VESTIGES OF EARLY HABITATION IN CORNWALL.

(Being an attempt to elucidate the age and origin of certain hut-settlements in the west of England, from observations and discoveries made among the ruins themselves.')

By WILLIAM COPELAND BORLASE, M.A., F.S.A.

THERE are still some parts of the Duchy of Cornwall where, as in the case of Dartmoor, the bones of the country protruding through the skin have effectually baffled every effort of the farmer to follow his plough through their treeless desolate wilds. It is true that of late years a more determined foe has arisen in the person of the stone-cutter. who not content with overturning the tolmen at Constenton. has driven his quarries to within a few yards of the Cheesewring itself, thereby having already partially overturned, and still threatening wholly to upset, one of the most weird and curious of Nature's relics. But still many a bold "karn" remains untouched; its summit surmounted, it may be, by a Cyclopean fortress, or, it may be, by the cairn of some pre-historic lord of the soil, whose now tenantless homestead is sure to be found somewhere hard by on the hillside beneath, overgrown with fern and heather, and seemingly scarce worthy of a passing glance. It is, indeed, remarkable that while the memorials of the dead—the cromlechs, the circles, and the monoliths—have secured so large a share of the antiquary's time and ingenuity, the homes of the living have been, until recently, comparatively speaking, overlooked. Plans and drawings have, in some few cases, been forwarded to the local societies, and by them published in their Journals; but no attempt has been made to compare and to classify such habitations, much less to dig to their foundations and examine their contents. As I felt sure that it was by this latter method only that a clue could

¹ Read in the Section of "Antiquities" at the Exeter Meeting of the Institute, August 4, 1873.

^{2 &}quot;Karn" is used in Cornwall in the same sense as the Devonshire "tor," especially in the west.

³ We are specially indebted to the pen and pencil of Mr. J. T. Blight, in the "Archæologia," the "Archæologia Cambrensis," the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and the Penzance Natural History Society.

be gained to the mode of life pursued by the inhabitants, to the ethnology of the race, and to the approximate date of occupation, I set to work upon a few of the more promising specimens. How far I may have succeeded; whether or not I may have opened a passage for one ray of historic light to steal in on these "Children of the Western Mist," it will be for future researches to determine.

It will readily be seen by a glance at the plans and drawings which accompany this paper,⁴ that in treating generally of Cornish hut-circles, we are in reality dealing with two distinct types or classes of structures—the one far simpler in plan and apparently far more primitive in construction than the other. Whether we are to regard them both as the work of one and the same people at different stages of progressive culture, or whether the more finished groups (which, by the way, are only met with west of Hayle), were the abodes of a party of settlers on the promontory of Bolerium, more advanced in masonic skill, is a question we can scarcely hope to set at rest. All we can hope to do is to recognise the distinctive features in either class, and then pass on to consider a few of the more characteristic examples.

The main point of difference lies in the fact that while the ruder specimens of the Eastern district are all detached, those of the West-country are (with very few exceptions) closely attached to each other.⁵ In the latter case, the hut-chambers are all seen to nestle, as it were, in the thickness of a surrounding wall, more or less massive, and sometimes defensible. In the former, each hut stands by itself, in the centre, or at the side of an enclosure so uniformly depressed and so large in extent that it is impossible to suppose it was ever intended to serve any other purpose than a boundary of land or a fence for cattle. In cases, however, where defence was necessary, we have evidence, as at Grimspound in Devon, and probably also at Castallack,⁶ and elsewhere, in Cornwall, that the builders of the detached huts also could

⁴ The space devoted to illustrations in this Journal not permitting of the reproduction of all my drawings exhibited at Exeter, the most typical only have been selected. In taking the ground-plan (No. 11) of Castle Karn Brea, I was under great obligations to Sir Gardner Wilkinson's excellent map of that place.

⁵ I see that this difference also struck Mr. Blight, in 1867. See Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. IX. p. 11.

⁶ See Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. IV., Oct. 1865, p. 66.

sometimes raise their cattle fences into walls of considerable height and marvellous solidity. Other distinctive features, such as the relative height of the stone walls of the huts themselves, and the presence of subterranean structures in or near the Western examples, will be noticed in the sequel; meanwhile two points of similarity between the classes are observable in the lines of upright stones which frequently are seen to stretch over the downs, or form enclosures in their neighbourhood, and in the artificial terraces or platforms levelled out of the hill sides in close proximity to them.

Having thus very briefly noted these class distinctions, we will now proceed to examine some few of the more perfect examples of each group, recording as we go on such discoveries made in or around them as may tend to throw light on their origin and use. Firstly, then (though they are probably the more recent), we will consider what I shall

term the hut-clusters of the Western district.

Generally speaking, these are to be found on the sunny slope of a prominent eminence, varying in aspect from S.W. to S.E. Among the peasants and miners they are known by a name which deserves remark. They are called "The old men's dwellings," local tradition pointing to them as the habitations of an early race of miners, whose surface works for tin, generally to be found in an adjacent valley, are styled, in like manner, " The old men's workings." The name which they bore in the Cornish language was simply descriptive of their present appearance—" Crellas " or "Crowlas" being equally appropriate, whether it signifies, as Gwavas says, "the round green spots," or, as Borlase suggests, "the green folds or pens." In many places the sites of these ancient towns, though now partially or entirely demolished, may be detected at a distance by the immense piles of stones pillaged from older walls, which, in clearing the ground for cultivation, have been gathered together to form the modern hedges. Indeed it was in this manner that I was first guided to the remains of a hut-town at Bodinars, in the parish of Sancreed, 4 miles N.W. of Penzance, some features of which are worthy of note.

The site in this case selected for the settlement was ele-

⁷ See Mr. Hunt's Popular Romances. Second series, p. 111.

⁸ Previous notices of Bodinar occur in

Borlase's Paroch. Mem., MS., p. 22, and in Edmond's "Land's End District," p. 47.-

vated, and the prospect most extensive, commanding to the Southward the greater part of Mount's Bay and the land intervening. Terraces artificially levelled, not for defence. but, seemingly, to facilitate the progress of a rustic plough, skirt the ascent, while a narrow sunken lane winding through them leads to the dwellings above. Of the number of these dwellings, existing even within the memory of man, the present ruins represent but a fraction. Small levelled plots, surrounding those that still remain, afford excellent grazing for cattle, a purpose for which they were no doubt designed. One structure more perfect than the rest I have selected for illustration. (Nos. 1 and 2.) It is placed at the northern extremity of the town, and consists of two contiguous oval enclosures, the larger 41 ft. by 36, the smaller one 32 ft. by 19. The entrance to the former faces S.S.E., and two rude pillars, each 6 ft. high, guard the passage from the one to the other. Observing that chambers existed in the thickness of the wall of the larger circle, I caused these to be cleared out in the summer of last year. These, which are indicated in the plan, I found to be three in number, of various lengths, but averaging 4 ft. in breadth. All three opened into the central court by narrow doorways, 2 or 3 ft. wide, the jambs of which were still in their places. The end of each chamber was semicircular and exhibited some attempt at the overlapping mode of structure of which we shall presently speak. The depth of vegetable mould exhumed from the chambers made it pretty clear that the roof had in each case consisted of turf, or thatch, supported. it may be, on wooden rafters springing from the walls at a height not exceeding 5 ft. from the floor.

