

# ADDRESS

AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION 1881-82.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.,

*President.*

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The most general characteristic of the progress of Science, Literature, and Art since this Institution was founded, in the year 1812, is the application of true method in every department of intellectual activity. The threescore years and ten into which our corporate life has extended have seen the origin of many new branches of enquiry; the entire transformation of most of the old ones. Physical, Natural, and Mental Science, have run a rival race; Literature and Art have enormously extended and popularised their domains. But the one feature which has marked whatever progress has been made in all directions, the common bond of these manifold activities of hand and brain, has been the universal acceptance of the scientific spirit—the spirit which regards no work or way of the Creator as common or unclean; which recognises an absolute unity of purpose—a universal correlation—throughout the realms of Nature; which is earnest, methodical, patient, fearless; which doubts but for fuller assurance, which tests that it may accept;—the spirit whose single purpose is the search for truth, content for truth's sake to endure hardship and obloquy, to be foiled yet persevere, to blunder and confess its folly—knowing well that hardship and obloquy and failure and error are but so many steps that bring it nearer to the goal.

Seeking a subject for the address which it is the pleasing duty of the member entrusted with the honourable office of your Presi-

dent to deliver, no better course presented itself than the illustration of progress from the history of a science to which the scientific method was almost unknown when this Institution was founded, and briefly to indicate the new light it has thrown upon our local interests and concerns.

“That is best which lieth nearest,”

is peculiarly true in relation to the work of a Society like ours.

I refer to Archaeology, the great link between Geology and History, between the record of the rocks and the record of the pen, no longer the waste domain of the Dilletante, the Virtuoso, and the Dryasdust—a chaotic aggregate of hobbies—but extended, systematized, and developed, into one of our noblest and most interesting studies. And my special purpose is to ask your attention to what seem to me its chief lessons touching the past of our own fair county of Devon. If strict scrutiny bereaves us of many a fond fancy and long cherished belief, I hope to show that Archaeology is eminently a constructive science—that it does not shatter old faiths without replacing them by new ones. And if many of our conclusions are found to differ, wide as the poles asunder, from those of the few earnest antiquaries of the older time, let it not be thought that the pioneers of Archaeology are lightly esteemed or their work undervalued. What they did was good and true, according to the measure of their means and their abilities. We are very differently placed. The position is admirably summarized by the worthy representative of one of the most honoured antiquarian names.

“The lights” of the antiquary of the last century “were two, and two only. They were the Bible and the classics. All questions of ancient history were to be solved by an appeal to these; what was not be found in the one was sure to be found in the other. Just consider how much is open to us which was inaccessible then. The hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiforms of Assyria, the whole of the mighty literature of the Vedas, the bamboo tablets of Ceylon, the sacred books of Persia, the Chinese classics, the Scandinavian Sagas—even our own native annals in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland—all alike were closed books to the antiquary of the last century. Considering all this, the work which he *did* accomplish was wonderful, and his labours, no less than his ingenuity, are deserving of our thanks and praise.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. C. BORLASE, F.S.A., M.P., *Trans. Penzance Nat. Hist. Soc.* 1880–81, p. 25.

Nor can we omit reference to later and nearer workers. No local society has done so much towards the elucidation of the Archæology of Devonshire as the Plymouth Institution. The Rev. S. Rowe's *Perambulation of Dartmoor* is an original work of the highest value, viewed even in the light of the latest research. With the investigations which led to the production of that book are associated the names of Henry Woolcombe, Hamilton Smith, John Prideaux, Edward Moore. How worthily the character thus won for our Society has been sustained by men who are yet with us you do not need to be reminded. Nor will it, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me if, following in their track, I endeavour this evening to bring together certain general conclusions that seem fairly deducible from the application to the facts of Devonian Archæology of the now accepted principles of archæological science.

We shall, then, deal to-night with Pre-historic Devon, and must needs begin with a definition. It must never be forgotten that the customary periods of Archæology are not divided by hard and fast lines. The Ages of Stone, of Bronze, of Iron, are convenient terms, as indices of succession and progress; but the periods always overlap, and are ever subject to local modification. Just so the phrase *pre-historic* is not absolute, but relative. The pre-historic periods of China, Egypt, Greece, Rome, have no common chronological basis. In like manner, in our own country, the pre-historic of Scotland is not identical with the pre-historic of England; the pre-historic of Kent differs from the pre-historic of Devon. Here, indeed, the pre-historic comes so far down that if we take the existence of direct contemporary record as our criterion, we can hardly throw it further back than the reign of Ælfred. Before his time there are but a few casual references, which require to be supplemented largely by Archæology before they can be made to tell a consecutive story. By pre-historic, then, in relation to Devon, I mean all that is antecedent to the Saxon Conquest of this county—a somewhat wide definition, but the only one yielding satisfactory results on any wide generalization.

We commence our survey at a period so remote that it is capable simply of approximation. Devonshire stands alone in the kingdom in peculiar relationship to the question of the antiquity of the human race. Traces of Palæolithic Man are indeed scattered throughout the land; but Devonshire only gives consecutive evi-

dence. The contemporaneity of man with the extinct mammalia was lifted from the level of argument to that of demonstration by the discoveries in the Windmill Hill Cavern at Brixham in 1858, and each year since then has added to the testimony. Almost every part of the county has yielded implements of Palæolithic or sub-Palæolithic type. The caves at Brixham and Torquay, the submerged forest in Barnstaple Bay, the beds of our rivers, the depths of our peat bogs, the surface of our moors, our cliffs at Croyde and Bovisand, the low-lying gravels of the Axe Valley—cairn and barrow and kistvaen<sup>1</sup>—each and all have literally teemed with the flint chips, arrow heads, axes, and scrapers, of the earliest Devonians who have left a trace behind. We know not who they were, nor whence, save what we may glean by comparison with peoples who use such tools and such weapons now. When they lived we have a better clue.

Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., has shown that Kent's Cavern gives evidence of the existence of man in Devon in the Iron, Bronze, Neolithic (?), and Palæolithic Ages. The Palæolithic men he divides into two periods—the Hyænine and the Ursine—as founded upon the special phenomena of that cavern. The Hyænine deposit therein is separated from the Ursine by a sheet of crystalline stalagmite, sometimes twelve feet thick; it is separated still more decidedly by the difference in the faunas. In the cave-earth the hyæna predominates; from the cave-breccia he is wholly absent. The inference, from which Mr. Pengelly saw no escape, is that the hyæna reached Britain in the interval between the cave-breccia and cave-earth; "in other words, that the last continental state of our country occurred during the interval . . . the conclusion thus forced on me compels me to believe also that the earliest men of Kent's Hole were inter-glacial if not pre-glacial."<sup>2</sup>

There is no need to argue seriously for the authenticity of the Palæolithic implements. Their human origin is all but universally admitted by those who have studied them. That some exceptionally rough fragments of flint and chert, commonly so classed, may or may not owe their shape to the hand of man is conceded; but when every doubtful example is eliminated an impregnable body of evidence remains. To rebut the testimony to the antiquity

<sup>1</sup> F. BRENT, "The Stone Implements," *Trans. Plym. Inst.* vol. vii. pp. 295-300.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* "Address Geo. Sec. Brit. Ass." Plym. Meeting, *Proc. Sec.* pp. 64-65.



of man, whether here or elsewhere, afforded by these rude tools and weapons, it is necessary not merely to establish a doubt as to any, but to prove beyond doubt the natural or accidental origin of *all*. One worked flint of Palæolithic type is sufficient to establish the existence of Palæolithic Man.

A very few words sum up the record of Palæolithic Man in Devon. That he inhabited, or at least visited, the whole county is proved by the manner in which his traces are scattered on every hand; that he dates back at least to inter-glacial times has been shown; that he continued to dwell here for a very long period we learn from the occurrence of his implements and weapons, under conditions which show that they were deposited long subsequent to the melting of the snow-cap, which in all probability formed our latest glacial stage.<sup>1</sup> As yet we go no further. Some light is thrown upon his general habits and surroundings by discoveries on the Continent; but our own neighbourhood is silent.

The next trace of Devonshire man is in the barrows or tumuli; still at first in the Stone Age, but possibly the work of a different race, and certainly of far later times. How wide the gap one fact will illustrate. The cave men to whom our earlier Palæolithic people belonged, or with whom they were contemporary, were of the period of the extinct cave mammalia, of which no barrow has yielded even fragmentary evidence.

There are two great classes of barrows—the long and the round, each varying in internal structure, and so capable of further subdivision, but each presenting certain well-defined and constant peculiarities. The long barrows are assigned to the Age of Stone; the round are partly transition, but in the main belong to the Age of Bronze. The long barrows of England seem the work exclusively of a long-headed people—dolichocephalic; the round of a round-headed people—brachycephalic, though a few long-headed skulls occasionally occur in them.

The long barrows are found in almost every part of the kingdom, not common as a rule,<sup>2</sup> but more abundant in Dorset, Wilts, and Gloucester. They generally run east and west, with the primary interment to the east (an indication of sun or fire worship). In other respects they differ. Some contain chambers; others do not; the

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. xiii. pp. 35, 359.

<sup>2</sup> Canon GREENWELL, *British Barrows*, p. 479.

variation being due, in Mr. Greenwell's opinion, "to local circumstances or conditions;"<sup>1</sup> and while in the south-west of England inhumation was the rule, in Yorkshire cremation predominated.<sup>2</sup> There are indications which led Dr. Thurnam to conclude that the long-barrow people were cannibals; they were no doubt altogether pre-historic; and their skeletons show that they were a feebler race than the round-barrow builders by whom they were supplanted.

Not a single long barrow has been found in Devon or in Cornwall. Either their builders did not dwell further west than Dorset; or—an utterly unreasonable supposition—all traces of them beyond the Dorset border have disappeared. Round barrows we have by hundreds and by thousands; long barrows not one. Are we to assume therefore that in the Long-Barrow Period the Western Peninsula was without inhabitants? The beautifully fabricated Neolithic implements scattered throughout Devon and Cornwall prove the contrary. The absence of long barrows seems to suggest also that the Devonians of these days were of a different race to the long-barrow builders—possibly the direct descendants of the later Palæolithic men, supplanted and driven into the corners of the country by the Long Heads as they were supplanted by the Round Heads, and, as in historic times, Kelt and Saxon were, in turns, drivers and driven.<sup>3</sup>

And though we have no long barrows, we have interments of a peculiar character which it is difficult to assign to any later period. I refer particularly to chambered round barrows, and to interments known as Giants' Graves at Scilly,<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere. The comparative chronology of these has been clearly established by the researches of Mr. W. C. Borlase, particularly at Chapel Karn Brea. Here a kist-vaen was found above the original chamber, resting on the mound raised to cover the earlier interment; this again being sur-

<sup>1</sup> Canon GREENWELL, *British Barrows*, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> In historic times all the great invasions of England have been from the south coast; and thence the invading wedge has been driven home until the shattered fragments of the inhabitant races have found a shelter in the remote regions known in later times as Cornwall, Wales, and Cumbria. There seems no adequate reason why the pre-historic invasions, which we know took place, should not have followed the same course.

"Westward the tide of empire takes its way."

<sup>4</sup> Dr. BORLASE, *Scilly Isles*, p. 17.

mounted by objects of Romano-British date.<sup>1</sup> The succession from the Neolithic and Pre-historic Period was thus complete.

The trivial name of Giant's Grave is not always undeserved. Two stone kists, or chambers, discovered at Lundy, contained two skeletons, respectively eight feet two inches and seven feet in length. Adjoining were other graves of ordinary character, and a mass of mixed bones, red pottery, beads, and bronze ornaments—the bones being those of men, women, and children.<sup>2</sup> If the whole of these interments were contemporary the “giants” in this case are of course of much later date than the period under review; but the description seems to leave us free to infer that we have here some such casual association as at Chapel Karn Brea. A remarkable feature in the interment of the larger “giant” was that the skeleton was covered with limpet shells, a feature which distinguishes this burial from all others recorded in this county.

The round barrows, whether of the West of England, of Great Britain, or the Continent, present, as already hinted, many forms. Some are cairns of stone; others mounds of earth. Some cover mere handfuls of burnt bone, the remains of a surface funeral pyre; others are chambered, or inclose dolmens or kist-vaens, or urns, or conceal simple graves. Some are mere heaps; others are girdled by a ring of stones, or a ditch; and in some the stone circle forms part of the internal structure. The kist-vaen may be either a rude box or a gigantic cromlech.<sup>3</sup> Some bodies are inhumed, others are burnt. When unburnt they may be extended or contracted; and there are also cases in which fire seems to have been applied, not effectively, but in accordance with a kind of ritual. Many barrows yield neither implements, nor weapons of stone or metal; others are prolific. Now these variations are to a large extent accidental, dependent upon the rank and possessions of the dead and the nature of the surroundings. Interments differed with local characters and conditions in pre-historic times, much as they differ now. But we have as surely in them indications likewise of varying mental powers and distant dates. There is little to distinguish an Anglo-Saxon grave *per se* from a grave of modern make; but they yield very different results on exploration. Barrows

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Penz. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 1880–1, pp. 12–14, 37.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. CHANTER, *Lundy Island*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> I use this word in the local sense; its stricter application is to a stone circle, and our cromlech becomes the dolmen.

may be much alike externally; but the longer the duration of the Barrow Period the greater will be the differences in non-localised features between those which belong to its earlier, and those which were raised in its later stages.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the comparison of results may in time give such variations a definite chronological value.

