

A PARTICULAR OF LUNDY ISLAND: THE CLAYTON MANUSCRIPT

by

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ABSTRACT

The acquisition of a unique seventeenth century document describing the buildings, state of agriculture, stock levels, industries, birds and fish of Lundy provides the earliest documentary record for these subjects and a view of the island 450 years ago. The authenticity, author, and this new information are all explored and described and a full annotated transcript is provided of the manuscript.

Keywords: *Lundy, Civil War, Grenville, manuscript, seventeenth century*

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY

This manuscript first came to attention when offered for sale in May 2014 when a notice from Julian Browning Autographs Ltd (Browning, 2014; Williams, 2015) referred to the sale of a document relating to Lundy of ‘An early and original manuscript survey of Lundy ...’.

In dialogue with Julian Browning further information was elicited. He stated that, regarding provenance and date, the Lundy manuscript emerged from a collection sold at Bonhams, London, in 2012. These were mostly manuscripts and letters of West Country interest accumulated by a clergyman called Kempthorne, who bought from dealers and auctions (Hodgson’s Rooms, later to be Sothebys) in the 1930s. The collection (or the part he purchased) appears to have lain undisturbed since then. At that time the Clayton manuscripts were being dispersed. These well-known manuscripts (sometimes designated in the trade Clayton MSS) were from the estate of Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707), Lord Mayor of London (1679-1680) and his family. The Lundy manuscript bears the distinctive annotation in black ink (upper left of the first page, Figure 2) which indicates that it formed part of that historic manuscript collection. This information, and the ‘grapes’ watermark and writing style, ties the manuscript to the seventeenth century. This convinced four LFS committee members to form a consortium to purchase the document with the objective of making its contents more widely known, preserving it for posterity and, after publication of this paper, depositing it in a West Country archive. The purchase was effected on 20 May 2015 – the names of the members of the consortium appear at the beginning of this paper.

The purpose of this paper is to explore and support the assertions above, establish the provenance, determine the date and writer of the document and throw more light on the information contained within the ‘Particular’.

Initial work undertaken in 2014 was to transcribe the text written in Secretary Hand, decipher some of the less legible words and translate some of the idioms. The original document is reproduced in Figure 1 (page 10). The resulting translation is explored and explained later in this paper.

Provenance

Enquiries of Julian Browning suggest that before the document arrived at Auction at Bonhams in 2014 it had been in the collection of Reverend John Ley Kempthorne. Browning (pers. comm.) further stated that this owner collected manuscripts and letters of West Country interest from dealers and auction rooms. Apparently 'the Particular' had lain undisturbed from the 1930s. Bonham's catalogue (Bonham's, 2014) details the relevant lot 93 offered for sale on 12 November 2014 thus:

'Collection of deeds and correspondence formed by the Rev. J.L. Kempthorne of St Enoder Rectory, Summercourt, Cornwall, in the years prior to the Second World War ... with especial emphasis on the South West of England and the life of Charles Kingsley ... a group of 17th century Devon and Cornwall obligations, letters, etc, plus documents from the Clayton MSS ...'

The lot realised £2,375 (Bonhams, 2014).

This in turn had been bought two years previously (lot 16 on 13 November 2012), when it was put up for sale, presumably by the Kempthorne family:

'BANKING – CLAYTON & MORRIS PAPERS

Collection of letters from the papers of the bankers Clayton & Morris, comprising an autograph letter by Frances Teresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond, "La Belle Stuart", ... address panels, 8 pages, "Clayton MSS" stamp and the usual typed identifying docket, minor browning, dust-staining, repairs etc., folio and small 4to, 1667-1688'

The lot realised £2,125 (Bonhams, 2012).

John Ley Kempthorne

John Ley Kempthorne was born in 1892 in Clerkenwell, London, the only child of James Keigwin Kempthorne and Florence Cecilia. Despite his London birth, his ancestry stretches back into Cornwall where his father, one of seven children of a farmer, variously recorded as a Medical Practitioner, a Physician and Surgeon, was born in Mullion. All the family were from the Mullion/Manaccan area of the county. John Ley was an Associate of King's College London in 1915 shortly after which he married Marie Gertrude le Blond Landert Marks on 21 August in St Bartholomew's Church, London. He was ordained Deacon in 1916 and Priest in 1917 at the Church of St Philip Tottenham where he stayed until 1918. He then moved back to Cornwall where he became Rector of St Enoder (Crockford, 1929). Their only child, Loveday Ley, was born in 1921 in Falmouth. John remained there until his death on 22 May 1962 aged 70. Probate was granted to his widow Marie of Boscear St Just-in-Penwith when he left £5257 6s 10d (Probate). She subsequently died on 14 August 1968. Probate Bodmin 7 January £1110.

In this will, after various local parish bequests, he left his estate to the benefit of his wife, and 'at her death to daughter Loveday Ley Kempthorne and her heirs, on whom the trust shall devolve absolutely if they assume name and aims of Kempthorne. Cousin Renatus Kempthorne to have family documents and papers and any article of furniture descended to me from the Kempthorne family'.

Contact has been made with the son and subsequent heir of Renatus, another Renatus now living in New Zealand. He confirmed (pers. comm.) that he has the family papers referred to above, but no knowledge of the manuscript relating to Lundy. It has not been possible to ascertain whether the estate left to Marie and subsequently to Loveday contained this document. Given that Loveday was born in 1921 and that the papers appeared in auction in 2012, it is highly likely that they were sold on her decease.

Continuing with provenance, the next link backwards is to where and when J.L. Kempthorne acquired it. Hodgson's Rooms auction catalogue of Thursday 16 May 1929, catalogue page 39:

'A Collection of 14th - 18th century Deeds (from the Clayton MSS.) comprising Rentals, Surveys, "Particulars" and other documents and papers relating to London and various counties of England, mostly on parchment, many with seals, arranged in alphabetical order, with carefully compiled list to each one, details of which may be had on application.' (Hodgson, 1929).

There follows a list of 20 lots – 585 to 604 – of most counties of England together with the number of documents included totalling 5601. Devon is not included, but Lot 592 includes 166 documents: 91 from Gloucestershire, 60 from Somersetshire and 15 from Cornwall with a hand annotation of price realised of £1 4s. It seems the Particular of Lundy Island was included in this lot attributed to Cornwall rather than Devon.

Robert Clayton

Robert Clayton was born on 29 September 1629, son of John, a carpenter, and Alice in Bulwick Northamptonshire. His maternal uncle, Robert Abbott, was a scrivener who took him on as apprentice. Robert rose to become chief clerk and, on the death of his uncle, inherited his house and shop together with an annual income of £100. He went into partnership with his brother Peter, who became their chief clerk, and a fellow clerk, John Morris, to found a brokering, banking, conveyance and land agency.

They effectively founded the modern banking company, lending money on the security of deeds or promissory notes. The business was lucrative and as a by product they accumulated masses of documents. Robert incidentally was knighted in 1671 and elected to Parliament in 1679 (Melton, 2004).

All the paperwork generated from this business stayed with the family until just before the First World War when the Claytons' family seat, Marden Hall, was sold to the Greenwells. The bulk of these papers were passed on to the new owners. A sale of some papers took place in 1929 when Sir Peter Greenwell divided them into estate muniments, which he retained, and seventeenth century business and family records, which were sold. Many of these papers went directly to the Surrey Record Office and the Surrey Archaeological Society.

The largest group of papers was owned by George Sherwood, a private dealer in manuscripts who had obtained them from the Greenwells. They were sold at Sotheby's on 26 March 1929 to three principal purchasers. Seven hundred items went to the Public Record Office of Ireland; 5389 estate documents and title deeds were acquired by Hodgson's; and G. Michelmore acquired a collection of manuscripts and 3500 seventeenth century letters. Sherwood had other Clayton papers that he had acquired from sources other than the Greenwells which were sold later (Melton, 1979).

The document

The document consists of two sheets $14\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ inches (37.5x29.7mm) each folded in half to produce eight leaves; four contain the text and a fifth leaf forms a cover bearing various notations.

