

THE GARRISON,
ST MARY'S,
ISLES OF SCILLY

THE DEFENCES OF THE GARRISON 1500-1945

SURVEY REPORT

Allan Brodie



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ST MARY'S
ISLES OF SCILLY**

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SUMMARY

The Garrison, linked by a sand bar to the main landmass of St. Mary's, forms the principal site in the island's defences, on which stand the remains of structures dating from the 16th to the 20th century. Built in response to successive threats of invasion, the main survivals are Star Castle, built in the 1590s, the Garrison Walls, which were first built in the 1590s but principally belong to the 1740s, a magazine and domestic structures of the early 17th century, and two large gun batteries, a barracks and associated structures of c 1900. Along the west side of the Garrison long stretches of breastwork and earthwork batteries from the mid-17th century survive. The Garrison also retains a number of World War II pillboxes. Most of the defences ring the coastline and many are vulnerable to coastal erosion.

CONTRIBUTORS

This report was drafted by Allan Brodie and read by Mark Bowden and Barry Jones of English Heritage and Amanda Martin of the Isles of Scilly Museum.

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INTRODUCTION

The strategic significance of the Isles of Scilly has been recognised since before the time of the Spanish Armada. The islands were a vital anchorage for British ships controlling routes between mainland Europe and Ireland and the west coast of Britain, and if lost to enemy control they could have become a tactical base from which to disrupt British shipping. Sir Francis Godolphin, the Governor of the islands in 1602, feared that an enemy could 'soon make it [Scilly] impregnable and use it as a rendezvous of his navy, a citadel or scourge against the realm. From thence he may interrupt the sending of ammunition, &c from London and the south of England into Ireland'.¹ A century later in 1715 Colonel Christian Lilly carried out a survey of the state of the defences and expressed similar concerns about the strategic location of the islands:

'The preservation of these Islands seems to be a Matter of great concern to the Trade of Brittain on a Two fold Account. First in regard of their Commodious situation for our Coasting Vessels, who are bound up either of the aforesaid Channels, and meeting with Contrary winds or with an Enemy, - may safely put into harbour there. In the great road Between St Mary's and Sampsons Island where is good Anchorage and Room enough for a Numerous Fleet to ride with good shelter against all Winds, except those which blow from the West South West, and under the protection and Countenance of the Fortifications on St Mary's Island, with this farther Advantage that they may again put to Sea with almost any wind, these being three Open Sounds, and Several other Channels, the Navigation of which with a good Pilot is safe and easie: secondly should these Islands be further Neglected and fall at any time into the Possession of an Enemy who having time to repair the Fortifications, and perhaps also to erect new ones, he would then be in a Condition to disturbe our Commerce'²

In 1822 George Woodley also pointed out the vulnerability of the islands and the consequences that would arise from any landings:

'It may also be remembered that, during the recent contest with America, such, at onetime, was the state and dispersion of our Navy, that a squadron of three of the enemy's heavy frigates, appearing in the mouth of the channel, excited no small alarm, particularly in the West of England. Had the commanders of those frigates, - with the characteristic temerity of their transatlantic compatriots, and which sometimes pass, with the injudicious, for true courage, - made a landing on the Scilly Islands, they might not only have done the most serious injury, - by pillaging and destroying houses, oats, crops, and every kind of property; - but, had they thought fit, under favourable circumstances, to protract their stay; it would have required considerable expence to dislodge them.'³

Trying to defend the whole of Scilly would not be possible with the limited number of men and matériel available. Therefore, although outlying islands might be captured, the safe anchorages, and the roads between the islands, could not be used without

conquering St. Mary's. (Fig 1) The Garrison, which was chosen as the main site of St Mary's defences, was the smaller of the pair of islands that form St Mary's, with a sandbank between the two landmasses, similar in form to the pairing of St Agnes and The Gugh. Hugh Town, the largest settlement in Scilly, is built on this sandbank, between the two beaches. The main defences of the Garrison are roughly oval in plan, with their maximum distance from north to south being approximately 900m, while the distance from east to west is around 600m. (Fig 2) These walls and earthworks measure around 2.5km in length and enclose almost 40 hectares.

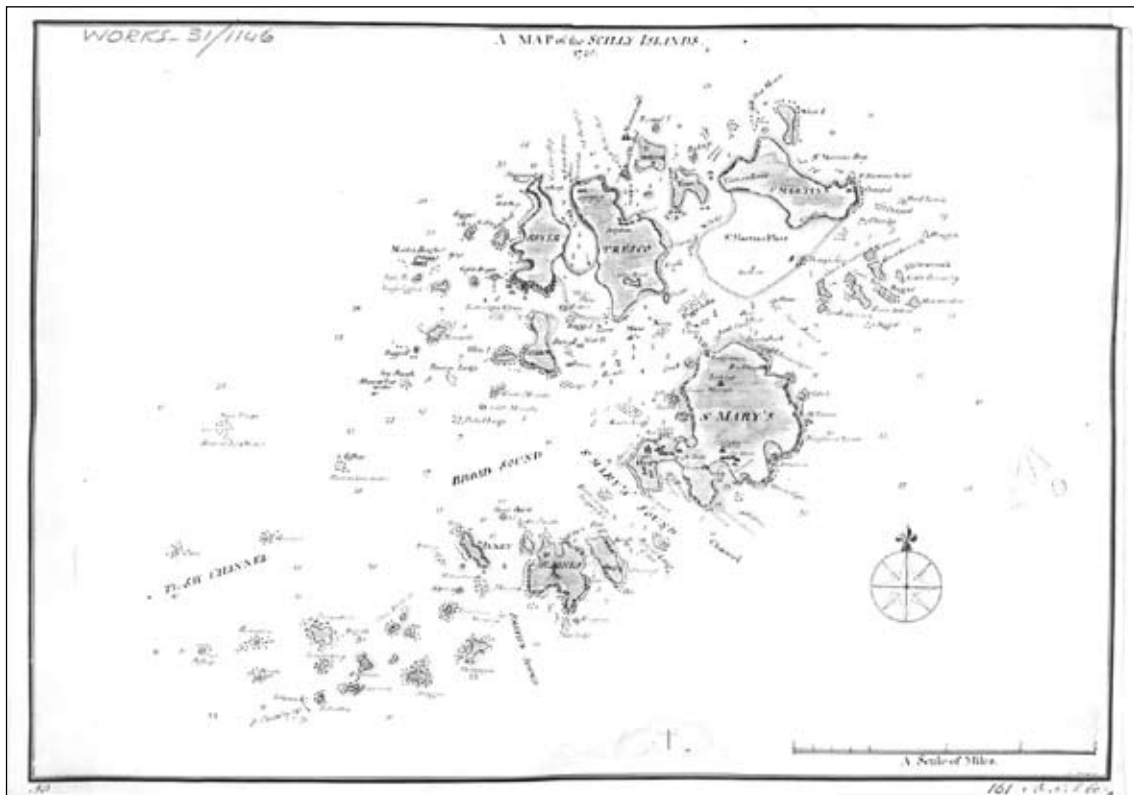


Figure 1. 1740 map in NMR [Works 31/1146]

The realisation that the key to defending Scilly was to prevent St. Mary's capture prompted the construction of Star Castle at the end of the 16th century on the hilltop at the north end of the Garrison. The coastline of the island is predominantly rocky with cliffs high enough to impede the unloading of men and cargo. Any invader would have to approach the castle from the east, having landed men on the two beaches on either side of Hugh Town. Star Castle could serve as a base for the island's defenders, act as a lookout station for enemy ships, provide a platform to fire on ships trying to approach the beaches and, if all else failed, it might offer a strongpoint capable of resisting a brief siege. If a siege did take place, the castle would be unlikely to resist a lengthy, concerted attack by well-equipped forces with canons, but the likelihood of such a threat depended on an enemy being able to land his forces under fire from the castle.

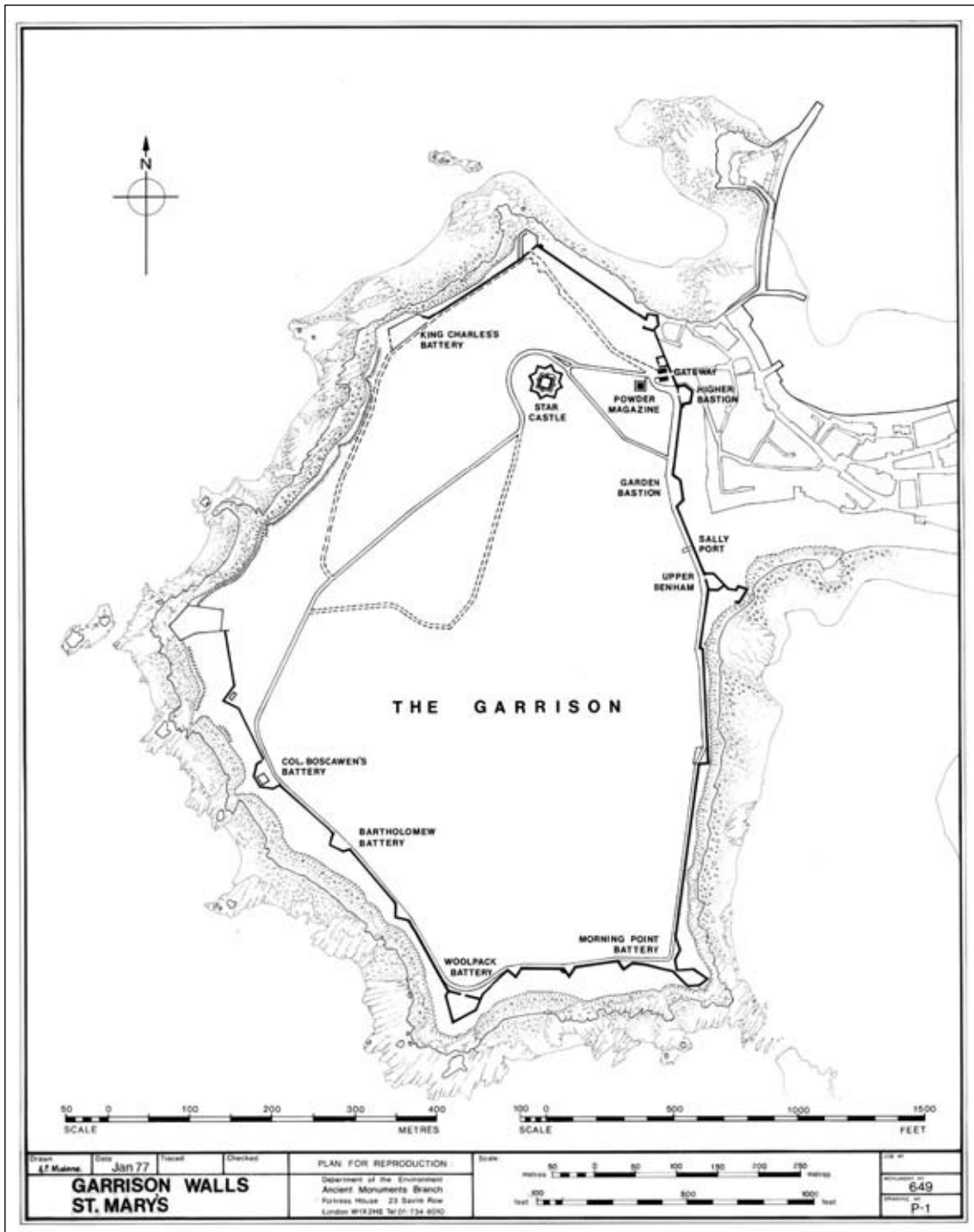


Figure 2. Map of the Garrison in NMR [649/p1]

Star Castle, with its elegant geometrical form, was probably more psychologically reassuring, than practical, and the need for additional defences to protect its eastern flank was recognised even while it was being built. These defences were to provide an obstacle to invaders approaching the castle from the landing beaches. Therefore, at the end of the 16th century a major construction programme was undertaken to create defensive walls

running north to south on the west side of Hugh Town. By the time a survey plan was made in 1655, following the capture of the islands by Parliamentary forces, substantial stone walls ran from Well Platform at the northern end of the Garrison to the Lower Broom Platform.⁴ There were also stone fortifications at Newman's, Morning Point, Woolpack Battery, Bartholomew Battery, Steval Point and Charles Battery. These were linked to each other and to the stone walls along the east side of the Garrison by a comprehensive set of earthworks.

Another survey in 1715 by Colonel Christian Lilly found the fortifications in need of major repairs and his account in the British Library provides a comprehensive description of the proposed works, as well as a detailed map.⁵ He itemised the work needed to make the walls and earthworks serviceable and recommended providing new buildings within the Garrison to accommodate soldiers, but he did not suggest extending or rebuilding the existing walls.

However, by the late 1730s the need to extend the walls around the Garrison had been recognised and a number of maps and the detailed financial records of the Board of Ordnance provide a clear picture of the activity taking place in this period. This phase of work began in 1741 and lasted until 1746. Work progressed clockwise as far as Steval Point where the walls end abruptly in a neat joint; apparently there was no longer felt to be the need for defences in Scilly after the defeat of the Jacobite forces at Culloden in 1746.

After the 1740s, the walls of the Garrison were maintained and in places had to be repaired due to coastal erosion. On the slope above the southern end of the Garrison Walls two huge batteries were constructed c 1900, to help with the creation of sheltered anchorages for shipping, and searchlight positions were established below to pick up any enemy vessels. The most significant changes in the 20th century took place during World War II on the south and east side of the Garrison where some batteries were altered or adapted to contain pillboxes.

By the early 21st century, hundreds of years of coastal erosion had begun to seriously undermine stretches of the coast beside some of the Garrison walls. As holding back the sea is a task that neither King Canute nor English Heritage could achieve, the need to understand and document the history and condition of the walls and earthworks was recognised. Therefore, a major recording programme has taken place employing a range of archaeological and architectural staff from the Research Department of English Heritage, commencing in 2006. This was extended to a survey of the defences of all the islands and in 2011 a book was published on this subject.⁶ This report draws together material used in that book and other papers, and publishes additional material too detailed for inclusion elsewhere.

TUDOR DEFENCES ON THE GARRISON

By the reign of Henry VIII protecting the nation through local defensive measures was no longer considered adequate and the need for national initiatives was acknowledged by the Crown.⁷ England faced invasion in 1538 by the combined forces of the Emperor Charles V and Francis I, King of France and therefore, the construction of a series of fortifications along the coast of England and Wales, stretching eventually from Hull round to Milford Haven was undertaken. There was an underlying plan, the Device, which was drawn up by February 1539. This envisaged a series of gun platforms, almost transitional in type between the medieval castle and modern fortifications. Unlike their predecessors, these were purely military in character, rather than serving as the domestic and political power bases of major landowners.⁸ Although there may have been central direction of sorts, nevertheless there was great variety in the structures built to defend the coast.⁹ The smallest were the blockhouses defending the shores of the Thames, which cost from around £500 to just over £1,000 to construct.¹⁰ At some locations on the south coast of England huge fortifications were built with a tall, central, cylindrical block surrounded by rounded bastions and these cost between £5,000 and £10,000. In terms of their armaments, the firepower ranged from a handful of guns in a small blockhouse up to dozens of gun positions in castles such as those at Deal, Walmer, Sandgate or St Mawes.¹¹ Although vast sums of money were spent during Henry VIII's reign, these fortifications were not put to the test, as on 7 June 1546 a peace treaty ended the immediate danger of war with France.¹²

The creation of new fortifications in Scilly was not part of the Henrician programme, but elements of the programme seem to have been incorporated into the slightly later structures built on Tresco and St Mary's during Edward VI's short reign. The new King was only nine years old when he ascended to the throne on 28 January 1547, and therefore a ruling council was established, though it rapidly became dominated by its leader Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset (c1506 – 22 January 1552), the uncle of the new king.¹³ He served as the Lord Protector of England until his indictment and fall from power on 11 October 1549. During this brief period his younger brother, Thomas, was the Lord Admiral and following growing concern about shipping around Scilly, Thomas visited the islands in April 1547.¹⁴ This visit seems to have stimulated a programme to remedy the lack of defences.

In the first years of Edward VI's reign, building work was focussed on Tresco. (Fig 3 & Fig 4) Although St Mary's was more populous and could control more of the key roads between the islands, it already had some defences and John Killigrew senior may have been using the money provided to secure the island that was to become his power base. Using documentary references in combination with observations concerning the form of the buildings, the likely order of construction is that the two buildings on Tresco were built from 1548 until 1550 or 1551, with work on Harry's Walls on St Mary's only beginning in 1551. (Fig 5)

William Borlase writing in the 1750s said that: 'Besides the Fortifications at the Old Town, and the Hue, there was a Fort begun injudiciously on a hill above the Pool, but the mistake in the choice of ground being discovered, it was never finished.'¹⁵ He believed



Figure 3. *The Old Blockhouse, Tresco* [DP085145]



Figure 4. *King Charles' Castle, Tresco* [NMR 23933/028]



Figure 5. Harry's Walls, St Mary's [NMR 26572/023]



Figure 6. View from incomplete Harry's Walls towards Star Castle [DP085489]

that Harry's Walls was in the wrong place, but the site is a good one with a command of the roads and the harbour itself, and if completed it would have also afforded reasonable views of the waters to the south of St Mary's. (Fig 6) It has limitations, but that would be true of any single site on the island. Therefore, is it possible that it was to be seen as an addition to the pre-existing defences on St Mary's? There was the modest Ennor Castle overlooking Old Town, and Mount Holles Battery, located in front of the Garrison Gate, is said to be the remains of an early fortification. Borlase in 1756 described this 'old Fort' as 'a round hillock' that 'seems to have had a Keep on the top of it'.¹⁶

There was also another military structure on the Garrison, described in the Parliamentary Survey of 1652 as: 'An old Fort called the Follye which is onely the old walls and shedderd within for the quartering of soldiers, scituate towards the south end of the Hugh Hill.'¹⁷ On the 1655 map it is shown at the south end of the Garrison.¹⁸ A chart in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, prepared by Romain de Hooze 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.¹⁹ The single fort shown is not Star Castle, but the plan of the 'old Fort' referred to in 1652, including its diamond-orientation. This structure also appears on Christian Lilly's map of 1715 at the south end of the Garrison, overlooking St Agnes. It is depicted as a small, heavily-buttressed, square block, typical of a small 16th- or 17th-century blockhouse and on this site the remains of some low earthworks of roughly the same shape have been found. (Fig 7) The only discrepancy is that the orientation is slightly different, but this could be explained as the result of a cartographical error in the depiction of a ruinous structure.

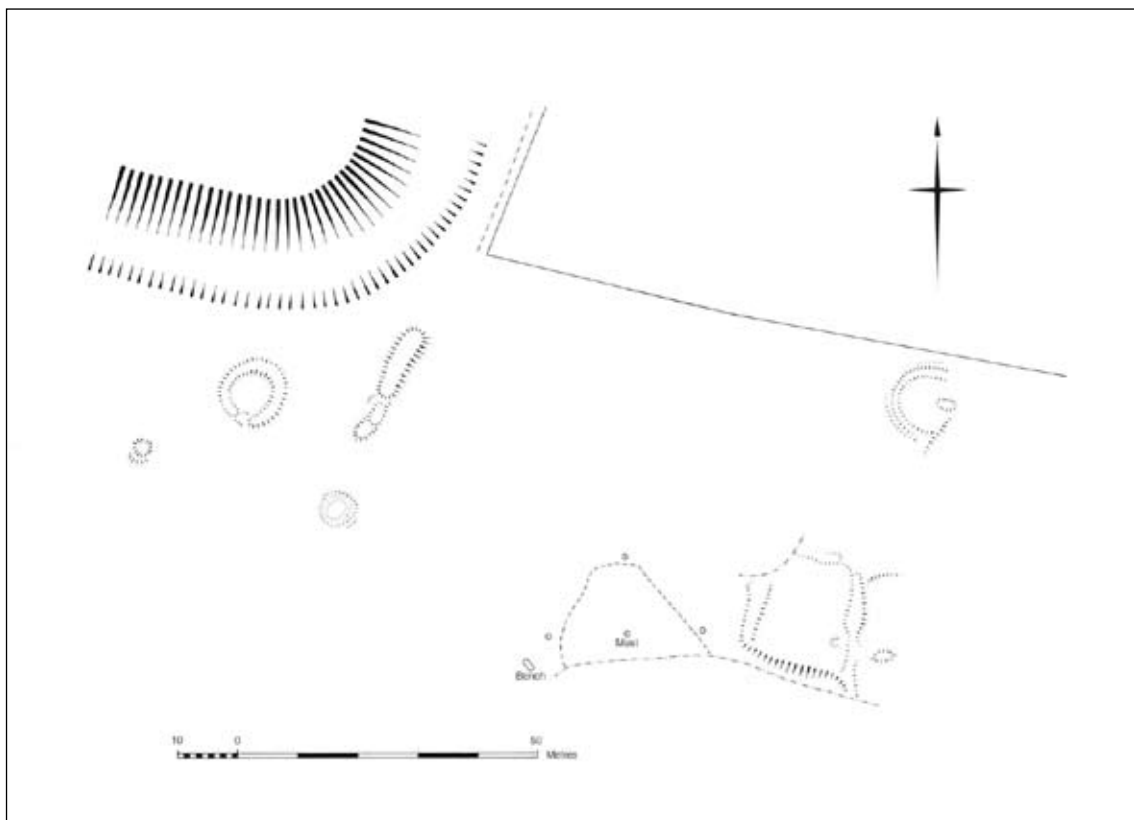


Figure 7. Survey of earthworks beside Woolpack Battery (top left) with 'the Folly' in bottom right

In 1579 a transcription of a document in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic mentions that: 'King Edward VI built two clockhouses (sic blockhouses) in St Mary Isle, and began a fort and a house, and two clockhouses in Treskawe; their charge with that of the garrison cost 6,000l.'²⁰ There are the remains of a blockhouse at the eponymous Block House Point at the north-east corner of St Mary's, which existed as early as 1554.²¹ (Appendix I) Is the Old Fort the second blockhouse mentioned and therefore a work

of Edward VI's reign or does it predate this, as Mount Holles may have done? The 1554 survey of the artillery on St Mary's specified that there was a culverin and a demi-culverin on the Hugh, but there are two separate entries for the 'old castell', one before the entry concerning the Hugh and the other at the end of the St Mary's section.²² Is this just a mistake or were there two old castles, Ennor Castle and another near the Hugh, i.e. either the Old Fort or Mount Holles?

