

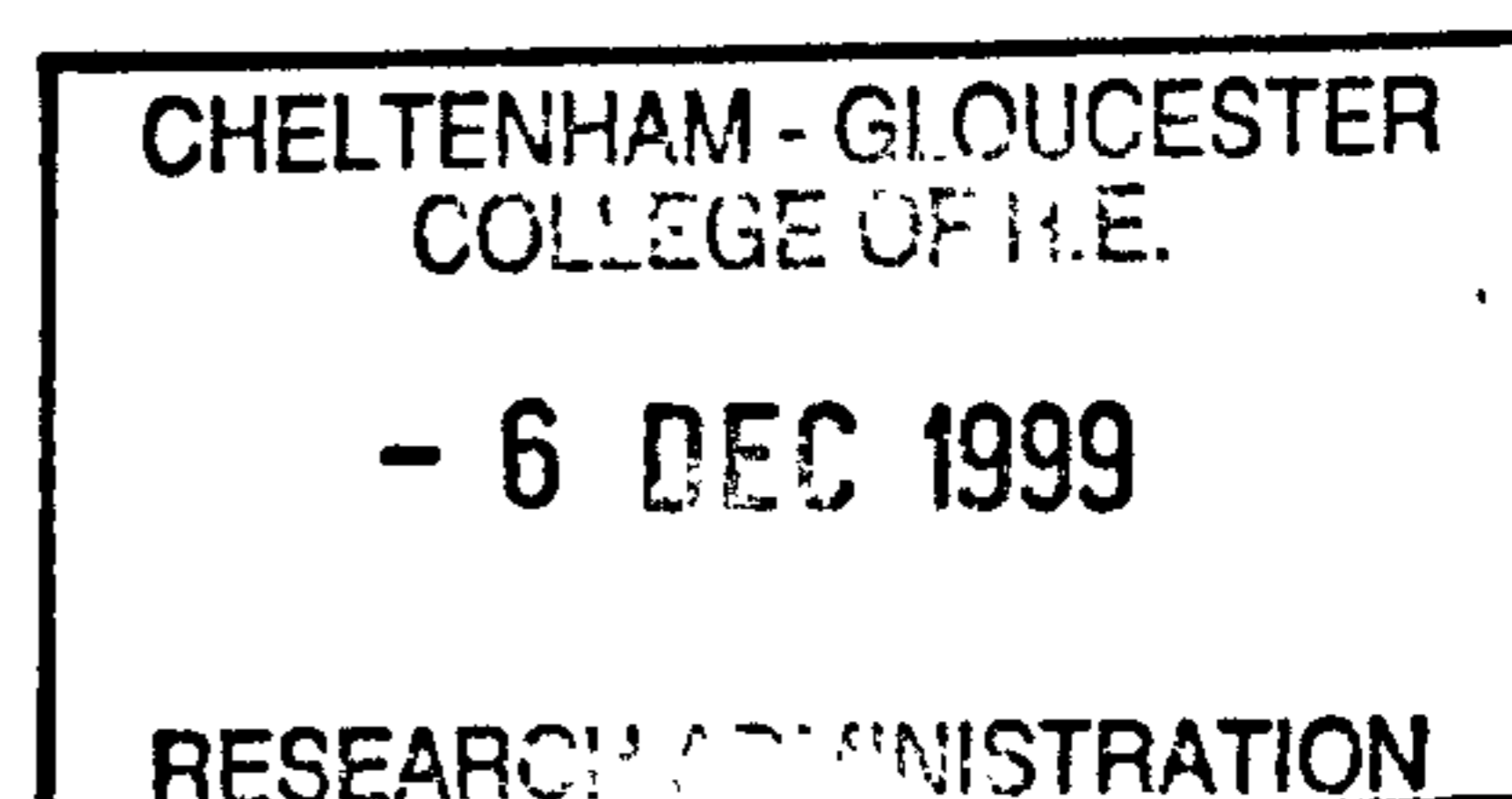
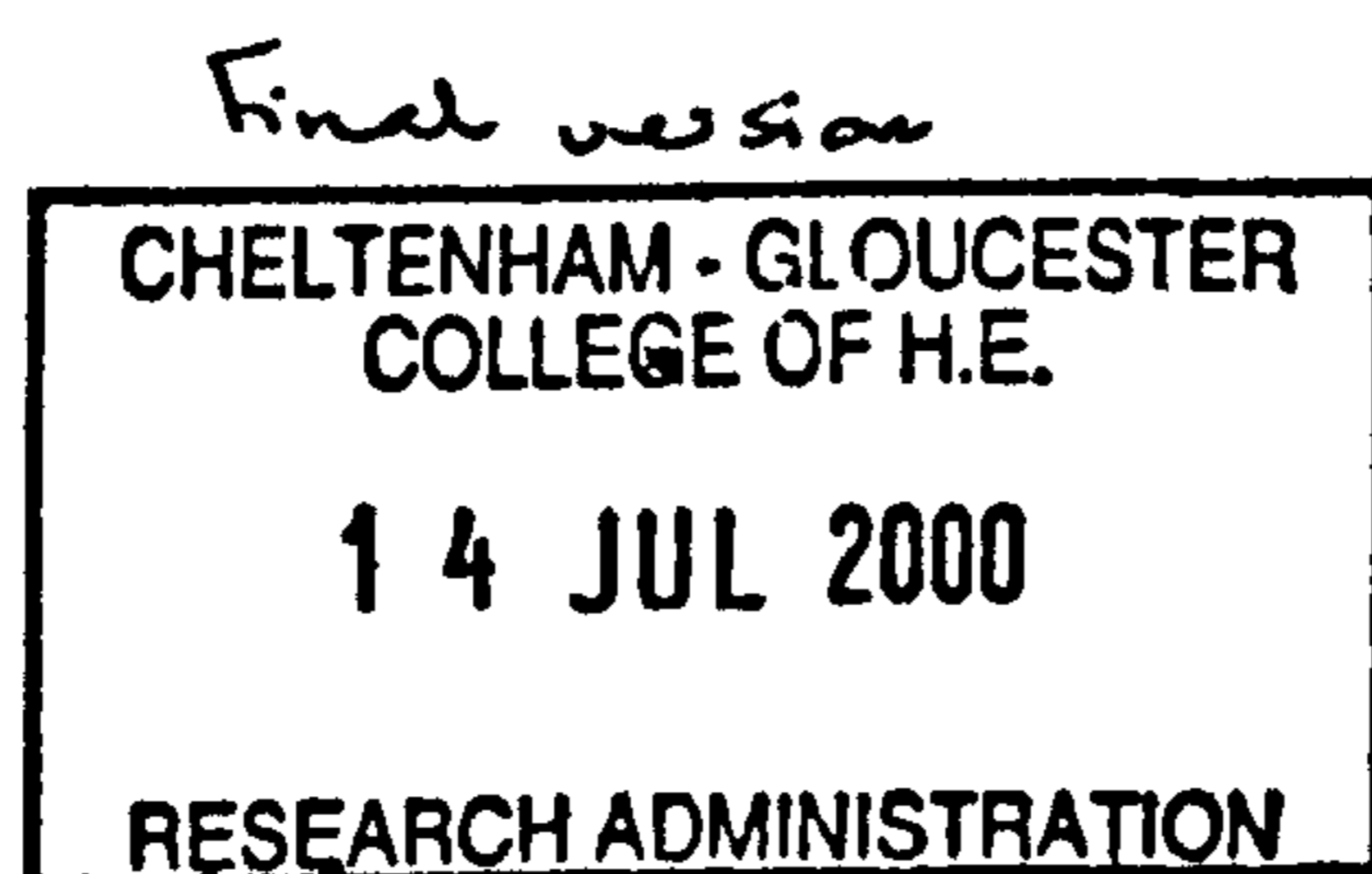
LUNDY: AN ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FACTORS
AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLAND FROM 1577 TO 1969,
WITH A GAZETTEER OF SITES AND MONUMENTS

VOLUME 1 OF 2

MYRTLE SYLVIA TERNSTROM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO CHELTENHAM & GLOUCESTER COLLEGE OF
HIGHER EDUCATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

NOVEMBER 1999



**TEXT CLOSE TO THE EDGE OF THE
PAGE IN THE ORIGINAL THESIS**

ABSTRACT

The dates chosen for the thesis encompass the development of Lundy from an isolated subsistence economy, reliant on the harvesting of sea birds and rabbits, to a small village community with increasing economic dependence on seasonal visitors.

This change is considered in the context of a comparative study of small islands, and in relation to the broader context of regional and national economic and social background. These, with new researches and the re-examination of existing texts, have enabled a fuller and more accurate account of Lundy's history than has hitherto been offered. This study concludes that while many factors have shaped Lundy's development, the most illuminating have been the geography, the nature of the ownership in its response to the island and the dynamics of change, and the effect of external factors in the last two centuries. It is also suggested that the island has been more consistently populated than was previously thought.

Claims to extra-ordinary legal status for Lundy are examined, and considered to be without substance. It is found that Lundy's extra-parochial status, and exclusion from administrative processes until the mid-twentieth century, rested on its isolation and lack of importance in terms of size or the value of its resources. This lack of

importance has also contributed to the present re-interpretation of island resources.

The study exemplifies the proposition that understanding of local history does not rest on a sequence of documented events in one place, but upon the integration of documentary, archaeological, cartographic, photographic and artistic resources taken in the broader context of comparative studies, and a wider understanding of external historical, economic and social circumstances.

The systematic cross reference of the gazetteer of the sites and monuments to the main text serves both to illuminate some parts of the history, and to provide a firm base from which future work may proceed.

LUNDY: AN ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FACTORS
AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLAND FROM 1577 TO 1969.
WITH A GAZETTEER OF SITES AND MONUMENTS

2 VOLS

I declare that this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award, and the thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author,
and not of Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher
Education.

VOLUME 1

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NOTE

The present writer's previous name was Langham (to 1983).
Work published under this name, and under the name of
Ternstrom are listed separately in the bibliography.

Publications during the course of work on this thesis:

1996, 'Lundy from Beach to Plateau: a Reassessment,'

LFSR, xlvii, pp.65-80

1997, with K. S. Gardner 'The Giants Graves:

A Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Human Remains on the
Island of Lundy,' *TDA*, cxxix, pp.51-77

1998, 'The Ownership of Lundy by Sir Richard Grenville

and his Descendants, 1577-1775,' *TDA*, cxxx, pp.65-80

1998, 'Some Additions to the Lundy Wrecks List,'

LFSR, xlix, pp.58-65

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>APC</i> | <i>Acts of the Privy Council</i> |
| BL | British Library |
| BLM | British Library Maps |
| BLMS | British Library Manuscripts |
| <i>CCR</i> | <i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> |
| <i>CLR</i> | <i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i> |
| <i>CPR</i> | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> |
| <i>CSPD</i> | <i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i> |
| <i>CTP</i> | <i>Calendar of Treasury Papers</i> |
| <i>DCNQ</i> | <i>Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries</i> |
| DCRS | Devon & Cornwall Record Society |
| DoE | Department of the Environment |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| DRO | Devon Record Office, Exeter |
| DSMR | Devon Sites & Monuments Record, Exeter |
| <i>GM</i> | <i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> |
| GPOA | General Post office Archives, London |
| HA (i) | Heaven Archives (Mr P. Jones, Bromley) |
| HA (ii) | Heaven Archives (Mr R. Heaven, Nr Salisbury) |
| HA (iii) | Heaven Archives (Mrs D Heaven, Ontario) |
| HMC | Historical Monuments Commission, London. |
| <i>ILN</i> | <i>Illustrated Lundy News</i> |
| <i>LB</i> | <i>Lundy Brochure</i> |
| LFS | Lundy Field Society |
| <i>LFSN</i> | <i>Lundy Field Society Newsletter</i> |

LFSR *Lundy Field Society Report*

LIC *Lundy Island Chronicle*

LIM Limerick Record Office, Ireland

LINF Lloyd's Information, London

LMA Lundy Museum Archive, Bideford

LR *Lundy Review*

LT The Landmark Trust

LTH *Landmark Trust Handbook*

MGC Mary Gade Collection, Appledore

MTC Myrtle Ternstrom Collection, Cheltenham

NDRO North Devon Record Office, Barnstaple

NMHD *The New Maritime History of Devon,*
Duffy *et al.*, eds. i 1992, ii, 1994

NMR National Monuments Record, Swindon

NTA National Trust Archive, London

NTAS National Trust Archaeological Survey,
Cirencester.

OS Ordnance Survey

PRC Peter Rothwell Collection, Berrynarbor

PRO Public Record Office, Kew

PRSH Probate Registry, Somerset House, London

SAM Scheduled Ancient Monument

SHPD Somerset House, Probate Division

SIBI Larn & Larn, 1995.
Shipping Index of the British Isles.

SRO Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford.

TDA *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*

TH Trinity House, Tower Hill, London

THEA Trinity House Engineers Archive, Isle of Wight
THGM Trinity House Guildhall Manuscripts, London
THLA Trinity House Legal Archive, Tower Hill.
WCSL West Country Studies Library, Exeter

MAP REFERENCES, PLANS AND DRAWINGS

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Morden | 1695 |
| Donn 1765 | PRO WO 78/5679 |
| PRO 1804 | PRO MPH/54. Parkyas, no scale |
| BLM 1809 | British Library Maps, 299A, OS original drawing. 6in:1 mile |
| THEA 1819 | 1318, Trinity House Engineers' Archive |
| THEA 1820 | 1319, Trinity House Engineers' Archive |
| BLM 1820 | British Library Maps, 299B, OS original drawing, correction of 299A. Second correction, 1834. |
| THEA 1828 | 1326, Trinity House Engineer's Archive |
| BLMS 1822 | British Library Manuscripts, Add 40345/9/8852245. 2 ¹ / ₂ in:1 mile. J Wyld. |
| 1822 | Lysons & Lysons, <i>Magna Britannia</i> |
| NDRO 1828 | North Devon Record Office, sheet 74 1in: 1 mile. Greenwood. |
| DN 1832 | Denham, PRO MFQ 1260 |
| HA (i) 1838 | Drawings, M. A. Heaven: The farmhouse Two similar views of the Villa View of the bay and distant castle View of new road, Millcombe |
| LMA 1840 | Lundy Museum Archive. Based on OS 1820 and amended. Two engravings added. |
| LMA 1840B | As LMA 1840 but with geological markings and reserved area. |
| TH 1842 | 1329: plan of Quay and path to Lighthouse |
| 1877 | J. R. Chanter, <i>Lundy Island</i> , 1877. |
| OS 1886 | 25in:1 mile (1:25,000). Surveyed 1884. |
| OS 1905 | 25in:1 mile (1:25,000). Revised 1903. |

| | |
|------------|--|
| NTA 1918 | Plans for harbour, 1918, A. W. Lewis. |
| NDRO 1918 | North Devon Record Office, B 170 add/39 Plans of buildings, 1918. |
| JD 1933 | A.T.J.Dollar, 1933, area of fires (on OS 1906, 6ins:1 mile). |
| JD 1941 | A.T.J.Dollar, 1941, map of geology 0.5in: 1 mile. |
| 1956 | John Dyke, pictorial |
| OS 1967 | 25in:1 mile (1:25,000). Revised 1962. |
| TR 1973 | C.Taylor, 1:13.000 metres. |
| 1973 | John Dyke, pictorial |
| TR 1983 | Revision of TR 1973. |
| TR/ML 1973 | Plans of Manor Farm Hotel, c1973 |
| MTC 1973 | Measured drawings of dismantled upper storey of farmhouse |
| 1977 | Map of streams, S. J. Richardson <i>et</i> <i>al.</i> , <i>LFSR</i> xlviii, p.96. |
| 1979 | Soil Map, S. M. Dawes, <i>LFSR</i> |
| CG 1993 | Christopher Gibson, map of Lundy wrecks |

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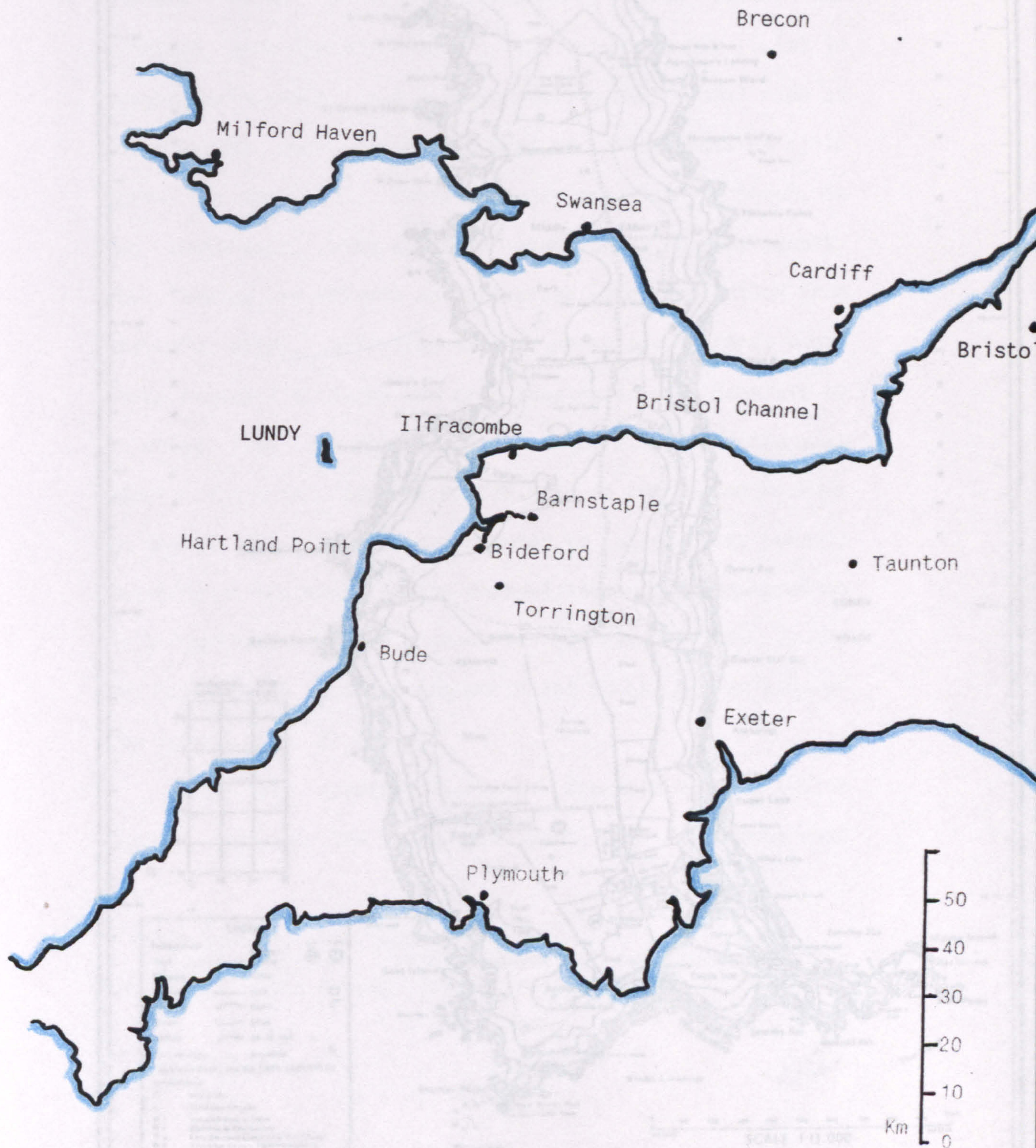
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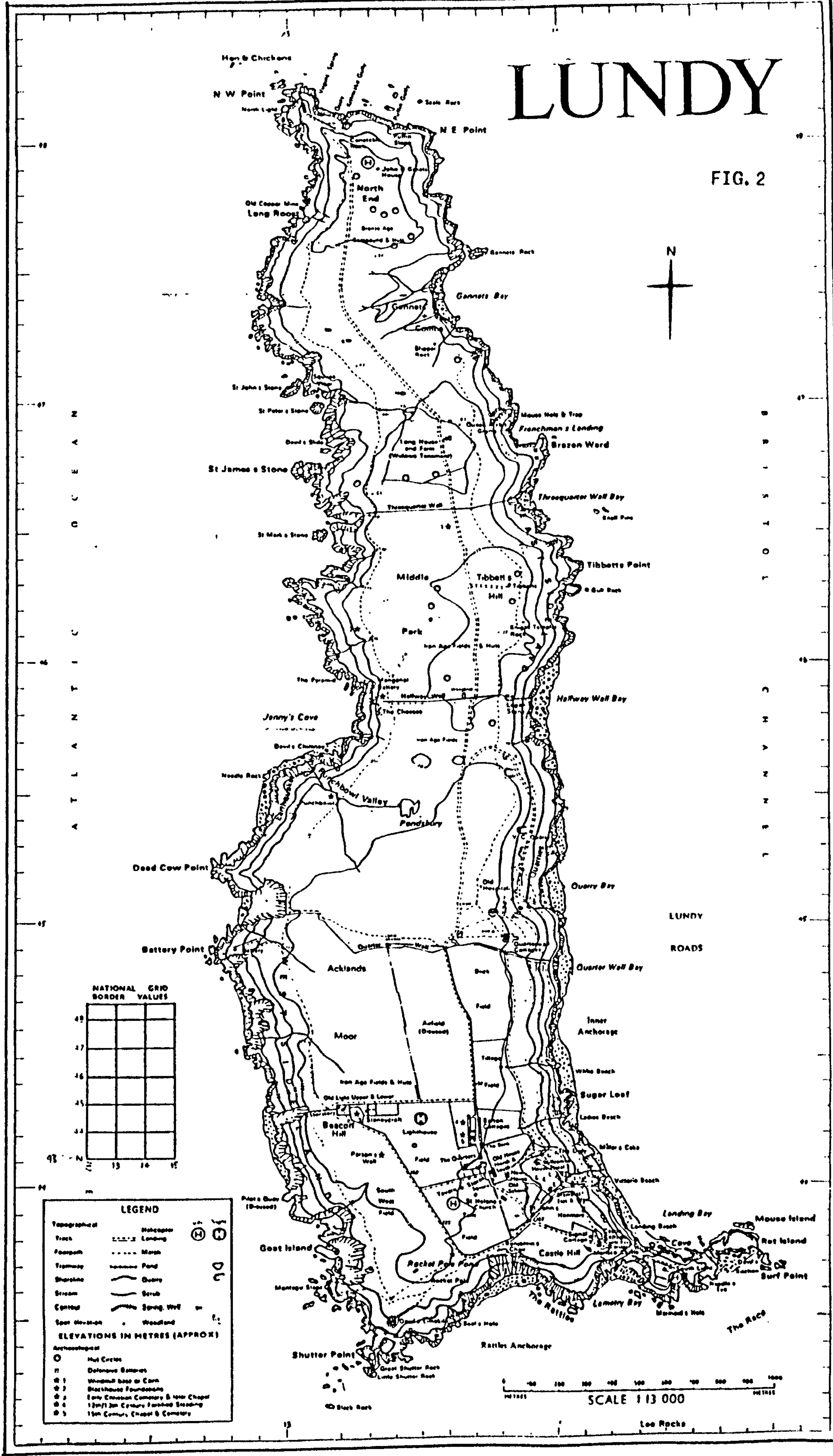
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18. Plan of Brazen Ward, Gardner, 1971
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20. Map of Chapel Ground, section of THEA 1819

FIG. 1



LUNDY

FIG. 2



NATIONAL GRID

TAYLOR

NATIONAL GRID BORDER VALUES

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 48 | | |
| 47 | | |
| 46 | | |
| 45 | | |
| 44 | | |
| 43 | | |
| | 12 | 13 |
| | 14 | 15 |

LEGEND

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|------|--------|
| Topographical | Watercourse | with | Height |
| Track | Landing | (H) | (M) |
| Footpath | Marsh | | |
| Trompsay | Pond | | |
| Shoreline | Quarry | | |
| Stream | Scrub | | |
| Contour | Spring Well | | |
| Spot Elevation | Woodland | | |
| ELEVATIONS IN METRES (APPROX) | | | |
| Archaeological | | | |
| ○ | Mud Cretes | | |
| □ | Dolomitic Gannets | | |
| ① | Windmill base or Corn | | |
| ② | Blackhouse Foundations | | |
| ③ | Early Christian Cemetery & 14th Chapel | | |
| ④ | 13th/14th Century Parished Burial | | |
| ⑤ | 15th Century, Chapel & Cemetery | | |

SCALE 1:13 000

CHAPTER 1.

(1) INTRODUCTION

The island of Lundy is a granite tableland orientated north-south at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, 18km (11.1m) north of the Devon coast at Hartland, with the nearest Devon ports at Ilfracombe, 37km (23m), and Bideford, 40km (24.8m) (Fig. 1). The island is 5km (3.1m) in length north-south, and approximately 0.8km (0.49m) wide at its broadest point, with an area of 451.1 hectares (1115 acres) at sea level. There is only one landing beach, in the south-east, with a fairly steep track to the summit. The landing bay affords an anchorage with protection from westerly winds, but with strong north or easterly winds ships cannot lie there, and then landing is only possible by climbing from an access point on the cliffs of the west coast. The tidal range of 8m (26.2ft) is the second highest in the world.¹ The hazard presented to shipping by Lundy's position at the mouth of the Channel led to the construction of a lighthouse in 1820, which was replaced in 1897 by the two lighthouses sited at the north and south extremities of the island (Fig. 2).²

Lundy was formerly part of Braunton hundred (North Devon), and when the island was taken into royal ownership

¹ Lundy warden, pers. comm.

² Guildhall Library, Trinity House Archive (THGM), 30 010, xx, p.447; xxiii passim; lxvii, lxviii passim.

in the medieval period, the king's instructions were usually issued through his officials in Devon.³ It was not until local government was reorganised in 1974 that Lundy officially became part of the County of Devon.⁴ The island is in the diocese of Exeter but, so far as can be ascertained, has always been extra-parochial.⁵ There are only two records of tithes having been levied: in 1254, and again at the dissolution of the monasteries, when they were the due of Cleeve Abbey, Somerset.⁶ When the Revd H. G. Heaven was proprietor of Lundy he was both vicar and patron (1886-1911) of a church that was not within a parish.

³ Moryson, F., 1908, *An Itinerary* [1605-17], iv, p.61. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls (CLR)*, 1240-45, p.98, and other entries in the calendars of the rolls until 1281.

⁴ Langham, A. F., 1994, *The Island of Lundy*, p.205.

⁵ Limerick Record Office, T 22 (LIM, T 22), reference is made to the Bishop of Exeter, 1620, as "Bishop of the three counties of Devon, Cornwall & Exeter, together with the islands of Scilly and Lunday," quoting "Westcote MS Harleian."

⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (CPR)*, 1247-58, p.378 (1254). *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, 1810, i, p.218 (value 10s. yearly). Slee, A. H., 1941, 'Braunton & its Manors,' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association (TDA)*, lxxiii, pp.195-201: "In 1229 Henry III gave a great part of Braunton to the Abbot of Cleve..." The origin of the grant of Lundy tithes to Cleeve is not known, but may lie here.

Until recently the legal status of the island in relation to mainland authorities was exceptional: no taxes were paid, no controls were exercised or services provided by the local authority, and the validity of mainland jurisdiction was challenged by owners of the island.⁷ In recent years grants have been received from a number of sources in support of Lundy's farm, infrastructure, and environment; consequently the islanders have been subject to income tax since 1973, and a general rate has been levied since 1980. Following the enforcement of licensing laws in 1994, Lundy is no longer outside any of the normal mainland jurisdictions.⁸

Lundy was in private ownership until 1969, when an individual donation, together with an undertaking for repairs and maintenance given by the Landmark Trust, enabled the National Trust to buy it. Since 1969 it has been leased to, and administered by, the Landmark Trust.⁹ This body, a registered private charity, underwrote the costs of running the island and implemented a programme to repair the buildings, upgrade the infrastructure and facilities, and make the buildings available for holiday lettings. There are at present twenty-three letting properties as well as

⁷ See Chapter 6.

⁸ Langham, 1994, Chapter 22. M Ternstrom collection (MTC), notes on visit to Lundy, 1995.

⁹ National Trust Archive (NTA), 1969.

facilities for campers and day visitors, though the number of the latter has declined since the withdrawal of the Bristol Channel steamers in 1981, and also because of general changes in holiday-making patterns which have affected North Devon. The resident island population consists of c. 20 people (1996-99), who are employees of the Landmark Trust, and who are augmented by seasonal staff as necessary. The farm is maintained; at present c600 sheep are kept, and grass keep is the only cultivation.¹⁰ The Landmark Trust owns and runs a supply and passenger ship, the *Oldenburg* (288 tons) which attends the island from Bideford or Ilfracombe, depending on the tides.

As there has been comparatively little environmental disturbance, Lundy is of particular ecological and archaeological interest. In 1968 it became the first Statutory Marine Nature Reserve in the United Kingdom; the island to the north of the Quarter Wall (G163) is designated a Site of Special Scientific Interest, many of the significant buildings have been listed, and 41 archaeological sites and monuments have been scheduled.¹¹

¹⁰ MTC, notes on visits to Lundy 1996-99.

¹¹ SSSI: 1976; 1981; 03.09.1987, Wildlife & Countryside Act (1981), Dept of the Environment. Statutory Marine Nature Reserve Order, 1986, Dept of the Environment (information supplied by Lundy warden). English Heritage, list of scheduled monuments, 15 February 1999.

(11) GEOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT

Lundy is composed of a granite mass, except for the south-east corner, which consists of Upper Devonian slate that forms a distinct junction with the granite in a line from the Sugar Loaf (G658) to the Rattles (G118). The height of the plateau slopes from 140m (459ft) in the south to 90m (295ft) in the north. Dr A. T. J. Dollar divided the granites into the upper granite, and lower granite, which are both of coarse type, and microgranite intrusions, one of which is unique to Lundy and is named Lundyite (Fig. 3). Beryl, copper ore (two deposits), felspar, garnet, molybdenum, quartz and other minerals have been found, though none of these occurs in commercially exploitable quantities.¹² It had been thought that the granite was of the Upper Devonian, but radiometric dating has shown that it belongs to the British Tertiary Volcanic Province, being the southernmost complex of that type.¹³ Clay has also been found, including one bed of more than 4m (14ft) depth at the site of the church (G18).¹⁴ The clay is stated to be

¹² Dollar, A. T. J., 1941, 'The Lundy Complex: Petrology & Tectonics,' *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, xcvi, pp.38-77.

¹³ Smith, S. & Roberts, C., 1997, 'The Geology of Lundy,' *Island Studies*, Irving, R., *et al*, eds., Lundy Field Society, (hereafter *Island Studies*), pp.59-65.

¹⁴ Heaven archives, HA (i), diary, 13 September 1895.

iron-impregnated and unsuitable for working, though in 1838 the agent wrote to the owner to report the draining of fields and that "4 feet deep...came on a strata of clay which I made a pantile of...It is a most beautiful clay for earthenware." The context makes it clear that it was no more than an experiment.¹⁵ However, Schofield concluded that pottery had been made on the island.¹⁶

Lundy's location and configuration render it subject to prevailing westerly winds, creating a lee on the eastern sidelands. The soil is in general of humus composition and acidic in character, with poor drainage (Fig.4). In the north part it is very shallow as the result of extensive fires, the last of which was in 1933.¹⁷ Elsewhere the soil depth varies from 6cms to 104cms (2.36ins to 40.94ins).¹⁸ There is no woodland other than some small nineteenth and twentieth century plantations in sheltered areas at the

¹⁵ Langham, A., & Langham, M., 1960, *Lundy, Bristol Channel*, p.116. HA (i), letter, 30 May 1838.

¹⁶ Schofield, 1997, p.5.

¹⁷ MTC, letters from J. Turner to Miss Eileen Heaven; map by A T J Dollar, (JD 1933). North Devon Record Office (NDRO), Anon., 'Journal of the time I spent on the Island of Lundy 1752' (hereafter Anon., 1752). Chanter, J. R., 1871, 'A History of Lundy Island,' *TDA*, iv, p.596.

¹⁸ Dawes, S. M., 'A Preliminary Investigation of the Soils of Lundy Island,' *Lundy Field Society Report (LFSR)*, 1979, xxx, pp.32-39.

south-east. Sycamores are shown to have the highest survival rate, followed by elder, willow, and ash.¹⁹

Temperature records kept in the nineteenth century gave readings that were seven to twelve degrees Fahrenheit plus in the winter, and minus in the summer, when compared with the neighbouring mainland, and snow or ice are of rare occurrence.²⁰ Rainfall records were also kept for a short time in the nineteenth century, from which amounts were computed to be less than on the adjoining mainland. Meteorological records maintained at Trinity House installations have not been found and so cannot support or refute this, but it is often observed that rain showers and storms can be seen over the mainland but are deflected from Lundy.²¹ The average rainfall in recent years has been 1106.6mm (43.5ins) *per annum*, with a maximum of 2064.4mm (81.2ins) and a minimum of 670.9mm (26.4ins).²² The island is not infrequently subject to fog, which caps the plateau but leaves the lower sidelands and the shoreline clear, a

¹⁹ Hubbard, E., 1970, 'A Survey of Trees on Lundy,' *LFSR*, xxi, pp.14-19: the total number of trees in any condition was then estimated to be 433. 1997, 'Botanical Studies', *Island Studies*, pp.141-47.

²⁰ Chanter, J. R., 1887, *Lundy Island*, p.40.

²¹ Chanter, 1887, p.40. Personal observation, and pers. comm. F. W. Gade.

²² Gibson, A., 1991, 'Warden's Report for 1991,' *LFSR*, xlii, pp.8-9. (records kept 1971-1991).

factor which has contributed to the considerable number of recorded wrecks.²³

The location of streams on the island is related to the nature of the underlying rocks; some, for example at Gannets Combe, have developed following the course of the dykes (Fig.5). Most of the larger ponds are of artificial origin, resulting from dammed-up springs, or the filling-up of quarries.²⁴ All domestic water is now pumped to four central storage tanks having a total capacity of c. 130,000 gallons (579.280 L), where it is treated and pumped to distribution points (G493).²⁵ As all dwellings except one have piped water with bath or shower, and there are central washing machines, the rate of usage is much higher than pre-1969, but conservation and quality are vastly improved, and at present there is no take-up from any cattle.

(iii) HISTORIOGRAPHY

Until the nineteenth century Lundy was little-known, difficult to get to, afforded no comforts, and offered scant

²³ Larn, R., & Larn, B., 1995, *The Shipwreck Index to the British Isles*, i, lists 97 wrecks on Lundy coasts between 1757 and 1980. C. Gibson's map of wrecks (CG 1993) shows over 200 for the same period but does not distinguish between onshore and offshore wrecks. Neither list is complete (Ternstrom, M., 1998, *LFSR*, xlix, in press).

²⁴ George, J. J., 1997, 'The Freshwater Habitats of Lundy', *Island Studies*, pp. 149-164.

²⁵ Baker, T., 1996, 'Lundy Water Manual', MS.

interest to the traveller. Thus, documentary accounts of it in early times are very sparse, and seldom first-hand. Chanter considered it singular that the island "...so little visited...received such scant notice from historians and topographers. The more modern Devonshire histories barely noticing it, and the olden ones giving a few isolated details only; what has been said by almost all being summed up in a few lines...copied from each

The first documentary reference found is in the *Orkneyingers' Saga*, c. 1139-48, when the island was in the possession of, or used by, "a freeman of Wales."²⁷ *Cartae Antiquae* is cited for Richard I's confirmation of the grant of Lundy made to the Templars by his father, Henry II.²⁸ The earliest entry in the calendars of the rolls is found for 1194, when William de Marisco owed 300 marks for having disputed possession of Lundy.²⁹ This and subsequent entries in the calendars of the rolls mostly concern the tenure of the island.

²⁷ Dasent, G. W., 1894, *Orkneyingers' Saga*, iii, pp.140-46.

²⁸ Lees, B. A., 1935, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, pp.140-41.

²⁹ *Pipe Roll*, 1928, NS, v, p.190, Pipe Roll Society. Subsequent entries in the calendars of the rolls until 1489 are too numerous to cite here.

Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica Majora*, written between 1236 and 1259, described the treason of the Marisco family, the forfeiture of the island to the Crown, and the events leading to the execution of William de Marisco in 1242.³⁰ The events of 1235-1242 are examined in detail and evaluated by F. M. Powicke.³¹

During the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I Holinshed wrote his *Chronicles* (1577), which was published in 1586, and incorporated *The Description of Britaine* written by William Harrison, who gives the first interesting description of Lundy.³² Camden, in *Britannia*, also dated 1586, gives a very brief reference to Lundy, its cliffs, a

³⁰ Given in Steinman Steinman, G., 1836, 'Some Account of the Island of Lundy', *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1836, iv, pp.313-330; reprinted 1947, (hereafter Steinman). Giles, Revd J. A., 1852, *Matthew Paris's English History*, i, pp.406-409, reprinted New York, 1968.

³¹ Powicke, F. M., 1947, 'The Murder of Henry Clement & its Consequences,' *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*, ii, pp.740-59.

³² *Holinshed's Chronicles*, (1586), 1807 edn., i, pp.61-2, ii, pp.383, 398.

small farm or castle, and William de Marisco.³³ In the English edition of 1610 he mentioned a ruined fort, a ruined chapel, the problems of access, the evidence of furrows pointing to former cultivation, and that the "gain and profit" arose from the abundant sea fowl, which suggests that cultivation was minimal or neglected.³⁴ The subsequent editions repeat the 1610 version, with a margin note in 1701 that "It has great plenty of rabbits." This edition also lists ecclesiastical benefices, but Lundy is not included among them.³⁵ Other writers borrowed from Camden, so that until 1647 and 1749 little further information was published.

Stow's *Annales* of c. 1597, a translation of Swynebroke, states that in 1326 Lundy "aboundeth altogether with victuals, and is very full of wines, oile, honey, corne, bragget [ale with honey], salt fish, flesh and earth-coale," which is most probably a misinterpretation of *instuffatum*, meaning possibly that the island had been supplied to receive Edward II in his flight from Wales, or was a depot

³³ Camden, W., 1586, *Britannia*, pp.525-26. "Oppidulo" a "town" has the obsolete meaning of farm. "Oppidulo" could also possibly refer to a small castle. I am indebted to Dr. N. M. Herbert of The Victoria County History, Gloucestershire, for help with this translation.

³⁴ Camden, W., 1610, *Britannia*, p.202.

³⁵ Camden, W., 1701, *Britannia*, i, p.104.

for smugglers.³⁶ Moryson (c1605-17), as Holinshed, describes "a little Towne."³⁷ The *Survey of Devon*, 1630, contains an entry for Lundy, "...collected by the vew & travell of Tristram Risdon..." who saw horses, kine, sheep, goats, rabbits, and an abundance of seabirds' eggs. He made first mention of the Constable Rock, which subsequent writers all seized upon, perhaps reflecting the paucity of interesting features to write about.³⁸ Westcote (1630) repeated Camden, and no mention of Lundy is made in Chapple's review of Risdon published in 1785, although this contains an interesting account of agricultural practices in Devon.³⁹

³⁶ Stow, J., *The Annales of England*, 1631, p.224. See Thompson, E. M., ed., 1889, *Galfridi Le Baker de Swynebroke, Chronicon Angliae Temporibus Edwardi II et Edwardi III*, pp.22-23, 196-97. Both Camden and Stow refer to Thomas de la More in writing of Edward II. The matter is discussed in *Archaeologia*, 1776, iii, pp.53, 56, 67-95, where the inference is drawn that it referred to smuggling on Lundy.

³⁷ Moryson, 1908, iv, p.161.

³⁸ Risdon, T., 1970, *The Chorographical Description or Survey of the County of Devon*, c1630, 1811 ed. reprinted Barnstaple, p.239.

³⁹ Westcote, T., 1845, *A View of Devonshire*, 1630, Oliver, G. & P. Jones, eds., pp.342-46. Chapple, W., 1970, *A Review of Part of Risdon's Survey of Devon*, 1785, reprinted Barnstaple.

After the end of the first Civil War (1646) Thomas Bushell, who had command of a royalist garrison at Lundy, published his *Brief Declaration*, which concerns his surrender of the island.⁴⁰ This was followed c1663 by his *Petitionary Remonstrance* seeking recompense, *inter alia*, for having rebuilt the castle.⁴¹ Another tract, dated 1650, was issued by a Revd William Lampit, claiming that he had been "both Minister and Governour in Lunde Island."⁴²

Cox, in 1720, sub-titled his work as an addition to Camden; he named two former governors, the ownership of the Grenvilles, and the absence of "venomous worm or beast." The churches, patrons, values and incumbents of Braunton hundred are given, but Lundy is not included.⁴³ Also published in 1720, Eachard's *History of England* mentions Lord Saye and Sele's withdrawal to Lundy during the

⁴⁰ British Library (BL), Bushell, T., 1647, *A Brief Declaration of the Severall Passages in the Treaty Concerning the Surrender of the Garrison on Lundy*, E.401.(3.). Hereafter '*Brief Declaration.*'

⁴¹ BL, Bushell, T., ?1664, *Petitionary Remonstrance*, C.27.f.1.

⁴² BL, Musgrave, J., 1650, *A True & Exact Relation of the Heavy Pressures etc*, Thomasen's Tracts, E.619.

⁴³ Cox, T., 1720, *Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova*, i, pp.493, 531. The dimensions given are very inaccurate.

Interregnum.⁴⁴ This was followed in 1749 by Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of England*, which gives a fresh description of Lundy that is more accurate, except for the acreage and elevation calculations.⁴⁵ He referred to the ruined chapel of St Anne, and added the frequent ploughing up of human bones to Camden's evidence of a former greater population, and that 400 acres were in cultivation. The atlas which accompanies this work gives the first map of Lundy that is at all accurate in configuration, although only St Anne's Chapel is marked, and the island is included in the "Union of Bideford."

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1754 gives the story of Benson's insurance fraud perpetrated from Lundy.⁴⁶ The edition of 1755 states that the island was inhabited by one family, and that it was used by French privateers during the war of 1702-1714.⁴⁷

The first connected and researched account of Lundy was published by Francis Grose in 1776: four extracts are given "...from the Records in the Tower...translated from the Latin," [1245-1338]; Camden and Cox are quoted in full, with a general description "...communicated by a gentleman

⁴⁴ Eachard, L., 1720, *History of England*, 3rd ed., pp.716, 805.

⁴⁵ Lewis, S., 1749, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, iii, p.193.

⁴⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine (GM)*, 1754, pp.278-79.

⁴⁷ *GM*, 1775, pp.445-48.

who visited it last year."⁴⁸ This concerns the soils, geology, neglect of cultivation, the springs, the ancient buildings, and the multitudes of seabirds, rabbits and black rats. Two walls across the island are mentioned, and the remains of walls that indicate former occupation. The story of the seizure of the island by the French during the war is given in detail. Three valuable accompaniments to Grose's text are the engravings with two views of the castle and a plan, and Grose states that it then had "large outworks."⁴⁹ (Figs 15, 16, 37).

With Britton & Brayley's *Beauties of England & Wales* in 1803 some direct information from a 1794 source is added to that of previous accounts, which reflects changes made during Borlase Warren's ownership (1775-1781).⁵⁰ The landing-place, agriculture, fishing, the tenant, Benson's

⁴⁸ Grose, F., 1776, *Antiquities of England & Wales*, iv, pp.190-196. The visitor may have been Martyn (see Chapter 5, iv). Grose also quotes a poem about Lundy from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 4th Song, 1622.

⁴⁹ The description of "ancient buildings" leaves open the question of whether there may have been other buildings. Grose's description clearly refers to 1775, before Borlase Warren moved the farm from the castle to its present location, which work is thought to have removed parts of the outworks.

⁵⁰ Britton, J., & Brayley, E., 1803, *The Beauties of England & Wales*, iv, pp.249-51.

Cave, enclosures, cannons, seven houses and twenty-three inhabitants are referred to, and a revenue officer. The publication of the calendars of the rolls commenced in 1802, which, with the calendars of state papers, are valuable sources for Lundy's early history.

For *Magna Britannia*, in 1822, the authors drew on the foregoing publications and the calendars of the rolls, as well as information from a visitor to Lundy in 1817.⁵¹ The information was brought up-to-date, and includes the lighthouse (1820), and that the island was for sale (Fig. 6). From the text it is also clear that they had access to the anonymous MS account of visits made to the island in 1752 and 1787.⁵² This anonymous journal was later published in the obscure *North Devon Magazine* of 1824, but comparison with the MS shows that it was edited, and that there were some omissions.⁵³ The account gives a first-hand description of two visits to Lundy, each over several days, and details the enclosures and crops, the castle and the

⁵¹ Lysons, D., & Lysons, S., 1822, *Magna Britannia*, vi, pp.580-81. A search of Lysons' MS sources in the British Library has not been successful in tracing the quoted visitor's account.

⁵² NDRO, Anon., 'Journal of the time I spent on the island of Lundy in the year 1787' (Anon., 1787), and in 1752 (Anon., 1752).

⁵³ *The North Devon Magazine*, 1824, Barnstaple.

chapel. The MS version also gives details of the population of 27 in 1787, and their subsistence (Chapter 4).

The information about Lundy given by Lt Denham RN (1832) differs from other accounts in that it was written for the use of the navy.⁵⁴ The value of the anchorage and the lighthouse are well described, and the availability of fresh water and food supplies. Denham also surveyed and drew an excellent map (fig 35).⁵⁵ An important account of Lundy's history from 1199 to date was published in 1836 by G. Steinman Steinman, FSA.⁵⁶ Information is taken from the rolls and inquisitions, Matthew Paris, Bushell, Grose, other writers, and deeds from 1781. Many of the sources are quoted in full, and all are carefully cited, with a description of the island and its buildings. Steinman refers to the OS map of 1820, also to MSS belonging to the proprietor (W. H. Heaven), and his scholarly work has provided a basis from which later historians have proceeded.

A visitor who spent a week on Lundy in 1852 was the naturalist, P. Gosse. His account of the island is mostly concerned with natural history, but he also describes many features of the island including, most importantly, the kistvaen (G109) which had been uncovered the year before

⁵⁴ BL, Denham, H., 1832, *Remarks & Sailing Directions Relative to Lundy Island and the North Coast of Devonshire*, Thomasen Tracts, T.2151

⁵⁵ Public Record Office (PRO), Denham, MFQ 1260 (1832).

⁵⁶ Steinman, 1947.

his arrival (Fig. 8).⁵⁷ This has not yet been surveyed or a date assessed, because of a misidentification of the site. Since foundation in 1862, the Devonshire Association has published its *Transactions*, in which several articles have contributed to knowledge about Lundy. In 1871 J. R. Chanter contributed his paper on Lundy, which he subsequently expanded into a book that was the first to take Lundy as its sole subject and to treat it systematically.⁵⁸

Chanter's accomplishment is remarkable when compared with the slender works previously available, particularly as he was said never to have visited the island.⁵⁹ Existing works were augmented by his own research into the rolls, the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*, and other sources. The chapters cover the history, description, natural history, population, antiquities, cultivation, geology, and ecclesiastical history, and the discovery of burial remains in 1856 is described. The 1887 edition was brought up to date by a preface, and there is a map in both editions. Chanter's style is informed and readable, and although he

⁵⁷ Gosse, P., 'Lundy Island', published anonymously in *The Home Friend*, 1853, ii, iii, in 8 parts. This was subsequently published as *Sea & Land*, 1864, and in some editions as *Land & Sea*. For the kistvaen, see (iv) below.

⁵⁸ Chanter, 1871, pp.553-611. 1877, *Lundy Island*, 1st ed., 1878; 2nd ed. 1887.

⁵⁹ Gardiner, W. F., 1897, *Barnstaple 1837-1897*, p.208.

indicated his sources these are not cited, presumably in order to maintain the fluency of the text. Both Steinman and Chanter have remained standard works, and Chanter's was the only one available until 1925. His book was reprinted in 1997, with an introduction and illustrations.⁶⁰

J. Page included four chapters about Lundy in his book on North Devon (1895) where his debt to Chanter is acknowledged, but his own visits there enabled him to give some useful descriptions that were up-to-date.⁶¹ There is no bibliography, but some sources are cited in footnotes. *Devonshire Notes & Queries* (Exeter) has been published every two years since 1900, and some issues contain short, but useful references to Lundy.⁶² The *Victoria County History*, 1906, mentions the castle, two tumuli, two hut circles, and the kistvaen.

There were no further books devoted to Lundy until 1925, when L. Loyd published his work.⁶³ He borrowed heavily from Chanter, and added details of the recently-discovered Romano-British inscribed stone, with observations and

⁶⁰ Chanter, J. R., 1997, *Lundy Island*, privately published, Appledore. Illustrations by P. Rothwell; introduction by the present writer.

⁶¹ Page, J., 1895, *The Coasts of Devon & Lundy Island*, Chapters 13-16.

⁶² Since 1910 the title has been *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries (DCNQ)*.

⁶³ Loyd, L., 1925, *Lundy, its History & Natural History*.

speculations concerning prehistory. There is little description of the island, but a considerable text concerning ornithology. The book was reviewed by Pearse Chope: "Loyd...neglected to correct old sources or have recourse to new...slipshod...rehash of scraps of second-hand information."⁶⁴ Corrections were also made by J. C. and M. C. H. Heaven.⁶⁵

E. St John Brooks' paper on the history of the de Marisco family added much to the clarification of their ownership of Lundy.⁶⁶ In discussion he advanced the proposition that they had held the island of the Newmarch family, but since the holding referred to was worth one-fifth of a knight's fee, while Lundy was worth half so much (one tenth), and no supporting evidence has been found to date, this is non-proven. It has, however, been repeated by subsequent writers. Events concerning the de Mariscos between 1234 and 1242 have been illuminated by Powicke's examination and evaluation.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Chope, R. Pearse, 1924-25, 'Lundy Island,' *DCNQ*, xiii, p.362.

⁶⁵ Heaven archive, HA (ii): notes written inside a copy of Loyd. Lundy Museum archive (LMA), correspondence.

⁶⁶ Brooks, E. St John, 1931, 'The Marisco Family of Lundy & Ireland,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxi, part 2, pp.22-38, 89-112; lxii, pp.50-74.

⁶⁷ Powicke, 1947, pp.740-759.

From 1947 the Lundy Field Society has published its annual reports, which at first consisted of natural history observations, but from 1956 these have included reports of archaeological surveys and excavations which have served to draw attention to Lundy's history from the Mesolithic.⁶⁸

With legends of piracy and smuggling, Lundy tempts some authors to dramatise. P. T. Etherton published an article in which some history is drawn from imagination, and is totally unreliable, but there is a depiction of the island in 1948 and some excellent photographs.⁶⁹ This was developed into *Tempestuous Isle* in 1950.⁷⁰ A genuine felony was carefully researched and published by S. Thomas in 1959, who described events associated with Lundy c1752 during the tenancy of Thomas Benson. The sources and bibliography are given, and the writers MS notes are held at Barnstaple.⁷¹

Information from all the above sources was drawn together and brought up to date by Langham & Langham in *Lundy, Bristol Channel*, 1960, which, combined with some further researches, gave a new base-line resource. The

⁶⁸ *Lundy Field Society Report (LFSR)*, 1947, continuing.

⁶⁹ Etherton, P. T., 1948, 'Lundy, Treasure Island of Birds,' *The National Geographical Magazine*, xci, May, no. 5, pp.671-698. This is a period not covered by Gade, 1978 (see below).

⁷⁰ Etherton, P. T., & Barlow, V., 1950, *Tempestuous Isle*.

⁷¹ Thomas, S., 1959, *The Nightingale Scandal*, Bideford. North Devon Record Office (NDRO), B114/30.

description of the island is detailed, and chapters given on wrecks, coinage, stamps, lighthouses, communications, and the legal position of the island. A bibliography is given and some references cited, but these are neither complete nor precise.⁷² *Lundy*, 1970, by the same authors was based on the 1960 work, and again brought up to date, but with less detail. A chapter on Lundy's archaeology was contributed by K. S. Gardner, who in 1971 published a booklet giving the first survey of the archaeological sites and monuments.⁷³

An unpublished thesis at the University of London written in 1966 by H. Ingram, and awarded the degree of M. Sc., unfortunately consists of work taken from secondary sources, and is very unreliable even in data which could well have been corroborated at that time.

Two well-researched papers were published by J. Thomas in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* in 1976 and 1978 which gave a history from 1390, and an assessment of the ownership of Borlase Warren, 1775-81. The corpus of existing knowledge was augmented by research, with

⁷² Langham, A., & Langham, M., 1960, *Lundy, Bristol Channel*.

⁷³ Langham, A., & Langham, M., 1970, *Lundy*. 2nd ed. 1984. Gardner, K., nd [1971], *Archaeological Field Guide*, The Landmark Trust.

meticulous citation.⁷⁴ Another publication in 1978 was the memoirs of F. W. Gade, the long-term resident agent for M. C. Harman.⁷⁵ This is the only known account of day-to-day life ever written by an islander, and it chronicles the events of 1926-1945 and 1949-1973, as well as conveying the qualities of island life.

Access to the archives and photographs of the Heaven family provided the source for an account of the ownership of Lundy, 1826-1917, which was published by the present writer in 1980 as *A Lundy Album*.⁷⁶ The book gives considerable information about the population and buildings during this period. A paper on the Heaven family at Lundy followed this in 1986.⁷⁷

An important survey of Lundy's archaeology was compiled by C. Thackray in 1989, which gave a systematic presentation of the results of fieldwork by the National Trust Archaeological Survey team, with notes related to published

⁷⁴ Thomas, J., 1976, 'Some Notes on the Administration of Lundy by Sir John Borlase Warren,' *TDA*, cviii, pp.31-37. 1978, 'A History of Lundy from 1390 to 1775,' *TDA*, cx, pp.113-154.

⁷⁵ Gade, F. W., 1978, *My Life on Lundy*, privately published. Reprinted 1997. M. Langham & Walker, A., eds.

⁷⁶ Langham, M., 1980, *A Lundy Album*. 1987, 2nd ed. 1995, 3rd ed.

⁷⁷ Langham, M., 1986, 'The Heaven Family of Lundy 1836-1916,' *TDA*, cxviii, pp.93-121.

documentary sources. This lists 194 sites and monuments, specifying scheduled ancient monuments and listed buildings. This has not been published, but was given limited circulation.⁷⁸

Lundy, Island Without Equal, 1993, provided a history for the general reader based on published sources and individual researches, which are all cited.⁷⁹ It includes three chapters which describe events after the sale of the island in 1969, which are fuller than those found elsewhere, and comment on island life written from observation. The 750th anniversary of the building of the castle (G300) prompted the publication of a booklet in 1994 on its history, and that of the adjacent buildings, also by the present writer.⁸⁰ It contains plans, engravings and photographs of the castle before and after restoration by the Landmark Trust, also of the nearby buildings which have been demolished (G326, G331, G332, G335, G336).

The interpretation of the Romano-British memorial stones (G243-G246), and the late 6th century burial ground on Lundy (G240) was developed in 1994 by Professor Charles Thomas, who had carried out excavations there in 1969. In *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* (1994) the site is

⁷⁸ National Trust Archaeological Survey (NTAS), Thackray, C., 1989, 'Archaeological Survey: Lundy,' 2 vols.

⁷⁹ Lamplugh, L., 1993, *Lundy, Island Without Equal*.

⁸⁰ Ternstrom, M., 1994, *The Castle on the Island of Lundy: 1244-1994*.

described in detail, with plans showing the 6th century *cella* (G240) and the extension of proximate burials (Fig. 9).⁸¹ His hypothesis is that the original focal burial was of King Brychan of Brecon, AD c. 550, and that the remains were subsequently enshrined by *translatio* to the church of Stoke, Hartland.

A. F. Langham used Langham & Langham, 1960, as a basis for a new study, *The Island of Lundy*, published in 1994. This incorporated data from the publications listed above and was extended by further researches, and a chapter on the granite quarries (G170). This is the most comprehensive book about Lundy, although it contains a number of errors, and the accreditations, bibliography, and citing of sources are incomplete.

Gade and Harman give a full account of Lundy during the war of 1939-45, much of which is derived from recollections gathered from local people who were involved.⁸²

Island Studies, 1997, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Lundy Field Society, and gives the history of the society and the establishment of the Marine

⁸¹ Thomas, C., 1994, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* Chapter 10.

⁸² Gade, M., & Harman, M., 1995, *Lundy's War*.

Nature Reserve.⁸³ Apart from field study reports, there are four papers of interest to the historian: 'Rebels & Recluses: Lundy's History in Context', 'The Archaeology of Lundy', and 'Lundy's Lost Name'.⁸⁴ The most recent publication is *Lundy By Air*, 1999, which details the history of air travel to Lundy from 1918 to date.⁸⁵

(iv) OUTLINE OF LUNDY'S ARCHAEOLOGY (Figs 7, 67-71).

Archaeological evidences of Lundy's former population were remarked on by Camden as early as 1610, and in 1871, when archaeology was yet undeveloped, when the settlements at the North End were not visible, and before Middle Park was cleared for cultivation (c1876). Hall wrote: "The remains of enclosures, fences, and the foundations of buildings, scattered over the island, throughout its length and breadth, afford conclusive evidence of its having formerly been in a state of cultivation very different from what it

⁸³ Irving, R., Schofield, A. J., & Webster, C., eds, 1997, *Island Studies*, Lundy Field Society (hereafter *Island Studies*).

⁸⁴ Harfield, C., 1997, 'Rebels & Recluses: Lundy's History in Context', pp.39-57. Thackray, C., 1997, 'The Archaeology of Lundy,' pp.67-76. Thomas, C., 'Lundy's Lost Name', pp.29-37.

⁸⁵ Rendell, S. & Rendell, J., 1999, *Lundy by Air*.

is at present."⁸⁶ The more intensive archaeological survey carried out recently by the National Trust Archaeological Survey supports this in having found evidence for more extensive medieval and post-medieval settlement than had been apparent formerly, particularly on the east sidelands, although no firm dating evidence has been found so far.⁸⁷

One limiting factor on the interpretation of the island's archaeology is that the acidity of the soil dissolves human and animal remains. Thomas remarks of his excavation in the burial ground (G238) that "Because the dark moist granite soil is strongly acid, no human bones or teeth have survived (or would ever have survived, unprotected, for more than a century or so)."⁸⁸ Another is the difficulty of interpreting and dating the ambiguity of amorphous, robbed or re-used archaeological features.⁸⁹ Added to weather erosion is damage from burrowing rabbits, which has been particularly noticeable in the old wall of the burial ground (G238). Place names have shown little

⁸⁶ Camden, 1610, p.202. Hall, T. M., 1871, 'Notes on the Geology and Mineralogy of the Island of Lundy,' *TDA*, iv (2), p.616. It is clear that this paper was written from the writer's own observations.

⁸⁷ MTC, letter C. Thackray (NTAS, Cirencester), 2 November 1999.

⁸⁸ Thomas, 1994, p.167.

⁸⁹ Hunter, 1996, comments on this problem on Fair Isle (pp. 63, 83, 100, 128).

long-term continuity, the majority of the longer-standing examples (Donn, 1765) being attached to island features as location markers, for example Rat Island and Gannets' Rock.

Surveys and excavations carried out by Gardner and others for the Lundy Field Society between 1956 and 1969 first drew attention to Lundy's archaeological resources.⁹⁰ This work has been followed in the 1980s and 1990s by island-wide surveys carried out by the National Trust, which now lists 1214 entries.⁹¹ A different approach was taken by Schofield and Webster, who designed and implemented an examination of the distribution of artefacts in the eastern part of the island, south of Quarter Wall, by means of test-pit excavations and geophysical prospection. This work was carried out over three seasons in 1988-90.⁹²

That Lundy was inhabited from the Mesolithic period (10,000-4000 BC) is indicated by finds of flint artefacts from the Mesolithic age, although only some of these

⁹⁰ Gardner, K., 1956, pp.56-57; 1959-60, pp.53-60, 63-64; 1961, pp.22-26, 27; 1962, pp.22-23; 1963-64, pp.30-32; 1965-66, p.30; 1968, pp.41-49; 1969, pp.18-20.

⁹¹ C. Thackray, pers. comm., "Some of these are possibilities."

⁹² Schofield, J., 1988, 'Archaeological Fieldwork,' *LFSR*, xxxix, pp.31-45. Schofield, J. & Webster, C., 1989, 'Archaeological Fieldwork,' *LFSR*, xl, pp.34-47; 1990, 'Archaeological Fieldwork,' *LFSR*, xli, pp.34-54.

survive in collections.⁹³ In the later Mesolithic the sea-level is estimated to have been *circa* ten metres lower, and the surface area of the island to have been twice that it is at present, with extended beaches the source of flint pebbles, and the prehistoric settlements are considered to have been most probably in seasonal occupation.⁹⁴

Apart from random finds, there are nine main sites where concentrations of flint artefacts have been found, with the largest concentrations in the south-east of the island, where fields have been cultivated at least since the late eighteenth century.⁹⁵ Professor Dollar compared his

⁹³ G30, G49, G91, G293-G295, G392, G394, G396-G397, G439, G500, G503. Schofield, J., 1991, 'The Langham Collection and Associated Finds: a large Assemblage of Chipped Stone Artefacts from Lundy,' *LFSR*, xlii, pp.70-85.

⁹⁴ Schofield A.J., & Webster, C., 1989, pp.40-42. Schofield, 1991, pp.70-85; 1994, 'Lithic artefacts from test-pit excavations on Lundy: Evidence for Mesolithic & Bronze Age occupation,' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, lx, pp.423-431.

⁹⁵ The Airfield, G500, G503. The Brick Field, G293, G295, G394, G396. North End, G134, G294, G391, G396. Pigs Paradise, G292, G396. Ponds bury, G49, G392, G520. Quarter Wall Cottages, G30, G91, G439. St Helen's Field, G272, G489. Tibbets, G393. Tillage Field, G397, G500.

finds in the Brick Field, which centred around the standing stone (G260), to those on the North Devon Coast.⁹⁶ An assemblage of 1130 Mesolithic microflints (G295) was collected by field walking the same field in 1957. Test pit excavations carried out by Schofield and Webster, 1988-89, showed a widespread scatter in the designated fields, with particular concentrations of Mesolithic artefacts on the east side of the Brick Field (G500, G503). Another concentration of microflints was found in unsystematic fieldwalking of a scarified area west of the Quarter Wall Cottages, immediately north of the Brick Field (G30, G91), and in random finds at Ponds bury during a period of very low water (G49, G392, G520). The rescue excavation in 1973 in Pigs Paradise (G708) also revealed a Mesolithic occupation level (G292) lying below a medieval settlement area (G291), Fig. 7.⁹⁷ Mesolithic flints from the North End (G391), Tibbets Hill (G 393) and elsewhere are described by Schofield.⁹⁸

Schofield remarks that "What remains surprising is the absence or 'invisibility' of any evidence for Neolithic

⁹⁶ NDRO, Dollar, A. T. J., 1932, 'Abbreviated Interim Report: Neolithic Man on Lundy Island,' typescript. Schofield, 1991, pp.81-2.

⁹⁷ Bennett, J., & Fowler, P. J., 1973, 'Rescue on Lundy,' *Rescue News*, iv, p.12.

⁹⁸ Schofield, 1991, pp.70-84.

areas on the mainland."⁹⁹ A collection from the North End (G134), which has unfortunately been lost, was submitted for examination and was assigned to the Neolithic or late Neolithic/early Bronze Age (3000-1500 BC).¹⁰⁰ Another, (G272) thought to have originated from St Helen's Field, was estimated by the British Museum to have been Neolithic. A Neolithic arrow head (G48) from the North End is considered by Schofield to have been an import. A complicating factor in dating is the sometimes poor quality of the flint used.

Evidence of Bronze Age settlement is seen in the remains of hut circles and enclosures, particularly in the the north of the island, where they were exposed after extensive fires in 1933 which denuded the area north of Gannets Combe of vegetation. These were first described by Gardner in 1956, then by Thackray, 1989 (G36-38, G40, G60-67).¹⁰¹ Less distinct remainders of hut circles have

⁹⁹ Schofield, 1991, pp.81-83: the discussion relates to the Langham collection, which came from a variety of sources, some without accurate location. Part of the collection attributed to the Brick Field, for example, came from the N of St Helen's Field (Wayland Smith, pers.comm., October 1999).

¹⁰⁰ Almy, V., 1954, 'Plympton Secondary Modern School Expeditions: 1952 and 1954,' *LFSR*, 1954, p.33.

¹⁰¹ Gardner, 1956, p.56. *NTAS*, Thackray, 1989, i, pp.18-25.

been identified in other parts of the island, but those in the north have suffered little disturbance. Test-pit excavations have produced a concentration of Bronze Age lithics at the north-east corner of the Airfield, which is considered to be a primary reduction site (G 503). Pottery dated to the Bronze Age has been found at Tibbets Hill (G483) and a small amount in the Tillage Field (G498) and three pieces of very thick, coarse, burnt pottery from the North End (G727) which have not yet been dated. Bronze Age flint artefacts have been gathered principally from the the Airfield (G500), the Brick Field (G394, G396, G503) and the North End (G391, G396).

The footings of what was thought to have been a Neolithic structure (G152), in apparent isolation, were excavated at Jenny's Cove, on the West Side, in 1968. No organic or ceramic materials were found to assist dating, but a parallel has been suggested with Shetland Neolithic Black Houses, and for want of another identification, it is known as the Black House.¹⁰² This implied dating is in question, since the site may be compared to a medieval building but, for lack of dating evidence, and until further work can be carried out, C. Thackray and S. Blaylock consider that it should be referred to as a chambered

¹⁰² Gardner, 1968, pp.44-48.

structure, date unknown.¹⁰³ (Fig.Gaz.5) Thackray and Blaylock also noted another, as yet unexplored, tumbled stone structure in the next valley to the south.¹⁰⁴

Another early site to which a date has yet to be attributed is the kistvaen (G109, Fig.8) at the south end of the island, seen by Gosse in 1852.¹⁰⁵ Gardner attributes the "kistvaen" to the Iron Age, but his grid reference, and that of the National Trust Archaeological Survey, is for G108, a cist. The confusion over this site until now has arisen as a result of use of the 1905 and 1967 OS maps, which show it at G108, while the 1886 OS map, researched by the present writer, clearly shows it to be at G109. The *Victoria County History* supports this, as it refers to the kistvaen as "large."¹⁰⁶ The discovery was made in 1851 when workmen dug out a hollow mound at the south end of the island and found three large granite slabs; no human remains or artefacts were found, apart from a fragment of pottery which has been lost. Gosse compared what he saw to Wayland's Smithy, in Berkshire, which has been dated to the

¹⁰³ MTC, Letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999. Shirley Blaylock, National Trust Regional Archaeologist, Devon.

¹⁰⁴ MTC, letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999.

¹⁰⁵ Gosse, 1853, iii, pp.55-56.

¹⁰⁶ *Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Devonshire*, 1906, ed. W. Page, i, p.630.

early Neolithic, between 3700 BC and 3400 BC.¹⁰⁷ The outlines depicted in OS 1886 are still traceable on the ground, and the measurements coincide. Witnesses from the 1851 discovery would have been on the island in 1884 (the survey date) when the site was still extant, as it was not infilled until 1887.¹⁰⁸ Nothing now remains but a shallow depression, enclosed by earth and rubble mounds, with a low transverse ridge and a separated area at the north-west, and which fills with water at times of heavy rainfall.

Settlements and cairns considered to be of the Iron Age (600 BC to AD 50) have been surveyed at Gannets Combe and in the central parts of the island (G110-G113, G137, G141-G144, G156, G159-G161) and at Beacon Hill (G239, G241, G249), though not in all cases was material found to assist a positive dating.¹⁰⁹ Pottery estimated to be of that period has been found at Widow's Tenement (G147), Acland's Moor

¹⁰⁷ Dyer, J., 1973, *Southern England: An Archaeological Guide*, pp.16-19. The monument at Wayland's Smithy is approximately 350ft (106.6m) long; the length of the kistvaen on Lundy is approximately 217ft (66.14m).

¹⁰⁸ Gardner, 1971, p.4. HA (i), diary, 19 January 1887. The Ordnance Survey Archaeological Division and British Library Maps advise that the surveyors' notes for 1884 and 1903 no longer exist.

¹⁰⁹ Gardner, 1959-60 (a), pp.53-60; 1965-66, pp.30-33; 1968, pp.41-49.

(G201-G202), and Middle Park (G529).

There is, so far, no evidence for a Roman presence on Lundy to compare with that found on Steepholm.¹¹⁰ One "sub-Roman sherd" (G289) was found in the Tillage Field in 1959; a fragment of Black-burnished ware (G506) was excavated from the Brick Field in 1988, and a Roman lamp (G631) found off-shore.¹¹¹ There is a deposit in Bristol City Museum, G493, of "Two dark grey Romano-British potsherds, both rims of cooking jars. The Register says 'Lundy' but gives no other details, and no provenance is written on the actual specimens." There are also nineteen sherds of Samian ware, for which "no reliance of any kind can safely be placed on Lundy as a provenance."¹¹² It is probably safe only to say that the Romans knew Lundy from their stations in North Devon, and their use of the Bristol

¹¹⁰ Rendell & Rendell, 1993, Chapter 3.

¹¹¹ Gardner, 1959/69, pp.54-55. Schofield, 1988, p.36. Bristowe, W. S., 1968, *A Book of Islands*, pp.81-82. The lamp has been donated for the projected Lundy Museum: MTC, letter from John Dyke (curator), 15 February 1970.

¹¹² MTC, letter from L. V. Grinsell, 10 June 1959; Bristol City Museum references, F 830, F 852.

Channel.¹¹³

Of particular interest is the late fifth century burial enclosure (G238) at Beacon Hill, where four post-Roman/early medieval (AD400-1066) inscribed stones have been found (Fig.Gaz.9). Two of these are dated to *circa* late fifth century (G245, G246), a third to the mid-sixth century (G244), and the fourth to the late sixth century (G243).¹¹⁴ This last was unearthed in digging a grave just inside the north wall of the medieval chapel (G247), although the inscription and its significance were not recognised until 1923.¹¹⁵ The upper portion of the stone is lost, and it is not recorded whether the stone lay buried, or if it had been incorporated in the wall and subsequently fallen. Only the south-west portion of the original banked ovoid enclosure remains (G238); the rest is enclosed by nineteenth century walls built by Trinity House.¹¹⁶ Almost in the centre of the cemetery is a *cella memoriae* (G240, Fig.9) which was

¹¹³ Fox, A., & Ravenhill, W., 1966, 'Early Roman Outposts on the North Devon Coast,' *Proceedings, Devonshire Archaeological Society*, xxiv, pp.3-35. Griffith, F. M., 1984, 'Roman Military Sites in Devon: Some Recent Discoveries,' *Proceedings, Devon Archaeological Society*, xlii, pp.11-32.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, 1994, pp.165-167.

¹¹⁵ Loyd, L., & White, F., 1923, 'Ancient Gravestone in Lundy,' *The Antiquaries Journal*, iii, pp.372-73.

¹¹⁶ THGM, 30 025, xvi, pp.303, 321, 336.

excavated in 1969, and is estimated to be of the late fifth century. It was found to overlie an Iron Age or Romano-British hut (G239), cfirst century BC to second century AD. It consisted of a focal burial with thirty graves surrounding it, and at least 100 associated graves were identified altogether.¹¹⁷ It is suggested that these evidences point to there having been a small monastic foundation on the island.¹¹⁸ In 1856, during the course of building work at the farm shippon (G456), a cist burial was uncovered, said to contain the bones of a male of exceptional height (G269, Fig.Gaz.1). In addition there was a row of six skeletons lying east-west without cists, some pieces of pottery (since lost) and a few beads (G277), the three remaining of which are estimated to be early medieval of 9th century Hiberno-Norse origin. The bones were re-interred in an unmarked site, but a squared and hollowed piece of granite remains from the burial, in which the crown of the skull of the "giant" rested (G19). Between 1928 and 1933 two diggings were carried out to explore mounds in the same area of Bulls Paradise, which revealed seven more burials, two fourteenth century coins, and fragments of

¹¹⁷ Thomas, 1994, Chapter 10.

¹¹⁸ Thomas, 1994, p.167. Aston, M., 1993, *Monasteries*, p.34, suggests that there was probably a hermitage on Lundy.

medieval pottery, none of which can now be traced.¹¹⁹ Gardner considers it possible that the so-called Giants Graves were within a primary Early Christian burial site which was still in use in Viking times, and that the cist grave, at least, may be of Viking character.¹²⁰ The absence of any firm evidence of Norse occupation suggests that their attention to Lundy was confined to raids rather than settlement.

Gardner's excavations in Bulls Paradise revealed a 12th century occupation site slightly to the north of the burials, which was overlaid by a massively-constructed 13th century stronghold (G274, Fig.Gaz.12). This was covered by a widespread midden of the 14th-15th centuries (G271), which had 15th-16th century burials cut through it, and a further 17th century midden level above those. Finds of more burials nearby, to the east, brought the total number identified to twenty-five, and Gardner postulates an eighth to early seventeenth century cemetery (G270) used intermittently, terminating in the seventeenth century upper level of the midden (G271). That other graves were disturbed during works in the 19th century is indicated by the presence of grave slabs built into the farmyard walls (G284-86). A geophysical

¹¹⁹ A full account of the Giants Grave and associated sites is given in Gardner, K., & Ternstrom, M., 1997, 'The Giants Graves,' *TDA*, cxxix, pp.51-77.

¹²⁰ Gardner & Ternstrom, 1997, p.66.

survey of Bulls Paradise was carried out by Webster in 1991; although the eastern margins could not be included because of the then deposits of redundant equipment, the findings both supported Gardner's interpretation, and suggested possible new features.¹²¹

Evidence that the post-conquest settlement extended to the south was found during a rescue dig in Pigs Paradise (G708) in 1973: a cobbled yard with associated wall was overlaid by a midden containing 12th-13th century pottery (G291). The excavators considered it likely that associated medieval buildings may lie buried in the rising ground to the west.¹²² The recent NTAS survey suggests that the medieval settlement extended across the area now occupied by the farm buildings.¹²³ Post-conquest sherds of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries (G267, G291, G729, G734-35, G739) and from the early post medieval (G267, G734) have been found in Pigs Paradise, Bulls Paradise, and the Brick and Tillage Fields.

A large post-conquest enclosure (G145, Fig. Gaz.4) overlaid an Iron Age settlement at Widow's Tenement (G144); this is marked on the map BLMS 1822, and was first surveyed in 1964.¹²⁴ The enclosure is of approximately 6.9 hectares

¹²¹ Webster, C., 1991, 'A Geophysical Survey of the Archaeology of Bulls Paradise,' *LFSR*, xlii, pp.66-69.

¹²² Bennett, J. & Fowler, P.J., 1973, p.12.

¹²³ MTC, letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999.

¹²⁴ Gardner, 1963-64, p.30; 1971, pp.23-24.

(17 acres) and contains a longhouse (G146). It may be speculated whether *widow's* means what it says, or whether it is a corruption of an early name. Two more post-conquest longhouses have been identified in other parts of the island since then (G149, G683), and the settlement south of Halfway Wall (G601) has been re-dated as "medieval."¹²⁵

The castle (G300) at the south-east corner of the island spans the period from its completion in 1244 to the present, and has undergone a possible reconstruction after 1321, and three recorded reconstructions (Figs.15, 16,37).¹²⁶ The first of these took place during the Civil War, the second c. 1839 when it was adapted for cottages, and the last the restoration by the Landmark Trust, completed in 1982.¹²⁷ Prior to the last rebuilding, Dunmore undertook excavation of the castle, and Thackray and Thackray's excavation of the parade to the east (G309) revealed the Castle House (G302), the Smithy (G306), and the footings of four constructions (G305, G307, G308, G761, Figs

¹²⁵ MTC, letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999.

¹²⁶ Steinman, 1947, p.6, "...a certain castle with a barton, for which they made no valuation, as the same was burned and destroyed by the Scots," citing Inquisition 15 Edward II, No. 49.

¹²⁷ BL, Bushell, T., ?1664, Petitionary Remonstrance. Gosse, ii, p.485. NTAS, Thackray, C., & Thackray, D., 1985, 'Marisco Castle Parade Ground Excavations,' typescript.

11,33, Gaz.17).¹²⁸

Gun platforms were built around the coasts of Lundy, the dates of which are uncertain (G35, G74, G150, G551), but which have been ascribed, without source, to the Civil War period (1642-1648).¹²⁹ Grose states that Lord Saye and Sele "held it for the king, having fortified it very strongly."¹³⁰ The anonymous visitor of 1787 wrote that there were more than forty of these structures, that guns had been placed on them in Queen Anne's wars with the French [1701-1713], and that every part of the island was strongly defended.¹³¹ The more extensive fortifications at Brazen Ward (G69, Fig.Gaz.18), where a landing could easily be made on the rocks, were excavated in 1968 and, from the pottery found there, have been dated to the sixteenth century (Chapter 5,ii).¹³² The test-pit excavations in the Airfield, Brick Field, St Helen's Field and Tillage Field yielded ceramic sherds, roughly half of which are dated to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and indicate a possible area of settlement (G498, G504, G505).

The industrial archaeology of the mid-19th century granite quarries (G170-178, Fig.Gaz.6) has been examined by

¹²⁸ Dunmore, S., 1982, 'The Castle in the Island of Lundy,' *Proceedings, Devonshire Archaeological Society*, xl, pp.153-162. NTAS, Thackray & Thackray, 1985.

¹²⁹ Langham, 1994, p.38, following Chanter, 1887, p.45.

¹³⁰ Grose, 1775, p.195.

¹³¹ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

¹³² Gardner, 1968, p.44; 1971, pp.21-23.

Langham, and Rothwell.¹³³ The sites of the quarries and associated areas are largely undisturbed except for the loss of the quay and jetty, but all plant and machinery was removed, so that the workings lie open to interpretation.

Since 1983 a fresh direction in archaeological work has been taken in marine archaeology, and to date thirteen wreck sites have been identified within the Marine Nature Reserve. These range in date from an estimated 16th century loss to one of 1975 (G83, G376, G398-G400, G403), of which two are protected wreck sites (G401, G405). The sites are monitored by the Lundy Marine Nature Reserve Advisory Group.¹³⁴

Since 1990 Thackray and Thackray have built on the 1989 work by a series of more detailed surveys for the National Trust which, it is intended, will result in full publication of the data, to a revised field guide for visitors, and to the provision of a management tool on the island itself.¹³⁵ It is also intended that the results of the present historical study will be incorporated with the archaeological data for the National Trust proposed book.

¹³³ Langham, 1994, Chapter 20. Rothwell, P., 1998, 'Lundy: The Quarry Complex.'

¹³⁴ Irving, R., & Gilliland, P., 1997, 'Lundy's Marine Nature Reserve - A Short History,' *Island Studies*, pp.185-203.

¹³⁵ Thackray, C., 1997, pp.67-75.

CHAPTER 2.

(i) OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The dates chosen for the thesis cover the period from the acquisition of Lundy by the Grenville family to the change from private to institutional ownership in 1969. This period has been selected as the medieval and early post-conquest history, and the many changes brought about since 1969, would each require separate studies beyond the scope of the present work.

The objective of this study has been to present an integrated account of the island's history, and to further an understanding of it. To this end it makes reference to primary and secondary documentary records, archaeological data, maps, photographs, and drawings, and fieldwalking. The island is assessed in relation to other small islands, and a general consideration of the factors which have affected island histories and development patterns. External economic and social developments have been examined in order to assess their impact on Lundy, and a study has been made of the relationship between art, history, and landscape in respect of Lundy.

The regularly repeated information about Lundy from early documentary sources is that the island was scantily inhabited, and that the economy depended on the abundance of sea-fowl and rabbits. However, excavations in Bull's Paradise (G707), Pigs Paradise (G708), with island surveys, and excavated and random finds, give firm evidence for

medieval to eighteenth century settlements.¹ Settlement sites, enclosures, middens, manuring (G498, G504, G505), and the cemetery of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (G270), all indicate that habitation and activity were more consistent than the written evidence would suggest. This is supported by the more intensive surveys carried out since 1989 by the National Trust Archaeological Survey personnel, who found that enclosures and settlements were more extensive than had at first been thought.²

More recently efforts have been made to add to Lundy's researched documentary history, and to detach it from the embellishments of imaginative projections.³ The present study has sought to extend this process: first by the re-evaluation of known primary and secondary sources, and second by research into previously untried sources. The application of the results of these researches expands and corrects the existing corpus, and in some instances fills in the history of Lundy, which often appears to consist of gaps hung around episodes. For example, before the present study there was a considerable want of information from the Restoration (1660) until the purchase of the island by

¹ G145-G149; G158; G200; G224. Bull's Paradise: G266-68, G270-71, G272-76, G278-86. Pig's Paradise: G291.

² MTC, letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999.

³ Langham & Langham, 1960. Thomas, 1978. Lamplugh, 1994. Langham, 1994.

lessee, Benson (1752).⁴

The present study aims to complement the texts already available, and where these are found to be supported by identifiable sources the history is not repeated in detail, but is referred to as appropriate. By confirmation, correction, amendment or extension of the existing publications with the researched material, a firmly referenced base has been established for the historical account.

The previously published histories of Lundy have treated the island in isolation, with little reference to wider island, regional, or national contexts. This study seeks to look at Lundy within these contexts, and to assess the extent to which geographical factors and external events have influenced Lundy's history.

Archaeological investigations have been carried out on the island, which started in 1956 and are continuing (Gardner, 1956-69; Thomas, 1969-84; Schofield & Webster, 1988-1942; Thackray, 1989, continuing). With the exception of Thackray's references to secondary sources incorporated in the unpublished report of 1989, the results of these have

⁴ The history of Benson is given in Thomas, 1959. The present writer's paper, 1998, 'The Ownership of Lundy by Sir Richard Grenville and his Descendants, 1577-1775,' *TDA*, cxxx, 65-80, refers to this period.

not been integrated with the documented history, nor has consistent reference been made to cartographical and pictorial records. The two volumes of the thesis are intended to exemplify the advantage of integrating all accessible types of data.

C. Thackray wrote in 1989 that "As an aid to further academic research and a basis for an archive of archaeological information relating to the island, a catalogue should be compiled which lists all known, existing Lundy material, both documents and artefacts, at present scattered in different places throughout the country, and held by different bodies, official and unofficial." The present writer initiated such a catalogue in 1994, from which some information is incorporated in the gazetteer.⁵

An unusual aspect of Lundy has been the claim of nineteenth and twentieth century owners to exceptional legal status for the island. This has been examined in detail and found to be without substance, though not without having had some significance, and the reasons for the failure to

⁵ Thackray, 1989, p.5. Ternstrom, M, 1994, 'Lundy Index,' typescript. Copies are lodged with the Lundy Field Society and the National Trust Archaeological Survey at Cirencester. The Index was not completed because the Lundy Museum collection has not been accessible since the first part of the listing was carried out, due to the house move and illness of the keeper.

establish this status are also clarified.

A study has been made from published sources of a number of islands other than Lundy, in order to evaluate the internal and external factors which affect the development of small islands in general. This study has been considered in relation to Lundy in order to assess how far the factors that have affected it may be particular, and how far they are found in common with comparable islands.

The compilation of a gazetteer of sites and monuments has been carried out with the objective of uniting the archaeology and local history of Lundy in the construction of a comprehensive data base which, in its turn, supports the historical account. The gazetteer includes cartographic, documentary and pictorial references, where found, for each entry. It also includes listings of some wrecks, and non-archaeological features such as memorial seats and bird-traps. Wherever they are relevant, the entries in the gazetteer are related to the text of volume 1 by means of systematic internal reference. The format for the gazetteer has been adapted from that used by James, Gerrard, and Clements in their study of Clarendon Park, Salisbury.⁶

⁶ James, T.B., Gerrard, C.M., Clements, D., 1996, 'Clarendon Park, Salisbury, Wiltshire: History, Archaeology, Ecology,' 2 vols, unpublished. English Heritage survey grant for presentation report; St Alfred's College Archaeological Consultancy, Winchester, 1996.

The bibliography does not include sources for natural history or the sciences, which are under compilation elsewhere.⁷ Similarly, postal history is adequately referenced as a specialist subject.⁸ In addition to the bibliography of sources, an appendix is given listing sources where no reference to Lundy is found, for example the tax and tithe records, and works treating of Lundy which do not contain source material (Appendix 7).

Further appendices list the owners and leaseholders of Lundy, and give the monetary values assigned to the island for the period of the study, so far as it has been possible to establish these (Appendices 1, 5). Examination of the histories of the farmhouse/hotel complex (G25, G99), the Castle House (G302), and Quarter Wall (G163) is made in greater depth in Appendices two, three, and four, and Appendix six lists all the maps, plans and drawings relating to Lundy found to date.

In this way the present study is intended to provide a resource for current and future historical and archaeological studies of Lundy that is firmly based, and more comprehensive in scope than has been attempted hitherto. It is also hoped that it might contribute to the understanding and management of Lundy's historical sites

⁷ A. Holbrook, University of Reading.

⁸ Bale, M., 1998, *The Stamps of Lundy Island*, 3rd ed, privately published.

and monuments, and to the location and preservation of artifacts belonging to the island.

(ii) SOURCES FOR THE STUDY

Lundy's isolation before the nineteenth century has presented researchers with a rather sparse range of documentary sources, particularly for the medieval and post-medieval periods to 1775. Tiller refers to the parish as the principal unit of record-keeping, and the drawbacks of Lundy's extra-parochial status for the local historian lie in the absence of any substantial records that elsewhere might be found in parish archives, or official documents compiled by parish.⁹ The virtual absence of Lundy in official administrative papers continued from its omission from the Domesday Book until the nineteenth century, except for the reports of piracy, privateering and smuggling associated with it.¹⁰ The dearth of extra-parochial records has been exacerbated by the deliberate policy of some owners, notably Heaven and Harman, to preserve Lundy's tax and tithe-free status by a refusal to co-operate with the authorities (Chapter 6).

⁹ Tiller, K., 1992, *English Local History: An Introduction*, Chapter 4, and p. 22.

¹⁰ Darby, H.C., & Wellton Finn, R., eds., 1967, *Domesday Geography of South West England*, (Appendix 7). Harfield, 1997, pp.37-55. PRO T 64/143; T 1/352.

Tiller's appraisal of documentary research sources highlights the absence of taxation and tithe records for Lundy, or of a parish register before 1901. The census returns commence only with 1851, since the earlier returns were made for enumeration districts of more than twenty-five inhabited houses.¹¹ The 1861 return was made in July instead of April, and gives only summary figures of the habitations and the population, and all subsequent returns contain some mistakes. The lack of a parish repository has also meant that documentary records have been subject to haphazard disposal by successive owners, their agents or tenants, or simply lost.¹² Searches for records in owners' archives have to date given rather meagre results, apart from the Vere Hunt papers of 1811-27, the Heaven papers of 1838-1917 (among which there are very few survivals earlier than 1870), and the Christie accounts and surveys of 1918-1920.

¹¹ Richardson, J., 1986, *The Local Historian's Encyclopaedia*, p.72.

¹² PRO C 12/822/3 contained reference during the Gower litigation to documents in the possession of Lord Gower's heir, who mentioned others held by a trustee. Since remaining abstracts of title refer no further back than this, it is likely that earlier ones were mislaid in the course of the protracted case. See also Chapter 6, loss of documents in the Heaven sale, 1918.

Harrison's *Description of Britain*, dating from 1586, gives the first description of Tudor Lundy, an account which has inexplicably been neglected, particularly since it describes a voyage and may be considered first-hand.¹³ For the early historical period Lundy is shown to have been poorly served by documentary records, with a lack of first-hand source material (Chapter 1). Camden (1610) describes a narrow ingress, indications of former habitations, the island's rabbits, birds and fresh water springs, and the piracy of William de Marisco, "a most leaud and mischievous rover."¹⁴ Together with Risdon's description of the Constable Rock (1630), these few facts were repeated by writer after writer, with or without embellishments.¹⁵

¹³ *Holinshed's Chronicles: the Description of Britain*, 1586, published 1807, i, pp.61-62. Thomas, 1978, p.116, considers that the text "probably refers to the fourteenth century," but the present writer has found no evidence for this. The *Description* was written by Wm Harrison (1534-93), and the work first published in 1587. (Ousby, I., 1995, *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*, pp.414, 445).

¹⁴ Camden, 1610, p.202. Camden's first edition, 1586, pp.252-56, says no more than that Lundy is larger than Caldy, has a small town (farm, or castle) of the same name, that the island is girt with cliffs, and William de Marisco infested the coast with piracy in the reign of Henry III.

¹⁵ Risdon, 1970, p.239. Also given in Westcote, 1845, p.343.

Apart from the MSS from 1752 and 1787, and 1811 to 1827, the evidence for Lundy's condition before 1836 revolves mostly on changes of ownership, episodes of piracy, the surrender after the Civil War, and the exploits of a few individuals.

From 1577 to 1775 documentary sources provide few answers for Lundy to Tiller's questions of people, place and the origins of growth and change. The indications are that from the construction of the castle in 1244 until the ownership of John Borlase Warren (1775-1781) Lundy underwent little change, and that the economy of the islanders remained one of subsistence. The paucity of documents makes the evidences from archaeological sources for this and the preceding period all the more important; the extension of surveys, and the revision of some estimated provisional datings, as previously noted, indicate that the post-conquest and Early Post-Medieval occupation of Lundy was more extensive than had been thought until recently.¹⁶

Court of Chancery proceedings have been traced at the Public Record Office relating to transactions c1638 and c1669 (Chapter 5, ii) and litigation affecting Lundy between 1701 and 1775, 1823 to 1827, and 1868 to 1872.¹⁷ A search for relevant proceedings in local (North Devon) Petty

¹⁶ MTC, letter C. Thackray, 2 November 1999.

¹⁷ Chapters 5, ii (1638); 5, iii (1669, 1701-1705); 5, iv, (1775-1836).

Sessions is only feasible with the dates and names of those involved, and only two cases have been found so far.¹⁸

The only records found in estate papers at Record Offices so far are those for Gower (c1714, 1754-1775, Stafford), Vere Hunt (1811, 1821-1827, Limerick) and Christie (1918-1920, Barnstaple). Abstracts of Title are not found previous to that of 1819, which refers back to 1754, and neither are deeds found, which may be accounted for by the 1925 Law of Property Act, which reduced the necessary recital of title on a sale to the previous thirty years, thus removing the incentive to retain older documents.¹⁹ These losses make advertisements and catalogues of sale for 1822, 1906, 1925, and 1969 particularly useful in respect of buildings and rents. Also limited inventories are found in connection with sales for 1823, 1915, 1925 and 1969, and after the death of W. H. Heaven in 1883. Ecclesiastical records are found only for tithes at the Reformation, and the appointment of priests between 1254

¹⁸ *The Hartland & West Country Chronicle*, No 271, 1920: Barnstaple Bankruptcy Court, W.C.H.Heaven. Boundy, W, nd., *Bushe11 & Harman of Lundy*, pp.50-82, the trial of M.C.Harman, 1930, found guilty of the illegal issue of coin.

¹⁹ THLA, 1819. Richardson, 1986, p.88. However, the absence of recitals from before 1754 suggests that the older papers had already been lost by 1819.

and 1355 (Chapter 6). There is no information as to whether the documents at Exeter destroyed during the war of 1939-1945 contained references to Lundy or not, but the island's extra-parochial status, and the long period without a church, would seem to have excluded it from normal diocesan channels, at least until the Revd Heaven took up duties (1864), and a church was built in 1885 (G14). Of the owners who died when of age and in possession of Lundy, all the wills are found, although those of Beville Grenville, M.C., and A. Harman do not mention Lundy, which was in trust.

The anonymous journal of 1752 and 1787 is the first description of Lundy written at first hand that is observant and informative in any detail. This is followed by the letters of 1821-1827, which give particulars of the population and farming. Otherwise Rackham's comment that "Many kinds of records over-represent the unusual" can very often be applied to Lundy.²⁰ The unusual is remarked on, and comes to form part of a general perception to the exclusion of everyday conditions or practices that would inform the historian; for examples, the early concentration on the Constable Rock, and now the puffins.

By the nineteenth century the island had begun to acquire interest as a curiosity, a place without taxes or

²⁰ Rackham, O., 1995, *The History of the Countryside*, p.24.

tithes, lying outside a society in the processes of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. Writers attached romantic values to the grandeur of the rocks, the calls of the seabirds, the tiny village, and the few recorded dramatic events.²¹ Steinman was the first to give an account of Lundy's history, followed by Chanter, who greatly expanded this in his 1871 paper and which he subsequently developed into a descriptive monograph.²² While the researches by Chanter provided subsequent historians with a basis from which to proceed, the more unusual aspects of the island were seized upon by any number of writers on the subject, who sought to respond to a late nineteenth and twentieth century appetite for books of adventure.²³ Consequently, Lundy is characterised by a considerable number of publications which focus upon elaborated

²¹ For example, Harper C., 1908, *The North Devon Coast*, pp.106-122.

²² Chanter, 1877, 2nd ed. 1887.

²³ The combination of four factors would seem to have contributed to this appetite: an increase in the rate of literacy following the 1870 Education Act; cheaper methods of book production; greater facility of travel by steamship and rail; and a disposable income among those prospering from trade and industry. To this might be added an urban inclination to escapism.

adventures of outlaws, pirates and smugglers.²⁴ Although the amount of literature containing reference to Lundy is considerable, much of it is of limited and unreliable content.

The Heaven archives are a fortunate survival, but although they are a useful source, there are limitations; the diary, in particular, concerns much domestic trivia and mostly ignores events beyond the family enclave. It covers the years from 1870 to 1905, and for the major part of that period the farm was in the hands of lessees, from whom there are no records. The Lundy Log (1865-1877) is not wholly reliable; it is strongly partisan, and was written from the family diary, and recollections in old age c1950.²⁵ Unfortunately one diary entry records that W. H. Heaven spent the morning burning old documents.

Once mainland institutions were established on Lundy (Trinity House, 1820; the Lundy Granite Company, 1863; Lloyds, 1884; the G.P.O.(1886); the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1897; the Admiralty, 1909) external authorities were added to that of the owner. Trinity House has minutes from the foundation of the first lighthouse

²⁴ An outstanding example is Etherton & Barlow, 1950, Chapter 8, "Under the Black Flag," and Chapter 6, "The Rebel Isle", with reference to "Records in Millcombe Library," which did not exist. The work ran to two printings.

²⁵ HA (i), Lundy Log, Mrs M. C. H. Heaven (1861-1951).

(1819), a very useful Abstract of Title of 1819, and some excellent plans and maps.²⁶ Since 1969 the National Trust has held documents for Lundy which are now accessible, and which include Abstracts of Title for Heaven mortgages, and deeds and correspondence covering the years 1870 to 1925, and for 1969. The Harman papers are in the keeping of a family member and are not open to inspection or study.

The archaeological sites were surveyed by National Trust archaeologists in 1987-88, and 194 sites and monuments have been listed in their report.²⁷ Each entry in this work has a number ascribed, and gives the national grid reference, description, status, and management recommendations. The map used for the survey was the OS 1962 1:10,560, and copies are given in the report indicating the position of each entry. Photographs were taken of the sites and monuments, and copies obtained of aerial photographs taken by Cambridge University and West Air Photography. Where documented secondary sources were known, these are included or referred to in the description. These entries have been incorporated in the gazetteer and augmented by the researched history, and the listing of detailed documentary sources, of maps and photographs, plans and drawings. The aerial photographs held at the National

²⁶ THGM, Minutes of the Boards; THLA, Abstract of Title; THEA, plans and maps.

²⁷ Thackray, 1989.

Monuments Record (taken in 1996) have been studied, and listed in the gazetteer where appropriate.

Devon County Council Archaeological Department has compiled a register of sites and monuments on Lundy which, by 1996, listed 318 entries. This includes flint scatters, pottery assemblages, and wrecks, which are not found in the National Trust survey. The register and notes are available only at the Council offices in Exeter. The notes include site location, descriptions which include reference to published documentary sources, and status, with reference also to aerial photographs.

A third listing has been made by the National Monuments Record of archaeological sites, and buildings, which is supported by a good collection of air photographs. In 1998-9 the number of scheduled ancient monuments on Lundy was increased from 18 to a total of 41, with two scheduled wreck sites and fourteen buildings listed at Grade II. These are listed with the gazetteer for reference.

These three listings, which share some common data but not all, have been integrated into a single entry for each site or monument in the gazetteer.

The Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 maps of 1886, 1905, and 1967 have been used for this study, and particular reference is made to the 1886 edition, surveyed in 1884, which has not been used for previous historical studies. The originals of the map of 1765, Ordnance Survey drawings of 1809 and 1820, the estate map of 1822, the map of 1832,

and the sale maps of 1840 have been examined, and photographic reproductions obtained, which make detail clearer than it is in photocopies. These have been particularly useful in tracing the outlines of buildings at the farmhouse, the castle and New Town, field layouts, and the course of paths.²⁸

Field-walking has been undertaken by the present writer to list, measure and photograph non-archaeological items on the island not previously listed, and in order to complete the gazetteer. Documentary and photographic sources have been used to include items for which these provide the only evidence, and information on the whereabouts of assemblages of Lundy material has been sought and included whenever this has been ascertainable.

For the historical sequence it has been found convenient to divide the chapters with the dates of changes in ownership, a decision for which the conclusion affords some support. The format used by James, Gerrard and Clements, in their study of Clarendon Park, has been adapted for the gazetteer.²⁹ The entries include all or some of the following, as applicable in each case:

Name and National Grid Reference

²⁸ Ternstrom, M. S., 1996, 'From Beach to Plateau: a Reassessment,' *LFSR*, xlvii, pp.77-86, gives the present writer's re-examination of the access to the island.

²⁹ James, T.B., Gerrard, C.M., & Clements, D., 1996.

National Trust, Devon County, and National
Monuments Record numbers, and site/monument status

Description

History (including dating evidence)

Map references, plans and drawings

Documentary sources.

Photographs

CHAPTER 3.

(i) EXAMINATION OF THE FACTORS AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAND COMMUNITIES

Each writer about islands and their histories has sought to define the particular interest that small islands generate. The definitions are coloured by the concerns of the writer involved, but the question is central: why small islands?

For Bahn and Flenley "islands are important natural laboratories where evolution has carried out its work on a scale much easier to understand than a large continent."¹ Cherry looks at "which forces are recurrent and which are unique in the shaping of local adaptations to a bigger world."² Thomas suggests that "...the human individual can feel, as he rarely can elsewhere, a personal identification with a piece of the earth's surface small enough to be encompassed in a glance."³

These three analyses encapsulate some essentials and suggest others: small islands have a clear boundary; they are by definition to some degree isolated, and by that isolation have individuality. They are encompassable in

¹ Bahn, P., & Flenley, J., 1992, *Easter Island: Earth Island*, p.30.

² Cherry, J. F., Davis, J. L., Mantzoutani, E., 1991, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, 12.