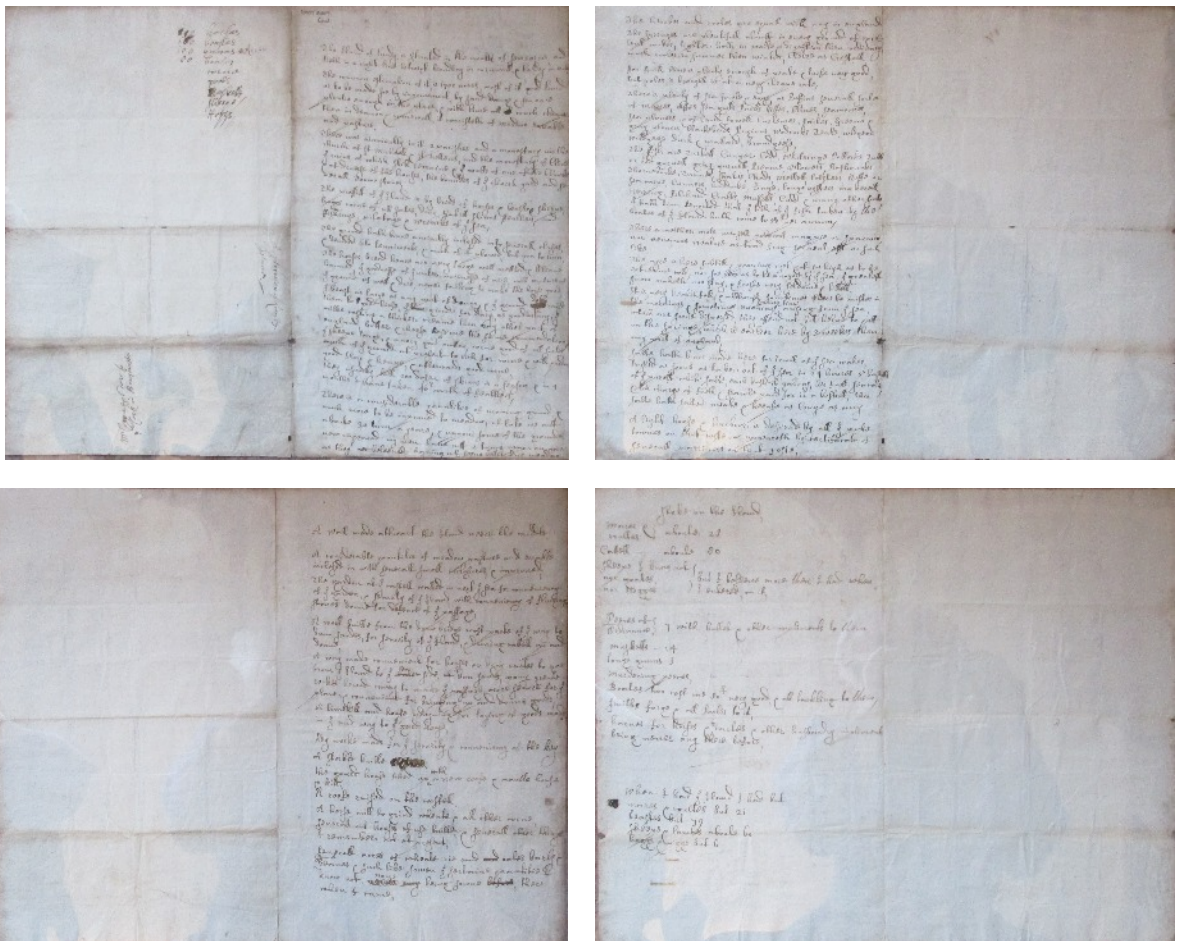


Figure 1: The two sheets – four sides, eight leaves – of the Particular of Lundy Island, showing the arrangement of the the four leaves which contain the text and the fifth which, when the sheets are folded, forms a cover and summary

Each sheet of paper has two watermarks and shows clear lines from the paper making process (Figure 2). The larger watermark with grapes and figures enclosed the letters 'PDC'; the smaller is a shield-shaped motif enclosing the letter 'GA'. The wires are a consistent $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (23mm) apart.

Research has been made into the documents that the Bodleian Library holds of the Clayton brothers archives (M.A. Williams, pers. comm.). Clayton documents were folded vertically so that they could be filed with a thin upper edge and long vertical axis. Along the top of this fold was written a brief description of the document. Figure 5 shows that this document conforms to this usage with the title 'A particuler of Lundy Island' written along it. The handwriting is also comparable to that seen on Bodleian documents.

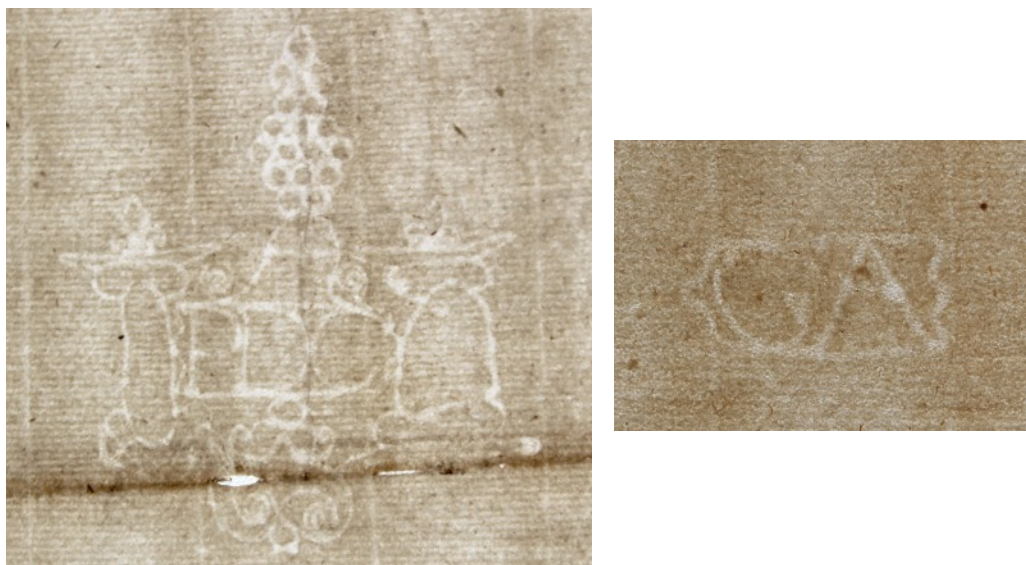


Figure 2: The regular lines and the two watermarks on both sheets of the document. Left: the 'grapes and PDC' watermark. Right: the 'GA' watermark

Paper

If light is allowed to pass through the paper, the watermarks and lines are clearly visible (Figure 2).

The regular lines are produced by the wires used in the handmade papermaking frame. The paper is darker near to the wires but in antique laid paper it is without shadow and dates the paper to post 1500 in a 'new style improved design'. The paper certainly dates from before 1757, when woven paper was introduced and the wire and chain lines, intrinsic to earlier paper making, disappeared. Wires and chains were used in the paper mould to support the paper during production leaving their distinctive outline (Bertrand, 2017).

The paper has been subjected to hyperspectral imaging courtesy of the Bodleian Library to determine whether the paper had been used previously. It was proven not to be a palimpsest. That is, it is not reused papers; the only writing it has ever borne is that of the Particuler of Lundy Island.

TRANSCRIPTION

No attempt has been made to modernise or make consistent the spellings or to rationalise the use of upper or lower case letters. An attempt at explaining archaic words has however been made with some success. There are words which defy transcription which are signified by either a '?' or by an ellipsis where they are illegible.

In order to make it easier to relate the original to this transcription, pages and lines have been numbered – these do not appear on the original. The Old English 'thorn', often written as 'ye', has been transcribed as 'the'. The unusual symbol for 'and' has of necessity been transcribed as '+'. Occurrences of 'ff' have been transcribed to indicate the capital letter 'F'.

Cover (Figure 3)

1. A p[ar]ticuler of Lundy Island
2. ii0 horses [110]
3. i60 beastes [160]
4. i00 gunns ...k...tt [100 guns and possibly muskets]
5. 80 boates
6. Corne
7. Goods
8. Musketts
9. Sheepe
10. Hoggs

11. Mr Couper next door to the Cock in Bowstreete

The first line gives the title to the document using an abbreviation based on the looped letter 'P' which is short for 'Par'.

The list from lines 2 through 10, which is in a different hand from that of the main document, appears to show rough working out of the extent and perhaps value of stock, stores and other goods on the island. 'Beasts' at this period means specifically cattle as opposed to horses, sheep, pigs etc. '80 boats' is implausible, but it is likely that the writer of this summary has confused the number of the boats with their cost – see the transcription of page 4, line 13 of the document on page 29.

