LUNDY'S HISTORY: THE COURSE OF CHANGE

bv

MYRTLE TERNSTROM

6 Queensholme, Cheltenham, GL52 2QE e-mail: mst@waitrose.com

ABSTRACT

The history of Lundy is examined by the changes through the historical time frame, with reference to the maps that register them. Two broad agents of change are cited: internally the effects of the attitudes of the island's successive owners, and the influence of external economic and social changes affecting the country as a whole.

Keywords: Lundy, history, maps, island owners

INTRODUCTION

The first depiction of Lundy, other than by rather vague outlines, was not until John Donn published his map in 1765 (Figure 1). The latest map we have is that which the Landmark Trust provides for visitors, (Figure 2) and this talk will try to trace the path from one to the other.



Figure 1: Map by Benjamin Donn, 1765. National Archive, WO 78/5675

BEFORE DONN

The fort, or castle, was built in 1244 after Henry III had captured and executed an outlaw sheltering there, William de Marisco (Figure 3). The king then kept Lundy in his own hands. This tells us that Lundy was a bastion, indeed a natural fortress that could be used either by rebels and enemies, or for the defence of the Bristol Channel. The Marisco family held Lundy - on and off - from the eleven hundreds until 1344 (Ternstrom, in preparation). It is interesting that the castle was funded in part by the sale of rabbit skins. (CCR 1243) The Isles of Scilly and Lundy provide two of the first records of rabbits, islands being particularly well suited for warrens as they prevented escape. Both the skins and the meat were very valuable assets at that time (Veale, 1957).



Figure 3: Execution of William de Marisco, 1242, from *The Drawings* of *Matthew Paris* edited by M.R. James. By kind permission of the Walpole Society

Excavations of medieval settlements (Figure 4: Thackray 1989), together with inventories dated 1274 and 1321, (Steinman, 1836) a deed of lease made between 1182 and 1219 together (DRO). with Holinshed's description (c.1586), all indicate that the island was well populated and prosperous in medieval times. This probably resulted from sheep rearing when the wool trade flourished in Devon. Another resource islanders, for the of importance into the midnineteenth century, was the seabirds that crowded the island in the breeding season so that the birds,



Figure 4: Plan of Widow's Tenement. By kind permission of K.S. Gardner



Figure 2: Map of Lundy at present. © The Landmark Trust

their eggs and feathers were all harvested and sold. A limited trade in Lundy peregrines, which have been highly esteemed, continued until the first world war.

Bevill Grenville, grandson of the famous Richard Grenville of the *Revenge* who had acquired the island in about 1577, was given the island on his marriage in 1619 and he fell in love with it. He had great plans to improve it for farming, fishing and breeding horses, but was overtaken by debt, and lost his life in the Civil war in 1643 (Stucley, 1983). It is thought that he and his father constructed defensive platforms around the island coasts, which were necessitated by piracy and by the Spanish threat to protestant England. The most important of these is Brazen Ward, (Figure 5; Gardner, 1971) which was well fortified, as it allows of landing. It is also proposed that he built two houses in front of the castle, as by then it was ruinous (Figure 6; Ternstrom, 2000).



Left: **Figure 5**: Plan of Brazen Ward. By kind permission of K.S. Gardner

Below: Figure 6: House on the Castle Parade, from N.W., excavated 1985. *Photo: M. Ternstrom*



Except for a period during the Civil War, the Grenville family and their descendants owned the island until 1775. (Ternstrom, 1998) During this time agents collected the rents from tenants, who had no money or inclination to invest in it. Thus Lundy itself went through a period of considerable neglect until it was sold in 1775, although there is evidence that great profits were made by smugglers. In 1750 Lundy was leased to Thomas Benson, a shipping merchant and MP for Barnstaple, who concealed smuggled tobacco there. He had also contracted to transport convicts to America, but instead landed some of them on the island where they were used as a slave work force (Thomas, 1959).

Benson's career on Lundy came to an end with the exposure of his having used it to carry out a shipping insurance fraud. He fled to Portugal, leaving the captain of the ship involved to hang for the crime. Although the cave below the castle is named after him, markings scratched on the interior walls show that it was extant before his occupation of the island (Figure 7). Benson is one of the more colourful characters associated with Lundy, but his interests lay in smuggling, which continued to be rife. In 1783 one ship tried to escape from Lundy that, when captured, was found to have on board 7,000 pounds of tea, 2,200 gallons of brandy, and 823 gallons of gin (National Archive, 1783).





