

The creation of a burial ground for Protestant Dissenters in Georgian Exeter

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Introduction

"In the early history of Dissent few places are more frequently mentioned than the city of Exeter" (Murch, 1835).¹

Jerom Murch neatly summarised three centuries of religious turmoil, from Thomas Benet who nailed a paper protesting against the supremacy of the Pope to the door of Exeter Cathedral in October 1530, to the emancipation of Roman Catholics, the repeal of the Corporation (1661) and Test Acts (1673 and 1678) and the Doctrine of the Trinity Act in 1813.² The English Reformation saw rivalry between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism with the latter succeeding in Scotland. Cromwell tolerated dissenting sects and Jews (1649–60) but the Act of Uniformity following the Restoration resulted in the Great Ejection of non-conformist clergy in 1662. Later, James II's Act of Indulgence in April 1687 permitted Catholics and liberated dissenters to worship in private houses or in buildings other than the Church of England. At least two Presbyterian Meeting Houses (Little and Bow) existed in Exeter before the Act of Indulgence, but a third, named James's Meeting in honour of the King opened in a large house at the bottom of South Street in 1687.³ The early years of the eighteenth century saw scriptural and doctrinal turmoil with the divinity of Jesus being debated and in 1719 two ministers, James Peirce and Joseph Hallett II, were ejected from James's because of their beliefs. They became the founder ministers of the Mint Meeting House, then a Unitarian chapel, built on the site of the current Mint Methodist Church on Fore Street, Exeter.

It is not known where deceased members of Bow, Little and James's Meetings were buried before the mid-1700s, but it is likely to have been in one of the City graveyards – Cathedral Close, Bartholomew's Yard or Southernhay (Holy Trinity).⁴ There is brief reference to a 'garden' at James's Meeting, but no mention of a burial ground. As Dissenters frequently refused or were prevented from being buried in Anglican grounds, the need for a suitable burying ground was paramount.

This article describes the founding and history of the Protestant Dissenters' graveyard – one of three 'dissenter' burial grounds that still exist on Magdalen Street just outside Exeter's city walls.

The site for the Dissenters' graveyard

The main reason for selecting an extramural site for the graveyard is not known but is likely to have been based on land availability and lower cost. In 1728, a small plot on Magdalen Street, near to the South Gate, in the ownership of George Speke had been leased to John Abrahams, a market gardener, for 99 years at an annual rent of one pound ten shillings (£1.50).⁵ A later (1748) lease, stated:

Whereas by indenture bearing date 8th February 1728 ... between George Speke of the one part and the said John Abraham of the other part. He the said George Speke for the consideration therein mentioned did promise and grant to the said John Abraham all those three tofts where on three cottages formerly stood opposite the Wynards Almshouses in Exon aforesaid formerly in the possession of John Offe with the garden and orchard thereto belonging containing in length 119 feet and in breadth at the north end 56 feet and at the south end 39 feet bounded on the east with the lands of Roger Huggins on the west with the house of the said John Abraham on the north with the street and on the south with Bull Meadow ... during and unto the full end term of fourscore and nineteen years [99 years] etc. under the yearly rent of £1.10s.0d. etc.



Joseph Coles (1709) engraved a fine plan of Exeter (Exeter), apparently showing properties lining Magdalen Street (then named Bull Hill), backing directly onto Bull Meadow (see Figure 1). There was almost certainly some artistic licence with respect to the density and form of housing, but it is interesting that the above transcript mentions that the plot of land had previously been the site of three cottages.

