

## THE LUNDY FIELD SOCIETY'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE 1960s

by

CHRIS J. WEBSTER

South West Heritage Trust, Brunel Way, Taunton, Somerset, TA2 6SF

*e-mail: chris.webster@swheritage.org.uk*

### ABSTRACT

From the late 1950s to the early 1970s the Lundy Field Society undertook a large number of excavations and surveys on the island, led by Keith Gardner. Very little of this was published but Gardner's records, and those kept by his co-worker Trevor Miles, have now been studied and reports prepared for the smaller excavations. Two larger sites remain to be completed.

*Keywords: Lundy, archaeology, Keith Gardner, Trevor Miles, excavation, survey, prehistoric, medieval, post-medieval*

### INTRODUCTION

The Lundy Field Society has been involved in two main phases of archaeological work, firstly in the 1960s led by Keith Gardner and secondly in the 1980s by A.J. Schofield and the author. The later work has been published (Schofield, 1988, Schofield & Webster, 1989, 1990, Schofield, 1994) but the earlier campaigns have only been the subject of brief annual notes and occasional more discursive pieces. Gardner's work came to an end when the island was bought by the National Trust who carried out their own detailed survey work from the late 1980s. Keith Gardner died in 2008 leaving archive materials in the North Devon Record Office (NDRO) but further material has recently come to light in the possession of his collaborator, Trevor Miles. Miles worked principally on the medieval site in Bull's Paradise but reports and some finds from other sites are present in the material that, due to increasing bad health, he provided to the author.

It is intended to bring the two medieval sites, Bull's Paradise and Pig's Paradise, in the village, to full publication but the purpose of the present paper is to record the work on the other sites and provide further details where these exist.

### SOURCES

This paper was stimulated by the discovery of large amounts of archaeological archive material by Trevor Miles's relatives while helping him as he became frail. They contacted the author who agreed to pass the material on to the relevant museums and record offices, and to bring the Lundy material to publication. As work on this progressed it was decided to check Quinnell's (2010) assertion that the Gardner archive in the North Devon Record Office contained 'only occasional plans and sections without any contextual explanation.' The Gardner archive (NDRO B/867) proved to contain large numbers of maps, drawings, photographs and record cards that complement the Miles archive and allow much more to be said about the excavations, although the records still appear to be incomplete, especially of textual descriptions.

Gardner and Miles had met in Somerset through their work with respectively the Clevedon and Bridgwater archaeological societies (Gardner, 2006, 9) and Miles went on to specialise in medieval pottery studies for the (then) Ministry of Works before becoming a teacher. Despite Miles mostly working at Bull's Paradise, there is no obvious logical split between the Gardner and Miles archives as both contain items relating to this and other sites. Gardner's archive also contains large quantities of paperwork relating to the organisation of the work on the island, together with correspondence and working versions of his publications.

Gardner also had a collection of photographic slides which were not originally deposited with the archive although a set of duplicates was given to the National Trust (Gardner, 2006, 9). Most are not clearly identified on the slide mounts but comparing those that are with the reports, and also relocating the positions from where they were taken on the island, has allowed most to be identified. The slides have now been scanned and will join the archive in the NDRO; the numbers used here were sequentially added to the scans and have been added to the slide mounts. Gardner published an account of his work on the island, *An Archaeologist on Lundy* (Gardner, 2006), which is primarily autobiographical but does contain some information on the chronology of the fieldwork.

Following Gardner's work, the National Trust undertook two surveys: an initial catalogue (Thackray, 1989) followed by a detailed topographical survey from 1990-94. The survey work is described by Blaylock (2010) who notes that 'more interpretative work needs to be undertaken before the survey can be published' but that the information has been incorporated into the National Trust Sites and Monuments Record (available online via the Heritage Gateway at [www.heritagegateway.org.uk](http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk)). NT SMR numbers will be used to identify sites below but it should be noted that these do not coincide with the numbers used by Thackray (1989) in the initial survey. Many of the prehistoric finds from Gardner's work made their way into the National Trust's collections and have been identified and published in detail by Quinnell (2010).

## **TIMELINE**

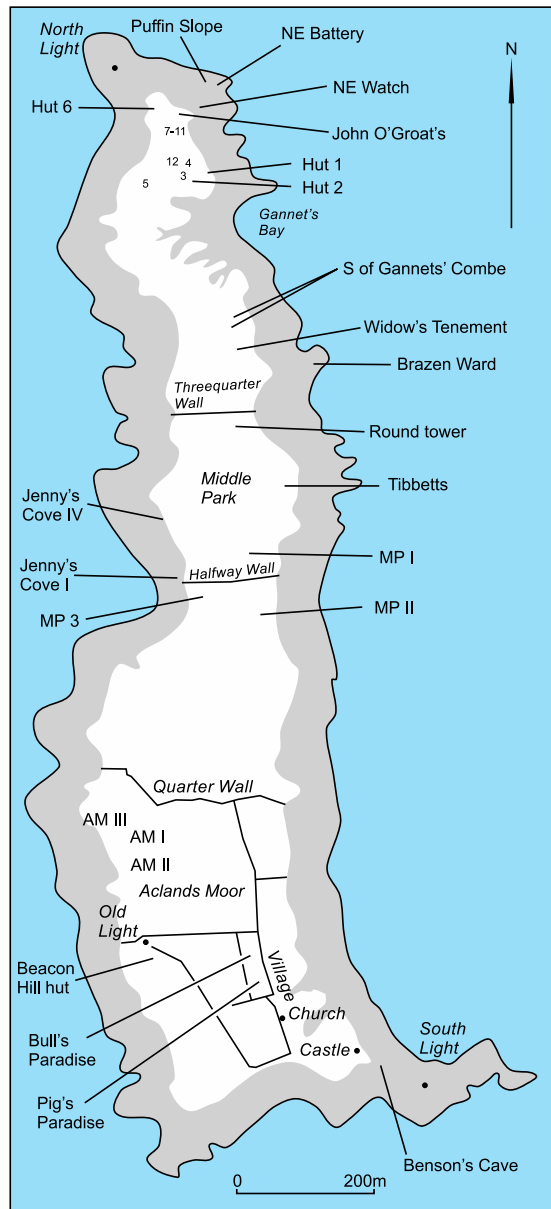
Gardner first visited Lundy in 1955, having been directed there by the well-known Somerset naturalist and caver, Harry Savory (Gardner, 2006, 7, 12). He spent the next few seasons getting to know the island and surveying; publishing on the Gannets' Combe settlement (Gardner, 1956), Mesolithic flintwork (Gardner, 1957), speculating on the early medieval period (Gardner, 1960a) and stray finds in Bristol Museum (Gardner, 1960b). An investigation of a building at Puffin Slope was also noted (Dyke, 1960).

In 1961 the field known as Bull's Paradise was surveyed and two trenches opened across the earthworks (BP I and II). Further trenches were opened over other earthworks in the field in 1962 (BP II, III, IV and V) but no work is recorded the following year. In 1964, work was concentrated on BP III as it would be for the rest of the decade but other 'classification' excavations were carried out in Middle Park (MP I) and Widow's Tenement. After a year gap, work resumed in 1966 at BP III and other sites: Middle Park (MP II), Benson's Cave, a hut on Beacon Hill, and a platform at Jenny's Cove (JC I). In 1967 trenches were opened on Acland's Moor (AM I and AM II), a hut at the North End (Hut 6) and a building above Jenny's Cove (JC IV). Lundy was put up for sale in 1969 and realising that a new owner might not permit work to continue, plans were made for

what might (and eventually proved to) be a final season. That year excavations were undertaken in the cemetery on Beacon Hill, directed by Charles Thomas, with the aim of discovering a context for the early Christian inscribed stones (Thomas, Fowler & Gardner, 1969a, 1969b; Thomas, 1992, 1994) and there is evidence for work at Tibbetts and Acland's Moor (AM III).

Gardner's excavations ended following the purchase of the island by the National Trust but some other work continued. Slides show casts being taken of the Beacon Hill stones which Gardner (2006, 30) describes and dates to 1972; the slides are dated 1971 except for one showing the casts crated up in the church ready to be taken to Bristol. Their whereabouts are now unknown. In 1973 the Western Archaeological Trust excavated in Pig's Paradise which Gardner photographed while running an adult education course on the island. Gardner and his team continued surveying in Bull's Paradise in 1974 and 1975, though it is not clear to what end.

**Figure 1:** Map of Lundy showing sites mentioned in the text. Small numbers are Gardner's for other huts at the north end. Grey indicates steep sidelands or cliffs

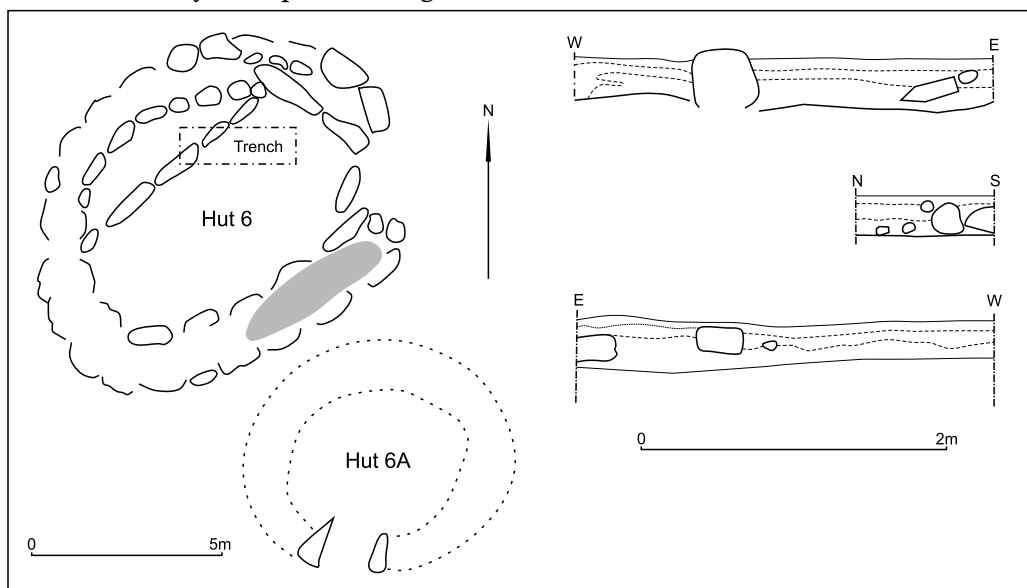


### Prehistoric sites

The aim of much of the work on the prehistoric sites, particularly at the North End, was to recover dating evidence and Gardner describes the work as 'classification'. There was an assumption at this time that Bronze Age pottery was only found in funerary contexts and so most of the pottery recovered from roundhouse excavations was believed by Gardner to be Iron Age in date. Excavation of settlements on the mainland associated with the introduction of calibrated radiocarbon dating shows that parallels for most of the Lundy pottery are earlier, with much of the Lundy pottery now seen to be Late Bronze Age Plain Ware dated to the eleventh to ninth centuries BC (Quinnell, 2010). There is also some earlier biconical ware, a long-lived pottery style dating from the eighteenth to eleventh centuries BC, and a few pieces of Trevisker ware, again of the Middle Bronze Age.

