

Three Deserted Medieval Settlements on Dartmoor

A Comment on David Austin's Reinterpretations

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THE INTERPRETATION of the houses, the evidence for dating and the status of the inhabitants at sites excavated on Dartmoor are discussed.

Houndtor, Hutholes and Dinna Clerks are three deserted medieval settlements lying on the granite uplands towards the eastern side of Dartmoor Forest, Devon. Houndtor and Hutholes were small hamlets comprising eleven and six buildings respectively; Dinna Clerks was an isolated farmstead. Extensive excavation at these sites by the late Mrs E. Marie Minter revealed a sequence of superimposed houses, divisible into two periods, possibly dating back to c. A.D. 700 to 800 and an account of the work appeared in this journal.¹

Recently Mr David Austin has published two papers in which he postulates that the excavated settlement at Houndtor was a 12th- or 13th-century extension of demesne or other holdings in the valley around the modern farm of Great Houndtor. In the first² he argued that the stake-holes which delineated what were interpreted by Mrs Minter as turf-walled houses were either the remains of summer shielings pre-dating the 13th-century stone-walled long-houses or the remains of sheep-folds or haystacks associated with the later occupation. In the second paper³ he attempted to prove his hypothesis by a pollen sequence considered to reflect the activities of the Houndtor farmers.

The remains of the turf-walled houses were few and often very confused, but their positions were clearly defined by lines of stake-holes left by the wattles which had lined the inner sides of the walls, the wear of the floors and by a number of hearths. However, since the time of their excavation in the early 1960s there have been a few archaeologists who have found it difficult to accept that these stake-holes represented the remains of houses and have looked for other interpretations.⁴ Austin's points against their existence are:⁵ i, much of the evidence for such buildings is to be found in northern areas in the British Isles where timber available for structural purposes was scarce, unlike Dartmoor where there must always have been substantial stands of timber in the valley bottoms; ii, if there had been turf houses at these sites there would have been either ruined houses surviving as

substantial earth-works elsewhere on the moor or a tell-like build-up of humic soils; iii, the use of turf is unlikely on Dartmoor where great quantities of stone could be obtained from the clutter slopes of the tors and the cutting of turves for each house would depasture a quarter-of-an-acre of good pasture land; iv, the floor-lines mentioned in the excavation report⁶ could have been formed by differing densities of growan, especially since there were no spreads of associated occupation material; v, similarly, the sunken areas were not worn floor surfaces, but also resulted from natural variation within the growan; vi, few of the hearths attributed to the early houses were of stone; vii, the turf houses did not have drains like those found with the 13th-century stone-built long-houses; viii, there was no clear evidence of stratification of the buildings defined by the lines of stake-holes either with one another or with the later buildings of stone. Accordingly he stated that the argument for turf-walled houses at these sites should be regarded as unproven and that a narrow dating of 12th to 14th centuries should be attributed to these upland settlements.

Although there has been a long tradition of turf-walled houses in northern Britain, their distribution has by no means been limited to these areas since there is evidence for their construction elsewhere in the British Isles and in the United States of America⁷ and on the Continent.⁸ In some of these districts timber was readily available, as in parts of Scotland⁹ where there was sufficient to permit the construction of cruck houses with turf walls until the end of the 19th century. In SW. England, besides the turf-walled houses recorded on Dartmoor, examples have been recorded in N. Cornwall¹⁰ and on Bodmin Moor.¹¹ The excavation on the latter at Colliford revealed substantial remains of a house where the walls were found standing up to 3 ft in height.

The use of turf as a building material in preference to stone is not without parallel in the British Isles since in the Central Highlands of Scotland such buildings were being occupied into the middle of the 19th century.¹² Therefore there must have been reasons to uphold such a persistent tradition of building. On Dartmoor, timber must always have been scarce above the 1,000 ft contour, but, as Austin postulated,¹³ reasonable stands probably grew in valley bottoms. Nevertheless, it is by no means certain that those occupying the higher ground had access thereto. There are deposits of clay on the eastern side of Dartmoor¹⁴ — one lies approximately one mile to the SE. of Hutholes — but it is not known whether their distribution is sufficiently wide to have permitted its exploitation for the construction of houses over a large area. Houses built of turf needed less labour than those of other materials¹⁵ and were reasonably durable, as were some in 19th-century America¹⁶ and Ireland.¹⁷ Also, thick turf walls were probably better able to withstand heavy rainfall driven by storm-force winds than lightly-constructed timber houses of lowland type.