³ Thomas, C., 1985, *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape*, 9.

geographical extent, yet yield scope for interpretation and understanding of what is seen and can be found. In the context of historical study they must be, or have been, populated - that is, not a rock or tiny islet that has never supported any habitation. Evans puts forward the advantages of island studies for the archaeologist, and draws attention to the relationship of archaeology and anthropology in the study of cultural change: "It is valid to regard every island which has at some time been the home of a human group as potentially a laboratory for the archaeologist."⁴ He proposes that small islands are subject to fewer variables than mainland areas, and that although they are not immune, they are less likely to suffer an influx of population from outside or to be invaded. Also that islands offer the opportunity to study societies and environments that have had less, or relatively less, disturbance over long periods than mainland sites, and an assessment can be made of the degree of success or failure in adaptation to the environment and the utilisation of resources.

Renfrew sees that islands offer the opportunity to study how "Man continually adjusts to the environment which

⁴ Evans, J. D., 1973, 'Islands as the Laboratories for the Study of Culture Process,' Renfrew, C., ed., *Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*, pp.517-518.

his own activities are unavoidably modifying."⁵ Hunter considers that for such studies the size and the degree of geographical isolation must be sufficient to sustain a permanent population, and remote enough to develop "...a high degree of self-sufficiency."⁶ By these criteria the present study does not consider islands such as the Isle of Wight, which have close and frequent connection with the adjoining mainland.

Evans further considers that some islands are particularised by evidences of "extensive ceremonial and religious complexes". This might be questioned on two grounds: first that a lesser degree of interference has contributed to a higher rate of monument survival, and second by comparison with such monuments as Angkor Wat, Avebury, Stonehenge, Machupicchu, Petra, and the pyramids of Egypt, which are all on mainland sites and not, except for Machupicchu, notably isolated.⁷

Schofield proposes that small island communities are productive of "accelerated or enhanced creative achievement," citing the wealth of literature from or

⁵ Renfrew C. & Wagstaff, M., eds, 1982, *The Archaeology of Exploitation* in Melos, p.1.

⁶ Hunter, J. R., 1996, *Fair Isle: the Archaeology of an Island Community*, p.4.

⁷ Evans, 1973, pp.518-519.

about, the Blaskets.⁸ However, the stimulus for this arose from an external academic interest in the Gaelic language. The literature may well be a serendipity of person, time and place which preserved that which has existed elsewhere but has been lost. The stories which used to be repeated on Lundy have been lost through population changes, and the intrusion of television on social gathering and story-telling. Accounts of the lives of ordinary people may depend on the impetus of an interested outsider for their survival and publication, for example *Ask the Fellows who Cut the Hay*, *Life As We Have Known It*, and *My Life on Lundy*.⁹ It is arguable that writers such as Arnold Bennett, H. G. Wells, George Orwell, and Frank McCourt also reflect a creative response to non-island environments.¹⁰

The piecing together of local histories rests on archaeology, documentary records, map studies, aerial photographs, and the assessment of pictorial representations, together with the observation of what is present, and the co-ordination and interpretation of all

⁸ Schofield, J., 1998, 'Exploring Insularity: Some thoughts on Island Archaeology,' in press.

⁹ Evans, G. E., 1956, *Ask the Fellows Who Cut the Hay*. Llewelyn Davies, M. ed., 1977, *Life As We Have Known It*. Gade, 1978.

¹⁰ Orwell, G., 1937, *The Road to Wigan Pier*. Wells, H. G., 1910, *The History of Mr Polly*. Bennett, A., 1902, *Anna of the Five Towns*. McCourt, F., 1997, *Angela's Ashes*.

these elements. Authors are, to a greater or lesser extent, directed by their own interests and perceptions, both in the selection of a particular location, and their approach to a study. For example, Ewen and de Carteret examine the documented history of Sark, Hawkes gives a general history and description, Ingoldby describes the people and processes that have shaped the island community, and Johnston describes the archaeological remains recorded there (Fig.10).¹¹

Heyerdahl was drawn to Easter Island as part of his wider purpose to trace the effect of ocean currents on population movements in the Pacific, and sought to relate the original population of the island to South American origins.¹² He carried out archaeological work, and investigated the mechanics of cutting, transporting and erecting the huge statues for which the island is famed. Bahn and Flenley were also interested in these, but concentrated on archaeological investigations which revealed the loss of tree-cover and its consequences. Another purpose was to show that "Heyerdahl's theory of a South American source for Easter Island culture is ...a

¹¹ Ewen, A. H. & de Carteret, A. R., 1969, *The Fief of Sark*.
Hawkes, K., 1992, *Sark*. Ingoldby, G., 1990, *Out of Call or Cry*.
Johnston, D. E., 1981, *The Channel Islands: An Archaeological Guide*.

¹² Heyerdahl, T., 1978, *Early Man and the Ocean*.

tottering edifice precariously based on preconceptions, extreme subjectivity, distortions and very little hard evidence" (Fig. 14).¹³

Renfrew *et al.* give an account of Melos, and Cherry *et al.* of north-west Keos, whereby detailed archaeological artifact surveys are viewed in the context of a comparative regional perspective in order to estimate the relationship of artifact distribution to settlement patterns. The studies gave consideration to long-term land use in relation to geographical, political, topographical, economic and cultural conditions (Fig.13). Thomas traces the geographical emergence of the Scilly islands, their land use from the Neolithic, and examines the large number of prehistoric, Celtic and later Christian sites. Comparisons are drawn with Cornwall, Brittany and elsewhere, the origin of place

¹³ Heyerdahl, T., 1989, *Easter Island: The Mystery Solved*. Bahn and Flenley, 1992, p.68. It is possible to find some examples of inconsistency and bias in Bahn's own work, particularly in his underestimate of the effect of cultural and ecological disruption by foreign missionaries, and the effects of disease, land-grabbing, and slave-taking. He does not investigate the existence of two distinct physiological types in the population of the island, and he rejects the reliability of memory and tradition (p.51), but gives these some weight elsewhere (pp.80, 120, 168, 185).

names is considered, and the role of the population is always in focus in the interpretation of data. Grigson describes the course of events which have led to the Scillies of the present day, while Ashbee's work concentrates on the archaeology (Fig.14).¹⁴

Moorhouse adopts the original format of an informed interpretation of monastic life on Skeilic Michael, followed by an account of the known historical events of the island's population, which illuminates the understanding of both (Fig.11).¹⁵ Thom gives a considered historical account of Fair Isle, and a description of present-day life there, writing with the double advantages of having an academic background, and of being an island resident.¹⁶ Hunter makes a study of the archaeology of Fair Isle, and skilfully combines this with other evidences in an account of its historical development which is at once clear, erudite, and absorbing (Fig.12).¹⁷ Rendell and Rendell draw on their engagement with the archaeology of Steep Hom and with the

¹⁴ Renfrew & Wagstaff, 1982. Cherry *et al.*, 1991. Thomas, 1985, *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape*. Grigson, G., 1977, *The Scilly Isles*. Ashbee, P., 1973, 'Culture & Change in the Isles of Scilly,' *Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*, Renfrew, C., ed., pp.521-27.

¹⁵ Moorhouse, G., 1997, *Sun Dancing*.

¹⁶ Thom, V. M., 1989, *Fair Isle: an Island Saga*.

¹⁷ Hunter, J. R., 1996, *Fair Isle: The Archaeology of an Island Community*.

Steep Holm Trust, and support these by documentary researches (Fig.13).¹⁸

The interest of university researchers into the Gaelic language in the 1920s led them to the Blaskets, where it was still the living language (Fig.11).¹⁹ In addition to its exceptional prehistoric archaeological sites, Orkney has a particularly well documented early history from the Norse ownership, which is also witnessed in place and family names, and the dispersed pattern of farmsteads (Fig.12).²⁰ Stell and Harman examine and record the buildings on St Kilda, and place them in their historical context, while Quine (1995) gives an overall picture of the island, its history, communications, and the adaptation of the population to their isolated and harsh environment (Fig.12).²¹ Karlsson, as a non-specialist island-dweller, wrote an account of Taerneoe to record what is known of the history of its inhabitants, using documentary, oral, and pictorial sources (Fig.10).²² Interest in Stora Karlsoe arises from its exceptional botanical environment, and the unique way in which the island is supported, which reflects

¹⁸ Rendell, S., & Rendell, J., 1993, *Steep Holm: the Story of a Small Island*.

¹⁹ Flower, R., 1978, *The Western Island*.

²⁰ Bailey, P., 1971, *Orkney*.

²¹ Stell, G. P., & Harman, M., 1988, *Buildings of St Kilda*.
Quine, D., 1995, *St Kilda*.

²² Karlsson, R., 1994, *Taerneoe, En Dokumentation om Dess Historia*.

a strong and early concern with nature conservation in Sweden (Fig.10).²³ Williamson, and Schei and Moberg describe both the distinctive life of the Faeroes, the strong traditions upheld by the population of the islands, and their historical development (Fig.12).²⁴ In most of the writers cited, the reader senses a degree of engagement with a particular island which has been a spur to enquiry and goes beyond the task of formal historical research.

The basic components which contribute to an island's character and the course of its development may conveniently be considered in three inter-related ways: geographical location, size and configuration; environment and resources; its governance and the extent of external exchange or intrusion.

The location of an island will determine climatic conditions, which in turn affect the potential for agriculture and stock-rearing, and the type and extent of the population's need for shelter, fuel and clothing. The needs of a population in Easter Island (Fig.14), which has a mean average temperature of 20.5C (69F) will obviously be different from those at Taerno, where in winter

²³ Norell, P., 1995, Klippig faageloe staar hoeg i kurs, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 4 June 1995.

²⁴ Williamson, K., 1948, *The Atlantic Islands: a Study of the Faeroe Life & Scene*. Schei, L. K., & Moberg, G., 1991, *The Faeroe Islands*.

temperatures drop to -10°C (14.0°F) or less, and the hours of daylight to six. Similarly the winter feed and shelter necessary for stockrearing in a cold climate will determine the numbers kept, and the ability to conserve food and fuel stocks through the long winter, when boats may be ice-bound, will also affect the size and sustainability of a population. Another effect of climate is that it may operate against or in favour of attracting visitors, the Faeroes not exerting the same pull for tourists as, for example, the Greek islands.

Second, geographical location defines the degree of isolation. Islands which are part of an archipelago, such as Orkney, the Faeroes, the Scilly Isles, or the Cyclades, will benefit from proximity to each other, particularly in communications and defence, since the expense of systems which would not be sustainable for a single island can be spread between a number. Easter Island at 3747km (2328m) from the mainland evidently made much greater demands on self-sufficiency than Keos, lying in an archipelago and only 12km (7.4m) from mainland Greece. The Blaskets lie less than 4.8km (3m) from the mainland, and had close contact there for markets, rites of passage, and for marriage partners. The factor of distance was far more cogent before the development of modern telephonic, sea and aeronautical communications, but a comparison between Mainland (the principal island) and undeveloped North Ronaldsay (in the north of Orkney) illustrates the effects of size and

isolation even within an archipelago. Bailey remarks that "...no improvements in the means of communication can alter the fact that it costs time and money to transfer people, goods and information...", to which it might be added that technical improvements may mitigate, but can not overcome the forces of the weather.²⁵

Accessibility is also affected by the nature of intervening seas. Fair Isle has turbulent waters where the Atlantic and the North Sea meet, the Blasket Sound can be dangerous, so that transporting stock to the mainland was described as "really murder."²⁶ Lundy has north and south tide races, and is more subject to the command of wind and weather than is Keos. Configuration is another factor in relation to accessibility; whether or not there is a harbour and a landing-place, and whether ingress is difficult, either for people, for transporting stock, or handling loads. Lundy has an anchorage which is only safe in west or southerly winds, a landing beach too small for keeping boats, and a steep path c. 121.9m (400ft) up to the plateau. Until the early 20th century the Greater Blasket and Steep Holm had only rock landings, while Melos and Keos have good natural harbours. Distance and difficulty of access will also be contributory factors in determining the

²⁵ Bailey, 1971, p.136.

²⁶ MacConghail, M., 1994, *The Blaskets, People & Literature*, p.49.

frequency of external contacts, unless an island lies on regular sea routes. However, any of the determinants considered here may be over-ridden if an island has a particular resource of value, as Skeilic Michael to the Celtic monks, or is of strategic consequence, as Orkney was for a naval base in both world wars.

External interchange may be with ships putting in for shelter and supplies, with adjacent settlements, or an external government. For Melos and Keos all three of these interchanges have been of importance, to the extent that Renfrew and Wagstaff, and Cherry *et al.* conclude that external powers and influences, and island responses to them, have dominated, and continue to dominate, the course of island development in the Aegean.²⁷ Easter Island has been isolated to an extreme degree, even after discovery by Western powers (1722), until the intrusion of missionaries in the nineteenth century. With jet travel it is still more than five hours from the nearest mainland. Islands on or near trade routes may develop an economic advantage in victualling ships, and in exchange, and proximity or distance from markets will strongly affect an island economy in terms of transport costs.

Size is a factor affecting the exploitation of small islands when the quantity of exchange goods is small.

²⁷ Renfrew & Wagstaff, 1982. Cherry *et al.*, 1991.

Export of a mineral resource or island produce may have to be abandoned if competitiveness cannot be maintained in a market where others are not hampered by comparable transport costs. Perishable produce may be held up and deteriorate if delayed by bad weather, or market deadlines may be missed. Only when a commodity has a particular use, quality, or scarcity value, as do the betonite and perlite which are now exported from Melos, is exploitation of such resources economically rewarding. A high cost of living for the islanders will prevail in any case, once a surplus for exchange is necessary after living standards rise beyond subsistence level, and imports are necessary.

Islands need to be self-sufficient in water supply, since the limitations of isolation usually prevent resort to alternative supplies. Water supply will affect population, stock and crop types and levels, and depends on wells, springs, rivers, precipitation, and the ability to retain and conserve it. Easter Island has a mean rainfall of 1198mm (47ins) but no streams, and a high rate of loss due to areas of porous rock, run-off, and evaporation. This loss reduces the potential fertility of the grasslands, and Bahn & Flenley point to the extreme effect of the loss of tree cover on water resources.²⁸ Melos suffers a low rainfall of 400mm (15.7ins) with soils that are dry except where streams have created alluvial deposits; to some

²⁸ Bahn & Flenley, 1992, pp.211-218.

extent the problem is overcome by terracing, and the cultivation of deep-rooting trees (olives and vines). Sheep and goats are pastured, which make less demand on water supply (3.5L a day) than either pigs (13L a day) or cattle (32L a day).²⁹ The Atlantic-facing islands usually have plentiful rainfall, though difficulties can arise in times of drought if island capacity to conserve water is limited, and when low precipitation coincides with periods of high demand during the tourist season there can be serious difficulties. This situation prevailed on Lundy in the extremely dry summer of 1996, when the stock was evacuated because the grass keep was exhausted and, exceptionally, domestic water was brought in from the mainland by container. On the other hand, when rain has been heavy the island is extremely wet underfoot, and drainage of arable fields has been necessary. In historical times Lundy grass keep has been used for agisting of cattle and it is remarkable that, despite the heavy labour of transporting them, summer agisting of sheep also took place on the Blaskets, as the grass was of such good quality. Water supply is also one of the factors which determine the possibility of processing industries, manufacturing, or tourism; for example, water mills, sheep dipping, beer brewing, wool washing, and tourist services all make demands

²⁹ Renfrew, 1982, p.98.

on water which must be taken into account in planning developments. This can also affect the export of minerals, since an absence of water to wash crushed ores or to power machinery would add greatly to the cost of transporting untreated ores, as is noted in the case of the Scilly Isles.³⁰

Islands share with coastal lands the particular advantage of the double resources of land and sea. For Fair Isle fish was the mainstay of life until the early 1900s; it was cured (salted) and air dried, and could be stored for winter food and for sale to ships. The Blaskets have also been principally dependent on fishing, and seal were hunted for meat, oil and skins. In the early summer sea birds provided eggs, feathers, meat and oil on all the oceanic islands, and these were formerly an important resource both for subsistence and trade. The Faeroes have depended upon fishing, sheep-rearing, and the exploitation of sea-birds, and only four to six *per cent* of the land has been cultivated, mainly for fodder and subsistence vegetables. Some islands now fish commercially only for crustaceans, which can be potted from small boats and have a higher market value than wet fish. Orkney has a very considerable trade in crabs, which are exported either blast-frozen or processed, and the islanders are now developing the export of high-quality smoked salmon. Seaweed has been a

³⁰ Thomas, 1985, p.151.

valuable resource in the past for fertiliser, for sheep-grazing (in Scilly and Orkney), and for kelp, which was sold for iodine, alum, glass and soap-making. Although the labour of collecting, drying and burning the seaweed, and transporting the kelp was very heavy, it was a resource which, like the sea-birds, required no outlay other than time and effort.³¹ Modern large-scale fishing, refrigeration, and marketing practices have otherwise ended commercial small-boat fishing on islands; chemicals replaced kelp in manufacturing after import restrictions were lifted in 1832, and trade in birds' eggs and feathers was prohibited by preservation orders made at the end of the 19th century. The Faeroes are the only islands considered here where fishing is still a major part of the economy. Whale-hunting has also been recorded there, and it is continued there once a year as part of the cultural tradition.

³¹ Bell, M., 1981, 'Seaweed as a Prehistoric Resource,' D. Brothwell, & Dimbleby, G., eds., *Environmental Aspects of Coasts & Islands*. Nelson, F., 1998, 'Islanders hope for wealthier times from seaweed galore,' *The Times*, 14 December. Seaweed has continued to be a commercial crop on the island of Uist, Outer Hebrides, where islanders have set up a company to prolong this industry by an intensification of direct marketing strategies.

Historically, wrecks and smuggling have been significant aspects of island life where weather and seas can be treacherous to shipping. Electronic communications mean that shipwrecks are now infrequent, but 526 wrecks occurred on Scilly between 1697 and 1927.³² Wrecks once represented triple possibilities for islanders: challenging acts of rescue, the benefit of retrieved cargo and goods, and the rewards of beachcombing, especially for scarce wood. Lundy supplied itself with coal in 1931 and 1937 after two wrecks; several pieces of ships' furniture remain on the island, and firewood is still collected from the beach.³³ Legislation to control wreck plunder is not always effective in remote places when tempting goods may be floating in the water, as was found when the *Cita* went aground on Scilly in March, 1997. Smuggling was highly profitable in the 18th century, and some islands (Scilly, Fair Isle, Lundy) were particularly well placed for it, though documentary records are, naturally, confined to a few detected cases.

All the islands considered here, except Taernoe, now suffer a lack of timber and wood whether for building, fuel, or boat construction, although scrublands and driftwood can provide some firewood. Where small islands have peat it has either become exhausted, the lifting has

³² Grigson, G., 1977, *The Scilly Isles*, p.54.

³³ Gade, 1978, pp.30, 149, 212. Observation by the present writer.

been restricted because it causes ecological damage, or the heavy labour of lifting, drying, and transporting it has led to its being replaced by coal, oil or electricity. Only on some of the smaller remote Orkney islands is it still used for fuel. Power factors have severely limited the possibilities for industrial developments, and the importation of power sources further aggravates island cost disadvantage. The Faeroes, Fair Isle, and Orkney have developed what were traditional cottage crafts into light industries using small-scale domestic machinery, and have found markets for specialist products in Fair Isle patterned knitting, and Faeroes lightweight garments made from the the undyed wool of the Jacob's sheep. Success depends not only on a committed work force, but also on organisation; direct selling is an economic advantage, and the support of the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Danish government respectively have encouraged initiatives. In the Faeroes water power provides 25% of the energy requirement, some coal is mined, and oil imported. As well as shellfish and salmon processing, Orkney has a distillery, and is positioned in an archipelago which can support communications, which provides mains electricity, and which receives official support from the mainland, and these factors have obviously been of great advantage in designing economic strategies. A further advantage in the case of Orkney was the installation of naval bases during the two world wars, which brought inward investment,

employment, and improvement grants. One niche industry on Orkney is a small electronics firm developed by an island entrepreneur, and Fair Isle now has secretaries working for employers through the internet, so it is possible that computer technology may give further employment possibilities for island-dwellers.³⁴

The most important resources for small island exploitation are now in many cases quite different from those which governed early subsistence economies. The combination of increased western prosperity that followed the expansion of industries and communications in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which in its turn gave rise to a more prosperous workforce and a legal entitlement to holidays, have resulted in a still-growing appetite for travel, hobby and leisure activities. These were also fuelled by vast improvements in transport, as well as the post-Romantic quest for picturesque landscapes, a perception that the seaside was beneficial for health, and the growth of Victorian scientific interest in flora and fauna and specimen collecting.³⁵ Some tourists are attracted to

³⁴ Bailey, 1971, p.150. Hamilton, A., 1998, Islanders cling on in rocky outposts, *The Times*, 15 December. N Sanders, Shetland internet services user, pers. comm.

³⁵ Travis, J., 1993, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts 1750-1900*. Walton, J. K., 1983, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History 1750-1914*, pp.21-59, 165-66.

islands in search of the unusual with, perhaps, a sense of romance associated with apartness and the small-scale. Peace, quiet and an unspoiled environment may be combined with the opportunity to follow ornithological, historical, walking, climbing, botanic, photographic or diving interests. Fair Isle has a Site of Special Scientific Interest, is part of the Shetlands National Scenic Area, and has a bird observatory. Orkney, the Faeroes and Lundy all attract bird-watchers; Lundy is also a Site of Special Scientific Interest and has a Marine Nature Reserve. Some islands have unique features of flora and fauna which interest botanists and biologists: the Scillies have a bird sanctuary on Annet, and are designated a Conservation Area, an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, part of the Heritage Coast, and a National Nature Reserve. Karlsoe and parts of Taerno are both nature reserves. Orkney is of outstanding archaeological interest, as also is Scilly, which has almost one-fifth of the remaining prehistoric tombs in England and Wales, while Sark is a unique feudal holding.³⁶ The exceptional Easter Island and its statues can now be reached by air from Chile; Melos and Keos are attractive for their climate and Greek culture. The activities of scientists, archaeologists and anthropologists can, in addition, serve to highlight

³⁶ Fowles, J. & Godwin, F., 1978, *Islands*.

attributes of place.

Although for many islands tourism provides a vital source of income, it carries with it seasonal unemployment, and the danger of spoliation of the environment and community which are a large part of their attraction. On the other hand it can be argued that it has provided a stimulus to modernisation.³⁷ This dilemma highlights the problem of balancing an island economy. Additional sources of income have to be found once a subsistence economy has been abandoned, either because of changes in traditional resource utilisation (agriculture, fishing, piloting, sea-bird exploitation, victualling), and/or because subsistence level is unacceptable in relation to the general rise in the standard of living. In changing the economic basis and orientation to tourism, less welcome changes can follow in consequence: buildings and infrastructure are installed and modernised to meet visitors' perceived needs and, if care is not taken, tourism can overwhelm both place and community. One guide book refers to Sark as "Disneyland."³⁸ On the other hand, the present study would seem to indicate that it is extremely difficult for an island community to enjoy modern living standards without being part of a larger archipelago, or having a substantial

³⁷ Bailey, 1971, p.132.

³⁸ Insight Guides, 1988, *The Channel Islands*. Another example is the island of Koh Samui, in south-west Thailand.

income from tourism, or a number of grants and subsidies.

This problem has been solved in one instance in a unique fashion. The island of Greater Karlsoe, in Sweden, was founded as a registered company in 1800 by a group of people interested in its environmental protection. Shares were issued, and the company set up "The Karlsoe Hunting and Animal Protection Association," which now runs the island, in conjunction with the local county administration. The number of shares is limited, they are expensive, carry high status, and new shares are issued only rarely if capital projects have to be financed. The hunting is something of a social formality, and consists of hare-chasing on one day a year. Despite the misleading title, the objective is to preserve the island's natural beauty and bird life; sheep were removed in 1883 since when the flora has proliferated to an abundance of more than 400 species.³⁹ Three wardens live on the island, and the revenue from visitors provides an annual income of c£20,000. The adjacent island of Little Karlsoe is also a nature reserve, owned by the Swedish Society for Nature Protection, and is not populated but supervised from Greater Karlsoe.

³⁹ Norell, 1995. *Nationalencyklopedin*, 1993, x, p.465. A matter of current contention there is a proposal to re-introduce sheep.

Steep Holm is also unusual in that it is owned and administered by a Trust, which was formed to safeguard the island as a memorial to Kenneth Allsop, a conservationist and journalist. The trust was enabled to buy the island by the owner's agreeing to sell for a very low sum, and the trust is a registered charity. Income is derived from donations, a small grant from the local authority, membership subscriptions, and fund-raising from trips organised for visitors or occasional pleasure-steamer landings. The warden is mainland-based, and a force of volunteers carries out repairs, maintenance, and administration.⁴⁰

Orkney, which is perhaps too distant and too far north for popular tourism on a large scale, has been able to maintain a balance between farming, light industries, and tourism, and to preserve a genuine island way of life. It has several advantages which have enabled it to do this: the benefits of its strategical position in wartime, and on trade routes in peacetime; the provision of regular steamer connections with the mainland; connection to main electricity supplies; farming subsidies; support from the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and a pipeline terminal for North Sea Oil. Another asset is the long-term

⁴⁰ Rendell & Rendell, 1993, Chapters 18, 19. The owner accepted £10,000 for the freehold.

continuity of a population which has a strong cultural identity.⁴¹ Even so there has been a decline in population numbers, which is attributed to a shortfall of satisfying employment and the pull of mainland attractions for the young.

Thom gives an excellent analysis of the present-day problems of small island economic survival in discussing Fair Isle and its resources, which "...are no longer used directly on the spot, but instead provide the vital anchorage for a chain of interdependence linking the island and the outside world."⁴² The island is owned and administered by the National Trust for Scotland, and in 1989 the population numbered 70, including a nurse, a teacher, and the staff of the observatory. Income is derived from visitors coming to the observatory or landed from cruises, crofting, sheep-rearing, the knitted woollens craft industry, and individual initiatives which, if they depend on imported materials, must have substantial add-on value. The core problems are to maintain sufficient employment and level of income to uphold a stable community. The success of efforts to revive the flagging community in the

⁴¹ Linklater, M., 1998, 'Give the Country Some Air,' *The Times*, 1 January: an investigation by DNA techniques found the same blood groups from bones at Bronze Age settlements at Skara Brae as that of present day inhabitants.

⁴² Thom, 1989, Chapter 12.

1940s-50s, the establishment of the observatory, and the purchase by the National Trust (1954), were largely due to the enthusiasm and determination of one man.⁴³ Since then the island has been able to modernise the houses and improve the amenities with the assistance of the National Trust, Scottish development funds, and charitable trusts which have made grants. The amenities include electricity, piped water, a school, a shop, and an island boat which can transport passengers and all cargoes. It is an enormous economic advantage that the financial responsibility for the boat and crew has been taken over by the Shetland Islands Council, which received a grant from the European Union to buy a new vessel in 1986 specifically designed for the island's purposes. The community is strong and self-governing, and selected newcomers have been added to the core of long term islanders. The objective is that a viable community shall live in conjunction with protection of the natural environment - though whether the community could support itself without outside contributions and the provision of the boat is doubtful. But it is also apparent that grants alone would not bring about a balanced and viable settlement without the dedicated commitment of the island population. Part of the islanders' achievement is to have secured that financial support, using it wisely, and responding to initiatives. The other part is their

⁴³ Thom, 1989, Chapter 9: George Waterson.

engagement with the island, its qualities and traditions, and the objective of preserving the way of life, but not fossilising it. One important aspect of this island development is that it has not changed the landscape or intrinsic character of the island itself, and this reflects a growing global awareness of the importance of environmental issues. In 1985 the island was awarded the Council of Europe's Diploma for the successful integration of a community with conservation of the landscape and wildlife.

The economy of the Scilly Isles is based on two major sources of income: tourism (85%) and the production and export of spring flowers and other early crops. Currently the economy is perceived to be under serious threat because of competition from cheaper imports of flowers and potatoes, and because houses are being sold as second homes. This has the twofold drawback of forcing up house prices beyond local incomes, and contributing little to the islands' economy - indeed, council tax is only 50% of that paid by year-round residents, and rental profits go off-island.⁴⁴ For the Cycladic Islands, the Faeroes, Orkney, Sark, and Scilly the advantages of being part of an archipelago lie

⁴⁴ *The Times*, 21 September 1999: it costs £50 per ton to take potatoes to the mainland. *The Times*, September 10 1999: a two-bedroom semi-detached house is worth £200,000.

in access for numbers of visitors, and economy of scale for communications. Although Sark is still farmed, with an emphasis on market gardening, it has increasingly become dependent on tourism. Two landing places have been constructed, and there are five hotels as well as boarding houses. In the season there may be as many as eleven steamers a day, plus launches and private yachts, and the number of tourists in a year can be as high as 95,000.⁴⁵ The island has a beautiful coastline, but the main interest is its quaint survival as a feudal entity under the control of the seigneur. He or she holds the fief directly from the Crown, and collects taxes and landing fees; in 1990 the island exchequer operated on an income of £226,816 and expenditure of £178,102, "...a remarkably healthy state of financial affairs for such a small community."⁴⁶

Easter Island now relies for its income entirely on tourism, which is organised from Chile; trade and exchange were not options at such great distance before air travel, except for barter with the very few ships that called there. The island population has been enlarged from c. 500 in 1955 to c. 2,000 in 1989 by emigrants from Chile.⁴⁷ Heyerdahl reported that there are "hospitals, schools, shops, sports-palace, bank, and even two discotheques" but

⁴⁵ Hawkes, 1992, pp.18, 147. The landing fee is 75p *per* non-resident.

⁴⁶ Hawkes, 1992, pp.18-19.

⁴⁷ Heyerdahl, 1989, p.153.

maintains that these do not dominate the landscape, and (less convincingly) that the islanders "...have enthusiastically revived much of their ancient culture."⁴⁸ Melos has three main sources of income: farming (oranges, olives, vines), export of minerals (bentonite, barium, kaolin), and tourism; it was just self-sufficient in the 1970s. Keos has a better water supply than Melos, with main products of wine, citrus, honey, acorns, goods from small industries, and tourism is of rather less importance. Both islands are now part of Greece and neither is self-governing.

Four of the small islands considered here are no longer populated. Skeilic Michael is an exception from all the other islands in that it is no more than a rock, which attracted monastic inhabitants because they wished to exist under extreme conditions of self-denial. The monastery remained there between the 7th and 12th centuries, after which the island was not populated until a lighthouse was built in 1820. Pilgrims, archaeologists, or the merely curious visit the island when sea conditions permit, but since the automation of the lighthouse there have been no residents. Although the monastic community lived on the barest possible subsistence, their survival would not have been possible without support from their mainland

⁴⁸ Heyerdahl, 1989, p.253.

mother-house. Taernoë has a good harbour and water supply, and islanders depended on a combination of fishing and farming for their hardy subsistence livelihood. The oak timber provided for a boat-building industry for a few years, but it was short-lived; granite quarrying began c1850 and stone was exported until the end of the century when it was no longer competitive, and some employment arose from piloting ships and tending the lighthouse. There was a very steep decline in the size of the population in the 1950s as islanders took up more attractive employment opportunities on the nearby mainland, and numbers gradually declined until c1965 there were no permanent inhabitants left. The cottages are used as summer homes, and the owners are organised into an association which answers for island matters, so that the island is not abandoned or neglected.

The Blaskets have always been in private ownership and the tenants maintained a subsistence economy. This was based on fishing, seabirds, seals, and sheep and cattle rearing, with turf for fuel, until 1953, when the islands were evacuated. Access to the islands was difficult because of coastal cliffs, a lack of natural harbours, and the often dangerous passage across the Blasket Sound. A small breakwater and pier were built on Greater Blasket in 1910 and other improvements carried out by mainland authorities, which improved matters considerably, and the population reached a maximum of 116 in 1916. However, living conditions remained harsh. Numbers had dwindled to 20 in 1953 after

emigration, there was no longer a school, the islanders were poor tenants with no money to invest in new boats or improvements in farming, and island life was no longer sustainable.⁴⁹ O'Crohan gives an arresting account of the subsistence economy there.⁵⁰ Greater Blasket now belongs to an Irish politician, who has built a house there for occasional use, and the other islands are uninhabited.

The island of Samson, one of the Scilly group, had not been consistently populated because of the uncertain water supply, and c1855 the leaseholder moved the population out to make a deer park.⁵¹ Conditions were very harsh on St Kilda, a group of three islands which lie at twenty-two to forty-eight hours' journey from the Scottish mainland at Oban, depending on the weather and the route chosen. Only Hirta was populated, although Soay was used for summer agisting of sheep, and has a rare breed of primitive sheep (Soay sheep) and huge numbers of puffins. Communications were unpredictable, the climate exposed, and the islanders' livelihood depended largely on their extraordinary cliff-climbing skills to harvest the multitudinous sea birds. The inhabitants' living conditions were described as squalid, and their isolation left them vulnerable to infections from outside contacts which twice decimated the population. The emergency relief

⁴⁹ MacConghail, 1994, p.35.

⁵⁰ O'Crohan, T., 1951, *The Islandman*.

⁵¹ Grigson, 1977, p.30.

of starvation in 1912, was followed by terrible winter weather conditions in 1929-30 which "finally broke the St Kildans' spirit," and they were evacuated.⁵² The island remained uninhabited until the Marquess of Bute gave it to the National Trust for Scotland in 1956, although some islanders maintained their cottages and return to them in the summers. St Kilda is now administered by Scottish National Heritage; in 1987 it was declared a World Heritage Site, and it is a National Nature Reserve, a National Scenic Area, and a Site of Special Scientific Interest. The islands have spectacular cliff scenery and the largest colony of gannets in the world, although the severe weather conditions have greatly limited the species of flora and fauna which can survive.⁵³ Part is leased to the Ministry of Defence for a tracking station, which provides transport, installations of water and electricity, and services that enable a resident warden to live there, and a limited number of scientists and volunteer workers to visit. It is remarkable that such an isolated community had no less than three churches recorded in 1697, though whether these were successive, or all in use, is not stated.⁵⁴ On

⁵² Quine, 1995, p.152.

⁵³ Quine, 1995, p.17: there are 2 land vertebrates, 28 species of nesting birds, and 141 plant species compared with 38, 152, and 850 respectively on the mainland.

⁵⁴ Quine, 1995, p.34.

St Kilda life under extreme conditions of isolation, adverse weather, and hardihood made close co-operation of the inhabitants necessary to survival, and there is evidence of communal use of some buildings, and a history of an island "parliament."⁵⁵

Apart from the extreme example of Skeilic Michael, the isolation of islands has appealed to monastic communities, particularly those on the west on the Atlantic seaboard. The island of Inis Tuaisceart in the Blaskets has remains of an Early Christian monastery with "Brendan's Oratory," and the neighbouring island of Inis Icileain has another with graveyard, leacht, and an inscribed stone which is recorded, but lost.⁵⁶ Orkney has two remaining sites of Celtic monasteries.⁵⁷ Sark has a documented history of the foundation of a monastery in AD 565 by St Magloire, while the indication of a religious settlement on the Faeroes lies in a written record that Irish hermits had been forced to leave in the 8th century because of sea rovers.⁵⁸ A monastery was established on Scilly by 1120, when it was granted by the king to Tavistock Abbey (Devon), but an earlier, Celtic foundation was on St Helen's island where there is a *Lann* with burials, an oratory, and a circular

⁵⁵ Stell & Harman, 1988, pp.19, 23. Quine, 1995, pp.25-35, 43.

⁵⁶ MacConghail, 1994, pp.28-30.

⁵⁷ Bailey, 1971, p.24.

⁵⁸ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.16. Williamson, 1948, p.20.

cell.⁵⁹ Lundy has, thus far, no firm archaeological evidence of a monastery, but there is a *Lann* with a *cella memoriae*, four Romano-British inscribed stones, and ruins of a chapel ascribed to the medieval period.

The exploitation of small islands is also relative to their ownership which, as Jane Austen said of advice, may be good or bad as the event proved.⁶⁰ The owner's degree of residence and personal involvement, or its lack, his or her objectives, and the availability of investment capital will all have major influence on how an island fares. Islands in archipelagos are seen to be more likely to come under external governance as opposed to private ownership; Keos and Melos from classical times have both been subject to a series of external powers with interests in the Aegean. One effect was the levy of tributes and taxes which forced the populations to increase production beyond subsistence; another was the siting of key centres and settlements. The Orkneys have been owned by the Norwegians, and then the Scots; the Faroes by Norway and then Denmark. Grigson comments that the Scillies are "...islands whose history was made from the outside."⁶¹

The Scilly Isles were, and are, in royal ownership. A leasehold was granted to Frances Godolphin (of Cornwall) in 1570, with the typical Elizabethan economical proviso that

⁵⁹ Thomas, 1985, p.181.

⁶⁰ Austen, J., 1965, *Persuasion*, Chapter 23.

⁶¹ Grigson, 1977, p.17.

he should answer for their defence. He augmented the population, enclosed some of the land and, as Carew put it, "...by his invention and purse bettered his Plot and allowance."⁶² The islands remained in the ownership of the family until 1834, when Augustus Smith took a 99-year lease. He was a man "...benevolent...a mixture of romantic motives and Benthamite principles...energetic, dictatorial...stern and single-minded," and he undertook some fairly drastic reorganisation.⁶³ He had the resources to fund his ideas, and built roads, schools, quays, and houses; he put a stop to smuggling, did away with the minute sub-division of holdings, introduced new stock, and improved farming. He increased the prosperity of the islands, and developed the specialisation in market gardening of early produce referred to above. The island of Tresco became his personal estate, with exotic plantations, and in 1929 he re-negotiated the lease for this island, which his descendants still hold, while the other islands reverted to the Duchy of Cornwall. Smith's resolute romanticism was autocratic: surplus population from the land re-organisation was encouraged to emigrate, and Samson was depopulated willy-nilly. But there is no doubt that he made necessary reforms, and created an economic basis for the the Scilly Isles which did not involve the destruction of their

⁶² Grigson, 1977, p.12.

⁶³ Grigson, 1977, p.14.

character.

The Faeroes are self-governing, except for foreign policy and defence, and have representation in the Danish parliament, but are not joined with Denmark in the European Union, and Danish is the second language after Faeroese. After 1856, when Denmark relinquished its monopoly, deep-sea fishing became the major industry and this greatly improved the economy; fishing and fish processing still account for eighty *per cent* of exports. Since the second world war the islands have become a modern welfare state, and enjoy a high standard of living similar to that which prevails in Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries. Denmark contributes subventions amounting to 15% to the Faeroese GNP, although there is an adverse balance of trade. The larger part of Faeroes trade has consistently been with Denmark, and sea communications are regular, but the Faeroese are careful to preserve their own cultural traditions. Since the second world war the population has risen from 29,000 to 48,000 (1990); the great majority are indigenous islanders, and since 1945 there has been a high rate of net natural increase of 8-9% a year, which might lead to problems in future.⁶⁴ There have been both economic and social advantages to the Faeroes in their links with Denmark, and their upholding of the culture and environment

⁶⁴ *Nationalencyklopedin*, 1992, vii, pp.174-5.

reflects well both on that country's enlightened overlordship, and on the character of the Faeroese people. However, in 1998 a coalition government was elected with a mandate to seek control over foreign and legal affairs, and a changed status as a sovereign state within a Danish commonwealth.⁶⁵ There have been no uprisings, and the society is remarkable for its strong sense of community, good order and fairness. The size of the whole island group (1399 sq km, 540 sq m) has probably served to reinforce its retention of power over its home affairs, and the character of the environment to forge communal solidarity.

Easter Island, by reason of its isolation, was independent throughout its history until it was annexed by Chile in 1888.⁶⁶ The earlier formal annexation by Peru, by means of a document which none of the islanders could read, had no political effect. Little is known for certain of the history and style of the island's governance, beyond that there was an ancestral god-figure, kings, and an elite, until civil war erupted, which is estimated to have taken place between 1722 and 1774.⁶⁷ The origin of the population is in dispute and there are no documentary sources found before 1722, so the early history relies on the interpretation of archaeology, anthropology, pollen studies, flora and fauna, and the rather unreliable accounts gathered

⁶⁵ *The Times*, 11 May 1998.

⁶⁶ Bahn & Flenley, 1992, p.179.

⁶⁷ Bahn & Flenley, 1992, Chapter 9.

from the islanders.⁶⁸ Powerful forces of belief and a considerable level of prosperity must have fuelled the construction of the large number of gigantic *moai* statues. With government administration from Chile, the establishment of regular airborne communications, and interest in the history, culture and ecology of the island it is, although distant, no longer completely isolated.

It would seem that the sole concern of the Blasket landlords was the collection of rents. This, too, had its effect, since there was no investment or attempt to improve the islands, and no support for the inhabitants. Irish public welfare provided the small harbour in 1910, and the church set up a school c.1866, which closed in 1941. One of its necessary tasks was the teaching of English for the numbers who emigrated to America, since the island language was Gaelic.⁶⁹ Fair Isle was part of larger estates held by the mainland landlord, and was run with a resident factor. There were problems for the islanders in the 18th century with the landlord's monopoly of fish marketing, which gave them lower than usual prices, and the

⁶⁸ Bahn & Flenley, 1992. Heyerdahl, 1989. It should perhaps be emphasised that "discovery" in 1722 relates to Western activity. Bahn & Flenley were far more comprehensive than Heyerdahl in their investigations, which concentrated on the population and environment.

⁶⁹ MacConghail, 1994, p.29.

disadvantage of a similar monopoly of supplies brought from the mainland. Reforms were brought about by the Crofters Commission in 1892; although the then laird claimed he had improved conditions by providing a school, a store, and a library, and had tried to improve the standard of agriculture, the islanders succeeded in their wish to become crofters, and their rents were reduced. A short-term but decisive change of ownership was made in 1948 by an island devotee who was involved in setting up a bird observatory. He borrowed the capital to buy the island, and the observatory was established. But it was found to be impossible to continue to run it or make any necessary improvements without capital reserves, and the island was offered to the National Trust for Scotland in 1954 in return for payment of the capital debt.⁷⁰

The island which has been shaped more than any other by its owners is Sark, which is nominally a Crown dependency, and part of Guernsey Bailiwick, but is self-governing. In 1563 a Jersey landowner received the royal grant of the island, on condition that he would re-populate it, and provide for its defences against the French. He appears to have been both practical and wise; he moved there with his family and some tenants from Jersey, and successfully organised the island into forty farm tenements, with low

⁷⁰ Thom, 1989, Chapters 5, 9.

rents to encourage settlers to prosper and stay. He was the feudal lord, as his descendants were until they sold the island in 1720, and as their successors are to the present.⁷¹ Autocratic control has been modified by the addition of twelve elected deputies to the original forty members of the Chief Pleas, which votes taxes and controls finance. The lord of the manor appoints the chief officers, and can veto Chief Pleas decisions for 21 days only, "...even if some members may follow the lead given by him."⁷² Feudal control has maintained many of the island traditions, but the Dame of Sark (Seigneur 1927-74) failed to prevent or control the number of English settlers who bought properties there after 1914, and in particular those who came for a tax shelter after the Second World War. This has resulted in some undesirable buildings, and a population sharply divided by origin, money and class.⁷³ The door was closed after the event in 1962 by the election of a Committee for the Preservation of Natural Amenities, with powers to control building, but by 1967 the balance of

71 Ewen & de Carteret, pp.31-119.

72 Hawkes, 1992, pp.77-80.

73 Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.111: "...unsightly shacks and inappropriate houses." Hawkes, 1992, p.128: "...three antagonistic camps..."

housing ownership had shifted to 61% of outsiders.⁷⁴ This has resulted in the shortage of affordable housing for the islanders, and a population heavily weighted at a high average age and with a very low birth rate. The friction has been evident even to the casual visitor, and "...suspicion and resentment, and over-exposure...make life on Sark hard going."⁷⁵ The population is open to the modern world by the newly-come residents, the visitors, and television, and it would be surprising if deferential acceptance of feudal control were not undermined, especially if no longer reciprocated by the protection of the islanders' interests. The seigneur can no longer over-ride decisions of the island council, and recently there has been protest at his revival of the *troizieme* tax on the sale of property. There is a landing tax for tourists, duties are levied on spirits, and a *dixieme* tax on island households.⁷⁶ The tourist income is dependent on the Jersey and Guernsey holiday bases, from where commercial passenger vessels carry the trippers to and from

⁷⁴ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.111. Hawkes, 1992, p.13: one freehold property sold for £275,000 in 1992. *The Financial Times* of 24 July 1999 carried an advertisement by a Sark estate agent offering "...a good selection of attractive properties available to purchase, both with or without land and income."

⁷⁵ Ingoldby, 1990, p.30. The present writer's visit, 1960.

⁷⁶ Ingoldby, 1990, p.22. Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.113.

the smallest registered port in the world. Cars are forbidden, but the ownership of tractors for general purposes has risen to one in seven of the population, and planes or helicopters are allowed to land only in cases of emergency.⁷⁷

Employment has become a key issue with the change from the traditional farming-fishing-fowling economies of small islands, and this particularly affects young generations. Unskilled or semi-skilled occupations are not so plentiful, technological and other skill requirements are more specific; often island conditions may not accord with raised educational standards and social expectations, which may also be coloured by television. In all cases tertiary education has to be completed elsewhere, and can result in a drain of the young population who prefer life on the mainland, or cannot find a suitable level of employment at home. Where tourism is the major income either the economy must carry some employees during the off-season, or alternative off-season earnings have to be developed, or recourse made to seasonal labour, which affects the size, balance and homogeneity of the island community. On the other hand, islands possess qualities that appeal to individuals who are prepared to forego mainland advantages for the sake of enjoying island life. Generations of island

⁷⁷ Hawkes, 1992, p.18.

residents have preserved the way of life in Orkney, the Faeroes, and Fair Isle, who give the benefits of stability, knowledge and experience, and a proved commitment. Fair Isle needed to augment the population in the 1950s, after an almost-disastrous economic low, and has managed to establish a democratic, responsible community with a balanced age range, and still with a core of c. 50% of indigenous islanders. Thom remarks that there were one or two failures to adapt: "To live happily on a small island makes more demands on the individual than does life elsewhere. In addition to being much more dependent on his - or her - own resources than those living in or near a larger community, the island dweller is also much more dependent upon his neighbours. Tolerance, an adaptability and a willingness to co-operate are consequently among the most important of the qualities needed in island residents..."⁷⁸

External factors affecting islanders, those which are not island-generated or island-controlled, are of two kinds, that might be termed natural and interventionist. The effects of wind and weather can be more severe in an exposed island environment, and the impact on a small community with limited or no alternative resources more acutely felt than on the mainland. Among weather risks are storm damage, flood or drought, or extremes of cold or heat (affecting water supplies, pasture, and shelter and fuel

⁷⁸ Thom, 1989, p.140.

requirements). Disease can have drastic effects on a small enclosed community without immunity, as was found when the populations were decimated on Easter Island in the 1860s, Sark in 1695, and St Kilda in 1727 and 1856.⁷⁹ Similarly, crop pests or stock diseases have severe economic consequences. Disasters at sea are another hazard affecting islanders. The loss of a boat has supply, economic, and human consequences; after a storm in 1897 four widows and 27 dependent children were left unprovided for on Fair Isle.⁸⁰ The recent loss of four young men off Iona led the islanders to advertise for young families to move in to prevent the closure of the school when the present four primary pupils go to school on the mainland; of a population of 102, 50% are over retirement age.⁸¹

The effect of interventions, although less dramatic, have been more fundamental and long-lasting. The later 19th century and 20th century witnessed an extent of technological, industrial, and economic change that has had world-wide repercussions.⁸² Renfrew comments that "Since the late 19th century the system has become the world."⁸³ It could be argued that although many small islands are seldom

⁷⁹ Bahn & Flenley, 1992, p.187. Ewen & de Carteret 1969, p.86. Quine, 1995, p.14.

⁸⁰ Thom, 1989, p.34.

⁸¹ *The Times*, 14 December 1998, 2 February 1999.

⁸² More, C., 1997, *The Industrial Age 1750-1955*, pp.81-208.

⁸³ Renfrew, 1982, p.243.

heard of, few can remain entirely untouched by modern communications systems, trading patterns, and local and international controls. During the 19th century lighthouses were extensively installed as a result of the expansion in the volume of trade and the construction of large merchant ships. The effect of manned lighthouses on small islands was to introduce a new element of population and outside contact, regular communications and, in many cases, opportunities to increase income. The same effects hold true of the installation of telegraph, and coastguard stations. Electricity and sophisticated machinery have removed much of the drudgery of labour and changed employment patterns, as well as changing markets and supply strategies through refrigeration. Large-scale organisations and industries command markets, and demand for commodities and raw materials can change, as seen in the decline of small-scale farming and fishing, the demand for different minerals on Melos, and the start and finish of granite industries on Lundy and Taernoe. Improvements in transport enabled the early crops industry on the Scillies to flourish, but also facilitated the journey to Easter Island of the missionaries who set out to impose another culture on the islanders, and destroyed many of their ancient artefacts. The Peruvians carried large numbers of islanders off to slavery, and Frenchmen took over the

island for a sheep farm.⁸⁴ Against these violations, the islanders had no defences.

War is an event which can particularly affect islands and other resorts with the cessation of tourism. Apart from the loss of income, Sark was occupied by the French in the 16th century, and by the Germans from 1940 to 1945, because of the strategic position of the Channel Islands. Bailey considers that the second world war was "...as great a turning point in the development of Orkney as had been the Norse settlement or the annexation by Scotland [1471]."⁸⁵ A garrison of 60,000 was installed for the naval base which had the effect of a "social and economic forcing house". The Faeroes' fleets suffered casualties that, *pro rata* to the population, were the heaviest of any country during the war of 1939-45.⁸⁶ The islands that were not occupied suffered from uncertain communications, and the loss of manpower to the forces; only one couple was left on Lundy at one time during the last war, plus an Admiralty detachment and the lighthouse keepers, and there was an enormous depreciation of the buildings from the six years of absence of labour and materials to repair storm damage.⁸⁷

Possibly the greatest effect on island economies has been due to the social changes in the late 19th and 20th

⁸⁴ Heyerdahl, 1989, pp.78-80.

⁸⁵ Bailey, 1971, p.135.

⁸⁶ Williamson, 1948, p.89.

⁸⁷ Gade, 1978, Chapter 10.

centuries that have led to the present concentration on tourism. There is one common problem of dependency on tourism, wherever it is developed in aid of the economy: to maintain a balance between the environment, the community, and the expectations of tourists, while operating on a scale sufficient to achieve the necessary returns. Expansion of tourist accommodation requires heavy investment in infrastructure and building, which may spoil the environment which is one of a holiday resort's chief attractions. The limited visitor-number capacity of small islands may well not generate sufficient extra income to repay such investment, particularly if the trade is heavily seasonal, while an over-extension of accommodation can result in a loss of the peaceful quality which is the asset of most small islands. At the other end of the spectrum is the danger of "...a museum piece frozen in the image of a bygone age" upholding an artificially quaint character.⁸⁸ It is doubtful whether such a balance is possible without the help of grants or subsidies, or some loss of island qualities. Fair Isle, Orkney and the Faeroes have been careful to avoid total economic dependence on tourism, but have balanced it with farming, fishing, and small industries, all with external support. The key to such balance probably lies in the capacity to maintain a community with a momentum of its own. As Sir John Smith,

⁸⁸ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.113.

then Chairman of the Landmark Trust, expressed himself on the Trust's taking over the island in 1969, "Our principle here should be to make and keep Lundy, for as far ahead as we can see, a tranquil, solid and unaffected island with a genuine life of its own which visitors can share."⁸⁹ Butler defines sustainable development as "...to such a degree that it does not limit options for future generations and the environment."⁹⁰

The survival of documentary evidences to contribute to the history of a particular locality may be largely a matter of chance, depending on awareness of their existence and significance. New brooms have tended to sweep away accumulations, whether at the Public Record Office, or individuals tidying up a house after a move or a death. Visitors' accounts, letters and diaries can give rise to a certain distortion of perspective, and may be disappointing in that they tend to concentrate on the scenery, or unusual events, rather than descriptions of the workings of humdrum everyday life. It seems that artists and photographers preferred sunsets and cliff scenery subjects to a working farmyard, quarry machinery, or labourers' cottages. The

⁸⁹ *Illustrated Lundy News*, 1970, i, No 1.

⁹⁰ Butler, R., 1996, 'Problems & Possibilities of Sustainable Tourism: the Case of the Shetland Islands,' Bruguglio, L., *et al.* eds., *Sustainable Tourism in Islands and Small States: Case Studies*, pp.11-31.

memoirs written of life on the Blaskets, dating back from c. 1860, and of Lundy 1926-76, do reflect people in their everyday life, their challenges, strategies, concerns, and satisfactions.⁹¹ With time these have become more general social histories in their own right, and not exclusively island books. Prehistory, for Easter Island, means before 1722, and depends entirely on archaeology and anthropology. Sark has exceptionally rich documentary sources from the medieval and early modern periods onwards; the history of Orkney and the Faeroes is found in the Norse sagas, while Orkney also has ecclesiastical records from AD 1110, and Statistical Accounts from 1790 and 1840. Ownership and tenancies on Taernoe are recorded from 1600 to the present. Whatever the source, it is necessary to have in mind that what is found, whether in archaeology or documents or photographs, is the part we have evidence for, rather than all there was at a given time.

It may perhaps be said that the development of a small island lies in whatever value it has in its time and place. Value can be weighed in material resources, in strategy, or in the intangibles of human response. The interaction of man with the land is a fundamental aspect of history, and one which can not always be assessed on the grounds of pure reason, so that men will pitch themselves against the odds

⁹¹ O'Crohan, 1951. Gade, 1978.

on a small island for the unquantifiable satisfactions he finds there. Despite the hardships of daily life on the Blaskets, the islanders could look back and say "We were so content."⁹²

⁹² MacConghail, 1994, p.50.

CHAPTER 4.

(i) POPULATION FIGURES

Abbreviations:

TH = Trinity House (after 1820)

Adm = Admiralty (coastguards 1909-28)

GPO = General Post Office (sub-postmasters 1886-1927)

LFS = Lundy Field Society (wardens 1946-68)

- 697 "a dozen," (Loomie, 1963).
- 1610 Brief occupation by Salkeld and prisoners, (HMC, 1970, Salisbury xxi, pp.209-14). No information re islanders.
- 1647 22, (BL, Bushell, 1647), Bushell's garrison. No information re islanders
- 1653 "4 Files and commander", (CSPD, *Commonwealth*, 1652-53, p.140). No information re islanders. (File = a small body of soldiers).
- 1655 100, (Grose, 1776, p.195). Probably garrison still present, and normal plus seasonal population?
- 1700c "Unlet", (PRO C 9/202/36). Legal testimony refers to no tenant income, but does not mean the absence of any inhabitants. Grose (1776, p.195) refers to Sharp there in 1694, and islanders plundered by the French, 1694-1702.
- ND Before 1709, Thos Jones, tenant, (CTP, 1708-14, p.114), "robbed by the French privateers."
- 1720 Joyce Miller buried, (*Western Mail* 9 September 1906).
- 1721 Richard Scores, tenant, smuggler, (PRO T 1/352).
- 1750 Benson's 5 men, convicts, and "several people belonging to the island." (Thomas, 1959, pp.15, 60). Number of convicts estimated to be 23-38, (Thomas, 1959, 59. Langham, 1994, 49).
- 1754c "Untenanted," (PRO C 10/307/68). "Unlet many years," (PRO C 33/443, p 263) No rental income, not necessarily uninhabited.
- 1755 One family "caretakers," (GM 1755, pp.447-48).
- 1761 "Uninhabited," (Powell, 1930, p.222).

- 1775 One family resident caretakers, (Grose, 1775, p.195)
- 1776c "Upwards of 40 labourers," (NDRO, Anon., 1787).
John Borlase Warren's employees.
- 1783 "2 farmers and families," (Langham, 1994, p.57).
- 1787 27, (NDRO, Anon., 1787).
2 Joint tenants, families of 4, 5; plus 2 families
of 7, 9, and 2 single others.
- 1794 23, (Britton & Brayley, 1803, p.251).
- 1795 20, (NDRO, Barrack Master, Barnstaple, B 25/1).
- CENSUS 1801-1841 "No return was made for Lundy Island in
these years." (Census summary, WCSL).
- 1811 17, plus children, (LIM, T 22)
12 m, 5 f, all employees of Vere Hunt.
- 1821-7 13, plus children, (LIM, T 22)
Lighthouse keeper, wife and daughter;
assistant keeper and family.
(Lighthouse 1820, THGM 30 010, xxxi, pp.346, 354).
Bailiff plus workforce 3 men, 4 women.
- 1832 "Inmates of solitary farmhouse and lighthouse,"
(GM, 1832, ii, p.640).
- 1836-8 Agent, labourers, masons, quarrymen,
(HA (i), letters 1836-38). 2 lighthouse keepers and
families.
- 1851 34 = 16 m, 18 f, (Census, PRO HO 107/1895). Includes
7 TH (2 children). Owner in residence, daughter and 3
servants, 1 visitor. Workforce for farm, Lee plus
6m, 1 f; for owner, 3 m.
- 1852 "About 50," (Gosse, 1853, ii, p.484).
Owner in residence, family and servants. Farm tenant
(Lee), family, servants, labourers. 2 TH families.
- 1858 19-20, (HA (i) letter, 12 May 1858). 2 TH families
not included. Resident owner, family and servants.
Farm tenant (Lee), family, servants and labourers.
- 1861 35 = 22 m, 13 f, (Census, PRO RG 9/1505: summaries,
no listings). Resident owner, family and servants.
Tenant, family and servants. 1 absentee, 4 temp.
residents = 32 islanders. Total excludes 13 men
employed on construction of Fog Signal Stn .

- 1865c "400", (H. G. Heaven, *Western Mail*, 9 August 1906). Resident owner's household. Granite Co. employees. Fog Signal Station established 1862, with 2 more TH families. 3rd keeper for lighthouse appointed 1865, and family (5 TH households in all).
- 1871 65 = 31 m, 34 f, (Census, PRO RG 10/2207). Includes 5 TH personnel with families, total 27, and 2 temporary. Granite Co. ceased operation 1868. Manager for new lessee, workforce of 7 m, and 1 f servant. Resident owner's family 8, servants 4.
- 1877 43, (Chanter, 1887, p.117). Includes TH, 5 families.
- 1881 61 = 31 m, 30 f, (Census, PRO RG 11/2262). Resident owner's family and servants, 9. Includes TH 18. Workforce 12 m, 2 f.
- 1889 56, (*Kellys Directory*). Includes 5 TH families. 1884, Establishment of Lloyds Signal Stn, signaller and wife. Lessee (Wright, 1885) household and workforce. Owner's household.
- 1891 57 = 28 m, 29 f, (Census, PRO RG 12/1789). Includes TH 18. One islander temp appointed for Lloyds. Includes 4 temporary workers, 1 f absentee. Owner's household 4, 3 servants. Lessee (Wright) and 2 servants. Workforce for lessee 5 m, 1 f; for owner 3 m.
- 1895 About 60, (Page, 1895, p.187). Includes 5 families TH. Lloyds 2. 2 Joint lessees (Ackland & Dickinson), families, servants and employees. Owner's household, employees.
- 1897 116, (*Kelly's Directory*). 5 families TH. Lloyds 3. Includes workmen engaged in building N & S lighthouses, and church. 2 Joint lessees, families, servants, employees. Owner's household, employees.
- 1901 35 = 19 m, 16 f, (Census summary, WCSL). Includes 3 Lloyds/GPO, and 6 TH. Excludes 59 men on ships. 5 TH families left 1897. Resident owner and family 3, servants, employees. Non-resident lessee, (Taylor) servants and employees.
- 1905 25+ (Taylor, *North Devon Journal*, 30 November 1905). 10 Lessee's work people, 5 TH, 4 GPO, 6 "Mr Heaven's people." There must also have been 6 TH at N & S lighthouses; the Lloyds/GPO family was 3. Taylor omitted the owner, his sister and cousin in giving a total of 25.

- 1911 49 = 23 m, 26 f (Census summary, WCSL).
Includes 4 coastguards and families, 3 GPO, 6 TH.
1909 Adm. coastguards took over from Lloyds, Lloyd's
man remained for GPO. Owner's household 3, and
servants. Change of lessee, 1908 to sub-lessee
(Saunt), resident with servants, family, workmen.
- 1916 c. 18 = 10/11 m, 5/6 f, 1 baby, (HA (i), 5 May 1916,
28 January 1917). Includes 2 GPO, 6 TH, plus 4 Adm.
and families, priest and wife (left July 1916).
Owner's household 4 (2 infants).
- 1919 21 (WCSL, Jukes', 1920). Includes 6 TH, 4 Adm. and
families, 2 GPO. No resident owner. Bailiff and
family, 4.
- 1921 48 = 35 m, 13 f (Census summary, WCSL).
No resident owner. Non-resident lessee. Includes
workmen employed in building the Cove slipway, 6 TH,
4 Adm. and families, 2 GPO.
- 1925 23, (Lundy archive, church register, 27 December
1925). Includes 6 TH, 4 Adm. and families, 2 GPO,
9 island wage-earners. New owner (1925) non-resident.
- 1926 38, (Gade, 1978, p.23). 22 m, 11 f, 5 children.
Includes 6 TH, 4 Adm. with 3 wives, 12-16 building
workers. GPO man and wife left 1926. Resident agent.
- 1931 21 = 13 m, 8 f, (Census summary, WCSL).
Includes 6 TH. GPO closed down 1927. Adm. station
closed down 1928. Resident agent and family, 3.
- 1939 18: (Perry, 1940, p.17). Included 6 TH.
Resident agent and family, 3.
- 1944 15, (Gade, 1978, Ch 10).
6 TH, 7 Adm. (wartime). Resident agent and wife.
- 1949 16 = 11 m, 3 f, 2 children, (MTC, Langham A, MS
notes). Includes 6 TH, 1 warden for LFS (founded
1946). Resident agent and family, 3.
- 1951 43 = 31 m, 12 f, (Census summary, WCSL). Included
6TH. 1 LFS. Resident agent and family, 3. This
presumably included either some seasonal staff, or
the Harman family were resident at the census.
- 1955 20 = 14 m, 6 f, (MTC, Langham M, MS, notes).
Included 6TH, 2 LFS. Resident agent and family, 3.
- 1957 24 = 14 m, 6 f, 4 children, (MTC, Langham A, MS
notes). Included 6 TH, 2 LFS. Resident agent and
family, 3. Workforce 6 m, 3 f.

- 1959 8, (*Lundy Review*, iii, p.1). Winter population. Not incl TH, 6.
- 1961 32 = 24 m, 8 f, (Census summary, WCSL). Included 6 TH 1 LFS, 1 visitor and 11 seasonal workers, resident agent and wife. Workforce 6 men, 3 women.
- 1963 18 = 12 m, 4 f, 2 children, (MTC, Langham, M, notes). Includes 6 TH, 1 LFS, resident agent and wife. Excludes 6 seasonal staff, 2 temporary builders.
- 1969 11 = 5 m, 6 f, (Lundy archive, Gade, letter, 11 July 1969 for takeover by the Landmark Trust). Excludes 6 TH, seasonal staff. LFS discontinued resident wardens after 1967. Workforce 5 men, 5 women.
- 1971 49 = 30 m, 19 f, (Census summary, WCSL). Included 6 TH. Landmark Trust from 1969.

(ii) DISCUSSION: POPULATION AND HABITATIONS.

The two figures of most interest are those for the overall population (the number supported), and the number of resident workers (the productive number) employed on the island. There are difficulties in assessing figures for population before the 1851 census, as information is sparse; the numbers of children were not included in available accounts, nor was information on the possible paid employment of wives. It is easier to pinpoint the reasons for rises and falls in the levels of population; for example, the construction of lighthouses in 1819-20 and 1896-7, salvage workers for the *Montagu* in 1906, and building workers in 1920-21 and 1926-27. The economic collapse of the Heaven family in 1916 and wartime conscription in 1939-45 both accounted for falls in population numbers.

Ignoring the high and low extremes of two islanders (1944) and a maximum of c400 (1863-68), the population of resident islanders taken from available figures, 1787-1969, has varied between ten and forty-three, and the number of employed males from four to twelve. Apart from bailiffs or agents, employments given are for farm workers, labourers, gardener/groom, blacksmith, carpenter, mason, shopkeeper, maintenance man, and hotel keeper. The number of females in paid employment varied between one and six, but this does not take account of women engaged in occasional domestic, farm, shop or hotel work that is not recorded; those

recorded were employed as dairywomen, servants or laundrywomen. A further labour/cost element which cannot be assessed is the employment of ad hoc or seasonal workers, who have included sheep-shearers, farriers, lime burners, builders, hay-makers, hotel staff, pest exterminators, piano tuners, and engineers.

The census returns reflect the fact that there has been no continuity of population in the long term. Apart from the Heaven family, nobody is listed in the 1851 and the 1871 censuses. The Heaven family of four resident members was augmented by the widow and two children of Walter Heaven, who died in Australia in 1865, a governess and four servants. One maid is in the 1871 and 1881 census, and two families are listed in both 1881 and 1891. The significance of this is considered in Chapters 8 (iii), and 9. This situation also obtains in the present, as none of the inhabitants listed in 1990 remains on the island now. Higgs suggests that census returns should be viewed as "frozen frames of cine film," and that nineteenth century returns might be unreliable due to ignorance, illiteracy, untrained enumerators, confusion, "glossings over" of marital and illegitimacy problems, random use of "scholar," and neglect of entering casual or part-time female employment.¹ There are occasional errors in the Lundy census returns, for

¹ Higgs, E., 1996, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, pp. 20, 69-100.

example the consistent omission of one cottage (G1).²

The levels of population varied slightly according to the management of the island, but the biggest increase was brought about by the advent of external institutions. The establishment of the lighthouse in 1820 added two families, and the number of non-island-employees increased until it reached maximum numbers between 1862 and 1897, and represented a third or more of the total population. Between 1919 and 1928 the proportion of external employees was even higher, as it was during the low periods of 1917-18 and the second world war, when they outnumbered the owners' people. The significance of this lay not so much in numbers, as in the fact that it was a sector of the population independent of the owner, and that the incomers were possessed of a degree of education and particular skills not possessed by the island labourers. From the Heaven diaries and letters it is clear that the two communities were well integrated, after a shaky beginning, with the outsiders constituting a middle-class, having a status somewhat above the labourers and servants, but never on any level terms with the Heaven family. The outsiders also very often lent their services in many island tasks, ranging from

² LMA, plan 1918: the cottage consisted of a kitchen and bedroom, both with fireplaces. Until 1897 latrines were shared with the lightkeepers' quarters.

life-saving, to haymaking and house decorating, which was a valuable asset, and sometimes the wives and children were employed at the Villa. The Heaven diaries ceased in 1905 on the death of Miss Amelia Heaven, and less information on island people and personalities is available from that date until Gade wrote his memoirs covering the period 1926-1973. The figures of population for 1950-70 are augmented by notes kept by A. and M. Langham, and show that recovery after the war which ended in 1945 was rather slow, which reflected the situation in the United Kingdom as a whole.

Apart from the bailiff or agent, it was unusual for employees to come to the island from any further afield than North Devon, or the coasts of Somerset or Wales, except when the Vere Hunts (1802-30) brought their own people from Ireland. No inhabitants in the 1851 census are recorded as having been born on the island, and Gosse remarked that there were "...about 50 souls, not one of whom is a native of the isle...the women invariably go over to the mainland when their confinement approaches."³ In 1871 nine children of Trinity House employees had been born on the island, five during the period when the granite company retained a doctor on the island.⁴ The other children were born at the father's or mother's place of origin, which meant that either they were born before the parents came to Lundy, or

³ Gosse, 1853, ii, p.484.

⁴ PRO RG 33/36.

that the mothers returned to the mainland for the births. The 1881 census gives four islanders as born on Lundy; the Heaven diaries show that one was born on Lundy in 1877, and another in 1879, to a family that had evidently left before 1881.⁵ In the 1891 census only one child was resident who had been born on Lundy, although three islanders were born on the island in 1882, 1884, and 1890 whose families had moved away before 1891.⁶ Apart from the agents, there remained a preponderance of Devon people among both the core population and the ad hoc and seasonal workers, but with an admixture of others, particularly when Harman friends came to help, or specialisation dictated a broader recruitment area, for example a wildlife warden.

Ascertaining the habitations available before the census of 1851 is a matter for speculation based on scanty indicators, particularly where accommodation for labourers was concerned. Archaeological surveys point to the remains of three longhouses, essentially farmhouses, for which the date is uncertain other than that they could have been in use between medieval times and the 17th century (G146, G149, G683).⁷ Since these three are all in the northern,

⁵ HA (i), diary, 4 July 1877; 11 July 1879.

⁶ HA (i), diary, 8 November 1882; 24 October 1884; 14 June 1890.

⁷ Beacham, P., 1989, 'Rural Building 1400-1800,' Cherry, B. & Pevsner, N., 1989, *The Buildings of England: Devon*, pp.67-71.

least utilised, part of the island, it would seem likely that there were others elsewhere which have not survived later disturbance.

Henry III caused the castle (G300) to be built and garrisoned 1243-44, and so far as can be ascertained it remained as the principal building for more than 400 years.⁸ The date of the substantial house on the parade to the east of the castle (G302) is not established, but may date from the seventeenth century (Appendix 3). Lord Saye and Sele retired to Lundy in 1649, when he would presumably have had servants and labourers there, but the four files of musketeers sent there in 1653 either built accommodation which has not been traced, or had to camp out. Although Grose's statement that the population was as high as 100 c.1655 seems exaggerated, it could well have amounted to such a total when it included four bodies of soldiers in addition to the islanders. It is possible that the fortifications around the island, or some of them, were built at about this time (Chapter 5 (ii) below). Archaeological evidence of medieval and post-medieval settlement areas, ceramic sherds, and burials is described in Chapter 1 (iv). These point to a widespread population during the medieval period, and a concentration at the south-east of the island in the post-medieval.

⁸ See G300. Ternstrom, 1994.

Two witnesses in 1752 concurred in describing the habitations as consisting of a castle and two houses, the first with no indication of location, the second refers to two houses, "one on each side of the platform" (presumably G97) as "miserably bad."⁹ Grose wrote that "The ancient buildings...are, the castle...the ruins of a house near St Helen's Well, where a brew-house is now building," which latter may be the building shown in the drawing of 1838 (G671, Fig. 32).¹⁰ Grose's plan of the castle showing the outworks was drawn in 1775 (Fig. 15), but in 1787 the anonymous visitor said that the castle, except for the "Citadel," was "entirely demolished," which indicates that the stone from the outworks was robbed for Warren's buildings. The sketch map of 1804 shows the castle with two buildings north and south of the parade and the enclosing walls. There are four other buildings: one in the approximate position of Warren's farmhouse, two at what may be New Town at the East Side, and one a little further north (Fig.26).¹¹ This sketch was made on the basis of a visit to Lundy during Warren's tenure (1775-1781).¹²

The writer of 1787 stated that "The Castle, which is inhabited by Richard Budd and William Williams...[has the]

⁹ NDRO, Anon., 1752. PRO HCA 1/58.

¹⁰ Grose, 1776, p.195. Note that he refers to "ancient" buldings.

¹¹ PRO MPH/54, Parkyas.

¹² WO 1/1110.

great appearance of Poverty and Nastiness...the Citadel is converted into Dwellings for the tenant Williams." Budd and Williams were joint tenants: Budd and family, 9 persons; Williams and family four persons; Thomas Williams five persons, and Phillips family seven persons, with two "intruders." He makes no mention of New Town, or habitations elsewhere, except that the visiting party and their servants occupied the farmhouse.¹³

The excavations carried out in 1984-85 revealed three buildings abutting the Castle House (G302): a small building against the north-east wall, which had been used for a coal store at some time (G305); a smithy, with a furnace, against the north-west wall (G306), and another building against the west wall (G307, Fig. 33). There was also a wall abutting and running north from the smithy, enclosing an area *circa* three to five metres wide, of uncertain purpose (G308), which may be the turf-roofed building with north door shown in Grose's engraving (Figs 15,16).¹⁴ Aerial photographs also give clear indications of these buildings, which have not yet been assigned a date.¹⁵ None of the maps

¹³ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

¹⁴ Thackray & Thackray, 1985. G308 was considered possibly to have been unroofed, though if it was turf-roofed there would not be the archaeological fall-out found in the other buildings.

¹⁵ National Monuments Record, 15430/27.

gives any discernible depiction of the castle and its surrounds until BL 299B of 1820, which shows a continuous line of buildings to the east of the castle, and OS 1886, (Figs 31, 59). The 1886 map was surveyed in 1884, before the construction of the Signal Cottages (G331), but the roofed Signal Hut (G326), and the flagstaff (G325) are shown. There appears to be a small structure against the N wall of the castle at the W end, the remains of which can also be seen in a photograph c. 1893 on a levelled area where the Castle House now stands.¹⁶ The castle, the Castle House, the buildings attached to it, and the enclosure to the north-west, as shown by Grose, represent the settlement and farm area in use until Warren built the farmhouse. Vere Hunt's labourers were housed in what remained of the castle and castle house, or was rebuilt for them, and Heaven rebuilt the interior of the castle to provide three cottages c. 1839 (G301).¹⁷

In 1775-76 Sir John Borlase Warren built the farmhouse, which was the principal habitable building until 1838.¹⁸ The originals of BL 299B and Denham's map of 1832 show this in sharper detail than the reproduction, and it appears there as two blocks with a fairly narrow connection between them (Figs 35, 59).¹⁹ It may well have been Warren's

¹⁶ Langham, 1995, p.52.

¹⁷ LIM, T 22. PRO, HO 107/957, Census 1851.

¹⁸ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

¹⁹ PRO MFQ/11260 (formerly HO 6/23). Denham's map.

intention to occupy part of it while his mansion was to be constructed, with a separate but connecting part for the servants. The development of this building is discussed in Appendix 2.

In 1794 it was reported that there were seven houses, but what and where they were is at present impossible to determine, although some of these may have been built by Warren for his labourers.²⁰ It seems a relatively high number for a population of 23 if they were all in habitable condition. By 1817 it was reported that there were only two houses and the lighthouse quarters, which suggests that disused or derelict houses may have been converted to farm use, dismantled to provide stone for use elsewhere (as still happens), or that the labourers' accommodation was disregarded.

In 1820 Trinity House constructed a very solid house adjoining the light tower for the two keepers; it was divided into upper and lower apartments, and survives in use till now with little alteration, apart from the installation of modern facilities (G386, G 387). A two-room cottage was built in the adjoining compound in 1821 (G1) and a cottage for a third keeper in 1867 (G370), which was dismantled when the new lighthouses were built in 1897. In 1897 the lighthouse and the adjacent cottage (G1) reverted

²⁰ Britton & Brayley, 1803, p.251. The data for this work was taken from an untraced source, Feltham's MS of 1794.

to the owner of the island, and were let, and Old Light West was converted to servants' quarters for, or by, the lessee. Two cottages which were built low on the cliffs of the West Side at the Fog Signal Battery were also abandoned in 1897, have not been in use since, and are now ruinous (G231).

The description which accompanies the map of 1822 (Fig.19) refers only to the farmhouse, a castle with an old farm house in ruinous state (presumably Castle House, G302), and two labourer's cottages listed with the castle, so presumably they were those mentioned as inhabited in the letters of 1821-27. The areas marked as New Town are discussed in G543. One building is marked in the north within Widow's Tenement (G145), and another on the West Side is marked "Morisco's Garden" (G543). The choice of a name associated with Lundy's long-past history suggests that this place was old then; no traces of a building can be seen today, but the remains of a roughly rectangular series of orthostats is found at the western edge of the plateau (G544).

A complication of attempting to clarify the pre-1839 housing for labourers is that such dwellings often consisted of overcrowded hovels, and were not always included in descriptions.²¹ An enlargement and overlay of the clearest map, TH 1319, 1820, on the OS 1886 (Fig. 72) shows that the

²¹ Vancouver, 1808, p.364.

whole area of the farm and the northward pathway were entirely rebuilt between those two dates.

In 1838 the villa (G2) was built for the owner, and the farmhouse altered (fig.38).²² Both the 1851 and 1861 censuses refer to a total of five dwellings (apart from the lighthouse): the villa, the farmhouse, and three cottages at the castle (which were counted as six tenements).²³ By 1871 the granite company, set up in 1863, had departed, leaving the number of dwelling units increased to 40, of which 33 were unoccupied, and Trinity House personnel had increased to five men, with their dependents. By 1881 the Heaven family had taken the whole of the island back into their own hands, and the number of persons employed on the estate rose from five to fourteen. The family itself was reduced in number since two members had died, the governess had left, and one child had gone away to school. Four houses left by the granite company were uncompleted, and the storekeeper's cottage was omitted from the census by mistake.

Changes were again indicated by the census of 1891 and, by a bureaucratic notion which much exercised the enumerator (the Revd H. G. Heaven, who clearly found the task onerous)

²² HA (i), letter, 1838; drawing 1838. The development of the farmhouse is discussed in Appendix 2.

²³ In the nineteenth century labourers' accommodation usually consisted basically of two rooms (Cherry & Pevsner, 1989, p.75).

the Trinity House families were listed as "on board the ship or vessel."²⁴ The farmhouse is entered as occupied by the tenant, Wright, with two domestics, but he occupied the Big House, or Managers' House (G94) which was omitted, and the farmhouse would appear to have been empty, as Wright was preparing to leave.²⁵ The four incomplete granite company cottages were not listed, as the stone had been used for construction of the Signal Cottages (G331). The 1871 census listed Golden Square (G462, six units) and the Barracks (G462, 6 units) which were erected for granite company workmen; the Barracks and one block of Golden Square were both shown on the 1886 map, and part of Golden Square survived as a barn at least until 1906; they are omitted from the census returns of 1881 and 1891, since they were no longer habitations.²⁶

The census of 1911 was taken before the Revd Mr Heaven retired with his two cousins to the mainland, and two of his employees, with their families, left the island. After Mr Heaven left, and the management was taken over by his nephew who moved there with his wife and daughter, the sub-lessee was required to relinquish his tenancy, but he rented the

²⁴ PRO RG 12/1789.

²⁵ HA (i), diary. Wright gave notice to terminate his lease on March 25.

²⁶ NTA, 24 October 1896, Golden Square building was converted to a barn by the lessee, Wright. MTC, 1906 sale catalogue.

bungalow (G103) until 1916.²⁷

The three cottages (G188) originally called "Belle View," and then North, Mid and South Cottages, were decorated and furnished for family visitors and letting in 1872, and then used for staff before being finally abandoned in 1921. The Barton cottages (G418), originally eight units, have remained in use to the present; the census returns show that some of the cottages were enlarged by merging two into one; in 1906 they were listed as six units and in 1925 as four.²⁸ They were rebuilt for staff use with flat instead of pitched roofs in the 1950s, and the Landmark Trust has now refurbished them as four more modern three-roomed cottages for staff. The school house (G421) was converted for a small residence in 1926 Harman's ownership, and has been renovated and altered by the Landmark Trust to bring it up to modern standards.²⁹ The nearby former barn (G712) was extended for two St John's cottages (G422) in the 1950s, and the Cable Hut (G327) was also extended for a small letting property (G328). There appears to be no record of when the Trinity House agent's cottage (G1) was modernised and extended, and given the name Stoneycroft, but Perry's photograph in his book of 1939 shows that the extension was in place then, although he described the cottage as

²⁷ NTA, 29 September 1916.

²⁸ MTC, sale catalogues, 1906, 1925.

²⁹ Gade, 1978, p.95.

"ruinous...less habitable than any shepherd's croft in the Western Isles."³⁰

A prefabricated bungalow (G103) was built in St John's Valley in 1893 to provide overflow accommodation to the villa, and staff quarters. It was let as one unit after 1925 or used for staff until it became derelict in the 1960s, and the Landmark Trust used the site for two bungalows (G104). In 1899 one islander built himself a bungalow on the path from the battlements to the castle (G345), with superb east coast views.³¹ This was rebuilt by the Landmark Trust, and is now known as Hanmer's (G346).

Two cottages were built by Lloyds in 1884 (G331), to which the Admiralty added two more in 1909 (G335) and a Lookout to the north (G50), and all these reverted to the owner in 1928, after which Lloyd's cottages were used either for staff or letting.³² The handsomely-built Admiralty lookout at Tibbets (G50) has remained in constant use, with considerable external alterations made since 1969. In the 1930s it was leased to a London barrister, whose wife fitted it out with "a fine four-poster bed...draped with furnishings from Liberty's...elegantly fitted out."³³ By

³⁰ Perry, 1940, pp.17-18.

³¹ HA (i), diary, 1892-93 passim. NTA, letter, 15 March 1898.

³² LINF, 7778,

³³ MTC, MS recollections of a stay on Lundy by A. E. Blackwell.

that time there was no shortage of accommodation, but there were problems of maintenance as buildings aged, and were ravaged by the weather. The Coastguard cottages were not used; neither the castle cottages nor the remaining Quarter Wall cottages were habitable, and the farmhouse and the south wing had been adapted for a hotel. When the island was sold in 1969 there were, apart from the owner's house, the hotel and the lighthouse, which was available as hostel accommodation, six properties for letting, and eight for staff.³⁴

Hunter comments of Fair Isle that "Population was undoubtedly a key part in the subsistence equation: the number of inhabitants needed to be sufficiently great to act as a workable community in terms of age and gender, and in terms of carrying out necessary communal tasks; it also needed to be sufficiently small in order to prevent the island's resources from being exhausted, and to be able to weather years of dearth or famine."³⁵ If "by a large payroll" is added after exhausted, and "economic reverses" substituted for dearth and famine, the same judgement holds true in the present for Lundy. Since 1969 the number of

³⁴ Letting: Tibbets (G50), Hammers (G346), Little and Big St Johns (G422), School Bungalow (G421), Castle Cottage (G328). Staff: Barton Cottages (4, G418), Signal Cottages (2, G331), Marisco Cottage (G430), Stoneycroft (G1).

³⁵ Hunter, 1996, p.140-141.

letting properties has expanded from 6 to 23, providing for a maximum of 99 visitors (plus campers up to a limit of 40). The number of permanent employees has not increased proportionately, having risen from 10 in 1969 to 22 in 1999, with accomodations increased from 8 to 14.

CHAPTER 5.

(i) BRIEF SUMMARY OF LUNDY'S HISTORY TO 1577

The earliest documentary reference to Lundy yet found is in the *Orkneyingers' Saga*, when it was the refuge and stronghold of "a freeman of Wales," who engaged with the Vikings in the Isle of Man, and it is referred to there as "...that Isle which is called Lund."¹ The only other indication of a Viking connection is the survival of three beads (G277) classed as eighth to ninth century Hiberno-Norse. Gardner also considers it possible that the site of the burial known as the Giants Grave (G269, G19) may have incorporated Viking elements.²

In the Scandinavian languages the word *Lund* now means grove, but formerly it also meant puffin, and with the suffix -ey, meaning island, the interpretation is Puffin Island.³ The name appears in a variety of spellings in the calendars of the rolls, although in the Pipe Rolls between 1194 and 1204 the name Ely is given. Whether this is an earlier derivation from *Eliensis*, of St Helen, or a simple mistake copied from one document to another is not certain.⁴

¹ Dasent, 1894, iii, pp.140-46.

² Gardner & Ternstrom, 1997, pp.67, 71-74.

³ *The Place Names of Devon*, 1969, i, 19, The English Place Name Society.

⁴ *Pipe Roll*, New Series, v, 6 Richard I, p.190; xviii, 6 John, p.18. Brooks, E. St. John, 1942, 'An Early Name for Lundy Island,' *Notes & Queries*, clxxxii, pp.189-90.

Since this name is found only in the Pipe Rolls, which in 1219 gives Lundeie with *Ely* crossed through, an error would seem to be the most likely explanation.⁵

Charles Thomas points out that since Lundy was inhabited from the Mesolithic, there would have been a name for the island before the Vikings came, and most likely more than one, since it is visible from both North Devon and Wales, and was known to sea-farers.⁶ Discontinuous early habitation could have given a propensity for name replacement, and the paucity of written records would account for the loss of early names. Thomas traces a Celtic name of *Enis Brachan*, the island of Brachan, which he attributes to Lundy following the burial of Brechan there, and he considers that *Ynys Wair*, Gwair's Island, may have been a pre-Norman Welsh name for it.⁷ Gardner makes the interesting suggestion that the word Lundy might have arisen from the word *Lann*, with *-ey*, to mean Church Island.⁸

The calendars of the rolls and inquisitions are the principal source of such information as is found for the 12th-15th centuries, and the great majority of these concern the course of ownership. The island was held of the king for one-tenth of a knight's fee, and from before 1183 it was in the possession of the de Marisco family, of Somerset and

⁵ *Pipe Roll*, New Series, xlii, 3 Henry III, p.174.

⁶ Thomas, 1997, pp.29-37.

⁷ Thomas, 1997, pp.32-33.

⁸ Gardner & Ternstrom, 1997, pp.75-76.

Ireland, who may have descended from an illegitimate son of Henry II.⁹ Their tenure was not finally relinquished until 1332-34, though it was interrupted many times through the vicissitudes of rebellion, attainder, the minority of heirs, and disputes.¹⁰

Lundy was in the hands of the Crown 1242-1281, when the castle (G300) was constructed and garrisoned.¹¹ An extent of 1275 found that there were 20 acres capable of arable cultivation, 5 acres of meadow, and sufficient pasture for 68 cattle, 13 horses and 900 sheep.¹² Altogether these were worth 18s 9d, the gannets were worth 5s, and the rabbit skins were worth £5 8s 4d a year, by far

⁹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, ii, p.255. Devon Record Office (DRO), EM/M/20, deed, William De Marisco and his wife, nd, but after their marriage in 1183. *The Complete Peerage*, 1949, ed. Cockayne, Appendix D, p.105; 1987, ed. White, v, pp.110-111.

¹⁰ *Devon Feet of Fines*, 1939, ii, nos 1242, 1255, 1259, Devon & Cornwall Record Society (DCRS). The island was taken into the king's hands from 1242-1281, 1326-27, 1344-1349, 1436-38, 1461-89.

¹¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1242-1247*, p.26. *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, ii, p.255.

¹² The estimate is of the value, or capability, of the land and may not represent the actual acreage in production, or the number of stock present.

the most valuable commodity.¹³ Lundy was the second place in England recorded as having rabbits, which is shown in a deed that includes a grant of 50 of them, dated between 1183 and 1219.¹⁴ The island was peopled at this time by servants of the king, as keepers, who acted as jurors, and who were unwilling to accept any lessening of their wages in respect of "turf, gorse, and brushwood, and the fresh water... and the fowls beside, although they cannot be sold, nor are the keepers willing to eat them...As for the flesh of the rabbits...he [the compiler of the extent] leaves to the discretion of the King's Council to estimate."¹⁵

The island was well populated in 1322 when it was again forfeit to the king, and the extent found that there were eight tenants paying "15s yearly." The barton and castle, the rabbit warren, usually worth £5, and the gannets' breeding place, worth £3 6s 8d, had all been destroyed by the king's enemies.¹⁶ At this time both internal rebellion

¹³ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, i, p.298. A full reading is given in Steinman, 1947, pp.4-5.

¹⁴ Veale, E., 1957, 'The Rabbit in England,' *Agricultural History Review*, v, part 2, p.86, referring to DRO, EM/M/20. This deed is given in full, in translation, by Chanter, 1878, pp.61-2, but Veale corrects the number of rabbits granted from 100 to 50.

¹⁵ Steinman, 1947, p5.

¹⁶ Given in Steinman, 1947, p.6, citing Inq. 15 Edw II, No 49.

and external wars heightened Lundy's potential strategic value, but it was only of significance to medieval kings in so far as they wished to keep it out of the hands of rebel barons and foreign enemies.¹⁷ They appointed keepers from among the nobility or conferred it upon favourites, who held responsibility for it, and took such profits as there may have been, but were unlikely ever to have visited it.¹⁸

The Earl of Salisbury acquired Lundy, and resolved the disputed ownership by a series of three fines made between 1322 and 1334.¹⁹ He paid Stephen de Marisco as descendant of the original title holder, Hugh le Despencer as son of the holder by grant of the king (1322), and Ralph de Wylenton as son of John de Wylenton who, it is presumed, had held it of the de Mariscos, and whose lands were forfeited in 1322 and restored in 1327.²⁰ The property was described in the fines as having "...the Castle of Lunday, and 10 messuages, 10 ploughlands, 10 acres of meadow, 10,000 acres of heath, 60s in rent in Lunday and the Advowson of the Church of Lunday," [10,000 acres must be an error for

¹⁷ Morgan, E., 1988, *The Oxford History of Britain*, Chapters 3, 4.

¹⁸ *Calendars of the rolls, 1242-1281*, given in Ternstrom, 1994, pp.1-7, 32.

¹⁹ *Devon Feet of Fines*, 1939, ii, nos 1276, 1284, 1286.

²⁰ Despencer title: *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1300-1326*, p.444. De Wylenton: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, ii, p.124, no 503. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-30*, p.18.

1,000]. The island, or more probably part of it, was evidently in the hands of John Lutterell, when a dispute concerning dower arose in 1345.²¹ Lundy was listed as being in the Manor of Womberleigh in 1349, when Henry de Wylenton died "seized of Lounday. The island held by William de Monte Acuto, Earl of Salisbury, for a knight's fee."²² Whether the island had increased in value by nine tenths of a knight's fee, or it is a mistaken entry, is for surmise. Archaeological evidence for the post-conquest occupation of Lundy affords strong support for the documentary evidence, and indicates that the occupation was more considerable than that evidence suggests (Chapter 1, iv).

Lundy passed from the Earl of Salisbury through complicated inheritance to the Earls of Ormond until 1461, when it once more escheated to the Crown on the execution of the Lancastrian 5th Earl.²³ It was then granted to Edward IV's brother, the Duke of Clarence, until forfeited by his treason in 1478.²⁴ The estates were eventually restored to the 7th Earl of Ormond in 1488 and passed through the marriage of his daughter, Anne, to the St Leger family, of

²¹ *Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum*, vii, part 1, p.350. *Year Book of Edward III*, 1857, xix, p.453.

²² *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 1973, ix, p.195, no 218.

²³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-67*, p.36.

²⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-67*, p.226. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 1828, iv, p.390.

whose tenure of the island nothing is known, except that it was "worth 33s 4d," and was troubled by pirates.²⁵

In assessing former occupation of the island, it should be borne in mind that the population level may have varied seasonally at times of the gannets' nesting and for rabbit-taking. The archaeological survey and its interpretation now in progress will further illuminate some patterns of habitation and enclosure, and a projected pollen analysis will, it is hoped, contribute to the early history of the land use.

²⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1485-1500*, pp.16-17. *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, x, p.133. Piracy: Harfield, C., 1996, 'In the Shadow of the Black Ensign,' *LFSR* xlvii, pp.60-71.

CHAPTER 5.

(ii) LUNDY 1577-1660

Mary St Leger married Sir Richard Grenville in or about 1562. She was a daughter of Sir John St Leger whose grandmother, Anne, had inherited Lundy as co-heir of the Ormond estate.¹ Grenville came into possession of the title to Lundy more by accident than design: the St Legers proved an 'easy-going, good-for-nothing, hard-drinking lot,' who wasted their inheritance, and borrowed £800 from Grenville giving Lundy as a security.² In 1577 St Leger was again pressed for money, and Grenville advanced him a further £200 in return for the fee simple of the island.³ The transaction provided for St Leger to redeem the island on repayment of all the monies due, but his debts proved overwhelming; whenever Grenville actually took possession, no evidence has been found that the St Legers had ever

¹ *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, x, p.133.

² Stucley, J., 1983, *Sir Bevill Grenville & His Times*, p.2. Rowse, A., 1937, *Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge*, p.149.

³ Rowse, 1937, p.49, citing Close Roll a^o 20 Eliz, part 1, PRO C 54/1024.

involved themselves with the island.⁴

A man of "quick and inflammable temperament...a competent servant of the government," Grenville had moderate estates in Devon and Cornwall, was MP, JP, and twice sheriff of Cornwall; his ventures included the setting up of a colony in Virginia and an attempt to settle lands in Ireland, neither of which was successful.⁵ He was also involved in privateering, and his engagement with Lundy is thrown into question by a letter of enquiry and, perhaps, warning, dated 4 October 1583:

"...Whereas informacion is gyven us theat yow intende to buylde and make fortificacions in the Iland of Lundaye which yf yow shoulde so intende and prosecute what inconveniences mought thereof ensue, and how daungerous the same mought be to the state, and how, the Lords of Counsell woulde dyslike thereof it is easye to be coniectured. And for that the same Ilande hath so long tyme remayned as desolate and unfortified, and by what aucthority fortificacions maye be made, we thyke

⁴ Langham, 1994, p.31, is mistaken in ascribing a record of a visit to Lundy in April 1588 to Sir Richard Grenville. The account was written by a John White, 1588: 'The first voyage intended for the supply of the colony in Virginia,' *TDA*, xlix, 1917, pp.274-78. Stucley, 1983, p.3, states that Richard's son, Barnard, took possession of Lundy after the advance of a further £200 to St Leger, but no date is given nor source cited, and Lundy is included in Richard's will, dated 1585, (given in Granville, R., 1895, *History of the Granville Family*, p.159).

⁵ Rowse, 1937, pp.79, 148.

yow consider of. These be therfore to desier that yow woulde by yor lettres advertise us of yor intent and purpose herein..."⁶

Unfortunately Grenville's reply has not been found. The letter implies that to fortify without permission of the Privy Council might lay him open to suspicion, but Rowse states that he was a trusted servant of the government in the West, and about this time was engaged in organising defences against an expected Spanish attack.⁷ Since his son was instructed to fortify the island a few years later, the letter may possibly refer to repairs to the castle, or else Grenville did make coastal fortifications that were not maintained.

Harrison gave the following description of the island in 1586:

"...wherein is also a village or towne [farmstead] and of this iland the parson of the said towne is not onlie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same...in this Iland is great plenty of sheep, but more conies, and therewithall of very fine and short grasse for their better food and pasturage; likewise much Sampere upon the shore, which is carried thence in barrells. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourty households in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie provided) may keepe off thousands of their enimies, because it is not possible for anie adversaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance."⁸

⁶ Duke of Bedford Archive, ref. HMC 8, i, No 25. Privateering: Chope, 1917, 'New Light on Sir Richard Grenville,' *TDA*, lxix, (1), pp.274-78. Chope is much less eulogistic than Rowse in his assessment of Grenville.

⁷ Rowse, 1937, pp.178-86.

⁸ In *Holinshed*, 1807, i, pp.61-62.

It might be tempting to dismiss this account of the population as an exaggeration, were it not clear from the text that Lundy was visited, or at least seen, on a voyage.⁹ There is also the possibility that the population fluctuated seasonally. Taken with the text of 1583, it suggests that Richard had taken Lundy in hand, although there were pirates there in 1587.¹⁰ The "great plenty of sheep" may have been there for the sale of the wool, as Hoskins refers to this period as "The Great Days" of the cloth industry, when Devon was particularly famed for kersey (a coarse woollen fabric), which was very profitable.¹¹ Both Barnstaple and Bideford were ports for raw wool and centres for spinning, and Richard Grenville owned Bideford and had shipping interests there. There are also remains of three longhouses on Lundy (G146, G149, G683) of a form comparable with those on Dartmoor, where they continued in use into the seventeenth century.¹² The mention of a "parson...captaine" is also very interesting, both in relation to the question over Lundy's early church, and to the later claim of Lampit to have been "both Minister and Governour" (see below).

⁹ Holinshed, 1807, p.62, "In this voiage also we met with two other islands...at the very entrie to Milford Haven."

¹⁰ Wainwright, T., 1900, *Reprint of the Barnstaple Records*, p.130.

¹¹ Hoskins, W., 1992, *Devon*, pp.125-28.

¹² Beacham, P., 1989, pp.62-71.

The only other description of Lundy at about this time is brief, and probably at second hand: "...all the...profit that it yeeldeth doth arise from sea foule."¹³ This implies that it was not cultivated, but it was populated when attacked in 1596, and according to another writer it had "a little Towne" [farmstead].¹⁴ Piracy and privateering flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and although privateering sanctioned by Crown licence and individual piracy were in theory different, there was little to distinguish between them in practice; "the early seventeenth century was the heyday of organised piracy in Devon."¹⁵ The position of Lundy, lying north-south at the entrance to the Bristol Channel made it of use to marauders for plunder, as a depot, or as an anchorage or stronghold where water and other supplies could be procured, either with the compliance of the inhabitants or by force.

¹³ Camden, 1610, p.202.

¹⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1901, NS, 1595-96, xxv, p.380. Moryson, 1908, iv, p.161. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford Dictionary*, 1971, p.210.

¹⁵ Appleby, J., 1994, 'Devon Privateers from Early Times to 1688,' Duffy, M. *et al.*, eds., *The New Maritime History of Devon* (NMHD), i, pp.90-96. Harfield, 1996, 60-71. University of London, Hebb, D., 1985, *The English Government and the problem of Piracy, 1616-42*, unpublished doctoral thesis.

Richard Grenville died in 1591 during his heroic but reckless exploit in the *Revenge*, and the island, valued at £3 6s 1d a year, passed to his eldest son.¹⁶ Barnard Grenville followed his father as sheriff of Cornwall and MP, and in 1628 was a gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I, of whom he was a loyal supporter. He was dutiful, but lacked the fiery temperament of his father or the popular sociability of his son.¹⁷ After Lundy was attacked by the Spanish in 1594/95, and an islander kidnapped and imprisoned in Spain, Grenville was ordered to make good the defences of the island, and his submission that he could not afford to garrison the island received the tart injunction that "if you neglect the place her Majestie shall have cause to take the island whollie into her own handes..."¹⁸ Elizabeth's fear of the Spanish-Catholic threat to her throne was justified; a conspiracy was discovered two years later to seize Lundy for control of the Bristol Channel.¹⁹

The letter to Richard Grenville concerning fortification, and the repeated orders for his son to make the island defensible, point to a sixteenth century origin for Brazen Ward (G69), a small but strong fortification at a

¹⁶ DCRS, *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, viii, typescript, nd [?1935]. Rowse, 1937, p.334.

¹⁷ Rowse, 1937, p.339.

¹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, 1592-1596*, pp.293-94. HMC, Salisbury, vi, pp.35-36. APC, xxv, pp.237, 380.

¹⁹ HMC, Cecil, viii, p.59. Langham, 1994, pp.31-2.

point on the East Side where a landing can be made onto flat rocks, with relatively easy access to the top (Fig.Gaz.18). Langham follows Chanter in ascribing it to the time of the Civil War, but without source.²⁰ The pottery fragments found there (G590) are judged to be of sixteenth century date, and at that time it is shown that there was a need for island defences against the Spaniards and the Catholic conspiracies, and privateers and pirates.²¹

That the island was tenanted, and carrying cattle at the start of the seventeenth century is evidenced by a dispute between Robert Bassett and the widow of Robert Arundell, the late tenant, in 1600.²² Pottery sherds from the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century have been found in Bulls Paradise (G267) and Tillage Field (G289), and excavations have shown that Bulls Paradise and the area to the east of it was a burial site between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (G270, G273, G289).²³ Further evidence of occupation is found in the early seventeenth century midden level (G271) found by Gardner in excavating

²⁰ Langham, 1994, p.38.

²¹ Gardner, 1971, p.23.

