

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF LUNDY

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ABSTRACT

Little is known of Lundy's ecclesiastical history except that it has never been a parish in its own right, nor part of any other parish. There have been long gaps between records of incumbents until the ministry of the Revd Hudson Heaven, son of the owner of the island. He undertook the care of souls unofficially, and without a church, when he returned to residence on the island for that purpose in 1864. He continued his work until his retirement in 1911, by which time he had built a church, and Lundy had become part of the See of Exeter.

Keywords: *Churches, incumbents, ecclesiastical records.*

INTRODUCTION

The ecclesiastical history of Lundy may be regarded as a jigsaw puzzle with a large number of pieces missing, and no overall picture to give guidance. This paper offers such information as has been found to date, in the hope that it may provide a basis for future researchers to add to it.

ST ANN'S CHAPEL

Donn's map of 1765 (Figure 1) shows the 'Ruins of St Ann's Chapel' in a position that is difficult to determine, but shown as to the north of a stream flowing east that may be the valley where the former St Helen's stream, the present Millcombe Valley and St John's Valley are joined. Thomas (1985, p.223-4) comments that the early map makers 'frequently gave not so much the precise location of features, but the existence, marked by arbitrary symbols, of those features they had reason to believe were there.' As 'ruins' it may be assumed that by 1765 this chapel was not in use, and the historical record indicates that for the greater part of the eighteenth century until 1775 Lundy was in a state of neglect, with few inhabitants. (Ternstrom, 1998)

Smith's *New Map of the County of Devon* 1804 copied Donn. The first OS survey, carried out in 1804 (BL 299A) marks *St Ann's Chapel in Ruins* on Beacon Hill, and the corrected map of 1820 (BL 299B) follows this, depicting the chapel within the burial ground that lies immediately to the east of the lighthouse (which was constructed in 1819/20). The Trinity House map of 1819, before the lighthouse was built, shows the site, and the original extent of the burial ground, more clearly. (Figure 2).

As the OS surveyors would have identified and recorded the site of St Ann's chapel in 1804, it has been assumed that this is a more accurate placing of the ruins than can be deduced from Donn. This is supported by the journal of a visitor in 1787, except in the name:

'...we viewed the remains of an old chapple dedicated to St Helen which stood on the highest eminence of the Island. Some of the side walls are standing, the Entrance was from the North, built of Moorestone or Sparr, Its dimensions are Length 25 F 7 inches, breadth 12 F 9 inches, Door Way 4 F. Thickness of the Walls 2F 4 ins...the common burying Place ... surrounds the Chapple.' (Anon, 1787)

It is suggested that these measurements, still traceable, conform very nearly with Thomas's description of early chapels in the West as being built on a basic double cube plan. (Thomas, 1985, p.180-81). (Figure 3).



Figure 3: The north part of the burial ground from the lighthouse tower. The outline of the chapel is clear, with the Heaven Burials within it. (*Douglas Penny*)

RECORDED NAMES FOR LUNDY CHURCH

- 1244: 'The Church of the island,' not named (Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 15.04.1244)
- 1254: Church of St Mary (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 29 Oct 1254). The only instance of this name. [Probably an error?]
- 1325: Sancte Elene (Episcopal Registers, Stapledon, p. 232)
- 1333: Appointment of 'Clerke and Rector of the Parish of Lounday' (Episcopal Registers, Grandison, iii, p. 1292)
- 1353: Ecclesia Parochialis Sancte Helene de Louunday (Episcopal registers, Grandison, iii, p. 1428)
- 1354-5: Sancte Helene de Lunday (Episcopal Registers, Grandison iii, p. 1435)

In documents between 1533 and 1670/71 the church is called St Michael the Archangel and St Elene (or St Helen). See below.

- 1610: ‘... a fort or sconse [fortification] it had, the ruins whereof, like as of St Helen’s Chappel are yet to be seene.’ (Camden, 1610, p. 202)
- 1630: ‘There are relics of a castle and of a chapel dedicated to St Helen.’ (Westcote, 1630, p 343-6)
- 1714: ‘The ruins of St Hellea’s chapel are yet to be seen.’ (Risdon, 1714)
- 1720: ‘It had some time ago a Fort and a Chapel dedicated to St Helen; but both are in ruins.’ (Cox, 1720)
- 1776: ‘The ancient buildings on this island are the castle near the S.E. point; the chapel, dedicated to St Helen, which was very small, and now ruined to the foundations.’ (Grose, 1776, p.195), who took his information from a report on Lundy made by the Revd Martyn for Sir John Borlase Warren.)
- 1813: ‘The antiquities to be seen ... are a castle, and the last dust of a small chapel, dedicated to St Helen.’ (Ayton, 1813, i, p.35)
- 1819: ‘... the remains of St Anne’s Chapel ...’ (Dugdale, 1819, ii, p. 151)
- 1822: Map for the sale of the Island, ‘St Ann’s Chapel.’ (British Library MSS: ADD 40345 a: MAPS 299A). This is the earliest map that shows details and all field names etc, and would have been dictated to the cartographer (J. Wylde) by somebody well acquainted with the island.
- 1822: ‘There are ruins of a chapel dedicated to St Helen.’ (Lysons, 1822)
- 1825: ‘... the remains of a chapel dedicated to St Anne,’ (Norie, 1825, pp. 96-97)

The descriptions of Lundy from which some of these are taken were often the work of copyists either from texts, from maps, or hearsay.

- 1836: ‘... the ruin, or rather site of St Helen’s Chapel, in which Divine Service is said to have been performed in 1747, when the then lord of the island was here with a party of friends.’ (Steinman Steinman, 1836) The reference to 1747 is most probably a mistake for 1787 (see below).
- 1877: ‘Ruins of St Helen’s Chapel, with the attached Oratory of St Anne.’ (Chanter, 1877)

E. St John Brooks suggests that the chapel to St Helen on Scilly was formerly dedicated to St Elidius, and the same may be true of Lundy. (St John Brooks, 1942). Langham (1994, p.21) suggests that that the name Elene may have derived from a genitive form (Eliensis) of Ely, which is the name given to Lundy in Rolls of 1194 and 1202.

Coulter, (1993, pp.33, 48-9) records that dedications to St Helen are not common in the south-west, and describes two others in Devon: Abbotsham old church, and the ancient fourteenth century chapel at Croyde, where a fourth century stone inscribed in Ogham has been found.