The following notes on the construction of this hut-cluster will be applicable generally to all the other hut masonry of this class. The outer wall of the larger circle was faced externally with immense granite blocks, in some cases 8 ft. long, placed contiguously to each other, and fixed on their edges in the natural soil. These enclosed and supported a bank of smaller stones and rubble, in this case not exceeding 6 or 8 ft. high, though sometimes, where defence was aimed at, it reached double that height. Internally, this outer wall (which served also for the back wall of the chambers, and branched off to form the partitions between them) consisted of hedging stones neatly fitted together without mortar, and

was strengthened here and there by upright pillars or joints, sometimes as much as 4 ft. in height. In the case of the smaller circle adjoining, a low bank of earth, not 2 ft. high, had been faced on either side with stones set on edge, the thickness of the whole averaging 3 ft. How huts of this description were covered in, if they ever were so at all, I am at a loss to conjecture. In this instance a great depth of vegetable mould in the interior indicated, perhaps, that turf rising in the form of the stone beehives, and supported by poles lashed together or other framework of wood, had formed the original roof. During the work of exploration small quantities of burnt earth and ashes were taken from the floors of the chambers, together with pebbles from the sea shore, which some may regard as cooking stones, like those of the Assinaboins, or "Stone-boiling," Indians."

Although not very successful myself in the case of the Bodinar Crellas, I found on inquiry that previous explorers had met with better fortune. Thus, from an old inhabitant, I learnt that during the removal of another of the huts, which he remembered to have been built of stone, "like a bee-bult, with a lintel over the door," a "stone saucer" had been found, and with it "a round stone which resembled a man's head." From the foundations of the same hut were taken up "the ashes of a fire, and small copper coins." From another man I gained the information that a second hoard of copper coins, like the first, but in much greater quantity, was brought to light some years ago, under a flat-stone in the lane leading up to the village. Of these I was able to obtain three, which proved to be third brasses of Victorinus, Tetricus, junr., and Probus (265 A.D. to 282). Others of like date have been picked up in ploughing the level platforms before alluded to. I may mention that two stones' throw S.W. of the huts there existed in 1738, when Borlase visited Bodinar, a subterranean structure known as the "Giant's Holt."1

externally to the fire, whereas in the case of the Assinaboins a hole was dug in the ground, into which a skin was inserted to form the pot, and the water in it was then boiled by the insertion of the hot stones. Our pebbles are not sufficient evidence of so rude a practice.

1 Neither Mr. Edmonds (author of the "Land's End District") nor myself have

⁹ See Tylor's "Early History of Mankind," p. 265. Supposed traces of stone-boiling were found by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, F.S.A., in a hut-circle on Holyhead mountain, and also by Dr. Blackmore in a dome-shaped pit habitation near Salisbury. It is evident, however, from many examples, that our Cornish hut-pottery was subjected

The presence of a bee-hive hut at Bodinar may next lead us to examine the nature and construction of a few of these remarkable buildings, forming, as they do, so instructive a feature in early architecture, and so common a one in the hut-dwellings of the British Isles. Of these, West Cornwall possesses one or two unusually good specimens. One of the most perfect has been so admirably planned and figured by Mr. T. T. Blight 2 that no illustration need here be given. It is situated in a marshy valley at Bosporthennis, in the parish of Zennor. Formerly it was one of a much larger group, now demolished; and at the commencement of the present century it was itself perfect, the stone dome being covered in by a mound of earth. In internal diameter it measures 13 ft. E. and W., by 13 ft. 10 in. N. and S.; and the height in the centre, when perfect, must have been 8 or 9 ft. By a doorway, 3 ft. 10 in. high, and 3 ft. 8 in. wide, it is connected with a second chamber oblong in form.

This entrance, "si parva licet componere magnis," cannot but remind us, both in the cyclopean appearance of its masonry, and the massive stone-work that abuts on it, of the close-jointed walls of Cortona, and the far-famed door-case at Mycenæ. Besides this one, the hut is provided with two other means of exit, placed on the S.W. and N. sides; the former high enough for a person to pass under upright, the

other only 2 ft. 7 in. high.

The beehive structure, as it has been termed, consisted in the West, in its most primitive form, of successive layers or courses of stone, each overlapping the one beneath it, until a single stone was sufficient to complete the apex of the dome. The manner in which each stone was poised on the one immediately below it is worthy of notice, and proves how skillfully the builders could adapt to their work the ponderous and unhewn materials at their disposal. The lower layers consisted of square blocks of no great breadth or thickness, overlapping each other only in a very slight degree. The upper stones, on the contrary, were often of considerable

been successful in discovering the whereabouts of this cave, though ample tradition of it survives in the neighbourhood. I found, however, a small stone structure in one of the hedges, which may have been a secret entrance to this ancient "vau." It was only high enough to crawl through, though marks of fire

were on the floor, and a drain was beneath it. Inserted in the barn wall is a stone with a cavity in it for hand-grinding. The "stone saucer" and "round stone no doubt were for a similar purpose.

² In "Appendix to Cornish Churches,"

length,—their outer extremities, or backs, being sufficiently heavy to counterpoise the weight imposed on their inner ends, which sometimes protruded as much as 2 ft. into the building, and were strengthened by pinners between. Thus, while the inside of the hut was often pretty symmetrical, the outside presented a rugged and irregular appearance, though in most cases, no doubt, this defect was hidden by a mound of earth reared over the whole.