²² WCSL, copy, PRO REQ 2/171/68. Transcript made by E. J. Lowe, 1991, for A. F. Langham.

²³ Gardner, K., 1962, 'Archaeological Investigations on Lundy 1962,' *LFSR*, xv, pp.22-33. Gardner & Ternstrom, 1997, p.66.

in Bulls Paradise.²⁴ A post-medieval settlement area of the same period is suggested by the concentration of Barnstaple ware sherds at the west of the Brick Field (G505). Webster comments on the "large quantity of North Devon Gravel tempered ware that was present on Lundy in the 17th and 18th centuries...well-made, hard-fired fabric" that would survive well.²⁵

When James I came to the throne, Basset, a Catholic sympathiser and a distant connection of the Grenvilles, had pretensions to the throne and based himself for a time on Lundy, but was forced to flee.²⁶ Another who used Lundy to challenge James I's sovereignty was the pirate, Salkeld, in 1610, but Langham is mistaken in implying that he had a lengthy tenure.²⁷ The evidence given that Salkeld set some prisoners on Rat Island may possibly give some indication of the origin of some remains of earthworks recently surveyed there (G359).²⁸

²⁴ Gardner, 1962, xv, p.25.

²⁵ Schofield & Webster, 1989, pp.43-44.

²⁶ Langham, 1994, 32-24, gives a full account of Basset's case. Byrne, M. St Clare, ed., 1981, *The Lisle Letters*, p.287.

²⁷ Langham, 1994, pp.34-35. HMC, Salisbury xxi, pp.209-14. This gives the occupancy from March 1609/10 to April 1610 (not March 1609 to April 1610).

²⁸ C. Thackray, pers. comm., 1997. The Salkeld episode is described in Harfield, 1996, pp.68-69, and in Langham 1994, pp.34-35.

When Sir Barnard's son, Bevill, was married in 1619 he was given Lundy as part of his marriage settlement, together with the manor of Bideford.²⁹ He had followed his father to Oxford University, and in becoming an MP and JP, but differed in that he was gallant, lively, and "a born leader".³⁰ In 1624 an indenture was made which put the title of the island in trust, to pass from Barnard to Bevill, and from Bevill to his male heirs.³¹ From correspondence it seems that the island was leased c1626, possibly to Sir William Godolphin.³² Lundy remained victim to sporadic

²⁹ Stucley, 1983, p.12.

³⁰ Rowse, 1937, p.343. Coate, M., 1963, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660*, pp.86-87. Stucley, 1983, Chapter 2.

³¹ Marquess of Bath archive, Carteret 18. If this indenture endured, it would have put Bevill's later sales into legal question.

³² Letters given in Granville, 1895, p.158. National Library of Wales, *Calendar of Wynn of Gwydir Papers, 1550-1690*, 1926, p.220 (1625): letter from Henry Wynn to his father, 'The Turkish pirates of Algiers have taken the Isle of Lundy...which belongs to Sir William Godolphin.' Godolphin was prominent in Cornish affairs, and an associate of the Grenvilles. Thomas, 1978, p.147, calls this "certainly a mistake," but it is possible that Godolphin was leaseholder. This family held the Isles of Scilly (Grigson, 1977, p.12).

attack and sack by pirates, with several episodes recorded between 1625 and 1635.³³ It was in Bevill Grenville's own hands by 1630, when he refused to lease it or to sell it for less than £5,000; the price asked was much more than its value, probably because Grenville did not want to sell, and was optimistic for its prospects.³⁴ 'I have had it in my hand but a short space, yet I discern several ways how to make great profit by it...I have so many reasons to be in love with it as I shall never call it to sell or woo any man to buy it.'³⁵

Bevill Grenville was a keen builder, and actively interested in the management of his estates.³⁶ He described his island with enthusiasm:

'...the pasturage and other commodities that have used in former times to arise out of it, have not yielded above £100 a year. But I have lately made a quay and harbour there at my great cost, which the island ever wanted before, whereby an

³³ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1625-26*, Charles I, p.86; 1628-29, p.89; 1629-31, p.296 (CSPD). Poynter, F. L. M., ed., 1963, *The Journal of James Yonge*, p.37. NDRO, Examinations of Piracy, B1/46/350. Gray, Todd, 1989, *Turkish Piracy and Early Stuart Devon*, TDA, cxxi, p.163. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, 1625-26*, xix, p.157. Roberts, G., ed., 1848, *The Diary of Walter Yonge Esq., 1604-1628*, p.114.

³⁴ Forster, J., 1872, *Sir John Eliot*, ii, p.389. The price c1638 was £3000.

³⁵ Stucley, 1983, p.59.

³⁶ Coate, 1963, p.86.

industrious man which will set on a course of fishing may as I think easily gain £500 a year by it. Moreover whosoever will convert the ground wholly to the breeding of a brave race of horses shall find it for that purpose the fittest place in the kingdom...It hath all the properties which are fit for such work, both of earth, air and water, in perfection...I have bred divers horses which I have been offered £100 a piece for...there are acres of ground which are now bogs and barren which would with small charge be made as good land as any...and besides great hopes...of..metals in the earth there...'³⁷

This description suggests that the island had fallen into some neglect before he took it in hand, although the former profits were by no means negligible at approximately £8260 in 1999 value.³⁸ It also suggests that he had had possession some little time, but perhaps not long enough for optimism to be tempered by harsh realities. He set out to improve and develop the island "including such fortification as might prove an efficient defence against the swarms of pirates infesting the coast", but in 1631 received some sound advice from his friend, Sir John Eliot:

'...To build there is a free liberty to all men, but not to fortifie without leave...Keyes [quays] are usuall and unquestioned...but no colour of fortification is allowable...yet it is lawful to defend that which is one's own... with what strength I may guard me in my howse I may secure me in an island...Leaving those words then of

³⁷ Stucley, 1983, p.59. Grenville bred horses on his lands in Cornwall (Granville, 1895, p.162).

³⁸ Bank of England, 'Equivalent Contemporary Values of the Pound: A Historical Series 1270 to 1999.' (Hereafter Bank of England).

fortification and inharboringe, I see not but you may perfect the worke you have begun for the general good and benefitt.'³⁹

The political unease of the time is clearly reflected in Eliot's words, written from his prison in the Tower. However, the inhabitants were successful in repulsing an attack by a privateer in 1630.⁴⁰

Since Grenville would seem to be the first owner since the de Mariscos to have taken an active interest in Lundy, there would have been a need for a suitable residence when he visited it. By this time the castle (G300, built in 1244) was derelict, but Eliot's advice against fortification would have ruled out rebuilding it.⁴¹ Therefore it is possible that Grenville constructed the house to the east of the fort (G302); the extant remains show that it was very substantially built, and of a size and style for a gentleman rather than a labourer. Furthermore, there was a levelled site and a ready supply of building stone (Appendix 3).

Grenville referred to his 'great works' and his building of the pier, but there is now nothing to see on the island that according to present knowledge can be attributed to him with certainty. What are probably the

³⁹ Forster, 1872, ii, p.390, pp.391-92.

⁴⁰ *CSPD 1629-31*, p.296.

⁴¹ Forster, 1872, p.391, comments that Grenville accepted Eliot's opinion as "decisive." Camden, 1610, p.202: "A fort or sconse it had: the ruins whereof, like of St Helen's Chappell, are yet to be scene."

remains of his pier are indicated on plans drawn for Sir John Borlase Warren c1775 and intended for construction at the Cove (G357, Fig.30).⁴² Grenville's letters give a glimpse of the island which, despite his liking for it, he described to Eliot as "desolate". He sent gull's eggs and salt birds to his father, and refers to the lack of the "good butter" since his dairymaid left.⁴³ Coate commented that Bevill "...supervised minutely the farming of his land and had something of the new scientific spirit in agriculture."⁴⁴

Spaniards landed eighty men on Lundy in 1633 and plundered it; they 'killed one man and bound the rest, and surprised and took the island, which they rifled and and took thence all the best provisions...'⁴⁵ It is possible that there may have been other episodes that are not recorded, since the reporting depended on naval vessels being in the area, and they were few.⁴⁶ Losses on the island, and the danger to shipping, may have dampened Grenville's enthusiasm, as Stucley found no further mention of Lundy in the letters to which he had access.⁴⁷ The economic depression of 1638-39, Grenville's considerable

⁴² MTC, slide copies.

⁴³ Stucley, 1983, p.59.

⁴⁴ Coate, 1963, p.86.

⁴⁵ *CSPD*, 1633-34, p.157.

⁴⁶ *CSPD*, Charles I: these are summarised by Thomas, 1978, p.123, and detailed by Harfield, 1997, pp.43-46.

⁴⁷ Stucley, 1983, p.63.

expenditure on his properties, the expenses of his growing family, and the levies demanded by the king all meant that he ran very short of money, which necessitated extensive sales and mortgages of his properties.⁴⁸ Although at first he had sided with the opposition to Charles I in the uneasy years that led up to the Civil War, Grenville later supported the Royalist cause, and in 1639 was the first in the West to raise a troop of horse, at his own expense, to join the king.⁴⁹ He was killed at the battle of Lansdowne in 1643, and his estates were sequestered.⁵⁰

Lundy would seem to have been for sale in 1636 for £3000, but whether it was sold c. 1638 is not entirely clear.⁵¹ A Chancery document of 1762, which recites deeds held for Lundy, is badly damaged and can be read only with much difficulty as:

1st[?] May 14[?] Chas [1638], An Indenture tripartite made between Beville Grenville Esq and Grace his wife of the 1st Part The Honourable.....[?]Fiennes Son and heir apparent of William Lord Viscount Say and Sele of the 2nd part and William Watts of the 3rd Part being a/an[?]

⁴⁸ Morgan, 1988, p.317. Grenville, 1895, pp.228-246.

⁴⁹ Stucley, 1983, p.79.

⁵⁰ *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, iii (2), 1643-1660, p.2214.

⁵¹ Offer to purchase: Hervey, M. F. S., 1921, *Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p.382.

....[?]ffment of the Island of Lundy.'⁵²

The most likely interpretation of this document is that it was "a Charter of Feoffment in favour of the Hon [James] Fiennes, with William Watts being joined either as a mortgagee, or as lessee having use of the property."⁵³ Stucley states that Grenville never parted with Lundy and that it was unencumbered at his death, but gives no source for this statement, which is not supported by the document in question.⁵⁴ Neither does Grenville's will, which he made in April of 1639, mention Lundy.⁵⁵ Whether a transfer took place between William, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele, and his son and heir, James (later 2nd Viscount), is not known, but Lundy was referred to as Viscount Saye and Sele's 'purchased right' in 1646.⁵⁶ The Committee for Compounding in 1651 made it clear that Grenville's property had been sequestered, and that it was returned to his son, John, in 1651 under the terms of the surrender of Scilly; it also stated that the Committee could not admit a claim to a mortgaged property on which the interest had not been paid

⁵² PRO C 12/822/3.

⁵³ Pers. comm., Douglas Penny, SSC. If the contract had included a redemption clause with a time limit, making it in effect a mortgage, the freehold would have passed to the purchaser as of right if the vendor did not redeem within the time given.

⁵⁴ Stucley, 1983, p.60.

⁵⁵ Granville, 1895, pp.214-47, given in full.

⁵⁶ BL, Bushell, 1647, 24 September 1646.

because "...There was an estate in Sir Bevill Grenville and his heir, and the trust was for them." It is impossible on present evidence to be certain of the course of the transactions.⁵⁷

During the Civil War Lundy came under the governorship of Thomas Bushell, who held it for the King, but from what date and by whose authority is not known.⁵⁸ In 1644 "The remote and quiet island of Lundy ...was summoned [called to surrender] by the Parliament and bravely defended for the king."⁵⁹ Bushell was there in 1645/6 when Viscount Saye

⁵⁷ *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60*, p.2214. Trust deed, see note 31, above. The present Lord Saye and Sele does not hold any relevant archive. Langham, 1994, 38, states that Lundy was mortgaged with Bideford, citing Fielder, D., 1985, *A History of Bideford*, p.26, but this work does not give a source. Bideford was mortgaged in 1635 and again in 1639, both deeds being written in terms of a sale where the property could be redeemed on full repayment of capital and interest: WCSL, Tingley J. C., 1930, 'Calendar of Devon Deeds Enrolled,' DCRS, iii, pp.735, 752.

⁵⁸ Gough, J., 1932, *The Superlative Prodigall*, p.68. BL, Bushell, 1647, March 19 1645/6: "...his Majesty, who first entrusted me with it..."

⁵⁹ Warburton, E., 1849, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Prince Rupert*, iii, p.3.

and Sele, a parliamentarian, sought possession, though without hint of any allegation that Bushell was in illegal occupation. Whether Bushell had it on lease is a matter for surmise.⁶⁰ When Bushell tried to negotiate, as Lundy provided a convenient refuge from his creditors, Saye and Sele offered to sell it to him for £3,000, so he was definitely owner of the fee simple before then. Bushell had no money, and spun out negotiations until February 1647/8 when terms were agreed and Saye and Sele sent his younger son to take possession.⁶¹

Bushell acknowledged an indebtedness to Saye and Sele for 'ancient favours,' his help concerning his mining interests, and the tone of the letters exchanged between them is very friendly, Saye and Sele even signing himself 'Your Very Loving Friend,' a term of most unusual warmth.⁶² Bushell later claimed that he had held Lundy, among other things, 'in a confident hope to balance the breach between King and Parliament.'⁶³ Saye and Sele may have had the same

⁶⁰ BL, Bushell, 1647: his letter to Saye and Sele of 24 March 1645/6 wished him "a better tenant" after he himself had left.

⁶¹ BL, Bushell, 1647. Full accounts of Bushell's story are given in Gough, 1932; Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, 1958, pp.42-44; Thomas, 1978, pp.124-29.

⁶² BL, Bushell, 1647, 12 January 1645/6, and 16 February 1646/7.

⁶³ BL, Bushell, 1647, 24 January 1646/7.

objective, as he 'had not the least thought of dissolving the monarchy.'⁶⁴ Whether Saye and Sele had installed Bushell on Lundy and there was collusion of purpose between the two for the possible use of the island as a place of safety for the King while terms of peace could be negotiated, can be no more than speculation. In the context of the King's surrender and the negotiations and uprisings during 1646-47, and Saye and Sele's role in the negotiations, this possibility may well have seemed more feasible at the time than it now does with hindsight.⁶⁵ Lewis states that the island was held for the king, and Grose, relating events as described by long-term islanders to a visitor in 1775, says that Saye and Sele 'fortified it very strongly...for the King,' a description given c1744 by a 90-year-old islander whose father had gone to Lundy with Lord Saye and Sele.⁶⁶ This statement may have been true if it referred to an intention of guardianship of the King's person as suggested above.

⁶⁴ Clarendon, E. H., 1843, *History of the Rebellion & Civil Wars in England*, p.375.

⁶⁵ Ashley, M., 1993, *The English Civil War*, Chapter 7. Clarendon, 1843, p.677: "He did all could to work upon the king to yield to what was proposed to him, and afterwards upon the Parliament to be content with what his majesty had yielded."

⁶⁶ Lewis, 1749, p.193. Grose, 1776, p.195.

When Bushell surrendered Lundy in 1647/8 he had a garrison of twenty-one men, who said that they had not had bread for six months or beer for two years because of their shipping losses. This may have been so, or an excuse contrived to explain the absence of stores which they were supposed to hand over on surrender.⁶⁷ Bushell claimed that he had rebuilt the castle "from the ground," and that he had spent £5570 on the works and the garrison (Figs 15,16).⁶⁸ Two questions have been raised concerning Bushell's tenure of the island: whether he constructed the cave near the castle (G313), and whether he minted coins on Lundy. Graffiti inside the cave of "1726" show that it was in existence at least by that date, and it may be thought that Bushell, a mining engineer, had the experience to excavate it.⁶⁹ It may have been excavated in search of minerals or for the storage of ammunition or powder, though in the latter case it is difficult to find a reason for such extensive and laboursome work, through solid rock, when it would have been possible to build safe storage with much less trouble elsewhere, and Bushell never claimed to have done the work. Although access is rather steep and narrow for carrying heavy loads, the cave is well hidden from view,

⁶⁷ BL, Bushell, 1647, 24 February 1646/7.

⁶⁸ BL, Bushell, 1664. The Earl of Bath (John Grenville) attested this claim.

⁶⁹ Gough, 1932, Chapter 3. Langham, 1989, pp.50-52.

which would suggest that, whenever it was built, the purpose was for concealment.

Langham accepts the case for Bushell's mint, and illustrates a coin of 1646 as "a Lundy groat."⁷⁰ While this was undoubtedly catalogued as such, there is no evidence to support the description.⁷¹ In 1646 the king had been defeated, and Bushell was negotiating terms for surrender of the island; he made no claim to have minted coin on Lundy, though he advanced many other claims for all he had done on the king's behalf.⁷² The licence to mint in Devon and Cornwall had been given to Sir Richard Vyvian, and parliamentary control of the Bristol Channel (which reportedly resulted in blockade of the Lundy garrison) would have made the transport of bullion, fuel, and coin equally difficult.⁷³ Koorlander wrote that: "I have searched diligently...I find that there is no recorded evidence to support such an establishment on Lundy Island."⁷⁴ Included

⁷⁰ Langham, 1994, pp.39, 206.

⁷¹ The coin was purchased at Seaby's, London, by A. F. Langham and the present writer.

⁷² BL, Bushell, ?1664.

⁷³ Symonds, H., 1922, 'Civil War Coins of Bristol Types after September 1645,' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th series, ii, pp.140-43. Symonds refutes the attribution of Charles I coins to a Lundy mint. Oppenheim, M. M., 1968, *The Maritime History of Devon*, pp.65-66.

⁷⁴ Koorlander, B., 1970, 'Coinage of Charles I Attributed to Lundy', *Spink's Numatic Circular*, November.

in the terms of surrender was permission for Bushell to bring his lead and potter's ore from South Wales to Bideford, so these had evidently not been taken to Lundy.⁷⁵ Finally, the furnace which has been excavated to the east of the castle (G306) is considered to have been a smithy, and not suitable for a mint, and analysis of crucible deposits found there show that these were used to melt gunmetals or bronze.⁷⁶

Somewhere in the course of events one William Lampit claimed a place. In 1650, ejected from his parish, he wrote that he had "always been in the Parliament's Army and Garrison...I have preached this 20 years, and was both Minister and Governour in Lunde Island..."⁷⁷ This raises puzzling questions of who appointed him at some time between

⁷⁵ Chope, R. Pearse, 1918-19, 'Thomas Bushell & the Combe Martin Mines,' *DCNQ*, x, pp.34-41.

⁷⁶ C Thackray, pers. comm. MTC, copy of letter from J. Bayley (English Heritage) to D. Thackray, 7 May 1986.

⁷⁷ BL., Musgrave, J., 1650, 'A True and Exact Relation of the Heavy Pressures etc.,' pp.20-23. Nightingale, B., 1911, *The Ejected of 1652 in Cumberland and Westmoreland*, pp.84, 128, 613, 621-25, 635. Matthews, A, G., 1934, *Calumny Revised*, p.312. Lampit was born c1605, and took BA in 1626. No other references to Lampit could be found (Lambeth Palace Library; Exeter diocesan records), and no date is given for his time on Lundy.

1626 and 1650, and whether there was a usable chapel on the island at the time. With the statement of there having been a "parson...captaine" c1586, it may be that the Grenvilles were used to install such an incumbent, and that the burials (G278, G279, G283), midden (G271) and a putative chapel (G266) in Bull's Paradise are related to the presence of a "parson" described in Holinshed (note 9, above).

The wars of 1652-54 and 1655-60 made defence of the Bristol Channel a necessity. Lundy is mentioned in many naval directives, and a garrison of "four files of musketeers" was sent there in 1652. These apparently stayed for some time, as the garrison was ordered to protect the master and four men of "a bark belonging to Lundy" from impress in 1655/6, and a Sir John Ricketts was in charge in 1658/9.⁷⁸ The need for defence, and the presence of the soldiers, may reinforce Grose's statement that Lord Saye & Sele "for a while held it for the king, having fortified it very strongly. It was at that time computed to contain above 100 inhabitants who subsisted by summering cattle,

⁷⁸ *CSPD*, 1651, p.193; 1652-53, pp.140, 494; 1653-54, p.568; 1655-56, p.224; 1654, pp.29-574 passim; 1655, pp.413-511 passim; 1655-56, pp.224-545 passim. The sequence is described in Thomas, 1978, pp.130-32.

and the sale of feathers, skins, and eggs."⁷⁹ For those who opposed the regicide, the king was Charles I's son, albeit uncrowned.

Viscount Saye and Sele was a man "subtle, able and ambitious, with a strong sense of rank," even arrogant.⁸⁰ He was a scholar, a respected politician, and a convinced Puritan who, while totally loyal to the Crown in principle, was opposed to Charles I's mode of government, and even more vehemently opposed to the rulers of the Anglican church.⁸¹ At one time his goods were distressed, at another action taken against him in the Star Chamber; he suffered arrest in 1640 and was threatened with the accusation of treason.⁸² This vulnerability might also be an aspect of his interest in Lundy if he saw it as a possible

⁷⁹ Grose, 1776, p.195. Grose's source was an islander whose father had gone to Lundy with Saye & Sele c1694, who was still living in 1744, and had passed the information to fellow islanders who were alive in 1775. The information may have been distorted by his age, 90 years in 1744,, and in the re-telling, but he had lived on Lundy for fifty years. The statement need not necessarily mean that Saye & Sele was on the island himself.

⁸⁰ Spalding, R., 1990, *Contemporaries of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675*, pp.309-10.

⁸¹ Clarendon, 1843, p.677.

⁸² *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), 1921, vi, pp.1297-1300.

sanctuary for himself in case of necessity. He was a Commissioner for the Parliament to treat with the King at the Isle of Wight in 1647: "...of all the parlement commissioners the most inward man with the King, and undertooke most on his behalf".⁸³ However, he upheld the rule of law, and was so deeply opposed to Cromwell, to the dissolution of the House of Lords, and to the execution of the King, that in 1649 he withdrew to Lundy.⁸⁴ It is perhaps unlikely that a man of marked abilities and high political reputation would, at the age of around 66, have endured the isolation and privations of life on the island for any length of time; certainly he was at his seat at Broughton in 1657 and 1659.⁸⁵ He was said to have been among the Presbyterians who joined Charles II's cause in 1654, was active in bringing about the Restoration, and was appointed to the Privy Council shortly after Charles II's return.⁸⁶

How and when Lundy passed from Viscount Saye and Sele to John Grenville, (son and heir of Sir Beville) is also unclear. The same Chancery document of 1762 referred to

⁸³ Clarendon, 1843, p.375.

⁸⁴ Eachard, 1720, pp.716, 805.

⁸⁵ The present Lord Saye and Sele, pers. comm. Firth, C. H., 1895, *The English Historical Review*, x, p.106.

⁸⁶ Coate, 1963, pp.285-97. Eachard, 1720, p.805. *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, pp.486-88, refutes Eachard's statement that Saye and Sele was created Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1660.

above has a further entry: '10[?] Feb 1669[?] An indenture made between John Cooper of the 1st part[?] John Earl of Bath of the other part being a release[?] consideration[?] of £2,600.' Grenville, by then Earl of Bath, had testified as owner of Lundy on Busshell's behalf c. 1663, which could signify that the document concerns a sale under the Statute of Uses, 1535, and that a lease (possession) entered into in 1663 or before was followed by a release in c. 1669 which perfected the title of the purchaser to the property.⁸⁷ It is also possible that it concerned the redemption of a loan secured on Lundy. Grenville had regained all his father's estates under the terms of his surrender as governor of the Scilly Isles in 1651, and the sequestration was reversed.⁸⁸ Stucley refers to the sequestration as having been a blessing: 'Since Bevill had mortgaged everything he had, and the mortgagees were unpaid the money due to them, they were prevented from foreclosing on such lands as had not been sold outright...After the Restoration... [the] Earl of Bath was able to upset some sales of trust property made by his father, and redeem other lands with the great wealth available to him from his grant of the Stannaries.' Unfortunately the particular properties concerned and the

⁸⁷ Pers. comm. Douglas Penny, SSC. BL, Busshell, 1664.

⁸⁸ *CSPD, 1651*, pp.214-217, 285. *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding: 1643-60*, pp.2853-54.

sources for this information are not cited.⁸⁹ It is also possible that Saye and Sele may have sold the island to a third party, from whom it was sold to Grenville.

After John Grenville had returned to his father's estates in 1651 he was allowed free movement, and eventually was instrumental in the negotiations for Charles II's return to the throne.⁹⁰ The rewards were generous: he was created Earl of Bath, and given many grants and privileges that moved him from modest country squiredom to wealth and influence.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Stucley, 1983, p.149. Viscount Saye & Sele d. 1662. His will, drawn up in 1659, refers only to his personal estate (PRO Prob 11/309 (Laud), 147). Some recoveries are given in the Marquess of Bath archive, Carteret, 18.

⁹⁰ Letter from Charles Stuart to John Grenville, April 1660, given in full in Granville, 1895, p.346.

⁹¹ Granville, 1895, p.326.

CHAPTER 5.

(iii) LUNDY 1660-1775

The new Earl of Bath enjoyed a substantial income from grants made by Charles II, together with his Devon and Cornwall properties. He was appointed first Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a close and active servant of the King, and amongst other duties served as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and Devon.¹ He organised the militia of those counties during the wars with the Dutch, and as Governor of Plymouth was responsible for the construction of the Citadel. But after the death of Charles II he was out of royal favour, and the last years of his life were taken up by an expensive and vexatious lawsuit, by which he tried and failed to secure the Duchy of Albemarle.² When he died in 1701, there was surprise at the extent of his debts.³

The 1st Earl of Bath's son and heir, Charles (2nd Earl), died of a gunshot wound a few days after his father,

¹ *DNB*, 1921, viii, pp.563-5. The family name was Grenville, Grenville, with many variations of spelling, but Granville was adopted after the Restoration when the King allowed John Grenville to use the titles Count of Corbeil, Lord of Thorigny and Granville, through descent from a younger son of Rollo, Duke of Normandy. This claim is disputed in *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, i, p.20.

² *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, i, p.20.

³ *DNB*, 1921, viii, pp.563-65.

it was thought by suicide after he became aware of the extent of the debts.⁴ The will of the 1st Earl had not been proved, the 2nd Earl died intestate, and his heir was a minor who became 3rd Earl at the age of nine. Therefore the estate of the 1st Earl went into administration, and the 3rd Earl's uncle, John, Lord Granville, was appointed administrator.⁵ A plea was raised in the Court of Chancery in 1704 in the right of the daughters of the 1st Earl, as the beneficiaries had not received their legacies, and they alleged that Lord Granville had taken the assets of the estate for his own use.⁶ He in turn petitioned the court alleging that the 2nd Earl had disposed of much of his father's personal estate, so that it was insufficient to pay the debts, and he sought the court's permission to sell some of the real estate.⁷ Since the 2nd Earl had survived his father by only a few days, the legatees rejected this argument, and Lord Granville was certainly found to be

⁴ *DNB*, 1921, viii, p.565.

⁵ Endorsement made 10 September 1701 on the will of the 1st Earl. The will, PRO Probate 684, is given in full, with the endorsements, in Granville, 1895, pp.393-397.

⁶ PRO C 10/307/68; C 10/516/25; C 7/141/92.

⁷ PRO C 7/141/92; C 10/307/68. The executors were obliged to settle all the testator's debts before paying any bequests to legatees (Camp, A. J., 1974, *Wills and their Whereabouts*, xix).

indebted in his accounts when he died in 1707.⁸ By 1709 the administration had passed to the 3rd Earl's maternal grandmother, the Countess of Nassau.⁹ The 3rd Earl of Bath died in 1711, unmarried and before he came of age; as a minor he could only dispose by will of his personal possessions, the 1st Earl's estate was still not settled, and with this death all litigation had to be started afresh.¹⁰

George, Lord Lansdowne, nephew of the 1st Earl, and next heir in the male line, entered into the lands as he would have been entitled to do under the terms of the 1st Earl's will, which directed that inheritance should be in order through the male line.¹¹ The representatives of the plaintiffs applied to the Court to eject him, and he counter-petitioned.¹² Possibly in order to avoid the

⁸ Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D 593/P/16/2/1/4, nd: "Charge on the Lord Granville as Administrator ...£13,855.05.11."

⁹ PRO C 10/307/68 (1708); C 9/202/36 (1709). Countess of Nassau confirmed in an endorsement against the will of 1st Earl of Bath, 1 July, 1712; given in Granville, 1895, pp.396-97.

¹⁰ PRO, PROB 11/521, Sig 97. Horwitz, H., 1995, *Chancery Equity Records and Proceedings 1600-1800*, pp.20-22.

¹¹ PRO C 10/398/48. The inheritor of real estate was entitled to immediate possession, in contrast to personal estate which was subject to probate (Camp, 1974, xii).

¹² PRO C 10/398/48.

complications and expenses of further court proceedings, an agreement was reached in 1714/15 whereby the estate was divided between the 1st Earl's surviving daughter, and the heirs of her deceased sister, and Lansdowne received £30,000.¹³ A final concord of 2 February 1714/15 between Countess Granville with her son and heir, John, and Lord Lansdowne with his brother and heir, Bernard, which conveys the estates to the Countess for £5600, was presumably a provision made for Bernard Grenville, as Lord Lansdowne's heir apparent.¹⁴ The whole agreement most probably rested on the legal position that the estate was in intestate administration at the death of the 3rd Earl, by law of which the estate went to the next of kin of the deceased.¹⁵ In this case the next of kin were the surviving daughter of the 1st Earl, and her sister's heir; the two daughters had been the sisters of the 2nd Earl, and the aunts of the 3rd Earl.

By 1715 the ownership of Lundy, and the other lands of the 1st Earl of Bath in Devon and Cornwall, were divided equally between his youngest daughter, Lady Grace Carteret, Countess Granville, and Lord John Leveson Gower, the

¹³ SRO, D 868/7, pp.26, 27, 33: letters from Lansdowne to Lord Carteret, and from Lord Carteret to Lord Gower, 7 Nov 1714-30 Aug 1715.

¹⁴ Marquess of Bath archive, Carteret 11.

¹⁵ Camp, 1974, xii.

grandson of her deceased sister, Jane (d 1696). The division was made by apportionment of some properties, and an equal share in the revenues of the remainder, which included Lundy.¹⁶

From testimonies given after his death, the 1st Earl of Bath can have taken no interest in Lundy, but if the island was 'unlet' or 'untenanted,' as claimed, it is still likely that it was peopled by servants of the owners, however few in number. Grose found that 'In the year 1744 one John Sharp, then upwards of 96 years of age, was living, who had resided in this Island 50 years,' in which case he must have gone to Lundy in about 1694.¹⁷ The dates are relevant, since they give credence to the story related by Grose that in the reign of William III [1688-1702] French privateers raided the island by a trick, took the horses, goats, sheep and bullocks, and left it 'in a most disconsolate condition.' Grose observes that a similar trick was carried out against Sark in the reign of Mary I, but it would seem that Sharp was either a witness or that he went to Lundy

¹⁶ SRO D 593/P/16/2/1/3. Granville, 1895, p.417.

¹⁷ Grose, 1776, p.196.

not long afterwards.¹⁸ The population and stock described contradicts the reported continuous state of neglect, which may have followed after such piratical attacks.¹⁹

In 1698 the island was considered to be 'hardly inhabited or habitable' by the Commissioners for Customs, who rejected a petition to place a revenue officer there, although it was claimed that 'Lundy was a place where considerable quantities of goods were run.'²⁰ One Thomas Jones petitioned for government employment in 1709 because he had lost his money in a venture on Lundy, having been 'often robbed by the French privateers, and so was reduced to a mean condition.'²¹ Accounts show that Lundy was let

¹⁸ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, p.29, state that there is '...no foundation in fact' for this story in relation to Sark in 1553. Lewis, 1749, iii, p.193: "The French seized it by stratagem" also refers to this event as in the reign of William and Mary (1689-1694) and thus was writing within living memory.

¹⁹ HMC, Finch, iv, 272, (1692), refers to Jacobean privateers in the Bristol Channel having taken "20 sayle within these ten days...all this channell will be undon...two of them lye off Lundee and lett nothing escape them." *CSPD 1694-95*, p.141: "The French privateers have wholly blocked up this Channel..Our coast trade is entirely stopped..."

²⁰ *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697-1702*, p.144.

²¹ *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1708-1714*, p.114.

about 1707, when the tenant was £148 in arrears with his rent (possibly the same Jones).²² Thus the island may have been neglected by the tenants due to their impecunity, their having ulterior purposes, or perforce of piratical attacks, but it would seem that it was not continuously unpopulated. Although they cannot be dated precisely, the spread of ceramic finds in the eastern fields south of Quarter Wall by Schofield and Webster would seem to support this conclusion, where the greatest percentage represented North Devon wares of post-medieval date.²³ It should also be taken into consideration that no similar investigation has been made in the fields adjoining the castle, where the farm and cultivated fields were at that time.²⁴

Evidence submitted to the Court of Chancery in 1706 gave among the list of the late 1st Earl of Bath's properties 'the Isle of Lundy formerly lett for about two hundred pounds per anno but at present (by reason of the Warre) of uncertain yearly value'.²⁵ This rental figure would seem to be very high, and meant either that before the wars the island had been very productive and the market favourable, or that it suited some particular tenant's purposes to that extent, or (as was not unlikely) that the deponent was less than accurate. Of the Earl's estates in

²² SRO D 593 P/16/2/1/4.

²³ Schofield & Webster, 1989, pp.42-44; 1990, pp.46-47.

²⁴ THEA 1319 (1820); Fig.20.

²⁵ PRO C 7/141/92.

Devon and Cornwall a deponent stated that 'a great part of it lay in a ruinous condition and untenanted at the time of the said Earl's death' (1701), with 'the respective buildings thereof being very ruinous and much out of repair by reason of their having many years continued in the hand of the said Earl John unlet.'²⁶ Allowance must be made, however, for the probability that the defendants in a law suit sought to minimise the revenues they had received from the estates.²⁷

Earl Gower (as he became in 1746) had a distinguished career in law and politics, served as a lord justice and was twice Lord Privy Seal. His son and five daughters all made marriages which brought the family very wealthy and eminent connections.²⁸ Grace Granville had been married as a child to Lord Carteret, widowed "in the bloom of life," and was created Countess Granville in her own right in 1714/5.²⁹ Her niece, Mary Delaney, referred to her as "The Dragon."³⁰

Lundy appears to have fared little better under these new owners. With the Jacobite rising of 1715, the country was wary of a potential Stuart threat to the monarchy until the Jacobites were defeated at Culloden in 1746. Externally there were wars with the French (1701-13 and 1739-48), and

²⁶ PRO C 10/307/68; C 9/202/36.

²⁷ PRO leaflet No 30, 'Chancery Proceedings,' p.2.

²⁸ DNB, 1921, xi, pp.1032-33.

²⁹ Collins, A., 1756, *A History of the Noble Family of Carteret*.

³⁰ Johnson, R. Brimley., 1925, *Mrs Delaney*, xiii-xliv.

the records refer to efforts to combat piracy, enemy privateering, and smuggling.³¹

"In the year 1721, and for some succeeding years...the Island of Lundy was in the hands of Mr Richard Score, who rented it of the Proprietors, several illegal practices were carried on there and considerable quantities of Goods were seized by the Officers of the Customs, till a stop was put thereto by the said Scores [sic] leaving the island; since which, we are informed the said island remained uninhabited and entirely neglected by the Proprietors."³²

The heavy increases in duties that were imposed to help pay for the wars resulted in an explosion of smuggling in the eighteenth century, and Scores was probably not the only one to have taken advantage of Lundy's geographical and administrative isolation.³³ Customs officials seized tobacco and brandy from William Cuthbert on four occasions, who had "imported and run in the island of Lundy," but "cannot be taken."³⁴ North Devon was used as a distribution point for contraband intended for markets further up the Bristol Channel "...a supply base was required where bulk cargoes, such as tobacco, could be broken down into

³¹ HMC, House of Lords, vi, pp.14-15. Naval Records Society, 1931, lxxviii, The Byng Papers (ii), p.280; 1932, lxx, The Byng Papers, (iii), p.195; 1920, liii; Leake, (ii), pp.332, 336.

³² PRO T 1/352.

³³ Smith, G, 1989, *Smuggling in the Bristol Channel*.

³⁴ PRO T 64/143.

smaller lots."³⁵ Further evidence for the prevalence of smuggling is given in a petition from the Merchants of Bristol in 1743, which seems to confirm that the island was not then in cultivation: it 'is very capable of cultivation and, which once cultivated, would maintain a sufficient number of men to defend it against any force, which would not require above 50...'³⁶. The Merchants stated that French privateers 'possessed themselves, whenever they thought fit, of the Island of Lundy and used it to take large numbers of trading vessels ...by which many merchants and traders of those parts were greatly impoverished or quite ruined and undone.' They begged that the crown should annex the island and install a garrison there, 'and that the smugglers will also be hindered from the landing uncustomed or prohibited goods thereon as formerly.' From these evidences it might be concluded that the lucrative activities of privateers, marauding seafarers, and smugglers were hardly likely to have encouraged either investment in the island or assiduous care of Lundy's farm.

In July 1751 Earl Gower leased the Carteret moiety of Lundy for 21 years for £30 per annum, with an option to buy within ten years for £750. At the same date he sub-leased

³⁵ Jamieson, A., 1992, 'Devon & Smuggling 1689-1850', *NMHD*, i, pp.244-50.

³⁶ McGrath, P., 1975, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol*, p.178.

the whole island to Thomas Benson, merchant and MP for Barnstaple, for the same period, at £60 per annum, with the option to buy a one-third share for £500.³⁷ Benson inherited his family's merchant business in 1743, with a fleet of thirteen ships trading out of Bideford in tobacco from Virginia and fish from Newfoundland. This was a period of commercial and maritime expansion, the "heyday of Devon's commercial activity," which lasted until c1770.³⁸ Bideford was then second only to London as a port for tobacco, and had twenty-five customs officers appointed. Benson lost six ships to privateers in the war of 1739-48, but was still prosperous enough to be appointed sheriff of Devon in 1746, and to procure his election as MP for Barnstaple in 1747. He is described as "...ambitious...bold and enterprising...wealthy and respected...with a personality of great charm."³⁹

One of Benson's first actions as lessee was to petition Trinity House for the construction of a lighthouse on Lundy, but he could not muster sufficient support locally, and the

³⁷ SRO, D 593/C/21/4/2. Thomas, 1959, p.13, gives the date of Benson's lease as 1748, referring to Drake, D., 1941, 'Members of Parliament for Barnstaple 1689-1832,' *TDA*, lxxiii, p.185, but this gives no source for 1748.

³⁸ Fisher, S., 'Devon's Maritime Trade and Shipping 1680-1780,' *NMHD* i, pp.232-241.

³⁹ Thomas, 1959, p.13.

idea was rejected.⁴⁰ From 1743 to 1752 he had a series of contracts for the transportation of convicts to Virginia, which he abused by landing some of them on Lundy, where he used them as slave labour, with the double benefit of the £5 transportation fee and an unpaid labour force that could be fed off the plentiful rabbits and birds.⁴¹ Benson used Lundy to avoid customs duties on tobacco, and incurred fines, which were still outstanding in 1752 when he came to grief with a scheme to defraud a marine insurance company by unloading one of his vessels on Lundy before scuttling it down-channel. The truth came to light, and in 1753 he escaped to Portugal, but not before he had had the temerity to submit a petition to the Treasury that a pier and port should be established at Lundy. The customs officers sent the Lords of the Treasury their opinion that "...the Revenue

⁴⁰ THGM, 30 004, xi, pp.126, 139.

⁴¹ DRO, Q/S 129/21-40, Transportation Contracts 1741-60. Morgan, K., 1992, 'Convict Transportation from Devon to America,' *NMHD*, i, pp.153-54. NDRO, Anon., 1752. PRO HCA 1/58: a witness testified that 4 out of the 15 convicts were landed on Lundy. Since Benson had to pay a substantial bond against a receipt for the delivery of the prisoners in Virginia, it is probable that he deposited a few convicts from each transport on Lundy, and that the shortfall on arrival could have been accounted for as "deaths on the voyage."

would be exposed to very great frauds should the Island of Lundy be established a lawful place for ordinary shipping and landing of goods."⁴²

The description of the island that the visitor gave in 1752 is dismal, and supports the statement that it had been neglected since the departure of Scores some thirty years earlier:

'The island at this time was in no state of improvement, the Houses miserably bad...the old Fort was occupied by the Convicts which he had sent there sometime before, and employed them in making a Wall across the Island...they were locked up every night when they returned from their Labour....Wild Fowl it being breeding season were exceeding plenty, and a vast number of rabbits...The Island at that time was overgrown with Ferns and Heath which made it almost impassable to goe to the extreme of the Island. Had it not been for the supply of Rabbits and young Sea Gulls our table would have been but poorly furnished for Rats being so plenty that they destroyed every night what was left of our Repast by Day.'⁴³

One writer claimed that Benson "...by walling and draining and cultivating the land did more to improve the Island than any other lessee..." but the report of the eyewitness in 1752 would seem to refute this.⁴⁴ After Benson's flight the island would presumably have reverted to Earl Gower by the terms of the lease, and in 1755 it was reported to be '... inhabited by only one family, who sell

⁴² PRO T 1/352. Thomas, 1959, gives the full story of Benson's activities. Also Langham, 1994, Chapter 6.

⁴³ NDRO, Anon., 1752.

⁴⁴ Drake, 1941, p.185.

liquors to such fishermen as put on shore there.'⁴⁵

Earl Gower died in 1754 and, by the terms of his will, the half share of Lundy was one of a number of properties to be sold by trustees to provide for his widow, the Countess Dowager Gower, and their son.⁴⁶ The Lundy property was not sold until 1775, but Langham is in error in ascribing the delay to the lack of an heir.⁴⁷ It was caused by the long-drawn-out course of another lawsuit. The Countess Dowager Gower petitioned the Court of Chancery in 1760 for the due execution of the 1st Earl's will, since neither she nor her son had received moneys due to them by its terms.⁴⁸ The course of the case was complicated and protracted: there were many debts, which had to be legally verified before payment was made; changes of trustees took place; claims were made by the children of the testator's first marriage; there were wrangles about the value and disposition of the personal estate, and charges of misappropriation, which all suggest that the defendants put deliberate delays in the way of the plaintiff. In essence this was a dispute between the Countess Dowager and her stepson, the 2nd Earl Gower, but her petition succeeded in 1763 when the due execution of the will and the sale of the

⁴⁵ GM, 1755, p.446.

⁴⁶ PRO C 12/822/3.

⁴⁷ Langham, 1994, p.53.

⁴⁸ PRO C 12/822/3.

designated properties were ordered by the court.⁴⁹ The first advertisement of lands for sale was issued in 1764 but it was not until 1775, after two aborted sales, that the purchase of the Gower moiety of Lundy by John Borlase Warren for £510 was eventually approved, and he was granted possession as from Lady Day (March 25th).⁵⁰

Borlase Warren negotiated the purchase of the Carteret half of Lundy on May 20th, 1775, also for £510, but found that it, too, was subject to the direction of the Court of Chancery.⁵¹ When Countess Granville died in 1744 her property passed to her only son, John, Lord Carteret, 1st Earl Granville.⁵² He was a learned man, an eminent politician and diplomat, who was close to the House of Hanover, but "...extravagant and...perpetually in debt."⁵³ He died in 1763, leaving as heir his most unsatisfactory son, Robert, 2nd Earl Granville, who was debauched and highly eccentric.⁵⁴ In 1768 the 2nd Earl Granville had issued a bill against the trustees for execution of his father's will, to which they responded by begging permission

⁴⁹ PRO C 38/597.

⁵⁰ PRO C 38/657; C 33/443/i, pp 187, 198, 208, 263.

⁵¹ PRO C 33/445/i, p 24.

⁵² Collins, 1756. In 1715 he had inherited the island of Sark, which he never saw, and sold in 1720 (Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, pp.87-88).

⁵³ DNB, 1921, iii, p.1119. Baring, W., 1936, *Carteret, the Brilliant Failure of the Eighteenth Century*, p.335.

⁵⁴ *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, ii, p.91.

of the Court of Chancery to sell real estate in order to meet the debts and legacies.⁵⁵ This was allowed, and after many delays the sale of the Granville moiety of Lundy to John Borlase Warren was approved.⁵⁶ Before the sale could be transacted the 2nd Earl Granville died (1776), and the case had to be re-started with the next heir as plaintiff. The sale was again approved after the Court had ordered a report to be made on the condition of the island.⁵⁷ It is clear from the court documents that Borlase Warren was in possession of the whole island from May of 1775, but he did not succeed in obtaining the Carteret deeds until he applied to the Court in December 1780, when he was preparing to sell it.⁵⁸ It was quite usual for the buyer to take possession of a property by making deposit of the purchase money, on which the vendor would take the interest until the legal formalities were completed.

In the meantime the island seems to have been neglected. Grose, writing from a visitor's account of 1775, also stated that 'The best part not having been in cultivation for many years past, is now much over-run with fern and heath, and some furze; but the north end has little besides moss and liverworts to cover the bare rock.' The quantity of rabbits was "immense" and the number of black

⁵⁵ PRO C 12/48/1. Marquess of Bath archive, Carteret, 52.

⁵⁶ PRO C 33/455/1 p. 24.

⁵⁷ PRO C 33/455/1, pp. 21, 105.

⁵⁸ PRO C 33/455/1 pp. 21, 105.

rats "very troublesome."⁵⁹ From the evidences cited above it can be understood that for the owners during this period Lundy was of little interest, being distant, liable to troublesome interference, and with a yearly rental value that was low in relation to its acreage. It was an infinitesimal part of their landholdings, one item in the rent roll of income, or a surety for raising capital. The Gower moiety of Lundy was mortgaged in 1711, 1719, and 1728, and there is also evidence to suggest that the Granville portion was mortgaged in 1729.⁶⁰ The management of the estates was left in the hands of agents, and were either leased, let, or farmed with a bailiff. Agents were liable to neglect or take advantage of distant and small properties, especially when, as was not infrequently the case, they were dishonest.⁶¹ Vancouver commented that 'in no part of England are the care and management of estates so generally deputed to the superintendance of attornies and other unqualified persons, as in the County of Devon...The Mischievous consequences...are more injurious and extensive than is generally apprehended.'⁶²

⁵⁹ Grose, 1776, p.194. His informant may have been Martyn, who visited in September 1775 (PRO C 33/455/i pp. 21, 105).

⁶⁰ SRO, D 593/P/16/2/1/3; D 593 C/21/5; D 593 C/21/4/2. PRO C 12/48/1.

⁶¹ Mingay, G. E., 1963, *English Landed Gentry in the Eighteenth Century*, p.67.

⁶² Vancouver, 1808, pp.80-81.

Lundy was affected by the prolonged series of family lawsuits because when an estate was in litigation, it was subject to the directions of the court. The guardian of a minor was similarly restricted. Trustees, administrators or guardians were therefore unable to make sales, grant leases, or carry out transactions affecting the estate without the approval of the court, which - as is seen above - involved long and expensive delays.⁶³ Tenancies were a legal possibility, but in times of war and extensive privateering the island could have been difficult to let, and these factors would also have discouraged any investment or long-term management of the island by either owners or tenants.

Such appeal as the island had for any prospective tenant would more probably have rested on its attraction for those of entrepreneurial spirit who saw opportunities for profit from its geographical isolation, the lack of governance there, and its ambiguous legal status. Evidence given to the court in 1776 that 'no person has occupied the same by the permission of either of the owners' suggests that unlawful advantage had indeed been taken of Lundy.⁶⁴ Further archaeological investigations may reveal more of the occupation levels in the seventeenth and eighteenth

⁶³ Mackinnon, F. D., 1952, 'The Law & the Lawyers,' A. J. Turberville, ed., *Johnson's England*, Chapter 25.

⁶⁴ PRO C 38/669.

centuries; Schofield and Webster's retrieval of post-medieval North Devon ceramic artefacts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests the possibility a habitation area at the west of the Brick Field (G505), and the scatter of sherds there, in the Tillage Field and the Airfield are indicative of agricultural activities.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Schofield, 1988, pp.36-37. Schofield & Webster, 1989, pp.42-44.

CHAPTER 5.

(iv) LUNDY 1775-1836

When John Borlase Warren bought Lundy he was 21 years of age and had divided his time between naval service and Cambridge university, completed the Grand Tour, and been elected MP for Marlow (Bucks). He took possession of Lundy in May, 1775, and entered into his title later that year on the death of his father. He took his MA in 1776, by which time he was occupied with his yacht, and with his plans for Lundy.¹ Warren was enthusiastic, and viewed the island as a country seat from where he could also enjoy sailing his yacht. He commissioned Dominic Serres to make two fine paintings (G665) of the island from the sea, and three engravings of the castle were published in 1776 (Figs. 15, 16, 37).² His tutor from Cambridge, Dr Martyn (a botanist), was sent to the island to report on its condition.³

Martyn wrote in September 1775 that there were about 500 acres of coarse grass in the south of the island, but

¹ *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, 1954, Part 2, vi, p.358. Anson, W., 1912, *The Life of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren. The Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1823, vii, pp.145-158.

² Dominic Serres, a French painter working in England. The paintings were given to the Heaven family by Warren's descendants, and sold in 1911 to the Cardiff Exchange. Engravings: Grose, 1776, iv, pp.191-96.

³ PRO C 38/669.

the rest was "incorrigibly barren." The exposure to winds, and the vast numbers of rabbits and rats would destroy the crops, just as the trees that Warren had already planted had withered. Although the agisting of cattle would make the best use of the land, the expense of transporting them would make it unprofitable.⁴ It should be remembered that Martyn's evidence was used to inform the court of Chancery whether the sale (which was at a very low price) was in the vendor's interests, so the picture he gave of it was probably intended to be discouraging.

Either the report Martyn gave to Warren was more favourable, or Warren's enthusiasm was sustained by optimism. His trustees were to appoint a governor who would superintend the settling of a farming and fishing population to be brought from Shetland, and oversee the building of:

"A proper Farm Yard...and convenient building to be erected as such farmer shall judge necessary for the carrying on the Farming and Dairy business...[also] the House, Fort and small pier...It will be necessary to have the Island laid out into proper Farms...There is a vessel employed at £16 per month, the charge of which, if

⁴ PRO C 38/669. The full text is also given in Steinman, 1947, pp.17-18.

absolutely necessary will be allowed for the time being."⁵ (Fig.73).

His ideas were liberal: the settlers, "three or four familys," were to have houses and land, and the use of his boats for fishing. Island produce was to be maximised: wool, meat, salt butter, cheese, corn, rabbit skins, seal skins, oil, kelp, birds' eggs and feathers were all directed to be sent to the markets at Bristol.

Warren must have been aware of the level of smuggling that reached unprecedented levels towards the end of the eighteenth century, particularly as he had for a time been engaged in the preventive service.⁶ With vast profits to be made, especially in brandy, tea, and tobacco, smuggling involved all levels of society and, having strong local support, met little challenge away from the more heavily patrolled English Channel ports.⁷ The pilots, who waited for incoming ships at Lundy, were reported to be deeply involved.⁸ Warren imported considerable quantities of

⁵ LMA, copy of Borlase Warren MS, nd. From the directions given in the MS, it would seem to date from early in his ownership, and signifies preparations for a period of absence during service in the American war.

⁶ Jamieson, 1992, pp.244-250. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1954, vi, part 2, p.358.

⁷ Smith, G., 1980, *Something to Declare*, pp.89-100.

⁸ Smith, 1989, pp.75, 116.

armaments to Lundy, probably with the intention of warding off smugglers, and defending the island from privateers.⁹ The series of wars between 1739 and 1765 may also have served to frame a naval officer's view of necessary defences. Steinman makes reference to a revenue officer's having been on Lundy "whose collection during seven years did not amount to more than £5."¹⁰ Even if the revenue officer was honest, which cannot at all be taken for granted, he could have done little to combat a well-organised trade.¹¹ At this time Lundy was notorious for smuggling activities, but jurisdiction was uncertain, as the island lay beyond the six-mile limit for the Revenue Service, and it was said that "...there never lived yet a man on the island of Lundy who was not connected with smuggling."¹² Intelligence reports to the Board of Customs in 1781-83 also detailed the pilots' use of Lundy for smuggling.¹³

It would seem that the islanders had not overlooked the excellent possibilities for concealment on Lundy, and contraband was found in 1782 hidden "in the cavities of the

⁹ Smith, 1989, p.126. Langham, 1994, p.56.

¹⁰ Steinman, 1947, p.20.

¹¹ Smith, 1989, p.27.

¹² Smith, 1989, p.124. PRO ADM 1/2307. The off-shore limit was raised to 4 leagues (c12 m, 19km) in 1784 (Jamieson, 1992, p.247).

¹³ LMA, Farr, G., MS, nd.

rocks and in small huts."¹⁴ The islanders, in the face of their hardships, would have been susceptible to the temptation of easy profits. Although smuggling was most probably a significant part of their economy in the eighteenth century, it is impossible to verify either its extent or its economic significance. There would, naturally enough, be no record of successful operations which escaped detection.¹⁵

Warren returned to naval service at the outbreak of the American War of Independence (1776), and it is uncertain how far his directives for Lundy were carried out. Certainly the farmhouse (G25) was built, enclosures were made, and a pier was begun (Figs 25, 30). The discovery of the remains of walling at the Cove (G357) in 1918, during the construction of the slipway, indicates that the pier was sited there, and not where the present quay is, as had been assumed.¹⁶ The design of the pier for Warren (Fig.30) fits that topography of the Cove, and shows "part of old

¹⁴ Langham, 1994, p.57, refers to the Customs & Excise Library without citation. This statement perhaps makes it not quite so fanciful to suggest that the "pigsties" (G9) may have been a cache.

¹⁵ Jamieson, 1992, p.244, estimates that only one in eight or ten smugglers was caught, and that the government lost £2 million a year in revenue.

¹⁶ NTA, 29 August 1918.

pier," presumably that built by Grenville c1630 (G357).¹⁷ The map of 1804 shows a pier in this position (Fig.26), and the letter to the War office that accompanied it stated that the sketch was made from a survey drawn by the writer when he was on Lundy with Warren. As parts of his original has become effaced, and he had not returned to the island since then, the map had been completed from memory.¹⁸ If he saw the pier under construction in Warren's time, he presumably projected its completion, and included it on the map.

Warren was said to have had forty labourers installed, and to have spent £6000 on the island:

"Sir John Warren expended a great deal of money in Building, and dividing the Land, and was much imposed on by the People he had about him, he run'd one wall across the island to divide the Improved from the unimproved part...about 160 acres are enclosed with stone and earth Fence. the measurement of the Fields are about 7. 8. & 10 acres. The Course of tillage wheat 12. Acres, barley 10 Do, Oats 15 Do. Those fields which are in a state of cultivation produce naturally a small three leav'd Grass...Clover and Ever Grass grows very well, little of it is sown, the present Inhabitants being so poor that they can't afford to buy it, trusting to the Produce of the Birds & Rabbits to raise their rent...their whole stock consists of 20 cows. 30 of all sorts. 2. Bulls. 7 Sheep. 7 Horses & Colts. 30 Hogs. 16 Does. 7 Goats...Sir John Warren stocked it with Bullocks, Sheep, Horses and Hogs sent over all kinds of Poultry and Game. and planted all kinds of trees...particularly in the approach to the House from the landing Place. the Birds of Prey

¹⁷ MTC, slide copy of Warren's plan.

¹⁸ PRO MPH/54 (1804); WO 1/1110. Langham, 1994, p.73 is incorrect concerning the present quay (G355).

destroyed the Game, and the violent winds the trees...They catch 11 hundred Couple of Rabbits a year."¹⁹

There were reported to be seven houses by 1794, and the map of 1822 shows other areas near the farmhouse called "New Town" (G362 Figs. 19, 59). As one obsolete meaning of town was a farmstead, it seems probable that all the areas marked "New Town" on the 1822 map signify that the farmhouse and farm buildings were in the new area of the present village, and that the name of New Town applies to all this area, and not just the building(s) marked with that name in the east of the Tillage Field (Figs 59, 68).²⁰ It has hitherto been assumed that the wall "across the island" referred to the present Halfway Wall (G55), but reference to the OS drawing of 1820 (Fig.59) shows that walls ran across the island from north of Piles Quay to St John's Valley, and the Trinity House map of 1820 shows the farm to the south of this. It seems more probable that Warren completed the Quarter Wall (Appendix 4). The acreage of the "improved part" referred to below also coincides with the area to the south of Quarter Wall.

The description of 1787 also makes it clear that some of the outworks of the castle were dismantled:

¹⁹ NDRO, Anon., 1787. Much of this passage is omitted from the version published in 1824. £6000 in 1999 values would be approximately £341,820 (Bank of England).

²⁰ *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, 1971, p.201.

"The Castle is entirely demolished It stood...on two Acres of ground, was surrounded by a stone wall with a Ditch, excepting towards the sea on the South...the Ditch appears very visible, & part of the walls tho' most of it has been destroyed as well as the castle for the Purpose of Building Offices for Farming. The Walls of the Citadel are very perfect of a Square Form, it is converted into Dwellings for the tenant Williams the Turrets which were Chimneys are still used for the same Purpose..."²¹

Warren's enclosures, which the anonymous writer guessed to total 160 acres (64.7 hectares), correspond approximately to the sum of the fields south of Quarter Wall, with the exception of the present West Side Field (G713, Fig.59). The accurate computation of the same area from the 1905 OS map is 180 acres (72.8 hectares). The British Library maps of 1809 and 1820 (Fig. 59) are interesting in that they show both the buildings left at the castle which, it is presumed, existed before 1775, and the farmhouse and buildings in the New Town area (G362), presumably those put up by Borlase Warren's people. This suggests that Warren's plans did not come to completion, particularly as the tenant farmers were still living at the castle in 1787. If the obsolete meaning of "farm" for the word "town" is applied, it may well have been that the building(s) at New Town, G362, were farm

²³ Trinity House Legal Archive (THLA): Abstract of Title, 1819. This gives a rental of £20 a year, but is mis-written as it is exceedingly low, and the writer of 1787 states that the rent was £70.

²¹ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

that it had been very short-lived.²³ When Warren returned to England he was forced to fight an election in 1780 which cost him £2,000.²⁴ It was alleged that he had accumulated gambling debts, and these, together with the expenses of his marriage in 1780 and, perhaps, some disillusion with the island, caused him to convey all his estates to trustees for the settlement of his debts. In 1781 Lundy was sold for £1,425, only £325 more than Warren had paid for it, which suggests that either Warren's efforts had been unavailing, or that the market was depressed, or perhaps both.²⁵

The first purchaser for Lundy was Sir Robert Palk, but he was persuaded by John Cleveland to concede the purchase to him on the same terms and price. Cleveland was the owner of Tapeley Park in North Devon, and had pleaded "the

²³ Trinity House Legal Archive (THLA): Abstract of Title, 1819. This gives a rental of £20 a year, but is mis-written as it is exceedingly low, and the writer of 1787 states that the rent was £70.

²⁴ £113,940 in 1999 value (Bank of England). Mingay, 1963, p.210, describes the "ruinous expense of fighting elections."

²⁵ Namier, L., & Brooke, J., 1964, *History of Parliament, the House of Commons, 1754-90*, pp.609-10. Gambling became an obsession of the upper classes in the 18th century, (Foreman, A., 1998, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, passim). Aylesbury Record Office, D/LE/50, -/52, -/60, -/61. THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819.

nearness of his Seat to the island, and that it was an object always in his Eye, and what he much wished to have."²⁶ He was MP for Barnstaple, held various offices with the Admiralty, and said of himself that he had a "solitary turn of mind...[with a] preference for rural retirement," but no more is known of him than that.²⁷ During his ownership, in 1781, it was reported from Ilfracombe that:

"...Large quantities of tea and brandy are frequently discharged out of armed smugglers from France and landed on the isle of Lundy till opportunities offer of putting the same on Pilot Boats belonging to this port who are hired for that purpose and land the said goods on the coasts of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Wales...Request that instructions be given to the commander of the *Beaver* Sloop-of-War stationed at Appledore to make frequent visits to the island." And in 1783 that "...the pilot boats *Lundy Pilot*, *Hero*, and *Bristol Galley* are solely employed in running goods on the coasts of the Bristol Channel."²⁸

The *Beaver* duly detected a smuggler at Lundy in 1783 and, after a six-hour chase, captured it, and found she was carrying "7000 lbs of Bohea tea, 2200 gallons of brandy and 823 gallons of gin valued at almost £2,000."²⁹ Budd was still on Lundy in 1787, sharing the tenancy with a Mr

²⁶ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

²⁷ Namier & Brooke, 1964, ii, pp.221-22. Thorne, R.G., 1986, *History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1790-1820*, p.14.

²⁸ LMA, Farr, G., MS, nd, 'Smuggling Survey - North Devon.'

²⁹ PRO ADM 1/2307. Lundy archive, Anon., nd, note attached to a copy of the document. £2000 in 1999 values would be £113,580 (Bank of England).

Williams at the same rent of £70 per year, and both living at the castle with "great appearances of Poverty and Nastiness."³⁰ Budd left in 1791, but the map of 1822 (Fig. 19) shows two plots at the south of the West Side Field still named *Budd's Moor Springs* and *Williams' Moor Springs*, which may refer to water sources, but may also refer to the obsolete meaning of snares or traps.³¹ The writer of 1787 refers to Warren's activities but says little of Cleveland's tenure, which suggests that he had not been very active as owner.

The plunder of the birds was enormous: "...in a plentiful season 1700 or 1800 dozen," that is between 20,400 and 21,600, were taken. The feathers were sold for one shilling a pound (5p), it cost two pence a pound for plucking, and with a yield of about one pound weight (0.45kg) from twelve to fourteen birds, the return would

³⁰ NDRO, Anon., 1787: "The Walls of the Citadel are very perfect of a Square Form, it is converted into dwellings for the tenant Williams..." This would suggest that Budd may have inhabited Castle House (G302).

³¹ *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, 1971, ii, p.697.

have been between £60 and £70 a year.³² The eggs were sent to the Bristol sugar refineries, and the remains of the hapless birds were boiled down to provide oil, which was used instead of candles. About 2000 rabbits a year were caught, the skins sent to Bristol, and the flesh fed to hogs, probably because boats did not call regularly enough for the meat to be sent to market in saleable condition, and the sale price might well not have covered the transport costs.³³ It would, however, have augmented the islanders' diet.

A 1794 account gave the stock as "80 head of cattle, 400 sheep, 12 deer, with pigs and poultry. 400 acres [161.8 hectares] in cultivation of which 300 [121.4 hectares] were arable, the rest pasture; wheat the principle produce,

³² NDRO, Anon., 1787. HA (i), testimony of Hugh Acland, 24 May 1858. Lysons & Lysons, 1822, vi, pp.580-81, say that the take of puffins alone was above 9000 per season, and that 24 puffins gave one pound of feathers. This would have reduced the yield on the figures above to around £35 had all the birds been puffins, though it is probable that large numbers of gannets were caught (Ternstrom, M., 1995, 'A Brief History of the Gannet Colony on Lundy,' *LFSR*, xcvi, pp.39-42).

³³ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

potatoes and turnips good."³⁴ This evidences an increase in prosperity since 1787, possibly due to the rise in the price of farm produce due to the wars starting in 1793, or by a change of tenant after 1791. The high arable acreage could also be accounted for by the steep rise in grain prices consequent on the wars of 1793-1815, although the accuracy of computation was unreliable. Another report in 1795 gave 300 acres [121.4 hectares] enclosed, "...not above twenty acres [8 hectares] of corn - very few sheep, mostly bullocks ...vegetables of all kind are plenty...The milk is reported very rich, more so than any in the kingdom," which suggests a more extensive use of pasture.³⁵ In 1802 200 acres [80.9 hectares] were said to be enclosed, which is consistent with Warren's area south of Quarter Wall, with the addition of the north section of the South West Field.³⁶ In 1806 it was noted that in Devon "...modern agricultural improvements are little practised...grazing has, in many places, superseded tillage."³⁷ If allowance is made for estimated and inaccurate computations, it seems reasonable

³⁴ Steinman, 1947, p.20, quoting "Feltham's MS penes John Britton Esq, FSA." The same information is given in Britton & Brayley, 1803, pp.249-251. Searches have so far not succeeded in tracing Feltham's MS.

³⁵ NDRO, Barrack Master's correspondence 1794-1807; an officer was sent to Lundy to report.

³⁶ THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819.

³⁷ Camden, ed. Gough, 1806, 1, p.42.

to conclude that in general c180 acres were enclosed and cultivated south of Quarter Wall, with other land used for pasture on the present West Side Field and between the present Quarter and Halfway Walls.

Loyd states that the whole of Middle Park was under grain during the war with France, "said to have been the largest single field ever put wholly to this use," but no source is given, and no corroboration is found in the known descriptions of Lundy at this time.³⁸ The review of agriculture commissioned by the Board of Trade, published in 1808, omits any mention of Lundy, which suggests that its significance in terms of production was nil. This interesting work also lamented the common practice in North Devon of paring off the topsoil and burning it as highly destructive of the natural herbage, and "the business of sheep stealing is carried on to the most atrocious extent."³⁹

Cleveland kept the island until 1802, when he became one of the very few to have profited from ownership by disposing of it for £5,270.⁴⁰ Possibly the high price was accounted for by the rumour of the government's intention of buying it; certainly the Barrack Master of Barnstaple sent an officer to report on the island as a possible

³⁸ Loyd, 1925, p.78.

³⁹ Vancouver, 1808, p.329.

⁴⁰ THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819.

government station in 1795.⁴¹ The price of land had risen during the wars of 1793-1815, following the steep rise in the price of corn, but it is hard to see that Lundy's agricultural potential would have driven an almost fourfold rise in value within 20 years.⁴² The only other factors that might have inflated the price were its potential for smuggling, or the attraction of its exemption from tithes and taxes, since income tax at two shillings in the pound had been imposed in 1799, in addition to the existing four shillings in the pound land tax.⁴³

Lundy was sold to Sir Vere Hunt, of Curragh, Ireland, when William Tuck [?] was "then or lately in the tenure" at £215 per annum.⁴⁴ Even before the completion of the purchase, Hunt was negotiating a sale to the War Office for the detention of Irish convicts.⁴⁵ After having the island surveyed, the government decided against the

⁴¹ *The Times*, 25, 30 October, 1786. NDR0, Barrack Master's correspondence.

⁴² Hill, C. P., 1985, *British Economic & Social History 1799-1982*, p.62.

⁴³ Hill, 1985, pp.147-48.

⁴⁴ THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819. The writing for "Tuck" is difficult to decipher.

⁴⁵ DRO, 152 M/C1803/02314, 23 January 1803. PRO WO 1/1109, 23 March 1803; WO 1/1110, 6 March 1804. The latter was accompanied by a sketch map of the island, PRO MPH/54, 1804.

purchase.⁴⁶ Vere Hunt then complained to Cleveland that he had been cheated by misleading particulars of sale, and disadvantaged by Cleveland's delays in giving possession.⁴⁷ Vere Hunt was hardly in a position to take issue with Cleveland. He had deposited £1,054 after the auction, and then another £2,516, but the balance of £1,700 remained to be paid, with interest, through promissory notes. By 1805 the notes had not been paid, so Cleveland took legal action to recover the debt, and obtained judgement for £1,812.18s. An agreement was reached whereby Vere Hunt mortgaged the island for two years to Henry Drake (Cleveland's solicitor) and contracted to pay Cleveland the capital sum, costs, and interest within that time. The full due was paid by June 1807 and the title reconveyed to Vere Hunt, by which time the island had cost him £5,590.⁴⁸

Vere Hunt is described as "a restless spirit...[he] took part in activities which few gentlemen of the period would have touched...conducted a professional theatrical company...made a vain effort to establish a provincial newspaper...In middle life he was Sheriff of the County of Limerick and...Member of Parliament for ...Askeaton." He is

⁴⁶ PRO WO 1/1110, 23 February 1804. To date it has not been possible to trace the survey.

⁴⁷ LIM, T 22, Vere Hunt papers. Copies kindly loaned by the Landmark Trust.

⁴⁸ THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819. Langham, 1994, p.60, is mistaken in giving Drake as tenant.

stated to have bought Lundy as a speculation, "...and endeavoured to establish on it an independent kingdom in accordance with the traditions of the island."⁴⁹ In January 1811 he was detained on Lundy for three weeks by stormy and extremely cold weather, a time which is recorded in a short, but vivid and amusing diary.⁵⁰ Hunt's activities, and the packing or storing of books and furniture, suggest that he was directly involved in running the island, and that this was not an isolated visit.

Acland, who remained from Cleveland's tenure, was instructed to "...seed the gardens and plant apple trees and gooseberry and currant bushes." Potatoes and other vegetables were grown for subsistence, sheep, pigs, fowl and cattle were kept, and cheeses were produced. The arable crops of barley and oats suffered damage from the wind and depredation by the rats. Rabbit and mutton were mainstays of the diet, which also included woodcock and starlings, but the biggest problem in being cut off was in keeping up a supply of fuel in the bitterly cold weather. Dried turf ran out, heath and sea-pinks were burned instead, and the situation was saved by a fortuitous deposit of wreck timbers, with mulled cider and Irish dancing to add to the

⁴⁹ LIM, T 22, notes made by the archivist of Limerick Record Office, Dr S. L. O'Mahony.

⁵⁰ LIM, T 22.

warmth.⁵¹ There is no mention of trade in feathers or eggs because this was a seasonal occupation in May-July, but Lysons confirmed that the trade in feathers and rabbit skins was still "...the principal employment of the inhabitants."⁵²

When Vere Hunt died in 1818 his son, Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, "...a quiet country gentleman and poet," set about trying to dispose of Lundy in order to pay off his father's debts.⁵³ Meanwhile an event of some significance for the island, and one which added two families to the population, was the construction of the lighthouse by Trinity House in 1819-20 (G369, Fig.45).⁵⁴ Some immediate financial advantages accrued to the island; a payment of £500 for the lease, payment for grass keep for the donkeys used for haulage, rent for the occasional accommodation of workmen, and the sale of produce to the lighthouse families.⁵⁵ A quay was built (G355), a store house (G360), and a track from the

⁵¹ LIM, T 22. Acland's position at this date is uncertain; his deposition (HA (i) 24 May 1858) that he was "10 years a servant of Cleveland, and 20 years a tenant" on Lundy does not accord with the Abstract of Title, 1819, unless he were a sub-tenant of Tuck. In the Vere Hunt letters of 1821-27 he was stated to be in the Poor House at Northam (North Devon).

⁵² Lysons & Lysons, 1822, p.580.

⁵³ GM, 1846, ii, p.317.

⁵⁴ THGM 30 004, xvii, pp.136, 143; 30 031, viii, ix, passim.

⁵⁵ THGM 30 004, xvii, p.136. LIM, T 22.

Battlements (G349) to the plateau (Fig. 21).⁵⁶ These were followed by some outbuildings (G371), a cottage for the Trinity House agent (G1), and another store house on the quay by 1826 (Figs 22, 42, 69).⁵⁷ As early as 1824 complaints were made about the tower being obscured by fog at times, and alterations were made at intervals from 1829, but none was wholly effective, since the fault lay in the height of the tower above sea level.⁵⁸ Trinity House produced a useful map of the island at this time, and the first Ordnance Survey drawing (1809) was also re-surveyed in 1820, both giving accurate representations of Lundy for the first time, and these were followed by Greenwood's map of 1828 (Figs 20, 59, 18).⁵⁹ Wyld's map for the sale of the island, 1822, is the first to give details of forty-four place names, twenty-five of which are in use today, mostly rock and coast identifications, but the field names have not survived except for Fryers Garden and Parsons Well (Fig. 19).⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Trinity House Engineers' archive (THEA), plan no. 1329, 1842.

⁵⁷ THGM, 30 025, iii, p.166; 30 010, xxv, p.508; 30 031, ix, p.87.

⁵⁸ THGM, 1829, 1840, 1855-58, *passim*.

⁵⁹ THEA 1319. OS 1820; the first survey was made in 1809 (British Library Maps, 299A) and was corrected twice subsequently in 1820 and 1834 (BL 299B).

⁶⁰ British Library Manuscripts (BLMS) Add. 40345/9/8852245.

The island was offered for sale to Sir Robert Peel as suitable for a penal settlement, who rejected it, and it was put up for auction in 1822. The advertisement offered, apart from the rabbits and birds, valuable fishing for cod, lobsters and crabs, seals for oil, fern for soap ashes, samphire for pickling, and granite "of very great beauty (as the New Lighthouse evinces) and has been made into millstones..."⁶¹. A bid of £4,500, plus stock at valuation, was accepted from a Mr Benison. But Hunt's troubles were not over. The advertisement had specified that the island was "Free of Tithes, Taxes, Poor rates, Quit or Chief Rents, or any Outgoing Whatever," and before he would honour the contract, Benison insisted upon having documentary proof for these advantages, which in fact rested only on practice and custom.⁶²

A series of letters survives from the period when de Vere Hunt was trying to sell Lundy (1821-27) which were written by his Irish bailiff, Mannix, and which show that the long period of uncertainty about the sale caused problems in deciding on stocking and cropping.⁶³ Since Mannix was reporting to Hunt about his remittances of money, considerable detail is recorded of the economy of Lundy. The income arose from three sources: sale of island produce on the mainland, provision of services for the

⁶¹ BLMS, Add. 40345.

⁶² LIM, T 22.

⁶³ LIM, T 22.

lighthouse, and sale of produce to ships and islanders.⁶⁴ Against this were set the expenses of wages and board for employees, the cost of transporting goods to and from the mainland, plus the cost of cartage and keep on the mainland, and lodging for the island men while ashore at the markets. Stock and produce were sold at Bideford, Barnstaple or Torrington markets and fairs, except the rabbit skins, which were sold direct to hatters. The hazards affecting profitability were first and foremost storm or drought, and then failure to secure transport in time for the markets, plus the depredations by the rats.⁶⁵ To this it is probably accurate to add dishonesty on the part of the bailiff.⁶⁶ The workforce consisted of three men and four women (Chapter 5).

Mannix's letters (referring to his accounts, which are not found) show a shaky capacity for computation, but his total net remittances between September 1821 and October 1827 were £709 19s, which gives an average per year of £118 6s. This represents a low return on capital of around 2%. Of this income approximately £72 had been received from Trinity House, but there are no figures for the trading with ships, which is alleged to have consisted of corrupt barter

⁶⁴ BL, Denham, 1832.

⁶⁵ THGM, 30 052, i, p.37: "The rats swarm and are most destructive of every thing growing on the island."

⁶⁶ LIM T 22, letter, 6 August 1827.

rather than cash sales.

The produce sold was butter, cheese, stock (cattle, sheep, pigs), wool, a few hides, and the rabbit skins. During Mannix's six years 64 cattle, 32 sheep and 14 pigs were sold on the mainland, and the sales were made either to raise cash, or to relieve the shortage of keep. The most important market product was butter: more than 361 lbs (163.7kg) were taken to one market, and as Vancouver states that the butter weight was then 18 ounces to the pound, that would make 406lb (184.2kg) in modern measure.⁶⁷ The butter was reputedly of high quality, despite being sold when it was sometimes several months old; it was preserved with salt, which was soaked out with milk before use.⁶⁸ In 1825 there was a severe drought which caused cattle prices to plummet, and the pasture did not recover until late in 1826, so that there were two bad years in succession. Mannix kept an average number of 60-70 cattle, of which 24-30 were milking cows; sheep averaged about 60, pigs 2-7, horses 2-0, asses 1, and there were about 18 goats, who were not reckoned to be of any value. The crops raised were hay, oats and barley, with potatoes and cabbages for consumption on the island and for sale to ships.

⁶⁷ Vancouver, 1808, p.385.

⁶⁸ Spalding, R., 1975, *The Improbable Puritan: A Life of Bulstrode White Locke 1605-1675*, p.185.

Cash flow problems were partly met by not paying wages, which also meant that workers, who came from Hunt's Irish estates, could not leave so long as they had no money to pay their passage home. One, "living here in very great distress," and unable to get £26 owed to him, was driven to escape and go to London to appeal to Hunt in person - a desperate move considered against the costs and difficulties of travel, and the loss of wages during his absence. He wrote, "I trust in God that your honour will now order me to be paid, that I and my poor distressed family may quit this place, as the wretched habitation we now inhabit is in daily danger of falling in and killing the whole family."⁶⁹ A second man managed to get paid three and a half years' wages when he left. There were constant disputes with the labourers, and one eventually wrote to Hunt in 1827 to inform him of Mannix's drunkenness, theft, and dishonesty. Since the letters ceased very shortly afterwards, it is likely that the case was proven. The letters show an

⁶⁹ LIM T 22, letter, George Davies, 6 October 1821. Vancouver 1808, p.364, refers to "The want of comfortable habitations...for the poor, and the necessity of crowding two and sometimes more families into the same hovel..." Davies lived at the castle, and was on Lundy for 15 years, 1812-1827. Wages were 1s 3d a day without board, and 6d with.

incredible rate of loss of cattle and sheep described as "overcliff," 91 in all, including three pigs who were hardly likely to have wandered near the cliff edge. There is only one payment for feathers, and none at all for eggs, which one employee alleged were all given to ships, with other produce, in exchange for spirits. Whether smuggling was added to the other iniquities is left to the imagination.

The negotiations dragged on with Benison, who was both highly eccentric and obstinate. Vere Hunt spent considerable sums on investigating the legal basis for the tithe and tax exemptions, but Benison refused to accept either the evidence or an indemnity, while Vere Hunt refused to abate the contracted auction price. Meanwhile Benison visited the island from time to time, lodging at the lighthouse and making grandiose plans for two harbours.⁷⁰ Eventually Vere Hunt took Benison to court for completion of the contract, but the proceedings lasted another three years before coming to judgement, and then he lost his case. The Master of the Court gave his opinion that "...a good title cannot be made to the said Estate comprised in the said Agreement according

⁷⁰ LIM, T 22.

to the said particulars and Conditions of Sale."⁷¹

Vere Hunt tried, but could not tempt Trinity House to buy, and the island was finally sold in 1830 for £4500 to John Matravers, of Wiltshire, and William Stiffe, of Gloucestershire.⁷² Matravers was "one of His Majesty's Band of Gentlemen pensioners" and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Stiffe family lived at Gordano.⁷³ The story that they acquired the island from Vere Hunt, who staked it at cards and lost can not be supported.⁷⁴ They visited the island twice in 1823, after which Stiffe wrote to Hunt to enquire about a purchase, but Hunt was presumably tied by the contract with Benison.⁷⁵ Nothing is known about the two gentlemen, or their management of the island, except that Stiffe asked Trinity House for

⁷¹ PRO C 33/7155, p 617; C 33/718, p 1980; C 33/719, p 2079; C 33/728, pp 817, 952, 1160; C 33/739, p 591; C 33/743, p 2205; C 38/1367; C 33/752, p 1055. No further Chancery entries have been found after the judgement.

⁷² THGM, 30 025, iv, p.151. NTA, deed of mortgage, 1844.

⁷³ Boase, F., 1897, *Modern English Biography*, ii, p.795. Phillimore, W. P. W., 1884, 'Collections Relating to the Family of Stiffe,' *Gloucestershire Notes & Queries*, xxx, July. Attempts to trace records through Matravers' and Stiffe's descendants have not succeeded. It is possible that William Stiffe was a member of the Stiffe family which owned a starch factory in Bristol.

⁷⁴ Langham, 1994, p.61.

⁷⁵ LIM, T 22.

permission to use their agent's cottage (G1) in 1831, "...owing to the disturbed state of that part of the country, to remove with his family to Lundy Island for a time."⁷⁶ Severe riots took place in Bristol during that year, when several buildings were set on fire. That Stiffe applied for the Trinity House cottage indicates that the farmhouse, castle and any other buildings were all occupied by tenants or employees, although in one report (probably derived from Grose, 1776) 1832 Lundy was described as having "the inmates of a solitary farmhouse."⁷⁷ The islanders could provide ships in the Roads with:

"livestock, provender...[and] vegetables...the island of Lundy is invaluable to marine intercourse with the Bristol Channel...the only place where a ship can lie at anchor before Kingroad [Bristol] eighty miles up...without exhausting his stock or water or provender during detention [by bad weather]...the island generally harbours a relief of pilot skiffs."⁷⁸

It was also suggested that the "...present fortunate possessors might realise £12,000 per year from the recent discovery of a valuable silver and copper mine."⁷⁹ Whether Matravers and Stiffe saw Lundy as a safe haven, or a speculation, or both, they kept it only a short time and sold it in 1836 to William Hudson Heaven for £9,870.⁸⁰ It is difficult to account for a doubling of the price of the

⁷⁶ THGM, 30 010, xxvii, p.847.

⁷⁷ GM, 1832 (ii), p.640. It may have been that the farmhouse was the only habitable building.

⁷⁸ BL, Denham, 1832.

⁷⁹ GM, 1832 (ii), 640.

⁸⁰ NTA, deed of mortgage, 1844.

island after only six years, with no apparent improvements made, other than that Heaven was very keen to buy.

CHAPTER 5.

(v) LUNDY 1836 TO 1917

William Hudson Heaven was a Gloucestershire gentleman, educated at Harrow and Oxford, whose main income, estimated to be £5000 to £6000 per year or more, arose from the Jamaica estates he inherited from his godfather in 1820 at the age of 21.¹ He is said to have bought Lundy with the compensation money he received after the abolition of slavery (1834).² His intention was that it should be a summer resort for the family, where shooting and tranquil pastimes might be enjoyed in peaceful isolation, with the permanent residence near Bristol.³ Apart from other expenses, he sent £1155 to the agent at Lundy in 1836 (£46,5534 in 1999 value), which was just one year's

¹ HA (iii). HA (ii), copy of the will of William Hudson, Heaven's godfather.

² HA (ii). NTA, The deed of conveyance was dated 27 February 1836 (note concerning title, 1836); declaration by H. G. Heaven, 1907, states that the date of purchase was 1836. There appears to be no evidence for Heaven's having taken possession in 1834 (Langham, 1994, p.62), but there may possibly have been such an interval between contract and possession.

³ HA (i), History of the Heaven Family. Woodcock and snipe were plentiful in the earlier 19th century, which would imply that there was then more cover and marsh.

expenditure.⁴ Four years later, he put the island up for auction, but either he did not get a buyer, or did not get his price.⁵

When William Hudson Heaven first came to Lundy he found there, so far as is known, only the lighthouse (G369), the farmhouse (G25), and the standing but dilapidated castle (G300, Figs 32,40).⁶ The island was virtually unknown, except to the mariners of the Bristol Channel, for whom it was an anchorage giving shelter from westerly gales, a waymarker with its lighthouse, a possible navigational hazard, and a point where pilots were picked up and set down. Nothing is known of the state in which he found the farm, or the number of people living on the island, but he at once installed a resident agent to oversee the building of a suitable residence (G2, Fig.38).⁷ This, with the construction of a new road to the house (G348) and improvements to the farmhouse, took until 1839, when a tenant was installed and the resident agent left (G25, Figs. 32, 39).⁸ The agent's few letters give glimpses of life on the island: he refers to crops of barley, oats and vetches, and heavy losses of cattle during a spell of exceptionally

⁴ HA (i), note on the back of a re-used torn page of the diary. Bank of England.

⁵ *The Times*, 14 July 1840.

⁶ Banfield, J., nd [1843], *Guide to Ilfracombe*, pp.88-97.

⁷ HA (i), letters from the resident agent, William Malbon, 1836-9.

⁸ THGM, 30 025, xvii, p.55.

severe cold weather. He describes difficulties with the agent on shore, in getting workmen, dealing with their quarrels and debts, and in curbing their thefts and complicity with the pilots. He describes how they ploughed a "10-acre field" and cleared large quantities of stones which, in the light of recent archaeological surveys, suggests that Mesolithic sites may have been destroyed in the present Tillage Field.⁹

Heaven made his purchase at an unfortunate time for his finances. He had a rapidly increasing family to bring up and educate. He suffered a substantial loss in the failure of an investment, and the Jamaica sugar industry was already in decline, due to the shortage of labour and the political unrest that followed the abolition of slavery.¹⁰ When protective duties in favour of sugar cane were removed in 1846 the market collapsed, and many planters were ruined. "One... estate that netted £11,000 annually in the 1820s sold in the 1840s for £1650, and by the 1850s

⁹ The area of the Tillage Field, shown on OS 1886, is 9.923 acres (4 hectares). F. W. Gade (pers. comm.) said that quantities of stone were taken from this field for the rockery (G21) and tennis court foundations (G23). A considerable number of flint artifacts has been found in the area (G397, G501).

¹⁰ HA (iii), Acinman & Co, iron and steel works, failed.

was...worth about £800.¹¹

Heaven's situation was eased in 1843 when he inherited an income from the Hort Trust, though it was evidently not sufficient to remedy his situation.¹² In 1844 he was forced to raise a mortgage on the island to the Hort trustees for £4000, surcharged by another £3000 in 1847, and a further £3000 in 1853.¹³ This meant that the island was mortgaged for more than he had paid for the freehold, and there was a charge of 5% interest. For the sake of economy the family took up extended summer residence on the island from 1843, with the winters spent in rented houses on the mainland, and after 1851 (when Mrs Heaven died) Lundy became their permanent home.¹⁴

Two successive tenants, Robert Rowles and Jack Lee, took over the farm between 1839 and 1861; that is, all the island except for the Heaven reserved area (G407, Fig.23).¹⁵ This provided some income, and at the same time

¹¹ Morris, J., 1975, *Heaven's Command*, p.38.

¹² Somerset House, Probate Division, PCC 1/1981/408. Joseph Hort, an uncle by marriage, left the residue of his fortune in trust for the benefit of Heaven and his heirs. HA (iii), the trust consisted of the residuary estate of c£17,000 and house properties producing £70 per year.

¹³ NTA, deed of transfer of mortgage, 1888.

¹⁴ NTA, declaration by H. G. Heaven, 1907.

¹⁵ THGM, 30 010, xxxiv, p.251. LMA, copy list of deeds. All leases granted thereafter carried a similar reservation.

reduced the expenses of employing labour. In 1846 Heaven negotiated with Trinity House to share the cost of the annual contract for £50 for the regular boat service from Clovelly, and there was a small income from cartage for the lighthouse, although there was no rental income.¹⁶ Between 1836 and 1843 three cottages had been constructed within the castle (G301), probably in 1839 for Heaven's employees when the tenants took over the farmhouse.¹⁷ Accommodation was so limited that Heaven obtained permission from Trinity House to use their agent's cottage (G1) for occasional visitors.¹⁸

Lee farmed the island, "famous for butter"...of which "large quantities were exported," and fished for lobsters, crayfish and crabs, though Heaven's attempt to establish an oyster bed had failed.¹⁹ Lee also kept sheep, and had

¹⁶ THGM, 30 010, xxxv, p.212. The service was once weekly in summer and once fortnightly in winter. The arrangement with Trinity House lasted until 1873, (THGM, 30 025, xl, p.320). Lighthouse lease, THLA, July 1st 1819 provided a one-off payment.

¹⁷ Banfield, 1843, p.97. PRO HO/107/1885, census return, 1851.

¹⁸ THGM, 30 010, xxx, p.184.

¹⁹ White, W., 1986, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Devonshire*, [1850], p.565. Gosse, 1853, 111, pp.97-98. Billings, *Directory of Devon*, [1857]. The oyster bed is shown in LMA, 1840 map.

success with breeding fine working horses, which he sold on the mainland. There was a brisk trade with ships' crews, and Gosse gives a description of Lee as "Captain Jack, an excellent, worthy man. In his earlier days he was bred to the sea...At his house, 'The Farm,' visitors are entertained; we found accommodation decent (for the circumstances), a well-supplied table, attendance prompt and kindly, and charges moderate."²⁰ However, Lee fell into arrears of rent towards the end, and relinquished his lease c. 1860-61 as he had become blind, but his son subsequently returned to the island in charge of the fog signal station.²¹ The naturalist, P. H. Gosse visited Lundy in 1852, and was the first to write an account of its natural history and bird life, and his elegant and interesting description includes Heaven's "patriarchal rule over his little dominion...the charms with which nature has embellished this lonely place..."²² However, he found the island to be heavily infested with rats; rabbits were abundant, and he also mentioned a herd of wild goats. Lundy's isolation was highlighted when he learnt that in case of emergency a fire was lit "on a particular summit" to

²⁰ Gosse, 1853, ii, p.484.

²¹ MTC, copy, Anon, nd, North Devon Sketches, i, typescript, [1860-63]. HA (i), letter, 4 January 1856.

²² Gosse, 1853, ii, pp.483-84.

bring a boat from Clovelly.²³ Another writer described Lundy at the time as "small, secluded, bleak and uninviting for a residence."²⁴

The days of subsistence from the sale of feathers and eggs were past. There are references to sailors and pilots as predators of the birds, and although the Heaven family regularly collected the eggs in season, and the islanders did the same, collecting for sale was not allowed. But the sheer impossibility of monitoring the cliffs precluded the exercise of effective control. It was similarly very difficult to control other activities of the islanders, such as poaching and sheep-stealing, and Lee was fined for smuggling in 1856.²⁵

The island was offered for sale once more in 1856, again unsuccessfully, and a surveyor was employed to report on the deposits of copper and semi-precious stones as a possible source of income. It was found that the quantities were small, and to work them would have required a considerable investment. Heaven was unable to venture the capital himself, but was unwilling to pass the possible advantages to a purchaser or lessee, and nothing came of

²³ Gosse, 1853, ii, pp.484, 486; ii, p.548; iii, p.82.

²⁴ Anon, 1855, 'Sale of an Island,' *The Leisure Hour*, p.581.

²⁵ HA (i), letter 4 January 1856.

the project.²⁶

In 1858 the Commissioners on Harbours of Refuge issued their report, in which it was stated that "the trade in the Bristol Channel comprises nearly one sixth of the shipping...of the entire United Kingdom." It was found that although Lundy offered every advantage for a harbour of refuge, "the depth of water in which the breakwater must be necessarily placed...is so great as...not to be thought of."²⁷ Heaven drew up a petition to the House of Commons in 1859 in support of Lundy's claims, and its suitability for the employment of convict labour, but nothing came of it.²⁸ Measures to help shipping were taken by Trinity House, which carried out extensive improvements to the lighthouse in 1858, and made plans to build a fog signal station low down on the western cliffs, which came into operation in 1862.²⁹ Heaven received a one-off payment of £122.10s for

²⁶ HA (i), letter 3 January 1856. THGM, 30 052, vii, p.430.

²⁷ Cited in Allington, P., Greenhill, B., Kennerley, A., 1994, 'Shiphandling and Hazards on the Devon Coast,' *NMHD*, ii, pp.17-24.

²⁸ NTA, nd [1859]. Whether the petition was submitted is not clear, but the House of Lords library can find no record of it. McGrath, 1975, p.327, states that Heaven had advanced the idea of a harbour of refuge, "for tolls," in 1842.

²⁹ THGM, 1856-58, 30 010 and 30 052 passim; 30 025, xxix, p.52.

the new lease instead of rent. The fog station added two cottages (G231), and the appointment of a third keeper for the lighthouse in 1865, with an extra house built in the lighthouse compound (G370), brought the number of Trinity House families to five, representing a sizeable proportion of the population.³⁰ In 1851 a niece of the principal keeper of the lighthouse was running a school in the small cottage (G1).³¹

It must have been with considerable optimism that Heaven agreed to lease the island (excepting the reserved area) for the exploitation of the granite. The terms were for a ground rent of £500 a year, plus £200 for the granite, with the addition of royalties over a minimum tonnage, and with certain other advantages for the lessor.³² This provided a significant income, and at the same time gave the island a higher potential market value. At first all seemed to go well, and Heaven repaid £445 of his mortgage, but by 1867 there were ominous signs of trouble with the administration in London.³³ Even before he had signed the lease with Heaven, the lessee, William McKenna, had made an agreement with the Lundy Granite Company for the rights to quarry granite, whereby the company would pay the rent and royalties, indemnify him against its debts and liabilities,

³⁰ THGM, 30 010, xlv, p.178; 30 025, xxxiii, p.331.

³¹ THGM, 30 010, xxxix, 81.

³² HA (i), lease Heaven to Wm McKenna, 31 August 1863.

³³ NTA, deed of transfer of mortgage, 1888.

and give him a share in the profits.³⁴ The arrangement was upheld, though in practice the lease was never assigned to the company. The company was registered on July 18th with a capital of £25,000 in £1 shares, which was later raised to £100,000, when the prospectus stated that a £100,000 contract was in hand to supply granite for the Thames embankment in London.³⁵ The Chairman of the company was Joseph McKenna, the lessee's brother; he and most of the other directors were also directors of the National Bank, and the two companies used the same solicitors, the same brokers, and had adjacent premises that were shared by other concerns in which they had a common interest.³⁶

The quarry company works (G170 *et seq.*) were completed by June of 1865, and an average of 90 tons of granite was shipped per week.³⁷ The granite was transported in the company's ship, *Vanderbyl*, and two depots had been set up on the mainland to connect with railways: one at Highbridge (Bridgewater) and then one at Fremington (North Devon). £53,791 had been spent on the establishments and the ship, which in 1999 values would be the equivalent of

³⁴ PRO C 31/2336/2.

³⁵ PRO C 31/2336/2; C 31/2229/2. The contract did not materialise as the granite sent was of inferior quality to the samples submitted.

³⁶ PRO C 31/2229/2.

³⁷ PRO C 31/2229/2.

approximately £2,401,768.³⁸ By 1867 the company's debts amounted to £10,820, of which £8849 was owed to the National Bank, and four of the original six directors had resigned *en bloc* and were replaced by one of their own nominees, reducing the Board to three.³⁹ The shareholders appointed a committee to investigate matters, but by 1868 the situation was even worse; debts had increased, the company had never paid a dividend, and the shares were unsaleable.⁴⁰ An AGM was called for July 21st, although no report or accounts were available, and before any of the shareholders had time to speak, the two directors present resolved to adjourn the meeting until August 20th. On August 15th the National Bank petitioned for the winding up of the company for a debt of £14,967, and the general meeting was cancelled. There followed a struggle between the company and the bank on the one hand, and the shareholders on the other, to secure the appointment of their own candidate as liquidator. The former were doing all in their power to push through a rapid liquidation, while the shareholders were determined to get an impartial report and to refute the bank debt as *ultra vires*. Eventually the shareholders prevailed, and the Master of the Rolls went so far as to say that, "If the shareholders had not intervened...the whole matter would have been speedily settled in Chambers and the Lundy Granite

³⁸ Bank of England.

³⁹ PRO C 31/2229/2.

⁴⁰ PRO C 31/2229/1; C 31/2229/2.

Company would have been wound up after having made a call [for payment from the shareholders], and a considerable payment to the National Bank, but no examination in what appears to me at present very suspicious circumstances and which in my opinion ought to be carefully investigated."⁴¹

The situation on Lundy in 1868 was that there was no money for expenses; there was dressed stone but no means to transport it. There were about 120 workmen at the quarries, plus other employees, none of whom had been paid, and there was not enough fodder to over-winter the farm stock. The liquidator sent his clerk, Frederick Wilkins, to report, but Heaven told him that it was too dangerous to go to the island. The men were armed, were raiding the Store, were not working, and would allow no-one to land unless they were bringing money for the wages. It was arranged that the men should go to Bideford, where they were paid off, and Wilkins went to Lundy to take control of the company's assets for the liquidator. Heaven was owed arrears of rent of £642, was pressing for payment, and had the right to distrain assets or to re-enter the premises if it were not paid. Further, as the lease was still in force, he was entitled to continuing rent of £700 per year.⁴² Heavy dues were payable on the *Vanderbyl*, which was lying broken-down at Cardiff, and rent was due for granite left lying at three

⁴¹ PRO C 31/2229/2.

⁴² PRO C 31/2336/2; C 31/2332/2.

different locations, which could not be moved until the rent debts were paid. Some sheep and cattle were sold for £673, but the valuer estimated the remainder, together with the moveable assets on the island, to be worth only £679, as the plant, machinery and granite would cost more to transport and sell than they were worth at auction.⁴³

When Wilkins introduced a buyer, Henry Benthall, to take over the enterprise, this seemed to be the ideal solution, albeit he paid only £4000 for the entire assets, including the ship.⁴⁴ The liquidator got the approval of the court for the sale, and Benthall took possession on 24 June 1869, Heaven having agreed to give him a lease on payment of the company's arrears, which were to be made from the purchase money.⁴⁵

The liquidator's investigations revealed the causes of the company's failure. The suspicious connections between the National Bank, the company directors, and some of their other concerns, were reflected in the irregular accounting and book-keeping, where transactions were not clearly separated. Joseph McKenna and three other directors had been forced to resign from the board of the bank after proceedings that found them guilty of the perpetration of a

⁴³ PRO C 31/2332/2; C 31/2333/3; C 31/2334/1.

⁴⁴ PRO C 31/2333/3.

⁴⁵ PRO C 31/2334/2.

share scandal.⁴⁶ There had been no need for two mainland depots, but the one at Bridgewater had been established for the purpose of raising the profile of a director of the company who was M.P. elect there. The *Vanderbyl* was unsuitable for requirements, the price paid for it (£3000) was far in excess of its value, and nearly as much again had been spent in repairs. There had been extremely lax management in the administration of business, and contracts had been cancelled either through failure to deliver on time, or from the supply of granite that was unsatisfactory.

Heaven evidently knew nothing of all this, and hoped to keep the granite works going, as he co-operated with the liquidator, did not exercise his rights of distress or re-entry, and was ready to give Benthall a new lease. But when the sale was made to Benthall, no notice to terminate McKenna's lease had been given by the due date (September 1868). It should have been a simple matter to assign the lease to Benthall, but McKenna made terms that Benthall found impossible, so he preferred to make a new lease in which he could negotiate his own terms. The sticking point between Benthall and Heaven was that he asked for the right to erect a non-conformist place of worship on the island,

⁴⁶ Slattery, M., 1972, 'Troubled Times,' *The Three Banks Review*, September, pp.42-45. This fraud was not connected with the Lundy Granite Co.

while Heaven had specified Church of England only in the original lease, and would not countenance the change under any circumstances.⁴⁷ Benthall had installed Wilkins as his manager on Lundy but, without the lease, he did not complete his transactions, or pay rent, or put the quarries into action.⁴⁸ McKenna tried to force the liquidator to make payment to Heaven of Benthall's arrears out of the purchase money received by the company, in order to establish that the company was legally responsible for honouring the original lease. When this failed he demanded £5575, and indemnities, from the liquidator to protect himself against the rent, royalties and liabilities of the seven-year lease remaining.⁴⁹ Wilkins had been the go-between in the lease negotiations, and seems to have forced the pace (since he was to have 5% commission on the sale) in the confidence or hope that as all parties were agreed on the end objective, everything would turn out as he planned. Heaven was badly advised, since he could have terminated McKenna's lease for failure to fulfil the terms; instead his solicitors demanded the arrears due from June 1869 from McKenna, who replied that the application should be made to Benthall, who had signed an undertaking to pay. In May 1870 the liquidator summonsed Benthall to complete

⁴⁷ PRO C 31/2441/2.