Hoskins (1972, p. 312) refers to a late sixteenth century MS, *Lives of the Saints*, which proposes that Elen, or Helen, is a derivation of Endelient, one of the 24 alleged children of the sixth century Welsh king, Brechan, all of whom became missionary saints.¹

¹ MS of Nicholas Roscarrock, *Lives of the Saints* (late sixteenth century) concerning St Endelient: ‘I have heard it credibly reported that that the chapel on Lundy was dedicated unto her and bore her name. Yet my good friend, Mr Camden, saith the chapel was dedicated unto St Helen, but, under correction, except he have better warrant than bare conjecture, I still hold the former report more likely, because her brother St Nectan had a church dedicated over against it, but fourteen miles from

Changes of dedication were not unknown. Orme (1996, xii) remarks that approximately 30% of the dedications of ancient churches in Devon are different from the names they bore prior to the Reformation.

RECORDED INCUMBENTS

- To 1254: Henry de Wongsham, grant by Henry III [1216-1272] Henry III was in possession of Lundy 1242-1281
- 29 Oct 1254: Mandate to W. la Zuche, keeper of the island of Lunday, to put Adam de Aston or his proctor [representative] in possession of the church of St Mary, Lunday, the king having granted it to him on the resignation of Henry de Wongsham, to whom the king had previously granted it; and cause to be paid to him henceforth lawful tithes of fish, birds, conies and animals and all other things which are renewed yearly in the said island. Cal. Patent Rolls, p. 378
- 5 June 1325: Hugh le Despenser (the then owner) presented Sir Walter le Bitte [Bott] to the church of Sancta Elene de Londai. He resigned 30 November 1332. *Register of Bishop Stapledon*, i 1307-1326, p. 232.
- March 1332/3: Sir Wm de Montacute presented Robert de Hadestoke, instituted at Chudleigh on 6 March. *Register of Bishop De Grandison*, iii 1327-69, p. 1292.
- March 1338: Sir Wm de Tettewelle collated by lapse at Chudleigh to 'Ecclesia Parochialis de Lunday.' (Blackwell, 1960, p. 90) [An incumbent was collated where an institution was in the gift of the bishop, or where the advowson had lapsed for more than six months.]
- 1 July 1350 : Sir Thomas de Wynkeleghe, collated per lapse, at Chudleigh *Register of Bishop de Grandison* iii, 1327-69, p.1411.
- 14 August 1353: Sir David Kelynge to Ecclesia Parochialis Sancte Helene de Lounday, collated by lapse at Chudleigh. *Ibid*, p. 1428.
- 3 February 1354/5: Sir Nicholas Comyn, collated by lapse at Chudleigh. *Register of Bishop de Grandison*, iii 1327-69, p. 1435.
- 17 July 1384: Sir John Warwyke. Chanter, J. F., *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, xii, 1922-23.

The appointments between 1332 and 1384 were made during the ownership of the Montacute family, Earls of Salisbury, who, it is assumed, held the advowson with the title. William Montacute, 1st Earl, married Katherine Grandison, a sister of the Bishop of Exeter.

- 1842-64: There was no clergyman on the island. Visits were made by the Revd John Ashley, founder of the Missions to Seamen. (Ashley diary)

From 1864 the Revd Hudson Heaven administered the care of souls as curate. From 1897 he was 'Minister in Charge,' and had the courtesy title of Vicar. He never received a stipend. After his retirement to Torrington in 1911, clergy were appointed by the See of Exeter:

it, whereof it is not improbable that she did also sometimes dwell in that island. For many of St. Brechan's children planted themselves near one another ...'. Hoskins adds that there are only three dedications to St Helen in Devon, all in North Devon, close to the sea, and within sight of each other ... Abbotsham church was dedicated, not to St Helen or Helena the Empress ... but to St Elen ... One is led to suppose at once that this St Elen is St Endelient, as on Lundy ...'.

- 1912-17: Lay Reader: Walter C. Heaven (Manager of Lundy 1911-1916, Owner 1916-1917)
- 1913-16: The Revd W. Swatridge
- 1918-1926: Lay Reader: W. Allday (Postmaster and Lloyds Agent)
- 1921-1953: The Revd H.C.A.S. Muller, Vicar of Appledore, Curate in Charge.
- 1922-24: The Revd H.H. Lane, Rector
- 1953-72: The Revd R.C. Dixon, Vicar of Appledore, Priest in charge.
- 1973-1978: The Revd D.L. Peyton-Jones, Vicar of Appledore, Priest in charge
- 1978-1989: The Revd A. Edwards, Vicar of Ilfracombe, Priest in charge.
- 1989-2001: The Revd W. Blakey, Vicar of Parkham.

The Lundy church is now served by the Hartland Coast Team of the Church of England, for which the Rector is the Revd Andrew Richardson.

REFERENCES TO THE CHURCH, THE TITHES, AND TO CLEEVE ABBEY

- 26 September 1229: Henry III granted Braunton Manor to the Abbot of Cleeve, for £22 per year. (Cleeve still held it at the Dissolution) *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 1833, vol i. Cal. Close Rolls, 1229, p.211
- 15 April 1243: [After the execution of William de Marisco in 1242, when the king took Lundy into his own hands] 'For Adam de Eston. Because the king gave to his well beloved clerk Adam de Eston the eyrie of the gentle falcons of the island of Lundy, and caused his Letters Patent to be made to him about it. It is ordered to the Constable of the island of Lundy that having regard to these letters of the king, he shall cause him to have full seisin of the aforesaid eyrie, for the benefit of Adam himself, not allowing anyone to cause any impediment to him about it. Cal. Liberate Rolls, p.95
- 15 April 1244: 'To the sherrif of Devon. Contrabreve to send to London all skins of rabbits taken in the island of Lunday which are in his keeping, for delivery in the wardrobe to Roger the tailor, saving to the church of the island the tithes arising therefrom. Cal. Liberate Rolls, p.228
- 20 October 1254: 'To the Sheriff of Devon. Contrabreve to send to London all skins of rabbits taken in the island of Lunday which are in his keeping, for delivery to Roger the Tailor, saving to the church of the island the tithes arising therefrom. Cal. Patent Rolls, p.347
- 20 October 1254: Grant for life to Adam de Eston of an aery of the king's gentle falcons in the isle of Lunday, which the king gave at another time. Cal. Patent Rolls, p. 347
- 29 October 1254: Mandate to William la Zuche, keeper of the island of Lunday, to put Adam de Aston or his proctor in possession of the church of St Mary, Lunday, the king having granted it to him on the resignation of Henry de Wongsham, to whom the king had previously granted it; and cause to be paid to him henceforth lawful tithes of fish, birds, conies and animals and all other things which are renewed yearly in the said island. Cal. Patent Rolls, p.378
- 1274 Inquisition - no mention of a church. (Steinman, 1836, v, p.401; 1947 p.4)