The final line indicates that the document was at some time addressed to Mr Couper at an address in Bow Street probably located in London.

Page 1 (Figure 4)

LUNDY ISLAND, Cornw.

1. The Iland of lundy is situated in the mouth of sevearne and
2. lieth in a right line betwixt beaudbay in cornwall, + Caldey in Wales,
3. The common estimation of it, is 1700 acres, most of it good land
4. or to be made soe by improvement, by sand dunge + sea oar

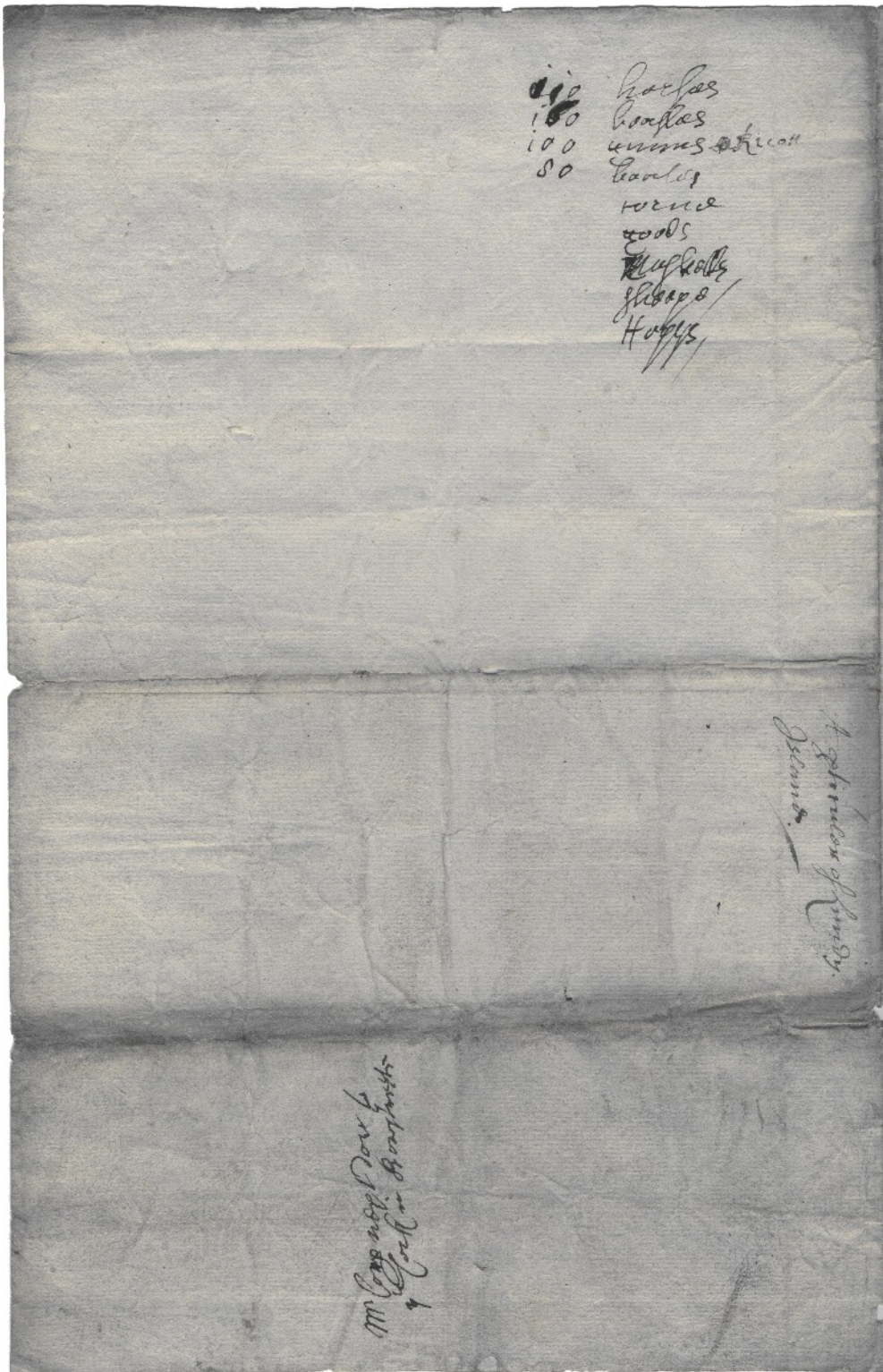


Figure 3: The Cover

LUNDY ISLAND,
Com.

The Island of Lundy is situated in the mouth of Sausage and
 both in a right line between Landbay in Cornwall, & Lundy in sea
 The common estimation of it is 1400 acres, most of it good land
 or to be made so by improvement, by sand dunes & sea acid
 plants enough in the place, & with lime out of much shales
 then in Devon & Cornwall, it consists of meadow, arable
 and pasture.

There was anciently in it 2 parishes and a monastery viz the
 church of St Michael & St Helens, and the monastery of St
 of ruins of which still remain, & walls of one of the churches
 of the houses, the bounds of the church yard and go-
 several stone stones

The profit of the Island is by breed of horses & beasts, sheeps,
 horse feed of all sorts, Dairy, Rabbit skins, feathers, and
 fishings, wildfowls & woods of the sea,

The ground hath been anciently inclosed into several places,
 & divided into townships, & much of it plowed, but gone to ruin,
 The horses breed here are very large well mottled & black
 limed, & good of water, & much of acid, well mixture of
 ground of wet & dry, never failing to make the horse good,
 & best as far as any part of Devon, & ground of
 them to good beef, & good ground for Dairy, as good as any, &
 milk rather a thicker cream than any other part of
 England, butter & cheese beyond the same commendation
 of these large, & very good milk, round good of all sorts
 much of the ground at present to with for round & will produce
 good sheep & horses, & afterwards good round,
 they usually kill 200 dozen of skins in a season & in 4
 months I have taken 40 worth of feathers,

There is a considerable quantity of mowing ground, &
 much more to be improved to meadow, of late we will
 about 30 turn a year, & upon some of the grounds
 now improved my men have cut 2 turn upon an acre
 as they are bolded, having not found better dry meadow

Figure 4: Page 1 (reverse of Page 2)

5. plentie enough in the place, + with lime all [erasure] much cheaper
6. then in deavon + cornewall, it consisteth of meadow areeable
7. and pasture,

The dark ink note in the top left-hand corner was applied to documents originating from the Clayton manuscript collection (Julian Browning pers. comm.) and offers further confirmation of originating from the Clayton Papers. Cornwall places it in the Sale at Hodgson's Rooms Thursday 16 May 1929 catalogue page 39 (Hodgson, 1929).

The document begins with a general geographical description of Lundy where it is placed in relation to Bude Bay in Cornwall rather than Bideford Bay in Devon. The black ink note also ascribes Lundy to Cornwall as do popular writings of the time: 'Over against the Coast of Cornwall is the Isle of Lundy in the Severn Sea' (Morden, 1701).

The area of the island has been variously given ranging from 3000 acres (1214 hectares) in 1775 (Martyn, 1837) to 1047 acres (424 hectares) at the last sale (1969). Around 1050 acres (425 hectares) is the currently accepted area of Lundy (Loyd, 1925; Sale, 1925; Compton & Key, 2000) but 1700 acres (688 hectares) was a fair estimation for this period when the shape and size of the island was similarly inaccurate.

'Sand dunge + sea oare' are exactly what they appear, using the archaic words 'sea oare' for Oar weed (*Laminaria digitata*) which was traditionally used as a fertiliser.

8. There was ainciently in it 2 parishes and a monestary vis the
9. church of St Michael + St Hellens, and the monestary of Cleve
10. the ruins of which still remaine + the walls of one of the Churches
11. + of diverse of the houses, the boundes of the church yard and se=
12. verall toome stones,

The two 'parishes' of St Michael and St Helens have been referred to by Ternstrom (2008) and Orme (2012). This double dedication dates to between 1641 and 1671 (NAO, 1641, 1657 and 1670/1) and indeed Ternstrom and Orme agree this dedication was only in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Rather than there being two buildings, there would most probably have been one dedicated to St Helen (Ellen) with the other, St Michael, perhaps referring to an aisle or chapel within the original structure. The lower courses of the chapel or cell do still remain and a later account (Anon, 1787) gives dimensions which can still be verified.

