Mousehole

historic settlement survey

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By Nick Cahill and Eric Berry

Cover photograph: Mousehole aerial photo 1931; Morrab Library Penzance, M0141

Keigwins, Mousehole

(Keigwin and Little Keigwin and their relationship to adjacent and associated buildings including the Old Standard)

A Report for the
Victoria County History, England's Past for Everyone project

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Introduction

As a supplement to the written history of Mousehole being produced by the England's Past for Everyone project in Mousehole/Newlyn, a detailed survey of Keigwin and Little Keigwin and the associated buildings has been produced (forming a separate report to this) and a rapid settlement-wide topographical and built-fabric survey was undertaken by the same consultants of Mousehole (Newlyn was not included in this exercise).

This was partly to place the Keigwins complex in its historical context, but also to establish the broad outlines of various strands of Mousehole's history as revealed by accessible historical documents (especially published histories, maps and historical photographs), and by the physical evidence still to be found in its streets. The detailed historical research and analysis undertaken by Dr Jo Mattingly and others has also fed into the survey work, and in return, in an instructive iterative process, the survey work has already aided interpretation of much of the more difficult historical record.

Aims:

- to establish the rough extent of the medieval/pre-1600 settlement and its pre-1870s expansion,
- to undertake an initial outline identification and mapping of fishing related features – fish cellars, pilchard palaces etc.
- to undertake an initial outline identification and mapping of other significant structures (chapels, mills, capital tenements, etc.) where recorded or still extant.
- to create a typology and dating/identification model for further research by others in identifying and dating such structures and townscapes in both Mousehole and Newlyn.

Scope of survey:

- available history and mapping of the settlement
- the topography and plan form of the settlement
- use and form of selected surviving historic structures
- typical materials and methods of construction
- analysis to interpret the development of the settlement
- survey and diagnostic photography. Colour digital photography was used as an aide-memoir for writing up and for report illustration.

Outputs

The results are presented in the form of a series of maps and associated gazetteers, each introduced by a brief analysis of the finds, themes for future research, and diagnostic tools to help in that research.

In the process of the survey work, every building in Mousehole has been looked at and photographed where easily accessible, and a full gazetteer (although often with only minimal information) has been produced.

Limitations of the Survey

The time allocated for the survey, interpretation and report production was limited and did not allow for anything more than relatively straightforward analysis from the street and easily accessible public places. Nonetheless, many buildings were inspected from inside at the invitation of owners, and local knowledge has been added to descriptions as it became available, but neither process could be undertaken in a systematic way.

The survey, and the gazetteers produced, were never intended to be definitive, and do not pretend to be so. They are a first step in the detailed research to be followed up by local people, a process on which the whole EPfE project is predicated. The survey is perhaps most revealing in that it shows just how much information can be gleaned, effectively, from simply looking at a place with an informed eye; there are no doubt many details of accuracy that could be addresses by those with greater local knowledge (not the least in correct addresses, a particularly obtuse and arcane mystery in Mousehole).

Despite these provisos, we are confident that the themes identified and the broad outlines of their histories and the interpretive methods used are valid and accurate. Much of the history of Mousehole has been revealed that, if it is known to local knowledge, has either never been fully understood, has certainly never found its way into print before, and has in many cases simply been overlooked. In particular, the extent and survival of the medieval layout of the Borough; the complexity and interest of the mills and leat systems in the town; the degree to which fishing-related activity permeates the built fabric of the town, and indeed, the sheer quantity of surviving historic fabric. Few settlements of this type in Cornwall, and indeed elsewhere, have been analysed from the point of view of settlement history and morphology – the potential even this brief survey has revealed is an eye-opener for any future project that might concern itself with the coastal towns of Cornwall.

The extent of the medieval/pre-1600 settlement and its pre-1870s expansion

The evidence

There is to all intents and purposes no usable written description of the extent of Mousehole at any stage in its history, although reference should be made to the main Mousehole/Newlyn report (Mattingly et al, 2007) for a summary of descriptions, and detailed analysis of origins, facilities and status. There are occasional leases and manorial extents which describe individual plots; these plots are for the most part unidentified, although some of the 17th century references to the mills high up the Paul Stream can be located, as can the various properties identified on the 1798 Tregonebris extent. Mousehole has a rare early 14th century deed which shows the subdivision of a large 2 acre plot in the heart of the Borough which is explored in detail in Mattingly 2007; none of the sites has so far been clearly identified on the ground.

Normally one might turn to mapping to supplement the meagre information from documentary sources. Unfortunately, the study of Mousehole, like Newlyn, suffers considerably from the lack of any detail on the Paul Tithe Map of 1840. The Tithe maps came at a time (around 1840) when most communities in Cornwall had scarcely changed from the 17th or 18th centuries, and in many cases since the Middle Ages; they offer a uniquely valuable window into a much more ancient past that was largely swept away by 19th century expansion, industrialisation, the growth of public health concerns etc. When, as in Mousehole and Newlyn, the cores of the settlements were not mapped because they were deemed to be free of Tithes (or the Tithe charge was already commutated to a cash payment), we have lost one of the most important strands of investigation available to us.

Although mapped for the first edition OS survey in about 1809 (and for slightly earlier coastal defence maps of the 1790s), little usable detail can be discerned for Mousehole. The first edition O.S. 6 inch maps, of around 1880, are, in contrast, amongst the finest maps the Ordnance Survey ever produced, but came after nearly half a century or more of the most far-reaching changes most settlements had seen for generations.

So we can produce only the barest outline of change and development based on map evidence alone. Mousehole is fortunate in that it appears on the marvellous chart of Mount's Bay produced probably in the 1540s for Henry VIII; comparison with other towns around the Bay reveal this map to be remarkably accurate in its portrayal of the layout of the towns and villages, although, understandably for its age, rather schematic. There is very little in the way of manorial mapping or deed plans – the exception being the Tregonebris plans of c. 1798, which illustrate only a few small tenements.

A settlement is always much more than the built-up core, however, that is just the centre of whole rippling connection of influence and connections which have not been touched upon in this current survey and all await further detailed research: the fields, gardens and orchards (and rope-walks, hemp gardens and withy beds) of the townsfolk; the walk-to work distances of people moving on and out of the town; the daily and seasonal rhythm of such movement; the types of work both at sea and on land (the history of mining in and around Mousehole is barely researched topic); the

catchment area of markets and fairs; the relationship to the mother church at Paul; the contacts and relationships with the wider world (in the case of a medieval deep-sea port like Mousehole that is a very wide world).

Analysis

Despite all these reservations, a convincing model for the extent and development of the built area of Mousehole can be produced from both the record, and the evidence on the ground. As much of the model as can be mapped will be found on Figures 2.

The underlying geology and topography of Mousehole is significant in its own right and well worth study as such, but is also a crucial first stage to understanding the origins and extent of the historic town.

The topographical and geological context

The wider context

The wider location was of importance partly because of the role of Mount's Bay as one of the primary fishing and fish exporting grounds of Cornwall throughout the Middle Ages. Mousehole's location can be seen as significant against the backdrop of a locally important agricultural hinterland – the St Buryan area (and the narrow coastal strip around and beyond Penzance) stands out in West Penwith, and west Cornwall, as one of the few extensive areas of good agricultural land in the early Middle Ages, but also backed by large areas of moorland significant for cattle and sheep – both mainstays of medieval agriculture, manufacture and export. Mousehole was not the earliest medieval town on the Bay – but by the 14th century it was one of an unusual concentration in close proximity – Mousehole, Newlyn, Penzance, perhaps a lost site known as Porthplement (in Ludgvan parish), Marazion/St Michael's Mount.

Mousehole had a further, and particular importance, as a first port of call and port of refuge at the Channel approaches – it first appears in the records in 1242 when the ship of Richard earl of Cornwall put in there, perhaps as the result of a storm; it was well established as a port by 1284 when an Irish ship from Cork attempted to get provisions there.

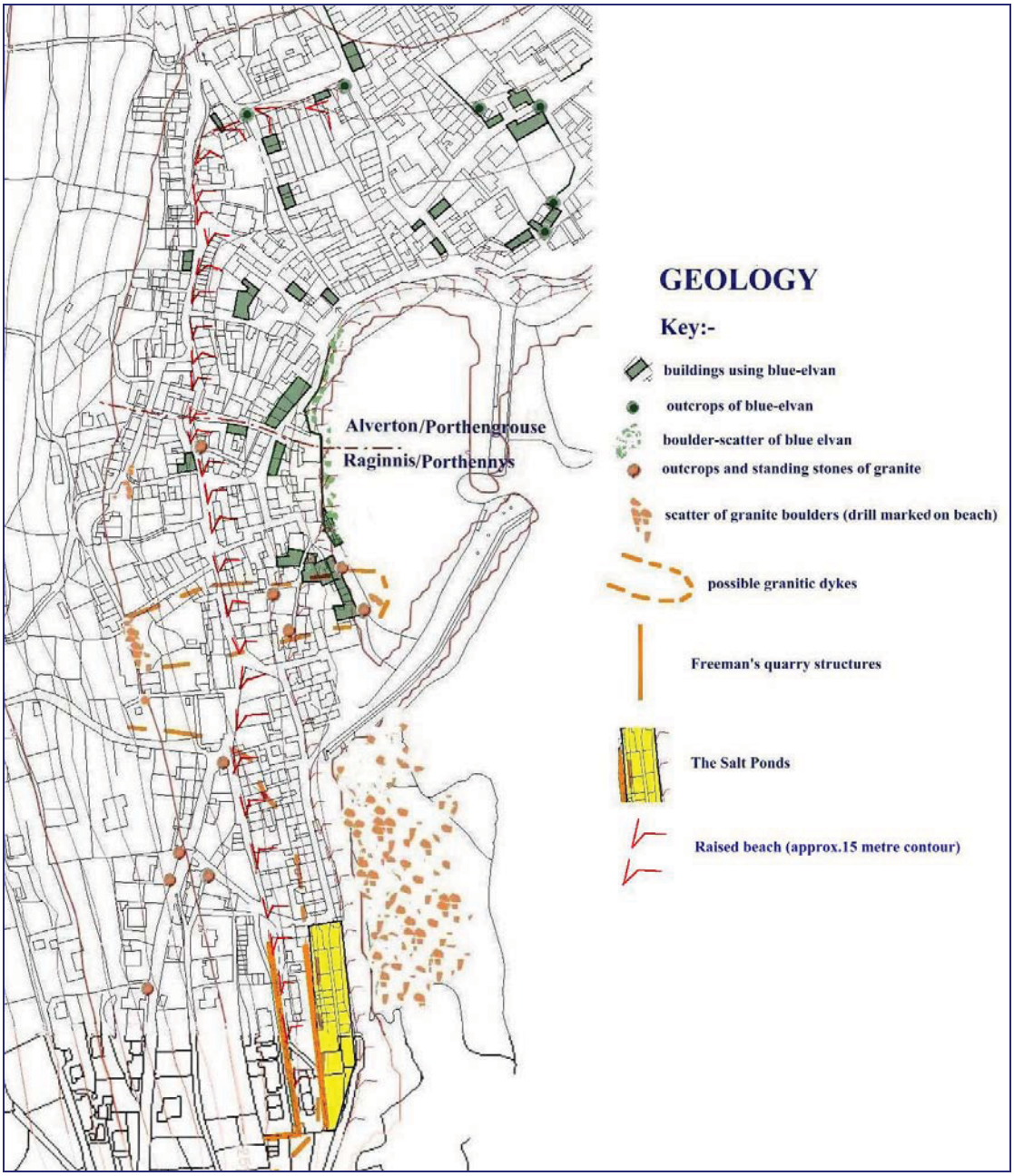
The local topography

Although there is dispute both as to the meaning and location of the word Mousehole, the possibility remains that, if it is indeed an English name and means what it says, the Mousehole may be the narrow valley of the Paul stream cutting through the cliffs rather than the relatively insignificant cave to the south that nowadays bears the name. It was just one of many such defiles in the cliffs around the coast coming east from Land's End, but had the advantage of facing eastwards, away from the prevailing winds, in a sheltered bay, further protected by an offshore island, and the site itself was not just a narrow valley running down to the sea, like, say, Lamorna, but had a relatively flat and broad terrace on which to lay out a settlement.

The importance of the raised beaches/wave-cut platforms along this stretch of the coast is critical. Here at Mousehole just such a raised wave-cut platform broadens out from the usual narrow coastal strip, exploiting the river valley and a geological junction between the metamorphosed slate (blue-elvan) north of the town, and the granite to the south. The platforms can be most clearly seen today on the Island, but can also easily be traced in Mousehole. The most important is that which broadly follows the 15 metre contour (about 50 foot), and runs along Mill Pool-Chapel Street;

the marked drop seaward from Mill-Pool, seen in the builder's yard at the top of Fore Street, is a natural feature – an old cliff line like that at a lower level to the harbour (North Cliff-South Cliff).

Figure 1 Geology



The significance of the 15 metre contour was that it enclosed a broad, relatively level space suitable for a market area and/or fairground. It also provided exactly the sort of short, sharp, modest drop for the streams tumbling over it, that medieval watermills required, as did the lower sea-cliff at the 5 metre contour, which helps us identify the likely site of the mill on the shore line referred to in Raginnis manorial documents (see Mattingly et al, and Mills datasheet). Of the two possible sites for this mill, the lack of a cliff on the small stream (Keigwin's bolt) that reaches the wharf at Keigwins makes the location of this mill by the stream outlet on the South Cliff at the Lobster Pot more likely.

Geology and topography also helps explain the location of the medieval wharf (probably on the lines of, but slightly back from the 18th century wharf that still stands – the large stones at the base of Wharf Cottages may be from this original wharf-line). Sheltered by a projecting reef of rocks on which the Great Pier was later built, a small sandy cove formed here in front of the cliff line and allowed access to the water; the medieval and post medieval references to (bonded) warehouse, cellars and the great (fish) Tithe cellar probably relate to buildings concentrated in and around this area. Certainly, in 1733 the owner of Paul Rectory offered £10 to Mr Keigwin as an encouragement to rebuild the quay since the tithe cellar was vulnerable without its protection.

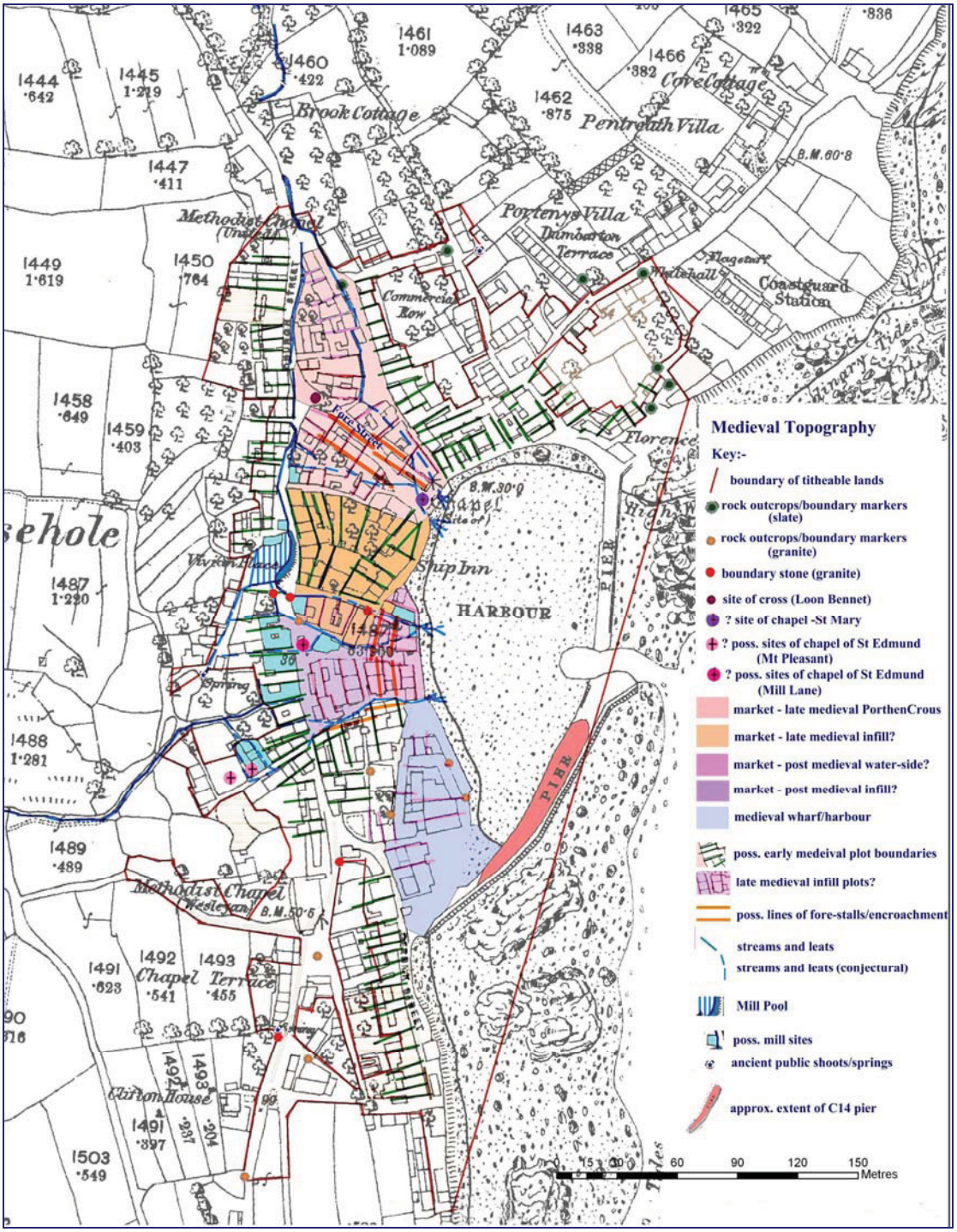
Interestingly, topography can again be used to suggest that the line of the lane running from the Old Standard on the south side of Wesley Square is an old boundary or lane, lining up with Gurnick Street and Old Hill/Raginnis Hill, which marks also the old cliff line reappearing in Gurnick Street. This could indicate the original area of the open wharf/landing areas – all the buildings east of this line appear to be old cellars, warehouses etc., and this area is clearly shown devoid of substantial building on the 1540s Mount's Bay chart.