Work had ceased on the major fortifications in Scilly by the end of 1552, but in 1554, the year after Queen Mary's accession, the aim was to establish a permanent garrison of 150 men, with as many as practicable being masons or workmen who could 'worke upon the forte there', presumably an attempt to revive the Harry's Walls project.²³ In 1554 a very detailed survey was undertaken itemising the armaments of the islands, ranging from relatively modern artillery to collections of bows and arrows.²⁴ (Appendix I) One of the final actions of Queen Mary's reign regarding Scilly was to send Sir John Chichester in 1557 to review the defences and report on them.²⁵ Perhaps the Queen's death in the following year meant that this report was never submitted.

STAR CASTLE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE GARRISON WALLS 1588-1600

Elizabeth's reign began peacefully, despite the new Queen presiding over a Protestant country encircled by potential Catholic enemies. But in 1570 the first major invasion threats of her reign took place. Later in the same year Francis Godolphin was granted a 38-year lease of the Isles of Scilly.²⁶ In 1573 Scilly was to be provided with two culverins and two sakers to replace old pieces of artillery that were no longer serviceable.²⁷ However, it was Queen Elizabeth's decision, in 1585, to support the Netherlands in its struggle for independence from Spain that triggered almost twenty years of warfare.²⁸ In August 1587 a fleet of 120 Spanish Ships was reported off Scilly and in the following year the Spanish Armada, 'the Spanish floating Babel' as Richard Antony described it, failed in an abortive invasion of England.²⁹ The Spanish became a particular threat to Scilly after 1590 when they captured a foothold in Brittany at Blavet.³⁰ The Armada had prompted no immediate, substantial action in Scilly, but the relative proximity of Spanish forces in western France started a new phase of fortification. In May 1591 the West Country's defences were made ready for an imminent invasion and Scilly was to be reinforced with additional ships and land forces.³¹ By July 1591 the immediate threat seems to have passed and Godolphin was allowed to stand down sixty men from the defence of Scilly.³²

In the following year the Privy Council began to consider how to improve permanently the defences of the islands. By March 1591/2 a plan had been 'drawne for the fortiefenge of the lles of Sylley and especiallie St. Marie lland, for defence of the roade'.³³ At the same meeting Robert Adams 'a man of verie good skill and knowledge' was ordered to go to Scilly to examine the works that had already taken place and to establish how to complete them according to the original plan or in a better fashion. Other documents suggest that consideration was being given to completing Harry's Walls, but Adams was also requested to consider other options to protect St Mary's.³⁴ Adams is first mentioned regarding fortifications in 1585 when he carried out a survey of Flushing (Netherlands) and in 1588 he mapped the fortifications on the Thames.³⁵ In 1589 he surveyed Ostend and in the following year he carried out repairs there. Thereafter, he went to work at Plymouth and Scilly and just before his death in 1595 he was briefly the Surveyor of the Queen's Works at Whitehall.

On 8 March 1592/3 the Spanish threat to Scilly was again being assessed, and the conclusion was that from May until September 'there should be a garrison of eighty men at least, one half to be strong labourers to further the fortifications, whereof there is great need. They will also need at least 6 or 8 demiculverins and sakers, with powder and shot ...' ³⁶

By 9 May 1593 a plan for the defences had been finalised.³⁷ The sum of £400 was set aside for the garrisoning of the islands, which would involve manning the fort, which still had to be built, as well as two other smaller 'sconces' during the summer. The garrison ordinarily would consist of a lieutenant, three gunners, and twenty-six soldiers during the summer, with only ten soldiers being necessary during the winter. Godolphin 'with advice of Rob. Adams' was to build the fort and soon work seems to have begun in

earnest on Star Castle.³⁸ (Fig 8) On 14 May 1593 Robert Adams was authorised to get the project started:

'A warrant to the Lieutenantes of the county of Cornwall and to all other publique officers within that countie to assist Mr Robert Adams in the seasing and taking up all such materials as he shall think need to be used in the fortifieng of the Isles of Sylly, and of convenient cartes for his carriages and vessels to transport them over into those Islandes at her Majesty's prices.'³⁹



Figure 8. Star Castle [NMR 26576/36]

On 6 August 1593 Sir Francis Godolphin wrote to Lord Burghley reporting on the progress that had been made.⁴⁰ He began by noting that: 'Adams is well deserving, for besides his perfect skill in numbers and measures, he is very provident in saving, and no less painful in attending; the work considered, so much has seldom been performed at such small charge, and with so few hands, in so short a time.' Following this almost Churchillian accolade, he noted that fine weather and the ability to produce lime on the site had contributed to the rapid progress. However, he was already highlighting the fact that the project would exceed its original budget. By the end of October 1593 £377 9s had been spent on Star Castle and in December 1594, when the fort was completed, the cost had risen to £958 11s 2d, of which only £450 had been paid.⁴¹ (Fig 9) Once completed Captain Giles Beden (or Beeton) was sent as the first commander of the fort, though he was relieved of his command in 1597, and replaced by Sir Francis' son.⁴² In 1596 the garrison was set at fifty from April to September, with twenty-four guarding the islands during the rest of the year.⁴³

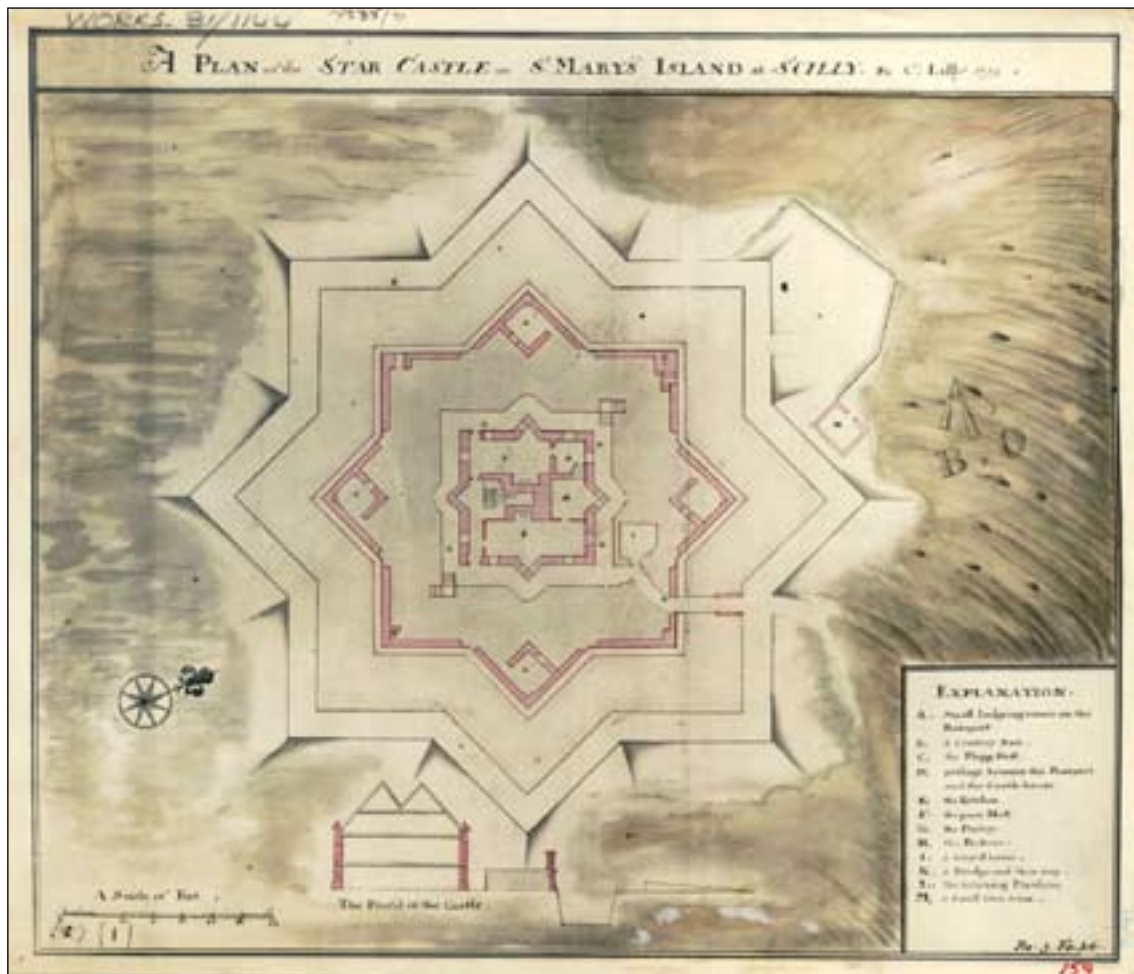


Figure 9. Plan of Star Castle by Christian Lilly 1715 in NMR [Works 31/1144]

The earliest description of Star Castle occurs in the Parliamentary Survey of 1652:

'The Castle is built in the forme of an acute octogon fort with a good stone rampaire of the same forme, but verrie low and litle consisting of a hall or new roome, butterye and two sellers with a kitchen, pastrye and larder below staires with a dyneing roome and fowre chambers in the second storie and seaven little roomes over them with fowre little turrets upon the leads, also upon the rampere and over the port are five little roomes for the gunners stores and under the rampere and at the port is a court and guard and fowre other litle roomes for stores also.⁴⁴

The castle is a small fort, eight-pointed in shape, set within similarly-shaped outer defences surrounded by a deep, dry ditch. (Fig 10) It is two storied, with an attic and a small basement and contained the domestic accommodation. At the heart of the structure is a large stack heating the rooms around it. Surrounding the building there is a narrow passage and a series of outbuildings including stores, an arrangement that may have been contrived in 1600.⁴⁵ These provide the base for the rampart around the perimeter of the castle, where eight pieces of artillery were to be positioned. Joints in



Figure 10. *Star Castle North Elevation [DP085292]*



Figure 11. *Small Barrack Block (unrestored) on ramparts of Star Castle [DP085306]*

the walls of the parapet indicate the position of these guns and there were loops in the walls for muskets. Four small, square buildings on the rampart were used as barracks for soldiers. (Fig 11) The bell-cote in the north-east corner was the alarm bell for invasions that never came. Star Castle is entered from the north through a square-headed, moulded doorway with the date 1593 carved onto its lintel. (Fig 12) Above are the initials of Elizabeth I and at the base of the door jambs the initials of Francis Godolphin and Robert Adams. This door gave access to a passage protected by a gun position that enabled fire on any unwanted visitors. A portcullis was added in 1600.⁴⁶

Star-shaped fantastical designs, using five-, six- or eight-sided stars, abound in the notebooks and published drawings of 16th century architects and military engineers.⁴⁷



Figure 12. Entrance to Star Castle [DP022350]

However, the star-shaped plan seems to have been more aesthetically-satisfying than practical and as early as 1624 Sir Henry Wotton said that: 'designs of such nature doe more ayme at Rarity, then (sic) Commoditie; so for my part I had rather admire them, than commend them.'⁴⁸ He was talking about the star-shaped lodges created by King Basilius in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and he was probably unaware that examples had been built in Britain. Star Castle may have inspired Sir Thomas Ridgeway in c 1610 to bring masons from his native Devon to create the star-shaped Spur Royal Castle at Augher in County Tyrone.⁴⁹ In Europe there is at least one earlier example of this form, the bizarre Hvezda Pavillion at Prague built in 1555. Sidney went to Prague in 1575 and 1577 and may have used it as his inspiration.⁵⁰

Sir Francis Godolphin and Robert Adams may have originally thought they were providing a formidable military structure, at least for the money that was available, but as early as



Figure 13. Wall to south of Garrison Gate [DP022358]



Figure 14. Wall to south of Sallyport [DP022371]

6 August 1593 Godolphin had already identified that Star Castle on its own would be inadequate to defend St Mary's:

'When the fort and house are ended, many works should be speedily performed, as three blockhouses, four platforms, all the ordnance carriages newly made, and a trench and bank to compass the hill near the sea, to shadow the men from discovery by the shipping; also a windmill, and houses for brewing and baking, dwellings for soldiers, and a pier for the safety of boats and ships, for which there is a very apt place under command of the fort'.⁵¹

In 1595 Sir Francis Godolphin explained to Lord Burghley that: 'the three sconces intended to guard the great ordnance on the lower part of the Hew Hill would be insufficient' presumably holding out for the four platforms he had advocated two years earlier.⁵² This stretch of wall would impede any enemy forces that had landed on the beaches at Hugh Town from attacking Star Castle. (Fig 13 & Fig 14) Four platforms would describe the stretch of the Garrison Walls running from north to south from Well Battery at the north end of the Garrison to the two Benham's Batteries at the east side. This stretch of wall is the earliest in form on the Garrison, consisting of monumental blocks irregularly laid with small packing pieces to fill the widest joints.

The strategic significance of Scilly was such that in 1600 Godolphin wrote a four-page letter to petition for further defences for the islands.⁵³ After describing the work that had taken place in recent years on the islands, he listed the defects of the newly-built Star Castle and offered suggestions on how to improve its defences. He wanted to provide a stronger parapet, by filling in the rampart to create three casemates that served as outbuildings and he wished to add a portcullis in the entrance passage. These alterations seem to have been executed, but an elaborate ditch advocated on the fourth page of his letter to strengthen the approaches to the castle does not seem to have been created. However, the ground to the north of the building is too overgrown to be certain, and there are some unsurveyed earthworks in a field to the east of Star Castle. The lack of a water supply was noted in Godolphin's letter, but no solution was suggested. Later in the petition he asked for new 'powder, matche and shotte', and in the section on Ordnance he requested that something should be done about the eight or ten pieces of artillery that had been provided in the reign of Edward VI, but were now too rusty to use. Godolphin estimated the cost of these projects at £600.

Even before Godolphin sought funds to reinforce Scilly, changes were beginning on the international political scene that would allow the islands a brief respite from possible conflict. In 1598 Spain concluded a peace treaty with France, returning the key port of Blavet in Brittany and therefore reducing the immediate threat to Scilly.⁵⁴ Later in the year England's implacable enemy Philip II of Spain died and after Elizabeth I's death in 1603, England and Spain were able to conclude a peace treaty the following year.⁵⁵

ST MARY'S DEFENCES IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY

Although Spain remained a threat during the early 17th century, and there were rumours of potential attacks, Scilly's defences were never used in anger.⁵⁶ With the accession of Charles I there was a reassessment of the fortifications and in 1627 £800 was made available to repair 'the Fort of St. Mary's'.⁵⁷ D[avid] Portius and Nicholas Geevelo from Holland were in the Isles of Scilly in December 1627 to help with improving the fortifications.⁵⁸ It is not clear what they did but the 'Fort', less than forty years old, was still said to be inadequate in 1631:

'The King having received information from Sir Francis Godolphin, Captain of the Fort in the Scilly Islands, of the great defects of that fort, recommends to the persons addressed to inform themselves of the best way of strengthening the said islands, and to report the whole business to his Majesty.'⁵⁹

In 1634 Sir Francis Godolphin submitted an estimate of £800 for the work needed and by 1635 this had risen to £1,000.⁶⁰ This latter figure appears in a report given to the King, who passed it to the Lord Treasurer for payment but a dispute arose within the Government over whether the money was needed.⁶¹ As part of this process of discussion a report was drawn up in 1637:

'Survey of the fortifications in the Isle of Scilly, with account of the munition therein and the ordinary establishment. The Castle is unable to lodge a garrison of 20 men, and incapable of defence. At its first institution the force assigned to it was 25 men, with 25 more sent from the main land for six months in the year. Since the third year of his present majesty the force had been a constant garrison of 125 men, who are lodged in several parts of the island. The islands do not contain above 30 persons able to carry arms. The expense of the military establishment was £1,828 0s 10d per annum.'⁶²

The death of Sir Francis Godolphin in 1639-40 seems to have ended this particular process of seeking money for improvements.⁶³ The structures that seem to belong to this period appear to be the two buildings that flank the Garrison Gate, though the building to the north of the gate has been raised by a storey. The powder house just inside the gate may also belong to the early decades of the 17th century. (Fig 15) The solid stone structure with a barrel-vaulted ceiling sits within a square compound, so that if the building exploded outwards the blast would be deflected upwards by the walls. Much of the stonework of the magazine and the surrounding walls seems similar in style to some of the later 1740s construction work, suggesting the early structure had to be significantly refurbished.

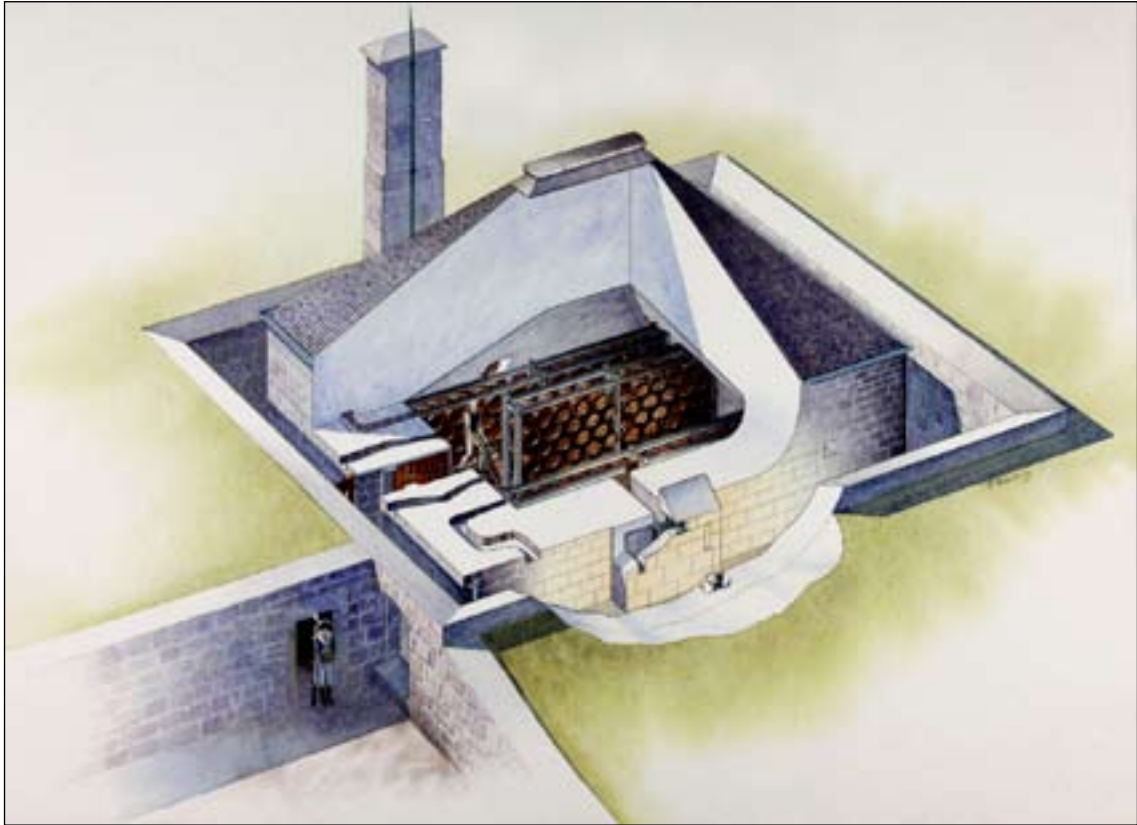


Figure 15. Illustration showing the Powder House

THE GARRISON IN THE MID-17TH CENTURY

The Isles of Scilly may have lain, geographically, at the extremity of England, but in the 1640s and early 1650s these remote islands were thrust into the heart of the conflict between Parliament and the King. In March 1646 Prince Charles was forced to retreat from Cornwall to Scilly, the last Royalist outpost in the south west. By April 1646 the Prince had to move to Jersey and by September 1646 the Royalists could no longer hold the islands. In turn, however, Parliament's hold on Scilly was short-lived, as two years later, in September 1648, the soldiers of the Garrison revolted and returned the islands to the Crown.⁶⁴ The young and combative Sir John Grenville arrived from Jersey shortly after and under his command Scilly became a major privateering base preying on British and Dutch vessels. Scilly was also, potentially, a stepping stone and base for Royalist Irish troops mounting an invasion of England. Parliament ordered Sir Hardress Waller to assemble a fleet and 400 men to retake the islands, and although this force may have been assembled, it never sailed.⁶⁵ At Star Castle on 22 February 1649, after the execution of Charles I, Sir John Grenville proclaimed the Prince of Wales as Charles II.⁶⁶ Parliament was determined to retake the Isles of Scilly, so much so that retaking the islands became one of the founding aims of the Commonwealth. On 13 February 1649 Parliament published these aims. The first was 'To oppose the pretensions of Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late King' and the third aim was 'To use means to reduce Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isles of Scilly and Man to obedience.'⁶⁷ Parliament's attempts to counter the privateers were largely ineffective, but by the end of 1650 the Dutch authorities had decided to react to the attacks on their shipping. In March 1651 a squadron under Maarten Tromp was sent to obtain the release of ships and their crews, and to extract reparations from Grenville. The English Parliament feared a Dutch attempt to capture and hold the islands, and so immediately fitted out an expedition, under Robert Blake, General-at-Sea, to retake them. After an initial assault was repulsed, Blake took Tresco and Bryher on 18-20 April. By 5 May Blake's guns were bombarding St Mary's Pool and the Road, and shortly afterwards the Royalists were forced to surrender.⁶⁸

The first action of the Commonwealth was to bolster the fortifications and the firepower of the islands and probably especially the Garrison. In July 1651 £300 was made available for 'building and other contingencies' and in October an additional £200 was provided by Parliament as well as £50 for 'timber to repair your platforms and boats'.⁶⁹ In December 1652 a further £500 was made available for 'fortifications and for incidents'.⁷⁰ A Parliamentary survey of the Duchy of Cornwall, conducted in 1652 provides a brief description of the Garrison immediately after its capture by Parliament; it was effectively a Domesday-type survey for the new Government. The description began with Star Castle:

'The residue of the Maryes Island is called the Hughhill and is that part of the said Land where in the New Castle now stand and is fortified round the said hill with a lyne and severall bulworkes and platformes thereon and is the chief strenth of all the said llands wherein is the Castle and severall litle tenements and storehouses, all of them used and imployed by and for the use of the garrison ... and is as followeth: The Castle is built in the forme of an acute octogon fort with a good

stone rampaire of the same forme, but verrie low and litle consisting of a hall or new roome, buttrye and two sellers with a kitchin, pastrye and larder below staires with a dyneing roome and fowre chambers in the second storie and seaven litle roomes over them with fowre litle turrets upon the leads, also upon the rampere and over the port are five litle roomes for the gunners stores and under the rampere and at the port is a court and guard and fowre other litle roomes for stores also.' Worth pa. £13 6s 8d.⁷¹

Also listed were the bakehouse⁷², 'Coles house'⁷³ and the fish house 'neare the Castle Gate now used ... as a storehouse'. The list continued with 'Two barns and a stable', 'Two Smithes shops', two windmills and four 'tenements'. The survey also included two other military structures within the garrison:

'An old Fort called the Follye which is onely the old walls and shedderd within for the quartering of soldiers, scituate towards the south end of the Hugh Hill', £1, Another house called the Steeveall on the west of Hugh Hill, now a quarter for the soldiers, 10s.⁷⁴

The description of the Garrison concludes with a general description of this part of St. Mary's Island and how the land was used:

'The residue of the Hugh Hill being a rockey, furzey and heathy peece of ground for the most part thereof and verrie barren; onely a small part thereof hath been inclosed for arable and a bowling alley, which said hill is the south west part of Maries lland and almost devided from the residue of the said hand by the sea almost meteing at the Hugh Port and Port Creso [Port Cressa], haveing only a neck of land or rather of sand whereby they remaine conioyned, which said Hughhill coniteine' by est. 120 ac., £13 6 8d.⁷⁵

As well as a written description of the Garrison, a drawn survey was also produced at a similar date. A map of 1655 shows the extent and form of the defences during the Commonwealth. Stone walls are shown as straight lines with a dotted line inside for accompanying earthworks while stone batteries did not have the earthworks. Where there were earthworks, but no solid walls, the dotted line snakes its way around the irregular shape of the coastline.