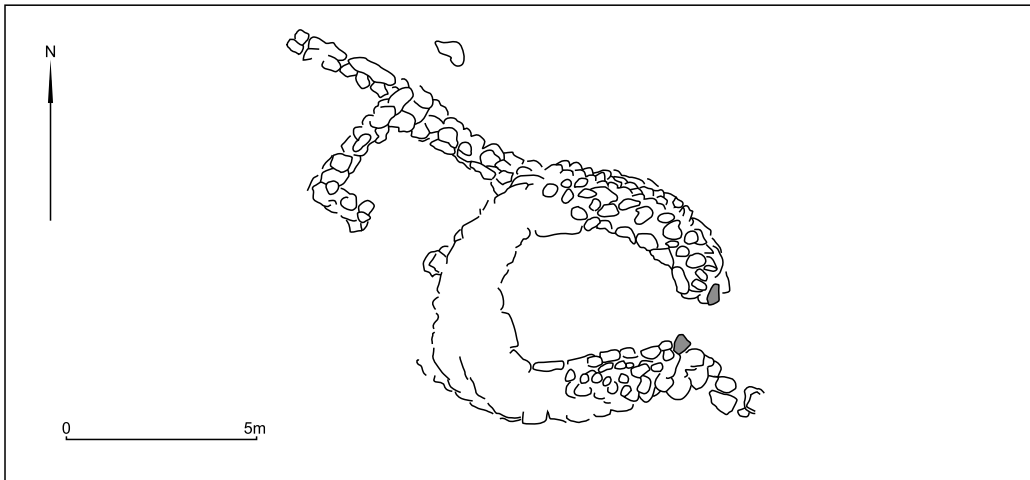
**North End**

Gardner refers to two areas at the North End, A and B, and these seem to be separated spatially and chronologically. North End A seems to include the prehistoric hut circles, at least two of which were excavated, while B may have referred to the later sites. The best recorded excavation is at Hut 6, described as ‘Elliptical hut c. 25 ft×30 ft; bed recess formed by a chord of orthostats; pottery of late bronze age type’ (Gardner, 1968a, 41). Gardner gives the grid reference as SS13254790, which equates to NT SMR 108003. The Miles archive contains a plan (Figure 2) that shows the elliptical shape, a possible entrance to the east and a subsidiary smaller hut circle (6A) to the south east. A trench 10 feet long and 3 feet wide is shown running east-west including part of the ‘bed recess’ at its western end. The section drawings, which are 9 feet long, show two layers beneath the topsoil but neither is described. The pottery is now interpreted as belonging to the Middle Bronze Age Biconical tradition but the flintwork is non-diagnostic (Quinnell, 2010, 24, 31). When visited in 2019, the site was almost completely overgrown with heather and only the tops of the larger stones were visible.



**Figure 2:** North End, Hut 6. Based on plan and sections in Miles archive (2/29, 2/34). The grey area is shown dotted in the original which may indicate small stone infill. The section drawings are unlabelled

The other hut recorded as excavated is Hut 2, which Blaylock (2010) identifies as NT SMR 108025 and says was excavated in 1967 citing Gardner (1968). However, the only hut circle excavations recorded in Gardner’s report are Hut 6 and two on Acland’s Moor. In the Miles archive is a drawing titled ‘Lundy North End “A” Hut Ref 2’ (Figure 3) which can be identified as NT SMR 108025 and there are slides in the Gardner collection (006, 010, 066) showing this hut but not naming it. The plan shows a hut circle with fieldwalls leading from it and a rectangular enclosure formed on one of these. There is also a trench plan and section (NDRO B867/5/2/1) but the location of the trench is not identified on any of the plans. The pottery from Hut 2 is described as prehistoric in character and the flintwork is non-diagnostic (Quinnell, 2010).

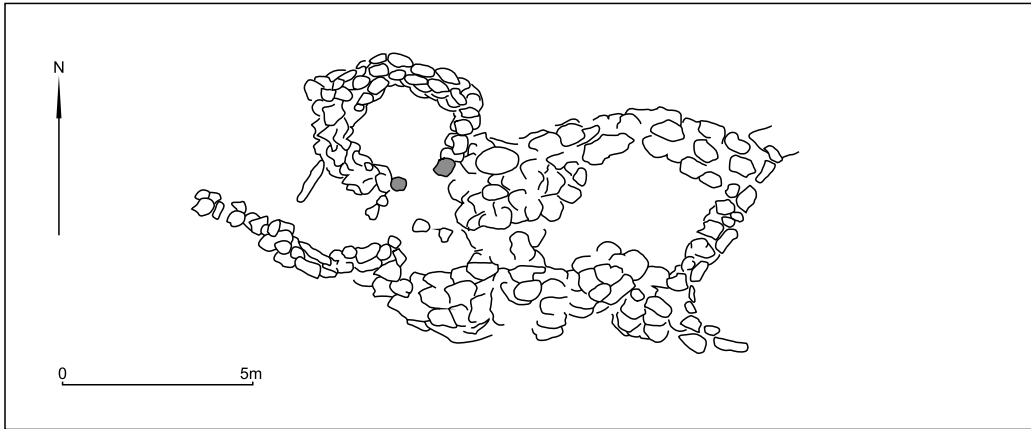


**Figure 3:** North End, Hut 2. Based on plans in Miles archive 2/33 and NDRO B867/1/19/13. Comparison between the plans shows that most of the stones were sketchily drawn at this and other sites

The only other detailed plan is a companion to that noted above and titled ‘Lundy North End “A” Hut Ref 1’. Again, this seems to show two conjoined structures, one clearly a roundhouse with doorposts. This is NT SMR 10818 and has been redrawn as Figure 4.

Gardner’s published plan of the huts and field system (Gardner, 1956) does not identify them but an annotated Ordnance Survey map in the Gardner archive (NDRO B867/5/1/3) shows twelve numbered huts (locations shown on Figure 1). Not all of these were identified by the NT survey or can be found today. It seems likely that they were not accurately surveyed but that the map showed rough locations of discoveries and potential sites.

Gardner’s number	Grid reference	NT SMR number	Comments
1	SS13464764	108018	See text. Shown by Ordnance Survey
2	SS13394760	108025	See text. Shown by Ordnance Survey
3	SS13354762	108024	Shown by Ordnance Survey. Interpreted by the NT as a very small hut
4	SS13374737	Probably 108020	Interpreted by the NT as a clearance cairn
5	SS13194759	108031	Shown by Ordnance Survey. Suggested by the NT to be a cairn
6 and 6a	SS13244791	108003	See Text. Shown on Ordnance Survey map
7	SS13324784	108011	Shown by Ordnance Survey. Interpreted by the NT as a robbed cairn
8	SS13364783	Not recorded	Shown by Ordnance Survey
9	SS13324781	Possibly 108012	Shown 25m south of NT SMR grid reference
10	SS13344781	Possibly 108013	Shown 15m south of NT SMR grid reference
11	SS13364781	Not recorded	Photographic slides in Gardner collection 313, 314
12	SS13314766	Possibly 108023	Suggested by NT to be natural enhanced by clearance



**Figure 4:** North End, Hut 1. Based on plans in Miles archive 2/32 and NDRO B867/1/19/13

Quinnell (2010, 24) says that there are other sherds from the North End in the collection but that it is not clear if these were from excavations or were surface finds. Many of the sites appeared to the NT surveyors to have been excavated in some fashion but this could have happened at any date; A.T.J. Dollar is recorded as having ‘investigated’ several (Dollar, 1930).

#### ***South of Gannets’ Combe***

Two hut circles are shown being surveyed in Gardner’s slides (210 and 299), which can be identified as NT SMR 108045 and 108071. Both are interpreted in the NT SMR as natural hollows or extraction pits. The second is described as having its centre below the surrounding ground level, possibly robbed out. This is likely to be the site ‘sectioned’ in 1969 but which was devoid of dating evidence (Thomas *et al.*, 1969, 17). There is a photocopy of a section drawing titled ‘Hut circle, S of Gannetts [sic] Combe’ in the Gardner collection (NDRO B867/5/2/1) that is presumably this site. It shows a mound of ‘Mixed bedrock with traces of peat and grey granular old ground surface’ lying on the peat layer. There are no structural components and this appears to be a simple mound, unless it shows a section across a bank. The locations of soil samples for pollen analysis are shown.

#### ***Widow’s Tenement***

The excavation intended to investigate the medieval settlement (see below) also recovered ‘presumably on the old land surface [...] several flints and a sherd of much coarser pottery [than the medieval]. Further examples of this latter were forthcoming from rabbit scrapes outside the NE corner of the E enclosure and proved to be similar in fabric to the Early Iron Age “A” pottery currently being found in Middle Park.’ (Gardner, 1964, 30). The NT collection contains four sherds from the excavation and four sherds as surface finds. Only one of these is diagnostic as Late Bronze Age Plain Ware (Quinnell, 2010, 25, 34, 35). The only artefact in the Miles archive is catalogued (1/18) as ‘[196] small flint end scraper from medieval occupation layer’.

### *Jenny's Cove IV*

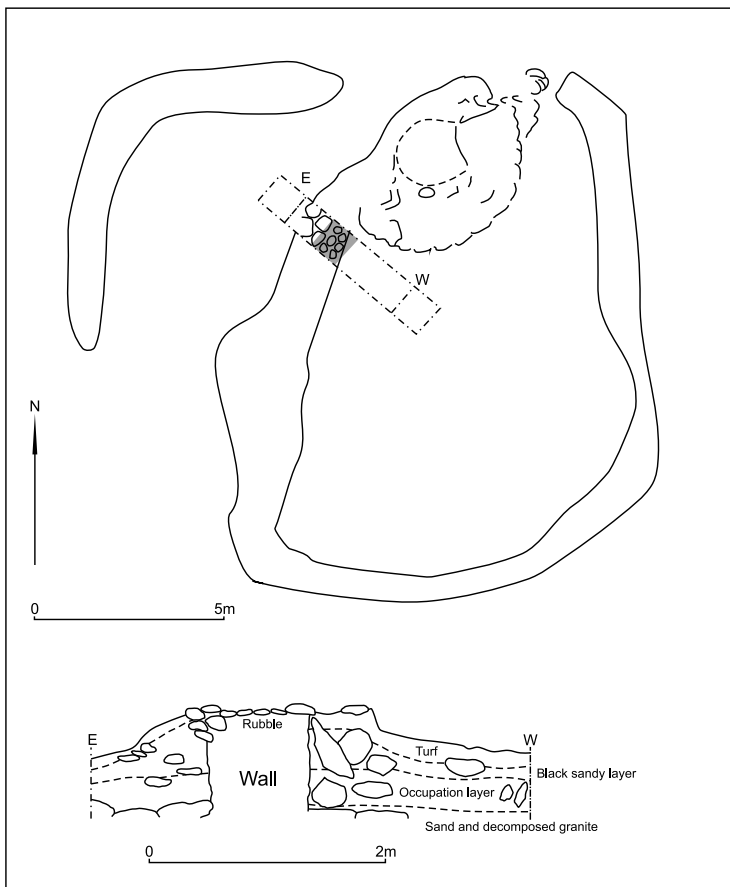
Survey work in 1967 around the west end of Halfway Wall discovered a rough rectangle of orthostats. A trench 24ft×6ft was excavated across the western end which recorded a thick (8-10ft) rubble wall supported by orthostats and containing a circular chamber. A larger trench (28ft×16ft) was opened in the following year which recorded the remainder of the rectangular enclosure, which Gardner describes as 'not as clearly defined as the thick western wall' (Gardner, 1968b, 44). No dating evidence was recovered. Gardner suggested parallels, in style if not in date, with Neolithic houses in Shetland on the basis of the thick walls and intramural chamber but also suggested to Trevor Miles (Miles archive 1/7a, dated 6/2/1968), a similarity to the Iron Age courtyard houses at Chysauster in Cornwall. Gardner's photographs and most plans (e.g. NDRO B867/5/2/2), however, fail to show the packing stones around the chamber as clearly as the published plan (Gardner, 1968b, 45), although they might have been removed by the excavation.