Figure 1. Extract of the Coles (1709) map showing (inset) Magdalen Street, Wynards Almshouses and Bull Meadow. The approximate position of the graveyard is marked with a star

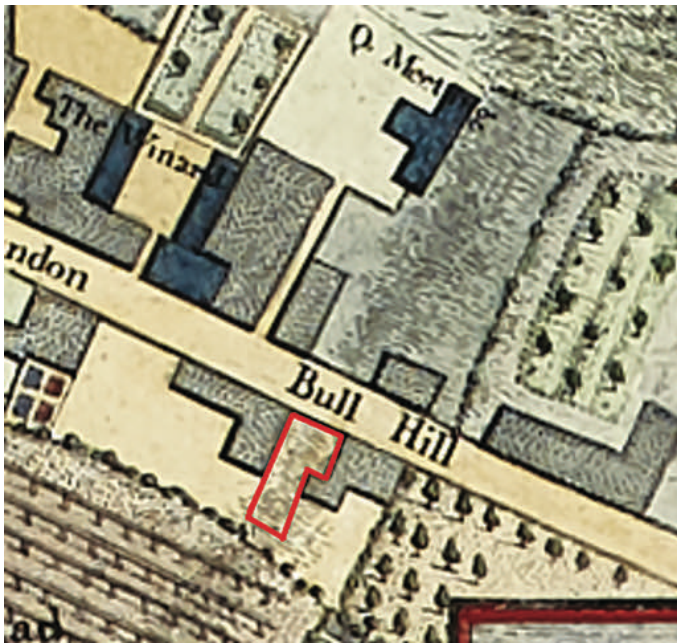


Figure 2. Jean Rocques' map of Exeter 1744. The position of the graveyard on 'Bull Hill' is outlined in red

Shortly before the graveyard was created in 1748, Rocques' map of 1744 showed a 'hatchet-shaped' gap between two buildings east of Wynards' Almshouses and almost opposite the Society of Friends (Quaker) Meeting House. The shape of the plot is consistent with the measurements stated in the transcript; see above. Wynards and the eastern part of Magdalen Street are not included on the recently discovered 1743 map of Exeter by William Birchynshaw.⁶

The original deeds of the Dissenters' graveyard are reported to have been lost, but a part transcript exists in the Devon Heritage Centre.⁷ This states,

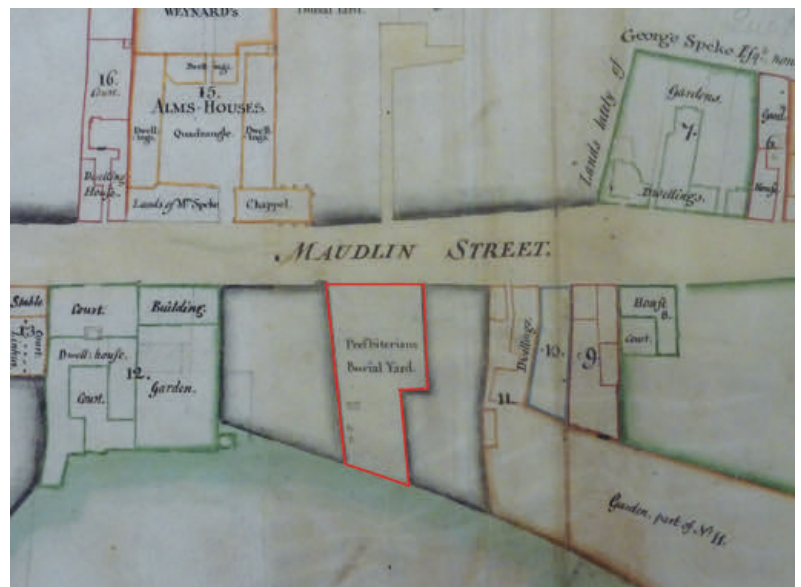
Indenture made on 6th February 1747 between George Speke of Ilminster ... and Edward Coffin, Exeter, carpenter, and Oliver Pike, Exeter, tallow chandler ... Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the surrender of a lease heretofore granted by the said George Speke to John Abraham of Exeter gardener of a certain garden plot therein – 119 feet long 56 feet broad at the north and 39 feet at the south end.

Payment of £2.2s.0d annual rent for and towards the maintenance of the Wynards almshouses without any allowance or deduction for or in respect of any rates taxes or other impositions whatever, by even and equal yearly payments the first of the said payments to be made and paid at or upon the feast of St Michael the Archangel.