This map indicates that there were stone walls extending from the Well Platform to Lower Broom, supplemented with stone batteries at King Charles, Newman's, Morning Point, Woolpack, Bartholomew and Steval Point. The limited extent of the walls would not have restricted their effectiveness against attack. A 1669 view, prepared in the aftermath of a visit to the islands by Grand Duke Cosmo III of Tuscany, and a view in 1715 accompanying Lilly's plan, show an invaders perspective of the fortifications much as they stood in 1655.⁷⁶ (Fig 16) From the town they would have faced pushing up hill through the substantial walls before they could attack the guns mounted on Star Castle. To prevent outflanking to the south a wall ran down from Upper Benham to Lower Benham. To get round this, invaders would have had to clamber over large boulders and get up a cliff before encountering earthwork defences south of Lower Broom. A similar set of obstacles would have faced any attempt to outflank the stone defences to the north of the Garrison.



Figure 16. *The Garrison as it was in 1669 [Courtesy of the Isles of Scilly Museum]*

Elsewhere around the Garrison there were earthwork defences. (Fig 17 & Fig 18) Many of the earthwork batteries and breastworks that survive on the islands have been attributed to the mid-17th century and most historians incline to the view that nearly all of them were built by the Royalist Governor Grenville between 1649 and 1651, though some of them could be earlier; Parliament had voted £1,000 for the defence of Scilly when it controlled the islands in 1646-1648. The exceptions are Oliver's Battery on Carn Near, Tresco, which is known to have been built by Blake's Parliamentary forces in April-May 1651, and the construction of a battery on Peninnis was apparently recorded in the early 18th century.⁷⁷ However, there are significant differences in style and scale amongst the earthworks and it is probable that the origins of these works were more varied. Of the batteries and related sites examined, some fall into distinct types while others appear to be unique. The most common type of battery is a V-shaped earthwork, usually sited on the coast above low cliffs; all the earthwork batteries on the Garrison are of this type and other examples can be seen at Morval Point (Fig 19), Church Point (only part surviving), Peninnis Head Lighthouse, Innisidgen and Toll's Hill.

The breastworks around St Mary's are extensive, though perhaps not as extensive as some archaeologists have claimed. Those on the Garrison have been well-studied and authenticated and there are also believable stretches near the blockhouse on the north-eastern side of the island and along the western side of Watermill Cove. The Garrison's breastworks and batteries are the most distinct as in 1715 Christian Lilly recommended their retention and the repairs to them at this time mean that they have survived better than elsewhere on the island.



Figure 17. Cleared and Excavated Breastwork on west side of the Garrison [DP022627]

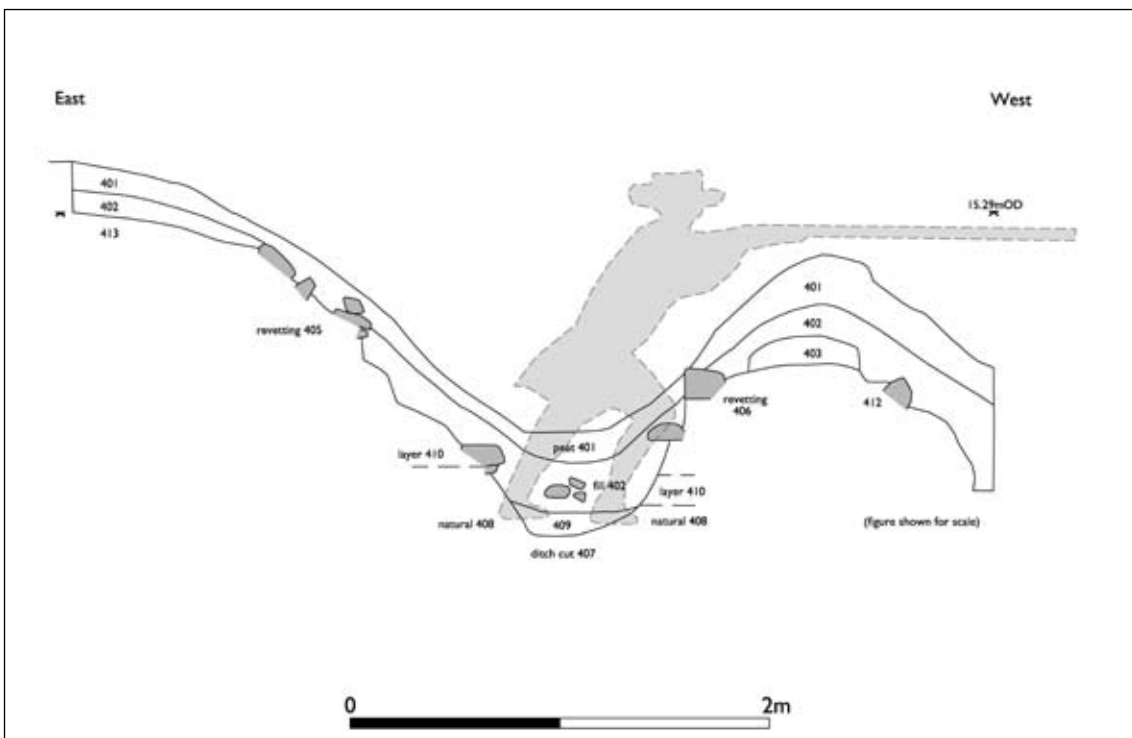


Figure 18. Illustration explaining how Breastwork functioned.

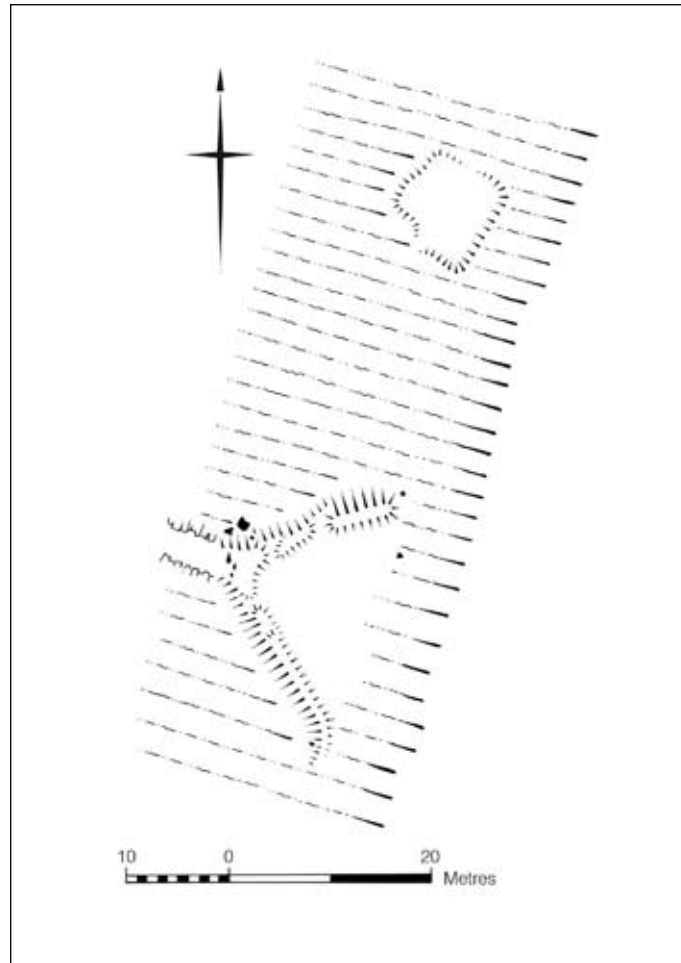


Figure 19. Survey of the Battery at Morval Point

On 29 May 1660 Charles II arrived triumphantly in London to take the throne and by Christmas 1660 the army of the Commonwealth had been largely abolished. The hold of the islands by Parliament ended formally on 30 June 1660 when Sir Francis Godolphin was appointed as 'Commander and Governor of the Isles of Scilly'.⁷⁸ Edward Sherburne was commissioned on 27 December 1660 to report on the arms and defences of the main fortifications in the south-west of England.⁷⁹ In the first part of his manuscript, submitted on 20 August 1661 he examined Scilly. On St Mary's there were five culverins, eighteen demi-culverins, forty-one sakers, twenty-two minions and two 3-pounders that were serviceable and seven various guns that were unusable. The vast majority of gun carriages (82 out of 95) were inadequate. On Tresco there were nine guns and none had serviceable carriages.

In addition to reporting on armaments Sherburne provided recommendations for the repairs to the buildings and defences that were needed, though it seems that the largest items were never undertaken. Star Castle needed repairs to its roof, entrance, portcullis and floors and some batteries were to be provided with new timber guardhouses or were to have the existing ones repaired. Repairs were also needed to the storehouse, the blockhouse near Innisidgen and to the smith's forge. There was also an item for repairs and new roofs for the soldier's lodgings, The Folly, which was at the south end

of the Garrison. Sherburne's largest recommendation was a substantial repair and reconstruction programme for the earthwork defences around the Garrison that would have cost over £5,000.

In 1669 Cosmo III reported that: 'At the time of the late war, the garrison consisted of six hundred men; at present there are two hundred; the King expending annually for the support of the fortress, officers, and garrisons, about four thousand pounds sterling'.⁸⁰ This large garrison created a serious problem for the islands, which required drastic action: 'Corn of late began to be scarce, in consequence of the increase of population produced by the marriages of the soldiers of the garrison with the islanders; but this has been remedied for some years past, by forbidding them to marry.'⁸¹

LILLY'S SURVEY OF THE DEFENCES IN 1715

Colonel Christian Lilly sailed to the Isles of Scilly in 1715 while investigating the fortifications of the Plymouth Division.⁸² He was one of seven engineers sent to survey the defences of their regions as part of the reforms of the Board of Ordnance undertaken by the Duke of Marlborough following the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the accession of the new King and the election of a Whig Government.⁸³

Lilly was a military engineer, who was born in Germany; in 1688 he entered the service of William III and in 1700 became a naturalised Englishman.⁸⁴ From the 1690s until his death he held a series of military and engineering posts in England and even as far away as Canada and the Caribbean. Following George I's accession to the throne, Lilly was appointed on 22 March 1714/5, to survey, repair and improve the fortifications of Portland, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth and the Isles of Scilly and the report he prepared is in the British Library.⁸⁵ Lilly returned to the West Indies during the 1720s, where he eventually died in 1738.

In the papers of the Board of Ordnance it is possible to follow some of Lilly's progress by examining one of his expenses claims.⁸⁶ On 25 July 1715 he paid Captain Chadwick £3 4s 6d for his passage from Plymouth and two days later he paid a further £1 9s 6d for boat hire to take him to Tresco to inspect the island and the harbour. After a brief visit to Tresco he seems to have remained on St Mary's until 1 September when he spent 5s to visit St Agnes. There does not seem to have been any reason for this visit as there are and were no substantial fortifications on the island and two days later he spent 16s 6d to return to Falmouth.

The first issue that Lilly raised in his report was that new houses in Hugh Town were increasingly being built close to the Garrison Walls, some closer than 100ft from the defences and some of the closest ones should be removed. (Fig 20) Lilly also recorded the poor state of repair of some of the buildings within the Garrison:

'for besides what Accommodations and Conveniences are in the Castle, it Self, there has been two large Storehouses, Severall Guard-houses, and many Barracks, with other Offices fitt to receive and accommodate, a Considerable number of men, all of which have been built at great Expencc, but are now so many heaps of Ruines.'⁸⁷

Repairs to the castle would cost £121 9s 9d and the reinstatement and repair of three barracks on its ramparts would cost a further £92 4s 2½d to carry out (see Fig 11) Soldiers from the Garrison had to find lodgings in Hugh Town and therefore Lilly proposed converting the old guard house and store house on either side of the Garrison Gate into barracks. In his manuscript Lilly included a design for a barrack building for a further 120 men, but this was never built.⁸⁸ A guardhouse at Steval Point was beyond repair and he recommended that it should be replaced by a new building. Lilly also felt that the Master Gunner should have his own house within the Garrison and he proposed a small three-bay, lobby-entry house containing two rooms on the ground floor with a central stair leading to an attic that probably also contained two rooms.⁸⁹ Lilly also included designs for a Storehouse which was located overlooking Newman's Rock.⁹⁰ (Fig 21) In style it is very similar to the buildings flanking the slightly earlier gate of Pendennis Castle.



Figure 20. Houses clustered around the Garrison Walls at Benham Battery [NMR 26576/38]



Figure 21. The Storehouse designed by Christian Lilly, now Newman House [DP116095]

Regarding the walls and earthworks Lilly stated that: '... there is farther and more considerable charge necessary at St Mary's Island, where the Parapets of the Fortification and other works of Earth being in great measure destroyed, it will require a vast quantity of earth and Sodwork to renew and complete the same.'⁹¹ The map accompanying his account shows stone walls as being in a pink tone, while earthworks were represented by a black line. His survey of the Garrison's fortifications starts at the north-east corner of Well Bastion. This means that the first wall he recorded was the 'Right face of the Well Bastion' and the last wall he described in his main circuit was the 'Left face of the Well Bastion'. This oddity may be explained by the geography of the coastline at that bastion. Lilly shows dry land opposite the right face but to get to the left face he would have had to descend on to the shoreline. This may have been as sensible a place to start a survey as any other location on the circuit, but perhaps the tide was in and he did not wish to get his feet wet at the start of his survey.

Lilly's survey recorded that the fortifications were in stone from the ruinous Newman's Battery at the north of the Garrison to the Lower Broom Battery on the east. Thereafter, there were stone bastions at Morning Point (Monan battery as he referred to it), Woolpack Battery, Bartholomew Battery, Steval Battery (Stovoll in his manuscript) and Charles Battery, with all the intermediate defences being earthworks. Since the first map of the Garrison was created in 1655 the changes to the stone fortifications had been modest; the major change was that stone walls had been built from Upper Benham to Lower Broom on the east side and on the north side to connect Newman's Battery to the Well Platform.⁹² To add to his gloomy analysis he noted that suitable earth was scarce and labour difficult to obtain. He estimated that the cost for Sodwork would be £598 1s 7d and £375 1s 5d for earthworks, though the total cost could be reduced to £879 7s 7³/₄d if some materials were reused. Some parts of the stone walls also required significant repairs. Large parts of the face of Newman's Battery had disappeared, requiring repairs costing £93 12s, and the south-west corner of the Lower Benham Bastion had collapsed, a repair that would cost £40 to correct. (Fig 22)



Figure 22. Lower Benham Battery showing the repairs it has undergone [DP022418]

Lilly also provided a detailed list of the guns available to defend the Garrison, including many archaic types of cannon, including eight culverins, twenty demi-culverins, twenty-four minions and seven sakers.⁹³ On the islands there were 120 artillery pieces, but 101 new gun carriages were needed to make them serviceable. A Board of Ordnance document in 1716 stated that Scilly had formerly 118 guns, though this figure was reduced by thirty but with one 'flagg', potentially adding up to 89.⁹⁴ Lilly had estimated that the cost of providing carriages would be £620 0s 9d but on 5 August 1718 Portsmouth was instructed to provide oak carriages mounted on plank wheels for the 46 most modern and serviceable artillery pieces.⁹⁵

Lilly included in his report the projected overall costs of his proposals:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Repairs and Alterations to Buildings | £400 14s 3d |
| Parapets - Earth and Sodwork | £879 7s 7d |
| Repairs to Newman Battery | £93 12s |
| Lower Benham Bastion Repair Breach | £40 |
| New Barracks | £1,304 3s 2½d |
| New Storehouse | £366 15s 10d |
| New Master Gunner's House | £125 8s 4½d |
| 101 New Gun Carriages | £620 0s 9d |
| Repair Buildings on Tresco | £83 19s 3d |
| Total | £3,914 1s 3d |

Lilly outlined a very ambitious repair and building programme and it is clear that much, but not all of it was carried out. On 13 March 1715/6 £1,000 was allocated to Scilly and on 18 May 1716 a further £825 19s 3¼d was authorised, followed by a further large request for an imprest to pay a bill of £456 21s (sic) dated 23 August 1716.⁹⁶ In total Lilly had been authorised to spend £2,283 0s 3¼d. He had suggested that £3,914 1s 3d would be the cost of the entire scheme, but the barracks which would have cost £1304 3s 2½d was not built.⁹⁷ Therefore, it is clear that the vast majority of his works were executed.

Lilly was responsible for identifying the work needed and had overall control of the finances of the project, but the day to day running of the project probably fell to Abraham Tovey, the Board of Ordnance's resident man in Scilly. (Fig 23) He may have been born in Wiltshire in 1687 and his earliest appearance in military records seems to be in 1706 when he was serving as a matross in the artillery train fighting in Spain during the War of Spanish Succession.⁹⁸ He was promoted to the rank of gunner on 30 October 1707; less than a year later he became a corporal and 13 August 1710 he had become a sergeant. By 1712 he was the senior sergeant of his company and pay records show that in 1713 he was only paid for 283 days, meaning he was discharged on 9 October 1713. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed on 11 April 1713, marked the official end of the War of Spanish Succession, and by October Tovey was released, presumably to make his way back to Britain.⁹⁹ Abraham Tovey had arrived in Scilly by September 1714:

'That Capt'n Abra'm Tovey's Letter, of ye 14th Sep'br last, w'th an Acc't of ye Remains of stores, in his Maj'y's Garrison's at Island of Scilly, be referred to Mr Ayres to make his Report upon, to ye Board, what Number of Guns he thinks ought to be Mounted there, and what Condition those places where in, when he was last there.¹⁰⁰

This suggests that he had arrived recently and was being asked to review the defences of the islands. In 1715 the Board of Ordnance ordered him to restrict his works to minor repairs until Colonel Lilly had submitted his report:

'that hes [Tovey] not to Exceed 40s in small repairs before he gives the Board an Acct, for wch he must give his reasons by the first post, otherwise 't will not be allowed; Approve his getting 30 small Arm's repaired for the Service of the Invalids, but not to enter into any further Expence till Coll Lilly's report – is made '¹⁰¹

The subsequent financial records of the Board of Ordnance suggest that after Lilly compiled his survey he probably left Tovey to carry out the work on the Garrison, but in 1717 Lilly returned to the islands apparently to inspect the completed works. He returned to Scilly on 2 September 1717 and was back on the mainland on 15 November 1717 when he hired a horse to ride from Plymouth to Falmouth.¹⁰²



Figure 23. Abraham Tovey's initials (along with King George II and the Governor of the Islands Sir Francis Godolphin) [DP085284]

Scilly 1717 - 1740

After 1717, Scilly returned to being a minor player in the Board of Ordnance papers. Lilly's work was complete by the end of the year and thereafter Tovey submitted his bills and drew imprests annually or twice-annually to cover minor repairs. As Storekeeper he managed the everyday needs of the Garrison and carried out minor repairs to buildings, while wearing his other hat as Master Gunner he normally managed six gunners.¹⁰³ These soldiers were sometimes a handful and during 1717 Tovey was asked to keep them under tighter control.¹⁰⁴

In the 1720s and 1730s Tovey normally confined his work to minor repairs, but in a bill dated 31 December 1728 he included £44 'To Building 32 Perch & ½ of Masonry Worke on Sadlers Battery' and 'Cutting 909 ft of Moor Stone and Laying 1596ft for ditto'.¹⁰⁵ This was the battery sometimes known as Mount Holles, located in front of the Garrison Gate, and in the 1738/9 survey of the defences it was described as follows: 'Saddlers Battery has 11 Guns serv'ble but on uns'ble Carriages, the Battery is in good Order'.¹⁰⁶ Despite being 'in good Order' it was not maintained as part of the new defences in the 1740s.

THE GARRISON WALLS IN THE 1740S

Background

In November 1739 Admiral Vernon seized the Spanish American base of Porto Bello, sparking a war between Britain and Spain, and this bi-lateral conflict was soon merged into the wider European conflict, the War of Austrian Succession which lasted from 1740 until 1748.¹⁰⁷ Britain may have been enthusiastic about conflict, but it was not well-prepared despite Jacobite invasions in 1715 and 1719 and minor conflicts with Spain in 1719 and 1727.¹⁰⁸ This very complicated conflict saw Britain, the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch Republic and other states lined up against France, Prussia, Spain and their smaller allies. However, while British and French armies might be fighting against each other, in support of allies, the two countries only went to war formally in 1744, raising the spectre of possible invasion.¹⁰⁹ When the French incursion came, it was in the form of supporting Bonnie Prince Charlie's Jacobite rebellion, which after marching as far south as Derby, ended in ultimate failure with defeat at Culloden on 16 April 1746. The War of Austrian succession formally ended in October 1748 with the Peace Treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This Europe-wide conflict, which extended to America, the Carribbean and India through naval battles, was the background to the reconstruction of a substantial part of the Garrison Walls on St Mary's. (Fig 24) Walls were built between Lower Broom and Steval Point, as well as from King Charles' Battery to Newman's Platform between 1741 and late 1746. A series of maps in the National Monuments Record and the National Archives trace this campaign, but the most detailed account of their construction can be found in the various papers of the Board of Ordnance in the National Archives. When these two types of sources are combined with the evidence of the fabric, a complex story of distinct campaigns emerges.