Both Gardner's interpretations were made before the second season, as can be seen from the plan prepared at the end of the first season (Miles archive 1/7b) which shows a large sub-circular structure surrounded by a 'conjectural wall line' containing the small chamber towards the north west. In the event the larger trench, which Gardner describes as 'further clearance', did not conform to expectations, exposing a rectangular structure with walls formed of a double row of orthostats. Gardner (1968b, 44-48) seems to have been reluctant to modify his interpretation and suggested that a low rock outcrop might have been incorporated in the conjectural wall, which might also have had an intramural passage to the east side, explaining the outer face of the square room and the lack of stone infill. A simpler explanation might be that more than one phase is present: an earlier structure with a circular, possibly intra-mural, room and a later rectangular structure formed from the partial demolition of the earlier structure. As Gardner did not excavate west of his original trench it is hard to be certain if the stones drawn poking through the grass in a curving line give a true representation of any walls below; the evidence from the eastern extension would suggest caution in any interpretation. The absence of artefacts leaves any proposed phases undated, but a prehistoric date for the earlier phase seems reasonable with a medieval or later date for the square structure.

### *Middle Park*

Survey work in 1963 recorded a field system associated with two buildings, one (NT SMR 108210) of which was excavated in 1964 (MP I). Gardner's photographs (301, 302) show a single trench 12ft by 3ft with stone rubble at the SW end. The only known drawing is a section (NDRO B867/1/19/17, photocopied as Miles archive 2/35) which shows a layer (4) of 'grey-brown soil' between the topsoil and decayed granite natural. This terminates at the heap of stone visible at the end of the trench. The key to the drawing states that layer 4 contains pottery and flints. Gardner describes the site as 'a circular hut 30ft in diameter with an occupation layer producing flints and pottery of Early Iron Age "A" type.' (Gardner, 1964, 30). Blaylock suggests that the site might have originated as an Early Bronze Age ring cairn reused for domestic purposes in the Later Bronze age (Blaylock, 2010, 25). The pottery is now identified as Late Bronze Age Plain Ware (Quinnell, 2010, 34-35) and it is not clear why Blaylock introduces a hypothetical earlier phase.

Another site (MP II) was excavated in 1966, producing ‘abundant’ pottery of the first few centuries BC (Gardner, 1966, 30). Gardner’s grid reference locates this to NT SMR 108264 and plans survive in the archives (Miles 2/37, NDRO B867/1/19/13). These show a sub-rectangular enclosure about 40ft by 30ft with a semi-circular enclosure annexed to one side. An excavation trench 18ft by 3ft is shown across the wall of the main enclosure on the Miles archive plan; the NDRO plan is more detailed (Figure 5). Trench plans and section drawings together with index cards giving some layer details are also in the Miles archive (2/36). The drawings show that the trench was originally only 12 feet long but was extended by 3 feet at each end to explore the area away from the wall. Two layers were recorded beneath the turf, an upper ‘Black ? occupation’ layer containing ‘small pieces of pot, slates, charcoal [and] one pebble with a bruised faces’ and a lower ‘occupation layer’ which also contained pottery. The section drawing shows a wall with vertical faces 0.75m high.



**Figure 5:** Middle Park II. Based on the site plan (2/37), trench plan and section (2/36) in the Miles archive and NDRO plan (B867/1/19/13). The grey area on the plan is the location of the wall as shown on the trench plan (2/36), which is narrower than the stones shown on the site plan and crosses the trench at right angles. Note that the section drawing does not show the full length of the trench which was subsequently extended by three feet at each end. The direction of north appears to be incorrectly indicated on the trench plan and sections



Blaylock (2010, 25), following the NT SMR, says that Gardner excavated in both enclosures but provides no evidence for this. She suggests that the larger enclosure is a medieval longhouse, partly destroying an earlier hut circle, which seems to be a slight misreading of the NT SMR which suggested it was a 'a stock enclosure to a long-house, which sits within a much bigger tenement enclosure, similar in form and shape to Widow's Tenement'. The pottery is prehistoric and includes Late Bronze Age Plain Ware (Quinnell, 2010, 25, 35); the absence of medieval pottery would argue against domestic use at this date, although the survival of the vertical wall faces might suggest that it is more recent than the Bronze Age.

One of Gardner's maps (NDRO B867/5/1/8) shows a third site in Middle Park (MP III) 50m south of the west end of Halfway Wall. This appears to be a trench but is 44m long and nearly 9m wide, which is clearly too large. The site is shown as an earthwork on the NT survey with its east end coinciding with a field bank that is also shown as a pencil line on Gardner's map. The NT SMR (108252) describes the foundations of a rectangular building and suggests that it might be a longhouse. There does not appear to be any evidence that Gardner excavated here; it may have been planned.

There is also a detailed plan of a 'round tower' (NDRO B867/1/19/18). This gives the grid reference 136446 which locates it to NT SMR 108128, a prominent mound just south of Threequarter Wall. There is no indication that Gardner excavated here and early descriptions (Chanter, 1877, 45) suggest that the central depression is an old feature. Chanter (1877, 45) suggested in the 1870s that 'the descriptions that have been handed down' say that the ruin was the remains of a round tower similar to those of early medieval Ireland. He says the inner diameter is 15 feet (4.5m); the NT survey says 3m by 5m, and the Gardner drawing shows it about 6.5m. Gardner (1972, 21) suggests that 'current opinion is divided between its being a robbed burial cairn and the base of a windmill'.

### *Acland's Moor*

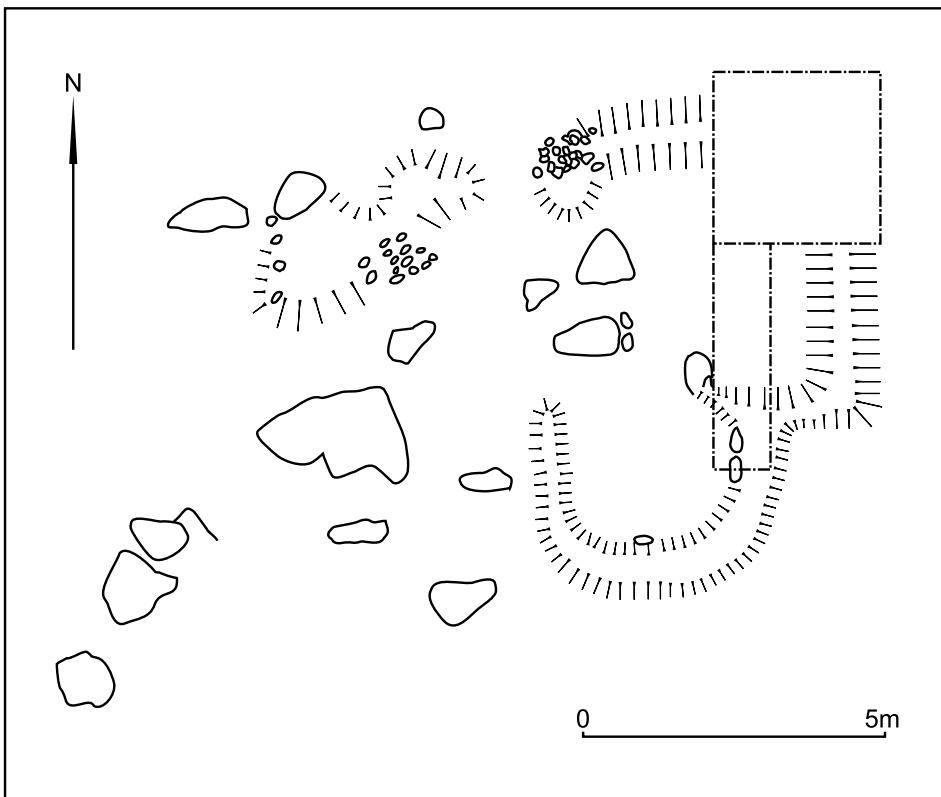
Two sites were investigated in 1967 but their locations are confused. Gardner (1968, 44) describes the first (AM I) as 'remains of rough cobble foundations' at SS132446 and the other (AM II) as a 'hut circle (?) within larger circle of stones. Fallen orthostats with traces of cobble backing' at SS13154475. Gardner's marked Ordnance Survey map (NDRO B867/5/1/9) shows the two locations at the grid references given (i.e. AM I to the south and AM II to the north) and his photographs show both excavations: AM I as a square excavation full of rubble and AM II as a deeper rectangular trench with two large stones, although some of the more distant shots titled AM I are clearly of AM II.

The NT SMR identifies these as their site numbers 108390 (northern) and 108406 (southern) but states that Gardner 'must be mistaken' in his published description of the sites (NT SMR 108406) and that the AM numbers are transposed. They thus describe the northern site (NT SMR 108390) as that with the cobbles. This seems to be correct as examination of the northern site in 2019 identified the rocks visible in the background of Gardner's photographs of AM I. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy as Gardner worked on both sites in the same year and it is hard to believe that he did not realise that the site with the cobbles lay to the north of the other. Locating AM II in 2019 was harder as Gardner's photographs show it in an area of bracken with few distinctive rocks. The Old Light is visible in the background of several photos and by aligning the buildings in

the same relative positions on site it is suggested that it lay at SS13204463 which is NT SMR 108406. The pottery from AM II was identified by Quinnell (2010, 25) who correlates this to NT SMR 108390 but to the grid reference of NT SMR 108406. No closer dating than of prehistoric type was possible.

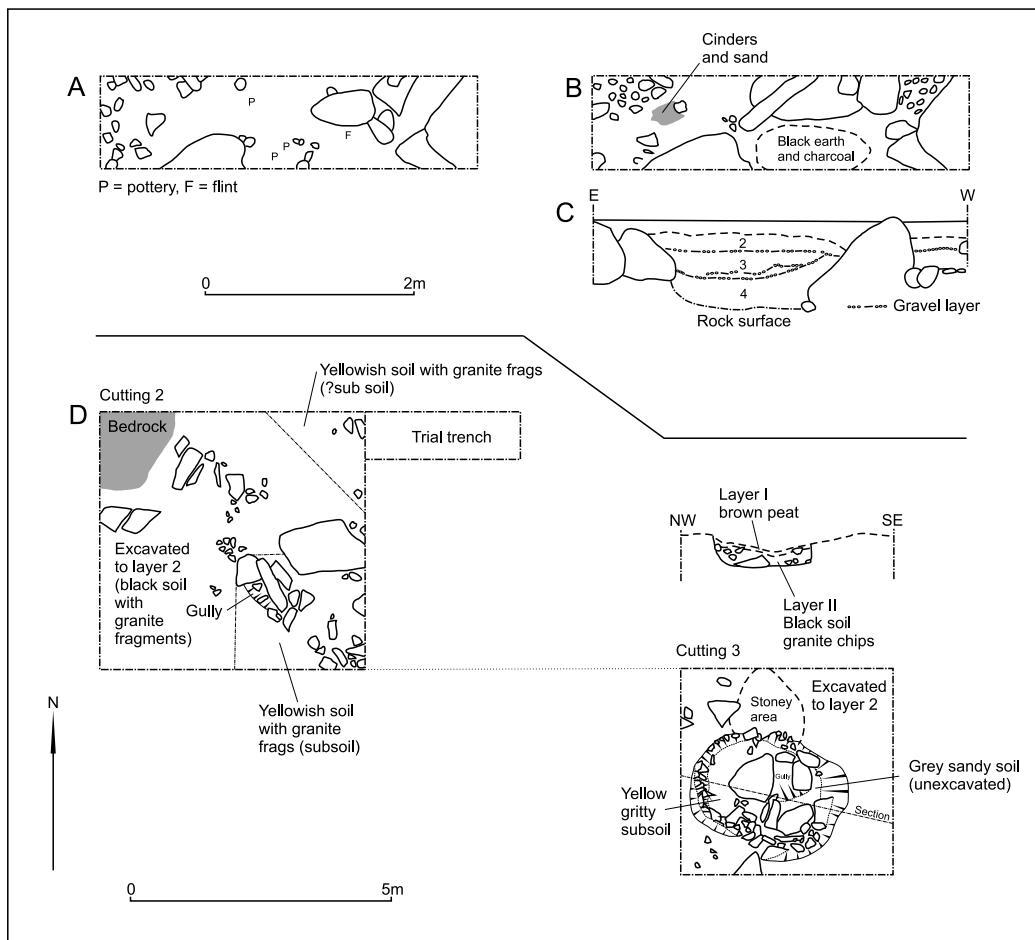
All Gardner's excavation records and photographs are consistent in their description and depiction of AM I and AM II so that in the account that follows these numbers will be used to identify the excavations irrespective of confusion about the locations.