Some of the differences have a very important bearing. Why is it that in the round barrows in the wolds of Yorkshire inhumation is most common, while in other localities cremation is the rule?<sup>2</sup> Why is it that in Wiltshire the proportion of burnt to unburnt interments is three to one, in Dorset four to one, while in Devon and Cornwall cremation is all but universal? Cremation and inhumation have been contemporary in various nations;<sup>3</sup> but here we seem to have an indication of some governing law, and though Canon Greenwell holds that there is no evidence to show which class of interment was earlier<sup>4</sup> (and they may have been partially contemporaneous) the balance of facts favours the belief that inhumation had a certain precedence, though the long barrows also furnish instances of cremation.

<sup>1</sup> The Barrow Period was undoubtedly of great duration. In the words of the late Professor Rolleston, "the stone and bone age impresses the naturalist with the notion of an antiquity which may have given time enough and to spare for the more or less complete disappearance of more than one unwritten language," while the bronze period, "though its term of duration in these islands was no doubt almost infinitely shorter than that of the stone and bone age, or rather ages" was of itself long enough to admit of quite as great a differentiation in any single language as that which exists between Gaelic and Kymric at present." (*British Barrows*, p. 633.) Such changes as are here indicated must have been accompanied by changes of habit and custom, from which the associations of interment cannot have been exempt. Professor Rolleston held that both the long and round-headed races are represented in the present population—"the short-statured, dark-haired, long-headed race" of the existing Keltic districts, being lineally descended from the long-barrow people, while "the bronze-using race seems in the southern parts of the country to have more completely absorbed or destroyed the dolichocephalic than it did in the north." (*British Barrows*, p. 711.) I have shown that in this particular corner of the island we may, in this period, have traces of a much older race than that of the long barrows; certainly of a different one. The long-barrow people may or may not have been Turanian—the evidence is by no means clear; but the bronze users were distinctly of Aryan affinities. To attempt to apply modern race-names to these ancient peoples is almost certain to mislead; but Professor Rolleston has stated that our bronze men closely resembled osteologically the brachycephalic neolithic Dane, and might be the evidence of a pre-historic immigration from the Cimbric peninsula (*British Barrows*, p. 680).

<sup>2</sup> *British Barrows*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.



Again, with regard to the position of the unburnt body. Burial in the contracted form is almost invariable. There were only four interments at length out of 301 unburnt burials in the Yorkshire Wolds.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bateman found none in Derbyshire.<sup>2</sup> Yet in Dorset, according to Mr. Warne, the extended position prevails.<sup>3</sup> All this is not without cause.

It is not amiss to observe that the body in the Wolds was generally placed to face the sun;<sup>4</sup> so the secondary interments in barrows are generally to the south and east.<sup>5</sup> In the Land's End district there is an apparent association with the setting sun, shown on the other side of the globe by the Australian aborigines at the present day. The Neolithic long-barrow tradition of sun-worship is indicated by the high places nearest heaven on which the tumuli were piled, and the position of the body in its resting-place was continued by the bronze users under cremation—originally a dedication or offering to the sun through fire as his representative—and survives to the present day in the east and west position of our churches and churchyard interments. And so the chambered barrow, originally a literal "house of the dead," has passed through the stages of the cromlech and kist-vaen, until it is feebly represented by the wooden coffin; while the contracted interment, the corpse lying on its side with knees drawn up, the head perchance resting upon the hand or arm, forecasts in touching symbolism the thought of Shakspeare—

"We are such stuff  
As dreams are made of, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep."

A careful examination of the Barrow Records for Devon<sup>6</sup> shows that the immense majority of the interments therein are by cremation, and that we can furnish examples of every variety of interment associated with the Bronze Age, thus indicating the continued occupation of the West by a bronze-using people over a very long period of time. How far back this may extend we cannot say, but there is good reason to believe that barrow interment continued down to post-Roman times. Roman coins are said

<sup>1</sup> *British Barrows*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ten Years' Diggings*.

<sup>3</sup> *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Bar.* p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> They are all collected, with the exception of those referring to Dartmoor, in the *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* The Dartmoor series is intended to appear in the next report of the Barrow Committee of that Society.

to have been found in barrows on Exmoor, Haldon, and at East Worlington. The evidence in these cases may not be quite so clear as we could wish; but no reasonable doubt can attach to the discovery by Mr. W. C. Borlase of a coin of Constantine the Great, with other Roman coins, in a barrow at Morvah Hill,<sup>1</sup> of the contemporaneous deposition of which with the interment that gentleman is absolutely convinced.

At the other end of the series we may place the chambered barrows already noted; with the extended interments at Lundy Island, the Giants' Graves of Scilly, and a few rare examples of contracted burial, as at Trevelgue,<sup>2</sup> Trethill,<sup>3</sup> with possibly an interment near Old Dunscombe, Sidmouth,<sup>4</sup> in a sort of cave in a bank, the skull of which was intact, but unfortunately has been again buried, and so lost. The enormous preponderance of cremation in this district deprives us of the evidence of race which the preservation of skulls would afford; and this, although the barrows of the two counties of Devon and Cornwall yet extant may be counted probably by thousands, and the results are known of the examination, more or less fully set forth, of some hundreds.

But Barrow-Builders have left us relics of life as well as death. Dartmoor, *teste* Mr. Lukis, is unrivalled in this country in the extent and character of its rude stone monuments<sup>5</sup>—its menhirs, lines, circles, huts, trackways, pounds. Mr. Fergusson has assigned our megalithic memorials to the first ten centuries of the Christian era, and made even Stonehenge of post-Roman date.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nenia Cornubia*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 80–90. There were two, within long kists, one associated with a beautifully-made polished stone axe hammer.

<sup>3</sup> The interment at Trethill, for the discovery and description of which we are indebted to Mr. C. Spence Bate, F.R.S., has a unique interest for us in the presence of a food vessel in the kist, and its exact correspondence in detail with interments in the High Peak, Derbyshire.

<sup>4</sup> *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* "Barrow Report," vol. xii. p. 148.—P. O. HUTCHINSON.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* his report to Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>6</sup> Sir John Lubbock (*Pre-Hist. Times*, p. 120) has shown that the argument for this, founded upon the assumption of Silbury Hill being *upon* a Roman road, is erroneous.

No doubt, like the barrows, with which these remains are in part contemporary, the erection of these primitive structures did continue into the dawn of historic times; but they too, like the barrows, stretch back into a grey antiquity, the dimness of which we cannot penetrate.

If we consider first the origin of these remains we shall be better able to discuss their purpose. The intention of the hut rings and the pounds which enclose or are associated therewith hardly admits of controversy. We have here dwellings and fortified or protected villages, but with little to date them by. Hovels as rude may be seen on the Moor now. I have watched in the wilds of Cornwall the building of shelters of stone and turf indistinguishable in form and general character from the most ancient type. Dr. A. Mitchell has shown<sup>1</sup> that the Stone Age has yet a very real existence in parts of the Scottish Highlands, and the islands adjacent; that pottery of primitive type is still made in the Shetlands; that beehive huts were recently inhabited in the Hebrides; that there are cave dwellers at Wick almost to be described in the same words as "the Bushmen of Australia or the savages of the Andaman Islands;"<sup>2</sup> in short, that there is *now* in the North of Scotland a condition of civilization hardly removed—exterior influences apart—from that of the period we are considering.

The one characteristic of importance in our simpler huts is their *circular* form, originating doubtless in the wattled tent-like dwellings of a more wooded and less rocky country; and a good indication with us of comparative antiquity. By itself, however, this fact does not help inquiry much, and it is from the associations of those old villages that we derive our chief enlightenment. When we find hut rings and enclosures connected, as at Merivale,

<sup>1</sup> *The Past in the Present*, a singularly interesting and valuable book, though I do not draw the conclusions the author seems to infer from the continuance of this archaic culture. His facts are no argument against the antiquity of such modes of life; but they are a cogent caution against the assumption that whatever looks old is so. Of all the stages of man's progressive history that of incipient civilization has the widest range, and greatest continuity.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 78. It is worth noticing that Sir J. Lubbock remarks of the status of the older barrow-builders: "On the whole the burial customs of the Esquimaux are curiously like those of which we find evidence in the ancient tumuli of Northern and Western Europe."—*Pre-Historic Times*, p. 512.

with menhirs and lines, we date the one by the other, and carry both back to the Bronze Age. If then the hut rings merge into the rude moorland dwellings of our own day in one direction, in the other they are linked with relics of which no tradition preserves the purpose; for the menhirs and the lines cannot be dissociated from the so-called sacred circles and the cromlechs.

One of the strongest arguments against Mr. Fergusson's recent dating of the rude stone memorials is indeed supplied by the peculiar mythical character of the legends concerning them, which show how entirely their origin has passed into oblivion. The most frequent suggestion is that the circles and menhirs are men and women turned by enchantment into rocks. The Hurlers, near Liskeard, are men who would play hurling on Sunday; the Merry Maidens at Bolleit are the petrified remains of girls who persisted in dancing on the same sacred day, and hard by are the culpable pipers who played to them. The Rollright stones at Long Compton are a king and his knights who sought to make war upon the King of England. Even in India we are told that certain stones represent a marriage party transformed by a malignant magician. Stonchenge is the "Giants' Dance." And so we might go on multiplying similar instances.<sup>1</sup>

The whole tendency of recent research has been to connect the most characteristic rude stone monuments with sepulchral purposes. The cromlech is no longer a stone of sacrifice, or Druidical altar, but a gigantic kist; and menhirs and circles have alike been found to mark interments. I believe the much-debated lines, avenues, cursi, or parallelitha, have precisely the same origin. Not one of the current theories seems satisfactory; the hypothesis of Mr. Ferguson

<sup>1</sup> The Druidical theory is not a whit better founded, and has not even the merit of antiquity. *Vide* "Were there Druids in Devon?" (*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. xii. pp. 228-242); and Mr. W. C. Borlase (*Trans. Penz. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 1880-1, p. 27), describing the really historic Druids as "magicians or white witches," remarks: "These persons might have chosen for the scenes of their incantations the circles, or the rude pillar stones, or the cairns and cromlechs. The civil authorities certainly used these spots as places of meeting, and it is very probable that the Druids did the same. What, however, is rightly maintained with regard to their connection with them is that, until some direct evidence is forthcoming to associate the two, it is incorrect, and may prove misleading, to call them 'Druidical Remains.' Not one scrap of such evidence has as yet been forthcoming either in Cornwall or elsewhere."



that they are records of battles, least of all. We greatly err in regarding war as the main business of life with these ancient dwellers in Dunmonia. The lines are almost always connected with well-defined and accepted sepulchral monuments, and, where they are not utilitarian, must be placed in the same category.<sup>1</sup>

There are many ways of talking prose without knowing it. How often, in considering these relics of the past, have we recognized the fact that every churchyard repeats the tumulus in the grave mound, the cromlech or dolmen in the altar tomb, the chambered barrow in the vault, the menhir in the obelisk or column, these very parallelitha in the rows of headstones which make a well-accustomed cemetery a miniature Karnak ; nay, that the urn still enjoys formal recognition, though cremation has not returned to fashion. Need the riddle be so very hard to read ? Burial in rows is a common custom with many nations. The Chinese thus arrange the bodies of their ancestors in their family burial places, in the belief that they secure the protection and aid of the spirits of the departed while the line remains unbroken.

The Dartmoor hut rings and villages have been regarded as the dwellings of ancient tinnerns. Such, beyond doubt, in part they were ; but they are not confined to Dartmoor, nor are they peculiarly associated with tin-bearing districts. They are found throughout the moors of Devon and of Cornwall, whether the scenes of mining enterprise or not ; they occur all over the British Isles ; and to go no further afield we may point to Worlebury, at Weston-super-Mare, with its hut rings and piled stone ramparts, as almost the precise analogue of the antiquities of which Grimspound is our favourite type.