An unexpected side effect of the local geology has been the partial survival of medieval boundary markers (see also below under **'The Boundaries'**). Most medieval and post-medieval towns had their bounds marked by banks, ditches, stones etc., perhaps most commonly the latter (the 17th century boundary stones of Penzance still stand). Such marks are easily moved, forgotten and lost, and this is probably the case in the south part of Mousehole where boundary marks were mostly free-standing granite stones, and there appear to be fewer markers than in the north (although there are nonetheless several probable survivals). In the north of the town, the outcrops of the tough blue elvan seem to have been utilised as boundary markers. This is instructive in that it shows how the boundaries of the new town were artificially cut out of the mother parish of Paul, making use of existing handy outcrops on the ground, rather than being artificially drawn up, like Penzance's perfectly geometrical half-mile radius semi-circle.

Thus, by simply considering topographical and geological information, it is already possible to build up the beginnings of a settlement model for Mousehole. Combine this with the limited historical record and surviving urban morphology, and the pattern becomes clearer, and is summarised below and on Figure 2.

Mousehole – an outline settlement history

Figure 2 Medieval Topography



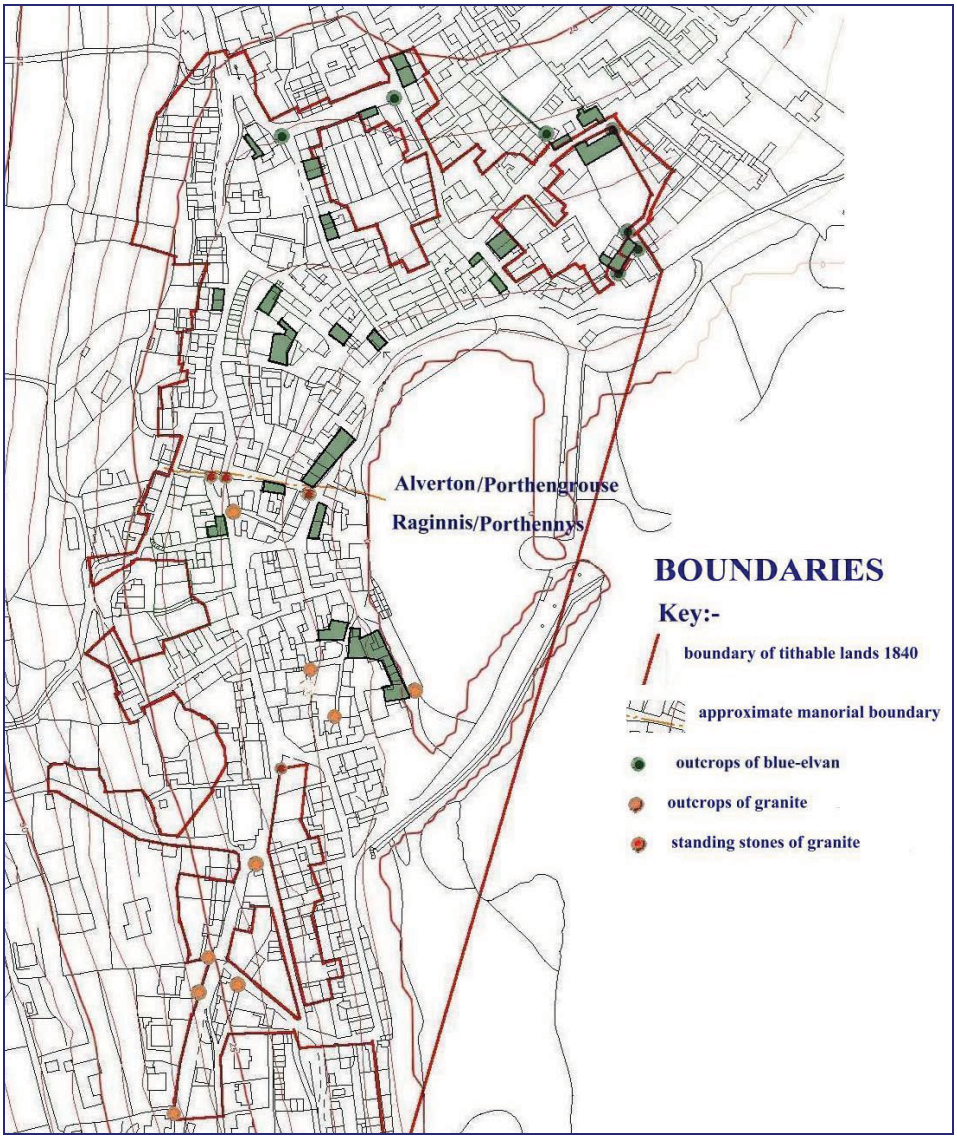
The boundaries

The Tithe-free area of the village on the 1840 Tithe Map probably broadly represents the medieval Borough, plus and minus inevitable changes over the several centuries between the 16th century (when the borough all but faded away) and the mid 19th century. There was probably a net increase in tithe-free land as agreements were made with the tithe impropriators, or encroachments legitimised, over the years. The doughnut-holes within the overall boundary appear to represent land bordering the

approach roads into the central area – and may represent encroachment on highway/waste/indeterminate areas on the boundary of the settlement.

There are some small outcrops of the natural bedrock – particularly the blue elvan (hard metamorphosed slates) in the north-eastern half of Mousehole. These may be merely over-large nodules of rock too hard to remove – that has often been the explanation for them. However, the outcrops shows evidence of cutting back and reduction; moreover, a distribution map of the buildings in Mousehole that make use of this stone shows that they coincide almost exclusively with the surviving outcrops (including those along South Cliff. These buildings are almost all early (i.e. pre-19th century), yet the stone stopped being used for building before the outcrops were completely removed, so the suggestion arises that they may have been kept for a purpose. Interestingly, a distribution map of the outcrops (and again this is with the proviso that this was not an exhaustive survey), appears to show a rather more than fortuitous coincidence with the approximate Borough boundaries suggested by the Tithe–free lands in the north-eastern part of the village. Not all such buildings are on boundaries –those along South-Cliff clearly merely exploit the outcrops along the cliff line, but the coincidence on the edge of the village is too great to be accidental.

Figure 3 Blue Elvan and boundaries



There is some anecdotal evidence that supports the idea of these outcrops as borough bounds; the large stone at the top of Duck Street is known locally as the plague stone; whether plague was inside or outside the community, a quarantine system was imposed. Food and goods were left on the stone at the boundary of the settlement to be collected by the outside world so that the infected and uninfected did not touch. A famous example and analogy is Eham in Derbyshire. This is apparently what happened in 1832 when cholera hit Newlyn.

Although the south side of the town is less clearly marked, because of the geological change to granite, lying deeper and less clearly outcropping than the blue elvan, there are some good indications of the coincidence of stone outcrops with the boundaries (as marked on Figure 3). The best example is the large free standing stone opposite St Clement's Chapel, which marks the northern edge of a finger of tithable land shown on the 1840 Tithe Map.

As a further piece of corroboration, the spring in Raginnis Hill was known historically as Pedn y Caunse – the head of the paved street, in other words the edge of the built-up area. It stands at a corner of the boundary as shown by the Tithe-free area, and is associated with a large worked stone set in the wall.

There is at least one clear property boundary stone actually within the town not associated with its outer bounds, adjoining the old mill house site in Jamaica Place. Although this is in the heart of Mousehole, it may still mark a property or even Borough boundary – in particular the two manorial holdings/Boroughs of Alverton and Raginnis which divided along Brook Street, or it may mark some sort of associated division in milling rights/property boundaries - this core area has a complex of milling-associated remains which may have been divided between the two ownerships/manors (see milling section). A similar stone just to the north of this in Jamaica Place may mark the same boundary, and a stone lying on its side at the southern end of Brook Street may have more significance than simply as a fender (or glinter post) to protect the wall from traffic.

A note of caution should be sounded in relating rock outcrops and boundaries; there are certainly simple geological reasons rather than complex tenurial ones behind some of the rock outcrops; the stones to be seen in Wesley Square align with outcrops on the Wharf, and with an east-west ridge-line clearly seen in Chapel Street, and may purely be the visible part of a protruding geological formation (a granite dyke).

Another type of medieval boundary marker was a cross; there is plenty of evidence, and several surviving examples, that crosses marked out churchpaths and crossroads and boundaries elsewhere in Paul; the evidence directly relating to Mousehole is more limited, but one exciting discovery made by this survey is the location of a medieval cross site at the north end of Fore Street, at the junction of Fore Street (called the Church Road in 1803) with Regent Terrace/North Road. This was also virtually on the Borough boundary and at the northern end of the proposed early medieval market area (see Figure 2). This cross is referred to in the deeds of Loon Bennet built 1803, and confirms a hint recorded in Harvey, 1994, that the name Loon Bennet is derived from a cross site: '*Loon Bennet is said to have cost £25 – original name Lor bennel relating to cross in nearby hedge but could be 'broom garden'* (Lore an Bannel)'

The market area

We have already seen how the local topography predisposes the creation of a market/fair area on the raised wave-cut platform approximately between the 5 metre (sea-cliff) and 15 metre contours; these contours close together at the northern (Parade Hill) and southern ends of Mousehole (Keigwin Place); the market place or places should be located between these two points. What, of course complicate the issue in Mousehole is the possibility that there were two separate Boroughs and two separate market places:

> *Mousehole like Marazion may have comprised two distinct settlements from an early date. The presence of two chapels is suggestive of this and initially Porthenys and Mousehole were described as next to each other. The place name Mousehole could relate to the natural cave in the cliff, because by c1500 the names Mousehole and Porthenys were interchangeable. However, Porthencrous next to Porthenys also occurs in 1338 and 1341 and the former may be an alternative name for Mousehole at this time. Porthencrous means port of the cross and may have been named after a lost market cross. In the 19th century Mousehole was still divided into two parts known as 'The Gernick' and 'The Groughse' with Brook Street as the dividing line. (Mattingly et al, Chapter One.)*

The medieval market place may once have been of considerable extent as it had to accommodate an annual fair as well as a weekly market. In or on the edge of such market areas one might expect to find public facilities like chapels and or crosses – and we appear to have located the cross that gave its name to *Porthencrou**s***. Also concentrated around the market would be water supply, Inns (the Ship) and shops bordering the market place (as on the C14 deed), bake houses (as at Keigwins). All these various elements are to be found in or on the edge of the proposed market areas in Mousehole.

Certain features of street layout also help to define these areas. A series of triangular spaces, often diminishing in size, may reveal successive diminution in the open area available; rows of lanes or buildings may represent the building of temporary shops on a market gradually converted to permanent buildings, a process of encroachment (both side of Fore Street may exhibit this pattern, Keigwins, and certainly the Old Standard appear to be just such an encroachment from an older line further south). Streets entering into such an open area often have funnel-like ends – as at the northern end of Fore Street, persuasively marked by a medieval cross. In Cornwall a Fore Street inevitably runs into a market area or churchtown (the latter in many, perhaps all cases, functioned as a market whether it became urban or not).

This proposed market area is bounded by the harbour on the east and Chapel Street on the west and was divided into two roughly equal parts by a stream (now under Brook Street), a similar situation to Newton Abbot in Devon. Large open trading areas seem to have been a feature at the centre of port towns like St Mawes, Truro and East and West Looe.

Interestingly enough another aspect of the physical and human topography of Mousehole seems to reinforce this proposed layout. The two principal water systems in Mousehole fed independent groups of mills (these are more fully discussed under the fresh-water/milling section). But mapping the broad patterns of stream flows

(some of which is still conjectural, especially given 19th and 20th century culverting and diverting of streams and leats), does show that the proposed open areas are all edged by flowing water (Duck Street to the lane containing the Royal British Legion building, Brook Street or Mill Lane to Keigwins bolt) – in much the same way as the principal streets of some Cornish towns even today are washed by open leats (Truro and Helston).

Put all these elements together, and the potential market areas can begin to be defined. Mark these streets out from the very different tightly grained building plots that seem to edge them, and this pattern looks even more convincing.

As a postscript, it is worth noting that the Market house in Mill Pool appears to be a late 19th century or early 20th century use not clearly related to its medieval antecedents, although this, and the so-called Ye Olde Market House in Chapel Street, are both on the edge of the putative Raginnis/Porthennys market area.

Plots and urban grain

The early 14th century document showing the subdivision of a large 2 acre plot into building plots has already been referred to:

> *Infilling of part of the market-place could have begun in 1300 as in 1310 land held by Roger de Sancto Constantino comprised two acres divided into one plot of an acre, and four of a quarter of an acre each. Eight plots are then listed, totalling just over an acre, and may represent further subdivision. The smallest of these plots, measuring three perches by one perch (forty-nine and a half feet by sixteen and a half feet), was then held by John de Nevill directly from Roger but he had enfeoffed Osbert le Estyvor and Martin le Teler with two forty foot square plots. Thomas de Trewarveneth held the largest plot, measuring 7 perches (115½ feet) by 160 feet from Roger, but his subtenants, Caswaladrus de Mosehole and Henry Paty, held plots of 40 by 60 feet and 4 perches (66 feet) by 80 feet. The plots of Nicholas Noght and David Du measuring sixty feet by forty feet and sixty feet by forty-five feet had never been held from Master Roger. By 1324 at least eight shops were in this southern area.* ***(Mattingly et al, Chapter One.)***

It appears to document the break-down of a large open market area into building plots (including, crucially, 8 shops). It has been noted (Mattingly et al) that Mousehole does not show the typical long burgage plots of other mediaeval towns like Penryn, Truro, Helston, but perhaps the constrictions of the site made that inevitable; what can be seen is the layout of rectangular plots, in the proportion roughly of 2:3 width to length.

