

6 Romano-British (AD 43 – 410)

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6.1 Introduction

Although Scilly was a very remote part of the Roman Empire it occupied a pivotal position on the Atlantic façade along the routes of trade and cultural interchange between Brittany and Western Britain; unlike Cornwall, however, it was not a source of streamed tin. The cultural origins of Roman Scilly are rooted in the local Iron Age but sites can be identified which reflect the cult practices of the wider Roman world. Charles Thomas (1985, 170-2) envisaged Roman Scilly as a place of pilgrimage, dominated by a shrine to a native marine goddess at Nornour in the Eastern Isles. The rich Roman finds from that site are among the most iconic and enigmatic emblems of Scilly's archaeological heritage. The main characteristics of Scilly's Romano-British (AD 43 to AD 410) resource are summarised in this review.

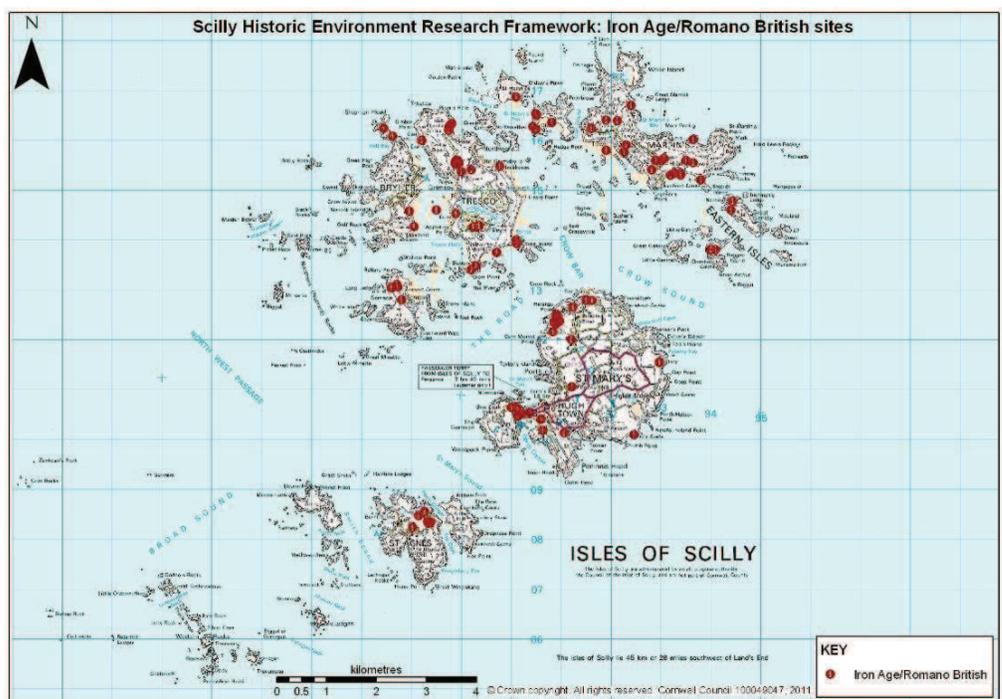


Fig 6.1 Iron Age and Romano-British sites recorded in the Scilly HER

6.2 Landscape and environmental background

Results from the Lyonesse Project (Charman *et al* 2012) suggest that the present pattern of islands was largely formed by this period, although the intertidal zone was much greater in extent (Fig 6.2).

Radiocarbon dating and environmental analysis of the lower peat deposit sample from Old Town Bay, St Mary's, in 1997 indicated that from the Late Iron Age to the early medieval period the site consisted of an area of shallow freshwater surrounded by a largely open landscape with arable fields and pasture bordering the wetland (Ratcliffe and Straker 1998, 1).

Pollen from Old Town Bay, St Mary's, analysed by the Lyonesse Project, suggests herb-rich grassland with a background of coastal indicators; aquatic plants suggest standing

water throughout the Roman period and into the early medieval. Samples from Bathinghouse Porth, Treco, indicate a saltmarsh environment at the end of the Roman and beginning of the early medieval period. Samples from Porth Coose, St Agnes, show low background levels of woodland and wet grassland with very high *Plantago* and other disturbance indicators becoming increasingly aquatic during the same period (Charman *et al* 2012).

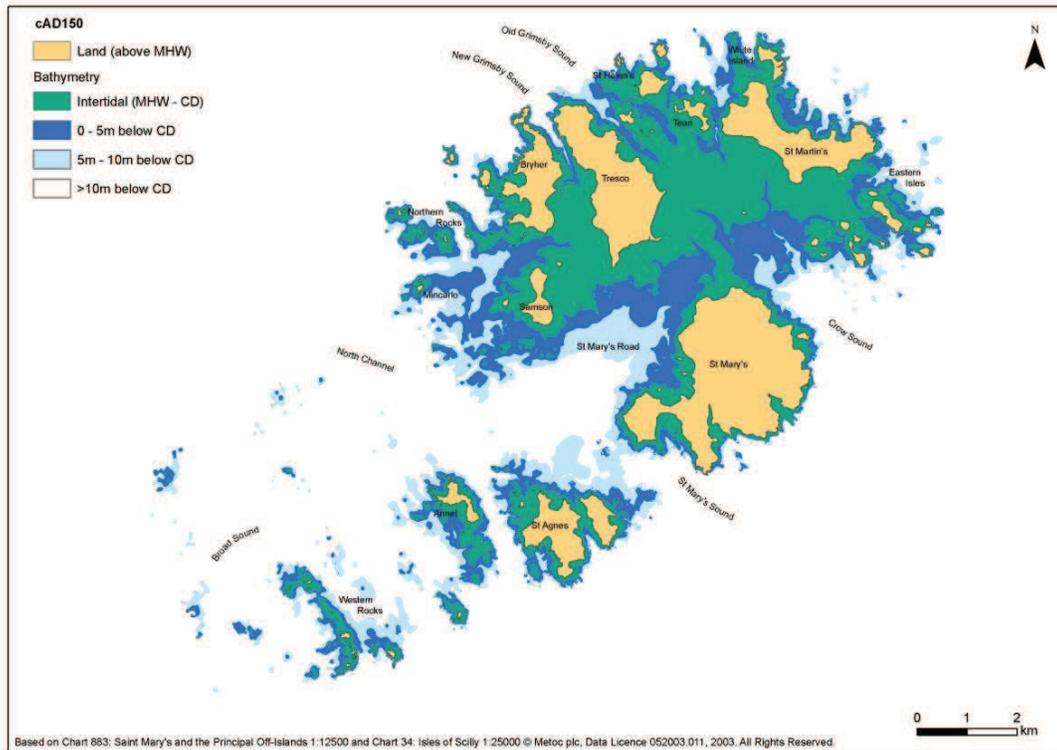


Fig 5.8 Inferred submergence model, AD 150 (based on data from the Lyonesse Project (Charman *et al* 2012); all details as for Fig 3.3

6.3 Chronology

There is general lack of radiocarbon dates from this period. Of the 18 determinations only one is from an excavated site (Nornour); the others are all from environmental samples. Tables of radiocarbon determinations and OSL ages relating to the period are presented at the end of the chapter (Figs 6.5 and 6.6).

6.4 Settlement

Simple stone houses were still the norm at this period but the walls were sometimes clay-mortared and rendered. The settlement at Halangy Down seems to date from the mid second century AD (below, Section 6.5.3). One of the excavated structures there has much in common with the courtyard houses characteristic of West Cornwall during this period (Fig 6.3). A long, narrow entrance passage leads through a massive enclosing wall into a sub-rectangular courtyard off which are two good-sized oval and circular living rooms (one with a pentagonal recess in its wall – perhaps a sleeping compartment) and a tiny sub-circular chamber that could have been a store. This is the building's final form and is the culmination of several progressive stages of construction. The Cornish examples had open central courtyards but it is possible that the house at Halangy Down may have been entirely roofed (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 11-12).

No equivalents to the Cornish rounds have yet been identified. In Cornwall distinctive oval buildings are now recognised as the principal house form of the Roman period (Quinnell 2004, xii).



Fig 6.3 The courtyard house at Halangy Down (photo: Cornwall Council)

6.5 The material world

6.5.1 Metalwork

The Nornour finds

By far the most unusual discovery in Scilly relating to this period is the collection of Roman material recovered from Nornour. The settlement there was excavated in the 1960s and early 1970s and consisted of 11 circular stone buildings situated just above high water. The buildings were occupied and continuously modified from the Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age. During the Roman period most of the settlement was abandoned but a large collection of Roman artefacts dating from the late first to fourth centuries AD were found in the upper levels of buildings 1 and 2 (Butcher 1993). These comprised over 300 copper-alloy brooches (Fig 6.4), c 25 finger rings, 10 bracelets, 83 Roman coins, c 22 glass beads, 13 pipe-clay figurines, c 30 miniature pots (below, Section 6.5.1.2), and a number of other Roman artefacts (Butcher 2000-1).

This is a large and unusual collection of objects to be found in the last occupation phase of a remote prehistoric round house: '*. . . it is probably true to say that there are more Roman-style artefacts (other than pottery) from Nornour than are known from the whole of Cornwall and Devon west of Exeter*' (Butcher 1993).

The site was initially interpreted as a brooch-making workshop of the Roman period (Dudley 1968) but has since been reinterpreted as a shrine (Butcher 1978; 1993; 2000-1), which Thomas (1985) suggests may have incorporated a fire or beacon. Fulford (1989) considered the objects as evidence of a Roman shipwreck (or possibly two different wrecks given the date span) because the objects are not varied enough to compare with the personal items offered at shrines and temples; however, most

recently Reece (2011, 256) has noted that 'The coins from this site are unusual both in number and in unbroken sequence and this must suggest constant visitation from people from the highly Romanised parts of either Britain or Gaul.'

Whatever the genesis of this remarkable collection of objects, they almost certainly have a maritime connection. Crucial to our understanding of this site would be a better understanding of the Roman coastline around it, as this (as suggested by Thomas 1985, 165-72) may have been 'a harbour for Roman Scilly' a safe haven from easterly gales suitable for mariner-pilgrims which is conspicuous by its absence today.



Fig 6.4 Brooches from Nornour (Isles of Scilly Museum)

Coins

Roman coins from Scilly were catalogued by Roger Penhallurick (2009, 17-18, 257-70). Only one coin earlier than Roman Imperial has been found, a Republican *denarius* dating to c 109 BC ploughed up at North Farm, St Martin's, in the 1960s. Penhallurick noted that Julius Solinus observed that the inhabitants of Scilly 'refuse money' and prefer to barter so that 'it is hardly surprising that few early coins have been found there'. Most of those reported date from the later empire.

Penhallurick recorded the following Roman Imperial coins from Scilly: one second century AD bronze coin from St Agnes; a *denarius* of Trajan (AD 98-117) and a half *centenionalis* of Magentius (AD 350-353) from St Martin's; half a dozen silver coins of Constantius (or Constantius II), Julian and Honorius dating from AD 351 to AD 395 found on Samson in the 1870s (their whereabouts is now unknown); two *sesterii* of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) and a *sestertius* of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) from Tean (Thomas 1960b, 17-18); a *follis* from Tresco Abbey Gardens; a *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) from an unknown site on Tresco and a rumour of a hoard found by a metal detectorist at Merchant's Point, Tresco, 'some years ago'.

In addition to these other Roman coins have been found by Michael Tangye (The Scillonian 2007/8, no 266) and a brass sesterius of Hadrian (AD 119) was found by him at the north end of Samson Hill, Bryher in 2008 (The Scillonian 2010, no 271).

The coins from Nornour are not typical of Romano-British hoards for a number of reasons. Forty-five per cent are late first century to Commodus (177-192) issues, which are rare on rural sites whether religious or secular, and 36% are of the House of Constantine, sandwiched between a small number of later third and later fourth century coins. Also late third century radiate coins are scarce among the Nornour coins although they are the commonest coins found on Romano-British sites elsewhere, including Cornwall.

As mentioned above, Fulford (1989) sees the Nornour coins as deriving from perhaps two dispersed hoards, the first ranging in date down to Commodus, the second comprising the remainder in which the handful of third century radiate coins would not be out of place. Penhallurick (2009) points out that there are problems with this interpretation: why should coins from two shipwrecks separated by c 200 years turn up on the same site and why should the coins and other finds assigned to the first wreck be left untouched? He sees a shrine of some sort being the best explanation of the current evidence, and this explanation is supported by the conclusions of Reece (2011, 254). Reece's comparison of the Roman coins from Nornour with Carvossa and Trevelgue in Cornwall is presented below in Figure 6.5.

Carvossa Nornour Trevelgue

Silver:

| | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|
| Nero | 1 | - | - |
| Vespasian | 1 | - | - |
| Domitian | 1 | - | - |

Bronze:

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Vespasian Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Dupondius | 2 | 4 | - |
| As | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Vespasian or Titus Dup/As | - | 1 | - |
| Domitian Dupondius | 1 | 2 | - |
| As | 3 | 2 | - |
| Late first century Dupondius/As | - | 3 | - |
| Trajan Sestertius | - | 3 | - |
| Dupondius | - | 7 | - |
| As | - | 3 | 1 |
| Trajan or Hadrian Dupondius | - | 1 | - |
| Hadrian Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Dupondius | 1 | 1 | - |
| As | 1 | 1 | - |
| Antoninus Pius Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Dupondius | - | 2 | - |
| Faustina I Dupondius | - | 1 | - |
| As | - | 2 | - |
| Marcus Aurelius Caesar Dupondius | - | 2 | - |
| Marcus Aurelius Aug Sestertius | 1 | 2 | - |
| Dupondius | - | 1 | - |
| Faustina II Dupondius | - | 2 | - |

| | Carvossa | Nornour | Trevelgue |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Commodus Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Crsipin Dupondius/As | - | 1 | - |
| Lucilla Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Julia Domna Sestertius | - | 1 | - |
| Postumus | - | 1 | - |
| Claudius II | - | 2 | 1 |
| Tetricus I | - | 1 | - |
| Tetricus II | 1 | 4 | - |
| 270-309 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 309-13 | - | 1 | - |
| 313-17 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 317-20 | - | - | 1 |
| 320-24 | - | 5 | 3 |
| 324-30 | - | 1 | - |
| 330-41 | - | 15 | 15 |
| 345-48 | - | 6 | 1 |
| 348-50 | - | 1 | 2 |
| 350-53 | - | 2 | 11 |
| 353-60 | - | 0 | 6 |
| 364-78 | - | 2 | 32 |
| 388-402 | - | 0 | 2 |

Fig 6.5 Comparison of coins from Trevelgue, Carvossa and Nornour (from Reece 2011)

Brooches

In Scilly most of the relatively few brooches found (apart from the group of 300-plus from Nornour) are of first century AD types.

Brooches are a characteristic of Scillonian Iron Age and Roman-period cist graves. Of the ten cist graves excavated by Paul Ashbee at Porthcressa, St Mary's, in 1949, three contained two brooches each, and four only one (Ashbee 1979, 63). Of the five cist graves excavated by Dorothy Dudley at Poynter's Garden, St Mary's, only one contained metal finds, fragments of iron and bronze pins (Dudley 1960-1, 222). The cist grave on Old Man, Tean contained two bronze brooches and possibly the remains of an iron penannular brooch or iron ring (Tebbutt 1934). With one exception, the disc brooches from the Porthcressa cists are all dated to the first century AD, as are the two brooches from the Old Man cist (Ashbee 1979, 78).

A decorated copper alloy brooch of the 'Colchester' type was found during recent excavations at Higher Town, St Agnes (Butcher, forthcoming). It is of a type common in south-east Britain in the first half of the first century AD and found in smaller numbers in other parts of Britain. The brooch was found in a pit and appears to be the result of deliberate deposition rather than casual loss.

Bronze objects from Tean

A possible bronze ornament, an early Roman-period bronze brooch, a small fragment of strip bronze and an object made of bronze wire are known from the Roman period midden at Tean (Thomas 1960b, 17-20).

Iron

From the midden at Tean there were also numerous pieces of heavily corroded iron, including a gouge and fragment of a small saw blade, possibly Roman period (Thomas 1960b, 20)

Tin

Scilly has sometimes been identified as the tin producing islands or Cassiterides referred to by classical writers (below, Section 6.6.6) and it is a popular misconception that Scilly was a source of tin in Roman times and / or an important staging post in the export of Cornish tin to Greece and Rome. There are veins of tin on three or four of the islands, particularly at the north end of Tresco, but it has never been viable to mine or stream tin on Scilly (Thomas 1985, 150-1).

6.5.2 Glass and amber

Glass beads were found in one of the Parson's Field cist graves (Dudley 1960-1), and two amber beads in the cist grave at Lawrence Bay, St Martin's (Lewis 1948, pl Xb). From the Roman-period midden at Tean there was a fragment of Roman or early medieval glass (Thomas 1960b, 20-1).

6.5.3 Ceramics

Past work on Roman-period ceramics in Scilly has been hampered by reference being made to Cornish material of Roman date, a subject not properly understood until research carried out by Henrietta Quinnell following the excavation of Trethurgy Round (Quinnell 1986) and not fully published until 2004 (Quinnell 2004, 5.6.2). This research has established that Cordoned Ware continued, with some copying of Roman forms, until the second century AD, described as Second Phase Cordoned Ware (*ibid*). It has also shown that some cordoned forms continued as a strand of Romano-Cornish ceramics until at least the end of the Roman period, Third Phase Cordoned Ware. Other contemporary forms broadly copy cooking pots and serving bowls in the black-burnished wares manufactured around Poole Harbour in Dorset. All pottery manufactured in Cornwall during the Roman centuries appears to have been gabbroic. A reference Type series is set out in Quinnell (2004, 5.6.3). Given this background, it is not surprising that published dates for Roman-period assemblages need substantial review.

By the time that identifiable Roman ceramic forms appear on Scilly the use of local granitic clays had probably ceased, replaced by gabbroic fabric from the mainland. The earliest site at which this is clearly demonstrable is the midden adjacent to the Iron Age cist burial at Hillside Farm, Bryher, in the late first century AD (Quinnell 2002-3); the midden continued in use for perhaps a century. Ceramics here are gabbroic but the assemblage is small. The largest and best published Roman-period assemblage is that from the settlement at Halangy Down (Samuels 1996) which included thin-section petrological work by D F Williams. About 80% of the published assemblage was gabbroic, the remainder granitic. Some (*ibid*, fig 39, no 28) appear residual, broadly Bronze Age; a little, e.g. fig 39, no 19, may be South Devon, which petrologically is indistinguishable from Scillonian granitic fabrics. Comparison of the published drawings with the Trethurgy sequence suggests that the earliest sherds are probably mid-second century AD; the settlement then continues right through the Roman to the post-Roman period.

Although the western area of Nornour continued in use during the Roman period, with some specialised, probably religious use (Butcher 2000-1), there is little contemporary

pottery. The excavator indicated a Roman date for a few illustrated pieces (e.g. Dudley 1968, fig 6, no 38, fig 7, nos 62, 66-8) but the assemblage needs modern review to establish the Roman ceramics present. Given the specialised nature of the site it is possible that the Roman ceramic suite will prove unusual for the Islands.

Two of O'Neil's unpublished hut circle sites are reported to have produced finds from the Roman period: Par Beach Site A and May's Hill, both on St Martin's (Ashbee 1974, 318, fig 34, fig 35). Thomas (1985, 183) investigated a midden producing Roman pottery and other contemporary artefacts on Tean; this remains unpublished. The midden investigated and published by Dudley at Poynter's Garden contained a few sherds of Roman-period pottery, including a flanged bowl of the late third or fourth centuries (1960-1, fig 29).

The cist-grave cemetery at Porthcressa, firmly dated to the Roman centuries by metalwork, produced two complete vessels (Ashbee 1954), one of which can now be seen as a Cordoned Ware Type D jar of the late first /early second century AD; the other, despite Ashbee's comments, has no parallel on the mainland and could well be an import from France.

Observation of the trenches dug for the supply of electricity to the off islands produced a scatter of Roman material identified to modern standards (Quinnell 1991). The gabbroic pottery is of the mainland 'standard' type typical of the Roman period (Quinnell 2004, 108). A group from Dial Rocks, Tresco, includes both gabbroic and apparent South Devon sherds. There is a scatter of Roman gabbroic sherds across the Dolphin Town area and occasional sherds from different locations in the south of Tresco. A small group with gabbroic sherds comes from Veronica Farm, Bryher, and gabbroic sherds were recorded at three locations on St Agnes. Gabbroic pottery was found at locations both at Higher Town and Lower Town, St Martin's.

Work done on the electricity supply trenches established the presence of Roman vessels made outside Cornwall and Devon (Quinnell 1991). Dorset black-burnished ware was found at two locations in Dolphin Town, Tresco, at Periglis, St Agnes, and at Churchtown, St Martin's. Greywares, currently not sourced, came from two locations in Dolphin Town and from The Town on Bryher. Oxfordshire ware came from a limpet midden west of The Town on Bryher. A piece of Spanish amphora, Dressel form 20, was recorded at Middle Town, St Agnes. A probable Roman-period Breton / Norman import was studied from Middle Town, St Agnes. A small group of samian was published from Halangy Down (Dickenson and Hartley in Ashbee 1996), a sherd comes from Hillside Farm, Bryher (Quinnell 2002-3), and another sherd from Nornour (Butcher 2000-1, 8). Two sherds of samian were found by O'Neil at the Roman-period house at May Hill, St Martin's (Ashbee 1974, 184), and 'scraps' at the unpublished midden on Tean investigated by Thomas (1985, 183). Some fine slipped ware from Halangy Down is variously described as 'Gaulish Rhenish' (Samuels 1996, 82) or 'Castor' (Ashbee 1974, 196). Overall these Roman fabrics reflect the general pattern of imports on Cornish Roman sites (Quinnell 2004, chapter 5 *passim*), although the apparent French import piece from St Agnes emphasises the potential of the location of Scilly on western sea routes for attracting occasional exotica.

The virtually complete vessel from a pit at Higher Town, St Agnes, is in a second period Cordoned ware with influences derived from samian (Quinnell, in prep e).

One final and unusual component of the Scillonian Roman period assemblage is the group of some 30 miniature vessels of gabbroic clay with simple horizontal cord impressed decoration below their rims from Roman contexts on Nornour (Butcher 2000-1). Nothing like these is known in gabbroic fabric. They appear to have related to the ritual practices at Nornour, their shape and decoration referencing the vessels of the Early Bronze Age on the Cornish mainland. M A Owoc (Owoc et al 2003; Manske *et al* nd) comments that the cord used was surprisingly uniform with differences from that found on Bronze Age ceramics.

6.5.4 Bone

From the Roman period midden at Tean there was a bone comb fragment (Thomas 1960b, 21).

6.5.5 Flint and stone

Flint and bone tools were still important in the Roman period but it is likely that iron and bronze were also used for knives, arrowheads and nails. Rotary querns (hand mills) gradually replaced earlier saddle and bowl types, making the grinding of corn more efficient (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 12). The local resource of cobbles and boulders for tools continued to be considerable and stone continued to have a very prominent use as mortars and saddle querns, hammerstones, etc.

6.6 Subsistence

The inhabitants of Scilly continued to practise a mixed economy, but there were a few new developments. Pigs and fowl were kept in addition to sheep, goats and cattle, and dogs and rabbits are recorded for the first time. Red deer may have died out in the second or third centuries. A few additional species of fish have also been identified: mullet, common eel, whiting and john dory. Birds of fresh or brackish water are more common: teal, long-tailed duck, scaup, common snipe, white stork, heron and possibly moorhen, swan and bittern. This may be indicative of a rising sea level creating pools behind dunes breached during severe storms, or merely dietary preferences (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 12).

The base of the midden at East Porth, Tean, sampled during the 1989-93 Coastal Erosion Project, dated from the third century AD (Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 13). The only crop identified with certainty was barley, which was not referable to species. The narrow range of wild plants were probably arable weeds: wild radish, fat hen, knotgrass and vetch or tare, all of which are commonly associated with arable crops and occur in prehistoric deposits in Scilly. Romano-British animal remains from the midden include the bones of a sheep or goat, grey seal, a small range of birds and a single fish species, wrasse. There were also ox, pig and dog associated with first to fourth century AD pottery (Thomas 1985, 183).

The main food animals at Halangy Down were sheep (47%), with cattle (37%) making a substantial contribution and pig (15%) of lesser importance. There are a few cat bones from Halangy Down, probably from a single individual; 41 bones in a third century AD context (Locker 1996; Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 36).

6.7 Transport

There is no archaeological evidence to date of any terrestrial vehicles of this period from Scilly, and no boats or ships are known, although four Roman-period ships have been found in southern Britain - Blackfriars I, New Guys House (both second century AD), Barlands Farm, the County Hall Ship (London) - and another from St Peter Port, Guernsey. The three latter examples date to the third century AD.

Although there is no British archaeological evidence for hide boats from this period, there is documentary and possible iconographic evidence for them. Pliny the Elder refers to hide boats framed with withies in connection with the tin trade (Ransley *et al* 2011).

There is a lack of Mediterranean vessels in the British archaeological record of this period, possibly accounted for, at least in part, by the trade routes being predominantly overland '*...long-distance trade between the Mediterranean region and northern Europe was conducted primarily via the inland waterways of Gaul, which were navigable along all the main axes of communication rather than open-sea voyaging around the Atlantic coast*' (Ransley *et al* 2011, 193).

This could account for the relatively sparse assemblage of Roman artefacts recovered from Scilly (excluding the material from Nornour), which are perhaps similar in character and number to those recovered from Cornwall (Thomas 1985). This does not suggest that Scilly was of any particular significance in the maritime networks of Rome.

6.8 Social relations

Scilly, then, occupied a very peripheral position in the Roman Empire, so remote that two heretic Spanish bishops were exiled there in AD 384 (Thomas 1985, 149). There is no evidence to suggest that the Islands were ever under direct rule or even formally conquered and there appears to have been little direct Roman influence on everyday life. Scilly may have been administered for Rome by its native leader(s), but even this seems improbable as, unlike Cornwall, Scilly was not a source of tin and its people were probably left largely to their own devices (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003).

6.9 Religion and ritual

There are a number of classical references which may allude to Scilly, although these need to be treated with a degree of circumspection. The early first century AD Roman writer Pomponius Mela speaks of the holy inhabitants of Sena, one of a group of islands called the Cassiterides, which, from his description of their geographical location, could be interpreted as the Isles of Scilly. On Sena he relates that there was a Gaulish oracle attended by nine virgin priestesses who were able to predict the future, cure all illnesses and controlled the elements. Miranda Green suggests that Bryher or Tresco may have been Sena (Green 1997, 103).

Further place-name evidence hints at the islands being a cult centre during the late Iron Age (water being one focus of religious practice at this time). Scilly is first mentioned as *insula sillina* by classical Roman writers of the first to third centuries AD, but the name is of native pre-Roman origin and may incorporate that of a Celtic female deity. Thomas (1985, 170-2) envisages Roman Scilly as principally a place of pilgrimage dominated by a native marine goddess. As discussed above, on current evidence the presence of some sort of shrine is the best explanation for Roman-period activity on Nornour.

During the nineteenth century a classical altar, now in Tresco Abbey Gardens, was found in a well, possibly a votive shaft, at Mount Holles, towards the bottom of Garrison Hill, St Mary's. The altar may originally have stood in a Romano-Celtic cult building or temple. It is uninscribed but has side panels bearing Mithraic-type symbols: a long shafted axe and a cleaver (Fig 6.4; Ratcliffe and Johns 2003).

The Porthcressa cist grave burial tradition continued into this period; typological dates for most of the brooches and pottery recovered from the Porthcressa cemetery are not earlier than the end of the first century AD, which led Ashbee to consider the graves to be wholly Roman in date and to surmise that 'refugees' from the Cornish mainland may have imported the cist-burial tradition to Scilly sometime after the Roman conquest (Ashbee 1979, 78; 1986, 207). However, the radiocarbon dates from the Bryher sword and mirror burial demonstrated that the tradition dates to at least the first century BC (Johns 2002-3).

Two small pits found at Higher Town, St Agnes, contained the rim of a pot and an early Roman brooch. These were evidently the result of ritual deposition and two adjacent postholes indicate that the position of the pits may have been marked by wooden posts (Taylor and Johns, in prep).

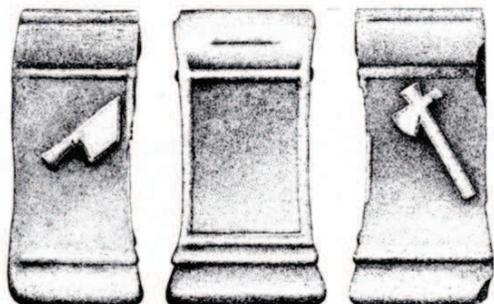


Fig 6.4 Roman altar from Mount Holles, now in Tresco Abbey Gardens (© Rosemary Robertson)

6.10 Scientific dating

6.10.1 Radiocarbon dates

The 18 radiocarbon determinations listed below in Figure 6.5 below have all been calibrated using OxCal 4.1. Previous modelling of dates has not been used and all are expressed at the full 95.4% confidence level, rather than to the period to which the date may be weighted (for example at 89%). This means that the calibrated dates in the tables may vary significantly from the publications where they appear.

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | Cal AD @ 95% | Site | Context | Reference |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| WK-5695 | 1940 ±130 BP | 351 cal BC - cal AD 385 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Base of lower peat deposit. Of limited value due to high deviation? | Ratcliffe & Straker 1998 |
| GU-5057 | 1980 ±80 | 182 cal BC- cal AD 220 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Sample 2 from basal 10mm of exposed peat | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| BETA-301602 | 2000 ±30 | 50 cal BC - AD 60 | Lower Moors St Mary's | Decayed plant material | Perez forthcoming |
| SUERC-32920 | 1980 ±30 | 50 cal BC-cal AD 80 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Bulk: organic sediment including Phragmites stem & ?Monocot stem (humic acid fraction) 22-23cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| SUERC-38088 | 1965 ±35 | 50 cal BC-cal AD 130 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Humic acid, 22-23cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| HAR-459 | 1840 ±70 | 22-378 | Nornour | Charcoal from 22 samples (510 & (52) from Building 7 | Butcher 1978, 29-112 |
| GU-5056 | 1880 ±100 | 101 cal BC - AD 389 | Par Beach, St Martin's | Sample 2 from top 10mm of intertidal peat. Of limited value due to high deviation? | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| SUERC-39448 | 19563 ±38 | Cal AD 1 -n 94 | Lower Moors St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | Cal AD @ 95% | Site | Context | Reference |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| GU-5231 | 1830 ±90 | 18 cal BC- AD 407 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Column VI (top 20mm of middle peat) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| SUERC-38089 | 1835 ±35 | 80-320 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Humin fraction, 22-23cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| SUERC-39445 | 1762 ±38 | 130 - 336 | Lower Moors St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |
| Wk-5693 | 1650 ±60BP | 255-540 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Peat deposit | Ratcliffe <i>et al</i> , forthcoming |
| GU-5230 | 1600 ±60 | 264-595 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Column VI (basal 20mm of upper peat) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| OxA-4699 | 1605 ±50 | 337-570 | East Porth, Tean | Charred seeds (<i>Hordeum sp.</i>) from lower half of midden - layer (3) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 98 |
| OxA-23862 | 1632 ±28 | 350-540 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Bulk: mix of herbaceous & monocot stems (humic acid fraction), 4-5cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| SUERC-32916 | 1620 ±30 | 380-540 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Dicot stem fragments, 1620 ±30 | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| GU-5062 | 1570 ±50 | 394-600 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Sample 3 from top 10mm of intertidal peat | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| SUERC-32993 | 1595 ±30 | 400-550 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Organic sediment with ?Monocot roots (humin fraction) | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |

Fig 6.5 List of Romano-British radiocarbon dates

6.10.2 OSL dating

Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating was carried out on submarine and intertidal deposits recovered during the Lyonesse Project in 2009 and 2010. One 2010 sample from Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco, dates to the Late Iron Age - Roman period (Roberts 2012).

| Location | Lab no. | Context | Material | OSL Age | Calibrated date (95% confidence) |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco | 184/LPTR-4A | 0.19m down core | Quartz | 1890 ±110 BP | 110 cal BC- cal AD 340 |

Fig 6.6 List of Romano-British OS� Ages, expressed as years before AD 2010, rounded to the nearest 10 years

7 Early medieval (410 – 1066)

Edited by Charles Johns from contributions from Kevin Camidge, Dan Charman, Ralph Fyfe, Steve Mills, Jacqui Mulville, Paul Rainbird, Helen M Roberts and Carl Thorpe.

7.1 Introduction

In Scilly, as in Cornwall, early medieval society and settlement had its foundations in the Romano-British period, but significant changes did occur, not least the adoption of Christianity, which may have been introduced from Cornwall, Gaul or the Mediterranean. Imported pottery hints at trade with these places and also North Africa and the Occident. Excavations carried out in the mid-twentieth century at small ecclesiastical sites or hermitages are one of our main sources of knowledge for this period in Scilly's history. The main characteristics of Scilly's early medieval resource are summarised in this chapter.

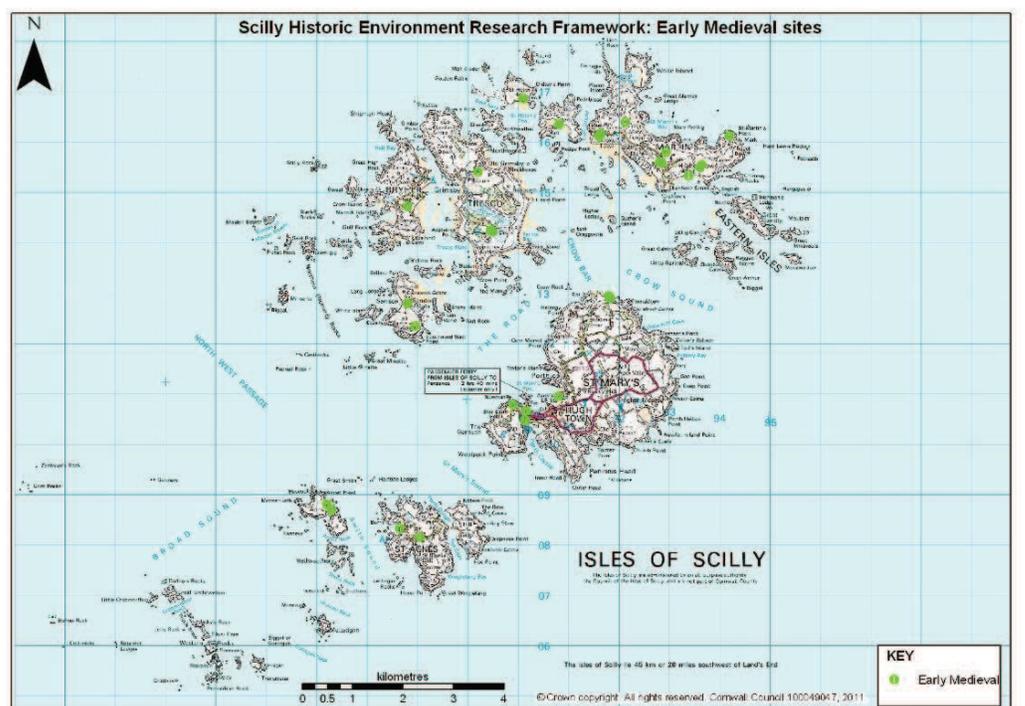


Fig 7.1 Early medieval sites recorded in the Cornwall and Scilly HER

7.2 Landscape and environmental background

Results from the Lyonesse Project indicate that by the beginning of this period the present pattern of islands had already been formed for nearly 2000 years. During this period the sheltered, low gradient areas between the islands that had been suitable for saltmarsh growth during earlier times became less and less extensive and it seems likely that they were subject to much greater erosion and retreat once an open channel north of St Mary's existed during most states of the tide. The date of this is difficult to assess with any accuracy but it probably occurred during the early medieval period as the highest part of the Crab's Ledge saltmarsh peat is dated to cal AD 969 ±294 (Charman *et al* 2012).

Pollen from Old Town Beach suggests herb-rich grassland with a background of coastal indicators; aquatic plants suggest standing water throughout the Roman and into the early medieval periods. Samples taken at Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco, indicate a saltmarsh environment at the end of the Roman and beginning of the early medieval periods; samples from Porth Coose, St Agnes show low background levels of woodland

with wet grassland with very high *Plantago* and other disturbance indicators becoming increasingly aquatic at this time (Charman *et al* 2012).

7.3 Chronology

There are 22 radiocarbon dates and two Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) ages for this period, and a ceramic sequence has now been set out which will aid dating for this period (Thorpe 2011).

7.4 Settlement

The early medieval settlement pattern on Scilly is reflected by the distribution of locally-made grass-marked pottery and sherds of imported wheel-made Gaulish and Mediterranean wares; a dozen or so such sites have been identified. Where settlements have been excavated there is evidence for the continued occupation of stone houses built during the Romano-British period (and earlier). However, a few houses of early medieval date have been identified and these are rectangular, allowing for a ridge roof and an interior free of supporting posts (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 13).

7.5 The material world

7.5.1 Metalwork

Coins

Penhallurick (2001, 16-18) records two Byzantine coins from Scilly which he considers could be modern losses: a small module bronze *folles* from the Giant's Grave on Porth Hellick Down, probably of Anastasius (AD 491-518), and a *nummi* of Constans II (AD 641-668) from North Farm, St Martin's. The latter was found in the same field as three Roman coins (above, Section 6.5.1.2), along with a 'rose' farthing of Charles II, and he considered that 'the whole assemblage [is] suspiciously like a collection thrown out with household rubbish to manure a field.

More recently, the Portable Antiquities Scheme in Cornwall has produced a number of Late Roman and Byzantine coins. Considered with the finds of post-Roman pottery best known from Tintagel this suggests sea trade with the Eastern Mediterranean via the Straits of Gibraltar and the Bay of Biscay (Tyacke 2011, 75) and perhaps the Byzantine coins from Scilly need to be reconsidered in this light.

A possible Anglo-Saxon *sceat* was found on Peninnis Head, St Mary's, in 1995, although its identity has not been confirmed (Penhallurick 2009).

Other metal artefacts

The 1971 excavations at East Porth, Samson, recovered a variety of metal artefacts including a copper alloy buckle. A total of 80 fragments of iron were found there, the majority of which came from the levels associated with the stone house and from beach rubble, but the condition of all the metal was very poor and in many cases all that survived were lumps of iron oxide concreted to sand. Those items which could be identified included a buckle plate, two knives, a fish hook, six nails, three wire fragments, four fragments of iron sheeting, a possible ferrule, together with various other fragments (Neal forthcoming b and c).

7.5.2 Glass

The 1971 excavations at East Porth, Samson, recovered a blue glass bead (Neal, forthcoming a).

7.5.3 Pottery

As is the case with the Romano-British period (above, Section 6.5.3), previous work on early medieval period ceramics in Scilly has been hampered by reference being made to Cornish material of this date, a subject not properly understood until research recently

carried out by Henrietta Quinnell and Carl Thorpe. This knowledge has been progressed with the publication and study of several important sites, including Mawgan Porth (Bruce-Mitford 1997), Trethurgy (Quinnell 2004), Launceston Castle (Saunders 2006), Tintagel (Barrowman *et al* 2007), Boden Vean fogou (Gossip, forthcoming a), Gwithian (Nowakowski *et al* 2007), and Hay Close, Newlyn East (Jones, forthcoming).

This research has established a ceramic sequence which is set out in Thorpe (2011). This sequence was first proposed by the pioneering work of Professor Charles Thomas, who was the first to identify and classify both the native wares (Thomas 1960a; Thomas 1968) and the imported wares (Thomas 1957; 1959; 1960a; 1981); however, the recent work has been able to add to the ceramic details (forms and fabrics) and refine the dating for this material.

Native wares

In the late Roman period, between the fourth and fifth centuries AD, there was a well developed and flourishing pottery industry within Cornwall. Manufactured mostly from gabbroic clays derived from the rocks of the Lizard, the principal repertoire of forms produced was slack-profiled jars (Trethurgy Type 4), the Cornish flanged bowl (Trethurgy Type 22) and the flat grooved-rim bowl (Trethurgy Type 21), together with large storage jars both with cordons (Trethurgy Type 13) and of large cooking pot form (Trethurgy Type 16). The work at Trethurgy suggested that this suite of domestic wares continued into the fifth and possibly sixth centuries, showing that the basic patterns of cooking and eating of the Roman period endured until then (Quinnell 2004). This material has been recognised on Scilly by Henrietta Quinnell.

Unlike large parts of Britain where the use or production of ceramics declined or ceased completely in the late fifth and sixth centuries AD, in Cornwall and Scilly native pottery became more experimental and innovative and developed rapidly in many directions (Thorpe 2011). This material was first identified by Charles Thomas (Thomas 1956; 1960a) during excavations at Gwithian and was subsequently termed 'Gwithian Style' wares. Seen as a continuation of the Cornish late Roman potting tradition, forms include numerous styles of jars and bowls (sometimes flanged) with curved and everted rims, often with a concave internal rim bevel. This ware also introduced the use of low walled platters (occurring sometimes without a wall at all). These platters are a completely new form, perhaps connected to some change in the preparation and serving of food.

Gwithian Style ware is often in a highly fired, fine, well-sorted and, on Scilly, granitic fabric. (No petrographic study has been done of this material from Scilly.) This is interesting in itself in that it suggests that manufacturing in local granitic clays had recommenced, having been supplanted during the Roman period by mainland gabbroic wares (see above Section 6.5.3). Surfaces are often better finished than their Roman predecessors, sometimes wiped, and occasionally slightly burnished with some patterning in the burnish. The undersides of the bases of the vessels are often sanded, or have been sat on sand prior to firing.

The largest collection of Gwithian style material was obtained from the excavations at East Porth, Samson, in 1971 (Neal forthcoming a). Gwithian Style ware is dated to the sixth to late seventh centuries AD. This is supported by the radiocarbon (AMS) determination obtained from internal residue on a sanded platter sherd from Gwithian (Nowakowski *et al* 2007) GMI context (2210) of cal AD 550-650 (OxA-14528), and a second date from residue within a platter at Boden (Gossip, forthcoming a) of cal AD 590-670 (OxA-14560). Unfortunately no scientific dating has been obtained for the material from East Porth, although its association with imported wares (qv) points to a date probably within the seventh century.

A single stray sherd of Gwithian Style ware came from a midden exposed by rabbit burrows at Mays Hill, on Tresco (Thomas 2005). Unpublished drawings from excavations of a midden on Tean, Isles of Scilly (mostly unpublished) carried out in 1956 and 1960 (Thomas 1985) show at least two Gwithian style jars. This site is

important, though, in that these vessels have 'grass-marking' on their surfaces. A radiocarbon date of cal AD 600-774 (OxA-4695) came from the upper part of this midden (Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 98). This is the earliest date obtained for any vessel with a grass-marked surface, and Thomas has even suggested that this innovation may have started on Scilly (Thomas 2005).

Imported wares

A feature of early medieval Scilly, reflecting the picture seen in mainland Cornwall, is its wide-ranging international contacts through trade, evidenced by the presence of imported wares within ceramic assemblages on several sites.

The first group is of imported wheel-made wares of Mediterranean origin, comprising fine red slip tableware and amphorae. The tableware consists of Phocian Red Slip Ware (PRSW) from western Turkey and African Red Slipped Ware (ARSW), produced in the Carthage region of Tunisia (Hayes 1972; Hayes 1980). Produced over a long period of time, from the fourth to seventh centuries AD, the forms changed rapidly, most likely in response to fashion, which makes them very useful for dating. Forms found in Cornwall suggest dates from c AD 450–550. Only one site in Scilly has produced these fine table wares, with a single sherd of each being identified from material recovered from the excavations at East Porth, Samson (Neal, forthcoming).

The amphorae are Class Bi (*Late Roman 2 amphora*; Peacock and Williams Form 43) from Greece (for wine and olive oil); Class Bii (*Late Roman 1 amphora*; Peacock and Williams Form 44) from Cilicia in south-east Turkey (wine and olive oil); and Class Biv Amphorae (*Late Roman 3 amphora*; Peacock and Williams Form 45) from Sardis in western Turkey (wine or fine oil). These have a long range of use, from the fifth to seventh centuries AD, but the peak period of importation and distribution within Britain appears to have been between the late fifth and mid sixth centuries AD (Thomas 1981; Fulford and Peacock 1984; Peacock and Williams 1986; Tyers 1996; Dark 2001).

A single sherd of Bi amphora (a broken disc that may have been part of an unfinished spindle whorl?) has been recovered as a surface find from Mays Hill, St Martin's (C Thorpe, pers comm). Bii amphora was found in the unpublished excavations at Tean (Thomas 1985) while a single sherd came from the excavations at East Porth, Samson (Neal, forthcoming). The excavations at Tean also produced several fragments from a single Biv amphora, while the Isles of Scilly Electrification Project recovered a single sherd from immediately south-west of St Martin's church (Ratcliffe 1991).

The second group is of imported wheel-made wares, D and E wares, which originated in what is now France (Gaul).

D wares are fine table wares, forms of which include mortaria and both thick-rimmed and fine bowls. Originating from the Bordeaux area, forms found in Britain suggest an importation date within the sixth to seventh centuries AD (Campbell 2007). A single decorated sherd of this ware (from a carinated bowl) was identified in the material from the unpublished excavation by O'Neil in 1950 on Mays Hill, St Martins (Thomas 1985).