The hut rings are dwellings of a simpler and commonly earlier

<sup>1</sup> There are ancient stone-faced hedges on Dartmoor which, were the earth removed, would present avenues precisely identical with those of Merivale ; vide *Perambulation of Dartmoor*, p. 58, for remarks on the "track-lines or boundary banks," the primitive hedges of the moor, common wherever there are traces of habitations. At the same time it may very well be that the circles were, in their origin, connected with solar worship, symbols of the girdling horizon ; and that the association of interments has a religious character. And if the words *church* and *circle* do come from the same root, as suggested by some etymologists, we have a survival in ecclesiastical language even more remarkable than the retention of special relations to the East—the sunrise.

character than the hut clusters discovered and described by Mr. W. C. Borlase, of which the settlement at Chysoister affords the most complete example. These clusters are large ovals with central courts, surrounded by chambers nestling in the thickness of the wall. The built-up underground passages known as *vauis*<sup>1</sup> are commonly associated with them, and the overlapping stone domes called beehive huts. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales have furnished kindred antiquities: and their comparatively late date was proved by Mr. Borlase by the discovery in those of West Cornwall of Samian ware, wheel pottery, and iron implements and weapons; and their connection with early mining by the presence of fused tin, and places that seem to have been used for smelting. Roman coins of the third and fourth centuries have also been found around them, and there can be little hesitation in assigning some of them at least, with Mr. Borlase, to Romano-British times.

"With regard to the race by whom these buildings were erected, we have not sufficient evidence to show whether they were the work of the primitive inhabitants at a later state of culture than that of the hut circles, or whether they were the abodes of a party of settlers—pre-historic adventurers, perhaps, in Cornish tin mines."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Borlase is inclined to the latter view, but I do not think we are called upon to see in them anything more than a rude attempt to imitate a Roman dwelling, with its court and surrounding cells or chambers—such dwellings as possibly existed in Devon, and were certainly numerous in Somerset. That the hut clusters, so far as Cornwall is concerned, should be confined to the western district, is in direct correspondence with the statement which assigns to that locality a higher and earlier civilisation in pre-Roman times.<sup>3</sup> We have no hut clusters in Devon, but I cannot help regarding the structure known as "Round Pound," in the parish of Gidley, and its fellow at Bovey Combe Head,<sup>4</sup> as in someway related. In both there is a double enclosure, and the space between is divided into what Mr. Ormerod regards as a series of courts, the whole corresponding very much in idea with the plan of the clusters, though certainly differing in application.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown, so far as I am aware, in Devon, but comparatively common in West Cornwall.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Penz. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 1880-1, pp. 31-33.    <sup>3</sup> Diodorus Siculus.

<sup>4</sup> G. W. ORMEROD, F.G.S., *Rude Stone Remains on the Easterly side of Dartmoor*, pp. 11, 12.

In all probability, therefore, the existing traces of ancient habitation on Dartmoor are of many dates, and belong to peoples of varied occupations. That some were miners we have direct evidence in the ruins of ancient smelting works, as at Yealm Head, where, adjacent to a large group of hut rings, are the foundations of rectangular buildings, with granite moulds for casting metal into ingots.<sup>1</sup> But here, as elsewhere, many of these settlements were tenanted by rude herdsmen and shepherds; and, later still, in the progress of that simple but real civilisation to which they could lay claim, by the pioneers of primitive husbandry.

It may help us somewhat if we try to form an idea of the population of Devon during the leading periods which we pass in review. Now Schoolcraft, one of our best authorities, "estimates that in a population which lives upon the produce of the chase, each hunter requires on an average 50,000 acres, or seventy-eight square miles, for his support."<sup>2</sup> This would give Devon thirty-three or thirty-four only! At the aboriginal average of Australia we should get but fifty-two! The special means of sustenance afforded by the sea coast may have given Devon a hunting population somewhat in excess of this proportion; but if we take the figures quoted by Sir John Lubbock<sup>3</sup> for Hudson's Bay Territory, where there is about one inhabitant to every ten square miles, we should only get 260 Devonians; while if we assume, as the basis of our calculation, the density of the population of the Indian territories of the United States, living partially on subsidy, in 1825, the total would be but 2,000. Beyond the latter figure Devon could not have gone until a somewhat settled mode of life had been established. Probably at no period within pre-historic times, as defined in this address, did the progress of Devonian civilisation reach so high a point as that now current in Paraguay, which would give us a population of about 10,000. The smaller the number of inhabitants the longer the time we must allow them for their works, and the greater the interval covered by their interments. These figures are inferential, though sufficiently exact; but we are not without direct evidence. Domesday Book gives us a careful census of the county

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Jour. R. I. Corn.* vi. pp. 125-8. Moulds for casting bronze implements and weapons have been found somewhat frequently.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Tribes*, vol. i. p. 433, cited *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 593-4.

after the Norman Conquest, A.D. 1086, when the Saxon had long been settled in the land, and civilisation, and with it husbandry and the allied arts, had made substantial advance. We cannot put the entire population of the county, free and unfree, at more than 35,000 even then.<sup>1</sup> Exeter immediately before the Norman Conquest had about four hundred houses, and an estimated population of 3,000 would certainly be in excess. The three other boroughs of the county—Barnstaple, Lydford, and Totnes—had each about a hundred houses—Barnstaple somewhat less, and Lydford and Totnes ten or a dozen more. Their respective populations could not have exceeded 800.<sup>2</sup> Of the smaller towns and manors we have an exact return. Thus the population of Crediton, from which the episcopal see had only been removed a generation previously, in 1050, was but 407.

We are apt to regard Dartmoor as having always borne its distinctive character, and to mislead ourselves by reasoning from this false premise. Gaunt and bare its higher regions probably were throughout our Stone and Bronze Periods, as now; but its valleys and outskirts in the days of the dwellers in the ancient hut rings were indistinguishable in natural characteristics from the county generally. Woods and heaths, broken only in their gloomy monotony by strips of water-made meadow skirting the wider river valleys, were the leading features not of Dartmoor and its borders only, but of all Dunmonia, and the scanty population was scattered indifferently throughout its wilds. Dartmoor is simply the last refuge of the chief traces of these ancient days—a pre-historic island, girdled and wasted by the encroaching waves of an aggressive civilisation. The very name is a proof of later differentiation. Dunmonia, Deuffnynt, the “land of hills,” or the “land of deep valleys,” whichever version we accept as parent of the modern “Devon,” are but two modes of stating the same physical features, the ancient names of Dartmoor and the shire alike. Only when clearing and enclosure had varied the characteristics of the lowlands, did our upland country receive its distinctive name. Not until Norman

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. R. J. King considered that an estimate of 40,000 was “probably far exceeding the reality.”—*Forest of Dartmoor*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> 2,500 for Exeter, and 600 to 700 for Barnstaple, Lydford, and Totnes, are more probable figures.



times were its boundaries defined.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the Saxons called the north of the county the North Hams (ham = dwelling), and the south the South Hams, is a proof of the unpeopled character of Dartmoor in the Saxon period; and it is at least possible, nay, very probable, that the majority of the British settlements on Dartmoor were formed by the Kelts as they were pushed backward by the encroachments of the Saxon colonists, who were very unworthy ancestors of the modern Englishman, if they did not settle upon the best lands available.

The question will probably be asked: "If in those early days all Devon was peopled much in the same manner as Dartmoor, where beyond Dartmoor are such traces of ancient races to be found? where outside the moorland region are the hut rings, the stone circles, the menhirs, the pounds, which are the chief characteristics of the antiquities of that great upland?"

The answer is twofold. First—we cannot expect to find many rude stone monuments in places which do not yield the stone for their construction. Whether in savage or in civilized times the architecture of a people or locality is largely influenced by the materials at its command. Second—when we have allowed for local conditions, and for the destructive effects of enclosure and cultivation, the traces of early habitation *are* as abundant off Dartmoor as upon it.<sup>2</sup>

This may seem a bold assertion; but we have been too much in the habit of regarding byegones as exceptional and peculiar. We rarely allow enough for the constants of simple humanity in its

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Davidson in a paper on "Some Anglo-Saxon Boundaries, now in the Albert Museum, Exeter," *temp.* Eadweard Confessor—"Peading tunes land boundary of the Ashburn outfall"—has shown that lands which are now within the limits of Dartmoor Forest, were then included within these private "metes and bounds," which seems to me a very strong argument that the "forest," in the sense of the later Perambulations, did not then exist. Mr. Davidson suggests Wangfield (*wang* = "field," Saxon) as the original of Venville, in which case the Venville tenures would represent the rights of common which the Saxon landowners of the border district had enjoyed over the moorland waste, and had somehow contrived to maintain against the Crown under the Norman monarchs. This highly ingenious speculation is probably correct. We thus see how very modern a thing in a distinctive sense Dartmoor really is.—*Vide Trans. Dev. Assoc.* vol. viii. p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Allowance must also be made for the many modern towns and villages which continue ancient settlements.

everyday life. Primitive races did not—any more than modern man—divide the sum total of their existence between fighting and burying, with an occasional excursus into religious ceremonial; and yet the traditional fashion of the antiquary has been to classify the relics of their lives and practices almost exclusively under one or other of these heads. There is hardly a single cause which has led to so much confusion in the interpretation of our early history as the unfortunate error of nomenclature which has indiscriminately ranked the earthworks scattered throughout the country as hill-forts, camps, and castles, whereas the immense majority are simply the enclosures of the ancient villages or towns—differing in no essential feature from the older pound villages of Dartmoor save in their somewhat more defensible position, the substitution of earthen mound for stone wall, and the disappearance of the wattled huts, which, having no enduring foundations, left “not a wrack behind.” That a few of the so-called camps were fortresses in the special sense no one can or will deny; but that the larger number are the evidence, not of long continued or desperate warfare, but of settled and comparatively dense population, I am firmly convinced.

It is surprising, for example, how it can ever have been thought that the vast mounds of Clovelly Dikes, the finest earthwork in the county, could be thrown up for casual occupation in the imminent presence of danger, or by anything less than the united efforts of a powerful tribe. This is an extreme case, but in its degree the same line of argument applies to scores of other instances. We have in them the evidence of concentrated working towards a permanent end, throughout periods of comparative quiescence, and not the hurried device of scattered races struggling for bare existence with their fellows or—the favourite hypothesis— with an invading foe, strong enough to beat them from hill-top to hill-top, but unable to follow up a victory by a final blow.

The attempt has been made to classify the ancient earthworks by their shapes, and assign them to Kelt, Roman, Dane, or Saxon; but the results are of little value. The square form, attributed with good ground to the Romans, is in this district the rarest of the rare; and as a rule the lines simply follow the contour of the ground.

These earthworks have not been largely productive of traces of occupation; but probably this is rather because they have not

been examined with that purpose. A wattled village would leave no structural relics; but where the agger is of stone, the stone foundations of dwellings are almost invariably seen. Still even in some simple enclosures the evidence of general and continued occupation is clear and certain. In the "camp" at High Peak, near Sidmouth, Mr. P. O. Hutchinson found deposits of charcoal, bones, pottery, and other industrial products;<sup>1</sup> marking it off distinctly from the cliff castles of Cornwall—headlands made defensible as strongholds against marauders from the sea. Probably the remarkable deposit of shells on the hills above Teignmouth, described by Mr. Pengelly,<sup>2</sup> was associated with a settlement of this kind that has left no other trace.

Another important fact in this connection is the existence of defensive earthworks quite independent of the camps. We have no such gigantic work as the Wansdyke; but there are earthen lines near Colyford, evidently intended for defensive purposes, and forming no part of a "camp,"<sup>3</sup> which will illustrate the distinction. So in the adjoining county of Cornwall we have the fine rampart accounted for in the tradition of the country-side by the rhyme—

"Jack the Giant had nothing to do,  
So he built a hedge from Lerrin to Looe."

Mr. King is in all probability right in regarding this as having been "thrown up by some body of men arriving from the sea, and settling among those of a different race."<sup>4</sup>

One of the most difficult questions of our Western Archæology is that of the age and origin of our Bronze Period. It is seen almost from the very first in somewhat settled form, and we can trace it downwards until it merges into historic civilization; but its connection with the Stone Period is to all appearance hopelessly obscured. We are not, however, without evidence of vast antiquity. This Western Peninsula supplied most—if not the whole—of the tin for the bronze users of Europe, save possibly, but by no means certainly, upon Asiatic confines. The tin mining of Cornwall, if not of Devon, dates back therefore to the introduction of the use of metals on the Continent. And when we seek to assign to this

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 649.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. pt. iv. pp. 50-6.

<sup>3</sup> P. O. HUTCHINSON. "Antiquities in South Eastern Devon."—*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. ii. pp. 379-381.

<sup>4</sup> "Presidential Address."—*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. vii. p. 31.

great epoch in the history of man a definite chronological status, it is Cornwall that gives to our enquiry the most remarkable reply, by proving that tin-streaming was carried on at Carnon and Pentuan, "at a time when the Mammoth either still existed in the West of England, or had not long disappeared, and when the general level of Devon and Cornwall was at the least thirty feet higher than it is now."<sup>1</sup> Within the historic period no such change has taken place.