If the said walls of the said premises or any part thereof are permitted to be ruinous or in decay to the value of 40/- at any one time during the time demise George Speke may reenter.⁸

Edward (more probably Edmund) Coffin and Oliver Pike were dissenters who worshipped at Bow

Figure 3. 1756 Chamber map. The graveyard is outlined in red



Meeting in Smythen Street. They signed the agreement for 999 years on behalf of the 'United Dissenters of Exeter'.

The Report and Accounts Book for the graveyard still exists, and on the first page the following appeared,

1st. That it appears to this committee that the Building a wall etc on the proposed burying plot will cost about £30. The purchase of the leasehold interest £5.5s.0d to Mr Speake's Steward £2.2s.0d. and to Mr Conant ...

2dly. It is of our opinion that the above mention sums be forthwith risen by voluntary subscription amongst the contributors to the three Meetings and that Messrs Gifford and Lee be desired to apply for the James as they shall think proper.⁹

Thirty two subscribers, contributing sums from 3 guineas to 5 shillings, raised £35.5s 9d (£35.28p).¹⁰ Their names included some of the 'great and the good' of Georgian Exeter – John Duntze, George Coade (father of Eleanor Coade, inventor of lithodipyrā – 'Coade Stone'), John Vowler, a successful grocer and importer of tea and coffee who lived at Bellair, Exeter, and whose eldest daughter Elizabeth married John Baring.¹¹ John and Elizabeth Baring had four sons and one daughter. Their eldest son John (1730–1816) was a merchant banker and MP for Exeter (1776–1802) who lived at Mount Radford House. Also listed are Richard and Samuel Parminter. It is not known which Richard was the subscriber – it could have been Samuel's father or his brother who married John Vowler's youngest daughter, Rebecca. Richard and Rebecca's grand-daughter, Mary, became an owner of Á la Ronde in East Devon.¹² Members of the Gifford, Kattenkamp, Kennaway and Tyrrell families also appear on the list.

Sufficient funds were raised to build the walls, although parts of the east and west walls were shared with the neighbouring properties. A gravedigger was appointed and the first burial recorded was of a Mary Dun (Dunn) on 10th December 1748.

The 'Presbyterians [sic] Burial Yard' appeared on the Exeter Chamber Map of 1756 and the shape of the graveyard is immediately recognisable (Figure 3).

George Speke's daughter, Anne, inherited her father's Devonshire estates in 1753 and married Frederick, Lord

North, in 1756. Her assets passed to her husband on marriage and Lord North began selling off properties and land.¹³ Lord North, Prime Minister of Great Britain (1770–1782), sold Wynards (including the graveyard) in 1789 to William Kennaway, an Exeter merchant and father of John Kennaway, 1st baronet of Escot.¹⁴ On William's death in 1793 the estate passed to his eldest son, also William, and then in 1819 to his nephew Mark Kennaway.

A fifth Meeting House, George's, opened in 1760 in South Street and became the principal Unitarian congregation in Exeter.¹⁵ It had a small graveyard and transcriptions of some of the memorials were recorded in 1894 by W. H. Hamilton Rogers, but the burial records are incomplete.¹⁶ Bow Meeting closed in 1794 and Mint in 1809, both congregations moving to George's. By the time Mark Kennaway owned the Magdalen Street graveyard, it was referred to as the 'Unitarian Burying Gro^d.' (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Coldridge map of Exeter (1819)

The graveyard dimensions were stated in the original lease and equate to around 550 square metres (less than 1/6 acre). As the non-conformist population in 1800 was estimated to be around 3,000 out of a total population of approximately 17,400, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Minutes of the George's Meeting trustees reported in 1826 that the graveyard was very nearly full.¹⁷

No evidence has come to light as yet that efforts were made to purchase extra land, but as shown in the next section, burials started to decline from the 1830s.