The amount of turf required for the construction of a house was certainly substantial. However, turf-walled houses were durable — some examples in 19th-century America¹⁸ and Ireland¹⁹ are known to have lasted for more than 40 years — so their construction would have had little long-term detrimental effect upon pastures as the cut areas would soon have produced new foliage. Even if they only lasted 20 years it would be difficult to substantiate any argument that the building of

turf houses would have depastured so much land that their construction would have proved uneconomical, since so many houses of this type were constructed in so many areas in the British Isles and the United States of America until the middle of the 19th century without any apparent problems.

The possibility that the houses had been built of peat cannot be excluded, although it cannot be assumed that peat was locally available even where there is a thick covering today, for it might not have existed in the period of climatic optimum when the site was occupied. Examples of blanket bog are to be seen overlying medieval fields at Garrow Tor, Bodmin Moor, Cornwall.²⁰ There are three types of peat which are cut on Dartmoor for fuel today, the rights for extraction having been enjoyed from early times: that from the thick blanket bogs found on land above the 1,500 ft contour; 'valley peat' which forms around springs where the valley bottom is nearly level; and surface-dry turf, locally known as 'vags', found flanking the hill peat on the high plateaux.²¹ All would have been suitable for structural purposes, but that from the blanket bogs would not have been used at the excavated sites owing to the distances from the sources.

Although the remnants of the turf walls of the excavated houses on Dartmoor were minimal, it is not difficult to demonstrate that they had been built of this material. Firstly, in the excavation notes for the year 1962²² appertaining to the area between Houses 1 and 2, Houndtor, Mrs Minter recorded in her findings: 'In the centre of these houses in one place a layer two turves thick was peeled off. Between the turves was a thin layer of medium stones and growan. In width it was 4 ft and in shape, appeared to be the end of a turf-walled house on an E.-W. alignment'. Secondly, the great thickness of these walls and the stone facing of those on the Hutholes manor site indicate that the buildings were not of wattle and daub or cob. Finally, the stake-holes were filled with a dark brown or black soil readily removable with a spoon²³ confirming that the walls were not of a clay matrix. Austin was mistaken in saying that the former existence of turf-walled houses would necessarily result in either substantial earthworks of the fallen walls of individual buildings or a tell-like build-up of humic material on sites used for a long period of time, since such houses can disintegrate leaving no trace above ground. In Ireland great numbers of sod houses are known to have existed even as late as the 19th century, but no visible evidence of them remains.²⁴ Further, deep deposits of occupational and structural debris are seldom found on rural sites because the proximity of the fields facilitates the disposal of such accumulations. A long sequence of village occupation extending through several hundred years may be represented at best by a spread of such material of less than one foot in depth.²⁵ The construction of new turf buildings would have been greatly facilitated by the removal of the old walls, which would then have been either burnt as fuel if peat turf, or, if sod turf, spread in the fields to replace the humus on the areas from which fresh turf had been cut. Any turf footings which remained after demolition of the last of the turf houses would then have been subjected to the general wear of the ground surface during the ensuing century of the stone-walled long-houses, and thereafter disturbed by moles, earthworms and the penetration of roots for a further five hundred years before their excavation in the 1960s.

The positions of the structures interpreted as turf-walled houses at Houndtor, Hutholes and Dinna Clerks were defined by a bewildering pattern of stake-holes, somewhat similar to the plethora of small post-holes representing the remains of early timber buildings at Goltho, Barton Blount and elsewhere in the British Isles. Some of the stake-holes were indeed associated with the 13th-century occupation, such as those marking the positions of mangers in the byre of the stone-built long-houses as shown in the plan of House 7.²⁶ However, in order to facilitate the understanding of these complex plans and their relationship with the later stone-built long-houses the better preserved examples should be re-examined.