I have said "in its most primitive form:" for we have one instance in West Cornwall of a hut, roofed in the beehive fashion, still perfect, and displaying such a decided superiority of construction as at first lead me to suppose it to be a modern erection. Taking into consideration, however, its surroundings, and allowing that one side (previously destroyed by mining operations) has been rebuilt more recently to render it serviceable as a cattle-shed. I now do not hesitate to regard it as a genuine ancient structure (No. 3). It is to be found on the slope of a hill immediately South of Ding Dong Mine, in the parish of Madron, and has never been figured or described before. A semicircular wall, which in Greece would be termed cyclopean, 60 ft. in circumference, and 7 or 8 ft. in height, encloses a bank of earth and stones. At one end of this, a low entrance, 3 ft. wide, opens into a passage chamber (A) 18 ft. long by 5 ft. in width, roofed in with 8 granite blocks, and corresponding precisely to the other ancient caves, or "vaus," as they are termed, in the neighbourhood. At the other extremity of the bank a second door-way, 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and 3 ft. 6 in. high, opens into a building (B) 9 ft. square. On entering and looking up, the roof is seen to be formed of a few enormous stones. placed in the following manner:—The walls of the rectangular area, after rising perpendicularly for 4 ft. are spanned at each corner by long blocks of granite placed transversely across them. Above these, again, is a second layer of similar stones, their length being parallel to the walls beneath, and their ends resting on those below them. It now required only a single stone to fill in the aperture in the centre. For this purpose a fine flat block of granite was chosen; and, thus, the simple dome was completed at a height of nearly 8 ft. from the floor below. The proximity of this hut to a mine (c) traditionally worked "before the coming of Christ," renders the discovery of it the more remarkable. For a

knowledge of its whereabouts I am indebted to Mr. Trounson, C. E., of Penzance.

When compared to beehive structures such as these, those of Dartmoor and Eastern Cornwall scarcely deserve the name. So small are the latter that they have been compared to "cupboards," and so rugged are they on the inside that they could scarcely have served for the habitation of man.3 In the neighbourhood of Brownwilly, however, several more perfect ones, on a larger scale, are still to be met with. Indeed, there are said to be seven, the whereabouts of which are known. One, in especial, at Fernacre (No. 4), nearly square in its ground plan, measures 8 ft. in length, by 7 ft. in breadth, and is 7 ft. 6 in. high. Whether this is in reality an ancient building is open to question; but, even should we regard it as recent, it points to the survival, in that vicinity, of this mode of building; and, doubtless, represents to us all the characteristics of the more primitive ones from which it derived its origin. The "culver house" (Columbarium), or dove-cot at lower Bussow in the parish of Towednack (No. 5) is another example of the survival into modern times of this self-same beehive construction, in conjunction, too, with the old dry masonry. The dome in this case is formed by 8 layers of stone, each overlapping the one below it. It is 18 ft. in height, and in its low door-case and the rude stone-work which surrounds it, might pass for a Sardinian "Nurhag," or an Irish round-tower of Mr. Petrie's earliest period.

The overlapping structure, though best adapted for circular buildings, was not confined to these. It was the universal mode of construction in the case of the subterraneous chambers already alluded to. One of these, enclosed (like the Irish examples) by a rampart, and situated at Trelowarren, affords an excellent example of this. It has been admirably figured by Mr. J. T. Blight, in the "Archæologia." The walling stones, in this case, as in others, gradually approaching each other, from either side of the

valuables being found in any of these; but, as ashes have been found in them, it seems more reasonable to suppose them places for the fire, which could not safely be lighted in the adjoining thatched enclosure.

³ Mr. Spence Bate, F.R.S., in his paper on the Antiquities of Dartmoor, printed in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1871, observes (p. 501) with regard to the beehives: "There is every reason to think that they were places for keeping stores of food or other valued possessions in." I know of no instance of

⁴ Vol. xl.

passage, with almost the regularity of an arch, are finaly spanned by a single stone, which serves the purpose of a key-stone, both in inversely supporting and consolidating the walls on which it rests.

It is, indeed, when we descend into these underground structures (many of which were dwellings in as true a sense as those on the surface⁵) that we see the masonry of our hut-

dwellers in its greatest perfection.

During the summer months of the years 1863, 1864, and 1868. I busied myself in exploring a structure of this kind at Chapel Euny in the parish of Sancreed, which possessed an additional interest from the fact that it contained a large subterranean "beehive" hut. An account of this was read before the Society of Antiquaries; but, in order to make the accompanying plan (No. 6) intelligible, and to point to some of the discoveries I then made, I must here recapitulate a few of the details. A passage chamber (A), 40 ft. long, and from 6 to 7 ft. high, was roofed in with granite slabs, averaging in breadth from 2 to 7 ft. Owing to the fact that it was entirely filled with fine dry earth, reaching close up to the under-faces of the roofing stones, it was not discovered until the other chambers had already been cleared out. At the south-western end, a low narrow passage, 9 ft. long, and about 3 ft. high (B), communicates abruptly with the surface. At its other extremity, a third chamber (c), also passes to the surface by a gentle ascent, where the entrance is marked by an upright stone. A fourth chamber (D), 4 ft. high and the same in width, branching off at right angles at the junction of A and C,6 leads into the beehive hut 7 (E). This beehive hut is a more perfect specimen than that at Bosporthennis; but, in many respects, the two structures are precisely similar; and the doorways are so much alike 8 that the single drawing (No. 7) might almost serve for them

explored similar discoveries have been made. Those in *italics* I have myself explored.

⁶ The chamber D is 10 ft. long.

7 Diameter 15 ft.

⁵ In West Cornwall they are very common. In addition to Trelowarren and Chapel Euny, we may name Trewoof (2), Boscaswell, Pendeen, Bodinar, Chysoister, Castallack, Tremenheer (Mullion), Bodean Veor, Bray, Polhanogon (St. Keverne), Rosemorran, Bosanan, and Treveneague. At the latter place were discovered pottery (some with the chevron pattern, as also at the huts at Carne in Zennor), flints, ashes, bones of animals, spindle-whorls, querns, mullers, implements of iron, &c. In all the others

s Compare the sketch marked No. 7 with the door case at Bosporthennis figured in Mr. Barnwell's paper in the Arch. Cambrensis, third series, No. xxxiv.; and also in Blight's Cornish Churches, p. 142. For a drawing of the beehive hut see Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Nov. 26, 1868.

both. This fact is important, since it not only affords proof of the contemporaneity of the surface dwellings with the subterranean ones, but shows also that the inhabitants were in possession of a distinctly recognised style of masonry, which, as induction accumulates, may perhaps one day serve to distinguish these structures wherever they are to be found.

The drawing (No. 8) represents the lower entrance of the narrow passage marked B; it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide.

The method employed in the erection of the whole structure at Chapel Euny was clearly to be made out during our explorations. A trench about half the required depth had been sunk in the natural soil. Within this the building had been completed to its full height. A bank of earth had then been heaped over the whole, completely concealing it from view. The floors of the chambers had, in each case, been drained by channels having their outlet at F.

