history of the demarcation between the chancels and naves of English parish churches after the Norman Conquest is much less clear than in religious houses, since the former lack the documentation and archaeological remains that allow the study of the latter. C. N. L. Brooke has commented that 'the whole question of the early history of screens is very obscure. [There is only] very slender evidence as to the nature and height of eleventh and twelfth century screens. None survives in this country'.²¹ It seems likely, however, that many parish churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries consisted of a nave and chancel divided by a wall reaching to the roof and pierced by a comparatively small and narrow arch. Devon is lacking in churches of this period and character, but Kilpeck and Little Hereford (Herefs.) are good surviving examples.²² Such an arrangement made a strong statement about the difference between the chancel and the nave, and probably deterred most laity from going into the chancel at times of worship, unless they were of high status. They would, however, have been able to get a restricted view of the worship, since the

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 26, 29.

²⁰ D. N. Lepine, 'And alle oure Paresshens': Secular Cathedrals and Parish Churches in Late Medieval England', in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds), *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006), pp. 29-53 at p. 42. On Crediton see N. I. Orme, 'The Church in Crediton from Saint Boniface to the Reformation', in T. A. Reuter (ed.), *The Greatest Englishman* (Exeter, 1980), pp. 112-13.

²¹ C. N. L. Brooke, *Medieval Church and Society* (London, 1971), p. 13. See also Chapter 1, p. 38, n. 70.

²² *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, an inventory of the historical monuments in Herefordshire*, Vol I, South West (1931), p. 156 (Kilpeck); Vol III, North West (1931), p. 65 (Little Hereford).

high altar of the church was situated in line with the chancel arch, so that those stationed near the arch could have seen mass being celebrated in the distance.

During the thirteenth century, church building and rebuilding tended to make interiors larger and more complex. Chancels were often extended to provide more liturgical space or room for burials of important people, and naves to accommodate more parishioners and (sometimes) private areas such as transeptal chapels. This destroyed the intimacy between chancel and nave characteristic of a small church like Kilpeck, while at the same time there was (as in religious houses) a desire to build churches under a single vault or roof without complete separation of the constituent parts. Accordingly, the division in the form of a high wall gave way to one in the form of a screen. The exact date at which this happened is difficult to clarify. Recent research by Dr Carol Cragoe has concluded that it is unlikely that screens were in use in smaller English churches before the late thirteenth century.²³ Two visitations made in 1281 and 1313 of the churches in Cornwall and Devon belonging to Exeter Cathedral are full of detailed evidence about chancel furnishings but make no mention of screens, possibly because they were considered as parts of naves and therefore outside the scope of these visitations.²⁴ It seems probable, however, that screens proliferated during the thirteenth century and were common by the fourteenth, if only because the rebuilding of churches as larger more open spaces would have required new demarcations to be made between chancel and nave.

Parish church screens, as this thesis makes clear, largely survive only from the fourteenth century or later. Such screens were not necessarily new at that time, of course. At Tintinhull (Somerset) in 1451-52 18d. was

²³ C. D. Cragoe, 'Belief and Patronage in the English Parish before 1300: some Evidence from Roods', *AH*, 48 (2005), pp. 21-48. Also C. F. Davidson, 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c.1125-c.1250. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London (Birkbeck College), 1998.

²⁴ Exeter Cathedral Archives 2849/1, 3672A.

paid to various men for the 'laying aside' of the old roodloft, and in the same year Henry Mason of Odecombe and Thomas Bouryng were paid for filling in holes where the old roodloft once was.²⁵ The churchwardens' accounts of Yatton in 1455 include a payment for 'taking down of the old loft'.²⁶ We do not know how far the later screens that survive varied from what might have preceded them in the thirteenth century. However it seems likely that, from the first, parish church screens were usually smaller than a pulpitum, because parish churches were themselves smaller (and poorer) than religious houses, and did not need such large structures. Moreover whereas a pulpitum was meant to seclude the worship of the choir from the people in the nave, worship in a parish chancel needed to minister to parishioners and to be seen by them. Here the doctrine of transubstantiation, as well as reinforcing the chancel-nave boundary, may have helped to bridge it. The belief that Christ became physically present in the mass was accompanied by the notion that his presence had medicinal effects on those who witnessed it: forgiving sins, answering prayers, and promoting healing and peace.²⁷ The priest acknowledged the relevance of the sacrament to onlookers by holding up the wafer and the chalice after each was consecrated, to signal the fact of consecration and to present them as objects of veneration.²⁸ Parishioners therefore needed to be able to see the moment of consecration, and parish screens, at least in their late-medieval developed form, were not opaque but provided with windows giving at least a partial view of the worship in the chancel. There also had to be easy communication through the screen, because after the consecration, the priest kissed the pax (a small ivory or metal disc) in a

²⁵ E. Hobhouse (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath, and St. Michael's, Bath*, Somerset Record Society, 4 (1890), pp. 173, 185.

²⁶ A. C. Edwards, 'The Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary's Church, Yatton', *SDNQ*, 32 (1986), pp. 538-40.

²⁷ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 95-102.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

symbolic kiss of peace and passed it to the parish clerk who took it out to the congregation to be kissed by each in turn.²⁹

The fourth and final location for screens was in chapels. These existed as discrete areas of the larger churches in Anglo-Saxon times, and spread into the monasteries founded in the twelfth century. One of their early functions was as areas of burial, but by the twelfth century they often housed altars where monks or canons who were priests would say masses of intercession for founders and benefactors. By the thirteenth century parish churches were acquiring similar areas, usually in this period in the form of transeptal chapels on a north-south axis; these also functioned as burial areas for notable people and housed altars for intercessory masses.³⁰ During the thirteenth century the fashion developed for endowing chantry priests with stipends to say daily masses at altars, sometimes on an annual basis, sometimes perpetually.³¹ Only a minority of parish churches would have had such a priest at any one time, however; most chapel altars were probably used on an occasional basis by the ordinary clergy of the church. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as churches were rebuilt, transepts were often subsumed within nave and chancel aisles, built on an east-west orientation, and Devon churches commonly came to have one or more such chapels at the east ends of the nave and chancel aisles.³² By this period, as well as the private chapels of the wealthy, guilds of parishioners were pooling resources to fund chapels and to pay occasional or full-time priests to say masses for the souls of their members. In 1548, when chantries were dissolved, such guilds existed in Devon at Ashburton, Bradninch, Buckland Brewer, Cullompton, Exeter, Halberton, Hatherleigh, Holsworthy, Silverton, Totnes, Uffculme, and Winkleigh.³³

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 112, 114, 127.

³⁰ N. I. Orme (ed.), *Unity and Variety; a History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), p. 28. This is a Cornish example (at Tintagel).

³¹ K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 5-7, 30-64,

³² Orme, *Unity and Variety*, p. 59. E.g. At Ashburton (Devon).

³³ N. I Orme, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries in Devon, 1546-8', *TDA*, 111 (1979), pp. 102-114.

Chapels in parish churches had a similar history to chancels. Some early ones, like Brampford Speke's former south transept, probably of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, were built onto an existing nave as a largely discrete building linked only by a door.³⁴ As churches were rebuilt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, chapels tended to be subsumed within the overall space as subdivisions of it, and they acquired screens that were smaller versions of choir screens – *parclose* screens as they are called.³⁵ The motive was the same: to demarcate a holy space where mass was celebrated, and just as the chancel screen marked off an area of social status (for clergy and gentry), so the chapel screen made a private area for a gentry family or guild. The period after 1200 also saw a proliferation of free-standing chapels in England. Devon acquired large numbers of these, well over a thousand, including chapels of ease (in effect small parish churches for outlying communities), domestic chapels in manor houses, and cult chapels honouring Christ or the saints – the cult chapels usually placed at places of human traffic such as roads or bridges or on prominent landscape features like hills and islands.³⁶ The free-standing chapels were usually small oblong buildings, but they too came to be subdivided with screens, placed a third of the way or half-way from the west end. This produced a miniature chancel containing the altar and an antechapel whose function echoed that of the nave, where lay people could observe the worship. There is a particularly good example of such a chapel with a surviving screen at Ayshford in Burlescombe parish.³⁷

Screens and the management of the parish church

³⁴ N. I Orme, 'The History of Brampford Speke', *TDA*, 121 (1989), p. 62.

³⁵ See Glossary.

³⁶ J. James, 'Medieval Chapels in Devon', unpublished M. Phil thesis (University of Exeter, 1997).

³⁷ See Appendix 1, p. 280. Also Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon*, p. 146.

Pulpita in religious houses were the responsibility of the clergy of those houses, since the clergy owned the whole of the building. In parish churches and those religious houses that were also such churches, on the other hand, the upkeep of the screens reflected the division of responsibility for the building between its clergy and its laity. This division was regulated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, on principles elaborated in England by the Lambeth synod of 1281 under Archbishop Pecham and, in the diocese of Exeter, by Bishop Quivil's synodal statutes of 1287.³⁸ According to their rulings, the chancels of parish churches were made the responsibility of the rector of the church. That person might be the clergyman of the parish, but if the rectory was appropriated to a religious house, the house as corporation became rector and acquired the responsibility. In the latter case, the parish was served by a vicar – a deputy clergyman appointed by the religious house – who was not responsible for the chancel *ex officio*. However, arrangements after appropriation sometimes made the vicar answerable for chancel repairs nonetheless, and even on occasion transferred the duty to the parishioners.³⁹ More usually the latter's responsibility was limited to the naves of parish churches, and this led to the development of the office of churchwarden during the thirteenth century – a functionary (usually two in each parish) who had the duty of collecting and distributing resources to maintain the nave and its furnishings.⁴⁰ Screens were regarded as part of the nave for purposes of

³⁸ N. F. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), 1, p. xxx; F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (eds), *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church: II, A. D. 1205-1313*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1964), 2, pp. 982-1077. These were documents which gave guidance to the clergy on matters of Church belief and practice.

³⁹ F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (ed.), *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil* (Exeter and London, 1889), pp. 246, 251, 253; R. A. R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 137-9.

⁴⁰ J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 143-4; R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 209, 217-8; W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: a Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 3rd. edn (Chichester, 1983), pp. 84-5.

maintenance, a decision that had two consequences. The first was that, since the screen was the responsibility of the parishioners and was also the principal object in front of them when they were in church, it became very much 'their' property – reflecting their tastes in its decoration and iconography. The second was that it came to figure in their records, noticeably the churchwardens' accounts that begin to survive in the late fourteenth century. Indeed these records form the chief documentary sources for the history of parish church screens in the later middle ages.⁴¹

The financing of screens – their creation and maintenance – was done in a variety of ways. In principle, the work was carried out by the whole parish community, the churchwardens collecting donations, engaging in voluntary fund-raising, or even (by agreement) levying contributions on individual households. Chief sources of income in Ashburton (Devon) were the church ale, the wax silver (money collected for candles), together with small bequests. Income could also be gained by hiring out funeral tapers or the best cross for funerals and obits. There was a fee of 3s. 4d. payable to churchwardens for burials in the church, while small sums were collected towards bells and bell ropes. After the church house was acquired in 1486, income could be augmented by hiring it out. Seats were also rented in the church (perhaps for a lifetime) at sums ranging from 6d. to 12d.⁴²

Sometimes a whole screen might be funded by a single patron. That person's motives might be to acquire religious merit, to establish his or her fame or status, to accord with what was expected of a rich and powerful person ('noblesse oblige'), or all of these together. The screen at Bristol (All Saints), was paid for by Alice Chester;⁴³ that at Woodbridge (Suffolk) was the gift of John and Agnes Albrede;⁴⁴ at Worstead (Norfolk)

⁴¹ This area is explored fully in Chapter 4, 'Churchwardens' Accounts and Screens'.

⁴² A. Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*, DCRS, new series 15 (Torquay, 1970), pp. viii, ix.

⁴³ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 159-60.

⁴⁴ A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), p. 64.

the donors were John and Benedicta Alblastyr;⁴⁵ while the middle rail of the screen at Felmersham (Beds.) bears the inscription 'pray for the souls of King Richard and Anne his wife, constructors of this work.'⁴⁶ Such people could also fund part of a screen. At Burlingham St. Andrew (Norfolk) the north side of the screen was the gift of Thomas Bennet and other members of his family, while the south side was partly funded by John and Cecily Blake.⁴⁷ The social position of these donors is not known, but the cost of such funding suggests that they were relatively prosperous.

Not all contributors to screens would have been wealthy. The churchwardens' accounts of St. John's Glastonbury (Somerset) in 1439 record a number of bequests 'for the fabric of the new roodloft', ranging from the 20s. given by someone of probably substantial means through 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., and 20d., down to 12d., the latter contribution implying more modest possessions.⁴⁸ Some screens were also financed, as were church projects in general, through guilds of parishioners, whose membership varied from guild to guild but which probably ranged from the rich to the relatively poor.⁴⁹ Shared efforts of this kind are most fully recorded at Bodmin, where the parish church was rebuilt between 1469 and 1472 – a project that would have included a new screen. The work cost £268, not counting gifts of materials and labour. Some £24 of this came from a levy, agreed by the community, under which certain people paid 1d. or ½d. per week, but most of it consisted of voluntary donations from the craft and religious guilds of the town, the congregations of outlying chapels, and individual men and women, including servants. The sums given ranged from 1d. to 13s. 4d. and a list was made of 447 donors of whom about 70

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 64. No date is given on the inscription. However, the possible dating of the screen (c. 1430) indicates that the inscription refers to Richard II.

⁴⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 160.

⁴⁸ W. E. Daniel, 'Churchwardens' Accounts, St. John's, Glastonbury, *SDNQ*, 4, part 25 (1894), p. 191.

⁴⁹ B. A. Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the Lights; Late Medieval Parish Gilds', *JMRS*, 14 (1984), pp. 21-34.

were women and the remainder men. The smaller number of women may reflect the fact that most husbands gave on behalf of their wives, but sometimes both partners are listed separately.⁵⁰

Chapel screens are less well-documented than roodscreens, probably because they were not normally a responsibility of the parish community and do not therefore appear in churchwardens' accounts. Here the likelihood is that the nobility, gentry, or guilds who built the chapels in the first place also provided the parclose screen in the case of a chapel in a parish church and the internal one where the chapel was a free-standing building. There is an excellent example of this at Ashton (Devon), where paintings of saints of unusually high quality for a Devon roodscreen can be seen on the interior panels of this screen and the parclose screen in the north aisle chapel, and on the easternmost panels of the chancel side of this parclose screen. This chapel belonged to the Chudleigh family, and the paintings (like the screen) doubtless reflected their expenditure, choice, and taste.⁵¹

Some of the impulse to give to the building and maintenance of screens may be termed 'private', and would have reflected the wish of the donors to do a work of merit and thereby to safeguard their souls or those of loved ones. But records about screens also reveal a strong element that was 'public' and aimed at maintaining or improving the status of churches, sometimes with a conscious attempt to keep up with their neighbours or even to better them. At Eton College (Bucks.) a contract for a new roodloft dated 16 August 1475 specified that it should be

like the roodloft lately made at Winchester College and according to the same form. And the inner part of the said roodloft with the

⁵⁰ CRO, B/BOD/244, printed in J. J. Wilkinson, 'The Receipts and Expenses in the Building of Bodmin Church', *The Camden Miscellany: Vol. VII*, Camden Soc. New series, 14 (1875), pp. 1-49.

⁵¹ M. Glasscoe, 'Late Medieval Paintings in Ashton Church, Devon', *JBAA*, 140 (1987), pp. 182-90.

garnishing of all the stalls of the chancel upward ... like the loft and chancel of the ... college of Saint Thomas of Acre in London.⁵²

Similar instructions are found in relation to parish churches. One, relating to Stratton (Cornwall), is discussed elsewhere.⁵³ Another, concerning the rood on the loft at Morebath (Devon) and dating from 1535, required the 'carver', William Popyll, to make the rood and other images 'according to the patent of *Brussorde* or better'.⁵⁴ This was a reference to the neighbouring parish church of Brushford (Somerset) and witnessed to a desire to at least to match and preferably to exceed the quality of its rood.

Screens and the liturgy

We have now examined screens as demarcations and as objects of the care and devotion of the parish church communities. It remains to summarise their importance in the worship of the parish church. For screens did not merely divide the clergy and the laity or, to take an alternative view, allow visual and aural interchange between the two. They also acted as a focus for worship. The foremost element here was the rood above the screen, usually with lights before it, reached by a rood-stair or ladder leading to the rood-gallery. As late as 1547 lights were allowed before the rood.⁵⁵ At least one large parish church screen gallery, at Grantham (Lincs.), was large enough to contain an altar at which a priest celebrated before the rood.⁵⁶

More common was the use of the gallery for two other purposes. One of these was the addressing of the congregation by a cleric. This practice is

⁵² Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens*, p. 147.

⁵³ See Chapter 4, 'Churchwardens' Accounts and Screens', pp. 113, 115. Also Appendix 7.

⁵⁴ J. Erskine Binney (ed.), *The Accounts of the Wardens of the Parish of Morebath (Devon), 1520-1575* (Exeter, 1904), p. 70.

⁵⁵ W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitations Articles and Injunctions for the period of the Reformation*, 2 (London, 1910), pp. 115-6, 119-20, 126.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1348-50*, p. 414.

still obscure, but the transference of the Latin word *pulpitum*, meaning 'screen', to the later notion of the pulpit as a separate piece of furniture, implies that speaking was originally done from the screen and subsequently moved to what we know as a pulpit.⁵⁷ The latter object seems to have developed in a free-standing sense during the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ We associate pulpits with preaching, but parish preaching was comparatively rare in the later middle ages and pulpits were probably more commonly used for the reading on Sunday mornings of the bead-roll of names of the dead to be prayed for.⁵⁹ Such readings could well have been done originally from pulpita or screens. The other great activity on the top of these structures was musical. The Use of Sarum, that is the liturgy and ceremonial of Salisbury Cathedral, used in most churches of southern England during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, mentions the presence of singers 'at the lectern on the pulpitum'.⁶⁰ Such singing is also recorded at Exeter Cathedral in 1327 and York Minster in 1375,⁶¹ and would have included special antiphons especially on festival days, often polyphonic in form.⁶² No doubt it was this practice of singing from roodloft galleries that led to the institution of organs upon them. Such organs were common in cathedrals but also spread to the larger and wealthier parish churches: at Louth (Lincs.) they were set up in the loft in 1500 and again in 1508-9.⁶³

The lower part of the screen also had an important place in worship. Here were the images of saints in the form of statuary beside the screen or paintings upon it, which could be objects of private veneration.⁶⁴ Here were

⁵⁷ See Glossary.

⁵⁸ J. C. Cox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London, 1907), p. 144.

⁵⁹ N. I. Orme, 'Prayer and Education in Fifteenth-Century Camborne', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2006), pp. 95-104.

Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 124.

⁶⁰ F. L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1963), p. 52.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁶³ R. C. Dudding (ed.), *The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 9, 111.

⁶⁴ For a full discussion of this subject, see Chapter 7, 'The Iconography of Screens'.

often altars of the kind mentioned earlier in the chapter. Here was the main door from the nave to the choir, which often formed a station, or pausing point, in ecclesiastical processions around the church. For example the Sarum liturgy provided for processions to the rood (in effect to the ground beneath it, beside the choir door) after vespers on Saturdays from Easter till Advent, and the singing of Psalm 113 with an antiphon at mass on Easter Day.⁶⁵ Lessons at matins, and the epistle and gospel at mass, were commonly read at the screen, doubtless at the door, especially if a congregation was present.⁶⁶ Finally, since the laity were not usually allowed through the screen, it is likely that two important ceremonies linked to the mass took place in front of it. One of these was the weekly distribution of 'holy bread' from a loaf blessed (not consecrated) to parishioners at the end of Sunday mass. The other was the annual reception of holy communion in the form of a consecrated wafer and a draught of unconsecrated wine.⁶⁷

Conclusion

Pulpita and roodcreens, then, developed from the perceived need for a demarcation between the area of clergy-led worship in churches and that of lay occupation. They helped to inculcate the idea that worship, the place where it happened, and the clergy who conducted it were especially holy. They enhanced the dignity and mystery of worship, especially of the mass, by acting as a symbolic veil. However, screens should not always be regarded as barriers. In the form that they acquired in parish churches in the later middle ages – that is to say a row of windows – they represented a shift away from the opaque walls and pulpita of earlier times, so as to provide a visual bridge between the laity and the liturgy. Indeed they might

⁶⁵ Harrison, *Music*, p. 95.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁷ On these ceremonies, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 93-5, 125.

even be seen as marking a transition towards the unified church space and worship characteristic of the post-Reformation Church of England. They were also centres of worship in their own right: iconography, singing, speaking, and the celebration of masses.

For the laity in parish churches, screens formed the visual climax to their part of the church, the nave. Legally the structures became their responsibility to maintain, and although it would be unsafe to say that this responsibility was always wholeheartedly accepted, churchwardens' accounts suggest that it often was. Individual people might contribute large sums to build screens or maintain them, or alternatively very small sums if they were poor. The parish organisation itself, through the churchwardens, would also be involved in a collective way. Parish church screens were probably often embodiments of local pride and ambition, and were seen as a way of keeping up with or getting ahead of neighbouring parishes. In short screens or pulpita were a high-profile element of the structure, worship, and activity of churches of all kinds.

Chapter Three

THE REFORMATION AND SCREENS

The origins of Reformation hostility to screens

From the 1530s to the 1560s, there were great changes to all churches. Many monasteries disappeared with their screens. In parish churches screens survived but lost their images and much of their original purpose. These changes reflected two ideas: hostility to images and criticism of the traditional form of the mass. Both affected screens – the former because they were decorated with images and the latter because screens contributed to the separation of clergy and laity in worship which Reformers disliked. As the Reformation was a national movement, we shall consider first the developments in policy towards screens at national level, and then look at how such policies were received in Devon.

Some roots of the Reformation dislike of images may be traced to the 1370s and the influence of Wyclif's thought and writing upon later dissent – Lollardy. In the matter of imagery Wyclif himself does not seem to have adopted the more radical position of later dissenters. He touched on the question when writing on the first commandment in *De Mandatis*, but his opinion there, and in the relatively few references in his later texts, is not extreme. He quotes the prohibition of Exodus 20:4,¹ a prohibition not explicitly annulled in the New Testament, raising the issue of idolatry but allowing that images rightly used might be helpful to illiterate laity.² Later Lollard texts, however, show disapproval of contemporary excesses in the honour given to images and in the value attached to pilgrimages. As with the sixteenth-century reformers, there are differences of degree in such disapproval. Some Lollard writers advocated total iconoclasm, whereas some only

¹ 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.'

urged the suppression of abuses while others acknowledged the potential use of images for the illiterate but pointed out that actual images misled rather than educated.³

The Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards, a work in English which survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts and one of the early sixteenth-century, advocated the destruction of images if they were the cause of popular idolatry.⁴ Images may mislead and cause errors of faith; the ornamented image can draw people away from their prayers and from their local churches to others.⁵ These elements find echoes in the writings of the sixteenth-century reformers. Examples of dislike of images and idolatry recurred throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The chronicler Knighton reported that in 1382 William Smith and Richard Waytestaythe, a chaplain, used an image of St. Katherine to light a fire to cook their dinner, thanking God for his kindness in providing fuel and mocking the image by commenting that the saint would have to undergo renewed martyrdom.⁶ When Bishop Gray of Ely investigated three heretics in 1457 he found that they had objected to the veneration of images, because the images were as 'stocks and stones'.⁷ In 1460 Agnes Cole of Phillips Norton in the diocese of Bath and Wells admitted that she had often reproved those going on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Osmund in Salisbury saying that she wished the ways there were 'full of brambles and thorns'.⁸ In about 1490 Alice Hignell of Newbury had a number of abusive comments to pass on those she found honouring images. She told those offering candles to an image of St. Leonard that she would do the same when one saint ate one and blew out another, and to those offering to a dusty image of the Blessed Virgin Mary that she could blow away the cobwebs surrounding the image, whilst she commented

² A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford, 1988), p. 302.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-5.

⁶ *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 296-7.

⁷ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 142.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

that if an image of St. Martin had any sense it would come down from its high draughty place and sit by a poor man's fire.⁹

That the carver or painter of an image himself might be sinful (an idea which also occurred to sixteenth-century reformers) was put forward by William Thorpe who was questioned at his trial by Archbishop Arundel in 1407.¹⁰ Thorpe's objection was that images are 'man's craft' and that they were given greater honour than their components warranted. Objecting especially to images of the Trinity, Thorpe condemned as useless and sinful the arts of the carver, moulder and painter.¹¹ Yet if we ask how did the proto-Reformation ideas of the later middle ages affected church furnishings, the answer is probably not at all. Rather it was during the later part of this period, from the mid-fifteenth century, that the construction or rebuilding of roodscreens and lofts entered its most dynamic period. Paintings of saints on the dados and carvings upon the loft all indicated that the creation of such imagery was considered a very important element in the construction of such furniture. Indeed, some contracts and churchwardens' accounts specifically demanded such imagery.¹²

Wyclif and the Lollards were less concerned about the staging of worship than about images; indeed Wyclif was hearing mass when he died. Sixteenth-century reformers, however, found much to dislike in the way the mass was conducted. In the later middle ages the service was done by the priest and clerk and other clergy in the chancel, behind the screen. It was in Latin and did not involve the laity, who participated only by kissing the pax and receiving holy bread afterwards.¹³ Communion in church was normally restricted to Easter Day, at the screen door where the laity would form a queue in the aisle

⁹ Ibid., pp. 165-6.

¹⁰ But see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 14 as to whether Thorpe (in 1407) was ever questioned by Arundel.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 306.

¹² For instance at Great St. Mary, Cambridge, Stratton (Cornwall) and Yatton (Somerset).

¹³ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), p. 125. K. L. French, *The People of the Parish* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 188.

(kneeling a couple at a time) or in a long row from north to south. A congregational element in the mass, then, was spectacularly lacking.

It was this lack of participation and alleged lack of understanding that the reformers wished to change. For them, any educational purpose of the mass, through hearing the Bible or joining in prayers had been lost and hidden beneath the language, imagery, symbols and furnishings (or at least some of them) of the medieval Church. By getting rid of these things and by – at least symbolically – breaking down the division between nave and chancel, priest and layman, the failings of the medieval liturgy (as the reformers saw it) could be overcome. The immediate word of God (as exemplified by placing prominence upon the sermon) needed to be made apparent to the people by translating the Bible into English and reading it in services, and preaching about it. The reformers wanted worship to be more educational with emphasis upon vernacular liturgy, Bible reading and preaching. They wanted to get rid of division and superstition as represented by Latin services, secluded services, and the emphasis on ceremonies and images. Such aims had implications for screens, which had so long reflected the values of late-medieval religion.

Attitudes affecting screens under Henry VIII (1529-47)

Chronologically, it may be possible to perceive the Reformation as having three stages as far as roodscreens are concerned (1529-47). First, under Henry VIII there was a gradual rise of Reform, culminating in the great iconoclasm of 1538, followed by a period of somewhat conservative reaction and the braking, but not stopping, of the changes already set in motion. Secondly, reform took a more radical and pronouncedly Protestant direction in the reign of Edward VI (1547-53) and, thirdly, the conclusive implementation of most (but not all) of the demands of the Reformers took place in the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603). As will be demonstrated, it is possible to perceive that among the furnishings which the reformers wished to

eliminate, there was a 'hierarchy of dislike'. Venerated images were the most despised, after which came decorative images (glass, wall paintings, screen paintings) and roodlofts. Roodscreens themselves do not appear to have aroused the ire of most iconoclasts except in respect of the images painted upon them.

The Reformers derived their hostility to images from the Bible – notably the Second Commandment against 'graven images or likenesses' and from an iconoclastic tradition going back to the early centuries of Christianity. The earliest historical reference used by the Reformers in their assault upon images was the Council of Elvira (c.305). This was cited by Cranmer in 1549: 'Now (thanks be to God) in the realm we be clearly delivered from that kind of idolatry, which most highly offended God, and we do according to the council Elebertine, which ordained that no images should be in churches'.¹⁴ John Jewel (1522-71), bishop of Salisbury from 1560, made a similar comment, 'The painting of images in church-walls was forbidden in the council holden at Elberis in Granado, in Spain'.¹⁵ Nicholas Ridley also wrote: 'But lest it might happen that the Western Church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted that in a council holden in Spain the use of images in churches was clearly prohibited'.¹⁶ As will be seen, references to the early history of the Church were much in evidence in the Protestant Reformers' arguments.

Hugh Latimer's earliest writings date from 1529.¹⁷ In that year his 'Sermon on the Card', delivered at Cambridge, includes a tolerant view of, perhaps even an exhortation towards, the veneration of images and pilgrimage. 'Setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimage ... be called

¹⁴ J. E. Cox (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, PS (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 178-9.

¹⁵ J. Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, 4, PS (Cambridge, 1850), pp. 791-5.

¹⁶ H. Christmas (ed.), *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 94-5.

¹⁷ Susan Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh (c. 1485-1555)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16100>, accessed 5 May 2006].

voluntary works; which works be themselves marvellous good and convenient to be done'. Admittedly Latimer went on to emphasise that 'works of mercy' are more profitable and necessary:

Again, if you list to gild and paint Christ in your churches and honour him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink and clothing ... but beware, I say again, that you do not run so far in your voluntary works, that you do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep.¹⁸

By 1531, however, Latimer's views were changing: 'I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints would have holpen me ... now I know one can help as much as another ... it pitieth mine heart ... the people be so craftily deceived'.¹⁹ This theme of deception of the masses by the Catholic clergy becomes familiar in the writings of the Reformers in the years to come. By 1537 his hostility to images was well developed. On 9 June 1537 he preached a sermon before the Convocation of the Clergy. Superstition, of all words the key one in the arguments of the Reformers, makes its appearance here:

What think you of these images that are had more than their fellows in reputation ... and yet, as in those there may be much ungodliness committed so there may here some superstition be hid, if that sometimes we chance to visit pigs' heads instead of saints relics ... the Church of England in times past made this constitution. What saw they that made this decree? They saw the intolerable use of images. They saw the perils that might ensue of going on pilgrimage. They saw the superstitious difference that men made between image and image ... the constitution is so made, that in manner it taketh away all such pilgrimages. For

¹⁸ G. E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons of Remains of Hugh Latimer*, 1, PS (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 22-4.

it so plucks away the abuse of them, that it leaves either none, or also seldom use of them.²⁰

William Tyndale was, perhaps, ahead of Latimer in his condemnation of images. He was arguing in 1530 against 'images, relics, ornaments, signs or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies or sacrifice' was that these '[images] were not made in the image of God, nor were they the price of Christ's blood'.²¹ They dishonoured both God and Christ. A further argument resembles that of Latimer: 'And as for the riches that is bestowed on images and relics, they cannot prove but that it is abominable, as long as the poor are despised and uncared for, and not first served'.²² The impossibility of representing God in an image is a constant argument of the Reformers. Indeed, many of them considered such images blasphemous. Tyndale wrote in c.1530: 'Now God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in his word only, which is spiritual; and will have no bodily service'.²³ Tyndale used, as did others, the example of 'one Epiphanius, a bishop in the country of Cyprus', who destroyed a veil at the entrance to a church. He also mentioned another bishop, Cirenus of Massilia, who burnt images because he was 'offended with the superstitiousness of the people'. 'Superstition' was, it seems, code for the use (or mis-use) of images. The stupidity and evil of the one increased the necessity of getting rid of the other.

Central to the unremitting desire of the Reformers to rid the English Church of 'superstition' was the rood. That no pre-Reformation roods remain in England today is testament to their thoroughness in removing them. Although the rood, strictly speaking, means not the figure of Christ but the balk of the cross to which the figure was attached, the term was and still is generally recognised as

¹⁹ G. E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, 2, PS (Cambridge, 1845) p. 333.

²⁰ Corrie, *Latimer*, 1, pp. 53-4.

²¹ H. Walter (ed.), *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue by William Tyndale*, PS (Cambridge, 1850), pp. 59-61.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

including the cross, the crucified Christ, the supporting figures of Mary and John and sometimes the two thieves and occasionally the four evangelists. The great rood was situated above the roodscreen. There were several ways of supporting it; it might be suspended on chains from the roof or the crown of the chancel arch, it might stand on a rood beam, the ends of which were embedded in the side walls, it might be suspended from a beam (this clearly was the case at Cullompton) or it might rise from the top of the roodloft parapet.²⁴ The rood was the most conspicuous object in the church as far as the laity in the nave were concerned and it, with the 'doom' or last judgment on a tympanum filling up the chancel arch above it with its dramatic and terrifying representation of heaven and hell, provided a visual reminder of the purpose of the mass: the re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice to enable human salvation.²⁵

A good example of the hostility of Reformers to roods concerns the one at Boxley (Kent). This rood, according to a letter of about 1538 from William Peterson to Conrad Pulbert, was 'an image which at certain times used to move its mouth and eyes, to weep, and to nod in sign of dissent or assent before the bystanders. These things were managed by the ingenuity of the priests standing out of sight; but the imposture is now notorious to every person in England.'²⁶ The public destruction of this rood is related, with considerable glee and gusto, in a letter (undated) from John Finch to Conrad Humpard.²⁷ It was brought from Boxley to St. Paul's cross (London) and taken to pieces in front of a large crowd, exposing the springs and wheels. Although the incident seems almost too good to be true, for the purposes of Reformist propaganda it was clearly – in Reformist opinion – a heaven-sent opportunity for disparaging all images.²⁸

²⁴ A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), pp. 1-2.

²⁵ Cuming, *Anglican Liturgy*, pp. 20-1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 604.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 606-7.

²⁸ But see R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims* (London, 1977), pp. 208-10.

In 1534 the Act of Supremacy made the king the head of the Church of England. Papal authority was finally abolished two years later. In 1536 Henry VIII's 'First Injunctions' to the clergy (drawn up by Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicar general but issued in the name of Henry VIII) ordered that:

To the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers mens' hearts may vanish away, that they [the clergy] shall not set for them, nor extol any images, relics, or miracles for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any inticements to the pilgrimage of any saint.²⁹

This injunction represents the first official disapproval of an aspect of screens, and it was followed in 1538 by the more radical 'second injunctions'. These ordered images attracting veneration to be removed:

Item, that such feigned images, as you know in any of your cures, to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, you shall, for the avoiding that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down and delay, and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set before any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goes across the church by the roodloft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre, which for the adorning of the church and divine service, you shall suffer to remain.³⁰

This did not necessarily affect screens very much, however. Most images on screens may not have been venerated; roods were not prohibited, and they could still be honoured with lights. The

²⁹ W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (London, 1910), 2, p. 5-6.

Injunctions were a portent for the future rather than a crisis for the present. There was one exception to this: the cult of Thomas Becket. In a proclamation of 1539, Henry VIII

straitly charges and commands that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named and reputed and called a saint, but Bishop Becket, and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be plucked down and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the day used to be a festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects and prayers in his name read but rased and put out of all the books.³¹

That this injunction was enacted is clear from the obliteration of his face on the painted screens of Burlingham St. Andrew, and Ranworth (Norfolk).

Attitudes affecting screens under Edward VI (1547-53)

With Henry VIII's death and Edward VI's accession in 1547, the crown's religious policies took a more distinctly Protestant direction, and a number of influential Reformers came to the fore at this time. John Hooper, who had spent the years 1539-48 in exile on the Continent, was made bishop of Gloucester in 1551. In his 'A Treatise to Christ and his Office' written in 1547 Hooper remarks that 'God knew right well what danger it was to suffer man, his creature, to have company with those idols, and therefore said thou shalt neither worship them

³⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

³¹ P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols (New York, 1964-9) 1, pp. 273-4; Wilkins, *Concilia*, 3, pp. 857-8; Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 210-12 (and Plate 16).

nor make them'.³² In his 'A Preparation unto the Ten Commandments' written around 1548 he argues that the second commandment

forbiddeth to honour any image made ... to serve them is to do somewhat for their sakes, as to cense them with incense, to gild, to run on pilgrimage to them, to kneel or pray before them, to be more affectionate to one than the other, to set lights before them, with such-like superstition and idolatry.³³

His attitude towards such activity becomes clearer a few pages later, 'I write these things rather in a contempt and hatred for this abominable idolatry than to learn any Englishman the truth.'³⁴ Hooper's overt vehemence is a little unusual, but it is paralleled to some extent in the writings of all the other Protestant reformers of the mid century onwards. In one of his other writings, 'A Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith', written in 1550, the belief that images 'ensnared' the ignorant and, as such, ought to be 'taken away and thrown down' is clear:

I believe also that the beginning of all idolatry was the finding out and invention of images, which also were made to the great offence of the souls of men, and as are snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant, to make them to fall ... the same ought utterly to be taken away and thrown down.³⁵

The images which Hooper detested so much, the venerated or 'feyned' images, that is, those that were sacrificed to and therefore idolatrous had been made illegal by the articles and injunctions of 1536.

³² S. Carr (ed.), *Early Writings of John Hooper, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1843), p. 38.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 317. The content of this passage indicates that it may well have been written before 1548, as by then many of the criticisms contained within it had been accepted and acted upon.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

³⁵ C. Nevison (ed.), *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, PS (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 57-8.

Hooper also objected to decorative images (glass, wall and screen paintings), making little or no distinction between 'feyned' commemorative and decorative imagery. For Hooper, the laws of God, the 'snaring' of the ignorant, and the pre-Reformation ideas were central to his arguments which culminated in his injunctions to his clergy of 1551 where he required that:

When any glass windows within any of your churches shall from henceforth be repaired, or new made, that you do not permit to be painted or portrayed therein the image or picture of any saint: but if they will have anything painted that it be either branches, flowers or posies [*mottoes*] taken out of the holy scripture. And that you cause to be defaced all such images as yet do remain painted upon any of the walls in your churches, and that from henceforth there be no more such.³⁶

This demand reveals an extremism in Hooper which is not common in the writings of other reformers. While roods and shrines have completely disappeared from English churches, wall and screen paintings (while often whitewashed or vandalised) have remained. Also, of course, while much medieval glass has gone, enough remains to suggest that Hooper's demands were perhaps aimed at subjects which were not so controversial and abhorred as the 'feyned' images.

Another leading Reformer of Edward's reign was Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, 1547-50, and London, 1550-3. He used the authority of such fathers as St. Augustine, Epiphanius, Tertullian, and the decisions of the Council of Elvira and even 'good King Hezekiah' to attack images in his 'Treatise on the Worship of Images'. This was addressed to Edward VI, and it was perhaps written at the beginning of the reign as the royal injunctions for religious reform, issued on 31 July 1547 would have satisfied his demands. Ridley drew the conclusion that:

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 138-9.

The simple and unlearned people who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore to set images before them to stumble at (for they are snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant), or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserves also the malediction and curse of God.³⁷

This continued emphasis upon the misguided teaching of the Catholic church, the ignorance of the ordinary people, the loathing of idolatry and pilgrimage and the necessity of ending such 'abuse' make it clear that this was a Reformation from above and that the 'learned and confirmed in knowledge' had a duty to implement change. This idea is notable throughout the writings of the Protestant reformers. Ridley says 'the use of images is, to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor justifiable. To the superstitious it is a confirmation in error. To the simple and weak, an occasion to fall, and very offensive and wounding to their consciences.'³⁸ Interestingly, and by no means uniquely, Ridley associates the worshipping of images with the sins of fornication and adultery, using this powerful connection as a further reason for the banishing of such idols:

As good magistrates, who intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, especially out of such places as be suspected; even so images, being whores – for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery – ought to be banished, and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication has been most committed.³⁹

³⁷ Christmas, *Ridley*, p. 86.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

The certainty that they were right was a marked attribute of the Reformers' writings. John Philpott (1511-55), who like Hooper and Ridley was burnt for his beliefs under Mary I, expresses a familiar pattern of indignation bordering on horror concerning the use – and abuse – of images.⁴⁰ Philpott's translation of Curio's *Defence of Christ's Church* pursues a more metaphysical line than most:

For the right, best, purest and most holiest and most full of godliness worship of God is, to honour him with a pure, clean and incorrupt mind and faith; for if religion is the worshipping of the true God, and we cannot see God with our eyes, but with our own mind; it is not to be doubted that there is no religion wheresoever an image is worshipped.⁴¹

Philpott here encapsulates a common trait of the mid-century Protestant reformers: a lack of self-doubt. Not one of those discussed in this section show the slightest sign of uncertainty (at least when they are dealing with imagery). The idea of the impossibility of God – a spirit – being expressed in concrete form is a common one. This metaphysical argument imbues the more commonplace arguments and attitudes already discussed with a sense of, if not greatness, then certainly a deeper spirituality:

By these, and many other places of Scripture, it is evident that no image either ought, or can be, made into God. For how can God, a most pure spirit, whom man never saw, be expressed by a gross, bodily, and visible similitude? How can the infinite majesty and greatness of God, incomprehensible to man's mind, much more not able to be compassed with the sense, be

³⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

⁴⁰ Ronald H. Fritze, 'Philpott, John (1515/16-1555)', *ODNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22182>, accessed 5 May 2006].

⁴¹ R. Eden (ed.), *The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot, B.C.L.*, PS (Cambridge, 1842), p. 406.

expressed in a finite or little image? How can a dead and dumb image express the living God?⁴²

Certainty – and lack of self-doubt – can be powerful weapons in promoting a point of view. What all the reformers exhibit is that sense of certainty.

A fourth writer, Thomas Becon, became chaplain to Protector Somerset in about 1547.⁴³ In his early works he used the device of a conversation between Christopher and Philemon to decry imagery in that ‘we should utterly give over this abomination’.⁴⁴ This statement, from the ‘Potation for Lent’ was written in 1543. In ‘Prayers and other Pieces’ his essay ‘An Honourable Supplication with God’ condemns the ‘ungodly papists’ who seek salvation through

the intercession of saints and prayers and merits of sinful hypocrites and beastly belly-gods, in ceremonies, in will-works, in traditions of men, in holy bread, holy water, holy candles, holy palms, holy ashes, Latin services, idolatrous masses, superstitious diriges, trifling trentals, popish fasting, bells, beads, etc.⁴⁵

Becon uses the image of the whore of Babylon to condemn imagery and popery and to show approval for ‘garnishing the church with holy scriptures’: ‘Heretofore we were taught to cast out of our temples the idols and mawmets wherewith many committed spiritual whoredom and ran an whoring and to garnish the church with the holy scriptures,

⁴² R. Gibbings (ed.), *An Answer to John Martiall’s Treatise of the Cross by James Calphill*, D.D., PS (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 38-9. Calphill’s work was published in 1565. As he was born c.1530 it is likely that his work was written contemporaneously (i.e. during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth).

⁴³ Seymour Baker House, ‘Becon, Thomas (1512/13-1567)’, *ODNB*, 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>, accessed 5 May 2006].

⁴⁴ J. Ayre (ed.), *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, S.T.P., PS (Cambridge, 1843), p. 111.

⁴⁵ J. Ayre (ed.), *Prayers and other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, S.T.P., PS (Cambridge, 1844), p. 333.

that the people might learn to know and to fear thee'.⁴⁶ The context reveals that the piece was written during the reign of Mary 1 while Becon had 'repaired to the continent'.

The reign of Edward VI saw not only writings against traditional religion but further actions against it. In 1548, John ab Ulmis could write to Henry Bullinger that 'the images are extirpated root and branch in every part of England; nor is there left the least trace, which can afford a hope or handle to the papists for confirming their error respecting images, and for leading the people away from our Saviour'.⁴⁷ Ab Ulmis could say this with satisfaction and certainty because on 31 July 1547 royal injunctions to the whole of the clergy had ordered, firstly, the destruction of all shrines and pictures of saints and of all images to which offerings had been made or before which candles had burned. Secondly, the injunctions limited the number of lights in the church to two upon the high altar, doing away with those before the rood and sepulchre. Thirdly, they forbade processions in or around the church where mass was celebrated and they banned the making and blessing of wooden crosses. Articles 3, 11 and 28 exemplify the revolutionary nature of these injunctions.⁴⁸ Royal policy, especially towards images, toughened. In September 1547 the Privy Council directed that images which had not been cult objects could also be removed from churches if the parish priest, the churchwardens or the visitors objected to them. On 6 February 1548 a royal proclamation forbade four of the major ceremonies of the religious year: the blessing of candles at Candlemas, ashes upon Ash Wednesday, foliage upon Palm Sunday and Creeping to the Cross. Two weeks later, the Council ordered the removal of the remaining images, upon the grounds that their continued presence was creating dissension and dissent.⁴⁹ Earlier, in the autumn of 1547, two acts of parliament had carried the Reformation further. One of these decreed

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 337.

⁴⁷ Robinson, *Original Letters*, 2, p. 377.

⁴⁸ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 2, pp. 116, 119-20, 126.

⁴⁹ R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford, 1994), p. 80.

the seizure by the state of the endowments of chantries, religious guilds and perpetual obits.⁵⁰ Hutton, who used 114 churchwardens' accounts, calculated that 17 of these included references to the demolition of roodlofts at this time, although no provision for this had been made in the official instructions. Hutton speculated that because the lofts were so heavily carved with saints they were deemed worthy of complete destruction.⁵¹

Since royal policy under Edward VI was especially hostile to images, idolatry and pilgrimages, it follows there was no diminution of the Reformers' criticism towards them. In 1548 Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556)⁵² in his 'Confutation of Unwritten Verities' wrote: 'But yet these shameless wretches be not abashed to say that images are necessary because they be laymen's books, teaching them, instructing them, and leading them to the true worship of God. O great blasphemy! O sacrilege! O spiteful robbery!'⁵³ The frailty of man, the 'antichrist' in Rome, the references to Church history, the 'superstition and idolatry' and, above all, the word of God, are familiar themes in Cranmer's 'Answer to the Fifteen Articles of the Rebels, Devon, 1549'. Writing in the same year and replying to the seventh article in which the rebels demanded, *inter alia*, 'images to be set up again in every church', he said:

No man surely could have wrought this thing so much contrary to God, but antichrist himself, that is to say the bishop of Rome ... Almighty God knows our corrupt nature better than we do ourselves. He knows well the inclinations of man, how much he is given to worship creatures and the works of his own hands; and specially fond women, which commonly follow superstition than true religion. And therefore he utterly forbade

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 80-1.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 108.

⁵² Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Cranmer, Thomas (1489-1556)', *ODNB*, 2004, online edn May 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6615>, accessed 5 May 2006].

⁵³ Cox, *Cranmer*, p. 10.

the people the use of graven images, especially in places dedicated to the honour of God.⁵⁴

Latimer too could feel confident enough in 1548 with the Reformation fully under way to encourage Edward VI to continue the destruction of all imagery. Using, as other reformers did, the example of 'good King Hezekiah', who ignored the temperate advice of 'blanchers', Latimer exhorted the king in the 'Sermon of the Plough' (given at St. Paul's on 18 January 1548 that:

Good King Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he would give no ear to the blanchers ... he feared not insurrection of the people ... but he ... like a good king ... by and by plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition.⁵⁵

The 'brazen serpent' appears in a number of other texts as an historical example of how a godly king might 'extirpate all superstition'.

The Edwardian bishops were not slow to adopt the monarch's policies against images. Cranmer's articles for Canterbury diocese for 1548 are uncompromising, demanding the removal of all images and 'monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition'.⁵⁶ Equally so are Hooper's articles for the Gloucester and Worcester diocese 1551-2. Frere comments that these articles frequently go beyond all authority.⁵⁷ Ridley's articles for London diocese (1550) were, like Cranmer's for Canterbury, largely based on the royal injunctions of 31 July 1547. Archbishop Holgate's injunctions for York Minster (1552) contain demands for the removal of images

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 178-9.

⁵⁵ Corrie, *Latimer*, 1, pp. 96-7.

⁵⁶ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 2, pp. 177-8.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 269, 284-5, 289, 296.

and, interestingly, that they be replaced with 'sentences of Holy Scripture'.⁵⁸ Preaching, as well as physical removal, was to be a force in instructing the people as to the error of their previous ways ('A Letter Sent to All those Preachers which the King's Majesty Have Licensed to Preach', 13 May 1548).⁵⁹ This was followed up, in 1549, by 'Articles to be Followed and Observed According to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings'. These included Article ix:

That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, beadrolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, pascal creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font in the popish manner, oil, chrism, altars, beads, or any other such abuses and superstitions, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings.⁶⁰

Not only were new Bibles to be installed in every church, on 25 December 1549 an order was issued requiring bishops to destroy all service books including 'all antiphonaries, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pyes, porcastes, tournals and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford or any other private use'.⁶¹ There was a battle for the mind as well as for the possession of the interior of the church. The church interior was to be a reflection of the mind of the Reformers and, no doubt it was hoped, of all English people. By 1553, the destruction of church furnishings had been immense: shrines, statues, wall-paintings, holy-water stoups, stained-glass windows, and some rood lofts, as well as thousands of chalices, pyxes, and crosses had been stripped or seized from churches.

Attitudes affecting screens under Mary I (1553-58)

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 320.

⁵⁹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 32-3.

⁶¹ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, 1, pp. 485-6.

All this was to end, and in some cases be reversed, during the reign of Mary 1. Her royal articles to the clergy of 1554 are silent about images, but Bishop Bonner's articles for London diocese in the same year asked (Article 57) 'whether there be a crucifix, a roodloft, as in times past hath been accustomed; and if not where the crucifix and roodloft is become'.⁶² The next year (1555) Bonner ordered the re-establishment of certain images. In Article 18 of his injunctions for London diocese he demanded,

that the churchwardens and parishioners of every parish do cause to be made, prepared, and set up in their church before the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, a decent and seemly Crucifix, with the images of Christ, Mary, and John, a roodloft, as in times past hath been godly used and accustomed of old ancient time.⁶³

A similar demand for the re-establishment of the rood came from Bishop Brooks of Gloucester. In Article 33 of his injunctions for Gloucester diocese (1556) he demanded,

that the churchwardens of every parish church shall see provided and bought ... a decent rood of five feet in length at the least, with Mary and John, and the patron or head saint of the church, proportionate to the same, not painted upon cloth or boards, but cut out in timber or stone.⁶⁴

In 1557, Cardinal Pole's articles for Canterbury diocese also included the inquiry (Article 31) as to whether churches in the diocese had a rood, accompanied by representations of Mary and John, and an image

⁶² Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 2, pp. 323-9, 346.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

of the patron of the church.⁶⁵ Re-establishment of images did take place, but the scale of pre-Reformation imagery was never restored. Moreover the expenditure on new roods might be limited. Crediton spent 43s. 4d., Ashburton 40s., and Tavistock 34s. 4d., yet only 6s. 8d. was spent at Exeter St. Mary Steps.⁶⁶

Attitudes affecting screens under Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

The changes which occurred during the reign of Mary I produced much anxiety among Protestant Reformers, an anxiety which is reflected in the tone of their writings on images and idolatry in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign. They were, at the beginning of her reign, faced with the need to continue the attack on images, given the reversal of this in Mary's reign. Elizabeth's new archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker thought fit to remind the queen in 1559 that

You may clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil ... the use of images is to the learned and confirmed in knowledge neither necessary nor profitable; to the superstitious, a confirmation in error; to the simple and weak an occasion of fall, and very offensive and wounding of their consciences and therefore very dangerous.⁶⁷

He continued (using a by now familiar simile):

As good magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, especially out of places as be suspected, even so images, being *meretrices*, for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 424.

⁶⁶ R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 68.

⁶⁷ T. Bruce and T. T. Perowne (eds), *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 79-85. Note that the wording is almost exactly that of Ridley (Christmas, *Ridley*, p. 86).

adultery, ought to be banished, and especially out of churches which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication has been most committed.⁶⁸

John Jewel of Salisbury, another new Elizabethan bishop, used examples of the ancient fathers of the church and the folly and superstition of simple people to advance similar arguments. He quotes Lactantius: 'determinately and not of all doubt, there is no religion wheresoever there is an image'; Tertullian: 'God hath forbidden an image, or an idol, as well to be made as to be worshipped'; St. Augustine: 'to devise such an image of God, it is abominable'; Theodorus, Bishop of Ancyra: 'we think it is not convenient to paint the images of saints with material or earthly colours'; and Epiphanius: 'the superstition of images is unfit for the church of Christ'.⁶⁹ These quotations date from 1564 in 'An Answer to Jewel's Challenge by Dr. Harding'. The perceived 'deception' of the ordinary people is a continuing theme in the arguments and attitudes towards images and associated church furniture of the Protestant reformers. This theme, allied with the contempt, hatred and fear of the 'bishop of Rome' could be potent:

But these miracles were no miracles at all. They were devised by subtle varlets and lazy lordanes for a purpose to get money ... in those days idols could go on foot, roods could speak, bells could ring alone, images could come down and light their own candles, dead stocks could sweat and bestir themselves, they could turn their eyes, they could move their hands, they could open their mouths, they could set bones and knit sinews, they could heal the sick and raise up the dead.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Bruce and Perowne, *Parker*, pp. 79-85. Again, note the almost exact similarity of language with that of Ridley (Christmas, *Ridley*, p. 87).

⁶⁹ J. Ayre (ed.) *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, 4, PS (Cambridge, 1850), pp. 791-5.

⁷⁰ J. Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, 2, PS (Cambridge, 1847), p. 922.

Jewel again used St. Augustine to support his arguments:

Again he [St. Augustine] says 'after that image be once set up in these places in honourable height, that they that pray or sacrifice may look upon them, although they have neither sense nor soul, yet they so strike and amaze the weak minds of the people, even with the very proportion of living members and senses, that they seem to have life and draw breath'.⁷¹

That the reformers took it upon themselves to strengthen the 'weak minds of the people' and so to rid them of 'superstition' is a striking theme throughout their writing.

The *Zurich Letters*, most of which (concerning imagery) were written in the early 1560s, express, perhaps for the first time, overt doubt and uncertainty, not as to the correctness of the policy regarding images, but about whether or not their extirpation would be carried out in the new reign. Bishop Sandys (1519-87) wrote to Peter Martyr on 1 April 1560:

The queen's majesty considered it not contrary to the word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with (those of the virgin) Mary and (saint) John, should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the church ... Most of us [continued Sandys] thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation taken down, but also burnt ... and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to their idol above all others.⁷²

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 665 (from letters between Jewel and D. Cole, 1560).

⁷² H. Robinson (ed.), *The Zurich Letters*, PS (Cambridge, 1842), 1st. series, pp. 73-4.

This element of uncertainty and disquiet is continued in a similar (undated) letter from Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson. This letter was probably written in the very early 1560s, given the content:

Oh, my father, what can I hope for, when the ministry of the word is banished from court? While the crucifix is allowed, with lights before it. The altars indeed are removed, and images also throughout the kingdom; the crucifix and candles are retained at court alone. And the wretched multitude are not only rejoicing at this, but will imitate it of their own accord.⁷³

The attitude of Protestant reformers towards church furnishings (that is, those connected with any form of idolatry) and images is clear. Their hostility was unremitting, especially when it appeared in the early 1560s that idols had not been totally extirpated. In 1560 George Cassander wrote to Bishop Cox and stressed that, while the cross itself was acceptable, the figure of Christ upon it was not:

I will briefly declare my sentiments ... they [men] make a great distinction between the figure or representation of the cross, and all other images ... it [the cross] is of the greatest antiquity throughout all churches ... I am unwilling [that this] should be regarded as superstitious, though I would have the superstition of the people [idolatry] which is commonly discovered even in the most excellent regulations and institutions, to be repressed and guarded against.⁷⁴

There was, too, a metaphysical element in the Reformers' writings: that the word of God and the development of the human spirit (and, no doubt, the salvation of the soul) were absolutely central to the abolition of all images, shrines, lofts, tabernacles and, indeed,

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 63-4.

⁷⁴ Robinson, *Zurich Letters*, PS (Cambridge, 1845), 2nd series, p. 44.

pilgrimages. The superstitious people had been led astray and needed guidance. That 'popery' was seen as a threat and a danger is apparent, though not often stated overtly. This brings in a more political element to the picture (which this chapter will not attempt to pursue). The religious reaction which had taken place during the reign of Mary and the fate of some Protestant reformers, however, lends strength to the concept of a political element within these attitudes. That is, what would the fate of the reformers be if Catholicism – the counter-reformation – was successful? Danger, therefore, added implacability to their views and ideas. The association of idolatry with sin (fornication and whoredom) is an interesting one; it is not a universal association by any means but, like all such associations, it could be – and no doubt was – used as a kind of moral and spiritual propaganda. Also literary techniques, such as that of the catechism, the conversation, the disputation, are used by some writers. There is, too an undoubted unity of opinion, attitude and purpose among the reformers; these – like all ideas if presented often enough and with conviction – can have the effect of swaying the mind. This was one of the main objectives of the reformers' writing. One must beware, though, of giving twenty-first-century reactions to sixteenth-century events.

The anxieties of the Reformers in the very early years of Elizabeth's reign were to prove groundless. It was noted earlier in the essay that there was, perhaps, a 'hierarchy of dislike' among the reformers.⁷⁵ The roodloft, though not as despised as the rood, shrines and attendant pilgrimage was still regarded as idolatrous. Its main purpose was to support the rood and provide a place for organ and choir (and perhaps an altar), but it could also perform the function of an iconostasis, in that the western front was often divided into a series of narrow panels, each containing a painting (or perhaps a carving) of a saint, sheltered by open-work tabernacling. Thus the roodloft was anathema to the reformers. The roodloft included a gallery which was

⁷⁵ See above, p. 70.

situated above the roodscreen at the eastern extremity of the nave, and which extended across the breadth of the nave and, in many cases, across an aisle or both aisles.⁷⁶ The open sides of the platform were protected by these galleries or parapets, usually of openwork. In the finest examples, for instance Atherington, the western parapet of the loft was constructed in nichework, on the back of each niche being painted figures of apostles, saints and bishops, or those niches were filled with wooden statuettes. These images, of course, were, in part, the cause of the destruction of the lofts. Visiting Atherington, one immediately wonders how the remains of the loft survived the holocaust. Today the back (eastern side) of the loft is patched with painted boards bearing post-Reformation inscriptions and coats of arms. Undoubtedly this later palimpsest saved the loft, as well as, perhaps, its use within the church for musical purposes. Nevertheless the Atherington roodloft's survival is in direct opposition to one of the central documents relating to the destruction of church furniture – the royal order of 10 October 1561.⁷⁷ This order, followed by a number of episcopal injunctions (for example Archbishop Grindal's injunctions to the province of York in 1571), quite clearly and definitely condemns the roodloft (in contrast to the screen) to oblivion.⁷⁸

Meanwhile the royal articles of Elizabeth I to the clergy (1559), closely followed by the royal injunctions of the same year, continued the Reformation policies laid down in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The Elizabethan Act of Supremacy (1559) repealed certain Marian acts, re-enacted the anti-papal statutes of Henry VIII and re-vested visitational jurisdiction in the Crown, while the Act of Uniformity of the same year restored the second prayer book of Edward VI with some modifications.⁷⁹ The introduction of poor-boxes ('a strong chest') and a register for weddings, christenings and burials

⁷⁶ F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908), p. 107. Also see Chapter 2.

⁷⁷ See Chapter 4, p. 102.

⁷⁸ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 3, pp. 108-9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

and the placing of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* in churches, did little to offset the destruction ordered by Article xiii of the 1559 injunctions:

Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows and elsewhere within their churches and houses, preserving nevertheless and repairing both the walls and glass windows.⁸⁰

Archbishop Parker's articles for the province of Canterbury (1560)⁸¹ and Bishop Parker's injunctions and interrogatories for Norwich (1561) kept up the pressure for destruction. Parker included the more detailed demand (Article xxxvi):

Whether all altars, images, holy water, stones, pictures, paintings as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of the descending of Christ into the Virgin in the form of a little boy at the Annunciation of the Angel, and all other superstitious and dangerous monuments, especially paintings and images in wall, book, cope, banner or elsewhere of the Blessed Trinity or of the Father (of whom there can be no image made), be defaced and removed out of the church and other places, and are destroyed, and the places, where such impiety was, so made up as if there had been no such thing there.⁸²

That Elizabeth adopted a more cautious and perhaps conservative attitude towards too extreme a change is illustrated in her proclamation prohibiting destruction of church monuments. Breaking

⁸⁰ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 3, p. 16; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, 2, pp.118-19, 121, 123-4, 126 and 130-1; Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, pp. 182-3, 185-8.