Above and left: **Figure 7**: Benson's Cave, below the castle. Entrance and interior. *Photos: R. Derek Sach*

DONN, PARKYAS AND THE 1819 SURVEY

Donn's map reflects that even as late as the mid-eighteenth century very little was known about Lundy. It was remote, and lacked anything of interest that would induce the traveller to face the hazards of getting to the island and back again. The marking of rocks, the depths of waters, and 'Bad Anchorage' indicate that the map would have been of most use to seamen. The chapel on the Celtic burial enclosure is named St Ann, as it is in all the early maps. It shows the 'remains of a fort,' with flag flying, and a path leading - presumably - to it.



Figure 8: Map by Geo. Parkyas, 1804. National Archive, MPH/54

A map drawn by George Parkyas in 1804 (Figure 8) at first appeared to be a mistake, as it shows a pier at the south end of the landing bay, and we knew that one had been started but never completed. But research leading to a letter to the War Office, which accompanied it, shows that he had visited the island in 1775, when the pier was under construction, and had assumed that it had been completed in the mean time. The purpose of the map and letter was for the then new owner to sell the island to the government for the detention of French prisoners of war, in expectation of a huge profit. But the sale did not materialise (National Archive. 1804/WO).

The pier had been started as part of island improvements made by John Borlase Warren, who bought the island for a gentleman's country estate in 1775. The extent of his works can be seen in a drawing made in 1819 for Trinity House (Figure 9). This shows that the path from the landing place led up to the castle, where there was a farmyard, and from there a path led to the top of St John's Valley. There is a farmhouse, and the Quarter Wall had been completed, with field enclosures and 'New Town' to the south of it. Warren's plans also included a fine new residence and other buildings, which were never achieved as he ran into such debt that his trustees sold the island in 1803 (Figure 10; Ternstrom, 1999). The drawing for the pier is of additional interest as it shows the remains of the 'old pier' at the same site, which is the only indication that Bevill Grenville had carried out his intention in 1630 (Stucley, 1983).





Below:

Figure 10: Design for a residence for Sir John Borlase Warren. M. Ternstrom collection



TRINITY HOUSE

The rate of wrecks, and losses of vessels and men, resulted in Trinity House taking over the building and care of lighthouses, whereas many had until then been in private hands. Although Lundy was a sea marker by day, fogs were not infrequent, and as there was no illumination at night, the rocky coast was a hazard to shipping. In 1820 the lighthouse was completed on Beacon Hill - the highest point of the island (Figure 11; THGM, 1819-20). Trinity House was the first external institution to gain rights on the island, and had the first of a series of leases and concessions in the nineteenth century that led to the map of Lundy as it is today. Apart from the church, it is also the only one of these institutions to retain their rights in island buildings and rights of way.



Figure 11: Design of the lighthouse, 1820. Daniel Alexander. By kind permission of Trinity House

The Trinity House map of 1820 (Figure 12) shows the lighthouse and its compound, and also shows the castle as an inhabited building, and that three fields to the west of it were enclosed and cultivated. (THEA. 1820) If Warren had intended enclosed the fields south of Ouarter Wall for arable land, it was probably then that the Halfway Wall was built to enclose more land for pasture.

The coming of the lighthouse opened Lundy to greater contact with the outside world, with deliveries from Trinity House ships and regular visits

from its officials. It also added two families, who were not employed by the owner, to the small population. It might have been thought that they would be welcomed, but for the first few years the two were at loggerheads (Ashley, 1841). It is also seen on this map that Trinity House built a quay, and a cart road up the side of St John's Valley to the lighthouse, which was needed for the carriage of heavy supplies of oil and coal. All goods still had to be brought from the landing place up the old steep path to St John's Valley either by sleds, ponies, or manpower (Figure 13).



Figure 12: The south end of the island in 1820. By kind permission of Trinity House



Figure 13: Painting by Dominic Serres for Borlase Warren, 1775, showing the original steep path. Photoprint by kind permission of K.S. Gardner

Trinity House was reluctant to concede that the magnificent tall lighthouse suffered the enormous disadvantage of being obscured from time to time by high-level fog. The lantern was enlarged and the beam intensified in 1842, and again in 1857, but without overcoming the basic problem (Ternstrom, in press). So in 1862 they attempted to remedy matters by building a fog signal station low down on the cliffs at the western side of the island (Figure 14; THGM, 1861-2). It was furnished with two cannons, and two cottages were provided for the families of the gunners, making four Trinity House families on the island in all. The gun house, the cannons, and the remains of the cottages are still there, now called the Battery, and they make a wonderful sunny and sheltered spot to enjoy the scenery in fine weather.