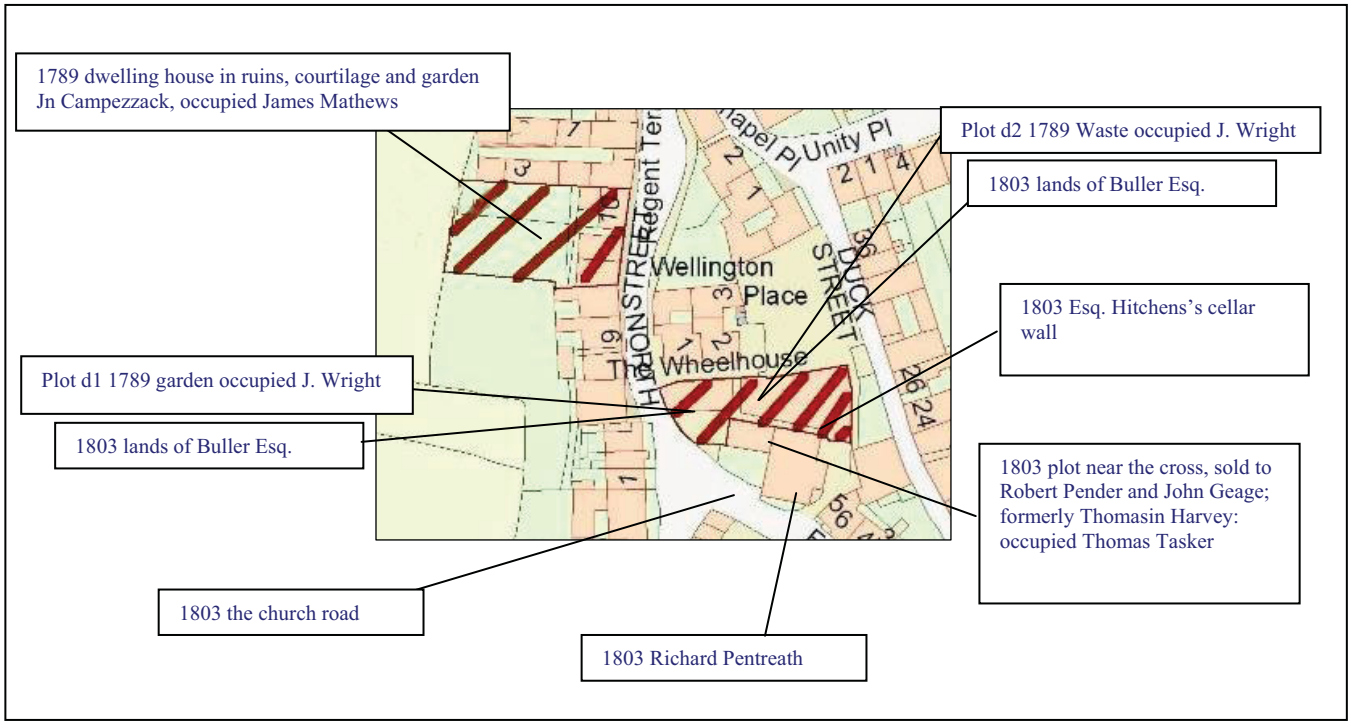
These have been very approximately mapped on Figure 2. The layout is inconclusive, but it does reinforce the idea of a large central open space, subsequently divided into two open spaces to serve the dual boroughs of ***Porthencrous*** (the northern half) and Porthennys (the southern half). Plot size, layout and function and settlement grain is certainly an aspect of the medieval and post-medieval topography of Mousehole that needs further research –to the point of simply measuring and orientating surviving plots to see if they match those given in the 14th century deed.

Research theme: 1 Identification of tenement plots

It might well prove possible as a research project to identify some individual plots by detailed comparison of these documents to build up some elements of a tenement history for parts of Mousehole – for instance by combining information from Alverton manor records, the 1798 Tregonebris extent, the deeds of Loon Bennet (1803), all of which touch on plots near or adjoining each other in the 18th and 17th centuries. Mousehole has a rare early 14th century deed which shows the subdivision of a large 2 acre plot in the heart of the Borough. If this could be identified, perhaps by measuring and comparing the layout of adjoining plots which equate to the given measurements in that deed, then the process of urban foundation and development which that document clearly describes might be uniquely revealed on the ground.

Figure 4: A starting point for tenement analysis:

A brief exercise based upon the 1789 Tregonebris Survey, and the deeds of Loon Bennet (1803).



1789, Tregonebris holdings	Plots z1, z2, z3; dwelling house in ruins, curtilage and garden Jn Campezzack, occupied James Mathews
1789, Tregonebris holdings	Plot d1 garden occupied J. Wright Plot d2 Waste occupied J. Wright
1803 Loon Bennet deeds	Plot Loon Bennett near the Cross formerly Thomasin Harvey: Robert Pender of Sennen and John Geage? Thomas Tasker : Bounded north & west by lands of Buller Esq. South by church road & Richard Pentreath and north-east by Esq. Hichens's cellar wall
Cornish Guardian, 4th article. 28.Nov. I860	Describes their criticism of the present state of the village. There are few gardens or trees in the place except for a myrtle and very old, large, thorn tree in front of Mr Jacka's and opposite Mr Thomas Pentreath's house at Loon Bennet also the orchard behind Will. Angwins and Mr John Pentreath in the same locality.
1742	Sept 29 lease of ½ Mousehole mill to J Campezzack (BL/9/10/1); not this site, but in the neighbourhood?

Although the early 19th century maps are very sketchy in their details, they do suggest one or two interesting points that add to our understanding of the earlier morphology of Mousehole. They show a wharf side complex, perhaps that at the northern end of Gurnick Street (1809) rather than the wharf itself, or even the Keigwins complex, with an open south side (the implication of the c.1790 coastal defence map). If it is the Gurnick Street group, this may be where the Tithe cellar and/or customs stores etc. were located – hence their significance for the map-makers. Gurnick Street is shown only partially built up (perhaps confirmed by the 1789 Tregonebris map and 1840 Tithe Map – the plots here were part within and part outside the Borough bounds, on a lane not really leading anywhere, suggesting a late date for development – the lane now containing St Clement's Terrace appears as a more prominent route. To the south, Saltponds appears even by 1809 not yet to have been built upon, but the rectangular outline of the works can clearly be seen.

Detail of the streets in the centre of the town is sketchy on both maps, although the grid of streets is shown, it is not clear whether all, or which, of Mill Lane, Brook Street, the lane with the Royal British Legion, Fore Street, Duck Street and/or a lane into the present Abbey Place is shown; a stream is marked in the centre of the town on the 1790 map. The 1809 Ordnance Survey sketches appear to suggest open space, or less dense infill between Fore Street and the site of the Royal British Legion building – but perhaps not too much store should set by this, although Regent Terrace is accurately shown as built up.

One further interesting question that needs to be fully resolved is whether Parade Hill/Quay Street or the lane via Carn Topna represents the main ancient route into Mousehole from Newlyn; both have old buildings along them, both are clearly of some antiquity; the 1809 map shows only the Quay Street route; Commercial Road was not as yet built up.

Medieval chapels in Mousehole

The historical details given in the main report (Mattingly et al) give a reasonably detailed history of the chapels of Mousehole – St Mary in Alverton manor by the shore, St Clements on the Island, St Edmunds in Raginnis manor. There is no surviving evidence for any of these medieval structures; the Ordnance Survey placed St Mary's on north cliff based largely on local tradition and a vague tradition of a scatter of tooled medieval stonework of uncertain origin and diagnostic value; however, there seems little reason to doubt the site is reasonably accurate.

More problematic is the site of St Edmund; indeed, were it not for the survival of a document relating to the Middle Mill of Raginnis manor in 1488 *(the mill abutted the highway on its south side, tenements to east and north, and the chapel of St Edmund to the west)*, the documentary evidence could be interpreted as relating not to a separate chapel, but an aisle or altar attached to St Mary's.

Since the site of the Middle Mill in 1488 has not itself been fixed (and it may have shifted site more than one in the subsequent centuries), placing the chapel presents problems. By looking at the topography and street layout of Mousehole, some attempt to locate it can be made.

The chapel must lie in the southern half of Mousehole, roughly south of Brook Street, which formed the boundary between Alverton lands and Raginnis lands. The Middle Mill itself would be fed by the Raginnis leat system – itself a series of possible steams and leats flowing down from the Treens and Mount Pleasant. A site in Mount Pleasant

is not impossible, fed by a leat striking south off the Mount Pleasant issues still visible today, the mill tail race flowing down into the Keigwin bolt and the wharf. The problem with this site is that Mount Pleasant does not seem to be an ancient route which might be described in 1488 as a highway, and there are no tenements to the north of it – it appears always to have been orchards, stream, or waste slope here. The site, either of two adjoining plots shown on the medieval topography map, is also tucked away on the edge of the medieval bounds of the village – hardly a seemly setting for a Borough chapel. On the other hand, there is undoubtedly some evidence in the surviving built fabric that a mill may have been located here, and there are possible c16 or earlier architectural fragments re-used in the walls of houses in Mount Pleasant.

An alternative, and perhaps more convincing site is in Mill Lane; this was in the heart of the Borough, within or on the edge of a putative market area and in amongst a whole series of undoubted and possible mill sites. The best and possibly most provable mill site here is that in Mill Lane still known as Mill House, with a former leat and tail race running along its north side. It stands with the highway to the south (Mill Lane, but it may have been a wider and more prominent thoroughfare through a market area at the time), tenements east and north of it, and , on the 1880 map, a very suggestively placed small detached building of the same order of size as that suggested for St Edmunds chapel: *It may be the 'chapel in the town', which measured 32 feet in length, and 18 feet in width' and was converted into a dwelling house around 1790* (Mattingly).

The only other possible site would be in Keigwin Place, but there is no evidence of a mill here, no tradition of a chapel, and given all the other traditions and legends attached to Keigwins, stories of a chapel in its proximity might be expected to have passed into local tradition.

Research theme: 2 Other aspects of geology

Apart from its relationship to the settlement history of Mousehole there are other aspects of geology in and around Mousehole that suggest some stimulating lines of further research.

Geology

(See also Appendix 1 – Geology)

The age, nature and precise mapping of the raised beaches and wave-cut platforms is important to the town's history. As regards the underlying geology, it is given as a fact (by the British Geological survey amongst others) that the north half of the town stands on slate/metamorphic rock and the south half on granite. It is said that the large rock at the top end of Duck Street marks the boundary, which re-appears in the gaps between the two arms of the harbour (Harvey, 7). Unfortunately, a tour on the ground just does not match up with this outline. Most importantly, the south pier is clearly built not upon granite at all, but on hard slatey stone. The granite that litters the foreshore here is all in the form of free boulders – many, if not most of which show signs of drill marks and cutting, some at a reasonable time in the past (weather-worn); none appears to be geological bed-rock. These may either be a natural spill, almost like the clitter-slopes downhill of the upland granite tors, or they may represent the off-spill of the 19th century (and earlier) quarrying that took place above the salt ponds.

It proved difficult on the survey to locate granite as a bedrock in Mousehole at levels lower than the 25 metre contour, along which there are several outcrops; lower than this the deep surface layers are probably composed of raised beach material, landslip, soil and granite boulders. Only occasionally do intrusions or fingers of granite seem to project from these higher levels down to sea level - by the Saltponds perhaps, and along the narrow ridge that runs across Chapel Street, down by the rear of Keigwins (exposed in the garden walls of Wesley Square) and out at the Wharf.

That suitable granite of building quality was not necessarily to be found within Mousehole is hinted at by the records of the building of the pier (in the County record Office, Truro), which shows moorstone being collected form 'the hill':

> *1767 Aug 19 – Wm Veale complaining of 'surprising slow progress made in laying the Inside of the back of the Pier at M' fears it 'w'on't be secured by Winter' – storms & Ruin etc. Last week found 'a number of masons ... fixing casks to stones, which others might have done' Enough men but lack of stones, thinks labourers should be employed to make road for a carriage to bring them from the Hill 'But they are not so plenty on the Hill' and need seeking for, probably at higher price.(ML 506)*

The history of quarrying in and around Mousehole and the parish of Paul is reasonably well known, although much remains to be discovered. Granite quarries operated at Lamorna Castallack and Sheffield, and are shown on the 1880 OS map up Raginnis Hill; the blue elvan was quarried from at least the 1880s at Gwavas/Penlee. There were also mines in and around Mousehole, about which little is known, such as Raginnis Hill Bal, with an adit roughly under the present Carn Dhu Hotel (and the working of which may have enlarged the Mousehole cave) and at Park Lynes Bal north of Mousehole, as well as closer to Penlee and Newlyn.

Freeman's' Quarry

But there is one quarrying enterprise that may have been of greater significance for Mousehole. The levelled platforms above the Saltponds on which Merlin Place was built c.1923 have extremely well-built of granite retaining walls. At first they were assumed to be part of the 1790s salt ponds development occupying the lowest terrace (and built over after an early failure in about 1800). They could well be from the 1790s in terms of construction technique – they are beautifully laid, but there is much evidence for the use of drills on the stones - 1790s is not impossibly early for that, but one would normally suspect a 19th century date. Secondly, there is a large, battered wall at one end of one terrace which looks very much like a tramway base; this could relate to the salt-ponds, but again is much more like a 19th century engineering feature.

It is likely that these features relate to a quarry set up by Freeman's and Co. when they were the contractors for the works to the south pier and new north pier in 1870. A contemporary newspaper report says Freeman's opened a granite quarry a short distance form the harbour, connected by a tramway intended to ship out Lamorna-Sheffield–Mousehole quarry stone, and were erecting sheds and stables near the base of the southern pier. (Harvey 166 – newspaper report 22-3-70).

The Salt Works

This would certainly be a better explanation for these terraces than as part of the salt ponds; these are in themselves a well-known but little researched aspect of

Mousehole's history that could repay not only documentary research, but also exploration on the ground; unanswered questions relate to how they operated, was the brine partially boiled, how was the water raised to the terrace, were there engine houses, pumps, boilers? How and why did they fail, were there two works (contemporary newspaper reports in the royal Cornwall Gazette refer to both Mousehole Salt Works (Sm8.8.1796 RCG 27.10.04) and Raginnis Cliff Salt Works, Paul? (RCG 14.11.07), and the 1840 Tithe Award still notes land on Raginnis Cliff part of the salt works).

Pilchard Cellars or Fish Cloisters

The identification of structures and sites associated with the fishing industry is one of the core elements in any settlement study of a place like Mousehole. Much has been published, and the documentary record, written and oral history, legends, myths and romances of the fishing industry in West Cornwall are a huge resource, often of variable trustworthiness.

The actual structures are less fully described, not only what they looked like, how they first developed, how they worked and so on, but in the physical effects of different and changing processes, of methods of ownership, of the scale of the industry not just in overall terms, but in terms of each individual enterprise. Did different types of fishing create different types of building, or did later ages tackle old problems in a new way – the same industry, new structures?

There has been some research, much unpublished as academic theses, but little has been easily available for this survey, and may not actually be available at all in published form.

The changing story of fishing in Mousehole is well summarised in Mattingly et al, what is attempted here is to trace its impact on the built fabric of the town.

In one sense of course, its impact is all pervading. Despite its origins as a market Borough, victualling, fishing and deep-sea trading port, by the 17th century, Mousehole was primarily a fishing town. A small and occasional general trade (as often as not in smuggled goods) continued into the early 20th century, but the main business of the harbour and the inhabitants was fishing. Ancillary trades were nearly all linked to fishing: boat-building, coopering, net making and barking, the abortive salt-pans, basket-making, rope-making and growing the hemp and withies associated with these last two.

It is therefore perhaps unremarkable to say that fishing permeates the built environment of Mousehole in every way and to a vast extent; yet compared to other fishing ports, Newlyn in particular, even St Ives, Mousehole seems more completely given over to the industry. This is partly because it escaped much of the slum clearance and ravages that beset Newlyn in the 20th century, but also partly because of a different type and scale of activity. At this stage only early conclusions can be drawn, but it does seem that there is far less of the 'industrial' scale fishing and associated buildings that typify Street and Nowan in Newlyn, or the Island in St Ives (*There were ten to twelve pilchard seines at Newlyn and Mousehole in 1824 including the Success, Happy Return and Speedwell in the former place. St Ives, with its sandier beaches, housed 132 out of Cornwall's 200 seines in 1835, and many of the larger pilchard cellars which are still a feature of that town today*. Mattingly et al).

Research theme: 3 Local Differences in the Cornish fishing industry

A major field of research could be to compare the scale of the industry, and particularly of the individual enterprises involved, to see if Mousehole had more small-scale operations, more owner-operators, fewer large companies, and whether this in part accounts for a discernable difference in built environment.

A second strand to investigate is the size of Mousehole boat – whether it went as far or caught as much as those from other harbours, and indeed whether it caught the same sort of fish, and if there were differences at different periods.

The type of fishing, whether by seine nets, by drift nets, by line fishing, as well as the type of fish caught, had an impact on the buildings needed. There were changes in the type of fish caught over time - hake, cod etc. in the medieval/post medieval period and seine-caught pilchards; drift-caught pilchards dominated by the late 17tth century, the seine making a come-back by the 18th century. Despite the dominance of pilchards in the public imagination in the 19th century, the collapse of the seine net fishing led to a government enquiry in the 1870s; herring and mackerel caught farther afield, sold fresh rather than processed and not necessary brought back to Mousehole at all for processing or marketing, were increasingly important through the course of the century.

Equally there were changes in the methods of processing the fish (see Mattingly et all for details). Until the 17th century most fish was smoked rather than pressed (creating what were locally known as fumadoes, giving rise to the name 'fairmaids') – although the Tithe disputes of the 17-18th centuries in Mousehole show that pressing fish was already important by c.1680. Subsequent changes in the methods of pressing also took place – the mid 19th century change from holes for pressing beams to the more substantial inverse ledges may be related to changing sizes of barrels, and from the 1870s curing fish in brine, 'tanking' and screw pressing were introduced, speeding up the process, and perhaps having a major impact on the design of fish cellars.