Figure 24. The Garrison with the walls of the 1740s in the foreground [NMR 26571/28]

The Origins of the Project

Lilly spent over £2,000 in two years to repair the defences of the Garrison, but it is clear that two decades later long stretches of the earthwork defences were unfit to use due to the effects of coastal erosion. Engineers in the 17th century placed batteries in places where there were rocky projections into the sea. This was presumably to make them more difficult to assault from the sea, but it also meant that they were less prone to coastal erosion, whereas the intermediate stretches of earthworks located on the top of low, more friable cliffs were more quickly and easily undermined. This pattern of erosion is happening today along the coastline of the Garrison, but it is clear that this threat was already being recognised by Scilly's commanding officer in the late 1730s.

The story of the building of the Garrison Walls in the 1740s begins in the Council Chamber at Whitehall on 26th August 1739.¹¹⁰ At this meeting the Lords of the Privy Council reviewed a memorandum submitted by Sir Francis Godolphin, the Governor of the Isles of Scilly, which included a report prepared by Captain Jeffreyson, the Commanding Officer of Scilly. This damning report, dated 21 February 1738/9 systematically described the state of the fortifications and included recommendations about what should be done to improve them. (Appendix 2) The picture that emerges is that the batteries were in a poor physical condition, guns were unusable and the earthworks were heavily eroded. Jeffreyson recommended repairs to the existing stone batteries, but the earthworks around the south end of the Garrison were beyond repair and probably threatened by coastal erosion as he regularly stated that the batteries and intervening breastworks needed to be 'retired', i.e. built further inland. For instance,

'12th from Morning-point Battery to the Wool-pack Battery has been a Cover'd-Way but wants to be retired, part of the cliff being fallen into the Sea, is now uns'ble'¹¹¹

The armaments of the islands were assessed at 100 gun positions within the Garrison, while there were another 10 positions on St Mary's, 10 on Tresco 'at Grimsby', presumably on Cromwell's Castle, and 2 on St Martin's. However, there were only 34 guns and 6 of these were unusable. In the margin of this document it says that: 'NB a Copy of this sent to Mr Tho' Armstrong'.

The report was minuted but no decision was made about what should be done until a later meeting on 22 November 1739.¹¹² The Privy Council cast some doubt about the seriousness of the condition of the fortifications, probably considering that Godolphin and Jeffreyson may have been prone to exaggeration. Nevertheless: 'they will give immediate Orders for the whole being Survey'd, Materials provided and such a disposition made that every thing necessary for the defence of the Garrison may be put into good order and condition as early in the Spring as possible.' However, work does not seem to have begun in 1740, but on 6 March 1739/40 Thomas Armstrong submitted an expenses claim to the Board of Ordnance which included the following item:

'10 February [1739/40] 58 Days Charges in going to the Islands of Scilly to view & make a Report of the State of works there £17 12s 10½d'¹¹³

As was mentioned above, Armstrong had been sent a copy of the report compiled by Jeffreyson in February 1738/9 and later in 1739 he went to the islands to review the

situation. Armstrong was an 'Engineer in Ordinary' on the fourth rank within the civil side of the Board of Ordnance, and therefore an officer of some authority.¹¹⁴ There is no evidence in the Ordnance papers of his report, but the lack of reference to Scilly in the financial records in 1740 and the huge increase in activity in 1741 suggest he returned and recommended a major building programme.

The Construction of the Garrison Walls

From 1741 until 1746 it is possible to track the development of the construction programme, at least in general terms by the amount of money being spent, but due to the methods of financial recordkeeping the wealth of figures require considerable analysis and some educated guesswork to make full sense of them. (Appendix 8) Work was paid for by the submission of bills, but some works were paid by the person in charge who drew an imprest and later reconciled the amount by submitting bills and receipts for the work carried out. This is not difficult to disentangle in years when the date of the reconciliation was recorded as taking place on the same day as the imprest was issued, though there were some incomplete records during this period. However, in later years of the building campaign this breaks down and the sums of money being drawn and reconciled do not match. Nevertheless with some judgement it is possible to use these records to demonstrate the level of activity, and identify the men responsible for managing the finances of the project. Within the records there are also occasional more detailed bills that provide greater precision about the pace of development.

The first estimate of the costs of repairs appeared in an undated entry in 1741, when the overall cost of work on St Mary's was a wildly optimistic £1,542 6s 6d while work on the 'Castle and Batterys on the Island of Tresco' was estimated at £331 7s 8d.¹¹⁵ A map that apparently dates from 1741, but was copied in 1780, is rather freehand in style but seems to be accurate.¹¹⁶ (Fig 25) The Board of Ordnance record of the drawings held in its



Figure 25. Copy of 1741 map in NMR [Works 311147]

drawing office in 1806 includes: 'entry no 11 Hugh Garrison by Captain Horneck 1741 flat 37'.¹⁷ It shows that the fortifications had not changed significantly since 1715, except for the reconstruction of Newman's Platform. Walls ran from Newman's Platform to Lower Broom, with most of the rest of the circuit still being defended by earthworks. More substantial, probably stone batteries are shown at Morning Point, Woolpack, Bartholomew, Steval Point and King Charles. On the 1741 map a long stretch of the earthworks south of Lower Broom are absent, as if these may have fallen into the sea since 1715.

During the course of 1741 Abraham Tovey submitted a bewildering range of financial documents. (Appendix 8) He drew and reconciled imprests worth £746 and reconciled a further £60 perhaps missing from the ledgers, but he also submitted other major bills. On 30 September 1741 a ledger entry stated that:

'To Ditto [Abraham Tovey] the Sum of One thousand two hundred & thirty one pounds two shillings & 1d being so much by him disbursed for Materials, and Pay to Artificers and labourers in carrying on the several Works at St Marys Island at Scilly, pursuant to the Honble Boards Orders & Mr Thomas Armstrongs Estimate between 1st of March 1741-2 and the date above ...'¹⁸

On the same day another bill for £167 4s 2d was paid to Tovey, though rather frustratingly there is confusion within the entries about the date of the works covered; the ledger entries seem to cover work taking place after the date the bill was paid. And to add further to the confusion, Tovey's bill, which was considered on 30 September 1741 for £843 17s 10d, is scored out and a few days later on 5 October 1741 a bill for the same amount was dealt with. Regardless of any confusion over the detailed costs, it is clear that Tovey was spending hundreds of pounds in 1741, compared to between £20 and £100 in the years before major works began.

In 1742 Tovey drew and reconciled imprests worth £1,195, though some of the large bill entered in the register as being from 1741 could belong to this year. A map of 1742, which seems more precisely-drawn than the map from the year before, shows the walls and earthworks that existed. This includes all the earthworks along the south side of the Garrison, fragments of which have survived outside the new walls. It also includes the line of proposed new stone defences that were to be added.¹⁹ Existing stone walls are shown between King Charles Battery and Newman's Platform demonstrating that this stretch of wall had been built between 1741 and 1742. (Fig 26) In style the stonework of this wall, as far as it can be examined, is similar to the stretch of wall south of Lower Broom, including the use of firing positions. However, the latter wall contains some drainage holes with spouts, a feature missing from the King Charles walls.

The 1742 map shows the line of the proposed walls. (Fig 27) These are shown in broadly the form that they were built, but with some important differences. No redan was to be built to the north of Morning Point and along the south of the Garrison more redans were planned than were executed. On the stretch of wall between Morning Point and Woolpack Battery, redans on either side of a central battery were proposed, but instead three redans were built. From Woolpack to Boscawen five redans were proposed but

only a single redan and Bartholomew Battery were built on this stretch of coastline. Two redans were to be created between Boscawen and Steval Point but only one was erected. A large battery was to be created at Steval Point and walls with seven redans were to be built between Steval Point and King Charles, but these were never built. This stretch of wall was to be built some distance inland and consequently uphill from the existing earthworks, an indication of concern about the stability of coast.



Figure 26. Wall between King Charles' Battery and Newman's on north side of the Garrison. [DP022513]



Figure 27. 1742 map in NMR [Works 31/1148]

In 1743 Tovey drew and reconciled imprests worth £1,600, but at the end of 1743 he submitted a detailed bill for the works done to that date, amounting to £1,269 10s 7½d.¹²⁰ (Appendix 3) Tovey's bill reveals that since the campaign began, work had been undertaken from Lower Broom to Woolpack, as well as from King Charles to Newman's Platform. The bill is also instructive as it reveals that the stone for the building work had been quarried on the island. What is unclear is whether Woolpack and the works on the south-east half of the Garrison were completed. The reason for the sudden appearance of this detailed account may have been due to the return of William Horneck during the second half of the year; he had prepared the 1741 map. Horneck was a very senior engineer, having been appointed as Director of Engineers in 1742, the second highest rank.¹²¹ In his expenses claim logged on 6 December 1743 he included £3 5s 'To Boat Hire & some other Contingent Charges in Visiting the Several Islands att Scilly'.¹²²

In 1744 William Horneck's illegitimate son Kane William Horneck was sent to Scilly to prepare a plan showing how far work had progressed.¹²³ Included in his expenses logged on 31 December 1744 he claimed £1 5s 6d 'For Expence of Labourers assisting in the Survey of the Fort at Scilly' and 12s 'For Boat Hire to visit Grimsby Castle the Blockhouse and other Places for Compleating the Survey of Scilly'.¹²⁴ Otherwise seemingly accurate, the 1744 plan erroneously labels all the walls from King Charles Battery to Morning Point as a 'New Line', but the obviously new piece of construction from Morning Point to Woolpack is not labelled as being new! However, unlike the 1742 map it shows this stretch of wall with three redans, the arrangement that was built. Tantalisingly, to the west of Woolpack Battery the map shows the first redan and a short section of wall to the west of it, where the wall ends abruptly. The existence of a joint to the west of the Redan B beside Woolpack, where the plan shows a break in the wall, demonstrates the accuracy of this plan. This joint occurs 16.7m west of Redan B on the outside face and 17.4m along the inside face. (Fig 28) There are no drainage holes with projecting spouts in this stretch of wall, but to the west of this line is where most cases of projecting spouts occur. To the west of the joint on the plan, on what would have been a continuation of this wall, there is the rough outline of a battery approximately where Bartholomew or Boscawen are situated, but its form indicates that it was little more than a sketched-in idea at this time. The rest of the circuit is still shown as earthworks.

Tovey's 1743 bill demonstrates that work was proceeding on the south side of the Garrison, in and around Woolpack Batttery and by the end of 1744 it had reached the stretch of wall to the west of Redan B. During 1744 Tovey did not draw any imprests but at the end of the year he submitted a bill for £1,474 16s 0d.¹²⁵ He itemised it according to the type of workmen and by the part of the year in which the expenses were accrued, but unfortunately he does not specify it in the same detail as in the previous year.

Appendix 4

Until 1744 Abraham Tovey seems to have been largely unchecked in his management of the building programme. Robert Heath in his *A Natural and Historical Account of the Islands of Scilly*, published in 1750, praised Tovey, for his contribution to the improvement of the Garrison, and the presence over the new gate of his initials, alongside Francis Godolphin and George II, indicates his leading role in 1742, or at least his own opinion of his leading role.¹²⁶ However, from 1745-6 a number of new names appear in the



Figure 28. Joint to the west of Redan B – on left of photo [DP022600]

Ordnance accounts, engineers, overseers and two men who seem to have been drafted in to deal with the finances. William Redstone was described as the 'Assistant Storekeeper at Plymouth & Paymaster to the Works at Scilly Island' while Nicholas Mercator was the 'Pay Master to the Works at Islands of Scilly'.¹²⁷ Redstone first appeared in the accounts in April 1745 when he began to draw imprests. After 1745 he only reconciled imprests while Mercator, probably his successor, still drew money to fund works in Scilly. By 31 March 1746 Redstone was described as the storekeeper at Kinsale, having until that date been based in Scilly.¹²⁸ Two other names of significance emerge in the later phases. Isaac Tovey, Abraham's son, was described in 1745 as the Overseer of Works and from 1746 until early 1747, when works had finished completely, John Hargrave took over this role.¹²⁹

It is in the later years of the building programme that the fragility of the financial accounts is revealed, with Redstone reconciling between 1745 and 1748 much more than he ever drew. However, the general trend is clear; substantial amounts of money were drawn in 1745 and 1746, with little work taking place thereafter except to tidy up the accounts.

In 1745 Redstone seems to have been managing the finances, but during the summer:

'John Hardesty Practitioner (sic) [Practitioner] Engineer' was paid £18 16s 'for his Encouragement and in Consideration of his Trouble in carrying on the Works at the Island of Scilly, from the 26th Day of March 1745 to the 30th of September following, being 188 days which at 2d per day as by Order of the Board dated the 26th March 1745 amounts to the said Sum ...'¹³⁰

Hardesty seems to have remained in Scilly over the winter supervising the works according to one entry, but in another he claimed for his passage back to Penzance from where he went to Southwald (sic) and Yarmouth to carry out work.¹³¹ The latter, more

detailed bill included £9 19s 'To 28 Weeks and three days Lodging at Scilly and on the Road to that Place at 7 Shillings per week from the 6th of April to the 21st of October 1745 Inclusive', suggesting he returned to the mainland during the winter. This seems more plausible as work would probably have been scaled down or suspended during the winter and therefore a supervising engineer would have been largely redundant. It is possible that Hardesty prepared the plan that was copied in 1810 when it was dated as being 1746 and recorded as being drawn by Kane William Horneck who was elsewhere during that year.¹³²

During 1745 Redstone may have drawn at least £1,000, or more, if the later entries for reconciliation are included and Abraham Tovey also drew £500. Redstone also submitted a bill for £1,098 17s 0½d covering work carried out between 30 June and 23 October 1745.¹³³ (Appendix 5) This reveals that Isaac Tovey was employed as an overseer and later he would become the Master Gunner after his father.¹³⁴ However, the most striking entry is the £946 9s 8d paid to 'Mr Abel Croad Contractors as per bill of Measuremt'. The identity of Abel Croad is clarified a little in a bill submitted by Mercator on 31 October 1746 in which he is described as a 'Mason'.¹³⁵ Unfortunately specifics are absent, though it does say that he was being paid for his 'Bill of Measurement & for Day Labourers', suggesting he provided the labour for construction as well as perhaps being a supplier of stone. Perhaps most of the good stone on the island had already been used, and Croad was providing stone for the finer outer faces of the walls? This interpretation seems to fit with the improved quality of the masonry of the walls in the latest phases of construction, from around Woolpack to Steval.

In 1746 Redstone appears in the entries for Scilly, but only reconciling imprests that had already been drawn. His successor Nicholas Mercator drew imprests of £1,050 and on 31 October 1746 he submitted a substantial bill of £826 9s 1d.¹³⁶ (Appendix 6) During 1746 John Hargrave had succeeded Isaac Tovey as Overseer of the Works, and his last payment for this role ended on 5 May 1747 though the presence of travelling claims within it suggests he had left before this.¹³⁷

The 1746 map exists only as an 1810 copy, which is held in the National Monument's Record.¹³⁸ (Fig 29) The original may be the map filed in 1806 as: 'entry no 20 Plan and sections of part of the line of St Mary's Island in Scilly by Mr Hardesty 1745 flat 43' or 'entry 29 plan with a design for a Redan & Curtains at Hugh Fort Scilly by Mr Hardesty flat 54'.¹³⁹ The 1810 copy of this map that accompanied 'Mr KW Horneck's Letter' is said to date from 1746 but KW Horneck did not visit Scilly in 1746, so his name may have been linked with the plan as it appeared in an accompanying letter. It is possible that this map was produced in 1745 while John Hardesty was serving as an engineer in Scilly.

Walls with pink shading run from King Charles Battery clockwise to Boscawen's, though the map erroneously labels it as Bartholomew's. Another error is that an extra redan is included between Woolpack and Bartholomew's. The section from Boscawen's to Steval Point, including Redan A is shown with a yellow tone, as if the status of this wall was different to the rest of the fortifications. Does this indicate that this piece of wall was not built in 1746 or was in progress? The latter interpretation seems more plausible, as why would anyone actually plan to end the walls abruptly at Steval Point as the map indicates?



Figure 29. 1746 map in NMR [Works 31/1149]

Documents confirm that work was drawing to an end in 1746 and this plan reflects this.

After 1746 the financial records indicate that building work had ceased, but between 1746 and 1748 William Redstone appears on a number of occasions reconciling monies he had drawn previously. However, there is a large discrepancy between the imprests he drew and the amounts he reconciled, suggesting some missing records. In 1745 he drew £1,100 in imprests, but during the following three years he submitted paperwork for £12,827 5s. Some of this huge amount undoubtedly related to Scilly, but much of it may be for projects he was carrying out since his move to Kinsale. Apart from Redstone's substantial entries, the only ones that relate specifically to Scilly are the quarterly salaries for Mercator (£9 4s 0d) and small amounts submitted by Abraham Tovey for maintenance, much as had happened throughout the 1720s and 1730s.

A 1750 map, which is in Star Castle, shows the extent of the walls as they exist today, including the abrupt break at Steval Point. (Fig 30) They also show the proposed walls along the west side of the island, which would have replaced the earthworks. These were still being considered, but had not been undertaken and would never be built.

The various maps show the progress of the walls around the Garrison, but they also show how one battery fell out of use. Mount Hollis Battery, sometimes also referred to as Sadler's Battery, appears on the 1742 map but is omitted on the 1746 version. In the 1744 map it is shown in a rather perfunctory fashion as if it existed but was not being thought of as part of the defences. William Borlase writing in the 1750s said that: 'Just below the Lines are the remains of an old Fort: It is a round hillock and seems to have

had a Keep on top of it, ... ; the walls of it have been stripp'd to build the Lines; 'tis call'd Mount Holles.'¹⁴⁰ In a panoramic view dated 1752 he shows it just as a small, irregular lump.¹⁴¹

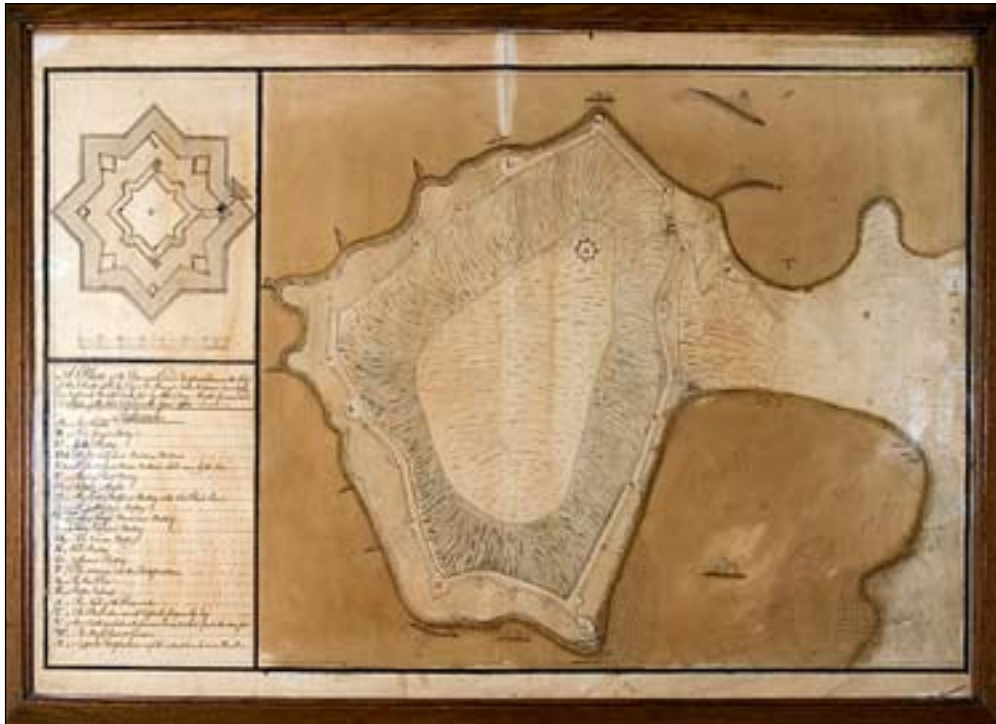


Figure 30. 1750 map [courtesy of Star Castle]

The maps also reveal that two of the batteries that had existed in 1715 were rebuilt during the course of the 1741-6 campaign. Higher Bastion to the south of the Garrison Gate and Jefferson's Battery immediately to the north both have stonework characteristic of the 1744-6 phases. Both appeared on Lilly's survey of 1715, though Jefferson's is just shown as a simple line, as if it was incomplete, or just an idea being considered. In 1742 it was labelled as a repaired platform and appears on the 1744 and 1750 map though it is omitted from the 1746 survey.

The Building Campaigns 1741-7

The progress of the construction during the 1740s was surprisingly rapid; the word 'surprisingly' is an appropriate one, as the building of the Garrison Walls must have been a huge logistical exercise. The volume of stone, and the quality of the stone work, indicates that there must have been a substantial workforce from the mainland present on St Mary's. Some of the heavy labour could have been supplied by members of the garrison, and islanders, but this type of work would have also required considerable numbers of skilled craftsmen to quarry, cut and lay the stone, particularly the fine quality stone along the south side of the Garrison. This increased populace would have had to be regularly supplied with all its needs from the mainland. At the end of the 19th century

the construction of Woolpack and Steval Batteries with the barracks between, a project of approximately the same size, required the presence of 400 navvies.¹⁴²

Documents provide much of the minute detail of the building programme, and maps provide a broad indication of the progress of the building work. The evidence derived from these sources can be refined by an examination of the fabric of the walls. The stonework varies in a number of ways. The size of the blocks, and their finish changed, joints became finer, and the use of coursed fabric replaced more irregular stonework during the campaign. A change in detail also took place. In some parts of the later 1740s work drainage holes with projecting spouts were employed. The most marked changes in the quality of the work on the south side of the Garrison seems to coincide with the arrival of William Redstone, Nicholas Mercator and John Hardesty, but perhaps the true reason was the employment of Abel Croad to provide the stonework in 1745-6.

Phase I 1741-2

Maps reveal that the first phase of work was the construction in stone of the stretch of wall between King Charles Battery and Newman's Battery, along the north side of the Garrison. (See Fig 26) The February 1738[9] report suggests that this part of the lines was still an earthwork, as it was shown on 1715 map.¹⁴³ The appearance of this wall is similar in form to the wall extending southwards from Upper Broom. In these walls the stones are fairly small but regular-sized blocks though there is no consistent, neat coursing. These stretches of wall employ regular firing positions, but elsewhere, these are normally only employed in batteries.