During the removal of the earth, with which the long chamber A had been (purposely to all appearance) filled, the

following objects were found:-

1. A fragment of a small ornamental vessel of Samian ware.

2. An iron crook, or fish-hook, and another iron object, possibly a nail.

3. An iron spear-head, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long.

4. A circular perforated stone, of the type known at present as spindle-whorls.⁹

5. Several flat pieces of a corroded substance.

6. Whetstones, mullers, pebbles, ashes, teeth of animals, red pottery, black pottery of three kinds, some thin and roughly glazed, others thick, rudely ornamented, and smoked; all wheel-made, and apparently parts of culinary vessels.¹

Lastly, from the centre of this long passage, a considerable quantity of fused tin very rich in quality. Near it was a large granite block covering a sink in the drain.

From the first six of these discoveries we may fairly infer an occupation of this place in Romano-British times, i. e.,

⁹ A second one was afterwards found.

¹ A workman on the spot has since discovered and brought to me a broken piece of the upper or revolving stone of a granite mill. It is neatly grooved on the outside, and the under face (which worked round on the lower stone) is concave. Its diameter when perfect was

about 16 in. At the top is a portion of the hole into which the grain was poured. The under stone of a similar mill, almost perfect, was found at Chysoister, July, 1873. A flint, perforated by an iron instrument broken off in the hole, has been found lately at Chapel Euny, in close proximity to the cave.

somewhere between the first and fifth centuries after Christ —the articles found being precisely similar in character to those taken from villages ascribed to this period in other districts. It is curious to notice that, while in the "wheems" of Scotland, and especially in one at Arbroath in Forfarshire.2 the cave at Chapel Euny, and similar structures elsewhere in Cornwall, have their exact counterpart in ground plan and section, that there also Romano-British remains, such as Samian ware, have been discovered, and that in one case a piece of well-moulded Roman architecture had actually been inserted into a "wheem" wall. From the discovery of the tin 4 we may further draw the inference that the occupiers of this cave were smelters; if not, that the cave itself was used for this purpose. As a consequence, there must have been miners among them also, who, no doubt, obtained the ore in some ancient and extensive stream works in the valley below. It is remarkable that a local tradition pointed out the place as one where "the old men" had smelted their tin, and so strong was the feeling that metal of some kind had been left there, that persons had actually sunk pits in search of the long-hidden treasure.

And here let me notice that so little is known, and so much has been conjectured on the subject of early Cornish mines and miners, that any facts which explorations among these "old men's dwellings" may furnish us with must be of the greatest value. It is especially interesting to find in these caves and villages traces of industry at a period utterly lost to history and tradition—traces, not of the Phænicians, nor of the Jew-miners of King John's time, but of genuine Romano-British civilization, at a time when the tin must have found a ready market (if for the production of bronze alone) amid the decaying splendour of the Roman world.

I am indebted to Dr. C. Le Neve Foster for the suggestion that some at least of the stone hand-mills found in these huts may have served, as they still do in the Italian Alps,

² Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, 1861-62; *Id.* for 1853, p. 214. Samian ware was found in a "Pict's house" at Pitcur, in Scotland.

³ Wheem—from the Gaelic uamh—a cave or vault. "Fogou" or "vow" is the Cornish equivalent—a name by which the cave-dwellings are still known.

⁴ I have to thank Mr. J. H. Collins,

F.G.S., for kindly examining this metal for me. From him I learn "that it consists of oxide of tin, with some metallic tin, and traces of zinc, iron, and organic matter;... that it was probably once altogether a mass of metallic tin, gradually oxidized from without;" and that it is similar in origin to that known as "Jews' house tin."

for pounding the ore previous to its being subjected to the fire.

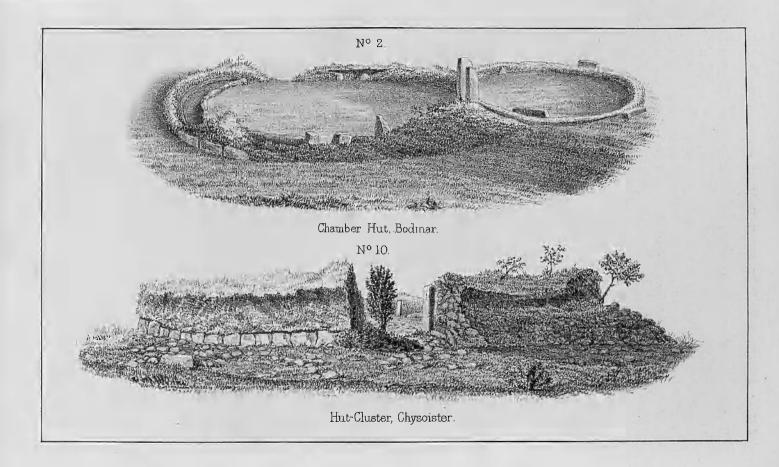
Besides the underground chambers at Chapel Euny, it will be seen by the plan (No. 6) that the settlement consisted also of several hut-dwellings on the surface, while in the neighbouring fields are traces of levelled platforms as at Bodinar. No vestiges of fortification are observable, perhaps on account of the proximity of Caer Bran (the King's Castle), which crowns the summit of the hill, and commands a splendid view over the Land's End district. One of the surface structures (G), is of a type which connects this village at Chapel Euny with others which now deserve our

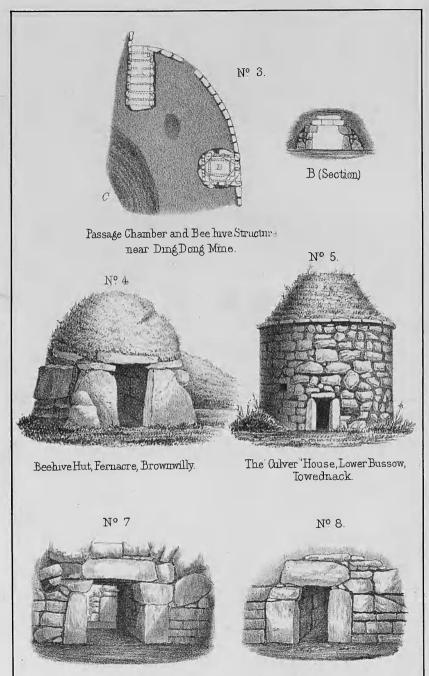
special attention.