Figure 14: The Fog Signal Station from the north. Heaven collection

Trinity House was eventually forced to acknowledge that the lighthouse on Lundy, even supplemented by the fog signal station, was not satisfactory. In 1897 these were replaced by new lighthouses at low level at the north and south ends of the island, and the Old Light and Fog Signal Station reverted to the owner of the island. The new lighthouses were classed as rock stations, so that the Trinity House families left the island (THGM, 1895-7).

ORDNANCE SURVEY

The first Ordnance Survey map was also published in 1820. It gives more names, notably Tibbets Hill, and Johnny Groats House at the North End. This was built over an ancient burial cairn at the high point, which suggests that it was a watch house, possibly built during the wars with the French, and mentioned as such by a writer in 1776. (Grose, 1776) Of the named coastal features all but three are still in use today, which reflects their consistent use as sea-markers. The map also shows, for the first time, the track to the North End. Originally 'North End' or 'North Part' referred to the land beyond Quarter Wall (Figure 15). It now refers to the part of the island beyond the Threequarter Wall, where it has at least twice suffered burning to the bare rock, the last time in the 1930s (Gade, 1978).



Figure 15: Reproduced from the 1820 Ordnance Survey map. Crown Copyright

SALE MAPS

The island was for sale from 1818, and the advertisement for the auction is the first recorded occasion when Lundy was stated to be exempt from tithes and taxes (BL, 1822). In 1822 Sir Vere Hunt found a buyer, who appeared to be on the risky side of eccentric, but insisted on proof of the exemptions and refused to accept an indemnity (Limerick, T22). Such proof could not be found, because these privileges rested on custom rather than any legal ruling, and arose from the remoteness of the island and the lack of anything of value that would have made it worth a tax-gatherer's efforts. The case went to court, and the vendor lost. The appeal of the exemptions would have rested on the fact that income tax of two shillings in the pound had been imposed, and the land tax was four shillings per acre. The matter of the tithes was not in question as there was then no church on the island.

For the sale in 1822 J. Wylde prepared a map in which many field names and coastal sites are given (Figure 16; BL, MSS) Overall the pattern of field systems is the same, but of the field names not one is in use today, which indicates the lack of



Figure 16: Map for the sale of Lundy in 1822 with details of field names. By permission of the British Library, ADD 40345 a: MAPS 299A

continuity in Lundy's population. This is not simply a matter of names: the diminution of knowledge, experience, and commitment are concomitant.

THE ANTIQUARIANS

Two early significant contributions were made to the Lundy bibliography: the first by Francis Grose in *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, 1776, which gives an outline of the history so far as it could then be traced from reference to the Rolls, with some evidence from a long-term island resident. An important and much appreciated set of engravings was included, with two views of the castle, and a plan (Figures 17-19).



Figure 17: View of the castle from the N.E., 1775. F. Grose, 1776



Figure 18: The castle from the N.W. 1775. F. Grose, 1776



Figure 19: Plan of the castle, 1775. F. Grose, 1776

The castle had been rebuilt by Thomas Bushell, another intriguing Lundy character, who was governor of the island for the king during the Civil War (Bushell, 1647). It is interesting that Grose makes the first reference to the church as St Helena's, 'very small and ruined to the foundations.' It is assumed that this refers to the chapel in the burial ground at Beacon Hill, although a late medieval burial ground in the area of the present Bulls' Paradise has been described by Keith Gardner, including the foundations of a building thought possibly to have been a chapel (Gardner, 1962).

The second account of Lundy was given by G. Steinman Steinman FSA in 1836, which greatly extended the references to the Rolls and gave an accurate history to that date. It remained the basis from which subsequent historians have worked, and the text is so interesting that Mr Harman reprinted it, privately, in 1947.

THE HEAVEN ERA

In 1836 William Hudson Heaven, of Bristol, bought Lundy with the intention that it would be a summer resort for his family, where he would be able to enjoy the shooting (Heaven family papers). No doubt the allure of an island fiefdom, together with the traditional exemptions, were part of its appeal. At the time of Heaven's purchase Lundy was in essence a farm with a lighthouse and a castle. There was no church, no school, no doctor, no shop, no meeting room, and it was extra-parochial. Whoever took employment there depended entirely on the owner.



Figure 20: The south end in 1840. Heaven collection



Figure 21: The Villa, 1840. Heaven collection

Heaven set about making the island a suitable place for a gentleman's family, and his map of 1840 (Figure 20; NDRO) points to the works that were carried out. A delightful villa was built at the head of Millcombe Valley (Figure 21) and a road - or rather a track wide enough for carts - was constructed from the quay, through Millcombe, to bend back and meet the Trinity House track at the present Battlements. This meant that heavy loads could be carried from the landing place in carts, and the ladies of the family could ride in the carriage. The farmhouse was extended and rebuilt, and the interior of the castle adapted to make dwellings for labourers, as his predecessors had also done.