⁸¹ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 3, p. 82.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 104.

up of 'certain ancient monuments' (mainly memorials to the 'honourable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased'), the breaking and defacing of glass windows, the theft of bells and lead, all were forbidden 'under pain of imprisonment during her majesty's pleasure, and such further fine for the contempt as shall be thought meet'.⁸³

Elizabeth's conservatism and the worries of the Protestant reformers came together in an address made by some bishops and divines to her in 1559 against the use of images. This address coincided with an increase in uncertainty in the reformers. Here the bishops and divines 'trust and earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your royal authority and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the church of England.'⁸⁴ Elizabeth's reply was the proclamation against defacers of monuments in churches. It seems, however, that Elizabeth was worried by this, albeit deferential, opposition, soon afterwards she issued an important royal order on 10 October 1561 'for the avoiding of much strife and contention that hath heretofore risen among the Queen's subjects in divers parts of the realm'. This 'Royal Order of 1561', as it will be referred to, rang the death knell for roodlofts.⁸⁵ The Protestant objections to the lofts were that they had supported the churches' most important images, functioned as memorials to them, and could make their restoration easier. But they were also elaborate and beautiful structures upon which much money and pride had been lavished and which would be very expensive to rebuild.⁸⁶ However, the safety of the roodscreen itself seemed to be assured, for Elizabeth's order continued: 'that where in any parish church the said rood-lofts be already transposed,⁸⁷ so that there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise

⁸³ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, 2, pp. 146-8.

⁸⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, pp. 196-7.

⁸⁵ For further discussion of the Royal Order of 1561 see below, p. 102.

⁸⁶ Hutton, *Merry England*, p. 108.

⁸⁷ I. e. Removed.

attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet'.⁸⁸ Lofts were therefore to be altered in their upper portions, but screens themselves were not forbidden.

One might think that the Reformers' aims and demands had now been met but not all felt that they had been. William Fulke, using the well-tried technique of a 'conversation' (more like a disputation) gave an expression of thanks to Queen Elizabeth in the 1560s for the destruction of 'image lofts' and idolatry. Nevertheless the fact that he still felt the need to do this perhaps indicates a state of insecurity. The Queen was unmarried and childless, her health could (and did) suffer, and if she died suddenly the throne would pass to a Catholic, Mary Queen of Scots. In Fulke's imaginary conversation or disputation with Gregory Martin he argues that 'it is to the great honour of God that they should be despised, defaced, burned, and stamped to powder'.⁸⁹ He defends the destruction of the roodlofts and what his imaginary interlocutor (Gregory Martin) calls 'scribbled doors and false translations' (i.e. the writing of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments upon the tympanum). By 1562 the Reformers' aims were not, as yet, fully effected. The requests of the lower house of Convocation in that year included an article: 'That all images of the Trinity, and of the Holy Ghost be defaced, and that roods, and all the images, that have been, or hereafter may be superstitiously abused, be taken away out of all places, public and private, and utterly destroyed'.⁹⁰ It may very well be indicative of the reluctance of churches to rid themselves of such imagery and associated church furniture that continuous references to their destruction were made in injunctions and visitation articles up to 1585, after which such references disappear. Bishop Bentham's Injunctions for the Coventry and Lichfield Diocese (1565),⁹¹ Bishop Parkhurst's Injunctions for the

⁸⁸ Hutton, *Merry England*, pp. 108-9.

⁸⁹ C. H. Hartshorne (ed.), *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue against the Cavils of Gregory Martin by William Fulke, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 190-4.

⁹⁰ Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, p. 241.

⁹¹ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 3, p. 169.

Norwich Diocese (1569),⁹² and Bishop Sandys' Articles for Worcester Diocese (1569)⁹³ all contain requirements for the removal and destruction of 'monuments of idolatry and superstition'. Archbishop Grindal's 1571 Injunctions for York are particularly thorough (especially Article vii).⁹⁴ That altars and roodlofts and associated imagery and furniture were thought to remain within the province of Canterbury as late as 1571 is shown by Grindal's injunctions for that year which inquired as to their removal.⁹⁵ Nevertheless by 1571 Edwin Sandys (1519-87), in his thirteenth sermon at York at a visitation (date unknown, but possibly after 1576 for it was then that he became Archbishop of York), was able to praise Queen Elizabeth, joyfully declaring that:

She hath caused the vessels that were made for Baal and for the host of heaven to be defaced: she hath broken down the lofts that were builded for idolatry: she hath turned out the priests that burnt incense unto false gods: she hath overthrown all polluted and defiled altars.⁹⁶

Even so the views of the Reformers remained hostile to screens throughout the 1570s and even into the 1580s. So frequent and universal are they (Sandys' declaration seems a little premature) that one cannot help drawing the conclusion that many parishes were very reluctant to destroy pre-Reformation imagery and furniture especially if, like roodlofts, they were relatively newly constructed (and expensive). Grindal's injunctions to his archdeacons (1571) ordered the enforcement of the royal order of 10 October 1561 concerning roodlofts.⁹⁷ Bishop Sandys's articles for London diocese (1571) offered

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁹⁴ W. Nicolson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1843) pp. 134-6; Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, p. 269; Frere, *Visitation Articles*, 3, pp. 284-5.

⁹⁵ Nicolson, *Grindal*, pp. 158-9.

⁹⁶ J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D.*, PS (Cambridge, 1841), p. 250.

⁹⁷ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, 3, p. 294.

a thorough and comprehensive list of those items remaining which should, if found, be defaced and destroyed;⁹⁸ Bishop Horne's injunctions for Winchester Cathedral (1571),⁹⁹ Bishop Freke's articles for Rochester diocese of 1572-4¹⁰⁰ and Archbishop Parker's articles for Winchester diocese (1573)¹⁰¹ were all still concerned 'whether all images, altars, shrines, and the monuments of idolatry and superstition be utterly defaced and put out of your parishes'.

A final utterance before silence falls is the Chichester visitation articles of 1585. However, by this time the emphasis had changed from images and furniture to the arrest of fugitive Catholic priests. A new era was about to begin in the history of the Reformation in England: from now on destruction was aimed not at church furniture but at human beings. Article vii of the Chichester articles asks:

Whether are any in your parish suspected to reserve any monument of superstition or idolatry, to resort to any mass, or other service disallowed, or to any popish priest for shrift or any in your parish suspected to receive into their houses, or company, any jesuits, priests, seminary men, or other like fugitives disguised, or suspected persons, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome: are there any which do not, according to the law, both resort to divine service publicly in church, and also communicate the holy sacrament as required?¹⁰²

The two volumes (three and four) of Wilkins' *Concilia* that concern themselves with the period c.1530-80 seem to indicate that by about 1580 the furore over church furnishings had run its course.¹⁰³ This judgment may, however, be vitiated by the fact that the *Concilia* were only selections of certain kinds of documents. Nevertheless, for

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

¹⁰² Wilkins, *Concilia*, 4, p. 319.

¹⁰³ D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 3-4 (London, 1737).

example, the 1583 visitation articles of Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury,¹⁰⁴ the Salisbury visitation articles of 1588,¹⁰⁵ the orders of the Bishop of London (1595),¹⁰⁶ the Wells visitation articles of 1605¹⁰⁷ and the Bristol visitation articles of 1612¹⁰⁸ do not mention church furnishings at all. Compared with the incessant demands for the complete extirpation of all images in the preceding years, this silence might very well indicate that the fervent, sometimes hysterical hatred of 'abominable idols' had quietened.

It could be argued that the period of the Reformation from 1559 to about 1580 was, in terms of the destruction of imagery within the English churches, the most active. Churchwardens' accounts regularly mention the taking down of the loft during this period, although the royal order of 1561 appears to have saved at least some of the screens.¹⁰⁹ The attitudes and opinions of the Protestant Reformers, put forward so forcibly and unremittingly over the previous 50 years had borne fruit. William Harrison, writing in c.1587, declared, 'as for churches themselves, bells and times of morning and evening prayer remain as in times past, saving that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood lofts and monuments of idolatry are removed, taken down, and defaced: only the stories in glass windows excepted'.¹¹⁰ In this respect Harrison may have been reflecting the views of the establishment in the guise of, perhaps, an 'official' writer, and he could not possibly have known about every English church. Nevertheless by his time the Reformation must have inflicted so much damage on roodlofts and images that the issues they provoked had greatly subsided.

Policies towards screens in Exeter Diocese: 1558-1603.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 304-6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 337.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 348-50.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 415-16.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 444-5.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 4, pp. 121-27.

¹¹⁰ G. Edelen (ed.), *The Description of England by William Harrison* (New York, 1968), pp.

Five bishops headed the diocese of Exeter under Elizabeth I: William Alley (1560-70), William Bradbridge (1570-8), John Woolton (1579-93), Gervase Babington (1594-7), and William Cotton (1598-1621). What impact were they likely to have had on the history of screens in the diocese? Two factors matter here: their reformist inclinations and their activity in the diocese. A useful source for the first three of these bishops is John Hooker's *A Catalog of the Bishops of Excester*.¹¹¹ Hooker (c.1527-1601) is important because he was a contemporary - and local - witness and, being a Protestant himself, he was able to give a fairly dispassionate view of their activities.¹¹² Nevertheless there is limited information concerning enforcement of Reformation Injunctions in the Exeter diocese in that there is a lack of visitation evidence. That they were enforced and obeyed, if reluctantly, may be deduced from the existing churchwardens' accounts (see Chapter 4).

All the five immediate post-Reformation bishops were subscribers to the Elizabethan Settlement (they would not have been appointed as bishops otherwise) and would have followed official policies. Alley was the most determined Reformer. It may be taken for granted that he would have tried to enforce the early Elizabethan legislation concerning screens. He was active in his diocese, and also on a wider stage: his contributions to the 1563 Canterbury convocation (which met in London) indicate that he was strongly, rather than moderately, reformist.¹¹³ In contrast to Alley, Bradbridge seems to have been an isolated figure. 'He delighted to dwell in the country, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergy, and to any as had suits'.¹¹⁴ In temperament, he seems to have been at least moderately

35-6.

¹¹¹ J. Hooker, *A catalog of the bishops of Excester with the description of the antiquities and first foundation of the Cathedrall church of the same. Collected by John Vowell, alias Hoker, gentleman* (London, 1584). [<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search>].

¹¹² S. Mendyk, 'Hooker, John (c.1527-1601)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13695>, accessed 13 Jan 2008].

¹¹³ Nicholas Orme, 'Alley, William (1510/11-1570)', *ODNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/397>, accessed 19 Dec 2007].

¹¹⁴ Hooker, *A catalog of the bishops of Excester*, p. 37.

reformist but to have made little impression within the diocese.¹¹⁵ Woolton was a more significant figure. He certainly tried to enforce official policy on screens. It was during his bishopric that the archdeacon of Exeter, Thomas Barrett, Woolton's son-in-law, began a visitation on 6 April 1583, the second article of enquiry of which demanded the clean defacement of all statues and other superstitious things in churches and the taking down of roodlofts.¹¹⁶ This demand indicates that Woolton, through Barrett, tried to enforce official policy on screens. Woolton's reputation for being a good and diligent preacher perhaps also indicates that he was a fairly strong Reformer.¹¹⁷ The question of the demolition or 'transposition' of roodlofts in the diocese had almost certainly subsided by the time of the short bishopric of Babington, who was afterwards translated to Worcester,¹¹⁸ and by the beginning of the seventeenth century any problems concerning roodlofts and their demolition or retention were long past. The last sixteenth century bishop, William Cotton, was far more concerned with Puritanism than traditional Catholicism in his diocese; and he does not possess a reputation for being an especially active bishop.¹¹⁹

Apart from Barrett's visitation, we do not know how far these late sixteenth-century bishops actually concerned themselves with screens, or how effective even their implementation of official policies about screens would have been. Elizabethan official policy did have a

¹¹⁵ Kenneth Carleton, 'Bradbridge, William (1507-1578)', *ODNB*, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3165>, accessed 20 Dec 2007].

¹¹⁶ G. Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter* (London, 1861), p. 287. Stuart A. Moore in his manuscript *A calendar of the archives of the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Exeter made by the order of the Dean and Chapter 1873* does not mention this visitation. It seems that the document vanished between 1861 and 1873 (personal information from the Exeter Cathedral Archivist, 2 Jan 2008).

¹¹⁷ Kenneth Carleton, 'Woolton, John (c.1537-1594)', *ODNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29964>, accessed 20 Dec 2007].

¹¹⁸ John S. Macauley, 'Babington, Gervase (1549/50-1610)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/973>, accessed 20 Dec 2007].

¹¹⁹ Mary Wolffe, 'Cotton, William (d.1621)', *ODNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6431>, accessed 20 Dec 2007].

general impact, in that it is clear from churchwardens' accounts that lofts and images were taken down, sometimes rather slowly, but it is difficult to link this with the particular preferences and interventions of the bishops.

Chapter Four:

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS AND SCREENS

Introduction and Terminology

J. C. Cox wrote that 'churchwardens' accounts throughout the kingdom simply teem with entries relevant to roods and roodscreens'.¹ A glance at most printed accounts seems to back up this statement. However, the evidence of some unpublished Devon accounts suggests that whilst this dictum is often true, it is not invariably so.²

The term 'screen' or 'roodscreen' does not exist in any of the primary sources used so far in this thesis; it was probably only coined in the mid-nineteenth century. The normal term in churchwardens' accounts and medieval wills is 'roodloft' which was used without distinction whether for the roodloft proper or the screen and the loft together.³ There are many variants of the word: 'rodelof', 'rodeloft', 'rode lofte', 'rode loftie', 'rod laute', 'rodlawt', 'rodlofft', 'rode lofgt', 'rode loghffte', 'rode loghte', 'rode loghthe', 'rode loufte' 'rode lowgth', 'rood laught', 'roode lofte', 'roodloft', 'rowd loft', 'rowde lofth', 'rowed lofth' and 'rudlought'. Such variety in spelling is not surprising given the orthographical variation in English at this period. Even these are only the variants taken from the churchwardens' accounts used in this chapter. Probably, given the sense of the entries in the relevant accounts, the 'roodloft' is what today would be known as the roodscreen and the roodloft together, although sometimes the context makes it clear that it

¹ J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913), p. 176.

² For example in South Devon the Chudleigh accounts (DRO, 3944 A/PW 1), which only survive from 1561, are uninformative as are the very minimal surviving accounts from Okehampton (DRO 3210 A/ PW 1-3) from 1543 to 1548. In North Devon the Iddesleigh accounts (NDRO 1500 A/ PW 1), which are detailed but run only from 1536-43, say nothing about the roodloft.

³ See Glossary.

is the screen, and not the loft, that is the subject of reference. The royal order of 1561, already mentioned,⁴ marks the beginning of a distinction between what today we know as the screen and the loft:

It is thus decreed and ordained, that the rood-lofts, as yet, being at this day aforesaid untransposed, shall be so altered that the upper parts of the same, with the sollar, be quite taken down unto the upper parts of the vaults, and beam running in length over the said vaults, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam toward the church ... provided yet, that where the parish, of their own costs and charges on consent, will pull down the whole frame, and re-edifying again the same in joiners' work ... that they may do

as they think agreeable, so it be to the height of the upper beam aforesaid. Provided also, that where in any parish church the said roodlofts be already transposed, so that there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed.⁵

What remained after the 'transposition' of the loft was to consist of 'a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church'. This 'comely partition' is clearly what we would today call the screen. Indeed, the order concludes that if one is not standing after the 'transposition' then 'there to be one appointed'.

What today is specifically called the roodloft, that is, the upper part of the structure in which there is a loft or gallery, had a number of different names in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Yatton accounts call

⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 93-4.

⁵ W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols (London, 1910), 3, pp. 108-9.

the upper part of the structure the 'aler'. The 'aler' (or alure) was the gallery of the structure. The word 'aler' is borrowed from the 'alure or gangway of embattled walls, made for the passage to and fro of the defenders.'⁶ It was, essentially, a gallery along which one could walk. Another term for the part of the structure we today call the roodloft was *solarium* in Latin and the 'soler' or 'sollar' in English, which was an upper room or apartment in a house. It could also mean a loft, attic, or garret.⁷ A further term for the roodloft is found at Boxford (Suffolk) where bequests made by testators for a new construction c.1500 refer to both the 'roodloft' and the 'candlebeam'.⁸ Originally the candlebeam was the beam before the rood upon and into which candles were placed in honour of the rood. The Boxford evidence shows that it became a term for the entire roodloft.

Three further terms are relevant. The 'vice', 'vyce' or 'vyse' was the narrow, winding staircase which led from the nave (occasionally the chancel) to the loft;⁹ these are usually called roodloft stairs today. The 'syler' (or sollar) was the ceillure or ceiling of the roodloft.¹⁰ This is nowadays called a canopy of honour. A man who worked on the ceillure was also called the 'syler', that is 'a decorator who did both the woodwork and the colouring of the highly adorned canopies formed in the roof over altars, and called ceilings'.¹¹ The term 'enterclose' is used rarely: I have come across it only in the Morebath accounts.¹² OED defines the term as follows, 'a partition, a screen, or a space partitioned off'.¹³

⁶ E. Hobhouse (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath and St. Michael's, Bath*, SRS, 4 (1890), p. 234. Also see Glossary.

⁷ See Glossary.

⁸ P. Northeast (ed.), *Boxford Churchwardens' Accounts 1530-61*, Suffolk Records Society, 23 (1982), pp. 97, 102.

⁹ See Glossary.

¹⁰ See Glossary.

¹¹ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 240.

¹² J. Erskine Binney (ed.), *The Accounts of the Wardens of the Parish of Morebath, Devon, 1520-1573* (Exeter, 1904), p. 13.

¹³ OED. Also see Glossary.

These definitions, common sense, and the context of the entry in the churchwardens' accounts, then, should enable the modern reader to distinguish between what today is known as the roodscreen from the roodloft.

The study of the relevant accounts raises a number of questions which will be considered in this chapter. Where did the money for the construction of screens come from? Did it come from the gifts of a few wealthy patrons or from the much smaller but more numerous gifts of parishioners? Who were the craftsmen who built the screens? What emphasis was placed upon particular imagery in screen commissions? How far did parishes consciously set out to emulate the screens of neighbouring churches when commissioning screens? What provision was made for the repair and maintenance of the screens, both before and after the Reformation? It is also important to reflect on how far there is any difference in the patterns in the evidence for urban and rural parishes? And finally, it is necessary to consider how far the Devon evidence may be seen as typical when compared with that from elsewhere in England.

The financing and making of screens

At their best the accounts throw light on the raising of money to fund screens and lofts and the payments to carvers and painters. Sometimes, the terms of the contracts with the builders – often local men – are recorded in detail. Nevertheless one has the sense, as is often the case in reading churchwardens' accounts, that a great deal more could have been written, that many *lacunae* exist (concerning bequests, donations and collections) and that we are getting a picture in outline, rather than a fully-fleshed, three-dimensional vision. On the other hand, the accounts sometimes provide the reader with remarkable detail, especially in the naming of the benefactors and those who constructed and installed the

screens and lofts. The Ashburton accounts, for example, contain many of the strengths and weaknesses typical of their genre. They are extremely informative at one moment, for example giving names of craftsmen, the amount spent on 'le rodeloft' and yet they provide no evidence whatsoever of where and how most of the money to finance the work was gathered, no reference to other contributors and very little peripheral detail.

What was spent on screens? In Devon at Ashburton, where a screen and loft were built from 1522 to 1526, the carver was Peter Rowallyng (with some assistants), and the cost was at least £43.¹⁴ The Winkleigh screen and loft, built between 1520 and 1526, cost the parishioners about £48.¹⁵ One of the last screens, built at Atherington in the mid 1540s, cost at least £14 7s. 7d., although the parishioners refused to pay more than £10 to the carpenters.¹⁶ At Ashburton, donations helped to subsidise the significant material costs in the early stages of the project. In 1521-2, the accounts record 'three pieces of good timber received [as] a gift from the abbot of Buckfast'.¹⁷ In the same year the Ashburton churchwardens authorised £4 4s. 9½d. to be paid for 'wainscot, tymber, board, carriage and other necessary costs supplied and incurred for the same' (i.e. the screen and loft).¹⁸ The next relevant entry in the accounts concerning the new roodscreen and loft occurs three years later, in 1525-6. The largest amount of money paid for the construction of the screen and loft, is £21 1s. 6½d. 'for making the roodloft and the partitions' between the chancel and the aisle of St. Thomas (the latter is presumably the south parclose screen), and between the aisle of Blessed Mary there on the north side of the church (this would be the north

¹⁴ A. Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*, DCRS, 15 (1970), p. x.

¹⁵ R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 51-2.

¹⁶ The National Archives (K), C1/1116.

¹⁷ Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 68.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

parclose screen).¹⁹ As well as the money mentioned in the above excerpt, a further £16 was paid to 'Peter Kerver' for 'making the same'. Intriguingly – and frustratingly for the reader – 18d. was paid to 'various people' for 'helping the said Peter'.²⁰

In Somerset, at Yatton and Barnwell, the payments made to carvers give some indication of the overall cost. The construction of the Yatton screen and loft took place between 1447 and 1459. After the initial planning, which included a visit to the nearby church of Easton-in-Gordano for ideas, and the purchasing of timber, the work went ahead. While little is mentioned in the Yatton accounts concerning the financing of the new screen and loft, the expenses of building are regular items.²¹ The accounts of 1459 record that Crosse, the carver, had been paid £31 2s. 11d. for his work.²² Crosse was clearly an expert carpenter, who produced a very fine screen and loft to the gratification of the wardens. In 1450 a penny was noted in the expenses 'for seeking of Crosse at Backwell'²³ (perhaps he had not turned up for work) and in 1455, 2½d. was spent on 'ale given to Crosse in certain times in his worke to make him well willed'.²⁴ The alure of the loft was splendidly carved, gilded, and painted and, when the ceilure was completed, Crosse was presented with a pair of gloves as a bonus which had cost 10d. as a bonus.²⁵ Nearby at Banwell, a new screen and loft were built between 1520 and 1522. As well as entries for 1520, 1521 and 1522 which show large payments (totalling over £40) to the carver, who is not named, there is, as at Yatton, evidence that there was a considerable amount of planning involved before the actual commencement of the construction of the

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 95. One gift is mentioned. In 1454 the priest gave 6s. 8d. for the loft and the 'pavement'.

²² Ibid., p. 100.

²³ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 98.

²⁵ Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 176.

screen. A payment of 4d. was authorised in 1521 'for papers for to draw the draft of the rodeloft'. Further payments were made in 1523 which indicate minor adjustments being made to the new work.²⁶ The accounts of the Stogursey churchwardens do not mention a new loft at all, but the fact that a carver, a certain Glosse, was paid almost £12 in 1523-4, might very well indicate the presence of a new work, albeit on a smaller scale than those others mentioned in this chapter.²⁷ Further afield, in 1427-8 at St. Mary at Hill (London) William Serle, the carpenter, was paid £36²⁸ while at Cambridge (St. Mary the Great) the carver was paid almost £46.²⁹

How was the money raised for the screens? Evidence shows that donations came from both the rich, mainly from the towns, and more modest people. At Ashburton the contributions of John Ford totalled £23 6s. 8d. He was by far the wealthiest person in the parish according to the lay subsidy roll of 1524, with goods assessed at a value of £140.³⁰ The churchwardens' account for 1521-2 records '£10 from John Ford in part payment for making 'the rodeloft in the south part'.³¹ His contribution was not limited to the £10 he gave in 1521-2. The accounts for the next year, 1522-3 include, among 'making and costs of the roodloft', '£13 6s. 8d. paid Geoffrey Dunpayne and William Somer by John Ford for making the same' (i.e. the roodscreen and loft).³² Evidence of significant donations by rich individuals may be found in Devon wills.³³ In 1524, William Sellick bequeathed '£36 to the making of the roodloft' of the urban parish of Tiverton.³⁴ The 1525 Tiverton lay subsidy roll notes a man

²⁶ SRO, D/P/ban 4/1/1.

²⁷ SRO, D/P/stogs 4/1/1.

²⁸ H. Littlehales (ed.), *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill) A. D. 1420-1559*, EETS, original series 125 (1904), p. 69.

²⁹ J.E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge from 1504-1635* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 55.

³⁰ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, pp. 231-2.

³¹ Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 67.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³³ See Chapter 1, pp 21-2.

³⁴ National Archives (I), PROB/11/21 f.25v-f.26r.

named Selake (the Christian name being left blank) who could well be the donor. Selake was assessed at £100 on his goods.³⁵ In 1528 William Coxhead gave £20 to the church in Chulmleigh 'to make there a rood loft'.³⁶ William Cockshedde of Chulmleigh was, in 1525, assessed at £100 on his goods and, a note tells us, that since the time of the assessment he had given a further £20 to the building of the church tower at the church.³⁷ In 1528, at Honiton, Joan Tackle left £3 6s. 8d. 'to the making of the rood loft'.³⁸ In the Honiton subsidy roll of 1525 she was described as a widow and assessed at £100 on her goods.³⁹ Most of the larger bequests in these cases therefore came from non-gentle laity. The rood screen and loft at Tiverton were financed in c.1517 by John Greenway (no doubt with help from William Sellick in 1524) and the screen and loft at Kentisbeare before 1530 by John Whiting.⁴⁰ Whiting was, in 1524, assessed at £100 on his lands.⁴¹ The costs of the new screens and lofts were large; possibly without these major benefactors they could not have been built, however laudable the motives for construction. Gifts such as £20 therefore probably represented a significant proportion of the cost.

The financing of a new screen did not always have to rely on wealthy individual donors. At Glastonbury (Somerset) plans for a new roodscreen and loft were underway by 1439. That the new screen and loft were being built to replace an older construction is made clear by references to an earlier loft. In the years 1405 and 1406 references are made in the accounts for buying wax for the trendle above the loft and for illuminating the images of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John.⁴² As

³⁵ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 47.

³⁶ National Archives (I), PROB/11/23f. 22r.

³⁷ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 87.

³⁸ National Archives (I), PROB/11/23f. 71v-71r.

³⁹ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p. 90.

⁴¹ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 40.

⁴² See Glossary.

well as this, in 1405 tapers were bought to 'support' these images.⁴³ There is a similar entry for 1406, wax being bought to illuminate the rood and for the illumination of the loft which supported the figures. It is interesting that in this entry St. John is referred to as the Baptist.⁴⁴ This screen and loft were in the process of being replaced when in 1439 there was a flurry of giving by parishioners. Some gifts and bequests were for the new screen and loft, some 'towards the work of the church', some for torches. In 1439 the accounts record gifts 'received from various people towards the fabric of the new roodloft'. Robert Jukes gave 6s. 8d. for the purpose, while 20s. 10d. was given by other people. Such entries illuminate the involvement and goodwill of the parishioners towards their church. They also suggest that ventures of this sort were financed not only by the aristocracy or gentry but by the whole community of the parish, who we can suppose would have been proud that their limited wealth would be spent on the glorification of God and the raising of the status of their own church and parish. We may observe, then, that the financing and, indeed, the general ongoing beautification of the church was financed by local and, in the main ungentle, people.⁴⁵ Not everyone, however, contributed enthusiastically. At Golant (Cornwall) three inhabitants declined to contribute to the new loft, saying that they had already donated to the church fabric.⁴⁶

In order to put the Devon evidence in a national context and to assess how far it was typical, it is useful to look at accounts elsewhere in the country which deal with the financing of screens. At the church of St. Mary at Hill, London, an entry in the accounts of the 1420s reveals that almost £30 was collected that year from parishioners for a roodscreen.

⁴³ W. E. Daniel, 'Churchwardens' Accounts. St. John's, Glastonbury', *SDNQ*, 4, part 25 (1894), p. 137.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139. 'Item, in v libris cere emptu ad cereos inde habendos ad illuminandum coram alte cruce ymagine beati Johanni Baptiste et ymagine beate Marie virginis ijs vjd. Item, in vij libris cere emptis altera vice ad illos cereos sustendandos iijs vjd'.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁴⁶ Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, pp. 51-2.

Twenty-one contributors are shown to have donated between £10 and 20d. (1s. 8d.).⁴⁷ One wonders if there were many more contributors whose gifts were too small to be recorded. The range of donations may very well reflect the wealth and social standing of those involved, indicating that the construction of a new screen and loft captured the interest and imagination of a wide spectrum of social class within the parish.

The churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary the Great (Cambridge), have a number of entries relevant to the provision and paying for the new screen and loft. Again, it is not so much the individual names of the donors that are important, but the sense that the project was both popular and well-supported amongst the parishioners. The screen and loft were clearly to be built on quite a grand scale, according to the 'diverse sums of money gathered' and the sums paid to the craftsmen. As with the Ashburton accounts, individual donors of large sums are mentioned by name, although one wonders if donors of lesser sums were omitted. At Great St. Mary's in 1522 the names of Robert Goodhale and Garrard Goodefrey are prominent. Goodhale gave £12 and Goodefrey £8.⁴⁸ This money given in 1522 would have gone a long way towards the £27 6s. 8d. paid in 1518 to 'Nunne and Bell in party of payment of the roodloft ... 6s 8d. Item paid to the same men also for the same rood loft ... £2. Item paid to the same men also for the same roodloft ... £16.'⁴⁹ At Cambridge, money for the new screen and loft was also acquired by means of collections, perhaps taken within the church. The account of 1518-19 includes amounts and dates of money 'gathered ... of men's good will'. Between 2 January 1518 and 6 November 1518 £16 9s. 1½d. was collected; between 13 November 1518 and 25 April 1519, £8 3s.

⁴⁷ Littlehales, *St. Mary at Hill*, p. 63.

⁴⁸ J. E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge from 1504 to 1635* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 41, 46.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

7½d.⁵⁰ A principal benefactor was William Habyngton, (also Abyngton, Halsyngton and Habynton). He sent 26s. 8d. via his servant, Lorkyn, in 1522 to the building and making of the roodloft, and similar amounts in the following two years.⁵¹ As the screen and loft were being built and paid for at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, gifts and legacies were made towards the images to be contained thereon. In 1526 Habyngton gave, through his servant Lorkyn, 26s. 8d. for two archangels in the roodloft'.⁵² In 1526 and 1528 Mr. John Erliche left 60s. (in each year) for the 'gilding of the Trinity in the roodloft'.⁵³ Erliche had been a fellow of King's College until 1514 and was the son of a former mayor of Cambridge. He died in 1551.⁵⁴ Great St. Mary's was an urban parish; here, as at the urban parish of Ashburton, there is evidence for the presence and importance of wealthy patrons. The screens of Devon were not, therefore, untypical in the manner in which they were financed.

Who were the craftsmen and what were they paid? The fees paid to craftsmen were the main costs. Craftsmen were both local men and foreigners. The accounts throw light on a few makers and decorators of screens, though it not always easy to trace the men they name especially when they are given the surname 'Carver' which was not necessarily their inherited surname. The man who seems to be the head carver at Ashburton during the years of its construction between 1522-6, Peter Rowallyng, is not mentioned in the subsidy rolls at all or in the Exeter tax assessments.⁵⁵ However, there is a Peter Carver, described an alien, or foreigner, possibly from the Netherlands, who at Ashburton was assessed

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 41-3.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 48, 51, 54.

⁵² Ibid., p. 58.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁴ J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*. Part I, to 1751(4 vols), (Cambridge, 1922), 2, p. 105.

⁵⁵ M. M. Rowe (ed.), *Tudor Exeter. Tax assessments 1489-1595 including the Military Survey 1522*, DCRS, New Series, 22 (Exeter 1979).

in 1525 as having goods worth £1, who could well be the same person.⁵⁶ A similar figure, listed as Cornely Carver, a Dutchman, in the parish of St. Stephen (Exeter) appears in the 1522 tax assessment for Exeter known as the Military Survey.⁵⁷ The survey does not list occupations as such, but points to a large alien community in Exeter which is likely to have included men capable of making and decorating screens. There is another reference to a 'Dutchman' being employed by Exeter Cathedral during the reign of Mary (1553-8) to repair images broken during the Reformation.⁵⁸ Similar specialist craftsmen, English or foreign, may have been found in other major towns and perhaps in some lesser centres. In all, Exeter, with its cathedral trade, and variety of skilled workers is likely to have been the most important centre of specialised workmen, and of the equipment and materials, in the counties of Devon and Cornwall.

Also at Ashburton, two workmen, Dunpayne and Somer, are mentioned in the same account of 1521-2 when 24s. 8d. '[was] paid [to] the same Geoffrey and William for spolyng timber for the same'.⁵⁹ This seems to indicate that the craftsmen would seek out suitable timber for the construction and, as a previous reference indicated,⁶⁰ pay for the carriage of the wood to the church where it would be prepared for use. The work continued apace, and William Somer 'and others' were paid 46s. 8d. in 1522-3 as a 'reward for making the roodloft'. As well as this, twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) had been 'paid them before'.⁶¹ A Geoffrey Dumpayne is mentioned in the lay subsidy of 1524 as living in St. Sidwell's parish, Exeter, and having goods worth £5; he may therefore have been a workman based in Exeter.⁶²

⁵⁶ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, pp. 231-2.

⁵⁷ Rowe, *Tudor Exeter*, p. 7. 'Dutch' in this period can mean a Netherlander or a German.

⁵⁸ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. G. Townsend and S. Catley, 8 vols (London 1837-41), 6, p. 500. Information supplied to Foxe by John Hooker of Exeter.

⁵⁹ Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 67.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 107, n. 32.

⁶¹ Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 70.

⁶² Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 77.

As noted above, the payment to the carver at St. Mary at Hill was £36, at Yatton £31. 2s. 11d., and at St. Mary the Great almost £46, from which they might have had to pay such things as assistants' wages and cartage of materials.⁶³ At Stratton (Cornwall) payments made to John Daw (one of the craftsmen contracted to make the new screen) between 1534 and 1539 inclusive came to the total of £82. 11s. 4d.⁶⁴ The contract states that the two craftsmen were to be paid by the foot, and defines where the loft is to be placed, the form (including the height) of that loft, the altars, images, and tabernacles for those images are all discussed in the contract, along with demands that those elements be based on examples in other, named, nearby churches. New windows, alterations to walls and the correct nature of the timber to be used (properly seasoned) are included in the contract, while the entire cost of the work is to be borne by the contractors (except for the ironwork and 'mason work'). Finally the contractors had to agree that all the work be completed within seven years.⁶⁵ This screen and loft, not finished until 1539, must have been one of the last to be built. There is no evidence, however, to explain how they were to be paid for.⁶⁶ Its cost (considerably more than other examples) and the newness of the screen and loft perhaps explain the reluctance of the parish to demolish the loft; an occurrence which did not happen until the very late date of 1580. Given the large payments to Daw, the new structure must have been magnificent. Daw was a Cornishman, from Lawhitton, but Pares lived at Northlew (Devon) from whence he was active between the years 1531-45, being also involved in the construction of the new screen at Atherington.⁶⁷ In 1525 he was assessed as having goods worth 20 marks (£13 6s 8d) and in 1545 with goods

⁶³ See above, p. 107.

⁶⁴ R. W. Goulding, *Records of the Charity known as Blanchminster's Charity in the parish of Stratton, County of Cornwall until the year 1832* (Stratton and Bude, 1890), pp. 91-4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94. Also see Appendix 7.

⁶⁶ E. Peacock, 'On the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Stratton, in the county of Cornwall', *Archaeologia*, 46 (1881), pp. 233-4.

⁶⁷ The National Archives (K), C1/1116.

worth £12.⁶⁸ This evidence may suggest the existence of local workshops, or at least of certain craftsmen who specialized in such work, which will be considered in chapter six.

Images

Parochial expenditure was not confined to the carpentry of the screen and loft. The imagery on these structures was an integral part of the entire construction, whether it took the form of painted images or carved three-dimensional ones. Indeed, their presence (if one includes the rood) was one *raison d'être* for the screen and loft and was certainly the cause of the removal of the lofts and the vandalism practised upon the dados during and after the Reformation. The maintenance and beautification of these images (and of the screen and loft) form a continuing topic in the churchwardens' accounts.

At St. Petroc (Exeter) the accounts indicate that the year 1458-9 saw the construction of a new screen and loft. A continuous process of beautification went on in this church. In 1482-3, 3s. was paid for 'carving of a new pageant for the roodloft'.⁶⁹ The 'pageant' may have been a fixed object (perhaps carved on the roodloft) or moveable.⁷⁰ Similarly, a will of 27 October 1509 records that Thomas Martyn, rector of the church of Norton Fitzwarren (Somerset) left 26s. 8d. 'to the painting of one pageant in the roodloft in the church of Pilton'.⁷¹ Such references raise tantalising questions. Did all new lofts and screens contain such imagery and pageants? Did parishes include such items in their original planning for a new screen and loft? Were all parishes as eager and willing to finance

⁶⁸ Stoate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1524-7*, p. 141; idem, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1543-5*, p. 107.

⁶⁹ R. Dymond, *The History of the Parish of St. Petroc, Exeter, as shown by its Churchwardens' Accounts and Other Records* (Exeter, 1882), p. 31.

⁷⁰ See Glossary.

⁷¹ Weaver, *Somerset Mediaeval Wills 1501-30*, p. 136.

such detailed imagery on their lofts in the way that certain Cambridge parishioners were? The destruction of the lofts (as opposed to the screens) might indicate that it was on this part of the entire construction that such imagery resided.

Sixty-nine images were set up in the roodloft at Yatton. Given the vagaries of terminology, it is uncertain whether or not these images were confined to the loft, or were also part of the screen, most likely on the dado. In 1455 the accounts record 'for earnest penny to the image maker...1d. To setting up of the images...4d' and, finally, 'for the images to the roodloft in number 69....£3 10s. 4d.'. ⁷² The sense of the entry suggests that the 'image maker' was not the carpenter John Crosse. Apart from the fee paid to him the money spent on the images (i.e. the total of the three above entries) was the greatest expense during the construction of the new screen and loft. Imagery was, then, vitally important for the parishioners of Yatton, equally so to those of Stratton. The contract is very specific about those to be carved on the new screen and loft. Not only were two altars to be constructed, one at each end of the screen, two images and tabernacles were to be built for them, 'the one image to be of Saint Armel and the other to be of the Visitation of our Blessed Lady'. ⁷³ Daw and Pares were also to carve the crucifix along with the figures of Mary and John in the loft. ⁷⁴

Repair and maintenance

Screens and lofts needed repair and maintenance after their erection. The accounts of St. Ewen's (Bristol), have several references to minor repairs and maintenance of the roodloft in the period 1454-1584. ⁷⁵ This church

⁷² Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 98.

⁷³ Goulding, *Blanchminster's Charity*, p. 92.

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 120.

⁷⁵ B. R. Masters and E. Ralph (eds), *The Church Book of St. Ewen's, Bristol 1454-1584*, B&GAS, Records Section, 6 (1967).

may have had a clock in the loft, since an entry for 1521-22 seems to indicate its presence.⁷⁶ The new (i.e. mid-fifteenth-century) screen and loft at Yatton required maintenance upon occasion. In 1470 1d. was spent 'for mending of the vine (the vine-pattern running ornament on the cornice) in the roodloft', in 1498 4d. was 'paid for mending the roodloft' and in 1512 4d. was paid 'for two floors to the roodloft'.⁷⁷ The churchwardens' accounts of Louth (Lincs.) make thirteen references to the roodloft; all of them relating to minor repairs or small improvements. Here the loft seems to have been used as a secure depository for books, documents, and valuables. In 1512-13 12d. was paid to 'Walter Smyth for mending the hanging lock to the treasure house in the roodloft', and in 1516 John Cawod 'laid all these books with other diverse evidence in the roodloft in a new aumbry'.⁷⁸

Both the unpublished churchwardens' accounts of Trull (Somerset) and Nettlecombe mention repairs and maintenance as late as 1538 and 1539. At Trull in 1539, John Kynny was paid 20s. for 'work of the roodloft' and in the same year 18d. was spent 'for nails to the roodloft'.⁷⁹ Seemingly greater maintenance was required for the Nettlecombe screen and loft, for in 1530 William Jamys was paid 2s. 'for letting down of the loft in the church' and 11d. paid to Thomas Gon(?) and to Westlake 'for helping of William Jamys about the church loft'.⁸⁰ In 1538 the relatively large sum of 4s. 4d. was spent on maintenance 'Item for making the roodloft'.⁸¹ Presumably 'making' refers here to maintenance and repairs. The old Stratton screen and loft was repaired in 1534 when 2d. was paid 'for mending the roodloft to save the light at christmas'.⁸² These would

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 213-14.

⁷⁷ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 107, 122, 132.

⁷⁸ R. C. Dudding (ed.), *The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 149, 182.
See also Glossary.

⁷⁹ SRO, DD/CT 77.

⁸⁰ Ibid., DD/WO 49/1, p. 49.

⁸¹ Ibid., DD/WO 49/1, p. 68.

⁸² Peacock, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', p. 213.

be the last repairs to the old screen and loft. Likewise, in the first four decades of the sixteenth century regular maintenance on the loft and screen was carried out at St. Mary at Hill, London.⁸³ As late as 1562 the loft at North Molton (Devon) was being repaired, and it was not taken down until 1576.⁸⁴ The accounts show that maintenance and repairs tended to be occasional, rather than regular; this is what might be expected when the screens and lofts were all relatively new. Sometimes repairs aimed at improvement rather than mere maintenance. St. Mary at Hill spent 34s. 2d. in 1496-7 on a major upgrading of the screen and loft. The record is headed 'Costs for the removing of the roodloft'; but the entries imply that this was not a 'removing' but a 'renovating'. More was spent in the same year on 'painting of the rood, with carving and other costs', while 11s. 8d. was spent in total in making and upgrading the rood figures 'with all other faults.'⁸⁵ A further large sum was spent 'upon the painting and gilding of the rood', totalling £5 11s.10d.⁸⁶

Lighting for the loft was another regular (and quite major) expenditure. At St. Petroc, Exeter, in 1477-8, 5s. 0½d. was paid 'for 11 lbs. of new wax at 5½d., with 22 lbs. of wax from the store of the church, for tapers to stand on the roodloft before the high altar at the festival of St. Petrock'.⁸⁷ The 33 lbs. of old and new wax for tapers for the roodloft were dwarfed by the 72 lbs. 'of old wax into candles for the beam' (roodloft) in 1512-13, for which 3s. was paid. St. Petroc's loft must have been a glorious sight in the year 1541-2 when wax tapers weighing 100 lbs. were set upon the 'beam' or roodloft.⁸⁸ The view that devotion was in decline immediately prior to the Reformation was in decline is not supported in this instance. At Ashburton, although the screen and the

⁸³ Littlehales, *St. Mary at Hill*, pp. 251-2, 279, 281, 309, 322, 354, 361.

⁸⁴ NDRO, 1786 PW 1-5.

⁸⁵ Littlehayes, *St. Mary at Hill*, p. 224.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁸⁷ Dymond, *St. Petrock, Exeter*, p. 30.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

loft were new, beautification continued throughout the 1530s and 1540s. In the account year 1534-5, 10s. was paid for 'painting of the roodloft',⁸⁹ while in 1536-7 4s. 8d. was paid 'for a cloth for the north end of the roodloft'.⁹⁰ The next account year, 1537-8, has an entry which records '10s. 4d. paid for 2 pageants of alabaster for the roodloft by the high cross'.⁹¹ Such a relatively expensive item might very well have become a permanent fixture in the loft. There was no cessation of this process of beautification for, in the next account year, 1538-9, the very large sum of £16 13s. 4d. was spent on 'painting the south half of the roodloft with the partition between the two aisles'.⁹² As late as 1542-3 3s. 9d. was 'paid and allowed' for 'a new cloth hanging beneath St. John the Baptist in the roodloft'.⁹³ The involvement of the parishioners in this process of beautification is obvious throughout the accounts.⁹⁴ The Devon evidence is similar to that elsewhere. A typical example is from Croscombe (Somerset) in 1487-8, 'Item for wax to the roodloft.....2s. 11d.'. ⁹⁵ At Pilton (Somerset) in 1508 the ongoing process of beautification in the loft was well supported by the parishioners, 'Item receved of the parish gathering for the covering of the roodloft....8s, a not inconsiderable sum'.⁹⁶

Imitation

Parishes were certainly aware of the size and splendour of the screens and lofts in their district. Visits were evidently made to nearby churches

⁸⁹ Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 95.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹⁴ For similar evidence at Morebath, see Binney, *Morebath*, pp. 4, 13.

⁹⁵ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 161.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

whose furnishings had a good reputation. In Devon, the account writer at Morebath, the vicar Christopher Trychay, was most explicit about a visit specifically relating to the construction of a new rood. This entry refers in detail to the contract between the church and William Popyll the carver:

1535. Item to the carver William Popyll in earnest for the taking of the crucifix 1d. And so he must have £7 for the making of the crucifix and Mary and John with all the ceiling and the compartments to the same according to the patent of Brushford or better and he to find all manner of stuff and set it up except the timber for the beam and the wall plate and it must we find.....when it is done he shall have performed his promise.....16s. 6½d.⁹⁷

Similarly, the Yatton accounts of 1447-8 record payments for three men riding to Easton-in-Gordano to see the roodloft,⁹⁸ while the indenture for making the new screen and loft at St. Mary the Great (Cambridge), included the following specification: 'all the niches, crestings, groinings supporting the loft, panelling, doors, gables, etc., to be of good substantial wainscot, the breast or western side of the loft to be copied from that in Triplow church, the eastern side from that in Gazeley church'.⁹⁹ This practice of copying must have helped develop local fashions and shared similarities in lofts.¹⁰⁰

Whether or not competition or emulation was a motive, this element of copying perhaps was responsible for the existence of local schools and shared local similarities in screens and lofts. Francis Bond argued that the process followed the following pattern: 'A single man introduces a good design; it is copied in various directions; copies are made of copies; so

⁹⁷ Binney, *Morebath*, p. 70.

⁹⁸ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 86.

⁹⁹ F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908), p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 6, p. 183.

grows up a distinct local school. The whole country, owing to this system of borrowing, ultimately divided itself into well-defined architectural provinces.¹⁰¹ This is a convincing argument, but lacks the element of emulation particularly noticeable in the Stratton contract which indicates clearly that the new work should, in many aspects, be based upon various nearby examples. The screen and loft of St. Kew, the parcloses of St. Columb Major and the windows of Week St. Mary are all quoted in the contract as exemplars that must be followed.¹⁰² It is clear that imitation and emulation existed, very likely on a considerably larger scale than that indicated by the few remaining references to it. This in turn could indicate that the market for screens might well have been partly driven by the need of parishes to imitate and emulate, operating as adumbrated by Francis Bond above.

Screens and lofts 1547-c.1567

The attack on lofts (though not screens), which we have noted as characteristic of the English Reformation was undoubtedly effective in Devon and Somerset in particular. Only part of one pre-Reformation loft gallery now survives in Devon: at Atherington (Fig. 11).¹⁰³ Churchwardens' accounts from the two counties are helpful in recording the vicissitudes of fortune for screens and lofts in the years 1547-c.1567. The reader must tread with care here, for, as always, only the term 'loft' (never 'screen') occurs in the accounts. The Devon evidence may be compared with that from further afield, indicating that the county's experience reflected the national pattern. At Ashburton the familiar pattern is observable. Firstly the rood and other images are taken down, '3s. 4d. for taking down the rood and other images (1547-8); 3s. 8d. for the taking

¹⁰¹ Bond, *Screens and Galleries*, p. 41.

¹⁰² Goulding, *Blanchminster's Charity*, pp. 92-3. Also see above, p.113. Also Appendix 7.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 3, p. 91.

down the images and tabernacles and burning the same (1549-50).¹⁰⁴ Then in 1554-5, during the reign of Mary I, 4d. is paid 'to Walter Stone for mending of the roodloft and 6d. for striking out of the scripture upon the roodloft.' The restoration continued in 1555-6: 'paid: 40s. to Martyn the carver for making of the rood and his appurtenances; 2d. to George Wyndegate for his pains in setting up of the rood. 10d. to William Fursse for three horse loads of the rood, Mary and John.'¹⁰⁵ Four of those employed on this work of restoration are probably mentioned in the 1544 Ashburton lay subsidy roll (this being the second payment of that subsidy).¹⁰⁶

Further beautification (by drapery) of the rood followed, but in 1559-60, very soon after the accession of Elizabeth I we read first of images ('to be burnt') and then of '2s. 8d. for pulling down of the roodloft; 4d. for fetching the eight men to take down the roodloft'.¹⁰⁷ Either this event did not occur or only part of the roodloft was pulled down, for in 1571-2 10d. was paid and allowed 'for those taking down the roodloft'.¹⁰⁸ Then, in 1579-80, came the *coup de grâce*: 'to George Joyce and John Wyndecott for taking down of the roodloft 14d; to William Joyce for 2 days labour about the taking down of the roodloft 8d; to Saunder Warrynge for taking down of the roodloft and the organs 6s. 6d; for stowing and carrying away the roodloft 6d.'¹⁰⁹ What is to be made of these seemingly contradictory entries? The most obvious explanation must be that the screen and loft were demolished in stages and reluctantly, until effective pressure was put on the churchwardens and parishioners in 1579.

The St. Petroc accounts (though brief) give a useful picture of events concerning the screen and loft during the Reformation years. In 1549-50

¹⁰⁴ Hanham, *Ashburton*, pp. 121, 124.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 134.

¹⁰⁶ Stoaate, *Devon Lay Subsidy Rolls 1543-5*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁷ Hanham, *Ashburton*, pp. 142, 152.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

the uninformative entry 'for work upon the roodloft....6d' occurs. As this was a time of intense iconoclasm, one may consider that this 'work' possibly involved some obliteration or destruction.¹¹⁰ With the accession of Mary the destruction came to an end; and in 1555-6 the accounts record that £10 was paid to John Hill for the roodloft. The next account (1556-7) shows that 2s. 2d. was paid 'for breaking holes in the walls to lay the beams on' (for the new roodloft). From 1559-60 destruction began again. In that account year the rood and the pageants in the loft were taken down, and in the account year 1561-2 4s. was paid 'for the plucking down of the roodloft'. This work may have been poorly done or incomplete for in 1562-3 20d. was paid 'for three men's labour for one day's work and three hours to mend the chancel and the roodloft'. As late as 1576-7 work on repairing the fabric caused by the removal of the roodscreen and loft went on, for in that year 12d. was paid 'to a mason for mending certain holes in the roodloft and for lime and sand'.¹¹¹ Elsewhere in Exeter, at the church of St. Mary Steps, the accession of Mary led to a re-instatement of the screen and loft. This church's accounts, which only exist for the period 1553-8, do not mention the loft but merely record that a certain Helle was paid 6s. 8d. 'for the making of the rood'.¹¹² However if a new rood was made, a screen and loft would be required for its support. At Morebath the story is similar, but briefer in its chronology. In 1550 John Lousmore was paid 3s. 'for taking away of the altars and the roodloft'.¹¹³ Four years later Christopher Trychay records the restoration of the loft in that year, mainly thanks to certain parishioners who had carefully stored various items.¹¹⁴ Later, by 1562, the loft was gone. Two entries record this: 'Item to Thomas Jurdyn his meat

¹¹⁰ Dymond, *St. Petrock*, p. 54.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59, 66, 79.

¹¹² B. Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* (Exeter, 1908), p. 206.

¹¹³ Binney, *Morebath*, p. 166.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

and drink to Levis for taking down of the roodloft...3d. Item for taking down of the roodloft, to Thomas Jurdyn...8d.¹¹⁵

In Cornwall, at Stratton, events unfolded somewhat differently. As late as 1538 repairs were being made to the screen and loft, but in 1547 and 1548 the images within the church were being taken down: 'Paid for taking down of the image of Saint George...4d (1547). Paid for taking down of the horse of the image of saint George and of two standings more...8d. paid for the rood taking down...8d (1548).'¹¹⁶ Then, in 1549, there is a remarkable sequence of events. First, 10d. is 'paid for taking down of the rood and the pageants in the roodloft and setting up the rood again'. The editor of the accounts has noted that on 10 June 1549 the Prayer-Book Rebellion broke out, and suggested the authorities of Stratton took advantage of this to restore the ancient state of things.¹¹⁷ In Mary's reign money was spent on wax and cloth to light and beautify the loft, but although the parishioners delayed the inevitable as long as possible, in 1565 7d. was 'paid to John Megar for taking down of the roodloft, meat and hire'.¹¹⁸ The ultimate destiny of the Stratton loft (and possibly many others) was destruction. In 1570 the accounts tell of the fate of the loft: 'rec. for an earnest to the sale of the roodloft...4d' and 'paid for bearing of the planking of the roodloft unto the church house...2d'.¹¹⁹ Finally, in 1573, we read that the wardens 'received of Thomas Badcock [for] the pieces off the roodloft...6s.' Then, eight years after John Megar had been paid to take down the loft the accounts declare 'paid to two men to take down the roodloft, meat and hire.....10d'.¹²⁰ This is a perplexing entry. Clearly the loft *had* been taken down earlier for, as we have noted, some of it was sold and other pieces

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 211, 213.

¹¹⁶ Peacock, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', pp. 215, 220.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 221.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 228.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 229.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 230.

went to the church house. So what does this entry mean? Possibly only part of the loft (and screen?) had been taken down in 1565 by Megar and pressure was put on the parishioners in 1573 to ensure that all the offending structure was removed. Even more perplexing is an entry for 1580. The roodloft, or at least part of it, was still there, for a workman was yet again required for the work of demolition.¹²¹ This is, however, the last we hear of this remarkable piece of church furniture, whose short but immensely dramatic history is a paradigm of the Reformation in England.

In Somerset the picture is broadly similar. At Banwell in 1548 the roodloft was taken down and in the next year money was received for various parts of the loft: the cresting and the images. It seems clear that the whole structure was not taken down, for in 1550 the churchwardens authorised a payment of 20d. for 'the writing of the roodloft'. In 1556 a penny was paid for nails to repair the roodloft. However, in 1562 the church was whitelimed where once the loft stood, 'paid to John Hewlatt for whiteliming of the church once the roodloft'.¹²² But there are problems here. Was it just the loft that was removed and then replaced? Did the screen remain after 1562? The problem of definition discussed earlier is apparent here. The accounts do not resolve the questions. The process of whiteliming the church, especially in the area where the screen and loft once stood may give a clue to the ultimate destiny of these artefacts. At St. Michael's, Bath the accounts (which say very little about the screen and loft) mention that in 1563 the church was whitelimed twice at a cost of 3s. 8d. (the second payment included pointing of the church).¹²³ At Yeovil, the rood was taken down in 1548, the images and timber from the

¹²¹ Goulding, *Blanchminster's Charity*: 1580 'to Pears the joiner the 7 of August for taking down the Roodloft and placing the seat for three and a half days work and meat and hire...2s 4d.'

¹²² SRO, D/P/ban 4/1/1.

¹²³ Pearson, *St. Michael without the North Gate, Bath*, p. 125.

loft were sold and in 1554 the new rood was made and replaced. Again, whether or not the screen disappeared at this time is unclear.¹²⁴

Away from the west country, at Boxford, the accounts show, very tersely indeed, the familiar stages of Edwardine destruction, Marian replacement, and Elizabethan finality.

1547. Item. rec of the tabernacles in the church and for the roodloft...11s. 3d. 1549. Item. paid to Betts of Wetherden for removing of the organs.....5s. 4d. 1556. paid for putting out of the writing in this church....2s. 1559. Item. paid at bery to the queens visitors....2s. 4d. Item. paid to the pulling down of the Roodloft.¹²⁵

Similarly brief accounts of Ludlow (Shropshire) show the familiar pattern: in 1548 a payment is made for 'making the roodloft plain'. In 1554 a payment for 'the gilding of the rood' and the curious 'for the setting up of the rood and pulling it down again' and, finally, in 1559 an unknown person or persons were paid 6d. for 'taking down the rood [*rowed*]'. No mention is made at all of the screen and loft.¹²⁶

At Great St. Mary (Cambridge), where the magnificent screen and loft were still relatively new, the accounts say nothing concerning its fate during the Edwardian regime. In 1555, however, canvas, lathes, 'traysshes', nails, candlesticks and cloth were purchased to build and beautify the new rood. But in 1562 the loft had gone though, interestingly, not the screen. That the screen remained is shown in one of the entries for 1562, 'Item for nails to nail on the boards to the vault'.¹²⁷ This indicates that one of the demands of the 1561 royal order was being

¹²⁴ SRO, D/P/yeo.j 4/1/6.

¹²⁵ Northeast, *Boxford*, pp. 49, 55, 67, 70.

¹²⁶ T. Wright (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, Camden Society, 102 (1869), pp. 35, 58, 93.

¹²⁷ Foster, *Cambridge*, p. 150.

fulfilled.¹²⁸ There are a number of entries between 1566 and 1572 which indicate that any work done on the loft and screen after c.1559 was probably in the nature of further 'pulling down' and repairing the damage caused by such 'pulling down'. In 1566 a carpenter was paid 4d. 'for mending the roodloft', and in 1569 three local people, Mr. Raye, Mr. Foxton and Mr. Poolye paid sums of money for timber from the loft. 'Item of Mr. Raye for part of the timber which was of the roodloft...8s.1½d. Item of Mr. Foxton for the fragments of the roodloft...6s.8d. Item of Mr. Poolye for four pieces of timber of the same...5s.5d.' Finally, in the same entry we read, 'Item paid to Goodman Dousey and William Jonner for pulling down the rood loft...3s.'¹²⁹

Further afield, in Worcestershire, the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's in Bedwardine (Worcester), which run from 1539 to 1603 mention that images were 'hewn down' in 1548 along with the application of whiteliming to the church. The loft and screen, however, hung on until 1553, when the accounts read 'Item received for the roodloft....15s.2d. Item for taking down of the roodloft to Richard Mitte two days work.... [an uncertain sum]'.¹³⁰ That the 'transposition' or destruction of a loft caused a great deal of work to be done to repair the fabric of churches is illustrated in the accounts of Mere (Wiltshire). In 1562-3 the relevant entry reads '1562-63. For the taking down of the roodloft by commandment of the bishop....10d. For lime to amend the same place again....16d. For the amending of the same anew...3s. 4d. For lathes to amend the roodloft....16d.'¹³¹ In London the accounts of St. Mary at Hill, which do not go beyond 1559 imply that the screen and loft,

¹²⁸ See above, p. 102.

¹²⁹ Foster, *Cambridge*, pp. 157, 169.

¹³⁰ J. Amphlett (ed.), *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester, from 1539 to 1603*, WHS (1896), pp. 20, 32.

¹³¹ Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 180.

which they mention as standing in 1557, remained untouched up until that date.¹³²

No definite pattern therefore emerges regarding the taking down of roodlofts. Sometimes they were removed relatively early, as at Langford Budville (Somerset) where the structure disappeared in 1551.¹³³ In other cases there was considerable reluctance on the part of the parishioners to destroy their lofts. Just as those of Ashburton and Yatton remained into the 1570s, so at North Molton (Devon), the loft was not fully removed until 1576, when five men were paid the total of 2s. 9d. for its demolition.¹³⁴ What is always uncertain, given the problems of definition, is how far the *entire* structure, loft and screen, disappeared or whether it was just the loft that vanished.

¹³² Littlehales, *St. Mary at Hill*, pp. 397, 401, 404.

¹³³ SRO, DD/THR 9 C/3357. This is a transcript. In 1551 4d. was paid for 'taking down the housing of the roodloft' as well as 2s. 6d. for 'taking down of the Roodloft making...of the church and voiding the timbers'. Unfortunately there are many gaps in the accounts; the 1557 entry being the only one extant between 1551 and 1567.

¹³⁴ NDRO, 1786 PW 1-5.

Chapter Five

THE SCREENS CONSIDERED AS STRUCTURES

The elements of screens¹

Church screens could be of stone, wood, or metal. Stone was used for pulpita in religious houses, for example Exeter Cathedral, and also in some such churches for parclose screens. Metal may have been occasionally used to rail in side altars. But the vast majority of medieval roodscreens and parclose screens in England were of wood.

There were basically two types of wooden screens: the square framed and the arched. The latter developed from the former and is not extant before the late fourteenth century. A typical Devon square framed screen may be seen at Welcombe (Fig. 9) and a typical Devon arched screen at Bradninch (Fig. 10). Within these two groups it is possible to distinguish a number of different sub-types, distinguished as twelve by Bond and Camm and considered further in this thesis.² The criteria for such differentiation include not only whether they are square framed or arched but, more importantly, ornamentation, for example the 'tilting shield' which may be seen on a number of screens in the vicinity of the Exe Valley, and the detail of the decoration of cornices, spandrels, and tracery, all of which may indicate the appearance of various influences, especially those of the Renaissance and, occasionally in Devon, from abroad, thus giving clues as to the date of the screen. Consequently, the structures differ. The present research has studied all of the extant Devon screens and concluded that it would be difficult to identify further types. Here, in order to define clearly the various parts of the screen, the

¹ I am very grateful to Mr. H. M. J. Harrison for his assistance in this section of the chapter.

² Bond and Camm, 2, p. 279. For an expansion of Bond and Camm's definitions see Chapter 6; also Appendix 8.