The best-preserved remains of turf-walled houses excavated by the late Mrs Minter were those found on the manor site at Hutholes and those at Dinna Clerks.²⁷ Careful examination of the plans of the stake-holes excavated at both sites provided reasonable evidence that the structures defined by stake-holes were earlier than those built of stone. It would be difficult to substantiate any argument that the stake-holes at Dinna Clerks were associated with the long-house since it is clear from Mrs Minter's records that they were sealed below its floor level and the line along the northern side veered away from the stone wall and terminated before its end. On the manor site at Hutholes at least two lines of stake-holes ran under the footings of the stone-built house. This relationship was confirmed in 1977 by the rolling-back of a stone in its SW. corner to reveal a further three stake-holes in line with those drawn by Mrs Minter. Again, many of the lines of stake-holes lying to the S. of the house are so set out that it would be difficult to envisage that they could have been associated with anything but an earlier structural period.

As on most rural settlements, the build-up of occupational material was minimal, precluding the study of the structural sequence in section. However, the excavations revealed that the masses of stake-holes lay in distinct groups, overlain in each case by a 13th-century long-house except for those recorded between Houses 1 and 2, Houndtor.²⁸ Although there was no evidence of stratification outside of the stone-built long-houses, most of the stake-holes found inside were only revealed below the floor levels, particularly after winter frosts had shattered the hard trampled surfaces, facilitating their removal.²⁹

Since all but one of the stake-hole groups underlay a stone-built house and there were several examples, for example House 1, Houndtor³⁰ and especially Dinna Clerks,³¹ where the plans of the structures defined by the stake-holes were remarkably similar to those of the superimposed stone long-houses, it may be said with reasonable confidence that the majority of stake-holes represent the remains of superimposed buildings also constructed for domestic occupation. The comparative size of these buildings and the thickness of their walls clearly demonstrate that they would have been built as permanent houses and not as summer shielings as Austin suggested.³²

Although byres have been excavated in early contexts as at the 10th-century farmstead at Mawgan Porth, Cornwall,³³ Austin's concern about the absence of byre drains in the turf-walled houses is unfounded since a long-house with a byre is a relatively late development in the British Isles with very few examples known before the late 12th and early 13th centuries.³⁴ However, in Houses 1 and 2, Houndtor and

at Dinna Clerks, where the stone-built long-houses were superimposed upon the footings of the earlier houses of turf, it is possible that the deeply-cut byre drains could have served the houses of both periods. The excavation notes for the year 1962 describe the removal of the floor of House 1, Houndtor and the revealing of an earlier, much worn floor associated with the evidence of turf walling of the earlier structural period: 'The floor of the byre was stoney and to all intents and purposes might have been natural. After snow, however, the surface of the floor crumbled and could be stripped off with a trowel. It consisted of fine dried rootlets woven together with growan on both sides. In the living room it was hardly an inch thick, but in the byre it varied between 4 to 6 in. in thickness in the centre, thinning out to about ½ in. against the walls. The floor was skimmed off with a trowel in thin layers of rootlets and growan; in many places as many as eight lay irregularly over one another. It was later recognized that these were turfs packed hard'. Although the notes did not mention that the drain of the long-house cut through these levels, from the plans and sections it is evident that it did. However, the wear of the centre of the floor of the early building is consistent with that of a byre. Drains were found in the two late turf-walled houses at Tresmorn, Cornwall.³⁵ Concern that the features which were interpreted by Mrs Minter as floor edges were in fact of natural origin is quite unfounded, since so many were found associated with lines of stake-holes on all the sites.

The positions of many hearths defined by granite hearth-stones, cobbles or burnt growan were recorded.³⁶ However, it must be said that it is frequently difficult to attribute such hearths to any particular period since some of those situated outside the stone-built long-houses could be interpreted as corn-driers, malting kilns, ovens or smithing hearths associated with the last period of occupation. Nevertheless, those sealed beneath the floors of the long-houses as in House 7, Houndtor³⁷ might safely be attributed to the early period. Hearths were found associated with the early buildings at Tresmorn, Cornwall.³⁸