Unfortunately the map was made in an attempt to sell the island because of the virtual collapse of Heaven's previously ample income. The map is based on the 1820 OS, but with an estate agent's fanciful embellishments. In the superscript Brazen Ward is marked as 'The rock from whence granite may be exported by merely laying down moorings.' At the landing bay '... the govt may make a harbour of Refuge by throwing stones over it and continuing it in length till it rises to the surface,' and 'Proposed Harbour: There is a rock here which requires only to be toped (sic) with masonry to make a dry harbour at trifling expense.'

Heaven had paid a high price for the island (almost $\pounds 10,000$) and could find no buyer from whom he might recover his outlay, and despite further attempts to sell, the family kept the island until the end of 1917. As Grenville and Warren had found before him, investment in Lundy did not bring a consequent improvement in income, but it was necessary to support it with independent funding. What was exceptional in the history of island ownership was that from 1851 Lundy was the Heaven family's home. For the first time there was a resident squire. There were extensive walled gardens for produce, plantations of trees, flowers and shrubs, and the commercial exploitation of the seabirds was forbidden.

THE GRANITE QUARRIES

Heaven had cast around for sources of income in the possible exploitation of the granite, and in a search for minerals. Copper and other minerals were found, but not in such quantities that would repay the costs of production and transport - and, in any case, he did not have the necessary capital. But the rapid surge in the construction of public works meant there was a demand for building stone, and this, combined with the Companies Act of 1862 that limited the liability of investors to their own share-holding, combined to cause others to take a more optimistic view of the possibilities of Lundy granite.

A lease was granted in 1863 to a Mr McKenna for the Lundy Granite Co. to begin operations. A site was chosen on the sheltered East Side, and great changes for Lundy followed. The population was swollen by about 200 workmen and some of their families. The company built a quay and jetty near the works, with an inclined railway system to move granite down to it, and supplies up to the plateau. For the first time Lundy had a shop - the Store - which was also a refreshment room. For this they built a north wing to the farmhouse, where there was also a bakery and a cottage for the store keeper (Figure 22). Three beautifully sited cottages were built for the managers, now the ruined Quarter Wall Cottages, with a row of cottages in the High Street that are now called Barton cottages, and three other rows of cottages north of the Quarter Wall of which only the foundations remain (Ternstrom, 2005).

For the first time there was a doctor on the island, with a small hospital, of which the ruins still stand (Figure 23). An iron hut was erected for a 'Mission Room' which met the need for a parish hall for meetings, services, a schoolroom, and



Figure 22: The Store, bakery (at right) and store-keeper's house. Heaven collection

lantern shows. Another wing was added to the south end of the farmhouse, barracks were put up opposite the Barton cottages, and a time-keeper's hut at the top of the path down to the quarries themselves. Of these three the time-keeper's hut remains, and has been repaired (Figure 24). There are four quarries, and the outlines of the work have been softened by vegetation, so that it is now a sheltered and favourite place for walks and picnics. J. R. Chanter's book, Lundy Island, published in 1877 following his paper in 1871, was the first monograph on Lundy and gives a map (Figure 25) that shows all the sites of the granite works. The publication of the book had a stabilising influence on island names and versions of its history.

Although the management of the Quarry Company was disastrous and resulted in its liquidation in 1868, the legacy was the shop and bakery, twenty-six cottages, and a fund of cut granite. Anything that could be removed had been sold, but all the buildings reverted to the owner, which meant that the previous sparse and Spartan accommodation for labourers could be improved upon.

The rapid rise in the volume of shipping following the development of the steam engine and large iron vessels, together with the enormous expansion of trade in the



Figure 23: Ruins of the Quarry Hospital. Privy at right, and fireplace diagonally opposite. Entrance was from west. *Photo: R. Derek Sach*



Figure 24: The time-keeper's hut in 1971 (above) and now (below). Photos: R. Derek Sach, M. Ternstrom





Figure 25: South part of the map from Chanter's book, 1877

nineteenth century, meant that owners and insurers were anxious to receive news of their vessels. It was asserted that the Bristol Channel was used by one-sixth of the nation's shipping, and accordingly it was desirable that there should be a means of communication. In 1884 Lloyd's negotiated the lease of a site near the castle for a flag signal station and built a pair of ugly suburban-style cottages to house their employees (Figures 26, 27; Lloyd's, 7778).