Atherington north aisle screen has been chosen as the exemplar (Fig. 11). This is a late screen, c.1545, so it shows the various aspects of a screen in their full development; it also possesses a loft and, especially, a pre-Reformation loft gallery, common before the Reformation but unique in Devon in terms of having survived.³

Before embarking on a discussion of the elements of screens, it is important to note that not all the technical terms used nowadays for the screen and loft are original, that is, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many are, but the terms 'arcade', 'beading', 'bressummer', 'cresting', 'dado', 'gallery', 'soffit', and 'tracery', while being the relevant terms in use today, are seventeenth-century or later.⁴ The technical terms used in this section of the chapter are those used today by modern restorers of screens. Three diagrams of the Atherington screen are presented to illustrate the parts of a wooden screen and the terms used to describe them (Figs 4-6).⁵ The lowest element of the screen is the sill (Fig. 4, No. 1). This is a strong horizontal timber that serves as a foundation for the screen. As a rule, the sill runs right through from end to end, under doors and panelling alike.⁶ It is placed along, but not affixed in any way to, the floor of the church. The posts or standards (Fig. 4, No. 6) are pieces of timber of considerable length, used in a vertical position as a support for the superstructure, in this case the bressummer beam; the number of posts depends upon the length of the screen and the number of lights. At the top of the post is the cap, or post cap (Fig. 4, enlargement). Of equal importance is the intermediate post (Fig. 4, No. 5), so-called because it is placed in the middle of the bay.

³ Part of a plain roodloft gallery exists in the parish church of Marwood. It faces east and is partly hidden from view by the organ. There is no western facing element.

⁴ See Glossary. Bressummer is first mentioned in 1611, soffit (1613), gallery (1630), tracery (1669), dado (1787), arcade (1795), beading (1858) and cresting (1869). It should be noted that the compilers of the OED were not experts on roodscreens and the OED definitions referred to, while useful, concern themselves with the interiors of houses, and are not used specifically for screens.

⁵ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 274, fig. 103.

⁶ H. Hems, *Rood and other Screens in Devonshire churches* (London, 1898), p. 2.

At some 1.07 metres (3'6") from the floor is the transom rail, a cross-beam or cross-piece, whose purpose, like the post, is to carry a superstructure (Fig. 4, No. 4). Between the transom rail and the sill is the wainscot or dado.⁷ Wainscot is the earlier term, the first known mention of it nationally being in 1352-3.⁸ Locally, the churchwardens' accounts for the church of St. John at Glastonbury (Somerset) mention the purchase of ten wainscot boards in 1439;⁹ the Tintinhull (Somerset) accounts of 1451-2 mention 6s. 8d. spent on 'timber called wainscot',¹⁰ the parish of St. Petroc in Exeter in 1482-3 paid 8d. 'for a wainscot board for the roodloft';¹¹ and the Ashburton churchwardens' accounts of 1521-2 mention that 57s. 3d. was paid that year for wainscot.¹² Wainscoting is panel-work of oak (or other wood) used to line screens or walls. Dado, a word not found before 1787, has a similar definition in this context, 'the finishing of wood running along the lower part of the walls of a room, made to represent a continuous pedestal'.¹³ The wainscot or dado is made up of a number of panels (Fig. 4, No. 3). These are typically rectangular sections or compartments of the wainscot or dado, usually of wood and generally thinner than the members that surround them.¹⁴ Separating the panels, which may be plain, painted or carved, are muntins (Fig 4, No. 2), centred vertical pieces between the panels.¹⁵ Above the transom rail and between the posts and the intermediate posts

⁷ For a typical example of a dado on a Devon roodscreen, see Figure 12.

⁸ See Glossary.

⁹ W. E. Daniel (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts, St. John's, Glastonbury*, SDNQ, 4 (1894), p. 192.

¹⁰ E. Hobhouse (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath and St. Michael's, Bath*, SRS, 4 (1890), p. 185.

¹¹ R. Dymond, *The History of the Parish of St. Petroc, Exeter, as shown by its Churchwardens' Accounts and other Records* (Exeter, 1882), p. 31.

¹² A. Hanham (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*, DCRS, New Series, 15 (1970), p. 68.

¹³ See Glossary. The first time the word was used in reference to church furnishing occurred in 1854. Also see footnote n. 4.

¹⁴ See Glossary.

¹⁵ See Glossary. The first time the word was used in reference to church furnishing occurred in 1774. The word's earliest known use occurred in 1329.

are mullions (Fig 4, No. 7). These are vertical bars forming divisions in screen-work or panelling, especially in Gothic architecture.¹⁶ The space between posts (not between intermediate posts) is the bay (Fig. 4, No. 8). Above the mullion caps is the arcade tracery (Fig. 4, No. 9). An arcade is a series of arches on the same plane,¹⁷ while tracery is the term given to intersecting rib-work in the upper part of a Gothic window.¹⁸

Springing from the head of the posts (but not the intermediate posts) is the vault (Fig. 4, No. 10). A vault is an arched surface covering some space or area in the interior of a building (or on a screen) and is usually supported by walls (in a building) or pillars (as in the case of a screen).¹⁹ The vault is made up of the vault rib (Fig 5, No.11) and the vault panel (Fig 5, No.12). The panels are sometimes, but by no means always, carved.²⁰ Functionally, the purpose of the vault is to cover the joists which connect the posts to the bressummer beam. This latter beam extends horizontally over a large opening, usually wall-to-wall in the case of a roodloft and sustains the whole superstructure of that loft, that is, the gallery.²¹ The bressummer beam is itself cloaked by the cornice (Fig. 5, No. 13) and its cresting.

The cornice is a horizontal moulded projection which crosses or finishes a building or some part of a building.²² In Devon, where (apart from Atherington) all the pre-Reformation loft galleries have vanished, the cornice is now the crown of the screen, although its purpose, to cloak the bressummer beam, remains. At Atherington the roodloft gallery continues above the screen cornice and, indeed, has its own cornice, whose purpose is decorative. Immediately above, and sometimes below,

¹⁶ See Glossary. The first time the word was used in reference to church furnishing occurred in 1850. The word's earliest known use occurred in 1556-7.

¹⁷ See Glossary.

¹⁸ See Glossary. The first time the word was used in reference to church [window] decoration occurred in 1669.

¹⁹ Ibid., s.n. vault.

²⁰ For a typical example of vaulting on a Devon roodscreen, see Figure 13.

²¹ See Glossary.

²² See Glossary.

the cornice is the cresting (Fig 5, No. 17). If it occurs below the cornice then it is called the inverted or drop cresting (Fig 5, No. 14). The cresting is an ornamental ridging to a wall or rib, or, in this case, a cornice.²³ The cornice itself is formed of strips, called the running ornament (Fig 5, No. 15) such as carvings of vines, leaves, birds, or animals or simply by strips of beading, although the beading usually separates the strips of running ornament (Fig 5, No. 16)²⁴ Above the roodscreen, supported by the gallery front posts (Fig. 5, No. 18) is the gallery itself. The gallery is both functional and ornamental. It runs along the front and back of the loft. Between the gallery front posts are panels. Above the gallery panelling are projecting canopies (Fig. 5, No. 20). A pinnacle is a small ornamental turret, usually terminating in a pyramid or cone.²⁵ The projecting canopies are vaulted, behind which is the soffit (Fig. 5, No. 19). The soffit is the under horizontal face of an architrave or overhanging cornice. It is the under surface of a lintel, vault or arch.²⁶ Above the soffit is the cornice, with beading and cresting.

The construction of a screen²⁷

We do not know how exactly a screen was constructed in the period c. 1380-c.1545, but, given the experience and expertise of modern-day restorers and conservators, we can postulate how it might have been undertaken in the late medieval period. The frame of the screen would be constructed on the site. The sill would be put in place first. Next, the posts and transom rails would be inserted into the structure. This was necessary at this stage because of the need to fit the tenons of the

²³ See Glossary.

²⁴ For a typical example of a cornice on a Devon roodscreen, see Figure 14.

²⁵ See Glossary.

²⁶ See Glossary.

²⁷ I am very grateful to Mr. H. M. J. Harrison for his assistance in this section of the chapter.

transom rail into the posts and tenons of the posts into the sill.²⁸ The posts were held up and kept at the right spacing by the transom rails. Importantly, at this stage the frame would have to be a structural entity. Next, the head would be affixed. The whole frame would then sit on the floor (there is no evidence of any pre-Reformation Devon screens being affixed to the ground). The screen always went across the whole width of the building, in order that the structure would not rack.²⁹ Consequently, there was no need for diagonal bracing or fixing to the floor.

Then all the dado panels would be fitted. The tracery, which was always a separate piece, would be fitted into the board and then the panel and tracery would be let into the framework, housed in the one groove which was in the transom rail, sill and sides of the post. At this stage the screen would have been 'dry', that is, assembled but not finished with tenons and mortices.³⁰ Glue was known but seems to have been little used, although evidence shows that it was employed during the construction of screens at Yatton and Ashburton.³¹

After this, the arch braces would be inserted. These would be put on first to prevent racking; they were therefore structural in function. The vaulting, which consisted of vault ribs and vault panels, would be put in via tenons and the arch brace. The function of the post was vital here because it supported a great weight yet a great piece had to be cut out of it in order to support the ribs (Fig. 6). Thus the post would be weakened substantially. As all the ribs fanned out from one place, the springing line, they all had to be cut to meld with the mouldings of the post. So, a neck would be cut into the post in order to let the ribs spring (Fig. 6). The top of the post would be tenoned into the head (Fig. 7). The area at the top of the post needed to be as big as possible but, unfortunately, as we have seen, a chunk had been cut out to support the ribs. Therefore both

²⁸ See Glossary.

²⁹ See Glossary.

³⁰ See Glossary.

³¹ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 93. Also Hanham, *Ashburton*, p. 70.

sides and front of the post would be cut so that only a relatively small amount was left. The tracery would be cut out as a whole from a small sheet of timber. This sheet, a complete rectangular section with tracery carved into it, would be let into the middle of the post, for which more of the wood of the post had been taken out (Fig. 7).

The whole of the roodloft floor, gallery, and vaulting would be now sitting on a narrow neck (which had had a considerable amount removed). The carving on the cornice would be then let in, along with the beading, and the cresting was then added. The conservation and repair of the Uffculme roodscreen early in 2006 show clearly how the loft was supported. A screen head would be tenoned and pinned to the top of the post (Figs. 6, 7 and 8). The screen head fitted into the floor joint which was itself tenoned and pinned to the east and west bressummer beams (Fig. 7). The fifth vault rib would be also tenoned into the floor joint (Fig. 8). It should be emphasised that this is how the present conservator worked. In the west bressummer today may be seen the mortice for the absent gallery front post (Fig. 8). The roodloft floor (including the tenons) today measures 1.63 metres (64 inches) in width. Generally, the medieval roodloft was about 1.83 metres (6 feet) deep, the floor projecting beyond the screen back and front. In the Devon screens the floor joists were supported by struts or braces attached to the upper parts of the posts and concealed by vaulting.³²

What is known as the 'mason's joint' was of particular importance in the construction of roodscreens, lofts, and in medieval joinery generally. Everything was put together with this device (which was copied from stone practice). Today, joints are mitred and glued, that is, two pieces of wood are cut at 45° and then glued together. This type of joint, however, can come apart as the wood shrinks. In the mason's joint the mitre with tenons in it goes as far as the front edge of the transom rail, thus giving rigid joints. The hole in the tenon of the joint does not line up exactly

³² G. H. Cook, *The Medieval Parish Church* (London, 1956), p. 155.

with the hole in the mortice. It is slightly out so that when the pin (which is tapered) is driven in it pulls the joint tight.³³

Two further points must be made. Coving (of which the best example in Devon is at Willand) should be distinguished from vaulting (Fig. 15). Coving refers to the curved soffit of a projecting upper part of a screen.³⁴ Finally, when a roodscreen was to be installed in a parish church the wardens would entrust the making to a firm of repute in a nearby town, or would employ local joiners and carpenters.

Polychromy³⁵

Polychromy is the modern term for painting and gilding in a building, in this case on a screen.³⁶ The polychromy of the screen was the last stage of its creation. It was of the utmost importance for the visual aspect of the medieval screen where brightness, perhaps even garishness, was highly prized.³⁷ The screen's western front was very often much more elaborate than that facing the chancel; it faced the congregation and the polychromy reflected this. The application of polychromy to screen creation, however, was not a short one. As will be noted, everything in the various stages of the process was slow to dry and this process could not be rushed.

At the time of the first painting of the screen, there were six stages, not all necessarily discrete. Here, as in screen construction, present-day conservations and restoration give clues to what was probably done in the later middle ages. In modern conservation, the first stage is to

³³ I am very grateful to Mr. H. M. J. Harrison for the information concerning the 'mason's joint'.

³⁴ See Glossary.

³⁵ I am very grateful to Elizabeth Cheadle for her assistance concerning the technical information of this part of the chapter.

³⁶ See Glossary.

³⁷ Cook, *The Medieval Parish Church*, p. 158. 'Every part of the roodscreen, the muntins [he means the posts and mullions], the tracery, the vaulting and the breastsummer [he means the cornice], was richly coloured and gilded.'

investigate the condition of the timber, that is, the substrate.³⁸ There is no evidence to show whether, in the construction of pre-Reformation screens, the oak was either green or 'dry', that is, seasoned. There are arguments for both possibilities. Green oak, freshly cut, would be easier to fashion and carve. The problems were that black marks could be left upon the oak by handling (although these would be obscured by later polychrome) and, more seriously, that fine joinery with green oak will shrink when dry. There was no absolute need, of course, for the painting and gilding to be done immediately; it could be done years later when the oak had shrunk. Gaps in the structure caused by shrinking could be filled. The problem with using dry, or seasoned, oak was that it would take 10 to 15 years to dry (there being no heating at the time for such purposes), although today's conservators, who use more or less the same tools, find it more practical to carve dry wood. However, evidence from churchwardens' accounts indicates that payments to painters and gilders were made at the same time as those to the carvers and it is currently thought among conservators of medieval screens that the original work was 'done green'.³⁹

Thus at Yatton (Somerset), the carver had finished work on the new screen in 1454, but almost immediately afterwards the accounts record that, in 1454 20d. was spent 'for the painter's hire for a week', 21d. was spent 'for divers colours bought', 13s. 6d. in the same account 'for colours' and 6s. 'for gold to paint the angel'.⁴⁰ Next year, the 1455 accounts indicate 10d. spent for 'painter's oil', 10d. for varnish and 4s. 10d. for glue and various colours.⁴¹ In 1456, the accounts imply that Crosse, the carver, was also in charge of the painting, although, he could

³⁸ See Glossary.

³⁹ I am very grateful to Mr. H. M. J. Harrison for his assistance in this section dealing with the nature of the wood used in the original making of screens.

⁴⁰ J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the 14th Century to the close of the 17th Century* (London, 1913), p. 176.

⁴¹ Hobhouse, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 91.

have sub-contracted the work: 'Memorandum that there is paid to Crosse for the making and painting of the roodloft gallery of the Church, £31 2s. 11d.'⁴² The majority of this money would have been for the construction of the screen and loft, for other accounts indicate that the painting, while relatively expensive, cost much less than the construction of the screen and loft. For example, at Tintinhull in 1459-60 the accounts report that a painter was paid 13s. 4d. as his share in the painting of the roodloft,⁴³ while three years later the same accounts (of 1462-3) say that there was 'allowed to J. Bule the sum which we had laid out for the painting of the roodloft - 20d.'⁴⁴ At Pilton, the painting and gilding took place soon after the completion of the screen. In 1508 26s. 8d. was paid to David Jones the painter of the roodloft on the 12th of April'⁴⁵ Further payments to painters at Pilton that year show that the painting and gilding of a screen could be expensive. For example, William Feyzard was paid 13s. 4d. and David Jones was paid £3 6s. 8d.⁴⁶ Three further items entitled 'Item paid to the painters' totalled £4 4s. 1d.⁴⁷ At Banwell the roodloft, which was finished in 1523 was being painted the previous year, as the churchwardens' accounts indicate, 'Item paid to the painter of Bristol - 2s. 8d.'⁴⁸

The second part of the painting process was the ground stage. At the beginning, most screens would be painted with an oil medium. This was put onto the wood in order to seal the grain and give a smooth surface. Lead white (an oil ground colour) might have been used. Several layers would be applied. If the parishioners desired a screen of the highest quality - and if funds were available - gesso would be used. Gesso, the Italian word for chalk, is a powdered form of calcium carbonate. It is a

⁴² Ibid., p. 100.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 158, 169.

⁴⁵ SRO, D/P/pilt. 4/1/1 1499-1536.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ SRO, D/P/ban 4/1/1

permanent and brilliant white substrate as long as it is used on wood and will always be found on high quality work.⁴⁹ However, not much gesso work has been observed in the West Country; it is mainly used in East Anglia. The weather could very well be a factor in this; damp weather attracts mould which would affect the gesso.⁵⁰ As noted, quite a few layers of oil, perhaps linseed oil, would be used at this stage.

The next stage was the application of the primer. This continued the preparation of a sealed surface upon which to apply the colour paint. Primers used in the west country were iron oxide reds (usually a dark red) and ochres. The primer gave a visual impression of quality to the finished product. The pigments for the primer were ground in oil and then applied with a brush. Two coats might very well have been applied. These would take days to dry; the drying time depending upon the type of pigment. The addition of red oxide or red lead would then have been used to speed up the drying.

Gilding, mainly found upon the cornice, usually followed. Gold or silver leaf was used, the choice, perhaps, depending upon the wealth and ambition of the parish. The gilding would be applied onto an ochre coloured primer upon which an oil size – which had to be slightly sticky – would be laid. The term ‘size’, in this specific instance, refers to a mixture of different types of oil with ‘driers’, elements which aided the drying process.⁵¹ Gold leaf, which will not tarnish but will rub, is fairly expensive. Today the gold leaf would be laid on the oil size with a badger’s tip brush; it may not be unreasonable to assume that a type of brush would have been used at the time of the screen’s polychromy.

⁴⁹ For example, the Wilton Diptych.

⁵⁰ This could be adduced to the argument that East Anglian dado figures are far superior in execution to those of the West Country. It is generally accepted that the quality of the drawing of the East Anglian figures is superior, but the fact that gesso was mainly used in East Anglia and hardly at all in the West Country could indicate that the actual painting and gilding of the figures was also superior, or, at least, that more money was spent on the dado figures.

⁵¹ See Glossary.

While a surface cannot be both gilded and painted, it *can* be gilded and glazed. For example, grapes on the vine trail would be covered with silver leaf and then glazed with crimson. At Kentisbeare (Devon) there is silver leaf with a yellow glaze to give the impression of gold.

The next stage was painting. Common colours used in the west country were reds, greens, and black and white. Blue (made from woad) was not used so much because it was more expensive. Greens were often copper based (using copper and vinegar). The green would be glazed with more copper in a dammar varnish which would give a translucent effect (by mixing pigment with resin).⁵² Probably two coats would have been applied. Vermilion, a scarlet red, was expensive and slow to dry. It would be mixed with linseed oil. However, it could be mixed with red lead (which helped the paint to dry and lessened the cost). Paint could well be an expensive element in the cost of a screen. It would have taken several weeks to paint a screen, but several months to dry. And, of course, it had to be dry to the touch.

The glazing stage, already mentioned briefly under gilding, came next. As already noted, glaze could go over both paint and gilding. A glaze was a translucent colour over an opaque colour. This gave the colour more depth and richness. Consequently, when new, a screen would be very bright. The drying of the glazing, however, would take as long as the paint. Finally, the work would be varnished, using a copal varnish. This was a hard translucent odiferous resin obtained from various tropical trees, and from which a fine transparent varnish was prepared.⁵³ The purpose of varnishing was to protect the finished work from dust and wear. It also 'lifts', that is, it enhances the colours. Then a final coat of varnish of the same sort would be applied and, as usual, there would be a lengthy drying period. To conclude, then, one may discern the stratigraphy of layers of work upon the screen as the

⁵² See Glossary.

⁵³ See Glossary.

substrate (1), ground (2), primer (3), gilding (4) or painting (5), glazing (6) and finally the varnishing (7).

The carving and decoration of screens⁵⁴

Similarities in certain aspects of the decoration of screens - cornices, spandrels, parcloses, dados and bay tracery - reveal patterns of practice and conclusions about them, even if tentative, can be made. The decoration, embellishment, and enrichment of the screens (and vanished loft galleries) were the result of the donations of the parishioners. These donations might indicate piety (piety being 'the expression of gratitude in one way or another for a faith that is held by the believer as a gift from the one in whom one believes'), though this is impossible to establish.⁵⁵ They might arise from the desire that one's parish church should be more impressive than the neighbouring parish churches; indicate the financial strength of a local trade or religious guild, or reflect the gift of a wealthy patron or, as evidence suggests in certain parishes, of the incumbent. Similarities in screens could well be the result of a particularly skilled carver whose work was admired by nearby parishes; difficulties of transport and communication might ensure that these putative local skills and ideas did not travel far. It has already been noted, in an earlier chapter how, when parishes wished to construct a new screen, churchwardens or those sent by them would travel to nearby parishes, observe the construction and enrichment of those screens and, having returned, would demand, or (at least recommend) that their new screen

⁵⁴ Rather than uncritically following Bond and Camm's 12 screen classifications, and to avoid using photographic material almost one hundred years old, all 120 Devon medieval screens have been visited, measured and photographed as have a further 9 Somerset screens for the purposes of comparison and confirmation; thus the illustrations used are from those photographs taken in 2004-7. Bond and Camm's classifications have been expanded, with relevant illustrations, in Chapter 6.

⁵⁵ L. E. Boyle, quoted in R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), p. 161.

should include those aspects of nearby screens which had impressed and delighted the visitors. However, we do not know that all parishes did this. Local carvers, too, as has also been noted, would usually be employed and no doubt these men would adopt a particular pattern of work but, as will be explained below, be sensitive to the accepted norm in screen construction.⁵⁶ It is, as will be seen, in the detail of the local screen that the local carver was able to express himself. Pre-Reformation Devon screens may well present many similarities in their appearance, but closer study reveals a wealth of difference in the detail.

Carving and decoration: (i) cornices

Most surviving Devon screens were enhanced by carving as well as by painting. Carving on screens occurs on the cornice, the spandrels of the vaulting, the arch head, the posts, the mullions and the dado, although the amount, type and placing of the carving is often dependent upon the date of the screen and can offer clues to such dating, which in the absence of other evidence is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. The impression given by screens in Devon, indeed in most of the west country, is emphasised by comparison with those of East Anglia. The latter are largely constructed in open work, giving a light and airy impression, while the Devon screens appear solid, massive, and heavy. Above all, it is the cornice of the Devon screens that gives the most striking impression of weight and immensity.⁵⁷ It was, and is, very unusual for a Devon screen not to possess one, although this happened at North Molton. Today, even if the vaulting has been removed, the cornice almost always remains (or has been replaced). Also, interestingly,

⁵⁶ There are certain screens in Devon which were so different in design to the usual patterns that it has been suggested that carvers from Brittany, or possibly Flanders, executed them. There is no written evidence for this suggestion, but the visual evidence is strong. See the Gazetteer entries for Brushford, Colebrooke, Coldridge, and Holbeton for details.

⁵⁷ F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries* (London, 1908), p. 48.

one may conclude that Devon cornices exhibit both considerable differences and considerable similarities. While the construction of cornices remains constant and while their content (the vine trail) is similar, there are certain differences in size as well as in their cresting, inverted cresting, and beading.⁵⁸

As already noted, the eastern side of the screen is often much plainer than the western, if the eastern has any enrichment at all. At Pinhoe, for example, there is neither vaulting nor cornice on the eastern side, something that emphasises that the screen was the responsibility of the parishioners, not the rector, and that one of the many and varied purposes of the screen was to indicate the wealth and status of the parish as expressed by its screen. The eastern side, being unvisited by those who entered the chancel, would therefore not need to exhibit and elaborate or even decorate. The decoration of the eastern cornices of the screen varies, but often they are completely plain and, when they do exhibit some decoration they are still inferior to the western facing sides. The screen at Nymet Tracey (Devon) further illustrates this point (Figs 16 and 17). The western cornice is elaborately carved, painted, and gilded, but on the eastern side one is presented with plain, unpainted, and unvarnished timber. Nothing could illustrate more dramatically the spheres of interest and the interest and value those responsible placed upon the screen. Availability of funds, however, should also be borne in mind when examining this anomaly.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ For the construction of a cornice, refer to 'construction of screens' earlier in the chapter. Also A. Clifton-Taylor, *English Parish Churches as Works of Art* (London, 1974), p.180. 'A trail is a long strip of wood carved in a fretwork technique to produce a waving stem, in between the loops of which are all kinds of motifs drawn from nature.'

⁵⁹ In a sample of 91 Devon screens, 50 were seen to be of inferior execution on their eastern side, while 21 exhibited some degree of carving and embellishment. This embellishment could be restricted to merely one band of running ornament or, as in the example of Broadhempston, it might have two bands of running order, and both cresting and embellishment, were nevertheless still of inferior execution on their eastern side. It should be noted that occasionally access to the chancel was not possible, and so this particular sample is a little smaller than the general sample for the cornice.

Moving on to the ornamentation of the cornice, the vine-trail motif is almost, but not quite, universal in the sample of 91 medieval roodscreen cornices that has been taken from throughout Devon.⁶⁰ Willand has an early screen with the vine-trail carving on the cornice.⁶¹ This motif exists on screens throughout the county, many of which are considered to be very late examples (i.e. post 1530). It is clear, then, that this motif was universal both in space and time. The vine trail will often include animals and birds within its foliage and, in the case of Burlescombe, angels. The number of bands of running ornament varies from one to four.⁶² Clearly the cornice at, for example, Payhembury which has four bands would have cost more than, say, the Willand cornice which has only one band. It may, then, be possible to judge the wealth of the parish, the ambitions of its parishioners and, possibly, their piety, by the elaboration of the cornice alone. Throughout the county a picture emerges, when considering cornices, of minor differences in appearance but major similarities in form and content. Although there is no evidence, one is tempted to speculate that, given the similarities in form and content of the vine trail, and their ubiquity in the county, ateliers devoted to the production of such running ornaments might possibly have existed. One further area of interest in the running ornament of the cornice in some pre-Reformation Devon churches is the occasional insertion of the carving of Aaron's rod among the usual vine leaves, flowers, birds, and animals. Aaron's rod is an ornamental figure representing a rod with a serpent entwined about it.

These minor differences in appearance can also be seen in the number of screens which possess cresting and/or inverted cresting. Sixty-five screens out of the Devon sample of 91(71%) possess cresting, while in 47 cases out of the sample of 91 (52%) the cresting is inverted.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 2.

⁶¹ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 261, 277.

⁶² The one exception in the entire sample of screens in Devon is at Halberton, which possesses no bands of running ornament at all.

However, it must be borne in mind that the cresting and/or the inverted cresting could have disappeared over time. The cresting and inverted cresting exhibit small differences but, as with the bands of running ornament, these might be the result of a mass-production process. Finally, the beading which separates the bands of running ornament is usually plain, although variations may be seen at, for example, at Ilsington and Lapford, where it is enriched with a 'barley-sugar' motif.

Very few free-standing medieval chapels survive, in Devon, although they existed in huge numbers before the Reformation. The likelihood is that many of these also contained screens, like the one already noted at Ayshford, in Burlescombe parish, close to the Devon-Somerset border. The band of running ornament is actually the bressummer itself with twelve gold leaf motifs affixed to the beam. There are bands of beading above this running ornament, if it may be described so. At the western front of the screen there is a cresting. The eastern side is completely bare. That carvers, or those who ordered the screens from them, were influenced by the attributes of nearby screens has already been noted. The screen at Burlescombe parish church, within two miles of Ayshford chapel screen, exhibits certain similarities to the latter which are not seen elsewhere. At Burlescombe, although the cornice is not the original it has a band of running ornament which, as at Ayshford, is the bressummer beam itself, which is painted blue. Carvings of angels, animals, abstract designs and, between them, gold stars lie upon this running ornament while the band of beading above it has been painted blue with 14 gilt stars upon it. That the carving and painting on the cornices of these two screens are clearly similar may be adduced to the argument that churchwardens, parishioners and carvers would visit nearby screens for inspiration and, perhaps, to ensure that their own screen would be superior.

An interesting detail came to light during the renovation of the polychrome on Uffculme roodscreen by Anna Hulbert. She discovered that

a leaf on the middle running ornament of the screen exhibited splashes of what seemed to be tallow from the candle of the medieval carver, under the original gilding and priming. This prompted Hulbert to draw the conclusion that the carving lay on a bench at the time. Of course, we have no way of knowing how and where the carver worked but this small clue allows us to speculate that the carver placed the work on a bench, possibly at waist height, illuminated the scene with candles and bent over to work upon the carving.⁶³

To conclude, the cornices on Devon roodscreens may give information on a number of points: the considerable and sometimes dramatic difference between the eastern and western faces of the screen and the reason for that difference; the homogeneity over space and time of the form and content of the cornice, especially the vine trail; the minor differences in appearance which may be accounted for by the availability or lack of funds and possibly the desire for one parish's screen to be grander than nearby ones; the visual expression of the 1561 royal order and, concomitantly, an idea of how post-Reformation parishioners wished their screens to appear, and finally, in a very limited way, how chapel screens might have appeared.

Carving and decoration: (ii) spandrels⁶⁴

Spandrel decoration on Devon roodscreens – at least on the 91 taken as a sample – occurs in two places: firstly, on the spandrels between the vault ribs and, secondly, if the vaulting is missing, on the spandrels between the arch heads which are sometimes, though not always, divided by a post. A sub-division of the first type may be found when those spandrels are open, as at Halberton, although this is rare. The two types are almost equal in their distribution throughout the county, in that 44 out of the

⁶³ EDAC, Report by Anna Hulbert on Uffculme Roodscreen (1986), p.1.

⁶⁴ See Glossary.

sample of 91 screens have their vaulting missing. Of the first type, the spandrels may be both carved and painted, though not all are. The earliest of these vaulted screens, Halberton, which has been dated to c.1420, has open spandrels between the ribs, exposing the red (and sometimes blue) patterned painted boarding underneath. Bond and Camm called this open rib and tracery work 'lantern vaulting', describing it as 'extraordinary and very rare'.⁶⁵ It is unknown elsewhere in Devon.

There are, too, remarkable variations of carving and painting in the spandrel work. One must always bear in mind, of course, that considerable restoration may have occurred over the centuries. Of the first type, there are examples of rich carving of what are usually called Renaissance motifs. The presence of these motifs can help to date a screen, as they tend not to appear before the sixteenth century. At Atherington, for example, there are putti, male and female heads of a secular character, domestic beasts and vegetation (not, it should be emphasised, the vine trail). The carvings on each spandrel differ (Fig. 18).⁶⁶ Similar Renaissance motifs may be seen at Lapford where, upon the vault, are carved roundels containing male and female heads, while vegetation ornament (not the vine trail) fills the rest of the space. Combe Martin's spandrels are also Renaissance in style. Putti and shields dominate, as well as vegetation motifs (Fig. 19). Smaller triangular spandrels in the lierne ribs are also carved with heads, angels, and vegetation with a blue background. Although many spandrels today are varnished, painting and gilding is not uncommon, as at Berry Pomeroy, where the predominant colours are a brownish-red and white; at Bovey Tracey where the spandrels are painted blue and white and gilded; at Bradninch (predominantly blue and red); at Cullompton (predominantly red and blue, and gilt); at Kentisbeare (a delicate pink and white); at Payhembury (a gold background enhanced by red and light blue edging

⁶⁵ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 315.

⁶⁶ See Glossary.

to the carving); at Plymtree (different shades of red, and gilt) and at Uffculme (a dark blue background with the carving painted red, and gilt). The dull brown varnish with which many screens are adorned today creates a heavy and sombre impression (as at Northleigh), while the bright colours at Payhembury (restored, of course, but medieval in their intent) create the opposite impression. A comparison of the Northleigh and Payhembury screens not only shows differences of nineteenth-century opinion concerning church furnishings, in that some parishes preferred more elaboration in colour and ornament than others, but also gives an insight into pre- and post-Reformation taste.

The shape of the rib spandrels on most screens is an elongated triangle, tapering down to nothing at the post cap from which it springs. In many cases simple tracery is carved within. This elongated triangle shape and the simple traceried carving within it is exemplified by the restored (by Herbert Read 1901-2) vaulting at Broadhempston. Slight variations of detail occur on almost every screen, however. For example, the spandrels at Down St. Mary are carved with slightly more elaborate tracery than usual, and with small, regular lierne rib spandrels carved with trefoils and quatrefoils. This observation is very much in line with that of the Devon roodscreen as a whole: that there is an apparent homogeneity in most screens; but that homogeneity is diluted by less apparent differences in detail. As with many other aspects of the roodscreen, the eastern facing spandrel work may be inferior or, as in the example of Nymet Tracey, non-existent. At Plymtree, for example, the spandrel work on the eastern side is similar to that on the western, but without the colouring and gilding. The comparison is impressive and instructive. The eastern side of this particular screen was not intended to be seen by the majority of the laity and its relative plainness emphasises the time and expense that went into the original painting and gilding of the western face.

The second type of spandrel work on Devon screens may be observed in those churches where the vaulting has vanished or, indeed, upon a screen where there was never any vaulting in the first place. The demands of the 1561 royal order were such that, in many cases, the loft galleries were taken down and so too was the vaulting which masked the bressummer beams supporting those galleries. In some cases this has left a truncated and often ugly screen with the spandrels between the arch head awkwardly filled with elements which seem to have come from elsewhere. This is the case at Bridford, Chivelstone, East Portlemouth, South Milton, and South Pool. The elements in the spandrels are poorly fitted and have been barbarously cut to fill the available spaces. These screens, while possessing other qualities, have nevertheless been vandalised by the removal of their lofts and vaulting and the careless placement of the spandrel carving (Fig. 20). Not all spandrel work in this second type is necessarily bad, however. For example, the Stokenham spandrels blend in well with the rest of the screen, an attribute which can now be seen to be important after the awkward fitments of the screens just discussed; while at Willand the narrow lights of the bays are carved with ogee arches, with spandrels between each post, mullion and arch head. They are small, but pleasing, and are carved with vegetation including the vine trail.

To conclude, although there are many major similarities in the carving and decoration of the spandrels on Devon screens, there is a remarkable variety of detail. The spandrel work, where a vault (or a coving, as at Willand) remains, is usually impressive, although without colour it may seem sombre and dull. But where the vaulting has vanished, too often (especially in the South Hams) the spandrel work is misplaced, ugly, and presents an awkward and almost barbarous appearance. Sometimes the spandrel work and enrichment is lacking on the eastern face of the screen, when on the western face it is full. This adds to the evidence which suggests that, because the parishioners paid for the work

in many cases, and these same parishioners were not allowed into the chancel, then they were not especially concerned – if at all – with the eastern face of the screen in all its elements. Overall, like the cornice work, within Devon there is a regularity of design which argues for homogeneity, indeed, a sharing of ideas among the late medieval parishioners and carvers. The painting and gilding of the cornices and spandrels dramatically enhanced the glory of the screen. Nevertheless, differences in detail suggest that, while a parish would want its screen to conform to a norm, it might be eager to allow the carver some individuality in his work. This becomes more apparent in the sixteenth century when the Renaissance motifs appear on the spandrels, which also help to date the work.

Carving and decoration: (iii) dados

A sample of 49 dados from Devon roodscreens has been taken.⁶⁷ As with the other evidence used in these sections on carving and decoration, this sample is taken from churches covering every geographical region of Devon (i.e. north, east, south, and west). Once again, although there are variations of detail in the carving and decoration of the Devon roodscreen dados, the overall picture is one of relative homogeneity. The iconography of the screens will be dealt with in another chapter, but it is pertinent to note here that in the sample taken 18 (37%) of the 49 screens possessed painted (or, in the case of Bridford, carved) figures on their dados. Features which have appeared in the study of other elements of screens reappear: Dados are particularly inferior on the eastern side, especially when the western facing panels are enriched with painted saints (although Bridford and especially Ashton are exceptions here, and

⁶⁷ See Appendix 3.

will shortly be discussed). The similarity of the dado carving over time points to a conservatism among those who commissioned the screens and suggests an interaction between neighbouring parishes, whose people might – and, as we have seen, there is evidence to prove that they did – visit each other for ideas on how to enrich their new screen. Finally, these similarities might also indicate the presence of centralised ateliers which produced work to order.

Twenty-eight (57%) out of 49 of the screens taken as a sample possess the quatrefoil motif running either above or below the panels, while 25 (51%) are polychromed. However, the most characteristic feature of the carving on the Devon screen dados is the cusped and ogee-headed arch above the panel. Thirty-four (69%) of the 49 screens possess this feature. The Bovey Tracey screen may be said to illustrate a characteristic Devon dado in that it possesses all the major properties: it has painted saints on the panels which are divided by thin muntins topped by simple ogee-headed tracery, while below the panelling are gold quatrefoils with a gilt leaf motif in their centre (Fig. 12). The argument that nearby screens might very well provide an influence for the construction of a new screen, or, in the following case, that perhaps the screens were almost contemporaneous in their construction may be adduced by the dados of the screens at Burlescombe and Ayshford (chapel). They possess remarkable similarities. The panels are rectangular and plain. The Ayshford panelling is even plainer than that at Burlescombe. There is no tracery on either dado. The Burlescombe dado is painted dark blue and red with different coloured stencilled motifs upon the background; the same motif is seen at Ayshford upon a blue and green background. Both dados are simple and plain. The observation that Devon screens exhibit a homogeneity in the whole, but differ in the detail may be augmented in a consideration of the Lapford dado. This is typical in its overall conception, yet different in its detail. The panels have carved ogee-headed tracery. Instead of quatrefoils at the base, there are triangular

shapes filled with leaf motifs. The surrounding lower transom rail and posts are carved with the vine trail. The whole is unpainted.

To conclude, as with the spandrel work, the dados on Devon screens conform to an overall type, but differ in detail. Painted figures, ogee-headed and cusped tracery, quatrefoils above and below, carved surrounds on the lower transom rail and posts and colouring on the dado are regular features, but differences in detail may be observed. That these dados are so similar in many aspects adds weight to the argument that there was considerable interaction between parishes concerning the construction and decoration of a screen and, concomitantly, considerable interaction between the carvers who produced them. The overall similarities indicate a conservatism in the outlook of the parishioners and churchwardens, a satisfaction with things as they are. While wanting their screen to be better than the neighbouring parishes they would nevertheless not want it to be different (except in the detail).

Carving and decoration: (iv) bay tracery

A sample of 50 screens has been taken to illustrate this section from all the geographical regions (north, east, south, and west) of Devon.⁶⁸ It has been used alongside the twelve types of screen classification used by Bond and Camm and expanded in this thesis (Fig. 23) and the two types of bay tracery used by Cherry and Pevsner (Figs 21 and 22).⁶⁹ The most common type of screen in this sample is that of Bond and Camm's Type 2 which the authors describe as 'the ordinary Perpendicular type, which is found with minor variations, all over Devon'. Twenty-one (42%) of the 50 screens in this sample are of Type 2. As for bay tracery, Cherry and Pevsner state that the two common types of tracery can be classified into

⁶⁸ See Appendix 4.

⁶⁹ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 279; B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn (London, 1991), p. 47; see also Appendix 8.

'Type A, where the central spandrel section between the two sub-arches is treated as a single unit, and Type B, less common, where the windows are sub-divided by a thick central mullion'.⁷⁰ More conformity exists in the bay tracery of screens than in any other element. In the sample taken, 33 (66%) were of Cherry and Pevsner's Type A, 10 (20%) of Type B, while it was not possible to assign either type to seven of the screens.

However, while conformity exists in the bay traceries of each Bond and Camm type, there are, as in the other screen elements, differences of detail. For example, in Type 1, which is that of the flat-headed screen with regular compartments, the screens at Braunton, Calverleigh, and Willand have tracery only at the very top of the lights; Nymet Tracey's tracery is more intricate and conforms to Cherry and Pevsner's Type A, whereas Braunton, Calverleigh, and Willand clearly do not. On the other hand, very little variation can be noted in the tracery of those screens within the classification of Bond and Camm's Type 2. There are small differences of detail apparent, though much less variation than on the dados and cornices. For example, while the bay traceries of Combe Martin, Berry Pomeroy and Bovey Tracey conform exactly to Cherry and Pevsner's Type A, at Cullompton very minor differences can be observed in that the spandrels to the left and right of the ogee arches closest to the posts are much less open, whereas at Dunchideock the openings above the ogee heads are wider and less rectangular than those at Cullompton. These small, indeed minor, differences in detail may be observed in the fifth type of Bond and Camm, the 'Exe-valley' type classification in which the 'tilting shield' is the characteristic ornament. Of the examples used in this sample, both Bradninch and Kentisbeare display the tilting shield, yet while Kentisbeare has four, Bradninch has six tilting shields in each light; otherwise the tracery conforms to the standard pattern.

⁷⁰ Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon*, p. 47.

It is in such minor differences in the bay tracery that variation lies within this element. Only minor differences such as those mentioned above distinguish the various types. The similarities exhibited by the bay traceries strengthen the argument that there might very well have been centralized ateliers for such production, for the demand for this regular pattern seems to have been considerable. Yet it is in the tracery patterns of the screens of Brushford, the parclose screen at Coldridge (Fig. 24), Colebrooke (Fig. 25), and Holbeton (two separate types within the Bond and Camm classification) that the argument that the bay tracery shows more conformity than any other element of the screen is confounded. Nothing like these four screens has been noted elsewhere in Devon. It is worth quoting Bond and Camm here: 'the tracery consists of a main curvilinear network, filled with a small flamboyant reticulation, all framed in rectangular compartments with a good deal of late detail in the twisted shafts and other enrichments'.⁷¹ So dissimilar is this tracery to anything else in Devon that it has been suggested that Breton carvers constructed it and that it may be compared with certain screens in Brittany. Equally as startling and unusual is the screen, and especially the carved tracery within it, at Holbeton. Understandably, Bond and Camm class this as a separate type, proposing the classification as 'Hispano-Flemish'. The chancel screen is twentieth-century, but 'designed in perfect conformity with the aisle and parclose screens', which are of the sixteenth century. The tracery is like nothing else in Devon; the narrow sub-divisions of lights which have semi-circular arch heads are divided by mullions, while the lights as a whole are placed in square-headed rectangles which are themselves divided by thicker mullions which are intricately carved. The top elements of the bay tracery are placed in U-shaped surrounds and show numerous motifs, including shield and vegetation.⁷²

⁷¹ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 306-7.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20; also Figure 26.

Despite these exceptions, the case remains that more than any other part of the screen, the bay tracery carving shows a remarkable conformity in all areas of the county and in most types included in Bond and Camm's classification of Devon screens. Furthermore, the carving of the tracery emphasises that while the detail could vary elsewhere in the screen, the tracery tended to conform to an accepted norm. Perhaps this is why the tracery on the Brushford, Coldridge (parclose), Colebrooke, and Holbeton screens is so startling. The parishioners and churchwardens who commissioned their screen wanted them to be, perhaps, bigger and better than their neighbours', but they did not want them to be different although carvers might have been given a certain latitude to express themselves in variation of detail.

Carving and decoration: (v) parclose screens⁷³

Parclose screens in Devon churches, invariably screening a north or south aisle chapel from the chancel, were very common in the middle ages. Of those that survive, the greater part are constructed of timber and are of the Perpendicular style. Their function was to enclose side chapels, protecting the altars and spaces therein. These chapels were often private chapels of the gentry or of religious guilds, which those of sufficient wealth would embellish and beautify (as in the Chudleigh chapel at Ashton church). That this chapel was screened off from the rest of the church also emphasised social differences within the parish.⁷⁴ The carving of parclose screens is, more often than not, far less elaborate than that of roodscreens. Parcloses were not built with lofts; consequently the presence of vaulting is extremely rare, although it does exist.

⁷³ See Glossary.

⁷⁴ Cook, *Medieval Parish Church*, p. 181; J. C. Cox, *English Church Fitting, Furniture, and Accessories* (London, 1923), p. 143; E. Duffy 'Late Medieval Religion' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 2003), p. 60.

The research for this thesis has involved an examination of 40 parclose screens from 28 Devon churches.⁷⁵ Churches from north, east, south, and west Devon have been visited in order to give a comprehensive geographical spread. While considerably less elaborate, and more functional, than the roodcreens, these parclose screens exhibit many similar elements. While there is no vaulting, there are cornices, tracery, and dados which display many of the carved enrichments of the roodcreens. Like the roodcreens, not all parclose screens have cornices, although the majority of the samples taken do. Twenty-seven of the 40 parclose screens have cornices, the majority having one band of running ornament, seven having two bands. When a band of running ornament does occur, it is usually carved with the vine trail, although at Cullompton on the north aisle parclose screen, one band is carved with angels and shields. The others are plain, except for Bradninch which has a biblical exhortation in Latin written upon it, as does the eastern facing cornice of the roodscreen.

While the parclose screens have three, four and – in the cases of Willand, Colebrooke and Combe Martin from this sample five – lights, nearly all the doors are missing. It is clear that these screens did have doors as in all cases the frame for the missing door is clearly visible. The Colebrooke and Coldridge parclose screen doors survive, excellent examples of such an object. It seems unlikely that doors at Bradninch were ever present as there is no doorframe. All the lights and sometimes the spandrels of the door frame arch are carved with window tracery. The insertion of the tracery into the bays would have been done in similar fashion to the main screen.⁷⁶ There is, too, considerable variation in the carving of the tracery, not only between each screen, but sometimes between each bay. The Nymet Tracey parclose is a good example of this

⁷⁵ See Appendix 5. It should be noted that not all parclose screens are accessible to the visitor.

⁷⁶ See 'Construction of a Screen' earlier in this chapter.

bay-variation (Fig. 27). Others, such as Willand and Payhembury exhibit no variation, while Kentisbeare's bays differ only in their open spandrel work. In the south aisle parclose at Cullompton even the tracery above the missing door is exactly the same as the window bay tracery, as is that at Berry Pomeroy in the south aisle parclose. Degrees of flamboyance and originality vary: at Lustleigh the tracery occupies rather more of the bay than usual, while at Uffculme the arch head is of straight angles, rather than curved, with the vine trail motif employed in large, triangular spandrels. The north aisle parclose screen tracery and cornice at Cullompton is also unusual; the tracery on the square headed bay is delicate and relatively minimal, while the cornice (as noted) has a running ornament of shields and angels – an original embellishment. It is the parclose screen at Colebrooke, however, which is the most startling and unusual in its carving. Rightly renowned, and placed by Bond and Camm in a type of its own (with Brushford and Coldridge), the Colebrooke tracery is, in Cherry's and Pevsner's words 'very mannered, but of great charm; not at all in the usual Devon tradition ... Franco-Flemish rather than English ... a Breton workman has been suggested ... the same carver must have worked at Brushford and Coldridge' (Fig. 25).⁷⁷

As well as pulpita and roodscreens, there were also chapel screens within cathedrals. For example, there are ten remaining medieval chapel screens in Exeter Cathedral, both of stone and wood. Most are of stone, perhaps surviving because of their small size. The wooden screens are the older, those being the screen at the north-west corner of the north nave aisle, against the chapel of St. Edmund, built between 1375 and 1400, and the screen between the north choir aisle and the chapel of St. Andrew, built between c.1375 and c.1425.⁷⁸ The stone chapel screens are, firstly, those three built between 1395 and 1419: that between the

⁷⁷ Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon*, p. 276.

⁷⁸ H. E. Bishop and E. K. Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter* (Exeter, 1922), pp. 112, 116, 138-9.

retrochoir and the chapel of St. John the Evangelist; that between the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel, and the screen built between the retrochoir and the chapel of St. Gabriel.⁷⁹ Two stone chapel screens were constructed between 1433 and 1434: on the north side of the north transept (the chapel of St. Paul) and the north side of the south transept (the chapel of St. John the Baptist).⁸⁰ Finally, there are three sixteenth century stone screens: a parclose of two sides in the north-east corner of the north transept (the Sylke chantry chapel); that between the south end of the retrochoir and Bishop Oldham's chapel, built between 1509 and 1519, and that between the north end of the retrochoir and Sir John Speke's chapel, again built between 1509 and 1519.⁸¹ In decorative terms, the late sixteenth century screens are the most interesting, for here heraldic ornament is introduced, such as family coats of arms, royal badges and, in Oldham's chapel, rebuses. There is also a considerable amount of figure sculpture on these screens: the four Evangelists and their attributes on the Speke screen, the four Doctors of the Latin Church on the Oldham screen (now mutilated) and representations of St. Ursula and St. Margaret of Antioch on the Oldham screen, while the Speke screen (in the niche facing south) contains St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read and (in the niche facing west) the Assumption of the Virgin.⁸²

As visible today, the polychromy of the parclose screens in this sample is the exception rather than the rule. Only six in the sample taken exhibit any signs of painting and gilding; most are varnished. One must be aware, however, that the majority of these screens have been restored (and doubtless varnished, and in few cases re-painted and re-gilded) over the centuries. This restoration – particularly evident in the Victorian period – has left the screens in good condition but also obscured our view of what they might have looked like before the Reformation.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-12, 131-3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-16, 133-4.

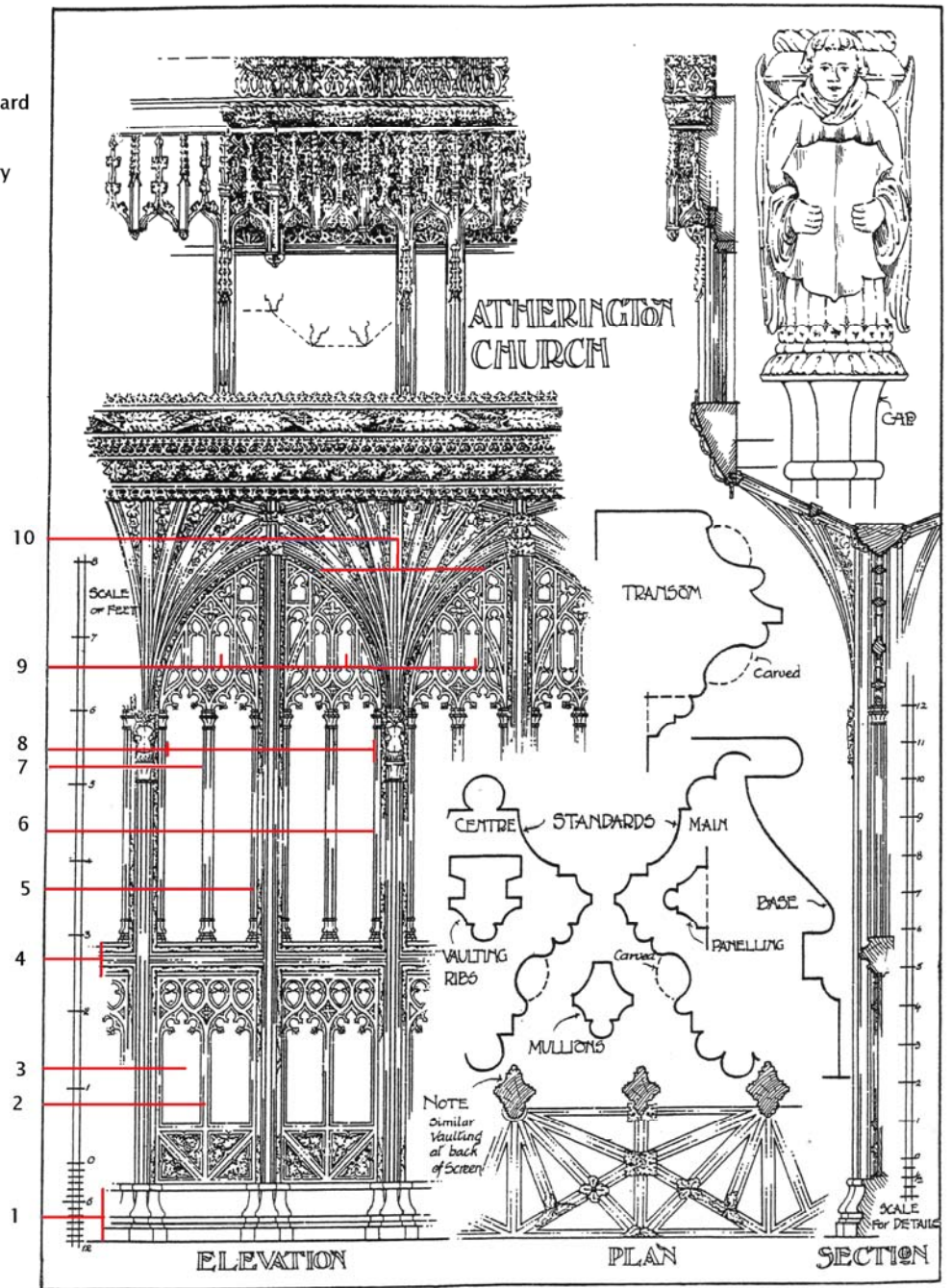
⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 134-8.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 135-7.

Key

1. Sill
2. Muntin
3. Panel
4. Transom rail
5. Intermediate post
6. Post or Standard
7. Mullion
8. Bay
9. Arcade tracery
10. Vault

Figure 3.
Elements
of a
screen
(1)



Key

- 11. Vault rib
- 12. Vault panel
- 13. Cornice
- 14. Inverted crestring
- 15. Running ornament
- 16. Beading
- 17. Cresting
- 18. Gallery front posts
- 19. Soffit
- 20. Projecting canopies

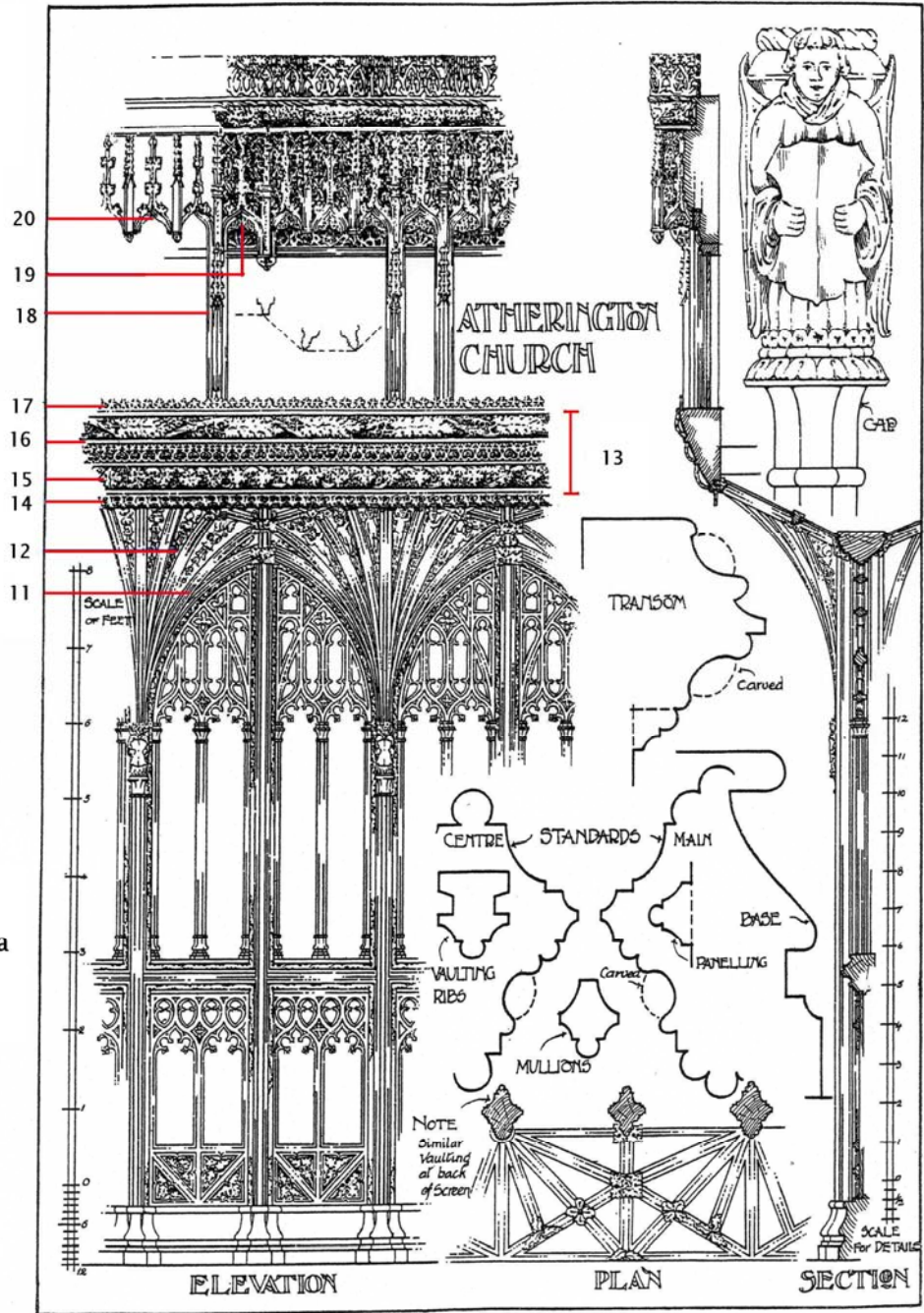


Figure 4.
Elements of a screen (2)

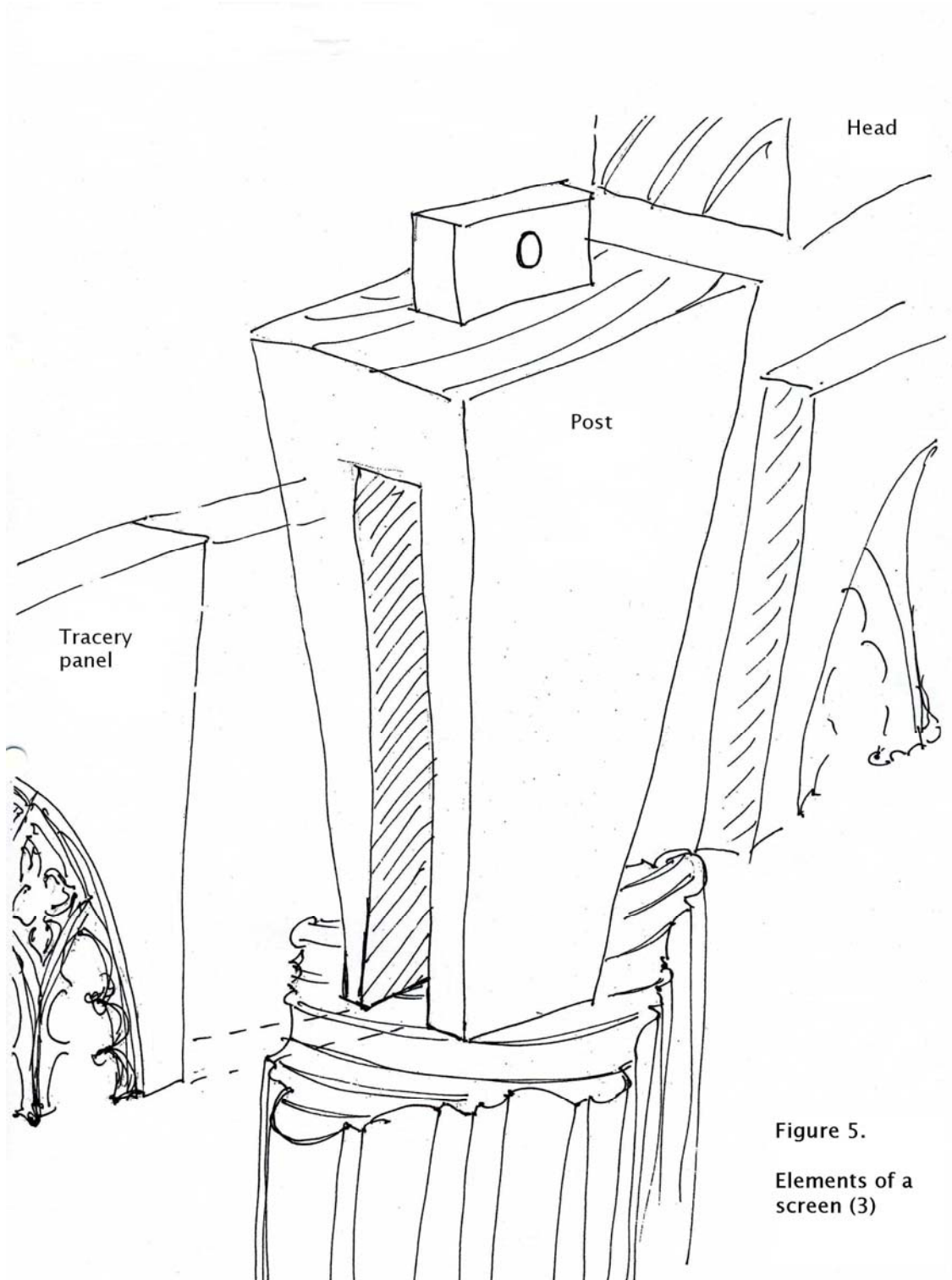


Figure 5.
Elements of a
screen (3)

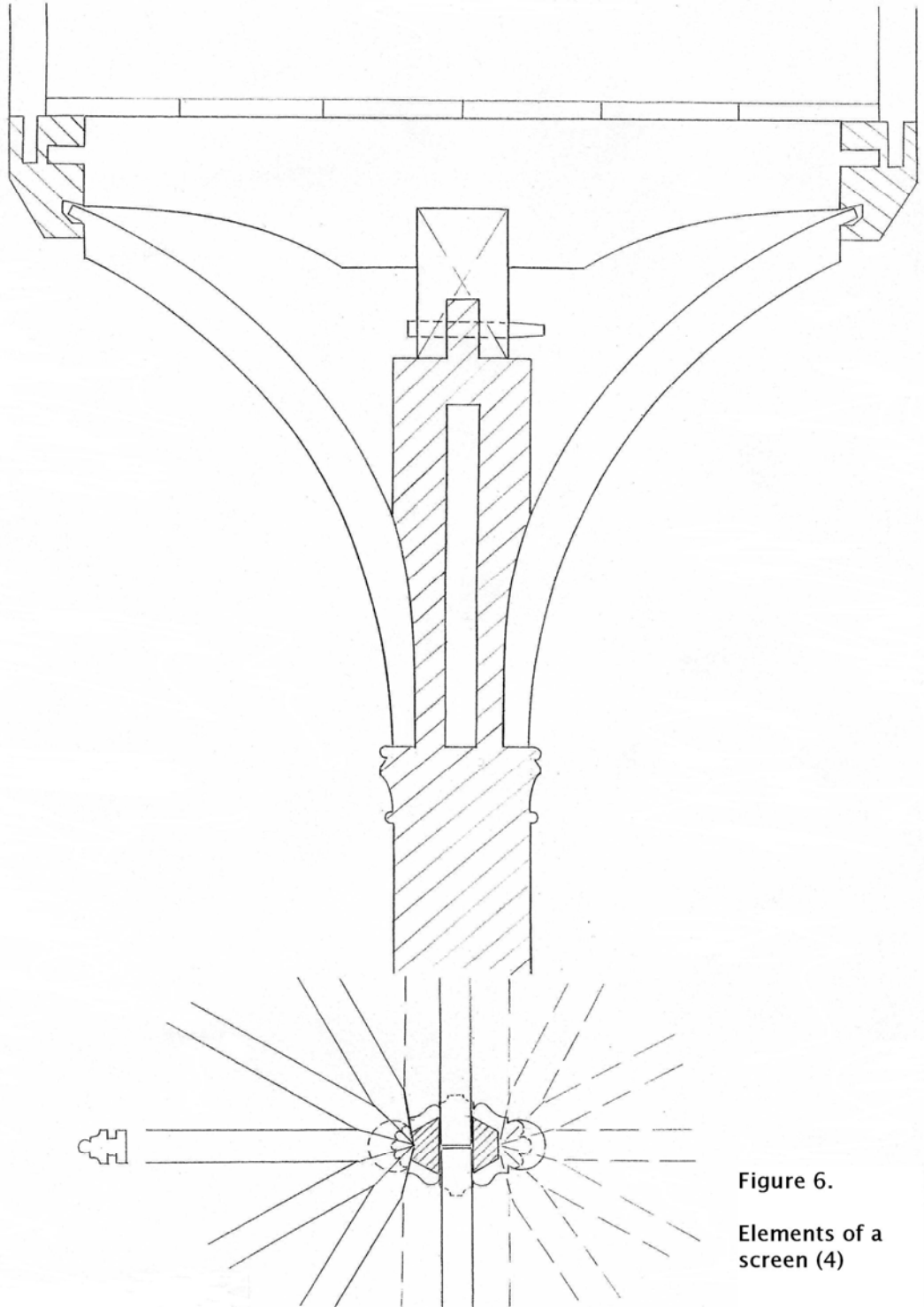


Figure 6.
Elements of a
screen (4)

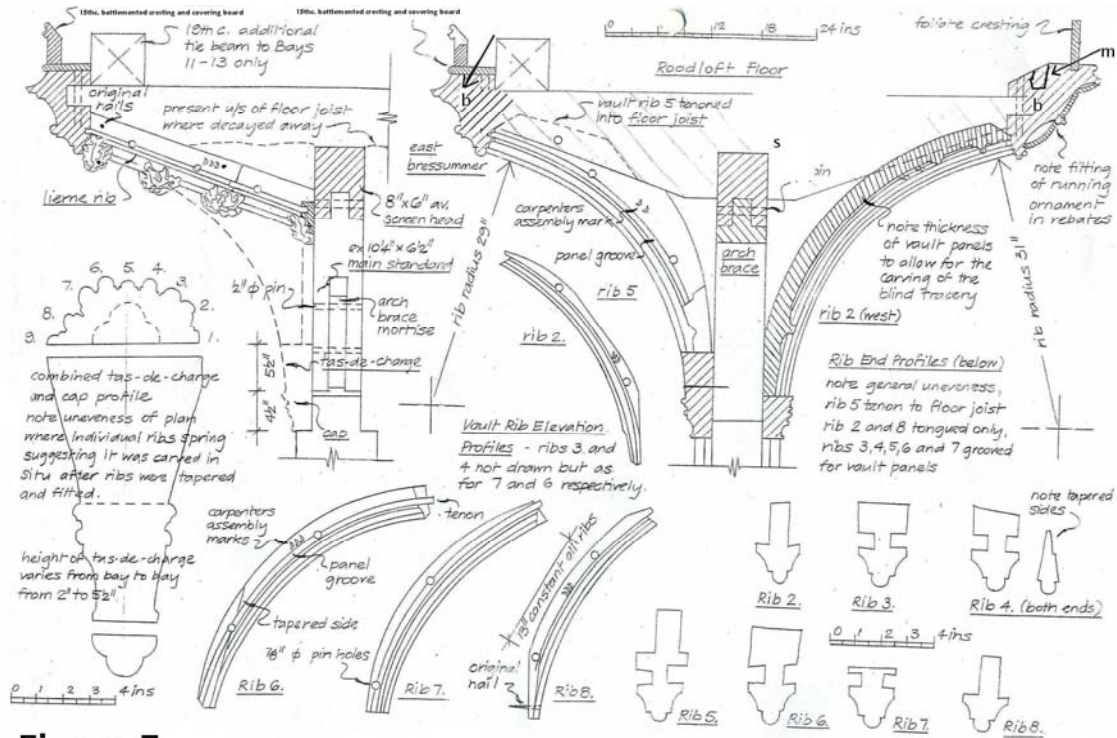


Figure 7
Elements of a screen (5)

b - floor joint tenoned and pinned to the east and west bressummer
 m - mortise for the absent gallery front post
 s - screen head tenoned and pinned to the top of the post

I would like to thank Mr. H. M. J. Harrison for permission to use this diagram from his working notes on the restoration of the roodscreen at Uffculme church, Devon.