Burials

Three types of grave were routinely dug: single- and double-width which could be brick-lined before first use, or at a later date, and 'caves' which were elaborate brick-lined double graves with brick roofs. Firstly, the burial plot was purchased from the trustees at an initial cost in 1748 of 15 shillings (75p) for a cave or double grave, and 5 shillings (25p) for a single grave. Brickwork was charged separately and in 1803 Anthony Tremlett paid Geo. Read, a mason, £3.13s.6d (£3.68p) to brick line a single grave measuring 7ft x 2ft x 6ft, and a further five shillings for whitewashing the bricks.¹⁸

Over 1530 people were recorded as being buried in the graveyard, but the actual number is likely to be higher as the

method of recording burials seems to have been by way of small slips of paper, and the records are not complete for each of the 106 years the ground was open. What is more remarkable is that an analysis of the records suggests that up to 48 caves and eleven walled graves could have been built in the graveyard, accounting for at least 30% of the total area. Two surveys of the graveyard were conducted in 1824 and £3.13s.6d (£3.68p) was paid to Mr Charles Hedgeland for making a plan of the graves and caves, but Wilfred Bowring, a grandson of Sir John Bowring, reported that he had inherited a plan, and 'temporarily lost it'.¹⁹

Figure 5 depicts burial activity in the Dissenters' graveyard each decade, showing peak activity in the 1820s and 1830s with 2-3 per month. The records suggest that at least six cholera victims, including four members of a single family, were buried during the 1832 outbreak. Thomas Shapter in his book of the 1832 cholera outbreak recorded 21 burials in the Jews' and Dissenters' grounds, so it is possible that some of these deaths were not included in the ledger.²⁰

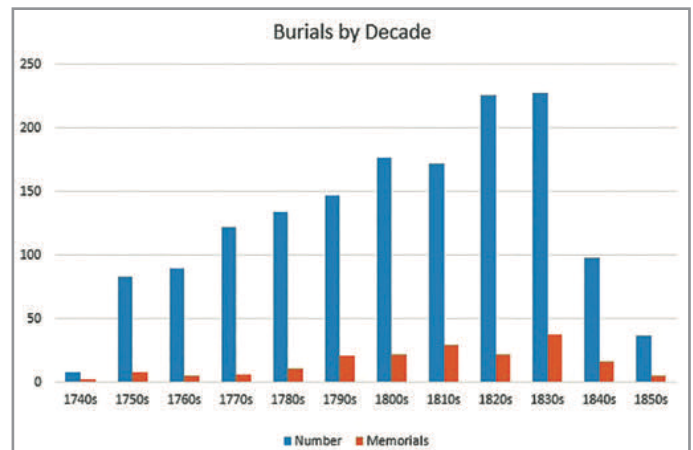


Figure 5. Burial activity per decade and the incidence of deaths recorded on the existing memorials

Throughout its active period (1748–1854) the burial ground would have been a fairly busy place, with graves being dug on a regular basis. There would have been occasional deliveries of bricks and mortar so that contractors could construct the caves and walled graves. Masons constructed chest tombs using large slabs of stone which had to be carted to the site and manoeuvred into position from a single gravelled path. The feet of countless mourners on such a small patch of land would have added to the disruption. In all likelihood the ground would not have been planted with shrubs, but simply grassed with a few trees – much as can be seen today in the neighbouring Quaker and Jews' graveyards.

Burials continued until 1854 when the graveyard was closed, along with many other churchyards in Exeter, by command of the Home Secretary, Lord Palmerston.²¹

Men of the soil, committed to the soil

Occupations of some of those buried in the graveyard were recorded in the Account Book or have been traced elsewhere, and a list is available online.²² Two gardeners were mentioned in the burial registers. John Sanders (d. October 1809) was 'formerly a stonecutter, of late years he used to work as a gardener, he was also Sexton to the Mint Meeting'. The other

gardener was William Gage of Clifton Road, St Sidwells (d. October 1841). It is not known where, or for whom, both men worked. At least one well known garden owner was commemorated on a ledger stone in the graveyard. Wearman Gifford (b. 12 December 1771) was the eldest son of John and Dorothy Gifford, and he became a well-respected linen draper, grocer and merchant of tea and hops. This latter commodity, destined principally for the brewing industry, was a significant business. In October 1816 Gifford reported that he was expecting delivery of at least six tons of Kent and Sussex hops from a London warehouse.²³ Wearman's youngest brother, Robert (b. 1779) was a lawyer, judge and politician who became Master of the Rolls and was elevated to the peerage as the first Baron Gifford of St. Leonards in 1824. Lord Gifford lived at Parkers Well House on the Topsham Road in Exeter which Wearman inherited in 1828. Amongst many of his interests, he regularly entered exhibits to the Devon and Exeter Botanical and Horticultural Society, winning cash prizes in 1832 for *Georgina (Dablia)* seedlings, a tub of grapes, and one guinea for 'the best specimen of Wine, made from Grapes grown in the open air in this county'.²⁴ Wearman Gifford died in February 1836 and was buried in his family's cave.