Despite the building of the north pier in 1870, and the many late 19th century buildings associated with fishing, it rapidly declined and disappeared as an important industry from Mousehole in the 20th century. The last mackerel seine boat and net were sold off in Mousehole in 1930– pilchard seines disappeared many years before (Harvey 256).

Whether any of these changing process and activities can be discerned in the built fabric of Mousehole would form a major detailed research project. Some tentative conclusions can be drawn:

It is unlikely that early (i.e. pre 18th century) specialist fish-related buildings will be certainly identified; they may well exist, as least in part, but, in the first place so much from that date has been lost or radically altered, and secondly, we have little idea what they looked like, or if they were any different from general storage 'cellars' or warehouses or domestic buildings.

Equally, unless a fortuitous discovery turns up, smokehouses for fumadoes are unlikely to survive; there is the tantalising rear range of Keigwins, which may have a soot-blackened truss (not likely to be anything to do with the 1595 raid) in what appears to be a 2 storey building open from ground floor to roof and plastered even at high levels; this could equally be explained by being a bake house, a domestic kitchen, or even due to a leaky flue.

One thing that the survey has been able to establish is that the two storey block with external stairs to net lofts or accommodation over a ground floor cellar is at least 18th century in origin (see the table below); whether the cellars were used for fish processing or general storage is unknown; quite possibly they were used for both in the same buildings.

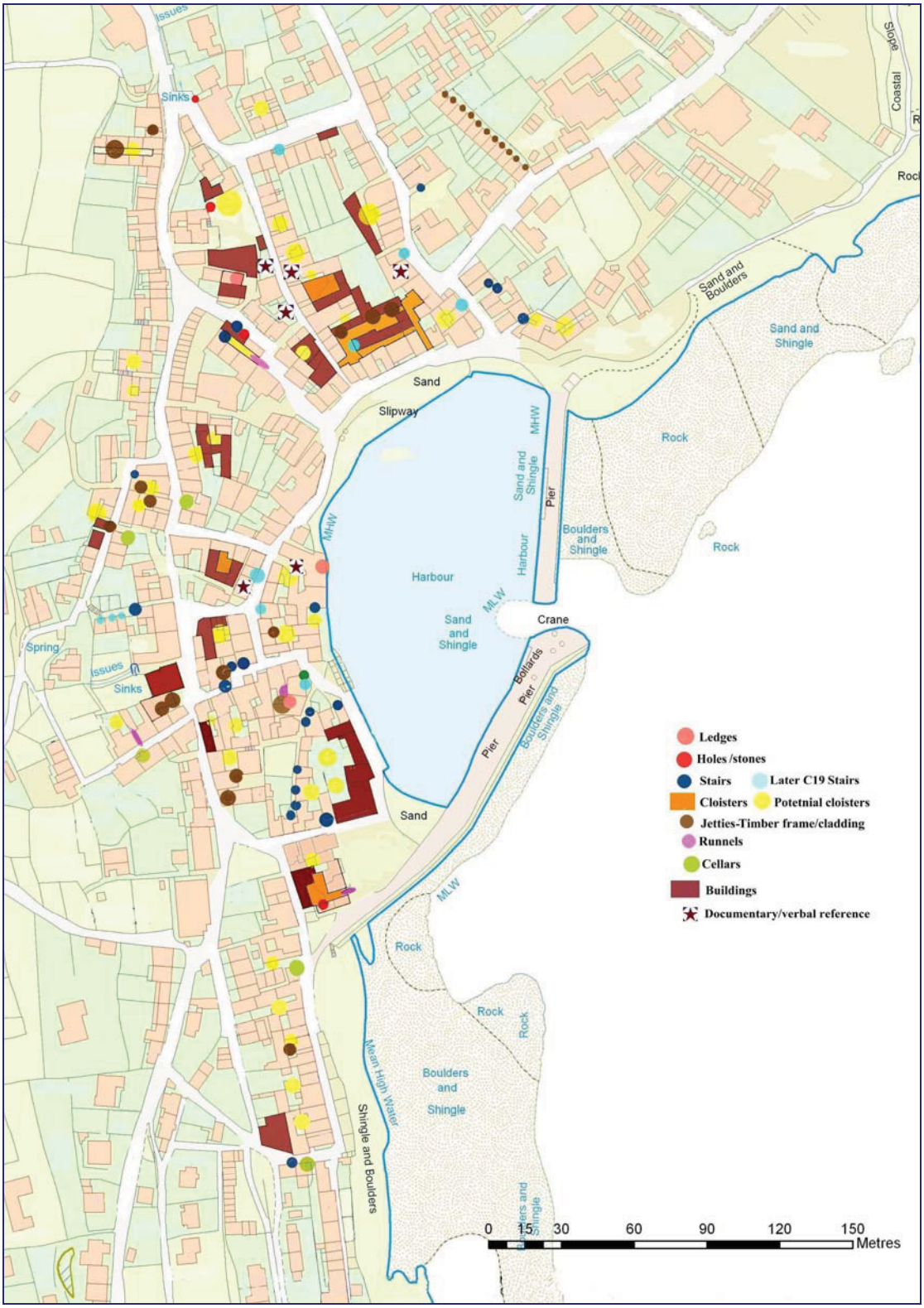
A rough chronology of forms can also be suggested, although it should be emphasised that different forms and activities clearly stood side by side at the same times:

- Smoking and large fish, possibly dried and stored along with other bulk goods in general warehouses or 'cellars'(up to C17)

- The free-standing cellar and loft, with or without pressing holes on grounds floor (C18). *The drift net fisheries remained more domestic in scale and usually their cellars were on the ground floor with living quarters above. Other cellars typical of the drift fishery were in small courtyards behind houses, but most have been converted into cottages since.* Mattingly et al.
- The cloister, a communal pressing and packing area mainly associated with seine companies and joint-stock enterprises (perhaps as early as the C17-C18 records suggest for Newlyn, but more certainly early-mid C19; the C17 references may be to simple cellars and yards rather than the full-scale 'cloisters'). The upper floors were almost always supported on granite posts on the ground floor – sometimes the upper floors are of stone, more often they are timber framed and likely to be weather boarded, although some slate hanging also exists. Such timber framing is therefore a diagnostic tool – it was rarely if ever used for purely residential buildings or for display fronts.
- There are examples of beam-pressing holes in what appear to be free-standing granite walls; probably they were once enclosed by lightweight timber structures, rather than all being remnants of larger stone-built buildings
- A change from beam-holes to the reverse ledge (mid C19 – the 1833 date referred to in Mattingly seems to be early for Mousehole)
- The provision of jettied upper floors, sometimes to older structures (mid-later C19); the change to jettying also seems to coincide with the disappearance of cloisters, the ground floors below the jetties perhaps being used more for simple net and gear stores than fish processing and affording a modicum of protection for stored gear from the weather – certainly this seems to be the case at Dumbarton Terrace – perhaps associated with the growth of herring and mackerel fishing away from Mousehole.
- Commercial pilchard curing houses (late C19-C20). *The Penzance Natural History and Archaeological Society, ever eager to study new developments, visited two Newlyn fish cellars on 7 September 1888. At Mr Toman's fish cellar 'the new process of preservation in brine, and the new mode of pressure by screws in place of the old lever' was shown to them. By 1896 it was noted that 'men regret that bulking has died out, for they consider the fish drained better that way, and so were vastly superior, but the process is slower than by tanks'. At Mousehole there were now six pilchard curing houses employing 50 people and at Newlyn twenty similar places employed 150 to 200 hands.* Mattingly et al.
- Provision of brine tanks (late C19-C20)
- Conversion of fish cellars to other uses (late C19-C20)

The accompanying map attempts to show all the various elements in the built environment that can be associated with fishing in Mousehole based on a rapid, and informal, survey done over a few days in 2006. It does not pretend to be exhaustive - access was not possible to many rear yards in particular. The large gap in the centre of Mousehole where there appear to be few such sites may or may not be significant – it may simply be because access was not possible, or it may reflect this area's role as the market, shop, pub area of Mousehole. And of course there is the important proviso that not every back yard, alleyway and courtyard is necessarily definite proof of a former pilchard palace – although in Mousehole it probably is.

Figure 5 – Fishing-related buildings



There is an undeniable concentration of sites in and around Duck Street and Commercial Road, especially of the later types – the latter is effectively a new growth area of Mousehole in the late 19th century. The 19th century harbour improvements may account for this – in particular the new slip of 1855, and the new north pier of

1870; before 1837 this area was effectively outside the protected harbour of Mousehole, and therefore less favoured than the southern half of the town, although the medieval Fore Street and Duck Street also have some pretty old buildings, amongst the oldest and best in the town indeed. There is what appears to be a corresponding and perhaps predictable concentration of earlier features around Keigwins and the old Wharf, although there are also later buildings here like Wharf house and the building now known as the Cornish Range which are late 19th century 'industrial' fish processing buildings.

The table (Appendix 2 – Fish) summarises the types of evidence available and gives examples. Reference should be made to more detailed information and descriptions in Mattingly et al.

The pilchard cellars for the seine fisheries occupied a large space equal to a block of houses. They included a large open courtyard surrounded by stonewalls. Three foot above the floor were regularly spaced square holes or a continuous jetty (see reconstruction in chapter 4). Designed to take the squared ends of round pressing poles, 13 foot long, beam holes can be seen in the car park behind Cliff Manor House, Newlyn and there is an example of a jetty in a back alley at Keigwin, Mousehole. Wooden launders were used to drain the oil, a valuable by-product, into a wood-lined collecting pit in one corner. The courtyard, where the 'baulks' (walls) of pilchards were made (see chapter 4), was cobbled and had shallow gulleys for drainage. Access was often via a single entrance and salt houses were nearby.

Pentice or lean-to roofs of slate projected into the courtyard, sheltering the barrels of fish from the weather during the pressing process. First floor lofts for net-making or storage were built along one or more sides. Like the pentice roofs, these lofts were supported by a colonnade of granite piers. In Mousehole the term 'cloisters' was used to describe the pilchard cellars.

A view of the interior of a curing house published in 1833 shows all the stages of the pilchard processing, though a month or more separated baulking and barrelling. The single-storey building is somewhat idealised too, with a pitched roof, and walls on all sides. The single door entrance to the fish cellar cut down on theft. Most Newlyn fish cellars at this time, as shown by surviving examples, were ground floor open-fronted spaces, arranged around courtyards behind or under houses. The baulks of fish were built up in the courtyard and only the pressing took place under lean-to roofs.

The illustration also shows a new invention, the continuous jetty or reinforced corbelled wall. This gave greater leverage than the earlier system of square holes. The end of the pressing pole was placed under the jetty, as show in the illustration (see chapter 4). Examples of corbelled walls have been found behind Keigwin House at Mousehole and in the Fradgan and North Corner at Newlyn. Square holes can be seen in walls behind Cliff House in Newlyn. Catholic countries of Southern Europe, especially Spain and Italy, was the main markets for pilchards for the whole of this period. A common toast in Cornwall was 'Long life to the Pope: Death to our best friends: And may our streets run with blood'.

Mills, rivers and leats.

Introduction

The physical and historical impact of the fresh water system in Mousehole should not be underestimated. Until the early/mid 20th century, open leats, streams etc. were a feature of the streetscene; the large mill pool itself was only covered over in the later 19th century; the water outfall in the harbour is still a prominent feature of the townscape; the surviving springs and streams (Pedn y Caunse, Mt Pleasant, the Treens, The Dam etc) are of interest and attractive features in their own right, the sound of running water is everywhere in Mousehole – it would be nice to explain it, celebrate it... Future enhancement of Mousehole might include re-opening some of the leats (a major and attractive feature of Truro, Helston etc.)

There is perhaps as much documentary evidence about the mills and water courses in Mousehole as on any other subject. The reasons for this include:

- Most of the little, fast-flowing streams in the narrow coastal valleys along this coast have or had mills – Lamorna is perhaps the best known survival – the hinterland around St Buryan etc. was an important agricultural area.
- Mousehole was from the very beginning important as a victualling station for shipping – the number of bake houses recorded through history is relatively large for such a small place, probably for the same reason. *Medieval mills were located at Mousehole by 1311 and Daniel the miller was noted there in 1327.*
- There was a relatively large investment in the physical works necessary – a sluice dam, artificial mill leat, artificial mill pool and tail leats etc, all of which may go back to the Middle Ages.
- Mills and water supply were notorious for causing disputes and legal actions – perhaps the main reason they so often appear in the written record.
- The local topography favoured a cluster of mills; not only were there steep swift streams, but there was the additional bonus of the vertical drop along the raised beach approximately on the 15 metre contour (North Street-Mill Pool), and, in at least one case, a mill also exploited the drop on the coastal cliff (by the Lobster Pot?). The raised beach line provided a level run for a mill leat, easily dammed level ground for a pool, and a short sharp drop for the water wheels. The scale of these medieval mills is shown by that at Lamorna, where the facilities, flows and drops are similar.
- Although no explicit evidence appears in the written records, Mousehole seems to have had exemption from using the Alverton manorial mill at Tolcarne – there never appears any connection with the long running dispute Penzance had with Alverton manor, and the mills along the Mill Stream in Mousehole itself were all run or let out by the manor itself. This was an important concession probably related to the original borough rights, (mills, quayage, market, fair, chapels, own bailiff, prison, and therefore court?, lazar house).
- As with so many other aspects of medieval/post medieval Mousehole, there was a duplication of provision linked to the fundamental division into two manors/boroughs.

- Milling continued to be a lucrative business throughout, and one that, for instance, had less impact in a bigger place like Penzance, because the mills were outside the town; here in Mousehole they were a more central business. *Both sets of mills at Mousehole are recorded throughout the 18th century. The malt mill or higher mill (the medieval mill) of the manor of Alverton became a ruin sometime after 1632 and only a Middle Mill is noted there in 1799. Near the mill pool in the centre of Mousehole village is a building now known as the Mill House.*
- These were by and large small affairs (again, see Lamorna), and very mobile. Shouldn't necessarily think of large, more or less permanently sited complexes as at Tolcarne, but actually quite a bit of mobility of siting – didn't need much head of water to turn the wheel
- The historical evidence for 3 mills in Alverton and at least two in Raginnis is fully set out in Mattingly et al.
- This should not be taken to mean that we are looking for only 4 or 5 mill sites in Mousehole – mills were notoriously mobile in their siting, and there may be a sequence of sites. The number of possible sites based upon topography, the run of the leat systems and possible evidence in the surviving fabric of standing buildings certainly offers up more than 4 likely sites in Mousehole. It will take detailed survey work, historical analysis and documentary research to clarify the situation given by this brief outline survey, although the general location of the leat-systems and possible mill sites are the most likely an obvious starting point for such research.

The water system is important not just for milling, however, but also for water supply to the populace, and for the fish processing works – each pilchard cloister and pressing cellar and holding tank in the 19th century needed to be supplied by fresh water – either from its own well, or from the streams and leats.

The survey could not undertake an investigation of these smaller outlets, although the main springs and shoots are noted. The regularisation of the water system, provision of drainage and fresh water, was an obsession particularly of the early 20th century, and much information is there to be sifted through and made sense of in the UDC accounts; it may be possible to use this to accurately reconstruct the original and existing water systems. Certainly the provision of reservoirs, supplies, water stand pipes and drainage can be traced, and in the case of the stand pipes can be seen in the streetscene today – the concrete supports erected in the late 1920s survive; although not the prettiest of structures, they are a unique survival and record of such public improvements in a town of this size.