The existence and the durability of the turf-walled houses have a bearing on the question of the date of origin of the Houndtor settlement which Austin would place in the 12th or 13th century. It is always difficult to determine the life of a peasant house since the duration of occupation must depend upon many factors such as the construction of the footings, the humidity of the soil upon which the house had been built, the quality of the structural timbers and the tolerance of the occupant to life in a decaying smoke-blackened home. Excavation in Croft A at Goltho, Lincolnshire,³⁹ revealed a sequence of medieval houses built of timber and clay which had a maximum average life of 35 years. However, it is of interest to note that there are houses in Thimbelby,⁴⁰ some nine miles to the south-east of Goltho, built up on similar pad-stone footings which have stood from the 16th century to the present day. Similarly there are some turf houses built in the last century which are known to have lasted for over 40 years.⁴¹ The longer life of these post-medieval houses may possibly be attributed to the better-quality roofing materials and to better maintenance. The turf-walled houses at Dinna Clerks and those of the last structural phase at the Hutholes Manor site and those between Houses 1 and 2, Houndtor were substantial structures, but some of those of earlier date were possibly of lighter

construction. In the excavation report it was suggested that there had been some twenty or thirty superimposed houses set between Houses 1 and 2 Houndtor, but this number might have been slightly exaggerated since some of the lines of stake-holes might represent repairs to the walls, evidence for such maintenance being well documented in Scotland;⁴² but if there were some twenty superimposed houses each having an average life of some twenty-five years, a date early in the 8th century may be postulated for the foundation of the excavated site on Houndtor.

The exploitation of this land in a period of climatic optimum is to be expected since the open fields to the W. of the settlement were reasonably level, in marked contrast to many of those in the valley bottom. The soils, also, were easy to work and were relatively free from stones especially those between Hound Tor and Greater Rocks. Houndtor is not an isolated example of a Dartmoor community practising arable farming above the 1,000 ft contour, since there are other medieval fields situated at a similar altitude at Holne some six miles to the south-west which can be said to date back to the 10th century or earlier.⁴³

The site from which Austin and Walker took their pollen sequence lay some 100 yds to the NW. and some 60 ft below the level of House 4, Houndtor, where three small springs give rise to a small stream. A radiocarbon determination gave a mean calendar date of *c.* 1270 on recently-published curves^{44,45} and establishes that the cereal phase was medieval. But the date at which the cultivation began in the area cannot be established on the basis of pollen stratigraphy as this pre-dates the onset of peat accumulation. However, Austin and Walker argued from the pollen sequence that the 'relationship between the development of the bog and agricultural activity might be reasonably inferred, for the construction of field boundaries and subsequent cultivation on the steep slopes above the pollen site would have had a major effect on surface drainage'.⁴⁶ But such an inference must be substantiated if it is to be acceptable; Austin and Walker should have discussed the possibility that much of the surface water from the fields would have been carried away by the deep corn-ditches, leaving the land between the fields and the springs relatively dry. Furthermore, the springs must always have been the source of drinking-water from the date of the foundation of the settlement. Any impediment to their flow possibly caused by the trampling of the villagers and their animals or by some other means would soon have led to the formation of the peat⁴⁷ from which the samples were taken. Therefore, it may be said with some confidence that the build-up of peat in that position was the consequence of general occupational activity rather than the laying out of the fields or the surrounding corn-ditches, especially as the latter are likely to have been excavated in the 11th or early 12th century.⁴⁸

Austin was postulating that the excavated Houndtor settlement was a 12th- or 13th-century extension of a hamlet in the valley bottom probably close to the present-day Great Houndtor Farm.⁴⁹ This cannot be substantiated since there is no evidence of early settlement except the remains of a long-house of uncertain date in the SW. corner of the farm-yard of Great Houndtor Farm. Had the Domesday

*Hundetorra*⁵⁰ been established in a valley position, the settlement should have been occupied into the 13th and 14th centuries like the excavated site and substantial remains should have survived. The remnants of the one long-house, therefore, probably mark the position of a late medieval or early post-medieval farmstead similar to that excavated at Dinna Clerks.⁵¹ Although there are examples in N. Devon where a settlement develops in a valley bottom and gradually moves up-hill,⁵² Austin is mistaken in thinking that such circumstances should necessarily have prevailed on Dartmoor, since there are two nearby Domesday manors in wooded valleys which were apparently cleared down-hill from the presumed nuclei of the settlements; these are Natsworthy Manor House (SX 720 800) and Blackslade (SX 727 756) lying on the 1,200 ft and 1,000 ft contours respectively, higher than any other farm-houses within their respective manorial boundaries.⁵³ At both sites there are medieval fields running up to the 1,300 ft contour, the layout at Natsworthy being similar to that at Houndtor. The plans of the manors are clearly depicted on the 2½ in. and 6 in. Ordnance Survey maps of Dartmoor and the manorial boundaries are to be seen on the 1842 Tythe Apportionment (Devon Record Office). At Natsworthy, the manorial boundaries are also delineated in the Survey of the Lands of Lord Dynham in Devon and Cornwall, 1556⁵⁴ and in a Court Roll of 1695.⁵⁵