Figure 9: Roodscreen, late fourteenth century (Welcombe c.1380).



Figure 10: Roodscreen, early sixteenth century (Bradnich, not after 1528).

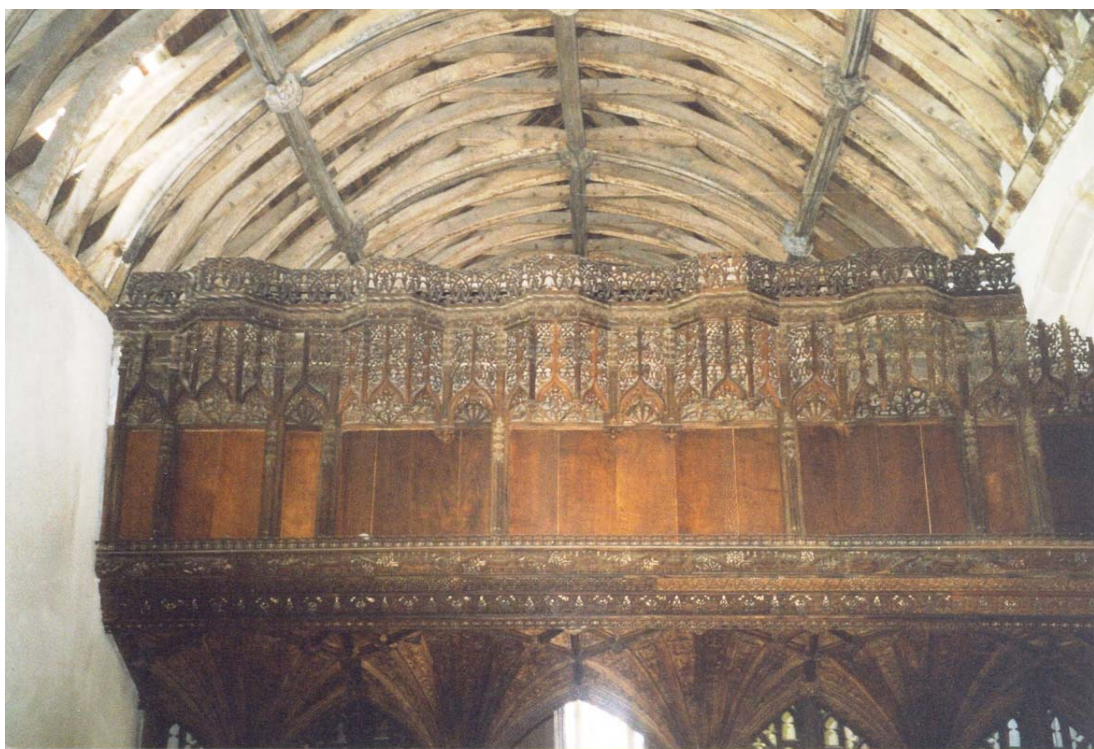


Figure 11. Roodloft gallery (Atherington)



Figure 12. Dado (Bovey Tracey)



Figure 13. Vaulting (Berry Pomeroy).



Figure 14. Cornice (Hartland).



Figure 15. Coving (Willand).



Figure 16. Nymet Tracey roodscreen (facing the nave)



Figure 17. Nymet Tracey roodscreen (facing the chancel)



Figure 18. Spandrels (Atherington).



Figure 19. Spandrels (Combe Martin).



Figure 20. Spandrels (Bridford)

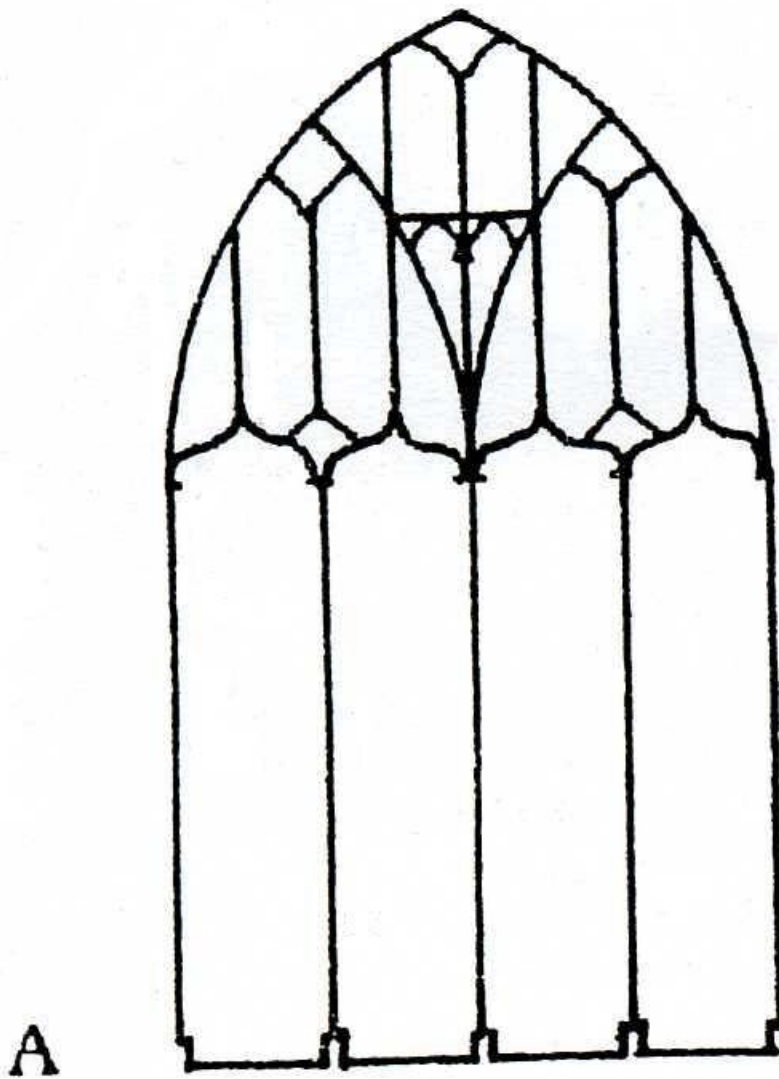


Figure 21. Tracery (Type A) (Cherry and Pevsner, 1991).

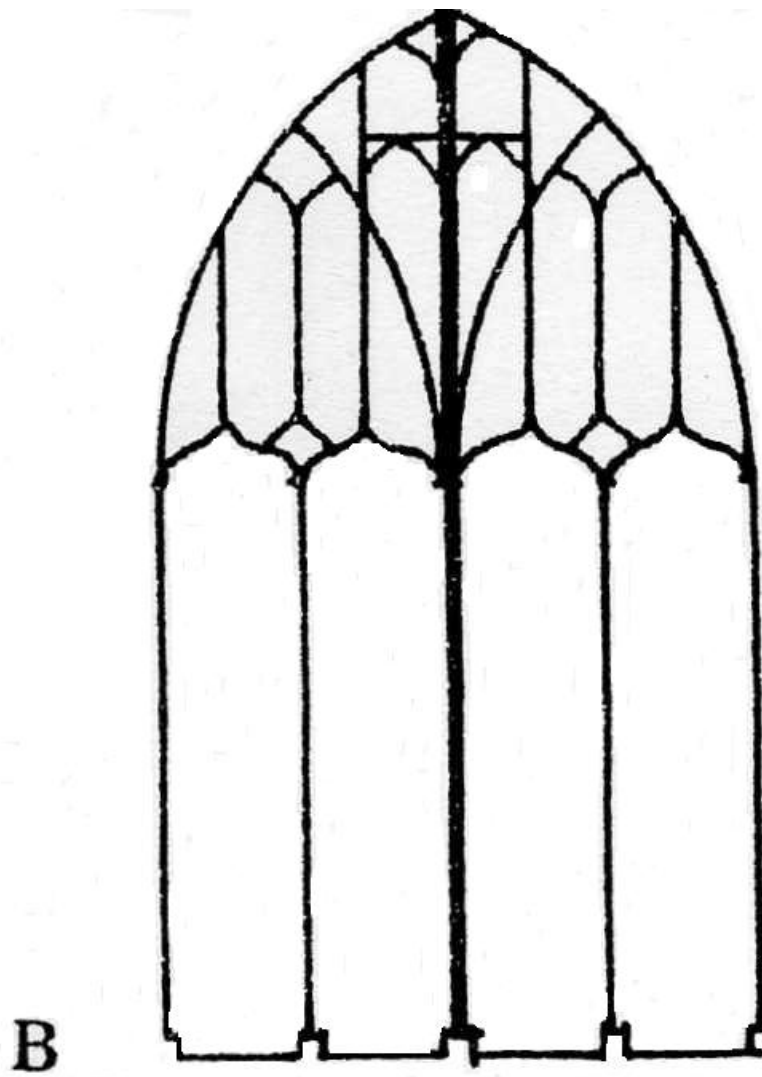


Figure 22. Tracery (Type B) (Cherry and Pevsner, 1991).

Figure 23.

DEVON ROODSCREENS ACCORDING TO TYPE. ⁸³

Type descriptions

Type 1. Early flat-headed screens with rectangular compartments and no vaulting (but occasionally coving).

Type 2. Ordinary Perpendicular design with minor variations.

Type 3. As Type 2 but with more enriched and superior detail.

Type 4. Having lights divided by a heavy moulded standard running into the apex of the arch. Richly embossed vaulting spandrels. Fine cornices.

Type 5. Exe Valley type, characterised by the 'tilting shield' ornament within the tracery.

Type 6. Early plain Perpendicular, but massive in appearance.

Type 7. Dartmouth type, having a distinctive type of tracery containing foliated canopies within the arcaded window heads. Vaulting of a special character.

Type 8. Bridford type. Highly enriched variety of later Perpendicular, particularly noticeable on the carved muntins, spandrels, and dados and with an impression of Renaissance feeling as expressed by the dress of the carved figures on the Bridford screen.

Type 9. Lapford type. Tracery of Perpendicular character, but in which the vaulting spandrels and other members exhibit a strong Renaissance feeling as expressed, for example, on the Lapford and Atherington spandrels and the Marwood dado.

Type 10. Mostly parclose screens. The main features of the screens are the intricate and unusual bay tracery carving, which is different to anything else in the county.

⁸³ Based on Bond and Camm, 2, p. 279.

Type 11. More delicate than Type 10 screens, but also simpler. Idiosyncratic bay tracery carving which is, again, different to anything else in the county.

Type 12. Massive, but with intricate decoration of the entire screen: dado, mullions, muntins, spandrels, and cornice. Not dissimilar to Type 4 screens.



Figure 24. Tracery (Coldridge)



Figure 25. Tracery (Colebrooke).



Figure 26. Tracery (Holbeton)



Figure 27. Parcloses screen (Nymet Tracey).

Chapter Six

THE CLASSIFICATION OF SCREENS

The Bond-Camm system of classification of Devon roodcreens, discussed in Chapter Five, may also be used to answer questions concerning geographical distribution by type. It can throw light on whether or not each type is concentrated in one particular area, the output and location of workshops, and whether or not it is possible to build up a picture of stylistic development suggested by the dating of a screen (and by implication other screens within that group) or whether stylistic development is teleological in nature.

First, however, it is necessary for each extant Devon screen (and where appropriate a parclose) to be identified within the classification system. No screens, of course, are completely alike and, although many can easily be identified within the Bond-Camm classification criteria, there are some whose identification has to be approached subjectively and which therefore may be subject to dispute. These identifications have been attempted and are listed with the details of the original twelve classification types expanded. A complete listing of types and examples may be found at Appendix 8, and illustrations of each type plus further detailed photographs where necessary have also been included. The major stylistic groups (types 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12) have then been mapped to indicate their geographical distribution (Fig. 3). Types 1, 2, and 3 have not been mapped because their distribution is haphazard, in that the screens of these types are too geographically widespread to indicate any definite pattern, while types 4, 6, and 12, although mapped, are arguably too small in number (2, 2, and 3 respectively) to be statistically useful. Examples of how geographically widespread types 1, 2, and 3 are may be illustrated by examples from each type. Type 1

screens are found throughout the county: in the north at Braunton, in the east at Burlescombe, in the west at Exbourne, and in the south at East Budleigh (although it should be noted that no screens of this type may be found in the Dartmouth and South Hams area). Type 2 screens, the most common, are also found throughout the county. Combe Martin in the north, Cullompton in the east, Broadwoodwidge in the west, and Harberton in the south exemplify this. Finally, type 3 screens, while not found in the north of the county, have representatives in the east (Awliscombe), the west (Plympton St. Maurice) and the south (Stokenham).

The first type (1), early (that is dating from the fourteenth century) flat-headed screens with rectangular compartments and no vaulting (but occasionally coving) has no recognizable pattern of distribution. The provision of new screens throughout Devon in the period c.1450-1540 was common, and it is quite possible that many older screens (of this early type) were removed to make way for new, improved ones.¹ Some older screens of this type may have survived into later times because parishes could not afford a new screen or because their parishioners were satisfied with the screen that they already possessed. Those that remain (a total of 15) include examples at Braunton, Burlescombe (and Ayshford chapel), Calverleigh, East Budleigh, East Ogwell, Exbourne, Huxham, Nymet Tracey, Parracombe, Sheldon, Stokeinteignhead, Welcombe, Willand, and Woodbury . Illustrations of this type are shown in Figs 28 and 29. All the remaining types of screens date from after about 1400, and the question of their chronology will be addressed later in the chapter.

The second and third types of screen (2 and 3), while being far the most numerous in the country, are the types most open to analysis. The second type, that of the ordinary Perpendicular design, found with minor

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 38, 54-5.

variations all over Devon, and the third type, like that of the second but more enriched and with superior detail, can often – especially on the classification borderline – be indistinguishable. Nevertheless an attempt has been made to list, and to separate, the two types. Both are found widely throughout the county, making it difficult to perceive any pattern of distribution. As with type 1, two illustrations from each type are included (Figs 30 and 31 [type 2] and Figs 32 and 33 [type 3]). Type 2 screens may be found at Abbotskerswell, Alphington, Ashton, Bampton, Berry Pomeroy, Bovey Tracey, Broadhempston, Broadwoodwidge, Buckerell, Buckland-in-the-Moor, Chagford, Chawleigh, Chudleigh, Clyst St. Lawrence, Cockington, Combeinteignhead, Combe Martin, Cullompton, Dartington, Dunchideock, Exminster, Harberton, Heaton Punchardon, Iddesleigh, Kenn, Littlehempston, Manaton, Membury, North Bovey, Northleigh, North Molton, Payhembury, Plymstock, Poltimore, Powderham, Rose Ash, Staverton, Stoke Gabriel, Talaton, Westleigh, and Widecombe (a total of 36). Type 3 screens survive at Awliscombe, Exeter (St Mary Steps), Ipplepen, Kenton, Littleham [Exmouth], Plympton (St Maurice), Rattery, Stokenham, Torbryan, Totnes, Whitchurch, and Wolborough (a total of 12).

Some of the other classification types contain only one or two examples, but in all these instances the screens are confined to very local areas. Type 4, described by Bond and Camm as the Hartland-Burrington type, has lights which are divided by a heavy moulded standard running into the apex of the arch and whose vaulting spandrels are richly embossed and which have very fine cornices. Only two screens, at Hartland and Burrington, fit into this type, of which an illustration is given of the former (Fig 34). Other very small groupings are those of type 6 (which includes two examples at Halberton and Uffculme), type 11 (with three survivals at Brushford, Coldridge, and Colebrook), and type 12 (represented by two examples, at Pilton and Swimbridge). The screens of type 6 are of a massive appearance, Perpendicular though relatively plain

(Fig 35). Type 12, the Pilton type, has an affinity with those screens of type 6, but is richer than the latter. Type 12 screens (see Figs 36 and 37) exhibit a number of exuberant, detailed, decorated forms which distinguish them from the earlier type 6 screens. The type 12 screens also exhibit a sense of the massive, but alleviated by the intricate decoration of almost the entire screen: the dado, the mullions and muntins, the spandrels and the cornice. It could also be argued that these type 12 screens are not dissimilar to the type 4 screens, but only Swimbridge exhibits the heavy moulded muntin running into the apex of the arch which is characteristic of the type 4 screens. Swimbridge and Pilton are, geographically, not far from the two type 4 screens at Burrington and Hartland, but the differences are sufficient to designate them differently by type.

Type 10, whose examples are mostly parclose screens, is the Holbeton type of screenwork. This type (along with type 11, shortly to be discussed) is so different to anything else in the county that the possibility of a foreign carver or carvers has regularly been suggested.² The main features of these screens are the intricate and unusual bay tracery carving. This type may be found at Cornworthy, Dittisham, Dodbrooke, Holbeton, Kingsbridge, South Milton, and Ugborough (Figs 38 and 39), all in the South Hams. The type 11 screens, again so different to the rest of the county, might also perhaps be ascribed to foreign carvers. They appear more delicate than the type 10 screens, yet simpler. It is, again, the bay tracery carving that is so idiosyncratic and, also, it is clear that these remaining survivals were never intended to support a roodloft (Figs 40 and 41). This type may be found at Brushford, Coldridge, and Colebrooke.

² For example J. Stabb, *Some Old Devon Churches*, 3 vols (London, 1908-16), 1 (1908), p. 24, 2 (1911), pp. 51, 53; Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 306-7; A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), p. 54; B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn (London, 1991), pp. 221,274,276. See also Chapter 5, p. 153-4.

Types 5, 7, 8, and 9 differ in containing a greater number of examples, which allow a more confident analysis. Type 5, the 'Exe Valley' type of Perpendicular screen, is characterised by the 'tilting shield' ornament within the tracery. This survives at seven places in Devon: Bradninch, Chulmleigh, Feniton, Kentisbeare, Pinhoe, Plymtree, and Rewe. (Figs 42 and 43). Type 7, the Dartmouth type, which, according to Bond and Camm, 'has a distinctive type of tracery containing foliated canopies within the arcaded widow heads and has vaulting of a special character' is represented by eight examples at Blackawton, Chivelstone, Dartmouth (St Saviour), East Allington, East Portlemouth, Sherford, Slapton, and South Pool (Figs 44 and 45). Type 8, the Bridford type, which is a highly enriched variety of late Perpendicular, particularly noticeable on the carved muntins, spandrels, and dados, and with an impression of Renaissance feeling as expressed by the dress of the carved figures on the Bridford screen. This type has 10 examples (Figs 46 and 47), at Bridford, Cheriton Bishop, Christow, Down St. Mary, Gidleigh, Hennock, Holne, Ilsington, Trusham, and (possibly) Lustleigh. Finally, Type 9, the Lapford type of screen, which has a tracery system of Perpendicular character, with cornices chiefly of native design, but in which the fillings of the vaultings and other members exhibit a strong Renaissance feeling, that is as expressed, for example, on the Lapford and Atherington spandrels and the Marwood dado (Figs 48, 49, and 50). These Renaissance motifs can take the form of abstract or vegetable or floral ornaments, or sometimes carved heads or even putti. There are 11 examples of this type, at Atherington, Bishop's Tawton, East Down, King's Nympton, Lapford, Marwood, Monkleigh, Morchard Bishop, Sutcombe, Tawstock, and West Worlington.

To complete this body of evidence, it is useful to consider how far the Cherry and Pevsner classification of tracery type outlined in Chapter 5

relates to classification by screen type.³ The conclusion reached was that more conformity exists in the bay tracery of screens than any other element, although there are minor differences of detail together with the major ones of types 7, 10, and 11 screens. This conformity is apparent on all other screen types, throughout the county, making it impossible to distinguish any patterns, let alone map differences. Therefore classification by tracery type relates to screen classification on only very few screens. Because most screens conform to the Cherry and Pevsner tracery types it may be argued that bay tracery with the possible exception of screen type 7, the Dartmouth type (and types 10 and 11) – cannot be adduced as evidence to help answer the questions relating to Cherry and Pevsner type B tracery screen classification. Nevertheless both extant type 4 screens do have characteristic Cherry and Pevsner type B tracery, as do both extant type 6 screens, but the sample is so small in both cases that it would be difficult to draw any firm conclusions. Indeed, it has been possible to determine Cherry and Pevsner type B tracery on only 15 extant Devon screens. As for the type 7 (Dartmouth) tracery, while this is not as spectacularly different as those of classification types 10 and 11, it does have certain qualities which place it apart from the normal Perpendicular bay tracery common throughout Devon. These qualities, in particular the foliated canopies, are noticeable on all the extant examples. The tracery of type 7 screens, then, is arguably the main method of identifying this type of screen and is evidence that may be adduced in analysing and mapping it. It is, then, argued that while screen types 1, 2, and 3 are to be found throughout the county, types 4-12 have specific geographical locations. A further conclusion that classification by tracery type does not map onto classification by screen type (except in types 7, 10, and 11) may be drawn.

We can now proceed to answer three questions about screen types. Can they be seen as representing the output of distinct workshops? What

³ See Chapter 5, p. 152.

does this distribution tell us about the possible location of these workshops? And, where screens can be dated, and by implication the other screens in this group too, can we construct a history of stylistic development? The first and second questions may be considered together. The geographical distribution and the artistic similarities of screen types 5 (mainly, but not entirely east Devon)⁴, 7 (Dartmouth and the South Hams),⁵ 8 (the Teign valley and the fringes of eastern Dartmoor),⁶ and 9 (mid and north Devon),⁷ for example at Bishop's Tawton, Monkleigh and Morchard Bishop) may point to the existence of distinctive craftsmen or workshops. What must also be borne in mind, however, is the practice of emulation within local areas, raising the possibility that one local workshop may well have copied the work of a nearby workshop, arguing for a number of small workshops rather than a centralized one. Equally, this wish to copy and better a nearby screen might have led to the expansion of a workshop already in existence. Development of a certain style of screen might very well be based on the wish of a parish to have a screen very much like a nearby model, but one which, with certain improvements and embellishments, might appear more costly, perhaps more modern, perhaps bigger and better. Of course, the size and wealth of the parish would be an important factor here, as would the experience and artistic abilities of the carver. Indeed, the same carvers may very well have worked on similar screens, although there is no direct evidence for this except, almost certainly, the presence of one of the Stratton carvers at Atherington in the mid 1540's.⁸ Unfortunately the disappearance of the Stratton roodloft makes it impossible to consider any stylistic similarities between the two parishes, although the likely presence of the same carver, the relative closeness of

⁴ For example at Feniton, Kentisbeare, and Pinhoe.

⁵ For example at Chivelstone, East Allington, and South Pool.

⁶ For example at Hennock, Holne, and Ilsington.

⁷ For example at Bishop's Tawton, Monkleigh, and Morchard Bishop.

⁸ See Chapter 4, p. 113.

the two parishes (30 miles), and the possibility of copying or emulation makes the idea of screen similarity not unlikely. The Stratton contract indicates clearly that John Pares of North Lew (Devon) was involved in the indenture of agreement for the making of a roodloft in Stratton church (29 May 1531) and the bond agreement of 14 July 1531 (where he is described as a carver), and that (almost certainly) the same man, John Parrys of North Lew (described as a carpenter, carver and joiner) was the co-author of a complaint concerning unpaid money for his work on the Atherington roodloft (the document of complaint being dated 1544-47).⁹

The third question, the construction of a chronology of screen styles, is made difficult to answer by the scarcity of definite dates for screens. Atherington, Bridford, Marwood, Pinhoe, and Totnes have the only documented dates.¹⁰ Datings given by Bond and Camm are based mainly on stylistic features rather than documentary evidence, such as the badges of kings, queens, and noble families. Such features are less chronologically precise. The stylistic development postulated by Bond and Camm begins with the early, square-headed type (type 1), through the massive early Perpendicular type (types 4 and 6) to the far more numerous, less massive Perpendicular type which is common throughout Devon (types 2 and 3). Bond and Camm maintained that the earliest specimens of the Perpendicular type (type 6) date from about 1420 while the majority were probably erected between the years 1470-1520.¹¹ This stage was followed by the embellishment of this type, and then by the later, sixteenth-century phase which saw the introduction of certain Renaissance elements like the characteristic carved spandrels of the vaulting to the final, flamboyant style apparent in screens like that of Atherington. Bond and Camm argued that it is in the character of the

⁹ The National Archives(K), C1/1116; CRO P216/25/215, transcribed by Goulding, R. W., *Records of the Charity known as Blanchminster's Charity in the Parish of Stratton, County of Cornwall until the year 1832* (Stratton and Bude, 1890), pp. 91-4. Also see Appendix 7.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1, pp. 267-8, 275-6, 327, 336-7, 356-7.

¹¹ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 277.

detail and of the execution of the carving that the best test of a screen's age lies, seeing a development in these characteristics that leads to the 'full development' and 'ultimate decadence' in screen carving which leaves, so they argue, 'a surprisingly accurate record of the time of a screen's construction'.

While having some merit, this is too subjective a way of assessing the dating and development of a screen. 'Development' may well be the result of money available (as at Totnes) rather than of an assumed linear progression. Far simpler screens than that of Totnes may well have been constructed later, their relative simplicity relating chiefly to cost, for example at Broadwoodwidge (Fig 51), thus arguing against Bond and Camm's teleological approach. It may be possible to date the Broadwoodwidge screen to 1529. One of the bench ends in that church, which appear to be contemporaneous with the screen, has that date carved upon it. Indeed, these bench ends, which portray the instruments of the Passion, could be the products of the same workshop which produced the screen. Further possible aids to the dating of the Broadwoodwidge screen are the spandrel carvings, one of which appears to be an angel with wings and a spear. Cherry and Pevsner commented that the bench ends are 'of the usual Devon type of c. 1530, some with mid-sixteenth century heads'.¹² Changes over time may be observed in the appearance of screens, but these changes do not *per se* have to represent development (or decline). The factors of copying, emulation, the experience and artistic abilities of the carvers, would lead to slow change. The work of the carvers of screen types 11 (and most of 10) is so different and startling as to almost prove the otherwise unrecorded presence of foreign carvers.

Can dating a screen then help to build up a picture of stylistic development? That a late screen like that at Bradninch is superior in form

¹² Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon*, p. 219.

and execution to an early one (like that at Welcombe) is undeniable, but it seems that the concept of 'stylistic development' is too burdened with subjective analysis and too limited in the existence of actual evidence for any firm answer to be given. Embellishments and flamboyant elements in later (i.e. sixteenth-century) screens certainly indicate chronological change. Bond and Camm's picture of stylistic development over the period c.1380-1545 may have some value, but the paucity of evidence concerning dating (i.e. only five screens can be positively dated, although others may be given reasonable dating) renders much argument about stylistic development *based on dating* otiose.

Nevertheless the obvious differences between many screens in Devon point to a development of fashions, dissemination of those ideas through copying and emulation, the existence of local workshops served by local carvers with their own individual skills and preferences, the introduction of new motifs on, for example, spandrels and dados (possibly taken from other media),¹³ and the influence of foreign carvers (although only in relatively small areas). We should build the history of stylistic change on these elements, and on the small body of documentary evidence, rather than on subjective views of what constitutes 'development' and 'decline'.

¹³ For spandrels, see Chapter 5, pp. 146-7; for dados see Chapter 7, p 215.



Fig. 28. Type 1 roodscreen. Braunton.



Fig. 29. Type 1 roodscreen. Calverleigh.



Fig. 30. Type 2 roodscreen. Bovey Tracey.



Fig. 31. Type 2 roodscreen. Broadhempston.



Fig. 32. Type 3 roodscreen. Stokenham.



Fig. 33. Type 3 roodscreen. Torbryan.



Fig. 34. Type 4 roodscreen. Hartland.



Fig. 35. Type 6 roodscreen. Halberton.



Fig 36. Type 12 roodscreen. Swimbridge.



Fig. 37. Type 12 roodscreen. Pilton.



Fig. 38. Type 10 (parclose) screen. Kingsbridge.



Fig. 39. Type 10 (parclose) screen. Holbeton.



Fig. 40. Type 11 (parclose) screen. Colebrooke.



Fig. 41. Type 11 roodscreen. Brushford.



Fig. 42. Type 5 roodscreen. Chulmleigh.



Fig. 43. Type 5 roodscreen. Kentisbeare.



Fig. 44. Type 7 roodscreen. Dartmouth (St Saviour).



Fig. 45. Type 7 roodscreen. Dartmouth (St Saviour).



Fig. 46. Type 8 roodscreen. (Bridford).



Fig. 47. Type 8 roodscreen. Cheriton Bishop.



Fig 48. Type 9 roodscreen (spandrels). Lapford



Fig 49. Type 9 roodscreen (spandrels). Atherington.



Fig. 50. Type 9 roodscreen (dado). Marwood.



Fig. 51. Roodscreen. Broadwoodwidge.

Chapter Seven

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SCREENS

The study of screen iconography

Roodscreens, roodlofts, and roodloft galleries were not decorated merely in sculptural terms. Most, prior to the Reformation, were likely to have painted figures or designs on their dados. The percentage of these that still possess such paintings, however, is relatively small. Out of 120 roodscreens surviving in whole or in part in Devon today, only 41 (34%) still retain dado paintings or designs, and even these are not necessarily still attached to the roodscreen. For example, the two remaining pre-Reformation dado panels at Peter Tavy are now affixed to the west wall of the north aisle, those at Heavitree appear on a dado only (the screen has been cut down to the transom rail) at the east end of the south aisle, while those at Whimble have been placed as the dado on the new tower screen at the west end of the church.¹ Moreover few of the screens with dado paintings have escaped iconoclasm or repainting in times past. Only recently have British grant-giving authorities and professional restorers adopted a policy of minimal retouching, namely the toning out of the most unsightly blemishes.²

¹ Those which remain are at Alphington, Ashton, Bere Ferrers, Berry Pomeroy, Blackawton, Bovey Tracey, Bradninch, Bridford, Buckland-in-the-Moor, Cheriton Bishop, Chivelstone, Chudleigh, Combe Martin, Dartmouth [St. Saviour], Dittisham, East Portlemouth, Exeter [Heavitree], Exeter [St. Mary Steps], Gidleigh, Hennock, Holcombe Burnel, Holne, Ipplepen, Kenn, Kenton, Kingsteignton, Lustleigh (these are carved, not painted), Mamhead, Manaton, Peter Tavy, Plymtree, Powderham, Sherford, South Milton, Stoke Gabriel, Stokenham, Torbryan, Ugborough, Whimble, Widecombe, and Wolborough.

² P. Plummer and A. Hulbert, 'English Polychromed Church Screens and the Problems of their Conservation *in situ*', *International Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works*, pp. 47-50. Paper presented at the Conference on Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings, Brussels Congress, 3-7 September 1990.

There is not a large historiography of the description – and more importantly, identification – of the painted dado figures on Devon screens. George Oliver sought to explain the names of some of the saints on the screens in churches he visited, and in later work Charles Worthy tried to set out the full series of figure identities in five churches which had painted panels in Devon parishes.³ Neither author was in any way comprehensive and, if anything, they emphasised the difficulties of such research. The first serious attempt at description and identification from a careful study of iconographical attributes was made by C. E. Keyser. He identified 33 Devon screens having painted dado panels. His was a very important work in that it provided the basis for many attempts at identification of figures that followed.⁴ Bond and Camm dealt in considerable detail with description, identification, dating, and the artistic value of dado paintings, but they disagreed with Keyser on identifications in eight Devon churches even though they acknowledged him as an important authority.⁵ They, while lamenting (perhaps too much) the activities of the Victorian restorers, dedicated 63 pages (including lists) of volume two of their work on roodscreens and roodlofts to the painted panels of Devonshire screens.⁶ A considerable amount of this space was given over to a very full analysis of the Plymtree dado figures. They also identified certain schemes which may appear on the dados: apostles put alternatively with prophets; on pairs of doors the four evangelists painted on one, on another the four doctors; on the central doors of the screen the coronation or the Assumption of the Virgin. Bond and Camm tended not to stray far from description but, like Hulbert, they acknowledged that re-painting over the centuries has not aided identification.⁷

³ See Chapter 1, pp. 27-8.

⁴ See Chapter 1, p. 28.

⁵ See Chapter 1, p. 34.

⁶ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 209-72.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 250: ‘Unfortunately, many of them have been so abominably daubed and repainted that it is quite impossible to be sure what they really represent, or what they once were like.’

The question of identification from the saints' attributes or emblems is central to iconography. Francis Bond's work of 1914 included lists of attributes and saints,⁸ and is still used today for reference.⁹ Beatrix Cresswell's work attempted a complete description and identification of painted figures, although upon occasion she quoted directly from Bond and Camm,¹⁰ despite not always agreeing with them or Keyser. Aymer Vallance devoted a short chapter to the decoration of Devon and East Anglian screens in his 1936 text, although mainly dealing with the latter region.¹¹ To these should be added the important research of Anna Hulbert in the 1970s and 80s.

Two recent articles are also worth noting. Eamon Duffy's 1997 study of East Anglian roodcreens contains a useful discussion of the iconographic schemes of East Anglian screens as a whole¹² while in 2004 an important study of sibyls on Devon roodcreens was published by Audrey Baker.¹³

The iconography of screens: problems of identification

Iconography is the branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form; a correct iconographical analysis presupposes a correct identification of the attributes of the figures.¹⁴ It is the identification of these figures that has always presented the greatest problem to the interested researcher. In Devon, at Ipplepen and Wolborough, the figures have their names written upon their panels but on most of the screens in the county the

⁸ F. Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches* (London, 1914).

⁹ Dr. John Allan, Exeter City Council Archaeological Field Unit, personal communication.

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, pp. 28-9.

¹¹ See Chapter 1, p. 36.

¹² E. Duffy, 'The Parish, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: the Evidence of Rood Screens', in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 133-62.

¹³ See below p. 220.

¹⁴ E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1962), pp. 3, 7.

clues to the identity of the figures lie in their attributes and dress. Unfortunately, some of the figures on Devon dado panels have been either mutilated or badly re-painted with the result that it is hard to be sure what they really represent. It is here that the importance of the modern restorer lies. Using the 31 reports of Hulbert on and towards the cleaning and restoration of the painted panels on Devon roodscreens in 19 churches, it is possible to perceive certain problems of identification: these being the uncertainty about attributes due to the mistakes made by past restorers and even by the original painters. More positively, Hulbert's reports indicate similarities of style on different screens, implying that the same painter worked on them; point to different hands on the same screen; offer evidence to solve problems of dating and, in the case of Pilton, suggest how various stages of painting and overpainting can reveal the impact of the Reformation.

First of all, it is clear that screen figures as seen today are not always what they seem. They may have been altered, re-painted, or even misunderstood by the original painter. Identification of the figures is therefore a central problem, and, occasionally, a problem that is difficult to solve. The panels themselves may be unfinished, there may have been more than one painter employed to create them, and, indeed, as Hulbert argued, 'it is not unusual for artists in Devon villages to make muddles'.¹⁵ She cited Manaton as an example. Here, there are no rare or unusual saints; indeed, the figures chosen are very mainstream. The four doctors of the Latin Church, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome are on the screen doors (a common device), and around the door frame are carved the twelve apostles of whom eight are identifiable by their attributes but four are not. Hulbert identified one of the doubtful figures as Andrew, but other writers have preferred Jude, the attribute here being the cross saltire. The other figure was interpreted by Hulbert as James the Less and by Bond and Camm and Cresswell as Andrew. Hulbert thought that

¹⁵ CEAC, CCBD, Hulbert, *South Milton 2* (1979), p. 2.

'perhaps' he is holding a fuller's club,¹⁶ while the other writers did not mention an attribute. This is an example of the importance of correctly identifying an attribute before proposing the name of the figure.

The problem of identification is further complicated by restoration, especially in the nineteenth century. Retouching and new colouring may very well have altered an original figure to the point where it is difficult for a modern renovator to identify it correctly. An example of this was identified by Hulbert at Chudleigh. Here, box pews fitted in earlier centuries helped towards the survival, in reasonable condition, of dado figures behind the pews. A nineteenth-century 're-touching', however, meant that certain problems of identification, so central to the discussion of Devon roodscreen iconography, were exacerbated. For example, on the name of David the D had been changed into P.¹⁷ This was misread as Paul and identified as such in a book of 1852.¹⁸ The overpainting of the figures made cleaning an exceedingly difficult task, for example Simon's and Mattheus' translucent crimson robes were thickly overpainted with 'turgid crushed strawberry'. The subject matter at Chudleigh is very rare. The apostles hold scrolls with phrases of the Apostles' creed; they stand on green grass alternately with the prophets standing in desert land holding commentaries on each phrase (Fig. 52). The apostles are distinguished by the nimbus and a book, while the prophets sometimes, but not always, carry a scroll. There are 20 figures surviving; a farther four to the right (in the aisle) are missing. The full set number 24, as may be seen at Bovey Tracey, but these latter lack inscriptions. The relatively good preservation of the figures has resulted in the identifications of Bond and Camm, Cresswell, and Hulbert being in complete agreement.

¹⁶ CEAC, CCBD, Hulbert, Manaton 1 [1980], p. 2.

¹⁷ CEAC, CCBD, Hulbert, Chudleigh 2 [1976]. Also CEAC, CCBD, Notes by Anna Hulbert on Chudleigh roodscreen and painted panels. These notes were intended for visitors to a temporary exhibition; they are not part of a proper report.

¹⁸ M. Jones, *The History of Chudleigh, in the County of Devon, and the Surrounding Scenery, Seats, Families etc.* (Exeter, 1852).

'Foreign' panels imported from other churches on a dado and movement of panels (for various reasons) over the centuries may result in a figure being now out of place on a screen and therefore subject to misinterpretation. Hulbert identified such a problem at Plymtree.¹⁹ Here the question of whether or not the screen came from elsewhere, as maintained by Bond and Camm who argued that the screen did not fit its setting, is given an answer through the study of the dado panels. So although a study of the dado panels may appear to be concerned only with their polychromy and iconography, at Plymtree they, or, at least, their positioning, have a wider significance. It is also clear that in the two northern bays of the dado, panels quite obviously from another screen have been attached. These have red, green, or white backgrounds, unlike the original Plymtree panels which all have black backgrounds. In the restoration of 1911 there was a re-ordering of these figures. How far this re-ordering went is clear from a comparison of the identifications of Bond and Camm (before the 1911 restoration) and Cresswell and, later, Hulbert (after the 1911 restoration). Since the 1911 restoration these panels are identified as (from north to south) James the Great, John the Baptist, the Risen Christ, John, Anthony and Thomas. Bond and Camm identified the figures as (from north to south) John, Anthony, Thomas, James the Great, John the Baptist, the Risen Christ. While these identifications are clear, it is quite possible that in earlier centuries re-ordering may have taken place, thus confusing later attempts at identification.

Another instance of a 'foreign' panel being inserted occurs at Ugborough. Panels 9-12 (reading from north to south) of the Ugborough screen represent the Adoration of the Magi. Hulbert, having identified the Madonna and Child in panel 9, Caspar (with star) in panel 10 and Melchior in panel 11, was thus able to note that the next panel, which should be Balthazar, was clearly out of place. It was, noted Hulbert, 'a

¹⁹ EDAC, Hulbert, Plymtree (1986), pp. 1-6.

panel which does not belong here, showing a man with a sword, and a severed head dangling from his left hand. Properly the negro Balthazar should be here.²⁰ How this panel, which may belong to the subject of the beheading of John the Baptist, arrived in this position is unknown, although the final panels to the south of the screen, 43 (the executioner holding the saint's head) and 44 (the body of the Baptist bleeding at the feet of Salome), relate to his beheading.

On the positive side, skilled modern cleaning can reveal a number of figures unknown to, or misinterpreted by, previous commentators. The cleaning and renovating process, therefore, has a much greater value than merely brightening up or beautifying a screen and its painted panels left untouched or, worse, badly renovated in the nineteenth century. Above all, it is the possibility of correctly identifying the figures (by their dress and attributes) that is the central theme of this section. Certain technical points, especially concerning the original medieval colouring, are also of considerable interest. Some, but by no means all, of Hulbert's reports consist of a 'before' and 'after' stage. These are instructive in that they have examples of how even a professional restorer may be misled. For example, at South Milton, in the second bay (i.e. from the north) of the screen, she, in her first report, identified the first panel in the bay as a female saint, only to correct her identification to 'a figure, probably male', in her final report.²¹ This same usefulness of 'before' and 'after' reports is apparent in the identification of the fourth figure of bay four of the screen. At first she identified the figure as being 'Jude with a ship' (indeed, she considered that it might even be Simon) but, after cleaning, this figure was revealed – and described – as 'St Jude with a boat. This remarkable little ship is more than a fishing boat, but a fine vessel with several reefed sails.'²²

²⁰ EDAC, Hulbert, Ugborough, p.2.

²¹ CEAC, CCBD, Hulbert, South Milton 1 (1977), 2 (1979).

²² Ibid. The technical problem of post-cleaning is described thus: 'a varnish of Ketone N and

When the identification of figures is not absolutely clear then differences of opinion become apparent. One of the more interesting conclusions drawn from an analysis of Hulbert's reports is that they present a revision of several of Bond and Camm's attributions. For example at Bridford while Bond and Camm mention that the pomegranates upon the screen are symbolic, referring to Katherine of Aragon, Hulbert considered that this is not so; that there is no reference to Katherine of Aragon (certainly no initials) and so the pomegranates do not perform a symbolic function, merely a decorative one. Perhaps the widest area of disagreement, and certainly one in which Hulbert needed to adduce more evidence towards her argument concerned the carved and painted figures on the west front of the screen at Bridford. Bond and Camm argued that 'on the panels are sculptured and painted figures of 24 apostles and prophets', while Hulbert maintained 'they are alternately learned men and silly men, though I suppose the learned types in their Cranmer-style hats just could be intended for prophets'.²³ This opinion is, to some extent, backed up by that of Cresswell who saw the panels as 'a remarkable series of carved figures, whose attributes suggest dancers, huntsmen or jesters rather than saints'.²⁴

The problems, and yet paradoxically the ease, of identifying figures is seen again at Bere Ferrers. Two of the female figures on the dado (the only remaining part of the screen) are virgins holding scythes. This attribute makes two identifications possible: for Hulbert, these are Saints Urith and Sidwell, while Winifred was another possibility, according to Bond and Camm. Indeed, Bond and Camm were uncertain and contended that it is possible that *both* figures represent Sidwell.²⁵ But how can we be

Dammar was applied. After this had dried for several weeks it was given a final surface of microcrystalline wax Cosmolloid 80H.' It is interesting to compare the length of drying time here with that which is supposed to have occurred during the original painting and varnishing of the screen (see Chapter 5, 'The Screens Considered as Structures').

²³ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 300. EDAC, Hulbert, Bridford (undated).

²⁴ B. F. Cresswell, *Notes on the Churches of the Deanery of Kenn* (Exeter, 1912), p. 41.

²⁵ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 270; EDAC, Hulbert, Bere Ferrers (1988), pp. 1-3.

certain? Francis Bond has Sidwell being represented as 'decapitated with a scythe and near a well' and St. Winifred as 'carrying her head'.²⁶ St. Urith, clearly less well-known to Francis Bond, was certainly well-known in pre-Reformation north Devon, but her legend resembled that of Sidwell, showing the possibility for confusing or conflating the two.²⁷ Winifred, if her representation can be confirmed, has only two other images on Devon screens, at Ashton and Hennock, where in both cases she holds a scythe. Bond and Camm express uncertainty, however, as to whether the Bere Ferrers figure is Winifred.²⁸

Another church where professional restoration has helped reveal iconography is Hennock, where some of the figures had been covered by box-pews; these had not been overpainted. and consequently were in the best condition. The chancel screen and the north aisle screen were coeval and they shared the same carver and painter. The north aisle screen has apostles while the chancel screen shows miscellaneous saints. The south aisle screen, however, is by a different carver and painter. The majority of the cleaning, done between 1975-82, revealed good original colour and also the unfinished nature of the south bay of the south aisle screen (here the figures are portrayed in early-sixteenth-century costume). One of the figures revealed by the late- twentieth-century cleaning of the chancel screen doors is that of St. Gertrude with her attributes – mice.²⁹ Bond and Camm in their list of saints portrayed on Devon screens recognise St. Gertrude only once – at Wolborough.³⁰ Francis Bond excluded her from his book completely. The cult of Gertrude of Nivelles (626-59) was very

²⁶ Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, pp. 329, 332.

²⁷ See below, pp. 229-30.

²⁸ B. F. Cresswell, 'Notes on Devon Churches. The Fabric and Features of Churches in the Deanery of Tavistock' (1922) (Manuscript, West Country Studies Library, Exeter), p. 33. Cresswell has a different interpretation: 'St. Sidwell with her scythe may be recognized. Further down, another figure seems to carry the same emblem. Several of our screens have a lady with a scythe twice represented. It has been suggested (Cresswell does not say by whom) that they denote St. Sidwell and St. Juthwara who were murdered by the same implement.'

²⁹ EDAC, Hulbert, Hennock (undated), p.1; also see Figure 56.

³⁰ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 255-7.

strong in the Low Countries and spread to England and elsewhere. She is represented in art with mice as her emblem.³¹ To conclude, at Hennock the figures are definitely pre-Reformation.

Sometimes cleaning and restoration does not reveal any surprises, but confirms the extent of previous attempts at restoration and makes clear whether or not such attempts can hinder identification. At Buckland-in-the-Moor a programme of cleaning was undertaken by Hulbert between 1973-5.³² She noted that the original woodwork of the fifteenth century retained its polychrome and, by implication, that no heavy-handed nineteenth-century restoration occurred. The screen, she noted, is unusual in Devon in that it has a white chalk priming, which formed an excellent surface to paint on, but which is prone to deterioration after a few centuries. Most west-country polychrome has a red earth priming, probably bound in oil rather than glue since it is rare to find it flaking. Buckland, however, is like a Norfolk screen in this respect and was flaking very seriously. These technical aspects of the extant reports make it clear that the figures are original, untampered with by ignorant or amateurish restorers, and, while not containing any unusual saints, nevertheless are of considerable interest. Bond and Camm list the figures as follows, and details of Hulbert's restorations have been appended in brackets.³³ On the west face of the screen (north to south): 1, 2, 3, 4. The adoration of the Magi (Anna Hulbert notes that she restored the Madonna and child (most of the child and the adjoining area of Mary), Melchior (left arm) and Balthazar (right arm)). 5. The Archangel Gabriel (knees). 6. The lily pot. 7. St. Mary the virgin (5, 6, and 7 are parts of the Annunciation). 8. St. Simon (all over). On the doors: 1. St. Philip. 2. St. Bartholomew (right side of cloak). 3. St. Thomas (halo, lower part of purple robe, left side of green cloak). 4. St. Andrew. On the south side of

³¹ D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edn. (Oxford, 2003), pp. 219-20.

³² EDAC, Hulbert, *Buckland-in-the-Moor*, 1 (1973), pp. 1-2; 2 (1975), p. 1.

³³ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 301.

the doors: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Apostles effaced. 7. St. Paul (background). 8. St. Matthias (face, and shadow of drapery).

Other points of interest may emerge during restoration and cleaning. While Hulbert's work at Pilton, Barnstaple, resulted in a number of figures being revealed, what is perhaps equally as significant as the identifications she made is that the cleaning revealed a number of instances of overpainting. Preliminary cleaning revealed how the parish, and especially the painter employed by the parish, adapted the painted dado panels to the changing demands of the Reformation. Cleaning also revealed how the figures were concealed by means of varnish and overpaint. On the portion of the screen opposite the chancel, Hulbert removed black varnish from the three panels to the north of the chancel gates. Two of these had red overpaint, but the third, with green overpaint, was fully cleaned and revealed the apostle Matthias with book and halberd. He is shown in a white robe and scarlet cloak with blue-grey lining; his hair is a warm shade of dark brown and his halo is gilded. His book is green. The orange goldsize of the halo is also found on the blade of the halberd. The background is green and the floor upon which he stands possibly once green and brown, but now much damaged. Here Hulbert allowed some scraps of green overpaint to remain in order to show how careful the painter was to match the original backgrounds, when he was called upon to obliterate the 'superstitious images' following the Order in Council of 1547. However, Hulbert also found that under the green overpaint was a layer of what she considered to be limewash which may well have been applied even earlier in an attempt to obliterate the church's imagery. She concluded that possibly the limewash may have been applied first, c. 1547-8. Some may have been cleaned off during the reign of Mary and the renewed efforts at obliteration made under Elizabeth I. If this is so, then the Pilton dado would vividly portray the vicissitudes of religious fortune over the years before, during, and after the Reformation. Hulbert further revealed,

flanking the panel of St. Matthias, what perhaps may be St. Paul (next to the door with a forelock of hair and possibly a sword) or St. Simon (carrying what may be boat).³⁴ Here Hulbert's reports on Pilton church ended, and it is not clear if the entire project was completed. As with many of Hulbert's recommendations and preliminary reports which are scattered over the country in various libraries, diocesan offices, vestry safes and record offices, it is clear that no final report was produced.

The expense of modern restoration is often far too much for a parish to bear; this has been the case at Ugborough and probably Pilton. At Alphington, like Ugborough, it is clear from Hulbert's reports that more could be accomplished if a full restoration could be made. Hulbert composed a preliminary report for Alphington in October 1980. A final post-cleaning report has not been found, and a request for information from the Parochial Church Council was not able to clarify whether or not the dado panels had, in fact, been cleaned.³⁵ A first-hand observation of the screen was not enough to draw a definite conclusion, for some of the panels were seemingly in good condition while others did not seem to have been touched for some time and were more difficult to interpret. It is worth while bearing in mind that by no means all of the preliminary reports on possible cleaning made by Hulbert ever reached the next stage, that of actual cleaning, possibly due to cost.³⁶ There still remains much to discover about the painted dado panels. Nevertheless even before any restoration the figures were mainly identifiable. What is interesting here is the quality of the painting. Hulbert said 'he (the painter) seems to have been one of the finest painters of early sixteenth century Devon'. Indeed, there appear to have been two hands at work,

³⁴ EDAC, Hulbert, Pilton 1 (1988), pp. 1-2; 2 (1989), pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Mrs. M. Legood, Alphington PCC Secretary, personal communication.

³⁶ A visit to Holne church on 30 August 2006 showed how expensive this work could be. A public notice within the church gave the information that the total cost of repairs, cleaning and conservation to the roodscreen is £36,780.99. This is divided into two areas: (i) repairs and conservation - £2,702.50, (ii) cleaning and conservation - £34,078.44.

the figures on the choir screen perhaps by the older master from the same workshop. 'The colours', said Hulbert, 'are very delicate throughout, with a subtlety rarely found in Devon'. This master, she thinks, also painted the north aisle screens at both Manaton and Cheriton Bishop.³⁷ This may indicate, although there is no direct evidence, that there might have been an atelier for such work in the Exeter region, or, of course, the painter might just have been an independent artist working within the locality for a certain period of time.³⁸

The problem of dating is another complex aspect of the study of panel painting. The South Pool screen, like many other Devon screens, retains its original polychromy but has subsequently been overpainted. South Pool was not among the richer pre-Reformation parishes for here red lead was employed on the front bead of the tracery. If a parish could afford it, gold leaf was always preferred. On the dado, the grotesque designs are similar to those at Blackawton and Chivelstone. As will shortly be noted, it is possible that these three screens were decorated after the 1547 Order in Council forbidding images in churches or, perhaps, they may not have existed until the reign of Elizabeth I. It was quite usual for screens to be erected unpainted and decorated later when the parish could afford a painter.³⁹ Equally, they may reflect the changes which occurred during the Reformation, in that painted panels were not necessarily considered superstitious if they contained subjects or motifs which were not offensive to Protestant sensibilities.⁴⁰

What conclusions can be drawn from these reports? First of all it may be argued that once the attributes are identified, then identification of the figures easily follows. Comparisons of identifications made by Hulbert, Bond and Camm and Cresswell emphasise this. However, caution

³⁷ EDAC, Hulbert, Alphington (1980), pp. 1-3.

³⁸ D. Griffith, 'The Scheme of Redemption on the Late Medieval Painted Panels in Bradninch Church, Devon', *Devon Buildings Group, Research Papers vol. 2* (2006), p. 54.

³⁹ EDAC, Hulbert, South Pool 1 (1993), pp. 1-3; 2 (1994), pp. 1-6.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 215.

must be applied here, for instances have been noted of incorrect attributes being made, not only by nineteenth-century re-painters, but by the original artists. The identification of similar hands on different screens is a further benefit of careful restoration. For example, some of the figures at Alphington were, in Hulbert's opinion, painted by the same master who worked at Cheriton Bishop and Manaton. Sometimes different artists can be seen to have worked upon the same screen. This is apparent at Bovey Tracey, Manaton, and Alphington. Sometimes themes are repeated at neighbouring churches (a concept not unusual given the evidence that churchwardens would demand of a carver that their new screen should reflect aspects of a nearby church, but perhaps on a more grandiose scale). For example at Chudleigh, Bovey Tracey, and possibly, Bridford, the dado panels contain alternate apostles and prophets.⁴¹ Thorough and competent cleaning of the dado painted panels can also reveal previously obscured attributes. However, if there is no overall agreement as to which figures possesses which attribute (as in the case of the Sibyls) then problems of identification clearly arise. Hulbert identified mistakes made by the original artists at Manaton and Hennock and a major re-colouring at Chudleigh resulting in incorrect identifications following it. Many of the overpainted screens revealed the original polychromy underneath, while some figures had been preserved by chance, for example being hidden by box-pews for decades if not centuries. There does not seem to be any reason why some screens should include unusual saints and why some should offer a far more orthodox selection. The stages of painting and overpainting, as at Pilton, can reveal the stages of the Reformation as can the dado decoration. It is not impossible that over the centuries, some panels have been moved (as seems certain at Ugborough), some have been imported from other screens, and some may even be unfinished.

⁴¹ See below, p. 216.