The 'ruins of a monastery' is consistent with usage that describes such property owned by, in this instance, Cleeve Abbey which possessed Lundy for the purpose of collecting tithes. The reference to several tombstones begs the question of who they commemorated. The oldest extant grave stones in the United Kingdom are generally seventeenth century. Typically, early gravestones were erected inside the church by those wealthy and literate enough to do so. There was little need to commemorate those of lesser stature. Being illiterate nothing other than a cross or device to show their trade would have been recognised by most of their mourners (White, 1978).

There could have been inscribed stones on Lundy. Or did this reference to these several stones mean the more recently discovered four inscribed early Christian memorial stones on Beacon Hill in their original positions, or does it refer to another

burial place in Bulls Paradise? Given that the whole paragraph groups the church, graveyard and its boundary and tombstones all together, were 'diverse of the houses' within this enclosure? It may be that the subsequently excavated archaeology was more visible at this time.

13. The proffitt of the Iland is by breed of horses + beasts + sheepe
14. hoggs corne of all sortes, dary, Rabitt skins Feathers, and
15. Fishings, pilotage + wreacks of the sea,

This is a fairly straightforward statement of income from farming, fishing and salvage. The sale of Rabbit skins and seabird feathers features frequently in subsequent accounts of Lundy (e.g. Sale, 1822).

16. The ground hath binne anciently inclosed into severall closes,
17. + devided into tenniments, + much of it plowed, but gon to ruin,

The reference to closes – a piece of land enclosed within hedges, fences or walls – and tenements – any holding of land and buildings (FitzHugh, 1985) – are land and agricultural terms and are amply depicted in Wyld's map of 1822 (Sale, 1822, Figure 7). This is the earliest map which gives any detail of what Lundy looked like and may show the relics of the features which existed from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It lists six closes as well as other fields and of course Widow's Tenement and two other holdings, Morisco and Newtown, which may at one time have been individual tenements.

18. The horses bread heare are very large well mettled + Cleane
19. limmed, the goodnesse of the water, purenesse of aire, well mixture of
20. the ground of wett + drie, never failing to make the horse good,
21. the beast as large as any part of Devon, + the ground [erased] doth raise
22. them to good beefe, the [erased] grounds for Dary, as good as any, the
23. milke casting a thickere creame then any other part of
24. england, butter + cheese deserve the same commendation
25. the sheepe large, + a very good mutton, corne good of all sortes
26. much of the ground at present to rich for corne + will produce
27. good flax + hempe, + afterwards good corne,

Expanding further on the benefit of Lundy to breeding of horses, it is little wonder that in a time when the only motive power available was horse driven they should feature so importantly. As well as describing the land as being used for arable agriculture, dairy farming is highlighted as too is raising stock for beef, mutton and pork together with crops of corn, flax and hemp. There is some indication of good farming practice too in reference to enriching the land by growing flax and hemp before planting with corn.

28. they usually kill 200 dozen of skinns in a season + in 4
29. months I have taken 40£ worth of feathers,
30. There is a considerable quantitie of mowing ground, +

31. much more to be improved to meadow, of late we cutt
32. aboute 30 tunne a yeare, + uppon some of the groundes
33. now improved my men have cutt 2 tunne upon on acre
34. as they ner beleevd having not seene better drie meadow

The 200 dozen of skins (2400 pelts) undoubtedly refers to the killing and skinning of rabbits (*op. cit.* page 1 line 4) as well as the harvesting of sea birds for their feathers. A further sales pitch is the yield of up to 2 tons per acre for silage.

Page 2 (Figure 5)

1. The hearbes and rootes are equall with any in England
2. The springes are plentiful almost in every ground of excel=
3. lent water, lighter both in waite + digestion then ordinary,
4. much cooler in summer then winter, Cleere as Cristall,

There has not been much change in the 450 years since the document was written. These statements are repeated in each subsequent publication about the island, for example Risdon, 1605; Fiennes, 1647; Morden, 1701; Martyn, 1775 (in Steinman, 1836); Sale, 1822.

5. For fuell there is plenty enough of peate + furze very good,
6. but coles is brought in at a very cheape rate,

Although peat and furze (furze=gorse, *Ulex* sp.) are still present on the island, there is no evidence of any peat digging although the Sale (1822) document does mention peat for firing. The mention of 'coles' is relevant to the production of salt mentioned later on this page.

7. There is plenty of sea fowle + eggs, as Puffins severall sortes
8. of murre, affes sea gulls Puetts Kiffes, Olives seamewes,
9. sea plovers, + of land fowell Curlewes, srikes Greene +
10. gray plovers, blackebirds, Pignons, Wodcocks, Teale, widgeon
11. Wildgeese duck + mallard, brandgeese,

Tables 1 and 2 (page 19) show the names of marine birds and terrestrial birds listed in lines 7-11 together with their modern and scientific names. Table 3 (page 20) shows the names of the fish listed in lines 12-16 together with their modern and scientific names.

12. The Fish are Turbott Cunger Codd, Whiteinge Pollocke Tubb
13. or red gurnett gray gurnett, Breame, Plowers [?], Bashounds
14. Thornebacke, Tunnes, skates, Chads, Mellet, lobsters, Roffe or
15. sea carpe, Cunners, haddocke, Linge, longe oysters makerell
16. Herring, Pilchard, Crabbs, Mussells, Cudd + many other sorts
17. it hath binn reported that the tith of the fish taken by the
18. boates of the Iland hath come to 50£ per annum,

The heaches and rocks are equal with any in england
 The Springs are plentiful almost in every ground of soft
 soft water, lighter, both in taste & digestion then ordinary,
 much cooler in summer then winter, & good as Criffall
 for such there is plenty enough of water & chiefe very good,
 but sales is brought in at a very cheare rate,
 There is plenty of sea fowls & as, as Lusins several sortes
 of murres, differ sea gulls, Lulls, Kiffes, Chines, seamores,
 sea plovers, & of land fowell Curlewes, sprikes, Greens
 grey plovers, blackbirds, Pigeons, wadwicks, Swale, widson
 wildgeese, Duck & mallard, brandgeese,
 The fish are Turbot, Lingcod, Cod, whitings, Pollocke, Tull
 or red gurnett, grey gurnett, Adamant, Stewarts, Rayhounds
 Rhombus, Dunnet, Scholes, Chads, mallett, lobsters, Koffe or
 sea raine, Cunnets, haddock, Ling, longe, oggles, mackerell
 Herring, Pilchard, Crabbs, Muffells, Cull & many other sorts
 it hath bin reported that y^e fish of y^e fish taken by the
 boates of y^e Island hath come to 50⁰⁰ or annuall,
 There is neither mole, wasp, nor bee, nor spider
 nor venomous vermin as toad, frog, serpent, or such
 like,
 The ayre is here subtil & sweet, yet not so high as to be
 refreshing, nor so low as to be annoyed by y^e sea, y^e greatest
 snow maketh noe stay, & frosts very seldom & little,
 It is very healthfull, & although sometimes there be mists in
 the mornings, sometimes ^{rising time} evening, arising from y^e sea,
 which are soon dispersed, they offend not, but helpe to putt
 on the springe, which is earlier here by 3 weekes then
 any part of england
 There hath bin made here for triall, of y^e sea water,
 bagged as found as taken out of y^e sea in 24 houres, & bushell
 of y^e curast white salts, each bushell is gallons, his small sea-rolls
 this charge of small & sea-rolls said for 12 or bushell, this
 salts hath salted moche & keepe as longe as any,
 A light house & harbour is desired by all y^e water
 townes on that coast, as appeareth by the petition of
 severall merchants on that coast,

Figure 5: Page 2 (obverse of Page 1)