The Kennaways' later ownership (1863–1962)

When the graveyard closed to new burials, George's was the only surviving Meeting House and its trustees were left to deal with a piece of land for which they were paying an annual rent (893 years remained on the lease) with obligations to maintain the walls etc. without any income. An entry in the George's Meeting Minute Book in 1863 stated,

Sir John Bowring reported that Mr Mark Kennaway, who has property opposite the Burial Ground in Magdalen Street, offered to take the ground on Lease and released the Trustees from the Head Rent now payable to Wynards Alms Houses, and promised to ornament the ground with shrubs etc.

The sub-lease granted by the trustees was for 99 years at an annual rent of £2.3s.0d. (£2.15p). Effectively, Mark Kennaway was relieving the Head Rent (£2.2s.0d; £2.10p) payable by the trustees, but it is not known what motivated him to take on this liability. Nor is there a record of how, or if, he ornamented the ground during his stewardship.

Mark Kennaway died in 1875 and was buried in Wynards Chapel. His will has not been located, but it seems that Wynards, and responsibility for the graveyard, passed to his only surviving son, Revd. Warwick Bampfylde Kennaway (1829–1884), and then 'in tail-male' to Mark's nephew Laurence James Kennaway (1834–1904) and on to his son, Leonard Mark Kennaway (1876–1937) who lived in Teignmouth.²⁵

On 16th February 1888 it was reported to the trustees that Exeter Town Council had taken down the house and buildings adjacent to the Burying Ground, in order to build Bull Meadow Road linking Holloway and Magdalen Streets. The Town Council was prepared to build a retaining wall at their own expense, 'on our ground where thrown open'. It is presumed that the gate into the graveyard must have been secured for some time because the removal of the boundary

wall gave an opportunity for a site inspection, reported in the *Western Times* in August 1888 by "G. T."²⁶

Saints' Rest²⁷

This ancient and picturesque cemetery has been recently exposed to public gaze by means of the new road now being constructed to connect Holloway-street with Magdalen-street.

Some of the graves in this cemetery are covered in a great mass of the twining stems and beautiful white flowers of the great Bindweed, so much so that one large tomb with its enclosing iron railings is completely hidden, justifying in this particular its botanical name the *Calystegia sepium*, the generic name being derived from two Greek words signifying "beautiful covering." Many of the stones are broken and others beyond recognition from the influence of the weather and their mossy coverings, also that the growth of the trees and shrubs has masked many of them. One regrets the obliteration of these ancient records, but as time goes on there appear to be no living members of the families interested enough in their restitution. Alas! alas!

It seems that the graveyard was neglected and degrading only thirty years after it closed its gates. There was little improvement a few years later, in 1894, when W. H. Hamilton Rogers visited the graveyard, 'armed with a spade and hook to clear the earth' to record the legible inscriptions.²⁸

The reference to 'the growth of the trees and shrubs' masking the stones in the newspaper article above suggests that some planting had been carried out, although in the absence of details, the incursion and establishment of windborne species cannot be ruled out.

Ownership of Wynards and the graveyard remained with the Kennaway family well into the twentieth century, and on 11 March 1938 the Treasurer of George's Meeting received a letter from Mrs Bertha Kennaway (widow of Leonard Mark Kennaway) stating, 'I am carrying on my late husband's share of managing the Wynards Almshouses, with Mr Jackson Solicitor, Exeter'. An aerial photograph taken in the 1940s suggests that the graveyard was in a reasonably tidy condition, with two small tree canopies visible. It is also possible to identify some of the flat stones covering chest tombs, but there is no real indication of their condition.²⁹

In June 1952 Wynards passed to Exeter Municipal Charities.³⁰ A decade later the 99-year sub-lease terminated.