- 1321 Inquisition - no mention of church. (Ibid. 1947 p. 6)
- 6 October 1332: Wm de Montacute possessed of 'the castle of Lunday, various meadow, plough and heath lands and the Advowson.' *Devon Feet of Fines*, ii, No 1242
- 1349: Ralph de Wylyngton, knight, held 'The manor of Womberleigh, with the advowsons of the churches.' (Lundy was part of the manor of Womberleigh at this time) Cal. Inqu. Post Mortem Ed III, ix, No 103 (? Womberleigh now Umberleigh)
- 1488: Fine [document of agreement] Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, and others: Manors Include the Isle of Lunday and Advowsons. Steinman Steinman, 1836, iii, pp. 273-4. Cal. Close Rolls, 1488, pp 114-5, No 410. By this agreement the Earl of Ormond was entitled to Lundy.
- 1533: The farm of the tithes of the chapel of St Michael the Archangel & St Elene was granted to Dom Hugh ?Briest [?Priest] on 6th Aug. 25 Henry VIII for 60 years. ['Farm' of tithes meant that i.e. the monastery was paid a fixed sum for the tithes that were collected by another person or body to whom the right had been conveyed.][Dom was a title given to some church dignitaries and members of some monastic orders. In monastic orders the title was used with the forename, as Dom Hugh, which would indicate that 'Briest' is either miswritten or misread.]
- 1536/7: 'Farm of Tithes and oblations and other profits of the rectory of the isle of Lunda' Cleeve Abbey, Somerset. *Valor Ecclesiasticus Henry VIII*, i, 1810. p.218 (National Archives, *Lists & Indexes*, Supp Series No 3, vol iii, 1964, p. 145, 'Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses.')
- c.1577: '...Lundy, wherein is also a village or towne [farmstead, settlement], and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same ...'. Holinshed, *The Description of Britaine*, 1807, i, pp.61-2.² (NB the passage continues 'In this voyage also we met with two other islands ...'. His description may have been either eye-witness or taken second-hand locally?)
- c.1582: 'Farm of tythes and oblations [offerings] and other profits of the rectory of the isle of Lunda. 15s. of the farm of the greater and lesser tithes and oblations and the barton land there together with all the other profits of the rector of the island aforesaid as payable to Dom Hugh Priest [sic] for the term of 60 years by indenture dated 25 yr Henry VIII [1533]. Total 15s.' The 11 years remaining of the 60-year grant was transferred to Balthazar Butler, Thomas Butler, and Edmund [?] for 21 years, 'the covenants and conditions to be the same as in like cases appointed.' The 3-year value given as 32s. 8d. [This may have followed the death of Hugh Briest]. National Archives: Exch. Land Revenue, Somerset Receiver's Accounts, Series 1, LR6/15/6, 1547-1561; S.C.6/Henry VIII/3127 mem 12. E367/1422.

By 1582 Lundy had passed from the Butlers to the St Legers who, c. 1577-78, either sold or mortgaged it to Richard Grenville. (Ternstrom, 1998)

- 1605/6: Laur Baskerville and others. Isle of Lundy tithes of barton land and fowls belonging to the Chapel of St Michael and St Elene parcel of poss [possessions] of

² 'William Harrison attempted a new topographical *Description of Britain* ... probably written in the late 1560s or early 1750s, but published as an introduction to Ralph Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1577.' (Brayshay, M., Ed., 1996, pp. 6-7).

- Monast of Clyve. Held in soc. [Socage: tenure feudal but not military]. (Institute of Historical Research, VCH Devon) (2) Leonard Balsover. Lunday. Monastery and chapel of Cleve. (Ibid) [Evidently the tithe rights had reverted to the Crown]
- 1610: 'A fort or sconsse [fortification] it had; the ruins whereof, like of St Helens Chappell, are yet to be seene.' Camden, *Britannia*, 1610, p. 202.
 - 1630: 'Bishop of Exeter = bishop of Devon, Cornwall, Exeter, together with the islands of Scilly and Lunday.' Vere Hunt Papers, 24 March 1823, giving reference to 'Westcote MS Harleian.'
 - 1641: Fine [agreement] for Lundy to pass from Bevill Grenville, James Fiennes and Mary his wife, to Richard Fiennes and William Sprigg with 'the Rectory of St Michael and St Helen in Lundy and of all tithes whatsoever of animal and crops.' National Archives, CP 25/410/17 ['The levying of a Fine, was a fictitious lawsuit for conveying land where there were possible problems about the title. The purchase price was fictional.' Dr Eric Poole, pers. comm.]
 - c.1650: William Lampit, born c. 1605, Minister, BA 1626. He wrote: 'I have preached these 20 years and was both Minister and Governour in Lunde Island.' He was ejected from Cumbria in 1650 as not having been properly presented. Geo Fox called him 'an old deceiver, a perverter of the right way of the Lord...he talked of high notions and perfection and thereby deceived the people.' (Thomasons Tracts E 619, British Library. Nightingale, 1911.)
 - 1657: Agreement between Mary Richant, widow, and Richard Fiennes and Mary, his wife, for Mary Richant to have 'the Isle of Lundy...the Rectory of St Michael the Archangel and St Helen...and Rectory and all manner of tythes whatsoever yearly...'. (National Archives, CP 25/2/547/1657 Easter 76675)
 - 1670-71: Final Concorde between John , Earl of Bath, and George Cooper and Elizabeth his wife of : '...the manor of Lundy with appurtenances, 4 messuages...the rectory of St Michael the Archangel and St Cloue (?) and of all tithes...' . (National Archives CP 25/645/22). A similar document, reference National Archives CP 25/45/22, between the Earl of Bath and George and Elizabeth Cooper gives '...a glebe on the island of Lundy and a certain rectory...' [Glebe = land in possession of the parish priest].³
 - 1776: 'In the S. division are St. Helen's, St. John's, and Parson's Wells; from the two first of which flow rivulets, discharging themselves down two valleys on the E. side of the Island... The ancient buildings on this island are the castle...the chapel, dedicated to St Helen, which was very small, and now ruined to the foundations...The best part not having been in a state of cultivation for many years past, is now much over-run with fern and heath' (Grose, 1776, iv, pp.194-6.)
 - Grose describes an attack upon the island by the French c.1688-1702 during which the French tricked the islanders into allowing them to bury their deceased captain in the chapel. The islanders, as requested, waited outside during the rites, but the French burst out and, using the weapons that had been hidden in the coffin, proceeded to rob