Table 1: Sea Fowle (Marine Birds)

| Manuscript | Modern Name | Scientific Name | Refs/notes |
|---------------------|--|--|--|
| Puffin | Puffin | <i>Fratercula arctica</i> | |
| murres | Auks Razorbill or Guillemot | Alcidae <i>Alca torda</i> or <i>Uria aalge</i> | Greenoak, 1979 |
| affes/asses | Assilag=Storm Petrel | <i>Hydrobates pelagicus</i> | Hett, 1902 |
| sea gulls | Sea Gull | Laridae | |
| Puetts Puit Gull | Peewit Gull Black-headed Gull | <i>Vanellus vanellus</i> <i>Croicocephalus ridibundus</i> | Greenoak, 1979; Hett, 1902 |
| Kittes/Kiffes | Kites or Kittewakes Kitiwake (Hett) | Accipitreae sp. <i>Buteo buteo</i> <i>Rissa tridactyla</i> | 'Kite' in the south west is a generic term for both Kite and Buzzard |
| Olives | Oyster Catcher | <i>Haematopus ostralegus</i> | Greenoak, 1979; Hett, 1902 Essex dialect |
| seamewes | Common Gull Herring Gull | <i>Larus canus</i> <i>Larus argentatus</i> | Greenoak, 1979 Hett, 1902 |
| sea plovers | Golden Plover | <i>Pluvialis apricaria</i> | Jones, pers. Comm. |

Table 2: Land Fowell (Terrestrial Birds)

| Manuscript | Modern Name | Scientific Name | Refs/notes |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Curlewes | Curlew | <i>Numenius arquata</i> | |
| srikes | Shrikes | <i>Lanius</i> sp. | Hett, 1902 |
| Green plovers | Green Plover/Lapwing | <i>Vanellus vanellus</i> | Hett, 1902 |
| gray Plovers | Golden Plover | <i>Pluvialis apricaria</i> | Jones, pers. comm. |
| blackebirds | Blackbird | <i>Turdus merula</i> | |
| Wodcocks | Woodcock | <i>Scolopax rusticola</i> | |
| Teale | Teal | <i>Anas crecca</i> | |
| Widgeon | Widgeon | <i>Anas penelope</i> | |
| Wildgeese | Wild Geese | Anserinae | |
| ducks | Ducks | Anatidae | |
| mallards | Mallard | <i>Anas platyrhynchos</i> | |
| brandgeese | Brent Goose | <i>Branta bernicla</i> | Hett, 1902 |

Table 3: Fish

| Manuscript | Modern Name | Scientific Name | Refs/ notes |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Turbott | Turbot | <i>Scophthalmus maximus</i> | |
| Cunger | Conger | <i>Conger conger</i> | |
| Codd | Cod | <i>Gadus morhua</i> | |
| Whiteinge | Whiting | <i>Merlangius merlangus</i> | |
| Pollocke | Pollock | <i>Pollachius pollachius</i> | |
| Tubb | Tub Gurnard | <i>Chelidonichthys lucerna</i> | |
| Red Gurnett | Red Gurnard | <i>Chelidonichthys cuculus</i> | |
| Gray Gurnett | Grey Gurnard | <i>Eutrigla gurnardus</i> | |
| Breame | Bream | <i>Abramis</i> sp. | 12 species from British waters |
| Plowers | | | No modern synonym found |
| Bashounds | Bass | <i>Dicentrarchus labrax</i> | |
| Thorneback | Thornback Ray | <i>Raja clavata</i> | |
| Tunnes | Tunny | <i>Thunnus</i> sp. | Probably Bluefin Tuna <i>Thunnus thynnus</i> |
| Skates | Skate | Family Rajidae | |
| Chads | Shadd | <i>Alosa</i> sp. | |
| Mellet | Mullet | Family Mugilidae | 3 species most likely Grey Mullet <i>Chelon labrosus</i> |
| Lobster | Lobster | <i>Homarus gammarus</i> | |
| Roffe/Sea Carpe | Ruffe | <i>Gymnocephalus cernuus</i> | Freshwater or brackish water |
| Cunners | Bergall | <i>Tautoglabrus adspersus</i> | Wikipedia |
| Haddocke | Haddock | <i>Melanogrammus aeglefinus</i> | |
| Linge | Ling | <i>Molva molva</i> | |
| Longe Oysters | Spiny Lobster | <i>Palinurus elephas</i> | Sea Crayfish (OED Online) |
| Makerell | Mackerel | <i>Scomber scombrus</i> | |
| Herring | Herring | <i>Clupea harengus</i> | |
| Pilchard | Pilchard | <i>Sardina pilchardus</i> | |
| Crabbs | Crab | Decapoda - Brachyura | |
| Mussells | Mussels | <i>Mytilus edulis</i> | |
| Cudd | Cod | <i>Gadus morhua</i> | |

19. There is neither mole weasell polecatt, magpie or sparrow
20. nor venomous creature as toad frog serpent eft or such
21. like

This is a reference to the Tudor vermin acts. An eft is a newt. In order to protect grain stocks following periods of plagues such as the Black Death and subsequent dearth of labourers in farming, Henry VIII and later Elizabeth I enacted 'An Acte made and ordeyned to dystroye Choughs, Crowes and Rokes 1533' (24 Henry VIII cap 10) and 'An Acte for the preservation of Grayne 1566' (8 Eliz cap 15) respectively. These acts specifically mention, amongst other species, Moles, Weasel, Magpies and Sparrows on which a bounty per head was paid through the parish.

The absence of amphibians and reptiles would equate this island to places such as Ireland where they are also absent. It is echoed by Grose (1776) when he quotes from 'Walter Baker, a Canon of Osney (Lundy)'.

22. The ayre is here subtill + pearcing, yet not so high as to be
23. extreame cold, nor soe low as to be anoyed by the sea, the greatest
24. snow maketh noe stay, + frosts very seldom + littell,
25. It is very healthfull, + although sometimes there be mistes
26. in the mornings + sometimes evening springtime [inserted] arising from
the sea,
27. which are soone dispersed, they offend not, but helpe to putt
28. on the springe, which is earlier here by 3 weekes then
29. any part of england,

All recent visitors to Lundy will no doubt concur as to these statements. The rarity of snow and ice, the occurrence of layers of sea mist and the comparatively mild weather are all still to be relished – another sentiment that has been repeated each time there is a publication about Lundy (Anon, 1787).

30. Salte hath binn made here for triall of the sea water,
31. boyled as soone as taken out of the sea in 24 houres 5 bushells
32. of the purest white salte, each bush 16 gallons, his fuell seacole,
33. + his charge of fuell + seacole paid for 12d a bushell, this
34. salte hath salted meate + kepte as longe as any,

The Grenville family owned Lundy for most of the seventeenth century. One of them, Sir Bevil Grenville (owner 1619-43), was an experimenter who pioneered the smelting of tin with coal instead of charcoal (Granville, 1895). He could be credited with similar experiments with the production of salt. Charles Thomas (1994) excavated briquetage from the Iron Age site in the graveyard. This is the term used to describe broken ceramic material used to make salt evaporation vessels or the pillars that supported them. There is no suggestion that this is where the seventeenth century salt making took place. Adjacent to the east wall of the castle is what is described as a furnace (NT HRO 109054) which is presumed to have been a smithy. Andrew Fielding (pers. comm.)

suggests that this could have been where sea water was heated to evaporate salt. It would seem more efficient to evaporate salt at sea level where saltwater and coal would both be present without carriage. However the extreme tidal range – up to 11m – and lack of any permanent area which could be used militates against this location. The connection with the Grenvilles and Bushell suggests that the technology and will was there which, together with the description in the manuscript, suggests salt was locally produced for domestic purposes at least.

35. A light house + harbour is desired by all the porte
36. townes on that coste, as appeareth by certifiacate of
37. severall marriners on that coste,

Although generally thought to be desirable, nothing officially is recorded regarding a request for such a light-house until the seventeenth century. No light-house was built until undertaken by Trinity House in 1819 (see also Discussion).

Page 3 (Figure 6)

1. A wall made athwart the Iland neere the middle,

This is the wall known today as Quarter Wall. The map which accompanies the Sale of 1822 shows 'Halfway Wall' – now known as Quarter Wall – and the newly erected 'North Wall' (Figure 7), subsequently 'Halfway Wall'. The southernmost wall, now known as Quarter Wall is undoubtedly medieval in origin (NT HRO MNA 102667) but may have been rebuilt or repaired by John Warren Borlase post 1752. Benson employed convict labour to erect what is now Halfway Wall around 1750 and the third and most northerly wall, Threequarter Wall, was built in 1878 during the Heaven ownership by the tenant farmer Thomas Wright (Langham, 1970, NT HRO 108122).

2. A considerable quantitie of meadow pasture and arrable
3. inclosed in with severall small inclosures, + improved,

This is a repetition of the statements made on the first page lines 16-17 (Figure 7).