Acland's Moor I is recorded on a single record card and three copies of an overall site plan (NDRO B867/1/19/9, B867/5/2/1, Figure 6). There are no known excavation plans or sections, probably as little considered significant was encountered. The card is dated August 1967 and records that an area 9 feet square was stripped of turf revealing a scatter of stones. These were removed from a 3ft wide section on the west side of the square which revealed larger stones suggested to be a wall foundation, although no wall faces were apparent. Slate and one piece of coal were recovered but no pottery. The rubble was then removed from the remainder of the excavation which again revealed larger stones 'in situ' but no pattern was evident. A fragment of flint was found. The trench was then extended by a 12ft long, 3ft wide cutting sited to cross a low mound suspected as being a buried wall. Larger stones appeared to match this location with less stone to the north of the wall than to the south where it is described as 'suggestive of tumble'. The only finds here were two small pieces of charcoal and two foreign stones.



**Figure 6:** Acland's Moor I. Based on NDRO B867/5/2/1. Only the initial 9ft square trench is shown on the plan; the position of the later extension is inferred from the description

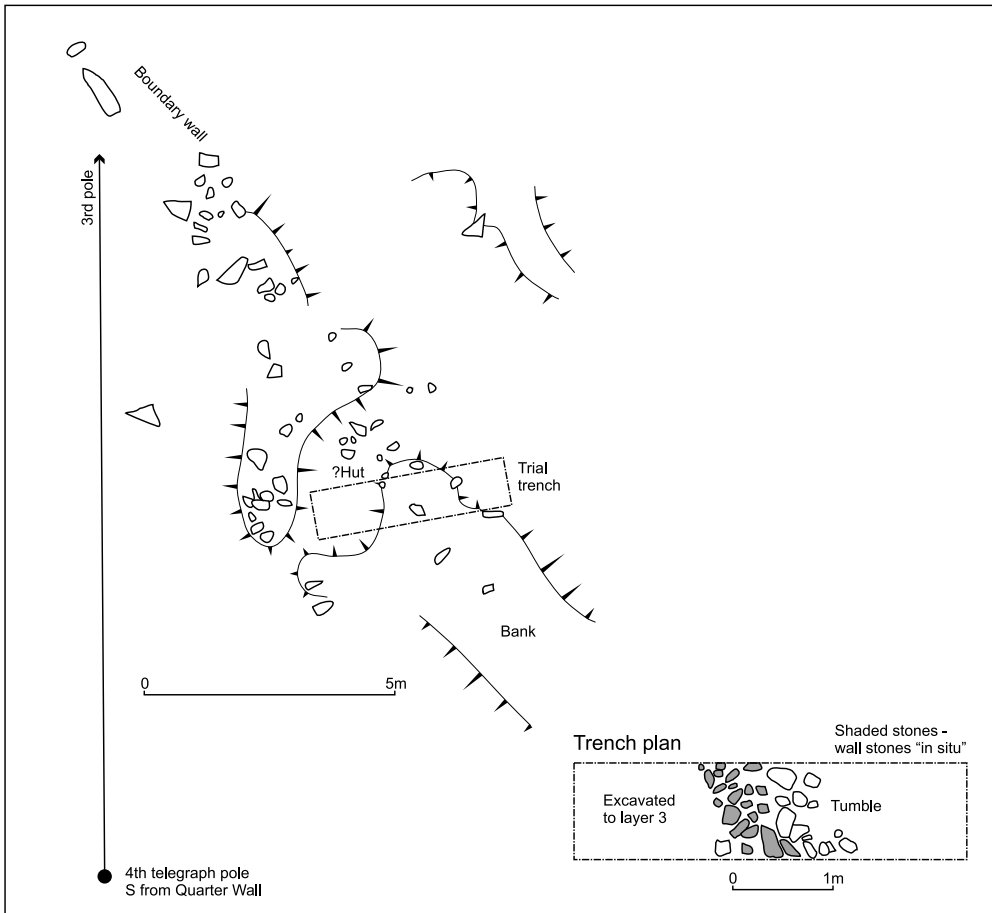
The 1967 season at Acland's Moor II is recorded on four record cards with copies of plans and sections (NDRO B867/1/19/9, Figure 7). The cards record are dated August and report the removal of turf over a 9ft by 3ft area 'between oval ?arrangements of stones'. Removal of the layer beneath this recovered small fragments of slate, pottery and daub, and revealed more stones. The trench was extended by 3ft eastwards to reach 'a fallen orthostat'. Beneath this was a black layer (3) which appeared 'to be changing to rough sandy granite' but still contained charcoal and burnt granite fragments with small fragments of pottery. Layer 4 was a sandy dark brown layer with granite fragments; 'several fragments of chert, one small stone axe and thick rough pot fragments' were on this layer. There were also slates with 'fabricated notches'. The 'occupation layer ended in grey sandy substance and disintegrated granite. 2 rough granite artefacts found in this layer. Trench cleaned down to bedrock and section drawn'.



**Figure 7:** Acland's Moor II. A) Plan at surface of layer 2. B) Plan at surface of layer 3. C) drawing of the south side of the trench. Based on several, sometimes contradictory, copies of plans in NDRO (B867/1/19/9). The differences between the plans clearly show that most stones were drawn sketchily. D) Plan and section of 1969 trenches 2 and 3. Based on plans in NDRO (B867/1/19/9)

The site was revisited in 1969 but the only evidence is plans of two large (5m and 4m square) trenches near the 1967 trench. There are also undated plans, lists and diagrams that suggest the site was being considered as a stone circle. This hypothesis may have led to the extension of the excavation with the aim of assessing if any of the stones were artificially positioned and Trench 3 appears to show an excavated stone hole. No written materials are known to survive so it is hard to assess the thinking behind this or the results.

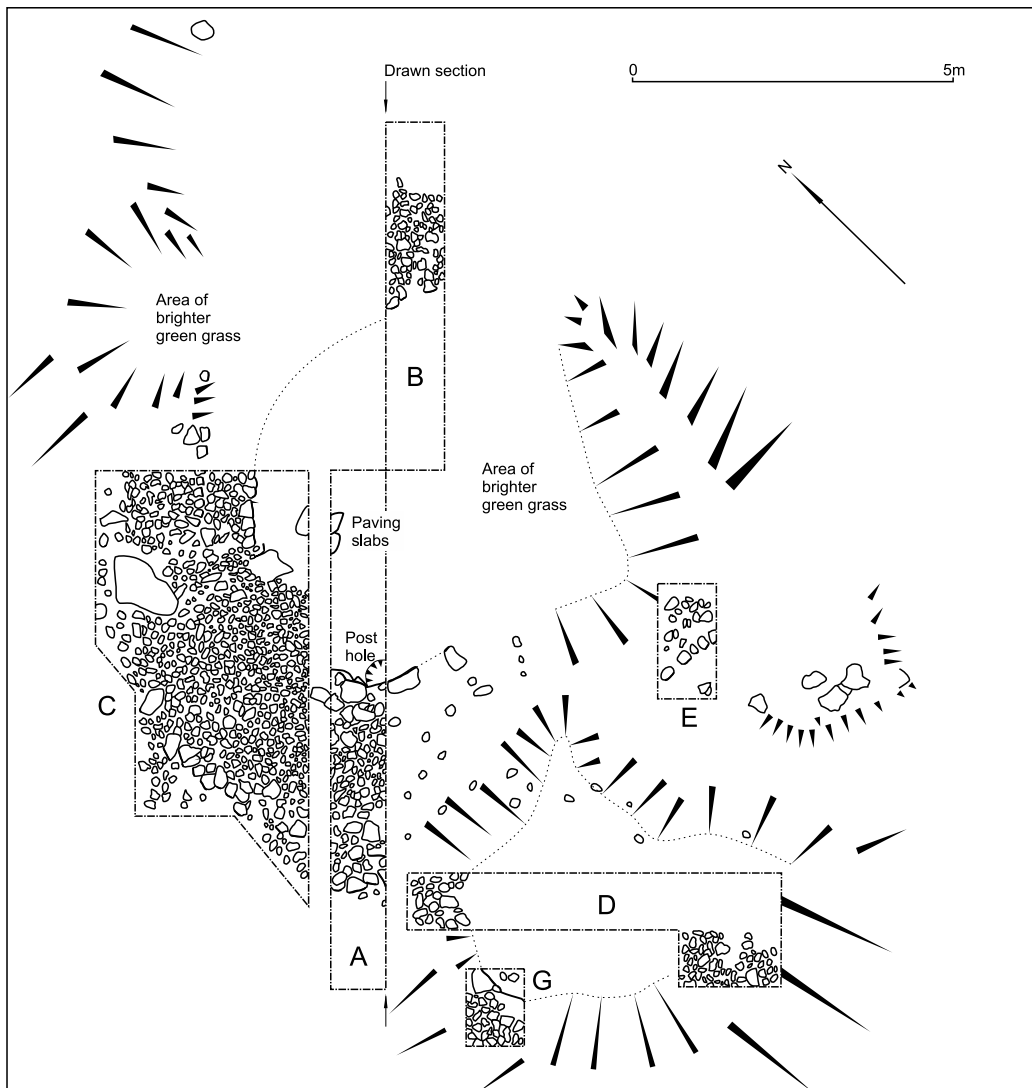
Gardner's annotated Ordnance Survey map (NDRO B867/5/1/9) also shows the location of AM III at SS12994485 and there is a plan of the site with a trench marked (NDRO B867/1/19/9, Figure 8). The plan shows a survey of a 'boundary wall' with a possible hut incorporated into it. A detailed plan of the trial trench shows the stones of the wall but does not appear to have confirmed the presence of the hut. The site plan is located relative to two of the telegraph poles which formerly linked the North and South lighthouses. These have been removed and the exact location of the plan is uncertain as there is a single slide (276, dated 1969) showing the 'AM III', but no excavation. This can be located to SS13004480, some 50m from the mapped location, south along the west side path. The NT SMR and survey plan are devoid of records in this area.



**Figure 8:** Acland's Moor III. Plan of earthwork survey and trial trench. The plan is related to a base line running between telegraph posts that have now been removed

***Beacon Hill hut circle***

The largest of several hut circles to the south of the Old Light was excavated in 1966. Gardner (1965-66, 30) describes it as 'a circular hut with 9ft thick cobble wall lined on the inside with granite slabs'. Finds included 'a poor barbed and tanged arrowhead and a quantity of coarse pottery, again of the same broad SW type of the first few centuries BC.' A plan and a section drawing survive in the Miles archive (2/27, 2/28, Figure 9), together with a catalogue of the stone finds, a box of the stone finds and three photographs (Plate 1). There are also copies of plans in the Gardner archive (NDRO B867/1/19/8, B867/5/2/1). The pottery is described by Quinnell (2010, 36) as Late Bronze Age Plain Ware. Similar material was recovered from Thomas's excavation in the cemetery, suggesting a Late Bronze Age settlement of several houses in the area (Quinnell, 2010, 43).