E wares are a range of 'kitchen' wares, in a wheel-thrown, hard-fired (almost stoneware) fabric. The most recent discussion of this material has been by Campbell (2007). Although the centre of production is not known, it is most likely to have been from the Loire valley. Evidence from Whithorn suggests its date range to be from the late sixth to early eighth centuries (Hill 1998), c 575-700 (Campbell 1991; 1996; 2007). From the excavation of crannog at Loch Glashan a radiocarbon date obtained from internal residue has given a date of 605-660 at 1 σ cal AD (Crone and Campbell 2005), while the excavation at Hay Close, Newlyn East (Jones forthcoming) produced a date of 390–540 cal AD (95.4%). No scientific dates have been obtained for material from Scilly.

The largest collection of E-ware comes from the unpublished 1956 excavations on Tean (Thomas 1960b; 1985; 2005). Here over 60 sherds from a minimum of 13 vessels were collected. Although none of this material has been scientifically dated the midden was

revisited in 1996 and two charred grain samples were dated. The lower part of the midden gave a date of cal AD 270-560 (OxA-4699) while a date of cal AD 600-770 (OxA 4695) came from the upper part (Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 98).



Fig 7.2 E ware from East Porth, Samson (photo: Carl Thorpe)

The next largest collection is from East Porth, Samson (Neal, forthcoming). Here approximately 50 sherds were recovered from a minimum of six vessels, including an unusual flagon. This material is closely associated with Gwithian style wares, imported Mediterranean ware and Grass-marked ware (qv) that suggests a date within the sixth century AD.

The excavation by O'Neil in 1950 on Mays Hill, St Martins (Thomas 1985), produced eight sherds of E-ware from four vessels (Thomas 2005), while a further three sherds including a rimsherd occurred as chance finds from further down slope from the excavated site in 2010 (C Thorpe, pers comm). Other sites that have produced E-ware are two sherds from Dolphin Town, Tresco (Taylor and Johns 2009-10), a single chance find from Dial rocks, Tresco, four sherds (3 vessels) from Hillside Farm, Bryher (Johns 2002-3) and a single sherd from Veronica farm, Bryher (Ratcliffe 1991). Two sherds (including a lid) came from excavations in 1977 at Bar Point, St Mary's (Ashbee 1978; 1996; Thomas 1981; 2005).

Sometime in the late seventh or early eighth centuries AD there appears to have been a major cultural change in both Scilly and Cornwall which saw the introduction of a new pottery production technique involving the use of chopped grass to prevent adherence to surfaces prior to firing; this left clear vegetation marks on the bases and sides of vessels. This is termed Grass-marked ware. On Scilly this ware is found in both granitic and gabbroic fabrics, suggesting that although some may have been made locally, other pieces may have been brought in from the mainland, although there is the possibility that gabbroic clay was imported to supplement the local material. No petrographic work has been done on the material from Scilly.

This ware has a limited range of forms in platters, dog dish bowls, cooking pots and bar-lug cauldrons. These mark a dramatic change in eating habits, with a turning away from the individual dining and serving sets common in the Roman period and changing to a more restrictive set of vessels that seems to reflect a more communal way of dining.

As noted above, the earliest date obtained for grass-marking as a technique (although on Gwithian Style vessels) has been obtained from the midden at Tean. This has led to the suggestion that this technique may have originated in the islands (Thomas 2005). For Grass-marked wares, from material recovered during excavations at Penhale Round on the mainland, a radiocarbon date of cal AD 540-660 (NZA-32927) derived from residue on a platter was obtained (Nowakowski and Johns, forthcoming). This is the

earliest known date for Grass-marked ware suggesting an introduction of this ware somewhere in the seventh century. The earliest date for the Grass-marked wares from Gwithian is cal AD 540-660 (SUERC-6158) with cal AD 650-780 (SUERC-6160) being the latest, indicating that adoption of the bar-lug element must certainly have been introduced prior to the end of the eighth century AD (Nowakowski *et al* 2007).

A further radiocarbon date of cal AD 856-996 was obtained from Gunwalloe where a possible new fifth vessel form has been identified (Wood 2010), while a determination from Nancemere, Truro (Wk-21361), gives a date of cal AD 1010-1160 (Gossip, forthcoming b). Two samples taken from the medieval rubbish pit found at Lower Town, St Martin's, produced dates of cal AD 1020-1270 and cal AD 968-1170, which are the latest so far recorded (Ratcliffe 1997). This corresponds nicely with dendrochronology dates of AD 1080 and AD 1155 that have been obtained in Waterford in southern Ireland (Gahan and McCutcheon 1997). Here the use of Grass-marked ware, unique to one house in the Hiberno-Norse coastal longphort, provides the first evidence of a link between Cornwall and Ireland and the exportation of this style outside Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly.

The largest collection (over 400 sherds) comes from East Porth, Samson (Neal forthcoming a). Found in both granitic and gabbroic fabrics, only cooking vessels and platters were present within this assemblage. The excavation at Tean (Thomas 1985; 2005) produced a significant collection but this contained some unusual forms, including what appear to be Gwithian Style vessels (especially jars). Platters were present. Grass-marked ware was found in a midden overlying the first-century cist grave cemetery at Porthcressa, St Mary's (Ashbee 1974). A significant collection (127 sherds) came from the excavations at Halangy Down, where the vessels included platters, cooking vessels, and bar-lug cauldrons (Ashbee 1996).

The Isles of Scilly Electrification Project recorded several sites that produced this material. The largest collection came from the vicinity of Higher Town church, St Martin's, some 32 sherds being recovered including platters, cooking vessels and bar-lug cauldrons (Ratcliffe 1991). Further material came from Lower Town, St Martin's, Dolphin Town, and the Abbey on Tresco, Southward on Bryher, and the Turks Head, Higher Town, Troytown Farm, Middle Town and from middens at Porth Killier and Periglis, all on St Agnes.

Some 22 sherds were recovered from the 2003 excavations at Dolphin Town, Tresco (Taylor and Johns 2009-10), but the only diagnostic pieces were a couple of cooking vessel rims. A single unstratified sherd was found associated with one of the settlement trenches (Trench 7) opened to investigate the environs of the Bryher Iron Age sword and mirror cist burial (Johns 2002-3).

Finally, some 55 sherds were recovered from midden material in a rubbish pit at Lower Town, St Martin's. There were a minimum of nine vessels present, all apparently cooking vessels. Limpet shells from the midden were radiocarbon dated to AD cal 656-870 (GU-3411, 1280 ±50), while sheep or goat's bone from the same midden was dated AD cal 898-1069 (OXA-4063, 995 ±55). This is an important collection, the date for which compares with the latest date of cal AD 1010-1160 for material from Nancemere on the mainland (Gossip, forthcoming b).

From the excavation at East Porth, Samson, there were some 22 sherds of unidentifiable pottery from early-medieval contexts in unknown fabrics, including some which are granitic. It could be that they are from the mainland, but it is also possible that they may be foreign imports from the continent (Neal forthcoming a).

7.5.4 Worked bone

The 1971 excavations at East Porth, Samson, recovered a decorated bone plate, a semi-circular strip of decorated bone and a cut bone, possibly a spindle whorl (Neal, forthcoming b).

7.5.5 Flint

Flints from the level associated with the timber building at East Porth, Samson, included a platform core, three end scrapers, a fabricator, and various waste flakes (Neal, forthcoming d).

7.5.6 Industry

Evidence for iron smelting in the form of slags and the remains of a possible furnace were found at East Porth, Samson (Biek, forthcoming).

7.5.7 Subsistence

As in earlier periods our knowledge of the Islands' early medieval economy comes from excavated sites and in particular middens. The assemblage recovered from the well-sealed midden investigated during BT trenching at Lower Town, St Martin's in 1992 is particularly important because animal bones of early medieval date are extremely rare in Scilly and plant macrofossils of this date had not been recovered before (Ratcliffe 1997).

Plant remains

The density of charred plant macrofossils in the Lower Town midden sample was low (5 per litre of soil), although this may not fully reflect the original contribution of plants to the diet. Cereals are represented by wheat (*Triticum* sp.) and barley (*Hordeum* sp.) and the other charred seeds (vetches, knotgrass, bedstraw and brome) could all have grown as arable weeds. With such a small assemblage it is not possible to comment on whether it represents a crop processing accident or ash from a domestic fire. All the weeds could have grown in Scilly and the crops were probably grown locally. Barley, in particular, tolerates salt spray which would have been inevitable in Scilly. The cereal grains are not well enough preserved to suggest which forms of wheat or barley might be represented, and chaff, apart from grass culm nodes, is not preserved to assist identification further. On mainland southern England, hulled six-row barley is most common in deposits of this date and free threshing wheat (rivet or bread wheat type) is also found (Ratcliffe 1997).

The early medieval part of the midden at East Porth, Tean, consisted entirely of oats but because of the lack of chaff it is unclear whether this was a crop or a weed (Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 13).

Animal remains

Fish, seabirds and shellfish were the major constituents of the Lower Town midden, although it is likely that the plant component may be unrepresentative of what was discarded originally. Shell and animal bones are normally poorly preserved in acidic granite soils but the incorporation of calcareous sands in some coastal sediments in Cornwall and Scilly means that the soils are not acid and bone and shell, especially in the concentration found in the midden pit, do not decay. However, fragile uncharred plant tissues are only preserved where deposits have remained wet or waterlogged since they accumulated. The midden was dry and the only surviving remains of plants were occasional flecks of charcoal and a few charred seeds, meaning that the information did not reflect the probable importance of leaf, root or stem vegetables, and fruits and seeds (Ratcliffe 1997).

The small bone assemblage in the midden reflects the exploitation of marine resources, with little evidence of domesticated species. Seal (*cf* grey seal *Halichoerus grypus*), ovicaprid (*Ovis* sp. domestic/*Capra* sp. domestic), shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*), razorbill (*Alca torda*), puffin (*Fratercula arctica*), black sea bream (*Spondyliosoma cantharus*), thick lipped grey mullet (*Chelon labrosus*), ballan wrasse (*Labrus bergylta*), conger eel (*Gadidae* *indet*) and two frog (*Rana* sp.) tibia shaft fragments were identified. The seal bones consisted of an immature forelimb as well as a porous tarsal from a hind limb showing knife-cuts. In the past seal was classified as fish, which

meant they could be eaten on fish days and was also put into pottages. The only bone from a domesticated animal was part of a small ovicaprid (i.e. sheep or goat) calcaneum and the shaft of a small radius (Ratcliffe 1997).

The bird species represented could all have been eaten: shag and razorbill trapped from their breeding colonies on the cliffs and puffins from their nesting colonies in burrows. The shag bones include part of a single (?) mature individual and at least five immature birds. One of the femora of the mature bird shows two knife cuts on the proximal surface. The razorbill bones are all mature, except for one porous tibiotarsus, and parts of at least three birds are present. The puffin bones are also all mature and from at least three birds. The unidentifiable vertebrae and phalanges are also likely to belong to these three species, which are known to have been exploited by island and coastal communities in the past. Puffins were also classified as fish, which meant they too could be eaten on fish days (Ratcliffe 1997).

The fish are characterised by a common habitat preference for inshore waters. Black sea bream, ballan wrasse and conger eel prefer rocky coasts, while thick lipped grey mullet, although preferring inshore waters, is also found on sandy bottoms. These could all have been caught on lines; conger eel is also caught in traps. A single gadoid vertebral fragment may be cod (*Gadus morhua*). Remains of ballan wrasse represent at least three individuals, one of which was probably about 0.6m long and the other two smaller (Ratcliffe 1997).

Limpets dominate the assemblage of marine molluscs, as might be expected. Scallops and cockles are also present as well as single examples of two other species (*Callista chione* and *Monodonta lineata*, thick top shell). Scallops, limpets and cockles would all have been collected for food and the other two species could have been gathered accidentally with them. It is not known whether they too would have been edible. It is likely that a variety of methods would have been used to collect the shellfish. The scallops and the *Callista* both occur from just below low water. Scallops inhabit water up to 100 fathoms deep, although they are most common in 10-15 fathoms (18-46m) of water, just inside or just away from areas of strong currents (Mason 1983). *Callista* occurs in up to 70 fathoms of water. The simplest way to catch scallops in shallow water is to use a hand net. However, the 'traditional' method is to use a dredge. This involves towing a metal frame with a net bag attached to it along the sea bed. Mason (1983) cites references to fore-and-aft rigged sailing vessels towing dredges in the English Channel in the 1920s, and it is possible that a simplified system was used in the medieval period. Collecting by net or dredge would inevitably mean that other shells, such as *Callista*, were gathered from time to time. In addition to these methods of capture, people could easily have dived for scallops in shallow water. Cockles can be collected from mid tide to just below low water, top shells from upper to middle shore and limpets from the upper to lower shore (Ratcliffe 1997).

As well as the marine molluscs, fragments of crab claws were retrieved from the midden sample. These consisted of seven claw tips plus other fragments and represented a minimum of one individual. The species of crab was not identified (Ratcliffe 1997).

Land snails were also found as a result of sieving the midden sample. Most of the taxa (*Cochlicopa lubrica*, *Vitrea crystallina*, and *Aegopinella nitidula*) will tolerate a range of conditions, such as woods, hedges and grasslands, although in general they prefer damp situations. *Capaea* also occurs in sand dunes and so tolerates dry conditions. *Discus rotundatus* tolerates moist sheltered places of all kinds and, with the taxa noted above, could well have lived in the pit amongst the rubbish. *Pupilla muscorum* is typical of dry calcareous places including coastal sand dunes and would have been common in Scilly. *Ceciloides acicula* is a burrowing species and may not be contemporary with the rest of the snails. It, too, is typical of calcareous soils. A context such as a midden pit is a rather artificial environment which may include a range of microhabitats suitable for different species and interpretation of precise environmental conditions is not, therefore, possible.

The upper part of the midden at East Porth, Tean, dating to the seventh and eight centuries AD, contained more fish species but less bird ones than the lower, late Roman, layers of the midden. There were also more mammals, with deer, the Scilly shrew and Pallas' vole (Ratcliffe and Straker 1996, 13).

7.6 Transport

No evidence of boats or ships of this period is known from Scilly, although the presence in Scilly of ceramics from France, North Africa and the Mediterranean attests to the existence of trade routes and therefore maritime activity, at the very least to Cornwall and possibly further afield (Johns *et al* 2004).

The most obvious feature of the Nordic tradition of boatbuilding during this period is the use of overlapping planking (clinker). This method of boat building starts with the hull planking being fastened together (usually using iron clenched nails or rivets). The internal framework is added afterwards. Hence this type of construction is sometimes called "skin first". These vessels are double-ended, with overlapped split oak strakes fastened to each other with iron nails, propelled by oar and single square sail. An early example is the late sixth to early seventh century Sutton Hoo ship (McGrail 2001; Hutchinson, 1998).

7.7 Social relations

Scilly appears to have been unaffected by sporadic Anglo-Saxon conquests in East Cornwall. The story that Athelstan (King of Wessex AD 935-939) made a short visit to the islands to deal with Scandinavian raiders is probably legendary, as are connections with the mythical British king, Arthur, or Olaf Trygvason, King of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, who the 'Heimskringla' saga records visited Scilly at the end of a four-year long raid and was converted to Christianity there (Bowley, 1964, 34).

The excavated settlements - St Helen's, East Porth, Tean and East Porth, Samson - are all ecclesiastical sites and we have very little knowledge of secular life in Scilly during this period.

7.8 Religion and ritual

An important result of external trade or other cultural contacts was the introduction of Christianity, probably from Cornwall, France or the Mediterranean, during the late fifth or early sixth centuries.

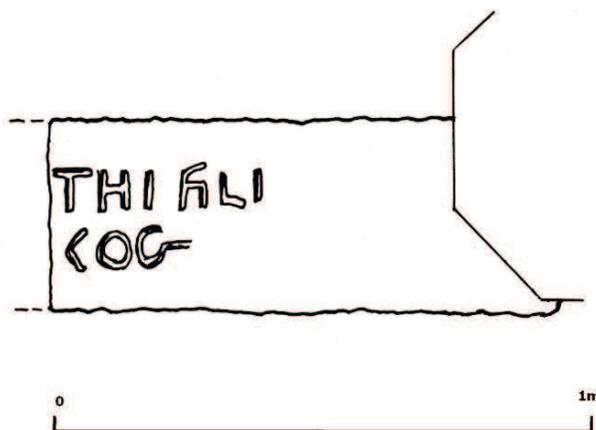


Fig 7.3 Inscribed tombstone in Tresco Abbey Gardens (after Thomas)

The earliest evidence for Christianity in the Islands is a sixth-century inscribed tombstone which has been re-used as a threshold stone in the south doorway of Tresco Abbey (Fig 7.3). Broken at some time in the past, it was originally part of an upright pillar, possibly associated with one of the stone-lined graves in the corner of the Abbey Gardens. Its surface is very worn but it is possible to discern part of Latin inscription

...THIFILI...COGI, the last element could also be interpreted as COGVI, COCI, COGNI, or COLINI (the first inscribed sideways). The inscription is a standard formula meaning 'son of' with Latinised British personal names before and after FILI (Macalister 1945, 462-4; Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 54).

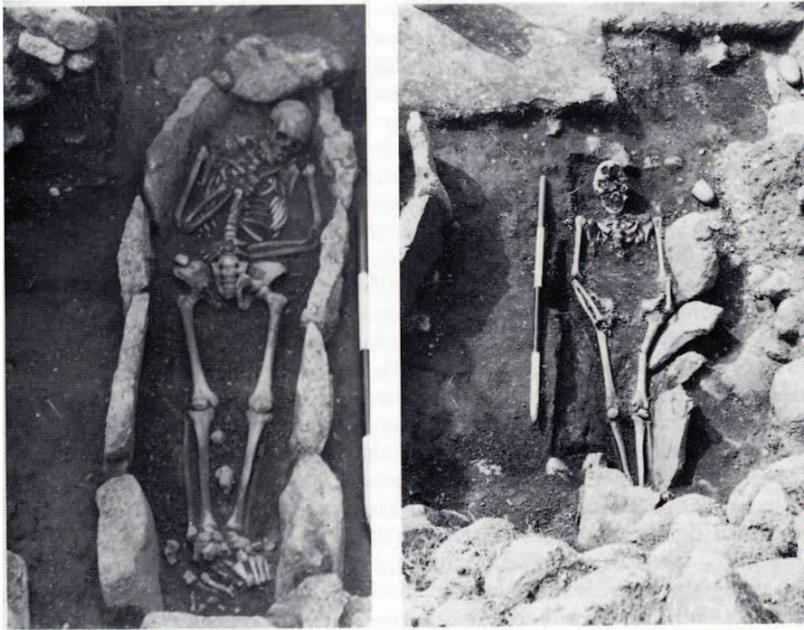


Fig 7.4 Two of the Early Christian burials from Tean (photo: Vincent Megaw)

The stone may have been associated with a nearby Early Christian cist cemetery, one of five identified in Scilly which survive below enclosed land, heathland, dune sand and existing settlements.

Although these cemeteries are superficially similar to Romano-British ones, their graves are longer, narrower and coffin-shaped, aligned roughly east-west and contain extended skeletons facing east. They are occasionally covered by simple kerbed cairns or marked by small stones, like the sub-circular slab with a simple incised cross found in one cemetery. Early medieval cemeteries or burials have been found at St Helen's, East Porth, Samson, East Porth, Tean (Fig 7.4), and in Tresco Abbey Gardens.

7.8.1 Chapels and hermitages

Associated with the graves of the dead are the places where the living worshipped, simple rectangular chapels of the eighth to tenth centuries, the remains of which are found on St Helen's, Tean, and Chapel Brow, St Martin's. Others may once have stood on St Mary's, Samson, St Agnes and Tresco, where Early Christian cemeteries have been recorded. Traditionally thought of as insular hermitages, these chapels were reinterpreted in the late 1980s as the earliest parish churches for Scilly, sited near to contemporary settlements (Ratcliffe 1989), although this interpretation was based on Thomas' model for sea level rise.

Eight sherds of early medieval pottery were found in a limpet midden east of the main entrance to the Tresco Abbey gardens (adjacent to the site of the British Airways ticket hut in existence there in 1985). These tenth to eleventh century sherds are further evidence for an early medieval establishment pre-dating the twelfth century St Nicholas' Priory. The pottery came from a limpet midden but this may not itself be of early medieval date since post-medieval sherds were also found in it.



Fig 7.5 St Helen's chapel (photo: Katharine Sawyer)

The plans of the earliest chapels and oratories in Scilly and Cornwall are consistently rectangular - 'double-square' - in plan, 4m by 2m, for example, and have doorways on the south side, not the west as in Irish foundations of the same period (Thomas 1978, 252).

The site on St Helen's was probably founded sometime during the eighth to tenth centuries by St Elidius, reputedly a British bishop and the son of a king. The earliest phase of the site on the south-facing slope of St Helen's comprised a rectangular 'Oratory' or chapel (Fig 7.5), a circular living-cell or hut and up to six Christian graves within a 0.1 hectare enclosure bounded by a rough wall (O'Neill 1964; Thomas 1985, 181).

At East Porth on the neighbouring island of Tean, a multi-period site was investigated by Thomas in 1956 and 1960 (Thomas 1960b). Finds from a hut overlying a Roman and early medieval midden were mainly pottery of fifth, sixth and probably seventh century date, including sherds of an imported Bii amphora, a Biv handled jar and nine class E-ware pots.

During or soon after the occupation of the hut, Christian-type cist-graves were constructed to the east beyond the limits of the midden. Sixteen graves were found during the two seasons of work. Overlying the graves was a small, rectangular stone structure whose internal dimensions, about 4.88m by 2.44m, east-west longer axis and remnant of a south-side doorway indicate that it was a chapel, provisionally dated to the early eighth century and founded by Saint Theona. Thomas suggests that the stone chapel could post-date an earlier wooden structure on the same site, a phenomenon noticed elsewhere in Britain and Ireland (Thomas 1985, 183-6). To the north of the chapel is small sub-circular field which may have originally been the *lann* or ecclesiastical enclosure associated with the chapel (Johns *et al* forthcoming b).

The chapel on St Martin's Head, the eastern summit of Chapel Down, St Martin's, has been mostly robbed of stone but is visible in plan at ground level as a small,

rectangular, east-west aligned structure measuring 5m by 2.4m internally, with a south doorway. It is not associated with a cemetery and it has been suggested that it was a 'lighthouse chapel', a small religious establishment whose duty it was to maintain beacon lights. At least one such chapel is known to have existed on the Land's End peninsula (Adams 1957; Thomas 1985, 186).

A multi-phase Early Christian site at East Porth, Samson was excavated in 1971 (Neal, forthcoming). The sequence of a timber structure superseded by a stone building is similar to that excavated at Tean. The east-west aligned stone building is rectangular in plan with internal measurements of 3.38m and, probably, 1.98m. The doorway is on the north side, perhaps for practical reasons - if it had been on the south side it would have faced into the dune. Consideration of the occupation debris around the house suggests it was a domestic habitation (perhaps that of a hermit) rather than a chapel. A stone bowl in the corner of the room, similar to but smaller than the stone bowl in Room 1 at Nornour, would also suggest a similar purpose (*cf* Butcher 1978, fig 40).



Fig 7.6 Possible stone font from East Porth, Samson (photo: David Neal)

The later history of the site also suggests a religious association, as demonstrated by the presence of three further graves, a wall possibly intended as a boundary to a cemetery and a massive stone basin possibly once used as a font (Fig 7.6), and perhaps originally sited within a chapel. There was no stone building associated with these features, although extending below the present dune to the south of the site are a series of timber structures and associated levels (Neal, forthcoming).

In legend, the Isles of Scilly were renowned for their hermits, as demonstrated by the story recorded in the 'Heimskringla' saga of Olaf Tryggvason and the soothsayer in the late tenth century (Fig 7.7; Bowley 1945, 34-38).

By the end of the early medieval period Christianity was firmly established in Scilly but it would have assimilated some old pagan beliefs. For example, St Warna's holy well on St Agnes is probably an early medieval structure, but the tradition of attributing supernatural powers is a survival from pagan times.



Fig 7.7 Olaf Trygvason and the soothsayer (Peter Nicolai Arbo)

7.9 Human osteoarchaeology

Early medieval human bones have been found at St Helen's (O'Neil 1964), East Porth, Samson (Keepax forthcoming), and Tean (Thomas 1960b). Of these the bones from Tean have been most extensively examined (Fig 7.4).

Sixteen graves were found on Tean, and the skeletons included one adult woman and four young children, seemingly making it a lay cemetery (Thomas 1985, 184), although the female skeleton could have been of a nun or perhaps St Theona herself, so this is not necessarily the right explanation. Two of the male burials were those of lepers, and the disease is likely to have been contracted in a Mediterranean or Middle Eastern land (Thomas 1985, 198; Brothwell 1961, 323-4, pl VI). Another of the skeletons showed healed amputations of the left hand and right foot, possibly the result of a punishment (Mays 1996, 109).

The bones from St Helen's were very friable and only the remains in the altar grave in the chapel were examined. The grave contained two burials placed side by side. One was an adult male, not less than 40-45 years old, with a powerful musculature and a full set of healthy teeth but with severe functional crown attrition. The fragments of the second skeleton, which was probably also male, were excessively decayed and friable but showed similar functional crown attrition. The skeletons probably dated to the early years of the Christian era (O'Neil 1964, 68).

Fragments of the vertebrae, sacrum, pelvis, femora and skull of an adult male were present in grave III at East Porth, Samson. The preservation of the bones was poor, with some surface erosion (particularly of the skull). Two loose teeth were present showing a medium amount of wear with some exposure of the dentine but no evidence of caries or calculus deposits. The lower incisor showed very slight hypoplasia of the enamel. The sacro-iliac joint showed roughening and lipping, probably due to a medium degree of osteo-arthritis. The severity of this condition suggests that the individual was probably over thirty years old at the time of death. The skull showed evidence of possible ante-mortem injury, a deep cut mark, although there was no evidence of fracturing of the bone associated with the injury and the cut did not seem to have penetrated to the interior of the skull. This injury is comparable to that which

might be caused by a blow from a sharp object and it occurred probably only a short time before death (Keepax, forthcoming).

7.10 Discussion

Islands appear to have been sought after for specific purposes among the adherents to the new Christian Church. The early Christian *mentalité*, closely aligned with the long held beliefs of the natives, found powerful magico-religious associations with places on the fringe of the Christian world. In a number of publications Tom O'Loughlin (1997; 1999; 2000) has explored the attraction of the islands on the fringe of the world known to early Christianity. O'Loughlin makes a distinction between the known seas of the Mediterranean, where familiar islands were located, and the sea surrounding the continents, which was the *Oceanus*, a threatening place where the tides mimicked the breathing of a living animal, possibly the primeval 'abyss', a threatening place to be treated with caution. The ocean could be full of demons, and in this it was not unlike the desert spaces of the known world. Monks and hermits were attracted to these places as it was seen as their duty to do battle with the demons. An earlier use of deserts for this purpose appears to have been translated to the ocean in the west. So the ocean as a metaphorical desert hangs strongly in allusions to the monastic heritage of ascetic isolation derived from the Egyptian desert, the inversion of the island/land and sea/water dichotomy is found in the oasis/water and desert/land model, water and sand providing the conditions for otherness and evil.

The unknown spaces of the ocean also provided mappers of the world with conceptual spaces in to which they could place known but unlocated places. So, for example, the Garden of Eden was located on an island in the *Oceanus*, as were other 'promised lands'. According to O'Loughlin (1999) this is part of the point of the, for him, allegorical tale provided by the voyage of St Brendan, who on a seven-year voyage battles demons and finds marvellous islands. At this date, in the early medieval period of western Europe, it is clear that islands and headlands on the larger islands of the Atlantic Archipelago were being sought out in 'pursuit of a desert' (Dumville 2002). In considering the community of monks residing in the island monastery of Iona, O'Loughlin (1997) notes that they had found their desert fastness, as imagined, but also finds in *Vita Columbae* (The Life of St. Columba) that the monastery was spread over a number of islands, that boat trips were regularly taken between them and indeed much further asea, with craft going to and arriving from the mainland, Skye, the Orkney Islands, Ireland and France, achieved by rowing and sailing. So, although Horn, White Marshall and Rourke (1990, 3) find that '*it is among the stone ruins left on the Atlantic islands by small colonists of Irish monks that we find the boldest parallels to early Egyptian monasticism in Europe*', it is also the case that the established monasteries on such islands were connected to distant places, and ultimately to Rome and Jerusalem.

Clearly then for a thousand years prior to the fifteenth century islands were regarded as suitable locations for ascetics in monasteries and hermitages. Metaphorical deserts were also provided by forests, deep valleys and mountain peaks; islands then did not have a monopoly on use for this purpose, but Scilly does appear to have been sought out for this purpose (Thomas 1985, Chapter 7), and, perhaps paradoxically, provides an indication of widespread off-island contacts at this time.

7.11 Scientific dating

7.11.1 Radiocarbon dates

The 22 radiocarbon determinations listed below in Figure 7.8 have all been calibrated using OxCal 4.1. Previous modelling of dates has not been used and all are expressed at the full 95.4% confidence level, rather than to the period to which the date may be weighted (for example at 89%). This means that the calibrated dates in the tables may vary significantly from the publications where they appear.

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | Cal AD @ 95% | Site | Context | Reference |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Wk-5693 | 1650 ±60BP | 255-540 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Peat deposit | Ratcliffe <i>et al</i> , forthcoming |
| GU-5230 (CALIB 4.1) | 1600 ±60 | 264-595 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Column VI (basal 20mm of upper peat) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| OxA-4699 | 1605 ±50 | 337-570 | East Porth, Tean | Charred seeds (<i>Hordeum sp.</i>) from lower half of midden - layer (3) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 98 |
| OxA-23862 | 1632 ±28 | 350-540 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Bulk: mix of herbaceous and Monocot stems (humic acid fraction) 4-5cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| SUERC-32916 | 1620 ±30 | 380-540 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Dicot stem fragments, 8cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| GU-5062 (CALIB 4.1) | 1570 ±50 | 394-600 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Sample 3 from top 10mm of intertidal peat | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| SUERC-32993 | 1595 ±30 | 400-550 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Bulk: organic sediment with ?Monocot roots (humic fraction) | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| GU-5058 (CALIB 4.1) | 1480 ±80 | 407-676 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Sample 2 from basal 10mm of exposed peat | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 128 |
| OxA-23860 | 1507 ±29 | 440-620 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Plant fragment: Monocot stem, 4cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| Wk-5694 | 1510 ±50BP | 432-639 | Porth Coose, St Agnes | Peat deposit | Ratcliffe <i>et al</i> forthcoming |
| Wk-5696 | 1490 ±60 | 432-651 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Top of lower peat deposit | Ratcliffe and Straker 1998 |
| OxA-23827 | 1469 ±25 | 540-650 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Bulk: mix of herbaceous and Monocot stems (humic fraction) 4-5cm below surface of intertidal peat | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |
| SUERC-39444 | 1437 ±38 | 560-658 | Lower Moors, St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |
| SUERC-39447 | 1378 ±36 | 598-689 | Lower Moors, St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |
| SUERC-32927 | 1390 ±30 | 600-670 | Crab's Ledge, Tresco | Bulk: organic sediment with ?Monocot roots (humic acid fraction) | Marshall <i>et al</i> 2012 |

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | Cal AD @ 95% | Site | Context | Reference |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| OxA-4698 (CALIB 4.1) | 1355 ±50 | 600-774 | East Porth, Tean | Charred seeds (<i>Aveda sp.</i>) from upper half of midden – layer (3) | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996, 98 |
| GU-3411 | 1280 ±50 | 656-870 | Lower Town, St Martin's | Limpet shells from midden | Ratcliffe 1997 |
| GU-2569 | 1030 ±50 | 892-1153 | Big Pool, St Agnes | Lower band of peat & organic sediment | Scourse 1986 |
| ? | 998 ±57 | 896-1170 | Old Town Bay, St Mary's | Upper peat deposit | Ratcliffe & Straker 1998 |
| OxA-4063 | 995 ±55 | 898-1169 | Lower Town, St Martin's | Ovicaprid bone from midden | Ratcliffe 1997 |
| SUERC-39443 | 996 ±35 | 982-1056 | Lower Moors, St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |
| GU-3412 | 880±50 | 1034-1252 | Lower Town, St Martin's | Human bone from burial | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996 |

Fig 7.8 List of early medieval radiocarbon dates

7.11.2 OSL ages

Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating was carried out on submarine and intertidal deposits recovered during the Lyonesse Project in 2009 and 2010. Samples from Old Town Bay, St Mary's and Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco date to the early medieval period (Roberts 2012).

| Location | Lab no. | Context | Material | OSL Age | Calibrated date (95% confidence) |
|----------------------------|-------------|--|----------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| Old Town Beach, St Mary's | 184/LPOT-1A | 0.15 ±0.01m below surface of intertidal peat | Quartz | 1400 ±90 | AD 430-790 |
| Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco | 184/LPTR-4B | 8.5-9.5cm below surface of inte-tidal peat | Quartz | 1380 ±110 | AD 520-740 |

Fig 7.9 List of OSL Ages expressed as years before AD 2010, rounded to the nearest 10 years

8 Medieval (1066 – 1547)

Edited by Charles Johns with contributions from John Allan, Eric Berry, Kevin Camidge, Dan Charman, Ralph Fyfe, Jacqui Mulville, Marta Perez, Fraser Sturt and Sue Watts.

8.1 Introduction

During the medieval period the administration of Scilly was split between Tavistock Abbey which presided over the northern islands, and secular proprietors of St Mary's and St Agnes. Piracy and shipwreck are recurring themes throughout the period. Medieval remains include St Nicholas Priory church on Tresco, the second phase of the ecclesiastical complex on St Helen's and Ennor castle on St Mary's. The main characteristics of Scilly's medieval resource are summarised in this chapter.

8.2 Landscape and environmental background

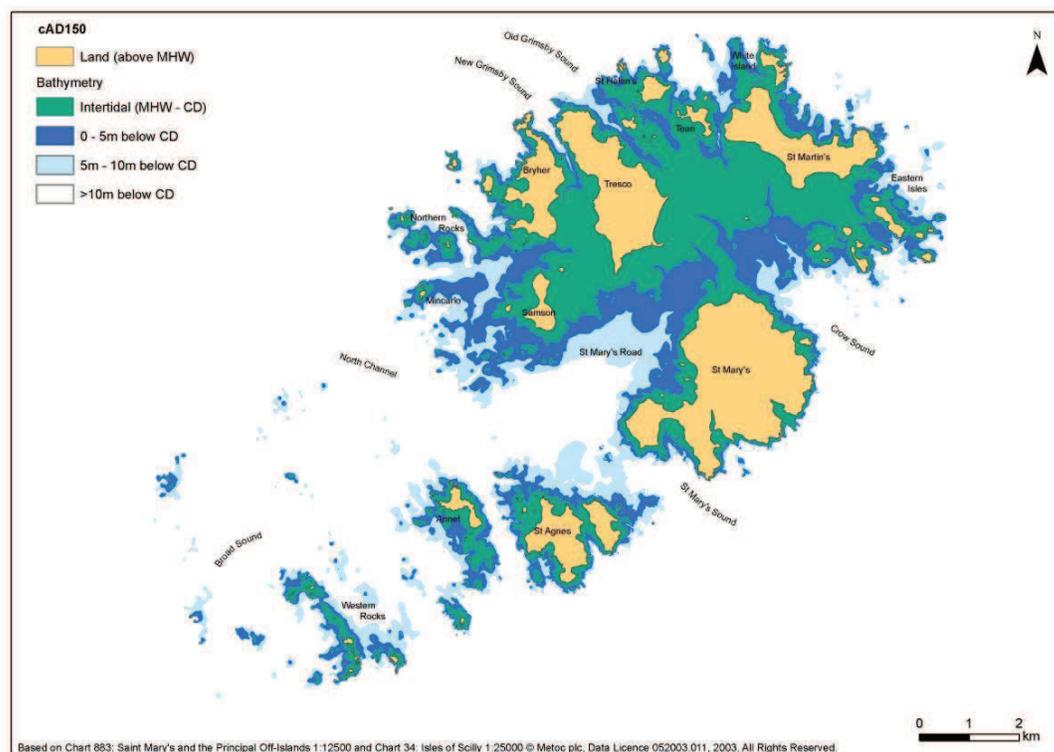


Fig 8.1 Inferred submergence model c1066 based on data from the Lyonesse Project (Charman *et al* 2012)

The Isles of Scilly were often regarded vaguely as one island during the Middle Ages (Orme 2010, 266), and according to Thomas (1985) model for sea level rise the northern islands were still joined at low water until the early Tudor period. However, as discussed above, the results of the Lyonesse Project indicate that separation of the islands had occurred by the end of the Early Bronze Age (Charman *et al* 2012). Two charters dating to between 1140 and 1175 refer to the islands of *Rentemen* (possibly Tresco and Bryher, still connected at low tide), *Nurcho* (possibly St Martin's), *St Elede* (St Helen's), *Sampson* and *Tean* (Orme 2010, 266), indicating that the present pattern of islands had indeed largely formed by that time. Further work is required to reconcile Thomas' coastal place-name evidence with new environmental data.

There is comparatively little environmental data from this period. A peat deposit at Old Town Bay, St Mary's sampled during coast protection works in 1997 which suggests

herb rich grassland with background of coastal indicators and aquatic plants indicating standing water (Ratcliffe and Straker 1998).

8.3 Chronology

There are only five radiocarbon dates for medieval Scilly (Fig 8.19). However documentary sources do provide a chronological framework for the period. These include the thirteenth century *Orkneyinga Saga*, the annals of Tavistock Abbey and various pipe rolls and charters.

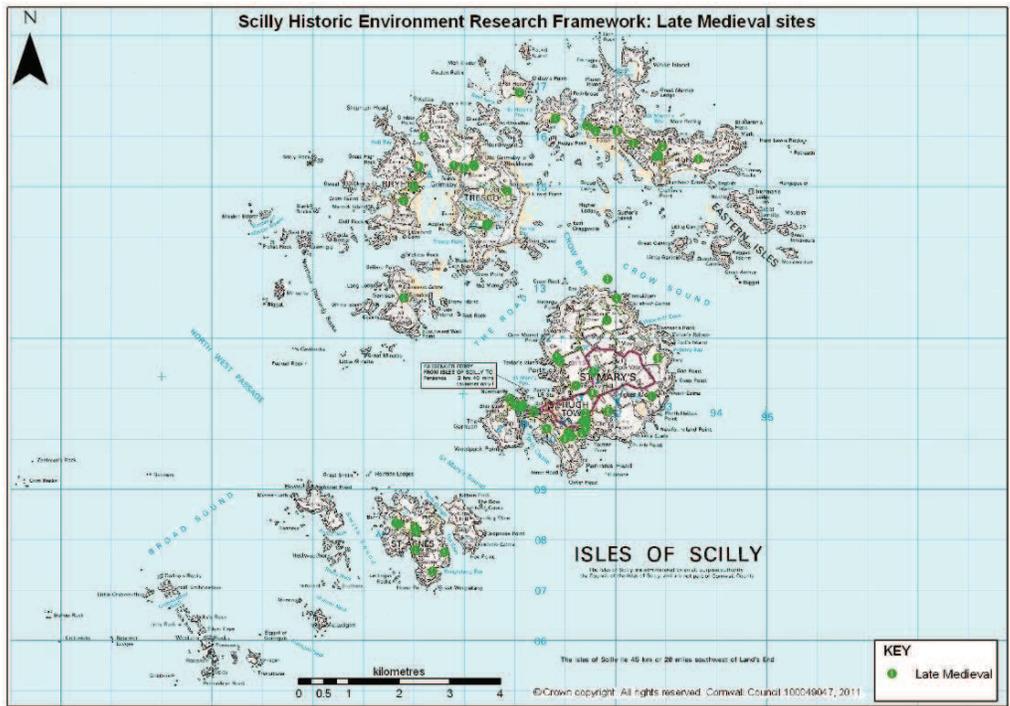


Fig 8.2 Distribution of medieval sites recorded in the Cornwall and Scilly HER

8.4 The material world

8.4.1 Settlement

The main settlement on St Mary's, known in the medieval period as *Ennor*, was at Old Town, where secular rule was based. Protected by a castle, first mentioned in 1244, and not visible from the open sea, the village was at the end of a bay that deep-water ships could not penetrate. The harbour, with its medieval quay (Fig 8.3) was then known as *Porthenor*, 'the porth or landing-place for Ennor', and possibly the settlement of *Maríuhöfn* plundered by Vikings in c1151 (Thomas 1985, 210).

Though Old Town (described by Leland in c1542 as a '*poore Town*') was the main settlement in the Islands, the location of others is revealed by documentary and place-name evidence and medieval pottery scatters: Churchtown and Lower Town on St Martin's; Old Grimsby, Borough and Dolphin Town on Tresco (as well as around the priory and New Grimsby, which is of later medieval origin); Norrard and Southard on Bryher; Periglis and Middle Town on St Agnes; Trenoweth, Helvear, Holy Vale, Normandy and probably most of the other existing farms on St Mary's (Chope 1918, 23; Ratcliffe 1995, 6).

Examples of medieval strip fields are rare in Scilly - the best being that south of the road at Lower Town, St Martin's clearly shown on the 1888 OS map but since subdivided for flower cultivation. The generally more irregular pattern of most anciently

enclosed land indicates that there was no large scale laying out of medieval strip fields, but instead existing field systems continued to be used and modified. It is tempting on the basis of this and artefactual evidence to push the origin of most modern settlements back into pre-medieval times, perhaps as far back as the Iron Age. The sinuous character of many of the roads and trackways connecting these settlements suggests that they too have an ancient origin, having been laid out during medieval (or earlier) times (Ratcliffe 1995, 6).



Fig 8.3 The medieval quay at Old Town (photo: Cornwall Council)

The hermitage on St Helen's is the only medieval site to have been excavated in Scilly (O'Neil 1964), so we do not have clear understanding of the character of medieval settlement in the Islands. Large quantities of finds were recovered during the 1985 off islands electrification project watching brief and the possible location of the medieval settlements of *Sturtom* and *Bantom* identified on Bryher (Ratcliffe 1991). Detailed evaluation on the site of the new Five Islands School Base at Carn Gwaval, St Mary's, between Ennor Castle and Old Town Church, did not reveal any evidence for medieval occupation other than a few fragments of pottery (Johns *et al* 2010).

8.4.2 Subsistence

The midden deposit in the rubbish pit at Lower Town, St Martin's is discussed above (section 7.5.6). Sheep or goat's bone from the same midden was dated AD cal 898-1069 (OXA-4063, 995±55) and is probably indicative of the level of subsistence at the beginning of the medieval period.

Rabbits were probably introduced to Scilly early in the twelfth century and by the middle of the century Richard de Wika was obliged to grant tithes on rabbits captured in Scilly (Thomas 1985, 201). Another document of the same time refers to the gifts of areas of ground for turf cutting from peat beds for winter fuel (*ibid*, 202).

Leland, c 1542, noted that it was a "*The Ground of this Isle [St Mary's] berith exceedingly good Corn, insomuch that, if a Man do but cast corn wher Hogges have rotid it wyl cum up*" (Chope 1918, 23).

8.4.3 Artefacts

Metal

Coins

A Richard II penny from hut 1 on St Helen's, struck before 1387 (Rigold 1964). A French gold coin in good condition was found on the beach to the west of Innisidgen in 2002. The coin has been identified as an *ecu a la couronne* from the reign of Charles VI (1380-1422) and was minted in Paris (Cornwall and Scilly HER).

Bronze

A buckle-plate with traces of gilding, a fragment of gilded, thin bronze band, a bolt of a small barrel padlock and the rim of a cauldron from St Helen's (Dunning 1964). The rim of a bronze cauldron, probably twelfth century in date, was found near Old Town and acquired by the Isles of Scilly museum in May 1975 (Cornwall and Scilly HER).

Copper

A copper pilgrim's medallion with rampant lion relief, with traces of gilt on the upper portion and blue enamel around the line, possibly from Ennor Castle, held at the RCM.

Iron

The rim of a cauldron from St Helen's (Dunning 1964).

Lead

A net sinker for use in fishing and part of a window light with a fragment of glass adhering from St Helen's (Dunning 1964).

Ceramics

In considering the overall state of ceramic research in this period, reference is made in this assessment to the *South-West Archaeological Research Framework* (Webster (ed) 2008). The Medieval Pottery Research Group's report *Research Framework for Post-Roman Ceramics* (2011), presented on-line at <<http://mprgframework.info/>>, was in the course of publication as the present document was prepared; it was examined by John Allan in draft form prior to final publication.

This assessment is based on a review of all the published and grey literature relating to the medieval and later pottery of Scilly by John Allan, followed by an attempt to examine all the ceramics of this date from the islands which were accessible at the time of writing. It has entailed rapid re-examination of all the material in the Isles of Scilly Museum (IOSM), the Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro (RCM), and at the offices of Historic Environment, Cornwall Council, the first repository holding most of the material. Although an effort was made to view ceramics from wrecks and one private collection of such material was visited, coverage of this important resource is inevitably very patchy.

The medieval and post-medieval ceramics of Scilly have attracted far less study and publication than the islands' collections of prehistoric, Roman and early post-Roman pottery. In this regard the situation on the islands mirrors that throughout the rest of Cornwall, where only a handful of substantial reports have been published on the medieval pottery of the county in the last 30 years, and even less work has taken place on the county's post-medieval pottery in the same period. It would perhaps be unfair to describe the state of study throughout most of Cornwall as retarded, but appreciably less work has been carried out on later medieval and post-medieval pottery in this area than in most other parts of southern England. This situation does not arise from wilful neglect of the later archaeology of the islands but does reflect the distinctive emphasis of archaeological work in the county, with a strong research interest in prehistoric and Early Christian archaeology, alongside restricted opportunities for the kind of work, such as large-scale investigation of urban sites, which provides the best sequences and largest collections of medieval and later finds in many parts of the British Isles.