Considerations of this kind led Dr. Wibel to conclude that the civilization of the Bronze Age originated in this part of England,<sup>2</sup> while M. Furnet suggested a European civilization contemporary with that of the East, dealing with minerals before the arrival of the Kelts and their intervention in metallurgy.<sup>3</sup>

I do not think the second suggestion unworthy of consideration ; the first is flattering, but hardly probable. There is excellent evidence in the character of the early bronze weapons that they were made for a small-limbed people, the grip of the swords, for example, being far too small for hands of ordinary size. And here we seem to have a link connecting our enquiry with the earliest tradition of the British race—the myth of "Brutus the Trojan," as told first in the *Chronicle* which bears the name of Nennius,<sup>4</sup> repeated in fuller form in certain of the Welsh *Bruts*, and amplified into fullest detail in the *History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>5</sup>

No one in the present day accepts the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth as sober history ; but there is really no reason to question his honesty when he says that he is reproducing an ancient record brought from Brittany. That he did not invent the story of Brutus proof is plain, though it must always be open to question how far his history represents the accretions of Armorican tradition or his own glosses. That he was not remarkable for the critical faculty we must perforce allow—his was a receptive age ; but he has had hard measure dealt him,<sup>6</sup> and even from his ponderous pile of

<sup>1</sup> "Antiquity of Mining in the West of England."—*Trans. Plym. Inst.* vol. v. p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Sir J. Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Du Mineur, son rôle et son influence sur le progrès de la civilisation.*

<sup>4</sup> Various placed in the ninth and tenth centuries.

<sup>5</sup> Circa 1140.

<sup>6</sup> Partly because he was an ecclesiastic ; but in what respect are the marvels of his history more headstrong than the miracles of Bede ? The good faith of the monk of Jarrow is never questioned, and no one denies that his writings have a very real historic value.



chaff some grains of wheat may be winnowed. The story of Brutus appears to be one of these. "Stripped of the dress in which it was decked out by Geoffrey, improving on his predecessors; deprived of its false lustre of classicism; cleared from the religious associations of a later day—the myth of Brutus the Trojan loses its personality, but becomes the traditionary record of the earliest invasion of this land by an historic people,<sup>1</sup> who, in their assumed superiority, dubbed the less cultivated possessors of the soil, whose rights they invaded, 'giants,' and extirpated them as speedily as they knew how."<sup>2</sup>

We are now brought to the dawn of the Historic Period, to that shadowy frontier between the written and the unrecorded, where myth and legend find their most congenial home, and the air is peopled with a few gigantic shapes like the fabled Arthur and his famous knights, unsubstantial visions, never in one stay.<sup>3</sup> Henceforward the historical student has a double duty—he must reject as well as accept, overturn as well as build, eliminate as well as gather. Our surest lights are still the material facts of Archæology, which may indeed be misinterpreted, but themselves cannot lie.

Though Herodotus and Aristotle mention the Cassiterides by name, and other writers of antiquity appear to allude to the British Isles, Diodorus Siculus is the first author who makes<sup>4</sup> direct reference to this western peninsula. He describes, in words

<sup>1</sup> "The Myth of Brutus the Trojan."—*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. xii. p. 570. The Totnes at which Brutus landed was not the modern town, but seems to have been "an elder name for this England of ours than either the Britain of the later Kelts, or the Albion of the Romans."

<sup>2</sup> There does not appear sufficient evidence to pronounce who and what this people were.

<sup>3</sup> Tintagel, and Camelford, and Dozmare, notwithstanding, Arthur is an anachronism in history, as great as a pterodactyle would be in an aviary—the creation of a later age than that to which he is assigned; the embodiment of the traditions, not of one British hero, but of many. He is the common property of the British Kelts in their dispersion, and is localised in so many places that he can find rest in none. Perhaps for the origin of the Arthurian myth we need not look beyond the monks of Glastonbury, who had a happy knack of finding whatever relics they might have in special need, and to whom was unquestionably due the allied myth of the Arimathean origin of their own *Vetusta Ecclesia*, and thence of the whole British Church. I have no intention in saying this to disparage the undoubtedly unique antiquity of that famous foundation.

<sup>4</sup> Towards the close of the first century B.C.

so familiar that their citation almost needs apology, the process of tin mining, shows that a settled foreign trade in that metal with the Mediterranean had long been in existence, and states that the inhabitants of Bolerium—strictly the Land's End district, but probably including the entire tin-bearing region—excelled in hospitality, and by reason of their intercourse with foreigners were civilized in their mode of life. Here we have direct assertion that there was some civilization in the West in pre-Roman times, differentiating, if we are to accept the hearsay<sup>1</sup> of Julius Caesar as correct, this region from the island generally. He, you will remember, speaks of the Belgic invaders from Gaul as more civilized than the natives whom they had displaced, and indicates beyond the sphere of their influence a low state of barbarism.<sup>2</sup> If, however, we are to place any reliance upon Diodorus Siculus and the reports of the merchants whence he drew his information, the probable barbarism of the remoter parts of the country was not represented in the West. Nor is Diodorus unsupported. The use of coins by a nation is a distinct mark, not only of civilization, but of a large advance in culture. Mr. J. Evans, F.R.S.,<sup>3</sup> has conclusively shown that there was a British coinage at least 150 years B.C., that of the Gauls having preceded it about a century and a half. In this locality such coins have been found at Carn Brea, Mount Batten (gold and silver), Exeter, and Cotley, near Axminster<sup>2</sup>—imitations, like their Gaulish prototypes, but at a greater distance, of the stater of Philip of Macedon.

<sup>1</sup> Hearsay, because Caesar's personal acquaintance with Britain did not extend beyond the sea-coast at his first landing-place, and an inland march of some seventy miles on his second unsuccessful invasion.

<sup>2</sup> So indeed other Latin writers: Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Tacitus, Xiphilius (cited by Dio Niceas), Herodian. "The picture presented to us of the dwellers in Britain immediately antecedent to Roman intercourse is that of a collection of savage tribes, resembling in many particulars the North American Indians ere they were brought under European influence, and in others existing tribes of a far lower type." Here in the West, the trade influence of which Diodorus speaks had unquestionably ameliorated the general character, though when and to what extent it is difficult to say. In my paper on "Were there Druids in Devon?" I accept the suggestion of Tacitus, that the long-headed people were Iberic, and place them lower down in the scale than the Kelt; but foreign influence may have done much for them, and it is doubtful how far they had been absorbed in this locality by the superior Round Heads, or indeed what their relations to the district were. See *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> *Coins of the Ancient Britons*.

<sup>4</sup> *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. iii. p. 500.

I call in evidence also the ancient cemetery at Mount Batten, so well investigated and described by Mr. C. Spence Bate.<sup>1</sup> In most localities undoubtedly such remains, which continue from the Bronze into the Iron Age, would suggest a post-Roman origin. The earlier culture of this region renders that conclusion here unnecessary. Somewhat similar graves were found in 1833 at Trelan, St. Keverne,<sup>2</sup> one of which contained a bronze mirror of kindred type; and all the characters are Keltic, and not Roman. These relics are the latest and most perfect developments of the vanishing Age of Bronze—rapidly vanishing, because the use of iron weapons throughout Northern Europe and in Britain had become general before the time of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> Instead of regarding these remains as Romano-British, I hold them, therefore, to be the final types of an older pre-Roman civilization—not necessarily of any great antiquity, nor free from foreign influence, but influenced alike in origin and progress by an earlier intercourse with the civilized world than that of Roman date.<sup>4</sup>

We have no distinct record of the connection of the Romans with Dummonia prior to the Itinerary of Antonine (*circa* 320), in which Isca Dunmoniorum is mentioned as the last of the Roman stations in the West, Moridunum intervening between it and Durnovaria. That Isca Dunmoniorum is Exeter I do not think doubtful; and although all efforts to identify Moridunum have failed, it must have been somewhere within the Devon confines.<sup>5</sup> Durnovaria is certainly Dorchester.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xl. pp. 500-510.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. ROGERS, *Jour. R. I. Corn.* xv. pp. 266-271.

<sup>3</sup> *Pre-Hist. Times*, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> This was written before I had the opportunity of seeing Mr. J. Evans's *Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland*, in which he says: "On the whole I think we may fairly conclude that in the Southern parts of Britain iron must have been in use not later than the fourth or fifth century B.C., and that by the second or third century B.C. the employment of bronze for cutting instruments had there practically ceased." It is perfectly clear that this part of England was more advanced in civilisation than would appear from the allusions of *Cæsar*.

<sup>5</sup> The *Chronicle* attributed to Richard of Cirencester mentions as further stations Ad Durium Amnen, Tamara, Voluba, and Cenia; but the work is a modern forgery, based partly upon Ptolemy.

As to Exeter, the Exe was the only *Isca* properly belonging to the Dummonii (the Axe was theirs but in part, and too petty to be reckoned in rival-

The accepted story of Roman conquest and sway in Devon and Cornwall rests solely upon a mistaken identification, and a forgery. The forgery is the *Chronicle* of Richard of Cirencester; the false identification is the gloss of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or one of his editors, upon the narrative of Vespasian's besieging Caer Pensaulcoit—"quæ Exonia vocatur."<sup>1</sup>

You will bear in mind that from the time of the repulse of Julius Cæsar until the reign of Claudius the Romans left Britain unassailed.<sup>2</sup> Vespasian is then stated to have distinguished himself in the reduction of the island, fighting the enemy thirty times, defeating two British nations, taking twenty towns, and subjecting the Isle of Wight.<sup>3</sup> But where was Vespasian's campaign? That it was somewhere in the South of England, and in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Wight, is clear; and if we read tribes for nations, and

ship). Relics of Roman occupation are abundant at Exeter; its position is that which the Isca of the *Iter* should occupy; and if the two are not one a leading Roman station is without record. Objection has been made that no trace has been found at Exeter of the residence of the Second Legion, said to be quartered there; but this legion was one of those chiefly concerned in building the Northern Wall, and its occupation of Exeter must have been comparatively late. There was, however, ample room for the legion at Exeter, though the reference is probably to the head-quarters—the dépôt.

<sup>1</sup> Precisely the same thing is done by Geoffrey or his editor with regard to Hamo's Port, which is identified chiefly on the score of an absurd derivation from "a crafty Roman named Hamo" with Southampton, but by which I hold that the Hamoaze—the estuary of the Tamar—is intended. Hamo's Port is made by Geoffrey "the fitting centre of some of the most stirring scenes in the traditional national life, and it is the Hamoaze that best suits the reference." The statement that "Maximian, the senator," when invited by Caradoc, Duke of Cornwall, to be king of Britain, lands at Hamo's Port, leads to the inference that it was on Cornish territory. So the Armoricans sent to the help of Arthur land at Hamo's Port, and it is from Hamo's Port that Arthur sets sail on his expedition against the Romans—a fabulous story indeed, but still helping to indicate the commodiousness and importance of the harbour intended. Whatever Geoffrey may have thought, I cannot resist the conclusion that the port of Plymouth was well known, in the troublous times that followed the departure of the Romans, to the Armorican Britons as the Hamoaze, and it may well have been that the independence retained by the Dunmonii during the Roman occupation placed them in a position of leadership at this later period.

<sup>2</sup> There is a suggestion that a descent was made in the time of Augustus, but it rests upon very slender evidence, and at the most could only have been a casual inroad. *Vide* "Roman Devon," J. BROOKING ROWE, F.S.A., F.L.S., *Trans. Plym. Inst.* vol. vii. pp. 236-7.

<sup>3</sup> SUTONIUS, *Vesp.*



"camps" for towns, and take as some measure of the magnitude of his operations the prominence assigned to his achievements in the Isle of Wight, we may fairly conclude that his conquests were less extensive than compact. There is no ground for the belief that they extended much beyond the counties of Hampshire and Wilts, nor could he have made a successful inroad into Devon without having had a much larger number of "nations" to encounter and defeat than the two over whom he proved victorious.

There is no suggestion that Vespasian fought in Devon outside the statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that he landed on the coast of Totnes, and thence marched to besiege *Caer Pensaulcoit*. The assumption that the ancient Totnes and the modern are identical led to the inference that *Caer Pensaulcoit* was Exeter; and the persistent misinterpretation of the old village "camps" as relics of warfare seemed to give countenance to an idea that had really no foundation. *Caer Pensaulcoit*, as Mr. T. Kerslake has well pointed out,<sup>1</sup> is still extant in name in the modern Penselwood, among the heights of the Wilts and Somerset borderland above Wincanton, where there are abundant traces of the presence of an extensive community.<sup>2</sup> It has already been stated that Totnes in the old chronicles is the name of a district, and not of a town.<sup>3</sup> But there is conclusive evidence that the campaign of Vespasian was not waged upon Dunmonian ground, in the statement of Tacitus<sup>4</sup> that, later in the reign of Claudius, Ostorius Scapula drew a chain of forts between the Anton (the modern Test at Southampton) and the Severn as a barrier against the malcontent Britons. If this was the effective Claudian frontier years after the conquests of Vespasian, it is against all evidence to suppose that he could have been the conqueror of the Dunmonii.