There was also a very important submarine cable for the telegraphic transmission of messages. Its use was not strictly confined to Lloyd's but meant that urgent telegrams could be sent and received without delay, instead of waiting for the next convenient ship. News was received, the correct time could be established, and medical help summoned without the need to light a beacon, to wait on a ship to take a message, or risk a crossing in a small and slow boat. One man with his family was posted to the station, and a dawn to dusk watch was kept. The average number of reports sent annually was 700, which does indicate the value of this station to shipping.



Figure 26: Lloyd's Signal Cottages in 1920. *Photo: H. Jukes, LFS archive*



Figure 27: Lloyd's Signal Hut with the flagstaff. Heaven collection



Figure 28: GPO Cable Hut 1893. Heaven collection

Between 1888 and 1893 the cable was out of action until the GPO replaced it, and built the cable hut against the north wall of the castle. This building has now been extended and converted into a small letting cottage that has wonderful views along the east coast (Figure 28).

Heaven contracted for a boatman to serve the island, who also carried the post from the post office at Instow, but when the island was leased to a Mr Wright in 1885, and the Heaven family retained only the reserve area they had fenced off during the granite company operations, he arranged for the GPO to service the mails. A sub-post office was set up at the island store, with an islander as postmaster, and thus one more facility and mainland authority was represented on the island, and remained so until 1928 (Figure 29).



Figure 29: The postmaster with the GPO mailbag brought by the island boat, *Lerina*, in the background. Myrtle Ternstrom collection

After Heaven's death in 1883 his eldest son, the Reverend Hudson Heaven, took over the island. He had lived on the island since 1864 to administer to the religious needs of the population, but was often of weak health and resolution. In 1885 a relative gave funds to erect a pre-fabricated chapel with a separate Sunday school (Figure 30). The Bishop of Exeter dedicated the chapel, and from then on Lundy was part of the diocese of Exeter, although it was neither a parish in itself, nor part of any other parish, and Heaven's title of vicar was by courtesy. The chapel was demolished in 1918, but the Sunday school has been refashioned into the much-favoured Blue Bungalow (Figure 31).

During the Reverend Heaven's time the Threequarter Wall was built to extend that part of the island for use for pasture. This, with the wall built by his father in 1838 across to the lighthouse, completed the present division of the island into four sections.

There are several records of the islanders having been involved with the rescue or care of the survivors of wrecks (Ternstrom, in press), but the rescue of the crew of the *Tunisie* in 1892 was an exceedingly difficult and exhausting one, carried out in very bitter weather. It resulted in the Board of Trade's acting to establish a Coastguard-trained life-saving company among the islanders, equipped with rockets to carry a line to a stranded vessel (National Archive, 1892). A hut was built to house the cart and apparatus, and a rocket practice pole was put up at the south west



Figure 30: The small church built in 1885. Heaven collection



Figure 31: The former Sunday School, now with annexe and painted blue. *Photo: Myrtle Ternstrom*

field (Figures 32, 33). The pole remains, sadly without its accoutrements, and the hut is now used for an island history information centre and display.

In the present age it is sometimes difficult to grasp the intensity of religious fervour among some sections of the population during the nineteenth century. When the Reverend Heaven received a legacy, and despite the debts and poverty that the family suffered, he used it to construct the large stone-built church for which he had long cherished an ambition (Figure 34). This has since been much criticised as unsuited to Lundy in both style and size, but perhaps the best that can be said of it is that it is of its time. To him it was a family memorial, a manifestation of faith, and conferred on the island what had long been missing: a consecrated building where all the rites of the church, including marriages, could be conducted. It stands proud on the horizon, a sign to seafarers who, for him, formed an important part of his mission on the island.



Figure 32: The Rocket Shed in 1922. Photo: The late A.E. Blackwell. Myrtle Ternstrom collection





(*Above*) **Figure 33**: Practice with Rocket Life Saving Apparatus at Rocket Pole. Heaven archive

(*Left*) **Figure 34**: Interior of the church built in 1897. Heaven archive

THE CHRISTIE OWNERSHIP

After the death of the Reverend Heaven in 1916 the heir, Walter Heaven, was penniless, so at the end of the following year Lundy was sold to A.L. Christie of Tapeley, Instow. Both the farm and the buildings were by then in a very severely run-down condition (NT, 1915-21). Christie has hitherto received short report and no credit for bringing about the recovery of the island. Whereas the Heavens had extrapolated the exemption from tithes and taxes to claim Lundy's total independence from mainland authority, Christie was a man familiar with the management of property who was not interested in such claims. He had a thorough survey made by a consulting engineer, and put the management of the island into the professional administration that could make it a productive part of his estates (NT, 1918-21; NDRO, 1918-25).