Research theme: 4 Water and milling

(All themes applicable to both mill systems)

- The origins and dating of the artificial leat and pool system
- Confirming the historic course of streams and leats
- Analysing the changing pattern of flow and leats etc
- Location of mill buildings (physical evidence)
- Analysing the changing location of mill buildings (many documentary references to both mill systems)

- Relating system to historical documentation
- Interaction, rivalry, competition between two systems
    - Both systems fed into the mill Pool – are the mills in Brook Street and by the Lobster Pot (?) part of the Alverton or the Raginnis system?
    - Questions such as this would have implications for re-creating the conjectural leats as shown on the plan
    - the Lobster pot, if it is the site of a mill, should have been fed not from the Mill Pool, but from the Treens stream; if that is not the case, either it is not the mill by the shore belonging to the Raginnis system (so where was that?), or else there was a complicated sharing system of the water and leat system between the two manors
    - the Mill Pool may even have been principally part of the Raginnis system, and not the Alverton system at all.
- Dating and analysing the decline of both systems
- Analysing the gradual culverting, diverting and regularisation of the system in the 20th century
- The provision of fresh water for Mousehole - full details of standpipes and public health/water schemes etc in the 1914 chronology
- The future – enhancement, interpretation and celebration

Reconstructing the leat system

- Partly by map evidence
- Partly by old photographs
- Partly by physical evidence on the ground
- Partly by documentary record
- Local traditions and names

Research theme: 5 Origins of the name 'Duck Street'

An additional research item may be the meaning of the name Duck, Dock or Duke Street; it appears from a brief internet trawl to be largely found in coastal towns, and to be confined to streets leading to water, even the two inland examples found lead down to steep water logged or stream-filled valleys; rather than a colloquial term using the English word 'Duck', there may be some more significant origin.

Other instances of Duck or Dock Street:

- Newlyn (old Duck Street, now Duke St?)
- Duck Street Cawsand (now Armada Road), 1841 and c 1910. and Duck Steps; main road leading to water front
- Duck Street, Charlestown; situated just north of the harbour
- Lower Duck Street, Exminster. seems to be the main road, and again is on the way to the shore

- Kingsbridge in an 1822-23 edition of Pigot's Directory-Duck Street was one of main roads –shops and carriers here
- Duck Street Chideock Dorset – again the lane leading from the high street down to the beach
- Duke Street Padstow – main street into harbour area
- Duke Street Truro – connecting Quay Street/new Bridge Street/princes Street etc.
- Altarnun-Trewint: A quarter of a mile to the west of Five Lanes is the hamlet of Trewint. At the far end of narrow Duck Street with its small granite cottages, stands Wesley Cottage- although inland this is marshy river-valley ground
- Duke Street St Austell – churchtown down to valley road

The two Mousehole systems:

(See also Appendix 3: fresh water and milling)

Alverton

The natural stream

- 1860 Cornish telegraph article: The stream from Trungle Moor is called the Mill River which branches to supply other parts of the town running at the back of Loon Bennet in front of Duck St. Harvey 156ff
- The river – alongside Paul Lane at back of row of houses above Lynwood and into the Dam – controlled water sluiced into Millpool and down Duck Street – Millpool served 3 mills ??? main stream ran in part open ditch past Mt Zion chapel into Duck Street partly covered opp. jack Tonkin's house (now Sidney Waters') hatch, through which rubbish was dropped – then ran between old football club and Percy Laity's fish cellar, across lane and at back of houses in Fore Street to come out on west side of Christiana's House and out of cliff. Harvey 215
- 1930 a major flood. Houses were flooded all the way down Duck St. Apparently trees had blocked the stream/in the Lane/ causing a surge of water. Women had to be carried out of the building and then they had to use Commercial Rd.- the water was following old stream course.
- Mount Zion Chapel occasionally flooded by rising ground water associated with this stream

Alverton Manor 3 mills

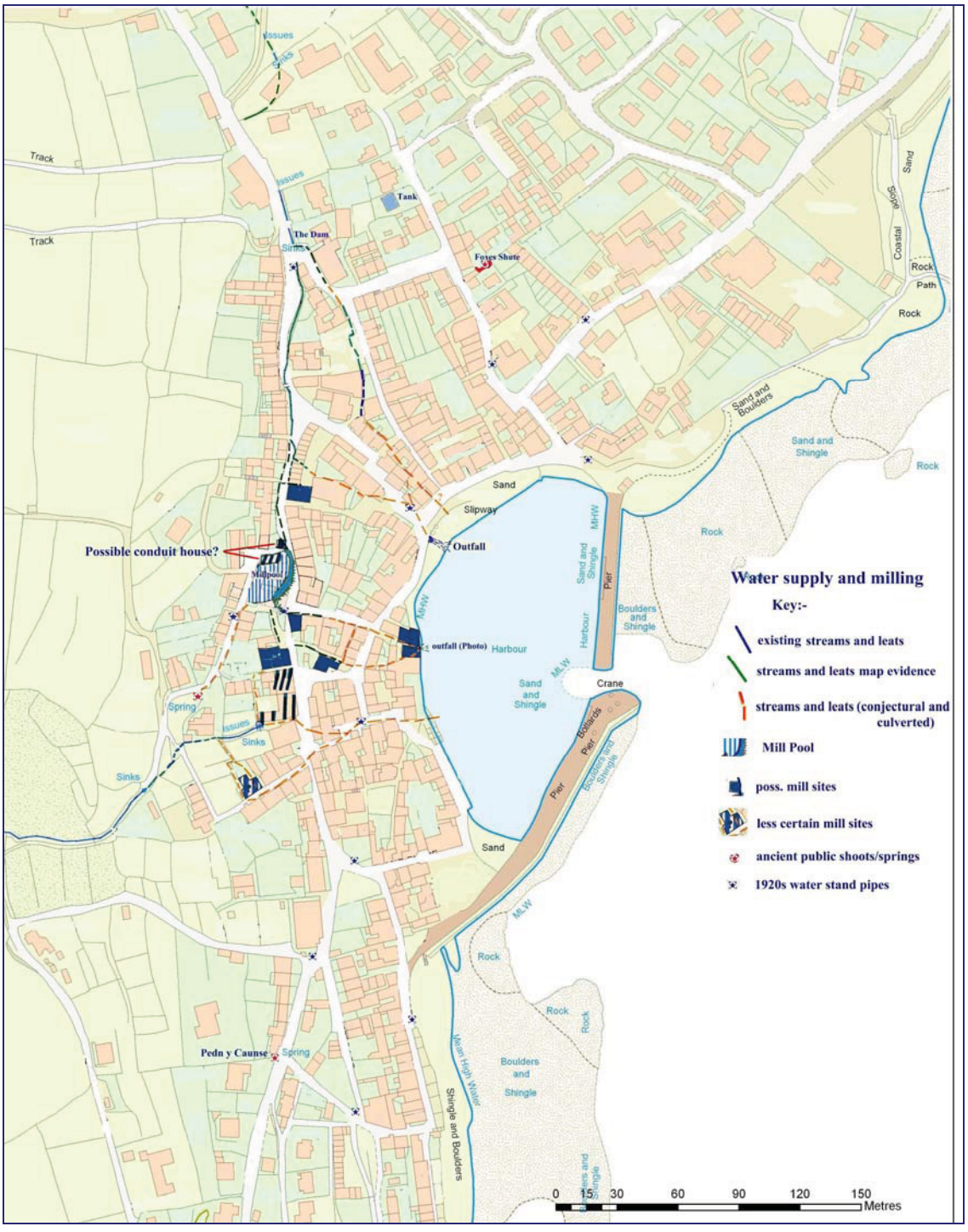
- Higher mill was the manor mill of Alverton; this was up between Penolver and Lynwood
- The Middle mill may have been in this higher stretch too:

98	1799	Lease by George Veale and John Board, gents to James Charles for 3 mills: water Grist Mill, meadow and premises in M with all ponds, polls, watercourses etc. Middle Mill (grist) inc meadow and walls

		Higher Mill, including pair of old walls of grist mill now a Stamping Mill or Malt Mill Later owned by Glasson family

- but at least the lower mill and perhaps the middle mill, may have been fed by the mill pool leat and the natural drop off the 15 metre contour; there appears no clear evidence whether the Mill Pool fed a subsequent Alverton mill, or if it was purely used to supplement the Raginnis system.

Figure 6 fresh water and mills



The Mill Pool

- mill pool leat was man-made – diverted at dam above the chapel into a constructed water course to the mill pool
- the leat was only culverted in the 1950s

Some doubt exists as to the exact date, dimensions, even precise location of the mill pool, as the 1880 map is unclear. It had been infilled an built over by the time of the 1907 OS map (there is an 1890 reference to its being 'now built over' – Harvey 121). Some anecdotal evidence exists to give some idea of its scale:

- 1824 Tuck net controversy, John Jeffery one of the main protagonists undertook full immersion in waters of the Millpool according to the Baptist rites. (Harvey 115)
- 1830s As part of shrove Tuesday fun village lads used to pull boats up from the harbour and float them in the mill pool Harvey 121

The Raginnis system

The streams

There is pure water from Mount Pleasant forming a beautiful cascade and passes through Jamaica Tce. This also enters the Mill Pool, so long attended by 'uncle Isaac' discharging into the sea through Girty Milk St dividing the town into two sections, The Gernick and the Goughs. The Gurnick end is supplied by Pedn y Caunse, a celebrated 'shoot' in the Chapel Hill. (From the Cornish Guardian 28.Nov 1860). Girty Milk Street appears to be an old name for Brook Street.

The Raginnis mills

- The higher mill may be high up the Treens stream above Mousehole towards Trevithal – the source – there are level sites and sluices in several spots upstream, and supposedly some mill wheel remains closer to Raginnis
- The flow was added to by the Mt Pleasant spring – head of Cherry Garden Street
- This stream branched many ways – straight down the issues between Cherry Garden Street and Mt Pleasant; north into Cherry Garden Street and the Mill Leat; south into Mt Pleasant and down past the Keigwins Bolt out at the wharf.
- Which of these, if any at all, turned mills is a moot point.
- The site most in need of firm locating is the site of the Middle Mill, since this also determines the site of the medieval St Edmunds chapel; Mount Pleasant is possible, but a more likely site seems to be by the Mill Leat complex and Mill Lane for Middle Mill – certainly there appear to be at least three mills here judging by physical and name evidence
- This also creates the possibility that part of the group of old (i.e. C17?) buildings in Chapel street including 1 Chapel Street and Wayside could have been mill sites; there is certainly a considerable flow of water on the west side of Brook Street immediately below these buildings in the culvert/drain system

The lower mill, by the shore, has two possible sites. The most likely is somewhere in and around the Lobster Pot; the alternative is closer to the Gurnick, where the only potential is at the outflow of the Keigwins bolt at the northern end of the Wharf. *(The lean-to opposite the House is also part of the Manor and was used earlier as a toilet.*

The 'flush' was either taken in a bucket and emptied over the Quay wall or it went straight into a 'bolt' under the Harvey. 223). Is the paved path in front of Keigwin House seen on old photos therefore in fact the granite flag-covered 'bolt'?
There is no known tradition or evidence for a mill on this site, and a sufficient drop for the wheel is lacking.

A note on bake-houses

Although not at first site a particularly glamorous subject, bake house always had an important role in Mousehole, right up to the early 20th century; their interest to local historians has mainly been in terms of social history, of their role in providing a resource for the ordinary folk with limited facilities:

> *These were popular up to the time that electricity was generally available in the village. Most houses, for many years, had 'slabs' (ranges) which were purchased from a local manufacturer at St Just, Holmans. For normal cooking they were fine but tended to be temperamental depending on the position of the house and the direction of the wind. So for special cooking i.e., the Sunday Roast, the Saffron cake, the Christmas cake, marinated pilchards, etc, the Bake-house was indispensable. The need was such that there were a number of these establishments around the village.*
> Harvey 246

But they have a significant historic role, related to Mousehole's function as a victualling port in the Middle Ages, and as a deep-sea port at that time, and in supplying long-distance fishing trips in later centuries. The number and importance of bake-houses is related to the importance of milling in Mousehole too, although this inter-relationship needs more exploration.

1313	Mattingly	The surname Baker occurs at Mousehole
1577-8	Mattingly	Jenkin Keigwin's oven in 1577-8 could have been used for baking 'ships' biscuits'
1633	Harvey (Rawlinson MSS)	Rent book of Mousehole Borough/Alverton Manor: Jenkin Keigwin, for his Oven 6d
1820	Harvey 112	Bryanite chapel –old bake house at top of Duck street used as chapel c.1820 – no longer used by 1860
1902	Mattingly	Mousehole had six bake houses
1912	Keigwin deeds	Henry Humphreys selling interest to William Harris Humphreys: Dwelling house & premises formerly public house Keigwin Arms; And dwelling house and bake house adjoining;
1918	Keigwin deeds	H. Humphreys, baker, "Keigwin", Mousehole named as one of the proposed local fuel and lighting committee DC Pen/289: 19 Aug (p 188)
To 1922	Harvey 246	Mrs Gruzelier had one in Commercial Road, in the bottom house above the opening above the Liberal Room. Mrs Eugenie Chirgwin still had it in 1922.
To	Harvey 246	Mrs Drew a widow had one in Duck St in the bottom house on the east side (opposite Grandma's steps). The bake-house window and door

1922		facing Ladners archway. The establishment closed in 1922 when she died.
	Harvey 246	Susan Harvey had one where the Lobster Pot now is and her mother had it before her...The shop was one of the largest selling general groceries and she baked bread and a highly regarded saffron cake.
	Harvey 246	Freddie Hockin had one behind his shop and baked his own bread. The bake-house closed when he died
To 1935	Harvey 246	Little Keigwin had a bake -house was kept in turn by Mrs Elizabeth Wright …. Then Henry Humphreys took over. He was the brother of Harris Humphreys who owned the building…. Gideon Ash followed and it was he who closed the bake-house in 1935.
1930s	Harvey 246	During the late 30's there was a bake-house at the back of Commercial Rd where fine pasties could be obtained when 'beaching'; this didn't last long
To 1947	Harvey 246	Joe Rowe had one next to the Ship Inn and he too baked his own bread. This bakery closed in Sept 1947…It was the last public bake-house but it proved useful during the 2nd World War years when fuel was scarce.

Medieval quays and piers

Deciphering the relatively rich documentary sources for the quays and piers of Mousehole has been confused over the years by the lack of reliable early mapping, and, perhaps above all, by the loose terminology – it is rarely clear whether the documents refer to a quay/pier or a quay/wharf – in this report the words pier are used for a jetty-like construction, The Wharf refers to the area so-called today, quays refer to any other wharf-like constructions.

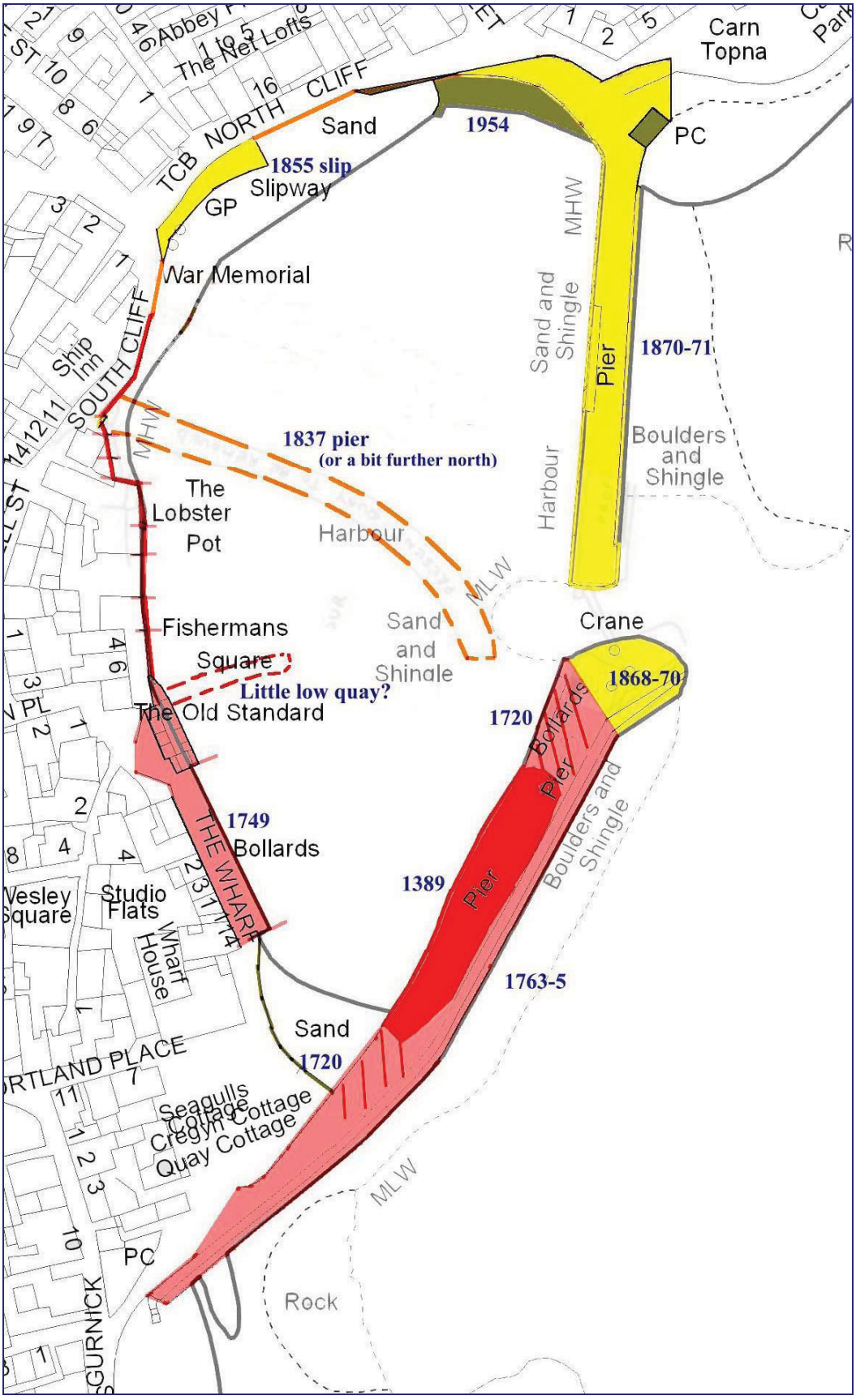
The combination of documentary record and surviving fabric around the harbour enables a sound phasing model for the various works, although much detail work needs to be done to confirm this; the ability to date types of work can aid in dating the harbour walling along North and South Cliff, and the location and history of the earlier versions of the north pier awaits a proper history.