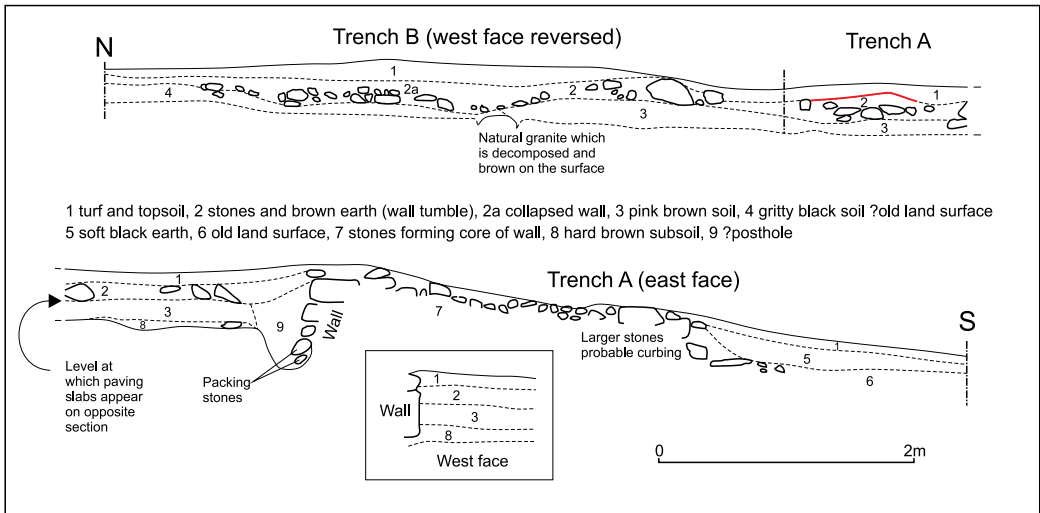


**Figure 9:** Beacon Hill hut excavation. Composite of two plans (NDRO B867/5/2/1 and Miles 2/27). Trench F is indicated to be 'across field bank' off the top of the plan



**Plate 1:** Beacon Hill Hut excavation. View of excavation looking south.  
Photo: Miles archive 1/3

The plans and section seem to show a more complex structure than described by Gardner, with what appears to be a subsidiary structure to the S (Figure 9, trench D and G) and little evidence of walling to the east. The section appears to show a layer (Figure 10, Layer 3) within the walls, possibly derived from occupation though this is not suggested, which is cut by a posthole (9) adjacent to the wall. There are also two very thin layers, one of charcoal overlying one of sand, shown below the topsoil. The extent of these are not shown on any of the plans.



**Figure 10:** Beacon Hill hut excavation. Composite section of trench A and B. The inset shows the west face with layers uninterrupted by the post hole. The red line indicates the location of a thin layer of charcoal above one of sand that are too thin to draw.

Based on Miles 2/28

Two other trenches (Sites II and III) are shown on a plan of the area (NDRO B867/5/2/2) which also shows the hut circle excavations and a section across a lynchet (see below). These appear to be sited to target hut circles (Site III, NT SMR 108510 and Site II, probably 108513 or 108511). An index card and three photographs (NDRO B867/1/19/8) may refer to one of these trenches although the orientation of neither trench matches the location of the church shown in the background. The card is captioned 'Beacon Hill X' and dated September 1967 and describes the finding of a 'rough wall with no inner face' but that no 'signs of habitation' were encountered. The photographs show the excavators working immediately after the removal of turf.

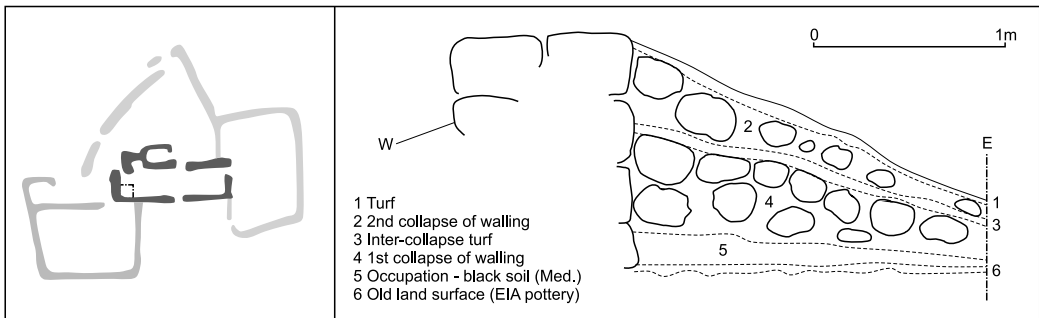
In 1969, Peter Fowler excavated a trench across a lynchet to the south of the cemetery. This receives only a brief mention (Thomas *et al.*, 1969, 17); no dating evidence was obtained but the soil had collected beside and over a stone field wall probably relating to the hut circles. A possible location is shown across a lynchet (NT SMR 108506) running NE from the hut circle to the cemetery wall on the plan (NDRO B867/5/2/2). This is referred to as Trench F on the plan in the Miles archive (2/17).

### Medieval

Large quantities of medieval pottery are present in the Miles archive from the sites of Bull's Paradise and Pig's Paradise in the village. It is intended to publish a full account of these excavations subsequently and only the other medieval sites on the island are described below.

### *Widow's Tenement*

A cutting 6ft square was made in the south-west corner of the rectangular main building in the settlement at Widow's Tenement. As well as the prehistoric pottery described above, medieval pottery of thirteenth century date was recovered from below the wall collapse (Gardner, 1964, 30). A photocopy of a plan of the farmstead and the section drawing from the excavation survives in the Miles archive (2/16, 2/42, Figure 11) but there are no medieval finds. There are some overall plans of the settlement in the NDRO (B867/1/19/4, B867/5/2/4) and a published plan by Philip Rahtz (Gardner, 1972, 24; Gardner, 2006, 74).



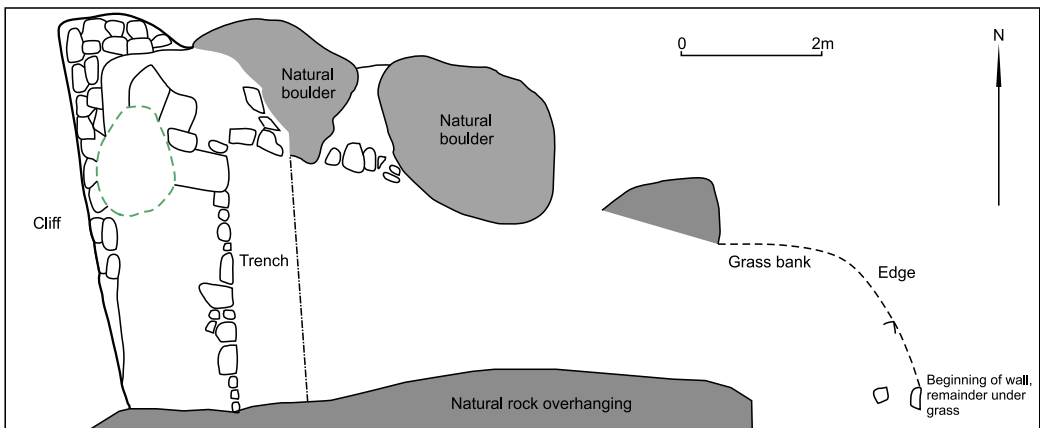
**Figure 11:** Widow's Tenement. Left, plan based on that by Rahtz (reproduced in Gardner, 1972, 24; Gardner, 2006, 74) with added trench location. Right, section based on Miles 2/42 showing north side of trench. It is clear from photographs that this is highly stylised. The EIA pottery is now considered to be late Bronze Age (Quinnell, 2010, 25, 34, 35)

**Jenny's Cove I**

In 1966 a revetted masonry platform (NT SMR 108223, Plate 2) was being tidied for photography and sherds of 'thirteenth-century pottery' were recovered (Gardner, 1966, 31). This led to a small excavation which 'produced nothing of later date'. The pottery is described as comparable to that from the Bull's Paradise excavation and further work on finds from there may provide a better date. Perhaps surprisingly there are no records or finds from this site in the Miles archive but three plans and an index card survive in the NDRO (B867/1/19/1, Figure 12). The card is dated August 1966 and describes: 'Topsoil removed from trench 3ft wide from interior of wall along west side. Very friable and much burrowed by rabbits and bees. Pieces of thirteenth-century pot found on a level 3" down. Yellow ?clay subsoil at 10 inches down, solid, one small pottery fragment and broken granite bits. Bedrock at 1 ft 4 inches, present depth of wall at corner 1 ft 9 inches'.



**Plate 2:**  
Jenny's Cove I.  
The west face of the 'mangonel battery' platform showing the walls built on the natural granite outcrop. Photo: author



**Figure 12:** Jenny's Cove I. Plan of the 'mangonel battery' platform showing location of trench. On the original pencil drawing the area enclosed by a dashed green line is believed to be intended for vegetation. Based on two sets of plans in NDRO B867/1/19/1



Gardner identified the site as a defence work and given the evidence of the medieval pottery suggested that it could have been used as the standing for a mangonel, for which there is documentary evidence in 1222 (Gardner, 1966, 31). The location however seems rather precarious for a large siege engine and getting the engine onto the platform would not have been easy (Figure 12). The description of the scheduled monument (National Heritage List for England entry 1016032) considers that 'It seems to have been designed as a platform for musketeers rather than cannon.' The compilers of the schedule entry seem unaware of the medieval date provided by the pottery but are certainly correct that the site is too high above the water for effective cannon use. As they note, the site, and another similar one (NT SMR 108224) lower down to the south-west, overlook the path from the landing place in the cove so the interpretation as a musketry, or archery, position seems most reasonable. It is also possible that the pottery might be residual from a destroyed medieval structure on the site or nearby.

The other platform (NT SMR 108224) mentioned above does not seem to have been investigated in detail by Gardner although a slide (483) labels it as JC II. It is described by the NT SMR as 'roughly square in shape (c.6m×c.6m) and has been raised. Dry stonework is visible on the north side, c.2m high and extending from the base of a rock buttress seawards to the edge of a deep gully.' Examination in 2014 and 2019 showed a feature somewhat different in character at the location on the NT survey: a wall c.10m long running west from the rock buttress to meet the natural rock again at a deep rift. There was no indication of a platform behind the wall where the ground sloped up naturally and, as it blocks a route around the buttress, an interpretation as a western completion of Halfway Wall seems more plausible. It is also possible that the 'platform' lies elsewhere, though clearly not at the location mapped by Historic England (NHLE 1016033) as this faces the wrong way.

Two further sites are recorded only by the slides. JC III appears to be one of the small dams across a valley designed presumably to create stock ponds. JC V is a small patch of walling filling a gully on the sidelands.