For the medieval period the best individual site collection remains that from St Helen's, excavated as long ago as 1956 and 1958, published by Dunning (1965) and now stored and displayed at IOSM. This material has not been quantified but the collection is not large; it amounts to about three standard boxfuls of sherds. Naturally, Cornish coarsewares form the bulk of the collection, but there is a range of regional imports from Poole Harbour (Dorset sand-tempered jugs), Bristol (Ham Green) and east Devon/south Somerset (redware jugs), alongside about 30–35 sherds of jugs imported from the Saintonge (the English imports not identified in the initial report; for these identifications see Allan 1993).

The collection from King Charles Castle (Miles and Saunders 1970) contains Portuguese coarseware and an important group of maiolica tiles from Seville in arista technique (probably reused monastic spoil of the 1520s) alongside a range of Cornish and North Devon coarsewares.

Elsewhere, the largest body of medieval ceramics is that from the archaeological watching brief during 1985 Electrification Programme, which recovered 421 medieval sherds from at least 285 vessels, found at a surprisingly wide scatter of sites on St Mary's, Tresco, St Martin's, Bryher and St Agnes (Allan 1993). The third collection of any size is that from Dolphin Town, Tresco, studied by Thorpe (2004). Further miscellaneous collections, often unstratified and scrappy, continue to accumulate through watching briefs and casual finds.

Ceramics associated with possible shipwrecks are described below in section 8.5.1.

Bone

A whalebone tool from St Helen's, possibly used as ploughshare (Dunning *et al* 1964).

Stone

A fragment of the gable end of a shrine or font in Purbeck marble from St Helen's. There are two fragments of Purbeck marble built into the wall at Tresco Abbey with similar moulded ornament of flutings and a third fragment, but with slightly different moulding and on a smaller scale, was recorded lying loose on the table tomb in the centre of the ruined abbey nave. That this material was being imported and used for decorative purposes on more than one site in Scilly is of interest as it can be closely dated to the twelfth century (Dunning *et al* 1964).

Also a whetstone from St Helen's (Dunning *et al* 1964). The HER records various other finds of granite and other stone objects and masonry.

Querns continued to be used to grind corn throughout the medieval period. A rotary quernstone was, for example, found during excavation of St. Helens, covering a drain (O'Neil 1964).

Roofing slate

Quantities of fragments of roofing slates were found at St Helen's. They were of varying shades of grey-blue-green and typical of the Delabole quarries on the north coast of Cornwall.

Ridge tiles

Fragments of ridge tiles were found scattered on the slates at St Helen's and probably date to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Dunning 1964).

Plaster

The plaster covering the wall of the east end of the chapel on St Helen's was extremely hard and pure white in colour with straw-like matrix (Dunning 1964).

8.5 Communications, transport and trade

8.5.1 Shipping

The three main medieval ship types were keels, hulcs and cogs (Hutchinson 1998; McGrail 2001). Evidence for the monks being involved in long distance trade is provided by a reference in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (compiled around 1200) to the plundering of one of their merchant ships. Split dried fish and seabirds from the Islands may have been exchanged for Cornish pottery, tin, slate and cloth; Breton salt, linen and canvas; Irish cloaks and wood; French wine and pottery; and Spanish wine and fruit. Pottery was also imported from other parts of southern England; Dorset, Wiltshire, Bristol and Exeter. The priory may have collected tolls for anchorage in St Helen's Pool, probably the chief harbour in medieval times (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 15).

In Scilly, the Right of Wreck, taken as vested in the Crown in the first place, passed to Tavistock Abbey in 1114. Pirates and raiders preying on English merchantmen may have been part of the reason behind Henry I's grant, and the monk, Tuold, was instructed to 'keep a firm peace'. At a later date, between 1140 and 1175, Reginald, earl of Cornwall confirmed the charter with the amendment '*All the wrecks, except whale and a whole ship*' (Larn 1993, 10). This was a valuable and often much wrangled-over commodity which would only have any value if wreck was a reasonably common event.

A return of Edward I's Commissioners of 1275 for the Hundred of Penwith (which included Scilly) stated 'They [the jury] say that John de Allet and the Prior of St Nicholas, Lords of Scilly, take wreck from the sea in those Islands, but they know not by what Environmental background warrant, the ancestors of the aforesaid John and the Prior having done so from the time whereof memory is not'.

By the end of the thirteenth century the monks of Tavistock were interested in withdrawing from Scilly if they could do so with advantage. They petitioned the king saying that they had little power to cope with felonious mariners in times of war and suggested exchanging heir lands in Scilly with him for an annual endowment of £60. They pointed out that the Islands had an anchorage for 1000 ships and were frequented by vessels from France, Normandy, Spain and Gascony. The king ordered an enquiry but nothing resulted (Orme 2010, 268).

In 1302, Edward I challenged the Tavistock abbot's right to wreck but the abbot claimed 'the ship-wrecks happening in all the Islands', which he and all his predecessors had 'enjoyed without interruption from time immemorial', except for whales, gold, scarlet cloth, masts and firs, which were reserved for the king (Bowley 1990, 28).

In this period, for the first time, we have evidence of specific shipwrecks in Scilly, the first in 1305 when William le Poer, the king's coroner of the Isles of Scilly, was imprisoned and held to ransom after going to Tresco to take charge of wreck cargo. Several other wrecks are recorded throughout the fourteenth century (Bowley 1968; Johns *et al* 2004) attesting to the fact that shipwreck was not unknown in Scilly. To date, however, no medieval wreck remains have been located in Scilly.

In 1337 the Right of Wreck in Scilly reverted to the crown, when Edward III endowed his son, Edward, the Black Prince, with the Duchy of Cornwall. Between 1342 and 1345 the cargo and materials of three wrecked vessels was plundered by Scillonians, but no other details survive and it is thought that ships of the period were not identified by names anyway, a custom which did not prevail until the fifteenth century (Larn 1999, 8; Larn 2003, 11).

The presence of medieval pottery in Tresco Channel (between Tresco and Bryher) has been known for some time (e.g. Johns *et al* 2004). It was investigated by the Archaeological Diving Unit (ADU) in 2002 but more recently a fine collection of imported pottery in unusually fresh condition – principally Saintonge green-glazed jugs but also

including North French (probably Normandy) red-painted wares and some English wares – was newly reported. John Allan has inspected the entire collection recovered by April 2011. This is a find of great importance, since it seems almost certain that it represents a wreck site, with the possibility of recovering organic finds alongside a fine ceramics collection, and of throwing light on the French trade (?wine trade) into Britain. The ceramics can be dated c 1250–1350 and possibly more closely to c 1300.

The possibility should be considered that another wreck is represented by the small collection of barnacle-encrusted Saintonge pottery from the beach at Porthcressa, St Mary's, now held at IOSM (IOSM 1927). This includes a fine example of Saintonge polychrome pottery and a rare Saintonge horn (as discussed in Le Patourel 1992), both datable to c 1280–1330.

The only comparable find to these two discoveries from the English Channel known to John Allan is the St Peter Port wreck, studied by Duncan Brown and Robert Thomson, which likewise contained Saintonge wares including polychrome sherds and was thought to indicate a ship involved in the Bordeaux wine trade. This possibly betokens direct maritime trade with France rather than transshipment via Cornwall and is worthy of further investigation. Pottery is one of the few trade items which survive well in archaeological contexts. It is probable that it arrived as part of other, more perishable cargos. For instance in the medieval period wine is an important trade item, but other items such as pottery could have accompanied it. Only small quantities of wine were produced in England and wine was imported, principally from Bordeaux. It was a high status commodity mainly consumed by the church and nobility. The measure of a ship's capacity was in fact derived from the number of standard Bordeaux wine tuns (c252 gallons) which a ship could carry (Ransley *et al* 2011).

8.5.2 Pirates and lawlessness

Maritime activity could bring problems as well as benefits; there are a number of recorded instances of this in Scilly during the medieval period. The Orkneyinga Saga records how another Viking, Thorbjorn Clerk 'won a great victory and a massive share of plunder' by attacking the island of St Mary's, *Maríuhöfn*, in 1151 (Orme 2010, 268). Scilly was called *Syllingar* by the Norse. Some annals of Tavistock abbey record the decapitation of 112 pirates on the Island of St Nicholas in 1209 (*ibid*). A complaint during the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) that a number of Ralph Vyvyan's 'born serfs' had taken refuge in Scilly suggests that a degree of lawlessness may have existed (or have been perceived to exist). More seriously for the inhabitants, 'In 1342 six-hundred Welshmen .. were drawn by the sea on to that island staying there for 20 days and carrying away £500 worth of crops'. These Welshmen were apparently on their way to Brittany on the king's service when becalmed in Scilly. Pirates, apparently also a problem, were responsible for the 'impoverishment occasioned to the Abbey of Tavistock' in Scilly in 1351.

In 1461 Tavistock Abbey and Sir John Colshill, the lay lord of the Islands, appealed to the pope for support. On 10 July of that year Pius II issued a papal bull setting out the grounds for their appeal. Pirates had assaulted, killed, captured, and held to ransom the people of the Islands; clergy, laity, fishermen, pilgrims and shipwrecked mariners. They had plundered and destroyed churches, houses and other buildings, and taken ecclesiastical goods and produce belonging to the abbey and the lay lord. Services were being disrupted, including worship, sacraments, and hospitality to the poor and sick. The evildoers seem to have been identified as men of South West England and Brittany and the pope forbade such activities and granted a large indulgence of seven years and seven Lents to pilgrims visiting the chapel of St Elide (on St Helen's). This chapel, the pope observed, belonged to Tavistock and was governed by monks but its buildings, books and ornaments had much deteriorated. The indulgence was given to all who gave alms to the chapel, or who visited it at Christmas, Midsummer or the feast-day of St Elide (8 August). When William Worcester visited Tavistock in 1478 he learned that Scilly lay under the power or supervision of Pope Pius 2010, 268).

8.6 Social life

Shortly after the Norman Conquest the islands became the property of the Crown of England, and from 1141, part of the Earldom then, after 1337, the Duchy of Cornwall. From the twelfth century the administration of Scilly was divided with Tavistock Abbey presiding over the northern part whilst the de Wika family of Week St Mary in north Cornwall were the proprietors of what are now St Mary's and St Agnes. In 1248 Dreux de Barrantine was sent to Scilly by Henry III to act as Governor and administer justice (Bowley 1964, 40; Land Use Consultants 1996, 23).

At the end of the twelfth century the population of Scilly may have been about 300, and for most of those life would have been harsh and insecure even if there were improvements of a sort and the population underwent a gradual increase from the beginning of the fourteenth century (Thomas 1985, 219). We know little about the day to day life of ordinary people in medieval Scilly.

During the last decade of the thirteenth century the civil administration of the Islands passed to the Blanchminsters, an important family holding estates in Yorkshire and Cornwall, and in 1306 Ralph Blanchminster became the first of his family to hold the Captaincy of Silly. He held the Ennor castle on St Mary's in return for maintaining twelve men-at-arms for keeping the peace. As tenant-in-chief he paid a yearly tribute to the king of three hundred puffins or 6s 8d - puffins, considered fish rather than fowl, could be eaten during Lent, and their feathers were also valuable, but money seems always to have been paid. The islands under civil administration, together with the Ennor castle were valued at £19 a year. From the Blanchminsters administration of the islands of St Mary's and St Agnes passed to the Tresillians, Coleshills, and Arundells. In the fourteenth century St Agnes was held by the Hamely family for a considerable period of time. In 1505 John Croker, husband of Anne Arundell, was the 'tenant-in-chief of the Castle and Manor of Scilly' (Matthews 1960, 10; Bowley 1964, 43).

The traditional punishment for wrongdoers in medieval Scilly appears to have been marooning. A document of 1284 records '*John de Allet and Isabella, his wife, hold the Isles of Scilly and hold there all kinds of pleas of the crown throughout their jurisdiction and make indictments of felonies. When anyone attainted of any felony, he ought to be taken to a certain rock in the sea [the Bishop Rock], with two barley loaves and one pitcher of water upon the same rock, they leave the same felon until by the flowing of the sea he is swallowed up*' (in Bowley 1964, 43).

Records dating to 1302 also refer to a crime and punishment relating to three women from Trenoweth on St Mary's 'The jurors present that a certain Muriel de Trenywith and Joan and Margery her daughters in the time of John de Allet, lord of the island who died, were indicted of theft and were immediately taken and led to the rock in the sea which is called Maenenescop [Bishop Rock] and there by the judgement of the aforesaid john they were left until drowned by the tide. The chattels of the aforesaid Muriel come to 6s 10½d for which the sheriff answers (in Stanbrook 2010, 8).

For a time the Islands may have provided refuge for runaway serfs as is shown in this document of 1354 '*Edward the [Black] Prince, etc to Walter Hull, Constable of the Castle and Keeper of the Isles of Scilly: At the suggestion of our well-beloved Ralph Vyvyan, one of our tenants in Cornwall, we command you that whereas Robert Martyn, Roger Tregarn, Robert Carngonel, and other his born serfs have run away out of his seignory in Cornwall as far as the said Isles and now remain there. We command that if it be so, you permit that he take them again, and cause them to return to his seignory as Law and Right require, and do not make any disturbance or maintenance by them against him in this matter to his disinheritance. Done by our Privy seal a London, the 4th February, 27 Edward III'* (in Bowley 1964, 40).

In about 1478 the antiquary William Worcester noted the names of two islands, St Mary and Tresco stating that both belonged to Tavistock and that the latter was uncultivated (Orme 2010). In 1484 it seems the Islands were worth forty shillings in time of peace but in time of war nothing (Bowley 1964, 43).

In 1501 Tavistock Abbey leased 'the isles, churches, and chapels of Scilly, with all their tithings, oblations, fruits, and emoluments, concerning and pertaining there to us by the priory of Scilly', to William Trewynnard and his son James for a period of seven years at an annual rent of £3 13s 4d, five dozen puffins, and a seal (Orme 2010, 269).

8.7 Religion and ritual

From the eleventh century there appears to have been a general revival in Christianity in Scilly, which increased under Tavistock's influence; existing establishments were improved and new ones built, for example, on St Helen's, and at Old Town, St Mary's. By 1461, St Helen's church was in a state of disrepair and, like St Nicholas' Priory (hardly mentioned in documentary sources after the fifteenth century); it may have become ruined before the Reformation. The priory does not even feature in a list of Tavistock's possessions drawn up at that time (Ratcliffe 1995).

8.7.1 St Nicholas Priory

On 13 September 1114 King Henry I granted 'all the churches of Scilly with their appurtenances' to Tavistock abbey, to be held 'just as well as ever monks and hermits held them in the time of King Edward [the Confessor] and Burgald, bishop of Cornwall'. The grant was made to Osbert, abbot of Tavistock, and to Turolde his monk, and included the order that Turolde and 'all the monks of Scilly' should enjoy the king's peace. This points to the existence of a small monastic community by this date with Turolde as its head. The priory is likely to have been a new enterprise founded in or shortly before 1114 (Orme 2010, 266; contra Thomas 1985, 200-1). As prior, Turolde would have been one of only two or three brethren, with servants living nearby and farming the adjoining land.

The island of Tresco where the church was sited was also known as the island of St Nicholas in the medieval period, after the dedication of the church. The church must have existed there by the early twelfth century and appears to have been substantially rebuilt in the early fourteenth century (Orme 2010, 266-7).

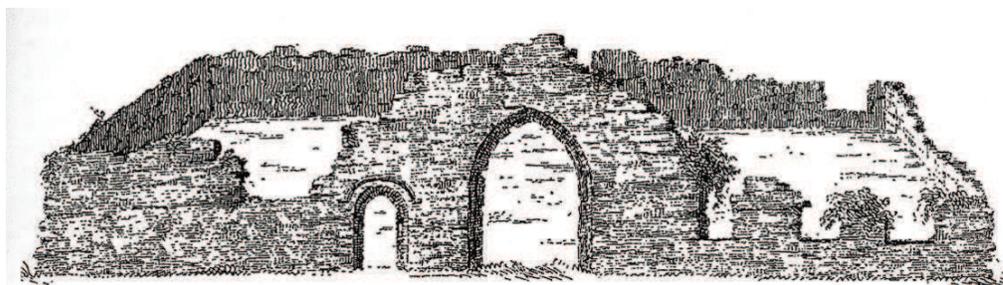


Fig 8.4 William Borlase's drawing of the ruins of St Nicholas

The remains of the priory are recorded on the 1886 OS map as 'St Nicholas's Abbey (remains of)' and on the 1963 OS map as 'Remains of St Nicholas's Abbey (Benedictine Cell)'. O'Neil notes that there are some remains of this monastery in the gardens of the present Tresco Abbey (the nineteenth century residence of the Dorrien-Smith family). The outline of nave and chancel may be traced although much of the present visible walling is due to modern rebuilding. In the south wall there are two fine arches, perhaps partly rebuilt, which seem to have led, respectively, east to the south transept of the church, and west into the north walk of the cloister. The remaining building is a Listed Building, Grade II and a Scheduled Monument; it is 25m long on its east-west axis and 8m wide. At the point where it incorporates the two arches the wall is 4.5m high; elsewhere it is about 2.5m high, and abutted by raised and other flower beds internally and externally. There is a third, blocked, doorway in the centre of the north wall; and opposing blocked windows at the east end of the building. The interior was modified by use as a graveyard in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and subsequently as a walled garden (Ratcliffe 1993).

Elsewhere, built into a wall, is part of an early font, decorated with round-arched arcading. A plan and elevation of the priory church remains were made by Borlase in 1756 (Fig 8.4). A field survey was made by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1991 (Ratcliffe 1993).

Priors of Scilly

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Tuold | Occurs 13 September 1114 |
| Hugh | Occurs 1161x1184 |
| Alan | Vacated by 8 June 1233 |
| John Chubbe | Vacated 1262 |
| John (of Yalmeton?) | Occurs 1305 |
| Robert Deneys | Occurs 4 January 1331 |
| John Duraunte | Replaced 28 September 1373 |
| Richard Auncell | Appointed 28 September 1373; occurs 11 October 1375; vacated by 7 December 1385 |
| John Denyngton | Occurs 23 March 1443 |
| Richard Salter | Appointed 28 October 1452 |

Fig 8.5 Priors of Scilly (from Orme 2010)

8.7.2 Churches and chapels

St Mary's

The present church at Old Town is a restored fragment of the original Norman nave, divided from a side chapel by a round headed arch (Pevsner 1970, 209). Sedding (1909, 167) describes the arch as dating to c 1150, and Thomas (1985, 212-3) suggests an original building period for the church of 1130 to 1140, when it acted as equivalent of a parish church for the lay populace of Ennor. According to Laws (1980, 5), the church had become ruinous by the 1820s, was rebuilt in the 1830s, and was again restored by the end of the century (1890). In the east wall, above the granite altar is a three light window of good stained glass depicting the crucifixion with Our Lady and St John, which probably belongs to the last restoration. On the apex of the east gable of the church is one of the crosses which may have marked the limit of the glebe in the Norman period.

Thomas (1985, 213) quotes a twelfth century (probably 1176) charter from Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter to the prior and monks of Scilly. This condemns the fact that Richard de Wika had built a chapel within the parish of St Mary's (Old Town) church and a certain priest had dared to celebrate divine offices in it. The offending chapel was presumably closed and the priest removed. Thomas says we have no idea where it stood but guesses that it was on the Old Town side of the inlet.

Thomas (1985, 215-7) also identified the almost certain site of St Maudut's chapel on the south side of 'The Bank' in Hugh Town. There are two fourteenth century references to it (in Thomas 1977, Thomas 1985, 215-7; Doble 1938, 15) and a 1712 reference (CRO DDGO/643) to a 'Papist house' which could be the same building described by Troutbeck (1796). The former chapel described by him had mullioned windows and a burial ground on its south side. He also mentions a cross base. Whitfield (1852, 210) was shown the site (at the foot of Garrison Hill) and met the mason who had pulled down the building, which had 'a doorway, with a fine pointed arch' and mullioned windows. Thomas (1985, 215-7) depicts a rectangular building with a west or south doorway, perhaps fourteenth century in date, which may have been built on open ground or replaced a pre-Norman chapel attached to a burial ground. He plots the location of 11 pieces of masonry, in Hugh Town and on the Garrison, which may have

come from St Maudut's chapel, including three stones in the Parade, one at Porthcressa, and two opposite the Atlantic Hotel. Part of a re-used mullioned window discovered recently on the Garrison may have come from this site originally (Fig 8.6).

St Helen's

On St Helen's a larger church was built south of the old oratory/chapel at the beginning of the eleventh century and when Tavistock abbey took over the ecclesiastical administration of Scilly it was extended by the rebuilding of its east end and the addition of a northern aisle (Fig 8.6). At the same time the circular living cell was refurbished, three rectangular rooms built and the walled enclosure remodelled. The church had fallen into disrepair by the fifteenth century and was probably in ruins by the time of the reformation. When recorded by Borlase in 1752 the church still stood to roof height (Borlase 1756) but the walls were tumbled and low when excavated in the 1950s (O'Neil 1964).

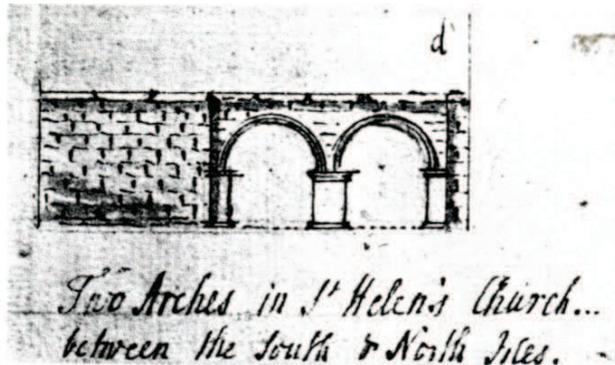


Fig 8.6 Borlase's drawing of the arches between the south and north aisles in St Helen's Church

Entered through its small twelfth century porch the church's nave has at its east end a sanctuary step and the foundations of a stone altar, which supported a small consecrated super-altar. Stone benches originally ran around much of the nave and the north aisle which also had a raised east end where the side altar stood. The fragment of Purbeck marble indicates either a font or a shrine housed St Elidius' exhumed remains. For several hundred years after his death pilgrims came to revere his holy remains and today the Anglican Church on Scilly holds a service on the site on his feast day (8 August).

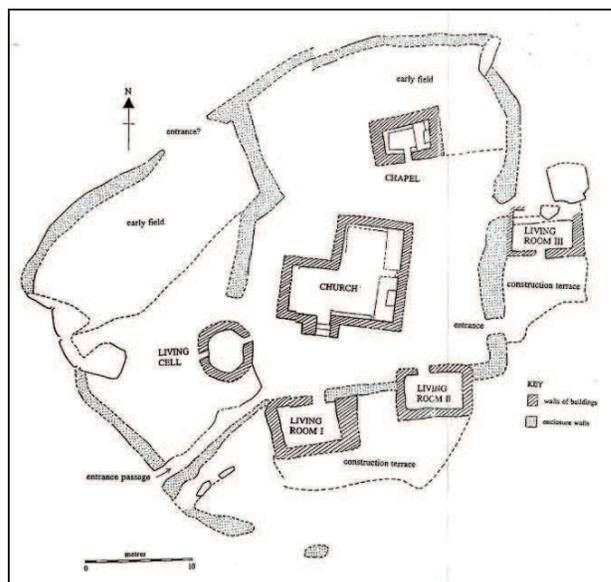


Fig 8.7 Plan of the St Helen's ecclesiastical complex from the 1993 CAU survey

The building walls were constructed almost entirely of undressed granite with dressed masonry (granite and imported freestone) used only for architectural detail in the twelfth century church. The church, the refurbished circular cell and two of the rooms were roofed with slate. Borlase's drawings show the nave and aisle divided by two low arches (Fig 8.6). Dressed stone from these was found during the excavation together with pieces of stone window and a fragment of leaded window light with painted glass attached. The remains of a splayed window can be seen in the aisle's east wall and the position of three others are shown on a plan drawn by Borlase. The site was cleared scrub and surveyed by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1993 (Fig 8.7; Ratcliffe 1994).

St Agnes

Leland, c 1542, noted that "*St Agnes Isle [is] so caullid of a Chapel therin*" (Chope 1918, 24). The 1652 Parliamentary survey noted that 'Bernard Hicks' house at 'Port Eagles' or 'Egles Port' (Periglis) was in part "anciently a chappell" while his garden "hath been and is ye burying place" (Pounds (ed) 1984, II). Presumably this was the medieval chapel and cemetery dedicated in honour of the local saint who it is suggested was 'Arana' and not 'Warna' as it later became (Thomas 1977). There is a local tradition that the original burial place of St Agnes was in this area south west of the lifeboat slip and skulls and other bones and a grave have been seen by inhabitants in this vicinity. The Cornwall and Scilly HER records that Mr L Hicks of the lighthouse, St Agnes, thought that the ruined buildings south of the slipway probably incorporated the footings or remains of Bernard Hicks' house, and that there are surface irregularities nearby in the OS field no 6929, which may represent wall lines of early buildings.

St Martin's

The 'lighthouse chapel' on St Martin's Head continued in use through the medieval period and is shown on Captain Greenville Collins' navigation chart of the Isles of Scilly surveyed between 1691 and 1698 (UKHO B888).

The island name St Martin's is at least as old as 1500 and Thomas (1985, 223) thinks there must have been a church on the island which gave rise to this name. Davis's map of 1585 shows a symbol which appears to represent an ecclesiastical site, on the northern tip of St Martin's but Thomas implies that this location is a mistake, and that the symbol actually indicates a church or chapel pre-dating Ekins' 1763 church at Higher Town (*ibid*, 244). The existence of an earlier ecclesiastical site here is corroborated by the presence of an earlier cemetery, and the possible medieval cross base. A papal bull of 1193 mentions "churches" on Scilly owned by the Abbey of Tavistock. Thomas suggests that St Martin's "is the most likely for a second ecclesia", the other being on St Mary's (*ibid*, 226-7). Also, finds of green-glazed and bar-lug pottery from St Martin's suggest that 'the whole south west facing inward crescent of St Martin's contains some lost focus of settlement from medieval times... and our legitimate inference can be that the small population possessed a Christian burial ground (where the present church stands), a chapel ascribed to St Martin, sufficient religious standing for this to represent an ecclesia in the 1193 bull, and subsequently to lend its patronal name three centuries afterwards to the whole of the isle' (*ibid*, 227).

Tean

Although there is little archaeological trace the chapel on Tean may still have had some sporadic use until about 1120 because the saint's name was still being cited (Thomas 1985, 202).

Samson

There was possibly a chapel on Samson, separate to the early medieval features excavated at East Porth in 1971, although this is speculative (Thomas 1985, 202).

8.8 Human osteological remains

A shallow grave containing an articulated human skeleton was found during BT trenching at Lower Town, St Martin's in September 1992 (Ratcliffe 1997). The grave was located beneath the surface of the road, 1.3km from the present graveyard on St Martin's and the bones were unusually well preserved given the normally high acidity of soils in Scilly.

The Lower Town skeleton had received a Christian burial since it was lying in an extended position and was orientated east to west with the head at the west. Certain characteristics hinted that it may have been buried during the Early Christian period - namely burial without a coffin, the placing of the hands together over the pelvis and the shape of the grave which was very shallow and narrow.

Approximately 60% of the skeleton survived although most of the torso was absent. Of the bones present, the right hand limb bones were in a better state of preservation than those on the left. The remains were those of a male who was probably about 1.72m (5 feet 6½ inches) in height and 33 to 45 years old at the time of death (estimated from the degree of dental attrition). The only pathological evidence that could be identified was dental hypoplasia, a structural defect resulting from environmental or dietary factors during the development of the tooth (Ratcliffe 1997).

Radiocarbon dating of the skeleton revealed that burial had occurred between 1034 and 1252 (GU 3142, 880±50). The crudeness of the Lower Town grave may be evidence for it not being part of a cemetery, but a solitary grave deliberately located away from the island's main burial ground. This may have occurred if the dead man was not local but, for example, a drowned shipwreck victim, or if his family could not afford to have him buried in the graveyard (Ratcliffe 1997).

8.9 Defence and warfare



Fig 8.9 Ennor Castle (photo: Cornwall Council)

The principal stronghold of medieval Scilly was the small shell keep castle known as Ennor, or Old Town, Castle which occupies a small but prominent knoll on the east side of the broad Lower Moors valley behind Old Town Bay on the south coast of St Mary's (Fig 8.8). The earliest reference to Ennor Castle is in a deed of AD 1244 and by 1306 the castle was held by Ranulf de Blanchminster held the castle. A royal licence to crenellate the castle was granted to Ranulf in 1315 but in 1337, the castle along with the rest of Scilly was included in the lands of the newly created Duchy of Cornwall.

Leland, c 1542, noted that it was a "meately [moderately] strong Pile, but the Roue of the Buildings in it be sore defaced and worn" (Chope 1918, 23).

The castle was superseded by Star Castle as the main fortification of Scilly and is traditionally thought to have been a source of stone for the new fort and for other buildings in Old Town and Hugh Town. ennor castle is on private land and now overgrown with mesembryanthemum, the flowers brightening up the outcrop in summer.

Modern housing in Hugh Town covers a hillock (Mount Holles) on which a medieval keep may have stood.

8.10 Scientific dating

8.10.1 Radiocarbon dates

The five radiocarbon determinations listed below in Figure 8.9 below have been calibrated using OxCal 4.1. Previous modelling of dates has not been used and all are expressed at the full 95.4% confidence level, rather than to the period which the date may be weighted (for example at 89%). This means that the calibrated dates in the tables may vary significantly from the publications where they appear.

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | Cal AD | Site | Context | Reference |
|-------------|------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| GU-2569 | 1030±50 | 892-1153 | Big Pool, St Agnes | Lower band of peat and organic sediment | Scourse 1986 |
| ? | 998±57 | 896-1170 | Old Town Bay, St martin's | Upper peat deposit | Ratcliffe & Straker 1998 |
| OxA-4063 | 995±55 | 898-1169 | Lower Town, St Martin's | Ovicaprid bone from midden | Ratcliffe 1997 |
| GU-3412 | 880±50 | 1034-1252 | Lower Town, St Martin's | Human bone from burial | Ratcliffe & Straker 1996 |
| SUERC-39452 | 689 ±38 | 1291-1320 | Lower Moors, St Mary's | Peat | Perez forthcoming |

Fig 8.9 List of medieval radiocarbon dates

8.10.2 OSL dating

Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating on submarine and intertidal deposits recovered during the Lyonesse Project has not produced any medieval OSL ages (Roberts in Charman *et al* 2012).

9 Post-medieval and modern (1547-present)

Edited by Charles Johns from contributions by John Allan, Eric Berry, Eleanor Breen, Allan Brodie, Kevin Camidge, Tom Greeves, Graeme Kirkham, Richard Larn, Rachel Leung, Robert Platts, Fraser Sturt, and Sue Watts

9.1 Introduction

The main characteristics of Scilly's post-medieval and modern resource are summarised in this chapter. The discovery of the New World increased the strategic importance of Scilly and from the mid-sixteenth central government exerted much greater influence on the Islands as it became increasingly involved with matters such as defence that had previously been dealt with locally. Their situation as the western most anchorage and the first/last landfall of the South Western approaches has not only physically shaped the Isles, but also the nature of their archaeological record. This record holds significance in its own right, as well as playing a part in nationally and internationally significant stories of colonisation, travel, trade and conflict.

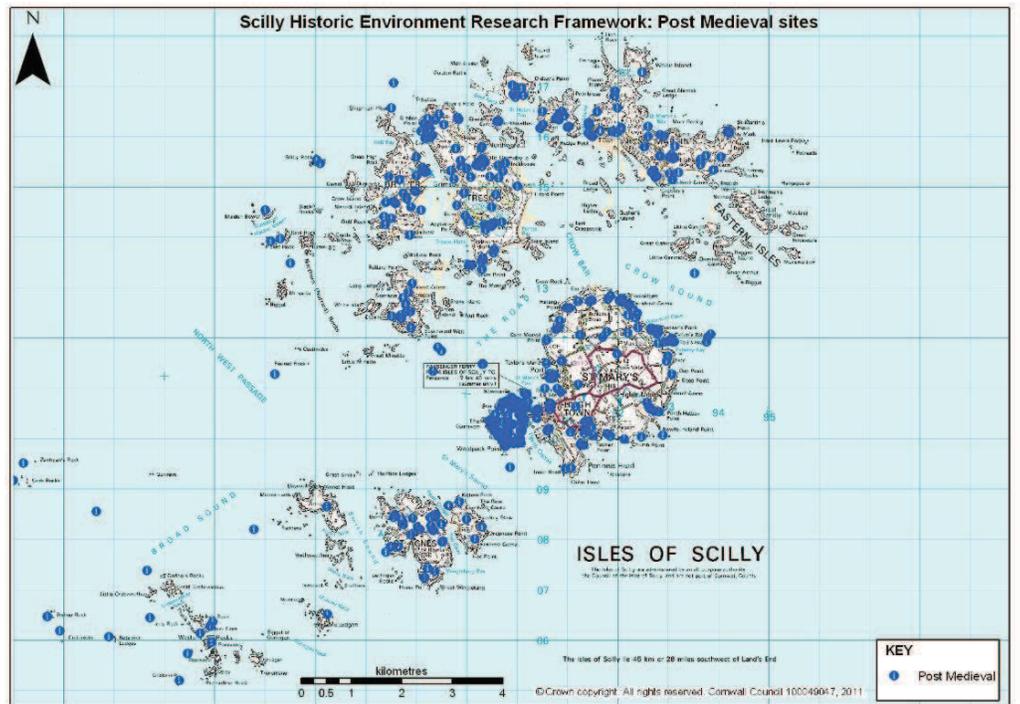


Fig 9.1 Post-medieval sites recorded in the Cornwall and Scilly HER

9.2 Environment and landscape

The three historical events which are likely to have had the most impact on the pattern of the farming landscape during the post-medieval period are the leasing of the Islands by Francis Godolphin in 1570 and by Augustus Smith in 1834 and the start of the Scillonian flower industry during the late nineteenth century (see below section 9.9.6). Godolphin is known to have encouraged Cornish people to settle in Scilly, particularly on St Martin's, and this may have involved the laying out of new field systems or reorganisation of existing ones, but it is not clear yet whether this influence can be detected in the present field pattern, and it is possible that the new immigrants merely brought previously abandoned fields back into use (Ratcliffe 1995, 7).

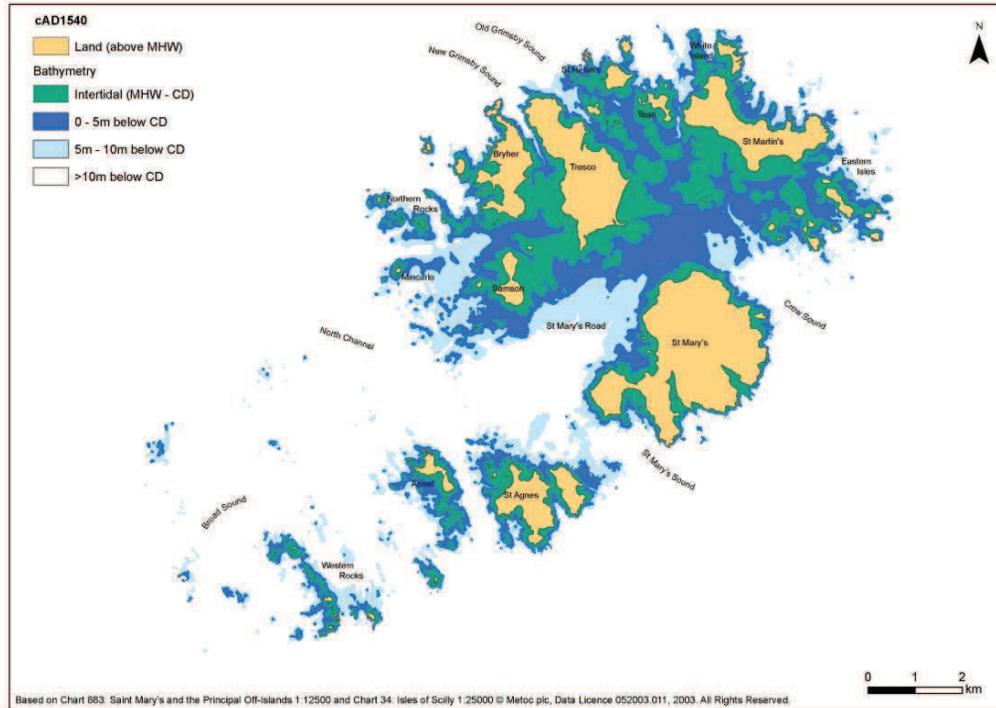


Fig 9.2 Inferred submergence model c1540 based on data from the Lyonesse Project (Charman et al 2012)

Augustus Smith was an economic reformer who began his term as landlord by reallocating farm holdings, which had become minute and scattered by subdivision, and introduced a system of inheritance by which land passed only to the eldest son, all other offspring being forced to find alternative employment. This reallocation need not have led to alteration of the existing field pattern. However, given that the aim was to maximise on agricultural yields, it is likely that the straight sided enclosures shown on the 1888 OS map represent new enclosure of areas of heathland and the remodelling of anciently enclosed land during the second half of the nineteenth century. The large enclosure on South Hill, Samson, is definitely of this date, being an abortive attempt by Smith to create a deerpark (Ratcliffe 1995, 7-8).

From the Iron Age to the mid-nineteenth century Scilly remained a treeless environment (with the exception perhaps of a few orchards and elm groves). However, in the last one hundred and fifty years pines and elms have been planted as windbreaks within and along the edges of the enclosed farmland (particularly on St Mary's and Tresco). Rhododendrons, eucalyptus, sycamores and evergreen oaks have also been planted on Tresco, mainly on former heathland as shelter and cover for game birds. Together with the hedges planted along the side of bulb fields (tamarisk, pittosporum, escallonia, euonymus) which have in places been allowed to grow to treelike proportions, this nineteenth and twentieth century tree planting has led to Scilly having a more wooded appearance today than it has had at any other time during the last three thousand years (Ratcliffe 1995, 9).

Field boundaries are a characteristic feature of Scilly's farmed landscape. As well as having landscape value the boundaries are of historic importance, both for showing how the landscape has changed and developed and for their archaeological potential; some have prehistoric origins. The islands' walling techniques are distinct from those of the mainland and in some respects differ from island to island, although there are broad similarities in the suite of

boundary types. Some field systems are in disrepair. With the progressive loss of traditional dry-stone walling skills, some field boundaries are losing their traditional character.

The 1996 Historic Landscape Assessment (Land Use Consultants) identified four historic landscape types in Scilly: **Anciently Enclosed Land** (AEL) this is land enclosed prior to the nineteenth century, which includes field systems which are as early as the Bronze Age in origin or, theoretically, as late as the eighteenth century; **Late Post-medieval Enclosures**, (LPE) These are straight-sided enclosures, usually square or rectangular in shape, but occasionally other less regular shapes. They are probably of nineteenth century date and are the result either of the remodelling of AEL or new enclosure of what was previously heathland; Late nineteenth/twentieth century **Bulb Strips**, these are small narrow enclosures designed for the cultivation of flowers (daffodils and narcissi). Comparison of the 1888 and 1908 OS 25" maps indicates that most of these strips were created during this 20 year period (with only a relatively few being laid out before 1888 or after 1908); **Modern Enclosures**; these are enclosures not shown on the 1908 OS map but which appear on the 1980 map or were recorded during the fieldwork.

9.3 Material culture

9.3.1 Ceramics

The methodology for the post-medieval ceramics resource assessment was the same as that for the medieval resource assessment (see above section 8.4.3). The only additional significant omission from the assessment has been failure to re-examine the collection from King Charles's Castle, Tresco, believed to be in an English Heritage store but not accessible at the time of writing.

The period 1500–1650

From the period 1500–1650 the single informative collection is that from King Charles Castle, published by Miles and Saunders (1970). It is an interesting reflection of the limited progress which has taken place in the subsequent period of more than 40 years that this remains the most important single report on the early modern pottery of Cornwall. Alongside a range of Cornish and North Devon coarsewares, the collection contains Portuguese coarseware and an important group of maiolica tiles from Seville in arista technique (probably reused monastic spoil of the 1520s).

The period after 1650

From the late seventeenth century onwards there is a steep increase in the volume of ceramics on the islands. In part this reflects the general rise in the islands' population (about 650 in 1650, 1960 in 1799, about 2000–2500 in the nineteenth century) but a more important factor is probably the marked increase in the volume of ceramics used at every social level. Nearly all the material of this date is held at IOSM. Some of it comes from unsystematic private excavation (such as the collections from sites around the Garrison, which include some fine examples of late seventeenth century North Devon sgraffito, alongside imported wares.

Material of this date is also a regular feature of beachcombers' collections. It would be easy to dismiss their finds as unstratified collections of little archaeological value, and it may indeed prove impossible to extract much information from the many collections of post-1750 industrial earthenwares and stonewares, but it is unwise to presume this is always the case. Some beachcombers' finds are certainly of considerable interest; the instance of the medieval Saintonge pottery from Porthcressa has been mentioned above, and other casual finds include unusual imports.

Significant gaps in current knowledge

Much basic work is needed to develop understanding of both the medieval and the post-medieval pottery of Cornwall, which forms the bulk of the Scilly collections.

To allow satisfactory reporting, the pottery of the different Cornish kilns needs to be characterised. At present vague terms like 'Cornish coarseware' are commonly used to express the wide range of possible identifications represented in sherd collections. Ten different Cornish potting centres are known from seventeenth and eighteenth century documentary evidence (Douch 1969). Kiln waste has been excavated for three of these – in two cases more than 40 years ago. In no case has a report appeared. Basic petrological description is needed to aid researchers in establishing the differences between the kilns. The validity of some of the terms in regular use when describing Cornish pottery, such as 'Sandy Lane ware' or 'Stuffle ware', needs exploration by petrological or chemical analyses. No fabric series for Cornish coarsewares exists.

Mason's excavation and publication of the early nineteenth century (c 1820–50) pottery from a cottage on Samson – the kind of study commonly undertaken on sites of this date in North America and Australia but uncommon in Britain (Mason 1984) – illustrates the point that, when stratified or related to a specific context, the industrial ceramics from the islands need not be dismissed as material of little consequence: they are capable of yielding worthwhile information about the material culture of the islands.

9.3.2 Other artefacts

Clay pipes

Clay pipe fragments are common finds, usually dating from the seventeenth to late nineteenth centuries and concentrated around area of modern settlement (Ratcliffe 1991, 107-114). Ten clay pipe fragments, probably dating to c1820-1840 were found in the post-medieval midden on Samson outside of House A, most if not all were of West Country origin (Evans in Mason 1984, 68, fig 11).

Coins and tokens

Recorded finds include a Charles I Rose Farthing from a field at North Farm, St Martin's, an Irish Charles II halfpenny minted in 1680 found in a midden at the entrance to Breakaway, St Martin's, a George III penny dating to 1819 from Myrtle Cottage, St Agnes, a Portuguese 10 Reis of Maria and Peter III (?1791) from a field north west of Old Grimsby, Tresco, and an eighteenth century gaming token found on Higher Town Beach, St Martin's (Ratcliffe 1991, 115).

Metalwork

Metalwork recovered from the Samson buildings in 2006/7 includes many iron nails, iron bolts, an iron door hinge, an iron ring door knocker, part of Cornish shovel, a nineteenth century clasp knife with a bone handle (Johns *et al* forthcoming a).

Buttons

Buttons are frequent finds and include three nineteenth century decorated military buttons found during the off islands Electrification Project (Ratcliffe 1991, 115). Three late eighteenth or early nineteenth century civilian brass buttons and an officers coatee button were found in the midden outside House A on Samson, as well as 38 bone buttons and five shell buttons (Mason 1984, 66-7).

Glass seals

A sixteenth or seventeenth century Spanish or Portuguese intaglio double seal made of purplish glass was found a Cove Vean, St Agnes (Ratcliffe 1991, 115).

Glass

Bottle glass is occurs frequently (Ratcliffe 1991, 115). Most of the glass from the midden outside House A on Samson was bottle glass from wine bottles. There were a few pieces of window glass inside embedded in the floor (Mason 1984, 67). Glass recovered from the Samson buildings in 2006/7 includes two fragments of a nineteenth century glass candlestick, fragments of window glass (Johns *et al* forthcoming a).

Gunflints

Thirteen gunflints dating from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth century were recorded during the off islands Electrification Project, mostly from Tresco and Bryher, with two from St Agnes and one from Bryher (Ratcliffe 1991, 40). Five gunflints were found in the post-medieval midden on Samson outside of House A (Mason 1984, 67).

Leather

A leather oar collar was recovered from House H on Samson in 2006 (Johns *et al* 2007, 51).

9.3.3 Building materials

Scillonian granite and in some cases, granite from Cornwall, are the principal building materials used on the islands. The granite is usually bedded in local earth mortar using *ram*. Granite ashlar, more likely to be used for higher status buildings is usually bedded in lime mortar.

The earlier roofing tradition for all but the most prestigious buildings was thatch. The older roofs coverings that survive in Scilly are scantle slate that was imported from North Cornwall. Terra-cotta tile is another traditional roofing material that was imported to Scilly, usually as a ballast cargo. This was more commonly used on outbuildings.