Part of the wall south of Upper Broom has the drainage holes with projecting spouts. These occur in some of the latest walls on the south side of the Garrison, from Redan B to Steval Point and are also used in the rebuilt Jefferson Battery and the Higher Bastion at the northern end of the Garrison. This feature is usually associated with the latest phases, with their large, neatly-cut stones set in regular courses and with fine joints. However, its presence in a stretch of wall south of Upper Broom may indicate a flourish associated with an individual craftsman who was later involved with the construction on the south of the Garrison, or it may have been employed to overcome a particular local problem of drainage.

The map evidence indicates that the wall between King Charles Battery and Newman's Battery dates from between 1741 and 1742, and by stylistic analysis of the fabric it is possible to link this phase to the walling immediately south of Upper Broom. This is not surprising as this length of the defences was probably built immediately after 1742. However, another possibility is that both sections of wall have undergone some rebuilding or refacing during the 19th century. Both sections of the coastline seem to be particularly susceptible to erosion, perhaps necessitating their consolidation or reconstruction, during the tenure of Augustus Smith in the mid-19th century. The northernmost section of the wall running southwards from Upper Broom has larger, more irregular stone as if this is the form of the original wall, before the rest of the wall was rebuilt.

Phase 2 1742-3

The next phase of construction stretched from Morning Point to the Woolpack Battery. (Fig 31 & Fig 32) There is a joint in the east side of the outside face of this battery, where there is a marked change in the quality of the stonework. The stone used in these walls is medium-sized, but it is more regular in shape than the earlier phase and it is laid in courses. It shows a progression towards the very regular, large stone and neat courses of the later phases. The dates framing this phase are the 1742 map and the detailed bill submitted by Abraham Tovey at the end of 1743, which demonstrates that work had reached Woolpack Battery. The bill suggests that a lot of work had been carried out on the battery, but the joint in the east wall suggests that at least the outside face of it may date from a later phase of work.



Figure 31. Garrison Walls from Morning Point (at bottom) up to Woolpack and Redan B at top [NMR 26571/10]

Morning Point is transitional in the form of its stonework. (Fig 33) It employs a mixture of the type of stonework used in the walls stretching westwards from Morning Point towards the Woolpack Battery combined with some larger, more regular stone and fine jointing used in the latest phases of the 1740s. However, it lacks the neat coursing of the later phases, perhaps as a result of the awkwardness of the location and the shape of the battery.



Figure 32. Wall to the west of Morning Point [DP022527]



Figure 33. Morning Point Battery [DP022526]

Phase 3 1744

This phase of work stretches from the joint in the wall to the east of the Woolpack Battery to the west side of Redan B. (See Fig 28) The joint in the east wall coincides with a change in wall thickness and the character of the stone changes from regular, small, neat stones of the previous phase to monumental blocks with finer jointing. The joint marking the western extremity of this phase is the joint depicted on the map drawn in 1744.

The stonework in the Woolpack Battery has large blocks laid in neat courses with fine joints. The drainage holes here are circular but have no projecting spouts. To the west of the Woolpack Battery the wall is built with less regular stonework, similar to the walls of the previous phase. Does this mean that the walls on either side of the Woolpack Battery are of the same date, with the battery being added a little later, or was it felt that the battery should have thicker walls with superior detailing for additional strength? In the southern corner of the battery a pillbox was inserted during World War II.

Phase 4 1744-5/6

A second phase in the mid-1740s, stretching from west of Redan B to Bartholomew's Battery, can be dated by maps. (Fig 34) It was in existence by the time the 1746 map was drawn, but does not appear on the map surveyed in 1744. The walls in this phase are constructed of large neat blocks with fine joints. During this phase, and the subsequent one, drainage holes with projecting spouts were used. However, Redan B, which belongs to the previous phase, also has this type of spout, suggesting that this feature was evolving in 1744-5. The western limit of this phase may be at the west side of Bartholomew's Battery, where the wall colour in the 1746 map changes from pink to yellow.



Figure 34. Bartholomew's Battery [DP022489]

Phase 5 1746

During this phase the short section of wall from what is labelled as Bartholomew's Battery to Steval Point was built. On the 1746 plan it was shown in yellow. Its detailing, including the spouts, is indistinguishable from the previous phase. Documents show that work finished in 1746 though John Hargrave continued as Overseer of the Works probably until early 1747.

The 1746 map shows that the decision had been made to terminate this phase of construction abruptly at Steval Point. (Fig 35) Here there would be geographical difficulties overcoming a steep slope, but the strategic situation of Britain was probably of greater significance. The War of Austrian Succession would continue until 1748, but it had not impinged on Scilly despite the worldwide conflicts between navies. The defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746 marked the end of the French-sponsored threat to the north. In the final analysis, huge sums had been spent on large, probably over-elaborate defences that were now thought unlikely to be used and so the funding for the project simply stopped.



Figure 35. Steval Point [DP022504]

THE GARRISON AFTER 1750

A map drawn in 1750 shows the extent of the Garrison Walls as they exist today and the picture it paints can be complemented by the description published by Robert Heath in the same year. He described the Garrison as follows:

‘But the Island of St Mary ... is likewise defended by a strong Garrison, situated upon the West part of it, overlooking the Town and Isthmus (sic), and commanding the Country that way and to the Sea about the Batteries, of which there are several strong ones, mounting with sixty-four Pieces of Cannon, some eighteen Pounders. It also contains a Company of Soldiers, a Master Gunner, and six other Gunners. A Store-House, with Arms for arming three hundred Islanders, who are obliged to assist the Military Forces at the Approach of an Enemy. An impregnable Magazine, a Guard House, Barracks, Bridge, and strong Gates: And, upon the Summit of the Hill, above a regular Ascent, going from Hugh-Town, stands his Majesty’s Star-Castle, with Ramparts, and a Ditch about it.’¹⁴⁴

Heath also mentioned the house that had been provided for Abraham Tovey: ‘Under the hill, towards the North Part of the Garrison, stands a convenient Dwelling, in which resides Mr Abraham Tovey, Master-Gunner’.¹⁴⁵ It contains ‘good Apartments, Yards, Garden, Out-houses, and Cellars, (well stored) also a little House that stands under the Hill, betwixt his Dwelling-House (next the Sea) and the parade above it.’¹⁴⁶ Tovey had impressed Heath who described his work:

‘He has greatly improved the Garrison-Roads, as well as the Batteries, by making them convenient for removing Cannon upon, which before was done with the utmost Difficulty. One of which Roads he has almost compleated round the Line, next the several Batteries of Cannon, and has caused Part of it to be hewn thro’ a vast Rock, or Quarry-Substance, where before it was impassable.’¹⁴⁷

Tovey’s previous freedom to act unchecked by the centralised administration of the Board of Ordnance seems to have been tempered following the major building campaigns of the 1740s. In April 1750 a storm damaged two small, old buildings, apparently those flanking the gate and Tovey estimated that 20,000 slates would be needed.¹⁴⁸ The letter to the Ordnance, obviously not written by Tovey, also noted:

‘And that the Parapet has been falling ever since Tovey built it, being mostly stone laid in Earth without Lime and so close to the Edge of the Cliff that as that is undermined it must fall in Course, but that it would be cheaper to build a new Parapet more retired upon the Land than to secure this by building against the Sea.’

The roof repairs were accepted and on 31 July 1750 Kane William Horneck agreed to the purchase of the slates, but the repair to the parapet was put on hold until he had inspected the proposed work later in the year.¹⁴⁹ In his bill submitted on 31 December 1750 Horneck claimed for:

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| ‘Hire of a Vessel to carry me to Scilly and Back | £6 6s 0d |
| Boat Hire at Scilly and Penzance | 17s 6d’ ¹⁵⁰ |

Repairs to the Master Gunner's House and Barracks were also carried out in 1750, with £55 15d 7d being paid to 'James Murch Hellier, his bill for helling, and days work performed on the repairs'.¹⁵¹

No record seems to survive of Horneck's approval for the rebuilding of the parapet but in 1751 £185 1s 8d was submitted as the estimate for maintenance, much higher than in a regular year.¹⁵²

William Borlase's study of the Isles of Scilly contains only brief mentions of the Garrison Walls and other fortifications.¹⁵³ Though his book was published in 1756, his wonderful panoramic view of Hugh Town, the Garrison and the islands to the north of St Mary's is dated 1752, and in 1753 a letter about the islands was published by the Royal Society. Therefore, although his visit was perhaps only five years after work had ceased on the Garrison Walls, he does not talk about them in detail, only lamenting their poor design and the fact they were incomplete:

'I shall not particularly point out to you some improprieties which occur'd to me in the disposition of these Lines: Doubtless they might have been better designed at first, but as it is the proper department of another profession to rectify mistakes in military architecture, I shall not hazard my little skill that way, to find fault with what perhaps it is too late to blame, and for me too difficult to say how it might be amended. 'Tis to be hop'd the Government will take care that the Fortifications of SCILLY may be completed upon the best plan that the works are now capable of, and, that what is completed may be kept in proper repair.'¹⁵⁴

A so-called visitor to the islands in 1780s was clearly surprised that the fortifications had never been completed: 'Il est à souhaiter que le Gouvernement s'occupe du soin d'achever & de perfectionner les fortifications de Scilly, d'après les plans les mieux adaptés à sa situation, & qu'après qu'elles l'auront été, il tienne la main à ce qu'elles soient entretenues dans le meilleur état possible.'¹⁵⁵ In fact this part of the book is a translation of writings by William Borlase.

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

In 1793 Britain went to war with France, a conflict that lasted until 1815 with only brief interludes of peace during the two decades. A substantial officer's mess had been built in 1792, which is now Hugh House, (Fig 36) the offices of the Duchy of Cornwall and in the same year Graeme Spence, described tersely the Garrison:

'Star Castle, or (as it is more commonly called) St Mary's Castle, is a small Building, which consists of 8 small Bastions, situated a Top of the Hill called the Hugh, just above the Town; the Area within the Walls, is only large enough to contain the Governor's House: but the Bastions, and Curtains round the Peninsula of the Hugh, are very extensive and have Embrasures to mount about 90 Pieces of Cannon.'¹⁵⁶



Figure 36. Hugh House [DP022398]

John Troutbeck in 1796 was more impressed with the defences:

'This island is defended by a strong garrison, situated upon a peninsula, on the West side of Heugh Town, which it overlooks ... It contains a company of soldiers, a master gunner, and six other gunners. The barracks are at the entrance into the lines, which being built with moor-stone, make a good appearance; and being flanked with bastions, and salient-angles at proper distances, which were designed to go quite round this peninsula, the whole circuit is about a mile and a half.'¹⁵⁷

Troutbeck's description included the guns that were in each battery, information that might have been of use to the enemy, if it proved accurate. Each of the bastions had guns, with the entire circuit bristling with twenty-five 4-pounders, six 6-pounders, nineteen 9-pounders, four 18-pounders and four 24-pounders. (Fig 37) .At King Charles' Battery:

'One of the guns, a twenty-four pounder, is mounted upon a traversing platform, of the same construction as that at the W point of the garrison near the Steval Rock. This platform has a stone wall built under it, about three-quarters of a circle, about two feet thick and four feet high, with the top row of stones cut flat, and very smooth; the circumference of the circle, from the outside, is about twenty-three feet diameter; in the centre of this circle of masonry, a wall is built, about four feet high and five feet square, over the top, upon which stands a strong square frame of oak timber, with a middle piece in it. The wooden frame which the gun-carriage stands upon, is an oblong square, fourteen feet long and three feet wide within.'¹⁵⁸



Figure 37. King Charles' Battery [DP022511]

In the battery today there is one such traversing platform and according to Troutbeck there was another at the western end of the Garrison Walls, probably in Boscawen Battery. A 1793 drawing of this arrangement appears in a manuscript held by the Royal Artillery though it was designed to be installed on gun towers.¹⁵⁹

With the outbreak of war with France in 1793 the number of troops manning the Garrison was increased. The complement of 24 Invalids was bolstered by islanders recruited into the Corps of Land Fencibles and by 1795 75 regular NCOs and men had

been brought from the mainland.¹⁶⁰ In 1796 the population of Hugh Town was only around 800 inhabitants, and therefore if required to resist an enemy attack, it could not have mustered a major force.¹⁶¹ Henry Spry, describing the Isles of Scilly in 1800, noted the strength of the complement of the Garrison:

‘There is now a Great Soldiery kept up in all the Islands, all the young men are Soldiers and receive a Shilling per day for Coming to Roll Call; about an hour in a day; this is attended with very great expence; about 50 Soldiers to attend the Garrison is Just as well as 500, and paying and Clothing so many young men, is keeping in Idleness, which is a Very Great evil; when they might be much better employed in enclosing and improving the waste Lands. The Gun Briggs often Visitting those Seas to Keep off the Privateers, is of much more infinite Consequence than so many Soldiers paradeing every day in Idleness; For most Certainly, those dangerous rocks and Small Islands; within as well as without, all the Sounds and Harbours are a Sufficient Safeguard to deter an enemys Ship from daring and Ventureing in; And so many large Cannon planted on the Garrison Ground, Commanding all the Sounds and Harbours must effectually prevent any danger of any Enemies attempting this place, they can Sink any Ship immediately.’¹⁶²

In 1803 Major Daniel Lyman proposed the construction of three gun towers in Scilly, each armed with a 32-pound carronade on top.¹⁶³ The presence of three towers on St Mary, in the heart of the Garrison, on Buzza Hill and at Newford Down, has led some people to link them to Lyman’s proposal, but Lyman’s proposal was never enacted and the three towers have different origins. The tower in the Garrison was one of a pair of windmills, the site of the other being located in bushes nearby.¹⁶⁴ In the 19th century it was repaired and rebuilt to serve as a signal station. Buzza Tower was a new windmill built in 1820 and restored in the early 20th century.¹⁶⁵ The tower on Newford Down, now known as Telegraph Tower, was built in 1814 to serve as an Admiralty Telegraph Station, but had closed by 1816.¹⁶⁶ This tower replaced a signal station established in the north-east corner of St Martin’s, on Chapel Down beside the 17th-century day mark.¹⁶⁷

THE DEFENCES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Despite all the 'paradeing' (sic) decried by Spry, the Garrison was never required to fire a shot in anger, and with the defeat of Napoleon, the islands returned to their status as a quiet military backwater. George Woodley, writing in 1822, recorded the parlous state of the defences, less than a decade after the threat from France had ceased:

'At present, the Western end of St. Mary's Roads is unprotected; most of the guns are dismantled, yet left to lie exposed to the injuries of the weather; and these circumstances, coupled with the absence of all "the pomp and circumstance" of military parade, and the recollection of unrepaired roads, and a dilapidated castle, necessarily beget feelings of dreariness and desolation.'¹⁶⁸

The state of disrepair that he recorded suggests that although the Garrison had been reinforced during the war with France, little was probably done to improve, or even maintain the walls. After Trafalgar the threat from the French fleet had waned, along probably with any appetite to spend money on the defences of Scilly.

In 1829 the Duke of Cornwall refused to renew the lease held by the Godolphins and following a five-year interregnum, in which there was no figure of authority on the islands, 'Emperor' Augustus Smith took a 99-year lease as Lord Proprietor of the Isles of Scilly.¹⁶⁹ He found the islands neglected and the Garrison's gun emplacements were half ruinous. It has not been possible to examine his records in detail, but the repair of the Garrison's gun emplacements may have formed part of his programme to reinvigorate the islands during his lifetime. During Smith's tenure, from 1834 until his death in 1872, there were no immediate threats to the islands, certainly none that warranted major investment in the defences. Walter White visiting in 1855 described the quiet life of the soldiery on the island:

'Then up to Star Castle, past the guard-house at the gate, where you may have a chat with the half-dozen invalids who constitute the garrison. Their duties do not appear to be onerous; among them are hauling the Union Jack up and down, and ringing the bell every three hours, from six in the morning till nine at night.'¹⁷⁰

The garrison was disbanded in 1863, leaving a single elderly caretaker to look after the defences.¹⁷¹ No-one could have predicted that within a generation this sleepy backwater would again be considered to be in the front line of Britain's defences.

DEFENDED PORTS

During the Napoleonic Wars no fixed defences were created, the existing Garrison Walls simply being armed and manned. These were soon abandoned after 1815 and there was no move to create new defences until the end of the 19th century. A number of the largest ports of England had been reinforced in the middle of the century through the creation of series of major, very prominent fortifications protecting the landward approaches as well as defending against attacks from the sea. These were designed to meet the perceived threat of French invasion and were created to resist the type of weapons currently in use, but with the development and refinement of the rifled breech-loading gun, the firepower of ships increased dramatically. A 12-inch gun in 1864 had a range of 8,000 yards, but by 1909 this had increased to 24,000 yards.¹⁷² The penetrating power also increased dramatically. A shell fired from an 1864 gun from 3,000 yards could penetrate 4½ inches of Krupp's 1909 Cemented Armour, but a 1909 gun could pierce 22 inches. The rate of fire also rose dramatically from one round in just under two minutes, to a 1909 gun which could fire two rounds per minute.

Existing fortifications were rendered vulnerable and a new approach to defences was required. Major-General Sir Andrew Clarke, Inspector-General of Fortifications, outlined in 1886 the limitations of existing structures: 'Fortified posts will not in future be marked by batteries conspicuously frowning, or granite casemated forts with tiers of guns, rivalling rows of targets in regularity and clearness of definition.'¹⁷³ Concealment from the enemy would be crucial: 'defences if skilfully designed will be indistinguishable from the ground on which they stand, and while they retain all the advantages of the defence, will offer no mark to the enemy's fire.' Defences would be blended into the landscape, and would avoid any prominent, regular shapes in their design. Guns should be dispersed rather than being concentrated in a large structure and earthwork defences would be preferable to iron and steel.¹⁷⁴

As well as changing the form of defences, the Government also reviewed the priorities for the location of defences. In 1882 the Morley Committee investigated the defences of mercantile ports as the Government had realised that the country and its navy was wholly dependent on coal.¹⁷⁵ This prompted the creation of a series of defended ports, but the idea of creating a protected anchorage for shipping was extended to Scilly.¹⁷⁶ To achieve this two large batteries with a barracks between were created above the 18th-century Woolpack Battery overlooking St Mary's Sound and these were supplemented by a pair of searchlights and a small quick-firing (QF) battery at Steval Point. (Fig 38) At Bant's Carn in the north of St Marys another QF battery was created. In form all these new fortifications followed well-established forms, and therefore could be built quickly.

The authorisation for the erection of the large batteries was granted on 24 May 1898 and work began on 2 August 1898.¹⁷⁷ Work was completed on 30 May 1901 having cost £19,800 and on 4 October 1902 a highly informative set of survey drawings of the fortifications as built were registered.¹⁷⁸ Two articles in 'The Navy and Army Illustrated' tracked the progress of the construction. On 22 April 1899 workmen were shown creating the stone foundations for the earthworks of one of the batteries while in the edition published on 12 October 1901 the guns were shown being unloaded from a ship and pulled through the Garrison Gate.¹⁷⁹



Figure 38. Woolpack on left, with the white coloured barrack in the centre and the heavily-wooded Steval to the right of the accommodation. At the top right of the image a white shape is the accommodation building beside the Steval Point Quick-firing gun. [NMR 26571/34]

The new batteries were called Woolpack (Fig 39) and Steval and each had a pair of the recently-introduced Mark VII 6-inch breech-loading guns, which had a range of 12,600 yards (11,520m)¹⁸⁰ Each gun was housed in a concrete barbette that was set within



Figure 39. Woolpack Battery [NMR 26571/35]

sloping earthworks that blended into the hillside. (Fig 40) Between and behind the gun positions were three subterranean shell stores, two cartridge stores, an artillery store and a shelter for the battery's men. Separate shell and cartridge lifts served the guns above and the only concession to comfort in the shelter was to provide a small stove. The magazines were able to hold 1,000 rounds, suggesting preparation for a major conflict. The barrack block between the two gun batteries, which was set within an earthwork similar to the batteries, was designed to provide two married quarters



*Figure 40. Beneath this tranquil rural scenes lies Woolpack Battery.
[DP085332]*

during peace time and in the event of war it could house twenty-four men and two NCOs. (Fig 41) Behind the barracks there was a separate parallel block containing stores and earth closets. At the south end of this pair of buildings there is a small observation building overlooking the earthworks. This was not an original feature of the design, but was designed in July 1905 as a 'Fire Commander's Post' for observing movements in St Mary's Sound and directing fire on targets.¹⁸¹ (Fig 42)

While the large batteries were being constructed, the decision was taken to provide 'Defence Electric Lights' to illuminate any potential enemy shipping in St Mary's Sound.¹⁸² A drawing dated 11 June 1900, prepared by Lt Col FS Leslie commanding officer of the Royal Engineers on the islands, shows the layout of cabling required to link the generator placed inside a sunken structure within Boscawen's Battery and the oil storage tank beneath Redan A to the lights at Steval Point and in front of 18th-century Woolpack Battery. The two searchlight positions are small D-shaped concrete buildings originally with iron shutters along their curved, seaward face. (Fig 43) These could be opened to create a directed beam of light towards a target. In the floor of the structure at Woolpack there is a channel and a rectangular shape where the searchlight was located



Figure 41. The Barrack Block between Woolpack and Steval Batteries. [DP085319]

and supplied with electricity, but in the floor of the position at Steval Point there are no indications that the light was installed. To control the lights and identify targets for the guns a Position Finder station was created on the hillside above Woolpack and during World War II this was converted into a pillbox. (Fig 44)



Figure 42. The Fire Commander's Post [DP085321]

The large gun batteries were designed to deal with large, relatively slow-moving targets, but small, fast torpedo boats were thought to be a significant new threat being developed by the French.¹⁸³ To counter these, quick-firing (QF) guns were created, firing perhaps 25 to 30 rounds per minute. In Scilly two batteries were created, each intended to house two 12-pounder QF guns, which had a range of 8,000 yards.¹⁸⁴ These batteries were established at Steval Point, on the top of the slope above where the 18th-century walls terminate and at Bant's Carn at the north end of St Mary's. (Fig 45) They were smaller versions of the two larger batteries with a pair of gun positions flanking subterranean stores, but with a small, flat-roofed accommodation



Figure 43. Defence Electric Light Position in front of the 1740s Woolpack Battery [DP022476]



Figure 44. Position Finder Station [DP085220]

building beside each battery. Steval Point has a datestone of 1900 while the battery at Bant's Carn is dated 1905. Design drawings for both batteries survive in the National Archives, with the Steval Point drawings being dated May 1903.¹⁸⁵ Therefore the datestone in this case seems questionable.