### **Post-medieval and industrial**

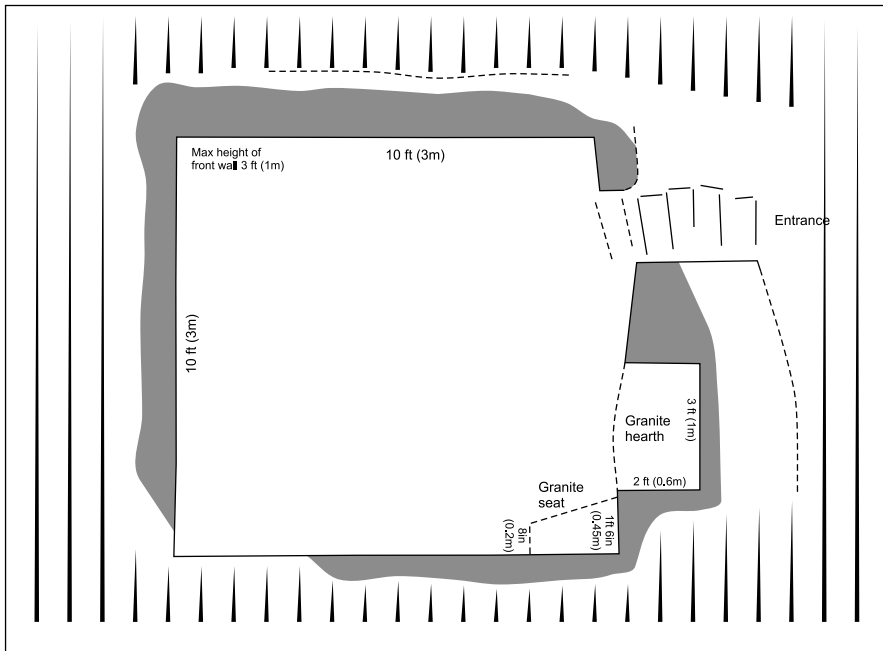
Four sites are listed as being recorded in detail at the North End in 1967 (Gardner, 1968, 41), and plans for all survive in the archives.

#### *Puffin Slope*

The site known as Puffin Slope is recorded as being explored in 1960 and described as a rectangular room with a large fireplace and adjacent granite seat (Dyke, 1960). It is suggested that it served as a 'guardroom for the North East Fortification and was possibly of the Civil War period'. Gardner later (1972) stated that there was a 'rough track' to the battery platform (NT SMR 108006, below). Two things hint at more recent use: Dyke, presumably relying on information from Gardner, says that the fireplace still showed traces of ash and that there was a collapsed sloping roof 'thatched with thrift'. It is not clear what the evidence for this roof was as he later says that 'all timber had been removed for kindling'. In 1967 when the site was planned, all this had presumably gone; the plan only shows the walls with the fireplace in the east wall and the door and seat to either side (Miles archive 2/30b, Figure 13, Plate 3). The description in the NT SMR

(108004) says that most of the ‘building’s horizontal surfaces are buried under a thick layer of overhanging thrift’ which is presumably what was interpreted as thatch. Both Gardner (1972) and the NT liken the structure to John O’Groat’s House (below). When visited in 2019 the site was in good condition under a thick blanket of thrift which had filled the room to the depth of the north wall and buried the ‘seat’. The location of the entrance was similarly covered. The building is cut deeply into the hillside with its south wall about 2m high and a much lower wall to the north which continues down on the exterior as a retaining wall for the floor. The only real point of similarity to John O’Groat’s House would appear to be the presence of a well-constructed fireplace, although the design is not similar.

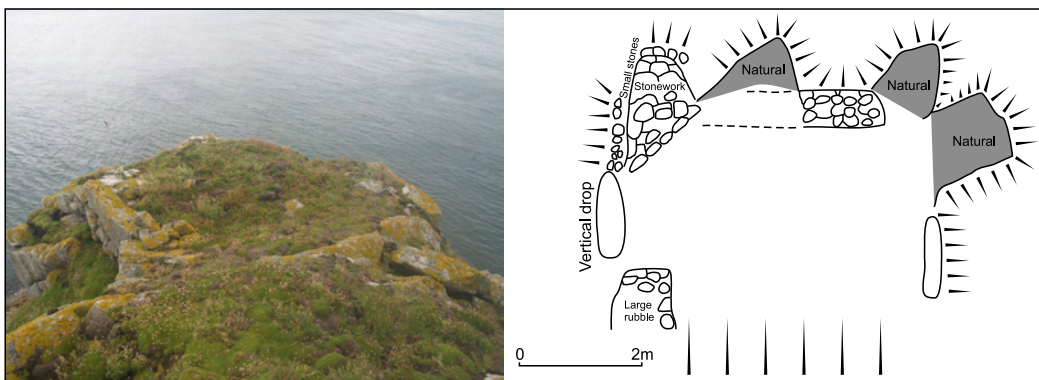
**Plate 3:** Puffin Slope.  
From the west,  
showing the fireplace  
with the site of the  
door to the left and  
the top of the  
retaining wall in the  
left foreground.  
Photo: author



**Figure 13:** Puffin slope. Plan (not to scale) based on Miles 2/30b. North to top

### *North East Battery*

About 50m to the east of the Puffin Slope building lies the NE Battery (NT SMR 108006), described as an earthen gun platform about 5m square revetted by a drystone wall (Thackray, 1989). Two plans, one a copy of the other, survive in the Miles archive (2/30, Figure 14) together with three photographs and a note explaining the difficulties encountered when surveying. It is clear from the differences between the plans that the rubble is shown schematically and they do not give a good impression of the structure though they do show it as 16ft by 12ft (5×3.5m). The NT SMR says the site is 3m square and likens the site to the ‘mangonel battery’ (NT SMR 108223, above), though the Miles photographs show the walling here as rougher rubble than the well-laid masonry at the other site (Plate 2). The NT SMR also notes the presence of a rough track between the Puffin Slope building and the battery and also a length of wall (NT SMR 108005) but does not say if the two are coincident. When visited in 2019, the site survived in good condition with rough walling retaining the platform. There were few signs of the supposed trackway, particularly at the platform end where rock outcrops had to be negotiated for access, and the wall could not be found. Both sites are about 30m above the water, so may be related though this would be too high for effective cannon fire. It seems more likely that the Puffin Slope building is later and connected, perhaps, with seabird harvesting.



**Figure 14:** NE Battery. Left, in 2019. Right, plan based on Miles 2/30c. NNE to the top

### *North East Watch*

Above the NE Point just below the edge of the plateau is a third structure, called the NE Watch by Gardner (1968, 41). Two plans, four photographs and a note survive in the Miles archive (2/31a-d). The plans, although clearly titled, are very sketchy and at first sight appear to show two different structures, one (2/31c) an irregular platform and the other (2/31d) a rectangular walled structure with a door at the south end of the east wall. The note describes the east wall: ‘where clearly visible, [it] is “stepped” as shown on the plan. But it is not clear over much of its length, externally. At its north end it does not, I think, return westward, and may only serve as a revetment to the natural slope.’ Plan 2/31d shows a westward return of the wall that fades to its west end and no western wall is depicted. There is no indication of the rectangular structure on plan 2/31c but it must be the same site as the drawing also shows the upper and top faces of the stepped wall.

The NT SMR (108007) provides yet another description: ‘A rectangular building platform with an internal partition, [which] consists of tumbled wall, c.1m wide by 0.2m high. Possible bank on southern edge and cut into the slope on the western side’. In 2019 the site was partly overgrown with bracken and the only obvious feature was a ruined wall running north-south across what appeared to be a natural platform in the granite. To the west of this was a sunken area with a bank along the northern side. It is possible that the NT survey saw the whole terrace as artificial with the surviving wall as the partition but this is clearly not what Gardner’s plans show. Although it is difficult to reconcile them, they both show a nearly square room 2.9 or 2.7m by 2.25m and describe a step along the base of the east wall. This could not be found in 2019 but the site is much more overgrown than shown in 1967 photographs.

### *John O’Groat’s House*

This (NT SMR 108008) lies about 90m to the west of the North East Watch on a slight rise in the plateau; it appears to have been built on a cairn (NT SMR 108009). The 1966 plan shows a rectangular, single-roomed structure, internally 5.5 by 3.2m, with a door in the east wall, a fireplace towards the east end of the north wall and a possible window cill in the west wall. A long stone is shown below the window and annotated ‘bench’ with another stone at an angle in the north-west corner. This site is much visited and has undergone some changes since the plan was drawn; the south-east corner has been disturbed and the window is now blocked up by crude walling. Some of these changes are apparent in the NT survey drawing (reproduced in Thackray & Blaylock, 2002) where the south-east corner is less disturbed and the diagonal stone at the north-east has been turned to form part of the bench.

Steinman (1836) calls it Johnny Groats House and describes it as a small cottage at the north point, which suggests that it was roofed at that date. The Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1820 also shows it roofed but in 1787 it had been described as the remains of a house or room 23ft by 10ft (Chrymes, 1824). The name is suggested to have originated when the building was let for shooting to some Scotsmen but it is probably just a jocular name for somewhere ‘far’ to the north.

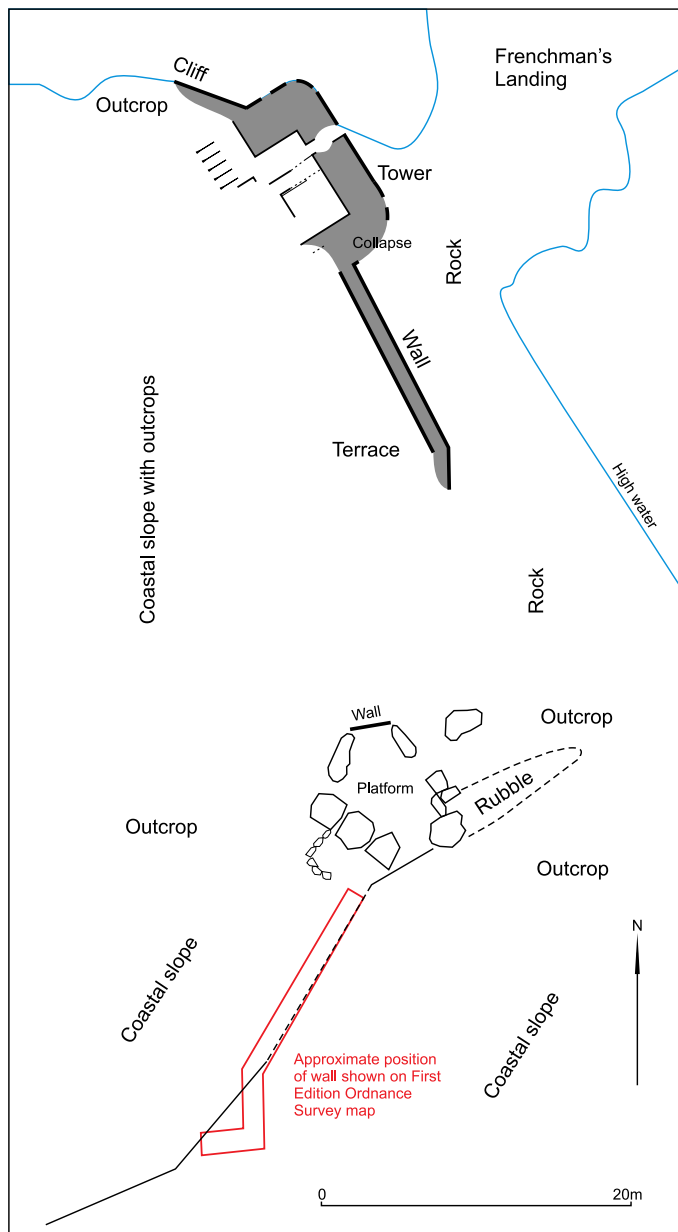
The NT SMR describes additional features recorded in the survey in 1990: ‘a protruding wall from the western wall face and possibly the remains of a terrace associated with this feature. This may indicate the presence of a stack.’ It is not clear what relationship was proposed between this and the fireplace evident in the north wall. The north wall fireplace is not centrally positioned as described by the NT survey but lies closer to the door, possibly suggesting the former presence of an internal partition dividing the building into two rooms of equal size. There is an appropriately located change in the opposite wall which may support this interpretation. The building has been associated with the various defence works nearby but the NT survey suggests that it may have been a seasonal shelter for shepherds. Neither suggestion is particularly convincing, and others are possible such as the processing of collected seabirds.