Were the Dunmonii ever conquered by the Romans? History returns no direct reply; but such testimony as we have points in the direction rather of practical independence and friendly inter-

<sup>1</sup> *Primæval British Metropolis*.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the Pen Pits are the remains of ancient habitations, or pits for mining or quarrying, they equally indicate a large resident population, and there is an important "camp" close by.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 21. It does not appear, as Mr. Kerslake has shown, in the Welsh *Bruts*. He suggests "Talnas" as the earliest form, and the mouth of Ptolemy's Alauus, Christchurch Haven, as the landing-place.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*, xii. 31.

course. What the Caledonians effected by constant warfare in the recesses of a savage country, the Dunmonii probably achieved by policy. "They retained their nationality under their native princes,<sup>1</sup> and "were allowed to manage their own affairs as they pleased," and are specially recorded in an inscription on the Roman Wall as "Civitas Dunmon," having evidently, in the words of Mr. Brooking Rowe, "done something in connection with the building of the wall deserving of special commemoration."<sup>2</sup>

This is so very peculiar a relationship that it is not easy to explain. Undoubtedly the Romans could have conquered the Dunmonii had they tried, but they apparently never made the effort; and my hypothesis is simply this, that the same long-continued foreign intercourse which had given the Western Peninsula its superiority in civilization, also prompted its residents—those, at least, who came within the influence of mercantile associations—rather to welcome than to oppose the people with whom they were on such friendly terms, and from whom they derived so much advantage. If so, there was a British "nation of shopkeepers" long before Napoleon.

It is not without significance that Exeter, the only distinct Roman settlement in Devon, is nearly on the verge of our mining districts, and that the only other places that by their names appear to indicate a Roman military occupation are on the same line, near North Lew—Chester Moor, Scobchester, and Wickchester. We have no means of knowing how far the domain of the Dunmonii extended, and Exeter may have been one of their old frontier towns, as it certainly was alike a Roman outpost, and the head of the Roman power in this region. West of Exeter no proof of Roman occupation, beyond a possible individual settlement here and there, has ever been found, though traces of Roman intercourse are by no means wanting.<sup>3</sup> The full significance of this fact is only seen when we compare non-Roman Devon with thoroughly Romanized Somerset, in the 488 parishes of which Roman remains

<sup>1</sup> BEALE POSTE, *British Researches*, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> "Roman Devon," *op. cit.* p. 240. May not this be connected with the fact that Exeter was the head-quarters of the Second Legion, which had a prominent part in the erection of the wall?

<sup>3</sup> North and east of Exeter I only know of a villa at Hannaditches, near Seaton, possibly associated with the disputed Moridunum, and another said have occupied the crest of a cliff near Hartland.

have been found in 108 places. "This includes coins, pottery, urns, interments, inscriptions, foundations of buildings known to be Roman, pavements, and fortifications known to be Roman, or occupied by the Romans."<sup>1</sup> Temples, potteries, villas, mines,<sup>2</sup> alike attest the thoroughness of the Roman occupation of Somerset, and force into sharpest prominence the opposed conditions which during the Roman Period must have ruled in the two counties.

There is no reason to assign a different date to the Roman presence in Devon, in the limited sense in which it must thus be understood, than to the Roman occupation of the kingdom in general. "The series of coins found in the cities of the North of England, and in the camps and chartered cities of the South, extends from the earlier reigns of the Empire down to the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and then ceases."<sup>3</sup>

Thus Exeter has yielded coins of Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Britannicus, Nero, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Alexander Severus, Maximinus, Gordian, Valerianus, Gallienus, Postumus, Claudius II., Tetricus I., Tetricus II., Aurelian, Numerianus, Victorinus, Decentius, Delmatus, Tacitus, Probus, Carus, Carausius, Diocletian, Maximian, Allectus, Constantius, Chlorus, Constantine, Crispus, Licinius, Constans, Magnentius, Constantine II., Julian, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Philip II. There are also coins of females: those of Julia Domna, Faustina (both), Julia Mæsa, Flavia Maxima, Salonina, Maximiana, Sabina, Antonia, Etrusilla, and Theodora.

The oldest piece of Roman money recorded from Exeter is one of the Cornelia gens, 96 B.C.; but though other pre-Christian coins have occurred, it is only in casual fashion. Claudius is the first emperor whose money has been found in any quantity, but from Claudius to Gratian the succession of Imperial coins is well-nigh continuous, and probably would be quite complete if anything like

<sup>1</sup> Preb. SCARTE, "Roman Occupation in the West of England," *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*

<sup>2</sup> Inscribed pigs and laminae of lead show that the Romans worked the Mendip mines as early as 49 A.D. There has never been a trace of Roman interference in the mines of Devon or Cornwall. Stray coins only show intercourse.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. BRUCE, *Roman Wall*, p. 43.

a full record had been kept of the many thousands which Exeter alone has yielded.<sup>1</sup>

"Stray coins of the earlier Emperors *have* been found [in Cornwall], but these are few and far between. With the age of the Antonines the proportion greatly increases; but it is not until the middle of the century that they appear in any considerable quantities. From Gallienus (200 A.D.) down to Valentinian, a century later, all the hoards of coins date. Among the more common are those of Postumus; Victorinus; Tetricus, sen. and jun.; Claudius Gothicus; Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus; and the family of Constantine. Mr. Buller, in his *History of St. Just*, mentions the remarkable fact that coins of Carausius (usually scarce) are common in that parish."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They are found in almost every excavation within the limits of the ancient city, with pottery and other articles of Roman origin. When extensive sewerage works were in progress in 1810 they were dug up by the thousand. *Vide* Short's *Antiq. Exon.*, which, with his *Antiq. Dev.*, contains a large body of collections ancient Roman and other antiquities of the county.

Other places in Devon where Roman coins have been found are: Berry Head (Claudius); Bickley, near Tiverton; Babbicombe (Trajan); Bovey Tracey (Gallienus, Valerianus, Postumus, Victorinus the elder, Claudius Gothicus); Chagford (Philip the elder, Tetricus, Quintillus); Cadbury (Victorinus, Tetricus); Crediton (Decius); Haldon (Antonia gens, denarii *temp.* Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius, Faustina the younger, Julia Mæsa, Caracalla, Philip, Probus); Honiton; Kingskerswell (a find of 2,000, including Gallienus, Quintillus, Claudius Gothicus, Tetricus elder and younger, Postumus, Victorinus, Tacitus, Probus); Plymouth (Hadrian, A. Pius, A. Severus, Faustina); Plympton (third brass detrited); Poughill (silver find—Vespasian, Trajan, A. Pius, M. Aurelius, Constantine the Great); Sidmouth (Valerianus); Stratton; Torquay (Trajan).

Greek coins have been found at Exeter, and regarded as proof of Phœnician intercourse. The earliest I have noted is one of Hiero I. of Syracuse, 478-469 B.C., and there are others of Ptolemy I., B.C. 322, and P. Philometer, B.C. 180. A coin of Sidon is also mentioned. Most of the Exeter Greek coins are, however, of the Roman emperors—Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, A. Severus, Caracalla, Probus; though many Greek cities are represented—Agrigentum, Alexandria, Amissus, Amphipolis, Antioch, Chalcis, Cynthus, Hieropolis, Samosata, Singara, Syracuse, and Zeugma, of the number. A Greek coin of Castanea was found at Berry Pomeroy, and another Greek coin at Truro. Polwhele says a Phœnician coin was found at Teignmouth. The earlier coins may have been introduced direct, or with the later by the Roman auxiliaries. Is it not probable, however, that the early Phœnician trade was conducted by barter?

<sup>2</sup> *Nania Cornubiæ*, p. 255.



These remarks by Mr. Borlase apply so closely to the general conditions of time under which Roman coins are found in Devon (outside Exeter) Poughill being the only noteworthy exception, as to suggest nearly allied conditions, though so far as the West of Cornwall—the Land's End district—is concerned, the finds recorded are far more numerous than those of the richest locality in the sister county. Cornwall has also furnished more important hoards. Thus near Malpas 20 lbs. weight were found (A.D. 259–284); at Pennance, near Falmouth, about a thousand, which appear to have been buried in the reign of Constantine the Great; and at Condora, on the Helford river, in 1735, twenty-four gallons, third brass of the Constantine family. There are also smaller hoards recorded from Carn Brea, Treryn, St. Just, Tywardreath, Hayle, and Carhayes.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of these hoards, in the extreme west and along the southern coast, seems to point to a very considerable exterior Roman intercourse in the latter part of the third and earlier part of the fourth centuries with the tin mining districts.

It is impossible, however, to build up a theory of Roman occupation, still less conquest, on the sole evidence of the presence of Roman coins. These can prove intercourse; perhaps, in the case of hoards, individual settlement, but nothing more.<sup>2</sup>

But is there not more certain testimony of Roman sway and residence? Much has been written concerning the so-called Roman roads, which have been not only traced to Exeter—to which city the Romans undoubtedly had direct and improved means of communication—but have been assumed to extend thence in two branches (one traversing the northern and central parts of the peninsula, and the other following the south coast), with sundry ramifications, to the Land's End. That some such roads or trackways did exist, and may yet in part be identified, is beyond all reasonable controversy; but we seek in vain for proof of their Roman origin, while we know that the roadwork done by the Romans in this country was less the making of new ways than the

<sup>1</sup> N. WHITLEY, "Roman Occupation of Cornwall," *Jour. R. I. Corn.* xvii. pp. 199–205.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that the Condora hoard was the remains of a military chest. May it not with equal likelihood have been the capital of a mercantile settlement?

improvement of old ones. British civilisation had attained the capacity of originating great trunk lines of communication, and had its own well-accustomed routes between villages and towns. The ancient roads of the West present in the main precisely the British characteristics; and many of our deep-set Devonshire lanes, the "hollow ways" as well as the "ridge ways," beaten and worn by the pack-horse for centuries, and many of the half-abandoned and obscure tracks known as bridle-paths—have this very distant origin. The name of Stratton has been mistakenly presumed to indicate a Roman source, but the only really tangible evidence on which it has been sought to prove the existence of Roman roads below Exeter is the occurrence of an inscribed stone of Roman character at St. Hilary, in Cornwall, which had been utilised in the foundations of St. Hilary Church, and which is regarded by Professor Hubner as a Roman miliary or mile-stone. If a Roman milestone, then, of course, a Roman road. That the stone is Roman, and erected in honour of one of the Constantines, is perfectly clear, but there certainty ends, though the balance of evidence is in favour of the particular emperor commemorated being Constantine the Great, and the date early in the fourth century. About forty of these miliary stones are said by Professor Hubner to have been found in Britain; but, in the words of Dr. Barham,<sup>1</sup> "it would appear strange that so very few of these milestones, which are believed to have been fixed under the Empire after Hadrian along the whole line of principal roads, should have been discovered"—so strange that when full allowance is made for every cause of disappearance, we may fairly doubt their general existence at all. Moreover, these so-called milestones, and this St. Hilary stone, bear nothing whatever to distinguish their presumed purpose, as did the milestones of the ancient roads of Italy. They are low, simple pillars, with inscriptions in honour of the reigning emperor, to which we have to add, without a particle of evidence, this miliary character. A milestone that does not define distances seems a curious anomaly, and the Romans were practical men. The St. Hilary stone is, however, excellent evidence of Roman intercourse—of settlement even—in the locality where it was found. The rearer was probably prompted by the same feelings that induce an Englishman, in a

<sup>1</sup> Who, however, takes the affirmative view. (*Jour. R. I. Corn.* xix. pp. 366-375.) It is worth noting that Carew, *Survey*, fo. 53, remarks, "for highways the Romanes did not extend theirs so farre,"

savage or half-civilised land, to fly the Union Jack. It cannot be called in evidence to attest the existence of a Roman road to which there is no other witness; nor can an unproved Roman road be held to convert a loyal memorial into a milestone.

Whether, when the Romans left our island, and the Britons had to rely upon their own efforts for protection against northern and seaborne marauders, this part of England shared to the full extent in the general despair is doubtful. The preservation of an independent or quasi-independent status would tell in its favour. It is impossible to credit the assertion that the Picts and Scots carried their raids into this western promontory. Moreover, the cliff castles,<sup>1</sup> which undoubtedly indicate danger from the sea, are in part, at least, of earlier date, and in part, we may presume, of later origin. I am inclined to hold, therefore, that this isolated corner enjoyed for a while comparative quiet, and was one of the last places vexed by Saxon or by Dane. The Saxons were familiar with the channel coast, "the Saxon shore," before they reached thus far West, and the Danes make their first historical appearance in connection with Cornwall as the allies of the Cornish race against their Teutonic kin in the reign of Egberht.

Probably the West still retained its trading characteristics. This seems the most reasonable explanation of the presence of early bezants at Exeter, instead of attributing them—as is sometimes done—to the time of the Crusades.<sup>2</sup> There is other evidence of the continuance of a tin trade with Alexandria in a seventh-century legend, disinterred from the "Acts of the Saints" by the late Sir Edward Smirke. A ship load of Cornish tin is said to have been turned into silver for the behoof of the Church. Whatever we may think of the evidence for the miracle, unless a traffic in tin between Cornwall and the East had existed, there would have been no suggestion for the legend.<sup>3</sup>

And here we get some light from the peculiarities of the local hagiology. Cornwall has been called the "land of saints," but few of the holy names with which its map is studded are of home birth. "The Land's End district, with the strip of north coast

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The Exeter bezants include examples of Justinian I., Justus II., Phocas, Constans II., I. Commenus, Constantine IX.—A.D. 527-969.