⁴⁸ PRO C 31/2545/2.

⁴⁹ PRO C 31/2442/2.

his purchase, and all parties attended the court; Heaven then agreed to new arrangements made on the basis that he was first paid the arrears.⁵⁰

In a court hearing in January 1871 the judge ruled that McKenna was at liberty to take proceedings against the granite company, which had no liability in respect of the lease which had not been assigned. He ordered that the sale to Benthall was to be rescinded, and that the liquidator should refund the purchase money, less the value of any sales, rents or profits received, for which Benthall was to provide his accounts.⁵¹ The purchase money was, in fact, due to a George Rivington, who had loaned the purchase money to Benthall against a mortgage of the assets.⁵²

In February 1871 the sheriff of Bristol went to Lundy with two bailiffs, on the instructions of Heaven, to remove goods, livestock and granite belonging to the granite company as distress for arrears of rent of £1050. The question of ownership of the goods was not raised at the time, but the sheriff agreed to Wilkins' request for a stay of three weeks to enable him to inform his principals, and the bailiffs remained on the island.⁵³ Heaven's solicitors said that they had been unaware of the agreement made in July 1863 between William McKenna and the granite company,

⁵⁰ PRO C 31/2442/2.

⁵¹ PRO C 33/1177, p.115, 14 January 1871.

⁵² PRO C 31/2545/1.

⁵³ PRO C 31/2544/3.

and the rent had been paid on bills sent to McKenna until the liquidation, but no rent had been received since June 1869. Heaven eventually agreed to allow removal of stock for sale to pay the arrears, provided that goods to the value of the debt also remained on the island for surety.⁵⁴ The liquidator applied to the court for an order to restrain the distress, against which Heaven applied for an order to proceed. He was refused, but on appeal the judgement against him was reversed.⁵⁵ This, in effect, made the granite company liable for all the debts.

Accordingly the liquidator was directed to take possession of the company's properties, Edward McKenna was sent to Lundy to relinquish the lease to Heaven on April 22nd 1871, and Wilkins left the island.⁵⁶ Wilkins, who had never received any wages, then claimed £600 against Benthall in fulfilment of his six-year contract. The removable assets of the company were sold at auction and the sale, net of expenses, yielded £659 7s. The fixed assets were left as worth less than the cost of removal, and in the hope of finding a new lessee.⁵⁷ The valuer recommended that a depreciation of 40-50% should be debited against Benthall because of "reprehensible neglect."⁵⁸ The whole venture was

⁵⁴ PRO C 31/2544/3.

⁵⁵ PRO C 31/2545/1. Hemming, G. W., 1870-71, *Law Reports, Chancery Appeal Cases 1870-1871*, vi, pp.462-468.

⁵⁶ PRO C 31/2546/1.

⁵⁷ PRO C 31/2651/2. Hemming, 1870-1871, vi, pp.462-468.

⁵⁸ PRO C 31/2548/2.

a disaster for Benthall, who by May of 1872 was bankrupt, and Rivington only recovered £1770 8s 7d from the liquidator.⁵⁹ It is not stated how much Heaven recovered as creditor of the granite company.

Although the granite enterprise had proved a traumatic failure, the effects of it on Lundy could be seen as positive. Apart from a fund of quarried stone, the island had several very solidly-constructed buildings, including 21 cottages, a large extension to the farmhouse, a bakery, a hospital, some barracks, and a shop-canteen (Fig.70).⁶⁰ It is also probable that the farm enclosures, as they are seen now, were in large part built by the granite company, in accordance with the terms of the lease to drain and enclose the farm land (Figs 24, Gaz.6). "The Store" was kept in operation, at the request of the population, and run first by the Heavens, and then by successive lessees; it also served the lighthouse families, and the crews of numerous ships that took shelter in the Roads.⁶¹ Thus the shop became a new factor in the economy of the island, and

⁵⁹ PRO C 33/1191, p.1407.

⁶⁰ PRO RG/10/2207, census 1871.

⁶¹ NTA, March 1874, 39,329 vessels left Bristol Channel ports in 1870. Anon, 1886, 'The Adventures of a Visit to and Scenes on Lundy Island,' states that it was "not uncommon to see 30 or 40 vessels lying in the roads, and sometimes the number has exceeded 100."

was estimated to give a profit yield of about 25% on turnover.⁶² The islanders had had the benefit of a resident doctor, and the fact that Heaven applied to Trinity House for help in funding a schoolteacher after the company had left in 1870 suggests that there had been a school.⁶³ While the quarries themselves were at first considered an eyesore, they have now grown over and are an attractive and sheltered area, rich in bird life. The granite company may also have been inadvertantly responsible for a change in the character of the beach from "light sand" to granite-strewn boulders (see G153). What had been proved was that any such enterprise on Lundy required a large capital input, as well as a management with the ability to understand and overcome problems of transport, marketing, labour, and island administration.

This experience had been a tremendous worry to Heaven and, combined with the unpleasantnesses occasioned by rowdy workmen, decided him to take the island back into his own hands. In 1871 the island was offered to the government, at the inflated price of £40,000, for a harbour of refuge and a convict station, and again in 1874.⁶⁴ Possibly still hoping for this sale, and against advice, he refused an offer of

⁶² HA (i), letter 19 March 1876.

⁶³ THGM 30 052, xi, p.435. No reply is evident from the Trinity House minutes, and no teacher was appointed.

⁶⁴ NTA, paper dated March 1874. The paper is a formal statement, with no other relevant correspondence.

£25,000 for the island in 1873, by which he could have paid off the debts and mortgage, and been left with a very adequate income from the balance of the capital.⁶⁵ He was over 70 years of age, and his management was very weak although, as the squire and head of the family, he was deferred to until he was incapacitated by a stroke in 1875. When William Hudson Heaven died in 1883, Lundy was put in trust for his eldest son, Hudson Heaven, as life tenant, and then in tail to the next male heirs, and the Jamaica estates were given to the two younger sons.⁶⁶

The Revd Hudson Heaven had followed his father to Harrow and Oxford, and then spent some years as a school teacher. He bought into the headship of Taunton College School in 1863, but in 1864 it was insolvent, and he returned to Lundy, as it was said for the sake of tending the spiritual needs of the greatly increased population.⁶⁷ He was of a bookish disposition, interested in natural history, but there can be no doubt that he lacked the capacities necessary for the task of estate administration. His problems were reflected in bouts of undefined ill-health

⁶⁵ HA (i), letter 8 December 1873.

⁶⁶ Somerset House, Probate Division, will proved 10 July 1883. The island was valued at £17,400 and stock at £1,876.

⁶⁷ HA (i), Family History, p.35.

and nervous prostration.⁶⁸

Heaven managed the Store after the departure of the granite company, and another of his concerns was to provide lessons for the island boys, and a night school for the men, although the latter quickly faded into oblivion.⁶⁹ Lessons were also given to the girls by the Heaven ladies two or three times a week. The 1870 Education Act seems never to have been applied to Lundy, as no records have been found of inspections by the Board of Education; one reference to a letter offering a visit by the Diocesan Inspector of Schools simply had !!! for comment.⁷⁰

As the island was not sold, an experienced farm manager and family friend, James Dovell, was appointed in 1874, who was determined to bring the farm back into good order after its neglect by the granite company and during the disputes. He aimed to produce at least £400 a year from it, and a further charge of £545 was taken out on the mortgage of the island.⁷¹ Dovell built an extension to the farmhouse to provide a new dairy (G722), and revived the butter-making: over 500 lbs (226k) was sent to one mainland

⁶⁸ HA (i), diary and letters, passim. This was probably aggravated by sublimated pederastic inclinations (LMA, M. C. H. Heaven, 1925, Notes added to Family History).

⁶⁹ HA (i), diary, passim.

⁷⁰ DRO, Schools Index. HA (i), diary, 12 September 1890.

⁷¹ HA (i), letter, 30 December 1876. NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936.

agent in six months of that year, and he estimated the production could be as much as 40 lbs (18k) per week. He wrote in 1876 that he had 70 acres arable and 150 acres ploughed pasture, with 500 sheep, 75 cattle and 8 horses. Some figures are given: the butter sold for about 12 pence per lb, a labourer's wage was 18 shillings per week plus cottage and garden, the wages bill was about £300 per year, including the Heaven servants, but excluding Dovell himself. One interesting entry is that he was "preparing the mill to grind, and grinding corn," which may have been some kind of mill that had been used in the granite company bakery.⁷² He extended the cultivated acreage by the construction of the Threequarter Wall (1879, G82), and that part of the island between it and Halfway Wall (G55) was first burnt off, and then ploughed. Some of this was cropped, and some thirty acres (12.1 hectares) laid down as permanent pasture. In the 1886 map the area is shown as "open country," except for an area of rough pasture at the north-east. Part of Acland's Moor was also drained, ploughed and planted with potatoes, and the main crops otherwise were turnips, rye grass, rape, mangolds and swedes - that is, concentrated on stock feed.⁷³

⁷² HA (i), letters, 1876-77 passim.

⁷³ OS 1886 shows an enclosed field on Acland's Moor (G 709), adjacent to the west side of the north-south dividing wall.

The later 1870s were a time of financial distress.⁷⁴ A wealthy cousin, Mrs Langworthy, gave £2000 to ease the repayments on loans, and another £400 a year towards the general expenses and medical care for William Heaven until his death. The Hort trust yielded an average of about £300 a year, but overall income did not cover anything beyond the most basic expenses.⁷⁵ Dovell's efforts should have enhanced the possibility of selling or leasing the island, and an advertisement offered the farm for lease at £530 per year.⁷⁶ With his discipline brought into the management, and his enthusiasm, results might have been excellent, but there could have been no more unfortunate time for any farming venture. The influx of cheap wheat from America was the chief factor which triggered a very severe agricultural depression, that culminated about 1879: "British agriculture ...was thrown overboard in a storm like an unwanted cargo."⁷⁷ Markets collapsed, many farmers were ruined, and the general depression meant that money was short; nobody wanted either to buy or rent land,

⁷⁴ HA (i), letter, 7 September 1877, Cecilia Heaven to her cousin, "...it is as much as ever we can do to make the two ends meet - and I live in constant dread of our not doing this even..."

⁷⁵ HA (ii), letters, 1876-78; accounts, 1876-83.

⁷⁶ HA (i), letter, 28 July 1877.

⁷⁷ Ensor, R., 1936, *England 1870-1914*, p.115. More, 1997, Chapter 14.

or to buy cattle, sheep or wool. Unfortunately, too, Dovell was elderly and his health disabling, so that he was forced to retire in 1880, a disappointed man.⁷⁸ The setback for Lundy was severe, as ill-spared money had been invested in improvements that brought no return, there was no cushion of capital reserve to tide over, and another mortgage had been added to the debts.

The years following William Hudson Heaven's death saw many changes to the Lundy scene, partly because the constraint of his reluctance to see change was gone, and partly because developments in naval communications brought Lundy into closer national focus. After protracted negotiations, 1884 brought the first telegraphic cable connection to Lundy, and the establishment of Lloyd's Signal

⁷⁸ It is indicative of the situation that his salary had not been agreed in advance, nor paid regularly, and when he asked for the modest sum of £100 per year, the Heaven family was aghast. Mention of a draft lease of the farm to his son is made in HA (ii), September 1876, but it is not known whether this was enacted, although the Heaven diaries show that he was a frequent visitor, and was involved with the cattle farming.

Station to assist both vessels and their owners.⁷⁹ The usefulness of the installation is reflected in the average number of 700 reports sent every year while the cable was in operation.⁸⁰ A small signal hut (G326) and two new houses (G331) were constructed, and one more family added to the population. The event had great significance for the islanders: for the first time there was fast and direct communication with the mainland, and the correct time, the news, and urgent telegrams no longer had to wait upon the arrival of the next ship. Unfortunately the cable was unreliable, and finally broke in September 1888.⁸¹ The station remained in place and functioned with the use of flags and morse until 1893, when the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Telegraphic Communication with Lighthouses caused the G.P.O. to install a new cable and a cable hut (G327).⁸² At the same time an internal island telephone system was set up, and the signal station was augmented by semaphore apparatus (G324).⁸³

⁷⁹ Lloyd's Information Centre (LINF), 7778. The total cost of the installation was £988 14s 5d, and the cable was provided by contract with the Lundy Cable Company, which was wound up in 1889.

⁸⁰ LINF, 7778/A 1.

⁸¹ LINF, 7778.

⁸² General Post Office archive (GPOA), 30/640, England, 5183, (1893).

⁸³ LINF, 7778.

Another addition to the life of Lundy's 60-or-so strong community in 1885 was a small prefabricated church (G14), for which Mrs Langworthy gave the money. Until then services had been read in a room at the owner's house, but the church enabled full services to be held, although it was not licensed for baptisms, confirmations or marriages, since a building on private land could not be consecrated. At the same time a Sunday-school room was installed nearby (G421). The church served not only the islanders, but also the crews of ships that anchored in the Roads, which Heaven regarded as a very important part of his ministry.⁸⁴ He both owned the land and was the incumbent, and was accorded the courtesy title of vicar from 1886. He never received any stipend so that, apart from his few years as a teacher, he never had any personal income of his own.⁸⁵

Early travellers to Lundy had to hire a small boat from one of the adjacent North Devon ports, but the advent of steam boats in the second half of the nineteenth century heralded the beginnings of excursion traffic to the island.⁸⁶ Trips to Lundy were very infrequent in the beginning, and Heaven discouraged them because the peace of

⁸⁴ HA (1), Family History, p.35.

⁸⁵ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1888, p.581. HA (11), letter, 12 July 1879, Heaven to his cousin.

⁸⁶ Accounts of early excursions are found in the *North Devon Journal Herald* of 28 August 1856, and the *Bideford Gazette* of 23 August 1863.

the island was disturbed by the visitors, for whom there was no provision, and because some were drunken nuisances. Permission was needed for the steamer to land the passengers, and this was granted selectively in the beginning to one steam company, Pocketts, that called regularly during the holiday season, and very occasionally to others. During the summer of 1870 only ten excursion steamers are recorded in the diary, but by the 1880s sea trips from South Wales and Bristol to Ilfracombe had grown enormously in popularity, helped by the institution of Bank Holidays by the Acts of 1871 and 1875. The operators were very keen to increase their revenues by making the extra short trip from Ilfracombe to Lundy, and the Heavens only managed to keep limited control of numbers until 1892, when the tenant began to exploit the potential income. There were advantages for the islanders, since the steamers made it easier and cheaper for them to make visits to the mainland for medical treatment, shopping, visiting relatives, or finding alternative employment.

In 1885 a lessee was eventually found, Thomas Wright, a travelled gentleman, by profession a land agent and surveyor.⁸⁷ He completed the interior of the unfinished south wing adjacent to the farmhouse (G94), which he used for his own residence, added a tennis court (G22) and

⁸⁷ HA (i), diary, 12 February 1885. PRO, RG 12/1789, census, 1891.

enclosed and planted the garden (G21, Fig. 60). He had a housekeeper, was visited by his adult children, and attended by what the Heaven diary referred to cryptically as "a valet".⁸⁸ A bailiff was employed for the farm and Wright, being a very keen gardener, planted 1000 bulbs for flower-farming to develop a bulb industry, though the project can not have been successful as it was not mentioned again.⁸⁹ Chanter states that he "greatly extended..cultivation and commercial and productive capabilities, especially the trade in livestock," which indicates that Dovell's improvements had lapsed in the interval.⁹⁰ Wright also regarded the island as a private estate, and no more welcomed the intrusion of excursionists or boarders than did the Heavens; on one occasion he went so far as to install a deterrent bull in a strategic field.⁹¹ He was also strict in trying to control theft and poaching by islanders and seamen. It is possible that he fell into no comfortable category on Lundy; he was only on polite calling terms with the Heaven family, and had

⁸⁸ HA (i), diary, 26 July 1888.

⁸⁹ HA (i), diary, 10 November 1888.

⁹⁰ Chanter, 1887, p.4.

⁹¹ HA (i), diary, 3 July 1889. Langham, 1994, 209, is wrong in saying that Wright wished to develop a tourist trade and that he started the hotel.

nothing in common with the labourers or lightkeepers.⁹² No details about his administration have been found, except that in 1886 he contracted with the Post Office to provide a service to Lundy, and was registered as the first sub-postmaster.⁹³

The Heaven mail for Lundy had always been carried by a private arrangement, whereby it was collected from the mainland post office and brought across in their own private box by the boatman contracted to serve the owner of the island. Wright was supported by Trinity House and Lloyds in his application for a GPO service, and in 1886 a contract was made for a weekly service to deliver and collect island mail.⁹⁴ The island shop added stamps and postal orders to its stock, and the rather surprising average traffic of 241 letters and 21 parcels per week just about covered the costs.⁹⁵ But the service provided through the Cardiff depot proved to be chaotic, and after a year the contract was given to the Heavens' regular boatman, who then carried both the GPO mailbag and the Heaven family's post from Instow.⁹⁶ An event which went unremarked was the publication of the

⁹² The Heaven family maintained strict social distinctions; visitors to the island were expected to send up cards, and hospitality was restricted to their own class or above (HA (i), diary, passim).

⁹³ GPOA, Vol 308, Minute 4484.

⁹⁴ GPOA, Vol 308, Minute 4484.

⁹⁵ GPOA, Vol 352, NO 3120 (1888).

⁹⁶ GPOA, Vol 353, 3700 (1888).

OS 1:25,000 in 1886, and its existence appears to have been overlooked before the present study (Fig.24).

It seems that Wright lost his enthusiasm for island life, as he left after six years and was succeeded by Henry Ackland in 1891. He first took the store on lease at £50 a year which, as a commercial proposition, must have depended to some extent on the trade with ships' crews. Shortly afterwards he took the lease of the farm as well, and in 1894 went into partnership with Thomas Dickinson, "a veterinary student," who became his son-in-law.⁹⁷ Ackland was the first to offer the south wing as "The Manor House" for boarders, and to cater for excursionists, for whom he put up a simple building to serve as a refreshment room (G426).⁹⁸ The number of steamers calling at Lundy during the season increased to three or four a week. While Ackland took care of the store and catering, Dickinson looked after the farm, growing oats, barley, and turnips, with pasture for cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, and poultry. The fishing was let separately by Heaven for £10 per year, and produced just about enough to support one family, principally from shellfish sold on the island and on the adjacent North Devon

⁹⁷ NTA, copy leases, 8 May 1891, 25 March 1892, 26 November 1894. HA (1), diary, 16 March 1896.

⁹⁸ HA (1), diary, 1 May 1896. It was referred to as "The Pavilion," or "The Tent."

coast.⁹⁹

A wreck (G762) occurred in 1892, when the islanders carried out a truly heroic rescue in terrible weather conditions, that led to the re-instatement of Rocket Life Saving Apparatus on Lundy.¹⁰⁰ A new building to house it was put up in 1894 (G446), and regular practices were held by the supervisor who came over from Ilfracombe.¹⁰¹

Trinity House had postponed action over the particular problem of higher-level fog that seriously affected the lighthouse, although they had invested considerable sums in alterations and improvements to the light.¹⁰² These were not wholly satisfactory, and eventually it was decided to build new lighthouses at low level at the north and south ends of the island.¹⁰³ The negotiations for the new sites were protracted, and at times acrimonious, but eventually an exchange of land was negotiated whereby the Trinity House properties reverted to the owner of the island in exchange for the two new sites (Fig.70).¹⁰⁴ The

⁹⁹ Page, 1895, pp.184-242.

¹⁰⁰ HA (i), diary 19 February 1892, the *Tunisie*. 21 men were rescued in a seven-hour operation during a gale and blinding snowstorm. For the Rocket Life-Saving Apparatus, see Chapter 8, vii.

¹⁰¹ LMA, notes of lease, 6 October 1893.

¹⁰² THGM passim.

¹⁰³ THGM, 30 010, lxvii, p.77.

¹⁰⁴ NTA, correspondence and copy of Deed of Exchange, 3 March 1898.

new lighthouses came into operation in 1897 and, since they were classed as rock stations, they were supplied direct by Trinity House tenders, and no families were accommodated. The effects of this were most keenly felt in the loss of trade at the store, and also in the loss of the families as a reserve of labour and members of the community.¹⁰⁵ The withdrawal of the Trinity House contract to pay the cost of repairs to the Beach Road, since it was no longer used for the transport of their supplies, was also a serious disadvantage. The £3 per annum wayleave payment agreed was little compensation, as repairs were needed frequently. A tenant took a lease of the Old Light for holiday use until 1907, but the cottages at the fog signal station have never been of use because the access is so steep.¹⁰⁶

1896-97 were years of intense activity on Lundy. Heaven embarked on the construction of a permanent, stone-built church (G18), while Trinity House was building the new lighthouses.¹⁰⁷ All these came into use the following year. The church and its grounds (G29, Fig. Gaz.19) were conveyed

¹⁰⁵ NTA, letter, 17 March 1898: the tenant negotiated a reduction of £50 in the annual rent in respect of the loss of trade and cartage, which he estimated had been worth £150 a year.

¹⁰⁶ NTA, 25 March 1899, Mr Napier Miles, at £25 a year; he retained the tenancy until 1907.

¹⁰⁷ HA (i), diary, passim 1895-98. THGM, 30 010 and 30 025, 1894-98 passim.

to the Church Commissioners, so that all services and ceremonies of the Church of England could be licensed.¹⁰⁸ The wisdom of the expenditure on a large church, given the family's financial circumstances, was questionable, especially as five families were about to be removed from the Lundy population. Heaven had presumed upon the income due from the tenant, and such a decision serves to illustrate both his mindset, and the powerful influence of religion on Victorian gentry. The church was also seen as a family memorial, and furnishings and commemorative windows were donated by family and friends.¹⁰⁹

A period of agricultural and general economic depression prevailed in the later 1890s, which led to acute financial difficulties for Ackland and Dickinson. They fell into arrears of rent, and the partnership was dissolved without amity in 1898, when Ackland left.¹¹⁰ Dickinson was unable to remedy his situation and departed the next year,

¹⁰⁸ HA (i), Sentence of Consecration of the Church of St Helen, 17 June 1897.

¹⁰⁹ Heaven received a legacy of £5000 in 1895 not from Mrs Langworthy, but from the sister who had inherited the bulk of her fortune (Somerset House Probate Division, Frances Heaven, March 19 1895). (Langham, 1994, p.123, is in error). Church furnishings are detailed in Langham & Langham, 1960, pp.58-60.

¹¹⁰ NTA, dissolution of partnership, 21 May 1898.

leaving a farm that had suffered from lack of maintenance, and debts that Heaven was not able to recover.¹¹¹

The next tenant was interested in opportunities to develop tourism and to revive the quarries. Unlike previous lessees, George Taylor was a business man who had no interest in living on Lundy himself, but went across about once a month.¹¹² He built a reservoir (G467) to improve the water supply to the farmhouse, which was united with the south wing for a boarding house, and run by a manageress. The farm had 200 acres under cultivation for hay, oats, barley and roots and 300 acres of pasture supporting, in 1905, 500 sheep, 150 bullocks and some horses. Taylor made a contract with the steamer company and did everything he could to increase the number of visitors. By 1905 he said that 2,500 trippers came every year and he

¹¹¹ NTA, 9 Sept 1898, deed of assignment for the benefit of creditors. NTA, correspondence 1898-99. In 1897 the rent was one year in arrears, and although this was a serious matter for Heaven's economy, no measures were taken, and he raised £600 against a life policy. By 1898 the arrears of rent amounted to £700. When the lessees' affairs went into administration arrears of £530 were still owed, but Heaven was not listed among the creditors or given notice of the distribution.

¹¹² NTA, copy lease, 1 December 1899; letter H. G. Heaven 24 March 1899.

could provide lunches for up to 250, using mostly island produce.¹¹³ He also instituted a landing fee, without consultation, and much to Heaven's annoyance.¹¹⁴

Although Taylor was interested in the quarries, he had been forestalled by a lease granted in 1896 to a contractor working on the church. This lease provided that the rent and royalties would be payable once the quarries were in production, but a series of companies all failed to establish the workings, Heaven received nothing, and the lease was eventually taken back in 1906 when the island was put up for auction (Fig.61).¹¹⁵

Taylor's health and vigour diminished, and again the island became considerably run down. In 1906, when only the 80-year-old Heaven and an elderly female cousin were left of the family on Lundy, the decision was made to sell. Although the sale attracted a lot of public interest following the dramatic wreck in May of the brand new naval flagship, the *Montagu*, it failed to reach Heaven's reserved price of £25,000 and, unwisely, he rejected the

¹¹³ *North Devon Journal Herald*, 30 November 1905.

¹¹⁴ NTA, letter H. G. Heaven, 24 November 1908. Heaven did not receive any of this income. The landing fee was continued, and in 1920-25 was divided between the owner and the tenant (NDRO B170 add/37).

¹¹⁵ NTA, letter, 1 August 1906. Information about the companies is given in Langham, 1994, Appendix 3.

highest bid of £16,000.¹¹⁶ The reserve was too high a price for a property that had not been well maintained, and which had a rent roll of less than half the yield that could have been obtained by a conservative investment of that amount of capital.

Concern about the the efficiency of signalling for the safety of shipping, and for defence in case of war, led to an agreement between the Admiralty and Lloyds in 1903, whereby the Admiralty coastguard took over responsibility for watch duties and signalling from Lloyds.¹¹⁷ The establishment of a coastguard station was considerably delayed by the Heavens' plans to sell and their tardy responses to correspondence, but eventually two new cottages (G335) were built in 1906 adjacent to Lloyds site, and the whole establishment taken over by the Admiralty in 1909 (Fig.71). With the jittery state of European politics, an additional war signal station was built at a commanding point on the east side of the island (Tibbetts, G50) and a lookout hut at the North End (G87). Four coastguards were

¹¹⁶ NTA, letter from the agents, 21 October, 1915. Davis, G. & Davis, R., 1981, *The Loss of HMS Montagu*. HA (1), letter, Heaven at first accepted one buyer, the Revd Mr Batson, who offered an acceptable price, but withdrew when he found the sale did not include the wreck of the battleship. He was found to be insane (MTC, MS, R Allen, 1980).

¹¹⁷ LINF, 7778.

posted to Lundy, who took over the signalling duties, and Lloyds premises.¹¹⁸

The island remained on the market for eleven years. Heaven had several disputes with Taylor over fishing rights, shooting rights, permissions for landing etc. until Taylor sub-leased the island to William Saunt in 1908.¹¹⁹ Saunt took the island to live there for the benefit of his wife's health, and continued to run the farm, the shop, the refreshment room, and the boarding house until 1911, when he was required to relinquish his lease as the Revd. Heaven retired to the mainland, and his nephew was called upon to return from Canada to manage the island.¹²⁰

In the relatively short time since 1863 Lundy had moved from obscurity and isolation to a community having church, post office, shop and "pub", boarding house, telegraph and signal station, and fifteen habitable houses.¹²¹ The Heaven family had transformed Millcombe valley by establishing gardens, and extensive plantations of trees, shrubs, and flowers. The family recreations were boating, shooting,

¹¹⁸ LINF, 7778.

¹¹⁹ NTA, letter H. G. Heaven, 17 December 1907; letter G Taylor, 4 August 1912.

¹²⁰ HA (i), letter, 15 June 1911; Family History, p.27.

¹²¹ Fifteen apart from the lighthouse and fog signal station. Nine of the quarry cottages had been demolished for stone used in building Lloyds cottages and the church (PRO, census, 1891). HA (i), diary, 7 October 1884.

fishing, reading, sewing, gardening, riding, the piano, painting and drawing, ornithology, botany, walking the dogs, collecting blackberries, eggs, mushrooms and samphire. Excursion steamers brought numbers of visitors, and there were regular contacts with the mainland through Trinity House and Lloyds. But these developments did not bring prosperity. Some small amounts had been added to the rental income: £20 a year from Lloyds from 1884; £10 a year from the Post Office, and £1 a year for the semaphore apparatus from 1903; £3 a year for the Rocket Lifesaving Apparatus hut from 1894. In 1898 the total income from the island rents would have been £419, had all been paid up.¹²²

Without either capital or income, Walter Heaven, the heir in tail, who had been brought up on Lundy, was by no means the man to reverse Lundy's fortunes. He had been unsuccessful in one venture after another, and had borrowed against the securities of the entail and the Hort Trust.¹²³ He had to borrow more to meet the ingoing valuation of £1,750, and could earn nothing except by the sale of stock. He said that the island lost £400 a year, and that the war exacerbated matters, but the shortage of transport, supplies and labour made little difference in practice, since he could not have paid for them anyway.¹²⁴ In 1914 the entail

¹²² MTC, sale catalogue, 1906.

¹²³ *The Hartland & West Country Chronicle*, No 271, January 1 1920, report of examination in bankruptcy.

¹²⁴ HA (i), letter, 28 January 1917.

was barred and a fee simple created to facilitate a sale, and efforts were made to interest the government in the island as a depot for prisoners of war, but without success.¹²⁵ By 1915 the valuation had dropped and the survey made dismal reading:

"The Villa is in a deplorable state, overrun with rats and with a roof badly letting in the water. The gardens and grounds have been sadly neglected so that these are practically non-existent...Even at a 4% basis, the rentals would not justify much more than a price of £10,000...it would require a very considerable sum to put the whole island in proper order..."¹²⁶

Despite this, a buyer again offered £16,000, but was rejected because the vendor insisted on a figure that represented his own capital requirements rather than the island's market value.¹²⁷

In 1916 Hudson Heaven died and Walter Heaven inherited Lundy, but no money, and as his debts were unmanageable the island had to be sold. A buyer was found in 1917 ready to pay £15,000, the creditors foreclosed, and Heaven was bankrupt, as the proceeds of the sale did not cover all his debts of £17,390.¹²⁸ Although he suffered from the defalcation of the Hort Trust, his irresponsibility and

¹²⁵ NTA, copy of Deed of Enrolment, 1914; letter, 23 August 1916.

¹²⁶ NTA, 6 July 1915.

¹²⁷ NTA, letter, 23 October 1915.

¹²⁸ NTA, High Court of Justice, T 891, 10 December 1918. *The Hartland & West Country Chronicle*, No 271, 1920.

weaknesses undoubtedly contributed to the family's loss of Lundy.¹²⁹ But even had he been sober, sensible and industrious, it is unlikely that he would have been able to reverse the downward financial spiral that had begun in 1840.

Heaven business was administered by a firm of solicitors at Bristol who were close relations. From 1870 they were trustees of the Hort estate, but they appear, at least in later years, to have been incompetent. Business was inadequately dealt with, many deeds and documents lost, rents and rights were not pursued, and some of the Hort Trust money was lost by bad investments, and some was stolen by a dishonest associate.¹³⁰ When the last partner died, pending the sale of the island, affairs were in disorder, the firm was insolvent, and it simply ceased to function. The buyer had great difficulty in obtaining deeds and documents, and had to send his own representative to Bristol to sort through the papers and retrieve as much as possible.¹³¹

¹²⁹ HA (i), letter, 14 July 1921. *Hartland & West Country Chronicle*, No 271, 1920.

¹³⁰ HA (ii), J. E. G. Heaven, family history. The same paper states that the Revd Hudson Heaven's estate did not meet all the claims against it. Will: Somerset House Probate Division, July 11 1917.

¹³¹ LMA, 18 November 1920.

It should be borne in mind that the information for the period is drawn almost entirely from Heaven sources, so that the picture obtained is inevitably one-sided. There is a complete absence of records from any of the lessees who administered the island from 1839-61 and 1885-1912. In accounts of Lundy it has been common to refer to the period of the Heaven ownership as a golden age, with the implication that it was a period of prosperity. The economic reality was harsh, but the idea of a golden age can be defended in some senses, as a time of stability with a resident owner. Lundy became a community, rather than just an island farm, and although the islanders were labourers and servants, their lives were no longer so precarious as when they had depended on birds and rabbits.

For the Heaven family Lundy was their private estate, of which they were the squires, but they were in the unfortunate position of having an upbringing and education appropriate to the gentry, without the income to sustain it. Neither did they have the background or initiative to adapt to their changed situation by developing dynamic roles in the management of either the estate or their financial affairs. During the nineteenth century the economic focus shifted so that land and rents were not necessarily the main sources of wealth, and income was increasingly derived from the investment of capital. But either this was not appreciated in their own particular context, or the Heavens were not sufficiently clear-sighted to see a remedy for

their difficulties in accepting a realistic price for Lundy. Before Walter Heaven accumulated debts against the equity, the capital could have provided a comfortable income, free of the encumbrance of the expense of the island, since although mortgage money was owed to the Hort Trust, the family were the beneficiaries of Trust income. It may have been that their attachment to the island was so strong as to make such a solution unacceptable, or produced inertia. Certainly their position in society in mainland retirement would have been insignificant compared with their squirearchical role on Lundy.

CHAPTER 5.

(vi) LUNDY 1918 TO 1925.

Augustus Langham Christie, of Tapeley Park, North Devon, signed the contract for Lundy in September 1917, and took possession in December, pending completion.¹ His wife was a descendant of the John Cleveland who owned Lundy from 1781-1802, and he bought it for a similar reason: that he did not like to see any land from his windows that did not belong to him.² Prior to the contract, Christie ordered a survey of the farm which stated that:

"No cropping of any sort had been done since 1914, and the corn and roots of that year were not gathered and the land...is now very foul indeed. The Island as a whole is now going out of cultivation, there is no labour of any sort being employed. There are about 50 sheep, 6 cattle and 2 horses which have the run of the whole place...The whole of the Cottages and Houses are empty except those occupied by Government officials and the farmhouse by Mr Heaven and his family. The whole of the erections are very much out of repair and are fast falling into decay...The whole of the Houses and buildings will need a considerable outlay to put them in tenantable condition...There is no Quay or Pier of any sort which makes it very difficult to ship anything all must be taken out in small boats and this can only be done in very calm weather. When put in repair I value the farm in the sum of £314-10 per Annum. To this may be added of let the rent of the Villa, one Cottage and two Bungalows...£50 per year...the rents paid by the government are given ...[as] £34 per annum, making a total rental value of £398-10 per Annum. To put the whole in tenantable repair to obtain these rents will cost...at least £1500. No doubt

¹ NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936. Heaven left Lundy on 24 December 1917.

² Blunt, W., 1968, *John Christie of Glyndebourne*, p.51.

there is some value in the granite but the lack of shipping facilities prevents any development until this is provided."³

The final conveyance was not completed until the following December because of legal complications with the foreclosure by the creditors, and the collapse of the Heaven firm of solicitors.⁴

In March 1918 S. T. Dennis was sent to the island, with his family, to start the rehabilitation of the farm.⁵ Another valuation made in May 1919 shows that the farm had been re-equipped, and re-stocked with 78 cattle, 27 sheep and lambs, 4 horses, 11 pigs, and 30 fowls, and the value of live and dead stock was £1638. One year later another valuation was made when the island was leased to C. Herbert May, by which time there were 99 cattle, 5 horses, 98 sheep and lambs, 18 pigs, and 35 poultry, and the value of live and dead stock had risen to £3470. But it was remarked that the cattle and sheep were both in very poor condition as

³ NTA, 13 July 1917, survey by Thomas Yeo, Barnstaple.

⁴ NTA, correspondence, 1917-18; High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division, H 37, 1918, P. No 330. Chancery Division, 10 June 1918, S133 ; Chancery, 10 December 1918/891.

⁵ NTA, contract 15 March 1918. Dennis and his wife were employed at a salary of £125 per annum, with bonus on profits, and free housing, milk, butter, eggs, coal and travel. He was bailiff, and not, as his son later wrote, tenant or manager, (Bideford Gazette, 21 October 1993).

they had laid out all winter without supplementary feed, which must have reflected on the abilities of the farm bailiff.⁶ Between 1919 and 1921 the number of island inhabitants remained around twenty-one, which included six lighthouse keepers, the GPO man and his wife, and four Admiralty personnel with their families; neither the owner nor the lessee were resident. (Chapter 4).

1918 also saw an exceptional event in Lundy's history when a polling station was set up for the first and last time for a general election. A presiding officer was sent over from Barnstaple, the farm bailiff was sworn in as special constable, and within ten minutes the entire island electorate of ten persons had registered their votes.⁷

Christie sent a consulting engineer to Lundy in March of 1918 to make a general survey, to report on necessary repairs and the water supply, and to make recommendations for improvements in the landing facilities. His first report confirmed the sorry picture the valuer had given before the purchase was made: the farmhouse was "...large and empty...water...not fit to drink...drainage out of order." The engineer's reports are thorough and well-informed, and are still useful reading.⁸ They were accompanied by plans of all the buildings belonging to the

⁶ NTA, survey by Thomas Yeo, 24 March 1920.

⁷ Dennis, A. J., 1959, *The Lundy Review*, No. 5.

⁸ NTA, A. W. Lewis, 1918-1921.

estate, as well as for a suggested pier and harbour (Figs 34, 65).⁹ It was difficult during wartime and just after to obtain building materials and labour, and application had to be made to the Ministry of National Service for a construction licence, when it was put forward that the work would assist the production of food, and the Cove landing would be a reconstruction of a former landing site.¹⁰

Christie put the management and administration of Lundy into the hands of his solicitors at Barnstaple.¹¹ Provision was made for workmen to be sent to the island, housed and fed, so that repairs could be put in hand immediately. Dark's boat service contract had ended in 1911, so Lewis (the engineer) recommended that a boat should be bought to serve the island. He designed five projects to facilitate landing on Lundy: a pier, initially running east from the existing quay; a gantry for lifting heavy loads direct from the boat to the Battlements; a slipway to be constructed at the Cove; a path blasted across the rocks from there to the beach to allow carts to be used; and the construction of steps with a handrail on the south-west coast to allow landing during easterly winds. He further considered that the construction of a harbour enclosing the area between the

⁹ NTA, report and harbour plans, A. W. Lewis, 27 March 1918. The plans of the buildings are deposited in NDRO, B 170/add/39; B 170/add/39.

¹⁰ NTA, 29 August 1918; Messrs Pitts Tucker.

¹¹ NTA, 29 August 1918, Messrs Pitts Tucker.

new pier and Rat Island would be of the greatest benefit, and he drew up the plans, though with the reservation that the shortage of materials and the high cost (estimated in 1918 at £150,000) would prevent their implementation unless it could be carried out as a harbour of refuge (this would be £3,177,000 in 1999 values).¹² Lewis also specified necessary repairs and improvements to the water supply and sewage disposal, and repairs to the quay and the buildings.¹³

Work was put in hand on general repairs, the slipway at the Cove (G357), and the landing at the south-west (Montagu Steps, G257), but two factors intervened to prevent the execution of all the works proposed. Firstly, Mr Christie, who suffered from a hereditary disorder of personality that had severely disrupted his family life, had a series of strokes in 1918, 1919 and 1920. The last of these affected him seriously, and exacerbated both his difficulties of temperament, and the profound conflicts with his wife, Lady Rosamund, who was also considered to be of a very difficult disposition.¹⁴ In 1920 Lady Rosamund Christie took over the supervision of the estates with power of attorney, and in November a stop was put to any further expenditure for works on Lundy other than completion of

¹² Bank of England.

¹³ NTA, A W Lewis, 27 March 1918.

¹⁴ Blunt, 1968, pp.5-126.

projects already in hand.¹⁵ The second factor was the escalation of wages and the cost of materials after the end of the 1914-18 war, which more than doubled the costs estimated early in 1918.¹⁶ Work continued until Lewis submitted his final accounts in June 1921, and a local contractor then carried out the remaining small repairs for £57.¹⁷

In September 1920 Mr C. H. May took over the lease of the farm for five years at £365 per year, with the landing fees for excursionists to be shared in equal parts between the lessor and the tenant.¹⁸ May was an experienced North Devon farmer who did not move to Lundy, but made the crossing frequently to supervise the farm, which he is reputed to have run in a workmanlike manner.¹⁹ The Manor House, for the first time called a hotel, was put in the hands of a capable manageress, and the island was advertised to draw in visitors (Fig.29).²⁰ Meanwhile Christie had bought an island boat, the *Lerina*, which then carried 80 passengers, and a contract was obtained for the mail service, under which the GPO and the Admiralty paid

¹⁵ NTA, 9 November 1920.

¹⁶ NTA, 9 February 1921.

¹⁷ NTA, 24 June 1921; 1 September 1921.

¹⁸ NDRO, B 170 add/37, the rent for the first year was reduced to £275.

¹⁹ F W Gade, pers. comm.

²⁰ The Villa had a caretaker, and was designated an extension to the hotel.

equal shares of the charge of £208 per annum for the transport of their mail and supplies.²¹ May paid for the use of the boat, and made a charge for cartage on the island. His enquiry of a barrister as to whether he would be within his rights to import wine to Lundy duty-free received the reply that while it probably would not be noticed if he did, it would certainly be illegal. More importantly, opinion was given that Lundy was definitely within the United Kingdom and subject to Common and Statute Law of the Realm.²²

The works under Lewis's supervision were finished early in 1921, by which time £6,483 had been spent on repairs and constructions, not including the *Lerina* or re-stocking of the farm (£130,632 in 1999 values). At that point the Cove slipway and the Montagu Steps were completed, the cart track across to the beach (G710) was started but not finished, the quay was repaired and the retaining wall rebuilt, the store house on the quay repaired and the slipway extended, the main buildings repaired, the reservoir was roofed over, and repairs and improvements carried out to the water supply.²³

It was through Christie's expenditure that Lundy was restored to a habitable state, a working farm, and a

²¹ LMA, copy agreement 31 December 1920.

²² MTC, copy of paper, 8 May 1921, formerly held on Lundy (present whereabouts unknown).

²³ NTA, A. W. Lewis, reports and accounts, 1918-21.

resort for visitors. Once again the island provided for a settled community, which revolved around the farmer, the hotel manageress, and the officers of the coastguard and Trinity House.²⁴ The postmaster, F. W. Allday, was made a lay reader in 1918, and in 1922 the Rev H. H. Lane was appointed as rector by the Bishop of Exeter, but he only stayed until 1924.²⁵ It does not seem that either Mr Christie or his wife made more than a very occasional visit, if that. The island was part of the operation of a large estate, expenditures were authorised or not, and the island was managed by an efficient paid administrator on the mainland. Although May was not resident, he was a practical manager with the advantage of a mainland farm base. Lundy butter was sold on the mainland, as well as cattle and sheep; the island was self-supporting in all farm produce, there was a certain amount of trade with the crews of ships,

²⁴ Pers. comm., the late Mrs Phyllis Squire of Morteohoe, a regular and frequent visitor at that time. The *Hartland Chronicle* of this period carries notices of social events held on the island, which reflect a small, but lively and cohesive community.

²⁵ Blackwell, A. E., 'Lundy's Ecclesiastical History,' *TDA*, xcii, 1960. *ILN*, No 6, 1971. One difficulty in securing the services of a clergyman was that the stipend was only £60 a year.

and the lighthouse was let.²⁶ How successful May was economically is not possible to judge, since no records are found for his tenancy, except that the outgoing valuation of live and dead stock in 1925 had risen from the ingoing £3470 to £7239, which would indicate a healthy state of affairs.²⁷

In 1924 Christie suffered another serious stroke, as a result of which he was certified in lunacy, and Lady Christie was appointed receiver. His state of mind and her authority were both contested at law, but her legal title was upheld, and in this capacity she sold Lundy in 1925.²⁸ This decision coincided with the expiry of May's lease, and was probably made on grounds of the losses incurred, which were not compensated by any enjoyment of the island itself. Some details of the Christie accounts for 1920-21 exist and, apart from the cost of capital works, running deficits were recorded. In her first year the *Lerina* earned £904 (including over £440 from fishing) but cost £1939 in repairs and running expenses. In 1921 the owner's income from rents was £423, to which was added 50% of the landing fees at £63 5s 5d, and the general expenditure was £595 16s 4d. In 1921, even with the benefit of the mail contract, the

²⁶ Mrs Phyllis Squire, pers. comm. MTC, sale catalogue, 1925.

²⁷ A. F. Langham, MS notes made from "Pitts Tucker records, Tapeley papers." NTA, valuation 24.03.1920

²⁸ Blunt, 1968, p.127. NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936.

Lerina cost £993 more than it earned. If all the costs of the capital works and repairs, re-stocking the farm, purchase of the boat, and the running losses are put together, Lundy had proved a very expensive venture. The island benefitted enormously, but the sale price of £16,000, plus valuation at £9,000 including the *Lerina*, gave little if any return on the investment and outlay, either financially, or in terms of pleasure taken in Lundy by its owner.²⁹

The Christie period has been given scant attention by historians, but although the ownership of Lundy was of short duration, and there was so little engagement with the island itself, it was an important period for Lundy's restoration to a working basis from which his successor could proceed.³⁰

²⁹ NDRO, B 170 add/37, accounts. NTA, Abstract of Title 1936. In addition, the purchaser bought the live and dead farm stock from May, as he did not wish to renew May's lease.

³⁰ Langham, 1994, p.67 gives this period 10 lines.

CHAPTER 5.

(vii) LUNDY 1925 TO 1969

Martin Coles Harman's first visit to Lundy was made on a day trip during the final years of the Heaven ownership, and he was seized by enthusiasm for what he found there, despite its then dilapidated condition.¹ He started his career as an office boy in the city, and by the age of 48 was in control of a number of successful city companies.² When the time came that he could realise his ambition to buy the island, it had benefitted from the works carried out during the Christie ownership and the stewardship of C. H. May. The island was still "basically a farm that catered for visitors."³

Harman took over from the lessee, May, 86 cattle, 99 pigs, 319 sheep, 4 horses, 110 poultry, 8 boats, and the general stock. In his first year he engaged a firm of exterminators who "at a cost of £350 nearly, but not quite, cleared out all the rats."⁴ In 1926 the islanders numbered twenty five, and consisted of twelve employed males,

¹ Gade, 1978, pp.35-6.

² *The Times*, 16 March 1928, lists the companies. His principle interest in the UK was the Rock Investment Co. Lamplugh, 1993, 93.

³ Mrs P. Squires, pers. comm.

⁴ Lundy Field Society archive, letter M. C. Harman, 22 April 1947. In 1999 values this would cost £9327 (Bank of England).

four employed females (three part-time), four non-employed females, and five children. Apart from the hotel manageress, her two part-time assistants, and the manager for the Store and Tavern, all the employees were engaged in the farm and general estate work. There were also the coastguards and their families, totalling seven, six lighthouse men, and temporary workmen who were employed in road repairs and work on the hotel.⁵

Harman was a man of very independent mind, a combination of a successful self-made financier and idealist, of acute intelligence, modesty, kindness, and boyish impetuosity. He had great enthusiasm for the countryside, and a relish for the unusual status of Lundy, which he saw as a place to be enjoyed for its peace, beauty, and undisturbed habitat.⁶ It was a unique private estate that he was pleased to share with those of like mind, on his own terms. After the initial few months with a mainland agent, he saw the necessity of hands-on administration, and the island was thereafter managed day-to-day by his resident agent.⁷ Harman spent as much time there as he possibly could, and his involvement was personal and sustained. The agent, F. W. Gade, a childhood friend, identified himself with Harman's interests. Although he had

⁵ Gade, 1978, p.23.

⁶ Gade, 1978, pp.35-40.

⁷ Gade, 1978, Chapter 1.

no training or experience in estate management, Gade's capabilities soon enabled him to take charge of all aspects of Lundy's management.

Until 1925 Lundy had as many or as few tourists as the owner or lessee chose to encourage. Harman saw that Lundy had attractions for those with similar interests to his own, whose company he enjoyed, and an early project in 1926-27 was to improve the hotel by some alterations, and the construction of a tennis court (G23) and golf course (G206), although both of the latter were short-lived (Appendix 2, Fig.66).⁸ However, the improvements made at that time were largely ones that he considered necessary for comfort and enjoyment rather than being designed to secure a significant increase in the number of staying visitors. These included an electric generator capable of supplying power for lighting and a refrigerator, which were of enormous advantage.⁹ Visitors were regarded in the light of paying guests on the estate who were expected to write in advance and ask for permission to stay, and to introduce themselves when they arrived.¹⁰ The whole of the farmhouse (G25) and the south wing (G94) were adapted for the hotel, a billiards room was installed (G434), and the bar and shop

⁸ Gade, 1978, pp.33-34, 80-82, 128-29.

⁹ Gade, 1978, pp.101-102.

¹⁰ Gade, 1978, p.95. Lundy Field Society archive, correspondence 1946-54.

were separated by a partition (G724, Figs 27, 28).¹¹ Three or four of the cottages were let on lease at various times, but the terms were always for tenancies at will.¹²

A passion to assert what he conceived as Lundy's independence from mainland authority gripped Harman from the outset, and his policy was to exclude government departments or mainland institutions by taking responsibility himself for the necessary services.¹³ For the first four years of his ownership, he was able to support the island financially, as well as the crew and maintenance of the island boat, although it was always his ambition - which later became a necessity - for the island to try to sustain itself.¹⁴

The GPO maintained a sub-post office on Lundy, with a sub-postmaster, and a contract for the transport of mails

11 N.B. Figs 27, 28 were drawn in 1973 after the partition had been removed.

12 LMA, agreements 1926, 1927, 1936.

13 Gade, 1978, pp.38-40.

14 Mary Gade archive, letter Harman to Gade, 7 October 1954, "In default of getting a number of monks to work on the island without pay, without beer but with plenty of bread and beeswax, it seems to me to be the case of living as comfortably as possible, but spending as little money as possible at any point." Exploitation of the island was never seen as an option.

from the mainland, which Harman took over from Christie.¹⁵ In September 1926 Harman served the GPO notice to terminate the contract for the transport of mails, which was to have taken effect on 31.03.1927.¹⁶ He had also dismissed the sub-postmaster and replaced him by his own employee, though by what authority he was able to do this is not clear. The post office was closed down at the end of 1927 at Mr Harman's request, because he was unable to negotiate his proposed alterations in the system, which would have made Lundy responsible for the mails to and from the mainland with the use of Lundy stamps.¹⁷ The loss of rent for the island post office (G327) was added to the loss of the transport contract fee, but Mr Harman was content that his objective of ridding the island of a mainland agency had been achieved, and the agent thereafter took care of postal matters.

In 1929 Harman pursued his idea of issuing his own local stamps, which would be sold and applied to all

¹⁵ GPOA, Post 30/3652. LMA, agreement, 8 July 1926. The contract was for £208 a year, paid in equal shares by the GPO and the Admiralty.

¹⁶ GPOA, Post 30/3652.

¹⁷ GPOA, letter from M. C. Harman, 4 January 1927. The GPO most probably refused Harman's proposition because it would also have involved their handling letters on the mainland free of charge with only a Lundy stamp.

incoming and outgoing mail to help offset the costs of transport and handling. These were designated in "puffins" instead of pence and are, officially, termed "carriage labels" rather than postage stamps. What was not foreseen was the extent to which these would eventually attract philatelists and become a collector's object in their own right, and so prove to be a sustainable source of income in stamp trading. The stamps also served to make Lundy more widely known.¹⁸ At the same time, the attempt to establish an island coinage quickly brought a prosecution, and Harman stood accused of minting coin contrary to the Coinage Act, 1870. Harman refused to plead on the basis that he did not accept the jurisdiction of the court over Lundy, but his objection was over-ruled and he lost his case. When he took it to appeal, the result was a landmark adjudication that Lundy was part of Devon and subject to the law of the realm.¹⁹ Harman always maintained that he was a loyal

¹⁸ Gade, 1978, pp.503-34. The issue of stamps has been continued; the last were in 1997 on the 100th anniversary of the church and the north and south lighthouses. Lamplugh, 1993, pp.106-7. Langham, 1994, Chapter 23.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 14 January 1931: Bideford Petty Sessions, 15 April 1930. High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division, 13 January 1931. Both the trial and the appeal cases are reported in Boundy, W.S., 1961, *Bushell & Harman of Lundy*, pp.50-90.

subject of the Crown, but that Lundy was not subject to local or national authorities and was "a vest-sized pocket dominion."²⁰

In 1928 the Coastguard and Signal Station was also closed down at Harman's request, despite protests from ship owners.²¹ Harman agreed with the Board of Trade to take over responsibility for the life-saving apparatus, and it was also agreed that, as the telegraphic cable was broken and out of use, he would set up a radio telephone station by which the agent would report on any vessels seen to be in danger or difficulty. The Board of Trade agreed to set up a radio telephone station at Hartland Point which would accept and transmit messages for the Board of Trade, for Lundy itself, and for Trinity House, a system that lasted until 1975.²² This arrangement was much to Lundy's advantage, as the coastguards regularly extended their remit to cover Lundy's everyday communications, and a very supportive twice-daily contact was established.²³ With limited manpower it was never possible to keep a round-the

²⁰ Lundy archive, letter, 12 May 1936. *The Times*, 14 January 1931.

²¹ LINF, 7778.

²² LINF, 7778. LMA, copy of agreement, 25 November 1929: M. C. Harman, The Board of Trade, The Corporation of Trinity House.

²³ MTC, letter, 30 November 1979, from S. Stephens, district officer at Hartland coastguard.

clock shipping watch, but as much was done as possible to report shipping movements, and the lighthouse keepers were vigilant.²⁴

That Harman was ready to forego income and put himself to extra expenses reflects the passion, it might be said obsession, with which he regarded Lundy as independent. Only two bodies retained any legal rights on Lundy: the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and Trinity House. The former owned the church and burial sites, which presented no other possibility than a resigned acceptance of what could not be altered.²⁵ The legal tenure of Trinity House was also unassailable, so Harman had to content himself with watchfulness that there was no breach in the terms of their lease, or unauthorised extension of their rights.²⁶ Rather it happened that on many occasions Lundy benefitted from help given by Trinity House, and the calibre of the personnel made them an asset to the island.²⁷

Harman was able to enjoy his ownership of Lundy undisturbed until the international stock-market crash of 1929 changed his financial position drastically. Not only were his own investments affected, but he was sued for

⁵ Gade, 1978, p.23.

²⁴ Gade, 1978, pp.99-101, and *passim*.

²⁵ NTA, deeds, 9 July 1897, 27 November 1906. MTC: sale catalogues, 1925, 1969.

²⁶ NTA, May 1914. THLA, September 1948.

²⁷ Gade, 1978, *passim*. MTC notes 1952-78.

losses incurred by a firm whose investments he had managed, and damages of £145,563 were awarded against him in January 1932.²⁸ His appeals were rejected, and he was adjudged bankrupt in August.²⁹ A receiver was appointed, but in 1929 Harman had taken out a mortgage on Lundy with the National Bank, and it looked as if the island would have to be sold.³⁰ However, there were creditors' meetings, a proposal was made which they accepted, and he was discharged from bankruptcy. But the creditors appealed shortly afterwards as the terms of the agreement were not fulfilled, and the discharge was cancelled in February, 1933, with an application for leave of appeal refused.³¹ These proceedings showed that to that date Harman had spent £15,000 on improvements on Lundy, and that the accounts for the island in 1932 showed a loss of £7437.³²

Harman's situation went from bad to worse during 1933, when he was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment after being convicted of financial transfers between

²⁸ *The Times*, 1932: 16, 27 January; 8, 10 February; 7 March.

²⁹ *The Times*, 1932: 7, 8 June; 7, 8 July. *London Gazette*, 1932: July, 4836, 4910; August, 5543, 5548.

³⁰ NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936.

³¹ *The Times*, 1932: December 9, 20. *The London Gazette*, 1933: February, 1073. *The Times*, 1933: 11, 25 February.

³² *The Times*, 1932: 9, 20 December. Approximate equivalents at 1999 values are £420,000 and £208,000 (Bank of England).

companies which the court ruled to be illegal.³³ His appeal was dismissed in January, 1934, but the loss of the island was avoided by a formal sale to his brother, S. Terry Harman, with funds belonging to Harman's sons, and the stock and assets on Lundy were formally sold to Gade who, during this period, was agent for the liquidator.³⁴ Gade skates lightly and inaccurately over the surface of these events, which are still sensitive for the Harman family, but the effect on the island itself was minimal, where life went on much as usual. The cash flow from the summer season sufficed for essential expenses, and in the winter the islanders subsisted on credit.³⁵

It is significant that despite these great financial troubles, Harman never resolved his situation by selling Lundy. Apart from his attachment to the place for itself, the disgrace of his conviction was most deeply felt, since he maintained that he had had no criminal intention but had protected the interests of the shareholders, and that his defending barrister had deceived him. Harman served out fourteen months of his sentence and was released from Wormwood Scrubs in 1935.³⁶ He maintained his innocence to

³³ *The Times*, 1933: 1, 2, 30 March, 8 June; 21 July; 25 October; 3, 4, 15, 16, 22, 29 November.

³⁴ *The Times*, 18 January 1934. NTA, abstract of title 1969. Gade, 1978, pp. 123-34, and tape recording, 1975 (MTC).

³⁵ Gade, 1978, pp.122-23.

³⁶ Lamplugh, 1993, p.93.

the end, and after his discharge spent considerable time and money in getting the barrister who had acted for him disbarred and imprisoned for conspiracy to defraud another of his clients.³⁷ He succeeded in getting his own discharge from bankruptcy in 1939.³⁸ Although Harman remained *de facto* owner for the rest of his life, he was never again the owner in legal title. The legal title passed to his brother as Trustee in 1936, with his two sons as beneficial owners, and then was conveyed to them in 1938, but was transferred to Albion Harman after the death of his brother in 1944.³⁹

After the crash of 1929, the island became far more dependent on what income could be generated from visitors, the sale of farm stock, and the philatelic business.⁴⁰ The most significant source of income in the summer season was from the day trippers brought by the Bristol Channel steamers, often several hundred at a time, for whom a one shilling landing fee was received, and who brought trade to the tavern, refreshment room, and shop. The trade was always subject to weather and landing conditions, but the value of the cash flow meant that trippers were encouraged and catered for. The crew of the *Lerina* and the islanders engaged in fishing, particularly for lobsters and crabs as high-value catches, which were mostly used on the island,

37 *The Daily Express*, 28 July 1938.

38 *The Times*, 2 May 1939.

39 NTA, Conveyance, 27 June 1938. Abstract of Title, 1969.

40 Gade, 1978, pp.122-23.

but also sold ashore when there was a surplus. Revenue from the sale of cattle, sheep, and ponies varied with the fluctuations of the farm and markets in different years, and arable farming was concentrated on animal feedstuffs.

In 1934 agreement was reached with a small aviation company to provide an air service to Lundy, and on this occasion Harman raised no objection to the inspection by the Ministry of Aviation that was necessary in order to secure a licence for a landing place.⁴¹ The service was sometimes limited by wind conditions, but nevertheless was of significant advantage in providing rapid communications for visitors, mail, and supplies, and not least for Harman himself. The convenience of the air service resulted in an increase in the number of hotel visitors, so that between 1935 and 1939 the hotel was usually full throughout the season.⁴²

Harman looked on Lundy as a nature reserve, and his interest in wild life led him to make several additions to Lundy's fauna, sometimes with more enthusiasm than wisdom. A flock of Soay sheep was brought in, which colonised the north end of the island and has flourished; a herd of ponies has earned recognition for its qualities, and the progeny continue to find a ready sale in the market.⁴³ But the wallabies, peacocks, Barbary sheep, swans, Angora

41 LMA, 6 October 1934.

42 Gade, 1978, p.194.

43 R Lo-Vel, former agent, pers. comm.

rabbits, and various exotic poultry have not survived. The least well-advised of stock introductions was three herds of deer, which proved very destructive to crops; only the herd of Sika still survives and is culled from time to time, along with the feral goats and Soays.⁴⁴ The deer have seriously exacerbated the problems of arboriculture; several plantations have been made, but the survival rate is generally low.⁴⁵ Gade remarks that in 1926 there were many more trees and large woody shrubs than in 1978.⁴⁶ The vegetation had also been adversely affected by the large number of rabbits, rats were again numerous, and efforts to control their numbers have been continuous.⁴⁷

Lundy's economy began to recover after 1934, with the air service and the popularity of the hotel, and the Tavern was the hub of social life for islanders, visitors, lightkeepers, and seamen alike. The island was self-supporting in meat and farm produce, 36 acres were under arable cultivation producing oats, mangolds, turnips, kale and cabbages, and the hotel garden provided most of the basic requirements for the table. Considerable quantities

44 R Lo-Vel, pers. comm.

45 Hubbard, 1970, pp. 14-18. Anon, 1983, *LFSR*, xxxiv, pp.47-9. Lundy warden, pers. comm.

46 Gade, 1978, pp.55-56.

47 Gade, 1978, Chapter 2. R Lo-Vel, pers. comm. Lundy has populations of both black and common rats.

of produce were also sold to the crews of boats.⁴⁸

With the advent of war in September 1939 the air service stopped, there were no more day trippers, most of the island staff volunteered for service or were conscripted, the Admiralty took a lease on the Old Light for the establishment of a naval contingent, and, being mainland-based, the *Lerina* was commandeered in 1942.⁴⁹ In the early years of the war a contact of Harman's, Herbert Van Os, took over the lease of the farm *gratis*, but this was more a matter of sidelining an inconvenient business obstacle than anything else, and the farm suffered badly from his lack of experience.⁵⁰ However, he did import the first mechanised vehicle to Lundy, a Fordson tractor, which proved to be an enormous asset, and soon replaced the cart and horses for haulage and general island work.⁵¹ Gade claimed that the Lundy Home Guard was the only unit in Devon to meet face-to-face with the enemy, when two German planes landed on the island during the course of 1941; the crews were taken prisoner, and transported to Appledore by the

⁴⁸ Gade, 1978, p.87.

⁴⁹ Gade, 1978, Chapters 9-10. Marine Coastguard Agency, Cardiff, Barnstaple Register, *Lerina*, 139979.

⁵⁰ Gade, 1978, pp.250-62. MTC, letter, F. W. Gade to S. Smith, 4 January 1941; and notes from pers. comm. Gade & Harman, 1995, *Lundy's War*.

⁵¹ MTC, letter F. W. Gade, 4 January 1941. Gade, 1978, pp.251-51. Gade & Harman, 1995, pp.17, 22.

Admiralty.⁵² Some remains of one burnt-out plane are still to be seen south of Halfway Wall (G166).

An account of Lundy during wartime is given elsewhere, but the effect of six years of war was that the shortage of labour and materials, combined with the effects of gales, wind and weather, caused a great and unavoidable deterioration of the estate in both buildings and cultivation.⁵³ The Harman family continued to go to the island as often as possible, since it was home for his sons and daughters, and a mere trickle of visitors arrived as and when Admiralty permission was obtained and transport was possible.⁵⁴ Gade suffered health problems in 1944, such that he and his wife were compelled to move to Hartland, and Mr Don Heaysman acted as island agent until the Gades were able to return in 1949.⁵⁵

⁵² Gade, 1978, Chapter 10. Gade & Harman, 1995, pp.8-12.

⁵³ Gade, 1978, Chapters 10, 11. Gade & Harman, 1994.

⁵⁴ MTC, letter, F. W. Gade, 4 January 1941. Gade, 1978, Chapters 9-11; MTC, MS, Lundy in Wartime, nd. Harman's wife died in 1931, after which the four children went to boarding school, and spent all their holidays on Lundy. Harman kept only a small flat in London to enable him to work there.

⁵⁵ Gade, 1978, Chapter 11. There is no documentary record available of the intervening years, apart from Etherton, 1948.

In 1946 Harman was co-founder, with Professor L. A. Harvey of Exeter University, of the Lundy Field Society, to which he gave generous support, and which was originally a bird observatory.⁵⁶ Although the society is small, it remains active, and is self-supporting. Its activities have broadened from its original purpose, and have been instrumental in researches that have drawn attention to Lundy both as a unique, little-disturbed terrestrial and marine habitat, and a site of considerable scientific and archaeological interest.⁵⁷

It was some years after the war before building materials were freely available, but Harman's financial position never again enabled him to finance any sizeable capital expenditures, so that repairs were piecemeal.⁵⁸ The island economy revived when the steamers re-commenced in 1949, and the day-tripper traffic steadily increased: by 1957 14,075 passengers were landed during the season, and 18,791 in 1969.⁵⁹ But in 1951 the *Lerina* was no longer fit for service and a replacement could be not be afforded. A small air company contracted to service the island and this,

⁵⁶ Lundy Field Society archive, correspondence 1946-54. The Society was given free use of the Old Light (G369), and used it as a hostel until financial problems forced them to relinquish it in 1968.

⁵⁷ *LFSR*, 1947 - continuing. *Island Studies*, 1997.

⁵⁸ Gade, 1978, *passim*. MTC, notes, 1955-79.

⁵⁹ LMA, letter from the White Funnel Fleet to F. W. Gade.

with the steamers during the summer season, provided for passengers, mail, and the the transport of everyday supplies, but not the conveyance of stock, and heavy goods or equipment. This presented considerable and recurring problems, as the air service was even more vulnerable to weather conditions than the boat had been, and also proved vulnerable to the disposition of the pilot.⁶⁰

An appraisal of Lundy was written by a Cambridge graduate in agricultural science, who spent some time on Lundy as farmer in 1951-52. The move to a greater reliance on tourism is reflected in the drop in the numbers of stock compared with 1926: there were 45 cattle, 250 sheep, a few pigs, fowl, turkeys and geese. The hotel was still supplied with most of its requirements, and in 1954 butter, scald cream and soft cheese were still made in the dairy.⁶¹ The land was in need of liming for the crops of oats, kale, turnips and hay, but the cost would have been excessive, and it was considered that the numbers of the various feral stock reduced the island's capacity for sheep by 600 head. It was also remarked that the land use on Lundy then still bore a resemblance to the descriptions given in the

⁶⁰ Gade, 1978, pp.327-28. LMA, agreement, 20 April 1954. MTC, notes; copy MS, Czipri, D., nd [1954].

⁶¹ Wilby, J. A., 1951, 'Lundy,' *The Golden Sheaf*, Cambridge University Agricultural Society. MTC, notes.

inquisitions of 1274 and 1321.⁶² However, it is significant to note that in 1953, as the cost of freight for the year was much less than the cost of the *Lerina* had been, the island made a modest profit of £446, although without allowances for depreciation.⁶³ The profit rested on the fact that the steamer company provided seasonal transport for trippers and visitors, as well as maintaining personnel on the island to man the launches used for landing in return for a percentage of the landing fees.

From time to time the road from the beach (G348) suffered from landslips along the seaward cliffs, which has been a recurrent problem since documentary records are found.⁶⁴ Usually the island personnel were able to make repairs, but there was a serious fall of cliff on to the quay in 1954. Trinity House was applied to, and the Brethren agreed to contribute 50% of the cost of repairs; Harman had written to them that there had been a heavy rock fall "which has cut off our capital from our sole port."⁶⁵ It is likely that the heavy loads and vibration with the

⁶² Additional problems with liming and use of artificial fertilisers were the wind, and rapid leaching through the porous soil. The Inquisitions are given in Steinman, 1947, pp. 4, 6.

⁶³ Mary Gade archive, letter M. C. Harman to F. W. Gade, 14 September 1953. The cost of freight for the year was £635.

⁶⁴ THGM, passim. LIM, T 22. Gade, 1978, pp.374, 461-63.

⁶⁵ Lundy archive, correspondence, 22 February-29 April 1954.

use of the tractor contributed to these mishaps.

When Harman died suddenly in December 1954 and his son, Albion Harman, took over, there were mortgages charged against the island although, on a day-to-day simple income and expenditure basis, the island had just begun to break even.⁶⁶ Problems arose when capital expenditure was needed. It proved absolutely necessary to provide the island with a boat, which was accomplished in 1956, but by 1964 the mortgages had grown to £16,500.⁶⁷ Albion Harman did not have resources of capital that enabled him to tackle radical repairs or initiatives, but he and his sisters were deeply attached to Lundy, and he struggled to keep it going. Gradual changes were made, some dictated by changing cost-effectiveness ratios, particularly in small-scale farming.⁶⁸ An effort was made to increase income by the gradual conversion of properties for holiday letting, and services designed to increase the income that could be derived from day trippers. Before foreign holidays became widespread, North Devon resorts were well patronised, and the Lundy excursion was very popular with holiday makers both from there and from South Wales.

⁶⁶ Mary Gade archive, copy letter M. C. Harman to F. W. Gade, 14 September 1953.

⁶⁷ NTA, 1969.

⁶⁸ It was estimated, for example, that the milk produced on the island cost in the region of 7s a pint (F. W. Gade, pers comm).

Albion Harman took a more realistic view of Lundy's status than his father had done, particularly after a court ruling that he had no rights to the fishing around the island, and after he obtained a hill farm subsidy in 1960.⁶⁹ This helped the island economy, and by 1968 Lundy was again holding its own in the day-to-day balance of incomings and outgoings, although it was still burdened with the mortgages, and capital expenditure and depreciation were not counted in, nor the cost of the boat, for which a separate company had been set up.⁷⁰ There were more than 60 cattle and 400 sheep, but no dairying, no garden produce (except by individual islanders), and only hay was cropped. At that time the herds of Soay sheep and feral goats were estimated at 40 each, and the Sika deer at 50, after drastic culling in 1957.⁷¹

The untimely death of Albion Harman in June of 1968, brought about the end of the Harman ownership. Lundy passed

⁶⁹ Langham, 1994, p.205. Gade, 1978, p.367, misplaces the date, and is certainly wrong in stating that the subsidy was "exchanged" for the loss of the (non-existent) fishing rights.

⁷⁰ Mary Gade archive, copy of accounts, 1969. Marine Coastguard Agency, Cardiff, Barnstaple Register, *Lundy Gannet*, 183407.

⁷¹ MTC, sale catalogue, 1969, and notes. Lamplugh, 1993, p.106, 116 Soays, 32 goats, and 131 deer were shot.

into the joint ownership of Harman's wife and two sisters, who were agreed that there was no alternative but to sell the island. None of the owners had the resources to meet the expense of running the island and the boat, or to take on the encumbrance of further borrowing. Before this could be completed there was the additional misfortune of a massive road subsidence. The island was put up for sale, and in 1969 passed out of private ownership into the possession of the National Trust.⁷² The island was sold "lock, stock and barrel," to include the island boat, with £150,000 of the purchase price given by Mr Jack Hayward, the philanthropic millionaire.⁷³ As there was no endowment, the National Trust could not have taken on Lundy but for the undertaking given by the Landmark Trust to administer it and carry out repairs.⁷⁴

Sad as it was to observe the end of private ownership, and of a benevolent regime aiming for the *status quo* of the island and its modest community, it is probable that Lundy could not have continued for long without thorough-going renewal of the buildings and installations. It was equally unlikely that the island could have recouped enough, even had costly improvements been possible, to repay the

⁷² NTA, 1969. Lamplugh, 1993, Chapter 13.

⁷³ Pers. comm. C. M. Price, mainland agent for Lundy in 1969.

⁷⁴ Sir John Smith, then Chairman of the Landmark Trust, pers. comm.

capital expenditure with profits from tourism. The farm could not compete with the larger-scale mainland operations which were able to produce with greater economy of scale, and without island transport costs. Lundy, and her owners, were caught in a period of rising costs, when only very modest subsidies were available, and before large-scale grants became available for farming, ecological, and conservation purposes.

By 1969 Lundy had moved from the farm of 1925 to a community increasingly dependent on revenue from day trippers, holidaymakers, philatelic profits, and hill farm subsidies for a precarious balance, which never allowed for the repayment of capital loans, or the resources to meet capital contingencies. However, despite the problems the particular character of the island had changed very little.

CHAPTER 5.

(viii) LUNDY AT PRESENT: A BRIEF OUTLINE

Since taking over the administration of the island in 1969, the Landmark Trust has carried out an extensive programme of renovation of the buildings and infrastructure, and has funded these works, the maintenance, and the shortfall in running costs of the island and its ship. The Landmark Trust is a registered independent charity, founded by Sir John and Lady Smith in 1965 with the objective of restoring buildings of historic or architectural interest, and enabling them to be used throughout the year for holiday accommodation.¹ In 1969 the Lundy Company was formed to separate island finances from those of the Trust, and with the objective of the Lundy's eventually becoming self-supporting. The island ship, the *Oldenburg*, is owned by the Trust and operated by the Company, with a crew of five.

Lundy is held on a 60-year lease from the National Trust, with responsibility for its entire management.² The island is administered through a resident agent, who supervises c. 20 islanders, with this number augmented by seasonal workers between Easter and September. All are employees of Landmark, including the warden whose post is subsidised by English Nature.³ None of the present

¹ *The Landmark Handbook (LTH)*, 1998, iii.

² NTA, 1969.

³ Lundy warden, pers. comm.

population is a long-term islander of more than seven years residence, although the warden and one other were regular visitors over many years before taking up their employment. Except for the farmer, the labour force is engaged in supporting the visitor operations, which are the main source of income: variously, they service the administration, the twenty-three letting properties, the shop, the tavern, the camp site, the mechanical vehicles, the arrivals and departures of visitors and freight, and the water supply. The farmer has the care of c600 sheep, and production of their grass keep and fodder; the warden has responsibility for environmental matters, and visitor information, lectures and field expeditions.

The island receives subsidies from a number of sources, usually tied to particular purposes or projects. In 1998 the Beach Road extension to the Cove (G357) was rebuilt, to give access to a landing jetty which was completed in August, 1999 (G755). This has been constructed running north-east from the Cove slipway (G357), and allows the island ship to load and unload alongside, instead of by tender, and a second vessel can tie-up simultaneously. Grants have been obtained from the Lottery fund, the European Community, the Landmark Trust, and the National Trust for this and other projects, which are part of a £4m plan for improvements. The island also receives support from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food under the Countryside Stewardship plan to encourage care of the environment,

which provides for tree-planting, bracken and rhododendron control, dry-walling, and maintenance of pasture.⁴

During the summer season climbing, diving, bell-ringing, and stamp-meets are more recent additions to the island's attractions. Day trippers also visit the island, though not in such large numbers as formerly (usually up to 200) since there is no longer a regular steamer traffic. Occasional church services are held by the priest-in-charge, who travels from his parish in North Devon.

The island carries feral herds of Soay sheep, goats, and Sika deer, whose numbers are kept in balance by means of controlled culling, and semi-wild ponies, which are sold to buyers on the mainland. In contrast to the time when the rabbits were a valued resource, they now have no value and are a pest, both in the consumption of grazing, and the weakening of walls by burrowing.⁵ Rats also present a problem, since they are prolific breeders, and poisoning or trapping has to be restricted by consideration for other species. The population of rare black rats now appears to be holding its own against the common rat.⁶

⁴ Lundy warden, pers. comm., 1999.

⁵ Thackray, 1989, pp.24, 85.

⁶ Varnham K, 1997, 'Ship & Common Rats on Lundy,' *LFSR*, xlviii, pp.87-93. Grose, 1776, noted that there were no common rats on Lundy.

One striking change on Lundy since 1969 is the very good condition of the buildings and walls, although the removal of some structures, and the continued use of temporary timber buildings have not met with undivided approbation. The standard of comfort in the cottages is now much higher than it was, twenty-three are available as against six and a hotel in 1969. Another noticeable change is in the use of mechanical vehicles. In 1971 the first Land Rover came into use, and this has been followed by a range of modern tractors, machines, and motor scooters. The water supply has been vastly improved in both quantity and quality by the installation of storage tanks and a central, treated, supply. The castle (G300), the old lighthouse (G369) and Millcombe House (G2), which are all listed Grade II buildings, have been faithfully restored from a state of considerable deterioration.

A management group was formed in 1985 by English Nature and the Devon Sea Fisheries Committee, which liaises closely with an advisory group for the monitoring of the Marine Nature Reserve, its protected wrecks (G400, G401), and for the development of information and educational resources.⁷ Diving is supervised by the warden, and 2265 diver-days were recorded in 1997, with divers engaged in both marine biology and underwater archaeology.⁸

⁷ Irving, 1997, pp.85-89.

⁸ Lundy warden, pers. comm.

In 1992 a Friends of Lundy organisation was founded by the then agent, which had over 500 members and subscribed £6000 to Lundy funds, as well as facilitating occasional services given to the island by volunteers. This lapsed through successive changes of administration, but was revived late in 1998 and in January of 1999 had a membership of 130.

CHAPTER 6. LUNDY'S LEGAL AND PAROCHIAL STATUS

There is no evidence that Lundy has ever been part of any mainland parish, a circumstance that probably arose because the difficulties of getting there, and the lack of readily exploitable resources made it uninviting. There are remains of what is considered to have been a medieval chapel (G247), and archaeological surveys raise the possibility of another, of uncertain date (G266).¹ New churches were built by the owner in 1885 and 1897, and both were extra-parochial (G14, G18).

The first documentary reference to the church gives the advowson as belonging to the king (Henry III).² In 1254 the king made a grant of "the church of St Mary, Lunday...on the resignation of Henry de Wongham... and

¹ Thomas, C. *et al*, 1969, *LFSR* xx, pp.14-18. Gardner K., in Langham & Langham, 1970, p.140.

² *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1240-45*, p.228 (15.04.1244): the king ordered rabbit skins taken on Lundy to be sent to London "...saving to the church of the island the tithes arising therefrom." Whether the church was already in existence, or was built at the same time as the castle (1243-44) is not known.

...lawful tithes..."³ There were seven inductions between 1325 and 1355, which indicate that the island was regarded as being in the see of Exeter; two were made by the Lord of the Manor, and the others *per lapsus*: four by the Bishops of Exeter, and one by the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴ Whether these incumbents were ever on the island or not, there is no indication. It may be noted that during this period the island, with the advowson, belonged to the Earls of Salisbury, the first of whom married the sister of Bishop Grandison of Exeter c.1327.⁵ The only other records found relative to the church before the nineteenth century are at the dissolution of the monasteries, when the tithes of Lundy were the due of Cleeve Abbey in Somerset, and c1630 for a bishop of "...Devon, Cornwall, and Exeter, together

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1247-1258*, p.378: Grant to Adam de Aston. Aston had also been granted the eyrie of falcons on the island in 1243 (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1242-1247*, p.95). This is the only reference to the church as "St Mary."

⁴ Blackwell, 1960, pp.90-91.

⁵ *The Complete Peerage*, 1987, v, pp.387-88.

with the islands of Scilly and Lunday."⁶

In 1349 Lundy was listed in an isolated instance as being in the manor of Womberleigh.⁷ Cox placed the island in the hundred of Braunton and the deanery of Sherwell, but the list of churches, patrons, values, and incumbents that follows the text makes no mention of Lundy, which suggests that it then had none of those things.⁸ Cleveland took the vicar of Westleigh (his own parish church) with him to Lundy in 1787, where he conducted both a burial and a service.⁹

⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1810, i, p.218. In 1535 the tithes were farmed and valued at 10s annually. If the king had the advowson of the church in 1229, there is a possibility that it was given, with the Manor of Braunton, to the abbey of Cleve in that year (Slee, 1941, pp.195-201). LIM T 22, 1630 reference to "Westcote MS." Many of the Exeter diocese archives were lost through bombing during the 1939-1945 war.

⁷ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1348-54*, p.195.

⁸ Cox, 1720, i, pp.493, 531.

⁹ NDRO, Anon., 1787, "...we viewed the remains of an old chapple...Some of the side walls are standing...Twenty of us attended Divine Service...the Sermon preached by the Revd Mr Smith, who cd scarce be heard, even in that Small Room, his Delivery being so bad." The last sentence was omitted from the *North Devon Magazine* of 1824, which probably gave rise to the supposition that the service had been held in the ruined chapel in 1747 (Steinman, 1947, p.19, an error for 1787).

The tax and tithe exemptions claimed for Lundy by W. H. Heaven on the vague basis of "lost charters" most probably arose from the island's extra-parochial status, and the consideration that the proceeds would not have been worth the trouble and expense of collection.¹⁰ The first documented claim to exemption is found in the Abstract of Title of 1819, which gives particulars of conveyances from 1775.¹¹ Warren was "satisfied with the title" which implies that foregoing title documents were missing then, possibly lost in the course of extended lawsuits and a divided ownership.¹²

The island was advertised for sale in 1802 as possessing "...the peculiar advantages of being extra-parochial, and not subject to taxes."¹³ The purchaser

¹⁰ Heaven stated that the charters were lost "in a fire at the Public Record Office," (HA (i), letter, 25 August 1915, to the District Valuer, Exeter). Higgs, 1996, p.190. Britton & Brayley, 1803, pp.249-51, say that a revenue officer collected only £5 in seven years, which Steinman (1947, 20) states was during the ownership of Borlase Warren. No source has yet been traced for this information.

¹¹ THLA, 1819.

¹² PRO C 33/455/1, p 21. LMA has a list of deeds and conveyances from 1775 which were handed to Harman by Christie in 1926, but the documents have so far not been found (the Harman papers are not accessible).

¹³ *The Times*, 17 November 1802.

must have asked for confirmation, as the Abstract of Title states that the island "at all times theretofore had been free and entirely exempt from the payment of all and all manner of tythes and tenths whatsoever...the same island...always heretofore had been Extra parochial And that no Land tax quit rent Fee Farm Rent or any other annual payment had at any time theretofore been paid or payable."¹⁴ In support of this the vendor offered an indemnity against the levy of any of these impositions, which suggests that he was possibly the first to be required to validate a circumstance that until then had been taken for granted.

The advertisement for sale in 1822 offered the same inducements, but after an agreement to purchase had been made the vendor was challenged by the purchaser to prove the assertions before the sale should be completed. When the vendor took the dispute to court, he lost his case on the judgement that "...a good Title cannot be made to the said Estate...according to the said particulars and Conditions of Sale."¹⁵ This perhaps accounts for the omission of any such claims in the advertisement for sale in 1840, and the very careful wording in the sale catalogues of 1906 and 1925: "The island is unrecognised for Imperial taxation, or

¹⁴ THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819.

¹⁵ See Chapter 5, iv. Judgement, PRO C 38/1367, 12 April 1827.

for County or Municipal purposes."¹⁶

When the island came under the management of a professional agent during the Christie ownership (1918-25) he wrote to Christie's London lawyers for confirmation of the following:

"Lundy is, we understand, looked upon as a foreign country for tax purposes. It is certainly extra-parochial, as no rates or taxes are levied or paid. With regard to Schedule B and D Tax, if a man resides on Lundy and carried on farming there, he is not liable to pay these so long as he lives on the island and only occasionally visits the mainland...If, however, as in Mr Christie's case, he lives on the mainland and carries on a farm on Lundy, then... the tax authorities are entitled to require a Balance Sheet to be furnished and to receive Schedule D Tax on all profits made by the farm, as they do in the case of a man living in England and who has "control" of a business in any of the Colonies or a foreign country...We understand the same rule applies with regard to Schedule A Tax in respect of rents from houses...on Lundy."¹⁷

Thus, any profits generated on Lundy by an owner residing on the mainland were not exempt from tax, though in effect no tax was levied because no profits were made. An owner resident on the island would be exempt from tax altogether, and in either case no income tax was levied on the wages of employees living on Lundy. But once subsidies had been accepted for Lundy it was no longer possible to argue for exemption, and the effect has been that islander's incomes have been subject to tax since 1973. After grants were received from the local authority for road repairs in the

¹⁶ *The Times*, 14 July, 1840. MTC, catalogues of sale.

¹⁷ NTA, 4 November 1920.

1970s, the island was also assessed for general rates in 1980.¹⁸

The census of 1851 was the first return made for Lundy, and was completed by the tenant after Heaven received a threat of prosecution.¹⁹ A letter from the Poor Law Board to the tenant, appointed him as "Overseer of the Poor of the Parish of Lundy Island."²⁰ At this Heaven sent a letter of protest that the "Justices of Devon, as it is believed, have not, and never have exercised any jurisdiction there - it has always been reputed a free island and no rates taxes or impositions have ever been paid for it."²¹ No more correspondence is found, and it was probably easier for the authorities to let the matter rest. There is no record of attempts to enforce the 1870 Education Act on Lundy.

William Hudson Heaven extrapolated the tithe and tax exemptions to claim Lundy's total independence from mainland jurisdiction, maintaining that it was comparable to the Isle of Man. He tried to establish a historical basis for these

¹⁸ Langham, 1994, p.204.

¹⁹ HA (i), letter from W. H. Heaven, 12 May 1858. Heaven made a misinformed and furious connection between returning the document and an assessment for taxation.

²⁰ HA (i), letter, the Poor Law Board, 23 April 1858. By the Act of 1857 extra-parochial places were required to provide for the relief of the poor and to appoint an overseer (Higgs, 1996, p.190).

²¹ LMA, copy of letter, 10 May 1858.

"rights," but as he was unwilling or unable to pay researchers' fees, the matter was not advanced.²² Heaven appears not to have objected to the appointment of a lighthouse keeper as Receiver of Wreck in 1867, although he was possibly not aware of the arrangement which was made between the Board of Trade and Trinity House.²³

In 1871 there were problems with "depredations of the Lundy Island Fisheries by Pilots and Hovellers" and the Revd Mr Heaven, with a perversity that tried the patience of the authorities, applied to the Home Office for police protection.²⁴ Although the Devon police arranged for a few marine patrols to call at Lundy, it was pointed out to Heaven that he had previously refused an officer permission to land for the purpose of serving a warrant for debt, on the grounds that the Chief Constable of Devon had no jurisdiction on the island.²⁵ The Home Secretary considered that "such doctrines are wholly at variance with the Law of

²² HA (i), letters, 10 January, 9 February, 1856.

²³ THGM 30 010, xlvi, pp.301, 304.

²⁴ NTA, 30 June 1871. Hovellers were uncertificated pilots.

²⁵ Escape overseas to avoid imprisonment for debt was a common manoeuvre, but whether Lundy could be regarded as "overseas" was exceedingly dubious. In 1910 an employee who had changed his name and fled to Lundy to avoid his creditors was traced and brought to examination by the Court in Barnstaple (R Lo-Vel, un-named newspaper cutting, nd [1910]).

the Land...the question of jurisdiction is one for the Court...to decide..."²⁶ The correspondence came to an abrupt end when it was pointed out that because the magistrates of Devon were "uncertain whether the island forms a part of Devon and...it makes no contribution to the County Rate...any proposal...to provide for the expense of such protection...will...receive the careful consideration of the Justices."²⁷

A few months later there was a confrontation on Lundy when two drunken pilot crew set off a gun accidentally, and one of them was killed. The police arrived with a warrant for the arrest of the islander who had been holding the gun, and he was taken to Ilfracombe with Mr Heaven and all the witnesses. The court was uncertain of its jurisdiction over Lundy, but the situation was resolved by Heaven's requesting that the trial proceed for the sake of justice to the accused.²⁸ The verdict of the Coroner was accidental death, and the man was acquitted of unlawful killing, but Heaven subsequently sent a formal complaint to the Chief Constable because his officers had executed a warrant on the island.²⁹ The proprietors, their lessees or deputies, have

²⁶ NTA, letter from the Home Office, 8 July 1871.

²⁷ NTA, letter 4 August 1871.

²⁸ HA (i), letter, 16 December 1871. NTA, December 1871. *The Ilfracombe Chronicle*, 19 December 1871. HA (i), diary, December 1871.

²⁹ LMA, nd.

traditionally held themselves responsible for law and order. A constable was appointed by Cleveland in 1787 when there had been confrontations between the tenants, and another by Heaven in 1871 when there were disputes over fishing.³⁰

Until 1885 there was no church on Lundy other than the ruined chapel (G247), although religious services, readings, and baptisms were held by the Heaven family for the islanders at the Villa or an empty room elsewhere, and in the Iron Room (G463) during the granite company lease. No register of births, deaths or marriages has been found from before 1912, except for one return of births to the Registrar General for 1870, which was made by the manager of the then quarry company. This was found, inexplicably, among Foreign Office documents for the registration of British citizens abroad.³¹ A register of deaths has since been found with one entry for 1870 in the same hand.³²

After the registration of deaths became compulsory (1837), it was necessary for a coroner's inquest to be held, and a certificate for burial obtained in cases of sudden or

³⁰ NDRO, Anon., 1787. HA (i), diary, 20 March 1871. A constable could be sworn in by a J.P.

³¹ Roland, A., 1996, 'Births on Lundy: An Official Registrar,' *LFSR*, xlvii, pp.72-76. PRO RG 33/36.

³² PRO RG 35/20 p.503. The name Jarman is mis-spelled Germain. The entry shows the account given in HA (i), Lundy Log, p.25 is incorrect.

accidental death. In the cases recorded on Lundy the body was usually taken to the mainland, although the coroner for Somerset in 1873 was doubtful about his jurisdiction.³³ There is no record of a coroner's inquest in the case of the islander who was buried there a few days after he was killed by a fall overcliff in 1870, but for another in 1888 the coroner was applied to by telegraph, and replied that no death certificate was necessary as no doctor had been available on Lundy, provided that death was clearly from natural causes. In this he must have relied on the probity of a minister of religion.³⁴ In one exceptional case in 1925 the coroner held an inquest on Lundy, but when Mr Harman took over the island later in the year he raised objection to this.³⁵ The reply he received from the coroner was unequivocal:

"...surely you do not wish to contend that this island is not within the jurisdiction of the king's writ, and that people who die in any un-natural manner can be buried without any enquiry, who could give a Certificate of Burial?...until I receive contrary orders from the Lord Chancellor or Home Office I shall continue to hold Inquests of the Island whenever I deem it necessary." ³⁶

The Act of 1837 also provided for the registration of marriages and births, but the church on Lundy was not

³³ NTA, letter, May 30 1873.

³⁴ HA (i), diary, March 1888.

³⁵ MTC, MS, Blackwell A. E., Recollections of a 1922 visit to Lundy, nd [1925].

³⁶ Lundy archive, letter 26 October 1925.

licensed until 1912.³⁷ The Heaven diary, however, records several births and baptisms between 1870 and 1905.

Harman's view of Lundy's independence followed that of Heaven and verged on an obsession, partly because of his strong pride in the island, and partly from his very independent frame of mind. Although Lundy was in essence no more than a private estate, his stance was that Lundy was "a self-governing community just like the other dominions...loyal subjects of his Majesty King Edward VIII."³⁸ However, by 1925 the organisation and efficiency of government had advanced enormously, and communications were also much improved; these factors, combined with the period of conformity during Christie's administration, meant that Lundy was not so easily excluded from government attention. But Harman was determined that no mainland authority would be allowed a foothold on Lundy and he "dismissed" the GPO in 1926, and Lloyds and the Admiralty in 1928.³⁹ His resident agent, Gade, was even more vehement in asserting Lundy's "rights." Both Harman and Gade took every possible opportunity to assert Lundy's independence, often in a spirit of bravado, but occasionally to the detriment of

³⁷ The Revd W. Blakey, priest in charge of Lundy, licence document, 13 August 1912 (C. of E.).

³⁸ Lundy archive, letter Harman to the Home Office, 12 May 1936.

³⁹ See Chapter 5, v.

common sense.⁴⁰ The only conclusion is that in most cases little came of it because Lundy matters were not of sufficient importance to the authorities to give it more attention. An exception was the prosecution of Harman in 1930 when, by challenging the authorities, he in fact brought to an end the equivocal situation on which his claims had rested. A judgement was given that Lundy was part of Devon and of His Majesty's Dominions.⁴¹

In 1918 Mr Dennis, the bailiff on Lundy, was appointed a Special Constable for the duration of the war by Justices of Bideford Petty Sessions, when there would have been no owner's objection from Christie.⁴² At the outbreak of war in 1939, when the Admiralty requisitioned the Old Light for a war station, Harman's response was that the government had no right to requisition anything on Lundy, but that he was ready to give his "wholehearted co-operation" and a rent of £400 per annum was requested.⁴³ The island boat, being mainland based, was commandeered, but the Admiralty provided the island with transport. The wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45

⁴⁰ Gade, 1978, *passim*. Langham, 1994, Chapter 22.

⁴¹ Lundy archive, letter from the Home Office, 28 April 1936, for compliance with the Aliens Order, 1920, in respect of Lundy, quotes this decision in rebuttal of Harman's assertion that Lundy was outside the UK.

⁴² Boundy, 1961, p.68, transcript of Harman's trial at Bideford in 1930.

⁴³ Lundy archive, letter to the Admiralty, 2 November 1939.

both served to demonstrate that Lundy could not in practice hold itself outside jurisdiction. Apart from considerations of patriotic loyalty, Lundy was dependent on the authorities for transport, rations of food, feedstuffs, generator oil, and other regulated commodities.

Heaven's and Harman's claims to uncertifiable rights were often met by administrative uncertainty over legal jurisdiction which hampered some authorities, at least until 1930. The fact that Lundy neither belonged to any parish, nor constituted a parish in itself, meant that it lay outside normal processes when the parish councils were developed as an instrument of local government after the Local Government Act of 1894.⁴⁴ The only payments made by Lundy, from 1918, were for the employees' National Insurance, since Christie's agent simply applied the law to all Christie's employees as he did on the mainland.⁴⁵ Lundy paid no rates, and received none of the services for which rates were levied, although island children were educated at county expense in the 1960s, and the islanders were registered for free medical treatment on the mainland on the introduction of the National Health Service in 1948.

⁴⁴ Hill, 1985, pp.184-85.

⁴⁵ The first National Insurance Act was in 1911. The chaos of affairs on Lundy, and the long-held Heaven resistance to any mainland authority, would have obstructed implementation before the change of ownership.

These two particular questions reflected the increasing futility of trying to maintain Lundy's separate status in the face of welfare provisions and social controls that developed rapidly after 1945, and which no employer could have with-held from his employees.

The questions of fishing rights and rights to wreck have both been raised in regard to the supposed Lundy privileges. The royal grant made in 1474 included "warrens, fisheries, free customs...wreck of sea," and the Abstract of Title of 1819 specified "fishings...wrecks of the sea" as belonging to the owner of the island in the conveyances of 1775.⁴⁶ By law the Lord of the Manor could claim possession of an abandoned wreck after one year and one day if no living thing had survived from it. In 1855, following two wrecks on the island, Heaven established such a right, and in 1920 Christie received some unspecified payment from the Receiver of Wrecks at Appledore.⁴⁷ Harman consulted counsel in 1929 when he wished to secure the removal of a large wreck, and to establish what his rights were. Gade had asserted that the Receiver of Wreck was not

⁴⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1467-1477*, p.457: the king (Edward IV) to the Duke of Clarence. THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819.

⁴⁷ NTA, draft claim, 1855. LMA, letter 18 March 1857, from the Office of the Privy Council for Trade, Marine Dept. NTA authority for payment to the agent, 7 September 1920.

recognised on Lundy, but counsel's opinion was that the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 made the jurisdiction of the Receiver of Wreck perfectly clear, and that the owner of the foreshore only has the right to make a claim in the event of a wreck's remaining unclaimed. When another wreck occurred in 1937 Harman took second counsel, who commented that his claim to a wreck that had not been abandoned "would imply that he had a greater right on Lundy than the Crown of England had ever claimed in England...contrary to natural justice and international comity." Despite this Harman announced his intention to make such a claim, which so incensed the agents that the salvors were instructed to sink the wreck.⁴⁸ Harman's son and successor, Albion, made an agreement with a French boat to fish Lundy waters in 1959, but a fishery protection vessel took the boat and arrested the skipper. Harman defended the Frenchman in court on the ground that as owner of the island he had disposal of the fishing rights for three miles around the island, but the court refused to accept that argument and a nominal fine was imposed.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Lundy archive, letters, 9, 19 July 1939.

⁴⁹ LMA, newspaper report, unsourced, nd [1959]. Gade, 1978, pp.366-7. Gade's statement that Harman "exchanged" his fishing rights for a Hill Farm subsidy cannot possibly be accurate.

It is unlikely that any of Lundy's inhabitants other than the proprietor would have had a vote before the electoral reforms of 1884 extended the franchise to rural householders.⁵⁰ Heaven did nothing to encourage the intrusion of politics to Lundy, but was said to have maintained a right to vote on the mainland.⁵¹ Although Lundy was long regarded as part of Devon, it was not until the Local Government Act of 1974 that the legal formality was concluded, and it is now administered under Torridge District Council.⁵² One of the island's last and most popular liberties was exclusion from the drinking laws, but the licensing law was imposed in 1995, and now the only remainders of Lundy's one-time independence are that vehicle licences are not enforced, since there are no public roads.⁵³ During the Christie ownership (1918-25) there was no attempt to exploit the exemptions from taxes or to evade conformity with the law.

By the later nineteenth century communications with the mainland were improved by telegraph and steamers, and

⁵⁰ Hill, 1985, p.168.

⁵¹ HA (i), Family History. The electoral status of the islanders is discussed in Chapter 8, ix.

⁵² Many of the entries in the calendars of the rolls and inquisitions post mortem refer to Lundy as in Devon, and instructions were sent to the sheriffs of Devon. Langham, 1994, p.205.

⁵³ R Lo-Vel, pers. comm.

through the institutions established on Lundy, and the island was not so isolated as formerly. Both Heaven and Harman resisted the advance of government authority over the island, and both were motivated by what was perhaps an exaggerated pride in the island and its unique status. But examination of their claims for Lundy's independence show that these rested on little more than the island's having had so little importance that it had been overlooked.⁵⁴ The short interval of Christie's ownership showed that when there was little interest in such claims, and professional estate management prevailed, the authorities were respected without question.

Lundy's situation was summed up by a lawyer in 1950, who points to the crucial difference between Lundy and the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man:

"There is no doubt, having regard to the decision in the coinage case, that it constitutes part of 'His Majesty's Dominions', and, this being so, and it also being the fact that, unlike the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, there was no existing civil institution and law...there is equally no doubt that the English Common Law ...applies on the island."⁵⁵

An interesting footnote to Lundy's status is that when Lundy was for sale in 1969 the late owner's son was summoned to the Houses of Parliament where, to his great

⁵⁴ Higgs, 1996, p.190: by an Act of 1868 extra-parochial places were to be brought into existing parishes, but "some...small islands...were overlooked..."

⁵⁵ Lundy archive, letter February 22 1950.

indignation, he was advised that the island should only be sold "to suitable people."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ C. M. Price, then shore agent for Lundy, pers. comm.

CHAPTER 7.

LUNDY: LANDSCAPE, HISTORY AND ART.

The landscape of an isolated small island often has a special quality in that it combines land and sea, with a particular attribute of light reflected from the water, and broad horizons. Such a statement rests on a common concept of landscape "pictures" as being representations of a particular stretch of scenery, framed at the edges, formed by the broad outward vision of the observer looking from a carefully chosen central point. Indeed, budding landscape painters and photographers are often encouraged to construct just such a "frame" for themselves to contain and focus their subject. Cosgrove refers to "...a distanced visual delight" which the viewer senses he possesses, and which he feels gives a sense of liberation.¹ Fowles describes this landscape as "frozen into...one transient, time-fixed aspect of reality."² The reality has, however, been selected, and usually in accordance with traditional ideas of beauty and harmony found in the natural environment. At their best such images embody a human response to the fundamental forces of the landscape and the elements. At their worst they can be lifeless conventionalities. Short comments that "Landscape painting

¹ Cosgrove, D., 1984, *Social Formation & Symbolic Landscape*, pp.263-68.

² Fowles, J., 1975, in Godwin, F., *Land*, ix -xx.

is a selective process...an entry point into how a society sees its relationship to that landscape."³ A rapid survey of Russian and Chinese landscape art of the Communist periods, for example, would provide the statement with strong support.