The water system was restructured - including the encasing of Golden Well and the construction of the leat across the Common in front of the church. For the first time on record the owner of the island bought a boat, and to facilitate landings a slipway was built at the Cove, where Grenville and Warren had built their piers. The engineer also constructed what are now. mistakenly, known as the Montagu steps to allow for



Figure 35: Montagu Steps, constructed in 1920 for West Side landings. Myrtle Ternstrom collection

(precarious) landings on the West Side (Figure 35). The buildings were repaired, the farm rehabilitated and re-stocked, and in 1920 the whole (except the Villa) was let to the very competent management of Mr C. H. May. Shortages of materials and labour during the war had prevented the construction of the planned harbour, and afterwards the costs had risen to such an extent that it was impossible (NDRO, 1920-25).

It seems sad that Christie was reputed have been motivated by the wish to possess all the land he could see from his Instow estate, and appears to have taken no pleasure in the island. He seldom visited it, neither was Mr May resident. However, experienced staff were put in charge of the farm and - for the first time - a hotel, for which the farmhouse was adapted. No interest was taken in the so-called privileges of Lundy, and the management of the island conformed to local and national administrative rulings. A large investment was made in the works that were carried out, for which there was some return on the lease of the farm and houses, but unfortunately Christie suffered from mental problems and a series of strokes, which by 1925 had incapacitated him, so that the island was sold by his wife (Blunt, 1968).

THE HARMAN OWNERSHIP

The buyer was Martin Harman, a London businessman who had fallen in love with Lundy when he was a very young man still making his way. He was an enthusiast for the countryside, its birds, flora and fauna, and he delighted in his exceptional island fiefdom (Gade, 1978, passim). He revived and defended energetically Heaven's view of Lundy's independence, and consequently all the mainland authorities were 'dismissed,' with the exceptions of the church and Trinity House, which were immoveable. Thereupon Harman himself undertook responsibility for the postal arrangements, the coastguard, and communications with the mainland.

He set about improving the facilities for his family, and visitors - who were welcomed, provided they shared his concern for the natural environment and, in particular, what he called 'the ancient privileges.' He used the whole of the farmhouse and the north and south annexes to rebuild as one hotel, with the innovations of baths, and a Tavern (Figure 36). There was a tennis court, and a short-lived golf course was opened, traces of which are still to be seen on Ackland's Moor, where enthusiasts still occasionally indulge in some exceedingly rough golf.



Figure 36: The Manor Farm Hotel about 1930. Myrtle Ternstrom collection

The years of the Harman ownership have been described by his agent and friend, F.W. Gade, in his book *My Life on Lundy*. One aspect of Mr Harman's ownership was his introduction of some unusual feral herds, of which Soay sheep, sika deer, goats, and the Lundy ponies remain. Another was his introduction in 1929 of Lundy stamps, which have been enormously successful not only in generating island income, but also in creating a band of island enthusiasts. In 1935 he arranged for an air service from Wrafton, which facilitated his own and visitors' journeys to the island (Figure 37). He was not resident, but the family regarded Lundy as their home, and in the 1930s there was a lively social life with many regular visitors



Figure 37: The airplane in use in the 1930s. Myrtle Ternstrom collection



Figure 38: A poster for Lundy shown in the London Underground in 1939. Myrtle Ternstrom collection

(Figure 38). Some visitors today see 'Airfield' on the map and expect to see a concrete runway with lights ... and find a bumpy grass strip marked out by white-painted lumps of granite.

Lundy was first seen as a day-trippers' destination in the later years of the nineteenth century as the paddle-steamers from South Wales and the Bristol Channel ports increased in number and frequency (Figure 39, May 1980). By the 1930s, and following the introduction of paid holidays, the number of visitors grew rapidly, and the landing fees contributed very considerably to the island's economy. Since the 1930s Lundy has also been a popular holiday destination for staying visitors - firstly in the hotel and then, increasingly, in cottage accommodation.



Figure 39: Day trippers disembarking from Campbell's steamer. They were ferried to and from the landing stage by launches. *Photo: R. Derek Sach*

The effect that wars have left on Lundy can still be seen in places. The Admiralty built two coastal lookouts at Tibbetts Hill and the northernmost point in 1909 in the expectation of war, and in 1914 the one at Tibbetts Hill was altered to provide accommodation for the coastguards (Figure 40; NT, 1907-08; Lloyd's Archive). The Landmark Trust has removed the superstructures made for the war, and refurbished the building, which still has some of the interior fittings, and is now one of the letting cottages. More than thirty-nine trenches were cut across areas that could have been used as landing grounds at the beginning of the 1939-1945 war and many are still there, as are the last few remains of a Heinkel aircraft that crash-landed on the plateau in 1941 (Figure 41). One other remarkable event for Lundy was the advent of the first mechanical vehicle in 1941, a Fordson tractor, with which the island was supposed to contribute to efforts to grow more food: a pious hope.