³ 'A rector was originally the incumbent of a parish who received all the tithes. When an ecclesiastical body, such as a monastery, annexed a benefice, it became, nominally, the rector and appointed a deputy called a vicar to administer the parish. The Great Tithes went to the monastery as rector, and the Small Tithes to the vicar. After the Reformation many monastic estates fell into lay hands and subsequently Lay Rectors became common.' Richardson, 1993, p.190.

them of everything that was there, 'and left the island in a most destitute and disconsolate condition.' As the chapel of St Helen was reported to be in ruins from 1610, which chapel could have been used in such a manner is very uncertain.

- 1787: ... notice was sent to the Castle that there wd be Prayers and a Sermon the next Day. At Eleven o'clock, the bell rung for Prayers. Twenty of us attended Divine Service. The prayers were read by the Revd Mr Cutliffe and the Sermon preached by the Revd Mr Smith, who cd scarce be heard, even in that Small Room, his delivery being so bad.' (Anon, 1787). As the chapel was 'in ruins' the service was possibly held in a room at the farmhouse.
- 1793: In the Isle of Lundy, (included in Braunton Hundred) within a quarter mile of St Helen's chapel, north north west, is a remarkable well of clear water...' (Polwhele, 1977. i. p.2) [c. 440 yards is difficult to identify, and would be in the region about Quarter Wall].]
- 1836: 'About half a mile from the Castle, travelling northwards, is the ruin or rather site of St Helen's Chapel...attached to it is the burial ground wherein several shipwrecked mariners were interred some twelve years ago' [1823, the *Morreston*] (Steinman Steinman, 1947, p. 19.)
- 1877: About half a mile from the Castle to the northward is the ruin, or rather the site, of St Helen's Chapel.' '...it was placed on the actual highest point of the Island...The walls, which were well built, and with the same peculiar clay cement as the Castle ... are now nearly levelled to the ground, the final destruction having been wrought by the persons conducting the Ordnance Survey, who occupied the site as their signal station, using the stones of the old wall for their cairn; but there appears to have been some ornamentation, with arcades of worked stone, and an adjoining aisle or recess bears the name of the oratory of St Ann. It is surrounded by a large burial ground, enclosed by walls, bearing evidences of having been nearly filled with ancient interments, and is still used as such ...' (Chanter, 1877, pp 44-45, 98-99) originally published in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association of 1871, though the reference to the Ordnance Survey dates from 1884-5. Chanter relied mainly on Steinman, 1836, and information given him by the Revd Hudson Heaven.

The outlines of the chapel, with the given measurements, are still traceable today. This is the only reference to an oratory of St Ann, which may represent an attempt to reconcile the two names ascribed to the church. If the mortar were the same as that of the castle it would suggest that both buildings were repaired at the same time. Possibly either by Bushell during the Civil War, or by William Hudson Heaven c.1839 when the castle was converted for labourers' cottages. Neither made any reference to having done so.

There is no mention of church in advertisements for sale c. 1802, 1821-22, or 1840.

Services were held in the Villa (now Millcombe) until the Granite Company was in operation (1863-8), when their Iron Room was in use. After the Granite Co. had left, they were held in a room in the Big House (New House, later the Manor House) or in the hall at the Villa.

- 1885: The prefabricated iron church was built at the head of Millcombe Valley and served by the Revd Hudson Heaven, then the tenant-for-life. It was dedicated, and not consecrated, as it stood on private ground. It was demolished soon after 1918. (Figure 4).



Figure 4: The iron church, 1895. (*Heaven archive*)

- 1897: The Present Church of St Helen was built, and consecrated, the land being conveyed to the Church Commissioners. The Sentence of Consecration states that Lundy is ‘an extra-parochial place in the County of Devon and our [Exeter] Diocese.’ The Revd Heaven is referred to as the ‘Minister in Charge,’ but there was no stipend. It was licensed for marriages in 1912.

This church is now regarded as out of place in size and style. Orme (1991, p.175) comments that ‘the Victorians built on a grand scale ... intended as reflection of Christian inspiration.’

The church is frequently, and mistakenly, referred to as the church of St Helena. This has arisen because the statue of the saint that is placed in a niche on the tower, above the entrance, carries an inscription in Latin: *St Helena*. The consecration document and the foundation stone both clearly show *St Helen*.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES

Thomas, 1994, Chapter 10, refers. In 1969 Professor Charles Thomas led an excavation of the burial ground on Beacon Hill, where four inscribed memorial stones had recently been unearthed, but not identified (Figure 5). These were found within the burial ground, and all mark Christian burials of individuals, most probably all males. After long investigation, he attributes the following dates and readings:

Optim(us) AD 500+ or early 600
Resteut(a? ae? Gender?) AD 500+ or early 600
Potit(us) Mid or late 600
Tigern(us) son of Tigern(us) Early-mid 700

Figure 5: The inscribed stones. (*Langham, 1994, p. 4*)