The pictorial records of Lundy were meagre before the introduction of the camera, and the earliest example dates from the purchase of the island in 1775 by Sir John Borlase Warren. At that time the French artist, Dominic Serres, made two oil paintings of it, one of which is a scene of ships, sea and rocks, while the other points to Warren's standing as landowner, naval officer, and keen yachtsman (G557). It shows the landing bay with a handsome anchored ship, smaller boats, and a ship's boat being rowed towards the shore, with facing cliffs and the plateau summit in the background (Fig. 36). The outline of the two main buildings can be seen on the horizon - the farmhouse which Warren had just built, and the castle. The significance of the indistinct shapes shown at the edge of the plateau (not apparent on the prints) is uncertain, but it is most likely that they represent Warren's ambition to raise groves of

³ Short, J R., 1992, *Imagined Country*, p.197.

trees, a popular gentlemanly pursuit at the time.⁴ The painting is one of pleasing quality, with the sun falling from the west across cliffs and the sea, and it makes an unequivocal statement about Warren's standing. The atmospheric effect of the painting is imposing - the grandeur of the ship and the cliffs suggesting a noble elevation.

In the same year Francis Grose was preparing his great work, *The Antiquities of England & Wales* (1776), volumes which reflect a developing 18th century interest in history, antiquities, and the stories associated with them. Grose, or perhaps Warren, may have commissioned the three engravings (*fecit* 1775 by Samuel Hooper) which illustrate the section on Lundy. These are the first views found so far to show any part of the island plateau, and give two aspects of the castle, with a measured plan (Figs 15, 16, 37). The castle was in a state of some dilapidation, and the cramped angle of the view taken from the north-east has led to a distortion in the representation of the building's east front, but since the castle is still in existence, we are

⁴ Rackham, 1995, p.129. NDRO, Anon., 1787: " Sir John Warren "...planted all kinds of trees where there was any mould for them to grow, among the Rocks, particularly in the approach to the House from the landing Place. The Birds of Prey destroyed the Game, and the violent winds the trees."

not misled by it.

Two gentlemen are pictured taking their leisure, one with a gun and a dog, and they are seen again in the view from the north-west, with a yacht in the near distance and the north Devon coast beyond. The representation is again of a gentleman's estate, with a castle of some antiquity, sufficiently decayed to convey a fashionable idea of the Gothic-Romantic. For the historian the engravings are vital records, giving an albeit late starting point for comparison, with clues to the use and development of the castle itself and the buildings in front of it. They were particularly useful in the preparation of a report by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in establishing the date of the turrets.⁵ They are relevant to the excavations and investigations carried out in 1982 and 1984-85, and to the present writer in developing a hypothesis for the building with pitched roof shown in the background (Appendix 3).⁶ Beyond this, the pictorial engravings are interesting and pleasing in their own right; copies have been mounted by the Landmark Trust in the appropriate cottages, sold as postcards, and reproduced on island stamps (1994). The castle image evidently still carries a message of strength and pride.

⁵ Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Winmill, C., 1928, 'Report of Marisco Castle, Lundy.'

⁶ Dunmore, 1982. Thackray & Thackray, 1985.

In 1834/36 the island was sold to William Heaven, who also intended that it should serve as a gentleman's country retreat. His aunt, Mary Ann Heaven, an amateur, made five sketches of views of the island in 1838 which are perhaps modest in their artistic accomplishment, but invaluable for information about the settlement as it was at that time (Figs 32, 38-40).⁷ The farmhouse (G25) is shown before Heaven's alterations were made, although the enclosure walls and farm buildings are only vaguely delineated. The drawings are now faded, and not rich in detail, but as a historical record they are significant, particularly in tracing the development of the farmhouse (Appendix 2). When compared with later photographs, the drawings illustrate how Heaven's ownership marked a watershed between an island that was hardly known and seldom visited, and the community established by the later half of the 19th century.

The visit that the naturalist, P. H. Gosse, made to Lundy in 1852 reflects the rapidly-growing mid-nineteenth interest in natural history and specimen collecting. He saw landscape and the environment as "the works of God in nature."⁸ His descriptions of the island are accompanied by five views and three drawings of plant specimens and birds (Fig. 41). The Heaven ladies also made good paintings of

⁷ HA (i), drawings, 1838.

⁸ Gosse, 1853, iii, 10.

botanical specimens.⁹ Those holding the traditionalist ideas of landscape referred to above may argue that only the views count as landscape, but the work of Godwin & Fowles argues most persuasively for widening of this concept, so that everything found - a tree, seaweed, a stone, a sheep, a fence, a lamp-post - is also of the landscape.¹⁰ Again, a selected landscape, but one in which the frame and the perspective point are changed, but just as carefully selected. Another point of interest in Gosse's work is the personification and naming of rock features indicative of a Victorian leisured class, and which are emphasised in photographs and descriptions in the Heaven archive.¹¹

The Heaven archive of photographs covers a period from 1864 to 1906 and falls into two groups, divided at approximately 1886 when the lessee, Wright, had taken over the farm and the greater part of the island.¹² The earlier prints present views, particularly of the named rock subjects mentioned above, the Villa, family groups, individual portraits, and horses. These further the view of the island as a country landowner's property (Fig. 43). The hands of these people were seen as not used to anything

⁹ These were bought at auction in London in 1995 by Ms Nannette Nestor, of New York.

¹⁰ Godwin & Fowles, 1975.

¹¹ The Knight Templar, The Slipper, The Mousehole & Trap, for example.

¹² Langham, 1995.

more arduous than handling a book, an embroidery frame or a horse, or loading a sporting gun. The original prints, presumably from a plate camera, are of good definition, and carefully posed, but offer few clues to the historian other than dating from the dress, and the social *mis-en-scene*. Four considerations are, however, brought into focus by this collection: first, the absence from the archive of any pictures related to the farm, the lighthouse, the newly-established fog gun signal station, or the opening up of granite quarries, and the associated houses, shop, bakery and mission hall. These last would have been eloquent of an economic and social diminution of the image of the landed gentleman. Second, many of the rock and place names date from this period of long-term owner residence, and represent what might be called psychological mapping, where the names assist the identification of locations.¹³ Third, the separation of the family from the employees of the island community is evident. And last, they show the role of the individual's taste and interests in securing and preserving a pictorial archive. Either none of the Heaven family's photographer visitors was interested in pictures of the granite works or, if they were, the photographs have not survived. Similarly, only one photograph is used here to illustrate the early Heaven scenic photographs

¹³ The same place names are still used as location indicators.

because this collector (the writer) did not find sufficient historical or artistic interest in the rock scenery depicted to copy them from the originals.

The second, later, phase of the Heaven photo archive is rather more eloquent of the scenes of island life. The reasons for this are that, with the lessee in possession, there was then a distinct community of islanders apart from the owner, his family and immediate servants. The leaseholder wanted photographs that showed his surroundings and interests (Figs 44-47). The artistic quality of these scenes is not remarkable, but their interest from the historical point of view is very great in that there is far more detail of a wider spread of buildings, including functional buildings, and a few indications of ways of life. These photographs are taken from the Heaven archive, but they were not of Heaven origin, being from contract photographers employed by the leaseholder, or from entrepreneurial postcard companies (Fig. 49). An exception were the Heavens' photographs of the churches which were built by the family in 1885 and 1897. Their pride in these achievements reflects their priorities, even in the face of stringent economic troubles, and the enormous importance attached to religious observance (at least by the gentry) in the Victorian era.

A rare survival from the work of the eight or so painters who are known to have visited the island is the

1888 oil painting by Albert Goodwin, seen in Fig. 48.¹⁴ It would seem that the artist was painting for the gallery market from sketches, and produced what might now be regarded as a conventional Victorian-sentimental image. The subject is concentrated in the foreground, the composition suggests rural peace and harmony, but the painting lacks form, depth and vigour. The qualities of light are missing, and the background melts into smudges that fail to distinguish between wisps of mist and sea billows. Constable's dictum was that "some drama of light and shade must underlie all landscape compositions ...imitation of nature...is the coldest and meanest kind. All is utterly heartless".¹⁵ The location is identifiable to anyone familiar with the island, but the artist has granted himself some artistic licence, and in the distance there are lapses into error, which undermine any conviction about what a historian might make of the enclosures shown in the upper right of the original painting. Apart from the rock formations in the centre right distance, the scene could be of a rural coastline anywhere, and speaks more of the artist, and of a market where pastoral sentiment was strong, than of the island as such.¹⁶

¹⁴ Collection of Gordon Coward, Saunton.

¹⁵ Constable, cited in Clark, K., 1949, *Landscape into Art*, p.148.

¹⁶ Goodwin was a successful artist in his time, and was particularly noted for his water-colour paintings.

The leaseholders in the late 19th century, and the Harman family who owned the island 1925-1969, had need to take economic advantage of the tourism income offered in the heyday of the passenger steamers (from c. 1880 to c. 1970). With this came the development of postcard views for sale, with emphasis partly on the scenic coastlines, and partly on island features (Figs 49-52). Only some of these were landscapes in the tradition of the beautiful scene, and others offer the historian much information, particularly those which date from before c. 1950. For example the two buildings shown in Fig.49 have been lost, as has some of the footpath at top centre, and the part of the road in the foreground is of an entirely different configuration. When carts were used it was evidently necessary to harness horses at the rear to manage the gradient in coming down. The cattle sheds in Fig.50 have been demolished, and the outer walls subsumed into a large building for farm machinery, while Fig.52 gives a very clear picture of the village in 1930.

The introduction of postcards marked a distinct stage in the democratisation of landscape, which has been carried forward and extended by films, videos, posters, slides, museums and art galleries, and the availability of books with high-quality reproductions of paintings and photographs. These can explore a wide variety of landscapes, enhance perception of it, and show the use of the landscape itself in the creation of works of art,

though Rothenburg warns of the selective bias which often distorts the presentation of subjects.¹⁷ Place, time, season, change, and shape are elements of what might perhaps be termed participation art, and are seen, for example, in the work of Andy Goldsworthy and Fay Godwin.¹⁸ The placing of sculptures in the open environment, those by Henry Moore at Leeds, Barbara Hepworth at St Ives, Lynn Chadwick at Stroud, and others at Louisiana near Copenhagen, all break with constraints of the landscape tradition and offer new dimensions of landscape vision.

Democratisation of landscape, no longer the preserve of the landed gentry, was accelerated firstly by the rise of the middle classes during the nineteenth century, and secondly by the social reforms carried through mainly in the present century. As a result of improved incomes and more leisure time, particularly from the later 1950s, people of all ranks can travel and experience a wide variety of landscapes.¹⁹ They can afford cameras, art materials, pictures and books, though it can be argued that there is still a long way to go in education for the appreciation of art, and awareness of landscape and its meanings. The

¹⁷ Rothenburg, T. Y., 1994, 'Voyeurs of Imperialism,' A. Godlewska & N. Smith, eds, *Geography & Empire*, Chapter 8.

¹⁸ Godwin, F., 1975. Goldsworthy, A., 1990, *A Collaboration with Nature*.

¹⁹ Hill, 1985, pp.292-94.

setting aside of National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty is another development that emphasises landscape value, and offers opportunities for experiencing many of its facets. The same industrialisation which eventually led to the social changes outlined above, also led to a reaction against the industrial environment and a nostalgia for the pastoral or the wild, a search for an idyll, the unspoiled. This has been, and is, a strong motive that draws people to the tranquillity of Lundy.

After Lundy became more widely accessible in the later nineteenth century, interest in the island has accelerated, and among the present day activities are regular annual sketching holidays. Three artists in the 20th century are known to have worked on Lundy for the pleasure of the artistic possibilities of the subject. In 1937 an Icelandic artist, Magnusson, was working on Lundy in both oil and watercolours, a painter sensitive to rhythms of form that he found there. Several of his paintings are in the possession of the Harman family: some were bought, and some given for the sad reason the Magnusson was unable to pay his bills. These paintings are representational, but focused on narrow fields, and worked with a freedom that suggests both confidence and a sense of harmony with the subject. Neither these, nor the work of a second artist, Brian Chugg, whose Lundy works date from 1946, are at present accessible for photography and comment.

A professional graphic artist, John Dyke, has had a long association with the island, including some years residence, and there are in various collections a considerable number of his drawings and water colours of island landscapes (Fig. 53). He has also incorporated many island scenes and events into a long series of island-issued stamps. Although his style is conventional, and his colours lack subtlety, he has accurately recorded much of the island in detail, conveys a sense of island life, and allows the historian evidence of the very considerable changes that have taken place since 1948, when he first started drawing on Lundy. The example here shows the island in the derelict state that prevailed at the end of the 1939-45 war.

In the years following the war the upsurge of national interest in natural history, geology, archaeology and ecological studies was reflected on Lundy in the founding of the Lundy Field Society in 1946. Figs 54-56 illustrate this broadening of the base of photographic studies to embrace a different focus in looking at the landscape. Fig.54 is illustrative of Farrah's hypothesis concerning the astroarchaeology of the standing stones on Lundy.²⁰ Fig 56 reveals the beauty of natural forms in the submarine landscape; Fig.55 (c1970) is of particular historical

²⁰ Farrah, 1993, pp.571-72. Farrah's hypothesis is that the standing stones are aligned to the position of the sun on the horizon at particular points of the solar calendar.

interest in two ways: it shows a fine Bronze Age hut circle, which was one of those revealed after fires in 1933 reduced the north end of the island to bed rock. By the comparison of photographs taken at and since that time, the progress of the recovery of the vegetation can be assessed.

One frustrating aspect of the representation of landscape for the historian is the concentration on the picturesque, the unusual or quaint, and the absence of pigsties, backyards, farmyards, and other unromantic realities by which a community has its being. Constable (1776-1837) took a less distanced view of what constituted landscape; he said that his art "could be found under every hedge...milldams, willows, old rotten planks, slimy posts, and brickwork, I love such things." However, the finished works, as opposed to his sketches, show that his market was also selective, so that they accorded closely with Wordsworthian romanticism.²¹ Cosgrove remarks of present-day urban visitors to the country that they expect "country dwellers who should by rights occupy themselves in picturesque pursuits of haymaking and smoking at cottage doorways, instead are serving ice-cream and petrol and plying souvenirs to the passing motorist."²² It may be argued that flagstaffs, memorial seats, and aerogenerators are part of the modern landscape, and an iconography that

²¹ Clark, 1949, p. 153.

²² Cosgrove, 1984, p.266.

excludes the non-picturesque is a misrepresentation.

The purposes of artists and historians working with landscape iconography do not usually coincide, but co-operation between artist and historian has produced a series of landscape drawings to illustrate the re-issue of an 1887 Lundy book.²³ The subjects of the drawings are imaginative reconstructions based on the use of old photographs, field observation, and documentary sources. The example in Fig. 57 by Rothwell relates to the period c. 1871 when the granite company operation had been wound up. Only some foundations of the quay can now be traced on the beach below the quarries, but detail is shown on the OS map of 1886.

Rothwell has also been working in other aspects of the island landscape, first by drawing and painting, particularly in the interpretation of rock forms in terms of shape, light and pattern (Fig.58). Granite is an important feature of the Lundy landscape, particularly on the sidelands and at sea level, but has not previously been seen as a subject with its own artistic possibilities. The drawings, with his notes, have been published as *A Lundy Sketch Book* (1993). Second, he conducts sketching courses on the island, and third, his extensive photographic

²³ Chanter, 1887, reprinted by Westwell Publishing, Appledore, 1997, illustrated by Peter Rothwell, incorporating research by the present writer.

recording is of particular value as both a visual and a historical resource because it includes landscapes, objects, places, aspects and ways of seeing which are normally ignored.

It can be argued that photography has at once released artists from the imperative to reproduce landscape, and added a further dimension to the tools at his disposal. The strong tradition of picturesque landscape bred a set of expectations of what "a picture" should be, which can all too easily obstruct appreciation of a fresh approach, and has led to the production - and sale - of repetitions of the picturesque that can be termed "other peoples' pictures." Individual response, techniques, and interpretation by the artist are attributes of landscape portrayal which go beyond that limitation to satisfy the aesthetic, and contribute to historical and social understanding, whatever the medium.

The relative paucity of artistic engagement with the Lundy landscape (whether with pencil, brush or camera) is, in itself, indicative of how Lundy has been used and regarded, at least until the 20th century. From a state of neglect, to a gentleman's estate in 1775, to a tourist curiosity in the late 19th to mid 20th century, and now, although still a place for peace and recreation, it is an island where archaeological, historical, scientific, and artistic interests have been developed. Each will claim a particular view of the island, each illuminates the other,

each augments the traditional "framed landscape" rather than dismisses it, and each springs from an empathy with what is to be found there, and adds an active response and a varied perspective to the landscape image.

CHAPTER 8. ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS INTRINSIC TO LUNDY WHICH HAVE AFFECTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLAND.

(i) GEOGRAPHY

Lundy, lying at 51 degrees of latitude, shares the temperate climate of southern England and, with the modifying influence of the sea, seldom experiences extremes of cold or heat. It is subject to occasional high-level mist or fog, and the island's elevated and exposed position leaves it subject to strong winds. Gales can, and do, cause great damage, though otherwise the climate probably leaves Lundy no better or worse off than mainland hill farms in terms of farming losses due to adverse conditions, but with the advantage that livestock within a natural barrier of the sea are less likely to contract infectious diseases. But climatic factors still exert a dominant effect on transport, and if the boat is unable to cross, the island faces a loss of revenue from fares, and bad weather reduces the number of day visitors and cottage bookings even more severely than it does on the mainland.

The island's isolation in medieval and early modern times, which is reflected in the lack of information about it, may be considered to have rested to some extent on the difficulties of getting there and returning, as well as on the lack of valuable resources or anything of remarkable interest to make the journey worthwhile. One visitor in 1844 wrote that "The danger attending the passage in a small boat, and the improbability of being able to land when you

get there, are reasons of themselves quite sufficient to deter people from visiting a spot apparently so dreary."¹ Travel for curiosity or amusement, with all the discomforts of poor roads and slow progress, was seldom undertaken for pleasure before the eighteenth century, and for the labouring classes not until the later nineteenth. North Devon was isolated with, in 1804, "the worst roads in the Kingdom".² There was no coach available from Exeter to Barnstaple until 1778, when the journey took twelve hours, and there were no roads to Ilfracombe, Bideford or Clovelly. These circumstances point to the domination of sea transport before the arrival of the railway to Barnstaple in 1854, and to Bideford and Instow the following year.³ Small trading vessels ran from Ilfracombe to Bristol, South Wales and Ireland, and to get to Lundy it was necessary to hire a local boat from Ilfracombe or Clovelly.⁴

Historically, the crossing presented more problems when small boats were dependent on wind and tide, without the benefit of modern engines or weather forecasts, and reference is made in letters and diaries to extended intervals of four or more weeks without a boat, and to crossings that took up to twenty-six hours.⁵ Strong winds

¹ Cited in Chanter, 1887, p.23.

² Travis, 1993, p.24, quoted from Williams, T. H., 1804, *Picturesque Excursions in Devonshire*.

³ Travis, 1993, p.125.

⁴ THGM, passim.

⁵ LIM, T 22, 1821-27. HA (i), diary, letters, 1838-1929.

from the east or north prevent landing in the bay. Difficulties of landing were illustrated by the experience of the Missions to Seamen priest, who made ten trips to Lundy between February 1842 and June 1843, but managed to land only three times, and one of those entailed a laborious climb up the cliffs of the west coast.⁶ Gade describes several such instances. The depth of water for anchorage in the bay lies some little way offshore, depending on the state of the tide, which is also complicated by a very high tidal range of about 8m (26ft), and landings had to be made by tender until August, 1999. The need to transport livestock and heavy goods in small boats always presented problems, particularly before modern lifting systems and amphibious barges were available, and the operations made heavy demand on manpower.⁷ Lockley, similarly, describes his crossings to Skokholm: "Each crossing was an adventure and...an achievement...we were often beaten and driven back, forced to land on unsuitable beaches...There were many setbacks...rabbits lost by staleness through inability to market them, and the impossibility of returning to the island for days at a stretch."⁸ Such difficulties may explain the presence of several millstones

⁶ Missions to Seamen, MS, Diary of the Revd J. Ashley, 1842-43.

⁷ LIM, T 22, 1821-27. Gade 1978, *passim*.

⁸ Lockley, R. M., 1943, *Dream Island Days*, p.27.

scattered on Lundy (G42-G47). Since this quantity could scarcely have been needed on the island, and the grinding surfaces are unworked, they must have been intended for export.⁹

In the present century Lundy's distance from the nearest mainland port (Ilfracombe, 37km) has presented no difficulty to shipping other than being subject to prevailing weather conditions, and the availability of boats. A helicopter now takes only twelve minutes and can sometimes make the crossing when conditions are not suitable for the ship, though with the disadvantages of extra expense and limited load capacity. Access to the summit is by a steep winding path, and before this was widened to take carts c. 1839, heavy goods had to be dragged on sledges or carried by pack animals. The distance from markets is, in itself, a great disadvantage, particularly if, as in the case of Lundy, some of the local North Devon markets were small, and there was competition in the sale of the same commodities that were raised locally. Exceptions to this were the eggs and feathers which were taken to Bristol for sale (50km, 80m). The sea journey and handling processes can undermine the condition of livestock for sale, unless keep is rented on the mainland to allow them to recover.

⁹ Another possibility is that the granite proved not to be of the requisite quality.

The lack of regular and reliable communications before the advent of powered boats meant that the islanders had to develop a greater degree of self-sufficiency than mainland communities. This was simpler when a subsistence level sufficed the population, as it did until 1930 on St Kilda, and 1953 on the Blaskets, where independence and the upkeep of traditional lifestyles appear to have compensated for degrees of hardship that could otherwise have been intolerable. The difficulties presented by the nature of the intervening seas, and the capability of the available vessels, is demonstrated in the cases of the Blaskets, Steep Holm and Skokholm, none of which is far from the mainland.¹⁰ For Lundy, isolation was relieved by the boats which took shelter, by the crews that came ashore for supplies, and by the Bristol Channel pilots who waited there for incoming ships, since pilotage to Bristol was compulsory.¹¹ Although they were customers for produce, and might carry news and letters, the pilots were frequently a source of aggravation when they stole stock and seabirds' eggs, connived with islanders in theft and smuggling, and became embroiled in

¹⁰ The Blaskets 3m, 5km, harbour to harbour. Steepholm 5m, 8km, from Weston-Super-Mare. Skokholm 4m, 6.4km, from Martinshaven.

¹¹ Smith, 1989, p.75. Pilots were compulsory between 1807-61, but were used both before and after those dates.

fights.¹² Advantage was taken of the distance, and of the potential of Lundy as an excellent hiding place for smuggled goods, presumably to the profit of both pilots and islanders. In 1781 the Returning Officer for Ilfracombe reported to the Board of Customs that "We have received undoubted intelligence...that large quantities of tea and brandy are frequently...landed on the Isle of Lundy till opportunities offer of putting the same on Pilot Boats belonging to this port." Two years later he wrote that "...most of the Pilot Boats belonging to this port are concerned in illicit practices, but the *Lundy Pilot*, *Hero*, and *Bristol Galley* are solely employed in running goods on the coasts of the Bristol Channel."¹³ One particular advantage of Lundy was that it lay outside the customs jurisdiction limit, which was then two leagues (six miles).¹⁴ It is notable that in accounts of strategies to control piracy and, later, smuggling, Lundy received scant mention, and North Devon as a whole found little place, as the main efforts were concentrated on ports in the English

¹² HA (i), letters, diary, 1838-1905. LIM, T 22, 1821-27.

¹³ LMA, Farr, G., MS, nd.

¹⁴ Smith, 1989, p.27.

Channel.¹⁵

It is remarked that Lundy was "never a serious factor in coastal defence...[it was] easy to defend."¹⁶ Nevertheless a number of coastal fortifications were installed around the island between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and guns were placed on them during the French wars (1701-13).¹⁷ The placing of guns does not necessarily give the date of construction of all the platforms, however, and it may be that the various gun platforms, numbering "upwards of 40" in 1787, were constructed at different times, particularly as it was remarked that some had been built "without any Cement, and others strongly united with it."¹⁸ The number and position of the emplacements would suggest a purpose to repel landings made by stealth, rather than a frontal attack. Few of these fortifications can now be identified, and only

¹⁵ Davies, J. D., 1992, 'Devon & the Navy in the Civil & Dutch Wars 1642-88,' *NMHD*, i, pp.174-75. Duffy, M., 'Devon & the Naval Strategy of the French Wars 1689-1815,' *NMHD*, i, pp.182-191. Oppenheim, 1968, p.123. Hilditch, P., 1994, 'Devon & Naval Strategy Since 1815,' *NMHD*, ii, pp.155-66. Smith, 1980, p.102.

¹⁶ Erskin, R., 1992, 'The Military Coast Defences of Devon 1580-1956,' *NMHD*, i, p.123.

¹⁷ NDRO, Anon., 1787. G35, G69, G74, G150, G551, remain.

¹⁸ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

Brazen Ward (G69) has a recorded excavation.

Although it was at times a haven for shipping, Lundy also represented a hazard before radar drastically reduced the rate of shipping losses in general. It was not unusual to see 100 or more craft sheltering in the bay in the days of sail or, later, large numbers of steamers.¹⁹ Ship wreck loss was related to the volume of sea traffic, which was very high in the Bristol Channel during the period when the port of Bristol flourished, and South Wales industries exported coal and steel.²⁰ Of 119 wrecks on the island recorded between 1757 and 1980, 75 fell within the period 1850-1906. Concerns for the safety of shipping led to the installation of the lighthouse (G369) in 1820, the fog signal station in 1862 (G35), and Lloyds (G326) in 1884.

Of boat service before 1836 little is known, except that between 1821 and 1827 boats were hired ad hoc, which led to problems of availability and missed markets.²¹ During the Heaven ownership the boat service was contracted from Clovelly and, later, Instow, for an annual fee, with a separate contract for coals and livestock when needed. But this was an option that was less readily available with the

¹⁹ HA (i), diary, letters, passim.

²⁰ Little, B., 1991, *The Story of Bristol*, pp.42-48. Bristol port was most active in the late 17th century to the late 18th. More, 1995, p.106, expansion of the coal and steel industries, 1860-1907.

²¹ LIM, T 22, 1821-27.

diminution of the small-boat fleet after the 1939-1945 war.²² During that war the *Lerina* was commandeered and the Admiralty undertook to supply its own detachment and the islanders. When the war ended the *Lerina* was recovered, and remained in service until 1950, and the regular steamer service from South Wales was restored in 1949. The steamers served the island well for seasonal passenger traffic, and would land from 200 to 700 passengers per trip, often helping as well with transport of goods when necessary.²³ The air services provided in 1934-39, and 1950-56, were very useful, but with the limitations of expense and low load capacity. The second venture carried all cargoes without the support of an island boat, which proved to be highly impracticable and, when an island boat was bought in 1956, the air service was not able to survive on the passenger traffic alone.

If an island maintains its own boat, it bears the heavy costs of capital investment, maintenance, and running costs. A far-reaching decision also has to be made as to whether the boat will be of a size to carry passengers as well as freight, which can be problematical if the island, as Lundy,

²² HA (i), diary, passim. Bouquet, M., 1963, 'The Provincial Seaports of the Nineteenth Century,' *The Amateur Historian*, v, No 1, p.181.

²³ MTC, notes. F. W. Gade, pers. comm. Details of Lundy's transport are given in Langham, 1994, Chapter 16.

is dependent on seasonal tourism. Whether paid for by the ownership of a boat, or by contract, these costs have to be added on to the prices of inward and outward goods, and either reduce competitiveness in the market place, reduce margins, or add to losses. On a small island there is very little scope for intensification of production, or economies of scale to overcome this disadvantage. Visitors also pay boat fares and higher prices for accommodation and services that are in competition with other holiday venues that do not carry these costs.²⁴ This is perhaps compensated to a considerable extent by the appeal of the island itself, at least so far as staying visitors are concerned. However, it was the opinion of the shore agent for the Harman family at the time of the sale of the island (1969), that Lundy would never be able to pay its way so long as it carried the expenses of the boat.²⁵

The geology of the landing bay and the south-east corner of Lundy has been a source of trouble and expense at least from the early nineteenth century, which was when the bridle path to the plateau was widened to a track.²⁶ The track, or road (G348), lies in the area composed of shale, and landslips have been frequent, sometimes of such severity

²⁴ In 1999 fares are £40 for period return, £25 for a day return.

²⁵ C. M. Price, pers. comm.

²⁶ Ternstrom, 1996, pp.77-86.

as to impede access to any but foot traffic for a considerable time.²⁷ After the construction of the new lighthouses in 1897, Trinity House no longer undertook responsibility for road repairs, which fall to the owner, and major reconstructions were necessary in 1955 and 1969. Although it is just possible, with difficulty, to land passengers and luggage at Jenny's Cove (G664) on the West Side, there is no place other than the landing bay where cargoes can be handled. When large-scale repairs or works of any kind are carried out, the cost is always increased by the need to transport, house and cater for the workmen.

(ii) RESOURCES

Until the early nineteenth century the Lundy islanders' chief resources were the sea-birds and the rabbits, which were valuable assets. There is reference to warrens on Lundy in a deed at the end of the twelfth century, and the 1822 map shows two enclosures, Coney Park and Little Coney Park (G763, G764, Fig.19), close to the farmhouse.²⁸ Although there was no sale for Lundy bird or rabbit meat because of the problems of shipping it to arrive at the market in good condition, it supplemented the islanders' diet, and the birds also provided oil for lamps. Rabbits were valued for both furs and winter meat until the later eighteenth

²⁷ LIM, T 22, 1821-27. HA (i), diary, 1870-1905. THGM passim. Gade, 1978, passim.

²⁸ DRO, EM/M/20. BLMS, Add 40345.

century, when, with the intensification of farming during this period, and their prolific breeding, they became pests.²⁹ However, apart from the Heaven era, when they were shot for sport, rabbits remained an occasional source of revenue, or at least sustenance, until the advent of myxomatosis in the 1950s.³⁰ The birds' feathers were sold for down, and their eggs for sugar refining at Bristol, where there were twenty refineries in the later eighteenth century.³¹ Apart from nets and ropes, the gathering of birds and rabbits had the advantage of requiring no investment other than time and effort, and the feathers were easy to transport without being liable to deterioration. But sugar refining of the traditional type at Bristol declined by the 1830s, Heaven tried to stop the commercial exploitation of the birds, the Bird Protection Act of 1880 curbed the sale of feathers, and these measures combined with a decline in the numbers of birds to bring the trade in sea-birds to an end.³²

In addition to these, the islanders' livelihood came from stock-rearing, cultivation of keep and subsistence

²⁹ Rackham, 1995, pp.47, 293-25.

³⁰ Gade, 1978, p.123.

³¹ Minchinton, 1953, p.77.

³² Little, 1991, p.77. HA (i), diary, passim. Thompson, W. Harding., 1932, *Devon, A Survey of its Coasts, Moors & Rivers*, pp.130-31. Crespi, Dr., 1888, Lundy Island, *Hardwick's Science Gossip*, xxiv, pp.151-5.

crops, trading with ships' crews, the sale of livestock, and sometimes of butter and cheese, on the mainland. Lundy has some relatively rich pastureland, on which cattle yielded milk for quantities of high quality butter, recorded c1630, 1821-27, and c 1875. As there was a dairy in the farmhouse (G25, c1776), presumably butter and cheese were long manufactured. The island terrain is suited to both sheep and cattle, and the balance in favour of one or the other would have depended on market demand, and to a lesser extent on the preferences of the individual owner or tenant. Another factor influencing this choice is the supply of water, since cattle make much heavier demand on this than sheep. In addition to the arable land, there is a very considerable acreage of rough pasture, which the island herds now share with ponies, feral livestock, and the rabbits. Farming opinion has been critical of the numbers of feral livestock as detrimental to the farming, but with the present dependence on tourist income, they are currently seen as an asset that has distinct visitor-appeal.³³

An early account of Lundy remarks on "...fresh water walming [welling up] abundantly out of springs..."³⁴ There

³³ Wilby, 1951, p.4. Watt, T. & Kirby, K., 1982, 'The Vegetation of Lundy Island,' *LFSR*, xxxiii, pp.14-28. B Graham, Lackham Agricultural College, pers. comm. April 1994.

³⁴ Camden, 1610, p.202.

are no problems recorded with the water supply obtained from springs and rainfall except in periods of severe drought. Since the quarrying process of itself did not make undue demands on water, and domestic uptake in the mid-nineteenth century was much less than it is now, it would seem that the supply was adequate at that time for a population of up to 400. Brewing was abandoned in the 1930s, and again recently, because of the heavy demand it made on the water supply, although supplies before the demands of tourism presumably allowed household domestic brewing for many years before the common adoption of tea-drinking.³⁵

Coppock remarks that "Documentary information about past land use is generally scanty and imprecise and is rarely sufficiently detailed to allow past uses to be reconstructed," and "...present uses can often be explained only by reference to the circumstances that brought them into being..."³⁶ Prior to 1775 the farm was at the castle, and the Trinity House map of 1820 marks the adjacent fields there as under cultivation (Fig.20).³⁷ Benson (1750-52) had burned off the "North Part...to the bare rock", it was again burnt down to the rock c1870, and yet a third time in

³⁵ LIM, T 22, 1811: "Had a bushel of malt made into beer." Grose, 1776, p.195: "...near St Helen's Well, where a brew-house is now building..."

³⁶ Coppock, J. T., 1968, 'Maps as sources for the study of land use in the past,' *Imago Mundi*, xxii, p.37.

³⁷ TH 1319. Grose, 1776, engravings taken 1775.

1933, but is now recovering vegetation, primarily heathers.³⁸ Borlase Warren "divided the land" and enclosed "about 160 acres" (64.7 hectares), and an 1803 account states that "Its present cultivation was wholly effected during the last century".³⁹ Since at least the eighteenth century, cultivation has been concentrated on the same eastern area south of Quarter Wall (G163), wherein are the deeper soils and best water supplies.

The present layout of the farm and enclosed fields, with the addition of Threequarter Wall, was arrived at by the time of the Ordnance Survey carried out in 1884 for the 1:25,000 map, and is the outcome of the constructions and modifications made by Heaven early in his ownership, and by the granite company (1863-68). The land use indicated on the resulting map in 1886 also shows the land which was cleared, ploughed, and seeded for pasture in Middle Park, and for cultivation in the South-West Field (G713) and Acland's Moor (G480), between 1876 and 1879.⁴⁰ The farming has been concentrated on stock-rearing, and the arable land used primarily for feedstuffs. There is some very fertile soil on the east sidings, where enclosed gardens were constructed, possibly for extra cultivation space in the reserved portion

³⁸ NDRO, Anon., 1787. Chanter, 1887, p.110. MTC, letters, J Turner, 1933. Gade, 1978, p.174.

³⁹ NDRO, Anon., 1787. Britton & Brayley, 1803, pp.249-51.

⁴⁰ HA (i), letters, 6 April 1876 to 3 November 1879.

when the island was leased to the granite company, and stone for walling and revetments was easily available (G299).⁴¹

In common with other windswept islands, Lundy has few trees and scanty sources of fuel, apart from wreck timbers. There was a certain amount of peat: the diary of 1811 refers to the dried turfs being exhausted, and the sale particulars of 1822 specify the presence of peat, but it may be presumed that the fires c. 1750, and routine use would have reduced the supply considerably.⁴² Vancouver refers to the damaging agricultural practice, common in Devon, of burning off moorland to bring it under cultivation.⁴³ Drainage of the land would also have affected the supply of peat, and it is possible that some of the spreads of heather on the island may be associated with former peatland. However, peat soils are still found in valleys and depressions (Fig. 4), and there is record of the theft and export of peat by an islander in 1872.⁴⁴ Beachcombing was an important source of timber, particularly at the time when all boats were constructed of wood, and before modern aids reduced the number of wrecks.⁴⁵ In modern times the north of

⁴¹ These gardens were uncovered during rhododendron clearance in 1998. They have very rich soil, are well sheltered, with an adjacent stream. They are shown on the 1886 OS map.

⁴² BLMS, Add 40345. NDRO, Anon., 1787.

⁴³ Vancouver, 1808, p.329.

⁴⁴ Dawes, 1979, pp.32-39. HA (1), Lundy Log, p.57.

⁴⁵ LIM, T 22, 1811. Gade, 1978, p.30.

the island has been regarded as wasteland, but areas of waste were formerly of importance in the peasant economy; gorse, heather and bracken were all regarded as fuel, bracken could be used for thatch and bedding, young shoots could be fed to cattle, and sheep and deer will eat heather.⁴⁶ During the Heaven era coal was regularly imported in bulk, which involved a heavy commitment of labour to move it to the plateau. Electricity was installed by Harman in 1929 by means of a petrol-driven generator, which gave electric lighting and the great advantage of refrigeration, but nothing more.⁴⁷ The need to import fuel is one of the factors, with water supply, that is contributory to a limitation of the possible development of small industry to balance seasonal tourism.

The acid soil, lacking in lime, requires fertilisation.⁴⁸ Animal dung provided some and, possibly, seaweed; the Heaven family Log records the collection of seaweed for manure after storms washed it up on the beach, although this is not so far indicated by small shell finds in the archaeology.⁴⁹ Imported lime and culm are recorded as burnt for both fertiliser and building throughout the Heaven ownership; burning was a skilled task, and was carried out

⁴⁶ Aston, M., 1985, *Interpreting the Landscape*, p.115. Rackham, 1995, pp.295-316.

⁴⁷ Gade, 1978, p.103.

⁴⁸ Wilby, 1951. Dawes, 1979, pp.32-37.

⁴⁹ HA (i), Lundy Log, pp.62, 87.

by operators from the mainland.⁵⁰ Holinshed mentions samphire collected in barrels, but since he says it was collected on the beach, and samphire grows on the cliffs, it is possible that he referred to seaweeds. Vere Hunt recorded the use of dried seaweed ("dilisk") for a fire when fuel was short, and samphire was collected on Lametry (G700) in the nineteenth century and is still found there, but there are no records of trading in either commodity.⁵¹ The keepers of the South Light are said to have used seaweed as fertiliser on their gardens (G341).⁵²

There is surprisingly little reference to the value of the fishing grounds around the island: a description in 1803 states that "...lobsters, crabs, mackerel and other fish, may be obtained in abundance," and there are nineteenth and twentieth century comments on bumper catches of herring or mackerel.⁵³ The Bill of Sale in 1822 states that "A fishery extends round the Shores esteemd very valuable; among the Fish, the finest Cod, Lobsters, and Crabs may be reckoned," and that of 1840, "...the extensive fishery...in the hands of an enterprising man will realise

⁵⁰ HA (i), diary, passim. Nix, M. & Myers, M., 1982, *Hartland Quay*.

⁵¹ LIM, T 22, 1811. HA (i), diary, passim. L. Cole, Lundy warden, pers. comm.

⁵² F W Gade, pers. comm.

⁵³ Britton & Brayley, 1803, pp249-251. HA (i), diary, passim. Gade, 1978, passim.

a fortune....," which both suggest an estate agent's idea of potential attractions, rather than an exploited resource.⁵⁴ The paucity of reference may be accounted for in several ways: that it was taken for granted, that it was leased out and not recorded, that there would be little local sale since the North Devon coast had its own fishing fleets, and that before the train service reached North Devon the distance to London and other markets was too great for the fish to arrive in good condition. Another factor to be taken into account is that of the islanders having sufficient wealth to own a boat, and the necessary skill and incentive to use it.

Historically, fish stocks of various species have varied widely, quite apart from problems of over-fishing: herring was an important catch until changes in the ecological conditions destroyed large shoals c1800, and in the 1930s.⁵⁵ It is also commented that Devon-based overseas fishing became necessary as "the size of the fish stocks regularly fluctuates ...continually alternating periods of shortages, sufficiency, and plenty...[with] times when the

⁵⁴ BLMS, Add 40345. *The Times*, 14 July, 1840.

⁵⁵ Hoskins, 1992, p.213. Southward, A J & Boalch, G T., 1982, 'The Marine Resources of Devon's Coastal Waters,' *NMHD*, i, pp.51-61.

stock disappears altogether..."⁵⁶ Mackerel was a catch for local consumption, as it has a particularly short keeping time, and fish were salted or smoked at various times on Lundy, but there is no evidence that this was for trading as well as domestic consumption.⁵⁷ In Vere Hunt's diary of January 1811 he refers to "...a quarter ton of dried fish" brought in by ship with other supplies, neither is there any mention of fish in the letters of 1821-27.⁵⁸ The Heaven diary frequently noted gifts of fish from boats putting into the bay, and dried fish was imported for the Store.⁵⁹ During the earlier part of the Heaven ownership the fishing was leased for £21 per year, and later for £10.⁶⁰ Christie employed the island boat for fishing, and Harman employed fishermen for the crustaceans, which were used in the hotel and sent to the London market until 1939. Poaching of

⁵⁶ Gray, Todd, 1992, 'Devon's Fisheries and Early-Stuart Northern New England,' *NMHD*, i, p.141.

⁵⁷ Grose, 1776, 196. HA (i), diary, passim, and 27 January 1894.

⁵⁸ LIM, T 22.

⁵⁹ LIM, T 22, 1811; 1821-27. HA (i), diary, passim.

⁶⁰ HA (i), letters, 16 June 1859, 6 September 1876; diary, 1879-1911 passim. Chanter, 1887, p.596, wrote that "Large quantities of lobsters are caught...and sent to Bristol." At that time the fishing was leased. From 1879-1911 the fisherman was resident on Lundy, fished on his own account, and was island-employed otherwise. Catches of crustaceans were taken across to Ilfracombe.

crustaceans within Lundy's presumed three-mile limit was a constant problem, until the court judgement in 1959 ruled that the owner of Lundy did not in law possess his presumed fishing rights.⁶¹ The most valuable of the fishing resources are the crustaceans, particularly lobsters, and they have the advantage that they can be kept in a sea-water carb (store box) for some days after the catch. Since the end of the 1939-45 war island catches have been minimal, and have depended on individual islanders' initiatives; the amounts caught were small, and not for trade. It would seem that the conclusion to be drawn is that it is very difficult to assess the value to Lundy of its fishing resources, but that since information is so scant, it can not have been of the major importance that it was, for example, on Fair Isle.

Granite is one obvious Lundy resource. The use of granite was mainly confined to moorstone and ad hoc quarries until the nineteenth century, when quarrying techniques were developed, and the demand for building stone for public works was high. Also the extension of the railway to North Devon (1854) made transportation from Lundy feasible.⁶² The failure of the company formed to exploit it (1863-68) is described in Chapter 5 v, but even though the venture

⁶¹ HA (i), diary, passim. Gade, 1978, pp.364-67.

⁶² Stanier, P., 1985, 'The Granite Quarrying Industry in Devon & Cornwall, 1800-1910,' *Industrial Archaeology Review*, vii, part 2. Hoskins, 1992, pp.265-77.

collapsed, it was the first of the events in the second half of the nineteenth century that changed the face of Lundy. Another lease for the quarries was taken in 1897, and a succession of companies formed subsequently, but quarrying never took place as the prospectuses did not attract shareholders.⁶³ The granite industry was in decline in the later nineteenth century, partly due to competition from Scandinavian quarries, and partly due to the availability of concrete. The granite on Lundy is of uneven quality, and with the added complication of shipping the stone, profits would have been doubtful. Two copper adits were explored c. 1854-54 but the quantities were judged insufficient to repay the required investment, and a deposit of molybdenum was identified in 1940, when there was demand for it, but an alternative supply was found before the question of extraction was investigated.⁶⁴ A suggestion for the sale of small granite for aggregate and hard-core was first suggested by Christie's engineer in 1918, and investigated again in 1925 by Harman, but a capital outlay of £4,300 was

⁶³ NTA, 1897-1906. The lease was relinquished in 1906.

⁶⁴ British Geological Survey, MS map of geology marked on OS 1820 by R. Etheridge in 1854. The map states that the survey was carried out earlier by De La Beche (1839). Molybdenum: MTC, correspondence M. C. Harman and A. T. J. Dollar.

estimated and the project was shelved.⁶⁵

(iii) THE APPEAL OF THE ISLAND

The common perception of the island, fed by the popular media, is of "Lundy the unique," with pirates and puffins, although there are none of the former and very few of the latter to be seen there now. But Lundy has qualities of its own to engage the interest of the more enquiring: one writer has described it as having "peace, solitude, and as much freedom as you are likely to get anywhere in the world."⁶⁶

A lonely island is attractive, a place beyond the ordinary, with tranquillity and unspoiled scenery. At the same time Lundy island is now reasonably accessible, not so wild as to exclude modern comforts, and has much to interest the enquiring mind. Since 1946 many visitors have come to the island for bird-watching; there is a wealth of sea-birds, and Lundy is on the spring and autumn migration routes. There are opportunities for climbing, diving, archaeology, bell-ringing, walking, photography, and observation of the seals, deer and other animals at close range. There is freedom to roam over the whole island, without petty notices and regulations; no roads or cars, and no pollution. It is a particularly enjoyable environment for

⁶⁵ NTA, 27 March 1918. LMA, 24 October 1925. Langham, 1994, p.285.

⁶⁶ McCormick, D., 1973, *How to Buy an Island*, p.24.

children, who can have a degree of freedom rarely allowable on the mainland.

Lundy was also famous before 1973 for its tax-free status, but the value of this to the owners was minimal, since there were no profits to be taxed. However the exemptions from mainland rules were useful in publicising the island, especially in relation to the absence of licensing hours. Rates were not payable either, but no services were received - no school, no medical care, no police, no waste removal, or library services, which all had to be organised and paid for by the owner, sought on the mainland, or done without. The simple character of the small community has contributed to the sense of the island's being a restful place. One aspect particularly appreciated by staying visitors is the absence of intrusive noise - a walk the length of Lundy is accompanied only by sounds of the sea, the birds, and the wind.

The Lundy Field Society's early work (Chapter 5, vii) has had considerable effect on the present status of Lundy: the publication of field studies in the society's reports and other scientific and archaeological journals drew attention to the ecological and archaeological interest of the island. Together with the more recent work of the National Trust Archaeological Survey, these have been instrumental in the processes leading to the scheduling of Ancient Monuments and listed buildings, to designation as a Site of Special Scientific Interest, and the creation of the

Marine Nature Reserve. Currently the island is also designated by the European Habitats Directive as a Candidate for a Special Area of Conservation.⁶⁷ Although the officers and committee of the Field Society are mainland-based, the activities of the Society are concerned solely with Lundy. English Heritage and English Nature now take an active role in conservation on Lundy; the former is also able to make small grants for specific projects, and the latter gives substantial financial support to the employment of the warden by the Landmark Trust, as well as small grants for particular purposes.⁶⁸

Lundy stamps, which were the pioneer of the "local issues," have played a useful part in the economy in two respects. First in providing a source of revenue and, second, in making Lundy known and arousing interest in the island itself. The stamp issues now have a seventy-year history, and enthusiasts' clubs have been set up both here and in the USA, so that collecting of stamps and the associated covers, postmarks and ephemera, is actively pursued and stamp meets are held on the island, in London and elsewhere.

One thing that Lundy noticeably lacks is continuity of its population. The island has, so far as is known, always

⁶⁷ L. Cole, warden on Lundy, pers. comm.

⁶⁸ L. Cole, Lundy warden, pers. comm.

⁶⁷ L. Cole, warden on Lundy, pers. comm.

⁶⁸ L. Cole, Lundy warden, pers. comm.

been populated by tenants, or servants of the owner who seldom outstayed their employers, and whose children have sought employment elsewhere. Some individual exceptions have been noted, but whatever tradition or lore they upheld has been lost. Limited staff accommodation means that employees have to leave the island on reaching retirement age, and this militates against long-term commitment, or at the least forces employees to secure a mainland footing for their later life. Employees are perhaps more likely to display long-term loyalty to an owner who himself takes a close interest, than to managers; without a stake in the land, or the strong traditions which bind families and individuals in a community, loyalties can be more easily eroded when stresses arise.

On the other hand islands exert a certain fascination for some people, who are content to give their time and services out of their personal attachment to the place, or to exchange mainland living for the qualities of an island life despite the material disadvantages. Some on Lundy have stayed long enough to make a positive input, while others have found that the reality is less engaging than they had imagined, and departed after a short time. But continuity is now lost except through the long-term visitors; visitor loyalties remain quite strong, and have supported the organisation of "Friends of Lundy."

(iv) LUNDY'S EXTRA-PAROCHIAL STATUS

The island has been extra-parochial at least since the Dissolution.⁶⁹ From the beginnings of a parish poor-law system in Tudor England to the establishment of parish councils in 1894, local administration was increasingly channelled through the parish.⁷⁰ The 1857 Act to bring extra-parochial places into the poor-law system was rejected by Heaven when applied to Lundy, and not enforced; the island also fell outside the provisions of the 1868 order to annex extra-parochial places to the bordering parishes.⁷¹ Lundy's extra-parochial status also contributed to its reputation as an interesting oddity and, before 1836, to its attraction as exempt from tithes. More importantly, it largely exempted the island from the machinery of local government, at least until 1969. Lundy's isolation before the nineteenth century has presented researchers with a rather sparse range of documentary sources, particularly for the modern period prior to 1775. The effect of this is discussed in Chapter 2, ii.

⁶⁹ HA (i), consecration document for St Helen's Church 1897.

⁷⁰ Tiller, K., 1992, *English Local History: An Introduction*, Chapter 4.

⁷¹ Higgs, 1996, p.190.

(v) ISLAND OWNERSHIP

It is perhaps desirable to justify following the detail of ownership in assessing Lundy's history. First, as there are few documentary records, the facts of ownership are often virtually all the information available for some periods, and as such provide the bare pegs on which to hang a historical fabric. Second, it provides a starting point for research, and third, the attitude of the owner towards the island was a factor in shaping, or neglecting it. An island property is more subject to autocratic control than an estate on the mainland: the limited number of its population, their dependence on a single employer (for good or ill), the absence of social stimulus from neighbouring areas (for example to set up schools or agitate for reforms), all contributed to the way in which Lundy largely remained apart from movements on the mainland, at least until the later nineteenth century. Hawkes comments that on Sark "cars, income tax, and political parties are not welcome."⁷² Lastly, the piecing together of Lundy's history depends to a considerable extent on the surviving writings of people who went there or lived there. Who these were also depended on the ownership, what they saw and experienced, and what were their interests and capacities.

⁷² Hawkes, 1992, p.135.

During the period under consideration nine of Lundy's owners acquired it by purchase, and nine by inheritance; the shortest tenure was of four/six years (1830-1834/36) and the longest, of the Heaven family, eighty years. The ownerships can be characterised into three main types: indifferent absentee landlords, those for whom the island had some interest and who intended to supervise and visit it, and those who regarded it as a home. The problems common to most small islands confronted them all: the expense of communications, exposure to weather which could damage crops and buildings, and the difficulty of establishing a level of productivity which could offset expenses. There were a number of alternative strategies: to lease the island, take the rent and relinquish control; to appoint tenants under whatever terms could be negotiated, or to manage the island directly through employees. None of these three options gave an owner control over use of the island in piracy or smuggling, and no option gave complete protection from dishonesty among employees. Further options were to invest in improvements with the intention of increasing revenue and the property value, or to regard it as a home or pleasure estate requiring the support of a private income for its enjoyment.

All these strategies are found in the account of the ownerships given above. From such information as is available from 1577 to 1775, the island would seem to have been just one of a number of landholdings which were leased

or tenanted, and most probably supervised by agents. Apart from the income from tenants, the island was also of use as a surety for loans and mortgages. The intrinsic value and returns were low, and except for Sir Bevill Grenville (1619-1643) there is no evidence that the owners were other than absentees.

The island only came to notice when it was a potential base for enemies (as during the Spanish wars and Catholic conspiracies of 1585-1605) or on occasions when it was involved with privateering incidents (from the reign of Henry VIII through to the eighteenth century). The owners or local officials took action only when the degree of nuisance brought down directives from the government (as in 1594) or when the losses to local trade and shipping were serious (as in 1587, for example). The extent to which the absence or neglect of owners was contributory to the use of Lundy by pirates or privateers is difficult to assess, but to fortify and man the island effectively would have been costly, and would have yielded little or no financial return. Piracy could have made the island difficult to let or sell, although Bevill Grenville was importuned to lease or sell it several times during one of the peak periods of recorded piracy, and it could equally well have had an enhanced value for those who saw opportunities to profit by it. During the eighteenth century prevalence of smuggling the measures taken to control it were largely ineffective; by the nature of illicit operations, particularly successful

ones, documentary records are seldom found, and the true extent of Lundy's involvement remains for conjecture. The neglect of Lundy by distant owners during a large part of this period may well have invited use of the island so well situated for concealment and defence.

Another interesting aspect of island ownership is for a safe haven at times of personal or political troubles. Sir Lewis Stukely, a Grenville relative, fled there from social obloquy (1619); Bushell tried to avoid arrest for debt (1645-47); Lord Saye and Sele withdrew there after the regicide (1649); Benson leased the island because he was in trouble with the customs authorities in 1750. In 1831 Stiffe sought asylum from the Bristol riots, and in 1939 Harman planned the use of the island as a refuge for his family should there have been an invasion.⁷³ But the advantages of a certain security always had to be weighed against problems of supply, particularly fuel, and possible losses at sea or blockading.

It is noted that tenants seldom had the capital to invest in improvements, or the motivation to take long-term measures. Leaseholders met the same problems as owners, and none appears to have been successful in making the island a paying proposition, except perhaps Lee (1846-60) and May (1920-25). The failure of the granite company was due more to malpractice than to island problems. The owners who

⁷³ F. W. Gade, and Ruth Harman Jones, pers. comm.

invested large capital in improvements (Bevill Grenville, Borlase Warren, Christie, and Harman) saw no real returns either in increased income or in a sale price that compensated for the expenditure.

Bevill Grenville and Borlase Warren had enthusiasm for Lundy, but in neither case did this survive their financial problems, and both were diverted by war duties. The Heaven and Harman families took a satisfaction in their ownership that was derived from an appreciation of the island itself, and the pleasure of being possessed of a small fiefdom. These satisfactions are difficult to quantify, and can not be measured in financial terms, but in both cases sacrifices were made in order to keep the island, since an input of money was always necessary to maintain it. Unfortunately the conclusion is that no one owner has had the combination of sustained interest and sufficient wealth to overcome the financial problems. However, there may be a distortion in this judgement, which arises from the much greater volume of source material available in these two cases.

Only Cleveland, and Matravers and Stiffe made a capital profit, which in both cases can probably be attributed to a combination of luck, and opportunism unhampered by sentiment. Although the island attained a sale price of £150,000 in 1969 compared with the 1926 total purchase price of £25,000, the 1969 value of £25,000 was £645,250, and the value of the £15,000 invested by 1932 was

£476,550.⁷⁴ There were also outstanding mortgages of £13,500 at the time of sale.

For all their weaknesses of management, the years of residence of the Heaven family brought an entire change to the island. Some of these changes were due to external developments (chapter 7), but much was due to the presence of the owner-family. Initially it brought the construction of the new house, the road which enabled haulage by carts, the renovation of the farmhouse, and a regular supply boat, which were followed by other necessities for a resident family - gardens, stables, farm buildings, and plantations. The Heavens were of the minor gentry, who saw themselves as squires of the estate; they held themselves at what they considered a proper distance from the island population, kept order, and undertook duties towards the islanders: schooling, medical help, and religious services. In short, they took upon themselves the the diverse roles that in a mainland situation would have devolved on the various members of a parish, but which had not theretofore obtained on Lundy. This may perhaps be summed up as a change from a rather sparse subsistence environment to the island as a more pleasant place in which to live.

⁷⁴ Bank of England.

CHAPTER 9. ASSESSMENT OF FACTORS EXTERNAL TO LUNDY WHICH HAVE AFFECTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE ISLAND.

(i) SHIPPING AND PIRACY.

Maritime trade and shipping were a notable part of the Devon economy from the later seventeenth to the later eighteenth century, and this extended to the support industries. The later drop in importance was relative, and due not so much to a decline in Devon as such, but that other regions expanded with the increasing trade.¹ Lundy remained an asylum for shipping in the Bristol Channel with "easy water and a good holding-ground...with means of replenishing live stock, provender, vegetables and water," and there was no other roadstead where a vessel could lie afloat before Kingroad, (Bristol) eighty miles (129km) from Lundy.²

The quantity of shipping in the Bristol Channel was, until the First World War, much greater than in the present century, and the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries were a peak time for sailing ships trading from Bristol to Africa and the colonies of the New World. There were also local North Devon fleets of fishing vessels, and packets plying between Bristol, South Wales and Ireland. Other vessels were the fast skiffs belonging to the pilots from Pill (Somerset), and coastal tugs. The crews of all these

¹ Fisher, 1992, pp.232-35.

² BL, Denham, 1832.

vessels were for long Lundy's link with the outside world, a means of communication, and a source of income in the sale of produce to crews forced to ride out a storm in the shelter of the bay. The island also provided a supply of fresh water from the waterfall along the east sidings (G715). The trade must have been considerable, since one-sixth of the total tonnage of British shipping passed up and down the Bristol Channel; the visitor of 1860 wrote that ships called in every day for supplies and that he had seen 100 or more ships sheltering in the bay.³ The lessee in 1892 took a lease of the Store on its own, and could scarcely have made a living from the nine island households who would trade there.⁴ The pilots based themselves on Lundy to mount a look-out for incoming ships, and then raced for their boats when one came in sight in order to be the first to gain the pilotage.⁵

There were several attempts during the nineteenth century to petition for a harbour of refuge at Lundy, although these are not found at the House of Lords library,

³ MTC, Anon. [1860-62], p.6.

⁴ Census, PRO RG 121789, 1891. The Heaven family ordered their own supplies separately.

⁵ HA (i), Lundy Log, p.16.

and so may never have got that far.⁶ Pressures for a harbour were never successful because of the cost involved, however desirable it might have been for Lundy, since such an amenity would have considerably increased the island's revenue. The cost was still prohibitive when plans were drawn up for Christie in 1918, but the necessity passed with the construction of larger and larger ships and the growing use of refrigeration. Lundy still supplied fisherboat crews until the 1939 war; they were welcome company, and were a source of some income.⁷ In 1860 the tenant, Lee, valued all the wreck goods washed ashore as worth £700-800 a year; this may or may not be an exaggeration, but the figure undoubtedly included retrievals from wrecks, and these were still counted an asset in the 1930s.⁸

Although Lundy was described as easily defensible, which is true of the landing beach, there are a few places where a landing could be made by marauders, such as Brazen

⁶ McGrath, 1975, pp.178, 306 (February 1842). Report of the Commissioners on Harbours of Refuge, 1858, cited in Allington, *et al.*, 1994, pp. 14-24: "The trade of the Bristol Channel comprises nearly one-sixth of the shipping...of the United Kingdom."

⁷ Gade, 1978, Chapter 4.

⁸ MTC, Anon [1860-62], p.12. There were twenty wrecks at Lundy during Lee's tenancy (Larn & Larn, 1995, *SIBI*), and when dinghies were retrieved these were of some value. Lee was an experienced seaman. Gade, 1978, p.30, Chapters 6, 9.

Ward (G69), and the Pyramid (G660). Landings could also be made in fog if a guard were not kept. During the seventeenth century pirates and privateers were virtually the same thing, and opportunists added to their numbers.⁹ Piracy has acquired a Jolly Roger buccaneer image, but it was "organised businesslike plunder at sea" which involved the upper classes as investors and, not infrequently, corrupt officials. Much unrecorded activity also makes the incidence hard to quantify.¹⁰ Whether the use of Lundy by pirates or privateers in the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries consisted of occupation of the island, was predatory, or in co-operation with the islanders is seldom clear, and probably all three situations obtained at different times.

Harfield remarks that of the 241 years of the published Acts of the Privy Council there are only four references to Lundy: "It is a measure of Lundy's very minor role that references to the island are few, and references to the pirates' using the island rarer still."¹¹ However, sparse reports do not necessarily reflect a lack of such activities, but also reflect the fact that the major efforts to control piracy were concentrated on the English

⁹ Appleby, J., 1992, 'Devon Privateering from Early Times to 1688,' *NMHD*, i, p.90.

¹⁰ Appleby, 1992, pp.90-97.

¹¹ Harfield, 1997, p.38.

Channel and the east coast, and could as well imply that activities were carried on with comparative impunity in the West.¹² Indeed, a report of 1694 which stated of the Bristol Channel that "our coast trade is entirely stopped," and a similar complaint in 1743 would appear to support that interpretation.¹³ French privateering during the wars of Queen Anne's reign (1702-14) was considered to have affected Barnstaple and Bideford to an extent that they never fully recovered their maritime trade.¹⁴ Harfield's conclusion that "the Lundy evidence warrants only the circumspection of an exploratory pencil sketch" open to inference, but not conclusions, sums up the imprecise nature of that evidence concerning piracy, privateering, and smuggling.¹⁵ There are eight occasions recorded between 1610 and 1709 when Lundy was the victim of pirates, and only two when successful captures were made (1587 and 1612), but there are numerous references to the presence of privateers at Lundy. Few naval cutters were deployed in the Bristol and St George's Channels and they attempted to cover huge areas; naval reports mentioned Lundy for the most part as a geographical

¹² HMC, Finch, iv, p.272.

¹³ Harfield, 1997, p.47. *CSPD 1694-95*, p.141. Minchinton, 1963, p.56, (1743).

¹⁴ Hoskins, W., & Finberg, H., 1952, *Devonshire Studies*, p.407.

¹⁵ Harfield, C., 1996, 'In the Shadow of the Black Ensign: Lundy's Part in Piracy,' *LFSR*, xlviii, pp.37-55.

marker. The reports indicate that the pirates/privateers used Lundy as a lurking-point where they could also get water and, probably, supplies. The argument that Lundy's vulnerability to raids and blockades made it an unsuitable base is questionable; a pirate/privateer ship in Lundy Roads could anchor and might not be visible to a vessel coming up or down-channel until the last minute.¹⁶

The long-term effect of piracy on Lundy itself is perhaps not important, but during the years when pirates/privateers were active in the Bristol Channel they hampered shipping to and from the island, and the uncertainty of attack or occupation could well have affected settlement and consolidation, unless the islanders were complicit. Hebb comments that pirates were not only a threat to coastal populations but "posed a political threat to the Crown that was in ways greater than the actual harm they caused. Their assaults ...underlined the inadequacy and impotence of royal government."¹⁷

There is stronger evidence for smuggling in the eighteenth century, and a much greater likelihood that the islanders were involved. Jamieson estimates that revenue authorities caught less than one case in ten, lost 67% of

¹⁶ Harfield, 1996, p.69.

¹⁷ University of London, Hebb, D., 1985, *The English Government and the Problem of Piracy, 1616-42*, p.375, unpublished doctoral thesis.

government revenue, and were quite likely to have colluded with the smugglers, and again the revenue ships were concentrated on the English Channel and the east coast.¹⁸ This was a trade in which all levels of society participated, and was hardly regarded as a crime, with punishments difficult to enforce.¹⁹ Such record as exists for lessees up till 1775 suggests that the island's advantages for smuggling increased the attractions of the island for lease, and probably contributed to the islanders' livelihood.²⁰

(ii) EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FORCES

A factor beyond the control of owners or islanders, and which affected the whole country rather than just Lundy, was economic depression. Farming was particularly susceptible to such downturns, which meant that produce could not be sold, or was sold at very low prices, and no rapid turn-round of farming strategy was possible to minimise losses.²¹ In its turn this limited the ability of farmers

¹⁸ Jamieson, 1992, i, 244-250. Oppenheim, 1968, pp.122-23. Smith, 1980, p.47, "...smugglers had virtual freedom of the Bristol Channel."

¹⁹ PRO T 64/143, William Cuthbert was found to have smuggled brandy on Lundy on four occasions in 1727, but "He could not be taken."

²⁰ Records are found for four who were detected: Scores, 1721; Cuthbert, 1727; Benson 1752; Lee 1855.

²¹ HA (i), letter, 13 February 1879.

to spend on fertilisers, machinery and improvements, which depressed the supply industries, and so forth. Farmers also had to cope with the effect of poor harvests; when crop failure or stock disease were coincident with economic depression, as in the 1870s, the effect on many was disastrous.²² Small-scale marginal operations, such as those on small islands were particularly vulnerable. In the 1870s the investment and effort to intensify farm production on Lundy came at just the wrong time, and brought no returns, but an exacerbation of financial troubles instead, which brought the intensification enterprise itself to an end. Other external economic reverses seriously affected the Heaven family's stewardship of Lundy: the loss of the income from Jamaica was followed by a considerable loss of investment in a firm which crashed c. 1840.²³ Their fortunes never recovered, with the consequences noted above (Chapter 5 v), to which was added the concomitant effect of economic slump on their lessees, who in the 1890s defaulted on their rent.

The economic boom and expanded public works building programmes of the mid nineteenth century, together with the introduction of limited liability for stock companies, undoubtedly gave the impetus for the granite works on Lundy. Their failure was due to mis-management rather than a

²² Hill, 1985, pp.100-101. More, 1997, pp.124-25.

²³ HA (111).

collapse in the market; indeed, the company left unfulfilled orders in its wake (Chapter 5 v above). Had the enterprise succeeded, it could have remedied the situation for the island owners in providing a steady and considerable income. The failure to capitalise on the asset of the granite also has to be laid to some extent on Heaven's own failings.²⁴ The course of events after the company went into liquidation might have been steered into a change of lessee and a continuation of the works, had Heaven exercised his rights as lessor.

Apart from the general effects of the depression in 1929 on markets and tourist spending, Harman lost his fortune and was never able to recover significant capital, with all the longer-term consequences for Lundy that that entailed. It was not until 1934 that the economic situation of Lundy improved after the crash.²⁵

(iii) TRINITY HOUSE

The completion of the lighthouse (G369) in 1820 brought the first external institution to Lundy with a 999-year lease of two acres (0.80 hectares) of land at Beacon Hill (G251), and rights of way.²⁶ The immediate effects, apart from the lighthouse and dwellings erected, were the construction of a quay (G355), an upper store house (G360), and the track to

²⁴ HA (i), letter 11 April 1870.

²⁵ Gade, 1978, pp.122-24, 162.

²⁶ THGM, 30 004, xvii, p.136.

it.²⁷ Two families were added to the population, and a source of income for the island in cartage fees and other services.

At first relations between the islanders and the light keepers were far from harmonious, as the Missions to Seamen priest commented that "...the people as before, all packed and torn with dissensions...The Light Keeper, Phelps, with his wife, refused to attend [service] because they would not enter a building with any other person on the Island. Such is the animosity that exists between them and has existed for upwards of 20 years past. There are not 2 persons on the island that will speak to each other or cross to each other's side of the island."²⁸ With a change of lighthouse personnel by 1850, and the permanent residence of the owner after 1851, relationships were good, the lighthouse families contributed to life the of the island, and provided additional labour when needed.²⁹

Lundy was less isolated; there were supply ships, visits from the Trinity House Agent at Bideford or Milford

²⁷ The marker stone on the quay reads TH, 1819 (G352). THGM, 30 010, xxv, pp.376, 508; 30 025, iii, p.166.

²⁸ Missions to Seamen, Journals of the Revd John Ashley, 1841-1843; entries May 28 and 29 1842. The animosity is borne out by episodes when the owner's agent locked up the well used by the lightkeepers (HA (1), letter, April 19 1838).

²⁹ THGM, 30 010, xxxvi, p.719. HA (1), diary, passim.

Haven, Trinity House workmen for building and repair works from time to time, and regular visits from various Trinity House committees and the Elder Brethren. These visits proliferated in 1862 when the Fog Signal Station (G228) was built, and again in 1865 when a third keeper was appointed to the lighthouse. The Trinity House families then numbered five, and in the 1871 census totalled twenty-eight of a population of sixty five.³⁰ With the construction of the two new lighthouses (G363, G84) in 1897 and their establishment as rock stations, the families were withdrawn and the number of keepers was six until automation was completed in 1994. The lightkeepers were valued members of the community, and were missed when the last personnel left; as Trinity House was the first, so it was the last of the external institutions to inhabit Lundy.³¹ Lundy has the legacy of the very fine Old Light, the keepers' quarters and the enclosure, the Battery (G228), and the north and south lighthouses, all of which are listed Grade II. The walls of the lighthouse enclosure (G385) were carried across the island to the east side in 1839 by Heaven to separate areas of the farm between stock and arable, now called the

³⁰ PRO RG 10/2207.

³¹ Gade 1978, *passim*. The future of the two buildings is at present under negotiation.

Lighthouse Wall (G418).³²

(iv) THE LUNDY GRANITE COMPANY

The history of this enterprise is given in Chapter 5 (v). The enterprise made a tremendous change to the population, which was estimated to have risen to between 200 and 400, with shop, "canteen," and a general meeting room. Added to these were the advantages of a resident doctor, and the services of the company ship, the *Vanderbyl*. Unfortunately no descriptions, letters, or journals have been found that give any picture of the island at that time, although Page, who had his information of the Revd Mr Heaven, stated that the workmen were a nuisance in poaching and trespassing, and that the farm was not properly managed.³³ Either he was referring to the three years of inactivity during the winding-up of the company, or the owner's rights of inspection under the terms of the lease had not been exercised during the company's occupation.

The legacies of this operation compose a considerable part of the present-day island scene: the quarries (G170), now a largely green and favoured spot, the north extensions to the farmhouse, the Barton cottages, some of the farm buildings, and the ruined cottages and hospital north of Quarter Wall. The enclosures north of the Rick Yard (G458)

³² THGM, 30 004 xxiii, p.39. HA (i), letter 15 January 1839.

³³ Page, 1895, pp.239-40.

were built by the company, but it is not possible otherwise to distinguish the farm buildings from those erected by Heaven, except that the latter had the Shippons, the Rick Yard, a barn, and pigsties (G440) before 1863. The quay and jetty at Quarry Beach were later washed away in storms, and the granite blocks were deposited on the beach of the landing bay, together with more washed ashore from a wrecked granite-carrying tug, where they remain. In 1868, before this happened, the landing beach was described as "a fine sandy beach, composed almost entirely of pulverised granite, white and glittering."³⁴ The island was also left with a quarry for dressed stone in the disused buildings, some of which was used in 1884 for the Signal Cottages (G331) and, later, for the church (G18).

Although the motives of lessor and lessee were for profit, the enterprise would not have taken off without the prevalent spirit of entrepreneurial investment and the expansion of public works; similarly the failure of the company was also moved by factors outside the island itself.

(v) LLOYDS SIGNAL STATION & ADMIRALTY COASTGUARDS

On 1 February 1894, Lloyds Signal Station was opened on Lundy, with a flag signal mast (G 325) for signalling to ships, and a submarine telegraphic cable for the transmission of messages to and from the owners. A Signal

³⁴ *The North Devon Journal Herald*, 20 August 1868. A similar comment was made in MTC, Anon, 1860-63.

Hut (G326) was built on the parade to the east of the castle, and a pair of modern, unsightly semi-detached cottages (G331) within a walled enclosure (G332). An annual rental of £20 was agreed for the one-acre site, plus a royalty for the stone used in building, and a right of way with an unspecified contribution to be made to road repairs. Usually one man was posted to the station, and a dawn-to-dusk watch was maintained. The average number of reports sent annually was 700, which indicates the value of the station to shipping and ship owners.³⁵

The submarine cable parted in 1888 and telegraphic reports ceased until 1893, although flag signalling and morse were still in use. After shipping losses in severe storms, the Royal Commission on Telegraphic Communication with Lighthouses directed the GPO to restore communications in 1893, and a new submarine cable was laid. The station was also equipped with a "far-resounding foghorn," which would have become obsolete when the south lighthouse was built in 1897 with its own fog signal apparatus.³⁶

To house the cable terminal in 1893 an extra building was put up against the north face of the castle (G328); the telegraph office was in one room of the nearby cottages, and a telephone link was made to the lighthouse. In 1903 the station was scheduled under the Admiralty agreement with

³⁵ LINF, 2778, A1.

³⁶ LINF, 7778, A2.

Lloyds, whereby the Admiralty were to take it over, although signalling for Lloyds was continued. Two new cottages (G335) were needed, and two further lookout posts (G50, G87), but negotiations with the owners were very long-drawn-out, and the builder's work was at fault, so that the buildings were not completed until 1909, and four coastguard families were installed in 1910.

The telegraph links were not confined to Lloyds communications, but could be used by others at the normal mainland rates. This made an enormous difference to the islanders, since messages could be received or sent in a very short time. It is perhaps difficult now to appreciate the effect of such communication on island life. A doctor could be summoned without the problem of lighting a beacon, finding a ship to take a message, or risking the crossing in a small (and slow) boat; telegrams were received within hours, whereas before they awaited the next ship. There was no longer need to correct timepieces or wait for news until the next ship came in. The facility also increased the number of ships putting in at Lundy, and hence there were increased contacts and trade at the Store.

Although a 99 year lease had been granted, when the submarine cable had been out of order for some time in 1928 Mr Harman requested the withdrawal of the Admiralty personnel, and the station was shut down. A connection was set up with Hartland Coastguard, and once more the system was of the utmost use for island-mainland communications,

except during the 1939-45 war when wireless communications were taken over by the Admiralty for security reasons.³⁷

Between one and four families were added to the population, one member of whom stayed for thirty years and became postmaster and lay reader, and another bequeathed a MS account of Lundy c1920 with his own photographs of the island.³⁸ Until the station was disestablished in 1968, one of the islanders acted as agent, or sub-agent, for Lloyds.³⁹ Of the buildings used by Lloyds, the Admiralty, and the GPO, all remained in use in 1969 except the Admiralty cottages, which were then ruinous. However, the modern suburban-type houses were a blot on the site of the castle, the Signal Hut was largely destroyed in a gale, and all have now been removed, leaving only the hut attached to the castle (G328).

The internal telephone network was later extended to the north and south lighthouses, Tibbets (G50), the Villa, and the Store, and the telegraph poles to the north end provided useful orientation markers along the West Side of the island until they were removed in 1976.⁴⁰ When the GPO

³⁷ Gade, 1978, p.234.

³⁸ Ternstrom, M, 1996 (a), 'A Most Unusual Postman,' *North Devon Heritage*, viii, pp.13-16, (F. W. Allday). WCSL, Jukes', 1920.

³⁹ LMA, letter from Lloyds, 24 April 1970.

⁴⁰ Langham, 1969, pp.26-31; 1994, p.141. Poles remain from the south lighthouse to the Battlements. MTC, the pole positions have been marked on OS 1905 by A. F. Langham.

and the Admiralty station were closed down in 1928 the islanders were still able to send and receive messages via the connection with Hartland Point, but some useful members of the general island community were lost, and the buildings fell into decay.

(vi) THE POST OFFICE

Until 1886 all the mails were carried from the mainland post office by the boatman contracted by Heaven to serve the island. The Heaven family letters were carried in their own locked box, and it was important to them that they should be able to send urgent replies by return. In the early years the cost of transporting goods and mails was shared with Trinity House, but in 1871 Trinity House made a separate contract, so that there were two vessels attending the island, both carrying mails.⁴¹

In 1886 the then lessee, Wright, contracted with the GPO to establish a GPO mail service to Lundy from Cardiff, so that at this point the mails were carried by three different carriers.⁴² The post office, which was open from 9.0-10.00 and 5.00-6.00 each day, and sold stamps and postal orders, was moved from the Store to the Signal Cottages in 1898, and to the cable hut by the castle in 1909.⁴³ In 1920 the average number of letters delivered weekly was 142, but

41 THGM, 30 025 xxxviii, p.375.

42 GPOA, 1886, Vol 308, minute 4484.

43 GPOA, Vol 358, 6879.

they cost the GPO almost five pence per item.⁴⁴ This entailed a considerable loss on the penny stamp for a letter and a halfpenny for a postcard, but Lundy had been judged "entitled to exceptionally liberal treatment," and the service continued until 1926.

The post office was an additional facility for the islanders. All the post masters were island residents, so that there was no added population, but new uses were made for existing buildings, and from 1894 the GPO paid a rent of £10 a year. This facility admitted another mainland authority to Lundy, much to the Heavens' indignation since Wright had acted without consultation.⁴⁵

(vii) THE BOARD OF TRADE

The Heaven archive states that there was difficulty in assembling sufficient volunteers after the granite company had left, and that the apparatus was removed.⁴⁶ It appears that an application from the Board of Trade to store the equipment at the lighthouse was not successful.⁴⁷

Following the islanders' horrific experience in the rescue of the crew of the *Tunisie* in 1892, the Board of Trade acted to re-instate a life-saving company on the island, and since Trinity House personnel could not be

44 GPOA, Post 30/3652-3, 1920. At this time there was no resident owner.

45 HA (i), diary, 24 March, 21 April 1886.

46 HA (i), Lundy Log, pp.38-41; diary, 26 October 1871.

47 THGM, 30 010, xlvi, p.268.

placed under the command of the Coastguard, in 1883 a lease was negotiated for a hut to be built to house the apparatus (G446).⁴⁸ The Board of Trade, another external authority, paid a rent of £3 a year, and regular practices were conducted by the Coastguard from the mainland, which still take place.⁴⁹ There could be no objection by any owner to such a humane provision, which also served to safeguard the lives of island rescuers, and Gade (1978) describes some occasions when the apparatus was put to good use.⁵⁰

(viii) WAR

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries war could have affected Lundy in several possible ways: the threat from enemy privateers, the disruption of communications, fluctuations in the market for farm produce and the supply of goods from the mainland, and a reduction in the ability to attract tenants or workers. There is evidence only for the first of these (Chapter 5 (ii) above), but the other three possibilities also operated in the 1939-45 war.

In the case of the 1914-18 war the effects were not so severely felt because of the dereliction of the island and the insolvency of Walter Heaven, and such people as remained

⁴⁸ HA (i), diary, 19 February 1892. Page, 1895, p.240. THGM, 30 010 lxxv, p.75.

⁴⁹ MTC, sale catalogue 1906. The practices are described in St Claire, A., 1910, *History & Illustrated Guide to Lundy Island*, p.26. R Lo Vel, pers comm.

⁵⁰ Gade, 1978, Chapters 6, 7.

on the island were beyond calling-up age. There was no boat contract, no farm produce, and no money to pay for goods or workers even had they been available. When Christie took over in 1918 the islanders were subject to food rationing, and it was necessary to get permission for building supplies, but the problem of transport was solved first by contracts and then with the purchase of the *Lerina*, and there was no difficulty with labour as work began after the war had ended.⁵¹

In 1939 the steamers and the air service both ceased, and the *Lerina* and the radio telephone were taken over by the Admiralty. The small remaining island population formed a miniature Lundy Home Guard, though they were not provided with arms.⁵² There was also a naval detachment of seven men which was installed at the Old Light by the Admiralty. This posting had the advantage that boat service was maintained, but there were few possibilities to ship off stock which, by the end of the war, considerably exceeded the normal herds.⁵³ Again, identity cards and ration books were issued, though Lundy was better off for food than most, since it was possible to shoot rabbits, keep chickens, grow garden vegetables, collect gulls' eggs, and slaughter

51 LMA, ration book, 1918. NTA, 29 August 1918.

52 Gade, 1978, Chapter 10. Gade & Harman, 1995.

53 Gade, 1978, pp.297-99. Chapter 10 describes Lundy during the 1939-45 war.

sheep or occasional deer (which, strictly speaking, was illegal without a declaration). As occasion offered, rabbits and gulls' eggs and some garden produce was sent to Appledore for sale.⁵⁴ For a time the agent and his wife were the only islanders, but two successive land girls were sent to Lundy, and a shepherd was employed, whose disability excluded him from war service.⁵⁵ Lundy maintained the fiction that the island was co-operating with the authorities out of loyalty, but in practice there was no alternative to conformity with regulations, and dependence on the Admiralty for transport and supplies.

There were some longer-lasting effects of the war: the lack of men and materials for maintenance meant that the buildings were exposed to more than six years of Atlantic weather, including a violent gale in 1944.⁵⁶ All the buildings were affected except the Old Light, which was maintained by the Admiralty. Repairs were not carried out until 1949 and after, and there was never sufficient money to make thorough-going restorations. Another effect was the importation of the first mechanised vehicle in 1941, a tractor, which transformed the work of haulage as well as the farm work, and was still the only machinery in use in 1969, apart from the electricity generator and a small

⁵⁴ Gade, 1978, p.261.

⁵⁵ Gade, 1978, pp.270, 280, Chapter 10. *Reynold's News*, 31 March 1940. Gade & Harman, 1995, p.3.

⁵⁶ Gade, 1978, pp.290-93.

Rotovator. The supply of the tractor was sanctioned by the Ministry of Agriculture and supplied against a loan so that land could be ploughed for food production, although this obligation was not fulfilled.⁵⁷ The Air Ministry sent workmen to dig a series of anti-aircraft trenches (G207) across the island in any part where it might be possible for a plane to make a landing, thirty-nine of which were identified in 1980.⁵⁸

There was a stop to tourism, and very little opportunity to sell cattle, so that for the war years Lundy earned very little income apart from the small sales of garden produce in Appledore and to ships' crews. There was, however, a rental of £400 a year from the Admiralty, and a payment for the *Lerina* until it was bought outright.⁵⁹ The outgoings were similarly reduced: there were few wages bills, except for the agent, and no upkeep of the *Lerina*. Harman's short lease to Van Os had been a business convenience, not a rental arrangement, and payment was only

⁵⁷ Gade, 1978, pp.251-52.

⁵⁸ Langham, A., 1980, 'Anti-Aircraft Trenches on Lundy,' *LFSR*, xxxi, pp.15-18. Rendell & Rendell, 1999, p.43.

⁵⁹ Marine Coastguard Agency, Barnstaple Register, *Lerina*. Gade, 1978, chapter 10.

made for the goods he used.⁶⁰

(ix) ELECTORAL FRANCHISE

It is unlikely that any of the islanders would have qualified for the vote before electoral reforms were carried through.⁶¹ The first mention of islanders exercising their vote is found in 1885, when they would have had to travel to Woolfardisworthy, in Devon, had bad weather not prevented their getting off the beach to a waiting tug.⁶²

In July 1892 the new lessee, Ackland, and others, went ashore to vote in the general election, probably as Ackland and his people would have been on the electoral list at Bideford, where the family had a grocery business.⁶³ A polling station was set up on the island in 1918, and in 1922 eight of the thirteen voters crossed to Instow, in the Barnstaple Division, to register their vote. During M. C. Harman's ownership the electoral lists were reduced to five persons, because Harman was opposed to Lundy residents being on official lists of any kind, and he encouraged his people to register at mainland addresses, although sixteen electors

⁶⁰ Gade, 1978, p.242.

⁶¹ LMA, 1925, M. C. H. Heaven.

⁶² Hill, 1985, p.168. HA (i), diary, 3 November, 4 December 1885.

⁶³ HA (i), diary, 19 February, 9 July 1892. The Revd Mr Heaven evidently did not exercise a vote, which he confused with tax immunity.

were listed in 1938.⁶⁴ The Boundary Commission Report of 1950 confirmed that Lundy was within the constituency of Torrington, but it was found in 1951 that "No register of Electors is in existence."⁶⁵ This was remedied by 1957 (after M. C. Harman had died) and from then until 1969 the list fluctuated between a minimum of five and a maximum of ten voters.

With the extension of the franchise in 1884, and the inclusion of women in 1929, the owner would have been on extremely delicate ground had he tried to discourage the islanders from exercising their vote, particularly as there were Trinity House men until 1897, and Lloyds or Admiralty personnel until 1928. Although nothing was done to prevent their crossing to the mainland to vote, the owner was not obliged to provide transport for that purpose, and neither Heaven nor Harman did so. Albion Harman never attempted to discourage voting, and the situation was eased by the introduction of a postal vote.⁶⁶

(x) LESSEES AND TENANTS

Apart from the anonymous account given in 1787, very little is known of lessees or tenants before the Heaven ownership, other than some names, and that four were convicted of smuggling in the eighteenth century (Chapter 5, iii, iv, above). The first of Heaven's tenants from 1839 to 1846 was

⁶⁴ Gade, 1978, pp.40-41.

⁶⁵ WCSL.

⁶⁶ Gade, 1978, p.41.

a farmer, R Rowles, who obtained £100 compensation from Trinity House as their fences were in such a poor state that his cattle and sheep had been able to invade his crops.⁶⁷ He was followed by Lee, and both tenants carried out works for Trinity House from time to time, such as small road repairs and haulage.

Thomas Wright, who was lessee of both farm and Store on Lundy from 1885 to 1891, was said to have "greatly extended its cultivation and commercial and productive capabilities, especially the trade in livestock."⁶⁸ It would seem that he was a man of independent income, an orderly gentleman farmer who paid his rents on time, but he may have been too much the squire so far as the family was concerned, as they christened him "panjandrum," (a figure of great self-importance). He completed the interior of the south wing (G94) which later formed the main part of the hotel, with only two alterations to enlarge the dining-room and to make a connection to the farmhouse (Appendix 2).

Ackland and Dickinson left behind debts and a neglected farm in 1899. They were the first to encourage a tourist trade, and to use the farmhouse as a boarding house, although guests had been accommodated for many years on an ad hoc basis. They also erected the refreshment room (G426)

⁶⁷ THGM, 30 004, xxiii, p.39.

⁶⁸ Chanter, 1887, preface.

which remained in use until the 1939 war.⁶⁹

From 1899 to 1908 the lease was held by Mr George Taylor, a man of some wealth, and a business-man who regarded Lundy as another business. He arranged regular steamer trips with the Red Funnel steamer line, and instituted landing fees, which formed a significant part of Lundy income until the steamer sailings ended in 1989.⁷⁰ He cut a door between the farmhouse and the south wing so that the whole building was a boarding-house, called "The Manor House", and constructed a reservoir (G467) slightly to the north west to feed water to the building.⁷¹ This reservoir remained the principal supply to the hotel until the Landmark Trust re-organised the island water supplies.

Taylor sub-leased to Mr W. Saunt in 1908, who would seem to have continued the management of the farm and Store without disturbance or innovation until required to relinquish his lease in 1911. Saunt evidently liked the island and was managing satisfactorily as he offered to buy Lundy, but the price asked was too high compared with the valuation.⁷² Christie's tenant from 1920 to 1925, Herbert May, also continued to farm and run the Store with reasonable success, and without making changes, until Harman

⁶⁹ HA (i), diary, 1 May 1896.

⁷⁰ Langham, 1994, p.137.

⁷¹ *Kelly's Directory*, 1906.

⁷² T. Saunt, nephew, pers. comm. The valuation in 1915 was £11,000, but the asking price was still £25,000.

wished to take vacant possession and did not renew the lease. The Heaven family frequently complained that tenants left the farm in run-down condition. This was reflected in the rental, which went from c£500 in 1895 to £250 in 1899, but also reflects their lack of supervision, and failure to enforce the conditions of the leases.⁷³

(xi) ECONOMIC & SOCIAL CHANGE 1836-1969

Apart from the activities of the Lundy Granite Company from 1863 to 1868, and the installation of the telegraph, this period of tremendous economic and social change had much less effect on day-to-day life on Lundy than in more developed areas on the mainland. Three developments did affect the island life, however, from about 1870: the rise of the tourist industry, the enactment of social welfare legislation, and the decline in small-scale shipping.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the origins of holiday-making lay in the vogue for seaside venues as health resorts.⁷⁴ In the beginning, Devon was at a disadvantage because it had atrocious roads, and journeys were slow, expensive and uncomfortable; for example, it took £100 and seven days to transport a family there from

⁷³ HA (i), 1863. NTA, draft lease nd, c 1878; copy leases 1892; 1894; 1899.

⁷⁴ Walton, 1983, p.41. Travis, 1993, pp.3-22.

London.⁷⁵ Very few of the visitors who did travel to North Devon would have had any reason to journey to Lundy. By the 1870s several factors operated to change this situation: the establishment of Bank Holidays in 1871 meant that, for the first time, tradesmen and working class families from industrial areas had the opportunity to make holiday excursions. This led to the construction of piers at Portishead (1870) and Ilfracombe (1873) to facilitate steamer traffic and connect with the new railways, which themselves offered new opportunities for travel.⁷⁶ The economic boom which was at its height from the mid-1840s to the early 1870s is described as "a high noon of economic advance," which also meant that the better-placed workers had money to spend.⁷⁷ The result was a tremendous boom in pleasure steamers from Bristol and the industrial areas of South Wales, particularly after Sunday Closing of pubs was enforced in Wales in 1881, and the fares were cheap.⁷⁸ Whereas in 1870 there were only twenty trips a year to Ilfracombe, by 1880 larger and faster paddle steamers had been purpose-built for Bristol Channel excursions, and by

⁷⁵ Mingay, 1963, p.155. £100 in 1800 would be £2898 in 1999 values (Bank of England).

⁷⁶ Travis, 1993, pp.124-31.

⁷⁷ Hill, 1985, pp.102-113.

⁷⁸ May, B., 1980, 'The Rise of Ilfracombe as a Seaside Resort in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries,' *West Country Social & Maritime History*, ed. S. Fisher, 137-159.

1892 they were calling at Lundy regularly twice a week or more during the summer season.⁷⁹

Other contributory factors to the expansion of North Devon tourism, including Lundy, were the literary associations of Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855) and the great popularity of specimen-hunting that followed on the publication of nature studies, such as that of Philip Gosse (1853).⁸⁰ The development of motor traffic between the two wars of 1914 and 1939 improved the connections to the West Country, which was long a very popular holiday destination, from the industrial Midlands in particular. The institution of holidays with pay in 1938, and an increase in prosperity, did much to further tourism, which achieved a growth rate of 49% between 1931 and 1939.⁸¹ The trade revived after the end of the war, boosted by the boom years of the later 1950s, and the contribution to family incomes made by wives taking up employment.⁸² By the 1960s Devon had become a prime destination, having over 20% of the holiday market, and Ilfracombe was its most heavily patronised resort. The culture was working class, and conservative, and the same destinations and boarding houses were often patronised from year to year.⁸³ These were the peak years

⁷⁹ HA (i), diary, passim.

⁸⁰ May, 1980, p.152.

⁸¹ Morgan, N. J., 1994, 'Devon Seaside Tourism Since 1900,' *NMHD*, i, pp.250-52.

⁸² Hill, 1985, pp.302-303.

⁸³ Morgan, 1994, pp.250-54.

for excursions to Lundy, which were an affordable day's outing for holiday makers from Ilfracombe, South Wales, Bristol, and occasionally also from Bideford, Clovelly or Minehead.

From c1970 there was a distinct change in holiday-making habits in favour of package holidays abroad, and touring, following a period of economic buoyancy, greater affluence, and a rise in living standards in the early 1960s.⁸⁴ The resorts failed to modernise and refurbish, or to provide more up-to-date facilities and entertainments. But until the end of the period under consideration (1969) the pleasure steamers were a major source of income for Lundy, particularly as the steamer company provided the launches and crews for landing passengers at Lundy, in return for a percentage of the landing fee. Net receipts for landing fees in 1968 were £1104, being roughly one-third of the total budget; this figure does not include tourist profits from the shop and tavern.⁸⁵ On the island it meant days when up to 700 trippers might be landed for a few hours, during which time all the islanders, helped by regular visitors, worked flat out.

⁸⁴ Hill, 1985, pp.290-296, 302-303.

⁸⁵ MTC, copy trading accounts for the year ended 30 September 1968.

Once contributory insurance schemes had been set up for Old Age Pensions (1908) and National Insurance (1911), the welfare of employees, and the legal requirements laid on employers to contribute made it impossible for Lundy to be an exception. Although these provisions did not at first apply to agricultural workers, the payments were certainly made from 1918 onwards, and the welfare provisions of the National Insurance Act (1946) and the National Health Service Act (1948) made it imperative that Lundy employees' and employer's contributions were fully paid up.⁸⁶ Since Harman was not in a position to finance comparable private provisions for his workforce, this dent in his "independence" had to be accepted.⁸⁷

The decline in small-boat shipping after 1945, the introduction of communication and navigational aids by radio and radar, and the more widespread use of refrigeration, all meant that Lundy was no longer the important place for supplies for ships, or for reporting shipping movements and transmitting messages, that it had been.⁸⁸ This meant the loss of trade at the Store and tavern, and also the loss of a social element in the islanders' lives.

⁸⁶ Hill, 1995, p.118. NDRO, B 170, Christie accounts.

⁸⁷ Hill, 1985, pp.290-92.

⁸⁸ Bouquet, 1963, p.9-16.

CHAPTER 10. CONCLUSION.

It is instructive to compare three islands of similar configuration: Fair Isle (Fig.74), Lundy (frontispiece), and Sark (Fig.75). Each island was for centuries at little more than subsistence level, reflecting the necessary balance between the size of the population and the resources available to sustain it. In the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries technical and social changes reduced the islands' isolation, and were accompanied by a rise in living standards, with results that have differed in each case.

The style of ownership has had a major influence on population levels and continuity. Sark is fortunate in having had a written constitution since 1563 and few changes of proprietor, most of whom have been at least partly resident.¹ The particular structure of the ownership has ensured a high degree of continuity, but with radical population changes since 1918. Fair Isle has had only four families as owners since 1626, none of which was resident, but the island was run under supervision as a part of large estates, and has retained a long-term population despite emigrations in the nineteenth century due to over-population and the shortage of crofts.² Apart from the ownership of the

¹ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, pp.88-101: there have been four changes of Seigneur by sale: 1720, 1723, 1730, 1849.

² Thom, 1989, pp.10-14.

Grenville family, and the short ownership of Walter Heaven, no inheritance of Lundy has survived beyond the second generation, and there has been almost no continuity of population.

The current population levels differ quite sharply, Fair Isle having 67 inhabitants, Lundy c20, and Sark 550.³ It is significant that while Fair Isle has entitled crofters, and Sark has house owners, and tenants, some with long-standing historical rights, Lundy's working population has consisted almost entirely of employees. It has been commented that "Lundy has lost all human contact with the soil, for though a portion of it is farmed, it no longer breeds men and women; its folklore and tradition are dead, its history a broken piece of patchwork."⁴ Indeed, it would be difficult to point to a period in Lundy's history when long-term folklore and tradition are known to have existed. Where employees are engaged to run, or work on the island, and if there is no long-term security, their commitment will seldom equal that of the land-holder, although Gade on Lundy (1926-78) was a notable exception.

Another factor restricting continuity on Lundy is that it has not been possible to move to, or remain there permanently, either as freeholder or long-lease householder,

³ Fair Isle: *Whitaker's Concise Almanac*, 1998, p.561 (1991 census). Lundy: MTC notes. Sark: Hawkes, 1992, p.13.

⁴ Waters, B., 1955, *The Bristol Channel*, p.94.

nor to remain after pension age (although Gade was again an exception). The farm leases which were granted were either curtailed or not renewed. Hunter comments on the value of population continuity, in that practical knowledge and optimum strategies are handed down, and environmental and historical awareness fosters preservation of buildings, paths, topographical names, the landscape, and the survival of archaeological monuments.⁵ Thomas also refers to the "...priceless commodity [of] inherited experience."⁶ On the other hand, Lundy does not have the problems experienced in Sark and the Scillies of second-home ownership (Chapter 3 above).

Fair Isle has been successful in retaining a core of islanders whose families have been there for generations, and in integrating selected and committed newcomers into the community. The island passed from a dedicated naturalist (originally a visitor) to the Scottish National Trust, which has worked with the islanders in identifying needs, and designing strategies for the preservation of the environment. Sark also has families whose holdings go back for many generations, and government by an overlordship with a high degree of continuity, even though islanders' loyalties have been tested in recent times by its sometimes

⁵ Hunter, 1996, p.209.

⁶ Thomas, 1985, p.101.

autocratic exercise.⁷ The influx of newcomers has created a divided society, which may reflect one disadvantage in having such a large population. Other disadvantages are the absence of mainland health service and welfare benefits, and mains utilities, but the compensatory advantages are several in that there are sufficient numbers for a school, a resident doctor, and communal activities in sports, drama, music, and a Sark Society.⁸ Fair Isle also has a school and community activities, and possibly represents an optimum size for a small island community. Lundy has never had a regular school, and was shaped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the Heaven and Harman families, who aimed to keep the island a peaceful and natural reserve but had to compromise with economic necessities.

The only one of the three islands to have developed democratic communal responsibility is Fair Isle: all adults are entitled to stand, and vote for the Fair Isle Committee, which makes decisions that affect the island and

⁷ Ingoldby, 1990, Chapter 12. Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, pp.110-119. Hawkes, 1992, Chapter 6.

⁸ Hawkes, 1992, 14-147 passim. The present seigneur encourages farming by grants of subsidies. A special tax is raised to provide pensions and fuel subsidies for the needy, and divorces granted in Guernsey have been recognised since 1977. Students are financed for their further education away from the island (Hawkes, 1992, pp.12-16, 87).

its community. These are then effected through co-operation with the Scottish National Trust and other concerned organisations, and the Committee has a representative on the South Dunross Community Council.⁹ All decisions concerning Lundy are made by the Landmark Trust, which consults other bodies as appropriate. On Sark the representative body of the 40 original tenants (1565), the Chief Pleas, was augmented in 1922 by twelve elected members; it may consult, and forward ordinances to the Seigneur and, since 1951, has been able to overcome the Seigneur's veto if the Chief Pleas votes in favour a second time.¹⁰ The opening up of house and land sales to non-islanders, who came chiefly for tax advantages, has had the consequence that house prices have risen so steeply that young people are forced out of the market which, if they have to leave, further aggravates the imbalance of the population in age and origin.¹¹

Each of the three islands depends to some extent on income from tourists, but Fair Isle's dependence is far less

⁹ Thom, 1989, pp.135-36.

¹⁰ Ewen & de Carteret, 1969, pp.80-83. The limitations of this situation are obvious; Hawkes, 1992, p.80, comments of the Seigneur's position that "the decision is by vote of the corporate body, even if some members may follow the lead given by him."

¹¹ In 1992 a freehold house sold for £275,000; the Seigneur takes a *trezieme* tax on property sales (Hawkes, 1992, p.13).

than that of either Lundy or Sark, and more has been done to foster a balance in the economy by the development of an island industry, a judicious use of grants, and the retention of crofting. Sark depends on tourists who come in large numbers, with a little market gardening and farming for local needs, and has capitalised on its unique feudal standing to attract visitors. It retains its independence and raises and spends its own revenues. The owner defends the *status quo*, for example in allowing no provision for divorce on Sark, and the ban on motor cars, or aircraft landings except in an emergency.¹² Until 1969 Lundy struggled to maintain a precarious balance between island life and tourism, also capitalising on the island's popular oddity-image, but without compromising its basic qualities. Since then it has been dependent on visitor-income, finance from the Landmark Trust, and grants, and considerable changes have been implemented.

Lundy is the only island of the three which carries the full cost of its transport to and from the mainland, which is a tremendous drag on the economy. Sark has been able to turn the shipping to financial advantage since 1969 through a 51% shareholding in the Guernsey Isle of Sark Shipping Company.¹³ Lundy and Fair Isle now both benefit from

¹² Ingoldby, 1990, pp.7, 120. In late 1999 the divorce question is under review.