Salvage

Every scrap of timber which floated ashore or could be removed from shipwrecks would have been was put to good use by the Scillonians, incorporated into buildings as lintels, door or window frames, floor or ceiling joists or roof timbers, or simply cut up for firewood. In many instances wreck timbers were reused in the building of new vessels in the shipyards of St Mary's and Bryher. Most of the older buildings in Scilly still hold ship's timbers in some form or other, which are frequently exposed during alterations or extensions and identifiable by their iron or wooden treenail fastenings, shape, or cut-out sections. Such finds generally go unrecorded. When the Wesleyan Chapel in Garrison Lane, St Mary's, was being refurbished for conversion to a public library, educational centre and council offices in the 1990s, a large number of wooden ship components were found beneath the floorboards (Johns *et al* 2004, 146).

In 1998, a local builder on lifting the floorboards of Rose Cottage at Trenoweth in preparation to replace them with a concrete floor found the boards were supported on large curved timber frames from a ship. Building work on the 'Sandpiper' shop at the Bank on St Mary's showed that the ground floor was supported on huge oak keel timbers, some 400mm (16ins) square, which were notched out to hold hull frames. There are also several examples of ship timbers still to be seen around the islands; on St Mary's outside commercial premises at Old Town, on the concrete hard-standing of the old RNAS seaplane base at Porth Mellon, in Tresco Gardens Valhalla Collection; a door lintel in the Pest House, St. Helen's and a particularly fine example of a eighteenth/nineteenth century part stern-post with bronze gudgeons outside Bank Cottage on Bryher (Johns *et al* 2004, 146).

9.4 Identities

Until the advent of steamship technology in the mid-nineteenth century the voyage to Scilly from the mainland could take anywhere from 12 hours to two days (Hudston 2000, 11); the very remoteness and isolation of Scilly has led to the evolution of a distinctive island culture which is quite separate from mainland Cornwall. This island culture has had a fascination for many writers and was summarised by Gill Arbery (2002).

The islanders have a fierce independence and a natural suspicion of anything imposed from outside Scilly, particularly if it has the stamp of Central Government officialdom.

Although there are certain affinities with Cornwall, Scilly's long-established trade links and seafaring legacy has resulted in links with the wider world, so that the islands have developed a cosmopolitan outlook. Although many place-names in Scilly have old Cornish roots Scillonians do not consider themselves to be Cornish. Nearly all the inhabitants of the islands, old Scillonians or relative newcomers alike, develop a fierce protectiveness towards any perceived threats to the island's unique qualities, and they also wish visitors to love their islands as they do. The traditional life of the islands has been based predominantly on the sea, with coastal industries, and later flower farming and tourism, supplanting subsistence agriculture since the early eighteenth century (Arbery 2002, 25).

The population of the islands has remained fairly static at just over 2,000 for the last 20 years with approximately 1,600 on St Mary's, the largest island. The population is more than doubled by visitors at the peak of summer holiday season (Arbery 2002, 25).

Hugh Town on St Mary's is most akin to the mainland, but the pace is still remarkably quiet and slow. Of the inhabited off-islands, Treco is run by the Dorrien-Smith family as a private estate, marketed as a sophisticated, unspoilt island paradise, Bryher and St Agnes vie for the honour of being the most unspoilt and traditional of the islands, whilst the inhabitants of St Martin's were said to be the most independent of the off-islanders. Of necessity, there has always been a strong tradition of recycling materials, 'make do and mend', on the islands, especially using wreck wood, which in the past has enhanced many buildings (Arbery 2002, 27).

The majority of original Scillonian families can only trace their association with the islands back to the seventeenth century, when their ancestors came to Scilly during the post-Civil War resettlement. Nevertheless, they are proud of their descent and consider that only families with at least 'three generations under the sod' can be called Scillonians. These Scillonians are now in a minority due to successive out-migration of the local population and continual influx of people from the mainland wishing to settle or retire. Traditionally, only those born in Scilly can call themselves islanders, others, even individuals who have lived there for many years, can only claim to be residents (Arbery 2002, 25). Locally, the islands are either called 'the Isles of Scilly' or 'Scilly', the term 'Scilly Isles' is regarded as rather derogative and only used by those unacquainted with the place.

Certain family names are inextricably linked with certain islands, for example: the Woodcocks and Webbers with Samson (many islanders are proud to trace their descent from these families), the Nances with Tean and St Martin's, Jenkins with Bryher, Hicks with St Agnes, Mumfords, Banfields, Lethbridges with St Mary's.

Scilly has an active Family History Group. The social history collection held by the museum, is of great benefit to those carrying out research on their family's life style in years gone by. Photos, articles of clothing, tools and instruments, books

and records etc held in the museum, have been acquired mainly from local sources and Island families.

9.5 Food production

9.5.1 Farming

Farming continued to be the mainstay of the economy during the post-medieval and modern periods; pigs and cattle were raised and potatoes and wheat were the main crops. During the nineteenth century earlier and better varieties of potato were introduced, the surplus being exported to the Mediterranean.

Throughout the post-medieval period farming continued to be the mainstay of the economy. Cattle, sheep, pigs, horses and chickens were the domesticated animals kept. The cattle were initially small, black, hardy beasts, which on some islands were fed on seaweed, but were replaced during the early nineteenth century by Devon X Shorthorn crosses and Jerseys. A peculiar small breed of sheep persisted into the twentieth century. Pigs were very large and plentiful, every householder keeping one. Horses, similar to the Exmoor pony and grazed mainly on furze (gorse), were kept as pack-animals for transporting seaweed (for use as manure) and, together with cattle were used to pull ploughs. However, during the nineteenth century they were largely replaced by donkeys, which could be obtained cheaply from the Cornish mining districts. For most of the post-medieval period the crops grown were potatoes, barley, wheat, peas, oats and a grain called *Pillis*. Potatoes were grown in large quantities, with some farmers gathering two crops a year; and the introduction of better and earlier varieties during the nineteenth century led to a surplus for export. Enough barley was grown to supply all the Islands with beer, bread for the poorer families and feed for cattle and pigs. Only a little wheat was produced locally, sacks of flour being imported from the mainland, but sufficient quantities of peas, oats and pillis were grown to serve the local need. The pillis was ground and used as an alternative to oatmeal (Ratcliffe 1995, 7-8).

Throughout the post-medieval period the heathland which adjoined the enclosed farmland was valuable as rough summer pasture, sub-divided by boundary walls on St Mary's but not elsewhere. In addition, the heathland was an important source of fuel - turf, furse (gorse), broom and ferns (bracken). Bracken was also used as bedding for animals - there are several areas (known as *Fern splatts*) on St Martin's where farmers had individual or group rights to cut bracken (K Low, pers comm to J Ratcliffe) and such areas presumably also existed on the other islands. Peat was also dug from low-lying wetlands, such as Higher and Lower Moors on St Mary's, and these may also have provided reeds and coppiced willow for thatching, basketwork and fencing. The pattern of anciently enclosed land on St Mary's extends across Higher and Lower Moors, suggesting that these mires were part of the system of enclosed pasture. Scillonians had been making use of heathland and wetland areas in this way since prehistoric times and continued to do so into the twentieth century, and, in the case of rough grazing on heathland, until very recent times (Ratcliffe 1995, 8).

Allotments on the Garrison between the walls and the edge of the cliffs were important for locals and soldiers of the Garrison.

The Cornwall and Scilly HER records a nineteenth century horse engine and threshing machine at Lower Town Farm, St Agnes, Scheduled Monument 15452.

Potato and flower cultivation, and to a much lesser extent the rearing of beef and dairy cattle, have continued into modern times, and a few blocks of bulb strips have been created since the turn of the twentieth century, a few areas of heathland have been taken in as improved grazing and some previously enclosed land has been remodelled. However, farming now accounts for less than 15% of

the Scillonian economy and the number of fields which are becoming inundated by invasive vegetation (bracken, brambles and gorse) is gradually increasing (Ratcliffe 1995, 9).

Water Mill

Troutbeck (nd [c1794], 96) records remains said to have been a water mill at the head of Watermill Bay, St Mary's. No remains of this mill were found by the OS field worker in 1978 but he thought it may have been in the vicinity of SV 922 121 where there is a small stream. The track leading down to the bay from the west is called Watermill Lane. The site was visited by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1988 but no remains of the mill were found. It would be useful to revisit the when the vegetation is low.

Windmills

Grain was ground at communal windmills on St Mary's - the Garrison (1690s-1726), Peninnis Head (1726-1834) [50] and Buzza Hill (1834-late nineteenth century).

There were two late sixteenth or early seventeenth century windmills on the Hugh. One windmill was purchased in 1593/94 and both were noted by the 1652 Duchy survey which stated that they were employed by the Garrison and used by all the islanders with *'soake, toll, suite and custome thereunto belonging'* (Pounds (ed) 1984, II). Labelled 'windmills' on the 1655 map and shown with sails on a 1693 chart. Heath confirms that by 1750 they were ruinous: *'two circular walls of windmills formerly in use'*. Troutbeck in 1796 states that they were replaced by Penninis windmill after a dispute concerning islanders wanting access at hours the commanding officer deemed unreasonable. Plans to re-use the towers as blockhouses during the Napoleonic war in 1803 or 1804 were not pursued and in 1822 they were daymarks for shipping.

One windmill was demolished; its position was located by Alan Brodie and Mark Bowden in 2010, the absence of any large plants in this area indicating the presence of a structure impeding growth. Its site is marked on the 1902 Record Plan of Steval and Woolpack Batteries (Bowden and Brodie 2010, fig 61)

The other was allegedly converted into a gun tower, although there is no evidence for this beyond possible 'crenellations' at the top of the older walling. It was used in the mid-nineteenth by the coastguard service and then, in 1869, was acquired by the Shipping Gazette before being taken over in 1871 by Lloyds, who bought it in 1882. Now a private house.

A windmill was built on Peninnis by Francis Godolphin in 1726 when it became difficult for civilians to use those within The Garrison. By Troutbeck's time (c 1794) it was the only grist mill on the island, but was in poor shape and corn had to be sent to Cornwall for milling. By 1798 it was working again with Robert Maybee as the miller, and continued in use until 1834 when superseded by Buzza Tower. The disused mill later served as a signal tower and when Listed in 1954. Demolished in 1960, all that remains is its granite base, housing the lower millstone and bearing a date stone, FG 1726 and another inscribed WT.

Buzza Tower on Buzza Hill, St Mary's was previously called King Edward's Tower. This well known landmark has been maintained since 1912 as a memorial to the King's visit, but was originally a windmill built in 1834 to replace the earlier Peninnis Mill. It stands on a kerbed platform which probably incorporates the remains of a Bronze Age cairn excavated by William Borlase during the eighteenth century.

At Middle Down, Tresco is the bottom stone of a horse-driven mill, a circular platform with a central hole is surrounded by two channels carved out of natural rock. The top stone has been built into a wall elsewhere on Tresco. The mill is

said to have been surrounded by a circle of stones at one time. It is of post-medieval character and was mentioned by Troutbeck (nd), but its function is uncertain; suggestions range from a cider press to a corn or even a tin mill. More likely because of its isolated position and the lack of associated buildings, it was used to crush gorse for horse feed (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 52-3).

Quernstones

Querns continued to be used on Scilly until comparatively recently. William Borlase mentions querns (1756, 28) stating that 'if the Mill [Peninnis] is out of repair, or chances to be too much crowded by the Islanders; people, who cannot be conveniently served here, must grind their Corn at home; for which purpose every house is furnished with a Hand-mill.' He then goes on to describe a handmill'.

Many of the rotary quernstones to be seen on the islands are probably, therefore, post-medieval/modern in date. Several on St. Agnes certainly look to be. However, the problem with querns and other stone objects is that many reside in private collections where they have been collected over the years from fields and beaches and in many cases it is no longer possible to determine where they were found (cf Ratcliffe 1991, 67).

9.5.2 Fishing

Fishing was an important source of food but never a major industry. Seine fishing was probably carried since the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. By this traditional Scillonian (and Cornish) method of fishing pilchards and scad (horse mackerel) were taken by a net laid in a half circle from a beach and then hauled into shallow water. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at least, scad and potatoes are reputed to have formed the staple island diet (Gill 1975, 107).

Tovey and Ginver's 1779 'New Chart of the Islands of Scilly' depicts a Palace at New Grimsby, presumably a pilchard 'palace' or fish cellar. New Grimsby Quay is still referred to as 'Palace Quay' (*ibid*, 111) and the row of cottages there is 'Palace Row'.

The quality of Scilly ling, caught on long lines, dried and salted, was renowned. In 1750 it was recorded that large quantities of fish were caught in spring and summer. Most of it was destined for local consumption, only the best dried ling finding a market in Penzance (*ibid*, 107). A letter of 1803 from Lord Nelson in Toulon to a friend in Plymouth thanks him for his present of Scilly Ling.

During the 1818-30 economic collapse of the off-islands a national appeal raised £9,000 to establish a commercial fishery. A fish cellar was built on Tresco, two 14-ton boats built for pilchard and mackerel fishing and another six repaired. Much money was spent on nets and other equipment but much more may have been diverted to the Hugh Town shipyards. The pilchard business appears to have made a fair start but soon collapsed although briefly revived in the early twentieth century (*ibid*, 107).

The Sennen Fishing Company unsuccessfully attempted to establish a seine fishery in Scilly in 1870, but after two years of failure abandoned the attempt (Noall 1972, 129).

The completion of the London to Penzance railway in 1865 gave a great impetus to the exploitation of Scilly's fishing grounds. From 1869 to the 1890s the Mount's Bay mackerel luggers often landed their catches at St Mary's, as did the ketches and yawls from Yarmouth and Lowestoft, popularly called the 'Yorkies', resulting in at least one famous fishermen's fight in Hugh Town. The fishing prospered with the new flower industry as the shipbuilding and piloting died. Often there were two or three hundred fishing boats in the islands during this time (*ibid*, 108-9).

Shellfish, particularly limpets, continued to be valuable dietary supplement. One of the few studies of Scillonian domestic middens is that of the midden associated with an early nineteenth century building on Samson (Mason and Hayton 1977; Mason 1984). Although other uses such as soil enrichment or fishing bait have been suggested in view of the large numbers present it seems likely that limpets at least occasionally formed part of the diet. The value of a foodstuff such as limpets lies in the reliability of the resource and ease of exploitation when more desirable sources of protein might be in short supply (Light forthcoming). Limpets and shrimps were largely exported in the later nineteenth century and less so until WWII. Since then shrimping has mainly been a seasonal leisure activity (Noall 1972, 108).

During the 1930s the majority of Scillonian fishermen moved into passenger launches for the tourist trade and local fishing became limited to the catching of lobsters and crabs for the hotels or the Penzance market (Gill 1975, 108). Today there are only small-scale fisheries around the Islands, although all the waters are fished. There are currently only 16 commercial fishing vessels in Scilly with some additional potting and fishing by individuals. Shellfish (including lobster, crab and crawfish) constitute two-thirds of the catch.

Evidence for fish processing is represented in the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER by only two records. Just above the shore on the east side of Old Town Bay is a deep rectangular trough cut out of a single granite block measuring 2.4m long by 0.9m wide by 0.9m high, with sides 0.1m thick. According to Troutbeck (nd) it was used for salting, when all the fish of the Islands were brought here for curing and stages were erected in the adjoining field for drying fish in the sun, he estimated that the trough will hold eighteen Winchester bushels and was dug from Salakee Down. At both ends the trough's inner faces slope inward. Incisions in one of its outer corners may be associated with lifting tackle.

Excavation of a drystone sub-rectangular building in the cliff face on the east side of North Hill, Samson in 1971 produced evidence suggesting a possible fish-smoking house. Inside was a stone-built furnace 1.2m long by 0.6m wide by 0.9m deep (Neal forthcoming a).

At the southern end of Appletree Point, just north of Long Crow, there is a long rectangular shellfish bed, bordered with small edge-set stones, which probably represent part of Augustus Smith's unsuccessful attempt to start an oyster fishery. It lies roughly at LAT level and was photographed by Dave Hooley in 1997.

9.6 Settlement

9.6.1 Introduction

Many of Scilly's modern settlements are historic in origin. Most farms are on the site of medieval or at least early post-medieval ones. Old Town is a settlement of twelfth century origin and the churchtowns on St Martin's and St Agnes probably also date back to that time. Following the construction of Star Castle in 1593 the focus of settlement shifted from Old Town to Hugh Town which has an early seventeenth century foundation. The early date of a settlement increases the likelihood of modern development disturbing buried archaeological remains. In addition to the potential for surviving buried remains, many of the buildings within the present settlements are post-medieval historic structures, not just within the main built environments, but also within farmyards where in addition to the farmhouses, nineteenth century (and sometimes earlier) barns, byres, glasshouses and packing sheds represent specific types of farming activity.

Scilly's vernacular architecture was first appraised in a seminal study of the regional styles of the west of England (Richardson and Gill 1924), it was also described briefly by Geoffrey Grigson (1948, 62) and David Bland in John

Betjeman's Shell Guide to Cornwall (1964). The 'Scilly Isles' occupy three and a half pages in Pevsner's Cornwall (Pevsner 1970, 208-11). In 1980 the Isles of Scilly Museum published a short well-illustrated booklet 'The Buildings of Scilly' by Peter Laws. In 1996 'Scilly's Building Heritage' by Peter Madden was published in the Twelveheads Press 'Heritage' series (Madden 1996).

A rapid examination of the buildings of the Isles of Scilly suggests the following groups and types of architecture that appear in the Islands and some examples of each:

Domestic Buildings: Houses in Hugh Town and Old Town that date back to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries ranging from small vernacular cottages to larger polite houses, Tresco Abbey, Scilly's twentieth century architecture and the challenges of modern development in an historic environment. Purpose-built hotels could be considered in this category.

Religious Buildings: Old Town Church, the remains of the former medieval priory within Tresco Abbey, Anglican churches on each of the islands, the various present and former Methodist chapels, the Roman Catholic Church, gravestones and memorials in churches and churchyards.

Public Buildings: Town Hall, Post Office, Museum, schools (old and new), reading room on St Agnes.

Agricultural Structures: Windmills, farmsteads that need to be considered as integrated complexes and not just for individual listed or unlisted structures.

Maritime: Lighthouses, day marks, harbour arm and buildings, lookouts, gig sheds, structures associated with fishing and smuggling.

Military: Old Blockhouse, King Charles' Castle, Harry's Walls, Star Castle, Cromwell's Castle, the Garrison's defences including buildings in the Garrison including the Powder House, Newman House, the buildings flanking the gate and the c1900 Defended Ports structures, St Martin's telegraph station, Telegraph Tower, Tresco Seaplane base and World War II structures on St Mary's.

Commemorative structures and street furniture: Monument to Augustus Smith on Tresco, K6 phone boxes, commemorative public furniture, street lighting

Uninhabited islands: Evidence of the settlement on islands such as Samson, St Helen's, Tean, will need to be considered. Samson's vernacular farmsteads are particularly significant archaic survivals – can the same forms be found on other islands but disguised by modern reuse?

9.6.2 The traditional post-medieval buildings of Scilly

Summary

An assessment of the historic buildings traditions of the post-medieval period was an important element of SHERF. Some work has been done on this subject before but there has never been an analysis that has looked at all building types on all the islands where traditional post-medieval buildings survive. This study attempts to identify the characteristic building traditions through its building types throughout the islands and to identify what might usefully be achieved by more intensive examination. Results of this brief study show that whilst some particular building types have been examined in detail others have had only superficial analysis and there are some building types that are at risk of almost total loss. It has also been established that the Isles of Scilly contain a built heritage that is unique and very special. The character of the traditional buildings in Scilly deserves better recognition and needs more thorough analysis and interpretation. The full illustrated version of this section of the report is available online on the SHERF webpage.

Aims

The aim of the study was to identify the interest and importance of the Scilly's historic building traditions and to place them in a wider context that might lead to further related research, collation, and investigation.

Methods

The study was predominantly a desk exercise to collate and assess available information about the traditional buildings of the Isles of Scilly. This included publications and reports, and the compilation of the listed buildings descriptions from the English Heritage Images of England website with photographs of most of the listed buildings (deposited with the project archive and available online on the SHERF webpage). Discussion relating to further work has been inserted usually following each building type section.

The built tradition

Context

Scillonian granite and in some cases, granite from Cornwall, are the principal building materials used on the islands. The granite is usually bedded in local earth mortar (subsoil) called *ram* in Scilly ('rab' in Cornwall). Granite ashlar, more likely to be used for higher status buildings is usually bedded in lime mortar.

The older roofs coverings that survive are scantle slate that was imported from North Cornwall. However, the earlier roofing tradition for all but the most prestigious buildings was thatch. This is generally called 'rope thatch' in Scilly due to the ropes that were used to hold the used over the thatch and held in place by stone weights to protect the thatch from the high winds that are common on the islands. There are now no surviving thatched roofs but good evidence for their former existence is contained in old photographs, particularly those in the Gibson Collection. Further evidence is contained in many of the surviving buildings. This evidence includes heightening of buildings from when they were adapted to accept slate roofs and often to insert upper floors to buildings that had been built as single-storey structures.

An important source of information about the design of traditional buildings that were originally roofed in thatch are many of the buildings of the ruined settlement on Samson that, except for deterioration, survives virtually unchanged since the settlement was abandoned in the mid nineteenth century as part of the educational and other reforms that were being carried out by Augustus Smith, the then governor of the islands. Elsewhere there are a few buildings that retain their single-storey appearance but many that display their former roof lines in heightened gable ends.

Settlement patterns

The settlement patterns that now exist in Scilly have evolved as a result of many factors including:

- topography;
- relationship to the sea;
- access;
- land use potential;
- community considerations; and
- reforms by Augustus Smith in the nineteenth century.

The only proper 'town' in Scilly is Hugh Town on the largest island of St Mary's. This was built on an isthmus of land between the main part of the island and the Garrison (a defended headland), originally to service the garrison and passing ships. The town is served by a harbour. On the opposite side of the isthmus is Old

Town, a smaller settlement that grew up relating to a Norman church and a sheltered cove.

Elsewhere, settlements are small or dispersed. Generally the most recognizable larger groups are hamlets rather than villages in terms of their size but churches that were built in the nineteenth century on St Martin's, Tresco, Gugh and St Agnes mean that the small settlements to which these relate are technically villages. The use of names such as 'Higher Town', 'Middle Town', and 'Lower Town', as used on the islands of St Martin's, Bryher, and St Agnes are ways of describing their relative locations as small settlements. The word 'town' in Scilly is often used as an abbreviation of 'townplace', a term also used in Cornwall as describing a small settlement.

Throughout the inhabited islands the distinction between settlements and farmsteads is often blurred and historically complex, usually relating to land use and distribution, and the way that individual Scillonian families have affected their development.

The main traditional industries of the islands are farming, horticulture, and fishing or maritime related. Typically, islanders would need to be involved in more than one of these industries to survive, and this is still true for many islanders today. The traditional economy of the islands now is tourism that depends on a ferry and cargo boat link with Penzance in Cornwall, and air transport, that comprises a helicopter service to both St Mary's and Tresco from Penzance, and a light aircraft passenger service from either Newquay or Land's End to St Mary's.

Building types

The range of principal building types in Scilly is a result of many historical factors including: defence of the islands, farming practice, maritime activity, and the housing and mercantile requirements of the islanders.

Date periods

Most of the buildings discussed in this report date from the post-medieval period but there is small number of buildings from the medieval period or earlier that have relevance to the evolution of Scilly's built traditions. Except for buildings relating to the defence of the islands that mostly date from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, there are very few buildings that are pre-1700. The vernacular buildings that characterize the simple dwellings of Scillonians date mostly from the late eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Materials

Granite is the principal traditional building material in Scilly. Many of the hedgerows are built with granite rubble, the stone mostly probably resulting from field clearance. Most of the roofed buildings are constructed from granite rubble bedded in earth mortar. Granite has been used for the construction of buildings in Scilly since prehistoric times. From the late sixteenth century granite has often been dressed to shape in order to create more refined structures.

A cross section through a truncated length of defensive wall on the Garrison, St Mary's provides an opportunity to examine the construction of this walling through its depth; the battered (sloping) outer faces are constructed of granite ashlar but the inner core is constructed from granite rubble.

Sources of the granite used on the island are believed to be either from field clearance or from small quarries on the islands. However, granite from Cornwall was brought over for the construction of the Bishop's Rock Lighthouse. There has been a long tradition for lime-washing granite rubble walls. During the 20th century many buildings were stripped of their historic layers of lime-washing now leaving the impression that it is a rare tradition.

Rock-faced granite has become part of the Scillonian tradition. The more established use of granite rubble appears to have been a strong influence in the development of an exaggerated rustic form of this material as used at the Post Office (1897) at Hugh Town on St Mary's, probably by Thomas Algernon Dorrien-Smith, Lord Proprietor (of Scilly) and architectural amateur (list description), who was responsible for the design of the church on Tresco (q.v.). This way of using granite is repeated in a number of buildings in St Agnes including: porches at Palace Row, New Grimsby; Pentle House where rock-faced granite is used extensively, and for the porch of a house at Old Grimsby. Rock-faced copings on the gateway to the harbour at Hugh Town appear to have a design affinity with these examples, and there may well be other examples of this sort of work in Scilly.

Granite ashlar is used as a facing material on many of the more prestigious buildings, usually bedded in lime mortar, and even some of the architectural more modest buildings are also faced with granite ashlar to their front walls.

Dressed granite is used for many purposes and in a variety of ways. Often the granite is only lightly dressed from granite rubble blocks so that the desired flatness is achieved where it matters.

Stucco is also used, more often as a prestige material, particularly on some of the buildings in Hugh Town; it is also used to provide a more refined finish on some of the more rural buildings.

Scantle slate roofs survive on many of the older buildings or this very traditional material has been used again when buildings have been re-roofed. However, many of the older buildings had already been re-roofed in slate of uniform size or with the inferior covering of asbestos fibre cement.

The 'quarries' from where the slate was extracted were probably located in North Cornwall, now represented by two surviving quarries. The largest and oldest quarry is at Delabole (the Delabole Slate Quarry) The Delabole Slate website claims the following: 'The Delabole slate quarry is one of the largest of its type in England and has run continuously since the fifteenth century making it the oldest working slate quarry in England. In the reign of Elizabeth I the five quarries on the site of the now larger pit assumed considerable importance delivering slate to Brittany and the Netherlands. In 1841 the five quarries combined to make the Old Delabole Slate Quarry.' The other main quarry is at Trevillet, near Tintagel, an old quarry that was reopened about 50 years ago when it became part of Mill Hill Quarries Ltd. This company own three quarries including Trevillet and Mill Hill quarries near Tavistock in Devon. The company website states: Mill Hill Quarries "have been in work for many years.....for two centuries or thereabouts, for roofing slate." extract Mines & Quarries Report to Duke of Bedford 1857.

The scantle slate tradition has typically 14 inch (350mm) long slates for the eaves courses diminishing by one inch length sizes (each size used for a number of courses of slates) to a 6 inch (150mm) length at courses towards the ridge. This tradition makes good use of the smaller slate sizes that come from quarries. The slates are fastened to laths that are spaced according to the coursing, the lath spacing further closing together wherever there is a change of course size. This change is called a 'twist' and this can easily be seen when the roof is viewed from underneath. The slates are fastened with split wooden pegs projecting to the underside so that they hook over the laths. Where the fastening opportunity coincides with rafter locations the slates are nailed directly to the rafters. Scantle slate is either dry laid or wet-laid, in both cases usually rendered underneath onto the laths with either earth or lime mortar. Where earth mortar is used there is usually also a thin layer of lime mortar added as a final finish. This mortar has two main practical functions: it prevents wind-driven rain from entering the building and it also prevents condensation from occurring under the slates and

therefore prevents frost damage. Many old roofs are suffering from powdering caused by expansion of successive laminates of slate caused by frozen condensation.

Thatch was once common in Scilly for cottages, small houses and farmhouses, as well as outbuildings but this tradition does not survive. The small house called 'Thatch' at Old Grimsby on Tresco is thought to have been the last building in Scilly to have had its thatched roof replaced (in 1989). Many buildings were heightened in the later 19th century when their thatched roofs were replaced with slate.

Terracotta tile is a further traditional roofing material that was imported to Scilly, usually as a ballast cargo. This was more commonly used on outbuildings.

Chimneys on most of the earlier buildings are built from granite rubble or with dressed granite. The latter material was used so that chimneys could be built to more slender proportions needing only one thickness of stone. The traditional for the use of stone for the construction chimneys survives later in Scilly than in Cornwall though this tradition was used quite late in West Cornwall, and within other areas with granite outcrops.

Granite chimney stacks in Scilly represent a unique survival of a tradition that dates back to at least the 16th century. Enough examples of these survive to enable their detailed study and distribution, their relationship to different building types, and the differences in their character and construction. Granite stacks are a very important part of the historic building character and interest in Scilly. Consequently, their survival is a finite resource that cannot afford further loss or alteration.

Brick has been used for chimneys on later buildings or where higher numbers of fireplaces required multiple flues within each chimney. Brick chimneys also deserve detailed study and recording together with a strong policy for their repair and conservation.

There has never been a thorough analysis of the building materials of Scilly. There is much work to be done including the changes in tradition through time, the source of the materials and their distribution, the names of architects, builders and crafts people, and the cultural impact of changes of fashion and building methods and the introduction and function of various building types. The location and understanding of granite extraction and dressing, including quarries, is worthy of a special study.

The roofing tradition in Scilly deserves a special study, both of records of the former tradition for thatch, and the parallel later traditions of slate, and imported tile. Surviving standing buildings provide an opportunity to study the traditional character of roofing materials plus the extensive evidence for buildings that were formerly thatched.

It is strongly recommended that all buildings that have evidence for the former uses of thatch are properly catalogued and recorded. Also, there is a strongly-held view by many on the islands that a selected building should be re-thatched with rope thatch to display this important tradition.

Plan forms

The subject of plan forms would require extensive investigation of internal arrangement within surviving traditional buildings for the subject to be presented with confidence and accuracy. However, much can be gleaned from external examination and from the few buildings that have interiors known to Henrietta Quinnell or can be established from ruined buildings, or from list descriptions. External examination is usually sufficient to establish whether a building is single-depth (one room deep) or double-depth (two rooms deep), also whether a

building has one room at the front accessed by a side passage as with pairs of cottages, or has two rooms at the front usually separated by a central passage or entrance hall. Generally plan types are similar to those used on the mainland. What is distinctive in Scilly is the small scale of so many of its buildings. The simplest buildings in Scilly are single storey and have only two rooms, a kitchen and a parlour, plus sometimes an unlit attic within the roof space.

Building types examples

Domestic buildings

Cottages can be categorized into a number of types that can be better explained by discussion of selected examples.

Single-storey cottages are a building type that is now extremely rare in Scilly but was probably one much more abundant. In many ways these buildings resemble crofters' cottages in Scotland or 'bothies' in Ireland and Wales. Many of the best examples now survive as roofless ruins. Others remain as altered structures that were heightened when proper upper floors were added.

Study of the smaller houses of Scilly may best be achieved as a thematic exercise so that the buildings get the more intensive assessment that they deserve. Their similarity to other small buildings in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and elsewhere, needs to be better understood and comparisons should be made taking into account all the factors involved in the development of the tradition for these simple but evocative buildings.

One-room-plan cottages are very rare in Scilly and are usually found added to small houses. A development of this plan form is to have one room at the front and a service room at the rear.

Pairs of cottages whether with single-depth plans, or double-depth plans, are a common building type in Cornwall, usually with a pair of doors together at the front (mirror-image pairs). This building type is found particularly in the industrial towns and villages. However there appears to be little such building tradition in Scilly (further fieldwork is required to confirm this suggestion with confidence). There are examples of similar one-room-plan cottages built next to each other but these are the result of later addition with one cottage added to another. There are two examples of this on Samson: Houses D and E and Houses Q and R. These are ruined cottages with doorways set to the same side of each 'pair'.

The way that rows of cottages/houses have evolved needs to be recorded as a stylistic group. Much can be learned about the sequence of build by studying the quoin-work that usually survives.

Rows of small houses survive in reasonable numbers in Scilly. Most of the older vernacular buildings in Scilly are small double-fronted houses. With respect to identifying building types under English Heritage guidelines (as used in list descriptions) a house is identified as having at least two ground-floor rooms side-by-side. This means that most of the dwellings in Scilly should be described as small houses, houses, farmhouses, or town houses. Consequently, there are very few dwellings that should properly be called 'cottages' though that is probably what many of the smaller houses are popularly called.

Planned terraces, except for specialist housing such as coastguards' housing, are uncommon in Scilly. Most are concentrated in the residential streets of Hugh Town. Grouping of traditional housing clearly has many causes and effects, particularly with respect to the culture and living conditions of the islanders of Scilly. Research needs to be carried out into the way that groupings have come about, their distribution, and their particular character. For example, to what extent have the buildings evolved in a piecemeal way and to what extent have others been planned? The management of the islands since Augustus Smith

became Governor is clearly a strong factor but this needs to be better understood and the extent of his influence needs to be identified and described.

Principal town houses in Hugh Town stand out from the crowd. These are usually houses built for merchants or worthies of the town.

Town houses include many elegant houses in Hugh Town. Some are detached but most adjoin other houses of a similar period, or are within a row of buildings of many different dates. What usually distinguishes them from their more modest neighbours is: good proportions, generous scale, and often classical symmetry or classical features.

Town houses with shops are an interesting building type within the commercial heart of Hugh Town, St Mary's. There are very few purpose-built shops. Most of the shops in the town are the result of town houses having been converted from houses to shops with retained living accommodation above. In many cases the conversion may well have continued the original function of the building as many town houses were originally built as merchants' houses. However, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century conversion of a town house to accommodate a shop usually meant installing a 'show' shop front that would promote and exhibit the goods that were being offered for sale. Such alterations often meant considerable alteration to the fabric of the building, changing its character forever. It is therefore very fortunate that many of these conversions are now valued for their own particular character. Sometimes the stone frontages were carefully altered and stonework made good to disguise the changes but occasionally, where changes were difficult to hide a whole frontage was stuccoed to conceal the alterations.

Town houses deserve attention as a separate group. The story of their builders, architects and occupants is more likely to be unearthed than studies of the more modest building types. However, this can only be achieved by determined research. Results of such a study together with the recording and analysis of the building is likely to yield invaluable results that are important to the story of Scilly.

A much better understanding of town houses with shops is possible with detailed research that includes reference to trade directories and other documentation of the commercial activity on the islands.

Notable houses in Scilly are identified here as those that are particularly special or important such as Hugh House, St Mary's or Tresco Abbey. Some have unexpected origins or were not originally built as houses at all but are nevertheless of considerable historic interest.

Some of the most important domestic buildings in Scilly have already been assessed in detail but many others have only received the most limited study, some of this as a result of the listing process. This building group promises the most detailed historical information that should be the subject of further research. Some of these buildings have been a strong influence over the building tradition of the islands from their architecture and methods of construction.

Farmsteads include farmhouses and small rural houses in Scilly, building types that are often architecturally indistinguishable from each other. A farmhouse is usually a small house that was built as a farmhouse or has been used as a farmhouse. Most are detached but they sometimes adjoin other houses, or have been extended, often for extended families. Most of the farms are very small and would usually be classified as smallholdings or horticultural holdings. Some of the settlements have evolved from farmsteads and have acquired extra dwelling houses over time. The only planned group of farm buildings belongs to the Abbey Farm, a group that includes a former barley mill and fish smoker of c1835. These farm buildings have been converted to holiday accommodation.

Farmsteads require much research and examination if they are to be better understood and their importance in the story of Scilly properly recognized. Despite the fact that so many farm buildings have now been converted there are still many that retain their original character. Similarly, many of the houses that may have been dubbed farmhouses need their origins explained and other domestic buildings within the settlement investigated.

Industrial buildings

Industrial buildings appear to be an unusual building type based on the surviving buildings. Scilly probably never supported a strong manufacturing, processing, or storage function, and consequently there are very few buildings that display an industrial heritage. Industrial buildings are an interest group that requires considerable study and research. The buildings that were used for industry need to be identified and recorded and research targeted at their origins and their functions.

Community use

Anglican churches represent a long tradition for Christian worship on the islands. Early Christian sites include the ruin of the pre-Reformation St Nicholas' Priory on Tresco, medieval church and oratory on St Martin's, remains of a pre-Conquest chapel on Tean. Old Town church is probably the oldest roofed building on the islands. There is a 19th century Anglican church on each of the inhabited off islands but St Mary's has two Anglican churches: the original Norman church at Old Town and a 19th century parish church in Hugh Town. Churches on the off-islands replace the earlier church buildings noted by the Cornish antiquarian, Borlase as having been built in the same style and to two different sizes, and all built for the Godolphins. The new church on St Mary's was built by Augustus Smith between 1836 and 1838.

There is only one vicarage: the 'Chaplaincy', near the church in Hugh Town. There is also a Catholic Church of 1860 at Higher Strand, Hugh Town, St Mary's, originally built as St Mary's School for Girls.

While much is known and much has been written about the buildings that represent the established church in Scilly, the stories that they contain in their records, in their monuments, and within their burial grounds needs to be further assessed and collated. Also, the buildings themselves deserve better analysis, and recognition for the influence they have had on the evolving building traditions of the islands.

Methodist chapels are an important building type in Scilly as they represent a cultural change to the way of life of the inhabitants of the Isles of Scilly. As happened in Cornwall, during the 19th century, Methodism was competing with the established church and Methodist chapels were built on all the currently inhabited islands except Tresco. There are three (identified) Nonconformist chapel buildings on St Mary's. Nonconformity was once a very influential aspect of the culture of the isles of Scilly and deserves further study, particularly with respect to its surviving buildings. Two chapels have already been converted to domestic use and the most important chapel is used as offices. Consequently, the two chapels that remain in use as places of worship should be recorded as a matter of urgency.

Educational use

In 1834 Augustus Smith was granted a lease by the Duchy of Cornwall. As Lord Proprietor of the Isles of Scilly he became a reforming governor who unlike previous governors took a great interest in the people of the islands and made his home there. Until his death in 1872 he made great changes to the islands. "He devoted his life unselfishly to those Islands and added greatly to their beauty"

Before coming to Scilly from the home counties Smith had already been a keen advocate of improving education for the common people "When I find youths, the progeny of hereditary paupers, simply through being able to read, write and cipher, readily obtain in London apprenticeships in various trades, I felt the true or at least the main clue was discovered". As a result of his concerns Smith set up a number of non-denominational Parish Schools that were to survive until taken over following the 1870 Education Act. When he came to Scilly he was determined that all the island children should have a good education. During the mid nineteenth century Smith had schools constructed on St Mary's, St Martin's and St Agnes and effectively made education compulsory. In order to achieve this, the declining population on Samson was moved to other islands so that the children could attend school regularly.

The 1854 boys' primary school building at Carn Thomas was designed by Augustus Smith. This was later extended and is now used as the infant and junior school on St Mary's.

Public Houses

Public Houses as a building type in Scilly are not a straightforward area of study. There are probably no old purpose-built public houses on the islands. All the traditional buildings now used as public houses appear to have been adapted from former houses or working buildings.

This building type is complicated with respect to its origins and history. It is very important to community life in Scilly today but the role of public houses at earlier times needs to be unravelled as a detailed research project together with close examination of the surviving and former public houses.

Defence related buildings

The Isles of Scilly are strategically placed as a good invasion base at the entrance to the western approaches and consequently many structures have been added to the islands to counter this threat.

The defence buildings of Scilly have benefitted from much investigation in recent years and many authoritative reports have been written. However, there is still much to be learned and explained. These buildings need to be studied as a thematic group with all the available information brought into play but with unanswered questions targeted. For example, when the gun platform was added to Cromwell's castle the original stone staircase was cut away to make a new doorway into the building and the walls made good. This kind of analysis is often lacking from available studies. Reconstruction drawings of the defence buildings explaining the way that they originally functioned and the ways that they have been altered to fulfil advancing technologies would greatly add to our understanding of these important buildings.

Maritime use buildings

Gig sheds, or their ruins, survive on the islands of St Agnes, Bryher, St Martin's, Samson, and St Mary's. These buildings were constructed to house the pilot gigs that became an important part of the economy of the islands. All are constructed with granite rubble and all are located for easy launching of the gigs.

Lighthouses have a long history in the Isles of Scilly. The lighthouse on St Agnes was built in 168 and is the one of oldest lighthouses in Britain. The Daymark on St Martin's was built in 1683 and must be one of the earliest examples of this building type. The lighthouse on the Bishop's Rock is a triumph of engineering over nature. The first lighthouse, built from steel between 1847-9, was washed away in a storm in 1850! The present lighthouse is built from interlocking blocks of granite ashlar initially between 1852 and 1858 but had to be strengthened by adding an outer sheathing of granite ashlar (and heightened) that was completed

in 1882. It is the tallest lighthouse in the British Isles. Round Island lighthouse was constructed in 1887.

Quay walls or harbours of some kind exist on all the inhabited islands. Some of these have been upgraded in recent years by adding an outer sheathing and by extension. There has been a harbour at Hugh Town since the early 17th and this has been extended many times. The older granite masonry is extremely interesting. The blocks of granite are shaped so that they fit together as tightly as possible.

Harbour walls deserve a special study, both of surviving walls and of archive photographs of walls that can no longer be seen. They should also be compared to harbour walls on the mainland. The walls on Scilly are an important part of the character of the islands. The listing status of the main quay should be re-assessed.

Domestic outbuildings

Domestic outbuildings include earth closets, back houses, and the buildings that were used for small scale flower packing and other horticultural uses. All are important to the story and character of Scilly.

The modern period (mid twentieth century onwards)

New-build (traditional) The older building traditions in Scilly have been a strong influence on the design and construction of buildings in the modern period. Granite is still a favoured material and has been used well in some of these buildings but rarely with such skill as when granite walls were the prevailing tradition.

New-build (contemporary) With the shortage of traditional buildings on the islands much of the new-build has had to be constructed with alternative materials that include rendered concrete block and timber-frame construction.

Discussion

The results of this brief study demonstrate that the buildings of Scilly are important for many reasons. They include buildings of unique or rare building types and that these buildings are the result of a distinctive island culture. The limited choice of building materials has contributed to a harmonious vernacular built tradition that in many places appears to grow from the landscape that surrounds it. In other places there is a more polite kind of architecture, mostly within Hugh Town on St Mary's. Adding to the diversity are the various specialist building types and structures, most of which share the same materials of construction but add interest in their design fit for function. Comments about each distinct building type have already appeared in the appropriate sections of the report. What the study has also shown is that interest and importance is not always about status or architectural quality. Many of the simple buildings of the working people of the islands are now recognized as being an essential part of the story of the islands and their simple unpretentious design and appearance attracts the admiration of islanders and visitors alike. Some of these simple buildings are now so rare that they must be considered as a threatened building type. However, all of the traditional buildings of Scilly are significant and contribute to the whole character and interest of the islands.

9.6.3 The historical development and topography of Hugh Town

There has been settlement in the area of what is now Hugh Town from at least the Bronze Age. Traces of a group of roundhouses of that period have been recorded at Porthcressa and an apparently extensive late Iron Age – early Roman cist cemetery together with lynched fields and a possible roundhouse lie under post-War housing on the south side of the town (Ashbee 1954; Dudley 1960-61).

There are also hints of activity in the medieval period. Early medieval grass-marked pottery has come from a shell midden on the lower slope of the Garrison (Ashbee 1954) and sherds of imported French pottery dating from the late twelfth to the fifteenth century are recorded from Porthcressa (Allan 1991, 93). Charles Thomas (1985, 217) has suggested a fourteenth-century date for a stone-built chapel which formerly stood close to the shore near the Bank and survived, converted into a dwelling, until about 1830 (*ibid*, 189, 215-7). Local tradition of a 'great quantity of human bones' found on the south side of the former chapel (Troutbeck *nd*, 60) suggests a burial ground attached to it, presumably pre-dating the twelfth-century foundation of the church and graveyard at Old Town. This in turn suggests an earlier religious structure at the Bank and presumably some nearby settlement.

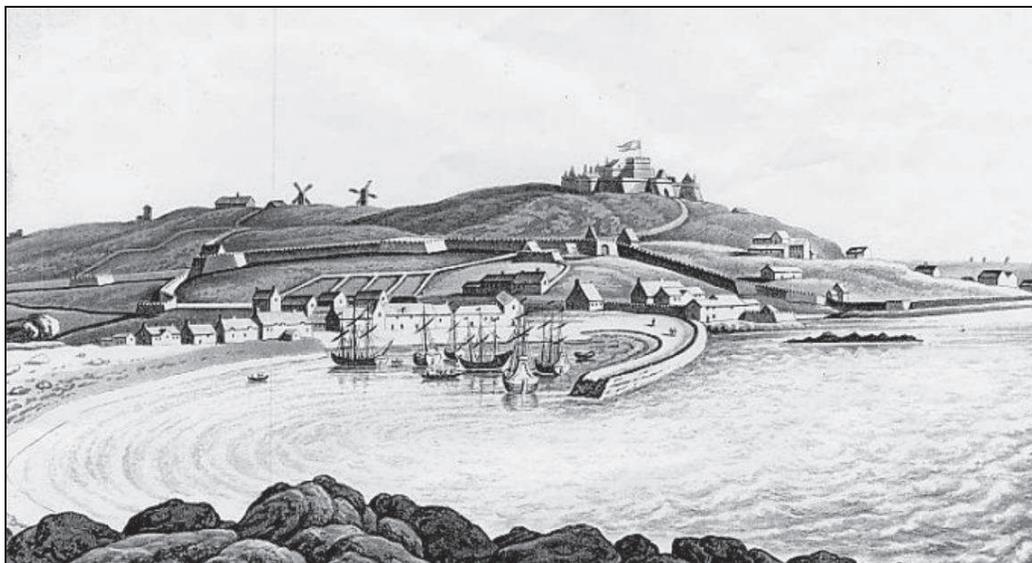


Fig 9.3 An early nineteenth-century reproduction of a view of Hugh Town taken in 1669 (Magalotti 1821, facing page 112)

The present town, however, owes its origins to the construction of Star Castle and associated structures in the 1590s and in c 1601 of a quay on the sheltered northern side of the island directly below the gateway to the military complex (Cox and Thorp 1993; Bowden and Brodie 2011). (The proximity of the medieval chapel to the location of the new quay suggests that this may already have been an established landing place.) Early development of the settlement was apparently slow: in 1652 there were fewer than 20 houses in the 'Hugh or New Town near the new castle', with another handful within the Garrison and a further eight or ten around Carn Thomas and Buzza Hill (Pounds 1984, II, 139-40, 144-5). By comparison, the survey recorded around 40 houses in the area of the medieval settlement at Old Town (*ibid*, II, 140-1, 148).