The graveyard under threat of development

A road widening scheme for Magdalen Street was proposed in 1962, and it was planned to take 34 feet of the graveyard from the northern wall, with the boundary wall being rebuilt by the Council. There was a suggestion that the human remains could be removed to Gulliford.³¹ The road widening work was not carried out and no exhumations and reburials were undertaken.

In the following five decades there were several attempts by the trustees of George's Meeting to sell the graveyard, and by owners to develop the site, all of which were rejected by the City Planning authorities (see Table 1).

Caring for the graveyard

The St. Leonard's Neighbourhood Association (SLNA) approach to the trustees of George's Meeting in April 1980 (see Table 1) stimulated discussions between the trustees and their legal advisers.³² Later that year Mr N. Bickford, the City Planning Officer, requested clearance of the overgrown site, but SLNA indicated that they had no money to carry out the work, so nothing happened at the site for a further three years. Exeter Municipal Charities minutes on 7 November 1983 state that the site was 'in a deplorable condition' (Figure 6) and later reported that the Manpower Services Commission were keen to take on a project to 'refurbish

and renovate' the burial ground.³³ Under supervision of the Director of Technical Services, clearance work was undertaken, as were repairs to the boundary walls, but some inessential additions were made to the historic landscape:

- A brick arch was constructed over the entrance gate;
- Reclaimed granite kerbstones were installed to edge the main path which was relaid with modern bricks and a gravel surface;
- Headstones were moved to new positions without archaeological supervision.

Table 1. Main activities and events affecting the graveyard (1970–2015)

Year	Activities and Events
1970	Wynards, but not the graveyard, transferred to Exeter City Council for £5,500.
1972	Trustees of George's Meeting were approached by Exeter City Council Estates Dept. with an interest in compulsory purchase of the graveyard.
1975	Exeter City Council indicated that it was no longer interested in purchasing the graveyard.
1980	St Leonard's Neighbourhood Association asked the trustees for permission to tidy the graveyard and make it available as a ' <i>... pleasure area where people could sit by way of an extension to Bull Meadow Park.</i> ' The trustees agreed unanimously.
1982	7 December. Final service held at George's Meeting.
1983	M.W.T. Architects offered £2,000 for the graveyard (they owned the adjoining Exeter Cabinet Works). The trustees accepted the offer.
1984	July/September. Cemeteries and Graveyards project team recorded the inscriptions on the memorials.
1984	Exeter City Council arranged for the clearing of the Ground. The programmed work included rebuilding the top ten courses of the perimeter brick wall, remaking the gateway entrance, pinning headstones to the inner perimeter wall, landscaping and providing seating – in effect creating a Garden of Rest.
1987	M.W.T. Architects withdrew their offer as they could not get planning permission to combine the two sites.
1992	28 September. Site purchased from the Trustees of George's Chapel by a private individual and member of a multi-faith group who intended to create a Day Centre for the homeless. This project was abandoned as sustainable funding could not be found.
1999	Purchased by Carkeek Developments. Price unknown. Application for 'Partial demolition and re-instatement of boundary wall and removal of monuments' by Carkeek filed (October) and refused (December).
1999	Application for 'Redevelopment of land to provide one three storey building of 6 self contained flats, 6 car parking spaces, vehicular and pedestrian access to highway and associated works' by Carkeek filed (October) and refused (December).
2000	Second application for 'Redevelopment of land to provide one three storey building of 6 self contained flats, 6 car parking spaces, vehicular and pedestrian access to highway and associated works' by Carkeek filed (November) and refused (January 2001).
2002	Application 'Change of use and alterations from graveyard to car park (11 spaces) and vehicular access to Bull Meadow Road' by Colourcolt Ltd. filed (November) and refused (December).
2008	Graveyard marketed by Stratton Creber in November 2008 at a guide price of £25,000.
2010	12 January. Transferred from Residential Trust Ltd. to Nicholas Sprague. Talks were held with Cornerstone to build affordable housing on the site. No planning applications were submitted during Mr Sprague's ownership.
2013	Consortium of heritage groups and Steering Group formed; funds raised to purchase the graveyard.
2014	17 January. Conveyance from Nick Sprague to Exeter Historic Buildings Trust (EHBT).
2015	16 June. Transfer of the title from EHBT to Exeter Dissenters' Graveyard Trust (EDGT).
2015–18	Remedial and renovation work conducted by EDGT, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (now NLHF).