Decoration of screen dados before the Reformation

Screen decoration encompassed ornament, symbols, texts and human figures, the last of which might represent the Trinity, Christ, angels, Old and New Testament figures, saints, prophets, the four Latin Doctors of the Church, sibyls and, more rarely, donors. In the first category, there are three screens in Devon which have arabesque patterns on their dados. These screens are at Blackawton (Fig. 50), Chivelstone (north aisle), and South Pool (Fig. 51). Their survival may be due to their non-representational nature; they may have been painted before the Reformation or they may have been painted during the reign of Mary I over figures vandalised during the period 1547-53. Alternatively they may have been put on the screens after the accession of Elizabeth. The first possibility is perhaps the likeliest, as at Blackawton painted shields are apparent with the instruments of Passion within the shields and, on the north side of the screen, the initials K (for Katherine of Aragon) and H (for King Henry VIII), which indicate that the screen was constructed between 1509 and 1533. Elsewhere in England stencilled motifs are not uncommon like the large stylised pomegranates that decorate the dado at Thompson (Norfolk) and fleurs-de-lys at Edingthorpe (Norfolk), while popinjays appear at Willingham (Cams.).⁴²

In East Anglia some screens were decorated only with geometric or floral patterns and perhaps the names of donors. As in Devon, these tended to be in poorer parishes whose resources could not afford an image painter. But by the fifteenth century, in East Anglia and in Devon, most churches would have had elaborate sequences of saints painted on the dado as well as apostles, prophets, the four Latin Doctors and martyrs. There were conventions governing the choice of images.⁴³ In

⁴² A. Hulbert, 'Notes on Techniques of English Medieval Polychromy on Church Furnishings', *Institute of Archaeology, Jubilee Conservation Conference Papers* (London, 1984), pp. 277-8.

⁴³ Duffy, 'Parish, piety and patronage', pp. 147-151. 'Theologically, the screen and tympanum as

1898 C. E. Keyser noted that, apart from individual saints, there were, in Devon, a number of fairly common groupings.⁴⁴ As in East Anglia, among the most popular were the four Latin Doctors of the Church (Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome), Ambrose being shown as a bishop, Augustine wearing doctor's robes, Gregory as a pope and Jerome as a cardinal: The apostles were frequently shown, not uncommonly displayed alternately with prophets and, rarely, exhibiting sentences from the Apostles' Creed, as at Chudleigh and Kenton, reflecting the belief that the apostles each contributed one phrase to that Creed. The Chudleigh dado attempts to combine twelve prophets and twelve apostles which is very typical of medieval schemes, combining Old Testament prophecy and New Testament fulfilment. At Kenton 40 medieval figure panels remain, of which 24 form a set of apostles and prophets, with the Creed and prophecies related to it. This set appears unique in its choice of some of the prophets and inscriptions.⁴⁵ A more unusual arrangement at Ashton displays prophets, the Annunciation and the Visitation with scrolls containing unusual inscriptions. Most refer to the Incarnation and are taken from the services for Advent, the feast of the Annunciation and the feast of the Transfiguration.⁴⁶ It has been argued that the inscriptions present a theologically coherent scheme and that they point to the influence of educated patronage.⁴⁷ The idea of a local educated patronage might very well help to explain the presence of unusual saints on screens such as Torbryan and Wolborough.

Sometimes, as at Ashton, scenes covering more than one panel are depicted instead of single figures. In Devon such scenes include the

a whole was a complex eschatological image. Its theme was mercy and judgment. The saints and angels on it would accompany Christ when he came to judge the living and the dead.'

⁴⁴ Keyser, *Panel Paintings* (Westminster, 1898), p. 9.

⁴⁵ EDAC, Hulbert, Kenton (1976), p. 1. Apart from Chudleigh and Bovey Tracey, other screens containing this iconography survive at Marston Moretaine (Beds), North Crawley (Bucks.), and Thornham (Norfolk).

⁴⁶ B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn. (London, 1989), p. 137.

⁴⁷ M. Glasscoe, 'Late Medieval Paintings in Ashton Church, Devon', *JBAA*, 140 (1987), pp. 182-90.

Annunciation (on eight or nine screens), the Salutation of Mary by Elizabeth (five screens), the Adoration of the Magi (three screens), the Coronation of the Virgin (three screens), and, shown once in each case, the Holy Trinity, the Assumption of the Virgin, the beheading of John the Baptist, the Temptation and Fall of Man, the Expulsion from Eden and the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. Bond and Camm identify nine representations of the Annunciation; otherwise they are in agreement with Keyser.⁴⁸ There is also a representation of the Annunciation on two panels on the doors of the screen of St. Gabriel's chapel in Exeter Cathedral. Representations of donors, not uncommon in East Anglia, are extremely rare in Devon.⁴⁹ Indeed, only one is known: at East Portlemouth. Here were two such figures on either side of the Coronation of the Virgin, husband and wife, of which only the latter remains.⁵⁰ There is no obvious reason for this lack, because donors were common in art, for example on diptychs, triptychs, and stained-glass windows.

The choice of figures for a screen may have reflected several factors. Prominence in Church veneration also helped, such as inclusion in the *Ordinale Exoniense* issued by Bishop John Grandisson in 1337 for the use of his cathedral church and diocese. The saints commemorated in the *Ordinale* to some extent parallel those portrayed on Devon roodscreen dados. Some of the most common dado figures: apostles, evangelists, the four Latin doctors and other saints named in the preceding paragraph appear in the *Ordinale*, but by no means all. Apollonia is not mentioned in the *Ordinale*, although her representation occurs on the dado panels of the doors of the chapel of St. Gabriel within the cathedral. However Saints Katherine of Alexandria, John the Baptist, Lawrence, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, and Stephen are commemorated in the *Ordinale*.⁵¹ The local

⁴⁸ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 256-7. C. E. Keyser, *Panel Paintings*, pp. 6-7, 10-11.

⁴⁹ Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage', pp. 144-6.

⁵⁰ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 216.

⁵¹ J. N. Dalton and G. H. Doble (eds), *Ordinale Exon.*, 4 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 37-8, 63, 79 (London, 1909-41), 1, pp. 70-2, 82-5, 230-2, 240, 241-2, 245-6, 247-8, 254, 255-6, 279.

saint, Sidwell (Latin Sativola), is also commemorated and, as noted above, was quite popular on painted dado panels in Devon, but two other west-country saints commemorated in the *Ordinale*, Kerrian and Petroc, do not appear on any painted panels in the county.⁵²

There were many other possible influences on the choice of iconography on screens. Pictures of saints were everywhere, not only in churches but also in houses. For example, within Marker's Cottage at Broadclyst (Devon), built c.1530-50, there is a wooden cross-passage screen decorated with a landscape scene with St. Andrew.⁵³ Screen iconography was part of a wider iconography that appeared in stained glass,⁵⁴ wall paintings (especially dooms), books of hours,⁵⁵ and private icons such as panel paintings like the Wilton Diptych.⁵⁶ An English calendar of saints' days of c.1370 contains no less than 111 pictorial representations.⁵⁷ By the late fifteenth century printed pictures of, for example, Christ on the cross, and saints, could be purchased for private use. This plethora of sources would have provided ideas for screen image-painters and those who financed such projects. Work done on art history indicates a correspondence between different media: the same image from a common source will turn up in a book or a painting.

The choice of figures may have been left to the painter of the screen (this would imply a fairly sophisticated iconographic knowledge on his part); they might reflect the choice of the donor (which could help to

⁵² Ibid., pp. 216, 227, 245.

⁵³ <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-killertonmarkerscottage/w-killertonmarkerscottage-seenanddo.htm>

⁵⁴ B. Coe, *Stained Glass in England 1150-1550* (London, 1981); S. Crewe, *Stained Glass in England c.1180- c.1540*, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (London, 1987); R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993).

⁵⁵ E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven, 2006); R. S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1997); J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985); J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London, 1977).

⁵⁶ G. Dillian, *Making and Meaning: the Wilton Diptych/with an essay by Caroline Barron and contributions by Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld* (London, 1993).

⁵⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. D. 939 (part 2).

explain the appearance of unusual saints); they might be selected from a pattern book; they might reflect the needs of the time (for example St. Roche, especially after the advent of bubonic plague in 1348, or the ubiquitous St. Apollonia invoked by toothache sufferers); they might – as with the screen and loft as a whole – be a reflection of local rivalry and imitation. Schemes, for example representations of the apostles, might be chosen for the simple reason that they filled the space on the dado and therefore patrons or painters would choose such groups of figures. This has had a distorting effect because some figures appeared far more often on screen dados than they would otherwise do. There were hardly any religious cults for, for example, James the Less, Jude, or Simon.

Perhaps the most notable of the groups of figures on Devon screen dados, other than individual saints, are the sibyls, found at Bradninch, Heavitree, Ipplepen (a single figure) and Ugborough. The sibyls were twelve pre-Christian prophetesses, known in classical Greece and Rome, who were later supposed to have foretold the coming of Christ and his Passion.⁵⁸ Identification of the sibyls has always proved difficult, as exemplified by those at Ugborough. Bond and Camm made no attempt to name them, merely noting them as ‘sibyls’. Beatrix Cresswell admitted the difficulty, noting that there are several lists of sibyls and their attributes, with no two alike. Hulbert attempted at least to describe the attributes of the Ugborough sibyls, rather than name them.⁵⁹ The recent

⁵⁸ Baker, ‘Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon’, pp. 71, 95.

⁵⁹ EDAC, Hulbert, Ugborough (1979). Hulbert’s report of March 1979 concludes that (from north to south on the screen), panels 25-36 show the following: Panel 25: A Sibyl with the Crown of Thorns; Panel 26: A Sibyl with a cross; Panel 27: A Sibyl with the Column of flagellation (Hulbert also noted that panels 25-27 had suffered insect attack and that Panel 25 had a hole in it); Panel 28: A Sibyl with a scourge; Panel 29: A Sibyl with three nails; Panel 30: A Sibyl with a lantern (Hulbert wonders if this might be Persica); Panel 31: A Sibyl with Hammer and Pincers; Panel 32: A Sibyl with a sword (Hulbert noted that this panel was wormeaten). Panels 25-32 are on the north aisle screen. The remaining panels portraying Sibyls, 33-36, are on the south aisle screen. These are Panel 33: A Sibyl with a Ewer and Basin. Hulbert notes that ‘this figure becomes clearer upon comparison with Bradninch’. Panel 34: A Sibyl with a rushlight. Panel 35: A Sibyl with a cradle. Hulbert comments that this must be Samia. Finally, Panel 36: A Sibyl with a Spear and Sponge. It should be noted that the report was never followed up, as

study by Baker, however, both names the sibyls and identifies their relevant attribute, basing these identifications on a fifteenth-century Book of Hours, *The Hours of Louis de Laval*, which shows the sibyls carrying their emblems, and W. Marsh's Appendix to Jessop's edition of *Frederic Charles Husenbeth's Emblems of the Saints*.⁶⁰

Dado paintings between the Reformation and the present day

The destruction of free-standing imagery in English churches was almost total by 1553, with only a few fragments of medieval religious wooden sculpture surviving in modern times. Panel paintings fared only a little better. Often they were quite literally defaced. This was done (with particular ferocity to saintly popes and cardinals) by scratching or gouging out the surface of the wood, a process particularly evident at Manaton (Devon). Figure identification, possibly the most contentious issue concerning the dado paintings, has not been helped by the concomitant destruction of the emblems (attributes) of the saints. They may also have been overpainted or covered with further panelling. Those in the best condition today have been cleaned of their overpaint and have had the later panelling removed. During the reign of Mary I certain reinstatements of church furniture were undertaken but, once again, a major factor seems to have been cost, with parishioners being uncertain about the permanence of any benefactions in a rapidly changing religious scene.

Following the Reformation re-painting of dado figures could occur (this was the case at Ipplepen) or new paintings might be placed over the previous figures. That medieval panel paintings have survived is due more to good luck than good fortune. Evidence from Devon after 1755

the parish could not afford the cost of renovation (Mrs. Dorothy Southwood, Ugborough PCC Treasurer, personal communication of 23 August 2006).

⁶⁰ Baker, 'Sibyls on Rood Screens in Devon', p. 72.

points to the increasing removal of medieval screens.⁶¹ Further screens and many painted panels were removed or obliterated during the nineteenth century. For example, those at Abbotskerswell, Broadclyst, Malborough, North Bovey, Stokeinteignhead, Tavistock (St. Eustace), Throwleigh, Trusham, West Alvington and Woodleigh have gone, while those at Bampton, Feniton and Payhembury were painted over. At Kingsteignton all that was left of the screen after its removal in the very early years of the nineteenth century were some overpainted and then poorly renovated panels. Oliver recorded that the painted panels at Kingsteignton included Saints Barbara, Catherine, Denys, Genevieve, and Helen. Cresswell records the existing 14 panels as representing 11 figures (three are almost obliterated).⁶² At Ipplepen during the restoration of 1898 (by Herbert Read) a covering of brown paint was removed and many fine painted panels were found beneath.

Even those Devon screens that remained and which retained dado figures did not necessarily remain unchanged, since restoration and renovation was beginning to take the place of destruction. In the nineteenth century such intervention, while no doubt laudable, was not necessarily successful. As Hulbert's reports show, some repainting of screens and dado figures at this time was done with little understanding of polychromy and with relatively primitive materials, resulting in garish rather than subtle colouring.⁶³ Only in the twentieth century did techniques of restoration improve.

The iconography of screens: analysis

⁶¹ See Chapter 8, p. 245.

⁶² B. F. Cresswell, 'Notes on Devon Churches, the Fabric and Features of Interest of the Deanery of Moretonhampstead' (1921), 1, (West Country Studies Library, Exeter), pp. 229-31.

⁶³ Plummer and Hulbert, 'English Polychromed Church Screens', p. 49: 'Even the advent of diocesan control in the twentieth century has not wholly prevented unqualified and amateur efforts at unsuitable restoration.'

Hulbert's reports, while being of exceptional interest and value, do not cover all the painted dado panels in the county and, consequently, they cannot answer wholly every pertinent question. However, a provisional list from all sources used above which have dealt with the painted figures on Devon roodscreen dados allows certain questions to be answered. For example, which figures appear most frequently and which are the most unusual? Excluding the cathedral at Exeter, Bond and Camm identified 137 different figures on Devon roodscreen dados. If the sibyls are included, the list would reach 151. The commonest figures are the apostles (Andrew, Bartholomew, James the Greater, James the Less, John, Jude, Matthew, Matthias, Paul, Peter, Philip, Simon and Thomas), the Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), and the four Latin Doctors of the Church. Examples of other popular saints include Apollonia (who appears 14 times), Barbara (9), Catherine of Alexandria (10), Dorothy (11), John the Baptist (14), Lawrence (10), Margaret (10), Mary Magdalene (11), Sebastian (10), Sidwell (9, or possibly 11), and Stephen (12). A further 51 figures appear only once.⁶⁴

The most obvious feature of the 51 rare saints is their concentration in a few churches. Wolborough, Torbryan and perhaps Ashton and East Portlemouth possess more unusual figures than all other Devon screens. In this respect Wolborough church is by far the most eclectic for, of 66 panels, 14 figures (21%) are unique to Wolborough, seven appear only on one other screen, and four appear only on two other screens.⁶⁵ Thus 34% of Wolborough's dado saints may be regarded as both unusual and untypical within Devon.⁶⁶ Those who appear here but appear nowhere else in Devon are Aubert, Benedict, Cosmas, Damian, Etheldreda, Gertrude (but see footnotes 29-31), Julian the Hospitaller, Maurus, Paul the hermit, Petronilla, and Paul of Constantinople. Abraham and Isaac also appear,

⁶⁴ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 255-72.

⁶⁵ But see Hulbert's identification of St. Gertrude on Hennock screen.

⁶⁶ The main source here is Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 363-4, who acknowledge their list, with necessary corrections, embodies that of Keyser.

their only representation in Devon.⁶⁷ Hardly less unusual is William of York, represented at Wolborough and possibly Kingsteignton. Not canonised until 1227, his career encompassed both the political and religious spheres of influence. David Farmer has argued that 'the strong local cult at York filled a void caused by the early absence of any local saints' relics in contrast to the flourishing shrines at Durham and Beverley, but it had little support elsewhere'.⁶⁸ If so, this makes his appearance on the Wolborough roodscreen dado unexpected. An explanation might be found in the influence of a cleric or landowner with northern connections, such as Bishop Brantingham (1370-94), a Yorkshireman who brought other northern clergy into his service.⁶⁹ But it would be wrong to underestimate the hagiographical knowledge of gentry, clergy, and merchants who were the main instigators and patrons of screens and, consequently, would have had an influence on choices of saints. These choices could, and in all likelihood did, have strange and eccentric results. In East Anglia 'donor power' seems to have resulted in a mixture of the conventional and the unusual.⁷⁰ Collectively the local educated class are as likely to have had a wide knowledge of saintly figures. The paintings on the dado of the Chudleigh chapel in Ashton, belonging to a gentry family, are evidence of this sophistication.

At Torbryan, unusual saints are Alexis (found only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough), Armel (only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough), Catherine of Siena (only elsewhere in Devon at East Portlemouth and Wolborough), the Coronation of the Virgin (a group known only elsewhere in Devon at East Portlemouth and Holne), possibly Elizabeth of Hungary

⁶⁷ Details concerning these saints may be found in Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, on the following pages: St. Aubert: p. 35, St. Benedict: pp. 49-50, SS Cosmas and Damian: p. 122, St. Etheldreda: pp. 179-80, St. Julian Hospitaller: pp. 293-4, St. Maurus: p. 360, St. Paul the Hermit: p. 416, St. Petronilla: p. 430, St. William of York: pp. 541-2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁶⁹ R. G. Davies, 'Brantingham, Thomas (d. 1394)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3278>, accessed 5 May 2006].

⁷⁰ Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage', pp. 150-2.

(nowhere else in Devon), and Victor of Marseilles (only elsewhere in Devon at Wolborough). The most unusual saint at Torbryan is, arguably, Armel [d.556], although he was also a saint honoured at the parish church of Stratton, Cornwall. Armel's influence was strongest in Brittany, Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine and King Henry VII believed that he was saved from shipwreck off the coast of Brittany through this saint's intervention. Interestingly, like Sir John Schorne, who is also occasionally represented on Devon screens, Armel was invoked to cure gout.⁷¹

Another unusual saint in Devon is Denis, only found at Alphington and Cheriton Bishop and probably by the same hand, which may possibly indicate that the image-painter had some say in which saints were represented on these dado panels). Denis' attribute was his head in his hands, having been decapitated for his faith in Christ. His legend states that, after decapitation, he took up his head and walked for a considerable distance.⁷² He was the patron saint of one, or possibly three, medieval churches in Cornwall and at least two in Devon (Bradninch and Walkhampton).⁷³ A third rare saint in Devon, represented only at Alphington, is Dunstan. He is shown as seizing the Devil by his nose with red-hot pincers, a representation also seen in painted glass in a window of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁷⁴ In his legend, Dunstan was tempted by the Devil who assumed the form of a beautiful girl. Dunstan grasped nearby red-hot pincers from his fire and seized the Devil by the nose. Then the saint led the Devil up and down his chamber and 'after divers interrogatories' drove him away.⁷⁵ When Hulbert inspected the screen in 1980 she found Bay 1 (the northern bay, which includes Sir John Schorne) to be 'in excellent condition', Bay 8 (including Dunstan) 'in good

⁷¹ Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 32.

⁷² Bond and Camm, 2, p. 238.

⁷³ Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, p. 165.

⁷⁴ Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, p. 27; Bond and Camm, 2, p. 231.

⁷⁵ Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, pp. 156-7.

condition' and Bay 11 (which includes Denis) to have 'damage [which] is merely patchy'.

An unusual saint is portrayed on the Holne roodscreen. Both Hulbert and Bond and Camm are unsure whether or not the figure represents Bavon or Jeron. Bavon of Ghent has a number of attributes; not all, of course, would be displayed on the same panel. He can be associated with a falcon, a church, a horse and cart or a stone, or portrayed as a hermit in a hollow tree.⁷⁶ It is not difficult to confuse Bavon with Jeron, an Irish monk who was martyred in Holland in 885 and whose attribute is a hawk.⁷⁷ At Trimmingham, Norfolk, he is portrayed on the dado of the roodscreen holding a hawk (a small falcon), while at North Tuddenham, Norfolk, he is portrayed on the dado of the roodscreen with a falcon on his wrist. He is also portrayed with a falcon on his wrist at Litcham (Norfolk) and Suffield (Norfolk).⁷⁸ The figure at Holne is holding a bird in his left hand, while the right hand is raised, perhaps in blessing (Fig. 58). As the Holne attribute is similar to those of East Anglia, it is possible that this is a representation of Saint Jeron.

Two further unusual saints were identified by Hulbert on the dado at Whimple. These are King Henry VI and St. Clement of Rome, accompanied by St. Roche, St. Sebastian, St. Apollonia, St. Barbara, St. John the Baptist and St. Sidwell. Kings of uncertain identity appear at Berry Pomeroy, Bradninch and South Milton, but only at Whimple is Henry VI positively identified,⁷⁹ although he was never canonized (and therefore has no halo) he was popularly acclaimed a saint for his devout life.

The screen saints also reflect changes in the religious devotion of people in England between c.1350 and c.1530. One of the most unusual,

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 311. Bond does not mention St. Jeron.

⁷⁷ Irish Catholic Church (www.mail-archive.com/irishcatholicchurch@yahoo.com/msg00513.html).

⁷⁸ W. W. Williamson, 'Saints on Norfolk Roodcreens and Pulpits', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 31 (1955-7), pp. 299-346, at pp. 315, 333, 339, 341.

⁷⁹ Also by Bond and Camm, 2, p. 263.

whose image appears at Alphington, Hennock, and Wolborough, is that of Sir John Schorne. That he appears on Devon screens at all is worthy of note, as he was rector of North Marston, Bucks., and died in c.1308, but his cult was a popular one in the late middle ages and he is found on several Norfolk screens, for example at Cawston, Gately, and Suffield.⁸⁰ His attribute was the Devil, whom he had apparently conjured into a boot and thence imprisoned. Sir John Schorne is the patron saint of ague (though apparently mainly gout) sufferers, so perhaps the idea of the Devil caught and imprisoned in a boot is one which offers a transference of the pain of gout (usually occurring in the foot) from the sufferer to the Devil. Another possibility is that the iconography became misunderstood over the years, and that Sir John Schorne was in fact conjuring the Devil *out* of the boot and thus relieving the pain in the foot. At Cawston he is depicted with the cap, cloak, and hood of a doctor of divinity.⁸¹ The captured (or released) devils also have different appearances on the three Devon screens.

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

⁸⁰ E. H. Marshall, 'Sir John Schorne', *Oxford Journals, Notes and Queries*, vol. s8-VI, 151 (1894), pp. 89-90.

⁸¹ Bond, *Dedication and Patron Saints of English Churches*, pp. 196-8.

fourteenth century makes him late indeed in terms of screen dado saints compared with the majority which appear on the painted panels. This may account for the fact that he has only five representations on screen dados in Devon: at Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, and Whimble (Fig. 55). There may have been many more, of course, for nowhere in Devon would have escaped the recurrent waves of plague which began in south-west England in the summer of 1348. Although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that the five parishes which display Roche on their roodscreen dado were particularly hard hit by the recurrent visitations of the pestilence although, of course, so might many others whose dado painted panels and roodscreens, have vanished. There is evidence that a representation of Roche occurred, probably on the screen dado, at Ashburton where, in 1522-23, the accounts record a payment of 8s.9d. 'for painting St. Roche'.⁸²

Another saint popular in the later middle ages was Syth, portrayed on four roodscreen dados in Devon: Ashton, Hennock, Plymtree, and Torbryan. At Poundstock (Cornwall) it is possible that a painting on the roodscreen dado there may depict her.⁸³ Syth (1218-72) was an Italian serving-maid who served one family, the Fatinelli, for her entire life. It was her unswerving devotion which is the basis of her cult and it spread to other European countries, including England (where perhaps it had been introduced by merchants from Lucca in Italy). She was invoked by housewives and domestic servants and had a flourishing cult in late-medieval England.⁸⁴ Indeed, there survive in the parish churches of England more than 50 pieces of fifteenth-century art depicting Syth in glass, stone, brass, alabaster, wood, and plaster.⁸⁵ She is usually shown as a well-dressed woman of mature years, no doubt appealing to wives,

⁸² A. Hanham, *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*, DCRS, 15 (1970), p. 70.

⁸³ Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, pp. 241-2.

⁸⁴ J. Frankis, 'St Zita, St Sythe and St Osyth', *NMS*, 36 (1992), pp. 148-50. S. Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St. Sitha in England: an Introduction', *NMS*, 37 (1993), pp. 83-9.

⁸⁵ Sutcliffe, 'The Cult of St. Sitha', p. 86.

widows, and daughters as well as servants. Her attributes, keys, associated her with both housekeeping and the finding of lost property.⁸⁶

While the existence and spread of the cults of exogenous, international saints such as Roche and Syth occurred in the later medieval period, their figures being represented on dado panels in Devon (perhaps, as noted, because they satisfied certain needs of the time), the cults of older, far more obscure (in national and international terms), and sometimes home-grown saints were common in Devon and Cornwall. Yet the representation of most of these local saints on the surviving dado painted panels is patchy. However, the scarcity of their appearance on the dado panels does not necessarily reflect a lack of importance. Four interesting examples are Winwaloe, Petroc, Urith, and Sidwell. Of these Sidwell and Urith were from Devon, Winwaloe Brittany, and Petroc Cornwall. Winwaloe appears only once in Devon, at East Portlemouth, where the church is dedicated to him. He was more popular in Cornwall, where he was patron-saint of eight parish churches and parochial chapels and some 50 churches and chapels were dedicated to him in Brittany.⁸⁷ Far better known was Petroc, another saint who had a thriving local cult prior to the Reformation; indeed at least 18 churches in medieval Devon were dedicated to him and a church in each of Somerset and Hampshire came under his patronage.⁸⁸ Like Winwaloe, his cult is known to have existed by the tenth century, yet he does not appear once on painted dado panels in Devon. Again, Petroc's name appears, as does Winwaloe's, in an eleventh-century litany from the cathedral, and in the *Ordinale Exoniense* of 1337. His non-appearance on Devon dado panels, given his popularity, is odd, but may just reflect the anomalies of image survival. Urith, whose cult was centred at Chittlehampton in north Devon, does not appear with certainty anywhere in the county. The earliest source for her

⁸⁶ R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 103-5.

⁸⁷ N. Roscarrock, *Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon* (ed. N. I. Orme), Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 35 (Exeter, 1992), pp. 178-9.

⁸⁸ Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, pp. 214-19.

cult is a Latin hymn or sequence copied into the commonplace book of a fifteenth-century monk of Glastonbury. She is portrayed as a devout young virgin who was killed with scythes, perhaps by harvesters, at the instigation of her stepmother. A fountain sprang out of the ground where she fell. This story is similar to those of Juthwara of Sherborne and Sidwell of Exeter. Urith's name is possibly of Celtic origin, a form of the Welsh name Iweryd. Evidence from the mid-sixteenth-century asserts that her shrine at Chittlehampton was a popular focus of pilgrimage. Figures of £65 15s. 0d. and £49 4s. 0d. are given as the offerings to her shrine in 1535, figures so high as to be suspicious. Chittlehampton was not a place of national or even, perhaps, regional pilgrimage, and her name does not appear in the calendars of Exeter Cathedral. It has been argued that either the level of pilgrimage was exceptionally high for such a relatively unknown location, or that the figures given as income from offering in 1535 are actually those of tithes and statutory offerings given to the image and not directly to the rector as was normally the case.⁸⁹

The most popular local saint in Devon screen iconography is Sidwell. Her cult first appears to have existed in late Anglo-Saxon Exeter. She was then believed to be English although it is not impossible that she was an earlier indigenous Brittonic saint.⁹⁰ She was commemorated by Exeter Cathedral in the twelfth century and there are three liturgical readings about her in Grandisson's *Legenda Sanctorum* of 1337. She is represented on dado panels at Ashton, Bere Ferrers, Exeter (St. Mary Steps), Hennock, Holne, Kenn, Plymtree, Whimble and Wolborough; her local quality no doubt made it easy for Devon people to identify with. Her popularity locally may, perhaps, be judged by the altar to her which existed in Morebath church and that her name was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not uncommonly given to girls in Devon and Cornwall. The fifteenth-century Exeter cleric Roger Keys carried her cult

⁸⁹ Roscarrock, *Lives of the Saints*, pp. 137-9.

⁹⁰ N. I. Orme, *English Church Dedications* (Exeter, 1996), p. 24.

as far away as Oxford where her image was placed in a window at All Souls College.⁹¹

To conclude, saints both common and obscure, distant and local, old and new (in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century terms) occur on Devon roodscreen dados. The introduction of newer saints may very well reflect changing anxieties and aspirations. But dado panels, while attesting a desire to emulate a neighbouring parish, may also have wished to express conformity. In constructing a screen, a parish might want theirs to be better artistically than their neighbours', but might not want it to be very different religiously. Thus the painted dado panels could very well reflect, as they do at Chudleigh and Bovey Tracey for example, similarities of content, and even perhaps style, with those of their neighbours. The presence of certain unusual saints on screens remains unexplained, perhaps the result of the influence of a local educated, well-travelled and well-read landowner, or of the appearance in the diocese of a cleric with wider national or international knowledge.

⁹¹ Roscarrock, *Lives of the Saints*, pp. 137-9.



Fig. 52. Dado motifs (Blackawton)



Fig. 53. Dado motifs (South Pool).



Fig. 54. Dado figures of apostles and prophets (Chudleigh)



Fig. 55. Dado figures of apostles and prophets (Bovey Tracey).



Fig. 56. Sir John Schorne (on left) (Hennock). The other figure is St. Gertrude (identified by her attribute, mice.)



Fig. 57. Dado figures (Whimble): St. Roche.



Fig. 58. Dado figures (Holne). (Left to right) St. Roche, St. Margaret, St. Jeron.

Chapter Eight

THE HISTORY OF SCREENS FROM c.1561 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

One of the major effects of the Reformation was to make the compartmentalised interiors of pre-Reformation churches largely redundant. The 1559 Prayer Book conceived each service in the liturgy as involving the whole body of worshippers. The emphasis was now on worship as well as the reading of homilies or preaching being performed close to the congregation. Nevertheless the medieval concept of the two-cell plan of the church – chancel and nave – continued after the Reformation. The 1559 Prayer Book rubrics concerning morning and evening prayer and communion continued to regard the chancel as a distinct part of the church. ‘Morning and evening prayer shall be used in the accustomed place in the church, chapel or chancel, except where it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place; and the chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past’.¹ For communion, the 1559 rubric ordered that ‘the table at the communion time, a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church [i.e. the nave], or in the chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said’.² The 1559 prayer book did not prescribe a different use for chancel and nave – indeed it permitted worship and communion to take place in either. In practice, after 1559, both continued in use in most churches, but not in the traditional way. Whereas before the Reformation the chancel had been the place for the clergy and the service while the nave served the congregation, after 1559 clergy and congregation were normally together in the nave, and nearly

¹ W. K. Clay (ed.), *Liturgies and Occasional forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, PS (Cambridge, 1847), p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

all worship was conducted there. The chancel was only used in communion services, and then merely for the prayer of consecration and for the administration of communion, and since communions now took place only four times a year (Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and a Sunday in the autumn), this meant that the chancel was rarely used.

Nevertheless the concept of a separate chancel survived, and it was sustained by the royal order of 1561. As has been seen, the roodloft had to go, but the screen was to stay. The order is quite specific as regards the latter demand: 'that there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed.'³ This last sentence implies that the destruction of the entire structure had been accomplished in a number of parishes. There is little, if any, evidence to show that any new screens were 'appointed' if the old structure had been removed, at least not until well into the seventeenth century.

Visitation articles and injunctions in the 25 years or so following 1561 make it clear that the elimination of lofts was not done hurriedly or enthusiastically. But after 1575, as we have seen, references to them in visitation articles and injunctions begin to die out, indicating that the subject was becoming less and less important, and, by c.1585 such references disappear completely. This need not imply that the screens were no longer felt to be important, since by the early decades of the seventeenth century some episcopal visitors were again taking an interest in them. Bishop Bridges of Oxford (1603/4–1618) demanded 'whether or not the chancel was fenced in by rails or pales'.⁴ A little later, in 1638, Bishop Montagu of Norwich enquired 'is your chancel divided from the nave or body of the church with a partition of stone, boards, wainscot,

³ See Chapter 4, p. 102.

⁴ Quoted by A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), p. 86. Also see Glossary.

grates, or otherwise?’⁵ And in 1640 Bishop Juxon of London asked ‘is there a comely partition betwixt your chancel and the body of the church or chapel, as is required by the law?’⁶ Even so, such references are scarce, and Montagu’s and Juxon’s are the only two such in Fincham’s two-volume *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, covering the period 1603-42.

What is the actual evidence for the survival of pre-Reformation screens? Were many screens demolished as most lofts certainly were? Did many remain as the 1561 order required? William Harrison’s comment of 1577 points to some losses, where he says that, ‘finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition between the choir and the body of the church, now it is either very small or none at all and, to say the truth, altogether needless’.⁷ The partition now being ‘very small’ may refer to the remaining section of the entire structure after being partly demolished or transposed to accommodate the demands of the 1561 order. But what appeared to Harrison to be ‘very small’ may only be so in comparison with the structures he knew before the implementation of the 1561 order. They may have been simply screens as we know them today (i.e. without loft galleries).

The destruction – or retention – of screens varied locally. In Gloucestershire, for example, pre-Reformation examples are rare. This may have been because of the insistence of Bishop Hooper in his injunctions of 1551 that the clergy ‘take down all chapels, closets, partitions, and separations within your churches ... and so to make the church ... without all closures, imparting, and separations between the minister and his people’.⁸ However, Hooper was in power for only two

⁵ K. Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, 2 (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 192.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁷ G. Edelen (ed.), *The Description of England by William Harrison* (New York, 1968), pp. 35-6. See also Chapter 3, pp. 97-8.

⁸ N. Oakey, ‘Fixture or Fittings? Can Pre-Reformation Ecclesiastical Material Culture be used as a Barometer of Contemporary Attitudes to the Reformation in England?’ in D. Gaimster and R.

more years after his 1551 injunctions, so the Gloucestershire disappearances probably resulted from other causes as well. Evidence from other places, for example Ashburton in Devon, indicates that there was sometimes reluctance to remove lofts and screens, and this may have happened in Gloucestershire. In Devon's 479 parish churches, although it has been possible to identify 120 currently extant screens (whole or in part) and 145 that have been destroyed (or for which only fragments remain) since the Reformation (all but thirteen since c.1755),⁹ this leaves a large total of 214 screens and lofts unaccounted for. Of course, the lack of documentary evidence means that it is impossible to state when these screens disappeared. Their demise could have taken place at any time between the Reformation and the nineteenth century but it is not too great a speculation to suggest that some may have disappeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. There is evidence for the disappearance of three Devon screens at that time: Exeter (St. Petroc) in 1561/2, Morebath by 1562 and Shobrooke in 1577; while Axminster followed in 1660, Cornwood in 1650, Silverton in c.1649 and Thurlestone in 1685.¹⁰ In assessing the relatively large survival rate in Devon it must be borne in mind that the lack of a chancel arch in many churches rebuilt in the fifteenth century meant that the screen was the only means of demarcation between the chancel and the nave, thus increasing its functional importance. This was also true of many of the huge number of churches rebuilt in England between c.1400 and c.1530, for example in the Cotswolds and East Anglia. Unfortunately, the few late-sixteenth-century Devon churchwardens' accounts which still exist are not very forthcoming about screens.

Screens entered the seventeenth century with a somewhat equivocal status. Arminianism, or at least the English version of that thinking, was

Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003), p. 66.

⁹ See Appendix 1 (Gazetteer), for extant and demolished Devon screens.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1 (Gazetteer).

concerned with promoting decorous worship. With the encouragement of both Charles I and the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, new churches were built in a style which deliberately imitated pre-Reformation architecture. Screens were still built, even though their importance was evidently not of much concern as only twice were they mentioned in visitation articles, as has been noted.¹¹ For example, at Rodney Stoke (Somerset), the screen was erected c.1625, built on the principles of Perpendicular screens and even with a roodloft.¹² Both Montagu and Juxon, mentioned above as concerned to preserve screens, were Arminian clerics.¹³ However, recent research has suggested that the building and restoration of churches on quite a large scale was taking place nationwide in the seventeenth century before the Arminian campaigns of the 1630s. Pews, pulpits, galleries, towers and bells had either been newly built or installed or replaced.¹⁴ New screens appeared in Herefordshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, and Yorkshire.¹⁵ The fact that a significant number of churches had been recently restored was one factor that aroused resentment and hostility against Laud's plans for further refurnishing and restoration.¹⁶ In Devon, at Washfield, a new screen was erected in 1624.¹⁷ This screen did not imitate pre-Reformation architecture but its richness and beauty is very much in line with the Laudian principles of beautifying churches. The fact that new screens were being built perhaps also implies that surviving pre-Reformation screens retained their usefulness, their main purpose

¹¹ Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 37.

¹² N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol*, 2nd edn. (New Haven and London, 2002), p. 252.

¹³ See above, pp. 238-9.

¹⁴ A. Foster, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: some Problems to note, but much to be gained', in K. L. French, G. G. Gibbs and B. A. Kumin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 74-93.

¹⁵ R. Wheeler, *The Medieval Church Screens of the Southern Marches* (Wootton Almeley, 2006), pp. 87-8.

¹⁶ D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *JBS*, 30 (1994), p. 14.

¹⁷ Bond and Camm, 2, p. 360.

being functional, and consequently there was no need for their destruction.¹⁸

The outbreak of the Civil War seems to have encouraged vandalism and iconoclasm. In April 1643 a committee 'for demolishing of monuments of superstition or idolatry' was appointed by the House of Commons. This was shortly followed by a parliamentary ordinance (Ordinance for Demolishing Superstitious Images) of 26 August 1643.¹⁹ Although screens and lofts were not mentioned in this ordinance, an ordinance for the further demolishing of monuments of idolatry and superstition on 9 May 1644 specifically mentioned roodlofts and the organs which stood upon them, demanding that 'all organs, and the frames and cases wherein they stand, in all churches and chapels aforesaid, shall be taken away and utterly defaced'. It addressed the problem more comprehensively than the previous year's ordinance and probably meant that considerable damage was caused to the remaining lofts, which had survived because they housed organs, as well as to screen dado figures.²⁰ These ordinances were especially thoroughly carried out in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk under the direction of William Dowsing between December 1643 and late September 1644.

¹⁸ Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 40.

¹⁹ British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=37330#s15> (House of Lords Journal, Vol. 6 (26 August 1643)).

²⁰ British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=37515#s19> (House of Lords Journal, Vol. 6 (9 May 1644)): 'The Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all offences and things illegal in the worship of God, do ordain, that all representations of any persons of the Trinity, or of any angel or saint, in or about any cathedral, collegiate or parish church, or chapel, or in any open place within this kingdom, shall be taken away, defaced, and utterly demolished, and that no such shall hereafter be set up; and that the chancel ground of any such church, or chapel, raised for any altar or communion table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled; and that no copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, or roodlofts, or holy water founts, shall be, or be any more used, in any church or chapel within this realm; and that no cross, crucifix, picture, or representation of any of the persons of the Trinity, or of any angel or saint, shall be or continue upon any plate, or other thing used, or to be used, in or about the worship of God; and that all organs, and the frames and cases wherein they stand, in all churches and chapels aforesaid, shall be taken away and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places; and that all copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods and founts aforesaid, be likewise utterly defaced....'.

Nevertheless Dowsing does not seem to have destroyed screens as such, concentrating upon breaking of representations in glass, wood, or stone of the Trinity or heavenly host.²¹ Nigel Yates in his *Buildings, Faith and Worship* (1991) comments that 'on the whole there seems to have been a preference to retain existing screens or to erect new ones in most churches up to the end of the seventeenth century'.²² In Devon, there is only evidence that two screens, at Cornwood and Silverton, disappeared during the Commonwealth (1649-60).²³ Equally, there is no evidence that any screens were constructed in Devon in the last decades of the sixteenth century, with the possible exception of Lustleigh. This screen is almost certainly not pre-Reformation, but it is uncertain whether it was constructed during the years of Mary, or perhaps as late as the early seventeenth century. It may have been 'appointed', according to the terms of the 1561 royal order and so constructed in the later decades of the sixteenth century. If so, it would be unusual.

The 1662 Prayer Book was also, like its 1559 predecessor, equivocal about the use of chancels and naves. It, too, allowed communion to take place in either area.²⁴ By this time, however, continental influences were about to make themselves felt. In Europe, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, in different ways, introduced new liturgical arrangements to which churches had to be adapted. In the Lutheran medieval churches the screen and roodloft were retained initially and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that screens began to be removed where they hid the view of the altar.²⁵ The medieval buildings inherited by the Calvinists required a much more drastic re-ordering, involving the fitting of a pulpit and seating (often deliberately reorientated north-south) and

²¹ John Morrill, 'Dowsing, William (bap.1596 d. 1668)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7990>, accessed 5 May 2006].

²² N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship* (Oxford, 1991), p. 31

²³ See above, p. 240.

²⁴ Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 148.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45; Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, p. 23.

little else.²⁶ Catholic interiors, too, became characterised by open spaces. In the church of Il Gesù, the Jesuit mother church in Rome (consecrated in 1584), the nave is one huge hall, which differentiates it from earlier Roman churches. A view of the interior indicates no screenwork whatsoever.²⁷ Other Roman churches of the period, St. Ignazio (constructed half a century later than Il Gesù), Santa Maria in Vallicella (rebuilt 1575-1605), and the re-ordered medieval churches of Santa Susanna and the Basilica of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva (Rome's only Gothic church), display no screenwork and the emphasis is on open space with the focus on the pulpit.

On a similar but smaller scale, 'auditory' churches had begun to appear in England in the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century. These were constructed as a single rectangular room, with no screen to divide it into chancel and nave, for example at Langley (Shropshire) in 1601, Hulcote (Beds.) before 1615 and St. Paul's, Covent Garden (London) in 1638.²⁸ No such early examples are known in Devon. In London, the Great Fire in 1666 presented an opportunity for the rebuilding of churches and their interiors, and most of the new churches built there by Christopher Wren did not have screens: Instead, Wren, influenced by continental developments, preferred the auditory plan and rarely included a screen into his London churches.²⁹ This taste continued in the Georgian period when the emphasis was on preaching, so there was a need for good vision and audibility. New Georgian town churches were wholly open in plan, with little or no chancel; indeed, sometimes the pulpit was placed at the centre of the east wall with the communion table in front of it. Screens were redundant in such churches, and this began to impact on medieval churches and how they were furnished and used.

²⁶ Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, p. 28.

²⁷ A. G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation* (London, 1970), p. 169.

²⁸ Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 52.

²⁹ Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 19, 52-3.

The eighteenth century

Nationally, there is evidence that, in the eighteenth century, more roodscreens were being removed than constructed. For example, in Yorkshire between 1720 and 1737, 71 screens were pulled down. In Cheshire 12 screens are known to have vanished and others disappeared in Berkshire and Kent.³⁰ This was also true of Devon, although on a much smaller scale. The faculty causes, requests from the parish to the bishop to undertake alterations within the church, indicate the disappearance of two screens in the eighteenth century, at South Molton (1758) and Sidmouth (1776), while at the beginning of the nineteenth century screens were removed at Kingsteignton (1801), Colebrooke (1805), Kingston (1807), Shebbear (1815) and Merton (1822). The survey of Devon by the Lysons brothers (1822) mentions five further screens (Coffinswell, Fremington, Langtree, North Lew, and Uplowman) as having disappeared.³¹

Some of the screens removed may have been in a ruinous condition, as at South Molton where it was claimed that 'the condition of the roodloft and several screens which enclosed the chancel and side aisles ... were very much decayed, broke, defective, indecent and attached with great inconveniencies for people assembled there for divine worship and service'.³² Even so an antipathy to screens can also be detected. Incumbents and parishioners at Sidmouth and Kingston complained that this presence impeded sight and hearing. At Sidmouth 'it was agreed to take down the screen which divides the church and the chancel, as the same greatly obstructs the hearing of the parishioners who sit in the chancel'³³, while at Kingston the reason for removal was similar. 'The

³⁰ Vallance, *Screens*, pp. 91-2.

³¹ See Chapter 1, p. 27. Also Appendix 1 (Gazetteer) and Bibliography.

³² DRO, South Molton Faculty Cause 1758-1.

³³ DRO, Sidmouth Faculty Cause 1776-3.

screen between the church and the chancel is a great impediment to the sight of the desk and pulpit'.³⁴

Nevertheless, new screens did continue to be built towards the end of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, such as that at Cruwys Morchard in 1689, after the previous screen had been destroyed by fire.³⁵ The joiner's bill came to nearly £1400, which shows that the parishioners still felt that they wanted a screen, and that they were prepared to pay for it, indicating that the structure, for whatever reasons, was still thought desirable. This may also indicate the pull of tradition, perhaps more marked in rural areas, as opposed to the continental influences which distinguished Wren's new London churches. Another new screen was built at Crowcombe (Somerset) in 1729, and as late as 1820 one of stone was erected at Haccombe (Devon). On the other hand, when the church at Teigngrace (Devon) was rebuilt in 1786 there was no screen; instead, the interior had an open cruciform plan, arms of equal length.³⁶

The 'Gothic revival' of the nineteenth century had its roots in the eighteenth century, exemplified by the later work of the architect, James Wyatt (1746-1813). Wyatt has been described as 'the first professional architect to take Gothic at all seriously as a useable style'.³⁷ However, his strategy in his cathedral restorations, especially at Lichfield and Salisbury, was to open up vistas within the building by, among other things, clearing away screens and later accretions, and, by so doing, achieve a sense of spaciousness.³⁸ These aims were not conducive to the retention of medieval screens and Wyatt removed even the thirteenth-century choir screen at Salisbury Cathedral.³⁹ However, he was not antipathetic towards

³⁴ DRO, Kingston Faculty Cause 1807-1.

³⁵ B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn. (London, 1989), p. 302.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, *Devon*, p. 793.

³⁷ R. Turnor, *James Wyatt* (London, 1950), pp. 43-6.

³⁸ John Martin Robinson, 'Wyatt, James (1746-1813)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/30105>, accessed 5 May 2006].

³⁹ R. B. Pugh (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Wiltshire*, vol. 3, (Oxford, 1956), p. 200.

screens as such, for he did insert a new screen in its place as a base for the organ.⁴⁰ There was also, by the late eighteenth century, a growing interest in antiquarianism from some sections of the nobility and gentry. Both national and local societies for the study of antiquities were coming into existence in the early eighteenth century, pointing to the rise of such interests. Antiquarianism, being conservative in nature, tended to help the retention of existing screens. This was to influence the Oxford Movement of the 1830s in which antiquarianism was reinforced by a revival of interest in medieval worship and theology.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries

The Oxford Movement stressed the traditional heritage of the Church of England and its links with the pre-Reformation Church. But by the 1840s, thanks to the publications and influence of both the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture with the support and encouragement of the important figure of A. W. N. Pugin (1815-52), the aims and principles of 'ecclesiology', that is, the study of church building and decoration, became the dominant force in transforming the liturgy and architecture of the Church of England.⁴¹ The ecclesiologists believed that the perfect plan of a church was that commonly used in the fourteenth century, in which they saw the characteristic feature as a long chancel. For the ecclesiologists, every present-day church should have a distinct and spacious chancel, at least one third the length of the nave. The chancel should be separated from the nave by a chancel arch or a screen, preferably with a raised floor.⁴²

⁴⁰ D. Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (London, 1980), p. 89; *ibid.*, Plate 75, showing Wyatt's screen at Salisbury Cathedral.

⁴¹ Alexandra Wedgwood, 'Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore (1812-1852)', *ODNB*, online edn, May 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22869>, accessed 8 May 2006].

⁴² Addleshaw and Etchells, *Architectural Setting*, p. 205.

Unfortunately, although the ecclesiological ideals caught on to the extent that by the end of the nineteenth century there were only a handful of churches which remained unrestored, the effect on pre-Reformation roodscreens was disastrous. This was the century when more medieval screens disappeared than at any other time, in so far as records exist. The lack of any specific issue concerning internal church decoration which marked the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries vanished with the onset of ecclesiology and one consequence of this new, major issue was the disappearance of screens (as had happened during the upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). While Pugin himself favoured screens, the 'Gothic revival' of the ecclesiologists demanded that the interiors of churches reflected 'authenticity' (i.e. that of the fourteenth century) and architectural purity, and the many surviving Perpendicular screens were perceived to be non-authentic. In the restorations which took place all over the land, much early screenwork was removed. The decisions to do this were more often than not made by architects, not their clients.

The Victorians also inherited the Georgian liking for open churches. However, their aesthetic preferences were different from those of the eighteenth century. They wanted to emphasise the altar and move the choir from the west gallery into the chancel. There was a growing desire for theatricality and colour with the east windows prominent in this dramatic colouring. It was, of course, necessary that the congregation should see the activities in the chancel, so chancels were raised up by three or so steps (uncommon in parish churches previously). Screens got in the way of the congregation's view of this enhanced chancel, and the raising of chancel floors made them even more redundant than they had been for the last three hundred years. Nevertheless the ideas and work of the architect Sir G. G. Scott (1811-78), especially his cathedral restorations, indicate that the removal or retention of a screen could still cause controversy and that some people still regarded screens as

important. Scott replaced non-medieval screens at Bath, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Worcester cathedrals.⁴³ At Exeter he retained the 1320s pulpitum, although not without some difficulty. Demands from the local architectural society (the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society) to move the pulpitum to the west end of the nave were repeated in an open letter to Scott, in which the writer, W. T. A. Radford suggested, among other things, that the pulpitum be replaced 'with a new rood loft, surmounted by a bold cross. I would therefore suggest a structure in stone, with arches as open as possible'.⁴⁴ Scott, in his amended report on Exeter Cathedral had written,

It is not my mission to destroy the antiquities of the buildings committed to my charge – but lovingly to conserve them; and if the whole Diocese were to urge their removal, I must be content to reply, that, not only am I not the man to carry their sentence into execution, but that I am prepared to use every means at my command to protect the objects of the attack.⁴⁵

In the end the pulpitum was retained, albeit altered by the removal of the stone panelling behind the two screen altars (which had been inserted in 1819 during a previous restoration under John Kendall), and getting rid of the two sets of stairs that led up behind the two altars to the organ loft. These staircases were replaced by a spiral staircase in the south choir aisle.⁴⁶ Although this was a compromise, Scott, on the whole, had his way. The factor of taste, which had, arguably, begun to affect change in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was now being slowly

⁴³ D. Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, pp. 66, 89, 92, 99.

⁴⁴ W. T. A. Radford, *Remarks on the Restoration of our Cathedral. A Letter to George Gilbert Scott, Esq. (Referring in particular to the Rood Screen)* (Exeter, n.d.), p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ V. Hope and L. J. Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral. A Short History and Description* (Exeter, 1973), p. 39.

eclipsed by antiquarian considerations. The retention of the Exeter pulpitum, with its relatively minor alterations, was perhaps the first victory of conservation, and certainly in line with Scott's perception of his mission to conserve antiquities, as noted above.

In Devon, in the period c.1800-84 at least 120 screens were removed.⁴⁷ Because a large number of these (55) have no definite date of removal, it is difficult to assess the impact of the ecclesiologists upon the fortunes of the county's pre-Reformation roodscreens. However, the fact that 26 are known to have been removed after 1850 indicates that the impact of ecclesiology and restoration was fairly dramatic in Devon. By 1909 at least 13 Cornish screens had vanished since the beginning of the nineteenth century, while 15 had been cut down to the transom rail and 23 had only fragments remaining.⁴⁸ In Somerset 28 screens are recorded as having totally vanished between 1828 and 1882 or existing only in fragmentary form.⁴⁹ In Wales, this mixture of architectural and liturgical idealism in the nineteenth century caused severe losses of screens in Monmouthshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire.⁵⁰ In Norfolk, 30% of screens recorded after a questionnaire to Norfolk incumbents in 1865 had vanished by 1949, when a survey was taken of surviving screens.⁵¹ It seems likely, then that the fortunes of Devon's pre-Reformation screens at this time were typical of the rest of the country and certainly typical of the West Country.

But not all restoration was so destructive. Indeed, a possible reaction to such an all-pervasive movement as ecclesiology may have been a major cause in, for example, the restoration of screens which took place in Devon, under the guidance of Harry Hems and Herbert Read from the

⁴⁷ See Appendix 1 (Gazetteer). One further pre-Reformation screen, at Honiton (St. Michael) was lost in the fire of 1911.

⁴⁸ Bond and Camm, 2, pp. 377-8.

⁴⁹ Bond and Camm, 1, p. 137.

⁵⁰ Wheeler, *The Medieval Church Screens of the Southern Marches*, pp. 91-2.

⁵¹ Oakey, 'Fixture or Fittings?', p. 66. According to the replies to the questionnaire, 165 Norfolk churches possessed screens in 1865. Fifty-four of these were not recorded in the 1949 survey.

late nineteenth century onwards. A restoration of the Bradninch screen by Bradley of Exeter occurred as early as 1853,⁵² and that of pre-Reformation screens took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Ashton (1908) by Herbert Read, Bovey Tracey (1887-8), Buckerell (1892) by Harry Hems, Combeinteignhead (c.1905) by Harry Hems, Dunchideock (1893) by Herbert Read, Feniton (1877) by Harry Hems, Harberton (1870), Manaton (1893) by Sedding, Pinhoe (1879-80) by Harry Hems, and Rattery (1911) by the Misses Pinwell.⁵³ This is a process still in train today. Such was the growing reaction against the destruction of screens that this may explain why new lofts were built upon the existing screens at Kenton and Staverton, and entirely new structures comprising screen and loft constructed at Lew Trenchard (1889-1915) by the Misses Pinwell and Littleham (near Bideford) (1891-2) by Temple Moore.⁵⁴ Indeed, chancel screens have been constructed in Devon in the twentieth century. At Northlew in 1922 a faculty was approved for the proposal to restore the ancient roodscreen (of which only the rotted wainscoting remained). The cost of this work, £1495, was to be found by parishioners and 'friends' (presumably those who lived outside the parish and were sympathetic towards the project).⁵⁵

Allied with this reaction (or perhaps an integral part of it) was the growth of the principle of conservation. The faculty process (which is the ecclesiastical equivalent of planning permission) was, to say the least, weak in the nineteenth century. Parishes were permitted to carry out major alterations to (and in the case of screens, removal of) church furnishings without much investigation or acknowledgment of their value. However the reaction to ecclesiastical restoration, the growth of the conservation lobby, and a wider appreciation of the past eventually led to a considerable tightening up of the faculty process and to increasingly

⁵² B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *Devon*, p. 201.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 191, 221, 283, 342, 441, 449, 469, 559, 699.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 534, 537.

⁵⁵ DRO, Northlew Faculty Petition 1921.

strident demands that controls on the destruction or violent alteration of buildings worth preserving must be viable. Diocesan Advisory Committees (for the care of churches) and the Council for the Care of Churches (a central body which monitors the Diocesan Committees) now have responsibilities which include the existing pre-Reformation roodscreens. The Council was set up in November 1921 when representatives of the newly formed Diocesan Advisory Committees came together at Westminster Abbey. It met for the first time (under the name of the Central Committee for the Protection of English Churches and their Treasures) in December 1922, became a Council of the Board of the Church Assembly in 1927 and is now a permanent commission of the General Synod. The Council for the Care of Churches sees its task today as enabling parishes to release through careful stewardship the mission and worship potential of church buildings, their contents and churchyards. Their programme includes education, conservation and repair and, probably most importantly, financial support towards the care and conservation of church building and their contents. Importantly as far as pre-Reformation screens are concerned, they advise and assist the Archbishops' Council of the Church of England on all issues relating to the use, care, planning and design of church buildings. Thus, at present at least, the future of the remaining pre-Reformation roodscreens seems secure.

Conclusion

To sum up, it is possible to perceive the history of screens from the period of the Reformation as falling into three periods: from c.1559 to c.1662, the next two hundred years to c.1880, and from c.1880 to the present. In the first period while lofts were, on the whole, eliminated, or at the very least 'transposed', screens were not and tended to remain, owing their survival in part to the rubrics of the 1559 Prayer Book as well

as the requirements of the 1561 royal order, although there is evidence, certainly from churchwardens' accounts, for the removal of some entire structures. Screens continued to be built in the first half of the seventeenth century, though not in very great numbers. That the rubrics of the 1662 Prayer Book did not vary much from those of the 1559 version might have indicated that screens were safe, but this was not so. After about 1660, influences from the continent in favour of 'open' churches made themselves apparent in England and, although there is evidence for the occasional construction of a screen, the period c.1662-c.1880 was one of decline. They became increasingly redundant and, both Georgian taste and Victorian ecclesiology led to large-scale disappearances, particularly in the nineteenth century. In turn, the way screens were treated and appreciated changed again in the period c.1880 to the present day, due to the growth and influence of the ideas of conservation. Irrespective of how screens fit into worship and aesthetics, they are now seen as being historically important and requiring to be conserved and restored.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION

Devon's place in the history of the study and conservation of screens over the last 125 years or so is well established. Bond and Camm's (1909) work attempted a deeper study of screens than that undertaken of any other county, while Francis Bond (1908) and Vallance (1936) gave considerable space to Devon screens in their work. The reason for this is simple: Devon retains more medieval screens than any other county in England. Consequently, a relatively large percentage of surviving medieval screens in England are to be found in Devon, as well as west Somerset and East Anglia. Their survival give Devon's churches a special regional character. Yet as this study has demonstrated, the history of the screen in Devon accords in general with what is known about other counties in England. It seems therefore that the reasons for their survival are complex and owe more to the particular circumstances of individual parishes, including both conservatism and a lack of means to finance a full removal, than to a lessening in zeal on the part of the Reformers in Devon when compared with other parts of the country.

The chronology for the history of Devon's screens is, on the whole, not dissimilar to that of the national picture. The earliest surviving Devon screens date from about the 1380s. Screens probably did not exist in most parish churches and chapels of England, unless they were also monastic or collegiate, until the late thirteenth century. Their origins may be found in cathedrals and monasteries where their purpose was to emphasise the difference between the services held by clergy in the choir, and the laity observing them in the nave. Precise evidence is hard to find as to the timing of the spread of screens from cathedrals and monastic churches into the parish churches, but the century from 1250 to 1350 seems very likely. Thus the Devon evidence fits into this picture.

There were, perhaps, two main reasons as to why screens spread to parish churches in the later Middle Ages: architectural and liturgical. The architectural explanation was probably the more influential: chancel openings grew much larger due to changes of architectural style; they had to be filled with some element to maintain the special and separate nature of the chancel where divine service and mass were celebrated. Turning to the liturgical explanation, paradoxically screens often gave a better view than before of the chancel from the nave, thereby anticipating the Reformers' wish to bring clergy and laity closer together, although less fully than the Reformers wished.

Roodscreens should also be seen as devotional objects in their own right, forming an iconostasis on which the rood was the principal element, often accompanied by other religious statuary or paintings. As such, the screens formed the principal vista for worshippers in the nave, and were the object of much care and charity by the laity, in the form of donations and parish expenditure and maintenance. Iconographically, apart from local saints and the occasional unusual figure, the saints on the dados of Devon screens, and the schemes of which many of them were a part, are typical of the late-medieval English devotional taste, and conform to similar figures and schemes in other areas of England, not least East Anglia. Anna Hulbert's conservation work allowed new insights into particular aspects of the iconography of screens, although she should be seen as a typical, rather than unique, figure, for there are similar restorers working in other parts of the country. Screens also had a didactic purpose in that they highlighted the central theme and message of Christianity: human redemption through Christ's suffering. They also emphasised, through the dado paintings and loft carvings, the intercessory powers of Our Lady and the saints. They were an elaborate, pious, magnificent framework for the rood, which portrayed Christ's death and explained its purpose: our salvation.

Fashion was, arguably, another factor in the development of roodscreens. Parishes might want their screen to be better and bigger than a nearby one, but they did not want a radically different one; there is a limited amount of written evidence concerning emulation and imitation, showing that competition between neighbouring parishes should not be forgotten as a factor in their construction, but the screens themselves provide the most important sources for such a conclusion. That there is a clear development in both their design and construction is demonstrable when early and late screens are compared. Whilst there is, with certain notable exceptions, general conformity in the design of Devon screens, this thesis suggests that distinct types can be identified in Devon. Further, the mapping of the distribution of different screen types has suggested possible locations for different workshops. Detailed analysis of the most important elements of Devon screens also indicates that, although these elements exhibit differences in detail, their similarities indicate that there was a conservatism in the design of Devon screens.

With certain exceptions, such as at Exeter Cathedral, Totnes, and Awliscombe, wood was the commonest material for the construction of screens in Devon, although this was not necessarily the case nationally. The nature and availability of workable stone was obviously an important factor in the choice of material here and explains the bias of the Devon evidence.