4. The garden at the castell walled in next the sea for conveniency
5. of the garden, + security of the Iland, with conveniency of flinging
6. stones dovne for defence of the passage,

Grose (1776) shows this enclosed garden in his map of the castle. The National Trust Heritage record dates it to the late seventeenth century (NT HRO 108756) (Figure 8).

7. A wall builte from the draw bridge most parte of the way to
8. dunn sandes, for security of the Iland, + driving cattell up and
9. dovne,
10. A way made convenient for horses or dray cartes to goe
11. from the Iland to the water sea side, at dun sands, many greate
12. rockes hewed away to make the passage more secure for the
13. place, + convenient for bringing up and dovne goods,

A wall made athwart the Island neere the middle,
 A considerable quantitie of meadow washed and scabbled
 inclosed in with severall small inclosures, & improved,
 the garden at y^e ruffell walled in next y^e sea for convenience
 of y^e garden, & security of y^e Island, with convenience of flinging
 stones downe for defence of y^e passage,
 A wall built from the draw bridge most parts of y^e way to
 Dun Jards, for security of y^e Island, & beinge ruffell up and
 downe,
 A way made convenient for horses or dray waggons to goe
 from y^e Island to y^e ~~water~~ ^{sea} side, at Dun Jards, many great
 rocks hewed away to make y^e passage more secure for y^e
 plow, & convenient for bringinge up and downe goods,
 A limbeck and house adjoining for laying of goods made
 in y^e mid way to y^e good house,
 Key works made for y^e security & convenience of the key
 of stables built ~~at~~ ^{at} the
 the walled house fitted up, with a new roofe & mantle house
 & kitch,
 A roofe raised on the ruffell,
 A horse mill to grind wheate & all other corn,
 severall out houses of use built, & severall other thinge
 I remember not at present,
 severall acres of wheate is and was sowed barly &
 some ^{some} ~~some~~ such like sowne y^e severall quantitie of
 know not, ^{none} ~~none~~ ^{none} beinge sowne before, these
 when I came,

Figure 6: Page 3 (reverse of Page 4)

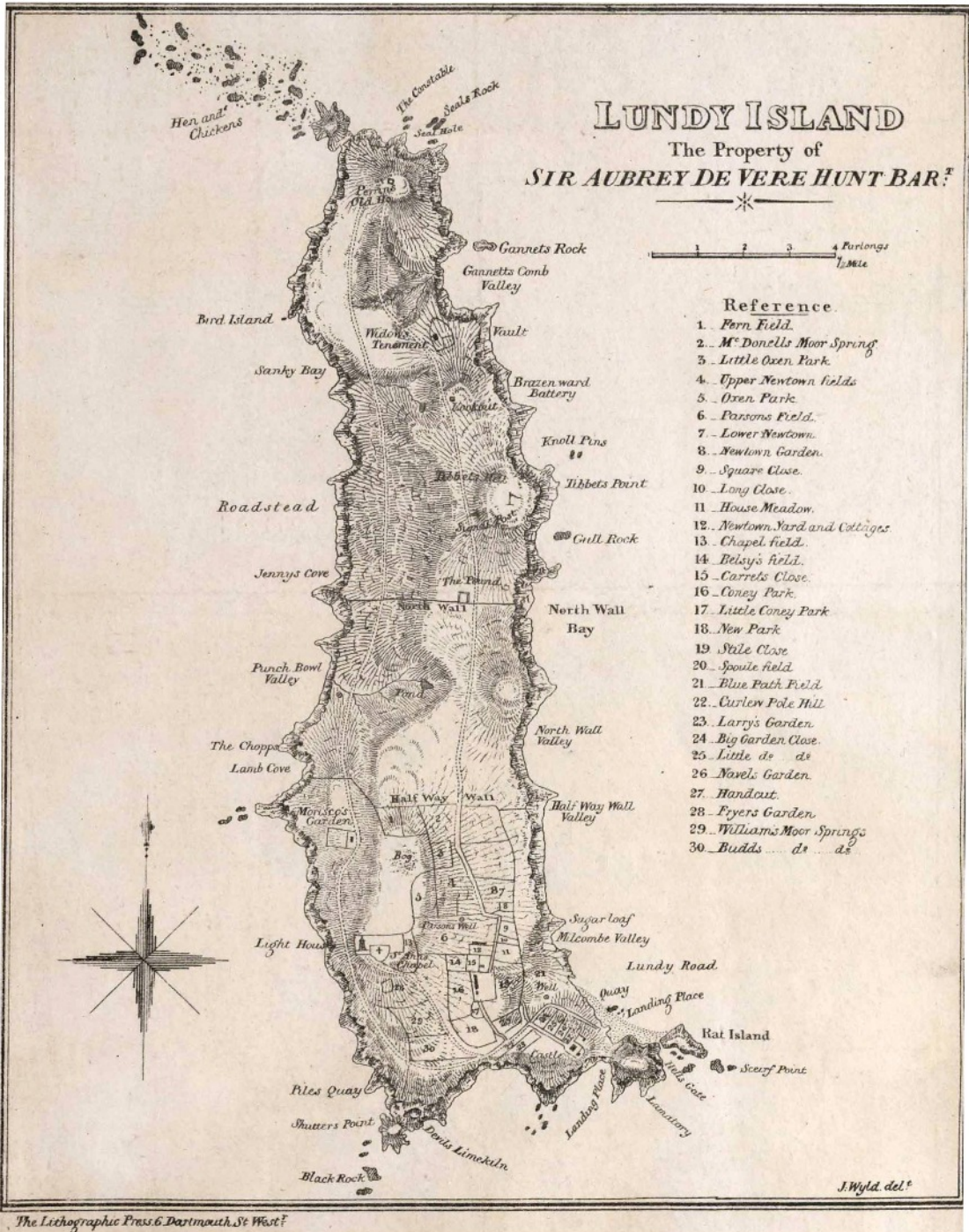


Figure 7: Wyld's map for De Vere Hunt 1822 showing existing closes and tenements, the dividing walls 'athwart the island', castle environs and roads most of which may not have changed between the mid-seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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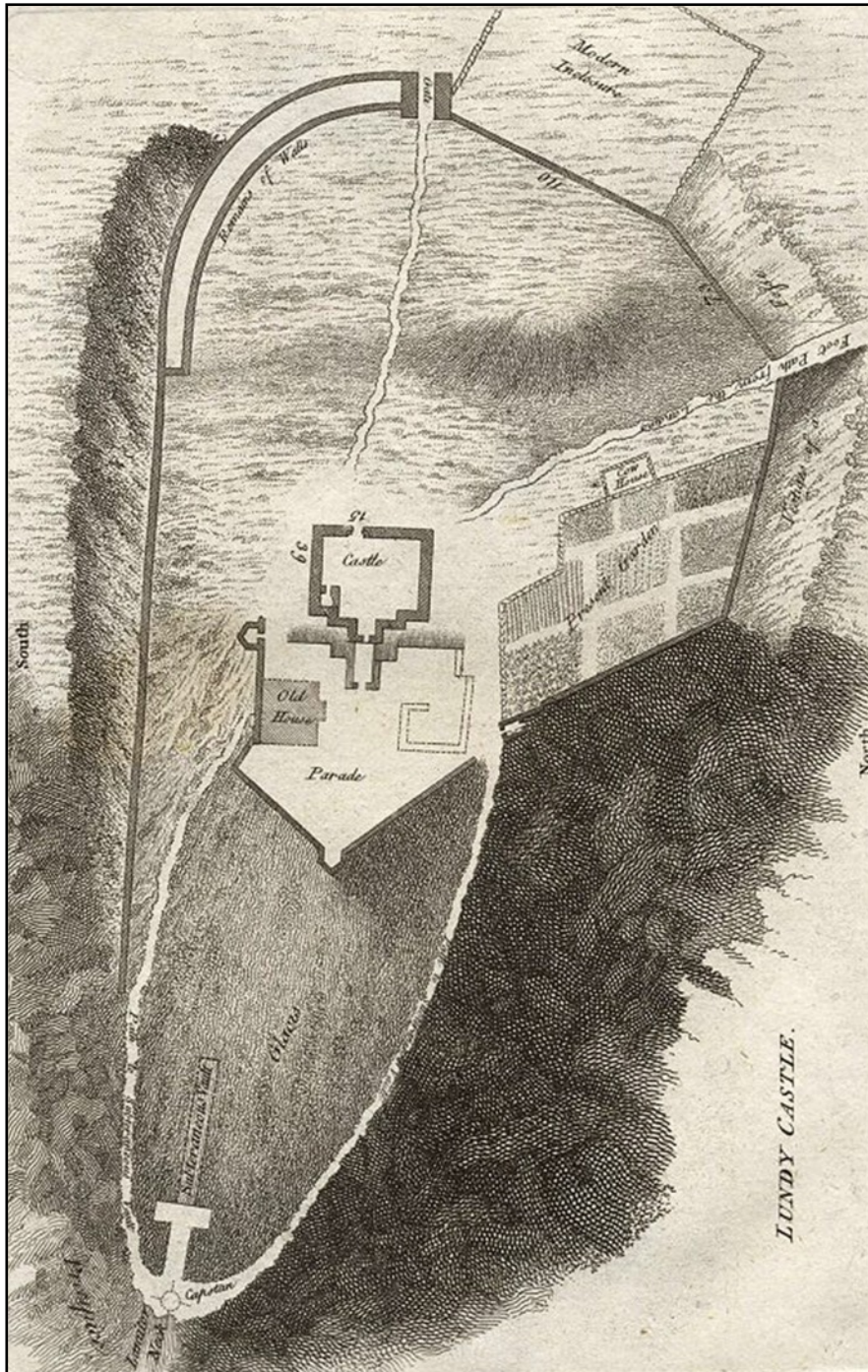