Even before the Bant's Carn datestone was in place, the world had changed in military terms, causing a major re-evaluation of Britain's and Scilly's defences. The signing of the



Figure 45. Steval Point Quick-Firing Gun Battery – position of gun [DP085183]

Entente Cordiale in 1904 meant that centuries of hostility with France ended, and British concerns now turned to the growing might of Germany.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, geographically the east side of England became of greater importance while the south-west was thought to be less vulnerable. The launching of HMS Dreadnought in 1905 raised questions about many of the existing coastal defences. Therefore, a committee was established under General Sir John Owen to consider where coastal defences should be concentrated and the guns that should be provided at these sites.¹⁸⁷ The impact of these changes in Scilly was that the newly-created large batteries were soon disarmed, certainly before 1914, and the two QF batteries never had their guns installed.¹⁸⁸ Again Scilly continued its tradition of building impressive fortifications, but never firing a shot in anger.

THE GARRISON IN WORLD WAR I AND II

During World War I Scilly remained of strategic significance, but for an entirely new form of warfare. The start of unrestricted submarine warfare by the Germans at the beginning of 1917 led to an expansion in the establishment of anti-submarine air bases around the coasts of Britain.¹⁸⁹ A naval sub-base was established at St Mary's with a flotilla of Admiralty tugs, armed trawlers and drifters for anti-submarine patrols, but it was in aerial warfare that Scilly made its mark.¹⁹⁰ Even before the outbreak of war it had been discovered that aircraft and airships were of value in hunting submarines. Though it proved difficult with the technology then available for aircraft or airships to attack submarines successfully, they could effectively guide and direct attacks by surface vessels. The establishment of a flying boat and seaplane base on Tresco extended the operating range of the Royal Naval Air Service (and subsequently the RAF) far out into the Western Approaches.

There are no definite physical remains from World War I on the Garrison, but more tangible signs of the subsequent war have survived. In military terms Scilly was under-prepared for the World War II; in the summer of 1940 the islands were defended by just one Independent Company of troops, with their headquarters at Star Castle, and there were no anti-aircraft defences and no significant naval presence. An air raid on 29 August 1940 seems to have been particularly worrying and the situation in Scilly was discussed by the War Cabinet on the following day.¹⁹¹ Winston Churchill declared that the islands must be held 'at all costs' and the Chiefs of Staff were directed to make dispositions accordingly. Meanwhile two destroyers were anchored in St Mary's Pool to give some anti-aircraft cover. On 2 September the Chiefs of Staff decided to double the garrison on the islands to two Independent Companies (approximately 1000 men) and to provide two Bofors anti-aircraft guns.¹⁹² The Bofors guns were delivered and put in position the following day.

In 1941 the beaches and military installations were wired and nearly 30 pillboxes were built around the coast of St Mary's.¹⁹³ On the Garrison there are examples at Morning Point, Woolpack, Upper Benham and Steval Point, some of which are cunningly worked into pre-existing 18th-century structures. (Fig 46) A series of slight remains at Woolpack, close to the site of 'The Folly', may also be at least partly of World War II date; low circular earthworks indicate the position of a searchlight battery and an arrangement of metal ground anchors and a cable trench suggest the presence of a guyed, collapsible radio mast. (See Fig 7)

In 1943 an experimental 'RACON' Beacon was established at the c1900 Woolpack Battery by a Canadian RAF unit.¹⁹⁴ (Fig 47) The beacon consisted of an antenna on an 8.5m high wooden mast and a transmitter powered by a generator (all duplicated in case of damage or malfunction) The generators were installed in one of the gun emplacements and the operators lived in the underground store. This equipment broadcast a continuous pattern of 'dots' that aircraft navigators used to fix their position.

After D-Day any serious threat to the islands receded and therefore in December 1944 Star Castle was de-commissioned. With peace in 1945 Scilly's long military history had



Figure 46. World War II pillbox set into tip of 18th century Woolpack Battery [DP022480]

apparently come to an end. However, in 1985 it was belatedly revealed that the islands could still technically be at war with the Netherlands and therefore on 17 April 1986, after 335 years of war, a 'treaty' was signed and 'peace' returned to Scilly. Today the line of the Garrison Walls are the route for a brisk walk, and pillboxes serve as curiosities on hikes around St Mary's coastline. But they remain under threat; not from marauding privateers or hostile dive-bombers, but from an enemy that cannot be defeated - the sea.



Figure 47. 'RACON' Beacon location on Woolpack Battery [DP085199]

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- 96 TNA WO47/29, 62; WO47/29, 119; WO48/56 no pagination
- 97 Lilly 1715, f12 plan and elevation of proposed barracks
- 98 International Genealogical Index http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/ancestorsearchresults.asp?last_name=Tovee (accessed 23 September 2010); TNA WO 54/678 – this document contains pay and clothing records for the artillery train. A detailed account of Tovey's life and military career can be found in Brodie 2011a. This includes a lot of detail about his military career, his genealogy and the lengthy dispute he was involved with in the 1730s.
- 99 Kamen 1969, 24
- 100 TNA WO47/27, 2 October 1714, 63
- 101 TNA WO47/28, 365 - 20 December 1715
- 102 TNA WO51/100, 191
- 103 TNA WO47/27, 63; WO47/28,302; WO55/509, 36, 1 October 1727; WO54/204 no pagination, 4 April 1735
- 104 TNA WO47/30, 142, 195, 202
- 105 TNA WO51/124, 11v
- 106 TNA WO55/350, 45
- 107 Chevenix Trench 1973, 209-10
- 108 Williams 1992, 213
- 109 Williams 1992, 241, 269.
- 110 TNA WO55/350, 44-6
- 111 TNA WO55/350, 45
- 112 TNA WO55/350, 79-80
- 113 TNA WO51/144, 105
- 114 TNA WO48/81, 46
- 115 TNA WO49/122,100
- 116 TNA MPH 1/14
- 117 TNA WO55/2281 part 2

- 118 TNAWO51/151, 189
- 119 NMR Works 31/1148
- 120 TNA WO51/154, 61
- 121 TNA WO55/508, 108
- 122 TNA WO51/150, 293
- 123 TNA MPH 1/413 (1)
- 124 TNA WO51/155, 235
- 125 TNA WO51/159, 54
- 126 Heath 1750, 72-3
- 127 TNA WO51/157, 123; WO51/161, 132
- 128 TNA WO51/160, 76, 82
- 129 TNA WO51/164 135, 137; WO47/34, F149r -18 April 1749 Order 'That the Master Gunner at Scilly Island get the necessary Repairs done to the Star Castle House, the Charge of which will be allowed in his Disbursements, and that his son Isaac have Leave to live in the house until the Governour's Return.'
- 130 TNA WO51/156, 218
- 131 TNA WO51/160, 82; WO51/157, 234
- 132 NMR Works 31/1149
- 133 TNA WO51/158,108
- 134 TNA WO51/182, 66 -30 June 1760 Isaac Tovey Master Gunner £64 6 10 for small repairs.
- 135 TNA WO51/161, 132; In 1755 Abel Croad who lived in Plymouth subscribed to John Barnes, The Tradesman's Assistant: containing useful and exact tables, shewing the amount or value of any number or quantity of goods, London 1755. <http://www.ancestry.co.uk/> (accessed 25 February 2011)
- 136 TNA WO51/161, 132
- 137 TNA WO51/164 135, 137
- 138 NMR Works 31/1149
- 139 TNA MPH 1/14
- 140 Borlase 1966, 10
- 141 Borlase 1966, pl III
- 142 Anon 1899, III
- 143 TNA WO55/350, 44-5
- 144 Heath 1750 69-70
- 145 Heath 1750, 72
- 146 Heath 1750, 73
- 147 Heath 1750, 73-4
- 148 TNA WO 47/35, 315, 377
- 149 TNA WO 47/35, 378; WO 47/36, 69
- 150 TNA WO 51/177, 99
- 151 TNA WO 51/176, 148
- 152 TNA WO 49/123, Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs 1749-1755, 7
- 153 Borlase 1966
- 154 Borlase's 1966, 9-10
- 155 *Voyages aux Montagnes d'Ecosse et aux Isles Hébrides, de Scilly, d'Anglesey, &c* 2 vols Geneva: Paul Barde 1785, vol I, 12
- 156 Thomas 1979, 5
- 157 Troutbeck 1796, 41

- 158 Troutbeck 1796, 48
- 159 James Clavell Library at the RA Institution at Woolwich RA/20/214 MSS book of collected military papers on artillery matters, vol II 1780-1800. It contains 'sketch details of a traversing platform mounting for towers erected for the defence of the Scilly Islands in 1793, invented and deposited in the Royal Military Repository by Lieutenant John Rutherford RE. 15 July 1793'; Carpenter 1993, 100
- 160 Adams 1984, 68
- 161 Troutbeck 1796, 37
- 162 Thomas 1979,14
- 163 TNA WO 1/626
- 164 TNA MPHH 1/162 no. 3
- 165 Goodwin 1993, 136
- 166 Wilson 1976, 66; Goodwin 1993, 128-32
- 167 Ratcliffe 1989, 63; Ratcliffe and Sharpe 1991, 11-17
- 168 Woodley 1822, 226
- 169 Llewellyn 2005, 11, 18, 24; Inglis-Jones 1969, 34, 38, 53; Adams 1984, 74ff
- 170 White 1855, 260
- 171 Adams 1984, 83
- 172 Dawson 1909, 43
- 173 Porter 1951, vol II 225
- 174 Porter 1951, II, 224-5
- 175 TNA WO 106/6287
- 176 TNA WO33/39
- 177 TNA MPHH 1/162 3
- 178 TNA MPHH 1/162 1-11
- 179 Anon 1899, 111; Anon 1901, 90
- 180 TNA WO 78/5100; Maurice-Jones 2005, 172; Hogg 1987, 105 – the gun was introduced in 1898. A section and plan of a standard setting is shown in Plate XXXI in Clarke 1989.
- 181 TNA WO 78/4100
- 182 TNA WO 78/4104
- 183 Maurice-Jones 2005, 171-3; Saunders 1989, 191
- 184 Rogers 1975, 116
- 185 TNA WO 78/4092 – Bant's Carn; WO 78/4097 Steval Point
- 186 Longmate 1993, 405-6
- 187 TNA ADM 1/8882; Maurice-Jones 2005, 172
- 188 TNA WO 78/5100
- 189 Abbatiello 2006; Bowden and Brodie 2011
- 190 Isles of Scilly Museum *Scillonian War Diary 1914-18*
- 191 TNA CAB 65/8/50
- 192 TNA CAB 66/11/30
- 193 Isles of Scilly Museum *Scillonian War Diary 1939-45*
- 194 Isles of Scilly Museum *Scillonian War Diary 1939-45*

APPENDICES

Appendix I - 1554 Survey

TNA E 101 63/8 – text reproduced in TJ Miles and AD Saunders ‘King Charles’ Castle, Treco, Scilly’ *Post Medieval Archaeology*, vol 4 1970, 1-30, 3

‘The ordnaunce ande artillarie that is in St Mary Islande.

At the olde castell or pile: Item, ii Sakers with v^c Shott, Item iii fawkones with iii^c Shott. Item iii sponges and iiij ladles.

The hugh. Item one hole colverine with ii^c Shott. Item one dimi Culverin with i^c shott. Apon the wales of the new forte or plott to beat the harbour there. Item ii Sakers.

At the blocke howse called helvere and Allines howse. Item ii Curtalls with iiij^{xx} Shott. Item ii Demi Culverines. Item one porte peace.

Artillarie in the old castell in St Mary Islande. Item xxx^{ti} bowes. Item xxiiij pikes. Item xx billes.

Item L shefes of arrowes olde and new. Item vi barrels of Sarpentine powder. Item v dossen bowe strengs. Item ii cressets. Item xxx halfe hake broken and holle.

The Ordenaunce and Artillarie in the Isle of Treskaw. Item one hole Culverine with iiij^{xx} Shott. Item one Saker with xiiij Shott. Item one Sleng, ii chambers with no shott. Item iii Doble basses, vi chambers with no shott. Item x halffe hakes. Item x Flex and x molds. Item xii bowes. Item xx pikes. Item xii billes. Item xxx Sheffes of Arrowes. Item iii hole barrels of sarpentine powder. Item ii dossen bow-strengs. Item i cresset.

At the blocke howse under the castell. Item ii porte peces. Item iii chambers with no shott.

At the blockehowse in the fissher toune. Item i Demi Culverine. Item i ladle. Item i Sponge. Item iiij^{xx} Shott. Item i broken fowler.

Informacion is mad that Thomas Gwey late Captaine of Treskaw carried ii Doble basses to the toune of Poole where the said peces lye at Charge for xl s.

Yt may please you that there doth lacke viii paire of wheles viz. iii for Sakers and ii for Demi Culverines and ii paire for Demi ffawkones and one paire of wheles for a sleng.

Yt may please your honer ferder to be advertised that the Stocks of the port peces of the said Garison are dekaied and must be re-edified before they can be shot off.

Yt is much requisit that provicion be mad with Spede for the furnytur of this ordenaunce for that is the thing that putteth strangers in feare; there lay in the harbour of the Isles in Januarii and februarii last past as long as the extreme esterly wind did

continue above iii^{xx} sale of the Emperour and french Kinges Subjects and no litle a doo to kepe peace bytwene them, and the viii day of february Spanish Shippes tok ii frenshemen that came from Barbary, bytwene the saide Islande and Is Hewant well worth xx M^l duckets, and for truth the Spaniards may ill spare Sullie.

Thus I pray god presarve your Lordshipp in honour long to prosper. Your poore Bedeman to commaund, John Graynefeld'

Appendix 2 - 1739 Report

TNA WO55/350, 44-6

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'At the Council Chamber Whitehall the 26th August 1739

Present

The Lords of His Majesty's most Hon'ble Privy Council.

Upon reading this day at the Board the Memorail of Francis Earl of Godolphin Governor of the Islands of Scilly, together with the Copy of the Representation of Capt'n Jeffreyson, the Commanding Officer resident in the said Islands thereto annex'd relating to the bad State of the Garrison & Outworks of the Star Castle & to the want of Small Arms & Ammunition for ye inhabitants – It is ord'd in Council that the said Memorial with the Copy of the said Representation which are hereunto annex'd, be, and they are hereby, Referr'd to the Master General of the Ordnance to consider thereof and Report to His Majesty at this Board, what He conceives proper to be done therein.

W Sharpe'

[In margin it says – 'NB a Copy of this sent to Mr Tho' Armstrong]

Immediately below is:

'To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, the Memorial of Frances Earl of Godolphin, Governor of the Islands of Scilly –

Sheweth

That on the 6th of July last, Cap'tn Charles Jeffreyson Commanding Officer resident in the said Islands did represent to four Memorials that he finding a great Armament was making both by Sea & Land for Defences of your Majestys Dominions, had put your Majesty's Star Castle and the Company under his Command in the best State He was capable, and that upon proper Notice the Inhabitants of the several Islands to the Number of 176 from the Age of 16 to 60, came before him at your Majesty's Star Castle, and Voluntarily offered to Entertain themselves in your Majesty's Service for the Defence of the said Islands, & that they are fit for Service, and capable when disciplin'd & well Armed to defend the said Islands – not only by Land, but likewise by Sea, in their Boats, being very expert on ye water and also well affected to youre Majesty, and Government.

-

That your Memorialist has annex'd hereto the Copy of a Reprisenation made on 21st of February last to your Majesty's Board of Ordnance by the said Capt'n Jeffreyson, of the State of the Garrison & Outworks of the said Star Castle, which still remain while in the said Condition -

That there are now but Five Firelocks in the Stores, and therefore many will be wanting in case your Majesty shall think proper to Arm the Islanders, wth an Allowance of Powder & Ball, as used done during the War in the Reign of the Late Queen Anne.

All which is most humbly submitted – to your Majesty's Royal Consideration'

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'Scilly Feb'ry 21st Feb'ry 1738[79]

Copy of the Report of Capt'n Charles Jeffreyson of the present State of His Majestys Garrison & Outworks of the Star Castle at St Marys, One of the Islands of Scilly, humbly presented, with the several Following Demands. –

1st that the Star Castle incompassed with a Stone Rampart built by Queen Elizabeth in 1593, consists of Eleven Rooms, is in good Repair, but wanting Window Shutters, the Rains beats in. –

2nd that the Arms of the Company deliver'd to them Twenty years ago, being Old Ship Arms in Queen Ann's War, and Bayonets not fitted to, or belonging to them, are worn out & unfit for Service. –

3d that a Draw=Bridge is wanting at the Entrance of the Garrison being the only Port, in the room of the present Standing Bridge worn out

4th that the upper Battery on the South side of the said Bridge wants to be rebuilt it had formerly Nine Guns – now but One, an uns'ble 4 pound wth a Carriage Do

5th the Parapet Walls on the Ramparts & Batterys are demolish'd, and want to be rebuilt.

6th The Higher Benham Battery built for Eight Guns, and now only One 4 Pounder, mounted on a unu'ble Carriage, the Pavem't for 7 Guns repairable, for one, no Pavement

7th the lower Benham is an Outwork to command ye Pool & Porthcressa – Two Landing places designed for 4 guns, but now none, nor no Pavement, people at pleasure come this way into the Lines.-

8th - the upper Broom Battery was built for 3 Guns, has now only one, w^{ch} is an uns'ble 4 Pounder, mounted on a Carriage Do here is no Pavem't at all.

9th the Lower Broom Battery Ditto, but the Pavement is god, the Easth where the Building stands is wasted, it wants to be Buttressed up, the Lower Broom Battery is the last Battery built with Masonry work to the Southward, that can be called regular Fortification, from the following part is Breastwork & Battery built mostly with Sods from point to point, as the Land would permit, but the Sea has encroach'd so much that most of the Battery & Breastworks are become unserviceable, & want to be retired, till we

come to ye Well Battery, w'ch is ye Northend of ye Masonry regular fortification, & is carried on to the Lower Battery as before mentioned.

10th Has been a Wall partly Stone & partly Sod Work, built breast-high, from the Lower Broom Battery to Morning Point Battery, unserviceable –

11th Morning –point Battery built for 6 Guns, now only Two – 9 Pounders – on 2 uns'ble Carriages – the Pavement for 4 Guns is good, but none for ye other 2. The front of ye Battery is all down, wants to be rebuilt. –

12th from Morning-point Battery to the Wool-pack Battery has been a Cover'd-Way but wants to be retired, part of the cliff being fallen into the Sea, is now uns'ble

13th The Woolpack Batter built for 7 Guns, now only 2 – 9 Pounders, on uns'ble Carriages. The stones of the Pavement are good, but the Battery wants to be retired.

14 From the Woolpack Battery to Bartholomew Battery is in the same State as Number 12.

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15th Bartholomew Battery built for 4 Guns, now only 2 – 9 Pounders, on (e) uns'ble – mounted on uns'ble Carriages, one Gun uns'ble. The Pavement good, the Battery wants to be retired.

16 From Bartholomew Battery to Stevil Battery is in the same Stet as No 12.

17 The Stevil Battery was built for 4 Guns, now only 2 No 9 Pounders, 1 uns'ble mounted on 2 uns'ble Carriages the Pavement good, the Battery wants to be rebuilt.

18 From the Stevil to Charles Battery, the Breastwork is all down & wants to be retired, as in No 12

19 The Royal Charles Battery built for 8 Guns, now only 2 – 18 Pounders, on unserviceable Carriages, the Pavement is good, but the Battery is undermined by the Sea, it wants to be retired.

20 From Charles Battery to Lilles Battery, the Breastwork is all done & wants to be retired.

21 Lilles Battery was built for 7 Guns, now only 2 uns'ble 18 Pounders on unserviceable Carriages, one Gun uns'ble, the Parapet Wall & Glacis are in good Order, but the Pavement for 5 Guns wants to be new laid, and for 2 Guns new Pavem't.

22 From Lilles Battery to the Barn Battery all is down, so that people make inroads – in & out of the Garrison, when the Gates are shut. –

23 The Barn Battery built for 4 Guns, now only 2 – 9 Pounders , on uns'ble Carriages the Pavem't is good but the Battery wants to be rebuilt, as does the Curtain to the Well Battery.

24 The Well=Battery built for 4 Guns, now only 2 – 9 Pounders, uns'ble both on uns'ble Carriages, the Pavement wants to be new laid & new Pavem't for 2 Guns.

25 The Battery on the Northside of the main Guard, being the only Gate to the Garrison, was built for 3 Guns, has now none, the Pavement is good, but the Face to the Northwards to be rebuilt.

26 Saddlers Battery has 11 Guns serv'ble but on uns'ble Carriages, the Battery is in good Order.'

27 The Old Saluting Battery built for 5 Guns, now only 3 – 24 Pounders serv'ble 1 – 6 Pounder uns'ble – on unserviceable Carriages, the Battery uns'ble wants to be rebuilt.

28 A Magazine is wanted to hold the great Quantity of Powder here, tho Lodged in a good Storehouse, it being Exposed to every Ship that comes into St Mary's Sound.

29 There are 3 Sally Ports in the Front of the Garrison, 2 of them Stop'd up with Rubbish for want of Doors.

30 Within ye walls of the Garrison there have been Battery's built for 100 Guns besides the Guns out of the Garrison being 22 – No 10 on St Mary's - No 10 at Grimsby – and No 2 at St Martins Island, the Total being 122. Now there Remains but 34; & 6 of them uns'ble.