Many Devon screens are noticeably inferior in their decorative embellishments on their eastern, chancel side. This pattern is no doubt a reflection of the fact that the responsibility for the nave and its furnishings lay with the laity. The benefactions of the parishioners, if directed towards the screen, augmented its beauty and impressiveness and may be seen, perhaps, as a penitential response to the need to help the passage of one's soul through purgatory, a major element in the

social and religious context of the later medieval period.¹ The side of the screen which faced the parishioners also contained an element of display. Individual donors, and indeed all the parishioners, could see the result of their benefactions, the size of which might very well reflect their social status.

Although evidence from churchwardens' accounts is variable in its content and value, it is clear that some parishes spent large sums of money on the construction of a new screen, its polychromy, and its continued beautification and maintenance. There is no doubt that many parishioners approached the construction of a new (and expensive) screen with enthusiasm and involvement. Indeed, there is evidence that some screens were paid for, either in their entirety or in large part, by wealthy individual donors. These funds for the upkeep of the building as a whole, including the screen, led to the emergence of the office of churchwarden. It is also evident that the makers of screens, the 'carvers' were, in many instances, specialist craftsmen living in the vicinity (the Stratton contract employed two 'carvers' from Lawhitton and North Lew, nearby) or in regional centres, notably Exeter. Although little is known about the carvers, their skills were valued: churchwardens' accounts indicate occasional extra payments (sometimes in kind) to keep the carvers 'well willed' and there were also gifts when the work was completed satisfactorily. Churchwardens' accounts also record the many payments for the destruction of screens (usually the loft) which occurred between c.1547-80. As such they illustrate, via the screen, not only the life of the medieval parish, but the course on the ground of the most dramatic years of the Reformation.

The reformers of the sixteenth century disliked screens primarily as devotional objects – hence the order for the destruction of lofts. There was less concern about their function in dividing the church. They

¹ See above, Chapter 1, p. 42.

continued to demarcate the chancel, where the administration of communion still took place, but for the normal post-Reformation Sunday services of matins, if any, ante-communion, and evensong, screens were usually bypassed by bringing the clergyman to officiate at a reading desk and pulpit in the nave, close to the congregation. Some of the decoration of screens survived the Reformation, especially carving and colour, and even pictures of saints although equally these might be defaced or painted over. There was even something of a revival of screens in the 1630s – the Laudian period – and generally many screens appear to have survived through the seventeenth century, either because they were positively valued, as reflected by the fact that monies continued to be spent on their maintenance, or were taken for granted or were too expensive to remove unless they became very dilapidated.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a vogue developed for open churches, probably influenced by the baroque and classical architecture of Europe. Screens now became seen as impediments, and were often removed. A further reason for this was also their really or allegedly ruinous conditions. Even so, the occasional screen was still built, usually in rural parishes. The vogue for open churches overlapped from the 1830s with a revival in interest in the middle ages, and hence in medieval church furnishings, including screens. Nevertheless the nineteenth century was the most disastrous period in the history of screens, both nationally and in Devon. More are recorded being removed at this time than at any other. Reverence for medieval church furnishings took several decades to establish itself and was often countered by the preference for raised chancels open to the nave. Only towards the end of the century did respect for the past begin to triumph with the growth of the modern idea of conservation.

The study of screens, therefore, extends our knowledge in several areas of history. First, they are a major source of the history of construction in wood, although they are not our only source for such

techniques as we have wooden secular buildings, and fittings from the same period as the screens. Secondly, in terms of art history, screens are one of the most common bodies of evidence of late-medieval Church art for of carving and iconography. They are far more common than wall-paintings or free standing images. Thirdly, in respect of iconography, the screens help to establish saints who were venerated and the ways in which they were visualised. Fourthly, screens embody social history through the people who built, paid for, removed, and finally conserved them. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, they tell us much about English Church history since the thirteenth century, enabling us to follow the liturgical practice and religious taste not only of the period in which they were created – the later middle ages – but also of the Reformation and the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

The research for this thesis has found that the early twentieth-century work of Bond and Camm, along with that of Francis Bond and Aymer Vallance, still has much merit in terms of their visual study of screens and their analysis of types. The present study assents to the main types, but allocates some screens to different types than those that they originally proposed, thus modifying their work. It has been possible, however, to make significant progress from their work. By drawing on the present-day structural knowledge of screen restorers, a fuller and more accurate account of screen construction can be given. Likewise the polychrome restoration carried out by Anna Hulbert has transformed our knowledge of how decoration was done, and in particular allows the re-appraisal of screen iconography and the identifications of particular figures.

Considerable progress has been made in understanding the chronology of screens. If their origins are still obscure where parish churches are concerned, it is nevertheless becoming likely that they became common there round about 1300 and that their earliest forms were generally replaced during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The study of writings and directives during the Reformation, together with the use of parish records, has made it clearer than before that most probably survived this period of change, albeit with the loss of their lofts and sometimes their iconography, and that they chiefly disappeared through their own decay or because of changes of taste during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Finally, the thesis has utilised the advances made in recent years in understanding the religious and social context of parish life. It has been able to give a more accurate account of the rôle of screens in the liturgy and spirituality of the parish church, and the roles played by churchwardens and donors in building and maintaining them. It is believed that the present work has established, beyond doubt, the central place and significance of medieval roodscreens in the space and life of parish churches in Devon, both before the Reformation and, to a considerable degree, down to modern times.

Appendix 1

GAZETTEER

The Gazetteer is based on all the unpublished local primary sources available and all the relevant published secondary material (fuller details of which are given in the bibliography) in order to give as full a picture as possible of the nature and history of all known medieval roodscreens in Devon. It has two aims. First, it summarises the features of surviving or recorded pre-Reformation screens, including their location, size, structure, and constituent elements (vaulting, the cornices, the tracery, details of spandrel carving, the dado, and its polychromy, paintings, and iconography). All screens are made of wood unless otherwise stated. Secondly, the Gazetteer addresses the history of screens since the Reformation by recording their renewal, restoration and present condition, as well as providing a description of those that have vanished (where known) and dates and reasons for their removal. Certain major sources are regularly listed in the Gazetteer: Milles, Polwhele, Lysons, diocesan records, Davidson, *TEDAS*, Bond and Camm, Stabb, Cresswell, and Cherry and Pevsner.¹ Other primary and secondary sources are mentioned in footnotes where appropriate. The dimensions of extant screens have been measured for this thesis. Illustrations and have also been recorded, but, in order to deal with an exponential rise of material, a cut-off point has been fixed at 1920.

Each entry comprises a number of sub-headings enabling the reader to know the *Earliest record* of each screen, its *Features*, its *Dating* where possible, its present *Dimensions*, where *Illustrations* or *Photographs* may

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 27-30.

be found, whether or not the screen in *Extant now*, and the screen's *Type*, according to the classifications of Bond and Camm and of Cherry and Pevsner (see Figs. 21, 22, and 23). Thus Combe Martin's screen type is given as 2/A (Bond and Camm type 2 and Cherry and Pevsner type A). The medieval dedication of the church, where recorded, is given after the name of the parish. This is included in case it throws light on screen iconography, although there is no certainty that this is the case. If the medieval dedication is not known, it is not included; many 'medieval' church dedications are not recorded until the 1730's or afterwards and are often conjectures. Medieval church dedications (where known) are given immediately after the parish name. Their source (unless otherwise stated) is N. I Orme, *English Church Dedications* (Exeter, 1996), and two supplements to it in *DCNQ*.

It should be re-emphasised that the meaning of the term 'roodloft' has changed over time. In the Gazetteer the term applies to the flooring of the structure above the vaulting of the roodscreen, not to the carved gallery which, on most pre-Reformation screens, formed the front of the roodloft. Most of these galleries were removed in the 1560s and 1570s, according to the Royal Order of 1561. The only existing gallery front in Devon on a pre-Reformation roodloft is at Atherington. The correct term for the ribs which project in fan-shape from the post head is 'vaulting'. References in sources to 'groining' have been changed to 'vaulting'. References to 'coving' (which is a continuous projection between the cornice and the post head) remain. Unless otherwise attributed, the dimensions of the roodscreens, parclose screens, roodloft stairs and piers were measured in 2005-7. These are given in both metric and imperial figures.

The following conventions have been observed. References, unless otherwise mentioned, are to the bibliography at the end of the thesis. References to Milles are given as MS Milles, followed by the volume number and the folio number. Consequently the reference to an item in

MS Top Devon b. 9 with the folio number 77 would read MS Milles, ix, f. 77. References to Davidson are given according to the year he visited the relevant church. Davidson divided up his five manuscripts into the following volumes: East of Devon, North of Devon, South of Devon, West of Devon, and Exeter. In order to avoid too-lengthy footnotes the following method has been adopted:

- East of Devon.....Volume 1
- North of Devon....Volume 2
- South of Devon....Volume 3
- West of Devon.....Volume 4
- Exeter.....Volume 5

Consequently the reference for his visit to, for example, Honiton (East of Devon) in 1829 would read Davidson 1829, vol 1, p. xxx. Cresswell divided her notes into the Deaneries of Devon. References to her unpublished work are given according to the date of compilation. So if the relevant church is recorded in the Deanery of Ipplepen, which was compiled in 1921, the reference is given as Cresswell I/1921, p. xxx. Regarding Cresswell's work, in order to distinguish the particular deanery in which a church is situated, the following letter (or letters) is given after the relevant date:

- A – Aylesbeare (1920)
- B – Barnstaple (1924)
- C – Crediton (1918)
- Ca – Cadbury (1919)
- Ch – Chulmleigh (1919)
- Cu – Cullompton (1920)
- E – Exeter (Christianity) (1908)
- H – Honiton, 2 vols (1920)
- Ha – Hartland (1923)
- Ho – Holsworthy (1922)
- I – Ipplepen (1921)

K – Kenn (1912)
M – Moretonhampstead, 2 vols (1921)
O – Ottery St. Mary (1919)
Ok – Okehampton (1921)
P – Plympton (1922)
S – Shirwell (1924)
SM – South Molton (1924)
T – Totnes (1922)
Ta – Tavistock (1922)
Th – Three Towns (Plymouth) (1925)
Ti – Tiverton (1920)
To – Torrington (1925)
W – Woodleigh (1923)

References to the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* include number, series, and date. Thus *TEDAS*, i, 2, 1867 refers to number one of the second series, dated 1867.

GAZETTEER

Abbotskerswell (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Across nave and aisle (Davidson 1846, vol 3, p. 409). Cornice (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, pp. 5-6). Doors present in 1847 but both doors and vaulting missing (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, pp. 5-6). Upper part restored (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 124). *Photograph:* (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1(1908), plate 1). *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 2.85m x 2.94m (9'4½" x 9'8"). Nave screen: 4.57m x 2.94m (15' x 9'8"). Parclose screen: 2.73m x 2.84m (8'11½" x 9'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Alphington (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, pp. 104-5). *Features:* Oak. With cornice (Davidson 1840, vol. 3, p. 109). A handsome screen separates the nave from the chancel and smaller screens the chancel from its aisles (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Vaulting gone. Restored 1879 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 3). Difference in style between the chancel portion of screen and that in the north aisle (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 3). Paintings of saints and bishops on the lower panels (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 440). Parclose screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 440). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 2. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 3.72m x 3.26m (12'2" x 10' 7"). Chancel screen: 4.45m x 3.26m (14'6" x 10' 7"). South aisle screen: 3.66m x 3.26m (12' x 10' 7"). North parclose screen: 4.02m x 2.47m (13'2" x 8'11"). South parclose screen: 3.99m x 2.47m (13'1" x 8'11"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Ashburton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' Accounts²: Screen erected c.1525. Loft removed 1559-80. (MS Milles, i, f. 20). *Features:* 'There is a lofty elegant Gothic screen' (MS Milles, viii, f. 17). Stone screen with tabernacle work painted and gilt. Gallery of roodloft remains (Lysons, vol. 1, pp. cccxxvi-vii). Screen entirely removed c.1767 (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 505). Modern screen erected (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 238) by Street in 1883 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 5). Screen partly removed c. 1718, 'parts of the screen taken down c. 1718 to make the western gallery' (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, p. 20). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 5. *Extant now:* Medieval screen, no; modern screen, yes.

Ashcombe (St. George. N. I. Orme 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No.2', *DCNQ*, forthcoming.).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 3). *Features:* sold by rector in 1820 (Ibid.). Removed 1820 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). *Extant now:* No.

Ashprington (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 24). *Features:* 'There is an old rood loft in the church' (MS Milles, viii, f. 20). Wood. Part only, much cut away (Lysons 1822). Fragments of the screen are still preserved in the disused vestry on the north side of the church (Worthy 1887, vol. 1, p. 314). Two old doors remain; remains of painting of saints on the wainscot (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 135-6). *Extant now:* No. Removed 1846 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284).

² A. Hanham (ed.), *The Churchwardens' accounts of Ashburton 1479-1580*. DCRS, new series 15 (1970), pp. 66-77.

Ashreigny

(Unknown). *Earliest record*: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 415). *Features*: Church partly divided from the chancel by remains of a sort of screen or roodloft (Ibid., 1806, vol. 3 (1806), p. 415). *Extant now*: No.

Ashton (Uncertain).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 26). *Features*: 'The screen like most in this county is painted with figures of patriarchs, prophets, etc.' (Ibid.). *Features*: Rich and curious, roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). In tolerable preservation (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 195). Painted figures (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 195). Modernised. Side screen divided the church from the aisle (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 137-8). Extends across the nave and aisle. Cornice. 32 painted panels. Roodloft and vaulting removed 1825. Paintings on the screens in the Lady Chapel (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1(1908), pp. 5-6). Extends right across the church. Early 15th century. Parclose between the chapel and the chancel earlier (Cresswell/K/1912, pp. 23-5). Cornice and cresting (Cresswell/K/1912, pp. 23-5). Restored 1908 by Herbert Read with new roodloft [n.b. not gallery] (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 137). *Photographs*: Keyser 1898, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 6, and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate lxx. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pier): 9.3m x 3.5m (30' 6" x 11'6"). North-west parclose screen: 2.8m x 2.5m (9'4½" x 8'4"). North-east parclose screen: 2.9m x 2.3m (9' 5½" x 7' 7"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Atherington (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1544-7 (National Archives, Kew, c 1/1116); c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 36). *Features*: 'There is a roodloft and screen' (MS Milles, viii, f. 27). Wood. A very rich screen across the north aisle with the gallery of the roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). 2 cornices above. Across the east end of the north aisle a splendid screen of carved

oak elaborately ornamented (Davidson 1848, vol. 2, p. 317). North aisle divided from the chancel aisle by a rich lofty screen (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 10). Two screens, one separating the chancel from the nave and the other in the north aisle. In 1880 the Umberleigh chapel was demolished and the roodscreen brought to Atherington and erected in the north aisle of the church (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 7). Date of origin of the roodscreen between nave and chancel c. 1500, but transferred from Umberleigh to Atherington in c. 1800 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). Differences of opinion re. screens discussed (Cresswell/B/1924, p. 15). Screen between the nave and chancel probably brought from Umberleigh chapel. The almost complete preservation of the roodloft gallery in the north aisle screen is unique in Devon. Cornice of three bands (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 139). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 7 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plates xxxv(b), xxxvii, xxxviii and lxvii(b) and vol 2, plates lxxv, lxxvi(a) and xciv(b). *Illustrations*: Bond 1903 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 274. *Dimensions*: North aisle: 4.98m x 3.39m (16'4" x 11'1½"). Chancel screen: 4.62m x 3.25m (15'2" x 10'8"). Roodstairs: 0.74m (width) x 0.25m (depth) (2'5" x 10"). Roodloft: 4.98m (16'4") (Unable to measure height). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/B.

Aveton Giffard (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: 1841 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 885). *Features*: Wood. Various remains of chancel and side screens (*Ibid.*). Very good parclose screens (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 9). Screens now serving as parcloses on north and south sides of the chancel (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 38). *Photographs*: Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 8 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxiii[a]. Screens (see Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 885) 'turned out of the church' in 1869. They were replaced after the restoration of 1886, but not in the original position (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 38). *Extant now*: No. The church, along with the screens, was

destroyed by enemy action in 1943. It was rebuilt, and the present parclose screens are modern.

Awliscombe (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Stone. In the style of the 15th century (Ibid.). Divides the chancel from the nave (Davidson 1828, vol. 1, p. 341). A substantial traceried screen separates the chancel and the nave (*TEDAS*, i, 2,1867, p. 7). A clumsy embattled cornice substituted for earlier work. Enriched door (Cresswell/H/1920, vol.1, p. 6). Possibly originally of veranda type (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 141). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 2. *Dimensions:* 4.76m x 3.49m (15'7½" x 11'5½"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 3/B.

Axminster (St. Mary and St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 36). *Features:* 'On the inside there is a gallery over the rood loft' (MS Milles, viii, f. 35a). Screen removed 1660. Parclose screen removed 1875 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 284). Roodscreen removed at end of 17th century (Cresswell/H/1920, vol. 2, p. 9). *Extant now:* No.

Aylesbeare (St. Mark).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 3). [There is a simple plan of the church which indicates the presence of a screen and there is, in writing, 'staircase to the Roodloft']. *Extant now:* No.

Bampton (St. Mary and St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1509.³ 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 589). *Features:* Oak. Divides the nave from the chancel. Formerly of greater length and before the repairs of 1812 extended across the nave and the aisle. Another screen returned eastwards to the corner of the chancel and enclosed the east end of the aisle (Ibid.). 'Until lately' the screen extended across the north aisle, beyond the first of the five arches (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1, p. 169). Screen dates from c.1450. It retains groining on both sides, but the painting on the wainscot panels is obliterated (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 10). Restored by Herbert Read in 1938, cresting renewed in 1965 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 146-7). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 9). *Dimensions:* 7.29m x 3.60m (23'11" x 11'10"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Belstone (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 385). *Features:* Oak. 'Rude and ruinous remains' (Ibid.). Not there in 1921 (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 17). *Extant now:* No.

Bere Ferrers (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 601). *Features:* A 'basement' of the ancient chancel screen remained (Ibid.). 14 or 15 wainscot panels with painted figures remain of the roodscreen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 10). Only part of the wainscot at the south side remains of the screen (Cresswell/Ta/1922, p. 33). *Extant now:* Yes [wainscoting only] (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 163).

³ The National Archives (I), PROB 11/16 f. 185 r. Will of John Rowe. 20 September 1509. 'I bequeath unto the building of the Roodloft in the foresaid church of Bampton 40s...'

Berry Pomeroy (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 492). *Features:* Wood. Elegantly carved; painted and gilt (Ibid.). Roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 2, p. cccxxvii). Oak, divides the nave from the chancel (Davidson 1831, vol. 3, p. 561). The screen is 46' in length (Hems 1898, p. 16). Doors missing. In 1904 only across the chancel and north aisle (Stabb 1908, vol. 1 (1908), p. 12). Very perfect; 46' long, crossing nave and both aisles (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 293). 24 painted panels of saints at the base, much disfigured (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 50-1). Now extends from north to south wall. Original vaulting, cornice and cresting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 166). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 10. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen (not including piers): 12.1m x 3.0m (42'9" x 10'). North parclose screen: 3.0m x 2.9m (10' x 9'5"). South parclose screen: 2.9m x 2.8m (9'6" x 9'2½"). Roodstair steps: 0.6m x 0.3m (2' x 10"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Bideford (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 62). *Features:* 'The stone screen' (Ibid.). Stone, between the chancel and the south aisle (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Extant now:* No.

Bishop's Tawton (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1 (1908), p. 14). *Features:* Roodscreen removed, but a portion used as a screen for the north chancel aisle (Ibid.). Early type (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). 3 bays of a screen of late type with traces of gilding stand against the tower arch which is at the east end of the north aisle (Cresswell/B/1924, p.70). 3 bays of the screen in the tower arch; square framed with a cornice having one strip of foliage (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 184). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 12. *Dimensions:* 2.85m x 2.54m (9'4½" x 8'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 9/B.

Bittadon (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 677). *Features:* 'There is a rude chancel screen' (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Blackawton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Ornamented screen (Ibid.). Richly carved parclose screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p.15). Nave and chancel divided by a roodscreen of late date. This extends across the nave. No remains of a loft, but there was a pulpit on the loft until the end of the 19th C. Retains original blue and red colouring (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 64-6). Vaulting and most of the cornice has gone (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 186). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 13. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 12.8m x 3.4m (39' 3½" x 11'). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 7/B.

Bondleigh (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 284). *Features:* Removed 1839 (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Bovey Tracey (St. Peter and St Paul).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 73). *Features:* Handsome screen and roodloft (Ibid.). The roodloft entire (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 3 (1806), p. 496). The screen only, painted and gilt (Lysons, 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). The chancel screen remains, painted and gilded (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 185). The remains have been repaired, vaulting, cornice and cresting added. The parclose screen renewed. The screen newly painted and gilt (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, pp. 242-3). Restoration in 1884, the wainscot panels painted (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 16). Extends across the chancel and aisles (Cresswell/M/1921, vol 1, pp. 68-9). *Dating:* c.1427 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 191). *Photographs:* Stabb

1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 14 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxv[a]. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.0 x 3.0m (9'10½" x 10'). Chancel screen: 5.0m x 3.0m (16' 6½" x 10'). South aisle screen: 3.0m x 3.0m (10' x 10'). Piers: 0.5m (1'10"). North parclose screen: 3.4m x 2.9m (11'4" x 9'5"). South parclose screen: 3.7m x 2.9m (12' x 9'5"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Bradninch (St. Denis).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 83). *Features*: Extends across the nave and aisles, with date 1528 (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Remarkably perfect and handsome, richly painted and gilt. Painted wainscot. Handsome cornice. Inscription on the back (east side) of the cornice (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 441). The screen is 51' wide at the base and 53' wide at the top of the vaulting (Hems 1898, p. 16). Complete with vaulting and cornice. Modern cresting. Original north parclose screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908) pp. 19-20). Detail purely Gothic in character, no trace of foreign workmanship. Complete series of painted panels along the base of the roodscreen. On the back of the screen were painted verses from Holy Scriptures, date 1528, although this is more likely to be the date of the painting than that of the screen, which might certainly be 20 years earlier. Parclose screen moved in 1884 and placed across the tower arch. It was moved again and is now again a parclose at the e. end of the south aisle (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 40). The cornice has 3 strips of foliage scrolls. Restoration and recolouring took place in 1853; work by Bradley of Exeter (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 200-1). *Dating*: 1450 parclose, 1528 screen (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 16 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate lxxxix[a]. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including cornice ends): 16.35m x 4.16m (53'8" x 13'8"). Chancel screen (excluding cornice ends): 15.34m x 4.16m (50'4" x 13'8"). Parclose screen: 3.23m x 2.99m (10'7" x 9'10"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 5/A.

Bradstone (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 505). *Features:* Remains of a screen between the nave and chancel (Ibid.). Removed since 1840 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). *Extant now:* No.

Brampford Speke (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1834 (Faculty for removal). *Features:* Faculty of 20 August 1834 'to take down the screen at present between the church and the chancel'.⁴ Faculty granted by Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 35). *Extant now:* No.

Branscombe (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1952 (Pevsner, South Devon, p. 61). *Features:* Plain woodwork of c.1660 on a medieval stone base (Cherry and Pevsner, 1991, p. 284). *Extant now:* base only.

Bratton Clovelly (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 284). *Features:* Removed since 1820 (Ibid.). The only part remaining consists of some lower panels on the south side. These panels are the power parts of two bays cut down to sill level. The rest was removed in 1820 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 17). Only part of the wainscoting of the old screen survives (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 206). *Extant now:* only part of the wainscoting.

Braunton (St. Brannoc).

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 653). *Features:* Chancel screen, above it the lower part of the roodloft (Ibid.). Screen of unusual character; the roodloft remained until the middle of the 19th C, it was

⁴ DRO Brampford Speke 1834-1

furnished with small pews to seat two persons (Cresswell/B/1924, p. 98). Across the chancel arch. No vaulting, probably not meant to have any (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 208). *Dating*: c.1400 (Bond and Camm, 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 17 and (of the loft) Cresswell/B/1924. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 4.6m x 3.4m (15' x 11'). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/A.

Bridestow (St. Bridget).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 401). *Features*: Remains of a carved oak chancel screen with tympanum (Ibid.). A small roodscreen separates the nave from the chancel (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1850, p. 174). Removed 1869 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). Until 1866 the screen with a tympanum remained intact. It only crossed the chancel. In 1866 it was removed except a 3'6" partition now dividing the nave and the chancel (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 41). There are some poor fragments of old wainscoting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 211). *Extant now*: No.

Bridford (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 104). *Features*: 'A good Gothic screen with whimsical figures in relief' (Ibid.). Rich (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), pp. 76-7 and Lysons, vol 1, 1822, p. cccxxvii). Erected in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII when Walter Southcote was Rector. Initials WS suggest the date (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 2 (1840), p. 132). Handsome chancel screen of carved oak, richly painted and gilt with 8 open arches, 2 mouldings of foliage, a series of figures of saints, bishops and monks carved in bold relief on the wainscot standing in canopied niches (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 153). Remarkably rich, painted and gilt, crosses the church at the eastern pier. Its date is 1508 (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1850, p. 166). Remarkably fine, it retains its ancient colouring. Groining and cresting missing. Carved statuettes instead of paintings. The doors are in one piece instead of being divided as usual (Stabb

1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 22). A parclose divides the chancel from the n. chancel aisle. 4 large panel paintings at the base of the parclose (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 41). Colours cleaned in 1974-81 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 211-2). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 18 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxiii, cii[b] and cviii[a]. *Illustration*: Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 298. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pier): 8.5m x 2.8m (28' x 9'1"). Parclose screen: 3.2m x 2.7m (10' 4½" x 8' 9"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 8/A.

Brixham (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 284). *Features*: Removed before 1861 (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Brixton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1847 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 905). *Features*: Remains of a roodscreen across the aisles (Ibid.). Two parclose screens remaining (Cresswell/P/1922, pp. 49-51). *Extant now*: No.

Broadclyst (St. George, N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No. 2', DCNQ, forthcoming.).

Earliest record: 1849 (TEDAS, iii, 1, 1849, p. 55). *Features*: Fifty years since (c.1820) a screen, painted and gilt, extended across the church, its panels adorned with paintings (Ibid.). Removed since 1867 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). *Extant now*: No.

Broadhembury (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 3). *Features*: Removed 1851 (Ibid.). Removed 1851 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). Screenwork removed during restoration in 1851. Now a modern screen crosses the e. end of the aisle (Cresswell/O/1919, p. 28). *Extant now*: No.

Broadhempston (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 487). *Features:* Lofty, ornamented with carving and painting (Ibid.). Much mutilated; coarsely coloured; extends across nave and aisles; two parcloes remain which originally enclosed north and south chantry chapels; cornice destroyed; figures of saints in lower panels obliterated (Worthy 1887, vol. 2, p. 46). Handsome screen traverses the nave and two aisles. Restored 1901-3 (*TEDAS*, ii, 3, 1907, p. 76). Oak. Vaulting replaced at the restoration by Read of Exeter [cost: £500]. It extends right across the church. Parclose screens divide chancel and chancel aisles. Traces of ancient colour work. Later date than roodscreen (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 177). Top parts all 1903 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 218). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 19 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate lxxxi (b). *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 15.1m x 3.7 m (49'8" x 12'). North parclose screen: 3.6m x 2.9m (11'5" x 9' 8½"). South parclose screen: 3.6m x 2.8m (11'4" x 9'5"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/B.

Broadwoodkelly (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1921 (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 53). *Features:* Removed in 1826 during alterations (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Broadwoodwidge (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of a carved oak screen across the chancel and aisle (Davidson 1847, vol. 4, p. 457). No vaulting. Remains of two bands of ornament from the cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 219). *Dating:* possibly 1529 (bench ends are dated) . *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 4.16m x 2.64m (13'8" x 8'8"). South aisle screen: 3.49m x 2.76m (11'5½" x 9'1"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Brushford (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 89). *Features:* Screen of late date (Ibid.). Erected in the reign of Henry VIII or Mary. Never intended for a roodloft. Unique among Devon screens. (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 24). Beautiful and unique screen, resembles Colebrooke screen. French-type work. Post-reformation date (Henry VIII or Mary). (Cresswell/Ch/1919, p. 21). Straight-topped panels, no groining (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 221). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 20 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, plate lxxv (a) and xcix (a). *Dimensions:* 4.31m x 2.83m (14' 1½" x 9'3"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 11/n.a.

Buckerell: (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1842 (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). *Features:* There is a screen of carved oak which separates the chancel from the nave, and which formerly supported the roodloft. It is surmounted by 4 enriched mouldings carved in foliage, fruit, and flowers (Ibid.). A screen of 4 bays across the chancel arch. Retains vaulting on both sides. Fine cornices and lower cresting (upper cresting missing). Dark oak. Unusual type. (Cresswell/O/1919, p. 42). Brought from elsewhere. Restored by Hems in 1892. Vaulting to the east and west (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 221). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2, (1911), plate 29. *Dimensions:* 3.84m x 3.48m (12'7" x 11'5"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/B.

Buckland Brewer (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, viii, f. 118). *Features:* A good roodloft and gallery (Ibid.). No traces remain (Cresswell/Ha/1923, p. 69). *Extant now:* No.

Buckland-in-the-Moor (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1847 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 533). *Features:* Old carved oak screen painted and gilded with figures of saints on the wainscot (Ibid.). Vaulting and cornice removed. Paintings on the wainscot (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 239). Paintings on the east side of the screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 25-6). Restored (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. I, pp. 44-5). Renewed vaulting, handsome three-frieze cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 232). *Dimensions:* 4.80m x 2.97m (15'9" x 9'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Bulkworthy (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol 4, p. 197). *Features:* 'There are some ruinous remains of an old chancel screen' (Ibid.). In 1847 the lower part existed, cut down to the height of existing pews (Hems 1898, p. 3). Removed 1873 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). Roodscreen remained until about 1850. (Cresswell/Ho/1922, p. 61). *Extant now:* No.

Burlescombe (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Oak. It divides the chancel from the nave. Formerly across the south aisle. (Davidson 1828, vol. 1, p. 565). Early, simple type (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 278). Roodscreen of 5 bays across the chancel. Square headed. Loft, vaulting and original cornice work gone. Modern cornice and cresting. Doors gone (Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), p. 34). Poor. Elaborately carved and gilded (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 60). Cheerful painting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 239). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 35. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 4.9m x 2.9m (15'2" x 9'6½"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

[Ayshford chapel] (under Burlescombe).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 565). *Features:* Plain, gilded (Ibid.). Partitioned by a plain screen, rudely painted with gilded bosses (TEDAS, ii, 1847, p. 121). *Dimensions:* 4.50m x 3.24m (14'9" x 10'7½"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/n.a.

Burrington (Trinity).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Carved oak of late date. Mouldings of foliage. Painted (Davidson 1849, vol. 2, p. 253). Very fine, painted, gilded. Vaulting and cornices complete (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 28-9). Extends right across the nave and aisle. Vaulting and cornices complete. Lapford type (Cresswell/Ch/1919, p. 30). Complete with ribbed vaulting and cornice with three strips of ornament and cresting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 239). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 22 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate xc (b). *Dimensions:* 10.76m x 3.30m (35'3½" x 10'10"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 4/B.

Calverleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1839 (Oliver, vol. 1, p. 99). *Features:* Part of the ancient screen is visible (Ibid.). Extends across the nave and aisle. Not richly carved. 3 mouldings of foliage painted and gilt (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 657). Screens to the chancel and south aisle. No carving. Plain tracery (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 29). Early type (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 278). Nave and chancel divided by the screen which extends across the aisle. Plain (Cresswell/Ti/1920, p. 108). No vaulting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 243). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 23. *Dimensions:* Nave screen: 4.29m x 3.23m (14'1" x 10'7"). South aisle screen: 3.64m x 2.84 (11'11" x 9'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

Chagford (St. Michael).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' accounts of 1526, 1534, 1535, 1545, 1560, and 1574.⁵ *Features:* Portions remain in the aisles with cornice. Parcloses screens with cornice (*TEDAS*, iv, 1853, p. 167). Roodscreen cleared away in the 18th C. Screens across the aisles until 1865. Parcloses remain with cornices and tracery coloured and gilt (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, p. 83). Medieval parclose screens. New roodscreen in traditional style (1925) by Herbert Read (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 249-50). *Dimensions:* North parclose screen: 3.74m x 2.60m (12'3" x 8'6½"). South parclose screen: 4.10m x 2.72m (13'3½" x 8'11"). (The *Dimensions* of the 1925 roodscreen are: 13.13m x 3.11m (43'1" x 10'2½")). *Extant now:* Medieval parclose screens only, although there is a new (1925) roodscreen. *Type:* 2/A.

Charleton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 477). *Features:* A beautiful screen (Ibid.). Ancient chancel screen but modernised (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 819). Screen disappeared when the church was rebuilt 1849-50 (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 84). *Extant now:* No.

Chawleigh (St. Peter).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 128). *Features:* 'A good Gothic screen' (MS Milles, viii, f. 151). Wood (Lysons 1822, vol. 2, p. cccxxvii). Screen of carved oak of late date, gaudily painted (Davidson 1844, vol. 2, p. 169). Devon type. Fine cresting (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 7). Vaulting and cornices remain. Very tall cresting. South parclose. Church (but not screen) restored in 1874 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 30). Fine screen across the nave and aisles retaining much of its old colouring. Good vaulting (Cresswell/Ch/1919, p. 38). Elaborate cornice, much of the

⁵ F. M. Osborne (ed.), *The churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's church, Chagford 1480-1600* (Chagford, 1979).

vaulting is of 1910. South parclose screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 254). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 24 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, plate xc (a) and c (b). *Illustration*: Ashworth 1860. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 13.15m x 3.26m (43'1½" x 10'7"). Parclose screen: 2.96m x 2.48m (9'8½" x 8'1½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Cheriton Bishop (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1843 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 53). *Features*: Portions of the chancel screen and a side screen remain. Richly painted and gilt. Figures of saints on the wainscot (Ibid.). Old screen gone from the nave. New one erected. Portions of the ancient screen remain in the north aisle. Remaining part of the old screen has 2 bays and doors, but the vaulting and cresting have gone. Some of the cornice remains. Painted panels on the north and south sides (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 40). Part remains in the north chancel. Original colour. Painted saints on the wainscoting. *Dating*: c.1520 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 255). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 37. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.96m x 3.02m (9'7" x 9'11"). Parclose screen: 1.09m x 2.30m (3'7" x 7'6½"). *Extant now*: part only. *Type*: 8/

Cheriton Fitzpaine (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems 1898, p. 4). *Features*: Removed before (Ibid.) Screen removed 1793 (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 30). *Extant now*: No.

Chivelstone (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: A rich screen remains (Ibid.). Chancel screen of carved oak in the style of the 16th C. Painted (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 845). Fine – across the nave and aisles. Vaulting gone. Painted figures on the wainscoting. North and south parclose screens (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 31). Extends all across

the church. Vaulting lost. Painted panels (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 91-3). Parclose screens (damaged). *Dating*: c.1520 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 260). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 25 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate lxxxiv (b). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.76m x 2.84m (9'1" x 9'4"). Chancel screen: 4.73m x 3.01m (15'6½" x 9'10½"). South aisle screen: 2.76m x 2.84m (9'1" x 9'4"). North parclose: 3.37m x 2.40m (11'1" x 7'10½"). South parclose: 3.25m x 3.07m (10'8" x 8'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

Christow (St. Christina).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Screen across the nave and aisles (Ibid.). Open chancel screen of carved oak across the nave and aisles. Side screens in similar style (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 145).⁶ Roodscreen without vaulting, coloured and gilt. Lower panels painted. Part of the s. aisle screen now fitted as a tower screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), p. 44). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 41. *Dimensions*: 4.40m x 2.83m (14'5" x 9'3½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 8/A.

Chudleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' accounts of 1577.⁷ *Features*: Chancel screen of inferior style. Painted (Davidson 1840, vol 3, p. 289). Plain perpendicular screen. Vaulting missing. Modern cornice. Painted panels on the wainscoting of Apostles and prophets (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1(1908), p. 32). The screen extends across the nave and is returned as a parclose between the chancel and the south aisle. Vaulting gone. Cresting. Painted and gilded. Pictures of Apostles and prophets. (Cresswell/M/ 1921, vol 1, pp. 101-2). One decorated strip in the cornice

⁶ Here Davidson has inserted a newspaper cutting dated 16 April 1863 which informs us that the church has been restored and the screen replaced and painted. Unfortunately there is no indication specifying the newspaper source.

⁷ DRO 3944A/PW 1

and cresting. Wainscot paintings. Well preserved. Restored in 1976 by Anna Hulbert (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 263). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1(1908), plate 26. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 6.9m x 2.1m (22'6½ x 7' 1½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 8/A.

Chulmleigh (St. Mary Magdalene).

Earliest record: 1528.⁸ c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 134). *Features*: A good Gothic screen (MS Milles 1755, ix, f. 9). A screen in very good condition crosses the nave and both aisles. Range of several mouldings, painted and gilded. A roodscreen the whole width of the church, stereotyped Devon design (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 8). Very fine roodscreen. Extends across the church. Date from 16th C, retains doors, vaulting and cornices, but the cresting is missing (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 33). Across the nave and aisles, about 50' in length, very complete, original ribbed vaulting on both sides. Cornice with three bands of close ornament and cresting (Cherry and Pevsner, 1991, p. 265). *Dating*: latter end of the 15th century (Davidson 1830, vol. 2, p. 197). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 27 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxxii (b) and cxxi (a). *Illustrations*: Ashworth 1860. *Dimensions*: 15.37m x 3.35m (50'5" x 11'). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/A.

Churchstanton (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 361). *Features*: Oak. Divides the chancel from the nave (ibid.). Taken down and sold c.1830 (Hems 1898, p. 4). Removed since c.1830 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 284). *Extant now*: No.

⁸ The National Archives (I), PROB 11/23 f. 22 r. Will of William Cokkyshed, 5 December 1528. 'Item I give and bequeath to the church of Chulmleigh twenty pounds to make there a Roodloft'.

Churchstow (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 469). *Features:* Chancel divided into two parts by the same kind of woodwork as separates it from the nave (Ibid.). Fragments (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 873). *Extant now:* No.

Churston Ferrers (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Chancel and side screens (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 609). Removed 1864 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). The church was restored in 1865 and at about the same time a fine roodscreen with paintings was taken down. Parts of the old roodscreen were made into a belfry screen. The nave portion of the old screen consisted of three divisions about 5' wide with 6 tracery lights (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 46-7). There was a screen and 2 parcloses before the screen was removed in 1863 (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 40). *Extant now:* No.

Clannaborough (St. Petroc).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 61). *Features:* Chancel screen of humble character (Ibid.). All cleared away (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 42). *Extant now:* No.

Clayhanger (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* A rich roodscreen (Ibid.). Removed since 1825 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Clyst Hidon (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ix, f. 28). *Features:* 'A good carved Gothic screen at the entrance to the chapel' (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Clyst St. George (St. George).

Earliest record: 1839 (Oliver, vol. 1, p. 152). *Features:* Screen removed within the memory of some parishioners (Ibid.). Chancel arch and screen removed c.1790 (*TEDAS*, i, 2, 1867, p. 97). Removed 1790 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Clyst St. Lawrence (St. Laurence).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich. Roodloft (not gallery) remaining (Ibid.). A rich chancel screen remains. Oak (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 521). Rich roodscreen of 5 arches. No tracery, transoms or lower work. Vaulting remains (*TEDAS*, i, 2, 1867), p. 15). Screen retains colouring and gilding, tracery gone, cresting replaced (Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), p. 47). Screen stretches across the church. Vaulting and cornice remain, loft intact. No tracery (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 96). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 43 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate xci (a). *Dimensions:* 6.02m x 4.01m (19'9" x 13'2"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/n.a.

Cockington (St. George and St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* A screen of 13 compartments separates the nave from the chancel, but it appears to have been much mutilated; the basement part is gone, as well as the canopies which once spread from the summit (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Remains of chancel screen in the ordinary style (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 477). Screen across the nave and aisles. Parclose screens. Cornice and vaulting gone (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 80). Roodscreen to nave and aisles. Vaulting gone (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 35). Screen extends right across the church. No vaulting (Cresswell/I/1920, p. 58). Very renewed, carving new (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 835).

Photograph: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 28. *Dimensions:* 13.21m x 3.18m (43'4" x 10'5"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Coffinswell (St. Bartholomew).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* 'The screen has been removed within a few years' (Ibid). Removed 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Coldridge (Unknown).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' accounts 1565.⁹ *Features:* Carved oak. Between the nave and chancel. Mouldings of foliage above (Davidson 1849, vol. 2, p. 101). Roodscreen in length the whole width of church. Vaulted at front and back. 3 pairs of gates (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 7). Fine roodscreen, vaulting, cornices (both sides), three pairs of gates. Parcloses screen of very rare style in Devon (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 53). Screen right across the church, 12 bays, cornices, vaulting, three pairs of doors. Decoration on east and west sides (Cresswell/Ch/1919, p. 73). Flamboyant, un-English tracery or parcloses. Roodscreen right across the nave and aisles. Cornice with two bands of ornament (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 274). *Dating:* Chantry screen c.1500 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plates 49 and 50 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxvi(c) and c (a). *Illustration:* Ashworth 1869. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 14.46m x 2.67m (47'5" x 8'9"). Parcloses screen: 2.69m x 2.67m (8'10" x 8'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2 (parcloses screen: 11)/A.

⁹ DRO 272A-99/PW1.

Colebrooke (St. Mary and St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1805.¹⁰ *Features:* Screen taken down 1805 (FC). Screen extended whole breadth of the church (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, p. 12). Fine parclose screen, the screen separating the Coplestone chapel from the north aisle is of the same design (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2, p. 51). Screen across the e. end of the aisle and the parclose between chantry and chancel are preserved. Unusual character. Linenfold panels on the wainscot (Cresswell, Ca/1919, p. 53). Parclose Franco-Fleming rather than English. Same carver must have worked at Brushford and Coldridge (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 276). *Dating:* c.1500 [parclose screen] (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 46 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxv(b), xcvi and cxvii(a). *Illustration:* Ashworth 1853. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 3.9m x 2.7m (12'8" x 9'1"). Parclose screen: 3.6m x 2.8m (11'4" x 9'5"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 11/n.a.

Combeinteignhead (possibly St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of a handsome carved oak chancel screen of late date (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 377). Screen restored 1904, tracery and vaulting replaced. Roodscreen restored by Hems. Considered to date from c.1450. Cornice. Ancient doors remain. Roodloft until recent times used as a family pew (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. I, p. 124). New coving. Two bands of decoration in the cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 283). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 30. *Dimensions:* 4.04m x 3.02m (13'3" x 9'11"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

¹⁰ DRO Colebrooke 1805-6 (Faculty cause). 'That the Screen or Partition between the Body and Chancel of the said Church much darkens the same'.

Combe Martin (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 701). *Features:* Screen stands across the nave and aisle. Painted and gilt. Lower panels filled with paintings of saints and angels (Ibid.). Roodscreen retains its doors, but the groinings and cornices are gone. Parcloses screen. Paintings of saints on the lower panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 36-7). Roodscreen extends right across the church. Early type; purely Gothic (most of N. Devon screens exhibit Renaissance ornament). Screen restored and dedicated 1911. Large and bold paintings (Cresswell/S/1924, pp. 69-71). Coving and cornice restored by Read in 1911-12. Parcloses screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 284). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 29. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 10.5m x 3.5m (34'5" x 11'). Parcloses screen: 4.9m x 2.6m (16'1" x 8'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Combe Raleigh (St. Nicholas).

Earliest record: 1827.¹¹ *Features:* Removed 1827. *Extant now:* No.

Cornwood (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 285). *Features:* Removed 1650 (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Cornworthy (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1847 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 669). *Features:* Chancel screen of a late date (Ibid.). Screen remains to the chancel and aisles, vaulting gone (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 39). Screen extends all across the church. Cornices missing, inferior replacements. Parcloses screens (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 88). Much renewed, coving gone, painted

¹¹ DRO 567A/PI 11. (Faculty cause) 'to remove the screen....as it obtruded in some measure the view of the Minister when at the Altar, and considerably deadened his voice'.

arabesques on dado (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 290). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 31. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.21m x 2.74m (7'3" x 9'). Chancel screen: 4.40m x 2.79m (14'5" x 9'2"). South aisle screen: 2.23m x 2.75m (7'4" x 9'0½"). North parclose: 2.89m x 2.35m (9'6" x 7'8½"). South parclose: 2.93m x 2.38m (9'7½" x 7'10"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 10/A.

Cullompton (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 255). *Features*: Roodloft in high preservation. Screenwork enclosing the chapel. Golgotha (Ibid.). Gorgeous screen, Golgotha and roodloft (Oliver 1839-42, vol 1 (1839), p. 119). Rich and handsome screen extending across the nave and both aisles. Golgotha. Parclose screens (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 417). Roodscreen very handsome, retains its original colours (*TEDAS*, iii, 1, 1849, p. 612). Finely carved roodloft surmounted by a heavy gallery. Proposal to remove this (*TEDAS*, iii, 1, 1849, p.148). Fine screen restored, painted and gilded by Mr. Grant of Hillesdon at his own cost (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1853, p. 21). The screen is 54' in length. The Golgotha is carved out of the butts of two oak trees, measuring 9'6" x 1'6" x 1'9" in length and 6' x 1'6" x 1'9" in width. The mortice hole to take the central cross is 7" and 4½" on plan. There are also mortices for the statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint John (Hems 1898, p. 18). Fine rood screen retaining cornices and vaulting. 13 bays, richly coloured. Panels painted over [originally saints]. Roodbeam remains (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 44). Roodscreen right across the church in perfect condition. Restored and colour renewed in 1849. Loft entire, before 1849 used as a gallery with seats. Parclose screens (south: poor; north: excellent) (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 13). Screen right across the church, vaulting east and west. Original cornice. Roodbeam high up. Golgotha. North and south parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 304). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16,

vol 1 (1908), plate 32. Plan: Yes (*TEDAS*, iii, 1849, plates 3,7,9). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 16.2m x 4.1m (53'5" x 13'3"). North parclose screen: 4.9m x 3.3m (15'11" x 10' 11½"). South parclose screen: 4.8m x 3.3m (15'8" x 10' 11"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Culm Davey (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 4). *Features*: Screen destroyed by fire in 1846 (*ibid.*). *Extant now*: No.

Culmstock (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Stone screen between the nave and chancel. Rich doorway, ornamented with foliage. On each side of the doorway are 3 arches with Gothic tracery (*ibid.*). Remains of stone screen across the entrance to the tower. Moved in 1825 when the church was altered (Davidson 1828, vol. 1, p. 369). Stone screen now converted to reredos (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 32). At one time a very fine stone screen across the chancel, but removed early in the 19th C and now used as a reredos. Finely carved arch of doorway of screen now behind the altar (Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), p. 64). Now as reredos [erected in 1835] (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 307). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plate 60. *Extant now*: Yes, but only in part and used as reredos.

Dartington (St. Mary).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' accounts 1554/9.¹² *Features*: Screen of carved wood, painted with different colours (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 3 (1806), p. 481). Roodloft remains, rich (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Handsome chancel screen of carved oak. Mouldings of foliage and cornice of foliage above (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 586). Roodscreen now

¹² DRO, EDRO/PW 1-2(v).

stands about the centre of the chancel (*TEDAS*, iii, 1, 1849, p. 156). 1878-80 church moved with incomplete old screen. Screen with cornice (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 46). 5 bays preserved, across chancel only. Dates from 15th C (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 102-3). Centre of screen mediaeval, vaulting and centre section by Read of Exeter 1913 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 308). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 34. *Dimensions*: 10.54m x 3.35m (34'7" x 11'). *Extant now*: Yes, but in part only. *Type*: 2/A.

Dartmouth St. Saviour (St. Saviour).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ix, f. 75). *Features*: Very handsome roodloft of carved Gothic woodwork separates the nave from the chancel (Ibid.). Roodloft remaining, uncommonly rich (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Ancient chancel screen across the nave and aisles of oak, richly carved. 3 doorways, 8 openings of 4 lights. Fan tracery and several rich mouldings of foliage forming the base of the roodloft. All highly painted and gilded. Wainscot with painted figures of saints and martyrs. Parclose screen of inferior design (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 697). Roodscreen very fine, complete with vaulting, cornices, doors. Date probably early 15th C. The screen is covered with chromatic decoration and gilding. Panels of chancel section have painted figures (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 47). *Dating*: early 15th C. Groinings and fan tracery complete, magnificently enriched cornice. Painted panels on the wainscot. Parclose to north and south of the chancel (Cresswell/I/1921 p. 104). Complete and impressive, perfect vaulting and splendidly carved friezes in the cornice. Parclose screens have several bands of cornice decoration, an uncommon enrichment (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 323). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plates 35 and 36; Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xxvii[a] and vol 2, plates lxxxiii(a) and cxxiv(c). *Illustrations*: Spreat 1842. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 14.1m x 3.8m (46'3" x 12'2"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

Dawlish (St. Gregory).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Part of the roodloft and screen remain (Ibid.). Removed since 1825 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Dean Prior (St. George).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 4). *Features:* Removed before 1875 (Ibid.). Removed before 1875 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). No remains of the roodscreen, removed prior to 1866 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 61). *Extant now:* No.

Denbury (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1846 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 415). *Features:* Handsome screen of painted oak of late date (Ibid.). Roodscreen removed by a former vicar (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 62). Parclose screen of 17th C date (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, p. 62) *Extant now:* No.

Diptford (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1922 (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 130). *Features:* Some remains of the screen formed into a low screen and set between the nave and chancel (Ibid.). Very little old, usual design of wainscoting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 335). *Extant now:* No.

Dittisham (St. George).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Chancel screen of carved wood, side screen (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 677). Roodscreen of early character. Vaulting gone, cornice modern (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 49). Screen extends right across the church. It is certain that the screen occupies its original position. Figures of saints have been painted on the base panels, but they are now nearly

unrecognisable. Parclose screens, late in date and more elaborate in detail (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 140-1). Screen across the nave and aisles. Painted panels on the wainscoting prove date of early 15th C. Parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 339). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 12.39m x 3.57m (40'8" x 11'8½"). North parclose: 2.83m x 3.05m (9'3½" x 10'). South parclose: 2.74m x 3.18m (9' x 10'5"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Dodbrooke (St. Thomas Becket).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Chancel and side screens of a late date (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 805). Screen across the nave and aisles, but roodbeam, cornice and vaulting gone. Parclose screen remains. Figures on panels but probably modern (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 127). Late 15th or early 16th C. Central portion restored in 1897 by Hems. At the same time the north aisle portion was added. Vaulting gone. Saints on panels re-painted (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, (1908), p. 50). Screen restored 1897 and extended across the n. aisle. Parclose screen with flamboyant tracery (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 336). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 41 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cvii(a). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 4.63m x 3.25m (15'2½" x 10'8"). Chancel screen: 5.69m x 3.23m (18'8" x 10'7"). South aisle screen: 4.84m x 3.28m (15'10½" x 10'9"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 10/A.

Doddiscombsleigh (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 4). *Features*: In 1847 the lower parts of the roodscreen and parclooses were intact (*Ibid.*). Removed since 1847 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now*: No.

Dowland (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich screen (*Ibid.*). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). The

roodscreen was removed in 1858 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 3 (1916), p. 40). No trace now remains (Cresswell/To/1925, p. 76). *Extant now*: No.

Down St. Mary (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1844 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 65). *Features*: Some remains of a chancel screen (Ibid.). Restored 19th C. Crestings and cornices delicately carved. Some portions of the old screen worked into the new (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 51-2). Restored 1879 with vaulting and loft complete, remains of original screen incorporated into new work. Work done locally by W. H. and Z. Bushell (village carpenters). (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 76). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol.1 (1908), plate 42. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 8.1 x 3.3m (26'8" x 10'11"). *Extant now*: Yes (old incorporated into new). *Type*: 8/

Drewsteignton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1921 (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 62). *Features*: Entirely disappeared (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Dunchideock (St. Michael).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ix, f. 103). *Features*: A good roodloft (Ibid.). A fine piece of Gothic workmanship (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 115). Remains of a chancel screen (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 125). Gothic screen dates from 15th C, complete with doors, vaulting and cornice. Roodloft 6' wide. Richly carved pier casing (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, p. 53). Restored by Read. Rich carved pier casing. South part needed entire replacing. Parclose screen (north aisle) (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 76). Restored by Herbert Read in 1893. Complete across the nave and aisle. Doors, fan coving and cornice. Between the nave and aisle 3 sides of pier are encased as part of the screen. North parclose screen with one cornice strip (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 342). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 43 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxvi(d)

and lxxxvi(b). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pier casing) 8.1m x 3.5m (26'10" x 8'6"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Dunsford (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 4). *Features*: Removed 1813 (Ibid.). Removed 1813 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now*: No.

Dunterton (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 509). *Features*: Base of the chancel screen remains, rudely painted figures (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

East Allington (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 466). *Features*: The screen bears appearance of great antiquity (Ibid.). Remains of a handsome old oak chancel screen and screens to the east ends of the aisles in a late period of the pointed style (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 809). Finely carved roodscreen in dark oak, no vaulting; on one of the panels is the date of its erection: 1547. North and south parclose screen of good design (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 54-5). Roodscreen extends across the church. Dates from 1547. Groining gone. Parcloses across the west bays of the chancel (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 8). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 44. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.25m x 2.76m (10'8" x 9'1"). Chancel screen: 5.53m x 2.83m (18'1½" x 9'3½"). South aisle screen: 3.35m x 2.64m (11' x 8'8"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

East Budleigh (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, pp. 16-17). *Features*: Roodscreen with square-headed lights. Modern cresting. In the lower panels oak has been replaced with deal (Ibid.). Early date (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2,

p. 285). 5 bays across chancel arch, of very slight character (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 38). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 21 and Cresswell/A/1920 (view of church before restoration i.e. mid 19th C.). *Dimensions*: 4.55m x 2.82m (14'11" x 9'3"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/A.

East Down (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (Milles, i, f. 202). *Features*: A very neat Gothic screen (MS Milles, ix, f. 98). A chancel screen still remains across the nave and aisle in the latest style of such erections: the Elizabethan (Davidson 1832, vol. 2, p. 709). Right across the nave and aisle extends the roodscreen of the Renaissance character usual in north Devon (Cresswell/S/1924, p. 99). Beautiful. Restored in 1928 by Herbert Read. Wainscoting and tracery new. Most of cornice and cresting new (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 348). *Dimensions*: 9.63m x 3.13m (31'7" x 10'3"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/

East Ogwell (St. Gregory).

Earliest record: 1840 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 401). *Features*: Remains of a chancel screen of carved oak. 3 open lights (Ibid.). Old screen remains (TEDAS, v, 2, 1892, p. 77a). Rood screen of Perpendicular character (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 99). Screen now only crosses the chancel. Retains old colouring, good deal mutilated. Embattled cornice (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, p. 56). Flamboyant wainscoting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 349). *Dating*: c.1400 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 82. *Dimensions*: 4.36m x 2.74m (14'3½" x 9'). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/A.

East Portlemouth (St. Winwaloe).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 474). *Features*: Screen bears appearance of great antiquity (Ibid.). Screen only [no loft]. Rich (Lysons

1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Carved oak screen divides the chancel from the nave. Painted panels, style of 16th C (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 849). Very fine carving on screen. Vaulting missing. Lower panels have paintings of saints and evangelists (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, p. 111). Screen extends across nave and aisles. Vaulting lost. Graceful tracery, cornices and carved bosses exceptionally good. Richly carved beam along cornice removed in 1875. Paintings of saints and donors at base. Unusual subjects (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 159-61). Cornice and three friezes of ornament (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 350). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 90 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, plate lxxxiv(a). Illustration: Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 282. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.18m x 2.88m (7'2" x 9'5½"). Chancel screen: 5.32m x 2.92m (17'5½" x 9'7"). South aisle screen: 2.57m x 2.92m (8'5" x 9'7"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

East Teignmouth (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 147). *Features*: The screens which parted the body of the church from the chancel and aisles were removed more than fifty years since by the minister to make the church lighter (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Ermington (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Screen ornamented in the Holbein style (Ibid.). Some remains of a chancel screen in the Elizabethan style (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 773). Chancel screen, a handsome Jacobean erection with well carved cornice supported by moulded pilasters. North and south parclose screens. Screen restored by Misses Pinwell (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, (1908), p. 57). 15th C pre-Reformation screen probably removed in the 16th C, but replaced in the 17th C by a Jacobean style screen. Parclose screen designed by Sedding in 19th C (Cresswell/P/1922, pp. 95-6). Roodscreen mid 17th C. Parclose

screen 19th C (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 355). *Photographs*: Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 45 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xlix(b). *Extant now*: Yes, but not pre-Reformation.

Exbourne (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 312). *Features*: Roodscreen is of a very interesting type, well designed and of good detail. It has open traceried arcades, with pierced spandrels forming rectangular openings under a horizontal head. The date is said (by Mr. Hingeston-Randolph) to be c. 1420 (Ibid.). There is an interesting roodscreen with good detail and of early date. Repaired and restored 1889. Remains of ancient gilt and colour (1911 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 70-2.). Much renewed, no vaulting, two bands of ornament in the cornice, and cresting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 356-7). *Dating*: c.1420 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 70-2). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 74. Bond and Camm, 2, plate LXXX (b). *Dimensions*: 5.03m x 2.90m (16' 0½" x 9'11½"). (*Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/B.

Exeter Cathedral (St. Peter).

1. Wooden screen at the north-west corner of the north nave aisle (The chapel of St. Edmund) (1375-1400) (Bishop and Prideaux 1922, pp. 116, 138-9). 2. Wooden screens across the western entrances to the choir aisles (c.1375-c.1425) (Hope and Lloyd 1973, p. 61). 3. Wooden screen between the north choir aisle and the chapel of St. Andrew (c.1375-c. 1425) (Ibid., pp. 112, 138-9). 4. Stone screen between the retrochoir and the chapel of St. John the Evangelist (1395-1419) (Bishop and Prideaux 1922, pp. 107-9, 131). 5. Stone screen between the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel (1395-1419) (Ibid., pp. 109-11, 131-3). 6. Stone screen between the retrochoir and the chapel of St. Gabriel (1395-1419) (Ibid., pp. 111-12, 131-2). 7. The Sylke chantry chapel, a stone parclose of two

sides in the north east corner of the north transept (1508) (Ibid., pp. 114, 137-8). 8. Stone screen on the north side of the north transept (The chapel of St. Paul) (1433-4) (Ibid., pp. 114-15, 133-4). 9. Stone screen on the north side of the south transept (The chapel of St. John the Baptist) (1433-4) (Ibid., pp. 115-16, 133-4). 10. Stone screen between the south end of the retrochoir and Bishop Oldham's chapel (1509-19) (Ibid., pp. 134-6). 11. Stone screen between the north end of the retrochoir and Sir John Speke's chapel (1509-19) (Ibid., pp.135-7).

Exeter St. Kerrian (St. Kerrian).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 285). *Features:* Removed early 19th C (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Exeter St. Lawrence (St. Laurence).

Earliest record: 1834 (Davidson, vol. 5, p. 161). *Features:* Remains of a screen exist between the nave and chancel, oak, style of 15th C or earlier (Ibid.). Carved screen across the chancel, said to have come from Cathedral. Cut down from its original height (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 74). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plate 77. *Extant now:* No.

Exeter St. Mary Major (St. Mary)

Earliest record: 1840 (Davidson, vol. 5, p. 141). *Features:* Remains of a chancel screen, above it a heavy and unsightly modern gallery (Ibid.). A late wooden screen of 5 bays separates the chancel from the nave; unsightly gallery (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, p. 140). Against the west face of the chancel arch a Perpendicular screen was erected, no vaulting, west gallery [1768-70] (*TEDAS*, ii, 2, 1892, p. 27). On the south side of the church, a second chapel recently made, divided from the aisle by the last bays of the old roodscreen which was taken down at the rebuilding of the church and presented to St. Mary Steps (Cresswell/E/1908, p. 114). Removed

since 1852 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Rebuilt 1865-7, old screen taken down and moved to St. Mary Steps. Two bays remaining which have been made into a screen for the south chapel (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 78). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 79. *Extant now*: Yes (in part at St. Mary Steps).

Exeter St. Mary Steps (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1908 (Cresswell/E/1908, p. 122). *Features*: When moved to St. Mary Steps the length did not extend right across the church so the bays that cross the south aisle were made new in an exact copy of the old work. No vaulting. No cresting. Series of painted saints on the wainscot panels (Ibid.). Remains of roodscreen which formerly stood in St. Mary Major. Vaulting and cornices gone. On lower panels are a good series of paintings of saints (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), pp. 126-7). The writers in 1991 say that the part across the south aisle is 15th C and that across the nave is an accomplished copy by Hems (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 392). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 105. *Extant now*: Yes (in part only). *Type*: 3/A.

Exeter St. Petroc (St. Petroc).