The hut-town of Chysoister, or Chysauster, lies on the Southern slope of the hill between the place of that name and higher Carnequidden in the parish of Gulval.⁵ Ruinous heaps still indicate its site, which formerly covered the whole hill-side, occupying several acres in extent. Among these may be found the remains of an underground structure 200 yards South-West of the principal group, and artificial terraces, here, as elsewhere, skirt the ascent. That portion of the hut-town, which still remains, consisted, as far as can at present be made out, of eight or ten hut-clusters, placed, with a view perhaps to greater security, in close proximity to each other. Each and all of these display so great a similarity in general arrangement, in size, and in mode of construction, that I have selected one only (No. 9) for illustration; and a brief description of that will serve to convey an idea of all the others. During the early part of the summer of 1873 I caused this cluster to be carefully cleared out to its foundations.6 Stones, which had evidently fallen from the walls, were replaced as far as possible in their former positions, and thus the group is now in some measure restored to the state in which it was before the roofs were first put on. It consists of an oval enclosure. 95 ft. long from out to out, surrounded by a wall of considerable breadth in some places, with chambers nestling in its thickness, all of which open into a central court. Near the gateway this wall reaches a height of 9 or 10 ft.; and. at certain points, especially on the Northern side, traces of

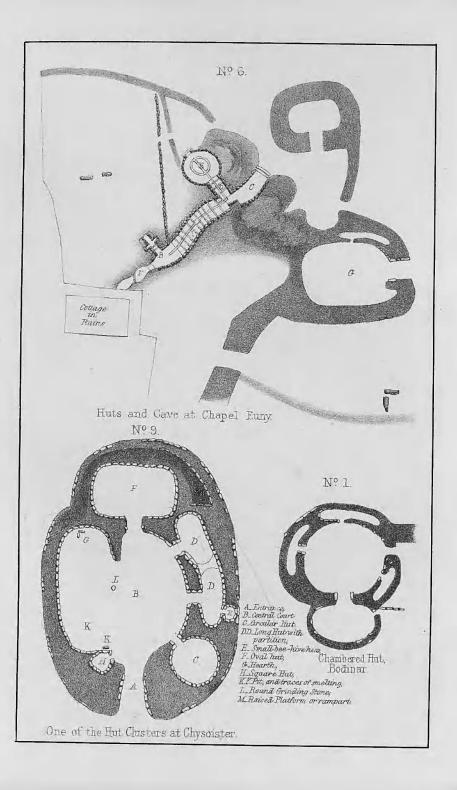
⁵ The settlement has been noticed in several Journals by Mr. Blight. 6

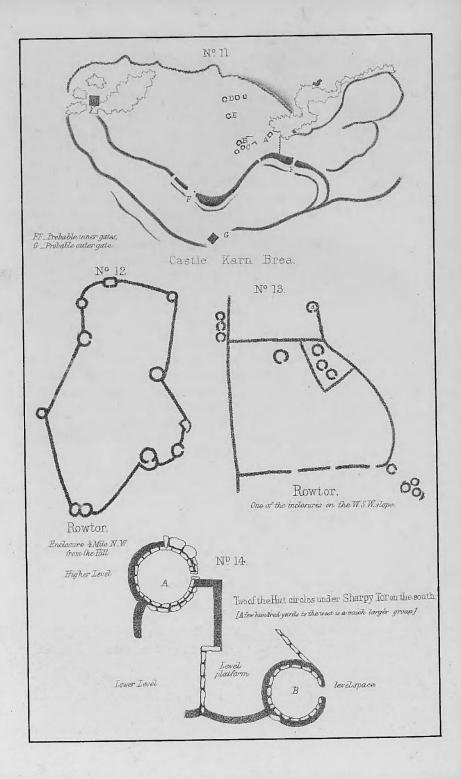
⁶ The adjoining cluster (No. 10) still remains unexplored.





Stone door -ways at Chapel Euny.





a rampart are observable, with a trackway round it, surmounted by a parapet still 2 or 3 ft. in height—a feature still more clearly defined in an adjoining cluster. [An elevation of this latter cluster, showing the gateway and basement stones, is given in No. 10.] The site for the whole had been levelled out of the side of the hill—the hut-chambers on the Northern side having their floors considerably lower than the natural soil, while those opposite them had their foundations

laid on made ground.

Entering No. 9, on the S.S.E. side, by the gateway (A), we pass by a passage, narrowing from 12 ft. to 6 ft. wide, and through a wall 16 ft. thick, into the central courtyard (B). Turning to the right, we first of all ascend by a paved way into the circular hut (c), 14 ft. in diameter. This proved on exploration to be paved throughout; and in the centre, indications of the hearth appeared in the numerous wood ashes and burnt earth which strewed the floor and penetrated beneath it. Near the hearth was placed a square block of stone, apparently the old-accustomed seat beside the long-extinguished embers. Amongst the ashes were fragments of coarse, black, wheel-made pottery, similar to that from Chapel Euny, a hand muller, and a curious little broken stone, ornamented at the side, the use of which I cannot guess, unless it served as a pulley-block to suspend the kettle, or to sharpen a pointed instrument. From the scarcity of stone in the area of this hut, it can hardly have possessed a roof of that material. The walls, seemingly, reached a height not exceeding 5 ft. or 6 ft., and from this stage upwards it is possible that poles resting "on the circular basement, brought together at the top," and covered with turf or thatch (in the manner indicated for the Dartmoor ones by Mr. Kelly 7) completed the roof.

Proceeding further round the same side of the court, we next arrive at a narrow doorway, 3 ft. wide, opening into a long curved chamber (D), having a second exit into the court at the further end. A rude stone partition at one time divided this hut into two parts, each about 15 ft. long, and 6 ft. or 7 ft. broad. The floor was lower than that of the circular hut, and more rudely paved. Under the paving, pits had been sunk, perhaps for drains; ashes strewed the

floor, but there was no sign of pottery.

⁷ "Transactions of the Devonshire Association," 1866, part v. p. 45. VOL. XXX, Z Z

Five feet from the Southern end, the workmen discovered, in the Eastern wall, a narrow entrance, 2 ft. wide, with a pillar on either side, opening into a most remarkable little structure (E). It is oval, 7 ft. long and 4 ft. 9 in. broad, and built, like the caves, partly in an excavation in the natural soil. The ordinary walling rises to a height of 4 ft., above which a layer of stones point inwards to receive a "beehive" roof. Eight of these roofing-stones are still in their place, and the remainder of the dome we removed from the interior. Numerous fragments of black pottery were found on the clay floor, and in the S.E. corner was a curious little pit, with perpendicular sides, 16 in. deep, and the same in diameter. A large lump of ashes lay at the bottom.

Whatever may have been the use of this strange little hut, it is clear that the interior had frequently been subjected to strong heat, and I cannot but think that the pit was in some way connected with cooking operations. Perhaps a fire was kindled in it, and one of the larger vessels, portions of some of which were blackened with fire, set over it to boil.

The next enclosure that deserves our attention is the spacious oval (F) immediately opposite the gateway. It measures 26 ft. long by 18 ft. broad, and all traces of a roof have entirely disappeared. The entrance is 6 ft. wide, and a few stones set in order across the Eastern end, seem, from the ashes on the rude pavement round them, to have formed the fireplace. Near the doorway a rough granite block was discovered, with an artificial cavity, (10 in. in diameter and 4 in. deep), scooped out in its face. Several mullers found with it had doubtless been used in the cavity for handgrinding. If we may indeed consider this as the mill 8 of the establishment, the wide entrance was perhaps intended to admit the rude conveyances bringing in the grain. Portions of a granite boulder, 2 ft. in diameter, used, perhaps, in grinding, not corn, but tin ore, may be observed lying in the courtvard outside.