Figure 40: The Admiralty watch hut at Tibbetts Hill in 1920. *Photo: H. Jukes* (*LFS archive*)



Figure 41: Remains of the German Heinkel III aircraft that crashed in 1941. Photo by kind permission of Roger Davis

The most striking reminder of the war is found in one of the quarries. Mr Harman's elder son, John, lost his life at Kohima during the Burma campaign, and was awarded a posthumous VC for his gallantry. His simple memorial stone is set upon a rock in the VC quarry - a very fitting and moving tribute to a sacrifice by one for whom Lundy had been very dear (Figure 42).



Figure 42: The memorial to John Harman, VC. M. Ternstrom collection

Perhaps Mr Harman's most important contribution, from the point of view of today's meeting, is that he responded very positively to the request by the Devon Birdwatching and Preservation Society to establish an observatory on Lundy. He assisted with the founding of the Lundy Field Society in 1946, gave an initial donation to start it off, and granted the rent-free use of the Old Lighthouse for the Society's members. Conditions were fairly spartan, but the Society appointed a warden, and the members set about establishing bird watching and field studies (Irving *et al.*, 1997).

Although the Society was not able to maintain the Old Light after 1958, its work had expanded to include a wide range of field and marine studies, geology, and archaeology, all of which were published in the Society's Annual Reports and other relevant journals. In celebrating the 60th year of our existence we pay tribute to the founder members and to Mr Harman for their enthusiasm. We also rejoice in the fact that the Society's early studies have led to the establishment of the Marine Nature Reserve, the recognition of Lundy's particular archaeological interest, and its present status as a Site of Special Scientific Interest. In other words, Lundy has arrived on the larger scene, and has 41 scheduled sites and monuments and 14 listed buildings.

After the death of Mr Harman in 1954, and of his son, Albion, in 1968, there was an extensive landslide on the Beach Road, and it was no longer possible for the Harman family to sustain the expenses of the island. It was put up for sale in 1969, and an appeal was launched to raise funds for purchase by the National Trust. This was overtaken by Mr Jack Hayward's generous donation of the whole sum needed. As the National Trust could not acquire the island unless it could ensure that it could be managed financially, the sale was completed when the Landmark Trust, founded by John and Christian Smith, no less generously undertook the lease of the island.

THE NATIONAL TRUST AND THE LANDMARK TRUST

This marked the end of private ownership of Lundy, and 1969 was the start of a period of costly restoration of the buildings and the infrastructure, with the provision of communications by ship, telephone, and, later, helicopters. The Landmark Trust funded the administration of Lundy and the shortfall in its finances for many years until the Lundy Company was formed, as part of the Landmark Trust, and is now responsible for the management of the island. The National Trust has carried out an archaeological survey of Lundy that has listed, mapped and described 170 sites of archaeological and historical interest (Thackray, 1989; NT, 2002).

In the work of restoration and regeneration on Lundy, support has been received from a number of organisations concerned with conservation, heritage, sea fisheries and Countryside Stewardship, that now meet with the island administrator and warden to form a management committee, on which the Lundy Field Society is also represented. Grants for specific projects have been obtained from a number of organisations, of which one remarkable result has been the extension of the Beach Road and the construction of a pier (Figure 43). This is of enormous advantage in the transit of passengers and freight. There are now 24 letting properties available for visitors all the year round, with a popular Tavern catering for all meals, and an excellent shop.

It is seen that changes arose sometimes from the initiatives of Lundy's owners, and sometimes from their neglect. Equally, agents for change have been national concerns, economic forces, social progress, and dramatic increases of interest and concern for historical sites and the natural world.

Despite this modern awareness, the image of Lundy is often presented in the popular media as having to do with pirates and puffins. There are none of the former, and it is very difficult to catch sight of the latter. Also it is remarkable that Lundy has been largely ignored as part of the County of Devon; for example, in



Figure 43: The pier constructed by 1999. The slipway built by Christie is just to the right of it. *Photo: M. Ternstrom*

some topographical and historical works about Devon, Lundy is not even in the index. It is a rich part of Devon's archaeological and environmental heritage, and it is one of the objectives of the Lundy Field Society to bring about an awareness and appreciation of the small treasure that lies off Devon's northern shore.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Trinity House for permission to copy and reproduce material from their legal archive, the Minutes of the Boards, and the Engineers' archive.