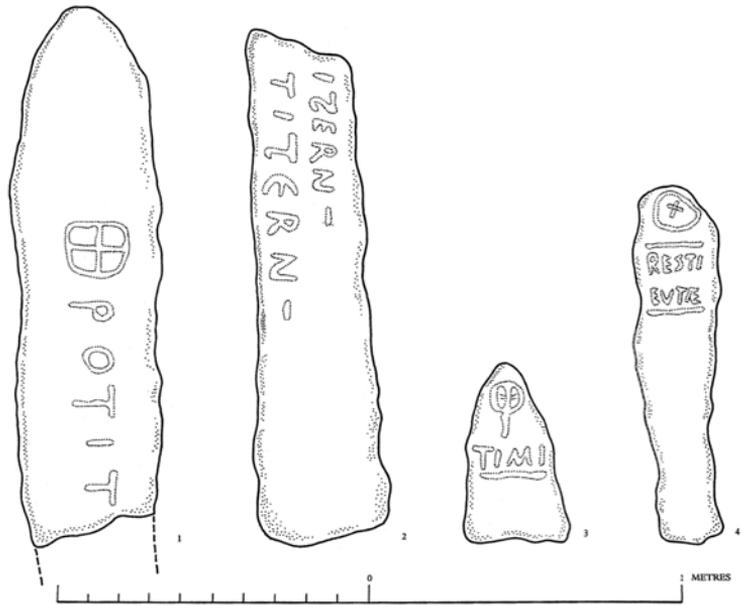


Figure 6: Excavation of the graves, 1969, when the ground cover had been removed. The vertical marker stones are seen to the right, and beyond them the roofless rectangle of the *cella* primary burial (Grave 23). (*Thomas, 1994, p. 168*)

Since there were evidently Christians who took care to commemorate these individuals, the implication is that there was a Christian community on Lundy at these periods with a focus on the Beacon Hill site, although the number of burials within the present enclosure indicates that the cemetery was in continued use for the population in general.

The excavations were undertaken to open an area marked by a line of vertical stones (N-S) indicating the presence of early burials (Figure 6). At the base level the excavations showed the remains of a pre-fifth century living hut, which had given place to a cluster of stone-lined graves, with a central rectangular structure containing a primary burial (a *cella memoriae*). This would have been in tribute to a person of particular reverence or importance, and as such it attracted another 22 burials to surround it as closely as possible (Figure 7). At some time the central grave was uncovered and emptied. 'One has to interpret this as the planned removal of a burial (sixth century?) so that any bones or relics could be re-interred in a shrine elsewhere.' (Pers. comm.)

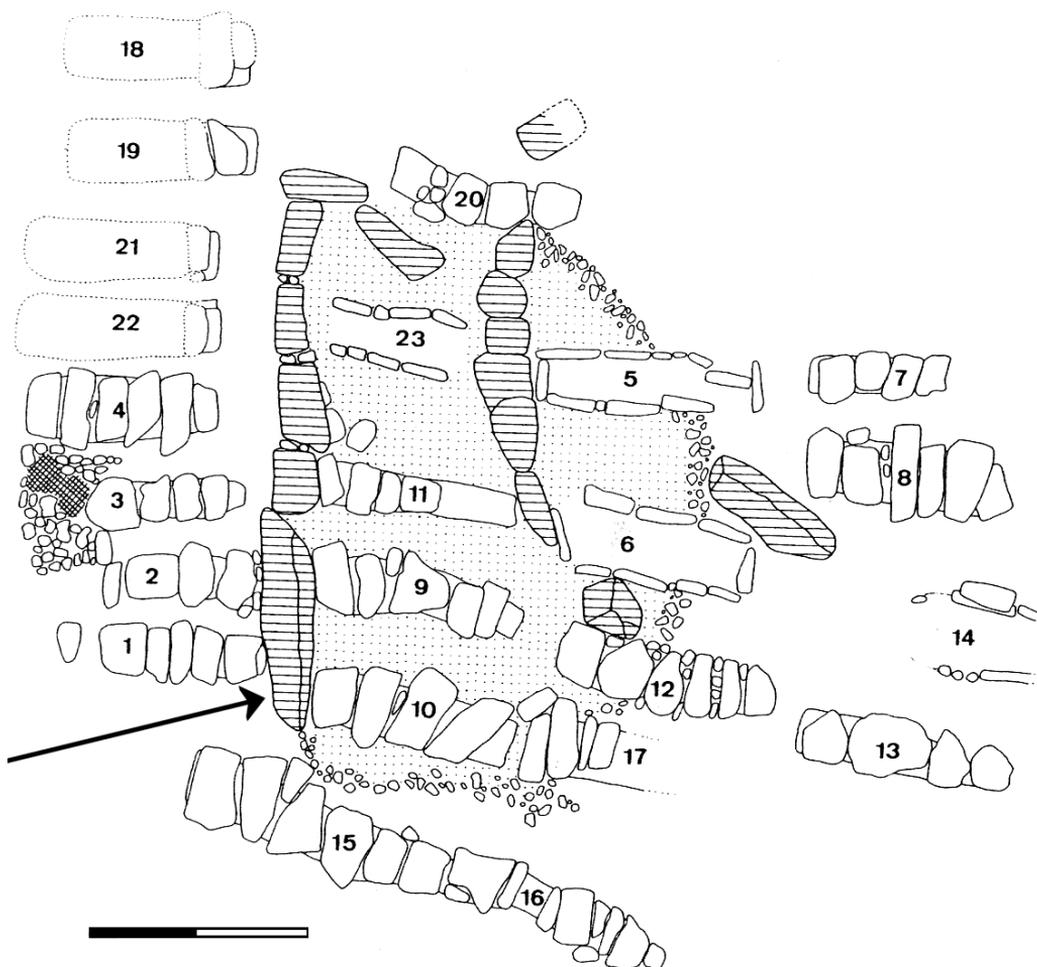
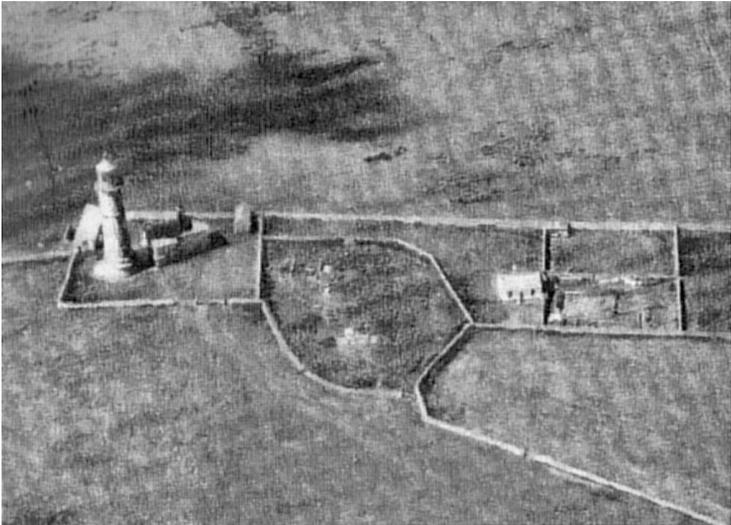