¹³ Hawkes, 1992, p.10.

support grants, particularly those designed to preserve natural habitats and monuments. The English newcomers to Sark are mostly self-financed contributors, and the island is free from external levies; neither does the island carry the burden that UK and EC employment, building and safety regulations impose on employers in the UK. Standards of buildings, working hours and conditions, salaries, free time, pension provision, and insurances are enforced, and for a small-scale economy these expenses can be difficult to absorb.¹⁴

Sark is less isolated than either Fair Isle or Lundy, and formerly had particularly close historical ties to Jersey. The proximity of the group to France has also meant that it has had strategic importance, and has suffered invasions, the last during the 1939-45 war. Its history of attack and defence, and the higher level of population, may account for the very poor survival of archaeological monuments compared with Fair Isle and Lundy. Fair Isle has had the least intrusion, with only the lighthouses (1890), life-saving apparatus and fog-warning system, and the 1939 wartime installations. Sark does not have the same level of ornithological interest found in the other two islands; in fact one description holds that "Sark consists of one thing only. Its very beautiful coastline."¹⁵ Fair

¹⁴ R Lo-Vel, agent until July 1998, pers. comm.

¹⁵ Ingoldsby, 1990, p.61.

Isle maintains a bird observatory, with accommodation for 49 visitors, and offers an interesting field for archaeologists, as does Lundy; although Lundy no longer has an observatory it has a field warden, the bird life is recorded, and it offers a variety of outdoor activities for visitors.

There is a paradox in that the attraction of islands lies in their separateness, which at the same time presents the fundamental economic problem of transport costs. The continuing nature of this difficulty is shown in a current report concerning Orkney: "It costs £23 a head to ferry a cow from Orkney to Aberdeen. For sheep it is £5 - often twice as much as the sale price at the end of the journey. Petrol is much more expensive in Orkney than it is on the mainland."¹⁶ One advantage of tourism may be said to be that it is the only income-generating asset which pays, or at least contributes substantially to, its own transport costs. In the absence of resources which have a value that outweighs transport costs, and with the general decline of small-scale farming and fishing, all that an island may have left to sell is itself. However, the exploitation of tourism is not without its dangers, perhaps most of all in changing the very quality of place that attracts people in the first place (Chapter 3 above). Ingoldby comments that

¹⁶ *The Week*, 20 March 1999, p.2.

"Considerably more is known about the economic benefits of tourism than the associated costs. Incremental, intangible costs, which are hard to measure and may be overlooked until major, irreversible changes in society or environment occur."¹⁷

With fairly scant historical descriptive sources for Lundy (certainly compared with Fair Isle, and Sark) it is difficult to penetrate behind the established facts to envisage much detail of island life, at least until 1926.¹⁸ One particular difficulty is to stretch the perspective back in time to the period *before* a date in consideration, not to the date itself but to the foregoing years that would have shaped a generation's ideas and reactions. In looking back from our own viewpoint we interpose our different standpoint and awareness, which inevitably distort the perception of what we see. For example, we tend not to consider the political insecurity in the reign of Elizabeth I, or the horrors and economic effects of plagues. W. H. Heaven's thinking was rooted in the early nineteenth century, which provided his perceptions of a gentleman's standing and its relationship to land. We forget, for example, how indispensable pack animals and horses were, and the importance of the domestic pig to labourers' families. A pig was generally the only capital asset and a

¹⁷ Ingoldby, 1990, p.62

¹⁸ Gade, 1978.

mainstay; it could be fed on waste, when slaughtered every part could be eaten, and it could be salted and preserved for winter food, which other meat could not. Pigs were often bred up in the house as, contrary to their current image, they are clean animals; in short, so valuable that in Taernoe they were insured.¹⁹ Other problems easily forgotten are those of storage of crops and supplies against weather and pests, and securing a sufficiency of necessities for over-wintering both islanders and livestock. These stand out vividly from the Vere Hunt and the early Heaven letters. Gardens, too, were not so much a hobby as a vital part of household economy for vegetables, fruit, herbs, honey, and for keeping poultry.²⁰

An imaginative projection is similarly necessary in retrospective contemplation of the island itself. How did it look when the farm was at the castle, and what was the configuration of the burial ground before the lighthouse was built, for example? Another difficulty impeding this exercise is pinpointed by Rackham: "People record sudden changes...more often than they record stability, gradual change...Many kinds of records over-represent the unusual; if something is not put on record, it may merely have been

¹⁹ Karlsson, 1994, p.47. Ingoldby, 1990, p.41. *The Times*, 23 January 1999, review of Malcomson, R. & Mastoris, S., 1999, *The English Pig: A History*. Thomas, 1985, p.85.

²⁰ Aston, 1985, p.105. HA (i), diary, passim.

too commonplace to be worth mentioning."²¹ This is true of artistic and photographic records as well as documents; there are no photographs of pig sties or labourer's cottages in the Lundy collections. History is hung upon the known pegs of the extraordinary, from the capture of William de Marisco in 1242, through piracy and puffins to dramatic helicopter rescues.²² The diary kept by the Heaven family between 1870 and 1905 present a different limitation in that it contains a large amount of domestic trivia, with only passing references to events and people outside the household and family. They present a very useful source, but one that is limited in its compass.

The local historian and the archaeologist attempt to recreate an idea of people in the landscape, but Aston points to a distortion which can affect this: that priorities vary from place to place, and from time to time in the same place.²³ Were the earliest settlements on Lundy concentrated at the North End because the food obtainable there was more important than the later need for agricultural soils, nearby water supplies and a landing bay? Or was there a wider distribution of settlements than the surviving archaeology would indicate? Aston continues, "...habitats which appear inhospitable at one period may be

²¹ Rackham, 1995, pp.24, 287.

²² Marisco: Luard, H., (ed), 1872, *The Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris*.

²³ Aston, 1985, pp.91-94.

quite acceptable and considered normal at another."²⁴ In considering housing, it is difficult now to envisage the appalling living conditions of the agricultural poor. Archaeology, too, can lead to distortions of perspective, in that what survives is only part of a once-whole, and the selection of sites to be investigated, and their interpretation, are subject to the priorities of the investigator.²⁵

Of the factors which have shaped the development of small islands the geography is particular to each one, but

²⁴ Aston, 1985, p.98.

²⁵ On Lundy, Gardner pioneered the identification of sites and monuments, and carried out some excavations. Professor Charles Thomas excavated and interpreted the Early Christian graves in the pre-Norman cemetery enclosure; Schofield and Webster sought to identify land-use by means of sampling artefact distribution. Thackray and Thackray are engaged in constructing a detailed map of the island's archaeology by intensive surveys.

many others are experienced in common. The difficulties and expense of transport; adaptation to the radical economic and social changes in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries; subjection to ownership patterns; the difficulty of producing adequate means of exchange once self-sufficiency is replaced by needs beyond what the island itself can supply; the economic problem of small-scale operations, and the limitations on diversification or expansion, can all be cited. Another is the increasingly specialist nature of employment, and the need for engineering and technical specialists that a small community may find it difficult to pay for, whether on a permanent or a contract basis. Apart from running costs, major expenditures on jetties, harbours, and infrastructure could never bring an economic return having any relation to the sum invested, at least unless the volume of tourist traffic is as great as that on Sark.²⁶ One general conclusion is that, unless it has particularly valuable resources, it would be a Herculean task to own and

²⁶ Infocheck Company Microfiche Reports, The Lundy Company, 1993-96: although there was a profit on turnover 1993-1995, at the end of 1996 there were accumulated losses of £1.6 million from 1969, liabilities of £70,327 and an overdraft of £78,428. 1996 is the last year for which figures were available.

administer a small island above subsistence level without funds beyond those that can be generated on the island itself. Sark, which is the exception in having a healthy economy, relies on Guernsey as a feeder-point for the large number of tourists which provide the bulk of its income.²⁷ A warden-supervised island with minimum facilities, and the warden either resident or visiting is an alternative possibility, but would depend on the availability of trust and/or other funding, as is the case on Steep Holm.²⁸

Although it may not be profitable to separate the various factors which shape the development of an island, since they are inter-active, it is clear that character of the ownership is the most varied, and the most influential. Hunter comments that islanders are "...both dependent on, and vulnerable to, the benevolence and enlightenment of their proprietor."²⁹ It would be more accurate, perhaps, to substitute the word judgement for those two qualities, which have not infrequently been absent. The resources, abilities, philosophy and character of an owner are seen above to have shaped the different responses to the factors which govern an island, and to events and challenges both internal and external. This is illustrated in comparing the

²⁷ The landing fee per head is 75p. Other sources of income are licence fees, harbour dues, duties, and investment income (Hawkes, 1992, pp.18-19).

²⁸ Rendell & Rendell, 1993, Chapter 18.

²⁹ Hunter, 1996, p.140.

three islands, for while the opportunities to diversify are necessarily limited on small islands, Fair Isle has had success in doing so rising from the islanders' determination to preserve the island way of life in the modern world, the appropriate use of grants from outside, and the development of a community responsibility. Another example can be found in Scilly where the decisive management, capital input, and insight of Augustus Smith were crucial in reforming the economy.

The changes of ownership were an important factor in the lack of long-term population continuity on Lundy already referred to. Until the Landmark Trust took over Lundy there had also been a shortfall of longer-term investment, and where substantial initial investments were made by Borlase Warren, Heaven, Christie, and Harman these were not sufficiently productive for them to be upheld in the longer term. While this has meant that there has been a lack, or deterioration of, infrastructures and facilities, it can now be seen paradoxically as having been contributory to the preservation of the environment and monuments. It would not be true to attribute the preservation of the island in an unspoiled state to chance, however, since Heaven and Harman shared the ambition to keep the island unspoiled for the enjoyment of its intrinsic qualities. Heaven's period saw the greatest number of changes, partly by virtue of his residence, but also perforce of financial stringencies which admitted the granite company. One result of this was the

creation of a family enclave in Millcombe and the east sidelands, from which islanders and visitors were excluded, and these were more extensively cultivated than might otherwise have been the case. The Heavens were averse to the tourism developed by Ackland and Taylor, and had no financial benefit from it; by the time this could have been remedied by the terms of a new lease, the need for income was too pressing for the imposition of such restrictions on a prospective tenant.

Despite their shared philosophy, the effect of Harman's administration reversed Heaven's admission of the mainland agencies; this reduced the size of the population, and the island income, but brought it back entirely within the owner's control, although both Heaven and Harman retained the right in all leases to secure the dismissal of any institutional employee who gave offence. Behind the figures of the owners, the islanders before 1926 move as shadows across a blurred film. For the most part one is left to wonder about their lives as farm labourers, bakers, boatmen, brewers, builders, cooks, dairymaids, gardeners, laundrywomen, maids, poultry keepers, shopkeepers, slaughterers, smiths, or turf diggers, dependent on the

owner or the lessee for their homes and livelihoods.³⁰

The resources of the island remain virtually the same, but the perception of their use, and of the island itself, have changed during the present century. Rabbits are now an unsaleable pest that reduces the grazing; the birds are not sold, but have attracted bird watchers, which in turn led to the identification of Lundy as a place of scientific interest. This development was bolstered by the remarkable general burgeoning of interest in natural history and the environment since the 1950s, and the foundation of the Lundy Field Society. Lundy's importance to shipping as hazard, refuge, and a source of trade for the islanders, declined sharply after the end of the war in 1945, due to the increased size and technical improvement of ships, the steep decline in the number of small ships, and the advance in communication and navigation technologies. The boats now using the anchorage are pleasure yachts and divers' craft; they seldom use the shop, and the crews do not always come ashore. Technical advances have also led to the automation of the lighthouses, with a consequent reduction of the

³⁰ Some modern novelists have addressed the problem of placing people in their historical context with success. Among these, Graham Swift in *Waterlands*, 1983, explores the use and meaning of history through an imaginative reconstruction of a family and the local history of the fenland.

population by six men (1994), and telephone connection has replaced the radio link with Hartland (1974). Nor does Lundy now have any control of fishing in its coastal waters, and the farming is limited to sheep-raising.

The tax and tithe-free status of Lundy, which both rested on the absence of supporting evidence, and was itself contributory to the paucity of historical sources, undoubtedly enhanced its market appeal as a small fiefdom. But the advantages hardly compensated for the low return on capital, and the fact that Lundy seldom produced much profit, if any, meant that the advantages must often have been greater in their appeal than in reality. This may have been one of the causes of some rapid turnovers of ownership. However, for the Heavens as resident owners the exemptions contributed to their survival, as their teetering economy was spared tax on the lease rental and other island incomes. Harman ensured that payment for any cottage leases was made by cash on Lundy, since only Lundy-generated income was exempt from tax, but it was chiefly his concern for independence that drove the measure. The exemptions from levies carried with them a concomitant lack of communal provision: no poor law or parish relief, no regular school, and when police help was requested in 1871 it was, quite reasonably, refused (Chapter 5 v above).

"Men have seen islands in different ways - as a prison, as a paradise, as a penance; islands have been sought as a

refuge."³¹ One may wish to substitute "burden" for penance, but Lundy has been looked on as both a paradise and as a refuge. What, then, makes an islander? Certainly not a fugitive from troubles who looks for a solution on a island, nor a romantic visionary; such people are often attracted, but seldom last for very long. Those who are successful in the long term have in common an attachment to place that over-rides the disadvantages of low material returns, and a lack of facilities that are taken for granted on the mainland. It is also necessary to be able to co-operate in common objectives, and to withstand the pressures that can be engendered in small, isolated communities. Compensations are found in the element of freedom prevailing on small islands, the absence of pollution, noise, and other "multiple alienations of industrial and suburban man," and what Ruskin referred to as response to the natural world.³²

What are the present satisfactions of island life? And what might be the implications of the microcosm for the macrocosm? The evidence suggests that the individual's part and significance in the community play a large part. Where all the members of a small community are known to each other, and every one has a clear identity, crime and violence are very rare. Each person has a role in the

³¹ Thomas, L., 1983, *A World of Islands*, p.12.

³² Fowles & Godwin, 1978, p.17. Ruskin: cited in Cosgrove, D. & Daniels, C., 1988, *The Iconography of Landscape*, p.29.

economy of the community and the care of the island, and has the satisfaction of being able to see a direct relation between his or her efforts and their result. After more than fifty years on Lundy, Gade summed up his view on island life: "...purely the peace and quiet, which exist even when the elements are at their worst...the sense of freedom, the independence...or could it be the challenge of wringing a livelihood...in spite of tempest, drought, and deluge...it could be that one's entity is more apparent amongst a small island community...there is the island itself, which engrains itself into one's very marrow."³³ However, it is the same attractive appeal of the microcosm that produces some of the economic constraints affecting a small island. Similarly, the same lack of importance and commercial resources, which shaped a low degree of development, have served to preserve an unspoiled environment, and now generate new economic strategies.

This study has served to show that island geography, the nature of the ownership, and the force of some external events have united in shaping Lundy's development from obscurity to a historical significance arising from archaeological, ecological, and scientific studies. It is also shown that in the modern world small islands are not sustainable economic units beyond subsistence level without

³³ Gade, 1978, p.16.

the support of external finance, be it the financial input of the owner, tourist revenues, or subsidies and grant funding. The one constant factor is that the add-on expense of transport of people and goods to and from the island is an invariable and weighty factor in a small island economy.

With modern communications, particularly telephone and computer links and the availability of helicopters, Lundy's isolation has been vastly modified. These bring obvious conveniences, not least the ready availability of emergency assistance in the case of accidents. Some would argue that this reduction of isolation has the effect of diminishing the quality of what may be described as island-ness, and the virtues of self-reliance, and resilience. This is a philosophical question for island romantics versus those who hold that "...there was never yet philosopher that could endure the toothache patiently."³⁴ The disadvantage of the weather's delaying or preventing crossings to and from the mainland has been ameliorated with modern ships and navigational aids, but can never be entirely overcome. There are still days when the ship cannot cross, or cannot land passengers or freight. Similarly, although weather damage can also be ameliorated by the use of modern building materials, the demands on building maintenance are high.

³⁴ Shakespeare: *Leonato, Much Ado About Nothing*, Act v, sc. 1, 35-36.

The distinguishing features of ownership are seen as the owner's response to the island, his reaction to external forces, and, most importantly, his ability or willingness to sustain the expense of preserving what he values in the island, or the need to compromise for the sake of income. Bluntly, a private owner needed to be rich, and to stay rich. For the owners who took on the challenge of trying to forge a viable economy for Lundy because of their devotion to what they found there, all were to some extent handicapped by external circumstances beyond their control. Bevill Grenville (1619-43) and Borlase Warren (1775-81) were both responsible for their own financial shortfalls, but both were drawn into active engagement in wars. Christie's was an exceptional case resulting from an unstable temperament, whose personal circumstances brought about the end of his ownership (1918-1925). It is possible that he could have kept the island with May as a satisfactory tenant, although there would have been little financial return on his investment. Nevertheless, as has been remarked above, his period of ownership was important for the regeneration of the island.

The Heavens (1836-1917) and Harmans (1925-1969) have been the only owners to regard the island as home, and for whom it was their only significant property. It has been seen that Heaven's early loss of West Indies income led to constant financial problems, which were compounded by weak and ineffective management. But the two measures which might

have brought prosperity (the granite works, and then investment in the farm in the 1870s) were both confounded by outside factors: the dishonesty and bad management of the Lundy Granite Co., and the severe agricultural and economic depression of the later eighteenth seventies. Although a more astute owner could possibly have retrieved the quarrying operation, Heaven was also moved by the fact that he disliked the intrusion on the peace of the island. After the stock market crash of 1929, and the troubles arising from the hubris of his company management, Harman could do no more than keep Lundy going on a shoestring. With hindsight it is apparent that his view of Lundy as a nature reserve, and his encouragement of the Lundy Field Society have been pivotal in the emergence of Lundy's ecological, scientific and archaeological status referred to above (Chapter 5, vii).

External events of less personal impact have been shown to be no less formative. In particular the social and economic changes of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries which have led to the burgeoning of tourism, the advent of the welfare state, and the spread of national and European controls. More recent is the availability of external funding to support protected environments. Since 1969 owner power has been both supported and eroded: grant finance lays conditions on the use of the money, and legislation has been designed to protect the environment.

But in comparing present-day Lundy and Fair Isle, it is evident that projects for grant applications are designed and implemented by the owner/managers, and the strategy lies mainly in their hands.

With the awareness of ecological and heritage values that now prevails, and the availability of external funding to sustain them, a new era of small island management has been initiated. An essential element in the application of such finance is the shaping of projects and a management style which discriminate in favour of the long-term conservation of the island. It will be interesting in the future to see how far such measures as have been implemented by the Landmark Trust, and grant-aided investment projects now in progress, may contribute to a viable future for Lundy as an island of genuine intrinsic interest with an integrated community.

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APPENDIX 1.

OWNERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND TENANTS OF LUNDY, 1489-1969

- 1489-1515 Thos Butler, 7th Earl Ormond, estates restored
(Calendar of Close Rolls 1485-1500, p.112)
- 1515-1532 Anne St Leger (nee Butler), daughter of Ormond
(The Complete Peerage, 1987, x, p.133)
- 1532- Sir George St Leger, her son
-1577 Sir John St Leger, his son
(The History of Parliament: the House of Commons,
Hasler, F. W., 1981, iii, p.327)
- 1577-1591 Sir Richard Grenville
(Rowse, A., 1937, p.149, citing Close Roll
ao 20 Elizabeth, part 1, PRO C 54/1024)
-1600 Robert Arundell
lease of one-fourth of grazing
1600?-1603 Sir Robert Basset, part lease?
(WCSL, translation of PRO REQ/2/171/68)
- 1591-1619 Sir Barnard Grenville
(DCRS, Inquisitions Post Mortem, viii, DCRS, nd.
Rowse, 1937, p.334)
- 1619-1643 Sir Bevill Grenville, his son
Given at his marriage, 1619
(Stucley, J., 1983, p.12)
? 1625 Sir Wm Godolphin lessee?
(National Library of Wales, Calendar of Wynn
of Gwydir Papers, 1371, 1625)
? William Lampit, "governor & minister"?
(BL, Thomasen's Tracts, E 619, p.23)
- ?1638 James Fiennes,
purchase from Grenville?
(PRO C 12 822/3)
- By 1645 William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye & Sele
father of James Fiennes
-1647/8 Thomas Bushell, Governor for King
(British Library, Bushell, 1647, 24 Sept.)
-1659 Sir John Ricketts, Governor
(Thomas, 1978, p.131, citing CSPD,
Commonwealth, xii, pp.511-512)
- ? -1701 John Granville, 1st Earl of Bath,
son of Bevill Grenville
?1669 Redeemed mortgage or re-purchased
(PRO C 12 822/3. BL, Bushell, 1663)
- 1701 Charles Granville, 2nd Earl of Bath, his son,
(Granville, 1895, pp.393-97)

- 1701-1711 William Granville, 3rd Earl of Bath, his son,
dsp a minor
-1707 John, Lord Granville, administrator
(Granville, 1895, pp.393-97)
- 1711-1715 George Granville, Lord Lansdowne
(grandson of Bevill)
(PRO C 10 398/48. SRO D 593/C/21/7)
1714-15 Agreement: Lansdowne, Carteret & Gower
(SRO D 868/7 pp.26,27,33)
- 1715-1744 Grace Carteret (nee Granville),
daughter John 1st Earl of Bath, and
John Leveson Gower
grandson of Jane Leveson Gower
(daughter John 1st Earl of Bath d.1696)
Joint ownership following the division
of the Bath estates
(SRO D 593/P/16/2/1/3. Granville, 1895, p.417)
c1720-1 Richard Scores,tenant
(PRO T 1/352)
- 1744-1754 John Leveson, 1st Earl Gower (title 1746) and
John Carteret,1st Earl Granville
son of Grace Carteret (Collins, 1756)
Joint ownership
1750 Lease of Moiety from Granville to Gower
1750 Thomas Benson, lessee of whole island
(SRO D 593/C/21/4/2)
- 1754-1763 Trustees of John, 1st Earl Gower
for sale of Lundy moiety,
(PRO C 12 822/3) and
John Carteret, 1st Earl Granville
Joint ownership
- 1763-1775 Trustees of 1st Earl Gower and
Trustees of 1st Earl Granville
for Robert, 2nd Earl Granville, his son
(PRO C 12 48/1)
- 1775-1781 Sir John Borlase Warren, by purchase, April-May
(PRO C 38/657; C33/443/i pp187, 198, 208, 263)
1779 Lease Warren to Richard Budd 21 years
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
- 1781 Sir Robert Palk, conceded his purchase to
(NDRO, Anon 1787)

- 1781-1803 Sir John Cleveland, by purchase
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
1787 Richard Budd & Wm Williams, tenants
-1791 Richard Budd, tenant
(NDRO, Anon, 1787. THLA, Abstract of Title,
1819)
? Hugh Acland, tenant
(HA (i), 24 May, 1858)
? William Tuck, tenant
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
- 1803-1818 Sir Vere Hunt, by purchase
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
1805-1807 Mortgage to Henry Drake
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
- 1818-1830 Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, son of Vere Hunt
(THLA, Abstract of Title, 1819)
- 1830-1836 John Matravers & Wm Stiffe by purchase
(NTA, Deed of Mortgage, 1844)
1834? Possibly contract date
Matravers & Stiffe to Heaven?
- 1836-1883 William Hudson Heaven, by purchase
(NTA, Deed of Mortgage, 1844)
1839-1847 R. Rowles, tenant
(THGM 30 025, xvii, p.55)
1847-?1861 Jack Lee, tenant
(THGM 30 010, xxxiv, p.251)
1863-1871 William C. McKenna, lessee
(HA (i), lease, 1863)
1869-1870 Henry Benthall, lessee designate
(PRO C 31/2333/3)
- 1883-1916 The Revd Hudson Grosett Heaven (life tenant)
son of William Hudson Heaven
(SHPD, Will proved 10 July 1883)
1885-1891 Thomas Wright, lessee
(HA (i) diary, 12 February 1885)
1891 Henry Ackland, lessee of Stores
(NTA, lease, 8 May 1891)
1892-1894 H. Ackland, lessee, stores and farm
(NTA, lease, 25 March 1892)
1894-1898 H. Ackland & T. Dickinson, lessees
(NTA, lease, 26 November 1894)
1899-1907 P. Napier Miles,
lessee of Old Light
(NTA, lease, 25 March 1899)
1898-1899 T. Dickinson, residual lessee
(NTA, Dissolution of Partnership,
21 May 1898)

- 1899-1908 George Taylor, lessee
(NTA, lease, 1 December 1899)
1908-1911 W. F. Saunt, sub-lessee of Taylor
(NTA, letter, 4 August 1912)
1911-1916 Walter Hudson Heaven
manager (heir in tail)
(HA (i) letter 15 June 1911)
- 1916-1917 Walter Hudson Heaven, nephew of H. G. Heaven
(NTA, Deed of Enrolment 1914. HA (i) letter,
28 January 1917)
- 1918-1925 Augustus Langham Christie, by purchase
(NTA Abstract of Title, 1936)
1920-1925 Mr C. Herbert May, lessee
(NDRO, B 170 add/37)
- 1925-1954 Martin Coles Harman, by purchase
(NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936)
1929 National Provincial Bank, mortgagees
(NTA, Abstract of Title, 1936)
- 1936 Mr S. T. Harman Trustee
(brother of M. C. Harman)
Beneficial owners J.P. & A. P. Harman
(NTA, Conveyance 27 June 1938)
- 1938 J. P. and A. P. Harman (sons of M. C. Harman)
(NTA, Conveyance, 27 June 1938)
1941-1942 Mr Herbert Van Os, lessee
(MTC, letter F. W. Gade, 4 January 1941)
- 1944 A. P. Harman, beneficial owner of Fee Simple
(NTA Abstract of Title, 1969. Trust deed
conferring entitlements to his two sisters has
not been found)
- 1954-1968 A.P.Harman (Ruth Harman Jones, Diana
Pennington Keast entitlement "a family
matter." (LFSR, 1954, viii, p.37)
- 1968-1969 Kathleen Harman (widow of A. Harman)
(Abstract of Title, 1969)
(Ruth Harman Jones, Diana Pennington Keast
entitlement.)
- 1969 The National Trust, by purchase
The Landmark Trust, lessee, 60 years
(NTA, Conveyance and lease, 29 September
1969.)

APPENDIX 2.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT "OLD HOUSE", FORMER MANOR FARM HOTEL, ORIGINAL FARMHOUSE (G25, G92-G99, Fig.25)

There have been seven known principal stages in the evolution of this complex of buildings:

1. The farmhouse built by Borlase Warren c1776
2. Additions made before 1838
3. Modifications made by W H Heaven 1838
4. Additions made by the granite company, 1863-68
5. Addition made by Heaven 1875
6. Additions and alterations by M C Harman, 1926
7. Alterations made by the Landmark Trust, 1982-83

The complex had five basic units (excluding outbuildings):

- A. Farmhouse, additions and modifications
- B. South wing 1863-68
- C. North wing, store/tavern/bakehouse 1863-68
- D. Cottage adjacent to north wing 1863-68
- E. West extension, dairy block 1875

1. The earliest description of Warren's house is from 1822, when it was advertised as having "An entrance Hall, Two Parlours, Five Chambers, Kitchen and Domestic Offices."¹ It stands on a site which slopes west to east, and measurements taken from the plan of 1918 give the external dimensions of the original building as 65 ft x 21.25 ft (19.8m x 6.5m).² It consisted of two two-storey blocks north and south, with pitched roofs, windows east, chimneys north and south, with separate staircases in the north-west and south-west corners. The OS drawings of 1809 (BL 299A), and 1820 (BL

¹ BLMS, Add 40345.

² NDRO, B 170 add/39.

299B, Fig.59), and DN 1832 (Fig. 35) show a connecting section between the two blocks which suggests a corridor.³ TH 1319 of 1820 (Fig.20) shows the house as one block, with an addition to the south wall (as appear in the drawing of 1838, (Fig.32). The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the infill and the addition were made between 1809 and 1819, which is the earliest date that the Trinity House map would have been surveyed.

The dairy or cellar (G717), which had slate shelves, was at lower ground level below the south block, reached by the internal staircase in the south-west corner (Fig.34). There was a well (G574) below the north-east room, which remained until the 1982 rebuilding. The 1838 drawing also indicates a cellar level below the north-east room (Fig.32).

The house was evidently originally intended for temporary use by Warren pending the construction of a mansion (G725). The temporary use may explain the unusual design, in two parts with separate staircases, if one part was intended initially for the proprietor and the other for servants. The writer of 1787 shows that Cleveland reserved the house for his own use, and both the diary of Vere Hunt in 1811, and the 1822 contents inventory indicate that the building was similarly divided in use, as the furnishings

³ BLM, 299A, 1809; 299B, 1820. TH 1319, 1820. PRO MFQ 1260, 1832.

described are not those of a servant or labourer.⁴

2. The first pictorial record of the building is a drawing of 1838 (Fig.32).⁵ By this time the central connection had been extended to a single-storey central section in line with the eastern walls of the two blocks, but very slightly indented; it had a central door with a window on either side, and a pitched roof. Also a small two-storey cottage (G259) had been added to the south wall, with entrance east, and chimney south. At the north end of the farmhouse there is a single-storey addition (G719) of the same height and roof pitch as the central section. It has an upper window and what appears to be a door at the same level, which suggests that there may have been a hoist to a store. That this was an addition appears from the line of masonry (Fig.60).

3. In 1838 W H Heaven made alterations: the north, south, and central pitched roofs were removed, the central section, which is very slightly recessed, was built up, and a new roof and parapet were constructed. The drawings made in 1973 (Fig.62) showed the outlines of doors on the interiors of the two first floors of the north and south blocks (rooms 18 and 21-22, Figs 28,62) which presumably gave access to the newly-constructed central upper storey, though these doorways were not then visible on the other sides of the

⁴ NDRO, Anon., 1787. LIM, T 22.

⁵ HA (i), drawing, 1838.

walls.⁶ Langham (1994) has mis-interpreted these drawings and mistakenly shows the doors at ground-floor level.⁷ The 1973 drawings also showed that there had been two windows in the upper storeys of each of the inward-facing walls, that a centrally-pitched roof had afterwards been built across them (Figs. 63, 64), and that there were windows on the west wall as well as the east when the upper storey was infilled. This suggests that the original corridor-like connection between the two blocks had been replaced by the single-storey central room across the whole width, and that there was a pitched roof. There was an old and a modern fireplace on the south wall of the south block, and one on the exterior south wall of the north block.

4. Between 1863 and 1868 the Lundy Granite Company constructed a south wing against the south wall of the farmhouse (G94, the "New House" or "Big House"), and separate from it, which had been intended for the managers' use. This must have involved the removal of the small cottage (G259) which stood there formerly. WCs at ground and

⁶ MTC, sketches and notes, 1973. There is a slight discrepancy in the two sets of measurements which may represent an actual difference, or may have arisen from work done in difficult, dark conditions with a small torch and a foot rule.

⁷ Langham, 1994, p.84. In 1973 the original ground-floor walls were not visible.

first-floor levels were built against the south-west corner of the south block, abutting the new building. The interior was not finished when the company went into liquidation in 1868. Another separate block was built at the north of the farmhouse to provide the Store (G429) and bakehouse (G435), with storage rooms behind (to the south, G428), and a carpenter's workshop (G720) above. A cottage (G430) and outhouse (G433) for the store-keeper were built east of this block, and were separate from both the Store and the farmhouse (Figs 34, 65).

5. In 1875 Heaven's manager built a new dairy and salting house (G722) adjoining the west of the farmhouse, which formed a central wing projecting into the courtyard between the north and south wings (Fig.34).⁸

The south wing was completed internally by the lessee, Wright, for his own use in 1885-86, and consisted of rooms as shown in the plan of 1918 (Figs. 34, 65).⁹ A doorway was knocked through to connect the south wing with the farmhouse c1899.

In the photograph of 1886 (Fig. 60) the north addition has two upper and one lower windows (of a different style from those of the main building) and the chimney has been rebuilt; the masonry below the lower window suggests a filled-in door. The symmetry of the main building, and the

⁸ HA (i), Lundy Log, p.93.

⁹ NDRO, B 170 add/39.

line of the masonry between it and the north part, confirm this as having been an addition. The plan of 1918 shows the addition as "back kitchen" and "store" with through-connection to the main building, and a west entrance (Fig. 34). The photograph also shows that a further addition was made to the north end of the building at an unknown date, of which only part of the east facade with a door and a first floor window remained standing. In the 1918 plan the area is shown as an enclosed courtyard. The long narrow upper window or doorway also suggests the use of a hoist, but alternatively the roof line contiguous with the 1863-64 cottage to the north could indicate an uncompleted construction, or a facade enclosing the courtyard. Any remaining evidences were destroyed during alterations 1926-27.

6. In 1926 Mr M. C. Harman made alterations and extensions that brought all three parts of the complex into one whole. A billiards room (G434) and a south extension to the Storekeeper's cottage were constructed which joined the farmhouse with the north wing, with bedrooms above (but which did not connect to the north at the upper level). The back kitchen, staircase, store and yard shown in Figs. 34 and 65 were removed to make way for this. An existing storeroom extension at the back (west) courtyard, between the north wing and the dairy wing was used to make a WC and a boiler room downstairs, to which was added a staircase and an upper storey with a new WC, a bathroom, and a

connecting corridor to three additional bedrooms which were built over the dairy wing for staff. It is likely that the north-west and south-west staircases were removed during these works. The dining-room in the south wing was enlarged by removal of the wall dividing it from the breakfast room. The Store was rearranged and divided at the west end by a wooden partition to make a separate tavern (G723) and shop (G724). The entire building from that time on was used as the hotel, though it still housed the office, and fulfilled the functions of a farmhouse kitchen. Figs. 27 and 28 show the layout of the hotel at this time, and Fig. 66 gives a photograph of the east facade taken in the 1930's.¹⁰

7. When the Landmark Trust took over Lundy in 1969 the building was in need of extensive repair and restoration, particularly in the south wing. Between 1971 and 1982 the porch and all the 1863-8, 1875, and 1927 additions were demolished, except for the north wing tavern, shop, bakehouse and cottage. A new "Square Cottage" (G95) was built on the site of the west end of the old south wing. The original farmhouse was divided internally to form two letting units (Old House North, G92, and Old House South, G93). A grassed courtyard (G96) was constructed where the

¹⁰ Plans made by C. Taylor (ground floor) and the present writer, Lundy, c. 1973. At that date the shop partition had been removed.

hotel yards and dairy wing had been. The exterior stairs at the east entrance to the old basement dairy (G717) were removed, and a new door inserted in the south wall. The storekeeper's cottage was connected to provide an extension to the tavern, with the bay window from the demolished south wing installed there. Kitchens and extra seating accommodation were made from the storerooms adjoining the original tavern, with offices above the tavern, and recently (1996) in the old bake house (G435). The north and south walls that enclosed the hotel garden (G21) to the east have been removed, and a semi-circular platform (G97) built in front of the central east-facing entrance of the original building.

Census returns: 1851 Lessee, family and servants
 (9 + baby)
 1861 No details
 1871 Granite company manager for
 Benthall, 6 employees
 1881 Shepherd, wife and 10 children
 1891 Farmhouse omitted (error)

"Farmhouse" entry refers to the lessee who inhabited the separate south wing (G94). The farmhouse was probably empty as lessee was preparing to leave.

MAPS: All maps from 1820. The plans given in Langham, 1994, pp.84-86 are not correct.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES: NDRO, Anon., 1752, 1787. LIM, T 22, 1811, 1822. BLMS, Add 40345, 1822. HA (i), Lundy Log, p. 40, 75. MTC, sale catalogues 1906, 1925, 1969; hotel brochures, nd (1920s-30s). LMA, inventory of rooms and contents, Christie to Harman, 1925. Gade, 1978, *passim*.

PHOTOGRAPHS: HAPT 1886, 1888, 1890, 1897. MTC c 1906, 1920, c1927-30, 1954, 1964, 1982, 1984, 1996. Slides: 1960, 1971, 1975, 1996.

APPENDIX 3.

CASTLE HOUSE, G302.¹ (Fig. 33, Fig.Gaz.11)

It has hitherto been assumed that the house which Martyn reported Borlase Warren to have repaired (1775), and the house that he built (G25), were one and the same.² But the evidence contradicts this, and could afford a different interpretation.

The writer of 1752 is careful in his particulars, and he mentions two houses and the castle (G300) without any differentiation of location: "...The Houses miserably bad, one on each side of the Platform, that on the Right was inhabited by Mr Benson and his Friends, the other by servants, the old Fort was occupied by the Convicts..."³ The same writer in 1787, in describing the castle, says that "In Front of the House are Five Guns planted." From these two descriptions, it is presumed that "Platform" refers to the castle parade (G309), since there would be little point in mounting guns in front of the farmhouse.

In 1776 Martyn, who had visited the island in September, 1775, stated that "...there was but one dwelling-house and the remains of an old castle in the said

¹ Formerly referred to as the Old House (Thackray, 1989, p.138). This name is confusing, since the former hotel/farmhouse is now called the Old House, therefore Castle House has been adopted in this thesis.

² Steinman, 1947, p.18, Martyn's report. Langham, 1994, p.54. Thackray, 1989, i, p.149.

³ NDRO, Anon., 1752.

island, and that the said dwelling house consisted of two stories, and three several [separate] rooms on each floor, which was in a very ruinous state and condition, notwithstanding the said John Borlase Warren had caused the same to be repaired."⁴ That is, the house that Borlase Warren repaired was old and ruinous before 1775.

The writer of the 1752 journal paid another visit to the island in 1787 and wrote a second account which makes it clear that the farmhouse was built between those two dates. He "...went to the House Sir John Warren built for his own Residence." He refers to "a Platform where two roads meet, the one conducts you to the castle, the other to the House lately built by Sir John Borlase Warren", so clearly these two lay in different directions. The text also makes clear that this was the proprietor's house, and one servant "had the liberty granted him by Mr Cleveland to live in the House that was built by Sir John Warren."⁵

Grose's engravings dated 1775 (Figs.15, 16) show a house with a pitched roof to the east of the south end of the castle. The Trinity House map of 1820 (TH 1319, Fig.20) marks the farmhouse as "New House," with a small building attached to the south end of it, and shows a line of buildings on the parade to the E of the castle, as does BL 299B (Fig.59). The 1804 sketch map, drawn from a visit

⁴ PRO C 38/669.

⁵ NDRO, Anon., 1787.

c1776, shows two buildings on the castle parade (fig 26).

From the evidence given by Anon. (1752 and 1787), Grose (1775), and Martyn (1775), the present writer proposes that the Castle House predates the farmhouse, and that a preliminary repair of the existing Castle House was made before the farmhouse was built. The following considerations support this proposition:

(i) Budd, the tenant appointed by Warren in 1779, was still on Lundy in 1787, and would have given first-hand information to the writer. The writer refers consistently to the house built by Warren and was able to compare with his visit of 1752; he does not say that the farmhouse was repaired or rebuilt. The 1752 text is taken to mean that the house he stayed in was at the castle.

(ii) The Castle House is considered to date from the mid-seventeenth century, and was then, so far as is known, the principal residence.⁶ It could have been built on ground already levelled for the castle, with ample cut stone to hand from the castle environs. Bevill Grenville was counselled against any fortification of the island c1630, which would have ruled out a restoration of the castle, and since he would have required accommodation on his visits, and he referred to his "great works," it is possible that he built this house instead.⁷ It is described as "a substantial

⁶ Dunmore, 1982, p.160.

⁷ Forster, 1872, ii, pp.391-92. Stucley, 1983, p.59.

stone building and must have been an important residence..."⁸ That is, accommodation for a gentleman, not for labourers or servants.

(iii) The farm and settlement were at the castle until Warren moved them to the farmhouse and "New Town" (G362). Grose described the antiquities, and Martyn described a residence for a gentleman, and neither mentioned labourer's accommodation. 47 years later the description for sale in 1822 mentions "An Old Castle...in a ruinous state...A Farm House (but much delapidated) adjoining the Castle. There are also Two Labourers Cottages."⁹ From this, it is deduced that the farm house was the Castle House, and the labourers' cottages were the derelict accommodation at the castle referred to in 1821-27.¹⁰ Their use in 1822 suggests that some of Borlase Warren's intentions for the farm were either unfulfilled or short-lived.

(iv) The Castle House could have provided necessary accommodation while a new and bigger farmhouse was built in the chosen position, which was more favourable both for shelter and water supplies. If this were the case, Warren's initial plans in 1775 would have been for three-stages: repair of the Castle House for immediate use, followed by the building of a farmhouse suitable for his

⁹ BLMS, Add 40345.

⁸ Thackray, 1989, i, p.138.

⁹ BLMS, Add 40345.

¹⁰ LIM, T 22.

own (and servants') accommodation pending the construction of his gentleman's residence (G725).¹¹ Once this was completed, the castle house and the farmhouse would have been available for tenants or employees.

(v) The descriptions of the Castle House and the farmhouse are different. The repaired house described by Martyn "consisted of two stories, and three several [separate] rooms on each floor," (i.e. six rooms) while the "dwelling house" in 1822 consisted of "An Entrance Hall, Two Parlours, Five Chambers [bedrooms], Kitchen, and Domestic Offices...Substantially built of Stone" (i.e. 9 rooms), with a dairy at cellar level.¹² The Castle House is of such dimensions that it could have contained three rooms on each floor, since it measures approximately 25ft x 25ft (7.62m x 7.62m).

(vi) The engraving in Grose, which was drawn in 1776, shows the Castle House with a pitched roof intact. It is probable that this had been recently repaired as it was described as "miserably bad" in 1752, and the island

¹¹ This last is referred to by NDRO, Anon., 1787 "...we saw the ground which Sir John Warren had marked out to build an handsome House, he...had begun the Foundation, according to plan it would have cost some Thousands of Pounds." MTC: Copies of the plans for a grand mansion designed by William Newton, and for two forts.

¹² PRO C38/669. BLMS, Add 40345.

described as neglected since the death of Earl Gower in 1754.

(vii) No description or reference to a farmhouse on the site of the present Old House before Warren's building has yet been found.

(viii) Thackray's excavations in 1984-85 revealed two occupation levels of the Castle House.

APPENDIX 4.

DISCUSSION OF THE ORIGINS OF QUARTER WALL, G163

Anon. 1752 refers to Benson's convicts on Lundy, who were "employed in making a Wall across the Island." Grose, 1776, wrote that "There are two walls of more stone running cross the Island; one called S Wall, dividing the S from the Middle Island - the other called Half Way Way, dividing the N from Middle Island, and placed about half way between the N and S ends."

It has been assumed that Grose referred to the present Quarter and Halfway Walls (G163, G55), but reference to the maps of 1822 and OS 1820 raise some question about this. On the 1822 map the present Quarter Wall is marked as "Halfway Wall" (Fig.19). The OS 1820 map shows three contiguous walls which run across the island from just north of "Pile's Quay" to the north of St John's Valley; the cultivated portion of the island lay to the south of this in 1775 (Figs.20,59). The reckoning of distance to the north island would then have been further than now, when it is taken from the present farm (G455); in 1775 and 1809 (the survey date for OS 299A) there were no maps or accurate computations of Lundy, and Grose was not writing from his own observations.

In 1787 Anon. wrote that Warren "expended a great deal of money in Building, and dividing the land...he run'd one wall across the Island to divide the Improved from the unimproved part, that wall was begun by Mr Benson about the year 1752." Also that "This unimproved part is divided by a

stone wall, which runs East, and West, about the Middle of the Island, the land is low in comparison to the rest, and the soil deeper, and where there is an appearance of that kind, you see it surrounded with large stones fixed in the Earth on their Ends as a Fence. At the head of this low land are the remains of a dam or Pond Head, which by its Appearance contained a large body of water." This has been taken to refer to Pondsbury, but it refers to "remains," and to the large body of water as in the past. The depiction of Pondsbury is consistent in all the maps, but Anon. 1787 may refer to the pond just north of Quarter Wall, G215. The ground around the east and central parts of Quarter Wall is wet and marshy, while that around Halfway Wall is higher land, and dry. The pond at Quarter Wall is shown as larger on the OS maps 1886-1967 than it now is.

The area stated to have been enclosed by Warren, G701, is consistent with the the area which lies south of Quarter Wall, with the exception of the West Side Field. Anon. 1787 went to the North End in 1787, but does not mention a second wall across the island. "The North" may well have referred to the uncultivated area in general that lay beyond Quarter Wall. The very different styles of the wall constructions also raise doubts about the dates of construction, as Quarter Wall closely resembles some other walls to the south of it, particularly that bordering the Upper East Side path, G652, and on the N side of the path from the castle to the crossroad, G646. This resemblance might, alternatively,

point to a seventeenth century date.

It is possible that the anomaly at the W end of Quarter Wall arose from its completion by Warren some thirteen-fourteen years after Benson had started it. It might also be due to skirting a structure existing when the wall was built; aerial photographs indicate a possible oval structure to the south of the present wall.

This discussion is necessarily inconclusive, but may present a subject for further investigation. If Quarter Wall was completed by Warren c 1775, then Halfway Wall - which is marked on the OS drawing of 1809 - was constructed between those two dates, either by Cleveland (1781-1802) or Vere Hunt (1802-1818). The sheep pen, or pound, G56, is not shown in the 1809 map, but appears on every map subsequently, which may weigh the balance in favour of Vere Hunt.

MAPS: BLM 1809, 1820. BLMS 1822.

DOCUMENTATION: Grose, 1776, p.195. NDRO, Anon., 1752, 1787.

PHOTOGRAPHS: MTC, 1994, 1997. NMR aerial, 15440/18

APPENDIX 5.

SALE AND RENTAL VALUES OF LUNDY

| | | | |
|------|---------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1532 | | Anne St Leger | Yearly value 33s 4d |
| 1577 | £1000 | St Leger to Grenville | |
| 1592 | | Richard Grenville IPM | Yearly value £3 6s 1d |
| 1630 | £5000 | Bevill Grenville, asking price | (no sale) |
| 1636 | £3000 | Earl of Arundell, offer to buy | |
| 1646 | £3000 | Saye & Sele, offer to Bushell | |
| 1701 | | Earl of Bath, tenant | Yearly rent £200 |
| 1750 | | Lease Gower to Benson | Yearly rent £60 |
| | £1500 | Option to buy | |
| 1775 | £1100 | Gower and Carteret to Borlase Warren | |
| 1779 | | Lease Warren to Budd | Yearly rent £70 |
| 1781 | £1425 | Warren to Cleveland | |
| | | Budd & Williams tenants | Yearly rent £70 |
| | | Cleveland to Tuck, tenant | Yearly £215 |
| 1802 | £5270 | Cleveland to Vere Hunt | |
| 1822 | £4500 | Contract de Vere Hunt to Benison | |
| 1830 | £4500 | de Vere Hunt to Matravers & Stiffe | Plus ingoing valuation £500 |
| 1836 | £9870 | Matravers & Stiffe to Heaven | |
| 1862 | | Lease Heaven to McKenna (Granite Co) | Yearly £500 |
| 1884 | £17 400 | Valuation (death of W. H. Heaven, 1883) | |
| 1885 | | Lease Heaven to Wright | ?Yearly £500 |
| 1891 | | Lease of Store Heaven to Ackland | Yearly £50 |
| 1892 | | Lease of farm and Store to Ackland | Yearly £400 |
| 1894 | | Lease assigned to Ackland & Dickinson | |

1898 Rent reduced Yearly £350

1899 Lease Heaven to Taylor Yearly £250

1906 £25 000 Auction sale reserve Yearly income £329
£16 000 Highest bid (refused)

1915 £10 000 Valuation (prospective buyer)
£16 000 Highest offer (rejected)

1917 Valuation of yearly income £398 10s
After first carrying out repairs costing
£1,500

1918 £15 000 Receivers for Heaven to Christie
1920 Lease, Christie to May Yearly £365
Ingoing valuation: Live & dead stock
£3266.13.3
Christie total rental income £423

1925 £16,000 Christie to Harman
Plus ingoing valuation and the *Lerina*, £9,000

1969 £150,000 Harman to The National Trust
Plus ingoing valuation and
Lundy Gannet £10,000

APPENDIX 6.

MAPS, PLANS AND DRAWINGS RELATED TO LUNDY

1. MAPS

- c1250 Matthew Paris, BL Manuscripts, Cotton MS, Claudius D VI, Fol 12. "Lundeeh"
- 1765 Donn, B: 1765, PRO: WO 78/5679
No scale approx 2.5ins:3 miles
- 1804 PRO MPH 54, Parkyas. No scale, approx 3ins:1 mile
- 1809 BLM 299A, OS drawing 6ins:1mile
(marked as 1804)
- 1819 THEA, 1318. No scale, approx 16ins:3 miles
- 1820 BLM 299B, Corrected drawing 6ins:1 mile
- 1820 THEA 1319, $\frac{9}{16}$ inch:100 yards
- 1822 BLMS Add 40345, 2.5ins:1 mile. J Wyld.
- 1822 Lyson & Lysons: *Magna Britannia*. 0.75 in:1 Mile
- 1828 Greenwood, NDRO Sheet 74. 1in:1 mile
- 1840 LMA, Map for sale of Lundy, based on OS 1820
- 1840B As 1840 but with geological markings, and reserved area marked
- 1877 Chanter. No scale, approx 4ins:1 mile
- 1886 OS. 25 ins:1 mile. Surveyed 1884.
- 1891 OS. 6ins:1 mile. Surveyed 1884.
- 1905 OS. 25ins:1 mile. Revised 1903.
- 1906 OS. 6ins:1 mile. Revised 1903.
- 1925 Loyd: *Lundy, its History & Natural History*.
No scale, approx 4ins:1 mile
- 1956 Dyke, pictorial map
- 1935 Cadastral Survey for M C Harman (MTC copy)
- 1967 OS. 25ins:1 mile. Revised 1962.
OS. 6ins:mile.Revised 1962.
National grid references

- 1973 Dyke, pictorial map
- 1973 Taylor. 1:13,000 metres.
- 1983 Taylor, revised
- 1989 Thackray, 1989, Archaeological Survey. 8 maps.
Scale 1:10,650
- Lundy Island Brochure, cover map, nd (c1995)
archaeological features and buildings

Further reference:

- Batten, K. & Bennett, F., 1996, *The Printed Maps of Devon: County Maps 1575-1837*
Definitive list of 117 Devon maps, of which 58 show Lundy, with little accuracy before OS.

2. PLANS & DRAWINGS

- 1612 Drayton: *Polyolbion*, shows Lundy as a nymph on the Severn Sea (map for Somerset and Gloucestershire)
- 1775 Dominic Serres, 2 oil paintings. Photoprints, present ownership of originals unknown
- 1775 Grose, 1776. 3 engravings: plan and 2 views of castle
- 1786 BLM, King's Topographical Collection, XI, 122
The castle
- 1819 THEA, 1320. Estimates for tower visibility
- 1819 THEA, 818. Specifications for buildings
- 1819 THLA. Plan for lease of 2 acres
- 1820 THEA, 1321. Elevation of lighthouse and quarters
- 1820 THEA, 1322. Vertical section of lighthouse
- 1820 THEA, 1323. 6 plans of floor levels in the tower
- 1820 THEA, 1324. Plan of lighthouse and compound
- 1828 THEA, 1326. Plan of TH ground

- 1838 HA (i), drawings: the farmhouse
 2 similar views of the Villa
 the bay and distant castle
 the new road to the Villa
- 1840 LMA. Engravings of the Villa & Lundy from the E
- 1842 THEA, 1328. Plan and section of quay and road
 to storehouse (G360)
- 1842 THEA, 1329. Plan of road from quay to lighthouse
- 1843 THEA, 1339. Elevation of lighthouse, and low light
- 1853 Gosse. Drawings of castle, Beach Road
- 1863 HA (i). Lease to granite co, reserved area
- 1863 THEA, 1340. Vertical section tower and low light
- 1863 THEA 1341. Six plans of floor levels in the tower
- 1878 HA i. Lease particulars, plan of reserved area
- 1884 LMA. Plan of area leased to Lloyd's
- 1892 NTA. TH plan and section of slipway extension
- 1893 *North Devon Heritage*, 1992, iv. Drawing of Old
 Light compound.
- 1894 THEA, 7190. Plans, elevation of new N lighthouse
- 1894 THEA, 7192. Plans, elevation of new S lighthouse
- 1896 THEA, 7349. Plans, N lighthouse (revised)
- 1896 THEA, 7467. Elevation and section, N lighthouse
- 1898 Lundy, plan of church of St Helen (G18)
- 1899 NTA, part plan of reserve, Quarter Wall area
- 1905 PRO, ADM 116/957
 Plan of Lloyd's Signal Hut (G326)
 Lloyd's cottages, plans of ground & first floors
 (G331)
 Lloyd's & coastguards, site plan (G331, G335)
 Coastguard cottages, plans, elevations, sections
 (G335)
 Plan of centre cottage, Quarter Wall (G188)
- 1906 HA (i). Plan of church and parsonage sites (G18)

- 1918 NTA. Plans for slipway, pier, breakwater
- 1918 NDRO B 170 add/39.
 Barton Cottages, plan (G418)
 Bungalow and toolshed, plan (G103)
 Bungalow, plan (G346)
 1885 church plan & section, (G14)
 Farm buildings, plans
 Old Light quarters, plans of ground & first floor
 Old Light West, plan (G 371)
 Piggery & EC, plan (G374)
 Refreshment Room, plan & section (G426)
 Schoolroom, plan and section (G421)
 Villa, plans of ground & first floors (G2),
 outhouses (G3), stable (G4), and boathouse
 (G704)
- 1918 LMA. Cottage, plan (Stoneycroft, G1)
 Post Office, plan (G327)
- 1928 Winmill. Plan of the castle
- 1957 Plymouth Museum, MS, drawings of flint implements
- 1973 MTC, plans of hotel, ground & first floors
- 1978 Gade, F., *My Life on Lundy*. Plans of village and
 castle area (C. Taylor).
- 1982 Dunmore, 1982. Plans and sections, excavation
 of the castle
- 1994, Langham, *The Island of Lundy*:
 68 Plan of golfcourse (G206)
 104 Plan of burial ground, Beacon Hill (G238)
 172-9 Plans of granite works
- 1994, Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?*
 164-73, Beacon Hill excavations
- 1996, Miln, National Trust Archaeology Survey
 Survey, elevations of the castle (G300)
 Survey, elevations of the Battery (G221, G222)
- LUNDY FIELD SOCIETY REPORTS:*
- xiv, 1961, 26. Pottery from Bull's Paradise site
- xv, 1962, 2
 9-30. Pottery from Bull's Paradise site
- xvi, 1963-64, 29. Sections of excavation, Bulls
 Paradise

- xix, 1968, 17-29. Plans & sections of caves
44-46. Plans of excavations
Bulls Paradise, Jenny's Cove
- xx, 1969, 19. Diagram of pollen analyses
- xxx, 1979, 39. Map of soils.
- xxxix, 1988, 31-45. Test pit excavations and
geophysical survey
- xl, 1989, 34-45. Test pit excavations & artefact
distribution; reconstruction of Lundy
coastline from 9000 years BP.
49. Survey plan of castle and environs
- xli, 1990, 34-52. Test pit excavations and
artefact distribution
- xlii, 1991, 67. Geophysical survey, Bulls Paradise
75-82. Flint artefacts
- xliii, 1992, 68-77. Geophysical surveys.
- xliv, 1993, 89-90. Photos: map and drawings, Old
Light, 1820
- xlv, 1994, 63. Drawing, wreck of *Iona II*.
- xlvii, 1996, 77-86. Plans, Beach Rd 1842, quay 1892.
- xlviii, 1997, 96. Map, steams and ponds.

APPENDIX 7.

WORKS REFERRED TO WHICH HAVE NO REFERENCE TO LUNDY OR WHICH DO NOT CONTAIN HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIAL

Acts & Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1911, i-iii, 1642-1660

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1216 -1649*, 1906, A. H. Fry ed., DCRS, Exeter

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i-iii

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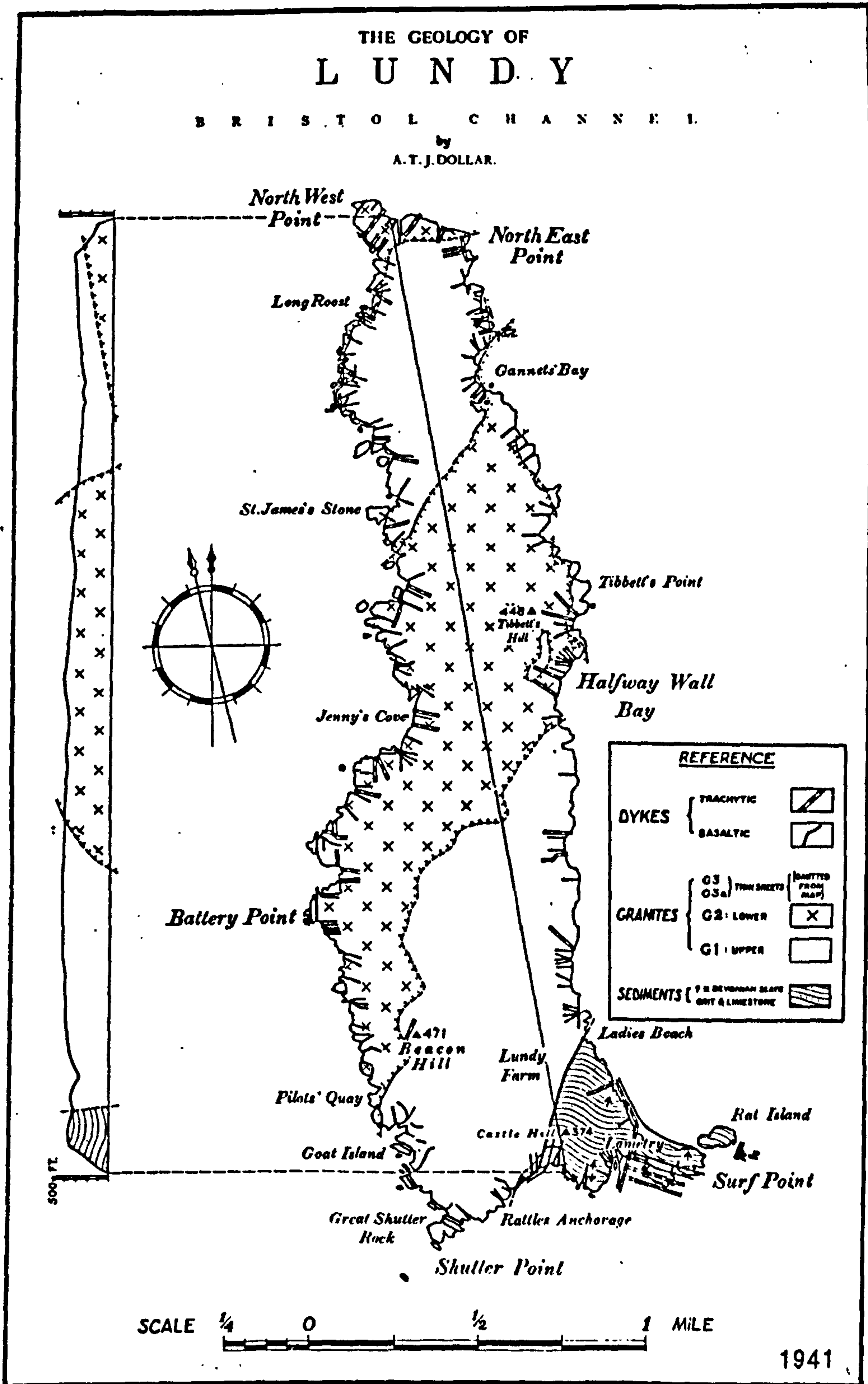
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Centuries*, DCRS, NS 11

- Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record office,*
1915, i-vi.
- Cotton, W., & Dallas, J., eds, 1888-92,
Devon & Cornwall Notes & Gleanings, i-iii, Exeter
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- Crown Pleas of the Devon Eyre, 1288, 1924*, DCRS 28
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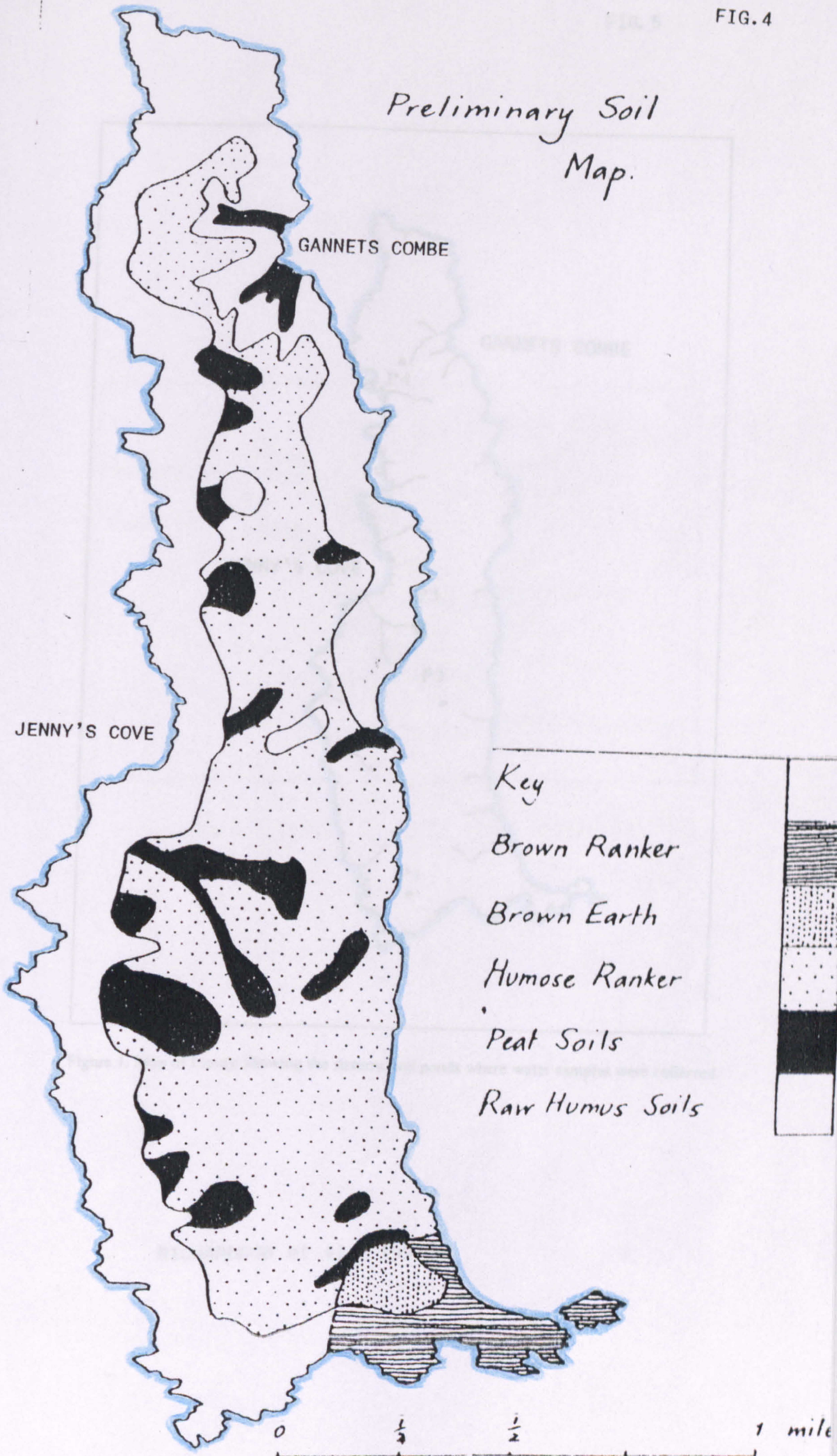
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Only vol xix refers to Lundy



Preliminary Soil Map



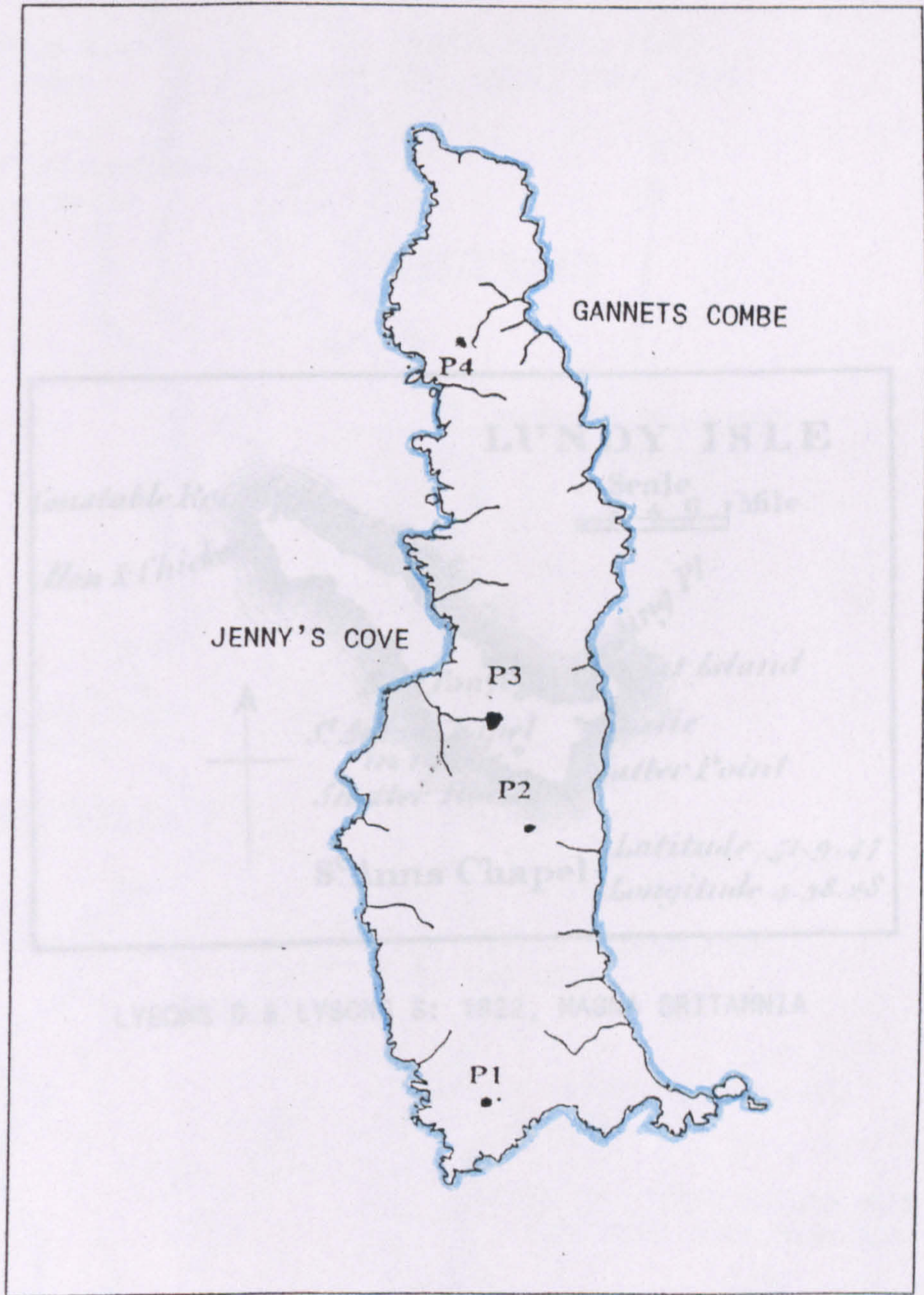
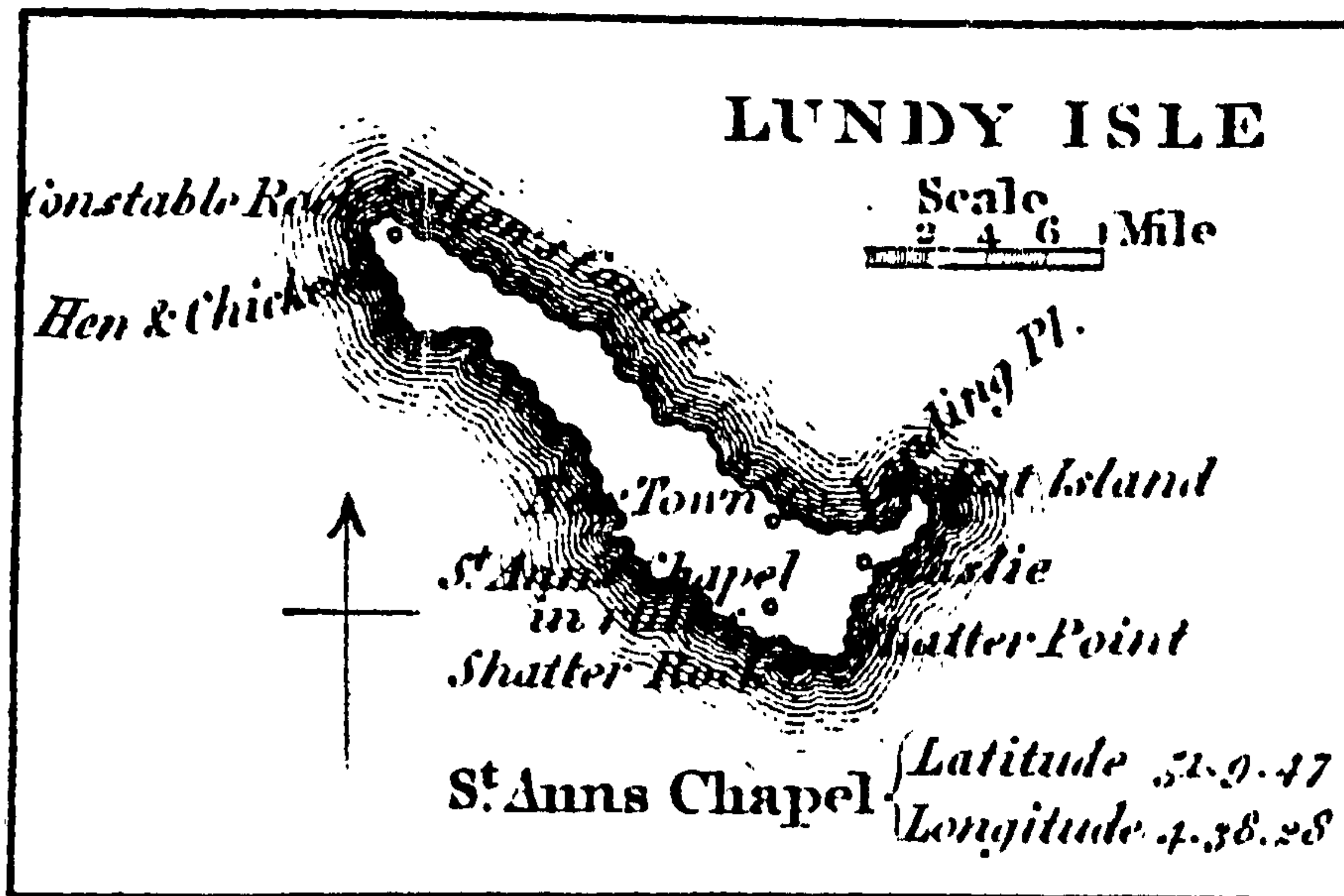
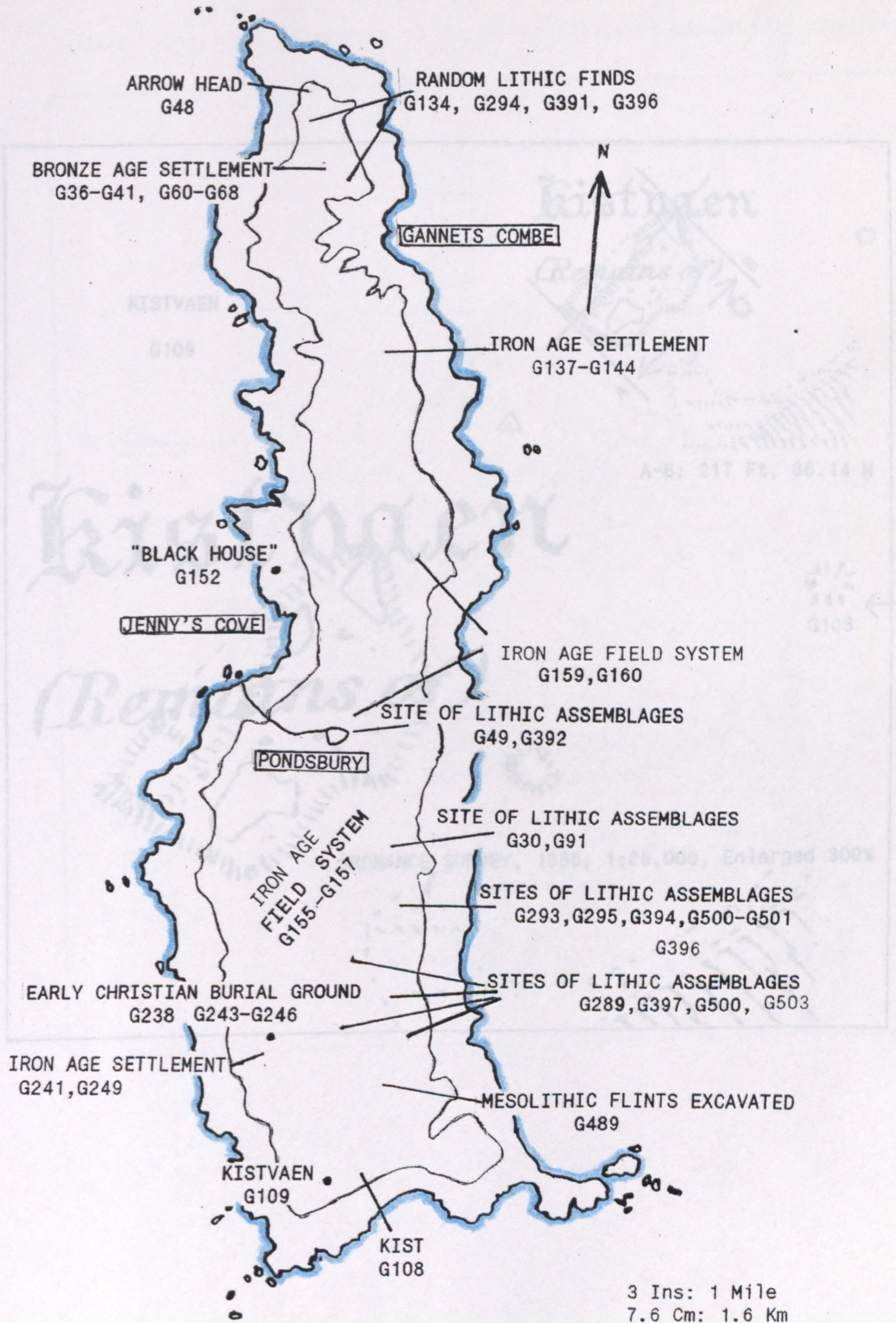


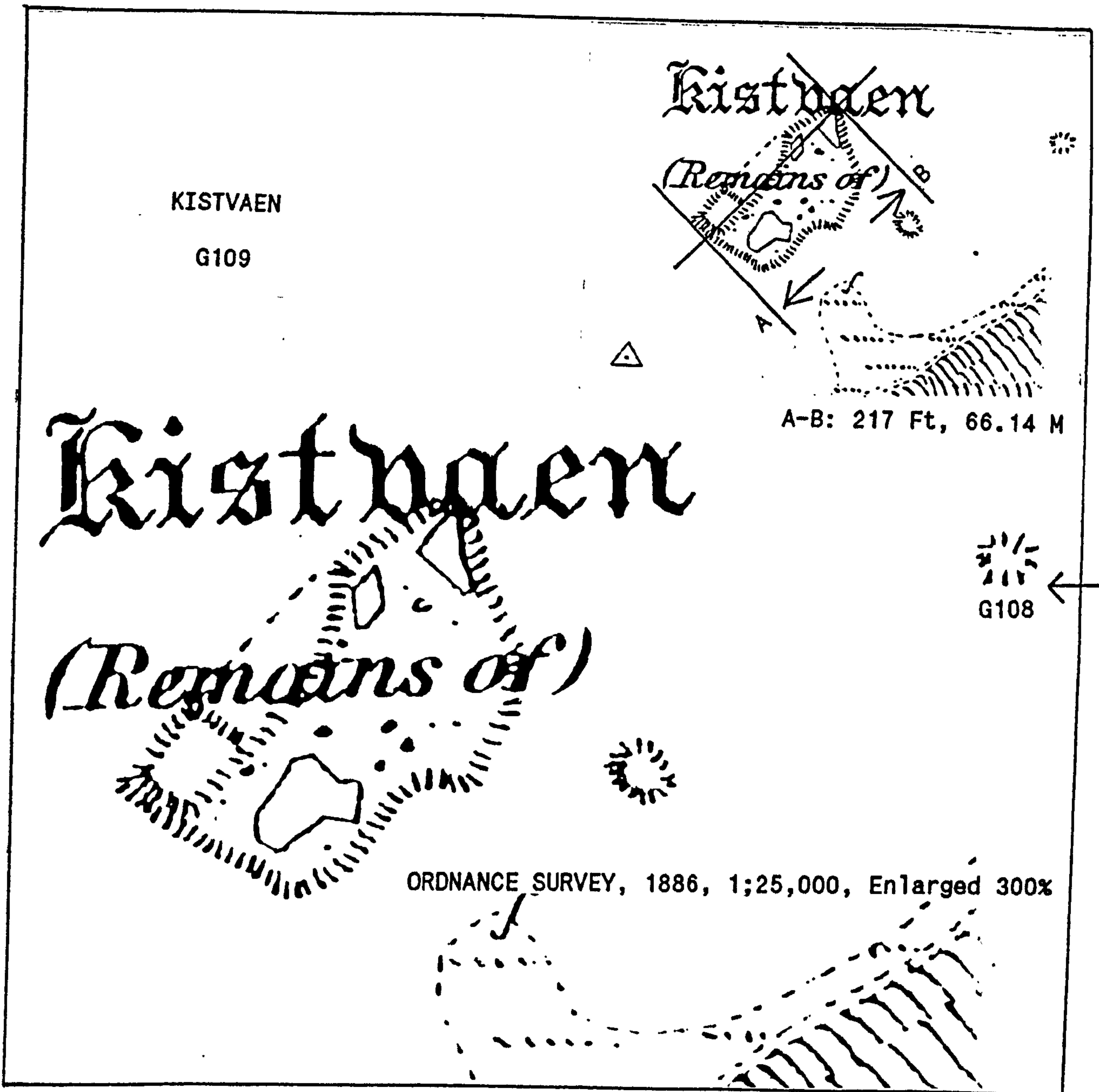
Figure 1. Map of Lundy showing the streams and ponds where water samples were collected.



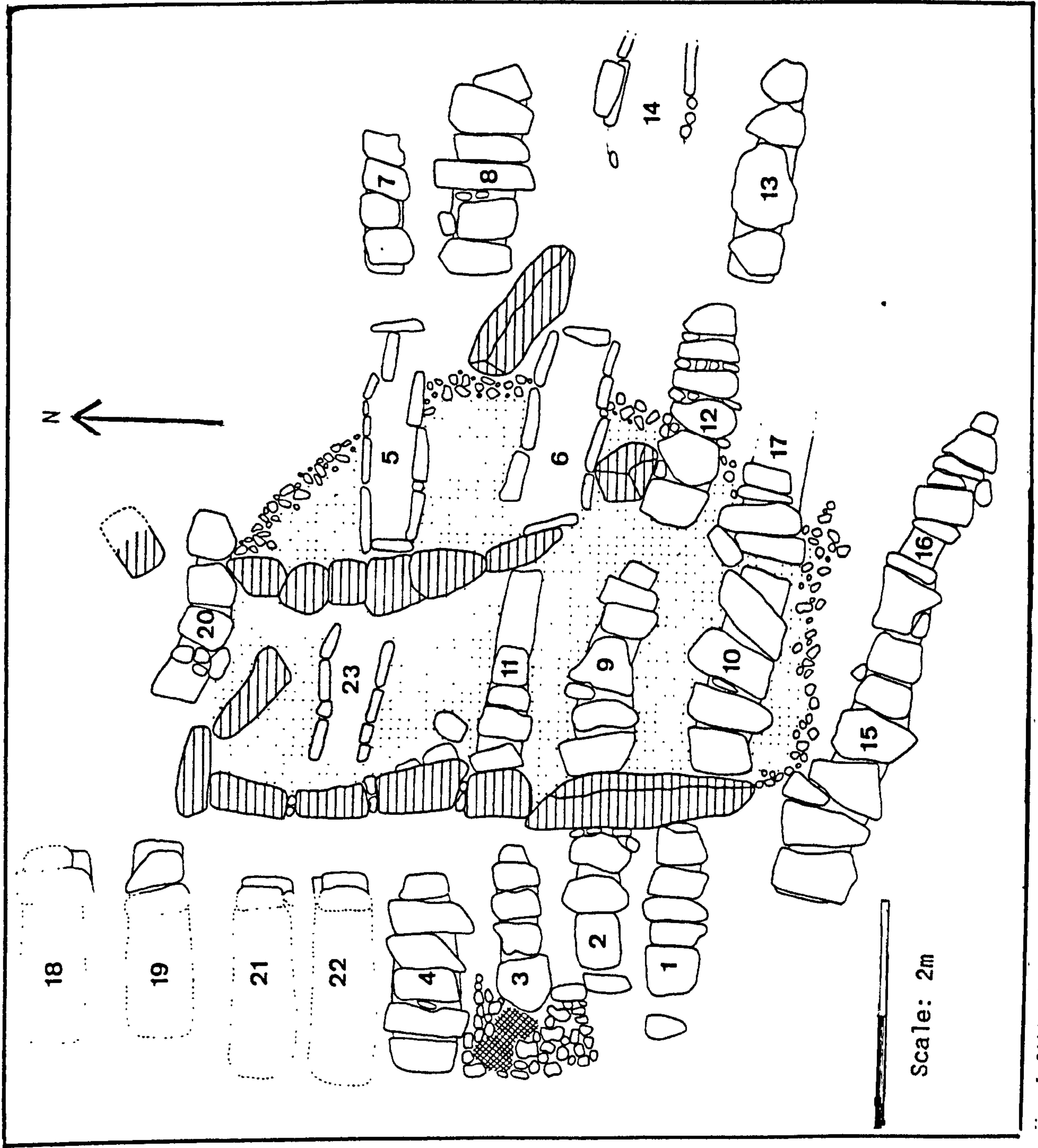
LYSONS D & LYSONS S: 1822, MAGNA BRITANNIA

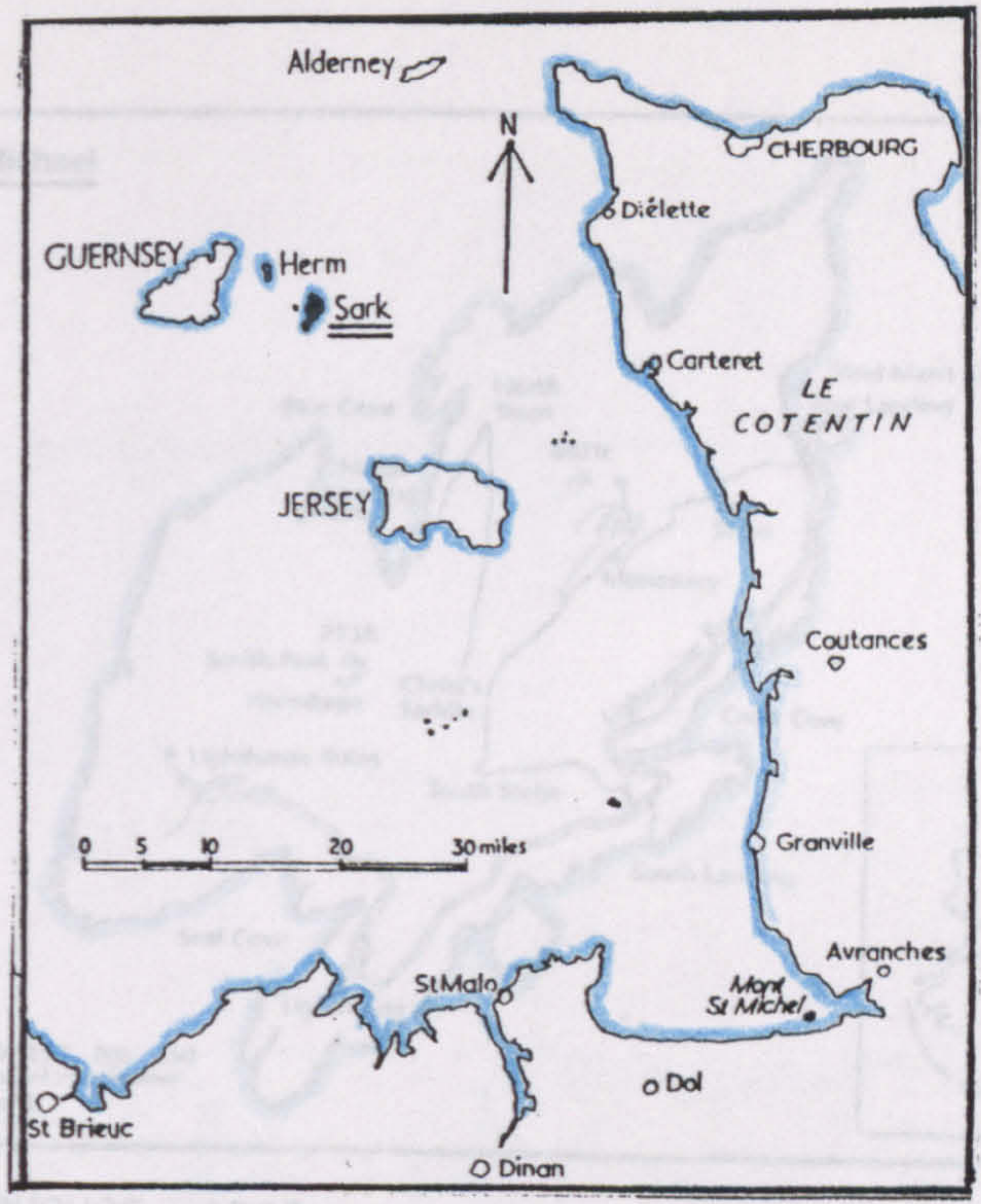
PRINCIPAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES OF PREHISTORIC,
IRON AGE AND EARLY CHRISTIAN MAN ON LUNDY