Early visual representations of Hugh Town confirm its small scale and illustrate the early origins of several distinctive elements of its historic topography. Views taken in 1669 and 1715 (Fig 9.3; Bowden and Brodie 2011, fig 38) show an open area south of the quay, below the gate in the Garrison curtain wall. This formed the landward side of a working beach where boats could be loaded and unloaded in the shelter of the quay. This area partly survives as the Bank, now enclosed and with the former long-standing open access to the shore preserved only by the slip adjoining the Atlantic Hotel.

The early settlement clustered loosely around this landing place, straggling along the foreshore and extending south east as far as the triangular space fronting the present Lloyds TSB. Beyond this, what is now Hugh Street had a more planned

aspect, shown in 1715 with a straight alignment and a continuous row of buildings on both sides as far as the junction with the present Garrison Lane. This appears to have been the furthest extent of the settlement in 1669 but by 1715 it had expanded further east along the two roads which diverged from this point, now fossilised as Silver Street and the narrow link between Hugh Street and the Park. By 1715, a scatter of buildings also lay along what would become Garrison Lane, Well Lane and Jerusalem Terrace, set among small fields or gardens on the lower slopes of the Garrison. Development on the rear of some of the plots on the north side of Hugh Street established what subsequently became the south side of Thoroughfare, facing the foreshore and linked by an alley to the small square which now fronts the *Bishop and Wolf* pub. This latter area originated as an open space at the edge of the settlement, but gained importance through construction on its south-west side of a house for the Godolphin steward for Scilly, rebuilt after a violent storm surge burst across the isthmus in 1744 (Heath 1750, 26).



Fig 9.4 William Borlase's depiction of Hugh Town in 1752 (Borlase 1756, pl 3)

By the mid eighteenth century Hugh Town had developed beyond its early primary role as a service centre for the military complex on the Garrison to become a central place for the whole of Scilly. It was the Customs port and profited from servicing vessels sheltering in the Pool from bad weather or adverse winds. Heath (1750, 26) described the town as 'one long and two cross streets, of strong stone-built houses, wherein are several shop-keepers and public house-keepers . . .' A few years later William Borlase reported the town 'much improv'd of late in building . . .' (Borlase 1756, 12-13) but his depiction of 1752 (Fig 9.4) suggests little expansion beyond its 1715 extent and the building he referred to was probably replacements of structures damaged in 1744 (Heath 1750, 28-9). Borlase's illustration again shows the Bank as an open space behind the foreshore with vessels moored in the shelter of the quay. At the south-east edge of the town, the new steward's house dwarfs clusters of single-storey structures along Silver Street and on the east side of the alley from the space fronting the *Bishop and Wolf* to the present Thoroughfare, each group apparently set within a compound. Roads to the 'country' – Old Town and the eastern parts of the island – are shown diverging from this eastern end of the settlement, their alignments establishing what subsequently became the north and south sides of the Parade (now the Park).

Spence's *Maritime Survey* of Scilly (1792) shows little change over the preceding four decades, but an original watercolour of Hugh Town in about 1800 (Kirkham, forthcoming) indicates a surge in building activity at the end of the eighteenth century. New buildings with their backs to the sea along the north-eastern side of

the Bank now blocked what had previously been a wide area of direct access to the shore and more building is apparent on Well Lane and at the lower end of Garrison Lane. The view also shows the initial stages in enclosing the space which subsequently became the Parade, depicting the surviving row of double-fronted two-storey houses at the west end of the north side and the present Riviera House fronting onto the space from the east. The Parade is shown open to the south and was clearly then at the eastern edge of the town. Beyond it on the track which later became Church Street was an isolated two-storey structure (perhaps the vernacular building now adjoining the Bell Rock Hotel); a long single-storey structure shown fronting onto the shore in the area of the present Lower Strand was perhaps similar to the cottage rows which survived into the early twentieth century on Higher Strand. Hugh House, the officers' quarters built in 1792 (Laws 1980, 10), dominated the town from immediately within the Garrison wall.

Contemporary descriptions suggest a thriving settlement. Henry Spry commented in 1800 on the 'many new Houses built within the last 20 Years' and remarked that the town had 'many good houses and a great number of inhabitants . . .'. (Thomas 1979, 10). He additionally described typical building materials: 'The Houses are built with Moor Stone which is very plenty [*sic*] every where, they Cover the best Houses with Slate brought from Cornwall; but all the Common Houses are Covered with Straw, done down and fastened with Straw Ropes . . .'. (*ibid*, 9-10).

Two decades later, George Woodley (1822, 166) described the town as 'one principal street about three hundred and twenty yards long [i.e., from the quay to the Parade], but very irregular both in its course and in the appearance of the houses; and of several lanes, alleys, courtlages, &c.; most of which are paved with round stones . . .'. (*ibid*, 164). The present Lower and Higher Strand were by this time lined by a row of small houses extending almost to Carn Thomas (*ibid*, 171). This area was also a focus for Hugh Town's shipbuilding industry, which had begun in a small way in the eighteenth century but developed considerably in the early decades of the nineteenth. By the late 1830s four shipyards were active on the foreshores at Town Beach and Porthcressa (Davies 1988; Matthews 1960, 183).

The lease of Scilly taken up in 1834 by Augustus Smith required completion of a new church – the original island church near Old Town had become ruinous – and a large extension to Hugh Town quay. Both were achieved before the end of the 1830s and marked the beginning of another important period of change. In negotiating his tenure with the Duchy Smith ensured that he would be able to create building leases, to be taken up by local people 'who have realised a small capital of two or three hundred pounds in the shipping business' (Matthews 1960, 180-1). This is the context for the flowering of Hugh Town's distinctive 'Cornish Regency' architecture, particularly notable around the Parade and Church Street.

Smith's new church was located in a prominent position facing the settlement along the existing road from Old Town but well outside the then built-up area of the town. This axis between the church and the Parade, now Church Street, became a focus for development over the remainder of the nineteenth century. Most of the modest but well-designed terraces towards its western end were probably built as individual ventures during the later 1830s and 1840s and several of the more substantial houses are almost certainly of the same period, including Lemon Hall and the present Bell Rock Hotel. At about the same period a Bible Christian chapel was constructed in granite ashlar close to the west end of Church Street (Stell 1991, 57).

Church Street now has the air of a planned streetscape, rising gently from the green space at the Parade to the church and lined by a mix of genteel domestic

and institutional buildings; in fact it was created piecemeal over a period long enough to make it unlikely that any initial master plan was followed. Augustus Smith added an infant school to the original Bible Christian chapel on the north side of Church Street in 1854 – he built a boys’ school at Carn Thomas in the same year and a girls’ school on Lower Strand in 1860 (Matthews 1960, 170; Madden 1996, 38, 39) – but much of the east end of Church Street beyond Well Cross remained undeveloped until late in the century (Fig 9.5): to the south open fields rose onto Buzza Hill and photographs show the north side, between Church Street and the rear of properties on Higher Strand, as a large open space used to store timber for shipbuilding and later as gardens or flower strips (Arlott 1972, figs 90, 101, 104; Cowan 1997, fig 59; 2001, 31). A further terrace and a detached villa were built on the south side before the end of the 1880s but development on the north side ceased until a new Bible Christian chapel was built in 1899 (Madden 1996, 27). The terrace to the east of the chapel may date to the early twentieth century but the final plot on the north side was not occupied until St Mary’s Hall (now a hotel) was built in the late 1930s (*ibid* 1996, 27).

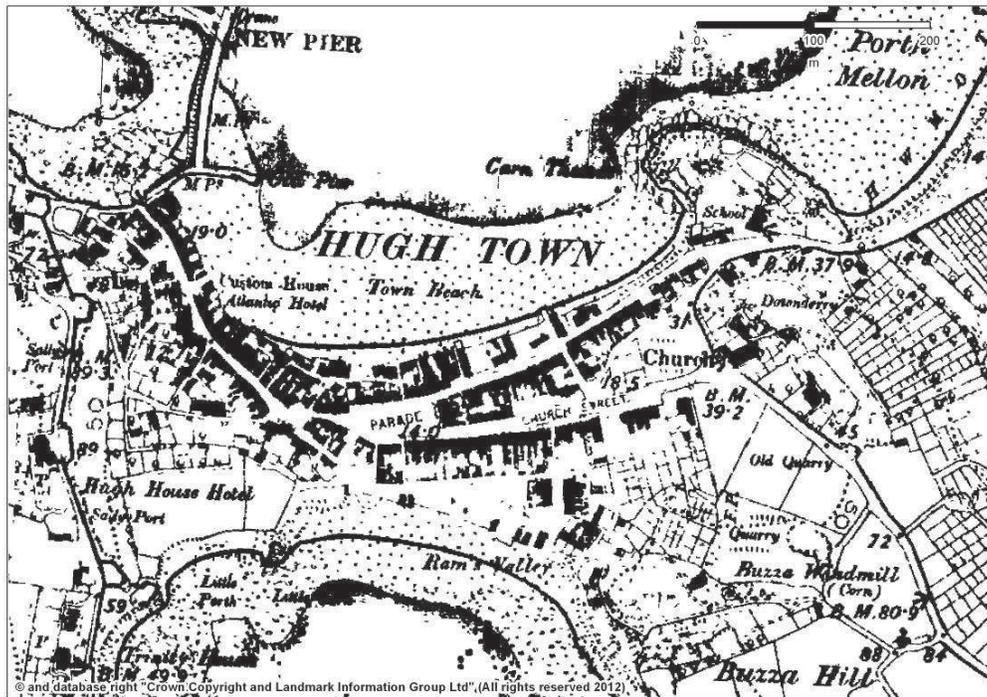


Fig 9.15 Hugh Town on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey 6in: 1 mile map, c 1890

Construction of the Town Hall on the Parade in 1889 (Madden 1996, 30) provided a prestige building to dominate the west end of Church Street. At about the same time the central area of the Parade was enclosed as a public park (Cowan 2001, 30, 31; cf Betjeman and Rowse 1974, fig 157), contributing further to the urban character and developing air of order and gentility around this part of the town.

Hugh Street and the Bank area also saw changes. The house from which Tregarthen’s Hotel subsequently developed was built above the end of the quay in Hugh Town’s distinctive ‘Cornish Regency’ style, and the small but imposing mid nineteenth-century house now occupied by Lloyds TSB was elaborated with a Doric-columned classical porch, enabling it to dominate the three-sided space east of the Bank onto which it faced. The scale and quirky rustic quality of the 1897 Post Office, designed by Augustus Smith’s nephew and successor as

proprietor of the islands (Madden 1996, 31), created a significant landmark in this part of the town.

Shipbuilding continued into the 1870s and the associated slipways, timber yards, smithies, saw pits and stores were scattered over both the Porthcressa Bank and Strand areas (Davies 1988). Early photographs show an industrial building, perhaps a sawmill, adjoining cottages immediately north of the church, facing the area used for storing timber (Llewellyn 2005, 40). The severe, well-constructed terraces of single and double-fronted dwellings on Higher Strand, Well Cross and Buzza Street reflect the prosperous, industrial character of these areas in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. On the Strand these probably replaced more humble housing: a small group of the older thatched houses survived at the eastern end of the Strand, close to Carn Thomas, until at least the late nineteenth century (Arlott 1972, fig 104; Cowan 2001, 22-3).

In 1920 the Duchy of Cornwall resumed the lease on the whole of Scilly except Treseo. It began a building programme on some of its properties in Hugh Town, directed by Duchy architects Sir Albert Richardson and C L Gill (Madden 1996, 14-15, 31). This included remodelling some significant buildings, among them Strand House, Newman House in the Garrison and the Atlantic Hotel (*ibid*, 33, 35, 38). The largest impact on the townscape, however, was created by replacing eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cottages and shops in Hugh Street with two new residential terraces (Laws 1980, 22). These were faced in coursed, finely-dressed granite and introduced a more ordered if rather severe aspect to the street. Further changes to Hugh Street occurred in the same decade with the construction opposite one of the new Duchy terraces of well detailed premises for Barclays Bank and the Isles of Scilly Steamship Co, the latter replacing the late eighteenth century market and council house (Madden 1996, 36).

In the three decades after 1950 Hugh Town experienced the most rapid and far-reaching period of change to the built environment in its history. From 1949 the Duchy sold the freeholds of much of its property in the town (Mumford 1967, 82). In the context of rapidly rising demand for visitor accommodation and facilities resulting from the national post-war boom in holidays and travel, the consequence was a surge of both new building and of extensions and conversions to historic buildings. In many instances, these substantially altered the character of the built environment through addition of features such as flat-roofed extensions, roof conversions and external stairways. The Council of the Isles of Scilly acquired land at Porthcressa and elsewhere for public housing (Bennett *et al*, 64, 72-3), but there was also a boom in private housing development, fuelled by demand for holiday and retirement homes. The result over the next two decades was dense development of the slopes of the Garrison, right up to the curtain wall, and large-scale building, predominantly of bungalows, on greenfield sites in Rams Valley, along the road to Old Town and on Jackson's Hill overlooking Poth Mellon. Several large bungalows were constructed just inside the Garrison curtain wall on prominent sites overlooking the town (Laws 1980, 28). New build within the core of the historic settlement was relatively limited, the most significant instances being the construction of new retail premises at the lower end of Garrison Lane in the late 1960s and a comprehensive redevelopment of Silver Street and the adjacent Porthcressa View in the mid 1970s (Laws 1980, 30).

This period also brought several new institutional buildings in the town, including the Isles of Scilly Museum, the secondary school and Park House residential accommodation for the elderly (Laws 1980, 26, 28; Madden 1996, 29, 40; Bennett *et al*, 88). Demolition of the late nineteenth century Holgate's Hotel on Lower Strand during the 1970s enabled the creation of an informal grassed promenade overlooking the eastern portion of Town Beach.

The last two decades have seen increased interest in Hugh Town's historic fabric (for example, Madden 1996; Kirkham 2003) and practical conservation measures such as the English Heritage-funded Isles of Scilly Grant Scheme introduced in 1999 (Gill Arbery, pers comm). Enhanced recognition of the significance of the historic environment and improved protection for it is inherent within broader strategies towards environmental protection, maintaining and enhancing distinctiveness and sustainable development (for example, Council of the Isles of Scilly 2004; 2005; Buchanan and Context 4D 2006; Isles of Scilly AONB 2010). Research on the historic environment was part of the conceptualisation process for a major regeneration project in the Porthcressa area (Rachel Leung, pers comm).

There is substantial further potential for improving understanding of Hugh Town's development and history through documentary research (not least a continuing search for historic visual representations), fieldwork and detailed building recording. There is also much potential for encouraging public appreciation of the distinctiveness and significance of Hugh Town as an historic settlement through enhanced interpretation and presentation.

9.6.4 The Samson buildings

The post-medieval buildings on Samson are described in 'The Samson Buildings (2) – An assessment of the post-medieval buildings on Samson, Isles of Scilly' by Eric Berry (2006), from which the following summary is taken.

In 1652, Samson was described as having been formerly inhabited but the houses and enclosures had become ruined in the preceding years. Re-occupation had started by 1669. The inhabitants lived mainly by farming and fishing, supplemented by kelp burning and piloting. The population declined after 1833 and about 1855, under economic and social reforms introduced by Augustus Smith, the island was evacuated and an (unsuccessful) deer park created on North Hill.

The late seventeenth to mid-nineteenth Samson settlement as it survives today consists of the remains of 19 buildings, at least 10 to 12 houses and cottages, six farm buildings and a boat shed. These were identified with the letters A to U in the 1992 Survey, with K and M being redundant as no remains have been found to confirm historic map evidence.

One house and a boat shed are located on the Neck of Samson (see Mason 1984) and the rest on South Hill, mainly within the deer park wall. The largest group is towards the bottom of the north slope of the hill, in a sheltered hollow, below what appears to be the only spring on the island. Another group of buildings stands on the ridge, and there are further individual buildings and small groups to the west of these main groups.

In addition to these 19 buildings a further four were identified on a map of 1829-33 by the Driver Brothers. These are a row of three buildings on the south-west slope of South Hill and a gig shed on the south-east side of North Hill. Two gig sheds are also visible close to this latter location in a 1890s photograph by Frank Gibson. No evidence of these buildings has been found in recent surveys.

The dry-stone granite wall enclosing the deer park was partly formed from existing field boundaries and partly newly constructed of stone robbed from other boundary walls.

The dating of the houses has been established with some confidence and is from the early eighteenth century to c 1835. The dating of the non-domestic buildings is less certain, due to conflicting evidence, and they are identified only as being either side of the 1829-33 date of the Driver survey. There is evidence that after

human habitation of the island ceased c 1855, the buildings were adapted for agricultural use, which probably continued into the early twentieth century.

Scillonian houses of this period were generally single storey or low 2-storey. Some of the Samson houses have evidence of upper storeys, apparently reached by staircases; others probably had lofts with ladder access. Some upper storeys seem to have been used for the storage of spars. There are examples of both one-room plan cottages and two room plans (kitchen and parlour).

Roofs were generally thatched, rope thatch being the local tradition. Scantle slating was probably used when the upper storeys of some houses were raised, and in the building of the later houses.



Fig 9.6 Consolidation work being carried out on House N on Samson in July 2006 (photo:Jacqui Mulville)

External walls and chimneys were of granite rubble, with some dressed stones for quoins, jambs and lintels. The bedding mortar was ram, sometimes incorporating lime, and in some examples pointed with lime mortar. Some external walls were limewashed. Internally an earthen render finish was applied, with lime skim. In the lower status buildings the stone was simply limewashed. Dry-stone walling was first used for the deer park wall and subsequently in the adaptation of the buildings for agricultural use.

Upper floors were apparently of softwood, ground floors sanded earth with stone flags to thresholds and hearths. Both sash and casement windows are likely to have been used and window seats were a common feature. Internal partitions would have been of timber. Fireplaces had either granite or timber lintels and some had monolithic granite jambs. There is no evidence of ovens.

The non-domestic buildings were of similar construction but simpler. Some were of dry-stone walling. They were apparently all thatched. The majority were probably designed for general use, i.e. both animal occupation and storage.

All of the buildings have lost their roofs, timber floors, windows and doors and internal partitions. Of the surviving external walls and chimneys, some have been reduced to a few courses of masonry or piles of rubble. Others survive almost to full height. Deterioration continues, mainly due to the effects of weather and vegetation damage. They have all been identified as being at high risk in the English Heritage Buildings at Risk Register.

The need for consolidation and repair of the buildings was considered in the 1992 survey (Berry and Ratcliffe 1994) and, following further deterioration, was addressed in greater detail in the 2003 report (Berry 2003). Ten general structural problems were identified and remedial action proposed for each, building-by building repair proposals were described and an overall six-year conservation programme proposed, including recording and management.

Arising from this, the most urgent consolidation work was carried out in 2006-7. Associated archaeological recording was carried out by Cardiff University, including excavation in three of the buildings, and a detailed lichen survey done (Johns *et al* 2007; Johns *et al* forthcoming a).

The consolidation works were to parts of the buildings considered to be in danger of collapse or where human action might cause movement or dislodgement of the structure. The methods used were aimed at minimal intervention and stones were left undisturbed wherever possible. Techniques included re-bedding displaced stones in resin or lime mortar, lime mortar pointing and over-pointing with ram, reinforcing unstable walls with stainless steel cable and bars resin-bonded to the stones, and reinforcing defective timber lintels with stainless steel bars.

In 2008, English Heritage provided funding to the Isles of Scilly Wildlife Trust for further investigation of suitable methods for the repair and consolidation of the ruins, including trials of typical repair methods and preparation of a revised programme of future repairs. The 2006-7 work was reviewed, an updated condition survey carried out and a long-term repair philosophy proposed in response to a vision statement for Samson drawn up by IOSWT (Parkes Lees Architects Ltd 2009-10). This statement was centred on preserving the wildlife, landscape, historical and archaeological qualities of the uninhabited island. The results of further wildlife surveys became available, covering bats, storm petrels and plants.

In contrast with the 2006-7 works, more conventional masonry repair methods were proposed, using lime mortar and *ram*. A greater level of intervention was considered acceptable including reinstatement and a certain amount of rebuilding where this would enhance the longer term stability of the structure.

In 2009, the trial repairs were carried out by specialist conservation contractors, based on a detailed technical specification, and monitored by English Heritage and the project consultants. The following year, the results were reviewed in terms of the technical performance and conservation impact. The final reports recommended which methods should be used and proposed a 3-year programme for the works (Parkes Lees Architects Ltd 2009-10).

Further action is now dependent on the availability of funding. The urgent need for repairs is undiminished.

9.7 Designed landscapes

The only example of a planned ornamental landscape in Scilly is Tresco Abbey and its garden. Created largely out of former heathland by Augustus Smith in the mid-nineteenth century, the sub-tropical garden is a Grade 1 Registered Park and Garden (Tresco Abbey Gardens). As well as being of historic interest itself, the garden contains a range of earlier archaeological features - the twelfth century

remains of St Nicholas' Priory, a sixth century inscribed stone, a Roman altar, a Bronze Age holed stone, the brazier from St Agnes lighthouse, and various other historic objects. A figurehead museum, 'Valhalla', which is part of the National Maritime Museum, is also located within the Tresco Abbey Garden.

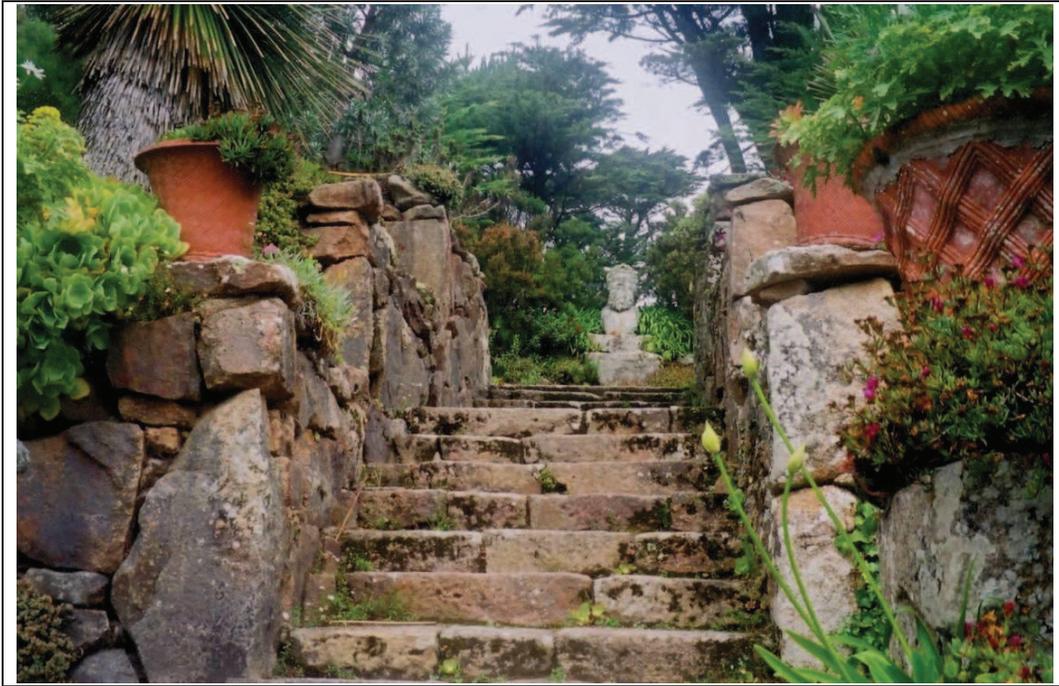


Fig 9.7 Wooden figurehead from the SS Thames, wrecked in 1841, at the top of the Neptune Steps in Tresco Abbey Gardens (photo: Cornwall Council)

9.8 Transport and communications

9.8.1 Shipping

All of the located wrecks in Scilly fall into this period. It is here that we see an enormous increase in maritime trade, the development of the British Navy, two industrial revolutions and the rise and fall of the British Empire. Perhaps, then, it is small wonder that we see a commensurate rise in the known maritime resource. There are 771 known shipping losses in Scilly in this period (Johns *et al* 2004), and although the majority of these have not been located, the list of wrecks which have been investigated is still impressive (Fig 9.8). Many more wrecks are known and visited by divers in Scilly, but most of these are iron steamers and only those where recorded recovery of material has taken place are included in the table. Many of these iron wrecks are visited regularly by the thriving dive charter businesses in Scilly and they now form an important part of the Scillonian tourist industry. This is also true of the more historic shipwrecks, with RIB (rigid inflatable boat) tours of the wrecks and illustrated slide shows being held weekly in the tourist season.

| Shipwrecks located and investigated in Scilly | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| Ship | Date lost | Details | Location | Publications |
| Unknown | 1595-1600 | Protected wreck site Unknown vessel, wrought iron guns, lead ingots and bronze bell fragments. | Bartholomew Ledge | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) (Craddock & Hook 1987) |
| Black Rock | ?C16 th | Cannon site (c 14 small cast iron guns) Excavated and artefacts sold in the 1990s (mostly coins) | Black Rock | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |

| Shipwrecks located and investigated in Scilly | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--|
| Ship | Date lost | Details | Location | Publications |
| <i>Prinses Maria</i> | 1686 | Dutch East Indiaman The king sent the royal yacht to recover specie (1696). Excavated 1976-7 (Rex Cowan) – large areas of intact timber were found. Artefacts were recovered. Some subsequent commercial salvage work. | Crebinnicks | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |
| <i>Association</i> | 1707 | British Warship (2 nd rate) 96 guns Contemporary salvage including the Herbert expedition (1710) recovered iron and brass guns, several chests of money and reported the hull intact. Divers working on construction of Bishops Rock lighthouse saw guns and recovered shot (1847). Relocated in 1967 and subject of much <i>ad hoc</i> salvage. Contracts for salvage issued by MoD in 1967 to several salvage operators. Quantities of artefacts were recovered and many were sold at auction in Penzance and London (predominantly coins). | Gilstone | (Lotbiniere 1984) (Mace nd) (Rogers nd) (Morris nd) (Morris 1984 a) (Morris 1984 b) (Morris 1984 c) (Green 1984) (Larn 1985) |
| <i>Eagle</i> | 1707 | Protected wreck site British warship (3 rd rate) 70 guns Recovered artefacts sold at auction | Tearing Ledge | (Larn 1984) |
| <i>Firebrand</i> | 1707 | British fireship - 8 guns Salvage by the Herbert expedition (1710) Excavated 1976-7 by Roland Morris and others. Bell, nocturnal and carvings recovered Surveyed 2006-9 by CISMAS | Smith Sound | (Camidge 2011) (Larn 2006) (Morris 1982) |
| Unknown | ?C17 th – 18 th | Seven cast iron guns and an anchor. The guns are lying close together, parallel, muzzle-to-breach suggesting they were possibly cargo. Found (2002) by Todd Stevens. Some artefacts were recovered | Innisidgen | (Wessex Archaeology 2005) |
| Unknown | ?C17 th – 18 th | About 20 cast iron guns and 3 anchors. Possibly the site found by Morris and identified (by him) as the <i>Romney</i> (late 70s – early 80s). Site sketch by IMAG Wreck adopted (NAS) by IMAG | West of Zantman's Rock on the Crim | (Morris 1979) TS blog site NAS adopt a wreck |
| Unknown | Early ?C18 th | Timbers, planking and timber sheathing Excavated (2005->) by Todd Stevens Some finds recovered suggesting early 18 th C date. TS thinks this may be the wreck of the <i>John</i> (1645) | Pendratheren, St Mary's | (Wessex Archaeology 2005) (Stevens 2011) |
| <i>Hollandia</i> | 1743 | Dutch East Indiaman Salvage by Letheridge , silver (1743) Excavated 1971-77 (Rex Cowan) 50,000 silver coins and over 3000 other artefacts were recovered – some were sold but the remainder (c 90%) was acquired by the Rijksmuseum. | Gunner Rock | (Cowan <i>et al</i> 1975) (Larn 1985) (Marsden 1978) (Cowan 1982) (Engelsman 1982) (Gawronski <i>et al</i> 1992) |

| Shipwrecks located and investigated in Scilly | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|--------------------------|--|
| Ship | Date lost | Details | Location | Publications |
| <i>Nancy</i> | 1784 | Two-masted packet 10 guns Salvage work by John Braithwaite in 1784 Investigated by IMAG, artefacts recovered Adopted by Stevens and Cumming under the NAS adopt a wreck scheme | Rosevear | (Stevens & Cumming 2008) |
| <i>Zeelilie</i> | 1795 | Dutch East Indiaman 26 guns Excavated 1992-7 (Hiron & Larn) Pottery and iron gun recovered | Crebinnicks | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |
| <i>Colossus</i> | 1798 | Protected wreck site British warship (3 rd rate) 74 guns Salvage including Tonkin & Braithwaite (1803), John Dean (1883) Relocated by Roland Morris (1974) when a large number of pot sherds were recovered for the British Museum. Guns and anchors (whereabouts unknown) were also recovered. Stern section located 2001, stern quarter carving recovered (now displayed on Tresco) | Southward Wells | (Camidge 2001) (Camidge 2002) (Camidge <i>et al</i> 2005) (Camidge 2005) (Camidge 2008) (Camidge 2009) (Camidge 2010) (Morris 1979) (Morris 1984 a) (Morris 1984 b) (Morris 1984 c) (Smallwood & Woodford 2003) (Stevens 2007) (Wessex Archaeology 2003) (Wessex Archaeology 2007) |
| <i>Hope</i> | 1830 | Brig Salvage by John Dean (1832) | North of St Martins | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |
| <i>Thames</i> | 1841 | Sailing steamer (500 tons) Salvage by Dean six weeks after the wreck | Jacky's Rock | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |
| <i>Douro</i> | 1843 | Schooner (200 tons) Cargo includes copper alloy manillas (a form of west African currency) and glass beads. This type of manilla was manufactured in Birmingham in the 19 th C. Found by divers in 1970. Manillas and beads are recovered from time to time and are occasionally offered for sale on e bay. | Round Rock | (Craddock & Hook 1987) |
| Unknown | Mid C19 th | Protected wreck site (Wheels wreck) Discovered in 2005 by IMAG divers, some survey and recovery of artefacts. Little remains of the vessel but the cargo of 'mining machinery' (mainly iron pumping equipment) probably from a Cornish foundry (date post 1850) | South of Little Ganinick | (Wessex Archaeology, 2006a) |
| <i>Zelda</i> | 1874 | Iron steamer (1300 tons) Salvage Western Marine Salvage (c 1900) | Bryher | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |
| <i>Schiller</i> | 1875 | Iron steamship, passenger liner 3421 tons. Contemporary salvage recovered gold coin. Further salvage work (Larn & McBride) in the last ten years. Finds by others reported on various websites | Retarrier Ledges | (Johns <i>et al</i> 2004) |

Fig 9.8 showing known wrecks in Scilly which have been the subject of some kind of investigation and/or salvage

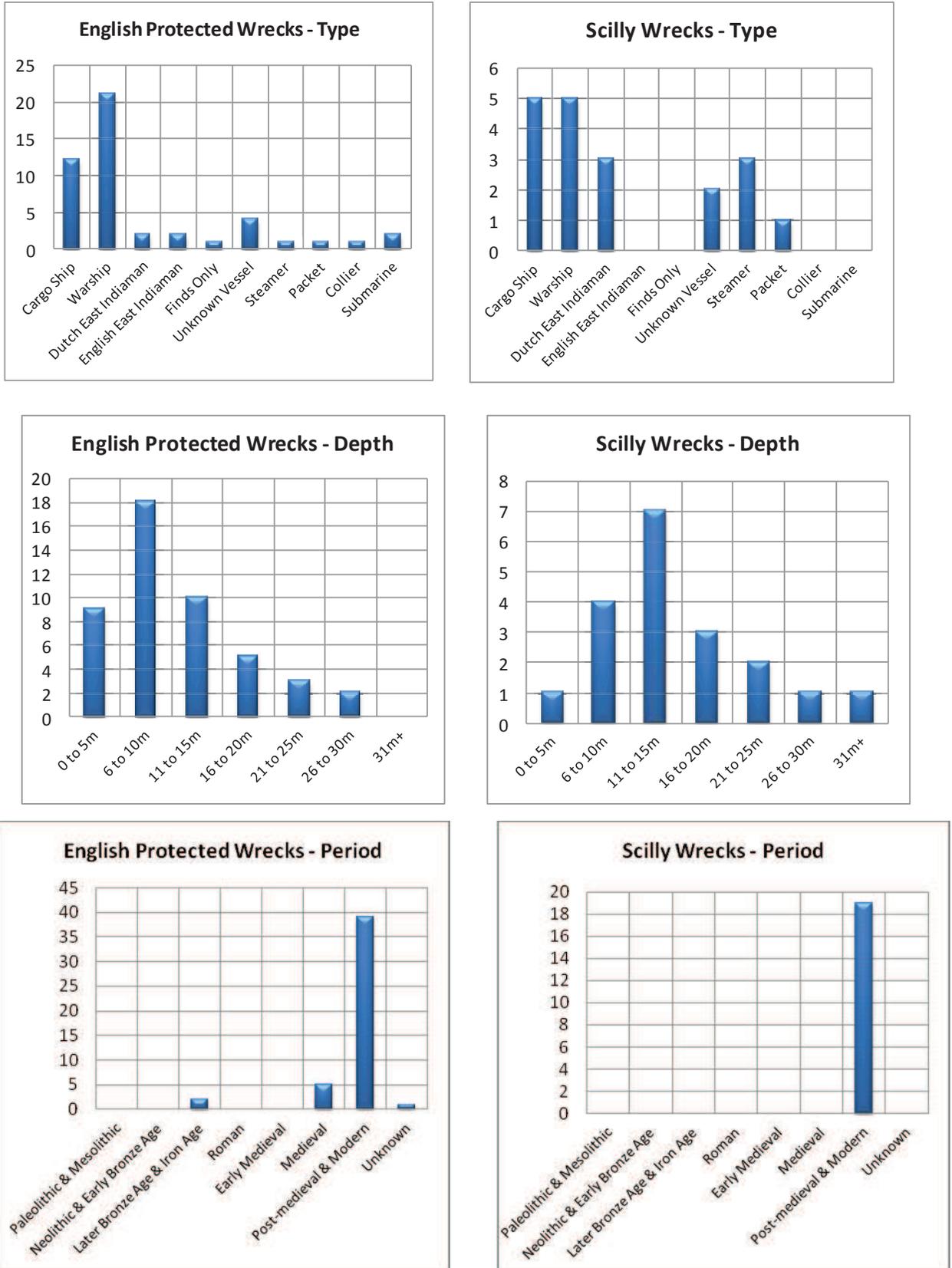


Fig 9.9 Comparison of English protected wreck sites with the investigated Scilly wrecks by vessel type, depth and period

Some of the shipwrecks in Scilly have been the subject of high profile salvage work. In some cases this has been focussed on the recovery of valuable artefacts. Wrecks which fall into this category are *Prinses Maria* (1686), *HMS Association* (1707), *HMS Firebrand* (1707), *Hollandia* (1743), *Zeelilie* (1795) and *HMS Colossus* (1798). In some cases (*Firebrand*, *Hollandia* and *Colossus*) there has been both salvage work and archaeological investigation, but the *Association*, *Prinses Maria*, and *Zeelillie* have had extensive salvage work undertaken, with recovery and sale of many artefacts but little or no publication. In the case of the *Association*, many different individuals have been involved in the recovery and sale of coin and other artefacts with virtually no account available of what has been 'recovered' or of the remaining fabric of the vessel. In the case of the *Association* there are even reports of explosives being used on the wreck (Morris 1979). Sometimes the exploitation takes place with almost no knowledge even on the part of the tightly-knit Scillonian community. The Black Rock site, where no one knew that material had been recovered from the wreck until after it had been sold at auction, is a good example of this (Johns *et al* 2004).

The Scilly wrecks are comparable with the English protected wreck sites in terms of vessel type discovered (Fig 9.9). Both groups have warships and cargo vessels well represented. The Scilly group does not have as many diverse vessel types represented – but this is to be expected as it is a smaller number of vessels ('English protected wrecks' consists of 47 sites, while 'Scilly investigated wrecks' consists of only 19 wrecks). The smaller vessels in particular are under-represented in the Scilly group.

It is interesting to compare the depth of the Scilly sites with those of the English protected sites (Fig 9.9). The mean English site depth is 11.2m while the mean for the Scilly wrecks is 15.7m. What is not clear is whether this is due to deeper conditions around Scilly, or to deeper diving activity in Scilly leading to more frequent discovery of deeper wrecks.

When we compare the period of English protected sites with those discovered in Scilly (Fig 9.9) it is clear that in both cases the majority of sites fall within the post-medieval and modern category. There are a few earlier sites in the English group, but again this is probably due mainly to the larger sample. This situation probably reflects the relative amounts of maritime activity but poorer survival of the older wrecks may play a part. Another probable factor is the nature of the older vessels: smaller, less substantial and often without large iron objects such as guns and anchors – these factors will all mitigate against discovery.

9.8.2 Navigation and pilotage

Situated at the mouth of the English Channel, the Isles of Scilly constituted a considerable hazard to shipping, especially to any vessels unsure of their exact position. Many of the shipping losses in Scilly can be attributed to this cause.

One of the most notorious shipping disasters in Scilly was the loss of four ships from Sir Cloudesley Shovell's fleet which ran into the Western Rocks off Scilly on the night of 22 October 1707. Three ships, *Eagle*, *Romney* and Sir Cloudesley's flagship *Association*, were lost with only a single survivor between them. The fireship *Phoenix* struck a rock and eventually grounded between Samson and Bryher. The fireship *Firebrand* also struck the rocks but managed to get off again. Leaking badly, she made for the beacon of St Agnes lighthouse and foundered in Smith Sound close. Over 1500 men perished in this incident, making it one of the worst disasters in British naval history. Eventually, the disaster led to the 1714 Longitude Act, offering large prizes for a practical method of fixing longitude at sea (Larn 1971; 2006; Roger, 2004).

Between 1720 and 1870 Scilly (especially St Agnes and St Martin's) was home to many pilots, who ensured that ships had a safe passage through the Islands and beyond. By the beginning of the nineteenth century piloting was restricted to fewer individuals, but in 1850 there were still a good fifteen pilot boats – cutters and gigs (Johns *et al* 2004).

Since 1990 the Scilly has been the home of the World Gig Racing Championships. The gig originated in the eighteenth century as a light-weight clinker built boat with six oars and a sail. The type is recorded as a ship's boat on board British warships from about 1760 (Lavery, 1987). The specific type used in the Scilly race is also known as the Cornish Pilot Gig, the name gives a clue as to one of its uses. In the eighteenth century pilots were used to guide ships into ports and along difficult coastlines. One point for collecting channel pilots was Scilly. It is often said that pilots competed for the job; the fastest boat would reach the vessel first and secure the job. The pilot gigs used in the World championships are said to have their origins in gigs built by the Peters family of St Mawes at the end of the eighteenth century (Gillis 1969).

The gig races are now held using boats propelled by six oars, but originally the gigs used sails as well. '*All the gigs were fitted to sail with a dipping forelug and a standing lug mizen*' (Gillis 1956). The gigs were apparently good sea boats and were used for many different tasks, not always lawful. '*The gigs were wonderful sea-boats, and often made trips from the Isles of Scilly to France. The Hope was the last of the Isles of Scilly gigs to go to France for a smuggled cargo, but I gather she was sailed most of the way. The Hope was built in the Isles of Scilly by a boat builder named Samuel Tiddy, who built the Sultan, the Leo and the Gipsy. Tiddy had served his time in the Peter's Yard at St Mawes*' (Gillis 1956).

Piloting in Scilly declined with the introduction of steamships (Johns *et al* 2004), and the hazards of putting a pilot aboard a large iron vessel from a small wooden boat are illustrated by the St Ives gig *Guide* which was lost putting a pilot aboard *SS Pentreath* when the *Pentreath* rolled onto the *Guide*. The pilot gigs ended their working lives in the early part of last century. '*The last time a six-oared gig was used to put a pilot aboard a vessel was 22 December 1938. The vessel was called Foremost and the pilot was Jack Hicks of St Agnes*' (Gillis 1969).

9.8.3 Packets and passenger boats

The need for regular communications with the mainland grew during the eighteenth century as the maritime importance of St Mary's developed. The link was provided by open boats at four to six week intervals in summer and longer in winter, sometimes it was worse and Borlase in 1752 mentioned '*seventeen weeks without any provisions whatsoever or intelligence*'. The *Prudence and Jane*, carrying essential goods from Penzance to Scilly, was driven by storms to Cherbourg in 1793 (Gill 1975, 145; Chudleigh 1992, 5).

In 1804 a mail service was established with a voluntary payment of 2d a letter, the contract being given to James Tregarthen master of the 30-ton *Hope*, at the recommendation of the garrison commander. From 1827 the mail was carried by the *Cherub*, commanded by Captain John Tregarthen, and after she was lost in 1837, by the *Lord Wellington*, on which Augustus Smith had earlier made his first visit to the islands in 1834. The first *Lyonesse*, a sailing cutter started service in 1845, commanded by Captain Frank Tregarthen, who later took command of the *Ariadne*, a sloop provided by the islanders as a connecting link between Scilly and Penzance. For about two years the *Ariadne* and *Lyonesse* ran in opposition, but eventually the former secured the mail contract worth £300 per annum, running three days a week. On a good day a cutter could make the journey in about six hours, with a light wind it could take all day (Chudleigh 1992, 5).

Coastal steamers on the Cork-London run had been passing Scilly since 1823 and excursion steamers calling since 1831. The West Cornwall Steamship Company was formed in 1857, using the steamer *Scotia* for mails passengers and cargo until their new ship *Little Western*, built in Glasgow, came into service two years later. She was 115ft 7in long with an 18ft beam and gross tonnage of 148 tons. In October 1872 she went to the aid of a disabled brigantine but was overcome by a heavy sea and sank on the Southward Well rocks off Samson (Gill 1975, 146; Chudleigh 1992, 5).

The West Cornwall group amalgamated with the Isles of Scilly Steam Navigation Co. and ran the paddle steamer *Earl of Arran*, which was wrecked on Nornour in 1872. She was succeeded by the *Guide*, the *Queen of the Bay* and the *Lady of the Isles*. The latter was built by Harvey's of Hayle in 1875 and was in service until 1904, when she hit a rock and sank off Lamorna during an excursion trip. Salvaged and repaired she went on to carry out a relief service when the first *Scillonian* (later known as *Scillonian 1*) was away for refit and also helped during busy flower seasons (Chudleigh 1992, 8). The second *Lyonesse* was also built at Hayle for John Banfield in 1888. She towed the sailing ship *Horsa*, off the rocks of St Martin's in 1893, and helped the *Queen Mab* (not listed by the NMR or UKHO), which struck the Spanish ledges. She was sold in 1918 (Chudleigh 1992, 8).

During WWI a succession of trawlers, drifters and a coaster were provided by the Ministry of Shipping to carry passengers and essential supplies to the Islands. After the end of the war the islanders had to set up their own transport arrangements. The first boat was the *Lapwing*, and then the *Argus*, a former fishery protection vessel, renamed the *Peninnis*. The Isles of Scilly Steamship Company Ltd was formed in March 1920. The first *Scillonian* was built by the Ailsa Shipbuilding Company of Troon in Scotland, she was steam driven, 177ft in length, with a beam of 28ft 6in and a draft of 10ft 6in. With a speed of 12½ knots she could carry 390 passengers and 165 tons of cargo, making her first regular trip on 2 February 1926. She 'did yeoman service' until 1956', amongst much grounding, that on Wingletang Ledges in September 1951 being the most famous. In 1946/7 a new Steamship Company ship, a second *Lady of the Isles*, was built at Poole. *Scillonian II* was launched in 1955; a second ship *Queen of the Isles* came into service in 1965. *Scillonian III*, built at Appledore, was launched in 1977. A Norwegian coaster *Gry Maritha* was bought in 1989 for all-year freight carrying and the *Lyonesse Lady*, a cargo ship for general inter-island service was introduced in 1991 (Chudleigh 1992, 12-102).