Figure 7: The Beacon Hill grave complex, looking north. Grave 23 was within the now empty rectangular *cella*. (Thomas, 1994, p. 173)

Figure 8a) The Burial Ground at present.
(Gardner, 2006, p.28)



b) The ancient South-west wall.
(Author)

c) The south-east section.
(Author)



Thomas considers it possible that there may have been a small monastic community on the island at the time of the early Christian burials, although he makes it clear that this can be no more than a speculation. There was a movement at that time for monastic cells to be established on remote and isolated islands, for example Skellig Michael to the west of Ireland, or Caldey off the coast of South Wales. If this were so in the case of Lundy, it is suggested that such a foundation may have been made from one of the major Welsh monasteries. What is clear is that there is no evidence of organised Christian activity on the island after the seventh century, and while it is just possible that there may have been a very small chapel at Beacon Hill, no evidence has been found for it thus far. Whether a medieval chapel was built, or reconstructed on the site of an earlier one is an open question. It may be relevant that Early Christian sites were sometimes situated in order to replace earlier pagan sites. Along with the absence of a continuous Christian presence must be put the loss of the island's original British name before the Nordic attribution of Lundy (Thomas, 1997).

The burial ground is enclosed by nineteenth century Trinity House walls on the north-west, north and eastern sides, with a rougher-style farm wall at the south. At the south-west the enclosure has a much older curvilinear bank, a *lann* of the late Iron Age, a continuation of which can now be traced at the south-east end, inside the farm wall, (Figure 8) and possibly at the north-west corner (Gardner, 2006, p.81). It should be noted that the burial ground surveyed in the map of 1819, before the construction of the lighthouse, is shown as extended to the east where Stoneycroft enclosure now is (Figure 2).

The archaeological excavations carried out in the south part of Bulls Paradise by K.S. Gardner in the 1950s and 1960s revealed another Christian burial ground that extended from there to the east, across the present area of the workshop and the High Street. (Figure 9). The evidence of the assemblage suggests that this was in use between the fourteenth and early seventeenth centuries, after which it served as a midden. Altogether there are records of c. 25 interments in this area, which include the burial associated with the so-called 'Giants Grave' that was accidentally uncovered during building work in 1856, and which is thought to date from the ninth century, albeit on the debatable evidence of three then-surviving Hiberno-Norse beads without precise context (Gardner & Ternstrom, 1997).

Gardner's excavations also showed the site of a rectangular building (Bulls Paradise II) in the south of the enclosure that is thought may have been an associated chapel (Gardner, 1963, p.24). 'A quarter-section of a granite bowl, reminiscent of a font or piscine, was found in a nearby field wall in the 1960s.' (Ibid, pp.71, 75; Thackray, 1989) (Figure 10). Further south, across the present Pigs Paradise, there is evidence of both medieval settlement and, below that, Mesolithic flint workings (Gardner 2006, pp. 20-21; Allen J., & Blaylock, S., 2005, pp 45-91).

DISCUSSION

The variation of names, and the wide spread of the time frame of some approximate 1,200 to 1,400 years (equivalent from the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries to the present) lead to a number of, at present, unanswerable, questions:

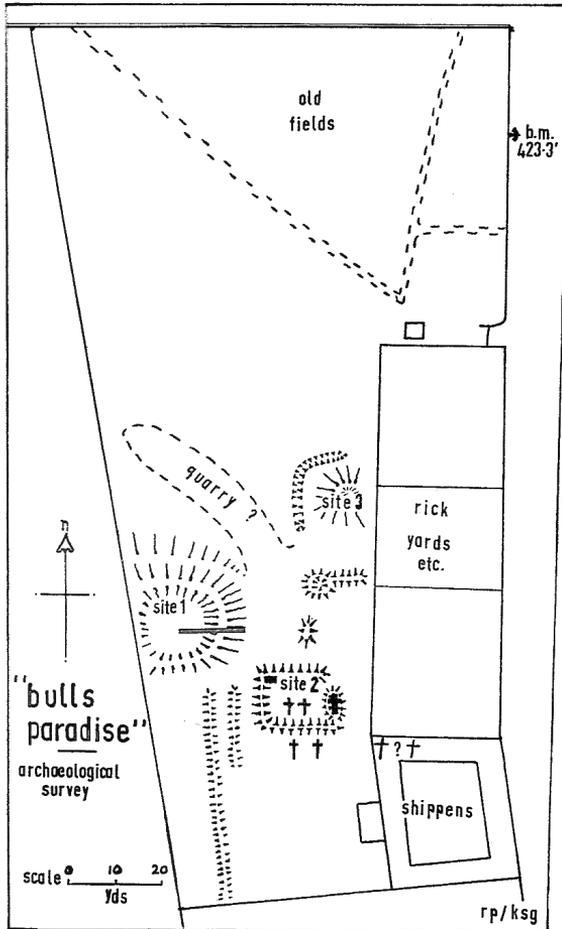
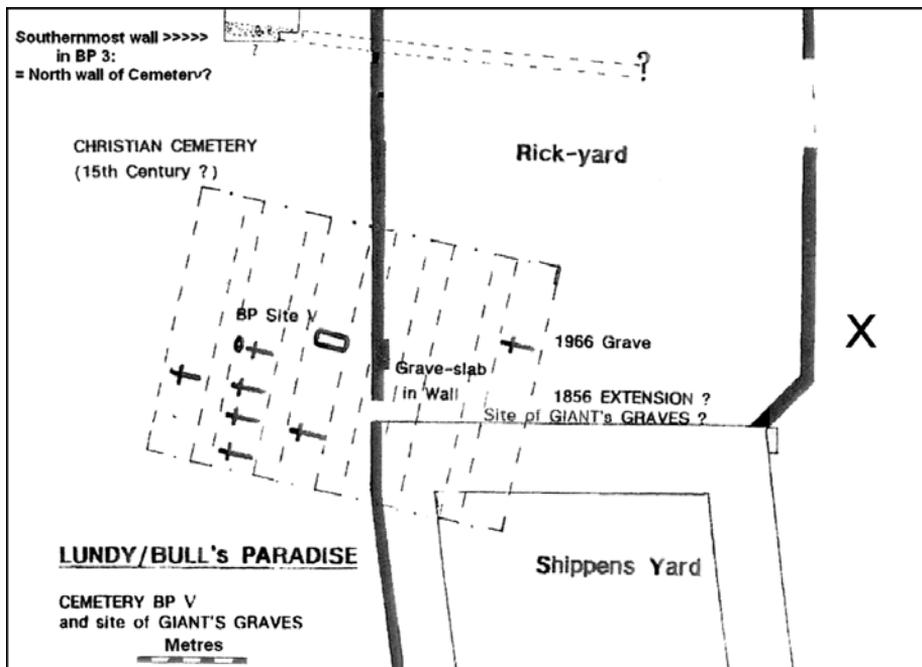