31 The Star Castle is built on high Ground near the Sea, situated on an Isthmus (2 miles in Circumference)

32 A Necessary house is greatly wanted for the Garrison, and the Main Guard'

Appendix 3 - Abraham Tovey Bill dated 31 December 1743

TNA WO51/I54, 61

'To Abraham Tovey Master Gunner at Scilly the Sum of One thousand two hundred & sixty nine pounds, ten shillings & 9d being so much by him disbursed in the Islands of Scilly on His Majestys Service between the 1st of January 1742-3 and the Date above as by Vouchers (viz)'

Paid Masons for raising the Curtains and Battery and Parrapet of King Charles Battery & Paying the Smiths Work ... £153 12s 0½d

Paid Do for Cleaving and Cutting Morestone taking up and new Setting the Gunstone, & paying the Smiths Work £170 3s 4d

Paid Do for building the Curtain from Lower Broom Battery to Morning Point Battery & paying Smiths Work &c £160 19s 11d

Paid Do for new building the Woolpack Battery & setting the Gunstone &c and paying the Blacksmith's Work &c £131 8s 9½d

Paid Labourers for raising Stones for the Curtains &c £50 8s 0d

Paid Do for raising Stones for King Charles Battery £22 8s 0d

Paid Do for carrying back the Gunstone &c £16 9s 0d

Paid Do for filling up the Battery on the inside and Carrying in the Gunstone &c £46 13s 0d

Paid Do for raising the Roads & tending the Masons in their several Employments &c £29 8s 0d

Paid Do for raising the Roads, beating Lime, bringing Clay & making Mortar &c £19 11s 0d

Paid Do for raising and carrying Stones to build the Curtain from the Lower Broom to the Morning Point Battery &c £44 15s 6d

Paid Do for raising and carrying Stones to build part of the Curtain from Morning Point to the Woolpack Battery £35 10s 0d

Paid Do for beating & carrying Lime for ruffcasting & pointing also raising & carrying Stones £43 14s 0d

Paid Do for carrying back the old Gunstone from the Woolpack Battery & also for clearing for a Foundation £66 12s 0d

Paid Do for raising & carrying Stones to New build the

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Woolpack Battery quenching and beating Lime etc | £32 10s 0d |
| Paid Do for carrying the Gunstone to be new set & filling up the Battery on the inside &c | £12 19s 0d |
| Paid Carpenters for mending Handbarrows Wheelbarrows & making a Platform for the Gunner's Exercise &c | £16 9s 6d |
| Paid Gunners, Glaziers, Gunsmiths, Cooper, Chimneysweeper and for looking after Tresco Castle &c | £14 8s 9d |
| Paid for Materials | £170 1s 6½d |
| Total | £1238 11s 4½d |
| To the remittance of £1238.11.4 ½ at 6d per pound | £30 19s 3d |
| Total | £1269 10s 7½d' |

Appendix 4 - Bill dated 31 December 1744

TNA WO51/I59, 54

'To Abraham Tovey Master Gunner at Scilly the sum of One thousand four hundred seventy four pounds sixteen shillings being so much by him disbursed on His Majesty's Service at that Island between the 1st of January 1743-4 and the 31st December following as by the Vouchers annexed ...'

| | |
|---|----------------|
| 1 Jan 1743 – 31 March 1744 | £255 19s 9½d |
| 1 April 1744 – 30 June | £540 03s 9d |
| 1 July 1744 – 30 September | £413 14s 7d |
| 1 Oct 1744 – 31 December | BLANK |
| Payments to Masons, Carpenters, and Blacksmith | £109 9s 6d |
| Labourers | £41 19s 10½d |
| Labourers | £38 0s 4½d |
| Labourers, Gunners, Armourers, Collermaker and a man to keep clean Tresco Castle | £17 6s 3d |
| Materials and Postage | £22 2s 6d |
| Total | £1438 16s 7 ½d |
| Add 6d /£ | £35 19s 4 ½d |
| Total | £1474 16s 0d |

Appendix 5 - Bill dated 23 October 1745

TNA WO51/I58, I08

'To William Redstone paymaster of His Majesty's Ordnance at the Island of Scilly the Sum of One Thousand & ninety eight pounds Seventeen Shillings. Following Sums by him Disbursed on his Majesty's Service at that Place between the 30th of June and 23d of October 1745 viz

1745

June 30th

To Masons & Labourers building a Limekiln £29 16s 2d

To labourers Clearing the foundation of ye Woolpack &c £21 6s 7d

July 31

To Ditto employ'd in the Month of July £28 14s 3d

To Isaac Tovey overseer £8 8s 0d

August 1st

To Mr Redstone's Traveling Expences to Penzance £3 10s 0d

31st

To Labourers employ'd in the Month of august £20 17s 6d

Sept 30th

To Isaac Tovey overseer £6 2s 0d

To Labourers employ'd in the Month of September £21 13s 10d

To Mr Abel Croad Contractors as per bill of Measuremt £946 9s 8d

To Mr Langford for Freight and Agency of £97

at £1 per cent £0 19s 4½d

To Stamps Paper and Affidavit £0 2s 1d

To remittances of the foregoing Sums at 20 per cent £10 17s 7d

Total

£1098 17s 0 ½d'

Appendix 6 - Bill dated 31 October 1746

TNA WO51/I61

132 31 October 1746

'To Nicholas Mercator Pay Master to the Works at Islands of Scilly the Sum of Eight hundred & twenty six pounds, nine shillings & 1d for the several Sums by him disbursed as undermentioned in carrying on the Works at the said Islands between the 1st July & date above as by Acct & Vouchers in this office

1746

July 1st

Paid John Hargrave Overseer of the Works his Quarters Pay ending 30th June 1746, as by Bill & Receipts £13 13s 0d

October 1st

Paid Do his Quarters Pay ending 30th September 1746, as PER DO £13 16s 0d

Dec 15th

Paid Abell Croad Mason his Bill of Measurement & for Day Labourers employ'd between 14th July 1746 and 15th October following as per ditto £788 1s 11½d

Do Do Paid Walter Sincock Smith for repairing Pickaxes etc for use of the works in Ditto .. £2 1s 6d

Then some minor costs

Total £826 9s 1d'

Appendix 7 - Index of drawings 1806

TNA WO55/2281 part 2 (extracts)

f10r-11v

- entry no 5 Map of the Isles of Scilly and where the Ships were lost – flat 32
- entry no 7 Ditto and its Avenues by Col Lilly 1715 flat 33
- entry no 8 Plan of Star Castle by Col Lilly 1715 flat 34
- entry no 10 Hugh Garrison by Abraham Tovey 1733 flat 36
- entry no 11 Hugh Garrison by Captain Horneck 1741 flat 37
- entry no 15 Plan of the Woolpack Battery by Abraham Tovey 1743 flat 40
- entry no 17 Plan of Star Castle by Abraham Tovey 1740 flat 42
- entry no 19 Several plans of military works in Scilly Islands Abraham Tovey 1740 on shelf below
- entry no 20 Plan and sections of part of the line of St Mary's Island in Scilly by Mr Hardesty 1745 flat 43
- entry no 28 plan of a small fort on Tolls Island by Abraham Tovey 1747 flat 53
- entry no 29 plan with a design for a Redan & Curtains at Hugh Fort Scilly by Mr Hardesty flat 54
- entry no 31 Plan of Hugh Fort alias Star Castle (says in scratched out ink or feint pencil K W Horneck) 1728 flat 55
- entry no 32 E & S View of Hugh Fort alias Star Castle Abraham Tovey 1750 flat 56
- entry no 33 Plan of the Castle upon the Island of Tresco Col Lilly 1715 flat 57
- entry no 38 Plans of the Scilly Islands 1740 flat 60