During the late 11th, 12th and early 13th centuries it is frequently difficult to determine whether a manor-house was occupied by a lord, tenant or sub-tenant or whether the estate was managed by a bailiff as an economic unit without the maintaining of a principal house which would normally have been the centre of its organization. Nevertheless, at Houndtor, there is good, though not conclusive, evidence for identifying House 3 as the possible manor-house of *Hundetorra*: it was the largest of the houses at the excavated site, having an upper third room and two and possibly three associated buildings — one of which was a subsidiary dwelling — and gardens set in the largest of the enclosures. There was also a small family holding half a knight's fee who do not appear to have held any other estate in the county. It is therefore probable that they lived at Houndtor from which they took their name.⁵⁶ Sir William Pole's *History of Devonshire* published in 1791⁵⁷ lists the Houndtor holders, although he does not mention the Le Dennys family from whom the de Houndtors held as middle lords. Pole records 'Hugh de Houndtor Kt was in King Richard's tyme seised of the whole tything of houndtor and has issue: Richard, Henry, Turgis and Osbert. Sir Richard de Houndtor has issue John and Andrew'. In the middle of the 13th century Thomas, son of Hugh Langdon, bought Houndtor from John de Houndtor,⁵⁸ indicating that Houndtor may not have had a resident lord from that date.

The long-house at Great Houndtor Farm seems an unlikely contender for the site of the manor-house if, indeed, one had existed, since it is within one small field's length from the manorial boundary and very close to the common land of the adjacent manor.⁵⁹ Further, there is nothing to suggest that this was the nucleus of the Saxo-Norman settlement. Indeed, it is unwise to think in terms of primary settlement and later sites in this area of dispersed settlement since the land was fully settled by the Bronze Age and where subsequent changes have occurred, they have probably been determined by climatic variation and changing farming practices.

In the absence of any other substantial hamlet in the manor, it is likely that the excavated site was the Domesday *Hundetorra*. The dating of the origin of the medieval settlement is complicated by the fact that much of Dartmoor appears to have been aceramic until the 12th century: Saxo-Norman pottery was remarkably scarce at Lydford. However, the remains of the turf-walled houses underlying the 13th-century stone-built long-houses indicate that the site was occupied from a date before the reign of Edward I.

NOTES

¹ G. Beresford, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements on Dartmoor: A Report on the late E. Marie Minter's Excavations', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xxiii (1979), 98-159.

² D. Austin and S. C. Walker, 'Dartmoor and the Upland Village of South-West England', 71-79 in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval Villages: A Review of Current Work* (Oxford Univ. Comm. Archaeol. Mono. 5, 1985).

³ D. Austin and M. J. C. Walker, 'A New Landscape Context for Houndtor, Devon', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xxix (1985), 147-52.

⁴ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 115-16.

⁵ Austin, op. cit. in note 2, 72.

⁶ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 117.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁸ C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction* (1916, reprint Newton Abbot, 1971), 115-16.

⁹ R. Ross Noble, 'Turf-Walled Houses of the Central Highlands: An Experiment in Reconstruction', *Folk Life*, xxii (1983-84), 68-83. The turf houses on Dartmoor differed from those reconstructed in Scotland in that there was no evidence of cruck construction.

¹⁰ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 113.

¹¹ I am most grateful to Mr David Austin for this information. Excavation report forthcoming.

¹² Ross Noble, op. cit. in note 9, 68-83.

¹³ Austin, op. cit. in note 2, 72.

¹⁴ I am most grateful to the late Hermon French for this information.

¹⁵ C. O'Danachair, 'Materials and Methods in Irish Traditional Building', *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, lxxxvii (1957), 61-64.