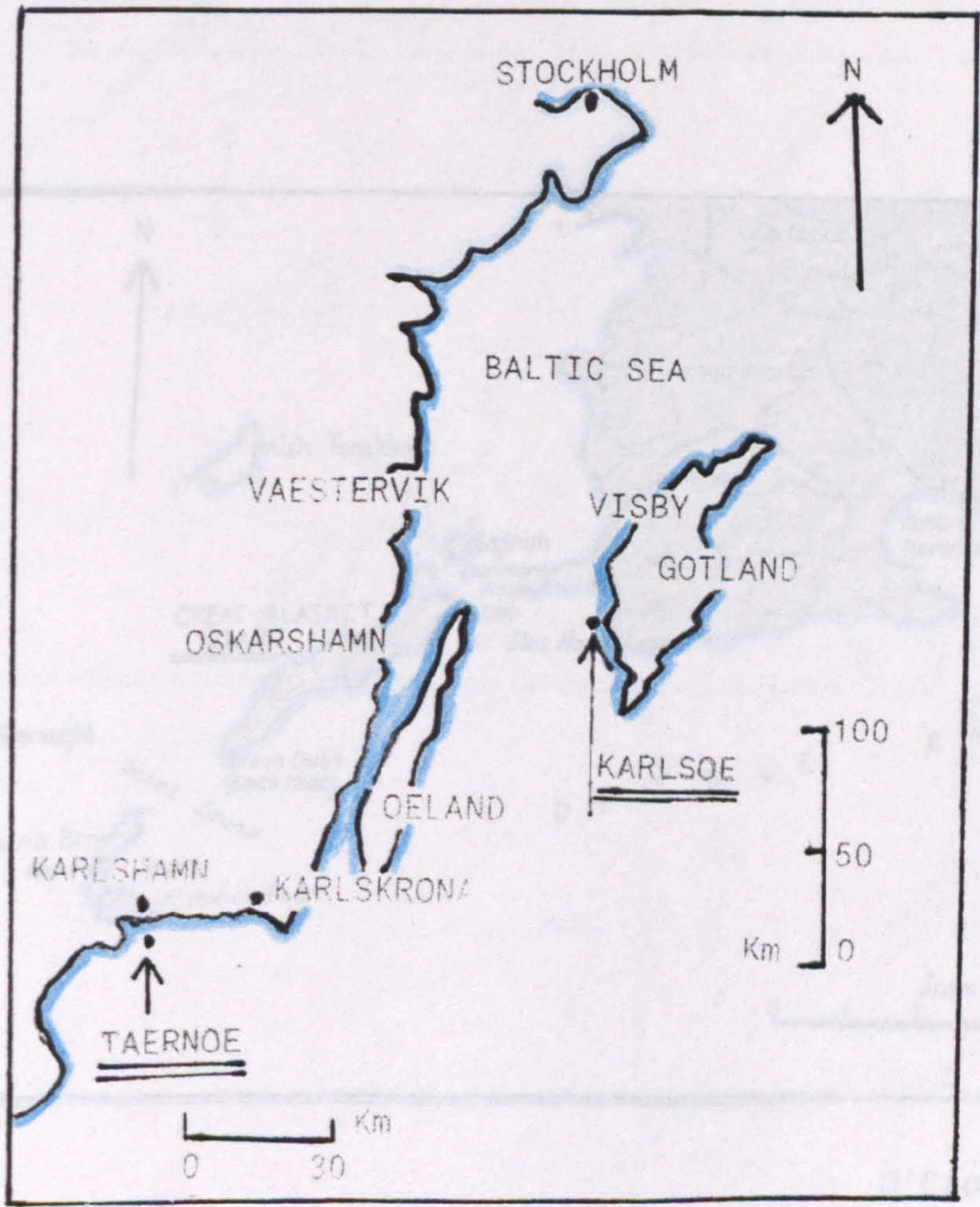


THOMAS: 1994, 173. EXCAVATION OF CELLA AND GRAVES AT BEACON HILL CEMETERY



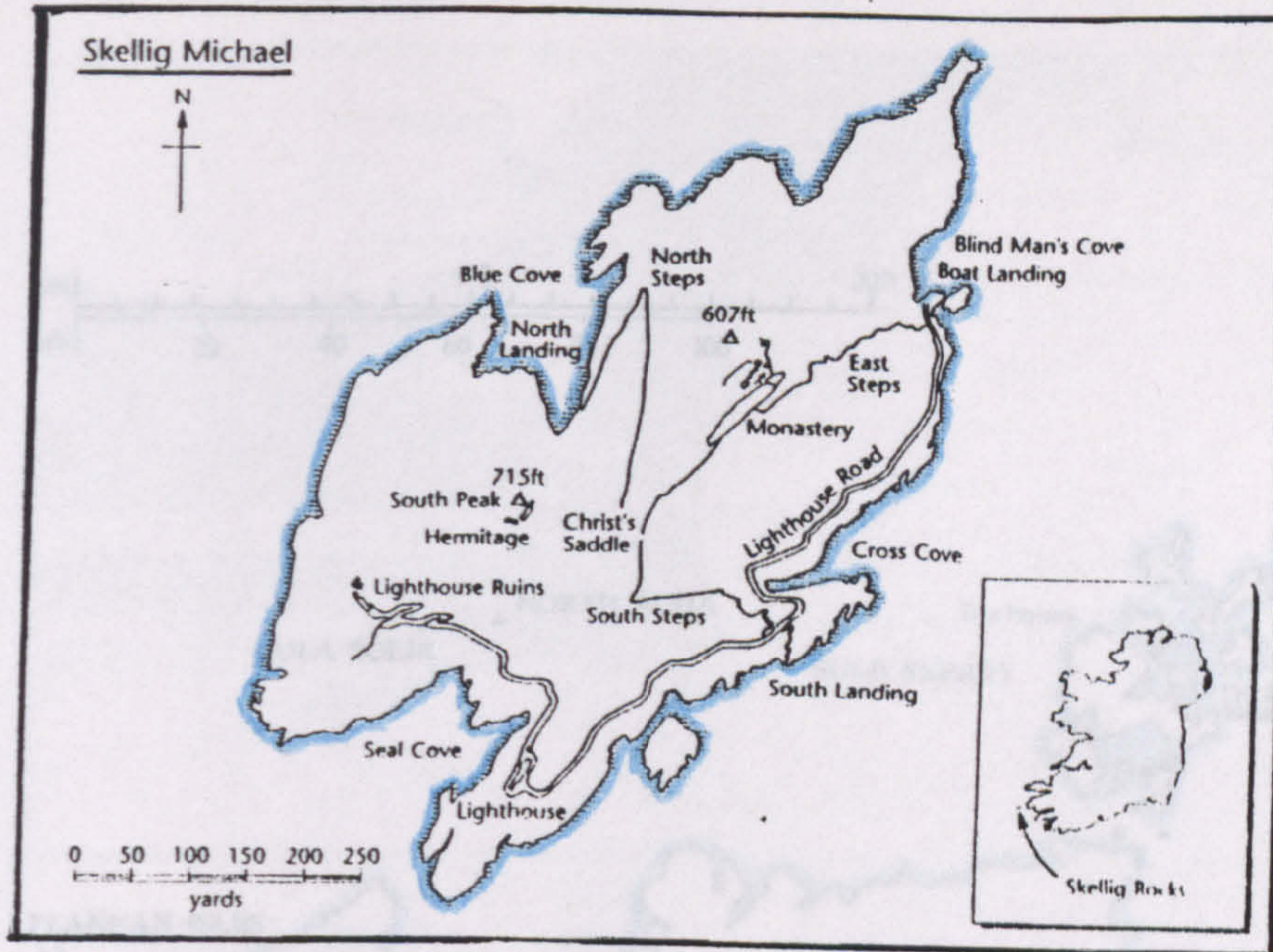


K HAWKES, 1983

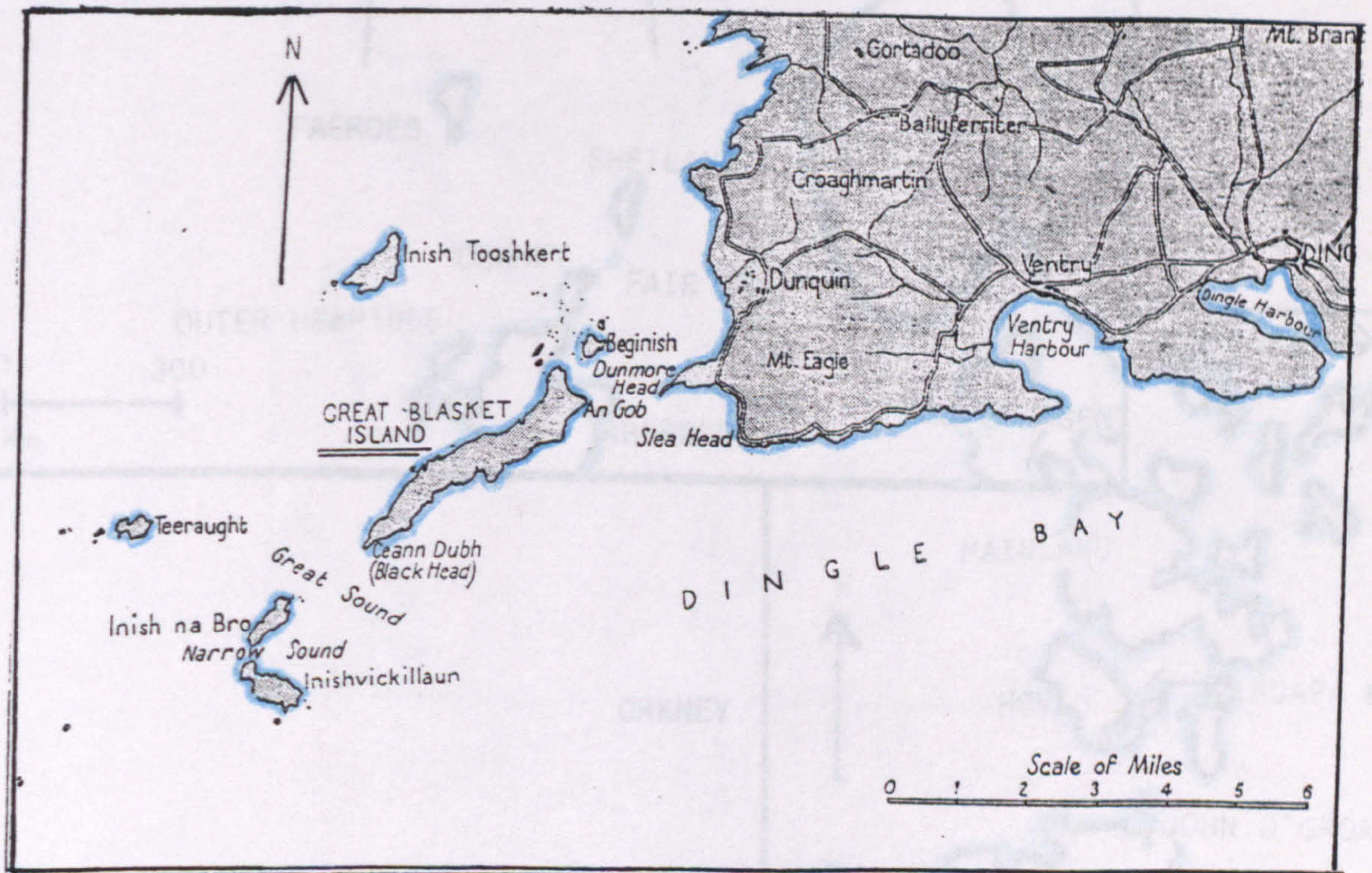


1951

QUINE, 1995

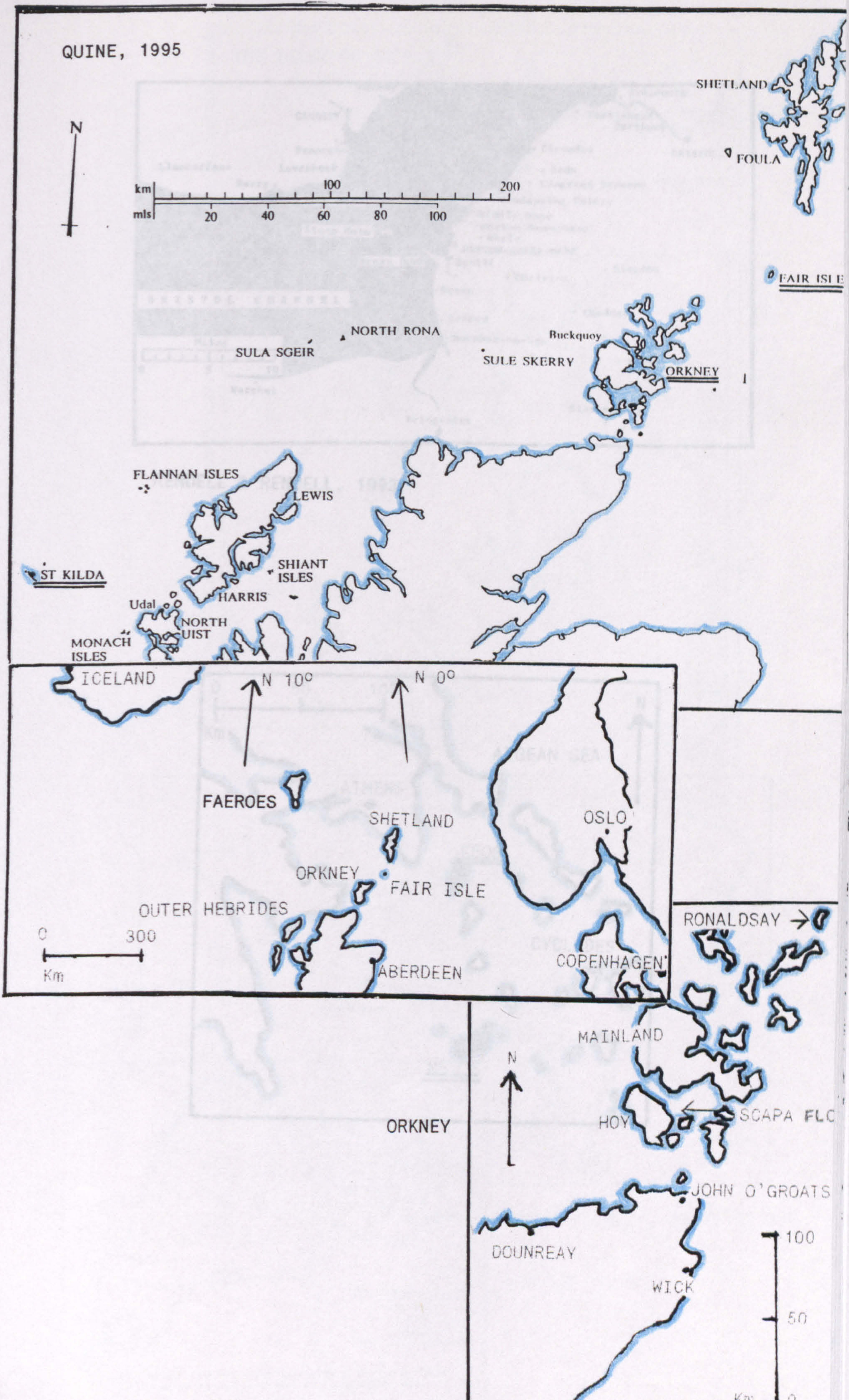


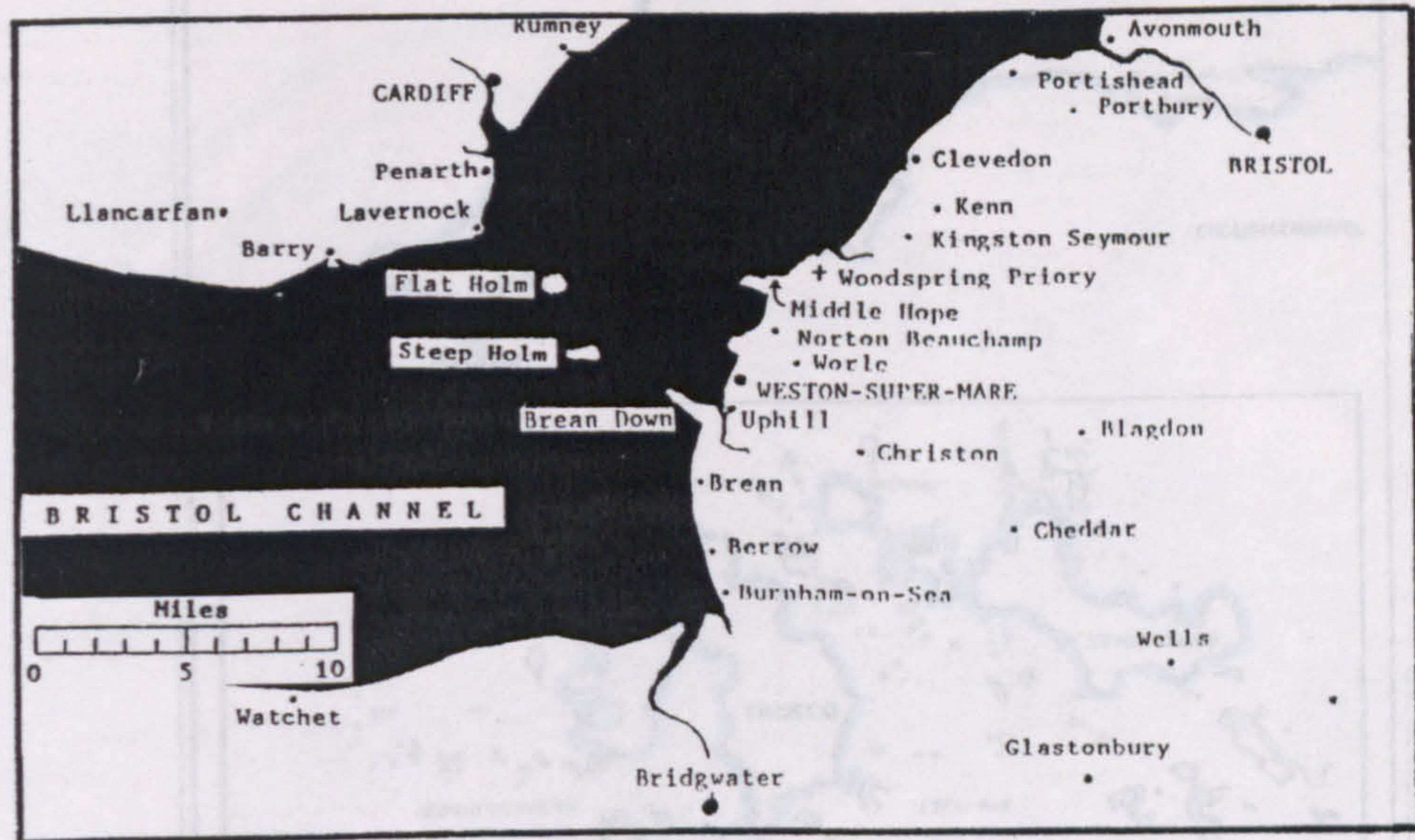
MOORHOUSE, 1997



O'Crohan, 1951

QUINE, 1995





RENDELL & RENDELL, 1993

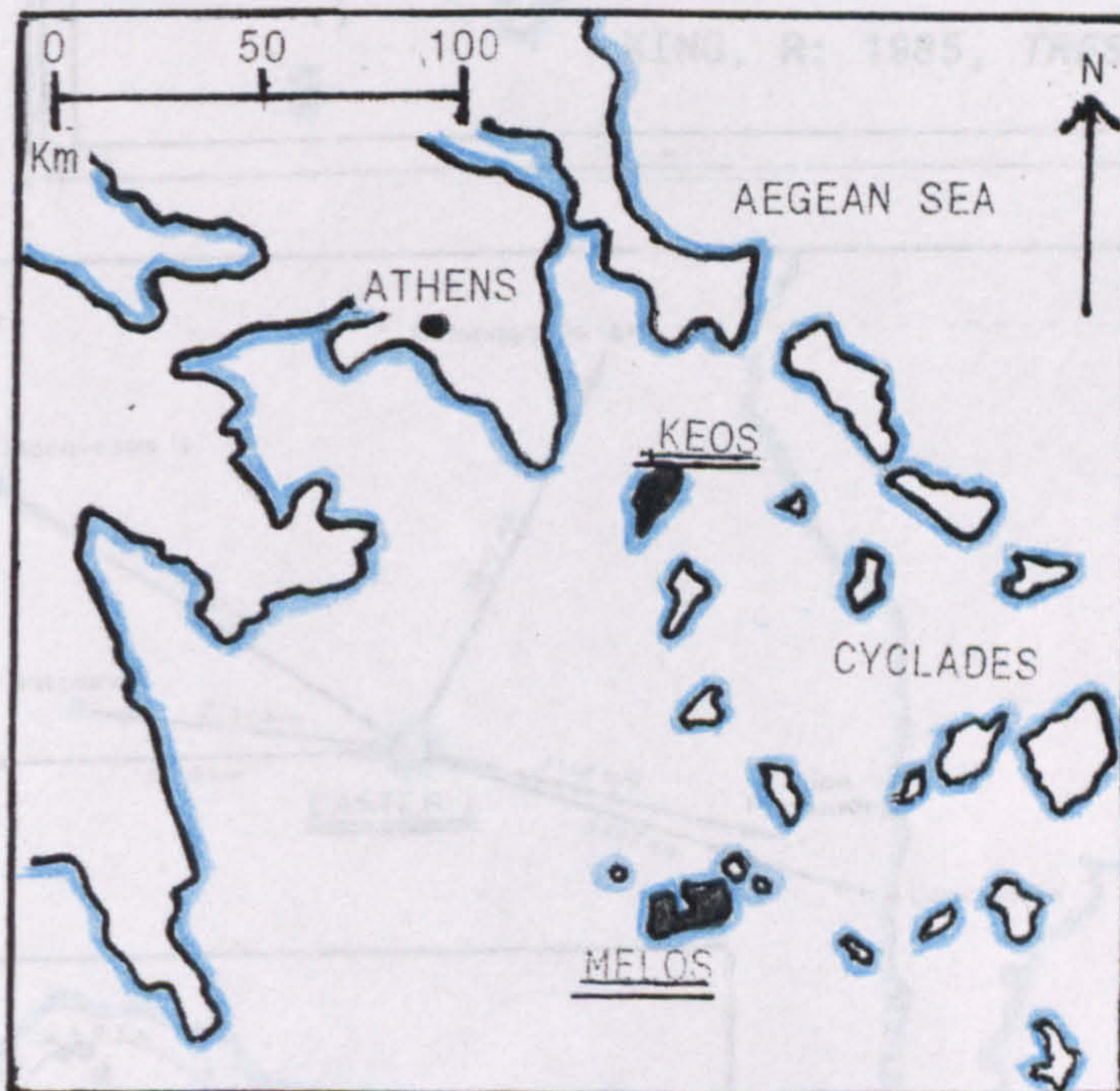
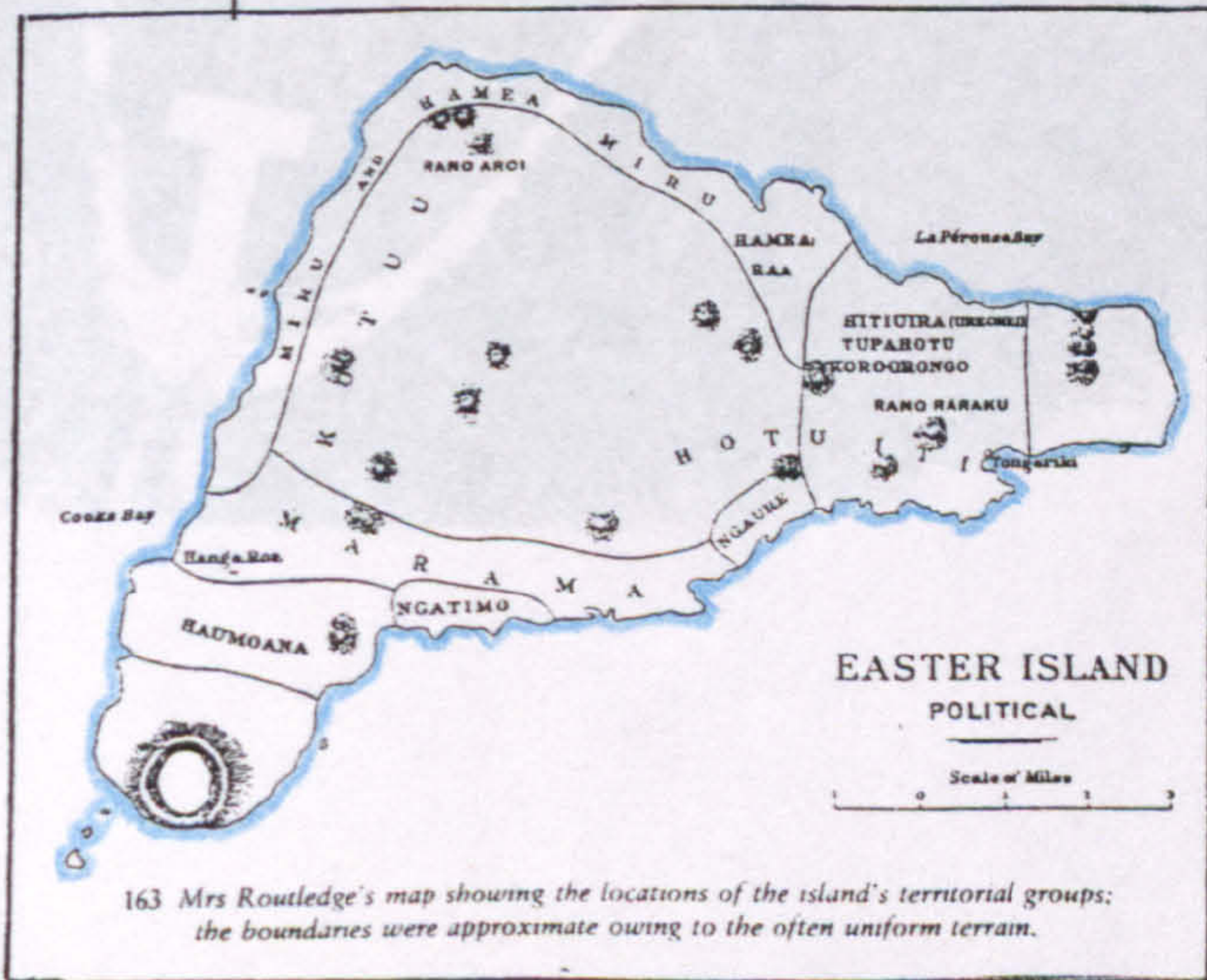
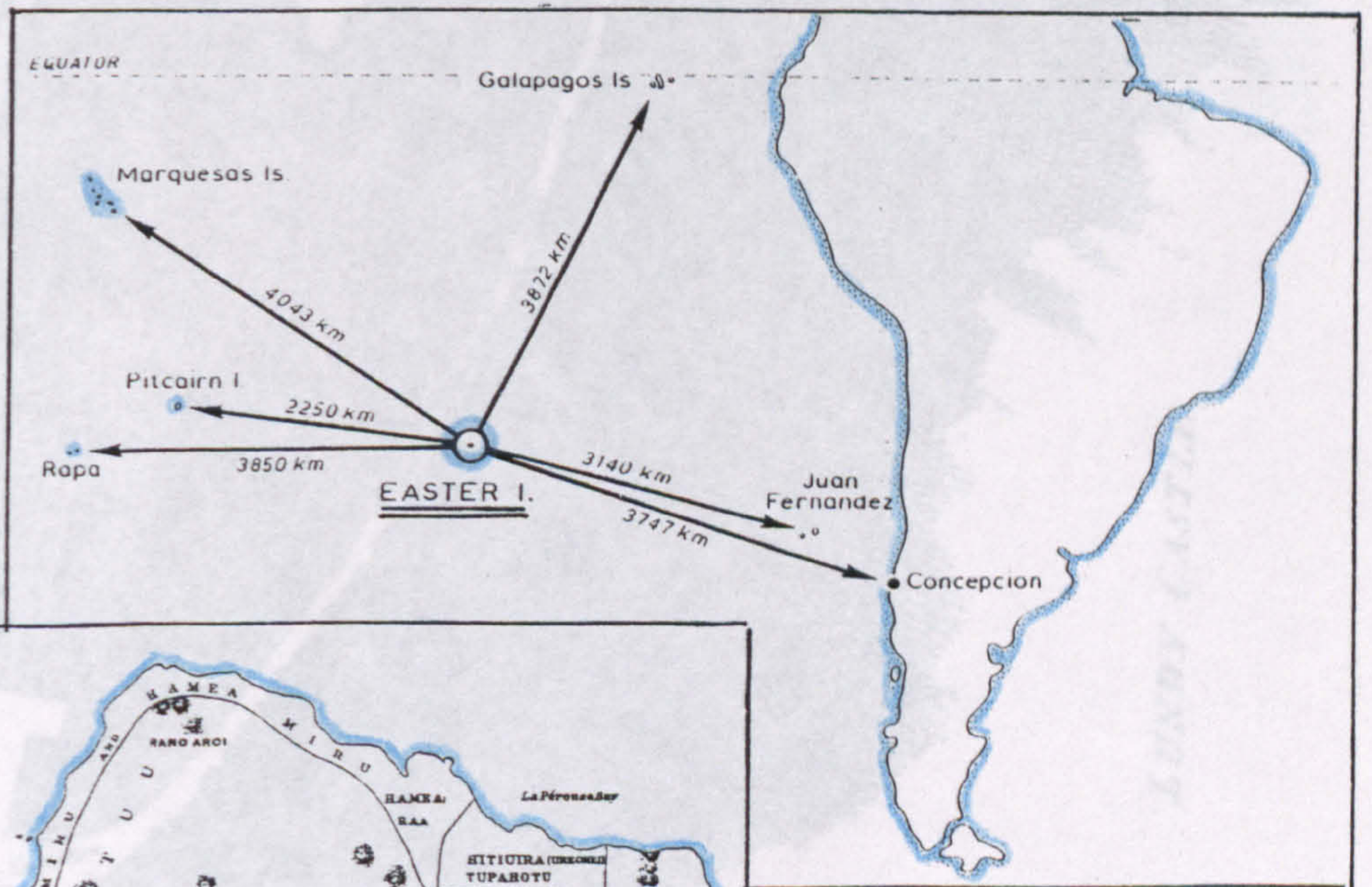
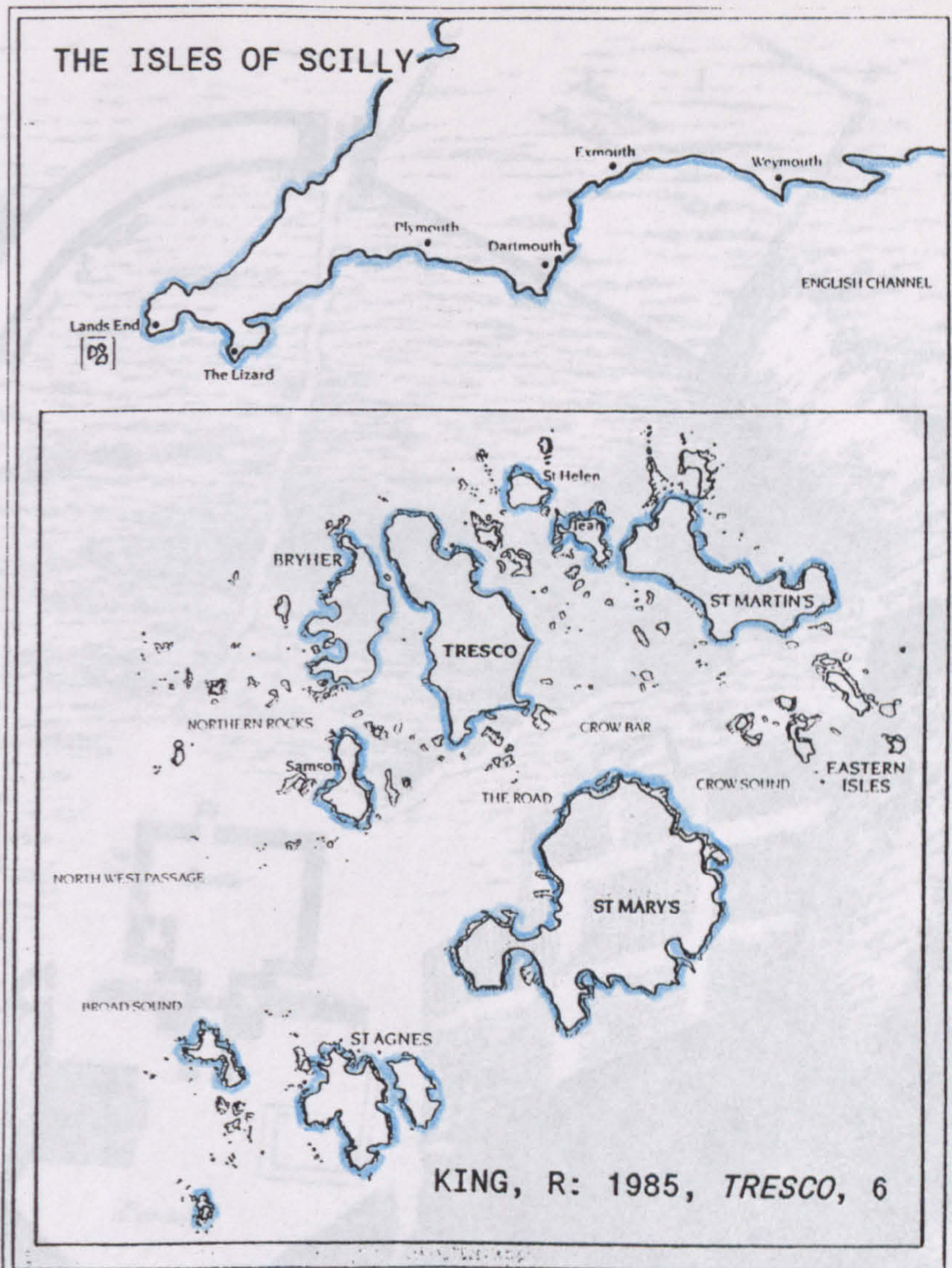
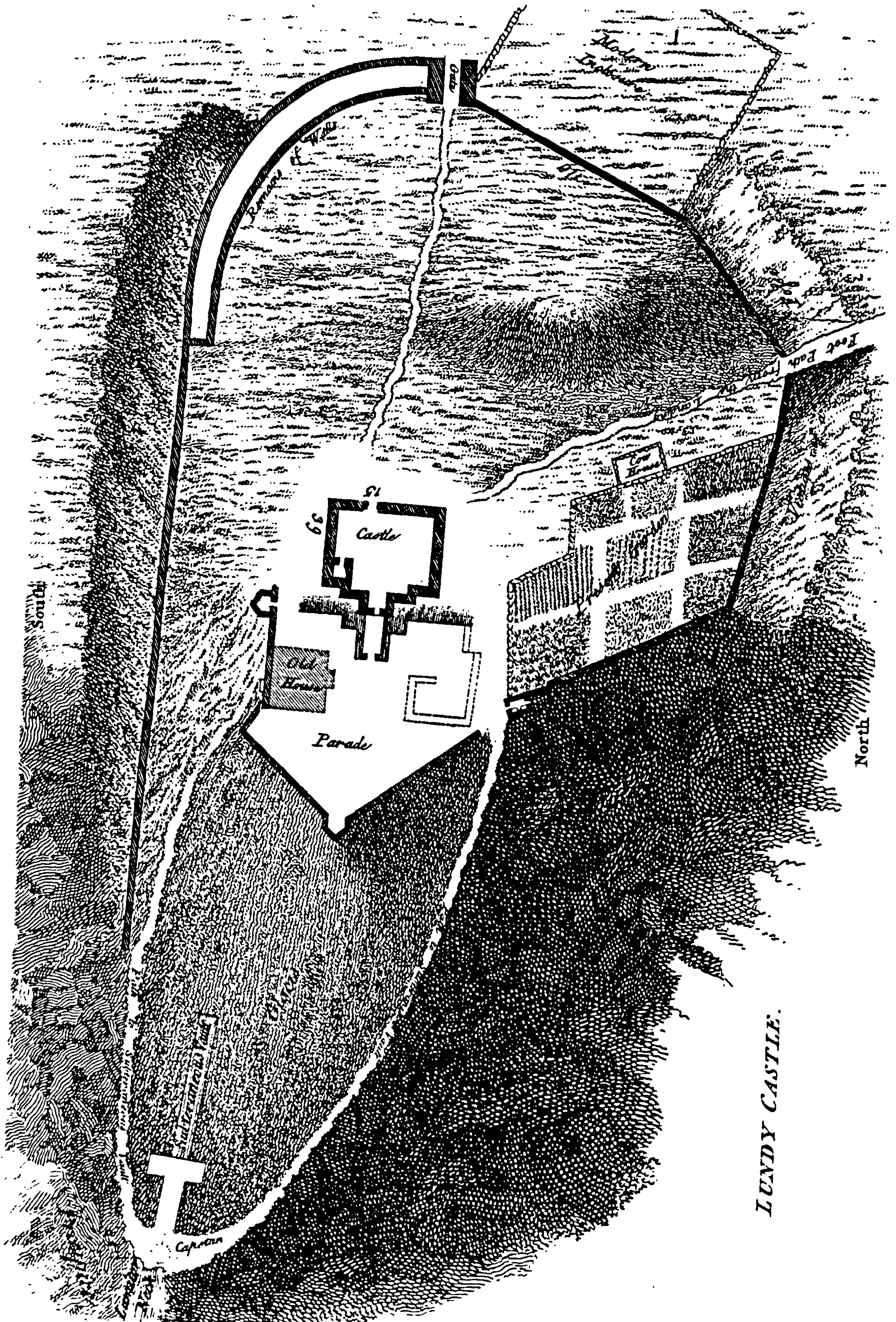


FIG. 14



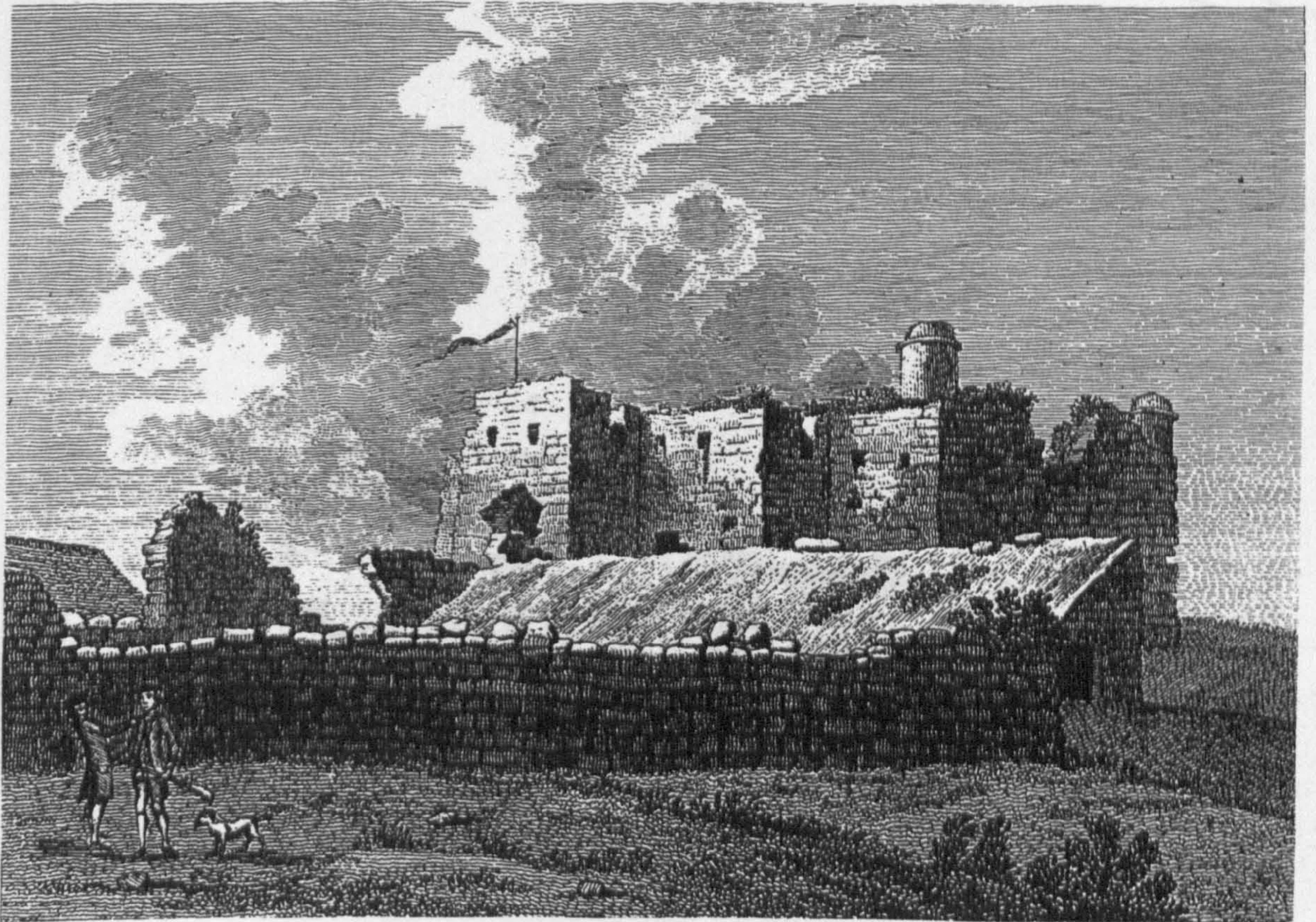
163 Mrs Routledge's map showing the locations of the island's territorial groups; the boundaries were approximate owing to the often uniform terrain.

BAHN & FLENLEY, 1992, 9, 186



LUNDY CASTLE.

Banycath Down, 1765
PRO NO 78/878

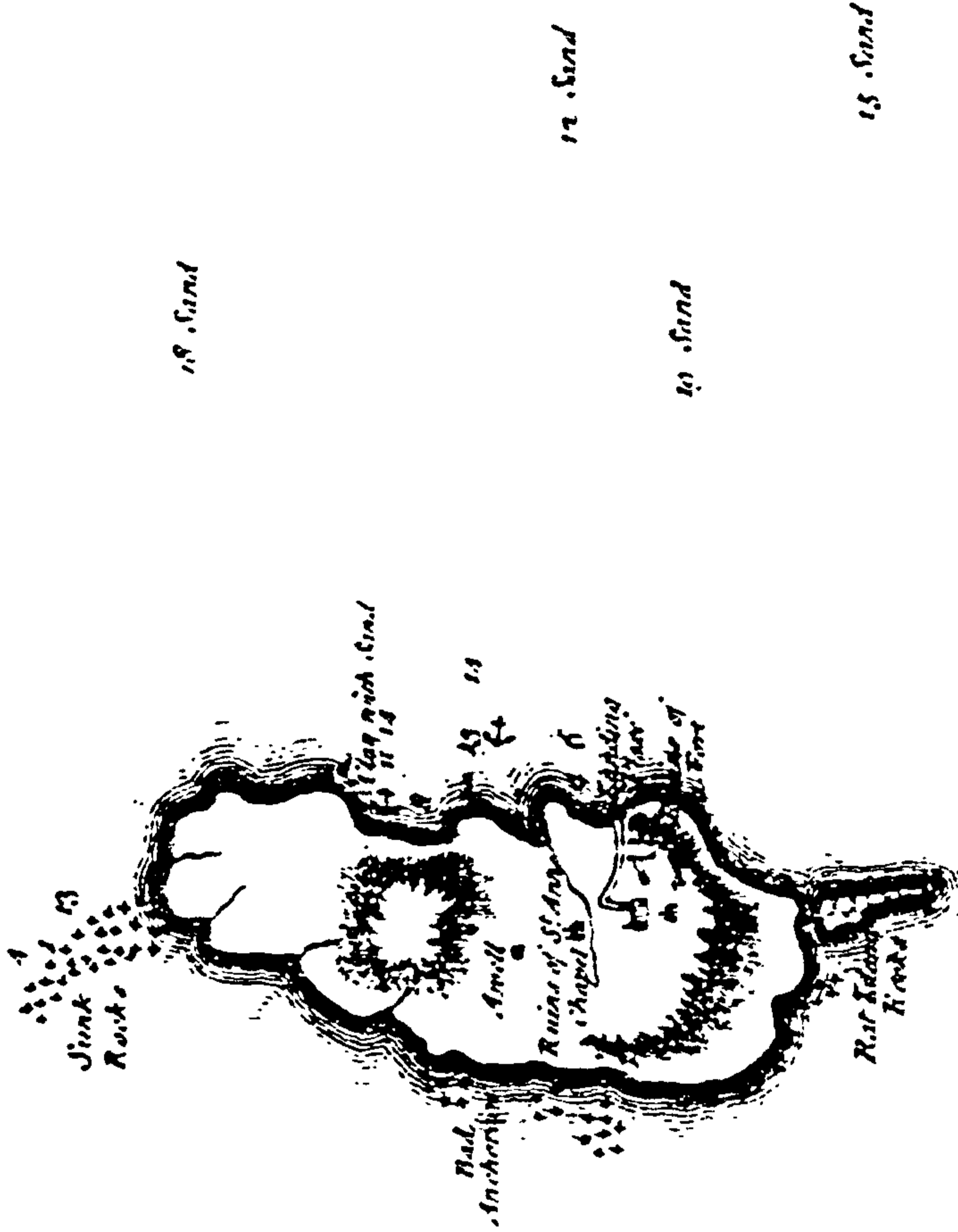


CASTLE HOUSE

GROSE, 1776

Benjamin Donn, 1765
PRO WO 78/5679

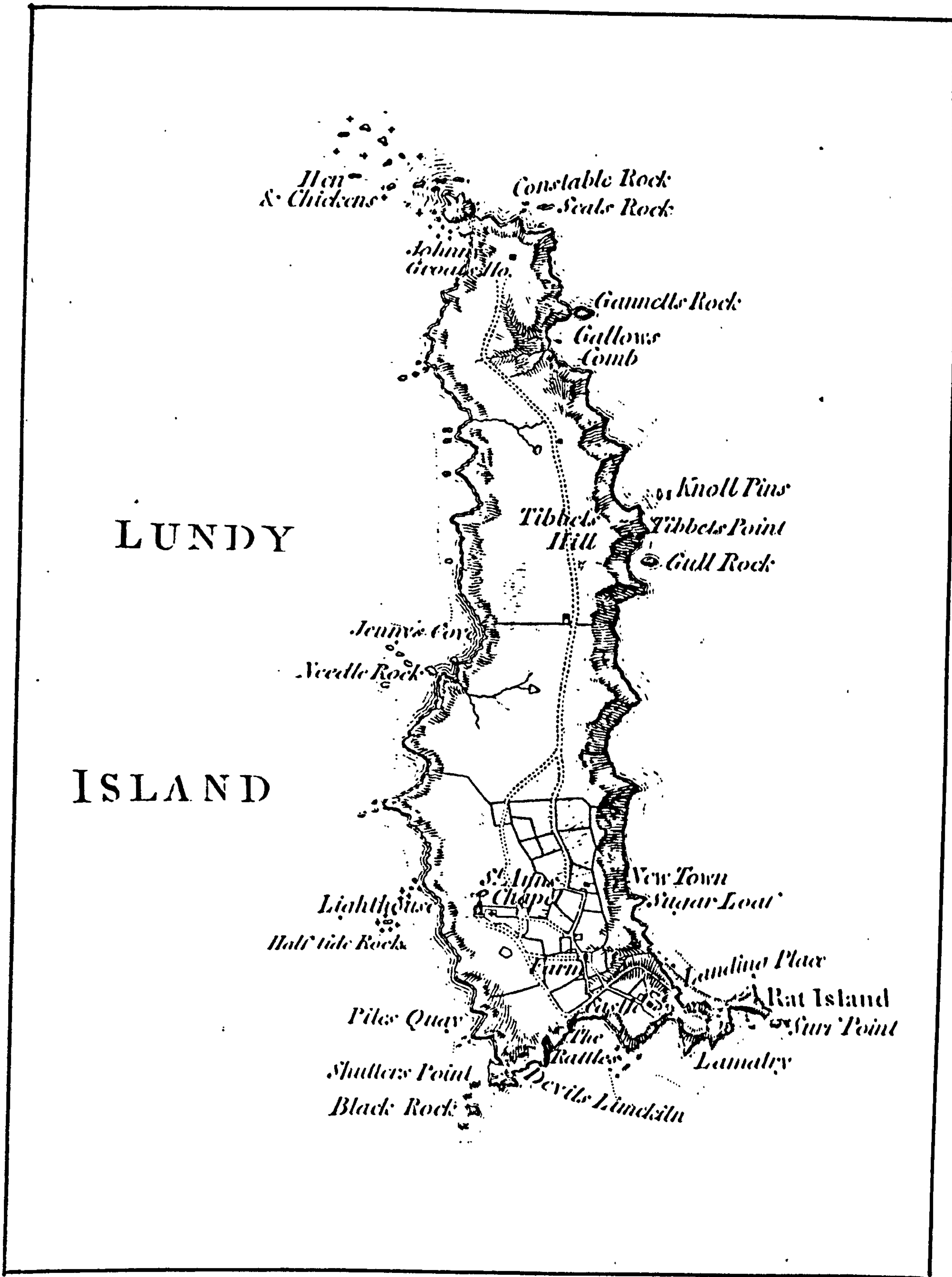
The ISLAND of LUNNY.



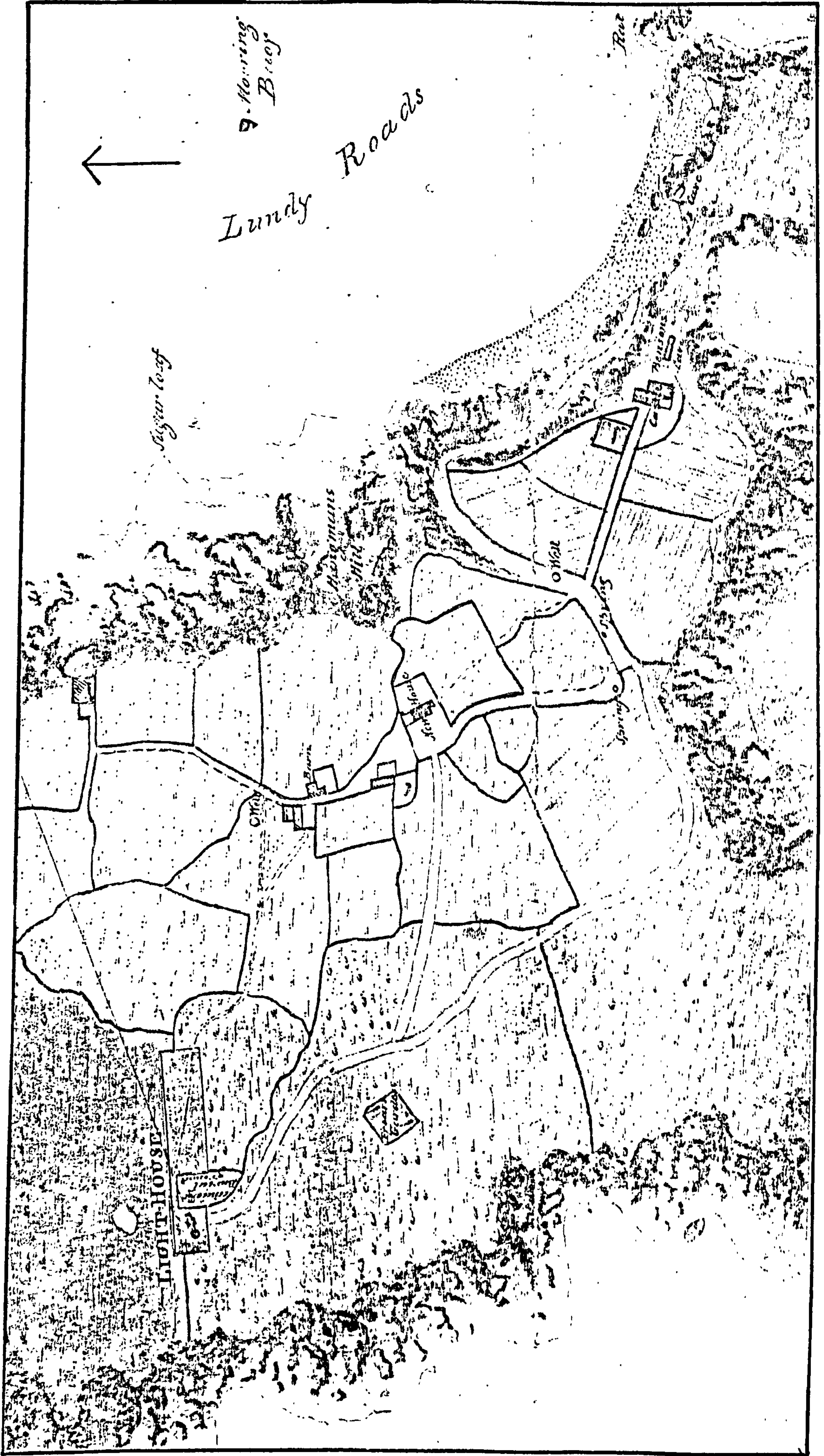
This Island said to be part of Brunton. Hundred Miles too far to Westward to be delineated in its true place in this Map.

The Middle of the Island is in 51. 22. 2. N. Latitude, and 1. 38. 4 West Longitude. It bears from Bedford or Barnstable Bar W. N. W. 4 W. distant 19 Miles & Furlongs. From Hartland Point N. N. W. 1/2 W. distant 18 Miles & Furlongs. And from Baggy Point W. N. W. distant 16 Miles & Furlongs.

The Figures shew the depth of Water in Fathoms.



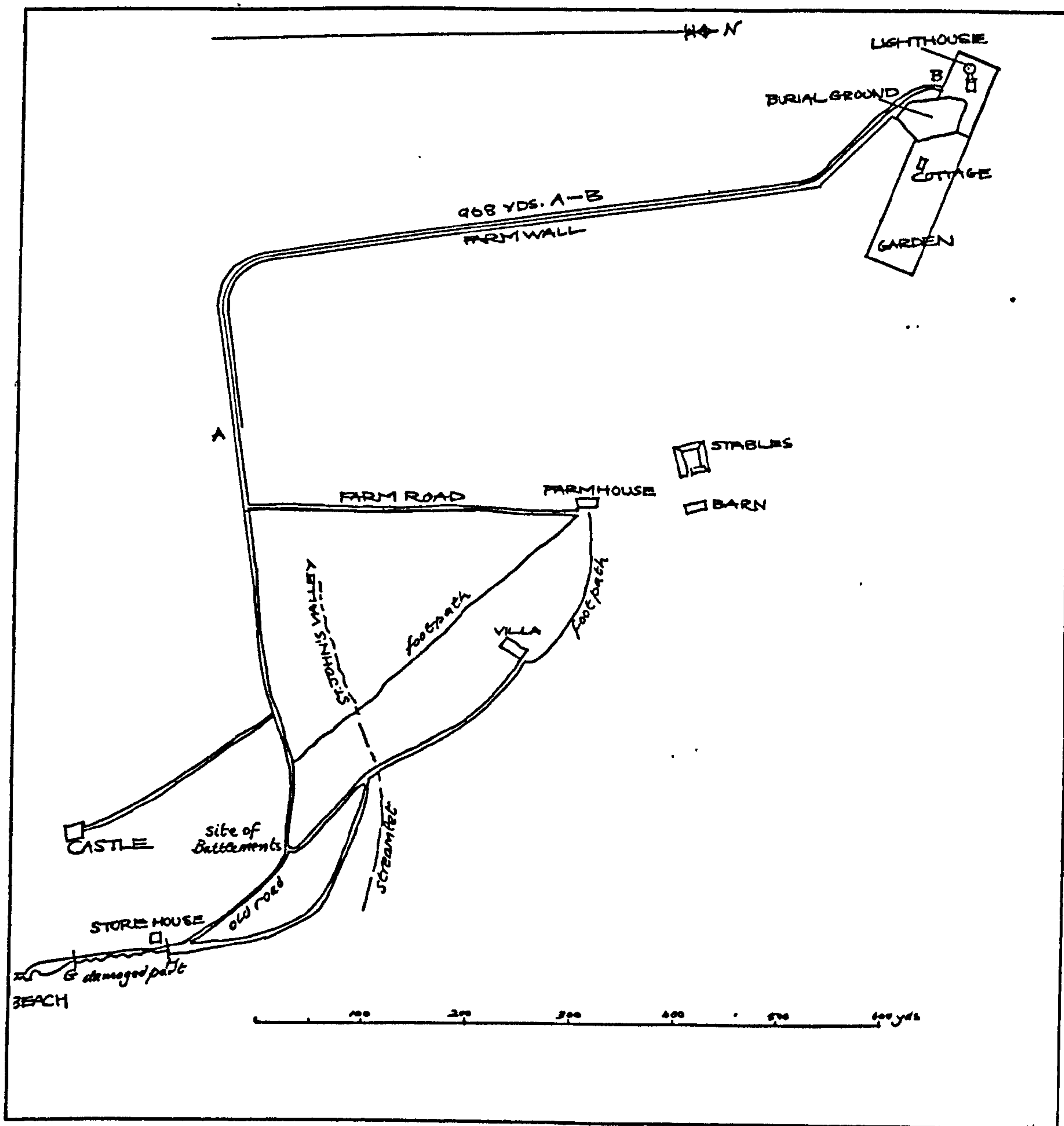




TRINITY HOUSE ENGINEERS' DEPARTMENT, 1319, 1820 (PART)

100 YARDS

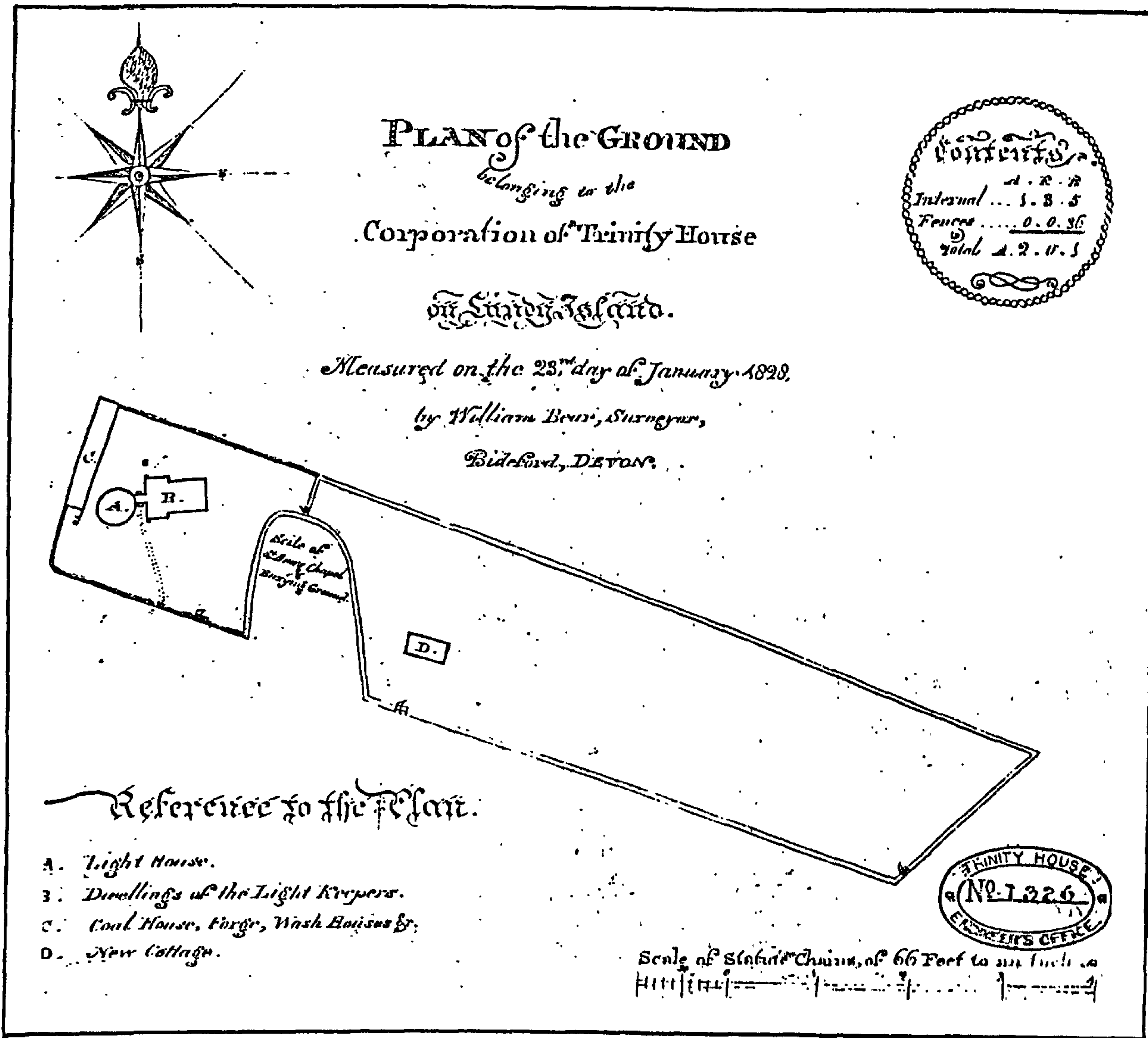
FIG. 21



Legend amended.

Drawing by P Rothwell from
TRINITY HOUSE ENGINEERS' ARCHIVE, 1329

THE ROAD FROM BEACH TO LIGHTHOUSE, 1842

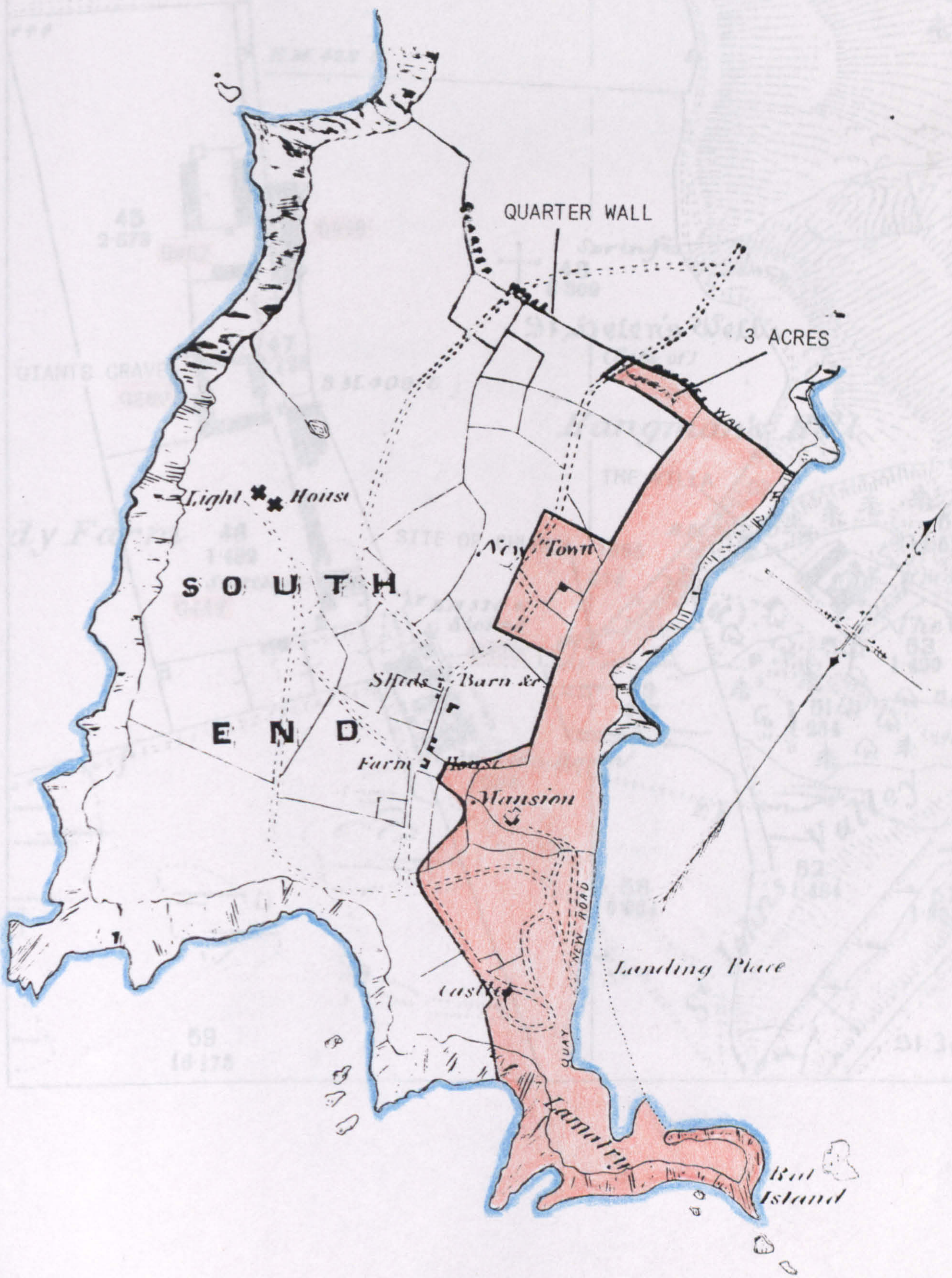


OS 1886: THE VILLAGE (improved in 1884)

Mission Room = 094 used RESERVED AREA, 1863

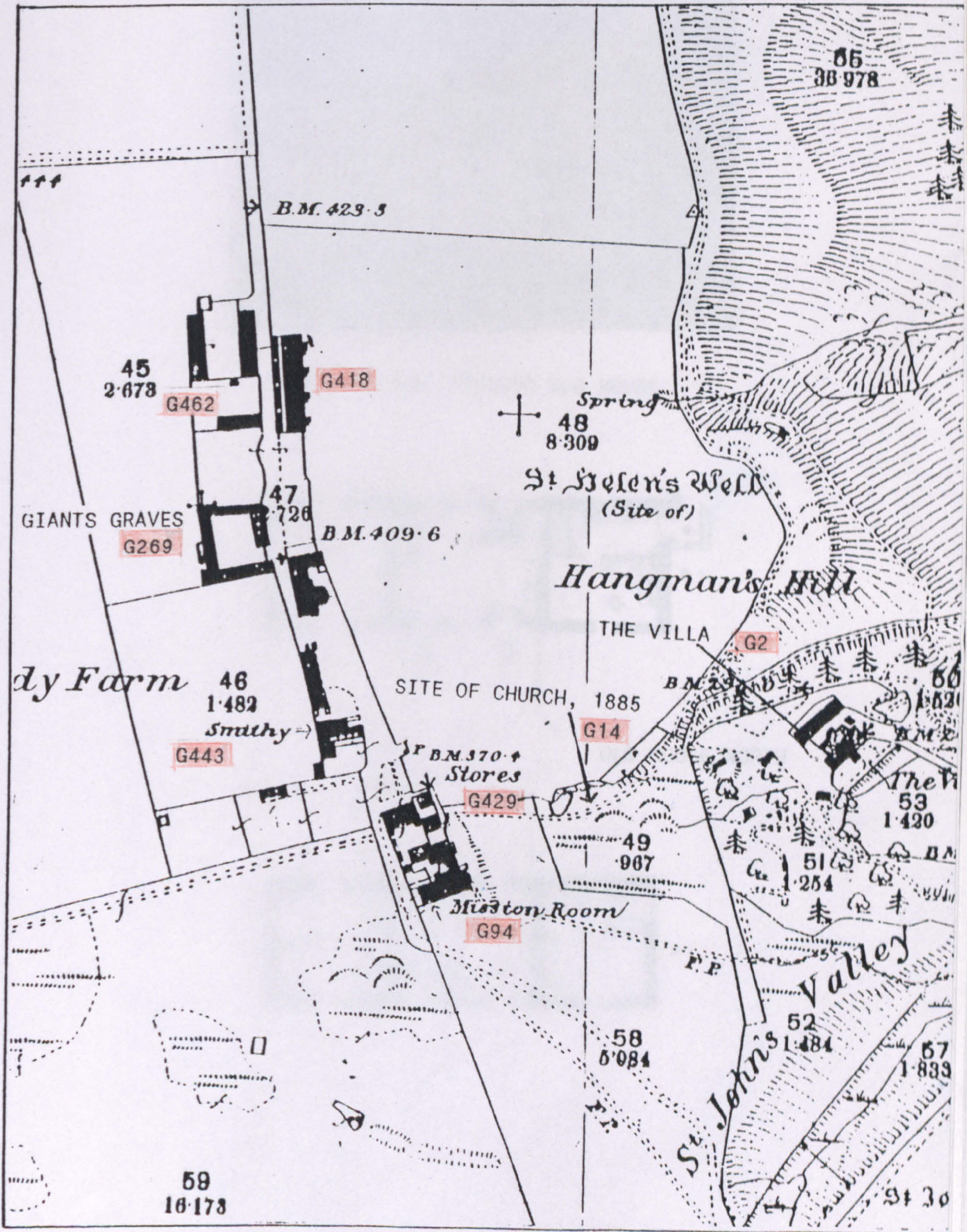
HA (i), REVERSE OF LEASE AGREEMENT, 1863

LMA, 1840 (based on OS 1820)



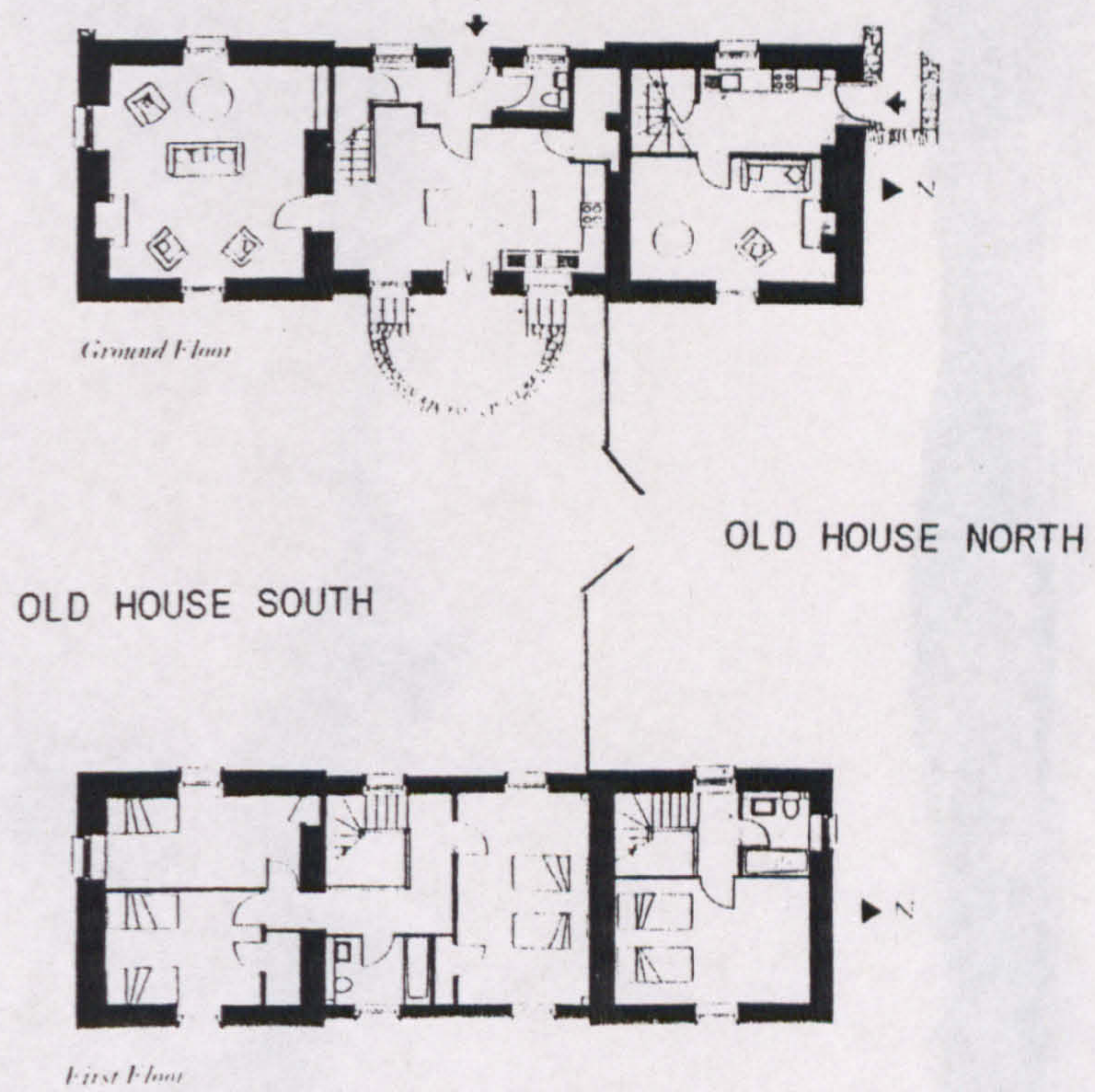
OS 1886: THE VILLAGE (surveyed in 1884)

Mission Room = G94 used for services until 1885





EAST FACADE, PRESENT OLD HOUSE



Island



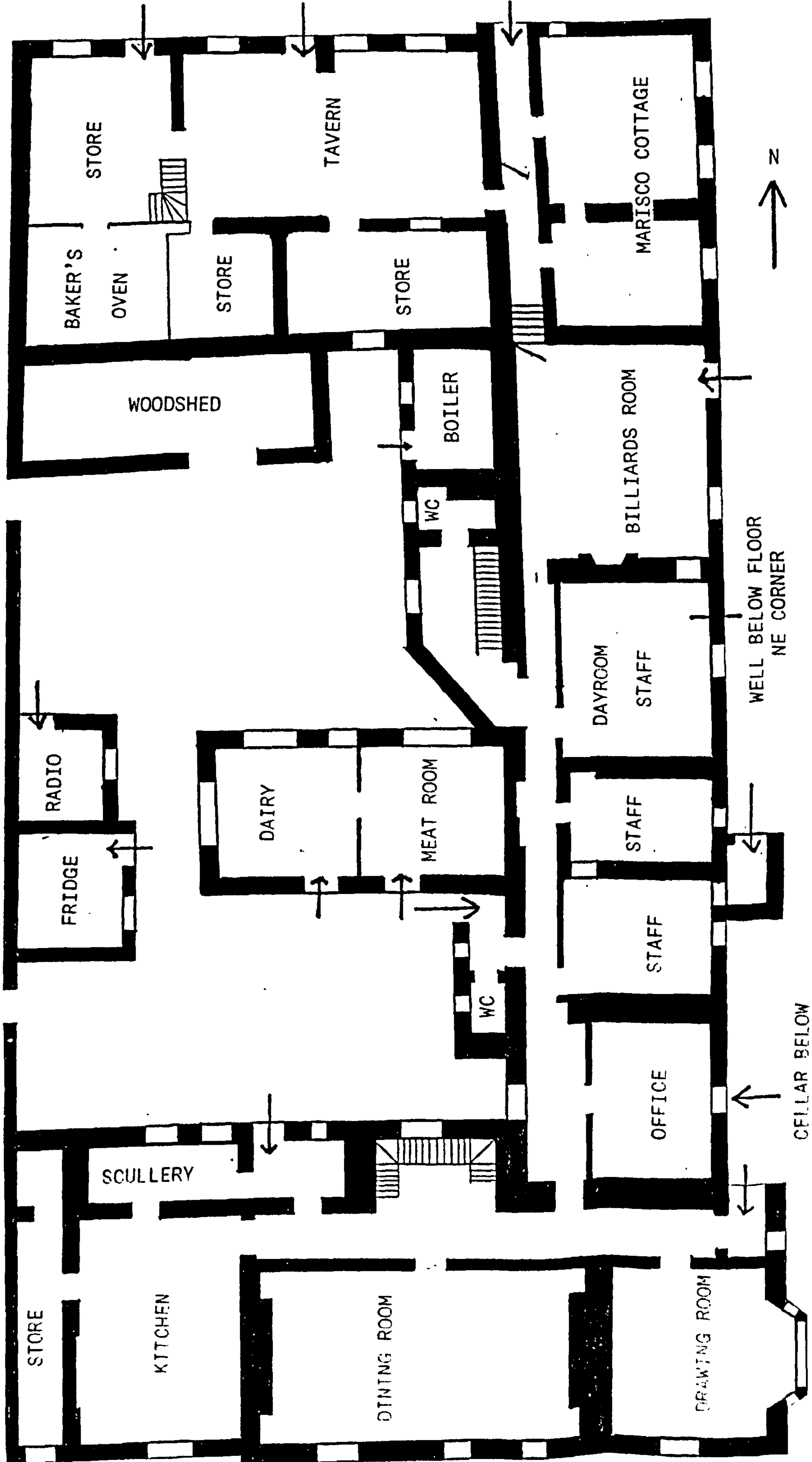
Geo. S. Parkyas delin.

of Lundy at the north distance.



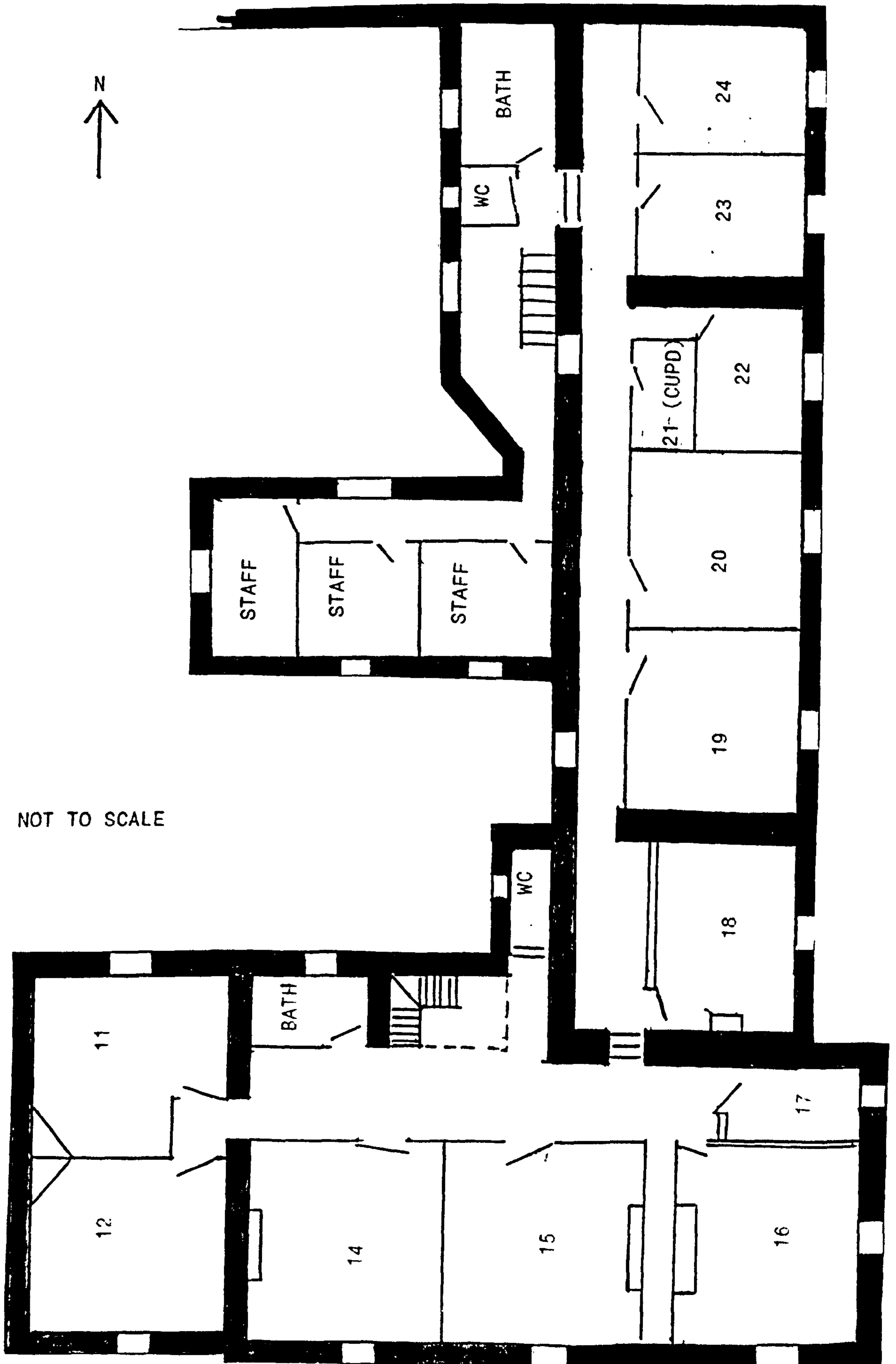
The Island of Lundy proposed as a depot for Provisions of War.

MANOR FARM HOTEL GROUND FLOOR 1973



NOT TO SCALE

MANOR FARM HOTEL FIRST FLOOR 1973



NOT TO SCALE

"NATURE'S UNSPOILT ISLE."

LUNDY ISLAND—at the entrance of the Bristol Channel, mid-way between England and Wales—is 11 miles from Hartland Point and 28 from Tenby—24 from Ilfracombe—20 from Instow.

Inaccessible by motor-car or char-a-banc, it still retains the quietude which is becoming every day more difficult to obtain and enjoy.

A kingdom in itself unrecognised and alone—free from the trammels of bye-laws and regulations—it has a peculiar charm of freedom enhanced by natural scenery—the winds that freely blow upon it and the ocean that laves its shores.

An equable climate some ten degrees cooler in summer and the same degrees warmer in winter than on the mainland (due to full influence of Gulf Stream)—wonderful scenery—ample pure water—good rough shooting—excellent seafishing and safe bathing—make it an ideal summer or winter resort for those who love quietude and retreat.

The Island teems with bird life in endless varieties.

Romance and tradition are not wanting, as is evidenced by Marisco Castle (the long-time haunt of freebooters and pirates) and prehistorical antiquities.

BROCHURE FOR THE MANOR FARM HOTEL, 1926

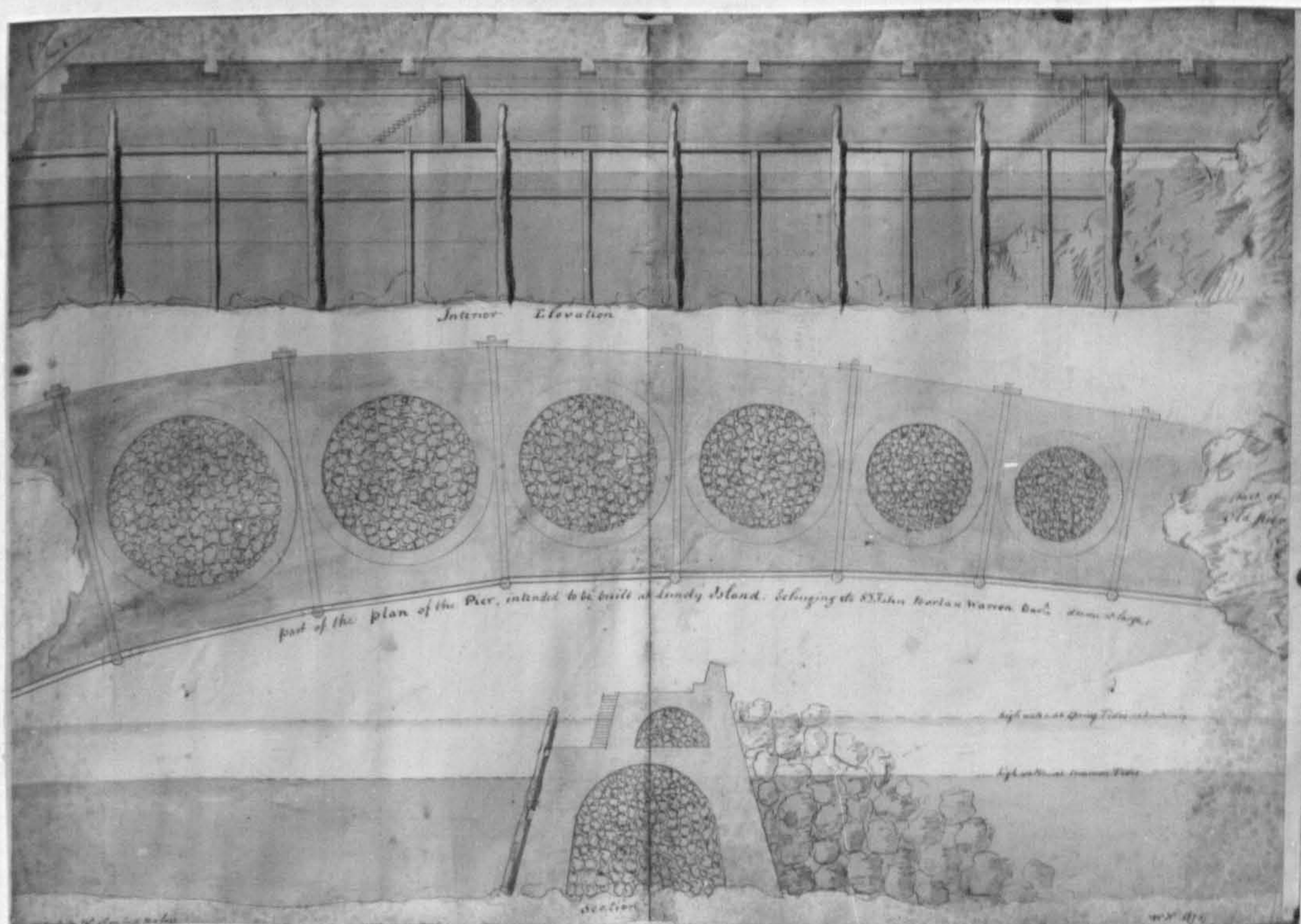
To the seeker after excitement Lundy offers no attractions. Daily newspapers are unobtainable, and from September to May Kingdoms may fall, markets collapse, and the noise of them just filters through weekly, toned down by the hush of mighty nature.

Lundy affords all the advantages of a deep sea voyage with none of its disadvantages, yet the visitor is never far from home. The Signal Station Telegraph Office is always available.

Until recently Lundy was a no-man's land, visitors were unwanted and unprovided for, landing dues were prohibitive, and its shores were only reached by the uncertain favour of the mail-boat.

The Manor Farm Hotel now affords comfortable accommodation, and from the products of the Island provides simple wholesome fare. Between June 1st and September 30th a regular passenger service is maintained from Ilfracombe by Messrs. P. & A. Campbell's passenger steamers, and all the year round the motor mail-boat "Lerina" takes not exceeding ten passengers one day a week from Instow, or can be specially chartered by parties (not exceeding ten) embarking from Instow, Clovelly, Bideford, Ilfracombe, Tenby or Swansea. The passage from mainland to Lundy Island occupies about two hours.

Mail-day—Wednesday each week. Post Tuesdays.

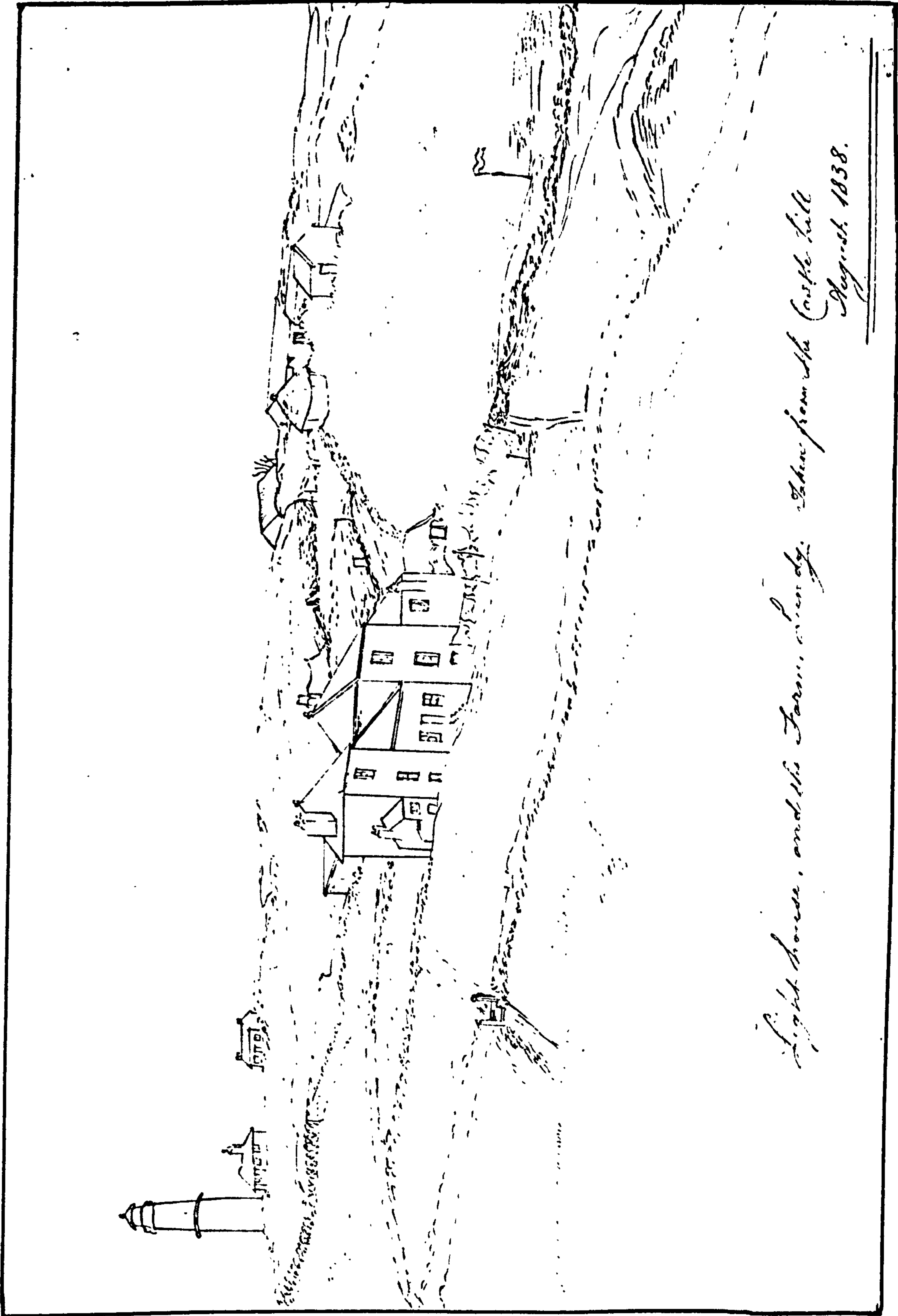


MTC, DESIGN FOR BORLASE WARREN'S PIER, c1775

"PART OF OLD PIER"



OS 1886, THE CASTLE KEEP AND PARADE, F S = FLAGSTAFF ENCLOSURES ON LAMATRY



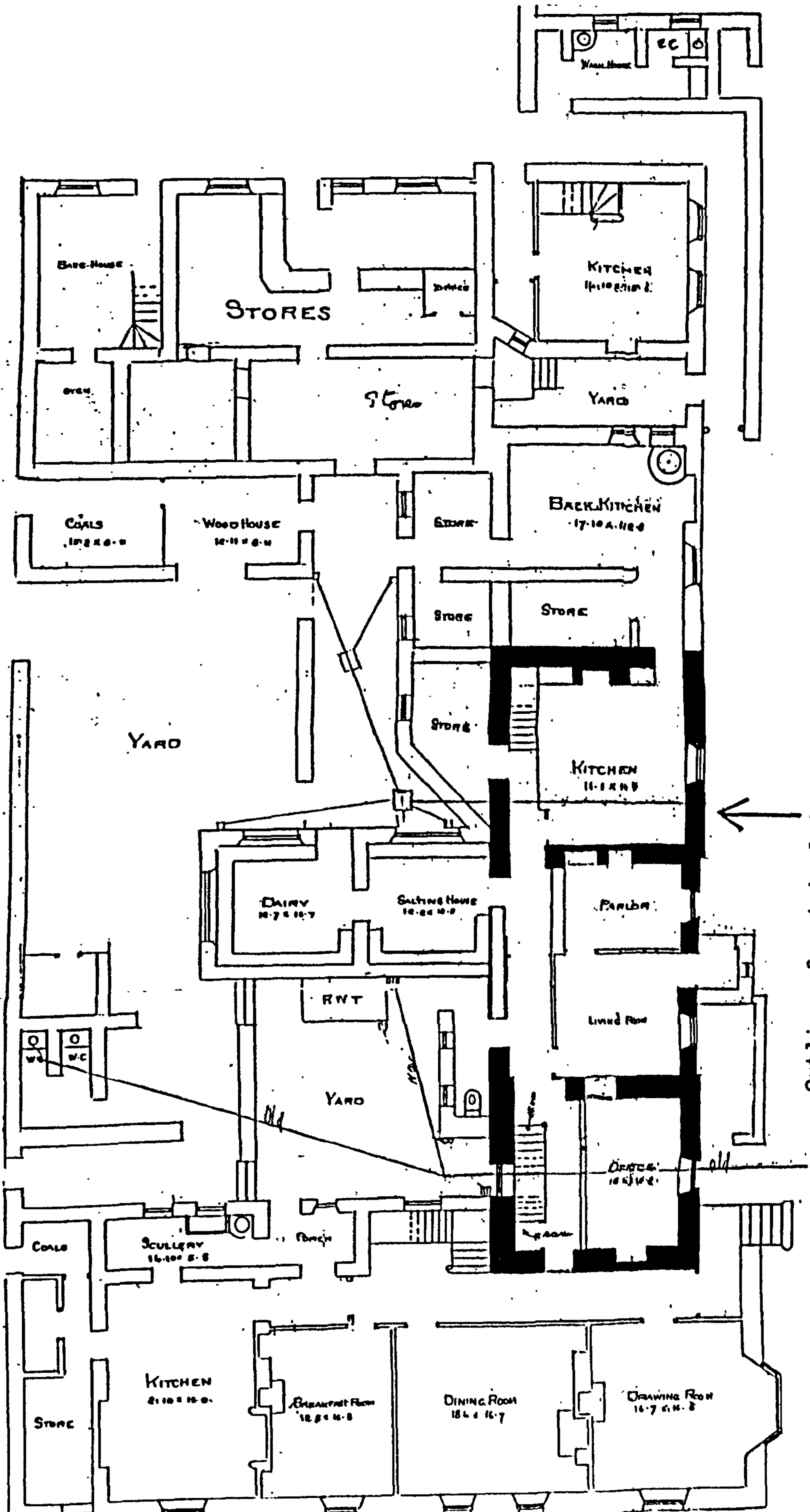
*Lighthouse, and the Farm, as seen from the Castle Hill
August, 1838.*

HA (1), THE FARMHOUSE, 1838



MTC, EXCAVATION OF CASTLE HOUSE (G302) FROM NW

1918, Manor House, Farm House etc. NDRO, B 170/Add/39

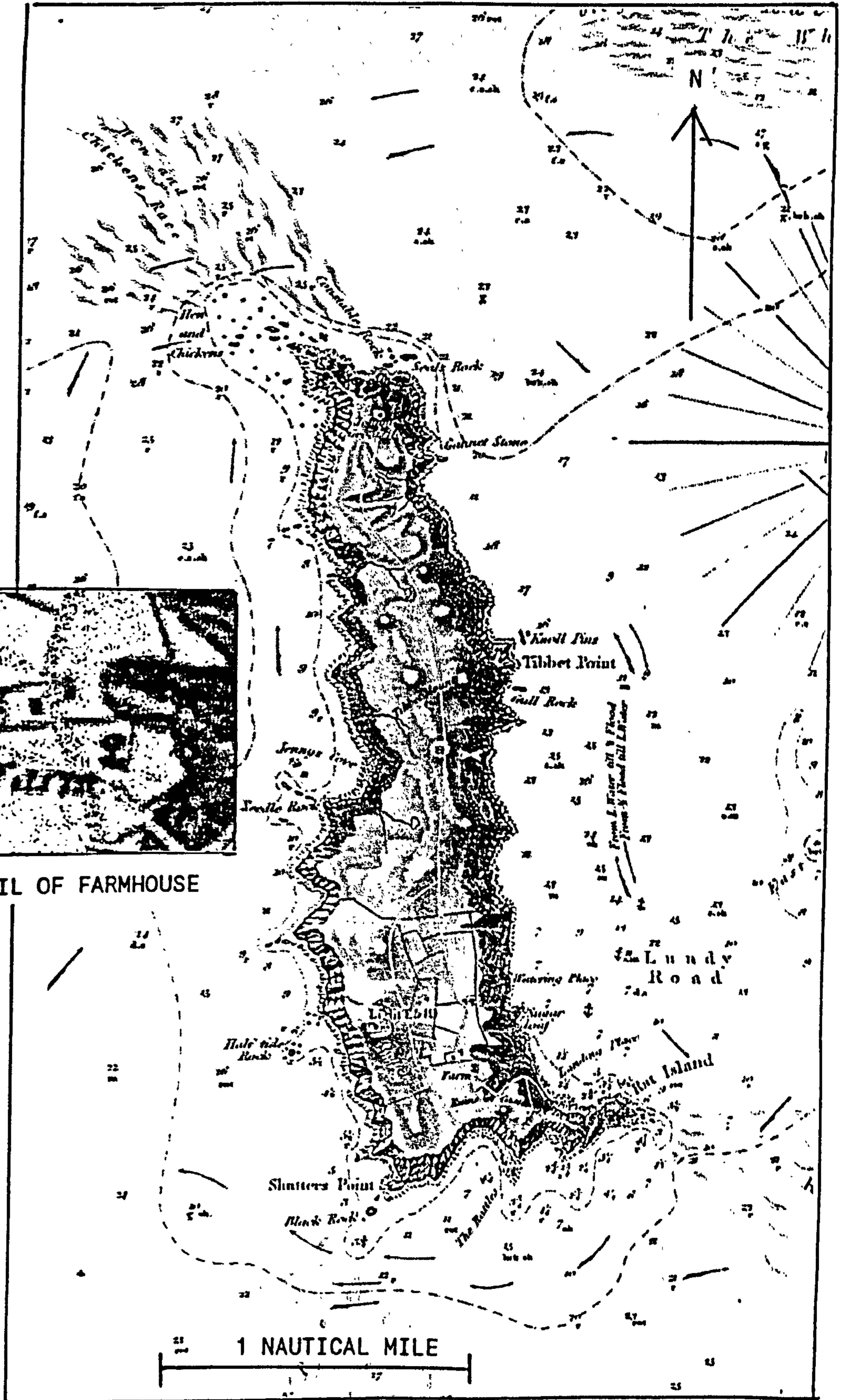
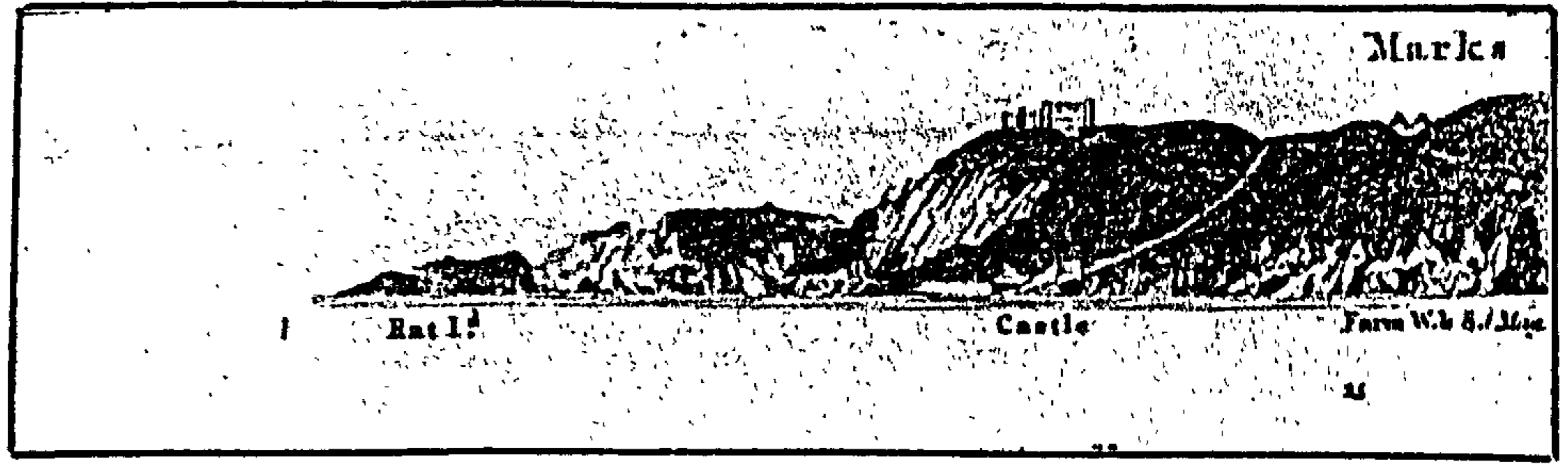


Outline of original farmhouse, G25

GROUND PLAN

Scale 10ft. to 1inch (Reduced)

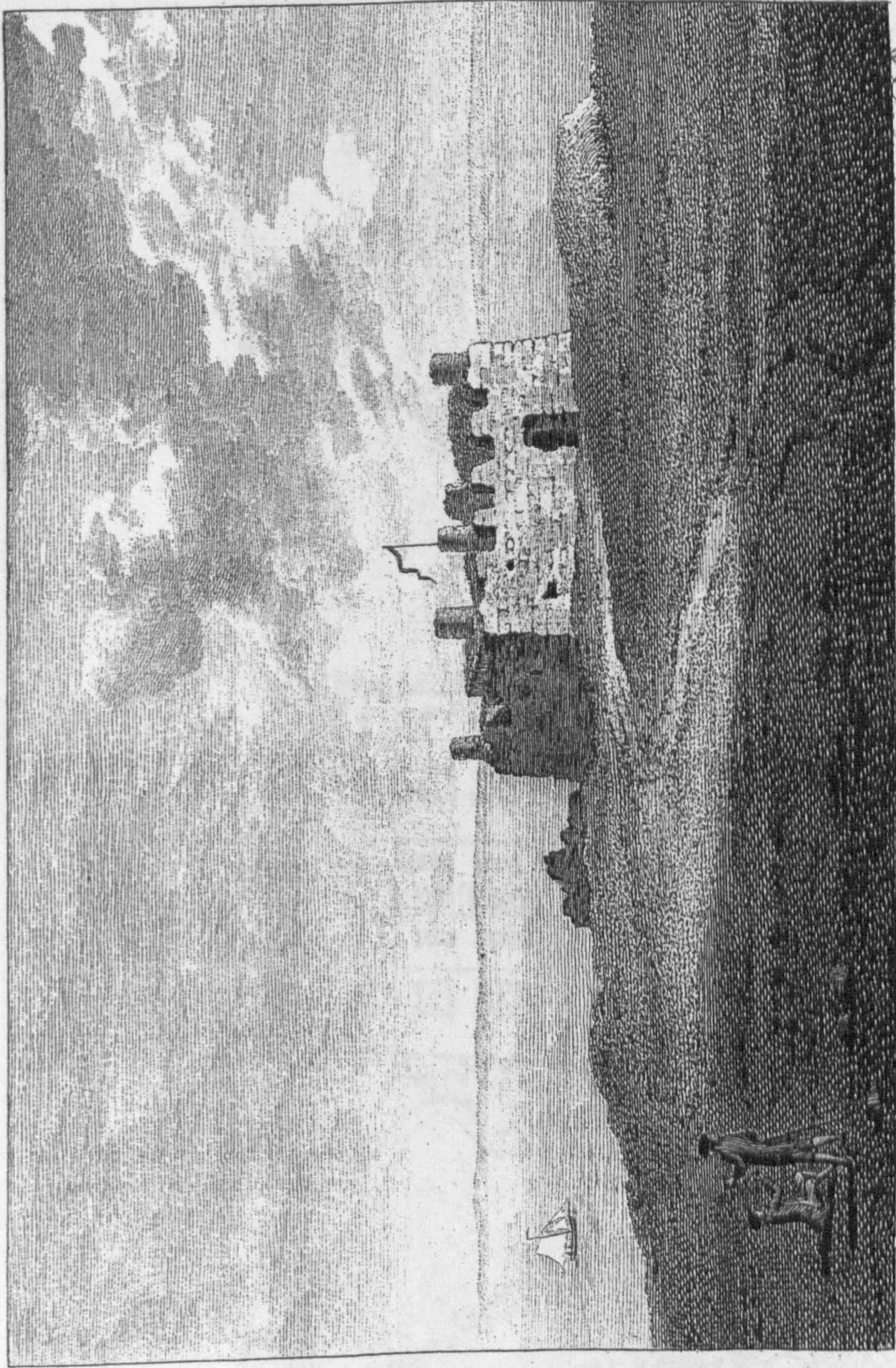
FIG. 35



DETAIL OF FARMHOUSE



LUNDY FROM SE, PAINTING BY D SERRES, 1775



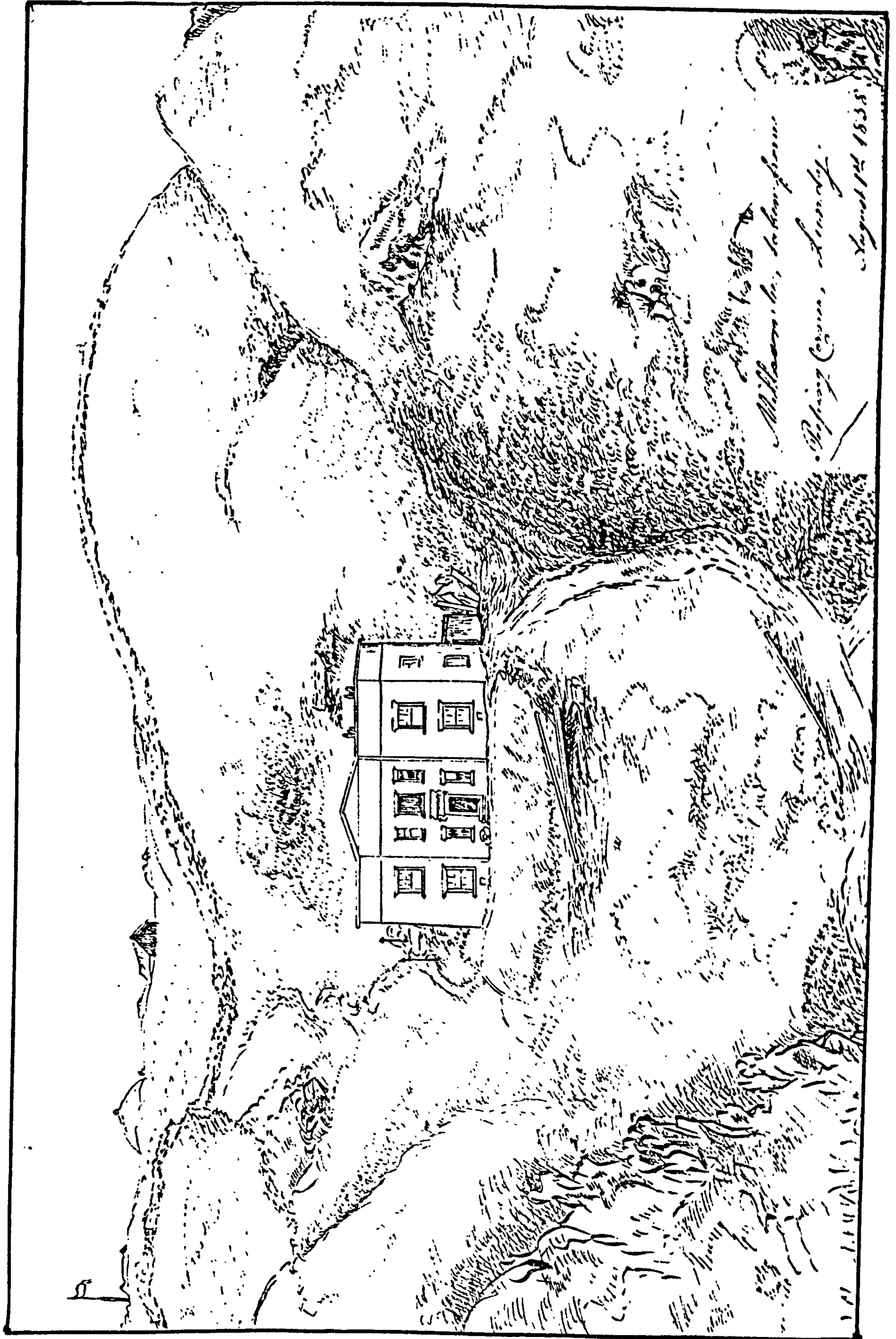
SAL.