### *Brazen Ward*

This is the most complex and complete of the defensive sites and was surveyed in 1967 (Gardner, 1968, 41-2). The plan was redrawn for publication by John Dyke, misinterpreting and simplifying some features of the original, which was prepared

by Norman Quinnell of the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division with Gardner (Figure 15). The plan in the Miles archive (1/4) shows the wall in the northern part of the site with a structure of at least two rooms towards its northern end. To the south, just beyond a spur, are further structures built of drystone walling between natural boulders around a revetted platform. These appear to continue further southwards for some distance. The coast to the north of Brazen Ward is shown with a further section of walling 150m to the north, which is known as the Mousehole and Trap battery (NT SMR 108046).

**Figure 15:** Brazen Ward. Based on plan by Norman Quinnell and Keith Gardner (Miles archive 1/4) with details from site survey (2019) and Ordnance Survey first edition mapping



The southern room was excavated by Gardner who notes ‘S. room cleared: pebble floor at 7ft. form [sic] top of wall? Store room for powder: Pottery of ? 16th cent’ (Gardner, 1968a, 44). The plan shows that only the northern half of the room was excavated and it remains in this state today. A section drawing (NDRO B867/1/19/11) shows a single stony infill and there is a letter in the Miles archive (1/33) which explains Gardner’s reasoning for the suggestion of gunpowder storage. Some of the sherds recovered were covered with a ‘black, pitch-like residue’ that Gardner suggested could have been produced by burning sulphur and he enclosed two sherds on which he had experimented. He does not seem to have been convinced as the letter ends: ‘although it is probably only ships tar’.

The pottery survives in the Miles archive and has been re-examined by David Dawson who identifies two ware types, both probably from north Devon and dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, see Appendix. The pottery is in three numbered bags but in the absence of any recording of stratigraphy it is not known what differentiates them, although the third bag contains the sherds with the 'sulphur' deposits. As no distinction can be seen in the pottery types it seems possible that they were simply collected on different days.

The defences seem to have been based on a wall, over 1.5m high on the inside and over 4m on the outside, intended to prevent access to the island from the large flat rock that acts as a natural quay and is known as Frenchman's Landing. The wall is built off a natural rock terrace and is characterised in its lower parts by the use of very large unshaped stones that have been carefully chosen to fit together. These appear to have been brought to course, above which the wall stones tend to be smaller, squarer and sometimes coursed. The southern end is problematic as it would have made more sense to continue the wall to the next outcrop, as noticed in the NT SMR whose compiler wonders if the defences were incomplete. Quinnell's plan however, shows the wall curving inland before fading away which would argue against this. From below, however, this turn can be seen to have been forced by an inturn in the natural rock and there is no visible evidence that the wall continued. It makes little sense for the wall to end here as this is the easiest place to climb up from below and it is possible that the wall did continue and has been entirely removed by wave action in this less protected location.

The structure at the northern end may be the base of a tower as it projects from the wall line. If it is as late in date as the pottery suggests, bastion might be a more appropriate term but if so, it is much less formally designed than the outer defences of the castle. The walls of this tower are about 2.5m thick and built of small stones like the top section of the main wall. The room inside is 6.5m by 3.2m and is divided by a partition 1.1m thick that is not jointed to the outer wall and probably not to the inner. The wall appears to have collapsed on its south side at the eastern end although this could be a product of the excavation that has removed half the fill of this compartment. The northern compartment has an opening in the east wall 0.8m wide on the inside; the sides do not seem to be splayed which would suggest a narrow door rather than a window or embrasure. The inner side has been walled up with roughly laid squared stone and filled with rubble walling that has partly eroded outwards. The room behind seems to have no rear (west) wall, just a very steep grass slope that appears artificial and forms an entrance into the structure. The junction between the tower and wall is obscured by a great deal of collapse but one area of face survives to show the join but not enough to confirm any temporal relationship. If this structure is to be interpreted as a tower, it is curious that the tops of all the walls survive to the same height but this may be explained, as with the main wall, because it was unfinished.

Behind the wall is a flattened area, containing large boulders and outcrops, that continues towards a buttress of natural rock before the coast turns inland. Part of the north side of this buttress has been walled in similar large fitted blocks to that of the lower part of the main wall and this supports a platform, partly retained by natural boulders and partly by low stone walling. Projecting east from this is another platform

bounded by low stone walls with a slightly domed rubble fill. This seems too narrow for guns or archers and may be the lower courses of another piece of walling. To the south-west, Quinnell's plan shows a line of stone and careful examination in 2019 shows that this represents an intermittent wall, occasionally of up to three courses, running along the slope for an unknown distance. The steep slope of the ground is the same above and below this wall face, which presumably must have revetted a now-lost infill, perhaps with a wall-walk on the top. One of Keith Gardner's slides (467) shows a more substantial section of masonry and the 1886 Ordnance Survey map (Devonshire sheet IVA.6) shows a wall here with what appears to be a small angle bastion at the south end which is not shown on more recent maps.

The pottery cannot be used to date the construction of the structures as it is all from a phase of infilling, or possibly collapse of upper storeys, but does indicate use of the site in the early post-medieval period.

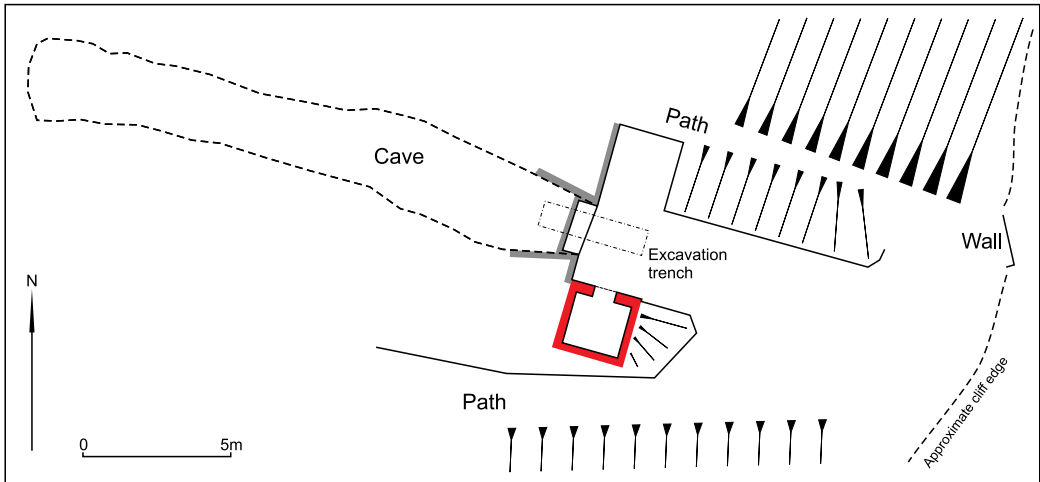
### *Tibbetts*

An excavation near the Admiralty lookout on Tibbetts Hill is mentioned in 1969 when a small rectangular feature was trenched and found to be of nineteenth century date (Thomas *et al.*, 1969, 17). A single photograph in Gardner's slide collection (209), shows the trench to the south of the lookout and aligned on its west wall. There are also plans (NDRO B867/1/19/9, B867/1/19/17), captioned 'Tibbets A', which may be this site and appear to show the north end of a stone-walled rectilinear building with a curving earth bank over, or forming, the southern end. No excavation trench is shown. Gardner suggested that the excavated structure was a stonemason's lodge associated with the building of the lookout but there has clearly been a lot of ground disturbance here and in the absence of any recorded evidence for a date, the structure could be of any, or several, dates. This disturbance continues, with prehistoric pottery being picked up from the area in 1989 (Schofield & Webster, 1989, 43) and 2017 (author).

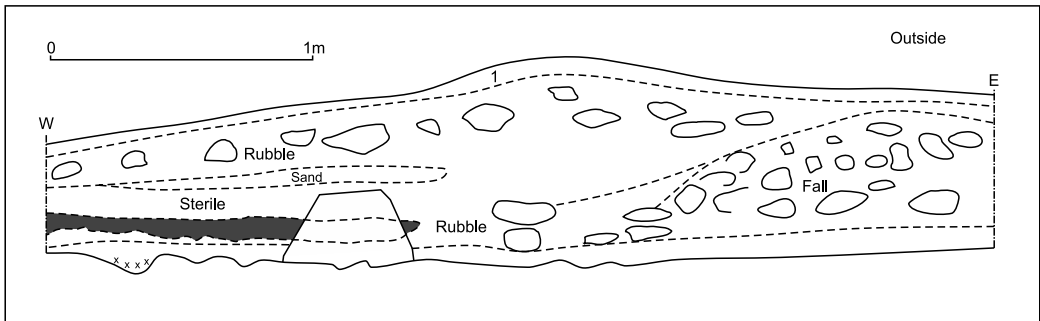
### *Benson's Cave*

Benson's Cave is an artificial chamber driven into the Morte slate geology below and to the east of the castle. A small excavation was undertaken in 1966 (Gardner, 1966, 31) and an overall plan survives in the Miles archive (2/26, Figure 16) with trench plans, sections and survey notes in NDRO B867/1/19/15 (Figure 17). The overall plan shows the level approach cutting dug WNW into the hill which widens sharply to form two square areas to north and south.

The southern one is brick-lined with a brick wall and doorway facing into the approach. The bricks appear to be local to the island with granite inclusions visible and have been laid in a hard, white mortar which also survives as a thick render in places. The roof is a brick barrel vault running north-south with a layer of slate above it. A parapet of edge-laid bricks retains the slates at the west end and has probably fallen from elsewhere. The whole roof has been filled to recreate the natural slope and is now grass covered. Inside, the only features are two slots at the east end of the north and south walls which will have held a wooden bench. The northern is empty but the southern retains a piece of sawn timber. There is a mortar scar marking the position of the bench on the wall. The door has a cement mortar scar for a recent door frame.



**Figure 16:** Benson's Cave. Based on plan in Miles archive (2/16) and site survey (2019)



**Figure 17:** Benson's Cave. Section drawing of N side of trench. Only layer 1 is numbered and several of the dividing lines are very sketchily drawn. The dark layer is clearly the black mud and the clay pipes in a depression are probably marked with x. Based on a drawing in NDRO B867/1/19/15



**Plate 4:** The entrance to Benson's Cave in 2019. Part of the brick structure can be seen on the left. The castle is visible on the hilltop above. Photo: author



The opposite side may have been intended to match and be unfinished. It is currently rubble filled but natural stone seems to be visible extending into the area at the base of the eastern side. The western side is retained by a squared granite block wall which also extends behind the brick room to the south. The low entrance to the cave interrupts this wall and has a large irregular granite lintel (Plate 4). Above the lintel the wall face is set back while to either side the wall face appears to have been carried up giving the appearance of buttresses. The lower part of the wall returns into the cave until it meets the rock faces. The cave is much higher than the entrance; the upper part of the wall is visible from inside the cave above the lintel. Beyond this the cave widens and the roof rises until it comes to a sudden end at 19m.

Outside the cave the entrance cutting runs east for 13m before a vertical drop formed by a geological dyke; small paths lead north and south from here turning back up the hill on either side of the cave. Below the east end of the northern path is a masonry wall eroding out of the cliff face possibly with a right-angled turn or end. This is best seen from below or across the gap from the South Light. The upper part of the wall is composed of three courses of squared granite blocks above a levelling course of thinner slabs of dyke material. Below this the wall is poorly coursed rubble including both types of stone.

The earliest plan of the castle (Grose, 1776) shows the cave, described as 'Subterranean vault', with the two paths, and a capstan shown and labelled on the cliff top. Instead of the current vertical cliff face, a ridge is shown running from the east which is labelled 'Lametry Neck'. The two wider areas in front of the cave entrance are shown but the brick building is not, and there is no indication of the wall on the cliff edge.