Earliest record: Churchwardens' accounts.¹³ Evidence for its destruction is in the account for 1561-2, 'For the plucking down of the roodloft...4s'. *Extant now*: No.

Exeter St. Sidwell (St. Sidwell).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 21). *Features*: A neat screen (Ibid.). The elegant screen, with rich mouldings of vine leaves, was taken

¹³ R. Dymond, *The history of the parish of St. Petroc, Exeter, as shown by its churchwardens' accounts and other records* (Exeter, 1882). The dates of the relevant accounts are 1458-9, 1472-60, 1561-2, 1562-3 and 1563-4.

down a few years ago (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxix). Removed before 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now*: No.

Exminster (St. Martin).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 109). *Features*: The screen is rather plain (Ibid.). Remains of a carved oak chancel screen of late date (Davidson 1845, vol. 5, p. 205). Screen extends across the chancel and aisle; no great merit. Carving imperfect, vaulting gone. Parclose dividing the chancel and Peamore aisle (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 88). Roodscreen with fan vaulting. Cornice has 3 bands of foliage. Simpler parclose screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 442). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 3 (1916). *Dimensions*: 9.58m x 3.43m (31'5" x 11'3"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Feniton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 216). *Features*: Good Gothick screen (MS Milles, xi, f. 175). Very rich and complete screen (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Screen between the chancel and the nave and across the aisle, oak, painted and gilt. Screen of similar design but without canopy parts the chancel from the aisle (Davidson 1829, vol. 1, p. 377). Very fine roodscreen to the nave and aisle, 8 bays: 5 in chancel, 3 in aisle. Good cornice of three rows. Lower cresting good, upper cresting replaced (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 85-6). Screen restored 1878, divided into two parts, one across the chancel, the other at end of the aisle leaving the pier of the chancel arcade clear. Massive and rich in detail, groining intact. No trace of panel paintings (Cresswell/O/1919, pp. 74-5). Broad, densely decorated cornice, the parclose screen similar to main; both screens restored by Hems (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 449). *Photograph*: Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates cii(a) and cxx(a). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 6.4m x 3.1m (17'9" x 10'3"). South aisle

screen: 3.6m x 3.1m (11'2" x 10'4"). Parclose screen: 3.9m x 2.3m (12'6" x 7'8"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 5/A.

Fremington (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 220). *Features:* A very good Gothic screen painted and gilded (Ibid.). The rich and elegant Gothic screen being in a state of decay was removed when the church was enlarged and repaired in 1813 (Lysons 1822, vol. 2, p. 242). *Extant now:* No.

Gidleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 79). *Features:* Part of an elegant chancel screen remains, mouldings painted and gilded (Ibid.). Chancel divided from the nave by a roodscreen, no vaulting (TEDAS, iv, 1, 1850, p. 168). Good roodscreen, five bays, doors, no vaulting; cornice, but without cresting. Paintings of saints on the lower panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 87). Good late Perpendicular style screen. Renaissance details of ornament (pomegranate badge of Katherine of Aragon), vaulting missing (Cresswell/Ok/1921, pp. 92-3). Cornice with two bands of decoration. Early parts c.1530 but some Jacobean replacements and 19th C wainscot figures and colouring (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 455-6). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 87. *Dimensions:* 4.32m x 2.64m (14'2" x 8'8"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 8/A.

Gittisham (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1829 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 201). *Features:* Screen divides the chancel from the nave in a kind of Roman style (Ibid.). Broken ends of an old stone screen (probably like that of Awliscombe). Wood screen replacement (TEDAS, i, 2, 1867, pp. 8-9). Removed since 1840 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 285). Stone screen removed c.1840. 'Miserable

screen that replaced it also gone' (Cresswell/H/1920, vol. I, p. 84). *Extant now*: No.

Halberton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich. Roodloft remaining (Ibid.). A chancel screen of carved wood extends across the nave and aisles. Fan tracery supports the roodloft. (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 549). The roodscreen dates from c.1400, but the parclose screens are earlier. South parclose screen is of a later date than the north (Stabb 1908-19, vol. 1 (1908), p. 58). Fine roodscreen right across the church with groinings and roodloft intact. *Dating*: c.1420. Mouldings of the cornices remain but the enrichments are lost. Parclose screens, that of the south exceptional; the north screen is of inferior design and of late date (Cresswell/Cu/1920, pp. 116-7). Early 15th C roodscreen runs right through the nave and both aisles. 11 six-light bays, three of them doors. Coving, fan vaulting with flying ribs. North and south parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 466). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 46 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xii(a) and vol. 2, plates lxxxvi(a), lxxxvi(b) and cv. *Illustration*: Bond and Radford 1902. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (excluding pillar): 4.3m x 3.3m (13'11" x 10'11"). North parclose screen (excluding pillar): 3.3m x 3.3m (10'10" x 10'11"). South parclose screen (excluding pillar) 3.3m x 3.0m (10'10" x 10'). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 6/B.

Harberton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 238). *Features*: 'there is one of the most beautiful roodlofts that I have anywhere seen' (Ibid.). Very rich and entire (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Very handsome screen of carved oak. Series of painted figures on the panels. The whole richly painted and gilded. Similar screens at the sides of the chancel with less ornament (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 637). 41' in length (Hems 1898, p. 16). Roodscreen

44' in length, 11 bays, stretches across the nave and aisles. Rich cornice, perfect groining. Carving on the pier casings is very good. Whole screen re-painted. Lower panels contain modern paintings (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 59-60). Roodscreen well restored in 1871. Rich in colouring. Extends right across the church. Cornice richly designed (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 156). Paintings on the wainscot added in restoration, two friezes of ornament in the cornice. Cresting renewed. Parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 409). *Photographs*: Cox and Harvey 1907, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 49 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxvii(b). *Dimensions*: 13.26m x 3.68m (43'6" x 12'1"). The measurement includes the pier casing and the entire length of the cornice). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Hartland (St. Nectan).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, i, f. 244) [There is a plan of the inside of the church, with the roodscreen clearly drawn]. *Features*: A handsome chancel screen remains of carved oak (Davidson 1848, vol. 2, p. 97). Erected probably in the third quarter of the 15th C. Rich in details; groined canopy on each side. The length is 47'8" and the width on top is 5'10". The full height is 12'; it is 8' to the spring of the canopies, and 10' to the centre of each compartment (Cox and Harvey 1907, p. 110). Roodscreen extends right across the church, vaulted on both sides, coloured and gilded. Exceptionally massive and large, carving very fine. Cornices. Iron cresting (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1. (1908), p. 61). 44' in length, runs across nave and aisles (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 316). Nave and chancel divided by the roodscreen, which extends right across the church. Complete with vaulting and cornices. Exceptionally massive and large in proportions; in very perfect condition. *Dating*: early, c.1450. Possibly superseded an earlier screen (Cresswell/Ha/1932, p. 108). 4 bands of ornament in the cornice, coving at the front and back. Parclose screens of 1848 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 432). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford

1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 50. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 13.68m x 3.81m (44'11" x 12'6"). North parclose: 4.11m x 2.79m (13'6" x 9'2"). South parclose: 4.27m x 2.67m (14' x 8'9"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 4/B.

Hatherleigh (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 5). *Features*: The lower part of the screen was removed in 1867. The upper part was taken down in 1820 (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Heanton Punchardon (St. Augustine).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Chancel screen of carved oak. Late date (Davidson 1832, vol. 2, p. 645). Screen restored, a good deal of the original work remains. Portions across the nave complete with vaulting, cornices, cresting and doors (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 62). The screen remains. New cresting and vaulting (Cresswell/B/1924, p. 147). Clumsily restored, especially in the coving (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 477). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 53 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, cxxiv(d). *Dimensions*: 5.64m x 3.30m (18'6" x 10'10"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Heavitree (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Lower part of the screen only remains (Ibid.). Two carved oak screens of the 16th C divide the east ends of the aisles from the nave and a portion of what was perhaps the chancel screen remains in one of the pews of the north aisle (Davidson 1840, vol. 1, p. 297). Several years ago the screen was removed; a part of it is still to be seen in the north aisle (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 44). The screen taken down in 1822 and the greater part made into pews. What Oliver saw in the north aisle was taken to the west end and made into a tower screen. Recently it has again been moved.

Figures on the panels (Cresswell/E/1908, p. 26). Quite recently these remains have been restored and replaced as a dwarf screen to the south chapel. 10 painted panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 73). Screen now used as south parclose (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 393). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 76. *Extant now*: Only a part [as south parclose].

Hemyock (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 353). *Features*: A screen separates the nave from the chancel (ibid.). Swept away in the 1847 restoration [but screen was 'Roman Doric' style suggesting more recent construction and therefore not pre-Reformation] (Cresswell/Cu/1920, pp. 130-1). *Extant now*: No.

Hennock (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: A plain chancel screen extends across the nave and aisles (Davidson 1845, vol. 3, p. 181). Screens divide the chancel and the north and south aisles from the nave. Vaulting and cornice missing [probably removed in 1758]. 3 doors. Paintings on the wainscot (*TEDAS*, ii, 3, 1907, p. 144). Date: 15th C. Vaulting, cornice gone, doors remain. Paintings on the panels. Parclose screens, bereft of cornices (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 63-4). The screen extends across nave and aisles. No cornice. 32 panels with painted figures of saints, retouched, good preservation. Doors. Possible figures of donors painted (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, pp. 179-81). South screen coeval but different carver and painter (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 479). This screen was made in two stages. The choir and north aisle sections are by the same hands, but the three bays in the south aisle are by a different carver and painter (Hulbert, Marsden and Todd 1992, p. 20). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 54. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.79m x 2.52m (9'2" x 8' 3"). Chancel screen: 4.57m

x 2.52m (15' x 8'3"). South aisle screen: 2.79m x 2.49m (9'2" x 8' 2"). North parclose screen: 3.69m x 2.41m (12'1" x 7'11"). South parclose screen: 2.52m x 2.33 (8'3" x 7'8"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 8/A.

High Bray (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Screen, portions of which were outside, have recently been brought back into the church and re-arranged (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 15). Taken down since 1822 but replaced before 1897 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Only three sections remain (in the tower arch) (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 481). *Extant now:* Only a part in the tower screen.

Highweek (All Saints).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, I, f. 271 [v]). *Features:* The following words are carved on the south door of the screen, on one side 'Anno vicesimo quarto Henrici Octavi. Vivat Angliae Rex et Regina' (Ibid.). FC 1801 Faculty cause (see under Kingsteignton). *Extant now:* No.

Hockworthy (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 581). *Features:* Remains of a screen which separated the nave from the chancel still exist (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Holbeton (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 3). *Features:* A handsome carved screen of woodwork divides the chancel from the church (Ibid.). The screen which was at the end of the nave has been cut down but it remains in the north and south aisles (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Very handsome screens of carved oak cross the east ends of the aisles and enclose the chancel (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 761). Splendid 16th C parclose screen. North and south chancel aisle screens were never

intended to have a cove. No doubt executed by Flemish workmen. Original screen probably had a vault [evidence of roodloft stairs]. Present chancel screen is new, based on the lines of the parclose screens (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 61). Chancel portion of roodscreen is modern and copied from the aisle screens; these are of very rich design and probably erected after the Reformation (never intended to have vaulting) (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, pp. 64-5). Entire central part of the screen perished, but admirably restored by Hems to correspond with the work of the north and south aisle screens. These are 16th C and never intended to carry a roodloft. designs of screen and parcloses magnificent, possibly of Hispano-Flemish origin (Cresswell/P/1922, pp. 128-9). Wainscoting on north and south aisles original. No trace of vaulting or roodloft but fine cornice and cresting. Main frieze of cornice c.1535 is later (Renaissance influence). Parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 484). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, (1908), plate 55 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxxviii(a), lxxxviii(b), ciii(a) and ciii(b). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.8m x 4.0m (12'2" x 13'1"). Chancel screen: 7.5m x 4.0m (24'8" x 13'1"). South aisle screen: 4.0m x 4.3m (12'11" x 13'11"). North parclose screen: 4.1m x 2.8m (13'5" x 9'5"). South parclose screen: 4.1m x 2.8m (13'6" x 9'5"). *Extant now*: Yes, but only a limited amount of the original remains. *Type*: 10/n.a.

Holcombe Burnell (St. Nicholas).

Earliest record: 1843 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 101). *Features*: Portions of the chancel screen may be seen forming the sides of pews, with painted figures (Ibid.). On each side of the organ all that remains of the roodscreen, 8 lower panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 96). Now made into the reader's desk (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 485). *Extant now*: No.

Holcombe Rogus (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1859 (TEDAS, vi, 1, 1859, p. 241). *Features:* A remnant only (Ibid.). A remnant of the old screen is in situ in the north aisle and another piece in the arch at the sides of the chancel. A considerable portion of the old roodscreen from Tiverton was brought here in 1854 and now fences the chapel on the north side of the chancel. Cornice, but vaulting gone (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 320) *Extant now:* The above elements remain.

Holne (St. Edward, probably the Martyr. N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No. 1', DCNQ, 38, part 10 (2001), p. 308.).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* A rich screen (Ibid.). A handsome chancel screen carved in oak, gilded and painted. Paintings on panels at the base, some can be made out, some are defaced, some hidden (Davidson 1831, vol. 3, p. 529). Fine Perpendicular roodscreen. Vaulting gone. Good cornice but cresting missing. Doors remain. Paintings on the base (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 65-6). The screen is particularly fine, extends all across the chancel and chancel aisles. 16th C. Beautiful cornice of vine design. Vaulting gone. Painted saints on panels (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 209-11). Separate screens across the south aisle, nave and north aisle, all of same design. Paintings on the wainscoting. Cornice. No vaulting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 491). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 56. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 2.11m x 2.57m (6'11" x 8'5"). Chancel screen: 4.72m x 2.62m (15'6" x 8'7"). South aisle screen: 2.11m x 2.54m (6'11" x 8'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 8/A.

Honiton St. Michael [n.b. the church destroyed by fire in 1911] (St. Michael). *Earliest record:* 1529.¹⁴ *Features:* 'And he (Peter Courtenay,

¹⁴ The National Archives (I) PROB 11/23 f. 71r – 71v. Will of Joan

Bishop of Exeter) also made a curious screen of fine workmanship which is between the body of the Church and the Chancel' (MS Milles, i, f. 281). 'A handsome Gothic screen with a good roodloft over it' (MS Milles c. 1755, x, f. 19). Very rich and entire screen (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). The screen divides the chancel and its aisles from the nave and supports the roodloft. Perhaps presented by Bp. Courtenay. Oak. Beautifully carved. Painted and occasionally gilded. The roodloft now forms a gallery for singers and contains an organ which is placed in the centre. A portion also of screen of inferior design but of about the same date remains between chancel and aisles (Davidson 1829, vol. 1, p. 81). Pleasing and cheerful; erected in early part of 15th C (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 2 (1840), p. 74). Noble roodscreen, two pairs of gates remaining. Groining at front and back (*TEDAS*, iii, 2, 1878, p. 26). A roodscreen of 11 bays and 46' in length extends across the chancel and aisles. Screen restored in 1880 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 68). Magnificent screen, loss deplored. (Cresswell/H/1920, vol I, pp. 96-7). Replaced 1926 by Read (traditional) (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 494). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 59 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, cxix(a). *Extant now*: No (modern replacement although in traditional style).

Huntsham (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 609). *Features*: Screen carved in oak divides nave from chancel and supports a roodloft (Ibid.). Low screen of oak separates nave from chancel (*TEDAS*, vi, 1, 1859, p. 224).

Extant now: No.

Huxham (Unknown). *Earliest record*: 1843 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 17).

Features: Little chancel screen and doorway of carved oak. No cornice (Ibid.). A chancel screen of 15th C pattern; broad doorway, one bay on

Takyll, 26 August 1529. '...also to the making of the Roodloft there'.

either side. Lower panels with linenfold carving (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 101). A nave and chancel across which is a tiny screen of 15th C pattern. Linenfold mouldings on the panels, 3 bays only to the screen. The screen looks exceptionally early (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 498). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 96. *Dimensions*: 2.06m x 2.21m (6'9" x 7'3"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/n.a.

Iddesleigh (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 285). *Features*: Removed early 19th C (Ibid.). Small fragment set at the east end of the north aisle to screen off the organ chamber (Cresswell/To/1925, p. 129). Only three divisions remain, no carving on the cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 498). *Dimensions*: 3.90m x 3.23m (12'9½" x 10'7"). *Extant now*: In part only. *Type*: 2/B.

Ide (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 103). *Features*: Screen freshly painted blue and gold (Ibid.). Apparently unsafe (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 60). Church rebuilt 1834. The 15th C screen was removed and never replaced (Hems 1898, p. 6). Removed 1834 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). New oak screen with parclose at east end, by Read of Exeter and dedicated 31 March 1909 (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 100). *Extant now*: No (a modern screen is present).

Ideford (St. Martin). *Earliest record*: 1846 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 285). *Features*: Between the chancel and the nave is a screen of carved oak in late but good style (Ibid.). Removed c.1846 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). 'It seems to have been removed c. 1850' (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, p. 205). *Extant now*: No.

Ilington (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 499). *Features:* Vestiges of a roodloft over the screen, which divides the chancel from the body of the church (Ibid.). An old chancel screen remains of carved oak with mouldings of foliage all painted white (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 193). The screen which traverses the entire breadth of the church is generally perfect and richly ornamented. Paintings of saints on panels obliterated. Parclose screens on each side of the chancel (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, p. 87). Old roodscreen enclosing the chancel and chapels, consisting of 11 bays, 5 across the chancel and 3 across each chapel. Vaulting gone. Good cornice with modern cresting. Doors remain. Lower panels plain, paintings of saints removed prior to 1855 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 102-3). The roodscreen extends right across the church. Richly carved with cornice enrichments. No vaulting. No traces of previous paintings of saints on the wainscot now remain (Cresswell/M/1921, vol. 1, p. 217). Screen across the nave and aisles. Cornice with three friezes of decoration (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 567). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plate 98. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 2.92m x 2.93m (9'7" x 9'7½"). Chancel screen: 5.23m x 2.99m (17'2" x 9'10"). South aisle screen: 2.92m x 2.92m (9'7" x 9'7"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 8/A.

Ipplepen (St. Andrew). *Earliest record:* c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 35). *Features:* 'Figures of saints on the screen' (Ibid.). Good Perpendicular screen extends across the church. Restored in 1898 by Read of Exeter at the cost of £500. Vaulting and cornices replaced. Original groining destroyed in 17th C. Paintings on the wainscot panels. 2 parclose screens (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 69). Fine Perpendicular screen extends right across the chancel and aisles. Restored 1908. Vaulting reconstructed. Paintings on the wainscot panels (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 6). Style c.1450 (figures on the wainscot panels restored by A. Hulbert). New

coving. Cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 509). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 60. Illustration: Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 281. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 12.95m x 3.32m (42'6" x 11'3"). North parclose screen: 3.22m x 3.05m (10'6½" x 10'). South parclose screen: 3.10m x 3.08m (10'2" x 10'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/A.

Kenn (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 40). *Features*: The screen is an ancient piece of carved woodwork in the Gothic taste (Ibid.). The screen dividing the church from the chancel, and the chancel itself, is neat, though the gilding and colours want refreshing (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 183). The screen seems to be a humble imitation of the one at Kenton (Oliver 1839-1842, vol. 1 (1839), p. 37). Chancel and side screens of a late date painted and gilded, the lower part filled with painted figures (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 213). Restoration of the screen and parclooses (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 52). The screen is 38' in length (Hems 1898, p. 18). A roodscreen of 13 bays, 38' long extends across the nave and aisles. *Dating* from c.1500. Screen restored and vaulting replaced. Fine series of paintings in good preservation on the lower panels. It is said to be the only instance in Devon of the carrying out of the correct tradition in placing the male saints on the north side of the central door and the female saints on the south (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), pp. 70-1). Formal carving, painted panels at the base excellent and interesting. Restored 1887 (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 106). Screen right across nave and aisles. Fan coving renewed. Wainscoting paintings early 16th C (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 512). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 61 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xxvii(b). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pillar): 11.2m x 3.2m (36'7½" x 10'8"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Kennerleigh (St. Clement).

Earliest record: 1919 (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 89). *Features:* The roodscreen was reported as surviving in 1844 (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Kentisbeare (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 46). *Features:* 'There is a very good Gothic screen in the church' (Ibid.). A neat screen of ancient carved work separates the chancel from the body of the church (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 258). Rich, the roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). The ancient screen dividing the nave from the chancel and incorporating the roodloft remains entire. It extends also across the aisle, the east end of which it divides and forms into a chapel called the Waldron's aisle. Four cornices or mouldings. Two doorways on the screen. The whole is oak, painted and gilded (Davidson 1828, vol. 1, p. 405). Very fine roodscreen of early date, complete with groining and cornice, but the doors and cresting are missing (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 72). The screen extends right across the chancel and aisle, retaining its vaulting, with roodloft intact. Doors gone. Colouring retained (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 172). Touch of the flamboyant in the tracery at the top of each panel. Fourfold cornice. Parclose screen simpler (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 514). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 62 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, plates lxxxii(a), xcvi(b), and cxxi(b). *Illustrations:* Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 331. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 9.73m x 3.53m (31'11" x 11'7"). Parclose screen: 3.79m x 2.57m (12'5" x 8'9") *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 5/A.

Kentisbury (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 713). *Features:* Chancel screen of oak (Ibid.). In 1847 the screen was in good condition and painted white. Now only a few fragments remain (Hems 1898, p. 6). Removed

since 1847 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2 p. 285). No trace (Cresswell/S/1922, p. 129). *Extant now*: No.

Kenton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 51(v)). *Features*: Rich carved and gilt screen. Apostles painted on the bottom part of it (Ibid.). Rich and light. Paintings on the panels through the whole length of it (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), pp. 165-6). Rich, with the roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Painted panels, gorgeous screen (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 14). Fine old oak screen divides the nave from the chancel. Very rich cornice. About 40 paintings of saints, apostles, martyrs on the wainscot panels. Similar screens (inferior execution) divide the chapels north and south of the chancel screen at the ends of the aisles (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 229). 11 compartments, five dividing the chancel and its adjoining aisle. In each central compartment is a double door. Cornice and cresting. Paintings in the lower panels (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, pp. 113-4). Bishop Courtenay of Exeter (1478-86) took an interest in screens (as at Powderham and Honiton), he was the likely donor (*TEDAS*, ii, 3, 1907, pp. 49-52). Roodscreen one of the finest in the county and extends right across the church. Roodloft and vaulting removed in the reign of Elizabeth I. Chancel portion restored. Date: 1478x1486, probably the gift of Bishop Courtenay (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1, (1908), p. 74). New roodloft (complete), restored by Herbert Read with the advice of Francis Bligh Bond (centre 1899, aisles 1935-6). Parclose screen. Fan vaulting and cornice much renewed (Cresswell 1991, p. 517). *Dating*: 1478x1486 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 277). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 63 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xxxv(a) and vol 2, plates lxxiv, lxxvii(a), ci and cvi. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 13.07m x 3.71m (42'10½" x 12'2"). (N.B. This does not include the roodloft gallery.) North parclose screen:

3.50m x 3.30m (11'6" x 10'10"). South parclose screen: 3.53m x 3.25m (11'7" x 10'8"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/A.

Kilmington (St. Giles).

Earliest record: 1557-8 and 1564-5 (Churchwardens' accounts).¹⁵

Features: Remains of a carved oak screen with folding doors (Davidson 1826, vol. 1, p. 53). Screen and doors remain (*TEDAS*, i, 1, 1846). *Extant now*: No.

Kingsbridge (St. Edmund).

Earliest record: 1841 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 797). *Features*: Remains of chancel and side screens of late date (*ibid.*). Screen removed (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 76). Parclose screens placed between the chancel and its aisles on both sides. Work is good, unusual (Cresswell/W/1932, pp. 121-2). Parclose screen flamboyant and of a design different from any other in Devon (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 520). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 64 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates cvii(b) and cxxvi(b). *Dimensions*: North parclose: 4.32m x 2.74m (14'2" x 9'). South parclose (east): 2.69m x 2.54m (8'10" x 8'4"). South parclose (west): 3.30m x 2.63m (10'10" x 8'7½"). *Extant now*: Parclose only (type 10).

Kingskerswell (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 285). *Features*: Removed before 1847 (*ibid.*). Removed at the end of 18th C. (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 151). *Extant now*: No.

¹⁵ DRO, 3047A/PW1

King's Nympton (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 178) (under Nymett Regis).

Features: There is a good Gothic screen (Ibid.). Rich, with roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). A chancel screen of old oak of a late period. Fan tracery and several mouldings of foliage (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 245). Roodscreen in very good preservation extends across the church having seven arches and two pairs of gates (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 9). Very fine roodscreen, good state of preservation. Carving between ribs of groining very good. Vaulting and cornices similar to Hartland (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 77). Extends across the east end and retains vaulting (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 107). Complete with ribbed vaulting and cornice) three bands of ornament) (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 52). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 65 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, xciv(a). *Dimensions:* 10.40m x 3.58m (34'1½" x 11'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 9/A.

Kingsteignton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1801.¹⁶ *Features:* Screen long since cleared away, some painted panels still extant (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 178). Old roodscreen gone, 14 painted panels remain, temporarily placed across the chancel (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 106). Part of the base of the screen, displaying 14 panels with figures of saints, has found its way back into the church (Cresswell/M/ 1921, I, pp. 229-31). Only the wainscoting survives (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 523). *Dimensions:* 1.85m x 1.01m (6'1" x 3'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. Two small pieces of the wainscoting remain; however, this displays 14 painted panels. A portion

¹⁶ DRO, Kingsteignton 1801-2 (Faculty cause). Petition of 3 September 1801: Screen ruinous, decayed (Highweek likewise). If removed, divine service could be heard better and the beauty of the church increased (Faculty granted).

of the medieval roodscreen is used as a doorway in a nearby house, 'The Chantry'.¹⁷

Kingston (St. James the Apostle).

Earliest record: FC 1807.¹⁸ *Extant now:* No.

Langtree (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1815.¹⁹ *Features:* Screen already taken down, faculty sought and approved (FC 1815). The screen has been removed within a few years. It was rich and entire with scrolls of vine-leaves, flowers, heads etc. on the projecting fans and shields of the aged of Edward IV (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p cccxxvii). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Lapford (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich. Screen only, no loft (Ibid.). Some remains of a handsome chancel screen of late date (Davidson 1848, vol. 2, p. 113). Very elaborate roodscreen surpassed by none in richness, except possibly Atherington. Panels of vaulting enriched with ornaments (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1894, p. 7). Roodscreen contains much valuable and beautiful Renaissance detail. Cornices [which resemble Hartland]. Good parclose screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 78). Screen extends across the nave and aisle. Late pre-Reformation work. Beautiful Renaissance detail. Cornices and vaulting in perfect condition. 19th C restoration by Z. Bushell and sons (see Down St. Mary). Good parclose screen (Cresswell/Ch/1909, p. 101). Second quarter of 16th C, ribbed vaulting with Renaissance detail between seven ribs. Very complete cornice with four strips of decoration and cresting. Parcloses

¹⁷ Visited and Photographed 10 October 2006.

¹⁸ DRO, Kingston 1807-1 (Faculty cause). Petition of 13th Oct 1807. The screen is a great impediment to the sight of the desk and pulpit (Faculty granted).

¹⁹ DRO, Langtree 1815-1 (Faculty cause).

screen simpler (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 532). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 66 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2 plates lxxxiii(b), xcii(a), xciii(a), xcvi(b), civ(a), cix(b) and cxxii. *Illustration*: Ashworth 1880. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 10.3m x 3.7m (33'9" x 11'6"). Parclose screen: 3.8m x 3.3m (12'3" x 10'11"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/B.

Lew Trenchard (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, p. 80). *Features*: Ancient roodscreen [c.1525] removed in 1833. Enough preserved to make reconstruction possible. Present screen erected in 1899, complete with vaulting and cornices on both sides and a roodloft gallery with painted panels (Ibid.). New screen 1899. Roodloft, on front painted panels. Canopy work rich and delicate. North parclose [1903] (Cresswell/Ta/1921, pp. 123-4). Roodscreen complete with full loft, tabernacle work and cresting. Designed with the advice of F. Bligh Bond and made 1899-1915 by Misses Pinwell (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 534). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 67. *Illustration*: Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate xl(a) and vol. 2, p. 286. *Dimensions*: 8.29m (including pier casing) x 4.68 (to the top of the loft gallery cresting) (27'2½" x 15'4½"). *Extant now*: Only in the sense that the old screen had enough remains to make a reconstruction possible.

Littleham [Bideford] (St. Swithin).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, pp. 82-3). *Features*: Roodscreen modern. Roodloft gallery front. Richly gilt. Restored 1892. Fragments of lost roodscreen discovered during restoration and from these was constructed the new screen, which extends across the chancel and aisle. Base panels of linenfold moulding (Cresswell/Ha/1923, p.130). New screen and loft by Temple Moore (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 537).

Photograph: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 69. *Extant now:* Only in the sense that remaining old fragments helped to make reconstruction possible.

Littleham [Exmouth] (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of chancel screen (Davidson 1840, vol. 1, p. 281). The church is crossed in its entire width by a carved oak roodscreen. Vaulting. Work of great beauty. *Dating:* 15th C. Parcose screen of carved oak (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, pp. 92-3). A carved oak screen stretches right across the church. Lower panels [no paintings] have good carving. Cornice (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1, pp. 81-2). Extends right across the church. Early and interesting design. Date of screen: c.1450. Screen entirely restored in 1884, various portions being discovered in the church and elsewhere (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 144). Much restored by Hems 1883/4. Original wainscoting. 19th C vaulting. Good parcose screens with linenfold wainscoting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 538). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 68 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxxv(c). *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 10.92m x 3.09m (35'10" x 10'1½"). Parcose screen: 3.40m x 2.64m (11'2" x 8'8"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 3/A

Littlehempston (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Screen only, no loft. Rich (Ibid.). Remains of a rather handsome chancel screen of a late period with mouldings of foliage in late style. Painted (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 569). Particularly handsome roodscreen; all traces of colour and gilding gone. It retains much carved ornament of great delicacy and minuteness of detail. Lower part panelled. Roodstairs doors

remain (Worthy 1887, vol. 2, pp. 74-5). Fine roodscreen. Vaulting gone. Cornice (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 83-4). Screen extends across the church. Vaulting gone. Cornice carvings very rich and handsome. Parcloses screens (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 188-9). Right across the nave and aisles. Coving missing. Cornice. Some 18th C colour survives (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 538). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 70 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxvi(b). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.1m x 2.8m (6'10½" x 9'2"). Chancel screen: 4.5m x 2.8m (14'9" x 9'2"). South aisle screen: 2.2m x 2.8m (7'2½" x 9'2"). North parclose screen: 2.6m x 2.7m (8'6" x 8'10"). South parclose screen: 2.7m x 2.7m (8'11" x 8'10"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Loxbeare (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 7). *Features*: Destroyed in 1832 (Ibid.). The screen was removed in 1832 (Cresswell/Ti/1920, p. 128). *Extant now*: No.

Luppitt (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvi). *Features*: A stone screen (Ibid.). Faculty to remove screen between church and chancel (FC 1826).²⁰ Remains of a beautiful stone screen (Davidson 1828, vol. 1, p. 105). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now*: No.

Lustleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Remains of chancel screen (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 173). The roodscreen which separates one bay from the aisle is of very late date. Renaissance enrichment (*TEDAS*, iv, 1853, p. 163). Screen injured by lightning c.1828, much of

²⁰ DRO, Luppitt 1826-3 (Faculty cause).

screen now restored. Very late date (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, pp. 79-80). Screen extends across the nave and aisle. Good cornice of vine leaves and grapes. The lower part is divided into 24 compartments and the figures of saints are carved in relief (Worthy 1887, vol. 2, p.190). Roodscreen extends across the nave and aisle, the same type as Bridford and thought to be the work of the same artist. F. Bligh Bond considered that 'it was not intended to support any roodloft'. Carved, not painted, figures in panels, as at Bridford (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 85-6). Extends across the nave and north aisle. Rich in detail. The base has carved, not painted, figures. Roodloft doors remain at the east end of the aisle so F. Bligh Bond's assumption may be wrong.²¹ Restored 1892 and lost doors replaced (Cresswell/M/1921, i, p. 8). Luxuriantly carved figures on wainscot. One frieze of decoration in the cornice. 16th C (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 545). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 71 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 1, p. 138 and vol 2, plate cviii(b). *Illustration*: Bond and Radford 1902. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.9m x 2.7m (9'8" x 8'11½"). Chancel screen: 4.9m x 2.5m (15'11" x 8'5"). Parclose screen: 3.0m x 2.6m (10'1½" x 8' 6½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 8/A.

Lydford (St. Petroc).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, pp. 87-8). *Features*: Roodscreen added in 15th C. Ancient screen removed but a modern one erected in 1903 (Ibid.). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 72. *Illustrations*: Bond 1903 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 331. *Extant now*: No.

Lynton (Unknown).

²¹ Or these may indicate the presence of an earlier screen.

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 741). *Features:* Fragments of the chancel screen remain (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Malborough (St. Peter).

Earliest records: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 474). *Features:* Chancel separated from the nave by the roodloft (Ibid.). The projection of the roodloft remains across the n. aisle (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). At one time there was a very fine roodscreen, but it was removed by order of Archdeacon Earle (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 91). Removed 'recently' (i.e. end of 19th C) (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Screen removed by Dr. Earle when vicar (1865-89). Remains (two bays) have been placed as parcloses (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 148-9). Parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 556). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 74. *Extant now:* No (only as parcloses).

Mamhead (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1842 (Oliver, vol. 3, p. 65). *Features:* South porch now a pew, formed of portions of ancient chancel screen (Ibid.). Open screen of carved oak divided the nave from the chancel. Front of pew in the south aisle formed from part of the base (Painted figures remain) (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 245). Last remains of screen, five painted panels, now form doors of the Mamhead pew (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 124). *Extant now:* No.

Manaton (St. George).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 495). *Features:* Screen present (Ibid.). Rich screen, no loft (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Remains of a carved oak chancel screen painted and gilded, with painted figures of saints at base (Davidson 1848, vol. 3, p. 169). Roodscreen gilt and painted. Panel paintings (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1853, pp. 164-5). The screen extends across nave and aisles, 11 bays, doors. Coloured and gilt.

Cresting and vaulting replaced. Cornice original. Painted saints on the wainscot (Cresswell/M 1921, ii, pp. 22-4). Restored 1893 (by Sedding). Painted panels restored 1980-3 (by Anna Hulbert) (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 559). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 73. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pillars): 10.2m x 2.7m (33'3½" x 9' 1"). North parclose screen: 3.6m x 2.7m (11' 5½" x 9'1"). South parclose screen: 3.7m x 2.5m (11'8" x 8'4"). Roodloft stairs: depth 0.3m (10") width 0.3m-0.410-0.411m (1'2"-1'4"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Marldon (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 124). *Features*: The chancel is separated from the body of the church by a very fine carved screen of hewn stone in the Gothic taste. A screen of the same kind divides the east end of the north aisle from the other part of it (Ibid.). A rich screen of stone, and another at the end of the n. aisle with the cornices much enriched (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Stone screen for the most part preserved but above it a 'frightful erection of woodwork' (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 1 (1839), p. 175). The chancel screen has been removed (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 485). Removed since 1865 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Stone rood screen removed from the chancel, portions remain on the north and south sides of the chancel (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 118-9). Stone screen gone but its beginnings by the north and south piers can still be seen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 562). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 111. *Extant now*: No.

Martinhoe (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1924 (Cresswell/S/1924, p.187). *Features*: Some remains of a roodscreen existed until the middle of the 19th C (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Marwood (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich, with roodloft remaining (Ibid.). Part of the chancel screen remains with a portion of the roodloft over the north aisle. Oak. Late date (Davidson 1844, vol. 2, p. 633). Remains of an exceptionally fine roodscreen executed in 1520. Early 19th C vicar removed chancel section, all that is now left is the north aisle portion consisting of three bays. Ancient gallery screen taken away in 1840 by Rev. J. Abbot (Cresswell/To/1922, p. 187). Only the aisle sections are preserved. The back of the roodloft is preserved – a rarity. On the wainscoting panels of the door is recorded the donation of the screen by a parson of Marwood called Sir John Beaupele, who was rector in 1520 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 563). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902, Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 75 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, p. 46 and vol. 2, cix(a), cxix(b) and cxxv(b). *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 3.6m x 3.3m (11'5" x 10'11"). Roodloft gallery: height 1.1m (3'8"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 9/A.

Meavy (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 7). *Features:* In 1840 the screen was very good, but with the groining missing. It was painted white. Now no traces remain (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Membury (St. Laurence).

Earliest record: 1911 (Stabb, vol. 2, p. 119). *Features:* East end of aisle enclosed by a screen of two bays and doorway retaining its doors. The cornice is plain; the screen never had groining (Ibid.). The screen has linenfold mouldings at the base (Cresswell/H/1920, ii, p. 380). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 112. *Dimensions:* 2.97m x 2.79m (9'9" x 9' 2"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

Merton (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822.²² *Features:* Faculty published 29 September 1822.
Extant now: No.

Monkleigh (St. George).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Choir screen wholly gone, parclose screen remains and screen in the south aisle (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 75). Roodscreen removed. Fine screen separating Annery chapel from south aisle. Good carving, high relief. Similar to Combe Martin (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 94). Screen between the arch and the chapel is among the most remarkable of all Devon screens. Superb carving. Parclose screen between aisle and chancel is of 1879 by Fulford and Hems (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 573). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 76 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, p. 138 and vol. 2, cx(a). *Dimensions:* 4.50m x 2.76m (14'9" x 9'1"). Note; the depth of the screen is 1.04m (3'5"). *Extant now:* only in part. *Type:* 9/A.

Monkokehampton (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 7). *Features:* The remains of the screen were cleared out c.1856 (*ibid.*). Removed 1856 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

Morchard Bishop (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 155). *Features:* 'This is one of the most beautiful Gothic screens I have yet seen' (*ibid.*). Roodscreen removed from proper position, part made into the tower screen and part

²² DRO Merton 1822-1 (Faculty cause). Faculty to remove old roodloft or screen extending across the church from north to south because 'it intercepted the view of the clergyman from a great part of the congregation, and preventing his being distinctly heard'.

awaits restoration. Retains ancient colouring. Dilapidated (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 122). Remains of roodscreen, part on the south wall of the tower and part divides the tower from the body of the church (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 94). Reconstructed from original parts by Read (North part 1928-30, centre 1940). Ribbed vaulting with Renaissance detail (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 575). *Dimensions*: 10.06m x 3.40m (33' x 11'2"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/B.

Morebath (St. George).

Earliest record: 1526 (Churchwardens' accounts).²³ *Extant now*: No.

Moretonhampstead (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich screen (Ibid.). A richly carved oak screen crosses the church between nave and chancel, which has been injured by the injudicious alteration to the upper part; it is painted white (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Screen is very good. Vaulting removed. All painted white (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1853, pp. 165-6). Roodscreen removed 1857, a part went to Powderham and a part went to Whitchurch. New oak screen added recently and is said to be an exact copy of the old (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 96). Removed 1857 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Cleared out of the church 1857; at restoration new screen erected (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, pp. 37-78). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 80 [new screen]. *Extant now*: No (new screen only).

Newton Abbot (St. Leonard).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2, p. 285). *Features*: Removed 1836 (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

²³ J. E. Binney (ed.), *The accounts of the wardens of the parish of Morebath, Devon, 1520-73* (Devon Notes and Queries, supplementary volume 1903-4). (Exeter, 1904).

North Bovey (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Some remains of a chancel screen. Painted (Davidson 1848, vol. 3, p. 165). There are parclose screens to the north and south chancel aisles (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1853, p. 165). Perpendicular roodscreen. Vaulting gone. Good cornice. Good design of lower panels. North and south parclose screens (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), p. 98). Roodscreen extends across the church. Doors and vaulting gone. Parclose screen divides the chancel and chancel aisles (Cresswell/M/1921, i, p. 55). Screen across the nave and aisles. Coving gone. Solid spandrels. Cornice with single band. Most remarkable motif is the small statuettes above one another in the door surround. Parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 599). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 81. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 2.6m x 2.7m (8'10" x 9'). Chancel screens: 5.4m x 2.7m (17'7" x 9'1"). South aisle screen: 2.7m x 2.7m (9' x 8'11"). North parclose screen: 3.3m x 2.3m (10'11" x 7' 8½"). South parclose screen: 3.1m x 2.4m (10'2" x 7'11"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

North Huish (Unknown). *Earliest record:* 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of a screen (Ibid.). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). At the east end of the aisle there are the remains of a fine screen. 4 bays and a central doorway. Vaulting gone, good carving, double row of cresting and modern cornice. Lower panels gone but tracery remains (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 100). At the end of the south aisle is the last part of the screen. Parclose separates the chancel and chancel aisle (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 221). Screen removed and re-erected as entrance screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 601). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plate 95. *Extant now:* No (a small part as an entrance screen).

Northleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1829 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 147). *Features:* Remains of a beautiful screen stand between the nave and chancel. Mouldings of rich foliage. An early specimen of screenwork. A screen of later date parts the eastern end of the aisle, but inferior in design and execution (Ibid.). Dark oak screen across the chancel of 3 compartments. Vaulting remains, but practically no cornice, only a deep cresting. No doors. Lower panels carved with linenfold panelling. A screen of different design in north aisle; it was evidently a parclose screen. Cornice but no cresting. Linenfold carving on lower panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 132). Fan vaulting remains on the west side, surrounded by a deep cresting, the cornices have disappeared. Another screen crosses the east end of aisle, possibly a parclose removed to present position (Cresswell/H/1921, i, p. 138). One screen to the chancel with original vaulting. Another to the north chancel chapel, very simple (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 601). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 120. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 3.86m x 2.79m (12'8" x 9'2"). North aisle screen: 3.23m x 2.67m (10'7" x 8'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 2/A.

North Lew (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* The screen has been removed within a few years (Ibid.). The base of a handsome chancel screen remains (Davidson 1849, vol. 4, p. 309). Screen has perished. Cut down in 1822. *TEDAS* notes of 1849 say 'lower remains of a good screen, very rotten' (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 154). New screen, only wainscoting original (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 602). *Extant now:* No.

North Molton (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1562 and 1576 (Churchwardens' accounts).²⁴ *Features:* Separating the nave from the chancel is a richly carved oak screen, but it

²⁴ NDRO, 1786/PW 1-5.

has unfortunately been painted over (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Parts of a plain chancel screen remain. Side screens of a late date (Davidson 1844, vol. 2, p. 413). Screen extends right across the nave and aisles. Vaulting and cornices gone. Parcloses on either side divide the e. end of the nave aisles from the chancel. On the north side the parclose is original and excellent work, on the south side it is made up of fragments surmounted by a beautiful cresting. *Dating*: c.1450 (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 168). Perpendicular roodscreen all across the nave and aisles. Reconstructed, coving and spandrels gone. Two parclose screens differ in design (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 602). *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 15.24m x 3.48m (50' x 11'5"). North parclose: 3.53 x 2.69 (11'7" x 8'10"). South parclose: 3.63 x 2.72m (11'11" x 8'11"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

North Tawton (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ii, f. 190a) *Features*: Formerly in it a screen and roodloft; but these some 20 years since (c.1730) were demolished (Ibid.). No trace of any screen (Cresswell/ Ok/1921, p. 210). *Extant now*: No.

Nymet Tracey (Bow) (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 180). *Features*: A good Gothic screen between the nave and chancel (Ibid.). Remains of a chancel screen of carved oak (Davidson 1849, vol. 2, p. 73). Roodscreen in the chancel differs in pattern from the north aisle screen. Unusual type for Devonshire. Linenfold pattern in the lower panels. Good deal of ancient colouring. Never groined. Moved from its original position (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 18). Nave and chancel divided by a roodscreen of great merit, continued with a somewhat different design across the aisle. Original colouring. Aisle panels enriched with linenfold moulding. Parclose at the north side of chancel in the same style as the roodscreen (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 5). Roodscreen with original colour. North aisle

screen with slightly different tracery details and linenfold in the wainscot (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 194). *Dating*: c.1400 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 277). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 15 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate xcvi(a). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.5m x 2.6m (10'11¾" x 8'7½"). Chancel screen: 3.7m x 2.6m (12'1" x 8'7"). Parclose screen: 2.6m x 2.2m (8'6½" x 7'8"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 1/A.

Offwell (possibly St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 182). *Features*: Present in the church (Ibid.). Two bays from St. Mary Major brought from Exeter in 1970. Dado paintings, rich cresting (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 608). *Extant now*: No.

Okehampton (All Saints).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 192). *Features*: A gilt screen dividing the nave from the chancel (Ibid.). A fragment of stone tracery remains that could have been part of a stone screen (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 172). *Extant now*: No.

Ottery St. Mary (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 196). *Features*: A good Gothic stone screen at entrance to the choir (Ibid.). Stone roodscreen remained until c.1800 (Cresswell/O/1919, p. 111). *Extant now*: No.

Paignton [n.b. not Kirkham chapel] (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, p. 99). Ancient roodscreen gone; new screen erected (31' in length, 13'3" in height) (Ibid.). In 1867 the remains of the ancient roodscreen survived, sawn off to the level of the transom. Cleared away. In 1906 the new screen was presented, made by Read of Exeter (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 171). *Extant now*: No.

Pancrasweek (St. Pancras).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 353). *Features:* Fragments of chancel screen of early date with painted figures (Ibid.). Gone. Modern parclose (Cresswell/Ho/1922, p. 112). *Extant now:* No.

Parracombe (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, p. 101). *Features:* Tympanum over screen. Beam in situ above screen which may have been the roodbeam (Ibid.). Early rectangular headed type (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). Screen between the nave and chancel, delicate tracery, early type, tympanum above it (Cresswell/S/ 1924, pp. 198-9). Straight top to the whole screen. Tympanum above. Tympanum repainted 1758. (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 624). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 84. *Dimensions:* 4.30m x 2.28m (14'1" x 7'6"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

Payhembury (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, x, f. 213). *Features:* There is a good Gothic screen in the church (Ibid.). Elegant screen, richly coloured and gilt, divides the church from the chancel (Polwhele 1793, vol 2, p. 268). Chancel screen remains, carved in oak. Mouldings of foliage above supported by fan tracery (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 389), Wood. Splendid (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 32). Roodscreen runs whole length of church. Vaulted canopy, tracery, panels (*TEDAS*, i, 2, 1867, p. 13). Screen of ten bays extends across the chancel and aisle; it retains its vaulting, cornice, cresting, and doors. The whole restored (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 137). Richly carved and painted screen extends across the nave and aisle. Date: c.1450. Vaulting, gates, cornices, and tracery complete. Richly if gorgeously gilt and coloured. Parclose between the chancel and chancel aisle is new (Cresswell/O/ 1919, p. 146). Screen complete with east and west coving, cornice and cresting. Church restored and the screen

repainted and regilded 1895-7 by G. Fellowes Prynne (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 625). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), plate 127. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 8.89m x 3.24m (29'2" x 10'7½"). Parclose screen: 3.10m x 2.66m (10'2" x 8'8½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/B.

Peter Tavy (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 525). *Features*: Base of a chancel screen remains with painted figures of saints (Ibid.). Remains of a beautifully painted roodscreen mark the limit of the chancel. But now down to mere pier division. Painted panels (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, 1853, p. 171). Some lower portions of the screen are still preserved at the west end of the building (Worthy 1887, vol. 1, p. 153). Screen removed before 1852 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Eight panels painted with figures of saints are the last relics of the screen; they are placed against the east wall on each side of the altar (Cresswell/Ta/1922, pp. 205-6). *Extant now*: No.

Pilton (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich. Screen only (Ibid.). Elegant screen (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 3 (1842), p. 36). Chancel screen remains. Late date. Rich moulding, over it a range of canopies and crocketed pinnacles richly carved and painted. Similar screen divides part of the chancel from south aisle (Davidson 1832, vol. 2, p. 581). The screen has carving of fine and delicate character, bad state of repair, it encloses the chancel and south aisle chapel. No vaulting, good deal of cornice work left. No cresting. Canopy work of old roodloft nailed to the top of the screen (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 103-4). In need of thorough repair. Screen was 'made and painted by Dr. Jonys' in 1508 (parish records). Unlike any other screen in the country. Cornice. Canopy work from old roodloft as cresting (Cresswell/B/1924, pp. 153-4). Roodscreen across the nave and aisle. Vaulting and cresting gone. Later

parclose screen of 3 bays with beautifully carved foliage (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 629). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 85 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, plates lxxvii(b), lxxxvi(a), and cx(b). *Illustration*: Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 341. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 12.41m x 3.68m (40'8½" x 12'1"). Parclose screen: 4.04m x 3.14m (13'3" x 10'3½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 12/B.

Pinhoe (St. Michael).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 8). *Features*: There is a gilt Rood loft of Gothic work (Ibid.). Rich and curious, the roodloft has rich mouldings of vine-leaves, bundles of grapes (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). Splendid, has an 'outlandish headpiece' (probably a gallery) (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 2 (1840), p. 125). Chancel screen across the nave and aisle. Oak (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 5). Roodscreen, very perfect. 8 bays across nave and aisles. Groining and cornice; construction follows pattern of Kentisbeare (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), p. 104). Roodscreen of beautiful work extends right across the church, vaulting and cornice perfect. Roodloft intact. Doors remain. Panels at the base are plain but formerly had paintings of saints upon them (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 183). Rich. 4 strips of scrollwork on the cornice. Restored by Hems in 1879-80 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 441). *Photograph*: Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 86. *Dimensions*: 8.73m x 10'8" (28'8" x 10'8"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 5/A.

Plymouth St. Andrew (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1509.²⁵ *Features:* The screen was taken down in 1826 (Hems 1898, p. 8). *Extant now:* No.

Plympton St. Mary (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1847 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 941). *Features:* In 1806 the roodscreen was cleared away. Now wholly lost (Cresswell/P/1922, p. 10) *Extant now:* No.

Plympton St. Maurice (St. Maurice as well as St. Thomas Becket. N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No. 2', *DCNQ*, forthcoming.).

Earliest record: 1847 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 933). *Features:* Roodscreen modern with portions of old screen incorporated. Complete with vaulting, cornices and doors (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 106). Nave and chancel divided by a screen extending right across the church. Portions of original work incorporated into the new screen. Parcloles modern (Cresswell/P/1922, p. 29). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 87. *Extant now:* Yes (but only as part of modern screen). *Type:* 3/B.

Plymstock (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich, no roodloft, painted and gilt (*Ibid.*). A screen divided the nave from the chancel but has evidently been broken into pieces and erected again. Mouldings carved in foliage and fruit. Coloured and gilded (Davidson 1840, vol. 3, p. 925). Fine Perpendicular screen extending right across the church, retaining its sets of doors. Vaulting gone. Restored 1887

²⁵ The National Archives (I), PROB 11/16, f. 147v-148r. Will of Thomas Yogge, 5 July 1509. Citizen and vintner of London. 'Item I bequeath to the works and making of a new roodloft to be made in the parish church of St. Andrew of Plymouth in Devonshire, 300 quarters of salt, accounting five score quarters for the hundred.'

(Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 107-8). The screen crosses the church between the nave and chancel. Colouring. Traces of panel paintings (Cresswell/P/1922, p. 182). Re-erected in 19th C, standard tracery, vaulting not preserved. Cornice with one frieze (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 680). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 88. *Dimensions*: 15.07m x 3.13m (49'5½" x 10'3"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Plymtree (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ii, f. 110). *Features*: 'There is no monument or inscription or anything curious in or about the church unless it be the screen or Rood Loft may be reckoned so. It is of wood curiously enough carved, painted red and blue with gilding. On ye panels which serve as a base to the screen are the pictures of saints, men, and women, in gaudy colours which are still fresh. They are about 15 inches in length' (Ibid.). Good Gothic screen (MS Milles, xi, f. 21). Screen is very handsome and finely carved and gilded. Painted saints on the lower panels (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 264). Rich, with roodloft (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). An elegant screen, painted and gilt (Lysons 1822, vol. 2, p. 418). Chancel screen remains, oak, fan tracery supports roodloft, the front of which is enriched with four mouldings of foliage. Base of screen is formed into a range of niches filled with painted whole length figures of saints. Colouring recently restored (Davidson 1843, vol 1, p. 393). Splendid, wood (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 32). Fine Perpendicular roodscreen of nine bays, vaulting, cornice, and doors. Does not fit present position. Panel paintings in good state of preservation (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 109-10). Evident that the screen was not part of the plan of original builders. 35 saints painted in panels of wainscot. Restored in 1911, before then in bad state of repair (Cresswell/O/1919, pp. 159-63). One of the most splendid screens, exceptionally well preserved. Possibly the gift of Isabel, widow of Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devon [beheaded 1470]. Wainscoting painted with figures. Coving on east

side as well. Fourfold cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 686). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 89 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxi, lxxii, cxi and cxx(b). *Dimensions*: 8.97m 3.34m (29'5" x 10'11½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 5/A.

Poltimore (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich, roodloft remaining (Ibid.). Screen restored (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 3 (1842), p. 76). Chancel screen of carved oak, painted, late date, three mouldings of foliage on the cornice (Davidson 1843, vol 3, p. 9). Screen of five bays retains cornice and groining. Not in original position (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 138). Modern cresting. Not in original position. Perpendicular type but vaulting has late characteristics (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 194). Fan vaulted coving, cornice with three strips of foliage scrollwork (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 688). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 128 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate xci(b). *Dimensions*: 4.77m x 3.28m (15'8" x 10'9"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Poughill (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 8). *Features*: In 1844 the screen was in a fairly good state. Now gone (Ibid.). Removed since 1844 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Extant now*: No.

Powderham (St. Clement).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p.cccxxvii). *Features*: Chancel screen of carved oak, upper part in decay (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 221). Screen across the chancel and aisle. Doubtful if it was made for the church, certainly not in its original position. Upper part restored 1853, groining gone. Lower panels have paintings of saints (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 139-40). Screen extends right across the church. Not

the original Powderham screen. 12 painted panels at the base (Cresswell/K/1912, p. 132). Screen largely 1853 incorporating medieval parts (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 692). Also see Moretonhampstead. *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 129. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.45m x 3.30m (11'4" x 10'10"). Chancel screen: 4.85m x 3.30m (15'11" x 10'10"). South aisle screen: 3.25m x 3.30m (10'8" x 10'10"). North parclose: 3.35m x 2.53m (11' x 8'3½"). South parclose: 3.35m x 2.57m (11' x 8'5"). *Extant now*: Yes, in the sense that medieval parts are incorporated into a new screen. *Type*: 2/A.

Rattery (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Screen extends across the nave and aisles (Ibid.). Chancel screen of carved oak ornamented with mouldings of foliage crosses nave and aisle (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 597). Oak screen with very fine carving, partially restored (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 111-12). Roodscreen extends across church. Vaulting and cornices. Wholly restored 1911 (Cresswell/T/1922, p. 243). Screen restoration of 1911 by the misses Pinwell (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 699). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 91. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 8.80m x 3.63m (28'10½" x 11'11"). However, if the screen is measured by the cornice, then the *Dimensions* are: 10.30m x 3.63m (this is because there is an overlap of 0.79m (2'7") to the north and 0.71m (2'4") to the south). North parclose: 2.97m x 2.77m (9'9" x 9'1"). South parclose: 3.02m x 2.63m (9'11" x 8'7½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/A.

Rewe (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1839-42 (Oliver 1840, vol. 2, p. 146). *Features*: Carved oak screen. Two mouldings of foliage (Davidson 1843, vol. 3, p. 29). Roodscreen of five bays remains across the chancel. No vaulting. Modern cornice and cresting (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 141). Exe valley

type screen with shields. Modern painting (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 207). No vaulting. Scrolls with inscriptions in the spandrels (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 700). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 130. *Dimensions*: 4.77m x 2.89m (15'8" x 9'6"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 9/A.

Rockbeare (St. Martin).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 38). *Features*: A good carved roodloft (Ibid.). Screen separates the chancel from the nave under a curious old roodloft richly adorned with carvings of foliage. Roodloft almost entire (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 198). A small portion of the screen remains between nave and chancel (Davidson 1834, vol. 1, p. 253). The screen was cut down to the level of the pews in 1793. The lower parts were in place until 1887 when, at the restoration of the church, they were removed to Rockbeare Court (Hems 1898, p. 8). Removed 1887 (Bond and Camm 1909, p. 285). In 1793 the screen was cut down to the level of the dado (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 215). *Extant now*: No.

Romansleigh (possibly St. Romanus).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Remains of a screen (Ibid.). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). All remains gone (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 216). *Extant now*: No.

Rose Ash (All Saints).

Earliest record: 1844 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 385). *Features*: Remains of chancel and side screens of late date (Ibid.). The chancel separated from the nave by a Perpendicular screen of plain character, no groining or cornice (Stabb 1909-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 143-4). Unusual style and of remarkable interest. Customary 15th C type. Good deal of carving at the base. North part replaced with Jacobean screens. Parclose screen (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 227). North chapel parclose screen Jacobean

dated 1618. Arms of Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry above (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 703). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 131. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.91m x 2.47m (12'10" x 8'1"). Chancel screen: 5.26m x 3.14m (17'3" x 10'3½"). Parcloses screen: 3.28m x 2.44m (10'9" x 8'). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/B.

St. Marychurch (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Chancel screen of carved oak and ordinary design. Moved to the midway of the chancel (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 445). Complete rebuilding in mid 19th C destroyed much good old Gothic work (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 243). *Illustration*: Spreat 1842 (unpaginated). *Extant now*: No.

Salcombe Regis (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1907 (TEDAS, ii, 3, 1907, p. 22.). *Features*: Roodscreen gone (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Sampford Courtenay (St Andrew).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Remains of a screen (Ibid.). Removed 1831 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Roodscreen, believed to have been very fine, removed 1831 (Stabb 1908-16, vol 2 (1911), p. 146). Rector ordered removal in 1831 (the rector was also the Rural Dean) (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 187). *Extant now*: No.

Sampford Peverell (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Rich, with roodloft (Ibid.). Removed c.1826 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 285). *Extant now*: No.

Shebbear (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1815.²⁶ *Features:* Faculty cause of 24 August 1815: 'Old screen ruinous and gone much to decay. Removal would add to the beauty of the church and enable those who attend divine service to see and hear the clergyman much better than they did before such screen was removed'.(The screen had already been taken down but retrospective permission was needed). *Extant now:* No.

Sheepstor (Possibly St. Leonard).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich, with roodloft (Ibid.). Recently removed (i.e. at the end of the 19th C) (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). All gone by 1904 but a new screen from designs of the original was dedicated in 1914 (Cresswell/P/1922, p. 208). Screen 1914, based on fragment of the one destroyed in 1862 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 725). *Extant now:* No.

Sheldon (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1828 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 413). *Features:* Chancel parted from the nave by an oak screen. Five openings (Ibid.). Screen divides the nave and chancel, old screen being incorporated with newer work (Cresswell/H/1920, i, pp. 163-4). Some old fragments of a screen incorporated in furnishings (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 726). *Dimensions:* 5.11m x 2.89m (16'9" x 9'6"). *Extant now:* Yes, in the sense that part of the old screen is incorporated into the new.

Sherford (St. Martin).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Chancel and side screens of 16th C date, carved mouldings of foliage and fruit (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 825). Usual type of Devon screen continued

²⁶ DRO, Shebbear 1815-2 (Faculty cause).

from north to south. Roodbeam, cornice and vaulting gone. Parclose screen remains (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 128). Roodscreen of Dartmouth type. Vaulting gone. Lower panels have paintings of Apostles and saints. Remains of ancient colour. Perpendicular parclose screens (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), p. 113). Screen extends across the aisle and chancel. On the north and south sides the carving from the cornice is gone. Remains in centre. Painted figures at the base. Plain 15th C parclose screens, north and south between chancel and chancel aisles (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 186-7). Well carved cornice, Dartmouth type tracery, wainscot paintings (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 727). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 93 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, cxvi(a). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.2 x 2.7m (7'4" x 8'11"). Chancel screen: 5.4m x 2.7m (17'8" x 8'10"). South aisle screen: 2.2m x 2.7m (7'3" x 8'11"). North parclose screen: 2.7m x 2.5m (9' x 2'5"). South parclose screen: 2.7m x 2.4m (9' 0½" x 8'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

Shirwell (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1844 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 609). *Features*: A chancel screen of late date (*Ibid.*). There was a 'fine screen' in 1847. Now gone (Hems 1898, p. 9). Removed since 1847 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). New screen recently erected, 4 bays, panels at base with linenfold moulding (Cresswell/S/1924, p. 211) *Extant now*: No (modern screen only).

Shobrooke (St.Peter).