The survey findings are summarised on Figure 7 and in Appendix 4: Quays.

Research theme: 6 Quays and piers

- The position of the small, old pier projecting from the north end of the wharf (perhaps that referred to in Keigwin's documents in 1752 rather than the main pier as has been thought) taken down in 1837
- The position of stream outfalls (the present conduit outfall by the monument seems to combine the outfall of two, perhaps three, ancient mill streams, at leats one of which supported a mill actually on the shore ref?)
- The exact location of the 1837 pier
- Any evidence of old quay at Carn Topna (presumably now lost under the landward footings of the north pier)

Figure 7 Quays and piers

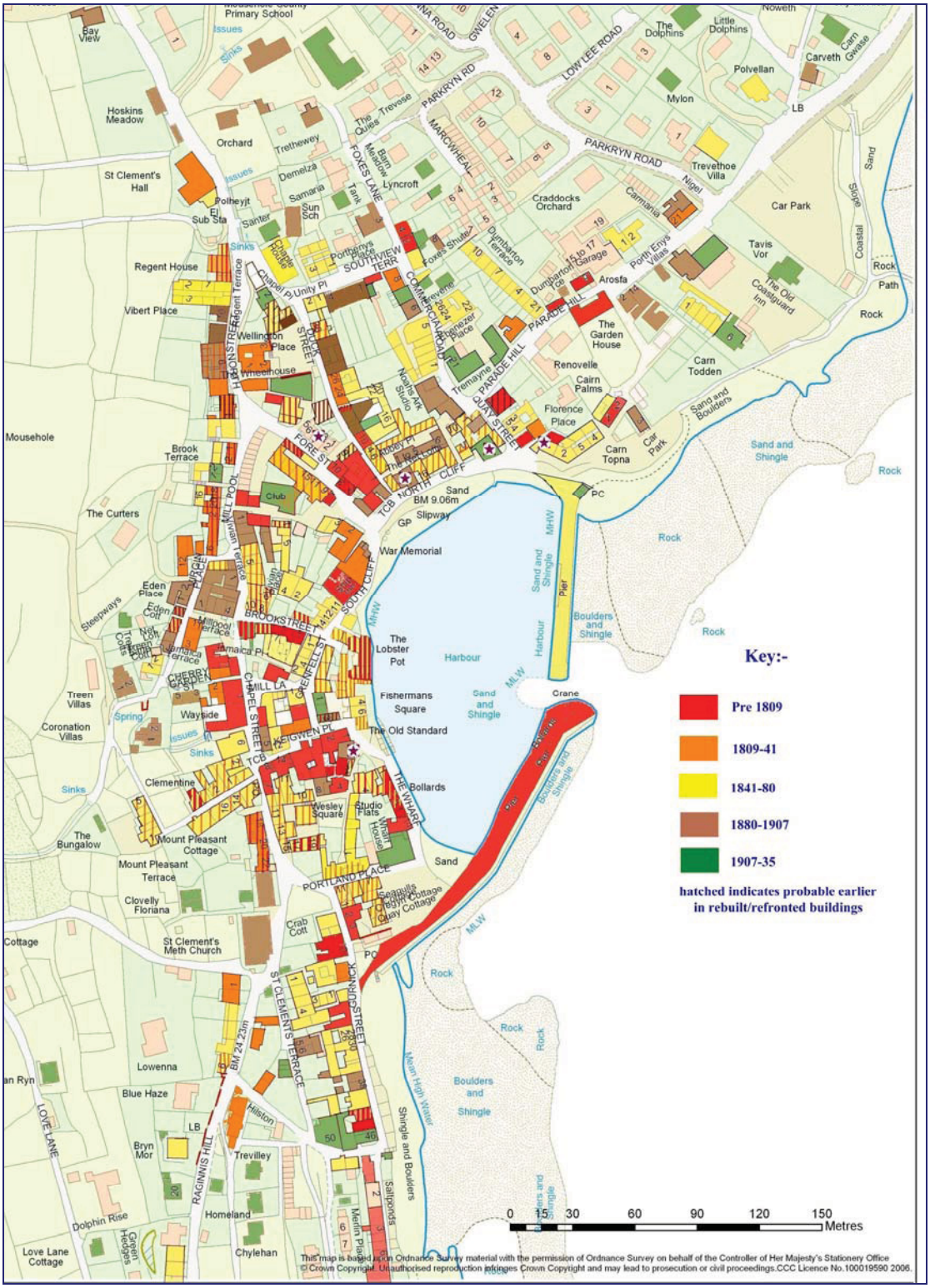


On Dating Buildings

(especially old ones)

Introduction

Figure 8 – dated buildings (survey, documentary and map evidence)



This map is supplemented by the full gazetteer of most of Mousehole' buildings given in Appendix 5: Gazetteer.

It is highly unlikely that any medieval fabric can be certainly identified, or that any of the wide range of medieval buildings can be located in any more than a general sense, and this despite Mousehole having a full range of privileges and facilities (quays, mills, lazar house, a court, and presumably gaol, tithe cellar, market house? Chapels etc. etc.)

The Spanish raid of 1595, while it can be taken too literally as a watershed in Mousehole's history, is a convenient break. The town was already in decline as a market centre, Borough and trading port; elements of these functions certainly continued in some respects after 1595, but the raid more or less set the seal on Mousehole's decline into fishing village. Buildings of that date or earlier are rare in any Cornish settlement; traditionally only Keigwins survived the raid in Mousehole; the evidence is uncertain for this or other fabric. One of the difficult questions linked to this is the potential evidence for any of the many cellars and warehouses referred to in medieval and post-medieval documents for storing various goods –wool, cloth, wine, grain etc., and whether these can be distinguished from fish cellars and stores. Other types of buildings associated with the harbour (net lofts, barking houses, boats stores etc.) are (presumably) indistinguishable whether used for fishing or general trade.

In looking at the built heritage of Mousehole, therefore, a number of themes present themselves. In many ways they are part and parcel of topographical/morphological themes, but can also be analysed as stand-alone subjects. These themes overlap, and can be taken either chronologically or typologically – either trying to reconstruct Mousehole as a snapshot in time, or else tracing a particular type of building through history.

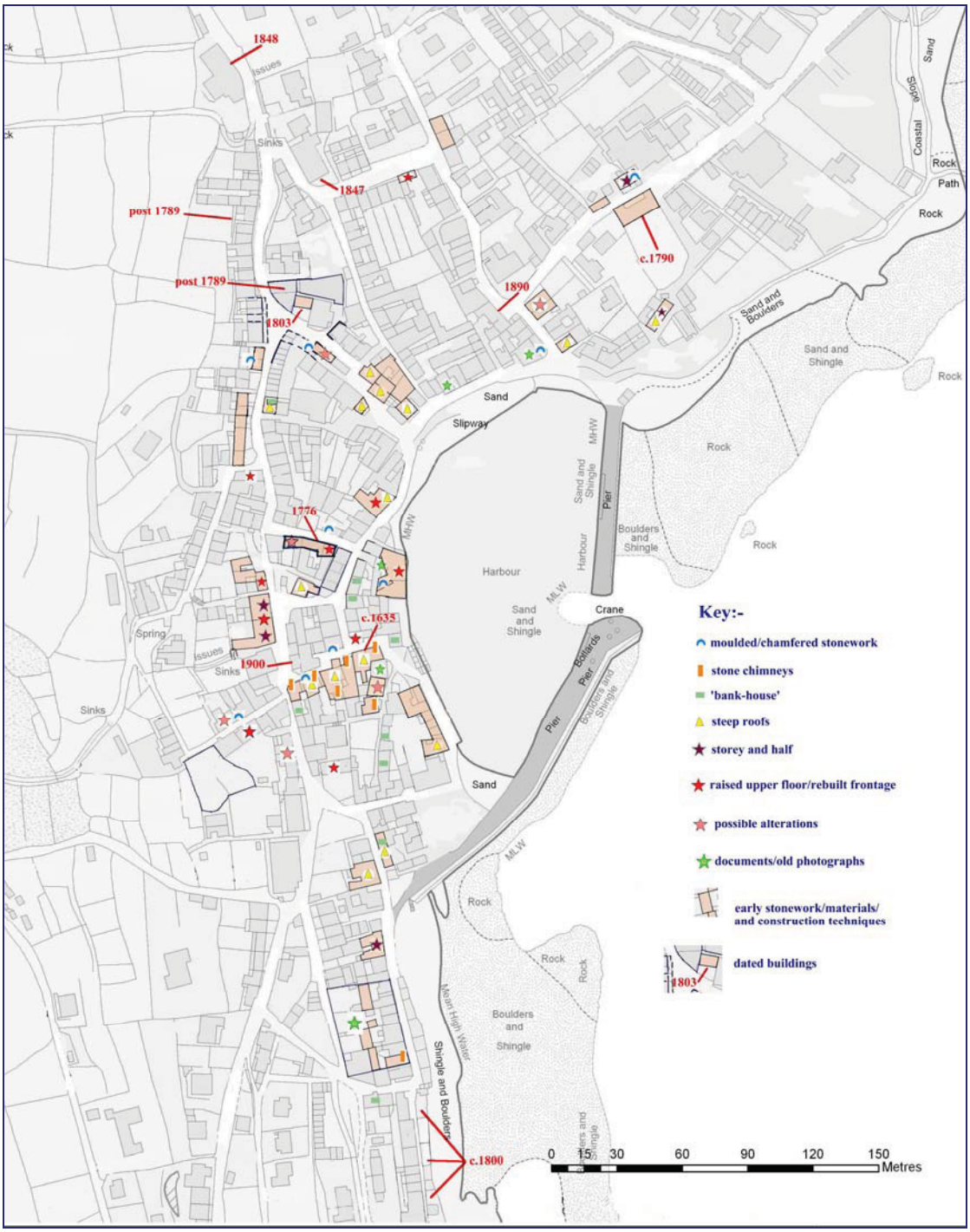
The themed gazetteers attempt to provide a structure for a variety of approaches wherever feasible; this current report looks at the relatively simple task of building, dating and characterisation.

The task

Dating any old building is never an exact science; there are some sources of firm dates – documentary evidence, dated fabric, dateable mouldings and architectural detail, construction techniques known to relate to only a limited period (roof construction for instance). Unfortunately, such evidence is all but non-existent in Mousehole, and it is made worse by the intractability of the local materials – it is hard to date granite or slate rubble walling. The only well-known substantial early building with in-situ moulded timbers, architectural details and early roof structures is Keigwins. There are probably other examples – but even they are fragmentary, or else hidden away inside roof spaces or unexplored interiors. Dating, even to broad periods, is therefore largely a matter of comparing construction techniques, overall building form, shape, proportions etc., and building up a comparative typology. Great care must be taken – all these elements changed at different times, with 'archaic' features co-existing side-by-side with newer techniques – one old fashioned feature, like a steep roof, is not enough on its own to date a building – it is the aggregate of various different features that builds the picture of the individual building and of the settlement as a whole. Mousehole has some features – such as over-wide doorways, which look archaic, but are explained by the needs of the fish-processing industry.

What to look out for

Figure 9 – dating features for old buildings



Various elements of style, form and layout are isolated in the following text and the accompanying map (Figure 9); taken together, and compared with the limited firm evidence on dated buildings available; they can suggest some dating guidelines. In all cases 'earlier' can be taken to mean 18th century or earlier – often it is impossible without much greater analysis to be more precise than that:

- **Plan form;** the three-unit plan typical of medieval buildings (service end, Hall, parlour end) may be seen at Keigwins; it probably was not universal, perhaps not even typical in an urban setting like Mousehole – Cornwall is indeed often typified by a simpler two unit-plan, but left a legacy in plan and layout often visible on exterior:
  - Front and rear doors aligned, often with timber boarded partition walls (see Newlyn especially)
  - asymmetrical fenestration and door position
  - upper floor windows do not align with lower floors
  - large areas of blank wall towards ends of main elevations to give room for large interior inglenook fireplaces
- **gable-end to street frontage**
  - 1836 Wynne sketch of Mousehole suggests there were once more gable-end buildings to the quay side; may be origins of Keigwins
  - as at Topsham and other places, including Newlyn; also typical of earlier medieval urban plans facing market areas etc.
- **architectural fragments**
  - The only interior features of any date known so far are in Keigwins and the Old standard and, although less clear, in the Ship Inn.
  - There are significant visible external details (moulded window and door surrounds/ hood moulds/ornamental chimney gable re-set on Keigwins/C17 cornice to Keigwin Porch/stone stacks with rounded tops etc.) on these same buildings – particularly Keigwins and Old Standard.
  - Elsewhere, it is almost impossible to know if moulded stones are in-situ or re-used – nearly all visible ones appear to be re-used, the most important question mark must be over the doorway in the courtyard of the Lobster Pot.
  - There are also many fragments in and around the streets, for instance a C17 or earlier fireplace jamb (?) incorporated in the gateway to Stephen's builder's yard in Fore Street.
- **Roof pitch and size** – generally taller, steeper roofs, more prominent in proportion to the elevations, are earlier features; this reflects not only roof constructing techniques, but the use of large slates, or thatch, once common, indeed typical in the area (see article on Newlyn on the Morrab Library website)
- **Stone stacks;** brick had become virtually universal as material for stacks by about 1800, and probably significantly before then
- **Single story and attic.** 1836 Wynne sketch shows prevalence of single/1s and attic buildings; typical of west Cornwall before the 19th century – even to a fairly high social status
- Related to this is the setting of **upper floor windows close under the eaves** –the lintels often formed by the wall plate itself
- **Raised upper floor/roofs.** The single storey and attic was probably the typical Mousehole building type – quite a number of older properties in the village show evidence of this, so probably date from at least pre 1800. Linked with this are a number of buildings that show signs of a new front, often with evidence of heightening of eaves and roof.

- **Several phases of work** Evidence of rebuilding is not infallible guide to antiquity – for example the back wall along Treen Lane to the block of buildings built on the Mill Pool site – can only be a little over 100 years old –nothing was here on the 1880s O.S. map – yet shows quite a few phases of work . But when the actual material rebuilt is itself old, and there is a sequence of alterations, this pushes the phasing back (unlikely to be more than one change per generation, and usually more like one change a century?). the alterations to the corner of Chapel Street/Keigwin Place for instance, or to the Ship Inn, appear to be of two or three phases, the latest of which looks 18th or early 19th century at least, much of it looks 18th or even 17th century in character, so how far back does that push the original structure?.
- Rebuilding may be a typical 19th century reaction to the older traditional Cornish building form, or the replacement of insubstantial fabric of upper floor – this may sometimes have been timber framed and weather boarded or tile hung, but these seem really to have been 19th century techniques in Mousehole, much more likely historically to have been cob.
- **Evidence of cob** –there may be some surviving –the lanes between Mill Pool and South cliff contain some buildings that may retain patches of cob
- **windows tending to be square, small**, rather than typical 19th century long, 1:1.5 proportions
- **use of timber**
  - –for lintels is usually older (but also continues for less important frontages into the 19th century)
  - Mousehole shows a lot of re-sue of older timbers –Keigwins has much genuine ships' timber re-used for lintels etc. It is very rare to find it used for major structural timber
- **Contrast within 19th century**
  - Older buildings generally lower, steeper pitched roofs, lower doors squarer windows and other archaic features
  - Rock-faced stonework, sawn granite, 'architectural' detail generally later
  - Bay windows later
  - Large plate-glass windows later
  - Tall 'gothic' roofs later
  - Higher floor proportions; generally taller, bulkier
  - Stonework brought to course (i.e. levelled out every floor or few metres in height) is a late 19th century technique
  - Well-cut, laid to course, quarried granite is 19th century –with more elaborate dressing/rock-faced/mixed faces etc is typical late 19th century, c.1900
- **Stone work –older features**
  - Moorstone rather than quarried stone
  - Brownish local granite rather than the lighter grey, large-crystalled Lamorna and Sheffield stone
  - Roughly shaped lintels and quoins rather than sawn and squared quarry-stone

- Use of blue elvan rubble appears to be finished by early 19th century at the latest
- Stones with clear drill marks are likely to be mid-late 19th century or later
- Rubble construction for even highest status buildings (Keigwins)
- But roughly shaped and squared stone, very evenly selected laid to course is very typical 17th/18th century work on more substantial buildings – and even some now apparently humble ones. In some rare case the blue elvan was dressed in this way – see Ship inn
- Be careful though – same techniques seen on clearly 19th century buildings – rubble stone including re-used elvan continued right into 19th century
- False voussoirs scratched into lintels typical 18th century feature

- **The half house** (semi-detached or rows with shared doorway recesses); many 'half-houses' in Mousehole have archaic features, yet the type is generally considered 19th century, perhaps very late 18th century, and an industrial housing type – are some of these adaptations of earlier wide doorway (i.e. fish-processing) buildings? Or is it actually an earlier type?