Coming round to the S.W. side of the cluster, traces of a small hut, with a hearth and ashes, were discovered at G;

through it averaging from 3 in. to 6 in. in diameter. The upper face of the stone was smooth, and its form rudely circular. Burnt earth, pottery, charred wood, and a muller lay near it.

⁸ In the corresponding hut in a similarly arranged cluster at Bosullo, among the paving stones, I dug up a much larger mill-stone, broken across the centre. The entire stone in this case was 3 ft. broad, with a hole drilled

and at H, in the thickness of the rampart, we found a seventh and last chamber, 7 ft. in diameter, whose stone roof falling in had crushed out the door-posts, which we replaced at a distance of 2 ft. apart. The floor had been divided into partitions, by layers and courses of stone. Immediately outside this chamber was a rough trough, near which lay a piece of metal, which, though not sufficiently fused, had clearly passed through the fire. From this fact it may be inferred that here, as at Chapel Euny, smelting had been carried on. At k was a pit filled with clay, more or less burnt, fragments of pottery, and a muller or hammer-stone. The lower stone of a quern, 1 ft. in diameter, was found at

the same place. Having thus given the details of the exploration of Chysoister, it only remains to notice the striking similarity which exists in the ground-plan of this cluster and others in the vicinity. At Chapel Euny, at Bosullo (also explored by me some years since), at Mulfra,2 and elsewhere, we have precisely the same central court, with the side chambers in precisely the same positions opening into it. Should the ethnologist ask-"Is an arrangement, so distinctive and peculiar, to be met with elsewhere?" it will interest him to learn, if he does not know it already, that in some parts of Carnaryonshire, as at Voel Rhiwen, and Llanllechid, there are early enclosures, described by Mr. Ellis Owen in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," the ground-plans of which might actually pass for those I am describing. Indeed, by merely altering the names of places, his descriptions of them would suit those on our West-Cornish hills. The significance of this fact becomes still more striking when we find that, where the Welsh examples have been explored, the articles discovered have been the same as in our own. Querns and grinding-stones, more or less rude, pebbles, spindle-whorls, whetstones, stone fire-places and seats, smelting-places, and

even Samian ware and late Roman coins, have been the

worn into their surface, probably by the working of the pebbles in them for pounding paint or other substances.

⁹ I am indebted to the Messrs. Bolitho, who kindly caused it to be analyzed for me, for the information that this metal is that known to the smelters as "Jew's-house tin," and contains nivety per cent. of tin.

¹ Near these pebbles or mullers were found several flat stones, with slight cavities two or three inches in diameter

² The settlement at Mulfra lies on the South side of the hill of that name. One cluster is very perfect. A tall stone, 16 ft. 6 in. high, stands at the gate of another.

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objects which have been met with by Mr. Stanley during his researches into those near Holyhead.4 On the inferences to be drawn from this comparison I will not dwell; it will be sufficient to have pointed out the identity of the structures and their contents.

With regard to the fortification exhibited in the structure of the hut-clusters of West Cornwall, it appears that where no hill-castle existed in the vicinity, strength sometimes formed a part of the design; whereas, when one was close at hand, no such necessity arose, the inhabitants betaking themselves with their goods inside the lines. Thus Chywoone Castle 5 is provided with hut-structures all round the inner wall, the refuges, no doubt, of the villagers of Bosullo, an undefended hut-settlement immediately below, and from which a paved way runs direct to the castle. It would be foreign to my subject to enter here into a detailed account of this splendid camp-of-refuge 6 at Chywoone. Suffice it to say that while the Cyclopean masonry of the inner rampart is far finer than any other in the West of England, it precisely corresponds with that of the hut-clusters just described.

On the other hand, where no hill-fortress was near by, the enclosing walls of the villages sometimes rose to a considerable height. Thus, at Chy-gwidden, in the parish of Sancreed, they measured from 12 to 15 ft. high, including a parapet on the top. This place, though now almost demolished, was tolerably perfect when Dr. Borlase visited it in 1752. From his MS. notes made on the spot,7 it appears to have measured from out to out 150 ft. in length, by 120 ft. in breadth. Outside was a ditch 19 ft. broad, and beyond it a small vallum or counterscarp 5 ft. thick. The inner wall was 16 ft. wide, and the courtyard about 90 ft. in diameter. The entrance, which faced the S.E., was "through a large portal 8 ft. wide, across which, as a lintel, lay formerly a large flat stone," then, "fallen into the

^{4 &}quot;Memoirs of remains of ancient dwellings in Holyhead Island," by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., F.S.A., part i. pp. 17, 19; part ii., pp. 7, 19, 20.

See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, edit. i., pl. xxiv. p. 316.

Gir Gardner Wilkinson, after having rigited the Cornich antiquities and the

visited the Cornish antiquities and those of Dartmoor, observes: "I have seen no camp or fort like Chuun." "The walls,"

he adds, "are wonderfully well built, ... and the style of its masonry grand, ... the stones fitting to each other as in the old Etruscan walls at Cortona"-From two MS, letters to the late Duke of Northumberland.

⁷ Paroch. Mem. MS., p. 22, and MS. Excursion Book, both in my possession, in the library at Castle Horneck.

passage." The "barracks," as the Doctor terms the side chambers, were placed round the court "in a circular plan," and measured respectively in diameter 15 ft., 24 ft., 12½ ft., and 12 ft. Altogether this must have been, when the Doctor wrote, a larger and more perfect hut-cluster than any in the neighbourhood at the present day. At present, nothing remains of it but a portion of the Northern wall, with two large granite boulders, as at Chysoister, lying in the The spot where it stands is known as the "geer," or castle, croft. In clearing away the ruins, an old man informed me that ashes and pottery were found, and with them several little thick copper farthings with the figure of a man upon them. These, I have reason to suspect, were third brass Roman coins, like those at Bodinar.

Other examples of early enclosures more or less fortified, with ruins inside,8 and yielding querns, pottery and ashes, might be cited from the same neighbourhood. It is now time, however, to pass on to the second class of hut-circles, or those which belong especially to the Eastern districts.

These Eastern huts, as we have observed before, differ from the Western ones, first, in that they are, generally speaking, detached from each other, and, secondly, in their inferiority of construction. In many instances they bear so strong a resemblance to those of Dartmoor, that any light that may be thrown upon the origin of the one may be ex-

pected to elucidate also that of the other.