Earliest record: 1842 (Oliver, vol. 3, pp. 53-4). *Features*: Churchwardens' accounts show roodloft taken down in 1577. It was of stone (*Ibid.*). Removed 1577 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Stone screen removed 1577 (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 146). *Extant now*: No.

Shute (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1920 (Cresswell/H/ i, 1920, p. 97). *Features:* Screen present in 1330 (Visitation records). A 15th C screen replaced this. Nothing now (Cresswell/H/1920, i, p. 97). *Extant now:* No.

Sidmouth (St. Giles).

Earliest record: 1776²⁷. *Features:* 'Agreed to take down screen as the same greatly obstructs the hearing of the Parishioners who sit in the same church'. *Extant now:* No.

Silverton (St. Mary).

Earliest reference: 1842 (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). *Features:* The destruction of the roodloft and screen took place during the incumbency of Rev. W. Cotton [† 1649] (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Slapton (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* A chancel screen of late date. Oak (Davidson 1842, vol. 3, p. 821). The screen is continuous from north to south. Parcloes remain (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, p. 130). Roodscreen runs right across the church. Roodloft and vaulting gone (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 114). Nave and chancel divided by a screen which extends across the church. No vaulting. Carving in late style resembles Stokenham. Parcloes across the chancel aisles (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 195). Removed during World War II and clumsily re-assembled. Top and wainscoting renewed (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 744). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 94. *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 3.94m x 2.94m (12'11" x 9'8"). Chancel screen: 8.57m x 3.13m (28'8½" x 10'3"). South aisle screen: 3.89m x 3.10m (12'9" x 10'2"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 7/A.

²⁷ DRO, Sidmouth 1776-3 (Faculty cause).

Sourton (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 68). *Features:* A handsome carved screen (Ibid.). No trace (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 205). *Extant now:* No.

South Brent (St. Petroc and St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich, with roodloft. Extends across both aisles (Ibid.). Remains of a chancel screen but much in decay (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 625). Roodscreen exists but not in original form: five bays in nave, three in each aisle (*TEDAS*, iii, 1849, p. 154). Roodscreen much decayed; it was considered impossible to restore it (Worthy 1887, vol. 2, p. 212). Roodscreen removed about forty years since (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 114-15). Removed 1864 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

South Huish (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1806 (Polwhele, vol. 3, p. 473). *Features:* Chancel is separated from the nave by a roodloft (Ibid.). Screen preserved elsewhere (at Bowringsleigh, in a private chapel) (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 206). *Photograph:* Bond 1903 (as at Bowringsleigh). *Extant now:* No.

South Milton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of a carved oak screen gaudily painted. Paintings on wainscot (Davidson 1841, vol. 3, p. 861). Roodscreen dates from 15th C, vaulting gone, good state of preservation. Paintings on the lower panels. North parclose screen of good decoration (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 115-16). Screen extends right across the church. No vaulting. Painted figures at

the base (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 216-17). Paintings recently cleaned by Anna Hulbert. Standard tracery, no vaulting, only one strip of decoration on the cornice. Unusual late Perpendicular parclose screens (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 747). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1(1908), plate 96. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.45m x 2.82m (11'4" x 9'3"). Chancel screen: 4.43m x 2.63m (14'6½" x 8'7½"). North parclose screen: 2.93m x 2.46m (9'7½" x 8'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

South Molton (St. Syth [1517], but see Orme 1996, p. 202 for possible variants).

Earliest record: 1758.²⁸ *Features*: Roodloft and several screens 'very much decay'd, broken, defective, indecent'. Roodloft and several screens should 'be taken down and the whole laid open to the body of the church' (Faculty cause of 13 February 1758). Up till 1757 the screen and loft were complete – all this was cleared away (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 190). *Extant now*: No.

South Pool (St. Cyricus).

Earliest record: 1841 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 857). *Features*: There are remains of a carved oak screen in the style of the 16th C (ibid.). Roodscreen of Perpendicular character to the nave and aisles. North and south portions of the screen have had the vaulting restored (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 118). Screen extends right across the church and is of late character (c.1530). Restored. Lower panels have Renaissance designs (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 225). Roodscreen with Dartmouth type tracery. 3 cornice friezes. Coving to the aisles only. Wainscoting with early Renaissance arabesques. Parclose screens, detail as at Stokenham (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 752). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 97 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 1, p. 46 and vol. 2, plate cxii(b) and cxvii(a). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.64m x 3.48m

²⁸ DRO, South Molton 1758-1 (Faculty cause).

(11'11½" x 11'5"). Chancel screen: 5.87m x 3.35m (19'3" x 11'). South aisle screen: 3.37m x 3.48m (11'1" x 11'5"). North parclose screen: 3.66m x 2.44m (12' x 8'). South parclose screen: 3.66m x 2.46m (12' x 8'1"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 7/A.

South Tawton (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1524/1563/1566/1577-8 (Churchwardens' accounts).²⁹

Features: Removed c.1826 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). The old rood screen removed c. 1820, and a modern one erected in its place in 1901 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 158). Screen of 1902 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 752). *Extant now:* No. Modern only.

Sowton (St. Michael).

Earliest record: 1840 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 323). *Features:* There is an old oak screen across the east end of the north aisle (Ibid.). A small portion of an oak screen remains in the n. aisle (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Screen removed by Rev. G. Moore at the end of the 19th C (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 226). *Extant now:* No.

Spreyton (Possibly St. Nicholas or St. Edward the martyr).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 8). *Features:* Cleared out in 1758 (Ibid.). Removed 1758 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Removed in the middle of the 18th C (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 160). *Extant now:* No.

Staverton (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Rich, roodloft remains (Ibid.). Chancel screen remains of late date and rather handsome. Mouldings of foliage and embattled cornice above. Carved oak, painted and varnished (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 577). The screen is 50' in length

²⁹ E. Lega-Weekes, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of South Tawton', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 40 (1908), pp. 306-12.

and 15' high (Hems 1898, p. 18). Roodscreen extends across the nave and aisles and is 56'7" in length. Restored in 1897 with gallery front, with the Atherington north aisle screen as the pattern. 15th C parclose screens in very good condition (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 120). Restoration by Hems, under direction of F. Bligh Bond. Loft wholly restored. Parclose screens divide the chancel and chancel aisle (Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 255-7). One painted wainscot panel remains. Pier casings are restoration additions (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 758). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 98 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, p. 126. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 15.47m x 3.55m (50'9" x 11'8"). This measurement does not include the roodloft. The height is only up to and including the cornice. North parclose: 3.95m x 3.81m (12'11½" x 8'6"). South parclose: 3.88m x 3.81m (12'8½" x 8'6"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Stoke Gabriel (St. Gabriel).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: The screen shows some remains of former splendour, but is much mutilated (Spreat 1842, unpaginated). Parts of screen remain across aisles (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 601). Roodscreen standing in the n. and s. aisles but cut down in the chancel (Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), p. 128). Centre part of the screen removed early in the 19th C. Centre of screen cut to level of the cill. Painted saints on the panels and on the south side panels (Cresswell/T/1822, pp. 270-1). Screen restored by Read in 1930. Paintings on the wainscot not later than 1450 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991 p. 764). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 106 (showing interior of the church without the screen). *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.36m x 3.27m (7'9" x 10'8½"). Chancel screen: 4.55m x 3.27m (14'11" x 10'8½"). South aisle screen: 2.57m x 3.27m (8'5" x 10'8½"). The entire screen, including the vaulting covering the piers is 10.42m x 3.27m (34'2½" x 10'8½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/n.a.

Stokeinteignhead (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 143). *Features:* Screen elegantly carved (Ibid.). Chancel screen painted and gilded (Davidson 1846, vol 3, p. 385). Square-headed. Painted figures on panels obliterated (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 128). Unusual. Very early date; this is apparent in the character of the tracery (Cresswell/I/1921, p. 228). Decorated rather than Perpendicular elementary tracery (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 765). *Dating:* c.1380-90 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Photographs:* Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 108 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2. *Illustration:* Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 350. *Illustrations:* Ashworth 1870. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 4.82m x 3.20m (15'10" x 10'6"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

Stokenham (possibly St. Humbert).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* Remains of a chancel screen in carved oak. Mouldings of foliage (Davidson 1842, vol. 3, p. 829). Unusual Devon screen with vaulting and foliated cornice (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, pp. 130-1). Roodscreen to the nave and aisles. Vaulting gone but the screen restored and decorated. Paintings of Apostles and saints on the lower panels (re-painted) (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 129). Screen crosses the entire east end of the church. Formal design. Small cornice and cresting. Painted and gilt. Paintings of saints on panels (restored) (Cresswell/W/1923, pp. 238-9). Much restored, wainscot paintings re-done, cornice with only one frieze of decoration. Parclose screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 766). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 107 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxii(a). *Dimensions:* North aisle screen: 3.90m x 3.22m (12'9½" x 10'6½"). Chancel screen: 5.49m x 3.21m (18' x 10'6"). South aisle screen: 3.75m x 3.23m (12'3½" x 10'7"). North parclose:

3.79m x 2.53m (12'5" x 8'3½"). South parclose: 3.25m x 2.46m (10'8" x 8'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/A.

Stoke Rivers (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features*: Removed end of 19th C (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). Roodscreen removed by contractors in 1832-7 (Cresswell/S/1924, p. 224). *Extant now*: No.

Sutcombe (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1909 (Bond and Camm, vol. 2). *Features*: Screen cut down to the transom; delicate and beautiful designs on the panels in unusual style. Late character transom (Cresswell/Ho/1922, p. 139). Wainscoting only survives (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 770). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 3 (1916) and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxxv(d). *Extant now*: Yes. Contrary to the information given by Cresswell and Cherry and Pevsner the screen between nave and chancel extends above the transom to the cornice and cresting. Its *Dimensions* are 4.79m x 3.07m (15'8½" x 10'1"). *Type*: 9/A.

Swimbridge (St. James).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 100). *Features*: A good Gothic screen in the church (Ibid.). Screen of excellent carved woodwork, painted and gilt, in fine preservation (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 3 (1806), p. 405). Richly ornamented with roodloft remaining (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). Rich screen in fine preservation (Lysons 1822, vol. 2, p. 467). Remains of a chancel screen in carved oak not of ancient date. 4 ranges of foliage (Davidson 1849, vol. 2, p. 433). Roodscreen is very rich (*TEDAS*, v, 2, 1892, p. 15). Roodscreen extends right across the church. Magnificent carving. Restored in 1887. Lower panels are filled with carved foliage in relief. Vaulting, cornices, doors remain. An ancient roodbeam over the loft (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 130-1). Extends all

across the church, particularly fine and perfect. Two square spaces, now empty, formed reredoses for side altars. Base panels carved with foliage in relief. 16th C. Restored before 1887 and new work carved by local Barnstaple men (Cresswell/S/1924, p. 237). Screen 44' long, right across nave and aisles. Wainscoting of unusual design. Completely preserved coving with ribs on angel corbels (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 772). *Photographs*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plates 109 and 110 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate xcii(b). *Dimensions*: 13.65m 3.27m (44'9½" x 10'8½"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 12/B.

Talaton (Unknown).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 101). *Features*: There is a good Gothic screen (Ibid.). In the screenwork there is a cumbrous richness (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol. 2 (1793), p. 272). Very rich and complete (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). The chancel screen remains. Several mouldings of foliage (Davidson 1843, vol. 1, p. 381). An oak roodscreen with perfect vaulting, extending across the whole church (*TEDAS* i, 2, 1867, p. 13). Screen extends across the chancel and s. aisle. Dark oak. Cornice of three rows and cresting. 5 bays to chancel, 3 to aisle. Doors (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), pp. 163-4). Screen remains, crossing the chancel and south aisle. Vaulting and cornice perfect. Parclose between the chancel and south aisle with unusual cresting. Cornice of roodscreen gilt (Cresswell/O/1919, pp. 236-7). Splendid screen, coving east to west. (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 777). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 146. *Illustrations*: Ashworth 1860. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen (including pillar): 9.5m x 3.6m (30'10" x 11'5"). Parclose screen: 3.1m x 2.9m (10'5" x 9'9"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 2/A.

Tavistock (St. Eustace).

Earliest record: 1538-9 (Churchwardens' accounts).³⁰ *Extant now:* No.

Tawstock (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 493). *Features:* An oak screen crosses the chancel and aisle (Ibid.). Chancel and nave divided by a very handsome screen, of the earliest part of the 16th C. Another but plainer screen crosses the south aisle (*TEDAS*, v, 1856, p. 190). Chancel and nave are divided by a handsome screen of light and graceful design, *Dating* from early in the 16th C and not intended to carry a roodloft. Dividing the Wrey chapel from the south transept is another screen of plainer design. Cornice (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 132). Screen crosses the chancel arch only, it was never intended to have roodloft. Date: Elizabethan. Parclose of same period. It is quite possible that Tawstock never had a screen before the Elizabethan one (Cresswell/B/1924, p. 273). Roodscreen of unusual design. Screen has square framing and no coving. Parclose screen (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 789). *Photographs:* Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plates 113 and 114 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, p. 24. *Illustration:* Ashworth 1860. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 4.38m x 3.35m (14'4½" x 11'). South aisle screen: 3.81m x 2.84m (12'6" x 9'4"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 9/n.a.

Tetcott (Trinity).

Earliest record: 1898 (Hems, p. 9). *Features:* The screen was here in 1858. Now there is nothing left (Ibid.). Removed since 1858 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Screen remained until 1858 (Cresswell/Ho/1922, p. 153). *Extant now:* No.

³⁰ R. N. Worth, *Calendar of the Parish Records of Tavistock* (Plymouth, 1887).

Thorverton (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1839 (Oliver, vol. 1, p. 51). *Features:* 'Within the memory of some of the inhabitants the roodloft was removed' (Ibid.). Removed early in the 19th C (Cresswell/Ca/1919, p. 185). *Extant now:* No.

Throwleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features:* The base of a screen, painted with scripture subjects (Ibid.). The screen has entirely vanished. *TEDAS* notes of 1849 say it had been removed 'within the memory of the present clerk' (Cresswell/Ok/1921, p. 249). Wainscot of the roodscreen survives, much restored by Read (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 804). *Extant now:* No [wainscot only].

Thurlestone (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, pp. 133-4). *Features:* The screen has disappeared. It was 15th C work. Screen taken down in 1685. Last mention of the screen in 1625 when some repairs were effected upon the roodbeam (Ibid.). *Dating:* c.1500 (Bond and Camm, vol 2, p. 277). *Extant now:* No.

Tiverton (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1534 (TNA).³¹ *Features:* A noble screen between the body of the church and chancel set up by John Greenway (Polwhele 1793-1806, vol 2 (1793), p. 353). Richly ornamented, with side screens (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). Beautiful screen erected in the early 15th C (Oliver 1839-42, vol. 2 (1840), p. 105). A carved oak screen, dated c.1517 divides the nave from the chancel. Roodloft now as gallery. 4 series of mouldings carved in foliage. Side screens to the aisles of late

³¹The National Archives, Family Records Centre, PROB 11/21 f. 25v – f. 26r. Will of William Selakke, 26 August 1524. 'Item I bequeath to the making of the Roodloft there of Tiverton [St. Peter] thirty-six pounds sterling'.

date and inferior execution (Davidson 1843, vol 1, p. 613). (Davidson has inserted a newspaper cutting, dated 26 June 1856 which informs us that 'the lofty richly carved roodscreen [has been] taken down'). The chancel was formerly enclosed on the north and south by an oak screen, part of it lately removed. The roodscreen was very beautiful. It originally extended through the whole breadth of the church. Enough only remains to separate the chancel from the nave. 5 bays. 3 bands of foliage run across the whole length of the roodloft. Coloured. A hideous gallery has been erected on the screen (*TEDAS*, iii, 1, 1849, pp. 3-4). Upper part of the screen removed, parclose restored, lower portion of the roodscreen remodelled (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, p. 41). Remains of screen removed in 1858 and a greater part of it taken to Holcombe Rogus (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 354). Parclose screens preserved, but even these are fragmentary (Cresswell/Ti/1920, p. 21). *Extant now*: No.

Torbryan (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features*: Rich, roodloft remaining (Ibid.). Remains of a handsome chancel screen painted and gilded with mouldings of foliage (Davidson 1846, vol. 3, p. 421). Perpendicular. Adorned with foliage and tracery. Lower panels contain ancient paintings. Many of the saints represented are rare. Date: c.1430 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 135-6). Screen extends across the nave and aisles. Vaulting and most of the cornices gone. 40 panels filled with paintings of saints (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, pp. 91-4). Right across nave and aisle. Painted saints in the wainscoting. One string of decoration in cornice. Coving not preserved (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 866). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 116. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 2.57m x 3.38m (8'5" x 11'1"). Chancel screen: 5.03m x 3.38m (16'6" x 11'1"). South aisle screen: 2.73m x 3.38m (8'11½" x 11'1"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/A.

Tormohun (St. Petroc).

Earliest record: 1812.³² *Features:* 'For the purpose of gaining more room therein' to remove the whole of the screen which separates the nave from the chancel. (Faculty cause of 23 October 1812). A screen with joists of the roodloft remaining over the Ridgway chapel (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). The roodscreen remained till about 1822, since then it has completely disappeared (Cresswell/I/ 1921, p. 259). *Extant now:* No.

Totnes (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 157). *Features:* Very fine ancient roodloft which separates the nave from the chancel (Ibid.). A very elegant stone screen with tabernacle work painted and gilt. It extends to one half of the chancel; the gallery of the roodloft remains (Lysons 1822, vol 1, p. cccxxvi). Stone screen (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 32). Remains of a splendid chancel screen carved in stone elaborately adorned with canopied niches, tabernacle work and pinnacles. Galleries on the roodloft. Projecting stone screen covering a winding stair on the n. wall of the chancel, the way to the roodloft. This screen considerably ornamented (Davidson 1848, vol. 3, pp. 549-50). The screen is 60' in length (Hems 1898, p.11). Stone screen dates from 1450. At one time the panels had paintings, but these are now obliterated. Formerly a roodloft but removed by G. G. Scott. In the chancel, on the north side, is the original stone staircase which led to the roodloft (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1(1908), pp. 137-8). Magnificent stone screen with parclooses divides the nave from chancel. Rich and delicate in effect. Cornice, canopied niches, coloured. The roodloft was taken down at the restoration. Roodloft stairs from the north east end of the chancel. Stairs set in a remarkable and ornate turret

³² DRO, Tormohun 1812-4 (Faculty cause).

(Cresswell/T/1922, pp. 10-11). Erection of screen 1459-60. One of the most perfect in England. Runs right across the church and is continued into parclose screens to separate north and south chancel chapels from the chancel. Narrow coving. Thin cornice. Much enrichment. Remains of colour and gilding. Roodloft removed during restoration of 1867-74 by G. G. Scott. Roodstairs turret in chancel (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 868-9). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 117 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, p. 148. *Illustrations*: Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxvi, and Spreat 1842, unpaginated. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 15.12m x 4.11m (49'7" x 13'6"). It should be noted that Hems' measurement is incorrect. North parclose: 4.36m x 3.71m (14'3½" x 12'2"). South parclose: 4.82m x 3.71m (15'10" x 12'2"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 3/n.a.

Trentishoe (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1832 (Davidson, vol 2, p. 729). *Features*: There are some parts of an oaken chancel screen (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Trusham (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features*: Rich, roodloft remaining (Ibid.). There are remains of an oak chancel screen of late date (Davidson 1845, vol. 3, p. 177). Screen restored 1890, 3 bays with plain vaulting, cornice of grapes and leaves, cresting. At one time it had painted panels, these have been removed (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 172). Restored by Read of Exeter, the screen extends across the nave and chancel (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, p. 106). Only the main uprights seem to be genuine, the rest are by Read (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 876). *Dimensions*: 4.37m x 2.93m (14'4" x 9'7½"). *Extant now*: Yes [considerably restored]. *Type*: 8/A.

Uffculme (St. Mary).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, xi, f. 170). *Features:* Wooden screen divides body of church from chancel and is of gothick work (Ibid.). Richly gilt and painted with foliage (Lysons 1822, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). Nave divided from the chancel by a magnificent screen supporting a roodloft which extends entirely across the church dividing the east ends of the two aisles into chapels. Oak. Three lines of mouldings. Gilt (Davidson 1828, vol 1, p. 557). Heavy galleries extending over the whole of the roodscreen (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 128). Roodscreen is the longest in Devon, 67' (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 138). Extends all across the church. Plain detail. Early work shown by solidity of framework and absence of carved enrichments to the lower panels. Loft intact (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 221). Screen all across the nave and aisles. Fan vaulted vaulting on both sides. Some original colour. South parclose screen (modern) (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, pp. 877-8). *Dating:* c.1410-20 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 277). *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 19.10m x 3.03m (62'8" x 9'11½"). It should be noted that in all texts the figure of 67' for the length of the chancel screen is given. This is incorrect and seems to begin with Stabb. North parclose: 4.72m x 2.94m (15'6" x 9'8"). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 118 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plates lxxxvii(a) and lxxxi(a). *Illustrations:* Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 1, plate lxxv (a) and vol. 2, p. 357. *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 6/B.

Ugborough (St. Michael. N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No.1, *DCNQ* 38, part 10 (2001), p. 307.).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxvii). *Features:* There are remains of a handsome chancel screen now forming sides of pews. Painted figures on the panels (Davidson 1847, vol. 3, p. 653). The roodscreen dates from 15th C, the chancel portion cut down to cill level; no vaulting on the aisle portions, pieces of cornice fastened on the

spandrels round the bays. Fine series of 32 painted panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 140). Nave and chancel divided by a roodscreen which retains its arcades n. and s. but the centre has been cut to the level of the transom. Vaulting missing, much of the detail missing. Beauty of ornament, richness of colouring – a remarkably fine screen. Paintings of late date (judging by costume). (Cresswell/P/1922, pp. 245-8). Screen badly treated but still impressive. Across nave and aisles. Only the wainscoting (with figures, c.1525) is complete. Tracery of Dartmouth type but no coving. Parclose screen, tracery similar to Holbeton (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 879). *Photographs*: Bond 1903, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 119 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxiv(a) and cxxiv(a). *Illustration*: Ashworth 1870. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen: 3.58m x 2.97m (11'9" x 9'9"). North chancel screen (to the transom rail): 2.21m x 1.25m (7'3" x 4'1"). North chancel screen (to the remaining original screen) 2.21m x 1.45m (7'3" x 4'9"). South chancel screen (to the transom rail) 2.36m x 1.27m (7'9" x 4'2"). South chancel screen (to the remaining original screen) 2.36m x 1.47m (7'9" x 4'10"). South aisle screen: 3.63m x 2.99m (11'11" x 9'10"). North parclose screen: 3.30m x 2.84m (10'10" x 9'4"). South parclose screen: 3.33m x 3.15m (10'11" x 10'4"). *Extant now*: Yes. *Type*: 7/A.

Uplowman (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features*: The screen has been removed within a few years (Ibid.). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Extant now*: No.

Uplyme (St. Peter and St. Paul).

Earliest record: 1829 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 11). *Features*: Screen of openwork at the east end of the north aisle (Ibid.). Present screen 19th C stone (Cherry and Pevsner, p. 882). *Extant now*: No [modern only].

Venn Ottery (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1846 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 249). *Features:* There are some few remains of a chancel screen (Ibid.). Removed 1884 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Until 1884 part of the screen remained. All now gone, last fragments cut up in 1884 (Cresswell/O/1919, p. 90, as Fen Ottery). *Extant now:* No.

Walkhampton (St. Denis. N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No. 1', *DCNQ* 38, part 10 (2001), p. 307.).

Earliest record: 1887 (Worthy, vol. 1, p. 71). *Features:* The ancient screen has been removed (restoration in 1860) (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Warkleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1842 (Spreat, unpaginated). *Features:* There are the remains of an elegant carved screen, the lower parts being now used as doors and parts of seats, apparently in their original position (Ibid.). There are some remains of a chancel screen of carved oak of a late period (Davidson 1844, vol. 2, p. 353). Removed prior to 1850 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Tower arch separated from the nave by a screen formed from the remains of the former roodscreen. What is left displays Renaissance detail and resembles Lapford (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 248). *Photograph:* Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate cxxv(a) and cxxvi(c). *Extant now:* No (tower screen fragments only).

Washfield (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1839 (Oliver, vol. 1, p. 136). *Features:* In 1624 the ancient screen was removed for the present one (Ibid.). Present screen 1624 (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 889). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 120. *Extant now:* No (post-Reformation screen only).

Welcombe (St. Nectan).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 149). *Features:* Some remains of a rude chancel screen with mouldings of foliage (Ibid.). Screen of primitive design. Not earlier than 14th C. Straight top. Foliage friezes of present cornice a later addition (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 893). *Dating:* Early type, rectangular headed (except cornice) (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 278). *Photographs:* Bond and Radford 1902, Stabb 1908-16, vol. 3 (1916) and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, plate lxxix(a). *Dimensions:* 4.65m x 2.49m (15'3" x 8'2"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

Wembury (St. Werburgh. N. I. Orme, 'English Church Dedications: Supplement No. 1', *DCNQ* 38, part 10 (2001), p. 307.).

Earliest record: 1850 (*TEDAS*, iv, 1, p. 301). *Features:* The screen (of which a small vestige remains in south aisle) was taken down and destroyed by an ignorant churchwarden a few years since (Ibid.). Removed 1852 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Screen remained in church until c.1845 when it was removed and destroyed by an ignorant churchwarden (Cresswell/P/1922, p. 258). *Extant now:* No.

West Alvington (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, p. 142). *Features:* Roodscreen standing complete in 1869 with the unusual feature of a pulpit being placed on the loft. Bishop of Marlborough (when vicar) had screen removed. All that is now left is the south parclose and some remains of the old screen in the north and south aisles. Unusual tracery of parclose screen (Ibid.). Screen being reconstructed from fragments of old one (*TEDAS*, 3, n.d. but taken from Annual Report dated 15 May 1914). Removed since 1869 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). On the north and south sides old portions of screen remain (Cresswell/W/1923, p. 25). Restored by Read in 1914. Only the aisle parts of the screen are original.

South parclose has continental flamboyant forms (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 898). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 121. *Dimensions*: Chancel screen: 5.77m x 3.64m (18'11" x 11'11½"). South aisle screen: 2.06m x 2.62m (6'9" x 8'11"). South parclose screen: 2.79m x 3.03m (9'2" x 9'11½"). *Extant now*: Yes (but only a few original elements remain).

West Buckland (St.Peter).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features*: Rich, with roodloft. Arabesque ornaments. Well carved (Ibid.). Handsome chancel screen of carved oak. Fan tracery ornamented with scrolls, heads and devices in the style of Henry VIII or Elizabeth I. 3 ranges of mouldings (Davidson 1844, vol. 2, p. 425 (Davidson has appended a newspaper cutting dated 26 June 1863 which informs us that the old church of West Buckland has been pulled down). Wood. Splendid (*TEDAS*, ii, 1, 1847, p. 32). Removed early 19th C (Bond and Camm 1909, vol 2, p. 285). No trace (Cresswell/SM/1924, p. 36). *Extant now*: No.

West Down (St. Calixtus).

Earliest record: 1924 (Cresswell/B/1924, p.284). *Features*: The roodscreen existed until about 1815 when it was removed (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Westleigh (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1924 (Cresswell/B/1924, p.296). *Features*: Partial restoration of the screen, seven narrow bays of Perpendicular style, placed across the east end of the north aisle. Work by Read of Exeter and Garland of Barnstaple (Ibid.). *Dimensions*: 4.11m x 3.33m (13'6" x 10'11"). *Extant now*: Yes, but only in part. *Type*: n/a.

West Ogwell (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features:* Rich, screen only (Ibid.). The screen existed earlier in this century. Now gone (Hems 1898, p. 10). Removed since 1822 (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). *Extant now:* No.

West Putford (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1848 (Davidson, vol. 4, p. 177). *Features:* There are some remains of a rude chancel screen (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

West Worlington (probably St. Petroc).

Earliest record: 1919 (Cresswell/Cu/1919, p.157). *Features:* Screen of three bays forms the east end of the south aisle into a chapel. Style more of a parclose than a roodscreen. Panels on the base have linenfold moulding (Ibid.). Parcloses screen with tracery and spandrel decoration (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 904). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 3, (1916). *Dimensions:* 3.24m x 2.57m (10'7½" x 8'5"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 9/A.

Whimble (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features:* Remains of a screen (Ibid.). Some remains of a chancel screen, base was ornamented with paintings of saints on panels (Davidson 1840, vol. 1, p. 513). Small portion of ancient roodscreen preserved in the tower, consisting of 8 painted panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 175). Greater part removed in 1822, a little remained (Cresswell/A/1920, p. 262). Eight early 16th C painted panels remain (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 905). *Extant now:* No (a few painted panels only).

Whitchurch (St. Andrew).

Earliest record: 1908 (Stabb, vol. 1, p. 143). *Features:* Part of the old roodscreen from Moretonhampstead erected in the north aisle. Good

Perpendicular character. No groining (Ibid.). Part of the ancient screen from Moretonhampstead, moved in 1857, three bays and doors in between the north aisle and the organ chamber. Vaulting gone, scroll work rich and bold (Cresswell/Ta/1922, p. 262). *Photographs*: Bond and Radford 1902 and Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 122. *Dimensions*: 4.01m x 2.96m (13'2" x 9'8½"). *Extant now*: Yes [but it was originally part of the Moretonhampstead screen]. *Type*: 3/A.

Whitestone (Unknown).

Earliest record: 1843 (Davidson, vol. 3, p. 45). *Features*: Chancel with a screen across it of late date having a cornice formed by a series of angels displayed carved in oak, painted and gilt (Ibid.). *Extant now*: No.

Widcombe-in-the-Moor (St. Pancras).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features*: Remains of a screen (Ibid.). The lower part of an ancient chancel screen forms part of the pews (Davidson 1847, vol 3, p. 537). Roodscreen cut down to cill level. Good series of paintings on the lower panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), p. 144). All the upper part of the screen has perished. Cut to cill in 1754 and only the base with panels painted with saints remain. No doors (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, pp. 123-5). Only the wainscoting remains, with early 16th C painted saints on panels (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 907). *Photograph*: Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 123. *Illustration*: Ashworth 1880. *Dimensions*: North aisle screen (north): 1.14m x 1.14m (3'9" x 3'9"). North aisle screen (south): 1.10m x 1.14m (3'7½" x 3'9"). Chancel screen (north): 1.77m x 1.14m (5'10" x 3'9"). Chancel screen (south): 1.88m x 1'14m (6'2" x 3'9"). South aisle screen (north): 1.11m x 1.14m (3'8" x 3'9"). South aisle screen (south): 1.13m x 1.14m (3'8½" x 3.9"). *Extant now*: Yes (up to cill level only). *Type*: 2/n.a.

Widworthy (possibly St. Cuthbert).

Earliest record: 1793 (Polwhele, vol. 2, p. 319). *Features:* The screen and roodloft have long since been taken down (ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

Willand (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1843 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 541). *Features:* There is a chancel screen of very late date [sic] (ibid.). Very fine roodscreen of square-headed type, roodloft carried on horizontal coving. Good deal of ancient colour and gilding remaining. Very good ornamentation of the cornice (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 145-6). The screen is specially interesting as showing in its completeness a screen of the earlier or rectangular-headed order, of which many specimens remain in Devon, but all except this one are without their coved head (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 361). Fine screen of square-headed type separates the nave and chancel, over which is the floor of the roodloft carried on horizontal coving. Decorated with painted ornaments of Renaissance character. Ancient colouring and gilding in cornices (Cresswell/Cu/1920, p. 244). Painted, simple tracery, flat coving, later cresting with vine scroll (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 911). *Dating:* Early (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 277). *Photographs:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), plate 124 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol 1, p. 140 and vol. 2, plate lxxx (a). *Illustrations:* Bond 1903 and Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, pp. 362-3. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 5.1m x 2.6m (16'8" x 8'9"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/A.

Witheridge (Probably St. George).

Earliest record: c.1755 (MS Milles, ii, f. 240). *Features:* 'A Gothic screen separates it from the chancel' (ibid.). The screen was unfortunately removed about eighty years ago (Oliver 1839, vol. 1, p. 190). *Extant now:* No.

Wolborough (St. Mary).

Earliest record: 1822 (Lysons, vol. 1, p. cccxxviii). *Features:* Screen extends across the nave and aisles (Ibid.). Screen of carved oak in the style of the 16th C divides the nave from the chancel and that from the aisles. Horizontal mouldings with vine leaves and fruit. Fronts ornamented with canopied niches and pinnacles (Davidson 1840, vol. 3, p. 365). Roodscreen originally forming a partition across the whole church with figures of saints painted on the lower panels (*TEDAS*, v, 1, 1856, pp. 41-2). Roodscreen has been divided into 3 parts but originally stretched continually across the church. Vaulting and cresting missing. Good state of preservation. Side screens worthy of note. Remarkably fine series of paintings on panels (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 146-7). The screen work is interesting and in some particulars unlike anything in the diocese. The roodscreen extends all across the church, serving instead of aisles to divide nave and aisles from the chancel and chancel aisles. Parcloses of good but late character separate the chancel from the chancel aisles and on each side are small chantries or pews, formed by screens adjoining the roodscreen and, like it, having panels at the base painted with figures of saints. Date: Beginning of 16th C (1516-18) (Cresswell/M/1921, ii, 146-52). Roodscreen across nave and aisles. Parclose screens to transeptal chapels. No vaulting. Especially fine friezes on cornice (Cherry and Pevsner 1991, p. 586). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol 1 (1908), plate 125. *Dimensions:* West side north transept screen: 1.27m x 2.31m (4'2" x 7'7"). South side north transept screen: 3.30m x 2.42m (10'10" x 7'11½"). North aisle screen: 3.10m x 3.15m (10'2" x 10'4"). Chancel screen: 3.15m x 3.08m (16'4" x 10'1"). South aisle screen: 3.05m x 3.18m (10' x 10'5"). North side south transept screen: 3.57m x 2.28m (11'8½" x 7'6"). West side south transept screen: 1.22m x 2.28m (4' x 7'6"). North parclose screen: 3.08m x 2.72m (10'1" x 8'11"). South parclose screen: 3.04m x 2.52m (9'11" x 8'3"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 3/A.

Woodbury (St. Swithin).

Earliest record: 1553-4/1558-9/1561-2 (Churchwardens' accounts).³³

Features: There are remains of a handsome chancel screen. Several mouldings of leaves, etc. (Davidson 1840, vol. 1, p. 313). The chancel screen has been removed from old position further eastwards before 1846. Vaulting and most of the cornice destroyed as well as the entire screen across n. aisle. Alterations 1862, repainting 1863 (*TEDAS*, i, 3, 1894, pp. 65-6). Ruined in 1848 by a modernising vicar (Bond and Camm 1909, vol. 2, p. 285). Roodscreen remains across the chancel but much altered, tracery having been removed from lights. 4 bays and doorway, cornice of leaves and fruit and cresting. Screen in original condition in 1847, above it a tympanum. The tympanum removed in 1848 and further alterations in 1862 (Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), p. 180). *Photograph:* Stabb 1908-16, vol. 2 (1911), plate 159. *Dimensions:* Chancel screen: 4.0m x 3.8m (13'2" x 12'3"). *Extant now:* Yes. *Type:* 1/n.a.

Yarcombe (St. John the Baptist).

Earliest record: 1829 (Davidson, vol. 1, p. 73). *Features:* Several fragments of chancel screen remain (Ibid.). *Extant now:* No.

³³ DRO, EDRO PW1 (v).

Zeal Monachorum (St. Peter).

Earliest record: 1849 (Davidson, vol. 2, p. 69). *Features:* There is a chancel screen of late date. 3 semi-circular arches and a cornice (Ibid.). Faculty petition 1853³⁴: To remove the unsightly screen, erected (it was thought) in c.1720, because no view (except through an aperture 8' by 4') could be seen of the chancel. To beautify the church and to 'obviate all inconveniences'. Faculty approved. *Extant now:* No.

³⁴ DRO, 1095A/PI 3 (Zeal Monachorum Faculty petition).

APPENDIX TWO

SAMPLE OF DEVON CORNICES

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Bands of running ornament</u>	<u>Cresting</u>	<u>Inverted cresting</u>	<u>Vine trail</u>	<u>East facing inferior ?</u>
1. Abbotskerswell	1	no	no	yes	yes
2. Alphington	3	yes	no	yes	yes
3. Ashton	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
4. Atherington	3	yes	yes	yes	no
5. Ayshford	1	yes	no	no	yes
6. Bampton	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
7. Berry Pomeroy	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
8. Blackawton (chancel screen)	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
9. Blackawton (south aisle screen)	2	no	no	yes	yes
10. Bovey Tracey	4	yes	yes	yes	no
11. Bradninch	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
12. Braunton	no	yes	no	no	yes
13. Bridford	2	no	yes	yes	yes
14. Broadhempston	3	yes	yes	yes	no
15. Broadwoodwidger	3	no	no	yes	yes
16. Brushford	no	yes	no	no	no
17. Burllescombe	1	no	no	no	n/a

18. Burrington	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
19. Calverleigh	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
20. Chawleigh	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
21. Cheriton Bishop	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
22. Chivelstone	4/5	no	no	yes	n/a
23. Chudleigh	1	yes	no	yes	n/a
24. Clyst St. Lawrence	3	no	no	yes	yes
25. Coldridge	2	no	yes	yes	no
26. Colebrooke	0	no	no	no	no
27. Combe Martin	3	yes	yes	yes	no
28. Cornworthy	0	no	no	no	no
29. Cullompton	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
30. Dartmouth (St. Saviour)	4	yes	yes	yes	n/a
31. Dittisham	3	yes	yes	yes	no
32. Down St. Mary	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
33. Dunchideock	3	yes	yes	yes	no
34. East Portlemouth	2/3	no	no	yes	yes
35. Exminster	3	yes	yes	yes	n/a
36. Feniton	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
37. Halberton	no	yes	no	no	no

38. Hartland	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
39. Heanton Punchardon	2	yes	no	yes	yes
40. Hennock	0	yes	no	no	yes
41. Holbeton	2	yes	no	yes	no
42. Holne	3	no	no	yes	yes
43. Huxham	0	no	no	no	no
44. Iddesleigh	1	yes	no	yes	yes
45. Ilsington (chancel screen)	3	yes	no	yes	n/a
46. Ilsington (north aisle screen)	2	yes	no	yes	n/a
47. Ilsington (south aisle screen)	2	no	no	no	n/a
48. Ipplepen	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
49. Kenn	3	yes	yes	yes	n/a
50. Kentisbeare	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
51. Kenton	3	yes	yes	yes	no
52. Lapford	4	yes	yes	yes	no
53. Lew Trenchard	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
54. Littleham (Exmouth)	1	yes	yes	yes	no
55. Littlehempston	3	yes	no	yes	yes
56. Lustleigh	1	yes	no	no	no
57. Manaton	3	yes	yes	yes	n/a

58. Marwood	3	no	yes	yes	no
59. Monkleigh	1	no	no	yes	no
60. North Bovey	1	yes	no	yes	yes
61. Northleigh (nave)	0	yes	no	no	yes
62. Northleigh (north aisle)	2	no	yes	yes	yes
63. North Molton	0	yes	no	no	yes
64. Nymet Tracy	3	no	no	yes	yes
65. Payhembury	4	yes	yes	yes	no
66. Pilton	2	yes	no	yes	yes
67. Pinhoe	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
68. Plymtree	3	no	yes	yes	yes
69. Rattery	3	yes	yes	yes	yes
70. Rewe	2	yes	yes	yes	no
71. Rose Ash (nave)	3	yes	yes	yes	no
72. Sherford	3	no	no	yes	yes
73. Slapton	1	no	no	yes	n/a
74. South Milton	1	no	no	yes	n/a
75. South Pool (nave)	2	yes	yes	yes	n/a
76. South Pool (north and south aisles)	4	yes	yes	yes	n/a

77. Staverton	3	yes	yes	yes	no
78. Stokeinteignhead	1	yes	no	yes	n/a
79. Stokenham	1	yes	no	yes	n/a
80. Sutcombe	2	yes	yes	yes	yes
81. Swimbridge	3	yes	yes	yes	n/a
82. Talaton	3	no	yes	yes	yes
83. Tawstock (chancel screen)	0	yes	no	no	yes
84. Tawstock (south aisle screen)	2	yes	no	yes	yes
85. Torbryan	2	yes	no	yes	n/a
86. Totnes	0	yes	no	no	no
87. Uffculme	3	yes	no	yes	yes
88. Welcombe	3	no	no	yes	yes
89. Willand	1	no	yes	yes	yes
90. Wolborough	3	no	yes	yes	yes
91. Woodbury	2	yes	no	no	n/a

APPENDIX 3

SAMPLE OF DEVON ROODSCREEN DADOS

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Painted saints</u>	<u>Quatrefoils</u>	<u>Polychromy</u>	<u>Ogee</u>	<u>Other carving or painting</u>
1. Ashton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2. Ashton (Chudleigh chapel)	Yes	No	No	No	No
3. Ashton (parclose)	Yes	No	No	No	No
4. Atherington	No	No	No	Yes	No
5. Berry Pomeroy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
6. Blackawton	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Painted Renaissance motifs on panels
7. Bovey Tracey	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
8. Bradninch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
9. Bridford	Yes[carved]	No	Yes	Yes	No
10. Broadhempston	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
11. Brushford	No	No	No	No	Yes (very

					minimal)
12. Burlescombe	No	No	Yes	No	No
13. Chivelstone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
14. Chudleigh	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
15. Coldridge	No	No	No	Yes	No
16. Colebrooke	No	No	No	No	Yes
17. Combe Martin	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
18. Cullompton	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
19. Dartmouth (St. Saviour)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
20. Down St. Mary	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
21. Dunchideock	No	No	No	Yes	No
22. East Portlemouth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
23. Feniton	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
24. Halberton	No	No	No	No	No
25. Holbeton	No	No	No	No	Yes
26. Kentisbeare	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
27. Kenn	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

28. Kenton	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
29. Lapford	No	No	No	Yes	No
30. Littlehempston	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
31. Lustleigh	No	No	No	No	Yes
32. Manaton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
33. Marwood	No	No	No	Yes	Yes (Renaissance ornament)
34. North Bovey	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
35. Nymet Tracey	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
36. Payhembury	No	Yes	No	No	No
37. Pinhoe	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
38. Plymtree	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
39. Rose Ash	No	No	No	No	Yes
40. Sherford	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
41. South Milton	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
42. South Pool	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
43. Stokenham	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
44.	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Swimbridge					
45. Talaton	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
46. Uffculme	No	No	Yes	No	No
47. West Alvington	No	No	No	No	No
48. Willand	No	No	No	No	No
49. Woodbury	No	Yes	Yes	No	No

APPENDIX FOUR

SAMPLE OF DEVON TRACERY CARVING

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Cherry and Pevsner type</u>	<u>Bond and Camm type</u>
1. Ashton	A	2
2. Atherington	B	9
3. Ayshford	-	1
4. Berry Pomeroy	A	2
5. Blackawton	B	7
6. Bovey Tracey	A	2
7. Bradninch	A	5
8. Braunton	A	1
9. Bridford	A	8
10. Broadhempston	B	2
11. Brushford	-	11
12. Burrington	B	4
13. Calverleigh	A	1
14. Chivelstone	A (Dartmouth type)	7
15. Chudleigh	A	2
16. Coldridge	A	2 (but parclose screen 11)
17. Colebrooke	-	11
18. Combe Martin	A	2

19. Cullompton	A	2
20. Dartmouth (St. Saviour)	A (Dartmouth type)	7
21. Down St. Mary	-	Modern
22. Dunchideock	A	2
23. East Portlemouth	A (Dartmouth type)	7
24. Feniton	A	2
25. Halberton	B	6
26. Holbeton	-	10
27. Kenn	A	2
28. Kentisbeare	A	5
29. Kenton	A	3
30. Lapford	B	9
31. Littlehempston	A	2
32. Lustleigh	A	8
33. Manaton	A	2
34. Marwood	A	9
35. North Bovey	A	2
36. Northleigh	A	2
37. Nymet Tracey	A	1
38. Payhembury	B	2
39. Pinhoe	A	5
40. Plymtree	A	5

41. Rose Ash	B	2
42. Sherford	A (Dartmouth type)	7
43. South Milton	A (Dartmouth type)	2
44. South Pool	A (Dartmouth type)	7
45. Stokenham	A	3
46. Swimbridge	B	12
47. Talaton	A	2
48. Uffculme	B	6
49. Willand	-	1
50. Woodbury	-	1

APPENDIX FIVE

SAMPLE OF DEVON PARCLOUSE SCREEN CARVING

Parish	Cornice	Tracery	Door	Dado detail	Lights
1. Berry Pomeroy [north aisle]	Yes [plain]	Yes	Missing	-	3
2. Berry Pomeroy [south aisle]	Yes [plain]	Yes	Missing	-	3
3. Bovey Tracey [north aisle]	Yes [with cresting, four bands of beading; painted]	Yes	Missing	Painted	3
4. Bovey Tracey [south aisle]	Yes [plain]	Yes	Missing	Painted	3
5. Bradninch	Writing [one band]	Yes	Probably never there	Painted	4
6. Bridford	No	Yes	Missing	Yes[painted figures]	3
7. Broadhempston [north aisle]	No	Yes	Missing	-	3
8. Broadhempston [south aisle]	No	Yes	Missing	-	3
9. Coldridge	No	Yes	Yes[in situ]	-	4
10. Colebrooke	No	Yes	Yes [in situ]	Linenfold panelling	5

11. Combe Martin	Yes [two bands of vine trail]	Yes	Missing	-	5
12. Cullompton north aisle]	Yes [one vine trail; one angels and shields]	Yes	Missing	-	4
13. Cullompton [south aisle]	Yes [both vine trail]	Yes	Missing	Carved	4
14. Dunchideock	Yes[cresting,				
	One vine trail, beading]	Yes	Missing	-	4
15. Feniton	Yes [one band]	Yes	Missing	-	4
16. Halberton [north aisle]	Yes [cresting, one vine trail, beading]	Yes	Missing	Carved [with tracery]	3
17. Halberton [south aisle]	Yes [cresting, two bands, (one vine trail), beading]	Yes	Missing	Carved [with tracery]	4
18. Holbeton (n. aisle)	Yes [cresting, two bands (one vine trail), beading]	Yes	Yes [in situ]	Linenfold panelling	3
19. Holbeton (s. aisle)	Yes [cresting, two bands	Yes	Yes [in situ]	Linenfold panelling	3

	(one vine trail), beading]				
20. Kentisbeare	Yes [two bands (one vine trail), banding, cresting with shields]	Yes	Missing	-	4
21. Kenton [north aisle]	Yes [cresting, one band (vine trail), beading]	Yes	Yes	-	4
22. Kenton [south aisle]	Yes [cresting, one band (vine trail), beading]	Yes	Missing	-	4
23. Lapford	Yes [one, vine trail]	Yes	Missing	-	3
24. Littlehempston [north aisle]	No	Yes	Missing	-	3
25. Littlehempston [south aisle]	No	Yes	Missing	-	3
26. Lustleigh	Cresting only	Yes	Missing	-	3
27. Manaton (n. aisle)	Yes[one band; cresting]	Yes	Missing	-	3
28. Manaton (s. aisle)	Yes[one band; cresting]	Yes	Missing	-	3

29.	North Bovey (n. aisle)	No	Yes	Missing	-	3
30.	North Bovey (s. aisle)	No	Yes	M	-	3
31.	Nymet Tracey	Yes [one band; vine trail]	Yes	Missing	-	3
32.	Payhembury	Yes (cresting, one band[vine trail], beading)	Yes	Missing	-	4
33.	Sherford (n. aisle)	No	Yes	Missing	-	2
34.	Sherford (s. aisle)	No	Yes	Missing	-	2
35.	South Milton	Yes [one band (vine trail), beading]	Yes	Missing	-	3
36.	Talaton	Yes [one band]	Yes	Missing	-	4
37.	Uffculme (north aisle)	Yes [cresting, one band of vine trail]	Yes	Missing	-	4
38.	Uffculme [south aisle]	Yes [plain]	Yes	Missing	-	3
39.	West Alvington	Yes [cresting, plain]	Yes	No [never there]	-	3
40.	Willand	Yes [cresting,	Yes	Missing	-	5

	one band of vine trail, beading]				

APPENDIX SIX.

**INDEX OF REPORTS BY ANNA HULBERT ON THE POLYCHROMY OF
ROODSCREENS**

A. Exeter, Devon Record Office

- | | |
|--|------|
| 1. 3036A/PW 50. South Milton, All Saints | 1973 |
|--|------|

B. Exeter, Diocesan Advisory Committee Office

[n.b. these reports do not have reference numbers]

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Alphington, St Michael and All Angels | 1980, 1986 |
| 2. Bere Ferrers, St Andrew | 1988 |
| 3. Bridford, St Thomas | Unsigned and undated |
| 4. Buckland in the Moor, St Peter | 1975 |
| 5. Hennock, St Mary | Unsigned and undated |
| 6. Holne, St Mary | 1980 |
| 7. Kenton, All Saints | 1976 |
| 8. King's Nympton, St George [n.b. as George Nympton] | 1982 |
| 9. Pilton, St Mary | 1988, 1989 |
| 10. Plymtree, St John the Baptist | 1986 |
| 11. South Pool, St Nicholas and St Cyriac | 1993, 1994 |
| 12. Totnes, St Mary | 1994 |
| 13. Uffculme, St Mary | 1986 |
| 14. Ugborough, St Peter | 1979, 1988,
1991 |
| 15. West Alvington, All Saints | 1994 |

16. Whimble, St Mary

1991

**C. London, Library of the Church of England Archbishops' Council,
Cathedral and Church Buildings Division.**

[n.b. these reports do not have reference numbers]

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Bridford, St Thomas | 1973 |
| 2. Bovey Tracey, St Paul and St Thomas | 1976 |
| 3. Buckland in the Moor, St Peter | 1973 |
| 4. Manaton, St George | 1980,
1981, 1982 |
| 5. South Milton, All Saints | 1977, 1978 |

Two reports on Chudleigh, St Martin and St Mary, dated 1975 and 1976 are among the churchwardens' papers at Chudleigh.

APPENDIX SEVEN

THE STRATTON CONTRACT OF 1531

This indenture made the twenty-ninth day of May in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry the eighth (1531) between John Charmond, knight, Richard Carlyghan, clerk, Thomas Mares, John Carwetham, George Awnger, William Besshepp, and John Payne of the parish of Stratton in Cornwall, in the name for and on behalf of all the whole parish of Stratton aforesaid of the one party, and John Dawe of Lawhitton in the said county of Cornwall and John Pares of Northlew in the county of Devonshire, of the other party.

Witness that it is bargained, promised, covenanted, and fully agreed between the said parties by this present in manner and form following, that is to wit that the said John Dawe and John Pares shall by the grace of God make or cause to be made a roodloft within the parish church of Stratton aforesaid, containing three aisles¹ (*churches*) and three roofs which as now be there, that is to wit over all the breadth of the same aisles and three roofs from the south wall of the south aisle (*amletory*) of the same church, unto the north wall of the north aisle there, and the same roodloft to be made after the pattern, form, and fashion in everything as the roodloft of Saint Kew is made, with a back behind in every aisle and all other things as is all at Saint Kew, as well as of everything thereof were here specially and particularly recited by name.

Also it to be covenanted and agreed between the said parties and that the said John Daw and John Pares shall make or cause to be made in the back of the said nave (*middle room*) of the said church a crucifix with a Mary and John and all other workmanship after the pattern, fashion, and

¹ That is, the nave and the north and south aisles.

workmanship in everything as it is about the crucifix in the back of the nave (*middle church*) of Liskeard church.

Also it is covenanted and agreed between the said parties that the said John Dawe and John Pares shall make or cause to be made two altars of timber on both ends of the said roodloft, that is to wit, one by the southern wall and another by the north wall of the said church, with two images, and tabernacles for them, and the same images and other work there to be formed and wrought after the pattern and workmanship as is at Saint Kew aforesaid, the one image to be of Saint Armil, the other to be of the Visitation of our blessed lady.

Also it is covenanted and agreed between the said parties that the said John Dawe and John Pares shall make or cause to be made two parclose screens (*intercloses*) of timber from pillar to pillar, the one between the south aisle and the choir of the said church, and the other between the north aisle and the said choir of the same church, each of them from the said roodloft upward unto the pillars next to the high altar, and it to be made with the height of the vault of the said roodloft after the pattern and fashion as the parclose screen (*interclose*) between the aisles in the parish church of Saint Columb major (Saint Columb the over).

Also it is covenanted and agreed between the same parties that the said John Dawe and John Pares shall make or cause to be made five seats or pews, that is to wit three in the south aisle, whereof one to be by the chancel door, there in the south aisle for a woman, and the other two pews to be in the same aisle hard by the said parclose screen, and likewise the two other seats to be in the north aisle hard by the said canopy (*selyng*) there.

And also the said John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant that they shall set the decks of the choir again and make or cause to be made a sufficient stage for organs in the said north aisle high by the vault of the said roodloft by the advice of an organ maker.

Also it is covenanted and agreed between the said parties that the said John Dawe and John Parys shall make or cause to be made two windows in the middle roof of the said church above the crucifix and to seal the same windows after the fashion of Saint Mary Week and to provide and see that the coverings (*coples*) of the said church be surely posted and ordered that the said church take no hurt while the same windows are being made. Also the said John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant to raise the wall plate of the north wall of the said church so that it may agree with the middle roof of the same church and to devise and make a way going by or under the arches of the pillars of the aisles of the said church so that a man may go through the said roodloft from one aisle to another.

And also the same John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant to post the same roof wall plates, arches, and pillars so that no hurt be to the same church during the time that the work is being made, and the posts to be brought to the work by the parish. Also the same John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant that all the timber of the same work shall be substantially seasoned and of one manner of drying.

Also the same John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant that as well all the costs and charges of all the timber as of carriage thereof necessary and requisite for all the said work and every parcel thereof and also all other manner of costs and charges whatsoever they be belonging or requisite for the premises or any parcel thereof shall be at the only cost and charge of the said John Dawe and John Pares, except for the ironwork and the masons work necessary for the premises which shall be at the cost and charge of the parish. Also the said John Dawe and John Pares shall at all times during the space and time of four years after the said work be fully finished shall at all times amend the said roodloft and all other of the premises at all times as need shall require.

And also the same John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant that they in all convenient haste and speed shall go about the making of the

same roodloft and the other premises and to make and fully finish and end the same roodloft and all the other premises within the space of seven years next and immediately ensuing after this present date. Also the said John Dawe and John Pares covenant and grant that for the making, finishing, and fulfilling of all the same roodloft, crucifix with Mary and John, altars, images, parclose screens, pointing (*spyryng*) between the said aisles, pews, seats, stages for organs, setting of desks of the choir, making of the said windows, posting and raising the wall plate and roofs, and the seasoning of the timber, and for all the carriage of the same timber, and other things necessary for the same, and for all other costs and charges whatsoever be necessary or requisite for the premises as before rehearsed which be appointed and limited by these present indentures the same John Dawe and John Pares so to do so that it be done in the time and year before limited.

The same John Charmond, Richard Carlyghan, Thomas Mares, John Carwetham, George Awnger, William Besshepp, and John Payne shall content and pay or cause to be contented and paid unto the said John Dawe and John Pares £2 6s 8d, including all the premises to be in, and for every foot of the work of the breadth of the said church of Stratton, to be measured upon the ground along by the said roodloft, and no other parclose screen to be measured but to go in the same, and for the same money from the north wall of the said church unto the south wall there of the same church, all the said work to be concluded within the foresaid £2 6s 8d the foot, payable in the form following, that is to wit, upon the sealing of these indentures 20 marks and the residue to be paid yearly by such portions thereof as the work goes forth, and that as John Chowyll or any workman will judge.

In witness whereof the parties abovesaid interchangeable to the present here set our seals the day and year abovesaid.

Appendix Eight.

DEVON ROODSCREENS ACCORDING TO TYPE. ²

Type descriptions

Type 1. Early flat-headed screens with rectangular compartments and no vaulting (but occasionally coving).

Type 2. Ordinary Perpendicular design with minor variations.

Type 3. As Type 2 but with more enriched and superior detail.

Type 4. Having lights divided by a heavy moulded standard running into the apex of the arch. Richly embossed vaulting spandrels. Fine cornices.

Type 5. Exe Valley type, characterised by the 'tilting shield' ornament within the tracery.

Type 6. Early plain Perpendicular, but massive in appearance.

Type 7. Dartmouth type, having a distinctive type of tracery containing foliated canopies within the arcaded window heads. Vaulting of a special character.

Type 8. Bridford type. Highly enriched variety of later Perpendicular, particularly noticeable on the carved muntins, spandrels, and dados and with an impression of Renaissance feeling as expressed by the dress of the carved figures on the Bridford screen.

Type 9. Lapford type. Tracery of Perpendicular character, but in which the vaulting spandrels and other members exhibit a strong Renaissance feeling as expressed, for example, on the Lapford and Atherington spandrels and the Marwood dado.

Type 10. Mostly parclose screens. The main features of the screens are the intricate and unusual bay tracery carving, which is different to anything else in the county.

² Based on Bond and Camm, 2, p. 279.

Type 11. More delicate than Type 10 screens, but also simpler.

Idiosyncratic bay tracery carving which is, again, different to anything else in the county.

Type 12. Massive, but with intricate decoration of the entire screen: dado, mullions, muntins, spandrels, and cornice. Not dissimilar to Type 4 screens.

TYPES 1-3.

Type 1	Type 2	Type 2 (cont)	Type 3
Braunton	Abbotskerswell	Dartington	Awliscombe
Burlescombe	Alphington	Dunchideock	Exeter (St. Mary Steps)
(Ayshford chapel)	Ashton	Exminster	Ipplepen
Calverleigh	Bampton	Harberton	Kenton
East Budleigh	Berry Pomeroy	Heaton Punchardon	Littleham (Exmouth)
Exbourne	Bovey Tracey	Iddesleigh	Plympton (St. Maurice)
Huxham	Broadhempston	Kenn	Rattery
Nymet Tracey	Broadwoodwidge	Littlehempston	Stokenham
Parracombe	Buckerell	Manaton	Torbryan
Sheldon	Buckland-in-the-Moor	Membury	Totnes
Stokeinteignhead	Chagford	North Bovey	Whitchurch
Welcombe	Chawleigh	Northleigh	Wolborough
Willand	Chudleigh	Payhembury	
Woodbury	Clyst St. Lawrence	Powderham	
	Cockington	Rose Ash	
	Combeinteignhead	Staverton	
	Combe Martin	Stoke Gabriel	
	Cullompton	Talaton	
		Widcombe	
(14)		(37)	(12)

TYPES 4-7

Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7
Burrington	Bradninch	Halberton	Blackawton
Hartland	Chulmleigh	Uffculme	Chivelstone
	Feniton		Dartmouth (St. Saviour)
	Kentisbeare		East Allington
	Pinhoe		East Portlemouth
	Plymtree		Sherford
	Rewe		Slapton
			South Pool
(2)	(7)	(2)	(8)

TYPES 8-12

Type 8	Type 9	Type 10	Type 11	Type 12
Bridford	Atherington	Cornworthy	Brushford	Pilton
Cheriton Bishop	Bishop's Tawton	Dittisham	Coldridge	Swimbridge
Christow	East Down	Dodbrooke	Colebrooke	
Down St. Mary	King's Nympton	Holbeton		
Gidleigh	Lapford	Kingsbridge		
Hennock	Marwood	South Milton		
Holne	Monkleigh	Ugborough		
Ilsington	Morchard Bishop			
Lustleigh	Sutcombe			
Trusham	Tawstock			
	West Worlington			
(10)	(11)	(7)	(3)	(2)

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1805-6 (Colebrooke Faculty Cause)
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1812-4 (Tormohun Faculty Cause)
1815-1 (Langtree Faculty Cause)
1815-2 (Shebbear Faculty Cause)
1822-1 (Merton Faculty Cause)
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1834-1 (Brampford Speke Faculty Petition)
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Report by Anna Hulbert on Bere Ferrers roodscreen wainscoting
(1988), pp. 1-3.
Report by Anna Hulbert on Branscombe church (1985), pp. 1-2.
Report by Anna Hulbert on Bridford roodscreen (undated), pp 1-2.
Report by Anna Hulbert on Buckland-in-the-Moor roodscreen (1973),
pp. 1-2.
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p.1.

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P & D 05517 (Plan of the vaulting of Chulmleigh screen 1860).

P & D 05518 (Colebrook screen 1853).

P & D 05520 (Coldridge screen 1869).

P & D 05539 (Lapford screen 1880).

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P & D 05558 (Stokeinteignhead screen 1870).

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D/P/yeo.j 4/1/6; T/PH/bm 31s/1800 (Yeovil Churchwardens'
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