Odd notes

Materials and architectural details

White-washing

19th century photographs show widespread white-washing – even of buildings like the Ship Inn where the quality of the stonework makes it clear that it was supposed to be seen, not whitewashed or rendered over. A traditional feature of Mousehole was tarred plinths and base courses – still to be seen.

Render:

Mostly a later development, born out of traditional whitewashing. By mid 19th century, a feature in its own right. Found in two main ways – as a covering for timber framed buildings – particularly for show elevations; rear elevations and back courts were more typically weather boarded, or perhaps slate hung. But stone was also sometimes given a fashionable render or stucco covering. Porth Enys Villas in Parade Hill show that it was probably more common; they also show that even good, squared and coursed stonework was not necessarily meant to be exposed (although the left hand part is clearly older than the added-on right hand house). The 20th century fashion for exposing bare stonework has removed stucco and render (and whitewash) from buildings that were never intended to have exposed stone; by the same token, stone buildings that were meant to be exposed have sometimes been rendered over in recent years, particularly nasty is the use of Tyrolean render –thankfully not a feature of Mousehole as it is in some Cornish towns.

Jettying

The jettying is largely later 19th century – most typical of the extensive building programme of the 1870s and 1880s. There is an interesting range of details – timber structure or stone supports or metal beams; weather board or rendered, or tile hung uppers, timber struts, granite post, brick piers or solid brick infill below.

Net lofts and stairs

The stairs have a wide range of old ironwork – collectively an important survival of traditional ironwork – especially with the loss of front railings in WWII, less

glamorous, but worthy of study and preservation in their own right. But also get some good ornamental ironwork survival – a result of the sloping topography.

Brick

Universal for stacks; scarcely used elsewhere, even for lintels, but does appear in jettied yards etc at late 19th century. But are some early uses – the fine walls to rear of Carmania, The Parade needs investigating. But especially the two hipped brick buildings in Fore Street and North Cliff. These are a parallel to what was going on in Chapel Street Penzance in the mid-late 18th century, and reflect a wider interest in brick in mid 18th century Cornwall – much of it associated with Thomas Edwards of Greenwich – the Truro mine magnates' favourite architect. There is the suggestion here of a deliberate piece of show?

Streetscape and flooring

Wonderful collection of pebbled and cobbled floors - inlaid coloured patterns and ongoing tradition in Mousehole much to be commended; the interest makes up for lack of fine granite slab paving in other places, although never apparently got the extensive use of pitched paving stones as in Orchard Place in Newlyn.

But a special feature in Mousehole is the survival of paved areas clearly associated with the pilchard pressing etc – runnels, sledge-slides etc – sometimes imitated in concrete.

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Appendix 1: Other aspects of geology

location	description	photo
Carn Topna	The coincidence of slate-stone (blue-elvan) outcrops, ancient boundaries, and slate-stone in buildings in the north half of M.	
South Cliff	Slate-stone boulders along South Cliff	

Gurnick foreshore	Granite south pier built directly onto slate bed rock	
Gurnick foreshore	Worn drill marks on granite boulders in front of Gurnick Street	

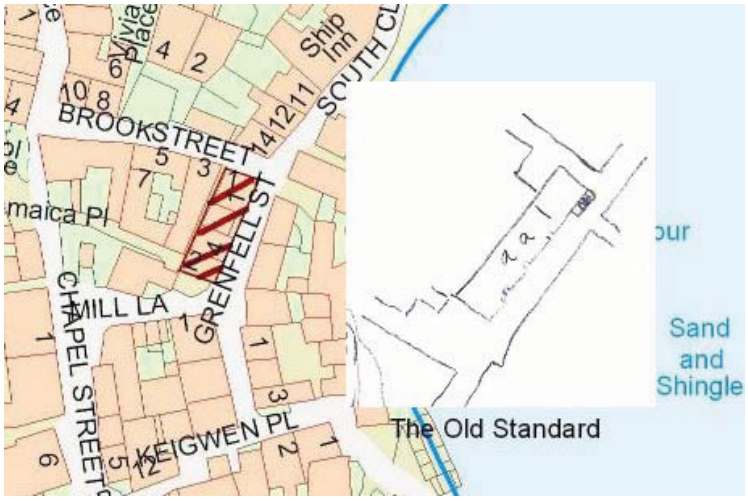
Gurnick foreshore	Gurnick Street retaining wall–built of granite based on granite boulders, but underlying rock poking thorough is slate. Is this an indication that some of the granite boulders on the foreshore are of considerable antiquity – predating C18 or C19 sea wall?	
Merlin Place	Merlin Place – wall to Freeman's quarry?	

Merlin Place	Merlin Place – tramway base?	
Langley Tarne, Mill Pool	The 15 metre raised beach; Stephen's builders yard below Mill Pool at Langley Tarne – a possible mill site	

Mount Pleasant	The 25 metre outcrops of granite in the south half of M.	
Chapel Street	Possible granitic dyke, intrusion or projection	

Wesley Square	Possible granitic dyke, intrusion or projection	
The wharf	Possible granitic dyke, intrusion or projection	

Appendix 2 - Fish

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Perhaps the earliest surviving cellar/net loft • C18 • Wide ground floor door (for barrels etc – but no other proof used for fish rather than general merchandise) • External stair appears contemporary	
• Part of 1789 map of Tregonebris Manor holdings in Mousehole • Shows block (rebuilt late C19) with external stair • Site described as dwellings, but others in document also had cellars…	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The same map lists cellars in ‘backlets’ along Gurnick Street • Documentary evidence sometimes backs up limited physical hints of old cellars/cloisters	
• Churleys Cottage Fore Street • Heart of old town • Masonry/Construction technique looks C18 • Projecting stones on ground floor represent backs of pressing beam-end holes within building • Blocked granite-post supported wide opening on ground floor • C17 or C16 chamfered fireplace jamb re-used in adjoining gateway to builders’ yard	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Fairmaids, Keigwin Place. • Built features suggest C18 – low eaves, windows use wall plate as lintel • Large irregular shaped moorstone lintels and quoins • Re-used chamfered granite lintels • Still used for fish processing early C20 (brine tanks in lower floor) pers. Comm. owners	
• Wesley Square (east side) • Many staired loft houses back onto known cellars/cloisters (wharf Cottages in this case) • Probably early C19, but difficult otherwise to date • The stairs themselves have simple iron railings –modest but a significant feature of the Mousehole street scene	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• ‘Bank houses’ (to adopt a phrase from agriculture, i.e. bank-barns) – single storey on one side, two storeys on the other, are a feature of Mousehole, exploiting the raised beaches/cliff lines • Wee Cot, Chapel Street • No chimneys, limited accommodation, the down slope is a courtyard off Wesley square, r/o Keigwins • C18/early C19? fabric	
• Grenfell Street – another ‘bank-house’ • Relatively early fabric (use of slate stone generally indicates early C19 or earlier) • The other side is a courtyard off the Lobster Pot complex – shown on old photographs to have jettied and timber framed upper floors like most cloister courtyards	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• 2 & 3 Gurnick Street – another bank-house on old cliff line • The other side is the cloister with pressing holes backing Cregyn Cottage and Quay Cottage on the wharf side. • Probably late C18/ealry C19 (steep roofs, square-ish windows)	
• A later example – 51 Gurnick Street • Mid C19 • This also illustrates how such buildings could be isolated, not necessarily part of a cloister arrangement, but with small cellars	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The cellar at 51 Gurnick street • Little more than a passage/store area, little room for actual processing here	
• Another cellar within a detached building – Jamaica Terrace, built c. 1835 as imposing residences by a retired sea captain, but still with a cellar; the buildings in Treen Lane opposite were built by the same man as salt store, so the use for fishing activities is still there	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Jamaica terrace cellar, again limited room –a store rather than pressing space? • Such isolated cellars will be more frequently found on closer study, and may contain evidence of pressing and other activities, but probably were for more general use	
• The convergence of the net-loft into the cloister –Fore Street (17-21) • This yard backs onto Churley's Cottage, and ranges adjoining have early C18 or earlier features • Lacks the space and layout of later cloisters, but clearly used in C19 as such, although quite how they created a large baulk of pilchards in such a space is a question… • The concrete sled way is on 1930s photos	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Partial evidence of (early?) cloisters –Quay Cottage, the wharf • The building behind is 2-3 Gurnick Street, a bank house • There are pressing holes in the left wall (off-shot) –now the rear of e public toilets • Good surfacing –some of it decorative C20 work, but also much older work • Other evidence for cloisters removed –no arcades or upper timber storeys –were they there once?	
• Rear of 3-5 Brook Street – one of the best examples of a former cloister • The surrounding buildings are perhaps c18, but the buildings hers look mid C19 • Granite piers, external stairs, large central open space, timber framed uppers, cobbled floor, a classic example	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Cobbled and stone surfaces in themselves do not prove fish processing – there are plenty of nicely wrought garden paths and courtyards in Mousehole of all dates • Some examples have clear drainage channels and runnels patterned in the stone to take off the brine/blood/waste etc. • The best example is in Fore Street, outside no. 15	
• Fragmentary, but also clearly drainage runnels at Quay Cottage	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• 12-22 Duck Street • A later cloister that may be based on earlier space • This is perhaps the best in Mousehole; cobbles, external stairs, intact 'cloisters', timber upper floor, water supply, pressing ledges • But in its present form it represents a last fling – • The front was rebuilt as a speculative development in the 1880 for the Salvation Army, the timber storey was used as a hall, then the Conservative club • The space below was used not just for pressing –but also for barking nets	
• Vivian Place • By the later 19th century, courtyards with net lofts etc may not have been functioning as traditional 'cloisters' • There is no evidence of pressing or processing here, but the enclosed communal yard still gives the form of development –a tradition losing its purpose	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Abbey place –The Net Lofts • Although utilising an older space, these areas look more like general storage; perhaps screw-presses and brine tanks were sued here, but again the from of a cloister lingers into the late 19th century without the traditional usage, or materials	
• Details – the changing methods of fish processing can be traced in the built fabric. The projecting stones (Churley's Cottage, Fore Street) are the back of the pressing holes within the ground floor cellar • There a re only one or two of them	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Again, just a couple of holes in a fragment of wall in Chapel Place • These may not even be pressing holes, but joist or putlog holes, but it is difficult to see what sort of building may have stood here • There is the possibility that free-standing walls were sometimes built for pressing holes	
• Again just two holes, although in a partly altered wall –but is this another free-standing structure rather than the inside of building? • rear of Quay Cottage	

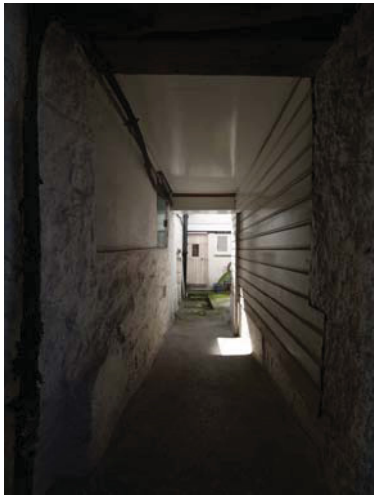
Evidence and sources	Photographs
• So far relatively few examples of pressing holes have been found –in contrast to the dozens of typical large round weight-stones with iron hooks that litter the foreshore and decorate many gardens • This wall in the rear of the car park in Duck Street – again apparently a free-standing structure, perhaps once with timber buildings around it • The holes are very close together, this appears to be an intermediate stage between pressing holes and inverse ledges, used as barrels became smaller and could be placed closer together for pressing • Early-mid C19	
• Inverse ledges have been identified in a few places –many more undoubtedly remain to be found –many, if not most like these two examples now within domestic ranges. Loon Bennet, Fore Street, mid-late C19	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The house itself dates from 1803, and has contemporary or nearly so net loft attached to right	
• To the rear, however, is a much later range containing the ledge press. This whole group appears to be a private enterprise rather than a co-operative or shared 'cloister' arrangement, and yet shows the same full range of dates as the 'classic' model of seine-derived processing • Was this an independent owner/operator? • How common was this arrangement/	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The same seems to be the case at The Old Standard, Keigwin Place, just of the wharf • This fine ledge, like that at Loon Benet, stands in the yard behind an older house (1630s in this case), yet is mid-late C19	
• The timber-framed and weatherboard range to the rear of the Old Standard that contains the ledge • The old standard was converted mid C19 into tenements • The small yard is cobbled with drainage runnels • Yet the whole enterprise is on a small scale –this is hardly the great communal cloister, and there would have been very little room for a giant baulk of pilchards • Is this small-scale arrangement to do with the organisation of fishing in Mousehole? • Or is it to do with the type of fish caught (mackerel rather than pilchards???)	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Difficulties in dating caused by adaptation of earlier cloisters to later style of use • Abbey Place, north side older style timber-clad net lofts and granite buildings	
• Abbey Place, south side • Late C19 construction, jettying, tall framed buildings…..	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• ……..Storage and industrial space below, not a traditional pilchard cloister	
• Jettying and ground floor storage space clearly not associated with fish processing • Dumbarton terrace, Parade Hill, c. 1860-70 • The ground floor infilled with brick panels, but a framed and jettied construction stretched out in linear form rather than as a yard • Again traditional forms used after there origins have been superseded • The terrace was clearly built for fishermen, but not for fish processing • Does this reflect the rise of 'industrial' processing taking place elsewhere, and /or the rise of a new style of fishing, each man with his own gear rather than the company-owned seine?	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Chapel Street/Mount Pleasant • Timber framing and weather boarding as a diagnostic tool to identify fish 'industrial' building or cloisters • Such materials and construction techniques are rarely if ever used on show front – the front of Dumbarton Terrace is solidly granite •	
• Vivian Terrace (north side) • By the same token, although no access was gained to this rear yard, the timber-clad alley is highly suggestive…	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Wesley Square • Although a grand elevation, this is still the back of this building • These very tall stuccoed (or slate hung) buildings on deeply projecting and bracketed jetties are typical of later 19th century Mousehole –most example seem to be from the 1860s-1880s or so • This is a stylistic feature (and one of cheap, rapid building) • These are not evidence of 'cloisters', but are a general reflection of the effect of fishing industry on the built form of Mousehole	
• Grenfell Street • The site of the tenements shown on the Tregonebris map – like St Ives, the old forms of building – external stairs, jettied upper floors, rendered upper floors, are continued well into the 19th century • Perhaps even long after they were a strict practical necessity • This has the taste of a conscious architectural statement as much as practical design about it	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• Duck Street –the village room • Although this looks like an old building, and may re-use some old walls and material, the map evidence suggests it is early C20 in date • Thought of locally as fish cellars, it may rather be an 'industrial' fish-processing plant as described in the 1890s	
• One of the few surviving brine tanks stand sin front of it –these were once to be found all over Mousehole, associated with the late 19th century developments in fish processing: • *The Penzance Natural History and Archaeological Society, ever eager to study new developments, visited two Newlyn fish cellars on 7 September 1888. At Mr Toman's fish cellar 'the new process of preservation in brine, and the new mode of pressure by screws in place of the old lever' was shown to them. By 1896 it was noted that 'men regret that bulking has died out, for they consider the fish drained better that way, and so were vastly superior, but the process is slower than by tanks'. At Mousehole there were now six pilchard curing houses employing 50 people and at Newlyn twenty similar places employed 150 to 200 hands*	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The Cornish range, Chapel Street • Another turn of the century ‘industrial’ fish processing site • These buildings have left the small scale back-yard press, net lofts, and cloisters all of them alike far behind • This is a small taste of the building types which dominate St Ives and Newlyn	
• Wharf House • Another turn of the century ‘industrial’ fish processing site?	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• The Mil Pool, Mil Lane • Not all such 'industrial' buildings were necessary fish processing • This is a former chandlery and coal store – although in Mousehole that would not preclude a former or associated use as a cloister for the internal courtyard (which backs on to Fairmaids, Keigwin Place)	
• Treen Lane • Although called the Net Loft, this may be the salt store associated with Jamaica Terrace • It is one of the most unusually fenestrated buildings in Mousehole, and may have a considerable antiquity • This is high up in the upper village streets, an example of how the fish-related buildings of Mousehole are not limited to the quayside areas.	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
The change to other uses • 12-22 Duck Street, the 1880s Salvation Army citadel fronting the cloister	
• The replacement citadel in Commercial Road, built 1890 – on a site originally proposed for a pilchard cellar, but apparently not used as such • A sign of the changing demand for fish cellars and the move to other uses	

Evidence and sources	Photographs
• 50 Gurnick Street • a large, late fish cellar converted 1939 by the family of Augustus John to residential sue – the ground floor where the brine tanks had been became the garage • The last mackerel seine boat and net were sold off in Mousehole in 1930– pilchard seines disappeared many years before (Harvey 256). • This building well symbolise the change from a working fishing port to a residential and holiday home	
• Abbey Place • More organic conversion to artistic use, mid C20 • The cloisters and back yards have proved unsuitable on the whole for commercial use, virtually all are now residential	

Appendix 3: Mills, rivers and leats.