9.8.4 Maritime infrastructure

Quays

First built in 1601, Hugh Town quay is physically and functionally separate from the town but of fundamental importance to it. The structure itself records many of the town's and islands' significant milestones: initial construction accompanied the Elizabethan fortification of the Garrison and created the sheltered landing place around which the settlement formed; then refurbishment in the 1740s was part of a major expansion of the Garrison defences and military presence; the new, much larger deepwater quay was built in the late 1830s testified to Augustus Smith's aspirations for the prosperity of the islands (the curious dressed granite piers at the entrance reputed to have been intended to emphasise his proprietorial control over access); extension in the late nineteenth century was required to serve the expanding flower trade and widening in the late twentieth century to facilitate modern handling methods. The quay structure itself holds evidence of its original construction and successive phases of repair. A number of historic cannon reputed to have come from the wreck of the eighteenth century warship HMS *Colossus*, have been set into the Augustus Smith quay as mooring posts. Some of these were moved in 1994 during operations to widen the quay but others remain *in situ* (Kirkham 2003).

The following quays, slipways and piers are recorded in the Cornwall and Scilly HER: Bryher – Great Porth, Kitchen Porth; St Mary's – Old Quay (Old Town), slipway Old Town, Old Quay (Hugh Town), Toll's Island, two quays on Newford Island, Point of Fields, Pendrathen Quay, a pier at Porth Hellick, slipways at Innisidgen Hill, Pendrathen, and Porthcressa, New Quay; St Agnes – a quay and slipway at Periglis, Porth Conger, Uncle Tom's Quay, Hole of Cove Vean; St Martin's – The Porth, Old Quay, New Quay; Tresco – slipway at Crow Point, quays at Carn Near, Old Grimsby, New Grimsby; other islands – two at East Porth, Tean, St Helen's (Pest House quay), Arthur Quay.

Lighthouses, lightships and navigation aids

One of the earliest measures used to safeguard shipping was the use of lights and markers to help vessels determine their whereabouts, and to warn of hazards. The 'lighthouse chapel' on St Martin's Head continued in use through the medieval period and is shown on Captain Greenville Collins' navigation chart of the Isles of Scilly surveyed between 1691 and 1698 (UKHO B888).

| Date | Location | Type |
|-------------|-----------------|---|
| 1680 | St Agnes | A coal-fired lighthouse |
| 1687 | St Martins | Daymark, masonry tower |
| 1802 | St Agnes | The coal-fired lighthouse was converted to oil lamps |
| 1849 | Bishop Rock | First iron lighthouse, 120 feet high. Washed away in 1850 before it was commissioned |
| 1859 | Bishop Rock | Second lighthouse, constructed in stone |
| 1887 | Bishop Rock | Third lighthouse, constructed by encasing the second lighthouse in additional stonework. 167 feet high. Still in use today. |
| 1887 | Round Island | Lighthouse |
| 1911 | Peninnis Head | Lighthouse, iron. |
| 1911 | St Agnes | Lighthouse decommissioned. |
| ? | St Mary's | Mount Flagon sea mark |
| 2002 | St Agnes | Tins Walbert daymark |

Fig 9.10 Lighthouses and daymarks in Scilly (cf Bowley 1968)

Trinity House's involvement in Scilly began as early as 1680 when they built their second lighthouse on St Agnes (the first was at Lowestoft), superseded in 1911 by one on Peninnis Head. To aid navigation a day mark was built in 1687 on St Martin's by Thomas Ekins, the first steward of the Godolphins to reside on the Islands. The inscribed date stone has been altered to 1637 and should read 1687 (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 34; Greeves 2007/8, 164-7).

The Bishop Rock lighthouse is of nineteenth century date and still used. On the rocky island of Rosevear, one of the Western Rocks, are the ruins of four rectangular drystone buildings which are the remains of a blacksmith's workshop and the quarters of the men who built the lighthouse (1847-50 and 1847). There is no evidence to support the theory that these may originally have been built by Edmund Herbert's expedition to salvage the *Association* in c 1710. The most prominent building survives up to roof height and incorporates a large natural outcrop at its west end and as part of its base. There is also an anvil made from a naturally hollowed boulder, a rectangular platform made of large blocks and the remains of stone-splitting operations (Ratcliffe 1989, 66). There has been a lightship to mark the Seven Stones reef since 1841. Round Island Lighthouse was erected in 1887, around the same time as Bishop Rock was being strengthened.

There is a modern sea mark at Mount Flagon, St Mary's, and the standing stone beside it may have been used as an earlier mark. The Tins Walbert navigation transit daymark on the north western extremity of St Agnes was completed on 1 May 2002.

A detailed history of the Bishop Rock has been published recently (Stanbrook 2008) but there is considerable potential for further research into the history of other lighthouses.

Isolation hospital

The building on St Helen's known as the 'Pest House' is an isolation hospital built in 1764 to house plague cases from visiting ships calling at Old Grimsby and St Helen's Pool (after a 1754 Act of Parliament decreed that any plague-ridden ship north of Cape Finisterre heading for England should anchor off this island). The building has recently

been repaired and stabilised with the benefit of EH funding through the IOS Grant scheme administered by CIOS. Associated with the Pest House are a well and a slipway and a field system along the islands' south-eastern coastal margin bounded by post-medieval banks (Ratcliffe 1989, 66).

Signal stations

The signal station on Chapel Down, St Martin's was one of a series set up around the coast of Britain during the Napoleonic Wars to send information and orders to men-of-war waiting offshore (using a flag, pendant and four canvas balls). It was in use from 1810 until replaced by the semaphore tower on St Mary's around 1814. A two-phased enclosure surrounds the main building, which accommodated four naval operators. Heavily robbed of stone, it still retains its central chimney breast. Several ancillary buildings are incorporated in the enclosure wall and an animal pen built against its east side. The signal post (an old ship's mast) probably stood to the north-east near the base of a more recent lookout. A small field to the west may also be associated (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 34-5).

One of the sixteenth or seventeenth century windmills on the Garrison was used in the mid-nineteenth century by the coastguard service and then, in 1869, was acquired by the Shipping Gazette before being taken over in 1871 by Lloyds, who bought it in 1882.

Telegraph Tower, a circular granite building, was erected on the highest point of the Islands as a gun and semaphore tower was built in 1814 and only remained open for two years. Later adapted as a signal station, it was here, in 1898, that Guglielmo Marconi heard wireless signals transmitted from Porthcurno (thirty miles away in West Cornwall). The four-storeyed building, 12m high, serves as the Coastguard headquarters and weather reporting station.

Gig sheds

Gig sheds (boathouses) remain a characteristic feature of the shoreline on some of the inhabited islands. These are long narrow rectangular buildings, c10m by 3m internally, open at one end and constructed of stone-face walling. Situated just above the beaches and originally thatched, these buildings once housed pilot gigs similar to those used for racing in Scilly today (see above section 9.8.1). Eleven boathouses are recorded in the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER, six destroyed or covered by sand, five definitely extant. Gig sheds are a distinctive component of the historic landscape and providing a visible and tangible link to the history of piloting in the Islands.

Lifeboats

The lifeboat station on St Mary's was established in 1837, the first lifeboat arriving in 1840. Her only recorded service was on January 4 1841, when she went to the aid of the steam packet *Thames*, driven ashore on the Western Rocks. There was a lapse in the service around 1855 and it was re-established in 1874 following the disasters of the *Delaware* and the *Minnehaha*. The new lifeboat, the *Henry Dundas* was a 37ft, 12-oared pulling and sailing lifeboat. She first saw service when the *Schiller* was wrecked on the Retarrier Ledges on 7 May of the following year. A back-up lifeboat station was established on St Agnes in 1890 and was operational until 1920. The Carn Thomas lifeboat station was built in c1899 to accommodate a new Watson-type lifeboat (Bird 1991, 66-79, 202-4).

Troy Town Maze

Troy Town maze is situated close to the cliff edge on the west side of Castella Down, St Agnes. It is circular in plan, 5.6m in diameter and formed of beach pebbles. It is said to have been laid out in 1729 by a bored lighthouse keeper or his son (Nance 1924), of St Merryn, Cornwall, but may well be earlier in date and has been periodically rebuilt, latterly by Eddie Prynn in the 1980s and with work by Ben Hicks in 2011. This maze is apparently unique in Britain, resembling in pattern and construction the stone mazes of Scandinavia (Mathews 1922).

9.8.5 Telegraph and telephones

The 1868 the Scilly Isles Cable Company attempted to lay submarine telegraph cable from Land's End, but the cable was five miles too short. The cable was relaid the following year with an office in Scaden's post office. In 1875 it was moved to John Gibson's general store in Silver Street. The cable and company failed in 1877-8 and was turned over to the Post Office who laid anew cable from Porthcurno in 1886, and by 1883 inter-island cables were laid, originally for the coastguard but in 1894 the off island post offices were connected for public use. In 1938 telephone connection was established through short-wave radio. An automatic exchange on Tresco also served Bryher and St Martin's from 1957 and in May 1968 all the islands went automatic on Subscriber Trunk Dialling with 48 channels on the radio link to the mainland (Gill 1975, 154-5).

9.8.6 Air travel

On 15 September 1937 an air service was started by Captain Olley's Channel Air Ferries with the golf course as the St Mary's terminal. St Just was the mainland terminal with a bus link to Penzance. The service was stopped by the outbreak of World War Two and the RAF took over the airfield, although a mail service continued (Gill 1975, 151).

When civilian airlines were nationalise after the war British European Airways (BEA) took over the service to the Islands in 1947 and facilities were improved. In 1959, 29,100 passengers were carried. BEA introduced helicopters in May 1964, and the heliport at Penzance was built in September of that year. By 1973 the annual number of passengers was up to 68,248 and work began in June 1974 on the new airport on Salakee Down, St Mary's.

Aircraft crash sites at sea

Thousands of aircraft are likely to have been lost in UK territorial and near-territorial waters during the twentieth century. A high proportion of these losses are likely to be combat losses or accidental losses of military aircraft that occurred during WWII. The potential resource is therefore very large (Wessex Archaeology 2008b).

The number of known aircraft crash sites on the seabed as recorded by the National Monuments Record (NMR) and the HER is relatively small. The known resource is therefore relatively small. Notwithstanding issues concerning survival, the potential therefore exists for the presence of a very large number of currently unknown crash sites on the seabed and, to some extent, in the intertidal zone. Recent discoveries of previously unknown aircraft crash sites in licenced marine aggregate dredging areas suggests that there is a need for urgent national and local record enhancement in areas of seabed likely to be impacted by human activities (*ibid*). NMR records for crash sites of identified aircraft around Scilly are shown below in Figure 9.11.

| NMR no | Name | Date | Aircraft type | Nation | Source | Easting | Northing |
|---------|---------------------------------|------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| 1329887 | SUNDERLAND U N9045 | 1939 | Flying Boat | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1329127 | SPITFIRE MK I N3101 | 1941 | Fighter Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1357319 | WELLINGTON MK IC W5631 | 1941 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1318392 | WELLINGTON IC DV661 | 1942 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1323502 | HURRICANE MK I R4228 | 1942 | Fighter Aircraft | British | NMR | 83910 | 6280 |
| 1329565 | TIGER MOTH MK II N6598 | 1942 | Trainer Aircraft | British | NMR | 90180 | 10840 |
| 1352701 | BRISTOL BEAUFIGHTER MK VI T5156 | 1942 | Fighter Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1354000 | WELLINGTON MK IC W573 | 1942 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1354579 | WHITLEY MK VII Z9524 | 1942 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |

| NMR no | Name | Date | Aircraft type | Nation | Source | Easting | Northing |
|---------|-------------------------|------|-------------------------|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| 1353071 | WALRUS MK I W3026 | 1943 | Flying Boat | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1353996 | WELLINGTON MK IC W5714 | 1943 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1355229 | WELLINGTON MK X HZ957 | 1943 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1356762 | LANCASTER MK III ED717 | 1943 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1317923 | SUNDERLAND MK III DD836 | 1944 | Flying Boat | British | NMR | 90180 | 10840 |
| 1343345 | HURRICANE MK IIB BW949 | 1944 | Fighter Aircraft | British | NMR | 90180 | 10840 |
| 1356384 | HALIFAX MK II JD176 | 1944 | Bomber Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |
| 1340976 | SUNDERLAND MK III ML770 | 1945 | Reconnaissance Aircraft | British | NMR | 89320 | 11480 |

Fig 9.11 NMR records for crash sites of identified aircraft around Scilly

9.9 Technology and production

9.9.1 Stonecutting

Evidence for stonecutting over four centuries (c 1550-1950) survives well on Scilly, although there has not been a dedicated study or detailed report on the history of stonecutting on the Islands (Greeves 2010, 151-3).

For hundreds of years most stone used for buildings was cut or drilled from natural outcrops of rock (called 'moorstones' in Cornwall) and then dressed for use as quoin stones, window frames, arches, gateposts etc. Earlier stonecutting was done by cutting slots in the stone with chisels and splitting it using iron wedges – the 'wedge and groove' technique - evidence of the use of this method can be seen on the Garrison and the roofing stones of Innisidgen entrance grave on St Mary's (*ibid*).

The 'tare (or plug) and feather' method of stone splitting was introduced in Cornwall from America in about 1800. The technique of splitting granite using plug-and-feather is described by Peter Herring in Vol 2 of the Bodmin Moor Archaeological Survey:

'A line of holes 0.075-0.10m deep and 0.10 to 0.15 apart was drilled along the intended cleavage line by giving hand-held stone borers or chisels part-turns between blows... Holes drilled in the first half of the 19th century tended to have larger diameters (0.028 – 0.035m) than more recent ones (0.015m)... Iron 'plugs', (short chisels), were placed between pairs of iron feathers reaching the bottoms of the holes. The plugs were struck in turn by a sledgehammer (thus splitting the stone)' (Herring 2008, 87-88).

Two main areas of stone cutting were recorded on Samson Flats during the CISMAS survey where large granite boulders which have been split using drilled holes with plug-and-feather splitting (Camidge *et al* 2010).

Quarries on the west side of Buzza Hill mostly date to the later nineteenth or twentieth centuries (Greeves 2010, 151). Robert Maybee records that stone was cut from Carn Thomas to build the new pier on St Mar's in 1889 (Greeves 2010, 151-3).

9.9.2 Limeburning

Demand for lime has come from two principal sources. Firstly, the development of agriculture in the nineteenth and nineteenth centuries and the need to neutralise acid soils led to an increasing demand for lime. In particular a shortage of grain in the Napoleonic Wars encouraged landowners to cultivate marginal areas of land and many limekilns were built as a result. Secondly, lime was used in the building industry for creating mortars and for limewash finishes. Lime kilns were usually built near to

harbours where limestone and coal to fuel the kilns could easily be brought by sea. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a constant trade was carried on around the south-western coasts by small ships bringing limestone from the quarries near Plymouth or coal from South Wales as ballast (Johns et al 2004, 109).

There may have been a lime kiln in Hugh Town since an early date as lime was being produced on site in 1593 for Star Castle (Brodie 2010, 35). The 1862 plan of Hugh Town by Capt Williams shows two limekilns, one on Rat Island, the other at the end of Silver Street, at the back of Porthcressa beach. There are no surviving above ground remain of these limekilns.

9.9.3 Kelp industry

The history of the kelp industry in Scilly has been summarised by Luke Over (1987). The copious quantities of kelp available on Scilly gave rise to the kelp burning industry, which was introduced to the islands in 1684 by the Nance family from Falmouth who settled on the small island of Tean for several generations. Kelp burning formed an important part of Scilly's economy for some 150 years. The seaweed was collected, dried and burnt in small stone-lined pits close to the waters edge. The obnoxious smelling process produced soda ash, which was shipped to Bristol and Gloucester to be used in the manufacture of glass, soap and bleach. After the Napoleonic Wars, increased foreign supplies of soda ash and new chemical processes for the manufacture of alkali led to the decline of Scilly's industry, which ceased in 1835. Although a hundred fires are said to have burnt at one time, the remains of only a dozen kelp pits are now visible although others become intermittently exposed in section in eroding dune faces e.g. south of Lower Town, St Martin's (Over 1987; Ratcliffe and Johns 2003, 20-21).

9.9.4 Shipbuilding

There is good summary of the history of shipbuilding in Scilly by Davies (1988) and the industry features in several accounts of the Islands (e.g. Gill 1975). Small sailing ships were built in Scilly for about a century starting in the late eighteenth century. These were all wooden sailing ships, and relatively small vessels. The largest ever built in Scilly was the *John Banfield*, a barque of 528 tons built by T Edwards in 1859.

The earliest record of shipbuilding in Scilly is contained in Robert Heath's 'Account of the Islands', written about 1750 where he records only one boat builder in Scilly. The subsequent records of boatbuilding on the islands are due mainly to the Merchant Shipping Act of 1786 which required all vessels of over 15 tons to be registered (Davies 1988). Shipbuilding on Scilly seems to have been largely confined to the island of St Mary's, with only a single vessel (*Antelope*, 1837) built on Bryher. The lack of shipbuilding materials on the islands (also attested in Heath's account) would have necessitated timber and other materials being shipped to Scilly from the mainland or further afield.

One early vessel built in Scilly was the *Grace*, built in 1779. In 1780 she was registered as a privateer, working in company with the *Dolphin* of Penzance. Between them they captured ten Dutch ships with 'valuable cargo' (1780-91) (Davies 1988). Shipbuilders would also have undertaken repair work, especially when vessels arrived damaged in Scilly. For example, in 1805 the brig *Henry* (for London with wheat), *Better Luck Still* (for Newport), *Mary* (for Plymouth with flour and beef), *Martha* (cargo of timber) and *Governor Milne* (cargo of sugar) were all 'hailed up on the beach for large repairs' in Scilly.

The first vessel of over 100 tons built in Scilly was the *Union*, a 137 ton brig built by B Banfield in 1804. Smaller vessels were also constructed; in 1815 'at least' five open boats were built for fishing. Vessels built in Scilly were mainly registered in Scilly, but some were also built for mainland owners – only seven Scilly-built ships were sold to mainland owners in the nineteenth century.



Fig 9.12 Shipbuilding (the David Auterson) on Porthcressa, St Mary's c1870 (©Gibson Collection)

Hugh Town was dominated by the shipbuilding industry for most of the nineteenth century 'with stacked timber, sawpits, stores, sheds, offices, etc. spread inland from the beaches'. The 1840s was the heyday of shipbuilding in the islands with four yards on Porthcressa alone. (Davies 1988). One of the largest yards was that of William Mumford who operated from 1821 to 1868 on a site later occupied by Holgate's Hotel on the Strand. Timber used for the shipbuilding included English oak from the New Forest, red and pitch pine from North America, white and yellow pine from Scandinavia, teak from the East Indies and Africa, and mahogany from Central America and India. This would have generated maritime traffic to Scilly, whether via the mainland or directly shipped. Thus it can be seen that at this time shipbuilding would have affected the life and economy of Scilly. The launch of ships was often recorded in the local papers and apparently the launch was often accompanied with elaborate celebrations. Scilly-built ships were of good quality and well thought of '*generally, the Scilly-built ships were very well rated...They gained a reputation of being amongst the best afloat at that time, and most engaged in foreign trade*' (Davies 1988).

By the 1860s, the demand for wooden ships was in decline. Steamships saw not only the decline of shipbuilding on the islands but also of ship ownership. With the exception of the *Little Western* (wrecked south of Samson not far from the wreck of *Colossus*) and the *Lady of the Isles*, no steamships were registered in Scilly in the nineteenth century. The last Scilly-built ship recorded was the *Gleaner*, a 171 ton brig built in 1878 (Davies 1988). The account of shipbuilding on Scilly by Davies (1988) contains a table of 163 vessels built between 1774 and 1877. This gives details of ship name, tonnage, date and builder as well as many interesting details of the ship's career. The figurehead from one of the Scilly-built ships the *Bosphorus*, a schooner built in 1840, is now in the Valhalla collection on Tresco.

The two shipbuilding yards on Town Beach and Porthcressa are jointly recorded in the Cornwall and Scilly HER. The shipyard on Bryher is yet to be recorded.

9.9.5 Tin

There was little tin to mine in Scilly and the evidence of tinworking is slight but there are records of working on St Mary's, Northwethel and Tresco. The remains on Castle Down, Tresco, are of significant interest as they include an openwork, lode-back pits and classic tinner's reservoir with earthwork dam which are probably the result of venture by Francis Godolphin in the mid-seventeenth century.

9.9.6 Flower industry

Scilly's flower industry is said to have started in a small way in c 1879, when William Trevellick of Rocky Hill farm on St Mary's sent an experimental consignment of cut flowers to Covent Garden in a hat box. Its long term success was due to two factors - the establishment of a through railway service to Penzance and steamer service to Scilly which made transportation to market viable, and investment in the industry by Smith's nephew, Thomas Algernon Dorrien-Smith, who studied the Dutch system, introduced new kinds of daffodils and narcissi to the Islands and encouraged islanders to turn their smallholdings into flower farms. The narrow, hedged enclosures (bulb strips) created for this flower cultivation form a very distinctive pattern and are the most visually striking aspect of Scilly's presently enclosed farmland (Ratcliffe 1995, 7).

9.10 Trade and interaction

9.10.1 Piracy and privateering

Leland noted in 1548 that '*Few men be glad to inhabite these islettes, for al the plenty, for robbers by sea that take their cattail by force. The robbers be Frenchmen and Spaniards*' (in Bowley 1968).

Scilly had a notorious reputation as a base for pirates until the end of Elizabethan era. On 1603 Stephen Treveleck, gentleman was interviewed as being from St Martin's in connection with piracy and receiving (Thomas 1985, 222). Contemporary records state that in 1625 there were said to be thirty Saleemen off Scilly and in 1626 it was reported that Scilly had been taken by Flemish privateers

Further research on the subject of piracy and privateering in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is desirable.

9.10.2 Smuggling

Smuggling was a major part of the Scillonian economy during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and both the Admiralty and the Customs Department had various controls of the coast-watching organisations. The first Custom House was built in Well Lane; Hugh Town in 1696, the second was built in c1840 and is now incorporated into the Atlantic Hotel (Johns *et al* 2004, 110).

Smuggling was made more difficult by the stationing of a protection vessel in the Islands after 1784, and by an Act of Parliament of 1790 that allowed the cost of court proceedings to be met out of the sale of seizure and also allocated revenue officers to keep a small share of the proceeds as an inducement. After this smuggling declined and became a still more risky pastime as a result of the Napoleonic Wars and the formation of the Preventative Water Guard in 1809 that patrolled coastal waters to tackle smugglers who had slipped past the existing Revenue Cruisers operating further out to sea. The Cornwall and Scilly HER records two smuggler's caches, cavities dug into the cliff face or below ground and used to conceal smuggled goods. One, a good example of its type, is exposed in the cliff face on the north-east side of Porth Mellon, St Mary's. The other, named 'Tobaccoman's Hole' is at Pendrathen although recent monitoring work suggests it is an Iron Age or Romano-British house drain (D Hooley, pers comm. to C Johns). We know of two Preventative Service vessels that were lost, *Fanny*, in 1820 and another whose name was not recorded in 1821. Six chasse-mareés, French coasting luggers often used for smuggling or privateering, were also wrecked in Scilly during the nineteenth century (Johns *et al* 2004, 110).

In addition to revenue work the Guard was detailed to assist in lifesaving after a shipwreck and was a forerunner of The Coast Guard formed in 1822 by an amalgamation of the Preventative Water Guard, cruisers and Riding Officers. In 1831 the main island station was established on the Garrison with subsidiary stations at Telegraph and on Tresco, St Agnes and St Martin's with auxiliary coastguards on Bryher (Gill 1975, 113; Cowan 2001, 13-14). In 1856 the coastguards were transferred to the Customs Department of the Admiralty. The Turk's Head public house, at Porth Conger, St Agnes was originally a coastguard house; part of the coastguard station shown on the 1889 and 1908 OS maps which also comprised a slipway, quay and two ancillary buildings within a levelled area on the cliff top. The two buildings are gigsheds, the *Obadiah & Mary*, which has been restored with grant aid, and the *Gypsy*, which now houses the *Shah* gig. The 1908 OS map also shows a coastguard lookout at Giant's Castle on St Mary's, on the cliff edge within the Iron Age cliff castle (Johns *et al* 2004, 110).

9.10.3 The nineteenth century Scillonian merchant fleet

The sailing ships built in Scilly in the nineteenth century were owned by islanders and often officered and crewed by them too. Ownership was divided into 64 shares in the English way; command often depended on the investment of the would-be captain. Such investments could be profitable and the best voyages paid 30% to the shareholders. Two shipping companies were formed in the islands. In 1864 the largest fleet of 13 vessels belonged to the Banfields, but only 18 of the 35 registered vessels in that year were built in Scilly. Cargoes included tea from China, grain from the Black Sea, guano from the Chincha Islands, wool and grain from Australia, currants from the Mediterranean and fish from Newfoundland; voyages could last several years (Gill 1975, 103-4).

The Scilly fleet faded as steamships took over, the last survivors were ketches carrying coal to the islands and other cargoes such as china clay from Fowey or onions from Roscoff. Peat was the main fuel in the islands until well into the nineteenth century, the coal trade developing from the 1860s (Gill 1975, 104-5).

9.10.4 Tourism

As well as providing a means of transporting flowers to Covent Garden, the improved rail and sea transport of the mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of Scilly's tourist industry and this now forms the largest part (85%) of its economy with 37% of the Islands' PAYE employees working in the tourism sector. The Islands attract about 90,000-100,000 visitors per year which is about 50 times the resident population of the Islands. Repeat visitors account for 65%-75% of tourists, the majority of whom are over 45 years old. The main attractions for visitors are walking (95%), inter-Island boat trips (85%), eating out (80%), wildlife/bird-watching (60%), arts/crafts (30%) and sailing/water sports (20%). 64% of visitors choose Scilly as their main holiday with 48% staying 5-7 days, 9% for 8-10 days and 25% for 11 days or more (Isles of Scilly AONB Unit 2010, 107).

While the main visitor season has traditionally run from Easter to October, such as the 'Walk Scilly' festival in late-March and the promotion of winter breaks have begun to extend the season into the shoulder periods. An increasing number of cruise-liner passengers come ashore on Tresco and St Mary's, and Scilly also attracts thousands of visiting yachts, each contributing to the Islands' economy. In addition to direct economic benefit through visitor spending, tourism helps to sustain a broader range of shops, services and entertainment than Scilly's small resident population could support alone (*ibid*, 108).

9.11 Religion and ritual

9.11.1 Anglican

From the Reformation to the end of the Civil War there are very few direct references to religious establishments in Scilly. Today's Anglican churches were built or refounded in the 50 years or so after the Restoration (Thomas 1985, 222, 230). St Martin's church was built around 1683 by Thomas Ekins, the Godolphins' Steward in the Islands, and repaired in 1820 by George Woodley (SPCK missionary minister for St Agnes and St Martin's). All Saints, Bryher dates from about 1742 and was enlarged in 1882. The church at Dolphin Town, Tresco was built in before 1722, and a new church was built on, or nearby, the site of the old one in 1879 (Matthews 1960, 225). On St Agnes the salvage reward from a deserted French boat was used to pay for a new church in 1685, the present church is early Victorian (Thomas 1985, 230). The new church on St Mary's was built to Augustus Smith's own design by 1839.

A clergyman known as the 'Chaplain' was appointed to the Islands on 1662, but some of these spent little time in Scilly (Cowan 1991, 6). Since 1932, the Chaplain has been legally Vicar of St Mary's but with rectorial oversight of all the inhabited islands which constitute a single dispersed parish in the diocese of Exeter from 1838 to 1877 and from then on in the newly constituted see of Truro (Thomas 1985, 222, 230; Matthews 1960, 225).

9.11.2 Methodist

John Wesley visited Scilly in September 1742 and preached twice in the streets of Hugh Town. In 1788 a Wesleyan Society was formed on St Mary's by the Rev Joseph Sutcliffe from St Ives with church in Garrison Lane. Chapels were added at Holy Vale in 1815, Old Town in 1819 and Tresco in 1819. The Garrison Lane church was rebuilt between 1825 and 1828 (Gill 1975, 177-8).

In 1821 the Bible Christians, a Cornish breakaway movement from Wesleyans, sent a young missionary, Mary Anne Wherry, to Scilly. By 1832 they had chapels in Hugh Town and on St Martin's and St Agnes, with three resident ministers. In 1836-7 they built a church in Church street, rebuilt again in 1900 (Gill 1975, 178).

In 1851 there were five Anglican churches with 1,274 seats, three Wesleyans with 734 seats and four Bible Christian with 515 seats (Gill 1975, 78).

In 1907 a national merger made the Bible Christians into the United Methodists, who in turn amalgamated with the Wesleyans in 1932 to become the Methodist Church. The Scilly Union came in 1934 and eventually established itself in the former Bible Christian Church. St Martin's is the only off island which still has Methodist Church, in the care of local preachers and the St Mary's minister since the last resident minister in the 1950s (Gill 1975, 178).

9.11.3 Baptist

The Baptists arrived in the Islands in the early nineteenth century. The Rev G C Smith of Penzance who first visited Scilly in 1814 was the main agent in calling national attention to the distress of the off islands. The Baptist Itinerant Aid Society established Scilly as their first missionary station with chapels on the Strand in Hugh Town, at Maypole and on all the inhabited islands including Samson. Augustus Smith fell out with the Baptists and in 1843 'caused notice to be served at all the chapels' so that they were closed, although a new Baptist chapel was built on Bryher in 1874 which continued in use for nearly a century before being converted into private house in 1972 (Gill 1975, 178-9).

9.11.4 Roman Catholic

The Roman Catholic Church returned to Scilly in 1930 when the Canons Regular of the Lateran from Bodmin Priory took over a building in the Strand which Augustus Smith

had built as girls' school in 1860, and which became the Church of St Mary Star of the Sea (Gill 1975, 179).

9.11.5 Institutional ritual

Hugh Town had its first lodge of Freemasons in 1756, formed by the Collector of Customs, Isaac Head, who had been appointed by the Grand Lodge of England as Provincial Grandmaster of the Province of the Isles of Scilly and Adjacent Isles. He was the first master of Lodge Dolphin (no 365), reformed as Lodge Godolphin (no 281) in 1783. Its members seem to have been formed by non-islanders although a few pilots were members. Its strength diminished after the arrival of Augustus Smith, although he was a Freemason and later Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall. The lodge was erased in 1851 and reformed in 1961 (no 7790) (Gill 1975).

9.12 Social provision

'Social' provision is a wide area which touches upon other areas such as burial and cremation. While coverage by archaeologists is patchy much has been done by economic, social, cultural or popular historians and writers (e.g. Matthews 1960; Gill 1975). Many surviving structures feature in the Cornwall and Scilly HER but there is need to identify and record lost or buried elements or sites to complete the record (cf Bone and Dawson (eds), 2008, 241).

9.12.1 Water supply, sewerage and drainage

The main source of water for the Islands has always been wells, augmented by collected rainwater. Since the 1950s Hugh Town has had piped water from reservoirs on Buzza Hill and Garrison Hill to which water from wells is pumped. In 1955 only 97 out of 528 houses on St Mary's were without piped water but over third were without water closets. The Duchy installed mains sewerage in Hugh Town in 1938. Outside of Hugh Town cesspits have gradually replaced east closets. All Tresco had piped water by 1969, and water mains were laid on Bryher in that year. St Martin's and St Agnes remained without any mains facilities although a sewerage scheme for St Martin's was prepared in 1974 (Gill 1975, 164).

9.12.2 Heat, light and public power supply

Hugh Town had its first street lights in 1883. The Jubilee in 1933 was celebrated by the installation of 21 electric lights throughout the town which was made possible by the formation in 1931 of the St Mary's Electricity Supply Co Ltd which built power station in Worsall's quarry off Church Road. The South Western Electricity Board (SWEB) took over in 1957 (Gill 1975, 166).

Tresco Estate set up its own generator at the back of the home farm, linking up the entire island. The other off islands set up their own generators too, Bryher and St Agnes in 1945 followed by St Martin's. Mains electricity was finally brought to the off islands in 1985 by the Off Islands Electrification Project (Ratcliffe 1991).

9.12.3 Waste disposal, burial and cremation

Coastal communities on Scilly used the beach and tide to remove rubbish. Rubbish collections started on St Mary's after World War One with a tip on Porth Minick replaced by another on Lower Moors, which is still in use. An incinerator was installed there in 1969. On the off islands the disposal of rubbish is still largely a private affair (Gill 1975, 164-5).

9.12.4 Dealing with poverty, sickness and disability

Hard times

Life on the off islands always may have been harsh but the failure of potato and corn harvests in 1817 was disastrous, and boiled limpets became the mainstay of the diet. The 'distress period' is described in detail by Matthews (1960, 125-62) who divided it

into two periods from 1818 to 1819 and from about 1822 to 1834. There were a number of contributory factors including the curtailment of smuggling which, with pilotage and kelp burning, had become a major component of the Islands; non-agricultural economy (Thomas 1985, 253). The Revd Lane, the SPCK clergyman on Treco alerted the authorities regarding the misery of the people on Treco. The Baptist Minister, the Revd G C Smith raised substantial relief fund and visited Scilly distribute food and later to make an inspection of the poverty there. The Magistrates of West Penwith Hundred sent a deputation under Sir Rose Price to report on conditions. `

After much petitioning the Government made a grant, which with an improved kelp and lobster season in 1818 eased the situation. With the aim of establishing a fishery and other relief projects in the Islands nearly £10,000 was donated following a national appeal and there was temporary recovery in 1821-22. However in 1822 the kelp industry was threatened by the introduction of barilla, an alkali mainly produce in Spain, Sicily and the Canary Islands, and the lobster fishery suffered a setback when vessels refused to come from Southampton to purchase them, as they had before. The pilchard fishery set up under the relief fund had initial success but the nets were wearing out, moreover there were questions about the management of the fund.

By the end of 1822 the second period of distress had set in. The Revd George Woodley who was now the SPCK missionary for St Agnes and St Martin's drew attention the Society's and the Home Secretary's (Robert Peel) attention to the matter. *In some huts were found six or nine individuals crowded together indiscriminately on a most wretched substitute for a bed: having no other furniture than a large stone, with a sod on it, for seat, & a couple of planks serving for A table...this is comparatively trifling to the distress which had existed a short Time before, when misery and starvation prevailed to a degree that would shock the most unfeeling heart to witness'* (Revd Woodley quoted in Cowan 1991, 31). Peel called for a report as a result of which the Government sent a quantity of barley and £100 for the purchase of necessary clothing and later 100 quarters of wheat. The situation was exacerbated by the demand of payment of arrears of rent by the Duke of Leeds in 1825, the withdrawal of Government external relief and prolonged drought in the summer of 1825. Although there was an increase in kelp production the failure of the potato crop throughout the Islands in 1826 brought disaster in 1826. The distress lasted until 1834; however reports of it became less frequent.

Augustus Smith

For Augustus Smith, an energetic Victorian interested in 'improving the lot of the labouring classes', Scilly (for years misruled by the agents of absentee landlords and struggling under difficult economic conditions) represented the ideal challenge. Adopting an autocratic role, he began by reallocating farm lands, which had become minute and scattered by sub-division, and introduced a system of inheritance by which land passed only to the eldest son, all other offspring being forced to find alternative employment. Smith encouraged this by financing existing and new local industries, building schools on all the main islands and making education compulsory (thirty years before this became law on the mainland). He broke with tradition by becoming a resident landlord and erecting his house not on St Mary's but on Treco, next to the remains of the medieval priory, around which he created a sub-tropical garden out of bare moorland. In fulfilment of a condition of his lease, in 1838 Smith built a new quay (connecting Hugh Town Old Quay with Rat Island) and St Mary's church (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003).

By 1834, when Augustus Smith took over the lease of Scilly, a vulnerably small population, chronic water shortage and fragmented farms made life on Samson very difficult. As part of his economic reform Smith initially encouraged people to leave and in 1855 evicted those few who remained. Their ruined houses and stone-walled fields lend a sad air to South Hill, which Smith later enclosed in an abortive attempt to create a deer park (Ratcliffe and Johns 2003).

We only know about very limited aspects of Augustus Smith's administration. For instance, we still know very little about his actual impact on landholding, the re-shaping of farms and creation of new boundaries, for example, or the impact of his policies on other aspects of the historic environment. He is believed to have made building leases which provide the context for the 're-building' of Hugh Town from about the 1830s, for example, but apart from a couple of lines in Matthews (1960) the process is not documented.

Health services

In Robert Heath's time (1750s) there were no doctors on the Islands except for the occasional Garrison surgeon. A 'society of skilful aunts' cured with herbs and limited medical supplies and were midwives, dentists etc. Resident doctors arrived in the nineteenth century (Gill 1975, 165).

An influenza epidemic led to the formation of a Nursing Association which set up two nurses on St Mary's and Tresco to supplement the doctor's work (Gill 1975, 165).

The introduction of the National Health Service in 1948 brought many improvements to island facilities. By 1950 there were two resident doctors and resident dentist. Special hospital cases were sent to the mainland but six specialists attended the island hospital. In 1953 health clinics were opened on St Martin's and St Agnes in addition to the long-established district nurse's cottage on Tresco. The hospital was extended in 1965 and there has been a special medical launch since 1972 (Gill 1975, 165-6).

9.12.5 Emergencies and law and order

Scilly has been comparatively free of serious fires although Holy Vale and Mount Todden were burnt down in the eighteenth century and one side of Hugh Street was destroyed by fire. The only fatality of modern times was in 1944 fire at Borough, Tresco. Until the late 1930s only bucket chains and extinguishers were available although there were calls for voluntary brigade after a fire in Hugh Town in 1930. During World War Two Auxiliary Fire Service crews came over and trained local men, by that time there were eight hydrants in Hugh Town (Gill 1975, 168-9).

When the National Fire Authority reverted to local control in 1948 the Council of the Isles of Scilly became a fire authority, the smallest in Britain, and without any professionals (Gill 1975, 169). The fire station was formerly at the east end of Porthcressa and is now the Dibble & Grub café (Leung nd [2010]). The fire station is now located on the Porth Mellon industrial estate.

On the off islands heath fires have always been a problem. When a house burnt down on Bryher in 1955 a fire engine was taken across from St Mary's, subsequently each island was supplied with modern portable fire-fighting equipment and volunteers trained (Gill 1975, 169).

Scilly has long had reputation for being law abiding and many doors are still left unlocked. Each parish vestry used to elect its constable annually. After a spell of drunkenness and fighting between visiting fishermen in 1861 the constable of St Mary's was given a uniform and a small wage and was required to patrol the town and ensure the public houses closed at 11pm (Gill 1975, 168).

In 1892 a Joint Police Committee was set up of the council and magistrates. This body amalgamated with the Cornwall Constabulary, which supplied first one and then two constables based in the Police House on the Parade with a cell at its back. With the regionalisation of police forces Scilly came under the Devon and Cornwall combined police authority and in 1974 had a sergeant and two constables in a specially built police station in Hugh Town (Gill 1975, 168). Magistrates meet in the Town Hall to hear minor cases.

9.12.6 Education and learning

Godolphin set up charity schools in the Islands in 1747. The first interest of the SPCK was educational and the society established schools in the six then inhabited islands by 1774. These were essentially 'dame schools' with mainly aged teachers, although there was Duke of Leeds School in Hugh Town whose master was sufficiently educated to be clerk to the Council of Twelve, and in 1808 the SPCK missionary on St Agnes (Gill 1975, 179).

After the SPCK departure Augustus Smith built new schools on all the islands. In 1851 there were ten schools with 755 pupils and Smith made attendance compulsory in 1856 by charging parents 1d a week but 2d for children who stayed at home. In Hugh Town he built a new infants' school (now the Church Hall) and a girls' school behind the Strand (now the Roman Catholic church), the boys remained at Carn Thomas which was rebuilt in 1878 (Gill 1975, 180).

With the Education Act of 1902 the Council of the Isles of Scilly became the local education authority. Carn Thomas was enlarged and took back the infant and girls' departments in 1906; children of Grammar School standard were boarded on the mainland. The Butler Education Act of 1944 which required Secondary education for all meant building a second school on St Mary's or sending all over children over 12 to the mainland. The new school opposite Carn Thomas started as a secondary modern in 1965, but was opened as a Comprehensive in 1958. Off island children boarded and went home at the weekends and sixth formers were boarded on the mainland (Gill 1975, 181-2). The new Five Islands School Base at Carn Gwaval St Mary's, which enabled sixth-form education on the Islands, was opened by the Queen in 2011. There are still primary schools on St Agnes, St Martin's and Tresco.

9.12.7 Recreation and leisure

The main inter-island sport is gig racing (see above section 9.8.3).

Cricket was introduced by Augustus Smith and there are cricket pitches on the Garrison, St Mary's, Tresco, St Agnes and St Martin's. There are two football teams, formerly called the Rovers and the Rangers and now the Woolpack Wanderers and the Garrison Gunners, both based on St Mary's. There are tennis courts on the Garrison and on St Agnes and St Martin's. The St Mary's golf club was founded by Dr Brushfield in 1904 (Gill 1975, 171-2).

St Mary's first cinematographic show was in the Town Hall in 1898. Film shows were begun in the Bible Christian Hall in 1927 and the first talking movie was shown in the Atlantic Hotel in 1934 by Bertie Ashford in partnership with Harold Solomon he took over the old Wesleyan chapel and installed 16mm talking cinema projectors, in 1950 the building reopened as the Plaza, under new management from 1963 it eventually closed in early 1973 (Gill 1975, 173). The building was bought by the Council in 1975 and demolished within a year. There is an account of the history of the cinema in the monthly magazine 'Scilly Now & Then' nos 41 and 42.

Colour slide shows of various aspects of Island life – natural history, archaeology, shipwrecks, diving etc – are still a popular summer evening entertainment for visitors.

The social centres on the off islands were the Reading Rooms. St Martin's Reading Room was built by the islanders in 1932 (Gill 1975, 173-40).

9.13 Defence and warfare

Military matters are the subject of a number of publications, for instance 'Scilly at War' which focuses on the Civil War and World Wars I and II (Bowley 2001). The post-medieval and modern defences have very recently been studied in the well-researched English Heritage publication 'Defending Scilly' (Bowden and Brodie 2011). In addition survey reports have recently been published by English Heritage and papers written on Scilly's Tudor defences and Abraham Tovey (Brodie 2010; Brodie nd), The collapse of

the north-east corner of Lower Benham Battery in a storm in October 2004 (Johns and Sawyer 2005) provided an impetus for the development of a Conservation Plan for St Mary's Garrison, which was completed in 2010 (Johns and Fletcher 2010).

There are also original sources such as J P Osborne's Scillonian War Diary 1914- 18 (1990).

9.13.1 Fortifications

In the mid-sixteenth century the defence of Scilly, strategically important as the most westerly anchorage and the first landfall for naval ships and merchantmen assumed a new importance resulting in the building of fortifications to guard the main approaches, harbours and anchorages. Erected between 1548 and 1554, they include King Charles' Castle, Tresco and three blockhouses; one on the site of Cromwell's Castle and another south of Old Grimsby, both on Tresco, and a third on the north east coast of St Mary's. A fort, Harry's Walls, incorporating newly-introduced angled bastions, was begun but never completed on Mount Flagon, overlooking St Mary's Pool, and guns were mounted on The Hugh (perhaps in an earlier castle on Mount Holles or in a fort on the south side known as *The Folly*). Henry VIII maintained a garrison at Ennor Castle, from 1544-47 and during Edward VI's reign it continued to defend Old Town harbour, being used as the armoury for the main body of the garrison which by 1554 consisted of 150 men with five light cannon (Leland in Choep 1918, 23).

Removal of debris and trial excavation at King Charles' Castle were carried out in 1954 (Miles and Saunders 1971, and see above section 9.3.1) and the 1627 earthwork on the landward side of the castle was surveyed by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1992 (Ratcliffe 1993).



Fig 9.13 Star Castle and the Garrison (photo: Cornwall Council)

From the late sixteenth century the defence of Scilly has centred on the Hugh, the southern promontory of St Mary's which became known as The Garrison and which attracted to its isthmus the island's main settlement, Hugh Town, a shift of focus from Ennor Castle in Old Town. The site was chosen to counter Spanish privateering and invasion threats because it controls deep water channels to Scilly's main harbour. With advice from Robert Adams, England's coastal defence expert, Star Castle was built by

the Governor Sir Francis Godolphin for Elizabeth I in 1593 (Fig 9.13). A curtain wall and batteries across the land approach followed with ancillary buildings within, and a quay in the harbour below. Most of the cliff top earthworks and gun platforms date to the Civil War (1642-1651 in Scilly). Scilly was Royalist in sympathies, The Garrison surrendered in 1646, but the islands rebelled to become the last Royalist stronghold, the base for up to '800 men, besides an immense number of officers', before final defeat in 1651. Most of the earthen breastworks and batteries around the main islands' coasts date from this period. Cromwell's Castle on Treco, erected in 1651-2, is believed to have been built on the site of a Tudor period blockhouse.

In 1990 CAU carried out recording of the early batteries of the Garrison following severe storms (Parkes and Ratcliffe 1990). A survey of Star Castle was undertaken by Keystone Historic Buildings Consultants in c1992 (Cox and Thorp 1993), and a watching brief was carried out there during cable laying in 1992 (Young *et al* 1993). In May 2006 English Heritage carried out an evaluation of the seventeenth century breastwork and a gun platform at Doctors Keys to inform the Conservation Plan (Fellows 2007)., which was completed in 2010 (Johns and Fletcher 2010)

During the Spanish Wars between 1715 and 1750 the Garrison was refortified under Abraham Tovey, when the walls were extended round all but the north-west coast, inside the old breastworks, Elizabethan structures were rebuilt and new buildings added. The sequence of construction is detailed in Bowden and Brodie 2011.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) the Garrison was rearmed and '*Great soldiery kept up on all the Islands*'; stations were built on St Martin's and St Mary's, signalling via ships to posts along England's south coast. A proposed roadstead for men-o'-war in St Mary's Roads, which would have entailed dredging the harbour is shown on a chart of 1808 but was never realised. After Waterloo the Garrison was occupied by army invalid gunners who maintained the barracks and cliff top gardens, but the fortifications with their ancillary buildings were neglected or rented out by mid-century.