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. R. I. Corn.* viii. pp. 283-291.

extending so far as Perran, is specially full of Irish saints, who came . . . from the province of Munster. The Lizard district, Mount's Bay, and the southern coast, supply us with names associated with Brittany; while the remaining and far larger portion of the county eastward is filled with those of Welsh extraction.<sup>1</sup>

Planted during the latter part of the Roman occupation, Christianity in the West came under the fostering care of Irish missionaries towards the close of the fifth century (we find some traces of them on this side of the Tamar); Welsh influence was exercised later; but the Bretons covered the entire period assigned by Mr. Borlase to the "Saint Age"—450 to 700 A.D.—giving also the final colouring to a Christianity which Ireland had presented in "the weird form it had assumed under the influence of Pagan assimilation." Frequent intercourse was maintained between the chief branches of the Keltic race; and Cornwall, central alike for Brittany, Wales, and Ireland, was peculiarly exposed to the influence of each in turn.<sup>2</sup>

Though of various periods, it is probable that the inscribed memorial stones—commonly called Romano-British—and partially, at least, the crosses (so common in Cornwall, and by no means uncommon in South and Dartmoor Devon) originated in Irish intercourse. The memorial stones are simply the old menhir, with a specific personal appropriation; and the Latin form of the inscription indicates an ecclesiastical origin. So with the wayside crosses,<sup>3</sup> in which the commemoration of the individual gives place to the declaration of the Christian faith. These likewise continue the ancient menhir, and I believe, in the majority of cases, have the like sepulchral origin.

It is not easy to date those remains. M. Hubner throws back the earlier inscribed stones of Cornwall to the period assigned by Mr. Borlase as the special time of Irish influence—the middle of the fifth to the early part of the sixth century. What we have left are but the poor remainder of a host, and probably the succession is complete down to the present day. The curious fact is that

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* "The Age of the Saints," W. C. BORLASE, *Jour. R. I. Corn.* xx. p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> By Cornwall is here meant all those parts of Dunmonia that remained British at each successive stage of limitation.

<sup>3</sup> The churchyard crosses, in some cases, had a different purpose, and marked the sites of places of religious assembly.



the only two extant western inscribed stones which give unmistakable proof of Irish influence in their Ogham writings are not in Cornwall but in Devon.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, stones in Cornwall with lettering of Irish type, and the crosses also frequently indicate Irish parentage. The earliest characters of Christianity in Cornwall being thus clearly external, suggests additional grounds for belief in the isolated and independent status of Dunmonia in Roman times. There was a church in Roman Britain long before the date of these remains; but there is no shadow of proof that it had extended into the Western Peninsula.

The Irish missionaries but continued an intercourse between the two countries which had commenced long before. There is a distinctly Irish character in four gold gorgets, or lunulæ, found in Cornwall—all near the north coast (Padstow and St. Juliot, &c., and nowhere else in Great Britain); and though a gold cup from a barrow near the Cheesewring is considered of Scandinavian type, all the early gold ornaments of Cornwall have their counterparts in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The profusion of bronze implements and weapons found in Ireland is a less precise but equally certain proof—in the tin they contain—of this connection.

A new and valuable source of information concerning the early history of man is supplied by the study of comparative folk-lore. The wisdom of age, degraded to the wonder of childhood, has again risen into importance. Superstitions are less individual developments than phases of moribund faiths. The purely accidental has no place in the continuous history of the race; and the seemingly isolated and casual are but the fragments of an organic whole. Here, too, we are but on the threshold of enquiry. Enormous masses of material have to be classified ere deduction can be hopefully systematised. Yet, even in this earlier stage, we may not neglect the plainer lessons of our Western Folk-Lore, though, with two notable exceptions, its results are mainly of a negative character, and local colouring is faint.

<sup>1</sup> The Fardel (now in the British Museum) and the "Nabarr" stone, originally of Buckland Monachorum, now in the Vicarage Garden, Tavistock. *Vide* C. SPENCE BATE'S "Inscribed Stones and Ancient Crosses of Devon," *Trans. Plym. Inst.* vol. iii. pp. 392-398.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. R. I. Corn.* vi. pp. 134-142 (Sir E. SMIRKE); ix. pp. 34-38 (A. WAY). Brittany and Denmark have supplied the nearest approach to the lunulæ, beyond Ireland.

The Folk-Lore of Devon may be regarded as thoroughly Teutonic; for the one seeming exception is probably more apparent than real. The Devonshire Pixy is not quite the Northern Elf; still less the Southern Fairy. Cornish tradition is peculiar in its tales of Giants, unknown in Devon save through modern importation, though the Pixy is in large part common property. On the system of interpretation first adopted by Professor Nilsson, both pixy and giant have historic value. The myth of Brutus the Trojan tells of a giant population extirpated by this fabled ancestor of the British people and his followers—in other words, of an older and stronger aboriginal<sup>1</sup> race, between whom and the invaders there was the deadliest hatred. If the despised remnants of the Kelts in turn became the pixies of the invading Saxons, we see at once why they are differentiated from the ordinary elf or fairy, and why they should bear a Keltic name.<sup>2</sup> We may understand perhaps, also, why they were said to be the souls of unbaptized children, though this idea is clearly of later date, and perhaps to be referred to the disputes in the ancient Church consequent on the collision of East and West—between the Roman Church espoused by the Saxons and the Keltic Church which it supplanted—concentrated in the controversies concerning the tonsure and the keeping of Easter.

In most other respects the Pixy strongly resembles the Brownie and the Elf, and similar stories are told of each. Thus the Brownie who is rewarded for his work by some new clothes exclaims :

“Gie Brownie coat, gie Brownie sark ;  
Ye 'se get no more of Brownie's wark ;”

while the Pixy in like manner rhymes :

“Pixie new coat, Pixie new hood ;  
Pixie now will do no more good ;”

or :

“Pixy fine, and Pixy gay ;  
Pixy now will fly away.”

And the Pixy Threshers in Devon are overheard to tell each other, “I twear, you twear,” precisely in the same way as the Threshing Elves in Sussex condole on the results of their exertions. The foundation may be, and probably is, Keltic ; but, as with many of

<sup>1</sup> I use the term loosely for convenience.

<sup>2</sup> It is certainly not Saxon.

our local weather and other rhymes, the superstructure is Saxon, and of the widest national type.<sup>1</sup>

The "Wish Hounds" of Dartmoor,<sup>2</sup> and the "Yeth Hounds" of North Devon, are the "Gabriel Hounds" of Durham and Yorkshire; the "Wild Hunt" of Germany; the "Yule Host" of Iceland; the "Hunt Macabe" in parts of France: while the huntsman is Herod chasing the Innocents in Franche Comté, Hugh Capet at Fontainebleau, and King Arthur in some parts of Scotland. We have evidence of the later importation of this wild and wide-spread fancy into Cornwall, in the form it assumes, about Polperro, of the "Devil and his Dandy Dogs."

But for the zealous labours of Professor Hunt and Mr. Bottrell, the popular tales of the West would by this time well-nigh have perished, though even in Devon a few still survive in current use. Customs have a more enduring vitality, and for our present purpose a more distinct value. Whately's statement, that "the vulgar in most parts of Christendom are continually serving the gods of their heathen ancestors," is literally true in the West.

To take only the most obvious illustrations. It is within living memory that animals have been burnt alive in sacrifice in Cornwall,<sup>3</sup> to avert by propitiation the loss of other stock. Throughout the rural districts of Devon the toad is thrown into the flames as an emissary of the Evil One. The Polperro folk pass through their St. Peter's fire. The relics of Solar Worship abound on every hand; not only in more general relations, but in special forms. There is nothing peculiar to the West in the fact that the sun directs the orientation of our churches, the position of our graves, and that the great festivals of Christendom are based upon and reproduce astronomical and not personal anniversaries, clustering round the solstitial and equinoctial feasts of earlier days.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So the tale of the men who hedged in the cuckoo is told of a dozen places in England besides St. Neot, and finds a clear echo in far antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> Given by later tradition to Sir Francis Drake as huntsman!

<sup>3</sup> *Drolls of Old Cornwall*. So in Morwenstow it was the custom to bury three living puppies "brandise-wise" in a field to rid it of weed. (*Trans. Dev. Assoc.* vol. ix. p. 90.) The yet prevalent belief in witchcraft also involves sacrifices to the devil.

<sup>4</sup> Sir ISAAC NEWTON says: "The times of the birth and passion of Christ, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the Christians of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them placed

But we have more limited and peculiar traces of the ancient *cultus* of the heavenly bodies. Such, though in modified form, are the fast dying superstition that the sun dances on Easter morning; and the lingering belief that when we see the new moon we should wish, and courtesy, and turn the money in our pockets.<sup>1</sup> I believe there is yet a very wide and real, though rarely recognised, faith in these and kindred practices, here in Devon. To the same source we may trace the story told of the ancient church of St. Michael on Brent Tor, and—with slight variation—of so many other churches in high or low places all over the land. What does the legend of the frustration of the intention to build at the foot of the hill, by the removal of the materials at night to the summit, mean, but that there was a conflict between the friends of the old and new faiths—between those who accepted Christianity in its entirety, and those who became its nominal adherents, but still clung to the ancient sites. Probably the orders of Pope Gregory, that the temples of the Saxons should not be destroyed, but converted to Christian uses,<sup>2</sup> did not meet with general acceptance, especially in localities where there were remnants of the elder British Church still existing. The legends which tell of the removal of materials from hill-top to foot show the same controversy, with different result.

The best local illustration of the vitality of the *cultus* of the sun and moon, in the meaningless survival of ritual, is that afforded by the gaily-bedecked ship, which from time beyond living memory a "company" from Millbrook have been accustomed to carry through the streets of the Three Towns on "garland day"—

them in the cardinal points of the year, as the annunciation of the Virgin Mary on the 25th March . . . the vernal equinox; the feast of John the Baptist on the 24th of June, which was the summer solstice; the feast of St. Michael on September 29th, which was the autumnal equinox; and the birth of Christ on the winter solstice, December 25th, with the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Innocents, as near it as they could place them. . . . So also, at the entrance of the sun into all the signs of the Julian calendar, they placed the days of other saints . . . and if there were any other remarkable days in the Julian calendar, they placed the saints upon them."—*Prophecies of Daniel*, ch. ii. part i. p. 144.

<sup>1</sup> To point at the moon was sixty or seventy years since at Ashburton considered an insult, provocative of no one knew what evil. *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. xi. p. 110. So it is unlucky to see the new moon through glass. The heavenly bodies were worshipped in the open air,

<sup>2</sup> BEDE, *Eccles. Hist.* li. c. 30.



the first of May. There seems no necessary connection between a ship and the floral rites of early spring; but it helps us somewhat to account for the incongruity when we learn from our local records that the carrying about of a ship was part of the Plymouth celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. The Reformation put an end to the Corpus Christi festival, but it was not a very great change to transfer the ship pageant to May-day, which continued to be kept up with befitting ceremonial. It was the custom, so far back as the fifteenth century, for "companies" of performers from adjoining parishes and places to visit Plymouth on these days of popular rejoicing, to entertain and be entertained; and there are entries of payments to such parties, among others, from Stonehouse and St. Budeaux. There is no difficulty in understanding why a custom given up in Plymouth would linger on in the ancient borough of Millbrook; nor does the pedigree of the ship of Corpus Christi seem hard to make out. Tacitus credits the Suevi with carrying about a ship in honour of Isis; and a boat is almost a natural emblem of the crescent moon. In Germany the custom of ship-carrying was followed from the earliest ages, though there is some dispute as to the goddess honoured. (Mr. Baring-Gould thinks Hilda or Holle). The early Christian Church dealt with Pagan rites in two ways. Sometimes the attempt was made to abolish them; sometimes—and especially if the effort at repression failed—they were adopted into Christian custom. In Germany the ceremonial was opposed. In England it retained sufficient vitality to be adopted. The silver boat of the crescent moon became with us the ship of Corpus Christi, and that the Millbrook "garland."

And there are traces of yet other faiths, not living now in direct representation, but once widely held. The mysterious cup markings found so frequently on the rocks of the North of England, and occasionally in Cornwall,<sup>1</sup> the pre-Christian cross, and probably some of the later traditional forms of cross, have their origin in that wide-spread *cultus* of the energies of Nature, traceable in purer or in grosser forms in every corner of the ancient world.

So the most reasonable explanation of the stories of dragons and loathly worms throughout England is again the conflict of

<sup>1</sup> Found first by Mr. Blight, F.S.A.; and since by Mr. Lukis, F.S.A., and Mr. W. C. Borlase. Vide also E. PARFITT'S "Idol found at Kingsteignton," *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. ix. pp. 170-176.