The 1966 plan shows a trench 12ft by 3ft dug through the entrance. Gardner (1966, 31) reports that the excavation 'revealed a disturbed section producing coal, shells, bones, iron, clay pipe fragments or pottery of 17th-19th century'. The note and record cards in NDRO B867/1/19/15 are confusing but seem to show that the excavation was based on overall 'layers' with notes of where these were not consistent. There are plans of the surface of these layers that are mostly uninformative since the layers were uniform, and on the section drawing only layer 1 is labelled (Figure 17). The note gives the following sequence; the two components to layers 1 and 2 may be inside and outside the cave.

- 1a) Rough topsoil mixed with pieces of shale and broken brick. 2 inches
- 1b) Texture of layer same. 19<sup>th</sup>-century pottery. Rabbit and bird bones.
- 2) +8". Rubble – pot, coal, rabbit bones  
+5". Rubble – sterile.
- 3) Close blackish mud.  
W -> 4'8" Mud / 5'3" Rubble (4) / Rock fall (5) and brick debris, coal and limpet and oyster and bird bones. Glazed pot 17c 18c.
- 6) +3". Floor and OL [Occupation layer]. Pipe stem, glass, iron, bones, shells, pottery  
Shale and patch of mortar.
- 7) Bed rock 18/19c pipe in depression.

The record cards give descriptions of layers 2 and 3:

Layer 2. Inside the cave at 15" depth rubble gave way to close blackish mud, from the limit of excavation to 4'8" towards the mouth of the cave. Rubble leading there from to [sic] rock fall at 9'11" mixed with brick debris and shell (?period when brick edifice was built).

Rock fall removed. Fair amount of anthracite mixed in. Bird bones limpet shells and 1 oyster shell. Fragments pottery (glazed) and brick. Fragment metal 18" down. 1'6" from S edge, 10" from S [overwritten, possibly has E underneath] edge. ?Floor and occupation level, pipe stem, glass fragments, metal. Note – this occurs 6ft down from underside of ‘capstone’ [lintel].

Layer 3. ?Floor taken down to bedrock approx. 3" below. Found to be merely decomposed shale with few bird-bones, limpet shells and fragments of brick and pottery. ? Patch of mortar towards back of cave (plan level 3).

In depression in bed-rock fragments of 19<sup>th</sup>-C pipe were found (?early archaeologists?).

Unfortunately, none of the finds is known to survive and it is probable that they were not retained in view of their modern date. The rock fall was presumably caused by the partial collapse of the structure above the entrance lintel, but there is no record of whether the fall was granite as used in the structure or the local bedrock slate. The presence of anthracite might support the appearance of the structure above the entrance as a fireplace, but again there is no record of whether the coal is burnt or not. The black layer may also suggest the storage of coal.

The depth of deposit in the cave is surprising. When originally cut the cave floor would have been bare rock and the dates of the finds within and below the fill suggest that this material has been imported to make a fairly level floor some 0.5m above the rock floor in the nineteenth century. This infilling continues outside the cave, and presumably into the brick building.

Gardner also notes that there were graffiti in the cave dating to 1726-50 but believed that the origins of the cave were more likely to be associated with Thomas Bushell in the Civil War, who was, amongst other things, a mining engineer. There is a list of the initials and dates in the Miles archive (1/73) which runs from 1709 to 1891 but it is not known when this was compiled or how it relates to Langham's record taken in about 1960 (Langham, 1989).

Benson's cave is an enigmatic structure and the excavations have added to the questions rather than provided answers. The cave itself is very tall and would have been taller before the infilling; while providing a large volume of storage most of it would have been out of reach. The low entrance would have prevented anything large being taken in, although this entrance may be a later alteration.

The brick building appears to post-date Grose (1776) and has the appearance of a gunpowder magazine, which might explain the late date of the finds found in the excavation. Apart from the design, the interpretation as a magazine seems unlikely as access would be difficult and exposed unless for a gun mounted on the edge of the cliff. Brick is an unusual material for Lundy, though the fieldname Brick Field suggests a location for their manufacture. Three brick buildings were found in the

castle excavations where they seem to have been of seventeenth century date (Thackray, 1985). Finally, the structure above the cave lintel is enigmatic. As noted above it has the appearance of a fireplace, which would imply a building above the level of the cave but none of the historical sources suggest this.

## CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the LFS excavated over 26 sites in the 1960s under the leadership of Keith Gardner but in common with most 'old' excavations the records are frustrating for the next generation of scholars, armed as they are with new questions and techniques. Gardner's work happened just before a major shift in excavation strategy when a belief in the primacy of the section drawing requiring the excavation of small trenches was replaced by area excavations recorded primarily in numerous plans. There was also a tendency to have fixed ideas before excavation that were proved or, less often, disproved by the digging. An example of this is the work at Jenny's Cove IV where it is clear from the records that Gardner had already decided what it might be and then excavated more and more as it didn't conform to these ideas.

Many of these excavations were described by Gardner as 'characterisation' which appear to have had the aim of recovering dating evidence and seeing if any internal structures could be determined, and these must be considered a success as we now have dating evidence for occupation on the island for most periods. Where Gardner did fail, and he was certainly not alone in this, was his failure to publish the results promptly. This together with the dispersal of the site records has meant a 50-year gap when little was known of the work. Part of the cause of this this may have been the change of ownership that stopped the excavations but there must be a suspicion that Gardner would have continued in the same fashion for several more years, rather than publishing and planning his next research objectives.

The primary aim of this paper has been to bring to light the records that survive in a convenient form that will allow future analysis and the formulation of research questions. Several questions do occur immediately, however. In the prehistoric period, the evidence is overwhelmingly of Late Bronze Age hut circles and fields, with only scattered finds of earlier and later material; the only other dated structure is Hut 6, of Middle Bronze Age date. This may suggest long-term trends in population on the island driven by climate change or other factors. The Iron Age seems almost completely absent, although the castle ditch at the south end might hint at an origin as a defended enclosure of this date. Gardner never excavated here and subsequent work showed little stratigraphy survived in the interior (Dunmore, 1982; Thackray, 1985) so questions about the origins of the castle site remain.

Roman material is limited to the area of the Beacon Hill cemetery with none recorded from elsewhere by Gardner's work or the 1980s test pitting (Schofield, 1988, Schofield & Webster, 1989, 1990). This may suggest a single farming settlement in that period and have relevance for the location of the post-Roman cemetery.

The medieval period will be covered in the report on the excavations at Bull's and Pig's Paradises but in the post-medieval period, there are a large number of structures that are not easily explained. Many of these are described as batteries and comprise

levelled platforms on the steep sidelands to the island but most do not sit easily with that interpretation. Most seem too high above the water level to serve as good locations for cannon and the difficulties of emplacing large weapons on them would be serious. A very large number of weapons would be needed to equip all the sites unless they were moved around, when the difficulties of emplacement would be multiplied. Some of those in more defensive locations, such as at Jenny's Cove, might serve better as infantry positions – either for archers or, later, musketeers – but there seem few signs of any walling to protect them. It may be that most, and the small buildings that are associated with some at the North End, are related to the seabird industry as collection or storage locations. In the absence of dates for all except Brazen Ward (which does fit the criteria for a battery) it is not possible to be more definite.

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**APPENDIX: The pottery from Brazen Ward by David Dawson**

Three bags of heavily abraded sherds were examined. All appear to be of early post-medieval, that is sixteenth/seventeenth-century. Two fragments of clay tobacco-pipe stem appear to be of similar date. This report is a superficial examination based on visual observation. It should be noted that the soft red earthenware fabric (type A) as examined by John Allen, Oliver Kent and the author and which may be attributed to North Devon is very similar to that from the two kilns producing a form of Dyfed gravel-tempered ware at Newport, Pembrokeshire (Dawson & Kent, forthcoming). Scientific analysis would be required to help settle the point. The forms however have affinities to North Devon not Pembrokeshire.

***CJW bag 496, original number [48]***

14 sherds, rather abraded, of red earthenware and two pieces of clay tobacco-pipe stem. 12 of the sherds are of the fine fabric type A (three of these exhibiting an internal brown glaze) and two of the coarser fabric type B.

Fabric type A: wheel-thrown, soft-fired oxidised red earthenware sometimes exhibiting a light grey reduced core; inclusions are scarce angular particles of white and translucent quartz <1mm and a more abundant speckling of black particles which bleed dark brown in the glaze <0.2mm. Related to Exeter fabric types EX 63 and 64 (Taylor, 2005, 74-75)

Forms of type A: One sherd (1) is from a distinctive baluster jar related to those described as type 10 at the Exeter Inn, Barnstaple, assemblage (Morris, 2017, 289-290), and sherd (2) is a rim almost identical to globular jar (4) in the catalogue below.

Fabric type B: wheel-thrown, soft-fired oxidised brown earthenware; inclusions are <1mm abundant angular and waterworn quartz and fragments of sedimentary rock typical of the earlier North Devon gritted wares.

Forms of type B: probably globular jars.

***CJW bag 499, original number [82]***

45 sherds, rather abraded, all the same earthenware fabric type A.

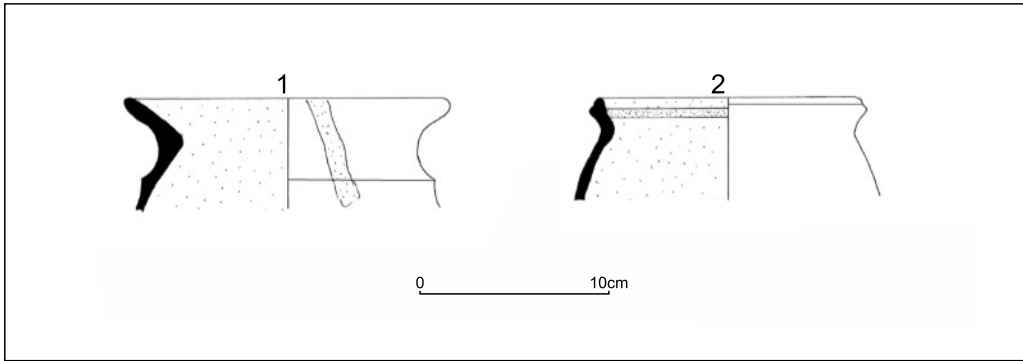
Forms of type A: the jars may be related to those described as type 14 at the Exeter Inn, Barnstaple, assemblage, the handle (6) to jug type 2N/P and the neck (7) to costrel type 21A (Morris, 2017, 288-290).

***CJW bag 497, original number [255]***

Two body sherds of fabric type B with internal dark green glaze, probably from the same vessel.

***Catalogue of selected sherds***

1. Baluster jar, single body sherd of fabric type A; internal brown glaze.
2. Globular jar, single rim sherd almost identical in form and diameter to (4) below, Slight traces of an internal glaze.
3. Jar (Figure 18: 1), diam. 170mm represented by 3 rim sherds. Everted rim, external collar at junction of neck and shoulder; two vertical strips of reduced speckled green glaze running down from the rim outside and remains of an all over speckled green glaze inside.



**Figure 18:** Pottery from Brazen Ward. Drawing: David Dawson

4. Jar (Figure 18: 2), diam. 140mm represented by 4 joining rim sherds and one body sherd from the neck. Everted rim with a rill round the top; traces of internal glaze.
5. Probable jar represented by a body sherd with an external diagonal strip of brown/green glaze and traces of a similar glaze inside.
6. Probable jar represented by a body sherd with a possible spot of glaze outside and traces of internal brown/green glaze within.
7. Probable jar represented by a body sherd with a vertical strip of brown/green glaze outside and traces of glaze within.
8. Sherd of a plain oval-section bar handle; unglazed.
9. Neck of a small bottle; unglazed.