I also wish to record my thanks to the Heaven family, who have given me generous access to the family papers and photographs, and allowed me to reproduce them in a number of contexts, including the present one.

I have also appreciated very much the kindness of the Mission to Seafarers for permission to use extracts from the unpublished diary of the Reverend John Ashley, kindly transcribed by Miss R. Charles, B.A.

I thank Roger Davis who kindly gave me his photograph of the crashed Heinkel with his permission to reproduce it.

REFERENCES

Ashley: The Revd John Ashley, MS Diary 1841-43, The Mission to Seafarers, London. BL MSS: British Library MSS, 1822. Peel Papers. Add 40345: 'Free of Tithes,

Taxes, Poor Rates, Quit or Chief Rents, or any Outgoing Whatever.'

Blunt, W. 1968. John Christie of Glyndebourne, London.

BM: British Museum Maps, 299A, 1809.

Bushell, T. 1647: A Brief Declaration. British Library, E.401 (3), E.433 (24)

CCR 1243: Calendar of Close Rolls, 1242-47, p.97.

Chanter, J. 1877. Lundy Island. London: Cassell.

DRO: Devon Record Office, EM/M/20.

Gade, F.W. 1978. My Life on Lundy, p.174. Privately printed.

- Gardner, K.S. 1962. 'Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in "The Bulls Paradise" Lundy', 1961. *Annual Report of the Lundy Field Society 1961*, 14, 22-24.
- Gardner, K.S. 1971. An Archaeological Field Guide. The Landmark Trust.
- GPO Archive, Post 30/640, 1893. London. Vols 308, 1886; 336, 1887; 352, 353, 1888.
- Grose F., 1776, Antiquities of England & Wales, iv, pp. 191-196.
- Harman archive.
- Heaven Family Papers, Diary, Log, Correspondence, Family History.
- Holinshed, R.1586, Chronicles; the Description of Britaine, ed. 1807.
- Irving, R., Schofield, J., Webster, C., (Eds) 1997. *Island Studies: 50 years of the Lundy Field Society*. Bideford: Lundy Field Society.
- The Landmark Trust: Archives, Shottesbrooke. Handbooks, 1968 to date.
- Limerick Record office, T22.
- Lloyd's Archive, 7778, London.
- Luard, H., Ed., 1872, Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris, 1240-124.
- LFS: Lundy Field Society archive. Annual Reports 1947-.
- May, B., 1980, 'The Rise of Ilfracombe as a Seaside Resort in the 19th and 20th Centuries,' *West Country Social & Maritime History*, 137-159, Exeter.
- Nat. Arch: National Archives, 1765, Donn, WO 78/5679 1783, ADM 1/ 2307 XC 32991. 1804, Parkyas, MPH/54, WO 1/1110 1892, MT 4/440.
- NDRO: North Devon Record Office, B 170 add/37; B 170/192, 1920-25 1840 map (Landmark deposit) Barnstaple.
- NT: National Trust Archive, Ref.1287, 1919-1921. London.
- NT: National Trust, 2002, The archaeology and landscape of Lundy: A field guide.
- Steinman Steinman, G. S. 1836. 'Some Account of the Island of Lundy'. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iv, 313-330.
- Stucley, J., 1983. Sir Bevill Grenville and His Times. Chichester: Phillimore.
- Ternstrom, M. 1998. 'The Ownership of Lundy by Sir Richard Grenville and his Descendants, 1577-1775,' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, cxxx, 65-80.
- Ternstrom, M. 1999. Lundy ... A Study of Factors Affecting the Development of the Island from 1577-1969, with a Gazetteer of Sites & Monuments, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Gloucestershire.
- Ternstrom, M. 2000. 'An Hypothesis for the Origin of the House by the Castle.' Annual Report of the Lundy Field Society 1999, 50, 94-101
- Ternstrom, M. 2005. 'Granite: A Failed Enterprise on Lundy.' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 137, 193-220.
- Thackray, C. 1989. The National Trust Archaeological Survey. Unpublished.
- THEA: Trinity House Engineers' Archive, 1819, No 1318. 1820, No 1319.
- THGM: Trinity House Guildhall Library Minutes, 1819-20. Minutes, 1861-2, Minutes, 1895-7.
- Thomas, S.1959. The Nightingale Scandal, Bideford. Reprinted 2001.
- Veale, E. 1957. 'The Rabbit in England,' Agricultural History Review, v, pt 2, 85-90.

For the later material in this account I have to a considerable extent used my own notes, which date from 1952.