Figure 6. The graveyard looking south in 1983. © Roger Thorne



Figure 8. 1999. The western wall had been demolished and the trees visible in Figure 7 had been felled. Magdalen Bridge Court was built along the eastern boundary in 1994, replacing the former Dodd and Ridd cabinet works. © Roger Thorne



Figure 7. The graveyard looking north in 1985. The arch over the gate has not yet been completed.³⁴ © Roger Thorne

There is no doubt that the graveyard was improved by the MSC intervention (Figure 7), but it had again become overgrown by 1990 (Roger Thorne, *pers. comm.*) and in 1999 the western wall was demolished prior to rebuilding, causing structural damage to several of the tombstones (Figure 8).

By 2012 the graveyard was once again neglected and in need of significant remedial work. A consortium of heritage organisations, including the Devon Gardens Trust, Exeter Historic Buildings Trust (EHBT), Exeter Civic Society and

SLNA was formed to address the problem and in 2015 this formally became the Exeter Dissenters' Graveyard Trust (EDGT).³⁵ Ownership of the site was acquired by EHBT and transferred to EDGT on its formation. Early in 2014 a large group of volunteers descended on the graveyard and removed several tons of earth, brickwork (left on site after the work in 1999), tree stumps, green waste and discarded rubbish. A full archaeological survey was conducted by the late Martin Dyer and specialist contractors were brought in to assess the condition of the boundary and retaining walls, as well as the memorial stones. An application to the Heritage Lottery Fund was successful and together with matched funding from several organisations and private individuals, around £70,000 was raised which was used to carry out the remedial work to the boundary walls; to fabricate and install wrought iron railings and gates; to repair many of the broken memorial stones and to rebuild five chest tombs. Accessibility to the graveyard was improved and interpretation boards were installed to inform visitors about the origins of the site and the people buried therein. The graveyard has been transformed from a derelict and anonymous eyesore, to its rightful place as an important heritage asset. It stands as a reminder of, and in tribute to, the significant contributions that Protestant dissenters made to the economic and social development of Exeter in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Acknowledgements

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More information about the graveyard and the people buried there can be found online – <http://www.edgt.org.uk> as well as on Twitter (@ExeterDGT) and in a recent booklet published by EDGT.³⁶