¹⁶ C. G. Barnes, *The Sod House* (Univ. Nebraska Press, 1970); see also E. Dick, *The Sod House Frontier 1824-1890* (D. Appleton Century Co. Inc., 1942).

¹⁷ E. E. Evans, 'Sod and Turf Houses in Ireland', in G. Jenkins (ed.), *Studies in Folk Life, essays presented to Iorwerth C. Peate* (1969), 80-81; and Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 113.

¹⁸ Barnes, op. cit. in note 16.

¹⁹ Evans, op. cit. in note 17.

²⁰ D. Dudley and E. M. Minter, 'The Medieval Village at Garrow Tor, Bodmin Moor, Cornwall', *Medieval Archaeol.*, vi-vii (1962-63), pl. xxvii, c.

²¹ I am most grateful to the late Hermon French for this information.

²² Mrs Minter's excavation notes for the year 1962.

²³ I am most grateful to the late Hermon French and to those who assisted during the excavations for this information.

²⁴ Evans, op. cit. in note 17, 80-81.

²⁵ M. Beresford and J. G. Hurst (eds), *Deserted Medieval Villages* (London, 1971), 85.

²⁶ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 122-25.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 117-20.

²⁹ Mrs Minter's excavation notes for the year 1962.

³⁰ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 12.

³² Austin, op. cit. in note 2, 73.

³³ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'A Dark Age Settlement at Mawgan Porth, Cornwall', 167-96 in R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (London, 1956).

³⁴ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 124-27.

³⁵ G. Beresford, 'Tresmorn, St Gennys', *Cornish Archaeol.*, x (1971), 57-62.

³⁶ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, figs. 8, 10. Cf., also, field drawings.

³⁷ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 10.

³⁸ Beresford, op. cit. in note 35, fig. 23.

³⁹ G. Beresford, *The Medieval Clay-Land Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount* (Soc. Medieval Archaeol. Mono. Ser. 6, 1975), fig. 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴¹ Barnes, op. cit. in note 16; Dick, op. cit. in note 16; Evans, op. cit. in note 17.

⁴² Ross Noble, op. cit. in note 9.

⁴³ A. Fleming and N. Ralph, 'Medieval Settlement and Land Use on Holne Moor, Dartmoor: the landscape evidence', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xxvi (1982), fig. 9.

⁴⁴ M. Stuiver, 'A High-Precision Calibration Curve of the AD. Radio Carbon Timescale', *Radio Carbon*, 24 (1982), 1-26.

⁴⁵ G. W. Pearson and M. G. L. Baillie, 'High Precision C Measurement of Irish Oak to show Natural Atmospheric C¹⁴ variations of the AD. time period', *Radio Carbon*, 25 (1983), 187-96.

⁴⁶ Austin and Walker, op. cit. in note 3, 151.

⁴⁷ J. A. S. Watson and J. A. Moore, *Agriculture: The Science and Practice of British Farming* (Edinburgh, 9th edn 1949)

10. Peat is formed either when rainfall exceeds evaporation and/or in instances where drainage is insufficient to remove the surplus water. These circumstances lead to waterlogging of the soils and the exclusion of oxygen. In places where there is a deficiency of lime, as at Houndtor, such conditions prevent the decomposition of plant matter and so lead to the formation of peat.

⁴⁸ Op. cit. in note 43, 107-09.

⁴⁹ Austin, op. cit. in note 2, 73.

⁵⁰ V.C.H., *Devonshire*, 1 (ed. W. Page) (London, 1906), 432.

⁵¹ Beresford, op. cit. in note 1, 135-36.

⁵² S. M. Pearce, 'The Early Church in the Landscape: The Evidence from North Devon', *Archaeol. J.*, cxlii (1985),

255-75.

⁵³ I am most grateful to Miss Elizabeth Gawne for this information.

⁵⁴ D.R.O. Z17/3/19.

⁵⁵ D.R.O. 48/14/1/19.

⁵⁶ Sir William Pole, *History of Devonshire* (London, 1791), 256.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ 1842 Tythe Apportionment: Devon Record Office.

⁶⁰ P. V. Addyman, 'Excavation Notes on Lydford', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xi (1967), 263.