During the period 1890-1910 the Islands were intended as a signalling and refuelling base in the event of war with France. Scilly was refortified principally by the massive Woolpack and Steval batteries and associated works on the summit of the Garrison, including three DELs (Defence Electric Lights) which were rangefinding searchlights below Steval Point and Woolpack Batteries. Extending south east in a straight line across the rocky shore from Southward Well Point, Samson is an extant line of upright stone posts used to calibrate the range finder at Steval Battery.

The Garrison was not extensively remodelled to maintain its defence of Scilly in the twentieth century; some of the new works such as a WWI kite balloon observation base and WWII firebreaks and barbed wire entanglements have left very little trace. Adaptions of existing fortifications ranged from the occupation of Star Castle to the skilful concealment of World War II pillboxes in eighteenth century batteries such as the Woolpack Battery. Twenty-seven pillboxes were built around the coast of St Mary's.

Charles Thomas has studied the derivation of the names of the batteries on the Garrison (Thomas 1979). The Garrison SMR was updated in the early 1990s and a popular leaflet with circular was produced (CAU 1992), there is also an AONB guided walk leaflet (Sawyer nd) and one by Archaeological and Archival and Mainmast Conservation (2008). Paul Ashbee (1985) considered that '*Scilly's Garrison, as progressively modified and developed down the years, is probably the most impressive work of its kind extant in England*' while Richardson and Gill (1924) described the Star Castle as 'one of the most perfect Elizabethan structures in existence'.

9.13.2 Flying Boat stations

The Cornwall and Scilly HER records two World War I flying boat stations, in Scilly At Porth Mellon, St Mary's all that survives above ground is a concrete base, at Abbey Farm, Treco, some original 1916-18 buildings survived and also a concrete base, iron railings and slipway and an earlier wooden slipway and footprint of buildings. These

were affected by the redevelopment of Abbey Farm in 2006-7 (Wessex Archaeology 2006b; Sawyer 2008).

9.14 Scientific dating

9.14.1 Radiocarbon dates

The single radiocarbon determination listed below in Table 9.14 below has been calibrated using OxCal 4.1. Previous modelling of dates has not been used and all are expressed at the full 95.4% confidence level, rather than to the period which the date may be weighted (for example at 89%). This means that the calibrated dates in the tables may vary significantly from the publications where they appear.

| Lab Ref | ¹⁴ C age BP | CAL AD @95% | Site | Context | Reference |
|---------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| GU-2520 | 280±50 | 1463-1953 | Big Pool, St Agnes | Upper band of peat & organic sediment | Scourse 1986 |

Fig 9.14 List of post-medieval radiocarbon dates

9.14.2 OSL dating

Optically Stimulated Luminescence dating of quartz from marine and aeolian deposits on St Agnes was carried out in 1999 (Bannerjee *et al* 2001). Proposed tsunami-laid deposits at Big Pool provided ages of 230±40 and 380±60 years; both are consistent with an expected age of 244 years (the Lisbon earthquake occurring in 1755). An OSL age of 6±3 years was obtained on a modern sub-aqueous beach deposit. These results suggest that the OSL signal in the tsunami-laid quartz was completely reset before deposition, and that these sediments can be dated accurately by OSL dating techniques. Sand dunes at Bergecooth, 250 m south of Big Pool, were also dated using OSL. These ages indicate phases of aeolian activity at ~ 300a and 1000a in the Scilly.

OSL dating was carried out on modern quartz as a control during the Lyonesse Project in 2010. OSL ages of 3±2 were obtained from samples from Crab's Ledge and Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco (Aberystwyth Lab Nos 161/LPTR1-M and 161/LPT3-M) (Roberts 2012).

| Location | Lab no. | Context | Material | OSL Age BP | Calibrated date (95% confidence) |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|---------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| Big Pool, St Agnes | BP-90S | marine and aeolian deposits | Quartz | 380±60 | |
| Big Pool, st Agnes | BP-22S | marine and aeolian deposits | Quartz | 230±40 | |
| Nr Big Pool, St Agnes | SA-295 | modern sub-aqueous beach deposit | Quartz | 6±3 | |
| Crab's Ledge, Tresco | 161/LPTR1-M | 0.005 ± 0.005 down core | 0.005 ± 0.005 | 3±2 | |
| Bathinghouse Porth, Tresco | 161/LPT3-M | 0.005 ± 0.005 down core | 0.005 ± 0.005 | 3±2 | |

Fig 9.15 List of post-medieval OSL ages, expressed as years before AD 2010, rounded to the nearest 10 years

10 A Research Agenda for the historic environment of the Isles of Scilly

Edited by Charles Johns

10.1 Introduction

The Resource Assessment has provided an overview of the current state of knowledge and demonstrated the depth and diversity of Scilly's historic environment. This Research Agenda sets out to identify a) gaps in the current state of knowledge, b) the potential of the historic environment resource and research priorities, and c) key research themes and aims. The structure and research themes of the SHERF Research Agenda are based on the South West Archaeological Research Framework (SWARF), to which it relates (Webster 2008). The SHERF research themes and aims are also presented chronologically by period in Section 10.4 to make them more accessible for those researchers who specialise in certain periods or for artefact types e.g. Roman ceramics.

10.2 Research Themes and Aims

10.2.1 Methodology

Some of the research aims can be classified as a need for improved methodologies; not questions about the past itself but suggestions to improve the way we find out about it. In some periods this extends to the very discovery of sites and deposits that could be studied; in early prehistory because of geomorphological change and later because of a lack of diagnostic artefacts. There are also techniques that, once developed, are not applied routinely when they would provide very valuable basic data.

Research Aim 1: Extend the use of proven methodologies for site location and interpretation, and encourage the development of new techniques.

1. There is a need to improve the existing Lidar coverage of Scilly. The existing resolution is not really good enough for archaeological purposes and it would be good to have better resolution flown at 0.5m or less. In addition to its use in surveying relatively small topographic detail indicating the former presence of earthworks, Lidar intensity can be used to show variations in soil moisture and thereby look for ditches and palaeochannels that may have no surface visibility using other techniques.
2. There is a need for further geophysical survey to be carried out for both land and marine sites. The efficacy of using marine geophysical survey to prospect for and map submerged palaeoenvironmental deposits has been demonstrated by the Lyonesse Project (Charman *et al* forthcoming).
3. A systematic programme of fieldwalking would help to identify potential archaeological sites (see below Research Aim 5). The 1985 Electrification Project, for example, demonstrated the potential for identifying archaeological sites in Scilly from artefact distributions (Ratcliffe 1991).
4. There is a need for synthesis of existing data from all periods to better understand the resource and relevant research questions and for excavation using modern techniques and recording systems order to address these. Comparatively few excavations have been carried out in the Scilly since the early 1970s while over the same time period investigative and analytical techniques have markedly improved (e.g. Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) and Amino Acid Racimization (AAR) dating).
5. Greater use should be made of ceramic petrology, lipid analysis and other techniques to track pottery production and use in all periods.

6. Considerable potential exists to study life-time mobility, diet and health through re-analysis of human and animal remains. Extensive analysis of oxygen and strontium isotopes, in both people and animals, should revolutionise our understanding of patterns of mobility during these periods, which is especially important with an island population.
7. We should consider revising or updating the way wrecks on the seabed are recorded. Terrestrial archaeology utilises a context-based recording system but underwater – the recording is usually based on a plan or survey. Although this is mainly due to the constraints of operating underwater, we should consider the use of context-based systems underwater and improved position fixing, carefully appraising the gains made in the record but setting these against the additional time taken to complete the recording.

Synthesis

There is a need for up to date, thematic and period-based synthetic studies which draw on the 'grey literature' resource.

Research Aim 2: Encourage works of synthesis within and across periods, settlements, monuments and areas.

1. It would be extremely useful to draw together and disseminate existing information on earlier Bronze Age grave assemblages from Scilly. This may facilitate a better understanding of material sequences, object biographies (such as the presence of heirlooms), the expression of social identity through material culture, and bodily display.
2. The Later Bronze Age is lacking in synthetic treatment and thus interpretation often remains at the site level. This is exacerbated by the large and increasing amount of data for the Middle Bronze Age, particularly for settlements. A systematic Scilly-centred review of Middle and Late Bronze Age and Iron Age data would significantly increase our understanding of the period, particularly if it is integrated with the often good burial data and well-documented metalworking traditions.
3. Synthesis is needed for the Roman period in Scilly – settlement forms, material culture, external contacts, the Nornour shrine, Mount Holles altar, etc. See 10.3.1.7/9 and 10.
4. During the entire historic period, the current interpretive framework is still conditioned by the meagre historical narrative. Greater weight needs to be attached to multi-disciplinary work with colleagues in areas such as landscape studies, historical geography, economic history etc.
5. Much important work remains unpublished and the contents of 'grey literature' are not always easily accessible. There is, therefore, an urgent need for synthesis to develop our understanding of work already completed and to encourage the development of a broader archaeological view of the period.

Spatial and Temporal Biases

The Resource Assessment exercise has highlighted the uneven coverage of some periods in the Islands. Some of this is due to a bias towards areas with good evidence at certain periods but, as Robinson (2007, 5) has pointed out, much of the fieldwork carried out in Scilly until the later twentieth century had a 'vacational aspect', resulting in a piece-meal approach to research. This has also resulted in the reiteration of the study of a number of recurring major themes, namely

- Entrance graves
 - The submergence and paleoenvironmental history of the islands
 - Porthcressa-type cist graves

- Early medieval hermitages
- The post-medieval and modern defences of the Islands

Research Aim 3: Address apparent "gaps" in our knowledge and assess whether they are meaningful or simply biases in current knowledge.

1. The early prehistory of Scilly is poorly understood and we do not know whether the Islands were permanently or seasonally / sporadically occupied.
2. We know little about non-ecclesiastical early medieval settlement.
3. The systematic scrutiny of Scilly's historic buildings, advocated by Paul Ashbee (1986), remains to be carried out.
4. The archaeological investigations which have taken place on the Garrison have mainly been directed towards the military works and almost nothing is known of human activity on the Garrison prior to the late sixteenth century.
5. Apart from a reputed drop in population, we know very little about life on Scilly, especially on the smaller islands, during the century following the Civil War

Community Involvement

Public interest in the historic environment has never been higher and there is a need to respond to this. Increased public involvement is a requirement for many funding streams and also raises the profile of the historic environment with decision-makers. Many people already volunteer their time and enthusiasm to care for and interpret the historic environment resource in Scilly and to draw in other resources to help them achieve their goal. They do this through the Isles of Scilly Museum (IOSM), the Family History Group, and the Isles of Scilly Wildlife Trust, or on an individual basis. They have a vital role in conserving the historic environment resource, in spreading appreciation for the historic environment and an enormous potential for improving public understanding of it. During the last two years many people have expressed interest in forming a community archaeology group on Scilly which should be taken forward.

Research Aim 4: Encourage wide involvement in archaeological research and present modern accounts of the past to the public.

1. The IOSM plays a vital role in engaging the public with the historic environment of Scilly.
2. There is considerable public interest in forming a Community Archaeology Group in Scilly; however someone needs to organise it and insurance for field activities is also an issue.
3. Initiate community monitoring programme of archaeological sites threatened by coastal erosion (see Research Aim 21)
4. Establish a database of sites threatened by coastal erosion and a co-ordinated coastal monitoring programme.
5. The Isles of Scilly Family History Group has huge potential to help address Research Aim 40 'Use archaeological and historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time'.
6. There is scope for a structured programme of recording oral history.

Recording

Many of the artefacts that survive from the past are not found in the secure contexts of an archaeological excavation. Whether found by beachcombers, field walkers, dog-walkers, or earlier excavators, these finds need to be collated to provide the widest possible evidence-base for study. Responsibility for collection, recording and preservation of archaeological remains needs to be recognised as a fundamental role held in common by all archaeological institutions, including archaeological societies.

There is scope for far greater collaboration in carrying out research and applying standards of approach, process, preservation and dissemination of the resulting information.

Research Aim 5: Encourage the study of artefact scatters using traditional and innovative methodologies both in the field and on previous collections.

1. Attention should be paid to lithic scatter resources, in particular the specific evaluation and/or re-evaluation of 'grey collections', and the development of appropriate interpretive methodologies which maximise the potential value of this landscape-scale, off-site resource. The 'grey collections' principally consist of artefact assemblages from both museums and private collections. Emphasis should also be given to assessing the presence and potential size of the non-flint lithic component of Scilly's archaeological record.
2. Lithic scatter artefacts remain problematic, given the frequent absence of independent dating and the tendency of much of the material to be highly undiagnostic. There is therefore a need to review the relationships between the resource, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the IOSM and the RCM, and consider developing or modifying strategies to promote the accurate reporting of lithic material and providing (where possible) artefact identification services.
3. Approaches to the investigation and interpretation of lithic scatters have become rather mechanical. We need to think of new forms of interrogation and interpretation, perhaps working within finer temporal and spatial scales.
4. Mapping of the scatter of previously recorded medieval pottery, especially if accompanied by systematic fieldwalking, may well have the potential to make a contribution to understanding the location of early medieval and medieval settlement and farmland.
5. The presence in Scilly of unusually large amounts of medieval French pottery such as the assemblage on the seabed in Tresco Channel is of interest – the possibility that the remains of a medieval wreck (c 1300) exists there cannot be discounted. Given the apparent absence of any boat or ship remains in Scilly before the post-medieval period, this merits further study. The need for more systematic study of pottery from the shipwrecks of Scilly has been highlighted. Where possible, this should be integrated with existing projects on these sites (see below Research Aim 12).

Research Aim 6: Encourage the accurate reporting and identification of stray finds in ways that benefit archaeological research as a whole.

1. We need to publicise the finds reporting process more widely; the IOSM has a useful Code of Conduct leaflet which could be updated.
2. New finds are always being made, and this combined with the rolling out of the Portable Antiquities Scheme will continue to offer new opportunities to examine the depositional contexts and associations of new finds. This will also represent a great opportunity to increase our understanding of older 'isolated' or 'stray' finds.
3. The data produced by the Portable Antiquities Scheme needs to be critically reviewed to assess its quality – both in terms of identification and locational accuracy. There is an urgent need to link PAS data to HER records for Scilly and see if it tells any stories other than chance loss! Specifically anything that enhances the Cornwall and Scilly HER should be encouraged
4. The potential for identifying (and the costs of dealing with) any surviving context for the finds also needs to be considered.

Research Aim 7: Improve the recording and utilisation of archaeological collections and other information sources.

1. The Isles of Scilly Museum should be recognised as the appropriate repository of archaeological material and archives by all involved in the process of acquiring archaeological evidence in Scilly. However specialised storage requirements (e.g. for metalwork) and adequate space (e.g. for large stone artefacts) may present future issues which may need to be kept under review.

Transitions

Most archaeological research is concerned with the tangible evidence of cultural change. It is perhaps easier to recognise that activities and artefacts have altered than it is to understand the significance and meaning of continuity; ironically the periods that cause us most trouble are characterised to a large extent by a lack of change. However, significant transitions between one period and another are used too often as academic boundaries. Study, both across and between boundaries, should be encouraged to define and explore the changes that occur in these transitional periods.

Research Aim 8: Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods

Understanding of the processes behind, rates of change, and local consequences of the Mesolithic–Neolithic transition is hindered by a long-standing scholarly divide between people working on these periods. There is a need for a ‘joined-up’ approach to the events of the late fifth–early fourth millennium BC. What does the apparent absence of ‘complexity’ in Scilly’s late Mesolithic tell us about the Mesolithic–Neolithic transition? We need to know more about the extent and chronology of coastal change during this period, given the evidence elsewhere for the coastal focus of latest Mesolithic communities. Understanding this critical transition will also require the excavation of the right sorts of contexts, for instance in the vicinity of Old Quay, St Martin’s. How do we expect ‘transitional’ sites to manifest themselves, and can we confidently identify transitional lithic assemblages? We need to establish better dated chronologies to improve understanding of this crucial period in British prehistory. High resolution analyses are needed over a 1000-year period. Specialists should also look for evidence of domestication in deposits considered to be late ‘Mesolithic. Further information could be obtained from a study of insect evidence for browsing under woodland conditions around the transition (suggestion from Robinson 2002).

Key transitional periods are:

- The Mesolithic/Neolithic transition.
- The Neolithic/Beaker/Early Bronze Age transition.
- The Middle/Late Bronze Age transition.
- The Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition.
- The Romano-British/early medieval transition.

Hidden Resources

Many of the archaeological resources of the Islands lie not in the ground but in the stores of museums, archive offices, contracting units, the HER and in individual collections. Study of these records and artefacts can be far more cost-effective than excavation or other fieldwork. Museum collections need constant reworking to ensure that material is reassessed and where appropriate reclassified in the light of recent fieldwork. Skilled identification of any artefact type of any period can only derive from such research. Some of this work can be very low cost and on-going (such as the work of the South West Implement Petrology Committee); other programmes can be more intensely dedicated to artefactual or ecofactual assemblages or involve the reinterpretation of previous fieldwork. The insights which have come from quite brief re-assessments of the pottery archives from Maen Castle and Gurnards Head (in West Penwith), for example, have identified very much longer sequences from these sites

than would have been predicted from their characterisation as 'cliff castles' or were recognised by the original excavators (Nowakowski and Quinnell 2011, 329-30, 373-4).

Museums contain not only collections of chance finds but also some large excavation archives that have never been published. The publication project on the 1971 excavations at East Porth, Samson (Neal forthcoming a) shows that it is possible to revive and reinterpret these old excavation projects but it is a challenge to find funding for assessment, analysis and publication.

Research Aim 9: Improve knowledge and study of all relevant museum collections and archives.

1. Many collections are often catalogued under very general classifications because of lack of skilled identification. Important diagnostic artefacts, such as post-Roman imports or post-medieval coarsewares, may lie unrecognised. Similarly many finds made on sites primarily of a different period are not recognised for their importance as part of an overall pattern of finds.
2. As well as the excavation archives in museums there are also extensive artefact collections that deserve study; recent work on quernstones (Shaffrey 2006) shows the potential for this kind of study.
3. Study of lithic and faunal remains assemblages from excavated sites.

Research Aim 10: Improve access to, and synthesis of 'grey literature'.

OASIS, the online access to archaeological investigations, and the Cornwall and Scilly HER provide vital indices and portals to the growing amount of archaeological information but this is biased towards information generated by the planning process. Mechanisms need to be agreed to access the growing volume of 'grey literature' that is accumulated by colleges, universities, museums and others and to signpost new and ongoing projects in Scilly

Research Aim 11: Identify and bring to publication key unpublished excavations.

There exists a legacy of important unpublished work from Scilly including:

1. George Bonsor's notes on his work in Scilly between 1899 and 1902.
2. Bryan O'Neil's archive. The Roman-period houses excavated by O'Neil on St Martin's need publication to modern standards.
3. The 1956/60 excavations at East Porth, Tean (Thomas 1960b).
4. The 1971 excavation at East Porth, Samson (Neal forthcoming a).
5. The 1971 excavation at Bar Point, St Mary's (Butcher and Johns forthcoming?).
6. Results of the 1996 Coast Protection Scheme recording at Porth Killier, St Agnes (Ratcliffe *et al* forthcoming).

Artefact Studies

There has been a move away from 'traditional' artefact studies over the past few years which has led to a slowing in the growth of our understanding of this fundamental class of archaeological evidence. There have also been advances in analytical techniques which have shown the potential for improved provenance studies, with their implications for improved understanding of trade and social relations. Most of the effort appears to be concentrated on the development of novel techniques with few resources available to follow this up with large numbers of routine analyses that provide the quantity of data that we need. These techniques could be more widely employed, given better dissemination of their benefits and the availability of appropriate personnel and equipment.

Research Aim 12: Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods.

Ceramics (general)

1. A well-illustrated guide (with colour photographs), identifying the main types of pottery (prehistoric to modern) to be found on Scilly would be especially useful (for researchers as well as beachcombers).
2. In the last 15 years a key advance in south-west English pottery studies has been the development of sophisticated chemical characterization of pottery fabrics by Inductively-Coupled Plasma–Atomic Emission Spectroscopy (ICP-AES) and Inductively Coupled Plasma–Mass Spectrometry (ICP-MS) (e.g. Hughes 1998; 2002; 2002–3; 2003; forthcoming). For much of Somerset, and for parts of Devon and Dorset, there is now a database which gives sophisticated fingerprinting of fabrics and aids greatly in more precise interpretation of sources and fabric types. Little published work of this type has been conducted on Scilly or on mainland Cornwall. This kind of analysis, once regarded as too expensive for routine pottery studies, is now comparable in price to thin-sectioning; the two techniques need to be used together, and to be combined with traditional identification of pottery types and forms, to get the best results

Prehistoric and Romano-British Ceramics

1. Compile a list by period of all sites with ceramics referred to in the literature but which have not received full publication. Check what is now held in museums and what appears to be lost. Subsequently develop a project design for publishing material, checking against the above agenda.
2. Given the easy sea access, the possibility of imported vessels occurring at all periods is very real and emphasises the importance of good petrological input into all ceramic research work.
3. The analysis of lipids in ceramics has great potential on Scilly for establishing the proportions of marine resources in diet with any chronological changes.
4. The work of identifying basketry, cordage, etc, from Scillonian ceramics now initiated by M A Owoc should be encouraged with results published with clear illustrations. This provides an unusual opportunity to throw light on organic artefacts which do not survive in most contexts.
5. Publish, with appropriate petrographic studies and illustrations, all the Early Neolithic pottery assemblages from the Islands. There are currently no related radiocarbon dates and, as far as is known, no material associated with these assemblages has suitable dating material. It is of great importance that potential dateable material is looked for among any future assemblages located. Currently the range of forms present is restricted. Study of any future assemblages should pay special attention to forms and decoration to establish whether a Scillonian ceramic identity is evident at this time.
6. There is currently a gap in ceramic sequences which, on mainland data, extends from c 3300 to 2000 BC. It is highly important that any possibilities of future finds of material from this period be followed up and the ceramics studied in detail and dated. The question of Scillonian ceramic identity is again important for this period.
7. For entrance graves the material from Bonsor's excavations now located in the British Museum needs publication supported by petrological analysis. This should establish the full understanding of Trevisker-type material from Porth Hellick which has so far been overlooked, and also possibly indicate whether mainland imports were involved.

8. The new radiocarbon dates bone from the Knackyboy Cairn burial sequence should do much to provide a firm basis for chronology for the Scillonian Bronze Age pottery from entrance graves. Any other opportunities to provide dates for material from entrance graves, cairns or cists should be followed up.
9. Any sequence of types in Scillonian Bronze Age pottery from settlements is currently unclear, largely because the largest and most important site, Nornour, appears to have much material redeposited in structured contexts. Any future opportunities of examining, with supporting dates and petrology, pottery from settlement sites with short phases of occupation will be very important.
10. Unpublished settlements excavated by O'Neil, whether with reputed Scillonian Bronze Age pottery or with that of the 1st millennium BC, need publication with supporting petrology and radiocarbon dates if material is available.
11. Material from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age is currently sparse on the Islands. Full investigation and publication of any sites found with material of these dates is important.
12. The Middle and Late Iron Ages appear to have assemblages following mainland styles, with Island clays gradually giving way to mainland, gabbroic, fabrics by the end of this period. A more detailed establishment of these changes is important for indications of the Islands' integration with mainland cultural practices. The assemblage from the west side of Nornour excavated by Dudley could be usefully re-examined.
13. For the Roman period any future sites need publication with full petrological work. This will enable better understanding of whether the full suite of gabbroic forms present on the mainland is represented or whether local based cultural preferences were evident. This should also provide better information about the provision of ceramics from beyond Cornwall and from the continent.

Early medieval pottery

1. We need to publish, with appropriate petrographic studies and illustrations, all the early medieval assemblages from the Islands. These ceramic assemblages should also be searched for any internal residues that would also be suitable for radiocarbon dating.
2. Petrographic study and dating of future assemblages is also very important. This will enable better understanding of whether the full suite of vessel forms present on the mainland is represented on the islands or whether local cultural preferences are evident. This should also provide better information about the provision of ceramics from beyond Cornwall and from the continent.
3. Discovery of further early medieval sites would aid in our understanding of the development and sequence of early medieval pottery. Any assemblage that appears to have a combination of imported and native wares should be studied in detail and scientifically dated.
4. It needs to be determined if pottery production actually occurred within the Islands during the early medieval period. This is important, certainly with respect to the adoption of grass-marking, which may have originated in Scilly.
5. Publication of the East Porth, Tean, site (Thomas 1960b) is crucial to furthering our understanding of the development of early-medieval ceramics (especially the introduction of grass-marking) and the interaction between native and imported wares. This has significance not just for the early medieval period within the Islands but is critical for helping to elucidate the situation occurring in mainland Cornwall (see Research Aim 11).
6. The excavation at Mays Hill, St Martins (O'Neil nd d), needs to be revisited and published in full. Recent finds have indicated that the site may be of much

greater extent than originally thought. With foreign imports of Mediterranean ware and both D and E wares, and its situation overlooking the potential harbour of Nornour Sound, further field survey and excavation is recommended to explore the full potential of this site (see Research Aim 42).

7. The occurrence of mainland forms of pottery in a granitic fabric is often taken as a pointer towards local manufacture. However, this has never been fully tested petrographically. Though ceramics found on the mainland are predominantly in a gabbroic and mixed gabbroic fabric, some granitic does occasionally occur. What the petrography needs to determine is, were the granitic wares found on Scilly manufactured out of local granitic clays, or have the vessels been imported from granitic sources on the mainland?
8. A further complicating factor is that recent work on material from Gwithian has shown that raw, unfired gabbroic clay was shipped out of the Lizard area to be manufactured into pots elsewhere, at times being mixed with local clays or filler. Does this explain the gabbroic vessels found on Scilly? Or were these actually imported as complete vessels from the mainland. Petrological examination of the inclusions with the pots may help to answer this.

Medieval and post-medieval ceramics

During the medieval and post-medieval periods the Isles of Scilly were not, as far as is known, producers of ceramics, but a peripheral market for potters making and selling their wares in west Cornwall and beyond. Progress in understanding the pottery of the islands is inseparable from that of west Cornwall. Although contexts on the islands will have a part (sometimes an important one) to play in building up an overall picture, progress needs to be made with the bigger picture if we are to get further in understanding the pottery of Scilly.

1. How does the overall pattern of pottery consumption in the medieval and post-medieval periods compare with that from mainland Cornwall, and with the ceramics of collections from other islands in the English Channel and Bristol Channel?
2. Since the 1960s detailed petrological examination, leading to the accurate identification of pottery types and sources, has been the foundation of progress in medieval and later pottery studies in many other parts of Britain. No pottery from Scilly of these periods has been the subject of this kind of study. Although hand-sorting of sherds and identification of fabrics solely in hand specimen can go some way towards characterizing the Scilly collections, analyses now need to be based on a more precise footing. Petrological study – either by means of thin-sectioning in the manner now traditional amongst archaeologists, or by identification of hand specimens in the manner developed so successfully elsewhere in south-west England by Dr Roger Taylor (e.g. Taylor 2002; 2003; 2008) – is fundamental to progress. A programme comparing samples from the islands with kiln material on the mainland, such as that from Mawgan-in-Meneage, St Germans and Lostwithiel, is much needed. The medieval pottery may prove to be more receptive to analysis of this type than post-medieval, but even post-medieval coarsewares of the sort commonplace in early modern Cornwall have research potential in this field.
3. Reference collections are widely seen as valuable aids to identification, both by specialist researchers and by members of the wider public; many archaeological units, museums, independent researchers and university departments hold such collections. In the case of Scilly, such a tool would be especially useful to the wider public. The possibility of building a resource which could be accessed in the two museums which hold major collections from the islands (IOSM and RCM) should be explored. This might make a project suitable for external funding. The question of holding a reference collection of thin-sections for Scilly and for

the rest of Cornwall should also be considered; at present the only South West collection with Cornish material is held at Exeter Museum.

4. Understanding of chronology is limited. Charles Thomas' pioneering work on the post-Roman pottery for the Scillies was a fine achievement, but the later medieval part of the sequence was poorly dated, and relied principally on general understanding of the picture of medieval ceramics emerging in mainland England. Decades later, this problem still obtains; dating is based largely on evidence from far away, such as Launceston Castle, Exeter, Plymouth and Bristol. Fundamental uncertainties include: the date at which bar lug pottery is superseded by medieval Cornish micaceous cooking pots or jars; the date when wheel-thrown vessels were generally adopted in the later Middle Ages; the period when jugs came into use; the date when bowls came into use.
5. Some uncertainties in site dating may be resolved by evidence from sites outside the region where better conditions survive – a point illustrated by the discovery of Cornish bar lug pottery from waterlogged contexts in Waterford, Ireland, in contexts dated by dendrochronological evidence to the end of the eleventh century and early twelfth centuries. Nevertheless, more local evidence is essential to make progress.
6. Thought should be given to the question of whether a programme of radiocarbon dating of residues from carefully chosen vessels, both on the islands and the mainland, would make progress with this question. This, however, is unlikely to resolve the problems, for example, of distinguishing pre-Conquest from twelfth century material, since fluctuations in atmosphere will probably produce inseparable results for these two periods (J Meadows, pers comm to J Allan).
7. In view of the high research potential of ceramics from the wrecks around Scilly (arguably far exceeding that of the Islands' landward sites, especially for the post-medieval period), the chaotic state of artefact recovery, conservation, study and ownership which has characterized such sites in the past, and continues to do so to some extent, should be a matter of great concern. The fact that it is at present very difficult to find any solid information about the overall volume and research value of the ceramics recovered from wrecks around Scilly is a clear indication that the situation is unsatisfactory. This is, of course, a large and complex problem; the strong likelihood of the loss of valuable information in the last generation and the potential value of future finds are emphasised here.
8. The existing publications relating to the medieval and later pottery of the islands hardly serve the subject: the report on the principal medieval collection (Dunning 1965) is now 45 years old; the sole attempt at a general survey (Allan 1993) is quite brief; more recent work is buried in grey literature and some finds have escaped any form of publication. Publication of key sites, a priority highlighted in the Mellor report (1994), remains an important goal; in this case the newly-discovered medieval wreck in Tresco Channel, and re-publication of the medieval material from St Helen's, are the most pressing cases. A fresh general review would be very desirable, but it needs to be based on fresh analytical work.
9. One of the stated aims of the Scilly research framework is to '*encourage a more active role amongst visitors and residents by putting the historic environment to the fore as a visitor attraction and thereby enhancing the quality of visitors' experience*'. It also seeks to '*enhance opportunities for intellectual access to this rich resource by the islands' community and by the broader visiting and academic communities*'. In the field of medieval and later finds the local museum with its engagement in the community offers important opportunities to advance these aims. In the case of Scilly, the IOSM currently has an active role in building up ceramics collections – particularly because a striking feature

of the medieval and later pottery of the islands is the extraordinary amount of material recovered by beachcombers, much of which we may presume is never seen by an archaeologist. The IOSM has an admirable policy of encouraging finders of this kind of material to show and sometimes display their finds at the museum, and has taken advantage of visiting specialists to build up an instructive display of the common and exotic wares found in this way. This practice has brought some significant finds (e.g. the possible medieval wreck from Porthcressa) to the fore (see Research Aim 4).

10. Consideration should be given to the way in which the results of this work find their way onto the Scilly HER. Since it would not be feasible to retain the masses of industrial pottery of the last 250 years, development of a collection and retention of the most significant material can only be undertaken if they are based on a good working knowledge of ceramics.
11. Cornish medieval and later coarsewares form the bulk of the collection on medieval and later sites on Scilly. A programme of petrological and chemical study in which the finds from the islands are examined as part of a wider programme with material from the mainland is needed; in Cornwall work in this field lags behind other parts of the south-west.
12. Imported ceramics are an exciting aspect of the island assemblages, including as they do various sorts of ceramics which are unusual throughout the British Isles. The publication of a report drawing together, analysing, discussing and illustrating these finds is a highly desirable and achievable goal.
13. E ware has been identified on a number of sites on Scilly, and is well known to pottery researchers and excavators in Cornwall. Many of these identifications are probably secure, but in instances where later medieval occupation overlies post-Roman sites, for example at Hillside Farm, Bryher 1999 (Quinnell 2002-3), and East Porth, Tean (Thomas 1960), the complicating problem arises that some of the material previously identified as E ware may really be Normandy Gritty ware of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The latter material may reasonably be expected on Scilly; it is the most common coarseware on the Channel Isles. In view of the high academic interest in E ware, this problem deserves exploration. Since quartz inclusions are common, chemical analysis probably represents the best chance of resolving this problem. Chemical examination of material of related type from Padstow, *Hamwic* (Southampton), Exeter and elsewhere provides an initial database which could be built up by fresh analyses (Hughes 2002-3).
14. In its current national review of the state of ceramic studies, which highlighted many areas of concern about the state of the discipline, the *Research Framework for Post-Roman Ceramics* (2011) outlined the need for a fresh Statement of Best Practice. This document does not yet exist but is promised soon. It will provide archaeologists engaged in the planning process with guidance about national standards for reporting medieval and later ceramics from commercial sites. Adoption of its standards throughout the country should make a significant difference to the quality of pottery studies throughout England.

Lithics

1. The unprovenanced nature of much of the IOSM lithics archive means that more detailed study would only be of limited value. However, there are assemblages held at the RCM from excavations such as Halangy, Knackyboy and Little Bay, which have not been examined in any detail or published (see Research Aim 9). These would benefit from full analysis, adding to our knowledge of the sites, and would also provide an opportunity to examine full working lithic assemblages. The information that could be gleaned from the examination of assemblages containing a full range of debitage and tools would add significantly to our

knowledge of the prehistory of the Islands. Debitage, the waste material produced during tool manufacture, will provide information about the nature of knapping technologies and has the potential to clarify the typological dating of particular tool types.

2. Aside from the examination of excavated lithic assemblages, there are a number of known findspots which could be systematically investigated in order to recover complete *in situ* assemblages. At Old Quay on St Martin's, lithics have been recovered from a possible buried land surface that is eroding from the cliff edge. A further scatter of lithics has been recovered from a garden on the south side of the island, occupying a discrete area; this has produced a small assemblage of material including two scrapers. Both assemblages would benefit from assessment, perhaps using a test pitting strategy to determine the extent and nature of the *in situ* material (See Research Aim 8) Fieldwalking in available fields could also be undertaken to identify further scatters and determine their distribution within the landscape (see Research Aim 5).

Stonework

1. Stone artefacts are especially common from Scillonian settlements of all periods but have received little detailed study and, until the last few decades, all but the most obvious artefacts were probably not recognised. Querns, for instance, continued to be used on Scilly until comparatively recently and many of the rotary quernstones to be seen on the islands are probably, therefore, post-medieval/modern in date.
2. The long-term curation of large stone artefacts, such as querns, from excavations is an issue that needs to be addressed. It has generally been the practise to incorporate such stones into ornamental features on the island on which they were found. The main problem with storing querns is their size and weight. Inside, smaller fragments can be stored in boxes. Large fragments and complete stones should be placed on low shelves, preferably slatted, not on the floor where they are at risk of being knocked and are also more difficult to move. Outside, querns should ideally be stood on stone or concrete, or preferably on gravel and kept free of vegetation; complete rotary quernstones can be leant against a wall. Stones kept on grass or earth are in danger of becoming overgrown, suffer from staining where they are bedded in the ground and are also subject to eventual damage from water penetration. The general problem with storage outside, however, is that the surfaces will become weathered. Also, the dished grinding surfaces of saddle querns if kept upright may tend to collect water. This is generally the most stable and safest way to stand them, however.
3. One of the overlooked classes of stone in Scilly is pumice objects, of which Katharine Sawyer has located five during her research. These are the only examples known in England and deserve more detailed study.

Research Aim 13: Use innovative techniques and methodologies to ask sophisticated questions of post-medieval to modern artefacts and buildings.

1. There is a much work still to be done at the basic typological level. It has been demonstrated that a low level of resources continuously applied to, for example, pottery studies can achieve a great deal. Such an approach should not be lost among demands for resources for larger scale programmes.
2. At a higher level the value of the recording and study of artefacts in context has been demonstrated but rarely applied. Locations and assemblages should be identified for specific study to address issues such as identity. Where themed issues are being addressed opportunities should be identified of applying these techniques as well as recording structures.

3. Chemical characterisation of pottery fabrics by ICP-AES and ICP-MS has not been done for Scilly and would be good step forward, as would increased petrological analysis (see above Research Aim 12).
4. Lipid residue analysis, particularly on Neolithic ceramics and Bronze Age cremation vessels to understand their use prior to burial.
5. Stable isotope analysis of human and animal bone to place Scilly in context with research being carried out on other island groups.
6. Genetic and morphometric analysis of faunas to look at the effects of island isolation,

10.2.2 Science

The routine application of archaeological science can bring great benefits, particularly in the areas of chronology and past environments. These are issues where the study of the past has a direct relevance to modern issues such as climate change.

Dating

Many areas of research are hampered by the lack of the detailed and accurate chronologies that should be available with modern techniques. More radiocarbon and other scientific dates are required on well-contexted samples, or internal pottery residues, where the date obtained will accurately reflect the archaeological event. Existing dates need to be re-evaluated by a stringent examination of the taphonomy, composition and final contexts and associations of the samples on which they were measured. This should include the collation of radiocarbon determinations available from watching briefs, evaluations, excavations and environmental recording projects, many of which are unpublished, exist in 'grey literature', or in geological or geographical publications. The example of the (re)dating programme of the Early Neolithic enclosures of Southern Britain and Ireland (Whittle *et al* 2011) shows what can be achieved by the combination of rigorous sample selection and Bayesian modelling of the results. Targeted keyhole excavation could provide an efficient technique for obtaining dating and environmental samples.

Research Aim 14: Increase the use and improve the targeting of scientific dating.

1. The expanded application of recently developed and/or modified dating techniques, principally optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) and amino acid ratio (AAR) to open-landscape deposits. Recent research for the Lyonesse project has indicated that OSL dating is particularly effective on sand lenses in peat deposits (Roberts forthcoming). Use of these techniques will aid contextualisation of Scilly's terrestrial, intertidal and subtidal palaeoenvironmental deposits.
2. Scientific dating for the recent Lyonesse Project almost doubled the previously existing radiocarbon measurements for Scilly. There is a need for more radiocarbon dates from excavated sites to provide a better definition of key transitional phases (such as the beginning of the Neolithic, the Neolithic/Beaker/Early Bronze Age transition, and the change from the Earlier to the Later Iron Age).
3. A suite of radiocarbon determinations from the remaining baulk at the east end of the settlement at Nornour might provide secure dates for the earliest phases of settlement there. The baulk is being eroded by the sea and this is considered a priority.
4. The Late Bronze Age is poorly defined chronologically for several reasons. Burials with accompanying grave goods are very rare, in contrast to the situation in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, perhaps because excarnation was practised increasingly frequently. Pottery styles become less distinctive, and

pottery use may have been less common. There is a lack of radiocarbon dates and a lack of a systematic collation of those that do exist for this period.

5. In the medieval and post-medieval periods diagnostic material culture becomes more commonplace but there is a need to link scientific dating techniques to documented medieval sites such as Ennor Castle and Tresco Priory.

Past environments

As well as providing information on the conditions in which people lived in the past and their relationships with nature, environmental archaeology has a valuable part to play in one of the great debates of our time: the evidence for environmental change and the likely impacts of global warming.

The Isles of Scilly contain wide expanses of shallow subtidal and intertidal environments flooded by rising relative sea levels during the late Holocene. It has long been known that the islands in their current form are a result of past marine transgressions that flooded early sites. The archipelago is therefore a valuable laboratory for studying continual sea level rises within an historical context.

Research Aim 15: Improve the quality and quantity of environmental data and our understanding of what they represent.

1. We need to improve consistency in sampling, assessment and analysis for all types of palaeoenvironmental evidence.
2. A range of context types should be sampled for plant macrofossils. For example, sampling only obviously rich deposits misses evidence for crop processing and leads to misinterpretation of site function and plant use.
3. We should maximise sample size by targeting areas where preservation of animal bones (including micro vertebrates) is good. However, this needs to be balanced to make sure that context related variation is also understood (Serjeantson forthcoming).
4. We should look at the environmental evidence that exists in new ways, such as by conceptualising what we would expect to find under different scenarios and then interrogating the archaeological record. This approach could particularly lend itself to a new understanding of past farming.

Research Aim 16: Target specific soil and sediment contexts for environmental information, including a focus on sand deposits and the preservative qualities of midden deposits.

1. Targeted use should be made of pollen analysis to investigate particular archaeological questions or gaps in knowledge and not just carried out on long sequences "because they are there". Examples include the Mesolithic to Neolithic transition; the timing and duration of Neolithic and Bronze Age clearance and reforestation; the development of heathland and the immediate post-Roman/early medieval period. High resolution dating strategies will be needed to allow detailed interpretation and not restricted to top, middle and base of sequences unless judged to be appropriate.
2. Little is known about when, how and where soils were artificially improved in the past. Are there temporal trends in soil improvement? Micromorphological studies can begin to address these questions and carbon isotope and geochemical studies can also be used in some circumstances. Scilly, being an archipelago, should be particularly amenable to this type of study because of extensive use of seaweed and bracken as animal litter, subsequently composted and used as manure or soil dressing.
3. Colluvial and alluvial sequences as markers for forest clearance and agricultural intensification need to be exploited. In order to do this both types of stratigraphy need to be investigated in more detail than at present and much

better dated, rather than being written off as archaeological and palaeoenvironmentally sterile. Magnetic and geochemical techniques can be used to source such deposits and suggest why deposition occurred, while OSL dating is very useful for dating inorganic sediments if they are of suitable type.

Research Aim 17: Improve our understanding of insect faunas and what they can tell us about past environments.

The following specific targets for insect studies are based on the SWARF Research Agenda (Webster (eds) 2010, 284-5), taken from Robinson (2002), but the opportunities to address them are limited to wet or waterlogged deposits.

1. Insect faunas where conditions are most Atlantic.
2. Carbon and oxygen isotope measurements on insect faunas from sequences which suggest climate change, to give direct measurements for dating and temperature.
3. Insect assemblages that can be closely related to the elm decline.
4. Early–Middle Bronze Age insect faunas.
5. Insects from Iron Age cliff castles and coastal settlements in relation to aspects of the synanthropic insect fauna.
6. Post-Roman/early medieval insect faunas.
7. Medieval insect faunas.
8. Insect faunas from Hugh Town.
9. Comparative studies of assemblages from modern graveyards which can be related to the surrounding habitats from which they were derived.
10. The development of improved techniques of data analysis to cover more aspects of the fauna.

Research Aim 18: Continue to collect evidence for past climate change and sea level changes together with their effects on peoples' relationships with landscapes and the sea.

1. Establish a database of sites threatened by coastal erosion and a co-ordinated coastal monitoring programme (see Research Aim 4).
2. Opportunities should be taken to further understand the scale and nature of sea level change throughout Scilly. This will involve multi disciplinary biostratigraphic analyses and high resolution dating programmes.
3. The probable continuation of Mesolithic archaeology beyond the present coastline highlights the need for topographic modelling, deposit and site prediction, and palaeoenvironmental reconstructions to be extended below the current tidal limits to improve understanding of the landscapes occupied by Mesolithic populations.
4. The submerged forests and intertidal peat bed and organic soil resources of Scilly are an endangered resource, with widespread evidence for their ongoing erosion. These locations contain well preserved proxy data for prehistoric and later environments that have only rarely been studied in south-west England. It is important that the remaining resources continue to be studied in detail before they are destroyed.
5. In light of the importance of Mesolithic coastal strategies (as indicated by key midden sites such as Westward Ho! Devon (Balaam *et al* 1987), the extant terrestrial resource should be integrated with the marine resource (such as submerged forest landscapes and artefact/ecofact material. Particular focus

should also be given to the palaeoenvironmental evidence for possible coastal management during the Mesolithic (such as reed beds management).

Research Aim 19: Improve our understanding of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic landscapes (landscapes and seascapes).

Scilly provides an opportunity to study the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition, for example at Old Town Quay and Par Beach, St Martin's, and in the submerged and coastal peat deposits where there may be relevant preserved stratified artefactual or ecofactual material. An example is the calf's tooth from the peat on Par Beach, which has been radiocarbon dated by English Heritage's scientific dating team.

10.2.3 Settlement

Changing patterns of land-use and settlement form a key component of any study of the past. The size of the resource means that innovative techniques will be needed to study it at an appropriate scale. There is also a need to recognise activity that took place off traditional 'sites', including the locations of boundaries and also understand the locational forces that produce settlement patterns in different periods.

Hugh Town on St Mary's is Scilly's only town. The town developed after the building of Star Castle in 1593, but here has been settlement in the area of what is now Hugh Town from at least the Bronze Age. There is potential in Hugh Town, and in the Islands' smaller settlements, for concentrations of buried deposits containing well-stratified artefacts and often well-preserved environmental evidence.