Lundy Castle . Pl. 1

77 Oct. 1775. Pub. by S. Hooper

GROSE, 1776 THE CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST

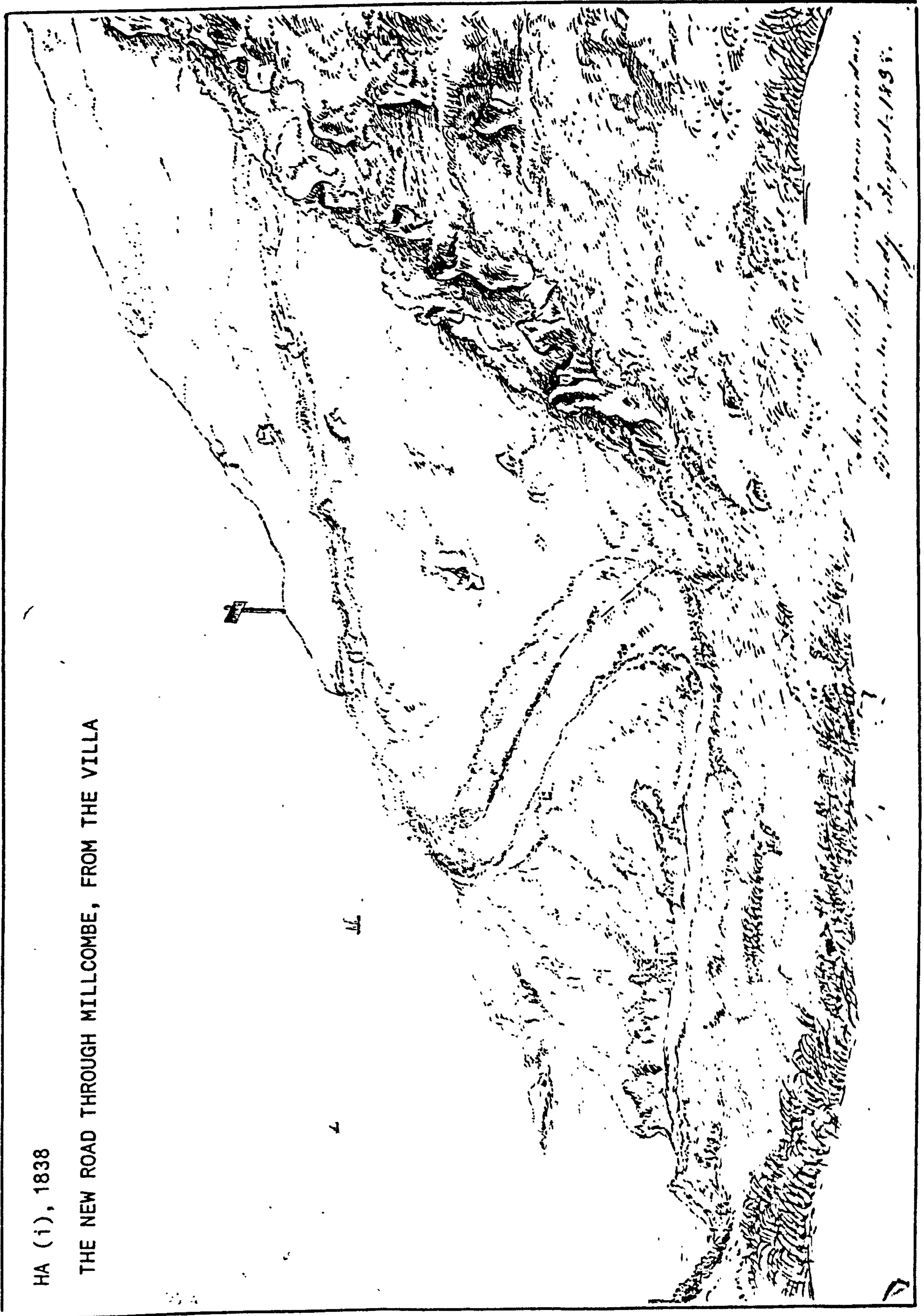
THE VILLAGE & WILLOWS, 1780



HA (1), THE VILLA & MILLCOMBE, 1838

HA (i), 1838

THE NEW ROAD THROUGH MILLCOMBE, FROM THE VILLA



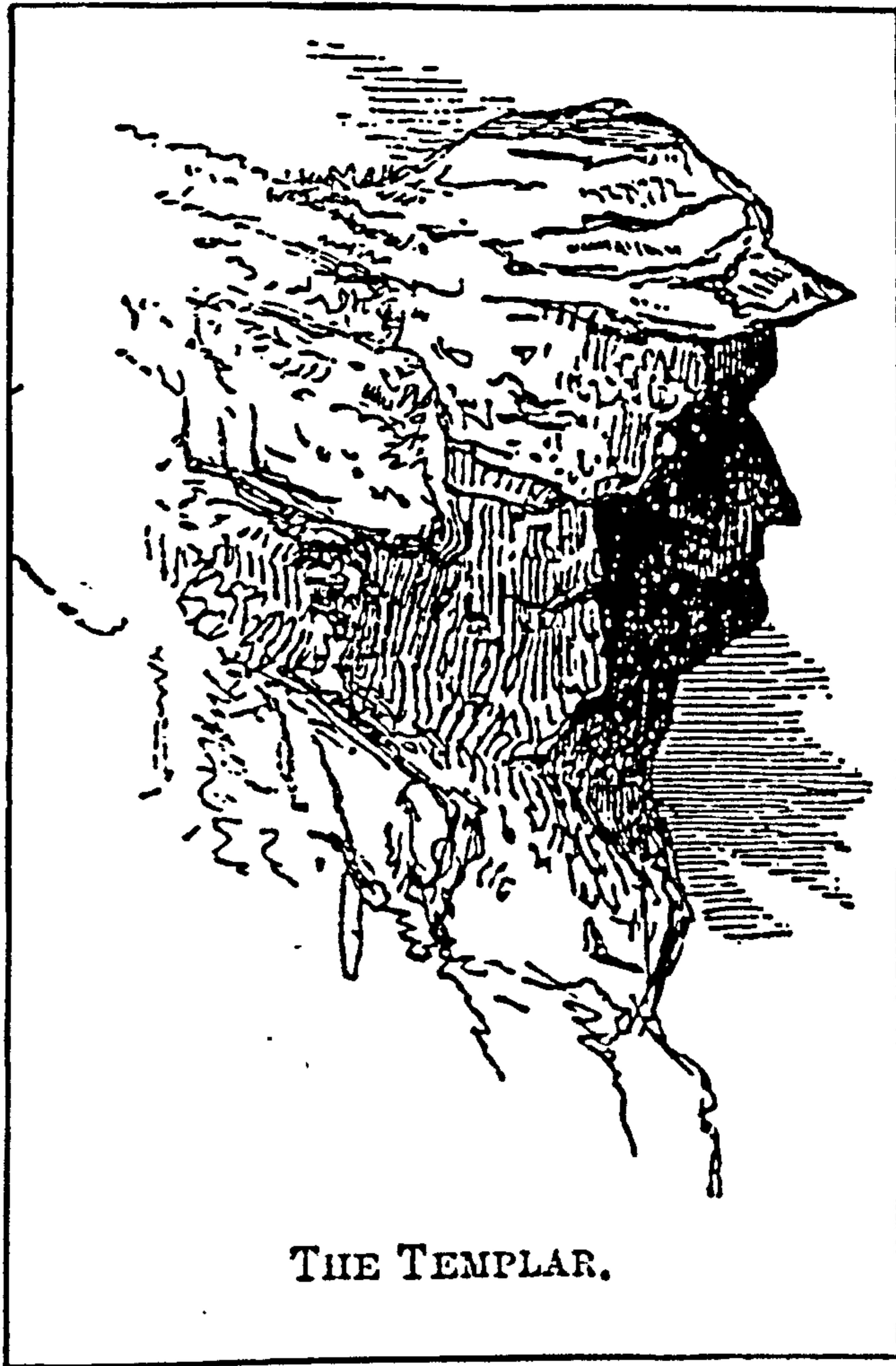
W. H. Sturt, August 1838.

HA (1), 1838

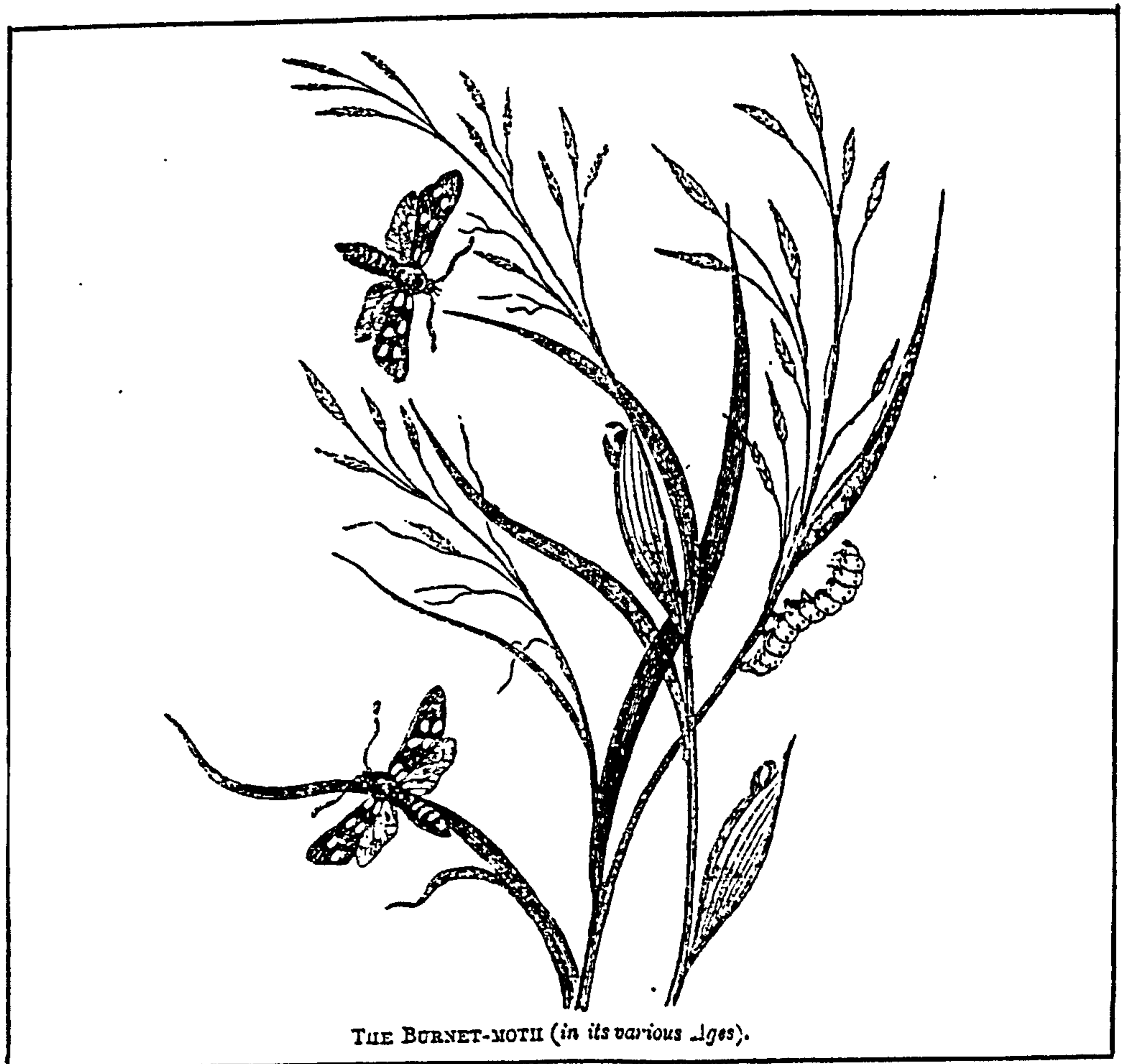
THE LANDING BAY AND THE CASTLE



*Rat Island, Survey of the Coast
 Sunday, taken from the top of the island
 August, 1838.*

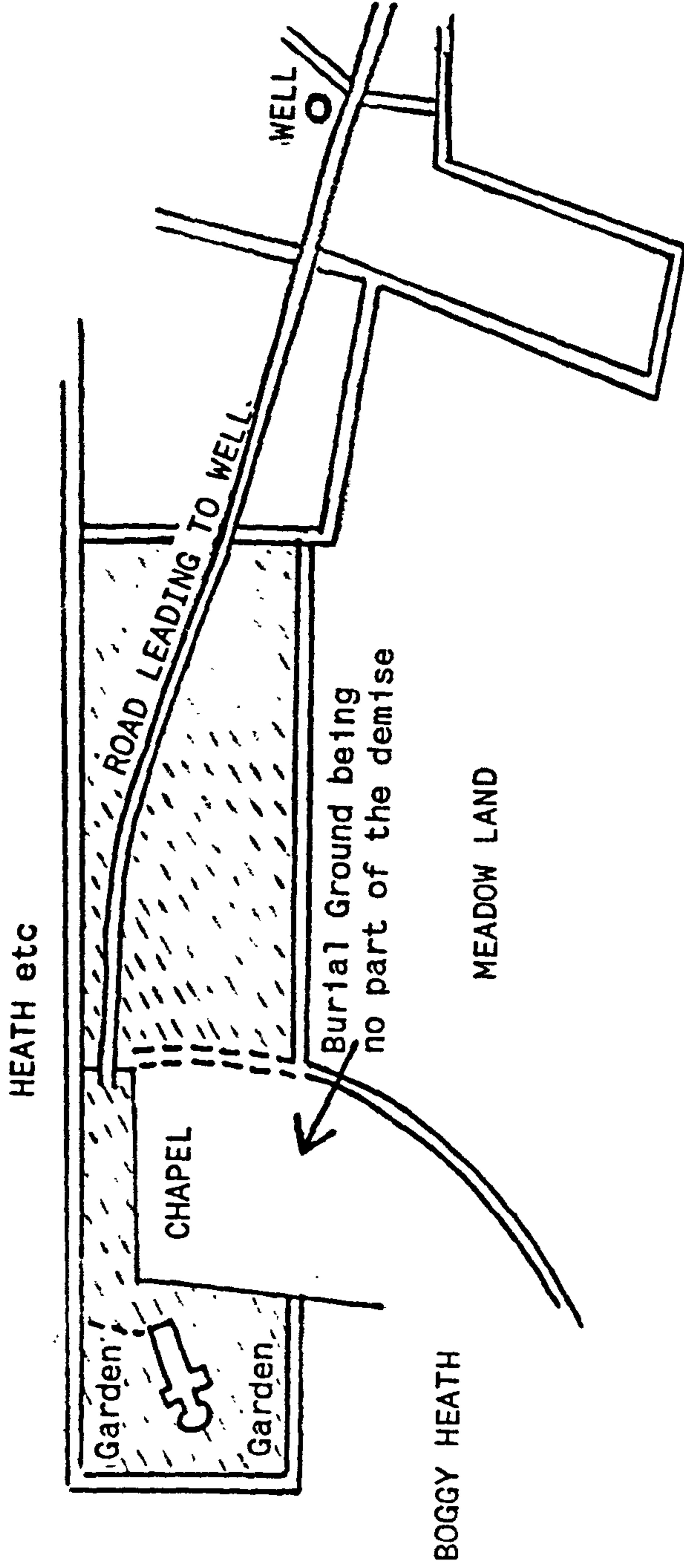


GOSSE, 1853, ii, part 2, 545



GOSSE, 1853, ii, part 1, 488

THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE



COPY OF PLAN, TRINITY HOUSE LEGAL ARCHIVE, 1819
AREA LEASED APPROXIMATELY 2 ACRES, 0.80 Hectares

NOT TO SCALE



HA (i), THE HEAVEN FAMILY, 1864



HA (i), THE MANOR HOUSE FROM NE, 1888

T WRIGHT, LESSEE, ON HORSEBACK



HA (1), THE STORE FROM N. W. CORNER

HA (i), THE OLD LIGHT FROM S, c1888



HA (i), THE STORE FROM N, c1888

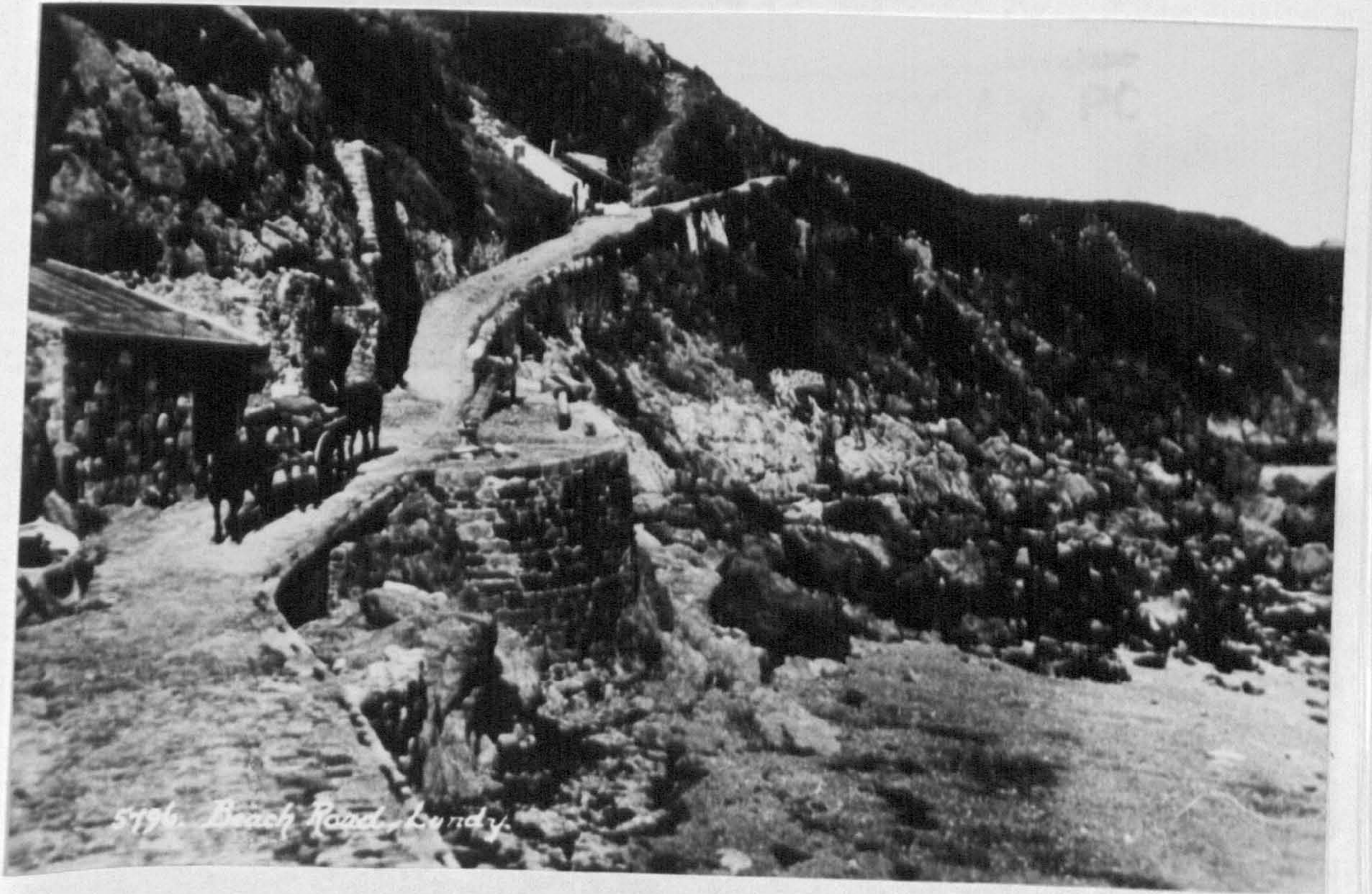


HA (i), THE VILLAGE FROM SE, c1888

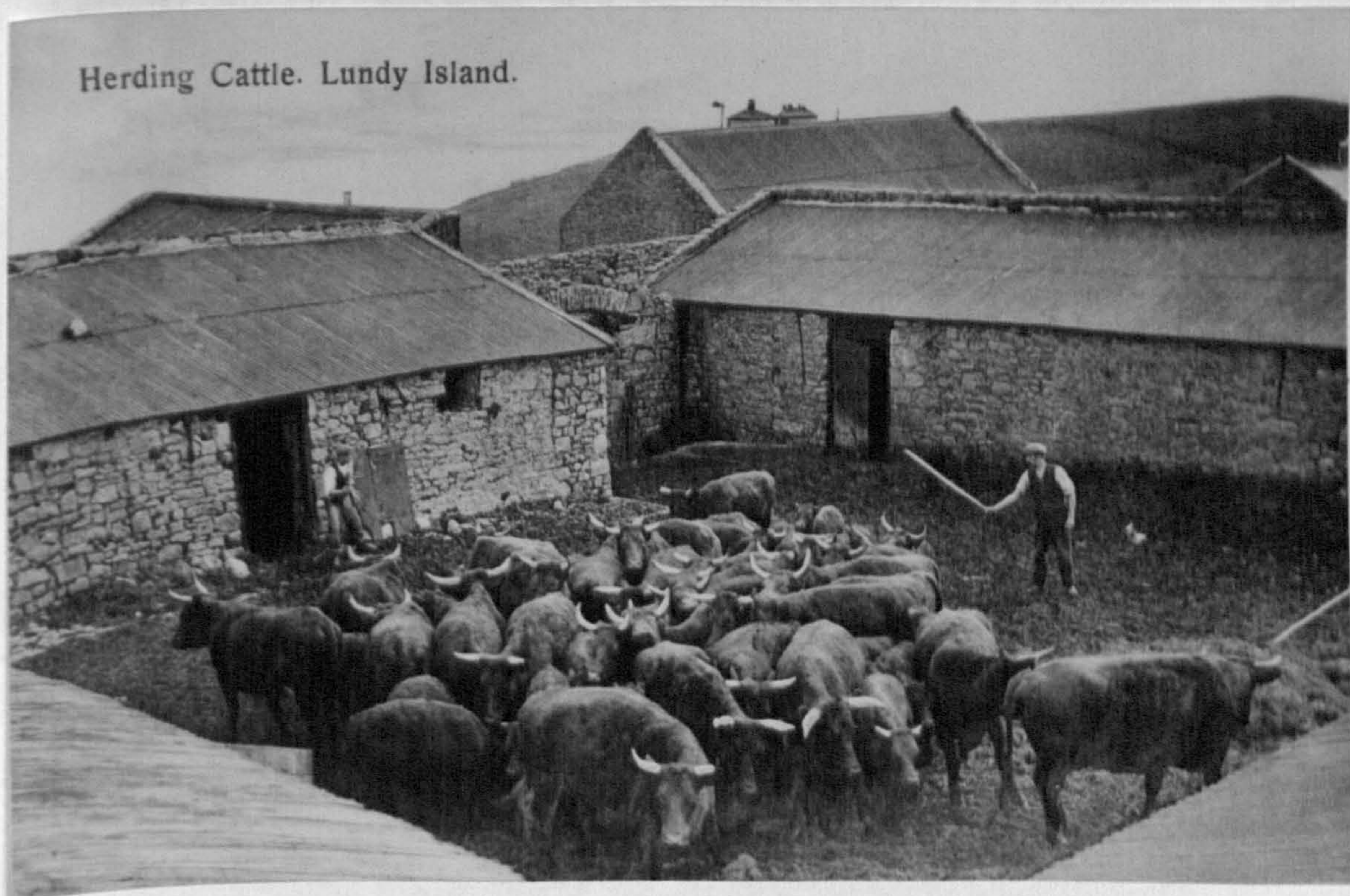
G. EDWARDS, PAINTING BY A. WOODWIN



G. COWARD, PAINTING BY A. GOODWIN



MTC, POSTCARD, THE BEACH ROAD



MTC, POSTCARD, CATTLE SHEDS c1906

(The Shippons, G456)



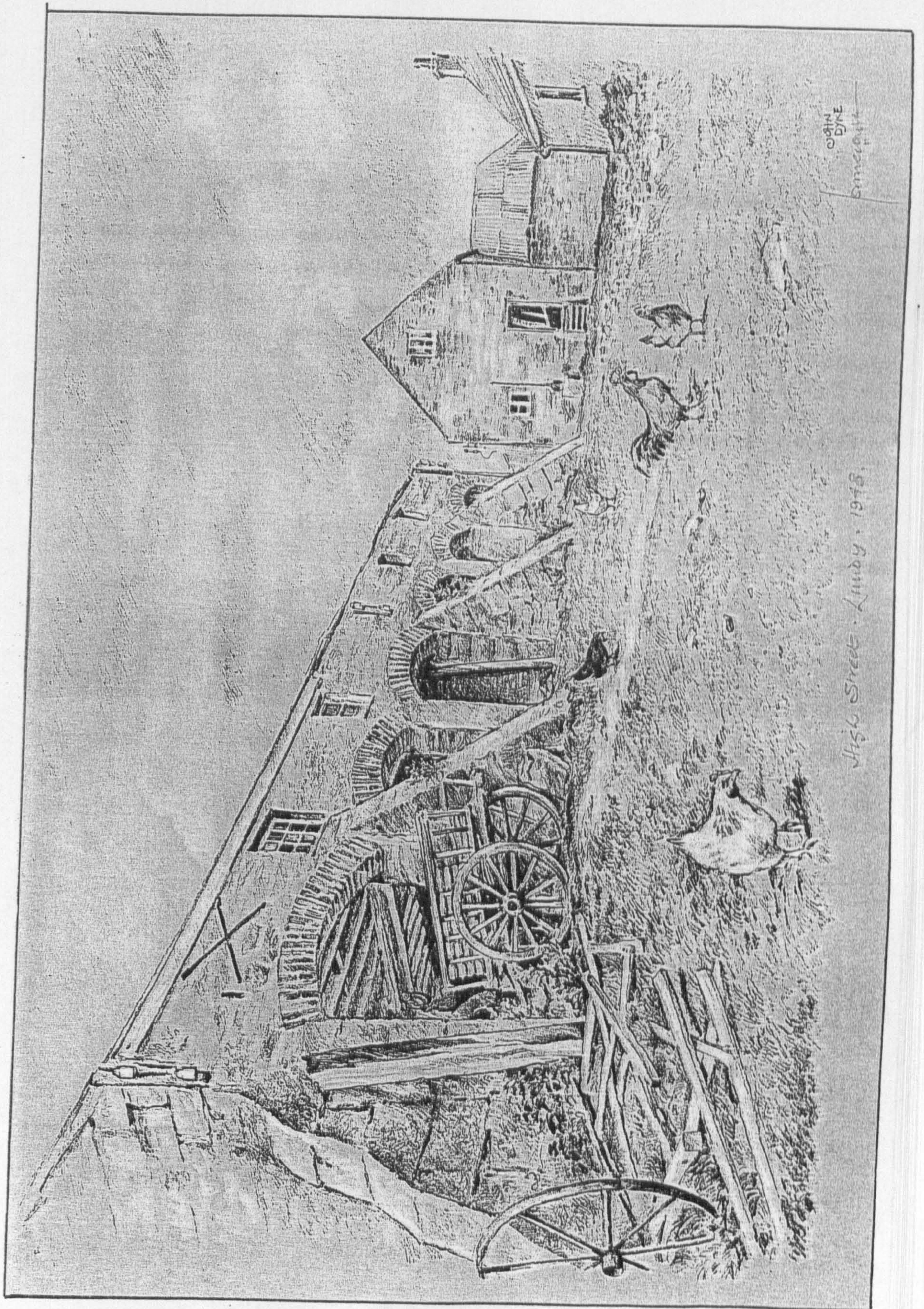
MTC, POSTCARD

The West Side, looking S.



MTC, POSTCARD, THE VILLAGE FROM S, 1930

JOHN DYKE, 1948

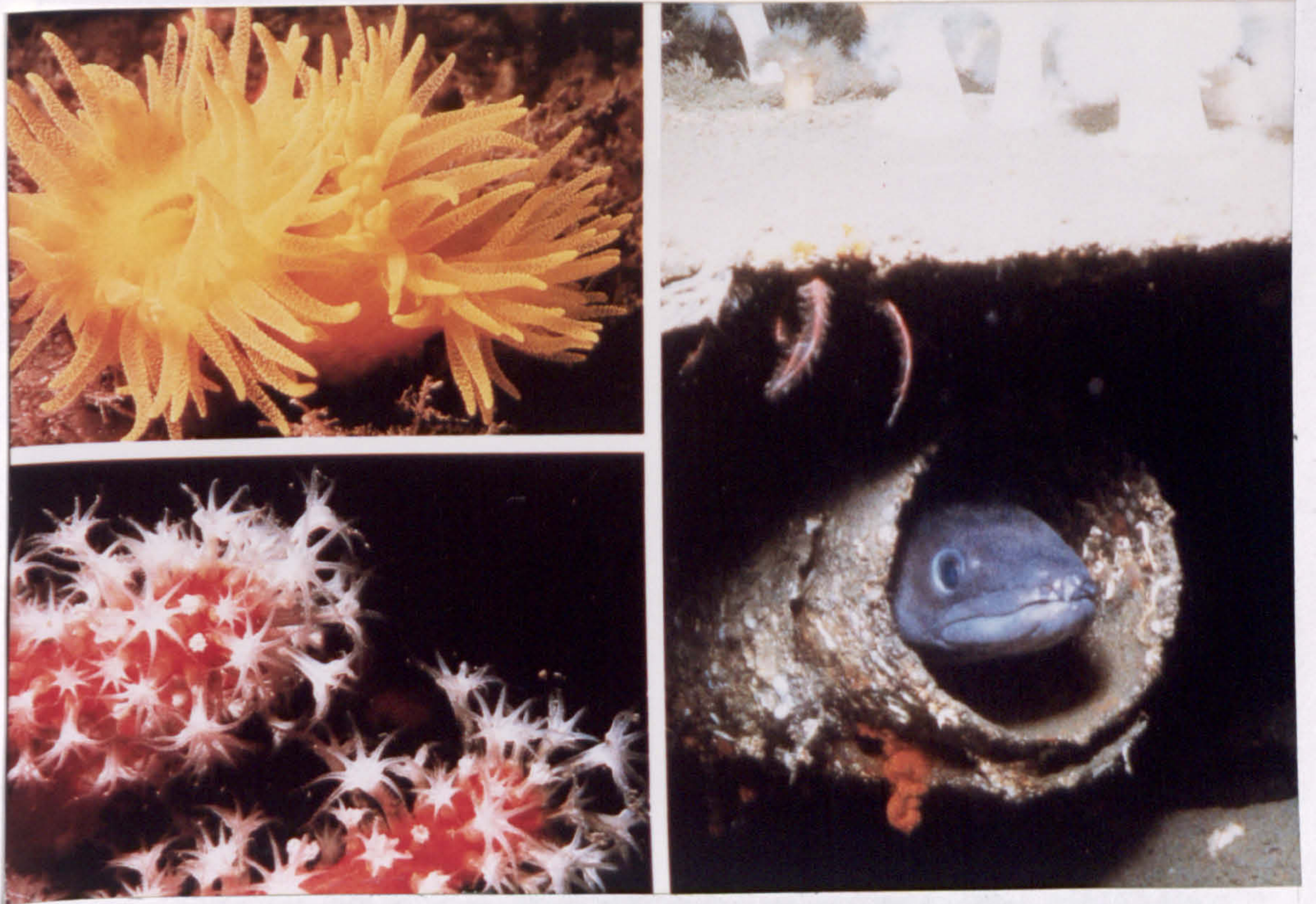




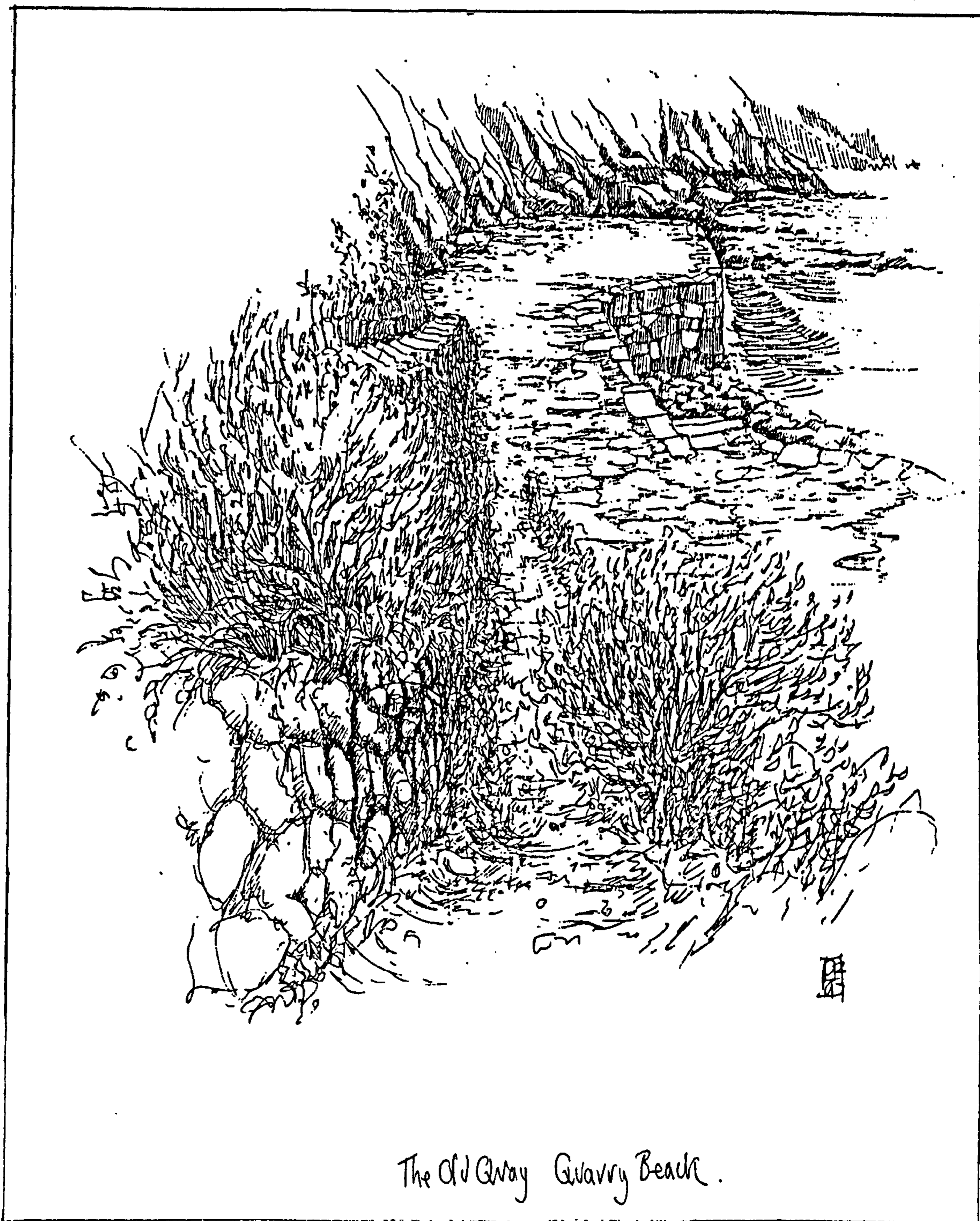
MTC, STANDING STONE, FROM ASTRO-ARCHAEOLOGY STUDY BY R. FARRAH



HUT CIRCLE, N END (G37) 1956



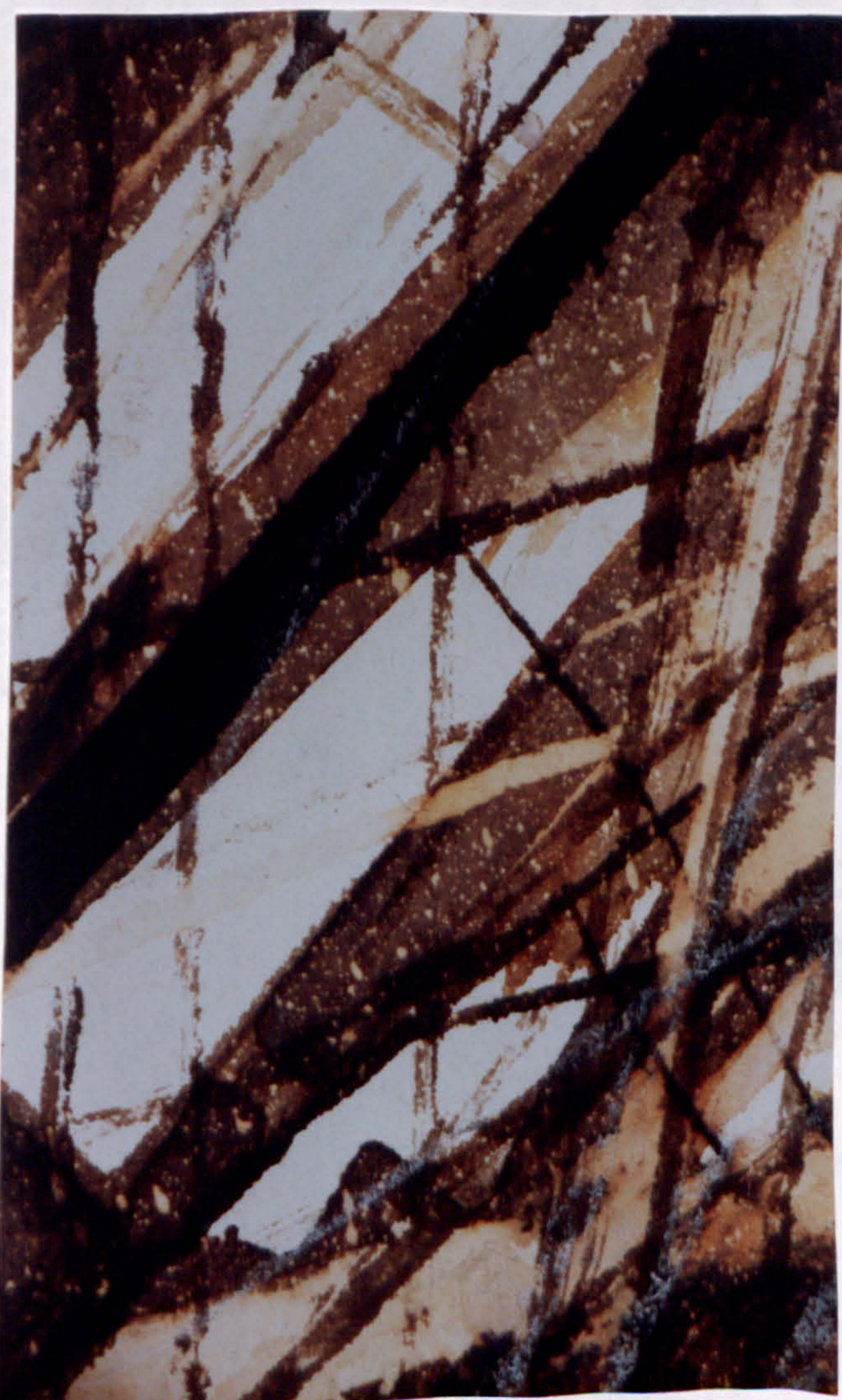
MTC, POSTCARD, SUBMARINE SPECIES



The Old Quay Quarry Beach.

Drawing by P. Rothwell

THE QUARRY QUAY, 1864-71: reconstructed from field observations
and OS 1886



Paintings P. Rothwell
1996-97



S.

Black Hill

Tenny's Cove

n.

Gull Rock

Cove

Gull Rock

Watering Place

New Town

Sugar Loaf

Lighthouse

St. Ann's Chapel

St. Ann

Landing Place

Castle

Piles Quay

Denham's Quay

had not time

to carefully

inform doubt

Shutters Point

St. Ann's Quay

St. Ann's Quay

Landing

Black Rock



HA (i), THE MANOR HOUSE FROM SE, 1886

IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL

about 15 miles North-West from Clovelly, 20 from Westward Ho, Appledore
and Instow, and 24 West from Ilfracombe.

PARTICULARS AND CONDITIONS OF SALE

— OF —

The very romantic and historically interesting

LUNDY ISLAND

UNIQUE IN ITS RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES,
and covering a total area of about

1,047 Acres,

being roughly about 3 miles long from North to South, with a varying but
average width of about half a mile. There is upon the Island a

Granite-built Residence,

occupying a charming position in a well-sheltered Valley, containing HALL, EIGHT BED and DRESSING
ROOMS, TWO RECEPTION ROOMS, KITCHENS and OFFICES;

A CAPITAL MANOR FARM HOUSE

of ELEVEN BED ROOMS, THREE RECEPTION ROOMS;

NUMEROUS OUTBUILDINGS, ATTRACTIVE BUNGALOW;

Picturesque remains of "Marisco Castle,"

now converted into FOUR COTTAGES;

THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE, AND SEVERAL OTHER COTTAGES.

FOR SALE BY AUCTION, BY MESSRS.

OSBORN & MERCER,

At the Mart, Tokenhouse Yard, Bank of England, E.C.

On Tuesday, the 25th of September, 1906,

AT TWO O'CLOCK PRECISELY (unless previously Sold by Private Treaty).

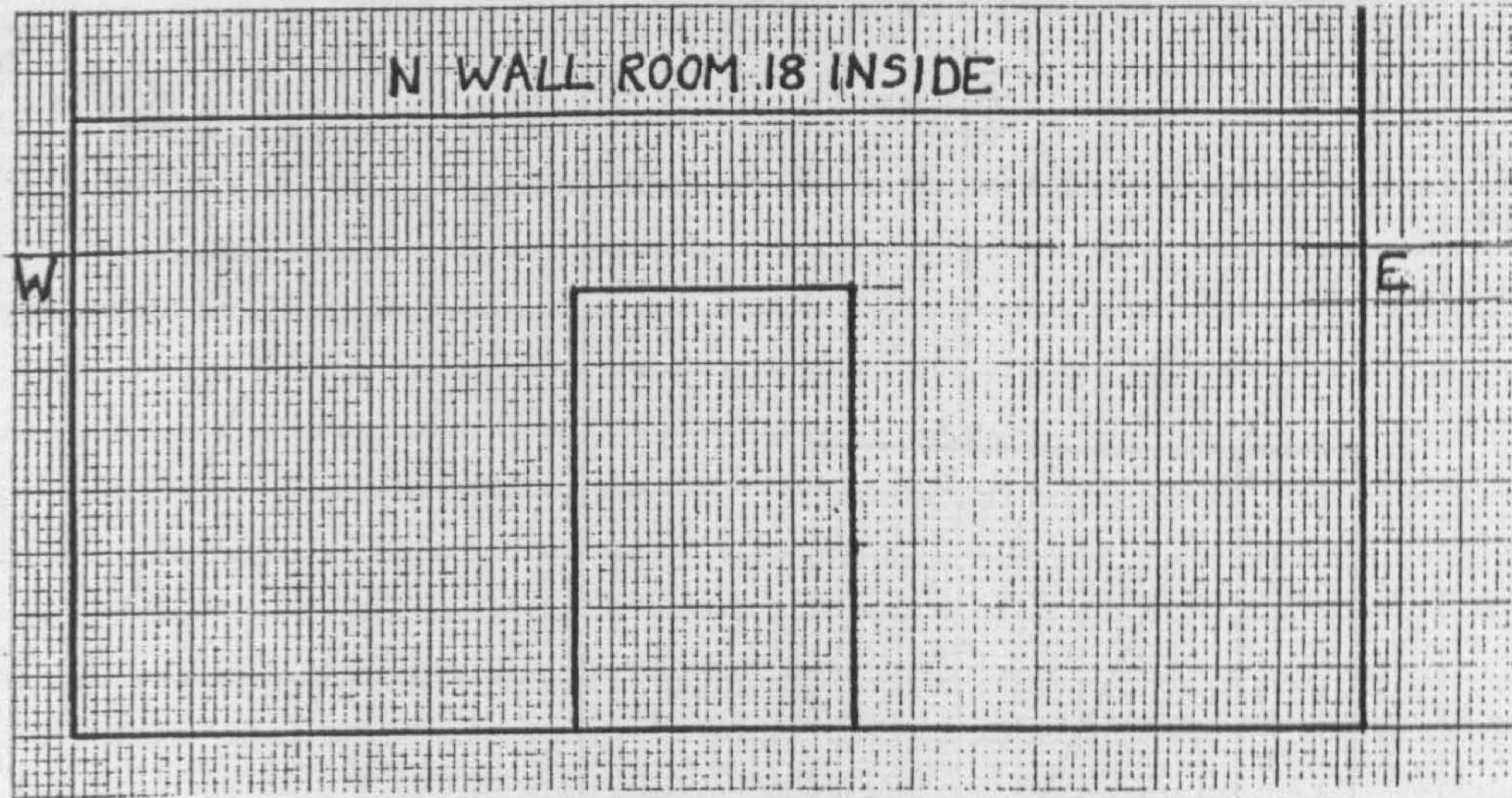
Copies of these Particulars may be obtained of Messrs. A. G. & N. G. HEAVEN, Solicitors, 9, John
Street, Bristol; and of the AUCTIONEERS, at their Offices,

"Albemarle House," Albemarle Street, London, W.

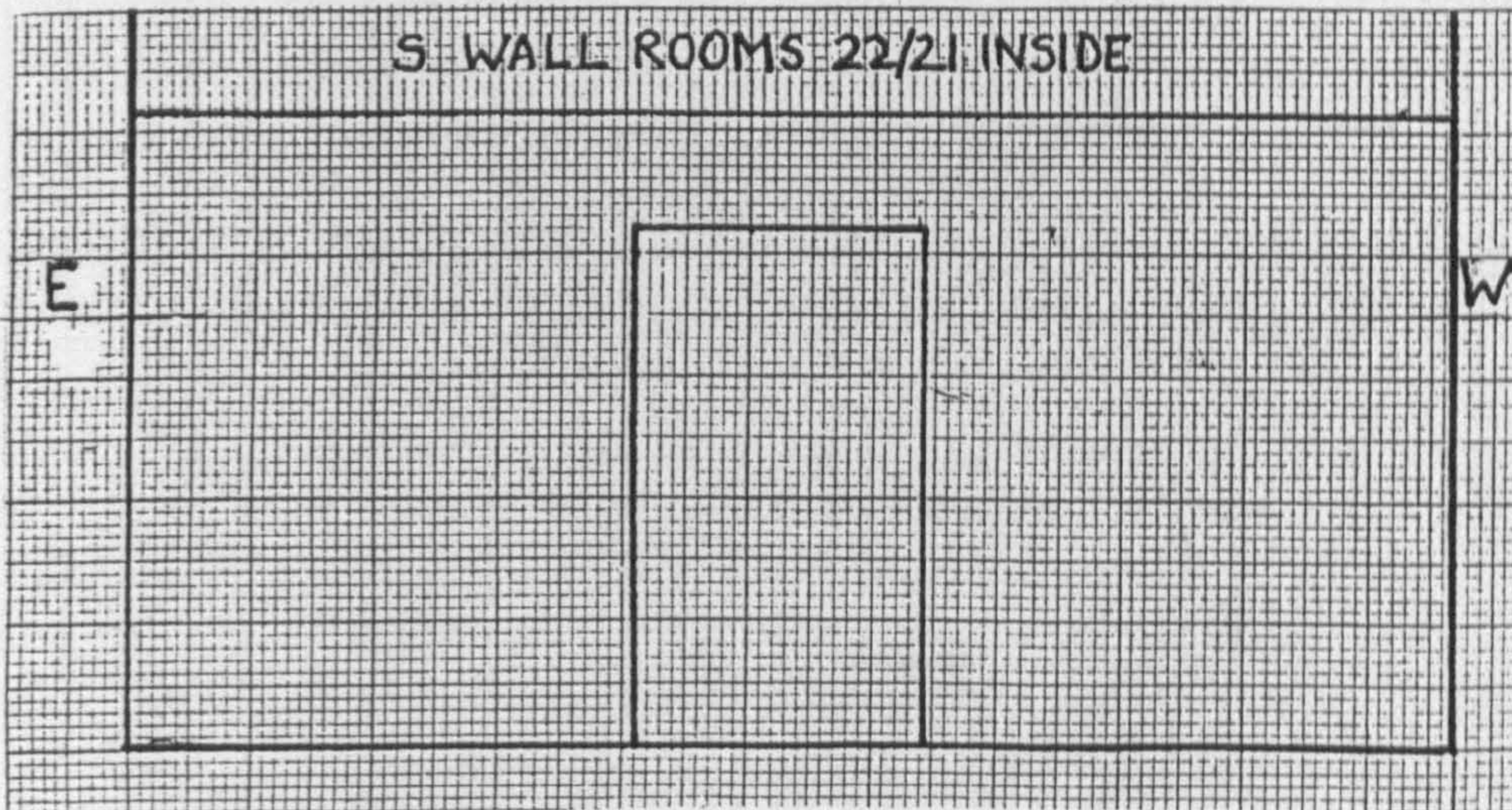
Telegrams: "Overbid, London."
Telephone No. 1834, Gower

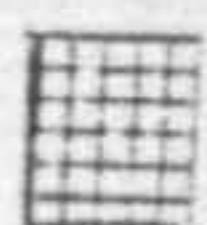
Jacker & Sons, Printers, Westbury.

FIRST FLOOR, MANOR FARM HOTEL, DISMANTLED 1973

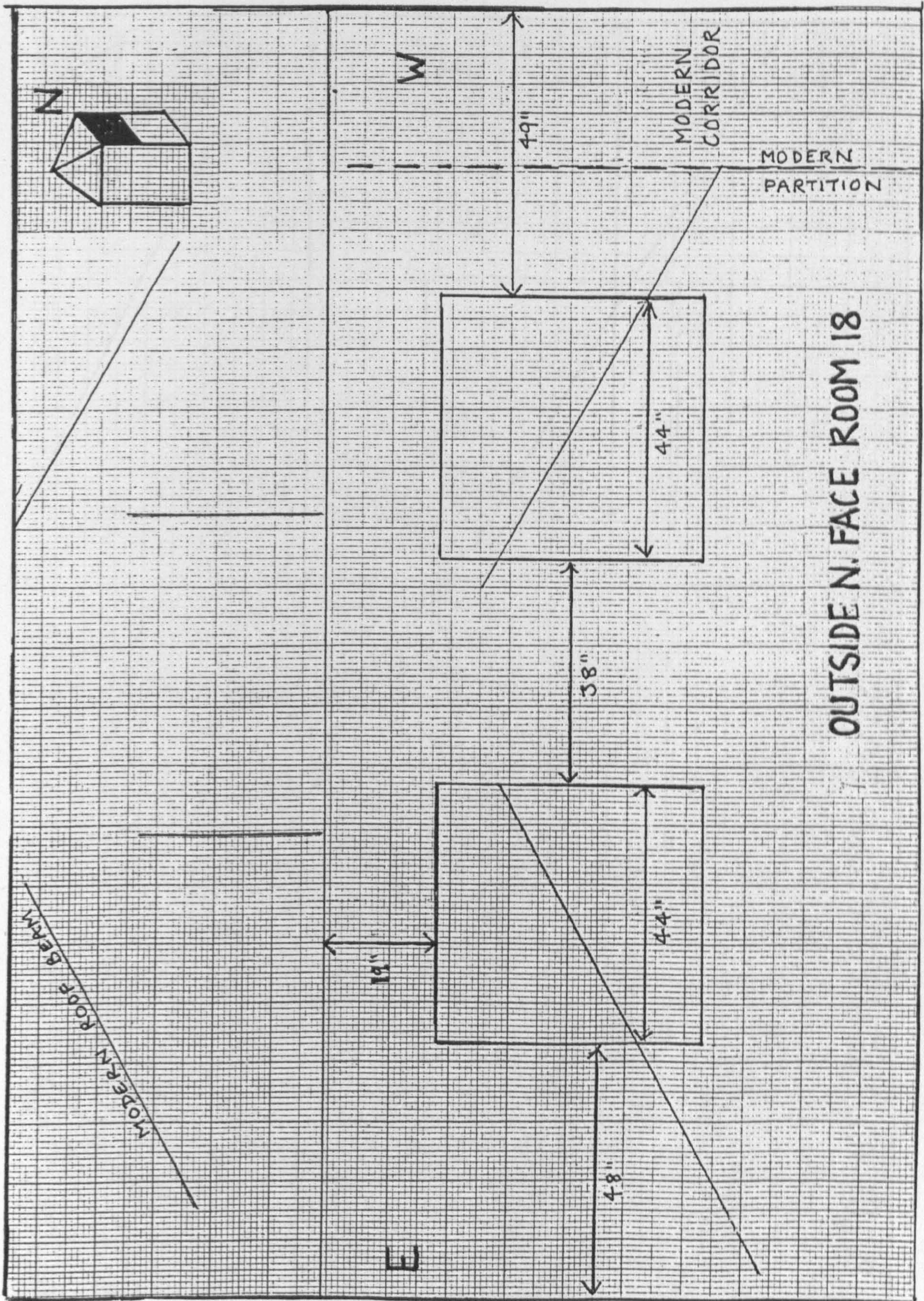


Probably access doors to rooms built up in central section in 1838, and blocked in later when partition was made for a N-S corridor at west.



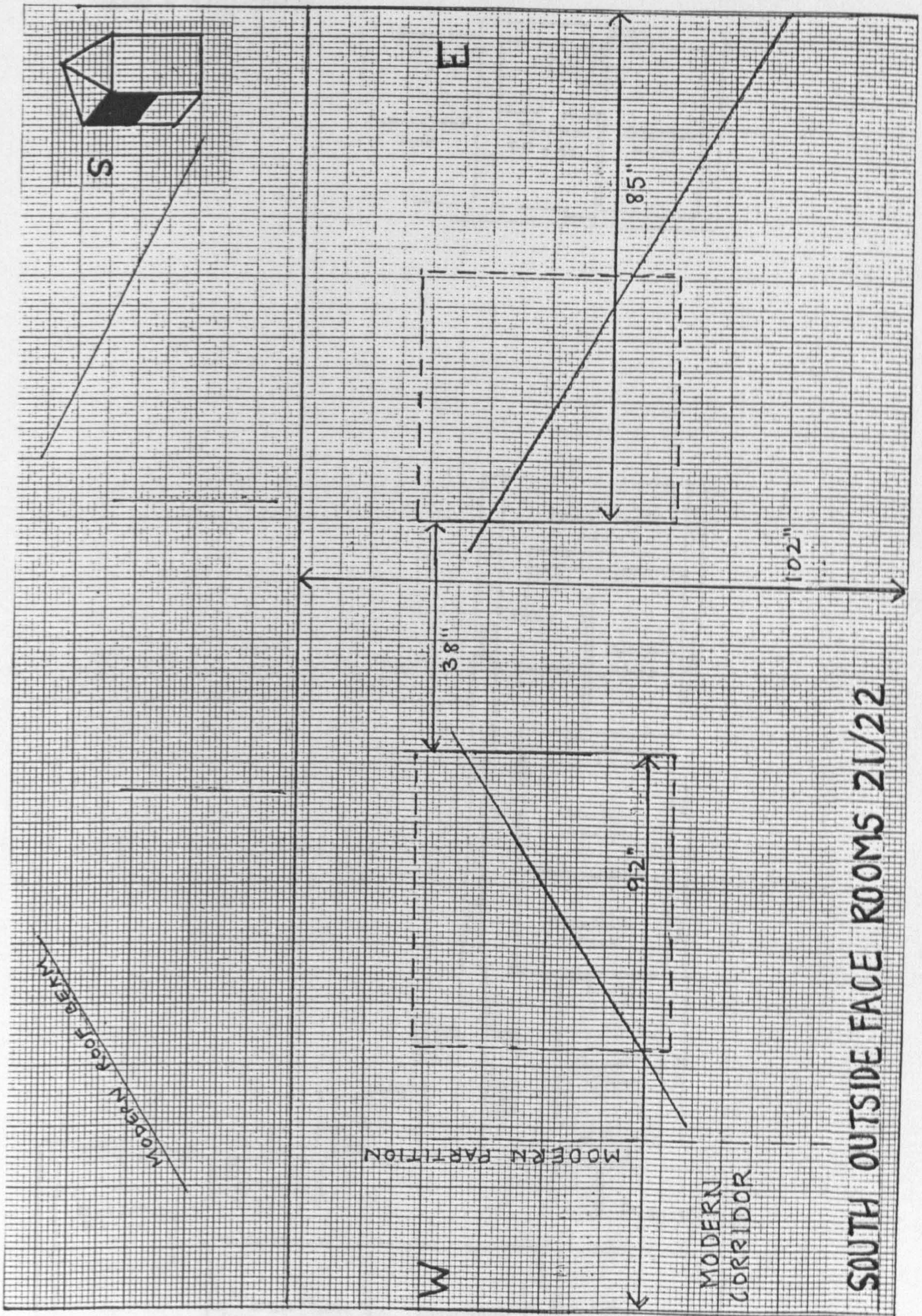
 1 FT

M. Langham



OUTSIDE N. FACE ROOM 18

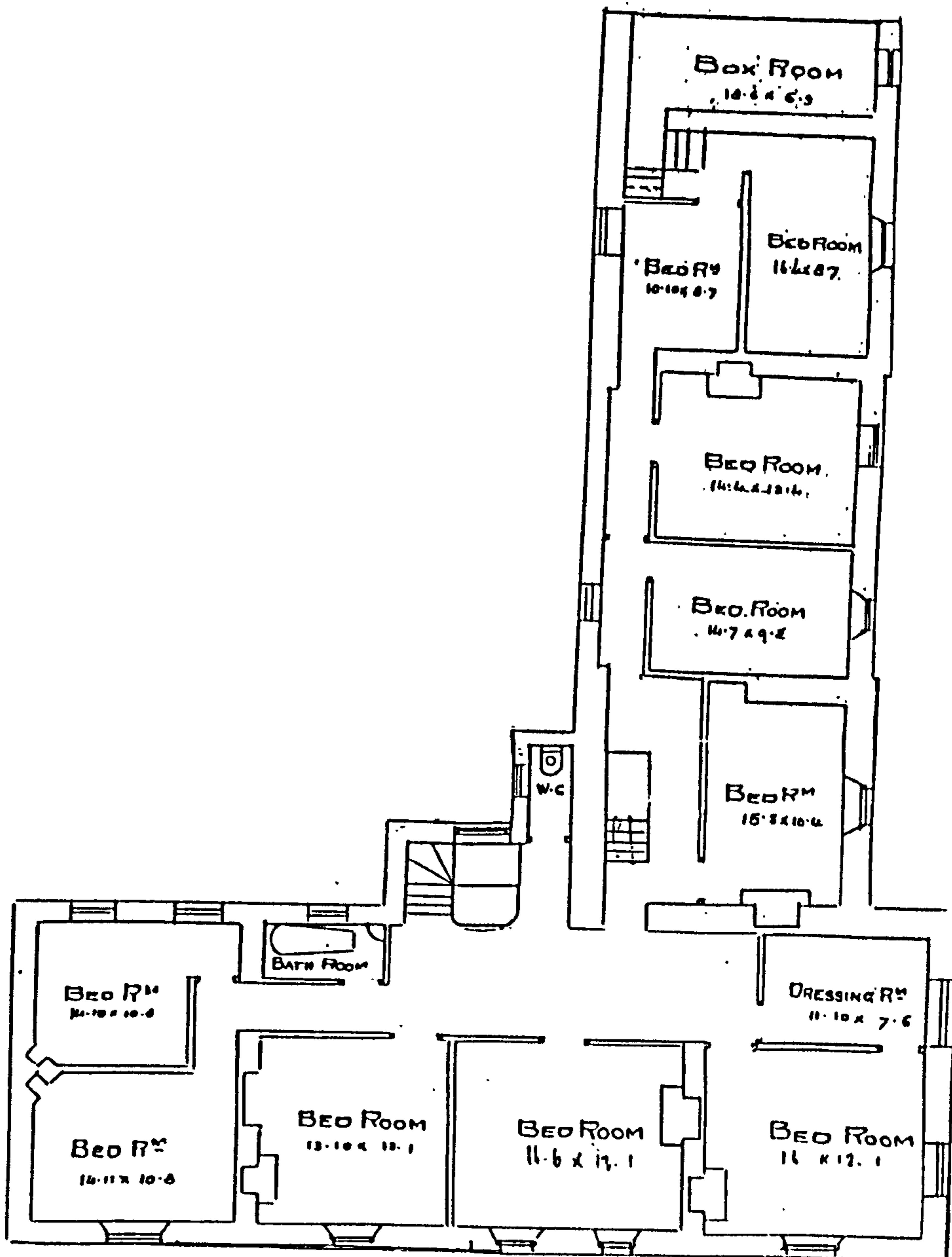
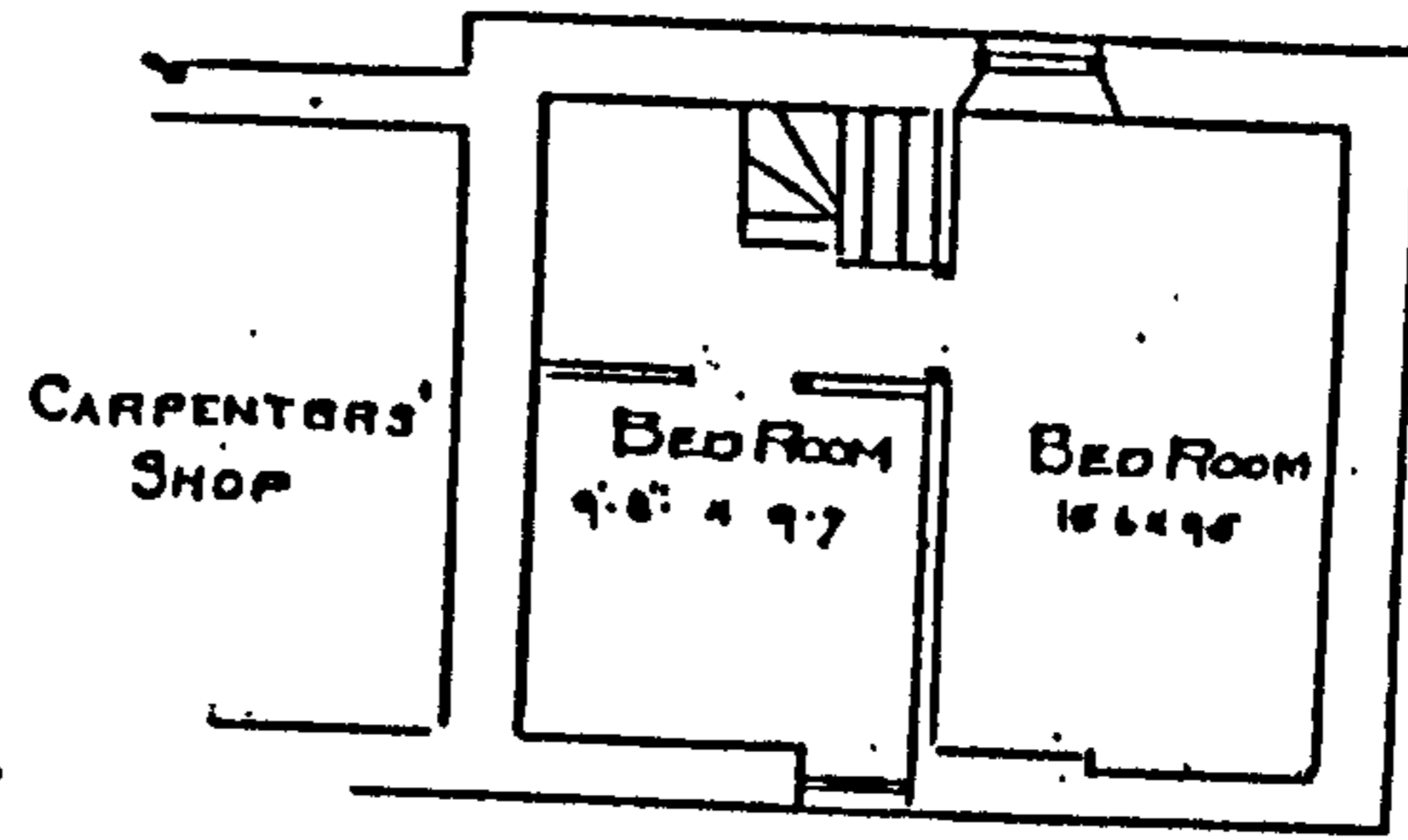
FIRST FLOOR, MANOR FARM HOTEL, DISMANTLED 1973



FIRST FLOOR, MANOR FARM HOTEL, DISMANTLED 1973

1918, the Manor House First floor plan

NDRO B 170/ADD/39

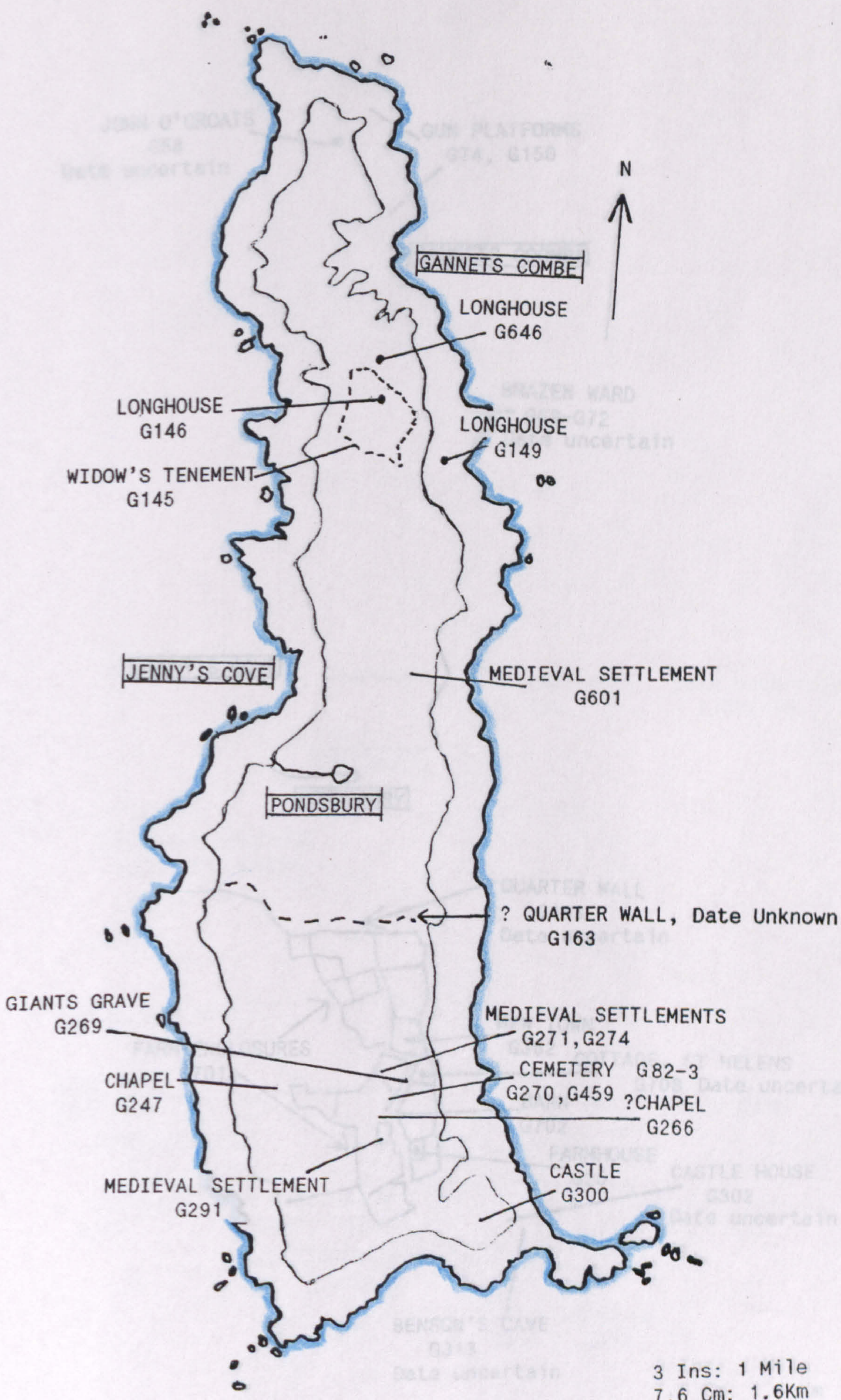


Scale 1 in: 10ft., reduced

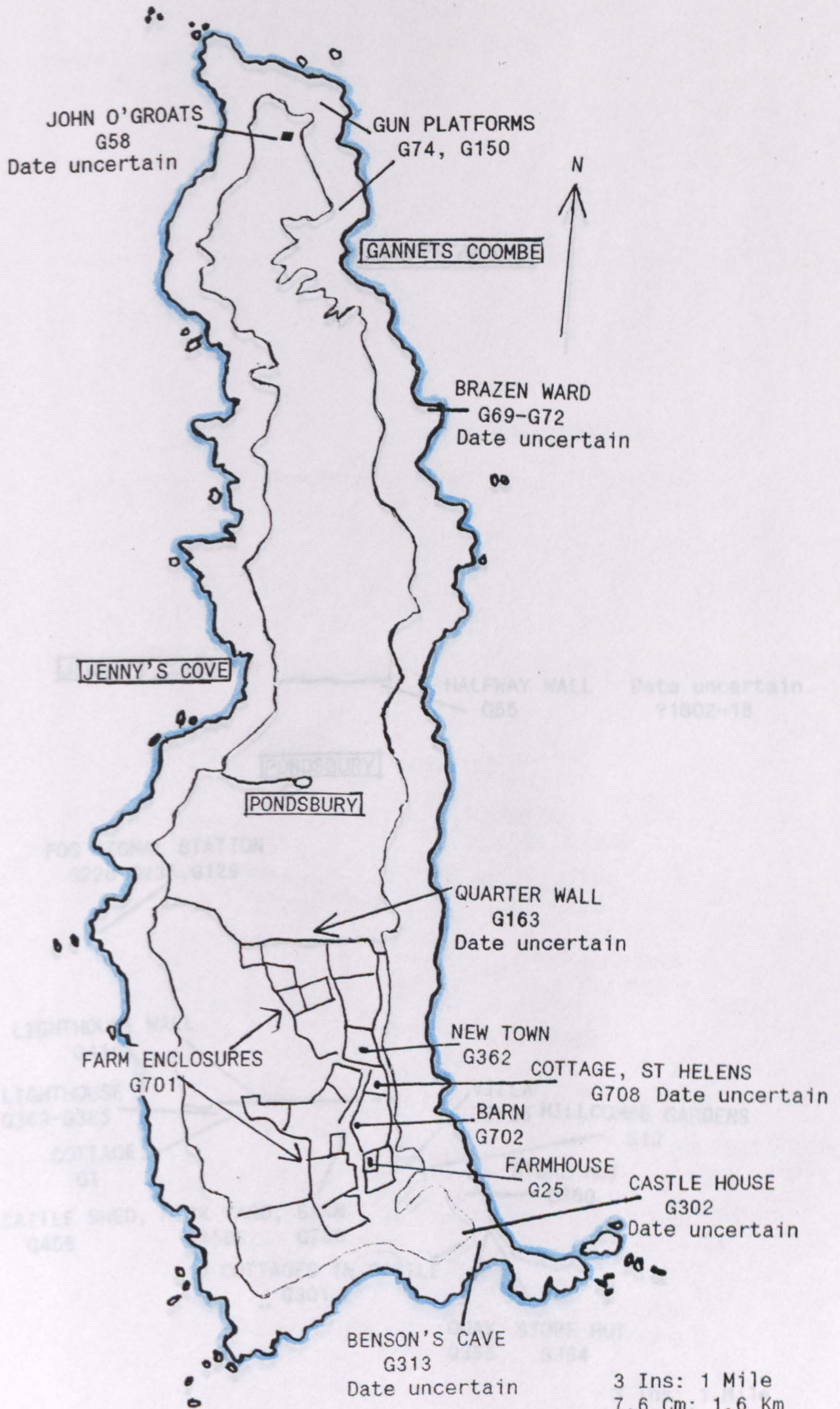


MTC, POSTCARD, THE MANOR FARM HOTEL FROM SE, 1930

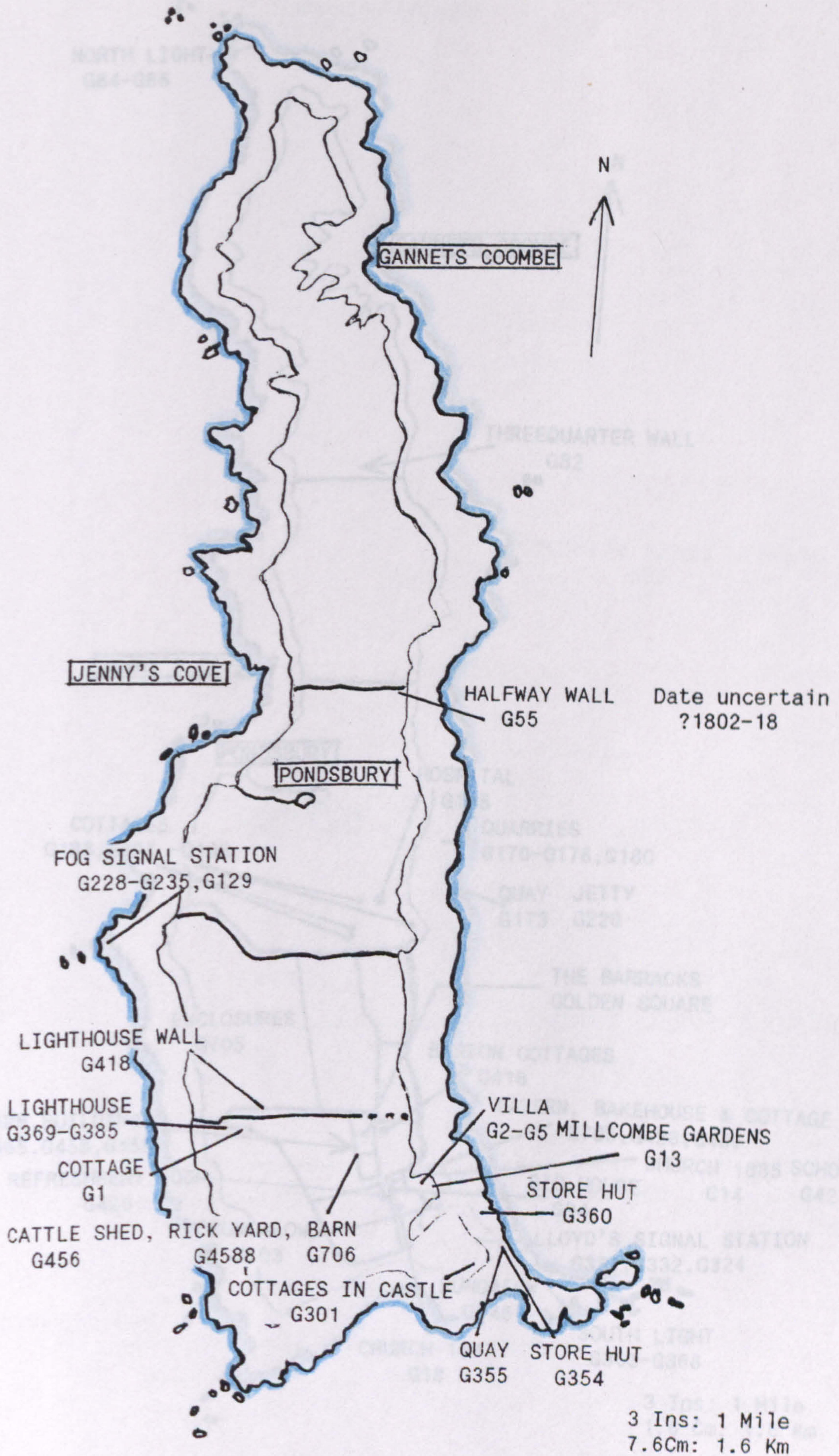
PRINCIPAL MEDIEVAL/EARLY MODERN SITES ON LUNDY

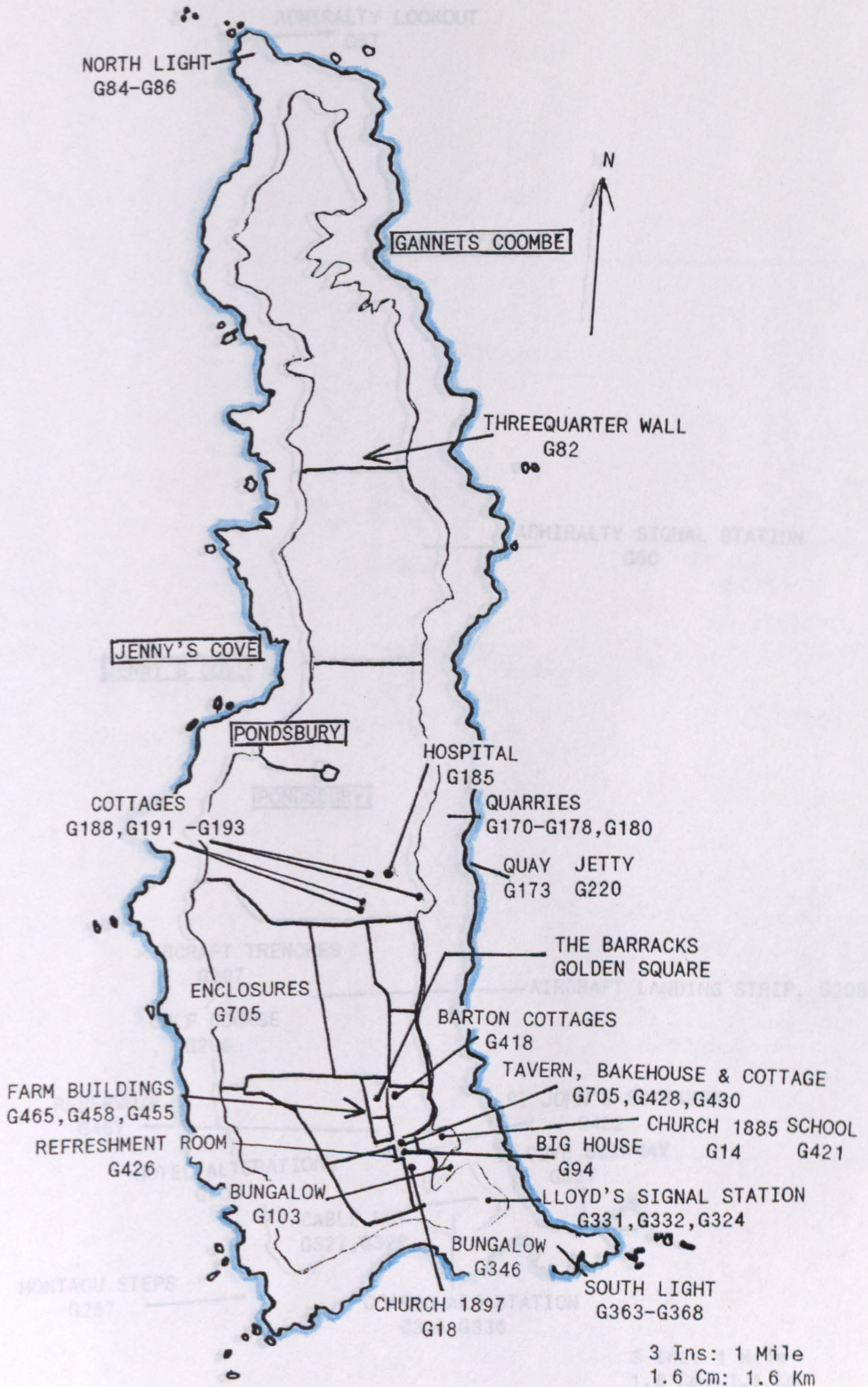


CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH & EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

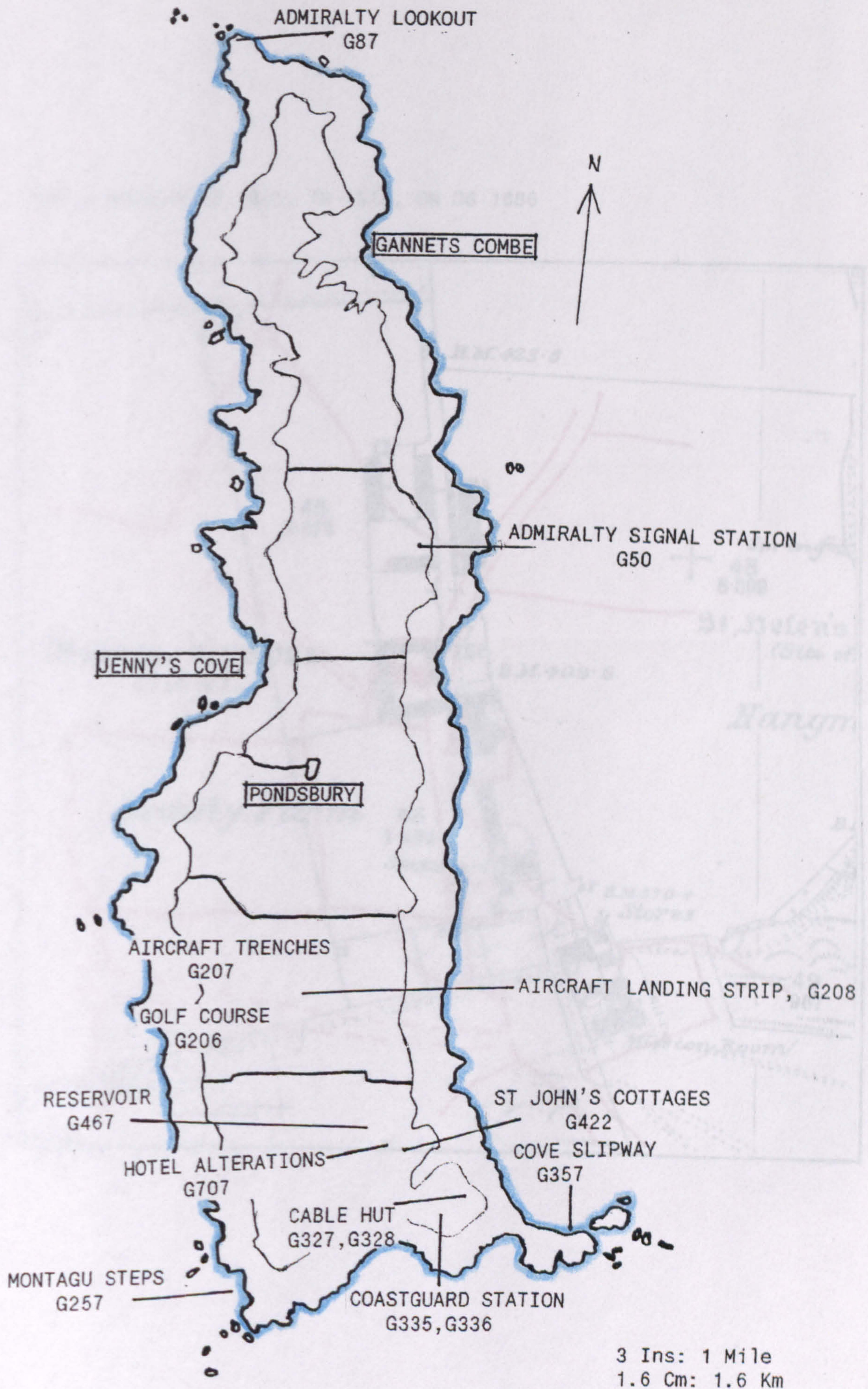


CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1863

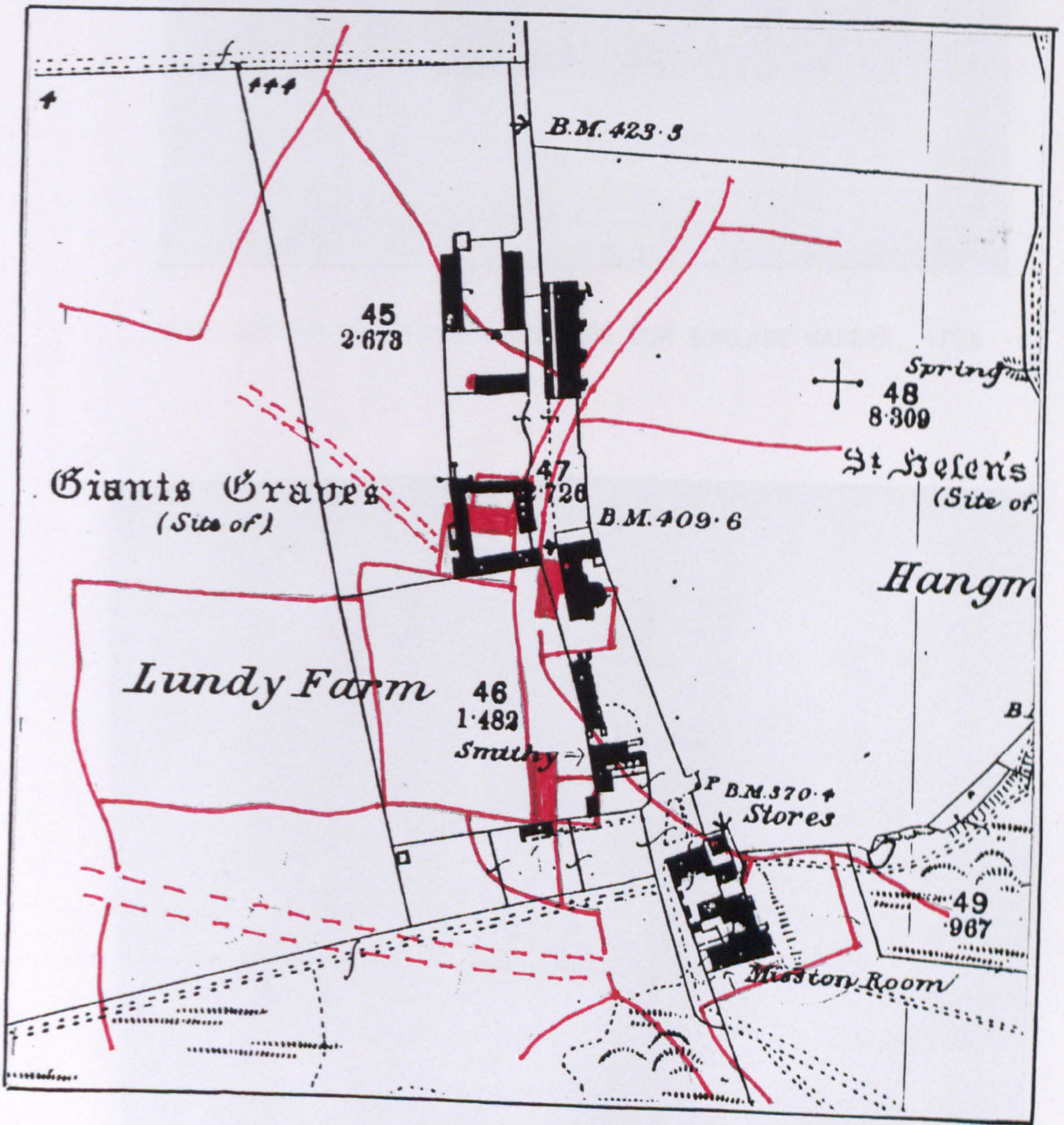


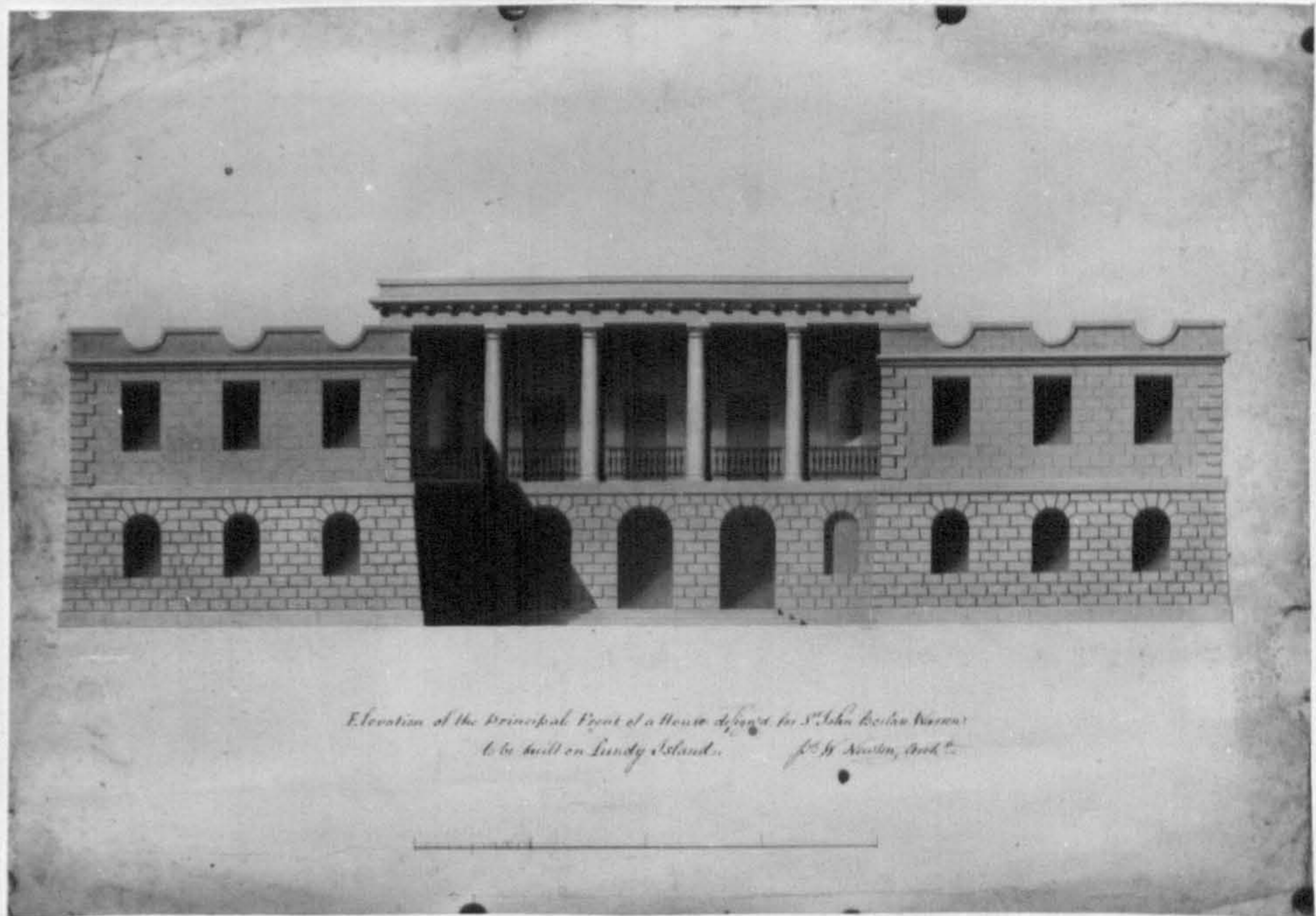


CONSTRUCTIONS 1900-1969

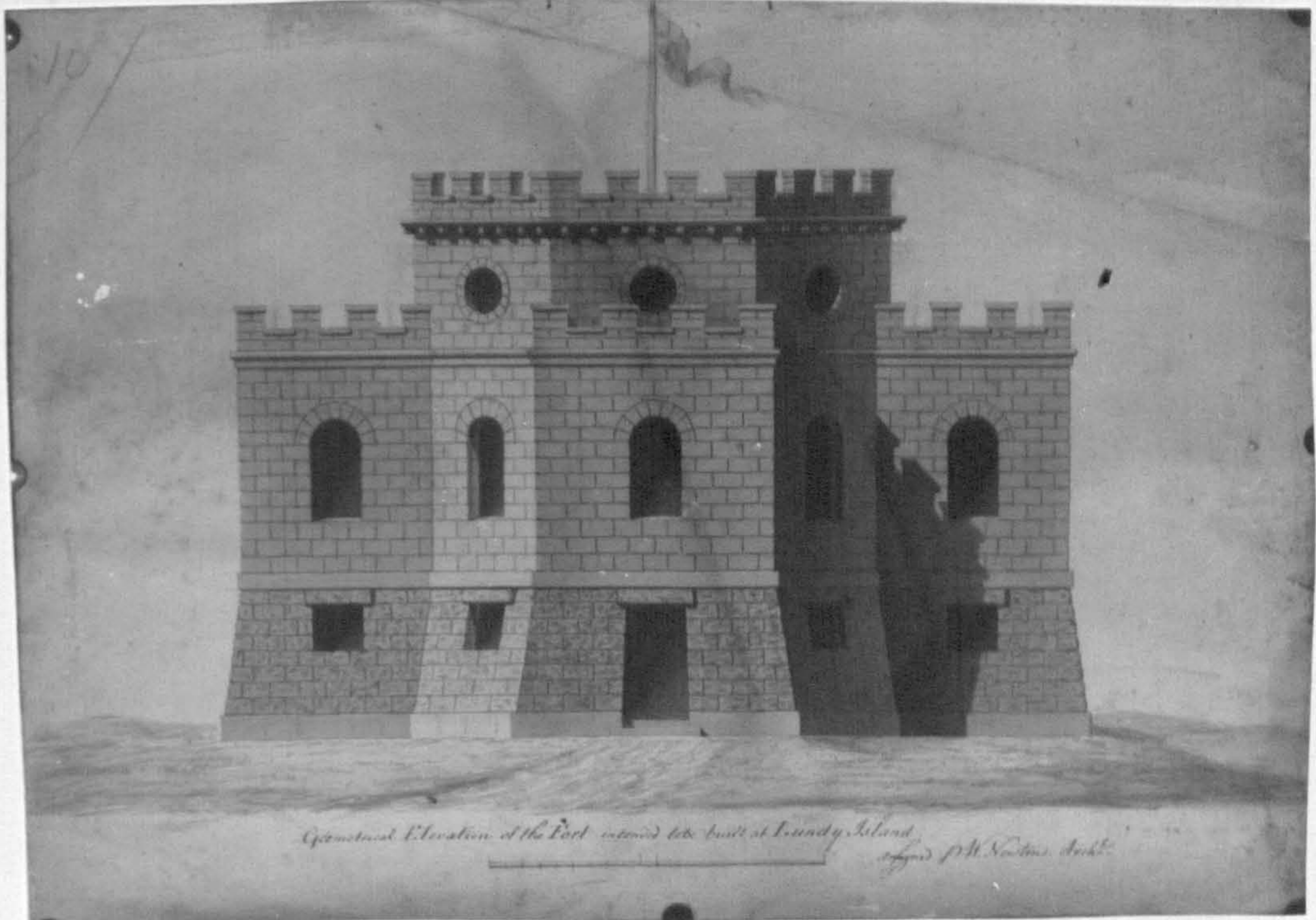


RED = OVERLAY OF 1820, TH 1319, ON OS 1886



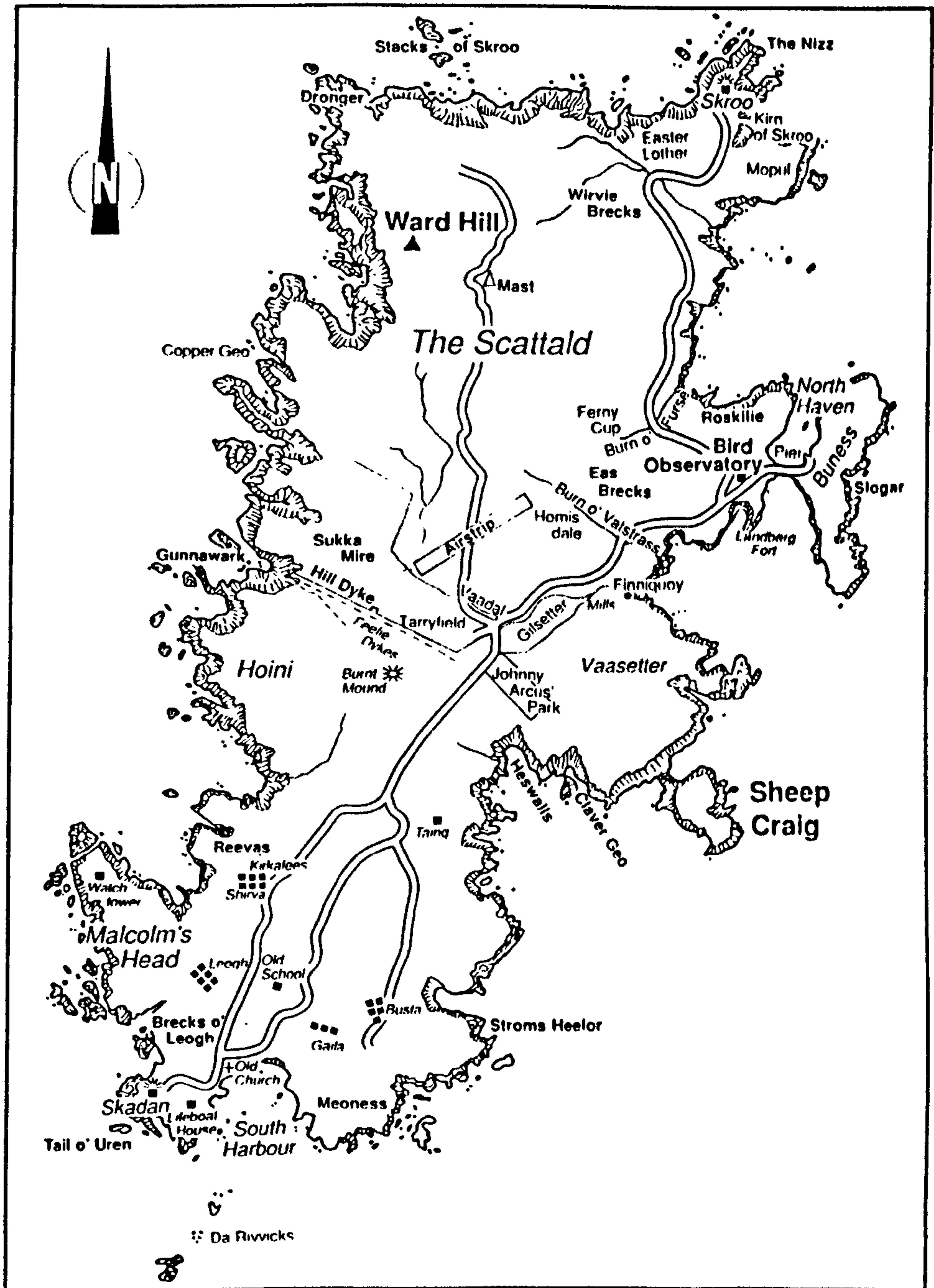


MTC, DESIGN OF PROPOSED MANSION FOR BORLASE WARREN, 1775

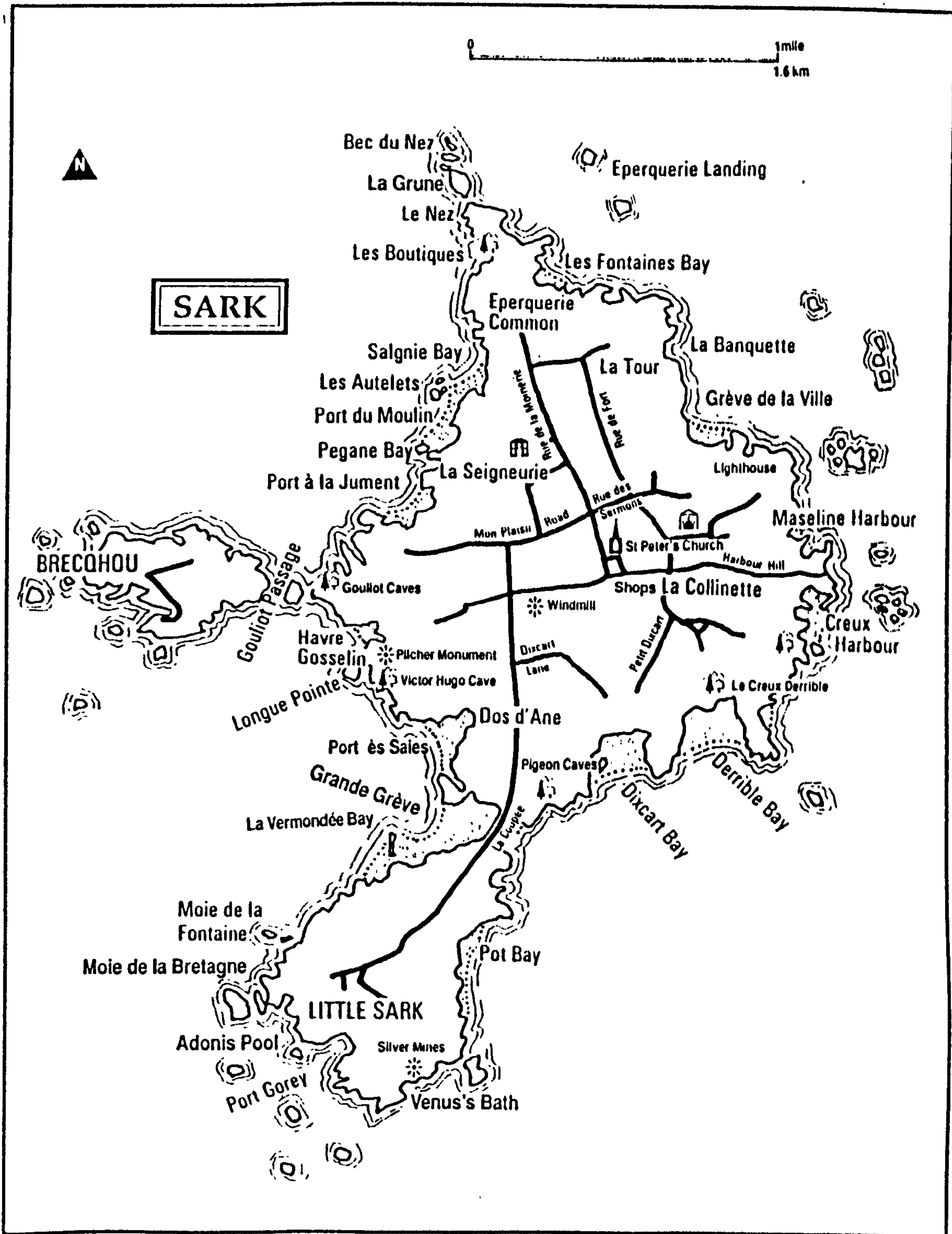


MTC, DESIGN FOR TWO FORTS, 1775

FAIR ISLE



THOM, 1989 (scale not given)



VISITOR'S GUIDE TO GUERNSEY, ALDERNEY & SARK, 1989, Ashbourne