References

- J Murch, *A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England; with Memoirs of some of their Pastors* (R. Hunter, London, 1835). ‘Dissent’ and ‘non-conformity’ are used synonymously.
- Benet was burnt at the stake at Livery Dole, Exeter, in January 1531.
- DHC 3693D/0/A/1.
- J Barry, ‘The organization of burial places in post-medieval English cities: Bristol and Exeter c. 1540–1850. *Urban History*, (2018), pp. 1-20. doi:10.1017/S0963926818000718.
- George Speke (c.1686–1753) was the son of one of Somerset’s wealthiest and most influential landowners. He was M.P. for three Somerset constituencies (1722–47) and held several properties and land in Exeter.
- William Birchynshaw’s map of Exeter, 1743. *Devon & Cornwall Record Society*, 2019 (in press).
- DHC 3693D/0/B/2. Folder of correspondence regarding road widening in Magdalen Street and purchase of part of Dissenters’ Burial Ground by City Council.
- The date was 1747 (Old Style) when the year changed on Lady Day (25 March). The New Style (current) date was 1748. The feast day of St Michael the Archangel (Michaelmas) is 29 September.
- DHC 3693D/0/B/1 Report and account book of Dissenters’ burial ground. Little Meeting closed in 1749 and James’s around 1759. Bow and Mint appear to have been the largest congregations, but few members of Mint Meeting are recorded in the Account Book (Ref. 8).
- Using RPI alone this equates to £5,264 in current value, but the ‘labour value’ could be as much as £65,800 (www.measuringwealth.com accessed 18 December 2018).
- Father of Sir John Duntze, merchant, banker and politician who built Rockbears House in East Devon. The house is listed by Historic England at grade I and the gardens and park at grade II (www.historicengland.org.uk); H Van Lemmen, *Coade Stone*, (Shire Publications, Princes Risborough, 2006).
- The A La Ronde story: Its people*. (National Trust Publication, 2011).
- J Prince, *The Worthies of Devon*, (London, 1810), p. 331, footnote 2.
- Rev. W Betham, *The Baronetage of England* Vol. IV, (E. Lloyd, London, 1804).
- The building still exists and is now a public house owned by J. D. Wetherspoon plc. It was named George’s Meeting in honour of the accession of George III in 1760.
- DCRS, Parish Information Files. Copy inscriptions of Unitarian Burial Grounds, 1894.
- R Pickard, *The Population and Epidemics of Exeter in Pre-Census Times*, (James Townsend & Sons, Exeter, 1947); The estimated figure for non-conformists included Jews, Baptists and other groups. DHC 71/18/1/4 Receipts and letters, chiefly Mr Pope’s, dated 1820–1830.
- Using RPI alone this equates to £320 in current value, but the ‘labour value’ could be as much as £3,680 (www.measuringwealth.com accessed 18 December 2018); DHC 1926B/WT/F/1/9.
- Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 6, 1910.
- Thomas Shapter, *History of the Cholera in Exeter in 1832*, (John Churchill, London, 1849), p. 168.
- The 1854 Burials Act forced the closure of more than twenty burial grounds in Exeter alone. Listed in *Western Times*, 26 August 1854.
- <http://www.edgt.org.uk/social-history.html>. Accessed 10 January 2019.
- D Gerhold, *Road transport before the railways. Russell’s London flying waggons*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993), p. 104.
- Exeter & Plymouth Gazette*, 6 October 1832. Remarkably, the show was held whilst the cholera outbreak was still claiming victims. The last recorded attributable death was on 14 October 1832; see Shapter, *History of the Cholera*.
- Western Times*, 30 January 1877. A report of Mark Kennaway’s will.
- Western Times*, 22 August 1888.
- The author added, ‘In all probability the title of “Saints’ Rest”, attached to this little burial plot, is a Presbyterian one, as in the Cromwellian occupation of Exeter in the 17th century the corporate body and many of the leading citizens were of this persuasion’.
- G Eyre-Evans, ‘62. Exeter Academy, 1760–1771’, *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, 4: 108-111 (1906).
- DHC RAF aerial photograph Frame 6292 106G/UK 865 Part IV 30 Sept 1945. See also Ref. 42.
- DHC 5292F/A/35 Exeter Municipal Charities (EMC) Minute Book. Letter from Jackson and Son, Solicitor to HJ Collings dated 6 June 1956. EMC is now known as Exeter Homes Trust.
- Gulliford Burial Ground is situated adjacent to the main Exeter to Exmouth road (A376) at Lympstone and is predominantly a non-conformist graveyard.
- DHC 3693 Addition 3. George’s Meeting Minute Book and enclosures.
- The MSC was a non-departmental public body of the Department of Employment by Edward Heath’s Conservative Government in 1973; DHC 5292F/A/42 Exeter Municipal Charities Minute Book 1981–84.
- Two multi-stemmed trees are visible in this and other contemporary photographs. They appear to be holly (*Ilex aquifolium*) in the foreground and a birch (*Betula* sp.) in the background, kindly identified by Mrs Marion Kneebone.
- For many years, the Exeter Civic Society, and particularly its Chairman in the 2000s, Mrs Hazel Harvey, were vocal supporters of the graveyard as an important heritage asset worthy of protection.
- B. G. Coe, G. Read and I. M. Varndell, *Exeter Dissenters’ Graveyard (1748–2018): A brief history of a Georgian Burial Ground* (EDGT, Exeter, 2018).