Although the buildings of Scilly have been studied and written about more than many other parts of the British Isles there is much more to be done that is in accordance with the very special interest of the archipelago as a community with a very distinctive character. Each building type is worthy of further recording and investigation. This would best be carried out as a phased programme over several years with as much community involvement as possible. Better understanding and presentation of the special character of the buildings of Scilly would be good for its economy as well as for the conservation of its buildings.

A particular aspect of the present heritage protection situation in Scilly is that whilst the Listing process has been interpreted in a flexible way with respect to some of the buildings there are still gaps in the coverage with respect to the rarer building types. For example, it is a serious omission that no gig sheds are individually listed, except for the ruin on Samson that is protected within the Scheduled area. Listing criteria need to be applied consistently but always in Scilly with its unique context as a major consideration. Conservation Area status for all the islands has enabled considerable enhancement of many of its buildings through national and local funding schemes in recent years. Improvements have included replacement of inappropriate windows and the reinstatement of scantle slate roofs. This work is a credit to those concerned and has changed the perception of what the buildings represent. One result of this is that some buildings that might have appeared marginal for listing now look better than some of those that are already listed.

Certain key points of recommendation are as follows:

1. All building types deserve further recording and investigation
2. Documentary sources should be further consulted to unravel some of the finer details about island life of the past and with respect to the buildings that are involved
3. Enhancement schemes should be encouraged and supported
4. New-build opportunities should be assessed very carefully to ensure that the special architectural character of the islands is not compromised.

Research Aim 20: Improve our understanding of prehistoric and Romano-British settlements, monuments and landscapes.

1. Ceremonial landscapes – we need to reassess the Early Bronze Age monuments in their landscapes and detailed survey needed of the two or more stone rows recorded on the north end of Tresco.
2. The fogou on Peninnis Head, discovered in 2001, is an important and unique addition to Scilly's range of later prehistoric/Romano-British monuments and requires a detailed survey.
3. Structured deposition – structured deposition and 'middening' (the ritualistic re-working and re-deposition of midden deposits) have scarcely been considered in regard to prehistoric settlement in Scilly and would be rewarding subjects for future work.
4. Longevity and change
5. Vernacular styles
6. Coastal settlement – we need to investigate the inland extent of cliff-exposure sites.
7. Changing coastline
8. Field systems - Scilly's prehistoric field systems are undated and it is analogy with mainland systems that leads to their provisional attribution to the Middle Bronze Age or Iron Age and Romano-British period. The results of the Lyonesse Project suggest that that the intertidal field systems are Early Bronze Age.

Research Aim 21: Improve our understanding of early medieval settlements, religious buildings, monuments and landscapes.

1. Our knowledge of early medieval settlement in Scilly is based on the excavations carried out in the mid-twentieth century at small ecclesiastical sites, or hermitages: St Helen's (O'Neil 1964); Tean (Thomas 1960b) and (probably) East Porth, Samson (Neal forthcoming a). We need to learn more about secular life in Scilly during this period.
2. This is not to say that ecclesiastical sites are unimportant. The unpublished excavations at East Porth, Tean and East Porth, Samson, are crucial to understanding the introduction of Christianity into the Islands and also the furthering our understanding of the development of early-medieval ceramics (see Research Aim 11).

Research Aim 22: Improve our understanding of medieval and later settlements, buildings and landscapes.

1. Prioritise a systematic recording strategy for the built environment and improve the recording and utilisation of archaeological collections and other information sources. Recording buildings should embrace recording evidence and analysis of current and earlier active use of space. There needs to be a greater understanding of different kinds of structure and the detail to be recorded. There is considerable potential for documentary research, oral history, etc, to aid interpretation from physical remains. We need to improve our understanding of settlement at Old Town, St Mary's, and around St Mary's church.
2. We need to improve our understanding of the history of settlement on the off islands.
3. We need to undertake analysis of evidence for medieval field systems and study of fields associated with farms of known medieval date or having names of Cornish origin.
4. How do we reconcile the coastal place-name evidence used by Thomas (1985) to support his model for sea level rise with the current environmental data from the Lyonesse Project?
5. We need to improve our understanding of the development of Hugh Town.

6. We need to learn more about the impact of Augustus Smith's administration on landholding, the re-shaping of farms and creation of new boundaries and other aspects of the historic environment such as the 're-building' of Hugh Town from about the 1830s, for example, but apart from a couple of lines in Matthews (1960) the process is not documented.
7. Some of the most important domestic buildings in Scilly have already been assessed in detail but many others have only received the most limited study, some of this as a result of the Listing process, or none. The architecture and methods of construction of vernacular buildings should be the subject of further research.
8. Grouping of traditional housing clearly has many causes and effects, particularly with respect to the culture and living conditions of the islanders of Scilly. Research needs to be carried out into the way that groupings have come about, their distribution, and their particular character. For example, to what extent have the settlements evolved in a piecemeal way and to what extent have others been planned? The management of the islands since Augustus Smith became Lord Proprietor is clearly a strong factor but this needs to be better understood and the extent of his influence needs to be identified and described.
9. Town houses deserve attention as a separate group. The story of their builders, architects and occupants is more likely to be unearthed than studies of the more modest building types. However, this can only be achieved by determined research. Results of such a study together with the recording and analysis of buildings is likely to yield invaluable results that are important to the story of Scilly.
10. A much better understanding of town houses with shops is possible with detailed research that includes reference to trade directories and other documentation of the commercial activity on the islands.
11. A special study of the plan, type, date evolution and distribution of the traditional buildings in Scilly would enable a much better understanding of the way that they have evolved and were used. This study would need strong community involvement and permissions for access. Exemplar types should be surveyed by professionals/experts but much useful recording and analysis could be achieved by enthusiastic amateurs under the supervision of a central organisation or group.
12. Study of the smaller houses of Scilly may best be achieved as a thematic exercise so that the buildings get the more intensive assessment that they deserve. Their similarity to other small buildings in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and elsewhere, needs to be better understood and comparisons should be made taking into account all the factors involved in the development of the tradition for these simple but evocative buildings.
13. The way that rows of cottages/houses have evolved needs to be recorded as a stylistic group. Much can be learned about the sequence of build by studying the quoin-work that usually survives.
14. The history and of the small nineteenth century schools that have played an important part in the development of Island society should also be studied.
15. Compilation of a database of known inscribed and dated stones + record and analysis of graffiti inside Cromwell's Castle.
16. We need to carry out a study of the history, fabric and distribution of known wells in Scilly.
17. More systematic studies of vernacular architecture as applied to both housing and other rural buildings are required, particularly at the humbler end of the scale.

10.2.4 Maritime

Scilly is an archipelago. As well as providing a valuable food resource, the sea was vital for communications, bringing Scilly into contact with Wales, Ireland, Brittany and, later, Africa, America and the rest of the world.

There is a complete lack of any boat remains from Scilly dating from before the early sixteenth century. This perhaps reflects the scarcity of remains from mainland Britain as a whole. The situation in Scilly is probably exacerbated by the effects of sea level rise which has caused large changes in the coastline.

We know that prehistoric and later people made journeys by boat to Scilly. What we do not know is what type of boats they made the journey in, nor how often. Any traces, however fragmentary, of early boats found in Scilly should be treated as of international significance (until or unless proven otherwise). Detailed study of ancient coastlines should help us to define areas of the seabed which are most likely to yield evidence of early boats and landing places, about which we know very little.

Trade and seafaring in Scilly can be charted by the presence of artefacts (mainly ceramics) which have originated outside the islands, for example prehistoric and Romano- British gabbroic pottery, early medieval Mediterranean and Gallic wares, the assemblage of imported medieval ceramics recently found in Tresco Channel and the *Little Gannick* wreck, which comprises a discrete mound of post-1850 Cornish mining equipment. The cargo of national significance because of its rarity and potential for informing use about the international trade in Cornish mining equipment and technology.

The archaeology and history of fishing in Scilly cross-cuts the maritime/land divide but has received comparatively little attention. As well as the strictly maritime resource there is also a considerable intertidal resource. Onshore assemblages of structures, artefacts and fish-bones, and isotopic studies of human skeletal remains, also need to be integrated into any understanding of fishing and its importance.

Research Aim 23: Increase our knowledge of maritime archaeological sites.

1. There is a considerable body of documentary evidence for early shipwrecks that has yet to be researched.
2. Given the maritime nature of Scilly, with the occurrence of many foreign imports emphasising external contacts during the early medieval and medieval periods (as well as maintaining contact with the Cornish mainland); the potential for possible shipwrecks and/or wreck cargoes, of these periods is high.
3. We need to carry out further research on piracy and privateering in Scilly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
4. Due to its relatively sheltered position and ease of access, the protected wreck site of *HMS Colossus* is an ideal platform for developing systems and experimental underwater techniques. The site has already been used in experimental stabilisation trials commissioned by English Heritage to determine the most effective method of stabilising the exposed wreckage on the seabed (Camidge 2005; 2009). Further work has begun on studying the mobility and deterioration of artefacts situated on the seabed of this site (Camidge 2010). This is particularly important as diver access to the site is being actively encouraged by means of the diver information trail on the site. Some work has also been done on artefact reburial on this site, and hopefully this can be developed into a long-term trial of *in situ* reburial of artefacts from underwater sites.
5. A historical study of each lighthouse is required (other than Bishop Rock which has its own recent publication, Stanbrook 2008).
6. Study of the history of salvage and diving in Scilly.

7. The high-profile salvage work undertaken on some of the Scilly wrecks needs to be properly documented during the lifetime of those who undertook the work and a record made any artefacts that appear for sale on the open market.
8. The presence in Scilly of a number of thriving dive charter businesses could be used to archaeological advantage. The three charter skippers already administer the dive trail on the protected wreck site of *HMS Colossus*; the divers might be encouraged to undertake useful tasks. These could include systematic monitoring of visited wrecks for (inevitable) deterioration, or even actively searching new areas of the seabed.
9. There is a need for a holistic interpretation of the historic and natural marine world around Scilly.

Research Aim 24: Improve our understanding of how the waters around the islands have been used over time.

1. Currents
2. Navigation routes
3. Anchorages

Research Aim 25: Assess the information for early ports, harbours and landing places.

1. Landing places and safe harbours have always been of the utmost importance in the day to day life of the islanders and, as Robinson (2007, 79) points out, they are also deeply symbolic, marking the transition between land and sea. Despite the obvious importance of the sea to Scilly, very few of these sites have been studied and there is a need for a more comprehensive study of the early ports, harbours and landing places of the archipelago.
2. We need to assess the evidence for a harbour for Roman Scilly as at the location suggested by Thomas (1985) and also to investigate the possible harbour at the south end of Arthur recorded in the 1960s.
3. Harbour walls deserve a special study, both of surviving walls and of archive photographs of walls that can no longer be seen. They should also be compared to harbour walls on the mainland. The walls on Scilly are an important part of the character of the Islands. The listing status of the main quay should be re-assessed.

10.2.5 Production and trade

Industry and Technology

We need to improve our knowledge of industry and technology in Scilly, including tinworking, stonecutting, shipbuilding and the early development of the kelp burning industry.

Research Aim 26: Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly.

1. We need to encourage further study for evidence of salt making, tinworking, quarrying, stonecutting, shipbuilding and the early development and subsequent history of the kelp burning industry.
2. A detailed survey is required of the tinworking features at the north end of Tresco – openwork, lodeback pits, reservoir etc + assessment of methods of working/water storage.
3. A detailed study should be made of the distribution of known stonecutting quarries and main areas of surface work. Distribution of known wedgetcut stones (i.e. pre-c.1800).

4. Industrial buildings in Scilly are an interest group that still requires considerable study and research. The buildings that were used for industry need to be identified and recorded and research targeted at their origins and their functions. We need to undertake analysis of structures associated with the flower industry.

Food procurement

Food production is central to human existence, from the earliest periods of hunting and gathering, through the development of agriculture and animal husbandry to the predominantly farming-derived landscape and associated infrastructure that we see today. While the overall picture is moderately well understood there are specific periods, places and processes that need more work. For example, middens as evidence of gathering; red deer remains possibly indicating early hunting. Field systems of different periods may reflect different types of, or changing emphases within, agriculture, shifts in technology, etc'

Research Aim 27: Improve our understanding of the use of wild and domestic animals in the past.

A series of questions regarding the faunal data from the islands need to be further addressed. Part of this can be undertaken via a review and re-analysis of the resource itself, for instance Frank Turk's work on Nornour; however, there is also the need for new excavations to obtain new data.

1. Is there evidence for endemic populations of terrestrial fauna?
2. What wild species were present on the islands during early prehistory? What do we know of the island histories for wild species such as the Scilly Shrew, Pallas Vole, toad etc?
3. When were domesticates introduced to the islands? Where were they introduced from? What effect, if any did they have on endemic fauna?
4. How do the species exploited change over time?
5. How were the herds of food animals maintained and managed? What strategies were employed to maintain herds' health, security and productivity on these limited land masses? Is there any evidence for foddering or byring of these animals or feeding them on seaweed?
6. How did these species respond to the insular environment in terms of size and health? This can be linked with analysis of lipids in pottery fabric.
7. When was milk first produced on the islands? Were there specialist faunal economies?
8. Were the first cats domesticates or introduced wild cats? Are the small dogs mentioned by Turk dogs or foxes? When did dogs and cats first breed on the islands?
9. When was the domestic fowl introduced?
10. When were red and roe deer imported to the islands? Were there breeding populations? Are there morphometrical changes associated with these insular populations?
11. Is there evidence for the failed introduction of other species?
12. What evidence is there for the social or symbolic role of animals?
13. How do stable isotopic values of animals and humans change over time?
14. Need to investigate treatment and disposal of animal remains within houses.
- 15.

Research Aim 28: Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past.

1. Which methods of fishing were used? How were fish processed?
2. What contribution did marine mammal resources make to the diet? Is there evidence for persistence of marine foods throughout prehistory?
3. Which seal colonies were targeted? Excavations at Nornour and at Porth Killier and Higher Town, St Agnes have provided rare evidence for exploitation of seals in the Bronze Age deserving further study.
4. Were cetaceans hunted, driven ashore or stranded?
5. Which sea bird colonies were exploited? We know, for example, from medieval documentary evidence that the rent for the islands was at one time given as a number of puffins to be paid and there is also a reference to the export of salted puffins from Scilly to the West Indies in the late seventeenth century.
6. Why are there no mussels on Scilly?
7. Were there oysters?
8. Prawns are very abundant on the Flats but were they exploited?
9. Was edible seaweed exploited?

Research Aim 29: Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated and domesticated plants in the past.

1. We need to be open to the possibilities of local distinctiveness in the contribution of unusual or infrequently cultivated plants. Our understanding of plant cultivation in the past is based on a small range of species, largely because of the processes responsible for preservation in non-waterlogged conditions. Thirsk (1997) gives some indication of the possibilities for the historic period.
2. Evidence from pollen, insects and plant macrofossils needs to be integrated to provide information on the historic management of pasture. Did meadows / hay production play a role in Scillonian agriculture or was there more reliance on rough ground grazing? Evidence from waterlogged deposits which provide information on this important aspect of farming should be a high priority for all periods as the information is of use both to archaeologists and to the nature conservation sector.
3. The evidence of grain/plant impressions on ceramics could also be investigated/considered.

Research Aim 30: Understand better the relationships of early prehistoric people to plants and animals.

1. Further work is needed on the early use of woodland resources and woodland management.
2. The changing role of marine and freshwater resources requires more adequate investigation.
3. Identification and verification of possible fish traps would be very useful. Were they used on Scilly, and in any specific area?
4. Isotopic studies need to be carried out on animal as well as human bone assemblages to understand pasturing practices and trade in domesticated animals.
5. Better understanding is needed of the status of arable in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age as the debate on the importance of arable versus collection of wild plant resources continues. More assemblages are needed from a range of contexts, particularly associated with domestic rather than ritual activity. All

Neolithic and Early Bronze Age samples are important, but any waterlogged deposits are particularly so as they may preserve material not susceptible to charring. The study of crop waste (weed seeds and chaff) will tell us more about the nature of arable fields and farming practice for all periods and also pick up introductions of crops and weeds as they reach Scilly.

Research Aim 31: Improve our understanding of agricultural intensification and diversification in later prehistory, including establishment of a chronology for prehistoric field systems.

1. There is a need to better understand the chronology and regionality of crop diversification and intensification of production, which appears to take place from around the Middle Bronze Age onwards. Well-dated assemblages from a range of settlement contexts are required to examine introductions of new crops and associated wild species.
2. Further work is required to examine the archaeological evidence of agricultural improvement apart from a few specific examples of landscape.

Research Aim 32: Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming.

1. Our knowledge of plant use especially remains patchy. This extends beyond food; fibres, building materials, adhesives, medicinal herbs and drugs should also be considered.
2. Better understanding is needed of how the process of agricultural intensification can be detected on archaeological sites. Better use of the evidence should be made by integrating environmental and artefactual evidence to test theory, coupled with comprehensive dating programmes. For example, better understanding of the development of field systems during the Bronze Age is particularly important.
3. Later prehistory is often characterised as the domestication of the land, with the appearance of permanent settlements and fields; from wildscape to landscape. The environmental evidence for agriculture, whether charred plant remains or animal ones, remains poorly studied in comparison to structures or ceramics. In this regard archaeological science needs to be taken out of the black box and treated as mainstream.
4. There is a very limited amount of environmental evidence in the medieval period and further work is needed to link sites to the wider landscape and better-dated contexts. This will provide opportunities for understanding what happened at documented historical events in Scilly. Understanding the changing patterns of land use and their environmental impact has yet to be fully realised.

Research Aim 33: Assess the character of food procurement in the Romano-British period.

1. We know little about plant and animal use and cultivation methods in the Romano-British period.
2. Did Scilly's mild climate result in the growth of crops and garden plants that could not flourish elsewhere before the post medieval period?

Research Aim 34: Investigate the origins of the chronology of use of free-threshing wheat.

Despite this being a priority for archaeobotany for many years, when, where and how the change from cultivation of hulled to free-threshing wheats took place is still not understood. This major change which will have affected husbandry and crop-processing practices occurred sometime in the centuries covering the late/post-Roman-early medieval periods. Efforts must be made to target suitable assemblages in Scilly as elsewhere in the South West.

Research Aim 35: Improve our understanding of medieval, post-medieval and modern farming and food production.

1. There is very little direct environmental evidence for the use of grassland and pasture in Scilly. The pastoral side of the landscape was a major land use and vital for producing winter food for stock. However, the types and management of grassland and pasture is very poorly understood. The integration of plant macrofossil and insect evidence and in some cases pollen as well, is the key to success here.
2. Better use should be made of documentary evidence to help interpret plant and animal assemblages. Plant and animal assemblages could also be used to challenge or confirm the accuracy of the documentary record. Monastic accounts, for example, may give insights into the control of Tavistock Abbey on the farming of large parts of the medieval landscape of Scilly. Better understanding of how farming was managed could lead to more innovative and useful interpretation.
3. The question of how food production changed in the post-medieval and Modern periods might be profitably addressed by selecting locations for a more holistic approach relating buildings, landscape, land use and artefacts. There are relatively good documentary sources on agriculture in Scilly, plus potential for oral history to illuminate more recent practise
4. The impacts on Scilly of agricultural developments at a regional/national scale in the post-medieval period, and particularly from the eighteenth century onwards, could be assessed.

Trade, Transport, and Communications

The movement of objects, people and ideas is most widespread in more recent periods but, obviously, began with the first humans to explore the region. Ports and landing places and the fast disappearing remains of modern communications are identified as important areas to be considered.

1. There are only two instances of briquetage in Scilly, from Dolphin Town, Tresco (Quinnell in press) and Samson Hill, Bryher (Thorpe and Johns forthcoming). Although briquetage is by definition related to salt production it is unclear whether these discoveries relate to salt production. Identification of possible salt production sites should be a priority.

Research Aim 37: Assess the archaeological potential for studying early medieval and medieval economy, trade, technology and production.

1. Trade and interaction in the South West generally expanded considerably during the medieval period with the growth of market towns, ports and an improved communication network. By the medieval period pottery production developed at several centres in the South West and the study of markets and trade with Scilly is a key research item. Trade could also include 'exotic' plant foods which may survive in the archaeological record.
2. What preceded the development of Hugh Town as the market for the Island population?
3. Was there also a separate economic structure for fishing in that all fish had to be brought to the steward and were marketed through him (i.e., not a 'free' market).

Research Aim 38: Widen our understanding of post-medieval and Modern transport and communications.

1. We need to improve our understanding of Scilly as part of the wider 'signalling world' in the post-medieval and modern periods

2. Recent telecommunications systems are subject to rapid change and need to be studied, recorded and artefacts conserved, as a priority.

10.2.6 Social Relations

Perhaps the most difficult area of human existence for archaeology to attempt to understand, issues such as social groupings and population movements are key in some periods in Scilly - changing ownerships of in the medieval and post-medieval periods, associated in-migration, creation of local 'elites', possible archaeological evidence in terms of buildings, material culture, size of holdings, etc? Modern identities have their origins in the past but are poorly understood in material terms. Information may also come from studies of religious activity, mortuary behaviour or defence and conflict (see below).

Research Aim 39: Improve our knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British social organisation and change through time.

1. Was early prehistoric settlement on Scilly dispersed rather than nucleated, developing into a segmentary society which demonstrated its territoriality through dispersed monuments? Or was settlement more fluid and transient?
2. Can the varying size and form of different Early Bronze Age entrance graves or Iron Age/Romano-British cist graves be seen as reflecting differences in social status or perhaps in function?

Research Aim 40: Use archaeological and historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time.

1. Undertake osteological and isotopic analysis of human remains, such as the early medieval skeletons from Tean which are unusual in showing signs of leprosy and amputation.
2. Link isotope and strontium analysis to diet and early movement of early medieval people (cf Hemer 2012).
3. The majority of 'original' Scillonian families can only trace their association with the islands back to the seventeenth century, when their ancestors came to Scilly during the post-Civil War resettlement. We need to use archaeological and historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time. The IOS Family History Group has potential to help address this Research Aim.

Research Aim 41: Improve our knowledge of the historic development of the tourism industry in Scilly.

Improved rail and sea transport from the mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of Scilly's tourist industry and this now forms the largest part (85% of its economy, with 120,000 visitors received annually at the beginning of the twenty-first century. We need to improve our knowledge of the development of Scilly's tourism industry.

10.2.7 Religion and Ritual

Religious activities are another difficult area for archaeology but have resulted in significant archaeological remains in some periods, such as Roman Nornour, the Roman Altar from Mount Holles, and extensive Early Christian activity. At other times, for instance in the later Roman period, we know from historical sources of significant change which is, as yet, practically invisible to us.

Research Aim 42: Widen our understanding of prehistoric monumentality, including exploration of the relationships between monuments, topography, landforms and seascapes.

1. Phenomenology and the appropriation of natural features such as carns and other prominent topographical features and the manipulation of the natural world to create, for example, propped stones is a subject that has received little study.

Research Aim 43: Improve our understanding of Iron Age and Roman religion.

1. We need to improve our understanding of the local and wider context of Nornour in the Romano-British period and the remarkable collection of Roman artefacts there. The suggestion that this represented mariners' votive offerings could perhaps be explored by conducting a detailed survey on the island to establish whether any structures remain which could represent any kind of shrine (or even beacon). The intertidal zone should not be neglected. It may also be worth considering a detailed bathymetric - and possibly a sidescan sonar - survey of the seabed around Nornour.

Research Aim 44: Utilise surviving buildings and records to understand liturgical and social change in post-medieval to Modern places of worship and cemeteries.

1. Whilst much is known and much has been written about the buildings that represent the established church in Scilly, the stories that they contain in their records, in their monuments, and within their burial grounds needs to be further assessed and collated. Also, the buildings themselves deserve better analysis, and recognition for the influence they have had on the evolving building traditions of the islands.
2. Nonconformism was a very influential aspect of the culture of the Isles of Scilly and deserves further study, particularly with respect to its surviving buildings. Two chapels have already been converted to domestic use and the most important chapel is used as offices. Consequently, the two chapels that remain in use as places of worship should be recorded as a matter of urgency.
3. There are probably no old purpose-built public houses on the Islands. All the traditional buildings now used as public houses appear to have been adapted from former houses or working buildings. This building type is complicated with respect to its origins and history. It is very important to community life in Scilly today but the role of public houses at earlier times needs to be unravelled as a detailed research project together with close examination of the surviving and former public houses.

Mortuary Practices

Often seen as part of religious behaviour, new approaches are stressing the social processes that influence the treatment of the dead by the living. Study of key episodes can, hopefully, be used to shed light on wider social questions as can scientific analysis of the body itself. Scilly has distinctive mortuary rites during much of prehistory – Bronze Age entrance graves and cairns, the Iron Age and Romano-British cist graves and cist grave cemeteries. The Bryher sword and mirror burial, for instance, links Scilly with the wider traditions of warrior burials and mirror burials.

Research Aim 45: Identify Neolithic mortuary practices, with particular reference to Scilly's regional, national and international context.

There is an interesting absence in Scilly of Neolithic megalithic tombs such as portal dolmens which are found in Penwith, Ireland, and France. It is possible that 'propped stones' could have acted as small megalithic monuments although these have been dated or systematically studied.

Research Aim 46: Refine our understanding of Early Bronze Age mortuary practices.

1. We need to understand why there are so many entrance graves on Scilly compared with Penwith (and south-east Ireland).
2. We need to find out more about cairnfields and better understand the relation of cairns to field systems.

Research Aim 47: Widen our understanding of Iron Age and Roman burial traditions with reference to regional funerary practices.

Approximately 36 Porthcressa-type cists have been discovered in Scilly. We need to learn more about their distribution and contents and relation to the wider south west cist burial tradition.

Research Aim 48: Utilise the potential for good evidence from early medieval burials to address research questions

The early-medieval/medieval burial found during BT trenching at Lower Town, St Martin's in 1992 demonstrates the potential for analysis (Ratcliffe 1997). The three excavated early medieval sites - St Helen's (O'Neil 1964), East Porth, Tean (Thomas 1960b), and East Porth, Samson (Neal forthcoming a), all produced human bone from inhumations, although preservation was poor at Tean and Samson. The bone needs to be located for further analysis.

10.2.8 Defence and Conflict

Conflict usually manifests itself in the archaeological record as defensive structures but may also be represented by artefact scatters or evidence of trauma on human remains. There has been much study of surviving monuments but some types of site, particularly those peripheral to actual fighting (such as garrison life and military procurement), are less well known. Broadening the study of conflict archaeology may throw light on wider social questions, large scale historical change and changing technology.

Research Aim 49: Address the limited knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British fortifications and conflict.

1. The traditional interpretation of cliff castles as coastal hillforts and places of refuge for the local populace in times of danger is currently being reassessed. In west Cornwall such defended central places have been reinterpreted as economic and social centres under the control of tribal chief. We need to better understand the character of occupation of the two confirmed cliff castles on the Isles of Scilly (Giant's Castle, Shipman Head) and to investigate the possibility of others at Burnt Hill, and Pernagie Point, St Martin's and on St Agnes.

Research Aim 50: Examine the evidence for early medieval defence and conflict sites in Scilly.

1. We currently know very little about defence and conflict in early medieval Scilly other than a probably legendary story that Athelstan (King of Wessex AD 935-939) made a short visit to the islands to deal with Scandinavian raiders.

Research Aim 51: Deepen our understanding of medieval and later defence and conflict sites.

1. We need to learn more about Ennor Castle during the medieval period and carry out fieldwork to assess its context and collect and analyse pottery from gardens in immediate vicinity.
2. The defence buildings of Scilly have benefitted from much investigation and research. However, there is still much to be learned and explained. These buildings need to be studied as a thematic group with all the available information brought into play but with unanswered questions targeted. For

example, when the gun platform was added to Cromwell's castle the original timber or stone staircase was cut away to make a new doorway into the building and the walls made good. This kind of analysis is often lacking from available studies. Reconstruction drawings of the defence buildings explaining the way that they originally functioned and the ways that they have been altered to fulfil advancing technologies would greatly add to our understanding of these important buildings.

3. A survey is needed of sites on the Garrison revealed by IOSWT grazing.
4. We need to continue to record and monitor the condition of seventeenth-century coastal earthworks.
5. The structures related to the proposal to convert Scilly into the southern equivalent of 'Scapa Flow' for the home fleet in the early twentieth century should be investigated further, especially to elucidate how much was actually done before plans were aborted.
6. A full survey and record needs to be made of all WWII constructions, establishments and defences.

10.3 Appendix: Research themes and aims by period

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------|
| Overarching | Methodology | | |
| | | 1 Extend the use of proven methodologies for site location and interpretation, & encourage the development of new techniques | |
| | <i>Synthesis</i> | 2 Encourage works of synthesis within & across periods, settlements, monuments and areas | |
| | <i>Spatial & temporal biases</i> | 3 Address apparent "gaps" in our knowledge & assess whether they are meaningful or simply biases in current knowledge | |
| | <i>Community involvement</i> | 4 Encourage wide involvement in archaeological research & present modern accounts of the past to the public | |
| | <i>Recording</i> | 4 Encourage the study of artefact scatters using traditional and innovative methodologies both in the field & on previous collections | |
| | | 5 Encourage the accurate reporting & identification of stray finds in ways that benefit archaeological research as a whole | |
| | | 7 Prioritise a systematic recording strategy for the built environment & improve the recording & utilisation of archaeological collections & other information sources | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 9 Improve knowledge and study of all relevant museum collections and archives | |
| | | 10 Improve access to, & synthesis of 'grey literature' | |
| | | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Science | | |
| | <i>Dating</i> | 14 Increase the use & improve the targeting of scientific dating | |
| | <i>Past environments</i> | 15 Improve the quality & quantity of environmental data & our understanding of what they represent | |
| | | 16 Target specific soil & sediment contexts for environmental information, including a focus on sand deposits & the preservative qualities of midden deposits | |
| | | 17 Improve our understanding of insect faunas & what they can tell us about past environments | |
| | | 18 Continue to collect evidence for past climate change & sea level changes together with their effects on peoples' relationships with landscapes and the sea | |
| | Maritime | | |
| | | 23 Increase our knowledge of maritime archaeological sites | |
| | | 24 Improve our understanding of how the waters around the islands have been used over time | |
| | | 25: Assess the information for early ports, harbours & landing places | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|--|----------------------------------|---|------|
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | Social relations | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Religion & ritual | 42-48 | |
| | Defence & conflict | 49-51 | |
| | | | |
| Palaeolithic & Mesolithic (c700,000 BP – c 4000 BC) | | | |
| National & Regional Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| Research Strategy for Prehistory Consultation Draft June 2010 | | | |
| Research and Conservation Framework for the British Palaeolithic (English Heritage/Prehistoric Society, 2008) | | | |
| Mesolithic Research and Conservation Framework for England (2012/13) - Resource Assessment consultation: https://sites.google.com/site/mesolithicframework/ | | | |
| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. <i>The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda</i> , Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
| Research Frameworks for Holocene Lithics in Britain (Lithic Studies Society, 2004) | | | |
| Maritime and Marine Historic Environment Research Framework (draft documents at http://www.soton.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/maritime_research_framework.html) | | | |
| DTI, 2002-2006. <i>Offshore Strategic Environmental Assessments in regard to prehistoric archaeological remains</i> http://www.offshore-sea.org.uk/site/scripts/category_info.php?categoryID=37) | | | |
| English Heritage/RCHME, 1997. <i>England's Coastal Heritage</i> | | | |
| English Heritage, 2002. <i>English Heritage Strategy for Wetlands</i> | | | |
| English Heritage Regional Environmental Reviews (available as EH Research Department Reports; see http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/research-reports/) | | | |
| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Science | | |
| | <i>Past environments</i> | 19 Improve our understanding of Palaeolithic & Mesolithic landscapes (landscapes & seascapes) | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|--|--|--|------|
| | | Scilly | |
| | | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 30 Understand better the relationships of early prehistoric people to plants & animals | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 36 Assess the archaeological potential for studying prehistoric & Romano-British economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 39 Improve our knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British social organisation and change through time | |
| | | | |
| Neolithic & Early Bronze Age (c 4000 BC – c 1500 BC) | | | |
| National & Regional Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| Research Strategy for Prehistory Consultation Draft June 2010 | | | |
| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. <i>The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda</i> , Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
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| DTI, 2002-2006. <i>Offshore Strategic Environmental Assessments in regard to prehistoric archaeological remains</i> http://www.offshore-sea.org.uk/site/scripts/category_info.php?categoryID=37) | | | |
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| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|---|--|---|------|
| | | 31 Improve our understanding of agricultural intensification & diversification in later prehistory, including establishment of a chronology for prehistoric field systems | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 36 Assess the archaeological potential for studying prehistoric & Romano-British economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 39 Improve our knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British social organisation and change through time | |
| | | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Religion & ritual | 42 Widen our understanding of prehistoric monumentality, including exploration of the relationships between monuments, topography, landforms & seascapes | |
| | <i>Mortuary practices</i> | 45 Identify Neolithic mortuary practices, with particular reference to Scilly's regional, national & international context | |
| | | 46 Refine our understanding of Early Bronze Age mortuary practices | |
| | Defence & conflict | 49 Address the limited knowledge of prehistoric & Romano-British fortifications & conflict | |
| | | | |
| Middle Bronze Age - Iron Age (c 1500 BC – AD 43) | | | |
| National Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| Research Strategy for Prehistory Consultation Draft June 2010 | | | |
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| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. <i>The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda</i> , Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
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| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Settlement | 20 Improve our understanding of prehistoric & Romano-British settlements, monuments & landscapes | |
| | Production & trade | | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|---|--|--|------|
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 36 Assess the archaeological potential for studying prehistoric & Romano-British economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 39 Improve our knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British social organisation and change through time | |
| | | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Religion & ritual | 42 Widen our understanding of prehistoric monumentality, including exploration of the relationships between monuments, topography, landforms & seascapes | |
| | | 43 Improve our understanding of Iron Age & Roman religion | |
| | <i>Mortuary practices</i> | 47 Widen our understanding of Iron Age & Roman burial traditions with reference to regional funerary practices | |
| | Defence & conflict | 49 Address the limited knowledge of prehistoric & Romano-British fortifications & conflict | |
| | | | |
| Romano-British AD 43 - 410 | | | |
| National Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| S James & M Millett (eds), 2001. Britons and Romans: Advancing a Research agenda, <i>CBA Research Report, 125</i> | | | |
| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda, Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
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| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|---|--|--|------|
| | Settlement | 20 Improve our understanding of prehistoric & Romano-British settlements, monuments & landscapes | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | | 33 Assess the character of food procurement in the Romano-British period | |
| | | 34 Investigate the origins of the chronology of use of free-threshing wheat | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 36 Assess the archaeological potential for studying prehistoric & Romano-British economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 39 Improve our knowledge of prehistoric and Romano-British social organisation and change through time | |
| | | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Religion & ritual | 43 Improve our understanding of Iron Age & Roman religion | |
| | <i>Mortuary practices</i> | 47 Widen our understanding of Iron Age & Roman burial traditions with reference to regional funerary practices | |
| | Defence & conflict | 49 Address the limited knowledge of prehistoric & Romano-British fortifications & conflict | |
| | | | |
| Early medieval AD 410 - 1066 | | | |
| National Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda, Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
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| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Transitions</i> | 8 Address our lack of understanding of key transitional periods | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|--|--|---|------|
| | <i>Hidden resources</i> | 11 Identify & bring to publication key unpublished excavations | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Settlement | 21 Improve our understanding of early medieval settlements, religious buildings, monuments & landscapes | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | | 34 Investigate the origins of the chronology of use of free-threshing wheat | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 37 Assess the archaeological potential for studying early medieval & medieval economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Ritual & religion | | |
| | <i>Mortuary practices</i> | 48 Utilise the potential for good evidence from early medieval burials to address research questions | |
| | Defence & conflict | Examine the evidence for early medieval defence and conflict sites in Scilly | |
| | | | |
| Medieval (1066 - 1547) | | | |
| National Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
| C J Webster, C J, (ed) 2008. The Archaeology of South West England: South West Archaeological Research Framework Resource Assessment and Research Agenda, Taunton (Somerset County Council) http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/swarf/index.htm | | | |
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| English Heritage Regional Environmental Reviews (available as EH Research Department Reports; see http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/research-reports/) | | | |
| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |
| | Settlement | 22 Improve our understanding of medieval and later | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|---|--|---|------|
| | | settlements, buildings & landscapes | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | | 35 Improve our understanding of medieval, post-medieval & modern farming & food production | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 37 Assess the archaeological potential for studying early medieval & medieval economy, trade, technology & production | |
| | Social relations | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | Defence & conflict | 51 Deepen our understanding of medieval & later defence & conflict sites | |
| | | | |
| Post-medieval & modern (1547 to present) | | | |
| National Thematic and Chronological Research Frameworks | | | |
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| SHERF Research Themes & Aims | | | |
| | Methodology | | |
| | <i>Artefact studies</i> | 12 Widen our understanding of Scillonian material culture of all periods | |

| Period | Research Theme | Research Aim | Page |
|--------|--|---|------|
| | | 13 Use innovative techniques & methodologies to ask sophisticated questions of post-medieval to modern artefacts and buildings | |
| | Settlement | 22 Improve our understanding of medieval and later settlements, buildings & landscapes | |
| | Production & trade | | |
| | <i>Industry & technology</i> | 26 Widen our understanding of technology and industry in Scilly | |
| | <i>Food procurement</i> | 27 Improve our understanding of the use of wild & domestic animals in the past | |
| | | 28 Improve our understanding of the exploitation of marine resources in the past | |
| | | 29 Improve our understanding of the use of wild, cultivated & domesticated plants in the past | |
| | | 32 Improve our understanding of the environmental impacts of farming | |
| | | 35: Improve our understanding of medieval, post-medieval and modern farming and food production | |
| | <i>Trade, transport & communications</i> | 38 Widen our understanding of post-medieval & Modern transport & communications | |
| | Social relations | 40 Use archaeological & historical evidence to better understand Scillonian identity through time | |
| | | 41 Improve our knowledge of the historic development of the tourism industry in Scilly | |
| | Religion & ritual | 44 Utilise surviving buildings & records to understand liturgical & social change in post-medieval to Modern places of worship & cemeteries | |
| | Defence & conflict | 51 Deepen our understanding of medieval & later defence & conflict sites | |

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Sixteenth century (British Library Cotton MS. Augustus I.***.18. <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/s/zoomify82874.html>)

A chart in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, prepared by Romain de Hooge in 1693, shows St Mary's with the fort set in the middle of the Garrison and the early wall across the hillside cutting the Garrison off from Hugh Town. However, the single fort shown is not Star Castle, but the plan of the 'old Fort', including its diamond-orientation (Bibliotheque Nationale de France Cartes et Plans – GE AF PF – 35 (46))

1715 (British Library King's Manuscript 45 f.7) - useful block plan of Hugh Town

1750 (Star Castle) – sketchy depiction of Hugh Town

Tithe Map and Apportionment, c1840. *Scilly Islands* (microfiche copy at HE)

Ordnance Survey, c1891. *25 Inch Map* First Edition (licensed digital copy at HE)

Ordnance Survey, c1908. *25 Inch Map* Second Edition (licensed digital copy at HE)

Ordnance Survey, 2007. *Mastermap Digital Mapping*

11.1.1.1 National Monument Record

1741 (NMR Works 31/1147) - very sketchy

1742 (NMR Works 31/1148) - useful block plan of Hugh Town

1744 (National Archives MPH 1/413) - useful block plan of Hugh Town

1746 (NMR Works 31/1149) - little of Hugh Town is shown

11.1.1.2 Cornwall Record Office

1655 (Cornwall Record Office GO/574) General Map of Islands, little detail

c 1655 (Cornwall Record Office GO/575) Map of the Garrison, Hugh Town not depicted

Godolphin Rental of 1712 (CRO DDGO/643)

c 1840 TM/206/1 St Mary's Tithe Map

1847 TM/206/2 Tresco Tithe Map

Justin Brooke Parochial Mines Index: Isles of Scilly Mines CRO X745 Folder 37 or 39

11.1.1.3 Tresco Abbey

However, between 1829 and 1831 George and Edward Driver carried out a rental survey of the islands for the Duchy of Cornwall. They listed all the holdings, tenements and occupiers. The originals are held in the archives at Tresco Abbey.

11.1.1.4 Duchy of Cornwall

George Driver, 1831. *Report*, Duchy of Cornwall Office, London

Edward Driver, 1829. *Report on the Survey of the Islands*, Duchy of Cornwall Office, London

There are reduced photographic copies in the archives of the Duchy of Cornwall Office in London of four Driver Bros manuscript maps (1829-31) covering (1) St Agnes, Annet, Gugh, St Martin's and White Island; (2) Bryher, Tresco, Gweal, St Helen's etc; (3) St Mary's; and (4) Samson, Tean and the Eastern Isles.

11.1.1.5 UK Hydrographic Office

| Date | Held at | Reference | Shelf No | Surveyor | Title |
|--------|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------------|---|
| c1585 | Copy in 'The Scillonian, no 122 | n/a | n/a | Capt John Davis | Les Sorlinges |
| 1691-8 | UKHO | B888 | Historical Press | Capt Greenville Collins | The Isles of Scilly |
| c1708 | PRO | n/a | n/a | Edmund Gostello | A Map of the Islands of Scilly Showing all the Rocks and Ledges with the Soundings & Barings And y Exact Places where the <i>Association, Eagle Rumney & Firebrand</i> were Lost. |
| 1772 | UKHO | 642 | Ik | Mackenzie | Part of the coast of Cornwall in the English Channel |
| 1779 | UKHO | B327a | Oh | A Tovey & N Ginver | A New Chart of the Islands of Scilly with their Soundings Channels and Sailing Marks |
| 1789 | UKHO | L48 | Qe | Capt Salisbury | Unknown |
| 1792 | UKHO | 637 | 1g | G Spence | Survey of Scilly |
| 1792 | UKHO | 671 | 13k | G Spence | Tide Table, Scilly |
| 1792 | UKHO | 674 | 15e | G Spence | Maritime Survey of Scilly |
| 1792 | UKHO | 700 | Dd | G Spence | Maritime Survey of Scilly [1796 copy by Walker?] |
| 1792 | UKHO | 702 | Dc | G Spence | Trig. Of Scilly, Lands End & Lizard |
| 1792 | UKHO | 702 | Dc | G Spence | Maritime Survey of Scilly |
| 1792 | UKHO | 702a | 38d | G Spence | Maritime survey of Scilly |
| Nd | UKHO | 742 | Di | Unknown | Scilly Isles |
| 1800 | UKHO | 688 | 51b | G Spence | Torbay & part of Scilly Isles |
| 1803 | UKHO | B312 | Dk | Heather | New and Improved Chart of the Isles of Scilly |
| 1808? | UKHO | 728 | Dk | G Spence | Scilly Isles with proposed roadstead for man of war |
| 1808 | UKHO | 28a | 13i | G Spence | Scilly Isles with proposed roadstead for man of war inside St Mary's |
| 1808 | UKHO | 790 | Dd | McKenzie / G Spence | England, Wales and Scilly Isles |
| nd | UKHO | 811 | England | Capt M | Chart of New Grimsby |

| Date | Held at | Reference | Shelf No | Surveyor | Title |
|------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------------|---|
| | | | Folio 4 | White | Harbour |
| nd | UKHO | 836 | O1 | Capt White | M Position of Seven Stones from Mudge's Trigomy Survey |
| nd 1847 | UKHO | L4911 | Qb | Unknown | The Scilly Isles Tithe map for the Isles of Scilly (St Mary's) & Tresco (microfiche copy at CAU) |
| 1860- 3 | UKHO | D7043 | 13i | Capt Williams | Scilly's depth soundings |
| 1862 | UKHO | D6366 | 6d | Capt Williams | Scilly's and the Seven Stones |
| 1862 | UKHO | D6364 | Qg | Capt Williams | St Mary's Pool |
| 1862 | UKHO | D6365 | Oh | Capt Williams | St Mary's Town [Hugh Town] |
| 1863 | UKHO | D7042 | Ih | Capt Williams | Scilly's depth soundings round south sheet |
| 1863 | UKHO | D7041 | Ih | Capt Williams | Scilly's depth soundings round North Star including seventres |
| 1863 | UKHO | D7044 | 31b | Capt Williams | Scilly's and Seven Stones |
| 1863 | UKHO | A2039 | 40e | Imray & sons | Scilly's and Seven Stones |
| 1889 | OS | | | | <i>25 Inch Map</i> First Edition (microfiche copy at CAU) |
| 1897 | UKHO | B6241 | Oi* | Capt Maxwell | St Mary's pool |
| 1898 | UKHO | B6825 | 11n | Capt Maxwell | St Mary's Road |
| 1898 | UKHO | B6826 | 16m | Capt Maxwell | St Mary's Road |
| 1904 | UKHO | 9774 | 12h | Capt Maxwell | Western Approaches to Broadside Scilly Isles |
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12 Project archive

The HE project number is **2010098**

The project's digital archive is housed at the offices of Historic Environment, Cornwall Council, Kennall Building, Old County Hall, Station Road, Truro, TR1 3AY. The contents of this archive are as listed below:

1. A project file containing site records and notes, project correspondence and administration and copies of documentary/cartographic source material and full copies of the individual specialists' reports (file no 2010098).
2. English Heritage/ADS OASIS online reference: cornwall2-85996

This report text is held in digital form as: G:\CAU\HE Projects\Sites\Scilly\Scilly Historic Environment Research Framework 2010098\Final SHERF Report

The documentary archive is deposited at the Isles of Scilly Museum, Church Street, St Mary's. Isles of Scilly.