The fortified hill of Karn Brea (No. 11), near Redruth,⁹ has been so fully and accurately described by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that I need do no more than point out that it is a fair specimen of those entrenchments usually acknowledged to have belonged to the early British inhabitants, shortly prior to the final establishment among them of the Roman arms, and the Romano-barbaric civilization. Here, as in the splendid Caer Caradoc on the Herefordshire Beacon, the ramparts follow the convolutions of the hill, the ground plan

See Proceedings of the Society of An-

⁸ One of these, at Castallack, in the parish of Paul, has been described by Mr. Blight, in the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, for 1865, No. iv. It bears a strong resemblance to some of the Devonshire "pounds." The lower stone of a mill was found there, and various other articles in a cave near by.

tiquaries, May 16, 1867.

See an excellent paper on Karn Bre (or Karn Brea), by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Royal Institute of Cornwall, 1860, p. 17, Appendix I.

and the comparative height of the walls being adjusted to the general contour of the surface, and its adaptability for defence. Thus, while the entrenchments on the S.E. side, where the gateway seems to have been, are remarkable for their thickness and strength (the hill on that side being a gradual declivity), those to the Northward are in some places scarcely perceptible, the precipitous descent on that side

affording a sufficient natural protection.

Of the settlement within the lines. I was able to make out the positions of several huts in the places indicated in the accompanying plan. Five or six of these were in fairly good preservation, but in their ground-plan they are by no means invariably circular. One hut, for instance (A), immediately under a pile of rocks at the Eastern end of the camp is (but for a corner rounded off on the South side), a perfect square—the sides measuring 19 ft., and the entrance, as usual, facing the E.S.E. It consists, at present, simply of 20 granite blocks fixed upright in the natural soil. Of the basement of a circular hut there is a good example at B. 40 paces from the Eastern wall, and due West of the Dunstanville Column. Its internal diameter is 25 ft. 6 in. N. and S., by 24 ft. E. and W. The wall is composed of a low bank of earth 2 or 3 ft. high, and 4 ft. thick, faced on the interior, and, in some places, on the exterior also, with slabs of granite set on edge. The entrance is E.S.E. to the S.E. is a similar hut-circle (c) more dilapidated; and midway between these two and the square hut before mentioned are ruins of low walls arranged in a rectangular form. Another group of huts, of various shapes and sizes, lies on the opposite side of the camp at D; and a remarkably perfect circular basement occurs at E, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as that at B.

We have seen that, in its general features, the camp containing these detached hut-circles belongs to the class attributed to the early Britons. The conclusion that, even if not *erected*, it was *occupied* during this period, is strengthened by the fact that in the year 1749, in the middle of the ridge of the hill, and within the ramparts, a hoard of gold British coins uninscribed, and of the rude "biga" type, was

¹ A coin of similar date, of the "Catti" type, has been lately found near a hutcircle on Dartmoor, and is in possession

of Lord Talbot de Malahide. It was exhibited in the Museum formed at the Exeter Meeting of the Institute.

discovered by a labourer cutting turf. That the camp was also occupied at a later date may perhaps be indicated by a second discovery made in 1744 of brass celts in company with coins of Antoninus, Constantine, and Severus Alexander; and by a third, made at the foot of the hill, of a pint of coins of Tetricus and the Urbs-Roma type, together with the head of an animal in brass, and other pieces of metal.²

A place of even greater natural strength than Karn Brea, was the rugged hill of Rowtor, near Camelford; yet here too, not content with the bulwarks nature had provided for them, the inhabitants reared a Cyclopean castle or camp-ofrefuge, as it seems, for themselves and their herds in time of danger. The Tor itself, grand in the desolation of its surroundings, consists of two natural peaks of rock with an elevated platform between them 300 paces in length. Four lines of rude dry walling, two on either side, consisting of massive stones sometimes pitched on end, sometimes laid one on the other, join peak to peak; while each rocky extremity is itself surmounted by an immense accumulation of small stones—the one to form the cairn of some chieftain.—the other an outwork to the castle itself, and on which the superstition of the Middle Ages reared a chapel to St. Michael. And here I must venture on a speculation which, however fruitless it may be, is not altogether an idle one. There is no part of England of which it may be more truly said than of Cornwall, that its folk-lore rises to the rank of a distinct mythology.3 The savans of other countries have found a resting-place for many of their myths in some real occurrence of the past. Why should not we do the same for the Cornish ones? When we look at rugged fastnesses, such as Rowtor and Trencrobn, and remember that it is here that the legends are laid, do we not feel that, after all, some germ of historic truth lies hidden at the root of the tales of the Giants? In these Cyclopean strongholds may we not have the veritable castles of a race of men, strangers, it may be, in

² Borlase's Ant. of Cornwall, edit. i.

pp. 242, 264, 288.

³ See Halliwell's Rambles in Western Cornwall in the footsteps of the Giants; Bottrel's Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall, 1st and 2nd series, and Hunt's Romances and Drolls of the West of England, 1st and 2nd series.

⁴ Each of these tors possesses its giants. From the summit of the former the giant (who under the patronage of the saints had become the devil himself) was hurled by St. Michael, and on the latter dwelt the giant heroes of most of the West country drolls, foes to those on St. Michael's Mount.

the land, or it may be the progenitors of the Celtic people, whom subsequent generations have raised into the Olympus of their crude oral myths, and invested, as of necessity, with superhuman attributes lodged in gigantic forms? Is it not on these very hill tops that the Giants roll about the rocks, and wield their quoits? Is it not of the thievish and cruel propensities of rude marauding chiefs, side by side with an inoffensive agricultural population dwelling around them, that these tales are told? And have we not then, in these weird forts and the hut-villages that lie below, the very materials out of which would have been developed just such a mythology as in the drolls and old wives' stories we in truth

possess? But to proceed:—

Immediately below the Tor—the one, half a mile to the N.W., the other half that distance to the W.S.W.—lie the two hut-settlements, Nos. 12 and 13, we have now to notice. They are only taken, however, as examples of many others scattered over the whole hill side. From the ground-plans it will be seen that the two enclosures differ from each other in the circumstance that, while in the N.W. one the hut basements occur on the line of enclosure itself, those in the S.W. one are either contained within it or immediately adjoining it on the outside. In the former the areas of the huts are larger, some measuring as much as 27 ft. across; while in the latter from 12 to 15 ft. is the average diameter. The largest circle I measured lay near the N.W. group, and Like those at Karn Brea, some of was 45 ft. in diameter. the foundations display a rectangular plan. In a few instances a small hut has been attached to a larger one; and where this is the case, the accumulation of ruins in the area of the former seems to indicate that, like those noticed by Mr. Bate on Dartmoor, the form was originally a rude stone beehive. If so, the rudeness of structure, added to its extremely small proportions, would make it a very incommodious dwelling for human beings. Indeed the construction of these hut-basements in general is excessively rude. the case of the larger examples, the banks of earth which form their walls have been faced on both sides by stones on edge; but in the smaller ones a single row of upright blocks is all that remains of the structure, whatever it may have been. The contents, where they have been explored, have