Figure 8: Illustration from Grose (1776) showing the castle, gatehouse and gardens

The draw bridge features in Grose (1776) (Figure 8). The existence of the wall is later confirmed in the description of the island given by the anonymous writer of 1787 (Anon, 1787). So too is the description of the road down to the landing beach. Cattle were obviously taken down this road to be embarked or disembarked and it was of sufficient gradient that carts could be used for transportation of goods. The description of how this was achieved is new information revealed in this manuscript.

14. A limekill and house adjoining for laying of goods made
15. in the mid way to the gard house,

A limekiln existed until its destruction in 1954 (NT HRO 108954) (Figure 9). Grose (1776) quotes the account of a visitor who describes 'a watch tower near the landing place ...'. The NT Heritage database refers to a possible guardhouse built into the corner of the castle curtain wall which may have been subsequently used as a 'privy' (NT HRO 109051).



Figure 9: The limekiln in 1951 (author's collection)

16. Key worke made for the security + conveniency of the key

The Parkyas map (1804) (Figure 10) shows a quay in existence. When the foundations for the current shore building were being excavated, a cobbled wall and floor were uncovered looking very like this original quay (Roger Fursdon pers. comm.). Although it was backfilled during the construction phase, there are sea-worn granite blocks recovered from the Landing Beach which could well have been part of the quay that collapsed at some time. These were recovered from the lower Landing Beach during construction of the road in 2008 (Derek Green pers. comm.) (Figure 11).

17. A stable builte [erased],
18. the gaurd house fitted up with [inserted] a new rooffe + maulte house
19. + kiln,

The lime kiln stood on the slipway adjacent to the landing beach (Figure 9), but the existence and locations of stable and malt house were previously unknown. See line 15 regarding the guard house.

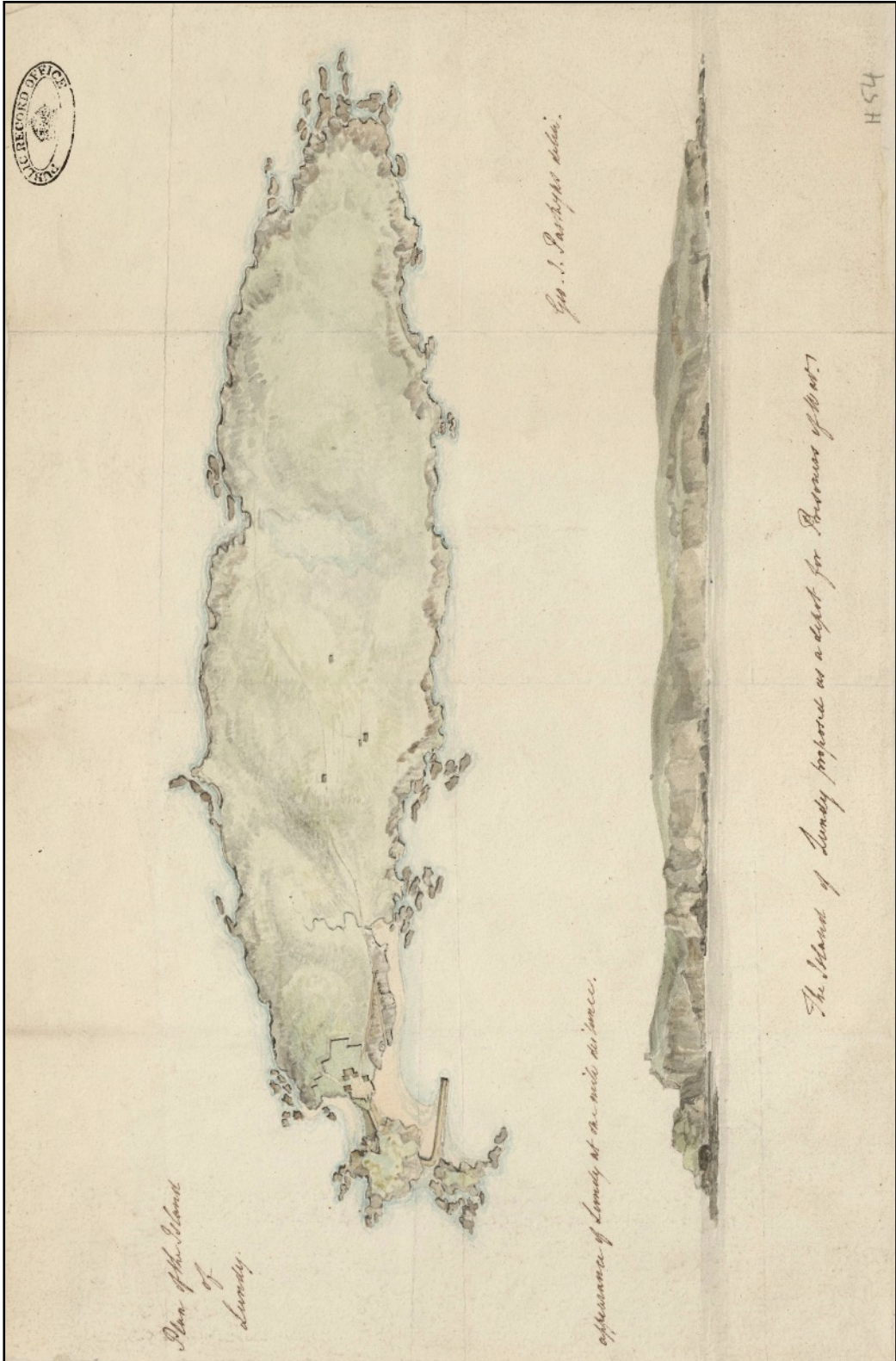


Figure 10: The Parkyns map of 1804 clearly showing the quay, access road, the castle and its walls. © British Library Board MPH 1 54



Figure 11: Contemporary photograph of sea-worn granite from an old quay.
© Alan Rowland

20. A rooffe raised on the castell,
21. A horse mill to grind wheate + all other corne,

There was a horse mill in what is now known as the barn, housed in the round house. It is not known how old this building is or if it could be the building referred to.

22. severall out houses of use builte, + severall other thing[s]
23. I remember not at present,

These are developments in and around the present village or castle although exactly what and where is unclear. Grose (1776) quotes a visitor describing the buildings on the island to include the Castle, the Chapel, the remains of a house near St Helen's Well (present day Barton's field area) and an adjacent brewhouse, and watch towers at both north and south of the island.

24. Severall acres of wheate rie and ~~and~~ oates barley +
25. some [inserted] beanes + such like sowen the sertaine quantitie I
26. know not, [illegible crossing out] none ~~any~~ being sowne ~~before~~, there
27. when I came,

This list of crops shows that new crops were being experimented with.