Figure 9a) (left) Plan of Bulls Paradise excavation showing Site 2.

b) (below) John Dyke drawing the part of a piscine found in a wall at Bulls Paradise (now lost?)

c) (bottom) Site of burial ground in Bulls Paradise. The × marks the approximate location of unrecorded burials.



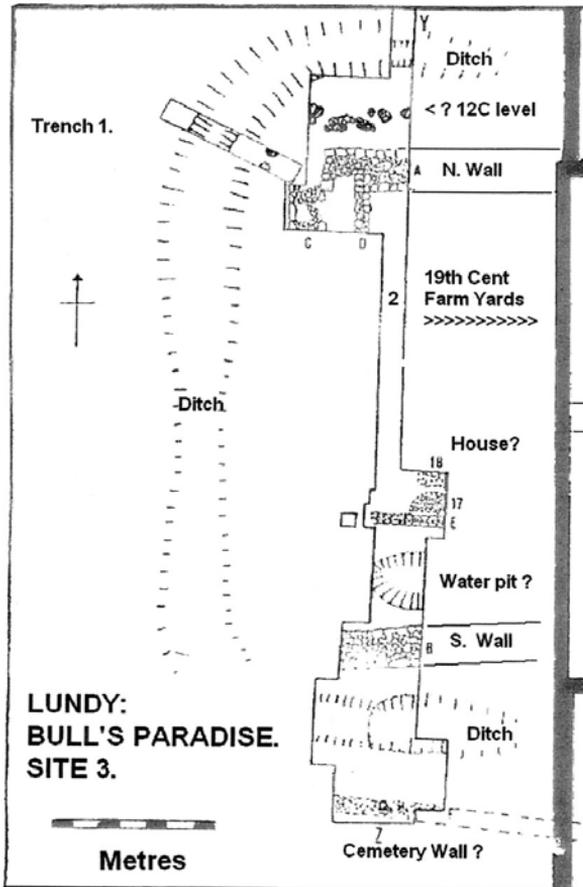


Figure 9d (left) Bulls Paradise Site 3. (All illustrations in Fig. 9 K.S. Gardner)

Figure 10a (below) Site of former stables where burials were uncovered, but not recorded, c.1870. (Author's collection)

b (bottom) Large stone from the burial ground at Bulls Paradise, incorporated in the wall of the former Rick Yard. ?1856 (Author, 1998)



1. Whether there have been one, or two, chapels on Lundy before 1885. A factor to be considered is the effect that exposure on Lundy to wind and weather has on the survival of structures. The castle has been rebuilt at least twice in its history, and the buildings in general suffered some severe deterioration during the war of 1939-45, when on-going maintenance was not possible.

In the present Bulls Paradise a burial ground with pottery etc. has been part excavated, and gives evidence of use between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. The existence of a second burial ground raises further questions. Was the burial ground at Beacon Hill full up, even overcrowded, by the fourteenth century? Was it obscured by neglect and overgrowth? Was a second burial place possibly used for victims of shipwreck or defeated enemies (infidels), plague victims, or because of differing religious convictions (that were very strong in the seventeenth century)? Was the excavation for graves at Beacon Hill too difficult as the base rock lies near to the surface? The Revd Heaven refers to this problem in his interview in 1906: 'We had to use powder and blast the rock ... [vaults] were never more than two or three feet down.' (Western Mail)

2. The overgrowth that is typical in areas not regularly tended would have obscured remains of structures or burials. For how long might the holy sites at Beacon Hill cemetery (fifth-sixth centuries) have been recognised and respected?

3. The dating of burials is difficult with regard to the relatively more rapid decomposition of human remains after exposure to the acidity of the Lundy soil. Thomas (1994, p. 167) considers that 'because the dark moist granite soil is strongly acid, no human bones or teeth [in the early Christian burials] had survived (or would ever have survived, unprotected, for more than a century or so.)' Gardner (2006, p. 66) attributes the skeleton found at Bulls Paradise to the fifteenth century.

4. Was there a chapel at Bulls Paradise cemetery? If so, was it pre- or post 1242?

5. What is the date of the chapel on Beacon Hill? Did it occupy the site of an earlier one, possibly associated with the inscribed stones, the early Christian primary cist burial, and/or a putative monastic settlement of the late fifth century. (Thomas, 1994, pp.167-173) (Figure 7). Early missionaries were 'exhorted...to utilise earlier pagan sites when new churches were built, so that people could continue to use those places they were accustomed to frequent.' (Aston, 1985, p.50). The Tigernus stone was first exposed during the excavation for a grave in 1905 that is now marked by a Celtic cross of that date (*in memoriam* Amelia Anne Heaven). Whether it was found incorporated in a wall or lying buried is not known, as the information was given verbally by an islander who was present at the time, although the inscription was not noticed until 1923. Two other graves were excavated within the chapel area during the Heaven ownership, one of which lay 18 inches below the grave of William Hudson Heaven, and another was dated 1720 (Western Mail, 1906) This, and other evidences make it clear that the Beacon Hill burial ground was in use at least from that date. It is estimated that there are more than 200 burials in the cemetery.