The Built heritage

The following table gives a summary of evidence for various buildings in Mousehole that may be mill sites. The archived picture folders contain more pictures of each, as well as of the springs and shoots, leat systems, and the water stand pipes.

Location	Evidence, details and source	Photos
Langley Tarne	• Close to run-off from mill leat shown on 1880 map; • On the 15m contour; • East return flank wall appears to have blocked gearing/bearing opening; • Deep pit or channel along east flank; • Building older than adjoining wall and early C19 wing to rear • Verbal tradition in Mousehole of a mill above the mill pool	
Lobster pot	Frith photos suggest outfall below central block of Lobster Pot which may therefore be site of the shore-line Lower Mill in Raginnis (see Mattingly et al) Frith refs: mousehole_31803 mousehole_M103014 mousehole_M103024	

Location	Evidence, details and source	Photos
Lobster pot	Lobster Pot buildings contain much old fabric; although a truism, there is a remarkable coincidence in Mousehole with potential mill sites and surviving old fabric – a result perhaps of status, or degree of investment or continuity of sites, although this needs to be resolved against evidence for shifting sites of mills.	
Old Mill House	• Name; • Local tradition; • Lower floor probably retains some of structure of old cottage (building scars show added upper floor; • On 15 metre contour; • On line of both Raginnis and Millpool outflow which ran across north gable end; • Possibly the miller's house to the Mill House in Mill Lane rather than a mill	

Location	Evidence, details and source	Photos
Mil Leat	• Name; • Old building (C17 or earlier stonework) • Possible race on east side • Below Treens flow; • Mill Pool leat ran at high level past here and down Mill Lane	 
Mill House and Mill Cottage	• Name; • Leat shown on 1880 map from Mill Pool • Half-built into 15 metre contour to obtain drop • Old building • Paved-in but still (poss.) visible race on north flank • The best contender for a mill building?	 

Location	Evidence, details and source	Photos
1 chapel Street, Wayside	• Possibly on Mt Pleasant flow system; • Sinks and issue system from Mt Pleasant divide above the site; • Natural flow of stream runs past these buildings • on 15 metre contour; • old buildings (in common with all the other possible mill buildings, as a group seem to be among the oldest in Mousehole)	 
Mount Pleasant	• Leat from Mount Pleasant may divert to this site, either above or below end building; • Deep channels (poss.) around buildings; • Water flow down street (old photos) fed Keigwin bolt; • Above 15 metre contour, but steeply sloping land; • Old moulded stonework in neighbouring properties; • Building scars on top gable end –poss. bearing openings???	

Location	Evidence, details and source	Photos
Keigwins Bolt	• Outflow from Mt. Pleasant to the wharf below granite flags; • May be tailrace from Mt Pleasant if there was a mill there, certainly part of Raginnis water flow system	

Medieval quays and piers

Deciphering the relatively rich documentary sources for the quays and piers of Mousehole has been confused over the years by the lack of reliable early mapping, and, perhaps above all, by the loose terminology – it is rarely clear whether the documents refer to a quay/pier or a quay/wharf – in this report the words pier are used for a jetty-like construction, The Wharf refers to the area so-called today, quays refer to any other wharf-like constructions.

The combination of documentary record and surviving fabric around the harbour enables a sound phasing model for the various works, although much detail work needs to be done to confirm this; the ability to date types of work can aid in dating the harbour walling along North and South Cliff, and the location and history of the earlier versions of the north pier awaits a proper history.

Period	Details
1389	Mousehole has one of the earliest recorded piers in Cornwall, indeed in the South West as a whole. The original agreement of 1389 refers not to the actual building of a pier or quay, but a license to agree the site and size of such of pier *('where so ever they perceive the better to protect the Hutments'; 'delivering to us and to their heirs 12 pence annually for building the same whenever it pleases to remain from the present time true')* – definite proof that there was nothing there at that time. The grant was in effect to the community of Mousehole (through the chaplains of Chapels of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Edmond of Mousehole), allowing the community to choose their own preferred site and form of quay. They located it on the seaward end of an existing reef: the landward end was probably not as far inland as now, the reef itself providing shelter for the sandy cove.

Period	Details
1387-92	The process was slow and a bit hit and miss – 1392 grant of quayage to the Bailiffs of M – already had this income for 5 years but failed to finish the quay – apparently it didn't afford enough shelter
	The quay was built of massive moorstone blocks – these may have come from upslope of the village – or they may have been lying around on the foreshore; this part of Mousehole is not on granite despite the local traditions. The blocks are massive, laid randomly but to a general horizontal emphasis; gaps and irregularities on the coursing are made up by the inserting of small filling stones. – ended at the point known as the 'old stairs'
1435	Bp Lacy granted indulgences for rebuilding quay
1540	Leland *'forced pier'*. This is the pier as shown on the Tudor map of Mount's Bay – comparison with the other town plans shown suggests this is a reasonably accurate depiction of Mousehole –it shows the pier standing clear of the rest of the built up area –its landward side tied to a great reef of rocks, with a curving beach linking it to the wharf – just as today.

Period	Details
1720	It probably retained this form until the early 18th century, when extensions on both the landward and seaward ends took place '*In 1720 South Quay ... was extended seaward a considerable distance and is now called the South or Great pier' Harvey 69* – represented by the closely-packed vertically set granite moorstone blocks, cut to shape almost like 'Aztec' masonry – irregularities taken up by shaping and joggling the stones
1720	The new work was built over and adapted to the older
1720	Similar detail suggests the landward extension of the pier at the same time
1720 or 1760s	The finely-made stairs may relate to this work, although they may equally be part of the 1763-8 works. The initials PW carved into a top stone may give a clue.
1720 or 1760s	The initials PW carved into a top stone may give a clue.

Period	Details
1763-6	A similar technique is seen along virtually the whole of the outside of the pier, and it is clear that this represents the outer facing and extension built in 1763-8 which is relatively fully described in contemporary documents (see Mattingly et al). (In 1764 alone over £400 was spent on Mousehole quay building.
1765	Aug 19 – Wm Veale complaining of enough men but lack of stones, thinks labourers should be employed to make road for a carriage to bring them from *the Hill* 'But they are not so plenty on the Hill' and need seeking for, probably at higher price. (ML 506) This indicates the use of moorstone from above Mousehole.
1720 or 1760s	It would be instructive to compare the probable 1720 work with that of the 1760 to se if there is a discernable difference in construction techniques and stonework, both to more accurately date the phasing of the pier, and to compare with similar structures elsewhere in Mousehole, Newlyn and indeed the rest of the Mount's Bay area. It is remarkable that no such comparative study seems yet to have taken place in this area, which has some of the earliest known, and oldest surviving piers and harbours in the south-west, let alone Cornwall.

Period	Details
The Medieval Wharf	Are the large (natural?) stones in the base of the Wharf Cottages indication that this is the line of the medieval wharf built out in or around 1749?
1749-52	only the wharf shows any signs of a consistency of approach, and this may well reflect the repair of 1749.– repairing the wharf at Mousehole for 6s 7½d (TNA C) Further repaired 1752 after storm damage Is this all 18th century work, or repair of earlier fabric/ how does it compare with t he Pier fabric and techniques?
1752	sale of Keigwin property including Keigwins and stone key or pier (RIC, GAT/E/8) This is probably the little low pier at the north end of the wharf taken down in 1837; however, Keigwin family were also receiving the dues from the main pier at the time, so this sale may refer to the rights to those dues.
C18?	The typology, form, location and date of the various and many granite bollards both on the wharf and in the Por (harbour) would form an interesting survey project.

Period	Details
Various dates	Comparison with the techniques used on the piers and those seen on the surviving stretches of the wharf and North Cliff help to broadly date these walls as post-medieval and predating 1837 (when a new pier was built opposite the Ship inn). None of the workmanship is as good as on the pier, and this reflects the piecemeal construction of the harbour/cliff retaining walls – each property responsible for its own stretch of wall. Analysis of construction techniques, the size and source of stones, the relationship to property boundaries, may tell more about the surviving stretches of harbour wall.
c.1836	Whether North Cliff retaining wall was built before or after the 1855 slip is not clear, there is a change of material that suggest it was earlier but definitely post dating early C19 drawing showing the rough natural cliff. Drawing given variously as a Tremenheere sketch c. 1800 (Harvey), or a from the sketchbook of L. Wynne c.1836 (Mattingly): ref. Pendarves collection, CRO, PD440 no.15

Period	Details
1837	Enlarged harbour A new quay built out from near ship inn (pier = 300 ft long, 18' wide, 18' high) – the little low quay that went from north end of the wharf was removed and stones used in new quay – foundation stone laid in presence of James Halse MP, Lord of Manor – also loaned £1000 – built adjoining uncle Billy Burdy's cellar wall (corner plot adjoining Ship Inn).
1837	Along this stretch are elements of re-built wall; the present steps running eastwards down the cliff opposite the Ship replace a set still visible ruining westwards, perhaps to serve the 1837 quay.
1837	An unsourced plan reproduced in Perry gives an approximate location for the 1837 pier. The fishermen have built for themselves an additional pier at a cost of £1400, £1200 of which was raised by their own joint bond, which they are discharging by a yearly contribution from each boat'. (Murray's Guide 1859).

Period	Details
1837	There was also a small quay adjoining Carn Topna called the fishermen's quay – covered at high tide; all evidence of this is likely to have been swept away by the building of the north pier in the 1870s.
Mid C19	North Cliff retaining wall appears to have been built in the mid C19 –with mid-late C20 additions
C1855	Harbour Works. Much credit is due to the present Vicar of Paul (John Garrett for the interest he has taken in the Parish, and in this town, by having a new Slip or Roadway made from the Beach up to the Cliff ..... Ref: C.T. 28.11.1860 Appears to use Sheffield or Lamorna granite in contrast to North Cliff
1868-70	Harbour works -70ft, 26' high, 40' broad extension to old pier, Freemans opened up a quarry connected to harbour works by rail for granite– near the base of the southern pier –erecting sheds stables etc

Period	Details
1870	Kelly's 1893 Directory 'an excellent granite pier. Erected in 1870-71 at a cost of about £5,000, and forming a perfectly sheltered harbour for fishing craft. erection of new pier – 350'x 30' x 26' high and removal of old pier = 300 ft long, 18' wide, 18' high Douglas engineer

Particular points of interest to be researched are:

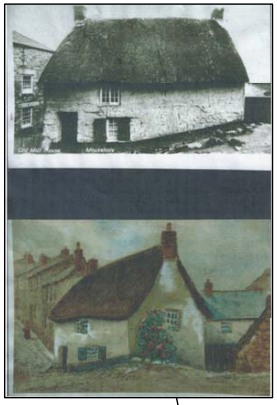
The position of the small, old pier projecting from the north end of the wharf (perhaps that referred to in Keigwin's documents in 1752 rather than the main pier as has been thought) taken down in 1837

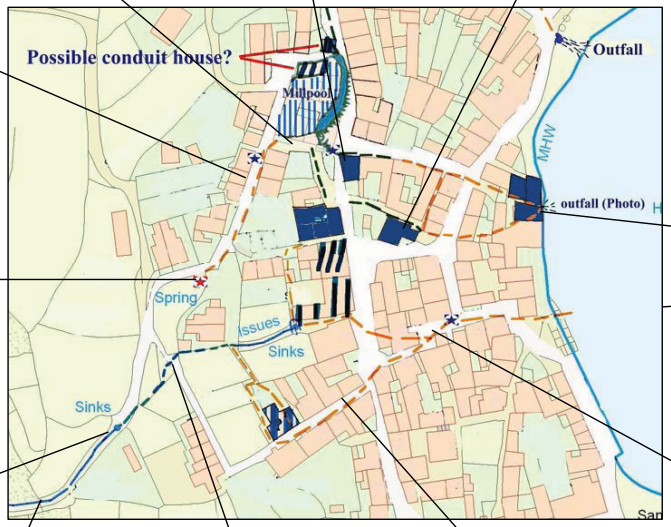
The position of stream outfalls (the present conduit outfall by the monument seems to combine the outfall of two, perhaps three, ancient mill streams, at leats one of which supported a mill actually on the shore ref?)

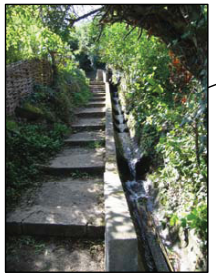
The exact location of the 1837 pier

Any evidence of old quay at Carn Topna (presumably now lost under the landward footings of the north pier)

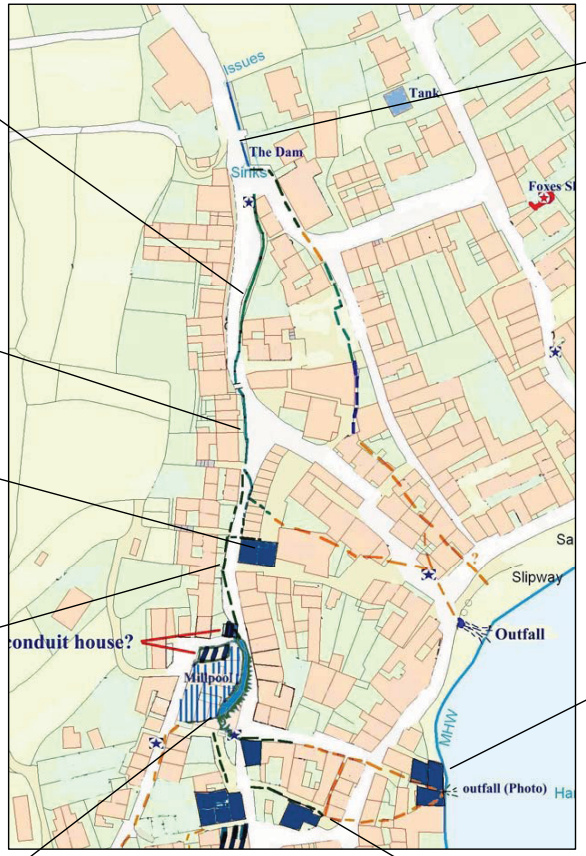
The Raginnis system

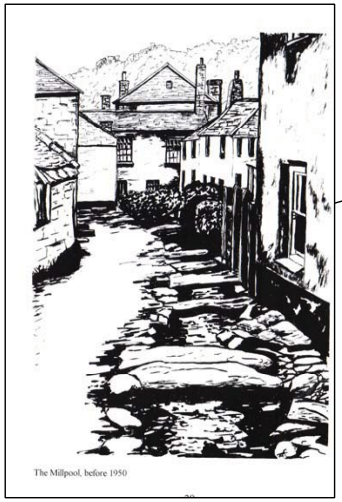






The Alverton leat/mill Pool system





The Paul Stream