Christianity with that old form of Nature *cultus* known as Serpent Worship, of which every land with a history yields some trace. The most pronounced and at the same time most corrupt illustration remaining in the West, is the legend of the combat of St. Michael with the dragon who sought to destroy Helston—the exceedingly recent form of which is shown by the attempted derivation of Helston (Hals-dun = Moor-hill) from Hell-stone—the stone with which the dragon sought to destroy the town—a derivation which would have had no meaning before the Cornish language had been supplanted by the English.<sup>1</sup>

There are other facts of kindred character. We have an excellent illustration how far even a casual tradition may fill a gap in recorded history in the intense animosity shown towards red-haired people in further Cornwall. There is hardly a more abusive epithet in the Land's End district than "red-haired Dane." Yet the current chronicles have little to say concerning Danish ravages in that locality.<sup>2</sup> We may be sure, however, that after the defeat of the Danes and West Welch at Ilingston by Ecgberht, the Northmen turned upon and harried their quondam allies. This hatred of the "red-haired" as surely continues the memory of Danish descent, as the cliff castles so common in Cornwall, so rare in Devon, preserve the proofs of still earlier incursions to which the inhabitants of the Western Peninsula were subject.

The ancient Well Worship, notwithstanding the anathemas of councils, kings, and popes, is yet practised in the West. Madron Well, near Penzance, affords the most notable example; pins are still dropped into it for the purpose of divination, and rags hung upon the thorns around. "Not only is this practice an exact counterpart of a custom at Balmano, in Scotland, and in the Orkneys; but it

<sup>1</sup> I think the Dartmoor tradition that tin mines were worked when "wolves and winged serpents" (dragons) dwelt in the valleys, may allude to the inroads of Northmen in their "sea snakes;" and so with the association of dragons with barrows—the legend may typify the race of the silent "dweller in the cairn."

<sup>2</sup> The "Castles-an-dinas" are not to the purpose, as dinas has nothing to do with Danes, but is the old Cornish word for a fortification, which castle reduplicates. There is, however, an old vernacular proverb which seems to point in this direction—"People from far inhabit castles." A curious tradition lingers of the occupation by Danes of the "Hembury Fort," near Ashburton, and their defeat by means of the strategy of the Saxon women, whom they had carried off to their haunt.

obtains amongst the Yezzeedes of the Persia border, the Moham-medans in Turkey, and throughout Northern Asia generally. In Japan it is still a constant usage among the devotees of the most ancient form of religion in that country—the Shintooists . . . in Britain it was originally, what in the farthest Orient it is still, a part and parcel of the most primitive and widely extended worship of the sun.”<sup>1</sup>

In all this we see the evidence and influence of varied faiths and forms of worship, indicative also in their degree of the succession and mingling of different races.

There is much to be gleaned from our river names, whether Keltic or Teutonic. The names of all our larger streams are not only Keltic, but Keltic of varying character. The Tamar, Tavy, Teign, Taw, and Torridge form a remarkable group, related to each other, and to such names as those of the Thames, Tees, Tay, and Tweed. There is little doubt that the common root is “a generic word for water, probably to be found in the eldest branch of the Keltic tongue, and which we may take as *ta* or *tau*.”<sup>2</sup> The final syllables are simply distinctive suffixes in a later dialect, that used by the Cornish. Probably the Kelts of the second immigrant Keltic wave understood the meaning of the root word, because they did not attempt further definition; or the scanty population may have made distinction unnecessary. The Kornu Britons treated it, however, as a proper name, or needed further definition; and so we have *Ta mawr*, ‘the big Ta’ or water; *Ta veor*, ‘the little Ta,’ *Ta rhyd*, ‘the ford Ta;’ *Ta eign*, possibly ‘the icy or cold Ta.’<sup>3</sup>

Then we find the Gaelic *uisg* = water in Exe, Axe, Ockment, and probably Ugbrook. *Afon*, which we see in Avon, is Kymric or Welch; and the *dwr* of the Dart = *Dwr-gwent*, ‘white water,’ is as distinctively Cornish. There is thus clear evidence from this one source alone of the presence in Devon of members of various branches of the Keltic race continuously onward from the earliest

<sup>1</sup> “Age of the Saints.”—*Journ. R. I. Corn.* xx. p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> “Hist. Con. Devon. Place-names.”—*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. x. 278.

<sup>3</sup> If it is thought that *Ta* was still current in its root meaning when the suffixes were given, still we must admit a special need for distinction, which could hardly have existed when the names originated. If the *Ta* is treated as Iberic the argument of changed conditions and loss of original meaning remains unaffected.

time of their appearance. Wanting continuity, the old names would have been lost.

Only in the titles of the smaller streams do we distinctly see the Saxon. There is no need to name the lesser rivers when the population is sparse; and there are nameless brooks in Devon even now. The 'y' in the names of so many of our secondary rivers is not a diminutive, but the universal 'water,' whether it be derived from the Kymric *wy*, the Kornu *gy*, or the Saxon *ea* = Yeo; and we find the same method of nomenclature at work still. For example, the stream that descends from Brendon parish into East Lyn is 'Brendon-water,'<sup>1</sup> and that at Dawlish, 'Dawlish-water.'

It is very remarkable how little contemporary history we have for Devon before the Norman Conquest, not merely in the absence of direct statement, but of material for inference. A very few lines sum up the whole.

*Gildas*, the earliest of our chroniclers, writing, in the sixth century, from the British standpoint, speaks of the remnant of the Britons taking up arms against the Saxons, under the command of Aurelius Ambrosius, and calls a Constantine "the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Dumnonia," which seems to attribute to the West a certain independent action.

*Bede* (673-735) in his *Ecclesiastical History*, a valuable work, notwithstanding the enormous admixture of monkish legend, says nothing of Devon.

*Nennius*, a chronicler of presumably British origin, variously placed between 796 and 994, takes us no further. He calls Ambrosius one of the kings of Dumnonia<sup>2</sup>; gives a list of cities,

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting illustration of the individual character of early Saxon colonization on Dartmoor in the fact indicated by Mr. C. Spence Bate in his "Etymology of Dartmoor Names" (*Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. iv. pp. 525-6) that the streams on the Erme are known by the name of *lakes*, those on the Avon as *brooks*, those on the Dart as *burns*; whilst elsewhere we have the Norse *beck*; and on the south coast the Saxon *fleet*. We learn too that the Saxons pushed their way into Dartmoor along the rivers from the coast. Such distinctions as *East* and *West* Teign, *East* and *West* Dart, &c., came from men who traced the streams *upwards* to their sources at a time when the Keltic names of the tributaries, if they had any, had been lost.

<sup>2</sup> If Arthur have any one historic prototype, probably we may find him in the almost equally uncertain Ambrosius, who in his turn is mixed up with Merlin.



among which Exeter is not identifiable; and tells the story of Brutus; but of definite local history affords little trace.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the only important contemporary, or partially contemporary, authority for the history of Devon in pre-Norman days, and even its references are very scanty. In part it follows Bede, and its earlier portion is continued on through various hands. Its own independent testimony practically begins with the advent of the Danes, taking up the thread of the national history in continuous fashion in the opening years of the ninth century. There are, it is true, a few earlier references, and the first which can by any possibility be assigned to Devon is that Cynewulf of Wessex "fought very many battles against the Welch," and that Cyneard the etheling, by whom Cynewulf was killed, was buried at Axminster (A.D. 755). The only places in Devon mentioned in the *Chronicle* before the conquest of William are Exeter, Wembury (Wiganbeorche), Appledore, (?) a fortress in Devonshire by the north sea, Crediton, Tavistock, Lydford, Teign-ton, Penhoe, Clist, Exmouth (query whether as a town or the river embouchure), Dartmouth, and a harbour on the south coast in which there was a spirited fight with the Danes, where the ebb-tide left their ships aground, and there was a narrow opening to the sea, and which seems to have been either on the Exe, Teign, Dart, or Plym.<sup>1</sup>

It has been shown conclusively that the Saxon<sup>2</sup> Conquest of Devonshire—the first conquest that Dunmonia as such had known—must be placed somewhere between the year 710, in which king Ine fought the Welch king Gereint, and shortly after which he founded the burgh of Taunton<sup>3</sup> to guard his new frontier, and the year 823, in which the Weala and the Defena fought a battle at

<sup>1</sup> ASSER's *Life of Ælfred* (849-887) does not help us further; nor does Ælæweard, who wrote in the latter half of the tenth century, except that Asser gives the place of Hubba's defeat as Kynwit, and speaks of Exeter as in the British tongue "Caerwisc."

<sup>2</sup> I prefer to adhere to the old term 'Saxon;' the modern use of 'English,' though possibly (?) more correct in the abstract, is apt to mislead. The English seem to me, indeed, rather the net result of the fusion of races subsequent to the Norman Conquest; and, moreover, the West was settled by Saxons proper, not by Angles, though Devon shows admixture.

<sup>3</sup> Probably in a qualified sense. Taunton dates to Roman, and in all likelihood to British, times.

Gafulford.<sup>1</sup> In 710 the whole force of Devon and Cornwall was wielded by Gereint; in 823 the men of Devon and the men of Cornwall were marshalled as two opposing hosts. But inasmuch as there is no reason to suppose that Inc pushed his conquests further, and as the chronicles expressly state that in 813 Ecgerht harried the West Wealas, whilst William of Malmesbury defines Ecgerht's first great military act as the conquest of Cornwall, the possible limit of the conquest of Devon is narrowed between the years 728 and 800. Of the Saxon kings of Wessex who fill this interval, the only one to whom the conquest can be assigned is that Cynewulf (755-784) who is recorded to have fought so many battles against the Brit-Wealas. Such is a brief outline of the admirable argument of Mr. Davidson, assailable only—and not successfully there—on the meaning which William of Malmesbury may have attached to the term Cornwall. If he used that word in the sense in which we use it, all is clear; if not, then the work begun by Cynewulf was completed by Ecgerht. In either case Cynewulf would be the first Saxon monarch holding sway in Devon.

The theory of a partial conquest of Devon by the Saxons, in which the Exe became the frontier between Welch and English, has been held by several distinguished authorities, including the late Sir Francis Palgrave, but on inadequate grounds.<sup>2</sup> It is based chiefly on an agreement ascribed to the reign of Æðelred between certain Deunsettan, or, as Sir Francis puts it, "between the Wylisc Devonshire men and the Englisc Devonshire men;"<sup>3</sup> while William of Malmesbury states that Æðelstan in 926 drove the Britons "out of Exeter, which up to that time they had inhabited, sharing equal rights with the English," and fixed the boundary of his province along the Tamar. So far as William of Malmesbury is concerned, Mr. T. Karslake has shown that Exeter is really divisible by the dedications of the ancient parishes into British and Saxon quarters,<sup>4</sup> and a certain joint occupancy of that city must be held proven.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. DAVIDSON, "Saxon Conquest of Devonshire," *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. ix. pp. 198-221.

<sup>2</sup> Archdeacon WILKINS, *Leges Anglo-Saxonie*, p. 125; quoted also by Mr. Davidson, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. cclxiv.

<sup>4</sup> "Celt and Teuton in Exeter," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx.

But there we stop. We must, I think, agree with Mr. Davidson that the document cited by Wilkins has no reference to Devon at all, to any *Devnsæta* or *Defena*, but to certain *Dunsæta*—"dwellers on the downs," probably inhabitants of Wales proper.

The meagreness of direct historical statement drives us to seek information elsewhere, and we soon find how completely this "ingenious theory of a bisected Devonshire, half Saxon, half British, with Exeter as a border fortress, and the river Exe as a boundary, vanishes into thin air."<sup>1</sup>

The place-names of a country are valuable guides to its early history; and, as I have pointed out elsewhere, those of Devon clearly show that there "is no evidence whatever of a graduated Keltic element westward, which must be apparent if the Saxon expulsion of the Britons (when made) was not complete and final. The Saxon element in our nomenclature is quite as decided on the eastern bank of the Tamar as it is on the north coast, and the Keltic names in that locality are not a whit more plentiful than in some other parts of the county."<sup>2</sup>

It has been argued, and with good *à priori* grounds, that the recesses of Dartmoor might have retained their Keltic population long after the rest of Devon had fallen into Saxon hands. But Dartmoor has hardly a Keltic name left, save upon the borders, with which Saxon dwellers in the lowlands must have been more or less familiar. Hence I conclude that in the early days of Saxon colonization in Devon Dartmoor remained pretty much a *terra incognita*—

"A spot almost unknown, untrod,"

<sup>1</sup> DAVIDSON, *op. cit.* p. 213. Mr. Karslake suggests Great Fulford as the *Gafulford* where the *Weala* and *Defena* fought in 823; Mr. Davidson leans to *Camelford*. I do not think that mere identity or similarity of name, as suggested, is likely to help us here. Great Fulford is too much within the Devon boundary, and *Camelford* too far beyond. The probability is, that the site of this battle is to be sought on the Tamar, at some ancient ford in the vicinity of Hingston Down, an accustomed passage from one county to the other. No one seems to have observed that *Gafulford* may be "the ford of the tax or toll"—*gavel* = tax—*i.e.* the ford at which toll was taken, the very spot where, in these primitive times, a dispute and fight should have arisen. A "*gavel-ford*" must have been a frontier.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Con. Devon. Place-names," *Trans. Dev. Assoc.* vol. x. pp. 276-308.

and that when the Saxon did find his way thither, the Briton was driven out.<sup>1</sup>

A few considerations will show the force of this contention. The Keltic names of Devon can only have been handed down when there was continuity of occupation or association. Where there was no communication between Kelt and Saxon they must have perished. Wherever therefore in Devon we find Keltic names most plentiful we have the best proof of extended intercourse and early Saxon colonization. Immigrant peoples usually accept the place-names they find until further distinctions become necessary. Then there arises a crop of names in a new tongue or of mixed derivation. Paradox as it may seem, the Kelt is now most plainly visible where the foot of the Saxon was most firmly planted.