[•] See Mr. Bate's paper previously quoted.

been found, like those on Dartmoor, to be meagre in the extreme. The Rev. J. J. Wilkinson, who has kindly superintended for me the clearing out of several of them, tells me that he has discovered, in more than one instance, rough paving. One circle had a division across it, on one side of which were numerous ashes, and burnt stones foreign to the soil. "One hut," he adds, "was a grand success. Its diameter was about 19 ft., with two stout upright gateposts 2 ft. 3 in. apart, in front of which, near the centre, was a perfect fire-place, 1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft., and 1 ft. high. On the hearthstone were remains of what had been woodashes." I am not aware that any pottery has, as yet, been found in them.

The enclosures in which these huts stand are generally rectangular, and, like those of Dartmoor, are frequently subdivided by partitions. They consist of low banks of stone, seldom more than 30 inches high, and these, as I have remarked before, are so uniformly depressed, and so widely extended, that they could have served no other purpose than boundaries of land or fences for cattle. In some cases these banks may be traced for a mile or more over the plain: in others they come to an abrupt termination in a single hut. as at A in plan No. 13; and in others again they run direct for the Tor, losing themselves in the blocks of denuded granite which lie in and around the entrenchment. Anything more strange and anomalous than is this network of low banks with circles dotted among them, arranged round the sides of this fortified Tor, can scarcely be imagined. On the downs, half a mile to the southward of them, where not a single hut-circle or bank is to be found, stands a circle of the class known as Druidical or Sacred, measuring 45 paces in diameter, and having upwards of fifty stones, nearly contiguous, still in their places. On the further side of this again, other hut settlements occur, showing the close proximity in which (here as in Dartmoor) these structures lie to monuments of the Megalithic class. It is a plain fact that had the builders of these villages not regarded the sacred circle as something inviolate, they would have removed the stones to form their own dwellings. The inference must

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⁶ Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the 42nd Report of the Royal Inst. of Cornwall, 1860, p. 34.

⁷ MS. Letter, 17 July, 1873.

either be a comparatively speaking contemporaneity between the two classes of structure, or a date for the sacred circle more recent than that of the huts.

As an illustration on a larger scale of hut basements of this type, I have chosen two from the southern side of Sharpy Tor, near Liskeard. (No. 14.) They form part of a much larger group, formerly extending over the whole side of the hill. The Northern circle (A) is 22 ft. in internal diameter, formed in the usual manner, and entered by a gateway 18 in. wide, with jambs on either side, and fronting, as usual, E.S.E. The Southern circle (B), which is joined to the other by a wall and stones on edge, measures 20 ft. in diameter, and is placed on a lower level. Its entrance, 6 ft. wide, opens into a platform levelled out of the hill, reminding us of those found in connection with the Western clusters. The fortress on the Cheese-wring hill lies immediately opposite this village, and perhaps served as a retreating place in time of war.

I have now come to the end of my descriptions of these early habitations, and it only remains to see what conclusions, if any, I am justified in drawing from the data before me.

Firstly, I think, in the absence of any known pit-dwellings in Cornwall, we may fairly regard the rude detached hut basements of the Eastern District and Dartmoor, as the most primitive examples we have of the surface habitations of domesticated man.

Secondly, that, from their surroundings, we may infer their occupation by a pastoral people, herding their flocks in pens on the mountain side, or driving them into the strongholds when danger threatened; that these people were in a low state of culture, possessing, with great strength, little masonic skill, and that what civilization they may have acquired was probably retarded by the necessity of self-defence, if not by their own marauding habits.

Thirdly, that we are not without presumptive evidence that their connection with the Megalithic or Druidical monuments was something more than the mere proximity of their villages to them.

Fourthly, that, although their *origin* is buried in obscurity, certain *degrees* of rudeness are observable in their construction; and that the presence of some of the better sort in an

earthwork belonging to the times of the British wars, together with the discovery of coins of that period there, leads to the presumption that they were still the recognised dwelling-places of the people down to the times immediately preceding

the Roman occupation.

Fifthly, that in the Western district we have a distinct class of structure altogether; whether pertaining to these same primitive people at a later stage of culture, or the abodes of a party of settlers—pre-historic adventurers in tin mines—there is not sufficient evidence to show; but that even on this question the comparative ethnologist may hope to gain some few hints from the fact that structures precisely similar to them, even to the minutest detail, exist in some parts of Carnarvonshire.

Sixthly, that from explorations made amongst the examples of this latter class, it is evident that they are contemporary with the subterranean structures and beehive huts found in the same district, as also with some of the

Hill castles.

Seventhly, that, from a like source, we derive the information that the masonry of their builders, though without mortar, was of no mean order, and was sufficiently remarkable to be highly characteristic; that smelting, and consequently mining, was the employment of some of the inhabitants, while others were engaged in agricultural labour, or in grinding at home the produce of their artificially-levelled fields; that all this time, however, they were far from secure from hostile encroachment, and were compelled either to enclose themselves by a rampart, or seek shelter in the vicinity of a friendly camp; that iron was in use among them not only for weapons, but for other implements also; that they made their own wheel-pottery of various qualities, but were also acquainted with the Roman fictilia; that Samian ware and late Roman coins have been found in their dwellings; and that, in short, and apart from this latter circumstance, they display just that superiority over the hut-dwellers of the Eastern district which would be the result of a century or so of indirect contact with the civilization derived by the provinces from Rome. It is, then, to this period that I would assign them. My reasons for thinking that some at least of our Western "cairns" belong to a like date, and are the sepulchres of these people, I have already stated at

length elsewhere.⁸ Of one fact with regard to these people I think we may rest assured; they were not the savages some would have them to be. The charge of utter barbarism, so often applied in ignorance and haste to all that at first sight seems pre-historic and past recall, cannot in fairness be maintained against them. Whether we see them as miners in the streams, smelters in the caves, herdsmen in the paddocks, husbandmen in the cornfields, soldiers on the ramparts, or cooks in the kitchen, they are still men, not merely of like passions and like instincts, but of like vocations also with ourselves.

If then, in tracing the simple annals of their daily life, we can reinstate these early people in that place in civilization to which (however immature their culture may have been) they appear in truth to lay claim, shall we not draw from the historian as well as from the antiquary the acknowledgment that in these ruinous heaps there is still a study worth pursuing?

^{8 &}quot;Nœnia Cornubiæ," Longman, 1873.