Appendix 8 - Isles of Scilly Main Financial Records for Military Works 1715-1760

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---|---------------|
| 1715 | | | | |
| 10 Feb 1715 | Christian Lilly | £150 | Appointed CL as 3rd engineer £150 annual salary | WO55/504, 110 |
| 25 July 1715 | Christian Lilly | £3 4s 6d | To Cash paid Cap'n Chadwick for my Passage from Plymouth to Scilly £3 4s 6d | WO51/96, f72v |
| 27 July 1715 | Christian Lilly | £1 9 6 | To Boate hire to and Expenses at Trescoe Island in viewing that Island and harbour | WO51/96, f72v |
| 31 July 1715 | Christian Lilly | £1 1s 6d | To Cash paid Ben'ja Mitchell Carpenter for coming from Penzance to Scilly to view the repairs wanting there' | WO51/96, f72v |
| 1 Sept 1715 | Christian Lilly | 5s 0d | To Boate Hire to St Agnes Island 5s 0d | WO51/96, f72v |
| 3 Sept 1715 | Christian Lilly | 16s 6d | To Cash paid the Master of a Collier for my Passage from Scilly to Falmouth | WO51/96, f72v |
| 9 Sept 1715 | Abraham Tovey | £1 5s | For disbursements between 3 September 1714 and 6 June 1715 | WO47/28, 255 |
| 2 Dec 1715 | Christian Lilly | £60 | To cover his expenses as an engineer | WO48/55 |
| 2 Dec 1715 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/56 |
| 1716 | | | | |
| 17 Feb 1716 | Christian Lilly | £44 8s | Imprest vacated | WO48/56 |
| 13 Mar 1716 | Christian Lilly | £1,000 | Lilly's estimated for Scilly | WO47/29, 62 |
| 29 Mar 1716 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/56 |
| 18 May 1716 | Christian Lilly | £825 19s 3¼d | Instructions to Coll Lilly to get the repairs done | WO47/29, 119 |
| 7 Aug 1716 | Christian Lilly | £32 6s 3¼d | To Examine a Bill of Thos Smiths am'o to £32 6s 3¼d for repairing the Castle in Scilly Island, for which he produces Vouchers for about 1/3 of that sum | WO47/29, 193 |
| 23 Aug 1716 | Christian Lilly | £456 21s (sic) | Paid imprest to pay a bill drawn from Plymouth | WO48/56 |
| 16 Nov 1716 | Abraham Tovey | 13s 6d | For 6 brooms, pens, ink, paper | WO51/97, f14r |
| 31 Dec 1716 | Abraham Tovey | £5 19s 3d | Setting up Old Flagg, doing up 30 'Armes for Invalids', mending castle door lock, mending the Roof of the Guard House | WO51/97, f56v |
| 1717 | | | | |
| 2 Apr 1717 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Estimate for work on IOS | WO47/30, 87 |
| 2 Sept 1717 | Christian Lilly | £3 4s 6d | 'To Cash paid for the Passage of myself & Artificers from Plymouth to the Islands of Scilly & back again' | WO51/100, 191 |
| 15 Oct 1717 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Paid imprest | WO48/57 |
| 18 Oct 1717 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Vacated £60 imprest | WO48/57 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|--|----------------|
| 15 Nov 1717 | Christian Lilly | £1 4s | To Horsehire from Plymouth to Falmouth & back again' | WO51/100, 191 |
| 9 Dec 1717 | James Fawcett | £35 14s | For his Assistance in Surveying & Writing 204 days at 3s 6d | WO51/100, 191 |
| 10 Dec 1717 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Paid imprest | WO48/57 |
| 10 Dec 1717 | Christian Lilly | £60 | Vacated £60 imprest | WO48/57 |
| 11 Dec 1717 | Isaac Pearson | £8 6s 6d | For his Assistance in carrying the Chain & from the 22 of August to the 11th Decemr' | WO51/100, 191 |
| | | | | |
| 1718 | | | | |
| 4 Apr 1718 | Christian Lilly | £85 12s 9d | Approve Lilly's estimates IOS £85 12s 9d – contract to be made with Wm Smith | WO47/31, 91 |
| 7 Nov 1718 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | | WO47/31, 328 |
| | | | | |
| 1719 | | | | |
| 16 Feb 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | More Contingent Charges | WO48/60 |
| 16 Feb 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Imprest vacated | WO48/62, 15 |
| 21 Apr 1719 | Abraham Tovey | 11s | Ref Flagg &c | WO47/32, 168 |
| 24 Apr 1719 | | | Messrs Hooper & Baxter to transport carriages to IOS in the 'Content Hoy' | WO47/32, 177 |
| 23 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | | Pay rise for AT | WO47/32, 262 |
| 26 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | For contingencies | WO47/32, 267 |
| 26 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | 'Sev'll Contingent Charges at Scilly' | WO48/58 |
| 26 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £1 3s 6d | | WO47/32, 268 |
| 26 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Imprest vacated | WO48/63, 15 |
| 26 June 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Paid £10 as storekeeper | WO51/103, f65v |
| 4 Aug 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/59 |
| 4 Aug 1719 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest paid | WO48/59 |
| | | | | |
| 1720 | | | | |
| 17 Oct 1720 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Paid imprest of £10 | WO48/61, 198 |
| 17 Oct 1720 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Imprest vacated | WO48/62 |
| | | | | |
| 1722 | | | | |
| 1 June 1722 | Abraham Tovey | £6 7s 9½d | Imprest vacated £6 7s 9½d of £10 imprest | WO48/63, 21 |
| 1 June 1722 | Abraham Tovey | £10 | Paid imprest | WO48/63, 409 |
| 1 June 1722 | Abraham Tovey | £3 12s 2½d | Vacated remainder of £10 | WO48/64, 21 |
| 30 Sept 1722 | Abraham Tovey | £6 7s 9½d | Minor works | WO51/112, f32r |
| | | | | |
| 1723 | | | | |
| 14 Jan 1723 | Abraham Tovey | £4 10s 3d | Vacated £4 10s 3d from £30 imprest | WO48/65, 15 |
| 14 Jan 1723 | Abraham Tovey | £25 9s 9d | Vacated £25 9s 9d from £30 imprest | WO48/65, 18 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|--|-----------------|
| 14 Jan 1723 | Abraham Tovey | £30 | Imprest paid | WO48/65, 427 |
| 30 June 1723 | Abraham Tovey | £4 15s 7½d | Minor works | WO51/112, f78v |
| | Abraham Tovey | £9 10s 3d | Minor works | WO51/114, f119r |
| | | | | |
| 1724 | | | | |
| 30 June 1724 | Abraham Tovey | £38 9s 3d | Minor works to a building | WO51/117, f24r |
| 31 Dec 1724 | Abraham Tovey | £8 9s 2d | Minor works | WO51/117, f110v |
| | | | | |
| 1725 | | | | |
| 21 Apr 1725 | Abraham Tovey | £6 18s 8½d | Vacated £6 18s 8½d of imprest | WO48/66, 24 |
| 21 Apr 1725 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprest paid £20 'for defraying Incident Charges at Scilly' | WO48/66, 325 |
| 21 Apr 1725 | Abraham Tovey | £13 1s 4d | Imprest part vacated from imprest £20 | WO48/68, 13 |
| 30 June 1725 | Abraham Tovey | £6 18s 8d | Minor works | WO51/115, f101v |
| 31 Dec 1725 | Abraham Tovey | £16 14s 11½d | Minor works on buildings | WO51/118, f76r |
| | | | | |
| 1726 | | | | |
| 29 Mar 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £9 14s 0½d | Vacated of £20 imprest | WO48/68, 11 |
| 29 Mar 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £10 5s 11½d | Imprest part vacated £10 5s 11½d from imprest £20 | WO48/67, 18 |
| 29 Mar 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprest paid | WO48/67, 415 |
| 30 June 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £10 5s 11½d | Minor works on buildings | WO51/118, f91r |
| 11 Nov 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest paid £60 to pay incident Charges of the Office at Scilly | WO48/67, 421 |
| 11 Nov 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £35 1s 7½d | Vacated of £60 imprest | WO48/68, 11 |
| 11 Nov 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £24 18s 4½d | Imprest part vacated of £60 | WO48/68, 15 |
| 31 Dec 1726 | Abraham Tovey | £44 15s 8d | Repairs to castle etc | WO51/121, f15r |
| | | | | |
| 1727 | | | | |
| 30 June 1727 | Abraham Tovey | £40 0s 2d | Paying bills for small works | WO51/122, f18r |
| 29 Aug 1727 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Paid imprest of £40 'to enable him to carry on ye Service at Scilly' | WO48/68, 366 |
| 29 Aug 1727 | Abraham Tovey | £13 10s 6d | £13 10s 6d vacated of £40 imprest | WO48/69, 14 |
| 29 Aug 1727 | Abraham Tovey | £26 9s 6d | £26 9s 6d vacated of £40 imprest | WO48/69, 19 |
| 31 Dec 1727 | Abraham Tovey | £ 13 10s 6d | Minor works | WO51/121, f102v |
| | | | | |
| 1728 | | | | |
| 30 June 1728 | Abraham Tovey | £52 3s 1½d | Minor works | WO51/120, f122r |
| 26 Sept 1728 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | £40 imprest paid 'to defray Incident Charges at Scilly' | WO48/69, 439 |
| 26 Sept 1728 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest vacated | WO48/70, 11 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|--|-------------------|
| 31 Dec 1728 | Abraham Tovey | £136 18s 0½d | £44 'To Building 32 Perch & ½ of Masonry Worke on Sadlers Battery. Cutting 909 ft of Moor Stone and Laying 1596ft for ditto' rest is carpenter's work, smiths, painters, labourers etc | WO51/124, f11v |
| 1729 | | | | |
| 30 June 1729 | Abraham Tovey | £38 16s 0½d | Various repairs including to roof of the Storehouse, windows of Guardhouse and barrack windows | WO51/124, f42r |
| 31 Dec 1729 | Abraham Tovey | £25 17s | Minor repairs | WO51/124, f74v |
| 1730 | | | | |
| 30 June 1730 | Abraham Tovey | £20 18s 1d | Refers to carpenter's work 'ab't the building' also to smiths, masons, glaziers, painters, carpentry, labourers – small scale repairs and maintenance | WO51/125, f114v |
| 31 Dec 1730 | Abraham Tovey | £16 16s 8d | Minor works to Castle, Storehouse, Master Gunner's Barracks and incl sprucing up the Upper Well and giving it a new bucket! | WO51/124, f112v |
| 1731 | | | | |
| 2 Dec 1731 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Paid £50 imprest 'to pay Incidents' | WO48/72, 406 |
| 2 Dec 1731 | Abraham Tovey | £28 9s 8d | Imprest vacated £28 9s 8d of £50 imprest | WO48/73, 10 |
| 1732 | | | | |
| 31 Dec 1732 | Abraham Tovey | £9 6s 6d | Paid | WO51/134, 42 |
| 1733 | | | | |
| 30 Sept 1733 | Abraham Tovey | £20 7s 9d | Work is small scale – masons, carpenters, smiths, labourers and gunners | WO51/128, 201 |
| 1733 | Abraham Tovey | | Entry no 10 Hugh Garrison by Abraham Tovey 1733 flat 36 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 1734 | | | | |
| 2 Apr 1734 | Abraham Tovey | £12 8s 5d | Paid bill for sundry repairs | WO51/134, 136 |
| 14 Oct 1734 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | £20 imprest paid to pay incidents | WO48/75, 408 |
| 2 Nov 1734 | Abraham Tovey | £112 12s 6d | Costs for his court case in London | WO51/135, 118 |
| 7 Nov 1734 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Paid £40 for incidents | WO48/75, 409 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|---|----------------|
| 1735 | | | | |
| 31 Mar 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £2 10s | Paid £2 10s – house rent = regular occurrence | WO50/9, 6 |
| 16 Apr 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £46 8s 7d | Payments for 'Carpenters work, and materials', also 'Glassing, sweeping chimneys and doing something to the Arms, 'Maconnary Work and materials' and Smiths work' – clearly it is a building that is being worked on. | WO51/136, f43r |
| 30 June 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £8 10s | Paid £8 10s for keeping in repair Barrack Bedding on IOS – ½ of his £17 per annum contract for this = regular occurrence | WO50/9, 9 |
| 22 July 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £16 8s 7d | £16 8s 7d of £50 imprest vacated | WO48/76, 12 |
| 22 July 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Paid imprest of £50 for incidents | WO48/76, 394 |
| 31 Dec 1735 | Abraham Tovey | £129 15s 10d | Paid bill of £129 15s 10d 'To Artificers and Labourers &c for Work and Sundry repairs | WO51/137, 190 |
| 1736 | | | | |
| 20 Apr 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest paid | WO48/77, 469 |
| 20 Apr 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest vacated | WO48/77, 15 |
| 31 July 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £275 4s 4d | Bill paying workmen and materials from January to July doesn't say what the work was | WO51/138, 27 |
| 7 Oct 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest vacated | WO48/77, 15 |
| 7 Oct 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest paid | WO48/77, 472 |
| 18 Oct 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest vacated | WO48/77, 15 |
| 18 Oct 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest paid | WO48/77, 472 |
| 5 Nov 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/77, 15 |
| 5 Nov 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest paid | WO48/77, 472 |
| 31 Dec 1736 | Abraham Tovey | £12 3s 6¼d | Payment to Wm Cock and others for repairing the 'keeling', repairs to the Main Guard Chimney, Smiths work | WO51/136, 130 |
| 1737 | | | | |
| 21 May 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/78, 13 |
| 24 May 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest paid | WO48/78, 356 |
| 7 July 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £73 10s 5½d | Sundry salaries etc and materials | WO51/139, 59 |
| 5 Oct 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £188 0s 7d | Bill of £188 0s 7d Paying workmen and materials from July – September | WO51/138, 230 |
| 13 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest vacated | WO48/78, 14 |
| 13 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest vacated | WO48/78, 14 |
| 13 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest paid | WO48/78, 360 |
| 13 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest paid | WO48/78, 360 |
| 21 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest paid | WO48/78, 361 |
| 21 Dec 1737 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest vacated | WO48/78, 14 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|------------------|--------------|--|-------------------|
| 1738 | | | | |
| 4 Jan 1738 | Abraham Tovey | £81 3s 5d | Wages and materials | WO51/140, 53 |
| 20 June 1738 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest vacated | WO48/79, 12 |
| 20 June 1738 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest paid | WO48/79, 434 |
| 30 June 1738 | Abraham Tovey | £125 1s 11d | | WO51/141, 28 |
| 31 Dec 1738 | Abraham Tovey | £8 19s 6d | His costs | WO51/142, 160 |
| 1739 | | | | |
| 5 Feb 1739 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest of £60 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island'on 5 February 1739 to cover his costs | WO48/81, 536 |
| 31 Dec 1739 | Abraham Tovey | £14 12s 11d | 'Making an Old Magazine to a strong Prison by Capt Jeffreysons Order 16th August last' | WO51/144, 97 |
| 1740 | | | | |
| 19 Jan 1740 | Abraham Tovey | £58 8s 5d | Includes £26 1s for wages and materials, £20 8s for 'Drawing the Guns and Carriages from the Waterside to the Several Batteries, Drawing the Old Guns from the Batteries to the Waterside Carrying Stores up and Down, Bringing Earth to Raise Newman's Batter | WO51/144, 97 |
| 7 Feb 1740 | Abraham Tovey | £16 14s 4 ½d | Minor works | WO51/143, 205 |
| 6 Mar 1740 | Thomas Armstrong | £77 17s 0 ½d | 10 February (1740) 58 Days Charges in going to the Islands of Scilly to view & make a Report of the State of works there £17 12s 10½d | WO51/144, 105 |
| 25 Mar 1740 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/81, 536 |
| 1741 | | | | |
| 1741 | | £1,542 6s 6d | 2nd division estimate 1741 'Repairs of Fortifications of St Mary's (one of the Scilly Islands) | WO49/122, 100 |
| 1741 | | £331 7s 8d | Ditto to the Castle and Batterys on the Island of Tresco | WO49/122, 100 |
| 1741 | William Horneck | | Entry no 11 Hugh Garrison by Captain Horneck 1741 flat 37 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 9 Jan 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £15 18s 4½d | For minor repairs and maintaining the arms | WO51/145, 107 |
| 5 May 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 5 May 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 514 |
| 11 May 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprests vacated by AT not in previous list this one | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 30 May 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 30 May 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 515 |
| 4 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|--|---------------|
| 4 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprests vacated by AT not in previous list this one | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 4 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 515 |
| 16 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 16 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 515 |
| 22 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 515 |
| 22 June 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 19 Aug 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 19 Aug 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £20 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 519 |
| 26 Aug 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 519 |
| 26 Aug 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 1 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £250 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 1 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £250 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 520 |
| 5 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £30 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 520 |
| 5 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £30 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 30 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £843 17s 10d | Payment of 30 September 1741 of £843 17s 10d is crossed out - says it 'being so much by him disbursed on His Majesty's Service there, in providing Materials & also pay to Artificers and Labourers in carrying on the Several Works at Tresco and St Marys Island | WO51/151, 189 |
| 30 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £1,231 2s 1d | To Ditto the Sum of One thousand two hundred & thirty one pounds two shillings & 1d being so much by him disbursed for Materials, and Pay to Artificers and labourers in carrying on the several Works at St Marys Island at Scilly' | WO51/151, 189 |
| 30 Sept 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £167 4s 2d | 'To Abraham Tovey Master Gunner at Scilly the Sum of One Hundred & sixty seven pounds, four shillings & 2 being so much by him disbursed in providing Materials, & Pay to the Artificers & Labourers Employed in carrying on the several Works' | WO51/151, 190 |
| 5 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £843 17s 10d | 'To Abraham Tovey Master Gunner at Scilly Island the Sum of Eight Hundred & forty three pounds, seventeen shillings & 10 being so much by him Disbursed on His Majesty's Service at the said place in providing Materials, & Pay to the Artificers & Labourers' | WO51/151, 98 |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £56 | Imprests vacated by AT | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 521 |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 522 |
| 17 Oct 1741 | Abraham Tovey | £56 | Imprest 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/82, 522 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|--|-------------------|
| 1742 | | | | |
| 13 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £37 17s 10d | Imprests vacated by AT - part of £100 imprest vacated | WO48/83, 16ff |
| 13 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 13 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Vacated £62 2 2 | WO48/86, 9-11 |
| 17 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-12 |
| 17 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-13 |
| 17 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn to pay a bill | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 17 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn to pay a bill | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 27 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-14 |
| 27 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £62 | Ditto | WO48/86, 9-15 |
| 27 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on Works at Scilly Island' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 27 Apr 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £62 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 11 May 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-16 |
| 11 May 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | Imprest drawn | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 19 June 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-17 |
| 19 June 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 24 July 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £21 | Imprest drawn 'to Pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 24 July 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £21 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-18 |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-19 |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Ditto | WO48/86, 9-20 |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £115 | Ditto | WO48/86, 9-21 |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Ditto | WO48/86, 9-22 |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Imprest drawn 'to Pay a Bill' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £115 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 6 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 10 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £45 | Imprest drawn 'to Pay a Bill' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 10 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £45 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-23 |
| 21 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-24 |
| 21 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £72 | Vitto | WO48/86, 9-25 |
| 21 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 21 Sept 1742 | Abraham Tovey | £72 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 1743 | | | | |
| 1743 | Abraham Tovey | | Entry no 15 Plan of the Woolpack Battery by Abraham Tovey 1743 flat 40 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 8 May 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 15 May 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £130 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 18 May 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £160 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/83, 491ff |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £200 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/84, 411ff |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £73 19s 11d | £73 19s 11d vacated of £200 | WO48/86, 9-26 |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £126 0s 1d | £126 0s 1d vacated of £200 | WO48/86, 9-27 |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £41 4s 1d | £41 4s 1d vacated of £160 | WO48/86, 9-28 |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £118 15s 11d | £118 15s 11d vacated of £160 | WO48/86, 9-29 |
| 23 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | £100 vacated | WO48/86, 9-30 |
| 27 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 27 June 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £40 | Vacated | WO48/86, 9-31 |
| 6 July 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | £100 vacated | WO48/86, 9-32 |
| 6 July 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 4 Aug 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £120 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 4 Aug 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 6 Sept 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn ditto at Scilly Island | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 16 Oct 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £200 | Imprest drawn ditto at Scilly Island | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 1 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | £60 vacated | WO48/86, 9-33 |
| 1 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 6 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £150 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 8 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £200 | £200 vacated | WO48/86, 9-34 |
| 8 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | £100 vacated | WO48/86, 9-35 |
| 8 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £200 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 8 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 9 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | Imprest drawn ditto | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 15 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £90 | £90 vacated | WO48/86, 9-36 |
| 15 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £90 | Imprest drawn 'to carry on the works at Scilly' | WO48/84, 411ff |
| 23 Nov 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £50 | £50 vacated | WO48/86, 9-37 |
| 6 Dec 1743 | William Horneck | £3 5s | William Horneck 6 December 1743 expenses for being at Plymouth for 18 weeks. But within his expenses he includes: 'To Boat Hire & some other Contingent Charges in Visiting the Several Islands at Scilly' - £3 5s | WO51/150, 293 |
| 11 Dec 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £60 | Imprest drawn 'on Account of the Works on Scilly' | WO48/85, 479ff |
| 31 Dec 1743 | Abraham Tovey | £1,238 11s 4½d | Add 6d in pound total is £1269 10s 7½d - work is at Morning to Woolpack stage | WO51/154, 61 |
| | | | | |
| 1744 | | | | |
| 1744 | Kane W. Horneck | | Plan of Hugh Fort and its avenues, St. Mary's, Scilly Isles. | MPH 1/413 (1) |
| 8 May 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £70 | £70 vacated | WO48/86, 9-38 |
| 15 May 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £130 | £130 vacated | WO48/86, 9-39 |
| 18 May 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | £100 vacated | WO48/86, 9-40 |
| 4 Aug 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £80 | £80 vacated | WO48/86, 9-41 |
| 4 Aug 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £30 14s 8d | £30 14s 8d vacated of £120 | WO48/86, 9-42 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|------------------|------------|--|-------------------|
| 31 Dec 1744 | Abraham Tovey | £1,474 16s | 'To Abraham Tovey Master Gunner at Scilly the sum of One thousand four hundred seventy four pounds sixteen shillings being so much by him disbursed on His Majesty's Service at that Island between the 1st of January 1744 and the 31st December following' | WO51/159, 54 |
| 31 Dec 1744 | | | 'To Kane William Horneck the Sum of Twenty Pounds seven shillings & 6d for his Travelling Charges in Carrying on the Works at Pendennis Castle ...'. But included in his expenses was the following item: 'For Expence of Labourers assisting in the Survey of the Fort at Scilly' - £1 5s 6d' | WO51/155, 235 |
| | | | | |
| 1745 | | | | |
| 1745 | Mr Hardesty | | Entry no 20 Plan and sections of part of the line of St Mary's Island in Scilly by Mr Hardesty 1745 flat 43 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 30 Apr 1745 | Abraham Tovey | £200 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 30 Apr 1745 | William Redstone | £300 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 10 May 1745 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 28 May 1745 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 28 May 1745 | Abraham Tovey | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to pay Incidents at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 14 June 1745 | William Redstone | £100 | Imprest drawn 'to Carry on the Works at Scilly' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 30 June 1745 | William Redstone | £30 | 'To William Redstone, Assistant Storekeeper at Plymouth & Paymaster to the Works at Scilly Island, the Sum of Thirty pounds, being his pay for one quarter of a year commencing the 1 of April and ending the 30 June following' | WO51/157, 123 |
| 10 Sept 1745 | William Redstone | £400 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of ye Works at Scilly Island' | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 30 Sept 1745 | William Redstone | £30 | Same payment as 3 months earlier – for following quarter July – September otherwise same wording | WO51/157, 134 |
| 30 Sept 1745 | John Hardesty | £18 16s | 'To John Hardesty Practioner (sic) Engineer the sum of Eighteen pounds, sixteen shillings for his Encouragement and in Consideration of his Trouble in carrying on the Works at the Island of Scilly, from the 26th Day of march 1745 to the 30th of September' | WO51/156, 218 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| 23 Oct 1745 | William Redstone | £1,098 17s 0½d | 'To William Redstone paymaster of His Majesty's Ordnance at the Island of Scilly the Sum of One Thousand & ninety eight pounds Seventeen Shillings. Following Sums by him Disbursed on his Majesty's Service at that Place between the 30th of June and 23d of October 1745' | WO51/158, 108 |
| 5 Nov 1745 | William Redstone | £300 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of [the Fortifications] at Scilly Island | WO48/86, 511ff |
| 27 Dec 1745 | John Hardesty | £71 11s 6d | 'To John Hardesty Practioner (sic) Engineer the sum of Seventy one pounds, eleven shillings & 6d for his Traveling Charges between the 6th of April 1745 and 17th of December following ...' 'To 32 Days Traveling Horse Hire & other Traveling Expences from London to Penzance, & waiting there for an Opportunity of a Passage to Scilly' £16 | WO51/157, 234 |
| 31 Dec 1745 | William Redstone | £30 | Another £30 for William Redstone for Oct – Dec | WO51/158, 94 |
| 31 Dec 1745 | Abraham Tovey | | Paid for powder, shot etc | WO51/162, 41 |
| | | | | |
| 1746 | | | | |
| 21 Jan 1746 | William Redstone | £500 | £500 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 17 Feb 1746 | William Redstone | £126 7s | £126 7s vacated of £138 5s | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 17 Feb 1746 | William Redstone | £12 4s 5d | £12 4s 5d vacated of £138 5s | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 31 Mar 1746 | John Hardesty | £18 4s | 'To John Hardesty Practioner (sic) Engineer 'the sum of Eighteen pounds, four shillings for Carrying on the Works at the Island of Scilly from the 1st of October 1745 to the 31st of March 1746 both days included in all 182 Days | WO51/160, 82 |
| 31 Mar 1746 | William Redstone | £30 | Payment of £30 in his role as paymaster to the works at Scilly for the period 1 January 1746 – 31 March 1746 | WO51/160, 76 |
| 24 June 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £200 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of the Works at Scilly' | WO48/87, 482 |
| 1 July 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £200 | 'On Acct of the Works at Scilly' | WO48/87, 482 |
| 8 July 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £100 | | WO48/87, 482 |
| 8 July 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £100 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of the Works at Scilly' | WO48/87, 482 |
| 15 July 1746 | William Redstone | £200 11s 4d | £200 11s 4d vacated of £1000 | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 5 Aug 1746 | William Redstone | £122 5s 8d | £122 5s 8d vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 5 Aug 1746 | William Redstone | £377 14s 4d | £377 14s 4d vacated of £500 | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 16 Sept 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £100 | | WO48/87, 486 |
| 16 Sept 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £100 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of the Works at Scilly' | WO48/87, 486 |
| 16 Sept 1746 | William Redstone | £300 | £300 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 7 Oct 1746 | William Redstone | £300 | £300 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------|--|-------------------|
| 24 Oct 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £450 | | WO48/87, 488 |
| 24 Oct 1746 | William Redstone | £1,050 | £1050 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 24 Oct 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £450 | Imprest drawn 'on Acct of the Works at Scilly' | WO48/87, 488 |
| 24 Oct 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £23 10s 11d | £23 10s 11d vacated of £450 | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 31 Oct 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £826 9s 1d | 'To Nicholas Mercator Pay Master to the Works at Islands of Scilly the Sum of Eight hundred & twenty six pounds, nine shillings & 1d for the several Sums by him disbursed as under mentioned in carrying on the Works at the said Islands between the 1st July & date above as by Acct & Vouchers in this office' | WO51/161, 132 |
| 30 Sept 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s 0d | 'To Nicholas Mercator Pay Master to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island the Sum of Nine Pounds four Shillings being his pay from 1 July 1746 to the 30th Sept following both included in all 92 days which at 2s per diem as per Order of the Board dated 3 June 1746 amounts to the Sum of £9 4s 0d' | WO51/162, 166 |
| 4 Dec 1746 | William Redstone | £240 11s 4d | £240 11s 4d vacated of £20 | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 4 Dec 1746 | William Redstone | £9 8s 8d | £9 8s 8d vacated of £250 | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 31 Dec 1746 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 2s 0d | 'To Nicholas Mercator the Sum of Nine Pounds four Shillings for his Attendance as Pay Master to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island from the 1 of October 1746 to the 31st of December following both inclusive in all 92 days which at 2s per diem as per Order of the Board dated 3 June 1746 amounts to the Sum of £9 4s 0d' | WO51/163, 166 |
| 31 Dec 1746 | Abraham Tovey | £37 16s 11d | 'Incident Charges' | WO51/164, 69 |
| 31 Dec 1746 | William Redstone | £1,050 | £1050 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| | | | | |
| 1747 | | | | |
| 1747 | Abraham Tovey | | Entry 28 plan of a small fort on Tolls Island by Abraham Tovey 1747 flat 53 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 15 Jan 1747 | William Redstone | £22 2s 5d | £22 2s 5d vacated of £300 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 15 Jan 1747 | William Redstone | £277 17s 7d | £277 17s 7d vacated of £300 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 16 Jan 1747 | William Redstone | £200 | £200 vacated | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 31 Mar 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 | £9 for 90 days work 1 January – 31 March 1747 – still 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' | WO51/165, 53 |
| 28 Apr 1747 | William Redstone | £2,260 | £2260 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 5 May 1747 | William Redstone | £242 16s 4d | £242 16s 4d vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 5 May 1747 | William Redstone | £7 3s 8d | £7 3s 8d vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 26 May 1747 | William Redstone | £500 | £500 vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|---|----------------|
| 19 June 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £15 15s 10d | Imprest drawn £15 15s 10d 'to Pay the Overseer at Scilly' | WO48/88, 571ff |
| 19 June 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £15 15s 10d | £15 15s 10d vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 30 June 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s 0d | Nicholas Mercator is paid £9 2s for 91 days work on Scilly Island | WO51/164, 122 |
| 30 June 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £39 6s 9d | Itemised bills says: Paid John Hargrave Overseer at Scilly his Decembers Quarter Pay 1746 £13 16s. Paid Do his pay from 1st January 1746 to 5 May 1747 & travelling Expenses Six Guineas £25 1s. | WO51/164, 135 |
| 30 June 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £39 6s 9d | Same bill reissued in neat form | WO51/164, 137 |
| 14 July 1747 | William Redstone | £221 11s 8d | £221 11s 8d vacated | WO48/88, 10ff |
| 14 July 1747 | William Redstone | £128 8s 4d | £128 8s 4d vacated of £350 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 12 Aug 1747 | William Redstone | £147 | £147 vacated | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 12 Aug 1747 | William Redstone | £400 | £400 vacated | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 5 Sept 1747 | William Redstone | £260 | £260 vacated | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 14 Oct 1747 | William Redstone | £350 | £350 vacated | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 24 Nov 1747 | William Redstone | £1,539 3s 4d | £1539 3s 4d vacated of £1872 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 24 Nov 1747 | William Redstone | £332 16s 8d | £332 16s 8d vacated of £1872 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 31 Dec 1747 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s 0d | £9 for 90 days work 1 January – 31 March 1747 – still 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' | WO51/165, 173 |
| 31 Dec 1747 | Abraham Tovey | £24 2s 5d | | WO51/166, 127 |
| | | | | |
| 1748 | | | | |
| 10 Mar 1748 | Abraham Tovey | | 'Ordered That Abraham Tovey late Contractor be Allowed and Paid for what is due to him to the time his contract expired, And that the doing of the Repairs &c to the Garrison and Barracks be referred to the Surveyor General.' | WO47/34, f73r |
| 17 Mar 1748 | Abraham Tovey | | Letter laid before the board 'From Abraham and Isaac Tovey setting forth the Damage done to the Barracks and Works in Scilly Island, by the late Storms and Inundations.' | WO47/34, f87r |
| 31 Mar 1748 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 2s 0d | Bill £9 2s for 1 January 1747/8-31 March | WO51/167, 127 |
| 5 Apr 1748 | William Redstone | £40 2s 11d | £40 2s 11d vacated of £350 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 5 Apr 1748 | William Redstone | £309 17s 1d | £309 17s 1d vacated of £350 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 18 Apr 1749 | Abraham Tovey | | Order - 'That the Master Gunner at Scilly Island get the necessary Repairs done to the Star Castle House, the Charge of which will be allowed in his Disbursements, and that his son Isaac have Leave to live in the house until the Governour's Return.' | WO47/34, f149r |
| 10 May 1748 | William Redstone | £25 | £25 vacated of £500 | WO48/89, 13ff |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|--------------|----------------------------------|-------------|--|-------------------|
| 10 May 1748 | William Redstone | £283 3s 8d | £283 3s 8d vacated of £500 | WO48/89, 13ff |
| 30 Sept 1748 | Nicholas Mercator | £18 6s | 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' April to 30 September 1748 | WO51/168, 175 |
| 31 Dec 1748 | Abraham Tovey | £15 10s 0½d | Small amounts within this for maintenance work to buildings and to armaments | WO51/170, 24 |
| 31 Dec 1748 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s | 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' October to 31 December 1748 | WO51/170, 132 |
| | | | | |
| 1749 | | | | |
| 31 Mar 1749 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 | 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' January 1748/9 – 31st March 1749 | WO51/172, 47 |
| 30 June 1749 | Abraham Tovey | £42 10s | for 2 ½ years salary £17 per year for looking after the 'Barrack Bedding & Utensils' | WO51/171, 111 |
| 30 June 1749 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 2s | pay as 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' April to 30 June 1749 | WO51/174, 43 |
| 30 Sept 1749 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s | 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' July – 30 September 1749 | WO51/172, 117 |
| 31 Dec 1749 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s | 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' October – 31 December 1749 | WO51/172, 142 |
| 31 Dec 1749 | Abraham Tovey | £22 10s | small repairs and materials | WO51/174, 199 |
| | | | | |
| 1750 | | | | |
| 1750 | Abraham Tovey | | Entry 32 E & S View of Hugh Fort alias Star Castle Abraham Tovey 1750 flat 56 | WO55/2281, part 2 |
| 31 Mar 1750 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 | Pay as 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' January 1749/50 – 31 March | WO51/175, 20 |
| 20 Apr 1750 | Abraham Tovey | | Letter sent by Abraham Tovey regarding storm damage to several buildings be sent to Mr Horneck 'to Survey Estimate & Report what is necessary to be done therein.' | WO47/35, 315 |
| 8 May 1750 | Abraham Tovey | | Damage was to 2 small old buildings which serve as a guard room and a barrack, suggest sending 20,000 slates to repair the damage - 'And that the Parapet has been falling ever since Tovey built it, being mostly stone laid in Earth without Lime and so close | WO47/35, 377-8 |
| 8 May 1750 | Abraham Tovey, Kane W Horneck | | Next order is that Tovey is to obtain the materials but the rebld of the Parapet is put on hold until Horneck can inspect the work. | WO47/35, 378 |
| 15 June 1750 | Abraham Tovey, Kane W Horneck | | Tovey looking for approval to acquire the materials needed – Mr Horneck to report on the prices being suggested. | WO47/35, 478 |
| 30 June 1750 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 2s | Pay as 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' April 1750 – 30 June 1750 | WO51/175, 27 |
| 31 July 1750 | Kane W Horneck | | Horneck approves purchase of slates | WO47/36, 69 |

| Date | Name | Amount | Reason | Source |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------|--|----------------|
| 30 Sept 1750 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s | His pay as 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' July -30 September 1750 | WO51/172, 201 |
| 31 Dec 1750 | Nicholas Mercator | £9 4s | 1 October – 31 December 1750 pay as 'Paymaster to His Majesty's Works at Scilly Island' | WO51/177, 26 |
| 31 Dec 1750 | Abraham Tovey | £23 1s 6½d | Minor repairs and materials | WO51/176, 84 |
| 31 Dec 1750 | Kane W Horneck | £46 16s 6d | Includes 'Hire of a Vessel to carry me to Scilly and Back £6 6s - Boat Hire at Scilly and Penzance 17/6' - This is probably in connection with the slates repairs in other documents | WO51/177, 99 |
| 1751-1760 | | | | |
| 15 Oct 1751 | Nicholas Mercator | £69 18s | Imprest of £69 18s on Acct of Works at Scilly | WO48/92, 363ff |
| 31 Oct 1751 | Nicholas Mercator | £70 16s | To NM to cover including: 'Paid Abraham Tovey, Master Gunner of the Island of Scilly, his bill for Slates & Lathes for repairs of the several buildings there 14 4 4' - 'Paid James Murch Hellier, his bill for helling, and days work performed on the repairs' | WO51/176, 148 |
| 31 Dec 1751 | Abraham Tovey | £16 18s 7d | Minor repairs etc | WO51/177, 207 |
| 1751 | | £185 1s 8d | Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs | WO49/123, 7 |
| 1752 | | Zero | Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs - no repairs | WO49/123, 12 |
| 31 Dec 1752 | Abraham Tovey | £8 6s | Minor repairs and materials | WO51/173, 219 |
| 1753 | | £40 | Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs - repairs on St Mary's Island (one of the Scilly) | WO49/123, 16 |
| 1754 | | £70 (part of) | Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs - repairs to Pendennis, St Maws and Scilly were £70 | WO49/123, 22 |
| 1755 | | £137 9s 11d | Entries of the Abstracts of the Estimates for Buildings and Repairs | WO49/123, 31 |
| 31 Dec 1756 | Abraham Tovey | £58 17s 4d | NB AT still Master Gunner - These are running costs, maintenance payments to tradesmen, materials, postage, repairs to gun carriages etc | WO51/182, 13 |
| 31 Dec 1759 | Isaac Tovey | £12 7s 7d | Minor repairs referred to | WO51/182, 67 |
| 30 June 1760 | Isaac Tovey | £64 6s 10d | Isaac Tovey Master Gunner - small repairs itemised | WO51/182, 66 |



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