How was the Saxon domination of Devon effected? I have used the term *conquest*, but I have also spoken of *colonization*. The latter word is the key to the solution of the whole question.

Mr. Davidson has pointed out that by the time the Saxons of Wessex reached Devon they had become Christians, and had begun "to make progress by colonization as well as by the sword."<sup>2</sup> So, too, Mr. R. J. King held it to be probable that "in the south and west of Devonshire settlements were gradually pushed beyond the recognized English border by small bodies of men," either by force or peaceably, but on the whole establishing themselves "in more peaceful fashion than would be the case when an entire district lay at the mercy of the conqueror after a great battle."<sup>3</sup> The Keltic population of Devon was comparatively thin and scattered, and

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion has been made that the conquered Britons may have been compelled to work the tin mines for their Saxon masters. It is at least as likely that their mining came to an end with their expulsion, and was afterwards taken up by their supplanters; and that while the chief British mining villages were then deserted, those adopted or founded by the Saxons have continued to the present day—Ashburton, Chagford, and Tavistock being three of the most notable examples. Crockern Tor was simply a central place of meeting for the tinnerns, and there is no pretence for claiming it, with Polwhela, as the seat of a British Court of Judicature. As a Crown chartered body the tinnerns were an ancient and influential corporation, with special rights and privileges—more extensive in Devon, where the Norman succeeded to a complete Saxon rule, than in Cornwall.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. ix. p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> "Presidential Address," *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. vii. p. 31.



the whole process would be precisely analogous to that which we see now in many of our colonial dependencies, where beyond the established English or Colonial rule there is an extended native area, into which the more audacious or more enterprising settlers gradually intrude, until at length from their increasing numbers the demand arises for complete organisation.

"It was thus perhaps that they [the Saxons] advanced from the western border or from the southern coast as far as Exeter,"<sup>1</sup> which by the time of Cynewulf's invasion, may have been far more Saxon than Keltic, may even have attained a kind of independence, and so have remained with its mixed population until the time of Æðelstan, when the county at large was cleared of the British race. Those who retained the true British spirit would be more likely to cross the Tamar, and throw in their lot with their still independent countrymen, than to remain subjugated; and it is abundantly clear in many ways that Exeter occupied an exceptional position. For example, it was so thoroughly Saxonised long before the earliest date that we can assign to Saxon domination in Devon, that it possessed towards the close of the seventh century a Saxon school, in which Winfred of Crediton, the famous Boniface, apostle of Germany, himself of Saxon as of Devonshire birth, was trained.

Thus there are far fewer difficulties in the way of accepting a conquest under Cynewulf or Ecgberht than under Æðelstan. So also is it certain that there was a complete expulsion of the Keltic race, and that whatever Keltic blood we now have in Devon, must date before the Saxon Conquest, or have been acquired, mainly from Cornwall, since.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. King cites as possible relics of such incursions the curious group of "Sewers" in the Kingsbridge promontory—the dwellings of "sea-ware"—"sea people"; and the district around Polperro defended against the land by the so-called "giant's hedge"—the great earthwork from Lerrin to Looe—the glossary and dialect of which are markedly Teutonic, while the place-names are Keltic. To this date also we may possibly assign the traces of the Scandinavian along the valleys of the Dart and the Teign, collected by Mr. Spence Bate, though some identifications seem doubtful. *Vide Trans. Devon. Assoc.* vol. v. pp. 548-557.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kerslake ("Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia in the South of England in the Eighth Century") interprets the *A. S. Chronicle* entry of 743—"Now Æðelbald, King of the Mercians, and Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, fought with the Welch," to mean the Dumnonian or Cornish

The peculiar grouping of the Saxon place-names of Devon has been the subject of frequent comment, and when taken in connection with their general character proves that the early Saxon occupation of the county must have been mainly of an individual<sup>1</sup> and peaceful kind. The "tun," the ordinary enclosure, or hedged-

Britons, and suggests that Æselbald transported a large number of his own people to the North of Devon, "who not only occupied the district between the Dartmoor highlands and the north coast, not yet Teutonized by Wessex, but possessed themselves of the entire line across the Western promontory between Dartmoor and the Tamar, as far as the south sea, near Plymouth" (p. 16). In support of this, he calls in aid dedications of St. Werburgh at Warbstow and Wembury (?) the special occurrence of such place-names as "worthy," "cot," and "stow" in this district; and the find of a large number of Mercian coins at Trewiddle, near St. Austell, in 1774. The fact of some Mercian influence and colonization is apparently clear, though the area influenced may be questioned. The Trewiddle hoard was not, however, deposited until after the year 874, in the reign of Ælfred, when Devon had long been under Saxon sway.

There is a very marked distinction in the racial characteristics of the dwellers in the three western counties. The inhabitants of Devon differ physically almost as notably from those of Saxon Somerset as from those of Keltic Cornwall. This was brought out prominently by Dr. Beddoe in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*. (Vol. iii.) The average height of Devonshire men, except towards the borders of Cornwall, he found to be 5ft. 6in. The average height of the Cornish men measured was 5ft. 7½in. The one was thus below, and the other above, the average for England, while Somerset held a somewhat middle place, the average of the figures given for that county being 5ft. 7in. The Cornish are regarded by Dr. Beddoe as much like the Welch, and still liker the Devonians, but differing from both of them by their large stature. (*Ibid.* p. 531). Strongly marked distinctions of this kind are not accidental; and as we cannot well imagine that an original type can have been differentiated in this way within our western area, by the influences of climate or occupation, we are thrown back upon distinctions *ab initio*. The Kelts of Cornwall must have been associated with a taller race than the Kelts of Wales to present such characteristics now. The Saxon Colonization of Devon cannot have proceeded precisely upon the same lines as the Saxon Conquest of Somerset. A partial mixture of Saxon and Kelt would account for the inferior stature of the modern Devonians; precisely as the Kelts of the further peninsula may be presumed to have been influenced by the remnants of the so-called Cornish giants—the taller ruder people whom the Kelts dispossessed, and, as a race, exterminated.

<sup>1</sup> The "ings" of Devon do not represent clan names, as suggested by Mr. Kemble, in his *Saxons in England*, but are of later origin, the Saxon meadow, Domesday *pratun*. The clan or family had become less prominent as a factor in the national life when the Saxons reached Devon than in the earlier days of their immigration.

in place, is scattered all over the county, and is not predominant anywhere, though somewhat less frequent in the north-west than in the south. The "stocks"—stockaded or palisaded enclosures—are commonly associated with the navigable rivers, then the great highways of piratical marauders, and needing rallying points and strongholds, especially when Danish inroads became periodical. The "burys" bear a distinctively warlike or defensible character, but these again, in many cases, are not of Saxon origin, and mark the site of some old earthwork.

The three most notable and distinctive marks of Saxon occupation are, however, to be found in the words "worthy," "cot," and "hay," which have a very peculiar and suggestive distribution.<sup>1</sup> "Worthy" is most common on the borders of Dartmoor, and particularly to the south and west; "cot" is almost peculiar to the west and north-west; "hay" has its chief centre in the east. Of the three, "cot" is the most frequent, as it is the most distinctively personal and individual; "hay" comes next in order, and "worthy" last. I believe the names thus compounded are of comparatively late date, so that the chief extension of Saxon occupation may not have been reached long anterior to the Norman Conquest. The "tun" and the "stock" may be of any age, but the "worthy," "cot," and "hay," with the somewhat infrequent "ham," are distinctively indicative of somewhat settled conditions. The "worthy" is the only one of the group that includes the idea of protective enclosure, and though there are few words of Saxon origin that have had such diverse interpretation, the *weorth* or *weorthig* was probably in the main a farm-place, with enclosures to protect the stock from the ravages of wild beasts. The "hays" were rather enclosures in the nature of fields, and more distinctly agricultural. Both, however, belong to fairly quiet times. "Cot" explains itself. I have suggested elsewhere that the occupants of the "worthy" and of the "cot" may have had at times some such relationship as that of the modern farmer and labourer<sup>2</sup>—the cotters being the villein class. But be that as it may, the "cot" shows at once the fullest evidence of individual action, and on the smallest scale.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note *ante* p. 45 for Mr. Kerslake's view.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Con. Devon. Place-names."

<sup>3</sup> The "worthys" are all probably of purely Saxon date, but the "cots" may be of almost any age, for names of this class have been currently given down to recent times, though "cot" is now supplanted by the fuller "cottage."

Some allowance must also unquestionably be made for the differing origins of the first immigrants. Not one Saxon kingdom only, nor one Teutonic race, was represented among the earlier Teutonic settlers in Devon.

Interesting as the subject is, we are hardly in a position to say how far the peculiar Saxon institutions were planted in this county. There has not yet been found in Devon any certain trace of the Teutonic mark,<sup>1</sup> which indeed would have survived, if at all, only in modified form by the time Devon was absorbed into Wessex. Nor is the existence of the family group much clearer. We have personal, individual, settlements in plenty, and some few traces of associative effort; but we do not find, nor can we expect to find, precisely the same polity as is presented by the shires and kingdoms first settled by the Saxons, which was complete of its kind.

Beyond this we see much more clearly. The constitution of Devon is purely Saxon—from village to shire; each of its hundreds has a Saxon name; each of its ancient municipalities originated in a Saxon community; and in some even of its towns, such as Tavistock and Ashburton, the elder form of government is still easily distinguishable in the continued existence of the port-reeve, or *port-gerefa* of the original free township, elected by the freeholders as representatives of the estates of the original settlers.<sup>2</sup> And though we cannot trace the mark, we find abundant evidence of early personal connection with the land in the *alod*, “the hereditary estate derived from primitive occupation,”<sup>3</sup> to which most of our “worthys” and “hams,” and not a few of our “tuns,” must have belonged. On the other hand, a wide-spread joint or village ownership is attested by the great breadths of common land which, notwithstanding all encroachments, have descended to our own day. And as the continued severance of Dartmoor bears witness also to

<sup>1</sup> “The general name of the *mark* is given to the territory which is held by the community, the absolute ownership of which resides in the community itself, or in the tribe or nation of which the community forms a part.” (STUBBS'S *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 49.) At first the woods and pastures of the mark were undivided, and used equally; when apportionment arose, meadow and arable land were divided in equal shares, with a shifting from year to year of the portion occupied by each member of the mark. In all the possessions of the mark or village each man had his equal or proportionate share.

<sup>2</sup> STUBBS, *Op. cit.* p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 93.



the existence of an extended area of national or folk-land, distinct from the ownership of communities or individuals,<sup>1</sup> so we have in our not infrequent Bucklands—or *boclands*—proofs of private estates “created by legal process out of the public land.”<sup>2</sup> The primitive borough constitution to which reference has been made may date almost from the earliest times of Saxon settlement, since, both for mutual aid and for protection, some organization must have been needful. I am somewhat inclined to regard the “stocks” as the primitive form of the “burhs,” so far as Devon is concerned; but it must always be doubtful how far the defensive element in our local Saxon nomenclature is due to British antagonism, or to the need of protection against the ravages of the Northmen.

Such, viewed by modern lights, and gauged by modern methods, seem to me the leading features of the early history of our county. If some of the conclusions appear novel, perchance even startling, they are not the less likely to be correct because the result of an attempt to harmonize various independent, but converging, branches of enquiry; while it is certain that only in such general accord can truth be found. Something at least is gained if continuity is seen as well as succession; if development is recognised in antiquity; if the past is read in the present; and if we learn that separation in time does not of necessity imply equal divergence in character. The cave-dwellers of Torbay; the races for whom Palæolithic and Neolithic are our only distinctive names; the unknown workers of the first bronze dug from our moors and hills;—these distant ancestors, with Kelt and Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman—pre-historic or historic matters not—were all men of like feelings and failings, powers and passions, with ourselves. We cannot sever the links that bind us to them, nor cut off the entail of their persistent influence.

<sup>1</sup> Dartmoor is not appropriated in Domesday; but the Norman king succeeded as a matter of course to the public rights of the Saxon monarch, or of the Saxon state, thereafter defined under the forest laws.

<sup>2</sup> STUBBS, *Op. cit.* p. 76.