6. Was another chapel built at the time when the castle was constructed (1244)? And, if so, where? If no usable chapel were in existence, would it have been normal practice at that time to build one? It is thought that the Bulls Paradise stronghold (Site III) was occupied by the Marisco family until 1242, when they were dispossessed of the ownership of the island. Evidence of occupation before the Norman Conquest is solely archaeological, and the earliest documentation concerning the church is dated 1244 (above). Although the stronghold is thought to have that which the king ordered to made fit for the garrison to occupy in 1243, it has always been easier to rob existing buildings of even roughly dressed stone than to quarry new. Thus it is probable that by the time that the castle neared completion, the stronghold was dismantled, and that the cemetery post-dates it.

7. The historical evidence suggests that Lundy was well-populated in the mid-late medieval and the early Tudor periods, when wool was of high value, and the land is very well suited to sheep-rearing. (Ternstrom, in preparation). If the Beacon Hill burial ground was still in use in the medieval period, might either the Mariscos or the King have built a chapel there to serve it, or rebuilt one?

8. Other burials were found at a third site in Millcombe Valley in the mid nineteenth century, where a stable and coach house were built between the bottom of the drive up to the house and the remaining waterfall/horse trough that was called *Lodore*. These were at once re-interred on the same spot, and nothing else is known about them (Heaven archive).

9. St Helen's Field lies to the east of Bulls Paradise, and the OS map of 1886 shows there St Helen's well. St Helen's Field is thought to be a Heaven era name (1836-1917), but St Helen's Well is cited by Grose (1776). A chapel dedicated to St Helen as marking a holy well is not impossible (Figure 11).

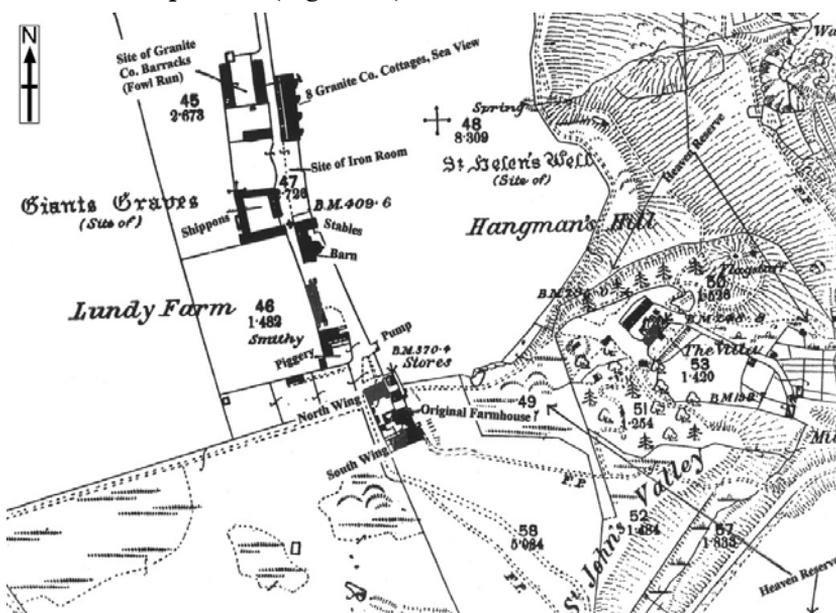


Figure 11: OS 1886 (amended). Site of St Helen's Well. The well and stream probably dried up after c.1890 when a reservoir was constructed at the south-west corner of the Lighthouse Field. (Crown copyright)

St Ann was regarded as the mother of Mary, whose feast day was kept from the tenth century, and was made obligatory in England at Canterbury in 1382. This cult was later attacked by Luther (d.1546). St Helen was believed to be the mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great (d.337) who was alleged to have travelled to the Holy Land in 324 (in her 70s) and found the Holy Cross - although this was not claimed until 60 years after her death. Another was Elen of Luyddog, or Helen of Caernarvon, the wife of Magnus Clemens Maximus, Emperor of Britain, Gaul and Spain, to whom the Welsh tradition attributes the making of roads, and having led a military expedition to North Wales. Boggis (1922, p.56) sums up that the dedication of Lundy to St Helen is taken to show an early origin.

Copeland (1947-9, p. 104) comments that 'a votive chapel was usually remote from other buildings, often on a conspicuous site.' Orme (1991, pp 4-5) states that the early saints in the South-West came 'chiefly from South Wales,' and that early Christianity was reinforced by hermit and missionary saints. Bowen (1977 pp.62-208) describes early mysticism and asceticism in the West that led hermits, or small groups, to find isolated headlands or small islands, where possibly a small chapel would be built later on the saint's holy site. Was the important central burial at Beacon Hill a grave, chosen as far west and on high land, for a dead saint, or holy man [or woman?] possibly brought from Wales? Was it the burial place of a solitary hermit, or the leader of a small monastic community? (Figure 12).



Figure 12: A small section of the east wall of the chapel was cleared of overgrowth in 1962. (*Author*)

St Michael is associated with rocks and high places. Was his name simply added to that of St Helen, or did this mark the foundation of a separate chapel dedicated to both saints? The name of St Michael and St Helen appears only in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, when Gardner's excavations give evidence for a change of use in the Bulls Paradise burial site. Presbyterian Lampit's claim to have served as 'both Minister and Governour' probably lies somewhere between 1626 (during the ownership of the royalist Grenville family) and c.1638-45 (the ownership of Lord Saye and Sele, a parliamentarian and an ardent Puritan, or members of his family). In 1642 parliament claimed the right

to enforce sequestration, and to present new clergy where patronage had formerly belonged to a bishop or a royalist. (Gowers, 1992, 205). Clergy were then required to adhere to Presbyterian practice. Lampit's claim adds little to our knowledge, except that the description of his role fits in with Holinshed's account of the governance (above). The Grenville family acquired Lundy in the late sixteenth century, at a time after it had been neglected by their predecessors, who used it for rental income or surety for loans. The Grenvilles were charged with building defences, and in the 1630s they were active in building and bringing the island into production. (Ternstrom, 1998) Does this coincide with the change of use of the burial ground?

Clearly, the evidences given in this paper can do no more than indicate questions.

This writer pleads with Camden (1772): 'I have broken the ice; and I have gained my end if I set others to work.'

Note: The burial ground was conveyed to the Church Commissioners by the Revd Hudson Heaven (d. 1906) and is now a Scheduled Ancient Monument, No. 30351, SS13224425.

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