Page 4 (Figure 12)

1. Stoke on the Iland,
2. Mares + } aboute 28
3. coultes }
4. Cattell aboute 80
5. Sheep I know not }
6. nor goates, } but I beleeve more then I had when
7. nor Hogges } I entered, on it,

8. Peeces of } 7 with bullet + other impliments to them
9. Ordinance }
10. musketts 14
11. longe gunns 3
12. Murdering peeeces,
13. Boates two cost me 80£ very good, + all tackling to them,
14. smiths forge + all tooles to it,
15. harnes for horses + 2 cartes + other husbandry impliments
16. being never any there before,

17. When I had the Iland I had but
18. mares + coultes but 21
19. beastes but 79
20. sheepe + lambes about 60
21. hoggs + piggs but 6

This is the inventory page, summing up much of what has gone before.

A musket is a firearm designed to be fired with the stock braced against the shoulder.

A long gun listed between musket and murdering piece and numbering only three probably refers to a type of cannon with a long barrel as opposed to a short howitzer or carronade. A 'murdering peece' in contrast was a small piece of artillery designed to be fired from loopholes or embrasures in towers, fortifications or portholes in a ship (Hamlet iv 5. 92) – essentially anti-personnel cannon loaded with case-shot which was filled with small bullets, nails, old iron, etc. 'Murdering peece' became obsolete later in the seventeenth century when carronades replaced them (OED, 2015).

It is relevant to consider the reported number of horses – 28 compared with 21 when the writer was on the island. Similarly 80 cattle compared with 79 and his lack of knowledge of sheep, goats and pigs when he formerly husbanded 60 sheep and 6 pigs. It suggests that he had left the island some time previously. Compare these figures with the current stock levels of: Lundy ponies 20; Domestic Sheep 300; Soay Sheep 250; Feral Goats 20; Domestic Pigs 6 sows, 1 boar and 33 weaners; plus Sika Deer 100 (Kevin Welsh pers. comm.)

The possession of a boat for access, harness for the working horses and a smithy to maintain their hooves and the necessary farming implements show the self-sufficiency of the island community.

flocks on the Island,
 mores & roubles } about 20
 Cattle } about 80
 sheep I know not }
 nor goats, } but I believe more than I had when
 nor Horses } I succeed, on it,

Pieces of Ordnance } 7 with bullet & other implements to them
 muskets - 14
 long guns 3
 murdering swords,
 Boats two rest me so ⁷, very good, & all buckling to them,
 Smiths forge & all tools to it,
 harness for horses & harness & other husbandry implements
 being none any there before,

when I had of Island I had but
 mores & roubles but 21
 Cattle but 77
 sheep & lambs about 60
 horses & Horses but 6

Figure 12: Page 4 (obverse of Page 3)

DISCUSSION

The manuscript reads like an estate agent's persuasive description to buy an attractive and lucrative island and business. This contrasts with Grenville's desire to retain ownership at all costs and, where it passed to state-appointed occupiers, demands for recompense for the drain the island had on the occupiers' income. In the first instance, in 1630, Sir Bevil Grenville, who had recently spent considerable amounts on improving Lundy, refused to sell it to Sir William Godolphin for 'less than £5000'. In 1631, in a letter from Sir Bevil Grenville to Sir John Eliot, he mentions he had recently made a quay and harbour. In Sir Bevil's letters to his father, Sir Bernard Grenville, he mentions sending gulls' eggs and salt birds from the island and his failure to catch some Knots and inability to send butter (Granville, 1895).

Around 1631-2 Sir Bevil was approached by Sir Henry Bouchier to purchase Lundy. His father, Sir Bernard, who always felt the island to be a financial and burdensome drain on him, encouraged the sale. Sir Bevil wrote to his father to explain why he would not sell. His enthusiasm and expectations for the island shine through. The phrases used, and affection apparent, in this letter are mirrored in the text the Particuler (Stucley, 1983).

However, in 1638 the island was apparently offered up for sale when an 'offer to purchase' was recorded (Hervey 1921). Later, in 1646, Lord Saye and Sele appears to have bought the island. This is supported by an indenture of 1669 between John Cooper and John Earl of Bath being a release for £2600 (PRO, 1663). This has been interpreted as the redemption of a loan secured on Lundy, or Lundy may have been sold by Say and Sele to a third party who then sold it back to the Grenville family.

Certainly during the Civil War period it passed through Royalist hands from the Grenvilles to others such as Bushell.

Sir Bernard Grenville wrote to the Secretary of State on 30 June 1633, officially putting into words what had been spoken about freely in the early years of the seventeenth century. From 1608, when a commission took dispositions from three persons to the effect that pirates had taken Lundy and were robbing passing ships, until the mid-seventeenth century pirates were present and widely complained about. In 1625 Turkish pirates had taken the island and threatened to set fire to Ilfracombe. From 1628 to 1634 the pirates occupying Lundy were perpetually causing problems along the adjacent coasts. There is no evidence for petitions for the erection of a lighthouse until Thomas Benson was on the island in 1751 (Ternstrom, 2007) (see also the manuscript page 2 lines 35-37).

With regard to all the building work referred to in the manuscript (e.g. page 3 line 16) Sir Bevil may not be responsible for all of this work. Up until 1639 he had devoted himself to improving and adding to his home at Stowe in Kilkhampton. It would appear that once this project was completed he turned his attention to his island of Lundy (Stucley, 1983). His letter to his father around 1630-31 refers to his impending visit to Lundy: 'I am going thither this week to see my great works finished, which I hope will be within this month.' (Figure 8).

There still exists a letter written on 17 September 1631 (Granville, 1895) from Sir John Eliot to Sir Bevil Grenville from the Tower of London in which he was imprisoned. In this, Sir John advises his friend that 'Keyes ar usuall and unquestioned ... but no color of fortifications is allowable ...'.

Sir Bevil's reply also exists written on 9 October (*ibid*): '... you have dealt so ingeniously with me concerning my late undertaking at Lundy.'

It is clear that Sir Bevil had begun work on his quay before September 1631 and continued its construction with the cautious consent of Sir John.

And again (manuscript page 3 line 20) Stucley (1983) asserts that not only did Grenville build the harbour and quay but also either built or, as suggested in this document, made repairs to the castle and guard house as protection from the marauding pirates in the Bristol Channel.

There can be little doubt that this is an original document. In fact it does beg the question as to what advantage would there be to create such a document with so many verifiable as well as new facts (Chris Webster, pers. comm.). The paper is original and contemporary with the seventeenth century; it has not been used for any other purpose; and the Secretary Hand was in use at the time of its origin. The phraseology used and reference to the 'parishes' of St Michael and St Ellen are all of the seventeenth century. It is unfortunate that the document is neither signed nor dated.

As to when it was written, it was later than 1631 as the Grenville Quay completed around that time is in existence. The period when the Clayton brothers were collecting their documents and establishing their banking system was between 1660 and 1682 (Melton, 1979) which further narrows down the date of the document to a 50-year period.

Who wrote it and why is another difficult question to determine. The phraseology echoed that used by Sir Bevil Grenville in the surviving letters that he wrote to his father and to Sir John Eliot. The originals of Grenville's letters stored in the Devon Record Office (Chris Webster pers. comm.) show a completely different hand, so he can be ruled out as the writer, and this is in any case consistent with his refusal to sell the island in his lifetime (Granville, 1895).

The last page discloses that the writer, who is no longer on the island, did occupy it and remembers various items of stock and husbandry that were there when he resided there. He may have been the owner or the owner's bailiff, but contrary to most accounts of this time he describes the island as fruitful and with affection. This is in contrast to the expenditure subsequent owners report incurred on erecting or maintaining buildings and the means by which to journey to and from the island.

A most intriguing document is an indenture of 1669. There is much of it which is illegible, but it appears to be the redemption of a loan secured on Lundy between John Cooper and John Earl of Bath for release of an indenture of £2600. This indenture could have been a supporting document to prove the value of the island (PRO, 1663).

It is unique in listing birds and fish for this early period. The mention of salt-making was previously unknown as were the stock levels. Details of the island's arms and of the buildings also throw new light on seventeenth century Lundy.

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Association who has been closely involved with the LFS as Chairman and with Lundy as promoter and surveyor of the Lundy Marine Conservation Zone. Chris Webster who obtained a copy of Sir Bevil Grenville's handwriting to prove he was not the writer of the manuscript nevertheless reassured us that the document is genuine.

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